CORA Cork Open Research Archive
Cartlann Taighde Oscailte Chorcaí

Title	The translation of Late Qing (c.1839-1912) Chinese literature in the Anglophone world
Authors	Liu, Shuai
Publication date	2025-12-31
Original Citation	Liu, S. 2025. The translation of Late Qing (c.1839-1912) Chinese literature in the Anglophone world. PhD Thesis, University College Cork.
Type of publication	Doctoral thesis
Rights	© 2025, Shuai Liu. - https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Download date	2026-11-03 17:28:39
Item downloaded from	https://hdl.handle.net/10468/19372



UCC
University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

Ollscoil na hÉireann, Corcaigh

National University of Ireland, Cork



The Translation of Late Qing (c.1839-1912) Chinese Literature in the Anglophone World

Thesis presented by

Shuai Liu, BA, MA

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University College Cork

Department of Asian Studies

Head of Department of Asian Studies: Dr. Till Weingaertner

Supervisory team members:

Prof. Dr. Julia C. Schneider, Prof. Dr. Helena Buffery, Dr. Yanyu Guo

2025

Abstract

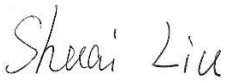
This thesis investigates the translation of Late Qing (1839-1912) Chinese literature into English across the twentieth century, contributing to a broader understanding of the history of translation of Chinese literature into the Anglophone world. Bridging the analysis and understanding of Chinese history, literature, cultural studies and translation studies, it offers key insights into historical interactions between China and the Anglophone West, that enable better contextualization of the ways these have been shaped and influenced by cultural, political and ideological factors.

Using a purpose-built digital database of translations, the project reconstructs what was translated, when, where, by whom and for what purpose. Based on the dataset, it is observed that the translation activities were relatively intensive across two key periods of the twentieth century: the early Cold War (1950s-1960s), and the final decade of the twentieth century (1990s-early 2000s). Three editorial projects emerged as particularly influential: John K. Fairbank (1907-1991) and Ssu-yu Teng's 鄧嗣禹 (1906-1988) 1954 volume *China's Response to the West*, William Theodore de Bary (1919-2017) et al's *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (1960 and 1999), and the Hong Kong based journal *Renditions* (1973-2024). Alongside extensive contextual, macro-textual and paratextual analysis of these three projects, my thesis delves into five case studies, including fiction and non-fiction, which are examined through micro-textual analysis, attending to a range of translational parameters. Particular attention is given to patterns of text-selection, preferred themes, the agency of the translators, editors and other textual mediators, and patronage, all of which illuminate evolving constructions of the image of China in different historical moments. The thesis also considers retranslation as a site of ideological and poetic shifts, exploring how approaches to rendering Chinese linguistic and cultural information changed over time.

Guided by Gideon Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies and Anthony Pym's translation-history framework, the study provides a systematic account of the approaches to translating Late Qing literature. It demonstrates how literary, cultural, and political ideologies shaped both the translation of Late Qing writing and the broader dynamics of cultural exchange. In doing so, it advances our understanding of Chinese-to-English translation history and offers new insights into how images of China have been mediated and remodelled through translation across the twentieth century.

Declaration

This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are clearly acknowledged and identified within the contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism and intellectual property.

Digital signature of the candidate: 

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest and most sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. Dr. Julia Schneider, Prof. Dr. Helena Buffery, and Dr. Guo Yanyu, for their invaluable guidance, inspiration, patience, and support throughout my doctoral journey. Without their encouragement and dedication, this dissertation would not have been possible. From them, I have learned not only the rigor and integrity required in academic research, but also what it means to be a patient, supportive, and inspiring mentor to students. They have been like guiding lights in my life, illuminating my path at crucial moments. I have often been deeply moved by their kindness and commitment to education, and I will pass on the warmth I received from them to my own students and to those around me.

My sincere thanks also go to Eileen O'Connor, whose assistance in helping me locate essential materials at the Harvard University Library was invaluable. These resources contributed significantly to the development and completion of this dissertation.

I am profoundly grateful to William Murray and to my parents for their long-term support, care, and understanding. Their constant encouragement sustained me through the most challenging moments of the writing process and brought warmth and comfort during times of difficulty.

Life on the campus of University College Cork has been truly unforgettable. The kindness of the staff and students made my time there one of the warmest periods of my life. I deeply cherished my identity as a student at UCC. As I now step beyond this chapter, perhaps the last time I formally hold the role of a student, I carry with me not only academic training, but also a positive outlook on life and a commitment to kindness and respect toward others. These values, which UCC has instilled in me, will continue to guide me in the future.

Table of Contents

Abstract ..... **i**

Declaration ..... **ii**

Acknowledgements ..... **iii**

List of Tables ..... **vi**

List of Figures ..... **viii**

Introduction **1**

Chapter One: Towards a Multi-Dimensional Exploration of English Translation of Late Qing Literature **16**

1.1 Research Context: A Brief History of Chinese-English Literary Translation *16*

1.2 Language, Power, and Representation: The History of Translation and Descriptive Translation Studies *30*

1.3 An Overview of the Database of Late Qing Literature in Translation into English *36*

1.4 Conclusion *54*

Chapter Two: Shaping Perceptions of China in the Anglo-American Academy: Translating Late Qing Literature in the 1950s **56**

2.1 Shaping Knowledge in an Age of Suspicion: McCarthyism, the Cold War, and the Making of the Volume *57*

2.2 China's Response to the West: A Volume Not Only for Historical Study *61*

2.3 Case Study of "Cai Xixue yi" 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge, 1884): From Source Text to Its Context to Text *83*

2.3.1 Proper Nouns and Culture-Specific Terms 87

2.3.2 The Role of Omission in Translation: Shaping Structure, Meaning, and Reader Interpretation 92

2.3.3 Retranslation 96

2.4 Conclusion *102*

Chapter Three. *Sources of Chinese Tradition 1960-1999* **105**

3.1 Peritextual Elements: The Anthology's Editorial Structure *108*

3.2 "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 (A People Made New, or Renewing the People, 1902-1905) and its Translations *125*

3.3 A Retranslation History of "Xinmin shuo" *133*

3.4 Conclusion *148*

Chapter Four. Translated *Renditions* during 1970s-2000s **150**

4.1 Journal Translation: Renditions and the Translated Late Qing Literature *150*

4.1.1 *Renditions:* A Mirror to One of the Momentous Periods in Chinese History 155

4.1.2 *Renditions* and its Late Qing Literature Translation 161

4.1.3 Illustrations as An Approach in *Renditions* 171

4.2 Fiction Translation in 1970s: A Case Study of Ershi Nian Mudu Zhi Guai Xianzhuang 二十年目睹之怪現狀 (Bizarre Happenings Eyewinessed over Two Decades, 1909) *173*

4.2.1 Creative Adaptation and Reconstruction..... 177

4.2.2 Translator's Intervention 183

4.3 Translating Beyond Words: Visual-Textual Interplay in the English Translation of Lao Can Youji Xuji 老殘遊記續集 (The Sequel to The Travels of Lao Can) *187*

4.3.1 Illustrations: Visual Perception and Cultural Interpretation 192

4.4 Burton Watson and "Chen Yiwu Shu" 陳夷務疏 (A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: Excerpts) in 2000 ..... *207*

4.4.1 Context, Ideology, and Patronage in "Chen Yiwu Shu" 陳夷務疏 (A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: Excerpts)..... 208

4.4.2 The Translator 211

4.5 Conclusion..... *218*

Conclusion 220

Appendices 227

Appendix 1 "Cai Xixue yi" 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge, 1884) in Chinese by Feng Guifen 馮桂芬..... *227*

Appendix 2 "Cai Xixue yi" in parallel with its English translation in China's Response to the West (1954)..... *233*

Appendix 3 Retranslations of "Cai Xixue yi" 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge) *239*

Appendix 4 Images of the title page and table of contents of China's Response to the West (1954)..... *249*

Appendix 5 A letter between Holland and Fairbank discussing Holland's suggestions for compiling the volume. *254*

Appendix 6 Methodology for determining the scholarly reception of the selected texts in CNKI..... *255*

Appendix 7 Copies of material evidence of project expenditures under the funded project China's Response to the West *259*

Appendix 8 The preparatory work for China's Response to the West..... *265*

Appendix 9 Cover page images of different editions of Sources of Chinese Tradition..... *275*

Appendix 10 Chester Tan's translation of "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 (A People Made New, or Renewing the People, 1902-1905) *279*

Bibliography..... 280

List of Tables

Table 1. Phases of the development of Sinology in the English language. (Table 1 is adapted from Ge Guilu, 2017. Translation mine) 19
Table 2. Retranslations in the dataset. 39
Table 3. List of authors, listed according to the number of their texts that have been translated. 40
Table 4. Number of translated texts (including retranslations) in different genres. 42
Table 5. List of most prominent translators, listed according to number of translations 47
Table 6. List of translations published 1839-2023 51
Table 7. List of the main translation projects with publishing information 52
Table 8. Information on U.S. foreign policy towards China during the 1950s-1970s. 59
Table 9. Texts translated both in *China's Reponse to the West* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. 77
Table 10. Retranslations of Proper Nouns from Feng Guifen's "Cai Xixue yi". 100
Table 11. Publication Information for the different editions of *Sources of Chinese Tradition.* 107
Table 12. Translators and their contributions to the Late Qing sections of the 1960 and 1999 editions of *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. 114
Table 13. A comparison of the Late Qing coverage in the 1960 and 1999 editions of *Sources of Chinese Tradition.* 120
Table 14. A Comparison of different translators' syntactic restructuring of "Xinmin shuo". 130
Table 15. The effects of changes in syntactic structure of "Xinmin shuo" in the different translations as regards argumentative power. 131
Table 16. Instances of transformation of double negative sentences from "Xinmin shuo" into assertive sentences. 131
Table 17. Samples from retranslations of "Xinmin shuo" 133
Table 18. "Xinmin shuo" in translation: A comparative summary of the four TTs 135
Table 19. Samples of retranslation of "Xinmin shuo" 136
Table 20. Retranslation of the title of "Xinmin shuo". 138
Table 21. A comparison of translations of *jinqu* as "aggressive" versus "progressive". 143

Table 22. James Legge's translations on *jinqu* 進取. 145
Table 23. Journals dedicated to translating Chinese literature into English. 154
Table 24. Special issues published by *Renditions* over the years 159
Table 25. Late Qing literary works published in *Renditions*. 165
Table 26. Late Qing Fiction in Translation where Images have been added..... 171
Table 27. A comparison of the source and target chapter titles of *Bizarre Happenings.* 181
Table 28. Late Qing vernacular novels translated in *Renditions*. 184
Table 29. An overview of the translation history of the novel Laocan youji 老殘遊記 and its sequel. 190
Table 30. Parallelism in Original Text and Watson's Translations 217

List of Figures

Fig. 1. A calligraphy inscribed by Liu E 劉鶚. (From *Renditions,* 1989, Vol. 32, 20) 194

Fig. 2. The portrait of Liu E 劉鶚. (From *Renditions*, 1989, Vol. 32, 21) 195

Fig. 3. The cover of *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* 繡像小說 (*Illustrated Fiction*). (From *Renditions*, 1989, Vol. 32, 22) 196

Fig. 4. A picture of a lictor from the Buddhist hell (From *Renditions,* 1989, Vol. 32, 31) 198

Fig. 5. An image of the 'Bodhisattva Dizang' (From *Renditions*, 1989, Vol. 32, 33)...198

Fig. 6. The Wheel of Rebirth (From *Renditions*, 1989, Vol. 32, 45).....199

Fig. 7. Spiked Club (*langyapeng* 狼牙捧, lit. 'wolf teeth club', image from *Wubeizhi* 武備志 [*On Military Preparedness*] 43:3a by Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 [1594-1640].) 201

Introduction

Overview of the Thesis

This study aims to contribute to a wider understanding of the history of translation of Chinese literature into the Anglophone world by exploring the specific case of the translation of Late Qing literature (1839-1912) into English. Although there is extensive scholarship on nineteenth-century translators of Chinese classics, particularly James Legge (1815-1897), as shall be seen in Chapter One, the scholars who translated and edited Late Qing political writings during the twentieth century have received comparatively little attention. As I will explore, this neglect does not imply that Late Qing texts were absent from English-language scholarship. On the contrary, selected Late Qing writings occupied a prominent place in influential anthologies such as *China's Response to the West* (Teng and Fairbank, 1954) and *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (Wm. Theodore de Bary et al, 1960; 1999). However, as shall be seen, rather than demonstrating broad translation activity, these collections exercised a disproportionate influence in shaping the understandings of Late Qing political thought. By examining them closely, it becomes apparent how a relatively small group of translators and editors mediated Late Qing China for English-speaking audiences and how their editorial choices constructed a particular image of China's modern transformation.

The complex historical context and close connections with modern China make the intellectual impact of Late Qing China still resonate today. Widely understood as a period of less permeability to intercultural exchange compared to Republican times (1912-1949), the literature of Late Qing China has itself suffered from relative under-representation in translation. This is either because it is perceived to be of lesser literary quality than the literature associated with Classical Chinese, which may not fully meet the international expectations of Chinese literature influenced by the Orientalist translation practice of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or because it is, arguably, too political. In other words, it is both a victim of changes in poetics diachronically and synchronically. It thus provides a window into how different literary, cultural and political ideologies impact the process of cultural exchange via translation.

This thesis examines how translators and compilers interpret and (re)shape the image of China through translation into English. How do history, politics and ideology impact successive reconstructions of this image? Given the paucity of existing scholarship focused on the translation of Late Qing literature, the starting point of this research project was the compilation of a digital database of translations in order to provide insight into the authors, genres and themes prioritized by different editors, translators and mediators. Based on this, I was both able to establish a reference corpus of the most represented authors, genres and translators, and to observe historical shifts and trends, enabling me to narrow my focus onto translation activities relating to Late Qing literature across two main periods—the early Cold War (1950s-1960s) and the final decade of the twentieth century via analysis of three influential projects: Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank's volume *China's Response to the West* (1954), William Theodore de Bary et al's *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (1960 and 1999), and the Hong Kong based journal *Renditions* (1973-2024). This division governed my thesis structure, which contains three main analytical chapters that focus on three key translation projects selected from the database. Five cases will be examined in depth, including fiction and non-fiction, through analysis of contextual, paratextual, and macro-microtextural features. I set out to fill two gaps in knowledge: first, to provide a systematic history of approaches to the translation of Chinese literature of this period, in order to contribute to wider understandings of Chinese-English translation history; second, to understand how the translation of Chinese literature into English during the twentieth century has been impacted by changing literary, cultural and political ideologies.

The study draws on Gideon Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies framework alongside Anthony Pym's approach to translation history. Together, these methodologies enable a more nuanced understanding of how translations of Late Qing literature have evolved over time. By interrogating the dataset, I recover information on what was translated, when, why and by whom, before delving deeper into the ideologies that governed these choices. By understanding how the texts were selected and which genres and themes were prioritized, I provide insight into the particular visions of China that were espoused in particular periods. By learning more about the translators, editors and publishers, and the networks with which they associated, I am able to show what kind of knowledge about Chinese language and culture was valued in this period, as well as to reveal the operation of patronage. By analysing samples of paratextual, macro-textual and micro-textual material, I

explore who these translations were intended for and to compare them with findings on translations from other genres and periods. Finally, by undertaking textual analysis of retranslations, I am able to, on the one hand, triangulate and further scrutinize emerging hypotheses about shifts in approaches to translation of Chinese linguistic and cultural information across the past centuries, as well as, on the other hand, contribute to understandings of retranslation as a dynamic and key vector in contemporary understandings of cultural history.

The Structure and Contents

This thesis is organized into four chapters, each addressing a distinct dimension of the research project while contributing to an integrated overall argument. Chapter One outlines the research context and establishes the theoretical and methodological foundations of the study. It first situates the project within the field of translation history, highlighting major developments in the historiography of translation between China and Europe, as well as the United States. The chapter then introduces the two main frameworks applied in the thesis, that is, Pym's approach to translation history and Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), informing the design and aims of the present research. Building on this foundation, Chapter One also presents a comprehensive overview of the dataset compiled for the thesis, detailing the entries on authors, translators, publishers, dates of publication, as well as genres. Through preliminary quantitative and qualitative analysis, the chapter identifies major trends in Chinese-to-English translation activities from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century. Together, these components provide a conceptual and empirical basis for detailed case studies and interpretive discussions developed in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter Two, "Shaping Perceptions of China in the Anglo-American Academy: Translating Late Qing Literature in the 1950s" considers how translations of Late Qing Chinese texts were produced, shaped, interpreted and disseminated within the Anglophone scholarly world. The chapter concentrates on the 1950s when academic institutions in the United States became the principal centres of Chinese studies. This period was deeply impacted by McCarthyism and the broader geopolitical tensions of the Cold War which will be seen to have exerted significant influence on intellectual priorities, scholarly frameworks, and the selection, framing, and interpretation of Chinese source materials. Within this

context, the chapter analyses key translations, taking as a case study the essay "Cai Xixue yi" 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge, 1884) by Feng Guifen 馮桂芬 (1809-1874), that played a formative role in constructing Western understandings of China, with particular attention to the influential volume *China's Response to the West* by Teng Ssu-yu 鄧嗣禹 (1906-1988) and John King Fairbank (1907-1991). Through close examination of such works, the chapter demonstrates how social-political ideologies impacted scholarly interpretation through translation.

Chapter Three, "*Sources of Chinese Tradition,*1960-1999" examines how the influential anthology *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary (1919-2017) and others shaped English-language understandings of the Late Qing period from the 1960s through to the 1990s. Widely regarded for its academic value, the anthology provides a useful lens through which to explore how translations were influenced by the identity and ideology of translators. Focusing on the case of "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 (A People Made New, or Renewing the People, 1902-1905) by Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873-1929), and its various translations and re-translations, the chapter analyses how shifting cultural and scholarly contexts impacted interpretive choices and representations. The appearance of a substantial revised and expanded edition of *Sources of Chinese Tradition* in the late 1990s further allows reflection on how changing intellectual attitudes reshaped the portrayal of Late Qing reformist-conservatist categories.

Chapter Four, "Translated *Renditions* during the 1970s-2000s" examines the translation of Late Qing literature from the 1970s onward, focusing on the journal *Renditions*, which remained active in translating Chinese writings into English until 2024. Unlike earlier U.S.-centred translation projects, *Renditions*, led by Hong Kong-based scholars, reflects a more pluralistic and diverse approach to Chinese literature and culture, emphasizing fiction, societal diversity, and previously untranslated sections of Late Qing texts. The chapter is organized chronologically, beginning with an overview of translation activities in journals during this period to situate *Renditions* within broader translation context, followed by case studies from the 1970s, 1980s, and the year 2000. These include *Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang* 二十年目睹之怪現狀 (*Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed over Two Decades*, 1909) by Wu Jianren 吳趼人 (1866-1910) to explore creative adaptation and plot reconstruction; the illustrated 1980s translation of chapters from *Lao Can youji xuji* 老殘遊

記續集 (*The Sequel to The Travels of Lao Can,* 1907) by Liu E 劉鶚 (1857-1909) to investigate visual-textual interplay; and Burton Watson's (1925-2017) translation of "Chen Yiwu shu" 陳夷務疏 (A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: Excerpts*,* 1870) by Wang Kaiyun 王闓運 (1833-1916) in 2000, to examine the intersections of context, ideology, and patronage in translation practice. Collectively, these examples illustrate shifting approaches to translation, highlighting innovations in narrative reconstruction, intersemiotic translation, and the nuanced mediation of cultural and historical meaning.

In my original plan for this thesis, I had intended to bring the anthologies *China's Response to the West* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition* together in a single chapter, because of their dates of initial publication and the way in which they together form a significant cluster of translation activity in my database. However, in the end I decided to separate them into two chapters in the final thesis structure. In part, this was because I found such rich data on *China's Response to the West* that made it stand out for its contribution in the ways I will describe in Chapter Two. Moreover, *Sources of Chinese Tradition* actually spans a longer period, due to the publication of later revised and expanded editions in the late 1990s. In other words, it is a project that both will be expected to share in some of the contextual influences and factors that shaped responses to Late Qing writings in the 1950s-1990s, as well as also responding to changes in attitudes, and in the relationship between the United States and China, after the end of the 1960s. To clarify the multiple different editions of *Sources of Chinese Tradition* over time, I gathered publication information for each version and conducted a comparative analysis. This comparison will not only highlight changes in content, translation choices, and editorial emphasis, but also reveal how shifting academic, cultural, and political contexts influenced the framing of Chinese traditions for global readers across different decades.

Historical Context

In scholarship worldwide, including in China, it has long been conventional to mark the beginning of 'modern' China with the First Opium War (1839-1842). This framework is most closely associated with John K. Fairbank, whose influence helped cement this periodization, both through his own scholarship and through the generations of students he trained at

Harvard University. Embedded in this approach is an implicit assumption that the succession of wars, treaties, and partial colonization in nineteenth-century China represented a fundamental clash between a declining Chinese imperial order and the modernizing forces of the West, which has come to be termed the 'impact-response' paradigm.[1]

> The traditional system of tribute relations between the ancient Chinese empire and the 'outside barbarians' came to an end with the Anglo-Chinese treaty of Nanking in 1842. [...] Throughout this century of the 'unequal treaties,' the ancient society of China was brought into closer and closer contact with the then dominant and expanding society of Western Europe and America. This Western contact, lent impetus by the industrial revolution, had the most disastrous effect upon the old Chinese society. In every sphere of social activity the old order was challenged, attacked, undermined, or overwhelmed by a complex series of process—political, economic, social, ideological cultural—which were set in motion within China as a result of this penetration of an alien and more powerful society.[2]

To understand the empirical foundations of the 'impact-response' paradigm, Fairbank's *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854* (1953) is indispensable. One year earlier published than *China's Response to the West*, *Trade and Diplomacy* examines the establishment of the treaty-port system following the First Opium War and argues that the collapse of the traditional China-centric tributary order resulted from sustained Western commercial and diplomatic pressure. More broadly, the study presents China's nineteenth-century transformation as a process initiated by external forces, portraying the Qing state as having been unprepared for the unprecedented challenges posed by British expansion.[3]

However, this dominant paradigm later faced significant intellectual pushback, most notably from Paul A. Cohen with his work *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (1984). Cohen offers a powerful alternative voice by opposing the 'impact-response' paradigm, which he links to other over-simplifications such as the opposition between 'tradition and modernity', with a 'China-centric' approach that prioritizes internal dynamics, local socio-economic structures, and regional variations. According to Cohen, "if we are to gain a full and accurate understanding

---

[1] Crossley, 1997, 627; Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 1-2. I will delve more deeply into how this image was constructed in translation in Chapter Two of this thesis.
[2] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 1.
[3] As will be seen in chapter two, this interpretation probably provides the conceptual foundation for *China's Response to the West*. In short, *Trade and Diplomacy* is not simply background reading. It provides the historiographical framework that shaped the translation and editorial practices of *China's Response to the West.*

of modern Chinese history, therefore, we must see it as a product of a complex interaction between both internal and external agencies."[4]

Within the context of my research project, Cohen's critique provides both an essential historical and methodological point of reference along with insights into the imbrications of translation and ideology that have been noted by other scholars (see especially Liu, as discussed in Chapter One). Nevertheless, this thesis cautiously and pragmatically follows the Fairbankian style of periodization, regarding the First Opium War not only as the opening of modern Chinese history but also as the starting point of the Late Qing period. Though Volumes 10 and 11 of *The Cambridge History of China*, that is, Part 1 and 2 of *Late Ch'ing 1800-1911* (1978 and 1980) place the Late Qing from 1800 to 1911, the justification for my choice lies in the stark contrast between the Qing Empire before and after its first confrontation with Western powers. Before the Opium War, Qing China was largely self-sufficient and deeply absorbed in the East and Inner Asian context. It was neither oriented toward nor particularly concerned with Eurasian foreign trade, overseas markets, or global geopolitical shifts. The Qing state's priorities centred on maintaining the agrarian social order that had long sustained imperial China. Consequently, the empire lacked both the institutional flexibility and the strategic mindset needed to respond swiftly to the challenges of Western expansion. On the other hand, the very success of Chinese civilization in pre-modern times contributed to the Qing leadership's unpreparedness. Confident in the superiority and self-sufficiency of the established order, officials failed to anticipate the coming crisis.[5] Thus, the First Opium War stands as a watershed: it marks the moment when the Qing Empire's inward-looking confidence collided with the expanding power of an industrializing world, ushering China into a dramatically altered historical landscape where "a society which had grown and developed through four millennia has been remade within a few score years".[6]

The First Opium War itself was triggered by the Qing government's attempt to enforce its ban on opium. Britain's military response transformed what had begun as a domestic regulatory issue into an international conflict. The key figure, Lin Zexu 林則徐 (1785-1851), an imperial commissioner, was appointed by the Daoguang Emperor (reign time 1820-1850) to eradicate the opium trade. Fairbank as well as other scholars widely argue

[4] Cohen, 1984, xiv.
[5] Fairbank, 1978, 5-6.
[6] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 1.

that Lin's uncompromising actions—most notably his blockade of British merchants in Canton and the destruction of their opium stockpiles—was the immediate catalyst for war.[7] As shall be seen, Lin Zexu is also central in thinking about translation history, and particularly about how approaches to translation intersect with ideology.

The First Opium War and the Translation History of Late Qing Literature during the Second Half of Nineteenth Century

The above-mentioned episode has played a significant role in reflection on the history of translation between China and the Anglophone world.[8] Although Lin Zexu was not a translator himself, he acted as an initiator and patron of translation projects aimed at acquiring knowledge about the foreign world, ultimately in support of his anti-opium campaign and resistance to British invasion. In contrast, the Qing court adopted a markedly different attitude toward translation, viewing such activities as of little use and even as traitorous behaviour. This ideological conflict culminated in Lin's dismissal from government service, his exile, and the termination of the translation initiatives he had supported. The case has been studied as an example of how state ideology can prevail over oppositional or reformist ideologies.[9] The following example illustrates how he employed translation in diplomatic correspondence.

Lin Zexu's famous open letter to Queen Victoria,[10] intended as a moral advice to appeal for Queen Victoria to rein in the opium traffickers of Britain, represents one of the earliest major diplomatic translation projects between China and the West. Written in classical Chinese with a tone of righteous remonstration, the letter required extensive translation work to be intelligible to its British recipients. The translation process was very cautious. As William C. Hunter (1812-1891)[11] described, Lin Zexu relied initially on Yuan

---

[7] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 23; de Bary and Lufrano, 2000, 201-202.
[8] Chen, Shunyi, 2017, 313-332.
[9] See, for instance, Chen Shunyi, 2017, 313-332; Huang Lihua, 2013, 81-82; Tang Fang, 2007, 102-106.
[10] Queen Victoria (1819-1901) was Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 1837 until her death.
[11] William C. Hunter, a merchant from New York, became a long-term resident of Guangzhou and Macao during the "pre-treaty days." Sent to China in 1825 at the age of thirteen to study Chinese, he later joined Russell & Co. in Guangzhou in 1830. Hunter became fluent in Chinese and went on to publish two works on the foreign presence in China: *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton Before Treaty Days, 1825-1844* (1882) and *Bits of Old China* (1885). (Song Yuwu, 2009, 142.)

Dehui 袁德輝 (c. 1800-?),[12] to translate the letter into English. However, Lin was not confident about the English translation. So, he asked Hunter to translate the English version into Chinese again to check if there were any discrepancies between the translation and the original text.

> An English translation of a communication addressed by His Excellency, soon after his arrival, jointly with superior officers of the Canton Government, to her Majesty the Queen of England, on the subject of the opium trade, was brought to me at Consoon House to be translated into Chinese, at a test of proper reading of the original, which turned out to have been made by my old schoolmate Shaow-Tih.[13]

Hunter did not comment on Yuan Dehui's translation here. However, when Lin Zexu met the sailors who survived the British *Sunda* shipwreck, he asked for feedback on the English translation from the ship's surgeon, Dr. Hill (?-?). Dr. Hill described the scene at that time:

> He (referring to Lin Zexu) then handed us a letter addressed to the Queen of England, written in their high flowing strain, at which I could scarcely command my gravity, which he observing, immediately asked if it was all proper? We said it was only a few mistakes at which we smiled, whereupon he requested us to take it into an adjoining room and correct any errors we might find in it, and whither tea and refreshments would send us. The letter was a pretty long one, and written in a fair legible hand with a hair pencil. The subject of it was principally a lengthened disquisition on the opium trade, and its evil effects, and a hope the H.B. majesty would interfere and assist in putting a stop to it. Some parts of it we could make neither head nor tail of it.[14]

From Dr. Hill's description, we can roughly detect the quality of Yuan Dehui's English translation. Additionally, as American scholar Edward V. Gulick stated in *Peter Parker and the Opening of China* (1973), Lin Zexu also once asked Howqua 浩官[15] to have Dr. Peter Parker (1804-1888)[16] translate the original letter into English.[17] These episodes clearly show Lin Zexu's cautious attitude towards translation. His letter to Queen Victoria was brought to Britain by Captain Warner of the British ship *Thomas Coutts*. However, it ultimately failed to reach the Queen's hands. It is said that the British Foreign Office refused to accept the letter

---

[12] Yuan Dehui, a Chinese imperial translator and interpreter, was trained at missionary school and experienced in acquiring and translating English materials. In 1839 he became Lin Zexu's assistant in charge of foreign affairs. (Peng, 2019, 146-150.)

[13] Hunter,1885, 262-263. "Shaow-Tih" here referred to Yuan Dehui 袁德輝, whose foreign names also include Shaou Tih, Shaute, Shanteh, Show Tih. (Peng, 2019, 146.)

[14] *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. 8, 485.

[15] Howqua 浩官, a person's name, may refer to the Qing merchant Wu Bingjian 伍秉鑒 (1769-1843).

[16] Peter Parker was an American missionary and physician residing in China at the time.

[17] Gulick, Edward V., 1974.

because it had already understood its content.[18] Though it had no practical impact on the development of Sino-British relations, its significance cannot be ignored, as an important diplomatic document in which Lin Zexu used international law principles to argue with the British monarchy. This episode illustrates how translation functioned not merely as a linguistic exercise but also as a diplomatic and political instrument.

More broadly, after the First Opium War, cross-border communication gradually increased as trade, diplomacy, and scientific needs expanded.[19] The Qing government which had continued the Ming Bureau of Translators, founded in 1407, whose officials covered East and Inner Asian languages, responded by cultivating translators for European languages as well. For instance, they established institutions such as the School of Combined Learning (*Tongwen guan* 同文館) in 1862 for teaching European languages and science, and the translation bureau of the Jiangnan Arsenal in 1865 for technical and scientific manuals as well as actively supporting missionary presses, such as the periodical *The Chinese Repository* (1832-1851, in Canton). Most translation efforts during the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, focused on commerce, daily news, or practical interpretation from English into Chinese, leaving translations of Chinese literary works into English comparatively scarce.[20]

The Translation History of Late Qing Literature in the Twentieth Century

As will be shown in Chapter One, my database of translations of Late Qing literature into English indicates that one of two major peaks of Chinese-to-English translation activities emerged in the early Cold War period, a moment shaped strongly by geopolitical pressures and by the growing academic interest in China in the United States. A central figure in this development was, perhaps unsurprisingly, John King Fairbank, whose research laid the foundations of what later became known as the Fairbank School at Harvard University. Fairbank's influential model rested on the idea that China's path to epochal transformation had been forged through its 'response' to the West—an interpretive framework that soon became institutionalized within Harvard's group of Chinese studies, and has exerted profound

[18] Lazich, 2000,185-186.
[19] Fairbank, 1978, 156-171.
[20] Hung and Pollard, 1998, 365-375.

influence on the subsequent research, though it now coexists with, and is frequently challenged by, alternative methodological approaches, such as Marxist historiography, post-colonial theory, and feminist critique.[21]

A key focus of this thesis is Teng and Fairbank's volume *China's Response to the West* (Harvard University Press, 1954), which, as will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Two, serves not only as an exposition of the 'response model' but also as a pivotal methodological frame in mid-twentieth-century American sinology. The book provided an intellectual foundation for subsequent research and shaped generations of scholarship. Within the volume, overt political narratives are deliberately downplayed; instead, the compilers privilege primary sources that they regard as the true records of historical transformation. Considerable emphasis is placed on the attitudes and constraints of the elite, a group of scholar-officials in the nineteenth century who were portrayed as loyal to the imperial court and key agents in shaping China's engagement with the rest of the world. The historical changes were interpreted through their decisions, constraints, and intellectual orientations, indicating an approach rooted more in institutional history and elite-driven sociopolitical analysis. Moreover, the selected sources consequently derive from reform-minded officials and thinkers, reinforcing a narrative structured around reformist orientations, thereby revealing how Fairbank's methodological frame shaped both the interpretation of Chinese history and the broader trajectory of China studies during the early Cold War.

In contrast to the Fairbankian paradigm, another influential project, Franz Michael's (1907-1992) *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents* (University of Washington Press; vol. 1, 1966; vols. 2 and 3, 1971), adopts a markedly different methodological approach. Michael's three-volume work compiles more than five hundred—generally very brief—primary documents relating to the Taiping Movement (1850-1864), integrating historical narrative, analytical commentary, and a wide range of official and non-official materials produced by the Taiping regime itself. As Michael emphasizes, these documents

[21] *China's response to the West*'s theoretical and methodological influence can be seen on works such as *Land Without Ghosts: Chinese Impressions of America from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present* by R. David Arkush and Leo O. Lee. Berkeley, University of California Press,1989, 1993; *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection* by Pei-kai Cheng, Michael Elliot Lestz, Jonathan D. Spence, New York Norton, 1999, 2014; *Sources in Chinese History: Diverse Perspectives from 1644 to the Present* by David Atwill and Yurong Atwill, Pearson, 2009, revised 2021; etc.

allow the Taiping Movement to write "their own history,"[22] presenting their beliefs, administrative systems, and policies through laws, regulations, religious proclamations, poems, letters, and confessions. Rather than privileging elite perspectives, as in the Fairbank School's focus on scholar-officials, Michael arranges the documents to reconstruct the movement's development chronologically, thereby foregrounding unfolding events and the internal evolution of the rebellion.

Michael's interpretive stance was shaped in part by his intellectual lineage. As a student of Karl Wittfogel (1896-1988), a Marxist-materialist historian, who is best known for his monumental work *Oriental Despotism* (Yale University Press, 1957), Michael argued that the Taiping Movement represented a proto-totalitarian revolution: a militant, quasi-egalitarian dictatorship driven by mass discontent with the Confucian, elitist social order. This interpretation contrasts with that of the Fairbank School, which tended to locate the antecedents of modern authoritarianism in Confucian political culture itself, emphasizing hierarchical values that devalued individuality and liberty.[23] Thus, while both approaches linked nineteenth-century upheavals to later political developments, they diverged sharply in identifying the sources and nature of authoritarian tendencies in Chinese history.

My database does not include entries for each of the documents included in Michael's volumes, not because of their lack of significance but because it follows from my definition of literature adopted at the end of the section. The Taiping documents are primarily historical records and documentary materials, and many of the texts—such as brief proclamations or short couplets—do not constitute sustained literary works in the conventional sense. Since the database focuses specifically on Late Qing literature, defined here as literary texts rather than documentary or fragmentary materials, these volumes fall outside the project's present scope. Furthermore, many of the documents included in Michael's volumes were already available in English via translation in earlier periods; for instance, a number of translations had appeared in the *North China Herald* in the 1850s translated by Walter Henry Medhurst (1796-1857); some materials were found in British *Parliamentary Papers* (1801-2016) and the United States Department of State Archives. In many cases, no corresponding Chinese originals texts have been located. Since the aim of my database is to depict the overall pattern

[22] Michael, 1971, vii.
[23] Crossley, 1997, 630-631.

and evolution of literary translation activity, I have therefore not included separate entries for each of the documents collected in Michael's project but recorded it as a single entry.

Polysystem Theory and Translated Literature

Despite the large volume of literary works translated from English into Chinese, translations from Chinese into English have remained comparatively limited. The exceptions are largely confined to a canonized body of texts—most notably ancient classical Chinese writings that attracted early sinologists, missionaries, and scholars for their philosophical and cultural value, as well as poetry from the Tang and Song dynasties and a small number of novels from the Ming and Qing periods. By contrast, modern Chinese literary works have received far less sustained attention in English translation.

From the perspective of Israeli scholar Itamar Even-Zohar's Polysystem Theory, this imbalance can be understood as a consequence of the unequal positioning of literary systems within the global literary polysystem. Modern Chinese literature has occupied a relatively peripheral position in what is commonly referred to as "world literature," a system that remains predominantly Euro-American-centered. Within such a hierarchical configuration, Even-Zohar suggests that the translated literature from a peripheral system tends to assume a secondary position in the target literary polysystem. As a result, it exerts little influence on the central system and often functions as a conservative force, preserving conventional forms and conforming to the dominant literary norms of the target culture.[24]

When modern Chinese literature first came into contact with a comparatively more central and 'progressive' European and American literary polysystem following the First Opium War in 1839, a conservative dynamic emerged within the Chinese literary system that was less open to innovation and renewal.[25] As Even-Zohar argues, when a peripheral system is confronted with a dominant one it frequently adopts conservative strategies, privileging canonical and premodern texts over innovative or contemporary literary production.[26] This

[24] Even-Zohar, 1978/2012, 164-165.
[25] It was considered an age of "uncertainty" with "consolidating literati culture", and "the leaders of May Fourth Movements relegated the works of the Tongcheng and Gongyang scholars and writers to an irredeemable past that they were associated with the 'dead' world of classical Chinese and the hopelessly backward-looking worldview of Confucianism" (Chang and Owen, 2010, 335-342.)
[26] Even-Zohar, 164-165.

dynamic helps explain the selective translation of classical Chinese works into English and the relative marginalization of modern Chinese literature in Anglophone translation markets. Moreover, Even-Zohar maintains that the position occupied by translated literature within the polysystem indeed conditions translation strategies: when translated literature holds a secondary position, translators tend to rely on existing target-culture models, producing translations that are more "non-adequate" with the source culture and more closely aligned with target-system norms.[27]

Building on Even-Zohar's argument that the position of translated literature within the literary polysystem determines both selection and translation strategies, this thesis adopts the framework of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) to empirically examine translations of modern Chinese literature into English. Rather than prescribing how translations should be produced, DTS enables a systematic analysis of how translations actually function within the target literary system. By testing Even-Zohar's theoretical claims through descriptive analysis, this study seeks not only to illuminate the mechanisms that have contributed to the marginalization of modern Chinese literature within Anglophone literary systems but also to contribute to translation studies by refining our understanding of the relationship between polysystem position, translation strategy, and cultural power.

Finally

Before moving to the case study analysis, it is necessary to clarify the concept of 'literature' as employed in this thesis. The *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2005) defines literature as "a body of writings by a people or by peoples using the same language,"[28] while, in a narrower sense, the term often refers to imaginative works such as poetry, novels, and drama.[29] The 'literature proper' in the Chinese tradition differed significantly from European conceptions. Vernacular novels and plays, for instance, were long excluded from the canon of Chinese literature but came to be reclassified as imaginative literature under the influence of the nineteenth-century European literary thought.[30] Rather than assuming a fixed or universal

[27] Even-Zohar, 166-174.
[28] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Macropaedia*, 2005, Vol.23, 77.
[29] Williams, 1976, 150-154.
[30] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Macropaedia*, 2005, Vol.23, 78; Ji Lingjie, 2020, 394.

definition, this thesis seeks to reconstruct the historically changing conceptualisation of Chinese literature, in particular Late Qing literature. Special attention is given to nonfictional prose and fiction. The *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines nonfictional prose as a kind of literature that "designates writing intended to instruct (but not highly scientific and erudite writings in which no aesthetic concern is evinced), to impart wisdom or faith."[31] It encompasses an almost boundless range of themes and forms, including political and polemical texts, and resists any unified definition of purpose, technique, or style.[32] Accordingly, this thesis examines five case studies, three of which belong to nonfictional prose—"Cai Xixue yi", "Xinmin shuo", and "Chen Yiwu shu"—and two to fiction, *Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang* and *Lao Can youji xuji*, in order to illuminate the diversity and evolving boundaries of the history of translation of Late Qing literature.

[31] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia,* 2005, Vol.23, 176-177.
[32] Ibid., 176-177.

Chapter One: Towards a Multi-Dimensional Exploration of English Translation of Late Qing Literature

In this chapter I situate my thesis in terms of existing scholarship on Chinese-English translation history, before going to outline the methodological framework employed and my basic research methods, including an overview of the database I compiled as a reference corpus for my case study analysis. While I go into some details into approaches to translation history and the principles of Descriptive Translation Studies, I have not presented a single methodology for translation analysis, as I ended up drawing on different models to reflect the richness of the data I encountered.

1.1 Research Context: A Brief History of Chinese-English Literary Translation

Chinese texts were first translated into other European languages before they appeared in English. This began with Jesuit missionary-scholars arriving in China in the late sixteenth century, whose efforts were driven by both intellectual curiosity and evangelization. Among them, Italian missionary Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607) undertook some of the earliest Latin translations of the *Sishu* 四書 (Four Books), marking Europe's first direct engagement with Confucian texts, albeit in partial and experimental form.[33] Moreover, French missionary Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628) translated the *Wujng* 五經 (Five Classics) into Latin in 1626.[34] These early attempts culminated in the landmark publication of *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* in 1687, translated by a group of Jesuits—Prosper Intorcetta, Christian Herdtrich, François de Rougemont, and Philippe Couplet.[35] This volume presented Confucian thought to a European readership in a systematic and scholarly manner, though it

[33] Wang, 2024, 838.

[34] The 'Four Books and Five Classics' (*Sishu Wujng* 四書五經) are the foundational texts of the Confucian tradition. The 'Four Books'—*The Great Learning (Daxue* 大學), *The Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸), *The Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), and *Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子)—serve as core guides to Confucian ethics, self-cultivation, and governance. The 'Five Classics'—*The Book of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經), *The Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書 or *Shujing* 書經), *The Records of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), *The Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), and *The Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋)—are earlier canonical works encompassing history, ritual, philosophy, divination, and statecraft, traditionally attributed to Confucius and central to the education of literati throughout imperial China.

[35] Lundbaek, 1983, 19-30.

included only three of the Four Books, reflecting both editorial choices and the translators' interpretive framework. Together, these works laid the foundation for Chinese–European literary translation, shaping how Chinese intellectual traditions were first understood and reconfigured within early modern European philosophy and literature.

When British Protestant missionaries and diplomats began arriving in China from the early nineteenth century onwards, they, too, engaged in Chinese-language studies, compiled Chinese dictionaries, and translated literary works, promoting intercultural understanding, in particular, that of Chinese philosophy and culture through translation.[36] Chinese literature began to be translated into English in the early nineteenth century, with figures such as Robert Morrison (1782-1834) producing some of the earliest English translations of classical Chinese texts. His *Translation from the Original Chinese, with Notes* (1812) includes pioneering English versions of Chinese moral and didactic writings which were influential for the later nineteenth-century translators and interpreters, although Henrietta Harrison argues that his translations were overly exoticizing, making Chinese "strange and different to English readers".[37] James Legge (1815-1897), a Scottish missionary, sinologist, and translator, published a series of English translation of the 'four books and five classics' (*Sishu Wujng* 四書五經) from 1861-1886, to produce the multivolume work *The Chinese Classics*. Such nomenclature indicates how the early missionaries and diplomats of this period sought to uncover and render the Chinese equivalent of 'Homer' or 'Virgil', thus marginalizing popular or vernacular works that were considered ephemeral, insufficiently representative of Chinese culture. Furthermore, in cases like that of Legge we can see how the translator's personal attitude and influence on the translation plays an important role.

> Legge's gradually more sympathetic understanding of Master Kong [i.e. Confucius] and the ancient classics was tempering his overall awareness of himself, religion, morality and humanity—as well as enlarging his methods of textual translation and personal intercourse.[38]

American sinologist Samual Wells Williams (1812-1884), who was also an official and missionary, published *The Middle Kingdom* in 1848. Therein, he provided summarised versions of *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (*The Water Margin*, a 16th-century novel, also translated

[36] Ge, 2017,13.
[37] See *The Perils of Interpreting: The Extraordinary Lives of Two Translators between Qing China and the British Empire*, 2021, 271.
[38] Girardot, 2002, 71.

as the *Outlaws of the Marsh* or *All Men Are Brothers*) attributed to Shi Nai'an 施耐庵 (?1296-1372), and of *Dongzhou lieguo zhi* 東周列國志 (*Chronicles of States in Eastern Zhou times*), a historical novel by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1646).

Finally, another prominent British sinologist and translator was Herbert Allen Giles (1845-1935), professor for Chinese Studies at the University of Cambridge. He translated a great number of Chinese literary works, for example *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異 (*Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*), an eighteenth-century collection of classical Chinese stories, comprising nearly 500 stories by Qing author Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640-1715). Giles's translation is the most complete English translation of *Liaozhai zhiyi* so far. Also his compilation of the *Gems of Chinese Literature* (1883)[39] was a significant work to introduce and disseminate Chinese classical poetry, songs, and prose for English readerships.

As has been explored by a number of scholars, the history of translation of Chinese literature into English is closely related to the development of sinology due to the contributions made by sinologists to the translation and introduction of the Chinese Classics into the Anglophone world. For example, Ge Guilu 葛桂录, a professor in comparative literature at Fujian Normal University, divides the development of sinology into four phases:[40]

Phase	Period	Mediator	Representative Works	Features
1st	The 14th -17th Century	John Mandeville	*The Travels of Sir. John Mandeville*	1. The stories combining history with legend; 2. Without involving direct translation activity.
2nd	The end of the 17th century to the beginning of the nineteenth century	1. Missionaries 2. Diplomats	*Translation from the Original Chinese, with Notes* (1812) by Robert Morrison (1782–1834)	1. Focus on Chinese language study; Compiling Chinese dictionary; 2. Interested in translating Chinese Classics works; 3. Poetry translation approach: neat rhythm, conform to the Victorian literature patten.

[39] It is a collection of translation of Chinese literary works.
[40] Ge, 2017, 13-21.

3rd	The first half of the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century	1. Diplomats 2. Missionaries 3. Amateurs—'men of leisure'[41]	*On the Poetry of the Chinese*, by Sir John Francis Davis (1795-1890), published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1830.[42]	1. Establishing institutions and open courses in universities; 2. Sinological research tends to be rational, objective, and rigor.
4th	After WW II to today	1. Sinologists with professional training 2. Other Scholars	*China's Response to the West* (1954) by Ssu-yu Teng and John King Fairbank.	The tendency to make a scientific re-evaluation of China.

Table 1. Phases of the development of Sinology in the English language. (Table 1 is adapted from Ge Guilu, 2017. Translation mine)

In Ge Guilu's periodisation, the period before the seventeenth century was characterised only by a form of pseudo-translation: European people came to know China through travel writings and imaginary prose, compiled by authors who had been to China with delegations, or even only in their imagination. What he deems 'direct' translation activities began only in the second phase and are related to the activities of missionaries and diplomats in China. With the aim of preaching the Christian gospel and understanding Chinese culture, missionaries often chose the Chinese classics to translate because they were full of the ancient philosophy.[43] As Ge Guilu explains, Chinese culture's long intertwinement with the traditions of Confucianism and Buddhism means these have exerted profound influence on the mindsets and writings of later intellectuals.[44] For this reason, it is no surprise that the texts most frequently translated during the third phase were Chinese classical philosophical texts, such as Legge's translation of the *Confucian Analects* (1861) and *The Works of Mencius* (1861), and Giles's *Chuang Tzŭ: Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer* (1889). But there are other motivations for translation choices. As glimpsed in my introduction to this thesis, the nineteenth century occupies a particularly significant place in the history of translation. Following the First Opium War (1839-1842), the demand for translation increased sharply alongside Britain's expanding presence in China. At first, translators and

[41] "A great turning-point in our relations with China had come. Hitherto all the English who visited that country had done for political reasons either as missionaries, soldiers, sailors, merchants, or officials. About this time quite another class of visitor begin to arrive—men of leisure merely anxious to know more about the world; poets, professors, thinkers....who had come not to convert, trade, rule or flight, but simply to make friends and learn..." (Waley, Arthur, "Our Debt to China" *The Asiatic Review* 36, no. 127 (1940): 554.)

[42] Sir John Francis Davis (1795-1890), a sinologist and British diplomat who served as second Governor of Hong Kong from 1844 to 1848, translated 78 Chinese poems and songs that were compiled as *On the Poetry of the Chinese*, published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1830, including a 37-page excerpt translation of the *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*).

[43] Ge Guilu, 2017, 13-14.

[44] Ibid., 112.

interpreters for business and trade were in short supply.[45] By and by, translators and translations became more and more professional and systematic,[46] and began to go beyond philosophical writings and teachings to include Chinese poetry and novels. For instance, Giles's versions of *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋誌異 (*Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio*)[47] and his compilation of the *Gems of Chinese Literature* (1883)[48] was a significant work to elaborate Chinese classical poetry, songs, and prose for English readerships.

Due to the complexity of translation activities that have occurred since the nineteenth century, more nuanced phase-divisions than those presented by Ge Guilu have been put forward. Another translation specialist, Ji Lingjie[49] 季凌婕, for example, distinguishes three historical phases in the long nineteenth century: (a) Jesuit knowledge (1760s-1810s), (b) travellers' knowledge (1810s-1830s), and (c) sinologists' knowledge (1840s-1910s).[50] Ji Lingjie asserts that the travellers in the early nineteenth century gained their knowledge of Chinese literature through secondary sources, as they lacked language training, whereas sinologists, mainly British missionaries and scholars, were proficient in Chinese language and culture, and produced plenty of works and translations. Ji notes that "these phases were not completely unrelated and different; instead, (they reveal) continuity and change in the ways and discourses".[51] Although Ji Lingjie's timeline is similar to Ge Guilu's, the sub-divisions help to reflect a greater plurality of activity with diverse aesthetic and ideological motivations.

Likewise, Xie Tianzhen[52] 谢天振 points to increasing translation of Chinese literary works from nineteenth century onward, particularly after the First Opium War, attributing this to an increasing need to provide reading materials for both language learning and entertainment, as greater numbers of foreigners entered China. Noting that the circulation of these translated texts remained largely restricted to colonial circles within China, he

---

[45] Hung and Pollard, 1998, 368-369.
[46] Xie Tianzhen, 2009, 222.
[47] It is an eighteenth-century collection of classical Chinese stories, comprising nearly 500 stories by Qing author Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640-1715).
[48] It is a collection of translation of Chinese literary works.
[49] An assistant professor in Chinese Studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Her research involves the history of translation, nineteenth century sinologists' translation of Chinese literature, etc.
[50] Ji Lingjie, 2020, 393-413. (The original article is in English.)
[51] Ibid., 396.
[52] He is a Professor of Comparative Literature and Translation Studies at Shanghai International Studies University.

nevertheless attests to the emergence of a group of distinguished translators mainly of British origin, but representing a range of different backgrounds, including missionaries, diplomats, merchants, and Customs officers. Because Britain established commercial relations with the Late Qing government earlier than many other countries, it developed a wide sphere of influence. As a result, the translation of Chinese literary works into English by British translators experienced significant growth after the mid-nineteenth century and consequently occupied a prominent position in the broader landscape of Chinese literary translation.[53]

From the beginning of the twentieth century, the translation of Chinese literary works began to shift from China to Europe and the United States. According to Xie, reading materials about China enjoyed widespread popularity in the British and American book markets for nearly two decades from the 1920s onwards.[54] Taking advantage of this growing interest, translations and adaptations of Chinese classical novels successfully integrated into these cultural markets.[55] For instance, two abridged translation of one of the most famous classical novels, *Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢 (*Dream of the Red Mansion*) translated by Wang Liangzhi 王良誌 (?-?) and Wang Chi-Chen 王際真 (1899-2001)[56] were published in 1928 and 1929 respectively, the latter with a preface by Arthur Waley (1889-1966) who was himself an English sinologist and translator. The abridged translation of *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (*All Men Are Brothers*) by Pearl S. Buck (1892-1973) was published in 1933. Bernard Miall (1876-1953) translated the *Jinpingmei* 金瓶梅 (*Chin P'ing Mei: The Adventurous History of Hsi Men and His Six Wives*) in 1939. Arthur Waley himself translated 30 of the 100 chapters of the *Xiyouji* 西遊記 (*Journey to the West*) under the title *Monkey*, published in 1942. All of these translations and adaptations were published in Great Britain and the United States almost simultaneously, and their concise language and vivid storytelling attracted a wide readership.[57]

According to Xie Tianzhen and Yu Ziquiao, the interests of the readers were almost certainly a key factor in early twentieth-century translation activity, but there were also important political reasons. As early as World War I, the United States had made plans to put

[53] Xie, 2009, 222-223.
[54] Ibid., 224.
[55] Ibid., 224.
[56] A Chinese-born American literary scholar, translator, and professor at Columbia University.
[57] Xie, 2009, 224.

a strategic focus on East Asia. Consequently, China Studies institutions were founded, most prominently the Institute of Pacific Relations (founded in 1925), the China Institute (founded in 1926), the Association for the Promotion of Far Eastern Studies (founded in 1928), which is the predecessor of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), and the Harvard-Yenching Institute (founded in 1928). In the 1930s, the three top U.S. universities, Columbia University, Harvard University, and Yale University, inaugurated MA programmes in Asian Studies. Correspondingly, some significant foundations started to offer funds to the institutes and organizations, for instance, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which greatly boosted the translation of Chinese literary works into English. This development continued after World War II, when more American universities such as Cornell University, Johns Hopkins University, University of Michigan, University of California Berkeley, and University of Washington opened MA programmes in Asian Studies, too. By the 1970s, around 106 universities in the United States were qualified to confer degrees in Chinese studies.[58]

Correspondingly, the evaluation criteria for translation shifted to focus more on academic requirements to cater to specialist readers, such as sinologists, or students who often judged fidelity to the original texts and criticized previous more entertainment-focused translation strategies. For these reasons, full translations that were faithful to the original texts started to be more prevalent from the late 1940s onwards replacing the previous abridged ones. The translators were now almost exclusively sinological experts working at universities in Britain and the United States.[59] Classical texts, poems and novels continued to occupy the attention of the translators, although, as I will show in subsequent chapters, there was also a significant interest in creating anthologies of historical documents. In their studies of translations, historians up to now have tended to focus primarily on the translation of major narrative and poetic classics as milestones in the translation and dissemination of Chinese culture in the second half of the twentieth century, with these often being the focus of translational analyses from a diversity of perspectives. Examples include the *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the Grand Historian of China*) by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86 BC), as translated and published by Burton Watson (1925-2017) in 1961; *Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢, fully translated by David Hawkes (1923-2009) and John Minford (1946-), both of whom were

[58] Xie, 2009, 225; and Yu Ziqiao, 2001, 135-138.
[59] Xie, 2009, 225-226.

