Literary Migrations

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Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia (17th-20th Centuries)

Edited by Claudine Salmon

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FOREWORD

by Ji Xianlin 季羡林

In human history, cultural exchanges have been a constant and normal phenomenon. The history of human civilization of thousands of years has proved that every nation, irrespective of its size and length of history, has made its own contributions to human culture in varying degrees of depth and breadth. Being a recipient and a giver at the same time, each country takes in foreign culture and sends out its own, thus enriching the common treasure house of human culture as well as its own culture.

I believe that the study of the history of human cultural exchanges is a branch of learning of tremendous significance. It will enable the people of different countries to realize what they have received and what they have offered, whereby they can, on the one hand, strengthen their own confidence and, on the other, form a correct understanding that men should help each other and that no country whatsoever can be, will be or has ever been isolated. Such an insight will greatly help to promote the friendship and understanding between countries and peoples and to strengthen their determination to safeguard world peace and forge ahead courageously toward a still greater goal.

As far as China is concerned, it is a country in the Asian continent with a history of thousands of years. Our people, valiant, industrious and intelligent, have created a culture of great brilliance. Our country is among the few in the world with ancient civilizations. What is most noteworthy is that our cultural traditions, despite the historical vicissitudes, have never been broken off. Culturally, we are also a recipient and a giver, having made brilliant contributions to the human culture as well as enriched our own. But for the several great inventions of the Chinese people, one could hardly imagine what the development of human culture would be like today.

Historically, our cultural exchanges with foreign countries followed a long and tortuous course. As for foreign culture, some of it was adopted by ourselves and some introduced by foreigners; as for Chinese culture, some of it was taken out by foreigners and some offered by ourselves. During the later period of feudal society, Western colonialists kept flocking in and the Chinese people, groaning under both national and foreign oppressions, lived in an abyss of misery. Consequently, a great many of them went overseas for a living and some were even sold under deception to foreign countries as cheap labour. Thus were formed the Chinese communities in Southeast Asian countries. These overseas Chinese, with their hard labour, made contributions to the economic development of the countries they inhabited. At the same time, they brought with them Chinese culture, helping much to build up the spiritual civilization of the areas concerned. In short, the overseas Chinese have played a significant role in promoting cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries.

The Chinese culture received by foreign countries and brought out by overseas Chinese is many-sided and extremely complicated. One of its major components is Chinese literature and art. Those transmitted to foreign countries include not only the widely-known literary works which have long circulated among the people, like *Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義 (The Romance of the Three Kingdoms), *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (The Pilgrimage to the West), *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀 (Wonders New and Old), *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (The Water Margin), *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅, *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異 (Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio), *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 (A Dream of Red Mansions), but also some works of fiction less popular in China, such as *Jin Yunqiao zhuan* 金雲翹傳, *Erdu mei* 二度梅 (The Plum-Tree Flowers Twice), *Jian deng xinhua* 剪燈新話 (New Tales of Wick-trimming Hours), *Jian deng yuhua* 剪燈餘話 (Additional Tales of Wick-trimming Hours). This is also the case with the love story of Liang Shanbo 梁山伯 and Zhu Yingtai 祝英台, which has been circulated for many generations among the Chinese people. These works might at first be confined only to the Chinese communities, then were gradually translated into local languages and found their way among the natives. With their circulation greatly widened, they began to exert influence of varying degrees on local communities and made local people gain a better understanding of China, thus promoting the friendship between the Chinese and the people of the countries concerned.

I have mentioned in the above the importance of the study of cultural exchanges between countries. Our previous historical books written in

biographical style have shown that our ancestors have always attached great importance to this kind of exchange. They have recorded unequivocally what we have learned from foreign countries and what foreign things have been introduced into China, be they animals, plants and minerals or scientific technologies, religions and philosophies. I believe that this is one of the fine traditions concerning Chinese historical science, which merits our special attention and admiration.

To our deep regret, this fine tradition of painstaking study of cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries failed to be carried forward to a better effect in recent times. Only a few scholars are engaged in the study of this field and their achievements are far from being satisfactory. This branch of study is now facing an imminent danger of being lost.

There was an old saying which goes, "When rite is lost, it should be sought among the common folks." The application of this analogy here may sound somewhat farfetched, yet it can still more or less express what we mean. In the past, the studies conducted by our Chinese proved to be inadequate, whereas those in some of the foreign countries registered brilliant success. In the countries like Germany, the Soviet Union, Japan, Australia, Thailand, Cambodia, Britain, the United States, France and Korea, there exist a number of scholars who are devoted to the study of this field and have gained gratifying achievements. All this deserves our conscientious emulation. May this be considered as an analogy of "seeking the lost rite among common folks"? Among the countries mentioned above, France stands conspicuous by its outstanding achievements in this field.

As is known to all, the study of Sinology in France in the past hundred years or more has been recognizably noted for its large contingent of talented scholars, great achievements, wide scope and profundity of research work. Although the last decades have witnessed great historical changes and eventful vicissitudes, the French tradition of Sinological studies has never been broken off and on the contrary, it tends to be carried forward with still greater success. The rising generation of the French Sinologists, as numerous as the stars in the sky, have gained so many splendid achievements that it has almost overshadowed the older generations. This encouraging development makes us feel more confident than ever of the bright future of the French Sinological studies.

Among this new generation, two noted scholars, Dr Salmon and her husband Professor Lombard, merit our special attention and admiration. Both of them are commendable Sinologists known internationally for the

breadth and profundity as well as brilliant achievements gained in their studies. Besides, they both share a common characteristic, that is, apart from the studies of Sinology, they both have conducted in-depth research on the history, languages, literatures and religion of the Southeast Asian countries. Not resting content with the old written material available, they often travel far and wide in these countries, make as many friends as possible, conduct through investigations and try to collect and grasp numerous living material for corroboration of what are recorded in the books and of the relics of ancient times. The results thus achieved can not but be solid and reliable, vigorous and lively and have nothing in common with the pedantic bombast of certain scholars. If there is anyone in doubt about my statement, please read over this book edited by Dr Salmon: *Literary Migrations: Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia,* which may serve as strong evidence.

Now I'd like to give a brief presentation of the scholastic records and academic achievements of Dr Salmon. Born in 1938, she graduated from the Chinese Department of the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilisations in 1962. She took her Bachelor of Laws degree in 1963 and Bachelor of Arts degree in 1964. She studied history at Beijing University from 1964 to 1966 and conducted fieldwork in Indonesia from 1966 to 1969. She graduated from the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences in 1969 and took her *Doctorat ès lettres* degree in 1970. From 1972 to 1973, she was in Japan, doing research on the Chinese sources kept there. Her present position is Senior Researcher at the National Centre for Scientific Research.

Dr Salmon's works cover too wide a range to be enumerated here. I can only present a partial picture by mentioning just a few works and articles written by her: *An Example of Chinese Acculturation: The Guizhou Province in the 18th Century,* running as long as 461 pages; *The Chinese of Jakarta, Temples and Communal Life,* numbering 358 pages; *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, a Provisional Annotated Bibliography,* totaling 580 pages. Besides, she has written a large number of substantial articles noted for their rich, accurate and reliable information. They deal with the Chinese communities of Makassar, the Chinese religion in Java, the contribution of the Chinese to the development of Southeast Asia, the history of the Chinese community in Surabaya and the Chinese epigraphy in Java, and so on and so forth.

This book now presented to the readers *Literary Migrations: Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia* is edited by Dr Salmon. It consists of seventeen

papers contributed by the scholars from China, France, the Soviet Union, Germany, Japan, Korea, Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand, the United States and Australia, with an introduction by our editress. The book not only represents the academic achievements scored by the scholars of many countries but demonstrates as well Dr Salmon's enthusiasm and talents. It is now translated collectively by my colleagues from the Institute of Comparative Studies and various departments concerned of Beijing University and printed in both Chinese and English by International Cultural Publishing Corporation.

I believe that the publication of this book is of great significance, for it will not only enable the Chinese readers to gain an intimate knowledge of the spread of their familiar works in Asian countries and evince within them the most exultant feelings of delight, but also acquaint the other Asian peoples with what they have received from Chinese literature so as to deepen their understanding of China and further strengthen the traditional friendship long-established between them and the Chinese people. All this is certain to make the hearts of the Chinese people linked more closely with those of other Asian peoples, which will undoubtedly help to safeguard world peace and enhance international solidarity. As a third party who is of non-Asian origin — please excuse me for using such an expression which seemingly alienates her from the Asian peoples — Dr Salmon has done for China, and in fact for the whole world, an excellent work. For this, should not we thank her from the bottom of our heart? This is written as a foreword to this book.

Beijing University
3 May 1985

DR SALMON AS I KNOW HER

Ge Baoquan 戈寶權

As I remember, it was in 1982 when Dr Salmon came to Beijing, she wrote me a letter, consulting me about certain problems. But it was not till 1984 that we had the opportunity to meet in Paris. That November, at the invitation of the French Ministry of Foreign Relations and the 8th University of Paris, I visited France and gave lectures there. At that time when I was giving a lecture at the Université de Paris 7, Dr Salmon, Dr Marianne Bastid, director at the National Centre for Scientific Research of France, and M. Li Zhihua, our famous translator of the romance "The Dream of the Red Chamber", were present. Dr Salmon raised several questions regarding translations of French literature into Chinese. Afterwards, she came to Cité Universitaire where I stayed, to see me, and I went to her residence on Vaugirard Street to see her too. Since then we have formed an unforgettable friendship.

Dr Salmon lives in the South of Paris, not far from Boulevard Montparnasse and Pasteur Metro station, so the communication is convenient. It is a peaceful locality in the midst of downtown area. When I entered her room on the fifth floor, my first impression is that here is beyond all question the residence of a scholar.

The furnishing is not luxurious. But through the way to her arrangement, one can see at the first glance that it is the residence of a Sinologist and Orientalist. For in the room there are some fine arts and furniture from China and Southeast Asia. Bookshelves occupy a great part of the space in the room: there are Classics and local monographs and among them there is *The Local Monograph of Guizhou Province*. A few steps onward, on the left is the study and work-room of her husband, Prof. D. Lombard. When I called on her family, Prof. Lombard happened to be in Indonesia, so I missed the chance of seeing him. But from the nice collection of

books on Southeast Asia, it is easy to imagine what kind of research work the owner of these books is engaged in. Furthermore, there is a short passage and against its left wall line up a number of bookshelves filled with some hundred kinds of Chinese popular romances translated into various languages of Southeast Asian countries. They are the books that Dr Salmon collected and stored during the long process of her work to study on Chinese traditional fiction in Asia. A spacious drawing-room joins her study; it is Dr Salmon's work-room. Here on the bookshelves along the walls, are ranged a large number of reference books in various languages of Chinese literature history, philosophy and canonic, a number of which were printed in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia. The abundance of the collection shows the depth of her ken.

