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A Literary Translation as a Translation Project

A Case Study of Arthur Waley's Translation of *Journey to the West*

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

PhD

University of Durham

School of Modern Languages and Cultures

April 2018

Contents

Abstract

Over the last decade, researchers have been applying social theories to study translation as a social phenomenon. Actor-network theory (ANT) is one of the approaches adopted to explore translation production, as carried out in practical circumstances. Studies that focus on everyday translation activities that take place throughout a single translation project, leading to the production of an English translation of a Chinese novel, are few in number. In addition, few have adapted the ideas, concepts, and methodology of ANT to this type of study, and nonhuman actors have never been examined as active participants in translation production. Understanding of the development of translation projects, and translation actor and actions, is also still limited. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to attempt to fill in the above-mentioned blanks, by applying ANT, as the sole theory, to the study of the production of *Monkey,* translated from *Journey to the West* by Arthur Waley. A theoretical framework is built based on not only Latour's theories (1986, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1999, 2007), but also those of Callon (1986a, 1986b, 1999), and Law (1986a, 1986b, 1992).

The objectives of this thesis include 1) to test the applicability of ANT to translation production research, 2) to develop a system of methods that can guide and regulate the research, 3) to present an in-depth description of the translation project, which is as clear and comprehensive as possible, and 4) to go beyond the descriptive, by developing extensive discussions and analyses concerning the main translation actors, both human and nonhuman, and their actions which shaped the overall literary translation project.

The materials that uphold this thesis come from multiple sources. At the core, there are more than 200 letters exchanged between the main contributors of the translation project, which are available as the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd. in the University of Reading, Special Collections. Supporting materials include copies of the translation (*Monkey*) including the associated paratexts, articles written by the translator on translation, the autobiography of the publisher, advertisements and book reviews on the translation retrieved from Gale Primary Sources. Practical methods, such as web searches and archival research, are used to collect as much data regarding the production of the translation as possible. In addition, a system of methodological rules is adapted from the 'three principles' proposed by Callon (1986a) and the 'rules of method' put forward by Latour (1987), which is used to screen data, to judge if sufficient data was collected, and to determine how that data should be analysed.

The main body of the thesis is composed of six chapters. The aim of Chapter 1 is to provide an in-depth introduction to ANT and build a theoretical framework. In Chapter 2 a context is provided for the research by mainly explaining the reasons behind, and the process of, choosing *Monkey* as the translation under study, placing the proposed research within the existing literature, and reviewing the research methodology. Chapter 3 comprises a thick description of the translation project, focusing on its major contributors and its different phases. The two chapters that follow, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, consist of discussions concerning the identified translation actors, and in particular, how their roles and positions were continually (re)defined by their actions throughout the translation production process. The last chapter explores the dynamics that empowered the translation production network, through categorising the interactions of translation actors according to four moments of *translation*[ANT] (Callon, 1986a), and in addition, the modes of interessement, i.e. the particular methods or devices used to persuade actors to join the project, which are analysed based on Latour's modes (1987).

The main findings of this study contain 1) a system of methods can be established based on previous studies conducted by ANT theorists and translation researchers. 2) The translation project is discovered to be long-term, with over 25 years of recorded history, large-scale, i.e. with numerous people and resources involved and at least 25 versions of the translation as the end products, and multi-faceted, i.e. with no fewer than 8 phases of production which often overlap with each other. 3) The translation actors were heterogeneous, including humans, example of which are the translator, publisher, and designer, and nonhumans, such as the war, letters, and a system of texts. Some of these actors have not been identified before. 4) Actions frequently defined actors, as well as their roles and positions in translation. The roles played by an actor in the single translation project were often multiple and their positions within the network constantly changing. 5) Claims made by Law, an ANT theorist, that control is a process instead of a result, and that successful long distance control depends on a triad of professionals, inscriptions/texts and devices (Law, 1986a, 1986b) are also true for this study. 6) More than 200 *translations*[ANT] occurred throughout the translation project, and moreover, the four moments of *translation*[ANT] developed in a variety of patterns instead of taking place sequentially (cf. Callon 1986a). 7) The modes of translating actors - modes of interessement - discerned in this project, differ in various ways and degrees from the existing modes (see Latour, 1987), but nevertheless increase the variety of the existing modes. In view of the

above, therefore, 8) ANT, as a social theory, is perfectly applicable to study the practical circumstances and evolution of the production of the translation of *Monkey*.

Keywords: actor-network theory, translation production, Arthur Waley, *Journey to the West*, (non)human actors

Acknowledgements

This research project could not have been completed without the help and support of many people. They all deserve my sincerest gratitude.

First, my utmost appreciation goes to my supervisors, Dr Binghan Zheng and Dr Sergey Tyulenev who encouraged me to embark on this research project and helped immensely in guiding me through many difficulties. They have provided me with insightful comments and advice which benefited the research immensely. They believed in my potential and often inspired me, which prevented me from feeling frustrated in the face of the many problems I experienced throughout this research study. I feel very fortunate to have them as my supervisors.

I am deeply grateful to Mr Don Starr, who, without any hesitation, offered his invaluable help to check the many handwritten letters for me. He patiently went over the letters, reading every word to ensure that I did not miss anything written in them. Don's help was crucial as the letters were key data for this study. Any mistaken or inappropriate presentation of the data is, of course, my own responsibility.

I am indebted to the staff of the University of Reading, Special Collections, for their help during my visit to the archive, and staff at HarperCollins for proving the copyright of research materials. I also want to express my immense gratitude to the interviewees, who are all prominent translators, and who kindly supported the research by taking part; and to the staff of the John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland, who warmly introduced the archive to me and generously answered all my queries, although the data collected from them was not, unfortunately, used in this research for various reasons.

My warm gratitude also goes to the many professionals who helped generously and commented enthusiastically on the research. Through inspiring discussions with Santiago Fouz-Hernandez, Qing Cao, Mikhail Epstein, Claudia Nitschke, Marie-Claire Barnet, Alex Harrington, and Gisèle Sapiro, I received many valuable comments and much encouragement. My colleagues, some of whom became my friends, shared their experience with me without reservation. It is a pity that it is not possible to thank them all by name, but I would like to

List of Abbreviations

ANT:	Actor-network theory
BPWEA:	Book Production War Economy Agreement
E:	Enrolment
Ent:	Entity
GA&U:	George Allen & Unwin
I:	Interessement
M:	Mobilisation
OPP:	Obligatory passage point
P:	Problematisation
PP:	Paper
RU:	Readers Union
S:	Situation
ST:	Source text
T^{ANT}:	*Translation^{ANT}*
TLS:	*The Times Literary Supplement*
TP:	Typewriter
TT:	Target text

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Introduction

For the purpose of this thesis, actor-network theory (ANT) is employed to study the practical translation actions that took place in the process of producing one of the English translations of Wu Cheng'en's novel, *Journey to the West* (*xī yóu jì* in Pinyin, and 西游记 in Chinese characters)[1], from Chinese. Since the translation is entitled *Monkey: A Folk-Tale of China*, the project that produced the translation used for analysis in this thesis is referred to as 'the translation project' or 'the *Monkey* project'. That translation project was conducted by a large number of translation agents or, to apply ANT terms, translation actors, acting together in different ways, in association with the United Kingdom publishing company, George Allen & Unwin, between the 1940s and the 1960s.

This thesis comprises a new case study which adds to current research in Translation Studies based on ANT, e.g. Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, [2004] 2007b; Jones, 2009; Kung, 2009; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Munday, 2016b; and Boll, 2016. The research is 'new' in the sense that, based on detailed analyses of extensive archival materials, and a theoretical framework built on a systematic and in depth understanding of ANT, it investigates how translation actors formed practical networks, that evolved and developed in very specific social circumstances, towards the production of one particular translation from Chinese to English. This study sets out to fulfil the following separate research objectives, and to answer the corresponding research questions.

The first research objective is to examine the theoretical applicability of ANT. In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary to address the following questions: What are the main ideas, the major concepts, and philosophy of ANT? How can these ideas and concepts be integrated into a theoretical framework that can be applied to a study of the practical development of the translation project in question, and which aspects of the translation project do these ideas and concepts contribute to the understanding of?

A second objective is the creation of a system of methods is then developed to guide and regulate the research. These research methods address three aspects of particular importance.

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[1] To improve readability, the novel 西游记 (xī yóu jì) is referred to as *Journey to the West* in this thesis.

These include the methods used to select the translation (project) for the case study, the methods used to collect data, and those used to screen, and analyse, the collected data. In order to achieve this second objective, it is necessary to determine how ANT can inform the development of a suitable methodology that can cover the above-mentioned three aspects, when applied to analysis of the production process of the translation project. Furthermore, it is necessary to consider the methods designed, and employed, in previous ANT-guided translation studies such as interview and participant observation (Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012), archival study (Bogic, 2010; Munday, 2016b; Boll, 2016), and bibliographic survey and online search (Jones, 2009), and then to evaluate how they can contribute to an evaluation of the three aspects of this research.

The third objective is that the thesis should re-present a comprehensive and clear episode in the Chinese-English translation history of this particular translation, i.e. *Monkey* translated from *Journey to the West* by Arthur Waley, extending from the 1940s until the 1960s. To be both comprehensive and clear, the description of the translation project needs to determine: what the major contributors of the translation project were; through what phases, or stages, the translation project developed, and what main events happened during each of the phases; and what the end products of the translation project were.

The fourth and final objective involves the main actors, and their methods of networking in the process of producing the translation, all of which must be clearly and precisely defined. There is a need to identify how the actors were recruited in, and contributed to, the network process that produced (the many versions of) the translation, and how they interacted to build and evolve the network over time. Importantly, since nonhumanity and nonhuman agency have been discussed extensively in sociology (Latour, 1988a, 1988b; Goedeke and Rikoon, 2008; Solli, 2010; Magnani, 2012), they have, however, been largely ignored in Translation Studies, and the aim of this research, therefore, is to fill in the blank, by examining nonhuman actors, and their roles and agencies in the translation project, in order to achieve a 'symmetry' between human and nonhuman actors (Callon, 1986a).

The materials on which this thesis is based consist of two main sets. The first set of materials includes the archival files from the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd., preserved by the University of Reading, Special Collections, with the copyright held by HarperCollins. Preserved in these records are more than 200 letters exchanged between participants of the

translation project, concerning a wide range of activities that were carried out to translate the original Chinese novel, initiate the translation project, print and re-print different versions of the translation, and so on, which took place over a period of two and a half decades (1941-1966). As the main source of information, these letters occupy a central position in this research study, for the whole thesis is based on detailed accounts of the evolution of the translation project, and its analysis, from an ANT perspective, of how translation actors acted to complete the literary translation project, and without these records this analysis would be impossible.

The second set of materials comprises information concerning the main participants of the translation project, e.g. the translator Arthur Waley, publisher Stanley Unwin, cover designer Duncan Grant, and literature concerned with the translation and the translation project. These materials are no less in volume and greater in variety, the majority of which can more specifically be categorised into five varieties. First are some translations, including (different copies of) *Monkey*, by Waley (e.g. *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*). The paratexts of these copies of translations, the translator's preface and introduction in particular, provide important information concerning the translator's opinion on the translation, his choice of the original text, and translation strategies. Second are articles by the translator (Waley, [1958] 1970) or about the translator (Morris, 1970; Robinson, 1967), which are either used together with the paratexts of translations to explore the translator's philosophy of translation, or to give more information about the translator. Third are works by the publisher (Unwin, 1960, 1995) providing information on the publisher himself, the operation of the publishing industry and the publishing company at that time, and some background information during the period when the production of the translation was at its fastest rate of development, during the Second World War. Fourth are advertisements and book reviews of, the translation (*Monkey*). These advertisements and reviews are archival materials, just like the letters (in the first group of materials). Collected from the Gale Primary Sources, the advertisements mainly appeared in newspapers such as *The Times Literary Supplement,* while the book reviews appeared in magazines such as *The Spectator* and *The Listener*. This variety of materials evidences much of the publicity campaign for the versions of the original UK edition of *Monkey*, which was an important and integral part of the translation project, but was nonetheless not recorded in the letters from the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Fifth are the covers, in particular the book jacket and the title page, designed by Grant, and books (including biography) and articles about him (Shone, 1976, 1999; Spalding, 1998). In essence,

this group of materials serves to support, i.e. to add evidence, or supply details to, or to fill in the gaps of, the first group of materials - the letters from the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

The above divisions of the two groups of materials are based on their functions in, or different degrees of importance to, the translation project. The materials can, moreover, be categorised according to their connection with the main text of the translation (*Monkey*). This method of grouping again results in two groups of data, which consist of, first, paratextual data, e.g. introductions and prefaces to Waley's translations, and cover pages of *Monkey*, and second, extra-textual data, e.g. the letters, advertisements and book reviews, and books and articles by and about the publisher, translator, and designer.

It should also be made clear that these two groups of materials inform the main body discussions of the thesis, although there are other materials collected in the process of the shaping this research project and the selection of the translation (*Monkey*). An online search was conducted to list the many translations of *Journey to the West* before five were targeted as objects for further study. Through interviews, visits to archives, and other methods of gathering literature, many materials regarding the five translations were gathered. Only those collected for one of the translations, i.e. *Monkey*, were, however, considered sufficient to support an ANT-based study on translation production.

In terms of the methodology for this thesis, a system of methodological rules is developed based on the 'three principles' (Callon, 1986a) and the 'rules of method' (Latour, 1987) endorsed by ANT theorists. This system of methodological rules was used to guide, and regulate, research on aspects such as data collection, information screening, and any description, discussion and analysis of the data in use. These rules include:

1) The focus of the study lies in an analysis of translation production carried out by translation actors, working in practical social circumstances, rather than, for example, in the translation of the text itself, or within the influence of a broad social or cultural context in production of the translation.

2) No assumptions should be made concerning items such as the development of the translation project, the number and the variety of translation actors as well as their actions

and ways of connecting, and even the outputs of the translation project itself, despite the fact that *Monkey* is widely known as an existing translation. This helps to identify the real conditions and stages through which the project developed and the unexpected events that might change the project, or the translation, substantially. The possibility of finding new things is also opened up; examples include the identification of new translation actors and outputs that have not yet been discovered.

3) There is still a problem of defining the actors in Translation Studies, although, based on ANT, Latour's method of 'following the actors' (Latour, 2007) is proven to be very useful in translation studies, e.g. Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Bogic, 2010; Boll, 2016; and Munday, 2016b, including this present piece of research. For the purpose of this study, a method or criterion for identifying actors, in the translation production is devised, by their actions/agencies among the numerous entities, human and nonhuman, directly or indirectly involved. In essence, if the entities directly act upon, or have direct influence on, the process of production, then they are considered as actors in translation. Actors are identified through actions. The starting point of this research is, therefore, translation action, which also conforms to the claim of ANT supporters that society, or a ready-made artefact or fact, is not the cause, but the effect of actions (Latour, 2007).

4) Nonhuman actors should no longer be avoided or neglected. They should be studied as translation actors and discussed in the same terms, and in an equal way, to human actors, as long as the nonhumans exert agency on the production of the translation. These nonhuman agencies help to achieve the 'symmetry' (Callon, 1986a) suggested by ANT theorists: just as the artificial division between 'nature' or technology and 'society' should be broken (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1999, 2007), translation researchers, therefore, need to go beyond the artificial borders of language, texts, and culture and consider translation in a much broader social sphere; and just like the ANT theorists who emphasise the heterogeneity of the elements that make society (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1999, 1992, 2007; Law, 1992), translation researchers need to pay more attention to the heterogeneity of the actors that make a translation.

Other very practical methods used to target *Monkey* (among many translations) and to collect data include, as mentioned previously, online searches, interviews, and archival research. In brief, the principle of data collection is to use any feasible and suitable methods, and to look for as much data as possible related to the translation project.

The main body of this thesis contains six chapters. Chapter 1 comprises a systematic and in-depth introduction of the main ideas and the relevant concepts of ANT, in order to build a strong theoretical basis for the whole research study. The theory (ANT) is first introduced because it is unfamiliar to researchers in Translation Studies, and despite the efforts made by a few researchers, such as Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Jones, 2009; Kung, 2009; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Boll, 2016; and Munday, 2016b, ANT is still under-applied in Translation Studies. By providing a guide, this theory shapes the entire study, and regulates not only the main body of discussion and analysis, but also the selection of the translation project and collection of information.

Chapter 2 contextualises the research. The process and the reasons for choosing the translation project that produced *Monkey*, from among many other translations of the same original text (*Journey to the West*), are described and explained. This is followed by an overview of the current available research applying ANT to the study of the production of translations, with the intention to evaluate this study in the context of the existing literature. The chapter ends with a clarification of the methodological issues related to the research carried out.

Chapter 3 comprises detailed accounts of the production of (the versions of) the translation (*Monkey*) in practical circumstances. The major contributors, important events, and many versions of *Monkey* as the end products of the translation project are introduced, then described and discussed.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on analysing the human and the nonhuman actors acting to publish the translation. Many actors are identified, and the difference between humans and human actors, and that between nonhumans and nonhuman actors are emphasised. Actors' roles and positions in the translation project, are moreover, discussed as variables that underwent changes according to practical, social, and translation actions, rather than being pre-determined and fixed in a broad social context.

The last chapter brings all the translation actors and their translation interactions together. Through examining the networking process that occurred during the completion of the translation project, i.e. certain actors made plans (problematised), persuaded (interested),

recruited (enrolled), and coordinated with (mobilised) other actors that might be dispersed in different times and places, before they finally produced versions of the translation. This process of transforming resources into very different outcomes is known as 'translation' in ANT (Callon, 1986a; Law, 1986a, 1986b; Latour, 1987, 2007). The translation project was in fact made by many 'translations' of different types of resources which include the human and nonhuman actors that comprised the translation project.

Chapter 1 Actor-Network Theory[2]

Instead of giving the overall research context, this thesis starts with an in-depth presentation of the theoretical framework for the following reasons: first, the theoretical perspective adopted in this study, i.e. the actor-network theory (ANT hereafter), has directly and decisively influenced the choice of the translation and translation project under examination[3]. Secondly, ANT is, to a large extent, still unfamiliar to scholars in Translation Studies, although there have been more than a dozen studies drawing specifically upon it[4], including Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Jones, 2009; Kung, 2009; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Boll, 2016; and Munday, 2016b. In other words, it is necessary to introduce the theory that shaped this entire research project before explaining the contextualisation of the present research being undertaken.

This chapter contains a systematic and comprehensive introduction of ANT, the basic theory underpinning this work. While almost all the previous studies on translation adopt an ANT perspective based mainly on Bruno Latour's theory (either alone or together with theories other than ANT), for example, Kung, 2009; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; and Boll, 2016, this study proposes a combination of the core concepts of ANT from Michel Callon, Bruno Latour and John Law - the three forefathers and major contributors - to the development of the theory. To ensure a better understanding of the theory and the concepts, the basic ideas of ANT are discussed and clarified, before the core concepts, such as (human and nonhuman) actors, actor-networks, and *translation^{ANT}*, are introduced in subsequent sections.

A major difficulty when introducing the theory is that ANT is in constant development theoretically, meaning that different researchers may have given different definitions of some of the concepts in various scales of application. The ways to present the ideas and concepts, therefore, include choosing or adopting the most suitable definition as, for example, when Latour's definition of the obligatory passage point is chosen instead of Callon's restrictive one (see Section 1.6), and integrating the existing meanings to make the definitions more

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[2] A short version of an introduction to ANT and nonhuman actors has been published as part of a journal article entitled 'Visiting elements thought to be "inactive": nonhuman actors in Arthur Waley's translation of *Journey to the West*', co-authored with Binghan Zheng.

[3] See detailed explanations in Chapter 2.

[4] See discussion below and more in section 2.5 of Chapter 2.

precise or comprehensive as, for example, when the concept of (nonhuman) actor is under discussion (see Section 1.2). These ideas and concepts are further adapted, proved or extended, as demonstrated in the discussions and analyses in following chapters. This constitutes one of the distinct contributions that this thesis makes to the application of ANT to translation.

1.1 Basic clarifications of the name and nature of actor-network theory

ANT has developed since the 1980s, with a number of sociologists undertaking social studies in the disciplines of science and technology, among whom, Michel Callon (e.g. 1986a, 1986b, 1999), Bruno Latour (e.g. 1984, 1986, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1999, [2005] 2007) and John Law (e.g. 1986a, 1986b, 1992, 1999) are the most prominent figures, in the sense that they are the founding fathers of the theory.

In contrast to the proponents of macro-sociology, who see society as being imposed on individuals, ANT theorists consider social causality in a similar way to micro-sociologists, who consider individuals as constantly acting to remodel society. More specifically, ANT theorists argue that actors constantly (re)negotiate their relationships, and their identities (Callon, 1986a), and thereby weave the very fabric of society. If society is considered from a macro-sociological perspective, for example, as systems, this is referred to by Latour as the 'sociology of the social', while ANT is regarded as the 'sociology of associations', as it considers society as consisting of various associations formed by actors (Latour, 2007).

Proponents of ANT disagree with social reductionism, and with prioritising systems or structures over individual actors, as such simplifications ignore how uncertainties, innovations and various heterogeneous facts converge to make a 'society'. Instead of believing that society can be generalised, and in turn explained and predicted by those generalisations, as suggested by the 'sociology of the social', ANT theorists seek to discover how different actors interact, sometimes unpredictably, to build heterogeneous associations that constitute a changing 'society', or a 'society' in formation (ibid). In brief, ANT theorists regard 'society' as growing out of, or, as a result (effect) of actors' interactions.

Interestingly, in addition to the most popular name for the theory the 'actor-network theory', ANT is sometimes referred to as the 'sociology of associations', and at other times referred to

as the 'sociology of translation' (e.g. Callon, 1986a; Law, 1992) or the 'translation model' (e.g. Latour, 1984, 1987). It could be argued that 'translation' is not the only concept of ANT, and that the label 'sociology of translation' by no means covers the whole theory. 'Translation' is, however, the key concept in understanding how power relationships between actors build networks and transform objects, artefacts, and facts.[5] Callon, Latour, and Law all use this concept to represent the whole theory (e.g. Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1984; Law, 1992). For example, Callon's seminal article on the 'sociology of translation' (1986a) presents a systematic study and applies a whole range of innovative ideas and concepts in ANT: besides the concept of 'translation', three principles of conducting ANT research are proposed in the article, and the concepts of human and nonhuman actors and 'obligatory passage point'[6] are systematically integrated in discussion. More importantly, from Callon's perspective, 'translation' is a process which, in practice, involves the networking activities of a variety of actors. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that the 'sociology of translation' represents the spirit of ANT. This chapter presents a systematic integration of almost the whole range of ideas and concepts within ANT.

It should be noted that the word 'translation' in ANT has a different meaning from the 'translation' in Translation Studies. In order to distinguish between the two, hereafter '*translation*^{ANT}' will be used to indicate the meaning specific to ANT. The concept of *translation*^{ANT} used in this thesis designates the process during which some inputs, including people and materials, are displaced, re-assembled and transformed into very different output(s). In other words, ANT is a theory that studies the process of transforming inputs, in terms of people and objects, figurations and non-figurations, into thing(s) or fact(s) that are very different. This definition might be seen as having been developed from a summary of Callon's and Latour's definitions of *translation*^{ANT}[7]. Those people, or objects, that conduct *translations*^{ANT}, and those that are *translated*^{ANT}, are called actors, and to complete the process, actors form networks. The terms 'actor' and 'network', however, return people's attention to the most commonly known and used name for the theory – the 'actor-network theory'.

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[5] See section 1.5.

[6] See section 1.2 for human and nonhuman actors, and section 1.6 for obligatory passage point.

[7] See detailed discussion in section 1.5.

While some might think that the very name of the theory is quite revealing, and that ANT is a theory that studies the network of actors, Latour argues that if one just considers the terms 'actor', 'network' and 'theory' superficially, and without deeper reflection on what the terms actually mean in ANT, the name is just as misleading as it is convenient (Latour, 1999). Concerned that the terms might easily be misunderstood due to their widespread stereotypes, he paradoxically claims that the name 'actor-network theory' does not necessarily fit ANT as for example, people not familiar with ANT would not readily associate 'actor' with human agency, and the word 'network' is commonly associated with the widespread use of the Internet and information technology aiming to spread or transport knowledge and information 'faithfully' and without change (ibid.). A deeper understanding of 'actor' and 'network/association' is thus crucial to a deeper understanding of the theory.

There are, moreover, some disputes concerning whether it is either suitable or accurate, to define ANT as a theory, for some ANT scholars (light-heartedly referred to as 'ants') would prefer the word 'ontology' to 'theory' (e.g. Latour, 1999; Callon, 1999). They believe that ANT should be aimed not at compressing heterogeneous social phenomena into one homogeneous structured system of society, but at scrutinizing the heterogeneity as it is, and at observing what the actors really do and how they themselves interpret their doings. ANT can therefore be regarded as "another way of being faithful to the insights of ethnomethodology", and as a method to "learn from the actors without imposing on them an *a priori* definition of their world-building capacities" (Latour, 1999: 19-20). The ANT scholars' resolution to develop a philosophy or to build a framework, is underscored by their refusal to claim ANT as a theory, that could provide a completely new outlook of what constitutes a 'society', and how actors work to develop that 'society', while overthrowing the traditional connotation of a theory that it must aim to define and predict.

ANT encourages 'describing' rather than defining and predicting (Latour, 2007). Latour insists that 'society' is much more complex and unpredictable in terms of its components, the components' agencies and their ways of making connections and that only through close examination and detailed descriptions of the process of making 'the social' could one understand 'the social' (ibid.). ANT scholars follow principles or rules in their observations and descriptions to facilitate ANT-guided research, including the three principles promoted by Callon (1986a), and the 'rules of method' proposed by Latour (1987). All these rules and principles, are devised to address the difficulties in the sociological study of science and

technology, and are in essence alike. Compared to Latour's rules of method, which contain practical guidelines and are hence more methodological, Callon's principles are, however, more generalised and more theoretical. The following section introduces Callon's three principles, and aims to provide general guidance for ANT-based research. Chapter 2 then outlines and introduces the methodological rules relevant to the current study which are devised on the basis of both Callon's three principles and Latour's rules of method.

Callon (1986a: 198-199) identifies three major difficulties in the sociological study of science and technology: 1) under the name of 'professional' censorship, sociologists tend to exclude the actor's understanding of 'the social', which results in the reductionist or generalising *style* of research; 2) as Society was "no more certain or indisputable than Nature", the solidity (the *theoretical nature*) of 'sociological explanation' was questionable; and finally 3) the identity, and the position, of actors are not predetermined or fixed forever but are susceptible to change, which gives crucial impetus to network development. From a *methodological* standpoint, therefore, it is important to consider actors as variables, and to seriously study how their identities change, and how these changes affect the networking process.

These three difficulties are interlocked and can influence one another. For example, over-emphasis on the professional censorship of sociologists would enhance the solidity of 'social explanation', and when the style and nature of a theory are compromised, this will affect the methodology. If for example the identity of the actors is conceived of as pre-determined invariables by sociologists, then the actors' explanation of the social construct is disregarded.

Three principles are, as a result, proposed by Callon to guide and regulate studies carried out by applying the sociology of *translation*^{ANT}, namely, the principle of agnosticism, the principle of generalised symmetry, and the principle of free association (Callon, 1986a). The three principles do not correspond specifically to any one of the difficulties; instead, they either have their own focus, or they may aim to solve two or more problems at the same time.

The first principle of agnosticism, that something is unknown and unknowable and used in this context, "extends the agnosticism of the observer to include the social sciences" (Callon, 1986a: 200). This principle requires both sociologists and sociology to stay 'ignorant', and to focus on observed or measurable facts that occur during any social process, instead of presuming that they can explain things that have happened, or can predict things that are

going to happen. Specifically, the principle of agnosticism contains two main points. First, what the actors say about their social network should be respected. Sociologists should not assume the superiority of their own 'professionalism' and relegate actors' comments on their social network to the unprofessional and inappropriate. In other words, ANT proponents should reject 'social explanation'; should not presume anything about the actors studied or any of their actions; and should not censor any of the actors' descriptions of their working experience, the actors' comments on social matters in general or on their actions in a particular situation. This point aims to resolve the first and second difficulties. The second point is that the identity of the actors, and the roles they play, may be subject to negotiation, and re-negotiation, at any point in the network development and, therefore, should not be pre-determined (Callon, 1986a). This all leads to the third methodological difficulty.

The second principle is that of generalised symmetry. The key point is that ANT researchers are required to abide by one "single repertoire" (Callon, 1986a: 200) when describing Society and Nature. This suggests that both human and nonhuman actors are taken into consideration when a network is examined, and both human and nonhuman actors are described in the same terms. As a consequence, all elements are endowed with the ability to act, and share an equal chance of performing in the networking process. This principle, by regulating the vocabulary used to explain both social and technical issues, is an extended means by which to deal with the second difficulty – the flawed 'social explanation'. Researchers are, moreover, trusted in their ability to choose the repertoire that would facilitate their research most, as long as they are consistent. In Callon's own words they should, "not (to) change registers when moving from the technical to the social aspects of the problem studied" (200), and should make sure they convince their colleagues (ibid.). Though sociologists are inevitably led by their own values in conducting their research (in fact, all researchers are), it is their selection of research objects, cases, methods, angles and other factors that make research possible. "(R)eduction of an infinitely complex reality" (227) is unavoidable and necessary, but ANT researchers should always remember the principle of building a repertoire that is both coherent and convincing.

The principle of free association argues that "(T)he observer must abandon all a priori distinctions between natural and social events. He must reject the hypothesis of a definite boundary which separates the two" (Callon, 1986a: 200-201). ANT proponents hold that the divisions between Nature and Society are not the starting point for analysis but the end point,

and whether the result, in the end, actually points to the divisions between them is still unknown. In other words, the validity of causality should always be questioned, the manner of network development should not be restricted, and the actors should be free to associate. The essence of this principle lies in respecting the work of actors: to follow their traces, and to treat their roles, their functions, their interests, their ways of making connections, or what they stand for as variables, and to analyse the defining and redefining of the actors themselves[8] as well as the associations they make throughout the networking process.

As mentioned above, each of the three principles may aim to solve more than one difficulty. They therefore naturally overlap, but each of the principles has its respective emphasis. The principle of agnosticism is the general principle that covers all three difficulties by requiring both sociologists and sociology to stay 'ignorant', to not presume or pre-determine the unknown, and to value what actors say about the ways they make society. While the principles of asymmetry, and of free association focus, respectively, on refusing the questionable 'social explanation' by regulating the research repertoire, and on treating actors as variables by respecting their agencies and practical actions.

A general introduction to the basic ideas of ANT has been outlined, based on three names for the theory: 'the sociology of associations', 'the sociology of translation', and 'actor-network theory'. The following sections focus on introducing, and discussing, more concepts of ANT that are relevant to the present study, for example, more detailed discussions on the key concepts such as '*translation*^{ANT}', 'actor', and 'network', which have already been mentioned above. In addition to the ideas and concepts developed by Callon and Latour, those from other ANT scholars will also be presented, for example, the concept of long-distance control proposed by Law.

1.2 Nonhuman actor

What ANT theorists call an 'actor' cannot fail to strike people as very unusual. The theorists suggest that an actor can be either human or nonhuman. There has been, so far, no clear and outright definition of a human, or of a nonhuman actor. This might be largely because of the reluctance of ANT scholars to confine the repertoire, uncertainty, and heterogeneity of actors.

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[8] See 'four moments of *translation*^{ANT}' for more on the defining and redefining of actors in section 1.5.

As it is much easier to accept the suggestion that 'humans act', than that 'nonhumans act', this section focuses on the concept of the nonhuman actor, and, before giving a relatively comprehensive outline of the concept, provides examples of ANT profiles of nonhuman actors, in the form of various scattered explanations, and a number of case studies.

'Nonhuman' can have a very broad meaning, which may cause confusion in understanding the concept of a 'nonhuman actor'. Fortunately, there are some explanations of what constitutes 'nonhuman', or 'nonhumanity', helping to give some shape to the concept. For example, in the category of the nonhuman, Law lists "machines, animals, texts, money, architectures – any material that you care to mention" (Law, 1992: 381). Latour, moreover includes "things", "objects", and "beasts" (Latour, 1993: 13), and then "microbes, scallops, rocks, and ships" (Latour, 2007: 10), and adds "ants, monkeys, and apes" (65) to the list. Most of these inclusions to the list of 'nonhumanity' are identified by ANT scholars from a wide range of case studies conducted on nonhuman actors. One classic example of a case study is where Callon (1986a) factors in sea scallops as prominent actors in a social network and describes failed attempts to domesticate them.

ANT researchers have devoted a great deal of time and effort to identifying and analysing a wide range of nonhuman actors including, but not limited to, microbes (Latour, 1988b), animals (e.g. Callon, 1986a; Goedeke and Rikoon, 2008), machines (e.g. Callon, 1986b; Law and Callon, 1992), plants (Hitchings, 2003), objects such as artefacts and texts/inscriptions (e.g. Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1986, 2007; Latour and Woolgar, 1986), and even waste (Magnani, 2012). It is important to understand that this summary does not aim to confine nonhuman actors to within the listed categories. Its only function is to give a clearer view of what nonhuman entities have been identified as nonhuman actors.

The key to understanding the concept of nonhuman actors does not, however, lie in the meaning of the word 'nonhuman' or 'nonhumanity', as what the word designates has been clearly demonstrated in the above-mentioned studies conducted by ANT proponents: nonhumans are entities that are not human. If one does not want to confine the number and variety of nonhuman actors, the key to understanding the concept of the nonhuman actor is, importantly, to focus on the second component of the concept, namely the 'actor'. Latour explains the concept of an 'actor' in the following passage:

(A)ny thing that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor – or, if it has no configuration yet, an actant. Thus, the questions to ask about any agent are simply the following: Does it make a difference in the course of some other agent's action or not? Is there some trial that allows someone to detect this difference? (Latour, 2007: 71)

If the answers to the above two questions are positive, then the thing, or person, is considered to be a nonhuman or human actor. Here, ANT proponents consider that the nonhuman actor's 'agency' should be studied more, and the term should take account of why, or in what circumstances, nonhumans become nonhuman actors. Again, however, there has so far been no clear definition of a human or nonhuman agency in ANT. This is probably due to a similar reason, the lack of a clear definition of human and nonhuman actors to be open to every possible type of agency, and that are still in the process of being made and found. Discussion concerning nonhuman agency thus again depends on previous case studies on nonhuman actors, but the focus moves away from looking at what consists 'nonhumanity' towards finding out what those nonhumans do.

The earliest and most outstanding case study, as mentioned earlier, may be Callon's discussion concerning how sea scallops refused to anchor despite efforts made by fishermen and researchers to domesticate them. From this example, Callon demonstrates that not only do nonhuman scallops have agency, they could also determine the success, or failure, of a fishery/scallop domestication project (Callon, 1986a). Subsequent studies focusing on nonhuman agency include, for example the work of Goedeke and Rikoon (2008), in which the misbehaviour of otters such as trespassing across boundaries and over-producing leads to the reclassification of otters, and the marginalisation of an otter protection programme. In summary, most of these subsequent studies consider nonhuman actors as catalysts for change (e.g. Goedeke and Rikoon, 2008; Solli, 2010; Magnani, 2012).

Based on Latour's explanation of 'actor' given earlier, it is now easier to understand the concept of a nonhuman agency in ANT. In brief, a nonhuman agency in ANT means the ability of any entities, other than human, to affect or make a difference, either negatively or positively (being non-neutral), in any unit of the social networking process. This, combined with a summary of the nonhuman actors identified, and studied, by researchers applying ANT, helps to provide a very loose definition of the concept of a nonhuman actor. Nonhuman

actors can be any independent entities, other than humans who are conventionally regarded as part of the constitution of 'society', that actively affect, in unrestricted ways, the development of any social process. Similarly, human actors consist of people who actively affect, in unrestricted ways, the development of any social process.

A nonhuman agency is, as hypothesised by ANT, equally eligible and important, as a human agency. This is indicated by the open meaning of actor, as outlined above, and re-emphasised in, for instance, the principle of generalised symmetry which, as introduced earlier, guides and regulates practical ANT-based studies. The principle requires that both human and nonhuman actors should be taken into consideration, and should be described using the same terms when an actor-network is examined. As a result, nonhuman actors are endowed with the ability to act, or be made to act, and to share an equal chance of performing in the networking process. This, however, does not mean that the aim of ANT is to create confrontation, division, or symmetry between humans and nonhumans (e.g. Latour, 1999, 2007). The aim is to call attention to long-neglected roles and functions that nonhumans play in the development of 'the social', while considering them not as subjects of human actors (e.g. tools) or the background of social development, but as another category of actors that participate in practical social activities. They are, importantly, active participants. 'Active' here, contrary to 'inactive' or 'inert' roles nonhumans are often attributed to in social studies, means that nonhuman actors are not always 'inert' objects, as they interact with people, changing the way in which people behave and the way society develops.

The concept of nonhuman actors has been largely under-applied. Apart from early pioneering studies conducted by Callon and Latour (e.g. Callon, 1986a, 1986b; Latour, 1988a[9], 1988b, 1992), only a few subsequent studies draw specifically on the concept and are mainly confined to social studies on science and technology, the disciplines where the concept originated, on the research topic of environmental conflict and management (e.g. Goedeke and Rikoon, 2008; Magnani, 2012). In spite of the small area of application, the concept of the nonhuman actor nonetheless shows some recent evidence of expanding to other areas of research, for example, in education (e.g. Watson et al., 2015). It has, however, been hardly

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[9] Latour wrote the article in the name of Jim Johnson.

discussed in Translation Studies to date, except by Jones (2009, 2011) and Abdallah (2012) who include nonhuman examples, especially texts, as actors in translation.[10]

In Translation and Interpreting Studies, there has been some research into nonhuman phenomena. The most prominent of them is text, for example, source, target and paratexts, as they are the most prominent factors in translation. There are also studies on computer-assisted translation tools, machine translation, and interpreting equipment. The majority of these studies have, however, regarded these phenomena as more or less inert objects, whereas in ANT-based research, they would be considered as active participants in translation or interpreting activities, whose roles and functions constantly change in their interactions with others, which is the exact approach adopted for the present study.

1.3 Long distance control

Concepts that help in the study of the power relations among the complications of networking are necessary and important, given that ANT is a theory that studies the effect of actors' networking, i.e. how heterogeneous actors act and interact differently in making, at the same time, both scientific and social products. While ANT can be viewed as an approach to study power, Law, as one of the most distinguished ANT scholars, devotes himself to a series of studies on power and more specifically, on long distance control. The most prominent of the studies include Law, 1986a, 1986b, 1992.

Law believes that, control, as a specific type of social relationship, is the effect of the networking process rather than the cause of it. In other words, control does not exist before controlling actions are made, and there are no actors who naturally have the power to control others. What is important about control is the process through which certain actors seek to gain power over others by employing methods and using materials. Law is especially interested in long distance control, a type of power relationship established between actors who are geographically, or temporally, distant, or who could not act directly upon each other. At least two case studies have been carried out by Law to study long distance control, and both find that, successful long distance control depends on a triad of inscriptions/texts[11],

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[10] Nonetheless, the concept of actor (most of the time referred to as 'agent'), in its sense of human agency more exactly, does not fail to be discussed and applied in Translation Studies. See discussion in Chapter 2.
[11] See section 1.7 for the concept of inscription.

drilled people, and devices (Law, 1986a, 1986b). The triad, however, is not "sacrosanct" and is still subject to tests and modification (Law, 1986b: 257).

For example, one of Law's articles published in 1986 deals specifically with long distance action and power distribution (Law, 1986a). The article studies the methods and materials used by an experimentalist in the process of conducting some pharmacological experiments. The experimental processes are viewed as the processes through which the experimentalist developed a wide range of resources that were more durable, and mobile, for the purpose of achieving long distance control. The materials used by the experimentalist, to name a few, include rats' hearts, a clamp, tweezers, cotton wool, and charts and figures, which are classified into the triad under the headings of: natural objects, people, and inscriptions. Methods such as highlighting key facts, labelling important information, scaling down and up (e.g. reducing or accelerating the chart recorder), and metrication were also recognised. The result was that, by using a variety of methods, the experimentalist employed a range of resources, transforming them into a set of charts that were relatively more stable, easy to circulate and ready to be combined into, for instance, an academic article, which made long distance control of the resources possible (ibid.).[12]

To emphasise the practices of actors, and the strategies they use to accelerate the circulation of resources, or actors within actor-networks, is to study the power relations between actors and those spread elsewhere. It is, moreover, also suggested that power should be regarded as the effect of transforming resources, or actors, and displacing them in the form of immutable and combinable mobiles that can accelerate future circulations, rather than what causes them to act in a certain behavioural pattern. In other words, power is created, made, or achieved before it rules, which accords with the inversion of causality lying at the heart of ANT, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter: to see social evolution as the effect, or result, of actors' interactions.

From a theoretical perspective, the reasons that ANT-based research, such as the current study, needs the concept of long-distance control include: 1) Actors often disperse over different time and space in the reality of the production of society and science, as perceived by ANT scholars (e.g. Latour, 1987, 2007). This means certain actors must be able to act on

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[12] The charts and academic articles are types of inscriptions which again belong to immutable mobiles (see section 1.7).

other things (e.g. facts, objects, humans), that might exist in a different time and space, if they wanted to make connections. In other words, actors should be able to act at a distance. 2) Even when all the actors involved in a process of control remain in the same space, and at the same time, there are circumstances when an actor cannot act directly upon another actor or entity, especially when they need to gain more power by connecting with others before acting upon their target. For example, when scientists are undertaking a laboratory experiment or when doctors are performing surgery, they might work with materials or people through a set of apparatus.

From a practical point of view, the present research study is dependent on the concept of long distance control for the following reasons: 1) most of the crucial actors involved in the translation project under study are geographically dispersed. For example, the translator worked at the Ministry of Information and the publisher worked at the publishing company. Although they both worked in London, albeit in different places, another publisher of the translation was even further away in America. In fact, through the worldwide expansion of the translation, more and more actors, dispersed in different countries and regions, worked to connect and influence their counterparts at either long or short distances. 2) The translation project under study exhibits examples of many moments of control when actors needed to ally with others (be they people, objects, or tools) to increase their power before they could influence or exert control on a target, because their target actor or entity was stronger or had the ability to make a forceful counter-action. The power struggle between the publisher and the designer, elaborated in Chapter 4, is a typical example, where the publisher, using a variety of methods, made allies with the translator, typographer, engraver, block maker, paper, inks in different colours and lithography techniques before he could control the outcome, i.e. the design proofs of the jacket and the title page for the translation, which finally gained approval from the designer.

There has been no application of the concept of control to the study of translation until recently. There have been some efforts made, though very few, besides Law's two case studies. For example, González (2013) applies ANT, including Law's concept of control, to her doctoral study on online community participation. Based on Law's concept of control, González divides actors into those 'controlling' and those 'controlled'. This division helps to categorise actors and their anticipated actions, although it might not be held as incontestable. While using the term of 'controlling actor', one might easily be caught in a pitfall, which is to

define whether an actor stays controlling, or being controlled, according to a fixed 'social role' they accept or are given. For example, if an actor's 'role' is that of a 'president', then they must be the 'controlling actor' (González, 2013: 133), but this state could change at any time according to ANT. Despite changing practical conditions, including the subversion of power, neutralising an ANT scholar's efforts to underscore the variety of possibilities during the process of gaining power, the title of 'controlling actor' might also imply a presumption that the actor is in sound control of the situation, or that the actor is going to succeed in gaining power eventually. If that were the case, ANT would lose its sharpness of definition, since the result of power distribution is implied even before actors begin networking. This is due to the fact that ANT insists that, although certain actors seek to organise, regulate, and lead others, one should not assume a priori that successful control is pre-determined, or could be predicted. In view of the above, the terminology is suspected of infringing the principles of agnosticism and free association, and hence violates the basic concepts of ANT. Control, and seeking to control, are, after all, two entirely different states of affairs that respectively lead to two modes of thinking, which Latour calls 'sociology of the social' (or 'traditional sociology') and 'sociology of associations' (ANT). These are perhaps also the reason why both Callon and Law develop the concept of control in ANT, while they are still sufficiently cautious to say, either "(T)he result is a situation in which certain entities control others" (Callon, 1986a: 224), or to call them "the actor who seeks to control others at distance" (Law, 1986b: 225), rather than simply using the term 'controlling actor'.

To avoid similar pitfalls of binding actors' power with the stereotype of 'social roles', and of confusing the result of achieving control from the process of gaining control, which might lead to overlooking the fact that power, and actors' roles, are themselves both variables in real changing circumstances. The present research project should, therefore, be very careful, and very clear, about the starting point of the study: action. For any entity to become an actor in the translation project under study, it must have substantial influence, or functions, on the project through concrete action(s), and any actor's role(s) must be defined in its course of action, rather than the reverse.

1.4 The black box

According to ANT, actors network to build actor-networks whereas actors can also be actor-networks themselves. In the previous sections, the heterogeneity of the actors and their

agencies are emphasised through discussions of the main ideas, the concept of (nonhuman) actor and control, i.e. actors can be human or nonhuman, and they act to connect in every possible way. This means that an actor-network is a heterogeneous and complex evolving whole. When a heterogeneous and complex actor-network is stabilised and accepted widely as unproblematic, taken for granted, or no longer questioned, it becomes a 'black box' (Callon and Latour, 1981; Latour, 1987). Many objects and facts that commonly appear in everyday personal and social life and in science and technology are regarded as 'black boxes'. For example, a car ready-made and in use was produced by a network of designers, technicians, investors, (constructed from) steel, (coated with) paint, yet the driver does not need to understand the network that produced the car to use it. To the driver, the network of people and material are 'black boxed' into the car that they are driving, while they may be taking part in forming another actor-network with the car, to give a convenient example, a transportation or delivery actor-network. In this way, an actor-network, 'black boxed' into an 'integrated' whole, acts as one actor.

The concept of a black box, justifies, theoretically, that an actor does not appear suddenly from nowhere but is composed of actor-network(s) of more 'primitive' actors/entities, and that actor-network(s) do not disappear but are just concealed, or absorbed, into one single actor. It helps to simplify the complexity of actor-networks by considering some networks as actors, and to focus on those in networking, under testing, or in question, while the complexity of actor-networks is respected and preserved. If no one questions its validity or its production, the complex processes during which various people and materials were networked in its generation remain unknown and a black box stays 'black'.

In Translation Studies, since the advent of ANT, there has been a trend to investigate the production process of translations (e.g. Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012). Translations are black boxes to people who see them as still and ready-made texts. The group of researchers applying ANT to study the production process of translations, however, believe that translations are not just texts but the result of the interactions of various actors – although the heterogeneity of actors has been under-studied since only humans have been considered as having agency. To these researchers, translations are neither black boxes, nor single actors, but evolving actor-networks or actor-networks that have experienced a dynamic forming process before being presented to people

as independent texts. The researchers are therefore the ones who open and examine the black boxes of translation to see what become(s) it.

1.5 *Translation^{ANT}*

Translation^{ANT}, as the key concept in ANT, has been discussed by many scholars, among whom, Callon (1986a) and Latour (1987) contribute most to the development of the concept. *Translation^{ANT}* is sometimes used in a narrower way to refer to the transforming of actors' interests, as in the 'five modes of *translation^{ANT}*'[13], and in this narrower sense, *translation^{ANT}* can be roughly regarded as equal to interessement, the process, or a moment of *translation^{ANT}* during which actors interest others in order to recruit them[14]. The concept is, however, used both in its narrower sense, when the moment of interessement and the five modes of *translation^{ANT}* are applied to study the process of interesting actors into joining actor-networks, and in its broader, and much more significant, meaning designating the mechanism of power in actor-networking.

Actors network to produce things or to build facts. To produce, to build, and to network requires actors to enrol and control others (e.g. Latour, 1987, 2007). *Translation^{ANT}* is the key notion in dealing with the contradiction caused by the need to enrol actors, and the need to control them (e.g. Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1987), since the difficulty in controlling increases as the size and heterogeneity of the actors enrolled expands. To deal with the contradiction, *translation^{ANT}* must be able to address or confront a range of problems, the most conspicuous of which include 1) how to interest actors, or, how to transform actors' interests so that they are willing to join the production or building process and to work together in the same direction towards the same goal(s). Callon's discussion of the moment of interessement and Latour's discussion of the five modes of *translating^{ANT}* interests aim to address this problem. 2) How to assemble actors, that scatter in different time and space, where the production of thing(s) and fact(s) take place. Callon's four moments of *translation^{ANT}* and Latour's theory of the 'centre of calculations', also known as '*translation^{ANT}* centres', aim to address this second problem.[15]

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[13] See section 1.5.2 for the 'five modes of *translation^{ANT}*'. The 'five modes of *translation^{ANT}*' is also referred to as the 'five modes of interesting actors' in order to distinguish the narrower meaning of *translation^{ANT}* from its broader meaning.

[14] See section 1.5.1.2 for the moment of interessement.

[15] See section 1.5.1 for 'four moments of *translation^{ANT}*' and section 1.7 for the 'centre of calculations'.

1.5.1 Callon: the four moments of *translation^ANT*

Callon's seminal paper on the 'sociology of *translation^ANT*' (Callon, 1986a) presents an analytical framework to study how actors, human and nonhuman, act to form an actor-network in carrying out a sea scallop domestication project. Three researchers initiate and lead the project. With local fishermen and their scientific colleagues, the three researchers aim to increase the production of sea scallops by 'domesticating' them. It is argued that the scallop domestication project is a venue where both human and nonhuman actors network and struggle for power, and the concept of *translation^ANT* is developed to theorise the power struggles in actors' networking towards the development of the project. Callon considers *translation^ANT* as a process involving four moments: problematisation, interessement, enrolment and mobilisation (ibid.). During the process of *translation^ANT*, put simply, certain actor(s) target a group of actors they need in order to carry out a project, recruit them using different methods, inter-connect the actors they recruit, and make sure that the actors are made mobile enough, or easy to circulate, to be displaced to the centre of production/calculation/*translation^ANT* where transformations happen.

1.5.1.1 The moment of problematisation

Problematisation starts when one or more actors conceive a certain project and devote themselves to defining the situation, raising a number of relevant questions and qualifying them in their own terms (Callon, 1986a). These actors are regarded as the "primum movens", or primary movers, (Callon, 1986a: 203). A short diversion is needed here in order to distinguish the actors problematised, i.e. the primary movers, from other actors. When enumerating 'factors' involved in a translation process, Nord identifies as 'initiators' those who initiate a translation task (Nord, 2006:6). The word 'initiator' fits well in describing the actions of these actors at the initial moment of the *translation^ANT* process. This focuses on the practical action of 'initiating' without interfering with the actors' possible future actions, and without alluding to the success or failure of the problematisation. As one of the means of keeping the discussion as clear as possible (accounts probably grow intricate as an increasing number of actors are included and as more moments of *translation^ANT* appear), therefore, these actors, i.e. the primary movers, are referred to as 'initiating actors' when the need to distinguish them from the other actors arises. The other actors are usually referred to simply

as 'actors', but sometimes as 'target actors' when the need to distinguish them from initiating actors or competing actors[16] arises.

According to Callon, problematisation contains a "double movement" through which initiating actors make themselves "indispensable in the network" (1986a: 204). In the first move, they list a group of actors in need and define their identities (e.g. experience, knowledge, interests). The result of this first move provides them with important information, especially the different interests or goals each of the actors has, that necessitate the reconciliation of the differences. For if the actors are to network effectively, all of them must recognise that they need to modify their own interests in order to align around a mutually beneficial point (OPP) and pass through the point before they can proceed to achieve their own goals. As a result, an 'obligatory passage point' (OPP) is established, and it obliges actors to converge on a specific point that can either be a theme or a problem[17]. Once they agree to travel to their respective goals through OPP, actors should, as a matter of course, expect detours or, in other words, they should anticipate having to commit to paying the price of additional unselfish effort before achieving their own interests (e.g. Latour, 1987).

A final, but important point is that this thesis will remain cautious with regard to the potential changes in the actors. In view of both theory - ANT, in particular the three principles and its emphasis on the uncertainty of practical environment - and practice, possible uncertainties will occur as the initiating actor(s) are unlikely to be capable of anticipating all the actors who are going to take part in the networking process. It is also important to understand that although initiating actor(s) are responsible for launching the project, and are considered crucial actors, they are not necessarily the decisive ones who organise and lead the whole networking process. As the network evolves and moments of *translation*[ANT] unfold, unpredicted actors may be persuaded to join or be enrolled through the OPP, either because they are in need - the future situation proposes the demand, or the already 'registered' actors are unable to cope with the situation - or because their wish to join is granted for whatever reason, or on whatever condition. Likewise, existing actors, including the initiating actors, are not exempt from the possibility of being rejected at some time in the future, when, for example, they find themselves incapable, or they find the *translation*[ANT] no longer

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[16] See section 1.5.1.2 for 'competing actors'.
[17] There is some difference between Callon's definition of OPP and Latour's (cf. Callon, 1986a and Latour, 1987, 1988). See more discussion in section 1.6.

worthwhile. All these possibilities, and uncertainties, may result from actors' actions and reactions when they face other actors, changeable practical circumstances, the fitness of the OPP, or combinations of any of the above.[18] This means that not all actors, either the ones carrying out problematisation or those being determined in problematisation, are certain to participate in the entire networking process, or to remain without changes in their functions or positions throughout. Put simply, temporality refers to stability and persistency for variation: the list of actors, and their functions and positions, are subject to change throughout the *translation^{ANT}* process.

1.5.1.2   The moment of interessement

The moment of problematisation is mainly hypothetical, during which the initiating actor(s) identify actors that could be recruited and interact in the practical development of a network (Callon, 1986a). These (target) actors may accept or refuse the definitions[19] that the initiating actor renders in problematisation. In most cases, however, the initiating actors are not alone, the definitions are not the only offers, and the target actors receive other offers from those who define the entities' identities in their own, distinct terms. This means that actors are defined in other ways in other problematisations, and other actors exist who aim to carry out other projects and construct other networks (cf. Callon, 1986a). These actors compete with the initiating actors for the target actors and can be known as 'competing actors'. In short, the initiating actor must persuade the (target) actors to accept their version of definition, and win the competition with the competing actors. As a result of successful 'interessement', the "properties and identity" of the (target) actors are "consolidated and/or redefined" (Callon, 1986a: 208).

This means that in 'interessement', a major task the initiating actor(s) set themselves is to "impose and stabilize" the identity of the actors that are indicated and formulated in problematising (Callon, 1986a: 207-208). From an etymological point of view, the French word 'intéressement' is borrowed to mean 'interposition'. The initiating actor(s) place certain devices that separate target actors from competing actors:

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[18] See also what Latour defines as the five sources of uncertainty (Latour, 2007).
[19] As mentioned in the previous section, these definitions include, for example, their roles, goals and interests.

To interest other actors is to build devices which can be placed between them and all other entities[20] who want to define their identities otherwise. A interests B by cutting or weakening all the links between B and the invisible (or at times quite visible) group of other entities[21] C, D, E, etc. who may want to link themselves to B (Callon, 1986a: 208).

'Intéresser', means therefore that the initiating actors 'interest', or secede, the target actors by breaking the target actors' connection with potential competitors and building connections with them instead. The target actors would be interested if devices were successfully placed. Callon believes that there are a wide range of devices available to achieve 'interessement':

The range of possible strategies and mechanisms that are adopted to bring about these interruptions is unlimited. As Feyerabend says about the scientific method: anything goes. It may be pure and simple force if the links between B, C and D are firmly established. It may be seduction or a simple solicitation if B is already close to the problematization of A. Except in extremely rare cases when the shaping of B coincides perfectly with the proposed problematization, the identity and 'geometry' of the interested entities are modified all along the process of interessement (1986a: 209).

Callon (1986a), moreover, suggested two interesting points in his case analysis concerning devices employed for interessement. First, the type of "machination" used to interest the nonhuman[22] "proves to be superfluous" compared with those used to interest the human[23] (210), but this may not be true in all cases. The principle of agnosticism and that of generalised symmetry are reminders that nonhuman actors are not to be underestimated. Second, not all human entities are directly involved in the interessement, rather, it is their representatives who are the targets of the initiating actors. This is true especially when the number of a certain group of entities is too large and when the entities are complex and

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[20] Here 'entities' designate the 'competing actors'. Callon referred to them as 'entities' probably to emphasise that they do not 'act' in or that they are excluded from the network under discussion.
[21] See footnote 20.
[22] It is also interesting that in the discussion of the devices used in the interessement, actors were automatically divided into two groups, human and nonhuman (see Callon, 1986a: 209-211).
[23] In this case, the human entities were fishermen and scientific colleagues while the nonhuman entities were scallops. The devices used to interest them were multiple meetings, debates, publications, etc. (to solicit) vs. a towline of collectors (to anchor).

uncertain. Finally, it should be pointed out that for the purpose of this thesis that there is a need to further clarify the concept of 'competing actor'. Actors who compete with the initiating actor for (target) actors, may be regarded as coming from outside of the present network under establishment, and as ones the initiating actor aims to segregate from the network. Paradoxically, however, they become part of the network once they take part in the competition, which is irrespective of the result. They may fail or succeed; yet the fact that they, as well as the initiating actor, share a place in the network remains. This again raises two points: first, an actor can be involved in more than one network; second, a network can be understood as one whose boundaries are in constant formation rather than boundary-less.

1.5.1.3   The moment of enrolment

> Why speak of enrolment? In using this term, we are not resorting to a functionalist or culturalist sociology which defines society as an entity made up of roles and holders of roles. Enrolment does not imply, nor does it exclude, pre-established roles. It designates the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them. Interessement achieves enrolment if it is successful. To describe enrolment is thus to describe the group of multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks that accompany the interessements and enable them to succeed (Callon, 1986a: 211).

Interessement is the recruitment and positioning of actors, while enrolment is the coordination of recruited actors. Successful interessement leads to successful enrolment. In this moment, moreover, the competing actors who are not recognised in interessement might come to the fore, which again proves that not all actors can be predicted or are visible at first. Unexpected actors might keep interfering. If interessement can be regarded as bilateral negotiations between the initiating actor and the various actors targeted in problematisation, enrolment can be understood as multilateral negotiations among various actors, such as initiating actors, target actors, and competing actors. Actors' identities are, meanwhile, "determined and tested" during, and as a result of, the negotiations (Callon, 1986a: 214). There are different ways to achieve enrolment via negotiations under different circumstances. The ways Callon summarises in his case study include "physical violence (against the predators), seduction, transaction, and consent without discussion" (ibid.). More specifically, it is interesting to find that 1) negotiations with nonhuman actors may be more enduring and

difficult than those with human actors, for example, the three researchers' negotiations with the scallops seem much longer and more difficult than their negotiations with their scientific colleagues, who pose only one condition before they consent to enrolment. In order to make the sea scallops anchor, the researchers had first to deal with currents, parasites, visitors, scallop collectors, and many more, all of which affect successful anchorage (enrolment of scallops) (Callon, 1986a). 2) Not all actors need to be negotiated into enrolment as some of them are ready to consent, for example, the fishermen accepted the researchers' claim without any question or discussion (ibid.).

1.5.1.4 The moment of Mobilisation

In the scallop domestication project, the (relatively) few actors involved, such as the fishermen and sea scallops, are representatives of the "anonymous mass" (Callon, 1986a: 214) and the initiating actors, i.e. the three researchers, again seek to become the representatives (of these relatively few actors). The question arises of how do the initiating actors realise this representation. In Callon's case, the whole network of the project is mobilised into the three researchers' research papers and conference articles.

During mobilisation, the initiating actors seek to represent all the actors involved in the network and to speak on their behalf by displacing and transforming them into scientific charts and articles (Callon, 1986a). Specifically, the actors networking to develop the scallop domestication project are dispersed in time and space, and connections may be difficult to establish at first, but in the end, the initiating actors, i.e. the three researchers, define what these actors are (ibid.). Between this 'start' and 'end', the initiating actors seek to devise the equivalences of the actors, which are usually materialised data and information on the actors, used to evaluate and link the actors (ibid.). The process of devising and using the equivalences equals the process of displacement, which is accompanied by transformations (ibid.).

Callon's (1986a) discussion on mobilisation can, therefore, be summarised as follows: two factors are necessary to achieve displacement, namely spokesman and equivalencies and actors are "first displaced and then reassembled at a certain place at a particular time" (217) to achieve mobilisation. Both the above points mention displacement, and Callon goes on to emphasise the "continuity" (223) of displacement (and transformation) by extending

displacement to every moment of network development, as well as dissidence [24] (ibid.). Actually, *translation^ANT* is understood as a series of activities that consist of two essential factors threading through the evolution of the network. The factors are spokesman and displacement. To *translate^ANT* is "to express in one's own language what others say and want, why they act in the way they do and how they associate with each other: it is to establish oneself as a spokesman" (ibid.). In order to achieve this, the spokesman-to-be, the initiating actors, strive to displace the target actors, making them come together from different points in time and space and speak and act in unison. To *translate^ANT* is therefore also "to displace" (ibid.). For the moment of mobilisation, and from this viewpoint, *translation^ANT* can be roughly redefined as a process during which the initiating actors (subject) displace (means) the target actors (object) in order to become their spokesman (purpose). Why the initiating actor would like to become the spokesman may remain unclear, and questions such as what methods and potential obstacles exist may also be uncertain, however, the essentiality of displacement is certain.

The success of every moment of *translation^ANT* can be considered as the success of a major displacement. For example, hypothetically, to achieve problematisation, the most crucial act is to successfully displace the identity of an entity. To achieve this primary displacement, a series of secondary displacements are conducted. The displacement of identity is broken down into displacements of experience, knowledge, interests, and so on, depending on each case, and the more detailed the breakdown is, the better. Displacements, therefore, are spread over the four moments of *translation^ANT* and secondary ones can also accumulate to achieve a major displacement. An interesting question is whether every secondary displacement has to be successful in order to achieve a major one, or, would the failure of one particular secondary displacement result in the failure of the major one, despite most of the secondary displacements being successful. It is also necessary to question the relative importance, and relevance, of displacements and the strength of the ties between them at the moments of *translation^ANT*.

With the exception of the above, there remains a wide range of questions concerning displacement. For example, what is to be displaced by what? When and how does displacement occur? Are there different types of displacement? Why does a certain actor

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[24] See discussion in the next section (1.5.1.5).

choose to displace another actor in this way rather than that? What makes successful displacement? Do good methods lead to successful displacement without fail, and less sophisticated methods doom displacement to failure? Are displacements reversible? In view of the instability of the four moments[25], they probably are. If so, what can be done to prevent it? What can a particular act of displacement give to the mobilisation of the network? The majority of these questions are nuanced and depend on unknown variables, and are more practical in nature than theoretical.

Alongside displacement, equivalence should also be explained. Callon, however, who used the concept, talks very little about it. The meaning of 'immutable mobiles', forwarded by Latour (e.g. 1986, 1987) to describe 'displacement through transformation' (Latour, 2007) is, in essence, very close to what 'equivalencies' designate. The concept of equivalence or that of immutable mobiles, to be discussed in section 1.7, helps in understanding the concept of displacement better by answering part of the questions raised.

1.5.1.5   Dissidence

Dissidence represents conflicts and betrayals caused by the inconsistent behaviour of the spokesmen and the actors these spokesmen seek to represent. According to Callon (1986a), one approach to measure dissidence is by questioning the representativity of the spokesmen. The group of actors that the spokesmen think they can represent may become dissidents when they act or are made to act, differently, as 'betrayers'. As controversies and betrayals multiply, the validity of the previous networks may be brought into question. For example, some actors may face pressure, or doubts from other actors, and importantly, the previously defined identities of the related actors may also change (ibid.). Dissidence ends at the point when all implicated actors (re-)confirm the 'representativity' of the spokesmen, which can only be achieved through a long process of various negotiations (ibid).

In Callon's case study on the domestication of the sea scallops, the four moments of *translation*[ANT] seem to develop from problematisation as the initial moment, to mobilisation as the final moment. Callon (1986a), however, indicates that the four moments may overlap and not follow a strict order. For example, every moment has the chance of failing, and any

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[25] Failure to achieve successful *translation*[ANT] is not rare in the cases studied by ANT scholars, e.g. Callon, 1986a, 1986b. *Translation*[ANT] always becomes treason when dissidence occurs (Callon, 1986a).

number of objects of *translating*^ANT may refuse to comply at any moment of *translation*^ANT. This may result in the stagnation of a certain moment, regression to a previous moment, or the co-existence of abundant *translations*^ANT in faster, slower, better or inferior states, which could then decide the failure, or success, of the whole *translation*^ANT process.