British sinologists and literary translators, and published as *The Story of the Stone: A Chinese Novel in Five Volumes* (1973-1986); and *Kuiye ji: Lidai shici qu xuanji* 葵曄集: 歷代詩詞曲選集, an anthology of around 1,000 Chinese poems, translated into English and edited by Wu-chi Liu 柳無忌 (1907-2002), a scholar of Chinese literature and writer, and Irving Yucheng Lo 羅郁正 (1922-2006), an American-Chinese sinologist, and published as *Sunflower Splendor: Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry* (1975). Among these, one anthology of Qing poetry, *Dailin ji: Qingdai shici xuan* 待麟集: 清代詩詞選 (*Waiting for the Unicorn: Poems and Lyrics of China's Last Dynasty*) was brought out by Irving Yucheng Lo 羅郁正 and William R. Schultz (1925-).

The trajectory of English translation of Chinese texts from missionary translation of Classical texts in the early nineteenth century to academically grounded translation of diverse literary forms in the twentieth century, mirrors broader cross-cultural exchanges and evolving global perceptions of Chinese culture. It also reflects shifting notions of 'representativeness': whereas earlier translators often privileged canonical texts to showcase China's intellectual tradition, later translators increasingly engaged with popular, modern, and multi-genre works to reflect the evolving the understanding of Chinese culture.

As has become clear from this survey of translation histories, nineteenth-century translators showed less interest in modern Chinese vernacular literary works or historical documents. They established a foundation for Sinology rooted in the classical canons and ancient Chinese literature. This phenomenon may be explained in light of several interrelated factors: nineteenth-century European (especially British) literary culture and education privileged the Greco-Roman 'greats' over contemporary popular fiction, and classical studies functioned as the elite cultural benchmark.[60] Largely because of this attention to Chinese classical literature, modern literature was for a long time neglected.[61] Very few modern literary works were translated before the Second World War, the one key exception being *Huode Zhongguo: Xiandai Zhongguo duanpian xiaoshuo xuan* 活的中國: 現代中國短篇小說選 (*Living China: Modern Chinese Short Stories*, 1937), translated by Edgar Snow (1905-

[60] Turner, 2005, 159-172.
[61] Xie, 2009, 227.

1972) who was an American journalist and author who conducted one of the first interviews with Mao Zedong for the international press.

Research Context

As can be seen from the review of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Chinese-English translation history, English translations of Late Qing literature remain notably underexplored. By mapping what scholars have and have not addressed regarding the translation of Late Qing works, this section establishes the academic gap that motivates the present study. Because English translations of literature produced between 1839 and 1912 have received surprisingly little attention despite the period's historical significance, a review of existing research enables readers to understand both the limitations of current scholarship and the necessity of the new database and analysis developed in this thesis.

Up to now critical focus on literary translation from Chinese to English has largely centered on the translation of classical texts, as reflected in the overview provided above. As seen, Ge Guilu presents a comprehensive overview of twentieth-century translation history, focusing on English translation of Chinese classical texts, tracing specifically how different categories of such literature were introduced and received in the United Kingdom. He adopts methods of Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), particularly in his discussion of Arthur Waley's translation of ancient Chinese poetry. While Waley's translations are contextualized within broader cultural and literary frameworks, the textual analysis offered is relatively brief. In contrast, the chapter devoted to David Hawkes's translation of *Chuci* 楚辭 (*Songs of Chu*), a second-century anthology of poems from the Warring States period (c. 475-221 BC) and the Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) under the title *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology* (1959) provides a more nuanced analysis, examining Hawkes's treatment of culture-specific terms, adaptation strategies, transliteration choices, restructuring techniques, and rhythmic patterns. Several sections of the study also address paratextual elements, such as the selection of original texts, commentary, and publication history, alongside issues of circulation and reception of translated works in English-speaking contexts. His study enriches our understanding of how Chinese classical literature has been mediated through translation and has inspired some of the paths I have taken in analysing my own case studies.

Xie Tianzhen's *Zhong-Xi fanyi jianshi* 中西翻译简史 (*Brief History of Translation in China and the West*, 2009) serves as a textbook for Chinese postgraduate students studying foreign languages and cultures. Organized chronologically, it provides an overview of the history of translation, both from Chinese and into Chinese and from and into various European languages. Within this broad historical framework, the volume dedicates a short chapter to the translation of Chinese literature into European languages. This chapter briefly outlines three major areas: the translation of Chinese classical philosophical texts, classical novels, and modern literature (1920s and 1930s). The chapter is structured around a historical and contextual analysis, presenting representative translated works and tracing the networks of existing scholarships and retranslation. Particular attention is given to classical texts of the Confucian and Daoist traditions, such as *Lunyu* 論語 (*The Analects of Confucius*), *Daodejing* 道德經 (*Tao Teh King*), and *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (Chuang Tzu); as well as to the great classical novels of Ming and Qing times, for instance, *Sanguo yanyi*, *Shuihuzhuan*, *Xiyouji*, and *Hongloumeng*. Despite its concise coverage, Xie Tianzhen's chapter provides a window into the evolving knowledge of the translation production and the dissemination of Chinese literary heritage in the twentieth century.

In addition to presenting the existing scholarship, Xie examines translation theory and practice from a historical perspective. He emphasises a target-focused approach, arguing that the dominant translation targets in a given historical period act as important constraints shaping that period's prevailing translation notions.[62] He further contends that fidelity functioned as the guiding principle in the earliest translations of sacred texts; that stylistic and register considerations, particularly the balance between form and content, governed the translation of classical texts; and that for pragmatic documents, functional adequacy rather than fidelity became the primary concern.[63]

More recently, Henrietta Harrison's volume *The Perils of Interpreting: The Extraordinary Lives of Two Translators between Qing China and the British Empire* (2021) focuses on the actual human agents of translation, by tracking the lives of two interpreters who worked between Qing China and the British Empire in the eighteenth-century. Harrison emphasizes that both interpreters actively modified, smoothed over, and renegotiated texts to

[62] "特定历史阶段的主流翻译对象是形成该历史阶段的主流译学观念的重要制约因素"。(Xie, 2009, VIII.) The original text is in Chinese. Translation mine.
[63] Xie, 2009, VIII.

prevent immediate conflict, operating with immense individual agency. The work reveals translation is an active practice of historical mediation in which translators exercised considerable agency. Her analysis resonates with Lawrence Venuti's concept of "translator invisibility", which argues that the translator's interventions are frequently concealed by the expectation of fluent and transparent translation. Within the context of my own dissertation, Harrison's work provides a key example of the need to focus on the translators and editors of the volumes in my corpus. Their editorial selection, textual revision, and translation strategies will be examined as interventions that contribute to constructing Anglophone understandings of modern Chinese history.

More relevant to the political and historical focus of the texts that make up my corpus, US-based comparative literature and translation scholar, Lydia H. Liu's *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (2004) offers an approach that examines the intersection of translation, sovereignty, and international politics. Focusing primarily on the translation of legal and political texts between English and Chinese, the volume shifts attention from translation as a linguistic practice to translation as a constitutive force in the production of the international political order. Challenging conventional approaches that attribute nineteenth-century China-British conflict to pre-existing cultural differences or civilizational incompatibility, Liu argues that the confrontation between the two empires generated new political categories, such as sovereign identity, and the overarching concepts of 'the East' and 'the West'. Central to this argument is what she terms the "semiotic turn in international politics,"[64] which reconceptualizes translation as an active process of world-making rather than a neutral transfer of meaning between languages. A key contribution of the volume is her concept of the "super-sign." This refers to a politically charged term whose meanings cannot be reduced to stable linguistic equivalence. Instead, super-signs function as sites of ideological contestation, where language becomes inseparable from struggles over sovereignty, legitimacy, and power. As Liu argues, "the super-sign is a monstrosity because it crouches behind the 'wordness' of a concept and articulates the latter without itself being articulated in any reified form."[65] Rather than simply denoting equivalent ideas in different languages, these signs generate new meanings within specific historical and political contexts.

[64] Liu, 2004, 5.
[65] Ibid, 34.

Particularly relevant to my own thesis is Liu's analysis of the term yi 夷, conventionally translated as barbarian. She demonstrates that yi cannot be understood as the direct equivalent of the English word barbarian, because each term operated within distinct systems and political landscapes. During the nineteenth-century encounters between Qing China and Britain, the translation of yi became a site of diplomatic conflict, as British officials interpreted the term as an insult to the sovereign equality, whereas Qing officials understood it within a traditional China-centric political vocabulary. The controversy surrounding yi/barbarian thus reveals how translation participated in constructing competing conceptions of sovereignty and international order rather than merely transmitting semantic meaning. For Liu, heterolingual signs such as yi/barbarian illuminate the asymmetrical power relations in imperial encounters. Building on Liu's insight, I will return to examine the translation history of the yi/barbarian pair in Chapter Two from the perspective of (re)translation. There I will investigate how the meanings of yi have been continually reconfigured across different historical contexts. By tracing the evolution of its English translation, the analysis demonstrates how changing political, intellectual, and historiographical agendas shaped the interpretation of this contested term. In doing so, my analysis Liu's concept by showing that the "super-sign" is not only a site of cross-cultural contestation at a particular historical moment but also an evolving retranslational negotiation, through which new understandings of Qing China and its relationship to 'the Western world' have been continuously constructed.

In an earlier volume, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (1995), Liu engages with extant approaches to modern Chinese literature, translation studies, and postcolonial criticism by demonstrating that early twentieth-century China did not simply absorb Western modernity but actively constructed its own literary and cultural modernity through complex cross-cultural exchanges with both Japan and 'the West'. She defines the concept 'translingual practice' as the process through which new words, meanings, discourses, and modes of representation emerge, circulate, and acquire legitimacy through the interaction of different languages and cultures. Rather than treating translation as a neutral transfer of ideas, she positions language as a historical site where the meanings of the 'Western domination' and the 'anti-imperialist struggle' are continually negotiated and reconfigured.[66] On this point, she challenges

[66] Liu, 1995. xvi.

Fairbank's 'impact-response' model, as discussed in reference to historiographical debates in the introduction to this thesis. She explicitly rejects explanations of modern Chinese history based solely on either 'foreign impact' or 'indigenous evolution', arguing that modernity emerged through translingual processes of negotiation and localization. Translation, therefore, becomes an act of cultural production and political struggle rather than passive reception. This perspective has a bearing on my own approach to the materials analysed in this thesis. Rather than treating source texts as static 'sources' of meaning that are then transferred into another language and fixed, I am attentive to translation as a dynamic process of (re)interpretation and (re)configuration that has contributed to construct contemporary images of China.

While *Translingual Practice* focused primarily on twentieth-century Chinese literary texts, another of Liu's works, the anthology *Tokens of Exchange*: *The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations* (1999), broadens the historical and geographical scope across the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, attending to a wide range of fields and genres: for instance, religious exchanges, international law and empire, science, medicine, and pathology. By examining the moments in which 'meaning-value' are transformed through translation between languages, the essays demonstrate that translation plays a crucial role in mediating the relationship between the global and the local, while shaping the "universalizing processes of modernity and globalization."[67] Building upon the concept of 'translingual practice', the anthology further challenges Eurocentric narratives of cultural transmission. Therefore, it proposes a more dynamic understanding of cross-cultural exchange, emphasizing translation as a process of negotiation, appropriation, and 'meaning-making' within specific historical and political contexts, which dovetails with my own approach.[68]

Finally, in the co-edited volume *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory* (2013), written with Rebecca E. Karl and Dorothy Ko, Liu further extends her long-standing engagement with translation as a site of knowledge production and cross-cultural negotiation. The volume brings together key writings by the early twentieth-century anarchist-feminist He-Yin Zhen 何殷震 (1884–1920), many of which were

[67] Liu, 1999, backpage.
[68] "This collection of provocative, engaging and insightful essays re(de)constructs our notions of cultural interaction, and adopts a more complex model than the tired stimulus-response paradigm of the John King Fairbank school of intercultural history as well as the oversimplistic notion of influence in comparative literature." (Eugene Eoyane, *New Comparison.*)

translated into English for the first time. By situating these writings within a transnational theoretical framework, the editors demonstrate that early Chinese feminist discourse constituted an integral part of global feminist history, developing through transnational intellectual exchanges rather than simply flowing from 'the West' to China. This approach is consistent with Liu's broader critique of Eurocentric models of cultural influence and her emphasis on translation as a process of negotiation, reinterpretation, and the production of new meanings. In addition, the editors explicitly acknowledge that the English translations were produced by a team consisting of graduate students and an invited translator, with the editorial team undertaking the subsequent revision and proofreading of the translations. This editorial statement is significant because it reveals translation authorship, editorial intervention, and the production of scholarly knowledge. The translated texts collected in this volume have also been incorporated into my database of English translations of Late Qing literature. They provide an important case study for exploring how translation has mediated the international circulation of early Chinese feminist thought, illustrating the role of translation in reshaping intellectual history.

Notwithstanding these recent contributions in the field of comparative literature and translation historiography, English translation of literature produced in Late Qing times (1839-1912) has so far not received attention in academic research. This is despite the significance of the Late Qing as a transitional period and the fact that authors of this time offer important insights into cultural encounters between East and West. Nor have English translations of Late Qing literature been substantially addressed in international scholarship through the lens of translation studies. It might also be worth making the point that the exclusion of Late Qing texts in translation analysis might also be due to a narrower definition of the concept of literary than I employ in the thesis. I treat the non-fictional essays and treatises as literature, even when the historical source volumes are not doing so, other researchers may treat them as documentary evidence. This omission leaves a notable gap in the mapping of translation history, indicating the need for further inquiry into the translation of Late Qing literary works. My thesis ultimately responds to this gap, by centering on how Late Qing literature itself has fared in its transposition into English. Due to the lack of previous scholarship, I first had to create a database of existing English translation of Late Qing texts, Chinese literary works produced between the beginning of the First Opium War (1839) and the fall of the Qing Dynasty (1912), before going on to explore what these

successive translation endeavours tell us about changing understandings of China in the English-speaking world.

1.2 Language, Power, and Representation: The History of Translation and Descriptive Translation Studies

This section establishes the theoretical foundation for analyzing how Late Qing texts in translation were produced and interpreted, and how these translations contributed to reshaping the image of China in the Anglophone world. First and foremost, this thesis is grounded in the study of the history of translation, drawing upon key approaches to translation history within translation studies. The theoretical orientation of this study is therefore interdisciplinary, combining insights from translation studies, intellectual history, and translation historiography, and the translation practice that I will explore in the following chapters will be interpreted as a historically situated cultural activity, shaped by political, ideological, and cultural factors.

Translation History

The field of translation history refers both to the study of past translation practices and the evolution of translation theories.[69] In *Method in Translation History* (1998), Anthony Pym, a scholar in translation studies, asserts that "we do translation history in order to express, address, and try to solve problems affecting our own situation."[70] He situates translation history within a broader cultural and social framework, emphasizing its role in responding to contemporary issues. One key motivation he identifies for conducting such research is to promote the development of intercultural intermediaries. Pym later expanded this vision in his 2009 article, "Humanizing Translation History," where he advocates for integrating translation studies more fully into the wider field of intercultural studies.[71]

[69] Woodsworth, 1998, 101.
[70] Pym, 1998, x.
[71] Pym, 2009, 45.

Several alternative methods could have been employed for analysing historical translation practices here. A cultural-turn framework, drawing on Andre Lefevere or Susan Bassnett, for instance, might have highlighted the ideological and institutional forces shaping translation activities. A narrative-theory approach, following Lawrence Venuti,[72] could have examined how different narrative modes structure the interpretation of historical translation events. Each of these methods offers valuable tools for interpreting patterns, power relations, and constructions within translation history, and will be referenced where relevant in the course of my thesis.

However, Pym's approach was chosen because it provides a flexible, problem-driven model that foregrounds translators' decisions and the social contexts in which they operate. Pym's emphasis on historical explanation through the identification of translational problems, solutions, and their circulation allows for a more dynamic understanding of how translation practices evolve over time. Unlike approaches that prioritise static norms or ideological structures, Pym's framework highlights agency, contingency, and the interplay of multiple motivations, making it particularly suitable for analysing shifts in translation targets, strategies, and conceptualisation across historical periods. This makes his approach well aligned with a study that aims to trace how specific translation practices emerged and transformed within their broader historical milieu.

Methodological Framework

The methodological framework of this thesis is based on Pym's tripartite model for research. The model includes, firstly, "translation archaeology", which investigates questions such as "*who translated what, how, where, when, for whom, and with what effect"*;[73] secondly, "historical criticism", which evaluates how translations have contributed to or impeded cultural and intellectual progress; and, thirdly, "explanation", which seeks to uncover the underlying reasons or motivations behind translational phenomena.[74] Pym's model responds critically to a number of problems he identifies in existing translation historiography, namely

[72] Venuti observes that "a history of translation, then, like any history, endows translation practices with significance through a specific narrative form or mixture of forms" (Venuti, 2005, 812).
[73] Pym, 1998, 5.
[74] Ibid., 5-6.

what he calls the "(1) archeological accumulation of data that responds to no explicitly formulated problem; (2) dependence on anecdotal evidence; (3) arbitrary periodization; and (4) reluctance to see translations as possible agents rather than expressions of historical change". [75] Each of these shortcomings continues to challenge translation historians, and they are precisely the issues that have driven the field to seek new methodological approaches to historical research.

Based on his methodological proposal, the thesis will be structured around four major dimensions: (a) Situating translated texts in their historical context; (b) Analyzing the translator's interpretation and agency; (c) Examining translation strategies; (d) Exploring how translation reconfigured the image of China in the Anglophone world. How these four dimensions correspond to Pym's framework, as well as the ways they are applied in my analysis, are outlined in the following section.

The first model of Pym's tripartite concept, "translation archaeology", underscores the importance of situating translated texts within the specific historical conditions that produced them. Translation cannot be fully understood apart from the historical, political, and cultural contexts in which it occurs. In this study, the historical context of translation functions not only as a methodological foundation but also as an interpretive framework for analyzing the selected texts. As Pym emphasizes, translation historians must ask a series of contextual questions—who translated what, how, where, when, for whom, and with what effect—in order to reconstruct the networks, purposes, and constraints that shape translation practices. Accordingly, this thesis is, on the one hand, rooted in a database that collects data on a diversity of literary texts representative of the Late Qing period translated from Chinese into English since 1839 and, on the other hand, situates the authors of the texts that were later translated as well as the translators within their respective socio-historical milieus and contexts. For the authors, the relevant contexts are the diverse crises of the late imperial period, including tensions between reformist and conservatist positions. For the translators, by contrast, the determining contexts are modern and global in scope, encompassing the Cold War and its ideological confrontations among communism, capitalism, and nationalism, as well as the broader processes of cultural diversification and globalization. Through these historical recontextualizations, translation emerges not as an isolated linguistic act but as a

[75] Pym, 1992, 8.

dynamic response to changing historical forces and intellectual shifting. In this sense, historical knowledge is not merely supplementary to the analysis of translation; it is constitutive of it, forming the essential groundwork for understanding how translation functions.

Since the 1990s, increasing emphasis has been placed on translators and the notion of agency in translation studies.[76] Following Delisle and Woodsworth's *Translators Through History* (1995), Pym put forward to a translator-focused approach in which translators are regarded as the main agents of historical and cultural mediation.[77]

> The second principle is that the central object of historical knowledge should not be the text of the translation, nor its contextual system, nor even its linguistic features. The central object should be the human translator, since only humans have the kind of responsibility appropriate to social causation. Only through translators and their social entourage (clients, patrons, readers) can we try to understand why translations were produced in a particular historical time and place. To understand why translations happened, we have to look at the people involved.[78]

Building on Pym's perspective, this thesis foregrounds the role of the translator as an active intermediary whose interpretive decisions shape both the translation process and its final product. In this study, analyzing the translator's interpretation involves tracing how translators evaluated the source text and reconstructed it in English for their intended audiences. Their work is mediated by personal beliefs, political motivations, and aesthetic sensibilities, all of which influence the text's meaning. The translator's agency can thus be examined through dimensions such as the selection of texts that reveals what aspects of Chinese culture were deemed translatable or representative, and paratextual elements that may illuminate the translator's interpretive stance and target readership. Moreover, external factors such as patrons, publishers, and institutions put further an impact on translators, often connecting them to broader political or educational agendas. Consequently, the translator's interpretive freedom operates within ideological constraints. Therefore, the thesis will examine the translator's interpretation by extending beyond linguistic analysis to encompass the cultural, institutional, and intellectual contexts that guided their work, while also recognising how their agency may lead to diverse positionings in relation to these contexts.

---

[76] Gürçaglar, 2013, 136.
[77] Pym, 1998, 160-176.
[78] Ibid., ix.

The primary analytical approach to examine translation strategies applied to the translated texts in this thesis is 'Descriptive Translation Studies' (DTS). DTS is an approach established by the Israeli translation scholar Gideon Toury (1942-2016). It focuses on empirically studying translations as cultural phenomena to understand their governing norms and patterns, rather than prescribing how translation should be done. Toury's work shifted translation studies from a prescriptive to a descriptive paradigm, arguing that translation is shaped by socio-cultural contexts and that systematic analysis can reveal universal or culture-specific 'laws' of translational behaviour. Toury argues that translations first and foremost occupy a position in the social and literary systems of the target culture. Their position determines the translation strategies that are employed. Toury advocated for a systematic, empirical approach, which involves a three-stage methodology:[79]

1. Situate the text within the target culture system;
2. Perform a textual analysis of the source text and the target text;
3. Analyze these comparisons to identify norms and patterns.

This thesis is grounded in Toury's framework employing his three-stage methodological approach for the analysis of the translation. The thesis's central analytical focus lies in examining the translation strategies that shape how meaning travels between languages. Through detailed textual analysis of selected cases, attending to a range of different phenomena emerging from comparing source texts (STs) and target texts (TTs) to identify norms and patterns, the study seeks to determine whether the translations are source-oriented or target-oriented; whether they privilege denotative meaning or connotative meaning; whether they prioritise adequacy or acceptability, formal correspondence or dynamic equivalence, information or expression. The analysis also considers the approaches to omission, culture-specific terms, adaptation, and so on. These questions collectively guide the investigation of English translation of Late Qing literature undertaken in this study.

Finally, the second dimension of Pym's tripartite concept, historical criticism, corresponds to my examination how translation reconfigured the image of China in the Anglophone world. Drawing on Pym's notion of historical criticism, this study explores how translation reconfigured the image of China in the Anglophone world. Pym's approach invites an examination of translation that both reflects and shapes intercultural understanding.

[79] Toury, 2012, 31-34.

Within this framework, translation is seen not merely as a way for linguistic exchange but for intercultural exchange where the image of a culture is constructed and represented. By analyzing the interpretive choices of translators, this study investigates how translated texts contributed to the formation of specific images about China, whether as a repository of ancient wisdom, or a symbol of cultural otherness. Through examining these translations within their historical, political, and intellectual contexts, the thesis reveals how the translated texts played a formative role in reshaping the Western imagination of China in the Anglophone world. The selection of texts for translation, the language used to describe Chinese civilization, the narrative structure and inclusion of intertexts and intermediality, all contribute to constructing a particular China for English-language readers. Early translation of Confucian and Taoist classical texts, for example, were often shaped by ideals of rationality and moral virtue, presenting China as an ancient, moral civilization. This process of representation demonstrates that translation is never neutral; it is an act of cultural reconfiguration.

This theoretical framework positions translation as a historical, interpretive, and transformative practice. By situating translated texts in their historical context, analyzing translators' interpretive agency, exploring translation strategies, and assessing their cultural impact, this thesis aims to uncover the dynamic interplay between language, power, and representation of the Late Qing writings. Translation history provides not only the context but also the methodological foundation for exploring these processes. It illuminates how translators negotiate between fidelity and creativity, and how translated texts participate in the ongoing construction of China's image in the Anglophone world.

As indicated previously, in order to operationalize this methodological framework, it is necessary to ground the analysis in a comprehensive and verifiable body of source material, which, due to the lack of existing studies of Late Qing writings in translation, had to be researched and compiled for the purpose of analysis from scratch. The database of English translations of Late Qing literary works which I will describe in the following section serves as the empirical foundation of this study. By systematically cataloguing translations of Late Qing literature, the database not only enables the application of the four analytical dimensions derived from Pym's framework but also makes it possible to trace broader patterns. In this way, the methodological approach and the database function in tandem: the

former provides the conceptual tools for analysis, while the latter offers the evidentiary corpus through which these tools can be meaningfully applied.

1.3 An Overview of the Database of Late Qing Literature in Translation into English

To trace the evolution of the translation of Late Qing literature, a database has been created by collecting the source texts and their translations. The database seeks to reveal: When did the translation of Late Qing literature into English begin? What are the main periods of translation activity? Who are the key authors and translators, and what are their backgrounds? What genres and themes are most frequently represented? Furthermore, the database provides a foundation for examining broader questions such as: What contextual factors have influenced these translation practices? What are the main features and approaches to translation in each period?

In the following, I will introduce the database and make an analysis of its metadata, to contribute understanding of the information, and help to explore the evolution of the history of translation. The database is made up of data drawn from a wide range of sources that include the primary sources of Late Qing literary works, their English translation, and related metadata such as author, translator, publisher, publication date, genre, etc. This information is necessary to organize and classify the dataset and provide context to help understanding the whole picture. As mentioned, the primary sources for this thesis consist of Chinese literary works produced during the Late Qing period—that is, from the outbreak of the First Opium War in 1839 to the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1912—along with their translations. The earliest translation dates from 1839, while the most recent was published in 2023. This extensive temporal coverage bridges nearly two centuries and encompasses the entire twentieth century, a period during which translation studies emerged and developed at an unprecedented pace, thus contributing to changes in the perception and status of translation both as process and product. The works in the database encompass a wide spectrum of genres, including both fiction and nonfiction, and reflect an equally diverse range of thematic concerns. They extend from reformist discourses, topics that have drawn considerable attention in contemporary scholarship, to conservative voices that likewise shaped the

intellectual landscape of the Late Qing period; from social critiques and narratives to fantastic tales, all of which reveal the era's complex historical and cultural characteristics.

As noted earlier, the data has been compiled from a wide range of sources, reflecting both traditional and digital research methods. These include library catalogues and archives (e.g. the Berlin State Library), online academic databases (e.g. JSTOR, Taylor & Francis, ProQuest), published bibliographies, and scholarly networks—once a translation was identified, additional searches were conducted to locate other works by the same translator, thereby expanding the scope of the dataset. The collection encompasses not only complete translations but also abridged versions, and retranslations. Where short excerpts have been reproduced repeatedly, this is reflected in the dataset only where there have been significant changes or retranslation. For example, in *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom* (2004) by Thomas H. Reilly most excerpts were drawn from Franz Michael's project, *The Taiping Rebellion* (vol. 1 initial published in 1966), described in more detail in my introduction. In such cases, only the original source from which the translations are taken is recorded. This also applies to single-volume translations, which are generally of literary fiction by Late Qing authors.

To date, the database contains 284 entries. These records provide valuable insights into the history of translation during the specified period (1839-2025). A closer examination of these records reveals instances of multiple translations of the same texts, as seen the Table below. By tracing these relationships further, it becomes possible to identify which original texts have undergone retranslation, when such retranslation activities took place, and which translators were involved. This information is valuable in understanding retranslation activities, providing privileged insights into changes in understanding of the source material and its context over time. Thus, while this thesis is not intended as a contribution to contemporary studies of retranslation,[80] in that it does not set out to explore and prove existing hypotheses about the tendency of early translations of a particular text tending to be less faithful and accurate than later ones, the chosen case studies often involve texts that have been multiply retranslated in order to afford insights what the different approaches and decisions of the different translators reveal about changing attitudes, expectations, publishing norms and ideologies.

[80] For instance, the research on retranslation done by Françoise Massardier-Kenney, in "Toward a Rethinking of Retranslation", 2015.

Source Text Title	Author	Title in English	Translator	Publishing Year
Zhi yangqiyi 製洋器議	Feng Guifen 馮桂芬	*On the Manufacture of Foreign Weapons*	Teng and Fairbank	1954
		On the Manufacture of Foreign Weapons	Chester C. Tan	1960
Cai Xiyue yi 采西學議	Feng Guifen 馮桂芬	*On the Adoption of Western Knowledge*	Teng and Fairbank	1954
		On the Adoption of Western Learning	Chester C. Tan	1960
		On the Adoption of Western Learning	David G. Atwill and Yurong Y. Atwill	2009
Qinxue pian 勸學篇	Zhang Zhidong 張之洞	*Exhortation to Learn*	Chester C. Tan	1960
		Exhortation to Study	Teng and Fairbank	1954
		On Education	Herbert Allen Giles	1884
Nvzi Fuchou lun 女子復仇論	He Zhen 何震 (female)	*On Women's Revenge*	Ann A. Pang-White	2022
		Women's Revenge	Peter Zarrow	1999
Baodao ge 寶刀歌	Qiu Jin 秋瑾 (female)	*Song of the Precious Sword*	Pei-kai Cheng and Michael Lestz	1999
		Song of the Precious Sword	Wilt Idema	2004
		A Poem to a Precious Sword	Chia-lin Pao Tao 鮑家麟	1999
Laocan youji 老殘遊記	Liu E 劉鶚	*The Singing Girl (Chapter 2)*	Arthur Waley	1929
		A Chinese Galli-Curci (Chapter 2)	Lin Yutang 林語堂	1935
		Tramp Doctors Travelogue (Abbreviated version)	Lin Yijin 林疑今 and Ge Deshun 葛德順	1939
		Tramp Doctors Travelogue (Chapters 1-10)	Lin Yutang 林語堂	1941
		Mr. Decadent (Abridged translation)	Yang Xianyi 杨宪益 and Gladys Yang	1947
		Mr. Derelict (Abridged translation, based on 1947 version, only title has been changed)		1948
		Mr. Decadent: Notes Taken in an Outing (Abridged translation)		1961
		The Travels of Lao Can (Abridged translation)		1983
		The Travels of Lao Ts'an (Full translation)	Harold Shadick	1952
		The Travels of Lao Can (Full translation)	Geng Zhi 耿智 and Xiao Liming 萧立明	2017
Laocan youji xuji 老殘遊記续集	Liu E 劉鶚	*A Nun of Taishan (Chapters 1-6)*	Lin Yutang 林語堂	1936
		Widow, nun and Courtesan: Three Noveletts from The Chinese (Revised edition based on the 1936 version)		1951, 1971
Xinmin shuo		*Excerpts from Xin minshuo (The Renovation of the People)*	Teng and Fairbank	1954

新民說	Liang Qichao 梁啟超	*A People Made New: Excerpts from Xinmin shuo (Renewing the people,The Meaning of "Renewing the people",On Public Morality, On Progress)*	Chester C.Tan	1960
		Excerpts from Xin minshuo	Peter Zarrow	1999, 2023
		Abridged On Rights Consciousness	Stephen C. Angle and Marina Svensson	2001
Yu Yingguo guowang shu 谕英国国王书	Lin Zexu 林則徐	*Letter to the English Ruler*	Yuan Dehui 袁德輝, et al.	1839
		Lin Tsu-hsu 's Moral Advice to Queen Victoria	Teng and Fairbank	1954
		Letter to the English Ruler (Revision based on Teng and Fairbank's version)	Chester C.Tan	1960

Table 2. Retranslations in the dataset.

On Authors

The database includes 74 authors, most of whom were members of the intellectual elite or government officials. These highly educated individuals, known as scholar-officials, constituted a distinct social class that dominated both the administrative and intellectual spheres of Late Qing China. Within this group, many were recognized as politicians, diplomats, reformers, and their political influence and status inevitably gave rise to pride and bias from time to time. Those of them who passed the Imperial Examination, and thus achieved political status, would regard themselves as defenders of national cultural heritage, or orthodox Confucian culture, and were ranked at first place both at court and in society. Mostly standing at the side of conservatives, they often accused the more reform-minded officials of "treachery".[81] In fact, some of the scholar-officials who dealt with foreign affairs did not come through the imperial examination, which caused them to be the second class in bureaucratic rankings.[82] The fact that the status of these diplomats was not as high as today's, meant they often "found it necessary to adopt a protective shield for their positive evaluation of Western culture, the most popular being the claim that Western practices were the same as those observed in China's venerable past".[83] Nevertheless, there still existed eminent diplomats, for example, Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾 (1818-1891) who served as the first Minister to Britain and France from 1877 through 1879, and directly challenged the conservative

[81] Hung, 2000, vi.
[82] Ibid., vi.
[83] Ibid., vii.

mainstream to accuse them of "prejudice and blind spots". His work, "On the Futility of a War Policy" (*Zhanzheng zhengce de tulao* 戰爭政策的徒勞), translated and collected in the *China's Response to the West* attempted to advocate a positive foreign policy of moderate and peace.

Apart from these scholar-officials, some authors found in the database were far from the government, as educators, journalists, poets, critics, philosophers, or entrepreneurs. Most of these began to emerge after the 1880s, when there was gradual change in people's mindset and ideology, especially after the Westernization or Self-Strengthening Movement (c. 1861-1895). Among these, we find Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-1897), regarded as the 'Father of the Chinese Newspaper'; Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應 (1842-1922/1923), an entrepreneur in favour of economic nationalism; and Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1865-1898), a famous member of Hundred Days' Reform (1898). The latter's execution symbolized the political failure of the Qing dynasty's (1636/1644-1912) reformation, helping to persuade the intellectual class to pursue violent revolution and overthrow the Qing Dynasty.[84] Statistically, the most represented authors in the database have been listed below:

Author	Profile	Number of works included
Liang Qichao 梁啟超	Political thinker, politician, educator, historian, and writer	30
Liu E 劉鶚	Writer, archaeologist and politician.	13
Wei Yuan 魏源	Political thinker, politician, writer	11
Zeng Guofan 曾國藩	Politician, strategist, neo-confucianist, scholar	9
Kang Youwei 康有爲	Politian, political thinker, educator, representative of bourgeois reformism	7
Li Hongzhang 李鴻章	Politician, strategist, diplomatist	7
Lin Zexu 林則徐	Politician, political thinker, writer	7
Zhang Zhidong 張之洞	Politician, scholar	7
Feng Guifen 馮桂芬	Political thinker, writer	6
Qiu Jin 秋瑾 (female)	A revolutionary, feminist, and writer	6
Xue Fucheng 薛福成	Political thinker, diplomat, reformist	6

Table 3. List of authors, listed according to the number of their texts that have been translated.

[84] Wright, 1994, 551-575.

The quantitative distribution of translated works indicates that Liang Qichao 梁啟超(1873-1929) is a particularly favoured figure among the compilers and translators. As a prominent intellectual and political reformer of the Late Qing and early Republican periods, Liang's extensive writings, rich political experience, and reformist thought have long attracted the attention of both Chinese and international scholars. Consequently, his works have been translated into multiple languages and widely disseminated across the world. Within the dataset, at least ten volumes include translation of Liang's writings, underscoring his enduring global influence.

From the mid-twentieth century to recent years, Liang's works have been compiled continuously, as will be explored in more depth in Chapter Three. Most recently, Peter Zarrow's *Liang Qichao: Thoughts from the Ice-Drinker's Studio* (2023) stands out as a monograph dedicated to a systematic study of Liang's thought and writings. Building upon the research of earlier scholars, Zarrow adopts a comprehensive and supplementary approach, offering an extensive selection of translated texts that illuminate Liang's political and intellectual ideas. A small portion of Zarrow's translations overlap with those of Ssu-yu Teng and Chester Tan from the 1950s and 1960s,[85] for instance, the first sections of "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 (A People Made New, or Renewing the People, 1902-1905), forming cases of retranslation. A close comparative analysis of these retranslations will be presented in Chapter Three, examining how variations in translation reflect shifting interpretive frameworks.

In addition to Liang Qichao, the study will also devote attention to three other influential authors: Feng Guifen 馮桂芬 and his memorials (Chapter Two), Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 and his political essays (Chapter Three), and Liu E 劉鶚 and his narrative (Chapter Four). Together, these case studies provide a multidimensional perspective on the translation and reinterpretation of Late Qing intellectual transformation.

[85] Retranslated sections include: Chapter One of the original text "Xulun" 敘論 (Preface), Chapter Two of the original text "Lun xinmin wei jinri Zhongguo diyi yaowu" 論新民為今日中國第一急務 (Renewing the People is China's Most Urgent Task Today), which is omitted by Tan; Chapter Three of the original text "Shi xinmin zhi yi"釋新民之義 (The Definition of the New Citizen); and Chapter Five of the original text "Lun gongde" 論公德 (Public Morality), which is omitted by Teng. See the translated texts in: Teng and Fairkank, 1954, 220-223; de Bary, 1960, 93-95; Zarrow, 2003, 35-45.

On Genres

As mentioned above, the genres uncovered in the database are mainly fictional and nonfictional prose. Only a small portion relates to poetry. The following table and diagram have been created to provide a clearer view of the genre distribution:

Sub-genre	Count
Biography	1
Dialogue (Interview)	5
Diary	3
Fiction	22
Historical Document	36
Letter	26
Narrative essay	50
News report	1
Official memorial	45
Poem	6
Political essay	60
Preface	6
Travelogue	23
Grand Total	**284**

Table 4. Number of translated texts (including retranslations) in different genres.

The genres ‘political essay’, ‘narrative essay’, ‘official memorials’, and ‘historical documents’, that is, texts about politics and history,-exceed other subgenres in number, a phenomenon that can be partly attributed to editors and translators’ particular interest in political materials concerning China’s responses to Western imperialism and colonialism. It is also partly due to the fact that many translations were made by historians inclined to recontextualize historical events through the reinterpretation of archival documents.

In terms of subgenre classification, when primary sources display a stronger inclination toward narration or reflection on personal and moral perspectives, they are categorized as narrative essays, for instance, “Xi lian” 析廉 (Analysis on Honest Office Service) by Lin Shu 林紓 (1852-1924). However, in some cases, the boundaries between political and narrative essays blur, for instance, “Quanxue pian” 勸學篇 (Exhortation to Learn, 1898) by Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909) combines both elements: it advocates

for the practical application of Western knowledge to meet China's material needs, while maintaining Confucianism as the moral and spiritual foundation of society. The essay also calls for the establishment of a modern educational system and the translation of Western works. Owing to its focus on national reform and modernization, it is categorized here as a political essay.

The term 'historical document' in this context refers to official records or proclamations without a clearly identifiable individual author. Such documents were typically drafted by government officials or local authorities and are characterized by their formal, institutional tone and authoritative style. These texts served to record political events, administrative decisions, or state decrees in an official way. Examples include the "Proclamations of the Boxers" (*Yihetuan xuanyan* 義和團的宣言), and "The Treaty of Nanjing" (*Tianjin tiaoyue* 天津條約). The genre 'Official memorial', on the other hand, refers to a type of document addressed to the throne or to higher administrative bodies, usually written by a specific individual, reporting on local conditions, or presenting personal opinions on matters of governance. Unlike anonymous state proclamations, official memorials are explicitly attributed to their authors, whose names were recorded as part of the text. These memorials not only reveal the bureaucratic mechanisms of the Qing administration but also provide valuable insights into personal perspectives.

Overall, documents that reveal the historical trajectory of China constitute the majority of the dataset. Consequently, the interpretation of modern Chinese history may be seen to go hand in hand with the interpretation of the translated texts—each text serving not only as a literary artifact but also as a lens through which the intellectual and ideological evolution of modern China can be discerned. This imbrication will be explored in more depth in the analysis of specific cases in subsequent chapters.

On Themes

My data collection on Late Qing literature and its English translations reveals several interrelated themes, such as cultural encounter, ideological debate, and the negotiation between tradition and modernity. Most of them evolve in close parallel with major historical turning points.

For instance, in the decades surrounding the First Opium War (1839-1842), many texts focused on improving governance and expressing hostility toward foreign powers, as seen in essays such as "On Governance" (*Zhili* 治理) by Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1857); and the "Cantonese Denunciation" (*Guangdong qianze xiwen* 廣東譴責檄文) of the British written in 1841. These works reflect a lingering confidence among scholar-officials and the wider populace that the Qing state could still defend the nation and restore its strength. Following the Second Opium War (1856-1860) and the signing of multiple 'unequal treaties', literary and translated texts increasingly turned toward Western learning, technology, and industrial development, mirroring the rise of the Self-Strengthening Movement (c. 1861-1895). Reform-oriented writings such as Feng Guifen's 馮桂芬 (1809-1874) "Cai Xixue yi" 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge, 1884) exemplify efforts to reconcile Confucian values with selective borrowing from the West. As Self-Strengthening initiatives lost momentum in the late nineteenth century, literary production and translation increasingly reflected a plurality of voices, particularly those of reformers and conservatives. These texts document an intense debate over China's national direction and strategies for development, in which conservative voice, for instance, the Mongol official Woren 倭仁 (1804–1871) in his essay "Objection to Western Learning" (*Fandui xixue* 反對西學), openly challenged reformist agendas and resisted the growing advocacy for Western knowledge and institutional change. The theme of negotiation between tradition and modernity is particularly evident in Late Qing writings that reinterpreted Confucianism in response to the pressures of reform. On the conservative end, Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (1864-1927) in "The Superiority of China and Confucianism" (*Zhongguo yu Ruxue zhi youyuexing* 中國與儒學之優越性) reaffirmed the cultural and moral primacy of Confucian values, arguing that China's strength lay in the preservation of its classical tradition rather than in the wholesale adoption of Western ideas. In contrast, Kang Youwei's 康有爲 (1858-1927) "Confucius as a Reformer" (*Kongzi gaizhikao* 孔子改製考) radically re-envisioned Confucius not as a symbol of static orthodoxy but as an agent of change, thereby reframing Confucianism as a flexible intellectual resource compatible with institutional and social reform. Both texts reveal that the encounter between tradition and modernity was not a simple opposition between old and

new; rather, it involved competing reinterpretations of the same cultural canon, through which Late Qing intellectuals sought to legitimize divergent paths toward national renewal.[86]

Together, these examples show how Late Qing literature and translation functioned as a discursive space in which competing visions of China's future were articulated, contested, and reframed through encounters with foreign ideas. Therefore, the database serves to excavate and reconstruct historical narratives by systematically aggregating, organizing, and cross-referencing dispersed primary materials that are otherwise fragmented across archives and texts. In this way, the database does not merely store information but actively facilitates historical interpretation by transforming scattered evidence into a coherent, analyzable narrative framework.

On Translators

There are currently 82 translators listed in the database. A considerable number of them have teaching experience at universities, suggesting that many of the translated texts may have been produced for academic or educational purposes. This assumption is partly supported by the editors' notes in several volumes. *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (1960), for example, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, was originally designed for the Oriental Studies Program at Columbia University in the 1960s. David Atwill and Yurong Atwill, editors of *Sources in Chinese History* (2009), write in their preface, "This volume includes a variety of sources, [...] that make this book the perfect introductory aid for students of Chinese history, politics, and culture, as well as Chinese studies".[87]

Identifying translators is sometimes a challenge. Many of the collective volumes were compiled by historians or other scholars who were primarily concerned with the historical content rather than the translation process itself. Consequently, the identity of the translator is often omitted or ambiguously recorded. For instance, the volume *China's Response to the West* does not explicitly credit the translator or translators. As will be discussed in Chapter

[86] In this thesis, the term intellectuals is used to refer to educated elites, such as scholars, translators, reformers, diplomats, and writers. They introduced, translated, and debated modern political concepts, reshaped political language and participated in what Lydia H. Liu describes as the "world-making" process that constituted modern China. In this sense, intellectuals in the dissertation are best understood as agents of knowledge production and cultural mediation.

[87] Atwill, David and Atwill, Yurong, 2021, xix.

Two, through consultation of John K. Fairbank's personal inventory preserved in the Harvard University Archives, I was able to determine that the translation was undertaken by Ssu-yu Teng and later proofread by Fairbank. In other cases, although information about translation is provided, it remains too vague to identify the exact translator. An example can be found in *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, where the editors note that they "were obliged to unearth and translate many documents that had become available only in recent years. Accordingly, more than one-third of the documents in this volume are new translations."[88] However, no specific translator is noted for individual documents. In such circumstances, and in the absence of further archival evidence, the translations are attributed collectively to the editors themselves. The difficulty of identifying translators in historical documentary collections also reveals the broader issue of the 'invisibility' of the translator, as Lawrence Venuti noted in his work *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995). The effort of the translator seems to be erased and subsumed to the editors. It also suggests that the translation activity is marginalized in the process of the production of knowledge.

> The translator's invisibility is thus a weird self-annihilation, a way of conceiving and practicing translation that undoubtedly reinforces its marginal status in British and American cultures.[89]

Another trend revealed by the translators' profiles are their identities—historians make up a high proportion. This indicates that translation activities in modern times were not limited to professional translators, but were also undertaken by scholars from the humanities, particularly those engaged in historical research. Such phenomena reflect the close connection between translation and academic inquiry, revealing how humanistic scholars often shape the interpretation and presentation of source materials in translated works. This table lists the main translators gathered in the materials for the database, although it is important to note that some of the translations were produced collaboratively with other individuals.

Translator	Profile	Number of the Contributions

[88] Cheng and Lestz, 1999, xv.
[89] Venuti, 2017, 7.

Ssu-yu Teng 鄧嗣禹	Sinologist, bibliographer, and professor of history at Indiana University; student of John Fairbank at Harvard in the 1930s; published multiple volumes and articles with Fairbank.	58
Pei-kai Cheng 鄭培凱	John Fairbank post-doctoral fellow at Harvard University in 1981; taught at State University of New York, Yale University and Pace University in New York	25
Michael Lestz	Professor of History, and then Emeritus, at Trinity College (Connecticut)	25
Peter Zarrow	Professor of History at the University of Connecticut	20
Patricia Ebrey	Historian and Sinologist; Professor Emerita of History at the University of Washington	15
Chester C.Tan 譚春霖	Historian; Professor at New York University	14
R. David Arkush	Professor Emeritus of History at University of Iowa; studied under Fairbank at Harvard	11
Leo O. Lee 李歐梵	Commentator and writer; professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Princeton University, Indiana University, University of Chicago, University of California, Los Angeles, Harvard University, and National Taiwan Normal University	11
Franz Michael	German-born American scholar of China, taught at University of Washington and at The George Washington University	7
Kuang-ching Liu 劉廣京	Chinese-born American historian of China; taught at the University of California-Davis	7

Table 5. List of most prominent translators, listed according to number of translations

Ssu-yu Teng is listed at the top of the table with a significantly higher number of translated contributions than other translators. His contributions are mainly from two volumes: *China's Response to the West* (1954) with John Fairbank, and *The Political History of China* (1956) with Li Chien-Nung and Jeremy Ingalls. Archival research indicates that within the Teng-Fairbank collaboration, the majority of the translations in *China's Response to the West* were completed by Teng, while Fairbank himself primarily contributed through proofreading, editing, and refining Teng's translated texts to fit the volume's broader narrative and stylistic framework.[90] Both volumes, *China's Response to the West* and *The Political History of China*, published in the 1950s, have been reprinted and revised multiple times, serving as foundational sourcebooks for subsequent studies on modern Chinese history, such as *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (1960), *Changing China: Readings in the History of China from the Opium War to the Present* (1977), and the *Sources in Chinese History* (2009), in which Teng's texts are also often reproduced or adapted. Their influence extended beyond their immediate academic context, shaping the framework for later English-language scholarship

[90] See archive materials in Appendix 8 for more information.

on China's encounter with the modern world. Consequently, Teng occupies a prominent position in the database and will be studied in Chapter Two with Fairbank and their volume *China's Response to the West.*

Additionally, the dataset reveals another distinctive feature—the importance of collaborative translation. 13 collaborative translation teams have been uncovered. They are:

- Lin Yijin 林疑今 and Ge Deshun 葛德順: *Tramp Doctors Travelogue*, 1939;
- Yang Hsien-yi 杨宪益 and Gladys B. Taylor (Gladys Yang): *Mr. Derelict*, 1948;
- Ssu-yu Teng 鄧嗣禹 and John Fairbank: *China's Response to the West*, 1954;
- Rafe de Crespigny and Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁: *Renditions* (Vol. 17 & 18), 1982;
- Yang Qinghua 杨清华[91] and Don J. Cohn: *Renditions* (Vol. 29 & 30), 1988;
- R. David Arkush and Leo O. Lee 李歐梵: *Land Without Ghosts,*1989;
- Pei-kai Cheng 鄭培凱 and Michael Lestz: *The Search for Modern China,*1999;
- Janet Ng, Earl Tai and Jesse Dudley: *Renditions* (Vol. 53 & 54), 2000;
- Anna Di Toro and D. E. Pollard: *Renditions* (Vol. 53 & 54), 2000;
- Stephen C. Angle and Marina Svensson: *The Chinese Human Rights Reader*, 2001;
- David Atwill and Yurong Atwill 杨玉蓉: *Sources in Chinese History*, 2009;
- Geng Zhi 耿智 and Xiao Liming 萧立明: *The Travels of Lao Can*, 2017;
- Zhaoyuan Wan 萬肇淵 and Patrick Swire: *Renditions* (Vol. 93), 2020.

The collaborative approach allows translators to share linguistic expertise and cultural insights. The team members can negotiate meaning and nuance more effectively, leading to richer and more contextual translation. Sequentially, the translated texts may demonstrate the negotiated interpretations between the team members. So, translation becomes a co-created text rather than the sole interpretation of one individual. It is notable that most teams include at least one translator who is Chinese or of Chinese heritage. The team members' shared linguistic and cultural backgrounds to enhance the fidelity and cultural interpretation of the translated texts. At the same time, the teamwork may influence the selections of the texts, bridging the Chinese scholarships and international ones.

[91] Chinese characters need further investigation.

In addition, it is essential to highlight the significant presence of John Fairbank and his scholarly network in the field of modern Chinese history within the database. As indicated in Table 5, Ssu-yu Teng 鄧嗣禹(1906-1988), Pei-kai Cheng 鄭培凱 (date of birth unknown), R. David Arkush (1940-2018), and Kuang-ching Liu 劉廣京 (1921–2006) each studied under Fairbank at Harvard during different periods. This network illustrates how key academic circles have profoundly shaped the development of modern Chinese historical studies. The works of Fairbank's students and their students—Jonathan Spence's *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection* (first edition 1999, second edition 1999, third edition 2013),[92] and R. David Arkush's *Land Without Ghosts* (1989)—share similar methodologies with Fairbank's volume *China's Response to the West* (1954), including the provision of readings of primary sources, contextual interpretation, and a collaborative approach to research. Fairbank's mentorship fostered a generation of bilingual scholars dedicated to the study of Chinese intellectual and cultural history. Based on this, Chapter Two will closely examine the foundational sourcebook *China's Response to the West* and its compilers and translators, John Fairbank and Ssu-yu Teng.

A group of translators and scholars in the dataset share similar life trajectories. They were born and educated in China before pursuing higher degrees in the United States. Many of them remained in America, taking up university positions and conducting research in the field of Chinese studies. Early representative figures of this group include Ssu-yu Teng 鄧嗣禹(1906-1988), Chester C. Tan 譚春霖 (date of birth unknown), and Kuang-ching Liu 劉廣京 (1921-2006). This group played a significant role in reinterpreting and reshaping modern Chinese intellectual history in the Anglophone world, making a study of their experiences and works essential. As an example, Kuang-ching Liu, a China-born American historian of China, taught at the University of California, Davis, from 1963 until his retirement. He left China for the United States during the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and earned his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1956.[93] He came from a distinguished cultural and scholarly family. His grandfather was a noted scholar and imperial tutor.[94] Liu received his early education at a school operated by Methodist missionaries, which likely laid the

[92] Jonathan Spence's Ph.D. advisor was Mary C. Wright, one of Fairbank's students.
[93] For further information, see the webpage of the History Department of University of California, Davis.
[94] Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (1831-1900) received 'jiuren' degree in 1851.

foundation for his later academic pursuits in the United States.[95] As a representative of this group, Liu and his family belonged to the intellectual elite. Although he was educated in a foreign institution, he spent his formative years in a traditional Chinese society and was surely influenced by Confucian moral values and conventions. Consequently, tensions between Confucian thought and Western critical thinking may inevitably be reflected in his works, offering multiple perspectives in historical interpretation. Building upon this discussion, Chapter Three will turn to explore how a scholar from the group interpreted Late Qing intellectual history through the selection of texts and approaches to translation.

In addition to the translators mentioned above, the dataset also includes earlier Sinologists, such as Herbert Giles and Arthur Waley, and more recent scholars like Eva Hung 孔慧怡 and Peter Zarrow. Some of these figures will be introduced in greater detail in the following chapters.

Diachronic Trends in the History of Translation of Late Qing Literature

In order to examine the number of published translations each year, and subsequently to identify overall trends in translation activity, a chronological chart has been created, covering the period from the first recorded translation in 1839 up to 2023. All data has been drawn from the compiled dataset. The subsequent table provides more detailed information on the main volumes that made significant contributions in the period.

[95] See more information on the webpage of the History Department UC Davis.