Sitting in her drawing-room, I conversed with her under the soft light in the midst of the dripping sound of the ceaseless rain and managed to acquaint myself with her antecedent and her research work. From December 1966 to March 1969 she investigated and did some research work in Indonesia about the culture and life of the Chinese there. In October 1980, October 1982, September and October 1984 she returned to Beijing to carry on her studies. The area of her research is wide and her works are numerous. In a period of more than twenty years, from 1965, the time that she wrote her first articles, till 1984, she published a wide range of essays.

These works were written either in French or in English and some of these were published in *France Asie, T'oung Pao, Arts Asiatiques* and *Archipel*. When I visited her, she offered me several offprints of *Archipel* of 1983 and 1984. In the issue n°26 of 1983 she had written an article in French with the collaboration of G. Hamonic which title is: "La vie littéraire et artistique des des Chinois peranakan de Makassar, 1930–1950", and in the issue n°28 of 1984 an English article headed: "Chinese Women Writers in Indonesia and their Views of Female Emancipation".

Her doctorate thesis entitled *Un exemple d'acculturation chinoise: La province du Guizhou au XVIII^{e} siecle* that she published in 1972, is the result of her study on the historical materials and regional monographs of Guizhou Province. More recently she focused her attention especially on how Chinese literary works spread in the Southeast Asian region. In a letter of 26 June 1984 she wrote: "I am at present busy with the editing of a collective work aimed at presenting the influence of Chinese fiction in Asia". In order to realize her project she relied on scholars of many countries in the world like China, France, Korea, Japan, the Soviet Union,

West Germany, Cambodia, Thailand, Australia, etc. She wrote for the book not only a long introduction, but also some articles about traditional Chinese fiction in Indonesia and Malaysia. Through this work one can clearly see the reception given to that kind of literature in the various Asian countries. Among the Chinese books which have been translated we find *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義), *The Pilgrimage to the West* (*Xiyou ji* 西遊記), *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou meng* 紅樓夢), *Flowers in a Mirror* (*Jinghua yuan* 鏡花緣), as well as historical novels and cloak-and dagger stories.

In December 1984 when returning to China, I recommended this collective work to the Chinese International Cultural Publishing Company to edit it in English as well as in Chinese. On 16 January 1985 Dr Salmon wrote me a letter thanking me for my recommendation and expressed her hope for early publication.

I am glad to learn that this project which has great scientific value to comparative literature is now completed and at the same time I am glad to recommend it to academic and literary circles and to the readers all over the world.

Translated by Yan Bao

Note

Prof. Ge Baoquan (1913–). A well-known researcher on foreign literature, a translator and researcher on the history of the relations between Chinese and foreign literature, on the history of of translation, and on comparative literature. His works and translations are numerous. He is now research worker in the Academy of Foreign Literatures of the Academy of Social Sciences of China, academic advisor and special research worker of the Academy of Social Sciences of Jiang-Su Province. He is also honorary professor and concurrent professor of various universities and colleges in China. In November–December 1984, he visited France and gave lectures at the invitation of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the 8th University of Paris.

PREFACE TO REPRINT EDITION

This book was written between 1981 and 1986, it was first published in 1987, and it has been out of print since. The Chinese version of it by Yan Bao 顏保 et al., *Zhongguo chuantong xiaoshuo zai yazhou* 中國傳統小說在亞洲, which was also published in Beijing by the International Publishing House 國際文化出版公司 in 1989, is equally out of print. Since then more works especially in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Western languages have appeared which are mainly concerned with cultural exchanges between China and the countries of East Asia.

Moreover a new interest has arisen among scholars from various countries on what has been termed "Asian Translation traditions" and conferences are regularly organized on this topic. The first, on a very limited scope, was held at the SOAS in London in 2004, and gave rise to the publication of a collective book (Eva Hung and Judy Wakabayashi eds., *Asian Translation Traditions*, Manchester, St. Jerome Publ., 2005, 287 pp.) Since then three other conferences were held: the second in Baroda (2005), the third in Istanbul (2008), the fourth jointly organized by the Research Centre for Translation, The Chinese University of Hong Kong and the College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, in Hong Kong (2010). The next to come, in 2012, will be organized by and held at the American University of Sharjah (AUS), the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

The Research Centre for Translation (RCT), a research unit at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), established in 1971, which aims to promote Chinese literature through English translation works and to foster pioneering research in translation studies, has recently shown an interest for the history of literary translations in Asia. It has just launched a new annual journal entitled *Fanyishi yanjiu* 翻譯史研究 "Studies in Translation History", which is edited by the RCT and published and distributed by Fudan University Press 復旦大學

出版社, Shanghai. This is currently the only journal in Chinese to focus on the study of translation history. It is under the joint editorship of Lawrence Wang Chi Wong (王宏志), RCT and of Uganda Sze Pui Kwan (關詩珮) from the Department of Chinese Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Judging from this rising interest in translation history, we thought that our little book on traditional Chinese fiction in Asia, which sets the question of Asian translations into a general framework, and so far has no equivalent, may still be of service to the researchers. So we were delighted to accept the invitation of the Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore to republish it.

Ideally the book should have been revised and eventually enlarged in order to incorporate the results of the newest research, especially as regards East Asia, but this has not been possible. Some contributors have departed this world; some others are too old to enrich their own contributions, while some others have disappeared from our horizon. We were compelled to content ourselves with minor revisions. We added whenever feasible some data, compiled a unique and richer bibliography, and two indexes: one for authors and translators, and another one for titles in order to facilitate the use of the book.

As regards the illustrations, we have tried our best to reproduce the original ones; however in a few cases, for technical reasons, we have been constrained to replace them by new ones. It is especially the case for the covers of Indonesian translations of Chinese martial novels.

Our thanks go once more to the Late Professor Ji Xianlin 季羨林 and his colleagues at Beijing University as well as the Late Professor Ge Baoquan 戈寶權 who deemed *Literary Migrations. Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia (17th–20th centuries)* worthy of publication in China, and to the International Publishing House which succeeded in publishing this book, which rounds up so many languages, with so few misprints. We also thank Charles Coppel who is at the origin of this reprint project, and ISEAS' Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre which has offered a second life to our book through ISEAS Publishing. Our gratitude also goes to E.F. Trotsevich, Martin Gimm, Dédé Oetomo, Eric Oey, George Quinn and Leo Suryadinata who kindly reread and slightly revised their texts. We also thank Mei Feng Mok who inputted Chinese characters and diacritics for Vietnamese.

Paris, 14 August 2011

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INTRODUCTION

Claudine Salmon

Western scholars have devoted a number of studies to traditional Chinese fiction, but on the whole they seem to have approached it as an entity inside the political borders of China. Few have attempted to cross these boundaries and reflect on the impact of Chinese fiction in neighbouring countries. Yet, the Chinese language and Chinese script have been used for centuries in countries like Korea, Japan and Vietnam, and Chinese literature began to spread in these areas very early, beginning with the Confucian classics, Buddhist sūtras and Chinese poetry.

In dealing with European literature, scholars have always been eager to trace the various borrowings and dwell on the influence of new genres on the development of the different national literatures, but up to now this comparative approach has hardly ever been applied to the cultural region of the Far East. The *Tamkang Review* 淡江評論 (Taibei 1970–), apparently the only journal in English devoted to comparative study of Chinese and foreign literatures, did publish a special issue directing researchers' attention to the influence of Chinese literature in Korea, Vietnam, Japan and the Philippines. Two articles raise the question of the literary relationships between China on the one hand and Korea and the Philippines on the other; two others focus on the adaptation and imitation of particular Chinese novels.[1] Of course the specialists in Korean, Japanese, Mongolian and Manchu literature have dealt with the problems of Chinese borrowings and influences for decades. They contributed the greatest part of the extant literature on the subject in both Western and Asian languages.[2]

We thought it would be enlightening to study how traditional Chinese fiction penetrated into neighbouring countries, how it was received and eventually how it inspired local writers. In the Sinicized countries where the local elite was trained in classical Chinese and could more or less

understand colloquial Chinese, this kind of fiction was read in the original text. However, very early, local scholars and writers translated, adapted and even imitated Chinese fiction. In the other countries where Chinese was a foreign language known only to a minority composed of Chinese migrants and their descendants — this is especially the case in Cambodia, Thailand and insular Southeast Asia — the reading of Chinese fiction was at first restricted to that group until translations into the local languages began to appear for those in the Chinese communities who could no longer understand the language of the mother country.

Our previous studies on the translations of traditional Chinese fiction into Malay/Indonesian prompted us to extend the research to other Asian countries. Such an ambitious project necessarily faced several difficulties. Firstly, it required the participation of scholars who could master the relevant languages and shared an interest in this relatively neglected field. For certain languages, like Korean, Japanese, Manchu, Mongolian and Vietnamese, it was not that difficult to find researchers willing to take part in the project. For other languages, in particular those of Burma, Laos and the Philippines, we have not found anybody to tackle the problem. Secondly, this kind of literary output has never been seriously catalogued, being scattered all over the world. As a result, our understanding of this kind of literature is highly uneven.

Before going into detail about literary genres, transmission routes and translating activities, we would like to offer a tentative chronological survey of the translations and adaptations deduced from the studies presented in this volume. The term "translation" will be used in the broadest sense since in the present state of our knowledge it is often impossible to distinguish between translations and adaptations.

1. CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

Although there is no means to date precisely the appearance of the first Vietnamese verse novels written in *nôm* and derived from Chinese literary sources, since the extant versions date from the second half of the nineteenth century or later, it is generally admitted that they may be traced back to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. However, the golden age of this literary genre was clearly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Translations in prose did not begin until the beginning of the twentieth century, when the use of *quốc ngữ,* or romanized script, became widespread. More than 300 titles have been identified for the period from 1905 to the late 1950s.

In a country like Korea where Chinese was the only written language for centuries, we also lack information regarding the beginning of the translations. Compared to Vietnam where the invention of the writing in *nôm* is placed before the thirteenth century that of the Korean script is definitely dated from the mid-fifteenth century. It has been assumed that the first translations from historical novels like the *Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義, "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms", may have been undertaken during that century; however no versions that old are known to have been preserved. Most of the extant translations in manuscript or in book form are from the nineteenth century.

The first translation of a fictional work, "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms", that may be dated with certainty is in the Manchu language. Undertaken in 1631 by the eminent scholar Dahai 達海 (1599–1632), it was not completed until 1647 and was published in 1650. Indeed the Manchus were very eager to assimilate Chinese culture; during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they devoted great attention to translations of Chinese didactic works and to fictional works as well. However Manchu translation of Chinese fiction probably reached its peak first during the mid-seventeenth century. Judging from the seventy odd known translations that have survived, despite Qing attempts to suppress Chinese novels and their Manchu translations, we may assume that they had quite a large circulation. Though Chinese sources say that even as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century many Manchus could no longer understand their own language and consequently used to read Chinese novels in the original versions,[3] translations were still undertaken and two were printed in 1848 and 1907, respectively.

