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Italian literature in the Republic of China: translators, interpreters,  
intellectuals, and their networks

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## Introduction

Since the 1990s, the research paradigm of modern Chinese literature has changed. European and American scholars have started questioning and re-examining the traditional interpretation of the May Fourth literature (Denton 1996, Hockx 2003), that the Marxist scholars had passed on in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Chinese scholars, such as Chen Sihe 陈思和 and others, have also re-examined the May Fourth antitraditional claims and they have begun thinking about the universal element in modern Chinese literature. In short, they both have provided a new paradigm for the study of modern Chinese literature. In this research we have adopted their new interpretation about the history and the development of the New Cultural Movement and we have used this new paradigm to analyze the reception of Italian literature in China in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Anyway, the focus of the thesis is not either the reception of Italian Literature in China or the Italian literary works which arrived in China, but instead it intends to focus on the Chinese interpreters who first brought Italian literature to their country. This work is aimed at identifying how these intellectuals and writers first encountered Italian literature and how they encouraged the circulation of Italian literary works through a network of friendships, personal relationships, and cultural and literary organizations.

### 1. Research purposes

The late Qing Dynasty and the early Republican era was the period in which literary exchange between China and Italy started. This period has been regarded as an essential phase in the history of cultural communication between the two countries (Bertuccioli, Masini 1996, Anderson 2013). Several studies have also been conducted on the reception of Italian literature in China, but most of them paid more attention

to the translation activities (Plaks 1999, Brezzi 2003, Chen 2009, Wen 2014, Leonesi 2017) rather than to those responsible in sparking Italian culture in China. In fact, these protagonists were the ones who made this process possible.

As early as the 1950s, Giuliano Bertuccioli, an outstanding Italian sinologist, had pointed out that some intellectuals in modern China showed strong interests in Italian literature. As it well knows in 1902, Liang Qichao 梁启超 first introduced Dante and Machiavelli to the Chinese.<sup>1</sup>

For this reason, we have chosen the year 1902 as a *terminus a quo* for the chronological limit of this research. The first mention of an Italian writer or work by a Chinese intellectual dates back to that year. After that many others were the quotations or even translations of Italian works were cited by Chinese intellectuals. In 1911 Wu Zonglian 吴宗濂, a diplomat, became the first to translate a part of the *Divine Comedy*, but unfortunately his effort was never published, and so there is little known of this story.<sup>2</sup> Later, in 1921, Qian Daosun 钱稻孙 translated some cantos of the *Divine Comedy* as well.<sup>3</sup> In 1925, Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 translated the *Dead City* of D'Annunzio<sup>4</sup>, and Qian Zhongshu 钱钟书, a famous scholar, conducted a systematic study of Italian literature and literary theory<sup>5</sup>, just to mention some of the most famous cases.

As *terminus ad quem* we have fixed the year 1949, not because some literary encounters between China and Italy happened in that year, but because that year

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<sup>1</sup> Bertuccioli, Giuliano, "Un melodramma di Liang Qichao sul Risorgimento italiano: Xin Luoma (La Nuova Roma) Introduzione, traduzione e note", *Catai* 1, 2: 1981, 307-349.

<sup>2</sup> Bertuccioli, Giuliano, "Dante tradotto in Cina", in E. Esposito, (a cura di), *L'opera di Dante nel mondo*. Edizioni e traduzioni nel Novecento, Ravenna: 1991, pp. 271-274.

<sup>3</sup> Bertuccioli, Giuliano, "Dante in Cina". La voce CINA nella *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma, 1970, vol. II pp.3-4; Brezzi, Alessandra, "The "Hell" in China: Chinese Translations of Dante's Inferno in the 20th century", in Tham Wai Mun e Lim Buan Chay (eds.), *Translation and contrastive studies: collected papers* (翻译与语言对比论丛), Singapore, Nanyang Technological University, 2003, pp. 87-128.

<sup>4</sup> Bertuccioli, Giuliano, "Una notte a Firenze di Hsu Chih-mo". *Cina* 5: 1959, pp. 99-102.

<sup>5</sup> Bertuccioli, Giuliano, "Qian Zhongshu: lo scrittore e lo studioso che si interessa alla nostra letteratura". *Mondo Cinese* 53: 1986, pp. 23-27.

witnesses the beginning of a new political era for China, and cultural and literary scenery also completely changed from that year on. From the 1950's the reception of foreign literature in general, and in particular of Italian literature, was also reshaped. The choice of literary works to be translated was not motivated by literary and aesthetic criteria but instead by political reasons.

Thus, the period which will be examined in these pages extends from its very beginnings to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a period which was crucial for the modern China.

This thesis is focused on the Chinese who first introduced Italian Literature to China, and it aims to identify how these scholars and writers first encountered Italian literature and how they encouraged the circulation of Italian works through a network of friendships, personal relationships, and cultural and literary organizations. Overall, the main object of this research will not regard which Italian books were brought to China, but rather, it will delve deeper into how these books arrived in China and who brought them over. The choice of not focusing on the translation activities or the analysis of the accuracy of this process was due to many reasons. Firstly, as already stated above, the examination of some Italian masterpieces have already been done by other scholars in China and abroad.

Secondly, new theories of literary critics (sociology of Literature, World Literature theory by Moretti) seem more appropriate to describe the process of discovery and reception of Italian literature by Chinese intellectuals in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The arrival of Italian literary works in China fits into the much broader and more complex process of discovery and dialogue between China and the West which had begun in the mid-nineteenth century, after the Opium War. Compared to other Western literature, Italian literature was initially neglected; it only started to gain attention in the late Qing dynasty, when some reformers were attracted to the Italian political and cultural situation. The starting point for this research – and

the fundamental question posed at the very beginning - was to try to understand why some Italian authors gained such popularity in the Republic of China, while others simply were dismissed. We aim to figure out how these authors were discovered and noticed by the Chinese. Having chosen not to concentrate our attention on “objects” of translation process – literary works – but on the “architects” of translation process – Chinese intellectuals – this research consequently will describe the community of individuals, who were the leading actors in renovating the Chinese literary canon. We will try to identify the links which connected them to each other and the links that connected them to Italian literature. Thus, this work is not intent on examining whether the process of translation was accurate or not, as other scholars have already studied, but it is intent on discovering through which channels some Chinese intellectuals came into contact with Italian literature and how they passed around these works.

Moreover, since the methodology offered by recent research of sociology of literature was chosen, and as Hockx writes, we can put “emphasis on the activities of people involved in literary production”,<sup>6</sup> I have decided to dedicate each chapter of this thesis to some of the most active intellectuals responsible for spreading Italian literature in China. Therefore, following a chronological evolution in each chapter I will treat two or more such intellectuals who translated or studied Italian Literature.

The first chapter is dedicated to the “birth” of the interest in Italian literature. In these pages, I try to answer the question of how and why did some Chinese intellectuals start to pay attention to Italian literature? I was able to find some answers to this question in the letters and diaries written by intellectuals of that period. The reading of these materials, indeed, allowed me to better grasp the network which existed among Chinese intellectuals at that time and their friendly ties. As I will

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<sup>6</sup> Hockx, Michel, *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China, 1911-1937*, Vol. 2, Leiden, Brill, 2003, p. 6.

explain in detail in the following pages, to discover, for example, the close contact and collaboration among Liang Qichao, Qian Daosun and Mao Dun, made clearer also some their choices in translating some books and not others. One trait that brings together all these intellectuals in the early stage of interest in Italian literature was that they all had the experience of travelling abroad.<sup>7</sup>

As we will explain in the following pages, the overseas experiences of Liang Qichao 梁启超, Qian Daosun 钱稻孙 and others linked them to the Commercial Press, which was - and it still is - the largest publishing house in China. This publishing house engaged many of them; and in its offices these intellectuals created a fervid, stimulating habitat for the discover and circulation of Italian literature.

The second chapter is dedicated to the period of the New Culture Movement, from 1917 to the end of the 1920s, which was also the “golden” period of Italian literature spreading in China. In analyzing this period I have mainly concentrated on the activities of the *Literary Association* (*Wenxue yanjiu hui* 文学研究会) and its members, because the role of this organization was pivotal not only for the new Chinese literature, but also for the spreading of foreign literature in China as many other scholars have already proved (Hockx 2003, Chen 2005), even if in the past none of them has dedicated studies to the role of the *Wenxue yanjiu hui* in the spreading of Italian literature.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Liang Qichao 梁启超, *Liang Qichao quanji dishiwujuan* 梁启超全集 第十五卷 [The complete works of Liang Qichao, vol 15], Beijing, Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2018, p. 477; Qianxun 钱恂, *Erer wuwu shu* 二二五五疏 [Codes 2255], Jindai zhongguo shiliao congkan 近代中国 史料丛刊 [Modern China Historical Materials Series], Taipei, Taihai chubanshe, 1970, pp. 79-80; Qian Xun 钱恂, *Wuxing qianshi jiacheng* 吴兴钱氏家乘 [Wuxing Qian Family Carrier], Huzhou, 1921, p. 7; Shanghai Shangwu Yinshuguan bianyisuo (compiled) 上海商务印书馆编译所, 编纂, *Da Qing xinfaling* 大清新法令 (1901-1911) [New decree of the Qing Dynasty (1901-1911)], Beijing, Commercial Press, 2010; Wang Yanlai (ed.) 王燕来 选编, *Minguo jiaoyu tongji ziliao huibian* 民国教育统计资料汇编 [Compilation of educational statistics of the Republic of China], Beijing, National Library Press, 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Brezzi, Alessandra, “Echi letterari italiani nelle riviste *Xiaoshuo yuebao* e *Dongfang zazhi* negli anni venti” in Clara Bulfoni, Jin Zhigang, Emma Lupano, Bettina Mottura (a cura di), *Wenxin* 文



In this chapter, I try to shed new light on how the *Literary Association* encouraged the circulation of Italian works among its members through a network of friendships, personal relationships, cultural and literary organizations. By reading up on many materials, such as their letters and diaries, as well as the chronology and diaries of the intellectuals they were associated with, I have tried to give a comprehensive overview of the activities related to Italian literature in this Association and the link which connected them to Italian literature as a topic.

In the second part of this chapter, in order to emphasize the influence of networks among Chinese intellectuals, I selected two writers and translators as case studies. One being Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊, and the other Xu Xiacun 徐霞村. Regarding Xia Mianzun, I will analyze his connections with students and colleagues in order to demonstrate that his translation of *Ai de jiaoyu* 爱的教育 (*The Education of Love – Cuore*) in 1924 was influenced by the atmosphere connected with the new pedagogical ideas and didactic methods which were to inspire the new Chinese school system, after the abolition of the old system, in 1905.

The other translator, Xu Xiacun, was neglected by the academic circles for a long time, because he did not join the League of Left-wing writers, so in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was completely forgotten by Marxist critic. My choice on him was determined by various reasons, first of all because he was guided and coached by Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎, who was one of the most active intellectuals in the movement for the renovation of Chinese literature. Zheng introduced southern European literature into China from 1927 to 1930 and suggested to Xu Xiacun to deal with literary works of this geographical area. Secondly Xu Xiacun himself has pioneering significance in translating and interpreting the works of Luigi Pirandello. He started to translate Pirandello's works and to dedicate articles and essays to Pirandello's

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心: *l'essenza della scrittura. Contributi in onore di Alessandra Cristina Lavagnino*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2017, pp. 107-116.

literary qualities. It was thanks to his literary criticism that Pirandello enjoyed a quite important success in China in the first half of the last century.

Finally in the third chapter I will move to the university campus and I will analyze two intellectuals to whom so far little attention has been paid and who instead played an important role in the didactic and pedagogical activity of that period: Wu Mi 吴宓 and Tian Dewang 田德望. Walking along this path – academic campus – I discovered that in the 1930s there was a small community of Chinese and foreign intellectuals in Tsinghua University who were interested in Italian literature, and who exchanged materials amongst themselves. Analyzing their activities and network, it allowed me to shed a new light on the reception of Italian literature in China.

My study of Wu Mi involves three parts: the first is how Wu Mi started his studies in Italian literature and in particular on Dante. The second is how Wu Mi introduced American Dante studies to China. The third is how did Wu Mi teach Italian literature in Tsinghua University from 1925 to 1937 and Southwest Associated University in Kunming from 1937 to 1945.

The other young scholar, Tian Dewang, studied Italian literature due to his love for the *Divine Comedy*, and was a student of Wu Mi. The research on Tian Dewang will also be divided into three parts. I will start with Tian Dewang's study experiences at Tsinghua University from 1927 to 1934, especially how he came about studying Italian literature and Dante under the guidance of Wu Mi. Then, I will move on to how Tian Dewang received a scholarship from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to study in Italy. In this part we will analyze his studies under the guidance of an outstanding Italianist, Attilio Momigliano, and the specific courses he attended in Italy from 1935 to 1937, at the University of Florence. The last part is dedicated to Tian's activities in translating the Italian poets Arturo Graf and Giovanni Pascoli and teaching Italian literature in the 1940s. Wu Mi, Tian Dewang and many others were

influenced by the new courses which were taught by foreign professors in the new campus. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Chinese translation and research of Italian literature have changed, and breakthroughs were made, especially in Chinese universities which set up courses about “Dante” (by Pollard Urquhart) or about “History of European literature” and Italian literature (by R. D. Jameson) for the first time.

In this research I was able to discover and shed new light on these two scholars (Wu Mi and Tian Dewang). Probably there are few more, and there might even be many other Chinese scholars waiting to be discovered. For this reason, I think that future research will have to take into consideration and concentrate on the cultural and academic activities carried out in the new campus; in doing so, we will be better able to get detailed information on how Italian literature was spread and introduced to China.

To better organize my discourse, I had no alternative but to adopt a chronological order and divide the history of reception of Italian literature in China from 1902 to 1949 into different phases (corresponding the share-out of my chapters). However, I am convinced that each phase must be seen and interpreted as a continuation of the previous phase, a long-interpreted process which has been constantly going through growth and development. So even if divided into different periods, the reception of Italian literature was a unicum, continuous process, a unicum, long path which started from the late Qing period, which enjoyed a ‘golden’ period in the 1920s and 1930s and then suffered a setback due to the political and historical situation in China.

## **2. Research Status**

In China, the research on the reception of Italian literature began in the 1980s. When two scholars, Tian Dewang 田德望 and Yuan Huaqing 袁华清, first published

relevant studies regarding Italian literature. In 1982, Tian Dewang first mentioned the translation of Dante's works in the *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu waiguo wenxue juan* 中国大百科全书 外国文学卷 (*Encyclopedia of China, foreign literature volume*). In the item of "Dante", Tian Dewang wrote:

Dante is a poet playing a significant role in the history of European literature. Marx and Engels spoke highly of him and even quoted the poems and characters of the *Divine Comedy* in their works. *Divine Comedy* has been translated into many languages, having already become the common spiritual wealth of people all over the world. The earliest Chinese versions were translated by Qian Daosun in 1921 and then by Wang Weike in 1948 from the original text."<sup>9</sup>

In 1984, Yuan Huaqing 袁华清, another expert in Italian literature, published a groundbreaking essay *Cong Danding dao Kaerweinuo. Yidali wenxue zuopin zai Zhongguo* 从但丁到卡尔维诺—意大利文学作品在中国 (*From Dante to Calvino: Italian literary works in China*). The paper introduced the translation status of some "classical" Italian literary works in China for the first time. The essay suggested that the translation of Italian literature in China began in the 1920s, driven by the intellectuals of the New Culture Movement and the May Fourth Movement, and thereby divided it into three periods. The first was from the 1920s to the birth of new China in 1949; the second from 1949 to 1966 when the Cultural Revolution began, and lastly, from 1976 till the current day.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu bianweihui* 中国大百科全书编委会, *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu waiguo wenxue juan* 中国大百科全书 外国文学卷 (*Encyclopedia of China, Foreign literature volume*), Beijing, *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe*, 1982, p. 221.

<sup>10</sup> Yuan Huaqing 袁华清, "Cong Danding dao Kaerweinuo. Yidali wenxue zuopin zai Zhongguo" (From Dante to Calvino: Italian literary works in China), *Zhongguo fanyi* 中国翻译 (*Chinese Translation Journal*), 1984 (02), pp. 32-34.

In the 1980s, there were two noteworthy signs of progress made. The first being that the “Chinese foreign literary workers”, the name with which writers and intellectuals were called from the Cultural revolution until the end of the 1980s, proposed that it was necessary to sort out past foreign literary translations. On March 10, 1989, the editorial department of *Shijie wenxue* 世界文学 *World Literature* held a symposium on “The May Fourth Movement and the History of Foreign Literature”, in which Ge Baoquan 戈宝权, a distinguished foreign literary expert, proposed that “ It is necessary to make a comprehensive review of the work of foreign literature and write a monograph regarding the history of foreign literature research and the history of literary translation, in which we should place heavier emphasis on the impact of foreign literature on the new Chinese literature. It was also noted that it is necessary to compile a bibliographical list of all translated and published foreign literary works, and to create an index sheet of these foreign literature in order for researchers to have easier access to such references in the future. Moreover, the translation quality needs to be further improved, this requires the cooperation of publishing houses, so as to systematically introduce foreign literary classics in the form of series, complete works, selected works and anthologies.”<sup>11</sup>

Another noteworthy progress was the founding of the *Zhongguo Yidali wenxue xuehui* 中国意大利文学学会 *Chinese Italian Literature Association* on March 30, 1989. At the opening meeting, Lü Tongliu 吕同六, the first president of the Association, summarized the situation of translation and introduction status of Italian literature in China. He retraced and reviewed the history of the spread of Italian literary works according to a chronological order, and pointed out that there had been three peaking points ever since the beginning of the 20th century. They are respectively the New

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<sup>11</sup> Ge Baoquan 戈宝权, “Duiyu ‘Wusi’ jinian 70 zhounian de jidian xiwang 对于‘五四’纪念 70 周年的几点希望” (Some hopes for the 70th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement), *Shijie wenxue* 世界文学 (*World literature*), 1989 (3), pp. 295-297.

Culture period during the May Fourth Movement, the seventeen years from the founding of new China to the Great Cultural Revolution, and the new period started with Deng Xiaoping's reform.<sup>12</sup>

Since the 1990s, new research paths were also opened by scholars of modern Chinese literature who started to show great interests in the relationship between Italian literature and modern Chinese writers. In 1991, Yao Xipei 姚锡佩, an expert in modern Chinese literature, published an essay *Lu Xun tanqiu de Yidali wenxue de xinyuan* 鲁迅探求的意大利文学新源 (*The new source of Italian literature explored by Lu Xun*), which investigates the Italian literary works purchased by Lu Xun during his study in Japan, including the *New Life* by Dante and Dante's collection of lyrical poems in German translations. He also mentioned a quote by Lu Xun from the *Divine Comedy* recorded in his diary.<sup>13</sup>

In his paper *Tanxun 'ling de wenxue'—Lun Laoshe dui Danding de jieshou shi* 探寻' 灵的文学'——论老舍对但丁的接受史 (*Exploring the "Literature of Spirit"—On the history of Lao She's acceptance of Dante*), published in 2000, Ge Tao 葛涛 examined Lao She's acceptance of Dante, and proved how Lao She's creation was deeply influenced by Dickens, Conrad, Dante, Faulkner and Western dystopian novel writers. A study on the history of Lao She's acceptance of Dante not only enables us to develop a more comprehensive understanding of Lao She and his works, but it also generates some difficult questions arising from study of him. For instance, the creative motivation and creative ideology of *Sishi tongtang* 四世同堂 (*Four Generations under One Roof*). In Ge Tao's perspective, Lao She's acceptance of Dante reflects his spiritual process and at the same time serves as a typical case of the acceptance of Western culture by

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<sup>12</sup> Wu Zhengyi 吴正仪, "Zhongguo Yidali wenxue xuehui chengli 中国意大利文学学会成立" (Establishment of Chinese Italian Literature Society), *Waiguo wenxue pinglun* 外国文学评论 (*Foreign literature review*), 1989 (03), p. 87.

<sup>13</sup> Yao Xipei 姚锡佩, "Lu Xun tanqiu de Yidali wenxue de xinyuan 鲁迅探求的意大利文学新源" (*Lu Xun explored the new source of Italian literature*), *Luxun yanjiu yuekan* 鲁迅研究月刊 (*Lu Xun Studies Monthly*), 1991 (04), pp. 59-61.

modern Chinese intellectuals, from which future generations can draw on profound experience and lessons.<sup>14</sup>

Another well-known modern literature research expert, Gao Yuanbao 郜元宝, published a paper in 2017, *Luxun kanqu Yidali de yanguang* 鲁迅看取意大利的眼光 (*Lu Xun's View of Italy*) stating that although Lu Xun has never traveled to Italy, he had been paying attention to Italy through continuous, extensive, and in-depth research through a large number of papers, essays, translation works, and short stories written by him. Even his literary ideas, language and ideologies were greatly influenced by Italian literature.<sup>15</sup>

In the history of translating literature, *Yidali hanyi wenxue shumu (1911-1992)* 意大利汉译文学书目, 1911-1992 (*The Bibliography of Italian Works in Chinese, 1911-1992*) compiled by the Italian Embassy Cultural Office in 1992, has paved the way for research on Italian literature translation in China. The book was the most comprehensive source for all Chinese translation until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and it facilitated studies regarding the relationship between Italian literature and Chinese Literature.

In 1997, the Italianist Wu Zhengyi 吴正仪, in the section of "Italian Literature in China" of the *Zhongguo fanyi cidian* 中国翻译词典 (*Chinese translation dictionary*) holds that *Yuandai keqing Mage Boluo youji* 元代客卿马哥博罗游记 (*The Travels of Marco Bolo in the Yuan Dynasty*) translated by Wei Yi 魏易 in 1913 was the first Italian literary work in Chinese history; it was a book translated from English and published by Zhengmeng Publishing House in 1913. Wu Zhengyi also examined the translation

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<sup>14</sup> Ge Tao 葛涛, "Tanxun 'ling de wenxue'—Lun Laoshe dui Danding de jieshou shi 探寻'灵的文学'——论老舍对但丁的接受史" (Exploring the "Literature of Spirit"—On the history of Lao She's acceptance of Dante), *Shanghai shifandaxue xuebao* 上海师范大学学报 (*Journal of Shanghai Normal university*), 2000 (01), pp. 91-99.

<sup>15</sup> Gao Yuanbao 郜元宝, "Luxun kanqu Yidali de yanguang 鲁迅看取意大利的眼光" (*Lu Xun's View of Italy*), *Luxun yanjiu yuekan* 鲁迅研究月刊 (*Lu Xun Studies Monthly*), 2017 (11), pp. 4-17. It is not possible here to explain in detail the interpretations proposed by professor Gao.

of Dante, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Pirandello and Edmondo De Amicis during the period of the Republic of China.<sup>16</sup> Then, the scholar Guo Yanli 郭延礼's *Zhongguo jindai fanyi wenxue gailun* 中国近代翻译文学概论 (*On Modern Chinese translation literature*) in 1998 investigated the development of modern Chinese translated literature and introduced *Xiner jiuxue ji* 馨儿就学记 (*School Days of Xin'er*) translated and adopted by Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 from the Japanese in 1909, which suggested that the translation of Italian literature in China may have begun since the late Qing Dynasty.<sup>17</sup>

In the translation literature history, *Zhongguo xiandai fanyi wenxue shi (1898-1949)* 中国现代翻译文学史 (1898-1949) (*History of modern Chinese translation literature (1898-1949)*), edited by Xie Tianzhen 谢天振 and Zha Mingjian 查明建 in 2004, is an important work on the history of translation activities in China. It featured a detailed investigation of the periodicals of the Republic of China and of the introduction of the translation of a large number of Italian literary works in the newspapers and periodicals from that period. It also brought forward a short story by Zhou Shoujuan in 1917 that is the earliest translation of Italian literature, as we will see in the chapter one of this work.<sup>18</sup> In 2005, Zhang Jianqing 张建青, Xie Tianzhen's student, carried out his master's thesis, proposing a systematic discussion of the translation and acceptance of *Ai de jiaoyu* 爱的教育 *Education of Love* (the title with which is known *Cuore* by De Amicis) in China for a century. Zhang Jianqing speculated that Bao Tianxiao might have translated some works of Edmondo de Amicis from the Japanese in 1903. Based on Bao Tianxiao's memoirs however, there was no form of textual

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<sup>16</sup> Lin Huangtian edited 林煌天 主编, *Zhongguo fanyi cidian* 中国翻译词典 (*Chinese translation dictionary*), Wuhan, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997, pp. 849-850.

<sup>17</sup> Guo Yanli 郭延礼, *Zhongguo jindai fanyi wenxue gailun* 中国近代翻译文学概论 (*On Modern Chinese translation literature*), Wuhan, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998, p. 439.

<sup>18</sup> Xie Tianzhen 谢天振, Zha Mingjian 查明建, *Zhongguo xiandai fanyi wenxue shi (1898-1949)* 中国现代翻译文学史 (1898-1949) (*History of modern Chinese translation literature (1898-1949)*), Shanghai, Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004.



research available.<sup>19</sup> Zhang Jianqing did reply to the critic in the monograph revised and perfected according to his master's thesis in 2017 and holds that Bao Tianxiao has been engaging in translation of Italian literature since 1905 with his first translation of the *Ertong xiushen zhi ganqing* 儿童修身之感情 (*Children's self-cultivation feelings*), which was the first manipulation or adaptation of *Cuore*.<sup>20</sup> Chen Hongshu 陈宏淑, a Taiwanese scholar, carried out systematic studies on Bao Tianxiao's translation of Italian literature from the perspective of translation studies in her doctoral thesis in 2010. It fully showcases the great interest of Chinese scholars in the translation of Italian literature.<sup>21</sup>

European and American Sinologists have also conducted some research on Italian literature during the Republic of China, focusing mostly on the study of "Dante in China" and also exploring other writers.<sup>22</sup> In recent years, on Italian literary works in China, Brezzi has investigated new paths, analyzing the translation and

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<sup>19</sup> Zhang Jianqing 张建青, *Ai de jiaoyu zai Zhongguo bainian de yijie yu jieshou* 《爱的教育》在中国百年的译介与接受 (*Translation, introduction and acceptance in China for a century of the Education of Love*), Master's Thesis, Shanghai foreign studies University, 2005.

<sup>20</sup> Zhang Jianqing 张建青, *Ai de jiaoyu Zhongguo bainian (1905-2015) hanyi jianshi* 《爱的教育》中国百年 (1905-2015) 汉译简史 (*Cuore: A Brief History of Chinese Translation in a Century of China (1905-2015)*), Shanghai, Shanghai jiaotongdaxue chubanshe, 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Chen Hongshu 陈宏淑, *Yizhe de caozong: cong Cuore dao Xin er jiu xueji* 译者的操纵: 从 *Cuore* 到《馨儿就学记》 (*Translators' Manipulation: from Cuore to Xin's Journal about school life*), 国立台湾师范大学翻译研究所博士论文 (Doctoral Dissertation Graduate Institute of Translation and Interpretation National Taiwan Normal University), 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Bertuccioli Giuliano, *Dante in Cina*. La voce CINA nella *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma, 1970, vol. II pp.3-4; Esposito Enzo (a cura di), *L'Opera di Dante nel Mondo: Edizioni e traduzioni nel Novecento*, Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1992; Bujatti Anna, "The myth of Dante in Modern Chinese Literature", in *Chinese Literature and European Context*, 1994, pp. 125-130; Plarks Andrew H., "A Choice Morsel of the Divina Commedia," *Autumn Floods*, Raoul Findeisenand, and Robert Gassman, eds. (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 605-614; Brezzi Alessandra, "The "Hell" in China: Chinese Translations of Dante's Inferno in the 20th century", in Tham Wai Mun e Lim Buan Chay (eds.), *Translation and contrastive studies: collected papers* (翻译与语言对比论丛), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, pp. 87-128; Brezzi Alessandra, "Il Novecento cinese di Dante", *Critica del testo* XIV, 3, 2011. *Dante, oggi* vol. 3. *Nel mondo*. Roma, 2011, pp. 415-438; Gálík Marián, "Dante's Reception and influence in China, 1902-2000", Trans by Ge Sang 格桑., *Yangzijiang pinglun* 扬子江评论 (*Yangtze Jiang Literary Review*). 2012 (1), pp. 13-24.

introduction of Italian literary Futurist works, in modern China.<sup>23</sup> The article “20 shiji chu Yidali xianfeng wenxue zai Zhongguo zuizao de yijie 20 世纪初意大利先锋文学在中国最早的译介” (*The earliest translation and introduction of Italian avant-garde literature in China in the early 20th century*) indicated the point that Chinese intellectuals' interest in Italian culture is reflected in two paths. One led to the discovery of the past of Italian culture and of ‘classical’ writers (Dante, Boccaccio, Manzoni). The other path led to the observation and discovery of modern European literary movements, such as the pioneering literary movements that brought life to European literature in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.<sup>24</sup> Barbara Leonesi studied the reception of Pirandello<sup>25</sup>, and the translation of the poems by Montale.<sup>26</sup> The American Sinologist, Kyle David Anderson, more than ten years ago, dedicated his Ph.d. research to “Italian presences in Chinese modernity”, analyzing the period of Republican China and its influences, literary suggestions and connections between some Italian authors (Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio) and Chinese Literature in that period.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to fiction and poetry, Chinese scholars have also shown interest in the dissemination of Italian drama during that time. The work of Wang Yiwen 王怡雯, *Minguo shiqi Yidali xiju zuopin zai Zhongguo de yijie he chuanbo 民国时期意大利戏剧作品在中国的译介和传播* (*The translation and dissemination of Italian drama works in*

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<sup>23</sup> Brezzi, Alessandra. “Four Foolish Pieces: The first translations of the Italian Futurist Avant Garde.” *Italian Association for Chinese Studies*: 9. 2014.

<sup>24</sup> Brezzi Alessandra 伯艾丽, “20 shiji chu Yidali xianfeng wenxue zai Zhongguo zuizao de yijie 20 世纪初意大利先锋文学在中国最早的译介” (*The earliest translation and introduction of Italian avant-garde literature in China in the early 20th century*), *Fanyi shi yanjiu 翻译史研究 (Research on translation history)*, 2017, pp. 339-353.

<sup>25</sup> Leonesi, Barbara, “Pirandello è di scena? Traduzione, ricezione e messinscena del teatro di Pirandello in Cina”, in *Il Liuto e i libri. Studi in onore di Mario Sabattini*, a cura di Magda Abbiati, Federico Greselin, Venezia: Edizioni Ca’Foscari, 2014, pp. 483-496.

<sup>26</sup> Leonesi, Barbara, *Il Poeta del Male di Vivere. Montale in Cina*, Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2000.

<sup>27</sup> Kyle David Anderson, *Promises of Modern Renaissance Italian Presences in Chinese Modernity*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania State University, 2010.

*China during the period of the Republic of China*), examined the dissemination of Italian drama during the Republic of China period.<sup>28</sup>

Zhang Zhi 张治<sup>29</sup>, another Chinese modern literary scholar, in his monograph *Zhongxi yinyuan Jinxiandai wenxue shiye zhong de xifang 'jingdian'* 中西因缘：近现代文学视野中的西方“经典” (*Chinese and Western Karma: Western "Classics" in the Perspective of Modern Literature*, 2012), systematically investigated the translation and introduction of Italian writers Boccaccio, Petrarca and Dante in China.<sup>30</sup>

In addition, *20 shiji waiguo wenxue yanjiu shilun* 20 世纪外国文学研究史论 (*On the history of foreign literature research in the 20th century*), co-authored by He Huibin 何辉斌 and Cai Haiyan 蔡海燕 of Zhejiang University in 2014, involves the about 100 pieces of statistics of Italian literature translation during that same period. However, he faced a problem, which is that this research only took in consideration published

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<sup>28</sup> Wang Yiwen 王怡雯, "Minguo shiqi Yidali xiju zuopin zai Zhongguo de yijie he chuanbo 民国时期意大利戏剧作品在中国的译介和传播" (The translation and dissemination of Italian drama works in China during the Republic of China), *Dongfang fanyi* 东方翻译 (*Oriental translation*), vol. 05, 2019, pp. 40-51.

<sup>29</sup> Zhang Zhi, as a student of Chen Pingyuan 陈平原, a well-known modern literature researcher in China, and has a solid foundation in modern literature. In recent years, he has paid particular attention to Qian Zhongshu 's reading history. He is currently writing a manuscript "Qian Zhongshu's Reading World". This book originally focused on spatial considerations, but now it has added a temporal dimension to grasp the important moments of Qian Zhongshu's study career. In the study of Western reading history, there are multiple perspectives such as cultural history and social history of reading methods. Looking at the history of reading from a literary perspective, it is mainly centered on important writers. This perspective not only focuses on the transitional history of books, it also involves the spiritual activities of writers. He has already published two paper, *Qian Zhongshu yanzhong de Bojiaqiu ji houjizhe* 钱锺书眼中的薄伽丘及后继者 (*Boccaccio and his successor in Qian Zhongshu's views*) in 2016 and *Qian Zhongshu yanzhong shu duguo de wenyifuxing Yidali duanpian xiaoshuo ji* 钱钟书所读的文艺复兴意大利短篇小说集 (*A collection of Renaissance Italian short stories read by Qian Zhongshu*) in 2019. Zhang Zhi's research helps us understand Qian Zhongshu's acceptance of Italian literature during the Republic of China.

<sup>30</sup> Zhang Zhi 张治, *Zhongxi yinyuan Jinxiandai wenxue shiye zhong de xifang 'jingdian'* 中西因缘：近现代文学视野中的西方“经典” (*Chinese and Western Karma: Western "Classics" in the Perspective of Modern Literature*), Shanghai, Shanghai kexue chubanshe, 2012.

books, overlooking all other materials published in journals and magazines of that period.<sup>31</sup>

Another progress made in the field of translated literature history is *Zhongwai wenxue jiaoliushi Zhongguo Yidali juan* 中外文学交流史 中国-意大利卷 (*History of Sino-foreign Literary Communication · The Volume of China and Italy*) edited by Zhang Xiping 张西平 and Federico Masini in 2015. This book offers a full range of accurate historical data and introduces in detail the literary exchanges between China and Italy in a more general context of historical exchanges between the two countries, especially the Chinese translations of Italian literature in the 20th century. It is also an important reference source for this study.

It is worth noting that the *Xifang wenxue yanjiu* 西方文学研究 (*Western Literary Studies*) by Gong Hanxiong 龚翰熊 in 2005 was the first monograph comprehensively reviewing the academic history of foreign literature by the foreign literary circles in China which sorts out the study of Italian literature during the period of the Republic of China, in which there is the article "Studies on Italian Literature and Spanish Literature". Although the article is rather short and only introduces *Yidali wenxue* 意大利文学 (*Italian Literature, 1923*) by Wang Xihe 王希和 and *Yidali wenxue ABC* 意大利文学 ABC (*ABC of Italian Literature, 1930*) by Fu Shaoxian 傅绍先, it is of pioneering significance and indicated that Chinese scholars were engaged in studying foreign literature and began to pay attention to the study of Italian literature during this period.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> He Huibin 何辉斌, Cai Haiyan 蔡海燕, *20 shiji waiguo wenxue yanjiu shilun* 20 世纪外国文学研究史论 (*On the history of foreign literature research in the 20th century*), Hangzhou, Zhejiang University press, 2014, pp. 1-10.

<sup>32</sup> Gong Hanxiong 龚翰熊, *Xifang wenxue yanjiu* 西方文学研究 (*Western Literary Studies*), Fuzhou, Fuzhou renmin chubanshe, 2005, pp. 331-332.

In 2008, Italian *Literature in China* gathered essays by Italian Sinologists and Chinese scholars. It is a volume which retraces the cultural exchanges between the two countries during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup>

Shen Suqin 沈素琴's monograph *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue qikan zhong de waiguo wenlun yijie jiqi yingxiang* 中国现代文学期刊中的外国文论译介及其影响 (*Translation and introduction of foreign literary theories in Chinese modern literary journals and its influence*) combs through 276 kinds of Chinese modern literary journals and makes a systematic investigation of the translation and introduction of foreign literary theories in China by consulting many original newspapers. The author offered statistical evidence on the translation and introduction of Italian literary theories during the period of the Republic of China, and also some brief explanations on the translation and introduction of Dante, Pirandello and Gabriele D'Annunzio in China.<sup>34</sup>

There are two doctoral theses in the field of special studies that should be pointed out.

The doctoral thesis by Wen Zheng 文铮 written in 2014, carries out a systematic investigation of the translation of Italian literature in China from the late Qing Dynasty to contemporary times. It outlines the acceptance of Italian literature in China from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1949 and explains the impact of Italian literature on Chinese society; especially its impacts on Chinese intellectuals and the value of such literature.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The volume is a collection of proceedings of a conference held at Beijing Foreign Studies University in 2005 as a commemorative meeting of "750th Anniversary of Marco Polo's Birth"; Brezzi Alessandra (a cura di), *Letteratura Italiana in Cina*, Roma, Edizione Tiellemedia, 2008.

<sup>34</sup> Shen Suqin 沈素琴, *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue qikan zhong de waiguo wenlun yijie jiqi yingxiang* 中国现代文学期刊中的外国文论译介及其影响 (*Translation and introduction of foreign literary theories in Chinese modern literary journals and its influence*), Beijing, Beijing yuyan daxue chubanshe, 2015, pp. 409-412.

<sup>35</sup> Wen Zheng 文铮, *Scelta e fraintendimento: la diffusione e ricezione dei più importanti autori italiani e delle loro opere in Cina dalla fine del XIX secolo ad oggi*, Ph. D. thesis, Rome, University of Rome, 2014.

The doctoral thesis *Shenqu de zhongyiben yanjiu* 《神曲》的中译本研究 (*A Study of the Chinese Translations of The Divine Comedy*) by Li Bingkui 李丙奎 in 2016 conducted a more comprehensive and in-depth study of the Chinese translation of *The Divine Comedy* from the micro, meso and macro perspectives on the textual, literary and cultural levels. The critical analysis of the Chinese translation has eight representative texts derived from different languages by the following translators: Qian Daosun (1921), Wang Weike (1948), Zhu Weiji (1954), Tian Dewang (2000), Huang Wenjie (2000), Huang Guobin (2003), Zhang Shuguang (2005) and Zhu Mo (2014). The close-reading of the translations adopted by the author revealed that these translators from different times and backgrounds, produced translations with various features due to the differences in reasons, strategies and methods used for translation.<sup>36</sup> These two works served as impetus for my paper, even if their focus and aim are different from mine.

Since the mid-90s, comparative studies in China started to study the cultural exchanges between Italy and China, a field of research which was overlooked until then. In 1994 a paper was published by Yuan Diyong 袁荻涌, titled *Luxun yu Danding* 鲁迅与但丁 (*Luxun and Dante*), which took a look at when Lu Xun started to get exposed to Dante's works. He holds that Dante was the first Italian writer mentioned in Lu Xun's works and the paper also revolved around studying the relationship between modern Chinese writers and Italian literature from the perspective of comparative literature. Lu's interest in Italian writers could also be noted from his collection of books.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Li Bingkui 李丙奎, *Shenqu de zhongyiben yanjiu* 《神曲》的中译本研究 (*A Study of the Chinese Translations of The Divine Comedy*), Ph. D. Thesis, University of Nankai, Tianjin, 2016.

<sup>37</sup> Yuan Diyong 袁荻涌, "Luxun yu Danding 鲁迅与但丁" (*Luxun and Dante*), *Daqing gaodeng zhuanke xuexiaoxuebao* 大庆高等专科学校学报 (*Journal of Daqing College*), 1994 (02), pp. 52-55.

In 2002, Zhu Zhenyu 朱振宇, another Chinese scholar of comparative literature, who studied in the United States, pointed out, in her master's thesis titled *Danding zai zhongguo-19 shiji mo zhi 20 shiji 30 niandai* 但丁在中国——19 世纪末至 20 世纪三十年代 (*Dante in China. from the end of the 19th century to the 1930s*), that among studies of the exchange history of Chinese and Western literature, the number of people focusing on the acceptance of Italian literature in China was rather scarce. Even for great classical writers like Dante, relevant research on his acceptability and influence were far from sufficient. Zhu strived to categorize and analyze the acceptance and spread of Dante's works in the context of modern Chinese literature. To do so, she conducted an analysis on the acceptance and spread of Dante's works in the history of modern Chinese literature. She also paid special attention to three representative texts, namely, the first five cantos of *The Divine Comedy* translated by Qian Daosun in 1921, *The New Life* translated by Wang Duqing 王独清 in 1934 and *Danding meng chuanqi* 但丁梦传奇 (*The Variety Play of Dante's Dreams*) created by Qian Daosun in 1927. In the conclusion, the author offered a detailed analysis on the special context for the importing of Dante's works as well as its absence in modern day China.<sup>38</sup>

In 2005 and 2008, Ge Guilu 葛桂录, a scholar of comparative literature, also paid attention to the study of the relationship between Chinese and Italian literature and culture in his broader research interest of the relationship between Chinese and foreign literature and their culture. In the chapter "Italian Writers and Chinese Culture" of his book *Shenqi de xiangxiang: Nanbei ou zuojia yu Zhongguo wenhua* 神奇的想象：南北欧作家与中国文化 (*The Wonder of Imagination: Southern and Northern European Writers and Chinese Culture*), Ge studied the critical essays and interpretation on Italian writers compiled by Chinese writers in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In

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<sup>38</sup> Zhu Zhenyu 朱振宇, *Danding zai Zhongguo - 19 shiji mo zhi 20 shiji 30 niandai* 但丁在中国——19 世纪末至 20 世纪三十年代 (*Dante in China. from the end of the 19th century to the 1930s*), Master's Thesis, University of Beijing, Beijing 2002.

particular, he once again focused on the “Rebirth” of Dante and his acceptance in the Chinese cultural context and his image in the eyes of modern Chinese writers. Through textual research of substantial historical data, the writer not only studied Chinese writers' keen interest in Dante and Italian literature, but it also attempted to expand the academic space for this subject of research.<sup>39</sup>

### 3. Research methods and new materials

Sociology of literature emerged in the second half of the 20th century as a research approached the literary phenomena from the perspective of sociology, connecting the interior of literary works (the aesthetic value of literary works) with the external factors that affect the production, circulation, and distribution of literary works.<sup>40</sup>

In the 1990s, Pierre Bourdieu made the most outstanding contribution to this theory.<sup>41</sup> Other scholars later employed it to analyze modern Chinese literature and translated literature, such as Michel Hockx in his *Questions of style*, which analyzed the correlation between Chinese modern magazines and literature.<sup>42</sup> Hockx wrote:

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<sup>39</sup> Wang Ning 王宁, Ge Guilu 葛桂录, *Shenqi de xiangxiang: Nanbei ou zuojia yu Zhongguo wenhua* 神奇的想象: 南北欧作家与中国文化 (*The Wonder of Imagination: Southern and Northern European Writers and Chinese Culture*), Yinchuan, Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 2005; Ge Guilu 葛桂录, “Kanke de tiantang zhilu. Zhongguo wenxue wutai shang de Danding xingxiang 坎坷的天堂之路: 中国文学舞台上的但丁形象” (The bumpy road to heaven: the image of Dante on the stage of Chinese literature), *Kuawenhua yujing zhong de zhongwai wenxue guanxi yanjiu* 跨文化语境中的中外文学关系研究 (The Study of the Relationship between Chinese and Foreign Literature in the Cross-cultural Context), Shanghai, Sanlian shudian, 2008, pp. 157-237.

<sup>40</sup> Zhu Guohua 朱国华, *Quanli de wenhua luoji. Budie de shehuixue shixue* 权力的文化逻辑 布迪厄的社会学诗学 (*Cultural logic of power. Bourdieu's sociology and poetics*). Shanghai, Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2016, pp. 353-354.

<sup>41</sup> Bourdieu Pierre, & L. J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; Bourdieu Pierre, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.

<sup>42</sup> Hockx, Michel, *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China, 1911-1937*, Vol. 2, Leiden, Brill, 2003, pp. 1-6.



