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Manipulation of *The Lady of the Lake*:  
Xie Xueyu's Translation Practice  
in Colonial Taiwan<sup>§</sup>  
《湖上美人》之操縱：  
日治時期傳統文人謝雪漁的翻譯實踐

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**Keywords:** Xie Xueyu, traditional literati, the lady of the lake, indirect translation, manipulation

**關鍵詞：**謝雪漁、傳統文人、湖上美人、轉譯、操縱

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## Abstract

Xie Xueyu (謝雪漁, 1871-1953) was a traditional literatus living in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation, who had a long and successful career in editing, writing, and translating. This case study foregrounds one of his translations, the short story entitled “The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland” (武勇傳：思谷蘭國女王). Specifically, possible source text Xie used to produce his translation is identified, which facilitates an analysis of Xie’s translation methods and their connection to the social currents of his time. The story “The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland” takes its basic plot from *The Lady of the Lake*, a narrative poem written in 1810 by Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832). Through multiple facets, the translation was analyzed against its possible immediate source texts, leading to a conclusion that the text Xie used for his translation was *The Pretty Lady of the Lake* (湖の麗人), the 1936 Japanese translation of Scott’s original by Irie Naosuke (入江直祐, 1901-1991). Xie’s translation was not a straightforward reproduction in Chinese of Irie’s version, but was rather a manipulated text. He turned a tale of romance and war centered on a beautiful lady living on a lake into a political story of quelling unrest, one in which the queen takes center stage. Writing after the Second Sino-Japanese War had begun in 1937, Xie revealed his own political stance towards Japan. In his life, Xie took an active interest in the colonial power by studying Japanese, working for the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office as an editor of Taiwanese language teaching materials, and teaching the Taiwanese language to the Japanese occupiers. In his work, he similarly took a pro-Japanese stance by encouraging “Kōminka” (Japanization) and loyalty to the colonial government, a stance expressed throughout his lifelong dedication to writing and translating literary works in Chinese. Xie’s actions and his writings may have resulted from his desire to flow with the ideological and poetological currents of his time.

## 摘要

謝雪漁(1871-1953)是日治臺灣時期的傳統文人，在 20 歲時進入臺灣總督府國語學校學習日文，之後又開展出他的編輯、翻譯、創作生涯。本研究以謝雪漁的譯作〈武勇傳：思谷蘭國女王〉作為個案，試圖追溯其源語文本，再從其譯作分析這位傳統文人的翻譯實踐與社會脈絡的關係。這個故事最原始是來自華特·史考特爵士（Sir Walter Scott, 1771-1832）於 1810 年寫的敘事詩 *The Lady of the Lake*。本研究經過層層比對，確定其底本為入江直祐(1901-1991)的 1936 年日譯本《湖の麗人》。謝雪漁透過各種敘事操縱，把一個以湖上美人為中心的愛情戰爭故事，轉變成一個以女王為中心、平亂招降的政治故事。在 1937 年日本中國開戰之後，這樣的改寫明顯揭示了他的政治立場。謝雪漁採取的種種行動，包括主動積極學習日語，進入總督府擔任臺語的教材編輯與教學工作，在創作及譯作中鼓勵皇民化與效忠政府，以及致力於漢文小說的翻譯及書寫，可能都是在大環境的影響之下，致使他扮演的角色不得不跟著當時的意識形態及詩學潮流而變動。

## 1. Introduction

In Taiwan under Japanese rule, most short stories published in the Chinese language in newspapers were reprints of Chinese literary works, translations of Japanese literary works, or translations of Western literary works (which themselves were either reprints of existing Chinese versions or indirect translations of Japanese versions). Hsu Chun-ya (許俊雅) pointed out that the three types of translator in Taiwan—traditional literati, modern intellectuals, and Japanese translators—tried to bring modern and revolutionary elements from Western, Chinese, or Japanese literature into Taiwan.<sup>1</sup> The term “traditional literati” in this paper refers to those who had received traditional Chinese education and produced works in the classical Chinese language, which contrasts with “modern intellectuals” who wrote in vernacular Chinese.<sup>2</sup>

Xie Xueyu (謝雪漁; 1871-1953)<sup>3</sup> was one of such traditional literati. His translation *Zhen Zhong Qi Yuan* (《陣中奇緣》; Chance in the Midst of Battle) was published in the *Chinese Taiwan Daily News* (Han Wen Tai Wan Ri Ri Xin Bao 漢文台灣日日新報) in 1905,<sup>4</sup> which is now recognized as the first popular translation of a Western work during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan.<sup>5</sup> With

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- 1 Hsu Chun-ya 許俊雅, “Daodu 導讀 [Introduction],” in Hsu Chun-ya 許俊雅 and Ku Min-yao 顧敏耀 (eds.), *Taiwan Rizhi Shiqi Fanyi Wenxue Zuopinji Juan Wu* 臺灣日治時期翻譯文學作品集卷五 [Anthology of Translations in Colonial Taiwan Volume 5] (Taipei: Wanjuanlou, 2014), 38-39. According to note 66 in Hsu’s study, this passage was written by Zhao Xun-da (趙勳達).
  - 2 Lee Yu-lan 李毓嵐, “Rizhi Shiqi Taiwan Chuantong Wenren de Nuxing Guan 日治時期臺灣傳統文人的女性觀 [Notions of Female Held by Traditional Literati in Colonial Taiwan],” *Taiwan Shi Yanjiu* 臺灣史研究 [Taiwan Historical Research] 16, no. 1 (Mar. 2009), 87-129.
  - 3 “Xie Xueyu” is the penname for the man named Xie Ruquan 謝汝銓; most researchers refer to him by his penname.
  - 4 Nanying Xueyu 南瀛雪漁, “Zui Xin Xiao Shuo Zhen Zhong Qi Yuan 最新小說 陣中奇緣 [Chance in the Midst of Battle],” *Han Wen Tai Wan Ri Ri Xin Bao* 漢文臺灣日日新報 [Chinese Taiwan Daily News], Jul. 1, 1905-Dec. 30, 1905, Sec. 5.
  - 5 Lin Yi-heng 林以衡, “Dong, Xi Wenhua Jiaocuo Xia de Xiaoshuo Shengcheng: Rizhi Shiqi Taiwan Hanwen Tongsu Xiaoshuo dui Dongya/Xiyang de Jieshou, Yizhi yu Zaizao” 東、西文

that work, Xie may be well recognized as a pioneer of Western translations among the traditional literati. Nevertheless, researchers in the field of Taiwanese literature usually pay more attention to his writings than his translations. For instance, Tsai Pei-ling (蔡佩玲) explored Xie's essays and short stories written in classical Chinese,<sup>6</sup> while Lin Fang-mei (林芳玫) discussed Xie's popular writings and his transcultural role as an editor.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Huang Mei-e (黃美娥) regarded Xie as one of the writers who best present the authentic style of Japanese novels written in Chinese characters (日本漢文小說) during the colonial period. Many of his works are either chapter novels (章回小說) about Japanese history or wars, or detective stories in the setting of the modern metropolitan society of Japan.<sup>8</sup>

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化交錯下的小說生成：日治時期臺灣漢文通俗小說對東亞/西洋的接受、移植與再造 [The Creation of Fiction in the Interaction with Eastern and Western Cultures—The Inheritance, Transplantation and Reformation of Eastern and Western Fiction in Taiwanese Popular Fiction During the Japanese Colonial Period],” (Ph.D. dissertation, National Chengchi University, 2012), 215. Huang Mei-e 黃美娥, *Chongceng Xiandaixing Jingxiang: Rizhi Shidai Taiwan Chuantong Wenren de Wenhua Shiyu yu Wenxue Xiangxiang* 重層現代性鏡像：日治時代臺灣傳統文人的文化視域與文學想像 [Mirrors of Multiple Modernities: Cultural Vision and Literary Imagination of Traditional Taiwanese Literati Under Japanese Rule] (Taipei: Maitian Chuban, 2004), 311.