Among the Mongols, the influence of Chinese fiction is considered to go back to the seventeenth century at the earliest. It is related to their surrender to the Manchus and it developed in close connection with the expansion of the Qing rule in the Southern steppes from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. So far about eighty titles have been collected and the Chinese originals of fifty-seven of these have been identified. Until the appearance of the first printing house in the 1920s, all the texts were in manuscript form. Only two of these have inscriptions that allow us to date them from the first third of the eighteenth century, the oldest being apparently a translation of the *Xiyou ji* 西遊記, "The Pilgrimage to the West" (1721).

In Japan, before the introduction of colloquial novels, stories in literary style such as the *Jian deng xinhua* 剪燈新話, "New Tales of Wick-trimming

Hours", were already popular in the seventeenth century. This collection of short stories, which had been banned in China in 1442, was actually printed in Japan in 1600, along with its sequel *Jian deng yuhua* 剪燈餘話 "Additional Tales of Wick-trimming Hours". Historical romances in colloquial Chinese were introduced in the latter half of the seventeenth century and in the early eighteenth century. Their language was far more difficult to understand than literary Chinese and translations began to appear in the Genroku 元禄 era (1688–1703). The first were made by Konan Bunzan 湖南文山 and published in 1692, 1695 and 1703. But the golden age of Japanese translations of Chinese colloquial novels was in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Later, these translations were rewritten in the popular style of the Edo period, and more recently, new versions have been published in modern Japanese.

In Thailand, the royal family maintained an interest in Chinese literature. As early as the seventeenth century several troupes of Chinese actors existed, for Chinese drama was exceedingly popular at the Thai court.[4] However it seems that the first translation of a Chinese novel, "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms", was only made in 1802 during the reign of Rama I. It was followed by some twenty-nine items, all undertaken under the patronage of high-ranking royal officials from the time of King Rama I to King Rama V (1782–1910). Later on, publishing houses and newspapers sponsored translations. The first serialized translation of a Chinese historical novel appeared in 1921. Since World War II, besides the classical novels that have been reprinted and sometimes also retranslated, numerous translations of *wuxia xiaoshuo* 武俠小說 or cloak-and-dagger stories have appeared.

Although Cambodia was influenced by China in various ways for centuries, it seems, given the state of research on the subject today that traces of Chinese literary influences can only be found in little-known manuscripts dating from the mid-nineteenth century. So far fewer than ten manuscripts have been traced; the two texts which can be dated precisely are from 1860 and 1897. In the late 1920s, translations of Chinese stories which have not yet been identified appeared in the press. The first serialized version of an historical novel, "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms", only appeared in the mid-1930. After World War II as in Thailand, newspapers also resumed their serials. Cloak-and-dagger stories did not appear in the press until the end of the 1960s.[5]

As regards insular Southeast Asia the question of when the first translations of Chinese novels appeared is not easier to answer. We are

faced with many problems, ranging from the great variety of languages used within the area to the probability that the introduction of printing presses during the second part of the nineteenth century may have resulted in the loss of the older manuscripts. The result is that, in the Malay-Indonesian world, the oldest translation of a Chinese story, which is *Xue Rengui zheng dong* 薛仁貴征東; "Xue Rengui Clears the East", is a Javanese manuscript dated 1859. Malay translations in manuscript form have not yet been traced. The oldest printed version we know was published in 1877 in Arabic script. It is not fiction but belongs instead to the category of religious and didactic works. The first known translation of a Chinese novel was published in Batavia in 1882. Between 1883 and 1886 no less than forty works were printed which suggests that they may have been circulated earlier in manuscript form. Only one text in Javanese was published in 1873. It seems that the increasing dominance of Malay among the Chinese in the latter half of the nineteenth century led to the decline, and eventually to the virtual disappearance, of translations in Javanese. Apparently the last one dates from 1913. However a few attempts were made during the 1920s and 1930s to publish translations of Chinese fiction. Judging from the available figures it appears that the total of translations in Javanese does not exceed twenty items; whereas translations in Malay amount to more than 700 items; for a period spanning over a century (from the 1870s until the 1960s) and for Indonesia only. To this should be added some seventy odd translations published in Malaya and Singapore between 1889 and the 1950s. We can assume that Balinese versions of Chinese stories existed toward the end of the nineteenth century. However few manuscripts are dated; the oldest one we know of was written in 1915. Makassar had a Chinese community under the supervision of a Chinese headman at least since the mid-seventeenth century. We have not found any translation of a Chinese novel in the Makassarese language before the late 1920s, and they were all made by the same translator. The oldest is dated 1928 and latest 1936; there are sixty-four pieces in all, all but one in manuscript form only. At almost the same time a Madurese version of the story of Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai 梁山伯與祝英台 appeared, published by the Dutch house, Balai Pustaka, in 1930–31. So far that is the only text in Madurese we were able to trace. No translations are recorded in the catalogues of Sundanese literature; moreover, the specialists we consulted, including Prof. F.S. Eringa and the writer and scholar Ajip Rosidi, agree that they do not know of works in Sundanese that could be regarded as translations from Chinese fiction.

Since the mid-1960s a demand for cloak-and-dagger stories has mushroomed throughout Indonesia, resulting in mass production exclusively in Indonesian composed of translations, adaptations, and a growing number of imitations.

Chinese have settled in the Philippines for several centuries and they played an important part in the beginning of printing at the end of the sixteenth century. Elmer A. Ordoñez has asked without much success, why so far no Chinese literary influence has been traced. One reason that could be advanced is that the Chinese and their descendants did not until very recently write in the local languages, because, thanks to the highly developed system of education maintained by the Spaniards, the local *literati* used to write in Spanish.[6]

Though we have not come across translation of Chinese novels into Spanish emanating from the Chinese based in the Philippines we cannot simply dismiss this possibility. As a matter of fact we have translations in European languages in other Southeast Asian countries. In Malacca the first translation of a Chinese novel by a local born Chinese was done in English by Tkin Shen, student of the Anglo-Chinese College of that city, and published in London in 1843.[7] The eminent Sinologist James Legge, who at the time was President of the College, in his preface to the translation says: "It is hoped that the production will be received with sufficient favour to encourage the translator and others of his countrymen to study effectively the English language, in order to lay open to the European nations the treasures which their own may contain." In Burma, too, where so far no translation of a Chinese work in the local language has been identified, some Chinese in Rangoon launched a literary review in English in 1894 called *The Hokkien Library Series*. It was obviously designed for local-born Chinese trained in English and for Europeans. The first volume provides English translations of abstracts of Chinese classical fiction. A second volume, providing a romanized Hokkien translation of the same texts was supposed to follow.[8]

To conclude this chronological survey, it appears that China's neighbouring countries, including those where the Chinese language was not part of the cultural "baggage", were at certain times of their history, for periods of various lengths, attracted by Chinese traditional fiction. In the north, Chinese traditional fiction is still enjoyed among the Mongols; story-tellers continue to retell Chinese tales. Similarly, the Manchu tradition of translating novels continues up to this day among the Sibe (Xibo 錫伯) minority in the Ili region (province of Xinjiang). In Korea and Japan

since the end of World War II, the publication of classical Chinese fiction in translation has resumed on a wide scale. In the south, in countries like Thailand, Indonesia (and until recently Cambodia and Vietnam), publishers and newspapers have turned translations of Chinese cloak-and-dagger stories into a highly profitable mass production article. Though the demand for historical novels is not as great as it was during the first half of this century, reprints and new renditions are still being published in Vietnamese and in Thai.

It would have been very interesting to study the influence of Chinese fiction among all the Chinese national minorities. We know from recent studies carried out in the People's Republic of China that in the southern provinces, the Bai 白, the Zhuang 壯 and the Yao 瑤, just to mention a few, borrowed some Chinese stories which were eventually written down in their own languages.[9] There are rumours that there is a Qing translation, perhaps only partial, of *Sanguo yanyi* into Tibetan, but so far no copy of this translation has been located. Absolutely nothing is known of eventual translations of Chinese fiction into Uighur. These aspects of the problem are too complex to be dealt with in this study. Finally, in order to place the historical development of translating activities in Asian countries in perspective, we remind the reader that in Europe the first translation of a Chinese novel, *Hau Kiou Choan* [好逑傳] or *The Pleasing History*, appeared in 1761 in London. The author of this translation is not known with certainty, but the manuscript was found among the papers of a certain Mr Wilkinson, a resident of Canton up to 1719, who died in 1736. The first three volumes were in English and the fourth in Portuguese. Dr Percy, Bishop of Dromore, translated the last volume into English and edited the work.[10] Only in the first twenty years of the nineteenth century can translations from Chinese be attributed to European translators, with certainty.[11]

2. FICTIONAL GENRES AND TRANSLATIONS

The term traditional Chinese fiction as used in this book refers especially to novels and short stories of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Whereas novels were almost exclusively written in colloquial language, short stories had two forms: the literary tale (derived from the *chuanqi* 傳奇 of the Tang period).[12] and the colloquial story (*huaben* 話本). During the period under consideration here, literary tales were not that numerous. However their influence in Korea, Japan and Vietnam was more pronounced than

it was in China. This is especially true for the *Jian deng xinhua,* "New Tales of Wick-trimming Hours" (preface dated 1378) and eventually its sequel *Jian deng yuhua,* "Additional Tales of Wick-trimming Hours" (preface dated 1420). Later Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) composed the *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異, his well-known collection, "Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio", which achieved a tremendous success in China and abroad. Although this work had been completed in 1679, it was not published until 1766. Interestingly, this last collection of tales was translated into several languages: Manchu (1848), Malay (1889, 1895–96, 1915),[13] Vietnamese (1916–18) and Mongolian (1928); whereas the first two collections gave rise to adaptations and imitations, though there were also a few fragmentary translations in Japanese.

