

Lin Shu's Unidentified Translations of Western Literature

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Abstract: Lin Shu, the well-known scholar who introduced Western literature in China at the end of the Qing Dynasty, left behind a staggering amount of works translated over a period of twenty-six years. This titanic labor could not have been achieved without the assistance of his cotranslators, who orally rendered the original texts into spoken Chinese, just to be immediately translated into classical Chinese by Lin Shu. This paper provides accurate identification of twenty of the remaining fifty-five translations of the Lin Shu *corpus* whose original work is unknown. Based upon these new findings, we advance an asymmetric reading of Lin Shu's translations, emphasizing the role of his cotranslators in the quality of the final product.

Recent scholarship has started to emphasize the relevance of Lin Shu 林纾 (1852-1924) in the evolution and reform of Modern Chinese Literature. Viewed as an old-fashioned and vulgar¹ by the May Fourth devotees during his lifetime, criticism began to fade soon after his death and those who whilom held him in disdain, became his most respected panegyrists. Thus, Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967) called him master and regretted that “looking back we were an arrogant and lazy youth” 回头一看我们趾高气扬而懒惰的青年 that did not recognize Lin Shu's literary achievements:

他在中国文学上的功绩是不可泯没的。[...]他介绍外国文学，虽然用了斑马的古文，其努力与成绩决不在任何人之下。

His merits and accomplishments in Chinese literature cannot be dismissed. [...] He introduced foreign literature and, although he used the classical language of Ban Gu and Sima Qian, his effort and achievements are in no way lesser than those of any other person².

Although not so well-known for his copious amount of short novelettes³, Lin Shu's literary production exercised a major influence on his contemporaries through his popular translations. Su Xuelin 苏雪林 (1897-1999), the famous female scholar who was both disciple of Hu Shi 胡适 (1891-1962) and opponent of Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936), recalls how Lin Shu's works constituted most of her former education⁴ at a time when girls barely attended school (something Lin Shu tirelessly advocated in his works translations)⁵. Likewise, his first translated work, *Bali chahua nü yishi* 巴黎茶花女遗事 (Dumas's *La Dame aux Camélias*, 1848), self-published in February, 1899⁶, together with *Jiayin* 迦茵 (Haggard's *Joan Haste*, 1895), published in March, 1905, were considered by some scholars the true creators of Literary

Revolution, according to Beijing University professor Chen Yuan 陈原 (1896-1970), a friend of Hu Shi⁷.

Although starting late in his career, Lin Shu managed to translate at 59 historical articles⁸, Haberlandt's *Völkerkunde*⁹, and 350 individual stories and novels¹⁰, a startling number, especially given his other multiple occupations, which included conferences, essays, education, and painting. Amongst the former, there are fifty-five translations of novels and historical works (plus two untitled works) whose author and/or original title remain unidentified. The present paper provides accurate identification of nineteen translations and a tentative identification of a lost work, together with a comparison between the opening lines of the Chinese and original texts (or translations, when these were employed). The classical *quandian* 圈点 punctuation has been preserved. Since there is confusion as to which novels remain unidentified, we offer an appendix with complete bibliographic information of the remaining thirty-one translations, a brief enumeration of most recently identified works, and two novels, one article and one conference authored by Lin Shu which have often been mistaken with literary translations. Finally, a number of drafts for unpublished translations, which were believed to have perished in a fire during the Shanghai War of 1932¹¹, were in fact preserved and donated by Lin Shu's second wife Yang Yu 杨鬱 (1874-?) to the Beijing Library (later National Library) in 1955. They have been indicated with the abbreviation YY and their library record number. These drafts are stored in the Ancient Books Library of the previous site of the National Library of Peiping. Nine were published by Li Jiaji¹², Lin Shu's son-in-law, and four remained unseen¹³.

Finally, relying on these new texts, I provide a brief reevaluation of Lin Shu's translations: Firstly, his translations should not be taken as a monolithic, uniform whole, but they should be assembled in blocks according to the cotranslator who helped him. This classification may help us to understand the deficiencies in some of his works, especially if we consider that, after 1913, many of his translations could be revisions of works translated by his collaborators¹⁴. Likewise, taking into consideration the different voices of his cotranslators that he heard when rendering foreign names into classical Chinese, we may gain insight into the identities of the authors of the remaining unidentified works.

Comparative collation of newly identified translations

Kenan Dali 柯南达利, "Xiaofang qie" 小方篋, with Chen Jialin 陈家麟, in *Shibao* 时报 (May 28-June 6, 1911): 2. Illustrated.

Arthur Conan Doyle, "That Little Square Box," in *London Society* 40 (December, 1881): 52-64.

哈蛮得曰。吾附一轮船将啓航。船主谓诸舵工及估客曰。君辈均登舟不落后矣。舵工之长曰。众集矣。时为礼拜三侵晨九句钟。船名曰斯巴达。停于伯司滕。载物及客至夥。汽笛发声者可二次。已而钟动。船唇之嚮。直趣英伦。船旁冷水机之口出气如蒸计程归英。海里可三千哩¹⁵之远。观者见此船离埠就海。迅控之状。直若猎狗之扑兽。

‘ALL aboard?’ said the captain.

‘All aboard, sir!’ said the mate.

‘Then stand by to let her go.’

It was nine o’clock on a Wednesday morning. The good ship Spartan was lying off Boston Quay with her cargo under hatches, her passengers shipped, and everything prepared for a start. The warning whistle had been sounded twice; the final bell had been rung. Her bowsprit was turned towards England, and the hiss of escaping steam showed that all was ready for her run of three thousand miles. She strained at the warps that held her like a greyhound at its leash.

Uncredited, “Shiwan yuan” 十万元, in *Zhendān* 震旦, 3 (April, 1913): 193-201¹⁶.

Jacques Futrelle, “The Tragedy of the Life Raft,” in *The Popular Magazine* 25/2 (August 1, 1912): 54-63.

有一目彼得阿武威，居秘室中治事，倥偬如不胜其劬，顾其人状，颇轻儇，而室中亦坚素无华饰，尘满其牕，墙间亦无壁衣之属，地上甃甃已破。案亦粗笨，仅足作书。而已与之联座者，为书记安波利人，已中年治事之勤，亦如彼得然，唇薄而掀厥状如狗。

’Twas a shabby picture altogether—old Peter Ordway in his office; the man shriveled, bent, cadaverous, aquiline of feature, with skin like parchment, and cunning, avaricious eyes; the room gaunt and curtainless, with smoke-grimed windows, dusty, cheerless walls, and threadbare carpet, worn through here and there to the rough flooring beneath. Peter Ordway sat in a swivel chair in front of an ancient roll-top desk. Opposite, at a typewriter upon a table of early vintage, was his secretary—one Walpole, almost a replica in middle age of his employer, seedy and servile, with lips curled sneeringly as a dog’s.