1.5.2   Latour: five modes of *translation*^ANT

Latour summarises five modes of *translation*^ANT, which he simply numbers as 'translation one/1', to 'translation five/5' (Latour, 1987). In the first mode, 'translation 1', weaker actors change their directionway to join that of stronger actors. The weaker actors gain interest by first adjusting their objectives, and then claiming to help the stronger actors in achieving their interests, so that the weaker and the stronger actors work together in the same direction. The second mode, 'translation 2', works in reverse, where the stronger actors join the weaker ones and help them to achieve their interests. This happens when stronger actors do not have any other choice. If there is free choice, this defines the third mode of *translation*^ANT, 'translation 3', in which actors change their direction a little, making a detour before going back to their original objective. These three modes of *translation*^ANT may happen when the actors have clear goals, or interests, which they tightly cling to. If, on the other hand, the goals and interests of the actors are not fixed, and subject to changes and negotiations, and in Latour's words, not 'explicit' (Latour, 1987: 114), the fourth mode ('translation 4') can be generated. In this mode, actors may find different ways to interpret the goals of others, they may create new goals, find new ways to define others, or manage to disguise a detour in "a progressive drift" (116) towards a goal, etc. The last mode of *translation*^ANT ('translation 5') occurs when actors become necessary, essential or indispensable, i.e. the actors develop into an obligatory passage point[26] through which all other actors must pass in order to achieve their own goals (Latour, 1987).

It should be made clear here, however, that the five modes of *translation*^ANT are different from the 'translation model' in both focus and scale. As has been previously introduced, Latour develops the 'translation model' to study actor-networks and the model is, as a whole, a theoretical framework of ANT. The five modes of *translation*^ANT, on the other hand, should be more specifically called five ways to *translate*^ANT actors' interests. In other words, the five

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[26] See section 1.6.

modes of *translation^ANT* are only part of the 'translation model'; the part in which the concept of *translation^ANT* is used only in a narrower way to refer to the *translation^ANT* of actors' interests.[27]

The five modes of *translation^ANT* study relational changes occurring between actors with power disparity in different circumstances in the process of interesting each other. In fact, they are categorised under the part entitled 'Translating interests' (Latour, 1987: 108), and Latour makes it clear that the five modes address the problem of "how to interest others" (121), i.e. of raising or negotiating actors' interests before they could work towards the same direction. It is therefore clear that the five modes of *translation^ANT* proposed by Latour differ from Callon's four moments of *translation^ANT* mainly in that the former focuses on the different working patterns actors employ to translate, that is to change, adjust, and merge, their interests so that they are able to cooperate to achieve their own goals, while the latter investigates the whole process during which actors target, interest, enroll, and displace each other until they finally achieve an end result or goal, such as producing an artefact or building a fact. The root of the difference is in the word *translation^ANT*, for in 'five modes of *translation^ANT*' it has a different meaning from, and is just one aspect of, the full concept of *translation^ANT* (narrower meaning of *translation^ANT*, as has been discussed), which is, on the other hand, used fully and unaffected in the 'four moments of translation' (broader meaning). Latour's five modes of *translation^ANT* can, therefore, be used to categorise actors' ways of conducting the moment of interessement, as interessement "involves the action of interesting" and "may be seen as the elementary form of translation" (Callon et al., 1986: xvii).

The concept of *translation^ANT* has been rarely discussed and applied in Translation Studies except in an introduction made by Buzelin (2005)[28]. Interestingly, *translation^ANT* in ANT may contribute to a new application in Translation Studies, and this thesis applies this concept on the basis of the above systematic discussion.

1.6 Obligatory passage point

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[27] See more in, e.g. Latour, 1984, 1987.
[28] See Chapter 2 for more.

According to Callon (1986a), the obligatory passage point (OPP) can be established in the problematisation moment of $translation^{ANT29}$ when actors reach a consensus concerning a common goal for themselves as a group of collaborators, rather than separate individuals. While actors may each have their own specific (or not so specific) goals, they establish a common goal and by realising that common goal, they can achieve, or further, their own individual goals. The common goal therefore becomes what actors must work together to achieve before getting what they really want. This is what Callon defines as OPP in his case study of the scallop domestication project.

Latour has a slightly different way of defining OPP in his discussion of 'translation 5': when actors become indispensable, they do not need to compromise or negotiate with others, and others have to change their direction, passing through the actors' position instead (Latour, 1987). To put this in the context of 'translating interests', OPP means that indispensable actors do not need to interest others, or to adjust their interests to suit others, while others should cater for the interests of the indispensable actors. The result is that others further the (indispensable) actors' interests in the process of working for their own (ibid.).

In Latour's definition, OPPs are indispensable actors, or are determined by indispensable actors, whereas in Callon's definition, OPPs are common goals agreed by a group of actors seeking to connect with each other as co-workers. The two definitions of OPP, made relative to two different contexts (i.e. the context of problematisation and the context of interessement [$translating^{ANT}$ interests]) do not, however, conflict with each other. The two OPPs, although they appear in different forms, are in essence an obligatory condition, or mandatory passage, for all actors to go through before gaining their respective interests.

This is the precise meaning of OPP used in this thesis. Noticing that OPPs can be formed differently in particular contexts, as shown by the two OPPs defined by Callon and Latour respectively, this thesis neither limits OPPs to fixed forms, nor to certain particular circumstances or any moment of $translation^{ANT}$, which might have implications for the number, and the forms, of the OPPs generated in the translation project under study.

1.7 Immutable mobiles, inscriptions and centres of calculation

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[29] See section 1.5.1.1.

The fact that entities are often scattered in different times and space makes networking difficult. To form a network, certain actors should be able to act on other factors like facts, objects and humans that may spread over time and space. In other words, either actors should be able to act at a distance, or actors should be able to increase the mobility of themselves and others. While Law's studies focus on actors' long distance actions (Law, 1986a, 1986b), this section discusses the problem of increasing actors' mobility by introducing the concept of immutable mobiles.

The key movements to enable action at a distance on things and people (actors) are, according to Latour, first, to create a space and time, which Latour called 'centre of calculation' (aka 'translation centre' [Callon et al., 1986: xvii]), and second, to bring those things and people to that centre by making them mobile, immutable, and combinable (Latour, 1987). Latour gave many interesting examples in Cartography, Zoology, Astronomy, Economy, and oil production to illustrate the various ways through which distant things, and people, were transformed into maps, machines, preserved samples and collections, books, charts, tables, figures and so on, and then brought to different places faraway (from where the things and the people stay or inhabit) (ibid). These outcomes of the process of 'displacement through transformation' [30] are called immutable and combinable mobiles, which can be preserved through time and displaced to a different place.

Just as the name 'immutable mobiles' indicates, the fundamental properties of these objects are mobility and immutability. Their mobility enables them to travel through time and space, and to be displaced at another location at another time, while their immutability ensures that they are not distorted or deformed when being displaced (Latour, 1986). As the participants and products of displacements, immutable mobiles may take various forms, such as written and imaged inscriptions (e.g. Latour, 1986, Latour and Woolgar, 1986) including texts, books, files, archives, charts, tables, maps, and photographs, or discourse (Cooren et al., 2007), or "machines, apparatuses" (Blok and Jensen, 2012:170), or even "people who have been trained to carry out a predictable sequence of actions" (ibid.). Inscription belongs to a very important category of immutable mobiles. Apart from the two fundamental properties of

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[30] Latour distinguishes two types of displacements, 'displacement without transformation' and 'displacement through transformation' (Latour, 2007). The former means that an entity moves from one place to another without substantial change. Here to displace means to transport. The latter means that an entity is transformed to make displacement possible or easier.

mobility and immutability, it also has other prominent advantages. It is an entity that can be presented as hard fact; it may be read and understood; and it can be re-combined to produce new entities (see Latour, 1986: 7, 20-22). All these properties of inscription facilitate mobility and displacement.

To displace through transformation is in essence *translation* ^{ANT}. When actors transform others into immutable and combinable mobiles in order to displace them, *translations*^{ANT} happen. The *translated* ^{ANT} mobiles are gathered at the centre, which is called the centre of calculation/*translation* ^{ANT} (Latour, 1987). The process of an actor moving from the centre to a different time and space, and translating other entities into actors, which are then be brought back to the centre by the actor, constitutes one cycle of accumulation (ibid.). Within one network, there can be more than one cycle of accumulation and each of the cycles may be endless rounds that travel from centre to non-centre then back to the centre, bringing something more in every round (ibid.). At the beginning of every new round, the actor becomes stronger because it is allied with actors that have been brought back in the previous round, and the actor can also be changed or transformed. As a result, the centre is in constant accumulation and expansion, and the network grows stronger along with the centre as well as the looping of the cycles within which entities circulate (ibid.).

It must be emphasised that, for ANT theorists, the essence of the theory, or the aim of their research, does not lie in a higher level of abstraction, such as to offer explanations that level out the differences existing in the practical world, or to form theories that are separated from the empirical data they come from (e.g. Callon, 1986a; Latour, 2007). Instead, the significance of ANT lies in investigating how actors work to increase the mobilisation, immutability and combinability of entities, in order to enable circulation in multiple times and spaces and at a greater speed in the process of producing things and facts, and how actor-network(s) are formed, maintained or expanded at the same time (Latour, 1987). In other words, questions need to be asked, such as who the actors networking to produce things and facts are, what effects are generated upon the actors (e.g. their roles and positions) during networking, what they do to *translate*^{ANT} other actors, how *translation(s)*^{ANT} progress, and what dynamics fuel the networking process.

Chapter 2 Research Context

This chapter contextualises the current study by following these steps: 1) It introduces the high status and popularity of the original text (*Journey to the West*) from which *Monkey*, the translation being investigated in this thesis, is translated. This introduction is necessary because the status and popularity of the Chinese novel are the main reason for choosing it as the original text; 2) An overall outline of the existing translations of *Journey to the West* is given, and various translations of the novel will be evaluated in terms of their suitability for becoming the subject of study for this research; 3) It focuses on a particular translation project, through explaining, from a very practical point of view, the process of how *Monkey*, translated by Arthur Waley, stands out as the ideal case study for this research, before proceeding to 4) introduce *Monkey* and 5) determining a position among the existing literature for the research being undertaken. The chapter ends with 6) a discussion concerning methods used in conducting the research, including its contextualisation.

2.1 *Journey to the West*: the novel

This thesis does not focus on examining the original text of *Journey to the West*, but it is, however, necessary to provide a basic knowledge of the novel before developing further discussion. The importance and popularity of the novel in Chinese society and culture, throughout its centuries-long history, must be demonstrated, since this is what led directly to the selection of *Journey to the West* as the original text. This was the first step taken in the long and difficult process of deciding which translation(s) should be included as the subject for study in this thesis. This section, therefore, gives a general introduction to *Journey to the West*, with a focus on the prestigious status and the popularity of the novel.

Journey to the West has long been held as one of the Four Great Classic Novels of Chinese literature, together with the famous *Water Margin*[31], *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*[32] and

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[31]*Water Margin*, 水浒传 in Chinese (Pinyin: shuǐ hǔ zhuàn), was widely believed to be authored by Shi Nai'an (施耐庵) between the late Yuan Dynasty and the early Ming Dynasty. The Yuan Dynasty stretched from 1271 to 1368 and the Ming from 1368 to 1644.
[32]*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, 三国演义 in Chinese (Pinyin: sān guó yǎn yì), was widely believed to be authored by Luo Guanzhong (罗贯中) between the late Yuan and early Ming Dynasty.

Dream of the Red Chamber[33]. The label of 'one of the Four Great Classic Novels of Chinese literature' is a fitting measure of the high status of *Journey to the West*. Despite some disputes over its author[34], the novel is widely acknowledged to have been written by Wu Cheng'en[35], and first published in China in the sixteenth century during the Ming Dynasty (1368 – 1644). The book title in Chinese (西游记) literally means 'journey to the west' - as adopted by William John Francis Jenner, Anthony C. Yu and other translators as the title for their English translations of the novel.

Journey to the West is the earliest Chinese classic mythic novel. It is referred to as a 'classic novel' of Chinese literature because it is divided into chapters, each of which has a caption, or heading, previewing the story of the chapter. Each chapter tells one story that is usually complete and independent, but connected in such a way that each chapter begins with a few words such as 'previously the story went that' to remind the reader of the previous plot, and ends with sentences that literally read like 'as to what happened thereafter, you must listen to the next chapter'. In this way, the stories are laid out as a whole in the system of the 'classic novel'. In addition, it is referred to as a 'mythic novel' because most of the characters are not human, but immortals, Bodhisattvas, spirits, demons and monsters, with the ability to use magic arts, tricks, and legendary weapons, and many of the stories in the novel draw from myth and folklore and develop within imaginary settings.

The only verifiable fact *Journey to the West* is based on was the historical pilgrimage made by Xuanzang (玄奘, also known as Tripitaka) to the birthplace of Buddhism (now modern India) in search of Buddhist philosophy in Tang Dynasty[36]. This, however, barely serves as the background of the story, as the plot and content are so entirely different from historical facts. Xuanzang, the hero of the historical pilgrimage, becomes one of the four main characters in the fiction. Rigid and timid, the fictional Xuanzang was inevitably outshone by Sun Wukong (孙悟空, also known as Monkey), a brave, resourceful and mischievous heroic character with extraordinary magical powers.

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[33]*Dream of the Red Chamber*, 红楼梦 in Chinese (Pinyin: hóng lóu mèng), was widely believed to be authored by Cao Xueqin (曹雪芹) and others in the Qing Dynasty. The Qing Dynasty stretched from 1636 (or 1644) to 1912.

[34] For a recent overview of the disputes over the authorship of *Journey to the West*, see Cao, 2014a, 2014b. For more discussions, see Cai, 1990, 1997; Li, 1996, 2013; Li, 1999; Wu, 2002; etc.

[35] The Chinese names in this thesis all follow the original order of 'surname-given name', as people are named and called in Chinese.

[36] The Tang Dynasty was the imperial dynasty that ruled China from 618 to 907.

The novel depicts the adventures that four monks, the Tang Dynasty Buddhist monk Xuanzang with his three disciples Sun Wukong, Zhu Bajie (猪八戒, also named Zhu Wuneng, or Pig) and Sha Wujing (沙悟净, usually translated as Sandy or Friar Sand), experience during their legendary pilgrimage to the 'western regions'. This leads them across central Asia to India, where the birthplace of Buddhism and the sacred texts that the monks seek, are believed to be. During the pilgrimage, the three disciples protect Master Xuanzang, by fighting evil spirits, demons and monsters. Together, the four suffer numerous trials and ordeals, yet survive with the help of immortals and Bodhisattvas, and finally return to the 'Great Tang', after obtaining the sacred texts, from ancient India.

The book has one hundred chapters altogether, consisting of various independent stories depicting how the protagonist Sun Wukong, initially a rebel, became Xuanzang's disciple, and fought bravely, sometimes mischievously, against the various demons and monsters along the journey with the help of Zhu Bajie and Sha Wujing. Full of magic, wonder, humour and absurdity, it is a fascinating mixture infused with ancient Chinese myths and legends, and combines Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, the three philosophies that have long been shaping the beliefs and practices of the Chinese nation.

Besides the claim of being 'one of the Four Great Classic Novels of Chinese literature', the importance of *Journey to the West* is reflected in a more practical way in the everyday life of Chinese people: the novel, having been circulated widely over centuries, is one of the most popular and most read novels in China. The following discussions demonstrate this claim from two aspects: 1) the history of the circulation of (some parts/stories of) *Journey to the West* can be traced back much earlier than the creation of the novel; and 2) the novel, or parts of it, appear in a wide range of versions, and forms, from ancient to contemporary China. The fact that (parts and stories of) the novel have circulated, in a wide range of versions, for centuries suggest that generations of Chinese people have been exposed to at least part of the novel, and in addition to the book versions, many forms of drama, TV series, animations, online literature, and even video games have greatly expanded the potential audience, and people now do not even need to read the novel to be familiar with its stories.

Journey to the West is shaped by, and therefore deeply connected with, Chinese history and culture. Despite disputes regarding the phases of the evolution of the novel's text (cf. Hu, 1980; Liu, 1990; Xu, 1992; Cai, 2007, 2010b; Miao, 2007; Zhu, 2012) Chinese scholars believe that the work took more than nine hundred years of evolution before it became the *Journey to the West* that the public reads today (e.g. Hu, 1980; Lu, 2005; Cai, 2007). It is argued that the stories began to emerge, and spread, along the places Xuanzang passed through when he was heading back to China, in around AD 640 (Cai, 2007). Throughout the long history of the development of the work, the stories thrived and circulated in a wide range of forms before they finally evolved into the *Journey to the West* we know today.

The work of fiction is, therefore, based upon a wide range of stories regarding the pilgrimage. These stories exist in various forms, such as historical records, anecdotes, biographies, operas, songs, essays, short stories, and verses, which for centuries have helped to pass down the legend of the pilgrimage, until Wu Cheng'en collated them to produce *Journey to the West*. Some examples of the written stories that can still be found in the compilations of the stories and materials that later became part of the novel (e.g. Zhu and Liu, 1983; Liu, 1990; Cai, 2010a) include historical records such as 大唐西域记 (*Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*), records of anecdotes as in 太平广记 (*Taiping Guangji/Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*), biographies such as 大慈恩寺三藏法师传 (*Biography of the Da Ci'en Temple Tripitaka Master*), novellas (or 话本/huaben) such as 大唐三藏取经诗话 (*Tripitaka's Pilgrimage for Buddhist Scriptures in the Great Tang Dynasty*), Buddhist scriptures such as 佛说海龙王经 (*The Buddha Explains Ten Meritorious Deeds, Karma and Vipāka to the Dragon King*), and many more.[37]

Since its creation, the novel has had a profound influence on Chinese society and culture, which is demonstrated by the wide circulation of its many versions[38] and forms. According to existing evidence, the earliest version of the work was published by Shidetang (世德堂), a

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[37]Notably, the above is only a simple illustration of a larger portion of the typical literary and art genres of the mountains of texts. There are still many more works within each text type as well as some other forms of artistic expression.

[38]Chinese scholars develop two ways of defining the 'versions' of *Journey to the West*. The first designates all texts related to the story of the pilgrimage, including those circulating before the creation of *Journey to the West* and involved its formation, as well as other books based on the work and published after it had been created. It is wider in scope than the second definition, which refers only to the versions that were produced based on the earliest publication of the novel, i.e. the Shidetang version (cf. Cao, 2010; Cheng and Cheng, 1997; Wu, 1999). This thesis uses the second narrower definition.

private publishing house in Nanjing in 1592, during the Ming Dynasty. Ever since its publication, the novel has been a favourite of many readers, reviewers and critics and hence popular in publishers' printing lists. As a result, an increasing number of versions of *Journey to the West* appeared in the book market during the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

According to Cao Bingjian's latest study (Cao, 2010), which includes the most complete list of the existing versions of *Journey to the West*,[39] as many as fourteen versions are still accessible today[40]. Seven were produced in the Ming Dynasty, which again fall into three groups: two full versions (fanben/繁本) including the Shidetang version (世德堂本/世本), two brief versions (jianben/简本), and another three versions adapted from the Shidetang version (ibid.). The remaining seven versions appeared in the Qing Dynasty[41], which can again be separated into three groups: one full version, five adapted versions, and one manuscript (ibid.).

The many versions discovered attest to the popularity of the novel in its early stage of circulation. No definite number is available for the publishing volume of the Shidetang version, however Cao quotes from Akira Isobe, who made a comparison of the existing ancient texts, pointing out that the large printing volume probably wore out the movable components[42] used in the printing process (Cao, 2010). Considering the Shidetang version is long, and maybe difficult to understand for some readers, the printing houses sought new ways to cater for the needs of a larger readership. They began to publish shorter versions of the work or ones with notes, reviews and explanations to accompany both the full and adapted length versions. Among the fourteen versions, only the Shidetang version is the full, unadulterated version of the work, whereas the other thirteen versions are either full or adapted versions with notes, or briefer but unadulterated versions. Notably, some of the versions were found to have gone through more than one printing and with different printing

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[39] Many researchers have devoted themselves to studying the versions of the novel, making comparisons between the versions to find connections that facilitate the understanding of the evolution and circulation of *Journey to the West*. The studies have been exacting, yet there is controversy on the relationship between the versions (e.g. Chen, 1986; Zhang, 1997; Zhu, 2005), a lack of widely followed criteria for clear categorisation and inconsistency in defining some types of versions which feeds confusion and overlaps in grouping (cf. Wu, 1999; Cao and Qi, 2005; Su, 2005; Cao, 2010).

[40] See Appendix I for a list of the existing fourteen versions of *Journey to the West*.

[41] The Qing Dynasty, the last imperial dynasty of China, ruled between 1644 and 1912.

[42] The moveable-type system for printing was invented in China around 1040 AD during the Song Dynasty. At first, the material used for making movable components was ceramics, before long, wooden movable types and metal moveable types substituted ceramic ones.

houses. For example, scholars claim that Li's version has as many as ten or eleven editions based on the existing texts of the work (ibid.).

Along with the ancient versions, different sequels and rewritings of *Journey to the West* were developed. It is widely agreed that at least three sequels appeared, not long after the novel was written, between the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties (e.g. Guo, 1997; Wang, 2004; Tian, 2006[43]), which include *Xu Xi You Ji* (续西游记), *Hou Xi You Ji* (后西游记), and *Xi You Bu* (西游补). The titles all mean, literally, *A Sequel to Journey to the West*. After that, between the late Qing and the early years of the Republic of China, sequels continued to appear, for example, *Ye Shi Xi You Ji* (也是西游记) and *Xin Xi You* (新西游). There were, in addition, rewritings of the novel, the most influential being *Xin Xi You Ji* (新西游记) written in the late Qing Dynasty, which has the same title as one of the sequels mentioned above, meaning literally *A New Journey to the West*.

Journey to the West has taken various ways to extend its circulation within China over the centuries. The vast amount of stories and texts involved in the formation of the fiction and the ancient versions, sequels, and re-writings produced by eager publishing houses, or scholars in the Ming and the Qing Dynasties, only constitute a portion of the circulating volume. Over time, and with the development of society, culture, science and technology, the novel appears in an increasing number of versions, and new approaches to telling the stories of the novel began to emerge and flourish, which in turn accelerated the spread of the novel nationwide.

The novel continues to appear in book form, in enormous numbers, and in more editions in the twentieth century. Statistics show that up to 30 November 2007, one hundred and thirty publishing companies had produced at least one edition of *Journey to the West*, which is a notably large number, and proved this work to be the most popular of the Four Classics (Chen, 2007). Three hundred and forty-nine editions had been produced, and two hundred and eight editions had actually circulated in the retail market (ibid.). The year 2006 witnessed a revived enthusiasm for Chinese classics, and hence an upsurge in the sales. A simple calculation based on the figures shown in the table of the top ten most sold editions of *Journey to the West* (See Chen, 2007, Table 8) reveals that, for only three of the many editions produced in the single year of 2006, more than eleven thousand volumes were sold.

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[43] Tian (2006) has given a clear definition of "sequel" to distinguish from the versions, parodies and so on.

The fact that the figure is the sum of only three most sold editions suggests that the entire sales figure is huge. In addition to the miscellaneous editions, a number of children's books exist in the book market, such as one edited by Yang Di and published in 2013, one edited by Mu Zi published in 2014, and one edited by Yu Tian published in 2015, and many more.[44]

Journey to the West appears in many new forms, other than in the traditional form of paper texts. Besides the traditional paper versions, an increasing number of digital versions of the above-mentioned editions of the novel have appeared in the book market in recent decades, such as the Kindle versions sold on Amazon (some Kindle versions are free) as well as other free and easily accessible versions online. Parodies of the work have also found room to grow in the twenty-first century, especially with the rise of Internet literature in China. A quick scan online shows more than a dozen titles[45], among which the serial novel *WukongZhuan* (悟空传/ *A Legend of Wukong*) has received unprecedented attention since its first appearance online in 2000. In the first ten years of its publishing history between 2001 and 2011, publishers have produced eight versions of the book (not including comic books)[46]. It has the reputation of being "the best online book (网络第一书)", has won prizes[47] and received attention from researchers (Jia, 2012; He, 2017) and film directors, for example the film "WukongZhuan" adapted from the book opened across Mainland China in mid-July 2017.

Journey to the West not only circulates in the form of texts, paper or digital files, it has been constantly adapted, staged and screened. Generations of people in China are constantly exposed to the whole novel, or parts of it, in the form of operas, dramas, films, TV series,

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[44] Very few studies have been undertaken regarding the adaptation of the novel into children's literature. The examples given here are found at
https://www.amazon.cn/gp/search/ref=sr_qz_back?sf=qz&rh=i%3Aaps%2Ck%3A%E8%A5%BF%E6%B8%B8%E8%AE%B0+%E5%84%BF%E7%AB%A5&page=2&keywords=%E8%A5%BF%E6%B8%B8%E8%AE%B0+%E5%84%BF%E7%AB%A5&unfiltered=1&ie=UTF8&qid=1499449147. [Accessed 7 July 2017]
[45] Popular titles include 唐僧日记 *(Diary of the Tang Monk)*, 悟空日记 *(Diary of Wukong)*,新悟空日记 *(Diary of Wukong II)*,沙僧日记 *(Diary of Sandy),*八戒日记 *(Diary of Bajie),*悟空传 *(A Legend of Wukong),*西游日记 *(Diary of Journey to the West),*西游真相 *(The truth about the Journey to the West),*西游记潜规则 *(the Hidden rules of Journey to the West),*唐僧写给观音的 36 封信 *(36 Letters from Tripitaka to Kwan-Yin)*and so on.
[46] This figure comes from an introduction of the book from Baidu Baike(百度百科), a Chinese online encyclopaedia, where there is a table showing the versions produced (2001-2011) at
http://baike.baidu.com/link?url=xNG38Is0fLrnuU_NCPb_OSSk0QXyCvU6cvLCg7hoLV-TcvXEBhA4CALm15WGcVosnOcnlHPSjJEu5LP3ssucKFYcYCPqD2hag_d-XTKUara#reference-[10]-7712270-wrap. [Accessed 6 July 2017]
[47] See news at http://news.163.com/08/0815/08/4JCI6RBT00011247.html,
http://www.chinawriter.com.cn/2009/2009-06-25/61757.html, etc. [Accessed 6 July 2017]

animations, and even video games. To take operas as an example, Su (2005) carried out a relatively detailed research on different types of operas based on fiction from the Qing Dynasty until the 21st century. Large in quantity, operas created from *Journey to the West* are diverse in variety. Besides traditional types of operas such as zaju, shadow puppetry, and Peking opera, new forms of opera are being created. For example, an huaju (话剧/spoken drama) entitled 'Journey to the West', and a new type of serial play also named 'Journey to the West', seasons one to three of which have been on show since 2009 and have received wide audiences[48]. The figures for the number of films and teleplays produced on the theme of the *Journey to the West* are very impressive. Chen (2012) lists eighty examples of films and teleplays produced before 2012, including sixty-two films, of which fifteen are animated films and seven are films of operas, and eighteen TV series, of which five are animated programmes. The most popular TV series adapted from *Journey to the West* was produced in the 1980s and like many other works, shared the same title with the fiction. It achieved ratings as high as 89.4%, and in 2014 it was reported that the TV show had been re-run more than 3,000 times[49].

2.2 The many English translations of *Journey to the West*

Journey to the West has been circulating in different versions and forms for centuries as an influential literary classic within China and in other parts of the world. The novel must have been translated into foreign languages before it could be distributed worldwide. The languages into which *Journey to the West* has been translated include Czech, English, Esperanto, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese, to name just a few. Very little research has been undertaken concerning the translation history, or the status of the translation of the novel worldwide, the most useful of which include Yu (1977) (preface to his own translation of the novel), Wang (1980, 1999), [50] Yin (1983), Shi (2000) (preface to Jenner's translation of the novel); and Guo (2007). The above listed

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[48] For more information about the three seasons, see http://www.cntc.org.cn/v-1-6852.aspx, http://www.cntc.org.cn/v-1-6851.aspx, and http://www.cntc.org.cn/v-1-6850.aspx. [Accessed 7 July 2017]

[49] See news at http://news.ifeng.com/a/20141117/42485433_0.shtml, http://ent.chinadaily.com.cn/2017-03/07/content_28455363.htm, etc. [Accessed 7 July 2016]

[50] Wang publishes repeatedly on the topic, e.g. Wang (1980, 1988, 1999) and Zhu and Wang (1998), which made little substantial development on her earliest article, and hence not every version was included as a reference here.

studies help to give an outline of the translation history of *Journey to the West,* although they are in need of further development and more systematic study.

The focus of this section is, however, on English translations of the novel. The history of translating the novel into English, while not the longest, is clearly among the few that demonstrate prosperity and diversity. The introduction and listing (see Table 2.1) of the translations of *Journey to the West* are based on 1) above-mentioned studies on the world translation history of the novel, 2) Zheng and Wu (2012), a study specifically on the history of the English translation of the novel, and 3) searches of the English translations available online and in libraries.

Before introducing the English translations of *Journey to the West*, the definition of 'translation' used in this thesis should be made clear. Here, an 'English translation of *Journey to the West*' is practically but broadly defined as any piece of English work, of any part (content or plot) of the novel that calls itself a 'translation'. For example, Wang (1980, 1999), Guo (2007), and Zheng and Wu (2012) all consider Chapter 17 'Yang Oerlang' and Chapter 19 'Notscha' from Martens's *Chinese Fairy Book* as (chapter) translations, whereas this thesis excludes them. Yang Erlang (Yang Oerlang) and Nezha (Notscha) are indeed characters in the fiction, but Martens tells folktales of how the two became immortals, which are not depicted in the novel, nor do they affect the development (plot) of the novel in any particular way (cf. Wu, 1954 and Wilhelm [trans. Martens], [1921] 2007).

The history of translating *Journey to the West* into English in the twentieth century can be divided into two phases. The first was before the 1930s, during which the translations are mainly of certain parts of the novel. Samuel Isett Woodbridge, an American Missionary to China, was the first to translate the novel, although only excerpts from it, into English at the end of the nineteenth century in 1895. In addition to Woodbridge's translation, there are English translations of excerpts from *Journey to the West* undertaken by Herbert Allen Giles, James Ware, Frederick Herman Martens and Edward Theodore Chalmers Werner. These translators usually choose and then edit, adapt, or translate one or more chapters from the original. For example, Giles' translates chapter seven and chapter ninety-eight, Martens's text is a re-translation based on a German translation of excerpts from the Chinese original, Werner presents a translation edited and adapted from the original (see Giles, [1901] 1927; Wilhelm [trans. Martens], [1921] 2007; and Werner, 1922*)*. Notably, while all the above

edited or excerpt translations are parts of books that aim to introduce Chinese literature, *A Mission to Heaven: A Great Chinese Epic and Allegory* (*A Mission to Heaven*) translated by Timothy Richard and published in 1913 was the first translation that appeared as an independent book.

The majority of the translations published before the 1930s are excerpts, adaptions, and edited translations of the original. Some are so loosely translated that it is quite difficult to find the corresponding content in the original text, with just the general plot apparent. The next stage, from the 1930s to the final years of the twentieth century, produced a collection of translations that are considered to be either classic or canonical. These translations all share one point in common: their translators manage to present the main plot of the Chinese novel regardless of what purpose they have, or what strategies and techniques they employ, and most of them are published as independent books. To name just a few of these outstanding translations, *The Buddhist Pilgrim's Progress* translated by Helen M. Hayes, *Monkey: A Folk-Tale of China* (*Monkey*) by Arthur David Waley, *The Journey to the West* by Anthony C. Yu, *Journey to the West* by William John Francis Jenner, and *Monkey: A Journey to the West* by David Kherdian. Meanwhile, excerpt translations continued to emerge, such as Wang Chi-Chen's translation published in 1946, Yang Xianyi and Gladys's translations published in 1961, 1966 and 1981, and Hsia Chih-Tsing and Cyril Birch's translation published in 1972.

Though there is no specific estimate of the number of all, or each type, of translation (excerpts or independent books; children's literature or comic books; paper books, electronic books, or audio books), evidence shows that English translations of the fiction, at least those being published as independent books, continue to emerge in the twenty-first century in greater numbers. A simple and informal statistical search concerning the number of English translation versions of *Journey to the West* that were available, on the book market as independent books in late May 2015, in both the UK and the US Amazon online bookstores, found that there were approximately twenty-eight different independent books of English translations available (see Table 2.1 below).

Table 2.1 English translations appearing as independent books[51]

No.	Year of publication	Title	Translator	Publisher	Media
1	1913	*A Mission to Heaven: A Great Chinese Epic and Allegory*	Timothy Richard	Shanghai: Christian Literature Society's Depot	Paper
2	1930	*The Buddhist Pilgrim's Progress*	Helen M. Hayes	London: John Murray	Paper
3	1942	*Monkey: A Folk-Tale of China*	Arthur David Waley	London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd	Paper
4	1944	*The Magic Monkey*	Christina Chan and Plato Chan	New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, inc.	Paper
5	1964	*The Monkey King*	George Theiner	London: Paul Hamlyn	Paper
6	1973	*Monkey Subdues the White-Bone Demon* (2nd Edition)	Wang Hsing-Pei	Beijing: Foreign Languages Press	Paper
7	1976[52]	*The Adventures of Monkey God*	(Not known)	Singapore: Tropical Lithographic Consultants	Paper
8	1979	*Monkey Subdues the White-Bone Demon*	Hsu Kwang-jung& Pan Tsai-ying	Shenyang, China: Liaoning Art Publishing House	Paper
9	1977-1983	*The Journey to the West*	Anthony C. Yu	Chicago: University of Chicago Press	Paper
10	1977-1986	*Journey to the West*	William John Francis Jenner	Beijing: Foreign Languages Press	Paper
11	1987	*Adventure of the Monkey God*	Arthur Waley	Torrance, CA: Heian International Publishing, Inc.	Paper
12	1992	*Monkey: A Journey to the West*	David Kherdian	Boston: Shambhala Publications, Inc.	Paper
The 21st Century					
13	2001	*Monkey King Wreaks Havoc in Heaven*	Debby Chen; illustrated by Ma Wenhai	California & Ontario: Pan Asian Publications Inc.	Paper
14	2002	*The Magical Monkey King: Mischief in Heaven*	Jiang Ji-Li; illustrated by Tang Youshan	New York: HarperCollins (also published in 2004 by California: Shen's Books.)	Paper
15	2005	*Birth of the Monkey King*	GuanBin Cartoon Studio	Beijing: China Pictorial Publishing House	Paper

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[51] The books listed in this table were found on Amazon UK and Amazon USA during 19-25 May 2015. The online bookstores were re-accessed and the table revised on 6 April 2018.

[52] Yeo provides different information on the publication date. He recalls that *The Adventures of Monkey God* appeared in 1974 or 1975 as comic series, though the translator and the illustrator are still not mentioned. See http://www.sothebys.com/en/news-video/blogs/all-blogs/eye-on-asia/2012/10/following-the-monkey-king.html [accessed 10 May 2018]

16	2006	*The Monkey and the Monk: An Abridgement of Journey to the West*	Anthony C. Yu	Chicago: University of Chicago Press	Paper & Kindle
17	2008	*The Monkey King: A Superhero Tale of China*	Aaron Shepard	Washington: Skyhook Press	Paper & Kindle
18	2008	*The Monkey King's Amazing Adventures: A Journey to the West in Search of Enlightenment*	Timothy Richard (with a new introduction by Daniel Kane)	Tokyo/ Rutland, Vermont/ Singapore: Tuttle Publishing	Paper & Kindle
19	2011	*Journey to the West*	Christine Sun	Stroud: Real Reads	Paper, Kindle & Audio
20	2011	*Monkey King*	Wei Dong Chen et al.	South Korea: JR comics	Paper
21	2013	*The Little Monkey King's Journey: Retold in English and Chinese*	Yijin Wert	/ New York: Better Link Press (The Chinese edition was published in Shanghai by Shanghai Press, 2012)	Paper
22	2005 & 2012	*The Monkey King (Volume 1&2 and continues in Vol. 3)*	Authored and illustrated by Katsuya Terada, Toshifumi Yoshida	Milwaukee, Oregon: Dark Horse	Paper
23	2013	*The Journey to the West: Birth of the Monkey King*	Kathryn Lin	Charleston, South Carolina: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform	Paper & Kindle
24	2014	*The Monkey God*	Jean David Morvan, Jian Yi, and Yann Le Gal	New York: Papercutz	Paper
25	2015	*Monkey King*	Nathan Tamblyn	Charleston, South Carolina: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform	Paper & Kindle
26	[unknown]	*The Monkey King* (a series of books)	authored by Chris McElwain	[unknown] & sold by Amazon Digital Services, Inc.	Kindle Edition
27	[unknown]	*The Monkey King*	Heather Fergusson	[unknown] & sold by Amazon Digital Services, Inc.	Kindle Edition
28	[unknown]	Julia Lovell	[unknown]	Penguin	[unknown]

Of the twenty-eight books of translation, twelve were published in the twentieth century and sixteen were published in the first fifteen years of the twenty-first century. The figures support the claim made earlier that English translations of *Journey to the West* have been published as independent books more quickly and in increasing numbers. Classified by

category, these books are popular literature, children's literature, and comic books. Classified by form, most are traditional books printed on paper while digital editions (e-books) began to increase in number only recently. Classified by content, few are a complete translation of the original novel but are actually excerpts or combined parts of the original, and some are adapted or abridged translations. Finally, in terms of the purpose of translation, many translations are aimed at entertainment; few serve academic and scholarly purposes, and fewer still religious purposes. The main purpose or function of translation has become less diversified, as most of the recent translations aim to entertain, in contrast to some translations in the last century which aimed to introduce Chinese literature and culture, for example, the Giles, Martens, and Werner translations, or to promote religious purposes, for example, the Richard and Hayes translations, or aim at an academic and thorough rendering of the original as in the Jenner and Yu translations.

2.3 *Monkey* translated by Waley: focus of the present study

The large number of English translations make research on the detailed production process of every translation impossible due to the tremendous effort needed to carry out such large-scale data collection and analysis (see section 2.6 for the methodological issues), while the resources, such as time and funding, available for the current study are necessarily restricted. The criteria for selection must therefore be refined in order to reduce the list of translations for analysis. These criteria include: 1) Translations should be published as independent books rather than as excerpts or chapters. 2) Those that are only translations of a few chapters or stories (less than ten out of a hundred) from the original novel should be excluded. This means that every translation selected should cover at least ten per cent of the original plot. 3) The translated chapters or stories should cover at least ten per cent of the original content. 4) The translations should be representative and have their own distinguishing features.

As a result, five out of all the English translations of *Journey to the West* were selected; namely 1) *A Mission to Heaven* translated by Richard, since it meets the first three criteria, and is the first independent relatively complete English translation; 2) *Monkey* by Waley, since it meets the first three criteria and has been received with great enthusiasm (see more in section 2.4); 3) *The Journey to the West* by Yu, and 4) *Journey to the West* by Jenner, since they meet the first three criteria and are both very serious, thorough and complete translations aimed at serving academic purposes and 5) an on-going translation (at the time of selection),

which, according to interviews with the translator available online, will be an independent book and should find a balance between academia and entertainment, which indicates that the translation will probably preserve the majority of the plot and content of the original, meeting the first three criteria. Even more importantly, the translation was in its initial stage (at the time of selection), so data about the production process should be ample and up-to-date, if accessible.

The practical process of data collection was not straightforward, however, for unpredictable things happened during the data gathering stage that affected the development of the research project that affected the final outcome, and could not have been anticipated. After further data collection and evaluation, it was found that only one translation, namely *Monkey* translated by Waley, was suitable for the current study, as rich, high-quality data regarding the production process of the translation were readily accessible. In contrast, data concerning the other four translations were either insufficient or very difficult to obtain for the following reasons: 1) Information about the production activities within three publishers of the translations had either not been recorded or not preserved. Furthermore, due to the policies of the publisher, information on a fourth translation was not openly available for research purposes. It was therefore not possible to gain data from all the publishers of the four translations (except *Monkey*). 2) Approaches had to be made to other participants in the production process of the translations, and some of the participants were difficult, or impossible, to contact because the translations were produced long ago and information on them is scarce. Two translators were deceased by the time of data collection, meaning interviews with these people were not possible. 3) Of the remaining two translators who were available for interviews and through whom attempts were made to build connections with other participants of translation productions, one passed away not long after the first few exchanges of emails, while interviews with the other translator were problematic due to personal matters concerning the translator during that period. Data collection for the four translations then became increasingly difficult, whereas 4) data collection for *Monkey* went surprisingly well. This was due to the fact that the amount, and the completeness, of the data would be sufficient to form the basis for a detailed study of the production of the translation *Monkey*. It was decided to focus on an analysis of the development of the '*Monkey* project' applying an ANT approach.

The data collected and used in this thesis concern the production process of *Monkey*, or the '*Monkey* project', and consists of a set of key data at the core of the project, and some supporting materials. The data at the core comprises more than 200 letters exchanged between a range of people participating in the production of (many versions of) *Monkey*, obtained from the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd., held by the University of Reading, Special Collections. The most important participants were the publisher, translator, and book designer. The correspondence records a large amount of detailed discussions, negotiations, and arrangements that took place throughout the process of producing the translation, covering twenty-six years (1941-1966)[53] of the development of the translation project from its initiation. This coordinated structure of correspondence makes an ANT study on the production process of *Monkey* possible.

The other group of supporting materials include, but are not limited to, 1) three copies of *Monkey*, including both main text and paratext, published by George Allen & Unwin in 1943 (3rd impression), 1953 (6th impression) and 1965 (7th impression) respectively. The third impression published in 1943, when the translation project was in the most rapid period of development, was the earliest version of the translation that could be obtained for the purposes of this study. The copy dated 1953 as the sixth impression was published after the Second World War. A comparison of the two versions reveals the impact of the war on the translation, for example, the mark of the 'Book Production War Economy Standard' disappears from the 1953 impression. The 1965 impression is also used for its jacket[54], since the jackets of the other two copies are missing, and the design of the jacket for the impressions does not change substantially. The preface of *Monkey* written by the translator also proves to be a very important source of information expanding the reasons motivating the translator to translate *Journey to the West*. 2) Articles or books written by others about the translator, which can be used as a source of information on, for example, the translations he undertook and his working habits. 3) Articles written by the translator himself about the translation process, and his own translations (in addition to the three copies of *Monkey*), again with paratext such as introductions or prefaces, which directly provide the translator's view on translations written in his own words. 3) The autobiography (*The Truth about A Publisher*) and nonfiction work on the publishing industry (*The Truth about Publishing*)

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[53] The letters dated1944-1946, 1951, 1952, 1954-1957, and 1959-1965 are not available, which has little impact on the current study because it focuses on the production activities carried out between 1941 and 1943 (see Chapter 3 for further explanation on this). See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the reasons for the missing letters.
[54] See Appendix VIII for the jacket of (the 7th impression of) *Monkey*.

written by the publisher. These works provide and explain some background information, and reflect on some conventions of publishing that help to confirm, or support, the way in which some events unfolded during the production of *Monkey*, and serve to add explanations for some details. 4) Advertisements and book reviews from newspaper archives. Since very few of the letters discovered in the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd. are concerned with marketing the translation, the advertisements and book reviews contribute greatly to filling in the blanks. It is to be noted that the marketing activities, as re-constructed using these materials, do not necessarily match the experience of the project participants directly, but are indirectly inferred from the advertisement and book review texts, from the perspective of the reading public. In other words, for the purpose of this study and due to a lack of 'direct' material, the marketing activities are necessarily re-constructed based on what the readers of the advertisements and book reviews perceived, rather than what the project participants actually did.

2.4 *Monkey*: a unique translation of popularity and fame

The previous sections explain the process of targeting the original text (*Journey to the West*) and choosing *Monkey* from the many English translations as the object of study. This section aims to introduce the translation, with an emphasis on its uniqueness and popularity, adding more engaging reasons for the choice of this translation following the practical ones explained previously, and to present previous studies on the translation, which will clarify the perspective and position of current research into the translation.

2.4.1 *Monkey*: a unique translation of unprecedented popularity and fame

Arthur David Waley translated *Journey to the West* after having translated many Chinese poems. His translation, entitled *Monkey: A Folk-Tale of China*, was published by George Allen & Unwin in the 1940s, and became the only translation from Chinese fiction by Waley. In 1942 it won Waley the James Tait Black Memorial Prize, one of the oldest literary awards in Britain, for his translation of *Journey to the West* (*Monkey*) [55]. The excellence of the

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[55] The prize has been awarded annually from 1919 for excellent writers in three literary genres, fiction, biography and drama. Nobel Prize winners and eminent writers such as D. H. Lawrence, E. M. Foster, and Quentin Bell also won the prize.

translation resulted in the prize, successful sales for many of its publishers, and increased popularity among readers and literary reviewers.

Monkey is very different from the other translations of *Journey to the West*. The strategies Waley uses in translation are innovative and unique in the history of translating the work. *Monkey* is not like the adapted and excerpt translations that cut out many parts, especially dialogues, leaving only some segments of a few stories and a few characters; nor is it a complete translation of the original. Waley chooses thirty chapters from the original one hundred and produces a "full" translation of the chosen chapters, only excluding the verses, which, according to Waley himself, would "go very badly into English" (Waley, 1953: 9). Since the original is composed of many independent chapters, each of which tells a story of the four monks' pilgrimage and adventure, Waley's choice helps to keep true to the general plot of the story, while the content, expressiveness and humour of the chosen chapters are transferred fully. Waley by no means translates only for entertainment purposes, though his emphasis on translating Chinese colloquial language in the original does increase the readability of the translation, making the translation text accessible to the more general reader.[56] In terms of the purposes of translation *Monkey* is not, however, like Anthony Yu's scholarly version, intended for academic use, nor does it aim to promote religious ideals like Timothy Richard's or Helen Hayes' translations.

Monkey is very popular. It is perhaps by far the most-read English translation of *Journey to the West* in the West. This claim is supported by concrete evidence such as 1) the number of versions of *Monkey*, in particular the multiple reprinting of, for example, the original UK edition published by George Allen and Unwin, and its many re-translations into other languages. 2) The endurance of the translation which is now appearing in new forms. 3) The translation has been highly recommended by literary reviewers such as W. J. Turner, and Chinese scholars such as Hu Shi (胡适, also Hu Shih).

In the late 1980s, when Francis A. Johns compiled the second edition of a bibliography of Waley's works (i.e. Johns, 1988), there were already twenty-two versions[57] of the translation.

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[56]See section 6.1 of Chapter 6 for discussions on why Waley choose to translate *Journey to the West* and why and how Waley translated the Chinese original the way he did.

[57] See Chapter 3 for the definition of 'version' as well as the difference of 'version', 'edition', 'impression', 'reprint', and 're-translation'.

A simple study of these twenty-two versions identifies several particularly remarkable implications such as the translation being repeatedly reprinted. For example, in the first decade or so since its first publication, from 1942 to 1953, the original UK edition of *Monkey* published by George Allen & Unwin underwent five reprints. *Monkey* was so welcomed in the UK at that time that due to huge demand for copies of *Monkey* there was only a four-month gap between the appearance of the first and second impression (of the UK original edition) in the book market. In successive years, only shortly after its debut, *Monkey* was re-translated as a source text into American English, as well as many other languages such as Dutch, French, German, Swedish, and even the main Indian vernacular languages. This is a rare example of an English translation of a Chinese novel being re-translated into so many other languages.[58]

In both the UK and the US, two of the major English-speaking countries, *Monkey* is still in print. There are currently at least four editions of *Monkey* available in the British book market, including a Penguin Classic edition, a Penguin paperback edition, and two audio book versions. There are also at least four editions of *Monkey* presently available in the American book market, which include two Grove Press editions and two audio book versions. A good number of the older versions are, meanwhile, circulating as second-hand books.[59] The long life of the translation of almost eighty years proves its popularity. In addition, recent years have witnessed an increasing number of new forms of the translation. Alongside the widespread traditional paper printed book forms that have dominated the market since its first publication, *Monkey* is beginning to appear in the form of audio books and e-book versions. For example, Naxos Audiobooks published an audio book of *Monkey* read by Kenneth Williams in 2005, and earlier in the same year, *Monkey* appeared in a Kindle version as a Penguin classic.

Monkey is liked by many readers and highly praised among reviewers as a popular translated novel from the Chinese language, with English (and other language) versions in various forms that have existed for nearly eighty years. If *Monkey* is compared with *Don Quixote*, the comic value and exoticism preserved in the translation can be appreciated: "The humour of *Monkey* comes from an all-prevailing intellectual vigour. … A European reader must look at

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[58] See Chapter 3 for a systematic and detailed introduction of the various versions, including editions, reprints, etc. of *Monkey*. This chapter only contains a brief discussion.

[59] Information from UK and US Amazon online bookstore. Accessed in 19-25 May 2015.

these adventures as he looks at an entirely foreign and novel landscape which is full of new and delightful features…" (Turner, 1942: 109). Others highlighted the adventures, wonders, and magic depicted in the book (Priest, 1943), or emphasised the insinuations about federal rulings and bureaucrats (Morgan, 1974). Waley's work as a translator was, however, also praised as, for instance, "supremely well translated…" (Turner, 1942: 109), and his translation was regarded as "elegant and witty" (Morgan, 1974: 220). Hu Shi regretted not being able to read more stories from the original novel in the translation, which, however, did not affect his keen admiration of Waley's "most admirable and most delightful translation" (Hu, [1943] 1994: 4):

> But in spite of these few mildly regretted omissions, Mr. Waley has on the whole exercised excellent critical judgment in his selection of the episodes. I agree with most of his omissions, and heartily approve his method of 'omitting many episodes, but translating those that are retained almost in full'. His rendering of dialogue is truly masterful both in preserving its droll humor and retaining its rich proverbial form. Only a careful comparison with the original text can fully appreciate the translator's painstaking effort in these directions (ibid.).

All this represents unprecedented popularity for a translation from Chinese literature. It is therefore clear that in addition to the comprehensive data available regarding the production of *Monkey*, its uniqueness and excellence as a translation, its unprecedented popularity among general readers, and its good reputation among literary critics, all constitutes sound reasons why *Monkey* finally stands out as the only translation under study in this thesis.

2.4.2 Previous studies on *Monkey*

Surprisingly, although *Monkey* has been so popular among readers and reviewers in the west, it has failed to receive the attention it deserves from western academia[60] as a popular and important translation. Barely any research on *Monkey* has been undertaken in major English (the target language into which the fiction was translated) speaking countries so far, while the interests of western researchers mainly focus on the original Chinese novel (*Journey to the*

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[60] By "research done in western academia", this thesis designates any article, thesis or monograph that is written by an author whose affiliation is to the west, regardless of the authors' nationality, or in which language the work is written.

West) (Giles, 1927; Waley, 1952; Dudbridge, 1970; Yu, 1972, 1975, 1983, 1998, and 2008; Plaks, 1987; Bantly, 1989; and Lin, 2005), and on the translator, his works, and his translation of Chinese poetry (Morris, 1970a, 1970b; Cheung, 1979; Johns, 1983, 1988; and de Gruchy, 1999).

In China, the birth place of *Journey to the West*, studies on its translation (*Monkey*) only began to develop in the 1980s. The earliest research on *Monkey* probably appeared as a one-paragraph description of the translation in a study carried out by Wang Lina (Wang, 1980) that introduces many translations of *Journey to the West* in various languages, *Monkey* being only one of them. After that, Liu Yingmin undertook a comparative study between the original and the translation from a linguistic aspect (Liu, 1984), setting the trend for specific research on *Monkey*. Studies into the translation, however, disappeared, until the 2000s which witnessed an increasing number, including both journal articles and masters and doctoral theses. These studies differ as much in theme as they differ in quality. Most of them apply concepts of translation, or a particular translation theory, to study certain aspects of the translation text, and comparative studies between, or among, more than one translation are preferred over a focused study on *Monkey* alone. The concepts or theories applied are diverse, and include, but are not limited to, descriptive studies (Guo, 2011; Li, 2011), postcolonial approaches (Shen, 2011), skopos theory (Gao, 2013), manipulation theory (Jing, 2013), reception aesthetics (Liu, 2013), and text world theory (Li, 2014). Meanwhile, themes such as Waley's translation style and strategies (e.g. Wong, 2013; Yang, 2008), Waley's behaviour as the translator (Guo, 2011), the construction of the translator's cultural identity (Shen, 2011), the translator's role as an interpreter (Kang, 2004), the translation of culture-loaded words such as religious language (Li, 2011) and proper names (Li, 2014), comparative studies between different translations (Gao, 2013), and the influence of ideology, poetics and patrons on translation (Jing, 2013) are covered. The most frequently used translation texts for comparison studies with *Monkey* include Yu's and Jenner's translations (Gao, 2013; Kang, 2004; Li, 2014). In brief, these studies adopt either the linguistic, literary, or cultural aspects of translation to study the translation text.

No research has yet considered the translation of *Monkey* as an outcome of social activities, let alone the application of social theories to the investigation of the various actors or agents involved in the practical translation process as active participants. The materials introduced previously regarding the production process of *Monkey* (e.g. the letters), however, suggest

much about the making of connections between the participants of the translation project who interacted in that particular social grounding to empower the production of the translation. These connections are by no means random. In essence, they were established by a variety of distinct actors through a series of activities that continuously shaping the outcome of the translation.

When studying the translations of *Journey to the West*, one cannot avoid noticing the excellence of *Monkey*. The historical recordings of the publication of *Monkey*, have lain piled up in silence, as letters and contracts, 'dead' and still, for almost eighty years, and there is an obligation to re-construct the translation project as a dynamic process that once lived and flourished, and to seek to answer how various actors interacted to shape *Monkey* into the unique translation that it is.

2.5 Positioning the research: from literature to the present study

Before giving a very concise introduction to the various approaches within Translation Studies, it should be made clear that there are no 'turns' in Translation Studies, such as the 'cultural turn' or 'sociological turn', in the sense of entirely separating later studies or approaches to translation from the previous traditions or approaches. The 'cultural turn' and 'sociological turn' in Translation Studies are replaced with 'cultural approaches' and 'sociological approaches' in this thesis. Many researchers emphasise how cultural factors affect translation in the social environment, or through social practices, suggesting that they do not exist in a vacuum but within society. This is the major reason why many researchers prefer the term 'socio-cultural'. Indeed, if cultural studies and sociology are regarded as two separate disciplines, it is evident that they have many mutual subjects of study, for example, class, ethnicity, and gender. They, meanwhile, impact on and significantly overlap each other, for example, the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is highly influential in cultural studies while sociology experienced a 'cultural turn' in the late twentieth century. On the other hand, linguistics is by no means an isolated discipline. It has branches, such as historical linguistics, and socio-linguistics, that study language in evolving cultural and social environments. That being said, one may continue to argue that it is difficult to link 'socio-cultural' approaches with the linguistic approaches to translation studies. Indeed, cultural approaches to translation studies do not deal with languages and texts immediately, as linguistic approaches do, since they study how cultural or social factors, such as power and ideology, help to form a

translation or translation tradition through affecting translators (and other agents, as increasing numbers of case studies have shown), or the other way round, i.e., how translations or translation traditions reflect existing cultural systems or power relations. There is, however, no doubt that cultural factors affect translations and that further affects the language, causing changes both diachronically and synchronically, which falls within the study of historical linguistics. Social factors, however, influence translations that again further affect the language, which is the focus of socio-linguistic studies. Linguistics, cultural studies, and sociology are, therefore, themselves inter-connected, and they can also be connected through translation. As long as the cultural and the sociological approaches are applied to study translation, both are still connected with language and text. This is decided by the very nature of translations: they are composed of language and in the form of texts after all.

While translation practice can be traced back to as early as 3000 BC on inscriptions in ancient Egypt (Newmark, [1981] 2001: 3), discussions on translation did not emerge until Cicero and Horace, and St Jerome, in the first century and the fourth century. Newmark regards this preliminary period as "the pre-linguistics period of Translation" (4), in which debates on literal or free translation emerge. Despite some early attempts to develop more systematic theories of translation among those preliminary discussions, for example, Drydon, [1680] 2012; Tytler, 1907; and Schleiermacher, [1680] 2012, translation could not be regarded as having established itself as an independent scientific discipline until the latter part of the 20th century when James S. Holmes delivered his seminal paper "The name and nature of translation studies" (Holmes, [1972] 2000) to The Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics in Copenhagen in 1972 (e.g. Gentzler, 2001; Snell-Hornby, 2006). In the decades from the 1950s onwards more scholars applied linguistic approaches to study the transferring of meaning, and specific strategies, procedures and shifts in practical steps in translation, trying to free themselves from the centuries-old debates on literal versus free binary, including Catford ([1965] 2000) Vinay and Darbelnet ([1958] 1995), and Nida (1964). While the linguistic approaches to study translation continued to develop, the 1970s saw the emergence of cultural approaches, when researchers began to agree that translation was not about pure linguistic transfer, but a much broader literary and cultural phenomenon, for instance, Even-Zohar ([1978] 2012), Bassnett and Lefevere (1990), and Nord (1997, 2006). By studying the agents, practices, process, and product of translation, as part of the local and global society, researchers have, moreover, been applying sociological theories to the

discipline of translation since the 2000s. See, for example, Simeoni (1998), Gouanvic (2005), Buzelin (2005, 2006), Bogic (2010), and Tyulenev (2012, 2014). In essence, Translation Studies has been developing, and rapidly expanding, as an independent and interdisciplinary discipline drawing from relevant theories in linguistics, and cultural and social studies.

ANT, together with Bourdieu's social practice theory, and Luhmann's systems theory, constitute the three major sociological theories that researchers apply to study translation (Wolf, 2007). Only a few studies apply ANT to investigate translation activities. At present, around twelve researchers have devoted themselves to this area, namely: Andrew Chetserman, Hélène Buzelin, María Córdoba Serrano, Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar, Francis R. Jones, Szu-wen Cindy Kung, Anna Bogic, Esmaeil Haddadian-Moghaddam, Kristiina Abdallah, Sarah Eardley-Weaver, Tom Boll, and Jeremy Munday. A rough classification of the research outcome of these scholars shows that there are at the time of this study, zero monographs, two doctoral dissertations (Abdallah, 2012; and Eardley-Weaver, 2014), and more than a dozen articles (Buzelin, 2005, 2006, 2007a, [2004] 2007b; Chetserman, 2006; Córdoba Serrano, 2007; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2007; Jones, 2009; Kung, 2009; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Boll, 2016; and Munday, 2016b).

Before situating the present research within translation studies literature that uses ANT specifically as the research framework, it should be mentioned, as a short diversion here, that there have been studies on translation that apply other network approaches. In the *Meta* volume exploring the potential 'connections' between network theories and translation, Folaron and Buzelin (2007) provide a comprehensive introduction to the historical development of various approaches of network theories (including ANT[61]), along with the main concepts and ideas of each theory as well as the promises they might bring to translation. A number of intriguing articles that follow in the same volume are clearly driven by some of these network theories, for example, the model of real-world networks (Abdallah and Koskinen, 2007), and Social Network Analysis (McDonough, 2007). These studies should not be neglected, even if they do not claim to use ANT as their theoretical basis. This is because, just as Folaron and Buzelin (2007) indicate, network studies have similar origins and share some common ground and increasing the connection between translation studies adopting different network studies may yield unexpected outcomes.

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[61] Articles from this volume that adopt an ANT approach are discussed elsewhere where necessary in the thesis, as part of the whole system of literature that has an immediate and on-going dialogue with this study.

In terms of theory, only a few concepts of ANT have been introduced to translation studies, including 'translation' and 'actor-networks' by Buzelin (2005), 'mediator' by Bogic (2010), and 'inscription' by Haddadian-Moghaddam (2012) and Abdallah (2012). A systematic and in-depth discussion is still lacking on, and applied to, the philosophy and many other very important and useful concepts of ANT such as nonhuman actors, long distance control, the five modes of interesting actors, and obligatory passage points (see Chapter 1). For example, although the concepts of *translation*[ANT], and actor-network were introduced by Buzelin (2005) over a decade ago, very few substantial developments have been made concerning their application and, as is suggested by Tyulenev (2014), what they might contribute in terms of presenting a translation project as a network. Most studies, moreover, focus on applying Latour's theory in isolation, e.g. Kung, 2009; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; and Boll, 2016. A few studies attempt to integrate ANT with Bourdieusian concepts, e.g. Buzelin, 2005; Kung, 2009; and Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012, and still fewer draw on the theories of other ANT scholars such as Callon and Law, e.g. Abdallah, 2012. This thesis adds a novel piece of research to the last small group. The only two doctoral dissertations, Abdallah, 2012 and Eardley-Weaver, 2014 only use ANT as one of the theories among several, whereas this thesis, using ANT as the sole theory, aims to apply the theory and to test its applicability to its full extent.

Buzelin was the first among the researchers to apply ANT to translation production research and has been the leading researcher in this discipline with the most case studies. She set the trend for studying the process of translation production by applying ANT (see Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, and 2007b), which is employed by almost all following studies, including this one. There exist, however, different angles to investigating the process of translation production. Buzelin (2006, 2007a, and 2007b) chose her case studies from translations, or translation projects, that were being carried out in publishing houses at the time when she was undertaking field work and data collection at publishing companies in-situ. Covering a series of translation projects on a particular theme such as Spanish and Latin American poetry translation, inside one particular publishing company like Penguin, Boll's (2016) angle is slightly different to that of Buzelin. Other angles include the broad approach by Haddadian-Moghaddam (2012) which studies general ways of networking between different functioning bodies inside one particular publishing company, but with no particular translations targeted, and Kung's (2009) broader study investigating 'the subvention network' that helps to export

literature translations from a less powerful culture to a dominant one. Shrinking the scale of study to achieve a very practical and detailed analysis, while yet remaining as comprehensive as possible, in order to study the many actors and their ways of networking, this thesis focuses on the production process of one particular translation, just as Bogic (2010) did in her study of Parshley's translation of *Le Deuxième Sexe*.

There is large potential for the application of ANT to study translation. Increasing numbers of human actors have been identified in previous studies. Besides translators, there are editors, revisers, proof readers, evaluators, and managing directors, with their actions being described in very practical and detailed ways (see Buzelin, 2006; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; and Munday, 2016b). The identities or roles of the actors are, however, accepted as those pre-fixed in their particular contexts, that is, fixed before the actors do their tasks as 'translators' or 'editors'. No analysis, from theoretical point of view, suggests that the identities or roles of actors change as a result of (social) actions (e.g. Callon ,1986a, Latour, 2007) has yet been developed, and the changes brought by or the effects of their actions, and their changing roles on the dynamic of the networks of translation, are taken into discussion. Importantly, though some research mentions nonhumanity or nonhuman entities, mainly referring to inscriptions or texts, e.g. Haddadian-Moghaddam (2012) and Abdallah (2012), few research has been undertaken on nonhuman entities as actors, which largely constrains the heterogeneity of actors and their agencies, and in turn the analytical power of ANT. 'Agency' or the ability to act upon or influence others is of crucial importance in defining nonhumans as actors, on which the analysis must make very clear arguments. Several studies, moreover, contribute to recording the practical activities or the stages of conducting translation projects, e.g. Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; and Boll, 2016. This study takes a step further to distinguish the major phases the translation project (of producing *Monkey*) must experience, while appreciating that overlap of phases will always happen which makes networking more dynamic and complex. There is, furthermore, very little discussion on the design, printing, and binding of translation texts, which, as the present case study will show, is of crucial importance to the translation. To include the design, printing, and binding phases makes for a more complete process of translation production and also suggests that more translation actors, both human and nonhuman, might be discovered and implicated, which in turn involves more types of agencies and connections.

Another problem is that the connection between ANT-guided translation studies, and studies taking other linguistic or cultural approaches, is weak. This may be partly due to the research status of ANT applications that is still in the process of development, and partly due to the problem of separation between different approaches ('turns') in Translation Studies. This thesis builds connections with previous studies on the (in)visibility and status of translators, e.g. Venuti, 1995, 1998 and Gouadec, 2007, and those on the texts involved and evolved in translation, e.g. Pym, 2010, and Toury, 2012, so that it develops along some traditions already set, or claims already made in Translation Studies.