The colloquial story as we meet it in the Ming period was already the result of a long process of evolution from Song times onwards. Some stories, mainly those which came into existence during the Ming and Qing periods, did not necessarily evolve from oral versions. We do not intend to go into more details on the genesis of the Chinese story, a topic on which a huge bibliography is available.[14] Rather we would like to present here the different genres as classified by Sun Kaidi 孫楷第 in his works *(Zhongguo tongsu xiaoshuo mulu* 中國通俗小說目錄, "Bibliography of Chinese Popular Fiction" and *Riben dongjing suojian zhongguo xiaoshuo mulu* 日本東京所見中國小說目錄, "Bibliography of Novels Seen in Tokyo") that appeared in 1932. They have since become authoritative works in this field although they do not provide an exhaustive list of traditional fiction.[15]

The first group consists of historical narratives (*jiang shi* 講史). Although they are fictional works, they all contain a core of historical material with allowance for inventiveness in both heroes and events combined with respect for established facts. The best example is the *Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義, "Romance of the Three Kingdoms". The term *yanyi* that means "elaboration" or "explanation of the meaning" may be a convenient guide to identify this genre because many historical novels contain this expression in their title. However this element may also be replaced by other endings like *zhuan* 傳, "chronicle" or *zhi* 志, "monograph". This genre was one of the four branches of story-telling during the Song dynasty. Especially well received abroad, it constitutes the majority of the works translated into Thai (for the period 1802–1910), Javanese and a great proportion of those translated into Manchu, Mongolian, Korean, Cambodian, Malay, Vietnamese (since 1905 onwards)

and Makassarese. Among these translations "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms" has a privileged position and consequently will be discussed at greater length in a special section.

A second group is the novels of manners (*yanfen* 煙粉) of which the paragons are the *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅, "The Golden Lotus", and the *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢, "Dream of the Red Chamber". They emphasize realistic descriptions of the life of the urban class. These two novels, which were so well received among the Manchus, Koreans and Mongols, had much less success in the south. No translations have been traced in insular Southeast Asia and the first Vietnamese version of the *Honglou meng* only appeared in 1963 in Hanoi. However a special sub-group that deals with "talented scholars and beautiful maiden" (*caizi jiaren* 才子佳人) should be mentioned here. These novels, most of which appeared since the end of the Ming dynasty, were well received. The Manchus were especially partial to these works, for the number of translations is almost as great as that of the historical stories. The Japanese, the Vietnamese and to a lesser extent the Mongols shared their taste. A story like the *Jin Yun Qiao zhuan* 金雲翹傳 was translated into Manchu, Japanese and Vietnamese, whereas the *Haoqiu zhuan* 好逑傳, "The Fortunate Union", which incidentally is the first Chinese story to have appeared in a Western language (1761), was translated into Manchu, Mongolian (?) and Malay; while *Erdu mei* 二度梅, "The Plum-tree Flowers Twice", was rendered into Manchu, Mongolian, Vietnamese, Malay and Makassarese.

Sun's third group focuses on novels about gods and devils (*lingguai* 靈怪). One of the best examples is the *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 "The Pilgrimage to the West", that recounts with great fantasy the pilgrimage of the famous and revered monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (596–664) who journeyed to India in the seventh century and brought back Buddhist scriptures. It achieved a success abroad almost as great as that of "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms". Renditions are to be found in Mongolian (1721), Japanese (1758), Manchu, Korean, Vietnamese, Thai, Malay and Makassarese. Other novels like the *Feng shen yanyi* 封神演義, "Investiture of the Gods" were also translated into several languages: Manchu, Mongolian, Korean, Thai, Vietnamese and Malay.

Fourth, *gong'an* 公案, "legal cases", in fact contain both novels of trial cases tackled by sagacious officials and stories of heroes and knights-errant. The first genre was especially translated into Korean, Malay, Makassarese and to a lesser extent into Mongolian and Vietnamese. Stories about knights were much more popular. The *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳, "Water Margin",

which deals with the exploits of a band of outlaws in the twelfth century, occupies the first place. Even though some characters are historical and the setting, the present Shandong province, correct, it remains a fully fictionalized account of history. In China, especially since the eighteenth century, the authorities regarded it as highly subversive and banned it several times. It was translated into many languages: Manchu (preface dated 1734), Japanese (1757), Mongolian (first third of the nineteenth century), Korean (nineteenth century?), Thai (1867), Malay (1885) and Vietnamese (1906–10).

Sun names a fifth group, novels of social satire (*fengyu* 諷諭), a genre that flourished in the mid and late Qing times. The best representative work is probably the *Rulin waishi* 儒林外史, "The Lives of the Scholars", which criticizes the examination system from a Confucian viewpoint. This category of novels was deeply rooted in Chinese society and especially in the world of the *literati* and does not seem to have attracted much attention abroad.

His sixth and last group consists of *huaben* 話本 or colloquial short stories, a genre that flourished during the seventeenth century. Some of these *huaben* were circulated later in anthologies; the most famous is the *Jingu qiguan* 今古奇觀, "Wonders New and Old". This genre was extraordinary well received among the Japanese and the Manchus. Several selections of short stories in translation appeared in Japan (notably in 1743, 1751 and 1758). The Manchus also translated several collections of *huaben* like the *Ba dongtian* 八洞天 "The Eight Caves", *Jue shi mingyan* 覺世名言, "Famous Sayings to Awaken Men", *Liancheng bi* 連城璧, "A Piece of jade worth Cities" and *Sanjiao ounian* 三教偶拈. The Mongols, to a lesser extent, were interested in *huaben*. The *Jingu qiguan* alone was circulated in various languages: Mongolian (1816), Korean (nineteenth century), Malay (1884), Vietnamese (1910–11), Makassarese (twentieth century).

This classification, though useful, does not solve all our problems regarding the translation of fiction. First, some literary genres, for example recitative literature (*jiangchang wenxue* 講唱文學), fall outside the scope of Sun's bibliography. Works of this nature form an extremely important part of Chinese folk-literature and have exerted great influence on the public. Such works usually combine prose and verse. The earliest form, which can be traced back to the Tang dynasty, is the *bianwen* 變文. Some of these stories were related to Buddhism and very likely were told by monks to propagate their faith, while others already had non-religious content as has been recently pointed out.[16] For those dealing with the secular world, the most popular form for the Ming and Qing periods is the *tanci* 彈詞

or "ballad". It spread all over China and in the north was known as *guci* 鼓詞 or "tale with the accompaniment of a drum" whereas in the south in Guangdong it is called *muyu shu* 木魚書 or "wooden-fish book", and in Fujian province *gezai ce* 歌仔冊 or "ballad". They were written either in colloquial Chinese or in dialect. These ballads share part of their repertory with that of prose fiction so that it is not always possible to know whether the translations were based on these verse novels or on prose stories. One especially puzzling case is that of the story of Empress Zhong Wuyan 鍾無艷. The Chinese original in prose has not yet been traced, but the heroine was very popular in both north and south China.[17] She appears on the stage during the Yuan dynasty and we have evidence that during the mid-eighteenth century there existed a *guci* under the title of *Zhong Wuyan zou hui* 鍾無艷走會 or "Zhong Wuyan Goes to a Meeting". Now the story is apparently preserved only in a few editions of verse novels belonging to the *muyu shu* genre. The story was popular among the Mongols, and many versions exist under different titles, the oldest going back to the first third of the eighteenth century. This was allegedly based on a previous, unfortunately lost Manchu version alleged to date from the mid-seventeenth century. In the south, the story of Zhong Wuyan 鍾無艷 was still extraordinarily popular in the first quarter of this century. It was translated into Vietnamese in 1909–11 and reprinted several times; even now many Vietnamese still know all the details of this story. In Malaya and Singapore, it was performed on the stage until the 1930s when the story was finally translated and published in book form. However the preface tells us that at that time the Chinese original (it is not specified whether it was in verse or in prose) was difficult to obtain.

A similar question could be raised for the story of *Meng Lijun* 孟麗君, also called *Longfeng pei zaisheng yuan* 龍鳳配再生緣, "The Resurrection of a Dragon and a Phoenix Couple", that appeared in China both as a verse novel and a prose novel and which was translated into Malay (1913), Vietnamese (1934) and Makassarese (first quarter of the twentieth century).

Moreover the traditional fiction of the late Qing dynasty and a fortiori the direct descendants of the *gong'an* stories and the *caizi jiaren,* "talented scholars and beautiful maiden" are outside the scope of Sun Kaidi's bibliographies. As a matter of fact the *gong'an* or "legal cases" genre became very popular in the second half of the nineteenth century and gradually deviated from the form of its predecessors. The trial cases were gradually superseded by tales of knights-errant (*xia* 俠 or *wuxia* 武俠). At a later date, the latter became known as *wuxia xiaoshuo,* "cloak-and-

dagger stories". This branch of the traditional fiction has been by far the most popular, though some attempts were made to revive the historical novel. The *caizi jiaren* novels gave birth at the turn of the century to a new trend in love stories called *yuanyang hudie pai* 鴛鴦蝴蝶派 or "The Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School". These two last forms of traditional fiction developed in Shanghai and other big cities and were well received by those Chinese readers who were not interested in the social and political message emanating from modern Chinese fiction that developed after 1919.[18] It is difficult to appraise the importance of the translations of works of the late Qing since so far few Chinese originals have been identified, at least for the Malay versions.[19] The "Mandarin Ducks" literature and more especially the cloak-and-dagger stories have had a tremendous impact in all the southern countries. This new style of popular fiction probably reached Vietnam and the Malay-Indonesian world first, although we really know very little regarding the translated literature that appeared in Thailand prior to World War II. Xu Zhenya 徐枕亞 (1889–1937), the most representative author of "Mandarin Ducks" literature,[20] was translated into Malay in 1921 and in Vietnamese in 1930. The rise of cloak-and-dagger story translations can be placed around 1924 in Vietnam and in Indonesia. Though the selections chosen in these two countries were not always the same, a story like *Wunü xing tang* 五女興唐, "Five Women's Support of the Tang Dynasty" appeared in Malay in 1924 and in Vietnamese in 1927. *Huoshao honglian si* 火燒紅蓮寺, "The Burning of the Red Lotus Temple" by Pingjiang buxiaosheng 平江不肖生 (filmed in China in 1931) was translated into Vietnamese in 1935 and into Malay in 1938. Since World War II, translations of cloak-and-dagger stories by writers like Jin Yong 金庸 and Liang Yusheng 梁羽生 have been serialized or published in book form in the former South Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand and Cambodia.

In contrast to the translations of popular novels widely circulated in China, we can pinpoint novels little known and sometimes even rare in their original form. In the southern countries for instance some booklets recounted stories which were only popular in particular regions of China. Such would be the case of the *Huajian ji* 花箋記, "The Story of the Flowery Scroll", an anonymous verse novel partly composed in Cantonese style (preface dated 1713) that was adapted into Vietnamese during the eighteenth century in the form of a verse novel or *truyện*. Similarly, Hokkien ballads were translated into Malay, such as *Chen San Wuniang* 陳三五娘, which recounts a love affair between Chen San and Wuniang, and that of

Xuemei 雪梅 and his adopted son Shang Lu 商鋂. Both stories, which were circulated in Fujian and in Taiwan in several versions, achieved great success in the Malay-Indonesian world, where direct translations in prose were published. This leads to the question of the transmission of Chinese fiction.

