Giving Texts a Context: Chinese Translations of Classical English Detective Stories 1896–1916

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I. The Context

The Basis of Selection

That fiction was given a new status in China in the late 1890s for reasons of national salvation (Chen 1989: 7, Yuan 1992: 29) is a well documented case; there is no need to reiterate here the contemporary arguments justifying the reinvention of literary norms (Hung 1996: 47). Suffice it to say that fiction gained its new standing largely because the new norms propagated by the late nineteenth century reformist elite gave priority to the educational (i.e. social) rather than the literary value of the genre. In this context, the literary merit of individual works was of even less importance. None of the famous proposals for making fiction—particularly translated fiction—serve utilitarian purposes showed any concern for importing or building up a body of canonical literature (see for example Yan & Xia 1897, Liang 1897). For the reformists, Western works of fiction were a source for knowledge current in the West. In fact the relative contemporaneity of the majority of works translated during this period is a good indicator as to the nature of the knowledge to be acquired. In this sense late Qing fiction translations were similar to the works on Western history, law, and natural sciences translated into Chinese in the mid-nineteenth century.

Advocates of the new fiction as educational tool made it very clear where their priorities lay. The following is one example. When the fiction series Xiaoshuo Lin was launched in 1905, a notice issued by a Military

Defence Circuit Intendant on the publication of translated fiction included the following statement which appeared in all Xiaoshuo Lin titles:

> . . . those who strive for the same goal have grouped together and collected a sum of money, to be used for the purpose of selecting Western fiction which is novel in ideas and upright in principle, to be translated and published in book form. This will serve to broaden our countrymen's knowledge, supplementing areas in which school education is deficient. (Quoted in Liu 1990: 35)

Novelty was indeed a major consideration for those responsible for selecting translation material, for the simple reason that it was new ideas and new knowledge that they wanted to spread. Seen from this angle, the equation of novelty with excellence which later literary critics decried was in fact a continuation of the quest for Western knowledge through Western books which started in the mid-nineteenth century.

There was, however, a major difference between late Qing fiction translations and the mid-nineteenth century non-fiction translations. Instead of appealing to a small elite, they were to attract a large readership. In turn-of-the-century China, fiction was not just an educational tool, it was a tool for *mass* education. Popularizing fiction translation was not only in the interest of the publishers with an eye to profit; it was also in line with the ideals of the education advocates. Popularization was therefore a legitimate and mainstream concern governing the selection of material to be translated. Though surveys of the fiction translated and published in the twenty years under discussion may not be exhaustive, they show clearly that popular fiction—particularly crime, adventure and romance—dominated the scene (Chen 1989: 87-88). This situation has been the cause of lamentation among commentators who looked exclusively for literary quality; it is also one of the major causes for translated fiction of this period to have been largely ignored by critics and historians until recent years. Yet from the point of view of popularization alone, late Qing fiction translation activities were a great success story.

The contemporary lament about poor quality as well as the subsequent disrepute of late Qing fiction translations reveals a dichotomy inherent in the utilitarian approach towards literature. While the initial stated goal of the late Qing reformists was mass education, implying popularization, the fact that the chosen tool was a literary genre means that sooner or later, attention would be drawn to the literary qualities—or the lack of them—in

such works. Moreover, even within the discourse of 'education', objections were raised in moralistic terms against the large number of works which clearly aimed to entertain rather than to instruct (Chen 1989: 85). Within ten years of the reinvention of the status of fiction, the developing and hugely successful new fiction came under attack on two fronts—literary and moralistic.

The truth is, popularization is a double-edged sword. While popular fiction enabled the reformist elite to propagate new knowledge and new ideas, it also allowed the non-elite to become active participants in this movement. Fiction needed a readership, and publishers needed customers. Thus, fiction's quantitative development was of necessity heavily influenced by the tastes of the non-elite readership. This is not a uniquely Chinese phenomenon. The late Qing fiction advocates' constant references to the efficacy of Western fiction for social and political change tend to obscure one basic fact: the Western novel first developed as popular entertainment. Such a genre, of necessity, encompasses a large body of work which appeals to the tastes of the unsophisticated. In fact if Chinese literary historians were to look at the eighteenth century English fiction scene, with its quantitative explosion, the development of magazine serialization and the nature of the works serialized, as well as the kind of foreign fiction which was translated into English for the consumption of magazine readers, they would have a strong sense of *déjà vu*.[1] One critic sums up the situation thus: "the two chief facts about the [late eighteenth century] novel are its popularity as a form of entertainment and its inferiority as a form of art" (Tompkins 1961: 1). Here I would only point to three characteristic details which researchers into late Qing fiction would find extremely familiar: First, a large number of these works were published anonymously, or under such names as 'Nursery Reformer', 'Two Sisters', or in the case of 'adventure' stories, 'by Himself'. In the case of translations, it was not unusual for authors and translators to remain unidentified. In fact sometimes translations were passed off as original work. Second, many of the serialized novels and novelettes were uncompleted (Mayo 1962: 440–620 passim). Third, in terms of Continental fiction translated into English, "certain writers . . . enjoyed an unsuspected popularity, while others—usually reckoned more influential—never found their way into the magazines at all, and were seldom even mentioned by commentators" (Mayo 1962: 8, 370–381).

From this one can probably safely make at least one universal generalization: in the face of a huge quantitative demand, it is impossible to

practise a significant degree of qualitative control. In the case of the late Qing, the problem is compounded by the fact that literary merit was not part of the original education agenda, and it was never suggested that those who introduced Western fiction to Chinese readers should do so through an adherence to the Western literary canon. Having elevated fiction to its new status because of its popular appeal, it was only natural for the new fiction pioneers to fully exploit elements which contributed to its popularity.

Even today, the bulk of fiction published is for entertainment, the only difference being that time has allowed a natural fragmentation of the readership into specific groups each looking for a sub-genre and knowing where to find it. Conscious canon-building activities also mean that critics concentrate on the uppermost layer of fictional creation, leaving the rest for the undiscriminating public. Research into popular literature tends to follow the Formulaic school, treating such works as contemporary folklore rather than individual writing, or they are used as building blocks in social or cultural studies of any given period. In early twentieth century China, however, the line had not been drawn. Works initially selected to promote the foremost interest of the fiction movement, namely educating the public about current Western knowledge, were later scrutinized from an entirely different perspective when literary merit was introduced into the agenda. Thus a chasm developed between the discourse of selection and that of evaluation. This chasm continued to widen until the New Literature Movement of 1919, when figures of authority on the fiction scene advocated a complete break with tradition. The denigration of early twentieth century translated fiction thus became inevitable. Judged according to the May Fourth literary norms, these were non-canonical works translated into the wrong language and for the wrong purposes.