Xiluo 希洛, “Luosha cifeng” 罗刹雌风, with Li Shuxuan 力树蕙, in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月报 4/1-4 (April-August, 1913): [49-67, 59-79, 57-74, and 69-85]. Illustrated with a prologue.

Headon Hill (ps. of Francis Edward Grainger), *A Hair’s Breadth. A novel* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1897).

俄国京城暗探队。警监古登那弥司方居密室中治事。其人勤於职守。晨夕鹿鹿。今日乃愈旁午。时皇帝方将游历欧洲。国中已喧传其事。道行事颇危险。以少帝新行大婚。出狩拥卫之责皆古登任之。

GENERAL GRANOVITCH, the chief of the Russian secret police – the dreaded “Third Section” – sat writing in the private room of his bureau on the Nevski Project. A busy man always, he was busier than ever that day. On the morrow of his Imperial master was to

commence the tour which for months had been the talk of Europe, and on Ivan Granovitch's shoulders lay the responsibility for the safety of the young Tsar and his stately bride.

Deluoni 德罗尼, "Yi hei" 义黑, with Liao Xiukun 廖琇崑, in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 4/5-6 (September-October, 1913): [47-63, and 35-58]. Illustrated.

C.E. Bowen (uncredited), *Daph la n égresse, traduction libre par Mme. Elisabeth Delauney*, trans. Élisabeth Delauney (Paris, 1873).

在西方之殖民地。有巨島焉。去著书者之前八十餘年。一日为午后。凉风吹入广廈之寢室中。窗巨而门闢。风力遂直达而无沮。而洞明之月影。

Dans une île des colonies occidentales, il y a de cela plus de soixante ans, la brise du soir pénétrait fraîche et pure dans une vaste chambre à coucher.

Les larges fenêtres sans châssis, et les persiennes grandes ouvertes offraient une libre entrée à cet air vivifiant, et aux douces clartés de la lune qui se reflétaient sur un parquet ciré

Laoxi Woni 老昔倭尼, "Qing tie" 情铁, with Wang Qingtong 王庆通, in *Zhonghua xiaoshuo jie* 中华小说界 1/1-5 (January-May, 1914): [69-103, 71-106, 83-106, 75-94, and 77-98]. Illustrated.

Georges Ohnet, *Le Maître de forges* (Paris, 1882).

一千八百八十年。十月一日。天气晴明。有少年人。衣猎衣。人至清整。据巨橡之根而坐。橡樹之阴。直覆愈夏之斜陂。有棕色西班牙之狗。臥於少年坐处。数步之外。纤草之間。目耿耿然视主人。似请示其进止。

Par une claire journée du mois d'octobre 1880, un jeune homme, vêtu d'un élégant costume de chasse, était assis à la lisière d'un de ces beaux bois de chênes qui couvrent de leur ombre fraîche les premières pentes du Jura. Un grand chien épagneul marron, couché dans la bruyère à quelques pas de son maître, fixait sur lui ses yeux attentifs, semblant demander si on n'allait pas bientôt repartir.

Hu Gangwei 鵠刚伟, "Yunpo yuelai yuan" 云破月來缘, with Hu Chaoliang 胡朝梁, in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 6/5-9 (May-September, 1915): [59-77, 55-72, 61-82, 73-91, and 67-81], with a prologue by Lin Shu.

Hugh Conway (ps. of Frederyck John Fergus), *Called Back* (Bristol, 1883).

作者曰。余之著书。盖有所缘起。苟非余书。则世界中将不审兹事之所以然。余有执友一人。凡余半世事迹。吾友咸历历知之。余曾告吾友。勿以吾事告人。余友许诺。后此竟泄之一人。且附会其词。其友又辗转告人。则增讹传谬。愈不可问。实则此事

传布至於何人而止。余不得而悉。然吾友泄吾事後。凡余邻右亲知。悉其事者。咸谓余為历史中有关键者。且於庸庸常常中。竟指为离离奇奇之事。

I have a reason for writing this tale, or it would not become public property.

Once, in a moment of confidence, I made a friend acquainted with some curious circumstances connected with one period of my life. I believe I asked him to hold his tongue about them—he says not. Anyway, he told another friend, with embellishments I suspect; this friend told another, and so on and on. What the tale grew to at last I shall probably never learn; but since I was weak enough to trust my private affairs to another I have been looked upon by my neighbours as a man with a history—one who has a romance hidden away beneath an outwardly prosaic life.

Shashibiya 莎士比亚, “Oushi yiwen: Luoma Keyesi zhuan” 欧史遗闻·罗马克野司传, with Chen Jialin, in *Yaxiya bao* 亚细亚日报 1-24 (September 10-October 3, 1915): 8b¹⁷.

William Shakespeare, “Coriolanus,” in *Historical Tales from Shakespeare*, ed. A. T. Quiller-Couch, (London: Edward Arnold, 1899), 9-38.

纪元前之五百年。罗马有一人。为贵族遗胄。名克野司马哈司。其先曰安卡司马哈司。曾履罗马帝位。而克野司以皇族贵人。称之曰圣西雷那司。以克野司于罗马共和时。曾兩任都领。共和都领为一时枢。要之职。尚有一人。名拍不里亞司。与魁因他司。亦安卡司之裔胄。与圣西雷那司為一姓。同跻显仕。其人怀利物之心。濬一清泉之道入城。供城人吸饮。于是罗马人匪不以此一姓为闻家。而马哈司家子弟。颇骄蹇。

FIVE hundred years before the birth of Christ there lived in Rome a man of noble family named Caius Marcius. One of his ancestors, Ancus Marcius, had been King of Rome, and of the same house were afterwards descended the Marcius who was surnamed Censorinus, from having twice held the censorship, the most venerable office in the commonwealth, and Plubius and Quintus Marcius, who together built the great aqueduct which supplied the city with pure water. So that altogether this house of Marcius was a very important one in Rome, and also a very proud one.

Danmian 丹米安, Huayier 华伊尔, *Jintai chunmeng lu* 金台春梦录, with Wang Qingtong (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, August, 1918), 2 vv., 72 pp. + 1 and, 74 pp. + 1.

Id., *Jiaominxiang shehui shu* 交民巷社会述, unpublished, 131 pp. (YY)¹⁸.

L. de Hoyer and Ch. Damien, *Ombres Pékinoises. Roman de moeurs modernes* (Beijing: Imprimerie de la Politique de Pékín, 1917).

莫凯若望。引坐茵而坐。然坐茵为弹簧所挺。若与其身相抵触者。若望此时。心身皆畅。引目仰视承尘中。所绘紫色之鹤鹤。亦觉其大可人意。

JEAN MAUGRAIS ayant tiré à lui le dernier coussin du sofa qui mit encore quelque résistance à s'attacher aux lignes douillettes de son corps, ressentit une telle plénitude de confort moral et physique qu'il leva vers les cigognes violettes du plafond un regard plein de reconnaissance!