- 6 Tsai Pei-ling 蔡佩玲, “‘Tongwen’ de Xiangxiang yu Shijian: Rizhi Shiqi Taiwan Chuantong Wenren Xie Xueyu de Hanwen Shuxie” 「同文」的想像與實踐：日治時期臺灣傳統文人謝雪漁的漢文書寫 [Imagination and Practice of the Same Literacy: Xie Xueyu's Chinese Writing as a Traditional Scholar in Colonial Taiwan],” (Master's thesis, National Chengchi University, 2009).
- 7 Lin Fang-mei 林芳玫, “Xie Xueyu Tongsu Shuxie de Kuawenhua Shenfen Bianji: Tanta ‘Ri Hua Ying Ci Zhuan’ de Xingbie yu Guozu Yuyan” 謝雪漁通俗書寫的跨文化身分編輯：探討〈日華英雄傳〉的性別與國族寓言 [The Popular Writing of Xie Xue-yu and Transcultural Identity Editing: Exploring Gender and National Allegory in *The Heroines of Japan and China*],” *Taiwan Wenxue Xuebao* 臺灣文學學報 [Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature], no. 23 (Dec. 2013), 29-62.
- 8 Huang Mei-e 黃美娥, “‘Wenti’ yu ‘Guoti’: Riben Wenxue Zai Rizhi Shiqi Taiwan Hanyu Wenyan Xiaoshuo Zhong de Kuajie Xinglu, Wenhua Fanyi yu Shuxie Cuozi” 「文體」與「國體」——日本文學在日治時期臺灣漢語文言小說中的跨界行旅、文化翻譯與書寫錯置 [“Style” and “National Cultural Values”: Japanese Literature in Classical Chinese Novels During the Japanese Colonial Period],” *Hanxue Yanjiu* 漢學研究 [Chinese Studies] 28, no. 2 (Jun. 2010), 376.

Researchers tend to focus on Xie's literary writings rather than his translations, or they may consider Xie's translations as original works as part of his professional writing career. One reason for this may be the peripheral position of translated literature in the literary system. Another possible reason is that he, just like many other translators of his time, did not make a clear distinction between original and translated works. Specifically, he made largescale changes to the content of the originals and never indicated the source texts of his translations. As such, without sufficient information, it is almost impossible to compare his translations to his source texts, making it difficult to conduct research related to his translation practice.

Xie's case is not a rare phenomenon in that time. In fact, in Huang's book *Chongceng Xiandaixing Jingxiang* (《重層現代性鏡像》; Mirrors of Multiple Modernities),<sup>9</sup> she pointed out that traditional literati were usually incapable of using Western languages, so they mostly depended on indirect translations from China or Japan to access Western literature. Chen Pei-feng (陳培豐), in his book, also briefly discussed the translations produced by traditional literati in colonial Taiwan. He mentioned that translations of world literature by these traditional literati were usually published as articles in newspapers and journals rather than as books. Due to their lack of familiarity with Western languages, most traditional literati relied on indirect translation, and their translations were usually partial, that is, abridged, edited, or abstracted renditions, rather than full translations,<sup>10</sup> which inhibited the trace of the original text. To address this issue, one of his translations was chosen for this case study with an attempt to find the source text, that is *Wuyong Zhuan: Sigulanguo Nuwang* (《武勇傳：思谷蘭國女王》; The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland). "The Heroic Legend," published in 1939 in *Wind and Moon Magazine* (風月報), is a translation of *The*

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9 Huang Mei-e, *Chongceng Xiandaixing Jingxiang: Rizhi Shidai Taiwan Chuantong Wenren de Wenhua Shiyu yu Wenxue Xiangxiang*. (Taipei: Maitian Chuban, 2004).

10 Chen Pei-feng 陳培豐, *Xiangxiang he Jiexian: Taiwan Yuyan Wenti de Hunsheng* 想像和界限——臺灣語言文體的混生 [Imagination and Boundary: Creolization of Literary Forms in Taiwan] (Taipei: Qunxue, 2013), 197.

*Lady of the Lake*, a narrative poem written in 1810 by Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832). According to Xie's preface, it was derived from a Japanese translation that Xie did not name. Obviously, Xie's "The Heroic Legend" could serve as a typical example of the indirect translations discussed by Huang and Chen, and it possibly demonstrates the result of partial translation.

After reading his Japanese source text, Xie expressed that "I thought it interesting, and so I translated the sense of the work and added embellishments. In reading it, one will inevitably find that it is different from its true face; and so I ask for the reader's understanding."<sup>11</sup> It showed that he himself saw this as a work of translation rather than an original work. That he mentioned adding "embellishments" to ask for forgiveness from the reader implies that he believed that the ideal in translation is to be faithful to the source. According to Peter Newmark, translation methods can be considered as an eight-level continuum, from literal word-for-word translation to liberal adaptation.<sup>12</sup> Even a free translation or adaptation, both of which are made with a high degree of freedom, are considered translations in the general sense. So even with a work like "The Heroic Legend," where there could be a high degree of rewriting, I will still consider it a translation for the purpose of this paper.

In order to explore how "The Heroic Legend" is "different from its true face" in *The Lady of the Lake*, it is important to clarify the translation relay process, that is, the process from source to intermediary translation and finally to the end translation. The source of his translation must be first determined to know whether those changes were introduced in the intermediary Japanese translation he used as his source text, or whether the changes were of his own design. As

11 "覺有趣味，因以意譯之，深加潤色，觀之，未免與廬山真面目不同，讀者諒之。" In Xie Xueyu 謝雪漁, (trans.), "Wuyong Zhuan: Sigulanguo Nuwang 武勇傳：思谷蘭國女王 [The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland]," in Hsu Chun-ya 許俊雅 (ed.), *Taiwan Rizhi Shiqi Fanyi Wenxue Zuopinji Juan San* 臺灣日治時期翻譯文學作品集卷三 [Anthology of Translations in Colonial Taiwan Volume 3] (Taipei: Wanjuanlou, 2014), 507.

12 Peter Newmark, *A Textbook of Translation* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1988), 45-47.

translation strategy can be an ideological and political practice,<sup>13</sup> after finding the source text and comparing it with the translation, the next step is to observe the translator's manipulation, which will inevitably reveal the translator's ideology when facing the conflicts between the colonized and colonizer. Mona Baker argued that translation and interpreting play a major role in the management of conflict.<sup>14</sup> Accordingly, she described interpreters and translators in the war zone as follows:

“They are made to fit into the dominant accounts of the war irrespective of what they themselves believe and how they wish to interpret the events in which they are embedded. They find themselves being defined in terms of their ethnicity or religious affiliation. They have to perform tasks that strain their loyalties and disrupt their sense of identity.”<sup>15</sup>

Therefore, it is possible that Xie Xueyu, as a translator trying to survive in the political conflict, had to work within the constraints of the dominant accounts. This situation might have an impact on this translator's narrative when he performed his task, and manipulation could be a necessary part of his translation process.

After the Second Sino-Japanese War began in 1937, “Kōminka” (Japanization 皇民化), literally meaning “making people become subjects of the emperor,” was initialized by the Japanese authorities. One of its major components<sup>16</sup> was “national language movement (*kokugo undō* 国語運動),” which caused the prohibition of writings in the Chinese language. Some

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13 Stefan Baumgarten, “Ideology and translation,” in Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer (eds.), *Handbook of Translation Studies*, Vol. 3 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), 63.

14 Mona Baker, *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account* (London: Routledge, 2006), 1-2.

15 Mona Baker, “Interpreters and Translators in the War Zone: Narrated and Narrators,” *The Translator: Studies in Intercultural Communication*, Vol. 16, no. 2 (2010), 218.

16 The three major policies were “national language movement” (国語運動), “name changing program” (改姓名), and “volunteers' system” (志願兵制度).