It is perhaps natural to judge works of literature, whether created or translated, by purely literary standards. However, in this particular case one must bear in mind that the impetus for fiction translation in the late Qing was non-literary. Translations were needed in this mass education movement to carry out the necessary knowledge-transfer and cultural-transfer; that the instrument happened to be literary was initially coincidental. That Western literary norms, as part of Western knowledge and culture, were absorbed so speedily as to become a challenge to the socially-oriented norms of the new fiction movement actually testifies to the success of translated fiction in fulfilling its task of cultural transfer. An evaluation of the fiction translation done in this period will therefore not be meaningful unless it is put in its contemporary social and cultural contexts.

Why Detective Fiction?

When English detective fiction was first introduced into China in the late 1890s, it was part of a package of extremely diverse material which was translated and received under the broad definition of education, namely, the broadening of the population's horizons. The immense popularity detective stories achieved in China within a few years of their introduction reflects the universal appeal of this sub-genre. Public response to the Sherlock Holmes short stories in England and America was immediate—the circulation of the *Strand* reached half a million within a short time after it started publishing the Holmes short stories and was maintained for many years (Symons 1991: 63). One only has to recall the furore in England caused by Sherlock Holmes's demise and his subsequent revival to realize detective fiction's popularity in Western countries.[2] In 1940 crime and detective stories accounted for a quarter of all new fiction published in the U.S. (Symons 1991: 17), and the continued and immense popularity of this genre today justifies its claim to "the widest and most durable appeal" (Porter 1981: 2). Since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century marked the zenith of the classical English detective story (Cawelti 1976: 80, Symons 1991: 74), it would have been surprising if Chinese translators did not draw on this fiction sub-genre with proven contemporary appeal in the West and also with an impressive record in Japanese translation (Nakamura 1980 passim). Given the objective appeal of detective fiction and the popularizing concerns of late Qing fiction advocates as well as publishers, the choice of detective fiction as translation material was a natural one.

As mentioned above, Western fiction developed as a form of entertainment, and for the majority of readers, entertainment—what Cawelti describes as "escape and relaxation" (Cawelti 1976: 8)—has remained its chief function. There have always been, however, natural divisions among the 'entertainment' category of fiction in the West. To put it somewhat simplistically, the entertainment material of the intellectual upper and middle classes was significantly different from that of the lower classes.[3] While it is true that the appeal of detective fiction cuts across class and income groups, it has always been recognized as the intellectual's escape literature, as opposed to sensational literature which catered mostly to the lower classes (Symons 1991: 17, 21). It has been particularly noted that detective fiction has a strong following in academia (Porter 1981: 223–244). While some critics, notably Edmund Wilson, have expressed exasperation at the popularity of this sub-genre (Wilson 1950), many writers have been its dedicated followers.[4] Detective fiction at its best

enjoys a very strong sense of respectability in the West and in Japan. This is a situation which does not find its equivalent in modern China because of historical and ideological developments: the difficult war years were a severe blow to entertainment literature, and one characteristic common to all communist countries was the unavailability of detective fiction (Symons 1991: 17, 73).

Given this context, when one looks back at the late Qing scene, the reasons for translating detective fiction become clear. It was a kind of writing 'novel' in both content and form; it was also read extensively by the educated classes in the West—the people responsible for the West's progress. Moreover, the stories refer frequently to such modern inventions as the railway system, the underground, and the telegraph—all features of Western life which the nineteenth century Chinese greatly admired. As a genre, detective fiction is closely associated with modern life; "it could not have been invented . . . in the age of fancy dress" (Brophy 1965). The detective hero, who solves seemingly impossible problems through the use of logical deduction and disciplined action, exhibits qualities which the average Chinese of the late Qing was seen to be lacking—intellectual and physical robustness. (The same can probably be said of science fiction and adventure stories.) In terms of literary attraction, detective fiction (at least the kind which comes up to scratch) is extremely strong in plotting, a department in which traditional Chinese fiction was particularly weak. If translated fiction was meant to supplement what China was perceived to lack, the above ingredients ensured immediate acceptance.[5]

There were perhaps also deeper reasons for the immense attraction of detective stories for the average late Qing Chinese reader. Contemporary studies of detective fiction often point to its psychological appeal. In the classical English detective story, that appeal lies in the reassurance that law and order will triumph; the stories are remarkably free from the realities of violence, and the pattern of investigation and denouement has a strong ritualistic quality (Porter 1981: 51–52, Symons 1991: 22). If detective fiction in the West catered to society's psychological need for reassurance in the face of possible disruption of the established order, how much stronger the appeal must have been to a turn-of-the-century Chinese, for whom a complete breakdown of the social and political systems was a very real possibility. In a society where justice was rarely done, the detective hero stood as a court of final appeal reminiscent of the incorruptible judges of ancient China, but different, too, because he had in his command *modern*, *scientific* methods.

The combination of easily recognizable traditional moral values and much admired modern Western techniques proved irresistible.

Pioneering Translations

Extant records show that the first English detective story was translated and published in China in August and September 1896, in the newspaper *Shiwu bao* (*The Chinese Progress*), in three instalments. This story—"The Naval Treaty" by Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930)[6]—was followed in quick succession by three other Sherlock Holmes stories: "The Crooked Man" (October to November 1896), "A Case of Identity" (March to April 1897) and "The Final Problem" (April to May 1897). These stories were squeezed between international news items and feature articles, as was the rule when strict categorization of material printed in newspapers was not yet an established practice. A volume containing these four stories, entitled *Xinyi baotan an* (*New Translations of Detective Stories*), was published in 1899 by Suyin Bookstore.[7] That Arthur Conan Doyle's stories were the first detective fiction translated into Chinese was perhaps a matter of coincidence, but there could also be a logical explanation: if translators were looking for *popular* contemporary Western writers (bearing in mind the need for popular appeal and contemporaneity), Doyle's name would have been very high on the list: it was in December 1893 that Doyle 'killed' Sherlock Holmes, thereby unwittingly proving his huge popularity.[8]

As there is no extant record of the public response to these early translations, one can only make an educated guess at reader response by asking the question: did translators and publishers follow up the first translation with new work? Given the fact that these four stories were published over a period of ten months in twelve instalments, and that they were later published in book form,[9] these early translations were probably well received. As to why the serialization was discontinued after ten months, Nakamura's speculation that it was the result of a clash of editorial opinion (Nakamura 1978: 127) seems valid, for two reasons: first, the serialization ends with "The Final Problem", suggesting that both the person in charge and the translator(s) knew that this would be the last story and deliberately supplied a sense of conclusion; second, *The Chinese Progress* did not publish any detective stories after this. If the clash over editorial policy was indeed wholly or partly the result of differing opinions on detective fiction or fiction translation, then it was the first clash of its kind, and a herald to what would come in the

next two decades.