Zhoulu Wo 周路倭, *Qingtian yicai* 情天异彩, with Chen Jialin (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, September, 1919), 109 + 2 pp.

Jules Verne, *Ticket No. "9672,"* trans. Laura E. Kendall (New York: George Munro, 1886).

一日为初夏之下午。翰生老媪。坐于屋中。自吸菸斗。吐纳烟焰。菸尽。落其斗中之灰。谓其女曰。夏鲁达。今兹几句钟矣。女曰。晚八点矣。媪曰。今夕无客至此投宿。而天氣阴沈酿雨。客不能至。

"What time is it?" inquired Dame Hansen, shaking the ashes from her pipe, the last curling rings from which were slowly disappearing between the stained rafters overhead.

"Eight o'clock, mother," replied Hulda.

"It isn't likely that any travelers will come to-night. The weather is too stormy."

Kanbolu 堪伯路, *Huanzhu yanshi* 还珠艳史, with Chen Jialin (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, February, 1920), 2 vv., 62 + 2 and 65 + 2 pp.

Id., *Yingying yishui* 盈盈一水, unpublished, 58 pp. (YY)¹⁹.

Frederick W. Davis (under ps. Scott Campbell), *Driven to Wall or, A Forced Confession* (New York, 1900).

美国中有大城市。工厂并列。每日侵晨。角声一动。无数工人。如蜂之投窝。[...] 打拉微愠。谓其人曰。布来得。听此女郎入内。布来得者。工人之首领也。打拉尚为其所属。布来得曰。汝自入厂。勿与吾事。打拉曰。必容密司伯螺先入。吾方入也。布来得仍谓伯螺曰。女子勿入。打拉汝自治己事可也。此事非尔所与。打拉曰。吾决不行。布来得怒曰。尔成心与我抗矣。打拉曰。汝谓我成心耶。语事张目视布来得不语。此二人为厂中人。而伯螺亦厂中织女。自有此怒。而吾书之波澜。即由是生矣。

"Let the girl pass!" sternly commanded Murton Darrah, weaver.

"Go to your loom, sir!" angrily returned John Bradshaw, the foreman of the weaving room.

"Not until you have allowed Miss Burley to enter."

"Wait here, girl, I command you! Now, Darrah, go in to your work!"

"When Miss Burley has entered—yes! Not before!"

"But this is insubordination!" thundered Bradshaw. "Do you mean what you say?"

"Do I look as if I meant it?"

And Murton Darrah threw back his head and shoulders, and bent an ominously defiant gaze upon the angry face of the man opposite. In the lives of these two men, in the life also

of the pale, beautiful girl, shrinking timidly near by, it was a moment giving birth to grave and grievous consequences.

The time was early morning, barely 6.30. That hour when, in response to clanging bells and screaming whistles, thousands of ready hands come flocking to the mills, like bees toward their hives.

Gaosangsi 高桑斯, *Ouzhan chunguimeng* 欧战春闺梦, with Chen Jialin (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, March, 1920), 2 vv., 75 + 2 and 74 + 2 pp.

Mrs. Marie Adelaide Belloc Lowndes, *Good Old Anna* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1916).

西历一千九百一十四年。八月五号。为礼拜三日。女士馥西士。语密昔司耳铁威曰。阿纳在吾君家。如何处之。耳铁威曰。何所谓处。吾殊未解。然耳铁威语时。已瞭然於馥西士之意。盖礼拜三以前。英德已宣战。阿纳者。耳铁威家。极忠勤之女仆也。

AND now,” asked Miss Forsyth thoughtfully, “and now, my dear Mary, what, may I ask, are you going to do about your good old Anna?”

“Do about Anna?” repeated the other. “I don’t quite understand what you mean.”

In her heart Mrs. Otway thought she understood very well what her old friend, Miss Forsyth, meant by the question. For it was Wednesday, the 5th of August, 1914. England had just declared war on Germany, and Anna was Mrs. Otway’s faithful, highly valued German servant.

Kelei furen 克雷夫人, *Jiangtao ji* 僵桃记, with Mao Wenzhong 毛文鐘 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, May, 1921), 68 + 1 pp.

Bertha M. Clay, “Two Kisses,” in Id., *On Her Wedding Morn, and Other Tales* (London, 1889), 77-144.

英国贵族中。有闺秀名曰。芝莺。美绝。见者匪不倾倒。为年十七。与一少年路白忒。雅有情素。女父为克里佛伯爵。轻路白忒之贫贱。坚嘱其女。勿近其人。

No one ever refused anything to Lady Jean Dudleigh; she was so perfectly irresistible, so thoroughly charming, so winsome and light of heart. When at the age of seventeen, she fell in love with her handsome young wooer Rupert Carr, she could not understand the ‘No’ so vehemently uttered by both parents. All her sweet short life she had had just what she wanted; and now, when she wanted most of all her own way, it was denied her. Her father—Percy, tenth Earl of Clevemont—admitted frankly that there was not a finer young fellow in England; he was well born, well bred, one of nature’s gentlemen; he was brave as a lion, gentle as a child, charming as a woman; he had the frank bearing of a prince, he had the dignity of a king. But he had neither money nor fame, neither influence nor position; and the Earl assured his young daughter that an alliance between herself and him was not to be thought of.

Gaoerte 高尔忒, *Madu* 马妒, with Mao Wenzhong (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, July, 1921), 106 + 1 pp.

Nathaniel Gould, *Left in the lurch* (London, 1912).

佛来得谓毕黎女士曰。吾之命运至蹇。遇事随成辄败。当在学堂时。已有克莱忒女士。甚属意於余。余亦心属其人。后此乃嫁可令。直蠢蠢人也。吾爽然自失。想尔後此。亦将舍我去矣。

“It’s always been my luck. At school I was generally left in the lurch, some fellow was sure to go one better and beat me, and it’s been the same ever since. Clytie Westray left me in the lurch, and married that rotter, Colin Melfort. It’s no use, Billy, I’m doomed to be left. Don’t you desert me,” grumbled Fred Dinmore.

Luyi 路易, *Aiji yiwen lu* 埃及异闻录, with Mao Wenzhong (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, November, 1921), 95 + 1 pp.

Sax Rohmer, *Tales of Secret Egypt* (New York, 1919)²⁰.

科那伯曰。在凯罗中中午時。余与埃及贾胡爱來饮咖啡。忽闻礼拜堂钟动。知午禱矣。正于此时。有一僧徒。伏於门外。欲趣便夺取爱來衣囊中所藏之珍物。余见吾友。顏色慘变。齿震震作声。且注目望此行脚之僧。

THE *duhr*, or noonday call to prayer, had just sounded from the minarets of the Mosques of Kala ûn and En-Nas ût, and I was idly noting the negligible effect of the *adan* upon the occupants of the neighboring shops—coppersmiths for the most part—when suddenly my errant attention became arrested.

