

Translating Hemingway: A Case of Cultural Politics[✧]

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ABSTRACT

The present study begins with a brief translation history of Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* in France, Italy, and Spain, showing that, due to the novel's anti-war and anti-fascist nature, in many cases its translations were shaped not only by cultural and literary factors, but also by socio-political and economic factors. Following the introduction, based on Anthony Pym's "humanizing" (agent-based) approach to translation history, I explore the roles played by many Chinese publishers, translators, and editors in the novel's translation history in the first half of the twentieth century, with the intention to show why, compared to the translation boom of *A Farewell to Arms* since the second half of the twentieth century, translations of this novel were produced so infrequently from 1929 to 1949. Review of related historical facts indicates that at least two Chinese translations of *A Farewell to Arms* were published because Hemingway was identified by many Chinese intellectuals, including communists, as an anti-war and anti-fascist "leftist writer"; and even the allegedly pro-communist scholar-official John K. Fairbank was involved in a translation project of Hemingway's works. This study aims at showing that at least a part of the history of translating Hemingway in China has been determined by strategies and choices that the American translation theorist and historian Lawrence Venuti has identified as the "cultural politics of translation," in which the translation process is shaped by political agendas and ideologies, not just by translators' poetic judgment.

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I. Introduction: Research Question and Method

A. Research Question

This research originally aimed at exploring all the translations of Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* (hereafter cited as *Farewell*) from a descriptive perspective, in an attempt to understand when, why, and how the novel has been translated. With a search on any website of bibliographic information, e.g., China's *Douban Dushu* 豆瓣讀書, dozens of translations of *Farewell* can be quickly found, but the majority of them have been translated after 1949. In contrast, browsing through *Comprehensive Bibliography of the Republican Era: Foreign Literatures* (*Minguo shiqi zongshumu: waiguo wenxue* 民國時期總書目：外國文學), a fact soon reveals itself: during the Republican era (1911-49), the Chinese translations of *Farewell* were made rather infrequently.

According to the aforementioned bibliography, the translation history of Hemingway's *Farewell*, in a stark contrast, shows both scarcity and incompleteness. *Farewell* was translated and published for the first time in 1939, ten years after its publication, by a translator named Yu Xi 余犀 and the publisher was Qiming Bookstore (*Qiming shuju* 啟明書局) in Shanghai. The second translation was published the next year, also in Shanghai, by Xifeng Publications (*Xifengshe* 西風社), and translated by Lin Yijin 林疑今. The third and last translation of *Farewell* during the Republican era was published in Shanghai in March 1949, less than a year before the nationalist Guomindang government relocated to Taiwan. The translator Ma Yanxiang 馬彥祥, besides translating *Farewell*, also translated Hemingway's two early story collections, *In Our Time* and *Men without Women*, and all three translations were published by Chenguang Publications (*Chenguang chubangongsi* 晨光出版公司) in the same translation series, Chenguang Book Series of World Literature (*Chenguang shijiewenxue congshu* 晨光世界文學叢書; Lin and Jia 178).

Judging from the information provided in the bibliography, evidently only the translation made by Lin Yijin, with its book length of 384 pages, is a complete translation. The novel's title was rendered by Lin as *A Romantic Dream on the Battlefield* (*Zhandi chunmeng* 戰地春夢). The translations made by Yu and Ma, were rendered as *Leaving the Army* (*Tuiwu* 退伍) and *Caporetto*

(*Kangpoletuo* 康波勒托), and with the book lengths of 166 and 189 pages respectively (Lin and Jia 178), revealing their nature as abridged translations.

A cursory review of the publication history of the Chinese translations of *Farewell* in China during the Republican era is enough for us to suspect that both literary and socio-political factors might have motivated the translators to translate *Farewell*. Yu Xi translated *Farewell* because he was touched by the romantic story in the novel, but Lin Yijin and Ma Yanxiang both translated the novel for socio-political reasons, to a greater or lesser extent. This information already tells us something about the reason for the scarcity of Chinese translations of *Farewell* during the two decades following its publication: either the translator was motivated by his personal taste and aesthetics (Lin), or was influenced by the political atmosphere at that time (Lin and Ma). During those decades, no other reasons motivated more translators to translate *Farewell*. While this big picture seems very clear, an in-depth analysis of translation history is still needed, if we are going to see the WHO and HOW of the three translations: what agents besides the translators were at work and what are the roles they played? How were the three translation projects influenced by the complicated networks of socio-political causation?

B. Research Method: Venuti, Lefevere, and Pym

Therefore, it might be intriguing to probe into the answers to the abovementioned questions: we already know that the controlling factors are both literary and socio-political, what about other cultural, or even economic factors? Lawrence Venuti has inspired translation studies scholars with the insight that translation is never value-free: instead, translation, though largely a process of textual production, is “violence” and the aim of translation is to serve “an imperialist appropriation of foreign cultures for domestic agendas, cultural, economic, political” (209). Therefore, evidently, more often than not, there are controlling factors related not just to literature, or to the texts themselves.

In the same vein, André Lefevere, another translation studies scholar focusing on extratextual elements of translation, also writes that translation “usually operate on underlying principles essentially alien to literature” and translation, as a form of literature, is not made “in the vacuum of unfettered genius, for genius is never unfettered, but out of the tension between genius and the constraints that genius has to operate under, accepting them or subverting

them” (*Translation* 18). In other words, the process of translation (as a refraction) has to go through certain power relations, in which the translation is determined by the interactions between socio-political, ideological, cultural, and economic factors.

By focusing on the period of the first half of the twentieth century, the present study on the Chinese translations of Hemingway’s *Farewell* would like to argue that this case of literary translation is appropriate to attest to the faithfulness of the principles proposed by Venuti and Lefevere, and for the purposes of convenience this theoretical position will be seen as an approach to “cultural politics” in translation studies, especially as it has been proposed in Venuti’s essay, “Translation as Cultural Politics.” Furthermore, since this study is to some extent historical, Anthony Pym’s method of translation history and his two methodological principles will be invoked as guidelines for my analysis: first, translation history “should address problems of social causation,” which means the aim of study is to “explain why translations were produced in a particular social time and place”; second, the central object of historical knowledge should not be the text of the translation, instead it should be the “human translator” and their social entourage, including clients, patrons, and readers (Pym ix).

