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Beyond *Don Quixote*: a History of Translating the Spanish Golden Age in China

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Abstract

This article traces the history of Chinese translations of Spanish Renaissance literary works, offering a systematic review of the translation and dissemination of major authors and their works over the past century. Focusing on canonical authors from the “Golden Age” – the core period of the Spanish Renaissance – such as Juan Ruiz and Cervantes, the study examines their Chinese renditions, including the works of translators, translation sources, and the influence of seminal texts such as *Libro de buen amor* (The Book of Good Love), *Don Quixote*, and *Lazarillo de Tormes* (The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes). Special attention is given to the characteristics of key translations produced during different historical periods, including an analysis of the unique value of Yang Jiang’s translation of *Don Quixote*, and an exploration of the translation history of diverse literary genres, such as picaresque and pastoral novels, and drama. In addition, the paper investigates the dissemination of Baroque literature in China, highlighting the vital role of anthologized translations in promoting Spanish Golden Age poetry. By mapping the transmission and reception of these works, the study sheds light on the broader cultural impact of Spanish Renaissance literature in China and provides a rich body of documentary evidence for future research on Sino-Spanish literary exchange.

Keywords

Spanish Golden Age literature – Baroque literature – history of Chinese translation – transmission of the Renaissance to the East

This study presents a comprehensive account of the dissemination of Spanish Renaissance literature in China over the past century. Within the Spanish literary tradition, the Renaissance period traditionally corresponds to the two-century span known as the Golden Age (*El Siglo de Oro*), beginning in the late 15th century. This survey, however, extends its chronological scope to include late-medieval writers such as Juan Ruiz (ca. 1284–ca. 1351) and Don Juan Manuel (1282–1348), recognizing their works as crucial precursors that exhibit proto-Renaissance elements.

While the timeline of the Renaissance varied across European nations, most experienced a late phase marked by Mannerism, which subsequently evolved into literary Baroque. As the dominant literary trend of the 17th century, the Baroque is also referred to as *Secentismo* (Italian for “seventeenth century”). The concept of Baroque as a distinct literary category was first introduced by Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945) in his seminal work, *Renaissance und Barock* (Renaissance and Baroque, 1888). After the 20th century, scholars such as Karl Borinski (1861–1922) further expanded Baroque literary studies. In the first volume of his *Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie* (Antiquity in Poetics and Art Theory, 1914–1924), Borinski adopted Wölfflin’s framework and even linked the Baroque to the High Renaissance (*Hochrenaissance*). Similarly, the French comparatist Paul Van Tieghem (1871–1959) positioned Baroque literature within the Renaissance chapter of his *Précis d’histoire littéraire de l’Europe depuis la Renaissance* (A Brief History of European Literature Since the Renaissance), a work only recently translated into Chinese. This expansive view is echoed in the Chinese-speaking world, where publishers of Spanish literary classics have defined the Golden Age of Spanish (and Portuguese) literature as beginning with the introduction of Italian Renaissance humanism and concluding with the zenith and decline of the Baroque.

Following this broad chronological framework, the dissemination of Spanish Renaissance literature in China (covering publications up to August 2016) is outlined below, ordered roughly by authors’ birth years.

1 Juan Ruiz

Libro de buen amor (The Book of Good Love), a thematically multifaceted verse narrative from the 1330s–1340s, is typically classified as medieval literature. Yet its ambivalent treatment of secular love and hedonism, alongside its sharp satire on clerical licentiousness, clearly anticipates Renaissance motifs. This transitional quality has led Spanish literary historians since the 1990s to describe it as a “harbinger of the impending Renaissance,”¹ while Chinese scholar Meng Fu 孟復 (1916–1975) described it as “the catalyst for the Spanish Renaissance.”²

As early as the 1950s, Meng Fu published an introductory essay, titling the work *Zhen'ai ji* 真愛集 and translating several excerpts based on a 1953 modern Spanish edition from the *Odres Nuevos* (New Wineskins) series. Meng highlighted the work's linguistic difficulty, observing that while the original text employed “language even old women could understand,” modern readers find it as inscrutable as “a book from Heaven.” This challenge, he noted, is compounded by the work's complex poetic rhetoric and playful satire, which create significant hurdles even for intralingual modernization within Spanish.³

The first complete Chinese translation of *Libro de buen amor* was produced by Tu Mengchao 屠孟超 and published in 2000 as part of the “Yibiliya wenxue congshu: Xibanya jingdian xilie” 伊比利亞文學叢書·西班牙經典系列 by Kunlun chubanshe.⁴ Tu based his work on the 1960 Madrid edition published by Espasa-Calpe in the *Clásicos Castellanos* collection, citing in his own preface the introduction by Spanish literary scholar Julio Cejador y Frauca (1864–1927) that preceded the original text, and drawing extensively on the original annotations. One specific textual choice, namely the ordering of the final two sections of *Cantar de ciegos* (Song of the Blind), is justified in a translator's note with a vague reference to “versions published after 1940.” This attribution is misleading, however, as the same arrangement already appears in Julio Cejador y Frauca's third edition from 1931.⁵

1 Richard E. Chandler and Kessel Schwartz, *A New History of Spanish Literature*, revised ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), 205.

2 Meng Fu 孟復, *Xibanya wenxue jianshi* 西班牙文學簡史 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1982).

3 Meng Fu 孟復, “Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de Buen Amor* de guwen jinyi” Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de Buen Amor* 的古文今譯, *Xifang yuwen* 西方語文, no. 2 (1957): 227–31.

4 Hu'an Luyisi 胡安·魯伊斯 [Juan Ruiz], *Zhen'ai zhi shu* 真愛之書 (*Libro de buen amor*), trans. Tu Mengchao 屠孟超, Yibiliya wenxue congshu: Xibanya jingdian xilie 伊比利亞文學叢書·西班牙經典系列 (Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe, 2000).

5 Ibid., 366, note 1. Juan Ruiz, *Libro De Buen Amor*, ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca, T. II (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1931), 286.

2 Don Juan Mannuel

Appearing around the same time as *Libro de buen amor*, Don Juan Mannuel's (1282–1348) *El conde Lucanor* (Tales of Count Lucanor) similarly stands as a crucial precursor to the Spanish Renaissance. A collection of parables, possibly intended as the first part of a larger, unfinished work, it predates Boccaccio's (1313–1375) *Decameron* by thirteen years and exerted a profound influence on later generations. The work first gained recognition in China through its thirty-second tale, which served as the prototype for Hans Christian Andersen's *The Emperor's New Clothes*.⁶ Additionally, portions of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* drew elements from the forty-fourth tale. The book was also a source of inspiration for writers like Lope de Vega (1562–1635) and Cervantes (1547–1616).

Currently, there are four principal Chinese translations of *El conde Lucanor*.⁷ The earliest was by Tu Mengchao in 1991, titled *Lukanuoer bojue* 魯卡諾爾伯爵 and published by Yilin chubanshe as part of its “Xibanya wenxue congshu” 西班牙文學叢書.⁸ Tu cites only a 1952 publication by Ediciones Atlas in Madrid as his source. Further investigation reveals this to be a reprint of a volume from the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Library of Spanish Authors) series, which Atlas took over in the 1950s. The specific volume, *Escritores en Prosa Anteriores al Siglo xv* (Prose Writers Before the Fifteenth Century), was originally published in 1871 and edited by the 19th-century scholar Pascual de Gayangos y Arce (1809–1897).⁹ Within this anthology, *El conde Lucanor* occupies less than a tenth of the content (pp. 367–426), under the variant title *Libro de Patronio* (Book of Patronio).