A mendicant of unwholesome aspect crouched in the shadow of the narrow gateway at the entrance to the S ûk es-Sa ġh, or gold and silver bazaar, having his one serviceable eye fixed in a malevolent stare upon something or someone immediately behind me.

It is part and parcel of my difficult profession to subdue all impulses and to think before acting. I sipped my coffee and selected a fresh cigarette from the silver box upon the rug beside me. In this interval I had decided that the one-eyed mendicant cherished in his bosom an implacable and murderous hatred for my genial friend, Ali Mohammed, the dealer in antiques; that he was unaware of my having divined his bloody secret; and that if I would profit by my accidental discovery, I must continue to feign complete ignorance of it.

Turning casually to Ali Mohammed, I was startled to observe the expression upon his usually immobile face: he was positively gray, and I thought I detected a faint rattling sound, apparently produced by his teeth; his eyes were set as if by hypnosis upon the uncleanly figure huddled in the shadow of the low gate.

Daoyin 道因, *Qinghai yibo* 情海疑波, with Lin Kai 林凯 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, November, 1921), 2 vv., 64+1 and 72+1 pp.

Elinor Glyn, *The Reason Why* (New York: Author's Press, 1911)²¹.

佛兰士马古特着。当世富翁也。其国籍不可得而详。既归化英国。俨然英人矣。貌美而善饰。衣服合度。英人之特长也。其作英语。於重音初不瞭亮。而恆以矜慎出之。

People often wondered what nation the great financier, Francis Markrute, originally sprang from. He was now a naturalized Englishman and he looked English enough. He was slight and fair, and had an immaculately groomed appearance generally—which even the best of valets cannot always produce. He wore his clothes with that quiet, unconscious air which is particularly English. He had no perceptible accent—only a deliberate way of speaking.

Boen 泊恩, *Huomu yingxiong* 矚目英雄, with Mao Wenzhong (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, March, 1922), 2 vv., 70+2 and 76+1 pp.

Jules Verne, *Michael Strogoff; From Moscow to Irkoutsk*, trans. E.G. Walraven (New York: Frank Leslie, 1876).

有警察总监。启俄国皇帝曰。臣兹接得公文。帝曰。文来自何处。总监曰。来自汤姆司克。帝曰。然则汤姆以东。电线断乎。总监曰。断自昨日。帝曰。尔为朕以电报告城中人。有何警信。趣来奏达。

“Sire, a fresh dispatch.”

“From what point?”

“From Tomsk.”

“The wire is cut beyond that village, is it not?”

“Cut since yesterday.” “Send a telegraph to Tomsk every hour, general, and keep me informed.”

Kanbolu 堪伯洛, *Menhulu* 闷葫芦, with Chen Jialin, unpublished (YY).

Frederick W. Davis (under ps. Scott Campbell), *Union Down: A Signal of Distress* (Boston, 1893).

一日。香港中斗出一事。深足为世人之纪念者。中午有轮船发自香港。船名破浪。开赴美国包司登。

ON a certain warm sunny day, not so many years ago but that the older of the present generation might recall it, were it rendered specially memorable by some event of rather more recent date than that of their birth or christening, there sailed from the port of Hong Kong a clipper ship so noble that no honorable and competent underwriter would have for a moment thought of characterizing her at Lloyd's inferior to “A 1 for fourteen years.” Across

her huge black stern might have been read in glaring white letters: BOUNDING WAVE. – BOSTON.

Tuoersitai 托尔斯泰, *Qinghuan* 情幻, with Chen Jialin, unpublished, 124 folios, 41 chapters (YY, A072406).

Leo Tolstoy, “The Cossacks. A Novel of the Caucasus,” in *The Complete Works of Count Tolstóy*, trans. Leo Wiener (Boston: Dana Estes & Co., 1904), 81-308²².

一日夜分。莫斯科城。万籁俱寂。道上微闻轮蹄之声。牖户尽掩。灯火亦熄。而教堂钟声。尚续续而动。似恐满城渴睡。不知午夜将残。特为警告者。将曙未曙间。

EVERYTHING was quiet in Moscow. In a few isolated places could be heard the squeak of wheels over the wintry street. There were no lights in the windows, and the lamps were extinguished. From the churches rang out the sounds of bells which, billowing over the sleepy city, reminded one of morning.

Xiulaite 休来忒, *Qiuchi jian* 秋池剑, with Mao Wenzhong, unpublished, 65 folios, 19 chapters (YY, A072407)²³.

Maurice Hewlett, *The Spanish Jade* (London: Cassell and Co., 1908).

仲夏五月有一男子。骑驴出者格司城。至卡司纸尔平原之上。时阳光未出。人声寂然，此男子骑于驴尻之上。以鞭尖仰蹴驴腹。作慷慨悲歌。然不能终其曲。

Into the plain beyond Burgos, through the sunless glare of before-dawn; upon a soft-padding ass that cast no shadow and made no sound; well upon the stern of that ass, and with two bare heels to kick him; alone in the immensity of Castile, and as happy as a king may be, rode a young man on a May morning, singing to himself a wailing, winding chant in the minor which, as it had no end, may well have had no beginning.

Wenlu Wo 文鲁倭 (French), *Wuding kaishan ji* 五丁开山记, with Chen Jialin.

Jules Verne, *The Mysterious Island*, unknown edition.

Ma Tailoi believed Wenlu Wo could be a mistake for Zhoulu Wo, which is now identified with Jules Verne²⁴. The title *Wuding kaishan ji* is a reference to the legend of the five Herculean sons of the Marquis of Shu 蜀 who could open roads with their bare hands. They died when a mountain collapsed and buried them²⁵. This title fits Verne’s *The Mysterious Island*: Five prisoners of war crash in a volcanic island where they manage to survive thanks to their knowledge and skills. At the end of the novel, the volcano destroys the island, but they are saved thanks to the efforts of Captain Nemo.

The novel was already translated by Xi Ruo 奚若 (1880-1914) as *Mimi haidao* 秘密海島 (Shanghai: Xiaoshuo linshe, 1905), in three volumes, following the translation of the Sampson Low edition of 1875.

An asymmetric reading of Lin Shu's translations

The role of Lin Shu's cotranslators has been previously emphasized a number of times. For instance, as early as 1924, only one month after Lin Shu passed away, Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎 (1898-1958) wrote that “approximately most of the problems of his translated text should be blamed on the oral translators” 大约他译文的大部分的错误都要归咎到口译者的身上²⁶. With more accuracy, Ma Tailoi noted that they were not always as precise and circumspect as purists would wish, especially Mao Wenzhong²⁷. This leads us to a reevaluation of the way modern translation theories have been applied to Lin Shu's work in the light of Toury's “Target-Oriented Approach”²⁸: if omissions, additions, alterations or abridgments are not to be understood as deficiencies but rather as “poetic equivalence,” “sinicization” or “transculturation,” then they should be related to a particular collaborator of Lin Shu. That is to say, Lin Shu's translations should be read asymmetrically (according to the cotranslator) instead of synecdochically (taking a part of the translation endeavor conducted by Lin Shu as its whole), arranging them in groups according to his collaborators. Taking into consideration the foregoing newly identified texts, an asymmetric reading of these translations may help us to illustrate this point.