Taiwanese writers, such as Lung Ying-tsung (龍瑛宗; 1911-1999), chose to produce works in Japanese, while others, such as Xie Xueyu, wrote popular fiction in classical Chinese with Kōminka-supported content in order to follow the political agenda so as to survive their literary career. Although these Taiwan writers used different languages, i.e. Japanese and Chinese, their endeavors to follow the Kōminka policies and develop their literary career are similar. According to many previous studies,<sup>17</sup> in the colonial period, especially in the war time, Xie's inclination towards Japanese political power obviously influenced his writings, which expressed his support for Japan to reform East Asian countries. Different from previous studies, the present paper aims to focus on his translation rather than his writing in order to explore if he also presented similar ideology as a translator under the influence of such a political atmosphere.

As post-colonialism has attracted the attention of many researchers, “studies of the history of the former colonies, studies of powerful European empires, resistance to the colonialist powers and, more broadly, studies of the effect of the imbalance of power relations between colonized and colonizer”<sup>18</sup> have provided many discourses in translation studies. However, few of these have included colonial Taiwan in the scope of research. Accordingly, the present paper will contribute one such case study. When the colonizer shares remarkable similarities with the colonized in language and culture, the relationship between translation and ideology under colonialism as well as the struggle and negotiation between the colonized and the colonizer may be different from colonization in which Western powers are involved. The Japanese authorities took advantage of the overlap in the written language: during the occupation, they promoted works written in Chinese characters and developed a good relationship with the gentry of Taiwan. Some of that class accepted the appeasements of the Japanese

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17 Including studies of Tsai Pei-ling 蔡佩玲 (2009), Lin Yi-heng 林以衡 (2009), Huang Mei-e 黃美娥 (2010), Xue Jian-rong 薛建蓉 (2012), Lin Fang-mei 林芳玫 (2013), and Wang Shao-chun 王韶君 (2017).

18 Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2004), 131.

officials. From the writings of Xie during the latter stages of the Japanese occupation, we can see how writing in Chinese became a wartime tool to describe the greater East Asian region.<sup>19</sup> For instance, we see many showings of colonial patriotism in the pages of the *Wind and Moon Magazine*.<sup>20</sup> Thus, in such a political climate, the rewriting of “The Heroic Legend” is not without its context.

Therefore, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. Which Japanese translation was the source of Xie’s “The Heroic Legend”?
2. Does Xie manipulate the story under the influence of political context?
3. If yes, how does Xie’s manipulation reveal his ideology?

## 2. The Source Text

Hsu Chun-ya has listed all the possible source texts for Xie’s “The Heroic Legend,”<sup>21</sup> including the versions of Shioi Masao 鹽井正男(1894), Baba Mutsuo 馬場睦夫 (1915), Fujinami Suisho 藤浪水處 & Baba Mutsuo (1921),

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19 Hsu Pei-jung 許倍榕, “Rizhi Chuqi Taiwan Yanlunjie ‘Wenxue’ Gainian de Bianhua 日治初期台灣言論界「文學」概念的變化 [Changes in the Concept of ‘Literature’ During the Early Years of the Japanese Colonization of Taiwan],” *Taiwan Wenxue Yanjiu* 台灣文學研究 [Taiwan Literature Studies], no. 7 (Dec. 2014), 200-201.

20 Tsai Pei-ling: “‘Tongwen’ de Xiangxiang yu Shijian: Rizhi Shiqi Taiwan Chuantong Wenren Xie Xueyu de Hanwen Shuxie 「同文」的想像與實踐：日治時期臺灣傳統文人謝雪漁的漢文書寫 [Imagination and Practice of the Same Literacy: Xie Xueyu’s Chinese Writing as a Traditional Scholar in Colonial Taiwan],” 92-93.

21 Hsu Chun-ya 許俊雅, “Rizhi Shiqi Taiwan Baokan Xiaoshuo de Gaixie Xianxiang ji Qi Xushu Celue 日治時期臺灣報刊小說的改寫現象及其敘述策略 [The Phenomena and Strategies of the Rewriting of Novels Published in Newspapers and Magazines in Taiwan Under Japanese Rule],” *Taiwan Wenxue Xuebao* 臺灣文學學報 [Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature], no. 23 (Dec. 2013), 164-165. Hsu Chun-ya 許俊雅 (ed.), *Taiwan Rizhi Shiqi Fanyi Wenxue Zuopinji Juan San* 臺灣日治時期翻譯文學作品集卷三 [Anthology of Translations in Colonial Taiwan Volume 3] (Taipei: Wanjuanlou, 2014), 505.

Hataya Masao 幡谷正雄 (1925), Kihara Junichi 木原順一 (1932), and Irie Naosuke 入江直祐 (1936). However, Hsu claimed that further investigation was needed to identify which of those works was really its source. In addition, Lin Chuang-chou 林莊周<sup>22</sup> found three other possible source texts, namely the translations of Hattori Seiichi 服部誠一 (1886), Okamura Aizou 岡村愛蔵 (1903),<sup>23</sup> and Kume Genichi 久米元一 (1931). Similarly, Sato Takero 佐藤猛郎<sup>24</sup> also made a list of translations or adaptations of Scott's works in Japan but his list provided no other possible versions.

While Hsu refrained from singling out a Japanese version as the source text of Xie's Chinese translation, Lin concluded that the source text was *Taisei Katsugeki: Shunsō Kiwa* 泰西活劇：春窓綺話 [*Western Drama: Spring Windows and Beautiful Stories*],<sup>25</sup> translated by Hattori Seiichi. His conclusion came from his interpretation of a passage from the preface to the text, where Xie says: "The Japanese novelist has also written a work of historical fiction by taking the general idea [from the original]."<sup>26</sup> Lin argued that only Hattori was a novelist among the possible candidates, and *Western Drama* was a work of historical fiction. Additionally, the writing style of Hattori's *Western Drama* is quite similar to the traditional Chinese writing style that Xie preferred.

22 Lin Chuang-chou 林莊周, "Zhanzheng Shiqi Zhimindi Wenren de Guoti Xiangxiang: Yi Xie Xueyu Yizuo 'Wuyong Zhuan: Sigulanguo Nuwang' wei Zhongxin 戰爭時期殖民地文人的國體想像——以謝雪漁譯作〈武勇傳：思谷蘭國女王〉為中心 [Imagination of National Cultural Values of Literati in Colonial Taiwan: The Case of Xie Xueyu's Translation of *The Lady of the Lake*]," paper presented at the Translator Through History International Conference (Taipei: National Academy for Educational Research, September 14, 2013).

23 Lin Chuang-chou gives the year of this work as 1904 in his paper, but I have found through investigation at the National Diet Library that the correct year is 1903.

24 Sato Takero 佐藤猛郎, "The Bridge Across West and East—The People Who Introduced Scott Literature to Japan 西と東の架け橋—スコット文学を輸入した人々," *Bulletin of Tsukuba International University* つくば国際大学研究紀要, no. 7 (Mar. 2001), 1-17.

25 Lin Chuang-chou, "Zhanzheng Shiqi Zhimindi Wenren de Guoti Xiangxiang: Yi Xie Xueyu Yizuo 'Wuyongzhuan: Sigulanguo Nuwang' wei Zhongxin," [Imagination of National Cultural Values of Literati in Colonial Taiwan: The Case of Xie Xueyu's Translation of *The Lady of the Lake*].

26 日本小説家亦撮取大意，寫為稗史。In Xie Xueyu, (trans.), "Wuyong Zhuan: Sigulanguo Nuwang [The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland]," 506-507.

Nevertheless, without an attentive reading and a detailed textual comparison between Hattori's Japanese rendition and Xie's Chinese translation, Lin's inference seems unconvincing.