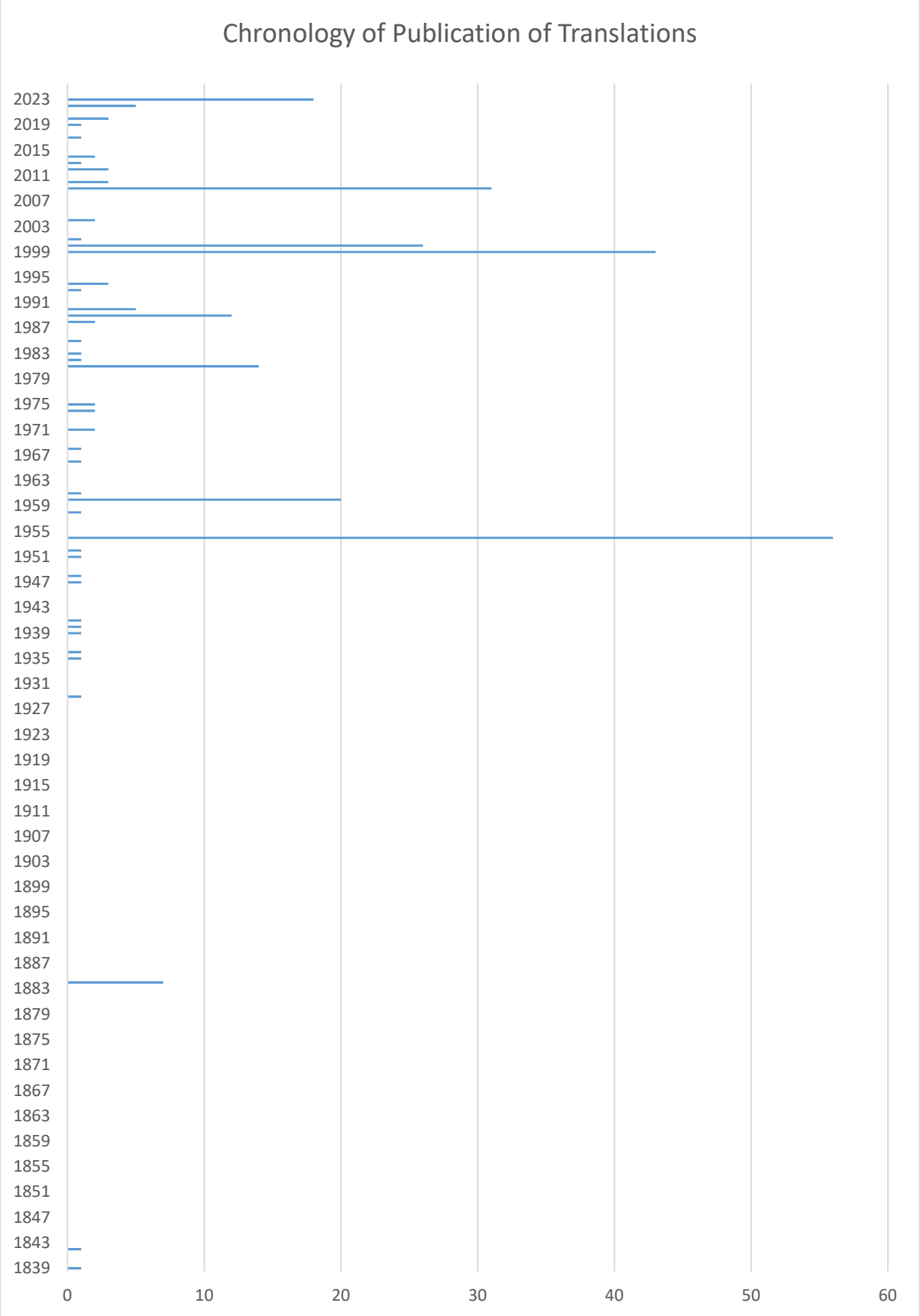


Table 6. List of translations published 1839-2023.

Year	No. Of Trans.	Volume	Editor(s)	Publisher	Note
1954	56	*China's Response to the West*	Ssu-yu Teng 鄧嗣禹 and Fairbank	Harvard University Press	Revised in 1979
1960	20	*Sources of Chinese Tradition*	Wm. Theodore de Bary etc.	Columbia University Press	Reprint in 1966, revised in 1999, 2000
1981	14	*Chinese Civilization and Society*	Patricia Ebrey	New York: MacMillan & Co.	Revised in 1993
1989	12	*Land Without Ghosts*	R. David Arkush and Leo O. Lee	University of California Press	Revised in 1993
1999	23	*The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection.*	Chen, Janet Y.陳雁, Pei-kai Cheng 鄭佩凱, Michael Elliot Lestz, and Jonathan D. Spence	New York Norton	Revised in 2014
	19	*Sources of Chinese Tradition* Vol.2, 1999 re-edition	Wm. Theodore de Bary etc.	Columbia University Press	Revised in 1999, 2000, adding 19 additional texts to the previous 20
2000	26	Chinese Impressions of the West, *Renditions* (Vols.53 & 54)	Eva Hung 孔慧怡	Research Centre for Translation of the Chinese University of Hong Kong	
2009	21	*Sources in Chinese History*	David Atwill and Yurong Atwill 杨玉蓉	Pearson	Revised in 2021
2023	16	*Liang Qichao Thoughts from The Ice-Drinker's Studio*	Peter Zarrow	Penguin Classics	

Table 7. List of the main translation projects with publishing information.

Table 6 illustrates the chronology of publication of translations from 1839 to 2023, while Table 7 provides publishing information for the major translation activities, clarifying the specific contributions that account for the evolution. Through Table 6, it is evident that there are two major peaks in the publication of translated works. The first occurred during the early years of the Cold War, in the 1950s and 1960s; the second took place around the turn of the twenty-first century. The year 1954 marked the highest number of the published, which attribute to the release of *China's Response to the West* by Teng and Fairbank (see Table 7). As mentioned earlier, this volume laid a foundational framework for subsequent scholarship through its methodologies of historiography—extensive use of primary sources, critical analysis of historical documents and synthesis of evidence to interpret the history, along with

collaborative research, which many later works drew upon it. For this reason, Chapter Two will be devoted to a detailed examination of this seminal volume.

The second significant surge in translation activity emerged from the 1990s to the early 2000s. With the rise of globalization and the accompanying increase in academic and cultural exchanges, this period witnessed a remarkable expansion and diversification of translation projects. Notably, three major volumes were published in 1999 and 2000 (see Table 7). Among them, *Sources of Chinese Tradition* Volume 2, edited by de Bary and Richard Lufrano, underwent substantial revision and expansion in 1999 on the base of its original 1960 edition. Although these two editions appeared in vastly different historical contexts, their comparison reveals the evolving scholarly perspectives and interpretive frameworks that shaped the understanding of modern Chinese history. Accordingly, Chapter Three will analyze both the original and revised editions to explore how changing political climates and editorial decisions influenced the (re)interpretation of the history through translation activities.

The double special issue of the Hong Kong based journal *Renditions* in 2000 dedicated to Late Qing literature also contributed to the peak in translations at the turn of the millennium. Not only does it provide an opportunity to reflect on changing approaches and readings since the Teng and Fairbank project of the 1950s, but also to trace the representation of Late Qing literature in a journal that spanned fifty years of history. This means that even though my chapters focus on distinct case studies, they together span a much longer period. As will be seen, the Teng and Fairbank project is rooted in work that commenced in the 1940s, and continued to influence scholarly understanding for decades after its publication; likewise *Sources of Chinese Tradition* spans four decades of translation activity, enabling comparison and contrasts between contributors from different traditions; and *Renditions* brings together multiple contributions over five decades of publication.

A more recent example of translation efforts is Peter Zarrow's *Liang Qichao: Thoughts from the Ice-Drinker's Studio* (2023) (see Table 7). This volume represents an important contribution to the field for two main reasons. First, it offers the most comprehensive collection of Liang Qichao's translated works to date, reflecting the growing diversification and nuance of the development on modern Chinese intellectual history studies. Second, it exemplifies the dynamics of retranslation: earlier works, such as those by Teng and

de Bary, had already included excerpted translation of Liang Qichao's influential work "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 (1902-1905). Zarrow's retranslation thus provides an opportunity to examine how different historical contexts and translators' motivations/interventions shape the interpretation of the same texts over time.

In conclusion, the dataset reveals the evolving history of translation by framing it as a socially and culturally situated practice rather than a neutral act of linguistic transfer. It serves as a valuable resource for studying translation activities and their historical contexts. "Quantitative methods cannot in themselves write good history. But they can help us head in the right direction."[96]

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has laid the conceptual and methodological groundwork for a multi-dimensional exploration of the English translation of Late Qing literature. By situating the thesis within existing scholarship on Chinese-English translation history, it has revealed a persistent imbalance in the field: while the role of foreign translators and linguistic mediators has been well documented, the trajectories, selections, and receptions of Late Qing literary texts themselves have received far less sustained attention. Addressing this gap has required a reconstructive effort, grounded in the compilation of a purpose-built database that functions both as a reference corpus and as a historiographical intervention shaped by shifting understandings of the Late Qing period.

The database reflects how perceptions of Late Qing literature, long viewed primarily through a historiographical or informational lens, have influenced translation practices, including the privileging of certain genres, authors, and textual functions. At the same time, it enables a broader view of translation activity over time, revealing patterns of selection, agency, retranslation, and institutional involvement that cannot be captured through isolated case studies alone. As argued in this chapter, such patterns only become fully meaningful when read against wider historical dynamics, including ideological and poetic shifts in the target culture and the evolving political and cultural relations between China and the West.

[96] Pym, 1996, 14.

Methodologically, the chapter commits to translation history as an overarching framework, informed by Descriptive Translation Studies while remaining open to methodological plurality. Rather than imposing a single analytical model, the combination of a macro-historical perspective with a flexible, multidimensional approach to microtextual analysis allows the study to respond to a variety of materials. This methodological openness is a necessary condition for capturing the complexity of Late Qing literature in translation. It is on this basis that the following chapters proceed, using historically grounded case studies to explore how literary, ideological, and translational factors intersect and shape the image of Late Qing in Anglophone world.

Chapter Two: Shaping Perceptions of China in the Anglo-American Academy: Translating Late Qing Literature in the 1950s

This chapter explores the history of translation of Late Qing Chinese literature in the Anglophone world, focusing specifically on the 1950s, in which one of the most important translation activities took place in U.S. academic circles. This era stands out as a special and complex time, marked by rising McCarthyism in the U.S., and the Cold War, which provide valuable context for understanding how these translations were influenced and shaped by political and ideological factors. By delving into an influential volume, *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey 1839-1923,* edited by Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank (Harvard University Press, 1954), this chapter will be able to, on the one hand, interrogate and further scrutinize the approach to the translation of Chinese linguistic and cultural information, and on the other hand, provide a window onto how different literary, cultural, and political ideologies impact the process of cultural exchange via translation. The volume contributed 57 translated texts to my dataset, accounting for roughly 20% of the total. This represents both a strong indication of the growing interest among American academics during this period in modern China and in the way in which nineteenth-century developments influenced current geo-political relations, and the important role played by this volume in shaping subsequent understandings of the Late Qing period. The following section situates the volume within its broader historical context and offers a detailed examination of the work itself.

In early plans for this thesis, based on the data emerging from my database, I had originally planned to analyse *China's Response to the West* in conjunction with the modern content of *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, as together they contributed a third of the entries to my database (in terms of authors and texts) and pointed to the 1950s and 1960s as being key decades in the translation, reception and reevaluation of Late Qing literature. However, the richness of detail I uncovered from archival research on the Teng and Fairbank volume meant that I eventually decided to split coverage into two chapters. This decision was also supported by the fact that the texts derived from the *Sources of Chinese Tradition* project actually span a much longer period, due to the publication of a substantially revised edition in the late

1990s. As I will show in Chapter Three, these changes enable us to perceive shifts in understanding of Late Qing writings over the course of the twentieth century.

However, as indicated in my Introduction, it is important to draw attention to the fact that my analysis of these works developed comparatively and relationally, and traces of this remain in the structure of Chapters Two and Three especially. For instance, my choice of texts for micro-analysis attended to differences and continuities between the successive translation projects, in order to show how changes in the choice of texts revealed changing attitudes, but also how differences in translation choices relating to the same source text provided insights into ideological and poetic shifts. To put this more simply, my understanding of the specific translational contribution of each volume depended not only on close analysis of the particular context in which it was produced and the different agents involved, but also on comparing it with other approaches to the same material—via translation choices, retranslations, and re-readings diachronically and synchronically. Thus, while this chapter now focuses primarily on *China's Response to the West*, it contains significant reference to *Sources*, both reflecting the original plan for the thesis and providing deeper insights into the relations between both volumes.

2.1 Shaping Knowledge in an Age of Suspicion: McCarthyism, the Cold War, and the Making of the Volume

China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey 1839-1923, edited by Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank, was first published in 1954 by Harvard University Press, with further editions coming out in 1961, 1979, and 1994 with the same publisher. Both the immediate reception of the texts in a number of different fields and its subsequent republication in editions right up to the 1990s provide a glimpse of its importance and continuing influence in Anglo-American Chinese Studies up to the last decade of the twentieth century.[97] The volume compiles translated Chinese documents that reflect how China responded to Western influence from the time of the First Opium War to early Republican times. The act of

[97] See for instance, reviews by Wang, Yi-t'ung, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1955; Earl H Pritchard, *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 1955; Chuan Han-Sheng, *The Journal of Economic History*, 1956; Foster Rhea Dulles, *The American Historical Review*, 1955; George E.Taylor, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1955.

translating these documents into English during the Cold War makes them privileged sites for exploring the way in which historical narratives about China were shaped for international audiences in this period, as well as providing insights into the way in which historiography is inflected by ideology. This section will explore how translation served as a medium for ideological framing—either reinforcing Cold War perspectives on China or shaping historiographical discourse. First, however, it is important to delve further into the historical contexts in which the volume was translated, undertaking paratextual and macro-analysis of the volume, followed by close linguistic analysis of sample texts.

Historical Context

The decade of the 1950s was characterized by intense ideological rivalry between the United States and its NATO allies on one side, and the Soviet Union and its allies in the Warsaw Pact on the other. The U.S. emerged from World War II as a dominant global power, leveraging its economic, military, ideological, and diplomatic strengths to shape the post-war international order, particularly democracy and capitalism, and exert significant influence worldwide. During this period, the U.S. government maintained a complex and dynamic foreign policy towards China (the People's Republic of China, PRC), which can be broadly categorized into three periods: the early years of non-recognition and containment; the rapprochement in the 1970s; and the shift towards normalization at the end of the 1970s. Key events include the Korean War from 1950 to 1953, President Nixon's historic visit to China, and the establishment of full diplomatic relations in 1978.

Timeline	Main Historical Events Between U.S. and China	Details
1950-1953	Korean War	1. The U.S. and China engaged in combat in Korea, 2. The Seventh Fleet was sent into the Taiwan Straits, 3. The U.S. citizens pull out of China, 4. McCarthyism rising in the U.S., a debate began over who had 'lost China', and many intellectuals, journalists, and others with connections to China came under suspicion and even attack.
1951	General MacArthur Recalled	General MacArthur was recalled from command in Korea, as he called for launching an assault into Chinese territory.
1954	The Geneva Conference	Secretary of State John Foster Dulles refused to shake hands with PRC delegate Premier Zhou Enlai.

1954	Ambassadorial Talks Began	Bilateral Ambassadors in Geneva began a long-standing tradition of holding occasional, highly formalized talks, which were the only direct official connections between the two countries in the 1950s and 60s.
1956	Beginnings of the Sino-Soviet Split	Mao condemned Khrushchev who denounced Stalin.
1957	U.S. Students Visited PRC	A group of 41 U.S. students travelled to Beijing and other cities in China. This trip was made against the wishes of the U.S. government, which seized their passports upon their return to the U. S..
1960	Eisenhower Visited Taiwan	President Dwight Eisenhower visited Taiwan, the first U.S. president to pay an official visit to Taiwan.
1960-61	The Sino-Soviet Split	The USSR recalled its last scientific and technical advisors from the PRC and cut off all assistance.
1963	Kennedy Administration Considered Opening Ties with PRC	The U.S. wished to improve relations with the PRC, amidst a reevaluation of China.
1964	The Vietnam War	The PRC sent military to the North Vietnamese, while there was a large and growing U.S. presence in South Vietnam.
1965	The U.S. Halted Aid to Taiwan	The U.S. Government halted economic assistance to Taiwan in recognition of the growth and stability of its economy.
1969	Conflict on the China-Soviet Border	The PRC and USSR broke into localized armed conflict, heightening tensions, which prompted the Nixon Administration to improve relations with the PRC to isolate and pressure the Soviet Union.
1969	Nixon Doctrine Announced	President Nixon proclaimed his intentions to reduce U.S. military engagements in Asia and to reconsider the current policy of constraint for the PRC.
1970	Ambassadorial Talks Restarted	The U.S. and Chinese Ambassadors began meeting in Warsaw.
1971	Ping-Pong Diplomacy	The U.S. table tennis team arrived in China, the first semi-official delegation of Americans there in two decades, and soon thereafter the U.S. eased trade and travel restrictions with China. The Chinese ping-pong team came to the U.S. in 1972.
1971	Kissinger's Visits to China	National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger made a trip to the PRC to pave the way for a visit by President Nixon.
1971	PRC Joined the United Nations	PRC replaced the Republic of China (Taiwan) in the UN
1972	Nixon’s Visit to China and the Shanghai Communique	This began the process of full normalization of relations between the U.S. and the PRC.
1975	Ford’s Visit to China	No progress was made on normalization.
1978	Agreement Reached on Normalization	A joint communique was issued by the two governments to establish full diplomatic relations.

Table 8. Information on U.S. foreign policy towards China during the 1950s-1970s.[98]

[98] For further information, see the U.S. Department of State Archive.

Throughout the 1950s, McCarthyism surged in the United States, severely restricting freedom of expression regarding China. Many intellectuals, journalists, and officials with ties to China faced suspicion and even persecution, John K. Fairbank included. His career was damaged by the accusations of being a member of the Communist Party by the Internal Security Subcommittee, which was investigating the Institute of Pacific Relations (one of three patrons of *China's Response to the West* that will be discussed later in the section of patronage). Fairbank was also denounced as disloyal, with even John F. Kennedy, then a junior congressman, criticizing him for being 'soft to' Chinese Communists and partly responsible for the 'loss of China'.[99] These accusations had significant repercussions. Some newspapers ceased seeking Fairbank's opinions for nearly a decade, and his consultancy role with the State Department was terminated. Merely associating with him was considered risky. Facing these challenges, Fairbank reflected on this period in his memoir, *Chinabound: A Fifty-Year Memoir,* noting, "It was a fine time to study history and develop the academic field and this is what we did".[100]

> Fairbank's efforts are nevertheless revealing some of the forces that have shaped academic involvement in policy formulation. [...] Both of his roles, as public actor and as academic statesman, have been based on unifying assumption that the failings of United States policy in East Asia have resulted essentially from failures of understanding which can be remedied by more study and a broader cultural and historical perspective.[101]

China's Response to the West (1954) cannot be fully understood without reference to this historical context. On the one hand, as will be seen on closer analysis of the volume, it stemmed from a much wider project intended to contribute to understanding of the political, economic and cultural history of China, and, through their basis on the translation into English of a wide variety of Late Qing texts, to greater attention to intercultural dialogue and exchange. Fairbank's leadership of this project stems from his own experiences of diplomatic failures in U.S.-Chinese relations in the 1940s-50s.[102] On the other hand, it is a volume that contributed to shape understandings of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments in China in the Anglo-American Academy.

---

[99] White, 1978, 470.
[100] Fairbank, 1982, 351.
[101] Evans, 1982, 585-586.
[102] Evans, 1982, 586-592.

2.2 *China's Response to the West*: A Volume Not Only for Historical Study

In this section, I draw on analysis of paratextual information, including prefaces and introductions, reviews and papers held in Harvard University Library, to understand more about the rationale governing Fairbank's project, including the patronage it received, the editorial approach taken, the approach and role of the translators etc.

China's Response to the West compiles translated Chinese historical documents that reflect how China responded to Western influence from the Opium War to the early Republic. The act of translating these documents into English during the Cold War makes them privileged sites for exploring the way in which historical narratives about China were shaped for international audiences in this period, as well as providing insights into the way in which historiography is inflected by ideology. This section will explore how translation served as a medium for ideological framing, either reinforcing Cold War perspectives on China or shaping historiographical discourse. The structure of the volume and the paratextual information will be outlined and analysed here.

The original version contains very limited information on the editorial team and their roles, and hardly any information on the approach to translation, meaning that the identity of the translator of each of the texts included in the volume is not made explicit. In many ways, we are faced with an instance of what Venuti calls the 'translator's invisibility'. However, the fact that the title page of the volume places Teng's name before Fairbank's, despite Fairbank's surname preceding Teng's alphabetically, begs interpretation. This ordering suggests an acknowledgement that Teng was the principal editor and translator of the volume. Archival evidence further illuminates this. As shown in Appendix 8, Teng wrote to Fairbank requesting fair recognition for his contribution.

> It is in every way fair that you, as my teacher and friend, should have your name appear first on the book. But I wish the arrangement on the title page will be such that the library cataloguers will not describe the book as: *China's Response to the West*, prepared by John K. Fairbank et al.[103]

[103] A letter from Teng to Fairbank. The copy of the image sourced from the Harvard University archives (HUGFP 12.8 Unspecified Box 25).

Although Teng acknowledged that "it is in every way fair" for Fairbank's name to appear first "as my teacher and friend," he expressed concern that the title page arrangement might lead library cataloguers to describe the book as "*China's Response to the West*, prepared by John K. Fairbank et al.," thereby obscuring his role. The published ordering of the names indicates that this concern was ultimately addressed, ensuring Teng's substantial work as co-editor and translator received appropriate scholarly acknowledgement.

The volume comprises 65 translated Chinese historical texts, 57 of which are Late Qing writings. Structured in seven parts, preceded by acknowledgements and followed by a postface, the editors divided the period covered in the book, 1839-1923, into six historical phases based on the features of each phase, preceded by an introduction as Part One. The titles of the subchapters are as follows:[104]

- [Part One: "The Problem and its Background" (pp.1-22)],
- Part Two: "Recognition of China's Need to Know the West, 1839-1860" (pp. 23-60),
- Part Three: "The Desire for Western Technology, 1861-1870" (pp. 61-84),
- Part Four: "Efforts at Self-Strengthening, 1871-1896" (pp. 85-132),
- Part Five: "The Reform Movement Through 1900" (pp. 133-194),
- Part Six: "Reform and Revolution, 1901-1912" (pp. 195-230),
- Part Seven: "Ideological Ferment and the May Fourth Movement, 1912-1923" (pp. 231-273).

Chapters Two to Seven are dedicated to one phase each, with each chapter addressing specific issues presented as a historical overview and then demonstrated by translations of one or more texts or excerpts from longer works directly relevant to the phase. The explanatory materials and commentaries on the authors and their context, provided by the editors, either precede or follow the translated texts, facilitating the understanding of the selections for the reader. The Late Qing period ended in 1912, so my analysis addresses the first five phases only. Along with the main volume, Harvard University Press also published an accompanying volume, a *Research Guide for China's Response to the West,* tailored for specialists in Chinese studies, which offered supplementary materials such as "Notes and Sources", a "Bibliography", and a "Glossary", considered essential for researchers.

Other paratextual material in the edition, such as the "Acknowledgements", "Note on Style of Translation" and the prefaces to the 1961 and 1979 editions reveal some details

[104] See Appendix 4 for the full Table of Contents of the *China's Response to the West* (1954).

about the translation process, without at any stage making clear who the translators were. The acknowledgements enable us to see what an immense collaborative process was involved, as well as to see how the volume was funded and to reflect on patronage. The note on style of translation gives insight into choices on how to present names (and refers to an initial first draft of 1950) in which the names were reproduced literally as in the original sources. There is also clear indication as to how and why culture-specific terms were treated, such as, in the following rationale for their simplification, and on the approach.

> This scholarly exactitude, while reassuring to other scholars for whom it was unnecessary, could only distract and bewilder the uninitiated general reader. To avoid perpetuating that sterile esotericism which has bedevilled the Chinese people and their Western students throughout history, we have simplified the text. […] Our translations try to give the full meaning of the original, even if it was only implied by the context.[105]

The 1961 and 1979 preface add information about what else might have changed between the 1950 draft (described as "very bulky") and the 1954 edition. We learn about the project's inception under the auspices of the Institute for Pacific Relations, "which had not yet been destroyed by the McCarthyite furor of the early 1950s", which helps us read between the lines about the aim and objective of the volume:

> Our main effort, therefore, is to stimulate and assist the kind of monographic study necessary to any intellectual progress in this field. It will not be enough for Western social scientists to apply new interpretations to the meager record of modern Chinese history thus far available. We cannot rely on propagandist "scholarship," with its dogmatic disregard for the truth—or rather, its Procrustean regard for the truth as a relative matter—to give us the real story. It is necessary for trained and competent Asian and Western scholars alone and in collaboration to spend long periods of time in translation and research, else we shall never know what has really happened in China since its opening to the West.[106]

These and other such comments in the introduction are illuminating, even if we have to read between the lines. They show us commitment to a collaborative project, to the need for translation and close scholarship and interpretation, even if they do not ultimately reveal much about the actual translators and translation decisions made during the text. In the rest of this section, I will reflect more on the agents involved in writing and publishing the volume,

[105] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, iii.
[106] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 5-6.

before analysing the structure and contents of the text to reveal more about the cultural, informational and ideological shifts that happen in translation.

Patronage

The volume was first published by Harvard University Press as an academic work, primarily targeting a readership of students and researchers studying Far Eastern history or international relations.[107] At the same time, as indicated in prefaces and other paratextual materials, the editors also hope for a wider readership to facilitate American understanding of Chinese history. Sponsorship for the project came from The Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) as well as to the Rockefeller Foundation that provided grants for the team's research programme. Special gratitude was expressed to the IPR and its Secretary-General, William L. Holland. Holland, who served as Secretary-General from 1928 to 1960, played a significant role in the IPR's activities before teaching at the University of British Columbia from 1961 to 1970. Fairbank maintained a close relationship with Holland, as evidenced by a letter from Holland to Fairbank preserved in the Harvard University Archives. In this letter, Holland discussed his suggestions for the compilation of the volume, advising the addition of "some stimulating and incisive concluding remarks." He noted that this was his standard "treatment" for historians writing for the IPR.[108]

> This is a question of arousing the minds of brilliant young students who will use the book and of adding the kind of socratic questions which will lead them to an examination of intellectual foundation of Communist China. Such a discussion would also have the advantage of providing a valuable transition to the documentary volume on Chinese Communism.[109]

Fairbank's close relationship with Holland reveals the subtle but significant patronage power exercised in shaping scholarly production. The letter from Holland made clear that this editorial guidance was not merely stylistic but pedagogical and ideological. Such interventions demonstrate how Holland, as a senior institutional figure, exercised patronage not through overt control but through intellectual direction—guiding themes, framing

[107] Pritchard, 1955, 568.
[108] The letter is from Harvard University Archives (HUGFP 12.8 Unspecified Box 17). See Appendix 5.
[109] See Appendix 5.

questions, and aligning scholarly output with broader organizational objectives, thereby shaping both academic discourse and its intended audience.

Judging from Fairbank's response to Holland's letter and the final form of the volume, it appears that Fairbank ultimately chose not to follow Holland's advice, although he acknowledged Holland's inspiration with gratitude in the acknowledgements.[110] This decision needs to be understood within its historical context—specifically, the climate of McCarthyism. For a scholar like Fairbank, Communist China was an especially sensitive subject at the time, and explicit discussion may risk drawing censorship or political scrutiny that could jeopardize the publication of the volume itself. Fairbank's own professional position was also precarious during this period, as mentioned previously. Moreover, the Institute of Pacific Relations, which functioned as an international non-governmental organization facilitating dialogue among Pacific Rim nations, came under intense suspicion and was ultimately dissolved in 1960 amid accusations of Communist affiliations. In this context, the dissolution of the IPR may, at least in part, reflect decisions taken by its senior leadership. The organization's reliance on funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, along with other philanthropic and business sources,[111] further underscores the need for caution, as maintaining political acceptability was essential to institutional survival.

The Rockefeller Foundation (RF) had fostered enduring connections with China since its inception in 1913. Its initial funding in China was directed to the Peking Union Medical College in 1915, which was part of the foundation's broader efforts to support medical education and research globally. During the early Cold War period, the Rockefeller Foundation played a significant role in promoting cultural and academic exchange between the United States and China. One of the initiatives undertaken by the Rockefeller Foundation during this time was the China Translation Project (1947-1952), with the aim of fostering mutual understanding between American and Chinese scholars through the translation of important works of literature, philosophy, and science. Through the Project, the Rockefeller Foundation provided funding and support for the translation of key texts from English to Chinese and vice versa. The Project helped to make important works of American thought accessible to Chinese intellectuals and academics, while also introducing Chinese literature and philosophy to American audiences. According to RF's Annual Report of 1947, the

[110] Fairbank, 1979, 587-590.
[111] Hooper, 1995, 77-120.

Foundation allocated $134,150 for university's Far Eastern Studies Program the year before. An additional $100,000 grant was provided for a subsequent seven-year project focusing on Far East studies in 1947.[112] The China Translation Project is studied today as a case study in the politics of translation, highlighting how philanthropic organizations functioned as intermediaries in international relations and ideological struggles during the mid-twentieth century. It ultimately concluded in 1952 as the political situation in China fundamentally shifted following the Korean War.[113]

According to archives from the Harvard University Library, the grant provided by the RF for the preparation of *China's Response to the West* was designated as GA H 5071. The grant amount is estimated to have exceeded $8,000, with the funding period likely spanning from 1950 to 1952, based on the dates of receipts and invoices. The funds were primarily allocated to support the volume's preparation, covering expenses such as wages, travel costs, lectures, printing, postage, typing, supplies, and publication costs, among others.[114]

The Editorial Team

The core editorial team comprised Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank, along with E-tu Zen Sun, Chaoying Fang. Their names appear on the title page of *China's Reponse to the West*. They were supported by dozens of specialists in Chinese studies and individuals who were invited to contribute to the volume. John K. Fairbank (1907-1991), one of the U.S.'s most prominent specialists in and spokespersons on modern China, was renowned as a historian, academic authority, expert of Chinese issues and critic, who had experience of participating in China-U.S. foreign policy in the twentieth century. He began studying the Chinese language at Oxford in the late 1920s before traveling to China, where he lived with his wife, Wilma Denio Cannon, a specialist in Chinese art, from 1932 to 1936. During their time there, they became acquainted with Chinese intellectuals, including one of Liang Qichao's sons. Fairbank served as a professor at Harvard University from 1936 until 1977, and the university later named its Chinese Studies institute in his honour.[115] He has been recognized as the

[112] Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report, 1947, 228-231.
[113] Huang, 2023,15.
[114] Copies of materials from these transactions in the Harvard University archives (HUGFP 12.8 Unspecified Box 17) are attached in Appendix 7.
[115] Gonzalez, 1991.

central figure in shaping and helping American understanding of China and, more broadly, East Asia. According to his own claims, his volume *The United States and China* (first published in 1948, and revised and reprinted in 1958, 1971, 1972, 1979, 1983 by Harvard University Press) was instructive for Richard Nixon for knowledge and insights about China before the presidential visit of 1972.[116] Fairbank's own memoirs provide a detailed, if obviously personal and subjective view of his trajectory. Both his roles as public intellectual and academic scholar assumed that the failure of American policy in China resulted from the failure of the understanding of Chinese society, history, and culture which can and needs to be remedied by study.

The co-editor and, as I have established from archival research, main translator of the texts included in the volume, Ssu-yu Teng 鄧嗣禹 (1906-1988) was a Sinologist, bibliographer, and historian.[117] Teng studied history at the Yenching University in Beiping (Beijing) before relocating to the United States in 1937 following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. In 1942, he earned his Ph.D. in history from Harvard University Graduate School and subsequently joined the University of Chicago as an Assistant Professor of Chinese History and Literature. He spent the 1949-1950 academic year at Harvard before joining the Department of History at Indiana University. Teng's academic relationship with John K. Fairbank began even before his arrival in the U.S., when Fairbank had been studying Chinese history at Tsinghua University in Beiping in 1932.[118]

Additionally, the co-author Chaoying Fang 房兆楹 (1908-1985), a Chinese-born American sinologist, bibliographer, and historian of China, was a classmate with Ssu-yu Teng at Yenching University in the 1920s. Fang later studied at Harvard University and then worked at the Harvard-Yenching Library, where he received an invitation from Arthur W. Hummel Sr. to co-edit the *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)* as the chief collaborator. Later, Ssu-yu Teng joined the team at the invitation of Chaoying Fang and eventually contributed thirty-three articles to *China's Reponse to the West*.[119] E-tu Zen Sun 孫任以都 (1921-2021), another co-author of the volume, a Chinese American historian,

[116] Fairbank, 1982, 389.
[117] Copies of material evidence related to the preparatory work for the volume, with images sourced from the Harvard University archives (HUGFP 12.8 Unspecified Box 25) are attached in Appendix 8.
[118] Chen, 2007, 3-40.
[119] Beal, 1985, 15.

completed her Ph.D. at Radcliffe College under the supervision of John K. Fairbank and later became a professor at Pennsylvania State University until retirement in 1988.[120]

Therefore, the four names on the title page have connections with each other. They were teacher and student, classmates, friends, or had collaborated already before. As can be seen from this brief overview of the core editorial team, all four are figures who went on to contribute further to the teaching and dissemination of Chinese Studies in US academia.

Power, Ideology and Poetics: Contributions from 'Professionals' and the 'Patronage'

The publication of *China's Response to the West* was the result of numerous contributions from various parties, including the editors, authors, translators, publisher, sponsors, etc. These contributions can be categorized into two groups: 'professionals' and 'patronage', which exert control over translation functions within the literary system.[121] According to Lefevere, professionals within the literary system encompass critics, reviewers, academics, teachers, and translators, while patronage, external to the literary system, refers to "the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature."[122] In this instance, three institutions , Harvard University Press, the RF, and the IPR, served as patrons, possessing the 'power' to influence the formation of the volume in three key elements: the ideological component, the economic component, and the status component.[123]

Ideology via the influence of patronage on content and purpose plays a crucial role in shaping *China's Response to the West*, as the three patrons each had distinct but overlapping motivations. Their involvement reflects broader ideological trends, including the competing demands of academic rigor, human progress, democracy, and peace, which stood in contrast to the U.S. government's foreign policy towards China in the 1950s, characterized by militarization and geopolitical containment. Harvard University Press, as a prestigious academic institution, was primarily motivated by scholarly interests and academic market considerations. The inclusion of respected specialists and adherence to established research

[120] Wilbur, 1982, 714–719.
[121] Lefevere, 1992a, 9-15.
[122] Ibid., 15.
[123] Ibid., 16.

methodologies ensured that the volume maintained its credibility while appealing to an intellectual audience. The RF's mission, as stated on its website, was to break down barriers to progress. At the time, one such barrier was the limited American knowledge of East Asia, particularly in light of the Korean War, Japan's post-war reconstruction, and shifts in China's political landscape. Funding the volume aligned with RF's goal of improving understanding of the Far East and, implicitly, shaping U.S. perspectives on China in a way that could influence future policy. The IPR, rooted in Wilsonian idealism, sought to promote international cooperation and peace. While its ideological stance emphasized global democracy, it also reflected tensions with U.S. government policies that prioritized military intervention and containment over intellectual engagement.

The ideological gap between these patrons and the U.S. government ultimately shaped the creation of *China's Response to the West*, as academic institutions and philanthropic organizations could in theory operate with greater independence than state-controlled initiatives, but the pressures of McCarthyism no doubt led to some degree of self-censorship. After all, both the IPR and Fairbank himself were considered suspect in the early Cold War period, which must surely have influenced their outlook. At the same time, as we saw in the earlier quotation from Fairbank's memoirs, his sidelining from politics is ultimately what enabled greater dedication to scholarly research. As a result of these clashing ideological influences, the choice of a documentary survey format, framing and presenting historical literature rather than direct political analysis, might in some ways be seen as a conservative decision. This format allowed the volume to, at the very least, appear politically neutral and avoid direct criticism of contemporary policies while still providing valuable insights into China's historical interactions with the West. In *Translation, History and Culture* (1990), Lefevere discusses how translation can serve as a means of indirect expression in situations where direct discourse is restricted due to censorship or authoritarian rule.[124] Translators and editors may alter, omit, or emphasize specific content to navigate ideological constraints. Given Lefevere's statement and the Cold War context, *China's Response to the West* may have indirectly challenged dominant U.S. narratives by offering a more nuanced historical perspective on China.

[124] Lefevere, 1992b, 9.

Economic factors played a pivotal role in the production of the volume. Both the RF and the IPR provided financial support, ensuring the project's completion. These funds covered essential expenses such as wages, travel, lecture fees, printing, postage, and publication. The acknowledgment of these contributions within the volume underscores the importance of patronage in academic publishing. Beyond the direct financial support, economic power also shaped the accessibility and dissemination of *China's Response to the West*. Harvard University Press's involvement ensured that the volume was published and distributed within scholarly circles, reinforcing its influence within academic and policy-making communities. The economic component, therefore, was not just about funding production but also about controlling the reach and impact of the work.

The status component relates to the roles and motivations of those involved in producing the volume. Editors, authors, translators, and publishers had to align their work with the expectations of their patrons while maintaining their own scholarly integrity. In this case, there was little conflict between these interests, as all parties shared a common objective: improving American understanding of China. For scholars and editors, contributing to a Harvard University Press publication reinforced their academic prestige. The institutions involved—Harvard, RF, and IPR—also benefited from their association with a project that demonstrated intellectual leadership and expertise in East Asian studies. This alignment of interests ensured a smooth production process, with contributors working towards a shared goal that simultaneously enhanced their status within their respective fields.

Power dynamics in *China's Response to the West* were, then, shaped by ideological motivations, economic resources, and status considerations. The patrons exerted influence not through direct censorship but by setting the intellectual parameters of the work, ensuring it remained scholarly, politically neutral, and aligned with their broader missions. Economic support enabled its creation, while status incentives ensured that contributors remained invested in the project's success. Ultimately, the volume reflects the complex interplay of academic, philanthropic, and ideological forces that shaped knowledge production during the Cold War era.

Lefevere's framework distinguishes between patronage, which influences ideology, and professionals, who shape poetics, the literary and stylistic aspects of a text. In *China's Response to the West*, the poetics of the volume is determined primarily by editors, authors,

translators, and reviewers, who shaped its form and presentation. According to Lefevere, dominant poetics consists of two key components: literary devices, that is, the techniques and structures used in writing; and the concept of the role of literature, that is, how literature functions within society.[125] Applying these components to *China's Response to the West*, we can analyze how poetics influenced the volume's presentation and scholarly function.

Unlike a stand-alone fictional or non-fictional literary work, *China's Response to the West* is a documentary survey, meaning its literary devices are shaped by the conventions of academic writing rather than narrative storytelling. The professional contributors, historians, translators, and editors, made key decisions about source selection, translation style, and textual organization. These choices ensured that the volume remained academically rigorous while maintaining accessibility for scholars and policymakers. The volume relies heavily on historical documents, emphasizing primary sources rather than translation. This aligns with historical scholarship's preference for objective documentation over subjective narration. Additionally, translators played a crucial role in maintaining accuracy while ensuring readability. Given the ideological context, their translations needed to preserve original meanings while being accessible to an English-speaking audience. Thus, the literary devices used in the volume reflect a professional commitment to factual accuracy, structured argumentation, and adherence to scholarly conventions.

Lefevere's second component concerns the function of literature in society. While *China's Response to the West* is not a literary writing in the traditional sense, it serves an essential role within the academic and political landscape of its time. The volume was designed to fill a knowledge gap in the American understanding of China, making it a key academic resource for scholars, diplomats, and policymakers. Although the texts were selected and translated with the intention of maintaining a neutral, research-oriented stance, their choice of sources and historical framing nonetheless shape American perceptions of China. The text was not overtly propagandistic, but by presenting Chinese history in a structured and accessible format, it contributed to shaping intellectual discourse on U.S.-China relations. In this way, the volume's poetics, rooted in rigorous historical methodology, aligns with its function as a scholarly tool for shaping knowledge and discourse rather than a direct political statement.

[125] Lefevere, 1992a, 26.

When a translator presents a text with minimal discussion of their own interpretative role, it can create the illusion of neutrality and complete transparency. This very omission downplays the complexities and choices involved in the translation process. According to Venuti's idea in *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995), translation is not a neutral act; it requires constant decision-making regarding word choice, tone, and cultural context. Every translator brings their own perspectives, biases, and limitations to the work, shaping the final version of the text in ways that may not be immediately visible. By not explicitly addressing these interpretative decisions in an introduction or commentary, the translator effectively 'erases' themselves from the text, reinforcing the dominant assumption that translation is merely a mechanical process rather than an act of re-creation.[126] This invisibility aligns with broader trends in dominant poetics and historical writing, where scholars often present their narratives as objective and unmediated. In reality, history, like translation, is shaped by selection, omission, and framing. By hiding or downplaying their interpretative choices, historians and translators contribute to the illusion of an unfiltered, authoritative account when, in fact, every retelling is inherently shaped by subjective and cultural influences.

The omission of specific information about the translation process used in *China's Response to the West* has led many readers and reviewers to cite Fairbank as the presumed translator. At the very least, this absence of clear information about the translator of the selected texts into English indicates a vision of translation as a secondary process, reminding us of Lawrence Venuti's critique of *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995) in Anglophone culture. However, as a result of further research into Fairbank's papers in the Harvard Library Archive, I was able to uncover private letters between Teng and Fairbank that reveal that most of the translations were undertaken by Teng, who then sent the drafts to Fairbank for review.[127] The letters also showed that both Teng and Fairbank contributed to the proofreading process.[128]

[126] Venuti, 1995, 6-8.
[127] See letters dated 28/11/1953 in HUGFP 12.8 Box 7.
[128] See letters dated 03/11/1953 and 27/01/1954 in HUGFP 12.8 Box 7.

Contents of the Volume

The genres of the texts in the volume largely comprise political prose, including essays, letters, prefaces, memorials to the throne, diaries, interviews, and notices. These focus on historical and political writings that came to the fore in the 1950s, for me indicates a clear 'academic turn', as opposed to the previous interest in the classical texts, that aligns with developing trends towards Area Studies programmes in the U.S. I will look at this more closely, as Fairbank's trajectory can in many ways be seen as key to understanding the institutionalization of Asian Studies in the American academic system. This focus in the volume on political texts that provide insights into the development of China-Western relations during the Late Qing period reflect the ideological context of the moment of publication of these translations. In this section, I compare this volume with *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (William Theodore de Bary, 1960), focusing on the selection of texts, authors, and thematic content in order to present a comparative picture of these publications as they emerged during the 1950s and 1960s.

Examining the contents of the two volumes reveals some common features. Firstly, the selected works in both volumes represent significant historical events and movements, which were pivotal in shaping China's modern history and its interactions with the West. For instance, the early Chinese-Western conflict at the beginning of what is now called the Late Qing period is represented in texts about the Opium Wars (4 texts in *China's Response to the Wes* are related to the War, including the lead-up to the conflict and its aftermath and legacy; compared with 2 texts in *Sources of Chinese Traditions*).[129] There are also texts about the Self-Strengthening Movement (c. 1861-1895) (including nearly 20 texts in *China's Response to the West* and 5 texts in the *Sources of Chinese Traditions* which discuss the issues related to the Movement, including the theory, practice, and reflection on the failure)[130] and the

[129] Four texts in *China's Response* directly address the cause and aftermath of the Opium Wars: *Lin Tse-hsu's Moral Advice to Queen Victoria*, 1839; *A Letter of Lin Tse-hsu Recognizing Western Military Superiority*,1842; *Wei Yuan's Statement of a Policy for Maritime Defens*e, 1842; *Cantonese Denunciation of the British*, 1841. While two texts in *Sources of Chinese Traditions*: *Letter to the English Ruler*,1839; *The Need for Western Guns and Ships*, 1842.

[130] For instance, in *China's Response,* Feng Kuei-fen and his essays, *On the Adoption of Western Knowledge, On the Manufacture of Foreign Weapons*; toward Westerners and their machinery: *Founding the Shanghai Arsenal*; on the use of Western arms: *Li's Recommendation of Western Military Methods,* 1863; on the reflection of the failure of the Movement: *Li Hung-chang's Conversation with Ito Hirobumi*, 1895. In *Sources of Chinese Traditions*, Feng Kuei-fen and two his essays are also included; *On Sending Young Men Abroad to Study* by Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang; *On Reform* by Xue Fucheng, etc.

Hundred Days' Reform (1898).[131] *China's Response to the West*, in particular, places great focus on reforms, both theoretical and practical, such as Liang Qichao's essays on the conception of 'citizenship',[132] debates on constitutional reform, or problems with industrialization efforts, etc. Additionally, both the voices of rebels and conservatives were included in the volumes to provide a balanced and comprehensive view.[133] Texts that had a direct impact on Chinese policy and reform initiatives seem to be prioritized. For instance, "On Reform" (*Gailiang* 改良,1870) by Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-1897) led to educational reforms, while "Recommendation of Western Military Methods" (*Xifa zhinan* 西法指南,1863) by Li Hongzhang 李鴻章(1823-1901) inspired military modernization.

A close examination of the 'shared' content, however, also reveals subtle ideological differences in their interpretations of key moments in Late Qing history. One such divergence emerges in their treatment of the Opium Wars and the figure of Lin Zexu. Although both anthologies include material on this episode, their editorial perspectives differ in telling ways, most notably in the framing provided by their respective subheadings, which offer revealing clues to each work's interpretive stance. In *China's Response to the West*, under the subtitle "Commissioner Lin's Program for Meeting British Aggression", the editors take a critical yet balanced approach to Lin Zexu's role in the early Chinese-Western conflict. Fairbank, in particular, sees Lin as a principled and determined official who sincerely sought to address the opium crisis but was ultimately constrained by the traditional Chinese worldview and the limitations of Qing diplomacy. By stating that Lin's decision to destroy foreign-held opium stocks "precipitated the showdown between China's ancient tributary system and the expanding power of Britain",[134] Fairbank suggests that Lin's actions, while morally justified, exposed the fundamental incompatibility between China's long-standing diplomatic framework and Britain's aggressive commercial and imperialist expansion. This implies that Lin's approach, rooted in Confucian moral authority and the assumption that Britain would

---

[131] For instance, in *China's Response, Kang Yu-wei's Conversation with the Emperor, 1898; Ito's Conversation with the Emperor, 1898.* In *Sourses, On the Study of Humanity* by Tan Sitong; *Confucius As a Reformer* by Kang Youwei.

[132] For instance, *Liang Chi-chao on Reform,1896; The Renovation of the People, 1902*; *Wang Kang-nien on Democracy*; Promoters of Institutional Change and the early advocates of reform: *Writings of Wang Tao*; Kang Yu-wei's *Society for the study if Self-strengthening, 1895*.

[133] For instance, in *China's Response*, on the Taiping rebels' interest in modernization: *Hung Jen-kan's proposals*, 1859; *Wo-jen's Objection to Western Learing*, 1867; the *Proclamations of the Boxers*. In *Sourses, The Book of Heavenly Commandments; Reforming Men's minds comes before Reforming Institutions* by Chu Cheng-po.

[134] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 3.

comply with Qing dictates, was ineffective in dealing with a Western power that operated under different economic and political principles. Therefore, Teng and Fairbank's attitude toward Lin is one of recognition and critique: they acknowledge his dedication and integrity but argue that his failure to adapt to the realities of Western power politics contributed to China's defeat. Their analysis aligns with Fairbank's broader historiographical perspective, which emphasizes the systemic clash between China's traditional worldview and the forces of Western imperialism.

Wm. Theodore De Bary's attitude toward Lin Zexu in *Sources of Chinese Tradition* appears to be generally respectful and acknowledges Lin's moral integrity and dedication to China's welfare. However, the subheading "The Lesson of Lin Tse-hsu" suggests that De Bary views Lin's experience as instructive, possibly highlighting both his strengths and limitations in dealing with the Opium Wars. The phrase "lesson" implies that Lin's experience offers insight into broader issues, perhaps about diplomacy, the consequences of moral absolutism in international relations, or China's difficulties in adapting to global pressures. Overall, De Bary likely presents Lin Zexu as a principled and capable official but also as someone whose policies, despite good intentions, played a role in China's conflicts with the West. His editorial stance is thus one of measured admiration, recognizing Lin's virtues while acknowledging the complexities and unintended consequences of his policies.

A second feature lies in the selection of authors, which prioritises works by leading figures in Chinese thought and politics. Representative figures such as Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901), Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811-1872), and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909), high-ranking officials educated in the Confucian tradition, played pivotal roles in shaping modern Chinese intellectual history. Close analysis of the authors included also reveals a broader range of identities, encompassing scholars, diplomats, and reformers, thereby providing a multifaceted view of the intellectual and political climate of the period. At the same time, the preference of the editors of two volumes for intellectual and political elites inevitably shapes how modern Chinese history is presented to Anglophone readers. By foregrounding the writings of these prominent figures, the two volumes implicitly frame China's modern transformation as a narrative driven primarily by high-ranking officials and learned elites. While these individuals undoubtedly played significant roles, this emphasis risks narrowing readers' understanding by marginalising other voices, for instance, women,

whose perspectives also contributed to the era's complex historical developments.[135] This elite-centered debate over tradition and reform contrasts sharply with the editorial approach adopted in Michael's *The Taiping Rebellion*, as discussed in the Introduction. Michael organizes Taiping documents chronologically to reconstruct the movement's historical development. His volume foregrounds unfolding events and the internal evolution of the rebellion, relying largely on historical records and documentary materials. Many of these texts demonstrate the different methodological framework when compared with Late Qing elite essays. As a result, Fairbank and de Bary's compilations may lead English-language readers to view modern Chinese history as constituted chiefly by social elites, reinforcing an interpretation that foregrounds state-centred and elite-driven dynamics.

A third notable feature is the thematic variety of selected works. The texts encompass a wide range of subjects, including education, military technology, diplomacy, and other areas, reflecting the multifaceted nature of China's modern transformation. While several authors advocate the selective adoption of Western technology and institutional models, only one text in *China's Response to the West* explicitly rejects Western learning and calls for the preservation of traditional Confucian values, that is, the Mongol official Woren's 倭仁's (1804-1871) "Objection to Western Learning" (*Fandui xixue* 反對西學,1867); while, four texts reflect the conservative voices in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*.[136] The thematic distribution therefore reveals a clear emphasis on reform-oriented ideas and pro-modernization arguments, while giving relatively little space to more conservative or resistant viewpoints, in particular *China's Response to the West*. However, this representation does not fully reflect the historical reality: conservative voices constituted a substantial and influential part of the Qing court and played a critical role in shaping the pace and direction of reform.[137] As will be seen in discussion of *Sources of Chinese Tradition* in Chapter Three, their opposition, anxieties, and alternative visions were integral to the political dynamics of the time. The limited presence of such perspectives in *China's Response to the West* thus has implications for Anglophone readers, potentially encouraging an interpretation of China's

[135] See more information on Late Qing women, for instance, in *The Red Brush: Writing Women of Imperial China* (2004) by Wilt Idema and Beata Grant; *Women Writers of Traditional China: An Anthology of Poetry and Criticism* (1999) by Chang Kang-i Sun, Haun Saussy, and Charles Yim-tze Kwong.
[136] These four texts are: Chu Chengbo 褚成博's *Reforming Men's Minds comes before Reforming Institutions*; Zhu yixin 朱一新's *Fourth Letter in Reply to Kang Youwei*; Ye Dehui 葉德輝's *The Superiority of China and Confucianism*; and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞's *Exhortation to Learn.*
[137] Hung, 2000, 6.

modernization that foregrounds reformist narratives while minimizing the significance of conservative resistance.

Among this diverse range of texts, eight in particular appear to have attracted sustained attention from editors of anthologies of Late Qing texts in the 1950s and 1960s. Both *China's Response to the West* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition* include translations of these texts, although the translations differ in certain respects. For this reason, these eight texts form the core of the micro-textual analysis undertaken later in this chapter and in Chapter Three.

Source Text	**Source Author**	***China's Response to the West***	***Sources of the Chinese Tradition***
"Lun Yingguo guowang shu" 論英國國王書, 1839	Lin Zexu 林則徐	"Lin Tsu-hsu's Moral Advice to Queen Victoria" (1954)	"Letter to the English Ruler" (1960, 1999)
"Xinmin shuo" 新民說, 1902-1906	Liang Qichao 梁啟超	"The Renovation of the People" (1954)	"A People Made New" (1960); "Renewing the People" (1999)
"Bianfa" 變法, 1870	Wang Tao 王韜	"On Reform" (1954)	"On Reform" (1960, 1999)
"Chou yang chuyi (jiexuan)" 籌洋芻議 (節選),1879	Xue Fucheng 薛福成	"On Reform" (1954)	"On Reform" (1960, 1999)
"Cheng zongliyameng de zouzhe" 呈總理衙門的奏折, 1871	Zeng Guofan 曾國藩, Li Hongzhang 李鴻章	"The Proposal of Tseng and Li" (1954)	"On Sending Young Men Abroad to Study" (1960, 1999)
"Quan xue bian" 勸學篇, 1898	Zhang Zhidong 張之洞)	"Exhortation to Study" (1954)	"Exhortation to Learn" (1960, 1999)
"Zhi yang qu yi" 制洋器議, 1860	Feng Guifen 馮桂芬	"On the Manufacture of Foreign Weapons" (1954)	"On the Manufacture of Foreign Weapons" (1960, 1999)
"Cai Xixue yi" 采西學議, 1860	Feng Guifen 馮桂芬	"On the Adoption of Western Knowledge" (1954)	"On the Adoption of Western Learning" (1960, 1999)

Table 9. Texts translated both in *China's Reponse to the West* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition*.

The above texts are pivotal in understanding the transformation of Chinese thought and policy in response to Western influence during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The volume paints a picture wherein from Lin Zexu's letter to the English ruler to Liang

Qichao's call for the concept of a "new citizenship," Late Qing thinkers spent over sixty years transforming their fellow countrymen's mindset. They evolved from ignorance and disdain for the West to learn from it and ultimately accept it.

One feature of the above texts is the wide range of perspectives on how China should respond to the West. They encompass different approaches, from advocating for the adoption of Western technology and knowledge to calls for deeper social and political reforms, illustrating a range of practical and ideological approaches. Many of these works influenced significant political decisions and reforms in China. For example, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang's advocacy for sending young men abroad to study helped initiate the practice of Chinese students studying in Europe and the U.S., which had a long-term impact on China's modernization. Additionally, the authors of these works are major historical figures in Chinese history, known for their roles in reform and modernization. They include government officials, intellectuals, and reformers who played crucial roles in shaping China's response to Western challenges.

Comparative Analysis of the Texts' Status in the Source Culture

As frequently emphasized in critical approaches to translation history, an assessment of translation choices in the target culture must be complemented by an examination of how the same texts are positioned and interpreted within the source culture. Accordingly, Appendix 6 presents the methodology for determining the scholarly reception of the selected texts in CNKI (China National Knowledge Infrastructure), with particular attention to whether this reception diverges from their treatment in the two edited volumes analysed in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis and in what ways. The purpose of this inquiry is to situate research in the source culture in dialogue with that of the target culture. Using a systematic search and comparison method, this section examines the eight texts shared by both *China's Response to the West* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, tracing their scholarly positioning, thematic emphases, and interpretive frameworks within the source culture.

An examination of how the selected texts are positioned and interpreted within the source culture as seen in Appendix 6, based on CNKI data, reveals significant divergences between Chinese scholarly priorities and the emphases found in English-language

anthologies. For instance, Lin Zexu 林則徐, represented by three texts across the two volumes, is the subject of 6,640 CNKI records spanning history, politics, archaeology, literature, and education, indicating his important status in modern Chinese scholarship. Of the 566 records focusing on his literary works, the majority concentrate on poems composed during his exile to Xinjiang after the First Opium War, emphasizing themes such as landscape writing, emotional expression, and personal moral reflection. By contrast, the "Letter to the English Ruler", although prominently featured in the two volumes, has received relatively little scholarly attention in China, suggesting that its significance is amplified primarily in translation and in the discourse of China-West encounter.