The significance of these earliest translations of Sherlock Holmes stories in the context of the 'reinvention' of fiction in the late Qing cannot be over-emphasized, for they were the vanguard of the whole fiction-for-mass-education movement. The publication of "The Naval Treaty" in Chinese predates the most famous advocations for giving fiction a new mission and a new status by a year. If Liang Qichao, as chief editor of *The Chinese Progress*, was indeed the motivating force behind the publication of the four Sherlock Holmes stories, it is obvious that Liang had tried to put into practice his new ideas about the uses of fiction before he had fully formulated his theoretical framework,[10] and that the fiction-for-education movement had its beginning in 1896 in the translations of Sherlock Holmes.

The Blossoming of a Genre

Translated fiction really came into its own in the first decade of the twentieth century, and it was this period which marked the meteoric rise of detective fiction in China. The increase in fiction translation activities can be largely accounted for by the following factors: the increase in the number of periodicals and newspapers; the educated elite's successful advocation for educating society through fiction which started in 1897; the tremendous success of Lin Shu's translation of *La Dame aux camélias* at the turn of the century;[11] the relative political and social stability following the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, during which time the Qing government adopted a more relaxed attitude towards fictional work (Chen 1989: 11, Yuan 1991: 26, Liu 1990: 32).

A cursory look at the extant records of translated English detective fiction reveals that a significant proportion of the work was done between the years 1906 and 1909, which coincided with the peak period of late Qing fiction translation as a whole. This does not imply that the volume of translated detective fiction declined in the 1910s, but in terms of English detective fiction, most of the prominent writers had been translated by 1910. They include: Arthur Morrison (1863–1945), M. McDonnel Bodkin, Emmuska Baroness Orczy (1865–1947), Edward Philips Oppenheim (1866–1956), Allen Upward (1863– ?), Fergus Hume (1859–1932), Dick Donovan (1848–?), Richard Austin Freeman (1862–1943), Guy Newell Boothby (1867–1905), John Russel Coryell (1848–1924), and William Tufnell le Queux (1864–1927).[12] It is obvious that these writers were active around the same period, living and writing at the turn of the century when the classical English detective story climbed to its

zenith. They were all well-known writers in the English-speaking world of the day, and from the point of view of popularization, they were obvious choices for translation. More importantly, from the point of view of *educating* the Chinese public about the situation *current* in the Western world, it was only natural that translators should have selected the works of contemporary writers.

Late Qing translations of English detective fiction can be divided roughly into two groups: those translated directly from the English, and those translated via Japanese. There seems to be a marked difference in translators' attitudes to these two types. Most direct translations give the author's name, albeit often only in unstandardized Chinese transliteration; most indirect translations do not. Most of the directly translated detective fiction is in *wenyan*.[13] The quality of translation, though far from uniform,[14] is on the whole very high, thus confirming the general impression that translators into *wenyan* approached their task conscientiously. Since the plot in detective fiction is all-important, there is little truly senseless tampering with the stories; the evidence is that translators' insertions and digressions, so common to translations of this period, did not find their way into detective fiction. One would argue that Chinese readers on the whole received a much more accurate impression of English detective fiction than they did of most other fiction sub-genres. However, a relatively high translation standard is not necessarily protection against wholesale denigration: detective fiction was too conspicuous a sub-genre to be ignored by the elite.

The Elite's Reaction

That detective fiction's popularity should draw fire from critics as early as the 1900s was a natural result of the interplay between two forces struggling for dominance—those who believed in popularizing fiction and widening its appeal (mostly, but not necessarily only, for economic gain), and those who were more concerned about establishing standards, both moral and literary. Though the criticism against detective fiction centred upon the low moral and literary quality of many of the works produced, it is not unreasonable to speculate that the critics were stirred to action by the quantitative dominance of detective fiction rather than by an objective qualitative assessment. Its popularity led to Chinese imitations and derivatives which flooded the fiction scene in the 1910s and 1920s (Wang & Yi 1991: 277–278). Though popularizing fiction served the interest of the education advocates, the fact

that truly popular fiction would of necessity enter the domain of the non-elite general population and be subject to its interests and tastes led ultimately to the conflict between the economic need to cater to popular taste and the criteria (never set out clearly) embraced by the education—and morality—advocates. The reformist elite who propagated the utilitarian approach to fiction were like front-runners in a race who were suddenly swamped by on-lookers and amateurs all joining in; it was natural that they should protest, demanding the tracks to be cleared. Unfortunately, the sheer increase in the number of participants led to a change in the rules of the game. As mentioned above, the popularity of detective fiction and of mysteries is a phenomenon which started in the mid-nineteenth century and is still going strong. Yet in turn-of-the-century China it was made to carry the burden of a not clearly defined education mission, thus creating tension and conflict as a result of the differing expectations of two polarizing forces. For this reason, if one is interested in the ultra-textual factors which shape translations and our perception of them, detective stories translated in the late Qing provide fertile ground for investigation.

II. The Texts

We said in the first part of this paper that the quality of detective fiction translations under discussion was high, though by no means uniform. The following sections will illustrate specific technical (not necessarily textual) considerations which should throw some light on that elusive word 'quality'.

Tailoring the Narrative

In terms of method of narration, the Sherlock Holmes stories narrated by Watson are perfect formulaic examples of classical detective stories—the role of the narrator is as much to hide as to reveal. A first person narrator who is always by the side of the detective is an ideal intermediary, for he is capable of presenting all the facts without having to reveal the clues, thus sustaining the mystery to the end, and enabling the solution and denouement to be climactic (Porter 1981: 37–38, Cawelti 1976: 84). In traditional Chinese fiction, however, the narrative is as a rule linear and presented by an omnipresent narrator. Since readers were used to this particular method of narration, one of the late Qing translators' main concerns was how to overcome the possible

sense of confusion which would arise due to an unfamiliar narrative technique. The translators' solutions were not always straight-forward, and their mediation did not necessarily eliminate confusion. However, whether they 'succeeded' in their self-assigned task or not, their various attempts are the most illuminating indication of not just their ability as translators, but their attitude towards the task of cultural transfer, and their estimate of reader expectation.