What all these studies have in common is that they seek to describe aesthetic processes of literary creation and reception from a rigidly historical perspective on the basis of a thoroughly documented understanding of the *practices* of writing. They do not take any concept of literature, nor any kind of canon or mainstream, for granted. They are neither for 'May 4' nor against it, since these two perspectives are in the end, equally reductive. They allow historical, literary views and values to emerge from the discourses and practices analyzed and described. My own emphasis on literary practices, on the activities of the people involved in literary production, rather than on analysis of the texts they produced, is even stronger than that of the afore-mentioned scholars. This is a result of the methods of study I have applied, most of which belong to the realm of the sociology of literature.<sup>43</sup>

In the domain of translated literature, the sociology of literature also provided a new research approach for investigating literary translation and other literary activities. This approach studied the literary activities, including literary translations, from a broader perspective to better understand cultural processes.

Wang Hongzhi 王宏志, conducting a research on the influence of translators as a cultural phenomenon in their translation activities, also applied the same methodologies to analyze the role and function of Chinese translators in the 20<sup>th</sup> century; Wang wrote:

In the case of Chinese translation history, studies on the translators have been weak, with many important cases untouched. More importantly, most studies on translators are presentations of some basic information of the life and deeds of the translators with little analysis. The present paper proposes adopting a new perspective in the study of translators: to take them as

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<sup>43</sup> Hockx, Michel, *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China*, quoted, p. 6.

cultural phenomena with close relations with specific cultural backgrounds and issues. It is hoped that this approach can better illustrate the roles and contributions of translators in the course of development of Chinese translation history.<sup>44</sup>

Through the opinions of such scholars, in this work we will analyze literary activities, such as creation and translation, bringing our attention on not only the text and translation itself, but also on the social and cultural constraints and on cultural identity of various participants to comprehend their interpersonal relations and mutual influences in the literary activities.

By adopting this approach and methodology of research, I mainly focused on the activities and personal life of Chinese intellectuals and writers who introduced Italian literature in China, neglecting the objects of their work, that is Italian literary works, their strategies of translation and the quality of their work. In short, I was mainly interested in finding out how and through which ways Italian literary works circulated among them. I started by collecting information about their life and literary career. Through reading their diaries and letters I was able to draw a map of their connections which allowed me to have a clearer picture of the network and connections among them; as in the case of Qian Daosun, which will be explained in detail in the first chapter. Reading documents from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about Qian Daosun's father, Qian Xun 钱恂, who was an ambassador of the Qing government to Italy from 1908 to 1909 and documents from the Modern history archives of Taiwan Academia Sinica and the First Historical Archives of China was I

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<sup>44</sup> Wang Hongzhi 王宏志, "Zuowei wenhua xianxiang de yizhe: yizhe yanjiu de yige qieru dian 作为文化现象的译者:译者研究的一个切入点" (Translators as Cultural Phenomena: A New Approach to Translators Studies), *Changjiang xueshu 长江学术 (Yangtze River Academic)*, vol. 01, 2021, pp. 87-96.

able to trace an accurate biography of Qian Daosun and to discover that he and Liang Qichao had known each other before 1921. In the 1920s Liang Qichao participated in the editing of a journal, *Gaizao* 改造 (*La Rekonstruo*) in Shanghai, a journal not so fundamental to spread Italian culture in China, but what was fundamental was the journal editorial office, which became a centre for the circulation and spreading of material on Italy. The intellectuals who worked in this periodical shared and exchanged opinions, materials, and suggestions on Italy and its culture.

New pieces of information have also come into light about the life and activities of Xu Xiacun, of whom we will talk about in chapter two. In particular, the publication of the magazine *Xue Deng* 学灯 (*The Study lamp*), a periodical which is still overlooked until now in consideration of the reception of Italian literature in China. Reading its pages we learnt about the intention, expressed by some Chinese intellectuals, to hold a commemoration for the sixcentenary anniversary of Dante's death in 1921.

Another path, completely new until now and which will be analyzed in the third chapter of my work, is the activities and network realized in the university campuses, as in the case of Tsinghua University, where some foreign professors (Pollard Urquart and R. D. Jameson) were the first to spread and present Italian authors and works to their Chinese students. Among these students there was Tian Dewang, one of the most famous Chinese scholars interested in Italian literature, who studied at the University of Florence in 1934, owing to a scholarship offered by Fascism Italian government. Consulting the material kept in the archives of this University allowed me to obtain not only significant information on him, his academic career and literary interests, but also on cultural relations between Italy and China in the middle of the 1930s.

These didactic activities held in the new universities (Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai etc.) is a field of study that is left unexplored until now. In my opinion, this should be examined and explored, because it could offer valuable information to gain a more

accurate and complete picture of the reception of Italian literature in China in the first half of the 20th century.

I am convinced that Chinese teachers and students in the Universities had a significant role to spread Italian literature in China. The foreign teachers, especially American and British, engaged in teaching activities in Chinese universities were one of the *medium* through which Italian literature was spread in China. Up to now, this field of research has been completely neglected; it has never been taken into account because little or nothing was known of the existence of Italian literature courses in Chinese universities in the 1930s and 1940s. Now that some knowledge has been dug up, this topic is worthy of more accurate research.

In the following pages we will analyze the process which brought Italian literary works to China. Due to the space limitation, some topics and some interpreters will be not dealt with in detail, even if they surely deserve more accurate and in-depth treatment, as for example new fields of study, the academic and cultural activities related to Italian literature in the university's campus, as I have just affirmed above.

The thesis ends with two appendixes which are a good tool to offer an accurate picture of Italian literature translated into Chinese from 1902 to 1949 analyzed in this work. In the first appendix I have enlisted all the Italian literary works translated into Chinese, in a chronological order, and within each year I have ordered all the items in accord with the alphabetic order of Author's surname. The titles with an asterisk indicate that they are "new discoveries", which means that they are quoted in some sources, but they have never been taken in consideration for study or research on Italian literature or which no other researcher has mentioned or identified before; they are discovery I realized during my research. The second appendix presents some of the most important Chinese translators who dedicated their works to translating

Italian literary works. For each of them I provide some brief explanation about them. This appendix does not want to offer an accurate biographical data on these intellectuals but instead just to give an overview of who were engaged with Italian literature in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## Chapter I: First Experience abroad and Italian Literature in the Late Qing Dynasty and in the Early Republic of China (1902-1921)

This chapter mainly contains an introduction of the translation and reception of Italian literature in China during the period between the late Qing Dynasty (1902-1911) and the early years of the Republic of China. "Italian literature" here refers specifically to works written in Italian (including Italian dialects, such as the Tuscan dialect in Dante's time) and Italian literary works written by national writers.<sup>45</sup> Italian literature arose in the 13th century,<sup>46</sup> when it was influenced by the poetry of French Provence and it was founded in Alcamo in Sicily and Florence in Tuscany.<sup>47</sup> Literature with national characteristics gradually peaked in the 14<sup>th</sup> century through the creation and dissemination of works by poets such as Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374), Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375). Even today Italian literature, as represented by Dante, is considered a precious cultural treasure for Italy and also a timeless classic in the world of literature.<sup>48</sup>

Translation of Italian literature went through the following three phases: from the late Qing dynasty to the early years of the Republic of China, from the New Cultural Movement to the end of the 1920s, and from the 1930s to the 1940s. As it is well known, there are fewer translations of Italian literary works done in the Republic of China compared to translations of other literatures, such as Russian, Japanese,

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<sup>45</sup> Momigliano Attilio, *Storia della letteratura Italiana. Dalle Origini ai Nostri Giorni*. Milano: Casa editrice Giuseppe Principato, 1946, pp.1-32; Guglielminetti Marziano, *Italiana, letteratura*, Enciclopedia Italiana-VII. Appendice (2007) [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/letteratura-italiana\\_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/letteratura-italiana_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/); Asor Rosa Alberto, *Letteratura italiana. La storia, i classici, l'identità nazionale*. Roma: Carocci editore, 2014, pp.1-8.

<sup>46</sup> De Sanctis Francesco, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Firenze: Salani, 1965, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Ferroni Giulio, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana, dalle origini al Quattrocento*, Milano: Mondadori, 2012, pp. 121-124.

<sup>48</sup> This year is the 700th anniversary of the poet's death, and celebrations were held all over the world.

French and German literature during the same period. Moreover, most of them were translated to Chinese from Japanese, English or French editions, and only a small amount were directly translated from the original language. I will be explaining this in the second chapter. In China, more systematic and direct translations of Italian literature from the original language only began in the 1980s, when new Italian study centers were inaugurated in some of the most prestigious Chinese universities or academies. For example, the first complete version of the *Inferno* was translated from the original text by Tian Dewang 田德望 (1909-2000) in 1986,<sup>49</sup> and the first translated versions of Calvino were published in 1981 by Liu Bixing 刘碧星 (19? ? —) and Zhang Mi 张宓 (1950-). However, as we will see in the following pages, Dante was already greatly appreciated and noticed during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>49</sup> Regarding Dante's influence on intellectuals and writers during the Republic of China, see the following studies: Allegra P. G., "Le fortune di D. in Cina", in *Il Marco Polo III* (1942), pp. 35-45; Bertuccioli Giuliano, *Dante in Cina. La voce CINA nella Enciclopedia Dantesca*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma, 1970, vol. II pp. 3-4; Bujatti Anna, "The myth of Dante in Modern Chinese Literature", in *Chinese Literature and European Context*, 1994, pp. 125-130; Ge Tao 葛涛, "Tanxun 'ling de wenxue'. Lun Lao She dui Danding de jieshou shi 探寻'灵的文学'——论老舍对但丁的接受史" (Exploring the "Literature of Spirit"——On the history of Lao She's acceptance of Dante), in *Shanghai Shifan daxue xuebao* 上海师范大学学报 (*Journal of Shanghai Normal University*), 2000 (01), pp. 91-99; Zhu Zhenyu 朱振宇, *Danding zai Zhongguo. 19 shiji mo zhi 20 shiji sanshi niandai* 但丁在中国——19世纪末至20世纪三十年代 (*Dante in China. from the end of the 19th century to the 1930s*), Master's Thesis, Beijing 2002; Brezzi Alessandra, "The "Hell" in China: Chinese Translations of Dante's *Inferno* in the 20th century", in Tham Wai Mun e Lim Buan Chay (eds.), *Translation and contrastive studies: collected papers* (翻译与语言对比论丛), Singapore, Nanyang Technological University, pp. 87-128; Ge Guilu 葛桂录, "Kanke de tiantang zhilu: Zhongguo wenxue wutai shang de Danding xingxiang 坎坷的天堂之路: 中国文学舞台上的但丁形象" (The bumpy road to heaven: the image of Dante on the stage of Chinese literature), *Kua wenhua yujing zhong de zhongwai wenxue guanxi yanjiu* 跨文化语境中的中外文学关系研究 (*The Study of the Relationship between Chinese and Foreign Literature in the Cross-cultural Context*), Shanghai, Sanlian shudian, 2008, pp. 157-237; Brezzi Alessandra, "Il Novecento cinese di Dante", *Critica del testo* XIV.3, 2011. Dante, oggi vol. 3. Nel mondo. Roma, 2011, pp. 415-438; Gálík Marián, "Dante's Reception and influence in China, 1902–2000", Trans by 格桑, in *Yangzi jiang pinglun* 扬子江评论 (*Yangtze Jiang Literary Review*) 2012 (1), pp. 13–24; Wen Zheng 文铮, *Scelta e fraintendimento: la diffusione e ricezione dei più importanti autori italiani e delle loro opere in Cina dalla fine del XIX secolo ad oggi*, Ph. D. thesis, Rome, University of Rome, 2014; Chen Qi 陈琦, "Dante in the Chinese context: Translation, study and teaching", *Forum Italicum*, 2021 (06), pp. 1-34.

In the Republic of China, the attention of Chinese intellectuals and translators was mostly directed to Italian works of fiction and poems, followed by dramas and biographies of some writers. During this period the Italian literary theories and criticism were almost neglected, the only exception was Benedetto Croce, defined by Franco D'Intino as "the most influential Italian intellectual in the 20<sup>th</sup> century".<sup>50</sup> In China Croce was the only one who was known and translated, first by Fu Donghua 傅东华 (1893-1971) in 1930, then by Zhu Guangqian 朱光潜 (1897-1986) in 1948.<sup>51</sup>

The following is a brief overview and summary of the translations of Italian literature done during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 1.1 The social and historical background

The period between the late Qing Dynasty and the early years of the Republic of China marked the arrival of Italian literature in China. Before that, there was only a small number of literati who were interested in Italian culture; the most important and the most influential translator was Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929), who showed great interest in the Italian unification movement when he was an exile in Japan (1898).<sup>52</sup> As Masini has already explained, during his sojourn in Japan, Liang Qichao discovered the Italian Unification Movement, called *Risorgimento*, through an historical material translated into Japanese by a Korean intellectual Yu Kil-chun 俞吉濬 (1856-1914) from an English source.<sup>53</sup> And this is the first proof of that babelic process which was characterized by the introduction of Italian culture in China: translations were not made directly, in fact they were passed through several different

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<sup>50</sup> D'Intino, Franco, "Il Novecento italiano oltrefrontiera", a cura di Nino Borsellino e Lucio Felici. *Storia della letteratura italiana. Il Novecento. Scenari di fine secolo*. Milano, Garzanti, 2001, p. 925.

<sup>51</sup> Sabattini Mario studied at length the critical reading that Zhu provided of Croce starting from the 1960s and 1970s.

<sup>52</sup> Bertuccioli, Giuliano, Masini, Federico, *Italia e Cina*, Bari, Laterza, 1996, p. 307.

<sup>53</sup> Masini, Federico, "Liang Qichao scopre l'Italia". *Sulla via del Catai*, vol. 10, pp. 17-28.



languages and cultures, which offers them their own nationalistic interpretation. Liang showed great interest in this fundamental period for the Italian new united 'state'. He felt that this phase of Italian history could be a useful example and an inspiration for the reform movement in China.<sup>54</sup>

After the first Opium War (1839-1842), the Qing Dynasty was forced to open the country's borders, and established relations with Western countries, and consequently began to study and observe Western countries to better understand them. As many other scholars (Fairbank 1979, David Wang 1997) have already explained, this period was characterized primarily by an interest in science and technology, which were considered the strengths of western countries. As some Chinese scholars have already proven, (Xiong 1993, Zou 2007) during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, many Chinese scholars still believed that the West was more prosperous and advanced than China in terms of technology and welfare. However, Western culture did not pique the curiosity of Chinese intellectuals during this period. If we narrow the field, and we move from Western countries to Italy, we can observe similar situations and approaches. Sadly, not much research was conducted based on this topic in recent years. From what I know, only a young researcher wrote a Ph.D. thesis on *L'immagine dell'Italia nella stampa cinese di epoca tardo-Qing: Il ruolo dello Shenbao 申報 (1872-1911)*, from these pages we can learn that news and information gathered regarding Italy published in the Chinese periodicals, during the first decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century, were mostly concerned about industrial development or other technology related topics.<sup>55</sup> When officials were sent to Italy and other European

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<sup>54</sup> Masini, Federico "Italy in China at the end of the Empire: Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao and Sun Yat-Sen", in Clara Bulfoni (ed.) *Tradizioni religiose e trasformazioni sociali dell'Asia contemporanea*, Milano, Bulzoni, 2012, pp. 53-67.

<sup>55</sup> Renata Vinci, *L'immagine dell'Italia nella stampa cinese di epoca tardo-Qing: Il ruolo dello Shenbao 申報 (1872-1911)*, Ph. D. Thesis, Rome, University of Rome, 2017.

countries as diplomats, they mainly visited Italian naval bases and steel plants, with their focus placed on the science and technology of Western countries.<sup>56</sup>

A famous Chinese scholar, Qian Zhongshu 钱钟书 (1910-1998), described this phenomenon:

They diligently studied Western politics, military, industry, education, legal system, and religion, and excitedly viewed Western monuments, art, juggling, drama, and strange birds and monsters found in the zoo. [...] Only Western literature, including writers' works, news, and stories, failed to catch their attention, and they had little interest in watching literary plays. For them, watching a play was just like watching a circus performance or magic tricks, something just for entertainment. It was not worth coming to watch as a literary intellectual.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> I have consulted the national newspapers database (1840-1949), and *General Catalogue of Modern Newspapers*. In addition to reporting the national Italian conditions, military and politics, there is very little about Italian culture. For some references on Chinese delegations in Europe and in Italy, and their accounts see Maria Rita Masci, *L'oceano in un guscio d'ostrica*, Roma, Theoria, 1998; Federica Casalin, "Investigating the Introduction of Italian Culture into Late Qing China through Some Foreign Travel Diaries (1867-1897): What Culture? About What Italy? By What China?", in: *Italy and China: Centuries of Dialogue*. vol. V, Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore, 2017, p. 199-215; F. Casalin, "Alcune immagini dell'Italia vista da Yuan Zuzhi (1827-1898)" ['Some images of Italy as seen by Yuan Zuzhi (1827-1898)'], in Congiu Francesca, Onnis Barbara, Pinna Cristina, *Cina. La centralità ritrovata*, Cagliari, 17-18 settembre 2009, Cagliari: AIPSA Edizioni, 2012, pp. 39-50; F. Casalin (edited by), "I rapporti fra il Regno d'Italia e l'Impero Qing. ['The diplomatic relationships between the Reign of Italy and the Qing Empire']". *Sulla via del Catai. Rivista semestrale sulle relazioni culturali tra Europa e Cina. Sottotitolo: Il Lupo e il Dragone*, pp. 1-160, Centro Studi Martino Martini, Trento, 2012; F. Casalin, "Jianlun Wan Qing youji zhong de Yidali xingxiang: yi bijiao wenxue xingxiangxue wei zhongxin 简论晚清游记中的意大利形象 —— 以比较文学形象学的理论为中心" [The Image of Italy in the Late Qing Travel Diaries in the Light of Literary Imagology], in *Wakumon 或問, Studies on Cultural and Linguistic Exchanges Between China and the West*, n. 13, Kansai University, Osaka, Japan, vol. 22, 2012, pp. 25-38; F. Casalin, "I Grandi Ministri dei Qing presso il Regno d'Italia (1881-1911)" ['The Great Ministers of the Qing Dynasty in the Reign of Italy (1881-1911)']. *Sulla via del Catai*, vol. 7, 2012, pp. 61-79.

<sup>57</sup> Qian Zhongshu 钱钟书, *Qian Zhongshu Sanwen 钱钟书散文 (Qian Zhongshu's Prose)*, Hangzhou, Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 1997, pp. 358-359.

The same judgement was expressed, by Guo Songtao 郭嵩焘 (1818-1891) decades earlier. Guo traveled to Europe on behalf of the Qing government, he wrote in *London and Paris's Diary (Lundun he Bali riji 伦敦和巴黎日记)*: "[Great Britain] The foundation of wealth, power, politics and religion are precise and impressive, and the essays, rituals, and music, do not catch the attention of the Chinese."<sup>58</sup> According to the ambassador, Western nations were more prosperous and progressed technologically than China, but they lacked cultural sophistication.

However, according to existing research, Guo Songtao was the first Chinese official to pay attention to the Italian traveler Marco Polo and his *Marco Polo's Travels*,<sup>59</sup> and this can be considered the first cultural encounter between Italy and China. In Guo Songtao's diary, on December 7 1877, he wrote that Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890), a German archeologist who traveled in Greece and Egypt, told Guo Songtao: "At the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty, Marco Polo accompanied his father on a trip to China. [...] He lived in Henan for 22 years, and he saw Jews preaching Moses in Henan."<sup>60</sup> In other pages of his diary he also wrote that on the occasion of a tea party hosted by the new British Foreign Minister at the time, Guo Songtao, on March 1<sup>st</sup> 1878, met with the British commentator of *Marco Polo's Travels*, Henry Yule (1820-1889). That day he wrote in his journal, "Marco Polo entered China during the period of Yuan Shizu 元世祖 [1215-1294]. This was the beginning of Westerners entering China. He recorded the customs and feelings faced by the people of China, which Westerners did not believe at first, and Yule commented on *Marco Polo's Travel*."<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Guo Songtao 郭嵩焘, *Shixi Jicheng 使西纪程 (A record of a trip to the West)*, Shenyang, Liaoning renmin chubans, 1994, p. 119.

<sup>59</sup> Zou Zhenhuan 邹振环, "Qingmo hanwen wenxian zhong youguan Make Boluo lai hua de zuizao jishu 清末汉文文献中有关马可·波罗来华的最早记述" (The Earliest Account of Marco Polo's Laihua in Chinese Documents in the Late Qing Dynasty), *Shijie Lishi 世界历史 (World History)*, 1999 (05), pp. 79-83.

<sup>60</sup> Guo Songtao 郭嵩焘, *Guo Songtao riji. Disanjuan 郭嵩焘日记 第三卷 (Guo Songtao's diary. vol.3)*, Changsha, Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1982, p. 359.

<sup>61</sup> Guo Songtao 郭嵩焘, *Guo Songtao riji. Disanjuan*, quoted p. 465.

This example also explains that the first cultural contacts between Italy and China were conducted through ‘intermediate cultures’; in the case of Guo Songtao for instance, he discovered Marco Polo through the English commentator or scholars.

## 1.2 Liang Qichao, the first intellectual enthusiastic of Italian Literature

We proceeded with the passing of the year, and arrived at another important Chinese scholar, who was not a ‘diplomatic envoy’ by the Qing government, but he was a Chinese exile by the Qing government, who did not travel in Italy until 1919. He discovered Italian culture in Japan: Liang Qichao. He deserved the merit of introducing Dante in China for the first time. According to the textual research of Professor Zou Zhenhuan 邹振环, the earliest mention of Dante in Chinese literature is in 1886, came from the *European History* (*Ouzhou shilüe* 欧洲史略) translated by the British missionary in China, Joseph Edkins (1823-1905) with the help of Chinese interpreters: "The Latin of the Italian land gradually became the dialect of the Italy today. The transformation of this dialect was operated by a great poet called Dandi Yalijieli [但底亚利结理] (now translated as Danding Aligaili [但丁阿里盖利])."<sup>62</sup>

The *European History* translated by Joseph Edkins had a considerable influence on China at that time. Liang Qichao included this *European History* in the ‘List of Western Learning Bibliography’ (*Xixue shumu biao* 西学书目表, 1897)<sup>63</sup>, so that we can ensure that Liang read this book and probably was influenced by the content.

Within their academic circles, Liang Qichao was considered to be the first Chinese to mention Dante; in his play *New Rome* (*Xin Luoma Chuanqi* 新罗马传奇,

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<sup>62</sup> Zou Zhenhuan 邹振环, *Xifang chuanjiaoshi yu wanqing xixuedongjian* 西方传教士与晚清西史东渐 (*Western Missionaries and the Eastward Spread of Western History in the Late Qing Dynasty*), Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007, p. 258.

<sup>63</sup> Liang Qichao 梁启超, *Liang Qichao quanji disanjuani* 梁启超全集 第三卷 (*The Complete Works of Liang Qichao vol.3*), Beijing, Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2018, pp. 485-486.

1902), he put Dante, or it would be better said Dante's soul, in the prologue, as a character who embodies Liang Qichao's political aspirations.

In previous studies, some scholars believed that Liang Qichao's play *New Rome*, published in October 1902 in *Xinmin congbao* 新民丛报, marked the first time the name 'Dante' appeared in the Chinese world.<sup>64</sup> However, it is now known that earlier in June 1902, Dante was mentioned twice in the *Biography of the Three Great Masters of the Founding of Italy* (*Yidali jianguo sanjie zhuan* 意大利建国三杰传) composed by Liang Qichao. The first mention is "In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Italy completed its national unification, it is now a new brand country, [...]. Dante would be thrilled to see this, because it [the unification movement] was a dream he had hoped for but failed to achieve."<sup>65</sup>

The second one being "Before the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Italy, there were already philosophers, writers, Dante, Machiavelli, Foscolo, who sighed and screamed to guide their citizens with the meaning of reform and recovery."<sup>66</sup>

In his work, Liang Qichao associated the name of Dante and the name of Homer, considering them the greatest poets, respectively of ancient Greece and the Medieval period.<sup>67</sup> Reading the work of Liang Qichao, we can observe that Liang was influenced by the thoughts of Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) that he discovered and read while he was exiled in Japan. Under the influence of Carlyle's "heroic view of history", Liang Qichao regarded Dante as a poet hero.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Zhang Zhi 张治, *Zhongxi yinyuan Jinxiandai wenxue shiye zhong de xifang 'jingdian'* 中西因缘: 近现代文学视野中的西方“经典” (*Chinese and Western Karma: Western "Classics" in the Perspective of Modern Literature*), Shanghai, Shanghai kexue chubanshe, 2012, p. 158.

<sup>65</sup> Liang Qichao 梁启超, *Liang Qichao quanji disanjuani*, quoted, p. 484. As represented by Figure 1.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid*, pp. 485-486.

<sup>67</sup> Liang Qichao 梁启超, *Liang Qichao quanji dishiyijuani* 梁启超全集 第十一卷 (*The Complete Works of Liang Qichao vol.11*), Beijing, Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2018, p. 362.

<sup>68</sup> Duan Huaqing 段怀清、Kuniko Wakasugi 若杉邦子, "Ribei he Zhongguo jindai dui xifangyingxiong zhuyi de jieshou yi kalaier yingxiongzhuyi de fanying wei zhongxin 日本和中

In 1898, after the failure of the Reform Movement, Liang Qichao went into exile and published the famous 'Preface to Translating Political Novels' (*Yiyin zhengzhi xiaoshuo xu* 译印政治小说序) in *Qing Yi Bao* 清议报, in which he explained his ideas regarding the fiction; he was convinced that the novels, very popular in the West, helped to spread new ideas in an effective way. At the end of the article, he wrote: "Often each time a book is published, it will trigger a nationwide heated discussion. Everyday the political situation in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, and Japan progresses, and political novels offer an important contribution to it."<sup>69</sup>

It can be seen that Liang Qichao had paid attention to the importance of translating foreign fiction as early as 1898, and he also mentioned Italy in his article; he has never translated an Italian work or never dedicated an essay to Italian literature, but he was one of the most influential intellectuals in that period, so we can hypothesize that he played a significant role in slowly drawing attention to the Italian situation in general, in political and cultural terms. His articles and essays were mostly read by Chinese readers and intellectuals. Hence, we are suggesting that his quotations and interests stimulated interest and curiosity in other important intellectuals at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the following pages we will go more into detail about how the network around Liang Qichao, such as Shan Shili, Qian Daosun, Lu Xun and many others started to move their attention to Italian culture; for the moment it is important to remember the words by Xia Xiaohong 夏晓虹, a well-known modern literature researcher at Peking University, who to explain the influence and 'authority' exerted by Liang Qichao throughout the Chinese

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国近代对西方英雄主义的接受——以对卡莱尔英雄主义的反应为中心” (The acceptance of Western heroism in Japan and China in modern times-centered on the reaction to Carlisle's heroism), *Zhongguo yanyu wenhua yanjiu* 中国言语文化研究 (*Research on Chinese Language and Culture*), 2010 (10), pp. 1-11.

<sup>69</sup> Liang Qichao 梁启超, *Liang Qichao quanji diyijuani* 梁启超全集 第一卷 (*The Complete Works of Liang Qichao vol.1*), Beijing, Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2018, p. 681.

intellectual world during that period, has written in his book, *Awareness and Passing Down: Liang Qichao's Literary Road* (*Jueshi yu chuanshi: Liang Qichao de wenxue daolu* 觉世与传世: 梁启超的文学道路):

In the literary world of the late Qing Dynasty, Liang Qichao pioneered the ethos, using clear and extreme language to emphasize the necessity of literary change, and calling for a 'revolution in the poetry world', a 'revolution in the literary world' and a 'revolution in the fiction world'. Moreover, all of this is based on his understanding of literature, especially fiction, which played a decisive role in improving the governance of the masses, and with this as the core, his thought of 'literature can save the country' was formed; it also became a theoretical pillar of the literary reform movement in the late Qing Dynasty and promoted the formation and full development of this movement. It is no exaggeration to say that Liang Qichao's voice enveloped the entire modern literary world, and his echo was both broad and long.<sup>70</sup>

The famous expression *faren yu* 发轫于 contained in a poem of the famous ancient Chinese collection *Chu ci* 楚辞 dating from 221 BC ("I start off from Palace Supreme at dawn, and in the eve at Mount Yuweilu arrive 朝发轫于太仪矣，夕始临乎于微卢) is often used to metaphorically express the start of a new movement or new event;<sup>71</sup> and in this sense, as the verse says, Liang Qichao was the first to move the 'chariot' of Italian literature in China; he contributed to start the journey of Italian authors in the Republic of China.

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<sup>70</sup> Xia Xiaohong 夏晓虹, *Jueshi yu chuanshi Liang Qichao de wenxue daolu* 觉世与传世——梁启超的文学道路(*Awareness and Passing Down: Liang Qichao's Literary Road*), Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2006, p.263.

<sup>71</sup> Qu Yuan (edited by) 屈原编, *Chu Ci* 楚辞 (*Songs of Chu*), Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2010, p. 175.

He should be credited as the first to choose the two characters for Dante's name in Chinese, which are still in use. In fact, as for many other western authors, at their first appearance in China, there is a common habit to transliterate their names with different characters according to the phonetic sound of their original name. During the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was common to present Dante with different phonetic solutions, such as Wang Guowei 王国维, in 1904, wrote as “Tang Dan 唐旦”,<sup>72</sup> Shan Shili 单士厘 in 1910 wrote as “Tan Dai 檀戴”,<sup>73</sup> Qian Daosun 钱稻孙 in 1921 wrote as “Tan De 檀德”;<sup>74</sup> it was Liang Qichao who in 1902, in the play *Xin Luoma*, choose the two Chinese characters, “Danding 但丁”,<sup>75</sup> which became the ‘official’ Chinese name of Dante only in the 1940s. During this period, in the 1920s and 1930s, different solutions were still in use; it was curious that the American professor R. D. Jameson at Tsinghua University, for his courses dedicated to the western literature from Ancient Greece to the medieval period, and to Dante, also used this transcription. And we have to mention that Wu Mi, another intellectual and a close friend and collaborator of Liang Qichao, also used the transcription proposed by Liang, in his article and essays to Dante. Wu Mi was also the director of Foreign Languages and Literature Department of Qinghua, where Pollard Urquhart worked in that period. So, I strongly believe that the circles of intellectuals around Liang Qichao and around

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<sup>72</sup> Wang Guowei 王国维, “Hongloumeng pinglun 红楼梦评论” (A dream of Red Mansions review), *Jiaoyu shijie 教育世界 (Educational world)*, 1904, vol.81, p. 32.

<sup>73</sup> Shan Shili 单士厘, *Guimao luxing ji and Guiqian ji 癸卯旅行记 归潜记 (Guimao travels. Guiqian in mind)*, ed. Yang Jian 杨坚, Zhong Shuhe 钟叔河, Zouxiang shijie congshu, Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1986, p.114.

<sup>74</sup> See the essay by Brezzi A., “The “Hell” in China: Chinese Translations of Dante’s Inferno in the 20th century”, quoted, pp. 87-128; other translations were results of my research.

<sup>75</sup> I would like to suppose that this transcription, *danding*, can be derived by the transcription of the name of Costantin, which in Chinese is *junshidanding* 君士但丁, that means literati (*junshi*) and a simple phonetic sound *danding*, but if we read together we can translate as Danding the literati. Probably Liang Qichao chose these two characters to pay an honor to the greater poet, Dante.



the Department in Tsinghua shared the same ideas and material, as I will explain in detail in the third chapter.<sup>76</sup>

A second merit Liang Qichao deserves is that he was one of the firsts to propose the comparison between Qu Yuan 屈原 (340-278 BC), the greatest poet of Ancient China, and Dante, the greatest poet of Medieval Italy.<sup>77</sup> In 1922, during a lecture at the Southeast University of China, Liang Qichao mentioned this comparison, saying that “[Qu Yuan]’s imagination was so rich and magnificent that it was not limited to China. In the world of literature, apart from Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, I am afraid there were few comparable individuals.”<sup>78</sup> This comparison is likely to be used by many other writers and intellectuals in the coming decades,<sup>79</sup> and it is still the object of research in this century

Finally, there is no doubt that he was very interested in Italian Culture and history. As we have already mentioned in the previous pages, Liang Qichao in his journal *Qing yi bao* published some news or information about the Italian history, for example essays on the three ‘heroes’ of the founding of Italy in 1902,<sup>80</sup> some mention

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<sup>76</sup> Wu Mi, “Dading meng zazju zhushi’但丁梦杂剧’注释”(Comments on *A zaju of Dante’s dream*), *Xueheng* 学衡 (*Critical Review*), vol. 39, 1925, p. 6.

<sup>77</sup> In the issue n. 18 of *Dongfang zazhi*, in 1921, it was proposed the comparison between Dante and Qu Yuan; so we can suppose that this link between the two poets, which other intellectuals often used during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was proposed in that period by the same cultural circles. Because *Dongfang zazhi* was edited by Shangwu yinshuguan (Commercial Press), one of the most important publishing houses, with which Liang Qichao collaborated from 1920 to 1927. Adopting the Hockx’s method on intellectuals’ network, we can also hypothesize that Liang Qichao read, and probably corrected, the articles dedicated to Dante for his 600th death anniversary, before them were published in *Dongfang zazhi*’s pages.

<sup>78</sup> Liang Qichao 梁启超: *Liang Qichao quanji dishiwujuan* 梁启超全集 第十五卷 (*The complete works of Liang Qichao*, vol 15), Beijing, Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2018, p. 477.

<sup>79</sup> It is not possible here to mention all the articles or Chinese authors who used this parallel, for a detailed explanation see Jiang Yuebin, “Danding zai Zhongguo de bainian huigu 但丁在中国的百年回顾” (Dante’s Acceptance in China), *Waiguo wenxue yanjiu* 外国文学研究 (*Foreign Literature Studies*), 2015(01), pp.130-138.

<sup>80</sup> Liang Qichao 梁启超, “Yidali jianguo sanjie zhuan 意大利建国三杰传” the Biography of the Three Great Masters of the Founding of Italy). *Xinmin congbao* 新民丛报 (*Xinmin series newspaper*), no. 9. 1902, pp. 31-44.

to Dante, Foscolo, Macchiavelli.<sup>81</sup> In addition, we should take in consideration his biographical experience; less known is the notice that Liang Qichao visited and travelled in Italy. Due to the political situation in China, in 1918, Liang Qichao, with several other intellectuals such as Jiang Baili 蒋百里 (1882-1938), one of the founders of the *Literary Association* (*Wenxue yanjiu hui* 文学研究会), Zhang Junmai 张君勱 (1887-1969), and Ding Wenjiang 丁文江 (1887-1936), a modern Chinese geologist and social activist, travelled to Europe and visited Paris, Milan, Rome, Naples, and other cities.<sup>82</sup> On this trip, he left several comments and memories in his letters to his brother and friends, but this material has not been analyzed carefully yet.<sup>83</sup> After returning to China, Jiang Baili was so impressed by the art and architecture in Europe, he wrote one of the earliest Chinese research monographs on the Renaissance, *European Renaissance* (*Ouzhou wenyi fuxing shi* 欧洲文艺复兴史, 1921), in which he regarded Italy as the birthplace of the Renaissance and indirectly promoted study of the Renaissance in China.<sup>84</sup>

Jiang was not the only one so impressed throughout this journey, Liang Qichao also was very stimulated by his experience that he wanted to share and exchange his opinion on Europe and Italy with other Chinese intellectuals. To prove that he participated in the editing of a journal, *Gaizao* 改造 *La Rekonstruo*, in Shanghai in the 1920s.<sup>85</sup> This journal was not so fundamental to spread Italian culture in China, but it

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p. 37.

<sup>82</sup> Regarding Liang Qichao's trip to Italy in 1919, no relevant research has been found in the academic world. The author will write another article to study this experience.

<sup>83</sup> Liang Qichao 梁启超: *Liang Qichao quanji dishiwujuan* 梁启超全集 第十九卷 (*The complete works of Liang Qichao, vol 19*), Beijing, Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2018, p. 527-530.

<sup>84</sup> Jiang Baili 蒋百里, *Ouzhou wenyi fuxing shi* 欧洲文艺复兴史 (*European Renaissance*), Shanghai, Commercial press, 1921.

<sup>85</sup> *Gaizao* 改造 *La Rekonstruo* was founded in Shanghai in September 1919, it was a comprehensive social science journal during the May Fourth movement. Its predecessor was *Jiefang yu Gaizao* 解放与改造 (*Liberation and transformation*) founded in 1919, which was renamed *Gaizao* 改造 *La Rekonstruo* from the third volume in September 1920. The title of the journal on the cover was in both Chinese and Esperanto. Liang Qichao and Jiang Fangzhen participated in the editing work of *Gaizao*. At present, there are two volumes and twenty-two issues in the collection of the

was fundamental in creating a network of people who shared and exchanged opinions, materials, and suggestions on Italy. For example, while Liang Qichao published articles on general political situations in the world, Qian Daosun 钱稻孙 (1887-1966) wrote an article on 'Bronze Age-Explanation and criticism of the decorative patterns in this journal' (*Tongqi shidai-Benzhi biaozihuang tuan de jieshuo piping* 铜器时代——本志表装图案的解说批评) regarding the same issue. In this article related to art, Qian Daosun mentioned Dante for the first time.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, it can be hypothesized that communication between Liang Qichao and Qian Daosun was also animated by a common interest in Italian culture and literature. I will be exploring Qian's translation in the second section of this chapter.

Continuing our discussion of the first translations of Italian literature in China, there are two other important Italian literary works which reached China: *Heart* and *Il Milione*. The first one was a curious editorial adventure. In 1905, Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 (1876-1973), one of most important writers of the *Mandarin ducks and butterflies school* (*Yuanyang hudie pai* 鸳鸯蝴蝶派), published his translation of the Japanese version, which was adopted from the English version, and Bao's translation was a great success in China. In his memories we can decipher that he received some books -mainly European and American fiction - from Japan, and among these there was *Heart*, which he decided to translate since it was a fiction book and there already exists

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National Library of China from 1920 to 1922, and the last issue is the tenth issue of the fourth volume published in September 1922. As a comprehensive journal during the May Fourth movement, the journal published many articles and translations on socialism, focusing on the propaganda and introduction of various socialist schools and western philosophy, politics, and social theories. Therefore, the journal published many works on philosophy, psychology, society, military affairs, politics, economy, education, law, biology, literature. In this journal we can find many advertisements of *Xinqingnian* (*New Youth*) and its publications, that testifies that there was a vivid network among the intellectuals of the 20s, in order to promote the New culture movement and the spread of foreign literatures in China.

<sup>86</sup> Qian Daosun 钱稻孙, 'Tongqi shidai-Benzhi biaozihuang tuan de jieshuo piping 铜器时代——本志表装图案的解说批评' (Bronze Age-Explanation and criticism of the decorative patterns in this journal), *Gaizao* 改造 (*La Rekonstruo*), 1920(3), pp. 1-4. In this article Qian discussing Rodin's sculpture of the door of Hell, mentioned Dante's name, p. 3.

a Japanese translation with many Chinese characters, that is *kanji*. From Bao's memories we can discover that he was weak in foreign languages and that the only language from which he was able to translate from was Japanese. As it consisted of *kanji*, similar in their writing form to Chinese characters, it was easier for Chinese interpreters to understand.<sup>87</sup> The book was a great success not only from the readers, but also because in 1906 the Qing court decided to adapt the book as a textbook for the newly established elementary schools.<sup>88</sup> After 17 years from Bao's translation, Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊 (1886-1946) offered a full-length and in vernacular language translation to the Chinese readers, which we will analyze in the following pages.<sup>89</sup>

The second translated work was *Il Milione*, which was converted from the English book by William Marsden, *The Travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian in the Thirteenth Century*, and presented to Chinese readers by the famous translator Wei Yi 魏易 (1880-1930) with the title *The Travels of Marco Polo, during the Yuan period* (Yuandai keqing mage boluo youji 元代客卿马哥博罗游记, 1913).<sup>90</sup> It is noteworthy that when the book was released, Liang Qichao, the aforementioned intellectual who had considerable influence in China at the time, was invited to write a calligraphy for the book's title.<sup>91</sup>

It can be summarized that during this period, the translation of Italian literary works was sporadic, with most of them translated from alternative languages.

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<sup>87</sup> See Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, *Chuanyinglou huiyilu* 钏影楼回忆录 (*Memoirs of Chuanying Lou*). Taiyuan: Sanjin chubanshe, 2014, pp. 125-129.

<sup>88</sup> Li Qing 李青, "Zai chuantong yu 'xinmin' zhijian, Bao tianxiao yi jiaoyu xiaoshuo "Ertong xiushen zhi ganqing" zhi yanjiu 在传统与“新民”之间——包天笑译教育小说《儿童修身之感情》研究" (Between Tradition and "Xinmin" – An Analysis of the Translation of the Educational Novel Ertong xiushen zhi ganqing by Bao Tianxiao), *Riyu xuexi yu yanjiu* 日语学习与研究 (*Nihongo No Gakushu To Kenkyu*), vol.5, no. 186, 2016, pp. 17-25.

<sup>89</sup> Zhang Jianqing 张建青, *Ai de jiaoyu zhongguo bainian (1905-2015) hanyi jianshi* 爱的教育中国百年 (1905-2015) 汉译简史 (*Cuore: A Brief History of Chinese Translation in a Century of China (1905-2015)*), Shanghai, Shanghai jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 2017, pp. 1-4.

<sup>90</sup> Marco Polo, William Marsden (trans), *The Travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian in the Thirteenth Century*, London, Geography and Travel, 1818.

<sup>91</sup> See Wu Guoyi 邬国义, 'Marco Polo ji youji zai zhongguo zaoqi de chuanbo 马可波罗及《游记》在中国早期的传播' (Marco Polo and the early spread of his The Travel of Marco Polo in China), *Wenhui bao* 文汇报 (*Wen-Hui News*), 2014, 07, 14.

However, these few cultural transmigrations demonstrated that Chinese intellectuals were moving away from focusing on the advancement of Western technology to literature and art. It was only during the May Fourth Movement that this situation began a new phase.



鐵路十一萬餘英里之面積。二千九百餘萬同族之人民。內舉立憲之美政。外揚獨立之威烈。響數十代祖宗之天恥。還二千年歷史之光榮。此亦革命家達士里阿所當瞑於九原而大詩人但丁所當且感且泣而始願不及者矣。嗚呼。誰實爲之而克有此。

當十八世紀之末年。拿破侖蹂躪意大利。其時意大利已支離滅裂。分爲十五小國。拿破侖破命鐵鞭一擊。合而爲三。置之法政府督治之下。雖然。意大利後此之獨立。實拿破侖之賜也。拿破侖廢其小朝廷。鋤其豪族。將封建積弊一廓而掃之。以法國民法之自由精神。施行於其地。於是意大利人心目中。始知有所謂自由。有所謂統一。且對外反動。而知有所謂獨立。拿破侖實意大利之第一恩人也。萌芽初生。而牛羊牧之。蓋自拿破侖破命。既敗各國專制。君相會議。於維也納。絕世奸雄。梅特涅。敢以「意大利不過地理上之名詞。」一語。明目張胆。以號於衆。於是豈復前者王族壓制之舊。全意仍爲若干小國。爲外來種族。波旁家。哈普士博家。等所分領。其王位爲意大利人血族者。惟有撒丁尼亞 Sardinia 國王一家而已。而亦壓於羣雄。奄奄殘喘。蓋至是而意大利。聞無天日矣。時勢造英雄。嗚呼。時勢至此。豈猶未極耶。

Figure 1: "Yidali jianguo sanjie zhuan 意大利建国三杰传" (The Biography of the Three Great Masters of the Founding of Italy) by Liang Qichao, 1902.