Among the eighteen aides-de-camp that helped Lin Shu²⁹, the most prolific ones were Chen Jialin, Wei Yi and Mao Wenzhong. Chen Jialin's new identified translations, the opening lines of which we presented herein, attest his commitment to depicting a rather faithful image of the original text. Both his translations of Doyle's “The Little Square Box” and Verne's *Un billet de loterie* are so literal that the original English text employed in the later can be easily traced back to Kendall's translation, as a comparative exposition of these texts shows:

今夕无客至此投宿。而天气阴沈酿雨。客不能至。女曰然。即使有人至此。

– Il n'est pas probable qu'il nous arrive des voyageurs pendant la nuit; le temps est trop mauvais.

– Je ne pense pas qu'il vienne personne. En tout cas, les chambres sont prêtes, et j'entendrai bien si l'on appelle du dehors.

– It isn't likely that any travelers will come to-night. The weather is too stormy.

– I agree with you. At all events, the rooms are in readiness, and if any one comes, I shall be sure to hear them.

When compared with other translations Kendall's is the only one that translates “trop mauvais” as “too stormy” (Chinese: *yinshen niang yu*) and adds the sentence “I agree with you,” which is not to be found in the original but was translated faithfully by Chen Jialin as *Ran*.

Sometimes, however, Chen Jialin introduced slight additions of his own, as we can see in the line “who also was a descendant of Ancus, and shared surname with Censorinus. [...] These people were pragmatic” 亦安卡司之裔胄。与圣西雷那司为一姓。[...] 其人怀利物之心, which was added to make the very long sentence that opens Shakespeare’s “Coriolanus” more intelligible for the reader. Likewise, he often altered the order of exposition of some paragraphs, for example in Lowndes’ *Good Old Anna* and in Davis’ *Driven to Wall*. Both novels start with a conversation in direct style that has been shifted down some lines in order to provide a temporal context for the story, which in the original appears after these conversations. But altogether both translations do not drift away from the original and errors are minimal.

Mao Wenzhong offers a totally different picture. His four translations are accurate in meaning but extremely careless in form to such an extent that they are difficult to recognize. Consequently, in Gould’s *Left in the lurch*, three lines have been omitted and some words skipped, whereas Clay’s “Two Kisses” has been abridged to half its length, whole paragraphs being omitted. Tampering is more intrusive in his translation of Rohmer’s *Tales of Secret Egypt*, where twenty lines at the beginning were abridged to 104 characters (approximately four lines). His draft for Hewlett’s *The Spanish Jade* is also unrecognizable.

Besides these collaborators, Lin Shu also relied on Wang Qingtong, nephew of Wang Shouchang, cotranslator of *La Dame aux Camélias*. Like his uncle before him, Wang also translated from French, being responsible for Lin Shu’s translations of Dumas and other authors such as Georges Ohnet’s highly popular *Le maître des forges* and Damien de Martel’s *Ombres Pâkinoises*. In both translations we can observe that, just like Chen Jialin, Wang and Lin Shu did not hesitate to twirl and whirl classical Chinese in order to preserve an accurate version of the beautiful French text:

所衣之睡衣。作蓝色之小行。若小蛇蜿蜒然。拖鞋置之氍毹之上。氍毹正作希腊人之形。双履适当其面。纸烟之纹。盘旋其项上。若作花缕。二目时时盼及家具。或盼及闇黄緞之壁衣。或盼及中国之旧磁。

Des rayures bleu clair, comme de petits serpents, couraient le long de son pyjama de soie rose. Ses fines babouches b'étaient sur les grecques du tapis ; et tandis que la fumée de sa cigarette dessinait au-dessus de sa tête de délicates auréoles, son regard s'arrêtait tendrement sur les dorures des meubles de laque, sur le jaune délicieusement terni des anciennes soieries, sur les couleurs insolentes de vie des vieilles porcelaines chinoises.

Regardless of how translation theories may be applied, the aforementioned texts show to what extent Lin Shu’s translations differ from each other when we classify them based on their cotranslators. This may help us to understand in a new light not only his shortcomings, but also his own style of writing. For example, one scholar has related abridgement to Lin Shu’s appeal for simplification, as exemplified in Sima Qian’s sentence, “making its wording economical and getting rid of the superfluous and repetitious” 约其辞文, 去其烦重³⁰. However, abridgement did not always occur: in fact, it may have been limited to some of his collaborators.

A final note should be made about the transcription of foreign names, which largely differs from one cotranslator to another. Jules Verne was written as Zhoulu Wo by Chen Jialin, and as Boen (“Verne”) by Mao Wenzhong. Similarly, the names of Mrs. Lowndes, Rohmer and Glyn are surprisingly written as Gaosangsi, Luyi and Daoyin by Chen Jialin, Mao Wenzhong and Lin Kai, respectively. Understanding the way each translator orally rendered these and other names, according to his own command of the foreign language, is a decisive task if we wish to gain insight into the authors of the remaining unidentified corpus of Lin Shu’s translations.