Many methods have been used to collect data. Researchers in Translation Studies agree that the key to carrying out ANT-guided research is to 'follow the actors', just as ANT scholars insist, and do, in their studies of the sociology of science and technology (see Latour, 2007). There are at present two ways to 'follow the actors'. The first is to study translations under production, e.g. Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, and Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012, and the other is to study historical records of certain translation projects, e.g. Bogic, 2010; Boll, 2016; and Munday, 2016b.

Buzelin is the first researcher to undertake studies on translation under production within publishing houses. The methods she uses are rooted in ethnomethodology, and those of 'field work', including interview and participant observation, and written materials used "to fill in the gaps or to check the accuracy of their claims[62]" (Buzelin, 2006: 140). The methods used by subsequent researchers taking this first route of 'following the actors' do not exceed those categories. On the other hand, researchers utilising the second method of 'following the actors' use archival documents, mainly letters exchanged between translation actors, as their source of data. Bogic's study on Parshley's translation of *Le Deuxième Sexe* is based on more than a hundred letters (Bogic, 2010). Similarly, letters concerning the production of *Monkey* constitute the major source of data for this thesis. As has been introduced previously, however, the more than two hundred letters from the historical archive (Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd.) are the core, but not the only source, of information. There are also three different copies of *Monkey,* and other translations by the translator (including their paratexts), books and articles on, and by, the translator, autobiographies and nonfiction written by the publisher, and advertisements and book reviews for the translation. The

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[62] 'Their claims' refer to the accounts of actors.

principle is to collect as many items of data as possible relating to the production of the translation.

2.6 Approaches to data selection and analysis

This section aims to present an organised overview, and a clarification of, the methods used in this thesis to choose the translation (*Monkey*). Some of the methods used to collect data and make analysis have already been introduced or suggested in previous sections in both this chapter and the one which precedes it. The methods are divided into two groups and discussed sequentially.

The first group of methods operate at a more practical level concerning the collection of data, and include interviews, visiting archives, and searching for relevant literature. They are introduced in the last section as used by many researchers who apply ANT to study translation. It should be made clear that these methods are also used to collect data on the five translations initially selected (see section 2.3), although data collected through interviews and data collected from another archive regarding another translation (instead of *Monkey*) were not included because they are about the production of translations other than the translation (*Monkey*) finally chosen and were therefore irrelevant to the study.

The second group of methods, taking their roots from ANT, consist of a combination of Callon's three principles (Callon 1986a) and relevant 'rules of method' forwarded by Latour (Latour 1987)[63]. They are, more precisely, a set of methodological rules used to guide and regulate the research by helping to decide what data is useful, whether the amount collected is sufficient, and how the data should be analysed. This research proposes to first study 'translation under production', which is the process of translation through which actors act to publish the translation. Data recordings from the production process of the translation will be collected. During analysis, actions, including the ways or patterns of doing actions, will be the main focus, and actors will be identified according to their actions, i.e. only when their actions have a direct influence on the making of the translation[64].

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[63] See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the three principles.
[64] See Chapter 4 for more detailed discussion on identifying human actors and Chapter 5 for the identification of nonhuman actors.

It is then proposed that the research be open to all possibilities regarding the number or types of actors, actions and the manner of their taking place, and the connections made by acting. Actors are not decided until the last moment of production. The best way to respect the uncertainty of the process of producing the translation is to 'follow the actors' (Latour, 2007; Buzelin, 2006) in order to collect as much data as possible, without avoiding accidental or unexpected events or controversies. While analysing data, the study should not hold any pre-assumptions about which actors would act in any particular way.

The study will be very careful about the causes and effect of translation. The action, or translation activity, is the starting point for research, rather than the ready-made translation text.

Another factor is that ANT insists that society and nature cannot be separated, which, when applied to translation, requires that data regarding the nonhuman translator actors should not be neglected and should be analysed in the same terms as human translator actors.

Finally, the core data used in this thesis, letters exchanged between the translation actors in the process of producing *Monkey* (including its many versions), were obtained from the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd., preserved by the University of Reading, Special Collections. The copyright of the records now belongs to HarperCollins. This thesis has gained permission to use these letters as a source of information from HarperCollins.

Chapter 3 The *Monkey* Project: A Translation in Production

In this thesis, 'the *Monkey* project' or 'the translation project' refers to a project carried out between 1941 and 1966[65] (some two and a half decades) in which many participants co-operated, carried out translation activities and made connections, in the process of publishing *Monkey*. This involved translation of the Chinese classical novel *Journey to the West* by Wu Cheng'en, as well as reprints, subsequent editions, and re-translations.

The project involved participants such as translator Arthur Waley; publisher Stanley Unwin, a representative[66] of the publishing company George Allen & Unwin; typographer David Unwin, Stanley Unwin's son; designer Duncan Grant; and representatives of other organisations and publishing companies that issued different editions and re-translations of *Monkey*, for example the Readers Union (RU) in Britain, the John Day Company in America, and The National Information and Publications Ltd in India. The project originated in the UK, but expanded beyond its borders to many other countries worldwide, in particular to Europe and major English-speaking countries such as America, India, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.

Based on the correspondence preserved in the publishing record regarding the translation project, this thesis separates the project into eight phases. These relate to the translating (<[67] Oct 1941), initiating (Oct-Nov 1941), designing (Nov 1941-May 1942), proofreading (18 Dec 1941-21 Jan 1942), printing (May-Jun 1942), binding (Jun-Jul 1942), and marketing (< Sept 1942, < Feb 1943, < Apr 1944, < Jul 1946) of the original UK edition produced by the UK publishing company George Allen & Unwin (hereafter referred to as 'the original [UK] [GA&U] edition'), and the expansion phase (< Jan 1942-1966) of the different versions and reprints of *Monkey* published by many other publishers. Overlaps constantly occur between the phases (see Figure 3.1 below).

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[65] As a classical translation, the English editions of *Monkey* are still in print today, circulating worldwide since first publication in 1942. The *Monkey* project in this thesis, however, designates the period from 1941, when the possibility of publishing the translation was discussed, until 1966, the year in which the last few files on *Monkey* in the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd were dated.

[66] The word 'representative' used here has not yet had any theoretical implication, as discussed in ANT. Here, it simply indicates the fact that it was Stanley Unwin, or an individual working in his name, who collaborated with other participants from outside the publishing house, and in particular with the translator. This applies to the next few 'representatives'.

[67] It is highly possible that each phase began earlier than being mentioned in the correspondence. The symbol '<' is used to mean 'at least' or 'before (a certain point of time)' in this thesis.
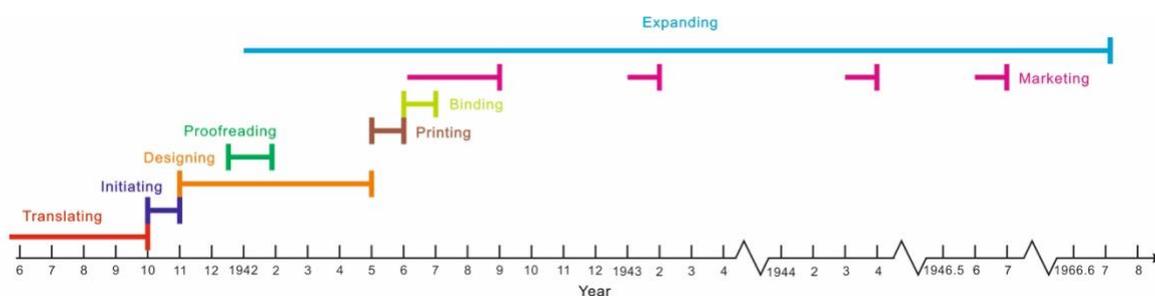
Figure 3.1 The temporal phases of the *Monkey* project

Given the many contributors and overlapping phases, the many versions of *Monkey* may also cause confusion. It is therefore necessary to introduce the versions developed from Waley's translation and define the 'versions', 'editions', 're-translations', 'impressions', and 'reprints' considered in this thesis. The term 'version' is used here in the broadest sense to include all the editions and the re-translations of *Monkey* and their reprints. Every 'edition' of *Monkey* was published by a new, independent publishing company or organisation in English, the language which Waley originally used in his translation. This means that 1) reprints of *Monkey* in English do not count as editions, but impressions of a certain edition; 2) translations of *Monkey* do not count as editions but are called 're-translations', underscoring the fact that they were translated from the translation, and that they no longer bear the English title '*Monkey*'.

According to Johns' bibliography of Waley's works (Johns, 1988), there are at least twenty-two versions of *Monkey* in existance, including the original edition (the original UK [GA&U] edition) with six reprints published by GA&U (in English), nine other English editions (also called 'new editions', as compared to the original edition), and seven re-translations[68]. The Records of George Allen & Unwin, the major source of data of this thesis, do not contain files regarding the publication of all twenty-two versions of *Monkey*, but just fourteen of them. There is, moreover, correspondence with regard to versions that are not included in the twenty-two versions listed in the bibliography. These include a re-translation(s) in the Indian vernacular language(s)[69], an American edition published by Grove, and correspondence from another Swiss publishing house, Genossenschaft Büchergilde Gutenberg (in addition to

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[68] Information on the reprints of the 9 English versions and 7 re-translations were not available in the bibliography or the Record.

[69] It was uncertain into which Indian vernacular language(s) *Monkey* was translated, and hence no certain number of re-translations/versions could be gathered.

Artemis Verlag), requesting a licence to publish a German re-translation of *Monkey*. As a result, if the number of versions recorded in the bibliography and the Records are put together, there may be at least twenty-five versions of *Monkey*, not including reprints of the new editions and re-translations (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Publication information on the different versions of *Monkey*

No.	Publishing house	Publication time	Language	Category	Source
1	George Allen & Unwin, London, UK	July 1942	English	Edition (the original [UK] [GA&U] edition); 1st impression of the original edition	Johns, 1988; the Records
2	George Allen & Unwin, London, UK	February 1943	English	2nd impression of the original edition	Johns, 1988; the Records
3	George Allen & Unwin, London, UK	July 1943	English	3rd impression of the original edition	Johns, 1988; the Records
4	George Allen & Unwin, London, UK	February 1944	English	4th impression of the original edition	Johns, 1988; the Records
5	George Allen & Unwin, London, UK	July 1945/6	English	5th impression of the original edition	Johns, 1988
6	George Allen & Unwin, London, UK	August 1953	English	6th impression of the original edition	Johns, 1988
7	George Allen & Unwin, London, UK	1965	English	7th impression of the original edition	Johns, 1988
8	The John Day Company, New York, US	1943	English	Edition (American edition, as referred to in the thesis)	Johns, 1988; the Records
9	The John Day Company, New York, US	1944	English	Edition (American juvenile [illustrated] edition, as referred to in the thesis)	Johns, 1988; the Records
10	Readers Union, London, UK	1944	English	Edition (Readers Union [RU] edition, as referred to in the thesis)	Johns, 1988; the Records
11	Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, UK	1961	English	Edition	Johns, 1988; the Records
12	Folio Society, London, UK	1968	English	Edition	Johns, 1988; the Records
13	Blackie, Glasgow, UK	1973	English	Edition	Johns, 1988
14	Fontana, London, UK	1975	English	Edition	Johns, 1988

15	Unwin Paperbacks, London, UK	1979	English	Edition	Johns, 1988
16	Cervantes, Barcelona, Spain	1945	Spanish?	Re-translation	Johns, 1988
17	Artemis, Zürich, Switzerland	1947	German	Re-translation	Johns, 1988; the Records
18	Ljus, Stockholm, Sweden	1949	Swedish	Re-translation	Johns, 1988; the Records
19	Contact, Antwerp, Holland	1950	Dutch	Re-translation	Johns, 1988; the Records
20	Payot, Paris, France	1951	French	Re-translation	Johns, 1988; the Records
21	Einaudi, Turin, Italy	1960	Italian	Re-translation	Johns, 1988; the Records
22	Saman Mudhnāly, Matara, Sri Lanka	1962	(Not known)	Re-translation	Johns, 1988; the Records
23	The National Information & Publications, Bombay, India	(Not known)	(Not known)	Re-translation(s)	the Records
24	Gutenberg, Zürich, Switzerland	(Not known)	German	Re-translation	the Records
25	Grove Press, New York, US	(Not known)	English	Edition	the Records

Given the complexity of such a long-term and multi-faceted project, for clarity, in this thesis, the detailed description of the translation project is divided into three sections. The first section (3.1) provides some background information on the key contributors. The second section (3.2) is mainly concerned with the early years of the project, when the original edition of *Monkey* was under publication within George Allen & Unwin (Oct 1941-Jul 1942), while the last section (3.3) focuses on the expansion phase of the project encompassing the dispersal of reprints of the original edition, of the new editions, and of the re-translations both in the UK and in some other countries (< Jan 1942-1966).

The expansion phase began very early, at some point when the original edition of *Monkey* was still in production. That phase, to be discussed in 3.3, therefore overlaps with at least five of the phases under discussion in this chapter: designing, proofreading, printing, binding, and marketing (see Figure 3.1). Despite the overlaps, however, the current system of description is the most efficient, because, firstly, there are multiple concurrent phases within the project, and as will be demonstrated, overlaps and parallels are common and impossible to avoid,

which exemplifies the beauty of the translation project in real working circumstances. Secondly, the expansion phase, although it overlapped with the majority of the other phases of production, developed in a relatively independent way in practice. In other words, the expansion of more versions of *Monkey* did not have any substantial influence on the production of the original UK version. Finally, the division makes perfect logical sense in balancing the length of the sections from a practical point of view.

3.1 Individuals involved

Three individuals were of the utmost importance in terms of those involved in the publication of the original UK GA&U edition of *Monkey* (Oct 1941-Jul 1942). They were the translator Arthur Waley, Stanley Unwin from publishing company George Allen & Unwin, and Duncan Grant, designer of the book's jacket and title page. Some basic information on each of them is given in this section, followed immediately by the story of the translation project which completes the chapter.

3.1.1 Arthur Waley

Arthur David Waley is widely acknowledged as an expert in East-Asian literature (Robinson, 1967; Simon, 1967; Yashiro, 1967; Morris, 1970; Johns, 1983; Liu, 1983; de Gruchy, 1999). He was born in Tunbridge Wells in the English country of Kent in 1889, and educated at Rugby School before entering King's College, Cambridge, where he studied Classics, but left in 1910 because of eye problems.

In 1913, Waley started to work for the British Museum as an Assistant Keeper of East-Asian Prints and Drawings. He was initially responsible for cataloguing the Sir Aurel Stein Collection. According to Waley's own account, he started to learn Chinese and Japanese to meet the needs of his work (Waley, [1962] 1970), however, Johns suggested that Waley's interest in Chinese "had begun much earlier" based on a letter sent from Waley to Clifford Bax, in which Waley confessed that the reading of Bax's *Twenty Chinese Poems* "induced him to study Chinese" (Johns, 1983: 177).[70]

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[70] Though the letter was undated (see note 19 in Johns, 1983), the fact revealed in the letter that Waley read it immediately upon the book's first publication in 1910 is sufficient proof of his early interest in Chinese.

After more than fifteen years of devotion to the position, Waley resigned from the British Museum in 1929 and subsequently worked independently, focusing on writing and translating, with little full-time employment. As a result, Waley was regarded as a "private scholar" (Simon, 1967: 269). Walter Robinson recalled his impression of Waley as often being calmly immersed in his studies, for example when describing Waley's working habit:

> He came to stay with me for a few weeks in the late spring of 1958, when he was working on the texts for *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang* (1960). He would sit out in the garden, equipped only with text and necessary stationery; and in the evenings he would share with us, reading aloud, a lot of material that had lain a few hours earlier buried in quite a difficult and often defective Chinese text (Robinson, 1967: 61).

The only exception was during the Second World War, when Waley worked for the Ministry of Information as a news censor until the War ended in 1945, which, interestingly, overlapped with the period when he was undertaking the translation of *Monkey*.

Despite his silence and detachment, Waley was by no means a hermit (cf. Yashiro, 1957 and de Gruchy, 1999). He had a wide-range of connections with a lot of people. Osbert Sitwell observed that Waley had "perhaps the greatest range of friendship of any person I know, extending from dons and savants to spiritualists and members of Parliament, from his own kind, poets, painters, musicians, to those who practise their obsolete Eskimo tricks in winter on the topmost slopes of mountains" (Sitwell, 1950: 3-4). Ivan Morris's anthology, which contains articles written by Waley's friends in memory of him, and letters exchanged between them, has itself attested Waley's wide range of connections.

Waley had many connections within academia, to individuals as well as to societies. In her doctoral thesis *Translation, Biology, Intercourse: Studies on Arthur Waley's Sinological Strategies*, Ji Ailian (冀爱莲) in addition to a detailed study of Waley's interaction with some prominent figures including Ding Wenjiang (丁文江), Xu Zhimo (徐志摩), Hu Shi (胡适) and Xiao Qian (萧乾) (Ji, 2010), considered Waley to have involvement in three main social circles that strongly affected him, and his scholarship in Sinology: The Poets' Club, Bloomsbury Group and Chinese literati. Western researchers, however, often cite the two

most influential societies with which Waley was connected as being the Fabian Society and Bloomsbury Group. Considering the influence of the Fabian Society on Waley's political ideas for example, de Gruchy's examination of Waley's days in Cambridge, and his exposure to the Fabian Society, confirms Waley's anti-imperialist political views as well as his sympathy for East-Asian culture (De Gruchy, 1999). The Cambridge Fabian Society was a socialist group with all kinds of avant-garde thinking, and importantly, a "socialist platform for the arts" (53). The Fabians were "obviously and inevitably influenced" by people such as Sidney Webb, Beatrice Webb,[71] and H. G. Wells, who were admirers of the Japanese nation and culture (50-51). The political, cultural and poetic atmosphere of the Fabians may have influenced Waley through their pro-Japan views, although some were, from a current perspective, seen to be full of racism and nationalism. This may well have been one of the things that drew him into studying Japanese.

As an anti-imperialist, Waley might not have commented directly on the positive bias some Fabians held for Japan. His later work diverted from Japanese to Chinese, and showed much sympathy for China. Waley published about forty books in his life, of which twenty-eight books (including translations) were Chinese related (compared with only ten translations from Japanese). His last books on Japan were published in the early 1930s before the Second World War broke out. After that, Waley focused on Chinese studies, mainly on studying, translating, and introducing Chinese poems and philosophy. His anti-imperialist views and sympathy towards China were more obviously reflected in *The Opium War through Chinese Eyes* ([1958] 1960), in which Waley chiefly "translate(d) and put into their setting a number of intimate documents, such as diaries, autobiographies and confessions which tell us (in a way that memorials and decrees fail to do) what the war felt like on the Chinese side" (Waley, 1960: 7).

Before Waley took up the translation of *Journey to The West*, he had already displayed his deep knowledge of East-Asian Literature and culture as a productive author who published widely, including original poems, academic monographs, articles and translations. His fame was reflected in a meeting between Mr. Kudō Shinichirō and Waley at the beginning of the Second World War, as recorded in Morris' article "The Genius of Arthur Waley": "Mr. Kudō

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[71] *The Webbs in Asia: the 1911-12 Travel Diary* written by the Webbs showed defiant opinions on the Japanese that may make readers feel uncomfortable.

and his colleagues were flabbergasted when this censor[72] turned out to be none other than the renowned scholar, Arthur Waley" (Morris, 1970: 82). Furthermore, when Xiao Qian met Waley in the 1940s as a young journalist, Waley had already gained a reputation as a leading authority in Sinology (Ji, 2010)[73]. More straightforward evidence of that is that, by 1941, some twenty-seven books were published[74] either authored or translated by Waley, of which twenty were translations and seven were monographs.

The monographs mainly describe the outcome of his work in the British Museum and his studies of art, e.g. *An Index of Chinese Artists Represented in the Sub-Department of Oriental Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (1922), and *Zen Buddhism and Its Relation to Art* (1922). They also showcase his knowledge of Chinese and Japanese Culture, as presented in, e.g., *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (1939) and *The Originality of Japanese Civilization* (1941) (See Johns, 1988).

The translations can be divided into five categories: poems, novels, plays, Chinese classic texts and miscellanea. Poems constituted the majority of the translations – there were nine published books of poetry translation before 1941, and apart from one collection of Japanese poems, the rest were translated from Chinese poetry, including the famous *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* (1918), *The Temple and Other Poems* (1923), and *The Book of Songs* (1937). Novels were the second most frequently translated genre. Yet before *Journey to the West* was translated, all the original texts were selected from Japanese novels. Among the seven translations of novels, six volumes published from 1925 to 1933 constituted the massive *The Tale of Genji*, and the translation of a short story published in 1929 entitled *The Lady Who Loved Insects*. The remaining four translations contain one play from Japanese: *The Nō Plays of Japan* (1921); two miscellanea from both Japanese and Chinese: *The Pillow-*

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[72] Waley worked in the Ministry of information as a news censor during World War II.

[73] The thesis was in Chinese, and the related discussion reads: "…与前几位学人不同，萧乾是以青年记者的身份出现在韦利面前的。丁文江结识的韦利仅是初涉汉学的一位小小研究者，徐志摩结识的韦利是小有名气的师兄，胡适眼里的韦利是可以谈学论道的知名学者，40 年代的韦利已是声名显赫的汉学界泰斗。("…Unlike the previous literati, Xiao Qian met Waley as a young journalist. When Ding Wenjiang made acquaintance with Waley, Waley was only an oblivious researcher who had just embarked on Sinology. When Xu Zhimo met him, Waley was moderately well-known alumnus. To Hu Shi, Waley was a famous scholar with whom he could discuss and exchange ideas. By the 1940s, Waley had already been a leading authority in Sinology with profound eminence." [translated by author of this thesis]") (Ji, 2010: 219) Ji outlined Waley's growth from an oblivious researcher in Chinese to a renowned Sinologist in her exploration of Waley's relationship with Chinese literati.

[74] There were in fact 28 books printed but 27 published. The first book *Chinese Poems* was printed but not published. See Johns, 1988.

Book of Sei Shōnagon (1928), and *The Travels of an Alchemist* (1931)[75]; and one classic text from Chinese: *The Analects of Confucius* (1938) (See Johns, 1988).[76]

It is interesting to consider Waley's philosophy of translation as a productive and prominent translator. His friends agreed that Waley aimed to translate for the general English reader. For example, Robinson regarded Waley's translation of Chinese philosophy and poetry as produced with an obvious concern for "the ordinary reader", and led by an ideal that "the general English reading public should at least be given the chance to learn something of the philosophies and literature that had helped to shape the extraordinary civilisation of China" (Robinson, 1967: 60).

Reviewers and researchers hold the same arguement. For example, Johns believed that Waley's work was reader-friendly. Though teamed with deep scholarship, Waley's text was always made easily accessible by constraining the academic, and the technical, "in appendices, notes on sources, and additional notes" (Johns, 1983: 182). "His indubitable authority made him usable, while his style and clarity, uncrushed by the weight of erudition and enhanced by the reticence and brevity which he admired in Chinese literature, made him readable" (ibid.).

Above all, as expressed in prefaces to some of his translations from Chinese poems and classic texts, such as *The One Hundred and Seventy Poems*, *The Way and Its Power*, and *Yuan Mei*, Waley, in order to meet the needs of the general reader, constantly and clearly expressed his awareness of never raising the academic bar too high by adding technical words. For example, he apologised for the difficult translation text in *The Analects*: "The present book is somewhat dry and technical in character. But I would not have it supposed that I have definitely abandoned literature for learning or forgotten the claims of the ordinary reader. My next book, *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*, will be wholly devoid of technicalities…" (Waley, [1938] 1956: 11).

Indeed, Waley's work was popular among more general readers. To take Waley's first published translation[77] *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese poems* as an example, the first edition

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[75] The full book title reads *The Travels of an Alchemist – The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-Ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan*. The book was part of the series *The Broadway Travellers* edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power.
[76] See Johns 1983 for a categorisation of all published books and articles by Waley between 1916 and 1964.

of the translation was re-printed eleven times after 1918, and by November 1946, there were altogether twelve impressions of the edition. The second edition was produced in 1962 with a new introduction by Waley and was re-printed in 1987. There were also American editions of the book, which comprised a deluxe edition (six impressions) and a popular edition (four impressions), and adaptations of the book were further produced (see Johns 1988).

Numerous reviews and studies have been undertaken on Waley, converging on his translation of ancient Chinese poetry, for instance, Cranmer-Byng, 1918; Pound, 1918; Monroe, 1920; Warson, 1976; Cheung, 1979, and more recently, He, 2005; Cheng, 2009; Hu, 2009; and Liang, 2015, together with those listed in Johns 1988 (see Johns 1988 "Book Reviews" and "Materials on Arthur Waley") and those previously mentioned in this thesis.

Since so much strenuous labour has been undertaken in previous research, this thesis does not repeat the discussions of the exceptional achievements, and profound influence, of Waley on the translation of Chinese literature and the development of English poetry, nor on his translation strategies and their effect. Exposition on some of those topics can be found in the studies mentioned above and in Chapter 2. This thesis, mainly in Chapter 4, will focus on Waley as an actor who participated throughout the *Monkey* project in shaping versions of the translation, during which his actions and interactions with other actors defined his multiple roles. This also applies to other contributors to the project.

3.1.2 Stanley Unwin and the publishing company George Allen & Unwin

Stanley Unwin was born in southeast London and brought up in a nonconformist family with eight older brothers and sisters. His father, Edward Unwin, was in charge of the printing firm of Unwin Brothers with his brother, Stanley Unwin's uncle, George Unwin. The firm was initially established by Stanely Unwin's grandfather Jacob Unwin in 1826 and is considered to be one of the oldest printing companies in Britain. His mother, Elizabeth Unwin, was the second eldest of the ten children of James Spicer, the founder of paper firm Spicers.

A devastating fire burned the premises of the Unwin Brothers to the ground, causing a financial crisis for Edward Unwin, who could no longer afford to support S. Unwin's

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[77] Compared to Waley's first book *Chinese Poems*, which was privately printed in 1916.

education. S. Unwin, still a teenager at that time, decided to earn his own living in order to help his father. For a few years he lived a "strenuous" (Unwin, 1960: 59) life working as an office boy in a ship and insurance brokers, and during this period, he seems to have displayed a gift for doing business, with sidelines such as starting a small stamp business and investing in the National Telephone Company Debentures (Unwin, 1960).

S. Unwin was asked to join T. Fisher Unwin's business as a publisher shortly afterwards, which had a significance influence on his later career. He admitted in his autobiography that "(A)t that moment it may, I suppose, be said that my career as a publisher began" (Unwin, 1960: 64). Before joining T. F. Unwin, he had already gained some preliminary publishing experience from a nine-month sojourn in Germany, and three months of printing work experience in his father's firm. S. Unwin learned a lot and progressed quickly under T. F. Fisher's guidance, and gradually became influential in the business. Due to some disputes between the two, however, S. Unwin resigned in 1912 and left to establish his own firm.

In 1914, S. Unwin purchased a controlling interest in a bankrupt firm named George Allen & Co. and re-established it as George Allen & Unwin Ltd. The publishing house George Allen & Co. had been founded after a merger with Swan Sonnenschein. Denniston was impressed by S. Unwin's careful examination of the publishing lists of the two firms (George Allen & Co. and Swan Sonnenschein), and agreed with J. Potter's view that S. Unwin was attracted by the Swan Sonnenschein component – due to the author list which included a vast range of prominent names from Marx to Freud (Denniston, 2008). This unusual literary taste was reflected in the books subsequently published by George Allen & Unwin. Unwin had a preference for "serious works of scholarship" (ibid.) over fiction, as could be judged from the works published and their authors, among them Mohandas K. Gandhi, Bertrand Russell, Arthur Waley, and Leonard Woolf. The company did, however, publish quality novels as well as translations of foreign novels, two distinguished examples being *The Hobbit* (1937) by J. R. R. Tolkien, which was later developed into the famous *The Lord of the Rings* (1954-1955), and the translation *Monkey* (1942).

S. Unwin worked with exceptional diligence, and "rarely missed a day in his office and attended every Allen and Unwin board meeting until two months before his death" (Denniston, 2008). He checked his letterbox constantly and managed to deal with as many problems as possible in person, from important decisions to trivial matters. This is attested to

by the voluminous letters exchanged between him and the authors. In addition to working at his own company, S. Unwin engaged in various organisations such as the British Council, Publishers Association and International Congress of Publishers. His good habits of reflecting and recording led him to author several books on publishing and his life. Examples include *The Truth about Publishing*, first published in 1926, and *The Truth about a Publisher*, first published in 1960, both of which provide valuable data for this thesis.

S. Unwin made an extensive contribution to the publishing industry and beyond. He was influential in a socio-political sense in Britain, and throughout the world in many ways. For example, by publishing a massive quantity of literary, political, and philosophical books of high quality, many of which were avant-garde, or were considered radical and revolutionary at the time, and by fighting against book censorship and for democracy and freedom in publishing. He also established the Stanley Unwin Foundation, which later became the Unwin Charitable Trust, to provide training in the book trade. Under the entry "Unwin, Sir Stanley (1884-1968)" in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Denniston ended by an evaluation of Unwin's life, career and contribution with the following words:

> When Stanley Unwin died in London on 13 October 1968, at University College Hospital, he was widely recognised as one of the architects of the British, and indeed the international book trade; as a publisher of the highest standards of probity in business matters as well as in quality of the books he published; and as a personality, not without weaknesses, reasonably self-righteous, but one who had contributed importantly to the life and well-being of his country over half a century (Denniston, 2008).

3.1.3 Duncan Grant

Duncan Grant, a British painter and designer, was born the son of an army major in Scotland in 1885. His family moved to Indian and Burma for about seven years from when Grant was only two years old. Much of Grant's childhood was spent in those two countries, which has been considered as having exerted an early, and heavy, influence on Grant's artistic creativity. Grant himself also admitted this. An example, citing Grant's own words, comes from David Alan Mellor who commented that the East-Asian countries were "persistent referents within Grant's orientalist visual imagination" (2012: 55).

After returning to Britain, Grant first attended Hillbrow School, a boys' preparatory school, where he became interested in Japanese prints, before being enrolled at St Paul's School, London, and later, Westminster School of Art. At around the same time when he studied in the latter two schools in London, he lived with the family of Sir Richard and Lady Strachey. That was also the period when Grant's future of becoming an artist was incubated, with Lady Strachey's influence, encouragement and help, and through his exposure to famous painters and a good education in art. Furthermore, Roger Fry and his "Manet and the Post-impressionists" exhibition in 1910 were believed to have deeply influenced Grant (Spalding, 1998; Shone, 1999).

Like Waley, Grant was a member of the Bloomsbury Group. He belonged to the core and was connected very closely with the founding of the Group. For example, Giles Lytton Strachey, the son of Lady Strachey and Grant's cousin, whom Grant lived with in his youth, became one of the founders of the Bloomsbury Group. It was through Strachey that Grant was introduced into the Group. Grant also developed close friendships with Adrian Stephen and Virginia Woolf, his neighbours in Fitzroy Square. Furthermore, two of his lovers - John Maynard Keynes and Vanessa Bell - were both prominent members of the Group, and achieved greatness in economics (Keynes) and in painting (Bell) (Spalding, 1998; Shone, 1999).

Grant's famous paintings include *Portrait of James Strachey* 1909, *Portrait of Vanessa Bell* 1915, *The Dancers* 1917, *Venus and Adonis* 1919, *South of France* 1922, *The Portrait of a Woman* 1928. In addition to painting, Grant was also famous as a decorator, painting murals and cupboards, and designing textile and pottery patterns. He painted the murals for Keynes's rooms in Webb's Court at Kings College, Cambridge in 1910-1911; he painted murals, *Bathing* and *Football*, for the Borough Polytechnic and between 1919 and 1921, he re-decorated the Keynes's rooms with Bell. He was, furthermore, often commissioned to design theatre settings and costumes for plays and operas, such as *The Twelfth Night* in 1913 and *Pélleas et Mélisande* 1917 (see Shone, 1976 for more).

Richard Shone opposed "indiscriminate adulation and unjustified neglect" (Shone, 1975: 186) of Grant's works and his contribution to modern English art. The objective criticisms he made facilitate understanding of Grant's work. He calls *The Lemon Gatherers* "a curiously

disappointing picture" and *Girl at the Piano* "the least satisfactory, a cluttered composition with passages of muddy colour, reds and browns thumping out their surface echoes" (ibid.). To the contrary, however, the majority of Grant's work was considered extraordinary. His art had strong and unique personal characteristics, "sensuous, poetic, contemplative" (ibid.), as were particularly obvious in *The Dancers*, and *Abstract Kinetic Collage Painting with Sound* (1914) was considered "Grant's most radical contribution to the new movement in England and indeed a pioneering work in European abstraction" (ibid.).

This has been a very general introduction of Duncan Grant's life and art. Further reference to Shone's other works on Bloomsbury art and on Grant's art, can be found in the biography of Grant written by Frances Spalding, and other works on Grant.

Having provided basic background knowledge on the three individuals most closely connected with the translation project: Waley, the translator, S. Unwin, the publisher, and Grant, the designer of the title page and the jacket, and also the publishing house, this thesis proceeds to give a detailed account of the *Monkey* project.

3.2 The *Monkey* project: a translation under production (1941-1942)[78]

This section focuses on the production activity when the *Monkey* project was mainly developed within George Allen & Unwin between 1941 and 1942, during the period when the original edition of *Monkey* was under production and publication. This period mainly covers seven phases: translation of the original fiction, initiation of the translation project, book design, proofreading, printing, binding, and marketing. These phases are described in the following five sub-sections, with designing and proofreading, and printing and binding being merged respectively into the same sections (3.2.3 and 3.2.4), in view of their concurrence or close connection.

Interestingly, most of the phases have their own distinct traits: the translator enjoyed much freedom during translating; the publisher showed eagerness in launching the translation project; the designer and the publisher demonstrated exceptional care in making the

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[78] It should be made clear that all the accounts of the story of the translation project are made based on the correspondence relating to the publication of the translation, which is preserved in the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd, University of Reading, Special Collections.

translation eye-catching; the phases of printing, binding and re-printing all experienced difficulties due to lack of paper or/and labour; the book marketing was intense in the first month and slowed down steadily thereafter.

3.2.1 Freedom in translation

In 1941, S. Unwin knew that Waley had been working on a translation of *Journey to the West*, since Waley had mentioned it to him earlier. He wrote to Waley, courteously expressing his great interest in Waley's progress in translating this book though he could not (re)call the title of the Chinese original but referring to it as '*Journey to the West*' (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 25 September 1941), which is the literal English translation of the Chinese title. Before that time, there were few excerpts or adapted translations of the fiction and only two relatively complete translations published as independent books[79]. None of those translations used "*Journey to the West*" as the title until the 1970s and the 1980s when Jenner and Yu both used it for their voluminous and complete translations of the original novel.

Waley replied immediately that they should meet on the first of October, when he would take the typescript of the translation with him for S. Unwin to review. In his letter, he expressed his earnestness to publish the translation with S. Unwin, and his willingness to talk about its publication soon (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 25 September 1941).

In less than two weeks, S. Unwin confirmed receipt of the typescript of *Monkey* and his readiness to read the translation (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 8 October). After another two weeks, Waley received a response from S. Unwin. Though the tone of the letter was as polite and formal as S. Unwin's previous letters, the reader cannot overlook S. Unwin's eagerness to publish the translation by the exceptional length of the letter, in which the translation was highly praised, many questions about the best ways to publish the translation were raised, and issues regarding the agreement for publication were also formally put forward (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 October 1941).

As can be gathered from the correspondence above, Waley was quite independent in the process of translating the Chinese original. He worked on his own in deciding to translate the

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[79] See section 2.2 in Chapter 2 for a discussion on English translations of *Journey to the West*.

novel and in designing translation strategies. The translation was not commissioned from Waley by the publisher. Instead, translating *Journey to the West* was Waley's own decision, and the publisher knew neither the original nor the fact that the work was under translation until Waley spoke about them. The translator took the initiative to speak about the translation with the publisher while the translation was still work in progress so that as soon as the translation was completed, S. Unwin could evaluate it for possible publication. As a result, translation work had started much earlier than the initiation of the *Monkey* project.

Waley believed in free choice of texts for translation. For example, in an article included in an anthology edited by Morris under the title "Notes on Translation (1958)" (Waley, [1958]1970), he once expressed his belief that the translator should be the one who chose what to translate. After criticising the institutional way of conducting the translation of 'masterpieces' and how they "ought to be translated" (163), in which translators were gathered together and allocated a particular translation task, Waley proceeded to give his own opinion on the importance of freedom and enthusiasm in translation:

> What matters is that a translator should have been excited by the work he translates, should be haunted day and night by the feeling that he *must* put it into his own language, and should be in a state of restlessness and fret till he has done so. … let the translator read widely and choose the things that excite him and that he itches to put into English (ibid.).

Waley worked away from, and independently of, the publishing house. He was not a member of staff at George Allen & Unwin, nor did the publishing company employ him in any other capacity. Instead, Waley worked for the Ministry of Information (MoI) during the Second World War, which happened to be the period when *Monkey* was translated, proofread, designed, advertised, printed and finally published and then re-printed four times.

As has been mentioned previously, Waley was often attributed with a quiet and detached character and his working habits gained him the reputation of a "private scholar". The details Robinson described when Waley was in the middle of writing *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang* in 1958 reveal, to some extent, his independent working habits, especially when Waley was described as a scholar who worked with a minimal supply of resources – the text

and necessary stationery. The question of how his companions affected the translation of *Monkey*[80] cannot be assessed, as there is no firm evidence relating to this so far.

At that time in Britain, there were very few British people who knew Chinese and even fewer were acknowledged as Sinologists who had as profound an understanding of Chinese language and culture as Waley, and who were immersed as deeply in translating Chinese classics. S. Unwin did not understand Chinese although he was responsible for reading and evaluating the translation (on completion by Waley), so he could not interfere in the translation process, and there is no extant evidence of his interference. He could not evaluate the translation from the point of view of a translator on, for example, translation strategies, but only as a reader reading a piece of English literature. According to the correspondence, S. Unwin respected Waley's scholarship and did not raise any questions, or point out any flaws on the translation even from the point of view of an English novel. He liked the translation, or the work he read in English, very much and began to plan for publication only two weeks after receiving the typescript of *Monkey*, leaving no room for, and no evidence of, his influence on either the translation process or the translation result.

The "Preface" for *Monkey* written by the translator himself further supports the argument that Waley translated the book quite independently. Short, but compact, the preface focused on explaining why the translator chose to translate *Journey to the West* (referred to as "*Monkey*" in the preface), how he translated it, and why he decided to translate in that particular way.[81] The simple response to the first question of 'why' included the rich history on which the original work is based, the beauty and profundity of the novel and its high status in Chinese literature. A response to the second question of 'how' involves quite specific and operational translation strategies, including choosing what to translate and what not, and retaining the Chinese colloquial meaning as much as possible. The answer to the last question of 'why' involves the translator's opinion on previous translations of the original, which in turn reflected his ideal of producing a very different translation.

There were no other factors or agents mentioned that affected the translator's choice of the original text, and his translation methods, in the translator's preface or in the relevant

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[80] Robinson (1967) recalled that Waley would read his work and share it with his friends when describing Waley's working habit (see also the quotation in section 3.1.1).

[81] See Chapter 6 for more detailed discussion on the translator's own explanation of the three questions.

correspondence. There were only references to the value and beauty of the book, the unsatisfactory status of the previous translations, and Waley's interest in keeping the colloquial Chinese of the original. Not only that, but later correspondence exchanged between Waley and the publisher regarding proofreading of the translation evidences that the responsibility for proofreading the manuscript again fell entirely on Waley, who was completely independent, and geographically detached, from the publisher in performing the task[82].

Judging from the preface of the translation, the correspondence between Waley and Unwin, the work pattern set between the two, Waley's working habits, and his exceptional expertise in Sinology, it can be inferred that Waley enjoyed huge freedom in the process of translating the Chinese original. He worked on his own and there was no sign of any other agent, publisher, editor or proofreader in particular, who could have interfered with his translation work for publication purposes as is constantly experienced by many translators (cf. Bogic, 2010).

3.2.2 Eagerness in initiating the *Monkey* project

The publisher was eager to publish *Monkey*. S. Unwin's long letter expressing his eagerness to publish the translation (letter from S. Unwin to Waley) marked the beginning of a new phase: the initiation of the *Monkey* project. During this period, the publisher made a set of arrangements to prepare for the translation project, which, according to the correspondence, included acquiring the rights for publication and designing a form for the new book. It only took a few days from the date when the decision to publish the translation was made, to the time when the preparations were ready. Such efficiency, in wartime, reflects the publisher's great interest in the book.

In under ten days, the agreement was drafted and signed by both sides, i.e. publisher George Allen & Unwin and translator Arthur Waley (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 31 October 1941[83]). Although it was not clear whether the publisher had made a detailed plan to publish the translation, it was true that the publication environment was considered (letter from S.

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[82] See section 3.2.3.2 for more.
[83] S. Unwin sent two letters to Waley on 31 October 1941. One was about the agreement with the translator and a descriptive paragraph about *Monkey*, the other was about looking for a designer for the translation.

Unwin to Waley, 22 October 1941), and the form of the book was decided – S. Unwin asked Waley for a descriptive paragraph of *Monkey* and also to suggest a Chinese artist who would be able to design a title page and a colour jacket for the book (two letters from S. Unwin to Waley, 31 October 1941).

Interestingly, the publisher's earnestness to publish *Monkey* even caused misunderstanding for the designer who joined the project later. The designer assumed S. Unwin was very anxious to have the designs "shortly" and was prepared to start working "as soon as possible" once he had received the proofs of the text (of *Monkey*) that S. Unwin promised to send (correspondence between S. Unwin and Grant, 7 and 9 November 1941).

3.2.3 Proofreading the translation and making it eye-catching

This section combines two phases of the *Monkey* project: the design of the jacket and title page of the translation and proofreading of the draft translation. Compared to proofreading, which was a relatively smooth process, the design phase seemed quite a difficult task in wartime Britain, with raw material shortages and technical problems happening constantly. Moreover, the proofreader, Waley (also the translator), remained detached and worked quite independently, whereas the designer, Grant, maintained constant contact with the publisher, especially after the design drawings were sent to production and being made into design proofs for mass printing.

3.2.3.1 Securing a designer

Waley only knew one Chinese artist, named Chiang Yee, in England at that time, and as it happened Waley did not like Chiang's work at all. Instead, he preferred the work of his friend, Duncan Grant, whose art was largely influenced by post-impressionism, unique in expression, and bold in colours and lines. Waley believed that Grant would be a suitable candidate for the job and that his design would be very interesting if he was free to use his imagination. Considering the publisher's concerns on budget, Waley also suggested that Grant would probably accept the job on moderate terms (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 3 November 1941).

S. Unwin immediately contacted Grant. His letter arrived enclosing a descriptive paragraph of *Monkey*, outlining the situation, and offering the job to Grant. At the same time, another letter was sent from Waley to Grant regarding the matter. Grant soon decided to accept S. Unwin's offer and promised to take the job for the usual payment. Meanwhile, he also expressed that he was able to start the work immediately after receiving the proof if the publisher was in a rush (correspondence between S. Unwin and Grant, 7 and 9 November 1941).

S. Unwin was very happy to recruit Grant to do the design work. He first explained to Grant that the publisher was not in a great hurry to get the designs, as they did not plan to publish the book until after the spring of 1942; moreover, the proofs of the text would not be ready for at least a month (letter from S. Unwin to Grant, 12 November 1941). What the publisher really wanted to do was to take the time to work with Grant to secure a good design for the *Monkey* project – S. Unwin quickly proceeded to agree with Grant the details of the job and payment for the design of both the jacket and the title page (ibid.).

3.2.3.2 Simultaneous proofreading and designing

After S. Unwin succeeded in recruiting Grant as the designer, he seemed to hand the rest of the work regarding design to the production department of the publishing company. The production department considered the typesetting of *Monkey* carefully. The typographer, David Unwin, the apparent overseer of the department, understood that *Monkey* was a different type of book and suggested a new typesetting for it. By combining Grant's designs and the new typesetting, the department hoped to produce a book that would stand out from the masses of ordinary books. By mid-November 1941, two specimen pages of *Monkey* had already been prepared. One was produced using conventional typesetting, the other using the new style of setting, which were sent together to Waley for his opinion (letter from D. Unwin to Waley, 14 November 1941).

About a month later, in December 1941, the production department of George Allen & Unwin started to send page proofs to Waley for proofreading. The page proofs were divided into several sets according to alphabetic order, and sent in duplicate with the corresponding manuscripts separately in the last few weeks of 1941. In addition, another document was sent together with each set of the page proofs and manuscripts, in which each set was filed and

recorded and the instructions for the proofreader were given (letters from the production department to Waley, 14 November, and 18, 19, 24, and 30 December 1941).

One day after each set of the page proofs were sent out (one after another) to Waley, Grant received a letter enclosed with all the page proofs and the measurements for the jacket from D. Unwin from the production department. The letter, similar to the documents sent to Waley, gave some instructions, not in how to make the designs but, for example, details of the sizes and the layouts of both the title page and jacket (letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 1 January 1942).

Up until then, the page proofs were sent to both the translator and the designer, although for different purposes. They went to the translator for proofreading and the designer for reading and understanding the story to better inform the designs. By sending out the documents needed, especially the page proofs and instructions, the publisher aimed to arrange a pair of simultaneous working lines outside the publishing company.

A few more discussions between Grant and D. Unwin on instructions concerning the use of colours for the title page and the jacket followed in the first days in January (correspondence between D. Unwin to Grant, 4 and 6 January 1942), after which no more correspondence was shown to have been exchanged between any one of the three parties until near the end of January. When Waley started the proofreading work is not clear, but Waley reported in a letter that he had completed correcting the page proofs, which were enclosed with that letter. He also expressed his concern about the progress of the designs, asking if the publisher had specified a deadline to Grant, and enquired after the possibility of exporting *Monkey* to America (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 20 January 1942).

Upon receiving good news from Waley (and also his concern and enquiry), D. Unwin delivered it to Grant the very next day, explaining that the corrected proofs would be sent for printing very soon, and they would need the title page design in a few days in order to complete printing the text of *Monkey*. If Grant could not send the design for the title page however, he needed to offer the publisher an estimated time for completion so that the latter could make better arrangements with the printing staff (letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 22 January 1942). At the same time, S. Unwin replied to Waley's enquiry on the same day, reassuring Waley that they had already informed Grant of the new progress, and that though

Grant had not been provided with a deadline, he had been urged to send the title page first (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 January 1942).

Grant confirmed with D. Unwin the very next day that he could finish both the title page and the jacket designs by Monday, but also explained that he needed to ask for Waley's opinion before handing them in, whom he would telephone on Tuesday morning to make an appointment to show the designs (23 January1942, letter from Grant to D. Unwin).

3.2.3.3 Turbulence in reproducing the jacket design

By 28 January, D. Unwin returned both the designs to Grant and sent the preliminary designs that were requested by him. He told Grant that though satisfied with the designs, he and S. Unwin suggested a change to the jacket design, which was, to reverse the image of the monkey by turning its head to the front and tail to the back of the book. This reversal also meant that the title of the book had to appear with the tail on the back of the book. They (D. Unwin and S. Unwin) justified this as *Monkey* was not a conventional book so its title did not have to appear on the front as is the usual practice. It was an efficient decision: Grant did not need to make any changes to the jacket design, as it could be reversed in the process of producing the proofs of the design. Moreover, D. Unwin told Grant in advance that he would send some sample shades of brown for Grant to choose from and also a proof of the title page in colour for Grant's opinion. Grant explained to D. Unwin that it accorded with the character of the monkey to put its tail on the front of the book, but he still left the decision to the Unwins' taste (correspondence between D. Unwin and Grant, 28 January and 1 February 1942).

Two days later, D. Unwin asked Grant to return the rough design of the jacket because according to the block maker it would be better to photograph the rough sketch than to use the final drawing in order to reproduce the jacket. Although satisfied with the final design and surprised by the block maker's suggestion, D. Unwin continued to say, "It is not the first time that we have found the camera more sympathetic to the rough design than to the original"[84]. He reassured Grant by saying that there was nothing wrong with the final design and promised to send the reproduction of the rough as well as the final design to Grant for

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[84] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)

comparison once the reproduction was made. Unwin agreed and sent the rough sketch (correspondence between D. Unwin to Grant, 3 and 5 February 1942).

D. Unwin thanked Grant for the rough and told him the block maker also suggested lithographic printing for reproduction of the jacket. The publisher therefore had two methods of reproducing the jacket by this point: to take a photo of the rough sketch, or to go into a lithographic printing with the first sketch, that was more suitable as it had softer tones. In addition, D. Unwin asked Grant's opinion about the colour of the binding cloth. In fact, Grant had chosen a lilac-colour cloth for binding, but the binder failed to supply it. D. Unwin had to ask Grant again to choose another colour from the three cloth samples obtained and enclosed in the letter, coloured pink, orange and yellow. Considering the colour for the flowers and lettering was yellow, D. Unwin suspected a yellow binding would not highlight the lettering enough, but expressed his respect for Grant's opinion if he preferred yellow (letter from D. Unwin to Grant 7 February 1942).

Grant agreed with D. Unwin's opinion about yellow, as the colour was too close to that of the lettering. He chose, and returned, his favourite coloured cloth from the samples, which in his opinion would suit the jacket well (letter from D. Grant to Unwin, 7 February 1942). The chosen cloth sample, like many other enclosed materials, is no longer preserved together with the letter in the archive, but the colour Grant chose was highly probably orange, which was proved by the book with an orange binding that was produced a few months later.

Nearly a month passed before the proofs of the title page and those of the jacket were reproduced according to Grant's designs and sent to Grant for inspection. D. Unwin explained to Grant that though the design had been simplified in reproduction, its spirit had been preserved, hoping Grant would agree with the simplified jacket design so that they could start to print it as soon as possible: "we are anxious to proceed with the printing". D. Unwin sent the jacket design proof to Waley on the same day, hoping to get the translator's approval for the jacket proof (letters from D. Unwin to Waley, 20 and 26 February 1942; letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 26 February 1942).

Grant replied with a long letter immediately on the same day. He agreed that the "general disposition" (letter from Grant to D. Unwin, 26 February 1942) of the design was not damaged but felt that his design had been re-drawn by other people, in which case he could

not give consent to publish the re-drawing as his work, in spite of the publisher's anxious wish to proceed. Instead of a simplified re-drawing, Grant proposed to photograph his drawing on zinc as an alternative method if it was faster than lithography printing. To accelerate the process, he even conceded that the design could be printed in black on coloured paper. Furthermore, as there was some problem with the colour, possibly because of the method of mixing the inks, Grant asked if there was time to re-print a colour proof and sent it to him. The letter ended with a telephone number that Grant provided in case the publisher needed to get in touch for further arrangements (ibid.).

Unfortunately, D. Unwin was not in the office at that time. Someone (it is difficult to discern the signature) took over the matter, and after communicating the situation with David Unwin over the telephone, the person admitted to Grant that the engraver's artist had re-drawn Grant's design, but explained that the action had been done "entirely contrary" (letter from the person concerned to Grant, 3 March 1942) to their instructions. In that case, the publishing company promised to abandon the re-drawing and undertake a new attempt to reproduce the design through direct lithography. Turning to the problem of the colour, it was considered that "half-tone would be the safest medium" (ibid.) due to the fact that a large number of capable craftsmen had been called away to the battlefields of the Second World War, leading to a decreased standard in lithography (ibid.).

The engraver took the design away from the publisher in order to devise the best way to reproduce the jacket design, and later proposed to use offset lithography to substitute for direct lithography in half-tone, which was regarded as the only method to achieve the soft effect of the design (letter from the person concerned to Grant, 10 March 1942).

Almost six weeks later, the new proofs of the title page and the jacket were finally produced for the second time and sent to Grant for inspection. D. Unwin, who had returned to the office, told Grant that the jacket proof, produced photographically at last, was significantly improved. He also consulted Grant on the colour of the lettering on the jacket, and also the colour of the title page drawing and lettering. In David Unwin's opinion, the colour of the lettering in the jacket might be strengthened from yellow to orange so that the title of *Monkey* could be more striking and a better match with the binding cloth. To visualise the suggestion and to make comparison of the jacket proofs in different colours easier, a specimen case of the jacket with orange flowers and lettering and the orange coloured binding was sent with

the other design proofs. With regard to the colour of the title page, D. Unwin was uncertain about the brown tone that was used for the drawing and whether the black lettering pulled by the printers should be changed to the brown used in the drawing. Moreover, it was promised that Grant's name should appear in the final design, and six copies of which would be sent to Grant. By ending the letter, David Unwin went on to explain that a cheque for Grant's work was also enclosed in the letter along with the proofs and the specimen case, as mentioned above. The payment was ten guineas as agreed at the beginning by both sides (letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 21 April 1942).

There were in fact three groups of materials enclosed with the letter: first, new proofs of the jacket and title page for Grant's approval; second, a specimen case of the jacket with orange flowers and lettering and the orange coloured binding; and third, a cheque to pay for Grant's design work. Grant was politely requested to return the specimen case and title page proof and keep the jacket proof as he wished (letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 21 April 1942).

Grant thanked D. Unwin for his letter, the cheque and also the jacket proof before expressing his satisfaction with the work for the new jacket proof. He compared it with the one with orange lettering and claimed his preference to have a lemon yellow colour to match the blue-grey background, suggesting that the effect would increase if the publisher could make the yellow stronger. The title page proof was also admirable but the brown was too red to contrast with the orange shapes in the tortoise. Grant therefore advised them to use the same brown colour for the title page drawing as that for the monkey in the jacket, and to change its lettering to the same brown as its drawing (letter from Grant to D. Unwin, 23 April 1942).

Nearly another month had passed before the jackets of the translation were finally manufactured according to the new proofs, with further changes to the yellow and brown colours. Grant received the jackets of *Monkey* as promised by D. Unwin, who happily called the effect "very striking", being sure that the book would "brighten the shop window", and also brought the news that *Monkey* was expected to be published in July (letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 22 May 1942).

After a further fortnight, Grant apologised for his late gratitude for the jackets. He agreed with D. Unwin's words that although he had anticipated a brighter yellow, the colour was quite good. In Grant's opinion it was all worth the trouble to make the jacket better than the

first production. Delivering his good wishes to D. Unwin, he believed that the book would be a success (letter from Grant to D. Unwin, 4 June 1942).

The design phase then ended, more than four months after proofreading was finished. It was one of the longest, and the most complicated, phases of publication. There were many people involved, for example, publisher S. Unwin, typographer D. Unwin, who also oversaw the phase, translator Waley, designer Grant, the engraver, block maker, engraver's artist, and the person in charge when D. Unwin was away. Many materials, techniques and devices were used, such as paper and ink in different colours, samples of binding cloth, lithography and printing machines. Even the colours used for the letterings of the jacket and the title page - trivial matters to laymen or outsiders, but important aspects that would affect the effect of the jacket that might in turn influence the sales - were carefully considered and discussed in detail by (at least) D. Unwin and Grant. Furthermore, power relations between the Unwins (S. and D.) and Grant led to a translation with a unique look causing a severe delay in the publication process.

3.2.4 Delayed publishing: printing and binding

The difficulties in reproducing the jacket design had already held back the translation project for several months, delaying it from proceeding into the printing phase. The situation was made worse when the binding phase was again delayed. At the end of June 1942, Waley telephoned George Allen & Unwin, enquiring after the publication date of *Monkey*. A staff member answered that the planned date was 9 July 1942, which was valid at that point, however the situation subsequently changed when the binders failed to produce sufficient copies that could be distributed to the booksellers in time. Moreover, struggling to publish on the planned date meant that the book would not have the opportunity of being reviewed on publication. Those being the circumstances, the publishing company postponed the publication date to 23 July, ensuring sufficient supplies and a good review; meanwhile D. Unwin explained the reasons for postponement to both Waley and Grant (letters from D. Unwin to Waley, 3 July 1942; to Grant, 10 July 1942).

There is, however, no indication of the dates for the beginning of the printing and the binding phases, nor were there any particular difficulties mentioned except Unwin's few words concerning the binders' delay, which seemed only a disturbance to both the publisher and the

translator. The ending time of the phases can be inferred from the publication of the book, which was probably in July 1942. Compared to the chaos in the re-printing phase (see discussion in 3.3.1.1), the problems that arose in the printing and binding phase were relatively minor.

3.2.5 Marketing

The marketing of *Monkey* began much earlier, before 23 July 1942, the date of publication of its original edition, and extended into the issuing of a few subsequent reprints. Very few documents relating to the marketing phase that was conducted within the publishing house, were preserved, which exist as scattered information in the letters exchanged between S. Unwin and Waley, and cannot be re-constructed as a story. Perhaps the most informative piece of information is a letter written by S. Unwin a few months after publication of the original edition, in which he called Waley's attention to a review of *Monkey* in *John O'London's Weekly* (enclosed in the letter as usual practice) and suggested that it would be interesting if Waley could answer the question that was raised in the end of the review (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 11 November 1942).

Fortunately, some pieces of the advertisement for *Monkey* placed in newspapers were preserved elsewhere and in particular, in some newspaper digital archives. The following account of the marketing phase of the translation project is based on the materials gathered from the Times Literary Supplement Historical Archive and the Gale Artemis Primary Sources, which may not contain a complete collection of all the materials regarding the publicity of the book, but nevertheless helps immensely to restore part of the marketing phase viewed from the perspective of the reading public.

The publicity campaign can be divided into two periods. The first period lasted for approximately a month, extending from the end of July (after the publication of the original edition *Monkey*) to the end of August. During this period, five advertisements and book reviews appeared, at a rate of one per week, except for the initial week when an advertisement was followed the next day by a book review. Publicity in the second period continued but was not as intensive as in the first month, since the frequency of advertising dropped, and advertisements in *The Times Literary Supplement* (*TLS*), even more compact than the previous ones, became the sole means of publicity. This second period probably

lasted from September 1942 to 1946 when the fifth impression of *Monkey* was issued. An exception in this period was in 1943, when Waley was awarded the James Tait Black Memorial Book Prize for his translation of *Monkey*, the publisher swiftly seized this advertising opportunity for a new wave of sales rounds. After that, advertisement of the translation almost disappeared until it was again simply mentioned in another, separate round of advertising campaigns for Waley's new book *The Real Tripitaka*, which started in early 1952. This may be partly because of the close connection between the two books and partly for the advertising effect for both of the books.

The earliest material for publicity was a review written by W. J. Turner published in *The Spectator* on 31 July 1942, which was just a week after the book's publication.[85] Only one day later, on 1 August 1942, the first advertisement for *Monkey* appeared in the *TLS*, which introduced the work very briefly, with an emphasis on its imagination, humour, and its popularity (not only in its birthplace, China, but also across the wider Far East). The advertisement was swiftly followed by an anonymous review published in the following week's issue of the same newspaper, the *TLS*, which, like all reviews, occupied larger space than newspaper advertisements and was more specific, more eloquent, and certainly more eye-catching. A third review written by Edwin Muir appeared in the succeeding week on 13 August in another weekly magazine, *The Listener*, before an advertisement was placed again in the *TLS* about a week later. This time, the content was different from the first advertisement. The brief introduction was substituted with a short quotation from a Maurice Collis' review in *Time & Tide*, which hailed *Monkey* as a great English literary work, and that Waley was "besides Fitzgerald, … the only translator of genius" in the modern era (*The TLS*, Saturday, August 22, 1942). These are the materials used for the first period of publicity.

The second period of publicity began with a third advertisement in the *TLS* a month later. It consisted of yet another quotation from the earlier review by Turner. This time, the quoted content focused on the comical value of the fiction which was "so dazzling, delightfully, and, at the same time, humorously depicted" (*The TLS*, Saturday, September 26, 1942). The most exceptional advertisement, the fourth, arrived a few months later in early February 1943 entitled "TRANSLATION OF CHINESE NOVEL – Doctor Wins Tait Black Prize", which was approximately three times the length of the first advertisement, seven times longer than

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[85] See section 2.4.1 of Chapter 2 for more of Turner's reviews of *Monkey*.

the second, and nearly ten times the third. It contained an introduction outlining the prize and the translator Waley, the historical facts that the novel was based on, and an account of the plot. The advertisement contained much information that had never before been introduced to the public in previous publicity campaigns, of which, in particular the historical figure Tripitaka and his pilgrimage, might have interested readers immensely. The next advertisement was made a year later, when the fourth impression of *Monkey* was printed, and the content was the same quotation from Turner as used in the third advertisement, except a concise sentence added in the front: "A 16th century Chinese novel by WU CH'ÊNG-ÊN" (*The Times*, Tuesday February 29, 1944). The sixth advertisement had exactly the same content as its predecessor and also aimed to advocate purchase of the fourth impression. The final advertisement waited more than two years until after the fifth impression came out and was the most concise of all the publicity for *Monkey*: it contained only the title, and the name of the author and the translator, with information on the number of the impression and the book price, that was routinely adhered to the end of almost all advertisements.

These sources show that publicity for *Monkey* was often carried out in newspapers, mainly the *TLS*, in the form of advertisements, and sometimes in magazines, in the form of book reviews. Moreover, the frequency of publicity stayed steady in the first month then decelerated thereafter. In the beginning, book reviews played a greater role, representing three out of five of all publicity materials. The situation reversed in the second period, as all five pieces of material were advertisements. Still, book review seemed a preferred promotional method, as all of the reviews appeared during the first period when the need to market the book was at its highest and most of the advertisements contained quotations from book reviews.

It is necessary to explain that no evidence showed that the book reviews under discussion, as a means of publicity, were originally aimed at boosting sales, and it is unclear whether they were part of the publisher's marketing strategy, whereas the advertisements were obviously the result of the publisher's actions. Yet, regardless of the source of the action and the question of to what extent the reviews helped to exploit the market, their existence already suggested the book had exposure to the public. Or at least, the efforts made to expose the book to the public, which is what advertising, publicity, or marketing means in this thesis. Paradoxically, by adopting this broad definition of 'marketing', the campaign was by no means confined in the above-mentioned ways. Nevertheless, those are traditionally the most

general and lasting means of publicity, and are in practice, accessible to a researcher doing research on the marketing of the translation more than seven decades later.

While publication of the first impression of the original edition of *Monkey* by the George Allen & Unwin was complete, the translation project was far from its end, expanding rapidly both within and outside the UK (see 3.3).

Some readers may find the material in this and the following part trivial. It is argued, however, that detailed accounts from the point of view of the practitioners of the translation project are necessary for the following reasons:

1) From a theoretical point of view, ANT insists that studies of society should pay more attention to what the actors in society do, make or say about society and its development in a concrete social environment (e.g. Callon, 1986a; Latour, [2005] 2007). Descriptions are necessary to record their actions and words which underpin analysis and should be encouraged (ibid.).

2) The importance of a detailed account of the translation project, from the point of view of as many of the major participants as are necessary cannot be emphasised enough. It helps to underpin the whole, panoramic picture of how the translation evolves in real social circumstances; otherwise, many aspects or 'trivial details' that were considered important to the participants in the translation project might be easily overlooked. For example, thorough exploration of the interactions between the participants helps to identify a range of phases of publication, and while little attention has been paid to the design of translations, the account demonstrates that, in practice, design represents a very important and complicated part of translation.

3) All those trivial descriptions are not made in vain, as they lay the foundation for future discussions in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Without them, ANT-guided discussions on the human and nonhuman actors, on their constant actions that kept re-defining their roles and positions in a progressive and dynamic way, and on the *translations*^{ANT} that made the translations (the many versions of *Monkey*) and the overall translation project, would be abrupt and more difficult and alien for unprepared readers to understand.

3.3 The *Monkey* project: from slow to accelerated expansion

This section provides an account of the expansion phase of the translation project. In general, the project expanded through wide dissemination of the various versions of *Monkey* both within the UK and beyond its borders. Between 1942 and 1966, six reprints of the original [GA&U] edition of the translation were circulated in the UK, in addition to the Readers Union, Penguin, and Folio Society editions. American editions of *Monkey*, both the full edition and the juvenile illustrated edition, and at least eight re-translations of *Monkey* (in Spanish, Dutch, German, Indian vernacular languages, Swedish, French and Italian) spread worldwide. A close examination of the evolution of the expansion phase, of one particular translation, from the project participants' point of view, would be both interesting, because it reveals the process of making social connections to disseminate the translation, and refreshing, since very few focused studies from this angle, and on this scale, have been carried out so far.