A similar discrepancy is evident in the case of Feng Guifen 馮桂芬, by whom three selected texts appear in the two volumes. While 621 CNKI records relate to him overall, only 33 address his literary works, and merely two focus specifically on "Cai Xixue yi" 采西學議.[138] This stands in sharp contrast to the essay's prominent role in international scholarship as a foundational statement of Self-Strengthening thought. This imbalance suggests that Feng's reformist arguments have been more actively canonized outside China than within domestic academic discourse.

By contrast, figures such as Liang Qichao 梁啟超 and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 demonstrate greater alignment on reception between source culture and target culture. Liang Qichao is associated with 15,055 CNKI records, of which 2,494 devoted to his literary works, covering fields from intellectual history and philosophy to politics and culture. His "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 alone accounts for 466 records, indicating sustained attention from Chinese scholars. Similarly, Zhang Zhidong's "Quanxue pian" 勸學篇 (Exhortation to Learn, 1898), translated in both volumes, is the subject of 98 CNKI records, which examine its ideological influence, translation history, and comparative significance within an East Asian modern context.

In contrast, authors such as Wang Tao 王韜 and Xue Fucheng 薛福成, despite being represented by multiple texts in the two volumes, are primarily studied in China for their broader historical roles rather than for the specific writings selected for translation. Wang Tao's approximately 2,000 CNKI records focus largely on his contributions as an

[138] Pu Yang, 2001; Chen Fukang, 1991.

intellectual, journalist, and pioneer of modern Chinese newspapers, while research on Xue Fucheng emphasizes his diplomatic career, political thought, and European travel diaries.[139]

Finally, Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 occupies a particularly prominent position in the source culture. As the most extensively represented author across the two volumes, with five selected texts, Zeng is associated with a substantial 8,585 records in CNKI, indicating his enduring importance in Chinese academic discourse. Of these, 1,106 records focus on his literary works, while a far larger proportion situates him within broader historical and biographical frameworks. Notably, 2,411 studies relate to China's modern history, reflecting sustained interest in Zeng's role in Late Qing statecraft, military organization, and responses to internal crises such as the Taiping Rebellion. A further 653 records are devoted specifically to biographical research, examining his moral cultivation, political thought, family education, and bureaucratic career. Within Chinese scholarship, Zeng Guofan is frequently approached as a complex historical figure whose writings are inseparable from his practical engagement with governance and self-cultivation. His letters, memorials, and essays are often read as extensions of his personal ethics and administrative practice rather than as stand-alone text or excerpt. This contrasts with his treatment in the two volumes, where selected texts are foregrounded to illustrate themes of the response to the West (for instance, a chapter title of *China's Response to the West* is "Zeng Guofan's Attitude toward Westerners and their Machinery").[140] The CNKI data therefore suggest that while Zeng's writings are widely acknowledged in the source culture, their significance lies primarily in their contribution to an integrated portrait of a Confucian official.

Taken together, these findings indicate that Chinese scholarship tends to contextualize Late Qing figures within broader historical, political, and biographical frameworks, whereas the two volumes foreground particular texts that articulate reform and cultural encounter. This contrast demonstrates how translation and editorial selection reshape textual prominence and intellectual meaning across source and target cultures. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to include close analyses of all the possible mediating texts that contribute to the choice and translation of the passages from Late Qing literature included in *China's Response to the West* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. However, I will refer to and acknowledge these

[139] For instance, his "Chushi Ying Fa Yi Bi siguo riji" 出使英法義比四國日記 (Selections from the Journal of Diplomatic Mission to Four European Countries).
[140] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, ix.

diverse pathways wherever possible, while remembering that my main focus is exploring what happens to the translation of the literary works in English.

Scholarship and Political Ideology

Fairbank was notably very resistant to the influence of younger scholars who regarded scholarship and politics as inherently interconnected and who viewed "claims to 'objective' apolitical scholarship as delusional or hypocritical".[141] Over the following decades, this conflict produced a pronounced methodological divide within the field of China studies. Subtle yet consequential ideological differences can be observed when comparing major scholarly compilations of the period. The respective treatments of Lin Zexu's letter to Queen Victoria, whose translation is titled "Commissioner Lin's Program for Meeting British Aggression"[142] in *China's Response to the West* vs. "The Lesson of Lin Tse-hsu"[143] in *Sources of Chinese Tradition* can serve as an example. The view of "Commissioner Lin's Program for Meeting British Aggression" in *China's Response to the West* takes a critical yet balanced approach to Lin Zexu's role in the conflict between the Qing Empire and the United Kingdom. Lin was seen as a principled and determined official but was ultimately constrained by the traditional Chinese worldview and the limitations of Qing diplomacy. By stating that Lin's decision to destroy opium "precipitated the showdown between China's ancient tributary system and the expanding power of Britain",[144] Teng and Fairbank suggest that Lin's actions exposed the fundamental incompatibility between China's long-standing diplomatic framework and Britain's aggressive commercial and imperialist expansion. This implies that Lin's approach was rooted in Confucian moral authority and the assumption that Britain would comply with Qing dictates, which was ineffective in dealing with a Western power that operated under different economic and political principles. This aligns with Fairbank's broader historiographical perspective, which emphasizes the systemic clash between China's traditional worldview and the forces of Western imperialism.

[141] Crossley, 1997, 631.
[142] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, ix.
[143] De Bary, 1960, xxi.
[144] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 3.

Though de Bary's attitude toward Lin Zexu in *Sources* appears to be generally respectful and acknowledges his moral integrity, the subheading "The Lesson of Lin Tse-hsu" suggests that he views Lin's experience as instructive, possibly highlighting both his strengths and limitations in dealing with the Opium Wars. The term "lesson" implies that Lin's experience offers insight into broader issues, the consequences of moral absolutism in international relations, or China's difficulties in adapting to global pressures. Overall, his editorial stance is a measured admiration, recognizing Lin's virtues while acknowledging the complexities and unintended consequences of his policies.

In contrast to the interpretations of Fairbank and de Bary, Chinese scholarship often presents a markedly different narrative regarding Lin Zexu. Rather than viewing him as a well-intentioned but 'ineffective' official, Chinese historical accounts frequently praise Lin as a national hero and patriot.[145] This divergence in interpretation reveals the ways in which ideological frameworks shape scholarly perceptions. These differing portrayals reflect not only distinct historiographical traditions but also the broader interplay between historical figures and the lenses through which they are understood, illustrating how history is continually reinterpreted to serve contemporary cultural and political identities. They are portrayals that, I will argue, come to the fore most clearly in analysis of the successive processes of translation. This is why the evidence provided by retranslations of certain texts has been given such prominence in this thesis.

Another example of how translation serves as a tool of ideology, shaping historical narratives through language, can be seen in the choice of terms for the 'Taiping Rebellion' vs 'Taiping Movement'. In modern Chinese, the war that broke out between the Qing Empire and its internal rival, the Taiping Kingdom, is usually referred to as *Taiping tianguo yundong* 太平天國運動 which literally translates as 'Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement'. However, a number of scholars adopt the term 'Taiping Rebellion', which emphasizes the Taiping's opposition to the Qing state and reinforces the perspective that the Taiping were rebels rather than revolutionaries or a legitimate regime. It was regarded as a kind of ethnic-religious riot from the ruling authority's viewpoint. In contrast, Tobie Meyer-Fong argued that the term 'Taiping Rebellion' is biased, and believed the conflict should be called a 'civil war'.[146] Other historians such as Jürgen Osterhammel termed the conflict the 'Taiping

[145] For instance, *Lin Zexu zhuan* 林則徐傳 (*Lin Zexu's Biography*) by Yang Guozhen 杨国桢, 1981.
[146] Meyer-Fong, 2013, 11-12.

Revolution' because of the rebels' radical transformational objectives and the social revolution that they initiated.[147] Karl Marx himself made the following assessment of the movement and its limits:

> What is original about this Chinese revolution is its subject. They are not aware of any task, apart from the change of dynasty. They have no slogans. They are a still greater abomination for the popular masses than for the old rulers. Their destiny appears to be no more than to oppose conservative stagnation with a reign of destruction grotesque and loathsome in form, a destruction without any new or constructive kernel whatever [...] The Taiping rising is the offspring of a fossil social life.[148]

Despite calling it a 'revolution', Marx's assessment of the Taiping Movement was that of an outdated uprising of the 'traditional' variant, which could not be compared with the proletarian revolution he had in mind. The terminology used in historical narratives directly influences how the event is perceived. The language used by historians or editors often reflects political perspectives. Ultimately, word-choice, together with narrative structure and narrative framing reflects historical conventions shaped by ideology, power structures, and the perspective from which history is written. These selective terminologies subtly shape readers' understanding, demonstrating how translation operates as a tool of ideology. "The past is real enough. But the stories we tell about it are constructions."[149]

2.3 Case Study of "Cai Xixue yi" 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge, 1884): From Source Text to Its Context to Text

In this section I am going to perform a close textual analysis of one of the translations included in *China's Response to the West*, which I have chosen because it was written by a highly influential author and has been re-translated numerous times in English, German and Japanese, also in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Feng Guifen's 馮桂芬 (1809-1874) "Cai Xixue yi" 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge) is a highly significant work in modern Chinese intellectual history, particularly in the context of the Qing dynasty's Self-Strengthening Movement. Written in 1861, "Cai Xixue yi" was among the earliest and most influential appeals for China to adopt Western knowledge, particularly in the military,

147 Osterhammel, 2015, 652–654.
148 Marx,1862: "On China" in *Die Presse.*
149 Munz, 1997, 848.

industrial, and technological spheres, while preserving Confucian cultural foundations. The essay articulates Feng Guifen's well-known formulation of "Chinese Studies (learning, culture and values) for the base (fundamental structure, framework), Western studies for use (practical application)" (*Zhongxue wei ti, Xixue wei yong* 中學為體, 西學為用),[150] which sought to reconcile moral and cultural continuity with practical reform. By framing Western knowledge as instrumental rather than foundational, this approach provided a conceptual framework that justified selective borrowing from the West while safeguarding the authority and continuity of Confucian orthodoxy. Feng's arguments helped shape China's approach to modernization, serving as a precursor to later reformist movements such as the Hundred Days' Reform (1898) and even early twentieth-century modernization efforts. His ideas contributed to the broader intellectual debate about how China should engage with Western advancements without losing its cultural identity.

In *China's Reponse to the West*, "Cai Xixue yi" appears as Document 8 in Part Two on "The Emergence of the Theory of Self-Strengthening". It is preceded by an overview on "Feng Kuei-fen and his Essays".[151] The images of one of the copies of "Cai Xixue yi" can be found in Appendix 1. The original text is written in classical Chinese. Feng Guifen's main objective was to draw his readers' attention to the disparities between the traditional Confucian era and the evolving world that had resulted from encroachment by Western power and technology since the Opium Wars Late Qing. The writing pattern is formal and convincing to illustrate the author's views through quotations from classical sources.

As in the case of other essays included in the volume, the chosen text is framed and re-presented mainly from a historiographical perspective, with little or no reference to the translation process. As indicated before, archival sources have revealed that the translator was Ssu-Yu Teng. As the volume was prepared and translated by historians, primarily to be read as history, we might expect the translation process to be governed by a focus on denotational accuracy and transmitting historical information, rather than attending to other features.

---

[150] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 50.

[151] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 50. The names in this volume are based on the Wade-Giles romanization system, which was commonly used for Mandarin Chinese throughout most of the twentieth century. However, Wade-Giles has largely been replaced by Hanyu Pinyin, the official system adopted in mainland China in 1958. My study uses Hanyu Pinyin to refer to the names of the authors when carrying out textual analysis. For instance, Feng Kuei-fen in the Wade-Giles is the same person as Feng Guifen in Hanyu Pinyin.

However, there is some very interesting reflection on Feng Guifen's style by the editors of the volume, who say:

> Judged by these trenchant essays, written in a trim and condensed classical style, Feng Kuei-fen was most remarkable for his realistic appreciation of the importance of genuine learning. His contempt for the Canton-style "linguists," through whom Western lore had been murkily filtered into China, springs from this attitude, as well as his demand for language training, translations, and the study of mathematics and sciences, as the only possible basis for a mastery of the fundamental principles from which the barbarians got their power.[152]

Reading this, it is almost impossible not to notice the admiration for Feng Guifen, as well as this passage's celebration of the very principles which Fairbank sets out in his introduction to the volume as a whole, as seen earlier.

In order to facilitate comparative analysis of the Chinese original and English version, I created a table which presents the texts in parallel (see Appendix 2). I also divided the source text into smaller segments, even though there were no breaks in the original copy. This involved following the translator instead of author in identifying logical breaks in the content, such as shifts in topic, or argumentation, as well as natural pauses indicating the completion of a thought or idea.[153]

The presence of quotations and classical citations used to support the arguments in the source text significantly informs the translator's segmentation strategy, even though these quotations and citations are largely omitted in the translation. It is evident that the translator's division of the source text often relies on the placement of such material, and that this underlying structural logic is retained despite their removal. In other words, although quotations and citations are almost systematically removed from the translated text, they continue to shape its overall organization, thereby influencing its meaning and message. As will become clear in later comparisons with subsequent versions, differing approaches to textual segmentation have a marked impact on the framing and interpretation to the Anglophone reader. Notably, five of the ten sections containing citations were omitted, along

---

[152] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 50-51.

[153] The images of the copies in Appendix 1 have several slight-pause marks on the right of some characters. These marks were identified as punctuation. However, in traditional Chinese writing, particularly in texts from ancient times up until the early twentieth century, punctuation was not standardized as it is today. Instead, classical Chinese relied on various structural and grammatical elements to indicate meaning and pauses within the text. Context also played a crucial role in interpreting classical Chinese texts. Readers were expected to use their knowledge of historical, cultural, and literary contexts to understand the text and identify pauses or breaks in the writing.

with three sections of long footnotes and two short sentences from the concluding remarks. These omissions largely align with the explanation provided in the initial "Note on the Translation,"[154] which states a decision to simplify culture-specific terms.

My analysis as outlined below focuses on identifying shifts and differences between the source text and target text, as in classic approaches within Descriptive Translation Studies. The most interesting findings for the purpose of my study relate to lexical choices, such as the translation of proper names and the treatment of culturally specific items or terms. Additionally, I pay particular attention to the omissions. This will be followed by contrastive analysis of retranslations of the text, as this will also enable a clearer vision of the particular approach taken by Ssu-yu Teng in his version.

Translation of the Title "Cai Xixue yi" 採西學議 *(On the Adoption of Western Knowledge)*

The translation of the title "Cai Xixue yi" as "On the Adoption of Western Knowledge" in *China's Response to the West* reflects a literal translation of *xi* 西 as 'West', generally referring to Europe and North America, making it a broad categorization. A review of the volume's Table of Contents reveals 13 instances of the terms or its derivative words, "West", "Western", or "Westerners", even in the volume titled itself, *China's Response to the West*. Are these terms precise and appropriate? Historically, China faced pressure not only from Western nations such as Britain, France, Germany, and the United States but also from Japan and Russia, which played significant roles in China's modernization and territorial struggles. By the Late Qing period, Japan had emerged as a major force shaping Chinese modernization efforts, particularly after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). The term 'West' clearly excludes those non-Western influences. And even among so-called Western nations, the term 'West' generalizes distinct countries with differing policies toward China. Britain, France, Germany, and the United States each had unique approaches to trade, diplomacy, and military intervention.

[154] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, viii.

To be explicit, the recurrent use of the controversial term 'West' in both *China's Response to the West* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition,* reflects the ideological contours of Cold War-era scholarship, in which broad civilizational categories often served as tools for framing global ideological confrontation and opposition. This thesis, particularly in Chapters Two and Three, correspondingly, continues to employ this broad term partly to resituate the analysis within their historical discourse and partly for analytical clarity. Moreover, retaining the term used in the original sources aligns with how Late Qing intellectuals themselves conceptualized the international picture. Thus, the use of the 'West' serves both historical and practical purposes, functioning as a monolithic analytic category in the two volumes and, correspondingly, in this thesis.

2.3.1 Proper Nouns and Culture-Specific Terms

Proper nouns are specific names that identify individual people, places, organizations, or events. In translation, proper nouns hold particular significance due to their cultural associations. One category of proper nouns comprises culture-specific terms—expressions deeply embedded in a particular culture and often lacking direct equivalents in other languages.[155] Translating these terms poses challenges, as they carry layers of meaning and cultural context that may not easily transfer across linguistic and cultural boundaries. However, analyzing how these words are rendered in translation provides valuable insights into the relationship between CR translations and the translator's broader approach at the textual level. It can also reveal the translator's interventions in the target text. In this section, I will examine the translation of proper names, particularly those with culturally specific elements, to uncover patterns and strategies employed in their adaptation.

One notable example appears in the second paragraph of the translation. The original text and its translation are shown below:[156]

> 今之習於夷者曰「通事」，其人率皆市井佻達遊閑，不齒鄉裏，無所得衣食者始為之。其質魯、其識淺、其心術又鄙，聲色貨利之外，不知其他，且其

[155] Aixela, 1996, 52-79.
[156] To improve readability, I added punctuation to the Chinese original text in places where there are logical breaks in the content or natural pauses indicating the completion of a thought or idea.

> 能不過略通夷語、間識夷字，僅如貨目數名與俚淺文理而已，安望其留心學問乎?[157]
>
> Nowadays those familiar with barbarian affairs are called “linguists.” These men are generally frivolous rascals and loafers in the cities and are despised in their villages and communities. They serve as interpreters only because they have no other means of making a livelihood. Their nature is boorish, their knowledge shallow, and furthermore, their moral principles are mean. They know nothing except sensual pleasures and material profit. Moreover, their ability consists of nothing more than a slight knowledge of the barbarian language and occasional recognition of barbarian characters, which is limited to names of commodities, numerical figures, some slang expressions and a little simple grammar. How can we expect them to pay attention to scholarly studies?[158]

The passage criticizes the “linguists” who specialize in “barbarian” languages, portraying them as frivolous, unprincipled, and lacking intellectual depth. It describes them as social outcasts who become interpreters out of necessity rather than skill or dedication. In the original text, the term *tongshi* 通事 can be literally translated as “interpreter” or “translator.” The characters themselves suggest ‘communicating’ (*tong* 通) ‘matters’ (*shi* 事), implying a role in facilitating communication between different languages and cultural groups. The role of *tongshi* dates back to ancient China, but it became especially significant during the Qing Dynasty (1636/1644-1912), when China had increasing interactions with foreign traders, diplomats, and missionaries.[159] Many unofficial *tongshi* were of low social status, often perceived as opportunists or individuals lacking scholarly merit. This is reflected in historical texts that describe them as unprincipled and motivated by personal gain rather than intellectual or diplomatic excellence, for example, by Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901):

> 中國能通洋語者，僅恃通事, [...] 查上海通事途，獲利最厚，於士農工商之外，別成壹業。其人不外兩種: 壹、廣東寧波商夥子弟，佻達遊閑，別無轉移執事之者，輒以學習通事為埔逃藪; 壹、英法等國 設立義學，招本地貧苦童樨，與以衣食而教肄之，市兒村豎，來歷難知，無不染洋涇習氣，亦無不傳習彼教。[160]
>
> In China, those who want to communicate with foreigners rely solely on linguists. […] Upon investigation, the profession of linguists in Shanghai is the most lucrative, forming a distinct occupation apart from the traditional social classes of scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants. These interpreters generally fall into two categories: One is the children of merchants from Guangdong and Ningbo, who are frivolous and

[157] Feng Guifen, 1884.
[158] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 51.
[159] Liao Dake, 2015, 258-291.
[160] Li Hongzhang, 1921, 11.

> idle, with no other career path available to them. They often turn to learning the trade of interpreting as a means of escape. The other is the poor local boys recruited by charity schools established by Britain and France, who are provided with food and clothing while being educated. These street children and village youths, whose origins are difficult to trace, inevitably adopt foreign habits and manners, and invariably spread foreign religious teachings.[161]

An examination of earlier historical materials on China–foreign relations, for instance, travel accounts written by European and American travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, shows that "linguists" had become a conventional designation for Chinese individuals who provided translation or interpreting services to foreigners. For example, Paul Arthur Van Dyke, an American historian, discusses the role of "linguists" in his book *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845*, even using the term as a chapter title.[162] In that chapter, he details their professional characteristics, daily responsibilities, working language, fee structures and supplementary income, as well as the constraints they faced under the dual authority of Qing customs supervision and foreign merchants. Similarly, *The Prodigal Rake: Memoirs of William Hickey* by William Hickey (1749-1830) also employs the term "linguist" to refer to such intermediaries.[163] Taken together, these sources indicate that "linguists" was an established and widely recognized term for individuals engaged in translation and interpretation within historical Sino-foreign interactions.

Therefore, it is highly likely that Teng and Fairbank conducted thorough research and referenced historical conventions related to the term. Rather than opting for modern expressions, they deliberately chose widely accepted and historically appropriate equivalents to ensure that their translation adhered to the established linguistic norms of the target language. This approach not only preserves the historical and cultural authenticity of the text but also enhances consistency and readability for the target audience. By maintaining conventional terminology, they enable readers to engage with the text in a way that aligns with traditional discourse and scholarly expectations. This implies that their translation strategy was guided by conventional equivalence, prioritizing linguistic and historical accuracy over contemporary reinterpretations. It suggests an effort to remain faithful to historical contexts and terminologies, reinforcing the idea that translation is not merely a

[161] Translation mine.
[162] Van Dyke, 2005, 77-94.
[163] Hickey, 1962, 135-158.

mechanical process but a nuanced practice requiring sensitivity to both linguistic tradition and audience familiarity.

Another example illustrating the culture-specific termsin the original text and its translation is the following sentence:

- 必有出于夷而轉勝于夷者。[164]
- There must be some who can learn from the barbarians and surpass them.[165]

The term *yi* 夷 was a frequent expression used in Qing Dynasty discourse to refer to Westerners, but its meaning and implications evolved over time depending on historical context, political stance, and cultural perception. Different with modern denotation, in classical Chinese, *yi* 夷 refers to one of the four traditional categories of non-Han peoples (*Yi* 夷, *man* 蠻, *rong* 戎, *di* 狄) mentioned in ancient texts, generally referring to groups from the east of China.[166] However, by the Ming and Qing dynasties, it became a broader term for foreign peoples, particularly in official documents and elite writings. In a more neutral sense, *yi* 夷 could simply denote those outside the Chinese cultural and political sphere without necessarily implying hostility. The term carried varying connotations depending on context and the attitudes of the writers. On the one hand, the use of the term reflects the Qing dynasty's Sinocentric worldview. This aligns with the traditional Chinese concept of the *Hua-Yi* distinction (*Hua Yi zhi bian* 華夷之辨), which simply divided the world into two categories: the civilized (referring to China, as *Hua* 华) and the uncivilized (referring to foreign, *Yi* 夷). The implication was that Westerners, regardless of their technological advancements, were still 'outsiders' to Chinese civilization. However, by the Late Qing period, as it faced military defeats and increasing foreign influence, the rigid *Hua-Yi* (civilized and uncivilized) distinction weakened. Though officials and reformists, such as Feng Guifen still used *yi* 夷, they acknowledged the need to learn from the West while maintaining cultural sovereignty. Its usage in Qing discourse reflects the shifting attitudes towards the West—ranging from outright dismissal to reluctant acceptance and adaptation.

---

[164] Feng Guifen, 1884.
[165] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 52.
[166] See for example *Liji* 禮記 (*The Book of Rites*), "Wangzhi" 王制 ("Royal Regulations").

The term was translated as 'barbarians' by early and middle twentieth-century scholars, such as Teng and Fairbank in *China's Response to the West*[167], Chester C. Tan in *Sources of Chinese Tradition,*[168] Mason J. Gentzler in *Changing China: Readings in the History of China from the,*[169] whereas later scholars such as David G. Atwill and Yurong Y. Atwill in *Sources in Chinese History*[170] opted for 'Westerners.' This shift in translation is not merely linguistic but also indicative of evolving academic attitudes and ideological perspectives. The term 'barbarians' reinforced the narrative of Qing China as insular, dismissive, and resistant to progress. When the term is translated into 'Westerners' by contemporary scholars, there is a changing in historical perspectives and academic trends in the study of China's past. By the end of twentieth century, historians recognize that the Qing use of *yi* 夷 was not uniformly derogatory—while it could be dismissive, it was also simply a term for foreigners.[171]

The following example, also illustrating CR in the original text and the translated text, represents a stark deviation from the original meaning in the translation, resulting in a distorted interpretation of the text.

> 三年之後，諸文童于諸國書應口成誦者，許補本學。諸生如有神明變化，能實見之行事者，由通商大臣請賞給舉人。[172]
>
> After three years all students who can recite with ease the books of the various nations should be permitted to become licentiates; and if there are some precocious ones who are able to make changes or improvements which can be put into practice, they should be recommended by the Superintendent of Trade to be imperially granted a chu-jen degree as a reward.[173]

My focus is on the expression *ben xue* 本學 which is translated as "licentiates" here. The character *ben* 本 literally means 'original' or 'native'; *xue* 學 literally means 'learning' or 'school'. The term *ben xue* 本學, in the context of the Qing Dynasty, does not refer to a rank or title such as 'licentiate' but rather to a student's original or designated official school—either a government-established educational institution or a school system under official

[167] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 52.
[168] Tan, 1960, 711.
[169] Gentzler, 1977, 71.
[170] Atwill and Atwill, 2021, 76.
[171] For instance, Mark C. Elliott (2001) *The Manchu Way*; Joanna Waley-Cohen (1993), "China and Western Technology in the Late Eighteenth Century" in *American Historical Review.*
[172] Feng Guifen, 1884.
[173] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 52.

regulation. In the Qing school system, students were typically assigned to schools based on social rank, family status, and official placement. Advancing within the system required passing examinations. The whole phrase wherein the expression stands reads *xuebu benxue* 許補本學. Here, the verb *xuebu* 許補 means 'allowed to enroll' or 'permitted to enter'. Thus, the whole sentence could be interpreted as: "students who pass the assessment (such as fluently reciting foreign books) *are allowed to enter higher schools for further study*." This suggests that talented students from local or county schools could be promoted to central government schools or continue advanced studies within their original institutions. However, the translator translated the term *benxue* as "licentiates", which is actually an official degree in the imperial examination system. The term 'licentiate' usually translates *xiucai* 秀才,[174] which in Qing times refers to a student who has passed the county-level examination, that is, the lowest level of degree holders, granting him official-scholar status.[175] In this case, the original text describes progression within the educational system—students moving to higher schools—not attaining an official examination rank. The translation, however, suggests that students are being granted a formal degree instead of simply being permitted to study further. The translator's intention for the 'misrepresentation' of the education progress could be inferred as oversimplification and approximation. The translator may have struggled to find an English equivalent and chose "licentiates" as a rough approximation of a student advancing in education. Additionally, the translator may have assumed that any official education-related term should be linked to the imperial exam structure. In short, the original passage emphasizes further education as a reward for mastering foreign books, while the translation implies that by passing a foreign language test one is granted an official status. This translation/mistranslation unveils a broader issue in translating Late Qing texts: balancing accuracy with readability while preserving historical and institutional context.

2.3.2 The Role of Omission in Translation: Shaping Structure, Meaning, and Reader Interpretation

Translation is not a mere linguistic conversion but an act of cultural negotiation. When dealing with references to culturally specific concepts that may not resonate with the target

[174] Hucker 1985, 248-249.
[175] Hucker 1985, 248-249.

readership, the translator faces the challenge of balancing fidelity to the source text with readability and comprehension for the target audience. One of the most significant strategies used in this process is omission. This section will explore how omissions in the translation of "Cai Xixue yi" shape the structure and meaning of the text, ultimately influencing the reader's understanding.

Though the translation of "Cai Xixue yi" stayed very close to the source segmentation of information, ten segmentations were omitted. Most of them correspond to sections where extensive classical authorities are cited in support of the arguments—and thus reflect the information given in the initial "Note on the Translation" about the decision to simplify culture-specific terms. According to the editors' statement in the preface, a more extensive draft circulated in 1950, which likely included translations of the cited classics or other quotations. However, the editors ultimately shortened the volume by omitting some passages, primarily those including these classical references. The reasons for these omissions may include considerations for general readers' interests, their (un)familiarity with Chinese history and literature, and even publisher constraints regarding the volume's length and cost.

A close comparison between the original Chinese text and its English translation reveals that the omitted segments primarily include references to ancient Chinese scholars, texts, and philosophical traditions. These elements, while essential in shaping the argument and intellectual framework of the original work, have been removed in the translated version. To provide a glimpse of what has been omitted, I have selected the first paragraphs excluded by the translator and attempted to translate them into English as a sample:

> 《傳》稱左史倚相能讀三墳、五典、八索、九丘。孔安國曰：「九州之志，謂之九丘」。《詩》列十五國之風。康成《譜序》雲：「欲知源流清濁之所處，則循其上下而省之；欲知風化芳臭氣澤之所及，則旁行以觀之。」孔子作《春秋》，有取于百二十國寶書。伊古儒者，未有不博古而兼通今，綜上下縱橫以爲學者也。[176]
>
> The *Commentary of Zuo* (Zuozhuan 左傳) states that Zuoshi Yixiang [c. 1030-223 BC, historian of the State of Chu] could read [ancient books such as] *Three Mounds* (*Sanfen* 三墳), *Five Canons* (*Wudian* 五典), *Eight Guidelines* (*Basuo* 八索), and *Nine Hills* (*Jiuqiu* 九丘). Kong Anguo [156-74 BCE, historian of the Western Han (202BC-9CE)] pointed out that the collective aspirations or ambitions of ancient China were symbolized by unity and coherence. *The Book of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經)

[176] Feng Guifen, 1884.

> depicted 15 countries' landscapes and features. Kangcheng [康成, courtesy name of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200), Confucian scholar of the Eastern Han (25-220)], stated in the preface of the *Notes on the Book of Poetry* (*Maoshi pu* 毛詩譜), "If one wishes to understand the clarity or turbidity of a source, one must trace its course up and down; if one wishes to discern the fragrance or stench of moral influence, one must observe it from all sides." Confucius [c. 551-479BC] composed the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋), drawing from the treasured records of 120 states. In ancient times, scholars always thoroughly studied the past while also mastering the present, comprehensively analyzing matters in all directions as their approach to learning.

From the above segments, we can see that this part primarily consists of references to Chinese classical texts and notable historical figures, which may pose a challenge for English-language readers in grasping the cultural and historical significance. Classical Chinese texts function within a deeply intertextual framework, where citing authoritative sources strengthens the credibility of an argument. However, for an English-speaking audience unfamiliar with these classical sources, extensive references may disrupt the reading experience and dilute the clarity of the main argument. As a result, the translators opted for a streamlined version that conveys the core historical and intellectual insights about the Late Qing while avoiding potential alienation of the target readership.

By removing classical quotations, the translators significantly alter the structure of the text. The original Chinese text is characterized by a style of layered argumentation, wherein historical precedents and authoritative sources are used to substantiate claims. The English translation, by contrast, adopts a more direct and expository approach. This shift in structure could serve two primary functions. (a) Linearization of argumentation: the original text follows a cyclical pattern of argumentation, where historical examples and classical quotations are interwoven to reinforce points. The omission of these references results in a more linear, straightforward presentation of ideas. (b) Simplification of culture-specific terms: the removal of classical citations eliminates the need for extensive footnotes and explanations, thereby ensuring a smoother reading experience. While footnotes could provide valuable context, an overabundance of them might interrupt the narrative flow and hinder engagement with the main text.

Beyond structural changes, omissions also impact the thematic depth and interpretative possibilities of the translation. In the original text, classical references do more than just provide historical substantiation; they also evoke a sense of cultural continuity and

intellectual lineage. By citing ancient texts, the author positions their argument within a broader discourse of Confucian scholarship, emphasizing the importance of historical consciousness in understanding contemporary issues. The English translation, in omitting these references, subtly shifts the interpretive frame, which caused the loss of cultural resonance, and reframing for the English readers. On the one hand, English-language readers are presented with an exposition that is largely decontextualized from the classical Chinese intellectual tradition. While the main arguments remain intact, the translation does not evoke the same sense of historical depth and philosophical continuity that is intrinsic to the original text. On the other hand, by removing references of classical Chinese thought, the translation inadvertently makes the text more palatable to Anglophone narrative frameworks, rather than being rooted in Confucian epistemology.

The omissions in translation shape not only the structure and meaning of the text but also the way readers interpret and engage with it. The absence of classical quotations influences the cognitive framing of the English audience. They reduce cognitive load, shift in perceived authority, and impact on cross-cultural understanding. Firstly, English-speaking readers, unfamiliar with the intricate web of classical Chinese thought, can focus on the core arguments without the distraction of unfamiliar references. This makes the text more accessible but also less nuanced. Secondly, in the Chinese original, authority is derived from historical precedent and textual lineage. In the English translation, authority is established through logical exposition and empirical analysis, reflecting different cultural conceptions of intellectual legitimacy. Last but not least, while the omission of classical quotations makes the text more digestible, it also limits cross-cultural understanding. Readers may gain a clearer historical account but miss out on the deeper philosophical and cultural dimensions that shape Chinese intellectual traditions.

From a Skopos theory perspective, the purpose of the translation determines the strategies employed. The translation of “Cai Xixue yi” in the volume, along with other texts, was designed to serve as a historical resource for English-speaking scholars and general readers, but not sinological experts. Given this objective, the translators prioritized clarity, readability, and accessibility over exhaustive textual fidelity. The omission of classical references was a deliberate strategy aimed at ensuring the text remained comprehensible and engaging. However, this approach also comes at a cost. The omissions alter the structure and meaning of the text, reframing it within a non-Confucian narrative model that may not fully

capture the depth of the original argument. While certain reductions enhance the functionality of the translation, they also limit the transmission of cultural and intellectual nuances inherent in the original text.

Ultimately, omissions in translation are not merely acts of exclusion; they are acts of transformation that shape the reader's perception and understanding of the text. The challenge for translators and editors remains finding a balance between accessibility and cultural fidelity, ensuring that historical texts can be effectively communicated across linguistic and cultural boundaries without losing their intellectual richness.

2.3.3 Retranslation

Retranslation refers to the practice of translating a text multiple times into the same target language. By comparing different translations of a single source text, we can gain insight into the translation process and its outcomes, trace language change, examine how translation affects meaning and reception, and identify translators' interventions. To date, four English translations of "Cai Xixue yi" have been identified. A parallel corpus presenting these four translations side by side is provided in Appendix 3. Before turning to a close comparative analysis, I outline the historical contexts of the different periods in which these translations were produced.

- 1954 (*China's Response to the West* by Teng and Fairbank): Published in the early year of the Cold War, this translation may reflect U.S. academic interest in China's modernization as a way to understand its historical interactions with the wider world.[177]

- 1960 (One of the chapters of *Sources of Chinese Tradition* by Chester C. Tan): Produced during a period of growing Cold War–era area studies, this translation reflects an academic effort to contextualize Late Qing literary works within broader narratives of Chinese tradition.[178]

[177] "Cai Xixue yi" is published in the volume on pages 51-52.
[178] Chester C. Tan was a member of faculty of political science in the Columbia University New York and authored works such as *The Boxer Catastrophe* (1967) and *Chinese Political Thought in the Twentieth Century* (1971). "Cai Xixue yi" is published in the volume on pages 237-238.

- 1977 (*Changing China: Readings in the History of China From the Opium War to the Presen* by Mason J. Gentzler): Published in the context of the normalization of relations and the establishment of full diplomatic ties between the United States and China, this translation reflects renewed Anglo-American scholarly interest in China's modern history and its paths of political and social transformation.[179]

- 2021 (*Sources in Chinese History: Diverse Perspectives from 1644 to the Present* by David G. Atwill and Yurong Y. Atwill): As the most recent translation, this version reflects continued scholarly interest in China's history and modernization within a context shaped by globalization and intellectual plurality.[180]

In the following section, I undertake a close comparison of the different translations of the title "Cai Xixue yi", revealing distinct lexical choices across versions. As we have seen, Teng and Fairbank translated it as "On the Adoption of Western Knowledge". The other three translations, by Chester Tan, Mason Gentzler, and David Atwill and Yurong Atwill, are all titled "On the Adoption of Western Learning".

The original Chinese title contains the character *xue* 学, which can signify both 'knowledge' and 'learning.' While closely related, these two English terms carry nuanced differences in meaning. The phrase 'Western knowledge' emphasizes the substantive content of Western intellectual traditions, including advancements in science, technology, and specialized fields. The term 'knowledge' underscores the factual and theoretical aspects of what is being adopted. One passage from the text illustrates this focus on concrete intellectual content:

> 此外如算學、重學、視學、光學、化學等皆得格物至理，.....多中人所不及。
>
> Western books on mathematics, mechanics, optics, light, chemistry, and other subjects contain the best principles of the natural sciences [...]; most of this information is beyond the reach of our people.[181]

The term 'Western learning' goes beyond mere content and encompasses the process of acquisition, transmission, and even the integration of Western intellectual traditions into

[179] Mason J. Gentzler was a Professor of Asian Studies at Columbia University. "Cai Xixue yi" is published in the volume on pages 70-71.
[180] David G. Atwill teaches Asian History at Pennsylvania State University. Yurong Y. Atwill is Asian Studies Librarian at Pennsylvania State University. "Cai Xixue yi" is published in the volume on pages 75-76.
[181] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 51.

Chinese thought. It implies a broader cultural and educational engagement, potentially including institutional and pedagogical transformations. The choice of this term may carry connotations of not just absorbing knowledge but also adapting or assimilating Western ways of education or thinking.

If we consider the broader theme in Feng Guifen's original anthology which contains the essay "Cai Xixue yi", *Jiaobinlu Kangyi* 校邠廬抗議 (Protest from the Jiaobin Studio), the author's discourse extends far beyond the mere adoption of Western scientific and technological advancements. Feng Guifen advocated for sweeping reforms across bureaucracy, fiscal policy, military affairs, and education. His argument suggests that simply acquiring Western machinery and technological know-how would be insufficient; instead, deeper systemic changes were necessary, even inevitable. A crucial term in the text, *fa* 法, meaning 'method' or 'model,' reflects this broader perspective. The author is not merely concerned with the transfer of Western scientific knowledge but with the methodologies and systems underlying Western progress. This suggests that 'Western learning' may be the more comprehensive and contextually appropriate translation, as it encapsulates both the knowledge itself and the transformative processes through which China might internalize and apply it.

The choice between 'Western knowledge' and 'Western learning' reflects each translator's interpretation of the text's underlying message. Teng and Fairbank's preference for 'knowledge' may indicate a focus on the intellectual and scientific dimensions of Western influence, while the application of the term 'learning' by Chester Tan, Mason Gentzler, David Atwill and Yurong Atwill suggests a broader engagement with Western thought and practices, including their assimilation into Chinese society. Ultimately, translation is not merely a linguistic exercise but a lens through which different scholars perceive historical discourse. In this case, opting for 'Western learning' may offer a more nuanced and holistic understanding of the author's advocacy for reform, as it underscores both the intellectual and methodological transformations, the deemed essential for China's future.

In order to further compare the different translations, I delved into the treatment of culture-specific terms, going through systematically and comparing lexical choices and shifts across each of the versions. In some cases, it became clear that successive translators were indebted to each other in the process of translating the original Chinese, but in other cases,

the similarities are more indicative of a shared frame for understanding the relationship between Chinese and Western cultures. My main interest was seeing if I could observe changes or shifts in strategy for translating cultural specificity across the decades of retranslation, in order to see how far they reflected changes in the relationship between China and the West—or at the very least changing perception of the Late Qing period and its significance in English. For this reason, I drew on existing frameworks for analysing the translation of culturally specific terms, and have combined quantitative analysis (attentive to what are the primary approaches in each translation) and qualitative reflection on how they relate to each other and to the construction of each retranslation as a single, coherent message in the target culture.

In the table below:

- TT1 refers to the translation from Teng and Fairbank in 1954.
- TT2 is the translation by Chester C. Tan in 1960.
- TT3 is by Mason J. Gentzler in 1977.
- TT4 is by David G. Atwill and Yurong Y. Atwill in 2021.

A '×' indicates that no translation is available for the corresponding paragraph.

Source Text	**English Translations**		
必有出于夷而轉勝于夷者	TT1	Barbarians	There must be some who can learn from the barbarians and surpass them.
	TT2	Barbarians	There must be some who can learn from the barbarians and surpass them.
	TT3	Barbarians	Surely there are some who, having learned from the barbarians, can surpass them.
	TT4	Westerners	Certainly, there are those who having learned from Westerners can surpass them.
于是乎不得不寄耳目于蠢愚謬妄之通事	TT1	Linguists	The Chinese officials have to rely upon the stupid and silly "linguists" as their eyes and ears.
	TT2	Interpreters	The Chinese officials have to rely upon stupid and preposterous interpreters as their eyes and ears.
	TT3	×	
	TT4	Tongshi [translators]	(a) who are aware of Western affairs are called tongshi [translators]. (b) We have to rely on dull-witted translators to communicate.

由通商大臣請賞給舉人	TT1	Superintendent of Trade	They should be recommended by the Superintendent of Trade to be imperially granted a chu-jen degree as a reward.
	TT2	×	
	TT3	Superintendent of Trade	The Superintendent of Trade should recommend that they be granted the chi-jen degree as a reward.
	TT4	Minister of Trade	The especially gifted students who practically apply their learning should be recommended by the Minister of Trade to receive the juren degree as a reward.
而我都護以下之于彼國則瞢然無所知，	TT1	Generals	Our officers from generals down, in regard to foreign countries are completely uninformed.
	TT2	Governors	Our officials from the governors down are completely ignorant of foreign countries.
	TT3	×	
	TT4	Military Commander [duhu]	Our officials under the rank of Military Commander [duhu] level know nothing about other countries.
夫馭夷爲今天下第壹要政	TT1	Administrative problem	At the present time the most important administrative problem of the empire is to control the barbarians, …
	TT2	Political problem	At present the most important political problem of the empire is to control the barbarians, …
	TT3	×	
	TT4	Our government	I lament the fact that our foreign affairs, the key concern for our government, are dependent upon such people.

Table 10. Retranslations of Proper Nouns from Feng Guifen's "Cai Xixue yi".

In Table 10, the translation of the Chinese term *yi* 夷 has evolved over time—from 'barbarians' to 'Westerners'—reflecting shifts in scholarly perspectives, ideological trends, and historical understandings of Sino-Western relations. The term was historically used in Qing discourse to refer to foreigners, particularly Europeans and North Americans who were involved in the foreign affairs with Qing, and was translated as 'barbarians' by early twentieth-century scholars like Teng and Fairbank (1954), Chester C. Tan (1960), and Mason J. Gentzler (1977), whereas later scholars David G. Atwill and Yurong Y. Atwill (2021) opted for 'Westerners.' This shift in translation is not merely linguistic but also indicative of evolving academic attitudes and ideological perspectives. Translators in the period of 1950s to 1970s sought to capture the historical authenticity of Qing discourse, preserving its tone. They were trying to maintain faithfulness to Qing-era Sinocentric ideology.

Choosing ‘Westerners’ removes the moral judgment attached to ‘barbarians’ and reflects a more balanced view of Qing attitudes toward foreigners, and also allows for a more neutral, less confrontational understanding of Sino-Western relations, since the late twentieth century, historians have re-examined Qing engagement with the West, emphasizing China’s pragmatic adaptation rather than outright rejection of Western influence. The translation of the term moves away from Cold War ideological biases and embraces a more globalized perspective on history. Therefore, this evolution in translation reveals not only linguistic considerations but also changing historical perspectives, ideological influences, and academic trends in the study of China’s past.

Another illustrative case is the translation of the three titles, *tongshi* 通事, *tongshang dachen* 通商大臣, and *duhu* 都護, which reveals clear patterns in how translations of historical terms have evolved over time. The observed variations reflect differing translation strategies, shifting historical perspectives, and changing scholarly ideologies.

From the perspective of broader trends in translation practice, TT1 adheres closely to established historical conventions, employing terms aligned with earlier scholarships. TT2 adopts an interpretative approach, translating according to perceived meaning rather than strict historical specificity. In TT3, the more extensive use of omission suggests a translation strategy shaped by caution and selectivity, instead of risking imprecise translation of historically specific terms This strategy, however, also results in a reduction of cultural and institutional detail, potentially narrowing the interpretive scope available to the target reader. TT4, by contrast, seeks to balance accessibility with fidelity to the source text, using transliteration accompanied by explanatory notes to foreground cultural specificity. This mirrors wider developments in translation studies, in which contemporary approaches increasingly emphasize cultural awareness while maintaining readability for the audiences.

The differing translations of *zheng* 政 demonstrate that translation is not merely a linguistic operation but an interpretive act shaped by the translator’s perspectives.

ST: “夫馭夷爲今天下第壹**要政**.”

TT1: “At the present time the most important **administrative problem** of the empire is to control the barbarians” by Teng and Fairbank (1954)

TT2: “At present the most important **political problem** of the empire is to control the barbarians” by Chest Tan (1960)

TT4: “I lament the fact that our foreign affairs, the key concern for **our government**, are dependent upon such people.” by David G. Atwill and Yurong Y. Atwill (2021)

In the source text, *zheng* 政 denotes a central concern with governance, yet its semantic scope allows for multiple interpretations. TT1 (1954) translates the term as “administrative problem,” reflecting an approach to frame Qing governance through bureaucratic and managerial concepts. TT2 (1960) shifts to “political problem,” broadening the interpretive frame and aligning the term more closely with modern political discourse. By contrast, TT4 (2021) moves away from abstract categorization, embedding the term within a more contextualized interpretation as “our government”, and reframing the sentence around “foreign affairs.” This evolution illustrates how retranslation responds to changing perspectives of translators and linguistic sensibilities: later translations tend to prioritize contextual meaning, and reader accessibility over direct lexical equivalence. Taken together, these versions show that retranslation not only reflects the evolution of language and translation norms, but also reconfigures historical interpretation by reshaping how key political concepts are framed for new audiences.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I began to delve into the translation of Late Qing literature in the 1950s, focusing on the volume *China's Response to the West*. Beginning by setting out sociohistorical and political context, I uncovered the reasons for the construction of the volume, drawing on archival research in Harvard University Library. I went on to contextualise Fairbank and Teng’s project, identifying the reasons for the selection of texts and translation approach, before turning to close textual analysis of one of the key texts in the volume “Cai Xixue yi” 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge), combining different modes of analysis. My study is contributing to a broader understanding of *China’s Response to the West* and of early Asian Studies in the U.S. approaches to Chinese-Western exchanges historically and also to our understanding of the evolution of translation approaches to Late Qing history and culture. The translation of “Cai Xixue yi” reflects the

complex interplay between linguistic choice, historical context, and the translator's interpretation. The variations in translation highlight how different scholars understand the scope of China's interaction with the West, whether as a transfer of knowledge or a broader learning process involving cultural and institutional adaptation. This evolution in translation underscores the dynamic nature of historical discourse, where new perspectives continue to shape our understanding of China's modernization efforts.

China's Response to the West emerged at a moment when American scholarship on China was profoundly shaped by Cold War anxieties, geopolitical rivalry, and the urgent need to 'explain' China's revolutionary transformation to Western audiences. As such, the volume inevitably participated in the intellectual climate of its time. It did so in two interrelated ways. First, it reinforced Cold War perspectives. The volume's structure, editorial framing, and translational choices reflect assumptions characteristic of Cold War-era scholarship. The volume treats Late Qing reformist thought primarily as a precursor to the political ideologies that would shape the PRC, emphasizing continuity with modern political developments at the expense of literary, cultural, or philosophical nuance. Additionally, the volume often positions China's 'response' against an implicitly normative Western modernity. These choices together generate a view of the Late Qing that resonates with Cold War narratives of ideological conflict, modernization theory, and the search for the roots of China's perceived 'difference'.

Second, the volume shaped historiographical discourse. It helped shape the field of modern Chinese intellectual history for decades. It canonized certain texts as the primary lenses through which Late Qing reform was to be understood in English-language scholarship. For many students and scholars, the volume served as an introduction to modern Chinese history, thereby shaping expectations about what Late Qing reform texts 'ought' to look like and how they fit into a linear narrative of modernization. The volume established a model of treating intellectual history primarily as a setting of modern politics; later scholarship would define itself partly in reaction to this framing.

Thus, *China's Response to the West* is best understood as a Cold War intellectual artifact that both responded to and reinforced the geopolitical concerns of its time. Its translational and editorial strategies embedded Cold War assumptions into the Anglophone understanding of Chinese reform, and the prestige of the volume helped institutionalize these

perspectives in subsequent historiography. Even as later scholarship has revised or challenged its conclusions, the volume's influence on the field remains significant, precisely because it helped shape the discursive terrain on which debates about China's modernity continue to unfold.

Chapter Three. *Sources of Chinese Tradition 1960-1999*

As I searched for Late Qing writings translated into English, one particular anthology caught my attention: *Sources of Chinese Tradition.* Its influence is underscored by a 1987 report in *The New York Times*, which noted that *Sources of Chinese Tradition* ranked as the fourth best-selling nonfiction book used in universities across America over the preceding twenty-five years.[182] It was first published as a single volume in 1960 by Columbia University Press, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Burton Watson. Later, it was revised and expanded into two separate volumes, first published as a paperback in 1964 by Columbia University Press. In 1999, it was again substantially revised and expanded, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (Vol. 1) and by Wm. Theodore de Bary and Richard Lufrano (Vol. 2), and again published by Columbia University Press.[183]

The anthology was attempted to represent 'Chinese traditions' to readers by presenting translated Chinese classics and sacred texts as well as texts thought representative or influential from ancient times until the twentieth century. The section on the Late Qing occupies roughly one hundred of the anthology's more than nine hundred pages in its initial version, which is a seemingly disproportionate emphasis, considering the period's relative brevity within the over 2,000 years of Chinese history the work encompasses. The anthology has demonstrated significant academic value, both at the time of its publication and in subsequent scholarship, as evidenced by its multiple revised and enlarged editions, reprints, and scholarly reviews.[184] Given its reputation and substantial content, it serves as a valuable window into how the Late Qing period was represented and transmitted from the 1960s to the 1990s.

The anthology was developed as part of a broader series focused on the major civilizations of East and South Asia, specifically China, Japan, India, and Korea.[185] Designed

---

[182] Martin, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/17/world/asia/wm-de-bary-dead-columbia-university-sinologist.html.
[183] In some editions, the year 2000 is given as the year of publication. The version I accessed referred to 1999 though, and I will use that date throughout the thesis.
[184] See for instance, Arthur W. Hummel, *Philosophy East & West*, 1960, 169-170; Derk Bodde, *Artibus Asiae,* 1960, 254-255; E. G. Pulleyblank, *Pacific Affairs*, 1961, 197-199; Endymion Wilkinson, *China Review International*, 2001, 93-101.
[185] The series include S*ources of Chinese Tradition* (1960, rev. 1999), *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (1958), *Sources of Indian Tradition* (1958, rev. 1988), and *Sources of Korean Traditions* (1997).

to support the Oriental Studies Program at Columbia University, these collections provide carefully selected sources in translation. Among them, *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (hereafter *Sources*) stands out as a foundational volume by offering translated texts and excerpts that illuminate the key cultural, philosophical, religious, and intellectual traditions that have shaped Chinese civilization over the centuries. The principal editor, William Theodore de Bary (1919-2017), who also served as the director of the Oriental Studies Program at Columbia University, brought a distinct vision to the project:

> They are to be studied as peoples who can teach us much about ourselves, whose past can give us new perspective on our own, and whose way of looking at things can challenge us to a re-examination of our own.[186]

Committed to the idea that understanding Asia is essential to a well-rounded liberal education, de Bary advocated for the inclusion of Asian texts and perspectives in the curriculum. He viewed these sourcebooks not only as academic tools but also as bridges for cross-cultural understanding, resources that could foster meaningful dialogue among different intellectual traditions.[187]

As discussed at the beginning of Chapter Two, in my original plan for this thesis, I had intended to bring together *China's Response to the West* and *Sources* in a single chapter, because of their dates of publication and the way in which they seem to form a coherent translation period in my database. However, in the end I decided to separate them into my final thesis structure. In part, this was because I found such rich data on *China's Response to the West*, that made it stand out for its contribution in the ways I have described in the previous chapter. Another reason, however, was that *Sources* actually spans a longer period, due to the publication of later revised and expanded editions in 1999. In other words, it is a project that both will be expected to share in some of the contextual influences that shaped responses to Late Qing writings in the second half of the twentieth century, as well as also responding to changes in attitudes, and in the relationship between the US and China, after the end of the 1950s. To clarify the different editions over time, I gathered publication information for each version.

[186] De Bary, 1959, 3.
[187] De Bary, 1960, 4; 1959, 3.

Publication Time	Amount of Volume	Editors	Agent	Amount of Chapters	Note
1960	1	Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Burton Watson; xx, 870 pp.	Columbia University Press, U.S.	29	A copy of the cover page can be seen in Appendix 9.
1964	2	Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Burton Watson (Vol. 1); xxxiii, 578 pp. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Chester C. Tan (Vol. 2); xii, 322 pp.	Columbia University Press, U.S	25	A copy of the cover page can be seen in Appendix 9.
1986	1	Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Burton Watson; xx, 857 pp.	Mei Ya Publishing Inc. (Taiwan)	28	1.Copyright 1960 edition and reprinting in 1986. 2. The last chapter on Chinese Communists has been omitted.
1999	1 (Vol. 1)	Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (Vol. 1); 944 pp.	Columbia University Press, U.S	1-24 (the earliest times up to 1600)	1.Expansion of content to 1990s and major revisions have been made; 2. Copy image of the cover page seen in Appendix 9.
	1 (Vol. 2)	Wm. Theodore de Bary and Richard Lufrano (Vol. 2), 656 pp.		25-39 (from 1600 through the twentieth century)	

Table 11. Publication Information for the different editions of *Sources of Chinese Tradition.*

The initial publication of the anthology in 1960 occurred during a time of prevailing McCarthyism in the U.S. and intense ideological rivalry due to the Cold War. The anthology and the entire series of readings were supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, a philanthropic fund dedicated to supporting education programmes across the United States and later the world.[188] Although the Corporation's disclaimer in the anthology may appear to be a routine legal or ethical safeguard, it was likely a strategic move in response to the political pressures of the time.[189] The Corporation was threading a needle: it sought to support educational freedom and diversity of thought, while also avoiding direct association with potentially controversial content. In doing so, it enabled the circulation of a wide range of ideas, even those critical of prevailing ideologies, without being seen as politically complicit. Though disclaiming ownership, the Corporation still influenced public knowledge through its funding decisions. By supporting the anthology and broader educational projects, it played a powerful role in shaping what information was made accessible to educators,

[188] De Bary, Chan, Watson, 1960, 6.
[189] "The corporation is not, however, the author, owner, publisher, or proprietor of this publication, and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements made or views expressed therein." (De Bary, Chan, Watson, 1960, 6.)

students, and policymakers, even if indirectly. The very act of funding diverse intellectual work may be a subtle resistance to the intellectual conformity of the era[190]

Given this historical context, it is pertinent to consider whether the translations were influenced by the prevailing ideological climate and, if so, how this might have affected the texts. As in the case of *China's Response to the West*, the anthology's development during this period raises questions about the potential impact of Cold War ideologies in particular on translation choices (and omissions). Attention will thus be paid in this chapter to analyze how the translations and interpretations of the source materials might have been shaped by the political and cultural atmosphere of the time. Furthermore, the fact that a revised and expanded edition was published in 1999 offers the opportunity to reflect on any changes in representation of the Late Qing period and how these might reveal changing ideological attitudes. This section will address these questions and underlying assumptions by closely examining the texts in which they are represented in the initial version.