The best way to study how translators coped with a new technique is probably by looking at the earliest translations; in this case, three translations from *The Chinese Progress*: "The Naval Treaty", "The Crooked Man", and "The Final Problem". It is obvious that the early translators[15] found it extremely difficult to explain the stories' narrative angle. The author's name does not appear in these translations; instead, the credit lines read: "Translating the Notes of Sherlock Holmes" (in "The Naval Treaty"), "Translating the Notes of Sherlock Holmes; this book is written by Watson" (in "The Crooked Man"), and "Translating Watson's Notes" (in "The Final Problem"). Given the fact that the stories are taken from *The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* and narrated by Watson, one can easily understand the almost impossible dilemma the translators were faced with. Neither does the word *biji* (used for 'Notes'), which calls to mind the anecdotal story-telling of the traditional literati, prepare one for the intricate layers of narration in the Holmes stories. It would never have occurred to an 1896 Chinese reader that the "Notes" were not named after their author.

Such were the constraints under which the translators had to work. It is easy to under-estimate the difficulty of their task if we lose sight of the fact that there was no precedent they could rely on, no established rules to follow or rebel against. The first translation—"The Naval Treaty"—would probably be condemned by source text-oriented critics and those who look for correspondence at the surface level. Through the deletion of the introductory paragraph and a series of extractions and reinsertions of material amounting to a total of three pages in the original, the translator succeeded in restructuring the triple-layered narrative containing long sections of flashbacks in the form of dialogue to a chronological and single-layered one.[16] Moreover, Watson's role as the narrator is taken over by an omniscient voice. However, if one focuses less on the original text and more on the process of translation (or communication), one cannot help but be struck by the seriousness with which the translator approached his task. The effort involved in narrative restructuring was immense; it was obviously not undertaken lightly. A

translator unconcerned about quality would not have taken the trouble (extensive deletion, for example, would have been a much simpler task), neither would a translator who did not care about reader response. This shows clearly the priority of the translator and his interpretation of his cultural role—as a cultural intermediary he was keenly aware of the limitations of traditional narrative norms, and he made a conscious decision to avoid direct conflict with such norms.

Those who have been educated to believe in the translator's invisibility will understandably take offence at such blatant interference with the text; those who understand the implications of the formulaic design of classical detective stories will complain that such interference makes the story much less interesting (Nakamura 1978: 124). The late Qing reader, however, belonged to neither category. Instead of noticing how the translation had been tailored to better conform to Chinese narrative norms, his eye would only have been caught by elements outside of his usual experience—in this case, the contents of the story. Popular fiction is by definition a form of literature which does not try to offend or confuse its mass audience (Porter 1981: 5). The introduction of a 'topsy-turvy' narrative would definitely have been confusing to 1896 Chinese readers, and that was what the translator diligently avoided.

Speedy Progress: the First-Person Narrative

We mentioned in the previous section that in the 1896 translation of "The Naval Treaty", Watson's first-person narration was replaced by that of an omnipresent narrator in an obvious attempt to avoid confusing the reader. The translator's decision of course also reveals what he subjectively considered to be the limits of reader flexibility. The case of the first-person narrative in the Holmes stories reveals clearly the rapid progress made in the acceptance of different narrative techniques. The second Holmes story serialized in *The Chinese Progress*, "The Crooked Man", approached the problem somewhat differently: by prefacing the story with the phrase "Watson again records the affairs of Holmes as follows" 滑震又記歇洛克之事云, Watson's role as narrator was nominally restored. I say nominally, because the translator exploits the Chinese practice of referring to oneself by one's own name, so that the "I" becomes here "Hua" 滑 or Watson throughout. This allows the late Qing reader a choice: without the prefaced tag at the beginning of the story, this reads like a normal Chinese narrative; read in the context of the tag, it is a first-person

narrative. The third story to be discussed here—"The Final Problem"[17]—shows a remarkable leap in the translator's estimate of reader flexibility. It follows completely the narrative method of the original, using the first-person singular pronoun *yu* 余 throughout. Thus within the space of six months, the first-person narrative had become established.

In saying so I am not suggesting that this narrative angle no longer constituted a problem for translators. As late as 1903, the translator(s) of the six stories published in *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* (published as a collection by Commercial Press in 1906 entitled *Huasheng baotan an* [*Watson's Case-book*]) decided to cut out not only all prefatory paragraphs in the stories, but also Watson's role as narrator. I would suggest, however, that at such pioneering periods, the fact that a developmental line had been traced in the translator's estimate of reader response to new technique, and the fact that a precedent had been set with "The Final Problem", is far more important than individual back-tracking. After all, translators' chosen solutions to perceived problems reveal their aptitude for as well as their attitude towards translation; deletion is, more often than not, the easiest way out. With the 1903 *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* stories, it is more a case of paring the stories down to the simple plot than any real attempt on the translator's part to solve problems related to narrative form. Compared with this later collection, the 1896 translation of "The Naval Treaty" stands out in terms of the translator's serious approach towards his task.

Manipulation and Cultural Intervention

Translators of the late Qing are often accused of being unfaithful to the original text and ignorant of Western languages and culture. In fact a culturally-oriented approach towards this body of work as *translations* rather than *belles lettres* reveals different categories of translation phenomena which are generally referred to simply as 'mistakes'. These range from overt and non-textual manipulation of reader response, to the deliberate excision or substitution of culturally problematic textual material, to unconscious substitution of Chinese norms—cultural or literary—for English ones. While one cannot deny the existence of simple and obvious mistakes (which exist in translations of *any* period), one would like to argue for a culturally sensitive approach towards the task of analysing late Qing translations, which is rich ground for exploring translation as cultural negotiation.

The most obvious non-textual manipulation of reader response is

represented by messages given to readers in the translation prefaces. It must be pointed out that not many available translations of English detective stories have substantial prefatory material. Those that do indicate that the translators took their task seriously. The best examples are the three prefaces and one colophon attached to *The Complete Stories of Sherlock Holmes* (1916), which stressed either the educational goal of the author or at least that of the stories. That Doyle should have been credited with using detective fiction to fulfil a social and educational mission is indicative of how contemporary Chinese issues are 'mirrored' in the fiction translation movement (for details see Hung 1997: 48–49). The editor's preface to Lin Shu's translation of *A Study in Scarlet* points in another direction: the avenger in Doyle's story was compared to the King of Yue in ancient China who endured numerous hardships for twenty years to bring about the final annihilation of his enemy. Despite the fact that this avenger committed two murders, he was to be admired for his outstanding courage and perseverance (Chen 1908: 1). Such statements were in line with the norms governing fiction of the time and their frequent repetition reinforced the desired pattern of reader reception.