### 1.3 Qian Daosun and the translation of the *Divine Comedy*

When discussing the relationship between modern Chinese literature and foreign literature, Chinese comparative literature scholar Yue Daiyun 乐黛云 (1931-) pointed out:

Since the May Fourth Movement, the development of modern Chinese literature has been greatly influenced by foreign literature. This is the difference between modern literature and classical literature—a vital sign of the May Fourth Movement. On one hand, the New Literature of the May Fourth Movement was a product of Chinese social development, while on the other hand, it resulted from the influx of foreign thought and foreign literature and art.<sup>92</sup>

Yue Daiyun also concluded that since the May Fourth Movement, Chinese intellectuals have adopted the following attitudes when facing the influence of foreign literature. Firstly, they “actively digest, assimilate and transform based on the actual needs of society.”<sup>93</sup> In the case of Italian literature in China, the process and dynamic were quite similar. In fact, as we have already quoted, in 1902, Liang Qichao's *New Rome* (*Xin Luoma chuanqi* 新罗马传奇) regarded Dante as a hero who promoted Italy in completing its national unification to inspire Chinese citizens. In 1916, Hu Shi 胡适 (1891-1962) also mentioned Dante's contribution to the Italian

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<sup>92</sup> Yue Daiyun 乐黛云, *Bijiao wenxue yu zhongguo xiandai wenxue* 比较文学与中国现代文学 (*Comparative Literature and Modern Chinese Literature*), Beijing, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1987, p. 71.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, p.74.

language and literature in his article *A Discussion on Literary Reform (Wenxue gailiang chuyi 文学改良刍议)* intended to promote the New Culture Movement.<sup>94</sup>

Nevertheless, modern Chinese literature and translation of foreign literatures were closely related. Many famous Chinese writers were also talented translators of foreign literature, such as Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936), Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981), Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967), Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎 (1898-1958), and Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978) who all made important contributions in spreading and promoting Italian Literature in China. Even though they did not translate any works, they wrote articles, essays, introductions of books, histories of foreign literatures, and even incited students, colleagues to translate Italian works.<sup>95</sup>

Intellectuals' early contributions might be summarized by a quote from the ancient Chinese philosopher Mencius (372-289 BC), who reportedly stated, "If you first establish yourself in the greater part, then the small part cannot be snatched away from you."<sup>96</sup>

Therefore, before delving into a discussion of the translation of Italian literature in China from the New Culture Movement to the mid-1930s, I want to mention the first translation of Dante in China.

Previous studies often start to explain the arrival of Dante in China from *Shenqu yiluan 神曲一齋 (A tasting of the Divine Comedy)*, the first translation of the first three cantos by Qian Daosun. This text was published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* in 1921, marking the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dante's death. But we can not ignore the materials published six years before, in occasion of the commemoration of the 650<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dante's

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<sup>94</sup> Hu Shi 胡适, "Wenxue gailiang chuyi 文学改良刍议" (A discussion on Literary Reform), *Xin qingnian 新青年 (New Youth)*, vol. 2, no. 5, 1917, p. 10.

<sup>95</sup> As in the case of Zheng Zhenduo, who suggested to Xu Xiaocun to translate Luigi pirandello ; Yang Yi (edited by) 杨义 主编, *20 shiji Zhongguo fanyi wenxueshi jindaijuan 二十世纪中国翻译文学史 近代卷 (The History of Chinese Translation Literature in the Twentieth Century: Modern Volume)*, Tianjin, Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2009, p. 32.

<sup>96</sup> Meng Ke 孟轲, *Meng Zi 孟子 (Mencius)*, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2010, p. 250, translated by Van Norden 2008, p. 156.



birth in 1915, which has been long ignored by the academic circles in the past. This event opened up the first stage for the spread of Dante's works and Italian literature to China. To clarify, it is necessary to review the relationship between Italian literature and Chinese intellectuals. To do this, a series of cultural activities and phenomena that occurred before the official publication of *A Tasting of the Divine Comedy* in 1921 should be taken into consideration.

On the 650<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dante's birth in 1915, a series of commemorative activities were held in both China and Japan. It is well known that since the modern times, there has been many Chinese students being sent to study abroad in Japan. During this time, Japan has had a multi aspectual influence on China, such as the ideological and literary circles.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to briefly introduce the event that occurred in Japan during the 650th anniversary of Dante's birth.

In 1914, Yamakawa Heizaburo 山川丙三郎 (1876-1947) and Nakayama Masaki 中山昌樹 (1886-1944) began to translate Dante's *Divine Comedy*.<sup>98</sup> There was an anecdote regarding Yamakawa Heizaburo's translation process. In 1896, the 20-years-old Yamakawa Heizaburo studied at Tohoku Academy and served as the school's librarian in the same period that the famous Japanese writer Shimazaki Toson 島崎藤村 (1872-1943) was teaching there. According to the research conducted by Japanese scholars, Shimazaki Toson has already discussed Dante's *Divine Comedy* as early as 1892 when he was a teacher at Meiji Girls' School.<sup>99</sup> In addition to this, Shimazaki Toson together with famous Japanese writers such as Ueda Bin 上田敏 (1874-1916),

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<sup>97</sup> Li Yi 李怡, *Riben tiyan yu Zhongguo xiandai wenxue de fasheng* 日本体验与中国现代文学的发生 (*Japanese experience and the occurrence of modern Chinese Literature*). Beijing, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2009, p. 1.

<sup>98</sup> Kota Yamada 山田耕太, "700 years after Dante's death, we commemorate of Yamakawa Heizaburo ダンテ没後 700 年に山川丙三郎を思う", <https://www.keiwa-c.ac.jp/presidentblog/yamadakota/2021-01-08-60550/>, 2021,01,08.

<sup>99</sup> Kazumi Shimodate 下館 和巳, "A well-known translator from Northeast University, the journey of Yamakawa Heizaburo 's translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* 東北学院の生んだ知られざる偉人山川丙三郎——ダンテ『神曲』翻訳を巡る旅", 東北学院英学史年報, 37, 2016, pp. 2-21.

founded the *Bungakukai* 文学界 (Literary world society) in 1894.<sup>100</sup> Following this time, he and other members of the society wrote a series of articles on the topic of Dante. In 1896, two of Shimazaki Toson's students regularly rowed together and discussed Dante, while Yamakawa Heisaburo accompanied them. This was the first encounter between Yamagawa Heisaburo and *The Divine Comedy*.<sup>101</sup> Yamakawa Heisaburo translated the first *cantica* of *The Divine Comedy* in 1914, and completed the entire work in 1922.<sup>102</sup>

According to the statistics published by Japanese scholars, until now there have been 14 versions of *The Divine Comedy* in Japan.<sup>103</sup> Among these translations, one by Yamakawa Heisaburo had a profound effect.<sup>104</sup> The famous contemporary Japanese writer Kenzaburo Oe 大江健三郎 (1935—) wrote in 1987: *Natsukashī toshi e no tegami* 懐かしい年への手紙 (*Letter of the Year of Nostalgia*), the protagonist in this novel is obsessed with reading the *Divine Comedy* as translated by Yamagawa Heisaburo.<sup>105</sup>

In 1915, a series of commemorative activities were also carried out in China. First, Dante was widely introduced in the form of pictures: in January 1915, the Chinese newspaper *Libai liu* 礼拜六 (*Saturday*), which was widely spread throughout China

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<sup>100</sup> Kazumi Shimodate 下館 和巳, "A well-known translator from Northeast University, the journey of Yamakawa Heisaburo 's translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*", quoted, pp. 2-21.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, p. 5

<sup>103</sup> Kota Yamada 山田耕太, "700 years after Dante's death, we commemorate of Yamakawa Heisaburo ダンテ 没後 700 年に山川 丙三郎を思う", <https://www.keiwa-c.ac.jp/presidentblog/yamadakota/2021-01-08-60550/>, 2021,01,08.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, p.1.

<sup>105</sup> Oe Kenzaburo 大江健三郎, Xu Jinlong 许金龙(trans), "Danding yu lingren juanlian zhinian 但丁与 '令人眷念之年'" (Dante and the "Nostalgic Year"), *Dushu ren* 读书人 (*Reader*), Beijing, Zuoji chubanshe, 2011, p. 136. Professor Xu Jinlong 许金龙 (1952-) is a senior Japanese translator and an expert in Japanese literature research in China. He is the principal translator of Oe Kenzaburo in China. He is currently translating Oe Kenzaburo's "To Be Nostalgic", "Letter of the Year of Nostalgic" will be published in 2022.

at that time, published the headline photo of the "Great Italian writer, Dante".<sup>106</sup> As a newspaper that catered to the public's tastes and published romance novels about talented men and beautiful ladies, *Libai liu* undoubtedly played a role in the growth of Dante's popularity, publishing over 20,000 copies of this issue.

On June 17<sup>th</sup> of the same year, the newspaper *Dalu bao* 大陆报 published an article titled 'Dante: 1265-1915' (*Danding: 1265-1915* 但丁: 1265-1915), introducing the significance of Dante in the history of world literature. The author compared Dante to these world-famous writers and believed that Dante was as famous as Shakespeare in England and Cervantes in Spain.<sup>107</sup>

On October 31, 1915, *Dalu Bao* also published an article titled "Monument to Dante melted into the Cannon" (*Ronghua danding jinianbei zhuzao dapao* 融化但丁纪念碑铸造大炮). Although this was a piece of brief current affairs news about the First World War, the description that "Dante is the great poet in Italy" conveyed valuable information and spoke highly of Dante.<sup>108</sup>

The reports from this period clearly portrayed the spread of Dante in Chinese newspapers for the first time. Therefore, articles published in national newspapers and reports of activities provided room for Dante's dissemination in China, especially the translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* by Qian Daosun in 1921.

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<sup>106</sup> Ji Zhe 记者, "Yidali dawenhao Danding 意大利大文豪但丁" (Great Italian writer Dante), *Libai liu* 礼拜六(Saturday), 1915 (34), p. 1. As represented by Figure 2.

<sup>107</sup> Ji Zhe 记者, "Dante: 1265-1915", *The China Press*, 1915, June.17, p. 1. This topic of comparing Dante and Shakespeare will be a topic for all the 20<sup>th</sup> century research; it is still often mentioned in the articles of Chinese scholars; and it is also mentioned in the T.S Eliot essay dedicated to Dante, see Eliot, T.S, *Scritti su Dante*, Firenze, Sansoni, 2016.

<sup>108</sup> Ji Zhe 记者, "Dante's sculpture was cast into a cannon by the Italians", *The China Press*, 1915, October. 31. p. 1.



Figure 2: “Yidali dawenhao Danding 意大利大文豪但丁” (Great Italian writer Dante), *Libai liu* 礼拜六 (Saturday), 1915.

Following the New Culture Movement, the translation of Italian literature in China gradually entered its first peak period. As Yang Yi wrote:

Hu Shi, Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), Liu Bannong (1891-1934), Zhou Zuoren, among others, are not only the initiators or participants of the New Culture Movement, but also a new generation of translators. Practitioners consciously link the translation of foreign literature with the transformation of Chinese literature, and at the same time link it with the purpose of the New Culture Movement.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Yang Yi (edited by) 杨义 主编, “20 shiji Zhongguo fanyi wenxueshi jindai juan 二十世纪中国翻译文学史 近代卷 (The History of Chinese literary Translation in the Twentieth Century: Modern Volume), Tianjin, Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2009, p. 32.

The first sign of this peak began with the commemoration of the 600th anniversary of Dante's death in 1921 and the first translation of the *Divine Comedy* into Chinese.

In China, activities commemorating Dante were mainly promoted by newspapers with a large circulation, as the following table illustrates:

Title of article or short report	Date	Journals/Periodicals
* "The Similarities between Dante and Confucius" was the topic of a speech delivered by Zanoni Volpicelli (1856-1936).	01.01. 1920	<i>The China Press</i>
* "'Dante Year' in Italy"	11.30.1920.	<i>The China Press</i>
*"The Memoir of Dante and The Centenary Celebrations"	04.09. 1921	<i>The North-China Daily News</i>
*"Dante and the cinema"	04.23.1921	<i>The North-China Daily News</i>
"Dandi yu Bidelishu 但底与比德丽淑" (Dante and Beatrice) By Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之	07. 1921	<i>Funü Zazhi 妇女杂志 (Women's Magazines)</i> , vol.7
"Danding de liubainian jinian 但丁的六百年纪念" (Dante's 600th Anniversary) By Zheng Zhengduo 郑振铎	08.03.1921	<i>Xuedeng 学灯 (Study Lamp)</i>
"Dandi jinian 但底纪念" (Anniversary of Dante) By Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之	08.10.1921	<i>Dongfang zazhi 东方杂志 (Eastern Miscellany)</i> , vol. 18, no. 15.
"Shenqu yiluan 神曲一隅" (A tasting of the <i>Divine Comedy</i> ) Trans by Qian Daosun	04.09.1921	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报 (The Short Story Magazine)</i> , vol. 12, no. 9.
"Danding zuopin Xinsheng 但丁作品: 新生" (Dante's <i>Vita Nuova</i> ) Trans by Qu shiying 瞿世英	09.14. 1921	<i>Xuedeng 学灯 ( Study Lamp)</i>

* "Einstein and Dante"	09.19. 1921	<i>The North-China Daily News</i>
* "Dante: 600 years later. The Poet of The <i>Divine Comedy</i> and The United Italy That Reversed His Memory" Author: Corrado Ricci (1858-1934)	10.26.1921	<i>The China Press</i>

\*The article appeared in English.

Each of these newspapers or periodicals were characterized by their memory of Dante: *Dongfang zazhi* 东方杂志 was a magazine that focused on current political hot topics. Therefore, commemorating Dante from the political point of view of *Divine Comedy* and from Dante's literary significance. *Funü zazhi* 妇女杂志 was a newspaper carrying forward traditional female morality and pursuing new female education, with female readers as the target audience, it introduced the relationship between Dante and Beatrice to commemorate him, and to explain the love in Dante's work. As one of the most important literary journals in the period of the May Fourth Movement, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月报 changed its editorial policy. It was previously oriented to the "Mandarin ducks and butterflies" authors, after Mao Dun began to serve as the chief editor in 1920, it became an important source of translating foreign literature and promoting the construction of new literature. As a result, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* published the "tasting of the *Divine Comedy*", that was the first three cantos, which was of pioneering significance in introducing Dante's work to Chinese readers.

In the early 1920s, there was a debate among various intellectuals regarding which foreign works should be translated, and this dispute reflected the different ideas that each of them has to offer. Zheng Zhenduo initially published a provocative article titled *Mangmu de fanyijia* 盲目的翻译家 (*Blind translator*) in the periodical *Wenxue xunkan* 文学旬刊 (*Literary periodical*):

Works in recent magazines should not be randomly translated, even works of definite value do not seem to be suitable for random translation. At present, translating Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and Goethe's *Faust* seems to be a bit unprofitable, right? Translators! Please open your eyes to read the original book first, look at China now, and then engage in translation.<sup>110</sup>

Furthermore, Zhou Zuoren wrote to Mao Dun in the [Editor's] *Communication Column* (Tongxin lan 通信栏) of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*:

Under the special circumstances in China (people follow trends easily, like sheep, with a preference for ancient ways and failing to take an objective attitude. Classical content should also be translated cautiously...). Classical literature can be translated slowly and later. Moreover, China is short of human resources, and there aren't enough translators to tackle even just modern literature. How can we share human resources to translate classical literature? It would be a great loss for the Chinese literary circle if you [Mao Dun] gave up your most suitable career and translated the *Divine Comedy* or *Paradise Lost*. In my opinion, world literature can be divided into two categories: those that are worthy of reading and those that are worthy of studying; the former (mostly in modern times) should be translated; and we should ponder over the translation of the latter: for example, the *Divine Comedy* is too obscure for me to perceive, but we could try to translate *Faust*.<sup>111</sup>

Despite the controversy over whether it was necessary to translate the *Divine Comedy*, the young translator Qian Daosun decided to offer his interpretative work to

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<sup>110</sup> Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎, "Mangmu de fanyijia 盲目的翻译家" (Blind translator), *Wenxue xunkan* 文学旬刊 (*Literary periodical*), vol. 6, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>111</sup> Zhou zuoren 周作人, "Tongxin lan 通信栏" ([Editor's] Communication Column), *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月报 (*The Short Story Magazine*), 12 juan, 2 hao, 1921, pp. 1-3.

the *Xiaoshuo yuebao* on the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dante's death. He translated the first three *cantos* of the poem, which were published in the 12<sup>th</sup> issue of the periodical with the original Italian text on an adjacent page and many detailed notes for each verse. His translation of the 414 verses is so elegant and straightforward, it was really a pity that he shelved the translation after 1921. In 1929 he also worked on the fourth and fifth *cantos*, the translation of which appeared in the *Xue heng* 学衡 (*The Critical Review*), with no original Italian text and annotations.<sup>112</sup>

The question remains, why did he dedicate his energy to this Italian work and how did he discover it? Qian Daosun was the son of a Qing Empire official, Qian Xun 钱恂 (1853-1927), who had various diplomatic appointments abroad, first in Japan (1899), then in Russia (1904) and in the Netherlands (1907-1908) and finally in Italy (1908-1909).<sup>113</sup> Despite his official role, Qian Xun was a 'progressive' official and scholar, and always took the members of his family with him. Therefore, Qian Daosun had the opportunity to travel and study abroad. He was trained in Japan, where he studied at Keio Senior High School (Keiō Gijuku Kōtōgakkō 慶应義塾中学) and then followed his father to Italy at the age of 21.<sup>114</sup> It was difficult to obtain detailed information about the sojourn of Qian Daosun in Rome, but some information were kept in the letters and works which the members of the family wrote during that period. In 1909, the Qing government praised Qian Xun for his contribution to foreign affairs. According to the usual practice of the Qing government, Qian Daosun, as Qian Xun's eldest son, could inherit his father's position. As such, Qian Daosun was subsequently appointed as an official of the Ministry of Education of the Qing

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<sup>112</sup> Dante, Qian Daosun (trans), "Danding Shenqu, diyu pian, qu yi zhi wu 但丁《神曲》，地狱篇 曲一至五" (Dante's Hell, from the first canto to the fifth canto), *Xue heng* 学衡 (*The critical review*), 1929(72), pp. 1-27.

<sup>113</sup> Tagaki Rikuo 高木 理久夫, "Qian Xun nianpu 钱恂年谱" (A chronological history of Qian Xun), *Zaodaotian daxue tushuguan jiyao* 早稻田大学図書館紀要 (*Summary of Waseda University Library*), 2009 (56), pp. 1-57.

<sup>114</sup> Qianxun 钱恂, *Erer wuwu shu* 二二五五疏 (Codes 2255), *Jindai zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中国史料丛刊 (*Modern China Historical Materials Series*), Taipei, Taihai chubanshe, 1970, p. 79.



government<sup>115</sup> In a text composed by Qian Xun, 'Conveying thanks for the praise of my son' (*Xie Yinzi Shu* 谢荫子疏), the following passage can be found:

My son Qian Daosun is over 20 years old. He once studied in Japan at his own expense. He went from elementary school to middle school and has fully graduated. He is currently studying at the Italian National University. Although Qian is at an age where he could become a government official, he has not yet completed his studies. After graduating from university, he will report to the Ministry of Education.<sup>116</sup>

Thus, when Qian Xun reported to the Qing government, Qian Daosun was still studying in Italy. Qian Xun had initially hoped to wait until Qian Daosun graduated from university before reporting to the Ministry of Education in China. However, in 1909, Qian Xun was suddenly transferred back to China and ended his term as Minister in Italy early. Therefore, Qian Daosun's studies in Italy were also abruptly interrupted and hence left unfinished.<sup>117</sup>

After returning to China in 1910, Qian Xun, his wife Shan Shili 单士厘 (1858-1945) and their sons temporarily lived in Huzhou (Zhejiang), where Qian Xun was highly respected. He was appointed as the principal of Huzhou Middle School.<sup>118</sup> During his ministerial period, he learned about the Italian constitution and parliamentary system, and gave advice and suggestions to the Qing government. According to Mao Dun's memories, when Qian Xun was appointed as the dean, the current dean Shen Puqin 沈谱琴(1873-1939) introduced him as follows: "Mr. Qian Xun is the most famous

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid. pp. 48-49.

<sup>116</sup> Qianxun 钱恂, *Erer wuwu shu* 二二五五疏 (Codes 2255), *Jindai zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中国史料丛刊 (*Modern China Historical Materials Series*), Taipei, Taihai chubanshe, 1970, pp. 79-80.

<sup>117</sup> Qian Xun 钱恂, *Wuxing qianshi jiacheng* 吴兴钱氏家乘 (*Wuxing Qian Family Carrier*), Huzhou, 1921, p. 7.

<sup>118</sup> Mao Dun 茅盾, *Mao Dun quanji, huiyilu* 茅盾全集 回忆录 (*The Complete Works of Mao Dun, memoirs*), Beijing, Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1997, p. 85.

person in Huzhou. Mr. Qian worked in Japan, Russia, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and other countries. He is a Dutch diplomat and is familiar with the world. He learnt from both China and the West.”<sup>119</sup>

According to Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981), Qian Xun was responsible for managing daily academic affairs after serving as acting principal at Huzhou Middle School. Qian Xun’s younger brother, Qian Xuantong 钱玄同 (1887-1939), taught Chinese language there. Qian Xun’s eldest son, Qian Daosun, was responsible for teaching English courses. The following is a comment expressed by Mao Dun on Qian Daosun’s didactic method, revealing that young Qian was greatly appreciated for his qualities and innovative teaching style:

He [Qian Daosun] first taught pronunciation, starting with the 26 English letters, and drew the horizontal lines of the human mouth on the blackboard. The profile, the position of the tongue in the mouth when a certain sound is pronounced. This was a new approach for everyone. This Mr. Qian saw our sentence-making exercises again, and he thought that the English teacher just pronounced the pronunciation accurately, and the sentence-making exercises should be changed. He has made good changes. I think that Mr. Qian has a fair attitude, but the English teacher is too face-conscious.<sup>120</sup>

Therefore, it can be seen that Qian not only mastered the Japanese language, which he had learned during his middle and high school, but also the English language. We can assume that these two languages were the main source of his translation activities. From 1913 to 1921 he presented translations of Italian authors using English and Japanese versions, or articles about Italian culture as the following table shows:

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<sup>119</sup> Mao Dun 茅盾, *Mao Dun quanji, huiyilu, ibidem.*

<sup>120</sup> Mao Dun 茅盾, *Mao Dun quanji, huiyilu*, p. 86.

Publications	Date	Journals/Periodicals
“Mangdesuoli zhi xuexiao 芒德梭利之学校” ( <i>Montessori's school</i> ) <sup>121</sup>	11.1913	<i>Jiaoyubu bianzuanchu yuekan</i> 教育部编纂处月刊 ( <i>Monthly Journal of the Compilation Office of the Ministry of Education</i> )
“Tongqi shidai-Benzhi biao Zhuangtuan de jieshuo 铜器时代——本志表装图案的解说批评” ( <i>Bronze Age-Explanation and criticism of the decorative patterns in this journal</i> ) <sup>122</sup>	10.1920	<i>Gaizao</i> 改造 ( <i>La Rekonstruo</i> ), vol. 3, no.1
<i>Xiyang huapai</i> 西洋画派 ( <i>School of Paiting</i> ) By Mary Innes (?—?) <sup>123</sup> from the English version.	12.1920; 01.1921; 02.1921	<i>Gaizao</i> 改造 ( <i>La Rekonstruo</i> ), vol. 3, no. 1-no.6
<i>Wutuobang cong tan</i> 乌托邦丛谈 ( <i>Utopia</i> ), By Thomas More (1478-1535) Trans in japan, ユウトピア物語, 井篁節三译, 大燈閣, 1920 Trans by Qian Daosun from the Japanese version.	03-07,1921	<i>Gaizao</i> 改造 ( <i>La Rekonstruo</i> ), vol.3, no.7, no. 8, 11 no. 11, vol.4, no.1-no.10.
“Shenqu yiluan 神曲一齋” (A tasting of the Divine Comedy) By Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) Trans by Qian Daosun From Italian and Japanese versions.	09.04.1921	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i> 小说月报 ( <i>The Short Story Magazine</i> ), vol. 12, no. 9.

<sup>121</sup> Qian Daosun 钱稻孙, “Mangdesuoli zhi xuexiao 芒德梭利之学校” (*Montessori's school*), *Jiaoyubu bianzuanchu yuekan* 教育部编纂处月刊 (*Monthly Journal of the Compilation Office of the Ministry of Education*), 1913(10), pp. 1-24.

<sup>122</sup> Qian Daosun 钱稻孙, “Tongqi shidai-Benzhi biao Zhuangtuan de jieshuo piping 铜器时代——本志表装图案的解说批评” (*Bronze Age-Explanation and criticism of the decorative patterns in this journal*), *Gaizao* 改造 (*La Rekonstruo*), 1920 (3), pp. 1-4.

<sup>123</sup> At present, I have been unable to find detailed information regarding Mary Innes's life.

It is necessary to explain the above table. Firstly, it is generally considered that the famous Italian educator Maria Montessori (1870-1952) was formally introduced to China in 1913.<sup>124</sup> However from the data which I have collected, Qian Daosun's article may have been one of the first few articles to introduce the Montessori educational approach. Compared to other articles in the same time frame, the unique feature is that Qian Daosun used original Italian materials. Especially when it came to concepts such as "Casa dei Bambini" (Children's Home), "Scuola" (School), "mano" (hand).<sup>125</sup>

Zhou Zuoren, who worked with Qian Daosun in the Ministry of Education, later recalled: "Ms. Montessori published her education method. The first introduction seemed to be by Mr. Qian Daosun, published in the *Monthly Journal of the Compilation Office of the Ministry of Education* in 1913."<sup>126</sup>

In addition to Montessori's text, Qian Daosun also explored western art and paid attention to the works of the Westerners. For instance, he had been translating Thomas More's *Utopia* from a Japanese edition since the end of 1920. Chinese scholar Gao Fang 高放 (1927-2018) believed that this was the earliest translation of *Utopia* published in Chinese periodicals:

The full text adopts the vernacular form that was beginning to be popular at that time—translated the main points of the book *Utopia*, and divided the utopian society into seven parts: geography, politics, occupation, family, economy, education, law, and so on, at roughly 7,500 words. The translation is popular and fluent, and the chief executives at all levels in the utopia are

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<sup>124</sup> Shi Song 时松, "Mengtaisuoli jiaoyu sixiang yu fangfa zai jindai zhongguo 蒙台梭利教育思想与方法在近代中国" (Montessori Educational Thoughts and Methods in Modern China), *Jiaoyu kexue* 教育科学 (*Educational Science*), 2015 (32), pp. 92-96.

<sup>125</sup> Qian Daosun 钱稻孙, "Mangdesuoli zhi xuexiao 芒德梭利之学校" (Montessori's school), *Jiaoyubu bianzuanchu yuekan* 教育部编纂处月刊 (*Monthly Journal of the Compilation Office of the Ministry of Education*), 1913 (10), pp. 1-24.

<sup>126</sup> Zhou Zuoren 周作人, "Mengshi jiaoyufa xu 《蒙氏教育法》序" (Preface to Montessori Education Method), *Yu Si* 语丝 (*Yusi*), 1927 (154), p. 281.

introduced. [...] After More's *Utopia* was translated into Chinese for the first time in 1920, the Chinese began to have a more comprehensive and specific understanding of the ideal society as described in this book.<sup>127</sup>

Despite these articles and his contribution to the spread of Italian culture in China, Qian Daosun was remembered mainly for his partial translation of *Divine Comedy*.

The first time he mentioned Dante was in October 1920 in the article “Bronze Age-Explanation and criticism of the decorative patterns in this journal” (Tongqi shidai-Benzhi biaozihuang tuan de jieshuo piping 铜器时代——本志表装图案的解说批评): “He [French sculptor Auguste Rodin, 1840-1917] embodied the spirit of modernity. It is based on the works of ‘La Porte de l’Enfer’ in the poem of Alighieri Dante. It is not a copy of traditional ideas. They all accurately represented modern thoughts.”<sup>128</sup>

Thus, Qian Daosun mentioned Dante for the first time through the introduction of the works of the famous French sculptor Rodin. This raises the question: how did Qian become interested in Western sculpture and fine arts? After reading through the letters, memoirs, and diaries of Qian Daosun’s relatives and the intellectuals who interacted with him, I have found some clues. Qian Daosun’s uncle, the famous modern Chinese philologist Qian Xuantong, wrote in his diary on April 7, 1907:

Today I went to Dao [Qian Daosun] again and went to the first venue of the Expo. First, I went to Hall No. 1 to see the educational products. I loved

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<sup>127</sup> Gao Fang 高放, “Wutuobang zai zhongguo de bainian chuanbo 《乌托邦》在中国的百年传播——关于翻译史及其版本的学术考察” (The Dissemination of “Utopia” in China for a Hundred Years: An Academic Investigation on the History of Translation and Its Versions), *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中国社会科学 (*Social Sciences in China*), 2017 (5), pp. 181-204.

<sup>128</sup> Qian Daosun 钱稻孙, “Tongqi shidai-Benzhi biaozihuang tuan de jieshuo piping 铜器时代——本志表装图案的解说批评” (Bronze Age-Explanation and criticism of the decorative patterns in this journal), *Gaizao* 改造 (*La Rekonstruo*), 1920 (3), p.3.

the explanation of various languages and the world's major events. Qian Daosun loves art, but I don't understand it at all.<sup>129</sup>

In other words, Qian Daosun have already developed a keen interest in Western art during his time in high school in Japan.

In the article “*Interview with Mr. Qian Daosun*” (Qian Daosun xiansheng fangwen ji 钱稻孙先生访问记), gathered in the volume *Lu Xun Research Materials* (*Lu Xun yanjiu ziliao* 鲁迅研究资料), Qian recalled his experience working with Lu Xun during the period from 1912 to 1917, he mentioned:

I came to Beijing in April in 1912. They [Xu Jifu and Lu Xun] were already in Beijing. Xu Jifu 许季芾 [Xu Shoushang 许寿裳 1883-1948] came earlier. I was working in Hangzhou, and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 [1868-1940] sent a telegram inviting me to come. I was very happy to agree to his request. In the past when I was in Japan, I had already met Xu Jifu and Lu Xun, but we were not that close at the time. I had made no other acquaintances since coming to Beijing, and it was at this time that I got close to them. At the time, Lu Xun and Xu Jifu had already studied philosophy, but I had very little knowledge of this area. I studied fine arts in Western Europe, so I admire them very much. I've known Mr. Cai [Cai Yuanpei] since we were both in Germany. Dong Xunshi went to Italy with Qian Xun as a counsellor; served as director of the Department of education of the Ministry of Education after returning to China] is my brother-in-law.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Qian Xuantonq 钱玄同, *Qian xuantonq riji zhengli ben* 钱玄同日记整理本 (*Qian Xuantonq's diary*), Beijing, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2014, p. 92.

<sup>130</sup> Beijing Luxun bowuguan 北京鲁迅博物馆, “Qian Daosun fangwenji 钱稻孙访问记” (Interview with Qian Daosun), *Luxunyanjiu ziliao* 鲁迅研究资料 (*Lu Xun Research Materials*), Tianjin, Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1980, p. 199.

In addition, Qian Daosun indirectly mentioned about the courses that he taught at the university:

I also discussed aesthetic education at the meeting; but no one knew what to do with aesthetic education, so I deleted it. At that time, Lu Xun and I were both disappointed. People didn't know what aesthetic education was. For example, I was teaching art to a female teacher, and I showed my classmates a picture of a naked Greek sculpture. The classmates didn't dare to look up. When the school found out, they thought that it didn't conform to regulations, so they opposed it.<sup>131</sup>

It can be seen that during his time studying in Italy, Qian Daosun studied fine arts, and at the same time, cultivated an exquisite taste in art.<sup>132</sup>

Regarding the relationship between Qian Daosun and Lu Xun, Chen Keyao 陈珂瑶 offered a relevant research in his entry for “Qian Daosun” in *Lu Xun's Diary (Luxun riji 鲁迅日记)*: Qian Daosun's name appeared 163 times, respectively in *Lu Xun's diary* from 1912 to 1929. An essential piece of information related to this research was that on September 19, 1923, Lu Xun wrote “Send a letter and Qian Daosun's translation to his third brother [Zhou Jianren] in the afternoon”;<sup>133</sup> on October 22, Lu Xun wrote: “A

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid. p. 212.

<sup>132</sup> From consulting the archive of the Sapienza University of Rome, I was unable to find any information on Qian; there was no Chinese student enrolled during those years. I hypothesize that other universities existed in Rome at that time. My research is now focusing on the archives of the Academy of Fine Arts, given Qian's considerable knowledge of Western art, however until now - due to the Covid-19 pandemic situation - I have not yet been able to consult the archives of the Academy. However, this is one of the paths that I intend to follow in the future.

<sup>133</sup> Lu Xun 鲁迅, *Lu Xun quanji dishiwujuan 鲁迅全集 第十五卷 (The Complete Works of Lu Xun. Vol.15)*, Beijing, Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2005, p. 481.

letter from my third brother, issued on the 19th, with a sales contract, that is, to forward the money to Qian Daosun".<sup>134</sup>

Although Lu Xun did not mention clearly the specific text that Qian Daosun translated, Chen Zishan 陈子善, an expert on modern Chinese literature, believes that this diary recorded the process of the publication of Qian Daosun's *A Tasting of the Divine Comedy*. Additionally, the "third brother" mentioned here refers to Zhou Jianren 周建人 (1888-1984), Lu Xun's younger brother who worked in the Shanghai Commercial Press during this period. The translated manuscript refers to Qian Daosun's *A Tasting of the Divine Comedy*, and the sales contract is a contract that Qian Daosun signed with the Commercial Press for publication. In return, the Commercial Press published *A Tasting of the Divine Comedy* in December 1924. It can be speculated that Lu Xun, as an intermediary introducer, assisted with the publication of Qian Daosun's translation.<sup>135</sup>

In addition to the relationship between Qian Daosun and Lu Xun, there is another important relationship that is worth mentioning to better understand the relationship of the Chinese intellectuals during that period, and to hypothesize regarding which channels did Qian Daosun get ahold of the books and materials which he translated through. This relationship is the one between Qian Daosun and Shigeo Iwanami 岩波茂雄 (1881-1946), the founder of the Iwanami Bookstore in Japan. According to Shigeo Iwanami's bosom friend Nosei Abe 安倍能成 (1888-1955):

They got to know each other in their early years because they bought books. Around the fifth or sixth year of Taisho (1916-1917), Shigeo Iwanami sent books to Qian Daosun, who was the curator of the Beijing Library. Every

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<sup>134</sup> Chen Keyao 陈珂瑶, "Lu Xun riji zhong de Qian Daosun 《鲁迅日记》中的钱稻孙" (Qian Daosun in Lu Xun's Diary), *Xiandai Zhongwen xuekan* 现代中文学刊 (*Journal of Modern Chinese Literature*), 2013 (04), pp. 103-107.

<sup>135</sup> Chen Zishan 陈子善, "Shenqu yiluan zhongzhong 《神曲一齣》种种" (A variety of A tasting of the *Divine Comedy*), *Wenhui bao* 文汇报 (*Wen-Hui News*), 2018, 07. 07.



time Qian Daosun came to Japan, he would come to Iwanami Bookstore to buy books. In the end, the relationship between their two families grew into that of relatives.<sup>136</sup>

Qian Daosun's children were taken care of by Shigeo Iwanami when they went to study in Japan. Qian Daosun's eldest son, Qian Duanren 钱端仁 married Shigeo Iwanami's niece, Masuda Tokiko<sup>137</sup>. This reveals the close ties between the family. The significance of the relationship between them is that Qian Daosun ordered Japanese books through Shigeo Iwanami, who became his most important source for obtaining Japanese literary materials from 1916 until Iwanami's death in 1946.

It is presumably clear that Qian obtained a Japanese copy of the *Divine Comedy* through Shigeo. In 1921, he proposed his work to the editorial staff of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, directed by Mao Dun.

He covered Dante's *terzine* and paid particular attention to the rhyme; for this reason, he chose to adopt the metric scheme of *Lisao* (*Li Sao* 离骚), an ancient long poem composed by Qu Yuan (340-278 BC). There is a coincidence linking Qian to his father, in the April 1913 issue of the *Monthly Journal of the Compilation Office of the Ministry of Education*, the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China solicited three famous people to draw up the national anthem of the Republic of China. These three people are Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1869-1936), Zhang Jian 张謇 (1853-1926) and Qian Xun. Qian Xun drafted the national anthem using the style of *Chu Ci*, that is *Lisao*.

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<sup>136</sup> Zou Shuangshuang 邹双双, "Fanyijia Qian Daosun yu riben chubananren Yanbo maoxiong 翻译家钱稻孙与日本出版人岩波茂雄" (Translator Qian Daosun and Japanese publisher Shigeo Iwanami), *Xin wenxue shiliao* 新文学史料 (*Historical materials of new literature*), 2017 (01), p. 110.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>138</sup> We can assume that when rendering *The Divine Comedy* into Chinese, Qian was influenced by his father's example, or even his father's suggestion.

In order to clearly express the quality of Qian's translation, we will present the first two *terzine* and a short analysis of the lyrical skills of the Chinese translator. According to what Qian Daosun mentioned in the preface of the translation, he referred to Duan Yucai's *Liuhe yinyun biao* 六合音韵表 (*Liuhe phonological table*) to deal with the rhyme of the *Divine Comedy*. Now we can see how Qian Daosun dealt with it by looking up the general rhyme and combined rhyme in Duan Yucai's book.

In ancient Chinese poetry tradition, the two most common types of rhyme are "cross rhyme" (*tongyun* 通韵) and "impure rhymes" (*heyun* 合韵), "tongyun" 通韵 means that the vowels in the rhyme are the same and can be turned to each other.<sup>139</sup> For example, in the first and third lines of the first song translated by Qian Daosun, "Lu" 路 and "Wu" 误 are "tongyun"; "heyun" 合韵 this means that the pronunciation of the rhyme is similar, where the main vowels are the same but the ending is different, or vice versa.<sup>140</sup> For instance, in Qian's translation, the "lie 列" in the fifth line, "ze 择" in the seventh line, and "li 历" in the ninth line, in Duan Yucai's book, "lie 列" is located in the fifteenth part, belonging to the rhyme group "yue 月"<sup>141</sup> "ze 择" is located in the fifth part, and it belongs to the rhyme group "duo 铎".<sup>142</sup> "Li 历" is located in the sixteenth part and belongs to the rhyme group "xi 锡".<sup>143</sup> According to the research of a well-known Chinese linguist Wang Li, the rhyme group "yue 月"

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<sup>138</sup> Qian Xun 钱恂, "Qian Xun ni guoge 钱恂拟国歌" (Qian Xun drafts the national anthem), *Jiaoyubu bianzuanchu yuekan* 教育部编纂处月刊 (*Monthly Journal of the Compilation Office of the Ministry of Education*), 1913 (1), p. 3.

<sup>139</sup> Wang Li 王力, *Shijing yundu* 诗经韵读 (*Rhyme reading of the book of Shijing*), Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980, p. 29.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid*, p. 31.

<sup>141</sup> Duan Yucai 段玉裁, *Liuhe yinyun biao* 六合音韵表 [*Liuhe phonological table*]. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1982, p. 54.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, p. 43.

<sup>143</sup> *ibid*, p. 56.

and the rhyme group “duo 铎” are “tongyun 通韵”, and the rhyme group “duo 铎” and the rhyme group “xi 锡” are “heyun 合韵”.<sup>144</sup> Refer to the analysis of the verses below.<sup>145</sup>

Terzine of the <i>Divine Comedy</i> <sup>146</sup>	Qian Daosun 's translations <sup>147</sup>	Type of rhyme which Qian has used
Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra <b>vita</b> (-ita) mi ritrovai per una selva <b>oscura</b> (-ura) ché la diritta via era smarr <b>ita</b> (-ita)	方吾生之半 <b>路</b> (-lu 路) , 恍余处乎幽 <b>林</b> (-lin 林) 失正轨而迷 <b>误</b> (-wu 误)	“lu 路” and “wu 误” are “tongyun 通韵”
Ahi quanto a dir qual era è cosa <b>dura</b> (-ura) esta selva selvaggia e aspra e <b>forte</b> (-orte) che nel pensier rinnova la paur <b>a</b> ! (-ura)	道其况兮不可 <b>禁</b> (-jin 禁) 林荒蛮以惨 <b>烈</b> (-lie 列) 言念及之复怖 <b>心</b> (-xin 心)	“lin 林” “jin 禁” “xin 心” are “tongyun 通韵”
Tant'è amara che poco è	戚其苦兮死何 <b>择</b> (-ze 择)	“lie 列” belong to the

<sup>144</sup> Wangli 王力, *Shijing yundu chuci yundu*, quoted, pp. 36-40.

<sup>145</sup> I am writing a long essay on the translation of Qian Daosun which will be published next year, for more details will be presented in the article.

<sup>146</sup> Alighieri, Dante, Bosco Umberto, Reggio Giovanni (ed.), *La Divina Commedia*. Firenze, Le Monnier, 1988.

<sup>147</sup> Qian daosun 钱稻孙, “Shenqu yiluan 神曲一齋” (A tasting of the *Divine Comedy*), *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月报 (*The Short Story Magazine*), no. 12, vol. 9, 1921, p. 10. As represented by Figure 3.

<p>più <b>morte</b> (-orte)  ma per trattar del ben ch'ì'  vi trov<b>ai</b> (-vai)  dirò del'altre cose ch'ì' v'  ho <b>scorte</b> (-orte)</p>	<p>惟获益之足<b>谔</b> (-zi 谔)  愿覩缕其所<b>历</b> (- li 历)</p>	<p>rhyme group“ yue 月” ,  “ze 择” belong to the  rhyme group “ duo 铎” ,  they are “tongyun 通韵”;  “ze 择” belong to the  rhyme group “ duo 铎” , “li  历” belong to the rhyme  group“duo 锡” , they are  “heyun 合韵”.</p>
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Qian Daosun's translation was accompanied by many detailed notes, most relevant for this research being the preface and annotations that Qian composed in order to simplify the *Divine Comedy* for Chinese readers.

In the preface, Qian Daosun wrote: “Fourteen years ago (1908), when I traveled to Italy with my parents, I learnt about stories and myths of the country everywhere I went. It was an enjoyable time with my parents. That was when I started to read the original Italian version of the *Divine Comedy*.”<sup>148</sup>

When explaining the motivation behind his translation, Qian Daosun stated: “On Dante's 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary, I am halfway through life. I sorted out the manuscript, revised the first and third *cantos* that were already translated, used rhythm and translated the second *canto* based on the original text; then there is the translation”.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Qian daosun 钱稻孙, “Shenqu yiluan 神曲一谖” (A tasting of the *Divine Comedy*), quoted, p. 10. As represented by Figure 3.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid, p.10.

It is evident that Qian Daosun carefully prepared the translation of the *Divine Comedy*. In his translation's annotations, Qian Daosun repeatedly thought about the original Italian text of the *Divine Comedy*. For instance, in note 32, he stated:

“Folengci 佛稜次 (Florence), today's Italian sound is made of Fiorenza, and in *The Divine Comedy* it is all made of Feiwolengcha 斐沃稜察 (Fiorenza).”<sup>150</sup>

In the 119th note, Qian also mentioned the Japanese version stating that: “The pure world has fire, and its meaning is explained here. The Japanese translation of the pure world is either purgatory (*Lianyu* 炼狱) or pure volcano (*Jing huoshan* 净火山). Today I want to prove that the original meaning is in fact, pure world (*jing jie* 净界).”<sup>151</sup>

As the first Chinese translated version of the book, Qian Daosun's translation of *The Divine Comedy* was quoted by many writers and scholars in the 1930s, with the following representatives:

In 1930, the Shanghai World Book Company published the *Shijie lidai wenxue leixuan* 世界历代文学类选 *Selections from World Literature through the Ages* edited by Chen Xulun 陈旭轮, which successively included abridged translations of classics such as *Homer's Epic*, *The Old Testament*, *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* and *The Divine Comedy*, among which was included the third song in Qian Daosun's translation of *Shenqu yiluan*.<sup>152</sup>

In 1932, Lu Qian 卢前, a modern drama theorist and novelist, directly quoted the first six lines of *Shenqu yilian* in his article *Zhibei wenxue you san da shili* 支配文学有三大势力 *The Three Forces That Govern Literature* in Chapter 3 of his work *He wei wenxue* 何谓文学 *What is Literature?*<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Qian daosun 钱稻孙, “*Shenqu yiluan* 神曲一齣”, quoted, p. 10.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, p.18.

<sup>152</sup> Chen Xulun 陈旭轮 (ed.), *Shijie lidai wenxue leixuan* 世界历代文学类选 (*Selections from World Literature through the Ages*). Shanghai, Shanghai World Book Company, 1930, pp. 24-30.

<sup>153</sup> Lu Qian 卢前, *He wei wenxue* 何谓文学 (*What is Literature?*), Shanghai, Dadong shuju, 1932, p. 29.