Appendix

List of unidentified translations of Western Literature

- Unknown, “Yingnüshi Yiseer liluan xiaoji” 英女士意色儿离鸾小记, with Wei Yi 魏易, in *Putong xuebao* 普通学报 1-5 (October, 1901-May, 1902): 27-30 (first issue) and 29-35 (fourth issue).
- Jilade 幾拉德 [Gerard?], “Hua yin” 花因, with Wei Yi, in *Zhongwai ribao* 中外日报 (March, 15-April, 22, 1907): 3a.
- Sidiute 司丢阿忒 [Stuart?], *Zhifen yiyuan* 脂粉议员, with Wei Yi (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, November 15, 1909), 150 + 3 pp., with a prologue.
- Weilusun 威利孙 [Wilson?], “Qing wo” 情窝, with Li Shuxuan, in *Pingbao* 平报 (November 1, 1912-September 30, 1913): pagination unknown.
- Unknown, *Mingjia dian jiang* 名家点将, with Wei Yi and Shengke 生可, in *Shishi xinbao* 时事新报 (March 21, 23, and 25, 1913): 3³¹.
- Shaerli 沙尔黎, *Xinhun bie* 新婚别, with Liao Xiukun, in *Zhendan* 震旦 4 (May, 1913): 195-202.
- Unknown, *Nü taowu* 女橛杵, with Li Shuxuan, in *Zhonghua* 中华 1 (July 16, 1913), 10 pp. with prologue (issue unpaginated). This translation seems to have been discontinued.
- Woertun 倭尔吞, *Shenggu meiren* 深谷美人, with Chen Qi 陈器 (Beijing: Xuanyuange, August 1, 1914), 169+2 pp³².
- Magenei 马格内, “Shilin yiyue ji” 石麟移月记, with Chen Jialin, in *Da zhongguo zazhi* 大中华杂志 1/1-6 (January-June, 1915): 175-184, 397-408, 599-609, 815-828, 1053-1063, and 1283-1292.
- Basujin 巴苏谨, *Ganlan xian* 橄欖仙, with Chen Jialin (Shanghai: Shanwu yinshuguan, November, 1916), 2 vv., 101 + 2 and 89 + 3 pp.
- Daweisen 大威森 [Davidson?], “Nayunshou” 擎云手, with Chen Jialin, in *Xiaoshuo hai* 小说海 3/1-8 (January-August, 1917): [67-76, 69-86, 55-65, 69-80, 63-75, 69-76, 75-83, and 67-75].
- Chenshili 陈施利, *Pinzei qingsi ji* 牝贼情丝记, with Chen Jialin (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, July, 1917), 2 vv., 82 + 2 and 80 + 2 pp.
- [Miss] Can'en 女士参恩, “Tao dawang yinguo lu” 桃大王因果录, with Chen Jialin, in *Dongfang zazhi* 东方杂志 14/7-15/9 (July, 1917-September, 1918): 130-136, 134-142, 135-141, 131-135, 132-136, 128-138, 135-139, 136-144, 131-139, 138-143, 137-143, 136-142, 121-124, 130-136, and 124-127.
- [Miss] Laiqitang 赖其铿女士 [Marie Connor Leighton?], *Chilang huanying* 痴郎幻影, with Chen Qi (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, October, 1918), 3 vv., 83 + 1 pp., 88 + 1 and 82 + 1 pp.
- Wuyingni 武英尼, *Guiku cangjiao* 鬼窟藏娇, with Chen Jialin (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, June, 1919), 2 vv., 72 + 1 and 73 + 1 pp.

- Yuekekuidiesi 约克魁迭斯, *Xilou guiyu* 西楼鬼语, with Chen Jialin (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, June, 1919), 2 vv., 106 + 1 and 102 + 1 pp.
- Kelei 克雷, “Xiang fu lian” 想夫怜, with Mao Wenzhong, in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 11/9-12 (September-December, 1920): [54-67, 57-71, 69-83, and 17-30]³³.
- Weiersi 威而司 [Welsh?], *Gui wu* 鬼悟, with Mao Wenzhong (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, June, 1921), 2 vv. 60 + 2 and 61 + 2 pages³⁴.
- Kawen 卡文, *Cangbo yan dieji* 沧波淹谍记, with Mao Wenzhong (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, October, 1921), 131 pp. + 2 pp.
- Lulansi 鲁兰司 [Lawrence?], *Qing yi* 情翳, with Mao Wenzhong (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, May, 1922), 107 + 1 pp.
- Kelindeng nǚshi 克林登女士 [Clayton?], “Qingtian buhen lu” 情天补恨录, with Mao Wenzhong, in *Xiaoshuo shijie* 小说世界 1/1-2/3 (January 15-April 20, 1923) (known pagination for 1/6: [35-38]; 1/7: [31-37]; 1/9: [47-52]; 1/11: [35-40]; 1/13: [33-39]; 2/1: [43-47]; and 2/3: [31-34].
- Kelei furen 克雷夫人, *Jin lüyi* 金缕衣, with Mao Wenzhong, unpublished, 48 pp. (YY).
- Id., [*Huangjin zhumei lu* 黄金铸美录, with Mao Wenzhong, unpublished, 79 folios, 22 chapters (YY, A072411)]³⁵.
- Id., *Xiaonü liushuang ji* 孝女履霜记, with Mao Wenzhong, unpublished, 99 folios, 29 chapters (YY, A072412).
- Huierdong furen 惠尔东夫人 [Welton?], *Meishu yan lü* 美术姻绿, with Mao Wenzhong, 51 pp., unpublished (YY)³⁶.
- Feierge 斐尔格, *Qingqiao henshui lu* 情桥恨水录, with Mao Wenzhong, 60 pp., unpublished³⁷.

Lost translations

- Unknown, *Baozhong yingxiong zhuan* 保种英雄传, with Wei Han 魏瀚³⁸.
- Kelei furen 克雷夫人, *Fengzao huanghou xiaoji* 风藻皇后小记, with Mao Wenzhong.
- Akecui 阿克粹³⁹, *Miaolang diexue ji* 眇朗喋血记, with Chen Jialin.
- Luoshazi 洛沙子, *Nuxing xuchuan* 奴星叙传, with Chen Jialin. 2 vv.
- Dazhongma 大仲马 (Alexandre Dumas, père), *Xuesheng fengyue jian* 学生风月鑑, with Wang Qingtong.

Recently identified translations

- Queluode Wokangnuo Aikeersi 卻洛得倭康诺埃克尔司, *Huixing duo xu lu* 彗星夺婿录, with Wei Yi (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, January 28, 1909), 182 + 3 pp⁴⁰.
- Charlotte O’Conor Eccles, *The Matrimonial Lottery* (London, 1906).
- Uncredited, “Bingyang guixiao” 冰洋鬼啸, in *Xiaoshuo shibao* 小说时报 12 (September 2, 1911): [1-12]⁴¹.
- Arthur Conan Doyle, “The Captain of the Pole-Star,” in *The Captain of the Polestar and other tales* (London, 1890), 1-36.
- Cecixiluo 测次希洛, “Canchan ye sheng lu” 残蝉曳声录, with Chen Jialin, in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 3/7-11 (October, 1912-February, 1913): [31-51, 25-44, 39-59, 27-40, and 37-51].⁴²
- Winston Churchill, *Savrola: a tale of the revolution in Laurania* (London, 1899).
- Xidengxilu 希登希路, “Linken jiuguo” 林肯救国, etc., with Chen Jialin, in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 7/3-8/1

(March, 1916-January, 1917)⁴³.

Headon Hill, *Seaward for the Foe* (London, 1903). Only the sixth story was left untranslated.

Baoluwuyin 包鲁烏因, “Dayanshuojia danna zhuanyue” 大演说家丹尼阿传略, in *Qiu deng tanxie* 秋灯谭屑, with Chen Jialin (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, April, 1916), 83 + 2 pp.⁴⁴

James Baldwin, *The Story of Daniel Webster; for Young readers* (New York, 1896).

Meisen 美森, “Wang yan wang ting” 妄言妄听, with Chen Jialin, in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 10/3-12 (March-December, 1919): [1-6, 1-8, 1-4, 1-8, 1-6, 1-7, 1-8, 1-6, 1-10, and 1-8]⁴⁵.