3.1 Peritextual Elements: The Anthology's Editorial Structure

The anthology's (1960) segments and "Table of Contents" serve to guide readers through the vast historical and intellectual landscape of Chinese civilization. Divided into five chronological sections, it spans from the Sage Kings (Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹) to Chinese Communism. Like in *China's Response to the West*, each chapter of the volume begins with historical background and explanatory material, supplemented by introductions to the respective author and source details, all of which enhance contextual understanding. A distinguishing feature of the anthology carries emphasis on Chinese philosophies and religions alongside cultural and social developments. The editors explain this emphasis on religions as a corrective to the traditional neglect of religious matters in Chinese intellectual historiography, noting a "disjunction between the popular practice of religion and the intellectual activity of the ruling elites" and observing that "the dominant traditions of Chinese thoughts have been less markedly religious in character."[191] These editorial choices

[190] Some other projects for education include, for instance, *Graduate Record Examination (GRE) Developed* in 1937, *Education Test Service Launches* in 1947, *Research Supports Creation of Federal Pell Grant Program* in 1965, and so on. See more information on the Carnegie Foundation webpage. https://www.carnegiefoundation.org/

[191] De Bary, Chan, and Watson,1960, 7.

reflect an effort to offer a more comprehensive view of Chinese thought and society. *Sources* (1960) comprises a total of 29 chapters. This chapter firstly focuses on the original 1960 edition. The chapters are as follows:

Part One: The Classical Period

Chapter 1 “The Chinese Tradition in Antiquity” (p. 3-16);

Chapter 2 “Confucius” (p. 17-35);

Chapter 3 “Mo Tzu: Universal Love, Utilitarianism, and Uniformity” (p. 36-49);

Chapter 4 “Taoism” (p. 50-87);

Chapter 5 “Logic and Cosmology” (p. 88-99);

Chapter 6 “Molders of the Confucian Tradition” (p. 100-135);

Chapter 7 “The Legalists” (p.136-158);

Part Two: The Imperial Age: Ch’in and Han

Chapter 8 “The Imperial Order” (p. 165-199);

Chapter 9 “The Universal Order” (p. 200-226);

Chapter 10 “The Economic Order” (p. 227-243);

Chapter 11 “Rationalism and Superstition” (p. 244-255);

Chapter 12 “Confucianism and the Confucian Canon” (p. 256-265);

Chapter 13 “The Great Han Historians” (p. 266-276);

Part Three: Neo-Taoism and Buddhism

Chapter 14 “Neo-Taoism” (p. 279-305);

Chapter 15 “The Introduction of Buddhism” (p. 306-326);

Chapter 16 “The Schools of Buddhism I” (p. 327-373);

Chapter 17 “The Schools of Buddhism II” (p. 374-408);

Part Four: The Confucian Revival

Chapter 18 “Precursors of the Confucian Revival” (p. 411-437);

Chapter 19 “The Confucian Revival in the Sung” (p. 438-509);

Chapter 20 “Neo-Confucianism: The School of Principle or Reason” (p. 510-557);

Chapter 21 “Neo-Confucianism: The School of the Mind or Intuition” (p. 558-581);

Chapter 22 “The Late Harvest of Confucian Scholarship” (p. 582-629);

Chapter 23 “Popular Religion and Secret Societies” (p. 630-660);

Part Five: China and The New World

Chapter 24 “The Opening of China to the West” (p. 663-679, Late Qing, 3 texts);

Chapter 25 “The Heavenly Kingdom of the Taipings” (p. 680-704, Late Qing, 4 texts);

Chapter 26 “Reform and Reaction under the Manchus” (p. 705-759, Late Qing, 14 texts);

Chapter 27 “The National Revolution” (p. 760-812);

Chapter 28 “The New Culture Movement” (p. 813-857);

Chapter 29 “Chinese Communism” (p. 858-946).[192]

The editorial structure of 1960 edition was methodically arranged to present a chronological and thematic evolution of Chinese thought, culture, and political institutions. Parts One to Four explore the classical foundations of Chinese thought, alongside evolving concepts of governance and morality from early dynasties through the Neo-Confucian revival. Part Five shifts the focus to China’s modern transformation, examining the nation’s response to Western imperialism, internal rebellions, reform movements, and revolutionary ideologies, which will be the subject of this chapter. Notably, the Taiwanese version (1986) deletes the last chapter on Chinese Communism, while it has been maintained in the U.S.-American revised edition (1999). This may reflect the deep political tensions and ideological divides between the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the Republic of China (ROC). After the Chinese Civil War, the Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party) fled to Taiwan in 1949 and established the ROC government in exile. They strongly opposed Communism and have viewed the PRC as an illegitimate regime ever since. The editorial decision to remove the chapter on “Chinese Communism” in the Taiwanese edition was not merely academic; it was likely influenced by censorship and ideological control, shaped by the broader geopolitical context and the ongoing struggle over the legitimacy of Chinese identity and governance. By removing the chapter, the Taiwanese version denies the PRC’s role in the ongoing evolution of Chinese tradition. While the American versions, published by Columbia University Press, includes the Communist chapter, reflecting a scholarly commitment to completeness and critical engagement. The actions may reflect differing views on what counts as ‘Chinese tradition’, to see if it is a dynamic legacy or a fixed cultural essence. Therefore, the omission highlights the intersection of politics, ideology, and historiography, illustrating how history is often shaped as much by omission as by inclusion.

The Late Qing texts discussed here are located in Chapters 24, 25, and 26. The distribution of texts across these chapters highlights a clear editorial emphasis in Chapter 26, which focuses on reformist thought and ideological responses to foreign encroachment and the internal crises of the nineteenth century. Chapter 26 presents a diverse array of perspectives: ten texts represent reformist voices, while four reflect conservative viewpoints. This deliberate inclusion reflects the editors’ effort to present a balanced portrayal of Late

[192] The version reprinted in Taiwan in 1986 omitted the final chapter on Chinese Communism.

Qing intellectual discourse, highlighting both progressive reformers and traditionalist critics. Among the selected texts are well-known writings such as Feng Guifen's "Cai Xixue yi", previously examined in Chapter Two, which exemplifies the reformist response rooted in Confucian pragmatism. In contrast, the inclusion of conservative writings, though fewer in number, offers valuable insight into the ideological resistance to Westernization and internal change. When compared with *China's Response to the West*, which contains 56 translated texts from the same historical period but only one text from a conservative perspective, *Sources* stands out for its more balanced representation. Despite offering fewer total texts than *China's Response to the West*, *Sources* makes a significant contribution by devoting three full chapters to a period of roughly fifty years, a remarkable editorial decision considering the anthology spans over 2,000 years of Chinese history and twelve major dynasties as mentioned. This demonstrates the editors' intent not to provide a comprehensive historical narrative, but rather to curate a representative anthology of cultural, intellectual, and political traditions. In doing so, *Sources* seeks to illustrate how modern Chinese identity was shaped through internal debates and external pressures, positioning the anthology as a cultural and philosophical lens rather than a conventional historical chronicle. Although both anthologies have undergone multiple re-editions and reprints over the years, *China's Response to the West* has maintained its original content without any additions. In contrast, *Sources* underwent a major revision in its 1999 edition, incorporating a substantial number of new texts that will be studied later in this chapter.

In the previous chapter we looked briefly at the selection of texts in *Sources* in order to reflect in more depth on the particular perspective presented by *China's Response to the West*. Here, I will look more closely at the editors, translators and texts selected in *Sources*, looking at who they are, what kinds of texts are included, what themes are prioritised for focus in the de Bary project, and ultimately how these fit into the over-arching project as a whole. As before, I will reflect on how this narrative compares to Chinese-language historiographical sources.

The Translators and Contributors

The 1960 *Sources* does not attribute translators for the individual texts, rendering the translation process 'invisible'. This editorial approach mirrors that of *China's Response to the*

West, which similarly omits specific translation credits. This may be due to the shared purpose of both anthologies: to introduce Chinese history and culture to English-speaking audiences in a cohesive and accessible format, possibly prioritizing editorial coherence over translation attribution. The only available information about the translators appears in the preface. There, chief editor de Bary notes that the translations of texts by Lin Zexu 林則徐 and Li Dazhao 李大釗 (1889-1927) were taken from *China's Response to the West*; the Taiping materials were drawn from a documentary history compiled at the University of Washington and an amended version of Walter Henry Medhurst's (1796-1857) translations was also used. This indicates that Chapters 24 and 25 consist largely of externally sourced translations. In contrast, Chapter 26 was attributed to Chester C. Tan 譚春霖 (dates of birth and death are unknown), although it is unclear in this edition whether Tan translated all the texts in that chapter.[193]

To gain further clarity on translation attribution, I turn to the 1999 edition, which, unlike the 1960 version, identifies translators for most texts. The translators' initials are displayed following each selection and all contributors' names are listed on the title page, which facilitates the identification of translators and enables further scrutiny of the different agents involved in the translation process and their connection to other projects and networks. This edition enables a more precise understanding of the contributors' roles. Among them, Chester Tan appears as the most prominent, credited with 14 translations that correspond exactly to the texts in Chapter 26 of the 1960 edition. Based on this correlation, it may be reasonably inferred that the translations in Chapter 26 of the original *Sources* were either rendered or adapted by Tan. In addition to Tan, Teng and Fairbank, Liang Jinde 梁進得 (1820-1862), Walter Henry Medhurst (1796-1857), and Franz H. Michael (1907-1992) were the translators of Chapter 24 and 25 in the earlier version.[194] The 1999 edition underwent a major revision, incorporating 19 newly added texts or excerpts while retaining the materials from the earlier version, though some revisions were also made to earlier versions of translated texts. Correspondingly, the 1999 edition appeared with more translators, most of them historians, or sinologists. This composition may reveal a dominant historical perspective, with historians shaping much of the analytical framework.

---

[193] "Chester Tan is the principal author of chapter 26, 27" (De Bary, Chan, and Watson, 1960, 9).
[194] This information in the 1999 edition makes it possible to trace the translators responsible for texts included in the 1960 edition.

Translator	Academic Background	Distribution	Version
Chester Tan	He was an historian, professor at the New York University	14/14	1960/1999
Kuang-ching Liu	He was an historian, editor, professor at University of California-Davis	7	1999
Peter Zarrow	A current Professor of History at the University of Connecticut and Adjunct Research Fellow at the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica	4	1999
Victor Mair	An American sinologist and he was a professor of Chinese at the University of Pennsylvania	4	1999
Don C.Price	He was an historian, professor at University of California, Davis	1	1999
Joan Judge	A cultural historian of modern China, She is a current professor in the Department of History at York University.	1	1999
Lawrence G. Thompson	World War II veteran, sinologist, classical violinist and was a professor of East Asian languages and cultures at the University of Southern California	1	1999
Liang Jinde	He was a translator of Lin Zexu	1/1	1960/1999
Philip Kuhn	An American historian of China and was a Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History and of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University	1	1999
Teng and Fairbank	Historians and sinologists (detailed background information seen previous chapter)	1/1	1960/1999
W.H. Medhurst	He was an English Congregationalist missionary to China in 1840s	1/1	1960/1999
Franz Michael[195]	German-born American scholar of China, taught at University of Washington, Seattle, and at The George Washington University in Washington, D.C.	1/1	1960/1999

Table 12. Translators and their contributions to the Late Qing sections of the 1960 and 1999 editions of *Sources of Chinese Tradition*.

Based on the table, we can observe key trends in the composition and expansion of the anthology contributors, particularly notable in the 1990s. Firstly, we can see an increase in the number of translators in the 1990s. Secondly, we can note that most of the translators and contributors listed are affiliated with academic institutions, mostly in the United States, which reflects the dominance of U.S.-based sinology during this period and the internationalization of Chinese intellectual history as a field. Their positions, often in departments of history, East Asian studies, cultural studies or language, highlight an interdisciplinary approach, blending historical, cultural, or linguistic methods. Thirdly, the change in composition offers us an important insight into evolving academic interests. The increase in contributors and the

[195] Franz adapted the version of W.H. Medhurst's translation of *The Book of Heavenly Commandments* (De Bary, Chan, and Watson, 1960, 3).

broader institutional representations reflect a shift in academic focus in the 1990s. There was a growing desire to move beyond traditional political or philosophical narratives to include cultural, social, and intellectual currents within Chinese history. The anthology's expansion parallels this trend, seeking to be more inclusive of diverse historical voices and interpretations, marking a critical moment in the globalization and diversification of Chinese intellectual history as an academic discipline. In many ways, the 1999 edition is much closer to the overall 'culturalist' focus of *Sources* set out by de Bary from the initiation of his project.

Selections of Texts as well as the Anthology's Expansion in 1999

As previously noted, the 1960 edition devotes three chapters (24, 25, 26) to the Late Qing period, with a clear editorial emphasis on reform movements and ideological shifts. These chapters include a total of 21 texts, of which, three focus on early encounters with foreign powers, four on the Taiping Rebellion or Movement, ten on reform initiatives and four on conservative responses. The numerical predominance of reform-oriented writings indicates a deliberate thematic focus by the editors (particularly Chester Tan) who frame the Late Qing largely through the lens of reformist engagement with crisis and change. At the same time, the inclusion of conservative texts demonstrates an effort to contextualize reformist thought within the broader intellectual landscape of the period. Rather than undermining the reformist emphasis, these conservative voices serve to illuminate the contours of ideological resistance and debate, thereby enriching the anthology's portrayal of Late Qing intellectual discourse by juxtaposing progressive aspirations with enduring conservative critiques. Tan's selection of texts suggests a more balanced approach to portraying China's modern history. In contrast, Fairbank's *China's Response to the West*, which includes only a single conservative essay among its fifty-six texts, largely excludes conservative voices. This omission indicates that Fairbank's interpretation reflects a particular historiographical stance rather than the full complexity of historical reality.

In fact, during the nineteenth century, conservative ideologies and institutions remained dominant within the Qing bureaucracy, while the reformist voices, although intellectually vibrant and progressive in their outlook, were largely marginalized in official

political circles.[196] Or, at least, the two groups were unable to reach an agreement as indicated by Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837-1909).[197] Reform advocates such as Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-1897, translator, political columnist, newspaper publisher), Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927, political thinker and scholar), and Xue Fucheng 薛福成, (1838-1894, diplomat), figures who feature prominently in the anthology, were either scholars without formal bureaucratic positions or diplomats and intellectuals working outside the core of the state, who were lacking the bureaucratic leverage and political backing to implement their ideas on a broad scale.

> The majority of government officials who achieved their status through the civil service exams […] considered themselves the defenders of China's cultural heritages and accused their reform-mind colleagues of treachery. The fact that many of those engaged in practical work in foreign affairs did not come through the venerable civil service exam system meant that they were regarded as second-class members of the bureaucracy. The elite's disdain for them was fully justified by the traditional high moral ground occupied by the 'pure stream' [i.e. scholar-officials]. Thus both the language and the actions of reform were heavily circumscribed by such an environment.[198]

As scholar Eva Hung 孔慧怡 explains, the conservative values embedded within the Qing bureaucracy created significant obstacles for reform. The entrenched prestige of the examination system and the ideological dominance of conservative scholar-officials constrained both the scope and pace of reform.

Or as Peter Zarrow describes in *Thoughts from the Ice-Drinker's Studio* (2023):

> The government was turning to reform as officials sought to import Western technology, especially armaments factories. But political and social elites remained conservative insofar as efforts to learn foreign languages, train modern engineers and send officials abroad remained deliberately limited. The commitment of elites to Confucian ethics of hierarchy and respect was, if anything, reinforced, but they recognized that some reforms were necessary because the government faced unprecedented threats.[199]

---

[196] Hung, 2000, 6.

[197]"則舊者愈病新，新者愈厭舊，交相為愈，而恢詭傾危、亂名改作之流，遂雜出其說以蕩眾心，學者搖搖，中無所主，邪說暴行，橫流天下" (As the two groups are engaged in mutual recriminations, impostors and adventurers who do not hesitate to resort to falsification and distortion pour out their theories to confuse the people. Consequently, students are in doubt as to which course to pursue, while perverse opinions spread all over the country) (Zhang, 1898, 202:ia-b).

[198] Hung, 2000, 6.

[199] Zarrow, 2023,10.

This disconnect between the anthology's focus and the historical mainstream suggests a significant editorial bias. By foregrounding reformist figures and ideas, the anthology risks creating a distorted image of the period, one that may align more closely with the liberal, progressive outlook of its mid-twentieth-century U.S. scholars than with the actual dynamics of Qing politics. U.S.-based scholars, writing in a post-World War II and early Cold War context, may have been especially drawn to narratives of modernization and reform, seeing these as both historically significant and ideologically resonant. As a result, the anthology offers an interpretation of Late Qing China in which reform is mistakenly portrayed as the dominant historical force, while the deeply entrenched conservative elite is relegated to a reactive position. Thus, while contemporary perspectives may retrospectively highlight reformist movements as the precursors to modern Chinese transformation, it is crucial to recognize that in their own time, these movements were far from mainstream. The anthology's heavy emphasis on reform reflects not the consensus of Late Qing China, but the editorial and ideological orientation of its U.S.-based scholars, particularly, Chester Tan's personal outlook. A similar distortion is evident in *China's Response to the West*, where Teng and Fairbank disproportionately selected texts advocating reform while giving comparatively little attention to conservative perspectives, thereby revealing a clear editorial bias. This serves as a reminder of how historiography can shape and misrepresent the complexities of the past.

Interestingly, the definition of 'conservative' appears to have shifted over time in academic discourse, as evidenced by editorial changes in *Sources*. A notable example lies in the treatment of "Exhortation to Learn" (*Quanxue Pian* 勸學篇) by Zhang Zhidong 張之洞. In the 1960 edition edited by Chester Tan, Zhang's work was classified under the section titled "Conservative Reactions," reflecting a more rigid interpretation of his ideology as fundamentally traditionalist. However, in K.C. Liu's 1999 revision, the same text was relocated to the section "Moderate Reform and the Self-Strengthening Movement," suggesting a reinterpretation of Zhang's thought as reform-oriented rather than reactionary. This editorial reclassification was achieved with minimal changes: a few selective revisions to the surrounding commentary and the removal of the following single introductory paragraph in the 1960 edition that had explicitly identified Zhang's "genuine traditionalism":

> There can be no doubt of Chang's genuine traditionalism, in the sense that he held fast to certain established Confucian traditions and sought as much to preserve these

> values intact as to provide a sanction for needed reform. He was no Kang Yu-wei, waving the banner of Confucius while marching off to destroy Confucianism, nevertheless, his catch-phrases served only for the moment to hide the conflict between old and new, the compatibility of 'substance' and 'function' was a problem now as it had not been for the Sung Neo-Confucianists.[200]

The translated body of the text itself remained nearly identical, with only two minor lexical updates. Such editorial decisions highlight not only the variability in individual interpretations of historical texts but also broader shifts in historiographical paradigms. Zhang's political philosophy indeed presents a complex and sometimes contradictory stance. He was both an advocate for reform, promoting industrialization, railway construction, modern education, and cultural development; and a staunch defender of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy and monarchical institutions. He sought "to revive Confucianism as a state cult" while also pursuing modernization.[201] This ideological balancing act, supporting gradual change while maintaining loyalty to dynastic and Confucian structures, earned him the label of "conservative reformist" in the 1960 edition. However, the 1999 edition omits this term, perhaps reflecting a reluctance in contemporary scholarship to impose rigid binaries such as conservative versus reformist. This shift is further evidenced by the subdivision of the reform category into "Moderate Reform" and "Radical Reform," suggesting a more nuanced understanding of the spectrum of reformist thought in Late Qing China. Ultimately, the editorial shift signals more than just a reclassification of Zhang's work, it reflects a broader evolution in how scholars interpret Late Qing reform efforts. The reassessment of Zhang's position within the reform-conservatism spectrum illustrates changing attitudes toward hybridity and nuance in intellectual history and underscores the dynamic nature of historiography itself.

A close examination of the chapter subdivisions in the 1999 edition reveals the evolving approaches of contemporary scholars in interpreting the Late Qing period. Edited by de Bary and Richard Lufrano, this chronologically organized two-volume anthology reflects a more nuanced historiographical framework. In Volume Two, which contains the relevant portion of the research, notably, it introduces a newly added section on the mid-Qing period and significantly expands the coverage of the Late Qing era. The number of selected texts

[200] De Bary, Chan and Watson, 1960, 744.
[201] De Bary and Lufrano, 1999, 244.

from the Late Qing era increases from 21 in the earlier edition to 38 in the 1999 edition, now distributed across four chapters. They are:

- Chapter 28 “Chinese Statecraft and the Opening of China to the West” (p. 155-212; including 14 texts on Mid-Qing, 11 texts on Late Qing);
- Chapter 29 “The Heavenly Kingdom of Taiping” (p. 213-230; including 3 texts);
- Chapter 30 “Moderate Reform and the Self-Strengthening Movement” (p.231-249; including 5 texts);
- Chapter 31 “Radical Reform at the End of the Qing” (p. 250-313; including 19 texts).

1960 Edition	1999 Edition
Chapter 24: “The Opening of China to the West” Teng/ Fairbank: • *Letter to the English Ruler* (by Lin Zexu 林則徐); • *The Need for Western Guns and Ships* (by Lin Zexu 林則徐); Liang Jinde: • *Preface to Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries* (by Wei Yuan 魏源); ***Chapter 25: “The Heavenly Kingdom of the Taiping”*** W.H. Medhurst in 1853, then adapted by Franz Michael in 1971 • *The Book of Heavenly Commandments* (history document); • *A Primer in Verse* (history document); • *The Principles of the Heavenly Nature* (history document); ***Chapter 26: “Reform and Reaction under the Manchus”*** Chester Tan • *On the Manufacture of Foreign Weapons* (by Feng Guifen 馮桂芬);*;* • *On the Adoption of Western Learning* (by Feng Guifen 馮桂芬); • *On Sending Young Men Abroad to Study* (by Zeng Guofan 曾國藩, Li Hongzhang 李鸿章); • *On Reform* (by Xue Fucheng 薛福成); • *On Reform* (by Wang Tao 王韜); • *Confucius as A Reformer* (by Kang Youwei 康有爲); • *The Three Ages* (by Kang Youwei 康有爲); • *The Need for Reforming Institutions* (by Kang Youwei 康有爲); • *Reforming Men’s Minds comes before Reforming Institutions* (by Chu Chengbo 褚成博); • *Fourth Letter in Reply to Kang Youwei* (by Zhu Yixin 朱一新); • *The Superiority of China and Confucianism* (by Ye Dehui 葉德輝); • *Exhortation to Learn* (by Zhang Zhidong 张之洞); • *The Study of Humanity* (by Tan Sitong 譚嗣同); • *A People Made New* (by Liang Qichao 梁啟超).	

	Chapter 28: "Chinese Statecraft and the Opening of China to the West" Kuang-ching Liu • *Preface to Anthology of Qing Statecraft Writings* (by Wei Yuan 魏源); • *The Pursuit of Profit; On Institutional Progress in History* (by Wei Yuan 魏源); • *On Reform of the Tribute-Rice Transport System* (Wei Yuan 魏源); • *On Reform of the Salt Monopoly* (Wei Yuan 魏源); • *On Taxation and the Merchants* (Wei Yuan 魏源); • *Preface to Military History of the Qing Dynasty* (Wei Yuan 魏源); Philip Kuhn • *On Governance* (Wei Yuan 魏源) ***Chapter 31: "Radical Reform at the End of the Qing"*** Peter Zarrow • *The Consciousness of Rights, The Concept of the Nation: Excerpts from Xinmin shuo* (by Liang Qichao 梁啟超); • *Letter opposing Kang Youwei's Views on Revolution* (by Zhang Binglin 章炳麟); • *What Women Should Know About Communism* (by He Zhen 何震, female)*;* • *Women's Revenge* (by He Zhen 何震, female). Victor Mair • *Attempt at Romanization* (by Lu Zhuangzhang 卢戇章); • *Illiteracy in China* (by Song Shu 宋恕); • *Mandarin Letters* (by Wang Zhao 王照); • *Universal Script* (by Shen Xue 沈学). Don C.Price • *On Strength* (by Yan Fu 嚴復) Joan Judge • *Inaugural Statement for the Eastern Times (Shibao)* (by Liang Qichao 梁啟超) Lawrence G. Thompsom • *The Grand Commonality* (by Kang Youwei 康有爲)

Table 13. A comparison of the Late Qing coverage in the 1960 and 1999 editions of *Sources of Chinese Tradition.*

The 1999 edition retains all the texts from the earlier version. Among the most notable additions is the extensive inclusion of writings by Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1857), a prominent statecraft thinker active during the early phase of China's encounter with the West. While only one of Wei Yuan's texts appeared in the earlier edition, the 1999 version includes nine, underscoring his growing significance in the historiography of Qing reform thought. A closer

examination of these additions reveals an intentional broadening of thematic focus. In the 1960 edition, only the preface to *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖誌 was included, a text that, while important for understanding Wei Yuan's engagement with foreign knowledge, does not in itself constitute a statecraft essay. By contrast, the selections added in the 1999 edition reflect Wei Yuan's statecraft thinking far more explicitly. Essays such as *On Taxation and the Merchants*, *On Reform of the Tribute-Rice Transportation System*, and *On Reform of the Salt Monopoly* directly address fiscal administration, economic regulation, and institutional reform, revealing Wei's sustained concern with practical governance and systemic restructuring. These selections reflect a shift in editorial emphasis from intellectual and informational responses to the West toward a more nuanced appreciation of Late Qing reformist thought as grounded in concrete proposals for administrative and economic reform.

Chapter 31, titled "Radical Reform," is positioned as the centrepiece of the Late Qing section, receiving the greatest editorial emphasis through both content and structure. While the chapter includes writings from well-known reformers, for instance, Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873-1929) and Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-1897), it also incorporates conservative responses, three of which are identical to those found in the earlier edition[202], thus highlighting the ongoing contestation of reformist ideas. Of particular note is the inclusion of a revolutionary critique by Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1869-1936), who directly refutes the views of Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927),[203] a leading reformist figure. Placed at the end of the chapter, Zhang Binglin's text acts as a transition toward the subsequent section on the national revolution, indicating a deliberate editorial strategy in shaping the narrative arc of intellectual transformation.

In terms of editorial structure, compared to the 1960 edition, this revised arrangement not only deepens readers' engagement with the complexities of the period but also reflects a more nuanced historiographical approach. Rather than adhering to a binary classification of

---

[202] They are: Chu Chengbo 褚成博's *Reforming Men's Minds comes before Reforming Institutions*; Zhu yixin 朱一新's *Fourth Letter in Reply to Kang Youwei*; and Ye Dehui 葉德輝's *The Superiority of China and Confucianism.*

[203] The texts by Kang Youwei are present in both editions and have been preserved without alteration. They are: *Confucius As a Reformer* (*Kongzi gaizhi kao: jiexuan* 《孔子改制考》节选); *The Three Ages* (*Lunyu zhu* 論語註); *The Need for Reforming Institutions* (*Yingchao tongchou quanju zhe* 英朝統籌全局折, from *Wuxu zou gao* 戊戌奏稿). They were all translated by Chester Tan. Additionally, a new one was added to the 1999 edition, *The Grand Commonality* (*Datong shu: excerpt*《大同書》節選), translated by Lawrence G. Thompsom.

conservative versus reformist, the new edition promotes a more layered, contextual understanding of the diverse intellectual currents in late imperial China.

The Editorial Team

The editorial team behind the 1960 edition of *Sources* primarily comprises three key scholars: William Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson. Each contributed to different sections of the work, bringing their unique academic strengths and perspectives to the project. William Theodore de Bary played a central role in shaping the anthology. His scholarly focus and editorial direction certainly influenced the structure and interpretation of the anthology. Wing-tsit Chan and Burton Watson likewise brought their expertise to other parts of the anthology: Chan in Chinese philosophy and Watson in classical literature and translation. In what follows, I will examine how the intellectual and academic backgrounds of these editors informed the selection, translation, and presentation of the materials, ultimately shaping the anthology's scope, tone, and historical narrative.

The principal editor, William Theodore de Bary (1919-2017), an American Sinologist and scholar of East Asian philosophy, was a professor and later provost at Columbia University from the 1950s to the 2010s. He pursued his graduate studies at Harvard University before leaving to serve in the American military intelligence during World War II. After the war, he resumed his studies at Columbia University, where he earned his Ph.D. in 1953 and then worked there for decades.[204] His project, *Introduction to Oriental Civilizations*, is a series of anthologies originally developed to provide primary source texts for courses at Columbia College.[205] These volumes offer access to foundational documents from across Asia. Among his publications spanning from the 1960s to the 2010s, the topic of Neo-Confucianism appears in at least seven. He did not treat Neo-Confucianism merely as a part in Chinese philosophy, but as a transnational intellectual movement in other Asian countries, for instance, Korea.[206]

---

[204] Martin, 2017.
[205] The anthologies include S*ources of Chinese Tradition* (1960, rev. 1999), *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (1958), *Sources of Indian Tradition* (1958, rev. 1988), and *Sources of Korean Traditions* (1997).
[206] In addition to his original works, he also contributed as a translator. Two of his translations have been published: *Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince* (*Mingyi daifang lu* 明夷待訪錄) in 1993, a Chinese

Wing-tsit Chan 陳榮捷 (1901-1994), a Chinese scholar and professor is best known for his studies of Chinese philosophy and his translations of Chinese philosophical texts. He completed his Ph.D. in Philosophy and Chinese Culture at Harvard University in 1929. Throughout his academic career, Chan held teaching positions at institutions such as Lingnan University, Dartmouth College and Chatham University and later became Professor of Chinese Philosophy and Culture at Dartmouth College.[207] He was the author of *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (1963), a foundational anthology regarded as one of the most important works in the field of Asian studies.[208] Over the course of his career, he published books and articles in both English and Chinese, covering a wide range of topics related to Chinese philosophy and religion.[209]

In *Sources* (1960), Chan was the principal author and translator of chapters 14 (Neo-Taoism), 16 (Buddhism I), 17 (Buddhism II), 20 (Neo-Confucianism I), 21 (Neo-Confucianism II), 23 (Religion and Secret Societies) and 28 (The New Culture Movement). His academic interest in the philosophical and religious aspects of Chinese culture meant that *Sources* gave considerable weight to these domains. Rather than presenting Chinese history solely through political or economic developments, the anthology explores how Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism shaped Chinese values, ethics, governance, and education. Chan's scholarly work, particularly on Neo-Confucianism, was reflected in the selection of texts. After all, understanding Neo-Confucian concepts is essential for grasping the ideology of the Late Qing elites. The anthology guides readers to a deeper and more holistic understanding of Chinese history by emphasizing these enduring intellectual and spiritual traditions. Additionally, his translations and commentaries on prominent Neo-Confucian philosophers Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1131-1200) and Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529) not only introduced these thinkers to the academia but also highlighted the complexity and depth of Chinese moral and metaphysical thought. In the anthology, he compiled and annotated key Neo-Confucian texts, helping to define the anthology's intellectual tone and focus.

---

political work written by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695), and *Five Women Who Loved Love* in 1956, a Japanese fiction by Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693).

[207] Bloom, 1995, 45 (4):466-471.

[208] Bloom, 1995, 45 (4):466-471.

[209] Some of his representative works include: *An Outline and an Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Philosophy,* 1969; *Religious Trends in Modern China,* 1953; *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy,* 1963.

Burton Watson (1925-2017) was an American sinologist, translator, and writer renowned for his English translations of Chinese and Japanese literature. He studied Chinese at Columbia University, earning a Ph.D. in 1956 with a dissertation titled *Ssu-ma Ch'ien: The Historian and His Work*. Watson's extensive body of work centres on the translation of classical Chinese texts, Tang and Song dynasty poetry, and Buddhist sutras. A more detailed introduction to his life and contributions will be provided in the next chapter, where I will examine his translations more closely.

It is evident that the three key editors mentioned above had limited academic interest or expertise in the Late Qing period. In contrast, Chester C. Tan 譚春霖 (dates of birth and death are unknown) appears to be the true editor responsible for the section on this era. To some extent, the selection of texts and excerpts, the editorial structure, and the overall narrative on the Late Qing period may reflect Tan's personal understanding and ideological stance on the subject. Public information on Tan's biography is limited. However, it is known that he was a professor affiliated with New York University and made notable scholarly contributions, particularly with *The Boxer Catastrophe* (1955, reprinted in 1967, 1971, 1984, 2011) and *Chinese Political Thought in the Twentieth Century* (1971, reprinted 1972). Both English titles received critical attentions and were reprinted multiple times, indicating their significance in the field. Based on these publications, Tan can be regarded as a historian with a focus on the Late Qing and early Republican periods. As a translator and political commentator, Tan also published a review in *Political Science Quarterly* in 1956 on "The Selected Works by Mao Zedong and its English translation". Notably, his review devoted more space to criticizing Communist China and Mao's governance than to the actual translation.[210] This clearly reveals Tan's anti-Communist and anti-Maoist political stance, which can be traced back to the 1940s or even earlier. It is assumed from the limited data available, mainly in the preliminary pages and end notes of Tan's 1955 *The Boxer Catastrophe,* that Tan received his education in China during the 1930s, a period dominated by the Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party). His intellectual formation may then have been shaped by a blend of traditional Chinese education and the ideals of 'New Democracy' Following the resurgence of the Chinese Civil War in 1946, Tan fled to the United States, where he secured a teaching position but maintained close ties with Chinese elites who relocated to Taiwan. Evidence of this includes the funding of *The Boxer Catastrophe* by

[210] Tan, 1956, 298-299.

National Tsing Hua University (in Hsinchu, Taiwan) facilitated by its former president, Dr. Mei Yiqi 梅貽琦 (presidency term: 1956-1962).[211] Tan's pro-Nationalist position is evident in both his academic and political outlook. He rejected both Communist China and the Qing dynasty, aligning himself with the Nationalist ideology that advocated overthrowing the Qing regime and establishing a republican government. This political identity helps explain why the selected texts in his editorial work emphasize reform and revolutionary ideas. Tan represents a broader group of Chinese intellectuals who fled to the United States before the Communist takeover and continued to champion Nationalist perspectives from abroad.

In the 1999 edition of *Sources*, there have been some changes within the editorial team. Richard John Lufrano is listed as a new compiler together with de Bary, while Burton Watson is no longer mentioned, and Wing-tsit Chan has been 'degraded'. Lufrano wrote *Honorable Merchants: Commerce and Self-Cultivation in Late Imperial China* (University of Hawaii Press, 1997). He has also authored several articles on contemporary China.[212] He played a key role in expanding the volume's coverage of nineteenth- and twentieth-century China The "Table of Contents" suggests that his direct contribution is limited to Chapter 37, "Deng's Modernization and Its Critics," which focuses on the post-Mao reform era. However, as mentioned, he is one of only two compilers, so he probably was involved in deciding which texts were included into the 1999 edition even if he did not translate the texts himself.

3.2 "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 (A People Made New, or Renewing the People, 1902-1905) and its Translations

In the following section, I will closely examine the text "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 (A People Made New, or Renewing the People, 1902-1905) by Liang Qichao as a key representative of reformist ideology before proceeding to analyze its content, microtextual and microlinguistic features, as well as its retranslations. As previously noted, the 1960 edition of *Sources* includes ten texts out of a total of 21, which centre on reform movements, ideologies, and

[211] Tan, 1984, 2.
[212] *Manuals and Petitions: Commercial Problem Solving in Late Imperial China*, Columbia University PhD Dissertations, 1987. *Minding the Minders: Overseeing the Brokerage System in Qing China*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013; The 1988 Nanjing Incident: Notes on Race and Politics in Contemporary China, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Studies*, 1994, 83-92.

actions, reflecting the editors' particular emphasis on this theme. The following section will examine one of these texts to explore the factors that may have shaped the translators' understanding and interpretation. This will be done through an analysis of microtextual and microlinguistic elements. Among the works in the anthology, Liang Qichao's "Xinmin shuo" stands out due to its significant global influence and frequent use in both literary and political research. This section will investigate the text in detail to explore Cold War ideologies may have influenced the translations and the translator's interpretive choices.

Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) was a prominent political thinker and reformist during the Late Qing dynasty and early Republican era. He was a key figure in the intellectual and political movements aimed at modernizing China with his teacher Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927), and both of them played a major role in the Hundred Days' Reform (1898).[213] "Xinmin shuo" was published serially between 1902 and 1905 while Liang was in exile in Japan. The essay is one of his most important works and is part of a broader effort to awaken Chinese intellectual and civic consciousness. "As a treatise on citizenship and nation-building, the text was the first of its kind in the history of Chinese political thought."[214]

The original essays in "Xinmin shuo" explore a broad range of themes that reflect a comprehensive vision for building a modern, ethical, and self-sustaining nation in early twentieth-century China.[215] In *Sources* (1960), four excerpts were translated by Chester C. Tan, as listed below:

- "The Preface" (*Xulun* 敘論);
- "A People Made New" (*Shi xinmin zhi yi* 釋新民之義);
- "On Public Morals" (*Lun gongde* 論公德);
- "On Progress" (*Lun jinqu* 論進步).

The above four excerpts cannot summarize the entirety of Liang's argument. Rather, they highlight the moral and spiritual foundation of his reformist thought. These four excerpts present Liang's core ideas on personal transformation, civic virtue, and national renewal, forming the ideological backbone of the larger work. By focusing on universal themes such

[213] Yang, 2002, 17-36.
[214] Lee, 2007, 305.
[215] Lee, 2007, 310-312.

as morality, progress, civic responsibility, and self-cultivation, the selected passages offer insights that are broadly accessible and relevant to international readers, avoiding more context-specific or technical discussions, such as legal reform or military affairs. This may explain why the translator selected those four. A close examination is necessary to explore which parts were omitted, and how and why certain choices were made. Such analysis can offer deeper insight into the translator's understanding, interpretive decisions, and overall approach to the text.

"The Preface" (*Xulun* 敘論), originally only a brief paragraph, was fully translated and paves the way for the subsequent excerpts. In the second translated excerpt, titled "A People Made New" (*Shi xinmin zhi yi* 釋新民之義), Liang argues that 'renewal' or 'making new' (*xin* 新) should involve both the refinement of Chinese tradition and the selective adoption of global modern values:

> 新民云者，非欲吾民盡棄其舊以從人也。新之義有二：一曰，淬厲其所本有而新之，二曰，採補其所本無而新之。二者缺一，時乃無功。[216]
>
> The term 'people made new' does not mean that our people must give up entirely what is old in order to follow others. There are two meanings of 'made new.' One is to improve what is original in the people and so renew it; the other is to adopt what is originally lacking in the people and so make a new people. Without one of the two, there will be no success.[217]

Approximately one-third of the text was omitted from this section. Notably, Tan omits two major categories of content: firstly, metaphorical passages and critiques of traditional Chinese identity, and secondly, critical reflections on China's historical lack of a concept of "national citizenship" (*guomin* 國民). The second category of omissions is particularly telling. Liang's ideas directly confront traditional Chinese self-conceptions and propose explanations rooted in geographic and cultural isolation. Their exclusion may reflect an intention to streamline the presentation of reformist arguments or to avoid potentially controversial material, though it also results in a flattening of the original text's intellectual complexity.

Two additional translated excerpts, "On Public Morals" (*Lun gongde* 論公德) and "On Progress" (*Lun jinqu* 論進步), are drawn from much longer original texts. In both cases, the translator retains only short paragraphs rather than translating the works in full. In "On

---

[216] Liang, 1916, 12:40a.
[217] De Bary, Chan, Watson, 1960, 94. (The original text and its translation are seen in Appendix 10.)

Public Morals," the selected paragraphs focus on Liang's contextualization of morality and his tracing of its historical evolution. This selection highlights the transformation of moral concepts over time and presents Liang as a dynamic thinker engaged in reinterpreting Chinese moral traditions. The translator's choices thus emphasize change and development in moral thought. By contrast, in "On Progress," substantial portions of the original text are omitted, particularly Liang's discussion of why Britain had achieved advancement despite, like China, being characterized as a "conservative" nation.[218] Instead, the translated sections concentrate on those who advocated reform, their categorization, and the importance of law in relation to commerce and economic development. Taken together, these omissions and selections suggest that the translator actively curates Liang's thought to align with a narrative of progress, reform, and modernization, rather than preserving the full complexity of his comparative and historical arguments.

These editorial and translational decisions reflect a shift in the anthology's approach to Late Qing texts, especially when compared with the treatment of earlier classical writings in volume one of *Sources* (1999), where literary richness and philosophical density are often preserved. In contrast, the Late Qing materials, particularly those translated by historians such as Tan and Teng, who was mentioned in Chapter Two, were in a more utilitarian fashion, prioritizing historical intelligibility and thematic coherence over textual integrity or stylistic nuance. This strategy is likely informed by disciplinary priorities: as a historian, Tan may have viewed the text primarily as a source of political and ideological content rather than as a literary artifact. Consequently, his translation reflects a historian's pragmatic lens: valuing what is historically instructive over what is rhetorically or aesthetically intricate. Thus, the translation of the text offered more than a linguistic translation of Liang's work; it serves as a window into how disciplinary orientation shapes the transmission of Chinese intellectual history to modern readers of English. The omissions are not merely editorial choices—they represent a distinct interpretive stance that frames the Late Qing reform discourse in a particular, historically grounded way.

This claim is further substantiated through linguistic and syntactic evidence, specifically, in how argumentation is restructured in translation. The observation that typical

[218]"論者必曰：「由於保守性質之太強也。」是固然也。雖然，吾國中人保守性質，何以獨強？是亦一未解決之問題也。且英國人以善保守聞於天下，而萬國進步之速，殆莫英若。又安見夫保守之必為群害也。吾思之，吾重思之。其原因之由於天然者有二，由於人事者有三。" (Liang Qichao, 1916, 13:30-31.)

Chinese rhetorical devices such as the question-and-answer format or double negatives are transformed into more direct, declarative, or assertive statements indicates a systematic shift in tone and purpose (samples seen in the next section). This shift demonstrates a functional, reader-oriented translation approach: the goal is not to preserve the stylistic or rhetorical elegance of Liang Qichao's prose, but to translate his ideas in a way that is more accessible and analytically digestible for contemporary, especially academic audiences. This may result in a loss of rhetorical complexity, but it gains in didactic and historical transparency, a compromise informed by the translator's disciplinary lens. So, it highlights a discipline-specific translation methodology. Historians such as Tan prioritize thematic clarity and historical insight, resulting in restructured, simplified syntax.

In sum, the translation of "Xinmin shuo" exemplifies how disciplinary priorities, specifically historical analysis, shape not just what is translated but how it is translated. Through textual omission, syntactic simplification, and rhetorical flattening, the translator produces a version of the text that is historically legible but literarily diminished. Thus, translation becomes not only a linguistic task but also an epistemological act: it reflects and reinforces the values and methods of the discipline. The following sections will present a detailed, micro-level analysis of syntactic restructuring in translation, the treatment of key terminologies, and comparative retranslation studies across different versions of the text.

Syntactic Restructure of Argumentation

Syntactic restructuring is one of the most prominent features of Tan's translation. This is particularly evident in his treatment of rhetorical devices, where elements such as the question-and-answer format and double negatives are systematically transformed into direct, declarative, and assertive statements. Such modifications reflect a deliberate shift toward expository clarity and thematic coherence, aligning with a historian's interpretive priorities. To explore this phenomenon in greater depth, I offer a parallel comparison of different translated versions of the text, with a focus on highlighting key changes in syntactic structure and their interpretive implications. In the following sample, target text 1 (TT1) is drawn from

Sources (1960), translated by Chester C. Tan[219]; while target text 2 (TT2) comes from *Thoughts from the Ice-Drinker's Studio* (2023), translated by Peter Zarrow.[220]

Table 14 presents samples from the "The Preface" (*Xulun* 敘論) of the source text (ST).[221] Through syntactic restructuring, the question-and-answer format in the source text is transformed into declarative statements in the translation.

ST	其巋然今存，能在五大洲地圖占一顏色者，幾何乎？曰：百十而已矣;
TT1 (Tan)	Of these, however, only about a hundred still occupy a place on the map of the five continents.
TT2 (Zarrow)	But when we inquire how many remain standing today with their own color on world maps, the answer is: only a hundred-odd.
ST	此百十國中，其能屹然強立，有左右世界之力，將來可以戰勝於天演界者，幾何乎？曰：四五而已矣。
TT1 (Tan)	And among these hundred-odd countries there are only four or five great powers that are strong enough to dominate the world and to conquer nature.
TT2 (Zarrow)	And how many of these hundred-odd countries can rise up with the power to master the world and become the fittest in the struggle for survival? The answer is: just four or five.
ST	然非無亞歷山大，而何以馬基頓今已成灰塵？ 非無成吉思汗，而何以蒙古幾不保殘喘？
TT1 (Tan)	But Macedonia once had Alexander, and yet today it is no longer seen; Mongolia once had Chingis Khan, and yet today it can hardly maintain its existence.
TT2 (Zarrow)	But there was Alexander the Great, so how is it that Macedonia has turned to dust? And there was Chinggis Khan, so how is it that Mongolia is near collapse?

Table 14. A Comparison of different translators' syntactic restructuring of "Xinmin shuo".

The above translations (TT1 and TT2) of the Chinese source text (ST) demonstrate clear syntactic restructuring in the process of translation. The original Chinese employs classical rhetorical devices typical of literary and intellectual discourse: rhetorical questions, and parallel structures to build argumentation. The argument is presented indirectly through rhetorical questioning, inviting contemplation before offering an answer. TT1 flattens the rhetorical structure into a straightforward declarative sentence. It eliminates the rhetorical question-and-answer pair, thus reducing the argumentative tension. TT2 preserves the rhetorical framing by including both the question and answer. It is closer in argumentative structure to the ST, retaining the sense of speculation and reflection. The table below further

[219] De Bary, Chan, Watson, 1960, 93.
[220] Zarrow, 2023, 35.
[221] Liang, 1916, 13:36b.

reveals that changes in syntactic structure across translations significantly affect the argumentative power of the original text.

Feature	ST	TT1	TT2
Rhetorical Question	✔	✘ Converted to declarative	✔ Preserved
Question-and-Answer Pattern	✔	✘ Removed	✔ Retained
Syntactic Parallelism	✔ Classical rhetorical style	✘ Flattened	✔ Attempted to mirror
Irony and Historical Comparison	✔ Subtle and nuanced	✘ Diminished	✔ More effectively maintained
Argumentative Force	Strong dialectical tone	More expository	Preserved through rhetorical framing

Table 15. The effects of changes in syntactic structure of "Xinmin shuo" in the different translations as regards argumentative power.

Table 16 presents more samples also from the "Preface" of the original text.[222] Again, TT1 is from Tan (1960).[223] It reveals that double negative sentences in the ST are transformed into assertive sentences in TT1. This time, a third translation (TT3) is available from *China's Response to the West*, translated by Ssu-yu Teng and John Fairbank.[224]

ST	欲其身之長生久視，則攝生之術不可不明； 欲其國之安富尊榮，則新民之道不可不講。
TT1 (Tan)	If we wish the body to live for a long time, we must understand the methods of hygiene; If we wish the nation to be secure, rich, and honored, we must discuss the way for the people's being "made new".
TT2 (Zarrow)[225]	If we are to seek a long and healthy life, then we must understand how to promote good health; If we are to make a county stable, prosperous and glorious, then we must understand the Way of renewing the people.
TT3 (Teng/Fairbank)	If we wish the body to live for a long time, the methods of hygiene must be understood; If we wish the nation to be secure, rich, and respectable, the methods for creating a new people must be discussed.

Table 16. Instances of transformation of double negative sentences from "Xinmin shuo" into assertive sentences.

[222] Liang, 1916, 13:36b.
[223] De Bary, Chan, Watson, 1960, 93.
[224] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 221.
[225] Zarrow, 2023, 36.

This set of translations offers a compelling example of syntactic simplification, particularly in the treatment of double negative constructions in the source text. In classical Chinese, such double negatives, here *bukebu ming* 不可不明, *bukebu jiang* 不可不講 (lit. "not being able to not understand/explain"), function as a rhetorical strategy to express strong affirmation in a formal, emphatic tone. A literal translation of the selected passage might be:

> If one desires longevity, then the methods of health cultivation cannot not be understood; if one desires a secure and wealthy nation, then the Way of renewing the people cannot not be discussed.[226]

However, this form is awkward and potentially confusing in English, where double negatives might lack the same rhetorical force and may be perceived as clumsy or even incorrect. The main difference I observe is that in all three translations the pronoun "we" is supplied, even though no explicit subject appears in the original text. A similar strategy is evident in my own translation, where I introduce the subject "one" to serve as a comparable supplementary function. Such ellipsis of the subject is common in classical Chinese, but it cannot be carried over directly into English, which generally requires an explicit grammatical subject. In contrast, Teng and Fairbank address this structural gap by employing the passive voice, thereby avoiding the insertion of an explicit agent.

The translators decided to simplify the double negation and add a subject to adapt the text to modern English syntactic norms and reader expectations. Moreover, they apply a broader translation strategy that prioritizes functional over formal equivalence. Additionally, the disciplinary orientation as historians contributes to a focus on clarity of content over fidelity to literary form. This does obviously not apply to TT2 by Zarrow who seems to be very true to the literary form, despite being a historian. I think this has also to do with the fact that Zarrow translates 60 years after Tan when understandings of translation also of historical sources have evolved. The syntactic shift in TT1 inevitably reduces the rhetorical nuance of the original ST, making it less source-orientated than translation practice in TT3 from *China's Response to the West*. However, it serves as the primary goal in TT1: to present historical argumentation in a clear, accessible, and authoritative manner for contemporary readers

[226] Translation mine. Another way of translating the double negative would be "cannot but be understood…cannot but be discussed." This retains the original meaning in more elegant English.

3.3 A Retranslation History of "Xinmin shuo"

Having explored and contextualised the characteristics of Chester Tan's translation, and its relationship to the over-arching editorial project of de Bary's *Sources*, I now want to expand my analysis to consider the different retranslations of Liang Qichao's essay from a diachronic perspective. In order to do so, I further compared the source text (ST)[227] following versions for more revelation: Teng/Fairbank 1954 (TT1),[228] Tan 1960 (TT2)[229] and Tan 1999 (TT3),[230] and Zarrow 2023 (TT4),[231] focusing primarily on the shared portions.

ST	TT1 (Teng/Fairbank)	TT2 (Tan 1960)	TT3 (Tan 1999)	TT4 (Zarrow)
新之義有二：	There are two meanings of "new".	There are two meanings of "made new."	(Identical with TT2)	The meaning of "new" has two aspects:
一曰，淬厲其所本有而新之，	One is to temper and grind what is original in the people and so renew it;	One is to improve what is original in the people and so renew it;	(Identical with TT2)	first, honing what we already have in order to renew ourselves;
二曰，採補其所本無而新之。	the other one is to adopt what was originally lacking in the people and so make a new people.	the other is to adopt what is originally lacking in the people and so make a new people.	(Identical with TT2)	and second, adopting what we lack in order to renew ourselves.
二者缺一，時乃無功。	Without one of the two, there will be no success…	Without one of the two, there will be no success…	Without both of these, there will be no success…	If either aspect is missing, our efforts to renew ourselves will fail.

Table 17. Samples from retranslations of "Xinmin shuo"

A comparative analysis of the retranslations will centre on lexical choices. The first example is "淬厲其所本有而新之" (row 2 in Table 17). The term *cui* 淬 means "to quench or temper" (typically metal in water or oil, often after heating), while *li* 厲 means "to sharpen or grind" (a blade). This collocation employs the metaphor of forging a blade to suggest a process of self-cultivation or refinement. When comparing the English translations, TT1

[227] Liang, 1916, 12:40a.
[228] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 222.
[229] De Bary, Chan, Watson, 1960, 94.
[230] De Bary and Lufrano, 1999, 289.
[231] Zarrow, 2023, 43.

adopts a slightly formal and technical tone. It uses terms such as “temper” and “grind” that evoke imagery of craftsmanship and metallurgy, closely aligning with the metaphor in the original. In contrast, TT2 and TT3 are more abstract and accessible; the use of the general term “improve” dilutes the vividness of the original metaphor. TT4 is informal and idiomatic: the verb “honing” retains some of the craftsmanship imagery, while phrases like “what we already have” and “renew ourselves” introduce a more personal resonance. In TT4, Zarrow moreover adds the pronouns “we” and “ourselves” which do not appear in the original. In this context, Tan’s translations (TT2 and TT3) offer a simplified and accessible reading but lose key metaphorical and stylistic features of the source text. The most literal and metaphorically faithful version is provided by Teng and Fairbank (TT1).

Another example concerning the accuracy of translations to the original passage is the line “二者缺一，時乃無功” (row 4 in Table 17). Literally, it can be translated as: “If either of the two is lacking, then there will be no success.” This implies that both elements of something are essential, and the absence of even one will result in failure. TT1 and TT2 (“Without one of the two...”) misinterpret this conditional structure. The rendering can be considered somewhat ambivalent or unclear, depending on the context. The phrase “one of the two” does not specify which one, and it is not clear if either one alone is sufficient, or if both are required. So, it could be interpreted in two ways: firstly, a strict interpretation emphasizes equal necessity, that is, both elements are needed—if you lack either, success is impossible; secondly, a more ambiguous interpretation suggests that maybe just one of the two is essential, but it is unclear which one, it seems that one is critical, but the other might not be. TT3 (“Without both...”) aligns with the ST in meaning, but in an interpretive and adaptive way that is infidelity in form. TT4 (“If either aspect is missing, our efforts to renew ourselves will fail”) offers a more accessible and reader-friendly version. It adds interpretive clarity by connecting the statement to the broader theme of self-renewal. However, this also introduces content not explicitly stated in the source text. The table below provides a clear comparative summary of these versions.

Aspect	TT1 / TT2	TT3	TT4
Translation	"Without one of the two, there will be no success…"	"Without both of these, there will be no success…"	"If either aspect is missing, our efforts to renew ourselves will fail."
Logical accuracy	✗ Ambivalent	✓ Logically accurate	✓ Logically accurate
Tone	Formal, literal	Formal, literal	Modern, fluid
Interpretive stance	Misinterpreted	Interpretive and adaptive	Interpretive and adaptive

Table 18. "Xinmin shuo" in translation: A comparative summary of the four TTs .