For Pym, the work of a “translation historian” includes the discourses and practices of “translation archaeology,” which “often involves complex detective work” that is guided by the multifaceted question: “who translated what, how, where, when, for whom and with what effect?” (Pym 5). In the present study, therefore, it is important to identify the earliest translators who rendered *Farewell* into Chinese and determine their socio-political and cultural circumstances. Among the three translators, almost nothing about Yu Xi has been known, except that “Yu Xi” is very likely a penname or pseudonym, because bibliographic data indicate no other works translated or written by an author of that name, despite the fact that many studies unanimously claim Yu Xi to be the first translator of *Farewell*. As to Lin Yijin and Ma Yanxiang, the factors motivating their translations will be explored.

As a war (or anti-war) novel, which holds a cynical view on politics and religion, there is a fair chance that *Farewell* would have been met with political troubles when translated and published in foreign countries, especially in fascist countries like Italy and Spain. Therefore, a very quick glimpse at what happened in other countries can be very illuminating to understand the nature

of the enquiry made in the present study: seeing what went wrong in other countries might provide an insightful perspective to understand why *Farewell* was translated so scarcely. As a historical overview, the following section will be used to reconstruct the translation history of *Farewell* from an international angle.

II. Historical Overview: Cases in France, Italy, and Spain

A. France: *The Role of Coindreau, Hemingway's Translator*

In Maurice-Edgar Coindreau, the first French translator of *Farewell*, borrowing the words of American scholar George McMillan Reeves, “the most prestigious translator of American fiction into French” can be found (qtd. in Wilhelm 79). Though a professor of Romance languages at Princeton University for 38 years, his years serving as a French translator of American literature spanned even longer, from 1927 to roughly 1978 (Wilhelm 79). Coindreau’s translation career began with his friendship with John Dos Passos, the renowned American modernist novelist and also a close friend of Hemingway. Working in collaboration with Dos Passos, Coindreau completed a translation of his friend’s novel *Manhattan Transfer* and got it published by the major Paris publishing house Gallimard in 1928, causing quite a sensation in France. Gaston Gallimard, the owner and founder, liked Coindreau’s translation very much and encouraged him to work on improving his English, so Coindreau not only became one of Gallimard’s famed translators, but also wrote literary criticism for *La Nouvelle Revue française*, a journal also published by Gaston Gallimard (Menand 208). For example, “William Faulkner,” the first article on the American master novelist ever to be published in French, was written by Coindreau and published in *La Nouvelle Revue française* (Wilhelm 79). Coindreau was entrusted by Gallimard with the cultural and commercial mission of introducing American novelists to France, so during summer breaks of Princeton University he traveled by sea to France with his new translations for Gallimard to publish, including not only Hemingway’s *Farewell* and *The Sun Also Rises*, but also Faulkner’s *As I Lay Dying*, *Light in August* and *The Sound and the Fury*, and John Steinbeck’s *Of Mice and Men* (Menand 208), all received with great enthusiasm by French readers.

Coindreau translated so many works by master novelists that the existentialist philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre even once said that “[I]a littérature américaine, c’était la littérature Coindreau” (“American literature was the literature of Coindreau”; my trans.), proving that Coindreau was one of the men who made the 1930s “the age of the American novel” in France (Menand 209). Given the considerable success made by the French translation of *Manhattan Transfer* in France in 1928, after the publication of *Farewell* in 1929, Hemingway wrote a letter from his residence in Key West, Florida to tell Coindreau that he had rejected the translator proposed by Gallimard and that he handpicked Coindreau as his translator for *Farewell*. And the two of them started a long process of collaboration, with Coindreau writing letters to ask difficult questions about how to translate *Farewell*, and their work would be obstructed for months due to Hemingway’s car accident in Montana (with Dos Passos also present), and finally *L’Adieu aux armes*, the French translation of *Farewell*, was able to be published in 1932 (Meriwether 449-50). Generally known as the iconic translator of Hemingway and other American novelists, however, Coindreau also revealed, surprisingly, in one of his later interviews in the 1970s, that the reason why he translated only two of Hemingway’s novels was that he translated them for Gaston Gallimard as a favor for publishing his own works, and he did not even like Hemingway’s novels (qtd. in Grove 37). Clearly there was an economic factor (or, in Lefevère’s words, a factor of patronage) at work behind the translation of *Farewell* into French.

B. Italy and Spain: Hemingway’s Translations in the Two Fascist States

For the Italian and Spanish translations, by consulting *Ernest Hemingway: A Comprehensive Bibliography* (edited by Audre Hanneman), it can be found that the first Italian translations of *Farewell* came out until the end of WWII, with three different versions by three translators, all published in Milan from 1945 to 1949. The first two (*Un addio alle armi* and *Addio alle armi*) were by Bruno Fonzi (1945) and Giansiro Ferrata (1946, translated together with Puccio Russo and Dante Isella) respectively, and the third, *Addio alle armi*, by Pivano Fernanda (1949) (Hanneman 188-89). As to the first Spanish translation, by Joaquim Horta, it was published even more belatedly, in 1955 (Hanneman 200). Considering how closely Hemingway connected himself with these two

countries, both in his literary works and in his real life, this belatedness deserves further examination.

Hemingway volunteered to join the Red Cross Ambulance Service to be an ambulance driver in the Italy front during the heyday of WWI in 1918. Though discharged after a short stay due to serious injuries resulted from an Austrian mortar attack, this experience inspired him to write *Farewell*, a tragically beautiful love story between American ambulance driver Frederic Henry and Catherine Barkley, a nurse he met in a small Italian town named Gorizia. The climax of the story is the Caporetto Great Retreat, during which Henry deserted the army and fled from the front, finally reuniting with Catherine in Switzerland. It is reasonable to ask why the first Italian translations of *Farewell*, a world-famous novel set in Italy, were produced and published almost twenty years after the novel had first appeared in English. Were there any specific reasons why?

Valerio Ferme's solid research about how foreign women writers were translated under the Italian Fascist regime proves to be very helpful. It turns out that, long before the publication of *Farewell* in 1929, the Italian dictator Mussolini had developed a personal antipathy for Hemingway following a 1923 newspaper article that Hemingway penned in the *Toronto Daily Star*¹ in which he describes Mussolini as the "biggest bluff in Europe" (Hemingway 256). Furthermore, after the publication of *Farewell*, Hemingway even made it to the Fascist regime's list of *personae non grata*, for the defeated Italian army in Caporetto was described by Hemingway in unflattering terms. He became, accordingly, one of the few American authors whose work was severely restricted from translation into Italian (Ferme 14).

In his research, Ferme also points out that Fernanda Pivano, the third translator of *Farewell*, was detained and released after a lengthy interrogation, because the Italian SS (short for Schutzstaffel, the German for "protective echelon," a military unit of the Fascist regime) rounded up Einaudi Editore, finding the prestigious Italian publisher had signed a translation contract of *Farewell* with Pivano (Ferme 14). Mary Dearborn, Hemingway's biographer, also writes in her book that Pivano was arrested in 1943, shortly after she had started the translation of *Farewell*, a banned book in Italy at that time (508).