Eugene Mason, *Aucassin & Nicolette, and other Mediaeval Romances and Legends* (London, 1910).

Xiao Zhongma 小仲马, *Fengliu nieyuan sanpian* 风流孽冤三篇, with Wang Qingtong, unpublished, 16 chapters (YY)⁴⁶.

Alexandre Dumas, *Aventures de Quatre Femmes et d'un Perroquet* (Paris: Alexandre Cadot, 1846).

Andelie Maluya 安德烈马路亚, *Ouzhanjun qian suoyu* 欧战军前琐语, with Mao Wenzhong, unpublished, 40 pp. (YY)⁴⁷.

André Maurois, *Les Silences du Colonel Bramble* (Paris, 1918).

Tangmusen 汤木森, *Yuxue fengmao lu* 雨雪风毛录, with Mao Wenzhong, unpublished, 143 pp. (YY)⁴⁸.

Everett T. Tomlinson, *Scouting with Kit Carson* (New York, 1916).

Novels authored by Lin Shu

“Bali si yiren lu” 巴黎四义人录, with Wei Yi, in *Putong xuebao* 普通学报 2 (November, 1901): 21-22, republished in *Xuanbao* 选报 8 (February, 1902): 5⁴⁹.

“Shu juanti chuanqi” 蜀鹃啼传奇, in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 8/4-5 (April-May, 1917): [131-138, and 128-138].

Historical texts

Uncredited, “Tuerji luanshi shimo” 土耳其乱事始末, with Yue Xian 乐贤, in *Yongyan* 庸言 1/11 (May 1, 1913): [94-110]⁵⁰.

Unknown, *Ouxi tongshi* 欧西通史, with Cai Lu 蔡璐⁵¹.

Novels attributed to Lin Shu

Bolanke Bale 博兰克巴勒, “Konggu jieren” 空谷佳人, in *Dongfang zazhi* 3/8-13 (September, 1906-February, 1907): [189-197, 197-206, 186-198, 193-204, 195-206, and 194-204]⁵².

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Notes

1. Qian Xuanton 钱玄同, “Xie zai Bannong gei Qiming de xindi houmian” 写在半农给启明的信底后面, *Yusi* 语丝 20, March 30, 1925, 5.
2. Zhou Zuoren (as Kaiming 开明), “Lin Qinnan yu Luo Zhenyu” 林琴南与罗振玉, *Yusi* 3, December 1, 1924, 5.
3. I count 209 works, as listed in Tarumoto Teruo 樽本照雄, *Shinmatsu Minsho shōsetsu mokuroku* 清末民初小说目录 (Ōtsu, 2014⁶), accessed November 1, 2014, at www.biwa.ne.jp/~tarumoto/v6b.pdf.
4. Su Xuelin, “Wo zhuichu de wenxue daoshi” 我最初的文学导师, in Id., *Wo de shenghuo* 我的生活 (Taipei: Wenxing shudian, 1967), 73.
5. See his prologue to Haggard’s *Beatrice*, in *Hongjiao huajiang lu* 红礁画桨录 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1906), vol. 1, [2] (page numbers for unpaginated issues are indicated within brackets). Cf. also Doyle’s *Beyond the City*, in *Shen iishi zhuan* 蛇女士传 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1908), 1-2. For his poetry, see “Xing nüxue” 兴女学 and “Shui wuqing” 水无情 in *Minzhong xin yuefu* 闽中新乐府 (Fuzhou, Fuzhou keban yinxing, 1897).
6. For its publication see Hu Ying, *Tales of Translation. Composing the New Woman in China, 1899-1918* (California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 76-77.
7. Chen Yuan, *Xiyang xianhua* 西滢闲话 (Shanghai: Xinyue shudian, 1928), 57.
8. These include 58 contributions in *Pingbao* 平报 (December 7, 1912-May 31, 1913) and an article about the Balkan Wars.
9. *Minzhong xue* 民种学 (Beijing: Daxue tangguan shuju, 1903), with Wei Yi 魏易 (1880-1932).
10. Or 205, if we count only their book reprints. Michael Gibbs Hill (*Lin Shu, Inc.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2) counts 180. I have include all works listed in Tarumoto, from which I have removed repetitions and reeditions. I have added also lost works not included in Tarumoto (except *Mowai fengguang* 漠外风光, a misprint for 膜外风光) and two untitled works of Haggard and Georges Ohnet, as in Ma Tailoi 马泰来, “*Lin Shu fanyi zuopin quanmu*” 林纾翻译作品全目, in *Lin Shu de fanyi* 林纾的翻译, ed. Qian Zhongshu 钱锺书 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1981), 97 and 102. His *Xiama cheng zhagui* 夏马城炸鬼 is also a repetition of *Zhagui ji* 炸鬼记 (*Queen Sheba’s Ring*). Finally, I have removed *Konggu jiaren* 空谷佳人, a work that was not translated by Lin Shu (see Tarumoto, *Shinmatsu*, 1805-1807).
11. Yao Yiming 姚一鸣, *Zhongguo jiu shuju* 中国旧书局 (Beijing: Jincheng, 2014), 110. Although one of the manuscripts presents burning marks, these are minimal and do not match a fire resulting from aircraft bombing.
12. Li Jiaji 李家骥, ed., *Lin Shu fanyi xiaoshuo weikan jiu zhong* 林纾翻译小说未刊九种 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin, 1993).
13. These were located thanks to the assistance of Cheng Tianshu 程天舒 and Li Jian 李建, Lin Shu’s grandson. Although most of Lin Shu’s manuscripts are said to have been donated by his second wife, their envelopes specify that the donor was Higher Education Press (Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe 高等教育出版社).
14. See Hill, *Lin Shu*, 200.
15. *Mi* 咪 is printed with the radical *ri* 日 instead of *kou* 口.
16. Signed Wei Lu 畏廬 (Lin Shu’s pen name) and originally unpunctuated.