Before proceeding to an account of this phase of the project, it should be made clear that 1) although this part depicts the expansion of the translation within the UK separately from that beyond the UK, in practice the two lines of expansion are actually entwined and the publisher frequently had to juggle the management of two or more 'sub-projects' at the same time. For example, in 1943, the publisher concurrently produced three reprints of the original edition, two American editions, and the RU edition of *Monkey*. In particular, between August and December 1943, the publisher was simultaneously involved in three parallel 'sub-projects' which required constant mediation between different participants, collaborators and materials. He discussed the production of the American juvenile edition with Walsh, negotiated with Baker for the RU edition, reported to, and consulted with Waley for his consent for the above-mentioned editions, and consoled Waley while sourcing more paper and arranging printers and binders when the production of the 4th impression of their own (the original) edition encountered complications due to materials shortages.

3.3.1 Expanding within the UK

3.3.1.1 Re-printing of *Monkey* in logistical difficulty

There is little recorded information regarding the reprinting of the original edition of *Monkey* in the publishing records, with only two letters about the 2nd impression, one on the 3rd, a few more on the 4th, and none concerning succeeding reprints.

In mid-October 1942, within three months of the publication of the first impression (of the original edition) of *Monkey*, Waley sent to the publisher a list of corrections for the original translation for a re-print (2nd impression) (letter from Unwin[86] to Waley, 13 October 1942). About two months later, the second impression of *Monkey* was bound and ready for release (letter from Unwin[87] to Waley's secretary, 8 December 1942). In early March of the following year, a month ahead of the official issue of the third impression, while the second impression was still in stock, S. Unwin told Waley that the third impression of *Monkey* was ready. This was well planned by the publisher, partly in anticipation of a rise in sales after Waley won the James Tait Black Memorial Prize for the translation, and partly due to past experience. "I did not want to run the risk of being caught out of stock again"[88] was S. Unwin's remark when he reported the new stock to Waley (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 10 March 1943)

A quick review of the timing of the (re)printing of the original edition of *Monkey* shows that, despite delays which occurred in the production of the 1st impression, which did not cause a major disruption, both the printing (and binding) of the 2nd and the 3rd impressions progressed smoothly, causing no issues big enough to concern the translator or the publisher, unlike the printing of 4th impression which proved to be more problematic.

In late December 1943, Waley grew quite worried about the printing of the fourth impression, especially when the translation would be out of print over the Christmas period, and when the coming of the Chinese Mission would arouse people's curiosity about Chinese culture. Waley wished the publisher could prioritise *Monkey* "in view of its propaganda value"[89], although he understood the difficulties inherent in production (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 22 December 1943). Waley argued that "the popularity of a Chinese book here has a <u>political</u>[90]

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[86] As the signature is different to discern, it is not sure S. Unwin was the one who wrote the letter. It happens occasionally that whether Stanley Unwin, David Unwin, or even Phillip Unwin was the sender or receiver of the correspondence could not be inferred. In those circumstances, the author refers to 'Unwin'.

[87] See footnote 84.

[88] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)

[89] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)

[90] The word 'political' is underlined as Waley did in his letter.

importance at present"[91], and although he also understood that the British Council should be responsible for such matters, rather than the Ministry of Information (MoI), which only managed political books, he suggested the publisher contact Mr. Floud of the Far East Division of the MoI for help (ibid.).

On the second day after Waley's letter, S. Unwin replied, explaining that the publisher had arranged re-printing of *Monkey* more than a month ago, as soon as a special allowance of paper for the book became available, but circumstances had become adverse. There were far from enough printers to operate printing machines due to the double infliction of the Second World War and an outbreak of influenza at that time and although the book had been given priority, the process of printing was still severely delayed (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 23 December 1943). He tried to re-assure Waley, saying that he had already written "a personal letter" to the printers to highlight "the importance of the book in present circumstances" and that he would follow up the production process, making *Monkey* the binder's priority immediately after completion of the printing (ibid.). As a result of these efforts, S. Unwin believed that the supply of *Monkey* would be restored in a few weeks, if they were lucky:

> A substantial reprint was put in hand the day we secured a special allowance of paper for it, viz. November 20th, but things move slowly these days and, although it has been given priority, there is little likelihood of the reprint being completed before the middle of January because the printers have a lot of their machines covered up for lack of people to run them, and have in addition been devastated by flu. They have had a personal letter from me emphasizing the importance of the book in present circumstances, and I shall see to it that, as soon as the sheets are ready, it goes on the binders' priority list. With luck, stocks should be available again within four or five weeks[92] (ibid.).

Correspondence regarding the reprinting of the original edition stopped entirely after the above letter. Judging from the publication time of the 4th edition, which was in February 1944 (Johns 1988), the timely printing and binding were facilitated with the support of S. Unwin.

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3.3.1.2 The Readers Union edition

In addition to the reprints of the original edition of *Monkey* circulating in the UK and published by George Allen & Unwin, there were also the Readers Union (RU), Penguin, and Folio Society editions. The production of the RU edition, as opposed to the Penguin and the Folio editions of *Monkey,* has been chosen for further discussion, for a number of reasons. 1) The correspondence regarding the RU edition was the most complete among the three. 2) Compared to the other two editions, there are more participants involved in the arrangement of the RU edition, giving more dynamism to the production process against wartime circumstances. 3) the RU edition was produced when the project was in its most rapidly expanding period, occurring at the same time as the planning of the American juvenile edition, and the printing of the 4th impression of the original edition, which involved more complications; whereas both the Penguin and the Folio editions were produced much later, when the project's rate of expansion was in decline, and the publisher no longer considered other UK editions as a potential threat to the sales of the original, and *Monkey* was therefore no longer a priority.

The managing director of the RU, John Baker, offered to pay for the right to print a RU edition of *Monkey* in September 1943 (several days before Walsh's proposal to publish an American juvenile edition of the translation reached Unwin). Baker suggested that the RU would produce the book on their own, as they did with their other book choices, which was, according to Baker's own words, "…partly, in response to publishers' requests that their hard-pressed production staff shall be relieved, and partly to suit our own paper needs and time-tables" (letter from Baker to S. Unwin, 1 September 1943). The planned publication time was within one year, before July or August of 1944, when payment was to be made (ibid.).

At that time, S. Unwin was away from the publishing house on holiday (letter from Phillip Unwin[93] to Baker, 2 September 1943), and was too busy to respond until the middle of the month because of the correspondence backlog during his absence. He needed to "consult" with Waley on the matter because of the low payment proposed by Baker. According to the royalty set by the Publishers' Association (PA), the minimum payment should be more than

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[93] As the signature is different to discern, it is not certain that Phillip Unwin wrote the letter.

£300, and close to £350. The translator had, moreover, a clause in his agreement with the publisher, assuring him of a minimum 10% royalty on any versions of the translation (e.g. letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 8 September 1943). S. Unwin therefore wanted to know the published book price of the RU edition in order to calculate the future royalty. Except for the disagreement concerning the size of payment, the publisher found both the publication time and the payment time suitable (letter from S. Unwin to Baker, 15 September 1943).

Baker then explained to Unwin that the PA minimum royalty was only applicable to book clubs with a larger membership (over 25,000), and that they had fully considered the financial issues before deciding to offer £300 payment (letter from Baker to S. Unwin, 16 September 1943).

The price for which the RU planned to sell *Monkey* was, however, still not given. Thus, Unwin asked for the price again several days later (letter from S. Unwin to Baker, 21 September 1943). Meanwhile, S. Unwin contacted Waley regarding the offer from the RU. A list of figures including publication time, number of copies, and possible price for each copy were given. S. Unwin was willing to compromise on the division of the £300 payment, allocating £200 to Waley and £100 to the publisher, instead of a usual fifty-fifty split. He also advised that instead of affecting the sales of the original edition, the RU edition was "more likely to re-arouse interest"[94] in *Monkey* since it was then two years after the translation was first launched in 1942. In S. Unwin's opinion, the offer was acceptable, but he again left the final decision to Waley, as in the case of the American juvenile edition (published by John Day) which he had dealt with in a similar manner only a few days earlier (see in 3.3.2.3): "(B)ut here again it is entirely for you to say" (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 21 September 1943).

Waley thanked S. Unwin for his concession on division of the payment and agreed to accept the offer from the RU. He also admitted that he had lost S. Unwin's letter concerning the American juvenile version and had forgotten whether he had replied to it. Waley nevertheless agreed to the reduced royalty suggested by S. Unwin for the American publisher to use part of his translation to produce a juvenile illustrated edition (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 22 September 1943). It was agreed afterwards that there would be a RU edition of *Monkey*

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[94] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)

published in Britain (besides the George Allen & Unwin edition), and a juvenile illustrated edition of *Monkey* in America (see in 3.3.2.3).

Even before S. Unwin had found time to thank and confirm with Waley his acceptance of both the offers from the Readers Union and John Day (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 27 September 1943), the RU had already proceeded to request two copies of *Monkey* from George Allen & Unwin for use by their Editorial Committee (letter from P. Unwin[95] to Gamble, 24 September 1943).

After thanking Waley and confirming his decision, Unwin sent a letter to Baker regarding the offer from the RU. The offer of £300 for the license to produce the RU edition of *Monkey* was accepted on condition that the book price would be lower than three shillings, the book should be published between June and August 1944 and that production should not exceed 20,000 copies. It was also requested that the RU should send the official order form, as promised by Baker earlier. S. Unwin told Baker, moreover, as he had also told other partner publishers in case they needed the information to market the translation, that *Monkey* was selling quite well in America and that Waley had been awarded the James Tait Black Memorial Book Prize for the translation (letter from S. Unwin to Baker, 28 September 1943).

Several days later Baker sent the official order for *Monkey*, and expressed his increasing "keenness" to publish a RU edition after he learnt from S. Unwin's last letter about the prize Waley had won (letter from Baker to S. Unwin, 1 October 1943). The publisher had the paperwork ready by 8 October 1943 (letter from S. Unwin to Baker, 8 October 1943), which signified the official handover of the rights to publish the RU edition.

3.3.2 Worldwide expansion

The publisher boosted the spread of the translation to the rest of the world by seeking suitable partners worldwide able to publish more editions or re-translations of *Monkey*. The John Day Company became the American publishing house for both a full edition and a juvenile illustrated edition of the translation. Furthermore, *Monkey* was published in many languages

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[95] Though the letter sender's signature was difficult to discern, judging from a postcard arrived in a few days from the Readers Union Editorial Committee which read "Mr. Peter Gamble thanks Mr. Phillip Unwin for the two copies of MONKEY, by Arthur Waley" (postcard from Gamble to P. Unwin, 28 September 1943), the letter, along with the copies of the translation, was sent by Philip Unwin.

in addition to English. At least eight re-translations of *Monkey* (in Spanish, Dutch, German, certain Indian vernacular languages, Swedish, French, and Italian) were published before 1966. Unfortunately, the correspondence exchanged for the production of only six of these are available (including letters exchanged between the publisher with the Dutch, Swiss, Indian, Swedish, French, and Italian publishers).

A detailed study of the arrangements of both the American editions will be undertaken, for similar reasons to those explained for choosing the RU edition for further examination. It should be emphasised, however, that although the publisher's arrangements of the re-translations of *Monkey* (as well as those of the Penguin edition and the Folio edition) are not described, the spread of *Monkey*, from a difficult start to rapid expansion, and the publisher's efforts in promoting the translation worldwide (not just UK and US-wide), should not be downplayed due to the absence of the supporting descriptive material.

3.3.2.1 Expansion: a difficult start

After completing the proofreading, on 20 January 1942, Waley enquired after the possibility of exporting *Monkey* to America (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 20 January 1942). Prior to that, the publisher had also been seeking an American counterpart willing to publish an American edition of *Monkey*, and had already made an offer to the Houghton Mifflin Company, who declined the book. At the time, when Waley wrote to make enquiries concerning the American market, the publisher had just approached the Macmillan Company, had made the first offer and was waiting for their response to be cabled from America (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 January 1942).

After nearly six months of negotiations and delays, the publisher finally received a rejection from the Macmillan Company, before offering *Monkey* to a third American publisher named the W. W. Norton Company, believing that Norton would be 'wise' enough to see the value of the translation, and be 'bold' enough to accept it. S. Unwin could not hide his amazement at the fact that neither of the first two American publishers were willing to publish the translation. When reporting to Waley their progress in exporting the book to America, in a letter enclosing the letter of rejection from the Macmillan Company, he stated:

I am simply amazed to have to report that both The Macmillan Company of New York and The Houghton Mifflin Company of Boston have declined *Monkey*. … I have little doubt that The W. W. Norton Company, to whom I am now offering the book, will show more wisdom. The timidity of some of these big American publishers is incredible[96] (letter from Unwin to Waley, 9 July 1942).

In the interim, the translator had also been paying attention to potential American publishers. About two months later after the publisher offered the book to the W. W. Norton Company, Waley's letter brought the news that the London representative of Knopf was interested in considering *Monkey*, suggesting that if *Monkey* was rejected for the third time, Knopf might be the next target (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 4 August 1942).

It turned out that S. Unwin's speculation was too optimistic. *Monkey* was rejected by W. W. Norton (with an enclosed letter from Norton) and was then offered to Knopf. S. Unwin was simply "speechless" over the frustrating rejections (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 28 September 1942).

A couple of weeks later, the book received a fourth rejection, this time from Knopf, and was offered for the fifth time to an American publisher called the John Day Company, which, according to S. Unwin, was "definitely interested in oriental literature" and thus the "most likely" American publisher to accept *Monkey* (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 13 October 1942).

3.3.2.2 Expansion: the first glimmer of success

This time, S. Unwin was right and in approximately one month, the publisher received a cable from the John Day Company expressing their willingness to publish *Monkey* in America, which was routinely reported to Waley (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 16 November 1942). The two publishers consequently came to an official agreement in terms of future actions that should be taken to publish the translation in America.

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In early December, the publisher had drawn up an agreement, which S. Unwin enclosed in his letter to Richard J. Walsh, the President of John Day. At the end of the same month, S. Unwin also cabled to America for an additional clause regarding shares of the anthology and second serial rights on both sides. Walsh added a clause to the agreement according to S. Unwin's cable before signing the agreement and returning it to S. Unwin for the latter's signature. Meanwhile, Walsh expressed the publishing house's regret for not being able to share other subsidiary rights, which he hoped to gain, with its British partner, especially radio rights and motion picture rights, which in his opinion, would help in promoting the book (letter from Walsh to S. Unwin, 4 January 1943).

Walsh also notified S. Unwin about some changes made to the GA&U original edition. First, they would design a new cover for the American version using a Chinese traditional figure of the monkey instead of Grant's design. The second change was good news: they had commissioned an introduction for the American edition written by Dr. Hu Shih in English, and also an "enthusiastic comment" by Lin Yutang to appear on the back cover. Considering that Hu had been Chinese ambassador and had also written the introduction of the Chinese original from which Waley translated *Monkey*, and that Lin's works on the Chinese were popular in America, Walsh believed the introduction, and the comments from these famous Chinese figures, would give the American edition of *Monkey* "a strong start" (ibid.).

At the end of the same letter, Walsh asked S. Unwin to pass a letter on to Waley since he had not received Waley's reply on his request for more bibliographic information (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 December 1942) and did not know Waley's address. He also added as a postscript his plan to send *Monkey* to book clubs, and followed up by offering the usual half-and-half division of the profits (ibid.).

Means of communication were limited and expensive at that time. The two publishers communicated mainly through written correspondence and sometimes cables. As it took about a month for a letter to arrive from London to New York by airmail at that time, lateness and breaks in communications could easily be generated. It was not until a fortnight later, in late January 1943, when Walsh received S. Unwin's letter sent in the last day of 1942. In it S. Unwin proposed to discuss subsidiary rights, advising that if the John Day Company could make an appropriate offer for the film rights of *Monkey*, could they approach Waley with the idea. Walsh was happy with the news, indicating that they would consider the offer for the

film rights and expressing the wish that S. Unwin could avail himself of the film rights because a film adapted from the translation would definitely help to promote sales (letter from Walsh to S. Unwin, 25 January 1943).

Not long after this, S. Unwin received an announcement from the Secretary to the University of Edinburgh, announcing that Waley had been awarded the James Tait Black Memorial Book Prize for his translation *Monkey*. Unwin congratulated Waley (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 4 February 1943) and cabled Walsh the good news (cable from S. Unwin to Walsh, 9 February 1943).

Unwin received Walsh's letter sent in early January (4 January 1943) a few days after cabling the good news. He duplicated the enclosed agreement with Walsh's signature already added, and signed and enclosed the duplicate contract in his reply letter to Walsh. Anticipating the new design, S. Unwin still regretted not using Grant's design in the American edition as it had been "received with such enthusiasm" in Britain. Concerning the division of profits from Book Clubs, S. Unwin had reservations, suggesting that it would be "more appropriate" to follow a division of 45% (to Waley), 45% (to John Day Company) and 10% (to George Allen & Unwin), which, however, was subject to discussion in due course. The news of Waley winning the James Tait Black Memorial Book Prize, which had just been cabled to Walsh, was again delivered at the end of the letter (letter from S. Unwin to Walsh, 10 February 1943).

The prize was used to promote the book as soon as the American publisher received the cabled news from its British counterpart. Walsh sent his gratitude for the information to S. Unwin, expressing his congratulations to both Waley and S. Unwin, while reporting that they were using it to increase the publicity of *Monkey*: "Perhaps by the time this letter reaches you, you will have seen the double-page advertisement in the Publishers' Weekly announcing 'Monkey', and giving evidence of the strength of the promotion which we expect to put behind it"[97] (letter from Walsh to S. Unwin, 17 February 1943). According to the 'George Allen & Unwin' stamp on the letter, the British side did not receive the letter until 8 March and forwarded Walsh's message to Waley later (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 10 March 1943).

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In early March 1943, samples of the American edition of *Monkey* were produced. Walsh sent two copies of the American edition to the British publishing company and planned to send two more over the following two weeks, as he could not recall the exact number of copies they agreed to give George Allen & Unwin in the contract, which was not readily to hand. As a result, he promised to send on the remaining copies if there were any outstanding (letter from Walsh to staff in George Allen & Unwin, 1 March 1943).

In April, samples of the American edition of *Monkey* finally arrived at the publisher, who then delivered one to Waley, denying the jacket design of the American edition was better and asking for Waley's opinion. He also asked if Waley would like to make changes to the sample translation before the standing type was moulded (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 19 April 1943). Another two copies of the American edition of *Monkey* arrived in early May and were both enclosed with S. Unwin's letter to Waley (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 3 May 1943)

Waley, on the other hand, had been "exceptionally busy" and failed to answer Unwin's letter until a fortnight later. He apologised for his delayed reply, acknowledged receipt of the American copies, and expressed his dis-interest in the jacket: "I don't think much of their jacket & it of course is not in the same street as ours."[98] Regarding the changes to the sample translation, he considered only the word 'grotto' might be changed, but could not decide before doing more research. He therefore suggested that Unwin should decide on a deadline for the matter (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 18 May 1943).

S. Unwin, on the other hand, told Waley not to worry about the deadline as that was not a pressing matter and reassured him that they had kept a note to send Waley a reminder when they needed the change done (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 21 May 1943). This matter however, never seems to have been referred to again, according to the correspondence available in the Records.

3.3.2.3 Expansion: further co-operation on an American juvenile edition

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By July 1943, *Monkey* had been selling well in the USA. Walsh did not hide his pleasure when he said that S. Unwin would be convinced by the amount of royalties that the British side would receive in the near future. The calculation of the royalties at the end of July showed a good return: "… our calculation being made as of the end of July. We are close to 5,000" (letter from Walsh to S. Unwin, 2 August 1943). The purpose of Walsh's communication was, however, not just to share the news of good sales in America, but to discuss the possibility of furthering co-operation by publishing an American illustrated edition of *Monkey* for juveniles.

Hu Shih, who wrote the introductions to both the Chinese original *Journey to the West* and the American edition of *Monkey*, was the first to suggest the new publication proposal. He told the American publisher that the stories in the first seven chapters of *Monkey* were best known to Chinese children. The American publisher, agreeing that American children would also like the stories, proposed the plan to the 'author side' for approval (ibid.).

Walsh talked about some general changes to be made to the juvenile illustrated edition, such as deleting some of the references that were not easy to read, enlarging the words, and making full illustrations. He also mentioned that he had already made the suggestion to Waley earlier in January, who expressed great interest in the proposal and promised to mention it to S. Unwin. Considering that *Monkey* was "getting so well established" in America, Walsh confidently proposed to launch the juvenile edition in the spring of 1944 (ibid.).

Assuming the British publisher would approve the proposal, Walsh proceeded to negotiate a new contract, independent from the one that had been signed for the rights to publish the American (full) edition of *Monkey*, with the same royalty rate that they had paid to S. Unwin for the juvenile illustrated edition of another book entitled *The Water Buffalo Children* written by Pearl Buck. The reason for the low rate, according to Walsh, was that they wanted to spare enough money for the payment given to illustrator Mr. William A. Smith, the same illustrator as the juvenile version of *The Water Buffalo Children*. In turn, Walsh also expressed his willingness to negotiate if Unwin would like to publish a British illustrated juvenile edition of *Monkey* using Smith's illustrations (ibid.).

The letter from Walsh regarding the American juvenile edition of *Monkey* arrived only two days before S. Unwin returned from holiday. Before then, letters, including the one from Baker proposing a RU edition, had been piling up on S. Unwin's office desk, waiting to be read, considered and replied to. In spite of the heavy workload, S. Unwin gave priority to Walsh's proposal and contacted Waley about the matter the second day after his return to work[99].

As usual, S. Unwin enclosed a copy of Walsh's letter in his own letter to Waley, in which he expressed his wish to discuss Walsh's proposal with Waley in person. He reminded Waley of one of the clauses in the agreement between Waley and George Allen & Unwin, that the publisher was prohibited from entering into "any agreement without the author's[100] consent that does not secure the author a royalty of 10% on the published price of any American or Colonial editions"[101]. S. Unwin gave his own opinion however, on the royalties for the American juvenile edition: "my own inclination would be to accept a royalty of 7.5% on the first 5,000, 10% on the second 5,000 and 12.5% thereafter for the juvenile edition"[102]. In this way, the 2.5% royalty loss could be compensated afterwards. Still, S. Unwin emphasised, and re-emphasised, that the decision was entirely to be made by Waley by stating both before, and after, he made his suggestion on the royalties that "(W)e shall, of course, do whatever you wish"[103] and by stressing again at the end "it is entirely for you to say"[104] (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 8 September 1943). As mentioned earlier, Waley 'authorised' both the RU edition and the American juvenile edition at the same time (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 22 September 1943).

S. Unwin thanked Waley for his 'authorisation' and promised to proceed with matters as agreed. On the same day, he wrote to agree to Walsh's proposal, made in early August, to publish an illustrated juvenile edition in America. In the letter, the proposal was accepted, with the reduced royalty suggested by S. Unwin to Waley and approved by the latter. Unwin also promised to consider Walsh's suggestion, namely to publish a British illustrated juvenile edition of *Monkey*. The news that sales of *Monkey* had increased by 20,000 due to the choice

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[99] S. Unwin answered Baker's proposal (on 15 September 1943) a week later than he set to work on Walsh's (on 8 September 1943) despite the former arriving earlier.
[100] Here "author" referred to Waley.
[101] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)
[102] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)
[103] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)
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made by the RU was also delivered to Walsh (letter from S. Unwin to Walsh, 27 September 1943).

It was more than two months before Walsh replied to S. Unwin's letter, and yet another month for the letter to reach London. The American publisher accepted the royalty suggested by S. Unwin, however, they wanted the British publisher to prepare the paperwork for the agreement because S. Unwin was more familiar with the terms of collaboration. It was probably S. Unwin who had written the previous agreement for the American publisher to produce the complete edition of *Monkey*: "… You will know best what provisions it needs to incorporate independently, and what references if any should be made to the contract of January 4th 1943 on the complete book"[105]. In addition, Walsh also pointed out that the American side required one provision to be added to the new contract, which specified that George Allen & Unwin should pay John Day £200 if they wanted to publish a juvenile illustrated version of the same seven chapters of *Monkey,* using the same illustrations produced by John Day. Importantly, John Day had changed their original plan, substituting William A. Smith with Kurt Wiese as the illustrator of the American juvenile edition. Wiese was reading the translation and preparing to produce illustrations at that time (letter from Walsh to S. Unwin, 2 December 1943).

As is shown by the stamp on the letter, the publisher received the letter on 8 January 1944, which means that S. Unwin's reply must have been made subsequently. The remaining correspondence in 1943 deals with the paper supply crisis in the process of re-stocking the stocks for the translation (with the 4th impression of the original edition) (see correspondence between Waley and S. Unwin, 22 and 23 December 1943). Unfortunately, letters regarding the translation project of *Monkey* between 1944 and 1947 have disappeared from the archive, leaving the history of those years of the *Monkey* project within the publishing house a complete mystery. Nevertheless, the *Monkey* project did progress during those years, which is supported by limited but concrete evidence, for example, two impressions of the original edition of *Monkey* were issued by George Allen & Unwin in 1944 (4th impression) and in 1945 (5th impression) respectively. Similarly, the publication of a book entitled *The Adventures of Monkey* in 1944, translated by Waley, and illustrated by Wiese, proved that

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cooperation between the British and the American publishers in producing the juvenile illustrated version was successful.

Chapter 4 All about People: Multiple Human Actors, Multiplied Roles

This chapter is concerned with the human actors participating in weaving the actor-network of the *Monkey* project. The first step to studying the human actors is to identify them. For that reason, the question of how to differentiate human participants from human actors in the network of the translation project becomes primarily important. There was, moreover, an abundance of human actors, and the most important were those who left the most, and the deepest, traces that can still be followed today. By following the traces of these actors, it is possible to obtain some extraordinary insights that help to break down expectations concerning the contributions made by these key human actors to the translation project.

4.0 Prelude: more actors, but not overwhelmingly more

This section concerns the plausibility of the research project.

It is no exaggeration to say that the complexity of humans, and nonhumans, working together to complete the *Monkey* project confuses the process of analysis of the production and dissemination of *Monkey* as a translation. At the onset it is possible to identify a few key actors, but this quickly becomes confounded by the vast array of actors, as more and more were recruited to contribute to the networking process.

The few actors involved in the translation project at the outset engaged more resources, in terms of labour and materials, which consisted of both human and nonhuman entities. These entities themselves did not have any intrinsic power if they did not act or were not made to act. To become actors, they either acted to recruit more entities or were made to act by others, who might not yet belong to the network but were then, in turn, enlisted. Consequently, numerous entities, through acting, or being made to act, became a proliferation of actors that were engaged in every development phase of the translation project, which makes description and analysis extremely difficult if all actors are regarded as individual entities and allowed to act independently.

One typical example lies in the correspondence between the translator and the publisher. Disregarding the content of the letters, every time a letter was exchanged between S. Unwin and Waley, the two writers were not the only actors involved in the network. To complete the

network, the letter had to be mobilised. Additional actors, such as postmen and transportation devices (bicycle, rail, tram, or bus that were used in the postal system during that period), converged in order to empower the letter, making it a nonhuman actor that delivered information between the two human actors.

If the postmen and the modes of transportation are included as actors in the *Monkey* network, then why not include the staff that produced the pen (used by A. Waley to write letters), the typewriter (S. Unwin used to type letters), the letter paper, the stamp, the workers that made and maintained the transportation devices. The list of actors would soon increase exponentially, and the network would expand uncontrollably, with details and threads becoming ever more tangled. The actor-network would continuously expand outwards with no focus or development in a specific direction.

This proliferation of actors leads to congested and expansive networks stretching out of control, which makes focused tracking of a particular actor-network, or of a particular aspect of an actor-network, especially difficult. The postal workers, mailing devices, paper and stamp all first and foremost constituted a network of the mail system, not a network of the translation project. Similarly, the staff that manufactured or maintained the vehicles acted to form the specific network of vehicle production and maintenance. Including actors that were primarily part of other networks inevitably brings in more networks, which in turn confuses the boundaries of the translation network. At macro-level, the postal network or the network of vehicle production did contribute to the development of the translation network as a whole. That could, however, be considered to be at a different level of focus from the micro-level of the analysis of the networking process that evolved in the translation project discussed in this thesis.

For the purpose of this thesis, therefore, a simple inclusion criterion is devised to address the problem, namely to include only actors directly connected with the *Monkey* project. 'Directly connected' here means having immediately acted upon, or been directly involved in and influenced, either positively or negatively, during the production process of *Monkey* as a translation commodity. This criterion helps to achieve two simultaneous effects: firstly, many human characters that were distantly related to the translation production, and hence had little, or indirect, influence on the process, such as the postmen who delivered the letters, were excluded. In other words, not only the number of the human actors is limited to a manageable

size, but also close relevance of human actors within the translation project is ensured. Secondly, through distinguishing the human translation actors (and also the nonhuman translation actors), the network of translation is outlined, and disentangled from its complex connections with other networks, such as the mail delivery network, though it contributed to the exchange of information between the major translation actors. To that end, in the current example, only Unwin, Waley, and the letters exchanged between them can be regarded as actors 'directly connected' with the production of *Monkey*; whereas the rest of the 'actors' only had an indirect influence and hence should be excluded for the *Monkey* network. In this way, the concept of a human actor is further adapted into a more operable one which renders the research possible by helping to distinguish human actors amongst the numerous human participants. The same also applies to the concept of nonhuman actors, as is discussed in the next chapter.

If the process of producing *Monkey* is represented by a line (though the process never appears as smooth as a straight line), Waley, S. Unwin and the letters may be represented as points on the line, whereas point 1 represents a point where the postmen and transportation devices stand, which is displaced away from the process, and point 2 represents where, for instance, the staff that produced or maintained transportation devices stand, which is displaced further still away from the process. The distance actors are displaced from the line is an indication of their relevance to the overall translation project. The positions do not of course mean that actors are confined there, as their position may change over time (see Figure 4.1).

Journey to the West published ⟶ *Monkey* published

Position 1 ●
Position 2 ●

Figure 4.1 Actors directly involved in the network of translation (*Monkey*) production and actors one and two steps away from the network

The relevance of actors to the *Monkey* project should, therefore, always be evaluated and only those who are directly involved in the networking process should be included in this thesis. Those who fail to meet the criterion should be left out in order to keep the analysis and description clear. Yet this does not mean that the postmen or the transportation devices were

not part of the network in a broader sense, but that they constitute branches of the network displaced further away from the main focus, which could not be covered and examined within the scale and current focus of this thesis. In summation, of all the humans *connected with* the *Monkey* project, only those *directly involved in* the *Monkey* project should be counted as human actors in this thesis. In this way, the number of human actors is limited to a reasonable size.

The human (other than the nonhuman) actors differ from other human characters, moreover, in that they acted quite consciously in the translation project. When the human actors acted, through acting towards their own explicit interests, or towards a mutual goal, they achieved their own, implicit interests in the outcomes of the process. For example, when S. Unwin and Waley exchanged letters, they knew clearly that they were heading towards a mutual goal and interest - to publish *Monkey*. At the same time each had their own private interests, for the publisher, his interests lay mainly in profiting from the publication of the translation and for the translator the intention was to distribute his translation to a wider public and consolidate his position as a dedicated Sinologist and translator.[106]

The postmen actually delivering the letters might have had various reasons to do the job. For example, they were working to earn a living or just to deliver the letter so they could complete their round for the day. They had neither heard of the project to publish *Monkey* nor knew what the letters were about, so it is highly unlikely that they were concerned with the project outcome. For the postmen delivering the correspondence between Waley and S. Unwin the experience was no different from delivering letters for any of their other individual customers. As has been mentioned it would, therefore, be more suitable to include them in the postal network, rather than the translation network under discussion in this thesis.

There were many people who participated directly in the *Monkey* project and acted consciously to push the project forward. In ANT these people are regarded as human actors. Put differently, in addition to direct involvement, human actors consciously aim to make a contribution, which leads to them taking on various roles and positions that individually define them further. From the correspondence, many individuals were identified as human

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[106] Earning money was also one of the benefits that Waley received, yet this was probably not the major motivation. As has been introduced in Chapter 3, Waley worked as a news censor at the Ministry of Information during the Second World War while translating *Monkey*, which indicates that Waley did not have to undertake the extra work of translation in order to earn a living, but only to supplement his income.

actors, for example, the translator, publisher, typographer, designer, block-makers, printers, binders, representatives from other publishing companies, book reviewers, and readers. Among all these, three characters were identified as the most important, the translator Waley, the designer Grant and S. Unwin who was then in charge of publishing house George Allen & Unwin. At this initial stage of the analysis, the reason why these individuals are selected is direct and simple: because they were the main characters that left the most traces of their actions, in the most important stages of the production of the translation. Traces of these actions were recorded in the correspondence between them regarding the *Monkey* project, and at the most important stages of production they comprised the core group of actors that enabled and drove the production process for the first impression of *Monkey,* before the translation expanded with reprints in different editions, and as re-translations in other languages. More convincing and comprehensive reasons will be provided as the discussion in this chapter deepens and their roles and positions in the translation production network are revealed.

The roles and positions of these actors were not determined from the beginning and did not stay unchanged. No ANT researcher would simply state that the actors were of particular importance merely because they were the translator, designer and publisher. Rather, they were important because of what they did and how they contributed to the translation project and how this was important to its development and success, which in turn shaped their roles and positions as the 'important' translator, designer and publisher, and finally established these roles and positions in the public perception as people came to know what they were. This chapter therefore, discusses how the main human actors acted to define themselves, through the perspective of the forming and changing of their roles and positions as they grew with the project.

4.1 Arthur Waley: more than the translator of *Monkey*

Since the very origin of the discipline, the human translator, as the practitioner of translation or translatorial activities, has never escaped scrutiny in translation studies. The linguistic approaches to translation provide some, though not many, studies that explicitly and directly put the translator at the centre of the research. For example, the discussion of 'the task of the translator' (Benjamin, [1923] 2000), and the comparative study of translators that reproduce the same original text (Borges, [1935] 2000), both focus on linguistic and textual levels in

theorising translatorship. The situation has changed extensively since the 1980s, as both the cultural, and the social, approaches contribute to examining the human translator from various aspects. Human translators have been studied as inter-cultural mediators or intervenors (Hatim and Mason, 1997; Munday, 2007; Delisle and Woodsworth, 2012) in the wake of calls to investigate the power, poetics and ideology of translation (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990; Lefevere, 1992). Studies on translators emerging from that trend also include research into translator training (Schäffner, 2002; Nord, 2006), the (in)visibility of the translator (Venuti, 1995; Coldiron, 2012), the voices of translators (Hermans, 1996; Schiavi, 1996; Anderman, 2007), translator ethics (Venuti, 1998; Chesterman, 2001), and the identity, habitus and cultural capital of translators (Simeoni, 1998; Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Sapiro, 2013; Buzelin, 2014), which all contributed to the study of the roles, identities, and status of the human translators in connection to a larger socio-cultural environment at the macro level.

The more recent rise of ANT enables micro-level analyses of human translators as social agents or actors, focusing on everyday concrete practices that are involved in translation (Buzelin, 2006, 2007a; Abdallah, 2012; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Boll, 2016; and Munday, 2016b), which is precisely the perspective adopted in this thesis. The discussion in this section on the human translator Arthur Waley, however, mainly differs from those previous studies in several ways: 1) Following the tradition set by Buzelin of studying the translators within the network of publishing houses (Buzelin, 2006, 2007a; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012) and of looking at a variety of translators in a series of translation projects on a particular theme (Boll, 2016), this study further zooms in on the roles and positions of the single translator in one particular translation project in progress. 2) The roles and positions of the translator are viewed as variables being constantly defined throughout the production process of the translation, and not as roles determined and established in particular socio-cultural contexts (cf. Munday, 2016b). To clarify this means that in this study, the roles of the translator are depicted as factors that change and evolve according to the development of the translation project. 3) In particular, discussion in this section reveals a very strong translator, who occupied a crucial position - obligatory passage point in ANT terms - in the translation project by acting both positively and 'visibly', which might help to demonstrate that, despite the introduction of a wide range of agents/actors, a focused study on the translator by no means compromises the scope of ANT-approached translation studies.

Arthur Waley was the translator of *Monkey*. To ANT researchers, this statement means little as it only records the result of many actions and interactions conducted by Waley. To simply present this statement does not elucidate how Waley acted as a human actor in the network of the translation project and how he inter-acted with others in the process of publishing his translation.

A more accurate way is to trace back to the beginning of the translation project when everyone, and everything, including the translator himself, had not yet begun or had just begun the long journey that led to the final production of the translation. Only by tracing the actors in this way can a comprehensive picture of the trajectories of the actors be obtained, which forms a panorama of the entire network (Latour, 2007).

Close examination of how Waley acted as a key participant in the translation project helps to give a deeper understanding of the simple statement 'Waley was the translator of *Monkey*'. In fact, through analysing the traces left by Waley from the very beginning of the translation project, when he decided to translate *Journey to the West*, a conclusion is reached that is much richer than this simple statement, and with an emphasis on the dynamic, demonstrating how Waley's roles and positions changed throughout the development of the translation project. Waley, by no means, acted only as the translator during the process of translation production; instead, besides fulfilling responsibilities traditionally considered as the translator's, he also acted as a consultant, assistant, proofreader and supervisor. His positions in the network of the translation project, moreover, changed extensively, from a key actor to an indispensable one, before he finally became indiscernible within the network.

4.1.1 The evolution of a 'strong' translator

Waley was unquestionably, first and foremost, the sole translator of *Monkey,* however, Waley's role as the translator was neither established as based on nothing nor remained unchanged from the moment the role was first established.

Before taking up the translation of *Journey to the West* (around 1941), Waley was already widely acknowledged as a renowned Sinologist and translator[107], and GA&U had been

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[107] See section 3.1.1 of Chapter 3 for detailed discussion with formal evidence.

publishing his work extensively[108] since 1919, with approximately fourteen books over more than two decades. The following quote from S. Unwin demonstrates the strong working relationship between the translator and the publisher:

> It has always seemed to me (S. Unwin) a great pity that we could not publish a complete volume of your TRANSLATIONS FROM THE CHINESE. In view of the fact that we publish practically all your other work, do you think it is possible that you could persuade Constables to transfer the agreement for the 170 POEMS to us, …[109] (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 21 April 1941)

Previous accumulation of cultural resource, plus the building of strong translator-publisher associations had laid a solid foundation for the translation and publication of *Monkey*, as a result. Here, the researcher needs to divert the reader's attention momentarily for a discussion on the importance of 'accumulation' to this ANT-based study. It should be admitted that ANT's emphasis on dynamism and change might have led to an overlook of the power of accumulation. Accumulation does not, in fact, contradict networking dynamics, and to the contrary, facilitates it. Many of the entities that became actors who built the network of the translation production under study did not emerge from a vacuum. They each had a past, or a history, which consists of a family life, education, and other social or personal experience. Putting this history, or past experience, in the framework of ANT, it may be argued that past networking activities shaped the entities, just as they, at some future point, worked together to shape the translation. In this way, the outcomes or influences of the past networks remain and accumulate in actors, until they come into effect in new networking circumstances through the actors' actions.

The property of being able to accumulate increases the explanatory power of ANT: the publisher accumulated economic and technical resources through the establishment of the publishing house that published lists of popular books that sell well, which acted in the network in forms of capital (money), premises, staff, publishing methods and printing technologies. The translator accumulated knowledge, translation skills, and fame through past education, publication of monographs and translations, which acted in the network through

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[108] Before *Monkey*, Waley had already published 28 books, half of which were first published by George Allen & Unwin.

[109] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)

and as the translator himself. The designer accumulated drawing skills and creativity through training and practice, which acted in the network through and as the designer himself, and moreover, his friendship with the translator through mutual acquaintances and understanding, which acted as a direct cause that recruited the designer into the network in the form of the letters by the translator when he introduces the publisher to the designer and the designer to the publisher. These resources are all accumulated and appeared in different forms and resemble what Bourdieu (1986) calls economic, cultural, and social capitals. Resources in ANT's sense and Bourdieusian capital should nevertheless be distinguished as different in nature from each other. ANT is established to overcome strict institutionalisation and rigid structuralism, and the property of accumulation seen here aims to break the vacuum around actor-networks, bring past actor-networks into consideration, and explain the creation of resources/actors, whereas Bourdieusian capitals are designed within an institutionalised 'structured' society to consolidate or further institutionalisation (see Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Moore, 2008; and Goldthorpe, 2007).

The completion of an outstanding translation of *Journey to the West* was an absolute priority for the translator. Prior to translating, Waley must have read and compared previous translations (see Waley's "preface" to *Monkey*, 1953). During translating, he needed careful selection, deliberate consideration (ibid.), and time and energy, before transferring his drafts into typescript using a manual typewriter (see letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 25 September 1941). In ANT terms, Waley, with translation expertise and close connections with the publisher, engaged with resources such as the original text, previous translations, and the manual typewriter, in order to transform the text of *Journey to the West* into the text of *Monkey*.[110]

Waley's role as the translator was established during his translation of the text of *Monkey*, however, the role of translator developed during the translating phase and continued to evolve throughout the entire project. When Waley was working on the translation, the role of translator was initially only known to, and approved by, the translator himself. It was Waley alone who chose, and translated, the original Chinese fiction, *Journey to the West*, before looking for a publisher for publication. At that point, the role of translator was, more precisely, an identity which was personally and privately defined. The wider process of

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[110] This was the first of a series of *Translations*[ANT] discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

producing and publishing *Monkey* was, meanwhile, the process through which Waley's role as the translator was consolidated by becoming known to many more people, from the publisher to a much wider reading public. In this sense, the personal and weak identity of the translator grew to be a public and strong role.[111]

When the whole translation project is seen from a wider viewpoint, the task of the participants as a connected whole was not to translate *Journey to the West* but to publish *Monkey*.[112] The task of the translator therefore stretched beyond textual rendering for, in addition to the translation process, he had to engage in all the phases of production and publication until the translation was produced and disseminated among the widest possible reading public. Waley's task as translator was not confined to translating but also involved carrying out a series of other tasks and roles within the project.

The most significant of these tasks included proofreading the translation, providing consultation and assistance to the publisher, and monitoring the progress of production. Interestingly, these actions defined other roles played by Waley in the translation project besides that of translator, making him simultaneously translator, consultant, assistant, proofreader and supervisor.

4.1.2 Consultant, assistant, proofreader, and supervisor

As a major participant in the translation project, Waley did not just translate. He also conducted a wide range of activities that do not traditionally fall within the responsibilities of a translator. In addition to the widely recognised role as translator of *Monkey*, Waley, took on other responsibilities that helped the translation project to develop, playing other roles unknown to the reading public, and only recognised between Waley and the publisher. These roles mainly encompassing acting as consultant, assistant, proofreader, and supervisor, were constantly (re-)defined through the actions of others and of Waley himself throughout the production process.

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[111] Here, a very important question emerges concerning how the translator role actually gained strength during the process of production. This will be gradually revealed in this chapter, when dynamic change in the positions of the translator is analysed.
[112] See detailed description and discussion in Chapter 3.

Waley worked as a consultant to the publisher on several different aspects, or issues, involved in the translation project. The publisher consulted Waley on his progress in translating, on the search for a cover designer, and on the design for the book layout. While consulting on these matters with a translator might be nothing unusual, Waley acted also as a literary consultant to the publisher in judging the drafts of other translations from Chinese and evaluating whether other books (not only translations) might be publishable.

As Waley chose to translate *Journey to the West* in isolation, and translated the fiction independently and geographically away from the publisher, the latter depended entirely on Waley's expertise and engagement with the progress of the translation. When Waley approached the publisher concerning him undertaking to publish the translation of *Journey to the West*, he probably had already completed most of the translation work. Eager to know the progress of the translation, the publisher wrote in late September to Waley (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 25 September 1941), who in turn promised to bring the typescript of the translation to the publisher "in a few days" (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 25 September 1941).

Upon reading the translation typescript, S. Unwin was astounded by the "curious combination of beauty and absurdity"[113] (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 October 1941) in *Monkey* and decided to publish it. The problem of designing the "best form" (ibid.) in which to present and promote the beauty of the fiction became a prominent consideration, especially against the unfavourable publishing environment during the Second World War[114]. S. Unwin made an appointment with Waley for a face-to-face talk on the issue, in order to hear Waley's opinion (ibid). In addition to engaging in a face-to-face consultation with the publisher, Waley was later asked for his opinion by typographer D. Unwin on the new typesetting arranged for the book (letter from D. Unwin to Waley, 14 November 1941) and designer Grant of the book covers on the jacket and title page designs (letter from Grant to D. Unwin[115], 23 January 1942). In summary, the translator acted as a consultant for both the inner and outer appearance of the book. It should not be forgotten furthermore, that the cover designer Grant was also introduced by the translator (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 3

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[114] How the Second World War, as a nonhuman actor affected the translation project, is explored in Chapter 5.

[115] It was not clearly specified in Grant's letter to which Unwin (David or Stanley) Grant wrote; however, from the correspondence that went before and afterwards, it must be D. Unwin from the production department who was responsible for the entire designing, printing and binding phases of the project.

November 1941) when the publisher, experiencing difficulty in acquiring a Chinese artist to design the jacket and title page for *Monkey*, consulted Waley and trusted his recommendation (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 31 October 1941).

The translation of *Monkey* was certainly not the only translation or literary project undertaken by George Allen & Unwin. Waley's translations such as *The Tale of Genji*[116] (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 30 November 1942) and *The Way and Its Power*[117] (Johns 1988) also underwent reprints. There were also quite a few letters from S. Unwin in which he asked Waley for advice on translations from Chinese. For example, S. Unwin turned to Waley for advice when Dr. S. I. Hsiung expressed his wish to make a complete translation of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*[118], another of the four classical Chinese novels, and asked whether this "formidable venture" was deserving of publication despite some previous translations and adaptations (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 2 March 1943). He considered Waley to be the most suitable person to consult since, in addition to Waley's reputation as a Sinologist and translator, Hsiung's translation project resembled Waley's (*Monkey*)[119] as an undertaking, and *Monkey* had by then been a considerable success. More examples include S. Unwin's commissioning Waley to read and evaluate manuscripts of translations from Chinese such as *The China That Was* (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 28 October 1942) and *Autobiography of a Chinese Girl* (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 27 July 1943).

As a result, Waley often acted as a literary consultant to the publishing company for other literary or translation projects that were processed roughly at the same time as the *Monkey* project. He also acted as a consultant on some general matters in the translating and the designing phases of the translation project. Translation and design, however, comprise only two of the eight phases, which occupy a small portion of the time span of the entire project[120]. For the project to develop, many more actions took place in order to address various

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[116] The original text was a classical Japanese literary work authored by Murasaki Shikibu in early 11th century.

[117] The full title of the translation reads *The Way and Its Power: A Study of the Tao Tê Ching and Its Place in Chinese Thought*. It was translated from *Dao De Jing* (道德经), a Chinese classic text of Taoism (philosophy and religion) which is commonly attributed to Sage Laozi (老子) who lived in the 6th (or 5th) century BCE.

[118] A classical Chinese literary work authored by Cao Xueqin (曹雪芹) in the mid-18th century.

[119] Hsiung's project resembled Waley's mainly in two aspects. First, both the Chinese original texts, i.e. *Journey to the West* and *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, belong to the four Classical Chinese novels. They were canonical Chinese literary works written in classical Chinese and in large volume. Second, both works had been translated before the translators decided to take up new translations, however, a large difference was that Waley's translation was not a complete translation of *Journey to the West*.

[120] See Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3 for the 8 phases of the translation project.

problems[121], which entailed more contributions from Waley, and interactions with a larger number of people and resources, producing additional roles of Waley[122].

Waley also proofread his own translation. According to existing records, Waley took on the responsibilities of the proofreader of the original UK (GA&U) edition of *Monkey* at least twice. On the first occasion he corrected the page proofs of the first impression. The page proofs were sent in successive sections to Waley for proofreading in the last two of weeks in December 1941, which was not long after D. Unwin consulted Waley on the typography of the book (letters from the Production Department of GA&U to Waley, 18, 19, 24 and 30 December 1941). Waley was highly efficient in completing the work and sent back the corrected proofs within a few weeks (letter from Waley to Unwin[123], 20 January 1942). The whole proofreading process took a little more than a month. Undertaking the proofreading for the second impression was less stressful, and Waley only sent a list of further required changes to the first impression when the need to prepare for a reprint arose several months later (letter from S. Unwin to Waley [confirming the receipt of a list of alterations to the first impression], 13 October 1942).

Proofreading gradually became less important thereafter as the need to make changes decreased in later reprints, and there is no trace of evidence of further proofreading on the subsequent impressions. Based on the second impression, it is probable that all the later editions in English (published later than the GA&U second impression) did not need large scale alterations[124]. The proofreading of the re-translations of *Monkey* in other languages was certainly not undertaken by Waley, so Waley's task as a proofreader was probably completed and ceased after the second impression of the UK edition of *Monkey*.

In addition to acting as a translator, consultant and proofreader, Waley assisted the publisher, on request, on different occasions when specific needs arose. For example, in late 1941, at the request of S. Unwin, Waley wrote "a brief descriptive paragraph" (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 31 October 1941) of the fiction, which later appeared on the jacket of *Monkey* and

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[121] See Appendix II 'The phases of the *Monkey* project' for the major events happened in each phase.
[122] In fact, besides Waley's roles, a wide range of roles comprising both the rest of the human actors and the nonhuman actors were produced during the development of the translation project, which will be discussed in the rest of this chapter and the next chapter.
[123] See footnote 84.
[124] Except for occasional deliberations on diction, see an example of word choice for the American (John Day) edition of *Monkey* in the letter from Waley to Unwin on 18 May 1943.

was also used in the first of a series of advertisements for the translation (in page 378, *The Times Literary Supplement*, Saturday, 1 August 1942). At almost the same time, while assisting the publisher in advertising, Waley helped to recruit Grant, the designer he recommended, by writing to Grant to persuade him to respond positively to the publisher's enquiry (as indicated in letter from Grant to S. Unwin, 9 November 1941). On another occasion, in order to interact with readers, and to aid in promoting the translation, Waley was asked by S. Unwin to answer an "interesting" question raised in a review of *Monkey* (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 11 November 1942). In terms of recruiting Grant and in marketing *Monkey*, the publisher could not, therefore, have easily managed without Waley's assistance.

If simultaneously being a translator, proofreader, consultant and assistant in the same translation project was not unusual, Waley's supervisory actions could not be considered as common for a translator to undertake. His role as a supervisor was defined mainly through two aspects: Waley actively and spontaneously, though not constantly, expressed his wish to monitor the progress of the project by asking questions while concurrently S. Unwin reported[125] important decisions and changes to Waley in reply to those questions.

Waley was perhaps too busy undertaking the work of translator, proofreader, consultant and assistant, and actually did not have the need to enquire after the progress of the project as a whole, since having been constantly involved in it, Waley must, however, have been well-informed about the production process in the early phases of the project, particularly during the phases of translating, proofreading, designing and early marketing. This was when the tasks of translating *Journey to the West*, of proofreading the page proofs, and making alterations to the first impression, of answering enquiries regarding the progress of translating and the appearance of the translation, and of assisting in book publicity and designer recruitment were taking place. In the decade-long history of the translation project, however, there were inevitably several periods during which Waley's involvement was interrupted. This was particularly true during the phases of printing, binding, marketing and expanding, when the centre of the production moved away from producing the text itself, to producing numerous copies of the text.

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[125] S. Unwin used the actual word "report" in the letter written on 16 November 1942 when he brought the news to Waley that *Monkey* was accepted by the John Day Company in America.

In terms of what the periods of interruption meant to Waley, it is understandable that Waley, whose roles of translator and a proofreader of *Monkey*, had been completed in January 1942, and whose interactions with the publisher and the designer, which made him a consultant and an assistant, had ended in February 1942, might feel ill-informed and isolated from the project. The contrast would be considerable compared with the translating phase when all resources (e.g. texts, S. Unwin) were circulating around Waley as the sole and independent translator. Waley felt the need to be more connected with the translation project with the direct or explicit purpose of keeping track of the latest developments in the publication process.

The approach Waley took was simply to ask questions. First, he asked whether the publisher had given Grant a deadline for his design work (letter from Waley to Unwin, 20 January 1942), then he enquired what the publisher had done to export *Monkey* to America (ibid.), and what the publication date for *Monkey* was (letter from D. Unwin to Waley, 3 July 1942). These were indeed crucial questions at that point in time. The first and the third questions were related to the progress of production of the original UK edition *Monkey*, and the second question concerned the progress of the future possible expansion of the translation abroad.

Waley attempted to establish a supervisory role by asking questions that were essential to the subsequent development of the project, however, whether the role could be established and strengthened relied on whether, and how, the questions were answered. In fact, the Unwins (D. and S.) did not only answer the questions, their answers were prompt and detailed, and followed up with additional information. For example the first two questions Waley posed in one single short letter were answered by at least six letters over the next ten months, with up-to-date reports on every important decision and change to the design of the original edition and exportation of *Monkey* to America (letters from D. Unwin to Waley, 22 January, 20 February, and 9 July 1942; letters from S. Unwin to Waley 28 September, 13 October and 16 November 1942). The Unwins' answers to the third question led Waley through the publication of the first three impressions until a shortage of paper occurred in the end of 1943, as detailed in the existing letters[126]. The Unwins explained to Waley the reasons for the change in the publication date for the first impression (letter from D. Unwin to Waley, 3 July

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[126] The correspondence regarding the *Monkey* Project in the Records of George Allen & Unwin (the University of Reading, Special Collections) extends from 1941 to 1966. Parts of the letters were, however, missing from the archive (see Chapter 5).

1942) and continued to report every time a new impression was produced (letter from Unwin to Waley's secretary, 8 December 1942) and when the stock of the translation could not sustain a rising demand (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 10 March 1943).

In this way, Waley's actions of posing the three questions, and re-action of the Unwins to them, by answering, helped to establish Waley's role as a supervisor, which lasted between January 1942 and December 1943, covering the phases of designing, printing, and binding, and the first few years of expansion. This interaction might be proven to have lasted longer if the letters exchanged between the two in the following years had been preserved.

In addition to translating, the importance of the other responsibilities undertaken (or, performed) by Waley as the translator, such as proofreading, advising, assisting, and supervising, across the whole project should not be ignored or neglected. This is because: 1) It was a simple fact that Waley undertook much more than translating. 2) If Waley had not participated so deeply in the translation project, the project might have developed in entirely different ways, and the end product *Monkey* might have been in a very different form from that which was presented to the general reading public. For example, if Waley had not introduced, and helped recruit, the designer Grant, the publisher would probably have found someone else, or stuck to the previous plan of recruiting a Chinese artist (just as the American publisher John Day Company did for the cover of the American edition of *Monkey*), and changed the part of the networking process that designed the book. 3) It was necessary for Waley to fulfil the other responsibilities (e.g. proofreading and assisting) in addition to translating. As will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, the Second World War made publishing especially difficult and the publisher was desperate to maintain the quality of the book, and at one point, even the survival of the project. In such circumstances, Waley's additional impetus and engagement in a supervisory capacity weighed heavily on the production process.

Investigating the translator as a human actor from an ANT perspective primarily helps to reveal the concrete, everyday, practices of the translator. Beyond linguistic transfer and textual rendering, and in addition to inter-cultural communication Waley, as the translator, acted practically as one of the actors who worked in the real social environment of the translation project. Specifically, it is through their translations that translators influence or shape literary or cultural systems, or mediate between, or intervene in cultures (as perceived

by various socio-cultural approaches to translation), whereas before being able to do so, the translator must go through a long process of producing a translation. This is a process that had long been neglected until ANT was introduced to study translation production by Buzelin (2007b). Since the production process is more than just the translating process (as is traditionally the focus of linguistic approaches), Waley's actions as the translator were not confined to translation practices, and his roles were not confined to that of translator alone. The tasks, or the responsibilities, and the roles a single translator can share in one particular translation project are thus extensively enriched.

Importantly, the emphasis ANT protagonists place on following the traces of actors enables the translator's actions to be viewed within a constantly developing network of the translation project in a dynamically evolving way. The actions, or the tasks, of the translator changed from translating to proofreading, advising, assisting, and supervising. This occurs in different practical phases of production, during which different problems and needs arose[127]. As a result, the various roles of the translator, defined by constantly changing actions, shifted from that of translator in the translating phase to consultant in the designing phase, proofreader in the proofreading phase, assistant in the designing and marketing phases, and supervisor in the design, binding, and expansion phases.

In contrast to the observations of Munday, who describes John Silkin in his study as a translator whose unfavourable relationships with other agents led to failure in translation projects (2016b), this study of Arthur Waley as the translator of *Journey to the West* demonstrates the importance of making favourable relationships with other actors in completing a translation project. The fact that the various actions and roles of Waley changed along with the evolution of the different phases of the translation project indicates that translation as a profession is much more demanding than textual rendering or cultural mediating. At the same time however, a translator is socially defined. Their ability to build and maintain close and effective connections with their immediate colleagues (in the present case the publisher), or potential working partners (in the present case the designer) is no less

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[127] Actors constantly 'problematise' – analysing problems that emerge along the developing situations as the translation project took place. See detailed discussions on 'problematisation' in Chapter 6.

important than the ability to work on texts (for example, original and translation[128]) and source and target languages and cultures.

4.1.3 Being indispensable: the translator Waley as an obligatory passage point (OPP₁)[129]

Being indispensable here means that with the successful publication of the original GA&U edition of the translation, Waley was well-established as the translator of *Monkey*. The resources (human and nonhuman) accessed throughout the process of production such as the translator, publisher, designer, original text, paper and ink and printing machines, were now irreversibly transformed into the translation.[130] In addition to irreversible inputs and outputs[131], the numerous copies of the translation circulating in the book market made Waley's role as the translator irrevocable. Waley's name as the translator appeared in every book review, every advertisement, and every copy of *Monkey*. It was not possible to be unaware of Waley if they wanted to read, review, study, publish (legally) or even award a prize to *Monkey* as a translation.

A portion of every *Monkey* buyer's money went into Waley's pocket, and when a reader opened the book, every word read came from Waley. No reviewer could start a book review without first mentioning that this was a book translated by Waley, and that they would probably like to comment on, for example, Waley's translation skills. Nearly eight decades later, for the purpose of this thesis, in order to understand the translator as much as possible, explain his roles, and argue his position as an indispensable actor in the translation project, the author have to 'pass through' Waley, that is, to read and evaluate Waley's *Monkey*, as well as many articles, books, and letters on or by Waley.

From an ANT perspective, everyone who wants to have something to do with the translation has to pass through the translator's 'approval' to achieve their interests, and as a result, help the translator to further his interests, while strengthening his role as the indispensable

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[128] It is argued that networks of texts exist in the translation project. See Section 5.2 of Chapter 5 for detailed analysis.

[129] The small serial number on the bottom-right of "OPP" was not given according to the sequence of creation in practical circumstances along the development of the translation project, but to the order when each OPP was under discussion. This applies to all types of concepts or entities discussed in this thesis.

[130] See detailed analyses of the whole production process as transformation/*translation*^ANT^ processes from an ANT perspective in Chapter 6.

[131] The outputs of the production process were not limited to the final book of the translation. See Chapter 5 for more.

translator with highly sophisticated expertise (see Latour, 1987). In this sense, Waley became an obligatory passage point (OPP$_1$) in the actor-network of the translation project.

Even in comparison to the publishers of *Monkey*, who had many resources at their disposal and were therefore very powerful actors, the position of the translator as an indispensable actor was difficult to refute. It is interesting to see how Waley's strong position was reflected in the subsequent development of the translation project. For example, during the production of the American juvenile edition, and the Readers Union edition of *Monkey*, the strong position Waley occupied made him indispensable, and for some financial reasons, the final decision maker.

After the successful publication of the original edition of *Monkey*, Waley gradually participated less in the project. His engagement became limited to making occasional changes to the translation. This was especially true after John Day agreed to buy the American rights of *Monkey*, ending Waley's long held desire to open the American market and therefore his enquiries to S. Unwin on the issue. In this period, nevertheless, Waley's influence in the project increased despite his decreasing involvement, due to the fact that every new contract made to produce a new edition of *Monkey* could not appear without his name, and that his share of loyalties and fame increased every time new editions were published and disseminated.

Notably, Waley's position and interests as the translator of *Monkey* were protected by the contract he signed with the publisher. One of the clauses restrained the publisher from commissioning any American or colonial editions where the royalties offered to Waley were less than ten per cent of the published price (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 8 September 1943). This meant that, in circumstance when royalties were low, Waley could assume the publisher's position, and make final decisions for any new publishing arrangement.

Negotiations became delicate when the John Day Company could not manage to meet the royalty agreed, because they needed to pay extra to an illustrator for new drawings for the American juvenile edition of *Monkey*. As a result, S. Unwin could make a proposal but had to contact Waley for his decision as per the contract. This time, the usual work relationship between S. Unwin and Waley was reversed. S. Unwin provided suggestions to allocate loyalties while the power to make the final decision fell to Waley. In a short letter addressing

the problem, S. Unwin assured Waley at the beginning that "We shall, of course, do whatever you wish", and reassured him in the end "…but it is entirely for you to say" (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 8 September 1943).

That was not a peculiar situation, considering Waley had always been the one to "authorise" (letter from Walsh to S. Unwin, 25 January 1943) the publishing company to sell certain rights of the translation. In reply to the RU's offer to publish *Monkey*, S. Unwin particularly wanted to calculate the payment offered by RU in terms of royalty, since "Waley will want to know before giving his approval" (letter from S. Unwin to Baker, 15 September 1943). Indeed, S. Unwin was willing to compromise the company's interests in order to protect Waley's while accepting RU's offer. Of the three hundred pounds offered by the RU for purchasing the right to publish 20,000 copies of *Monkey*, S. Unwin suggested that two hundred pounds went to Waley while a hundred pounds went to the publisher, which was a very favourable arrangement for Waley since payment was usually divided equally between the publisher and the author (translator). Although S. Unwin was ready to concede part of the profit to Waley, he could only advise and still depended on Waley's decision. To that end, S. Unwin ended his report of the RU offer to Waley by confirming "(B)ut here again it is entirely for you to say. Our recommendation would be to accept"[132] (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 21 September 1943).

As a result, like readers, reviewers, and researchers of the translation of *Monkey*, all publishers had to go through 'translator Waley' in order to acquire rights to publish the book. In this sense, Waley as the translator had become indispensable within the project. He did not need to fulfil as many responsibilities as when the first impression of the original edition of the translation was in production, but everyone still had to pass through him. Interestingly, Waley's indispensable position was enhanced when the John Day and the Readers Union failed to offer satisfactory royalties, which helped to transfer S. Unwin's power to make the final decisions that determined the further development of the project to Waley. It was under Waley's authorisation, that both the John Day Company and the Readers Union were able to publish their editions, which sold well and in turn facilitated the expansion of *Monkey*.

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[132] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)

In general, Waley was valued and highly positioned in the translation project: 1) Waley was financially rewarded in terms of the payments he received for the translation. The royalties that Waley received as the translator were roughly the same as contemporary authors obtained from the publisher.[133] In the case of arranging the RU edition of *Monkey*, the publisher even broke the convention of taking half of the payment from RU by yielding two thirds to Waley. 2) Waley authorised the publication of every edition of the translation, and made final decisions for the selling of publication rights of editions of *Monkey* when royalties fell below 10%. 3) Waley held the copyright of his own translation, which was at his own disposal. The previous two points serve as evidence that S. Unwin read the translation as a literary work written in English when considering its publication potential (letter from Unwin to Waley, 8 October 1941) and sometimes referred to Waley as the "author" of the translation (e.g. letter from S. Unwin to Walsh, 10 February 1943)

Payment levels have always been a key criterion in terms of measuring the status of either translators or the translation profession in terms of the market (Choi and Lim, 2002; Dam and Zethsen, 2008). "In fact, at the very end, the only really legitimate accreditation is one [translator] systematically awarded by employers and clients by way of employment and pay or rates" (Gouadec, 2007: 360). Unlike the stereotype of 'underpaid translators' as evidenced in many surveys (Choi and Lim, 2002; Dam and Zethsen, 2008), Waley's status as a translator in market reality was high in view of the high royalties and payments Waley received from the publisher.