An example of subconscious cultural intervention is the interference of norms carried over from the traditional *gongan* (court cases) fiction, in which the question 'whodunit' is far less important than the question 'how does the judge solve it'. In the majority of *gongan* fiction the identity of the culprit is known from the beginning; in English detective stories this is far from the case. Since the Chinese translations follow the stories' plots faithfully, there should not have been much ground for interference from the local tradition, and yet the tradition shows its influence unmistakably. In fifteen of the translations of Holmes stories listed in the Appendix (underlined), the answer to the mystery is given away even before the story begins—through the Chinese titles. Take for example "The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle": of the three late Qing and early Republican translations two are entitled respectively "The Case of the Sapphire in the Belly of the Goose" and "The Gemstone Swallowed by a Goose". Examples of works by other authors include such titles as "The Case of the Jealous Woman Murdering Her Husband".[18]

It would seem that the translators were not concerned about giving the story away, and did not expect their readers to be upset by this translation approach. Their attitude can best be explained in the context of traditional Chinese stories of detection. One should also take note of the fact that the Holmes stories were repeatedly recommended as texts to be studied by detectives in order for them to acquire superior methods of investigation—the

emphasis is again on the course of the investigation rather than on the identity of the culprit. Thus, what would have been inconceivable in the tradition of classical English detective fiction was acceptable according to the traditional norms of the Chinese *gongan* as well as the utilitarian framework set up by Chinese translators of the period. I am not suggesting that the translators deliberately gave the plot away; the fact that it did not occur to them to guard the element of suspense shows clearly how their perception was framed by traditional norms as well as contemporary concerns.

There are also cases of cultural interference which are deliberate, one obvious example being the translators' presentation of women of strong character. In "The Naval Treaty", for example, the protagonist's fiancée Ann Harrison is described in various ways as an exceptional woman: she writes a strong hand—like a man's (Doyle 1981A: 448); she is not tall, has a beautiful olive complexion, large, dark Italian eyes and thick black hair (449); after their first meeting both Holmes and Watson describe her as "a girl of strong character" (457). Here the translators are faced with a double problem: appearance *and* personality. Traditional Chinese culture has a set of norms—indeed a special vocabulary—for female beauty as well as feminine behaviour, and it was to these that the translator turned. The woman becomes, in the 1916 Chinese version,

> quite beautiful, with a *snow-white complexion, soft and dewy like congealed lard, and shiny* black eyes which look Italian. *Her gentle glance bespeaks charm* and her luxuriant black curly hair *which covers her forehead* is particularly appealing.
> 貌頗昳麗・膚色雪白・柔膩如凝脂・雙眸點漆・似意大利種・斜波流媚・輕盈動人・而鬈髮壓額・厥色深墨・狀尤美觀 (*Complete Stories*, 1916, Vol. 7: 56. My italics).[19]

The 1896 *Chinese Progress* translator had adopted a very different approach towards the description of Ann Harrison, thus revealing unwittingly the extent of this cultural problem. He presents a physical description which follows closely the words in the source text, with dramatically different results: she is short and stout, with a face like an olive, dark eyes like Italians, and jet black hair 身矮而壯・面如橄欖・睛黑如意大利人・髮如漆色 (18b). The southern European kind of beauty found so often in English popular fiction becomes extremely unattractive in Chinese terms. Both translators were conditioned in their reception and presentation of Ann Harrison by traditional Chinese cultural expectations: the one who was concerned about presenting

her as an acceptable heroine made her fair, slender and delicate; the one who was more concerned about descriptive details had to discount her beauty altogether.

One is tempted to label such cases of translation discrepancy resulting from conscious or subconscious cultural intervention 'logical misrepresentation' because they present elements which are different or absent from the original, and yet which make perfect sense in the receiving culture. If one stretches the point further, one may say that a good number of verbal misinterpretations in translations of this period can be called 'logical misinterpretation' provided that the mistake is made in such a way as to blend easily into the logic of the TL narrative. This kind of misinterpretation differs significantly from straightforward verbal errors in that while the latter are related largely to the question of individual competence, the former are signposts indicating the specific difficulties involved in the task of cultural transfer in any given period.

One might even suggest that in translations of the period under study, translation discrepancies which conform to the logic of the TL text are an indicator as to how seriously the translator approached the task of fiction translation. The quality of a translation depends on the aptitude as well as the attitude of the translator, and not every translator is equally endowed in both departments. Whether a translator makes mistakes is largely a matter of competence; whether he takes his job seriously enough to try his best to rationalize whatever seems untidy or illogical is a matter of attitude. In this sense, though 'logical misrepresentation' and 'logical misinterpretation' may still be classified as 'mistakes', they reveal a positive side of the translators which is seldom studied.

Judgement by Assumption

Critics' preoccupation with the moral and literary value of translated fiction meant that even in terms of quality evaluation of the translations, their judgement was not unbiased. In the case of detective fiction, one excellent example is the critical verdict on Lin Shu's detective fiction translations, suggesting that he lost his magic touch when he dealt with this sub-genre (quoted in Chen 1989: 34; Zheng 1924: 187). Given the fact that Lin Shu translated close to two hundred pieces of fiction of varied length and quality, and that his collaborators were by no means of a uniform standard, it is only to be expected that the standard of the translations also varied. The variation,

however, was not conditioned by the type of story he translated. Lin's best known translations of detective fiction are Arthur Conan Doyle's *A Study in Scarlet* (*Xieluoke qi an kaichang*) and Arthur Morrison's *Martin Hewitt* (*Shenshu guizang lu*).[20] Had the critic been less confined by preconceptions about detective fiction, he would have realized that Lin's version of *A Study in Scarlet* rivals any of his better known works.

Another example of how evaluation of late Qing translated fiction was purely author- and canon-oriented is the fact that one of the most significant works in terms of setting a translation standard has been ignored because the work concerned—the 1916 *Fuermosi zhentan an quanji* (*Complete Stories of Sherlock Holmes*)—is detective fiction. This twelve-volume collection is a representative example of a serious translation and editorial approach towards fiction translation: transliteration is standardized; in addition to a detailed biography of the author, there are three prefaces and a colophon to the collection; all English proper names appear alongside the transliteration in the biography; all stories have the English title printed under the Chinese one. This no doubt testifies to Arthur Conan Doyle's status among turn-of-the-century translators and readers, but more importantly, in terms of the development of literary translation this work set a standard.

Recent developments in descriptive translation studies have led to a re-evaluation of the social and cultural role of translation activities, a role which was at the core of late Qing literary translation work. If one were to compare fiction translations of this period with work done in the 1930s and 1940s, one would easily detect diametrically opposite approaches towards translation. Those who are familiar with the works of such 1940s translators as Dong Qiusi and Jiang Tianzuo—or indeed with the works of our contemporaries—would know that mistakes occur in all these works. Thus it is not 'mistakes' as such which caused displeasure among the critics, but rather the late Qing approach towards translation, an approach which in contemporary translation studies terms would have been classified under the 'Manipulation School'.