In 1935, Mao Dun published an article titled *Shenqu* 神曲 *The Divine Comedy* in the magazine *Zhong xuesheng* 中学生, in which the first six lines of *Shenqu yiluan* were quoted in the introduction.<sup>154</sup>

In 1935, Zhu Weizhi 朱维之, a famous contemporary expert on Christian literature, also quoted the first six lines of *Shenqu yiluan* in the sixth chapter of his book *Jidujiao yu wenxue* 基督教与文学 *Christianity and Literature*.<sup>155</sup>

Of all the published Chinese translated versions of the *Divine Comedy* from the 20th century, the American sinologist Andrew H. Plaks speaks most highly of Qian Daosun's *A Tasting of the Divine Comedy*: "The success of Qian's translation lies in the successful transplantation of this Italian medieval poetry to China using the language in the form of classical Chinese poetry."<sup>156</sup>

Meanwhile, Sheng Cheng 盛成 (1899-1996), a famous Chinese writer, poet, translator, linguist, believed that by using the style of *Chuci* to translate for the *Divine Comedy* features a major advantage:

The language of our country was divided into north and south in ancient times. *Nanyin* (south) is a vowel language, with three times more vowels than consonants. Northern sounds are consonants, and there are three to four times more consonants than vowels. Nowadays, it is mainly Mandarin and the standard glottis. The language of the translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* is even more unpleasant than French! For example,

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<sup>154</sup> Mao Dun 茅盾, "Shenqu 神曲" (*The Divine Comedy*), *Zhong Xuesheng* 中学生 (*Middle school student*), vol. 55, 1935, pp. 25-42.

<sup>155</sup> Zhu Weizhi 朱维之, *Jidujiao yu wenxue* 基督教与文学 (*Christianity and Literature*). Shanghai, Qingnian xiehui shuju, 1935, p. 246.

<sup>156</sup> Andrew H. Plaks 浦安迪, Liu Qian 刘倩 (trans.), *Pu andi zixuanji* 浦安迪自选集 (*Collected works of Andrew H. Plaks*), Beijing, Sanlian shudian, 2011, p. 464.

the translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* with the accent of Southern Song, *Chuci*, could make Dante comparable to Qu Yuan.<sup>157</sup>

Being the earliest Chinese translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* in China, despite having its shortcomings in translation, Qian Daosun's work caused quite an up-roar during that time. He adopted the style of *Chuci* from Chinese classical literature for his translation, choosing a metric scheme that had been circulating for over two thousand years in ancient China to translate a masterpiece of Italian Middle Age literature. His work is also a testimony to the cultural exchanges between China and Italy.

It is reasonable to conclude that Italian literature began to permeate the consciousness of Chinese intellectuals with this translation. Although Chinese diplomats and intellectuals began to observe the world in different ways, for example Liang Qichao (who mentioned Dante when he translated the Biography of the *Three Great Masters of the Founding of Italy*)<sup>158</sup>, and Shan Shili (the wife of the diplomat Qian Xun and the mother of Qian Daosun, who mentioned Dante when visiting the sculptures at St. Peter's Basilica Church)<sup>159</sup> noticed Dante when they were staying overseas (Japan, Italy), they did not come into contact with Dante directly through reading Dante's works<sup>160</sup>. They have nonetheless, paved the way for the arrival of Italian literary works in China.

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<sup>157</sup> Sheng cheng 盛成, *Shengcheng wenji xueshuji* 盛成文集·学术集 (Collected Works of Sheng Cheng Academic essays), Hefei, Anhui wenyi chubanshe, 1999, p. 209.

<sup>158</sup> Liang Qichao 梁启超, "Yidali jianguo sanjie zhuan 意大利建国三杰传" (the Biography of the Three Great Masters of the Founding of Italy). *Xinmin congbao* 新民丛报 (Xinmin series newspaper), no. 9. 1902, pp. 31-44.

<sup>159</sup> Shan Shili 单士厘, *Guimao lüxing ji and Guiqian ji* 癸卯旅行记 归潜记 (*Guimao travels. Guiqian in mind*), ed. Yang Jian 杨坚, Zhong Shuhe 钟叔河, *Zouxiang shijie congshu*, Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1986, p.114.

<sup>160</sup> Brezzi, Alessandra, *Note per un dono segreto. Il viaggio in Italia di Shan Shili*. Roma, Editrice Orientalia, 2012.



### 神 曲 一 齣

錢 稻 孫 譯 註

十四年前予隨侍父母遊意大利每出必觀涉其故事神話縱橫承歡其時即讀神曲原文而後發為賦譯其起首三曲初譯但欲隨意不關辭藻韻調惟於神話傳說則任意詮註豈知事不自始固仍疑疑親之志近年層層於米羅久益不爾矣今年適遇極極六百年而予亦方人生半路偶讀舊稿又改其第一三兩曲為韻譯并原節第二曲而為此篇

神曲一  
地 獄 曲 一  
神曲 La Divina Commedia 意大利人彼德 Dante Alighieri 所作三神曲也作者生於景統二六二五年即宋徽宗

淳元年卒於一二三二年即元至治元年著作之傳者凡五此最優構所較為周地獄淨界天堂所見紛希羅馬神話與景教傳說於一爐以刻中世紀人物事又際高木人半生經歷一時彼中思想學術皆可就見附諸歐羅巴各國成希臘丁文幾忘國各有文意大利雖直傳丁之說而語言已頗變遷作者始引當世之盲入於神曲文學之亦事無怪後土之推當此書也遂譯既多疏釋者更著每多精而之編而我中國則未之聞也今試為譯其詞章詮註其神話傳說以縱談非敢於著撰也此地獄 Inferno 第一部也第二部各三十三曲惟第一部多一曲即此引端之曲也雖亦附錄地獄實則未入獄門但記其迷入幽林之後漸覺光明之山麓而過一豹一獅一化猴窺窺途方

二

欲折回幽林復逢古詩人亞爾斯其隱遊三景從之而去原書以三句為一韻前後之韻遞相參錯第一三兩句叶第一韻第二四六三句叶第二韻第五七九句第三韻如是類百數十句為一曲都凡百韻為例一實此譯此曲即做其用韻之法從段段十七七古音而仍別四聲註釋則盡於曲文之後

方音字之半略 Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita  
轉念處乎幽林 Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,  
失足就而迷途 Già la diritta via era smarrita.

遺其說今不可得 quanto a dir qual era è cosa dann  
林三編以漢韻  
a forte  
實念及之復何? Chi nel pensar rinvoca la paura  
1 感其言兮死何擇 Tanto è amara, che poco è più morte:  
惟餘益之足歸 Ma per tentare del ben di Dio vi  
Loverai,

願其言其所應 Dio dell'altro cosa, ch'io l'ho scorta.  
余自入今不復悔 T' non so ben ridir com'io v'entrai:  
余欲譯而未竟 Tant'è pien di sonno in su quel  
canaly.

神 曲 一 齣

或難棄夫真履 Già la verosa via abbandonai.

既來過乎山尼 Ma poi che fui al piè d'un colle giunto,  
極深谷之幽處 Là dove terminava quella valle,  
惜吾心甚久轉求 Gio m'aveva di piuma il cor  
oroptino.

用仰頭兮見山肩 Guardai in alto, e vidi la sua spalle  
美星亮之雲布 Vedes già del nappi da pianeta,  
將紛披之高象兮指將夫路矣 Gio mena dritto altri  
per ogni calle.

始少釋余懼 Alber fu la povera un poco queta,  
潛心謂以爲然 Che nel lago del cor m'era entrata  
覺畏夜兮苦 La notte, ah! i' pensai con tanta piana.

聲彼聲息之未絕 E come quei che, con jam affannata,  
方出海而際陸 T'hai fuor dal pelago alla riva,  
孤反視夫發彼之聲也 Si volge all'acqua perfidiosa,  
o giale;

余欲時今物猶伏 Oasi l'antico mio, che ancor fuggiva,  
亦臨臨夫故線 Si volge indietro a rimirar lo passo,  
始生還其有線 Che non lasciò giammai persona

Figure 3: "Shenqu yiluan 神曲一齣" (A tasting of the Divine Comedy), Xiaoshuo yuebao, 1921, vol. 12,



## Chapter 2. The *Literary Association*: its Literary Magazines and the Network Relationship among the intellectuals (1921-1932)

The *Literary Association* (*Wenxue yanjiu hui* 文学研究会) was one of the most influential societies in discussing Chinese culture in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as many scholars have already demonstrated (Denton 1996, Hockx 2003). In this chapter, I will attempt to portray how the *Literary Association* encouraged the circulation of Italian works through a network of friendships, personal relationships, cultural and literary organizations.

Firstly, I will describe the activities organized by the *Literary Association* and how the Association commemorated the 600<sup>th</sup> Death anniversary of the great poet Dante in 1921. As the commemoration of Dante is a steppingstone to the beginning of the establishment of the *Literary Association*, which helped us comprehend the network of relationships among the intellectuals within the *Literary Association*. After that, I will try to answer the two following questions: what was – if it was – the interest of the Association’s members in Italian literature in general, beyond Dante;<sup>161</sup> and second, how did they help disseminate Italian literature in China.

In the second part of this chapter, for me to better illustrate one of the topics of this work, the importance of the network among Chinese intellectuals at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to spread and disseminate Italian literature to Chinese readers, I have selected two writers and translators as the research objects: Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊 (1886-1946) and Xu Xiacun 徐霞村 (1903-1986). They were both famous members of the *Literary Association*. This choice was made for different reasons; first of all both translated important Italian literary works, Xia translated *the Heart* by Edmondo De Amicis and Xu translated the plays and novels by Pirandello.

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<sup>161</sup> Dante was, and still is the most known Italian author in China, and the topic of “Dante in China” was and still is the one of major interest for the researchers in Chinese comparative literature studies and for the sinologists in Europe.

In doing so they played a significant role in translating and interpreting Italian literary works. On the contrary, both authors were somewhat neglected in the academic world for a long time. Furthermore, they both followed their teachers' advice to translate or study Italian authors, and they were guided by the older intellectuals who suggested them titles and writers to read. Their translation may be used to gain a better understanding of China's cultural environment during the New Cultural Movement (1915-1925), as well as the cultural networks that existed among literary groups, universities, and editorial staffs. Then we may piece together data and attempt to create a clear map of how books, writers, ideas, and novel concepts made their way across the globe to China in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1921, the 600<sup>th</sup> death anniversary of Dante, did not pass unnoticed even in China. That year, many cultural initiatives were held around the country and periodicals and newspapers published essays, articles, and paintings to commemorate the Italian poet. From July to September, 1921, the younger generation who were baptized by the May Fourth Movement held a series of special commemorative activities for the Florentine poet. During these months, the most influential Chinese magazines such as *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月报 (*The Short Story Magazine*) and *Dongfang zazhi* 东方杂志 (*Eastern Miscellany*),<sup>162</sup> published many essays about Dante and all these activities were sponsored by the members of the *Literary Association*.

In April of 1921, Teng Gu 滕固 (1901-1941)<sup>163</sup> who was studying abroad in Japan was invited to join the *Literary Association* by Wang Tongzhao 王统照 (1897-1957),

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<sup>162</sup> It is not the place for a detailed explanation and analysis of *Dongfang zazhi*, could be sufficient here to remember that *Dongfang zazhi* was one of the most influential magazines in modern china, see Tao Haiyang 陶海洋, "*Dongfang zazhi*" *yanjiu. 1904-1948* 《东方杂志》研究 (1904-1948) (*Research on the Eastern Miscellany, 1904-1948*). Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe, 2014.

<sup>163</sup> Teng Gu 滕固 (1901-1941), native of Baoshan 宝山, Shanghai, was a modern Chinese writer and a theorist of art. Teng was the first to introduce Benedetto Croce in China, see Teng Gu 滕固,

one of the promoters of the Association. Teng Gu stated to Wang his anxiety about the depression face by the Chinese literary circle, especially about poetry. His decision to launch a poetry magazine, which will receive a great deal of support from Wang Tongzhao.<sup>164</sup> In their correspondence, Teng Gu spoke about the influence of Dante on the modern European poets. Through Wang, Teng Gu started to correspond with Qu Shiying 瞿世英 (1900-1976), one of the promoters of the Association together with Zheng Zhenduo, Mao Dun and Ye Shengtao. Qu was a well-known educationist in Modern China and a translator of many books of science history in his early years.<sup>165</sup>

On July 9th, 1921, a letter from Gu Teng to Qu Shiying was published in *Xuedeng* 学灯 (*Study Lamp*), which was a supplement of the newspaper *Shishi xinbao* 时事新报 (*Current Affairs*), one of the four major supplements of the Republic of China. In this letter, Teng Gu first stated that he was impressed by the great influence of Keats on the afterworld just a hundred years after his death while he also regretted the scarcity of reports on Keats in China. He was surprised that Keats was only mentioned in two short reports by Shen Yanbing, alias Mao Dun, and Hu Yuzhi on the pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and *Dongfang zazhi*. In the final part of this letter, Teng Gu made an important proposal about Dante:

Dante has been regarded as a genius who fell in love at nine years old, composed love songs at eighteen, and created *Divine Comedy* after exile in his middle age. The

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“Keluosi meixue shang de xin xueshuo 柯洛斯美学上的新学说” (A new theory of Croce's Aesthetics). *Dongfang zazhi*, vol. 18, no.8, 1921, pp. 71-75; and in 1935 he was one of the promoters of the Sino Italian Cultural Association (*Zhongyi wenhua xiehui* 中意文化协会), with other famous intellectuals, such as Song Chunfang 宋春舫, Bi Shutang 毕树棠, Sheng Cheng 盛成, etc., see Shen Ning 沈宁(ed.), *Teng Gu nianpu changpian* 滕固年谱长编 [*Long chronicle of Teng Gu*], Shanghai, Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2019, p. 338-339.

<sup>164</sup> Shen Ning 沈宁(ed.), *Teng Gu nianpu changpian* 滕固年谱长编 [*Long chronicle of Teng Gu*], Shanghai, Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2019, p. 55.

<sup>165</sup> Jia Zhifang 贾植芳, Su Xingliang 苏兴良, Liu Yuliang 刘裕莲, Zhou Chundong 周春东, Li Yuzhen 李玉珍(ed.), *Wenxue yanjiu hui ziliao shang* 文学研究会资料 (上) (*Literary Association research materials volume one*), Beijing, Zhishi chanquan chubanshe, 2010, p. 43.

poets I met in Japan plan to launch a memorial event for the 600th anniversary of Dante's death and they will also have a special issue in their magazine. What about the literary circles in China? How many scholars in China are studying foreign poets and writing about them? [...]

Xidi 西谛 [Zheng Zhenduo] also argues at *Xiaoshuo yuebao* that why it is not profitable to translate Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.<sup>166</sup> He says that there are so many beautiful flowers in the world literature garden, but we Chinese have seen so few of them. *Divine Comedy* and *Hamlet* are more than the flowers of world literature, they are also the treasury of European thoughts. The philosophy of Bernard Maeterlinck originated from *Divine Comedy*. Yeats' poems and plays also take reference from *Hamlet*. The age of Naturalism and almighty science has gone. The rational philosophy is on the verge of bankruptcy. The waves of art relief are rising. The future world belongs to poets and philosophers. For masterpieces like *Divine Comedy*, translators shall be carefully selected in terms of talent and experience.<sup>167</sup>

From the speech we understood that Teng Gu was utterly convinced of the importance and necessity to translate Dante in China, since his role had a far-reaching influence in the West.

On July 21st, the reply that Qu Shiyong wrote to Teng Gu was also published in the column of "correspondence" column of *Chenbao* 晨报 (*Morning Paper*):

Keats certainly is not an ordinary man. You said that he only had two short poems translated in China by Yanbing [Shen Yanbing] and Yuzhi [Hu Yuzhi] as if you were unsatisfied.<sup>168</sup> However, Keats is lucky enough. In this country where the Nine

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<sup>166</sup> We have already mentioned in chapter 1 the letter which Zheng Zhenduo sent to Mao Dun, and we have already commented the adversity, expressed by Zheng to translate authors or works of the past.

<sup>167</sup> Teng Gu 滕固, "Zhi Qushiying 致瞿世英" (Letters to Qu Shiyong). *Xuedeng* 学灯 (*Study Lamp*), July, 9, 1921, p. 1. As represented by Figure 4.

<sup>168</sup> Here Qu is referring to the sentences in the letter of Teng, in which the latter lamented the scant regard reserved to Keats in China, as I have mentioned in the previous page.

Muses never visited, at least someone was arguing in his favor. There are too many poets out there whose names are still unknown! I want to hold a meeting in memory of the 600th anniversary of Dante's death. I wonder if we can pull this off. Organizing a meeting is not easy, do you have any ideas? I hope you could give some instructions. Dante is not only an important figure in literature, but also a representative of the politics and philosophy of the Middle Ages. If we consider Goethe a representative of modern times, then Dante would be the representative of the Middle Ages. In the course of ideological evolution, though the Middle Ages thoughts inherited from scholasticism, the brightness of the Renaissance would be non-existent without the brewing of the Middle Ages; without the Renaissance, there would not be "now". So we are still blessed by the Middle Ages. Therefore, the role of Dante is self-evident. I have finished translating Professor Norton's *Vita Nuova*.<sup>169</sup> [...] This summer I translated *Western Ancient Philosophy*. Because I needed to prepare a few reference books for each chapter - the source book does not cite any reference- I searched everywhere for the Greek stuff and I found Greece a great state. From a literary perspective, regardless of style, there is not a single work that does not carry great weight. I have been working on a paper "Greek Literature Study " (now it has been submitted to Jiang Baili and therefore cannot be shown to you). From Homer's epics to Aristotle's times, how admirable the Greeks are. Therefore, if you could translate some works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripedes or Aristophanes, you would be making a great contribution to mankind. Such is also Prof Baili's view. As for Dante's *Divine Comedy*, it is the spirit of centuries of the Middle Ages, not translating it would be impossible.<sup>170</sup>

From the reply letter, we can find that Qu Shiyong traces the evolution of European literary canon, from ancient Greece through the Italian Middle Ages – that

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<sup>169</sup> Qu Shiyong's translations of *La Vita Nuova* was published in special issue of Dante in *Xuedeng* 学灯 *Study Lamp*, Sept. 23, 1921. As represented by Figure 5.

<sup>170</sup> Qu Shiyong 瞿世英, "Zhi Teng Gu 致滕固" (Letters to Teng Qu), *Chenbao* 晨报 (*Morning Paper*), July, 27, 1921, p. 1.

is Dante – and from the Renaissance and Shakespearean England to the modern era with Goethe. Hence, it was possible to find some information about the first translation of *La Vita Nuova* which will be translated on September 23<sup>th</sup> 1921 on the special “600<sup>th</sup> death anniversary of Dante ” issue of *Xuedeng*.<sup>171</sup> This may be the most important information – we can read about a proposal of a meeting for Dante, circulated among the members of the *Literary Association*, a proposal put forward by Qu himself.

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<sup>171</sup> Zheng Zhenguó 郑振铎, “Danding de liubainian jinian 但丁的六百年纪念” (The 600th death anniversary of Dante), *Xuedeng* 学灯 *Study Lamp*, Aug. 3, 1921, p. 1.



In addition to these letters, between Qu Shiyong and Teng Gu, we can read on the pages of *Study Lamp*, directed by Zheng Zhenduo. Through these years, Zheng had expressed his controversy to translate the *Divine Comedy*, he was now enthusiastic about a meeting dedicated to Dante:

Dante, the representative of the Middle Ages, died in 1321, and coincidentally, he had been dead for 600 years by this year. People from many places - not just in his hometown Italy - held celebrations in memory of the 600th anniversary of his death. He was the greatest man of letters in the Renaissance. His literary masterpiece the *Divine Comedy* not only shone upon Italy, but also the whole world. It not only enlightened those days, its glamour will also shine forever. His thoughts have greatly influenced many in his age as well as later generations. Some say that there are many “inhuman” expressions in the *Divine Comedy*, which would be inappropriate to overtly publicize for now. I think we could leave such worries behind, in Dante’s age, such thoughts were natural, and we were only memorizing Dante’s great achievements.

Even since Dante’s death, observations were held in the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. Only the 17th century was a bit cold to him. But this was just a temporary sight. After the 18th century, people began to re-admire Dante.

This year’s celebration was held in Britain on April 30th. During this “Dante Week”, many banquets and lectures are being held in varied places. The Minister of Education in Britain, Mr Fisher, has displayed books, scripts, pictures and sculptures about Dante in London University for visitors to see.

In China, it is said that the *Literary Association* will hold a meeting in commemoration of Dante this September in Beijing. This will be the first time that China has held such a meeting!<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Zheng Zhenguo 郑振铎, “Danding de liubainian jinian 但丁的六百年纪念, quoted, p. 1.



Zheng Zhenduo also paid great attention to Dante; his essay was published in *Xuedeng* 学灯 (*Study lamp*), the supplement to *Shishi xinbao* 时事新报 (*Current Affairs*), so we cannot forget its influential role in spreading this new culture and literature.<sup>173</sup>

By reviewing the process of Dante's commemoration in 1921, we will find that the members of the *Literary Association* played the most important role.



Figure 5: The commemorative page to celebrate the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dante's death in *Study Lamp*.

<sup>173</sup> Zhang Limin 张黎敏, *Wenhua chuanbo yu wenxue shengchang: (1918-1923) Shishi xinbao. Xuedeng yanjiu* 文化传播与文学生长: (1918-1923) 《时事新报·学灯》研究 (*Cultural communication and literary development (1918-1923). A study of the Study Lamp*), Beijing, Zhongguo caizheng jingji chubanshe, 2014, p. 2.

## 2.1.2 The *Literary Association*: translations and interpretations on Italian literature

There is no doubt that the *Literary Association* among literary societies in the 20s was the most active to contribute to the spread of Italian literature in China; some of its members – among the most illustrious representatives of the May Fourth Movement – were the actors in this process.<sup>174</sup> Their interpretations conveyed in those literary works were very innovative and meaningful. In doing so, I sorted out the introductory articles on Italian literature published by members of the *Literary Association* from 1921 to 1932 in chronological order:

Title	Author	Date	Publications
“Dengnanzhe jiangjun lao hu? 邓南遮将军劳乎?” (Shouldn’t we encourage the hardworking D’Annunzio?)	Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰	Apr. 10. 1921	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i> 小说月报, vol. 12, no. 4.
“Keluosi meixue shang de xin xueshuo 柯洛斯美学上的新学说” (Croce’s new theory of aesthetics)	Teng Ruoqu 腾若渠 [Teng Gu 滕固]	Apr. 25. 1921	<i>Dongfang zazhi</i> 东方杂志, vol.18, no.8
“Yidali xiqujia Tangnanzhe de jinzuo 意大利戏曲家唐南遮的近代作” (Recent works of Italian dramatist D’Annunzio)	Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰	July.10.1921	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i> 小说月报, 12, 7
“Danding de liubainian jinian 但丁的六百年纪念” (Dante’s 600 year anniversary)	Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎	Aug. 3. 1921	<i>Xuedeng</i> 学灯, Aug. 3. 1921
“Dandi liubainian jinian 但底六百年纪念” (Dante’s 600 year anniversary)	Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之	Aug. 10. 1921	<i>Dongfang zazhi</i> 东方杂志, vol, 18, no. 15

<sup>174</sup> Brezzi, Alessandra, “Echi letterari italiani nelle riviste *Xiaoshuo yuebao* e *Dongfang zazhi* negli anni venti” in Clara Bulfoni, Jin Zhigang, Emma Lupano, Bettina Mottura (a cura di), *Wenxin* 文心: *l’essenza della scrittura. Contributi in onore di Alessandra Cristina Lavagnino*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2017, pp. 107-116.

<p>“Dandi -Shiren jiqi shi 但底— —诗人及其诗” (Dante. Poet and poem) “Dandi de zhengzhi lixiang 但 底的政治理想” (Dante’s political ideal)</p>	<p>Hua Lu 化鲁 [Hu Yuzhi 胡 愈之]</p>		
<p>“Danding de yisheng 但丁的一 生” (The Life of Dante)</p>	<p>胡愈之</p>	<p>Sep.14.1921</p>	<p>Xuedeng 学灯, Sep.14.1921</p>
<p>“Yidali wentan jinkuang 意大 利文坛近况” (Recent situation of Italian literary world)</p>	<p>Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰</p>	<p>Nov.10. 1921</p>	<p>Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月 报, vol. 12, no. 10</p>
<p>“Yidali wentan zhi mianmian guan 意大利文坛之面面观” (All aspects of Italian literary world)</p>	<p>Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰</p>	<p>Mar. 10. 1922</p>	<p>Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月 报, vol. 13, no. 3</p>
<p>“Yidali zhuming xiaoshuo jia Weirjia 意大利著名小说家卫尔 笱” (Famous Italian novelist Verga)</p>	<p>Hua Lu 化鲁 [Hu Yuzhi 胡 愈之]</p>	<p>Mar. 10. 1922</p>	<p>Dongfang zazhi 东方杂 志, vol. 19, no. 5</p>
<p>“Jinian Yidali de ziranpai zuojia Fuerjia 纪念意大利的 自然派作家浮尔茄” (In memory of the Italian naturalist novelist Verga)</p>	<p>Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰</p>	<p>June. 10. 1922</p>	<p>Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 13, no. 6</p>
<p>“Yidali de nv xiaoshuo jia 意大 利的女小说家” ( Italian female novelists)</p>	<p>Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰</p>	<p>July. 10. 1922</p>	<p>Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 13, no. 7</p>
<p>“Welaipai wenxue zhi xianshi 未来派文学之现势” (Current situation of Futurist Literature).</p>	<p>Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰</p>	<p>Oct. 10. 1922</p>	<p>Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 13, no. 10</p>
<p>“Ou zhan yu Yidali wenxue 欧 战与意大利文学” (European war and Italian literature)</p>	<p>Hong Dan 洪 丹 [Shen Yanbing 沈雁 冰]</p>	<p>Dec. 10. 1922</p>	<p>Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月 报, vol. 13, no. 12</p>
<p>“Yidali (Wenxue) zaxun 意大 利杂讯” (The message of Italian literature)</p>	<p>Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰</p>	<p>Dec. 10. 1922</p>	<p>Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 13, no. 12</p>
<p>“Jieshao xin ying yi de Shen qu 介绍新英译的《神曲》” (Introduce the recently translated English version of the <i>Divine Comedy</i>)</p>	<p>Wang Tongzhao 王 统照</p>	<p>Oct. 1. 1923</p>	<p>Wenxue xunkan 文学旬刊 (<i>Literary Journal</i>), vol. 13</p>

“Fanxi zhuyi yu Yidali xiandai wenxue 汎繫主義與意大利現代文學” (Fascism and Modern Italian literature)	Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰	Dec. 10. 1923	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 14, no. 12
“Yidali xiaoshuo jia Yabolaiqi”意大利小说家亚伯泰齐(Italian novelist Albertazzi)	Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰	Apr. 10. 1924	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 15, no. 4
“Wenxue dagang: Wenyi fuxing shidai de wenxue 学大纲: 文艺复兴时代的学” (Literature outline: Literature in the Renaissance)	Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎	Mar. 10.1925	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 16, no. 3
“Dannongxuewu de xiju 丹农雪乌的戏剧” (The dramas of D’Annunzio)	Xu Zhimo 徐志摩	July. 5. 1925	Wenxue xunkan 文学旬刊, vol. 74
“Wenxue dagang: Shiba shiji de Nan Ou yu Bei Ou 文大纲: 十八世纪的南欧与欧” (The Outline of Literature : Southern and Northern Europe in the eighteenth century)	Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎	Jan. 10. 1926	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 17 , no. 1
“Shijie tonghua mingzhu jieshao: Pinuoqiao de qiyu 世界童话名著介绍:匹诺契奥的奇遇” Introduction to world famous fairy tales: <i>The Adventures of Pinocchio</i> )	Gu Junzheng 顾均正	Mar. 10. 1926	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 17, no. 3
“Wenxue dagang: 19 shiji de Nan Ou wenxue 文学大纲 十九世纪的南欧文学” (The Outline of Literature: Southern European literature in the 19th century)	Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎	Nov. 10. 1926	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 17, no.11
“Zai tan Dailidai 再谈戴丽黛” (Talk about Deledda again)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Feb. 10. 1928	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 19, no. 2
“Pilandelou 皮蓝德娄” (Pirandello)	Xu Xiacun 徐霞村	Aug.1. 1928	Ronglu 熔炉 ( <i>The Forge</i> ), vol. 1
“Xiandai wentan zahua: Yidali wentan zaxun 现代文坛杂话: 意大利文坛杂讯” (The message of Italian literature)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Mar. 10. 1929	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 20, no. 3

“Ershi nian lai de Yidali wenxue 二十年来的意大利文学” (Italian literature in the past 20 years)	Xu Xiacun 徐霞村	July. 10. 1929	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 20, no. 7
“Xiandai wentan zahua: Yidali Panjini de xinzuo 现代文坛杂话: 意大利潘基尼的新作” (Panzini’s new works)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Sept. 10. 1929	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 20, no. 9
“Xiandai wentan zahua: Bangtanbeili de xinzuo 现代文坛杂话: 邦坦贝利的新作” (Bontempelli’s new works)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Oct. 10. 1929	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 10, no. 10
“Xiandai wentan zahua: Pilandelou chuangzao yousheng dianying 现代文坛杂话: 皮蓝得娄创造有声电影” (Pirandello created audio film)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Dec. 10. 1929	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 20, no. 12
“Yidali wentan zaxun: Siweifuxie lao zuojia 意大利文坛杂讯: 斯维福写老作家” (Italo Svevo writes about old writers)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	May. 10. 1930	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 21, no. 5
“Pilandelou de xinjuben shangyan 皮蓝得娄新剧本上演” (Pirandello’s new play was staged)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	June. 10. 1930	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 21, no. 6
“Yidali de qingnian zuojia 意大利的青年作家” (Young Italian writers)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	July. 10. 1930	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 21, no. 7
“Yidali wentan zaxun 意大利文坛杂讯” (The message of Italian literature)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Nov. 10. 1930	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 21, no. 11
“Mo er Saili jiqi yizhu 摩尔赛里及其译著” (Luigi Morselli and his legacy)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Nov. 10. 1930	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 21, no. 11
“Bangtan beili youyou xinzuo 邦坦贝利又有新作” (Bontempelli has new works)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Dec. 10. 1930	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 21, no. 12
“Ba er dingni de xinzuo 巴尔丁尼的新作” (Antonio Baldini’s new works)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Dec. 10. 1930	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 21, no. 12
“Guowai wentan xiaoxi: Dailidai nvshi de xinzhu 国外文坛消息: 戴丽黛女士的新著”	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Jan. 10. 1931	Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报, vol. 22, no. 1

(Foreign literary news: Deledda's new works)			
"Guowai wentan xiaoxi: Zuijin de Yidali wentan 最近的意大利文坛" (Recent Italian literature)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Apr. 4. 1931	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i> 小说月报, vol. 22, no. 4
"Guowai wentan xiaoxi: Zuijin de Yidali wentan 最近的意大利文坛" (Recent Italian literature)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	June. 10. 1931	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i> 小说月报, vol. 22, no. 6
"Guowai wentan xiaoxi: Babini zuijin de taidu 国外文坛消息: 巴比尼最近的态度" (Foreign literary news: Papini's recent attitude)	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	Sept. 10. 1931	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i> 小说月报, vol. 22, no. 9

According to this table, Shen Yanbing [Mao Dun] was a pioneer and active translator of Italian literature. Since the New Literature Movement, Shen Yanbing has not only studied foreign literature, but he has also introduced trends of foreign literature, translated literary works and also promoted to the public the knowledge about foreign literature.

According to the statistics from Shi Shuping 石曙萍 who has analyzed the essays on the pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, Shen Yanbing composed 206 pieces for the column "News on Overseas Literature" (Haiwai wentan dongtai 海外文坛动态) from no. 1 of volume 12 (1921) to no. 6 of volume 15 (1924), while Zhao Jingshen edited the remaining 284 pieces from no. 1 of volume 19 (1928) to no. 12 of volume 21 (1930).<sup>175</sup> This information was not surprising, since Shen Yanbing was one of the Chinese intellectuals during the New Literature Movement who showed the most interest in foreign literature. He was one of the most enthusiastic ones studying, translating and spreading foreign literary works and authors. He also made a lot of contributions to

<sup>175</sup> Shi Shuping 石曙萍, *Zhishifenzi de gangwei yu zhuiqiu. Wenxue yanjiuhui yanjiu* 知识分子的岗位与追求: 文学研究会研究 (*The post and pursuit of Intellectuals: a study of the Literary Association*), Shanghai, Dongfang chubanshe, 2006, p. 208.

the introduction of Italian literature at the beginning of the establishment of the *Literary Association*, which encompassed different authors of different periods, such as D'Annunzio, Verga, Futurism.

So where did Mao Dun's strong interest in Italian realistic literature come about? Some scholars believe that Mao Dun's attention to Italian literature began after World War I. European realistic literature, especially war literature, made him discover Italian literature and developed his interest (Brezzi 2019). In the above table of the introductory articles on Italian literature, we could find that Mao Dun focused on the introduction of Italian writers through biographical comments, through writers' lives, new works, recent situation and places they have been, he introduced the contemporary Italian writers to Chinese readers. His purpose was to provide convenience for readers to understand the status and influence of these writers.

For instance, Mao Dun's earliest introduction to D'Annunzio began with his occupation of Fiume, focusing on the impact of political activities on D'Annunzio's creation. This tendency of Mao Dun's may have been developed from his youth. Mao Dun worked in the translation department of the Commercial Press in his early years from 1920 to 1935. At that time, he read a lot of English books in the Hanfen Library (*Hanfen lou* 涵芬楼) of the Commercial Press.<sup>176</sup> Of all the English books, Mao Dun loved reading the *Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism* by the Danish literary critic Georg Brandes (1842-1927) the most.<sup>177</sup> The book is a biographical literary criticism that focuses on the criticism of realistic literature. Since 1920, Mao Tun has introduced the works of D'Annunzio and other Italian writers of the same period, which gradually improved Chinese readers' understanding of Italian literature.

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<sup>176</sup> Mao Dun 茅盾, *Wo zouguo de daolu. xiaobe* 我走过的道路 下册 (*The Road that I have walked. II*). Beijing, Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1988, p. 268.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, p. 268.

When Mao Dun was chief editor of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* from 1920, he tried to establish a network of “news correspondent” through all Chinese intellectuals who lived abroad, not only in Japan, but also in Europe, as we can read in the following quotation:

Now Li Hanjun is in Tokyo, he can invite his Japanese friend to collect articles for us. We also can invite Qu Qiubai from Russia, and Gu Songnian from Paris to collect articles for us. And we can ask Zong Baihua to find someone from Berlin. If we can all find connections in Berlin, London, New York, Italy, and Spain, one correspondence in two months will be enough.<sup>178</sup>

Shen Yanbing’s proposal was responded to by foreign intellectuals at that time and lasted from the 1920s to 1930s; in 1927, after Zheng Zhenduo became the editor in chief of the *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, he continued Shen Yanbing’s task of introducing foreign literature.

Zheng Zhenduo is a well-known Chinese writer, translator, scholar, and one of the promoters of the *Literary Association*,<sup>179</sup> as Ye Shengtao defined him “[Zheng Zhenduo] is the center of the *Literary Association*. He was the first who invited other intellectuals to join the *Literary Association* and the establishment in Beijing was all presided over by Zheng Zhenduo.”<sup>180</sup>

By introducing Italian literature, Zheng Zhenduo not only paid attention to ancient classic Italian literature but also to modern ones. It is testified in one of his most important works, *Wenxue dagang* 文学大纲 (*The Outline of Literature*, 1927). In

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<sup>178</sup> Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰, “Hui fu Songnian de ‘Zuijin de Fa wenxuejie’ 回复崧年的‘最近的法文学界’” (Reply to Song Nian’s *Recent French Literature*), *Xiaoshuo Yuebao*, vol. 12, no. 8, correspondence, p. 2.

<sup>179</sup> Completed and rich studies on Zheng Zhenduo, see Chen Fukang 陈福康, *Zheng Zhenduo zhuan* 郑振铎传 (*Biography of Zheng Zhenduo*), Shanghai, Shanghai waiyu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2009.

<sup>180</sup> Xu Jianhui 许建辉, *Hanmo shuxiang zhong de zhuixun* 翰墨书香中的追寻 (*Pursuit in calligraphy fragrance*), Beijing, Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2014, p.211



the chapter “Zhongshiji de Ouzhou wenxue 中世纪的欧洲文学” (*Medieval European literature*), he commented on the importance of Dante, writing:

Dante is one of the most familiar persons for us in all literary history. The structure of *Divine Comedy* is more magnificent than the structure of *Iliad*. Its superb intentions, strange and complicated characters, are unparalleled in literature. Its rich imagination may be translated into other languages, but alas! The beauty of its verses was lost. Just as there is no other English poet who can compare with Shakespeare, and no other Chinese poet after Li Bai and Du Fu who can be compared with them, Dante also has such a high reputation in Italian literature. However, he does not belong only to Italy, he belongs to the whole of Europe. He and his works are the crown and peak of the Middle Ages.<sup>181</sup>

Meanwhile, Zheng Zhenduo also paid attention to modern Italian literature, that is the literature born after Leopardi and Manzoni, he appreciated literature through the perspective of literary history. In 1923, when Richardson and Owen co-authored *The History of European Literature*, Zheng Zhenduo mentioned in the magazine *Wenxue Xunkan* 文学旬刊 that they neglected modern Italian literature, “As an introductory book to study the literary history of various countries, when mentioning Italian literature, it often ignores recent modern Italian writers.”<sup>182</sup>

Zheng Zhenduo was also a good “guide” for many younger writers and translators. For instance, the most representative is Zhao Jingshen 赵景深 (1902-1985). In 1922, Zhao Jingshen started to contribute to the *Ertong wenxue* 儿童文学 (*Children's World*), a magazine under the editorship of Zheng Zhenduo. It was through this collaboration, this work for the periodical that the young Zhao started to make

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<sup>181</sup> Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎, *Wenxue dagang. Di 2 juan* 文学大纲. 第二卷 (*The Outline of Literature. Volume. 2*), Shanghai, Commercial press, 1927, pp. 50-62.

<sup>182</sup> Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎, “Shijie wenxue 世界文学” (*World literature*). *Wenxue xunkan* 文学旬刊 (*Literary journal*), vol. 77, 1923, p. 2.

acquaintance with Zheng who was also the crucial person who influenced his academic study afterwards, and who put Zhao in contact with other young intellectuals.<sup>183</sup> In 1924, for example, Zhao met Xu Tiaofu 徐调孚 (1901-1981) through Zheng Zhenduo, as he recalled in his essay:

In 1925, I lived in Sanfengli Alley near the Commercial Press and Xu Tiaofu lived in another alley across mine. He would pass by my door everyday, when he came back from the Press for lunch at noon or return to work later. He paid me a visit every time. [...] Every time he came, he would bring a bunch of English literature newspapers for me as a supplemental reference to the *Xiaoshuo Yuebao* [...]<sup>184</sup>

The son of Zhao Jingshen also wrote in the biography of his father that:

In the summer of 1925 when my father [Zhao Jingshen] lost his job and lived temporarily in Shanghai, he went to visit Xu Tiaofu immediately. The latter was living in an alleyway of Zhabei District. And he helped father rent a garret next door and even looked after him including buying a wooden bed, and choosing a small table and chair. When he came back from work around noon and passed by my father's alleyway, he would always go visit him. He would bring a lot of English literature magazines for father to read when editing the *Xiaoshuo Yuebao*, with Zheng Zhenduo as the editor-in-chief.<sup>185</sup>

Records of the intellectual cooperation between these people demonstrate their close relationship, and we may deduce that they used to debate and translate literary

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<sup>183</sup> Zhao Jingshen 赵景深, *Wenren jianying. Wenren yinxiang* 文人剪影 文人印象 (*Silhouette and impression of literati*). Taiyuan, sanjin chubanshe, 2015, pp. 77- 78.

<sup>184</sup> Zhao Jingshen 赵景深, *Zuijin de shijie wenxue* 最近的世界文学 (*Recent World Literature*), Shanghai, Shanghai yuandong tushu gongsi, 1928, pp. 1-3.

<sup>185</sup> Zhao Yilin 赵易林, *Zhao Jingshen de xuehshu daolu* 赵景深的学术道路 (*Zhao Jingshen's academic path*), Taiyuan, Shanxi guji chubanshe, 2004, p. 61.

works together. The newsrooms of magazines were laboratories where the intellectuals experimented with new forms of literature, and where they shared materials and opinions on foreign literature. As many other researchers have already testified, Mao Dun and Zheng Zhenduo were both important people in promoting and introducing the knowledge of foreign literature in China (Denton 1996, Hockx 2003). Their activities were firmly linked with their involvement in the *Literary Association*, which was an active means in the dissemination of Italian literature in China.

In the following paragraphs, we shall take two translators of the *Literary Association* as the example to better understand how these two intellectuals in their translation activities, and how they became interested in Italian realistic literature and introduced Italian realist literature to China with their social network.

Since this study adopts the methodology offered by recent research of sociology of literature, and as Hockx writes, we can put emphasis on the activities of the members of the *Literary Association* involving literary introduction, I have decided to describe some of the most active intellectuals in the spreading of Italian literature in China.

## **2.2 Xia Mianzun and the translation of *Ai de jiaoyu* – *Cuore* by De Amicis**

As we have mentioned in the previous part, the *Literary Association* in the 1920s showed interests in Italian literature and played a guiding role for translators. However, we should start questioning: did their choices spring from personal tastes and literary preference or were they influenced by the cultural *zeitgeist* of that period? What were the reasons or the factors that made the editorial staff decide to publish these translations? Were these translations influenced or advised by their teachers or colleagues? In the following paragraphs, two members of the *Literary Association* will

be taken as examples. One member's work was first published in what was then China's best-selling magazine, *Dongfang zazhi*, and the other's work was originally published in a journal, *Ronglu* 熔炉 (*The Forge*), which was a monthly periodical established in 1928 by Xu Xiacun, that had poor sales and ceased publication after only one issue was found.

Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊 (1886-1946), originally named Xiao Zhu 夏铸, was born and raised in Shangyu, Zhejiang. He and Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之, the other members of the *Literary Association* that we have previously discussed, were fellow townsmen. Xia passed the imperial examination at the county level in 1901, then he studied at Anglo-Chinese College (Zhongxi shuyuan 中西书院) in Shanghai from 1902 to 1903, exposed to Western culture at the time. He wrote in his memoirs "My High School Days" (*Wode zhongxue shidai* 我的中学时代):

Some of my relatives came back from Shanghai and tried to persuade me to read foreign books (that is, go to a school that teaches foreign languages, as it is called now). At that time, there were no relevant schools in the mainland, so the only way to read foreign books was to go to Shanghai. They said St. John's University was the best-known university in Shanghai, and if I could graduate there, I would not need to worry about food (which means landing a job) in the future. My parents also thought that the imperial examination would be abolished soon, so they asked me to go to Shanghai to read foreign books. Back then, there were not many places to read foreign books in Shanghai: The only foreign schools run by foreigners were St. John's University, Aurora University (present-day Fudan University), and Anglo-Chinese College (present-day Soochow University), and the only foreign language school run by Chinese people was Nanyang Mission College. I was going to read foreign books, so of course I should attend a school run by foreigners. Aurora University taught

French, and St. John's University required a few years of English foundation studies, but Anglo-Chinese College was easier to enter, so I ended up in that school.<sup>186</sup>

Xia Mianzun studied one semester at Anglo-Chinese College, and continued his studies in Japan in 1905. As did by many other intellectuals, he was enrolled in Tokyo Kobun Institute and later admitted into National Institute of Technology in Tokyo,<sup>187</sup> but failed to get governmental education funding, he quit school and returned to China in 1907, where he worked as translation teaching assistant for Zhejiang Two-stage Normal School (*Liangji shifan xuetang* 两级师范学堂) in Hangzhou.<sup>188</sup> Besides, other well-known intellectuals and writers, like Lu Xun, Chen Wangdao 陈望道, Feng Zikai 丰子恺, Zhu Ziqing 朱自清, Li Shutong 李叔同, etc, also worked at the school. In 1913, the school was renamed as Zhejiang Provincial First Normal School (*Diyi shifan xuetang* 第一师范学堂) and Xia Mianzun served as supervisor and Chinese language teacher.<sup>189</sup> From then on, he had switched from being a translator to a teacher as his long-term teaching career took off.