In 1996, another translation emerged: Shen Baolou's 申寶樓 *Lukanuo bojue* 盧卡諾爾伯爵 was published by Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe as part of its “Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu” 西班牙文學名著叢書 series.¹⁰ This

6 See Hans Christian Andersen's autobiography, translated by Zhang Yousong 張友松. “Antusheng tonghua de lai yuan he xitong” 安徒生童話的來源和系統, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報 16, no. 9 (1925), in the special issue on Andersen.

7 In addition, Meng Fu published a Chinese translation of three stories from *El conde Lucanor* in Issue 6 of *Shijie wenxue* 世界文學 in 1963, based on the Argentine edition (Editorial Sopena Argentina, 1955), a bilingual version in Old and Modern Spanish.

8 Tang Hu'an Mannuaier 堂胡安·曼努埃爾 [Don Juan Mannuel], *Lukanuoer bojue* 魯卡諾爾伯爵 (*El conde Lucanor*), trans. Tu Mengchao 屠孟超, Xibanya wenxue congshu 西班牙文學叢書 (Beijing: Yilin chubanshe, 1991).

9 See Philip Ward, *The Oxford Companion to Spanish Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 130.

10 Tang Hu'an Mannuaier 堂胡安·曼努埃爾 [Don Juan Mannuel], *Lukanuo bojue* 盧卡諾爾伯爵 (*El conde Lucanor*), trans. Shen Baolou 申寶樓, Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu 西班牙文學名著叢書 (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1996).

rendition was based on a 1984 edition from Plaza & Janés in Barcelona, edited and annotated by medievalist José Manuel Fradejas Rueda. Subsequent translations include Liu Jian's 劉建 *Lukanuoer bojue* 魯卡諾爾伯爵,¹¹ based on an edition by Lidio Nieto Jiménez,¹² and Liu Yushu's 劉玉樹 *Lukanuoer bojue* 盧卡諾爾伯爵,¹³ based on an annotated edition by Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles y Correa (1898–1982).¹⁴

In comparing these translations, a key distinction arises in the translation of *enxemplo* (*ejemplo* in Modern Spanish), the term titling each tale. Most translators render it as *shili* 事例 (case or example), a terminological choice that signals the work's connection to the medieval *exemplum* tradition. Tu Mengchao, however, opted for the more general term *gushi* 故事 (story).

A more recent, significant contribution is the collaborative translation by Yang Deyou 楊德友 and Yang Deling 楊德玲.¹⁵ Its preface offers a detailed account of the sources and references consulted, which include a newly edited version of the *editio princeps*, an authoritative modern Spanish edition, bilingual versions juxtaposing medieval and contemporary Spanish, and an English translation. Supported by this scholarly apparatus, the work may be considered the most academically robust Chinese rendition to date. Furthermore, the inclusion of more than twenty Victorian-era engravings by British illustrators lends the volume a rich iconographic dimension.

3 Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba

The chivalry romance *Tirant lo Blanc* (Tirant the White), co-authored by Joanot Martorell (1413–1468) and Martí Joan de Galba (d. 1490), likely first became known to Chinese readers – along with other early modern Spanish literary

- 11 Tang Hu'an Mannuaier 唐胡安·曼努埃爾 [Don Juan Mannuel], *Lukanuoer bojue* 魯卡諾爾伯爵 (*El conde Lucanor*), trans. Liu Jian 劉建 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1999).
- 12 Don Juan Manuel, *El conde Lucanor* (Madrid: Editorial Magisterio Español, 1971). This edition was reprinted in 1977.
- 13 Tang Hu'an Mannuaier 堂胡安·馬努埃爾 [Don Juan Mannuel], *Lukanuoer bojue* 盧卡諾爾伯爵 (*El conde Lucanor*), trans. Liu Yushu 劉玉樹, Yibiliya wenxue congshu: Xibanya jingdian xilie 伊比利亞文學叢書·西班牙經典系列 (Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe, 2000).
- 14 Don Juan Manuel, *El Conde Lucanor y Patronio, Libro de los Ejemplos*, prologue, notes, and vocab. Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles (Madrid: Aguilar, 1962). This edition has been revised and reissued several times.
- 15 Tang Hu'an Mannuaier 堂胡安·馬努埃爾 [Don Juan Mannuel], *Lukanuo bojue chatuben* 盧卡諾爾伯爵 (插圖本) (*El conde Lucanor*), trans. Yang Deyou 楊德友 and Yang Deling 楊德玲 (Taiyuan: Beiyue wenyi chubanshe, 2015).

masterpieces such as *La Diana* (discussed later) – through its appearance in Chapter VI of Part One of *Don Quixote*. In Cervantes's narrative, it is notably one of the few books spared from the flames by the protagonist's friends. A complete Chinese translation by Wang Yangle 王央樂 (1925–1998) was published in 1991 to mark the 500th anniversary of this Catalan classic. In his preface, Wang describes the novel as “a product of the European Renaissance, deserving a place among the great literary works of the period.”¹⁶ Although thematically grounded in the traditions of medieval chivalry, the novel departs significantly from the genre's typical motifs, such as enchanters and dragons, opting instead for a realism aligned with Renaissance sensibilities. As one of Cervantes's characters famously remarks: “The knights in this book eat, sleep in beds, die in their beds making wills, and do other things never recorded in other books of chivalry.”¹⁷ Wang based his translation on the then-recently published critical edition of the original Catalan text,¹⁸ alongside a Castilian translation.

4 Diego de San Pedro

In 2008, Hispanist Li Deming 李德明 published translations of two of Diego de San Pedro's (ca. 1437–ca. 1498) works, *Cárcel de amor* (The Prison of Love) and *Tractado de Amores de Arnalte y Lucenda* (A Treatise of the Loves of Arnalte and Lucenda).¹⁹ The two novels share similar themes, though the former, composed slightly later, is more complex and refined in both style and structure. Both employ allegorical techniques typical of medieval literature and embody courtly literary traditions, while also pioneering a narrative mode centered on the anguish of secular love, a hallmark of sentimental literature. In the “Translator's Afterword,” Li briefly discusses the narrative features of these

16 Matuoleier 馬托雷爾 [Joanot Martorell] and Jiaerba 加爾巴 [Martí Joan de Galba], *Qishi Dilang* 騎士蒂朗 (*Tirant lo Blanc*), trans. Wang Yangle 王央樂 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1993).

17 Yang Jiang 楊絳 translated the Spanish title as *Zhuming de bai qishi Tilangde zhuan* 著名的白騎士悌朗德傳, which better reflects the original title's meaning and the pronunciation of names.

18 Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc*, ed. Martí de Riquer (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1983 and 1988).

19 Diege de Sheng Peideluo 迭戈·德·聖佩德羅 [Diego de San Pedro], *Aiqing laofang* 愛情牢房 (*Cárcel de amor*), trans. Li Deming 李德明 (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2008). The translator does not specify the source edition used for the translation.

novels, drawing attention to their significance within the evolutionary history of early Spanish fiction.²⁰

5 Fernando de Rojas

The authorship of the celebrated dramatic or dialogue novel *La Celestina* (Celestina: or, the Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea) remained uncertain for centuries, until scholars in the 20th century deciphered clues in the acrostic poem preceding the text, attributing the work to Fernando de Rojas (ca. 1470–ca. 1541).²¹ The earliest known edition from 1499 contains sixteen acts, with later editions expanding the text to twenty-one and even twenty-two acts. Academic consensus identifies that the twenty-one-act version represents the author's final edition. The work's current title derives from an Italian translation and refers to the elderly female go-between who facilitates the protagonists' romance. To date, five Chinese translations exist – by Wang Yangle,²² Cai Runguo 蔡潤國,²³ Tu Mengchao,²⁴ Li Yongchun 李永春 and Yu Fengchuan 于鳳川,²⁵ and Ding Wenlin 丁文林²⁶ – all of which are based on the twenty-one-act version and are largely similar in both approach and content.