In addition to his high status within the context of the market, Waley enjoyed fame in academia.[134] He was in a category of a few elite celebrity translators who broke the awkward discrepancy between the importance of translators' work as appreciated by academics (Delisle and Woodsworth, 1995) and the low pay and little recognition reflected in market reality (Dam and Zethsen, 2008; Katan, 2011). The reasons for that high status must be complex, including the absence of the author[135] and Waley's fame as a Sinologist and

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[133] As listed in a short note, the royalties to both *How Animals Develop* (published 1935) and *Introduction to Modern Genetics* (published 1939) ranged from 10% to 15%. It was not clear whether royalties were paid for the reprints of the books or not. The note can be found in AUC 154/4, Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd., the University of Reading, Special Collections.
[134] See more in section 3.1.1 of Chapter 3.
[135] Believed to be written by Wu Cheng'en in 16th century China, *Journey to the West* had long been in the public domain. The exact time when the novel was created and Wu Cheng'en's authorship are still in dispute today. See more in Chapter 2.

translator. They also include things that were indicated in the everyday practice of the translator – active participation in the building of a network of translation in which the translator played a variety of action-defined roles to become indispensable (as an OPP). In this way, the "machinery of 'stardom'", which originally designates two-way strategies used by literary translators in Israel to increase their symbolic capital (Sela-Sheffy, 2006), can be further explained and expanded.

It is important to be aware that, as a subject in its own right, existing studies into translator status are limited. There are examples concerned with the whole group of translators or the translation profession, within a broad context of cultural history (Choi and Lim, 2002), or are based on some translators' judgement or impression of the profession according to parameters set by the researchers (Dam and Zethsen, 2008, 2009). This section provides another perspective to investigate translator status in micro-, day-to-day, concrete, practical and social settings. Starting from the translator's everyday practices, it is possible to accrue, in the present case, much information relating to translator status, in terms of the role, the say, and the pay that the translator received for the translation project. Role, say, and reward provide solid evidence to define translator status in terms of a practical and specific translation environment, and can help researchers in devising factors/parameters in more practical and concrete terms, that are familiar to practicing translators to substitute or explain abstract and general concepts in future surveys.

4.1.4 Disappearance of the translator

The traces Waley left as the translator of *Monkey* gradually increased and deepened. In the very beginning, as a translator translating alone and away from the publisher, almost all the traces Waley left in the *Monkey* project were reflected in the translation text, including the main text and his preface to the translation. When the project developed from translation to the following phases, Waley left many traces as a translator who also proofread the translation, advised and assisted the publisher and supervised the translation project. All this is clearly demonstrated in his correspondence with the publisher. Upon publication of the original edition of *Monkey*, the number of traces increased, as Waley was busy making as many connections as were necessary to ensure the successful publication of *Monkey*.

Waley as the author (translator) and as part of the publishing house was strongly and highly positioned during the process of publication. This was partly because Waley had taken on many responsibilities that were crucial in ensuring the development and success of the project, and partly because the agreement he signed with the publisher was favourable and could best ensure his status and interests as the translator. The traces, therefore, not only increased as Waley participated deeper into the project, but also deepened as the influence of Waley in the project increased.

After the publication of the original edition of *Monkey*, Waley was not needed for further translations of *Journey to the West*, and he was not required to provide further help to the publisher with the publication, as the translated text of *Monkey* was already in the hands of distributors, booksellers, and readers. It might seem that the majority of Waley's work consisted of making a few necessary changes or corrections, for the next reprint, and to ensure *Monkey* was re-stocked when required, which is much less than before its publication. That was not the case, however, since Waley had only begun to become the OPP, to move from important to indispensable, and become an approval point through which all subsequent actors who wanted to publish *Monkey* had to pass.

The traces of Waley therefore increase sharply instead of decreasing. He witnessed every failed attempt to sell the publication rights of *Monkey* to American publishers and even intervened in the process. No deal could be made moreover, without the translator. Every new arrangement with other publishers who wished to issue the translation and every new contract made between the publishers had to be authorised by the translator, especially in circumstances when the translator's rights might be compromised. Whenever there might be any infringement upon the interest of the translator, the publisher compensated Waley by yielding his own interests, and all parties, awaited the translator's final decision. Waley's traces, therefore, increased and became stronger and deeper and more obvious to the actors who subsequently converged in the translation project.

The situation changed, however, when the publisher, having arranged English editions of *Monkey,* then turned to arrange further translations of the translation itself. Publishing *Monkey* as a translation was very different from publishing translations of *Monkey*. Radical changes occurred, and *Monkey* became the source text in English rather than the target text, and Waley's role changed from being the translator of the target text to the author of the

source text. The publisher and Waley were no longer responsible for the quality of the many translations of *Monkey* in other languages; instead, the foreign publishers were responsible for their own projects. The centre of translation moved from the publisher in Britain to many other publishers (the centre becoming centres) in their own European bases, and the responsibility of Waley as the translator shifted to the corresponding translators of *Monkey* who specialised in other different European and Indian vernacular languages, along with which were other roles Waley had played during the production of the original UK [GA&U] edition, for example, consultant, proofreader, and supervisor. The traces of Waley, therefore, as the 'multi-functional' translator of *Monkey* gradually disappeared after 1) no further changes to *Monkey* were needed from Waley as for the first few reprints; 2) English editions of *Monkey*, such as the American John Day edition and the UK RU edition, were well-arranged; and when 3) re-translations of his translation (*Monkey*) were undertaken by other translators and published by other publishers in non-UK countries.

To summarise, Waley's change of roles in the translation project evidence that translating *Journey to the West* himself did not make Waley only the translator of *Monkey*. He also took part in proofreading, advising, assisting, and supervising. In other words, alongside translating, the translator took on various responsibilities as proofreader, consultant, assistant, and supervisor to ensure the smooth development of the translation project.

As Waley participated more and deeply in the translation project in publishing the original edition of *Monkey*, his role as translator became more firmly and widely established, acknowledged as he was by himself, the original publisher, other publishers and a wide reading public. Waley's position changed accordingly, from being an important actor to becoming an indispensable one, so that every new arrangement or expansion of the translation in English-speaking countries required his final consent.

The project expanded further into non-English speaking countries, where the roles and responsibilities of Waley as the translator in the publishing house changed radically into that of the author in a foreign publishing house. Waley's abruptly changing position which, though it cannot be correctly described as declining, surely was not as 'actively' apparent as when in the earlier phases. He was in the ascendant when *Monkey* was still published as Waley's translation in English rather than translations of the translation (*Monkey*) in other languages, translated by other translators and published by other publishers.

Waley always made himself extremely visible in the text of his translations. All his translations from the Chinese, whether poetry or prose, fiction or nonfiction, contain a preface or a very long introduction to the original text, a scholarly study of the related Chinese literary genre and translation methods, numerous notes, explanatory paragraphs, and appendices (see Waley, [1918] 1920, 1937, [1938] 1956, 1939)[136]. In contrast, in the translation text of *Monkey*, Waley wrote only a very concise introduction for *Journey to the West,* and the translation strategies he employed, in a double-page preface, and seldom added notes[137] within the main text (Wu [Waley trans.] 1943). Despite many changes made to the original, which mainly include deletions of verses and of many chapters, Waley chose not to display the changes and only briefly mentioned them in the short preface, reducing his visibility within the translation text.

All this being said, the purpose of this section is neither to emphasise Waley's intense visibility in translation texts or exchange of cultures, nor to consider why Waley chose to diminish his visible intervention in *Monkey*. It is to argue that the (in)visibility of the translator can be examined through the translation text (main text and paratext) and through other texts involved in the production process of the translation, including letters exchanged, and agreements, as well as other translations (main texts and paratexts). All these texts of different functions are included in the concept of 'inscription' in ANT terms. The first point in turn means that the (in)visibility of the translator expanded beyond textual and cultural contexts and into the social sphere in which (in)visibility is not a fixed state, but a moving variable.

The translator's (in)visibility, when considered in terms of translator's traces in ANT terms, can be quantified through the number of letters sent, and received, by the translator when dealing with matters regarding the translation project (see Figure 4.2). As the translator of *Monkey*, Waley's (in)visibility evolved as a 'dynamic curve' throughout the translation

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[136] In *The Analects of Confucius*, nearly half of the book consisted of the translator's preface, introduction, explanations for terms, tradition and ritual that were necessary to understand the book, appendixes commenting on different interpretations of the *Analects* and the Chinese way of recording biographical dates, additional notes and index. The rest half was the translated text, with detailed notes in almost every page which sometimes occupy half of it. See Waley, [1938] 1956.

[137] Waley's book *The Real Tripitaka and Other Pieces* was published in 1952, years after *Monkey*, in response to some readers' curiosity on Tripitaka (Xuanzang, the monkey's master as depicted in *Journey to the West* and *Monkey*) as an historical figure. See Waley, 1952 for more.

project, from barely visible in translating, to increasingly visible in initiating, proofreading, design, marketing, printing, and binding, and to becoming maximally visible in the early period of expansion (when *Monkey* was being published both in America and the UK). Waley's influence and involvement began disappearing in the later period of the project when *Monkey* was being re-translated into other languages. The curve links the remaining traces of Waley in the correspondence. The traces, representing Waley's social connections with other actors in the project, were 'inscribed' not in the translation text but in other texts produced during the production process of the translation, letters being a major category of the texts in this case.
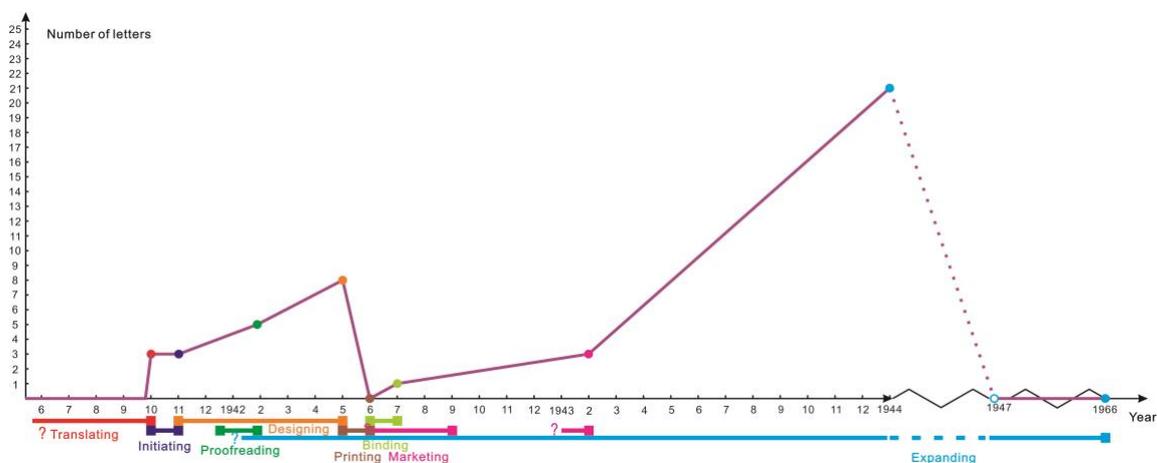
Figure 4.2 The translator's visibility: Waley's traces inscribed in correspondence exchanged with other human actors in the translation project[138]

Indeed, from a social and dynamic definition, ANT's concept of inscription helps to broaden people's understanding of the 'texts' produced in translation. In addition to the main text of the translation, there are many texts produced throughout the production process of a translation which are situated in a social context. Unlike the concept of paratexts of translation, which are usually defined as texts around a translation (Toury, 1995), they signify a static state of ready-made presence in linguistic and cultural contexts. The term 'inscription' emphasises the action, and the process, of 'inscribing' resources into texts in practical social circumstances. Studying inscriptions therefore enables the researcher to see the translator's (in)visibility as a variable within the social network of the translator. Waley's visibility changed as his connections with other actors changed (which is reflected in his letters) in the

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[138] This curve is drawn according to the number of letters (as represented by the vertical axis) exchanged in which Waley was the addresser or the addressee. Letters that mentioned Waley written by other correspondents were not included.

social context of the translation project. While Waley chose to hide behind the text of *Monkey*, leading to the invisibility of the translator in the translation text, his (in)visibility in the translation project can be revealed as a changing process by applying ANT.

If the timeline of Waley's translating life is followed, by examining the changes of his visibility profile in a succession of works, from examining only *The Analects of Confucius* or *Monkey* very different findings would be obtained. The former demonstrates a very visible translator whereas the latter hides a very invisible one. The reasons behind this changing level of visibility in a translator's working life can bring new thinking to current studies on translator visibility profiles. In addition to studying a translator's visibility levels as a variable within a particular translation process/project, therefore, ANT's method of 'following the actors' helps to add a new perspective on studying the consistency of translator's visibility profiles.

4.2 Duncan Grant: the designer being controlled and resisted

The functionalist approaches are the first to systematically introduce human participants in the translation process. The participants appear in sequence: from author, producer, or sender of the original text to initiator, from initiator to translator, and finally to translation receiver (Nord, 2006). Subsequent studies expand the list with the addition of commissioners, revisers, editors, publishers, patrons, organisers, etc., who are all analysing, for example, how they interact to promote translations, how they function in the translation production process, and how their ideologies steer translation activities which conflict with prevailing ideologies (e.g. Lefevere, 1992; Buzelin, 2006; Bogic, 2010; Milton and Bandia, 2009; Chen, 2017). However, the designer of a translation has somehow escaped attention.

Duncan Grant, the designer of the jacket and the title page of *Monkey*, was included for discussion for the following reasons: 1) design was an integral part of the translation project, and actually a very important one as the publisher placed great emphasis on the appearance of the book, claiming repeatedly his eagerness for designing "the best form" (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 October 1942) of design to demonstrate the beauty and curiosity of the translation (letters from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 and 31 October 1941). The designer as performer of such an important task was undoubtedly one of the major human participants in the translation project; 2) the designer kept in constant correspondence with the publisher,

typographer, and translator regarding the design work. These connections in the project were no fewer, yet no less complex, than the translator's; 3) in addition to affecting the translation in a positive way through designing eye-catching covers for the translation which the typographer, publisher, and translator liked very much, the designer delayed the progress of the translation during his power struggle with the typographer and the publisher, triggered by an unexpected action by the engraver's artists.

Theoretically, ever since its application to translation studies, ANT has been used to research translation practices within publishing companies (Buzelin, 2006; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Boll, 2016). The concepts of actor and network are prevalent in accounts of how various people in publishing houses interact in the process of publishing translations (Buzelin, 2005, 2006; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Boll, 2016; Munday, 2016b). No study to date has applied the concept of control (Latour 1987) and in particular, long distance control (Law, 1986a, 1986b) to analyse power struggles which are common in publishing houses. The concept of long distance control was developed by Law in analyses of how certain actors managed to exert influence on entities, or other actors, which are geographically dispersed, or which could not be acted upon directly[139]. 'Inscriptions' (texts), 'drilled people', and 'devices' constitute a triad that make long distance control possible, although Law points out the triad is not "sacrosanct" (Law, 1986b: 257) and is subject to tests with more cases (Law, 1986a, 1986b). The concept is especially useful considering that, in theory, the essence of an actor-network is to associate resources spread over times and spaces in a practical networking process (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1987), and in the reality of the present case, the designer both worked geographically away from the publishing house and could not be acted directly upon since he was a human with a will and practical abilities.

Compared to Waley and S. Unwin[140], who shared many responsibilities and collaborated on many phases of production in the *Monkey* project, Grant focused on just one single task, that of designing a jacket and title page for the book, and therefore only participated in the design phase of the translation project. If there was anything special about Grant's position in the project, it might be that the recruitment of Grant was somewhat unexpected and coincidental, for the publisher had never thought of inviting him, or more specifically, a non-Chinese artist,

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[139] Reasons why an entity could not be acted directly upon may vary. In Law's case study, the experimentalist could not work directly on the hearts taken from rats but through a system of apparatus (Law, 1986a).
[140] See next section for a discussion on the roles of S. Unwin as the publisher.

for the task. His joining the project was directly connected to his friendship with the translator Arthur Waley, which they shared as part of the Bloomsbury Circle.

Waley recommended Grant partly because he liked Grant's art and partly because Grant was his friend. Waley explained their connection to S. Unwin when he assured the publisher about the charge for Grant's work: "I hope, perhaps, for a friend, he would make moderate terms" (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 3 November 1941). To recruit Grant, both S. Unwin and Waley sent letters of invitation, Waley possibly on behalf of a friend[141], and S. Unwin on behalf of Waley[142].

What made Grant's role as the designer distinct was the control and series of negotiations that occurred in the process of shaping the role. Like Waley, Grant worked independently, and away from the publisher, but unlike Waley, who chose the source text and translated it freely, Grant was controlled by S. and D. Unwin from the onset, and throughout his work as designer for the publishing company.

In the early stages, S. Unwin imposed control on the possible outcome of the designs by deploying certain materials[143] and by using different methods. The appointment of Grant as designer was settled in a letter (12 November 1941, from S. Unwin to Grant) in which the artwork he needed to produce was briefly but clearly explained, namely a jacket cover and title page. The appointment was reinforced by agreeing payment for his job. A general agreement was reached, and Grant produced designs for the translation while S. Unwin paid Grant for his work (appointing).

The question arises as to whether Grant was free to design anything he wished, just as the translator Waley was free in choosing the novel he wished to translate. The answer is that contrary to permitting complete design freedom, D. Unwin[144] proceeded to restrict the design. Page proofs of the translation text were sent to Grant for reading to make sure his designs

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[141] This was inferred from Waley's letter to S. Unwin in which he recommended Grant and revealed their friendship. Waley did write a letter to Grant on the matter, however there was no access to the letter.
[142] The letter sent from S. Unwin to Grant (7 November 1941) contained, for the most part, an explanation of why the invitation was sent (because of Waley's recommendation) and an excerpt from Waley's letter sent earlier recommending Grant for the design job.
[143] See more discussions on materials as nonhuman actors in the next chapter.
[144] David Unwin, Stanley Unwin's son, who was then working in the production department of the publishing company, took over the design phase from this moment on.

followed the theme of the translation closely and fully embodied the spirit of the monkey (theming). The publisher also provided measurements for both jacket and title page to Grant so that he could adjust the dimensions of his designs to fit the size of the book (metrication), and expressed the wish to receive the design for the title page first, since it could be printed as part of the text (ordering) – both of which were for the purpose of facilitating line production. Alongside the controls on theme, size and order of production, D. Unwin moved towards simplifying the design: first, by suggesting possible ways to lay out the designs and then by limiting the number of colours to two for the title page, and two or three for the jacket (simplifying) (see letters from D. Unwin to Grant, 1 and 6 January 1942).

Interestingly, the publisher and the designer were able to proceed with the design phase through just an exchange of letters. The publisher recruited and appointed the designer by letter, and the designer accepted the position by responding in another letter, and all of the publisher's requirements and instructions were also clearly communicated in letters. Noticeably, different types of paper materials were enclosed, and relating to the materials the publisher explained the theme, measurements, and layout of the designs in the letters.

Furthermore, the Unwins often informed Grant of progress related to the design work, such as what had been done by the production department to prepare for the artwork (letter from S. Unwin to Grant, 12 November 1941), and what had been done, and would be done, in order to obtain the needed materials (letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 6 January 1942). Indeed, all the elements that Grant, as the designer, needed to understand were inscribed in the letters, including requirements, instructions and materials, as well as the actors and actions that devised those requirements and instructions made to supply those materials.[145]

Table 4.1 Methods and materials used to exert control in the earlier stage of the design process

Number	Methods		Materials	
1	Appointing			The letter; payment (stated in the letter & to be paid upon completion of the designs)
		7	All materials	
2	Theming	Juxtaposing (all		Page proofs

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[145] See discussions on inscribing resources in letters in section 5.3 of Chapter 5.

3	Metrication	materials)		Measurements (stated in the letter); time (stated in the letter)[146]
4	Ordering			The letter
5	Simplifying			The letter; title page layout (in the page proofs); 2 or 3 colours (stated in the letter); samples of cover papers
6	Inscribing			All necessary elements (in correspondence)

Table 4.1 above presents a list of methods and materials used by the publisher to exert control (Ct$_1$) in the early stages of the design process. As shown in the righthand column of the table, the materials can be categorised into three groups: letters exchanged, page proofs of the translation, and samples of cover papers (see also the brief explanations that follow in the table). So far, the publisher had juxtaposed these three kinds of materials (juxtaposing) to form another obligatory passage point (OPP$_2$), to design a title page and a jacket that conform to the theme of the translation in a fixed size and in two or three colours.

The OPP$_2$ was put between the actors and their respective goals, and all actors participating in the design process had to converge at, and pass through, this 'point', that stated the conditions and purpose of a particular phase in the translation project. Only by doing this could they achieve their own goals and interests. For example, from the viewpoint of Grant, only when he had designed the covers for the translation according to the basic requirements specified in OPP$_2$, would his designs be accepted by the publisher. His role as the designer would then be fully established, his name as the designer would appear together with the translator Waley's on the book cover, and he would get his payment for his work.

From the viewpoint of D. Unwin and staff in the production department responsible for the reproduction of the designs, however, the designs might be accepted as satisfactory cover designs for *Monkey* and in keeping with the spirit of the translation only if he designed the covers according to the basic requirements specified in OPP$_2$, that they be attractive to readers, suitable for mass production, and simple to produce during wartime so that the

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[146] D. Unwin had not begun to exert control on the progress of the design work at the beginning. Controlling the time spent on design happened during the second moment of control (Ct$_2$).

designing and printing process could progress as smoothly as possible. Therefore, by devising the OPP and making every actor pass through it, D. Unwin maintained his control on the design process and the possible outcome of the designs.

The process moved on since the actors involved in the design process, especially the key actors Grant and the Unwins, had agreed to progress towards their goals and achieve their own interests through the OPP. Unexpected things happened, however, causing detours and making their journey longer than expected. 'Unexpected' implies that practical circumstances developed out with the actors' plans, anticipation or experience (Latour, 2007), in which things could easily get out of control. It was when unpredictable events occurred that the publisher needed to readjust his control over the process.

Prior to knowing that Waley had finished proofreading D. Unwin exerted strong control on the possible outcome of Grant's design work but did not exert more than light control on progression. D. Unwin seems to have been caught unprepared by Waley's efficiency in proof-reading for when he heard of the completion, he turned quickly to ask Grant for the designs, while earlier he had had no worries concerning Grant's design progress and had not given him a time limit. It was not until after Waley had finished proofreading and had enquired about the design progress (letter from Waley to Unwin, 20 January 1942), that D. Unwin realised that his control on the design schedule was loose. By taking over the control of the outcome of the designs (through OPP$_2$), D. Unwin improved his control on the schedule overall (Ct$_2$), by notifying Grant that everyone, including the translator and the printers, was prepared to enter the printing process very soon. This was compounded by explaining that the title page design was the priority, which, if it were not ready, would affect scheduling of the printing work (letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 22 January 1942). Grant, insisting on receiving Waley's comments on the designs (Waley's control on the final designs, Ct$_3$) before sending them to the publisher, only just met the newly launched 'deadline' for the design job (letter from Grant to D. Unwin, 23 January 1942).

The production of the title page design went smoothly, whereas things were frequently out of D. Unwin's control during the production of rough proofs of the jacket design. Various actors failed to align with the network of production.[147] For example, the block maker could not

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[147] See section 3.2.3.3 of Chapter 3 for detailed description.

provide a suitable method to reproduce the jacket (letters from D. Unwin to Grant, 3 and 7 February and 10 March 1942), and the binder could not supply lilac-coloured cloth for binding (letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 7 February 1942). The binder was at last drawn back to normal alignment, with the help of Grant, who chose a new colour from among the few colours that the binder could provide (letter from Grant to D. Unwin, 9 February 1942). The failure of the block maker, however, led to greater disturbance in the production process.

Since the block maker could not come up with a better way to reproduce the jacket design, the engraver's artist, contrary to the publisher's instructions, re-drew a more simplified version of the original jacket design, which was in turn used to produce the rough proofs of the jacket (letter from production department of GA&U to Grant, 3 March 1942). This resulted in a confrontation between D. Unwin and Grant for, although the publisher was anxious to start the printing process, Grant could not accept the simplified design (letter from Grant to D. Unwin, 26 February 1942). This was the first time that D. Unwin's control was diminished.

Grant had been co-operative from the beginning of the design process until D. Unwin suggested using the simplified rough proof of the jacket design. He designed the title page and the jacket according to the basic requirements made by the publisher (Ct_1), managed to finish the designs when the schedule was suddenly tightened (Ct_2), and agreed with the publisher's suggestion to reverse the position of the monkey on the jacket (Ct_4). He also patiently provided advice to the publisher on trivial matters of cover-designing, such as the colour of the binding cloth and lettering for the title page and jacket (Ct_6). Grant, however, could not agree to accept a simplified jacket design (Ct_5), insisting that the publisher reproduce the page proofs according to his original design rather than a re-drawing made by someone else.

The confrontation consisted of a chain of conflicts between some of the actors in the design process, namely the engraver's artist, Grant and D. Unwin. The conflicts started when the engraver's artist took it upon himself to re-draw Grant's design, which had not been anticipated by either D. Unwin or Grant. By simplifying Grant's jacket design without first gaining permission from the designer, the artist caused a conflict of interests with Grant. Although the artist's interest was in helping with the reproduction of the design, the method

he used (to simplify the reproduction by simplifying the design) infringed the designer's copyright.

Though both actors noticed that the rough proof had been simplified compared to Grant's original drawing, D. Unwin chose to accept it since for him, a greater priority at that time lay in speeding up the process of production rather than producing the exact jacket that Grant had designed. The simplified re-drawing however, compromised Grant's interest in the copyright of the design and perhaps offended his ethical position as a serious artist. He protested to D. Unwin about the simplified proof, which meant that he rejected D. Unwin's control on that point. The conflict between the artist and Grant then became the conflict between Grant and D. Unwin. This time the publisher could no longer maintain control without adjusting it to accommodate Grant's wishes.

To overcome the stalemate, D. Unwin had to loosen his control on the design process, and modify his own interest to align with that of Grant. In doing so he had to discard the simplified design proof and find other ways to make a proof that would be acceptable to Grant (Ct_7). As a result, OPP2 was adjusted to a new version that contained the requirements made by the publisher and complied with Grant's insistence on keeping his original design (OPP3). OPP3 was not, however, easy to pass. The publisher tried using offset lithography before finally improving the jacket proof to a photographic image, which postponed the design phase into April (letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 21 April 1942). Delaying publication further, the binders failed to supply full distribution, so the publisher postponed the publication date (Ct_8), which was actually not too disadvantageous because it achieved a double purpose in that it relieved the pressure on the binders and gave the book a chance to be reviewed prior to its launch (letter from D. Unwin to Waley, 3 July 1942).

The design phase was not long, compared to other phases of the translation project, yet the evolution of control and the changes in the reactions of the designer were particularly clear and dramatic. Control was not exerted by one authority. In the present case study on the powers in the design phase of the translation project, control was exerted by at least three people: publisher S. Unwin, typographer D. Unwin and translator Waley. The balance of control was not fixed but was adjusted as circumstances changed unexpectedly, or when conflicts occurred. In those circumstances, however, the controllers needed to adjust their control to maintain it, which led to eight moments when control was increased or adjusted

(Ct$_1$ to Ct$_8$). Control was not always absolute, moreover, and left room for negotiation by all actors. If the mode of control is studied at every moment of change, it can be seen that control at some specific moments became so formidable that all actors were required to submit to it, and that at other moments control was not obligatory for everyone. The first moment of control (Ct$_1$) formed an obligatory passage point (OPP$_2$) for all actors involved in the mass-production of the covers for *Monkey*, and the seventh moment of control (Ct$_7$) formed another (OPP$_3$) through which all actors needed to proceed to enable the production of the jacket design. The remaining moments of control were not obligatory to everyone, for example, Ct$_4$ was only negotiated between Grant and D. Unwin; and Ct$_8$ did not affect all actors, at least not those that had finished their work by then, such as Grant, though whether the delayed date of publication was negotiable is uncertain.

That the above characteristics of control occurred in the translation project again proves the point made by sociologist in their studies of "the social" that through controlling, actors create OPPs (e.g. Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1987), though not every (successful) moment of control necessarily leads to the creation of an OPP (Law, 1986a). This is because the definition of OPP implies large-scale transformations (*translations^{ANT}*) of resources (including people and materials) that must be able to be mobilised and durable in a context that allows them to be made so (Law, 1986a: 33-4). Besides, just as Latour argues that actor-networking involves enrolling entities and controlling them (Latour, 1987), control is an integral process that moved and evolved as the networking developed in the translation project. Following Law's study, however, this section demonstrates that long distance control was necessary and effective when the designer could not be controlled locally, and that 'mobile and immutable' inscriptions, i.e. letters, samples and page proofs in present case, are central in realising long distance control (Law, 1986a: 33). In general, the triad of entities that constituted control still fall within the categories theorised by Law (e.g. 1986a, 1986b), whereas the specific methods and materials used in control might vary (cf. Law, 1986a), a) professionals such as the publisher, typographer, and translator; b) devices like lithographic devices; and c) inscriptions including letters, samples and pages proofs. By focusing on the power relations in the design phase of the translation project, therefore, this section added a case study to the translation literature that tests the mechanism of (long distance) control theory originally promoted by social scientists in the disciplines of (natural) science and technology.

The effects of production of the covers for a translation cannot be overlooked, and the influence of the cover designer on translation and project cannot be downplayed. Close scrutiny of the translation project requires attention to be paid to the designer of the covers which has long been ignored in translation studies but valued by the key actors involved in the translation project. Translation has been understood as a venue where source and target languages, texts and cultures compete, and where author and translator wrestle. Translation is a manipulative practice (Hermans, 1985; Lefevere, 1992) and power relations in translation reflect those in a cultural context (Álvarez and Vidal, 1996; Bassnett and Trivedi, 1999). Literary canons, ideologies and cultural histories consist of sources of power that affect the way authors, translators and readers connect and induce translators' interventions on texts and cultures (Stahuljak, 2000; Munday, 2007). There is a lack, however, of a focused study on power relations between individuals, other than the author or the translator, affecting translation as a project and as an end product. This section of discussion intends to fill in this blank, by analysing how the development of power relations between the Unwins and Grant changed the progress of the translation project, and the final appearance of a translation in the practical social context of a translation project. Power relations in translation, therefore, not only reflect those in languages and cultures, but also those in a practical social context. Power struggles can happen between authors and translators and between translators, publishers, typographers, engraver's artists, designers and others acting in the translation project.

4.3 Stanley Unwin: the publisher as an evaluator, initiator, project manager, and literary agent

With the tradition of discussing translation activities taking place in publishing houses, publishers as agents or actors of translation are no longer unfamiliar in ANT-guided translation studies. Scholars have devoted time to analysing how translations are produced within publishing houses, how publisher's tastes and policies affect the selection of translations, how editors, literary agents, translators and others within the publishing houses work to get translations published (e.g. Buzelin, 2006, 2007a; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Boll, 2016), and how a publisher might lead the network, instead of the translator, once the translation manuscript is handed over to the publisher for production (translator-led vs. publisher-led network) (Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012: 46).

Latour (2007) constantly emphasises that ANT should not take for granted 'social institutions', 'social classes' or 'social structures' on which theories of macro sociology ('traditional sociology' in his words) are found. A publisher has, however, usually been presented as an institution in terms of translation studies, not as a specific individual. This thesis, based on the correspondence, finds that in this particular situation, the publisher was a living person, Stanley Unwin, who actively made connections with other actors within, and outside, the publishing company in the process of carrying out the translation (*Monkey*) project. In this way, the asymmetry of the institution versus the individual (in particular translator) is broken, and the category of repertoire is kept consistent and not jumping abruptly between micro and macro-level sociology.

S. Unwin, who established George Allen & Unwin Ltd in the early twentieth century in the UK, was in charge of the publishing company when the *Monkey* project was in progress. Like the translator, S. Unwin conducted various actions and shaped many roles during the publication of *Monkey*. The most important things that the publisher did to publish the translation included evaluating the manuscript, initiating the project, managing the publishing process, and working much like a literary agent to the translator.

After receiving Waley's translation typescript of *Monkey*, S. Unwin had to evaluate whether the translation was worth publishing (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 8 October 1941; S. Unwin, 1995). Abandoning the routine of asking an advisor to read the typescript as he did for other translations (letter from S. Unwin to Waley 28 October 1942) before giving suggestions on publication, S. Unwin read the translation as a novel written in English on his own as he did not know any Chinese. "How thrilling! … It always gives me a thrill when you bring in a new translation"[148] (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 27 September 1941) was S. Unwin's reaction when Waley told him *Monkey* would be ready to be presented to him in a few days. S. Unwin was so confident in Waley's expertise as a translator that he believed firmly that the quality of translation would not be a problem, and that the attractiveness of the translated fiction seemed to have become the priority.

In addition to being the evaluator, S. Unwin also acted as the initiator of the translation project. Actions S. Unwin made to initiate the project include drafting and signing a contract

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[148] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)

between Waley and the publishing company in order to acquire the rights for publication, and considering some prominent and imminent questions of production, such as the typesetting and appearance of the book (letters from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 and 31 October 1941).[149]

S. Unwin managed the whole translation project, except the translating phase, during which Waley translated alone and away from the uninformed publisher. S. Unwin initiated the project, recruited the designer before handing over the production of the (original edition of the) translation (including the proofreading, design, printing and binding phases), to his son David Unwin who worked in the production department (e.g. letter from S. Unwin to Grant, 12 November 1941). At the same time, while the translation was in production, S. Unwin arranged the marketing, reprinting and the expansion[150] for the translation (letters from S. Unwin to Waley 22 January, 11 and 16 November 1942, and 23 December 1943).[151]

S. Unwin also acted like a literary agent for Waley. For matters concerning *Monkey*, other publishers contacted Waley through S. Unwin (letter from Walsh to S. Unwin, 4 January 1943). They negotiated the terms and conditions to publish the translation[152] with S. Unwin (correspondence between Walsh and S. Unwin, 4 and 25 January 1943) and when he could not decide, S. Unwin reported to Waley, providing advice while leaving Waley to decide (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 8 September 1943). S. Unwin also dealt with matters not relevant to *Monkey* but to the translator. For example, when Maurice Collis[153] planned to write a book about Waley's work, he sent the proposal to S. Unwin, so the latter could discuss with Waley about the plan (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 5 October 1942)

The actions S. Unwin took and the roles these actions defined were, therefore, by no means less plentiful than those of the translator. The publisher, rather than being described as an institution or venue where translators, editors, and other publishing staff work to produce a translation text, as has been done in some previous studies, is, in this thesis, studied as a

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[149] See detailed description of the corresponding phases in Chapter 3.
[150] It was uncertain whether S. Unwin was still responsible for arranging re-translations of *Monkey* from 1947 on, since the non-UK publishers did not address this specifically and the signatures in the letters from GA&U were difficult to discern. From May 1947, however, the Translation Department appeared to be responsible for arranging matters concerning re-translations (airmail from Translation Department of GA&U to The National Information & Publications Ltd., 10 May 1947). The responsible people were still unclear for the same reasons.
[151] See detailed description in Chapter 3.
[152] Not clear about the re-translations. See footnote 131.
[153] Maurice Collis was a writer of biographies and histories. He wrote several books on China in the transition from ancient to modern times, e.g. *The Great Within* (1941) and *Foreign Mud: Being an Account of the Opium Imbroglio at Canton in the 1830's and the Anglo-Chinese War that Followed* (1946).

specific individual who actively participated in the translation project, making connections with translators, editors, and other publishing staff.

In this section, the actions of the key human actors and their roles as defined by the actions were discussed. It should be clear that the translation project was carried out by specific human actors working differently and together. The human actors were, however, only one category of actors. ANT views the other category of nonhuman actors as being as equally important and necessary as the human actors (cf. Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1987; and Law, 1992). These nonhuman actors and how they interacted with human actors in the process of producing the translation will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 All about Resources: Multiple Nonhuman Actors, Multiple Trials and Traces

5.0 Prelude: nonhumans or nonhuman actors

One of the most significant contributions ANT has made to sociology is that nonhumans, figurative and non-figurative, have agency in the process of shaping 'the social' (Callon, 1986a, Latour, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1992, 2007). The key to understanding the concept of nonhuman actors does not lie in 'nonhuman', as the word itself is in fact quite clear: nonhumans are entities that are not human. It is, however, necessary to define what ANT theorists define by 'agency', the term refers to why, or in what circumstance, nonhumans act. Simply put, agency, in ANT, designates the ability to affect, influence, or make a difference, either negatively or positively, to any unit of social progression (see detailed discussion in Chapter 1).

The concept of nonhuman actors, although this remains foreign to many areas of research, including translation studies, has been widely applied in sociology, where the concept originated. The earliest and most outstanding study may be Callon's case study on how scallops refused to anchor, despite efforts made by fishermen and researchers to domesticate them. Here Callon demonstrates that not only do nonhuman scallops have agency, but they could also determine the success or failure of a fishery/scallop cultivation project (1986a). Subsequent studies focusing on nonhuman agency include, for example, Latour (1988a)[154], in which the social relations of a door-closer are analysed; and Goedeke and Rikoon (2008), in which otters' perceived misbehaviour, such as trespassing across boundaries and over-producing, lead to a redefinition of otters by the authorities, and the marginalisation of an otter protection programme. In summary, most of these subsequent studies consider nonhuman actors as catalysts for change (Goedeke and Rikoon, 2008; Solli, 2010; Magnani, 2012).

This chapter investigates nonhuman actors that participated in the *Monkey* project through applying this concept to translation studies. As in the previous chapter, there are a number of questions that must be answered including what actually comprises the nonhuman actors in

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[154] Latour published the article using the pseudonym Jim Johnson.

the *Monkey* project, whether these are the same as nonhumans, and if not, how nonhumans can be distinguished from nonhuman actors.

There were numerous nonhumans involved in the production process of the translation. A quick review of the tools, machines, and materials that acted to resource the *Monkey* project yields a long list, including the original Chinese novel *Journey to the West*; the end product *Monkey*; the typewriter that Waley used to produce the typescript of *Monkey* (TP1) or the one that Unwin and his secretary used to type letters and agreements (TP2); the typescript of *Monkey*; letters and agreements; telephones and cables occasionally used for communication (in addition to letters); paper used to produce letters (PP1), agreements (PP2), and pages of *Monkey* (PP3); the pens used by Waley and Grant to write letters; ink used in the pens or to print letters and agreements (Ink1), and ink used to print book pages and coloured covers (Ink2); blocks used for printing; printing machines; page proofs of *Monkey* used for proofreading; pages of *Monkey*; binding materials; designs for the covers of the translation; a simplified re-drawn of Grant's jacket design; cloth used to wrap the hard cover of *Monkey*; money paid to the staff; and premises for placing printing machines and stocking the numerous volumes of the translation.

Not all nonhumans can be regarded as actors. Similar to human actors, for any nonhuman to be considered as a nonhuman actor in an actor-network, they must have an immediate connection with the project. This means that a nonhuman should first be directly involved in, and second, should have a positive, or negative, impact on the translation project. In other words, to become a nonhuman actor, a nonhuman must have acted directly upon the publication of the translation and have been non-neutral at least in one phase of the project. By applying these criteria, the list of potential nonhuman actors was significantly reduced. For example, the typewriter used by Waley to type the script of *Monkey* (TP1) was directly involved in the translating phase, just as the typescript produced from the type machine was an early form of the translation; it contributed to the production of *Monkey* since the typescript could not have been ready for review without the work of the machine. The typewriter used by Waley was therefore one of the nonhuman actors directly involved in the project and had a positive influence. On the other hand, the typewriter that Unwin and his secretary used to type letters and agreements (TP2) could not be included as a nonhuman actor, although it did contribute to the project by helping to produce letters and agreements that were of crucial importance to the development of the project. Without the letters, the

correspondents, who were the major human actors, were isolated, as information would have been blocked, negotiations and arrangements could not have been made, instructions and orders could not be delivered, etc. Without the agreements, there would have been no effective force to bind the human actors, who might then renege on the previously agreed terms on rights and restrictions, loyalties and payments, which might have led to serious consequences that would delay, damage or even close down the whole project. The letters and agreements directly participated in the project as a means of communication and control, and if handled properly, worked to improve the efficiency and management of the production process. Of the tools used to produce the letters and the agreements, however, one of them, the typewriter (TP_2), though directly involved in producing the letters and agreements, was not directly involved in producing the translation. In other words, the typewriter (TP_2) was one step away from the translation and therefore not considered as a nonhuman actor in the project (see Table 5.1).

The same applies to paper. As an essential nonhuman element in the *Monkey* project, paper (PP), was mainly used in three ways: first, to produce letters (PP_1); second, to produce agreements (PP_2) and third, to produce *Monkey* (paper for *Monkey*, PP_3), including different editions, re-translations, and their reprints. Paper used to produce letters and agreements (PP_1 and PP_2), just like the typewriter (TP_2), cannot be regarded as a nonhuman actor because it directly contributed to the production of letters and agreement, but not of the publication of the translation of *Monkey*. The paper used to produce different translation and re-translation texts of *Monkey*, however, should be admitted as a nonhuman actor in the project.

Table 5.1 Nonhumans or nonhuman actors in the translation project?

No.	Nonhuman(s)	Directly involved? (Yes√; no×)	Positive (+), negative (−), or neutral (×)	Nonhuman actor(s)?
1	*Journey to the West*	√	+	Yes
2	*Monkey*	√	+	Yes
3	TP_1	√	+	Yes
4	TP_2	×	+	No
5	Typescript of *Monkey*	√	+	Yes
6	Letters	√	+	Yes
7	Agreements	√	+	Yes
8	Telephones	√	+	Yes
9	Cables	√	+	Yes

10	PP$_1$	×	+	No
11	PP$_2$	×	+	No
12	PP$_3$	√	+, −	Yes
13	Pens	×	+	No
14	Ink$_1$	×	+	No
15	Ink$_2$	√	+	Yes
16	Blocks used for printing	√	+	Yes
17	Printing machines	√	+, −	Yes
18	Page proofs of *Monkey*	√	+	Yes
19	Pages of *Monkey*	√	+	Yes
20	Binding materials	√	+	Yes
21	Designs for book covers	√	+	Yes
22	Simplified re-drawn of Grant's jacket design	√	−	Yes
23	Binding cloth	√	+	Yes
24	Money	√	+	Yes
25	Premises	√	+	Yes
…	…	…	…	…

Through exploring the role and significance of the paper for *Monkey* (PP$_3$) as a nonhuman actor, how it acted upon the project in a positive or negative way, and what position it occupied according to the role it played, an interesting point is revealed: like human actors, throughout the process of production, the role and position of PP$_3$, as a nonhuman actor, might be subject to change.

To take the paper used specifically to produce the different impressions of the original UK edition of *Monkey* as an example, there was enough paper for the first three impressions of the *Monkey*, but unfortunately, provision failed while the fourth impression was under production. The publisher had to acquire a special additional allowance in order to restock the paper supply (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 23 December 1943). During the printing of the first three impressions, paper acted positively as one type of essential material, whereas during the printing of the fourth impression, paper acted negatively as a potential betrayer that compromised the normal production process. This was because during the war, there was a tight paper quota, and inadequate allocation. Paper played a particularly important role during the production of the fourth impression. This was mainly because the situation was

urgent, as copies of *Monkey* were out of stock at a crucial time[155] and probably had been so for some time. Also, the text did not need to be corrected before being put to paper in print. In other words, re-printing *Monkey* had become simpler (though not necessarily easier) as book production progressed directly to the printing phase, which further highlighted the importance of, and the immediate demand for, paper. The role and position of paper, therefore, became more pre-eminent in difficult and urgent circumstances.

The range of nonhuman actors extends widely. There were still a large number of them, which varied greatly in their role and position in the translation project from time to time, and from each other. To examine the changes in the roles and positions of so vast a range of nonhuman actors without screening would lead to onerous, but trivial, work. In order to avoid this, only the most prominent and representative nonhuman actors have been chosen, omitting those who were either few in number or of less importance in terms of their influence on the project, for example, printing machines, materials used for binding, and the cloth used for the cover.

The nonhuman actors selected for discussion include: 1) the war, that imposed trials in the form of restrictions, on the project, through taking away people and resources, that were themselves essential human and nonhuman actors in the project, which, together with an outbreak of influenza, caused severe delays in re-stocking the fourth impression of *Monkey*. 2) The texts, including an extensive network of source texts and translations, that could not be reduced, or ignored, since they represented the development of the project and participated in, and witnessed, almost every stage of the entire process of the production of the final translation of *Monkey* (original UK edition), and later, its many reprints, new editions and re-translations. 3) the letters, with their distinct characteristics of mobility and immutability, helped to shape the project by providing a cheaper, safer and more efficient way of communication while keeping the project official and well-ordered.

5.1 Amidst the War and flu, we need luck[156]

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[155] As described in Chapter 3, *Monkey* went out of stock during the Christmas period, when book consumption was large; and during the Chinese mission's visit, when *Monkey* could have political significance according to Waley (letter from Waley to S. Unwin, 22 December 1943).

[156] This is adapted from Unwin's letter on 23 December 1943 in which he explained to Waley the difficulties in printing the fourth impression of *Monkey*. An excerpt of the letter is quoted in section 5.1.1 of this chapter.

The impact of the Second World War as an historical background to the production of the translation has not entirely escaped attention in translation studies of *Monkey*, especially considering that production of the translation fell within the period of the war. Yang (2008), for example, considers that the overlapping of the war and the timing of *Monkey*'s production was no coincidence.

It was argued that, themes concerning war and heroism were popular during the war and that the Fabian Society and Bloomsbury Group which Waley belonged to, shaped and reflected his political leaning, leading him to detest the war, though his character might have helped to conceal it. Furthermore, his war-themed monograph *The Opium War through Chinese Eyes* (First World War) and his other works written during the Second World War, such as the poem "No Discharge" also reflected his hatred towards war. This is in addition to his personal experience of living in London during the Blitz, and his awareness of the horrors befalling Jews across Europe at the time. That being said, it was reasonable to infer that Waley chose to translate *Monkey*, with its raw and delightful escapism, and its heroic figure, the monkey Sun Wukong, who (as argued by many literary critics) fights against hierarchical bureaucracy in the fiction, in protest to the reality of War in the background (Yang, 2008: 26-30).

These were seemingly persuasive arguments with strong evidence. Their validity could be doubted, however, when considered from an ANT point of view. The first argument inverts the cause and the effect: themes concerning war and heroism were popular during the war is an outcome that resulted from categorising and counting themes produced during the war, which could not be used in reverse as one of the causes to explain Waley's choice of *Monkey* as his translation during the war. *Monkey* instead contributed in causing the 'war theme' effect. It is more reasonable to argue that because Waley understood his potential reader's appetite for war-themed stories, or that because he just wanted his translation to fit the war background, he translated *Monkey*, or it may just have been a form of escapism. There is, however, no evidence for that. The second and the third arguments only directly endorse Waley's hatred towards the war and his wish to escape from it. There is still a gap between hating the war and writing to protest against it, and another gap between the latter and choosing to translate *Monkey* instead of any other book. Reversed causality and loose

relevance makes the argument 'Waley chose to translate *Journey to the West* because of the war that he hated' weak[157].

While historical backgrounds, such as in the present example the Second World War, have always been regarded as 'backgrounds', to see the war as a nonhuman actor acting on the making of the translation is an innovative concept. In ANT guided translation studies, the war emerges from backstage as an actor, whose actions and impacts were as concrete and practical as the translator's. To understand the role of the war as a nonhuman actor, when studied from the viewpoint of ANT, it is necessary to explore how the war acted, and interacted, with the key actors in the making of the translation, and to explain what roles the war played, as defined by their actions. The role and position of the war as a nonhuman actor in the network of the translation project will be revealed through exploring these questions.

5.1.1 The War waged trials as a competing actor

The time span of the Second World War (1939–1945) roughly overlapped with the years when the translation project developed at its highest rate of expansion. The translation project was initiated soon after Waley handed in the typescript of *Monkey* in October 1941, although Waley must have started translating much earlier. After publication of the translation in July 1942 (1st impression), however, the translation was so popular that it was reprinted in November of the same year (2nd impression) and was followed every year with a new impression (3rd and 4th impressions) until the year 1945, which saw the end of the war and the 5th impression of *Monkey*. Coincidently, sales of the translation declined sharply after 1945 when the war ended. The 6th impression was not printed until eight years later in 1953, and the last (7th) impression was delayed even longer, being issued by the publisher, some twelve years later in 1965[158] (see details in Chapter 3).

The positive correlation between the duration of the war and the boom period of the translation project seems strong. It does not, however, necessarily mean that the war facilitated the choice of the theme, or the sales of the book, and it would be unfounded to link

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[157] See in Chapter 6 for detailed discussion on why Waley chose to translate *Monkey* and in what particular way from an ANT perspective.

[158] This information on the impressions of *Monkey* was highlighted based on the correspondence in the records and the information in a copy of *Monkey* published in 1965 (the last impression of George Allen & Unwin's *Monkey*). Johns, 1988 has another way of calculating the impressions. The difference was mainly on the years in which some of the reprints came out.

them as cause and effect. The known facts do not tell anything except that the project prospered during the war. It is valid, however, to investigate how the war acted within the translation project as a nonhuman actor, and how it invoked the reactions of other actors, which together affected the publication process, and in what circumstances all those interactions happened.

Interestingly, most actors in the *Monkey* project, either human or nonhuman, such as the translator and the publisher, or the printers and paper, were 'concrete', whereas the war was 'abstract'. The most direct way of presenting a war is to show a battlefield where troops are charging, bullets are flying, and bombs are exploding. To look for accounts of troops, bullets, and bombs in the translation project, however, is not quite applicable in this case study because very few relevant accounts are available.[159]

While the translator, designer, and representatives from various publishers were busy exchanging letters that reported their past actions, interacted, and arranged future actions, and leaving their traces in correspondence, the war left no specific traces. Even the traces of those actors that could not write, for example, printers, sample colours, and binding cloth, left traces in the letters when they were mobilised by other actors, but from the evidence no one would suspect the war was, or could be, a mobilising factor for actors participating in the translation project.

Traces of the war in the network were, therefore, not as explicit as for other actors'. The most simple and direct way of tracing the actors, which is, to spot "the war" in the multiplicity of actors presented in the piles of letters, is unproductive. The actors involved in the translation project rarely spoke directly about the war while networking, and words referring to it indirectly, such as "these days" (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 October 1941), appeared only occasionally. A more efficient way to trace the war is to find out what problems and difficulties were caused by it, in other words, what restrictions the war imposed on the *Monkey* project, as these restrictions reflect the traces of the war in the network.

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[159] For example, although there are accounts on enemy action and bombing causing the loss of over a million books to George Allen & Unwin (Unwin, 1960) and even greater losses to many other publishers (Holman, 2008), there is no direct evidence showing that those most direct forms of the war destroyed the book stock of *Monkey*.

There were only two circumstances when the influence of the war became particularly prominent in the translation project: when restrictions and regulations generated in wartime caused difficulties in publishing, and when resources that were scarce during wartime were in urgent demand. While both restricted the production of a higher quality book, the latter could have resulted in the failure to produce the book on time, or at all.

Specifically, the war imposed four trials or limitations, on the project. The first limitation was evidenced early in the initiation phase, in the form of what S. Unwin considered as "(Q)uestions of production" (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 October 1941) and "new regulations afoot" (ibid.) during wartime that would negatively affect the production and typesetting of the book.[160] What S. Unwin referred as "new regulations afoot" was probably the Book Production War Economy Agreement (BPWEA). The Agreement took effect from 1942, aiming to reduce paper consumption in the book publishing industry by setting new standards on typography, paper and binding. That year, 1942 was precisely the year when *Monkey* was under production, and it was towards the end of 1941, on the eve of the Agreement's coming into effect that S. Unwin mentioned it. As a result, every copy of *Monkey* produced during wartime had a colophon of the BPWEA on the back of the title page near the bottom: a lion sitting on an open book. In addition, every copy of the book had to conform to the BPWEA's regulations which included, "typographical standards (type-to-page ratio and maximum type size), minimum number of words to the page and maximum weight of paper and boards for binding" (Holman, 2008: 72).[161]

The second restriction was imposed on the network of the translation project during the production of the cover pages of the book. Because of resource shortages caused by the war, the colours of the cover papers were limited, and the binder failed to supply the lilac cloth originally chosen for binding.[162]

According to Johns (1988), before the war, the publisher produced, and exported the majority of Waley's translations, at least their first impressions, to the American market on its own. The most conspicuous cases are as follows: during the thirteen years between 1925 and 1937, every time the publisher first issued a translation by Waley for the UK market, copies for the

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[160] See detailed description in section 3.2.2 of Chapter 3.
[161] Holman, 2008 has the BPWEA in appendix 11 (268-271).
[162] See detailed description in section 3.2.3.3 of Chapter 3.

American market would also be simultaneously produced and exported to the American Houghton Mifflin Company. The publisher co-operated with Houghton Mifflin in this way, exporting nine of Waley's translations to America[163]. Earlier than the period (1925-1937), there was collaboration with A. A. Knopf in 1923 and 1925 for the exportation of the first and the second impression of *The Temple and Other Poems* (see Johns, 1988).

Due to the war, however, transportation was much impaired and more importantly, the small quota of paper forced the publisher to give up the overseas rights very early, as deplored by S. Unwin "(I)t is a tragedy that for lack of another 8,000 tons we were compelled to hand over many of our export markets to America" (Unwin, 1960: 258). When nudging its way into the American market, *Monkey* was refused again and again by American publishers who were "desperately timid" in the opinion of S. Unwin: "they have throughout the war been more jittery than British publishers – quite astonishingly so"[164] (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 January 1942). The publisher was therefore forced to separate, and sell, the English publishing rights to an American publisher, many of whom were reluctant or too careful to accept the offer. This was the third restriction inflicted by the war.[165]

It would be interesting to see how the war gained strength and repeatedly affected the network and, on the other hand, how other actors worked together to render the network strong enough to survive and overcome these challenges. The reactions of the other actors, for example the translator Arthur Waley, publisher Stanley Unwin, the designer Duncan Grant, have already been described in detail in Chapter 3.

When the publishing environment grew difficult, S. Unwin coordinated the efforts of the translator, designer, and typographer to deal with production problems (trial 1 addressed). When the networking route was found to be blocked (no supply of lilac cloth), the publisher chose an alternative route (choose another option from the available colours) and, with the help of the designer, took a detour before proceeding to the next step (trial 2 addressed). When exporting published books became impossible, the publisher compromised by selling the publishing rights to American publishers, and by transferring the production process to

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[163] The 9 translations included 6 separate volumes of *The Tale of Genji* (1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1932 and 1933), *The Pillow-Book of Sei Shōnagon* (1928), *The Way and Its Power: A Study of Tao Tê Ching and Its Place in Chinese Thought* (1934), and *The Book of Songs* (1937). (See Johns 1988)

[164] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)

[165] See detailed description in section 3.3.2.1 and section 3.3.2.2 of Chapter 3.

the US. In addition, when American publishers initially refused to accept *Monkey*, the publisher made more detours, making offers to many American publishers one after another until he finally obtained one acceptance, before proceeding to the formal process of transferring the rights to publish (trial 3 addressed).

The fourth restriction had the strongest negative impact on the project, causing a severe delay in the reprinting of *Monkey*. The problem was generated when the 3rd impression of *Monkey* was out of stock, and the 4th impression could not be produced in time to replenish the shelves. The following excerpt from a letter sent by S. Unwin to Waley describes the situation vividly:

> A substantial reprint was put in hand the day we secured a special allowance of paper for it, … but things move slowly these days and, although it has been given priority, there is little likelihood of the reprint being completed … because the printers have a lot of their machines covered up for lack of people to run them, and have in addition been devastated by 'flu. They have had a personal letter from me emphasizing the importance of the book in present circumstances, and I shall see to it that, as soon as the sheets are ready, it goes on the binders' priority list. With luck, stocks should be available again within four or five weeks (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 23 December 1943).

The most conspicuous effect of the war was bombing, enemy action, and restrictions on the use of paper for book publishing (Unwin 1960: 252-258), which together resulted in a paper shortage. Call-up notices from the army, moreover, kept taking labour away from the publisher, resulting in a shortage of staff such as printers, in the company. To make the situation worse, an influenza epidemic broke out in the winter of 1943 in England. The influenza virus is another nonhuman adversary that excluded workers from the few that were still left. In the winter of 1943, the publisher was experiencing severe paper and staff shortages just when the demand to re-stock *Monkey* arose.

It was not unusual for books to go out of print during that period in history due to a lack of resources, and reduced labour to maintain production (see Unwin, 1960; Holman, 2008). Something needed to be done to curb the negative impact of the war and the influenza, and action needed be taken to re-stock *Monkey* as soon as possible. Waley was sufficiently

concerned that he wrote to persuade S. Unwin that the Christmas period was a golden opportunity for bookselling, and that the Chinese Mission's visit during Christmas must have stimulated reader's interests in reading Chinese literature, and that the translation of *Monkey* had current political implications which might encourage sales. He suggested that the publisher should seek help from the Ministry of Information and recommended a contact name, in a similar way to when he recommended Grant for the designing of the book.[166]

Waley urged S. Unwin to consider the reprinting of *Monkey* as a priority and looked for someone who might be able to offer help to S. Unwin. The real actor, who led the fight against the war, however, was S. Unwin, who managed to maintain the production process by securing an extra paper supply and by prioritising the book for both printing and binding.[167] Both proved to be difficult tasks, for example, S. Unwin expended much effort to acquire more paper as an available resource, which was reflected when he recalled: "(T)hroughout the war I waged a ceaseless campaign for Paper for Books. The letters I wrote would fill a book. … had I not done so the situation might have been even more disastrous than it was" (Unwin, 1960: 344). To interpret this process very concisely in ANT terms, in order to align a larger volume of paper, as more nonhuman actors that would be able to facilitate the expansion of the network of the translation project, S. Unwin had to make more connections with his colleagues who joined him in the campaign, his supporters whom he might not even know, the officials who controlled the paper quota, and more resources and materials that were needed to carry out the campaigns. The campaigns were detours that he undertook, and the network duration was extended by the new connections Unwin made in his detours with various human and nonhuman actors.

To summarise, the war applied restrictions, which ANT theorists call 'trials' (see Latour 2007), to the network of the *Monkey* project by limiting the resources essential to the production of the book, for example, paper and workers, which was worsened by wartime government policies aiming to control paper and labour consumption in the book industry. Concurrently, the publisher led the fight against these restrictions, trying to assemble more resources to refine typesetting of the book, (enrol a good designer) to design book covers to the best effect, and to arrange a priority list to ensure important books such as *Monkey* did not go out of print. It should be noted that the publisher, who fought for the survival of the

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[166] See detailed descriptions in section 3.3.1.1 of Chapter 3.
[167] See footnote 146.

project, won the battle with the war, which played the role of the opposition in the networking process. The network resisted the trials (restrictions and limitations) caused by the war, although the translation was inevitably in short supply for weeks.

In translation research, to view the war, alongside the translator, and the publisher, as a member of the network of actors who shaped the translation project, may seem strange. No research on the translation *Monkey,* or research applying ANT in Translation Studies, has investigated nonhumans as an agent of translation. It could be disputed that the war, a nonhuman element (not even an entity/figurative), could be considered as a relevant actor exerting agency in the translation project.

The relevance of the war to the translation project is achieved through its multiple connections with the other actors participating in the project. This involves its constant interaction with the actors, mainly materials and labour, such as the paper and the printing staff, which were otherwise supposed to be enrolled by the publisher into the publication network of the translation. In other words, the war established its connections with the materials and labour (Figure 5.1b), which in normal times would remain steadily connected with the publisher (Figure 5.1a). In this way, the war acted as an actor who competed with the publisher (they connected as adversaries) in its association with the materials and labour (see Figure 5.1). In this process of establishing multiple connections, or associations, with materials and labour, the war inevitably restricted the connections of the publisher, who in turn experienced the restrictions imposed by its competitor on the translation project – the trials, or restrictions, demonstrated the agency of the war as a nonhuman actor.
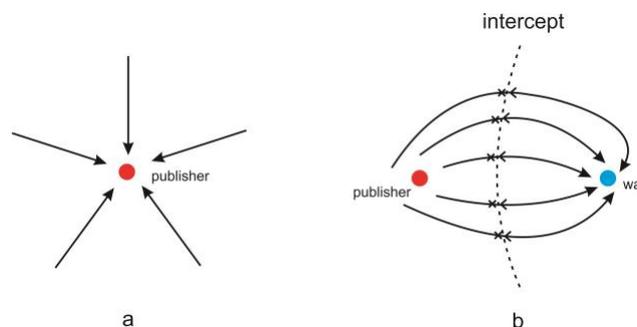

Figure 5.1 The war competing with the publisher in connecting with materials and labour

5.1.2 From weak to stronger and more extensive networks

It is interesting to question whether the war, as an adversary, was such a threat to the development, and even the maintenance of the project, and whether this made the network of the translation more fragile. The answer is both yes and no. Yes because when the war took the essential resources such as paper and staff away, the translation project did experience a variety of difficulties concerning typography, book cover design, and binding, which totally changed and restricted production efficiency and the typesetting and the appearance of the book. (Imagine if the typographer had been free to arrange the typesetting instead of being confined by the BPWEA, or if the binder could have provide the lilac cloth.) The issues of reprinting might have resulted in a failure to re-stock the book, which could have further lead to its going out of print, as was the fate of many other books. This was, however, far from the whole story of the changes to the network configuration induced by the war. If the networking activities of other actors in maintaining the translation project are traced during this period, instead of just bemoaning that the restrictions could destroy the project, it can be seen that the network of translation, in fact, grew stronger and longer. This suggests that if the researcher waits a bit longer, and allows the network to flow, it could be possible to change the answer from yes to no.

The project became fragile as a result of the trials, or restrictions, due to the war. To counter-balance these restrictions, various actors introduced a succession of counter-measures led by the publisher. In the process, old connections were renewed, and new connections were created. If, for example, the simple instance of Unwin asking Waley to suggest an appropriate designer is considered, by asking Waley for help, S. Unwin renewed and reinforced their translator/assistant-publisher connection; by writing to Grant and asking him to join the translation project, Waley renewed and reinforced his connection with Grant as friends[168]; by contacting Grant to recruit him as the designer, S. Unwin created a new publisher-designer association. As a result, the network was made tighter and links were reinforced and hence made stronger by building new connections and renewing existing ones.

In normal circumstances the publishing company (GA&U) would have produced all the English versions, occupying the whole British market with their own edition of *Monkey* and even exporting to America, without having to sell *Monkey*'s English rights to other publishers.

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[168] Waley wrote a letter to Grant, asking if he would like to do the designing for *Monkey*, just as S. Unwin did. This can be inferred from Grant's reply letter to S. Unwin on 9 November 1941, in which Grant said, "I had a letter from Waley the same time as yours and have written to him saying I would like to do the jacket" (Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)).

Unfortunately, for reasons discussed previously, the war limited the scale of production within the publishing house. Johns (1988: 57) kept a record showing that the number of copies of each impression of *Monkey* never exceeded 3,000: the first impression consisted of only 2,750 copies, the second and the third impressions stayed around 2,000 copies, the fourth and the fifth impressions both peaked at 2,900 copies, and the sixth impression fell back to a little more than 2,000 copies (2,300). The small output could not satisfy market demand, which partly explained the constant re-printing of *Monkey,* and partly the tolerance of the publisher in permitting other UK publishers to issue their editions of *Monkey,* and the insistence of the publisher in splitting and selling the publishing rights to a US counterpart. To take the US market as an example, although the publisher deplored having to give up the overseas markets, he nevertheless spent much effort in seeking an American publisher for *Monkey* and finally found one (the 3rd trial).

In the process, S. Unwin negotiated with representatives from five American publishing companies, including Walsh from the John Day Company who eventually agreed to publish the book. Having previously co-operated with three American publishers, Houghton Mifflin, Macmillan, and Knopf, in exporting and distributing Waley's previous translations to America (Johns, 1988), the publisher renewed connections with the above American counterparts by offering them the rights to publish the American edition of *Monkey*. As no evidence has yet been found to prove whether the publisher had previously collaborated in any way with the other two American counterparts, W. W. Norton and John Day, new connections were probably made in the process of offering and refusing the offer. Not every connection helped to develop a stronger or a more extensive network. In the present case, S. Unwin was approaching all his connections to see whether one could be developed further. The first four connections made, or renewed, were dead ends that could not endure, contributing to a thicker (by making renewed associations) but neither a stronger nor a more extensive network (connections were made in vain and then closed). It was only after the new connection with John Day was firmly established that the network began to develop and expand from it.