In 1921, Xia Mianzun returned to his hometown Shangyu and worked as a teacher for Baimahu Chunhui Middle School (*Baimahu Chuihui zhongxue* 白马湖春晖中学).<sup>190</sup> After that, Feng Zikai, Zhu Ziqing and Zhu Guangqian 朱光潜 were invited by him to teach there as well. Due to the similarity in writing style, they were honored as *Baimahu zuojiaqun* 白马湖作家群 *Baimahu writers group*, a well-known literary

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<sup>186</sup> Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊, "Wode zhongxue shidai 我的中学时代" (My middle school days), in Fu Guoyong 傅国涌 (ed.), *Guoqu de zhongxue* 过去的中学 (*Former high school*). Beijing, Tongxin chubanshe, 2012, p. 100.

<sup>187</sup> Zheng Jianqing 郑建庆, Fang Xinde 方新德 (ed.), *Shangyu wenhuashi* 上虞文化史 (*The cultural history of Shangyu*), Hangzhou, Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 2012, p. 328.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, p. 329.

<sup>189</sup> Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊, "Wode zhongxue shidai 我的中学时代" (My middle school days), quoted, p. 100.

<sup>190</sup> For more detailed information about this "modern school", see Zhang Tangqi 张堂琦, *Baimahu zuojia qun lungao* 白马湖作家群论稿 (*Baimahu writers' group comments*). Shanghai, fudan daxue chubanshe, 2014.

school in the history of modern Chinese literature. During this period, Xia Mianzun started his translation of *Ai de jiaoyu* 爱的教育 (*The Education of Love, Heart*) by Italian writer Edmondo de Amicis and published the translated version in *Dongfang zazhi*. In 1925. He moved to Shanghai where he established (in collaboration with Zhu Ziqing) *Lida xuehui* 立达学会 (*Lida Association*) which was later developed in Lida Middle School (*Lida zhongxue* 立达中学) where Feng Zikai, Ye Shengtao and Zhao Jingshen once worked as teacher. During this period, the translation of the *Ai de jiaoyu* was published in print by Kaiming publishing house.<sup>191</sup>

In 1927, Xia Mianzun was appointed professor and dean of the Chinese language and literature department of Shanghai Ji'nan University. Later the same year, he joined the Kaiming Bookstore founded by Zhang Xichen 章锡琛 (1889-1969) and served as director of the translation and editing office of the publishing house. In 1930, he founded *Zhongxuesheng zazhi* 中学生杂志 (*Middle School Students*), this magazine achieved great success and had a profound influence on the Chinese youth.<sup>192</sup> Therefore, in the 1930s, Xia Mianzun served as the chief editor of Kaiming Bookstore, and he hired Ye Shengtao as his partner. Their works published together include but are not limited to *Wen Xin* 文心 (*The Heart of Writing*), *Wen Zhang Jiang Hua* 文章讲话 (*On Writing Essays and Making Speeches*), *Yuedu Yu Xiezu* 阅读与写作 (*On Reading and Writing*), and co-edited textbooks such as *Kai Ming Guo Wen Jiangyi* 开明国文讲义 (*Kai Ming Chinese Language Lecture Notes*). From this short list of his publications, it was made clear that the great interest of Xia Mianzun for pedagogical, didactic and literary subjects.

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<sup>191</sup> Further research on Kaiming Bookstore can be referred to Zhonggguo chuban gongzuohe xihui 中国出版工作者协会 (ed.), *Wo yu Kaiming* (1926-1985) 我与开明 (1926-1985), Beijing, Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1985; Wang Jiuan 王久安, *Wo yu Kaiming. Wo yu Zhongqing* 我与开明 我与中青, Beijing, Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2012.

<sup>192</sup> For more information on this magazine, see Li Bin 李斌, 1930 niandai 'Zhongxue sheng' zazhi yu zhongxue xiezu yanjiu 1930 年代《中学生》杂志与中学写作研究 (*Middle school students magazine and middle school writing in the 1930s*). Master's Thesis, University of Beijing, 2007.

On April 23, 1946, Xia Mianzun died in Shanghai due to ineffective treatment of lung disease.

### 2.2.1 The *Heart* in China

Since the aim of this research is not to examine the translation process of Italian literary works, or to evaluate the accuracy of these translations, but rather try to find out how and why some literary works arrived in China, in these pages we will try to answer the following questions: why did the translator, Xia Mianzun, gain interest in Italian literature, and translate these works? How did he promote the dissemination of the translated texts through his friends and his network?

We start to describe Xia Mianzun's network in order to demonstrate how this network may have influenced his translation of *Ai de jiaoyu* 爱的教育 (*The Education of Love, Heart*, 1924).

While Xia Mianzun served as supervisor and Chinese language teacher at the Zhejiang Provincial First Normal School, there was a brilliant student Yang Xianjiang 杨贤江 (1895-1931)<sup>193</sup>, who studied there from 1912 to 1917. During this period, Xia Mianzun was given the chance to appreciate Yang's qualities. They stayed in touch after Yang's graduation in 1917, and in particular after Yang Xianjiang entered the Commercial Press in 1921, and worked as the editor of *Xuesheng zazhi* 学生杂志 (*Student Magazine*).<sup>194</sup>

In 1922, Yang was one of the members called to participate in the writing of the new syllabus for the 'modern' school. Hence he took part in the work, and contributed to draft the "Xiaoxue Gongmin Kecheng Gangyao 小学公民课程纲要" (Outline of

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<sup>193</sup> Zheng Jianqing 郑建庆, Fang Xinde 方新德(ed.), *Shangyu wenhua shi* 上虞文化史 (*The cultural history of Shangyu*), Hangzhou, Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 2012, p. 329; Shi Liping 施立平, "Yang Xianjiang yu Xia Mianzun 杨贤江与夏丏尊" (*Yang Xianjiang and Xia Mianzun*), *Cixi ribao* 慈溪日报 (*Cixi News*), May, 08, 2019, p. 04.

<sup>194</sup> Jin Liren 金立人, He Shiyou 贺世友, *Yang Xianjiang zhuanji* 杨贤江传记 (*Biography of Yang Xianjiang*), Beijing, Guangming ribao chubanshe, 2005, p. 66.

Civic Curriculum for Primary Schools), which was officially promulgated by the Ministry of Education in 1923 (see Table 1). In this “Outline of Civic Curriculum for Primary Schools”, the Chinese traditional “Self-cultivation” (*Xiushen* 修身), one of the fundamental topics in the traditional pedagogical system, is replaced by “Education to citizen” (*Gongmin jiaoyu* 公民教育) course, a landmark event in the reform of modern moral education curriculum in China, which determined the developmental directions of modern moral education and curriculum in primary and secondary schools in China.<sup>195</sup> It is a program of moral and civil education in seven aspects ranging from individual development to national and international consciousness, etc.

学年程序 [School year]	课程内容 [Course contents]	[in English version]
第一学年 [First year]	1.家庭生活概况——例如父母子女的服务责任，以及与自己的相互关系等。 2. 学校所规定的缘由和遵守的方法。 3.自己对于家庭学校的行为和责任	1. General family life situation — such as the service responsibilities of parents and children, and your relationship with each other. 2. Reasons and methods school stipulated. 3. Your own behaviors at home and school and your responsibilities to the family and school.
第二学年 [Second year]	1. 学校生活概况——例如学校的性质、事业、经费的由来，以及教师学生的责任，并与自己的关系。 2. 邻居相互的关系及其公共事业。 3. 临近职业状况的观察 4. 自己对于家庭、学校的行为和责任	1. General situation of school life — such as the nature and cause of the school, the origin of funds, the responsibilities to teachers and students, and your relationship with each other.

<sup>195</sup> Guangdongsheng jiaoyu yanjiu yuan 广东省教育研究院, *Zhongxiaoxue sixiang pinde kecheng jiaocai gaige yu fazhan yanjiu ketizu* 中小学思想品德课程教材改革与发展研究课题组 (ed.), *Zhongxiaoxue sixiang pinde zhengzhi kecheng jiaocai gaige yu fazhan yanjiu* 中小学思想品德政治课程教材改革与发展研究 (*Research on the reform and development of ideological, moral and political teaching materials in primary and secondary schools*), Guangzhou, Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015, p. 36.



		<p>2. The relationship between neighbors and their public utilities.</p> <p>3. Observation of occupational status of neighbors.</p> <p>4. Your behaviors at home and school and your responsibilities to the family and school.</p>
第三学年 [Third year]	<p>1. 市乡生活概况——例如市乡的性质、经济、事业，以及市乡与自己 and 一般市民的关系。</p> <p>2. 县、省组织的概况——例如县省机关的性质、事业等。</p> <p>3. 学校自治服务的初步。</p> <p>4. 自己对于家庭、学校、地方团体的责任</p>	<p>1. General situation of city and township life — such as the nature, economy and career status of city and township, as well as the relationship between the city and township and yourselves and the ordinary citizens.</p> <p>2. General situation of county-level and provincial organizations — such as the nature and undertakings of county-level and provincial organizations.</p> <p>3. Preliminary step of school's autonomy service. 4. Your responsibilities to families, schools and local groups.</p>
第四学年 [Fourth year]	<p>1. 参与县、省公务的直接和间接的方法</p> <p>2. 国家组织的概况——例如国家的宪法大要、机关权能，与过敏的关系、国际的关系等。</p> <p>3. 公民对于地方和国家的责任（例如选举、赋税、兵役等）</p> <p>4. 时事研究（与历史、国语等科的关系）</p>	<p>1. Direct and indirect methods of participating in public affairs of the county and province.</p> <p>2. General situation of national constitutional essentials, rights and powers of organs, relations with allergies, and international relations.</p> <p>3. Citizens' responsibilities to the local regions and the state (such as elections, taxes, and military service). 4. Research on current affairs (relationship with disciplines like history and Mandarin).</p>
第五学年 [Fifth year]	<p>1. 学校的组织、公民与教育的关系</p> <p>2. 地方自治事业与公民的关系，并改良方法</p> <p>3. 公民的组织研究</p>	<p>1. The relationship among school organizations, citizens and education.</p>

	<p>4. 公民的责任和娱乐</p> <p>5. 各种服务公众的方法</p> <p>6. 时事研究（与历史、国语等科的关系）</p>	<p>2. The relationship between local self-governance and citizens, and the improvement methods.</p> <p>3. Organizational research of citizens.</p> <p>4. Citizens' responsibilities and entertainment.</p> <p>5. Various methods to serve the public.</p> <p>6. Research on current affairs (relationship with disciplines like history and Mandarin).</p>
第六学年 [Sixth year]	<p>1. 县、省、国的组织、事业、，同第四学年而扩充其范围</p> <p>2. 国内的家庭、妇女、、劳动等特殊问题</p> <p>3. 职业的种类和择业的方法</p> <p>4. 本省中等学校的种类和选校、应试等的升学方法</p> <p>5. 时事研究续前年</p> <p>6. 完成一个公民的条件</p>	<p>1. The organizations and undertakings of county, province and country, with their scope expanded, compared with the fourth academic year. 2. Special problems in the fields of family, women, and labor in China. 3. Types of occupations and methods of job hunting. 4. Types of secondary schools in the province and methods of selecting schools and attending examinations for entering a higher school. 5. Keeping on researching current affairs. 6. Conditions and methods for completing a citizen's responsibilities.</p>
方法 [Educational methods]	<p>1. 以讲述、表演等为公民修养的教学方法。以参观、调查、讨论等为社会组织的教学方法。以学校服务、学校自治为公民训练的具体方法。均注重实践。</p> <p>2. 前四年与卫生、历史、地理合为社会课教学。第五、六年仍需与各科联络。</p>	<p>1. Teaching methods of civic cultivation in terms of narration and performance. Teaching methods of social organizations in the forms of visits, investigations and discussions. Specific methods of conducting citizen training with school service and school autonomy. All methods focus on practice.</p> <p>2. In the first four years, disciplines including health, history and geography are integrated as social classes in practical teaching. In the fifth and</p>

		sixth years, it is still necessary to take various disciplines into account.
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Table 1: “Xiaoxue Gongmin Kecheng Gangyao 小学公民课程纲要” (Outline of Civic Curriculum for Primary Schools. 1923)<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Yang Xianjiang 杨贤江, “Xiaoxue Gongmin Kecheng Gangyao (1922) 小学公民课程纲要 (1922) “(Outline of Civic Curriculum for Primary Schools 1922), *Xiaoxue jiaoyujie 小学教育界 (Primary education)*, vol. 2, no.3, pp. 185-187. It was officially promulgated by the Ministry of education in 1923, see Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo 课程教材研究所 (ed.), *20 shiji Zhongguo zhongxiaoxue kecheng biao zhun. Jiaoxue daganghuibian. Sixiang zhengzhi juan. 20 世纪中国中小学课程标准 教学大纲汇编 思想政治卷 (Compilation of syllabus of curriculum standards for primary and secondary schools in China in the 20th century. ideological and political volume)*, Beijing, Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001, p. 11. As represented by Figure 6.

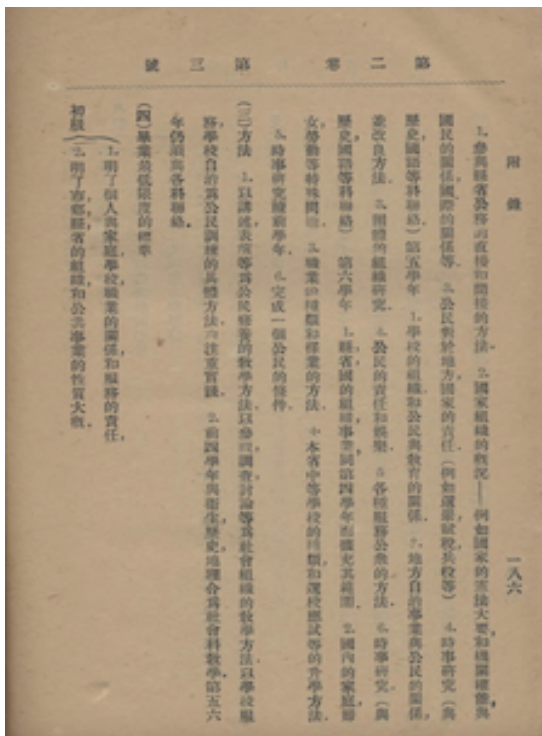
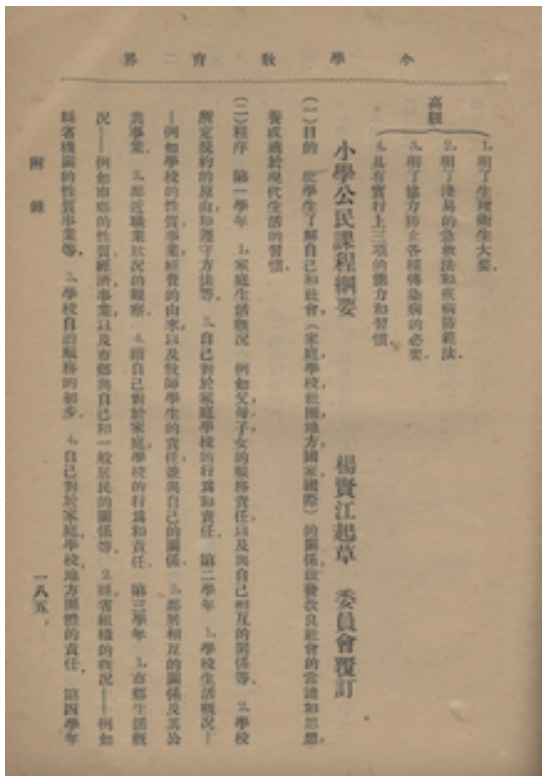


Figure 6: Jiaoyubu Xiaoxue gongmin kecheng gangyao 教育部小学公民课程纲要 Outline of civic curriculum in primary school by Ministry of Education, 1923.

It was pointed out by some researchers that the syllabus of the contemporary Chinese elementary school curriculum for moral and social subjects is basically a continuation of the version drafted by Yang Xianjiang in 1923.<sup>197</sup>

Yang Xianjiang's instructor was Xia Mianzun, and as previously said, the two had a very genuine friendship. We begin to share similar views on the need of civic education and the growth of a conscious effort across the country, the family institution, and the obligations and rights of each citizen after reading Yang Xianjiang's draft. This sentiment is reflected in Xia's introduction to introduce *Heart* to Chinese readers, as well as in his essay explaining why he picked this Italian work. The new pedagogical concepts are also underlined in the preface written by Xia:

书中叙述的亲子之爱，师生之情，朋友之谊，乡国之感，社会之同情，都已近于理想的世界，虽是幻影，使人读了理想世界的样子，以为世界还是这样的好。<sup>198</sup>

[The family affection, teacher-student friendship, friendship, the passion for one's hometown and country and the sympathy of the society described in the book are close to those in the ideal world. Although it is an illusion, people who are made known to such a world would long for living in it.]

From the preface to Xia's translation, we also can see his hopes and expectations for education reforms:

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<sup>197</sup> Guangdongsheng jiaoyu yanjiu yuan 广东省教育研究院, *Zhongxiaoxue sixiang pinde kecheng jiaocai gaige yu fazhan yanjiu ketizu* 中小学思想品德课程教材改革与发展研究课题组 (ed.), *Zhongxiaoxue sixiang pinde zhengzhi kecheng jiaocai gaige yu fazhan yanjiu* 中小学思想品德政治课程教材改革与发展研究 (*Research on the reform and development of ideological, moral and political teaching materials in primary and secondary schools*), Guangzhou, Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015, p. 36.

<sup>198</sup> Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊, "Ai de jiaoyu. Yizhe xuyan 爱的教育 译者序言" (Translator's Preface in *The Education of Love*), Shanghai, Kaiming shudian chubanshe, 1926, p. 5.

Education in the School is now only reformed in external systems to cater to the changes of time, while it still places low value to the essence of education. It is like digging a pond. Importance is only attached to the modification of its shapes, for example, the square shape or the round shape, to meet different people's preferences. Yet, no one ever pays due attention to the water in it, the essential element that constitutes the pond. So, what is the essence of education? It is love. Education without love is a pond without water, merely having a shell of the pond, be it in any shape.<sup>199</sup>

In his preface to *Heart* he underlined the importance of education to becoming a good citizen:

What was described in the book was not only the school, but also the situation in the society and in the family, for this reason I have changed the title in *Ai de jiaoyu* education to love. Since this book narrates the education of feeling and sentiment, originally, I thought to call it *Sentimental education* but I was afraid of creating confusion with the *Sentimental education* by French writer, Flaubert.<sup>200</sup>

These pedagogical ideas also inspired the teaching practices of the teachers and intellectuals at the *Baimahu* School, as well as the writers who served as teachers at the *Lida Society*. As we have seen, Xia Mianzun was closely associated with both institutions, which were both avid supporters of the reform and improvement of the Chinese education and school system at that time. The *Baimahu* School was one of the most innovative schools in the Chinese teaching system, and teachers there pioneered new teaching methods. It is therefore reasonable for us to assume that by

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<sup>199</sup> Xia Mianzun 夏丐尊, "Ai de jiaoyu. Yizhe xuyan", p. 6.

<sup>200</sup> Xia Mianzun 夏丐尊, "Ai de jiaoyu. Yizhe xuyan", p. 6.

finding new teaching methods and teaching system theories or by combining literary readings of individual interests with professional tasks, Xia discovered some intriguing aspects in *Heart* may have aided in the reform of China's educational system, so he combined his work duties and interest with his literary taste decided to translate the book of De Amicis. For the preface, Xia wrote:

The editor in chief of *Eastern Magazine*, Hu Yuzhi, gave many helps for the publication of this volume; the people around me, Liu Xunyu, Zhu Peixuan [Zhu Ziqing] were the first readers of this book. After each issue of the manuscript is completed, they come to read it and help me proofread it; the cover and some illustrations in the book were drawn by Feng Zikai, I can not forget their help.<sup>201</sup>

Therefore, Xia Mianzun had deep practical concern, especially for school education, which was perhaps the most important motivation for him to decide to translate *Heart*. Hu Yuzhi, the chief editor of the *Dongfang zazhi* and fellow townsman of Xia, probably helped with the publication of the translation.

So, we can see from this that the *Literary Association* is a very closely knitted community, and we can better understand how Italian literature was introduced to China through their network.

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid, p. 7. As represented by Figure 7 and 8.

# 誌襍方東

## THE EASTERN MISCELLANY

日五十二月一年三十

號二第 卷一十二第



- 熊季學說與現代教育思想
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- 關燈燈影裏的秦淮河(一)
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- 灰色的路程(小說)
- 愛的教育(意大利) (譯者: 曹小秋)
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Vol. XXI, No. 2, January 25, 1924

Figure 7: The Twentieth Anniversary Special Issue of the *Dongfang zazhi*, 1924



# 愛的教育 (原名 Cuore)

意大利 Edmondo de Amicis 著

夏巧尊

## 第一卷 十月

始業日

十七日

今日開學了。那間的三個月，夢也似地過去，又回到了這丘林 (Turin) 的學校裏來了。早晨母親送我到學校裏去的時候，心還一味只想着在那間的情形呢。不論那一條街道，都充滿着學校的學生們，書店的門口呢，學生的父兄們，都擁擠着在那裏購買筆記簿書袋等類的東西；校役和警察都拼命似地想把路排開。到了校門口，覺得有人觸動我的肩膀，原來這是我三年級時候的先生，是一位頭髮赤而捲縮而說快活的先生。先生看着我，我的臉孔說

「我們不再在一處了，安利柯 (Enrico)」

這原是我早已知道的事，今被先生這麼一說，不覺重新翻過起來了。我們好容易的到了裏面，許多夫人，紳士，普通婦人，職工，官吏，女傭，男用人，女用人，都一手拉了小兒，一手拖了成績簿，在接待所樓梯旁站着，嘈雜得如同戲院裏一樣。我重新看這大大的特休所 (Sala d'attesa) 的屋子，非常歡喜，因為我這三年來，每月到教室去，都穿過這裏的。我的二年級時候的女先生見了我

「安利柯，你現在要到樓上去了，不要走過我的教室了。」

說着，戀戀地看我，校長先生被婦人們圍繞着，頭髮好像比以前白了。學生們也比夏天的時候長大強壯了許多。才步入一

Figure 8: Chinese translation of *Cuore (Ai de jiaoyu)* by Xia Mianzun, 1924

### 2.3 Xu Xiacun and the translations and interpretations on Luigi Pirandello

The 1920s and 1930s mark the golden age of the spread of Italian literature in China. After Dante's works were introduced and translated to China for the first time in 1921, other Italian modern writers took their first steps into China.<sup>202</sup> At the beginning of the 1920s, as Liang Qichao wrote, "China's cultural movement has always emphasized an absolute, unrestricted importation of foreign ideas, we open our doors and welcome all modern ideas of value."<sup>203</sup> Translations of foreign literature into Chinese were conducted in a quite unarranged criterion,<sup>204</sup> which Lu Xun also referred to as "take-ism" (Nalai zhuyi 拿来主义); the same happened for Italian literature.

In terms of translation of Italian literature, Brezzi (2017), carrying on the interpretation offered by Chen Sihe (2005) for the Fourth May Movement, pointed out that Chinese intellectuals mainly showed an interest in two distinct aspects of Italian literature, respectively classical literature and modern literature (mostly written in the 20<sup>th</sup> century). Indeed, some members of the *Literary Association* concentrated their attention on Dante, and the Medieval literature, in particular Zheng Zhenduo, Qian Daosun, while others focused on modern Italian literature, D'Annunzio (Mao Dun), Deledda (Zhao Jingshen) or Pirandello who was appreciated by Xu Xiacun.

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<sup>202</sup> Brezzi, Alessandra, "Echi letterari italiani nelle riviste *Xiaoshuo yuebao* e *Dongfang zazhi* negli anni venti" in Clara Bulfoni, Jin Zhigang, Emma Lupano, Bettina Mottura (a cura di), *Wenxin 文心: l'essenza della scrittura. Contributi in onore di Alessandra Cristina Lavagnino*, FrancoAngeli, Milano, 2017, pp. 107-116.

<sup>203</sup> Liang Qichao, "Jiangxueshe huanying Luosu zhi shenghui 讲学社欢迎罗素之盛会" (The Lecture Club welcomed Russell's event), *Chenbao 晨报 (Morning Paper)*, Nov. 10, 1920, p. 1.

<sup>204</sup> An Italian Sinologist once put forward a similar view "Nella Cina moderna sono entrate, soprattutto nel secolo XX, le idee europee, in modo un po' disordinato e tumultuario. Sono tradotti in cinese i principali scrittori politici, specialmente inglesi e americani." Giovanni Vacca. *Ideali della Cina Moderna*. Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1934, XII, p. 20.

Xu Xiacun 徐霞村 (1907-1986), real name is Xu Yuandu 徐元度, was born in Shanghai and his grandfather Xu Sheng 徐胜 (18??- 1917) studied finance in Japan. In his early years he accepted Sun Yat-sen's political thinking. The progressive thinking and broad vision of his grandfather had exerted a profound influence on him, as he, himself admitted:

My grandfather was the one who had the most significant influence on me when I was young. He had a lifelong affection for science and art and sent all his children to study in new-style schools. When I was very young, he cursed the bureaucrats in front of me, telling me to be a learned and accomplished person when I grew up, but not to take an official post. He was rich in knowledge and would read newly published books and newspapers whenever he was free, especially medical translation works. Today, all this still affects me.<sup>205</sup>

Xu moved from Shanghai to Tianjin with his family at the age of six and received primary and secondary education in Tianjin. During the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement in 1919, he witnessed the active response of his seniors during the Movement in Tianjin No.1 Middle School and participated in the strikes and demonstrations with other students.<sup>206</sup> Thus, it was clear to him that he was already influenced by the May Fourth Movement in his early years.

In 1920, with the help of his uncle, Xu was enrolled into Peking Academy High School (Beijing huiwen zhongxue 北京汇文中学), a teaching school that incorporated great importance to western-style education. He made improvements in his English there and read several famous foreign literary works in English, such as *A Tale of Two*

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<sup>205</sup> Xu Xiaoyu 徐小玉, *Shuangye hong yu eryue hua — — Xu Xiacun jizhuan* 霜叶红于二月花——徐霞村纪传 (*A Biography of Xu Xiacun*), Taiyuan, Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1999, p. 5.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.* p. 6.

*Cities* by Dickens and *Romeo and Juliet* by Shakespeare, laying a solid foundation for his future translation of Pirandello's works.<sup>207</sup>

In 1925, Xu was admitted to the University of China founded by Sun Yat-sen 孙中山 (1866-1925), and where Lu Xun 鲁迅 once taught *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilue* 中国小说史 (*History of Chinese Fiction*), which he also attended. During this period, he met the poet Zhu Xiang 朱湘 (1904-1933), who was not only a highly reputable and gifted scholar in Peking, but also a translator.<sup>208</sup> As Xu wrote, Zhu introduced new literature to him during his stay in Peking:

In addition to teaching us how to practice writing, he [Zhu Xiang] also exchanged his views on reading with us, arguing that we should first read a book on the history of Western literature such as *The Outline of Literature* compiled by Zheng Zhenduo and serialized on *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and a book on the history of Chinese literature, and then subsequently read some Chinese translations of world-renowned literary works.<sup>209</sup>

Additionally, it was due to the help of Zhu that he got to be acquainted with Zheng Zhenduo, as he recalled at the end of 1926:

I met Zheng Zhenduo at that time, he was introduced to me by Zhu Xiang. Before I left Peking, Zhu wrote a letter of introduction with unusually earnest wording and asked me to hand it over to Zheng. Soon after arriving in Shanghai, I paid a visit with the letter to Zheng at the Editing and Translating Department of the Commercial Press on Baoshan Road. After reading the letter, Zheng warmly received me and invited me to write articles for *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, saying with a smile, 'Zhu Xiang is my good friend but just a little bit stubborn'. When I went abroad, the editor of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* promised to give me a name

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<sup>207</sup> Xu Xiaoyu 徐小玉, *Shuangye hong yu eryue hua* — — *Xu Xiacun jizhuan*, p. 13.

<sup>208</sup> A translated poetry collection published in 1933 included poems translated by Zhu, of which several were translated from the *New Life* by Dante Alighieri.

<sup>209</sup> Xu Xiaoyu 徐小玉, *Shuangye hong yu eryue hua* — — *Xu Xiacun jizhuan*, p. 50- 52.

by sending me to be a correspondent in Europe and writing some articles every month for the column of “News of the World Literature” [Shijie wenxue xiaoxi 世界文学消息]. I did that for about a year.<sup>210</sup>

In 1928, Xu Xiacun formally joined the *Literary Association* as introduced by Zheng Zhenduo and Xu Tiaofu. It was also in the same year that he joined the *Shuimo Club* (*Shuimo she* 水沫社), formed by famous writers such as She Zhecun 施蛰存 (1905-2003) and Dai Wangshu 戴望舒 (1905-1950), and held the office of the editor of Fudan University Press at the invitation of Zhao Jingshen. He founded *Ronglu* 熔炉 (*The Forge*) magazine and invited writers, such as Ding Ling 丁玲 (1904-1986), Shen Congwen 沈从文 (1902-1988), and Liu Na’ou 刘呐鸥 (1905-1940), who were attracted by French symbolists, to write fiction and articles.

In 1934, after Luigi Pirandello was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature, Xu Xiacun accepted Zheng Zhenduo’s invitation to translate a representative play, *Henry IV*, by Pirandello. In 1935 the translation was accepted by periodical *Wenxue jikan* 文学季刊 (*Literature Quarterly*) founded and directed by Zheng Zhenduo. The *Literature Quarterly* was contributed by young intellectuals and writers, as we can see from the diary of Ji Xianlin 季羨林 (1911-2009), once recalled their relationship in his diary:

Today, on 6th January, 1934, a party was held by the *Literature Quarterly*. Over a hundred talents were gathered together from the renowned places of our country. Almost all the celebrities in the circle of literature and art in Beiping arrived. As far as I know, Ba Jin, Shen Congwen, Zheng Zhenduo, Xu Xiacun, Zhu Ziqing and Zhu Guangqian, were among others who attended.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Xu Xiaoyu 徐小玉, *Shuangye hong yu eryue hua* — — *Xu Xiacun jizhuan*, p. 50. As represented by Figure 9.

<sup>211</sup> Ji Xianlin 季羨林, *Qinghua yuan riji* 清华园日记 (*Diary of Tsinghua University*), Shenyang, Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 2002, p. 201.

From 1937 to 1947, under the impact of the war times, Xu Xiacun moved to the south with his family. He made a living by teaching English in Chongqing, Wuhan and Shanghai, among others. As for his translation works, Xu Xiacun only translated two French novels and suspended the translation of Italian literature during these ten years. Between 1947 and 1986, Xu Xiacun was appointed by Xiamen University to teach. He started teaching in the Chinese Department, and then in the Foreign Languages Department, all the way until his death in 1986.<sup>212</sup>

Xu Xiacun was not only a translator, but also a writer. His major works were novels, such as his collections *Guguo de renmen* 古国的人们 (*People in the Ancient Country*), and *Modeng Nülang* 摩登女郎 (*Modern Girl*). He also wrote an essay collection *Bali youji* 巴黎游记 (*The Travel Notes in Paris*), and several casual literature sketches. *The Travel Notes in Paris* included stories that occurred on his way to study in France from China, as well as several records concerning his experiences when he first arrived in Paris. These essays were also included by *Xin Zhongguo wenxue daxi* 新中国文学大系 (*A Large Collection of Modern Chinese Literature*) in 1936, and later in *Ouyou sanji* 欧游三记 (*Three Travel Notes in Europe*) in 1997.<sup>213</sup>

## 2.2.2 The translations on Pirandello

In the first half of the 20th century, Luigi Pirandello (1867-1936) was considered to be one of the most representative modernist writers in the West and around the world. In 1934, he received the Nobel Prize in Literature for “his bold and ingenious revival of dramatic and scenic art.”<sup>214</sup> As early as 1921, Song Chunfang 宋春舫 (1892-1938), a contemporary theatre theorist and the first Chinese translator of Italian

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<sup>212</sup> Xu Xiaoyu 徐小玉, *Shuangye hong yu eryue hua* —— *Xu Xiacun jizhuan* 霜叶红于二月花 —— 徐霞村纪传 (*A Biography of Xu Xiacun*), Taiyuan, Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1999, p. 282.

<sup>213</sup> Song Chunfang 宋春舫, Deng Yizhe 邓以蛰, Xu Xiacun 徐霞村, *Ouyou sanji* 欧游三记 (*Three Travel Notes in Europe*). Shen Yang, Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996.

<sup>214</sup> <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1934/pirandello/facts/>

Futurist plays, began referring to Pirandello's name in *Xiandai Yidali xiju tedian* 现代意大利戏剧特点 (*On Italian modern dramas*).<sup>215</sup> However, at that time, Song Chunfang was interested in Futurism and French drama, so he failed to further discover Pirandello's artistic value. According to my findings from the Shanghai Library's "National Newspaper Index" database, from 1921 to 1949, there were roughly 102 reports, translations, and comments on Pirandello in Chinese newspapers. Most of them were focused on the event of Pirandello receiving the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1934, until he died in 1936. During the Republican era, Chinese intellectuals lavished praise on Pirandello, whose influence in China was comparable to that of Dante.

Therefore, we can see that Xu Xiacun was the most important translator of Pirandello in the early days of China; his translations of Pirandello were mainly published in magazines such as *Ronglu* 熔炉 (*The Forge*) which he started on his own. *Wenxue jikan*, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* and *Dongfang zazhi*, and in volumes like *Pirandello xiqu ji* 皮蓝德娄戏曲集 (*Pirandello's plays*) translated by Xu Xiacun himself.

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<sup>215</sup> Song Chunfang 宋春舫, "Xiandai Yidali xiju zhi tedian 现代意大利戏剧之特点" (Characteristics of Modern Italian theatre), *Dongfang zazhi* 东方杂志 (*Eastern Miscellany*), vol.18, no.20, 1921, pp. 59-63.



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Figure 9: Index of *Ronglu* 熔爐 (*The Forge*) with the translation of *Six characters in Search of an Author* by Xu Xiaocun, 1928.



The translation of Italian literature in the Republic of China portrayed a very interesting phenomenon. Before Xu Xiacun, Xia Mianzun had just translated *The Heart* (1924) and Xu Tiaofu translated *Muou qiyu ji* 木偶奇遇记 (*The Adventures of Pinocchio*, 1928). And among translations of Dante's writings, there was only one complete version of *New Life*, which was translated by Wang Duqing in 1934. Each of them selected one work of a writer to translate. However, this was not the case for Xu Xiacun. With limited resources in the Republic of China at that time, both Xu Xiacun's introduction and translation of Pirandello were undoubtedly long-term and comprehensive. Specifically speaking, he kept his concern for Pirandello from 1928 to 1936.

Xu Xiacun published a number of translations regarding Luigi Pirandello in the newspapers and journals from 1928 to 1936. As we can see in the following table:

Publications	Year	Periodicals
<i>Liuge xunzhao zuozhe de dengchang renwu</i> 六个寻找作家的登场人物 ( <i>Six Characters in Search of an Author</i> )	1928	<i>Ronglu</i> 熔炉 ( <i>The Forge</i> ), vol. 1, pp. 2-33.
<i>Zuishang shengzhe hua de ren</i> 嘴上生著花的人 <i>The Man with the Flower in his Mouth</i>	1929	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i> 小说月报 ( <i>The Short Story Magazine</i> ), vol. 20, no.12, pp. 109-115
<i>Jin li fu</i> 紧礼服 ( <i>The Tight Tailcoat</i> ) by	1929	<i>Dongfang zazhi</i> 东方杂志 ( <i>Eastern Miscellany</i> ) vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 115-124.
<i>Hengli disi</i> 亨利第四 ( <i>Henry IV</i> ) lo	1935	<i>Wenxue jikan</i> 文学季刊 ( <i>Literary Quarterly</i> ) , vol. 2, no.1, pp. 59-95.
<i>Liuge xunzhao zuozhe de juzhong renwu</i> 六个寻找作家的剧中人物 <i>Six Characters in Search of an Author</i> in <i>Pilandello xiqu ji</i> 皮蓝德娄戏曲集 ( <i>Pirandello's plays</i> )	1936	Shanghai, Commercial Press

Xu Xiacun's translations of Pirandello were published in *The Forge* in 1928. The *Forge* was a magazine founded by Xu Xiacun himself. According to Xu Xiacun's daughter, after returning to China from France in 1928, he founded this magazine near Fudan University in Shanghai.<sup>216</sup> In this magazine, Xu Xiacun introduced and translated Pirandello's drama for the first time. According to Zhao Jingshen, who maintained close contact with Xu Xiacun during this period, Xu Xiacun was fascinated by the plays of Pirandello because in them there were new theatrical techniques, and the subject of the plays were very innovative and modern. Xu did not limit himself to translating the plays but also studied a lot and did research on Pirandello's theater and the reception of his plays in Europe.<sup>217</sup> Barbara Leonesi, an Italian Sinologist, dedicated an accurate study on this aspect, and she explained how Xu Xiacun referred to both the English translation and the French translation versions to translate Pirandello's masterpiece: the *Six Characters in Search of an Author*.<sup>218</sup>

Then, in 1935, Xu Xiacun introduced Pirandello in the preface of the translation:

Although the author had introduced him six years ago, the winner of the Nobel Prize in 1934 did not seem to have attracted much attention from the Chinese. The author attributed such indifference to the following two reasons. Firstly, the Chinese have always been uninterested in metaphysical things. Most ancient philosophical works are about the philosophy of life. Although Luigi Pirandello has theatricalized some metaphysical issues, his works are still obscure to the Chinese readers who are accustomed to works that are easy to read. Secondly, the script will be played by other troupes besides its own troupe. Luigi Pirandello's scripts were performed in Europe

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<sup>216</sup> Xu Xiaoyu 徐小玉, *Shuangye hong yu eryue hua — Xu Xiacun jizhuan* 霜叶红于二月花——徐霞村纪传 (*A Biography of Xu Xiacun*), Taiyuan, Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1999, p. 52

<sup>217</sup> Zhao Jingshen 赵景深, *Wenren jianying. Wenren yinxiang* 文人剪影 文人印象 (*Silhouette and impression of literati*). Taiyuan, sanjin chubanshe, 2015, pp. 65-66. As represented by Figure 10.

<sup>218</sup> Leonesi, Barbara, "Pirandello è di scena? Traduzione, ricezione e messinscena del teatro di Pirandello in Cina", in *Il Liuto e i libri. Studi in onore di Mario Sabattini*. a cura di Magda Abbiati, Federico Greselin, Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2014, pp. 483-496.

and the US and often ended up in failure, except being performed by his own troupe. The inexperienced Chinese amateur repertory troupes, of course, attempted to perform his scripts. Since the public shows were not so successful, Chinese audiences naturally could not fully recognize Pirandello's value.<sup>219</sup>

We can interpret from above that Xu Xiacun highly appreciates the central idea of Pirandello's works, namely the conflict between "mask" and "ego", which was the reason why he was interested in Pirandello's drama in the first place.<sup>220</sup> Xu also further refined Pirandello's artistic characteristics from the perspective of comparative literature. After comparing Luigi Pirandello with famous European dramatists of the same period including Dumas and Bernard Shaw, Xu comes to the following conclusion that:

The previous European playwrights including Alexandre Dumas *films* and Bernard Shaw created works for the purpose of criticizing the social system and propagating a social ideology. However, Luigi Pirandello has neither a sense of mission for mankind, nor does he attempt to teach the others (the masses). He just gets one thing done: to expose the true self of human beings to all of us. Usually, we regard the 'ego' as a whole, and there is no other "ego" except for the one we perceive. However, Luigi Pirandello thinks that there is more than one 'ego', most of which we are not even able to tell.<sup>221</sup>

At the end of the preface, Xu Xiacun expressed his expectation that Luigi Pirandello's works could be released in China as soon as possible, so that Chinese readers could better realize the artistic value of this playwright:

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<sup>219</sup> Xu Xiacun 徐霞村, "Pilandelou 皮蓝德娄" (Pirandello). *Wenxue jikan* 文学季刊 (*Literary Quarterly*), vol. 2, no.1, 1935, p. 53.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid*, p. 55.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid*, p. 54.

Within a decade, Luigi Pirandello has always travelled with his troupe to perform his works in Europe and the US. He has achieved amazing success in every place. We hope that in the near future, both he and his theater troupes can be invited by China's official or private cultural organizations so that we have a chance to realize his artistic value.<sup>222</sup>

During his translation of Pirandello's plays, Xu Xiacun believed that: "Before translation, a translator must fully immerse himself in that situation, as if he were personally on the scene. In other words, for the scenes and characters in the original work, the translator must first have a clear and concrete image in his mind."<sup>223</sup> This was the main idea that moved Xu Xiacun in his translation activity.

In terms of literary, Xu Xiacun pointed out that the translator shall have an intimate knowledge of the original work's literary style. He said, "Translation should reflect literary grace, but such literary grace must be present in the original text and not added by the translator himself."<sup>224</sup>

Therefore, Xu Xiacun advocated for translation being simple and natural instead of pursuing gorgeousness. As it has been demonstrated, at the beginning of the 20th century, numerous intellectuals, with Liang Qichao as the representative, adopted the domestication translation strategy. Among them, Liang Qichao translated *The Isles of Greece* by Byron with the traditional Chinese genre of "Qu" (曲), while Qian Daosun translated *The Divine Comedy* with the traditional Chinese style of "Chu Ci" (楚辞). In the 1930s, Fu Donghua 傅东华 also tried to translate John Milton's *Paradise Lost* through use of Chinese vernacular storytelling or expressing style. It is also worth noting that Xu Xiacun did not follow the path of his predecessor, the modern

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<sup>222</sup> Xu Xiacun 徐霞村, "Pilandelou 皮蓝德娄" (Pirandello), *quoted*, p. 57.

<sup>223</sup> Lin Huangtian (ed.) 林煌天主编, *Zhongguo fanyi cidian* 中国翻译词典 (*Chinese translation dictionary*), Wuhan, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997, pp. 1103.

<sup>224</sup> Lin Huangtian (ed.) 林煌天主编, *Zhongguo fanyi cidian*, *quoted*, pp. 849-850.

vernacular Chinese had laid a certain solid foundation across China at that time. For instance, when discussing with Fu Donghua on the question whether the *Paradise Lost* should be translated in the ancient style or in the modern vernacular style, Zhu Weiji 朱维基 (1904-1971) then responded as follows:

Modern vernacular Chinese could be more capable of delivering the movement of the original poem. As I said before, our vernacular literature is more like a poor guy in need of rich nutrition. If we are going to produce real literature, our original habits of expression, whether it is the selection of words or the structure of sentences, are unable to express our true and detailed emotions both subtly and vividly. Subsequently, we need a giant literary form to help us. When translating an epic poem with more than 10000 lines, such as *Paradise Lost*, we may fully utilize our language tool, namely, the modern vernacular Chinese, by using it, improving it or perfecting it. During this process, we can test it and observe whether its results can satisfy all the requirements of the great literature [...].<sup>225</sup>

Although Zhu Weiji was discussing the translation of *Paradise Lost*, we need to pay attention to the relevant background. Chinese translators in the 1920s and 1930s had varying levels of understanding of translation, which undoubtedly influenced Xu Xiacun. As a result, Xu Xiacun connected Pirandello's works to the degree possible, which momentarily decreased Pirandello's appeal among Chinese readers but more accurately depicted Pirandello's individuality. Thanks to Xu Xiacun's translations, China gained a fresh new understanding of Pirandello, as the Commercial Press put it in an introduction, written by Yue Zhigui 岳稚珪 (?-?):

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<sup>225</sup> Zhu Weiji 朱维基, "Ping Fu Donghua yi banbu shileyuan 评傅译半部《失乐园》"(On Fu Donghua's translation of a half of *Paradise Lost*), *Shipian yuekan 诗篇月刊 (Poetry Monthly)*, 1933, vol.1, pp. 78-83.