20 See Dorothy S. Severin, "Diego de San Pedro's *Arnalte y Lucenda*: Subtext for the Cardenio Episode of *DQ*," in *Studies on the Spanish Sentimental Romance, 1440–1550: Redefining a Genre*, ed. Joseph J. Gwara, E. Michael Gerli (Woodbridge: Tamesis Books, 1997), 145–50.

21 For a discussion of the work's literary style and its reception history in Chinese scholarship, see Li Yiling 李亦玲, "Lun Sailaisidina de wenti zhizheng" 論塞萊斯蒂娜的文體之爭, *Jinan xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 暨南學報 (哲學社會科學版), no. 6 (2008): 80–85.

22 Luohasi 羅哈斯 [Fernando de Rojas], *Sailaisidina* 賽萊斯蒂娜 (*La Celestina*), trans. Wang Yangle 王央樂 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1990). *La Celestina*, ed. and annot. Julio Cejador y Frauca, 2 vols. 10th ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972).

23 Feiernanduo de Luohasi 費爾南多·德·羅哈斯 [Fernando de Rojas], *Sailaisidina* 塞萊斯蒂娜 (*La Celestina*), trans. Cai Runguo 蔡潤國 (Beijing: Zhongguo duiwai fanyi chubanshe, 1993). The translation is based on *La Celestina*, Los Mejores Libros de la Literatura Española (Chile: Editorial Ercilla, 1984). This copy appears to be a layman's version rather than a scholarly edition.

24 Feiernanduo de Luohasi 費爾南多·德·羅哈斯 [Fernando de Rojas], *Sailaisidina* 塞萊斯蒂娜 (*La Celestina*), trans. Tu Mengchao 屠孟超 (Nanjing: Yilin chubanshe, 1997). Based on the same Chilean edition used by Cai Runguo.

25 Feiernanduo de Luohasi 費爾南多·德羅哈斯, *Sailaisidina* 塞萊斯蒂娜 (*La Celestina*), trans. Li Yongchun 李永春 and Yu Fengchuan 于鳳川, *Jingdian shijie mingzhu* 經典世界名著 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 2000). Source edition unknown.

26 Feiernanduo de Luohasi 費爾南多·德·羅哈斯 [Fernando de Rojas], *Sailaisidina* 塞萊斯蒂娜 (*La Celestina*), trans. Ding Wenlin 丁文林, *Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu* 西班牙文學名著叢書 (Shijiazhuang: Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 2008).

6 Francisco Delgado

Francisco Delgado (ca. 1475–ca. 1535) emerged as a prominent Renaissance textual scholar, known for his critical editions of classical works including *Amadis de Gaula* (Amadis of Gaul), *La Celestina*, and *Cárcel de Amor*, applying his research on and understanding of Spanish grammar to these works.²⁷ He also authored a medical treatise exploring the physiological and psychological effects of a culture obsessed with sensual indulgence. His most notable literary work is *Retrato de la Loçana andaluza* (Portrait of the Lusty Andalusian Woman), a novel portraying the life of young Spanish courtesans in Rome. The only Chinese translation, rendered by Li Deming, bears the title *Andaluxiya guniang zai Luoma* 安達盧西亞姑娘在羅馬.²⁸ The novel's setting, thematic focus, dialogic structure, and tripartite division into sixty-six episodes all point to a deliberate emulation of *Ragionamenti* (Reasonings), which was later retitled *Sei Giornate* (Six Days), by the Italian Renaissance writer Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), a work exploring the urban sexual mores of the time. Much like Aretino's works, which remain largely neglected in the Sinophone world, the translation of Delgado's novel similarly failed to generate substantive scholarly discourse.

7 Jorge de Montemayor and Gaspar Gil Polo

Jorge de Montemayor's (ca. 1520–ca. 1561) *La Diana*, widely recognized as the first Spanish pastoral novel, was translated into Chinese by Li Deming.²⁹ In his preface, Li notes that the work leaves its central themes unresolved and announces his plan to translate Gaspar Gil Polo's (1530–1584) sequel. He followed through later that same year, publishing *La Diana Enamorada* as part

27 Jean Dangler, *Mediating Fictions: Literature, Women Healers, and the Go-between in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001), 129. The pioneering grammatical research on the unified modern Spanish language (i.e. Castilian) by Renaissance scholar Antonio de Nebrija (1444–1522) was a major influence on him.

28 Fo Delijiaduo 佛·德里加多 [Francisco Delicado], *Andaluxiya guniang zai luoma* 安達盧西亞姑娘在羅馬 (*Retrato de la Loçana andaluza*), trans. Li Deming 李德明, Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu 西班牙文學名著叢書 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2001). The source text is *La Lozana andaluza*, ed. with introduction and notes, Bruno M. Damiani (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1969), an important modern critical edition.

29 Mengtemayueer 蒙特馬約爾 [Jorge de Montemayor], *Diyana* 狄亞娜 (*La Diana*), trans. Li Deming 李德明, Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu 西班牙文學名著叢書 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2000). Based on the 1991 edition published by Ediciones Cátedra in Madrid, as part of the *Letras Hispánicas*, edited by Asunción Rallo.

of Chongqing chubanshe's "Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu."³⁰ With these two publications, two of the three *Dianas* in Don Quixote's library, both of which are spared from the flames by a priest named Pérez, have now been translated into Chinese.

8 *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554)

The first Chinese translation of *Lazarillo de Tormes* appeared in 1950, rendered from an English version by Yang Jiang 楊絳 (1911–2016) and published by Shanghai pingming chubanshe under the title *Xiao laizi* 小癩子 (The Little Rascal).³¹ Yang later revised the work multiple times, producing a new translation directly from the Spanish original, published by Renmin wenxue chubanshe in 1978.³² After acquiring the latest Spanish edition in 1985, she undertook yet another round of revisions, which led to a further edition released in 1986 by the same publisher.³³ Yang's inventive Chinese title has proved enduringly influential. The translator clarified that *laizi* 癩子 does not refer to a leper³⁴ but is a phonetic variation drawn from colloquial classical Chinese and expressions used in traditional fiction.³⁵ Later translations by Liu

30 Jiasipaer Xier Boluo 加斯帕爾·希爾·波羅 [Gaspar Gil Polo], *Duoqing de Diyan* 多情的狄安娜 (*La Diana enamorada*), trans. Li Deming 李德明, Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu 西班牙文學名著叢書 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2000). Translated from the 1987 edition published by Editorial Castalia in Madrid.

31 Yang Jiang 楊絳, trans., *Xiao laizi* 小癩子 (*Lazarillo de Tormes*) (Shanghai: Shanghai pingming chubanshe, 1950). The subtitle is *Tuomeisihe shang de Xiao laizi, tade shenshi he zaoyu* 托美思河上的小癩子，他的身世和遭遇. The translation was based on the English version *Lazarillo of Tormes: His Life, Fortunes, Misadventures*, trans. Mariano J. Lorente (Boston: J. W. Luce and Company, 1924).

32 Yang Jiang 楊絳, trans., *Xiao laizi* 小癩子 (*Lazarillo de Tormes*) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1978). Based on R. Foulché-Delbosc's edition, reprinted by Aubier in 1958 (originally published in Barcelona by L'Avenç, 1900).

33 Yang Jiang 楊絳, trans., *Xiao laizi* 小癩子 (*Lazarillo de Tormes*) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1985). The latest edition used was the one edited by José Miguel Caso González (Barcelona: Bruguera, 1982).