When the rights to publish the American edition of *Monkey* were authorised, power was re-assigned from S. Unwin (of GA&U) to Walsh (of John Day). The process of recruiting and

mobilising the resources to produce (the American full edition of) *Monkey*[169] started again across the Atlantic Ocean between late 1942 and early 1943, more than a year after the beginning of the project. Apart from the process of enrolling a translator and waiting for the translation, as Waley's translation of *Monkey* was ready to use, John Day still needed to coordinate almost all the rest of the production phases from design to printing, to binding, and to marketing. For example, a new designer was recruited to produce a more appealing jacket (believed to be more to the American publisher's own taste, by S. Unwin and Waley)[170]; Hu Shi (胡适) was invited to write a "splendid" introduction to the translation, and Lin Yutang (林语堂) was asked for an "enthusiastic" comment, both of which aimed to help boost the sales of *Monkey* (letter from Walsh to S. Unwin, 4 January 1943).[171]

It is to be noted that, publishing new editions of *Monkey* with different publishers to meet market demand, was much complicated and more costly, since the publisher not only needed to seek, or to be sought by, some suitable publishers, many phases of production were repeated by the publishers that produced the new editions. This means that more connections had to be made, for example, between the publisher and other publishers (as author-publisher), and between publishers, recruiting new designers, printers, binders, advertisers and other resources. Alongside the above example of new people aligned in producing the American edition, the RU edition again demonstrated how more resources were aligned to expand the network.

Just a few months before the publishing house found itself struggling to re-stock the translation, The Readers Union chose *Monkey* and requested the right to publish an RU edition of it.[172] John Baker, managing director of the RU, explained why the RU produced books during wartime: "(A)s far as choices are concerned, we generally make our own books

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[169] The John Day Company published two editions of Monkey: a full edition (1943) and a juvenile edition with illustrations (1944).

[170] Walsh held different opinions to Unwin and Waley on the jacket design of the American edition. Walsh told Unwin they would not use Grant's design since they thought they could "do better over here with a design based upon the authentic traditional figure of the *Monkey* as found in Chinese art" (letter from Walsh to Unwin, 4 January 1943). "I cannot say that I think their jacket design is an improvement on ours" (Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)) (letter from Unwin to Waley, 19 April 1943) was Unwin's comment when he talked about the matter with Waley, who agreed by replying "I don't think much of their jacket & it of course is not in the same street as ours." (Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)) (letter from Waley to Unwin, 18 May 1943).

[171] See detailed description in section 3.3.2.2 of Chapter 3.

[172] This was not included in the third trial, because unlike the case with the American counterpart, in which the publisher was frustrated with many refusals, the RU approached the publisher voluntarily and out of their plan. It was actually an unexpected piece of good fortune brought by the war.

these days – partly, in response to publishers' requests that their hard-pressed production staffs shall be relieved, and partly to suit our own paper needs and time-tables …"[173] (letter from Baker to S. Unwin, 1 September 1943). In fact, the war not only changed the way books were published (the BPWEA on the typesetting, paper weight, and binding boards), and the way in which the publisher co-operated with American counterparts (instead of exporting books, the publisher sold American edition rights), but also re-allocated the market share each publishing company held for the same book within the UK, according to the amount of paper and production labour that could be mobilised.

The RU, with sufficient labour and paper, which the publisher had fought hard to acquire (but only a limited amount), was able to make an offer to purchase the right to produce approximately 20,000 copies of *Monkey*. This was an enormous figure compared to the numbers produced by the publisher. Like the John Day Company, the RU repeated almost the whole process of design, printing, binding, and marketing, going into production about two years later between late 1943 and 1944. In the process of producing the RU edition of *Monkey*, people and resources were again mobilised and connected. Not only that, the network would have extended much further if the connections made in selling, buying and reading the huge number of books were included.

These two networks for the production of the American edition and the RU edition of *Monkey* might not have occurred if the war had not imposed restrictions that confined the publisher's production capacity, and if *Monkey* was not a very attractive translation that deserved a much larger market. Before the war, the publishing house seldom handed over English edition rights to other publishing companies, either at home or abroad after such a short time (a year or two after the publication of the first edition), and for the purpose of meeting the market demand. [174] Both of the processes were therefore extra networking compared to the pre-wartime publishing routine. Detours were therefore made in order to expand the translation project, since it was much more convenient to export books as one edition, than selling the rights and leaving the production of new editions to other publishers. The network was therefore more extensive when compared to normal circumstances.

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[173] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)
[174] Before World War Ⅱ, the shortest gap between production of the first UK edition and that of the US edition of Waley's translations (the latter could only be published after GA&U had released the publication rights to an American publisher) was 17 years (for *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*). See Johns, 1988 for details.

In general, the network of translation was woven by the publisher, translator, and designer, who recruited and deployed all the resources needed to complete the *Monkey* project. The war, however, acted as an adversary of the publishing house, a nonhuman actor that tested the integrity of the translation project by compromising important resources such as paper and printers and causing the induction of unfavourable regulations on book publishing such as the BPWEA. As important elements within the network were in short demand, connections made by and between them decreased, and the resulting effect was that the network was loosened due to decreasing elements and connections. When restrictive policies placed more pressure on the loosened network, it fell into a fragile state. Actions were therefore taken to strengthen the network and resist these restrictions. These actions, mainly made by the publisher, included bringing in new resources (obtaining an additional supply of paper), consolidating the remaining resources (making *Monke*y the printers' and the binders' priority task), and to offset the pressure caused by restrictions (recruiting a good designer for an eye-catching book cover, and selling the American edition rights of the translation). As a result of these actions, connections were made, or renewed, and detours made, and as a result the network was strengthened and extended.

Finally, it should be made clear that the fact that although the translation network of the *Monkey* project grew stronger and more extensive during the wartime, that does not mean that it grew stronger and more extensive because of the war, which acted to compromise the project. This happened because the actors that connected to resist the trials or restrictions, imposed. The expansion of the network was therefore not due to the war but to the greater number of actors involved, and the various ways in which they aligned to save the war-compromised translation project. That being clear, it is not difficult to understand that the translation network extended not because of the war, or while during war period, but whenever new actors aligned to the network; and that the translation network grew stronger whenever the connections of the actors increased or tightened.

5.2 The things ANT researchers can deduce from texts

5.2.1 Opening the black box

Texts, especially the source text (ST) and target text (TT), are not unfamiliar to researchers in translation studies. Although it was not the purpose of the socio-cultural approach to

translation studies, the tradition of focusing on the source and the target texts has been gradually nudged away from the focal centre since perspectives such as post-colonialism, feminism, systems, and networks, and elements such as the translator, publisher, editor, patronage, identity, habitus and even paratextual and extra-textual materials have been brought into consideration.

In translation studies that apply ANT, the situation seems even more 'extreme'. Researchers seem to be fully occupied by the numerous people and materials that are mobilised in the various phases involved in translation production, such as translating, initiating, editing, and marketing, whereas the ST and the TT receive little attention, being almost drowned by the flood of agents/actors and agencies/actions.

This is a misunderstanding of ANT, however, for in fact, the ST *Journey to the West* and the TT *Monkey* can be considered as two 'black boxes' in ANT. A black box is black not because people cannot see, but because people do not know what is black-boxed and how the black-boxing takes place. To regard something as a black box is different from being able to identify something as an object; it is to see something as the outcome of a complex process during which various elements were held together (Latour, 1987).

When a ready-made translation is viewed as a black box, what it says in the text becomes superficial and its importance withdraws to the background. ANT scholars do not presume that 'the translation' in the mind of any participant or critic is supposed to be 'the translation' as the end product as determined from the very beginning, and it is unimportant to ANT scholars if this word or sentence is better translated in this way or that, or if any part was added, omitted or abridged, or if the meaning or theme is different from the ST. The text in the beginning of a translation project is the ST, not the translation. If the complex processes hidden behind the texts are disregarded, it makes little sense to ANT scholars to compare the ST and the translation. These processes consist of, in ANT's words, the networks of people and materials that are black-boxed into the TT. This echoes Toury's argument that the starting point to develop descriptive translation studies is to understand first that any translation is a "resulting entity", and that every translation should be uniquely defined in "the context in which it came into being" (Toury, 2012: 22). Any analysis of any translation that is divorced from the practical environment in which the making of the translation takes

place is mere fantasy and is, in Toury's words, "a mere mental exercise leading nowhere" (ibid.).

This study moves away from critical evaluations and instead focuses on exploring how the translation *Monkey* became a unique translation of *Journey to the West*, despite many translations of the same original text existing. The text in itself does not matter in this study but matters as a resulting entity that experiences a certain process before reaching the current state. Importantly, that state may continue changing. This represents a big divergence that ANT made from mainstream ideas within translation studies. No 'source' or 'start' text stays at the beginning forever, and no 'target' or 'end' text stays at the end forever. A text always moves between a beginning as input and an end as output in different scales of networking[175]. The text therefore becomes a network of texts (in different state or forms) that evolve throughout the process. Previous questions of 'good' or 'bad' translation, therefore, shift to questions of why and how this word or sentence is translated in this way, or why and how any part was added, omitted or abridged, or why and how the meaning or theme is different from the ST, and above all, why and how the translation became the translation that was presented to the reading public. Value evaluation is substituted with an exploration of the process (how) and a deeper understanding of translation actors' choices, that leads to a unique translation in practical translation circumstances (why).

The focus of analysis becomes an examination of the process hidden behind the texts, and of how the input developed into the output. Here, the input does not only designate the ST and the output is not only confined to the TT. Both the input and the output can only be confirmed when an in-depth analysis of the production process of *Monkey* has been completed. Similarly, when a ST is viewed as a black box, it is not a 'ST' anymore, but on the one hand the result of the interaction of another group of people and texts (directly involved in the production of the end product that is traditionally known as the 'ST'), and on the other, one of the nonhuman actors that are aligned to the production network of the future translation (traditionally known as the 'TT').

The methods and the materials used in ANT approached translation studies are very different, besides shifts in the angle and the focus of analysis. As introduced in Chapter 2, the methods

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[175] See detailed discussions in section 5.2.2.1 and section 5.2.2.2 in this chapter.

used in ANT-based research to search materials and collect information include archival study, interview, and participant observation. Accordingly, archival documents, interview materials, and research logs - any text from which a researcher could get information may become the source materials. The 'ST', or the original Chinese novel *Journey to the West*, and the 'TT', the translation *Monkey*, are only part of the many texts used.

The texts are no longer the focus of analysis and no longer the major materials used, however, they are still the focus of study. This is because 1) the 'ST' remains the start of the study, and the 'TT' the end of it; 2) to study a translation using ANT is to open the black box of the translated text, examining how it configures, how it was configured, and why it was configured in a particular way, while analysing the role played by the 'ST' in the practical process of translation production; 3) all the elements that were found to be black-boxed in the translation are studied, not for themselves, but in order to justify the existence of the translation and to gain a better understanding of its character.

5.2.2 The ambiguous definitions of the texts

It is necessary to question the designation of the 'ST' and the 'TT' in ANT based translation studies. Compared to studies on the texts of translation where they are perceived as 'dead' texts, the differences that are brought to the 'ST' *Journey to the West* and the 'TT' *Monkey* when they are considered as nonhuman actors that 'interacted' with other actors during their alignment within the translation network of *Monkey* must be evaluated. In addition, the respective roles and positions of *Journey to the West* and *Monke*y in the translation project, as a developing network, must be discussed in order to answer these questions.

The traditional definitions of the 'ST' and 'TT' in the discipline of translation studies are quite straightforward and simple. The 'ST' is a text written or spoken in the source language that is translated into the target language as a 'TT'. Many researchers using different approaches and holding various views in studying translation seem surprisingly unanimous in their usage of 'source' and 'target' texts in the traditional sense, although there have been recent calls to change the terminology, for more cautious studies on translation have introduced new names for the texts, for example, Holz-Mänttärri calls a text 'botschaftsträger (message carrier)', emphasising that a text should not be isolated from its context: a ST being considered as the message carrier that lives and functions in the source world, and a TT

considered as the message carrier that lives and functions in the target world (Holz-Mänttärri, 1984). Pym also introduces the concept of 'start text' to underscore the movement of texts caused by social reasons (Pym, 2010, 2014).

It is very difficult, however, to find traditional definitions of the 'source' and the 'target' texts, which are included in only a few dictionaries of translation studies such as *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 2004), and in few introductory materials to translation studies, the most typical being *Introducing Translation Studies* (Munday, 2016a). It seems that the ST and the TT are considered so obviously basic and definitive that no further clarifications are necessary. Most of the time, people use them without difficulty to designate the original text and translation in translation related activities and research.

The definitions of ST and TT given by the *Dictionary of Translation Studies* are the most comprehensive. According to the *Dictionary*, alongside the basic concept of written or spoken languages (SL and TL), another very significant characteristic of a pair of ST and TT is that one "provides the point of departure for a translation" (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 2004: 157) and the other "has been produced by an act of translation" (164). The starting point and ending point have been determined, but the many in-between points are overlooked. ANT is about the process, and the application of ANT in exploring the process of translation production which will inevitably identify many texts that are 'in-between'.

According to the traditional definitions, the 'ST' was the text written in Chinese language from which the translator Waley translated into English, which was *Journey to the West*, and the 'TT' was the translation of *Journey to the West* by Waley in English, which was *Monkey*. Problems arise, however, when the 'ST' and the 'TT' are viewed as part of a progressive translation production process of the *Monkey* project. By applying ANT, this simple way of defining the original text and the translation in terms of the beginning and the ending point may be easily challenged, for example, *Journey to the West* and *Monkey* mean much more to an ANT based research study than simply being the source and the target texts.

5.2.2.1 From 'the target text' to a network of 'target texts'

In the process of its publication there have been at least five forms of the full text of *Monkey*[176], each of which functioned differently at different stages of the translation project. These comprise the typescript of *Monkey*, the page proofs, corrected page proofs, main text excluding jacket and cover pages, and the complete book of *Monkey* including the jacket and cover pages.

The typescript produced by the translator Waley was sent to the publisher S. Unwin for review. It was the first full text of *Monkey* that Waley created for publication purposes, although Waley might have shown his draft(s), that finally became the typescript, to his friends for appreciation, just as he did with many of his translations and other works such as *Chinese Poems* and *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang*. Waley used the typescript as a proposal for the publication of *Monkey,* while S. Unwin used it to evaluate the worthiness of *Monkey* for publication, and to devise the best means of production. The typescript, as the initial form of the target text (TT$_1$) therefore, in the early stages of translating, functioned 'as a proposal' and initiated (as a prototype) in the *Monkey* project.

Working from the typescript (TT$_1$), the production department of the publishing company produced the page proofs of *Monkey* and sent them to Waley and Grant at almost the same time. The page proofs were sent to Waley for proofreading, whereas Grant was given them to read in order to appreciate the story of *Monkey*, which helped to keep his designs in line with the theme of the book and the spirit of the monkey. The page proofs were also sent to at least two American publishers[177], the Houghton Mifflin Company and the Macmillan Company, for their inspection and evaluation, for the purpose of finding an American publisher willing to publish an American edition of *Monkey*. As a result, the page proofs as another form of the

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[176] The reason for calling the texts 'forms of *Monkey*' instead of 'drafts of *Monkey*' is that the latter may imply the stereotyped meaning that drafts are produced by the translator alone. Draft(s) is/are used in this thesis to designate specifically to the text(s) Waley produced alone in the translating phase, which finally developed into the typescript that Waley sent to S. Unwin to propose publication. The five forms of *Monkey* specified here include neither the draft(s) of *Monkey*, nor the specimen pages of *Monkey* produced in different typesettings for comparison.

[177] It was unclear whether the publisher continued sending uncorrected page proofs to other American publishers in later offers, as seeking an American publisher was a hard and long process, which lasted until November 1942 when the second impression of *Monkey* was issued in the UK. The timeline of the project suggests that by the time Unwin turned to the third American publisher in early July 1942, all parts of the book had already been printed and were waiting for binding; by the time when the fourth American publisher was approached in late September 1942, *Monkey* had been circulating in the UK book market for about two months; and it was near mid-October 1942 when the fifth (last) American publisher was contacted, at which time *Monkey* was selling well and it was not long before Unwin prepared for a reprint of the book. The publisher might like to substitute the uncorrected page proofs with the corrected ones and later, with the whole book with beautiful covers and jacket.

target text (TT$_2$) functioned as the text for correction in the proofreading phase, as the reference material to the designer in the design phase, and as offers to the American publishers in the expansion phase.

After Waley had completed proofreading the page proofs, the corrected page proofs went to the printers. These proofread proofs, as a third form of the target text (TT$_3$), functioned as the stylebook in the printing stage. The printing stage produced a further fourth form of the target text of *Monkey* (TT$_4$): the main text of the translation excluding the jacket and the cover pages, which was used for binding stage, in which all parts of the book were assembled together as a complete book of translation (TT$_5$).

In addition to being used in the binding process, the main text (TT$_4$) (or perhaps the few complete books of *Monkey* that were produced as the earliest samples [TT$_5$]) was probably used by the reviewer in preparing the earliest review, one that was synchronised with the publication date, for the purpose of marketing the translation and boosting the sales. The roles played by the complete book (TT$_5$) were various: some copies were sent to key figures in the translation project, for example, Waley and Grant, as one of the terms agreed upon their joining the project, which might later be sent to their friends as gifts. The majority of the copies were, however, distributed to booksellers, who in turn sold the translation for profit to individual book buyers for reading. Some of the copies might also have been used for display in the publishing company and bookshops or taken to book fairs, and another few copies might have been used for marketing, and given to reviewers who continued to write reviews after publication. Still more copies were enclosed in offers made to foreign publishers for translations of the translation. Waley might also have used one when making corrections, preparing for a better reprint of *Monkey*.

The fact that so many forms of *Monkey* were produced one after another, with different functions at different stages of the production of the translation was an unexpected designation of the target text or translation and did not follow tradition. Deciding which of the five forms of the translation listed above can be regarded as the target text, as traditionally accepted in translation studies, and attempting to separate them can be confusing. The root of the confusion lies in the different frames of reference concerning what designates a translation. The best way to remove the confusion is to consider the definition of the many forms of TT/TTs as already implied in the naming and numbering of them, and to consider

them as different forms of the final translation, that were processed or progressed as the project developed. By applying this method, the definition of the target text, or translation, has been changed from static and end product-oriented, to dynamic and process-oriented, which evolves along with the expansion of the translation network.

When speaking of a 'target text' people are usually referring to the complete book/text of the published translation (TT$_5$) In the present case, this refers to the whole package that is *Monkey*, with its jacket, title page, front and back cover pages, preface, and other paratexts as well as the main body of the translation. The translation they refer to, however, is no more than the main text. In the public's perception, the completion of a translation text seems to equate to the publication of it, transformed directly from translation to publication, and are under the impression that the translator's entire contribution is to translate. Descriptions in the Chapter 3 however, have already provided much concrete evidence against this misconception, and discussions on the changes in the roles of the translator, have already provided sufficient evidence to refute it.

In the strictest sense, only the typescripts (TT$_1$) can, in fact, be regarded as the work of the translator, and is therefore the closest to the traditional meaning of 'target text' or 'translation'. The page proofs (TT$_2$) printed by the publisher, with a newly designed typeset, consisted of not only the translator's efforts, but also the block-setters', printers' and the typographer's, etc. The same is also true for the other forms of TT/TTs, into which more effort was contributed by many more people such as binders, reviewers, book distributors, salespersons, and readers. In terms of the contribution of the different forms of manpower to the production, the levels of information and meaning contained in the five forms of TT/TTs far out-paces that of the traditional TT.

There are also many differences in terms of the materials utilised in the production of the different forms of the TT. For example, in terms of variety, materials consumed in producing the complete book of *Monkey* (TT$_5$) exceeded those consumed in producing the main text of *Monkey* (TT$_4$) for in addition to black ink, paper and printing machines, which were also used for the main text, producing the paratext required more materials, such as inks in different colours, photographic devices (for reproducing the jacket design pattern), and, in addition, binding materials such as boards and glue used to bind the paratext and the main text together.

The levels of information and meaning within the five forms of TT/TTs does not only expand in terms of manpower and materials consumed in the production process. As can be seen in previous discussions, it is obvious that at the same time the meaning also expands in terms of the TTs' forms of existence and functions. To understand the definition of a target text (translation) from an ANT perspective, therefore, encompasses great changes to its meaning, which greatly expands in terms of the inclusion of resources (manpower and materials) consumed, forms, and functions.

If the time-span is extended to include the many reprints, new editions, and re-translations of *Monkey*, for notably, the different forms of *Monkey* were not the only TTs produced in the project, the numbering continues as more texts of translation were produced: 1) reprints of the original edition, which contain the other six impressions[178]; 2) another eight English editions besides the original UK GA&U edition and their respective reprints; 3) the seven re-translations of *Monkey* in non-English languages and their respective reprints. The disparities between the original edition of *Monkey* (TT_5) and these different reprints, editions and re-translations increase, as they vary in more and more aspects.

The reprints of the original edition, were different from the original edition and from each other, in that they were produced at different times and under different conditions and produced by different people employing different resources. This did not only apply to all the reprints, but also all the editions and translations of *Monkey*. In particular, the second impression was corrected by Waley (corrected page proofs for the second impression also count as a form of TT), and the sixth and seventh impressions complied with new publishing standards which replaced those in effect during the Second World War.

The eight editions of *Monkey* contained full English editions, and adapted or abridged English editions published by other publishing houses in both the UK and the US. These English editions were different from the original edition, and from each other, because they all had, to different extents, distinctive changes compared to the original edition. The adapted and abridged versions all had new authors for new texts, and new illustrators for new artworks, for importantly, in order to emphasise their individual character, each publishing

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[178] There are altogether seven impressions of the original edition of *Monkey*. The complete book of *Monkey* (TT_5) was the first original full UK edition published by George Allen & Unwin.

company re-designed its own jacket or covers. There is no doubt that the people and materials participating in the publishing process of each edition were entirely different.

The differences between *Monkey* and the translations of *Monkey* were even larger, but less than the differences between *Journey to the West* and *Monkey*. In terms of languages, covers, typesettings, translators, publishers, designers, printers and binders, almost every element that composed the texts was different except the story, and that only if the translators believed in producing a 'faithful' translation. Yet they were still the target texts produced for the *Monkey* project, just like the original UK GA&U edition of *Monkey*.

Even if the many forms of translations (e.g. the many manuscripts and page proofs) produced in the process of publishing different reprints are disregarded, new editions, re-translations, and also the reprints of the editions and the re-translations, which were very difficult to calculate because of high volume and lack of comprehensive and authoritative evidence, the number of target texts is already enormous. The reprints, new editions and re-translations alone bring some twenty-one different translations (TTs) to the project, which are all closely related, though in varying ways, and different to the original edition of *Monkey*.

The numbering of the translations (TTs) therefore goes from TT_5 to TT_{26}, which, with the rest of the many anonymous manuscripts, page proofs, and reprints of the new editions and re-translations (TT_n), wove a large network of translations (TT_{26+n}), encompassing every substantial development of the *Monkey* project (see Figure 5.2 for a network of the translations). Interestingly, some of these translations became the STs for the above-mentioned re-translations of *Monkey*. This comprises one of the aspects under discussion in the next section.

Translation drafts

↓

Typescript (TT_1)

↓

Page proofs (TT_2)

↓

Corrected page proofs (TT_3)

↓

The main text (TT_4)

↓

The complete book/original UK edition (TT_5)

↙   ↓   ↘

Reprints (6)   New English editions (8)   Re-translations (7)

(TT_{11})   (TT_{19})   (TT_{26})

↙   ↙   ↙   …   ↘   ↘   ↘

Manusripts proofs etc. and reprints of the new editions and the retranslations

(TT_{26+n})
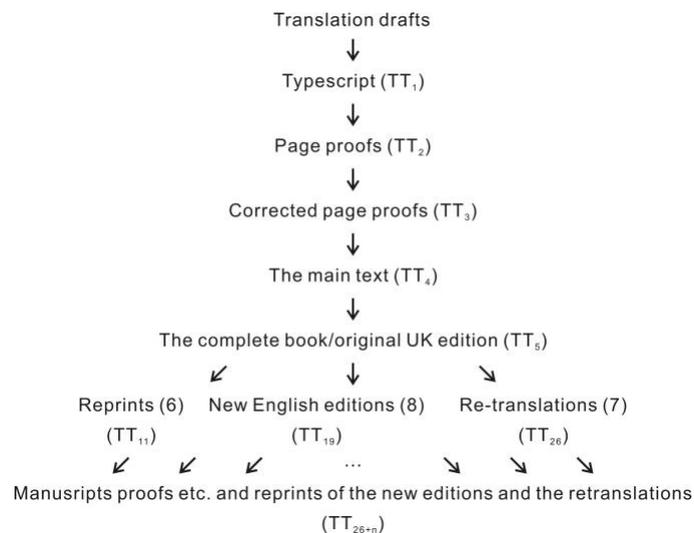
Figure 5.2 A network of the translations (TTs)

If a broader meaning of translation is adopted, allowing a looser adaptation and intersemiotic translation, the jacket and title page designs, drawn by Grant, could also be included as a target text, since Grant designed the patterns according to the story of *Monkey* (see more discussions in next section). Similarly, designs for new editions and re-translations that were drawn based on the story could also be included as TTs. The network of TTs would therefore grow even wider.

5.2.2.2 From 'the source text' to a network of source texts

Previous discussions concerning the network of translations clarify the nature of the ST(s) existing in the *Monkey* project. Further discussion develops in two main directions that comprise the following questions: first, which form(s) of 'the ST' *Journey to the West*, in the strictest sense, was really the ST? Second, was the form(s) of 'the ST' *Journey to the West* the only ST(s), and if not, what were the other STs and how they were connected?

As Waley explained in the preface to *Monkey*, the book of *Journey to the West* he used for his translation was the Shanghai Oriental Press edition published in 1921. The production process of the book is a mystery now, although it is not important, or relevant, in this case, since the book must still consist of covers and the main text, and the essence of Waley's translation concerned (part of) the story content of the book, not the covers.

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It was the designer Grant who designed the jacket and title page of the translation *Monkey*. Based on the uncorrected page proofs (TT$_2$),[179] he assimilated the spirit of monkey, and the mystery of the story, into his designs. In other words, TT$_2$ became the ST, although in a very loose way, of Grant's designs. At the present 'text' level of discussion,[180] therefore, the STs of the entire book of *Monkey* contain first, the main text form of *Journey to the West* and second, loosely, the uncorrected page proofs of *Monkey*. More specifically, the first was the ST of the main text form of *Monkey*, while the second was the ST of the draft drawings for the jacket and the title page.

The function of the book of *Journey to the West* was, moreover, not very extensive in the translation project. Except for access by the translator during the process of translating, and perhaps during the process of proofreading, the book (or more specifically the main text of it) was hardly used in any later stages of the project. The book was put aside when Waley completed translating the main text. As introduced earlier, S. Unwin evaluated the worthiness of *Monkey* for publication as soon as Waley sent him the first typescript, which he read as an English novel by itself, not a translation. In other words, as *Monkey* was not evaluated for its quality of translation, the book of *Journey to the West* was not used for that purpose. In comparison, in W. J. F. Jenner's version of *Journey to the West*[181], the original text in Chinese was put side by side with the translation text for readers to compare and appreciate (Wu [trans. Jenner], 2000).

Jones (2009, 2011) regarded 'source text' (in its traditional meaning) as one type of 'textual actors' that initially recruits actors such as translators and editors, especially if the author is no longer alive. This underpins another function/agency of *Journey to the West*: as a canonical text, the fiction was itself attractive to a translator, including Waley. Moreover, according to Waley's accounts, one important impetus to translation was that he was not satisfied with the translation status of the fiction of the time (Waley, 1953).[182] In ANT terms, here, the 'source text' and the (unsatisfactory) previous translations worked together as actors to 'interest' the translator into taking up the action of translating.

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[179] The cover pages did not only consist of the designs. Based on the work of Grant, the publisher designed and produced the rest of the covers. This was connected to another type of 'translation', translation in ANT sense (*translation*^{ANT}), which implies very important arguments of this thesis and will be discussed in the next chapter.

[180] More modes of 'translation' (*translation*^{ANT}) will be revealed as arguments go beyond the 'text' level in the next chapter (Chapter 6).

[181] The translation was entitled *Journey to the West*.

[182] See Section 6.1.1 for more discussion on this point.

The existence of a range of translations (target texts) with respective characteristics that evolved throughout the progress of the translation production already suggested that there might be more than one ST in the *Monkey* project – at least the STs of the re-translations of *Monkey*. This asks the question as to whether the main text of the *Journey to the West* used by Waley and the uncorrected page proofs of *Monkey* used by Grant were the only STs in the *Monkey* project.

It is, on reflection, unsurprising to find that the main text of *Journey to the West* and the uncorrected page proofs of *Monkey* were not the only STs in the *Monkey* project. As *Monkey* expanded to other countries, the translation (TT) itself became the ST for its many foreign editions (re-translations) when it was re-translated into Spanish, Dutch, French, Italian and several other languages. More specifically speaking, the seven re-translations were produced between 1945 and 1962, around which period the fourth, fifth and sixth impressions of the original UK edition of *Monkey* were issued. The STs of those re-translations were therefore likely to have been the main texts of the above reprints of the translation, as almost all the re-translations of *Monkey* did not use the same jacket and cover pages as the reprints. New designers were recruited to design new covers. It is uncertain whether all the designers designed according to their own understanding of the story as Grant did, but if they did, certain forms of TTs generated in the production process of the re-translations (such as page proofs of the re-translation) might have been used as the STs of the cover designs again.

So far, the STs identified draw on two of the categories of translation defined by Jakobson ([1959] 2012): interlingual translation for the STs of the translation (main text) and re-translations (main texts) of *Monkey*, and intersemiotic translation for the STs of the cover page designs of the above translations. The number of STs further increases when the category of intralingual translation is also included, and when translation is used in a broader sense to cover adapted and abridged translations.

A number of STs of the new editions of *Monkey* are also identified. The American adapted edition published by John Day in 1944 (referred to as the American juvenile [illustrated] edition in this thesis) was one of the most typical examples of the new editions. First, the main text of the edition was adapted from the main text of another American full edition, published earlier in 1943 (intralingual translation), which thus became the ST of the main text

of the juvenile edition. The cover pages were designed anew based on the adapted text and designed to cater for juvenile (target readers) taste. New illustrations were also drawn to illustrate some parts of the storyline (intersemiotic translation). In other words, each new editions of *Monkey* actually had more than one ST, for the main text, for the cover pages, and also for the illustrations, if they were illustrated, none of which was necessarily the first impression of the original edition of *Monkey*.

It is now clear that there was not only one translation, or one form of translation, but a network of them, and that there was in addition not only one ST, or one form of ST, but a network of them. It is, nevertheless, of equal importance to understand that the STs did not mean the source of translation, and that the target texts did not mean the target of translation. The network of STs was only a small part of the sources, and the network of TTs a small portion of the targets. The network of texts was only one small part of the actor-network of the *Monkey* project, that consists of many people and materials, and many texts included in the materials did not belong to any of the STs or the TTs.

This discussion on the network of texts demonstrates that 1) seen from an ANT perspective, many more texts, in addition to *Journey to the West* in Chinese, and the book of the original edition of *Monkey,* existed within the translation project; 2) the texts were connected to the project either as part of the input or as part of the output rather than 'the ST', or 'the target text'; 3) the texts exercised different agencies at different stages of the *Monkey* project. For example, the complete book of the original edition of *Monkey* (TT$_5$) functioned as one of the 'target texts' and part of the output from which the publisher gained profit. It also facilitated marketing or propaganda if it was used by reviewers to write book reviews or by book sellers to decorate their show window. It was later used again as the 'ST' or part of the input in subsequent project when its reprints, new editions and re-translations were under production. The network of texts therefore contributed significantly in different phases of the translation project, and their functions/agencies as a particular group of actors should not be downplayed in any study that examines a translation project as social networking effects.

5.3 Letters: making everyone and everything mobile and immutable

Literary correspondence, being a major means of communication, was especially important in times when electronic mail, telephone, and video/audio chat were not as prevalent as today.

Correspondence exchanged between actors of translation records many details of their translation activities. Not surprisingly, letters have been used as a source of data in many studies of translation. Among researchers undertaking ANT-guided translation studies, Anna Bogic is perhaps the first researcher to use letters as the main source of study, whereas some researchers, such as Buzelin (2006, 2007a, 2007b), Abdallah (2012) and Haddadian-Moghaddam (2012), use interview and participant observations as sources of data. Bogic bases her study of the translator-publisher dynamic in translating *Le Deuxième Sexe*, from French into English, on the reading of more than a hundred letters (Bogic, 2010: 178) and analysed those concerning the cutting and condensing of the original (185-188). Subsequent ANT-guided studies using letters as a research source include Munday (2016b) and Boll (2016).

This study represents another case study that draws on letters as a major source of data. It aims to achieve a larger-scale analysis of more than 200 letters, and to use them to trace a panorama of the translation activities that took place in the *Monkey* project. The biggest difference between this study and previous studies, based on pools of correspondence, is that letters are not only considered as a source of data, but more importantly one of the actors practically participated and contributed to the networking that occurred during the process of publishing *Monkey*. In other words, it is argued that letters not only provide a source of data for current and relevant research, but that they were essential participants of the translation project.

Questions emerge concerning whether letters should be regarded as one type of nonhuman actors in the project, and what letters, as nonhuman actors, specifically contributed to the development of the project. If the letters are viewed as nonhuman actors, it is necessary to examine the roles they played, and the positions letters occupied, within the project.

To locate the positions of the letters within the network, correlations between the volume of letters exchanged, and the rise and fall in terms of production, of the project were undertaken. Discussions concerning the roles played by letters in the translation project were, moreover, undertaken due to the two most prominent characteristics of letters, mobility and immutability, by focusing on how these characteristics help to keep the translation project formal and well-tracked, and meanwhile, on what additional information they provided concerning the project.

5.3.1 The many letters

There were more than 200 letters altogether (including a few airmails) exchanged between major human actors who participated in the *Monkey* project, such as the translator Arthur Waley, publisher Stanley Unwin, book designer Duncan Grant, typographer David Unwin, and publishers outside the UK. This correspondence covers a time range of twenty-six years from 1941 to 1966. The letters recorded, in a very detailed way, the development of the project, which underwent different phases in practical circumstances including translating, project initiating, proofreading, book design, marketing, printing and binding, and expanding (see more detailed description of the phases in Chapter 3).

The red curve in Figure 5.3 shows the changes in the number of letters exchanged in each year, within the scale of the *Monkey* project included in the current research, 1941-1966. In fact, a greater number of letters must have been exchanged as there was definite evidence of some having gone missing. In particular, no correspondence was found during 1944-1946, 1951-1952, 1954-1957, and 1959-1965.

There are two main reasons that may have caused the blank years: on the one hand, the correspondence was missing for some reason and the other, simply no correspondence was produced because the project stayed inactive. It is suggested that correspondence went missing altogether during the first period of blank years between 1944 and 1946, when the 4th and the 5th impressions of the original editions of *Monkey* were under production in the UK and meanwhile, the American juvenile illustrated edition of *Monkey*, the Readers' Union edition of *Monkey*, and the re-translation of *Monkey* in Spanish were issued outside the country. Moreover, the correspondence for the last period between 1959 and 1965 was probably missing, because, according to the list of publications of *Monkey*, the 7th impression of the original UK edition of *Monkey* was produced in 1965, and a re-translation of *Monkey* was published in Sri Lanka in 1962. There probably were some records on the publication of the two versions. In addition, the selling of the reprint rights was arranged earlier, in 1958, although according to existing correspondence, the Penguin edition of *Monkey* was issued in 1961.

The periods of the remaining blank years were, on the other hand, 'blank' probably because there was no, or low, volume of activities carried out on the project at that time. There were two re-translations of *Monkey* produced during these periods, one in French in 1951 and the other in Italian in 1960. Those two re-translations were, however, arranged years before their publication according to the correspondence exchanged between the British publisher and the French publisher Éditions Payot in 1948, and the British publisher with the Italian publisher Giulio Einaudi in 1953.
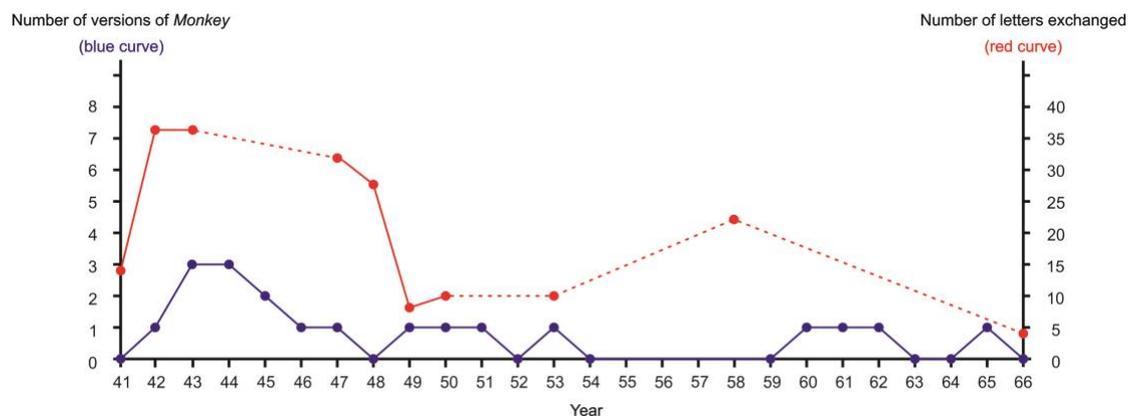
Figure 5.3 Numbers of letters exchanged in the process of publishing versions of *Monkey* and numbers of versions of *Monkey* produced within the translation project 1941-1966

The blue line in Figure 5.3 represents the amount of all versions of *Monkey* that were published between 1941 and 1966, including various editions, reprints of the UK original [GA&U] edition, and re-translations of *Monkey*. From comparing the curves, it can be seen that, interestingly, the changes in the curve, signifying the number of letters exchanged, roughly maps with the curve representing the amount of the versions of *Monkey* published, although there are some small differences.

One of the differences is caused by a time lag between the curves, which was generated mainly due to the fact that the human actors exchanged letters when arranging to produce, or during production of the various versions of the translation, and therefore before their final publication, whereas the time gap between final publication and publication was commonly around one year, although there were some exceptions.[183] In addition to the time gap, there are two more factors that affect the precision of the curve which in turn increases the

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[183] As mentioned previously, the Penguin edition, arranged in 1958 was not published until 1961; the French re-translation was arranged in 1948 but published in 1951; and the Italian edition was arranged in 1953 but published in 1960, with the longest time gap of seven years.

difference between the curves: 1) as has been introduced, correspondence between some periods is missing; 2) notably, the available correspondence concerns the whole process of publishing the original edition of *Monkey,* and its reprints, but only parts (the arranging parts) of publishing all the other versions. This includes the new editions and re-translations, which were arranged to be produced between the publisher and other publishers while the production (as well as their reprints) was carried out within those 'other publishers', who did not need to report everything to the publisher.[184]

The rough coincidence of the two curves suggests that the volume of exchanged letters correlates positively with the number of translations produced, and by implication, with the rise and decline of the *Monkey* project. Superficially, this is true since the letters reflect the development of the project, in a detailed manner and from an inside view, as described in Chapter 3. This is the most significant thing that the letters reveal about the *Monkey* project, which belongs to the 'visual aspect' (Latour, 1986) that ANT researchers expect to learn from inscriptions, letters being a special sub-group.

5.3.2 What mobility and immutability mean to the *Monkey* project

Latour (1986) insists that ANT should discuss how the most significant characteristics/abilities of inscriptions, the abilities of being immutable, mobile, presentable, combinable, etc., contribute to understanding how networks were made (cognitive), besides what inscriptions actually say or present on the surface (visual). ANT studies thus combine visualisation and cognition together (Latour, 1986). Inspecting how the unique characteristics of letters, as a special type of inscription facilitated the networking in the *Monkey* project, helps to understand what other functions letters played within the project, and to learn more things concerning 'cognitive' aspects of the project.

The letters as inscriptions have altogether nine characteristics ('advantages') according to Latour (1986). This section focuses on the two most significant characteristics of letters, in order to make the discussion clear and concise. Meanwhile, the other characteristics of letters, such as being presentable and combinable, are not separated but taken into account and

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[184] This means that many letters regarding the production of the new editions and the re-translations within those 'other publishers' were not included in current pool of correspondence, which further proves that the network of translation studied in this thesis was one that led by and weaved within the 'regime' of the publisher. It was a network of the *Monkey* project from the viewpoint of the publisher.

implied in the discussion. The two characteristics are, first, the fact that they are mobile, being able to travel through space and time, and second, that they are immutable, being able to resist change over space and time.

Letters are free to travel from one correspondent to another, so it is interesting to speculate what this characteristic of the mobility of the letters reveals about the *Monkey* project. By exchanging letters, the human participants of the *Monkey* project, such as the Unwins, Waley, and Grant, who worked in different places, exchanged information without physical meetings, saving on the need for much travel which would have been much more expensive in terms of time, money, and energy. This was especially true when high volume of information was exchanged or when the correspondents were far away from each other.

Between September 1941 and July 1942, when the project was in particularly quick development, as the original UK edition of *Monkey* was under production, there were at least fifty two letters exchanged within ten months, which, if not for the letters, would otherwise have caused the correspondents a lot of additional expenditure of effort, time and energy. The mobility of letters also permitted multiple lines of efficient communication simultaneously. Sometimes, some important information was sent to more than one receiver at the same time, and immediate responses were often sent back the very next day. If not for the letters, the Unwins would have had to take time out from their busy schedules to travel to visit both Waley and Grant, on 22 January 1942, to discuss issues concerning book design and the American rights, and either waited for their reply or arranged further meetings.

The mobility of letters again contributed significantly in long-distance communication, when the publisher was scouting around the world for international publishers who were willing to purchase the rights to publish the new editions and re-translations of *Monkey* and negotiating terms and loyalties and arranging the transference of rights with the publishers that accepted to publish *Monkey*. It is true that letters took a long time to arrive from another country at that time, especially between Britain and America (almost a month, especially during wartime), yet it was cheaper than by cable, which the publishers only used for urgent matters, more reliable and cheaper than telephone, and much more efficient than travelling in person.

Letters do not just travel between the correspondents' addresses, but almost anywhere as long as one has access to a postal service or is able to archive and retrieve them. One example in

this case study is that the publisher preserved the letters as records, meaning that the letters were gathered from different people in different departments, and classified as a collection, or placed in archive room for reference when required.

As a result of the mobility of letters, the correspondents were able to continue with communication despite adverse circumstances during wartime, and when flu broke out. In adverse conditions, letters, by continuing to move around, had an advantage in protecting people from potential hazards, which otherwise might do harm to the correspondents, and in turn to the project, as the correspondents were all crucial participants that undertook crucial responsibilities in the translation project.

Besides the correspondents, many other participants in the project benefited from the mobility of letters. All humans and nonhumans, if needed, could be transformed into characters, signs, or symbols and be represented in the letters, travelling to a receiver without their physical presence. For example, when D. Unwin explained to Grant the situation that "our printers will be in a position to go to machine early next week"[185] (letter from D. Unwin to Grant, 22 January 1942), hoping Grant could finish and send the design as soon as possible, D. Unwin was able to present a representation of the printing staff, and the heavy printing machine, in front of Grant through a piece of paper in a letter. This explains why letters were able to be used by the publisher as an important device to conduct long distance control, as analysed in Chapter 4 concerning the power struggles between the designer and publisher or typographer[186]. Letters were able to present the representations of actors, which were used by the sender/writer to persuade or enrol the receiver.

Interestingly, the mobility of the letters was sometimes transferrable. Some small and light materials that were easy to move were enclosed with the letters whenever necessary, and possible. In this way, the materials were made mobile by being attached to letters and the mobility of letters was transferred to them. For example, when D. Unwin and Grant corresponded in the design phase, they frequently enclosed items such as binding cloth, design proofs and specimen cases for inspection. Publishers also frequently enclosed agreements in letters for each other's signature. In this way, these materials were brought, together with the letters for close inspection, careful consideration, and direct management.

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[185] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)
[186] See section 4.2 of Chapter 4.

Mobility alone, however, only ensures the exchange or movement of letters, not the consistency of information exchanged. Here consistency means that the information in the letters remained unchanged, and endured over long distances and over time. If the information in the letters does not endure, correspondents cannot communicate effectively, and the information cannot be safely archived. The immutable characteristic of letters is as essential as their mobility.

As has just been argued, only when the letters are immutable, and the information they carry stays consistent and enduring while on the move, can they be considered important for the project. First, consistent and endurable information in exchanges ensures the project will keep on track. Actors who led, or managed to control, the *Monkey* project, mainly S. Unwin and D. Unwin, used mobility to exert long-distance control and immutability in order to accurately transfer their control, coordinating and arranging people and resources both inside and outside the publishing company, to the best of their ability in order to drive the project forward.

The publishing company also needed something authoritative and consistent in order to carry out bureaucratic and administrative affairs. Due to its immutability, communicating by letters instead of through conversations and meetings increased the authority of the information exchanged, and made the project formal. All important negotiations, decisions and arrangements were recorded in the letters and in enclosed formal contracts, and were not susceptible to casual change. As these communications became the official records, letters served as the starting point when agreements were drafted.

In addition, important documents such as agreements and cheques were also frequently attached to letters (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 31 October 1941; and letters from Nair[187] to people in the translation department of GA&U, 3 April, 27 May, and 3 June 1947). Just as letters made attachments and additions mobile, they also made letters more forcible and legally binding. In particular circumstances, correspondents even agreed to substitute formal agreements with letters, regarding letters as equally binding and effective as a form of formal

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[187] Kusum Nair, the managing director of an Indian publishing house named the National Information and Publications Ltd., who was responsible for purchasing rights to publish Indian re-translations of *Monkey*.

agreement (letter between letters between Rawson[188] and S. Unwin, 24 and 29 June 1966), enabling the correspondents to save time and energy, and avoiding moving what they had agreed in correspondence to a new agreement which demanded another round of drafting, checking, and signing.

As has been mentioned previously, mobility enabled letters to travel to correspondents' addresses and to the archive within the publishing company. Immutability however, made the information they carried consistent and endurable. It is only when these two characteristics of the letters worked together that the preservation of the letter collections could be considered to be a valid as a collective memory for the whole translation project. If people had any questions about any details concerning the project they could refer to the letters, because the collection of letters was immutable over time as long as they were not destroyed by war or other human activities.

Building a collective memory became especially important considering the fact that staff from different departments within the publishing company needed to refer to the letters when, for example, handing over jobs, and when the publisher was simultaneously coordinating with many other publishers concerning the publishing of new editions and re-translations of *Monkey,* During this process previous letters were frequently referred to in order to set a clear context, that was often blurred by the parallel lines for the production of different versions (editions and re-translations) of *Monkey*. These letters bore witness to the long periods of letter exchanges, and over long distances. They also record the indecision of a certain publisher, not to mention that the *Monkey* project was just one of many projects that were carried out in the publishing company, and recorded the correspondence between it and the other publishing companies during the decades between 1941 and 1966.

The following are three specific examples showing the circumstances in which archived correspondence was used as collective memory which formed the groundwork for future networking. The first example comes when the publisher was arranging with Walsh from the American John Day Company the publishing of American editions of *Monkey* (there was more than one American edition of Monkey). It became customary for the two sides to refer to the previous letters in which former negotiations were made, before proceeding with

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[188] Brian Rawson was from The Folio Society Ltd., another publishing house based in London, who proposed for a licence to publish an edition of *Monkey* with illustrations by Grant. The edition was published in 1968.

business such as the next stage of negotiation or the transferring of rights. The letters therefore always began with words such as "Thank you for your letter of date/month" on the British side (letter from S. Unwin to Walsh, 10 February 1943), and "I have your letter of month/date" on the American side (letters from Walsh to S. Unwin, 4 and 25 January 1943). The most important reason for this was that letters took about a month to travel from the UK to the US, and it was good business practice to summarise the state of play at the beginning of each letter, and to renew the previous business interrupted by a long passage of time. The same also applies in the case when the Indian re-translation of *Monkey* was arranged between the publisher and Nair, from the National Information & Publications Limited in Bombay, India, as letters took up to fourteen days, and airmails nearly a week, to travel between Britain and India (see letters between staff from GA&U and Nair dated on 17, 29 April, and 10 May 1947).

When the publisher arranged re-translations through correspondence with European publishers from Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, and France between 1947 and 1948, which amounted to four re-translations within two years,[189] the letters, like the ones exchanged between the publisher and its American counterpart mentioned above, also always started with a reference to the last letters. Here the reason was more because of possible misunderstandings caused by parallel lines of production, as opposed to being because of potential confusion caused by long time intervals, since letters only took a couple of days to travel between European countries. This was much quicker than between Britain and America/India (see letters between staff from Uitgeverij Contact and staff from GA&U dated on 31 January, 5 and 11 February 1947; and letters between staff from Éditions Payot and staff from GA&U dated on 17, 24, 26 February, and 1, 4, 10 March 1948).

The last example was more closely related to a publisher's indecision, which might also cause confusion over time: the Translations Department of the publisher contacted the French publisher Payot, asking if the latter had decided whether to purchase the French re-translation rights of *Monkey* or not, as the issue was brought up again when "going through our records" (letter from staff from Translations Department of George Allen & Unwin to staff from Éditions Payot, 16 January 1948). In this example, the records consisted of letters gathered in

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[189] There were actually five re-translations arranged in two years including the Indian re-translation which has just been discussed. The recorded years of correspondence for the publishers might extend beyond 1948. Nevertheless, the majority work of arranging all the re-translations was still settled during 1947-1948.

the Translations Department helped to check the progress of different lines of production, avoiding confusion, and keeping the project on track.

In addition, because letters are immutable and mobile actors, the collective records of the *Monkey* project could be gathered from different places without substantial change to an archive of the publisher and then, after more than half a century, end up as part of the special collections in the University of Reading whereas the publishing house has undergone great changes and no longer exists in the UK[190]. The story recorded in the letters was developed at the same time as it occurred during the process of producing *Monkey*. It exists among the many stories of translation that took place in the publishing company while staying distinct, as long as its record endures. In other words, the immutability of letters also helps to preserve the unique nature of the project, and to avoid confusing it with other translation projects.

To summarise, for the translation project, correspondence was a means to communicate that cost less money, time and energy than other methods during the period when *Monkey* was under production. It was more efficient in that it linked people and resources, no matter how far away or how complicated and important, and reduced them to symbolic representations in the flat and light letters in envelopes. Considering the adverse circumstances, such as war and flu during the period, sending letters was also a safer method to update information.

By settling matters in letters that resisted change the correspondents made the project more reliable and official than by undertaking personal conversations, and telephone calls. It was possible to keep track of the project, as traces of every important move were clearly recorded in letters, which were later preserved as archived records, while the project was in progress, and verifying and consulting earlier decisions and measures was made possible. Letters help to re-structure the story of the translation project, even after fifty years (even longer if they are well preserved), which was but one of the many translation projects that were recorded in more letters kept by the publisher and is in the keeping of Special Collections at the University of Reading. As a result, both mobility and immutability made letters a safe form of media by which to transfer information through time and space, and a major tool for actors within the translation network to control and check its development, and for researchers to study the literary translation as a distinct translation project.

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[190] The publishing company 'George Allen & Unwin' is now 'Allen & Unwin' based in Australia.

It is important to justify why this thesis did not just leave letters as a source of data, as a pile of files that lay quietly in the archive, or why it sought to explore what it means to consider them as active actors exercising agency in networking the translation project. Letters were closely connected to all the major human participants when the translator, publisher and others were busy delivering or checking information recorded in letters. The letters connected themselves to the translation project by establishing connections between the human correspondents who corresponded in networking the project (relevance). Furthermore, letters being able to travel long distance without essential change, did contribute significantly in making the delivering of arguments and decisions much more efficient and in bringing liveliness, authority and longevity to the network of the translation project (agency).

It should be stressed once again, therefore, that although the letters and other factors such as war, the flu, or the different forms of the texts generated during the publication of the translation may seem irrelevant and 'inactive' (and therefore never really taken into consideration in TS as contributing factors), this case study demonstrates that translation is not an isolated phenomenon embracing only the translator and, at best, such actors as the publisher or the designer, but rather, a literary translation project that can be seen as a complex network of interactions between various human and nonhuman actors, each of which exerts different degrees, and different types (either positive or negative, or perhaps partly one and partly the other), of influence on the translation project. Failure to bring all the actors into consideration results in a distorted understanding of what it takes to conduct a literary translation project, which in turn affects the analysis that follows in the next chapter concerning what *translations*[ANT], and their associated dynamics, may be involved in when unfolding such a translation project.

Chapter 6 The *Translations*[ANT] that Comprise the Translation Project

The previous two chapters focus on studying the translation actions of some of the more important human, and nonhuman, translation actors. The actors are studied from their own, individual perspectives concerning how their actions defined, and redefined, their roles and positions (referred to as 'identities' by Callon [1986a]) at different stages of the translation project. The purpose (of the two chapters) is to introduce, explain, and emphasise the various changing roles and positions they occupied as individual actors in the *Monkey* project, in a dynamic way.

It is absolutely unrealistic to separate any actor from their fellow actors. In this chapter, therefore, actors are studied at the group, or network, level and as a connected whole. Actions are systematically analysed in order to categorise all the actors' actions, reactions, and interactions. Instead of defining and redefining the contribution of individual actors, however, the contributions of the categories of actors to the networking process are studied. The purpose is not to examine changes in individual actor's roles and positions, but to explore how the categories of actions, as a whole, fuelled the networking process.

6.0 Prelude: grouping the *translations*[ANT]

ANT is also referred to as the 'sociology of translation' by Michel Callon. Callon (1986a) defines four moments that a *translation*[ANT] should experience, which include problematisation (P), interessement (I), enrolment (E), and mobilisation (M). The four moments (P, I, E, and M) are used to categorise the actions and interactions made by, and between, actors in the networking process.

In order to carry out *translation*[ANT], actors first need to define the situation they face, and the entities they need to carry it out. This constitutes the first moment of problematisation. Then, actors attempt to recruit or 'interest', additional entities by interrupting ("cutting or weakening" [Latour, 1986a: 208]) the entities' connections with others, such as competing actors, who might define the entities in other ways (ibid.). In this way, "Interessement achieves enrolment if it is successful" (211). During enrolment, the roles and positions of the entities in the translation project can be determined and their connections can be coordinated. Entities can thus become actors. The key concepts in understanding the moment of

mobilisation, are displacement and transformation (Callon, 1986a; Law, 1986; Latour, 2007). All actors are displaced from different points in space and time and brought together before being reassembled and transformed into an outcome that is very different from the input.

The application of Callon's four moments of *translation*[ANT] to an analysis of how the *Monkey* project/the translation project (T) evolved, in practical terms, reveals many moments (Ps, Is, Es, and Ms), and many *translations*[ANT] (*Ts*[ANT]) made by those moments. The translation project was, therefore, made up of various *translations*[ANT], or, in other words, in order to complete the translation project, translation actors needed to carry out a number of *translations*[ANT] (T $\supset$ *Ts*[ANT] = {Ps, Is, Es, Ms}).

In addition, the *translations*[ANT] comprising the translation project did not usually develop in the sequence of one moment following another. More than four moments of *translation*[ANT] frequently needed to be carried out, in different patterns, before a *translation*[ANT] could be successful. At times there could be more than one problematisation or interessement, and sometimes the order of the moments shifted, or a particular moment might not be necessary and was left out of the order, and sometimes mobilisation was postponed or abandoned altogether. *A translation*[ANT] was rarely progressed as P-I-E-M, but Ps-Is-Es-M, Ps-E-M, I-P-I-P-Es-M, etc.

A translation project does not only consist of one *translation*[ANT], however, it can comprise different *translations*[ANT] that might happen at the same time. In reality, the many moments within different *translations*[ANT] that drove the development of the translation project overlapped. The large number of overlapping moments of *translations*[ANT], developing in different patterns, made identifying and grouping the *translations*[ANT] difficult.

For the purposes of this thesis two particular methods are devised in order to group the moments into their relative *translations*[ANT]: 1) to identify all the moments of problematisation, or problematisations, before looking for the corresponding interessements, enrolments, and mobilisations that constitute different *translations*[ANT]; 2) to employ deduction in order to recognise and group the outputs of *translations*[ANT], before identifying and categorising the relevant preceding *translations*[ANT], according to the outputs they produced through backward induction. The first method, of grouping the *translations*[ANT] through problematisations and

corresponding moments, is used to identify the *translations*[ANT], while the second method, distinguishing the *translations*[ANT] through their outputs, is used to check the groupings made by applying the first method.

The first method is used to group the *translations*[ANT] because no *translation*[ANT] can be carried out without a preceding problematisation. The definition of 'problematisation' suggests that only through 'problematising', can actors know, although sometimes only very vaguely, what they are going to achieve in terms of the end results, and what additional actors they might need in order to carry out the plan or project.[191] Actors might not need, or be able, to carry out the other three moments of *translation*[ANT] in the practical process of completing the plan determined in the problematisation moment. This happens when the *translation*[ANT] is exceptionally smooth. For example, actors do not need to interest or enrol others, in which case, further moments (interessement and enrolment) are not needed, or, because subsequent moments are impossible to carry out which leads to the failure of the *translation*[ANT], which causes the plan or project to end at the hypothetical moment of problematisation without substantial development.[192] That demonstrates why the reason for grouping problematisations is crucial when grouping *translations*[ANT]: problematisation defines and outlines the plan or project, though in a hypothetical way; whereas the hypothetical character of the *translation*[ANT] is the advantage which guarantees, or increases its chance of existence. Irrespective of whether it succeeds or fails, and in whatever way, there is always an initiation and a problematisation.

The second method is used to check the grouping because there might be a possibility that not all problematisations and *translations*[ANT] are recorded in the correspondence from the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd. The possibility actually exists, for if the advertisements and book reviews used for marketing *Monkey* are considered as one important group of *translation*[ANT] outputs, there is evidence that a wide range of *translations*[ANT] were conducted within the *Monkey* (translation) project to produce them. Contrary to the implications of the abundance of marketing materials, however, there are no problematisations (let alone mention of the other three moments) mentioned in the

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[191] Detailed discussions on problematisations in each *translation*[ANT] illustrated in this chapter will support this argument.
[192] Detailed discussions in this chapter on the working patterns of the other three moments will support this argument.

correspondence. Despite this lack of evidence, the general process of *translating*[ANT] can still be applied to tentatively categorise these marketing materials according to the content of the marketing materials themselves. In a word, the outputs of the translation project can be used to deduce the *translations*[ANT] that actually occurred, and contributed to the translation project, but could not be traced in the existing correspondence.

A simple calculation of the number of *translations*[ANT] that occurred in the translation project reveals more than two hundred, and the amount of the moments of *translations*[ANT] can further multiply. For the purpose of detailed analyses in this section seven are chosen, out of more than two hundred *translations*[ANT], for further exploration of what moment patterns they developed. These *translations*[ANT] are chosen, either because they demonstrate typical working patterns of the moments of *translation*[ANT], illustrating patterns that contributed to the dynamic energy of the translation project, or because they produced outcomes (besides the translated text) that were important to the translation project but have been traditionally overlooked in Translation Studies, helping to give a broader appreciation of the field of studies through identifying more *translated*[ANT] texts. The aim is to deepen understanding of what makes the translation project, both in terms of its dynamics and configuration, from ANT's concept of *translation*[ANT].

6.1 *Translation*[ANT] one (T_I[ANT]): *translating*[ANT] Journey to the West into *Monkey*

6.1.1 Problematisation (P1): why re-translate *Journey to the West*, and how

As introduced in chapter 3, the "Preface" of *Monkey* (Waley, 1953:9-10), written by the translator himself, provides much information concerning his considerations and reasons for translating the novel. The problematisation conducted by Waley, before he took up the practical task of translation can be re-constructed, in general terms, based on the translator's own explanation as stated in the preface, and his publications around the period of time when he decided to translate *Monkey*, as indicated in the bibliography of the translator (Johns, 1988).

In November 1939, Waley published his new book *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* with George Allen & Unwin Ltd., which was quickly followed by another book *Translations from the Chinese* published by American publisher Alfred A. Knopf in February 1941. The

latter book was not, however, a new work, for all the translated poems included in the book are from two of his earlier works *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems* (1918) and *More Translations from the Chinese* (1919). This suggests that, from late 1939, after publishing his latest new book, *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*, Waley had time to reflect and to consider what his next translation project would be.

Up to this point, Waley had been translating and writing about ancient Chinese poetry and philosophies but had never touched (Chinese) fiction[193]. It is not surprising therefore that, after reading the book, he would consider translating *Journey to the West* as a new challenge. According to Waley's own explanation, there were mainly two reasons that drove him to translate the Chinese fiction, namely the beauty and fame of the original and the insufficiency of the previous translations.

As a Sinologist, Waley would have understood the source text perfectly, and appreciated its history, its prestige in Chinese culture, its unique nature in combining "beauty with absurdity" and "profundity with nonsense", the diverse elements such as folklore, religion and poetry that are mixed in the story and its insinuations concerning institutional hierarchy and bureaucracy (Waley, 1953:9-10). Waley's perception of all these aspects of the original conspired to make it a book worth translating.

As a translator, Waley was well aware of the unsatisfactory translation status of the book. Previous translations were either abridgements or a "very inaccurate account" (1953: 10) of the original. Indeed, as far as the current studies on the history of the English translations of *Journey to the West* are concerned, up until 1941, when Waley undertook its translation, only certain parts of the book had been edited, adapted and translated and by only a few people, including Herbert Allen Giles mentioned by Waley in the "Preface". Most of the "extracts" (ibid) in English were, however, included in more general anthologies of Chinese literature, and had been so radically changed that they could not accurately be called a translation. Timothy Richard's *A Mission to Heaven* and Helen Hayes' *A Buddhist pilgrim's Progress* were the only two translations published as independent books. The former was categorised by Waley as the same kind of "extract" (ibid.) as Giles' version and he described the latter as

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[193] Waley did translate some Japanese fictions such as *The Tale of Genji* before that time.

"a very inaccurate account" (ibid.) of the original. The lack of a proper translation of such a famous book demanded a new attempt to represent it in English.

During the problematisation (P_1) moment, Waley defined the situation (S_1) as one that allowed him to devote enough time to translating a Chinese novel (new genre) entitled *Journey to the West*, which was worthy of a considered re-translation as it was beautiful, famous, and there was a lack of satisfactory translation. Considering that Waley worked independently[194] and that few translation tools were available at that time, the entities he needed in order to complete the translation mainly consisted of, besides himself as the translator (Ent_1), the original novel of *Journey to the West* (Ent_2; as Waley pointed out, the book he used as the source text was published in 1921 in Shanghai by the Oriental Press), paper (Ent_3) and typewriter (Ent_4; as Waley manually typed out his manuscript before sending it to the publisher). Such was the first problematisation (P_1) conducted in the *Monkey* project (P_1: S_1, Ent_{1-4}.)

The polysystem theory may also contribute to explain the selection of the original text. With the micro-, or the very specific practical social or translation circumstances being its focus, ANT tends to neglect a larger, social or translation environment in which actors act and networks evolve. In the current case, it is interesting to consider, not only Waley's explanation on why he chose to translate *Journey to the West*, but also the status Chinese original fiction occupied in the source language culture as a polysystem (see Even-Zohar, 1990). At that historical period in China, traditional panting, philosophical thinking such as Confucianism and Taoism, and literary works constitute the major cultural systems. Waley had already published a number of books, including translations, covering the topics of Tun-huang painting, Confucian classics, ancient poems, and the like, but never a book on Chinese novel. It is not surprising that Waley turned to consider novel, which, as an important genre (sub-system) of literature, was situated in the centre of the Chinese literary polysystem. It is perhaps less surprising that *Journey to the West* became Waley's choice among numerous novels. As one of the four classical novels that are well-known and loved by Chinese, it has again been occupying a central position in the sub-system (i.e. novel as a literary genre).

6.1.2 Zero interessement and ready enrolment (E_{1-4})

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[194] See section 3.2.1 of chapter 3.

It is interesting to note that interessement did not, in this case, follow problematisation. Interessement always happens when actors do not have the required entities and need to take measures to recruit them. In the present case, however, Waley probably had the original text at hand, as he must have read the text before considering translation. Paper and typewriter were certainly not a problem for an author and a renowned Sinologist with many publications already under his name. The most important entity, the translator, was Waley himself, who had already become sufficiently engaged with the translation when he decided to initiate the work during problematisation.