Pirandello is best known for his *Six Characters in Search of an Author* and *Henry IV*. The former, in particular, not only fully incorporates his artistic ideas and philosophy, but also demonstrates his amazing writing skills; however, others argue that *Henry IV* beats the former. Now that these two masterpieces have been translated into Chinese by Xu Xiacun, our theater-loving comrades may take this opportunity to get familiar with the art of a great dramatist unfamiliar to us.<sup>226</sup>

In the early half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Chinese intellectuals made several attempts to identify “common ground” between the two nations as well as distinctions between them. In the earliest introduction of Dante, Chinese intellectuals attempted to compare Dante and Qu Yuan, calling for “a Chinese Dante”. Then, in the 1920s and 1930s, Chinese intellectuals shifted their focus to contemporary Italian literature, particularly Futurism and Pirandello. Those living in this period were unlike Liang Qichao and the others, advocating enlightenment. Some of them, such as Shen Yanbing and Zheng Zhenduo, went through the May 4 Movement, and their ideas, built upon literature, and created the conditions for the influx of foreign literature, while the booming economy also provided a good material basis for translating and publishing activities in an objective sense. Several others, such as Xia Mianzun and Xu Xiacun, received a better foreign language education with an overseas study experience, and their exposure to the original literature and foreign cultures prepared China for Western literature.

Xia Mianzun and Xu Xiacun first had a mastery of ancient Chinese, and then laid a solid foundation in English during middle school. Later, they came into contact with a second language while studying overseas which led them to discover Italian literature. Xia Mianzun read the Japanese translation and then referred to the English

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<sup>226</sup> Yue Zhigui 岳稚珪, “Duwu jieshao. ‘Pilandelou xiju ji’ 读物介绍, 皮蓝德娄戏剧集” (Book Introduction, *Pirandello’s plays*). *Shangwu yinshuguan chuban zhoukan* 商务印书馆出版周刊 (*Publishes Weekly of Commercial Press*), 1936, vol. 187, pp. 11-12.

translations before translating. Xu Xiacun also translated Italian literature based on the French translation and the English translation. That is to say, both of them translated Italian literature through "intermediate languages".<sup>227</sup> Although they did not directly translate Italian, and could not understand Italian literature from the original text, they have influenced the spread of Italian literary works in China by virtue of their love for Italian literature and their enthusiasm and perseverance for translation. As a result, the works of Chinese intellectuals cannot be overlooked as significant contributions to the advancement of this course.



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<sup>227</sup> Brezzi, Alessandra, "The "Hell" in China: Chinese Translations of Dante's Inferno in the 20th century", in Tham Wai Mun e Lim Buan Chay (eds.), *Translation and contrastive studies: collected papers* (翻译与语言对比论丛), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, p. 99;

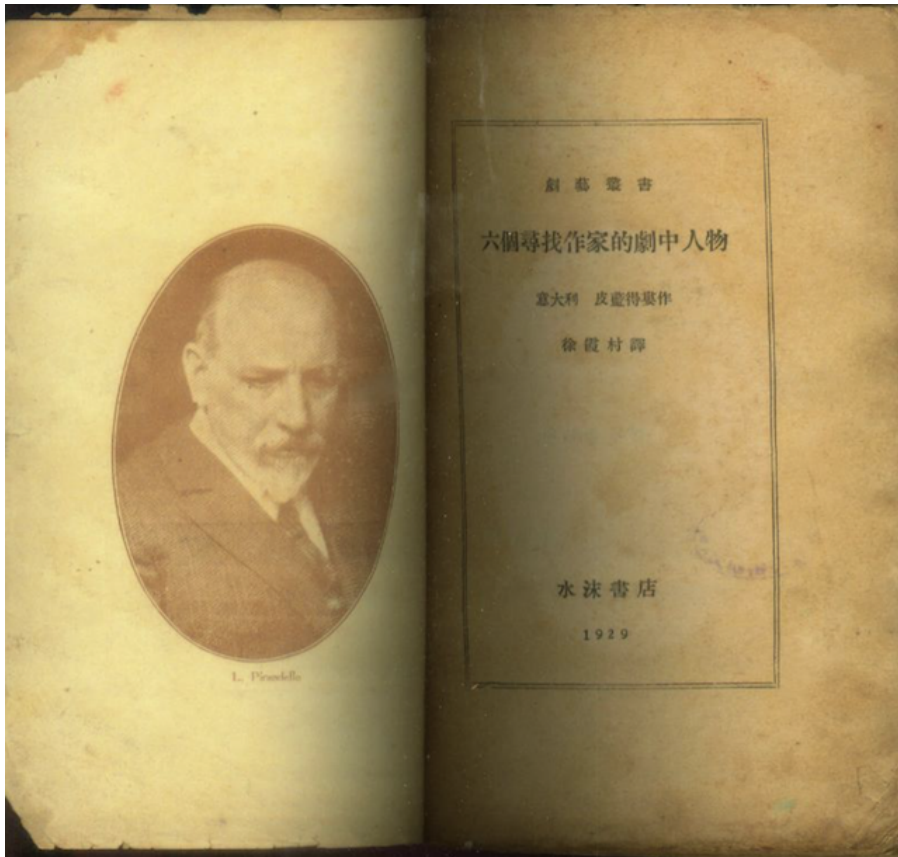


Figure 10: The cover and the title page of the first edition of the translation of the *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, Shanghai, Shuimo shudian, 1929.



### Chapter 3. Italian literature in the new Chinese universities (1932-1949)

In the previous chapters I have already analyzed the contributions of the members of the *Literary Association* to the Italian literary translations from 1921 to 1932, such as Shen Yanbing, Zheng Zhenduo, Xia Mianzun and Xu Xiacun. With the flowering of the New Culture Movement, the translation of Italian literature made great progress, not only in terms of translation, but also in terms of studies and criticism on Italian literature.<sup>228</sup> In the 1930s, indeed, Chinese intellectuals started to introduce more and more essays on Italian literature produced by European and American critics.<sup>229</sup> Besides that, in the 1930's there was the development and consolidation of the newborn academic system. Arisen in the 1920s after the abolition of traditional exam system, the new universities consolidated their curricula studiorum and started to recruit foreign professors. It is to this new cultural milieu

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<sup>228</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>229</sup> It is not surprising that once again the attention was turned to Dante and Dante's literary criticism produced by American and British scholars. As we have already seen, some foreign experts working on Dante had already been mentioned by Chinese intellectuals in 1921, such as Charles Eliot Norton (1827-1908) who was mentioned by Qu Shiyong in Alighieri, Dante. "Xinsheng 新生" (a part of *The New Life*). Translated by Qu Shiyong 瞿世英. *Xuedeng 学灯 (Study Lamp)*, Sept. 23, p. 1; or Nicola Zingarelli (1860-1935) who was mentioned by Hu Yuzhi, in an article published in *Dongfang zazhi Yu Zhi 愈之*, "Dandi -Shiren jiqi shi 但底——诗人及其诗" (Dante. Poet and poems), *Dongfang zazhi 东方杂志*, vol, 18, no. 15, p. 69; Edward Moore (1835-1916) who was mentioned by Qian Daosun in his translation, of the first cantos, appeared in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, see Alighieri, Dante. "Shenqu yiluan 神曲一齣" (A Tasting of *The Divine Comedy*). Translated by Qian Daosun 钱稻孙, *Xiaoshuo yuebao 小说月报 (The Short Story Magazine)*, vol. 12, no. 9, p. 11; and Charles Hall Grandgent (1862-1939) that Wu Mi used to explicate the *Divine Comedy*, see Grandgent, Charles Hall, "Danding Shenqu tonglun 但丁神曲通论" (The introduction of Dante's *Divine Comedy*). Translated by Wu Mi. *Xueheng 学衡 (Critical Review)*, vol. 41, 1925, p. 1. In the 1930s one of the most famous critical essay on Italian literature was Benjamin Crémieux's *Panorama de la littérature italienne contemporaine*, translated by Dong Jiaying 董家溱, with the title of *Yidali Xiandai wenxue 意大利现代文学* and published by Commercial press in 1933.

that we would turn our attention because it was in this environment that the new generation of scholars was educated.

Let me first briefly review the development of courses on "Italian literature" in 'modern' Chinese universities. As revealed by existing data, it was during the New Culture Movement Period that the establishment of courses on Italian literature was initially proposed. In January 1917, the Republican government named Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), an esteemed scholar and educator, was appointed president of Peking University. With deep insight into education across the world, especially higher education, Cai Yuanpei, inspired by the U.S. educational system, or we should say taking as a pattern the U.S. educational system, revised the curriculum of Peking University.<sup>230</sup>

After the reform, the undergraduate program for science of art was classified into 3 categories, namely philosophy, literature and history. The literature category consisted of general courses and specialization courses. The general courses included *Introductions to Literature*, the *History of Chinese Literature* and the *History of Western Literature* and a foreign language (European ancient and modern languages). The specialized curriculum of literature offered, in addition to Chinese literature, various courses on different foreign literatures, such as British, French, German, Russian, Italian and Spanish Literature.<sup>231</sup> Our focus is the course of Italian literature, which was divided into the History of Italian Literature, the History of Italy and Italian Literature Rhetoric.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Pan Maoyuan 潘懋元, Liu Haifeng 刘海峰 (ed.), *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyu shiliao huibian. Gaodeng jiaoyu* 中国近代教育史料汇编. 高等教育 (*Compilation of historical materials of modern Chinese education, higher education*), Shanghai, Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1993, pp. 383-384.

<sup>231</sup> Beijing Daxue 北京大学, "Beijing daxue wenke, like, falüke, yuke, gaiding kecheng yilan 北京大学文、理、法科、预科改定课程一览" (List of liberal arts, science, law courses and revised courses of Peking University), *Jiaoyu gongbao* 教育公报 (*Education Bulletin*), vol. 4, 1917, pp. 133-144. As represented by Figure 11.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid*, p. 137.

This proves not only that Peking University paid much attention to the studies of foreign literature, from the beginning of the New Culture Movement, but also that Peking university structured the subject in a well-articulated system.

If we analyze the textbook, *Ouzhou wenxueshi* 欧洲文学史 (*The History of European Literature*), that Zhou Zuoren, one of the leaders of the New Culture Movement, wrote for his course of History of European Literature, first at Peking University from 1917 and then at Peking Women's Higher Normal School (today's Beijing Normal University), we can notice the same outline.<sup>233</sup> The textbook, indeed, not only provided the outline of the European literary history in its chronological development, but also offered detailed explanations on various literature forms, such as epic, drama, and fiction. Among these, poems and novels are the main subject of the textbook. In the section related to poetry, Zhou Zuoren made detailed introductions to Dante's *Divine Comedy* and the profound influence of this work on Italian literature and European literature.<sup>234</sup> Some scholars pointed out that the teaching of European literature, especially Italian literature, stalled in the mid and late-1920s.<sup>235</sup>

In 1926, Tsinghua University established the Department of Western literature, and the teaching of Italian literature gained vitality once again. The curriculum provided by the Department of Western literature at Tsinghua University was based on two concurrent principles, the first was to study western literature as a whole in

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<sup>233</sup> Zhang Ke 张珂, *Zhongguo de 'Shijie wenxue' guannian yu shijian yanjiu* (1895-1949) 中国的“世界文学”观念与实践研究 (1895-1949) *Research on the concept and practice of "world literature" in China (1895-1949)*. Beijing, Zhongyang minzu chubanshe, 2016, p. 80

<sup>234</sup> Zhou Zuoren 周作人, *Ouzhou wenxueshi* 欧洲文学史 (*The History of European Literature*). Shanghai, Commercial press, 1918, pp. 124-127.

<sup>235</sup> Zhang Ke 张珂, *Zhongguo de 'Shijie wenxue' guannian yu shijian yanjiu* (1895-1949) 中国的“世界文学”观念与实践研究 (1895-1949) *Research on the concept and practice of "world literature" in China (1895-1949)*. Beijing, Zhongyang minzu chubanshe, 2016, p. 80.

order to gain comprehensive knowledge. The second was to specialize in the language and literature of a specific country and pursue advanced studies.<sup>236</sup>

In 1932, the British professor, A. L. Pollard Urquart, at Tsinghua University inaugurated a specialized course on Dante studies, and this was one of the first courses dedicated to Italian literature to be taught in China, as we will see in the next paragraph. Following this, two Western professors began teaching Italian literature at Tsinghua University in 1930's, one was Dante classes held by professor Pollard Urquart, and the second was "From Medieval European Literature to Dante" (*Zhongshiji wenxue zhi Danding* 中世纪文学至但丁) by professor R.D. Jameson's.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Qi Jiaying 齐家莹 (ed.), *Tsinghua renwen xueke nianpu* 清华人文学科年谱 (*Annals of humanities, Tsinghua University*). Beijing, Tsinghua daxue chubanshe, 1999, p. 25. As represented by Figure 12.

<sup>237</sup> Li Sen 李森 (ed.), *Minguo shiqi gaodeng jiaoyu shiliao xubian 2* 民国时期高等教育史料续编 第二册 (*Continuation of historical materials of higher education in the period of the Republic of China. Vol 2*). Beijing, Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2016, p. 80. As represented by Figure 13.

(二)文學門

通科

文學概論(略如文心雕龍  
文史通義之類)

中國文學史 西洋文學

史 言語學 心理學概論 美學 教育學 外國語

(歐洲古代語  
及近代語)

專科

中國文學 (中國文學史) (中國文字學) 英國文

學 (英國文學史) (英國史) (英文修辭學) 法

國文學 (法國文學史) (法國史) (法文修詞學)

德國文學 (德國文學史) (德國史) (德文修詞

學) 俄國文學 (俄國文學史) (俄國史) (俄文

十一

第四十期 第四年

紀 載

修詞學) 意大利文學 (意大利文學史) (意大利  
史) (意大利文修詞學) 西班牙文學 (西班牙文  
學史) (西班牙史) (西班牙文修詞學) 梵文學  
及巴利語學 希臘文學 拉丁文學 阿拉伯文學蒙  
古文及滿洲文 西藏文 日本文 世界語  
以上各科任各生自擇一科并可兼習暫史二科功課聽  
講時間必在三〇單位以上

特別講演

(一)以一時期為範圍者如先秦文學兩漢文學魏晉六  
朝文學唐詩宋詞元曲宋以後小說意大利文藝復古  
時代文學法國十八世紀文學德國風潮時期文學等  
是  
(二)以一派別為範圍者如楚詞長慶體江西派唐宋八  
家文西洋仿古派理想派自然派等是  
(三)以一人之著作為範圍者如屈原賦陶淵明集杜詩  
韓昌黎全集莎士比亞樂府斯各脫小說魯俄全集格  
代全集陶斯道小說等是

Figure 11: Beijing Daxue 北京大学, "Beijing daxue wen, li, fake, yuke, gaiding kecheng yilan 北京大学文、理、法科、預科改定課程一覽" (List of liberal arts, science, law courses and revised courses of Peking University), *Jiaoyu gongbao* 教育公報 (*Education Bulletin*), vol. 4, 1917, pp. 133-144.

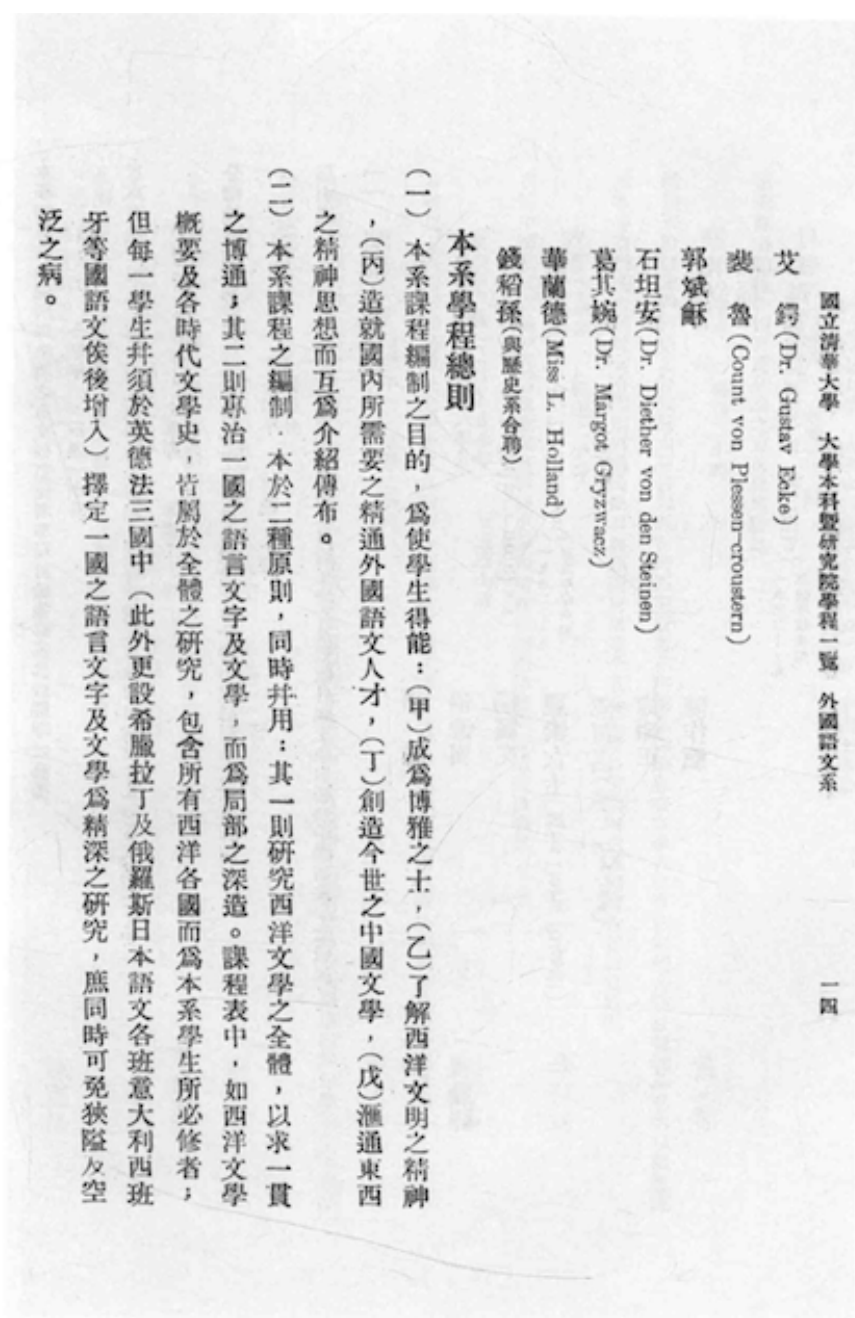


Figure 12: General constitution of the Department of foreign languages of Tsinghua University, drafted by Wu Mi, in 1926. Li Sen 李森 ed., *Minguo shiqi gaodeng jiaoyu shiliao xubian 2* 民国时期高等教育史料续编 第二册 (Continuation of historical materials of higher education in the period of the Republic of China. Vol 2). Beijing, Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2016, p. 14.

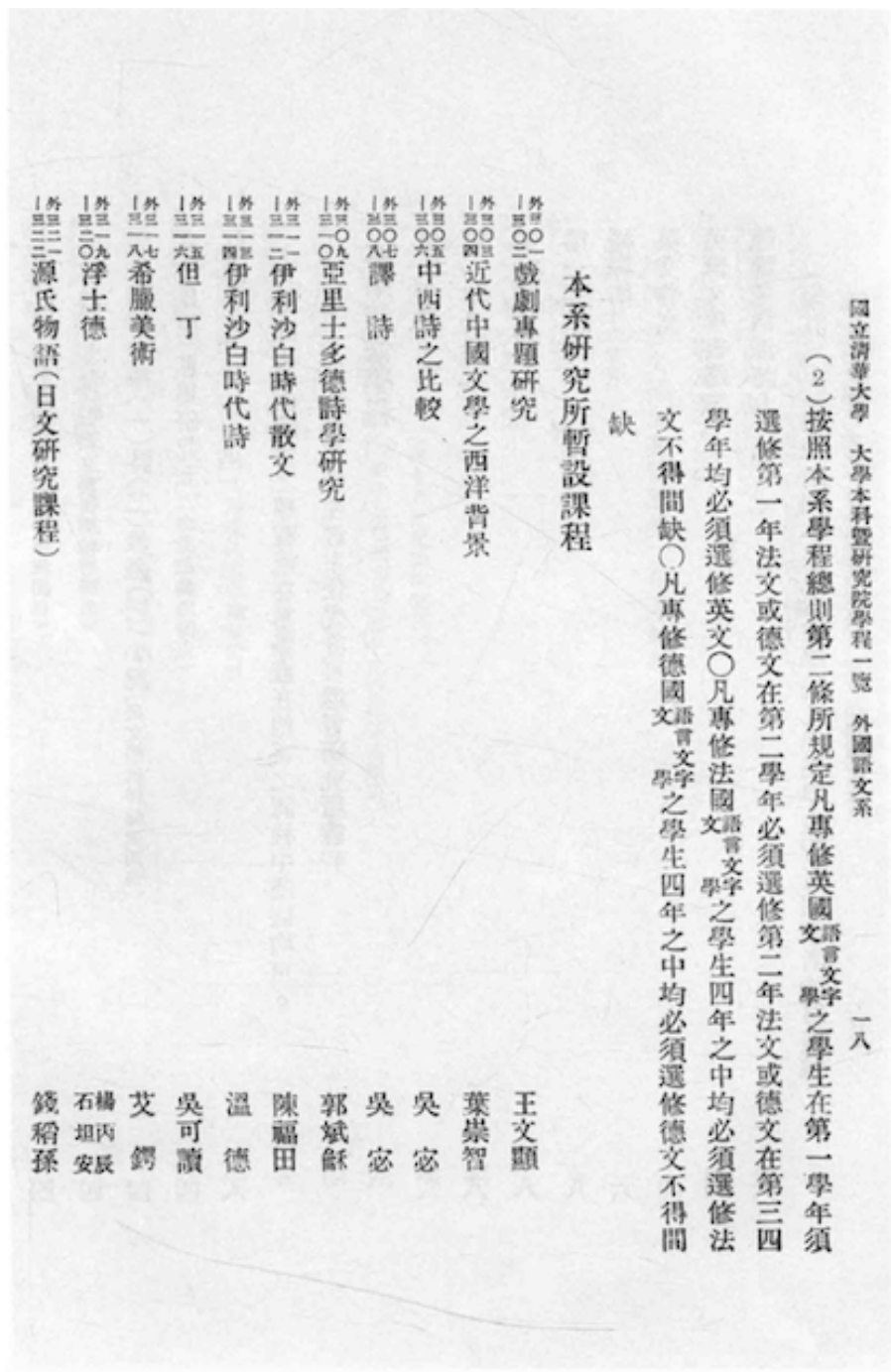


Figure 13: "Dante" course at Tsinghua University, in 1932. Li Sen 李森 ed., *Minguo shiqi gaodeng jiaoyu shiliao xubian 2* 民国时期高等教育史料续编 第二册 (Continuation of historical materials of higher education in the period of the Republic of China. Vol 2). Beijing, Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2016, p. 80.

### 3.1 Foreign professors at Tsinghua University: Pollard Urquhart and R. D. Jameson

#### 3.1.1 A. L. Pollard Urquhart

Arthur Lewis Pollard Urquhart (1894-1940), also known in Chinese as Wu Kedu 吴可读, was an scholar and an author from England, who taught the *History of European literature* at Tsinghua University, from 1925 to 1937, and at The National Southwest Associated University (Xinan Lianda 西南联大) for a br period from 1937 to 1940.<sup>238</sup> Among his students there were Tian Dewang 田德望, Zhao Luorui 赵萝蕤, Qian Zhongshu 钱钟书, Li Funing 李赋宁, who later became famous foreign literature experts in China.

Pollard Urquhart was born on May 17<sup>th</sup> 1894, the second son of Montagu Alexis Pollard-Urquhart (1859-1916), County Westmeath, England, who was engaged in railway work for a long time.<sup>239</sup> Arthur received education from the Christ Church at the Oxford University from 1919 to the early 1920s and after graduating he went to China. He probably chose to go to China inspired by one of his relatives. According to the information currently available, we know that the husband of his older sister, Humphrey Ingelram Prideaux-Brune (1886-1979), was engaged in diplomatic work in China for a long time, he worked in the British Consul in China for several years.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> Rodney Koeneke, *Empires of the Mind. I. A. Richards and Basic English in China, 1929-1979*. California, Stanford University Press, 2003, p. 45.

<sup>239</sup> Institution of Civil Engineers (Great Britain), *Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers. Volume 204*, The Institution, 1918, p. 430.

<sup>240</sup> Humphrey Ingelram Prideaux-Brune also attended school at Oxford University, and started his diplomatic career as a student interpreter in China in 1911. He had served at posts in many Chinese cities (Beijing, Shanghai, Ningbo, Tianjin, Tangshan, Weihaiwei, Qingdao, and Jinan), then he was appointed as British secretary to H. M. Diplomatic Mission at Nanjing in March 1935. On January 29, 1942, he left Nanjing for Shanghai and in 1942 he was appointed as Consul-General s in Kunming, and he retired in 1945. On December 12, 1979 he died in Linfield, West Sussex, England; see "*Extraterritoriality - coastal trade and inland navigation*" (Government Papers,



This hypothesis is also supported by a mention that I came across Wu Mi's diary. Wu Mi and Pollard Urquhart had known each other since 1925, because both worked in the Foreign Literature Department of Tsinghua University.<sup>241</sup> In his diary Wu wrote that in 1930, while he was applying for a study visit to Europe, he invited Pollard Urquhart for dinner at the Central Garden Hotel (*Zhongyang huayuan* 中央花园) in Beijing, before he left. Upon his arrival in England, Wu Mi made a special trip to visit Pollard Urquhart's brother-in-law, Prideaux-Brune's, in London.<sup>242</sup> Therefore, I assume that Pollard Urquhart's trip to China in the 1920s may have been related to his brother-in-law, who had been working there for a long time.

In 1925, Pollard began teaching at Tsinghua University;<sup>243</sup> he first taught the History of European literature and later on he was the first foreign professor to set up a course on Dante in China, course that he taught from 1932 to 1935.<sup>244</sup> Checking the materials relating to Tsinghua University's teaching setup, we can read that in 1932 the curriculum of the Department of Foreign Languages of Tsinghua University included "Thematic Study of Drama", course held by Wang Wenxian 王文显, "The Western Background of Modern Chinese Literature" by Ye Chongzhi 叶崇智, "Comparison of Chinese and Western Poetry" and "Poetry Translation" courses held by Wu Mi 吴宓, "Aristotle's Poetics" by Guo Binhe 郭斌和, "Prose in the Elizabethan

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The National Archives, Kew, 1942). Accessed [December 03, 2021]; [http://www.archivesdirect.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/FO\\_371\\_31663](http://www.archivesdirect.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/FO_371_31663); Suping, Lu, *The 1937-1938 Nanjing Atrocities*. Singapore, Springer, 2019, p. 343.

<sup>241</sup> Qi Jiaying 齐家莹 (ed.), *Tsinghua renwen xueke nianpu* 清华人文学科年谱 (*Annals of humanities, Tsinghua University*). Beijing, Tsinghua daxue chubanshe, 1999, p. 12.

<sup>242</sup> Wu Mi 吴宓, Wu Xuezhao 吴学昭(ed.), *Wu Mi riji 1930-1933* 吴宓日记 1930-1933 (*Wu Mi's diary 1930-1933*), Beijing, Sanlian shudian, 1998, p. 165.

<sup>243</sup> Qi Jiaying 齐家莹 (ed.), *Tsinghua renwen xueke nianpu* 清华人文学科年谱 (*Annals of humanities, Tsinghua University*). Beijing, Tsinghua daxue chubanshe, 1999, p. 12.

<sup>244</sup> Li Sen 李森 (ed.), *Minguo shiqi gaodeng jiaoyu shiliao xubian 2* 民国时期高等教育史料续编 第二册 (*Continuation of historical materials of higher education in the period of the Republic of China. Vol 2*). Beijing, Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2016, p. 80; Xu Baogeng 徐葆耕 (ed.), *Huitongpai rushi shuo. Wu Mi ji* 会通派如是说 吴宓集 (*The viewpoint of Huitong school, Wu Mi's collection*). Shanghai, Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1998, pp. 200-201.

Age” by Chen Futian 陈福田, while “Poetry in the Elizabethan Age” was held by by Wen De 温德, and a course dedicated to “Dante” held by Wu Kedu 吴可读, that is Pollard Urquhart.<sup>245</sup>

Unfortunately for Pollard Urquhart’s courses in Tsinghua University, we could not find his teaching handouts and syllabus, so we are unable to conclude how he taught Dante in the university classroom. However, we did find some useful information from some of his students’ memoirs. For instance, in *My reading career* (*Wo de dushu shengya* 我的读书生涯), a biographical written by Zhao Luorui 赵萝蕤 (1912-1998), who was one of the first female writers and translators working on Italian literary works, such as Ignazio Simone’s *Fontamara*, translated in 1943,<sup>246</sup> we can read that “I learned Dante’s *The Divine Comedy* in both English and Italian with teacher Pollard Urquhart together with the senior Tian Dewang, the only classmate. I gained most while studying with him in the three years at Tsinghua.”<sup>247</sup> Only two students attended professor Pollard Urquhart’s lessons, thus the potential of dissemination of knowledge on Dante was very limited, but it left deep and lasting signs on these two students. As we well know, Tian Dewang became the first translator of the *Divine Comedy* from Italian language in the 1980s. This kind of influence can be seen in various diaries or letters written by Chinese students who became leading intellectuals in the following years. Here there is a passage extracted by a memory composed by Li Funing 李赋宁, a student of Jameson – the other American professor, who will dealt with in the next paragraph. Lu Funing later became a famous foreign literature expert in China, and recalling the influence that the lessons held by Jameson left on him, he wrote:

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<sup>245</sup> Li Sen 李森 (ed.), *Minguo shiqi gaodeng jiaoyu shiliao xubian 2*, quoted, p. 80.

<sup>246</sup> Silone, Ignazio. *Sile de shancun* 死了的山村 (*Fontamara*). Translated by Zhao Luorui 赵萝蕤. Chongqing, Duli chubanshe, 1943.

<sup>247</sup> Zhao Luorui 赵萝蕤, *Wo de dushu shengya* 我的读书生涯 *My reading career*. Beijing, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1996, p. 2.

Jameson seemed to place particular emphasis on ancient and medieval literature. For instance, he taught us Homer's Epics, *Trojan War*, *Divine Comedy* and *The New Life* by Dante and *The Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer which the students found interesting and tasteful.

I am also unconsciously influenced by him, resulting in me having a preference for European literature in the Medieval period as well. For his teaching method, he required students to make their own learning cards, on which the following things should be written: the dates of birth and death of important authors, publication dates of major works and their synopses. He would also have meetings with students regularly to examine the achievement of their self-study.<sup>248</sup>

In 1933, Pollard published *Great European Novels and Novelists*. In the preface, he wrote:

The history of European Novels is written for the use of students not familiar with the background of European literature. It is not a new criticism of the novel, but an account of great novels with short descriptions of their plots, so that the student may become familiar with stories and characters so well known in the west. In the first half of the book, that is the part that deals with the novel up to the end of the eighteenth century, I have not given separate chapters to each nationality, but have brought all the novels together so as to show how the different phases and influences worked on each country at the same time.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Li Funing 李赋宁, *Xuexi yingyu yu congshi yingyu gongzuo de rensheng jingli* 学习英语与从事英语工作的人生历程 (*The life course of learning English and working in English*). Beijing, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005, p. 26.

<sup>249</sup> A.L. Pollard, *Great European Novels and Novelists*. Beijing, Sanyu Press, 1933, p. 1.

Pollard also expressed his gratitude to Wu Mi in the preface of the book and invited Wu Mi to write a Chinese title for the book, he wrote: "Also my grateful appreciation to Professor Wu Mi of Tsing Hua University for kindly giving and writing the Chinese title of the book."<sup>250</sup>

Xu Shihu 徐士瑚 (1907-2002), who studied at Tsinghua University from 1925 to 1931 later became an educator, recalled in *Autobiography Written at Ninety (Jiushi Zishu 九十自述)* his experience attending Pollard Urquhart's course:

The Western novel was taught by Mr. Wu Kedu [Pollard Urquhart], an Englishman from Oxford University, whose English name, unfortunately, I can no longer remember, and he spoke very slowly, so we remembered all the pages of our notes. He talked about the great novelists of England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Russia, etc. Although Professor R. D. Jameson had already talked about them before in *Outline of Western Literature*, he did not analyze more about the representative works of these writers. Wu Kedu read each of the important novelists and their works in detail and analyzed them. He taught this course at Tsinghua University for four or five years and finally submitted his lectures to the Commercial Press for publication as *Great European Novels and Novelists*. In August 1936, when I became the head of the English Department at Shanxi University, I used Wu's book as the text for the third-year students' class on the English Novel.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> A.L. Pollard, *Great European Novels and Novelists*. quoted, p. 2.

<sup>251</sup> Xu Shihu 徐士瑚, "Jiushi zishu 九十自述", in Shanxi wenshi ziliao bianjibu 山西文史资料编辑部, *Shanxi wenshi ziliao quanbian di 10 juan* 山西文史资料全编 第10卷, Taiyuan, Shanxi wenshi ziliao bianjibu, pp. 1128-1253.

In 1935, Pollard was also a representative of the Oxford University Alumni Association in China (Beijing).<sup>252</sup>

In Sept. 1939, due to the second Sino-Japanese war, Tsinghua University moved to Kunming and formed the National South-West Associated University with Peking University and Nankai University.<sup>253</sup> Pollard Urquhart also went to Kunming to teach as a professor of Tsinghua University. In the Department of Foreign Languages of the National South-West Associated University he also started a course named “Selected Readings of Classic Works of European Literature” (Ouzhou wenxue mingzhu xuandu 欧洲文学名著选读), where nine professors were arranged to give lectures on eleven classic works of European literature as follows: Homer’s *Iliad and Odyssey* (Qian Zhongshu 钱钟书), *The Bible* (Mo Panqin 莫泮芹), Plato’s *Dialogues* (Wu Mi 吴宓), *The Decameron* (Chen Futian 陈福田), *The Divine Comedy* (Pollard Urquhart), *Don Quixote* (William Empson), *Faust* (Chen Quan 陈铨), *Rousseau’s Confessions* (Wen Jiasi 闻家骊), *Tolstoy’s War and Peace* and *Dostoyevsky’s The Brothers Karamazov* (Ye Gongchao 叶公超).<sup>254</sup>

On 23rd October 1940, Pollard Urquhart died in Kunming 昆明, due to the result of an air raid on the Burma Road. The Administrative Department of the Republic of China issued an executive order praising the British professor.<sup>255</sup> The *Times* carried

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<sup>252</sup> Ji Zhe 记者, “Niuujin daxue tongxue 21 ri1 jucan 牛津大学同学二十一日聚餐” (Oxford University students have a dinner on the 21st of this month), *Huabei ribao* 华北日报(*North China Daily News*), Sept.13, 1935, p. 6.

<sup>253</sup> Wang Xuezheng 王学珍, Jiang Changren 江长仁, Liu Wenyuan 刘文渊 (ed.), *Guoli Xinan lianhe daxue shiliao. Zong lanjuan* 国立西南联合大学史料 总揽卷 (*Historical materials of National Southwest Associated University. General volume*). Kunming, Yunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998, p. 1.

<sup>254</sup> Zhao Ruihong 赵瑞蕙, “Jinian Wu Mi jiaoshou cishi ershi zhounian 纪念吴宓教授辞世二十周年” (Commemorating the 20th anniversary of Professor Wu Mi's death), In *Zhuyi Wu Mi* 追忆吴宓 *Recalling Wu Mi*, Beijing, Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2001, p. 49.

<sup>255</sup> Xing Zhengyuan 行政院, *Xingzhengyuan Gongbao* 行政院公报 *Bulletin of the Executive Yuan*, Dec, 27, 1940, p.17

Memorial notices in 1941 and 1943 for Pollard: “The most loyal and generous friend and above all the most beloved brother.”<sup>256</sup>

### 3. 1. 2 R. D. Jameson

A colleague of Pollard Urquhart at the Tsinghua University was the American Rupert Deloy Jameson (1895-1959), also known with his Chinese name Zhai Mengsheng 翟孟生. Jameson was called to teach the history of European literature and European Medieval literature at Tsinghua University from 1925 to 1938.<sup>257</sup> Under his guidance, in 1935, Tian Dewang had completed his master’s thesis, *A Comparative Study of the Metaphors of Milton and Dante*,<sup>258</sup> that it was also the earliest master's thesis with Dante as the theme in China.

Jameson was educated at the University of Wisconsin, where he took his B.A. and M. A. degrees; after graduation, he continued study at the University of Chicago, then, in Europe, he studied at Montpellier (France) and King’s College, London.<sup>259</sup> In 1925, Jameson went to China, to teach at Tsinghua University.

As Pollard Urquhart, Jameson also alternated his teaching activity with the writing of didactic material. In 1932, Jameson’s *A Short History of European Literature*, a text in five volumes in English, was released by the Commercial Press;<sup>260</sup> this book,

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<sup>256</sup> <https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/fallen-alumni/arthur-lewis-pollard-urquhart>

<sup>257</sup> Qi Jiaying 齐家莹 (ed.), *Tsinghua renwen xueke nianpu* 清华人文学科年谱 (*Annals of humanities, Tsinghua University*). Beijing, Tsinghua daxue chubanshe, 1999, p. 25.

<sup>258</sup> Tsinghua daxue xiaoshi yanjiushi 清华大学校史研究室 (ed.), *Tsinghua daxue shiliao xuanbian di er juan, guoli Tsinghua daxue shiqi 1928-1937*. 清华大学史料选编 第2卷 国立清华大学时期 1928-1937. Beijing, Tsinghua daxue chubanshe, 1991, pp. 660-661.

<sup>259</sup> John Greenway, “R. D. Jameson (1895-1959)”, *Western Folklore*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1960, p. 153.

<sup>260</sup> Interestingly, Jameson was not only an expert in foreign literature, he was also interested in Chinese culture, especially in folklore. For this reason, he also wrote a monograph in 1932, titled *Three lectures on Chinese Folklore*. In this monograph, he studied some classic Chinese folk tales and provided a bibliography for further research. His interest in Chinese folklore may be related to his long-term study of medieval European literature, because both of them are full of imagination and fantasy; R. D. Jameson, *Three Lectures on Chinese Folklore*. Beijing, The San Yu Press, 1932.

of more than 1,500 pages, describes the evolution of Western literature from ancient time – the ancient Hebrew and Greek literature – to the modern time, that is the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The book was based on the notes of his courses “From Medieval European Literature to Dante” (*Zhongshiji wenxue zhi Danding* 中世纪文学至但丁) and “Short History of European Literature” (*Xiyang wenxue gaiyao* 西洋文学概要) taught at Tsinghua University. In the preface, he wrote:

This *Short History of European Literature* is intended to serve as a textbook and as a handbook, and at the same time to present in broad outline the literary background and the historical information necessary for those who wish to acquire comprehension of the strength, weakness, and beauty of Western culture. The needs of students in higher middle schools, colleges, and universities have been particularly kept in mind. Most of the material has been presented to successive classes at the National Tsing Hua University and has undergone frequent revision.

[.....]

In the case of each author I have attempted to show: a) the general characteristics of this work in so far as those characteristics have been defined by the consensus of critical opinion; b) the relations between his work and the literary traditions which surrounded and influenced it; c) the effects of his work upon subsequent literary traditions. I have confined myself to those commonplaces which it has seemed to me would be of the greatest value to a student who is beginning his study of literature. I have tried to examine the material from an historical, rather than from a critical or an aesthetic, point of view. I have ventured to differ from those ghostly collaborated the consensus of whose opinion has been my guide on only two points: first, in treating the history of European literature as a unit rather than as the sum of individual

national traditions; and second, in attempting to our indicate some of the reasons for the degeneration of our literature in the nineteen the century.<sup>261</sup>

We can see from this quotation that Jameson's emphasis was on presenting the history of Western literature, and his overview of Italian literature could serve as a good example for that. When he initially presented Italian literature, he divided it into the following parts: "Italian literature in the Thirteenth century", "St. Francis of Assisi: 1182-1226", "Imaginative Italian literature before Dante", "Dante Alighieri: 1265-1321", "The Divine Comedy", and "Dante's other compositions".<sup>262</sup> When he introduced Italian literature during the Renaissance, he divided it into the following sections: "Social and Political Conditions in Italy", "The Italian Humanists: Early Group", "The Medici", "Italian Humanists: Late Group", "Short Story Writers", "Italian Epic Literature", "Savonarola: 1452-1498".

These textbooks were the tools through which Chinese students at that time discovered the history and development of Western literature, and at the same time formed, built their personal store of knowledge to become the future 'intellectuals' of Modern China.

In "Zhong Shu with the teachers at Tsinghua University" (Zhongshu he Qinghua daxue de laoshi 钟书和清华大学的老师), Yuan Feng recalls the great care and effort that Qian Zhongshu took over his studies at Tsinghua University in order to better understand the Western literature characteristics: "Qian Zhongshu was an inquisitive person. He likes to read the original works. When reading the original works, he often

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<sup>261</sup> R. D. Jameson, *A Short History of European literature*. Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1930, pp. 1-2.

<sup>262</sup> R. D. Jameson, *A Short History of European literature*. quoted, pp. 18-19.



uses his own ideas to learn and process his learnings. When Qian Zhongshu was a sophomore in college, he studied Jameson's 'Short History of European Literature' (Xiyang wenxue gaiyao 西洋文学概要) and Richards's 'Western novel class' (Xiyang jingdian xiaoshuo 西洋经典小说) in his spare time. He tried his best to read all the literary works involved in the class".<sup>263</sup> After returning to China in 1939, Qian taught European Renaissance Literature in the Southwest Associated University.<sup>264</sup>

Jameson returned to the United States in 1938 and died in 1959 in Las Vegas, New Mexico, United States.<sup>265</sup>

### 3.2 Wu Mi: from Harvard to Southwest Associated University

After briefly examining the foreign teachers involved in didactic activities in the New modern universities, we turn our attention to the main focus of this chapter: Chinese professors and students who frequented the same institutions at the same time.

The first one was Wu Mi who we have already mentioned as Director of the Department of Foreign Languages of Tsinghua University, a professor who had close relations with foreign professors and who played an important role in the creation of foreign literary studies in Chinese universities. The cultural and literary career of Wu Mi has been neglected up to now, because he was not part of the mainstream of the May Fourth Movement. He was one of the founders of the journal *Xueheng* which as

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<sup>263</sup> Yuan Feng 袁峰, *Qian Zhongshu de dushu shenghuo* 钱钟书的读书生活 (*Qian Zhongshu's reading life*), Shenyang, Wanjuan chubanshe, 2018, pp. 43- 44.

<sup>264</sup> Zhang Sijing 张思敬, Sun Dunheng 孙敦恒, Jiang Changren 江长仁 (ed.), *Guoli Xinan lianhe daxue shiliao, san, jiaoxue, keyan juan* 国立西南联合大学史料 (三) 教学, 科研卷 (*Historical materials of National Southwest United University (3), teaching and scientific research volume*). Kunming, Yunnan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998, pp. 148-173.

<sup>265</sup> John Greenway, "R. D. Jameson (1895-1959)", *Western Folklore*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1960, pp. 153-154.

Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker has written “was all but erased from standard literary histories of the People’s Republic of China, perceived as merely conservative if not downright reactionary, or simply dismissed as inconsequential”.<sup>266</sup> The same reasons caused the oblivion of Wu Mi's research and studies on the spread of Italian Literature in China. Although Wu Mi did not dedicate himself to the translation of Italian literary works, his critical and interpretative work on Italian literature was fundamental, or better the role he played in presenting and disseminating Italian literature among his students and colleagues was fundamental, as we will see in this chapter.

Through the research into his teaching and literary development activities, we learned more about how Italian literature was embraced at Chinese universities.