¹ Hemingway used to be a correspondent dispatched to Paris by *Toronto Daily Star*, covering international news of European countries in the early 1920s.

After WWII, the rights of *Farewell* were signed to Milan's publication house Mondadori (Di Robilant 26), and soon a co-translated version (by Ferrata, Russo, and Isella) was published in 1946; but Pivano would also be commissioned by Mondadori to translate *Farewell*, and her translation would be published in 1949. So it might be fair to say that, though Pivano's translation was the third one, it still would have been the first Italian translation of *Farewell*, had it not been impeded by the Fascist regime.

Hemingway started to build up a strong connection with Spain when he was still a news correspondent in Paris, for he went to Pamplona, Spain during the St. Fermin festival every year to watch games of bullfighting. More than a decade later, when Spain, Hemingway's beloved country, was plagued by a civil war, Hemingway went there again to side with the Spanish people by backing up the Republicans, who would later be defeated by the Nationalists, a political force led by the Fascist general-dictator Francisco Franco. Hemingway wrote prominent works, both essays and stories, about Spain, like *The Sun Also Rises* (featuring scenes set in Pamplona during fiesta), *Death in the Afternoon* (about bullfighting), *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (about the civil war) and *The Fifth Column* (Hemingway's only full-length play, also set in that civil war), and he lived in Cuba, a Spanish-speaking country, on and off for over 30 years, so his serious involvement with Spanish culture and identity with Spanish have become obvious to everybody, as is claimed by Beatriz Penas Ibáñez (55).

Therefore, why had *Farewell* long been left untranslated in Spain for twenty-six years, until it was translated by Joaquim Horta and published by the publisher Luis de Caralt in 1955? After the Republicans favored by Hemingway were defeated and the civil war ended, Franco took over the reign of Spain and became its Fascist dictator, ruling the country from 1936 to 1975. Hemingway mocked Franco so harshly that he named the great dictator "General Fat Ass Franco" in his novel *Across the River and into the Trees* (1950), so he would not be a favorable literary icon in Spain, but, as is claimed by Ibáñez in her study about Hemingway's reception in Spain, the writer was finally permitted to come back to Spain in the summer of 1953 to watch bullfights, though still not allowed to speak to the media freely (55). The international geopolitical setting of the 1950s paved the way for the Spanish translation of *Farewell*, because "Franco's anticommunist regime was starting to be fully accepted by the Western democracies, and the USA in particular was growingly interested in making Spain gradually develop an interest in becoming a NATO's ally"

(Ibáñez 55). Hemingway, a world-famous writer at that time and a Nobel prize laureate after 1954, was particularly well positioned to play the role of a cultural and literary envoy in the overall geopolitical scheme.

In *Hemingway & Franco*, the author Douglas Edward Laprade also contends that it is “impossible to discuss Hemingway’s reception in Spain in purely literary terms” (55), so by the middle of the 1950s, Hemingway’s works started to proliferate for two reasons: one literary, and the other political. First, the “Hemingway boom” in Spain arose due to the Nobel prize awarded to him in 1954, which made his books even more difficult to suppress for the Fascist regime. And, second, in 1953, Spain and the United States signed a treaty, forcing Franco to become more receptive to foreign influences (Laprade 55). Still, due to its controversial nature in the eyes of a politically and religiously conservative Fascist regime like Spain, the publication of the Spanish translation of *Farewell* could not have possibly been unconditional. Before the publication, the publisher Caralt had to eliminate nine passages about sex or religion, which had been specifically marked by the censors of the regime. And out of the nine passages, three of them were not published in any of Caralt’s editions until 1999 (Laprade 94), more than twenty years after Franco’s death and the end of the Fascist regime.

For a concluding mark of this section, the historical cases re-examined above clearly illustrate the fact that the translations of *Farewell* in different countries did involve with different factors, be they literary, economic, or political. In France, Coindreau translated Hemingway not out of his enthusiasm about the writer’s works, but due to his wish to give a favor to his patron, the publisher Gaston Gallimard. In both Italy and Spain, Hemingway did not get along too well with the two Fascist regimes’ dictators, Mussolini and Franco, so the translations of *Farewell* had been impeded for at least more than sixteen years, and obviously for political and ideological reasons. That being said, the Spanish translation of *Farewell*, could have very likely been translated for political reasons, which can be discussed in the bigger picture of what I have named as “cultural politics”: it might have been allowed to be translated and published in a geopolitical milieu of both the governments of Spain and the United States showing friendly gestures to each other. Spain was admitted to the UN in 1955, the same year that Horta’s translation, *Adiós a las armas*, was published.

III. Revisiting *Tuiwu*: The Problems of Who and Why

A. Why Was *Farewell* Translated for the First Time?

After *Farewell* was published in 1929, its first Chinese translation was serialized in 1933 in the influential literary supplement of the Hong Kong newspaper *Southern Sun Daily* (*Tiannan ribao* 天南日報). The translator was the young twenty-two-year-old writer Li Yuzhong 李育中, who would go on to become a prominent poet, journalist, and professor in his decades-long literary career (Chan 518-19). This translation, however, would never be published in book-length form, so it has been lost to history.

When the first book-length publication of *Farewell* in Chinese translation was made available to the readers in 1939, the place of publication, Shanghai, had become a so-called “isolated-island” (“*gudao*” 孤島) during China’s resistance war against Japan (1927-35). During this time in Shanghai, Chinese publishers, writers, and translators still worked hard together to thrive and produce many books in their task as cultural ambassadors. According to various accounts, Yu Xi has been seen as the first translator of *Farewell* in China. For example, *A Companion for Chinese Translators* (*Zhongguo fanyi cidian* 中國翻譯詞典) states that “Hemingway’s first novel *Tuiwu* (translated by Yu Xi) was published in 1939 by the Qiming Bookstore in Shanghai, then Lin Yijin translated *Farewell* and Xie Qingyao 謝慶堯 translated *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, and both were published and had several reprints in Shanghai, respectively by Xifeng Publications in 1940 and Lin’s Publications 林氏出版社 in 1941” (my trans.; Xiao 266). *Kangpoletuo*, the third translation is also listed in this companion, though clarification is not made about its being a translation of *Farewell*. Also, both *The Translation of British and American Literary Works in China: 1919-1949* (*Wusi yilai woguo yingmeiwenzxuezuopin yijieshi* 五四以來我國英美文學作品譯介史：1919-1949) and *A History of Twentieth Century Literature Translated into Chinese* (*Ershishiji Zhongguo fanyiwenxueshi* 二十世紀中國翻譯文學史) consider Yu Xi’s *Tuiwu* to be the first translation of *Farewell* in China (Wang 221-22; Li 186), with the former contextualizing its discussion in the background of war literature translation in wartime China, claiming that, during this period of time, most of his works set during war times, aside from *Farewell*, like *The Fifth Column*, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and story collection *The Butterfly and the Tank*, were all translated,

and Hemingway was considered largely to be a war literature writer (Wang 221-23).