Notably, TT2, attributed to Tan, appears to be identical in this instance to TT1, the earlier version by Teng and Fairbank. This similarity raises the possibility that Tan may have used the Teng and Fairbank translation as a reference or even a foundational basis for his own version. Given that Tan's translation (TT2) was published after that of Teng and Fairbank (TT1), it is plausible that Tan initially followed their translation, perhaps as a way of maintaining academic continuity or avoiding unnecessary rephrasing of a well-established translation. However, it is particularly interesting to observe that in the 1999 revision of *Sources* (TT3), a substantial alteration has been made. This revision represents a significant shift in meaning, making the revised version more accurate in semantics than the earlier version. A broader stylistic or interpretive shift in Tan's later work may be reflected, perhaps marked by a move toward simplification or greater readability, but this is achieved at the cost of stylistic fidelity. This evolution in Tan's translation underscores the complexity of re-translation, where choices are often shaped by a mixture of textual fidelity, interpretive freedom, and rhetorical goals.

Another illustrative case concerning lexical choices and stylistic fidelity in the English retranslations as seen in Table 19.

ST[232]	TT1[233]	TT2[234]	TT3[235]	TT4[236]
凡一國之能立於世界，必有其國民獨具之特質。	Generally, a nation which can endure in the world must have some peculiar characteristics on the part of its nationals.	A nation which can maintain itself in the world must have some peculiar characteristics on the part of its nationals.	When a nation can stand up in the world its citizens must have a unique character.	Any country that can stand up in the world must have a people who possess a unique character.
上自道德、法律，下至風俗、習慣、文學、美術，皆有一種獨立之精神。 祖父傳之，子孫繼之，然後群乃結，國乃成；斯實民族主義之根柢源泉也	From morals and laws down to customs, habits, literature, and fine arts, all share an independent spirit which has been handed down from grandfather to father and inherited by their descendants. Thus the group is formed and the nation develops. This is really the fundamental source of nationalism.	From morals and laws down to customs, habits, literature, and fine arts, all share an independent spirit which has been handed down from the forefathers to their descendants. Thus the group is formed and the nation develops. This is really the fundamental basis of nationalism.	From morality and laws to customs, habits, literature, and the arts, these all possess a certain unique spirit. Then the ancestors pass them down and their descendants receive them. The group becomes unifies and a nation is formed. This is truly the wellspring of nationalism.	From morality and law down to customs and habits, literature and art: all display a unique spirit. Their genius is passed down from ancestors to descendants, and thus the group is formed and the state is established. This is truly the fountainhead of nationalism.

Table 19. Samples of retranslation of "Xinmin shuo"

The phrase "獨立之精神" at the end of the second sentence of the ST in Table 19 can be translated literally as "independent spirit", conveying a sense of cultural or ideological autonomy. Both TT1 and TT2 indeed translate it as "independent spirit," a semantically accurate and faithful reflection of the original term. This phrase captures not only a sense of individual or cultural autonomy but may also gesture toward broader political or philosophical implications, such as national self-determination or ideological self-sufficiency. In contrast, TT3 and TT4 opt for "unique spirit," which, while conveying a sense of distinctiveness, adopts a more neutral and aesthetic register. This choice risks obscuring the deeper ideological connotations of "independent" (*duli* 獨立), softening a term that in the source context likely carries strong national or cultural resonance.

[232] Liang, 1916, 12:40a.
[233] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 222.
[234] De Bary, Chan, Watson, 1960, 94.
[235] De Bary and Lufrano, 1999, 289.
[236] Zarrow, 2023, 43.

The phrase “祖父傳之，子孫繼之” in the third sentence of the ST is a concise expression of generational continuity, which may be literally translated as “grandfathers pass it on; descendants carry it on.” TT1 translates the phrase “from grandfather to father and inherited by their descendants,” effectively preserving the generational continuity and rhetorical parallelism of the original. TT2 offers a slightly more formal and generalized version “from the forefathers to their descendants”, which maintains the meaning but loses some of the intimate tone found in the original familial imagery. TT3 further simplifies the structure with “ancestors pass them down and descendants receive them.” Although accurate in meaning, this version flattens the stylistic symmetry and economy of expression present in the Classical Chinese. TT4 takes a more interpretive approach: “Their genius is passed down from ancestors to descendants.” This version introduces a poetic flourish “genius”, replacing the object pronoun *zhi* 之. Here, *zhi* refers to “獨立之精神” just mentioned in the previous sentence which is translated as “unique spirit” in TT4. By referring to it now as “genius”, TT4 enhances its literary tone but also shifts the ideological emphasis from a collective cultural value to a more individualized or aesthetic one.

Through this comparative analysis, it becomes evident that the most faithful and structurally consistent translation is found in TT1 (Teng and Fairbank,1954), with TT2 (Tan, 1960) following closely behind, offering a slightly more modernized yet still accurate phrasing though there are some similarities between TT1 and TT2, as mentioned previously. TT3 (Tan, 1999) represents a simplification that comes at the expense of rhetorical precision, while TT4 (Peter Zarrow, 2023), though stylistically elegant and accessible, introduces interpretive liberties that dilute key ideological nuances, particularly the emphasis on “independence” (*duli* 獨立), which is central to the cultural and political subtext of the original passage. This seems to contradict my earlier idea that Zarrow as a historian was particularly precise and translated more literally than Tan. This comparison underscores a core tension in translation practice: the balance between semantic fidelity, stylistic fluency, and cultural reinterpretation. Such dynamics are especially pronounced when translating philosophical texts, where both linguistic precision and rhetorical force are crucial to conveying the original author’s intent and ideological weight.

What becomes clear through comparison of these versions is that there are relatively few major changes to the denotative meaning of the text, confirming that the most salient change is to syntax and rhetorical structure, with Chester Tan standing out for his focus on

clarity and accessibility. The low instance of changes to denotative meaning also indicates for me that Chester Tan may well have used the Fairbank/Teng version as the basis for his version, as some of the changes are basically stylistic. However, there are some changes that stand out and will be discussed below.

Approaching the Translation of the Key Terms

Up to here, the focus has been on translation procedures and the way in which they impact the overall meaning of the source text for target readers. Here I want to reflect more closely on particular lexical choices in relation to key terms in the text, as they potentially reveal very important ideological differences in interpretation of the ST. Indeed, when I compare the different versions, one of the most notable changes is the title:

ST[237] **(Liang)**	**TT1**[238] **(Teng and Fairbank 1954)**	**TT2**[239] **(Tan 1960)**	**TT3**[240] **(Tan 1999)**	**TT4**[241] **(Zarrow 2023)**
Xinmin shuo 新民說	The Renovation of the People	A People Made New	Renewing the People	Renewing the People

Table 20. Retranslation of the title of "Xinmin shuo".

As can be seen, these retranslations presented in parallel show very different approaches and understandings of the term by the different translators. Here I intend to undertake a brief comparative micro-level analysis of their renderings, before going on to reflect on the way in which this shows shifting understandings and positionings in relation to the text and to Chinese intellectual tradition more generally. In undertaking my analysis, attention has been placed on denotative accuracy, semantic connotation, and overall readability, but this will be followed by a more expansive cultural analysis. The semantic meaning of "Xinmin shuo" breaks down as follows:

Xin 新: new, to renew, or modern;

[237] Liang, 1916, 13:36b.
[238] Teng and Fairbank, 1954, 220.
[239] De Bary, Chan, Watson, 1960, 93.
[240] De Bary and Lufrano, 1999, 288.
[241] Zarrow, 2023, 37

Min 民: people, citizenry, or the populace;

Shuo 說: discourse, theory, or treatise. (It only has this meaning if used as a suffix, usually it is of course a verb: "to speak, to say, to tell, to talk". If used as a suffix, it is also often translated into English as "on".)

Taken together, the terms can be translated semantically as "a discourse on the new citizen" or "on renewing the people". If we compare the extant English texts in terms of denotative accuracy, we see that:

- **TT1** captures the essence of *xin* (new/renovation) and *min* (people). However, *shuo* is omitted. In the context of the title, *shuo* can be interpreted as "discourse" or "narrative", but its omission here does not significantly detract from the meaning.
- **TT2** captures the meaning effectively, though it slightly rephrases the structure to be more idiomatic in English. "A People Made New" aligns well with *xinmin* by indicating a transformation.
- **TT3 and TT4** convey the idea of *xin* (renewing) and *min* (people), though *shuo* (discourse/narrative) is not directly translated. The continuous form "renewing" implies an ongoing process. All three translations effectively capture the core meaning of *xinmin* (new people/renovation of the people), though none explicitly translates *shuo*. This might be because *shuo* can be context-dependent and its omission might make the title more fluid and approachable in English.

If we look at semantic connotations or connotative meaning:

- **TT1** suggests an improvement or modernization, a deliberate, structured reform aimed at improving societal or institutional frameworks by using "renovation". However, the focus is more on the end state of a renewed people, so another term like "renewal" or "transformation" might be more suitable.
- **TT2** suggests a completed transformation, which could imply that the people have already undergone change and are now in a renewed state.
- **TT3 and TT 4** indicate an active, ongoing process of renewal by using the present participle. It focuses on the process rather than the result, which seems more fitting, as the original text emphasizes how people can be or should be renewed.

Finally in terms of readability in the target culture:

- **TT1** is clear and formal. "The Renovation of the People" sounds slightly more academic than the original ST.
- **TT2** is clear and succinct. It is accessible to a wide audience and has a poetic feel, making it appealing in a literary context. (Though in my opinion, it does not give a correct interpretation of the term.)

- **TT3 and TT 4** are straightforward and imply action and dynamism. It is accessible and might be particularly suitable as the text is meant to inspire action or change.

The evolution from "The Renovation of the People" to "A People Made New" and then to "Renewing the People" demonstrates translators' increasing understanding of the original text. The phrase "A People Made New" reflects an evolved comprehension of the text's focus on the outcome. The translator of TT2 (Tan 1960) has moved beyond a literal translation to one that encapsulates the essence of transformation. By focusing on "renewing", the translators of TT3 (Tan 1999) and TT4 (Zarrow 2023), on the other hand, showcase a nuanced grasp of both the action and the ongoing nature of the transformation. This translation might also suggest that the translators fully appreciate the broader context and implications of the original text. This evolution shows a shift from a literal translation to a more nuanced and contextually accurate interpretation, reflecting a deeper comprehension of the author's intent and the subtleties of the source material.

The 1999 *Sources* even includes significant reflection on the need for a shift in meaning in English by linking to the title's intertextual referencing of Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200) formulation of the "Three Main Guidelines" in the *Great Learning*.[242]

> Anyone familiar with the Neo-Confucian curriculum ubiquitous in premodern East Asia would recognize that Liang's title draws upon the key expression "renewing the people" in Zhu Xi's formulation of the Three Main Guidelines (*san gangling*) in the *Great Learning*, first in order of his Four Books. Liang thereby establishes his own doctrine squarely in relation to the dominant philosophy of education in traditional China, but he invests it with a new meaning. For Zhu Xi, *xinmin* meant renewing the people through universal self-cultivation, as the basis for the whole social, political and cultural order. Individual self-renewal would transform 'the people' (*min* 民) and lift them up from an illiterate, undisciplined, inarticulate mass.[243]

This later appeal to an ancient authority to justify a change in translation of the essay's title indicates the importance of establishing the way in which the source text meaning is situated in the source culture more carefully before going on to scrutinize the changes in the different target versions.

In the two editions of *Sources*, the shift in the translation of "Xinmin shuo" from "A People Made New" in the 1960 edition to "Renewing the People" in the 1999 edition may

[242] De Bary and Lufrano, 1999, 288.
[243] De Bary and Lufrano, 1999, 288.

reflect an evolving perspective on Chinese intellectual traditions. (It is likely that someone else revised Tan's work, due to his old age and activeness in academia, so it was probably not Tan's own evolving perspective.) This revision aligns more closely with Zhu Xi's classical Confucian reinterpretation of *xinmin* as a process of ethical self-cultivation and societal renewal, rather than a complete revolutionary transformation of the populace.

Liang's use of *xinmin* draws from classical sources *The Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學), part of the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), a foundational text in the Confucian canon, where "renewing the people" (*xinmin*) is part of the Confucian project of moral self-cultivation, which Liang reinterprets in a modern, nationalist, and often foreign-influenced framework. In *The Great Learning*, a key phrase appears in the opening line: "在親民". Charles Muller translates this literally as:

> 大學之道，在明明德，在親民，在止於至善。
>
> The way of great learning consists in manifesting one's bright virtue, *consists in loving the people*, consists in stopping in perfect goodness.[244] (Emphasis mine)

Zhu Xi (1130-1200), a central figure in systematizing Confucian doctrine, revised this line by replacing *qinmin* 親民 (loving the people) with 新民 (renewing the people), yielding the version "大學之道，在明明德，在新民，在止於至善". James Legge, in his influential 1861 English translation, followed Zhu Xi's interpretation and translated the line as

> What the Great Learning teaches is to illustrate illustrious virtue, *to renovate the people*, and to rest in the highest excellence.[245]

This was one of the earliest and most widely circulated English versions, and it played a significant role in shaping Western understandings of Confucian philosophy. The change from *qinmin* to *xinmin* is not merely lexical. It reflects a deeper conceptual evolution. While *qinmin* emphasizes affective governance and care for the people, *xinmin* implies an active process of moral and ethical transformation. In this context, *xinmin* refers to encouraging the people to cultivate virtue, align with Confucian moral ideals, and participate in the moral order of society. This spiritual renewal is closely tied to personal self-cultivation and societal harmony, to be achieved through education, hierarchical social structures, and ritual

[244] Muller, 1992.
[245] Legge, 1861, 356.

propriety. Zhu Xi's reinterpretation had lasting influence, becoming the orthodox reading of the text for centuries and laying the groundwork for later adaptations. Liang appropriates this classical Confucian phrase and radically reframes it in a modern, nationalist, and secular context. His *xinmin* (new citizens) are not just ethically improved individuals but politically awakened, modern citizens who are informed, active, and responsible members of the nation-state. Instead of focusing solely on introspection and moral cultivation, Liang emphasizes social engagement, national loyalty, and progress, reflecting the influence of Western liberalism. Additionally, classical Confucianism seeks harmony within the established order. Liang, however, calls for breaking with old norms and transforming society, advocating for democracy, individual rights, and even revolution in civic consciousness. In essence, Liang reorients the traditional focus: from moral to civic renewal, from inward virtue to outward public action, and from the preservation of harmony to the pursuit of social and political transformation.

This editorial change also reflects broader developments in both Cold War intellectual history and translation theory. The 1960 edition, "A People Made New," may reflect the ideological climate of the time, when texts from non-Western traditions were often translated in a way that aligned with modernization discourse and Cold War binaries. In contrast, the later translation, "Renewing the People," is more semantically and culturally faithful, suggesting a shift in translation priorities. Theoretical frameworks help illuminate this shift. Eugene Nida's model of dynamic equivalence sought to reproduce the effect of the original message in the target language, often at the cost of formal or cultural specificity, privileging fluency and accessibility for the readers.[246] On the other hand, Lawrence Venuti argued for foreignization, a strategy that resists domesticating the source text and instead makes the cultural and ideological distance visible.[247] The move toward "Renewing the People" arguably reflects Venuti's stance, retaining the philosophical and moral nuance embedded in Confucian discourse. In sum, the translation shift from "A People Made New" to "Renewing the People" marks a broader transition: from ideologically shaped renderings toward more culturally grounded, historically informed, and theoretically nuanced approaches to Chinese philosophical texts.

---

[246] Eugene A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating: With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964), esp. chapters 2 and 3.
[247] Venuti, 1998, 241-242.

Comparison of different versions of the key terms has enabled us to see how successive retranslations not only reflect different understandings of the language and intentionality of a source text and source author but also how they may reflect changing perceptions of the source culture historically. This can be perceived through changing lexical choices across different versions.

Aggression versus Progression: Further Evidence of the Impact of Sociopolitical Context on Retranslation

In the following section, I am going to look at the translation of another key concept that changes across different retranslations. I am going to zoom in on the changes that occurred between two versions of the text regaring the term *jinqu* 进取 (aggressive or progressive). I begin by looking at how the translation choices may have been influenced by target context. I then go on to look at how it might have been affected by different understandings of Chinese sources and classical authorities. The main translations I will consider appeared in *China's Response to the West*, Chester Tan's re-translation in 1960 and revised re-translation in 1999, both in *Sources*, and Peter Zarrow's recent work in 2023. It is noticeable in the excerpt below that Tan was probably guided by the earlier text in his translation, but there are important lexical changes.

Source Text	TT1 (Teng/Fairbank, 1954)	TT 2 (Tan, 1960 and 1999)	TT3 (Zarrow, 2023)
世界上萬事之現象，不外兩大主義：一曰保守，二曰**進取**。	All the phenomena in the world are governed by no more than two principles: one is conservative and the other is **aggressive.**	All phenomena in the world are governed by no more than two principles: the conservative and the **progressive.**	Everything that happens in the world is based on two basic principles: the conservative and the **progressive.**

Table 21. A comparison of translations of *jinqu* as "aggressive" versus "progressive".

This example, in historical contexts, provides a deeper understanding of why certain terms were chosen and how they reflect the ideologies and cultural climates of their times. *Jinqu* 进取 means "advance and seize opportunity; enterprising; proactive; progressive"; it can also be translated as "aggressive," but that is context-dependent. While "aggressive" captures a certain forceful or assertive tone, it also carries negative connotations in English, e.g.,

hostility, dominance, even violence. The translations reflect more than linguistic equivalence—it represents cultural and political interpretations of two perspectives.

a) Moral or Ideological Framing

Under contextual and ideological consideration, the choice of "aggressive" may not be a neutral or strictly literal rendering. It appears to reflect a moral or ideological framing, particularly in light of imperialism and colonialism in the nineteenth century. Here, "aggressive" could be deliberate, carrying a critical undertone toward the West's expansionist, colonial ambitions, especially relevant if the translator purposely contrasts Chinese conservatism and imperial "aggressive" or militarism. So, given context in the text, the translation may reveal a possible moral judgement, that is, the use of "aggressive" positions the source term as a morally fraught rather than neutral or admirable trait. It suggests that the translator's commentary may not just be about abstract principles, but a coded critique of imperial aggression. This aligns with broader trends in Late Qing reformist thought, which both admired and feared foreign powers, often critiquing its moral costs while borrowing its methods.

Analyzing the selections of lexicon from a historical perspective also involves considering the sociopolitical context, prevailing ideologies, and linguistic trends during the times they were produced. **TT1 (1954)** was made in a world that was undergoing significant political and ideological shifts. The Cold War had begun, and there was a clear division between capitalist and communist ideologies. The choice of "aggressive" instead of "progressive" could reflect heightened tensions and the emphasis on assertiveness, reflecting the global geopolitical climate where nations were often in competition or conflict. The choice of "aggressive" might reflect the translator's awareness of the period's ideological struggles, emphasizing the assertiveness required in the political and social spheres.

By the time of **TT2 (1960)**, social and political movements advocating for change and progress were gaining momentum, particularly in the United States. The use of "conservative" and "progressive" aligns more closely with the ideological language of the time, where progressivism was often seen as a positive force for social change. TT2 reflects a less ideologically polarized view, avoiding the potentially negative connotations of "aggressive" and recognizing the value of both ideologies in a more neutral way.

Finally, by the time of **TT3 (1999)**, the Cold War had ended, and the world was experiencing globalization and the spread of democratic and neoliberal ideologies. There was an increased focus on global cooperation, economic integration, and cultural exchange.

Finally, **TT4 (2023)** mirrors the language of a time when ideological battles were less intense, and there was more focus on nuanced understandings of the original culture. It reflects a more modern and perhaps more globally inclusive perspective, emphasizing continuity and clarity over ideological confrontation.

b) Translation is as Interpreting

I will trace the term *jinqu* back to classical Chinese texts to examine its original meaning and how it has been translated. The term is found in both *Lunyu* 論語 (*Confucian Analects*) and *Mengzi* 孟子 (*The Works of Mencius*) that were translated by many translators. Among them, James Legge's (1815–1897) translations are considered the first one and foundational contributions to the field of Chinese-English textual exchange.

Classical Chinese	Source Text	Translation (Legge)
Confucian Analects	子曰：「不得中行而與之，必也狂狷乎！狂者**進取**，狷者有所不為也。」	The Master said, "Since I cannot get men pursuing the due medium, to whom I might communicate my instructions, I must find the ardent and the cautiously-decided. The ardent **will advance and lay hold of truth**; the cautiously-decided will keep themselves from what is wrong."
The Works of Mencius	萬章問曰：「孔子在陳曰：『盍歸乎來！吾黨之士狂簡，**進取**，不忘其初。』孔子在陳，何思魯之狂士？」	Wan Zhang asked, saying, "Confucius, when he was in Chen, said: 'Let me return. The scholars of my school are ambitious, but hasty. They are **for advancing and seizing their object,** but cannot forget their early ways.' Why did Confucius, when he was in Chen, think of the ambitious scholars of Lu?"
	孟子曰：「孔子『不得中道而與之，必也狂獧乎！狂者**進取**，獧者有所不為也』。孔子豈不欲中道哉？不可必得，故思其次也。」	Mencius replied, "Confucius not getting men pursuing the true medium, to whom he might communicate his instructions, determined to take the ardent and the cautiously-decided. The ardent **would advance to seize their object**; the cautiously-decided would keep themselves from certain things. It is not to be thought that Confucius did not wish to get men pursuing the true medium, but being unable to assure himself of finding such, he therefore thought of the next class."

Table 22. James Legge's translations on *jinqu* 进取.

Here, the term *jinqu* refers to an attitude of striving forward, actively seeking progress, and being enterprising or ambitious. It describes a proactive and determined approach to achieving goals. In the context of the group of disciples described as *kuangzhe* 狂者 (the

ardent) and *kuang* 狂 (mad, violent, wild), the term *jinqu* takes on a different tone. Both *kuangzhe* and *kuang* connote an extreme or intense behavior that is unrestrained, bold, and sometimes even reckless. When these traits are applied to *jinqu*, it suggests that the group's drive for progress is characterized by forcefulness, daring, or even aggressiveness.

Liang's early education was in the Confucian tradition of the imperial examination system, which focused on the study of classical texts and the cultivation of scholar-officials to serve the state. Though Liang Qichao was a staunch reformist, he did not reject Confucianism outright. Even as he later advocated for constitutional reform and modernization, he retained a Confucian respect for scholarship and public service. He sought to blend these traditional values with modern ideas to create a vision of a stronger, more prosperous China. In this context, his use of the term *jinqu* could be influenced by classical texts. In his advocacy for change, he could use language that expressed the need for vigorous and bold action. The term *jinqu*, meaning "striving forward" or "actively seeking progress," fits this context well. For Liang, reform in China required energetic, even radical, actions to push the country out of stagnation. Liang's use of the term may suggest a bold, aggressive approach to reform that resonated with classical Chinese texts. They were not merely proposing gradual changes but were pushing for an intense, possibly even disruptive, transformation of society. This attitude aligns with an aggressive, rather than a merely progressive, drive for modernization.

These different translations, "aggressive" and "progressive", highlight how translation is inherently an act of interpretation. Each translator approached the term *jinqu* with their own understanding, shaped by the context in which they operated: Teng and Fairbank interpreted it in a way that emphasized force and urgency, perhaps reflecting a period of intense political struggle. Chester Tan, by contrast, viewed it as reflecting progress and reform, likely focusing more on intellectual and social change. The case demonstrates Steiner's idea in *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (1975), as each translator had to understand the term in their own context. Their interpretations involved moral, ideology, and cultural judgments. This case also shows the potential for misunderstanding in translation. If someone reads Teng and Fairbank's "aggressive" without knowing the broader Confucian and reformist context, they might misinterpret the intent. Similarly, Chester Tan's "progressive" might underplay the urgency and assertiveness that Liang Qichao felt in

pushing for reform. All these translations are approximations of meaning that reflect the translators' understanding of the term and the context in which they worked.

The aggressive/progressive debate mirrors Steiner's hermeneutic motion on translation process that consists of four moves: Initiative Trust, Aggression/penetration, Incorporation, and Compensation.[248] In this case, "Aggression/penetration" represents the process by which the translator invades, extracts and brings the text home (which might be through a process of domestication—as in the omissions of cultural information we have seen, or through radical reinterpretation of aspects of the ST). "Incorporation" is about how the chosen meanings are brought into the target language. Different modes can be used, with the two poles being complete domestication or permanent strangeness or marginality, but there are clearly midway positions too. In *China's Response to the West*, Teng and Fairbank's translation tends to stay very close to the form of the original, while Zarrow who goes for domestication in 2023. As Munday argued, "The crucial point Steiner makes is that the importing of the meaning of the foreign text 'can potentially dislocate or relocate the whole of the native culture.'"[249]

For me, this process is exemplified in the translation of the term "aggressive/progressive," which highlights a deeper struggle within the hermeneutic process, specifically, what elements are deemed important enough to carry over into the target text and culture. When translating the texts and meanings of Late Qing culture, is it more important to emphasize the relationship between East and West, to show China's response to Western influence? Should this be viewed from a one-way perspective, or must we also foreground foreign aggression, as Teng and Fairbank did? Furthermore, how should concepts like progress and reform be translated and understood across different historical periods? The meanings of such terms often shift depending on the context of translation: the time it was made, the translator's identity, their intended audience, and their ideological stance, whether pro-nationalist, pro-communist, or claiming a neutral, objective position. All of these are ultimately ideological choices, reflecting underlying ideological struggles. In short, no translator can be fully neutral, or entirely accurate. That, fundamentally, is what a historical perspective reveals.

---

[248] Steiner, 1975, 296-300.
[249] Steiner, 1998, 315; Munday, 2016, 213.

3.4 Conclusion

Tan's 1960 translation or adaptation is marked by a noticeable shift toward simplification and greater readability, a move that prioritizes fluency for the reader but often comes at the expense of stylistic fidelity to the original text. This shift can be better understood through the lens of translation theory, particularly Eugene Nida's model of dynamic equivalence. Correspondingly, Tan's 1960 translation exemplifies both the affordances and limitations of a dynamic equivalence model. This tension between readability and fidelity remains a central concern in the analysis of Tan's evolving translation style. The 1999 edition of Tan's translation introduces some notable changes, some of which appear to be editorial improvements. These include disambiguation of previously unclear passages and the adoption of more inclusive language, aligning with broader linguistic and cultural shifts in translation practice by the late twentieth century. However, the changes go beyond surface-level editing; in many places, the translation has been substantially revised, suggesting a deeper reworking of the text's tone and interpretive stance. Although it is tempting to assume that Tan himself was responsible for these revisions, there is no definitive evidence to confirm this. Tan's most active period of scholarly output was between the 1930s and 1970s, and there is little to no record of his academic involvement after that time. Given that the 1999 edition appeared decades later, when Tan would have been quite advanced in age, it is reasonable to question whether he was still actively engaged in translation work at that point. The absence of a preface or editorial note clarifying the authorship of the revisions further complicates the matter. It is most likely that these changes were introduced by Kuang-ching Liu 劉廣京 (1921-2006), who studied under Fairbank at Harvard in the 1950s. Liu served as the editor of the newly added chapter on moderate reform in the 1999 edition, and Zhang Zhidong's 張之洞 "Exhortation to Learn" (*Quanxue Pian* 勸學篇) was relocated to this chapter. Alternatively, the revisions may have been carried out by the editorial team or scholars affiliated with the publication. Perhaps Tan was consulted or asked to approve changes made by others. In the absence of documentation, however, these remain speculative possibilities.

Both editorial changes and the micro-textual changes help us to see a shift in positioning that responds to ideological changes. Tan presents a view of the Late Qing period that seems to be in line with his approach to the *Boxer Catastrophe*, one that is more

sympathetic to visions of moderate reform, and that also shows the continuing relevance of more conservative visions. This is both reflected in his original organization of the chapter on reform—as compared with what happens in the 1999 edition (such as reorganization of the materials on reform)—and in his translation of certain elements (the treatment of that ambivalent passage about whether one or both conservatism and openness are necessary to succeed; the change from "aggressive to progressive"). On the one hand, the changes Tan makes to the Teng/Fairbank translation of the text indicate a reading of Liang Qichao that is even more focused on reform and on political history than in *China's Response to the West*. And in many ways, this is surprising, given the change in focus of *Sources* to the cultural value of studying Chinese history and literature to revise previous focus on history, politics and strategic significance. The focus on reformist movements, and the way in which Tan represents them might then be seen as a response to Cold War politics that seeks to temper hostile and aggressive views of China, but it also reflects his own ideological positioning as a pro-nationalist. The move from "aggressive" to "progressive" is key here. On the other hand, the changes to Tan's translation and reorganization of the materials on reform in the 1999 edition ("conservative" was reclassified as "moderate reform") indicate shifts in perspectives on the Late Qing dynasty, Chinese history, and its relationship to the rest of the world from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. There is a greater degree of plurality introduced into *Sources,* with new translators and expanded themes. Some of Tan's particular readings of the period are changed, such as Zhang Zhidong's "Quanxue pian" 劝学篇 (Exhortation to Learning). While relatively few changes are made to the translation, most of which reflect shifts in publishing tastes and linguistic nuances, the changes to introductions and framing reflect alternative views such as those expressed by Eva Hung.

Above all, looking at the translations helps us to see how shifts in relative fidelity to the source text and formal equivalence respond not only to Western and Anglophone interests and understanding, but also show us mobile and transcultural subjects navigating competing political and cultural readings and ideologies. One revelation in the chapters so far is how much of the translations done of Late Qing literature into English in this period are actually performed by scholars of Chinese origin who have relocated to the US.

Chapter Four. Translated *Renditions* during 1970s-2000s

In this chapter I will be moving to look at translations of Late Qing literature from the 1970s onwards and considering the changing attitudes and relationships between Chinese and Anglophone cultures. The main focus will be on a key journal, *Renditions*, which was dedicated to translation of Chinese literature into English throughout this period, and continued to do so until 2024. As such, it offers a very valuable window into changing perceptions and attitudes towards Chinese culture. As shall be seen, while there are some continuities with previous chapters in regard to the translation of Late Qing literature in particular, the focus on encounters between China and the West, and the question of the impact of Western technologies, beliefs and values on Chinese culture, in *Renditions* we generally find a more pluralistic and varied corpus, that perhaps reflects the context in which the journal was produced. Rather than responding to the imperatives of the U.S. academy, *Renditions* is a journal that was led by intellectuals and academics based in Hong Kong.

Because the journal spans a number of decades, I have decided to divide the chapter into four sections. It begins with an overview of translation activities in the journal, in order to situate it within wider translation enterprises. I then go on to look at representative translation cases from the 1970s, 1980s and 2000. The examples I will focus on have been chosen in order to reflect the changes in approach visible in the journal: a greater focus on fiction, closer attention to the cultural and societal diversity of the Late Qing period, and the inclusion of aspects of works that had not yet been translated previously. The chapter will also delve into one of the most visible innovations in translation approaches, which is the use of a form of 'intersemiotic' translation via the inclusion of a wide variety of illustrations to accompany the chosen texts.

4.1 Journal Translation: *Renditions* and the Translated Late Qing Literature

The 1980s in China unfolded as a period of intense intellectual explorations and cultural reorientation, shaped by the post-Mao official policy of 'Reform and Opening Up' launched

in 1978.[250] After decades of ideological restriction, intellectuals engaged vigorously with previously suppressed debates on humanism, subjectivity, and modernity.[251]

> …after going to China out of curiosity in 1984. […] China was in the early stages of opening up to the outside world and the reforms were just beginning to have an impact on the smaller town.[…] It was very noticeable that young people, especially those in higher education, were more in tune with the changes than their older counterparts and more likely to adapt to them. They could identify with the spirit of the new, post-Mao era as laid down within the official discourse and all the influences it brought, right down to the clothes they wore. […] These young people were over zealous in embracing reforms and all things western.[252]

This background reflects not only the changing attitudes and lifestyles of China's younger generation in the 1980s but also the profound social transformation brought about by economic reform, which produced a generation that was more open to international influences and increasingly inclined to question established political and ideological orthodoxies. "Everything was reminiscent of the May Fourth era. Enlightenment and awakening of humanity, humanism, revival of human nature … all revolving around the theme of individual liberation."[253] Translation played a crucial role in this shift. The People's Republic of China had long maintained a state-sponsored translation agenda. Most prominently translations were issued by the Foreign Languages Press (*Waiwen chuban she* 外文出版社), established in 1952 and responsible for disseminating Chinese works to global audiences, for example, the translation of *Mao Zedong xuanji* 毛澤東選集 (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*) into multiple languages, including English. It was only in the 1980s that translation became a vehicle for renewed cultural aspirations. During this decade, translations of world literature, modern Western philosophy, and contemporary social sciences surged, dramatically expanding the intellectual horizon available to Chinese readers.[254] This influx of global ideas, combined with China's domestic calls for modernization and ideological reassessment, helped shape a vibrant cultural milieu in which writers, scholars, translators and editors were attempted to reimagine China within global intellectual currents.

---

[250] Cherrington, 1997, 1-2.
[251] Lei, 2008, 1-18.
[252] Cherrington, 1997, 1-2.
[253]"一切都令人想起五四时代。人的启蒙，人的觉醒，人道主义，人性复归……围绕着感性血肉的个体从作为理性异化的神的践踏蹂躏下要求解放出来的主题旋转。" Li Zehou 李泽厚, 2008, https://www.eeo.com.cn/2008/0609/102665.shtml
[254] Cui, Feng, 2022 (7), https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2022.1031692.

Amidst the fervor of translation and cross-cultural scholarship, journals, both Chinese and international, played a pivotal role in introducing Chinese literature to international readers. Through these translations, readers were presented with the voices of poets, reformist and conservative thinkers, and fictionists from different dynasties. These commercial or semi-commercial journals not only disseminated the translated texts but also framed Chinese literature in ways that emphasized both its historical context and its cultural characteristics. The following section will examine the translation approach, focusing on how journals curated, translated, and interpreted these texts to shape international understandings of a period that bridges the modern China and the traditional one. As the world grappled with the rapid shifts of globalization, these translations offered insights into different eras of transformation, connecting the struggles of the past with the challenges of the 1970s-2000s.

From as early as the 1950s, there are journals dedicated to translating Chinese literature into English. One of the earliest and most influential examples is *Chinese Literature* (founded in 1951), founded by Yeh Chun-chan, Sidney Shapiro, Yang Xianyi, and Gladys Yang in Beijing. As an English-language magazine, it played a pioneering role in introducing Chinese fiction, poetry, and art to international audiences until its publication ceased in 2000. This was followed by *Chinese Literature and Thought Today* (founded in 1969), which combined literary translation with critical essays on Chinese culture, philosophy, and intellectual history. Over the decades, a growing number of journals have contributed to the field, reflecting evolving literary interests and scholarly approaches. *Renditions* (1973-2024), for instance, published by the Research Centre for Translation at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, offers translations spanning more than two millennia of Chinese literary history, while *Circumference Magazine* (2003-) and *Paper Republic: Chinese Literature in Translation* (2007-) focus on poetry and contemporary works, respectively. In the twenty-first century, publications such as *Pathlight Magazine* (2011-), *Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture* (2014), and *Literature and Modern China* (2019-) further expand the scope of Chinese literature studies, exploring both premodern and modern texts. The more recent *International Journal of Chinese and English Translation & Interpreting* (2022-) reflects the continued scholarly interest in translation practice and literary exchange, underscoring the sustained and evolving engagement with Chinese literature in the global context.

This chapter will use *Renditions* as a case study to examine translation strategies and editorial practices, with particular attention to its treatment of Late Qing fiction, thereby shedding light on how translation mediates cultural and literary exchange across linguistic boundaries.

Publication	Period	Founders/Sponsor	Publisher/Place	Note
Chinese Literature	1951-2000	Yeh Chun-chan 叶君健, Sidney Shapiro, Yang Xianyi 杨宪益, and Gladys Yang (founding editors)	Beijing, China.	An English-language literary magazine of Chinese literature in translation, including fiction, poetry, art.
Chinese Literature and Thought Today	1969-present	It represents the merger of *Contemporary Chinese Thought* and *Chinese Literature Today*.	University of Oklahoma, U.S.	Provides English translations of and critical essays about contemporary Chinese literature, culture, philosophy, and intellectual history.
Renditions	1973-2024	George Kao 高克毅 (1912-2008), and Stephen C. Soong 宋淇 (1919-1996) (founding editors)	Published by the Research Centre for Translation at the Chinese University of Hong Kong	Chinese literature in English translation, covering over 2000 years of Chinese literature from classical works to contemporary literary expression.
Circumference Magazine	2003-present	New York State Council on the Arts; New York Foundation for the Arts (sponsor)	New York, U.S.	A biannual journal of poetry, translation and international culture; several works of Chinese poetry have been translated into English.
Paper Republic	2007-present	Jia Pingwa Institute (2019); One-Way Street Magazine (2018-19); Guanghwa Book, Shaftesbury Avenue, London UK (2018); Paper Republic LLC (2018); Karmia Olutade (2018); Arts Council England (2009) (sponsors)	Registered charity in the U.K.	Contemporary Chinese Literature in English translation; focus on new writing from contemporary Chinese writers.
Pathlight Magazine	2011-present	A collaboration between *Paper Republic* and *People's Literature* magazine.	Coal Hill Books, U.S.	A quarterly literary journal featuring translations of the contemporary Chinese poetry and prose in English.
Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture	2014-present	Peking University and the University of Illinois (sponsors)	Duke University Press, U.S.	Publishes research articles and essays on premodern Chinese literature and all aspects of the broader literary culture.
Literature and Modern China	2019-present	Sichuan University's College of Literature and Journalism, China (sponsor)	Igneus Press, U.S.	Focuses on Chinese literature and culture of the modern and contemporary periods. It is open to all academic approaches to these topics—including history, criticism, literary theory, translation studies, etc.

International Journal of Chinese and English Translation & Interpreting	2022-present	Binhua Wang, University of Leeds, UK (founding editor)	All Terrain Publishing, U.K.	Including Research Article, Reflection on Teaching Practice, Reflection on Professional Practice, and Book Review.

Table 23. Journals dedicated to translating Chinese literature into English.

The number of journals dedicated to bringing Chinese literature to a global audience began to grow from the 1950s onwards. Notably, at least four of the above journals concentrate on contemporary Chinese literature, which captured the attention of many editors. These journals later expanded their scope beyond literary translations to include research articles, approaches to language learning, book reviews, and a variety of broader topics.

The journal *Renditions* stands out as one of the earliest-established journals, covering an extensive range of Chinese literature from classical to contemporary works. This journal also published special issues on specific themes, such as one on Late Qing literary works titled *Chinese Impressions of the West* (vol. 53 & 54) released in 2000. Its continuity from 1973 to 2024 provides a window into changes in prevailing attitudes across a period of over fifty years, which were characterized at first by expansion and then more recently by what the final editor of the journal refers to as an ongoing decline in the periodical market. In the same editorial in which chief editor Theodore Huters explains the reasons for discontinuing *Renditions* as a journal in 2024 (indicating that book-length translations will continue to be published under the imprint), he reminds us of its influence and importance over previous decades:

> The journal's existence has paralleled one of the momentous periods in Chinese history, and in many ways has held up a mirror to it, so it is our hope that you, our readers, can reflect on what the journal has meant to you in these interesting times.[255]

This is why this chapter will use *Renditions* as a case study, particularly focusing on its examination of Late Qing literature to assess what kind of mirror it has held up to Chinese history, and investigate which works were chosen, how they were translated, by whom and for what purposes.

[255] Huters, 2024, 8.

4.1.1 *Renditions:* A Mirror to One of the Momentous Periods in Chinese History

Renditions is a journal dedicated to Chinese literature in English translation, published biannually by the Research Centre for Translation at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). 100 volumes were published in total until 2024, available in print and online. The journal presents itself as aiming to "provide some insights into Chinese life and thoughts, as well as exemplify the art of the translation" by making Chinese literature accessible to English-speaking audiences.[256]

> *Renditions*, however, is designed for the general reader with an educated curiosity about Chinese culture, presenting to him materials originally intended for Chinese eyes. In this age of greater intercultural communication a new interest in the art of translation is evident.[257]

The author of these words was Li Choh-Ming 李卓敏 (1912 – 1991), a Chinese-born American economist and educator who was the founding Vice Chancellor of the CUHK in 1963. Published in the foreword to the inaugural issue of the journal in 1973, this quotation defines the journal's intended readership while highlighting the role of translation in fostering intercultural understanding. The journal strives to include a range of literary forms, periods, and authors, reflecting a commitment to diversity and thematic coherence. Its contents span an impressive spectrum of genres, from poetry, prose, and drama to historical texts, offering readers a rich and nuanced perspective on Chinese literary tradition.[258] Both classical and modern works, including voices from the twentieth century and contemporary writers, are featured. Moreover, translators' notes and critical commentaries are frequently included, enhancing the contextual depth of the texts. Regularly, thematic issues were released that explore specific literary periods, genres, or cultural themes, such as *Chinese Classical Fiction* (vol. 13, 1980), *Contemporary Women Writers in Chinese Literature* (vol. 27 & 28, 1987), and *Taiwan Poetry* (vol. 61, 2004), providing readers with focused explorations of particular aspects of Chinese literature. As for the criteria that influence the acceptance and rejection, the co-founder and the first chief editor, George Kao noted in Vol.4 in 1975：

> Whatever grandiose plans the editor have, it avails us nought if the thing is not already in English. We are not supposed to translate everything ourselves, nor could we assign or commission translations with any assurance of a prompt and adequate

[256] Kao, 1975, 4.
[257] Li Choh-Ming, 1973, 3.
[258] Kao, 1975, 4-5.

> supply. [...] We like to have some relevance or thematic arrangement in the contents of each issue. We also aim at what in magazine-editing is known as a "good mix". [...] The original material you choose to translate must be worthwhile.[259]

This quotation is taken from the editor's page of the journal's fourth volume that was published in 1975, where the founding editor and first chief editor, George Kao, reflected on the editorial experience gained over the first two years and four published volumes. Addressing prospective contributors through the second-person pronoun 'you', Kao explains the practical and editorial considerations that shaped the journal's selection process and offers readers valuable insight into how editorial decisions were made, demonstrating that the acceptance or rejection of submissions depended not on the personal preferences of the editors but on the suitability for the journal's overall editorial objectives and the practical realities of translation publishing.

The journal was co-founded by George Kao 高克毅 (1912–2008) and Stephen C. Soong 宋淇 (1919–1996). Both contributed to the accessibility and appreciation of Chinese literature worldwide. George Kao was a Chinese-American writer, translator, and editor. Born in Michigan, Kao moved to China at the age of three with his parents. After Kao graduated from Yenching University in 1933, he returned to the United States, and eventually graduated from the University of Missouri with a master's degree in journalism in 1935.[260] Throughout his career, Kao authored and translated works from both English to Chinese and Chinese to English that bridged cultural divides.[261] Before his death, Kao established the George and Maeching Kao Endowment for Chinese Studies at Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida. This endowment, named in honor of Kao and his wife, provides annual funding to support scholarships, language learning, and library acquisitions. Serving as a lasting tribute, this memorial fund reflects Kao's lifelong commitment to fostering mutual understanding between the American and Chinese peoples.[262]

---

[259] Kao, 1975, 5.
[260] Holley, 2008, B07.
[261] Representatives works written or edited by Kao include: *Cathay by the Bay: San Francisco Chinatown in 1950,* published by Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, Hong Kong, 1987; *The Translation of Things Past: Chinese History and Historiography,* published by Renditions Press, Hong Kong, 1982; *Chinese Wit and Humor,* published by Coward-McCann Inc., New York, 1946. Examples of his literary translations include: *Daheng xiaozhuan* 大亨小傳 (*The Great Gatsby* by F. Scott Fitzgerald) initial published by Jinri shijie she in 1971, reprinted in 1974, republished in 1996, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2021, and *Hangye manman lu tiaotiao* 長夜漫漫路迢迢 (*Long Day's Journey Into Night* by Eugene O'Neill) published by Yuanjing chubanshe in 1993.
[262] Holley, 2008, B07.

Stephen C. Soong 宋淇 (1919-1996) was a Hong Kong-based scholar, translator, and active figure in the promotion of translation education and research. Born in Zhejiang, then Republic of China, Soong moved to Hong Kong in 1949 at the end of the Chinese Civil War, where he began his career in publishing and translation. In 1968, he joined the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) as a lecturer in Advanced Translation and Literature. His visionary leadership led to the founding of CUHK's Research Centre for Translation in 1971, where he also served as Dean. That same year, he established the Hong Kong Translation Society and, as its President, organized several forums in 1970s and 80s to promote translation studies in Hong Kong. He held various academic and editorial roles, most notably as co-founder of *Renditions*, alongside George Kao, where he served as chief editor from 1975 to 1982. Soong's expertise lay in classical Chinese literature and he was known for his refined and scholarly approach to translation.[263] Additionally, Soong was deeply interested in translating Chinese literary criticism and theory, providing readers worldwide with insights into Chinese literary traditions and values.[264] To commemorate his contributions in this field, the Stephen C. Soong Translation Studies Memorial Awards were set up in 1997 by the Research Centre for Translation of CUHK, with a donation from the Soong family. It gives recognition to academics who have made contributions to original research in Chinese Translation Studies.[265]

Together, Kao and Soong's efforts through *Renditions* laid a foundation for cross-cultural literary exchange. Moreover, it is useful to look at the different editors and translators across 50 years, in order to show an overview of different periods and trends in the journal. The table below shows the editorial board that was in place when the journal ended in 2024:

Advisory Board		
Howard Goldblatt	Brian Holton	Huang Kuo-pin
Jane Lai	T. C. Lai	Joseph S. M. Lau
Mabel Lee	John Minford	Stephen Owen
David Pollard (1937-2024)	William S. Tay	
Editorial Committee		
C. D. Alison Bailey	Geremie Barmé	Cheow Thia Chan

[263] Representative works include: *Song Without Music: Chinese Tz'u Poetry,* published by Chinese University Press, Hong Kong; distributed by the University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1980. *A Brotherhood in Song: Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, published by Chinese University Press, Hong Kong, 1985.
[264] Li Bo and Liu Meilong, 2021, 100: 43--56.
[265] See the website of the Research Centre for Translation of CUHK for more information on the scholarship.

Dongwei Chu
Andrew F. Jones
Kam Louie
Janice Wickeri
Maghiel van Crevel
Richard King
T. M. McClellan
Diana Yue
John Christopher Hamm
Sylvia Li-chun Lin
Christopher G. Rea

Executive Editor Lawrence Wang-Chi Wong

Chief Editor Theodore Huters

The journal's website includes an indexed list of individual authors and translators who have contributed to the publication over the years. The index database contains information on approximately 600 Chinese writers, reflecting the journal's extensive engagement with modern and classical Chinese literature.

Thematic Focus

As mentioned earlier, the journal has frequently published special issues devoted to particular themes, addressing specific literary periods, genres, or cultural events. After conducting a survey of these publications, I have categorized all the special issues into five groups and compiled the following table to illustrate the issues published over the years.

Literary Genres	Figures	Regional Literature	Historical Period	Cultural Events
On Lyrics, Vol.11 & 12, 1979	On Lao She 老舍, Vol. 10, 1978	On Hong Kong writing, Vol. 29 & 30, 1988	On Chinese Literature Today, Vol. 19 & 20, 1983	On Twenty million Zhiqing 知青, Vol. 50, 1998
On Classical Fiction, Vol. 13, 1980	On Lu Xun 迅, Vol. 26, 1986	On Contemporary Taiwan Literature, Vol. 35 & 36, 1991	On Twentieth Century Memoirs, Vol. 38, 1992	On Three cases of political dissent, Vol. 65, 2006
On Middlebrow Fiction, Vol. 17 & 18, 1982	On Contemporary Women Writers, Vol. 27 & 28, 1987	On Singaporean Chinese Poetry, Vol. 55, 2001	On Hong Kong 1990s, Vol. 47 & 48, 1997	On Leaping to Disaster, Vol. 68, 2007
On Poetry and Poetics, Vol. 21 & 22, 1984	On Bing Xin 冰心, Vol. 32, 1989	On New Hong Kong Poetry, Vol. 56, 2001	On Chinese Impressions of the West, Vol. 53 & 54, 2000	

On Classical Prose, Vol. 33 & 34, 1990	On Eileen Chang 张爱玲, Vol. 45, 1996	On New Taiwan Poetry, Vol. 61, 200	On Violence in Ming and Qing Literature, Vol. 70, 2008	
On Post-Misty Poetry, Vol. 37, 1992	On The Faces of a Chinese Beauty: Wang Zhaojun 王昭君, Vol. 59 & 60, 2003	On Hong Kong Essays, Vol. 66, 2006	On The Seventies, Vol. 75, 2011	
On Classical Letters, Vol. 41 & 42, 1994	On Women of traditional China, Vol. 64, 2005	On Hong Kong Classical Poetry, Vol. 73, 2010	On Chinese Science Fiction: Late Qing and the Contemporary, Vol. 77 & 78, 2012	
On Contemporary Fiction: Marginal Worlds, Vol. 63, 2005	On Yang Jiang 杨绛, Vol. 76, 2011			
On Modern Chinese Fiction, Vol. 67, 2007				
On Chinese Film, Vol. 71, 2009				

Table 24. Special issues published by *Renditions* over the years

If we look at the list of special issues diachronically, we will see that the focus moves from a prioritisation of lyric and poetic genres, and then an expansion into prose genres, to a greater focus on regional literature and later more inclusive cultural themes, such as women's literature, violence, political dissent, and science fiction. It is also noticeable that the main special issue that focuses on Late Qing literature that will be discussed later in this chapter turns once more to 'China's response to the West'.

The formal organization of the special issues themselves reinforces this chronological narrative. The earliest issues in the 'Literary Genres' category, "On Lyrics" (Vol. 11 & 12, 1979), "On Classical Fiction" (Vol. 13, 1980), and "On Poetry and Poetics" (Vol. 21 & 22, 1984), demonstrate the journal's initial preoccupation with classical forms and foundational modes of literary expression. These issues privilege lyric and poetic traditions, suggesting an editorial emphasis on canon formation and the reassertion of China's literary heritage in the 1970s and the early half of the 1980s. Even when the focus broadens to prose, as in "On Classical Prose" (Vol. 33 & 34, 1990), the impulse remains one of formal definition and consolidation.

A significant structural shift occurs in the 1990s and 2000s, a period that coincides with Eva Hung's editorial influence, first as an editor from 1986 and later as chief editor until

2003,[266] when the scope of inquiry moves beyond form itself to engage with context, marginality, and thematic expansion. Issues such as "On Contemporary Fiction: Marginal Worlds" (Vol. 63, 2005) and "On Modern Chinese Fiction" (Vol. 67, 2007) demonstrate a methodological broadening: the focus is no longer simply on genre but on the socio-cultural peripheries within those genres. This is mirrored in the 'Figures' section, where the early focus on canonical male authors like Lao She (Vol. 10, 1978) and Lu Xun (Vol. 26, 1986) gives way to a deliberate foregrounding of female writers and figures, from "On Contemporary Women Writers" (Vol. 27 & 28, 1987) to "On Eileen Chang" (Vol. 45, 1996) and "On Women of Traditional China" (Vol. 64, 2005). Here, the evolution of form is complemented by an evolution of perspective: from textual centrality to authorial subjectivity and gendered experience.

The inclusion of 'Regional Literature' volumes from the late 1980s onwards, "On Hong Kong Writing" (Vol. 29 & 30, 1988) and "On Contemporary Taiwan Literature" (Vol. 35 & 36, 1991) marks another structural turn. The journal begins to map Chinese literary production across geographical boundaries, reflecting a broader cultural and political reconfiguration in the early-reform era. This decentering of the mainland canon and the embrace of Sinophone literature underscores a methodological openness that contrasts with the earlier, form-bound approach.

By the 2000s and 2010s, the form of the special issues itself mirrors the diversification of their subjects. Entire issues are now devoted to thematic and historical questions rather than literary categories, such as "On Violence in Ming and Qing Literature" (Vol. 70, 2008), "On Three Cases of Political Dissent" (Vol. 65, 2006), and "On Chinese Science Fiction: Late Qing and the Contemporary" (Vol. 77 & 78, 2012). This transition suggests that form is no longer the primary organizing principle; instead, literature is approached as a site of cultural negotiation, political commentary, and social imagination.

Finally, the Late Qing-focused special issues, particularly "On Chinese Impressions of the West" (Vol. 53 & 54, 2000), circle back to questions of encounter and response, highlighting how form and historical context intersect. In sum, the structure of the special issues itself is an argument: it charts the field's intellectual history from a formalist orientation towards a dynamic, interdisciplinary, and thematically expansive mode of literary

[266] Heijns, 2012, 30-33.

inquiry. The movement away from a narrow focus on genre and towards questions of identity, region, and politics interaction reflects not only shifts within literary studies but also broader transformations in Chinese cultural self-understanding over the past five decades.

4.1.2 *Renditions* and its Late Qing Literature Translation

The Late Qing period, profoundly shaped by the influx of Western science, democratic ideals, and modern education, witnessed rapid and transformative societal changes that catalyzed the emergence of literary modernity. These sweeping shifts left an indelible mark on the Chinese literary landscape, which underwent a profound reconfiguration during this era. The impact of this transformation is evident in four key dimensions of literary works: the introduction of new ideas, the emergence of innovative genres, the exploration of fresh themes, and the adoption of novel techniques. Traditional literary forms, once steeped in classical conventions, began to incorporate modern elements, reflecting the growing tensions between cultural heritage and contemporary influences. The friction between tradition and modernity not only gave rise to creative experimentation but also sparked vibrant debates about identity, cultural continuity, and progress. As a result, literature became a dynamic arena for negotiating the complex interplay of old and new, serving both as a mirror of societal evolution and as a catalyst for intellectual and artistic renewal. This reimagining of literary practices reshaped the Chinese literary landscape in ways that were both profound and enduring, setting the stage for modern Chinese literature as a distinct and evolving one. Through these changes, the Late Qing period emerged as a critical juncture in China's literature evolution, bridging the classical past and the modern future. Later in this chapter, we will explore the case of Wang Kaiyun 王闓運 (1833-1916), a representative figure of traditional Chinese literature, focusing on his work “Chen Yiwu Shu” 陳夷務疏 (A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: excerpts), as translated by Burton Watson.