Wu Mi 吴宓 (1894-1978), born in Jingyang 泾阳, Shaanxi, was a well-known scholar, poet, editor and educator of modern China. He graduated from Tsinghua University in 1916 and went to the United States for further education in 1917.<sup>267</sup> There he successively graduated from University of Virginia and Harvard University. He learned under the well-known humanist scholar Professor Babbitt, as many other intellectuals of *Xueheng* group, while studying at Harvard University.<sup>268</sup> In 1921 he received the master’s degree from Harvard University and then returned to China, where he was invited by Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 (1890-1945), who was also a graduate of Harvard University, to teach at Nanjing Southeast University. He was appointed Dean of the College of Chinese Classics Studies of Tsinghua University in February 1925, and became responsible for teaching translation techniques.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, “Reconsidering *Xueheng*: Neo-conservatism in Early Republican China”, in K. A. Denton, M. Hockx, *Literary Societies of Republican China*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2008, p. 137.

<sup>267</sup> Wu Mi 吴宓, *Wu Mi zibian nianpu (1894-1925)* 吴宓自编年谱 (*Wu mi's chronology 1894-1925*). Beijing, Sanlian shudian, 1995, p. 157.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.* p. 211.

<sup>269</sup> Qi Jiaying 齐家莹 (ed.), *Tsinghua renwen xueke nianpu* 清华人文学科年谱 (*Annals of humanities, Tsinghua University*). Beijing, Tsinghua daxue chubanshe, 1999, p. 25.

Since 1926, he had been working as a professor for the Foreign Literature Department of Tsinghua University.<sup>270</sup> He also once served as Dean of the Foreign Language Department from 1926 to 1927 and from 1932 to 1934.<sup>271</sup>

Apart from being a professor, Wu Mi was an important editor. In collaboration with Mei Guangdi and others, they founded the magazine *Xue Heng* 学衡 (*Critical Review*) in 1921 and served as chief editor of the literary supplement of the *Dagong bao* 大公报 (*Da Kung Po*).<sup>272</sup> In 1937, due to the political situation, Wu Mi was forced to move to the South with Tsinghua University and then worked as a professor for National South-West Associated University. In 1946, Wu Mi joined Wuhan University, where he worked as professor and dean for the Foreign Language Department. He then went on to teach in Chongqing and other places after 1949 and eventually died of illness in 1978 in Jingyang, Shaanxi.<sup>273</sup>

Wu Mi's interest in Italian literature dated back to his studies in Harvard University. Unlike other intellectuals during the May Fourth Movement period, who were quite enthusiastic about the introduction and translation of Italian literature, Wu Mi discovered the Dante studies when he was a student at the Harvard University,

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<sup>270</sup> The courses he taught included "Monographic Studies on poem" (*Shige yanjiu* 诗歌研究), "the History of Ancient Western Literature" (*Xiyang wenxue shi gudai* 西洋文学史 古代部分), "A Comparison between Chinese and Western Poems" (*Zhong Xi shige bijiao* 中西诗歌比较), "Poem Translation" (*Shige fanyi* 诗歌翻译), "The History of World Literature" (*Shijie wenxue shi* 世界文学史).

<sup>271</sup> Wu Mi 吴宓, *Wu Mi zibian nianpu (1894-1925)* 吴宓自编年谱 (*Wu mi's chronology 1894-1925*). Beijing, Sanlian shudian, 1995, pp. 260-261; Qi Jiaying 齐家莹 (ed.), *Tsinghua renwen xueke nianpu* 清华人文学科年谱 (*Annals of humanities, Tsinghua University*). Beijing, Tsinghua daxue chubanshe, 1999, p. 25.

<sup>272</sup> Shen Weiwei 沈卫威(ed.), "*Xueheng pai*" *biannian wenshi* "学衡派"编年文事 (*Chronological and literary activities of the Critical Review*). Nanjing, Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2015, p. 27; for a detailed explanation on the *Xueheng* group see the article by Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, "Reconsidering *Xueheng*: Neo-conservatism in Early Republican China", in K. A. Denton, M. Hockx, *Literary Societies of Republican China*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2008, pp. 137-169.

<sup>273</sup> Li Jikai 李继凯, Liu Ruichun 刘瑞春 (ed.), *Zhuyi Wu Mi* 追忆吴宓 (*Recall Wu Mi*). Beijing, shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2001, pp. 20-25.

where he met Charles Hall Grandgent (1862-1939), Chairman of the U.S. Dante Society.<sup>274</sup> In 1922, come back to China, Wu Mi first introduced Grandgent, publishing an article in the journal *Xueheng*:

按，葛兰坚先生 Charles Hall Grandgent 为美国哈佛大学南欧各国文 Romance Languages 教授，而美国当代研究但丁 Dante 专集之学者中所共推为第一人。美国之有但丁学会，始于十九世纪之后半叶，为 Charles Eliot Norton 所创立，卒后，约十余年前，而先生[葛兰坚]继之。曾任该会会长。手自校刊但丁全集。而以英文注释之。又译但丁全集为英文诗。此外著有研究但丁之书多种。如 *The Power of Dante*, 如 *The Spiritual Message of Dante*, 如 *The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, 皆是也。[...]<sup>275</sup>

[Grandgent is a professor at Harvard University who devoted to studying southern European literature, and he was the first scholar jointly recommended by all American contemporary Dante researchers. The American Academy of Dante was founded by Charles Eliot Norton in the second half of the nineteenth century, and taken over by Grandgent about ten years ago after Norton's death. Grandgent, who acted as the president of the Academy, personally proofread the completed works of Dante, and annotated them in English. He also translated the works of Dante into English language. He also wrote many books about the study of Dante, such as *The Power of Dante*, *The Spiritual Message of Dante*, and *The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, etc.]

As evident from the quote, Wu Mi gave a brief introduction of Grandgent and some of his representative achievements. However, Wu translated this article for the main purpose of introducing Grandgent's thoughts, especially his comments on the value of literary works. Wu agreed with Grandgent that the value of literary works lied in the works themselves, like Grandgent said, "To a strictly judicial mind, it would seem,

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<sup>274</sup> Wu Mi 吴宓, *Wu Mi zibian nianpu (1894-1925)* 吴宓自编年谱 (*Wu mi's chronology 1894-1925*). Beijing, Sanlian shudian, 1995, p. 197.

<sup>275</sup> Grandgent, Charles Hall, "Gen Lanjian lunxin 葛兰坚论新" (Grandgent on New). Translated by Wu Mi 吴宓 and Chen Xunci 陈训慈. *Xueheng* 学衡 (*Critical Review*), vol. 6, 1922, p. 1.

the quality of age or of novelty would carry no necessary implication of value; the question of acceptance would be decided on the basis of intrinsic merit.”<sup>276</sup>

In 1925, Wu translated Grandgent's introduction of the *Divine Comedy*:

按，葛兰坚先生 Charles Hall Grandgent 为今世但丁名家。（详见本杂志第六期《葛兰坚论新》篇），其所校刻之但丁《神曲》译述，总序有一篇（Introduction），述但丁生平故事及《神曲》之内容体制种种，系荟萃群书而成，简明精当，爰取译之。本杂志近顷颇有关于但丁之作。如第三十九期钱稻孙《但丁神曲杂剧》等，读者如先读此篇，籍知大概，则可以逐出了解欣赏。而不致味同嚼蜡矣。其中每部（地狱，净罪界，天国为一部，每部三十三曲，唯地狱曲一部。连全书开场之一曲，共三十四曲，散步合共百曲。详后）之前各有分序，每曲又有叙略 Argument，当以次分译云译者识。<sup>277</sup>

[Grandgent is a master of Dante in the contemporary world. (For details, please refer to the sixth issue of Grandgent's Thoughts. In his translated text of Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, there is an introduction of Dante's life and of story and systems of *The Divine Comedy*, which absorbs the quintessence of a variety of books with clear and concise language. Recently, we have published many contributions about Dante's works, such as "Dante's *The Divine Comedy*" written by Qian Daosun and published in the 39th issue. It's advisable for readers to read Qian's "Dante's *The Divine Comedy*" before enjoying *The Divine Comedy* for easier understanding. In Qian's "Dante's *The Divine Comedy*", an introduction is given to *Inferno*, *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* (there are 33 cantos in each of them, except the *Inferno* that has one more. The first canto is the *proemio* of the book, so this cantica has 34 cantos. There are 100 cantos in the entire book. For details, refer below). Besides, the author also makes arguments for each of those three parts.]

From above, we can see that Wu is not only very familiar with Grandgent's works about Dante, but he was also well-informed on what were already published for Chinese readers. As it was difficult for Chinese readers to read *The Divine Comedy* at

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<sup>276</sup> Grandgent, Charles Hall, *Old and New. Sandry papers*, Cambridge, Harvard University press, 1920, p. 4.

<sup>277</sup> Grandgent, Charles Hall. "Danding Shenqu tonglun 但丁神曲通论" (The introduction of Dante's *Divine Comedy*). Translated by Wu Mi. *Xueheng 学衡 (Critical Review)*, vol. 41, 1925, p. 1.

that time, he recommended Qian's translated version of *The Divine Comedy* in order to get a general understanding of the Comedy. This reveals that Wu is very satisfied with Qian's version, and, as we have already explained in the first chapter, Wu Mi appreciated the translation work by Qian Daosun, however, in his diary, he regretfully jotted down: "in the autumn and September of 1921, the *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (chief editor Shen Yanbing) edited by the Commercial Press published the *Shenqu yiluan* translated by Mr. Qian daosun, which commemorates the 600 year of Dante's death. It is very essential, but it has not attracted people's attention."<sup>278</sup>

When Wu Mi was a student at Harvard University, he used his winter break to compile a pamphlet titled "Bibliographical Summary of Western Literature" (*Xiyang wenxue jingyao shumu* 西洋文学精要书目) because he noticed that the library of Harvard University had a very rich collection of books, ranking third among all libraries in the United States and first among American universities. The total number of volumes in all categories was about 1.8 million. Therefore, Wu Mi prepared this booklet to introduce Chinese readers to some basic books for the study of Western literature, among which Wu also recommended some bibliographical sources for the study of Italian literature, such as *Italian Literature. (Short Histories of the Literature of the World Series)* by R. Garnett, and *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, translated into English prose, edited by Charles Eliot Norton.<sup>279</sup> In addition, Wu Mi also gave

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<sup>278</sup> In 1925, shortly after his arrival in Beijing, Wu Mi visited Qian Daosun. Later, Qian published his translation of the Fourth and Fifth cantos of *The Hell* of Dante's *The Divine Comedy* and his adapted work *The Magical Dreams of Dante* [Danding meng chuanqi 但丁梦传奇] on *The Critical Review* (*Xueheng* 学衡), a journal with Wu as the chief editor. Even though Wu Mi had already mentioned his impression of Qian Daosun in his diary before, he felt particularly regretful of China's lack of translation of *the Divine Comedy*. Wu Mi wrote in 1921. See Wu Mi 吴宓, *Wu Mi zhibian nianpu (1894-1925)* 吴宓自编年谱 (*Wu mi's chronology 1894-1925*). Beijing, Sanlian shudian, 1995, p. 222.

<sup>279</sup> Wu Mi, "Xiyang wenxue bidu shumu 西洋文学必读书目" (Required bibliography of Western Literature), *Xueheng* 学衡 (Critical Review), vol.22, 1923, p. 2, p. 5.

some information to Chinese students and readers at that time on how to buy or get these books; precious information also for us, because it allows us to be able to understand how foreign books reached China at that time:

The books mentioned above can be purchased directly by remittance to the original publishing house in the United Kingdom and the United States, or by the following methods: first, by ordering from Maruzen Bookstore in Tokyo, Japan, and then paying at the local post office when the book arrives. Secondly, by ordering from Oxford University Press on Henan Road in Shanghai, which is the best bookstore in Shanghai for foreign books. Third, the foreign book departments of the Commercial Press and the China Bookstore could be commissioned to order the books, but it would take longer.<sup>280</sup>

Wen Yuanning 温源宁 (1899-1984), a scholar who worked with Wu Mi in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature of Tsinghua University for a long time, believed that during the period of the New Culture Movement, Chinese writers had too superficial and impetuous knowledge of Western literature. At that time, there were only a few people who could really devote themselves to the research of Western literature. Among them, Wu Mi was undoubtedly very absorbed in Western literature:

As an editor, Wu Mi supported all things Hu Shi opposed. Wu Mi founded the *Critical Review* a few years ago and publicly admitted that its purpose was to fight the Vernacular Language Movement and try to maintain the outdated classical Chinese. The literary page of *Ta Kung Pao* edited by Wu Mi has also moved forward courageously, striving to make the Chinese literary community care about the reality (essence) of Western literature instead of the surface of Western literature. In the contemporary literary world, people like Wu Mi deserve our applause: they think reading the works

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<sup>280</sup> Wu Mi 吴宓, "Xiyang wenxue jingyao shumu 西洋文学精要书目" (Bibliographical Summary of Western Literature). *Xueheng* 学衡 (Critical Review), vol.6, 1922, pp. 1-10.

of Homer, Virgil, Dante and Milton is always good. However, Wu Mi's ideas were ridiculed by people, who think this is ignorant of the present state of affairs.<sup>281</sup>

In 1933, Wu Mi also introduced Francesco De Sanctis's *The History of Italian Literature* and how to buy it in the *Ta Kung Pao*. He wrote:

The English translation of *The History of Italian Literature*, in two volumes, was originally written by Francesco de Sanctis, with an English translation by Joan Redfern, and a preface by Benedetto Croce, the famous Italian literary figure and philosopher. Recently published by the University of Oxford, England, the book is priced at forty-two shillings each. The book is available for sale at the French Book Company in the Peking Hotel in Peking.<sup>282</sup>

From this, we are able to know about some Italian books translated into English which were also purchasable in China. This information broadens our knowledge about the spread of Italian literature in China in the 30s. Wu Mi's research into Italian literature was not limited to Dante only, he taught courses not only about Dante, but also introduced other Italian writers to students. Above all he was interested in presenting and analyzing literary critics written by Italian authors.

Let see what were the pedagogical principles of Wu Mi and how he promoted the spread of Italian literature during his academic career.

### 3. 2. 1 The pedagogical activities of Wu Mi

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<sup>281</sup> Wen Yuanning 温源宁, *Yizhi banjie* 一知半解 (*Imperfect Understanding*), translated by Nan Xing 南星. Shenyang, Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1991, pp. 2-3.

<sup>282</sup> Wu Mi 吴宓, "Yidali wenxue shi [xinshu jieshao] 意大利文学史[新书介绍]" (The History of Italian Literature [New book Introduction]), *Dagong bao* 大公报 (*Ta Kung Pao*), Ago. 08, 1932, p. 8.



Wu Mi started very early on the specialized research of foreign literature. As early as 1922, he pointed out the significance of foreign literature study which can be seen as the philosophy of his research. In his article *On The New Culture Movement* (*Lun Xinwenhua yundong* 论新文化运动) published in 1922, Wu Mi wrote:

If we want to promote the new culture in China today, we must absorb and converge the quintessence from both Chinese and Western civilization. On one hand, we should study, retain, spread, and promote Chinese academic and artistic classic works from ancient times. On the other hand, we should also study, absorb, illustrate, understand and learn from the western academic and artistic masterpieces from ancient times. Considering the wide range of sources as well as the limitation of time and talents, it is suggested to first make a selection and give priority to the better ones. The Chinese culture is mainly based on Confucianism, supplemented by Buddhism while the western culture is bred by Greece and Roman philosophies as well as Christianity. The new culture must be built on the full understanding of these existing cultures.<sup>283</sup>

In 1926, Wu Mi became head of the Foreign Literature Department at Tsinghua University, he formulated the curriculum of the Foreign Literature Department, copying the model he had learned when he was a student at Harvard University.<sup>284</sup> The course lasted four years, and the main feature was that regardless of the majors in English, French, or German, students, besides four years of study of a foreign language study, had to study the European literary history and the masterpieces from different eras, such as works of Dante and Shakespeare. In addition, they were also required to take an elective course in at least one of other foreign languages. These

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<sup>283</sup> Wu Mi 吴宓, "Lun Xinwenhua yundong 论新文化运动" (*On The New Culture Movement*), *Xueheng* 学衡 (*Critical Review*), no.4, 1922, p. 14.

<sup>284</sup> Wu Xuezhao 吴学昭, *Wu Mi yu Chen Yinke* 吴宓与陈寅恪 (*Wu Mi and Chen Yinke*), Beijing, Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 1995, p. 36.

requirements helped students to grasp a comparatively comprehensive picture of western literature.

Since 1926, when the Department of Western Literature (renamed the Department of Foreign Languages in 1928) was first established in Tsinghua University, it has paid great attention to the integrated study of the summary of Western literature and the history of Western literature of all times. It offered staged research courses on the history of Western literature from Ancient Greece to Rome, from the Middle Ages to Dante and the Renaissance. Wu Mi, who worked at Tsinghua from 1925 to 1937, had R. Jameson, Robert Winter (1887-1987) as colleagues, they had a close friendship during the years at Tsinghua. They three together held the course of the History of western Literature; Wu Mi taught the first part of the course, that was the literature of ancient Greek and Latin literature; R. Jameson taught the second part which was dedicated to the Medieval period, including Dante, and professor Winter taught the last part, that is the European literature in the Renaissance. When the Anti-Japanese War broke out in 1937, R. Jameson returned to the United States, R. Winter stayed in Peking as an expatriate, helping with the university's properties and Wu Mi moved to the South, where Tsinghua University, Peking University and Nankai University organized a new campus.<sup>285</sup>

In 1939, Wu Mi started teaching "The History of World Literature" at National Southwestern Associated University (Xinan lianda 西南联大). The course was originally called "History of Western Literature" (*Xiyang wenxue shi* 西洋文学史), but then he decided to change the name, since the wide range of subjects it covered, including literature of Persia, India and Japan.

We can reconstruct the content of his course thanks to a copy of Wu Mi's English draft of the outline of "The History of World Literature", which was first kept by a student, Li Xiwen 李希文, a 1944 Class alumnus of the Department of Foreign

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<sup>285</sup> Qi Jiaying 齐家莹 (ed.), *Tsinghua renwen xueke nianpu*, quoted, p. 25.

Languages at National Southwestern Associated University, and then passed it to the Wu Mi's daughter, Wu Xuezhao 吴学昭 (1929-). Wu Xuezhao recalled that the original draft composed by her father was lost during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).<sup>286</sup>

From 1938 to 1944, Wu Mi was engaged in teaching "The History of World Literature" in the National Southwest Associated University as well as Yunnan University and China-France University in the proximity. From 1944 to 1949, he launched this course almost every year successively in Yenching University, Sichuan University and Wuhan University.<sup>287</sup>

The part dedicated to the Italian Literature, that we can reconstruct by checking Wu Mi's English draft of the outline of "The History of World Literature", consisted of the following sections:

#### **Italian Literature**

(I) Early Italian literature (poetry): Provençal influence–

1. School of Sicily (1220-1250 A. D.)
2. Poets of Tuscany: the precursors of Dante (c. 1290)

(II) Dante Alighieri (1265-1321)– His Italian writings:

1. *Vita Nuova* (The New Life) c. 1292. Beatrice Portinari, afterwards wife of Simone de' Bardi.

2. *Il Convito or Convivio* (Banquet or Symposium) c. 1310.

3. *Divina Commedia* (the Divine Comedy) 1313-1321: Inferno (Hell), Purgatorio (Purgatory), Paradiso (Paradise).

(III) Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) "Sonnets" for the love of Laura de Noves (c. 1308- 1348) of Avignon, wife of Hugh de Sade.

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<sup>286</sup> Wu Xuezhao 吴学昭, "Wu Mi he tade Shijie wenxue shi dagang 吴宓和他的《世界文学史大纲》" [Wu Mi and his *A History of World Literature*]. Shanghai, *Wenhui bao* 文汇报 (*Wen Wei Po*), April. 22, 2020, p. 12.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid*, p. 12.

(IV). Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) – *Decameron* written 1348-1353.

(V) The 15<sup>th</sup> Century (c. 1375-1745) – Barren.

(VI) Literary Renaissance of the Age of Lorenzo de Medici (1475-1500)

(VII) The Classical Age of Leo X (c. 1500- 1525):

1. Chivalric Epic: Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533) – *Orlando Furioso* (1516).

2. History and Politics: Niccolò Machiavelli (1469- 1527) – *The Prince* (1513);

*Discourses on Livy; History of Florence, etc.*

3. Social Life: Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) – *Book of the Courtier* (1513).

4. Literary Criticism: Marco Girolamo Vida (1480- 1566) – *Art of Poetry* (1527)

in Latin.

5. Autobiography: Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571) – *Autobiography* published 1728.

(VIII) Italian Literature of the 16th Century (c. 1525- 1600): Christian Epic: Torquato Tasso (1544- 1595) – *Jerusalem Delivered* (1581)

(IX) Italian Literature of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century – Stagnation; Conceits (Marini)

(X) Italian literature of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century– Recovery: Comedy: Carlo Goldoni (1707– 1793).

(XI) Italian Literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century – The Romantic Period (1789-1890):

1. Novel: Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873) – *The Betrothed Lovers* (1825).

2. Lyric Poetry: Giacomo Leopardi (1798–1837)

3. Patriotism: Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872)

(XII) Contemporary Italian Literature (1860- 1940) – National independence but literary confusion:

1. Nationalism in Lyric poetry: Giosuè Carducci (1836– 1907)

2. Voluptuous in Novel: Gabriele d’Annunzio (Gaetano Rapagnetta, 1863 – 1938)

3. Realism in Drama: Luigi Pirandello (1867 – 1936)

4. Aesthetic idealism in Philosophy: Benedetto Croce (1866 –). Giovanni Gentile (1875–)<sup>288</sup>

From this syllabus of the teaching of Italian literature, we can understand that the knowledge of Italian Literature demonstrated by Wu Mi was quite broad and his course covered all the most significant periods of the Italian literary history. His teachings were directed not only to Dante, his *Divine Comedy* and the Renaissance period, which was widely appreciated by Chinese intellectuals at that period, but also to other significant Italian writers of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is significant that Wu Mi also tackled authors of his contemporary time, such as D'Annunzio, Pirandello, authors that other Chinese intellectuals were translating for the first time.

According to Wu Xuezhao's recollection, "The History of World Literature" course of Wu Mi was very popular at The National Southwest Associated University and it left students deeply impressed. Wu Mi often used lists to summarize facts. For example, when he was lecturing about Dante's life in relation to his works, he made a clear list with explanations:

1. Love (Dream) produced love, leading him to write *The New Life*

Dante met Beatrice on the riverfront in Firenze, and fell in love with her at first sight. After her death, he wrote *The New Life* in profound sorrow.

2. Study (Learning) made academic research, leading him to write *Il Convivio*

*Il Convivio* introduces knowledge of a wide range to readers as food for thought, hence the title *Il Convivio*.

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<sup>288</sup> Wu Mi 吴宓, *Shiie wenxueshi dagang* 世界文学史大纲 (*A History of World Literature*). Beijing, Commercial press, 2020, pp. 185-187. As represented by Figure 14.

3. Politics (Experience) caused politics, leading him to write *The Divine Comedy*

*The Divine Comedy* depicts the social and political changes in Firenze when it was undergoing the transition from feudal to capitalist society. “The Inferno” in the book represents reality, the heaven is the ideal to be realized, and the purgatory symbolizes the suffering from reality to ideal.<sup>289</sup>

In addition to the list, Wu Mi sometimes drew pictures to illustrate the content of his lessons. He drew the “Cosmography of Dante’s *Divine Comedy*” to explain Dante’s the *Divine Comedy*, which left a deep impression on students,<sup>290</sup> as in the case of Liu Xuyi 刘绪贻 (1918- 2013), a well-known historian and his student, who recalled:

I selected a lesson of ‘The History of World Literature’ lectured by Wu Mi. In order to teach this course, he also designated *A Short History of European Literature* by R. D. Jameson, a former Tsinghua University professor, as a required reference book, which totals to over 1,500 pages, spanning from the ancient Hebrew and Greek literature to the European literature (including the American literature) in the 1920s, hence it is rich in content. In addition to the history of European and American literature, Mr Wu’s self-composed lecture handout which also includes the history of Indian, Japanese, Egyptian and Middle Eastern literature.

Wu Mi was very familiar with what he lectured and could recite major events in literary history such as birth and death dates, writings and life stories of important writers and the publication time, places and presses of important works without making a single mistake. He had another outstanding trait: making

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<sup>289</sup> Wu Xuezhao 吴学昭, “Wu Mi he tade Shijie wenxue shi dagang 吴宓和他的《世界文学史大纲》” (Wu Mi and his *A History of World Literature*). *Wenhui bao*, April. 22, 2020, p. 12. As represented by Figure 15.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid*, p. 12.

comparison between the evolution of the western literature and the Chinese classical literature or pointing out the synchronic creation period between a foreign writer and a Chinese writer such as between Dante and writers in the Yuan Dynasty and between Shakespeare and Tang Xianzu [汤显祖].

Besides abundant and detailed reference materials, he was never late for class and even arrived in advance to write down keynotes on the blackboard. He was utterly absorbed in lecturing. For example, when talking about Dante's *Divine Comedy*, he gesticulated at heaven and hell, sometimes clapping his hands and looking up to the sky and even bowing his head and squatting down. When getting to Dante's love affair with Beatrice, he would also burst into loud shouts of her name "Beatrice"! So his lectures are quite lively, and students did enjoy it.<sup>291</sup>

During the 1930s and 1940s, Wu Mi had also another colleague, Tian Dewang, who was his student earlier. Their teaching and literature creation activities enabled us to learn more about how Italian literature was presented to Chinese students and readers. Collecting information from university files, letters exchanged among intellectuals, their diaries, as well as biographies and their literature activities allows us to discover many other information relating to the reception and the spread of Italian literature in China, and also allows us to ascertain how China was also affected by the rest of the world in the studies of Italian literature.

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<sup>291</sup> Liu Xuyi 刘绪贻, "Wo suo zhidao de Wu Mi jiaoshou 我所知道的吴宓教授" (What I know about Professor Wu Mi) . *Shehui kexue luntan 社会科学论坛 (Social Science Forum)*, vol. 12, 2008, pp. 128-140.





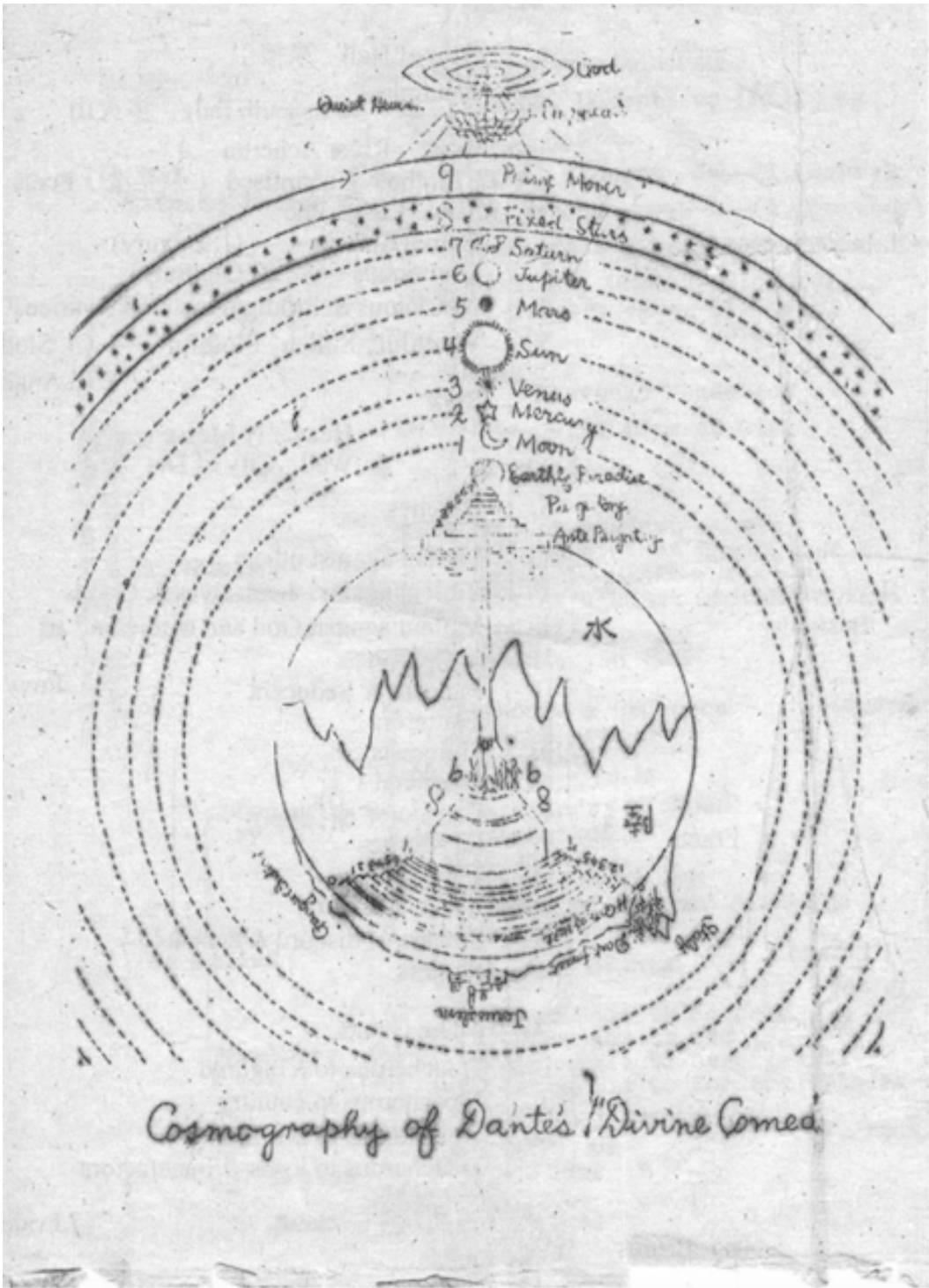


Figure 15: One of the illustrations of the *History of Literature of the World* by Wu Mi.

### 3. 3 Tian Dewang: from Beijing to Florence then back to China

Another topic related to the subject of this thesis, the reception of Italian literature in China, is the birth of what we call “The Italianistica” (Italian Studies) in China. It was often affirmed that until the 80s of the last century it did not exist in China,<sup>292</sup> and this is surely true if we consider the word “Italian Studies” only as a department or centre of research as they exist in the modern academic world. However, if we consider the situation of having a new centre of “knowledge” (or *Xinxue* 新学 “new-modern knowledge”), we can affirm that sprout of Italian Studies already existed in the 30s and 40s.

Clear evidence is provided by the biography of one of the most famous translators of Italian literature: Tian Dewang 田德望(1909-2000).

Tian Dewang, born in Wanxian 完县 of Hebei Province, is a prominent Chinese expert and translator in Italian literature. He was most well-known for translating the full version of the *Divine Comedy* from Italian to Chinese in the form of prose (1983-2000).

At the age of 12, Tian was admitted to Baoding Yude Middle School (Baoding Yude zhongxue 保定育德中学), where he studied English and started falling in love with reading masterpieces of foreign literature. Tian Dewang read Qian Daosun’s *Shenqu yiluan* when he was studying in Baoding Yude Middle School in the 1920, as he recalled in his *The Divine Comedy and Me (Wo yu Shen Qu 我与《神曲》)*: “I got to know this magnificent epic [referring to *The Divine Comedy*] as early as I was in middle

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<sup>292</sup> Lü Tongliu 吕同六, *Jimo shi yizuo qiao* 寂寞是一座桥 (*Loneliness is a bridge*). Wuhan, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002, pp. 119-120; Liu Mingjiu 柳鸣九, *Qie shuo zhegen luwei* 且说这根芦苇 柳鸣九文化自述 (*Tell me about this reed, Liu Mingjiu’s readme of culture*). Shanghai, Yuandong chubanshe, 2012, pp. 74-103.

school. At that time, the translation *Shenqu yiluan* by Qian Daosun was popular. Although it was merely a 'small slice', I was deeply impressed by Dante and began to pay attention to the progress of the translation of *The Divine Comedy* in China."<sup>293</sup> Tian Dewang apparently provides us a different information compared to that we have mentioned in the previous pages, written by Wu Mi in judging the translation of Qian Daosun ("It is very essential, but it has not attracted people's attention").

In 1925, Tian enrolled in the Department of Foreign Languages at Tsinghua University. His four years, until 1931, as an undergraduate at Tsinghua were spent diligently studying. After graduation, he entered the Institute of Foreign Languages, Tsinghua University Graduate School, while being a teaching assistant of the Department of Foreign Languages. In 1935, in the middle of the 30s, this brilliant student wrote his thesis on a Italian and British poet under the guidance of an American professor, that was the cosmopolitan Chinese university at that period. As already explained in the previous pages Tian Dewang wrote a master's degree thesis under the guidance of R.D. Jameson, entitled *A Comparative Study of the Metaphors of Milton and Dante*;<sup>294</sup> this also suggests that the courses on Dante offered by the professors at Tsinghua University, left a mark.

As we have already stated, Tian Dewang attended the course offered by Pollard Urquhart together with Zhao Luorui, who in her biographical essay wrote: "I learned Dante's *The Divine Comedy* in both English and Italian with teacher Pollard Urquhart together with my senior Tian Dewang, my only classmate. I gained most while studying with him in the three years at Tsinghua."<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> Tian Dewang 田德望, "Wo yu Shen Qu 我与《神曲》" (I and the *Divine Comedy*), in Tian Dewang 田德望, Yang Jiang 杨绛, etc. *Yibenshu he yige shijie: fanyijia bitan shijie wenxue mingzhu dao Zhongguo* 一本书和一个世界: 翻译家笔谈世界文学名著"到中国" (*A book and a world: translators' talk on the world literary masterpiece "to China"*). Beijing, Kunlun chubanshe, 2005, p. 3.

<sup>294</sup> Qi Jiaying 齐家莹 (ed.), *Tsinghua renwen xueke nianpu*, quoted, p. 25.

<sup>295</sup> Zhao Luorui 赵萝蕤, *Wo de dushu shengya* 我的读书生涯 (*My reading career*). Beijing, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1996, p. 2.

Stronger evidence on the existence of Italian studies in the 1930s in China, can be found in the memoirs that Li Funing wrote in 1980. He spoke highly of Pollard Urquhart as well and recalled the early school experience of Tian Dewang, who was his schoolmate at Tsinghua. In the chapter “My University days” (Jinru daxue xuexi 进入大学学习) in which he recalls the years of his studying at Tsinghua:

Tsinghua also selected some graduate students to study abroad. Mr. Tian Dewang, majoring in Italian literature, was one of them. Mr. Tian studied under the British Professor Pollard Urquhart when he was a graduate at Tsinghua University. Pollard Urquhart had taught English to an Italian aristocrat in Florence, so he learned Italian and began to study Dante's *The Divine Comedy*. After graduation, Mr. Tian Dewang was sent to Florence for further study. A year later, he transferred to Heidelberg University in Germany to listen to Dante-related lectures, so he had an in-depth study of *The Divine Comedy*, Dante's masterpiece. He also studied German literature there and was proficient in it as well.<sup>296</sup>

What is remarkable is that in the same year Tian master's thesis was approved, he had the opportunity to study abroad. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided him this chance, awarding him with a scholarship to pursue advanced studies in Italy for two years, from 1935 to 1937. When Tian arrived in Florence he studied under the guidance of an eminent Italianist Attilio Momigliano (1883-1952).<sup>297</sup>

How did Tian Dewang gain this opportunity to study in Italy? The next section will provide an overview of the procedure through which Tian Dewang was granted

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<sup>296</sup> Li Funing 李赋宁, *Xuexi yingyu yu congshi yingyu gongzuo de rensheng jingli* 学习英语与从事英语工作的人生历程 (*The life course of learning English and working in English*). Beijing, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2005, p. 26.

<sup>297</sup> Xu Dumei 许杜美, “Shen Qu yizhe Tian Dewang 《神曲》译者田德望” (Tian Dewang, the translator of the *Divine Comedy*), *Wenhui bao* 文汇报 (*Wen wei po*), Dec. 06, 2011, p. 11. As represented by Figure 17 and 18.

the Italian Foreign Ministry fellowship. On the Bulletin of the *Tsinghua fukan* 清华副刊 (*Tsinghua supplement*), I was able to find an announcement stating:

In 1934, The Institute for the Near and Far East of the Italian Prime Minister Mussolini informed us through his Minister in China that he intended to grant two Chinese students the opportunity to study in Italy in the next semester. The stipend will be 5,000 lire for each student for one year. One of them will be designated for philosophy and literature, and the other for political economy or chemistry or engineering or mathematics and physics. [...] They have selected Mr. Tian Dewang, a third-year student in the Department of Foreign Language Studies, and one other student from the Department of Political Science Studies. The curriculum vitae and transcripts of these two students will be submitted to the Ministry of Education along with supporting documents for approval. After examining the results of the students sponsored by the four universities, the Ministry of Education found Mr. Tian's grades were the most satisfactory and he was granted permission to study philosophy and literature in Italy. It is a great honor for our university to have been the first to do this, as only two students from the whole country can be sent to Italy.<sup>298</sup>

We can see in *Qinghua daxue xiaoyou tongxun* 清华大学校友通讯 (*Tsinghua University Alumni Newsletter*) in 1935 that Tian Dewang recorded that he had just arrived in Italy:

I arrived in Venice on the morning of August 31, stayed for three days, and arrived in Rome on September 3. I intended to study Italian at the "R. Università per stranieri" in Perugia, and then enter Florence University next spring. Now I have to change my plan to study Italian in Rome and go through

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<sup>298</sup> Jizhe 记者, "Yanjiu yuan tongxue Tian Dewang jun fu Yidali liuxue 研究院同学田德望君赴义留学" (Tian dewang, a classmate of the Institute, went to study in Italy). *Tsinghua fukan* 清华副刊 (*Tsinghua supplement*), 1934, vol. 42, no.4, pp. 22-23. As represented by Figure 16.

all the admission procedures because the beginner's course at the university in Perugia have ended. I will go to Florence at the beginning of October to study at that university and find a host family to live with and talk to. I hope to be able to perform well in the three aspects of "writing", "reading" and "speaking" in the three years.<sup>299</sup>

In 1936, Tian Dewang completed his registration in the school of literature and philosophy at the University of Florence. Tian had previously completed his undergraduate and master's studies in China, therefore, he began to study directly from the third year of University. Tian received his degree after two years of study, and his thesis was focused on *A Study of the Comments of Angelo Poliziano*.

Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494), a poet and famous Italian humanist, was first noticed among Chinese intellectuals in the diary of Hu Shi, but he did not gain attention at that time. In 1917, Hu Shi wrote in his diary on his way back to China:

车上读薛谢儿女士 (Edith Sichel) 之《再生时代》 (Renaissance)。“再生时代”者，欧史十五、十四两世纪之总称，旧译“文艺复兴时代”。吾谓文艺复兴不足以尽之，不如直译原意也。书中述欧洲各国国语之兴起，皆足供吾人之参考，故略记之。

中古之欧洲，各国皆有其土语，而无有文学。学者著述通问，皆用拉丁。拉丁之在当日，犹文言之在吾国也。国语之首先发生者，为意大利文。意大利者，罗马之旧畿，故其语亦最近拉丁，谓之拉丁之“俗语” (Vulgate) (亦名 Tusan, 以地名也)。

“俗语”之入文学，自但丁 (Dante) 始。但丁生于1265年，卒于1321年。其所著《神圣戏剧》 (Divine Comedy) 及《新生命》 (Vita Nuova), 皆以“俗语”为之。前者为韵文，后者为散文。从此开“俗语文学”之先，亦从此为意大利造文学的国语，亦从此为欧洲造新文学。

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<sup>299</sup> Tian Dewang 田德望, "Xiaoyou tongxin 校友通信" Alumni Newsletter. *Qinghua daxue xiaoyou tongxun* 清华大学校友通讯 (*Tsinghua University Alumni Newsletter*), vol.2, no.9, 1935, pp. 6-15.

稍后但丁者有皮特赖（Petrarch, 1304-1374）及包高嘉（Boccaccio, 1314-1375）两人。皮氏提倡文学，工诗歌，虽不以国语为倡，然其所作白话诗风云民间，深入人心。包氏工散文，其所著小说，流传一时，皆以俗语为之。遂助但丁而造意大利文学。

此后有阿褒梯（Leon Batista Alberti, 1405-1472年）者，博学多艺，其主张用俗语尤力。其言曰：“拉丁者，已死之文字，不足以供新国之用。”故阿氏虽工拉丁文，而其所著述乃皆用俗语。

继阿氏者，有诗人鲍里谢那（Poliziano）及弗罗连斯之大军罗冷槎（Lorenzo de Medici）。罗冷槎大君，亦诗人也。两人所作俗语诗歌皆卓然成家。俗语入诗歌而“俗语文学”真成矣。<sup>300</sup>

[Reading Renaissance by Edith Sichel on the way back. “Renaissance” refers to the 14th and 15th centuries in European history. The original Chinese translation is “Wenyi fuxing shidai 文艺复兴时代”, but I believe the literal translation of “zaisheng shidai 再生时代” is better. The emergence of national languages of different countries described in the book may serve as reference for us, therefore taking some notes here.

In medieval Europe, there were native languages from different countries, but no literature. Scholars wrote in Latin. Latin back then was similar to classical Chinese in China. Among these countries, Italy was the first to develop its national language. Italy was the royal domain of Rome, for which it developed a language close to Latin, called “Vulgate” (also named Tuscan [sic!], by the place name).

“Vulgate” was first used for literature by Dante. Dante was born in 1265 and died in 1321. His *Divine Comedy* and *Vita Nuova* are all in “Vulgate”. The former is rhyme and the latter prose. He pioneered “Vulgate literature”, and also determined the language for Italian literature and created the new literature for Europe.

Shortly after Dante, there were Petrarch (1304-1374) and Boccaccio (1314-1375). Petrarch promoted literature and was well versed in poetry. Though not encouraging the use of national language, his vernacular poems were popular among the people.

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<sup>300</sup> Xie Jun 谢军, Zhong Chuchu 钟楚楚 (ed.), *Hushi liuxue riji 胡适留学日记 (Hu Shi's study abroad diary)*. Haikou, Hainan chubanshe, 1994, pp. 385-386.

Boccaccio on the other hand was well versed in prose. His novels in Vulgate were in trend during his time. They contributed to Italian literature following Dante.

Later, brilliant and wide-learning Leon Batista Alberti (1405-1472) strongly advocated the use of Vulgate. He said, "Latin is a dead written language, not enough for the use of a new country." Alberti studied Latin but wrote all his works in Vulgate.

After him, Poliziano the poet and Lorenzo de Medici, the ruler of Florence and a poet, wrote poems in Vulgate. At this point, "Vulgate literature" was truly established.]

According to the recollection of Tian's student, Xu Dumei 许杜美 (1932-2014), Tian's supervisor Prof. Momigliano originally wanted him to write about Marco Polo in relation to China. To test Tian's writing skills, he was asked to write a report on the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) first. At the same time, Tian heard from his landlord that Italians read *the Divine Comedy* in as early as high school, this made him realize that he had to improve his Italian language skills. In order to write his thesis, he hired a tutor for two hours a day to improve his reading and writing skills in Italian and to learn conversational skills. In the meantime, he worked on an academic paper about Croce, which was soon recognized by his supervisor. From then on, in addition to taking his tutor, Momigliano's classes and listening to the necessary academic presentations, he began to concentrate on the life and work of Poliziano and researched for writings and literary historians' commentaries on Poliziano.<sup>301</sup>

After receiving his degree in 1937, he returned to China. From 1940 to 1946, he taught in the Department of Foreign Literature at Zhejiang University, and then he moved to Wuhan University, where he taught in the Department of Foreign Languages from 1946 to 1948. From 1948 until his retirement, he served as a professor of Western Languages and Literature at Peking University.

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<sup>301</sup> Xu Dumei 许杜美, "Shen Qu yizhe Tian Dewang 《神曲》译者田德望" (Tian Dewang, the translator of the *Divine Comedy*), *Wenhui bao* 文汇报 (*Wen wei po*), Dec. 06, 2011, p. 11.