As the entities were recruited much earlier, ready to function or play their roles at any time when needed, there was no moment of interessement, and enrolment was simple and straightforward. Waley did not need to take measures to interest or recruit them, for example, to borrow a copy of *Journey to the West*, pay for a typewriter, or obtain a translator. The entities were already recruited and ready to function as actors, whose connections would be made evident when they aligned in the network by performing their functions according to their allotted role.

To take two of the entities, Waley and *Journey to the West*, as examples, their enrolment designated the process during which their respective roles were realised and the connections between their roles established: 1) when Waley translated, he was engaging in the role of translator, and when *Journey to the West* was being translated, it was enrolled as the source text; 2) meanwhile, Waley was connected with *Journey to the West* as the translator who translated it, and *Journey to the West* as the source text translated by Waley; 3) they were no longer entities waiting to be aligned, but actors participating in the practical translation process. Enrolment of actors then continued as the activity of translating then began: Waley became the translator (E_1) and *Journey to the West* became the source text (E_2), these were aligned with the process of translating, and paper and typewriter then became part of the typescript (E_3 and E_4) during the process of typing.

6.1.3 Mobilisation (M_1): losses and gains in translation

The Chinese ideograms and sentences that tell the story, culture, philosophical thoughts, and historical context in which *Journey to the West* is rooted are transmitted freely among people

who understand them. Yet these associations are not transferrable, and are therefore not mobile, among people who know nothing about them. To make its meaning and culture available to those people, the original text of *Journey to the West* in Chinese needed someone who was able to act as a spokesman for it, and able to share, in English, what it said in Chinese.

Waley became the spokesman for the source text, and engaged the additional entities, namely himself as the translator with exceptional translation expertise, the source text produced decades earlier in China with the profound influence of Chinese culture developed over centuries, and the typewriter and paper from different sources and times, gathered together in his study in London, and all mobilised into a new typescript of *Monkey* in English. The details of the process of mobilisation (or translation, as they are often referred to in Translation Studies) were not clear due to a lack of records, although the differences between *Journey to the West* and *Monkey* were obvious.

In the preface to *Monkey*, Waley had also outlined the differences he had deliberately made in translating *Journey to the West*, although the losses and gains in terms of mobilisation, that is the translation, are difficult to measure. It is certain that Waley particularly valued the colloquial Chinese language in *Journey to the West* but did not hold the same positive opinion of the verses. Having established himself as a translator specialising in rendering Chinese poems into English, Waley nevertheless decided to cut the verses in order to focus on translating conversational expressions. As the original was a voluminous work, moreover, Waley developed a new strategy to balance the length, content and style by selecting thirty out of the hundred chapters in *Journey to the West*, and retaining most of the content of the selected chapters, especially the conversations, while omitting most verses.

By re-translating the novel, Waley wanted to contribute to something special by making the book entertaining with a higher level of readability in English. This was achieved by rejecting some equally entertaining plots, as well as the verses that "would go very badly into English" (Waley, 1953:9). Translating *Journey to the West* therefore, involved several transformations, not only from one language to another, but also from one culture to another (some ancient terms relating to Chinese culture would be very foreign to English readers), one length to another (seventy chapters, and some verses, were cut) and one plot to another (some plots were abridged). This complies with the definition of *translation*^{ANT} in ANT perfectly, that the

input, involving all actors or entities including Waley, *Journey to the West*, paper, and typewriter, were transformed into a very different output - the typescript of *Monkey*.

6.2 *Translation^{ANT}* two (*T₂^{ANT}*): the initiation of the *Monkey* project

Translation^{ANT} one was only a small-scale *translation^{ANT}*, and the network produced was limited, comprising a private translation project as 1) there were only four actors, with only one human translator working independently, deploying the other three nonhuman actors; 2) the actors were enrolled privately with their roles and connections simple and limited: Waley played the single role of translator, and his connections with the other actors were uni-directional; and 3) the outcome was not widely circulated: few people knew Waley was translating *Monkey* at that time, and fewer still (at most close friends of Waley) had the chance to read the translation.

In the early stages, the translation project was Waley's personal and private project. Above all, the outcome of *translation^{ANT}* one was just a typescript of *Monkey* and the typescript of the translation could not develop a wider circulation unless it was made into a complete book ready for publication, so the translation project grew from being a limited, private, and small affair to become a larger public one. To achieve this goal, more entities needed to be targeted (P), recruited (I), made to function (E), and mobilised (M), which meant that more *translations^{ANT}* had to be brought into being.

6.2.1 Problematisation (P₂): looking for a suitable publisher for *Monkey*

In order to present the translation to a wider public, Waley had to publish *Monkey*. In common practice, before an author (translator) decides to publish with a certain publisher, they must consider the suitability of the publisher, which will help to increase the chance of getting their work published and is a good way to guarantee the quality of the work to be published. It is highly possible that Waley had undertaken research concerning the best publisher for his typescript translation before approaching George Allen & Unwin. This process is regarded as a moment of problematisation: the time had come to look for a suitable publisher (Ent₅) for *Monkey*, as the typescript translation would soon be completed (S₂) (P₂). The publisher Waley initially considered publishing *Monkey* with was George Allen &

Unwin[195] (P_2: S_2, Ent_5), as he had previously, successfully, published similar work with their publishing house.

6.2.2 Interessement (I_{1-2}): initial contacts with the publisher

Efforts need to be expended in order to interest a strong publisher, who is able to plan and carry out a project to mass-produce, and spread, the translation text to the widest possible reading public. Waley took two steps to intrigue and engage the publisher's interest. First, he mentioned to S. Unwin, who was in charge of the publishing house, and who had been his working partner and friend for many years, that he was undertaking a translation of a unique and outstanding Chinese work of fiction; second, following S. Unwin's request, he sent the typescript of *Monkey* to S. Unwin for evaluation, which was in accord with publishing procedures at that time (Unwin, 1995).

Waley's attempts to interest S. Unwin in publishing the typescript complies with the first mode of interessement whereby a weaker actor manages to align with a stronger one, who possesses the potential power to help achieve their goal (mode 1, see Figure 6.1).[196] This model follows what Latour (1987) identifies as 'translation 1' in that the weaker actor seeks to be enrolled by the stronger actor. S. Unwin was unaware of *Monkey* until Waley mentioned it to him. The first step Waley took to call S. Unwin's attention to a potential translation project was to mention that he was undertaking the translation of *Monkey* (I_1). S. Unwin's interest had obviously been aroused, which led, sometime later, to him asking Waley about his progress in translating *Monkey*.

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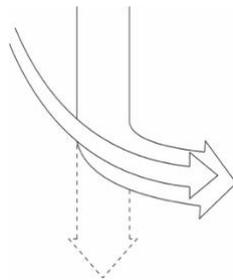
[195] See discussion on why Waley chose the publisher in Chapter 3.
[196] This model follows what Latour (1987) identifies as 'translation 1'. The modes of interessement devised in this chapter, this example and others in subsequent discussions, are based on and thus closely connected to, yet different from Latour's five modes of *translation*[ANT], also called the five modes of interesting actors in this thesis, which are discussed in Chapter 1. Comparison of the modes of interessement discerned in this study and the modes forwarded by Latour will be discussed in the end of 6.7.2, after all the modes appear in turn.

Figure 6.1 Interessement mode (1)

S. Unwin still needed to evaluate the script of *Monkey* before deciding whether it was worthy of publication, although he had been publishing Waley's work for decades including more than a dozen books of translation from Chinese and Japanese[197]. The usual procedure was that the publisher would decide whether or not he would proceed to publish the work after he or some literary advisor(s) had read the entire manuscript, as opposed to just parts of it in instalments (Unwin, 1995).

At the time Waley mentioned *Monkey* to S. Unwin, he had not finished the translation. The next step in engaging S. Unwin's interest was therefore to prepare a readable script of the complete translation for review, which was then accomplished. Waley then made an appointment with S. Unwin and handed the typescript of the translation to him (I_2). At this point, Waley had taken two steps towards interesting S. Unwin in publishing the translation, which, in ANT terms, represents conducting interessement twice. The first interessement was in spoken form at some time near the completion of the translation; the second was after the completion of the translation in early October 1941, when Waley used the typescript of *Monkey* as the tool of interessement.

It is interesting to find that the typescript of *Monkey* as an interessement tool, or interessement device, as frequently referred to by ANT theorists, was the output of the first round of translation (T_1). This implies that, if necessary, some tools or devices needed for particular moments of *translation^{ANT}* can be generated by previous *translations^{ANT}*. As well as being used as an interessement tool, the typescript was also part of the resources that were going to be *translated^{ANT}* into the proof pages of *Monkey*, which were then further *translated^{ANT}* into the main text of *Monkey*. This means that before the typescript could finally be *translated^{ANT}* into a publication, more *translations^{ANT}* had to be conducted in advance, in order to prepare all the resources necessary for the final *translations^{ANT}*, because some of the resources were not readily available. The input of the *translations^{ANT}* that comprised the translation project under study could either be made up of raw materials or the outputs of previous *translations^{ANT}*. The rest of the *translations^{ANT}* discussed in this chapter further support this point.

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[197] See Chapter 3 for more.

The result of the two steps of interessement was positive. S. Unwin replied to Waley with an enthusiastic letter in which he highly praised the translation and talked directly about its publication (this was problematisation three [P3], to be discussed in section 6.3). Waley's attempts to establish common interests with the publisher were therefore successful. Specifically, during the two interessements, Waley made publishing *Monkey* with George Allen & Unwin his explicit goal, and managed to persuade S. Unwin that they shared the same explicit interests, and that they would both further their own interests by working together towards the same goal: to publish *Monkey*. Waley, who, as a translation actor seeking to publish his typescript translation was, therefore, in a relatively weak position, and in need of resources and people, successfully joined S. Unwin, who was strong enough to provide what Waley needed in order to achieve his goal. The two sides worked together to achieve their common interest, as explicitly admitted, however, both meanwhile helped each other in furthering their own, implicit interests.

Waley's interests, however, were definitely not as explicit as those he shared with the publisher. What constituted Waley's exact interests, implicit and explicit, are not clear, yet some can be deduced by analysing what Waley could potentially gain once the translation was published. The most evident interests include that: 1) Waley would receive a payment for the translation, and also royalties and potentially more payments later if *Monkey* was sold around the world, and for translation into other languages; 2) once *Monkey* was published, Waley would become officially acknowledged and publically known as the translator of *Monkey*; 3) by adding *Monkey* to his translations, Waley could potentially re-affirm his status as a famous translator of Chinese literature, which was especially significant considering that, after translating so many poems, *Monkey* was the first (and only) novel Waley translated from Chinese, and proved to be of sufficient quality to merit the James Tait Black Memorial Prize.

The motives that drove Waley to translate *Monkey*, suggest moreover, that Waley might have had other interests in addition to what he could receive directly from publishing the translation as the author (translator), which were connected with his professional expertise. Based on Waley's preface to *Monkey*, earlier discussion concerning why Waley chose to translate the Chinese novel despite the fact that some translations of the same original already existed, indicate additional interests: 4) Waley had purely altruistic motives in seeking to

share, through his translation, the unique nature of the original book, including its "combination of beauty with absurdity, of profundity with nonsense" and also "folk-lore, allegory, religion, history, anti-bureaucratic satire and pure poetry" (Waley, 1953: 9); 5) Waley wanted to render a more accurate, and more complete, translation of the original, as previous translations were either "extracts", "abridgements", "a very inaccurate account", or "a very loose paraphrase" (10); and 6) Waley aimed to restore the vividness and humour of the rich Chinese colloquial language in evidence throughout the original novel (Waley, 1953).

Similarly, the publisher's interests were not as simple as purely publishing the translation, for, like any other publisher, S. Unwin's most important aim was to make a profit. Once S. Unwin had decided that *Monkey* was a good novel, that would potentially harvest good sales for the publishing house, there was no reason not to publish it. This was a sound judgement, for *Monkey* did indeed sell well. In the form of various editions and re-translations, numerous copies of *Monkey* circulated widely, not only in Britain but also in many European countries, America, India, and other locations which brought payments and royalties from those countries and fame and collaborators for the publisher. Many letters exchanged between the publisher and other publishers of *Monkey* record the exact amount of advance payments and royalties (some of the figures are quoted in Chapter 3). In addition, some publishing houses were eager to collaborate, for example, Penguin expressed the wish to purchase the rights to publish *Monkey* more than once, before finally negotiating the rights to issue the translation as a Penguin classic, which is still in circulation today. In his book about publishing, S. Unwin does not conceal that one objective of running the publishing company is to make profit (Unwin, 1995).

The first two interessements discussed above demonstrate that one problematisation can induce more than one interessement, which might be because complex and difficult problems need more interessements before they can succeed, or just because the interessement strategy was devised in such a way as to strengthen its chance of success. In the present case, Waley used a similar combination of methods, the formal and customary way of handing in the typescript of *Monkey* to the publisher, after his initial introduction of the translation in an informal and casual meeting. In addition to different methods, the interessements occurred at different times and places.

6.2.3 A smooth and mass enrolment (E$_{5\text{-}6\text{-}n}$)

It was evident that S. Unwin was very interested in the translation and quite willing to work with the translator to publish *Monkey*. A smooth enrolment followed the successful interessements: S. Unwin accepted Waley's proposal, and agreed to enrol Waley as the translator of the translation (E_5). In other words, Waley, as a weaker actor, successfully let himself be enrolled by a stronger actor, namely the publisher. No negotiations were made, and no arguments, nor even any changes made to previous terms. Having been working together on quite a few translation projects, the two sides had developed some working patterns and mutual trust, and over time had also evolved some mutually acceptable terms of agreement.[198] At the same time, while Waley's role underwent a subtle change from self-employed translator to one of the authors of the publishing house, S. Unwin's role expanded from a publisher to the publisher of *Monkey*. The publisher also underwent an enrolment (E_6). The connection between S. Unwin and Waley was established as that of publisher and author (translator) of *Monkey* as they were going to publish the translation together.

It is to be noted, however, that the smooth enrolment of the publisher also signified a mass enrolment of the resources at the publisher's disposal, such as typographers, printers, paper, printing machines, binders, booksellers, and numerous others (E_n). In other words, by enrolling S. Unwin, the entire publishing system of George Allen & Unwin, with its staff, resources, connections and experience, were also enrolled and ready to be aligned in the process of publishing *Monkey* when the need arose. There were, however, still a few exceptions when certain actors failed to enrol in difficult circumstances, for example, as was discussed in Chapter 5, the war, as a competing actor, 'dis-enrolled' paper and printing staff from the publisher.

The mass enrolment of the publishing house resources, in turn indicates another special phenomenon in interessement: for ready to be enrolled in their respective positions, the staff in the publishing company did not need to be recruited into participating in the translation project, because they shared the same explicit interests as the publisher as long as they remained part of the company. Their interests were aligned and bound with those of the publisher, for their earnings could be ensured only when the publishing house thrived and

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[198] See *translation*[ANT] four for discussion on agreements.

made a profit from its various projects, including the publication of *Monkey*. Therefore, to carry out and complete the translation project was also in the best interests of the staff.

This mechanism through which the interests of different parties became connected and aligned belongs to the fifth mode, the most sophisticated mode of interessement. The publisher occupied a position at the centre of the negotiation, a position referred to by ANT theorists as an obligatory passage point (OPP4)[199] (Latour, 1987), that every worker must pass through in order to achieve their own interests. To express this more simply, in this case, the workers could only get paid when they carried out the jobs agreed by the publisher in the publishing company, while the publisher could only make profits if the workers' worked efficiently. This model could not have been established quickly, but developed over time. The publisher must have invested much time and effort in the process of developing, and establishing, a mutually acceptable and productive working system within the company, before applying the now working and efficient publishing system to facilitate book publication in the *Monkey* project.

6.2.4 Loading mobilisation (M2)

Mobilisation did not start immediately after S. Unwin had decided to publish *Monkey*, and at that point, no actors were displaced and transformed into any outcome. In fact, S. Unwin was not even sure of in what form *Monkey* should be produced, for example, with what covers and in what typeset, and had not decided which entities would be needed. The only progress therefore was a commitment to publish *Monkey* in one of his letters to Waley for even the agreement for publication had not yet been drafted.

In fact, at that point in the project, to conduct mobilisation would have meant a displacement of all the resources that were needed to publish *Monkey*, to move people and materials, from different times and places, to the sites in the publishing company where the translation would be under production, and to transform these resources into copies of the translation ready for sale. It was, however, such an expansive and extensive process that it could not be accomplished without the introduction of another range of *translations*[ANT]. These were designed to source and align the resources and actors that were necessary for publishing

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[199] Three OPPs has already been identified in Chapter 4.

Monkey, but were not readily available from the start, such as the typescript of *Monkey* (*translation*[ANT] one), the designs of the jacket and title pages of *Monkey* (*translation*[ANT] three), the agreements between the translator and the publisher, and between publishers (*translation*[ANT] four), etc.

6.3 *Translation*[ANT] Three (T_3[ANT]): the designs

6.3.1 The progressing problematisations (P$_{3-6}$)

There were several moments of problematisation that needed to be dealt with in the *translation*[ANT] (T_3[ANT]). Some earlier moments of problematisation, with either vague definitions of the situation, or comprising uncertain entities, developed progressively into a final problematisation with both a clearer definition of the situation (S), and a more clearly defined list of entities (Ent).

There were four problematisations during *translation*[ANT] three, which, without exception, occurred during the initiation phase of the *Monkey* project. First, the most notable moment of problematisation (P$_3$) was when S. Unwin decided to initiate the translation project. More specifically, S. Unwin carefully considered all the factors within the situation that he must take into account, which he needed to prioritize, and then started to make plans. S. Unwin, an experienced publisher, was amazed by the "curious combination of beauty and absurdity" (letter from Unwin to Waley, 22 October 1941) of the translation, and found himself in the difficult circumstance of having to devise effective and economical methods of representing the beauty of the translated fiction despite of the unfavourable wartime publishing environment.

At that moment, S. Unwin became the translation actor who initiated the *Monkey* project by determining how the circumstances for publishing the translation might be manipulated, and the resources might be employed to carry out the translation project. According to a letter from S. Unwin to Waley (22 October 1941), one potentially difficult circumstance which threatened the situation (S$_3$)[200], as defined by S. Unwin at that point, was the unfavourable wartime publishing environment causing severe restrictions to raw products and production,

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[200] S. Unwin actually defined two situations during this problematisation. The other situation numbered S$_7$ is discussed in section 6.4.1 of this chapter.

and the threat of imminent new regulations that would compromise the publisher's ability to create "the best form" (ibid.) of *Monkey*. S. Unwin initially considered making use of Hokusai's illustrations (Ent_6) to embellish the book, and wanted to discuss the typesetting of the book with Waley (Ent_7), which consisted of the possible need to recruit additional entities in order to address the situation (P_3: S_3; Ent_{6-7}).

S. Unwin could not immediately solve the first situation (S_3), specified at the first moment of problematisation (P_3), i.e. to conceive a complete and effective plan to produce *Monkey* in an attractive form in such a short time without help, which was why he invited Waley to lunch in order to talk over the matter. It is uncertain what the two discussed over their meal, but it probably covered information concerning Waley's existing books in production, and the production of the new translation, and would have almost certainly included a discussion concerning the possible format for the final book. Further details are unknown, and therefore more details on the new round of problematisation (P_4) remain unknown, including whether the situation was re-defined (S_4), and what new entities they considered recruiting. A subsequent letter in which S. Unwin asked Waley for a descriptive paragraph (Ent_8), however, suggests that they probably agreed to use the paragraph as a part of the book jacket, which was also used for publication purposes in the marketing phase (P_4: S_4, Ent_8).

No details of the talk between S. Unwin and Waley were recorded, the exact definition that they gave to the situation (S_4) is therefore a mystery that could only be deduced. The broad theme of the talk can be found in S. Unwin's letter of invitation, namely to address the problem of how to devise the best form of *Monkey*, which was the same as S_3. As a result, S_4, could be regarded as similar to S_3. In this way, S. Unwin successfully aligned the publisher's role with that of Waley, in that Waley took on the role of a consultant and shared the same points of consideration as the publisher.[201]

Sharing the same theme, however, did not guarantee the exact same definition of the situation. The situation defined at the second moment (S_4) must have been different from S_3 in some detail because 1) S. Unwin needed to use the face-to-face talk to further explain some details concerning S_3, as it was only roughly defined in the letter and remained very unclear; 2) as inferred from the letter sent not long after the talk in which S. Unwin reminded Waley of the

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[201] This was actually a moment of enrolment that will be discussed in section 6.3.3 of this chapter.

need for a descriptive paragraph of *Monkey* (Ent_8), both sides knew the paragraph would be used for publicity purposes, suggesting that S_4 differed from S_3 at least in that the questions on marketing were considered in addition to the form of the book.

The next moment of problematisation (P_5) occurred when D. Unwin joined S. Unwin in discussing the problem of how to improve the appearance of *Monkey*. At this moment, the two actors (Unwins) agreed that a certain genre of designer, preferably a Chinese artist (Ent_9), might be recruited to design the title page (Ent_{10}) and a jacket (Ent_{11}) for the translation for a "suitably moderate fee" (Ent_{12}) (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 31 October 1941) as the book deserved more effort to be expended to make it attractive while saving on a limited budget (S_5) (P_5: S_5, Ent_{9-12}).

In a similar way to D. Unwin, who initiated the third moment of problematisation (P_5) when he joined the problematisation, S. Unwin again brought Waley into the problematisation by asking the latter's input in recommending a suitable designer, and Waley generated the fourth moment (P_6). He defined what would, to his taste, constitute a good title page and jacket for *Monkey*. He suggested designs that were made "à fantaisie" (letter from Waley to Unwin, 3 November 1941) without any suggestion of realism (S_6), meanwhile suggesting that Grant (Ent_{13}) was a suitable designer for the work.

The above two moments of problematisation (P_5 and P_6) were generated when new actors joined the network (D. Unwin), or were recruited (Waley). In D. Unwin's case, he contributed to the project by suggesting a range of entities that might help to improve the appearance of the translation. These new ideas and possible alternatives, could almost be considered as being in competition with the entities considered by S. Unwin previously in terms of the variety of options, but probably not in the number of potential options, as some entities such as Hokusai's illustrations (Ent_6), could be grouped.

Notably, not all entities were determined from the start. Changes occurred frequently, especially at the two moments above. The first change happened when alternative designs were substituted for Hokusai's illustrations (Ent_6) for a title page (Ent_{10}) and jacket (Ent_{11}), which were thought to be more eye-catching for readers than the former ($Ent_6 \rightarrow Ent_{10} + Ent_{11}$). Grant ($Ent_{13}$) took the place of a Chinese artist (Ent_9) ($Ent_9 \rightarrow Ent_{13}$), and, since Waley had made a decision to reduce realism, the jacket and title page consisted of more stylised images.

It was not until the point that the publisher had experienced four moments of problematisation, each clearer than the previous one in terms of both defining the situation and targeting entities for recruitment, that the three main actors, S. Unwin, D. Unwin, and Waley, finally agreed to invite Grant (Ent$_{13}$) to design a title page (Ent$_{10}$) and a jacket (Ent$_{11}$) for the translation for a moderate payment (Ent$_{12}$). This was in order to create eye-catching covers that could fit the required dimensions for the book, and in turn reflect the spirit of the book (S$_6$) (P$_6$). As more actors joined to contribute in the moment of problematisation, a new group of entities (Ent$_{10-13}$) replaced those targeted previously, and S$_6$ was finally reached after an intense re-defining process (P$_6$: S$_6$, Ent$_{10-13}$).

6.3.2 Interessement (I$_{3-4}$): recruitment of the designer

The third and the fourth interessements (I$_3$ and I$_4$) were aimed at recruiting Grant, the entity (Ent$_{13}$) targeted during the last of the four problematisations discussed above (P$_6$), as the designer of the jacket and title page of *Monkey*. The third interessement was conducted by S. Unwin, who wrote a letter to Grant, explaining the translation project, and Waley's recommendation, offering Grant the design work and the level of payment, and asking whether the offer and the project sounded appealing to him. The fourth interessement occurred at almost the same time as the third, when Waley wrote to Grant separately, inviting him to join the translation project as the designer. The two interessements occurred as two actors combined to interest Grant into accepting the job. Whether one interessement alone would have been enough to succeed is unknown, and is as unimportant as it is unclear.

The previous discussion has shown how the first pair of interessements, I$_1$ and I$_2$, followed the first mode of interessement ('*Translation* 1' as categorised by Latour [1987]), in which the translator, the weaker actor, was recruited by the publisher, the stronger actor, and both committed to the same explicit interests agreed between them. The case was reversed, however, during the second pair of interessements, I$_3$ and I$_4$, which followed none of the modes of recruiting actors as suggested by Latour (1987). Both S. Unwin and Waley, were already aligned, and worked together to recruit Grant as the designer, both combining as the stronger actor, representing the publisher, and approaching Grant as the weaker actor in the process of interessement. Grant therefore, in aligning with the publisher, shifted his direction to join his interests with those of the stronger actor, which was to design a beautiful title page,

and an eye-catching jacket according to certain requirements and restrictions[202]. This was different from the first mode of interessement because it was not the weaker actor who needed to align with the stronger, as when Waley needed to join the publisher in order to get *Monkey* published, but the stronger actor needing to recruit the weaker. To facilitate this alignment, the publisher invited Grant to accept the offer to join the *Monkey* project as designer in order to produce a *Monkey* with appealing covers (interessement Mode 2, see Figure 6.2 below).
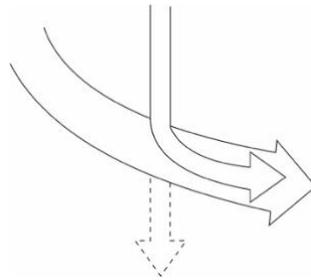

Figure 6.2 Interessement mode (2)

6.3.3 Enrolment: the design circle

With the help of Waley it was not a difficult task to interest Grant in joining the translation project as cover designer. Grant was, in fact, highly cooperative as he only asked for the 'usual payments', and agreed to design the title page and the jacket to fit the dimensions of the book, and promised to complete them in the order (title page first) that best facilitated line production. He also understood that the design should not require too many colours due to the shortage of materials in wartime. As a result, Grant's role as a designer was closely connected with the publisher and the typographer (D. Unwin). The publisher outlined the requirements to Grant while the typographer defined the practical restrictions. Grant therefore enjoyed freedom in designing the covers only as long as he did not overstep the limits set by the publisher.[203]

Through accepting the design job and working as a designer for the *Monkey* project, Grant connected with Waley, not only as friends, but also as co-workers. This connection as co-workers was established and strengthened as Grant designed with reference to the page

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[202] See detailed discussion in section 4.2 of Chapter 4.
[203] See footnote 179.

proofs of the translation text[204], and later when the designs were finished, Waley was the first to give his positive feedback on the designs.

The respective roles of the four human actors were therefore aligned: the publisher commissioned the designer with the help of the translator; the designer worked for the publisher under the guidance of the typographer together with the translator who, while also being responsible for the translation, was his co-worker and before that his friend. It was admitted among the four that the translator was the person who understood *Monkey* the best, and should therefore be the person to decide whether the designs were good or bad, suitable or unfit.

In addition, many nonhuman actors were enrolled in the design process, some of which were provided by the typographer as a guide, for example, the page proofs of *Monkey*, and some of which were used by the designer as materials necessary to complete the design, such as paper, colours, and drawing tools. Unfortunately, besides the typographer's instructions, there are no further records remaining concerning the design process, and the enrolment of the nonhuman actors is to a large extent a mystery, as is the mobilisation of these actors.

6.3.4 Mobilisation (M₃): the mystery of the design process

Grant, like Waley in the translating process, worked independently and away from the publisher during the design process and the creation of the artworks. Unlike Waley who explained how he translated *Monkey*, Grant did not leave any explanations concerning his design work, and no records of the practices involved in the designing and creation of the artworks are available.

The practical process of designing the title page and the jacket for *Monkey* was the process through which the enrolment and mobilisation of actors occurred. Due to the lack of records, it is not known how human and nonhuman actors, in particular the designer and the materials used for designing, were mobilised to produce the designs. The enrolment of Grant into the role of designer definitely suggests the enrolment of many materials as nonhuman actors into particular roles within the artistic process. How Grant then re-assembled these materials

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[204] Yet another round of *translation*^ANT took place before the page proofs were produced. See more in section 6.8 of this chapter.

gathered from different times and places, under restrictions imposed in wartime and set by the publisher and the translator, before transforming them into the design patterns - the displacement and transformation of the resources - is a mystery.

6.4 *Translation*^{ANT} four (T_4^{ANT}): previous terms transformed into a new agreement

6.4.1 Problematisation (P_7): legal terms and conditions within the *Monkey* project

When he decided to initiate the *Monkey* project, S. Unwin defined two situations during P_3. One was the challenging situation that the publisher faced due to wartime publishing restrictions during that period, which was introduced in Section 6.4.1 as S_3; the other was that the publisher had not yet acquired the rights to publish *Monkey* (S_7) from the translator. In order for S. Unwin to produce the translation, he first had to obtain the rights from Waley. The entity he needed to secure the publishing rights, in this situation, was an agreement signed by both the publisher and the translator (Ent_{14}). This constituted the second part of the problematisation (P_3) where S. Unwin complied with the need for an agreement to make the project official and legal (P_3: S_7, Ent_{14}). The problematisation was, at this point, completely established with two situations defined and three (groups) of entities appointed (P_3: $S_{3\&7}$, $Ent_{6, 7\&14}$).

The formal agreement, as an entity (Ent_{14}), specified to address the situation (S_7), was again not an entity ready to be recruited, as it had to be created by S. Unwin by first drafting and then having it typed out. This would not have been too onerous, for as he mentioned, it was created based on previous agreements settled between the publisher and the translator on past translation projects (Ent_{15}). S. Unwin then undertook another phase of problematisation (P_7), during which he hypothesised the possible issues that might happen (S_8) in carrying out the project, and wrote an agreement concerning possible outcomes of various scenarios in a binding and precise contract for the particular project (P_7: S_8, Ent_{15}).[205]

Another interesting trait of problematisation is that situations, defined by certain actor(s), do not have to be practical or even real. They can also be hypothetical, and concern what may, or may not, happen in the future. Just like the situations defined in S_8, which were a range of

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[205] See Appendix III for the full letter sent from Unwin to Waley on 22 October 1941, in which P_3 was explained and P_7 was indicated.

possible scenarios S. Unwin included in the agreement, which might, or might not, happen in real circumstances. The situations had to be hypothesised, so that if any of the possible issues evolved into a real situation, the corresponding terms in the agreement would come into effect, protecting the alignment between the publisher and the translator, and providing legal support for the translation project.

6.4.2 Zero interessement and smooth enrolment

Like in *translation*^{ANT} one, no interessement was needed and the major actors were easily enrolled in this *translation*^{ANT}. The agreement was drafted by S. Unwin, who did not have to be 'interested' to become the contract writer, as it was part of his role as a publisher, and no decision was required.[206] As the company kept records of all legal documents, previous agreements could be enrolled as a point of reference for use in preparing the new agreement. S. Unwin's secretary probably then typed and checked the agreement, as part of his/her routine work.

The connections between major human and nonhuman actors were coordinated throughout the process of enrolment. The rights and responsibilities of each were formally and clearly allocated, and the role of the contract was to bind them legally together, and to the *Monkey* project.

6.4.3 Mobilisation (M₄): the agreement transformed

It is useful to consider what resources were displaced and transformed during the *translation*^{ANT} that produced the agreement. First of all, the translator, as a real person, and the publishing company as a specific entity were displaced and transformed into the two names of the parties that appear on the agreement. The name of the work to be published, the translation (*Monkey*), and the amount of money agreed as payments and royalties were also added. The terms of agreements, and the rights and responsibilities of each party were transformed through the typewriter into the terms and conditions of the new agreement on pieces of paper.

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[206] By then, S. Unwin had been enrolled, or more precisely, had enrolled himself as the agreement maker, publisher and project initiator.

Translation^{ANT} four was only one example of many *translations*^{ANT} that were repeatedly carried out to build a legal basis for the project, and the agreement was only one of the many agreements that were made in the *Monkey* project. In particular, no part of any of the agreements became part of the translation text of *Monkey*. The agreements existed independently of *Monkey* but as an indispensable product of the *Monkey* project. Similar entities include advertisements and book reviews generated in *translation*^{ANT} six (see Section 6.6).

6.5 *Translation*^{ANT} five (*$T_5{}^{ANT}$*): the jacket proofs agreement

The designer, Grant, completed the designs for the title page and the jacket, which were then sent to the publishing company for inspection, acceptance, and production. The process of reproducing the designs then entailed more *translations*^{ANT}. Since the title page design was relatively simple and easier to reproduce, the actors engaged in little discussion concerning the *translation*^{ANT} of the resources into the title page proofs; whereas the reproduction of the jacket design underwent many experiments before the final jacket proofs received everyone's approval.

In reality at least two rounds of *translations*^{ANT} took place in the process of reproducing the jacket design. Each *translation*^{ANT} generated one group of jacket proofs. The first group (proofs 1) were not accepted by the designer so that a second group (proofs 2) had to be produced to meet his standard. The following section focuses on the latter round of *translation*^{ANT} during which the second group of jacket proofs, that were finally acceptable to the designer were produced, and the first round of *translation*^{ANT} was introduced very briefly.

Many problems arose during the process of producing the first proofs. Each problem was defined by the typographer (P_s), who always called it to the attention of the designer, hoping to gain his help and approval (I_s). Each problem was addressed with the support of the designer (E_s) until the rough proofs of the design were eventually produced (M) and sent to the designer for inspection.

One example was that, wishing to reverse the design pattern in order to emphasise the unconventionality of the story (P), the typographer tried to persuade the designer that this simple move could achieve an impressive effect (I). The designer explained why he had

designed pattern in its original direction, although he left the decision to the publisher without causing conflicts and additional negotiations (E), so that the typographer could proceed to making arrangements for the reproduction.[207] These were only one of the problematisations, interessements, and enrolments in the *translation*^{ANT} during which the first group of design proofs were generated. At that time, the production of the design proofs was a challenging task that required fine techniques. Other moments of the *translation*^{ANT} happened repeatedly, for example, more problematisations happened when staff in the production department employed different printing methods, using different devices such as cameras and lithographic plates (P$_s$). The same was also true for the reproduction of the second group of design proofs.

6.5.1 Problematisation (P$_8$): impediments to the next phase of production

Before sending the first design proofs to both the designer and translator for examination, D. Unwin's replacement[208] had already evaluated the rough proofs and anticipated that the designer might not be satisfied with the effect. Due to time pressure, however, the replacement decided to proceed to the printing phase using the rough proofs. The biggest obstruction to this process was the designer who held the rights of his design and who might not approve the use of the alternative artworks with the simplified design. The translator Waley might not approve the proofs either, especially considering that Waley recommended Grant to do the design work because he liked Grant's art and they were friends. More importantly, the first person to inspect the original designs was Waley, whose opinion Grant valued. The replacement therefore had to persuade both of them (S$_9$) that proceeding to the next stage of production using the first (simplified) design proofs (Ent$_{16}$) without further delay was not only in the interest of the publishing company but also in the interest of both of them. (P$_8$: S$_9$, Ent$_{16}$)

6.5.2 Interessement (I$_{5-6}$): persuading the translator and the designer into accepting the jacket proofs

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[207] See detailed description in section 3.2.3.3 of Chapter 3.
[208] D. Unwin, the typographer in charge of the Production Department who was responsible for the production of the jacket proofs, was away from office for a period of time. During his absence, another person took his job, representing him in the office. The person is referred to as 'the replacement' hereafter.

There were times when one interessement was not enough to persuade an actor, or actors into sharing certain interests with the persuader. In the current *translation*[ANT], the replacement's strategy was to separately convince Grant and Waley by conducting two interessements. The effort expended in order to persuade Waley was not as much as that expended later when trying to explain the common interests Grant could potentially share with the publishing company. "We do hope you will agree that the reproduction of Mr. Grant's work is most effective"[209] (letter from the replacement to Waley, 26 February 1942) was the replacement's persuasive remark (I_5). Perhaps the replacement had already known that Grant might be more difficult to convince than Waley, or perhaps the replacement understood Waley had greater interests in common with them in getting *Monkey* published as quickly as possible. The fact was that Grant was the key actor, and that the replacement wanted to convince, or in ANT terms, keep him aligned with the common interests at that point.

It is interesting to speculate what interests the publishing company might share in common with the designer, that might at the same time outweigh the designer's personal interests, such as a better re-presentation of his original design so that Grant would agree to move on instead of insisting on increasing the quality of the proofs. The replacement explained that the spirit of the design was preserved despite some degree of simplification, before expressing the staff's anxiety to go on with the printing (I_6). To proceed to printing without delay using the simplified design proof was in the common interest of the replacement and the designer.

There is no record of Waley's reply, whereas Grant's refusal to accept the proofs showed that the common interests that the replacer tried to promote could not outweigh Grant's personal interests. The interessement therefore failed, as the common interests turned out to be insufficient, and Grant refused to join the route planned by the replacement, who, as a result, had to carry out further actions to establish new interests that Grant would be willing to share with them so that production could proceed.

6.5.3 Another Problematisation (P_9) and Interessement (I_7): further steps taken to persuade the designer

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[209] Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers Ltd © (1942) (Arthur Waley)

If the replacement had not been fully aware that Grant would not yield unless his original design of the jacket was reproduced satisfactorily in the proofs, that now became very clear when Grant refused to align with the same interests as the replacement. In order to proceed to the printing stage, they had to change tactics (S_{10}) and if they wanted to use Grant's jacket design, they had to make the proofs meet his standards and printing had to be postponed until Grant accepted the new jacket proofs (Ent_{17}). (P_9: S_{10} Ent_{17})

The publisher therefore worked to produce better proofs of the jacket (proofs 2), which were used as the device in a new round of interessement, in the same way that Waley used the typescript to interest Unwin into initiating the *Monkey* project (I_2). During the new interessement, the designer and the replacement finally agreed on the common interest, and the project could proceed as long as the fine version of the jacket design was accurately reproduced in the new proofs (I_7). The project entered the printing stage after about two months when satisfactory proofs of the jacket design were finally produced photographically, after experimentation with different methods such as direct and offset lithography.

The failure of the sixth interessement was not followed simply by a next round (I_7). As discussed above, the replacement in the Production Department needed another problematisation to re-assess the situation and change tactics, and to implement the new tactic, employees in the publishing company had to carry out more problematisations and mobilisations[210] in the process of producing the new jacket proofs, just as they had done during the production of the earlier, rejected, simplified one.

In addition to demonstrating that more interessements can follow one problematisation, the pair of failed interessements (I_5 and I_6) reveals that 1) while two interessements might aim at one actor (as in the case of I_3 and I_4), there might be as many interessements as the number of actors needing to be recruited or aligned; 2) failure to interest the key actor led to interrupted development of the whole project; 3) the need to 'interest' was not confined to persuading an actor to join or align, but might extend to other strands when divided interests hindered the development of the project, as for example, when the common interests of actors kept changing during networking, the common ground on which cooperation stood should be constantly (re-)established; 5) when an attempted interessement failed, actors needed to travel

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[210] See discussion in following sections (6.5.4, 6.5.5, and 6.5.6).

detours from the main project direction, such as launching new interessement(s) until common interests were established or looking for substitute interests or actors in order to maintain networking.

The fifth (I_5), sixth (I_6), and seventh (I_7) interessements followed the third mode of recruiting actors as suggested by Latour (1987) in general, which is borrowed to present the third mode of interessement as presented in this case study (Interessement mode 3, See Figure 6.3). The route of development was blocked since the designer and the typographer (and the 'replacement' representing him when he was away from office) could not agree on the common interests proposed by the latter, and both travelled a detour, during which they solved the dispute on the quality of the jacket proof, before coming back to the main project direction, taking the next step of mass-printing the proofs. More actors were therefore forced to stop and wait for the detour to be undertaken, the translator being one of them, although the dispute occurred between the publisher and the designer.

Figure 6.3 Interessement mode (3)

6.5.4 More problematisations (P_{10-14}): a search for the best method to manufacture satisfactory jacket proofs

As discussed above, the publisher had already discovered that failing to persuade the designer meant that the jacket proofs (proofs 1) were discarded, and that new ones (proofs 2), with no simplification and of a good quality, must be produced, so that they could be used as a new interessement device to re-align the designer, and push the project forward (see P_9 and I_7 discussed above). An issue then arose concerning how best to manufacture the new proofs. New rounds of problematisations were carried out concerning the best method to employ to reproduce the original design in the new jacket proofs (proofs 2) of an acceptable quality. The designer, insisting on his own interests, nevertheless felt the anxiety of the staff in the

publishing company, and although not within his responsibilities, the designer took the initiative to identify the problems and suggest the methods to solve them. The next problematisation (P_{10}) was in fact conducted by an 'outsider'. When declining the simplified proofs (proofs 1), the designer suggested two alternative methods to produce the design if staff in the Production Department wanted a faster process (S_{11}). The first was to photograph his design on zinc (Ent_{18}), which was quicker than lithography, and the second was to print the design on coloured paper (Ent_{19}) (P_{10}: S_{11}, Ent_{18-19}).

Instead of taking Grant's suggestions, however, staff in the Production Department experimented with the engraver's suggestions of using direct lithography (P_{11}) and offset lithography (P_{12}), which were proven to be not as good as photography (P_{13}), the method eventually used to produce the new jacket proofs (proofs 2). The reason why staff in the Production Department took pains to experiment with lithographic methods, instead of following the designer's suggestion was not specified, so that the cause of the two successive, invalid problematisations is not clear. It might have been because the engraver did not have the resources, or expertise, to carry out photographic production, or it might have been because staff in the Production Department thought lithography was more economical. How the engraver determined that lithography and photography were the best production methods in different situations (S_{12-14}) is not recorded, nor an indication of the entities (Ent_n) that were needed to carry out the productions. The three problematisations (P_{11-13}) thus escaped detailed analysis.

The typographer[211] was cautious about the colour of the lettering of the jacket (S_{15}) and thought that it might be enhanced from yellow to orange (orange ink, Ent_{20+n}) for better effects (P_{14}) (P_{14}: S_{15}, Ent_{20+n}). Consequently, two new sets of design proof (proofs 2.1 and 2.2) were finally produced photographically, one with lemon yellow lettering and the other with orange lettering, which were then sent together to the designer for his opinion.

6.5.5 Enrolment: another enrolment for all

Failure to interest the designer in using the simplified design proof (proofs 1) signified the start of a long and difficult enrolment. Staff in the Production Department put more effort

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[211] According to the signature in correspondence, the typographer D. Unwin returned to his office and took over the matter then.

into experimenting with the reproduction of the jacket design, while maintaining contact and negotiating with the designer. The engraver was again requested to reproduce the design (proofs 2), and the designer was promised new design proofs and a timely update on the reproduction process.

The engraver responsible for the production of the old proofs, was enrolled again as the actor responsible for reproducing the new group of jacket design (proofs 2) for *Monkey*. The designer, who was finally satisfied with the new specimen proofs (proofs 2), was re-enrolled after a relatively long detour from the main project direction (due to the reproduction proofs 2). Throughout the process, moreover, the typographer still depended on the designer to for example, advise on the colour of the lettering, which made the designer an advisor and consultant at the same time.

It is interesting that the connections between the typographer and the designer had changed. In the beginning, the typographer was the superior actor who controlled the work of the designer; however, when the designer finished the designs, he became the one holding the rights to the designs, and through whom anyone, including the publisher that hired him, had to pass in order to use the design. Grant thus became the obligatory passage point (OPP) of his designs, and as a result indispensable to any process connected with the designs.[212]

Almost all the actors in the process of reproducing the simplified jacket designs (proofs 1), for example, the engraver and lithography devices, except the engraver's artist who had re-drawn the simplified design (since simplified re-drawing must be discarded), experienced two new rounds of enrolment during the production of the new jacket designs (proofs 2), one enrolment for direct lithography and the other direct lithography. The two enrolments failed, however, or more precisely, the actors were enrolled in vain as the methods proved to be unsuccessful.

The team of actors who participated in photographic production of the design, for example, photographer and photography devices were, however, successfully enrolled. There were actors participating in both the lithographic production of the first group of proofs (proofs 1) and the photolithographic production of the second group of proofs (proofs 2), whose roles

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[212] See detailed discussions in section 4.2 of Chapter 4.

and connections probably did not undergo substantial changes as they had been repeating their tasks. For example, D. Unwin (the typographer) remained in charge of both processes, and the printers and printing machines. Some other actors, that no longer contributed to the photographic production, for example, the devices used for direct and offset lithographic processes, were unenrolled, with their previous roles in, and connections with, the other actors in the project dismantled.

6.5.6 Mobilisation: failure and success of mobilisations

Displacements happened constantly when the engraver experimented with lithographic methods. Some examples include, the engraver taking away the design for careful study, the methods of lithography invented at least decades earlier [213] that were employed by the lithographer when the design was reproduced, and paper and colours were transported from suppliers to the publishing company. Transformation of the resources into new design proofs did not, however, occur by applying direct and offset lithographic techniques, as the methods could not reproduce the design successfully. The mobilisation therefore failed as displacements took place without transformation and there was input with no output.

Mobilisation only occurred during the process of producing the jacket proofs photographically, as all necessary resources must have been gathered at the site of production when their transformation into new proofs was successfully conducted. Though there were two sets of proofs (proof 2.1 and 2.2) with different colours of lettering, mobilisation needed no repetition as a simple act of displacing the colours could achieve the required result. The new jacket proofs with different coloured lettering were, however, only produced as specimens. Before the proofs could be produced through a larger-scale mobilisation as copies of the jacket, they first had to be used as the interessement devices to persuade the key actors, the designer in particular, that they were fine and acceptable to be produced through a larger-scale mobilisation as copies of the jacket.

6.6 *Translation*^{ANT} six (*T_6^{ANT}*): producing advertisements and book reviews

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[213] The invention of lithography can be traced back to 1796. Offset lithographic printing (on paper) was invented in 1904 and became common in the 1960s. Lithographic printing using photographic images was invented in the 1820s and gradually became mature during the 1940s and 1950s.

6.6.1 A vague outline of a *translation*[ANT]

As there were many phases of production that the project went through, there had to be many more problematisations. For example, for the marketing stage to take place, the publisher had to define the problems of marketing *Monkey*, such as the best ways to promote the publicity: book fairs, reviews, advertisements or other means, how the reviews or advertisements were going to appear, and in what media and around what time. Meanwhile, the money, people and other resources needed to carry out publicity might be targeted as well, which comprised the problematisations for the marketing phase.

Similarly, there were also problematisations during the printing, reprinting, binding, and expansion phases. The exact place and time for the problematisations for the different phases was unclear, as they were not specifically indicated in the correspondence. They might happen simultaneously with one problematisation, or individually, in pairs, in threes and the like. They must, however, be different from the fourteen problematisations previously identified, which were particularly specified in the letters as independent and separate problematisations.

There must be more than one problematisation, since it was not easy to define so many problems as listed above, and it was likely that practical situations kept changing over the long period for at least the six years of marketing (1941-1946). During this period, the original UK edition of *Monkey* experienced many re-prints, whereas the need to promote the book reduced over time. This was reflected in the publisher's changes in tactics used to market the translation: the number, frequency and length of advertisements and book reviews kept reducing until advertisements and reviews disappeared.[214] Since the marketing was a changing process during which the publisher deployed different marketing strategies for newly developed situations, different problematisations were carried out whenever the marketing condition changed, so that new strategies could adapt and be designed for best effect and lowest cost.

The above discussion on the problematisations of book publicity was only very generally inferred from the casual mentions between the translator and the publisher, and from the

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[214] See detailed analysis of the changing marketing strategies in section 3.2.5 of Chapter 3.

outputs of the *translation*[ANT], the advertisements and reviews of *Monkey* collected from newspaper archives.[215] Since no records concerning how the publisher arranged the publicity campaign for *Monkey* were found, it is impossible to analyse the process of how, and what, resources were recruited, aligned, displaced, and transformed into the advertisements and reviews in newspapers. Many details of the other three moments of *translation*[ANT] six (T_6^{ANT}), like the problematisations, remain a mystery just as, when Waley translated *Journey to the West*, when Grant designed the title page and the jacket, when the designs were reproduced as page proofs, and when *Monkey* was transformed into American editions and various re-translations.

6.6.2 The outputs that were not copies of the translation (*Monkey*)

The advertisements and book reviews on *Monkey*, that were of special significance in *translation*[ANT] six (T_6^{ANT}) were outputs. The outputs of the *translations*[ANT] that comprised the *Monkey* project mainly included the typescript of *Monkey*, the designs of the covers, and the page proofs of the main text and the cover designs, which all became part of the whole book of the translation. The typescript translation was *translated*[ANT] into page proofs of the main text which were again *translated*[ANT] into book pages. The cover designs were *translated*[ANT] into design (cover) proofs which were later *translated*[ANT] into large amount copies of jackets and title pages. In this way, the outputs of previous *translations*[ANT] became part of the resources that experienced new rounds of *translations*[ANT] before turning into the book pages and the book covers ready to be displaced and assembled at the bindery, and finally transformed into complete books of *Monkey* during yet another round of *translation*[ANT].

The outputs were either parts of the book, or entities that were absolutely necessary to produce those parts of the book, but not readily available, which had to be *translated*[ANT] beforehand from readily available resources. The advertisements and reviews however, did not belong to any parts of the book[216], or any of the entities that would be needed in later process of producing the translation. They were produced through separate *translations*[ANT], that existed independently, and circulated in entirely different channels, functioning as a means of propaganda in the translation project.

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[215] See footnote 190.
[216] The descriptive paragraph (Ent_8) Waley wrote at the request of S. Unwin was used in some advertisements and also constituted part of the book jacket.

There were more outputs of the *translations*[ANT] that were part of the *Monkey* project but did not belong to any part of the book of *Monkey*, for example, the agreement drafted and signed between the translator and the publisher for the publication of the original UK edition, the offers made by the publisher to other publishers for new editions and various re-translations of *Monkey*, the agreements that followed the acceptance of the offers, and the letters as the major means of communication. They were not parts of the translation, but parts of the translation project, and they were as necessary as the translation in the production and the circulation of the translation. They were *translated*[ANT] from readily available resources before being used to serve the development of the translation project, and they existed as the outcomes of the translation project alongside the numerous copies of the translation.

6.7 *Translation*[ANT] seven (T_7^{ANT}): *Monkey*'s journey to the US

6.7.1 The loops of problems and interests

Actors might cause changes to situations, strong ones especially so. They might refuse to be recruited or aligned. For example, a succession of American publishers to whom S. Unwin had, one after another, offered the rights to publish the American edition of *Monkey*. Houghton Mifflin, Macmillan, W. W. Norton, and Knopf declined the offer without exception. Whenever one of the above publishers refused the offer, S. Unwin had to 're-problematise', that is to re-assess the situation by considering which American publisher, except the one(s) already declined, would be suitable and willing to publish *Monkey*, before preparing a new offer.

In such circumstances, problematisations and interessements went together, occurring one after another. In general, the pattern of development progressed in loops: the publisher targeted at Houghton Mifflin (P_{15}), who received an offer (I_8) but declined; the publisher then adjusted the target to Macmillan (P_{16}), who received another offer (I_9) but again declined; W. W. Norton (P_{17}) and Knopf (P_{18}) also declined the offers (I_{10} and I_{11}). The P-I (problematisation-interessement) loops were therefore closed until the publisher considered aligning the John Day Company (P_{19}) as the partner to expand the translation network to America, who finally accepted the offer (I_{12}). Only at that point, interessement stopped

failing and instead of going back to problematisation, advanced into the next moment of enrolment. The loop was then broken (see Figure 6.4).
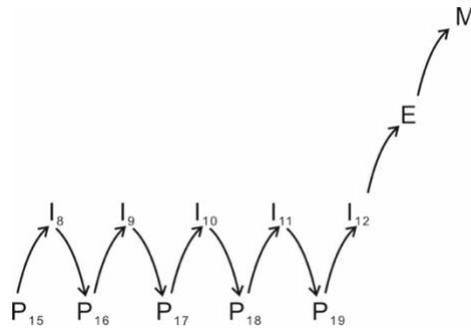

Figure 6.4 The P-I loops in *translation*[ANT] seven

Interestingly, if the interessements are taken out of the loop, examining the working pattern of the succession of I_8, I_9, I_{10}, I_{11}, and I_{12}, which were conducted by the publisher towards different American publishers persistently, instead of paying detours to satisfy the particular actor (see model 3), it can be seen that the publisher travels ahead to the next target, never changing its direction, until the last target (the John Day Company) showed interest in the translation project (interessement mode 4, see Figure 6.5).
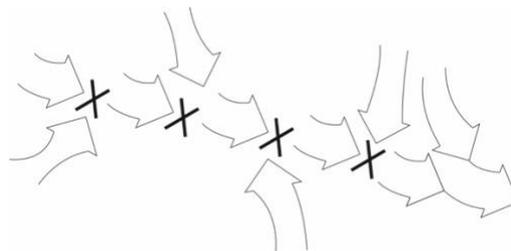
Figure 6.5 Interessement mode (4)

6.7.2 A quick but enduring enrolment

This section discusses an enrolment that was quick yet enduring at the same time.

The John Day Company was 'interested' as the American publisher who was going to purchase the rights to publish *Monkey* in America from the UK publisher who held the rights. The enrolment was not, however, officially settled until the terms in the agreement were

negotiated and agreed by both sides,[217] i.e. when both sides had signed the agreement, which was almost three months after the successful interessement, i.e. when John Day accepted *Monkey*. John Day was quick in consenting to be enrolled as part of the *Monkey* project, although the enrolment took longer to complete.

The major cause for the long enrolment was not that the two sides could not agree with, or compromise on some of the terms in the agreement, but simply that it took time for the agreement to travel between Britain and America. The agreement was prepared and sent within three weeks after John Day accepted the offer, but it took approximately one month to travel to John Day for a signature and another month back to travel back to George Allen & Unwin. More than two thirds of the time was spent in transferring the roles, not negotiating them. This means that, at the time, defining the roles of the publishers could be affected, to a large extent, by the medium rather than by negotiation, which would not happen today as agreements can travel much faster and can be transmitted electronically.

John Day, nevertheless, was not fully satisfied with the terms in the agreement. It was not clear whether the two publishers had jointly negotiated the terms in the agreement, or if S. Unwin had made the agreement alone. Upon receiving the agreement, Walsh (from the American publisher John Day Company) did not launch further negotiations, though he regretted that some subsidiary rights were not transferred. As has been mentioned, therefore, the enrolment was actually delayed in transferring the rights, but quick in negotiation, leaving the American side not a hundred percent happy with the entitled roles. In addition, the terms in the agreement were not sufficient to cover all the demands that arose in the future, which induced further *translations*[ANT] when the American publisher planned to adapt a juvenile illustrated version of *Monkey*.

The connection between the publishers was coordinated as author-publisher according to the agreement, the publisher as the author and the American counterpart as the publisher, in a similar negotiation to that between Waley and the publisher. Not only that, Waley as the sole translator of *Monkey* was definitely enrolled. The agreement between Waley (OPP1) and the publisher (OPP4), binding them together by mutual interests and goals, helped to position

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[217] So were the cases in which the roles of actors were made formal by signing agreements, such as Waley as the author (translator) to the publisher. The agreements were one group of outcomes produced through *translations*[ANT], which is discussed in section 6.8 of this chapter.

them as the OPP$_5$ that all the other publishers of *Monkey* should pass through: since the publisher George Allen & Unwin held the rights together with the translator, and all publishers (except George Allen & Unwin) had to acquire the rights to publish *Monkey* from the translator and the publisher on certain terms and conditions before working for their respective interests and their respective goals [218], like publishing new editions and re-translations of *Monkey* and gaining profits.

At this point, the relationship between the three OPPs, the translator as an OPP (OPP$_1$), the publisher as an OPP (OPP$_4$), and the translator and the publisher as an OPP (OPP$_5$) become clearer. The publisher and the translator had been working together on the publication of *Monkey* as key actors before they held the rights of *Monkey,* and became OPPs. Occupying passage points, they had determined their respective terms and conditions for whomever wanted to pass the points, which were specified in the agreements between them and the passers. The translator as OPP$_1$ and the publisher as OPP$_4$ together constituted the OPP$_5$ that all other publisher must pass in order to gain the publishing rights of *Monkey.*

To the passers, the terms and conditions to pass the publisher (OPP$_4$) were easier to meet than those to pass the translator (OPP$_1$). In other words, OPP$_1$ was narrower and more difficult to pass than OPP$_4$. In usual circumstances when passers could pass both OPP$_1$ and OPP$_4$ at the same time without difficulty, OPP$_5$ consisting of the two OPPs appeared as OPP$_{5a}$ (see Figure 6.3). In this mode, the passers negotiated and decided all terms and conditions with the publisher S. Unwin, who acted as representative for the translator, arranging the sale of the rights by himself yet meanwhile representing the translator. The translator's influence and the OPP$_1$'s effect being minimal, and all terms and conditions being met at the same time without bothering the translator, OPP$_1$ and OPP$_4$ thus merged on the same level into OPP$_{5a}$. In other words, the passers passed OPP$_1$ and OPP$_4$ at the same time, while OPP$_1$ was set within OPP$_4$ and barely noticed by them. OPP$_{5a}$ therefore appeared as one complete surface.

In a few particular circumstances, when passers could not pass the translator as OPP$_1$ - a ten per cent royalty for the translator was too difficult to attain, the publisher could no longer fully represent the translator, more specifically, he could not make decisions for the translator without asking his permission. In such circumstances, OPP$_4$ emerged from OPP$_1$, just as the

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[218] See more detailed discussion on Waley's position as OPP$_1$ in section 4.1.3 of Chapter 4.

translator came from behind the publisher, taking the power to make final decisions, the distance between OPP_4 and OPP_1 was pulled open. This distance represents the fact that OPP_1 was separated from OPP_4, and increasingly felt by all. The passers, having passed the publisher's terms and conditions but failed to ensure the translator's interests, managed to pass OPP_1 after they had passed OPP_4. The distance also represents more time, energy, and resources spent on negotiating with the translator before passing through OPP_1 (see OPP_{5b} in Figure 6.6).

Just as the OPPs did not stay on the same level when OPP_1 became prominent, nor were they fixed in shape: the translator and the publisher were able to adjust the sizes of OPP_1 and OPP_4 by making changes to, or between, the two sets of terms and conditions. The publisher would yield part of his interests (gained from the terms and conditions he set for the passers) to the translator, so that the translator would permit passage to the passers. As a result, to the passers,[219] OPP_1 enlarged as OPP_4 narrowed accordingly.
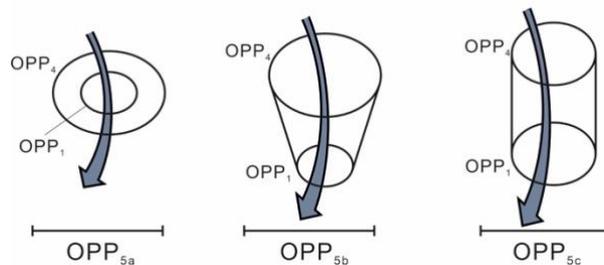

Figure 6.6 OPP_5 in different circumstances (interessement mode 5/enrolment[220])

These three examples correspond to the three modes of the OPPs. The first example followed the OPP_{5a}, when the John Day Company was purchasing the rights for the American (full) edition of *Monkey*. At the time, John Day was able to meet all terms and conditions to pass both the publisher and the translator. The narrower OPP_4 was not an obstacle, and John Day passed through the two OPPs at the same time without further negotiation with the translator. The second example followed OPP_{5b}, when the John Day Company was purchasing the rights for the American juvenile edition of *Monkey*. The publisher was willing to let the John Day pass through, though the latter could not at first provide satisfactory royalties to the translator.

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[219] The translator in fact made few concessions. The publisher re-allocated interests in private with the translator. This mean that the translator did not change OPP_4. It was made larger by compensation from the publisher, so the passers felt easier to pass it.

[220] There is no clear separation between the four moments of *translation*[ANT], especially between interessement and enrolment.

Acting as a mediator between John Day and the translator, the publisher arranged a set of three royalties that increased one after another, with the average royalty reaching the translator's requirement. John Day, as the passer, first passed the publisher before negotiating to pass through the translator. Of course, if John Day was not able to pass the translator, it passed the publisher in vain. It was crucial to understand the publisher and the translator, though each had different requirements and occupied different positions as independent OPPs, nevertheless acted as an integrated whole as OPP_5. The third example followed OPP_{5c}, when the Readers Union was purchasing the rights for the RU edition of *Monkey*. Again, the RU passed the publisher (OPP_4) but was blocked by the translator (OPP_1). This time, the publisher advised the translator that the RU edition would boost the translation, and yielded his own profit, allocating the majority (two thirds) of RU's payment to the translator. The publisher therefore made the translator easier to pass for the RU.

While Waley's role as the translator remained substantially unchanged, Grant was then unenrolled as the designer, as his designs were no longer used for the American edition[221], which at the same time meant that another artist had to be recruited to replace Grant's role. That artist's work proved to be very different from Grant's. Grant designed the covers according to the story and depending entirely on his own imagination, while the new artist designed according to a Chinese traditional picture of the monkey. A glance at the two covers already evinces a huge difference. Since the role as designer was defined by the artist's design work (actions), it would be very different from Grant's. Two famous Chinese scholars, Hu Shi and Lin Yutang, were also enrolled to publicise the book. Hu added another introduction in addition to Waley's, and Lin's blurb was included on the back cover, though how they were interested and enrolled to do the work is not recorded in the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

By this point, all the working patterns of the interessement (/enrolment) happened in the process of *translating*[ANT] the *Journey to the West* into *Monkey* have been presented, based on Latour's (1987) five modes of interesting actors. Mode 1 discerned in this thesis resembles Latour's first mode in that the weaker actor seeks to be enrolled by the stronger actor. The difference, however, lies in the direction the two actors head towards. In Latour's mode, the weaker actor adjusted its interest to that of the stronger one, whereas in the mode found in

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[221] In fact, almost all the other editions and re-translations of *Monkey* use unique, newly designed covers.

this study, the weaker actor (the translator) managed to create or arouse a new interest of the stronger actor (the publisher), and the two agreed to head towards the weaker actors' direction instead of that of the stronger actor (cf. Latour, 1987). In other words, the weaker actor successfully joined the stronger, while simultaneously changing, or creating, the latter's interest. Mode 2, discerned in this study, differs from Latour's second mode. Mode 2 here shows that the stronger actor (the publisher) needed the weaker one (the designer) to join it, while making the weaker actor change direction, heading towards the stronger actor's direction; whereas in Latour's second mode of interesting actors, the stronger actor, with its 'usual way' (Latour, 1987: 111) of achieving interests blocked, changes its direction/goal by taking up the weaker actor's way (cf. Latour 1987). Although the first two modes of interesting actors discerned by this study differ from the first two modes proposed by Latour, they do not contradict, and all four of them might happen in the reality of the translation production. Mode 3 discerned by this research project proves to be the same as Latour's third mode, but mode 4 again differs from Latour's fourth mode. In mode 4 in this thesis, instead of expressing its interests in other ways, or in other languages, or by changing or adjusting its interests, as is the case with Latour's mode, the actor (the publisher in this case) simply changed its target of interessement (cf. Latour, 1987). Mode 5 follows the basic meaning proposed by Latour (1987) whereby the actor becomes indispensable, with a more complex working mechanism, however. Not only do more than one OPP appear in the translation network (OPP_{1-5}), but OPPs (OPP_1 and OPP_4) could work together as one (OPP_5) in different ways and under particular circumstances (see Figure 6.6 for OPP_{5a}, OPP_{5b}, and OPP_{5c}). In summary, though the modes, except mode 3, summarised in this thesis differ in various ways and degrees from those summarised by Latour, the aim is not to argue which is right or which is typical, but to add to Latour's modes with more possibilities. Latour's narrower concept of *translation*[ANT] designating the means of interesting actors is, as a result, substantially extended.

6.7.3 Immediate *translations*[ANT] (and distant mobilisation)

More *translations*[ANT] were conducted within the American publishing house as soon as it accepted the offer. They were new translations, but neither *translation*[ANT] seven ($T7^{ANT}$) nor the mobilisation moment of *translation*[ANT] seven. The mobilisation was, in fact, still loading and hence $T7^{ANT}$ could not be completed. The reason was the same as for the loading mobilisation in *translation*[ANT] two: neither of the mobilisations could happen until, at last, all

parts of the book of *Monkey* were created through a series of *translations*[ANT] that happened before them. It was only after that, when all components of the final translation texts and other resources necessary to produce the final translation were ready to be assembled and transformed into complete new copies of *Monkey*, that the mobilisations could happen, and therefore the *translations*[ANT] (T_7[ANT] and T_2[ANT]) could finally be completed.