Furthermore, in *The Study of Hemingway in China* (*Haimingweiyanjiu zai Zhongguo* 海明威研究在中國), Qiu Pingrang 邱平壤 declares that there was a translation boom of Hemingway from the late 1930s to 1940s, which can be explained from the historical background of war in China. Feng Yidai 馮亦代, a prestigious translator of China, is considered to be a key facilitator in this translation boom and Qiu quotes from Feng's translator afterword printed in the 1981 edition of Hemingway's story collection *The Fifth Column and Other Stories* (*Diwuzongdui ji qita* 第五縱隊及其他) to explain why Feng started to translate Hemingway:

In early 1938, I went to Hong Kong by chance. Even though I was in a foreign land, my heart was still burned by the war fires lit up by the Japanese Empire in Zhabei [閘北], after the Nationalist troops of China had pulled out of Shanghai. One day, in a small bookstore located at Lyndhurst Terrace [擺花街], Hong Kong, I found Hemingway's touching short story "The Denunciation." Afterwards, two more short stories would be made available to me, so I determined to translate the three of them, for this type of literary work would encourage Chinese people to stand up and join the resistance war against Japan. (my trans.; Qiu 12)

In 1943, Feng's translations were collected and published with the title *The Butterfly and the Tank* (*Hudie yu tanke* 蝴蝶與坦克), in China's wartime capital, Chongqing. Questions arise accordingly: was *Tuiwu*, the first translation of *Farewell*, translated in similar wartime circumstances? Also, who was Yu Xi, whose biographical background (or true identity) has never been revealed in any studies about Hemingway's translation history?

B. The Translation of Farewell and the Shanghai-style (Haipai) Writers

Since the first three translations of *Farewell* were all published in Shanghai, China's most commercially and culturally sophisticated metropolis both then and now, it might be a good place to start the investigation, and esteemed scholar Leo Ou-fan Lee's insightful study, *Shanghai Modern*,

deserves special attention. In the book, Lee has delineated clearly the development of Shanghai's urban culture from 1930 to 1945, when literary creation and popular culture influenced each other, and both thrived splendidly due to the implantation of foreign cultures in the city. During the 1930s, Hemingway was known to only a few Shanghai-style (*Haipai* 海派) writers, such as Ye Lingfeng 葉靈鳳, who claimed to be China's earliest promoter of Hemingway, and Xu Chi 徐遲, who produced a translation of *Farewell* (Lee 127, 263).

In *Shanghai Modern*, Leo Lee reconstructs how the Shanghai-style writers had been influenced by foreign literature and how they interacted with one another to form a close literati community. In that circle, the background of Xu Chi deserves further attention, for Lee claims that Xu "was able to gain access to works such as Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*, which he translated" (Lee 127), despite the fact that, among all of the materials consulted for the present study, this is the only account stating Xu Chi translated *Farewell*. This statement, however, is fairly reliable, for Leo Lee indicates that he interviewed Shi Zhecun 施蛰存 and Xu Chi several times while gathering and preparing research for the book (Lee 126).

Via interviews with Xu Chi, Leo Lee was able to explain in detail how Xu first became involved with the literature of Britain, America, and France. Xu's literary resources included his unfinished study in Beijing at the English Department of Yenching University; his friendships with Dai Wangshu 戴望舒 and the rich dandy-writer Shao Xunmei 邵洵美, who both made their personal book collections available to Xu Chi; and all the literary journals printed and circulated in Shanghai (Lee 122-26). These were all parts of the broad set of resources, or cultural capital, accessible to Xu Chi when he translated *Farewell*.

However, the question remains to be answered whether Xu Chi could be "Yu Xi," the man listed as the translator of *Tuiwu*, the earliest book-length translation published in Shanghai. Fortunately in his autobiography *My Literary Career* (*Wode wenxue shengya* 我的文學生涯), Xu provides his detailed account:

My first literary achievements came in the second half of 1936. . . . I even translated Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* at the office. At the time Hemingway was already enjoying a reputation abroad, but not in China. Only a few people like Shi

Zhecun and Ye Lingfeng were writing articles introducing and praising him. Not a lot of his short stories had been translated either, so I was the first person to translate this famous work by Hemingway; this could be considered somewhat of a surprise to many people. The moment I set out to translate it I could feel the unique style of the prose. What's unfortunate is that I handed these two translations [the translations of Noël Coward's play *Bitter Sweet* and Hemingway's *Farewell*] to Qian Gongxia [錢公俠] at Qiming Bookstore. Qiming Bookstore put out a bunch of cheap, discounted books, shamelessly printing pirated copies of famous translations, merely changing a few words here and there and calling it a new translation. Qiming's reputation was awful. (my trans.; Xu 139)

Besides Xu's own declaration, two other sources can be used to ascertain whether Xu Chi was indeed "Yu Xi." First, in the introduction written by the translator of *Tuiwu*, "Yu Xi" claims that he first read the novel in 1932, and then finished his translation after he read it for the second time in the fall of 1936 (Translator's Introduction 3), a timing that corresponds to "the second half of 1936," which was recorded specifically in Xu's literary autobiography. Second, Hong Kong scholar Fan Sin Piu 樊善標 claims that "Yu Xi" was the penname that Xu used when he wrote about his various excursions to the suburbs of Hong Kong (67).

Furthermore, in *Translations of Foreign Literatures in China* (*Waiguo wenxue fanyizai Zhongguo* 外國文學翻譯在中國), a book with a complete section about the career of Xu Chi's American literature translation, Xu is listed as the translator for several works of war literature, whose authors include William Saroyan and Gertrude Stein (Yao 68). Therefore, aside from *Farewell*, Xu actually translated some other works of fiction about war, proving that he, like Feng Yidai, was moved by the wartime atmosphere of China to choose foreign war literature to translate. Maybe, after all, his being the translator of *Farewell*'s first Chinese translation published in book form is not so surprising as he himself claimed.