3. TRANSMISSION OF CHINESE FICTION

Generally speaking, we are not well informed about how Chinese fiction spread outside of China. In countries like Korea and Japan we know a little more. As regards Korea we know that the embassies that went to China regularly in peace time during the Ming and Qing periods, and especially the group of interpreters, brought back that kind of books. Judging from the fact that several Ming novels still exist in Korea as manuscripts, we may assume that circulation of printed versions was limited to the upper classes of the Korean society. In Japan, during the period under consideration the government maintained a policy of national isolation, only Dutch and Chinese being permitted to trade in Nagasaki. Conceivably, Chinese merchants introduced most of the novels imported at that time.

In Vietnam, apart from official emissaries who purchased books in China, Chinese immigrants probably brought novels with them and eventually started a trade in them. In 1734 the local authorities prohibited the importation of Chinese books, which suggests that there was already a certain amount of trade in books between the two countries. Interestingly, during the last forty years of the nineteenth century, Vietnamese verse novels in *nôm* were also printed in the province of Guangdong, in particular in Foshan 佛山. Since the names of the distributors in Saigon were printed on the title pages of these editions, there must have been well-established business connections between Guangdong and the southern part of Vietnam.

The distribution of Chinese books in all southern countries must have followed the streams of emigrants. Whereas Vietnam had privileged links with Guangdong, the Malay-Indonesian world had similar ties with the province of Fujian where since the Yuan and Ming times there has been a famous publishing trade at Jianyang 建陽 (in the northeastern part of the province).[21] All the Chinese novels we saw in a private collection in Semarang (Indonesia) were from the nineteenth century and most came from Fujian. The oldest, dated 1828, was a version of the *Ping min quanzhuan* 平閩全傳 or "Complete Account of the Pacification of Fujian"

in fifty-two chapters. (See Plate 25.) It was newly engraved in Lujiang 鷺江 (Xiamen 夏門, in Fujian province). The name of the printing house was not mentioned. Another book was published in the same city in 1859 by "The Hall of Literary Virtue" or Wende tang 文德堂. It is the *Xiyang ji* 西洋記 or "Account of the Western Ocean", better known under the title of *Sanbao taijian xiyang ji* 三寶太監西洋記 with a preface by the author Luo Maodeng 羅懋登 (1597) that relates the adventures of the Eunuch Zheng He 鄭和 in the South Seas. (See Plate 26.) According to research by Liu Ts'un-yan[22] "The Hall of Literary Virtue" was already publishing fiction in 1820. This edition of the *Xiyang ji* is mentioned in Sun Kaidi's "Catalogue of Popular Chinese Fiction". We could not trace older editions than these in Indonesia.[23] Yet we know that Chinese novels were introduced in Java rather early. According to J.J.L. Duyvendak, when the Dutch made their first voyage to the East Indies in 1595–98, they brought back some oriental books. Among these was at least one Chinese book, which they might have acquired in Banten (at the time an important trading port in West Java) from Chinese merchants there, a copy of the well-known novel *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳. Unfortunately only a single page has survived and it is kept at the Bodleian Library at Oxford.[24] In recent periods, after the foundation of the Commercial Press in Shanghai (1897), agents of this big firm distributed fictional works in major cities of Southeast Asia. In Japan, at least at certain times, Chinese fictional works were printed locally, but in Southeast Asia all production was imported from China.

4. THE TRANSLATORS

As regards Korea we have seen how difficult it is to determine when Chinese novels were translated; similarly, we know very little about the translators whose names were rarely revealed. However it seems that the adapters and translators of novels fall into two categories: first, the aristocrats who were able to write and translate the Chinese classical language; among them famous writers of Korean fiction which often is set in China; second, the interpreters who could make the best translations since they also mastered colloquial Chinese. Indeed, we think that these translations were especially commissioned. That was notably the case with Yi Chongt'ae 李鐘泰 (nineteenth century) who translated Chinese novels by royal order. In Japan the situation was slightly different. Though the translators did not hesitate to reveal their names we do not know much about the first of them, Konan Bunzan 湖南文山, whose translation of the *Sanguo zhi yanyi* (1692) was to exert a great influence on the literature

of the Edo period. Okajima Kanzan 岡嶋冠山 (1674–1728) was born in Nagasaki and it has been suggested that he might have been a member of the *tôtsûji* 唐通事 or "Chinese interpreters" whose profession was hereditary and who were for the most part naturalized Chinese. At any case he was for a time a master of Chinese and even wrote manuals of the Chinese language. Among his successors were Sawada Issai 澤田一齋 (1701–1782), who interestingly enough was the owner of a publishing house, and leading authors like Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734–1809) and Takizawa Bakin 瀧澤馬琴 (1767–1848).

As regards the Manchus, the first translators of Chinese fiction were eminent scholars. Dahai 達海 who began to translate the *Sanguo zhi yanyi* belonged to a family of civil servants. He had the opportunity to learn Chinese and after he came of age he was put in charge of written communications with the Ming Government and with Korea. He was also commissioned to translate several Chinese administrative works. Hesu 和素 (1652–1718) who may have translated the *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 was also a civil servant and in 1712 he held the post of reader in the Grand Secretariat, in charge of the Manchu Chinese Translation Office, the Printing Office and the Book-bindery. Interestingly, his father Asitan 阿什坦 (d. 1683), who was recognized as the most outstanding translator of his time and who published Manchu translations of the Confucian classics, is said to have memorialized to the throne against the translation of Chinese novels into Manchu. Probably it is because of attempts to suppress Manchu translations of Chinese fiction that later translations do not identify the translators.

Among the Mongols, translators of Chinese fiction also belonged to the aristocracy and the *literati*. The first known translation of a Chinese novel into Mongolian, "The Journey to the West", was made by the philologist Arana, one of the compilers of the Manchu-Mongolian dictionary (1717). Moreover, he is said to have written a commentary on the first sixteen chapters of his translation. At almost the same time, a Mongolian prince by name of Cevenǰab translated the story of Empress Zhong. Later translations seldom bear the translator's name, although probably not for the same reasons as among the Manchus. However the version of the *Feng shen yanyi* 封神演義 has been ascribed to a Mongolian writer by name of Inǰannasi and that of the *Shuihu zhuan* to the poet Gülransa, a brother of the former (nineteenth century). In this century the name of Temgetü (*c*. 1887–1939) deserves mention; he was both a member of the aristocracy and a scholar who for a time held the position of interpreter and teacher of Manchu and Mongolian in Peking.

In Vietnam the period during which Chinese fiction was adapted in verse stories written in *nôm* is distinct from that when Chinese fiction was translated into romanized Vietnamese. During the first the authors of adaptations mostly belonged to the class of *literati* who had mastered the Chinese language. Their names are only known in the later periods. Among them could be mentioned Nguyễn Huy Tự 阮輝似 (1743–1790) who came from a family of distinguished scholars, Nguyễn Du 阮攸 (1765–1820) who was vice-minister under the Nguyễn and went in diplomatic mission to China and Lý Văn Phức 李文馥 (1785–1849) who was a high official of Chinese descent and at the same time a great writer both in Chinese and *nôm*. After the romanized script had replaced *nôm*, Vietnamese scholars felt it necessary to translate as many works as possible into Vietnamese. The first translations were undertaken by scholars of classical Chinese culture like Phan Kế Bính (1875–1921), teachers, officials in the colonial government and even merchants. Very little is known of the translators who were active in the 1920s and 1930s. One of the most productive was a certain Lý Ngọc Hưng 李玉興 who used the pen name of Hoa nhân 華人 which means "Chinese". This may suggest that Chinese and Sino-Vietnamese may have played a special part in the later period when Chinese was no longer taught in schools run by the colonial government.

Thailand is the only country in Southeast Asia where translations of Chinese fiction were, for a time, commissioned by high-ranking officials. Chao P'hya K'hlang (*c*. 1750–1805) to whom is ascribed the first translation of a Chinese novel into Thai, was apparently a descendant of a Hokkien Chinese. He was a prominent civil servant during the reigns of Chao T'honburi and P'huttayotfa. For a time, he was Minister of Trade and of Foreign Affairs and bore the title of Chao P'hya. He became famous both for his administrative capacities and his literary works. He is credited for having revived literary prose which had been neglected since the fourteenth century. His masterpieces, the *Rachat'hirat* (1784) and the *Samkok* (1802), belong to historical fiction, the first being an adaptation of a legendary chronicle of Pegu.[25] Both works were composed in cooperation with other scholars. The following translations were apparently made in a similar way though so far very little research has been made on the translators. Not until the 1920s did translation of Chinese fiction become a profitable activity. This time the initiative was taken by local publishing houses and newspapers. The new generation of translators was probably Thai of Chinese origin who had been trained in Chinese and in Thai.

In Cambodia it appears that the translators of the nineteenth century were descendants of Hokkien Chinese who had studied in Buddhist temples

where they learned to write verse. Their successors of the twentieth century were very likely similar to their counterparts in Thailand.

In Insular Southeast Asia activities were the province of descendants of Chinese, mostly from Fujian, who had been given a Chinese education with a family tutor (like Liem Kheng Yong 林慶容, 1873–*c*. 1938, from Makassar, Celebes, and Tjie Tjin Koeij, *c*. 1890–*c*. 1978, from Sukabumi, Western Java) or in private schools and who may have spent some years in China. However in some cases, translations were produced in cooperation with someone literate in Chinese whose knowledge of written Malay was insufficient and a writer. That was the case for Lie Kim Hok 李錦福 (1853–1912), educated in a missionary school of West Java who was helped by his friends Tan Kie Lam and Tee Pek Thay. This practice was even more frequent in Malaya during the first thirty years of the twentieth century. This first generation of translators was generally engaged in other activities, mainly in business. Some of them were also involved in publishing and printing (like Yap Goan Ho 葉源和, d. 1894, and Tjiong Hok Long 鍾福龍, 1847–1917, who were both based in Batavia, now Jakarta) and more rarely in government (like Sie Hian Ling 施顯齡, d. 1928, from Semarang, Central Java, who was an interpreter of Chinese and had the honorific title of *luitenant*). A very interesting figure is that of Chan Kim Boon 曾錦文 (1851–1920) who went to China to continue his studies at the Fuzhou Naval School and who after having held a position of assistant tutor in mathematics in that school came back to his native place Penang (Malaysia) in 1872. In the same year, he joined a firm in Singapore where he worked as book-keeper and cashier. Some of these early translators were working for publishers who purchased their manuscripts, and in the case of Javanese versions, for opium farmers, and other leading personalities. The author of the oldest Javanese translation we know (dated 1859) says in the introduction that he has been asked to write it. However some translators may also have taken the initiative in translating Chinese fiction into Malay. That was definitively the case with Tjiong Hok Long and Yap Goan Ho, the two publishers and booksellers mentioned above.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, most of the translators were Peranakan or descendants of Chinese who received their education in the local Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan 中華會館 schools, like Oey Kim Tiang 黃欽長 (born in 1903 in Tangerang, West Java) or at the *Jinan xuetang* 暨南學堂 in Nanking (a school designed for the children of Overseas Chinese) like Go Tiauw Goan 吳兆元 (1890–1956), Ong Kim Tiat 王金鐵 (1893–1964) and Tan Tek Ho 陳澤和 (1894–1948). There are

also translators who were born in China and came to Indonesia while very young, for instance, Gan K.L. (born in 1928 in Xiamen 廈門, Fujian), who became well known only in the 1950s. They learned Malay by themselves and were often associated with the Sino-Malay newspapers. Among the translators active during the first part of the twentieth century were several women: Chen Hiang Niang, Lie Loan Lian Nio, Nona Phoa Gin Hian and Tan Poen Bhik Sio Tjia. Unfortunately very little is known about them.