34 Tr. note: Yang Jiang replaced the literal historical meaning of *laizi* (person with leprosy) with the meaning of "rascal," "rogue," or "street-smart trickster" from pre-modern vernacular.

35 However, Yang did not reference the same word found in volume 2 of the "Sequel" to *Yeyu qiudeng lu* 夜雨秋燈錄 by Xuan Ding 宣鼎.

Jiahai 劉家海³⁶ and Zhu Jingdong 朱景東³⁷ retained this now-established title. The 2000 volume “Yibiliya wenxue congshu,” published by Kunlun chubanshe and featuring Sheng Li’s 盛力 translation of *Lazarillo de Tormes* with a different Chinese title, *Tuoermeisi he de Lasalu* 托爾美斯河的拉撒路, ostensibly appears to adopt an independent approach. However, its annotations remain largely within the interpretive framework shaped by Yang Jiang and show considerable alignment with the versions by Liu and Zhu.

9 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra

As early as 1904, Cervantes, then transliterated as Shawendisi 沙文第斯, appeared on a list of “world greats” in *Jiangsu* 江蘇, a journal published by Chinese students studying in Japan. His novel *Tang Guisuntuo* 唐貴孫脫 (Don Quixote) was widely praised as a masterpiece, and Cervantes was considered an author who “forged his own path, following no one.”³⁸ The earliest known Chinese translation of *Don Quixote* was a classical Chinese rendition of the first two chapters titled *Ji xiansheng zhuan* 稽先生傳, which appeared in 1913.³⁹ This version was produced by Ma Yifu 馬一浮 (1883–1967), under the pen name Pi He 被褐. In the introduction, the editor hailed the work as “the most famous in Spanish literature” and the translation as unprecedented among Chinese adaptations of foreign novels. In reality, however, the Chinese rendition was fragmentary. Surprisingly, it won the admiration of a young Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910–1998), who praised its vigorous and expressive style as superior even to *Moxia zhuan* 魔俠傳.⁴⁰

Published in 1922 by the Shangwu yinshuguan, *Moxia zhuan* was a collaborative translation by Lin Shu 林紓 (1852–1924) and Chen Jialin 陳家麟

36 Liu Jiahai 劉家海, trans., *Xiao laizi* 小癩子 (*Lazarillo de Tormes*) (Guilin: Lijiang chubanshe, 1997). The translator seemed unfamiliar with the concept of a “critical edition” and claimed to have used the “1554 version” as the source text.

37 Zhu Jingdong 朱景東, trans., *Xiao laizi* 小癩子 (*Lazarillo de Tormes*) (Beijing: Renmin ribao chubanshe, 2001). Based on the 1984 edition published by Editorial Ercilla in Santiago, Chile.

38 “Shijie weiren” 世界偉人, *Jiangsu* 江蘇, combined issues 11 and 12 (April 1904), 175.

39 Pi He 被褐, “Ji xiansheng zhuan” 稽先生傳, *Duli zhoubao* 獨立週報 21–22, nos. 7–8 (1913). The translation may be based on an English version.

40 Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Qian Zhongshu riji* 錢鍾書日記 (Wenzhou: Mingqiuxuan siyinben, 2022), 109 (entry dated February 7, 1934).

(fl. 1912).⁴¹ In their rendition, the protagonist was named Kuishada 奎沙達. This adaptation condensed the original into four sections, each containing several chapters, and only covered the first part of the novel, with extensive omissions. The various abridged, summarized, and rewritten versions that appeared during the Republican era are excluded from this survey.⁴² One partial translation worth noting, however, is Ma Zongrong's 馬宗融 (1890–1949) 1934 rendering of the first five chapters, titled *Dong Qisuode* 董齊索德,⁴³ which, according to the translator's foreword, was based on two French editions.⁴⁴

In May 1935, Fu Donghua's 傅東華 (1893–1971) *Jihede xiansheng zhuan* 吉訶德先生傳, a translation of the first two-thirds of Part I of *Don Quixote*, appeared in Volume I of *Shijie Wenku* 世界文庫. A full volume of Part I was subsequently published in 1939 by the Shangwu yinshuguan, which had by then relocated to Changsha.⁴⁵ This was the most complete Chinese version available at the time, aside from a few omitted passages. The front matter of the volume included Heinrich Heine's (1797–1856) famous essay on *Don Quixote*,⁴⁶ which Qian Zhongshu later retranslated as "Jingyinben Jihede xiansheng yinyan" 精印本吉訶德先生引言. A 1954 reprint by Zuoja chubanshe used Fu's pen name, Wu Shi 伍實. It was not until 1959, however, that the second part of his translation finally appeared, published by Renmin wenxue chubanshe.

41 Xiwantisi 西萬提斯 [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], *Moxia zhuan* 魔俠傳 (*Don Quixote*), trans. Lin Shu 林紓 and Chen Jialin 陳家麟 (Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan, 1922).

42 Zhang Zhi 張治, "Zhongxi yinyuan: jinxiandai wenxue shiye zhong de xifang jingdian 'jingdian' 中西因緣：近現代文學視野中的西方“經典” (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2012), 201–5.

43 Xiwantisi 西萬提斯 [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], "Dong Qisuode" 董齊索德 (*Don Quixote*), trans. Ma Zongrong 馬宗融, Serialized in *Huamei* 華美 1, no. 1, 2, and 4–6 (1934).

44 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *L'ingénieur chevalier Don Quichotte de la Manche*, trans. Ch. Furne (Paris: Furne, Jouvet et Cie, 1866); Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *L'ingénieur Hidalgo Don Quichotte de la Manche*, trans. Adrien Grimaux Delaunay (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1924).

45 Saiwantisi 塞萬提斯 [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], *Jihede xiansheng zhuan* 吉訶德先生傳 (*Don Quixote*), trans. Fu Donghua 傅東華 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939). Fu Donghua primarily relied on English translations. His main source was the Jervas version (Oxford University Press edition), which he used in conjunction with the Motteux translation published by Everyman's Library. The former's literal approach and the latter's free interpretation provided a useful contrast. He also kept on hand the authoritative Ormsby translation, but due to its sheer volume, he consulted it only for difficult passages. Additionally, Fu mentioned he also had access to a Spanish original and a French version brought back by Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898–1958) and Ma Zongrong from Spain and France respectively, though it appears he did not make much use of either.

46 Fu Donghua's translation of this piece, titled "Jihede xiansheng" 吉訶德先生, was previously published in *Yiwen* 譯文 2, no. 3 (1935).

In 1957, Yang Jiang was commissioned by the editorial board of the “Waiguo gudian wenxue mingzhu congshu” 外國古典文學名著叢書 to undertake a new Chinese translation of *Don Quixote*. She began the project while teaching herself Spanish, though her progress was interrupted for several years due to political upheavals. Following the end of the Cultural Revolution, her translation, completed directly from the Spanish original, was finally published.⁴⁷ It has since become the most influential Chinese version of the novel. Though Yang modestly remarked that her Spanish was only sufficient for reading comprehension without conversational fluency, her translation earned wide acclaim. This may have prompted several senior translators with formal training in Spanish to attempt new and potentially more refined renditions. Nevertheless, Yang’s success demonstrates that the translation of literary classics cannot be judged solely on linguistic proficiency; her profound literary sensibility and mastery of Chinese expression were crucial in producing a vivid and cohesive work of art.