A Case for Re-evaluation

The late Qing and early Republican period has been proven statistically to be the most active period in terms of fiction translation into Chinese (Shi 1990: 18), yet in the last three quarters of this century little attention has been paid to the translation work of this period. The translators of the period who

are mentioned at all are mostly those who have established a name for themselves outside of their late Qing translation activities—in the mainstream of traditional Chinese culture or alternatively as members of the New Literature Movement.

I would argue that this phenomenon reveals clearly the relationship between a nation's ideological and literary norms and the status of translators and translated work. Our assessment of the importance of any given translation is conditioned by: 1) the translator's status in the translation's receiving culture; 2) the receiving culture's perceived needs, whether ideological or literary, at that particular point in history; 3) the literary norms current at the time of assessment. Translations done in historically critical periods are particularly vulnerable to fluctuations in the above factors, for such periods are often witness to drastic social and cultural changes. These changes inevitably give rise to different kinds of needs, and lead to the adoption or development of new ideological and literary norms, which in turn redefine the status of many translators and their works.

The late Qing and early Republican era is a typical example of such a historically critical period. The beginning and the end of the two decades in question witnessed two revolutions in terms of literary and cultural norms. The works on which this paper is based are sandwiched between the first revolution (i.e. the reassessment of the status of fiction and its social role in the late 1890s) and the second (i.e. the New Literature Movement of 1919). Given the fact that the first revolution in literary norms was a reshuffling or readjustment of traditional values and practices to cater to the perceived needs of the nation, while the second revolution aimed at uprooting all traditional values and practices, including the traditional literary language, one can see how drastically the three above mentioned factors changed. To put it simply, translations done in this period were deprived of their social and literary context after the New Literature Movement, thus cutting out any support late Qing translations would have received from factors 2 and 3 mentioned above. While someone with an extremely high literary status—such as Lin Shu—can survive on the strength of factor 1 alone, lesser known translators are swept away by the tides of change.

As a group, translators of the late Qing are often accused of being unfaithful to the original text and ignorant of Western literature and culture, conclusions which are formulated on the foundation of post-New Literature Movement ideas about the Western literary canon and literary translation. The cultural requirements and the social context of the time of

translation are often conveniently overlooked—an attitude which is part of the legacy of the New Literature Movement which sought to reinforce the values it propounded by negating all elements of the tradition it rebelled against.

Perhaps it is inevitable that our assessment of the immediate past is always strongly coloured by our prejudices and preoccupations. As either the inheritor of its legacy or the destroyer of its foundations, we have an agenda too closely connected to the immediate past for us to form a clear and objective view. Thus it is with the post-New Literature Chinese assessment of the turn-of-the-century translations. It is therefore fitting that we at the end of the twentieth century should now look back at the translation activities of a century ago, finally free from the birth pains and power struggle associated with the emergence of a new written language and a new literature, to take stock of what our predecessors have done. Even as we recognize the fact that many of the works translated in the late Qing fall outside of the Western literary canon, we should also realize that this does not necessarily reflect badly on the literary judgement of late Qing translators, and it most certainly does not reflect badly on their ability and attitude towards translation. After all, the Western canon was not their major concern, and critics of a later generation who try to tag the value of these translations to the canonical reputation of the original authors sadly miss the point. Late Qing translators and their work should be judged on their own merits, not the least being their contribution towards cultural transfer within a specific period in history.

Notes

1. In *The English Novel in the Magazines 1740–1815*, Robert Mayo offers a comprehensive examination of the various English periodicals in which longer works of fiction were serialized, as well as the nature of these works. See Mayo 1962, particularly the "Catalogue of Magazine Novels and Novelettes", pp. 432–620.
2. Arthur Conan Doyle decided to put an end to the Holmes stories with "The Final Problem" in 1893 and was stunned by the public response. He later bowed to public demand and resurrected Holmes in 1901.
3. This is not an exercise in intellectual or social snobbery, as the following arguments will show. However, a number of detective fiction writers, notably Dorothy L. Sayers, show a tendency towards snobbery which may be related to the social standing of their target readership.
4. Two well-known examples are W.H. Auden who calls it "an addiction like tobacco

or alcohol", and T.S. Eliot, who was fond of reciting passages from the Sherlock Holmes stories (Ackroyd 1984: 167). He used Doyle's Professor Moriarty ("The Final Problem") as the basis for his Macavity Cat (*Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, London: Faber & Faber, 1915) and quoted the riddle in "The Musgrave Ritual" almost word-for-word in his *Murder in the Cathedral* (London: Faber & Faber 1938). Writers of detective fiction include university dons and a Poet Laureate (Cecil Day-Lewis writing as Nicholas Blake).

5. For differences between traditional Chinese *gongan* stories and Western detective fiction, see Robert H. Van Gulik, "Translator's Preface", *Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee* (New Hampshire: Ayer Co., 1984; reprint of 1949 Tokyo first edition), and Donald F. Lach's Introduction to Robert Van Gulik, *The Chinese Bell Murders* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 10–11.
6. First published in *Strand* magazine October–November 1893; collected in *The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes*, first English edition 1894. See Appendix for first publication dates of other stories.
7. The book is no longer available but it is mentioned in Gu Yanguang's *Xiaoshuo jingyan lu* and Yan Bansheng's *Xiaoshuo xianping*, under slightly different titles. Nakamura convincingly establishes the identity of this title in Nakamura 1978: 121–122. It was reprinted by Wenming shuju in 1903.
8. It is recorded that gentlemen of the City wore black arm-bands to mourn Holmes' demise, and Doyle received thousands of letters protesting against his cruelty (Doyle 1981A: 192).
9. Incidentally, Suyin Bookstore also published the first edition of Lin Shu's translation of *La Dame aux camélias* in 1899. Lin Shu mentions that the Suyin edition of *La Dame* was attached to *New Translations of Detective Stories* (Lin 1908: 2). Since the volume is unavailable, the precise way of attachment is unclear.
10. Liang Qichao wrote in *The Chinese Progress* in 1897 that fiction could be used to propagate the Way and to narrate historical events, thereby changing the customs of the people (quoted in Yuan 1992: 29). This advocation predates his more famous call for "a new fiction" (Liang 1897).
11. First published in 1899; reprinted in 1902 and 1903.
12. Information gleaned from Wang et al 1995 and Nakamura 1979. Sources of information on authors include: Symons 1991, Craig 1990, Nakamura 1979. Oppenheim did not begin writing detective fiction until around 1904, which shows that some Chinese translators had almost immediate access to contemporary English detective fiction. The publication dates of turn-of-the-century Chinese translations of Doyle's works (see Appendix) tell a similar story. Oppenheim was one of the most prolific writers of this sub-genre, and certainly one of the biggest sellers (Symons 1991: 200).