Given those unsolved issues, the author of this study has collected the aforementioned Japanese texts, and has looked through the catalogues of major libraries in both Japan and Taiwan. The possible source texts are given below (in cases where the translators and publishers are the same but the years of publication are different, the year for the first edition was used):

1. Hattori Seiichi (服部誠一), trans., *Western Drama: Spring Windows and Beautiful Stories (Taisei Katsugeki: Shunsō Kiwa 泰西活劇：春窓綺話)*, 1884.
2. Shioi Masao (鹽井正男), trans., *A Long Poem: The Beautiful Lady of the Lake (Imayo Choka: Kojo no Bijin 今様長歌 湖上の美人)*, 1894.
3. Okamura Aizou (岡村愛蔵), trans., *Notes on Scott's The Lady of the Lake (Sukotto Kojo no Kajin Shokai スコット湖上之佳人詳解)*, 1903.
4. Baba Mutsuo (馬場睦夫), trans., *The Beautiful Lady of the Lake (Kojo no Bijin 湖上の美人)*, 1915.
5. Fujinami Suisho & Baba Mutsuo (藤浪水處、馬場睦夫), trans., *The Beautiful Lady of the Lake (Kojo no Bijin 湖上の美人)*, 1921.
6. Hataya Masao (幡谷正雄), trans., *The Beautiful Lady of the Lake (Kojo no Bijin 湖上の美人)*, 1925.
7. Kume Genichi (久米元一), trans., *A Story of a Brave Knight and a Princess (Isamashii Kishi to Ojo no Hanashi 勇ましい騎士と王女の話)*, 1931.
8. Kihara Junichi (木原順一), trans., *The Beautiful Lady of the Lake (Kojo no Bijin 湖上の美人)*, 1932.

9. Irie Naosuke (入江直祐), trans., *The Pretty Lady of the Lake* (*Mizūmi no Reijin* 湖の麗人), 1936.

After all possible source texts were collected, the texts which did not fit the conditions of the translation were excluded. Genre was the first exclusion criteria. Particularly, Okamura Aizou's two-volume version is annotated for the study of English, and it provides a plethora of notes on each line of Scott's original. Kihara Junichi's version is a parallel text giving the English and the Japanese, somewhat like a source book for language-education. Kume Genichi's version is a children's book, with its content deriving from Scott's 1925 novel *The Talisman*. None of these three versions seem to fit the criteria of Xie's description of the source as a work of "historical fiction" written by a "novelist." Therefore, these may be reasonably removed from the list of possibilities.

Next, the chapter structure of the texts was investigated. Hattori Seiichi's version was split in two parts, altogether comprising fifteen chapters. However, content from Scott's original was not provided until chapter seven, while the first six chapters describe Malcom's entrapment by a scoundrel and his subsequent exile. Douglas, Ellen's father, helps Malcom get his revenge, but also becomes entangled in the plot. These additional six chapters serve as sort of a prequel to the original story, explaining why Douglas was exiled by the king. In Shioi Masao's version, there are no names for chapters one through six. It is clear that Xie's chapter structure differs from those of Hattori Seiichi and Shioi Masao. Based on the structure comparison showed in Table 1, it can be inferred that the source text is more likely to be Baba Mutsuo's 1915 version, Fujinami Suisho & Baba Mutsuo's 1921 version, Hataya Masao's 1925 version, or Irie Naosuke's 1936 version. From the differences in chapter structure and names, Hattori and Shioi can reasonably be removed from the list of possible source texts.

Table 1. Comparison of chapter names in each post-1915 Japanese version and Xie's translation

| Scott                       | Baba         | Fujinami & Baba | Hataya     | Irie       | Xie      |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|------------|----------|
| Canto I.<br>Chase           | 第一篇<br>獵リ    | 第一篇<br>鹿狩リ      | 第一篇<br>狩獵  | 卷ノ一<br>狩   | 一<br>游荒郊 |
| Canto II.<br>The Island     | 第二篇<br>湖上の小島 | 第二篇<br>湖上の小島    | 第二篇<br>小島  | 卷ノ二<br>島   | 二<br>宿孤島 |
| Canto III.<br>The Gathering | 第三篇<br>一族の集合 | 第三篇<br>氏族の集合    | 第三篇<br>召集  | 卷ノ三<br>召集  | 三<br>舊勳臣 |
| Canto IV.<br>The Prophecy   | 第四篇<br>豫言    | 第四篇<br>豫言       | 第四篇<br>豫言  | 卷ノ四<br>豫言  | 四<br>明松火 |
| Canto V.<br>The Combat      | 第五篇<br>格闘    | 第五篇<br>一騎打      | 第五篇<br>格闘  | 卷ノ五<br>一騎打 | 五<br>村食邑 |
| Canto VI.<br>The Guard Room | 第六篇<br>衛兵の詰所 | 第六篇<br>衛兵の詰所    | 第六篇<br>衛兵所 | 卷ノ六<br>武者溜 |          |

Following the investigation of chapter titles, the author proceeds to consider the publishing dates. Irie Naosuke's version was published in 1936, just three years before Xie's. This text is more likely to be a source than the other texts that were separated from Xie's version by 14, 18, and 24 years. In Irie's preface, he states that he had read several Japanese versions of Scott's text,<sup>27</sup> which may be

27 Irie Naosuke 入江直祐, "Hashigaki はしがき [Preface]," in Irie Naosuke 入江直祐 (trans.), *Mizūmi no Reijin 湖の麗人 [The Pretty Lady of the Lake]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1936), 4.

the reason why his chapter titles are somewhat similar to the three Japanese versions preceding his.

The last important factor to consider in the investigation is the terminology used within the stories. Wang Shao-chun's (王韶君) dissertation<sup>28</sup> discussed two characteristics of Xie's translation of Kubo Tenzui's (久保天隨; 1875-1934) *Shina Bungakushi* (《支那文學史》; *History of Chinese Literature*), and her findings may provide another clue. One characteristic she mentioned was Xie's transliteration. Xie usually transliterated Japanese terms written in katakana. For example, *tsuran jinshu* “ツラン”人種 was translated as *zhulan renzhong* “諸蘭”人種; and *sukiyutai teikoku* “スキユタイ”帝國 was translated as *sjiyoutai diguo* “思基有臺”帝國.<sup>29</sup> Another characteristic is that he often appropriated *kanji* 漢字 (Chinese characters) directly from the Japanese text, including literary and geographic terms, such as *hoshu seishin* 保守精神 [conservatism], *keishiki shugi* 形式主義 [formalism], *Rikai* 裏海 [the Caspian Sea], and *Europa*

28 Wang Shao-chun 王韶君: “Rizhi Shiqi ‘Zhongguo’ Zuwei Gongju de Taiwan Shenfen Sisuo: Yi Xie Xueyu, Li Yitao, Wei Qingde wei Yanjiu Duixiang 日治時期「中國」作為工具的臺灣身分思索：以謝雪漁、李逸濤、魏清德為研究對象 [Reflecting on Taiwan's Identity by Using “China” as a Tool During Japanese Colonial Period: A Study of Shie Shiue-Yu, Li Yi-Tao and Wei Ching-Dei],” Ph.D. dissertation (National Taiwan Normal University, 2016).

29 Actually, in investigating the name *lu li ju* 露禮立巨, I have discovered that the transliterations of proper names for people and places do not conform to standard Mandarin Chinese. The main languages used at the time of the translation, that is, during the Japanese occupation, were Taiwanese (Southern Min) and Japanese. Considering that Xie had worked as an editor of Taiwanese-language teaching materials and had been a teacher of Taiwanese, we can reasonably hypothesize that Xie used Taiwanese pronunciations to transliterate the names for people and places. To look at an example, the name “Roderick.” The name in the Japanese source is written in katakana as ロデリック (ro de rik ku). Xie translates this as 露禮立巨, the pronunciations for which would be *lōo le lip gu* (Taiwanese), which is more similar to ロデリック than *lu li li ju* (Mandarin). The pronunciation of 巨 is particularly telling, since its Taiwanese pronunciation *gu* comes close to the Japanese *ku*. One other example is the transliteration of “Douglas,” the name of Ellen's father, into ダグラス (da gu ra su) in the Japanese source and 塔語刺思 in Xie's version, the pronunciations for which would be *thah gú la su* (Taiwanese), which is more similar to ダグラス than *ta yu la si* (Mandarin). In this second example, again, the Taiwanese pronunciation for 語 *gú* is closer to the Japanese *ku*.