Except for Cambodia and the Malay/Indonesian world where the translators came mainly from the urban petty bourgeoisie of Chinese origin, in the other countries they belonged at least during the early periods either to the local aristocracy or the class of the *literati* and in some cases the interpreters, as in Korea and Japan. Among the translators emanating from these two last groups were a few persons of Chinese origin who were already well integrated into the local societies.

After the beginning of the twentieth century in countries like Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia, translation activities underwent a tremendous change. Further studies would probably enable us to better trace the trend toward the popularization of translations in connection with the spread of the press. As regards the southern countries, there is no doubt that later generations of translators were mostly attached to newspapers and reviews regularly providing serialised translations.

5. TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

In view of what has been said about the social origins of the translators and the great diversity of qualifications ascribed to them, we can imagine that the translations they produced differ greatly in quality. Also, the different degree of Sinicization of the countries in which these translations appeared had a significant impact on them. Things Chinese, which were directly understood by Japanese, Koreans or Vietnamese, needed explanatory statements for readers of other countries.

Before discussing the translations in relation to the Chinese originals a few words should be said on the impact of language changes on the development of translation activities. We will single out four cases: Japanese, Manchu, Vietnamese and Thai.

Between the end of the seventeenth century and the middle of the nineteenth century, translations in Japanese evolved greatly. In fact, the first technique used by Japanese scholars to make Chinese texts understandable to Japanese, especially where they were written in classical Chinese,

consisted of changing Chinese word order to Japanese word order by adding return marks and declensional *kana* endings to the Chinese original. This method was not appropriate for texts written in colloquial Chinese, but it was used for some historical novels, for their style was similar to a literary style. This may explain why historical novels like the *Sanguo zhi yanyi* were translated into Japanese at a time when colloquial Chinese was not well known among educated Japanese. These early translations of Chinese fiction were written in classical Japanese, which later on became understandable only to the highly educated Japanese. Consequently, these Chinese novels have been retranslated into modern Japanese more recently.

Although we know little about the new translations into Manchu made among the Sibe (Xibe 錫伯) minority, they probably differ from the old style translations in Manchu, being written in the modern form of that language.

A similar transition occurred in Vietnam. The first adaptations in *nôm* became unintelligible to the Vietnamese after romanized script had replaced writing based on Chinese characters. The result was that verse adaptations of Chinese stories were transcribed into romanized Vietnamese, whereas Chinese stories in prose were equally translated into modern Vietnamese. In some cases we have both translation(s) and adaptation(s) of the same Chinese story, although sometimes they are not based on a single original text.

In Thailand the translated version of the *Sanguo* is still regarded as a model for literary style, even if it is a bit old-fashioned. A new translation was undertaken in the late 1970s by a Thai of Chinese descent who had studied in China.

Besides these diachronic linguistic differences there are those of geographical origin. The Malay used by the translators from Singapore and the Malay Peninsula was quite different from that employed by their counterparts in the Dutch Indies. Readers in the Dutch Indies could only read works published on the other side of the Straits with difficulty, which may explain why the same novels were translated in both places.

When we compare the translations with the original fiction, we find a wide range of accurate and loose translations and adaptations. Most of the contributors have left this unexplored, being content with identifying Chinese originals. Only two papers deal with the relationships between Malay or Indonesian translations and the various Chinese versions of a tale on the one hand, and Korean adaptations and the original Chinese works on the other. As may be expected, the problems involved in such close

comparison of texts are almost insurmountable. In the Malay-Indonesian world, for example, there is a profusion of editions and republications of translations as well as new versions of novels which had already been translated earlier, though it is not always easy to distinguish them from one another. The same translation may eventually be reprinted with a few textual changes needed to bring the language in accord with current usage. Moreover new editions did not always identify the translator; sometimes the original title changed while the text remained the same, or the original translation reappeared with slight changes under another translator's name.

Another difficulty lies in the fact that Chinese fiction was not necessarily translated from the Chinese. We have evidence that some novels were retranslated from other languages. The Korean translation of the *Sanguo zhi yanyi* (first ed. 1703) is based on the Manchu edition printed in 1650, Mongolian translations of the *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 and possibly the story of Zhong Wuyan 鍾無艷 were also adapted from the Manchu.

In Cambodia some of the translations that appeared during the twentieth century may be based on Thai versions, especially the serialized version of the *Sanguo,* or on Vietnamese ones, notably the cloak-and-dagger stories that appeared in the 1960s.

In Insular Southeast Asia versions of the same tale in the various local languages may all be variations of a single previous rendition. This is probably true of the story of Liang Shanbo 梁山伯 and Zhu Yingtai 祝英台 which was first published in Javanese in 1873. Later, several versions in Javanese, Malay, Balinese and Madurese appeared, probably derived from those already extant in Javanese and Malay. So far we can only be sure of the derivation of the Madurese version of 1930–31 from a version in Javanese of 1928: on comparison the Madurese version proved to be a word-for-word adaptation of the Javanese one.

Among the Malay translations with which we are most familiar, some are very faithful to the original, while others take some liberties with the text. The same is true of Mongolian translations. Generally speaking, the Malay/Indonesian translators deviated to some extent from the original; they usually omitted poetry and sometimes the divisions in *hui* 回 "or chapter" and the headings. Sometimes they left out descriptions. Additional material might be included, either for explanatory purposes or to make the translation more appealing to the readers. Judging from a detailed study of the six versions of "Li Shimin 李世民's Journey to the Underworld" it appears that all Malay translations omit the same details: lengthy lists of

officials and titles or the type and colour of the clothing worn by various persons in the underworld which have no ready equivalents in Malay. In many passages the Malay translations follow the original closely, especially in describing the Eighteen Halls of Punishments and their gruesome tortures, which probably fascinated the readers.

Additions may explain a particular point found in the Chinese text or expand the narrative, allowing characters to do and say things that are not in the original. These explanations which are inserted in the text, in fact function like footnotes. Some translations provide explanatory footnotes like those used by Western translators. Moreover some translators provide introductory notes for historical novels with a survey of the situation in China at the time of the story. Tjie Tjin Koeij, a very competent translator, provided his *Sanguo* version with a preface in which he explains how he tried to give a faithful translation which would at the same time be palatable to the reader. He added a map with the various place-names found in the novel, gave their contemporary names and tried to give the Western equivalent for each date in the original. Chan Kim Boon, who had produced a translation of the same novel in Singapore somewhat earlier, also proved to be a conscientious translator. He also converted the dates of the original and added footnotes; moreover he included lists giving Chinese expressions used in the Malay version with a translation or an explanation in Malay and sometimes in English as well. From volume 10 onwards he also added the Chinese characters for proper names, titles and functions.

Of equal interest are the additions introduced to bring the tale more into the line with the sort of literature the reader is familiar with. One peculiar case is to be found in the story of Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 translated by O.H.T. & Y.P.S. published in Batavia in 1884. In several places there are poems in *pantun* form in which the princess Zhaojun expresses her sadness in a typical Malay way such as this one:[26]

Daoen senggoegoe di dalam peti	Clerodendron leaves are in the chest,
Pegi di pasar kampoeng Melaka	I go to the Kampung Melaka market,
Sakit soenggoe di dalem hati	Very painful is my heart,
Dasarnja kita oentoeng tjilaka	I always meet with bad luck!
Pegi di pasar Melaka	I go to the Kampung Melaka,
Ambil go-on-koe dengan tjawan	I get *go-on koe* [口口菇] with a teacup,
Dasarnja kita oentoeng tjilaka	I always meet with bad luck,
Sebab Han Ong jang keterlaoewan.	As Han Ong [漢王] is very careless!

In Singapore translators used to write introductory poems in Malay or in English to introduce the story and sometimes at the beginning of each instalment. Liem Kheng Yong 林慶容, who translated Chinese fiction into Makassarese, also inserted long poems, which refer to his personal life.

It is, of course, extremely difficult to render the compactness and the precision of Chinese into other languages. In many cases there were no ready equivalents so that the translators, if they chose not to omit the details, were obliged to borrow the Chinese terms (sometimes with an explanation), to create new terms by combining a Chinese word with a Malay word, or to rely on terms taken from other languages such as Javanese and Dutch.

Most of the authors had no sense of the inviolability of a text and had few qualms about borrowing from other works, so it is difficult to separate loose translations from adaptations. Two kinds of adaptations, the first written in verse and the second in prose, are of interest here. As far as the verse renditions are concerned, this literary genre was itself well rooted in another culture and therefore imposed limitations on the rendering of the original text. Verse adaptations were popular in Cambodia and especially in Vietnam, where the novel in verse was the dominant genre until the end of the nineteenth century. In insular Southeast Asia, adaptations in verse only appeared in Java. They constitute the majority of works in Javanese derived from Chinese fiction and only a very small part of the works in Malay. Those in Malay are of two kinds, either they are based on previous prose translations which they follow closely, or they have a lot of additions not directly related to the story. In any case, both groups are written in a customary manner by poets who begin by introducing themselves. Several verse adaptations of the story of the princess Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 exist in Vietnamese and there is one each in Cambodian and Malay. A comparative study of these works would allow us to see how they deviate from the Chinese tale(s) and to what extent the tale was adapted to the local audience.

Of equal interest are the prose adaptations. Korea seems to be the country where that literary genre achieved the greatest success, especially during the nineteenth century among the less educated. Judging from the four Korean stories analysed in this volume, it appears that although the plot was borrowed from Chinese fiction, the Korean novels deviate in many respects; some stories are considerably abridged, different endings may be provided and a lot of details about the heroes are changed.