In this author’s modest view, later translations, including those by Dong Yansheng 董燕生 (1995), Liu Jingsheng 劉京勝 (1995), Tu Mengchao (1995), Tang Minquan 唐民權 (1999), Sun Jiameng 孫家孟 (2001), and Zhang Guangsen 張廣森 (2001) – although some feature phrasing more aligned with Spanish norms or address omissions and refine annotations – do not represent a significant advance over Yang’s rendition. Among them, the translations by Dong and Sun are the most noteworthy. Dong’s, in particular, stands out for its meticulousness and extensive commentary, while Sun’s impresses with its erudition and precision. Tang Minquan’s version attempts to emulate the rhythm and idiom of Chinese vernacular fiction and traditional storytelling, but the result lacks the vividness and nuance found in Yang Jiang’s version, which skillfully draws on the rhetorical power of classics such as *Journey to the West*. As for the numerous obscure or perfunctory translations of unknown provenance, they fall outside the scope of serious scholarly consideration.

Some of Cervantes’s other works appeared in Chinese even earlier than *Don Quixote*. For example, in the 30th year of the Guangxu 光緒 reign (r. 1875–1908), a Chinese translation of the short story “La fuerza de la sangre” (The Force of

47 Saiwantisi 塞萬提斯 [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], *Tang Jihede* 堂吉訶德 (*Don Quixote*), trans. Yang Jiang 楊絳 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1978). Its first edition was published in 1978, with the second one in 1987 and a revised version appearing in her collected works (*Yang Jiang wenji* 楊絳文集). Yang’s translation was primarily based on the sixth edition of the annotated version by Francisco Rodríguez Marín (1855–1943), published in the Clásicos Castellanos series in Madrid, in 1952. Later revisions drew upon two newer scholarly editions by Juan Bautista Avale-Arce (1977) and Luis Andrés Murillo (1983).

Blood) from *Novelas ejemplares* (Exemplary Novels) was published in Tokyo by Shōrانشa under the title “Gu jian ying” 谷間鶯. This Chinese version was a retranslation of a “heroic” Japanese adaptation,⁴⁸ itself based on a French version.⁴⁹ Later, Zhu Rong 祝融 produced a partial translation of five stories from the same collection using an English version as his source.⁵⁰ Two of these were subsequently pirated in a Hong Kong edition titled *Boli boshi* 玻璃博士.⁵¹

In the early 1980s, several of Cervantes’s short stories and *entremeses* (one-act interlude plays) appeared in Chinese newspapers and journals, such as Kong Lingsen’s 孔令森 version of *El casamiento engañoso* (The Deceitful Marriage)⁵² and Yang Deyou’s version of *El retablo de las maravillas* (Theatre of Wonders).⁵³ In 1989, Zhang Yunyi 張雲義 published a selection from *Novelas ejemplares* under the title *Kangkai de qingren* 慷慨的情人.⁵⁴ In 1992, Chen Kaixian 陳凱先, Tu Mengchao, and others collaborated on a complete Chinese translation of *Novelas ejemplares* published as *Saiwantisi xunjie xiaoshuo ji* 塞萬提斯訓誡小說集.⁵⁵ A year earlier, in 1991, Li Tingyu 李庭玉 published *Wangzi wanghou lixian ji* 王子王后歷險記 (The Adventures of the Prince and Princess), a translation of Cervantes’s other major novel *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*

48 Tr. note: “Heroic translation” (*hao jie yi* 豪傑譯) refers to a distinctive style of literary translation known for its boldness and creative liberties.

49 Tarumoto Teruo 樽本照雄, “Serubantesu Saisho no Kan’yaku Shōsetsu” セルバンテス最初の漢訳小説, *Shinmatsu Shōsetsu kara* 清末小説から 95 (2009): 1–20.

50 Saiwantisi 塞萬提斯 [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], *Cheng’e yangshan gushiji* 懲惡揚善故事集 (*Novelas ejemplares*), trans. Zhu Rong 祝融 (Shanghai: Xinwenyi chubanshe, 1958). Based on *The Exemplary Novels of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1908), a reprint of Walter K. Kelly’s 1881 English translation.

51 Saiwantisi 塞萬提斯 [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], *Boli boshi* 玻璃博士 (*El licenciado Vidriera*) (Hong Kong: Shanghai shuju, 1969).

52 Saiwantisi 塞萬提斯 [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], “Zhaphian yinyuan” 詐騙姻緣 (*El casamiento engañoso*), trans. Kong Lingsen 孔令森, *Gejiu wenyi* 個舊文藝, no. 4 (1980). This is a translation of the story *El casamiento engañoso* from Cervantes’s *Novelas ejemplares* (Exemplary Novels).

53 Yang Deyou 楊德友, trans. “Qiji juyuan” 奇跡劇院 (*El retablo de las maravillas*), *Mingzuo xinshang* 名作欣賞, no. 3 (1981). This is a translation of the play *El retablo de las maravillas* (Theatre of Wonders).

54 Saiwantisi 塞萬提斯 [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], *Kangkai de qingren* 慷慨的情人, trans. Zhang Yunyi 張雲義 (Guilin: Lijiang chubanshe, 1989). Subtitled *Xunjie xiaoshuo ji* 訓誡小說集 or *Cheng’e yangshan gushiji* 懲惡揚善故事集. Eight of the twelve stories were translated. This translation was based on *Obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, ed. and ill. Bonaventura Carles Aribau, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 1 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1944).

55 *Saiwantisi xunjie xiaoshuo ji* 塞萬提斯訓誡小說集 (*Novelas ejemplares*), trans. Chen Kaixian 陳凱先, Tu Mengchao 屠孟超 et al. (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1992).

(The Travails of Persiles and Sigismunda), officially known as *Beixuelaisi yu Xijisimengda lixian ji* 貝雪萊斯與西吉斯蒙達歷險記 in Chinese.⁵⁶

In 1996, Renmin wenxue chubanshe released the eight-volume *Saiwantisi quanji* 塞萬提斯全集 (Complete Works of Cervantes), making Cervantes the second Renaissance author after Shakespeare to have his full oeuvre translated into Chinese. The edition used Yang Jiang's version of *Don Quixote; Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* was translated by Liu Xiliang 劉習良 and Sun Jiyong 筍季英; *Novelas ejemplares* was completed by Zhang Yunyi; and other works were translated by Dong Yansheng, Wu Jianheng 吳健恆, and others. The 2000 *Saiwantisi jingxuanji* 塞萬提斯精選集 (Selected Works of Cervantes), edited by Chen Zhongyi 陳眾議, included the play *Los baños de Argel* (The Captive of Algiers), translated by Xia Changbing 夏長兵 and Zhao Ying 趙英. Following the *Complete Works*, several lesser-known texts were occasionally retranslated, such as Li Deming's new translation of eight *entremeses*.⁵⁷

10 Félix Lope de Vega

Despite his reputation as a prolific author known as the “ocean of verse” (*océano de versos*), the number of works by Lope de Vega introduced to Chinese readers remains relatively limited, thus failing to depict the full richness of his literary cosmos. His reception was inaugurated by Zhu Baoguang's 朱葆光 (1910–1979) 1962 translation of *Fuenteovejuna* (The Sheep Well),⁵⁸ published to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the playwright's birth. The play's theme of peasant rebellion against aristocracy resonated profoundly with contemporary Chinese readership. In the early 1980s, Zhu translated *El perro del Hortelano* (The Dog in the Manger)⁵⁹ and *La estrella de Sevilla* (The Star of

56 Migaier de Saiwantisi 米蓋爾·德·塞萬提斯 [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], *Wangzi wanghou lixian ji* 王子王后歷險記 (*Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*), trans. Li Tingyu 李庭玉 (Taiyuan: Beiyue wenyi chubanshe, 1991). Source edition unknown.

57 Saiwantisi 塞萬提斯 [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra], *Guan lihun anjian de faguan* 管離婚案件的法官, trans. Li Deming 李德明, *Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu* 西班牙文學名著叢書 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2001). The source text is *Entremeses*, with an introduction by Francisco Ynduráin, 3rd edition (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1980).