    In terms of number of works translated into Chinese, William le Queux was very popular, but he was not just a detective fiction writer. In fact most English detective fiction writers, including Doyle, straddled a number of fiction sub-genres—adventure and history being the most common.

    The only case of translation via Japanese is the Thorndyke cases by Richard Austin Freeman.
13. Of all available direct translations on record only two (see Nakamura 1978: 144, 1979: 268) are in the vernacular.
14. The best collection of translations is undoubtedly the 1916 *Complete Stories*, but even in this collection, some translations are distinctly weaker than others. One example is its version of *The Hound of the Baskervilles*.
15. Most scholars credit Zhang Kunde, a reporter for *The Chinese Progress*, with these translations, but extant records show at least two names have been mentioned in connection with translations of Holmes stories in *The Chinese Progress* (Nakamura 1979: 123). Based on an analysis of translation approach one can safely conclude that more than one person was involved in translating these four stories. See section on first-person narrative for details.
16. In terms of narrative structure "The Naval Treaty" is one of the most complicated Holmes short stories. From this point of view, it is difficult to see why it was chosen as the first story to be translated. The only reason that comes to mind is the vaguely political interest involved because of the lost object—a defence treaty between two European nations.
17. The third translation serialized, "A Case of Identity" from the collection *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, is not available for analysis.
18. Published in *Yueyue xiaoshuo* No. 6 (1907), translated by Zhou Guisheng.
19. Incidentally this is not a problem unique to late Qing translators. A 1927 *baihua* translation in the *Complete Stories of Sherlock Holmes* (Shanghai: Shiji shuju) edited by Cheng Xiaoqing, and a 1990s popular edition of the same story (Hong Kong: Hongguang shuju, n.d.; possibly a reprint of earlier *baihua* translations) both show exactly the same kind of cultural interference in the depiction of Miss Harrison's appearance and character.
20. Lin Shu translated seven of Doyle's full length novels with the help of Wei Yi (six) and Zeng Zonggong (one); *A Study in Scarlet* is the only detective story. Critics of a later generation have lamented Lin's choice of and fascination with 'second-rate' writers such as Rider Haggard. Though Doyle's name has not been mentioned in this regard, the amount of work Lin has done in relation to Doyle shows clearly that Lin was fascinated by his writing. With the obvious examples of Haggard and Doyle, one can safely conclude that Lin Shu was particularly attracted to adventure stories. Given that preference, Lin's choice of material for translation was not undiscerning: both Haggard and Doyle were considered excellent writers of this sub-genre.

    With thirty-two titles published in Chinese translations in the period under discussion, Doyle was the most popular foreign writer in turn-of-the-century China.

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Appendix

Original	*Year of Translation*	*Translator*	*Translated Title*
1887 *A Study in Scarlet*	1904	黃人（摩西）、奚若	大復仇
	1904	陳彥	恩仇血
	1905	周瘦鵑	血書
	1906	佚名	福爾摩斯偵探案第一案
	1908	林紓	歇洛克奇案開場
1890 *The Sign of Four*	1903	稽長康、吳夢鬯	唯一偵探譚四名案
	1904	商務印書館編譯所	案中案
	1916	劉半儂	佛國寶, collected in B
The following stories are in *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*			
1891.7 A Scandal in Bohemia	1908	警察學生	跋海渺王照相片, collected in E
	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	情影, collected in B
1891.8 The Red-headed League	1901	湯心存、戴鴻藁	紅髮案, collected in D
	1909	鄭健人、陶報癖	紅髮會奇案，揚子江小說報
	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	紅髮會, collected in B
1891.9 A Case of Identity	1897.4-5	張坤德/丁楊杜	繼父誑女破案, 時務報, collected in H
	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	怪新郎, collected in B
1891.10 The Boscombe Valley Mystery	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	弒父, collected in B
1891.11 The Five Orange Pips	1908	警察學生	3K 字橘核案, collected in E
	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	五橘核, collected in B
1891.12 The Man with the Twisted Lip	1908	警察學生	僞乞丐案, collected in E
	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	丐者許彭, collected in B
1892.1 The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle	1908	警察學生	鵝腹藍寶石案, collected in E
	1915.1	雪生	鵝嗉寶石，小說月報
	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	藍寶石, collected in B
1892.2 The Adventure of the Speckled Band	1901	黃鼎、張在新	毒蛇案, collected in D
	1916.4	常覺、陳小蝶	毒帶, collected in B
	1916.11-12	袁若庸	毒帶，小說月報
1892.3 The Adventure of the Engineer's Thumb	1908	警察學生	修機斷指案, collected in E
	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	機師之指, collected in B
1892.4 The Adventure of the Noble Bachelor	1908	警察學生	貴胄失妻案, collected in E
	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	怪新娘, collected in B
1982.5 The Adventure of the Beryl Coronet	1901	黃鼎、張在新	寶石冠, collected in D
	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	翡翠冠, collected in B
1892.6 The Adventure of the Copper Beeches	1908	警察學生	親父囚女案, collected in E
	1916	常覺、陳小蝶	金絲髮, collected in B
The following stories are in *Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes*			
1892.12 The Adventure of Silver Blaze	1903	商務編譯所	銀光馬案, collected in A
	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天侔)	失馬得馬, collected in B
1893.1 The Adventure of the Cardboard Box*			