C. *Why Was Farewell Not Translated Sooner?*

Though the true identity of “Yu Xi” is confirmed, we still have to answer why *Farewell* was not translated sooner, a question which is very likely related to the place of American literature in the literary system of China at that time. My reason for this speculation is that Zhao Jiabi 趙家璧, a publisher who has been generally considered to be one of the earliest promoters of American literature in China, published his own book *The New Tradition* (*Xin chuanguon* 新傳統) in 1936, and in his preface he states that:

I have selected eight American writers, from Dreiser to Dos Passos . . . solely out of my own interest. . . .

American literature has been consistently looked down on, not just in Europe, but also in China. A lot of friends therefore tried to persuade me not to waste any time on this superficial upstart, but I ended up doing exactly that. (my trans.; 2)

Zhao’s statement corresponds to Leo Lee’s contention that in the 1930s Hemingway was known only to a few Shanghai-style writers, a close literati circle, whose members included Xu Chi and Ye Lingfeng. (But Hemingway had already established his status of a world-famous writer through his works and those movies adapted from his works, which would be screened globally due to Hollywood’s worldwide influence.) Obviously not many people in the Chinese publication industry thought that Hemingway, as well as other American writers, deserve to be translated and published.

Attesting to Zhao’s statement, Li Xianyu 李憲瑜, a Chinese scholar of translation history, contends that “American literature was not taken seriously before the 1930s in China” and it was generally agreed that American literature did not have its own value, for it was “derived from British literature” (151). In her study Li quotes from Ceng Xubai 曾虛白, the author of *ABC of American Literature* (*Meiguo Wenxue ABC* 美國文學 ABC), stating that though his literary career had been inspired by American literature, Ceng writes in the book’s preface that “a book about Russia, Italian, Spanish, or even Scandinavian literature would be a better choice,” and he also suggests that readers should consider his *ABC of American Literature* to be “the third

volume,” a sequel, of his two-volume *ABC of British Literature* (*Yingguo Wenxue ABC* 英國文學 ABC) (my trans.; qtd. in Li 150-51).

Li argues further that the prospects of American literature translated into Chinese changed drastically after the 1930s, the decade when Nobel prize of literature were awarded to three American writers: Sinclair Lewis (1930), Eugene O’Neill (1936), and Pearl S. Buck (1938). Her argument is supported by solid numbers revealing that between 1919 and 1927 a total of twenty-four American literature works were translated and published; however, in 1928 and 1929, the same number was achieved in just two years. In the 1930s, more than twenty books of translated American literature were published every year, and in the 1940s, more than forty (Li 151-52).

Li’s statistical resource is *The Translation of British and American Literary Works in China: 1919-1949*. From the numbers provided by the author of that book, Wang Jiankai 王建開, it can be seen that 1929 was the first year in which there were more than ten works of American literature translated and published in China since 1919; also, 1935 was the first year in which there were more works of American literature translated and published in China than British ones, and the numbers were thirty-two and twenty-four respectively. From 1943 to 1949, every year in China there were more works of American literature translated and published than British ones, with only two exceptions of 1944 and 1947 (Wang 64-65).

From the numbers provided above, it might be argued that when *Farewell* was published in 1929, Hemingway was largely unknown to the readership in China because American literature as a whole was still negatively perceived by not only Chinese readers, but also by most writers, translators, and publishers in China. To quote from Yang Renjing 楊仁敬, the prestigious Chinese scholar of Hemingway, it was not until September 1933 (the same month in which Ye Lingfeng mentioned Hemingway and *Men without Women* in his short story, “Contagious Flu” [“Liuxingxin ganmao” 流行性感冒]) that Hemingway was properly introduced in the journal *Literature* (*Wenxue* 文學), with the article of Huang Yuan 黃源, “Hemingway: The Novice Writer of America” (“Meiguo xinjinzuojia haimingwei” 美國新進作家海明威), with Huang’s translation of Hemingway’s “The Killers” being published in the same issue (Yang 187).

For a concluding remark of this section, as to the questions of “who,” “when,” and “why” proposed earlier in this study, it is only fair to say that when *Farewell* was published in 1929, American literature was not regarded with

respect by both Chinese editors and readers. The influence of American literature in the literary system of China would grow steadily throughout the 1930s, though it would still depend on Xu Chi's personal preference and his knowledge about American literature to choose Hemingway's *Farewell* to translate in 1936, and unfortunately its publication would be further delayed for three years, for Xu handed his manuscript to Qiming Bookstore, a notoriously inferior publisher according to Xu. Judging from Xu's other translations of war literature, however, as in the case of Feng Yidai, his choice of translating *Farewell* can be said to be influenced by China's wartime atmosphere, a choice not just literary, but also socio-political. Also, Xu even said that, after the translation, he was in some way influenced by Hemingway, often seeking to "convey the strongest emotions with the fewest words possible" (my trans.; 139), and this is yet another case of influence of translation on the target culture's literary system. Decades later, in 1988, famous novelist Wang Meng 王蒙, then the Minister of Culture of the Chinese government, still declared that Kafka, Hemingway, Gabriel García Márquez, and Chinghiz Aitmatov had been the major forces of literary influence in China. Also, in 1986, Chinese writer Liu Xinwu 劉心武 listed Hemingway as one of his major influences, with *Farewell* and *The Old Man and the Sea* being mentioned specifically (qtd. in Qiu 28-29).

IV. The Second and Third Translations of *Farewell* and Political Agenda

A. *The Background of Lin Yijin's Translation of Farewell*

Besides the well-known fact that Lin Yijin was Lin Yutang's nephew, few biographical details can be found about this famous Chinese translator. According to the entry "Lin Yijin" written by Lin Shang 林尚 in *A Dictionary of Translation Studies in China* (*Zhongguo yixue dacidian* 中國譯學大辭典), it can be known that the translator was originally named "Lin Guoguang" 林國光. In 1932, Lin enrolled in Saint John's University in Shanghai, where he started to translate and introduce American literature, making him one of the earliest promoters of American literature, like those *Haipai* writers. Lin Yijin went to Columbia University to study Anglophone literature and later returned to China in 1941. From 1947 to 1957, he taught in various prestigious universities in Shanghai (Fudan University included), and eventually joined the

faculty of Xiamen University as a professor of English. Besides *Farewell*, he also translated *Daisy Miller* by Henry James, as well as the plays *The Plough and the Stars* and *Juno and the Paycock*, by Irish writer Seán O’Casey (Lin Shang 418).