In other words, *translations*[ANT] of readily available resources, the most primary resources, into the components of *Monkey* had to be completed before the mobilisation moment of *translation*[ANT] seven could take place, and *translations*[ANT] that created publicity materials had to be conducted at the same time. While S. Unwin was drafting the agreement, which was a *translation*[ANT] in itself, of the rights and duties in possible circumstances, and the terms and conditions recorded in contracts, the American side was busy arranging more *translations*[ANT]. To give two examples, the designer was *translating*[ANT] the "authentic traditional figure of the monkey" (letter from Walsh to S. Unwin, 4 January 1943) into a new cover design, and Hu Shi was *translating*[ANT] his knowledge of both the Chinese original and the translation into a new introduction. Not long after signing the agreement, all parts of the book were prepared before quickly being mobilised and transformed into copies of the American version of *Monkey*, which constituted the mobilisation moment of *translation*[ANT] seven. At that point, the mobilisation was finally completed as was the *translation*[ANT] (T_7[ANT]). Advertisements were produced through more *translations*[ANT] to facilitate the spread of the book at almost the same time.

Once again, details of the *translations*[ANT] and the mobilisation (of T_7[ANT]) are not available in the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Still, according to what Walsh reported to S. Unwin in correspondence, there were at least three things produced by the American publisher besides the American version *Monkey*, the outcome of the mobilisation and *translation*[ANT] seven. Those three things included the new jacket, the new introduction, and a two-page advertisement of *Monkey* in Publishers' Weekly. Each of which needed more than one round of *translation*[ANT] to produce. To take the jacket as an example, similar to that experienced by the publisher (George Allen & Unwin), a design first had to be *translated*[ANT] by designer(s) before being *translated*[ANT] into design proofs, which were again *translated*[ANT] into jackets. If everything went smoothly, a jacket could be produced after three rounds of *translation*[ANT]. If not, more *translations*[ANT] would be needed to produce new designs, new

proofs, or new jackets, just as two groups of jacket proofs (proofs 1 and 2) were produced in separate *translations*^{ANT} for Grant's jacket design[222].

Notably, except for the translator and the publisher, who acted very small but important parts in the *translations*^{ANT} conducted faraway in America, all the other actors recruited by, and working for, the publisher in Britain, including the designer, typographer, printers, and binders, were replaced by people responsible to the American publisher. All those *translations*^{ANT} that happened were not only geographically displaced, but also practically displaced from the publisher in its American counterpart, but they still belonged to the *Monkey* project as the *translations*^{ANT} that facilitated the expansion of the translation. In other words, the *translations*^{ANT} happened away from the publisher that produced and disseminated the American version *Monkey,* actually happened in and contributed to the *Monkey* project.

6.8 More *translations*^{ANT}

The seven *translations*^{ANT} discussed above do not exhaust the list of *translations*^{ANT} that occurred in the translation project. Many more *translations*^{ANT} were carried out as the project developed. The easiest and most direct way to identify as many *translations*^{ANT} as possible was to focus on the outputs produced by the translation project. As each output, and at many times, each form of every output usually required one *translation*^{ANT} to produce it, the amount of the forms of the outputs roughly equals the number of *translations*^{ANT} that occurred.

Target texts, most obviously, belong to one group of products of the *Monkey* project (first group of *translation*^{ANT} outputs). As discussed in Chapter 5, the target texts included different forms of *Monkey*, such as typescript, page proofs, and the main text, before they developed into the many versions of *Monkey* ready to be distributed around the world. A rough calculation of the number of the target texts produced in the translation project amounts to more than twenty-six (TT_{26+n}) versions. [223] More than twenty-six *translations*^{ANT} were therefore conducted for the production of target texts.

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[222] See section 6.5 of this chapter for detail.
[223] See section 5.2.2.1 of Chapter 5 for an explanation of the calculation.

In addition, apart from the main texts and the different forms of the main texts, there were covers, and different forms of the covers, as the second group of outputs. Any version of the twenty-two versions of *Monkey*[224] usually had a jacket/front and back cover and a title page. To produce the jacket and the title page, designs were first made, and then the designs were reproduced as proofs, before covers (the jacket and the title page) were approved and finally printed. At least six forms of covers existed for each version, which means *translations*[ANT] conducted for the production of covers might amount to as many as one hundred and thirty-two (twenty-two times six).

Materials for book marketing constituted the third group of *translation*[ANT] outputs. It is difficult to calculate the exact number of *translations*[ANT] that took place to generate them although the materials usually consisted of advertisements and book reviews, since it is almost impossible to glean all the advertisements and reviews used to propagate the twenty-two versions of *Monkey,* or to access all the files regarding the production of the materials in publishing houses (both newspaper and magazine publishing houses).

Lack of sufficient and detailed records already made calculation difficult, while various possibilities that might happen, in practice, increase the difficulty: 1) no additional *translation*[ANT] were needed when marketing materials were used repeatedly, for example, for several times the publisher, 'more or less', used the same advertisements that quoted from a certain part of a book review[225]; 2) more than one *translation*[ANT] might take place to produce one piece of marketing material, especially considering that there might be more proofs made before everyone was happy to proceed to printing, just as several *translations*[ANT] were needed to produce satisfactory jacket proofs; and 3) every publisher expended different degrees of effort in marketing, which was affected by the publisher's marketing strategies for the book, and also by changing situations, for example, when *Monkey* was getting increasingly well-known, less effort might be needed, or when Waley won the prize for his translation of *Monkey*, publishers engaged in new rounds of marketing.

To make a very rough calculation, by simply allocating one *translation*[ANT] to a single piece of advertisement or review, regardless of the above-mentioned uncertainties that affected the

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[224] The 22 versions consist of 1 original edition and its 6 reprints (which makes 7 versions), plus 15 versions of new editions and re-translations not including their reprints.
[225] See more details in section 3.2.5 of Chapter 3.

number of *translation*[ANT] happened in practice, at least ten *translations*[ANT] were conducted as ten pieces of advertisements and book reviews were found manufactured specifically for the UK [GA&U] edition (the original edition) and its reprints (altogether seven versions),[226] with the translator, publisher, reviewers, and newspaper publishers as major actors. In addition to the seven versions of the UK GA&U edition and its reprints, moreover, there were still fifteen versions of the twenty-two versions left unexamined. Supposing that resources went through one *translation*[ANT] to become one piece of marketing material, there should be fifteen *translations*[ANT] to produce one piece of marketing material for each of the remaining fifteen versions (new editions and re-translations of *Monkey* excluding their reprints). Through calculating in this way, at least twenty-five *translation*[ANT] must have been conducted in the processes of promoting the translation of *Monkey* worldwide. There, must however, be more than one piece of marketing material for each version and more for reprints, and every piece of marketing material might not always be manufactured smoothly in one attempt (one *translation*[ANT]).

Finally, the many agreements between the translator and the publisher for the original UK edition, and between the publisher and other publishers for the new editions and re-translations fell into the fourth group of *translation*[ANT] outputs. Like advertisements and book reviews, agreements did not become any part of the book of *Monkey*. The publisher manufactured them to lay a legal groundwork for the translation project: the agreements were used to guarantee the formal enrolments of all major parties safely, making all aware of their respective rights and responsibilities and securing stronger and steadier connections between them in unknown and uncertain practical translation circumstances.

There might be more agreements made between publishers and, for example, binders, book suppliers, and newspaper publishers regarding the binding, selling and advertising of the many versions of *Monkey*, though no concrete evidence of the agreements was found in the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd., just as the majority of the agreements between the publishers concerning the publication of the wide range of versions of *Monkey* were missing.[227] To again, make, a rough calculation, at least sixteen *translations*[ANT] were

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[226] When propagating *The Real Tripitaka*, *Monkey* was also mentioned and thus marketed that way.
[227] Actually, only one agreement is kept in the records, which is between the publisher (George Allen & Unwin) and the John Day Company for publishing the American full version of *Monkey*. All others are missing, including the ones between the translator and the publisher for publishing the UK original edition, between the

conducted for the agreements if one allocates one *translation*[ANT] to the creation of each agreement and meanwhile one agreement to the publication of each version of the book (not including reprints) – sixteen versions of *Monkey* were published by different publishers excluding the reprints of the UK original edition[228] (twenty-two versions minus six reprints).

To understand translation not just as an inter-lingual phenomenon, therefore, but in a broader, ANT perspective, as a processes during which some actors make use of a wide range of resources, planning (P), recruiting (I), aligning (E) them from different times and locations and transforming (M) them into completely different outputs, reveals that many *translations* should be carried out for a translation project like the *Monkey* project to develop and prosper. At a very rough and conservative estimation, a minimum of 200 rounds of *translation*[ANT] took place, including the one that rendered the novel from one language to another in the traditional meaning of translation in Translation Studies. The *translation*[ANT] processes develop continuously as long as the production of more versions of *Monkey* keeping coming out today, though they no longer pertain to the translation project overseen by the publishing company (George Allen & Unwin Ltd.).

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publisher and Uitgeverij Contact for publishing the Dutch translation of *Monkey*, etc., which are nevertheless mentioned in letters and thus are proved to have been existed.

[228] To publish a reprint usually did not require a new agreement.

Conclusion

Positing the present research in view of previous publications: an overview

A recent increase in the application of sociological theories to study translation signifies an important development in the discipline of Translation Studies: the very context or environment surrounding a translation, or the circumstances in which a translation is produced, are now being studied in order to understand its natural development. Understanding of the impact of practical working conditions, or social environments, on translation is deepening (Tyulenev, 2009, 2012; Bogic, 2010; Abdallah, 2012), the list of translation agents, and the connections and interactions between them, that relate to translation (activities) is expanding greatly (Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Milton and Bandia, 2009; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Boll 2016; and Munday, 2016b), and the roles and functions that translation agents play (translators in particular) are now being examined from a much broader social perspective, rather than being confined to linguistic transfer or textual behaviour, and translation is now beginning to be considered as both a cultural and social product (Sela-Sheffy, 2005, 2006; Gouadec, 2007; Sapiro, 2008, 2013, 2015).

Actor-network theory, one of the three major sociological approaches to translation (in addition to social practice theory and social systems theory) (Wolf, 2007), has been applied to study the production of translations. At least ten researchers have devoted study to the application of ANT, with more than a dozen works published in the literature (Buzelin, 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Chesterman, 2006; Jones, 2009; Kung, 2009; Bogic, 2010; Abdallah, 2012; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Eardley-Weaver, 2014; Boll, 2016; and Munday, 2016b). These studies open a new stage in translation, in which translation is no longer considered a text in itself, but as an outcome of practical activities made by various translation actors or agents.

It should be noted, however, that ANT has not been fully introduced and has been under-applied to translation studies. A systematic, and in-depth introduction, to the theory is still lacking. Only a few concepts have been explained, including '*translation*^{ANT}' and 'actor-network' (Buzelin, 2005), 'mediator' (Bogic, 2010), and 'inscription' (Abdallah, 2012 and Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012). In terms of application, researchers tend to present the production processes of translation in detailed descriptions, or ethnographic accounts.

Although there is a clear intention to build a closer connection between theory and application, and to go beyond descriptions, see for example, Buzelin (2005), Bogic (2010) and Abdallah (2012), it would seem that larger-scale substantial development is very difficult.

This study, by no means positing randomly in the studies guided by ANT in terms of translation, attempts to make progress in both theory and application. This section of the conclusion comprises an overview of the current research status, which this study intends to improve (see above), and then proceeds to an overview of progress achieved in answering the research questions, and in fulfilment of the research objectives proposed at the beginning of this thesis. The research overall findings and results will be summarised at the end.

Answering the research questions and fulfilling the research objectives: an overview

In view of the unsatisfactory research status of the theory (ANT), the first research objective of this thesis - with the first set of research question designed to achieve this objective - is to seek to build an in-depth theoretical framework, by introducing a system of concepts that are crucial to the theory, and relevant to the present study. The philosophy of ANT, that society is made up of actor' interactions, is clearly explained. This forms a fundamental logic that underpins the present study, namely that translation should be studied in terms of the outcomes of translation actions. The main ideas and concepts of ANT, as have been mentioned above, are systematically introduced, and they are applied in the following ways to make a comprehensive study: 1) a definition of human and nonhuman actors and agencies (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 2007) is made to help identify translation actions and actors; 2) the concept of long-distance control (Law, 1986a, 1986b, 1992) is used to study the interactions of geographically dispersed translation actors, for example, how the typographer and the designer, influenced, or acted upon, each other at a distance; 3) the question of how actors' roles and positions were changed dynamically as a result of how their actions contributed to the translation project, is studied. This is based on the claim that actors and their roles, or identities, are defined by practical actions (Callon 1986a), while the concept of the obligatory passage point - OPP, the fifth mode of translating actors (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1987) - contributes to analysis of an actor's determinant position in the translation network; 4) the concept of 'black box' and that of 'immutable mobile' (including 'inscription') are particularly useful in the study of nonhuman translation actors, and help to change the unsatisfactory research status that nonhuman actors and agencies have long held in

translation studies; 5) the four moments of *translation*[ANT] (Callon, 1986a) are applied to investigate what inputs were transformed, into what outcomes, in the translation project through four categories of *translation*[ANT] actions (problematisation, interessement, enrolment, and mobilisation), with the intention to see how *translation*[ANT] can contribute to the study of translation in Translation Studies; and finally, 6) the five modes of interesting actors (Latour, 1987), including OPP (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1987), are tested to see if the interessement in practical circumstances really happens as hypothesised in the five modes. In this way, all the ideas and concepts selected from the ANT are integrated in order to carry out this study.

In addition to constructing a theoretical framework, a methodology is also developed to guide and regulate the study, which consists of, very practical methods of data collection, and a presentation of first, the rationale for the choice of translation(s) from many translations of the same original (*Journey to the West*) for study, and second, a set of methodological rules for, for example, data screening, and data analysis and discussion.

The methods used to collect data in this thesis have also been widely used in previous translation studies applying, including archival research (Bogic, 2010; Boll, 2016; Munday 2016b), interview (Buzelin, 2007a, 2007b; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012), and bibliographic surveys and online searches (Jones, 2009). The data collected is all concerned with the production of five different translations of *Journey to the West*, but only those related to the production of *Monkey* are used, simply because there was insufficient data pertaining to the other four translations for study from an ANT perspective.

There is no comprehensive methodology developed for analysis and discussion within translation studies that apply ANT. Early translation studies follow Latour's suggestion of 'following the actors' (Latour, 2007), undertaking in-depth descriptions of how translation actors produce translations (Buzelin, 2007a, 2007b; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012), while recent attempts to go beyond description turn to 'mixed method research' (Abdallah, 2012). The methodological value of ANT has not, therefore, yet been fully exploited.

This study, on one hand, followed the early studies in providing an in-depth description, since Latour's claim is very practical, and description is indeed crucial in studies on micro-level social and translation activities, and encouraged in both ANT research (Latour, 2007) and Translation Studies (Toury, 2012). On the other hand, however, this research, refuses to stop

at the purely descriptive, and returns to the ANT and explores how it could contribute to the development of a robust research methodology. The methodological rules devised for this study, are mainly based on Callon's 'three principles' (Callon, 1986a) and Latour's 'rules of methods' (1987). These methodological rules maintain that: 1) the translation (*Monkey*) is researched 'in the making' (Buzelin, 2007a), and is not studied as a ready-made translation. This rule helps to keep the research project on track. 2) The researcher should stay 'agnostic' (Callon, 1986a), and should not make any presumptions, but be faithful to what the actors did, in Latour words, 'follow the actors' (Latour, 2007). This rule teaches the researcher to focus on the evidence of translation practices as they occur in the real social circumstances of translation production, without prejudice or prior expectations. This helps to lay a solid foundation and provide concrete and reliable evidence for discussion. Where a greater number of actors converge, this also helps the discovery of uncertainties, twists, and conflicts, making them the best circumstances in which to observe the dynamics of translation. 3) The translation actions or agencies should be the starting point for research, suggesting that translation actors are defined by translation activities or agencies. This rule helps to address the question concerning who exactly the translation actors are that should be followed. People such as translators, editors, and publishers are certainly important translation actors, but a clearer method is needed in order to identify more translation actors, in greater variety and in different circumstances, and to establish that the identified actors are indeed translation actors. A larger number of actors can be identified through investigating, and categorising translation activities, in other words, by taking 'action/agency' as the key. 4) Nonhuman translation actors and agencies should be brought into consideration. This rule requires the consideration of nonhumans and their agencies as an indispensable part of translation production. Nonhuman translation elements should be studied as actors, rather than inert objects, as long as they have the ability to influence translation production in any manner.

The second set of research questions are answered through designing the methodology: ANT does provide a methodology that helps to navigate discussion, however, other methods, especially very practical ones that help to collect data, such as archival research and interviews are also both necessary and crucial. For example, letters from the Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd. underpin the present study as the main source of data. This research project would be impossible without them, yet they were obtained through archival research alone. The principle of data collection for this research project based on ANT

requires a high volume of effective data, collected using every possible method, which is not easy to obtain, and only when there were sufficient data concerning the production of *Monkey* could the decision be made, to adopt it as the translation for this study.

In ANT-guided research, as has been mentioned, description is necessary and important, and lays the foundation for further discussion and analysis. Comprehensive, but focused, descriptions concerning the production of the translation (*Monkey*) project were therefore made before deeper discussions were initiated.

The translation is found to have experienced a complex production process for over twenty-five years, with a wide range of participants working on every detail of the project. The key contributors to the translation project were the translator Arthur Waley, the publisher Stanley Unwin, the typographer David Unwin, and the jacket and title page designer Duncan Grant. Other important contributors were, for example, printers, binders, book reviewers, and publishers of different versions of *Monkey*, including Richard J. Walsh, President of the John Day Company from America which published an American (full) edition and an adapted illustrated edition of *Monkey*.

The translation project, developing in multiple lines, and on such huge scale, inevitably involved a miscellany of both major and trivial matters. For clarity, the project is divided into eight phases of production, translating, initiating, design, proofreading, printing, binding, marketing, and expansion, which often overlapped in practice. Of the eight phases, the first seven served to produce the original edition of *Monkey* within the publishing company itself, between 1941 and 1942. The last phase of expansion deals with the production and distribution of the remaining versions of *Monkey*.

The translation project began with the phase of translating (< Oct 1941), during which the translator, working independently and away from the publishing company, translated *Journey to the West* from Chinese to English, into *Monkey*. Before the final completion of his translation, the translator approached the publisher concerning the possibility of publication. The publisher launched the translation project between October and November 1941, as soon as he had finished reading the translation. This was the second phase of initiation (Oct-Nov 1941). The main events that happened in this phase include the evaluation, and the planning, of the project. The publisher was interested in the appearance of the proposed translation,

particularly its cover pages including the jacket and title page designs, and its typesetting, since appealing book covers not only matched the "beauty and absurdity" (letter from S. Unwin to Waley, 22 October 1941) of the translation, but would also attract the attention of potential buyers. This led to the third phase of design (Nov 1941 – May 1942), during which the designer was recruited to create the jacket and title page for *Monkey*, while the typographer arranged a new typesetting for the translation. The phase lasted longer than expected for about six months due to some difficulties that occurred in producing satisfactory design proofs of the jacket design. At almost the same time, the translator was proofreading his own translation, which comprised the proofreading phase (Dec 1941 – Jan 1942). The corrected proofs of the translation were sent to the printers not long after the publishing company was able to produce fine quality jacket design proofs (the printing phase, May-Jun 1942). After that, the printed book pages and covers were transferred to the binders (the binding phase, Jun-Jul 1942). Not until then were complete copies of (the original UK GA&U edition) *Monkey* were ready to be distributed. To produce copies of *Monkey*, however, was not the ultimate goal of the translation project, as the translation must be able to attain good sales, and the project must make profit. This makes the marketing of the translation an important and necessary phase (< Aug 1942, < Feb 1943, < Apr 1944, and < Jul 1946), during which the translation was promoted in book reviews and advertisements through media such as newspapers and magazines. Lasting for about twenty-five years, the expansion of the translation covered almost the entire time span of the project and was the longest among the eight phases (< Jan 1942-1966). It is again divided into two sections for clarity: expansion within the UK and worldwide expansion. The translation spread in Britain as reprints of the original (GA&U) edition of *Monkey* (altogether six reprints) and three new editions, including the RU, the Penguin, and the Folio Society editions. It circulated in America as two American editions, full and adapted. In European countries (except the UK) and a few Asian countries, eight re-translations existed comprising the translation in Spanish, Dutch, German, Indian vernacular languages, Swedish, French and Italian.[229]

In brief, the third set of research questions regarding the development of the translation project on the contributors, the end products, and the main stages/phases with particular theme or events are answered, through well-organised, and comprehensive, but focused and in-depth, description. The description is mainly based on the correspondence from the

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[229] It is not clear in which language the re-translation was issued in Sri Lanka.

Records of George Allen & Unwin Ltd., University of Reading, Special Collections, while a group of supporting materials, such as paratexts of the translation, an autobiography of the publisher, and publicity materials (advertisements and reviews of *Monkey*), are used to fill blanks, or add details or explanations. It is interesting to note that, since the data collected are from the files generated within the publishing company, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., or exchanged between the publishing company and its counterparts, in this study the translation project is, therefore, re-constructed from the viewpoint of the publishing company, or of the people closely connected to it.

Discussions and analyses are made with an endeavour to go beyond mere description, which is developed over three parts. The first is concerned with human translation actors acting to fulfil the translation project. An inclusion criterion is added to the ANT definition of 'actors' to set a boundary between humans (or nonhumans) involved in the translation project and human (or nonhuman) translation actors. A wide range of human actors are identified, among whom, Waley as translator, S. Unwin as publisher, and Grant as designer, were the most active in the production process. They become the focus of the research project while other human actors are covered in the discussions about them.

Importantly, as determined by the methodological rules, the starting point for discussion is the translation actions or practices. Translation actors are identified and defined by their translation actions. The actions of the actors are traced from the very beginning to gain a deeper understanding of their roles and positions. The different actions that the translator undertook during the production of the translation include translating the *Journey to the West*, correcting the page proofs of the translation (*Monkey*), advising the publisher on the book design and on other translation projects, recommending a cover designer, assisting the publisher in marketing and in finding suitable American publishers for the translation, and overseeing the progress of the translation project, etc.

As a result, the role or function of the translator in the translation project could by no means be confined to a traditional understanding of the role, that is to transfer a particular piece of work into another language. Waley worked as a translator only in the translating phase, and his roles continuously shifted among those of proofreader, advisor, literary consultant, assistant, and supervisor in later phases of the translation project. The roles that Waley as the translator experienced were, therefore, not fixed from the beginning of the project, but

constantly changed and evolved, when any need arose in any phases of the production process.

Another result of the variety of actions is that, the positions of the translator within the translation network changed immensely, from a translator approaching the publisher enquiring about the possibility of publishing his translation, to an indispensable actor able to set terms and conditions that any other actors, publishers in particular, had to pass through if they wanted to publish their versions of the translation. In ANT terms, the translator became the obligatory passage point (OPP1). The situation again changed as the project developed further, when producing *Monkey* as a translation was replaced by producing translations of *Monkey*. The centre of production, in ANT terms, the centres of circulation (of people and resources) (Latour, 1987), moved from the publishing company in Britain to the publishing companies in other countries, and the translator's role changed to that of an author, which made Waley a less active translation actor, and the variety of roles he played decreased, as did the traces of his actions, and his visibility in the network of production was obscured in the end.

The designer of a translation, often being overlooked in Translation Studies was, however, revealed to be an important translation actor in the translation project under study. The designer of the translation kept constant interactions with the other two key actors, the publisher and the translator, during the design phase; the design work he undertook was in fact considered as immensely important to the translation by both the publisher and the translator; and while the designer contributed to designing the jacket and the title page of the translation, the design phase was hugely affected, and indeed delayed, due to a conflict between him and the typographer (and the typographer's replacement) over the production of jacket proofs. Power relations between the typographer and the designer therefore emerge as the focus of discussion.

In the early stages of design production, the publisher and the typographer used different methods and materials to impose some moments of control from a different place (long distance control), on the designer with the intention of managing the design products. The designer would have been kept under control if not for an unexpected incident that happened to challenge the steady power relations between the designer and the typographer: the engraver's artist re-drew a simplified pattern of the design, resulting in a simplified jacket

proof. The designer could not accept the simplified jacket design, and refused to stay aligned with the typographer because of the unexpected action made by the engraver's artist. The typographer had to adjust his control by changing his interest so as to join that of the designer, from using the simplified design to accelerate the production process to reproducing new design proofs using the original, un-simplified design pattern. The unexpected change of action made by the engraver's artist entailed an adjustment of control on the part of the typographer and a reversal of the power relations between the typographer and the designer.

While the designer played barely any other roles in the translation project besides working as the designer, the publisher played almost as many roles as the translator. He evaluated the typescript of the translation for its publication, working as project evaluator. He considered the questions of production and drafted agreements to set the project on a formal and legal foundation, acting as project initiator. He handled the entire project from initiation, design, proofreading, printing, binding, to marketing, and even expansion, and fulfilled the role of a project manager. The exception was the translating phase when the translator translated independently and had not informed the publisher about the translation work until near its completion. The publisher, moreover, also acted as a literary agent to the translator, for example, he represented Waley in negotiations with other publishers for the publication of all the new editions (except the original edition) of *Monkey*, and people made contact, or arrangements, with Waley through the publisher.

Following the first part of the discussion on human translation actors, the second part examines nonhuman translation actors, the other category of actors. Similar to the discussion of human translation actors, this part again starts by making a clear identification of nonhuman translation actors. The nonhuman translator actors identified in the translation project constitute a long list (see Table 5.1). Discussions that follow concerns three groups of nonhuman actors selected from the many nonhuman actors identified, with an emphasis on the various roles and different positions they held within the translation network.

Latour (2007) points out that one way to spot actors/agencies is to look for the trials actors make upon the network. The action or agency of the Second World War as a nonhuman actor were made especially conspicuous by four trials it imposed on the network of translation production. The trials appeared as restrictions, problems, or difficulties that the war caused

by either introducing wartime publishing regulations, or by taking away necessary labour and resources.

There were also counter measures (reactions) made by other actors, in particular human actors, to reduce the negative impact of the war on the translation. The publisher, the translator, the typographer, the designer, and other publishers, renewed old connections and made new ones to counterbalance the threat of the war. It is now clear that the war acted as a competing nonhuman actor to the human actors in the translation production network. The network of translation, though indeed being undermined when the war raised publishing difficulties, was, to the contrary, made more enduring and stronger because of the interactions between these human actors and the competing actor.

The second group of nonhuman actors included a system of translation texts in different forms that were generated in different phases of the production process. At least twenty-six translation texts, and in fact many more, were directly involved in the network of the translation project, which can be roughly divided into two sets. The first set contains texts in different forms before they evolved into the final translation text (the original UK GA&U edition of *Monkey*) such as the typescript of *Monkey* (TT_1) and the page proofs of *Monkey* (TT_2). The other set are texts developed out of the original edition, including the reprints, new English editions, and re-translations of it (see Figure 5.2).

All the translation texts are considered, from the perspective of ANT, as black boxes which contain networks of people and resources. Texts do not matter in themselves in this study, but matter as outcomes of certain processes during which various people and resources act and interact. These black boxes of translation texts were opened and their contents examined in terms of the connections and networks that defined them. Even the initial form of the (original edition) translation – the typescript of *Monkey* consisted of a network of people. These were the translator, and resources, such as the original fiction, paper, ink and the typewriter. When the typescript developed into page proofs, more people and resources were added, such as more paper and ink, printing machines, staff at the publishing company, and importantly, the outcome of the last stage – the typescript. The connections between them increased, making the network larger and more complicated. Similar processes occurred every time the texts evolved into new forms, while the translation network gradually expanded.

When translation texts are considered in this way, as a system of inputs and outputs closely connected with each other, the traditional meanings of 'the source text' and 'the target text' are no longer valid. Translation texts are outcomes of social practices, of heterogeneous actors, human and nonhuman, working together, rather than just a linguistic and cultural transfer. More importantly, no 'source' text is the source forever, and equally no 'target' text remains as the end point forever. A text always moves between a beginning, as input, and an end as output, in different scales of production and networking. It can, therefore, never be emphasised too much that the translation texts involved in the translation project may not be categorised simply as source or target texts, as traditionally defined in Translation Studies.

As nonhuman translation actors, moreover, the roles and functions of the texts in the network of translation are also explored. The typescript (TT$_1$), besides becoming the material (input) to produce the page proofs (TT$_2$), functioned in the translating phase as a proposal to publish the translation, and in the initiating phase as a model based on which the publisher considered its publication. The page proofs of the translation (TT$_2$) functioned as the text for correction in the proofreading phase, as the reference material to the designer in the design phase, and as offers to the American publishers in the expansion phase. The proofread proofs (TT$_3$) functioned as the stylebook in the printing stage, and the pages of the main text translation (TT$_4$) again became an input in the binding phase through which the complete book of translation (TT$_5$) was finally produced. The main text (TT$_4$) or some of the first complete books (TT$_5$) might also have functioned as the source for the reviewers, or advertisement writers, when they prepared reviews and advertisement to market the translation. The complete book (TT$_5$) played even more roles in the project. Copies of it made a profit for booksellers who sold them to individual book buyers. Book buyers read it for entertainment, or for other purposes, such as academic. Some of the copies promoted the translation when they were displayed in the publishing company and bookshops, and some were enclosed in offers made to other publishers for new editions and re-translations of the translation, or functioned as sample books. In brief, the large number of translation texts were important actors that functioned differently in different phases of the translation production.

Letters, the very source of data for this research project, constituted the third group of nonhuman translation actors. They directly participated in the translation production as the main media through which human actors communicated with each other and coordinated

their actions. The number of letters exchanged, correlates positively with the number of versions of the translation produced, and hence reflects the rise and decline of the translation project (see Figure 5.3).

In addition to contributing to the development of the translation project as the major nonhuman actors that facilitated communication, the letters played a number of other roles. These roles or functions were closely connected with some characteristics of the letters as one type of 'immutable mobile' or 'inscription' (Latour, 1986, 1987; Latour and Woolgar, 1986), for example, mobility and immutability (Latour, 1986). Letters are intrinsically mobile as they are made to travel from one place to another. This characteristic enables letters to efficiently connect the major human actors, especially when two or more correspondents are from different places, far apart from each other, and enabled the exchange of a high volume of information in multiple lines at the same time. Under the adverse circumstances caused by the war and influenza, moreover, letters, travelling instead of the correspondents, provided a safer way of communication. The correspondents benefited from the mobility of letters, for example, some materials such as sample binding cloth, designs, and agreements, were enclosed, being transported to the correspondents or other actors, which enabled better inspection, careful consideration, and direct handling. Letters were also gathered and preserved in archives and accessed by actors who needed them for reference purposes.

The characteristic of mobility must be combined with that of immutability so that the consistency of information exchanged through long distance travel, or over a long period of time, can be ensured. To be immutable means that the letters and the information in them are endurable and stay unchanged in normal circumstances. This characteristic of letters guaranteed faithful transference of the intention, things, and situation expressed by the correspondents. Letters can help to keep a record of the project, which in turn made the project official because unlike talks and conversations, they are a permanent record of events. In particular circumstances, letters even functioned as equally binding and effective agreements. Letters played the role of referencing materials, as has been mentioned previously, moreover constituted the collective memory of the whole translation project both for the actors in the translation project and for people decades later because when they are taken care of and archived carefully, they do not easily change or disappear.

It is clearly demonstrated that letters can be considered the main nonhuman translation actors because, letters directly joined the production process, and were connected to the translation project by establishing connections between the human correspondents, as well as the development (rise and decline) of the translation project (relevance). Additionally, letters, being able to travel between different places and times without substantial change, did contribute significantly in delivering information and transporting materials, and in bringing liveliness, formality, and longevity to the network of the translation project (agency).

The first two parts of the discussion on human and nonhuman translation actors have been made, with a focus on the changes of the roles and positions of individual actors, or certain groups of actors, in accordance with their actions. The third part of the discussion brings all of the actors together, studying them as a whole network instead of examining them respectively. The actions and interactions of all major actors are analysed, not concerning the actions' influence on actors' roles and positions however, but with respect to their influence on the production of the translation. The four moments of $translation^{ANT}$ proposed by Callon (1986a) are used as a basic theoretical framework to group the actions into four categories, problematise, interest, enrol, and mobilise. The four categories of actions that developed in a coherent manner constituted four moments of a $translation^{ANT}$, problematisation, interessement, enrolment, and mobilisation, which completed one $translation^{ANT}$. The concept of $translation^{ANT}$ used in this thesis is not narrow in scope, i.e. to interest actors, as used in the 'five modes of $translation^{ANT}$' (Latour, 1987), but a broader one that incorporates a process of transforming certain inputs into certain outputs (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1987, 2007). In this way, the practical actions made by particular actors that transformed certain inputs, like people and resources, into translation products, such as the versions of complete books of *Monkey* are explored.

A rough calculation on the number of $translations^{ANT}$ that were conducted to complete the translation project reveals a minimum of two hundred $translations^{ANT}$. Seven out of these two hundred $translations^{ANT}$ were chosen for detailed discussion because some demonstrate the typical working patterns of (the four moments of) the $translations^{ANT}$, showing the ways that the translation project was powered, including T_1^{ANT}, T_2^{ANT}, T_5^{ANT}, and T_7^{ANT}, while others produced products (besides the translated texts) that were important to the translation project but have been overlooked in the field of Translation Studies, including T_3^{ANT}, T_4^{ANT}, and T_6^{ANT}.

What was special about *translation*^{ANT} one ($T_1{}^{ANT}$) was that the translator probably did not need to interest the entities he needed for producing the translation typescript and made little effort to enrol them. It was the smallest in scale among the seven *translations*^{ANT} when measured by the types of actions, the number of actors and the variety of roles played by actors, the complexity of connections, and the influence of the outcome. More than two moments of interessement happened during *translation*^{ANT} two ($T_2{}^{ANT}$), as well as a mass enrolment of a whole group of people and the resources of the publishing company. The mobilisation moment, moreover, did not happen immediately because more *translations*^{ANT} must be carried out in order to produce the entities needed to complete this second *translation*^{ANT}. The third *translation*^{ANT} ($T_3{}^{ANT}$) was characterised by a series of problematisations (P_{3-6}) and a pair of interessements. Both the fourth ($T_4{}^{ANT}$) and the sixth *translation*^{ANT} ($T_6{}^{ANT}$) were conducted to produce outputs that were not used in producing the translation text, but were nevertheless important to the translation and the translation project. It is, moreover, interesting to point out that *translation*^{ANT} four resembled the first *translation*^{ANT} because both have zero interessement and a smooth enrolment. *Translation*^{ANT} five ($T_5{}^{ANT}$) was not straightforward, with many problematisations (P_{8-14}), several interessements (I_{5-7}), mass enrolment, and a few failed mobilisations before the last successful one. *Translation*^{ANT} seven ($T_7{}^{ANT}$) was similar in nature to *translation*^{ANT} two. This similarity was more obviously reflected in the mobilisations of the *translations*^{ANT}: both mobilisations could not happen until more *translations*^{ANT} produced materials that were not readily available, but necessary for them to complete. The other moments of *translation*^{ANT} seven, however, were uniquely different: loops of repeated problematisations and interessements were generated, as well as a paradoxically quick agreement but long enrolment process.

The three sections of the discussion above aim to address the fourth set of research questions. First, actors are defined as any entity, human and nonhuman, directly involved in translation production, exerting either a negative or positive influence on the translation. This definition helps to identify the main actors from the numerous humans and nonhumans connected with the translation project. These actors include the translator, the publisher, the typographer, the designer, printers, war, influenza, a system of texts, letters, and many more. Actions of certain (groups of) actors are studied in terms of how they constantly defined the roles and positions of the (groups of) actors. Interactions of actors are moreover categorised as the four moments that developed *translations*^{ANT}, which enables the exploration of the *translations*^{ANT}

that occurred in order to complete the literary translation project. Importantly, nonhuman translation actors were also given equal attention in the discussions, in that their actions or agencies, and their roles and positions as a result of the actions, are discussed in the same terms as the human actors.

Research findings

There are a number of main findings from this study, including:

The ANT, as a social theory, is perfectly applicable to studying the production of the translation chosen for the current research project. To explore, or to further develop the application of the theory, it is necessary to, first of all, consider the construction of a theoretical framework as the primary task, which cannot be fulfilled without an in-depth study of the basic philosophy, as is repeatedly emphasised by Callon (1986a), Latour (1986, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1996, 2007) and Law (1986a, 1986b, 1992), and concerning the relevant concepts of ANT besides the few already introduced, such as '*translation*^{ANT}', ''actor-network', and 'inscription' (Buzelin 2005; Abdallah, 2012; and Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012).

Since research applying an ANT perspective relies particularly, and heavily, on data, robust methods or principles should be developed for data collection, data screening and data description and analysis. In other words, a methodology is also necessary if the study aims to present a guided and regulated description and discussion based on sufficient and effective sources of information. In view of the above, a system of methodological rules was developed (see Chapter 2) by integrating the three principles (Callon, 1986a), and 'rules of method' (Latour, 1987) proposed by ANT theorists in their research and adapting them to the research context and theme of the present case study. In addition to the methodological rules, there is also one main principle for data collection in this study, which is, to collect as much relevant data as possible, using any methods that are effective while following research ethics. Very practical methods for data collection, used in previous studies, such as interviews and archival research (Buzelin, 2006; Bogic, 2010) also proved to be useful in this study.

An in-depth description of the translation (*Monkey*) project is given, which presents a detailed example of an exceptionally popular translation that is also rare in the history of

Chinese-English literary translation, and prepares for the extensive discussions that follow. The translation project took place over a relatively long period, with over twenty-five years of recorded history, and is on a large-scale, with numerous people and resources involved and at least twenty-five versions of the translation as the end products. It is also multi-faceted, with no fewer than eight phases of production that often overlapped with each other, which are defined according to the major events that happened or by the different problems that the participants aimed to address at particular periods of time throughout the development of the translation project.

A definition of human translation actors is proposed, or more precisely, a criterion to distinguish human actors from human participants. A wide range of human translation actors were identified, some of which have already been identified in previous studies of the same kind, such as the translator, the publisher, and the proofreader, whereas some might have been easily overlooked or excluded in Translation Studies, but are proven to have been acting actively and immensely influenced the production of the translation under study in different ways, such as the designer, the typographer, the engraver's artist, and the publisher's counterparts (cf. Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012).

In addition, nonhuman translation actors are also identified according to the criterion set to distinguish them from numerous nonhuman entities involved in the translation project. Nonhuman elements have been discussed in Translation Studies, for example, machine translation, interpreting equipment, and most commonly, the source and target texts, but they have been presented as somewhat inert objects with no agency. This is the first time that nonhuman phenomena are studied as active agents in translation. The most important nonhuman translation actors include the war, a system of texts, and the letters. They acted, respectively, as competing actors (to the publisher) that impeded the production process, as a chain of outcomes of the previous phase of production that immediately joined the next phase as inputs, and as the information carrier which at the same time, built collective memory, a reference pool, and the legal basis for the translation project.

The translation actors, human and nonhuman, acted differently to complete the translation project, and their roles and positions in the translation network changed dynamically as a result of their actions. In other words, translation actions kept redefining translation actors, as well as their roles and positions in translation, which also suggests that the roles actors played

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were multiple, and their positions in translation were by no means fixed. To take Waley as an example, alongside fulfilling his responsibilities as traditionally considered as those of the translator, Waley also acted as a consultant, assistant, proofreader and supervisor in different phases of translation production, and his positions in the translation network changed greatly, from a key actor to an indispensable one (OPP), before becoming no longer visible in the late expansion phase of the project.

Finally, the study finds that power relationships are common in the translation project, for example, the publisher should be powerful enough to gather the necessary labour and resources to carry out the production, and actors, such as the publisher, the translator, and the printers, should be able to compete against the war and influenza to prevent the project from being disrupted. Particular attention is paid to the power struggle between the typographer and the designer by applying Law's concept of long distance control (Law, 1986a, 1986b). The discussion of the successive moments of control increased during the production of the jacket and title page designs, and those moments of control were adjusted in the reproduction of the jacket design proofs (Ct_{1-8}), again attest Law's claim that control is a process, not a result (Law, 1986a, 1986b). Another claim made by Law (1986a, 1986b) that successful long distance control depends on a triad of professionals, inscriptions/texts and devices (Law, 1986a, 1986b) is also proven to be true, although the specific methods and materials of control used in the translation project were different: the professionals were publisher, typographer, and translator, the devices include lithographic devices and printing machines, and the inscriptions changed to letters, samples and pages proofs (cf. Law, 1986a, 1986b). This thesis, therefore, adds a case study to the field of Translation Studies that tests the mechanism of long distance control theorised originally by social scientists in the disciplines of (natural) science and technology.

Callon's four moments of *translation*[ANT] (problematisation [P], interessement [I], enrolment [E], and mobilisation [M]) are, furthermore, applied to categorise practical translation actions, and to analyse how the translation (*Monkey*) project progressed, from the perspective of the ANT. The application reveals that, many moments, rather than four, and many *translations*[ANT], rather than one, were carried out to complete the literary translation project (cf. Callon, 1986a). In essence, the translation project could not be completed except through many *translations*[ANT]. A simple count amounts to more than two hundred, and seven have been discussed in detail in this thesis. Some of the *translations*[ANT] might happen at the same

time in practical circumstances. The majority of the *translations*[ANT] that comprised the translation project, moreover, neither consisted of four moments at all times nor did they develop in the sequence of P-I-E-M, as demonstrated in Callon's case study on the domestication of sea scallops (1986a). Different combination of the moments appeared, working in various patterns, e.g. P-Es-M ($T_1{}^{ANT}$), P-Is-Es-M ($T_2{}^{ANT}$), Ps-Is-Es-M ($T_3{}^{ANT}$), P-I-P-I-P-I-P-I-Es-M ($T_5{}^{ANT}$). No set of typical working patterns have been found, and it is in doubt that there are any, because the number of moments, and the orders in which they occurred, were highly uncertain, and closely connected to constantly changing practical circumstances. The only certainty was that large numbers of concurrent moments of *translations*[ANT] developed in different patterns to empower the translation project, and it was highly possible that enrolment always happened in groups, since in most circumstances, more than one actor was needed to complete a *translation*[ANT]. It is also clear that the five modes of interessement (i.e. *translation*[ANT] in a narrower sense) discovered by Latour (1987) are further expanded and compared meanwhile when the seven *translations*[ANT] are discussed.

Contributions and limitations

This research project contributes to Translation Studies a whole thesis of very focused, in-depth and thorough discussions and analyses of a translation project, based on ANT as the only theory, whereas existing studies usually apply part of the theory, i.e. have a few concepts of it covered (Buzelin 2006; Kung, 2009), rely entirely on 'Latour's' ANT (Bogic, 2010), or use ANT along with some other theories (Buzelin, 2005; Kung 2009; Jones, 2011; Haddadian, 2012; Abdallah, 2012).

This thesis introduces the basic ideas and principles of ANT, as well as concepts from different ANT theorists, such as Callon's four moments of *translation*[ANT] and Law's long distance control, in order to present ANT in a fuller and richer picture. This helps extensively in getting an adequate or undistorted understanding of the theory and moreover, of its significance to Translation Studies. Importantly, the thesis does not simply 'introduce' ANT. The basic ideas, the principles, and all the key concepts of ANT, which form the theoretical framework of the present research, are discussed and applied in various ways to fit translation, a few times through direct adoption, but more often by integration and adaptation, before the theory is attested, being either proved or extended by rigorous application. The design and

validation of a systematic theoretical framework constitute another innovative and substantial development this thesis made to Translation Studies.

It would be helpful to highlight that, except for the concept of long-distance control, which is the original contribution of Law (1986a, 1986b, 1992), and the concept of black box, which the ANT proponents explain in more or less the same way (cf. Callon and Latour, 1981; Latour, 1987), almost all the other concepts are not readily available or could not be used in an unmodified form. They may be defined differently in different contexts and therefore the researcher need to at least compare the different definitions before choosing one. For example, due to different perspectives and scales of application, Callon's (1986a) use of OPP appears different from that of Latour (1987), and Latour's precise yet broader definition is adopted to guarantee a flexible application. Some concepts are integrated wholes or complexes comprising different (but not contradictory or conflicting) explanations or applications made by ANT theorists. The most obvious is the concept of *translation^{ANT}*, which is understood as a combination of the narrower meaning of interest and enroll (Latour, 1987) and the broader meaning of control, displace, and transform (Callon, 1986a). The concept of (human and nonhuman) actors is introduced in a similar way, by gathering and integrating various understandings and findings made by ANT scholars. Still, a few concepts must again, on the basis of being either simply chosen or integrated, be further adapted where necessary. For example, the concept of (human and nonhuman) actors proved not feasible for practical application, if the inclusion criterion is not added on its already integrated definition.

The establishment of the theoretical framework does not end with unmodified adoption, integration, or adaptation of the ideas and concepts. It continues by proving and extending the adopted, the integrated, and the adapted. For example, the mechanism of long distance control, that control is a process and that successful long-distance control depends on a triad of professionals, inscriptions and devices (Law, 1986a, 1986b), is attested, for the first time, in the field of Translation Studies, through analysis of the power struggles between the typographer and the designer. More specific differences are pointed out, however, on the actual professionals, inscriptions, and devices that contributed to realise the control (cf. Law, 1986a, 1986b). The differences are inevitable considering that each case study is unique in different ways, and that the nature of translation should be different from those of other means of social activities. In addition, as will be pointed out later again, the working patterns of interessement - the modes of interesting actors - are largely extended (cf. Latour, 1987),

demonstrating more diverse manners of recruiting labour and resources and of establishing connections between actors.

Methodologically speaking, although ANT proponents have devised a system of 'principles' (Callon, 1986) or 'rules of method' (Latour, 1987) in their application of ANT to social studies, these methods are seldom introduced into translation studies except 'following the actors' (Latour, 2007) (while the definition of actors is still unclear). This thesis provides a system of methodological rules by borrowing, adapting and integrating the 'principles' and 'rules' to guide and regulate ANT-based translation studies. In addition, abiding by the principle of collecting as much data as possible, very practical methods such as interview, web search, and archival research, which have been already widely used by the previous studies (Buzelin 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Jones, 2009; Bogic, 2010; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012) are also applied where possible.

Very few studies have been undertaken in this scale on one particular translation project before, on the basis of over 200 letters and approximately a dozen newspaper advertisements and book reviews from different archives (cf. Bogic, 2010; Boll, 2016), as well as an anthology about and of the translator, and the publisher's works including his autobiography, concerning one particular translation (cf. Kung, 2009; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Boll, 2016) that expanded over more than two and a half decades (cf. Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b). Within this single translation project, more than one version of the translation text appeared as the end product (cf. Buzelin, 2006, 2007a; Bogic, 2010): there are at least twenty-five versions of *Monkey,* which include one original UK GA&U edition with its six reprints, nine new editions published in Britain and America in English, and nine re-translations of the original edition from English to other European and Indian languages (see Table 3.1). Throughout the development of the translation project, they extended, from Britain to America, and later to many European countries and India.

There exist, moreover, different angles to investigating the process of translation production, but there is a lack of focused and comprehensive research that deals with the production of one particular translation. Buzelin (2006, 2007a, and 2007b) acquires data for her case studies from the translation projects that were being carried out in publishing houses at the time, when she was undertaking field work and data collection at the publishing companies in-situ. This indicate that there was little room left for her to select representative translations.

Covering a series of translation projects on a particular theme (Spanish and Latin American poetry translation) inside one particular publishing company (Penguin), Boll (2016)'s angle is slightly different from that of Buzelin. Other angles include the broad approach by Haddadian-Moghaddam (2012) which studies general ways of networking between different functioning bodies inside one particular publishing company, but with no particular translations targeted, Kung's (2009) study investigating a broader 'subvention network' that helps to export literature translations from a less powerful culture to a dominant one, and so on.

The author of this thesis adopts a completely different angle. Rather than staying 'aloof' at a macro level (such as social structure or social systems), the author zooms into the research scale to achieve a very practical and detailed ('down-to-the-earth') analysis that fits the nature of ANT (which is similar to that of micro-sociology). The thesis meanwhile focuses on only one particular translation which is the most popular English version of a canonical Chinese original to ensure the quality of the texts and the representativeness of the case study. In other words, the translation project under study in this research was deliberately chosen, and the factors that guide the choice are (ANT and) the original text and the translation themselves, whereas a number of previous studies are based on, at the same time, more than one translation project in a publishing company, or on on-going translations in particular publishing houses, which suggests that there is less choice in terms of the translation for study (Buzelin, 2007a, 2007b; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Boll 2016).

This thesis also contributes by presenting a unique and interesting historical episode in Chinese-English translation. As has been pointed out, both the original and the translation are selected to guarantee the value of the translation and the translation project: the original is canonical Chinese classical literature, and the translation is one of the very few C-E translations that have achieved popularity among English readers. More importantly, a very focused and organised in-depth description is made of the translation project, in response to ANT theorists' suggestion (Latour, 2007) and following the tradition set by previous studies on translation taking an ANT perspective (Buzelin, 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012; Munday, 2016b; Boll 2016). It is perhaps the first time, in addition, that the separate phases of a translation project are identified, each with a focused theme or function and with some different actors involved. This division helps to develop a clear and systematic account of the translation project, although the phases often overlapped in practice.

Although there have been clear intentions to build a closer connection between theory and application, and to go beyond description, it seems that a substantial breakthrough is difficult to achieve. Another aim of this thesis is, under such circumstances, to push discussion and analysis forward beyond ethnographic accounts or descriptions of translation production. Extensive discussion and analysis is developed concerning both human and nonhuman actors and their interactions in the following aspects.

Currently available translation studies taking an ANT approach usually adopt the method of 'following the actors', whereas the very meaning of 'actor' is not given specifically enough to support empirical case studies. This study, for the first time, gathers and integrated ANT theorists' definitions or uses of 'actor', and then adds an inclusion criterion, to develop a clearer and more applicable definition of the concept. Using this newly-developed concept, more actors that have not been identified before, such as the designer, the typographer, the war, and the letters, are added to those actors identified in previous studies (cf. Buzelin, 2007a, 2007b; Jones, 2009; Bogic, 2010; and Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2012).

Furthermore, the roles and positions of the major translation actors are studied as variables that changed throughout the translation network according to their translation actions made in practical circumstances, which are, to the contrary, often considered as fixed within a particular socio-cultural context in Translation Studies. When discussing the roles and positions of the actors, connections are built with traditions set to study the (in)visibility or the status of the translator (Venuti, 1995; Choi and Lim, 2002; Gouadec, 2007; Dam and Zethsen 2008), description translation studies (Toury, 2012), and the development or 'movement' of texts (Pym, 2010, 2014), which should be paid more attention to by translation studies applying different approaches. It is argued that those studies or aspects of translation can be developed by applying ANT.

A major distinction of ANT from other network studies is that ANT proponents acknowledge nonhuman actors and their agencies, as equally important elements and forming forces of 'society'. While the majority of research on Translation (and Interpreting) regards nonhuman phenomena as more or less inert objects, very few ANT-based translation studies for example, Jones (2009, 2011) and Abdallah (2012), have only begun to view nonhuman elements as actors and include source texts, translation drafts, and target texts as actors. This study

developed the concept of translation nonhuman actors further not only by largely extending the list of nonhuman translation actors to include the letters, the war, the printing machines and so on, but also developing a range of ways and tools to explore the actions, connections, and nature of them in the translation as a network. Another specific point worth mentioning is that the networks of texts as actors identified in this study expands what Jones (2009, 2011) identified as the 'textual actors' both in types and in their roles and positions in literary translation.

In addition to the translation actions of particular (groups of) actors, all interactions of the major actors are studied using Callon's theory of *translation^{ANT}*, and Latour's modes of interesting actors, to see how the translation literary project was empowered by *translations^{ANT}*. It is, again, the first time that the theory of *translation^{ANT}* is studied in such a detailed way and such a large-scale study undertaken of the dynamics of the translation literary project, and also the first time that Latour's modes of interesting actors are attested and expanded. Law's theory of long distance control that studies power relations in networks is also proven for the first time in translation.

This research project has a number of limitations however. The most obvious one is that since this study focuses on only one translation project, the translation actors and actions might not be typical. More descriptions and discussions on more translation projects still need to be undertaken in future studies. Lack of research materials regarding, for example, the marketing of the translation, potentially leads to a re-construction of the marketing phase from the viewpoint of the general readers of the newspaper advertisements and book reviews, rather than from the viewpoint of the staff of the publishing company who actually engaged in the marketing activities. Paradoxically, materials regarding the expansion phase of the translation project abound, of which the majority records the selling of publication rights to other publishers for various new editions and re-translations of *Monkey*. Due to limited space in this thesis, many of the sales of rights are not described or discussed, and the focus is put on the other seven phases of translation production, whereas only a small part of the activities in the expansion phase are selectively included. This means that the expansion phase is not presented to its fullest extent which in turn affects the presentation of the whole project.

It is important that further studies on translation applying an ANT perspective conduct more case studies of specific translation projects, or from different angles, making in-depth

descriptions as well as systematic discussion. Much more effort on nonhuman translation actors and their agencies should be made, as Translation Studies is particularly weak in this aspect. Even more effort is needed to be made from within the ANT approached translation studies to connect different approaches of Translation Studies on different themes, as has been sought in this study. For example, the (in)visibility of the translator, as well as being studied through translation text, can also be examined through paratexts of translations, including prefaces, introductions, and notes, and through other texts ('inscriptions' in ANT's term) involved in translation production process, such as corrected page proofs, and letters exchanged between the translator and other translation actors, which reveal the translator's traces in certain translation project. All these different types of text help to expand (in)visibility beyond linguistic, textual, and cultural contexts and into the social sphere in which (in)visibility is not a fixed state but a moving variable.

Thorough exploration of translation in Translation Studies and *translation*[ANT] in ANT might reveal a more profound connection between the two. Latour (1987) integrates the 'linguistic meaning' of translation with a 'geometric meaning' (to displace) (117) in his discussion of the modes of interesting actors, which he originally called 'translation' (in a narrower sense of *translation*[ANT]). It might be a good point for researchers in Translation Studies to intercede, and to respond to Latour's interpretation of 'translation', and develop further connections between translation and *translation*[ANT].

Last but not least, ANT has its own limitations, for example, over-emphasising the very practical circumstances that are directly connected with networking process but overlooking the influence of a larger context within which networks evolve, or, more precisely, the interactions between networks and the larger context(s) around them. This thesis takes effort to address a few of the problems caused by this overlook, by developing the idea of resource (cf. Bourdieusian 'capital') accumulation to explain how the accumulation of previous networks' elements or effects affected the course of development of the current network, and by applying polysystem theory to add to the analysis, from a broader cultural and literary polysystem perspective, the selection of the original Chinese fiction. Apart from the very initial application made in this research, polysystem theory, or other theories or methods, may have the potential to enable the researcher to put micro-networking actions in a larger environment, to break the vacuum around actor-networks (/actors as networks), and to see them in a relational perspective just as actors (as individuals or wholes) are considered by

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ANT. Of course, more detailed and systematic discussions must be conducted, besides the already existing attempts (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2007; Jones, 2011), in order to fully explore the connection between the two theories to benefit mutual development.

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Appendices

Appendix I Versions of *Journey to the West* (西游记), based on Cao (2010)

Time	No.	Title	Forms		
			Complex	Simplified	Abridged
Ming Dynasty	1	Shi Ben (Shidetang Version)《新刻出像官板大字西游记》	Yes		
	2	Li Ping Ben (Li's Version)《李卓吾先生批评西游记》	Yes		
	3	Zhu Ben (Zhu's Version)《唐三藏西游释厄传》		Yes	
	4	Yang Ben (Yang's Version)《新锲唐三藏出身全传》		Yes	
	5	Yangminzhai Ben (Yangminzhai's Version)《鼎镌京板全像西游记》			Yes
	6	Tangseng Ben(Tangseng Version)《二刻官版唐三藏西游记》			Yes
	7	Minzhaitang Ben (Minzhaitang Version)《新刻增补批评全像西游记》			Yes
(Time)	(No.)	(Title)	(Forms)		
			(Complex)	Hand-copied	(Abridged)
Qing Dynasty	8	Zhengdao Ben (Zhengdao Version)《新镌出像古本西游证道书》			Yes
	9	Zhenquan Ben (Zhenquan Version)《西游真诠》			Yes
	10	Yuanzhi Ben (Yuanzhi Version)《西游原旨》			Yes
	11	Zhengzhi Ben (Zhengzhi Version)《通易西游正旨》			Yes
	12	Han Ping Ben (Han's Version)《西游记评注》			Yes
	13	Xinshuo Ben (Xinshuo Version)《新说西游记》	Yes		
	14	Qing Chao Ben (Hand-copied Version)《西游记记》		Yes	

Appendix II The phases of the *Monkey* project

No.	Time (Approximate)		Phase		Major events	Major human participants
1	< Oct 1941		Translating		Translating *Journey to the West* from Chinese to English into *Monkey*	The translator
2	Oct-Nov 1941		Initiating		Evaluating and planning the project, in particular the "best form" (i.e. covers and typesetting) to produce *Monkey*	The publisher, the translator
3	Nov 1941 – May 1942		Designing		Designing the jacket and the title page for *Monkey* before producing satisfactory design proofs basing on the original designs & Arranging a new typesetting for the translation	The publisher, the designer, the typographer, the translator, the engraver
4	Dec 1941 – Jan 1942		Proofreading		Proofreading the page proofs of *Monkey*	The translator
5	May-Jun 1942		Printing		Printing the text pages and the covers of *Monkey*	Printers, the publisher
6	Jun-Jul 1942		Binding		Binding the text pages and the covers to make complete books of *Monkey*	Binder, the publisher
7	< Aug-Sept 1942, < Feb 1943, < Apr 1944, and < Jul 1946 (according to times when book reviews and advertisements appeared in newspapers)		Marketing		Publicising *Monkey* in newspapers, using mainly book reviews and advertisements	The publisher, people who wrote the advertisements and book reviewers, the newspaper publishers
8	< Jan 1942-1966[230]	Oct-Dec1942 (2nd impression); Dec 1942-Apr 1943 (3rd impression); 1944 (4th impression); 1945 (5th impression);	Expanding	Expanding within the UK	Issuing reprints of the original (GA&U) edition of *Monkey* (altogether 6 reprints) & Issuing new editions of *Monkey* in the UK (including	The publisher, the translator, printers, binders, the RU, Penguin, the Folio Society Ltd.

[230] Since correspondence during 1944-47, 1951-52, 1954-57, and 1959-65 was not available, the timespan for some of the reprints or editions were not complete, with only the year of publication shown. The only exception is that the Indian translation of *Monkey* is dated according to the time when the Indian publisher was purchasing the rights for the translation(s). There were very few records of *Monkey* in Indian vernacular language(s), either on its production or publication.

		1953 (6th impression); 1965 (7th impression); 1943-1944 (RU edition); 1958 (Penguin edition); 1966(-1968)[231] (Folio Society edition)			the RU edition, the Penguin edition, and the Folio Society edition)	
		Jan 1942-Mar 1943 (American edition); Jan 1943-1944 (American juvenile illustrated edition); & 1945 (Spanish edition); 1947-1950 (Dutch translation); 1947 (German translation); 1947 (translation[s] in Indian vernacular language[s]); 1947-1949 (Swedish translation); 1948-1951 (French translation); 1962 (a translation made in Sri Lanka); 1953-1960 (Italian translation)		Expanding Overseas	Issuing American editions of *Monkey* (both full edition and adapted juvenile illustrated edition) & Issuing at least 8 re-translations of *Monkey* (in Spanish, Dutch, German, Indian vernacular languages, Swedish, French, Italian, etc.[232])	The publisher; the American publisher; the publishers from Spain, Holland, Switzerland, India, Sweden, France, Italy and Sri Lanka

[231] The Folio Society edition was not published until 1968, but the Records do not contain correspondence regarding the translation later than 1966.

[232] It is not sure in which language the re-translation was issued in Sri Lanka.

Appendix III Letter from Stanley Unwin to Arthur Waley, 22 October 1941

Arthur Waley, Esq.,   22nd October, 1941.
Ministry of Information,
Malet Street,
W. C. 1.

Dear Waley,

          MONKEY is certainly a curious com-
bination of beauty and absurdity, and leaves me
puzzled as to the best form in which to produce
it.   Are any of Hokusai's illustrations available?

          Questions of production loom very
large these days, and there are new regulations
afoot which will compel us to print more words
to the square inch than is desirable for a book
of this kind.   Perhaps we could have a talk about
this aspect of the matter.   Are you by any chance
free for lunch at the Reform either tomorrow or
Friday? Perhaps you would give me a ring, and if
I am out give my secretary a message.

          In the meantime I will have an agree-
ment typed out on the usual basis we have with you.

          Yours sincerely,

Appendix IV Letter from David Unwin to Duncan Grant, 6 January 1942

DSU/VL   6th January, 1942.

Duncan Grant, Esq.,
Charleston,
Firle,
Sussex.

Dear Mr. Grant,

      The title-page design for MONKEY, to
make myself clearer, should be executed in black
with the addition of one other colour.   The
jacket can be in two or three colours, as you
wish, and I suggest a treatment suitable for
line reproduction.

      Samples of cover papers are enclosed;
these particular lines happen to be obtainable
at the moment.   If, therefore, any of the shades
should attract you, please let me know and I will
order in a supply before the stocks become
exhausted.   Cover paper is difficult to obtain
just now and the quality is naturally inferior.
Most of these samples are, however, from pre-war
stocks; the blue seems the only obvious war-time
production.

      Yours truly,

      For GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD.

      DSU

      Production Department

Appendix V Letter from Stanley Unwin to Arthur Waley, 8 September 1943

Arthur Waley, Esq.,   8th September, 1943
50, Gordon Square,
W.C.1.

My dear Waley,   <u>MONKEY</u>

          I enclose a copy of a letter just received
from Richard J. Walsh of The John Day Company, about
which I should like to have a word with you some
time. We shall, of course, do whatever you wish.
You will remember that our contract with you specifi-
cally provides that we shall not enter into any
arrangement without your consent that does not secure
you a royalty of 10% on the published price of any
American edition. My own inclination would be to
accept a royalty of 7% on the first 5,000, 10% on
the second 5,000 and 12½% thereafter for the juvenile
edition, but it is entirely for you to say.

               Yours sincerely,

<u>ENC.</u>

Appendix VI Letter from Stanley Unwin to Arthur Waley, 21 September 1943

Arthur Waley, Esq.,   21st September, 1943
50, Gordon Square,
W.C.1.

Dear Waley,

                    MONKEY.

          There is yet another question to be dealt
with.   Readers Union are prepared to make this their
choice for next July or August.   This means giving
them a licence to print up to 20,000 copies for
supply to their members at 2/6, which may by then
have been increased to 3/6. The fee they offer
is £300, which is normally divided fifty-fifty
between the author and publisher. In your case
if you wish us to go ahead we should suggest a
division of £200 to you and £100 to us.   On balance
I do not think the sale of this special edition
nearly two years after first publication affects
the ordinary sales adversely. On the contrary,
I think it is more likely to re-arouse interest
in the book. But here again it is entirely for you
to say. Our recommendation would be to accept.

          Yours sincerely,

Appendix VII Letter from Arthur Waley to Stanley Unwin, 22 December 1943

50 Gordon
Square
W.C

Dec 22

Dear Unwin,

It is a great pity that 'Monkey' is out of print for Xmas, and just when the Chinese Mission is here, and people are curious about Chinese things. I know the difficulties. But in view of the propaganda value of 'Monkey', would it not be possible to get priority to keep it in stock? I suppose that is a British Council matter. M.O.1 only deals with political books. However, the popularity of a Chinese book here has a political importance at present + Mr Floud, Far East Div. M.O.1 might manage something.

Yours Sincerely

Arthur Waley

Reprint due off press Jan 18th – date not reliable. Will take about 14 days to bind if given first priority to any personal word from S.U.

Appendix VIII Jacket page of *Monkey: A Folk-Tale of China* (seventh impression, 1965), designed by Duncan Grant

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