6. CIRCULATION AND AUDIENCE

In order to better appraise the reception of Chinese fiction in the various countries we have to reflect on how translations were circulated. In certain countries story-tellers played a significant part in the transmission of Chinese tales. Among the Mongols, for instance, Chinese fiction was transmitted orally by bards who elaborated on Chinese novels which they had heard, or on tales told at the markets in regions inhabited by Chinese settlers. At the same time, Chinese fiction gave rise to written translations circulated in manuscript form, although xylographic printing had been known for a long time among the Mongols. The first publications of Mongolian translations of Chinese novels only appeared in the 1920s after the foundation of a small Mongolian press by the scholar Temgetü (*c*. 1887–1939) in Peking in 1923. In Korea from the eighteenth century onwards strolling players recited stories in the *p'ansuri* style, some of which were derived from Chinese fiction. Among the Javanese-speaking Chinese, manuscript translations in verse were also read before an audience on special occasions. There were persons of both sexes who excelled in the art of reading and who were asked to go to private homes in the evening to entertain guests. In Cambodia also story-telling seems to have been practised among persons of Hokkien descent since we are told that the Cambodian version of the story of the Princess Wang Zhaojun is based on an account made to the author by a relative.

Theatrical performances may also have created an appetite for Chinese stories. The first European travellers in Banten (West Java), such as the Englishman Edmund Scott, who went there several times between 1602 and 1605, mentions performances of a sort of opera, held when junks were about to sail for China, or when they came back.[27] In Siam in the second part of the seventeenth century there were several troupes of Chinese actors performing for the royal family. Later travellers report that Chinese theatre was well known in the immigrant communities in the major towns of the Netherlands Indies as well as in Cambodia and Thailand. Major William Thorn, who reports on performances he saw in Java at the beginning of the nineteenth century, notes that they were in Chinese and adds: "The subjects of these exhibitions are generally taken from the history of that extraordinary nation, and usually such as give the representations of battles between Chinese and Tartars".[28] Belatedly, in Java at least, the descendants of Chinese even performed Chinese plays in Malay and in some places in

Central Java created a kind of *wayang kulit* or "shadow theatre", called *wayang ṭiṭi*, in Javanese, the repertoire of which consisted of Chinese historical plays. Similarly in Cochin-China the *lkhon pāsāk*' or "Bassac theatre" has a repertory with both works of Chinese origin and traditional Cambodian works. Female roles are played by characters in Cambodian costume; male characters wear Chinese costume and make-up, and act in the Chinese way. In the 1930s the links between theatrical performances and translations of Chinese fiction were still obvious. In Singapore for instance, the Malay version of the story of Zhong Wuyan 鍾無艷 was in great demand because so many had seen the story performed on the stage. In the Netherlands Indies, the tale of Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai was immensely popular with audiences of popular theatre such as the Javanese *ketoprak* and the Balinese *arja*. Several printed versions in Malay, Javanese, Balinese and even Madurese appeared simultaneously.

Even temple wall paintings depicting scenes taken from historical novels may have influenced the demand for translations. In the southern countries there are many such temple decorations. Among the stories illustrated. are: "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms", "The Investiture of the Gods", "The Pilgrimage to the West", "Xue Rengui's Conquest of Korea", and the "Complete Story of Yue Fei". In Indonesia, for instance, most of the temples which contain illustrations of popular fiction were built or rebuilt during the second part of the nineteenth century, but few unretouched paintings remain. Temple painters can still be found and some continue to paint in the traditional Chinese way, although others have borrowed techniques from the West.[29]

Finally the written versions appeared in manuscript and printed form. Though wood-block printing was well known among the Mongols, the Manchus and the Koreans, few translations of Chinese fiction appeared in book form. The Mongolian Lamas, who monopolized the printing presses, did not deem it necessary to spread these translations which, apart from "The Pilgrimage to the West" (which was considered as a Buddhist work) and similar stories that might be given a religious interpretation, they regarded as worldly literature. Among the Manchus the situation was more complicated. On the one hand, the reading of some novels like the *Sanguo zhi yanyi* and other historical tales was encouraged by the rulers; while on the other, novels of manners, which were considered as immoral, and other stories such as the *Shuihu zhuan,* which were regarded as subversive, were banned, both in the original and in their Manchu translations. This could explain why the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" was printed, but not

why the *Jin Ping Mei,* which belongs to the category of prohibited fiction, appeared in print in Manchu just a few years after the 1687 ban. Judging from the numerous attempts to suppress translations and transliterations of Chinese stories in prose as well as in verse, their circulation among the Manchus must have been quite large.[30] In Korea, although there was some Confucian prudery, Chinese fiction was read first among the upper ranks of the society. Women of the palace and the womenfolk of the aristocracy were the main consumers of translated versions and adaptations. These voluminous versions were kept in manuscript copies like those in the Palace Library in Seoul. The fashion generally spread through society as people made copies first for sale to well-to-do families, and then for loan to the less well-off. According to W.E. Skillend "this last stage was probably reached within half a century, by the 1840s".[31] There are also block print editions which rarely bear a date; if there is one it only designates the year within the sixty year cycle. The surviving copies are considered to date from about the middle of the nineteenth century or later. They were printed on cheap, thin paper and were apparently intended for the lower classes.

Lately, this fiction has been reproduced in facsimile or in paperback. Modern printings in moveable type are of different sorts, and they sometimes introduce new confusions because of change made by publishers.[32]

In Japan, on the contrary, most translated fiction was circulated in printed form, especially in the Kyôto-Ôsaka area. Ôsaka was a prosperous merchant city devoted to commerce with an atmosphere of free exchange which contrasted with that of the political capital of Edo.

In Vietnam the situation was to a certain extent similar to that in Korea. Firstly, verse adaptations, in *nôm* were enjoyed by the elite of the society. Secondly they were circulated both in manuscript and in xylographic editions, but the copies that have survived cannot be traced further than the nineteenth century. Although nothing is known about the development of lending libraries before the twentieth century, one may assume that there was a gradual democratization of the audience with the printing of cheap editions. There was a real shift after romanized characters replaced the *nôm*. A study of the circulation of the translations in *quốc ngữ* could easily be made, since the number of copies of the edition often appears on the cover of the books kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

In Thailand the translations commissioned by high-ranking officials were first kept in manuscript form. However, after the transmission of printing into this country, the Thai rulers and especially missionaries made use of this technology to spread literature in prose and to launch newspapers.

Dr Bradley, an American missionary, started the first commercial printing office in 1837 in Bangkok. Among the first publications which came out of his press were the translations of Chinese historical novels, such as "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms" (1865) and the *Dongzhou lieguo zhi* 東周列國志 or "The Romance of the States of Eastern Zhou" (1870). With them, Dr Bradley hoped to attract the descendants of Chinese, whom he thought could be converted to Christianity more easily than the Thai.[33] In 1873, however, there were no bookshops in Siam and a printer could be satisfied if in five years he had succeeded in selling 1,000 copies of a book. A good network of bookshops was still lacking at the beginning of this century.[34]

The situation was even more difficult in Cambodia, where printing with the Cambodian type made its first appearance at the beginning of this century. In 1924, the "Institut Bouddhique" was given the task of propagating traditional culture through printing. Manuscript works derived from the Chinese and kept in monasteries were not deemed worth publishing. However, scholars at the Institut Bouddhique subsequently began to consider providing the Khmer public with adaptations of Chinese novels. In 1933, Nou Kon undertook the translation of the *Sanguo* from a Thai version that had been published in Bangkok in 1927.

In insular Southeast Asia translations in Malay were printed in the early 1880s in book form either by Dutch or Chinese printers; they also appeared in the local press in serial form. In the Straits Settlements as in the Netherlands Indies, the Chinese were quick to show an interest in printing, publishing and selling books and newspapers in Malay. This may be the reason why the manuscripts rapidly became obsolete and even completely disappeared. So far, we have not been able to find a single translation from the Chinese in Malay in manuscript form. The success of the Malay language in Java among the urban population may eventually explain why translations in Javanese, which were apparently begun earlier that in Malay, mainly remained in manuscript form, even though several Chinese printers and booksellers specialized in the publishing and selling of books in Javanese. These manuscripts were owned by the translators or their relatives who lent them out to members of the local Chinese community. By the turn of the century, such manuscripts had become very rare; only rich Chinese, such as opium farmers, for example, could order a handwritten copy of the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" for the price of 50 guilders or more. Since several Javanese translations of Chinese fiction are still kept in the court libraries of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, they must have appealed to the higher classes of the Javanese society as well.

There is no doubt that the spread of printing involved an increase in readership. This tendency developed at different speeds in different times and places. The result was that Chinese fiction became accessible to more and more readers. In this respect, the development of the local press had a tremendous impact on the diffusion of this translated literature in the southern countries.

Another institution which should not be overlooked is the commercial lending libraries. Unfortunately, we know little of their historical development outside of China, where they may be traced to the Tang dynasty. They operated in Korea during the nineteenth century, though it cannot be ascertained whether they were a local creation or a borrowing from China. In the southern countries especially in insular Southeast Asia, they obviously developed in cities where Chinese communities had been settled for centuries, such as Palembang, Batavia, Banjarmasin and Makassar; whereas in other centres the tradition of manuscripts being owned by courts or important families and being lent free of charge still prevailed. Nowadays such lending libraries, which specialize in cloak-and-dagger stories, still survive in many a city of Southeast Asia.

7. INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOCAL LITERATURES

We hope to stimulate further research on the influence of Chinese fiction, translated or in the original, on local literatures, for little is known about this topic.

In the Sinicized countries like Korea, Vietnam and Japan, stories in literary style, like the *Jian deng xinhua* 剪燈新話, "New Tales of Wick-trimming Hours", soon gave rise to imitations, some in literary Chinese; to begin with the *Kŭmo sinhwa* 金鰲新話, "New Tales from Mount Kumo", of the Korean writer Kim Sisŭp 金時習 (1435–1493) which was in turn exported to Japan and belatedly reimported from Japan to Korea and reprinted in the twentieth century; the Vietnamese *Truyền kỳ mạn lục* 傳奇漫錄, "Huge Collection of Passed-on Marvels" by Nguyễn Dữ 阮嶼 (sixteenth century), and its sequel *Truyền kỳ tân phả* 傳奇新譜, "New Collection of the Passing on of Marvels" by Đòan Thị Diễm 段氏點 (1705–1748); and in Japanese *Otogibôko* 伽婢子 (1666) by Asai Ryôi 淺井了意 (d. 1691). This collection of fantastic tales was widely read by the Japanese and several sequels appeared during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Popular fiction in colloquial Chinese also inspired similar stories written either in vernacular languages or in literary Chinese. Korean authors

wrote their novels in Chinese and in Korean; some stories even appeared in both languages, for example *Kuun mong* 九雲夢, "The Nine Cloud Dream" and the *Sa-ssi namjŏng ki* 謝氏南徵記, "The Record of the Lady Xie's Pacification of the South" both written by Kim Manjung 金萬重 (1637–92).[35] The introduction of popular novels, especially those of the Ming period, into Korea stimulated the local writers, and many similar novels were written and circulated. Most novels written in traditional style, of which nearly 700 are known, have their setting in China. Yet about 15 per cent of them are considered to be translated from Chinese fiction. Chinese settings were used to create a utopia or to avoid reprisals from the authorities. The comparative study of Chinese and Korean fiction, given the wealth of raw material in both countries, has hardly begun.