What motivated Lin to translate *Farewell*? In the preface he wrote for Yang Renjing’s book *Hemingway in China* (*Haimingwei zai Zhongguo* 海明威在中國), he reveals that the novel was translated at the time when he first returned to China from the States, and he was unemployed due to the breaking out of the resistance war against Japan. As he had translated *Im Westen nichts Neues*, a classic German anti-war novel by Erich Maria Remarque, he says, he chose to translate *Farewell* at that time (Lin Yijin, Preface 1). In the “Translator’s Preface” written for *Zhandi chunmeng*, his Chinese translation of *Farewell*, Lin is even more clear about what motivated him:

After his literary career thrived, sometimes Hemingway writes a few low-browed articles, published in some uninteresting magazines for female readers. . . . His story collection *Winner Take Nothing* fills itself with that atmosphere of sick decadence, boredom, and *l’ennui* when the whole world was trapped in economic depression. . . . Hemingway’s novel *To Have and Have Not*, however, has been favored by the American leftists . . . though its art of fiction is inferior to *Farewell* . . . at least [in *To Have and Have Not*] the author finally realizes that the strength of individuals is not reliable and the people’s power in solidarity is the only way out. Probably owing to this revelation, Hemingway has turned himself from a romantic writer, who likes fishing, hunting, drinking, and womanizing, into a warrior against fascism. (my trans.; iv-v)

In the preface Lin is straightforward about his own ideological standpoint, which sounds leftist or even communist, for he claims that Hemingway is from a “background of petite bourgeoisie (*xiao zichan jieji* 小資產階級), without progressive thoughts” (Translator’s Preface i). Furthermore, Lin observes that Hemingway, with the publication of *To Have and Have Not*, had developed a leftism not unlike that of the writers associated with *New Masses* (an American Marxist magazine published from the 1920s to the 1940s), and that after

witnessing the cruelty of the Spanish civil war, he had become an anti-fascist warrior (Translator's Preface i-ii).

Viewed from "ideology and poetics," the two controlling factors of translation process proposed by Lefevere in his translation studies classic *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (41), obviously Lin Yijin judged Hemingway both from the perspectives of poetics and ideology. On the one hand, Lin could see the powerful style with both simplicity and conciseness created anew by Hemingway, and, as an autobiographical novel, *Farewell* has been written as an outstanding work of Realism, whose language is filled with implicitness, describing the most intensified scenes with the simplest words possible (Translator's Preface i-ii). On the other, however, Lin also downgrades Hemingway's other works from the perspective of leftism, communism, and anti-fascist radicalism. Not long before the publication of Lin's *Zhandi chunmeng*, Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* had been published in October, 1940. Evidently, the publication of this novel and Hemingway's other works about the Spanish civil war changed the way Lin received Hemingway, and his translation of *Farewell* has to be considered in this ideological context. Hemingway's antagonism against Spanish Fascism played an important role in making Hemingway more relatable for Lin, whose fatherland, China, had become war-ridden due to Japan, a country usually considered to be fascist for the leftist and Communist intellectuals in China at that time.

B. Ma Yanxiang: Hemingway's Leftist Translator

Kangpoletuo, Ma Yanxiang's translation of the Book III of *Farewell*, was published in 1949, not solely but together with the translations of Hemingway's two other story collection, *In Our Time* and *Men without Women*, and all three translations were by Ma and belonged to Chenguang Book Series of World Literature, a book series founded by Chenguang Publications, a publishing company co-owned by Zhao Jiabi and Lao She 老舍. According to *Twentieth Century Shanghai Translation Publications and Cultural Changes (Ershi shiji Shanghai fanyi chuban yu wenhua bianqian 二十世紀上海翻譯出版與文化變遷)*, in 1946 Lao She used the royalties he earned from the publication of the English translation version of his *Rickshaw Boy (Luotuo Xiangzi 駱駝祥子)* in the United States to invest in the establishment of the Chenguang Publications,

together with Zhao Jiabi (Zhou 254). What remains to be ascertained is that whether Zhao or Ma proposed to translate Hemingway, because Ma had equally sufficient reasons to do so, for he, like Lin Yijin, was also a translator of *Im Westen nichts Neues*,² making Hemingway's war stories more relatable for him.

Ma, though not officially a member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) until much later in his life, gained the reputation of being a writer, translator, and dramatist who worked closely with the party throughout the 1930s and 1940s, and he even visited the Soviet Union in 1936. After the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established, he became deputy director of the Ministry of Culture's Bureau of Management of Arts Industry (Yishu shiye guanliju 藝術事業管理局; Shen 143-46). Unlike Lin Yijin, Ma did not write any paratext (introduction, preface, or afterword) for *Kangpoletuo*, his translation of *Farewell*, so his motivation cannot be known via his own account. Zhao, however, did write a publisher's foreword to be printed before the texts of all the translations in the book series, which can help us understand why Hemingway was translated by Ma and the larger political and ideological context in which the whole book series was produced.

As stated earlier, Zhao was one of the first promoters of American literature in China, as well as the author of *The New Tradition*, a book introducing eight American writers (including Hemingway), published against the trend of downplaying American literature in the book market in China. For this reason, Zhao was actually the natural choice for publishing a book series containing eighteen classic writings of American literature, with five million words in total. According to Zhao's own account, however, this publication project was not initiated by himself after all, but by the All-China Association of Writers and Artists (*Zhonghua quanguo wenyijie xiehui* 中華全國文藝界協會, hereafter cited as Wenxie 文協), an organization heavily tinted with communist ideology. In the foreword, Zhao states that

Chenguang Book Series of World Literature has been implemented on the basis of the collaboration among the Shanghai and Beijing branches of Wenxie, the US Department of State, and USIS. . . . A consensus has been made between Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 and Ma Yanxiang, the two leaders of Wenxie,

² Like Lin Yijin, Ma also translated the novel into Chinese indirectly from its English translation.

and myself to get the translated books published by Chenguang. . . .

The Shanghai and Beijing branches of Wenxie each organized a committee for this book series. . . . The work started in 1946 and was completed in 1949. In the process, we were assisted greatly by John K. Fairbank, Bradley Connors, John Forster, and Marion R. Gunn, who are all from the States.
(my trans.; Zhao, Publisher's Foreword 2)

Xu Chi and Feng Yidai, two of Hemingway's famous Chinese translators, headed the committee in Shanghai, while in Beijing, one of the three Wenxie leaders was Ma Yanxiang himself. But in what way did Fairbank assist? How were the eighteen books selected? These are questions that remain to be answered, but this does indicate close ties between CCP and Fairbank, a scholar who was attacked for his sympathy with "Red China" and his advocacy for recognizing PRC (Sullivan and Paarlberg 133).