Let me first look in more depth at the four key dimensions of literary works of this period. (a) The introduction of new ideas: With the incorporation of Western philosophies and intellectual movements, Late Qing literature was shaped by reformist and revolutionary thought. (b) The emergence of innovative genres: The era saw the emergence of literary genres that departed from classical traditions. Examples include science fiction, such as Lu

Shi'e's 陸士諤 (1878-1944) *Xin Zhongguo* 新中國 (*New China*, 1910), a utopian science fiction novel as a representative; detective fiction, such as Cheng Xiaoqing's 程小青 (1893-1976) translations of Arthur Conan Doyle's *Sherlock Holmes* stories in the early 1910s. Cheng Xiaoqing later created his own series, *Sherlock in Shanghai* in the 1910s-20s; realist fiction, such as Wu Jianren's 吳趼人 (1866-1910) *Henhai* 恨海 (*The Sea of Regret*, 1906); and finally, serialized novels which was a popular format that sustained reader interest through techniques like cliffhangers. (c) The exploration of fresh themes: Late Qing authors expanded their themes to reflect the political, social, and cultural upheavals of the era, including nationalism, resistance, social reform, critique, gender and women's rights, utopian visions, emotional and psychological exploration. (d) The adoption of novel techniques: Influenced by Western and Japanese literature, as well as the need to engage broader audiences, Late Qing literature saw innovations in form and style. Notably, traditional classical Chinese was increasingly replaced by vernacular language, making literature more accessible. Episodic and cyclical structures gave way to coherent, linear plots. Additionally, authors incorporated vivid descriptions of settings, daily life, and social realities, aligning with Western realist traditions. For instance, Wu Jianren's just mentioned novel *Henhai* 恨海 (*The Sea of Regret*, 1906) features detailed portrayals of urban and rural life during wartime. Frequently, a blending of Chinese and Western narrative techniques resulted in hybrid literary forms, such as blending traditional poetic imagery with modern prose.

Here, I use the journal *Renditions* as a lens to examine the distinctive evolution of translations of Late Qing literary works across the four dimensions outlined above. After reviewing all issues of the journal from its inception to its final issue in 2024, I identified 51 Late Qing literary works published in *Renditions*. These are compiled in the table below, along with details such as authors' names, translators' names, and genres. The entries are organized chronologically by year of publication, from the earliest to the most recent.

Author	Source Text	Text in English	Translator	Year of Translation Published	Genre
Wu Youru 吳友如	节选自《點石齋畫報》	Selections from the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*	Anonymous	1974	Essay with visual images
Li Baojia 李寶嘉	文明小史	*Modern Times: A Brief History of Enlightenment: excerpts* (Preface, Chapter One and Two)	Douglas Lancashire	1974	Fiction

Wu Jianren 吳趼人	二十年目睹之怪現狀	*Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed over Two Decades*	Shih Shun Liu	1975	Fiction
Wu Jianren 吳趼人	一個在茶館的旗人	*A Bannerman at the Teahouse*	Gloria Bien	1975	Fiction
Liang Qichao 梁啟超	譚嗣同傳	*A Biography of T'an Ssu-t'ung*	Chan Sin-wai	1981	Biography
Zeng Pu 曾樸	孽海花	*A Flower in a Sinful Sea*	Rafe de Crespigny and Liu Ts'un-yan	1982	Fiction
Wu Youru 吳友如	節選自《點石齋畫報》	Selections from the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*	Don J. Cohn	1985	Essay with visual images
Wu Youru 吳友如	節選自《點石齋畫報》	Selections from the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*	Yang Qinghua and Don J. Cohn	1988	Essay with visual images
Wang Tao 王韜	香海羈蹤	*My Sojourn in Hong Kong: excerpts*	Yang Qinghua	1988	Travelogue
Liu E 劉鶚	老殘遊記二集	*The Sequel to Lao Can Youji: Chapters 7-9*	Timothy C. Wong	1989	Fiction
Li Shuchang 黎庶昌	蔔來敦記	*On Brighton*	Eva Hung	1990	Travelogue
Lin Shu 林紓	湖心泛月記	*Boating in a Lake on the Moonlight*	Chu Chiyu	1990	Essay (narrative)
Lin Shu 林紓	湖之漁	*Fish in the Lake*	Chu Chiyu	1990	Essay (narrative)
Lin Shu 林紓	析廉	*Analysis on Honest Office Service*	Chu Chiyu	1990	Essay (argumentative)
Xue Fucheng 薛福成	觀巴黎油畫記	*At a Parisian Oil Painting Exhibition*	Eva Hung	1990	Travelogue
Li Baojia 李寶嘉	文明小史	*Modern Times： A Brief History of Enlightenment: excerpts*	Douglas Lancashire	1974/1993	Fiction
Xue Fucheng 薛福成	答友人論禁洋煙書	*Reply to a Friend on the Banning of Opium Smoking*	Chu Chiyu	1994	Private Letter
Liang Qichao 梁啟超	與蕙仙書	*Letter to His Wife Huixian*	Oliver Stunt	1994	Private Letter
Zeng Guofan 曾国藩	與弟書	Letter to His Younger Brothers	Janice Wickeri	1994	Private Letter
Dai Hongci 戴鴻慈	出使九國日記	Selections from *Diplomatic Mission to Nine Countries*	Martha P.Y. Cheung	2000	Travelogue
Feng Guifen 馮桂芬	校邠廬抗議: 節選	Selections from *Petitions from Jiaobin lu*	Eva Hung	2000	Essay (political treatise)
Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾	倫敦與巴黎日記	Selections from *London and Paris Diary*	Eva Hung	2000	Travelogue
Kang Youwei 康有爲	歐洲十一國遊記	Selections from *Notes on Travels Around Europe*	Daniel Kane	2000	Travelogue
Li Fengbao 李凤苞	使德日記	Selections from *Diary of Mission to Germany*	David.E.Pollard	2000	Travelogue
Li Gui 李圭	環遊地球新錄	Selections from *New Records of Travels Around the World*	Lily Lee	2000	Travelogue
Li Shuchang 黎庶昌	西洋雜記	Selections from *Recollections of the West*	Duncan Campbell	2000	Travelogue

Liang Qichao 梁啟超	新大陸遊記	*Selections from Diary of Travels through the New World*	Janet Ng, Earl Tai and Jesse Dudley	2000	Travelogue
Liu Xihong 劉錫鴻	英軺私記	Selections from *Personal Records of Travels in Britain*	Alice W. Cheang	2000	Travelogue
Ma Jianzhong 馬建忠	致李鴻章阁下的信：節選	Letter to His Excellency Li Hongzhang: excerpts	Kam Louie	2000	Private Letter
Prince Gong et al. 恭親王 奕欣	呈鹹豐帝奏摺	Memorial to Emperor Xianfeng	David.E.Pollard	2000	Official memorial
Qi Zhaoxi 祁兆熙	遊美洲日記	Selections from *Diary of Travels in America*	Brian Holton	2000	Travelogue
Shan Shili 单士厘, female	癸卯旅行記	Selections from *Travels in the Year Guimao*	Renditions Editorial Team	2000	Travelogue
Song Xiaolian 宋小濂	北徼紀遊	Selections from *Notes on a Journey to the Northern Borders*	Anna Di Toro with D. E. Pollard	2000	Travelogue
Wang Kaiyun 王闓運	陳夷務疏	A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: excerpts	Burton Watson	2000	Official memorial
Wang Tao 王韬	漫遊隨錄	Selections from *Jottings of Carefree Travels*	Ian Chapman	2000	Travelogue
Wang Zhichun 王之春	使俄草/使俄日記	Selections from *Notes from a Mission to Russia*	Ian Chapman	2000	Travelogue
Wei Yuan 魏源	海國圖誌	Selections from *An Illustrated World Geography*	Tam Pak Shan	2000	Essay (narrative)
Xu Jianyin 徐建寅	歐遊雜錄	Selections from *Notes on Travels in Europe*	Ian Bartholomew	2000	Travelogue
Xu Jiyu 徐繼畬	瀛環誌略	Selections from *A Concise World Geography*	Tam Pak Shan	2000	Essay (narrative)
Xue Fucheng 薛福成	出使英法義比四國日記: 節選	Selections from *Journal of Diplomatic Mission to Four European Countries*	David.E.Pollard	2000	Travelogue
Zeng Jize 曾紀澤	一個帝國的觀眾	An Imperial Audience	Eva Hung	2000	Travelogue
Zeng Jize 曾紀澤	西行使團: 節選	Selections from *Diplomatic Mission to the West*	Mabel Lee	2000	Travelogue
Zhang deyi 张德彝	航海述奇: 節選	Selections from *Strange Tales from Over the Ocean*	David.E.Pollard	2000	Travelogue
Zheng Guanying 郑观应	四篇隨筆: 節選	Four Essays: excerpts	Chu Chiyu	2000	Essay (political treatise)
ZHIGANG ZHIGANG 志剛	使西紀行: 節選	Selections from *Record of the First Diplomatic Mission to the West*	Sally K Church	2000	Travelogue
Wu Jianren 吳趼人	九命奇冤（第一章，第二章）	*A Strange Case of Nine Murders: Chapters I and II*	Douglas Lancashire	2004	Fiction
Xu Nianci 徐念慈	新法螺先生譚	*New Tales of Mr Braggadocio*	Nathaniel Isaacson	2012	Fiction
Wu Jianren 吳趼人	新石頭記: 節選	*New Story of the Stone: excerpts*	Sterling Swallow	2012	Fiction

Wu Jianren 吳趼人	查功課	*School Inspection*	Yun A. Lee	2019	Fiction
Kang Youwei 康有爲	諸天論 上帝篇 第十一	*Lectures on the Heavens*: Chapter Eleven, Treatise on God	Zhaoyuan Wan and Patrick Swire	2020	Essay (argumentative)
Lin Shu 林紓	讀《烈女傳》	Reading the *Biographies of Exemplary Women*	César Guarde-Paz	2020	Essay (argumentative)
Wang Tao 王韜	王韜日記: 節選	Wang Tao's Diary: excerpts	Sebastian Eicher	2020	Diary

Table 25. Late Qing literary works published in *Renditions*.

When examining the publication trends of Late Qing literary works in Renditions over the decades, dividing each 10-year period into a stage reveals noticeable patterns in publication volume. These trends are summarized as follows:

- 1970s: 2 issues featuring 4 articles.
- 1980s: 5 issues featuring 6 articles.
- 1990s: 3 issues featuring 9 articles.
- 2000: 1 special issue featuring 26 articles.
- 2000s: 1 issue featuring 1 article.
- 2010s: 2 issues featuring 3 articles.
- 2020s: 1 issue featuring 3 articles (published in 2020).

Up until the year 2000, the publication of Late Qing literary works displayed a clear upward trend in both the number of issues and articles, culminating in a peak with the special issue in 2000 that devoted entirely to Late Qing literature. However, after 2000, the publication frequency decreased and stabilized at a relatively low level. Regarding the factors influencing publication trends, two key factors could help explain these trends: the historical context and the preferences of the journal's editors. The late 1970s and early 1980s witnessed the re-emergence of humanism in Chinese literature. As noted by Michael S. Duke, a professor emeritus of Chinese and comparative literature at the University of British Columbia in his work *Blooming and Contending: Chinese Literature in the Post-Mao Era* (1985), this period was marked by a shift in Chinese literature from being dominated by political agendas (prevalent from the 1940s to the 1970s) to embracing genuine literary analysis. Duke referred to this cultural renaissance as the "second 'Hundred Flowers' policy," which paralleled the Soviet post-Stalinist thaw in literature. Although Duke's analysis focused on contemporary works, his observations shed light on the broader literary landscape that triggered the emergence of *Renditions*. The journal thrived amid these changes and adapted to the shifting international and national contexts of the late twentieth century.

Additionally, editorial leadership has played a pivotal role in shaping the selection and thematic focus of Late Qing literary works published in the journal. Following the founding editors George Kao and Stephen C. Soong, Eva Hung 孔慧怡 served as chief editor from 1987 to 2007. Hung's scholarly interests encompassed contemporary literature, particularly the works of female writers and Hong Kong regional literature, as well as translation studies. Her editorial vision left an indelible mark on the journal, notably reflected in the 1996 special issue dedicated to female writer Eileen Chang 張愛玲 (1920-1995), which aligned with Hung's academic focus. Despite this emphasis, Hung maintained a commitment to inclusiveness and diversity, fostering a period of remarkable growth and flourishing development during her tenure.

After Eva Hung stepped down, Theodore David Huters took over as chief editor in July 2010 and continued to hold the position until 2024 when the journal ceased publication.[267] A professor emeritus at the University of California, Los Angeles, Huters brought to the journal a distinct focus on Late Qing intellectual history and prose, as well as twentieth-century Chinese literature. For instance, Wu Jianren 吳趼人 (1866-1910), a prominent novelist of the Late Qing period whose work was censored during his lifetime, emerged as a recurring figure under his editorial leadership. Wu Jianren's works were featured in the journal a total of five times, with three of these publications appearing during Huters' tenure in 2012 and 2019. This distinction makes Wu Jianren the most frequently published Late Qing author in the journal's history. Huters' academic engagement with Wu Jianren is notable; he explored the author's literary contributions in his essay "Creating Subjectivity in Wu Jianren's *The Sea of Regret*," published in *Dynastic Crisis and Cultural Innovation: From the Late Ming to the Late Qing and Beyond* (Harvard Asia Center, 2005). In this work, Huters analyzed Wu Jianren's novel *The Sea of Regret*, situating it within the broader context of Late Qing fiction and intellectual discourse.

The contrasting editorial approaches of Eva Hung and Theodore Huters illustrate the journal's evolving focus, from a broad and inclusive exploration of contemporary and regional literature under Hung's leadership to a more targeted engagement with specific intellectual and literary currents of the Late Qing period during Huters' tenure. These shifts

[267] The information is from "Editor's Page" by Theodore Huters, in 2024, *Renditions* no. 100 (Spring 2024):8. That is the last issue of the journal.

underscore the critical influence of editorial leadership in shaping the journal's identity and legacy.

A comprehensive review of the journal's volumes reveals that 31 Late Qing authors and their works appeared on its pages. Among these, several authors were featured multiple times, with varying texts or excerpts included across different issues. In addition to Wu Jianren , prominent figures such as Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929, political thinker), Wu Youru 吳友如 (1840-1893, illustrator and editor), Li Shuchang 黎庶昌 (1837-1898, diplomat), Lin Shu 林纾 (1852-1924, scholar, writer, and translator), Wang Tao 王韬 (1828-1897, scholar and journalist), Kang Youwei 康有爲 (1858-1927, political thinker), and Xue Fucheng 薛福成 (1838-1894, diplomat) also had their works highlighted. Many of the selected authors were scholar-officials, diplomats, political thinkers, or politicians, reflecting a Late Qingfocus on Late Qing intellectual and institutional reform. However, the journal also included figures whose careers extended beyond government service, showcasing their roles as illustrators, journalists, educators, poets, scientists, entrepreneurs, or translators. For example, Lin Shu stands out as a transformative writer and translator. He introduced Chinese readers to English and French literature, producing over 180 translated works in collaboration with others. Among his most notable translations are Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield* (published in 1908), and Alexandre Dumas's *La Dame aux Camélias* (*The Lady of the Camellias*) translation published in 1899.[268] Remarkably, Lin Shu neither read nor wrote in any foreign language. Instead, he relied on collaborators to orally narrate the original texts' content, using his imagination and literary skill to craft Chinese renditions that resonated with local readers.[269] As Alexander Huang notes, Lin's translations, or more accurately, rewritings of Western literature provoked significant debates about the nature of translation, fidelity to source texts, and cultural adaptation. These debates positioned Lin Shu as a pivotal figure in both translation studies and Chinese literary history.[270] His method of 'creative translation' reflects the broader tensions of the Late Qing period, as intellectuals grappled with modernity, cross-cultural exchange, and the preservation of Chinese identity in an era of rapid change. The diversity of authors included in the journal underscores the multifaceted intellectual landscape of the Late Qing era, where

[268] Chen, and Cheng, 2014, 1201-1206.
[269] Huang, 2006, 55-60.
[270] Huang, 2006, 60-65.

traditional roles intersected with new global and cultural currents. From political reformers like Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei to illustrators like Wu Youru and cross-cultural translators like Lin Shu, the journal provided a platform to explore the dynamic interplay of tradition, innovation, and modernity.

Regarding the translators, a total of 38 individuals contributed to 51 articles or excerpts. Some translators made repeated contributions; for example, Eva Hung contributed to five pieces, while Chu Chiyu 朱志瑜 worked on three.[271] Additionally, some works were translated collaboratively by groups of translators. For instance, Janet Ng, Earl Tai, and Jesse Dudley jointly translated selections from "Diary of Travels through the New World" (*Xin dalu youji* 新大陸遊記, 1903) by Liang Qichao. To better understand the translators' backgrounds, they are categorized into two groups: first, translation studies specialists; second, historians and China or Asian studies specialists.[272]

1. Translation Studies Specialists

These individuals focus primarily on both the theoretical and practical aspects of translation. They are listed according to their academic affiliations, along with brief information about their research interests:

- Chinese University of Hong Kong
    - David E. Pollard: He was a professor of translation studies. (deceased 2024).
    - Don J. Cohn: Translator of Lao She's 老舍 works and involved in translation editorial roles.
    - Eva Hung: Translation director and translator of literary works.
    - Janice Wickeri: Translation professional.
    - Tam Pak Shan: Professional translator and editor.
- Hong Kong Polytechnic University
    - Brian Holton: He is the translator of Chinese "Misty" poet Yang Lian. He translates into English and Scots, and is the only currently publishing Chinese-Scots translator in the world.

[271] Chu Chiyu is a Professor Emeritus in Translation Studies from The Hong Kong Polytechnic University.
[272] There are five translators in the Database with unclear information at present, therefore, they are not included in the categories. The five individuals are Yang Qinghua, Oliver Stunt, Lily Lee, Jesse Dudley and Patrick Swire.

    - Chu Chiyu 朱志瑜: Academic focused on translation theories and literary translation.
- Lanzhou Jiaotong University in Northwest China
    - Zhaoyuan Wan 萬肇淵: He is a researcher in translation studies and Chinese reformist thought; currently pursuing a doctorate at the University of Oxford.
- Saint Francis University
    - Chan Sin-wai 陳善偉: He is a professor specializing in translation and languages.
- Yuan Ze University in Taiwan
    - Sterling Swallow: He is a lecturer with expertise in translation and culture

2. China/Asian Studies Specialists & Historians:

This diverse group includes academics and translators focused on Chinese or Asian literature, philosophy, language, and cultural studies.

- Australian National University
    - Liu Ts'un-yan: Scholar in Chinese thought and literature.
    - Rafe de Crespigny: Historian specializing in the Later Han and Three Kingdoms period.
- University of Auckland, New Zealand
    - Douglas Lancashire: Expert in Chinese literature and religion.
- University of Cambridge
    - Sally K. Church: Expert in East Asian studies.
- University of Massachusetts
    - Alice W. Cheang: Professor of Chinese classical literature.
- University of Washington
    - Ian Chapman: Specialist in premodern Chinese history, literature, and religion with an interdisciplinary approach.
- North Carolina State University
    - Nathaniel Isaacson: Translator and modern Chinese literature scholar.
- Saint Louis University
    - Yun A. Lee: Instructor of Chinese language.

- Arizona State University
    - Timothy C. Wong: Literary theorist focusing on traditional Chinese fictional narratives.
- Macquarie University in Sydney
    - Daniel Kane: Expert in Jurchen and Manchu languages, (retired 2012, deceased 2021).
- Victoria University of Wellington
    - Duncan Campbell: Specialist in Chinese studies across institutions.
- University of Siena
    - Anna Di Toro: Sinologist studying Chinese and Latin translations.
    - Mabel Lee: Translator of Nobel laureate Gao Xingjian's works.
- UNSW Sydney
    - Kam Louie: Focused on Chinese masculinity, gender, and philosophy, Honorary Professor in the School of Chinese, The University of Hong Kong.
- Nankai University
    - César Guarde-Paz: Lecturer on Chinese literature.
- Ca' Foscari University of Venice
    - Sebastian Eicher: Researcher on historiography and literature in Chinese history.
- Columbia University
    - Burton Watson: Renowned sinologist and translator, (deceased 2017).

The categories of contributors are not mutually exclusive, as many individuals' roles overlap, reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of their contributions. For instance, many translation studies specialists are also actively engaged in Chinese or Asian studies, demonstrating how translation serves as a critical bridge between languages and cultures. Examples include Don J. Cohn, David E. Pollard, and Eva Hung, who contributed significantly to both fields. Similarly, historians often play a dual role, contributing to Asian studies and occasionally engaging in translation work, as exemplified by Ian Chapman's teaching of Chinese literature and history. Many China and Asian studies specialists, such as Mabel Lee and Burton Watson, also serve as translators, further highlighting their dual expertise. This overlap underscores the inseparable connections between the categories, emphasizing the collaborative and interdisciplinary spirit of these scholarly efforts. Beyond these primary

fields, some contributors bring expertise from other disciplines. For example, Earl Tai's work in cross-cultural design and social ethics in art contributes to broader discussions on cultural interactions and design philosophy. A significant proportion of the contributors are or have been affiliated with universities and research institutions as lecturers or professors. This highlights that the translations featured are of a scholarly standard and that the journal appeals to an academic audience. To some extent, the journal also reflects the evolving research trends in Chinese literature over the years, showcasing the dynamic interplay between scholarship, translation, and cultural studies.

4.1.3 Illustrations as An Approach in *Renditions*

A review of the translated Late Qing fiction published in *Renditions* over the years reveals a striking feature: the frequent inclusion of illustrations. To examine this editorial characteristic of the journal, a table has been created to show both the number of translated works published across different decades and the quantity of images included in those works. A more detailed analysis of the role and function of illustrations in the texts will be presented in Section 4.3.

Year published	Author	Original Title	Fiction Title	Number of Image
1974	Li Boyuan 李伯元	*Wenming xiaoshi* 文明小史	*Modern Times or A Brief History of Enlightenment* (Chapter 1-5)	5
1975	Wu Jianren 吳趼人	*Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang* 二十年目睹之怪現狀	*Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed in Two Decades*	4
1982	Zeng Pu 曾樸	*Nie hai hua* 孽海花	*A Flower in a Sinful Sea (*6 chapters in translation*)*	31
1993	Li Boyuan 李伯元	*Wenming xiaoshi* 文明小史	*Modern Times: A Brief History of Enlightenment* (Chapter 36-37)	1
2004	Wu Jianren 吳趼人	*Niu ming qiyuan* 九命奇冤	*A Strange Case of Nine Murders* (Chapter 1-2)	4
2012	Xu Nianci 徐念慈	*Xin faluo xiansheng tan* 新法螺先生譚	*New Tales of Mr. Braggadocio*	1
	Wu Jianren 吳趼人	*Xin shitou ji* 新石頭記	*New Story of the Stone: excerpts*	6
	Xu Zhuodai 徐卓呆	*Mimi shi* 秘密室	*The Secret Room*	2

Table 26. Late Qing Fiction in Translation where Images have been added

From the chronological distribution, we can see that publications of translated Late Qing fiction were relatively scarce, usually only one work in each decade. Exceptions are found in the 1970s, when *Renditions* had just begun and featured two translations in consecutive years (1974 and 1975), and in 2012, when three different translations were published. This suggests that while translation efforts existed, the publication of Late Qing fiction was not a major focus in every period but rather appeared intermittently as part of a broader editorial agenda.

Despite the relatively low number of translations, the consistent presence of illustrations is notable. For example, the 1982 translation of *Niehai hua* 孽海花 (A Flower in a Sinful Sea, 1904-1930) by Zeng Pu 曾樸 (1872-1935) featured as many as 31 images across six chapters, while even shorter translations, such as Wu Jianren's *Jiu ming qi yuan* 九命奇冤 (A Strange Case of Nine Murders, 1906) and *Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang* 二十年目睹之怪現狀 (Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed over Two Decades, 1909), also by Wu Jianren, contained four illustrations each. Even the more recent translations, such as Xu Nianci's 徐念慈 *Xinfaluo xiansheng tan* 新法螺先生譚 (New Tales of Mr. Braggadocio, 1905) and Xu Zhuodai's 徐卓呆 *Mimi shi* 秘密室 (*The Secret Room,* 1912), though with fewer images, still maintained the practice. This persistence indicates that illustrations were considered a necessary and important editorial strategy. On one level, they served to enhance the reading experience by providing visual entry points into the text, echoing the Late Qing print culture where images were integral to fiction publishing.[273] On another level, for an international readership less familiar with the historical and cultural contexts of these works, illustrations may function as interpretive aids, making the narratives more accessible.

In a broader scope, *Renditions* often employed illustrations across different genres, but fiction clearly enjoyed a larger share. This distinction reveals something about the function of illustrations: while academic anthologies may prioritize text over visual embellishment, commercial or semi-commercial publications like *Renditions* use images strategically to capture readers' attention and create a more engaging product. In this way,

[273] "Though illustrated woodblock publications of a wide variety had a long history in China, lithography (brought to the country in 1876) allowed for a speed and bulk of production—as well as a clarity of printed word and image—that transformed Chinese press and advertising. The wildly popular Dianshizhai Pictorial stood at the forefront of this technological change." (Ye, Xiaoqing. *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life 1884-1898*, University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 2003.)

illustrations bridge entertainment and scholarship, reinforcing the hybrid role of *Renditions* as both an academic and popular platform. In conclusion, although the number of translated Late Qing fiction was modest across decades, the frequent and deliberate inclusion of illustrations highlights their perceived importance in translation and interpretation. For editors, illustrations were not an optional addition but an almost necessary element, resonating with both the original Chinese publishing tradition and the demands of international readership. The cases discussed in Sections 4.2 and 4.3 below illustrate the translation approaches applied to the selected novels, highlighting how popular literature functioned as a vehicle for ideological dissemination to international audiences. As an academic platform, *Renditions* advanced this effort by publishing a special volume dedicated to Late Qing authors and their writings, thereby offering readers greater access to this body of literature—some of which appeared in English translation for the first time.

In the following sections, I will take a close look at three translated works from different periods to trace their evolution over time and examine how cultural values, religious knowledge, historical contexts, and the translator's ideologies influence and shape the translation process. Drawing on the decades-spanning archive of translations in the journal *Renditions*, I will select one representative work for each decade from the 1970s onward.

4.2 Fiction Translation in 1970s: A Case Study of *Ershi Nian Mudu Zhi Guai Xianzhuang* 二十年目睹之怪現狀 (*Bizarre Happenings Eyewinessed over Two Decades*, 1909)

The first case examines excerpts from Shih Shun Liu's 劉師舜 translation of Wu Jianren's 吳趼人(1867-1910) novel *Ershi nian mudu zhiguai xianzhuang* 二十年目睹之怪現狀 (*Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed over Two Decades*, 1909). These excerpts were published in *Renditions* in 1975 in an issue dedicated to the forthcoming publication of *Vignettes from the Late Ch'ing* (1975), also translated by Liu. The book, which features Liu's abridged translation of *Bizarre Happenings*, represents a contribution to the translation of Late Qing fiction. Scheduled for publication the same year (1975) by the Chinese University of Hong Kong in cooperation with the Center of Asian Studies at St. John's University, New York, the

book offers readers access to a full overview of the novel. The journal issue, meanwhile, offered readers an early and therefore more limited preview of the forthcoming work.

The novel *Ershi nian mudu zhiguai xianzhuang* by Wu Jianren was completed and published in book form in 1909.[274] The novel spans 108 chapters and was published in eight volumes. Employing a first-person narrative style, the novel traces the life of a young man who begins as an aide to an official friend and later becomes his business partner. Through his experiences, the narrative offers a pointed critique of moral decay, opportunism, and pervasive corruption that characterized the social and political landscape of the time. With its incisive social commentary and engaging episodic structure, the work not only reflects the tumultuous transformations of the late imperial period but also stands out as a significant literary achievement for its innovative narrative techniques and bold examination of societal flaws.[275] The work and its narrative techniques have received high praise from scholars. Theodore Huters, chief editor of *Renditions*, notes that what distinguishes the author from most of his contemporaries are his narrative innovations and the rich complexity of his characters and situations, through which the various elements of the crisis facing China are depicted in agonizing and compelling detail.[276] Similarly, Shih Shun Liu 劉師舜, the translator of the novel, observed that it occupies 'a unique position' among the hundreds of works of its kind published during that period due to its in-depth observation and sharpness of criticism.[277]

The author Wu Jianren 吳趼人 (also known as Wu Woyao 吳沃堯, 1867-1910) was a prolific novelist and journalist known for his sharp critique of society. His connection with reformist Liang Qichao was through Liang's journal *Xin siaoshuo* 新小說 (*New Fiction*, 1902-1906) that promoted new literary forms and raised reformist ideas. Wu answered Liang's call to advocate the reform of fiction by contributing several of his works to Liang's journal.[278]

---

[274] Portions of the novel were first serialized in Liang Qichao's influential journal *Xin xiaoshuo* 新小說 (*New Fiction*, 1902-1906) before the work was completed in its entirety (Liu Shih Shun, 1975, XII).
[275] Kao, 1975, 129-130.
[276] Huters, 2005, 124.
[277] Liu, Shih Shun, 1975, XV.
[278] The works that Wu contributed to the journal include: *Tong Shi* 痛史 (*A Painful History*) that was not finished, *Jiuming Qiyuan* 九命奇冤 (*The Strange Injustice of Nine Murders*), *Tien-shu Chi-tan* 電術奇談 (*Strange Accounts of the Electrical Craft*), and a portion of *Ershi Nian Mudu Zhi Guai Xianzhuang* 二十年目睹之怪現狀 (*Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed over Two Decades*).

> When I took up my pen to create fiction, I thought it would be permissible to talk of the novel in terms of the novel itself. Why would it first be necessary to raise all the evils of society and expose them? I had been influenced here, influenced by Liang Qichao's "*On the Relationship between Fiction and Public Governance*" and its advocacy of the reform of fiction, within a few years of which new original and translated novels filled the shelves (*han wanniu chong wandong*), with no sign of surcease.[279]

Although Wu Jianren was influenced by Liang Qichao, his views on fiction diverged subtly from Liang's. Wu expressed disapproval of the overwhelming response to Liang's call for reform and showed some resentment toward the pressure for thematic unity it created. Nevertheless, his works consistently focused on portraying China's cultural and political crises, and he ultimately aligned himself with the broader literary trend sparked by Liang's advocacy of the 'New Novel' that I have mentioned in the introductory section.[280] Since the 1980s especially, Wu Jianren and his works have been regarded by scholars around the world as a representative case study for examining Chinese fiction at the turn of the twentieth century, indicating the potential impact of the 1975 translation in *Renditions*. Numerous studies on the subject devote significant attention to his writings and their literary significance. For instance, in *Chinese Fiction of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (2004), Patrick Hanan identifies Wu as the best example of the transition to modernity in Chinese literature, as his work meets two crucial criteria: a deep engagement with the national and particularly cultural crisis facing China, and an effort to express that concern through innovative, nontraditional literary techniques.[281] Similarly, Milena Doleželová-Velingerová's essay, "Typology of Plot Structures in Late Qing Novels" (1980), offers an in-depth analysis of the novel's plot structure, further underscoring Wu's importance in the evolution of modern Chinese fiction.[282]

The translator Shih Shun Liu 劉師舜 (1900-1996) was a scholar, diplomat, and translator whose career bridged academia, international diplomacy, and literary translation. A recipient of the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship,[283] Liu studied in the United States from the age

---

[279] Wu Jianren 吳趼人, 1906, "*Yueyue xiaoshuoxu*" 月月小說序 (*Preface to The All-Story Monthly*), trans.by Theodore Hunters, 2005, 123.
[280] Huters, 2005, 123-124.
[281] Hanan, 2004, 162-182.
[282] Doleželová-Velingerová, 1980, 38-56.
[283] The Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program was a U.S.-funded initiative designed to support Chinese students pursuing higher education in the United States. It was financed by funds originally paid by the Qing Empire as part of the Boxer Indemnities, compensation demanded by thirteen Western powers following the Boxer Rebellion. In 1908, the U.S. Congress passed a joint resolution authorizing the return of the surplus

of twenty, earning degrees from Johns Hopkins University, Harvard University, the University of Michigan, and ultimately a doctorate from Columbia University in 1925. Upon returning to China, he was appointed professor at Tsinghua University and later embarked on a notable diplomatic career, serving as Director of the Department of American Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador to Canada and Mexico, and representative to the United Nations Trusteeship Council. After retiring from diplomatic service in 1958, Liu dedicated himself to translation work, producing works such as *One Hundred and One Chinese Poems* (Hong Kong University Press, 1968; Oxford University Press, 1980) and *Chinese Classical Prose: The Eight Masters of the T'ang-Sung Period* (A Rendition Book, 1979). He later held a research professorship at St. John's University in New York in 1970s, continuing to bridge Chinese literature and foreign readerships through his scholarship and translations.[284] *Bizarre Happenings* is one of his Chinese-to-English translations produced in the 1970s. He highly praised the novel, writing in the preface to his translation:

> The original book is amongst the most widely read and highly regarded of Chinese writings… it can be regarded as essential reading for any foreigner who wishes to understand something of China.[285]

Further on in the preface, Liu explicitly stated that it is an abridged version and set out his approach to the translation:

> In making this translation, I have omitted unnecessary details, repetition, and doggerel couplets which add nothing to the story but a great deal to the cost of publication. However, I have remained faithful to the spirit of the original book.[286]

It is evident from this that omission is a notable strategy employed in the translation. But how exactly does the translator apply this approach in practice? Given that the conventions of Chinese fiction writing differ significantly from those of the Western literary tradition,[287] how does the translator navigate and reconcile these differences? Furthermore, is this method of reconciliation unique to this particular work, or was it a common translation strategy applied to other Chinese fiction from the 1970s onward? To address these questions, I will conduct a close examination of the translated chapters published in *Renditions*, combining

---

indemnity payment to China, a sum exceeding 11.9 million dollars. Under President Theodore Roosevelt's administration, this returned amount was used to establish the scholarship program, with the aim of fostering educational exchange and strengthening Sino-American relations. (Ye, Weili, 2002, Introductory section.)

[284] "Notes on Contributors" in *Renditions*, 1975, 152. Caleb Yung-Jén Liu, 2020,1-41.

[285] Liu Shih Shun, 1975, ix.

[286] Liu Shih Shun, 1975, ix.

[287] See more information in the Introductory section.

them with the complete book translation, and other translated novels from the same period. Through this comparative analysis, I aim to identify patterns in the translator's choices and to situate these decisions within the broader context of contemporary translation practices.

4.2.1 Creative Adaptation and Reconstruction

As a preview preceding *Bizarre Happenings'* full publication, the journal published translations of only four chapters of the novel in 1975:[288]

- Chapter One: "From Peasant to Magistrate"
- Chapter Two: "A Clever Swindle"
- Chapter Four: "Policemen"
- Chapter Five: "Theft and Smuggling"

Chapter Three is absent from the translation in the journal and is instead replaced by a separate piece entitled "A Bannerman at the Teahouse," which recounts the same episode as the omitted Chapter Three of *Bizarre Happenings*. "A Bannerman at the Teahouse," translated by Gloria Bien,[289] is a re-translation in the form of a short excerpt rather than a full chapter. It selectively translates only a portion of the original Chapter Three, focusing on teahouse gossip about a Manchu man and presenting a series of awkward anecdotes centered on a self-conceited and ostentatious Manchu figure. As noted in the editor's remarks, this standalone piece is one of the many jokes, anecdotes, and bits of gossip that thread together the fabric of the novel. The story of this Manchu man, in particular, circulated widely as an 'ethnic joke'.[290] The substitution suggests that the editor may have aimed to showcase translated work by a different translator in order to recontextualize or reinterpret the material.

[288] The translated text was presented continuously, without division into chapters. The chapter titles shown below are provided for reference from the full publication book.
[289] Gloria Bien, Professor of Chinese, Emerita, specializes in Chinese language and literature as well as Comparative Literature. Her publications include *Baudelaire in China: A Study in Literary Reception* (University of Delaware Press with Rowman and Littlefield, 2012); *Temporary Literature of Asia* (co-editor with Arthur W. Biddle et al., Prentice Hall, 1996), and so on. She has also contributed numerous reviews to academic journals. "A Bannerman at the Teahouse" is her only published translation from Chinese into English in the journal *Renditions.* (See more information from the Colgate University, https://www.colgate.edu/about/directory/gbien)
[290] Kao, 1975, 148.

This approach allows the narrative to be presented with fresh linguistic choices and offers readers a new perspective on the story.

The main differences between Shih Shun Liu's and Gloria Bien's versions of the text lie in the degree of abridgement and the level of intercultural adaptation each translator employs. Liu's translation tends to be more source-oriented, preserving cultural specificity and often including additional explanatory details to guide the reader through the social and historical nuances of the original Chinese context. In contrast, Bien's version exhibits a higher level of intercultural translation, aiming to naturalize the story for an English-speaking audience while maintaining its satirical tone and narrative rhythm. One striking lexical divergence appears in the translation of the term *qiren* 旗人 (literally, bannerman). Liu renders this as 'Manchu,' a less historically accurate and ethnically charged term that may carry outdated or stereotypical connotations in English. Bien instead opts for 'Bannerman,' a term that evokes the Qing dynasty's banner system without overemphasizing ethnic identity. This choice not only avoids potential stereotyping but also helps to preserve the satirical edge of the source text, particularly since the 'Bannermen' are subjects of humor within the narrative itself.[291]

Similarly, Bien's translation demonstrates greater idiomatic sensitivity in adapting culture-specific terms. For example, in the original text, when the Bannerman tried to pay the bill, the author highlights his poverty with the phrase "連半個錢毛也掏不出來." This is highly colloquial. In Liu's translation, the currency is rendered as 'a single penny,' whereas Bien's translation 'a hair of a penny' better captures the colloquial and hyperbolic tone familiar to English readers, reinforcing the story's folk-tale quality. Overall, Bien's version reads more fluidly in English, presenting the story as a piece of popular folklore, while Liu's translation retains a scholarly fidelity to the source text. Whilst I originally thought that Liu's translation had in some way been censored by the editors, for ideological reasons, it transpired on closer analysis that this is another example of the plurality of perspectives on Chinese culture espoused by *Renditions* as a journal for the dissemination of literature in translation. The two translators who belong different generations and translation traditions,

[291]"'Bannerman', descendants of Manchus (and some Mongols and Chinese) who were in the military service of the early Ch'ing emperors, are frequently made fun of in the book, and this story may be regarded properly in present day parlance as 'an ethnic joke'." (*Renditions*, 1975, Vol. 4, 148.)

demonstrate distinct interpretive approaches to the same classic text, collectively illustrating the dynamic and evolving nature of cross-cultural literary exchange.

A notable feature of Liu's translation, revealed through a comparison of the source and target texts, is the use of omission, which manifests in two ways: the adaptation of chapter titles and the elements. To facilitate a clear examination of both the source text and the translation, comparative tables presenting the structure of the source text and the target text have been created. In my analysis, I have looked both at the excerpts of the novel in *Renditions* and also at the fuller version presented in *Vignettes from the Late Ch'ing* published later in the same year 1975. Table 27 presents the chapter headings of the source text and the target text in parallel in order to illustrate how the translator restructured the text. To facilitate understanding of the source-text headings, I have provided my own literal translations along with the source ones. The chapter headings here have been drawn from the abridged version in *Vignettes*. In the *Renditions* version, these same titles (with the exception, as noted previously, of "Manchus and Money") are used as section headings in an otherwise continuous text. What is important to note here is that the chapter titles of the target text indicate a tendency to abridge the information and style of the original and are themselves a key device in the restructuring of the text. For instance, the sections entitled by Shih Shi Liu "From Peasant to Magistrate" and "A Clever Swindle" both bridge more than one original chapter, indicating clear intervention on the part of the translator to rewrite the story following target cultural expectations about coherence and cohesion.

> In form, the work may not appear to a Western reader to be a novel in the strict sense of the word. It is rather a report on the times, and as such it contains many trustworthy facts cast in the form of a series of interesting episodes. It is the forthright style in which the author presents these facts that proves his high calibre and gives him an important place in Chinese literature.[292]

Here, translator and editor Liu comments on the form and style of the original novel, noting that it does not conform to Western conventions of the novel. Anticipating that Western readers might find its structure unfamiliar or difficult to follow, Liu explains that he made necessary adaptations on both the structure and content of the original novel. It reveals a deliberate translator intervention, demonstrating a strategy of rewriting the text to meet the

[292] Liu Shih Shi, 1975, xv.

target audience's expectations of coherence, readability, and narrative structure while making the work more accessible to English language readers.

Original Chapter	Source-Text Headings with Literal Translation	Target Text Structure and Headings
One	楔子 (The prologue)	Omitted
Two	守常經不使疏逾戚 (Following constant principles, maintaining relations neither distant nor close;) 睹怪狀幾疑賊是官 (Witnessing strange events, almost mistaking bandits for officials)	1.From Peasant to Magistrate
Three	走窮途忽遇良朋 (Walking a desolate path, suddenly encountering a good friend;) 談仁路初聞怪狀 (Discussing the path of virtue, first hearing of strange events.)	
Four	吳繼之正言規好友 (Wu Jizhi (person name) solemnly admonish his good friend;) 苟觀察致敬送嘉賓 (Gou Guancha [person name] pays tribute to the guest.)	2. A Clever Swindle
Five	珠寶店巨金騙去 (A jewelry store was defrauded of a huge amount of money;) 州縣官實價開來 (County and prefectural officials set the prices for official positions.)	
Six	徹底尋根表明騙子(A thorough search exposes the fraud;) 窮形極相畫出旗人(The portrait vividly depicts a Manchu Bannerman.)	
Seven	代謀差營兵受殊禮 (Guard who can help to find a position was granted unusual honors;) 吃倒帳錢儈大遭殃 (The money-broker who pocketed bad debts met a harsh fate.)	3. Manchu and Money
Eight	隔紙窗偷覷騙子形 (Through the paper window he spies the trickster's guise;) 接家書暗落思親泪 (A letter from home brings silent tears of longing.)	Omitted
Nine	詩翁畫客狼狽爲奸 (The poet and the painter in collusion;) 怨女痴男鴛鴦幷命 (Lovers entwined their fates.)	4. Policemen

Ten	老伯母强作周旋話 (The elder aunt compels herself to mediate and speak conciliatory words;) 惡洋奴欺淩同族人(The vile foreign lackey bullies his own clansmen.)	
Eleven	紗窗外潛身窺賊迹 (Spy the thief's trail secretly behind the gauze window;) 房門前瞥眼睹奇形 (A glance reveals a wondrous shape before the doorway.)	5. Theft and Smuggling
Twelve	查私貨關員被累 (The customs officer is blamed in the search for smuggled goods;) 行酒令席上生風 (At the drinking games, the banquet stirs with lively antics.)	Omitted

Table 27. A comparison of the source and target chapter titles of *Bizarre Happenings.*

The comparison between the source text and Liu's translation reveals distinct translation strategies that shift the work from a historical and moral commentary to a more streamlined narrative accessible to modern English-speaking readers, in line with what Lawrence Venuti, in *The Translator's Invisibility*, has called out as the tendency towards transparency and domestication in literary translations of this period.[293]

> A translated text, whether prose or poetry, fiction or nonfiction, is judged acceptable by most publishers, reviewers and readers when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text—the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the "original." The illusion of transparency is an effect of a fluent translation strategy, of the translator's effort to insure easy readability by adhering to current. usage, maintaining continuous syntax, fixing a precise meaning. […] What is so remarkable here is that the effect of transparency conceals the numerous conditions under which the translation is made, starting with the translator's crucial intervention. The more fluent the translation, the more invisible the translator, and, presumably, the more visible the writer or meaning of the foreign text.[294]

The literal translations made by me are an attempt to remain close to the original Chinese phrasing, preserving structural parallelism, and socio-political critiques embedded in the language. For example, the first line in Chapter 2, "守常經不使疏逾戚, 睹怪狀幾疑賊是官", literally translates as "Following constant principles, maintaining relations neither distant nor close; Witnessing strange events, almost mistaking bandits for officials." This

[293] Venuti, 1995,1.
[294] Venuti, 1995,1.

version retains the moral tone and the social irony of the original, highlighting the blurred boundaries between criminality and authority in late imperial society.

The four sections published in *Renditions*, together with the portion titled "Manchu and Money," correspond to the content of twelve chapters from the original text. A close examination reveals that this correspondence was achieved through a process of condensation, omission, and structural reorganization of the source material.

Restructuring stands out as the most striking feature of Liu's translation. A close comparison between the source and target texts reveals a clear trajectory of structural transformation. The original Chapter One (the Prologue) is completely omitted, signaling a decision to begin the narrative in medias res, that is, at a point of immediate narrative engagement rather than contextual preamble. Liu's opening section, "From Peasant to Magistrate," merges the content of the original Chapters Two and Three, though with considerable condensation, effectively compressing two episodes into a single, continuous narrative unit. This restructuring not only streamlines the storyline but also enhances narrative momentum, aligning the text more closely with the expectations of modern English readers.

A similar pattern is evident in later sections. The second section, "A Clever Swindle," fuses the original Chapters Four, Five, and the first half of Six, transforming what were originally episodic and loosely connected incidents into a coherent, tightly framed sequence centered on deception and social satire. Likewise, the fourth section, "Policemen", amalgamates Chapters Nine and Ten, while the fifth, "Theft and Smuggling", combines Chapters Eleven and Twelve, each demonstrating Liu's deliberate grouping of thematically related materials. Through this process, Liu replaces the episodic rhythm characteristic of the original 160-chapter novel with a more linear and cohesive structure spanning only forty-four chapters in his *Vignettes* version. The result is a translation that privileges thematic unity and narrative fluidity over textual fidelity to chapter divisions. This approach reveals Liu's dual role as both translator and editor, shaping the material to suit cultural expectations of a contemporary English-speaking readership. By reorganizing the text in this way, Liu transforms a sprawling serial narrative into a condensed, thematically coherent work, illustrating how restructuring operates not merely as a technical adjustment but as an act of creative reinterpretation.

Through these examples, it becomes evident that Shih Shi Liu's translation is not merely a linguistic exercise but a form of textual rewriting. His approach aligns with what André Lefevere terms 'refraction', the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work.[295] Liu prioritizes narrative clarity, thematic emphasis, and accessibility over linguistic fidelity, often condensing, omitting, or recontextualizing original material. The result is a reconstructed work that preserves the narrative skeleton of the original while altering its rhetorical texture and ideological resonance. In conclusion, the translation of this text illustrates the tension between fidelity and creativity inherent in cross-cultural literary transmission. Shih Shi Liu's version demonstrates how translation can function as a creative and reconstructive act, reshaping not only the language but also the structure, tone, and ideological implications of the source. While this approach inevitably sacrifices some of the historical specificity, moral nuance, and social critique embedded in the original, it succeeds in reimagining the text for a modern Anglophone audience, thus extending its literary life beyond its original cultural boundary. In order to find out whether Liu's approach represents a broader trend, I will survey more Late Qing novels translated from the 1970s onward to answer the question in the next section.

4.2.2 Translator's Intervention

I have reviewed issues of *Renditions* in search of translated Late Qing novels, with the aim of examining the translation strategies employed and assessing whether Shih Shi Liu's approach reflects a broader trend. By comparing the original texts with their English translations, I aim to identify patterns or deviations in translation practices. In this section, I will conduct a close analysis of the following Late Qing vernacular novels, all of which employ an episodic narrative structure, a defining feature of serialized fiction from this period, as exemplified by *Bizarre Happenings.*

[295] Lefevere, 1982, 4.

Author	Original Text Title	Target Text Title	Translator	Published Year
Li Baojia 李寶嘉	*Wenming xiaoshi* 文明小史	*Modern Times: A Brief History of Enlightenment:* excerpts	Douglas Lancashire	1974
Zeng Pu 曾樸	*Nie hai hua* 孽海花	*A Flower in a Sinful Sea*	Rafe de Crespigny and Liu Ts'un-yan	1982
Liu E 劉鶚	*Laocan youji xuji* 老殘遊記续集	*The Sequel to Lao Can Youji: Chapters 7-9*	Timothy C. Wong	1989
Wu Jianren 吳趼人	*Xin shitou ji* 新石頭記	*New Story of the Stone: excerpts*	Sterling Swallow	2012

Table 28. Late Qing vernacular novels translated in *Renditions*.

The first case, *Wenming xiaoshi* 文明小史 (*Modern Times: A Brief History of Enlightenment*) by Li Baojia 李寶嘉 (1867-1906), is another influential Late Qing vernacular novel that depicts Chinese societal changes and debates about China's relationship with the West, reflecting China's response to the West as well. The novel comprises sixty chapters. The *Renditions* translation by Douglas Lancashire includes the Preface, Chapter One, and Chapter Two, offering a useful case study for examining translation strategies in the rendering of Late Qing fiction.[296] A close textual comparison indicates that the translator adopts a primarily fidelity-oriented approach, rendering the source text largely on a sentence-by-sentence basis and preserving much of the original semantic content. However, several deliberate translation interventions can be observed, reflecting nuanced strategies that balance faithfulness with target-language readability.

1. Paragraph Re-segmentation (Structural Adaptation):

The translator frequently restructures paragraph divisions, grouping sentences with similar thematic content into unified paragraphs. This structural adaptation increases narrative coherence and logical flow, thereby facilitating comprehension for Anglophone readers. Such re-segmentation also reflects a sensitivity to differing discourse conventions: whereas Late Qing vernacular prose often exhibits loose or abrupt transitions, English literary conventions tend to prioritize cohesion and paragraph unity.

[296]A complete English translation by Douglas Lancashire was published by Renditions Books in 1996.

2. Subject Explicitation and Narrative Perspective Adjustment (Narrative Adaptation):

Another significant intervention is the translator's consistent addition of explicit first-person subjects. For example, in the original Preface, the narrator is described impersonally as *zuo shu de ren* 做書的人 (the person who wrote the book), and the pronoun *wo* 我 (I, we) appears only once. In the translation, however, "I" is introduced more than ten times, creating a more personal and direct narrative voice. This subject-explicitation strategy not only clarifies syntactic relations but also aligns the text with English narrative conventions, which typically require explicit subjects. From a theoretical perspective, this shift can be seen as a form of domestication, in Venuti's terms,[297] as it adapts the source text's implicit narration to target-language norms, potentially altering the reader's perception of the narrator's voice. At the same time, it illustrates a translator's agency in mediating between linguistic systems: the absence of explicit subjects in Chinese is not merely a grammatical feature but also a stylistic and rhetorical choice, and the translator's intervention inevitably shapes the narrative texture.

Taken together, these strategies, fidelity in sentence-level rendering, structural adaptation through paragraph re-segmentation, and narrative adaptation via subject explicitation, demonstrate a translation approach that is both conservative and interventionist. While the translator strives for semantic accuracy, he also reshapes the text's form and voice to meet the expectations of the target readership. This approach suggests that Shih Shi Liu's method is not an isolated case but part of a broader translational tendency in *Renditions*' treatment of Late Qing fiction: one that negotiates between literal fidelity and culturally informed adaptation to ensure accessibility and narrative fluency.

The second case is from Zeng Pu's 曾樸 (1872-1935) *Niehai hua* 孽海花 (*A Flower in a Sinful Sea*, 1904-1930), one of the most influential political and satirical novels of its time.[298] The novel follows the life and experiences of a high-ranking Qing official and a talented courtesan in the late nineteenth century. Through their intertwined stories, involving love, betrayal, ambition, and disillusionment, it exposes the decadence, corruption, and weakness of the Qing bureaucracy, while also reflecting the intellectual ferment and reformist ideals of the era. The only English translation of the novel was produced collaboratively by

[297] Venuti, 1995, 4.
[298] The original five chapters were written by Jin Tianhe 金天翮 (1873-1947). Zeng Pu曾樸 (1872-1935) wrote Chapters 6-35. (Hu Ying, 2000, 55.)

Rafe de Crespigny and Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁 and published by *Renditions* in 1982 (Vol 17 & 18), covering the first five chapters. A close comparison of the original text and its English version shows that the translators adopt a fidelity-oriented approach, seeking to preserve the semantic meaning and rhetorical texture of the source material, even in passages that are highly obscure and challenging to render into English. An illustrative example occurs at the very beginning of the novel, where a dense and seemingly enigmatic lyrical passage sets the tone:

> 群龍九馗宵戰，值鈞天爛醉，夢魂驚顫。虎神營荒，鸞儀殿辭，輸爾外交纖腕。大千公案，又天眼愁胡，人心思漢。自由花神，付東風拘管。[299]

Crespigny and Liu translate this passage as follows:

> The dragon-monsters continue to fight on the highways at night,
> Our men are drunk in the midst of a celestial feast.
> All frightened and trembling, awaking from their dreams.
> The army barracks are desolate,
> The gates of the Phoenix Palace opened wide,
> And all dexterity in negotiations is seen.
> Another epoch is approaching,
> The eyes of Heaven stare harshly at the Manchus,
> And the people's mind turns once more to Han.
> Summoned by the wind of the east,
> The God of the Flower of Freedom will soon appear.[300]

The function of this opening passage may be multifaceted. Stylistically, it operates as a symbolic prologue that establishes the political and ideological undercurrents of the novel. Through dense metaphors and historical allusions, it alludes to the collapse of the Qing order, the awakening of the Han Chinese national consciousness, and the imminent arrival of new political ideals such as freedom and reform. This passage poses significant challenges for translation due to its compressed poetic structure, layered symbolism, and dense allusions that draw on classical Chinese idioms, mythology, and political references. The syntax is elliptical, and the imagery, 'dragon-monsters', 'the God of the Flower of Freedom', is intentionally ambiguous, creating a tone that is more evocative than literal, all of which resist straightforward translation into English. Despite these difficulties, the translators chose to adhere closely to the original phrasing and imagery, preserving the passage's symbolic

[299] Author: Zeng Pu. Retrieved on https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=637196&remap=gb
[300] Zeng, Pu 曾樸. 1982. "A Flower in a Sinful Sea". Translated by Rafe de Crespigny and Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁. *Renditions* 17&18: 137-192.

implication and lyrical rhythm rather than simplifying or explicating it. Their approach reflects a commitment to textual fidelity and cultural authenticity, allowing readers to experience the original's stylistic complexity and political resonance.

Another notable feature of the translation is paragraph restructuring, which is employed in a manner broadly similar to that observed in the first case, *Wenming xiaoshi* (*Modern Times*) by Li Baojia. The translators restructure paragraph divisions to enhance narrative coherence and improve the logical flow of the text.

The third case is *Laocan youji xuji* 老殘遊記續集 (*The Sequel to Laocan Youji*, 1907) by Liu E 劉鶚, translated by Timothy C. Wong, who translated the final three chapters into English, published in *Renditions* in 1989 (Vol. 32). The excerpts will be examined in the next section in relation to the visual-textual interplay of illustrations. Here, however, I will focus solely on summarizing the textual approach to translation. The strategy employed is broadly similar to that of the previous case, *Niehai hua* (*A Flower in a Sinful Sea*) by Zeng Pu, combining a fidelity-oriented approach to semantic meaning with structural adaptation, particularly through paragraph restructuring to enhance clarity and coherence.