58 Luobo de Weijia 洛葡·德·維迦 [Lope de Vega], *Yangquancun* 羊泉村 (*Fuenteovejuna*), trans. Zhu Baoguang 朱葆光 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1962). Source edition unidentified.

59 Luobo de Weijia 洛葡·德·維迦 [Lope de Vega], *Yuanding zhi quan* 園丁之犬 (*El perro del Hortelano*), trans. Zhu Baoguang 朱葆光 (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 1982). Translated from the 1946 Madrid edition *Comedias escogidas de Lope de Vega* (Selected Comedies of Lope de Vega), edited and published by the RAE.

Seville),⁶⁰ later compiled into *Xiju xuan* 戲劇選 within the “Waiguo wenxue mingzhu congshu.”⁶¹

It was not until a decade later that the scope of Chinese translations of Lope de Vega's work began to expand. The first milestone was Xu Zenghui's 徐曾慧 translation of three plays, namely, *Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña* (Love and Honor), *El mejor alcalde, el rey* (The Best Judge, the King), and *El caballero de Olmedo* (The Knight from Olmedo),⁶² which were published collectively under the title *Aiqing yu rongyu* 愛情與榮譽.⁶³ A plethora of selected editions of Lope de Vega's plays appeared subsequently, largely similar in content. A distinctive feature of nearly all these anthologies was the inclusion of *Fuenteovejuna*, typically in the compiler's own translation. Examples include Duan Ruochuan's 段若川 *Luopei de Weijia juzuo xuan* 洛佩·德·維加劇作選,⁶⁴ Hu Zhencai 胡真才 and Lü Chenzhong's 呂晨重 (呂晨重) *Weijia xiju xuan* 維加戲劇選,⁶⁵ Duan Ruochuan and Hu Zhencai's co-edited version of the same title,⁶⁶ and *Luopei de Weijia xiju xuan* 洛佩·德·維加戲劇選, solely

60 Luobo de Weijia 洛蔔·德·維迦 [Lope de Vega], *Saiweiliya zhi xing* 塞維利亞之星 (*La estrella de Sevilla*), trans. Zhu Baoguang 朱葆光 (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 1982). Source edition same as above.

61 Weijia 維加 [Lope de Vega], *Xiju xuan* 戲劇選, trans. Zhu Baoguang 朱葆光, *Waiguo wenxue mingzhu congshu* 外國文學名著叢書 (Shanghai: Shanghai yiwu chubanshe, 1983).

62 Albert Camus's adaptation of *El caballero de Olmedo* (The Knight of Olmedo), translated by Li Yumin 李玉民, is also included in the *Xiju juan* 戲劇卷 of the Chinese edition *Jiamiu quanji* 加繆全集, ed. Liu Mingjiu 柳鳴九 (Shanghai: Shanghai yiwu chubanshe, 2010), 449–519.

63 Luobei de Weijia 洛貝·德·維加 [Lope de Vega], *Aiqing yu rongyu* 愛情與榮譽 (*Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña*), trans. Xu Zenghui 徐曾慧 (Guilin: Lijiang chubanshe, 1994).

64 *Luopei de Weijia juzuo xuan* 洛佩·德·維加劇作選, trans. Duan Ruochuan 段若川 (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1996). This collection includes translations of *Fuenteovejuna* (The Sheep Well), *El mejor alcalde, el rey* (The Best Judge, the King), and *El duque de Viseo* (The Duke of Viseu).

65 *Weijia xiju xuan* 維加戲劇選, trans. Hu Zhencai 胡真才 and Lü Chenzhong 呂晨重, *Shijie wenxue mingzhu wenku* 世界文學名著文庫 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2000). This volume features Hu Zhencai's translation of *Fuenteovejuna*, *La estrella de Sevilla* (The Star of Seville), and *La dama boba* (Lady Nitwit), as well as Lü Chenzhong's translation of *El acero de Madrid* (The Steel of Madrid).

66 *Weijia xiju xuan* 維加戲劇選, trans. Duan Ruochuan 段若川 and Hu Zhencai 胡真才, *Yibiliya wenxue congshu: Xibanya jingdian xilie* 伊比利亞文學叢書·西班牙經典系列 (Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe, 2000). This anthology contains translations of *Fuenteovejuna*, *El mejor alcalde, el rey*, and *El duque de Viseo* by Duan Ruochuan, and translations of *La estrella de Sevilla*, and *La dama boba* by Hu Zhencai.

by Hu Zhencai.⁶⁷ Additionally, Yin Chengdong 尹承東 produced a standalone translation of *Fuenteovejuna*.⁶⁸

Hu Zhencai later reinserted two of his previously published translations of *La estrella de Sevilla* and *La dama boba* (Lady Nitwit) into yet another volume.⁶⁹ *La dama boba* also appeared in Li Deming's translation under an alternative title.⁷⁰ Subsequently, Zhu Jingdong compiled a large-scale volume titled *Luopei de Weijia jingxuan ji* 洛佩·德·維加精選集,⁷¹ featuring eight plays, a few poems, and a "Chronology of Works." The eight dramatic works included *Fuenteovejuna*, *El major alcalde, el rey*, *El perro del Hortelano*, *La estrella de Sevilla*, *La dama boba*, and *El acero de Madrid*, supplemented by the translations of *El caballero de Olmedo* by Lü Chenzhong and *El duque de Viseo* by Duan Ruochuan. It is noteworthy that this ostensibly expansive collection added minimal novelty when juxtaposed against existing Chinese translations of these titles.

11 Luis Vélez de Guevara

El diablo cojuelo (The Limping Devil), together with *Lazarillo de Tormes*, stands as a classic of the Spanish picaresque tradition. Its thematic constructs and satirical techniques were later emulated by the French writer Alain-René Lesage (1668–1747). While Lesage's derivative work saw Chinese translation as early as the 1950s, Guevara's (1579–1644) original did not appear in Chinese until the late 20th century. The earliest version, attributed to Yin Chengdong, notably acknowledged in its preface that the initial draft was completed by Yu Xiaohu 余小虎, with Yin responsible for editorial refinement and annotation.⁷²

67 *Luopei de Weijia xiju xuan* 洛佩·德·維加戲劇選, trans. Hu Zhencai 胡真才, Yibiliya wencong 伊比利亞文叢 (Shijiangzhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2008). Included in this collection are translations of *Fuenteovejuna*, *La estrella de Sevilla*, and *La dama boba*.

68 *Luopei de Weijia* 洛佩·德·維加 [Lope de Vega], *Yangquan chun* 羊泉村 (*Fuenteovejuna*), trans. Yin Chengdong 尹承東 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1997).

69 *Weijia* 維加 [Lope de Vega], *Sha guniang* 傻姑娘 (*La dama boba*), trans. Hu Zhencai 胡真才 (Beijing: Dazhong wenyi chubanshe, 2001).

70 *Luopei de Weijia* 洛佩·德·維加 [Lope de Vega], *Shamei Feiniya* 傻妹菲妮婭 (*La dama boba*), trans. Li Deming 李德明, *Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu* 西班牙文學名著叢書 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2000).

71 *Luopei de Weijia jingxuan ji* 洛佩·德·維加精選集, trans. Zhu Jingdong 朱景冬, *Waiguo wenxue mingjia jingxuan shuxi* 外國文學名家精選書系 (Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 2008).