Decades later, in 1980, Zhao wrote an article to elaborate further how the publication project had been initiated and completed. In the article, he states that an original proposal was made in the fall of 1945 by Fairbank, then a cultural attaché to the United States Embassy in Chongqing. Fairbank invited Qiao Guanhua 喬冠華, Gong Peng 龔澎,³ and Xu Chi to discuss a series of American literature to be translated and published in China, and he even provided two books on the history of American literature to guide the selection process: Alfred Kazin's *On Native Ground* and Van Wyck Brooks' *The Flowering of New England* (Zhao, *Bianji yijiu* 494). Later, Kazin's *On Native Ground* would also be translated by Feng Yidai and published as the first two volumes of Chenguang Book Series of World Literature. In the article Zhao mentions that the advertisement costs of this book series were partly funded by USIS (Zhao, *Bianji yijiu* 502). Additionally, as translation historian Zhou Zhenhuan 鄒振寰 notes in his *Twentieth Century Shanghai Translation Publications and Cultural Changes*, the Rockefeller Foundation also provided funds for this book series, a fact mentioned in the diary of Ye Shentao 葉聖陶,

³ Qiao and Gong were a married couple and both were high-ranking propagandists of the Chinese Communist Party, working under the instructions from Zhou Enlai 周恩來, one of the most prominent CCP leaders. Gong had been once appointed by Mao Zedong 毛澤東 personally as his translator-interpretor.

a leftist writer and also one of the leaders of Wenxue (255). It is not known, however, whether this source of funds was introduced by Fairbank.

After the war, Fairbank was removed from his office due to President Harry Truman's newly formed policy of anti-communism, but the project continued as had been planned. According to Zhao, the books were largely selected by the Shanghai committee, and all the books selected were written by "progressive writers" (Zhao, *Bianji yijiu* 497). The Beijing committee, as Ma remembered, took over five or six books which had remained unchosen by the Shanghai translators, then other committee members in Beijing decided to translate the works by Edgar Allan Poe, Theodore Dreiser, and Eugene O'Neill, so Hemingway's *Farewell* and two story collections were left for him to work on (Zhao, *Bianji yijiu* 499). Apparently, Ma did not intentionally choose to translate Hemingway himself.

From all the accounts provided above, it is evident that Lin Yijin's *Zhandi chunmeng* and Ma Yanxiang's *Kangpoletuo* must be considered in the context of the ideological and political projects and activities of the leftist and communist intellectuals in China at the time these translations were produced and published. Lin Yijin obviously translated *Farewell* because he could see Hemingway had transformed himself from a "petit bourgeoisie" writer to an "anti-fascist warrior," but Lin also judged Hemingway fairly from the perspective of novelistic art, or in Lefevere's terminology, of poetics (or poetology). Likewise, Ma translated Hemingway due to ideological and political reasons, because at that time Hemingway was considered to be one of the "progressive" American writers; however, from all of the translation history materials available, it is clear that Ma did not choose to translate Hemingway. Rather, his translation was just one of the tasks in the great publication project initiated by John K. Fairbank, a scholar-official who sympathized with the CCP, and, after Fairbank left China, completed by communist-leftist translators, such as Zheng Zhenduo, Xu Chi, Feng Yidai, and Ma Yanxiang, with the latter three all being translators of Hemingway. Though Ma translated Hemingway, unlike the case of Lin Yijin, poetics did not seem to play a role in the process of his translation choice.

V. Conclusion: The Intertwined Causes of Literary Translation

The present study sets out to investigate these very specific questions: why was *Farewell* not translated into Chinese immediately after its publication in 1929? Furthermore, was the reason for this delay different from or the same as the reasons for the delay of the novel's Italian and Spanish translations, which both appeared two decades later than the novel's publication? The answer for the first question can be found in the lower status enjoyed by American literature as a whole in China, a situation which would change in the 1930s, the decade in which three American writers were awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature. Therefore, when the first translator Yu Xi (Xu Chi) set out to translate *Farewell* in 1936, he was motivated purely by his own literary taste, his personal liking for the novel, rather than by any literary trend of translating American literature or other socio-political factors. As to the answer for the second question, after some historical survey, it becomes evident that *Farewell* was banned and remained untranslated in Italy and Spain because of Hemingway's anti-fascism and the novel's cynical religious and political views. Conversely, in China, Lin Yijin was motivated to translate *Farewell* because he shared Hemingway's anti-fascist attitude. As to Ma Yanxiang's translation, it was a project facilitated by the leftist writers and communists of China, because Hemingway was deemed by them a "progressive writer" at that time. Thus, during the two decades after the publication of *Farewell*, either the translator was motivated by his personal taste and aesthetics (Xu and Lin), or was influenced by the political atmosphere at that time (Lin and Ma), and no other reasons motivated more translators to translate *Farewell*. This information already tells us something about the reason for the scarcity of Chinese translations of *Farewell* before 1949.

After Lefevere proposed his "manipulation" paradigm in 1992, in the field of translation studies, it has been widely recognized as a precondition that translators do not work in a vacuum, and translation as a literary undertaking is significantly shaped by the ideological factors (social, political, religious, or moral) and poetics, with the former occupying a position of priority. Patrons are also influential agents at play in translation activities, and their presence can be counted as economic factors. And, in the same vein, Pym has also asked translation historians to answer the question of social causation, i.e., to "explain why translations were produced in a particular social time and place" (ix). In a

nutshell, both Lefevere and Pym remind us not to lose sight of the sociality of translation. Therefore, as the cases examined above have shown, many of the Chinese translators in the 1930s and 1940s translated more than one war novel. Lin Yijin and Ma Yanxiang each prepared translations of both *Farewell* and *Im Westen nichts Neues*. In addition to their translations of Hemingway, Feng Yidai and Xu Chi both translated war fiction by other writers: Xu translated William Saroyan and Gertrude Stein; and *Watch on the Rhine* (1941), an anti-Nazi stage play by leftist American writer Lillian Hellman, was translated by Feng (Wang 215). For them, translation was a means to serve the patriotic cause of resisting Japan, which proves Lefevere's and Pym's analyses to be valid.

Let us, however, not be mistaken about the mechanism of literary translation: the way translation works is by no means one-sided, with literary factors largely determined by the socio-political and economic ones. A closer look at the cases mentioned in the present study can shed some light on the fact that the two sides are, more often than not, intertwined in a rather complicated way. From a literary perspective, as stated earlier, the Hemingway translation boom in France in the 1930s arose due to Hemingway's deviation from the psychological analytic genre of French fiction. In the same vein, Zhao Jiabi, in the chapter on Hemingway in his book *The New Tradition*, also praises the significance of Hemingway's style as "abandoning the psychoanalysis trend of that period, returning to the actions alone, and focusing on sense impressions in both his writings and life" (my trans.; 209). Hemingway's self-styled Chinese follower, Ye Lingfeng, also regards the author's fiction as "a refreshing reaction against the 'obscure psychologism' of Joyce's *Ulysses*" (Lee 139). More importantly, the case of Yu Xi's Chinese translation illustrates how translated literature and its related literary system can work autonomously, without being affected by political factors. It can be argued, therefore, that poetics also played a role in the translation history of Hemingway.