歐羅巴 [Europe].<sup>30</sup> This particular characteristic—appropriation of Chinese characters—may help us determine the source text of “The Heroic Legend.”

In Xie’s version, the bard notes how Roderick himself wants to become king and says: “The people have placed the name ‘black ghost’ on me. I must wash away this bad name and become the leader of the new Kingdom of Scotland.”<sup>31</sup> The term “black ghost” is a very peculiar term. In the corresponding scene in Scott’s original, Canto II Section XII, this is the first time the readers hear the bard mention Roderick, where he calls him “Black Sir Roderick.” Through careful reading of the Japanese versions, the author found that only Irie Naosuke named Roderick as 黒鬼ロデリック (black ghost Roderick). Irie also added a note that goes like this: “その顔色黒きが故にかく謂ふ” (“He is called that due to his black color”).<sup>32</sup> The term “black ghost” appeared in Irie’s version 23 times in total, while it was not used by any of the other Japanese translators. This means that Xie derived this term from Irie’s Japanese version.

In summary, through the preceding analyses such aspects as genre, chapter structure, publishing times, and terminology, especially the unique term “black ghost” 黒鬼, it may be concluded that the Japanese version Xie used for his translation was that of Irie Naosuke.

### 3. Manipulation of narrative

After a comparison of these three works, namely Scott’s *The Lady of the Lake*, Irie Naosuke’s translation, and Xie Xueyu’s translation from the Japanese intermediary, it turned out that the differences between Xie’s translation and the

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30 Wang Shao-chun, “Rizhi Shiqi ‘Zhongguo’ Zuowei Gongju de Taiwan Shenfen Sisuo: Yi Xie Xueyu, Li Yitao, Wei Qingde wei Yanjiu Duixiang,” 175-176.

31 “人被我以黑鬼之名，我必洗此惡名，而為新蘭國之主，” in “Wuyong Zhuan: Sigulanguo Nuwang [The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland], trans. Xueyu Xie, 514.

32 Irie Naosuke 入江直祐, “Chu 註 [Note],” in *Mizuumi no Reijin 湖の麗人 [The Pretty Lady of the Lake]*, trans. Irie Naosuke 入江直祐, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1936), 233.



original are not due to the Japanese text he translated from. Rather, the differences are from Xie's own manipulation of the story. The term "manipulation" was used in the sense given by the Manipulation School. In *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*,<sup>33</sup> Theo Hermans said "all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose."<sup>34</sup> He believed that in considering translated literature, the historical context and the socio-cultural aspects should be taken into account because "translation is deployed in the context of existing social structures, which are also structures of power, both material and what Pierre Bourdieu would call 'symbolic.'"<sup>35</sup> In the same vein, André Lefevere (1945-1996) believed that all translations are a form of rewriting. Thus, whether rewriters produce translations, literary histories, or more compact spin-offs, reference works, anthologies, criticisms, or editions, they adapt and manipulate the originals to some extent, making them fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant, ideological and poetological currents of their time.<sup>36</sup> Such a contextualization of translation is precisely what the author of this paper proposes to do.

In order to study translation as a phenomenon in a social context rather than compare two texts in a vacuum, this paper was done following the practical procedure to describe translation proposed by Lambert & Van Gorp. The procedure is a synthetic scheme for translation description, starting from the preliminary data of the translation to the textual macro-structure, then to the micro-structure, and finally to the systemic context.<sup>37</sup> Here the preliminary data

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33 Theo Hermans (ed.), *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation* (London: Croom Helms, 1985).

34 Theo Hermans, "Introduction: Translation Studies and a New Paradigm," *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation* (London: Croom Helms, 1985), 11.

35 Theo Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained* (London: Routledge, 2020), 80.

36 André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992), 8.

37 José Lambert and Hendrik Van Gorp, "On Describing Translations," in *The Manipulation of*

to be analyzed include the title and preface of the translation. The macro-level analysis is based on characters and plot, while the micro-level analysis is based on the rhetorical patterns. Finally, the connection between the manipulation and the context will be examined and discussed.

### 3.1 Title and preface

As shown in the original title *The Lady of the Lake*, as well as in Irie's Japanese title *Mizūmi no Reijin* 湖の麗人 [*The Pretty Lady of the Lake*], the focus of the original story is on the heroine Ellen. In Xie's Chinese version, however, it is the queen who receives the spotlight, as the title "The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland" indicates. Xie shifts the story intended by the title from a romantic story about a beautiful girl of the lake to one of the martial images of the queen. Ellen, the center of the romance-within-the-war story of the original, is replaced by the queen and her political story of quelling unrest, which emphasized the kindness and generosity of the queen and the apparent inclination toward the loyalty to Her Majesty.

In his preface, Xie described the queen as a woman "born with strength whose prowess in war and the arts excels all others, who is well-versed in the tracts of war, resourceful and full of tact, delicately charming; she is a peerless beauty."<sup>38</sup> From Xie's imagination, this peerless beauty is the queen of Scotland, but in Scott's original work as well as Irie's Japanese translation, the "peerless beauty" is Ellen. In this description, the queen is not only a master of arts and war, but also a woman of looks and intelligence; this shows how Xie molded the character to fit a womanly ideal. Moreover, in the title, he added the foreign name

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*Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, ed. Theo Hermans, (London: Croom Helms, 1985), 52-53.

38 Xie Xueyu (trans.), "Wuyong Zhuan: Sigulanguo Nuwang [The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland]," 506.

“Scotland,” showing that “Taiwanese artists, when translating novels, insisted on ‘putting the foreign on display.’”<sup>39</sup>

### 3.2 Character and plot

Scott's narrative poem was developed through three main plot lines. The first is the contest among three men—Roderick Dhu, James Fitz-James (the name King James V takes as he travels incognito), and Malcolm Graeme—for the love of the titular lady of the lake, Ellen Douglas; the second is the grudge between King James V of Scotland and James Douglas; and the last is the battle between the clans under Dhu and the troops led by King James V. Many changes can be seen in Xie's rewriting, either in the characters or in the plot. The first obvious change is in one of the main characters: James Fitz-James. In the English original, this character is actually James V, King of Scotland. He and the other two heroes vie for the love of Ellen Douglas, whose father, James Douglas, was once the mentor of the youthful King James and is now exiled as an enemy. In Irie's Japanese version, the king calls himself James Fitz-James (ジエームズ・フィッツ-ジエームズ) while in disguise, but in Xie's Chinese translation, the King of Scotland, who meets Ellen in the area of the lake, is translated as the “Queen” of Scotland, who calls herself by a fully feminine name, *jiubânsu* (柔文斯).

Due to the change in gender, it is almost impossible to develop a love story between the queen (once king) and Ellen. Even the pieces of plot related to Roderick and Malcolm's love for Ellen are also omitted. In Xie's version, the story has become a purely historical and political narrative without the romance between a woman and three men. In the English original and Japanese translation, Roderick and Malcolm, both pursuing Ellen, turn against each other. In Xie's Chinese version, however, they become enemies because they stand in different

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39 Huang Mei-e, *Chongceng Xiandaixing Jingxiang: Rizhi Shidai Taiwan Chuantong Wenren de Wenhua Shiyu yu Wenxue Xiangxiang*, 312.

positions: Roderick wants to fight against the rule of the queen, while Malcolm hopes to stay loyal.

Xie created an ending in which all the islanders who live on the island in the lake happily surrender themselves to the queen, including Roderick. In both Scott's English original and Irie's Japanese translation, Roderick is mortally wounded in a fight with the king and dies as a captive in prison. Conversely, in Xie's version, after he finds out that Ellen's father has been reinstated as earl and enfeoffed, and his clan's status now elevated, his anger assuaged, and he makes obeisance to the queen. Ellen's story ends with her serving the queen in her court, who marries and arranges for Ellen to marry a noble. Very clearly Ellen's story in Xie's translation is different from Scott's original, where she ends up choosing Malcom with the blessing of the king. This, again, confirms that the queen is the protagonist of Xie's version, and only when she has reached her *dénouement* does the story come to a meaningful end.