72 *Lu Bei de Gewala* 路·貝·德·格瓦拉 [Luis Vélez de Guevara], *Quetui mogui* 癩腿魔鬼 (*El diablo cojuelo*), trans. Yin Chengdong 尹承東 (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin

The rendition is spirited and engaging, capturing the original's gentle and intimate tone. In 2000, Kunlun chubanshe published *Xibanya liulanghan xiaoshuo xuan* 西班牙流浪漢小說選, as part of its "Yibiliya wenxue congshu," which featured Yu Xiaohu's translation of *El diablo cojuelo*.⁷³ A comparison with the earlier collaborative version reveals only minimal adjustments in phrasing.

12 Francisco de Quevedo

A contemporary of Guevara, yet generally regarded as the more eminent literary figure, Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645) is represented in Chinese primarily through select translations of his poetry in Fan Ye's 范曄 anthology *Zhishang de Yibiliya* 紙上的伊比利亞.⁷⁴ His picaresque 1626 masterpiece *Historia de la vida del Buscón llamado Don Pablos* (The Life of the Swindler: Don Pablos) was translated by Wu Jianheng.⁷⁵ In his preface, Wu highlighted the exceptional challenge of conveying Quevedo's pervasive puns and dense wordplay. This translation was subsequently reprinted in two separate compilations of *Xibanya liulanghan xiaoshuo xuan*.

Quevedo's prose work *Sueños y discursos* (Visions and Discourses), a collection of five dialogic dream narratives – *Sueño del Juicio Final* (Vision of the Last Judgment), *El alguacil endemoniado* (The Demon-Possessed Bailiff), *Sueño del Infierno* (Vision of Hell), *El mundo por de dentro* (The World from Within), and *Sueño de la muerte* (Vision of Death) – were translated by Li Deming in 1996.⁷⁶

chubanshe, 1996). The source text is Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo*, ed. with introduction and notes, Enrique Miralles (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1986).

73 Keweiduo 克維多 [Francisco de Quevedo] et al., *Xibanya liulanghan xiaoshuo xuan* 西班牙流浪漢小說選, trans. Sheng Li 盛力, Wu Jianheng 吳建恒, and Yu Xiaohu 余小虎, *Yibiliya wenxue congshu: Xibanya jingdian xilie* 伊比利亞文學叢書·西班牙經典系列 (Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe, 2000).

74 Fan Ye 范曄, ed., *Zhishang de Yibiliya* 紙上的伊比利亞 (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao chubanshe, 2008).

75 Keweiduo 克維多 [Francisco de Quevedo], *Pianzi waizhuan* 騙子外傳 (*Historia de la vida del Buscón llamado Don Pablos*), trans. Wu Jianheng 吳建恒 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1990). The source edition is *La vida del Buscón*, advertencia y notas de Américo Castro (Madrid: Espana-Calpe, 1960).

76 Fo de Keweiduo 佛·德·克維多 [Francisco de Quevedo], *Meng* 夢 (*Sueños y discursos*), trans. Li Deming 李德明, *Xibanya wenxue mingzhu* 西班牙文學名著 (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1996). Based on *Sueños y discursos*, edición, introducción notas de Felipe C. R. Maldonado (Madrid: Castalia 1982).

The volume was republished a few years later under the title of its opening chapter.⁷⁷

13 Alonso de Castillo Solórzano

Castillo Solórzano's (1584–1648) 1642 work *La garduña de Sevilla* (The Weasel of Seville) occupies a more peripheral position among 17th-century picaresque novels. Its Chinese translation was completed by Li Deming.⁷⁸

14 Pedro Calderón de la Barca

The earliest Chinese reference to Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681) appears in *Xiyang zazhi* 西洋雜誌, compiled in 1881 by Li Shuchang 黎庶昌 (1837–1898) during his tenure as Qing envoy to Spain. In an entry titled “Jiaerdelong dahui” 加爾得隴大會, Li documents Madrid's bicentennial commemoration (25 May 1881) of the playwright's death, describing him as renowned “for poetic and dramatic mastery.”⁷⁹

During the Republican era, sporadic translations of Calderón's works appeared in missionary publications, including an anonymous rendition of *Las cadenas del demonio* (The Devil's Chains),⁸⁰ and Tang Guizhen's 唐貴珍 translation of *Los misterios de la misa* (The Mysteries of the Mass).⁸¹ The latter belongs to Calderón's extensive corpus of religious short plays, commonly referred to as *autos sacramentales* (sacramental plays).

77 Keweiduo 克維多 [Francisco de Quevedo], *Zuihou shenpan zhi meng* 最後審判之夢 (*Sueño del Juicio Final*), trans. Li Deming 李德明, Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu 西班牙文學名著叢書 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2001). This volume states its source as the 1972 version of the same edition by Maldonado.

78 Ka Suoluoshanuo 卡·索洛沙諾 [Castillo Solórzano], *Sailiweiya de shidiao nü* 塞利維亞的石貂女 (*La garduña de Sevilla*), trans. Li Deming 李德明, Xibanya wenxue mingzhu 西班牙文學名著 (Harbin: Heilongjiang chubanshe, 1993). Based on *La garduña de Sevilla y anzvelo de las bolsas* (The Hook of Seville and the Safecracker), ed. and annot. Federico Ruiz Morcuende (Madrid: Ediciones de “La Lectura”, 1922).

79 Li Shuchang 黎庶昌, *Xiyang zazhi* 西洋雜誌, Zouxian shijie congshu 走向世界叢書 (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981), 129.

80 Jiaerderong 加爾德榮 [Calderón de la Barca], *Mogui de suolian* 魔鬼的鎖鏈 (*Las cadenas del demonio*) (Beiping: Xishiku qianshihui yinshuguan, 1935). Translator unknown.

81 Kaerdelong 卡爾德隆 [Calderón de la Barca], *Misa aoyi Xibanya mingju* 彌撒奧義 西班牙名劇 (*Los misterios de la misa*), trans. Tang Guizhen 唐貴珍 (Yanzhou: Baolu yinshuguan, 1943).

A renewed interest in Calderón's oeuvre emerged after 1990, beginning with Lü Chenzhong's translation of the 1636 work *La vida es sueño* (Life Is a Dream). Published under the title *Rensheng shi meng* 人生是夢, it was promoted as the first complete Calderón play to appear in Chinese.⁸² Around the same time, another translation by Tu Mengchao was released with the title *Rensheng ru meng* 人生如夢 (meaning, "life is like a dream").⁸³ The title's departure from the original "is" to "is like" was left unjustified. Calderón's original title serves as an ontological proposition that resonates with a long philosophical tradition, one echoed, for instance, by the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus (20 BCE–ca. 50 CE), who wrote that "This dream in veriest truth is human life."⁸⁴ Tu's title, while idiomatically familiar in Chinese, introduces "like" that arguably weakens the gravity and cautionary tone of the original. This preference, however, persisted in subsequent Chinese translations.

In 1997, Shanghai yiwen chubanshe released *Kaerdelong xiju xuan* 卡爾德隆戲劇選,⁸⁵ translated by Zhou Fangyu 周訪漁, as part of its *Waiguo wenxue mingzhu congshu*. The volume included *La vida es sueño* along with two other plays: the 1637 play *El mágico prodigioso* (The Wonder-Working Magician); and the 1651 play *El alcalde de Zalamea* (The Mayor of Zalamea). In his preface, Zhou identified these two works as representative of Calderón's core thematic concerns, with the former exploring the notion of free will, and the latter addressing the theme of honor.

Further translations soon followed, including Wang Hong's 王宏 version of the historical 1636 drama *El príncipe constante* (The Constant Prince),⁸⁶ and Tang Baisheng's 湯柏生 translation of the 1637 work *El mayor monstruo del*

82 Kaerdelong 卡爾德隆 [Calderón de la Barca], *Rensheng shi meng* 人生是夢 (*La vida es sueño*), trans. Lü Chenzhong 呂臣重 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1990). Based on an annotated edition of *La vida es sueño*, Librería y Editorial Renacimiento (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sopena Argentina, 1976).