From this perspective, these two cases in France and China should be considered as testimony to what Even-Zohar has argued with his "polysystem" theory of translation: when a literature is either "peripheral" (the case of China) or "weak," or in "crisis" (the case of France), translated literature can assume a particular position (50). Both the Chinese and French translations made great impact in their respective countries, as it is observed earlier in this study. Despite the fact that some extent of autonomy should be bestowed on literary factors, what should also be emphasized is that it seems unlikely we can

approach the problem of literary translation from a purely literary standpoint. For example, the translation of *Farewell* in France was possible only after the significantly, yet coincidentally, commercial success of the French translation of *The Manhattan Transfer*, and the translator Maurice-Edgar Coindreau was personally chosen by Hemingway to translate his *Farewell*, not by the publisher, Gaston Gallimard. Translating *Farewell* was considered by Coindreau as a favor to return to Gallimard. An act of translation can be seen as profitable, though it eventually brings up impacts on the literature culture which absorbs the translation.

Moreover, there are indeed many cases from which we can see the all-important influence of political factors upon translated literature. One illuminating case in this respect is the two different ways the title of *Farewell* has been rendered. For decades, the readers of *Farewell* in the Chinese-speaking world have often been confused by the fact that this novel has two titles in Chinese translation: largely *Zhandi chunmeng* in Taiwan and Hong Kong, and in China, almost always *Yongbie le, wuqi* (*Goodbye, Weapons* 永別了，武器), a more literally translated title.⁴ Why the difference? Originally Lin Yijin used the title *Zhandi chunmeng*, but why was it changed after the CCP took over China? He states in the preface written for Yang Renjing's *Hemingway in China* that:

Originally the title of the translation was *Zhandi chunmeng* 戰地春夢 (*A Romantic Dream on the Battlefield*). This wasn't without a hint of decadence, and was often criticized. After the country was liberated [by the CCP] the novel was republished in Shanghai, the title changed to *Yongbie le, wuqi* 永別了，武器 (*Goodbye, Weapons*). Little did I expect that it would run into a case of "internal control, circulation prohibited" at the library of a domestic university of middling importance, for the reason that the title of the book promoted unprincipled pacifism. This goes to show that it's not an easy thing for a work of foreign literature, regardless of its author, to be understood and accepted by the people in another country. This is because cultural traditions and

⁴ Please be noted that *Yongbie le, wuqi* is a title which fails to do justice to the pun played by Hemingway: arms could both be the arms of lovers and the weapons of war.

the system of social customs are different, making it hard to avoid some conflicts and incompatibilities. (my trans.; 1)

From Lin's own account it can be seen that translation, though largely a literary and cultural undertaking, more often than not, has been decided by socio-political agendas and constrained ideologically or economically.⁵ All of the translation cases in France, Italy, Spain, and China elaborated above illustrate this clearly, although sometimes poetics did play a role in the process of translation—for example, in both the cases of Xu Chi and Lin Yijin. Xu Chi chose to translate *Farewell* due to literary reasons, and his literary style was influenced by Hemingway after translation. Furthermore, the translations of Hemingway's works also have long-standing effects on generations of Chinese writers. Besides, Lin Yijin did consider *Farewell* to be one of Hemingway's better works.

Moreover, the fact that, out of the three translations discussed in the present study, two translations were abridged versions might be explained in light of the social condition in China during that period. As stated by Xu Chi (Yu Xi) in his autobiography, he finished a full translation of the novel and submitted it to Qian Gongxia of the Qiming Bookstore in Shanghai (for him, an editor with notorious reputation), but in the published version we can only see the novel's Books I and II. Because the matter of publication was totally out of the hands of the translator, who was not even in Shanghai in the year of its publication, Qian Gongxia could choose to delete the remaining parts of the

⁵ Considering the political upheaval between the United States and China, one might be inclined to wonder whether the publication of translated American literature in general, and the publication of *Farewell* in particular, has been somehow impaired in recent years. A quick survey on the Douban Dushu website tells us otherwise. Lin Yijin's classical translation was republished in 2019, again by Shanghai Translation Publishing House (Shanghai yiwen chubanshe). 2019 also saw the republication of the translation by Sun Zhili 孫致禮 and Zhou Ye 周晔, one of the earlier translations of *Farewell*, which had been first published in 2009. Amazingly, in just two years between 2018 and 2019, Jiangsu Literature and Art Publishing House (Jiangsu fenghuang wenyi chubanshe) published three different translations of *Farewell*, with two of them newly translated and one republication of Sun and Zhou's version. Other than those mentioned above, between 2018 and 2020, five newly translated *Farewell* could be found in China. Two reasons might be properly used to explain this phenomenon, though an in-depth analysis is still needed for full explication: first, *Farewell* has never been considered a work of outright Americanism in China, so the book's publication does not suffer from political intervention these years; second, the book in particular and the author in general have long established a canonical status in China, so Hemingway's works, including *Farewell*, have still been translated and published profusely after 2018, the year the political environment of China started to show disorder, both internally and internationally.

novel, a fact which might be very likely explained by the publication culture of Shanghai at that time or other social, even economic, factors, not necessarily due to the low aesthetic judgment made by the editor on Hemingway. In contrast, as to the second abridged translation, the call of the translator Ma Yanxiang (or editor Zhao Jiabi) to translate only Book III of the novel can be seen as made on the basis of a literary judgment, because we can see a statement written between the publisher's foreword and the table of contents that Book III is treated as an independent novella (Ma, *Kangpoletuo*).

As a concluding remark for the present study, it can be contended that the socio-economic-political and literary factors should not be dichotomized, because, more often than not, we can find cases determined by both factors. For example, Lin Yijin also states in the preface written for Yang Renjing's *Hemingway in China* that he returned from the States to Shanghai, a city besieged by the Japanese troops, and could not secure a job, so he chose to translate Hemingway's novel (1); therefore, he translated *Farewell* not just for ideological and literary reasons (his judgment that the novel was one of the better works by Hemingway, an anti-fascist writer), but also for making a living. In the process of translation, all the factors are actually intertwined.

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