### 3.3 Rhetoric pattern

The rhetorical style in Xie's Chinese version follows traditional Chinese poetics and aesthetics. For example, Xie, writing in an archaic writing style, uses a four-character pattern to describe the scenery around the lake:

時日影銜山，湖心斜照，金波蕩漾，游魚唼喋，歸鳥飛鳴，  
漁歌唱晚，渡水聲清，人如在畫圖中。<sup>40</sup>

When the sun was setting behind the mountains, the sunshine shimmered in the middle of the lake, making the waves glitter like gold. The swimming fish were munching, and the flying birds were returning to their nests. The fisherman's song at dusk

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40 Xie Xueyu (trans.), "Wuyong Zhuan: Sigulanguo Nuwang 武勇傳：思谷蘭國女王 [The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland]," 509.

and the sound of sculling were both clear in such picturesque scenery. (Translation mine)

Such archaic description is often criticized as cliché-ridden. Hu Shih 胡適 (1891-1962) expressed his disappointment that Chinese novelists always describe scenery with clichéd phrases.<sup>41</sup> Chen Pingyuan 陳平原 also criticizes this Chinese writing tradition when applied to scenic descriptions in the Chinese *xin xiaoshuo* 新小說 [new novel], saying that the scenery described is just mountains on paper and rivers in ink.<sup>42</sup> The description in Xie's translation is much more typical of scenery in southern China than of the distinctive scenery of Scotland. His addition of this scenic description is a typical example of Chinese rhetoric.

Another example is his illustration of Ellen Douglas, the titular “lady of the lake:”

女王亦見那少女，姿容明媚，體態輕盈，金髮垂雲，碧瞳翦水……<sup>43</sup>

The queen also observed the young lady. She had a beautiful face and a slender figure. Her blond hair hung down like clouds and her blue eyes were clear and bright.... (Emphasis and translation mine)

In Irie's Japanese version, Ellen has curly hair (*makige* 捲毛) as black as the color of a wet crow's feathers (*yogarasu no nureba no iro* 夜烏の濡羽の色).

41 Hu Shih 胡適, “*Laocan Youji Xu* 老殘遊記序 [Preface of the Travels of Lao Can],” in DeLong Liu 劉德隆, Xi Zhu 朱禧 and Liu Deping 劉德平 (eds.), *Liue ji Laocan Youji Ziliao* 劉鶚及老殘遊記資料 [Information on Liue and *Laocan Youji*] (Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 384.

42 Chen Pingyuan 陳平原, *Zhongguo Xiaoshuo Xushi Moshi de Zhuanbian* 中國小說敘事模式的轉變 [The Transformation of the Narrative Modes of Chinese Fiction] (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2006), 114.

43 Xie Xueyu (trans.), “Wuyong Zhuan: Sigulanguo Nuwang 武勇傳：思谷蘭國女王 [The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland],” 508.

Ellen also has dark eyes (*kuroi hitomi* 黒い瞳). Generally, Irie described Ellen's hair and eyes in much the same way it was described in Scott's original. Meanwhile, the illustration of blond hair and blue eyes in Xie's translation is obviously in accordance with the stereotypical description of foreign women in Chinese new novels. It once again demonstrates that no matter if it is the scenery or characters of the novel, we can see Xie's preference for clichéd rhetorical patterns commonly used in Chinese fiction. This tendency reflects quite clearly how Xie, a traditional literatus, revealed his traditional literary norms and personal experiences in the translation of foreign literature.

### 3.4 Context

The final step is to investigate the connections of Xie's translation with other translational and "creative" works, as well as the relations with the context. It is not too hard to find possible causes for Xie's changing of title, character, plot, and his preference for clichéd rhetoric patterns. Xie classified this novel as a "heroic legend," a choice related to the series he published that same year. He published several similar stories in the *Chinese Taiwan Daily News*, such as "The Heroic Legend: Biebu Chuanjiulang," (*Wuyong Zhuan: Biebu Chuanjiulang* 《武勇傳：別部傳九郎》), "The Heroic Legend: Shibingwei Dingxiong," (*Wuyong Zhuan: Shibingwei Dingxiong* 《武勇傳：市兵衛定雄》), and "The Heroic Legend: Xiangjing Cangren Yiqing" (*Wuyong Zhuan: Xiangjing Cangren Yiqing* 《武勇傳：向井藏人義晴》). Xie also published "The Heroines of Japan and China" (*Ri Hua Ying Ci Zhuan* 《日華英雌傳》) in the *Wind and Moon Magazine* from July 1937 to February 1938. Nevertheless, in the heroic novels Xie published in the *Chinese Taiwan Daily News*, the protagonists were all male. Comparatively, the protagonists in heroic or heroine stories published in the *Wind and Moon Magazine* were female. In fact, it was not only Xie who published works with female adventurers or heroes—Li Yitao (李逸濤) also published such stories. Huang Mei-e asserted that this is due to the influence of

the Qing dynasty's "intellectual circles being steeped in the particular mindset of the wandering warriors of old, their being inspired by the numerous novels of chivalry (*xiayi* 俠義) or crime fiction (*gongan* 公案) depicting legendary female knights and assassins saving the state or revolutionaries engaged in revolutionary events."<sup>44</sup>

Xie's changing of the king into the queen, who was then the focus of the story, was possibly a result of such a trend. However, it may also aim to draw a larger female readership. After the ban of Chinese writing in 1937, the *Wind and Moon Magazine* was one of the few Chinese-language journals that were tolerated by the Japanese authorities. It was that very magazine that was under the editorship of Xie starting in April 1937. In order to survive, the magazine's previous editors, in the process of attempting attract readers' attention to women's issues, had created Taiwan's first popular magazine with the selling points of marriage, family, women, and fashion. Its intended readership was females who understood Chinese. Looking to implement innovative ideas and practices, its male editors, including Wu Man-sha (吳漫沙; 1912-2005), even used female pseudonyms, pretending to be female editors, to perform cross-gender writing. However, as Liu Shu-chin has shown in her research, this goal was not attained.<sup>45</sup> From an analysis of the readership, one can see that the novels published in *Wind and Moon Magazine* were produced and read, primarily,

44 Huang Mei-e, "'Wenti' yu 'Guoti': Riben Wenxue zai Rizhi Shiqi Taiwan Hanyu Wenyan Xiaoshuo Zhong de Kuajie Xinglu, Wenhua Fanyi yu Shuxie Cuozi 《「文體」與「國體」——日本文學在日治時期臺灣漢語文言之小說中的跨界行旅、文化翻譯與書寫錯置》 ["Style" and "National Cultural Values": Japanese Literature in Classical Chinese Novels During the Japanese Colonial Period]," 372.

45 Liu Shu-chin 柳書琴, "'Fengyuebao' Daodishi Sheide Suoyou?: Shufang, Hanwen Duzhe Jiecheng yu Nuxing Shizi Zhe 《風月報》到底是誰的所有?: 書房、漢文讀者階層與女性識字者 [Who did *Wind and Moon Magazine* Belong to, Library, Chinese Readers, or Women Who Could Read?]," in Chiu Kuei-fen 邱貴芬 and Liu Shu-chin 柳書琴 (eds.), *Taiwan Wenxue yu Kuawenhua Liudong: Dongya Xiandai Zhongwen Wenxue Guoji Xuebao Disanqi Taiwanhao* 《臺灣文學與跨文化流動: 東亞現代中文文學國際學報第三期臺灣號》 [Taiwanese Literature and Cross-Cultural Mobility: The International Journal of Study on Modern Chinese Literature in East Asia] (Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs, 2007), 153-154.

by male readers who had grown out of the traditional model of learning. The fact that women's issues were able to find a voice, Liu believed, resulted from the emergence of female students in public elementary schools, which brought pressure or anxiety to educated men, so that women became the object of the male gaze. Therefore, educated "new women" as heroines in short stories became the object of the male reader's gaze.<sup>46</sup>