83 Kaerdelong de la Baerka 卡爾德隆·德拉·巴尔卡 [Calderón de la Barca], *Rensheng ru meng* 人生如夢 (*La vida es sueño*), trans. Tu Mengchao 屠孟超, Xibanya wenxue congshu 西班牙文學叢書 (Nanjing: Yilin chubanshe, 1991). Based on *La vida es sueño*, ed. and with a glossary, Augusto Cortina (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1955).

84 Philo: *On Abraham. On Joseph. On Moses*, trans. F. A. Colson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), VI: 201.

85 *Kaerdelong xiju xuan* 卡爾德隆戲劇選, trans. Zhou Fangyu 周訪漁, *Waiguo wenxue mingzhu congshu* 外國文學名著叢書 (Shanghai: Shanghai yiwen chubanshe, 1997).

86 Kaerdelong de la Baerka 卡爾德隆·德·拉·巴尔卡 [Calderón de la Barca], *Jianzhen buqu de qinwang* 堅貞不屈的親王 (*El príncipe constante*), trans. Wang Hong 王宏 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1998).

mundo (The Greatest Monster in the World).⁸⁷ Although Lü Chenzhong later issued a revised edition of *Kaerdelong xiju xuan* 卡爾德隆戲劇選,⁸⁸ translation efforts surrounding the dramatist appear to have ceased thereafter. This limited reception is particularly notable given Calderón's prolific output of nearly 200 plays, which represent the zenith of Spanish Baroque theater. The vast majority of his corpus remains untranslated, awaiting exploration by Chinese scholars and translators.⁸⁹

15 Translation of Selected Works

Beyond individual works, several anthologies of Spanish Golden Age literature have played an influential role in introducing this body of work to Chinese readers. Two notable examples are *Xibanya shixuan* (*zhi shiqi shijie mo*) 西班牙詩選 (至17世紀末) translated by Zhang Qingyao 張清瑤 and released by Chongqing chubanshe in 1991, and *Xibanya huangjin shiji shixuan* 西班牙黃金世紀詩選, translated by Zhao Zhenjiang 趙振江 and published by Kunlun chubanshe in 2000.⁹⁰ Zhang's volume expressly claims to be based on the second edition (1960) of *The Penguin Book of Spanish Verse*, mirroring its selection of poets and poems entirely, marking it as a product of Spanish literary studies within the Anglophone world.

87 Jiaerdelong 加爾德隆 [Calderón de la Barca], *Shijian zuida emo* 世間最大惡魔 (*El mayor monstruo del mundo*), trans. Tang Baisheng 湯柏生, *Xibanya wenxue mingzhu congshu* 西班牙文學名著叢書 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2000). The translations for both *El príncipe constante* (The Constant Prince) and *El mayor monstruo del mundo* (The Greatest Monster in the World) are based on the same edition (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1970).

88 *Kaerdelong xiju xuan* 卡爾德隆戲劇選, trans. Lü Chenzhong 呂臣重, *Yibiliya wenxue congshu*: *Xibanya jingdian xilie* 伊比利亞文學叢書·西班牙經典系列 (Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe, 2000). This collection features three plays, namely, *La vida es sueño* (Life Is a Dream), *El alcalde de Zalamea* (The Mayor of Zalamea), and *El mágico prodigioso* (The Wonder-Working Magician), with a selection identical to that of Zhou Fangyu's volume.

89 *Jiamiu quanji xiju juan*, 328–77, includes Camus's adaptation of Calderón's 1634 play: *La devoción de la cruz* (The Devotion of the Cross), described as "a religious drama poised between mystery play and romantic drama." The translation, titled *Xinfeng shizijia* 信奉十字架, was by Li Yumin.

90 *Xibanya shixuan* (*zhi shiqi shiji mo*) 西班牙詩選 (至17世紀末), trans. Zhang Qingyao 張清瑤 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1991); Kasidiyehuo 卡斯蒂耶霍 [Cristóbal de Castillejo] et al., *Xibanya huangjin shiji shixuan* 西班牙黃金世紀詩選, trans. Zhao Zhenjiang 趙振江, *Yibiliya wenxue congshu*: *Xibanya jingdian xilie* 伊比利亞文學叢書·西班牙經典系列 (Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe, 2000).

The anthology features a broad spectrum of poets, ranging from the early *Libro de buen amor* to major Golden Age figures such as Lope de Vega, San Juan de la Cruz (1542–1591), Cervantes, Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561–1627), Quevedo, and Calderón, often with multiple works selected from each author. The inclusion of Góngora is especially significant; despite his status as the foremost figure of Spanish Baroque poetry, he had previously received little attention in translation, sharing a fate in China similar to that of Giambattista Marino (1569–1625). By adopting an influential and reader-friendly 20th-century anthology, Zhang's translation broke new ground in the translation and scholarly research of Spanish poetry in China. Many of the poets featured after Góngora are also associated with Gongorism⁹¹ (including its opponents), while Lope de Vega, Quevedo, and Calderón are themselves central to the Baroque tradition.⁹² Zhang's volume thus stands as the most significant contribution to the Chinese understanding of Spanish Baroque poetry to date.

Zhao Zhenjiang, likely the earliest translator of Góngora's poetry, based his anthology on a popular Spanish-language collection that had been reprinted over twenty times.⁹³ In his preface, Zhao explicitly divides the Golden Age into the Renaissance and the Baroque, maintaining a scholarly view that separates the two periods. He, however, positions Cervantes at the forefront of the Baroque. The preface also provides a detailed analysis of the similarities and differences between conceptism⁹⁴ (*conceptismo*), represented by Quevedo, and culteranism⁹⁵ (*culteranismo*), represented by Góngora, offering a robust affirmation of the value of Spanish Baroque poetry.

In prose fiction, the reception has been dominated by two anthologies: *Xibanya liulanghan xiaoshuo xuan* 西班牙流浪漢小說選, published by Renmin wenxue chubanshe (1997)⁹⁶ and Kunlun chubanshe (2000). The former com-

91 Tr. note: Gongorism: Named after Luis de Góngora, this baroque literary style emphasizes extreme linguistic complexity, elaborate metaphors, classical allusions, and ornate syntax.

92 See Eleanor L. Turnbull, ed., *Ten Centuries of Spanish Poetry* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1955), 292–323.

93 Elias L. Rivers, *Poesía lírica del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1991; 21st Revised edition, 2006).

94 Tr. note: Conceptism: Associated primarily with Francisco de Quevedo and Baltasar Gracián, conceptism focuses on ingenious wordplay, wit, and the rapid association of ideas through puns, double meanings, and paradoxes.

95 Tr. note: Culteranism: Often used synonymously with Gongorism, though some scholars make subtle distinctions.

96 Keweiduo 克維多 [Francisco de Quevedo] et al., *Xibanya liulanghan xiaoshuo xuan* 西班牙流浪漢小說選, trans. Yang Jiang 楊絳 et al. (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1997).

piles existing translations, including Yang Jiang's version of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and Wu Jianheng's translation of *Historia de la vida del Buscón llamado Don Pablos*, along with two excerpts from Zhang Yunyi's translation of Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares* that can be classified within the picaresque genre. The Kunlun volume, in addition to Wu Jianheng's *Don Pablos*, features Sheng Li's new translation of *Lazarillo*, this time under the more literal title *Lazarillo de Tormes*, as well as Yu Xiaohu's rendition of *El diablo cojuelo*, edited by Yin Chengdong.

Translated by Epperly Zhang