In Vietnam the transmission of *yanyi xiaoshuo* 演義小說 or "historical novels" induced local scholars to write historical prose novels in Chinese but in a Vietnamese setting. These literary works have just recently been "rediscovered" after decades of neglect. The number known to date is much smaller than that of the *nôm* verse novels derived from the Chinese.

Chinese fiction in colloquial style also influenced famous Japanese authors of the eighteenth century like Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 and Takizawa Bakin 瀧澤馬琴, who were translators and who composed some of the best known *yomihon* or "story-books", a new genre of fiction combining historical facts and fantasy.

Turning to the Manchus and the Mongols, whose culture was not on a level with that of the Chinese, we note that the diffusion of Chinese fiction had different effects; on the one hand the Manchus, who were very eager to acculturate, gradually lost their own literature; while on the other hand, the Mongols were stimulated by its reception. The former started to write in Chinese and even to compose novels. One of the best examples is that of Wen Kang 文康, the author of the *Ernü yingxiong zhuan* 兒女英雄傳 "The Gallant Maid", who presumably lived during the nineteenth century.[36] The Mongols however developed a prose fiction which shows Chinese influence, especially in the first works that appeared during the nineteenth century. One of them, the *Tabun ǰuwan* or "Five Tales" was even created as a sequel to the Chinese novel *Fenzhuang lou* 粉粧樓 or "Story of a Boudoir" which had previously been translated into Mongolian.

In the southern countries, translations did not appear until the nineteenth century and as long as they remained in manuscript form, did not have a significant influence on local literary production. After the appearance of printing and newspapers these translated works reached a larger public. At the same time Western fiction was introduced in translation

and serialized in the press. Though there is still no comprehensive study of the new literature that emerged on the eve of the twentieth century, especially in the Netherlands Indies, it appears that it was the product of a combined influence from China and Europe. Among the first writers of the Netherlands Indies were persons of Chinese origin who had been trained in Chinese schools or who had received their schooling from Dutch teachers. Only recently can we identify a direct influence from China in the southern countries literatures in the form of popular cloak-and-dagger stories. In Cambodia for instance in the 1960s the urban population developed an increasing taste for Chinese fiction so that the most China-oriented authors started to compose Cambodian historical novels or even took their inspiration from Chinese cloak-and-dagger stories. A similar process is to be found in Indonesia where since the early 1960s a tendency to "indigenize" Chinese cloak-and-dagger stories has appeared. One of the most famous writers of this kind of fiction is Asmaraman S. Kho Ping Hoo 許平和. Some of his novels are set in China and Japan while others occur in Indonesia. In the 1980s Kho started to write novels that took place during the Mojopahit period. It seems that a new "tradition" kungfu novels is arising in Indonesia.[37]

8. THE RECEPTION OF THE *SANGUO ZHI YANYI*

In Asian countries, as in China, the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" was widely read not only by scholars but by the less educated as well. We have seen that its Manchu version from 1631–32 is the oldest known translation that may be dated with certainty.[38] Complete translations in Manchu and Japanese appeared respectively in 1650 and 1692. The other dated translations are as follow:

Korean:	1703 (excerpts from the Manchu edition of 1650); 1774 (revised. ed.) 1859.[39]
Thai:	1802 (complete).[40]
Malay:	1883–85 (partial translation); 1886 (partial translation); 1892-96 (complete) 1910–13; 1912 (complete).
Javanese:	1890–94 (incomplete).
Vietnamese:	1907, 1909–18, 1928–30, 1931–33, 1934–35, 1937, 1952.
Mongol:	1925.
Makassarese:	*c*. 1930.
Cambodian:	*c*. 1933.

Besides there are many translations and adaptations especially in Korean and in Mongolian which may probably be traced to the nineteenth century. In the West it seems that the first attempts to translate this novel were made in Spanish and in Latin, apparently at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[41] But the first partial translation to appear, in book form was made by Théodore Pavie in 1845–46 in Paris. Interestingly enough the translator made use of both the Manchu and the Chinese versions. In his preface Pavie insists on the importance of mastering the Manchu language in order to better understand the Chinese.[42] An English version by C.H. Brevitt-Taylor appeared in 1925, and a German by Franz Kuhn about 1940.[43]

Obviously, the Asiatic readers were greatly attracted by this novel with its message of importance to them. The Manchus used it as a tool to steel themselves against the Ming troops. It is also said that in Korea it was regarded as "the literature of spiritual victory unfolding in a grand drama of historical fate". It was widely read, especially after the Japanese invasion during the Yi dynasty (sixteenth century), and a temple to Guan Yu 關羽 was built. Lately a great number of similar military novels have been composed.[44] Schweisguth who comments briefly on the success achieved by the Thai translation says that it can be linked with the political rise of new Sino-Thai elite that took the control of the whole country; besides, both the Chinese and the Thai obviously enjoy the negotiations between the generals and the other military chiefs and the stratagems employed to subdue the traitors. The author adds that the devices they learn from the story may help them to understand the current politics of their rulers. The Thai translation of the *Sanguo* has been reprinted several times in full length or in fragments, and more than 250,000 copies of the passage on the naval engagement with General Cao Cao 曹操 were printed in the brief period between 1935 and 1940.[45]

Similar views regarding the didactic aspect of the novel were expressed in the Malay world by Mohamed Salleh bin Perang (1841–1915), an open-minded scholar who had started to learn Chinese as early as 1861. In a letter to a Peranakan Chinese written in 1894 he wrote:

> I was very fond of reading Chinese tales, my favorite being the story entitled *Sam Kok* for this work contains much that is of value, including allusions and parables which should be heard by officials in the service of kings.[46]

In the late 1890s when Chan Kim Boon 曾錦文 published his Malay version of the *Sanguo* in Singapore, he also insisted on the didactic value of the novel and pointed out that it was a masterpiece of Chinese history.

This viewpoint was shared by readers who in their letters to the translator said that "The Three Kingdoms" is a "valuable history of China useful for Babas and other natives who know the Malay language". Malays and Indonesians continued to read this novel in the twentieth century. Sukarno himself is reported to have read it several times.[47]

With "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms" in which superhuman elements play only a minor part, and the emphasis is on the human efforts of rational heroes, the readers could find hints for solving their personal problems and clues to understanding their own world. For many readers in China and abroad, this historical account was superior to official history in terms of readability, and literary interest. This kind of historical narrative, fairly reliable in terms of historical facts, may be a uniquely Chinese contribution to world history writing. Its success, especially in the southern parts of Asia, where historical writing (except in some Islamized areas) up to the beginning of this century was usually heavily laced with legendary events, is remarkable.

These introductory remarks may, we hope, help to better define the wide field of research which the reader is about to enter and, in addition, promote an interest in comparative studies. This would not only improve our knowledge of Asian literature but also transform our whole approach to the Far East.

Notes

1. Jeon Kyu Tae, "The Influences of Chinese Literature on Korean Literature", *Tamkang Review,* II (2)–III (1), Oct. 1971–April 1972, pp. 101–15; Elmer A. Ordoñez, "Notes on Philippine Reception to Chinese Literature", *Idem,* pp. 117–32; Masaie Matsumura, "A Refraction of Sayyuki (Hsi You Chi)", *Idem,* pp. 81–88; Hatakénaka Toshio, "On Kim-Vân-Kiêu — China, Viet Nam, Japan", *Idem,* pp. 89–100. Also a highly interesting study by M. Soymié ("L'entrevue de Confucius et de Hiang T'o", *Journal Asiatique* 242 (1954): 311–92) should be mentioned here. The author presents a Chinese tale about the meeting between Confucius and the little boy Xiang Tuo 项橐. He compares this tale, discovered in several manuscript versions in Dunhuang caves, to Tibetan versions also found there, as well as to later Chinese versions and other adaptations in Mongolian, Japanese and Thai. More recently other versions have been discovered. See Dédé Oetomo, "*Serat Ang Dok*: A Confucian Treatise in Javanese", *Archipel* 34 (1987): 181–97.
2. The relevant studies are to be found in the various contributions presented in this volume as well as in the general bibliography. See also the notices on

Vietnamese, Japanese, Korean, Manchu and Mongol translations in William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (ed. & compiler), *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 297–309.

3. Cf. Wang Liqi 王利器, *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jinhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao* 元明清三代禁毀小說戲曲史料 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981) (enlarged ed.), p. 56.
4. G. William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, Second printing, 1962), p. 14, quoting the reports of the French observers François T. Choisy and Simon de la Loubère.
5. A list of these translations is to be found in Lim Ying Chiang 林英強, "Taiguo de wenxue yu yishu tan wei 泰國的文學與藝術探微", *Journal of Southeast Asian Researches* (Singapore) (1969): 141–44.
6. According to Elmer A. Ordoñez, *op. cit.*, p. 131, note 19: Rizal (1861–1896), the famous Filipino nationalist and writer of Chinese origin, "is reported to have consulted the works of the Sinologists and collected books on Chinese drama, language and the arts for his private library". He is also said to have collaborated in annotating a manuscript translation of the *Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志 by Fr. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
7. J. Legge, *The Rambles of the Emperor Ching Tih in Këang Nan. A Chinese Tale*, translated by Tkin Shen, student of the Anglo-Chinese college, Malacca with a preface by J. L., London, 1843, 2 v.
8. *The Hokkien Library Series,* v. 1. *The Celestial Mirror*. An English translation by J.A. Maung Gyi and Cheah Toon Hoon of Pókàm, or Extracts from *Liau Chai, Pau Kong An,* or Decisions of Pau Kong, Rangoon, 1st ed., Jan. 1894, p. 127. The preface reads: "To the Chinese youth who is desirous of forming a more intimate acquaintance with the Hokkien language, spoken so extensively in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, the compiler offers this little volume of stories… These stories are translated from the "literary Chinese" by the compiler Mr Cheah Toon Hoon, into elegant and polished Hokkien and the romanized text will shortly follow its companion *The Celestial Mirror.* The youth who makes a careful study of this translation and the Romanized text, will be enabled to converse fluently and elegantly in the Hokkien language. The European too, who is wise enough to make this little volume and its companion a sort of pastime study, will find his intercourse with the Chinese, much easier, whether socially or commercially". This first volume was printed with the money collected from subscribers whose names are given in a list. We have not been able to locate the second volume.
9. See notably Zhang Wenxun 張文勛 and others, *Baizu wenxue shi* 白族文學史, Kunming, Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1983, pp. 152–58 where is given a description of oral adaptations of the story of Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai among the Bai 白; several other studies deal with the transmission of the