Xie Xueyu seems to be a promoter of "Kōminka" (Japanization).<sup>47</sup> For instance, in his authored work entitled "The Heroines of Japan and China," the main heroine Lin Lichun (林麗君) plays the role of spokesperson for friendly relations between Japan and China. Similarly, Xie's earlier translation "Chance in the Midst of Battle" also tells a story about reconciliation between monarchists and republicans in the French Revolution. That story's female protagonist, Tie Hua (鐵花), is also a typical heroine. In his other translational work "The Heroic Legend," Xie Xueyu once again promoted Kōminka, using a female character, the Queen of Scotland, instead of the King of Scotland of the original, to promote reconciliation between the islanders and royal authority. Lin Shu-hui (林淑慧),<sup>48</sup> Lin Fang-mei,<sup>49</sup> and Huang Mei-e<sup>50</sup> have all spoken on the expression of the

46 Liu Shu-chin, "'Fengyuebao' Daodishi Sheide Suoyou?: Shufang, Hanwen Duzhe Jiecheng yu Nuxing Shizi Zhe," 153-154.

47 Lin Fang-mei, "Xie Xueyu Tongsu Shuxie de Kuawenhua Shenfen Bianji: Tanta 'Ri Hua Ying Ci Zhuan' de Xingbie yu Guozu Yuyan," 49.

48 Lin Shu-hui 林淑慧, "Nuti yu Guoti: Lun Xie Xueyu Zhi 'Ri Hua Ying Ci Zhuan' 女體與國體：論謝雪漁之〈日華·英雌傳〉 [Body Culture and Imperialist Imagination in Xie Xueyu's Popular Novel *The Heroines of Japan and China*]," *Zhongguo Wenxue Yanjiu* 中國文學研究 [Studies in Chinese Literature], no. 24 (Jun. 2007), 119-152.

49 Lin Fang-mei, "Xie Xueyu Tongsu Shuxie de Kuawenhua Shenfen Bianji: Tanta 'Ri Hua Ying Ci Zhuan' de Xingbie yu Guozu Yuyan," 29-62.

50 Huang Mei-e 黃美娥, "Jiwenxue Xinnuren: Hanwen Taiwan Ririxinbao Zhong Li Yitao Tongsu Xiaoshuo de Nuxing Xingxiang 舊文學新女人——《漢文臺灣日日新報》中李逸濤通俗小說的女性形象 [Old Literature and New Women—The Feminine Image in the Popular Novels of Li Yitao in the *Chinese Taiwan Daily News*]," in *Chongceng Xiandaixing Jingxiang: Rizhi Shidai Taiwan Chuantong Wenren de Wenhua Shiyu yu Wenxue Xiangxiang* 重層現代性鏡像：日治時代臺灣傳統文人的文化視域與文學想像 [Mirrors of Multiple Modernities: Cultural Vision and Literary Imagination of Traditional Taiwanese Literati Under Japanese Rule], 237-283.



“female body” or the “feminine image” in Chinese novels. Xie, in his “The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland,” transformed the male hero into a female heroine, making the Queen of Scotland its protagonist. This is another typical example of establishing a metaphor for the “female body” as a strong military state.

Xie's selection of materials to translate and his rewriting of such materials seems to represent the trend of negotiation between two major powers. In his 1936 translation “New Records of Eliminating Bandits” (*Xin Dang Kou Zhi* 新蕩寇志),<sup>51</sup> he also emphasizes the idea of rooting out mountain bandits, promoting loyalty to the authority, or that only by helping the court can one come to a good end.<sup>52</sup> Xie believed that there were blood connections between the Chinese and Japanese people, and so they ought to have good relations.<sup>53</sup> His choice of wartime novels for translation and rewriting shows that he used depictions of war to complete his mission of conveying the Ideological State Apparatus to his readers.<sup>54</sup> His choice to translate and rewrite Irie's *The Pretty*

51 According to Xue Jian-rong, “New Records of Eliminating Bandits” may have been rewritten from Rai San'yō's 賴山陽 *Riben Waishi* 《日本外史》 [*Unofficial History of Japan*] and *Beitiao Jiudai Ji* 《北條九代記》 [*A History of the Nine Generations of Hojo*]. Xue Jian-rong 薛建蓉, “Fenghuoxia de Lixiang Jiaguo Zaoxiang: Cong Xie Xueyu Zhanzheng Xiaoshuo Kan Dongyalun xia Lixiang Jiaguo Xingsu Jiqi Rentong Wenti Tantaosha 《烽火下的理想家國造象——從謝雪漁戰爭小說看東亞論下理想家國形塑及其認同問題探討》 [Creating the Image of an Ideal Country During Wartime: Image of an Ideal Country in the East Asia Theory from the Perspective of War Novels by Hsieh Shueh-Yu and the Investigation on Identification-related Issues],” *Taiwan Wenxue Yanjiu Xuebao* 臺灣文學研究學報 [Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies], no. 14 (Apr. 2012), 60.

52 Huang Mei-e, “‘Wenti’ yu ‘Guoti’: Riben Wenxue Zai Rizhi Shiqi Taiwan Hanyu Wenyan Xiaoshuo Zhong De Kuajie Xinglu, Wenhua Fanyi yu Shuxie Cuozi,” 390.

53 Xue Jian-rong 薛建蓉, *Chongxie de ‘Gui’ Ji: Rizhi Shiqi Taiwan Baozhang Zazhi De Hanwen Lishi Xiaoshuo* 重寫的「詭」跡：日治時期臺灣報章雜誌的漢文歷史小說 [The “Tricky” Path of Rewriting: Chinese Historical Fiction in Newspapers and Magazines During the Japanese Occupation of Taiwan] (Taipei: Xiuwei Zixun, 2015), 385.

54 Xue Jian-rong, “Fenghuoxia de Lixiang Jiaguo Zaoxiang: Cong Xie Xueyu Zhanzheng Xiaoshuo Kan Dongyalun xia Lixiang Jiaguo Xingsu Jiqi Rentong Wenti Tantaosha 《烽火下的理想家國造象——從謝雪漁戰爭小說看東亞論下理想家國形塑及其認同問題探討》 [Creating the Image of an Ideal Country During Wartime: Image of an Ideal Country in the East Asia Theory from the Perspective of War Novels by Hsieh Shueh-Yu and the Investigation on

*Lady of the Lake* was also likely due to its themes of war, but in his rewriting, he omitted the details of the war in the Japanese version, opting to change the plot into one where the rebel army immediately abandons its rebellion. This omission, on the one hand, avoided describing the cruel terrors of war and, on the other hand, encouraged submission to the authority of the government. In his replacement of the burly, masculine war, rebellion, and decisive battles with a softer method of appeals, he showed his ideological hand.

In the colonial context, Xie had to face conflicts across linguistic, literary, and political aspects. As a traditional literatus, especially as a “certified scholar” (*xiucai* 秀才) who had passed the imperial examination at the county level, Xie was doubtlessly an expert in Chinese language and literature. This presumed defender of the Chinese language, however, was eager to learn Japanese quickly. He was the first *xiucai* entering the Taiwan Governor-General's National Language School (*Taiwan soutoku kokugo gakkou* 台灣總督國語學校) to learn the Japanese language. After his graduation, he initially worked for the Taiwan Governor-General's Office as an editor of the *Japanese and Taiwanese Conversation Dictionary* (*Nittai kaiwa jiten* 日臺會話辭典) and later for the Training School for Police Officers (*Keisatsu kanri renshujo* 警察官吏練習所) as a teacher of the Taiwanese language.<sup>55</sup> This expert in language and literature took the initiative in participating in Japan's state apparatus. From 1923 to 1940, he was, in succession, a delegate of the Taihoku (台北) City Delegation and the Taihoku Prefecture Delegation, and a councilor for the Taihoku Prefecture Council; and in 1922 he was chosen to be one of the representatives from Taiwan to observe the Memorial Ceremony for Confucius's 2,400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary in Japan.<sup>56</sup> According to Xu Shu-xian's (徐淑賢) study of Xie's published Chinese

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Identification-related Issues],” 70.