17. The last issue published notes “unfinished” (*wei wan* 未完), but it was never continued.
18. Collected in Li Jiaji, *Lin Shu*, but both works are the same. See Ma Tailoi, “Lin yi yigao ji ‘Lin Shu fanyi xiaoshuo weikan jiuzhong’ pingjie” 林译遗稿及《林纾翻译小说未刊九种》评介, in *Shinmatsu shōsetsu* 清末小说 31 (December 1, 2008): 42. In fact, only the first paragraph of corresponds with *Jintai chunmeng lu*. The remaining text is from *Xilou guiyu* 西楼鬼语, published in June, 1919.
19. For the identification of see *ibid.*, 39.
20. Only the first part was translated. I owe the location of this novel to my colleague Georgeos D áz-Montexanos, well-versed in Ancient Egypt literature.
21. The final colophon at the end of the novel was left untranslated.
22. As suggested in Ma, “Lin yi,” 43. The correct title is *Qinghuan* 情幻, not *Qinghuan ji* 情幻记. Lin Shu translated the whole story, but his version has only 41 chapters, one less than the original novel.
23. Includes a prologue by the original author and a manuscripted sheet by Mr. Shu 樹□ (character unrecognizable) signed “9/1/29.”
24. Ma, “Lin Shu,” 98.
25. Terry F. Kleeman, *Great Perfection. Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1998), 22-23.
26. Zheng Zhenduo, “Lin Qinnan xiansheng” 林琴南先生, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月报 15/11 (November 10, 1924), [p. 21].
27. Ma, “Lin yi,” 40.
28. As in Wanlong Gao, *Recasting Lin Shu* (Victoria: Trafford, 2009).
29. Hill, *Lin Shu*, 241-247. Leaving aside his historical works, I count only eighteen known translators and four translations which do not specify the cotranslator.
30. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 14:509, as translated in Stephen W. Durrant, “The Task and Ritual of Historical Writing in Early China,” in *Thinking, Recording, and Writing History in the Ancient World*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 25. As far as I know this was never quoted by Lin Shu. See Wang Dongfeng 王东风 and Chen Chunyan 陈春燕, “Yue qi wenci, qu qi fanzhong: Lin Shu yiwen yuyan mei tanyuan” 约其文辞 去其繁重: 林纾译文语言美探员 [*sic!*], paper presented at the *Lin Shu Research International Symposium* 林纾研究国际学术研讨会, Fujian University of Technology, Fuzhou, October 11-12, 2014.
31. Translation discontinued after the third issue, which ends with the words “It will continue publishing the following day” (*geri xudeng* 隔日续登). Qian Shengke 钱生可 was a corrector of style (*runwen* 润文 or *runci* 润辞) for the *Shishi xinbao*.
32. I have been able to trace only two copies of this rare book. One is stored in the Library of Renmin University, Beijing, and another one in the Dalian Library. According to the person responsible for the Ancient Books collection there, “the Government does not allow reading books from the Republican Period, and it has been sealed” (personal communication, October 10, 2014).
33. Although the name Kelei stands for Bertha M. Clay, from a comparison with the published works by Bertha M. Clay we can conclude that this novel was not authored by her. Since a number of books under her pseudonym were published in “The Bertha Library” between January, 1900 and January, 1917 (512 volumes), and in “New Bertha Clay Library” between February, 1917 and December, 1932 (458 titles), we can assume that *Xiang fu lian* was one of them. The same can be said about the other titles under this name. Note that, according to the Chinese translations, this

- “Clay” was American, not British.
34. Assumed to be a work by H. G. Wells, but a comparison with his works shows that it is not.
 35. *Huang* 黄 added *supra* *linea*; also, *zhu* 铸 and not *chou* 俦 is how the title is written in the manuscript. There are occasional burning marks, restored by the same hand who added the corrections (probably Lin Shu).
 36. Edited with many errata in Li, *Lin Shu*, 91-127, under the title *Shen wo* 神窩. It was believed that the author was Edith Wharton (Ma, “Lin yi,” 39) but none of her works matches this text.
 37. The original draft, in Li, *Lin Shu*, 233-290, was in possession of Zhou Qiken 周启愨, Lin Shu’s grandson-in-law.
 38. Lin Shu, in the prologue to Bernandin de Saint-Pierre’s *Paul et Virgine* (*Lihentian* 离恨天), explains how this translation was lost after summer of 1911 when he sent it for publication and, thus, he was not willing to retranslate it.
 39. Lin Shu used the name Akexi 阿克西 in his translation of Orczy’s *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (*Daxia hong fanlu zhuan* 大侠红鬃露传). See Ma, “Lin Shu,” 97.
 40. Zhang Zhi 张治, “Lin Shu xiaoshuo biben bukao” 林纾小说底本补考, *Xiandai zhongwen xuebao* 现代中文学报 21/6 (2012): 106.
 41. Watanabe Kōji, “Hyōyō kishō’ no gensaku” 《氷洋鬼嘯》の原作, *Shinmatsu shōsetsu kara* 清末小説から 115 (October 1, 2014): 4-11.
 42. Zhang, 106, and Id., “Lin Shu yi guo Qiuji de xiaoshuo” 林纾译過丘吉尔的小説, *Nanfang dushi bao: Yuedu zhoukan* 南方都市报·阅读周刊 (August 26, 2012) published online at <http://gcontent.oeeee.com/6/45/64581c732926aff6/Blog/b26/008cfc.html> (accessed January 31, 2014).
 43. Watanabe Kōji, “Rin yaku shōsetsu ‘Kōkyōki’ nado no gensaku (jō)” 林訳小説《紅篋記》などの原作（上）, *Shinmatsu shōsetsu* 清末小説 32 (2009): 48-73; “Rin yaku shōsetsu ‘Kōkyōki’ nado no gensaku (ge)” 林訳小説《紅篋記》などの原作（下）, *Shinmatsu shōsetsu* 33 (2010): 52-98.
 44. Zhang, “Lin Shu,” 105.
 45. See *ibid.*, 105-106, for the individual stories collected by Lin Shu.
 46. A different title for *Yingwu yuan sanbian* 鸚鵡緣三編. See Han Yiyu 韩一字, *Qingmo Minchu hanyi faguo wenxue yanjiu (1897-1916)* 清末民初汉译法国文学研究（1897-1916）(Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2008), 148.
 47. This translation omits chapter 8 and, as noted by Ma, “Lin yi,” 40, all poems. Some parts along the remaining chapters are also skipped.
 48. *Ibid.*, 43.
 49. It includes three lines of remarks by Lin Shu. See Ma Tailoi, “Bali si yiren’ fei fanyi xiaoshuo” 《巴黎四义人录》非翻译小説, *Shinmatsu shōsetsu kara* 50 (July 1, 1998): 23-25 for a reproduction. The first issue of *Putong xuebao* (1: 30) announces this work as a translation but the second issue corrects this.
 50. An article about the Balkan Wars. From internal evidence, the original should have been published between Autumn, 1912 and Spring, 1913. Lin Shu comments the war in Eastern Europe at the end of the translation, in a short note.
 51. A translation of historical materials for teaching Western History which seems to be lost. See Ma, “Lin Shu,” 96.
 52. Original publication not signed and the style is different from Lin Shu. He also published, seven

years later, *Shengu meiren* 深谷美人, and since both titles share the same meaning, this could be the origin of the mistake. For other novels attributed to Lin Shu, see Ma, *Lin Shu*, 98. For an analysis of this work, see Guerde 古二德 (César Guarde), “‘Shengu meiren’ hanjian Lin yi yu ‘Konggu jia ren’ yizhe kaobian”《深谷美人》罕見林译与《空谷佳人》译者考辨, *Shinmatsu shōsetsu kara* 117 (April 1, 2015), pp. 14-21.