1893.2 The Adventure of the Yellow Face	1903	商務編譯所	孀婦匿女案, collected in A
	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天侔)	窗中人面, collected in B
1893.3 The Adventure of the Stockbroker's Clerk	1903	商務編譯所	書記被騙案, collected in A
	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天侔)	傭書被紿, collected in B
1893.4 The Adventure of the 'Gloria Scott'	1903	商務編譯所	哥利亞司考得船案, collected in A
	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天侔)	孤舟浩劫, collected in B
1893.5 The Adventure of the Musgrave Ritual	1903	商務編譯所	麥斯夸夫典禮案, collected in A
	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天侔)	窟中寶, collected in B
1893.6 The Adventure of the Reigate Squires	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天侔)	午夜槍聲, collected in B
1893.7 The Adventure of the Crooked Man	1896.11	張坤德/丁楊杜	記傴者復仇事, 時務報, collected in H
	1916	程小青	僂背眩人, collected in B
1893.8 The Adventure of the Resident Patient	1903	商務編譯所	旅居病夫案, collected in A
	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天侔)	客邸病夫, collected in B
1893.9 The Adventure of the Greek Interpreter	1901	黃鼎、張在新	希臘舌人, collected in D
	1916	程小青	希臘舌人, collected in B
1893.10-11 The Adventure of the Naval Treaty	1896.9-10	張坤德/丁楊杜	英包探勘盜密約案, 時務報, collected in H
	1916	程小青	海軍密約, collected in B
1893.12 The Adventure of the Final Problem	1897	張坤德/丁楊杜	呵爾唔斯組案被戕, 時務報, collected in H
	1907	白侶鴻	福爾摩斯最後之奇案
	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天侔)	懸崖撒手, collected in B
1901.8-1902.4 *The Hound of the Baskervilles*	1905.2	陸康華、黃大鈞	降妖記
	1905.9	人鏡學社編譯處	怪獒案
	1916	陳霆銳	獒祟, collected in B
The following stories are in *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*			
1903.10 The Adventure of the Empty House	1904	奚若	再生第一案, collected in F
	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天侔)	絳市重蘇, collected in B
1903.11 The Adventure of the Norwood Builder	1904	奚若	亞特克焚屍案, collected in F
	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天侔)	火中秘計, collected in B
1903.12 The Adventure of the Dancing Men	1906	奚若	密碼被殺案, collected in F
	1916	常覺、天虛我生 (陳栩)	壁上奇書, collected in B
1904.1 The Adventure of the Solitary Cyclist	1904	奚若	郤爾登乘自轉車案, collected in F
	1916	常覺、天虛我生	碧巷雙車, collected in B
1904.2 The Adventure of the Priory School	1904	奚若	麥克來登之小學校奇案, collected in F
	1916	常覺、天虛我生	隰原蹄跡, collected in B
1904.3 The Adventure of Black Peter	1906	奚若	黑彼得被殺案, collected in F
	1916	常覺、天虛我生	隔廉髯影, collected in B
1904.4 The Adventure of Charles Augustus Milverton	1904	奚若	宓爾逢登之被螫案, collected in F
	1916	常覺、天虛我生	室內鎗聲, collected in B
1904.5 The Adventure of the Six Napoleons	1904	周桂笙 (知新子)	歇洛克復生偵探案, collected in C
	1906	奚若	毀拿破侖像案, collected in F
	1916	常覺、天虛我生	剖腹藏珠, collected in B

1904.6 The Adventure of the Three Students	1906 1916	奚若 常覺、天虛我生	陸聖書院竊題案, collected in F 赤心護主, collected in B
1904.7 The Adventure of the Gold Pince-nez	1906 1916	奚若 常覺、天虛我生	虛無黨案, collected in F 雪窖沉冤, collected in B
1904.8 The Adventure of the Missing Three-Quarter	1916	嚴獨鶴 (天倖)	荒村輪影, collected in B
1904.9 The Adventure of the Abbey Grange	1916	常覺、天虛我生	情天決死, collected in B
1904.12 The Adventure of the Second Stain	1916	常覺、天虛我生	掌中倩影, collected in B
1914.9-1915.5 *The Valley of Fear*	1914.11- 1915.6 1916	常覺、陳小蝶 程小青	恐怖窟，禮拜六 罪藪, collected in B
The following stories are in *His Last Bow*			
1908.12 The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans	1916	陳霆銳	竊圖案, collected in B
1910.12 The Adventure of the Devil's Foot	1915.6 1912.12 1916	倪灝森、儀鄦 楊心一 程小青	康南虛惡怖案，小說叢報 鬼腳草，小說時報 魔足, collected in B
1911.3-4 The Adventure of the Red Circle	1916	漁火	紅圈會, collected in B
1913.12 The Adventure of the Dying Detective	1916	周瘦鵑	病詭, collected in B
Others			
The Story of the Man with the Watches	1915	劉半儂	一身六表之疑案，小說大觀
Original Unidentified	1906	鴛水不因人	深淺印[1]
	1906	楊心一譯述	秘密黨[2]
	1906	馬汝賢	黃金骨, collected in G[3]
	1906	馬汝賢	華爾金剛鑽, collected in G
	1912.2	甘作霖	福爾摩斯偵探案，小說月報
	1914.9-10	水心、儀	潛艇圖，小說叢報[4]

*Not included in the first edition of *Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes.*
[1] "The Adventure of the Second Stain?"
[2] "The Adventure of the Gold Pince-nez"?
[3] Not by Arthur Conan Doyle.
[4] "The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans"?
A: 商務印書館編譯所:《華生包探案》, 上海商務印書館, 1906 (六案), 首見於《繡像小說》
B: 《福爾摩斯偵探案全集》, 十二冊, 上海中華書局, 1916.5 (四十四案)。
C: 《最新偵探案匯刊》, 新民叢報社, 1906。
D: 黃鼎、張在新:《泰西小說叢書》, 1901。
E: 警察學生:《續譯華生包探案》, 1908 (七案)。
F: 奚若、周桂笙等譯:《福爾摩斯再生後探案》, 四冊, 上海小說林社, 1904-1906.8 (十案)。
G: 馬汝賢: 黃金骨, 上海小說林社, 1906.8 (二案)。
H: 《新譯包探案》, 上海: 素隱書局, 1899 (四案)。

Jules Verne, Science Fiction and Related Matters

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Editor's note

Readers of this paper should prepare themselves for not finding a thesis in it. The 'related matters' in the title may be taken as a coded message that it does not have a single focus either. In fact it is like a walk through a translation garden, and it ends simply with a closing of the gate. Despite misgivings due to its unconventionality, I have decided to include it in this volume because in going from one thing to another it touches on facets of the translation scene not pointed out elsewhere.

The 19th century was the age of inventions. Following the great expansion in scientific knowledge and the growth of learned societies that propagated such knowledge, instruments that drew for their function on new sources of energy and new knowledge of optics, hydraulics, chemistry, metallurgy, etc., were invented and rapidly put to practical use. Alongside laboratory science went geographical and archaeological explorations that redrew the maps of the world and rewrote its history, while astronomical observations discovered undreamed-of secrets of outer space. At the same time Darwin's theory of evolution not only transformed people's notions about the creation of life on earth but also gave rise to speculation about its future.

It was inevitable that all this mental activity and all these physical inventions should have found their way into imaginative literature, and given rise to a new genre, 'science fiction'. Science fiction's boundaries are hard to define, but we may deduce from the name that science fiction is opposed to science fact: it stands for projection into an as yet unknown future, just as legends look backward to an unknown past (the exception being the discovery