55 “Xie Ruquan” 謝汝銓 in *Zhihuixing Quantaishi Zhishiku* 智慧型全臺詩知識庫 (access date: July 30, 2018). <http://xdcm.nmtl.gov.tw/twp/TWPAPP/ShowAuthorInfo.aspx?AID=1018>

56 Wang Shao-jun: “Rizhi Shiqi ‘Zhongguo’ Zuwei Gongju de Taiwan Shenfen Sisuo: Yi Xie Xueyu, Li Yitao, Wei Qingde wei Yanjiu Duixiang 日治時期「中國」作為工具的臺灣身分思索：以謝雪漁、李逸濤、魏清德為研究對象 [Reflecting on Taiwan's Identity by Using

poetry (*kanshi* 漢詩), Xie was perhaps in preparation to take a local government position in the Japanese-held territory in Nanjing (南京) in 1939.<sup>57</sup> Knowing that he actively studied the language and participated in the government of those in power, one may infer why he turned “The Heroic Legend” into a story emphasizing the kindness and generosity of the queen. Xie’s manipulation of plot, corresponding with his biographical information, clearly demonstrates his effort to craft a sustainable career in a colonized society.

Apart from linguistic and political accommodation, Xie’s literary preference for traditional Chinese rhetorical style betrayed his attempt to maintain Chinese poetics, which was, in fact, a safe approach after the Japanese colonial government’s 1937 ban of Chinese sections (*hanwen lan* 漢文欄) in newspapers and prohibition of writings in the Chinese language. *Wind and Moon Magazine* “is a case of a publication going against the current, which shows how the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office, in response to the war against China and without loosening restrictions on the use of Chinese language, used an extremely small number of malleable publications to effect their use of Chinese within ‘Chinese uni-culturalism.’”<sup>58</sup> According to Chen Pei-feng, the language that the Japanese government actually wanted to ban was “colonial Chinese,” a hybrid which was difficult for Japanese people to understand, not “classical Chinese,” a

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“China” as a Tool During Japanese Colonial Period: A Study of Shie Shiue-Yu, Li Yi-Tao and Wei Ching-Dei],” 83.

57 Xu Shu-xian 徐淑賢: “Taiwan Shishen de Sanjing Shuxie: yi 1930-1940 Niandai *Fengyue Bao*, *Nanfang*, *Shi Bao* wei Zhongxin 台灣士紳的三京書寫：以 1930-1940 年代《風月報》、《南方》、《詩報》為中心 [Writings of the Taiwanese Gentry in Three Capital Cities: with a Focus on *Wind and Moon Magazine*, *The South*, and *Shi-Bao* in 1930-1940],” (Master’s thesis, National Tsing Hua University, 2012), 149-151.

58 Liu Shu-chin 柳書琴, “Daoyan: Diguo Kongjian Chongsu, Jinwei Xintizhi yu Taiwan ‘Difang Wenhua’ 導言：帝國空間重塑、近衛新體制與臺灣「地方文化」 [Introduction: Reshaping of Imperial Space, the New Konoe Organization, and “Local Culture” in Taiwan],” in Chiu Kuei-fen 邱貴芬 and Liu Shu-chin 柳書琴 (eds.), *Diguoli de “Difang Wenhua”*: *Huangminhua Shiqi Taiwan Wenhua Zhuangkuang* 帝國裡的「地方文化」：皇民化時期臺灣文化狀況 [“Local Culture” in an Empire: The Cultural Situation in Taiwan During the Kōminka Period] (Taipei: Bozhongzhe Chuban, 2008), 1-48.

common literary form for mutual understanding.<sup>59</sup> As such, Chinese poetry, written in classical Chinese, was still popular among Japanese literati even after the 1937 ban. Traditional Chinese poetics became a safety net, which Xie used as an effective tool to create an imagined community under the common culture of Chinese characters. Thus, when the *Wind and Moon Magazine* became one of the few remaining media where writers and translators could publish their Chinese writings and translations, it simultaneously became a possible guarantee for the sustainability of traditional Chinese poetics.<sup>60</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

Through comparative analysis, the Japanese text Xie used as his source has been determined, a text which has been found to be quite faithful to its English original. It can be said with certainty that the differences between that Japanese text and Xie's translation resulted from his own manipulation. Through attentive reading and comparison, Xie's manipulation of the narrative has been analyzed and associated with the context to help us better understand the characteristics and the ideology revealed in his translation. Xie's selection of a text with themes of war, love, and rebellion disclosed his intention of manipulation in the first place, and this decision was clearly related to the context that surrounded him. André Lefevere believed that manipulation such as translating or editing is an act of rewriting.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, Susan Bassnett and Lefevere both believed that all rewritings reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and, as such, are manipulations of literature functioning in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is

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59 Chen Pei-feng, *Xiangxiang he Jiexian: Taiwan Yuyan Wenti de Hunsheng*, 262.

60 *Wind and Moon Magazine* was renamed *The South* in 1941. Beginning with issue 189, *The South* began printing poetry only. And in February 1944, *The South* was renamed *The South Poetry Collection*. However, after just two issues, *The South Poetry Collection* was ordered to stop publishing.

61 André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, 7.

manipulation, undertaken in the service of power.<sup>62</sup> Xie transformed the text into a story promoting loyalty to the authority, demonstrating his stand in the intensified conflict between China and Japan. Metaphorically, the island in the lake is similar to the island Taiwan in the Pacific Ocean, and the Queen is comparable to the Japanese government or the Emperor of Japan. The reconciliation in the story reflects Xie Xueyu's political standpoint. Obviously, from the selection of material for translation to the manipulation of the title, character, plot, and writing style, Xie's translation practice was strongly influenced by the political context in colonial Taiwan, or more specifically, it was strongly in the service of power.

During the colonial period, a period full of power struggles, the role of the traditional literatus was much the same as that of the translators—existing between a rock and a hard place, between fidelity and infidelity. The Italian expression “Traduttore, traditore” means “The translator is a traitor.” It is one expression of the distrust that translators are targeted with. Translation studies has gradually loosened its emphasis on the concept of fidelity. It has even, from the perspectives of creative treason and the translator's visibility, stressed the renewed life of the translation and the subjectivity of the translator. Along that same line of reasoning, research into traditional literati during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan should abandon the dichotomy of national identity. Lin Fang-mei discussed Xie's national identity under the title of her paper “The Heroines of Japan and China,” in which she used Wolfgang Iser's transculturality, a concept that differs from the oversimplified dichotomy of either opposing or flattering the Japanese government and also differs from multiculturalism.<sup>63</sup> The author of this paper believes that due to the change of times, Xie's self-identity existed in a dynamic state. To use the metaphor of Edward Said, it was like “a

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62 Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, “General Editors' Preface,” *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 2017), vii.

63 Lin Fang-mei, “Xie Xueyu Tongsu Shuxie de Kuawenhua Shenfen Bianji: Tantaoye ‘Ri Hua Ying Ci Zhuan’ de Xingbie yu Guozu Yuyan,” 34.

cluster of flowing currents,” rather than a solid self. “These currents are always in motion, in time, in place, in the form of all kinds of strange combinations moving about.”<sup>64</sup> Xie, as a traditional literatus, engaged in all kinds of actions, including an active study of the Japanese language, entering the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office where he edited Taiwanese language educational materials and taught the language, encouraging *Kōminka* and loyalty to the government in his original works and translations, and being in general dedicated to the writing and translation of novels in Chinese. This may all have resulted from his predilection to flow with the ideological and poetological currents of his time. Xie’s manipulation of the text as a product of his times can be seen apparently in his translational work “The Heroic Legend: Queen of Scotland.” Accordingly, it is not necessary to see translators as traitors or translations as traitorous, but rather translations can be manipulations of translators who are simply trying to survive the era in which they were born.

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64 Edward W. Said, *Out of Place: A Memoir* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 295.

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