# 新聞

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### 同學田德望君 赴義留學

#### 敎部指定兩名 我 校 獲 得 第 一

義大利首相墨索里尼所主辦之近東與遠東學院，曾由該國駐華公使照會我國外交部，擬於下學期津貼中國學生兩名赴義留學。每名津貼五千里耳，以一年為期。其中一名指定為哲學文學科，餘一名為政治經濟或化學或工程或數學物理。資格須在大學畢業，或在大學最後年級。此二名學生赴義來回船費及車費（指貼船車，自登岸至居留地）均可減去百分之七十。一年期內學費減半。惟須學生家屬具書聲明供給該生在義除津貼以外之其他一切費用。

所選學生如尙未在中國大學畢業，則應在義取得畢業。並於一年期滿，未得回中國之前，向該院提出論文，以示其在義之成績。當經外部詢以津貼數目每年五千里耳是否足用？又中國學生學習義文甚少，定期祇有一年，即須畢業，有無困難？據答：普通學生留學義國大概每月五百里耳即可生活。且一年至多不過八九月，又船費車費均可減至百分之三十，經費一層，似可無慮。語言方面則義國有一事為外人設立之大學，所用文字均係英文或法文，如轉入該校應無問題。外部以此轉達敎育部。敎部復派員向義國使館秘書詢問義國大學於十一月開學，二等船費以百分之三十計算約二十磅。經敎部一度審議後，核定其中一名應研習哲學文學，一名應研習政治經濟。由指定之國立大學（清華，北京，中央，武漢），各就該校員生之具有相當資格者，保證一人或二人。前曾訓令

到校，着即酌量選送，並至遲應於十月十五日以前將保證員生之履歷成績及證明文件送達該部，以憑核定。本校接到訓令後，即遵照辦法通知徵求：凡願應選者，限於十月十二日內開具履歷及成績等件呈核保證。屆滿呈請者計有研究院同學與四年級同學等十一人。學校為慎重選擇起見，經將各請求者之履歷及歷年成績等件，送請文學院長馮先生，法學院長陳先生會核。詳加審查後，當選定本校研究院外國語文研究部三年級同學田德望君與政治研究部某君。即將兩君履歷及成績單與證明文件一並呈送敎部，以候核示。經敎部將因大學保證員生成績詳加考察後，認田德望君成績最為滿意，准予赴義研究哲學文學。按全國只得保證兩名赴義，而我校獲得第一，實為本校無上光榮。爰將部令原文錄次：



A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T U V Z	
R. UNIVERSITA' DEGLI STUDI - FIRENZE	
Cognome e Nome	<i>Tien Te Wang</i>
di	<i>Jao - Luig</i> e della <i>Cze Shih</i>
Nato il	<i>17-5-1909</i> a <i>Wan Hsien</i>
Immatricolato il	<i>20-2-36</i>
<b>FACOLTA' DI LETTERE E FILOSOFIA</b>	
Titolo di studio per l'ammissione	<i>Laurea in lingue e letterature Chinesi</i>
Laureato il	<i>17-11-37</i>
Titolo della tesi di laurea	<i>Scrittori della poesia italiana del Poliziano</i>
Congedato il	
per	
Fuori corso dal	
	Numero della filza <i>200</i>
	N. inserto <i>3795</i>
	Matricola N. <i>12748</i>
	Registro N. <i>170</i>
	Pag. N. <i>82</i>
	Facoltà <i>Lettere e Filosofia</i>
Ferretti Mod. 6806 - 16000-F - 4-34	

Figure 18: The certificate of graduation issued by University of Florence in 1937 (source The Archive of the University of Florence).

### 3.3.1 Tian Dewang and his teaching of Italian literature

After Tian Dewang returning from studying in Europe, Wu Mi helped him, not only recommending him for a position at University of Zhejiang,<sup>302</sup> but also often suggesting him to do research and study Dante. In his diary, Wu Mi wrote: "On November 11st, I wrote to the British Consulate to order a copy of the *Divine Comedy* in Italian recommended by Pollard Urquhart readability for Tian Dewang".<sup>303</sup> Wu Mi had a great influence on Tian Dewang. First of all, we can look at it from the perspective of translation concepts. In 1925 Wu Mi started a course named "Translation Study" and clarified its purpose as follows:

The course is suitable for students of all grades who are proficient in both Chinese and English. It regards translation as a literary art, whose skills should be acquired through practice. Masterpieces and classical works in Chinese and English will be selected as source texts for translation to reach the standards of 'faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance'. Theories and philosophies of translation will be taught through briefing on predecessors' viewpoints, followed by practices.

The following three aspects which are also the necessary steps of translation, should be paid special attention to: Firstly, to understand the source text thoroughly. Secondly, to express in another language without losing its original flavor. Thirdly, to polish the target text so as to make it exquisite and fluent like literary works. Texts for practice comprise short essays and lengthy books. Practices for short essay translation take place several times in a semester, assigned by the teacher. The passages selected

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<sup>302</sup> Wu Mi 吴宓, Wu Xuezhao 吴学昭 (ed.), *Wu Mi riji 1939-1943* 吴宓日记 1939-1943 (*Wu Mi's diary 1939-1943*), Beijing, Sanlian shudian, 1998, p. 22.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid*, p. 265.

are featured with difficulty and complex sentences. Students' translations will be reviewed by their teacher. Once a term, students will be required to choose a book to translate and they are allowed to approach teachers for guidance anytime.<sup>304</sup>

Tian Dewang, being a student of Wu Mi, held similar translation ideas as his teacher and maintained that the process of translation should be conducted after thorough understanding of the original text. He once wrote:

I believe that the three hurdles proposed by Yan Fu 严复, the first scholar in modern China to translate Western social science works were namely, 'faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance'. These are also adoptable to literary translation. Among these three principles, the most important one is 'faithfulness'. If a translation is not loyal to its source text in content and theme, then it will not be a successful one, let alone complying with the standards of 'expressiveness' and 'elegance'. There is a sarcastic quip in Italy: 'traduttore-traditore!' (translator-betrayal). To avoid such satire, translators need to completely understand the meaning of the source text when translating. For obscurities and ambiguities, we should take the context into consideration or refer to different versions with notes as well as other translations in different languages in order to overcome such difficulties. Translating imprecisely according to the superficial meaning is strictly forbidden. It is also not recommended for translators to delete or omit key words in the original text.<sup>305</sup>

In early 1944, students at Zhejiang University spearheaded a literary association called the *Dawn Society* (*Liming she* 黎明社), founded by Du Tiao 杜荃. The *Dawn*

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<sup>304</sup> Qi Jiaying 齐家莹 (ed.), *Tsinghua renwen xueke nianpu* 清华人文学科年谱, quoted, p. 51.

<sup>305</sup> Tian Dewang 田德望 et al., *Dangdai wenxue fanyi baijia tan* 当代文学翻译百家谈 (*On Contemporary Literary Translation*). Beijing, Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1989, p. 130.

*Society's* publication was called *Dawn* (*Liming* 黎明), which was intended to facilitate the exchange and discussion of literature among Zhejiang University students.<sup>306</sup> In this publication, Tian Dewang published his translations of Italian poetry, such as one poem by Arturo Graf (1848-1913) and two poems by Giovanni Pascoli (1855-1912),<sup>307</sup> which is the only literary work we can find translated by Tian during the Republican period.<sup>308</sup>

So, why did Tian choose the works of these two Italian poets? Why would he translate these two Italian poets for students of Zhejiang University, or to be precise, students who have some foundation in foreign literature? We speculate that it may be because Tian had been exposed to the works of these two poets when he studied in Italy, and both poets had studied Dante, among which Arturo Graf was Attilio Momigliano's mentor.<sup>309</sup> Therefore, Tian may have been influenced by his mentor to choose to translate the works of these two poets.

Besides translating Italian poetry, Tian also taught Italian literature at Zhejiang University and Wuhan University. During the 1940s, we could learn about the Italian literature teaching activities of Tian Dewang from the memoirs of his colleagues and students respectively. According to memoirs of his colleagues, Tian taught courses on *The Divine Comedy* in both Zhejiang University and Wuhan University. As recalled by Tian Dewang's colleague Zhuang Junchuan 张君川 (1911-1999):

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<sup>306</sup> He Baomin 何宝民, *Kan ying liunian* 刊影流年 (*Journal' fleeting year*). Zhengzhou, Daxiang chubanshe, 2018, p. 223.

<sup>307</sup> Graf, Arturo. "Shengyin 声音" (The Voice). Translated by Tian Dewang 田德望. *Shi yu piping* 诗与批评 (*Poetry and Criticism*), vol. 1, 1946, p. 18. Pascoli, Giovanni. "Shan zhong shinü [shige], 山中使女[诗歌]". Translated by Tian Dewang 田德望. *Liming qingnian wenyi* 黎明青年文艺 (*Dawn youth literature and art*). vol. 1, no. 3, 1946, p. 64. As represented by Figure 19.

<sup>308</sup> In the process of searching for information, I checked the history of Zhejiang University and all the materials of the journal *Dawn*, and found no other translations by Tian.

<sup>309</sup> [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/attilio-momigliano\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/attilio-momigliano_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)



Zhejiang University moved from Yishan, Guangxi to Zunyi, Guizhou in 1939, where the teaching and research was developed under very tough conditions. Students of liberal arts at the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature of Zhejiang University used foreign literature and languages as the tool for literary and linguistic studies all along; the English Department of Teachers College focused on English learning accompanied by study of foreign literature and linguistics to enrich the students' learning experience in middle schools. The Department of Foreign Languages of Zhejiang University took English as their first foreign language, and Germany, French, Russian, Italian, Japanese, Greek or Latin as their second foreign languages. Students studied European and American literature through learning English. Professors at the Department of Foreign Languages were all famous scholars at home. Head of the department was Mei Guangdi, who held a concurrent post as Dean of Arts and taught British literature in the 18th century. Guo Binhe taught Greek and Latin literature; Tian Dewang taught British literature and Dante; Zhang Junchuan taught Shakespeare's plays and novels; She Kunshan taught English poetry; Xie Wentong taught English prose. They also gave English and German language classes.<sup>310</sup>

Chi Pang-yuan 齐邦媛 (1924-), the Taiwanese writer and student of Tian Dewang, was a student at Wuhan University from 1943 to 1947. She wrote about Tian's course on *The Divine Comedy* of Dante at Wuhan University in her autobiographical essay *The Grand River*:

Shortly after classes resumed, a notice was pasted up outside the classroom stating that Dr. Tian Dewang, who had recently returned from Italy,

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<sup>310</sup> *Guizhou sheng Zunyin diqu difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bian* 贵州省遵义地区地方志编纂委员会编, *Zhejiang daxue zai zunyi* 浙江大学在遵义 (*Zhejiang University in Zunyi*). Hangzhou, Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 1990, p. 78.

was offering an elective course on Dante's *Divina Commedia* for the third- and fourth-year students.

Seven or eight of us were very interested in the course and made it known that we would take it, but in the end only three of us signed up for it. A few days before class, one withdrew, leaving me and one other male classmate, who also decided to drop, not being in the mood to study such a profound classic. The program head summoned the three of us for a talk and told us that to be able to have a real scholar and professor of Italian literature who also satisfied the standards of the Ministry of Education at this place and time was something that ought to be treasured. He said it was up to the three of us to allow the program to open the class so as to retain a talented professor. When we came out, I pleaded with the others not to withdraw from the class. In a spirit of compromise, they said, they would wait until the time to add and drop had passed and then withdraw due to a class conflict. In short, I ended up being the only student to face the teacher.

Professor Tian wore a Western-style suit and was thin and elegant, with the bearing of a European man of letters. At first he stood behind the podium and wrote on the blackboard; later he sat in a chair and I sat alone below him, and all I could see of him was his shoulders and above. After two weeks of class, we both probably felt a little funny, so one day he said, "The distance from the girls' dorm to the classroom is about the same as to the faculty dorm. It would be better to have class at my house, and it's warmer. There's just my wife and me and the baby.

I went and asked Professor Wu Mi about it and he said, "Give it a try and see. We really don't have enough classrooms, and it would be safe at Professor Tian's place.

I clearly remember the class that semester in which both teacher and student played their respective parts. Professor Tian diligently guided my reading of the most important parts of the *Commedia*. Of course, the focus of the class was not unlike other literature classes. More time was allocated to the



*Inferno* than to the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*, and special importance was attached to the beauty of the meter and rhyme and power of the imagery. In the second circle of hell, the story of the lovers Paolo and Francesca is heard amid the whirlwind. Dante writes: "I fainted with pity, as if I had been dying; and fell, as a dead body falls."

I later came to understand that the frequent treatment of sin and love in Western art and literature came as a commentary on the *Commedia*. Professor Tian produced and showed me different editions and illustrations of the *Commedia* that he had brought back from Italy, something that never would have happened in a regular classroom. He was a fairly restrained speaker and during class never discussed anything beyond the text, doing his best to make the class as substantial as possible.

My insistence on taking a class on the *Commedia* was an act against the current of the times. I had decided upon a simple path when many others were misled by an unreasonable enthusiasm for political literature and by their own political zealotry and pessimism. In my last year at the university, I chose to take the deserted course on the *Divina Commedia* rather than Contemporary Russian Culture. I did so out of my ambition to study, and it had real meaning.<sup>311</sup>

From this quote we can conclude that in Chinese universities in the 1940s, Chinese teachers offered special courses on Italian literature for the first time, which is of pioneering significance, but more importantly is that at that time Dante and his *Divine Comedy* was not a text that was in trend. In a time when the historical issues required writers to be 'political' and committed, few students chose to dedicate themselves to a foreign author of the Medieval era.

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<sup>311</sup> Chi-pang yuan, *The Great Flowing River: A Memoir of China, from Manchuria to Taiwan*. Edited and translated by John Balcom. New York, Columbia University Press, 2018. pp. 229-231.

Though Tian Dewang is recognized as a translator for such a long time, his exposure to professional Italian literary studies since young and his academic training for Italian language and literature has long been overlooked in academic circles. Due to lack of information, many problems were yet to be resolved. In particular, the connections and differences between Tian's Dante course in 1940s and the Dante course of his teacher Pollard Urquhart, the influence of Tian's translation and research of Italian literature back then. More information in addition to the translations already found; whether he decided to translate *The Divine Comedy* or not since then, are all such problems worthy of further study and interpretation. Solving these problems will not only fill in the voids of this famous translator of *The Divine Comedy* but also help us better understand the development of Italian literary research in the Republic of China.

In the last chapter, by reviewing the teaching of Italian literature in Tsinghua University, The National South-West Associated University, and Zhejiang University, we can see how the intellectuals of Chinese universities have influenced the spread of Italian literature in China. Despite the twists and turns, they left an indelible stroke in the academic study of foreign literature in China.

There was an evocative remark by Tian Dewang in the New Year's greetings for 1994 in the *Peking University Gazette* (*Beijing daxue xiaobao* 北京大学校报):

Looking back on my life, there are a lot of experiences worth summarizing. I think if a person wants to succeed in a certain subject, talent is important. However, a stable social environment is more important. I come from an old society. In the era of war before 1949, the environment was not conducive for learning. Therefore, I especially cherish political

stability nowadays. People can live and work in peace and contentment; the country is developing fast.<sup>312</sup>

Does "a certain subject" refer to the research of Italian literature in China? We have no way to prove it, but we believe that love and persistence of Tian Dewang for Italian literature, can be proved by the fact that he spent 18 years translating the *Divine Comedy*, and will continue to influence Chinese readers and scholars in the future.



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<sup>312</sup> cfr. Xu Dumei 许杜美, "Shen Qu yizhe Tian Dewang 《神曲》译者田德望" (Tian Dewang, the translator of the *Divine Comedy*), *Wenhui bao* 文汇报 (*Wen wei po*), Dec. 06, 2011, p. 11.



## Conclusion

My research was aimed at demonstrating how the Chinese cultural milieu received and interpreted Italian literature from the late Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China. My goals were to try and detect whether there was a link among various literary groups or Associations, a link which allowed the circulation of materials among various Chinese intellectuals. Each chapter of this work was dedicated to an historical period, and for each period there were selected some representative figures. In the first chapter we focused on the first Chinese intellectuals who had turned their attention to some Italian writers or works. In the second chapter we have widened our visual field taking the Association into consideration, aimed at observing the dynamics in a group of intellectuals. And finally in the third chapter we concentrated on analyzing another cultural institution – the university campus – because the research conducted during the first years led me to observe a cultural sphere which was rather neglected in the research on modern literature up to now. Cultural and didactic activities carried out in the universities in the 1930s and 1940s are one of the paths which should be followed and analyzed more carefully in the future.

As I have written in the previous pages, the relations among Chinese intellectuals, they were colleagues, friends or teachers and students, facilitated the circulation of Italian works or at least information and materials on Italian literature.

Using the methods of sociology of literature, I was able to find out new materials on single intellectual and the links among them. Reading their letters, diaries, and private writings, I was able to dig out a lot of new information, as in the case of Qian Daosun, Xu Tiaofu and Xia Mianzun.

As part of his study of modern Chinese literature, Michel Hockx decided to use the research methods of sociology of literature to analyze the associations and literary magazines of modern Chinese literature. In this work, I have tried to demonstrate that these methods can be adapted also to the study of the dissemination of Italian literature in China. Adopting the methods of sociology of literature served to discover and better understand the circulation of Italian literary works among Chinese intellectuals in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, as we have seen in the first chapter, I was able to certify a link between Liang Qichao, who was the first to introduce Dante to China, and Qian Daosun, who translated the first five cantos of *the Inferno* into Chinese. They were 'colleagues' and collaborated for the Commercial press in Shanghai. Moreover, they had connections with some other important intellectuals of the same period, such as Wu Mi, Jiang Baili or Lu Xun. If we expand our point of view, as we have done in the second chapter, we can discover other links and connections among Chinese writers and intellectuals which made the circulation of Italian literature easier in China. In this sense the analysis of the activities and the role of the *Literary Association*, described in the chapter Two, have provided new information on how Italian literary works arrived in China and circulated in intellectual circles. The role played by the *Literary Association* was fundamental not only because its members translated – indeed very few translations were realized by its members - but because they dedicated many articles and essays to explicate the characteristics of Italian literature. In the last chapter, we have dealt with the modern university, a new area of research, a field which was quite neglected in all research dedicated to the spread of Western literature in China. As I have demonstrated in chapter Three, the university campus was an important megaphone to spread news and information on Italian Literature among the young generation of Chinese intellectuals. As we have seen, Tian

Dewang, one of the most famous scholar of Italian studies in the 1980s, was a student of Wu Mi and Pollard at Qinghua. It was in this university that for the first time he heard about Italian literature in one of his courses, and in the following years he decided to take up a career as an Italian literature scholar. He studied in Florence with A. Modigliani. Moreover, we can state that foreign scholars, especially American and British, were the first to popularize Italian literary works in China. The courses offered by Pollard at Qinghua on Dante and his *Divine Comedy* left significant traces on the Chinese cultural milieu in that period.

In short, we have tried to look at the circulation of literary works, not only from the prospective of translation, but we have tried to comprehend why and how these works arrived in China. We were more interested in which links associated Chinese intellectuals to Italian works, rather than in evaluating the quality of the translation process.

Certainly, there is still much more to study and analyze in order to understand what was the contribution of Italian literature and its representatives in the creation of modern Chinese literature.

## Appendix 1. Chinese translations of Italian literary works from 1905 to 1949<sup>313</sup>

From the late Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China (1905-1949), a total of 55 Italian writers were translated into China, and there were nearly 200 Italian literary works were translated into Chinese.

1905

De Amicis, Edmondo. *Ertong xiushen zhi ganqing* 儿童修身之感情 (*Emotional education of children's self-cultivation*). Translated by Bao Tianxiao 包天笑. Shanghai 上海, Wenming shuju 文明书局.

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<sup>313</sup> Sources consulted for this appendix include those listed below: Beijing tushuguan 北京图书馆 (ed.), *Minguo shiqi zong shumu. Waiguo wenxue juan* 民国时期总书目. 外国文学卷 [General bibliography of the Republic of China. Volume Foreign literature]. Beijing, Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987; Lin Huangtian 林煌天 (ed.), *Zhongguo fanyi cidian* 中国翻译词典 [Chinese translation dictionary], Wuhan, Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997, pp. 849-850; Sanlian shudian bianjibu 三联书店编辑部 (ed.), *Dongfang zazhi zongmu* 《东方杂志》总目 [General catalogue of Eastern Miscellany], Shanghai, Sanlian shudian, 1957; Shanghai tushuguan 上海图书馆 (ed.), *Quanguo baokan suoyin* (1911-1949) 《全国报刊索引》 (1911-1949 [The National Index of Newspaper and Magazines, database]; Shanghai tushuguan 上海图书馆编 (ed.), *Zhongguo jindai qikan pianmu huibian* 中国近代期刊篇目汇录 [A compilation of modern Chinese Periodicals], Shanghai, Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982; Tangyuan 唐沅, Han Zhiyou 韩之友, Feng Shihui 封世辉, (ed.), *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue qikan mulu huibian* 中国现代文学期刊汇编 [Compilation of Chinese modern literary journals. ], Tianjin, Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1988; Xie Tianzhen 谢天振, Zha Mingjian 查明建 (ed.), *Zhongguo xiandai fanyi wenxue shi* (1898-1949) 中国现代翻译文学史 (1898-1949) [History of modern Chinese translation literature (1898-1949) ], Shanghai, Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004; Yidali zhuhua dashiguan 意大利驻华大使馆 (ed.), *Yidali zuopin hanyis humu* (1911-1999) 意大利作品汉译书目 (1911-1999) Bibliography of the Chinese translation of Italian works. Beijing, Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 1999; Zhang Xiping 张西平, Federico Masini (ed.), *Zhongguo wenxue jiaoliushi. Zhongguo Yidali juan* 中外文学交流史. 中国-意大利卷 [History of Sino Foreign Literary Communication · The Volume of China and Italy], Jinan, Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015; 'Zhongguo fanyijia cidian' bianxiezu' 中国翻译家词典'编写组 (ed.), *Zhongguo fanyijia cidian* 中国翻译家词典 [Dictionary of Chinese translators], Beijing, Zhongguo duiwai fanyi chuban gongsi, 1988. My research led me to find many references that are not listed in these bibliographical sources that I have placed asterisks \* next to them.



1909

De Amicis, Edmondo. “Guoshang 国殇” (The small Lombard lookout). Translated by Hu Shi 胡适. *Anhui Baihua Bao* 安徽白话报 (*Anhui vernacular newspaper*), vol.1, pp.51-56.

1912

Alighieri, Dante. *Shenqu* 神曲 (*A part of The Divine Comedy*), Translated by Wu Zonglian 吴宗濂. In *La Fortuna di Dante fuori d'Italia*. Firenze, Olschki, pp. 309-312.

1913

Polo, Marco, Marsden, William (revised). *Yuandai keqing Mage Boluo youji* 元代客卿马哥博罗游记 (*The Travels of Marco Polo, during the Yuan period*). Translated by Wei Yi 魏易. Beijing 北京, Zhengmeng shuju 正蒙书局.

1917

Farina, Salvatore. “Beihuan lihe 悲欢离合” (Separation). Translated by Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鹃. In *Ou Mei mingjia duanpian xiaoshuo congkan* 欧美名家短篇小说丛刊 (*Anthology of Short Stories by European and American Masters*). Shanghai 上海, Zhonghua shuju 中华书局.

1919

\*Castelnuovo, Enrico. “Yifeng weiji de xin 一封未寄的信”(An unsent letter). Translated by Hu Shi 胡适. In *Duanpian xiaoshuo* 短篇小说 (*Anthology of Short Stories*). Shanghai 上海, Yadong tushuguan chubanshe 亚东图书馆出版社.

D’Annunzio, Gabriele. “Yin Shi 银匙”(Silver Key). Translated by Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鹃. *Chenbao fukan* 晨报副刊 (*Morning supplement*), Aug. 27-Sept. 2.

1921

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\*Alighieri, Dante. "Xinsheng 新生" (a part of *The New Life*). Translated by Qu Shiyong 瞿世英. *Xuedeng 学灯 (Study Lamp)*, Sept. 23, p. 1.

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## Appendix 2 List of intellectuals and translators who brought

### Italian literature to China (1902-1949)

The name, style (*zihao*, 字号), adding pseudonyms (in square brackets), years of birth and death, and place of family origin (*jiguan* 籍贯), literary contributions on Italian literature in China.

Bao Gongyi 包公毅 (Tian Xiao 天笑) [Wumen tian xiaosheng 吴门天笑生] (1893-1973), native of Suzhou 苏州, Jiangsu 江苏. Well-known writer, journalist. He was the first Chinese to translate Italian literary works into Chinese, such as a story in *Ai de jiaoyu* 爱的教育 (*The Education of Love*), in which he used a classical Chinese language, and mainly adopted the strategy of 'yishu' 译述 (free translation).

Bi Shutang 毕树棠 (1900-1983), native of Wendeng 文登, Shandong 山东. He has been a librarian of Tsinghua University since 1921. Good friend of Qian Daosun 钱稻孙 and Wu Mi 吴宓.

Chen Huan 陈寰 (Tianfang 天放) [Minyi 闽逸] (1892-1943), native of Jinmen 金门. Graduated from the University of the Philippines. He translated the *Decameron* in the 1930s.

Fu Donghua 傅东华 (1893-1971), native of Jinhua 金华, Zhejiang 浙江, well-known editor and literary translator. He translated the works of Croce and parts of *The Divine Comedy* in the 1930s.

Hu Shi 胡适 (Shizhi 适之, 1891-1962), native of Jixi 绩溪, Anhui 安徽. Graduated in Columbia University. Famous scholar; philosopher. Hu Shi is one of the

leaders of the New Culture Movement. He translated a story drawn from *Ai de jiaoyu* 爱的教育 (*The Education of Love*); he mainly employed the strategy of ‘yishu’ 译述 (free translation) and in vernacular Chinese.

Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之 (Ziru 子如, 1896-1986), native of Shangyu 上虞, Zhejiang 浙江. Well-known writer and editor, relative to Hu Zhongchi and good friend of Xia Mianzun.

Hu Zhongchi 胡仲持 (Xuezhi 学志, 1900-1968), native of Shangyu 上虞, Zhejiang 浙江, writer and translator, brother of Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之.

Jiang Fangzhen 蒋方震 (Baili 百里, 1882-1938), native of Haining 海宁, Zhejiang 浙江. Well-known writer and military expert, collaborator of Liang Qichao.

Liang Qichao 梁启超 (Zhuo Ru 卓如, 1873-1929), native of Xinhui 新会, Guangdong 广东. Historian and well-known writer. Liang Qichao was one of the first intellectuals interested in Italian literature in the early 1900s, and he was the first Chinese intellectual to mention Dante.

Qian Daosun 钱稻孙 (Jiemei 介眉, 1887-1966) [Daquan 大泉, Quanshou 泉寿], native of Wuxing 吴兴, Zhejiang 浙江. Studied in Japan and Italy. Translator and scholar. Close relations to Liang Qichao and Mao Dun.

Qu Shiying 瞿世英 (Junong 菊农, 1900-1976), native of Changzhou 常州, Jiangsu 江苏. One of the promoters of the Association together with Zheng Zhenduo, Mao Dun and Ye Shengtao. Qu was a well-known educationist in Modern China and a translator of many books of science history in his early years.

Shen Dehong 沈德鸿 (Yanbing 雁冰, 1896-1981) [Mao Dun 茅盾], native of Tongxiang 桐乡, Zhejiang 浙江. Famous writer and translator. The chief-editor of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* from 1920 to 1928.

Song Chunfang 宋春舫 (1892-1938), native of Wuxing 吴兴, Zhejiang 浙江. Drama theorist, translator. He is Wang Guowei 王国维's cousin.

Teng Gu 滕固 (Ruoqu 若渠, 1901-1941), native of Baoshan 宝山, Shanghai 上海. He was a modern Chinese writer and a theorist of art. In 1935 he was one of the promoters of the Sino Italian Cultural Association (*Zhongyi wenhua xiehui* 中意文化协会), with other famous intellectuals, such as Song Chunfang 宋春舫, Bi Shutang 毕树棠, Sheng Cheng 盛成, etc.

Tian Dewang 田德望 (1909-2000), native of Wanxian 完县, Hubei 河北. Graduated from Tsinghua University and University of Florence. Well-known translator and scholar. Good friend of Wu Mi.

Wang Duqing 王独清 (1898-1940), native of Pucheng 蒲城, Shannxi 陕西. Studied in France. Well-known poet and translator, he has translated *The New Life* by Dante.

Wang Weike 王维克 (1902-1952), original name Wang Zhaohe 兆和, native of Jintan 金坛, Jiangsu 江苏. He has translated *The Divine Comedy* in the 1930s and 1940s.

Wei Yi 魏易 (Chongshu 冲叔, 1880-1930), native of Hangzhou 杭州, Zhejiang 浙江. Translator. He studied at St. John's University in Shanghai. Wei Yi has long cooperated with another famous translator, Lin Shu 林纾 (1852-1924), in translating foreign literature. In 1913 he worked on the translation of *The Travels of Marco Polo*.

Wu Mi 吴宓 (Yusheng 余生, 1894-1978), native of Jingyan 泾阳, Shaanxi 陕西. Well known scholar and poet. He had good relations with Qian Daosun, Qian Zhongshu and Tian Dewang.

Wu Zonglian 吴宗濂 (Yi Qing 挹清, 1856-1933), native of Jiading 嘉定, Shanghai 上海. Diplomat, translator. In 1912, when he was ambassador to Italy, he translated part of *the Paradise of the Divine Comedy*.

Xia Mianzun 夏丏尊 (1886-1946), native of Shangyu 上虞, Zhejiang 浙江. Well-known writer and translator. He has translated *The Heart* by De Amicis. Good friend of Hu Yuzhi.

Xu Xiacun 徐霞村 (1907-1986) [Fangyuan 方原], name once used Xu Yuandu 徐元度, native of Yangxin 阳新, Hubei 湖北. Writer and translator. He has translated the works of Luigi Pirandello.

Zhao Jingshen 赵景深 (Zou Xiao 邹啸, 1902-1985), native of Lishui 丽水, Zhejiang 浙江. Good friend of Zheng Zhenduo and Xu Xiacun.



Zhao Luorui 赵萝蕤 (1921-1998), native of Hangzhou 杭州, Zhejiang 浙江. Graduated from the Foreign Language Department of Tsinghua University. Translator, scholar and friend of Wu Mi and Tian Dewang.

Zheng Zhenduo 郑振铎 (Xidi 西谛, 1898-1958), native of Changle 长乐, Fujian 福建. Well-known Writer and scholar. Good friend of Zhao Jingshen, Xu Tiaofu and Xu Xiacun.

Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鹃 (1895-1968), native of Suzhou 苏州, Jiangsu 江苏. Writer, journalist, translator. Zhou Shoujuan is a representative writer of 'Mandarin Duck and Butterfly' School. He translated some short stories of D'Annunzio.

Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (Qiming 启明, 1885-1967), native of Shaoxing 绍兴, Zhejiang 浙江. Well-known writer and scholar. Good relations with Shen Yanbing and Qian Daosun.

Zhu Weiji 朱维基 (1904-1971), native of Shanghai 上海, graduated in Shanghai Hujiang University. Poet and translator. He translated *The Divine Comedy* in the 1950s.

Zhu Xiang 朱湘 (Ziruan 子沅, 1904-1933), native of Taihu 太湖, Anhui 安徽, member of the Crescent Moon Society. Good friend of Xu Xiacun and Zheng Zhenduo.

**2. List of Italian literary works and translators translated for the first time from 1905-1949:**

Year	The Italian writers	The Chinese names of Italian writers	Title of the translation	Translator	The periodical or publishing house
1905	Edmondo De Amicis	<sup>/314</sup>	<i>Ertong xiushen zhi ganqing</i> 儿童修身之感情 ( <i>Emotional education of children's self-cultivation</i> )	Bao Tianxiao 包天笑	Shanghai 上海, Wenming shuju 文明书局
1913	Marco Polo	马哥博罗	<i>Yuan dai keqing Mageboluo youji</i> 元代客卿马哥博罗游记 ( <i>The Travels of Marco Polo, during the Yuan period</i> )	Wei Yi 魏易	Shanghai 上海, Zhengmeng shuju 正蒙书局
1917	Salvatore Farina	法利那	<i>Beihuan lihe</i> 悲欢离合 ( <i>Seperation</i> )	Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鹃	Shanghai 上海, Zhonghua shuju 中华书局
1919	Gabriele D'Annunzio	达能齐欧氏	"Yin Shi 银匙" (Key)	Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鹃	<i>Chenbao fukan</i> 晨报副刊 ( <i>Morning supplement</i> ), Aug. 27-Sept. 2.
1919	Enrico Castelnuovo	卡德奴勿	"Yifeng wei jichude xin 一封未寄出的信" ( <i>The Lost Letter</i> )	Hu Shi 胡适	<i>Duanpian xiaoshuo</i> 短篇小说 ( <i>Anthology of Short Stories</i> ), Shanghai, Yadong tushuguan chubanshe.
1921	Dante Alighieri	檀德	"Shenqu yiluan 神曲一窗" (A	Qian Daosun 钱稻孙	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i> 小说月报 ( <i>The Short Story Magazine</i> ),

<sup>314</sup> “/” : This slash means that the translator did not mark the name of the original Italian author in the translation.

			Tasting of <i>the Divine Comedy</i> )		vol. 12, no. 9, pp. 2-38.
1921	Mario Dessy	/	“Huange zhangfu ba 换个丈夫吧”(Tuo marito non va, cambiatelo. First type of Futurist theatre)	Song Chunfang 宋春舫	<i>Dongfang zazhi</i> 东方杂志 ( <i>Eastern miscellany</i> ), vol.18, no.13, pp. 97-102.
1921	Tommaso Marinetti	麦呢来梯	“Yuese 月色”(Un chiaro di luna. Second type of Futurist theatre)		<i>Dongfang zazhi</i> 东方杂志 ( <i>Eastern miscellany</i> ), vol.18, no.13, pp. 102-103.
1921	Gianni Corradini and Bruno Corra [Bruno Corradini]	/	“Zhao Qin mu Chu 朝秦暮楚”(Alternazione di carattere. Thrid type of Futurist theatre)		<i>Dongfang zazhi</i> 东方杂志 ( <i>Eastern miscellany</i> ), vol.18, no.13, pp. 103-104.
1921	Francesco Cangiullo	/	“Zhiyou yitiao gou 只有一条狗”(Non c'è un cane, fourth type of Futurist theatre)		<i>Dongfang zazhi</i> 东方杂志 ( <i>Eastern miscellany</i> ), vol.18, no.13, pp. 104-106.
1921	Maria Rosso di San Secondo	西康陀	“Yanjing bile 眼睛闭了”(Eyes closed)		<i>Dongfang zazhi</i> 东方杂志 ( <i>Eastern miscellany</i> ), vol. 18,no.14, pp. 111-116.
1921	Bruno Corra, Emilio Settimelli	/	“Zao yi guoqu le 早已过去了”(Passatismo. A type of Futurist theatre)		<i>Xiju</i> 戏剧 ( <i>Theatre</i> ), vol.1, no.5, pp. 30-31.
1922	Giuseppe Giacosa	/	“Linghun de quanli 灵魂的权利”(Sacred ground)	Wang Jing 王靖	东方杂志 ( <i>Eastern miscellany</i> ), vol. 18, no. 14, pp. 111-116
1925	Niccolò Machiavelli	麦加维里	<i>Ba Shu</i> 霸术 ( <i>The Prince</i> )	Wu Guangjian 伍光建	Shanghai 上海, Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆

1927	Carlo Goldoni	哥尔多尼	Nü dianzhu 女店主 ( <i>The Mistress of the Inn</i> )	Yu Gengyu 于赓虞	Shanghai 上海, Beixing shuju 北新书局
1927	Carlo Collodi	科洛迪	"Mu Ou qiyu ji 木偶奇遇记" ( <i>The Adventure of the Puppet</i> )	Xu Tiaofu 徐调孚	<i>Xiaoshuo yubao</i> 小说月报, vol. 18, no. 1-vol. 18, no.12.
1927	Grazia Deledda	戴丽黛	"Liangnan yi nü 两男一女" ( <i>Two Men and a Woman</i> )	Zhao Jingshen 赵景深	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i> 小说月报, vol. 18, no. 12, pp. 48-58.
1928	Francesco Petrarca	Petrarch	"Ai zhi jiancheng 爱之坚诚. 诗一首" ( <i>Firmness and sincerity of love. A poem</i> )	Cheng Kansheng 程侃声	<i>Beijing wenxue</i> 北京文学 ( <i>Beijing literature</i> ), vol. 1, pp. 47- 48.
1928	Matilde Serao	塞洛	<i>Yongbie le, Airen</i> 永别了爱人 ( <i>Farewell Love</i> )	Zhou Songdi 周颂棣	Shanghai 上海, Guanghua shuju 光华书局
1928	Giacomo Leopardi	李奥柏特	"Daziran yu linghun de duihua 大自然与灵魂的对话" ( <i>Dialogue between Nature and a Soul</i> )	Feng Zikai 丰子恺	<i>Xiaoshuo yuebao</i> 小说月报, vol. 19, no. 6, pp. 86-89, 89-93
1928	Giovanni Boccaccio	鲍嘉学	"Zhangfu he tong de gushi 丈夫和桶的故事" ( <i>A story in the Decameron</i> )	Luo Ailan 罗皓岚	<i>Guowen zhoubao</i> 国闻周报, vol. 5, no. 34, pp. 1-2
1928	Luigi Pirandello	皮蓝德娄	"Liuge zunzhaozuozhe de juzhong renwu 六个寻找作者的剧中人物" ( <i>Six Characters in Search of an Author</i> )	Xu Xiacun 徐霞村	Ronglu 熔炉, vol.1, pp.2-33
1929	Virgilio Brocchi	布罗基	"Huan 幻" ( <i>Illusory</i> )	Xu Xiacun 徐霞村	<i>Lulu de shengli. Yidali xiaoshuo xuan</i> 露露的

					胜利. 意大利小说选 ( <i>Lulu's Triumph. Selected works of Italian Novels</i> ). Shanghai 上海, Chunchao shuju 春潮书局
1929	Giovanni Verga	维尔加	“Da lang 打狼” (The Wolf-hunt)	Yang Zijie 杨子戒	<i>Xiju yuwenyi</i> 戏剧与文艺, vol. 1, no. 1.
1930	Paolo Mantegazza	孟德格查	Xu Ai de jiaoyu 续爱的教育 (The continuation of <i>Heart</i> )	Xia Minzun 夏丐尊	Shanghai 上海, Kaiming shudian 开明书店
1933	Marino Moretti	摩莱蒂	“Huanguyu zhiyi 谎语之夕” (Lying night)	Chen Junye 陈君冶	<i>Xiandai</i> 现代, vol.3.no.4, pp. 522-532
1933	Antonio Fogazzaro	安东尧·福加柴洛	“Nongren de yizhu 农人的遗嘱” (Farmer's will)	Yang Zhenhua 杨镇华	<i>Huangzhong</i> 黄钟 ( <i>Bronze Bell</i> ), vol. 38, pp. 17-20
1934	Adolfo Albertazzi	亚陶尔福·亚倍太齐	“Jiuhuo dui 救火队” (Fire brigade)	Yang Zhenhua 杨镇华	<i>Minzu wenyi</i> 民族文艺. vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 97-103.
1934	Carlo Dossi	卡罗·陶西	“Zhexue de anwei 哲学的安慰” (Philosophical comfort).	Yang Zhenhua 杨镇华	<i>Huangzhong</i> 黄钟, vol. 4, no.2 pp. 15-16
1934	Luigi Capuana	卡普亚	“You yanglaojin de Jialaxi 有养老金的珈拉栖” (Grazia with pension)	Yang Zhenhua 杨镇华	<i>Huangzhong</i> 黄钟, vol. 4, no. 5, pp. 19-23
1934	Giovanni Papini	帕皮尼	“Shuyu wode ren 属于我的人” (Who belongs to me)	Xu Xiacun 徐霞村	<i>Wenxue jikan</i> 文学季刊 ( <i>Literary Quarterly</i> ), vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 289-295.
1934	Mongiardini Rembadi	雷巴地	<i>Mu Ou youhaiji</i> 木偶游海记 ( <i>Pinocchio under the sea</i> )	Song Yi 宋易	Shanghai 上海, Kaiming shudian 开明书店

1935	Luciano Zoccoli	亚特利安诺·助可里	“Yada yu Fusika 亚达与福司卡”(Ada and Fosca)	Yang Zhenhua 杨镇华	<i>Huangzhong</i> 黄钟 ( <i>Bronze Bell</i> ). vol. 8, no.3, pp. 9-14.
1935	Matteo Bandello	彭德罗	Luomiou yu Qiude liyeda 罗密欧与裘德丽叶达 (Romeo and Juliet)	Dai Wangshu 戴望舒	<i>Yidali duanpian xiaoshuoji</i> 意大利短篇小说集 (Collection of Italian short stories), Shanghai 上海, Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆
1935	Alfredo Panzini	邦齐尼	Laoren de quanli he qingnianren de quanli 老人的权利和青年人的权利 (The rights of older persons and the rights of young people)		
1935	Ugo Ojetti	奥节谛	“Laolieda de nüer 劳列达的女儿” (Laurita's daughter)		
1935	Ada Negri	奈格里	“Puren 仆人”(Servant)		
1935	Massimo Bontempelli	朋丹倍里	“Dangwo zai Feizhou de shihou 当我在非洲的时候” (When I was in Africa)		
1935	Giuseppe Antonio Borgese	鲍尔吉塞	“Wuzi 屋子” (The House)		
1935	Carola Prosperi	泊洛斯贝里	“Nü jiaoshi 女教师”(Female teacher)		
1935	Alessandro Manzoni	曼苏尼	<i>Yuehun fufu</i> 约婚夫妇( <i>The Betrothed</i> )	贾立言 [Albert J. Garnier] Xue Bing	Shanghai 上海, Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆
1936	Sandro Camasio	贾默西屋	<i>Qingchun buzai</i> 青春不再	Song Chunfang	Shanghai 上海, Shangwu
	Nino Oxilia	渥聚勒		宋春舫	

			(Addio, Giovinezza!)		yinshuguan 商务印书馆
1936	Eugenio Cherubini	契勃尼	<i>Mu Ou you Fei ji</i> 木偶游菲记 (Puppet in Africa)	Jiang Manru 江曼如	Shanghai 上海, Dushujie shudian 读书界书店
1937	Moretti, Marino	E.L. 毛睿利	“Caichan 财产” (The Property)	Yang Zhenhua 杨镇华	<i>Huangzhong</i> 黄钟 ( <i>Bronze Bell</i> ). vol. 11, no.2, p. 27
1939	Ignazio Silone	西龙	<i>Yidali de maibo</i> 意大利的脉搏 ( <i>Fontamara</i> )	Qi Wen 绮纹 [Zheng Chaolin 郑超麟]	Shanghai 上海, jinxing shudian 金星书店.
1939	Carlo Rosselli	加尔洛·罗塞利	<i>Xibanya de riji</i> 西班牙的日记 ( <i>Diary of Spain</i> )	Ba Jin 巴金	Shanghai 上海, Pingming shudian 平民书店
1942	Giosuè Carducci	/	“Xuejiang 雪降” (Nevicata)	Lu Jianbo 卢剑波	<i>Shichuangzuo</i> 诗创作 ( <i>Poetry creation</i> ), vol. 17, p. 45
1943	Enrico Nencioni	/	“Si zhi yuan 死之园” (Un giardino abbandonato)	Lu Jianbo 卢剑波	<i>Bizhen</i> 笔阵 ( <i>Pen Formation</i> ), vol. 7, p. 39.
1945	Giuseppe Mazzini	马志尼	<i>Bailun yu Gede</i> 摆伦与哥德 (Byron and Goethe)	Zhu Weiji 朱维基	<i>Wenyi chunqiu</i> <i>congan</i> 文艺春秋丛刊, vol. 4, 87-93
1945	Giovanni Pascoli	约翰·巴斯古里	<i>Zai congmang zhong</i> 在丛莽中 ( <i>Nella Selva</i> )	Tian Dewang 田德望	<i>Liming</i> 黎明 ( <i>The Dawn</i> ), vol. 1, p. 12
1945	Ugo Mioni	梅安尼	<i>Yueliang de erzimen</i> 月亮的儿子们 ( <i>I Figli della Luna</i> )	Ding Shan 丁山	Macau 澳门, Ciyou yinshuguan 慈幼印书馆 (Salesian press)
1946	Arturo Graf	葛拉甫	“Shengyin” 声音 (The Voice)	Tian Dewang 田德望	<i>Shi yu piping</i> 诗与批评 ( <i>Poetry and Criticism</i> ), vol. 1, p. 18

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