4.3 Translating Beyond Words: Visual-Textual Interplay in the English Translation of *Lao Can Youji Xuji* 老殘遊記續集 *(The Sequel to The Travels of Lao Can)*

In reading the translated works published in *Renditions*, I find the frequent inclusion of illustrations embedded within the text to be a distinctive feature. These visual elements appear in a variety of forms, including author portraits, calligraphy, the original cover of the first edition, comic strips, and photographs. In this section, I will undertake a detailed analysis of these illustrations, examining their function as a form of visual-textual interplay that shapes the reader's comprehension and interpretation. I will explore their contribution to the translation's overall thematic structure and their role in conveying the novel's deeper cultural and philosophical dimensions. This analysis will focus on a case study of *Laocan youji xuji* 老殘遊記續集 (*The Sequel to The Travels of Lao Can*, 1907) by Liu E 劉鶚

(1857-1909),[301] published in *Renditions* in 1989 (Vol. 32). This translation of the final three chapters of the work remains the only English version of this part of the text.

Before *The Sequel*, there was the original novel *Lao Can youji* 老殘遊記 (*The Travels of Lao Can*), which was first serialized in *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* 繡像小說 (*Embroidered Fiction*) in 20 chapters in 1903. Following its popularity and commercial success, Liu E wrote a sequel, published in the newspaper *Riri xinwen bao* 日日新聞報 (*Daily News*) in 1907. *The Sequel* was originally said to comprise 14 chapters, but only nine were recovered in 1929 by the author's son from the archives of the newspaper.[302] *The Sequel* continues the narrative style and thematic concerns of its predecessor while incorporating a greater number of fantastical elements. However, because it was not fully preserved, its influence has remained somewhat less pronounced than that of the original novel. Nevertheless, it remains an important work for the study of Late Qing fiction.[303]

The story follows the journey of Lao Can, a wandering scholar and doctor, as he travels through northern China, witnessing the social injustices and political corruption of the time. Blending realism with fantasy, the novel critiques the government and the suffering of ordinary people under incompetent officials. The novel also features dreamlike and supernatural elements, which implies as allegories for real-world issues. Several studies have highlighted the significance of this novel, often emphasizing either its revolutionary achievements or its traditional elements. For example, Hsia Chih-tsing 夏志清 (1921-2013), a historian and literary theorist, considers it likely to be China's first political novel, sharing characteristics with the modern lyrical novel in his study on the art and meaning of Liu E's work.[304] In contrast, the Czech sinologist Jaroslav Průšek views it as "the last great apologia of the old Chinese civilization before its fall" and a work that remains deeply rooted in traditional Chinese storytelling techniques.[305] The divergence in these interpretations of the

[301] A Chinese writer, archaeologist and politician who was living in Late Qing period. (Arthur W. Hummel Sr., *Eminent Chinese of the Qing Period: 1644-1911*, 2018, 516.)
[302] The author's family denied the existence of the final three chapters, likely out of fear of political repercussions due to their supernatural content. The extant nine-chapter version is currently held at the Research Institute of Arts and Sciences in Kyoto, Japan (Wong, 1989, 22).
[303] Wong, 1989, 21-24.
[304] Hsia, 1969, 43.
[305] Donald Holoch, 1980, 131.

fiction reflects not only their differing critical perspectives but also the novel's rich thematic depth and complexity.

Regarding its significant historical influence, the novel first gained international scholarly attention in 1929 when British sinologist Arthur Waley highlighted its importance and translated a segment into English for the first time. Since then, it has been translated multiple times, both in abridged and complete forms, with several versions extending to *The Sequel*. Notably, there are two English translations of *The Sequel*. The table below provides an overview of its translation history.

Translator	Title Name	Publishing Time	Translated Chapters	Publisher/Journal
Translations of *The Travels of Lao Can*				
Arthur Waley	*The Singing Girl*	1929	Chapter 2	*Asia*
Lin Yutang 林語堂	*A Chinese Galli-Curci*	1935	Chapter 2	*The China Critic*
Lin Yijin 林疑今 and Ge Deshun 葛德順	*Tramp Doctors Travelogue*	1939	Abbreviated version	The Commercial Press Limited
Lin Yutang 林語堂	*Tramp Doctors Travelogue*	1941	Chapters 1-10	Shanghai Shuofeng Bookstore
Yang Xianyi 杨宪益 and Gladys Yang 戴乃迭	*Mr. Decadent*	1947	Abridged translation[306]	Nanjing duli chubanshe
	Mr. Derelict	1948	Abridged translation (based on 1947 version, only title has been changed)	George Allen & Unwin Ltd (1948) Cornell University Press (1952 and 1966) Hassell Street Press (2021)
	Mr. Decadent：Notes Taken in an Outing	1961	Abridged translation	Hong Kong Fuxing chubanshe.
	The Travels of Lao Can	1983	Abridged translation	The Chinese Literature Press (1983) Foreign Languages Press (2005)
Harold Shadick	*The Travels of Lao Ts'an*	1952	Full translation	Cornell University Press

[306] "The last few chapters deleted in the translation may have been written by Liu E's son and are far from comparable to the original". (Yang, X. Y. and Yang, G., 1947, 5-7)

Geng Zhi 耿智 and Xiao Liming 萧立明	*The Travels of Lao Can*	2017	Full translation	Hunan University Press
Translations of *The Sequel*				
Lin Yutang 林語堂	*A Nun of Taishan*	1936	Chapters 1-6	The Commercial Press Limited
	Widow, nun and Courtesan: Three Noveletts from The Chinese	1951,1971	Revised edition based on the 1936 version	Joint publishing by John Day Company and Longmans, Green & Co (1951) Greenwood Press (1971)
Timothy C. Wong	*The Sequel to The Travels of Lao Can, chapter7-9*	1989	Chapters 7-9	*Renditions*

Table 29. An overview of the translation history of the novel Laocan youji 老殘遊記 and its sequel.

My analysis will focus on Timothy C. Wong's translation in *Renditions* published in 1989. By examining the visual elements, I aim to explore how they convey the novel's cultural and thematic nuances to English-speaking audience. Additionally, this analysis will serve as a lens through which to understand the broader trends and approaches in fiction translation from the 1980s on wards, shedding light on how translators navigated the challenges of rendering religious culture for English-speaking readership.

The Translator

In the 1989 issue of *Renditions*, chief editor Eve Hung described the aim of the volume as "a fitting reminder of the development of Chinese fiction in the past century."[307] Timothy C. Wong's translation of Chapters 7–9 of *The Sequel*, the first and only translation of the part, was included as part of the contribution. The translation spans 26 pages, including a four-page translator's preface that outlines the translation's history and the novel's literary value. By introducing the last three chapters of *The Sequel* to English readers for the first time, Wong's work helps to unify the novel's complete English presentation and contributes to a

[307] Hung, 1989, 6.

fuller understanding of the novel, offering insights for scholars and researchers interested in the novel and deepening the study of Late Qing fiction.[308]

The translator, Timothy C. Wong 黃宗泰 (1941-) is a translator, and literary theorist specializing in traditional Chinese fictional narratives and their evolution into modern Chinese novels. Wong earned his master's degree from the University of Hawai'i and PhD from Stanford University. He has taught at Arizona State University since 1974, serving as Director of the Center for Asian Studies from 1995 to 2002. His research focuses on both classical and modern Chinese fiction, with a particular interest in the influence of Western literary forms on Chinese storytelling. His publications include *Sherlock in Shanghai* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2006) and *Stories for Saturday: Twentieth Century Chinese Popular Fiction* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2003). Wong continues to contribute to the study and translation of Chinese literature, offering insights into its historical and cultural transformation.[309]

Since the 1980s, Wong has conducted a multi-perspective study on *The Travels of Lao Can* and published several academic articles and reviews on the subject. They are "Notes on the Textual History of The Lao Ts'an Yu-chi" (1983), "The Name 'Lao Ts'an' in Liu E's Fiction" (1989), and a review of "*The Travels of Lao Ts'an* by Harold Shadick" (1991), the latter of which includes an extremely illuminating discussion of three previous translations of the so-called 'text proper' of *The Travels of Lao Can*. Therefore, his translation emerged from academic research, integrating scholarly analysis with translation practice. In his preface in *Renditions*, Wong shared his perspective on the literary significance of the text with readers: for him, the last chapters take a conservative and subjective turn, shifting from the social concerns of the text proper to personal gripes and justifications on behalf of the author. The author of the novel is considered to be using his fictional counterpart, Lao Can, to defend his own life and punish his critics. The narrative remains exclusively China-focused, reflecting what is considered by critics to be a broader trend in Late Qing fiction. This inward-looking perspective links late-Qing fiction to the modern Chinese fiction of the May Fourth period (1919), emphasizing continuity in Chinese literary traditions.[310]

---

[308] Lin Yutang's translation (Chapters 1–6) and Wong's translation (Chapters 7–9) together constitute the entirety of the extant text.
[309] See more information on the webpage of Arizona State University, https://search.asu.edu/profile/105761.
[310] Wong, 1989, 21-24.

For his translation, Wong does not make explicit which translation approach he uses. However, his analysis of previous translations of the main body of the novel indicate a preference for an approach that is faithfully to the linguistic and cultural specialty of the source text, rather than one that adapts, and this is reflected in his translation which contains explanatory footnotes to ensure the reader understands the source socio-historical context.[311] Perhaps it is the dryness of these chapters that lead to the decision to include a variety of images, but as indicated earlier, the inclusion of visual material is one of the features of the *Renditions* approach to translation and dissemination of Chinese writing that stand out when compared with the case studies discussed in Chapters Two and Three. My analysis of the translation here will aim to delve more deeply into the function of these images, both as evidence of intersemiotic translation of the source text, and in terms of how they interact with the interlingual translation produced by the translator.

4.3.1 Illustrations: Visual Perception and Cultural Interpretation

One distinctive feature of the fiction published in the journal is its incorporation of visual elements. These illustrations, functioning as forms of paratext, serve to visually reinforce the text and bridge the gap between textual abstraction and cultural understanding. In what follows, I examine how the journal employs illustrations as devices that facilitate both the translation and reception of Chinese literary works. It should be noted that most of the illustrations are not derived from the original source texts. Rather, they originate from a variety of sources, including the journal's editorial team and other works related to Chinese studies. For instance, two images accompanying *The Travels of Lao Can* are taken from a French missionary's volume on Chinese superstition and mythology. Using *Lao Can* as a case study, I explore how such images function as interpretive aids in the translation process presented by the journal.

Within *Lao Can*, six illustrations rich in Chinese cultural and religious symbolism are included. Of these, three appear as paratexts, positioned outside the main body of the text; while the remaining three are embedded within the narrative itself. I have categorized these images according to their placement, distinguishing between those situated inside and outside

[311] "There are a lot of reasons why Shadick's rendering is the most striking. The simplest is that it is the most faithful to the Chinese text: especially in description." Wong, 1991, 163.

the text. In reproducing them here within my chapter, I have numbered them from 1 to 6 in order to refer to them clearly in the following sections; however, they are not numbered within the translation that appears in *Renditions*.

The Paratextual Illustrations (Figure 1 to 3)

The first three images appear before the main text: a calligraphy piece personally inscribed by the author, the author's portrait, and the cover of the original publication. None of these images bear a direct relationship to the narrative itself. Rather, they function as paratextual materials that offer readers a visual entry point into Chinese culture and its literary traditions.

The first illustration, positioned after the title, is a calligraphy inscribed by the author, with his signature as authentication. The calligraphy features a poetic couplet:

賞奇析疑人歸栗里
設酒作食春滿桃園
Back in the hometown, good articles we enjoy together,
Encountered queries we study together.
We pour the wine, lay dishes with care,
As springtime breathes through Peach Garden air.[312]

[312] It's my translation as no existing English version was found.

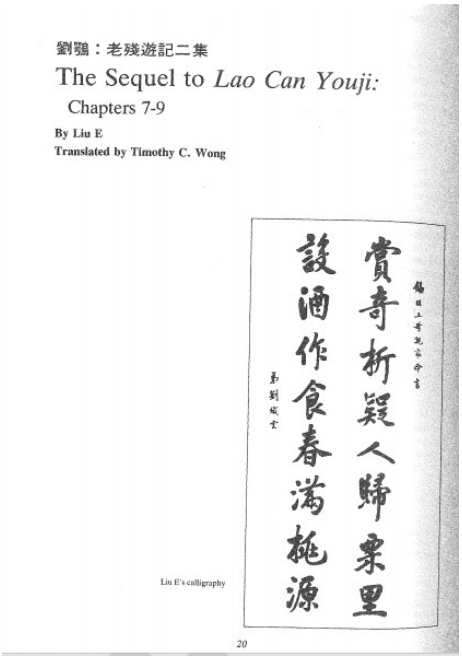


Fig. 1. A calligraphy inscribed by Liu E 劉鶚. (From *Renditions,* 1989, Vol. 32, 20)

Though no further information about the origin is provided, the lines evoke a scene of scholarly companionship, intellectual exchange, and peaceful, shared joy, very much in line with the spirit of classical Chinese pastoral poem narratives. It remains uncertain whether the couplet was originally composed by Liu E. The caption accompanying the illustration merely states that the calligraphy was written by him, without attributing authorship to the text itself.

Beyond its textual meaning, the calligraphy itself stands as a profound artistic embodiment of the author's intellect, aesthetic sensibilities, and cultivated mastery of traditional Chinese script. In the Chinese cultural context, calligraphy has long been esteemed not merely as a method of writing but as a supreme art form that unites literature, painting, and philosophy.[313] Every line, stroke, and rhythm in a piece of calligraphy reveals the writer's internal states. In this light, the inclusion of Liu E's calligraphy in the translated work does far more than illustrating a textual message. It serves as a visual manifestation of cultural refinement and a channel through which target readers can access the multidimensional beauty of Chinese literary expression. For English-speaking audiences

[313] Historically, calligraphy (*shu* 書) was regarded as one of the "Four Arts" (*si yi* 四藝), alongside playing the *qin* 琴 (zither, a musical instrument), playing *qi* 棋 (a strategic boardgame, similar to chess), and engaging in *hua* 畫 (painting), which every educated person was expected to master.

unfamiliar with the aesthetics of brush and ink, this piece offers a window into the tradition where the literary and the visual merge seamlessly.

It is noteworthy that Liu E's calligraphy illustration appears without an accompanying English translation. Given its readership, one might expect a translation, but there are several assumed reasons why it may have been deliberately omitted. First, artistic integrity takes precedence over literal meaning. Liu E's brushstrokes are meant to be appreciated aesthetically, not just read. Providing a direct English translation might reduce the piece to plain text, detracting from its cultural and artistic value. Second, the absence of translation may serve as a form of cultural immersion. The editors subtly encourage readers to engage with Chinese culture on its own terms. It is a gentle push for readers to confront the limitations of translation. Third, the calligraphy may be intended as context rather than content. Within the article, it functions more as a visual or atmospheric complement than a core narrative element. As such, the emphasis remains on the translated text, while the illustration enhances the cultural backdrop without needing to be directly decoded.



Fig. 2. The portrait of Liu E 劉鶚. (From *Renditions*, 1989, Vol. 32, 21)

Figure 2 depicts the author's portrait. His dress in the image, a high-collared coat and traditional hat, signals his identity as an educated elite. The picture's origin can be traced back with help of *Dacheng laojiukan quanwen shujuku* (大成老旧刊全文数据库), a digital archival database of historical journals. The portrait was first published in *Renjianshi* 人間世 in 1934 (3). The caption beneath the image in the database reads: "老殘遊記作者劉鐵雲先生遺像" (The portrait of the late Mr. Liu Tieyun, author of *Lao Can Youji*). This image thus functions both as a commemorative artifact and a visual affirmation of Liu E's legacy as a

writer of Late Qing fiction. Despite the existence of several English translations of the novel, visual representations of the author are rarely included, with an exception being the 1983 Panda Books edition translated by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang, which shared the same portrait. The inclusion of this illustration in the current translation fills a gap in previous editions. It allows readers not only to engage with Liu E's words but also to connect them to the persona of its creator. The publication of the image decades after his death suggests a continued reverence for his contributions to Chinese literature and political thought. In this way, the portrait is not only a historical document but also a cultural artifact intended to deepen the understanding of Liu E as a writer.



Fig. 3. The cover of *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* 繡像小說 (*Illustrated Fiction*). (From *Renditions*, 1989, Vol. 32, 22)

Figure 3 features the cover of the serialized publication, *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* 繡像小說 (*Illustrated Fiction*), a bimonthly literary journal published in Shanghai from 1903 to 1906. This journal holds particular significance in the history of *The Travels of Lao Can*, as it was the first venue in which the novel appeared in print. Beginning in 1903, *The Travels of Lao Can* was serialized from issue 9 through issue 18. By January 1904, a total of thirteen chapters had been published in it. The term *xiuxiang* 繡像 (lit. embroidered images) signals that the magazine was known for its illustrated fiction that might be used to market serialized novels enhanced by visual elements. The illustration was originally displayed on the cover of issue 9 of the initial version of *The Travels of Lao Can.*[314] The peacock motif remained on the journal's signature cover image from issue 9 until its final issue (no. 72) in 1906, probably indicating a significant moment of rebranding or aesthetic reorientation for the

[314] The information is from the Database *Quanguo baokan suoyin* 全國報刊索引(National Newspaper Index).

publication. By showcasing the periodical's cover, the illustration offers insight into the print culture of the time, demonstrating how literary works were presented and circulated in an era of emerging modern publishing. Through appreciating the cover illustration, readers can gain a deeper understanding of the artistic styles, publication formats, and aesthetic choices that characterized early twentieth-century Chinese literary publications.

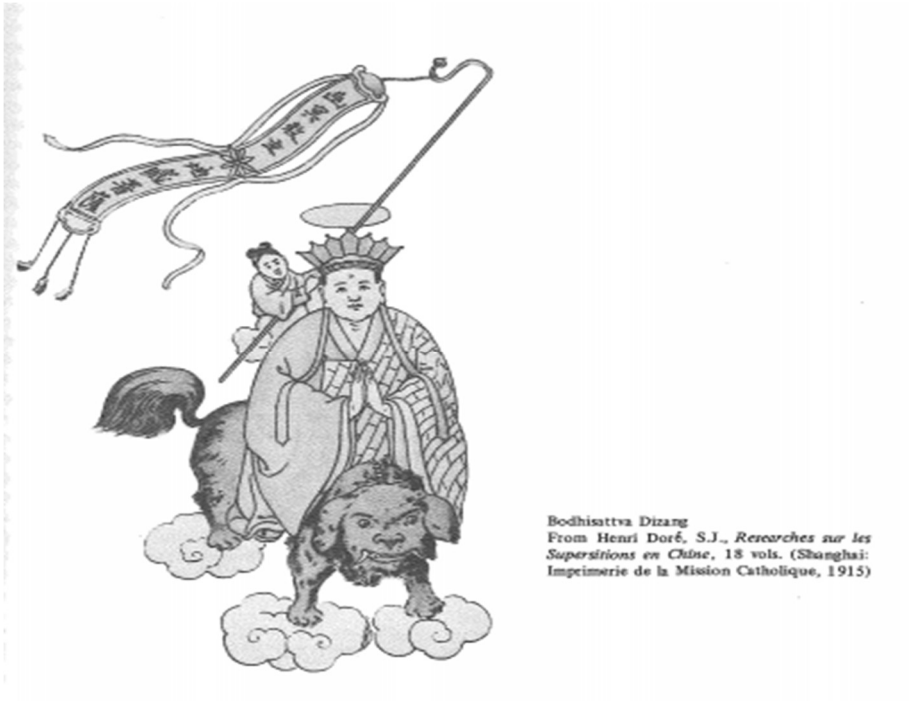
The above three images function as rich historical and culture-specific terms, offering multifaceted insights into the context. Each image, the calligraphy, the portrait, and the periodical cover, captures a distinct aspect of the novel. Liu E's calligraphy reveals his cultivated literary persona and scholarly refinement, while his portrait offers a visual view of the Late Qing literati class to which he belonged. Meanwhile, the cover of the magazine situates the novel in early twentieth-century Shanghai print culture. Collectively, they not only document the novel's material history but also invite a deeper engagement with the author's intellectual and aesthetic self-expression. For English-language readers, who may be distanced from the work's original sociocultural context, these visual artifacts provide valuable material through which to construct a more tangible understanding of both the author and his literary work. More than mere illustrations, these images serve as interpretive tools that bridge the gap between readers and textual context. They reinforce the cultural elements behind the literary works, situating the novel in its own historical and cultural framework. In doing so, the illustrations offer a more holistic reading experience to the readers.

Illustrations within the Text (Figure 4 to 6)

Beyond the paratextual illustrations above, three additional images appear within the main text, each embedded in a separate chapter. They include a depiction of a lictor from the Buddhist hell, characterized by an ox's head and human body (figure 4); an image of the 'Bodhisattva Dizang' who is an important figure in Buddhism (figure 5); and the 'Wheel of Metempsychosis' (or the Wheel of Rebirth or Samsara) (figure 6). Each illustration is closely tied to religious thoughts that may be unfamiliar to English-speaking readers; therefore, the images serve not merely as decorative elements but as intersemiotic translational aids to help readers understand the text and the religious culture within the lines.

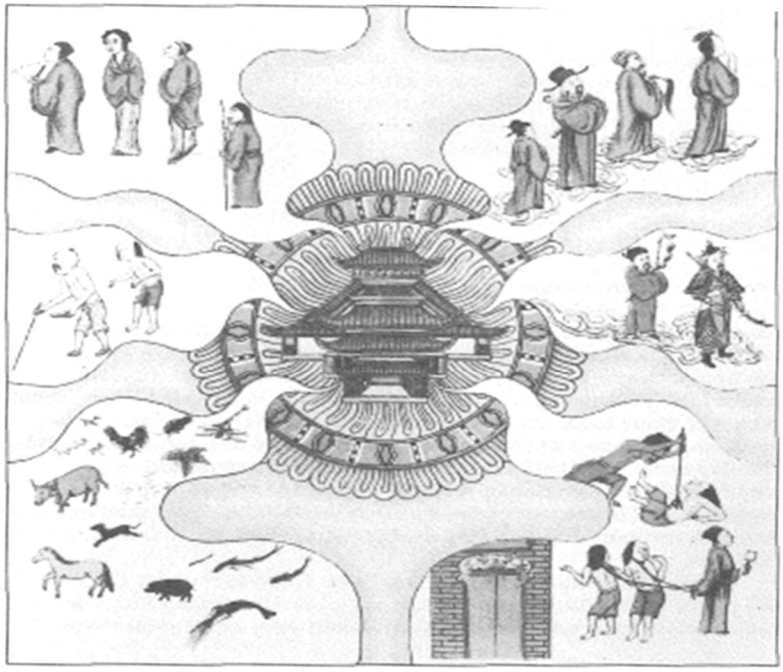


Fig. 4. A picture of a lictor from the Buddhist hell. (From *Renditions,* 1989, Vol. 32, 31)



Bodhisattva Dizang
From Henri Doré, S.J., *Researches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, 18 vols. (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1915)

Fig. 5. An image of the 'Bodhisattva Dizang'. (From *Renditions*, 1989, Vol. 32, 33)



The Wheel of the Metempsychosis.
From *Researches sur les Superstitions en Chine.*

Fig. 6. The Wheel of Rebirth. (From *Renditions*, 1989, Vol. 32, 45)

Figure 5 and 6 included captions that indicate the origins of the images. Both were sourced from a French academic work titled *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine* (Researches into Chinese superstitions), authored by Henri Doré (1859-1931), a French Jesuit missionary. He arrived in China in 1884, where he studied local customs and collected New Year pictures from across the country. His major work, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, comprises 18 volumes published by the Printing Company of the Catholic Mission in Shanghai (*Shanghai Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique*) between 1911 and 1938. This multi-volume work focused on various superstitions in China and included plenty of colourful pictures to give readers vivid images and, thus, help readers to understand the cultural and religious elements. Illustration 5 includes detailed bibliographic information, identifying Henri Doré as the researcher. The caption indicates that the specific volume referenced was published in 1915, eight years after the creation and publication of *The Sequel to The Travels of Lao Can*. This suggests that the illustrations were not part of the original text and were likely to have been sourced and added by the translator or editorial team. The following paragraphs will take a close look at the illustrations, examining how they contribute to a deeper interpretation of the text and enhance the reader's understanding of its themes and cultural context.

Figure 4 appears at the end of Chapter 7, where the narrative describes the scene in which "the Five Powers are about to hold court."[315] This moment follows Lao Can's arrival in the underworld, where he undergoes moral interrogation by King Yama and awaits a further trial. Among the figures present in this infernal courtroom is an ox-headed lictor, who appears serving as one of the guards of the court. Based on the materials in the Nichiren Buddhism Library, ox-headed demons (*niutou* 牛頭 in Chinese, *gośīrṣa* in Sanskrit) are mythological beings who, along with their horse-headed counterparts, function as jailers in the Buddhist conception of hell. These beings are typically depicted with human bodies and the heads of oxen or horses. The term derives from the Sanskrit words *go* (ox) and *śīrṣa* (head), emphasizing their hybrid form.[316] In this respect, the image of the ox-headed lictor depicted in *Renditions* aligns closely with traditional Buddhist iconography. Although the original text does not offer a detailed visual description of the ox-headed lictor's appearance, it provides a vivid account of the weapon he carries, a spiked club. The passage reads:

> 怎樣叫做狼牙棒？一根長棒，比齊眉棒稍微長些，上頭有個骨朵，有一尺多長，茶碗口粗，四面團團轉都是小刀子如狼牙一般。那小刀子約一寸長三四分寬，直站在骨朵上。[317]
>
> What is a spiked club? It is long, somewhat longer than those which reach from the ground up to a man's eyebrows. One end thickens out like a bud for over a foot, to the circumference of a bowl. All around this thick portion are little blades, each an inch long and less than a half-inch wide, jutting straight out like the teeth of a wolf. [318]

[315] Soothill and Hodous, 1937, 121.
[316] The depict of the ox-headed demons is from Dictionary of Buddhism, https://www.nichirenlibrary.org/en/dic/Content/O/57
[317] Liu E, 2018, p.
[318] Liu E, trans. by Wong, 1989, 31.

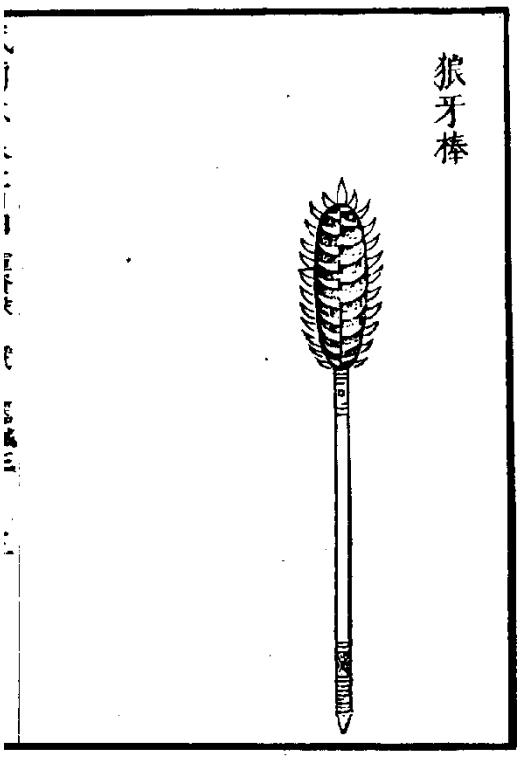


Fig. 7. Spiked Club (*langyapeng* 狼牙捧, lit. 'wolf teeth club', image from *Wubeizhi* 武備志 [*On Military Preparedness*] 43:3a by Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 [1594-1640].)

This detailed description suggests a specific and fearsome type of weapon as shown in the illustration I have provided above in figure 7, commonly used in ancient warfare. However, the weapon carried by the lictor as shown in *Renditions* (figure 4) does not correspond to the textual description.[319] This reveals how visual representations can sometimes reframe a reader's understanding of the text. One possible explanation for the discrepancy lies in editorial or artistic emphasis or interpretation. Rather than focusing in the image on depicting accurately the fearsome nature of the weapon, an image has been chosen that depicts the mythological figure of the ox-headed lictor, a being that would be unfamiliar to many English-speaking readers. By centering on the lictor's appearance rather than striving for literal accuracy in the weapon design, the editors may have chosen to prioritize cultural symbolism over textual fidelity. In doing so, they both ensured that the visual element would effectively convey the supernatural scene, and added an additional, explicitating intersemiotic translation to the version of the text in English. This choice can also be viewed through the lens of cross-cultural translation. *Renditions*, aimed at an international readership, serves as a

[319] The illustration actually corresponds to traditional Chinese depictions of an ox-headed lictor who is usually shown with a weapon called *huzipeng* 狐子捧 (lit. fox club) (*Wubeizhi* 武備志 43:2b, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=28492&page=63).

cultural bridge, introducing Chinese literary and religious motifs to audiences who may lack prior exposure. Within this context, the ox-headed lictor functions as a cultural ambassador, embodying religious themes central to Asian underworld mythology. The weapon, while significant in its textual description, might have been seen as a secondary detail, one that could be adapted or simplified without undermining the broader narrative. Moreover, illustrations in translated works often carry some of the burden of interpretive framing. In cases where the text includes unfamiliar or complex culture-specific terms, visuals can serve as guiding aids to help readers navigate the foreign landscape of the story. Thus, even if the weapon is inaccurately depicted, the image still fulfills an interpretative function by making the ox-headed lictor more immediately legible to the reader. In sum, the mismatch between illustration and textual description is not simply an oversight but a decision that raises questions about authenticity, representation, and audience engagement. It highlights the complexities involved in translating not only language, but also visual cultural artifacts, from one tradition to another.

We discussed here the different impacts of the 'inaccurate' rendering of the image. On the one hand, the image is partly an explicitating translation that enable us to see the lictor and learn about the mythological tradition in which this text is embedded; on the other hand, the image clearly contradicts the description of the weapon given within the translation. This introduces the possibility of uncertainty and ambiguity into the English reader's experience of the text, which 'translation' do they consider as the more accurate one, the depiction of the weapon in the illustration or that in the interlingual translation? Will the audience even notice? These enquiries further motivate me to explore readers' receptions, which, although not addressed in this dissertation, will inform future research following this study.

Figure 5 depicts a religious figure, Bodhisattva Dizang, whose identity is clearly indicated both by the accompanying caption and by the banner behind him inscribed with the Chinese phrase *Youming jiaozhu, Dizang Pusa* 幽冥教主，地藏菩薩 (Master of the Netherworld, Bodhisattva Dizang). *The Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*[320] states that *Dizang* 地藏 literally translated as "Earth-store," "Earth-treasury," or "Earth-womb," which

[320] *The Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* is authored by William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous. William (1861-1935) was a Methodist missionary to China who later became Professor of Chinese at the University of Oxford, and a leading British Sinologist. Lewis (1872-1949) was an American Board missionary to China, educator, Sinologist and Buddhologist.

carries connotations of a nurturing, even feminine, origin. Although he is often associated with death and the various realms of hell, Bodhisattva Dizang occupies a redemptive role rather than a punitive one. He serves as a savior who bridges the realms of deities, humans, and the damned, working tirelessly to relieve all beings from suffering.[321] The other two visual elements constituting the image include one of his two attendants[322] and his riding animal.[323]

In the text, the translator gives an annotation of Bodhisattva Dizang, helping his audience clarify his roles in Buddhism. Interestingly, within the novel itself, Bodhisattva Dizang is never directly encountered by Lao Can, the protagonist. Instead, Bodhisattva Dizang's presence is mediated through the words of King Yama, who narrates Bodhisattva Dizang's compassionate deeds and immense sacrifices. Chapter eight begins with Lao Can observing the harsh punishments meted out in the netherworld, setting the stage for King Yama's explanation of Bodhisattva Dizang's efforts to alleviate suffering and advocate for mercy. This brings a compelling question: If King Yama appears more frequently, both in this chapter and throughout the entire sequel, why did the editor or the translator choose to dedicate an illustration solely to Bodhisattva Dizang rather than to King Yama himself?

Assumptions can be made based on two perspectives: one is the perspective of editorial and symbolic intention; the other is the perspective of visual and emotional impact. The choice to depict Bodhisattva Dizang rather than the more frequently appearing King Yama may reflect a deeper editorial and symbolic intention. Dizang embodies the moral and spiritual message of compassion, redemption, and the hope for salvation, while King Yama serves an important narrative function, explaining the structure of the afterlife and enforcing karmic justice, it is Dizang who symbolizes the higher ideal of universal salvation. By including an illustration of Dizang, the editor draws attention to the figure who transcends mere judgment and punishment to offer a vision of hope and spiritual liberation. On visual and emotional impact, the visual portrayal of Dizang may resonate more deeply with readers familiar with Buddhist iconography. Dizang is a widely venerated bodhisattva in East Asian

---

[321] Soothill and Hodous, 2010, 461.

[322] One attendant who oversees good deeds named Zhang Shan 掌善 and the other one who oversees evil deeds is Zhang E 掌惡. (Soothill and Hodous, 2003, 208.)

[323] The riding is named Diting 諦聽, is a divine mythical creature whose combines the feature of many beasts in one body: head of a tiger, body of a dragon, tail of a lion, one horn, ears like a dog and foot like a *qilin*, a legendary hooved chimerical creature that appears in Chinese mythology, and is said to appear with the imminent arrival or death of a sage or illustrious ruler.

Buddhism, instantly recognizable by his distinctive appearance, usually shown as a tonsured monk. His image would evoke not only religious reverence but also emotional resonance with the theme of compassion, whereas Yama, often depicted as stern and fearsome, might not inspire the same empathetic engagement. Thus, the editorial choice to illustrate Bodhisattva Dizang, despite his indirect narrative role, may suggest a deliberate elevation of his symbolic importance. It reinforces the overarching theme of redemption and underscores the moral dimension of the text, inviting readers to contemplate the power of mercy in contrast to the inevitability of karmic retribution.

The final illustration (Fig. 6) appears at the end of Chapter Nine and, drawing on Eastern artistic traditions, depicts the Six Paths, a concept central to Buddhist cosmology. The Six Paths (or Six Realms) represent the six worlds into which sentient beings (including humans and animals) are reincarnated based on their karma, which is determined by their actions in previous lives. These realms are traditionally visualized in the Bhavacakra, the 'Wheel of Existence'. In Buddhist belief, after death, individuals pass through the netherworld and are judged by the "Five Powers."[324] Based on their accumulated virtue and moral conduct, they are then reincarnated through one of the Six Paths. Each path represents a distinct realm:

- The world of gods or celestial beings (*Deva*)
- The world of human beings (*Manushya*)
- The world of warlike demigods (*Asura*)
- The world of animals (*Tiryagyoni*)
- The world of hungry ghosts (*Preta*)
- The world of Hell (*Naraka*)

These six realms are vividly illustrated in Fig. 6. In the accompanying text, Lao Can is depicted in a moment suggestive of transcendence. A scent of sandalwood emanating from Lao Can's body signifies the awakening of good karma accumulated during his life. This auspicious sign indicates that he is destined for a favorable reincarnation, specifically the "Great Western Paradise."[325] Based on this description, it can be inferred that Lao Can is

[324] The "Five Powers" in Buddhism are the five "controlling faculties" or spiritual powers (faith, effort, mindfulness, concentration, and wisdom) that, when strong and balanced, lead to liberation from the cycle of death and rebirth (samsara) (Sarah Doering, 2003).
[325] Wong, 1989, 45.

likely to ascend to the realm of the *Deva*, or the world of gods or celestial beings, which corresponds to the upper right corner of the illustration.

In contrast to Fig. 4 and 5, which each depict a single, isolated figure, Fig.6 presents a rich, multi-figure composition that visually conveys a significant and foundational concept in Buddhist teachings. This illustration does more than merely depict characters or settings; it embodies a central philosophical doctrine, transforming abstract religious ideas into a vivid, visual narrative. Within the text itself, however, there is a notable absence of direct exposition regarding the Six Paths. There are no explanatory passages or detailed descriptions that clarify the doctrine for readers unfamiliar with it. The only textual hint regarding Lao Can's spiritual fate comes from his friend, Miss Shi's cryptic remark:

> … the karma you have accumulated in the world of the living has just been activated. Soon you will be going to the Great Western Paradise.[326]

For English-speaking audiences, especially those with limited background in Buddhist cosmology, this lack of explicit textual explanation can make it difficult to grasp the deeper significance of Lao Can's destination, especially when contrasted with the fates of others in the narrative. While many souls suffer punishments in hell or await uncertain reincarnations, Lao Can's path appears unique and spiritually elevated. His former companions, Mr. Zhe Lisi and Miss Shi, are depicted as having gained favorable reincarnations solely due to their final conversations with him, suggesting Lao Can's moral and spiritual superiority. However, without contextual knowledge of Buddhist beliefs, much of this symbolism may be lost on the reader.

This is where Fig. 6 plays a crucial interpretive role. It acts as a visual guide that compensates for the text's silence, offering a symbolic map of Buddhist soteriology. Through its detailed portrayal of the Six Paths and the cycle of Samsara, the illustration invites readers to consider Lao Can's journey in the broader context of Buddhist moral order. It functions almost as a visual appendix or spiritual key, allowing readers to retrospectively reinterpret previous chapters under the lens of Buddhist cosmology. For English-speaking audiences, this visual element bridges the cultural and philosophical gap, transforming abstract doctrine into a tangible, accessible image. Ultimately, Fig.6 not only deepens the thematic resonance of the narrative but also serves an educational function. It provides a visual framework that

[326] Wong, 1989, 45.

introduces foreign readers to core Buddhist ideas in a way that is immediate and emotionally evocative. By doing so, it helps cultivate an intuitive understanding of Buddhist values and worldviews, enriching the reading experience and building a cultural bridge between text and audience.

The Function of Illustrations

In conclusion to this section, Timothy C. Wong's 1989 translation of *The Sequel to The Travels of Lao Can* demonstrates how illustrations function not as peripheral embellishments but as integral agents of meaning-making in the cross-cultural transmission of Late Qing fiction. The six images interspersed throughout the text, ranging from Liu E's own calligraphy and portrait to Buddhist cosmological diagrams, operate as paratexts that mediate the reader's encounter with the translated novel. They extend the scope of translation beyond the linguistic act, foregrounding visuality as a parallel medium through which cultural imagination and historical resonance are constructed. For English-speaking audiences largely unfamiliar with the semiotic richness of Chinese calligraphy, Buddhist iconography, or the publishing milieu of the last century's Shanghai, the illustrations offer interpretive scaffolding. They anchor abstract textual references in visible forms, thereby reducing cultural distance and amplifying thematic depth. At the same time, choices of inclusion and omission reveal the translator's and editors' interpretive priorities: for instance, privileging the compassionate figure of Bodhisattva Dizang over the more juridical King Yama underscores a preference for moral redemption as a universal message accessible to international readers. Yet these illustrations are not passive mirrors of the text. In some cases, such as the ox-headed lictor with a weapon differing from its textual description, they reframe and even reshape the narrative's meaning, privileging symbolic familiarity over literal fidelity. This interplay highlights the layered negotiations inherent in translating not only words but also images, traditions, and values. Ultimately, Wong's translation may exemplify the 1980s trend in translation studies of recognizing paratexts as interpretive acts. By embedding visual materials into the translated text, his work acknowledges the insufficiency of language alone to convey the cultural and philosophical complexity of Late Qing fiction. The result is a hybrid text where illustration and translation co-produce

meaning, inviting readers to experience *The Sequel to The Travels of Lao Can* not just as a story rendered into English, but as a multisensory cultural encounter.

4.4 Burton Watson and "Chen Yiwu Shu" 陳夷務疏 (A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: Excerpts) in 2000

In 2000, *Renditions* published a special double issue titled "Chinese Impressions of the West" (Vol. 53 & 54), which presents what the editor called "a fragmented yet vivid kaleidoscope of Late Qing Chinese perceptions of, and responses to, the Western world".[327] This collection of thirty-seven translated texts or excerpts is divided into four thematic sections (A-D), each offering a distinct vantage point on how Chinese intellectuals, officials, and ordinary people grappled with the encounter between China and the West. In this section, I will focus on Wang Kaiyun's 王闓運 (1833-1916) "Chen Yiwu Shu" 陳夷務疏 (A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: Excerpts), included in Section A and translated by Burton Watson. This text stands out as one of the clearest articulations of traditionalist resistance to reform within Late Qing political discourse. Wang's memorial exemplifies the conservative strand of Confucian statecraft that viewed Western encroachment not as a model for emulation but as a moral and civilizational threat. This section will examine what drew Watson's attention to Wang Kaiyan's writings and whether there are notable differences in his approach to translating classical versus modern texts. Further, through examining the intersection of context, ideology, patronage, as well as translation approach, I aim to explore how translation and editorial framing continue to shape our understanding of China's encounter with the West.

[327] Hung, 2000, 8.

4.4.1 Context, Ideology, and Patronage in "Chen Yiwu Shu" 陳夷務疏 (A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: Excerpts)

As noted earlier, the *Renditions* double issue "Chinese Impressions of the West" comprises four thematic sections that collectively demonstrate the editors' commitment to representing a diverse range of perspectives and to reassessing Late Qing thought as a multifaceted intellectual domain. Each section emphasizes a particular aspect of this encounter:

Section A, "Court and Intellectual Reaction," contains six texts that document the early ideological and institutional responses of the Qing court and its scholar-officials to the growing Western presence. The editors explicitly note that their "bias in favour of reformist ideas"[328] reveals their interpretive orientation toward progressivism—a stance that privileges reformist intellectual agency. Yet this editorial bias also creates tensions within the collection, particularly when conservative voices such as Wang Kaiyun's "Chen Yiwu Shu" are juxtaposed with reformist and empirical accounts.

Section B, "Official Abroad," includes fourteen excerpts from the diaries and travelogues of Qing diplomats sent to Europe and America. While these envoys operated within similar bureaucratic and social contexts, their writings reveal striking differences in tone, ideology, and worldview. Some adopted an observational empiricism influenced by reformist pragmatism, while others retained a moralistic Sinocentrism that resisted the lure of Western modernity. These diplomatic accounts illuminate the tension between personal curiosity and the institutional constraints of representing the Qing state abroad—an early manifestation of how ideology was both shaped and limited by political patronage.[329]

Section C, "My Eyes Were Opened," gathers ten texts by individuals who traveled to the West unofficially, including scholars, students, and dissidents. Among them, there is the striking presence of one women writer, Shan Shili 單士厘 (1858-1945) who wrote down what she had seen and learned when travelling abroad with her husband. In this section, the writings often display a more intimate, even emotional engagement with Western society.

---

[328] "Our bias in favour of reformist ideas is at least partly the result of practical, if mundane, consideration about available space and time. Thus we have concentrated here on ideas and practices which provided the foundation of knowledge and a springboard for those who finally had the opportunity to observe the Western world at first hand." (Eva Hung, 2000, 8.)
[329] Ibid, 8-9.

The editor, Eva Hong, notes that several archival pieces in this section were published for the first time, suggesting a conscious editorial effort to expand the historical record beyond elite voices and to recognize alternative modes of cultural observation and self-reflection.[330]

Section D, "From the Grassroots," offers seven selections that capture what the editor termed "scattered perspectives"[331] of ordinary Chinese toward the West. These range from humorous, entertainment-oriented depictions, such as excerpts from the *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報 (*Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1884-1898), to more earnest attempts at understanding foreign customs. Collectively, they represent the diffusion of Western imagery into the urban visual and print culture of Late Qing society, where ideological positions were often fluid and mediated through popular forms rather than official channels.

The excerpt from "A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs" appears in Section A, where it serves as a counterpoint to the reformist optimism that characterizes many other texts in the compilation. Composed in the highly formal classical Chinese prose style, the memorial is distinguished by parallel sentence structures, persuasive rhetoric, and extensive allusions to the Confucian canon, features that reinforce its ideological grounding within the conservative tradition of Qing statecraft. The translated excerpt includes approximately 940 Chinese characters, about one quarter of the original text of nearly 4,000 words. The omitted sections largely consist of the author's extensive citations from the Confucian classical texts and historical allusions, his reflections on ritual propriety and internal governance, and his commentaries on military and political strategies. By contrast, the translated portion focuses primarily on foreign affairs, including the author's critique of China's engagement with Western powers and his insistence on the primacy of moral reform over technological or institutional adaptation.

Within the translated passages, the author advances four central arguments concerning China's diplomatic and cultural relations with the West. First, he argues that the study of Western sciences and languages is meaningless without a reform of moral and political principles. Second, he criticizes the Qing government's tendency to oscillate between excessive fear and blind deference in dealing with foreign powers, calling instead for a balanced and resolute approach. Third, he repudiates the fatalistic belief that Western

[330] Ibid, 9.
[331] Ibid, 9.

dominance is inevitable, asserting that moral integrity remains the foundation of national resilience. Finally, he warns that missionary aggression and their cultural arrogance will eventually provoke widespread resentment among the Chinese populace, thereby undermining any possibility of sustained foreign influence.

Ideological Context: Conservatism'

Wang Kaiyun 王闓運 (1833-1916), the author of "Chen Yiwu Shu" 陳夷務疏, was a Confucian scholar and litterateur versed in classical texts and moral philosophy, renowned for his advocacy of literary and ethical orthodoxy. His memorial, written in 1870 during the Tongzhi Restoration (1862-1874), embodies a deeply conservative response to the crisis of foreign encroachment that followed the Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion. Whereas reform-minded officials of the Self-Strengthening Movement promoted technological emulation and institutional innovation, Wang's ideological position rested upon the conviction that moral integrity was the true foundation of national strength.[332] From the perspective that his ideas contrast with those of the prevalent reformists, such as Feng Guifen's advocacy for the adoption of Western learning and Liang Qichao's promotion of the "new citizen", he can be regarded as a conservative. However, as Eva Hong notes in her editorial:

> If our definition of a conservative is someone who tries to maintain the status quo and to defend its associated attitudes and philosophical outlook, then Wang's basic approach was not exactly conservative. While he could easily be accused of political naivety, his condemnation of China's traditionally arrogant attitude towards foreign countries (and her continued snubbing of weak neighbors at a time when she was plagued by strong enemies) shows an egalitarian stance that was way ahead of his age, and possibly also ahead of our own.[333]

The editorial framing of Wang Kaiyun's "Chen Yiwu Shu" in *Renditions* demonstrates a conscious effort to complicate and reinterpret the notion of 'conservatism' in Late Qing political discourse, thereby reshaping how modern readers understand China's intellectual response to the West. While Wang's memorial clearly embodies the moralistic rigor and classical orthodoxy associated with conservative Confucian statecraft, the editors challenge a

[332] Long, Jianyu, 1998, 42.
[333] Hung, 2000, 28.

simplistic categorization of him as merely reactionary. This reframing invites readers to reconsider the moral and intellectual complexity underlying Late Qing resistance discourse. Through this reframing, the editors mediate a more plural and self-reflexive image of China, one in which 'conservative' discourse is not regarded as static resistance but recognized as a critical mode of cultural self-examination. Consequently, the editorial interpretation not only rehabilitates Wang's intellectual position but also navigates modern readers towards the possibility of viewing Qing conservatism as an active and dynamic component of China's engagement with the West, rather than its ideological antithesis.

Understanding "Chen Yiwu Shu" also requires situating it within the system of bureaucratic patronage that structured Late Qing intellectual production. As a memorial addressed to the authority, Wang's text functioned as a kind of persuasion, with its elegant rhetoric to attract the favor of conservative patrons within the court. Patronage also influenced the text's modern interpretation through translation and publication. Burton Watson's 2000 translation for *Renditions* reintroduces Wang's conservative argument to a global readership largely sympathetic to reformist narratives of modernization. Known for his elegant renderings of classical Chinese poetry and philosophy, Watson recontextualize it within a modern academic discourse that values historical plurality. In doing so, Watson's translation transforms a Qing memorial of imperial counsel into a cross-cultural artifact, reshaping ideological boundaries (ideologies from Late Qing political discourse to modern academic discourse) through editorial framing.

4.4.2 The Translator

The translator of the excerpt, Burton Watson (1925-2017) was a distinguished American Sinologist, translator, and writer renowned for his English translations of Chinese and Japanese literature, as well as Buddhist sutras.[334] Watson received his M.A. in Chinese Studies from Columbia University in 1951, followed by a Ph.D. in 1956 from Columbia University, too. His doctoral dissertation, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien: The Historian and His Work*, was a seminal study of the Han dynasty historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145-c. 86 BC). Following

[334] Stirling, 2006, 92.

his graduate studies, Watson joined Ruth Fuller Sasaki's[335] team in Kyoto, where he worked under the auspices of Columbia University's Committee on Oriental Studies to translate Buddhist texts into English. He returned to Columbia in 1961 and later taught Chinese literature and philosophy at Columbia University and Stanford University.[336] Watson collaborated with William Theodore de Bary on the anthology *Sources of Chinese Tradition* that I have studied in the previous chapter, to which he contributed approximately eight chapters, focusing on Chinese philosophy, history, and Buddhism. Over the course of more than five decades, Watson emerged as one of the most prolific and respected translators of classical Chinese literature.[337] However, he is not an expert of the Qing Dynasty or modern history, revealing that he had "read almost nothing in the modern period except in English translation."[338] The reasons he attributed to are:

> Never having lived in China, I lack any real facility in the spoken language and do not feel I could properly understand or appreciate works in the modern idiom. And I have never become completely comfortable with the abbreviated characters. What eye power I have left these days I prefer to use reading works in classical Chinese.[339]

One reason for selecting "Chen Yiwu Shu" for translation was assumedly that it was written in classical Chinese that he was most familiar with; another might have been a shared academic interest with author Wang Kaiyun, both of them engaged with Tang Dynasty's poetry and classical texts. For example, one of Wang's works, *Zhuangzi zhu* 莊子註 (*Notes on the Zhuangzi*), is a research on the ancient philosopher Zhuangzi 莊子 and a book of the same name attributed to him, of which Watson believed that it was the most difficult and challenging text among the early philosophers that he had translated.[340] Additionally, Watson's contribution to the *Renditions* special issue may be traced by his personal association with the journal and with the Translation Studies Centre of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, where he held a fellowship in 1990. Eva Hung, the chief editor, revealed the unique challenges of translating and editing historical texts composed in

---

[335] Ruth Fuller Sasaki (1892-1967) was an American writer and Buddhist teacher. She was important figure in the development of Buddhism in the United States.
[336] Stirling, 2006, 92.
[337] Some representative works are included: *The Lotus Sutra*, Columbia University Press, 1993; *Selected Poems of Su Tung-P'o*, Copper Canyon Press, 1994; *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty*, Columbia University Press, 1993; *Chinese Rhyme-Prose: Poems in the Fu Form from the Han and Six Dynasties Periods*. Rev. ed. New York Review Books, 2015, etc.
[338] Balcom, 2012, 11.
[339] Ibid, 11.
[340] Ibid, 8.

classical Chinese, noting that the process took two and a half years due to the complexity of the language and subject matter.[341] Given Watson's expertise in classical Chinese and his international reputation as a translator, it is plausible that the editorial team reached out to him specifically for a contribution to this demanding project.

Stylistic Continuity or Contextual Shift?

In this following, I will examine Watson's translation of "Chen Yiwu Shu" as a case study to explore whether he maintains stylistic continuity or demonstrates a shift in his translation approach when moving from classical to modern texts. This analysis will be framed within the broader question of how a translator's style adapts or remains consistent across different genres and historical periods. To this end, I will compare stylistic elements such as tone, language register, and the use of literary devices in Watson's translations of both classical and modern texts. I aim to assess how Watson's translation style reflects his interpretive choices and whether his approach shifts significantly in response to textual and contextual differences.

Upon examining Watson's translation, it becomes clear that he divided the excerpt into twelve paragraphs (see Appendix). Some of these paragraphs are quite brief in the original classical Chinese, which is known for its conciseness, using very few words to convey complex ideas. As a result, it is not surprising that some English paragraphs correspond to only two or even fewer Chinese sentences. This reflects the nature of classical Chinese, where compact expression often necessitates expansion during translation for clarity. While reviewing the excerpt, I also came across the following annotation, which is listed below:

> 其船炮未交而已潰，機器船局效而愈拙。**是則知武靈之胡服，而忘其探雀觳。**信冀北之多馬，而未知其無興國也。[342]
>
> But now we get in a fluster over these steamers and cannons, draw back our forces even before engagement, and in the matter of machines and ships copy models that are clumsier than what we have already. **This is like knowing about King Wuling of Zhao's adoption of barbarian dress but forgetting that he was eventually**

[341] Hung, 2000, 12.
[342] Wang, 1871, p.

> **reduced to searching for little fledglings to stave off his hunger [annotation by translator: This was in fact the result of dissension among King Wuling's sons.];** or to believe, as the *Zuo zhuan* says, that in northern Ji there are many horses, without realizing that there is no powerful nation there to threaten us.[343]

A literal translation of the highlighted phrase "是則知武靈之胡服，而忘其探雀穀" might read: "Thus, one knows of Wuling's wearing of Hu clothes, but forgets his probing of sparrow fledglings, or at least very small fledglings." Taking the expression *hufu* 胡服 (Hu clothes) as an example, Watson translates it as "barbarian dress," a choice that adds cultural and political nuance. This translation not only conveys the basic meaning but also reflects the Warring States period's perception of Hu culture as foreign such a choice helps readers grasp the sociopolitical connotations of King Wuling's attire, which a literal translation might obscure. Another case of explicitation appears in Watson's handling of the expression *tan quekou* 探雀穀 (to search for fledglings). Watson unpacks the historical and emotional implications of the idiom, translating it as "he [i.e. King Wuling] was eventually reduced to searching for little fledglings to stave off his hunger". This interpretive move clarifies the subtext for readers unfamiliar with the original allusion, illuminating the implied theme of decline or hardship. In doing so, he is not merely intervening as a translator, but as a cultural interpreter and mediator.

However, this gain in clarity comes at a stylistic cost. The original Chinese line is concise and metaphorically rich, relying on allusion and historical resonance. Watson's expanded and explanatory rendering sacrifices some of the original's concision and poetic ambiguity. For example, the conjunction *er* 而, meaning 'and,' or 'but,' appears four times in parallel structure in the original sentence, matching both sound and sense to emphasize an adversative relationship within the poetic lines. Watson's approach aligns with one of Baker's stylistic tendencies in translation: simplification, wherein linguistic or conceptual complexity is reduced in favor of greater accessibility. In this case, accessibility is achieved at the expense of literary techniques such as antithesis and contrast. While this approach aids comprehension, it may dilute the literary texture and rhetorical subtlety of the original. Additionally, in terms of tone and register, the original sentence carries a mildly ironic or reflective undertone, drawing on cultural memory with quiet implication. Watson's translation approach in this particular paragraph, by contrast, adopts a more didactic and

[343] Watson, 2000, 31.

explanatory tone, subtly shifting the effect from literary suggestion to moral commentary. However, elsewhere, as I will show below, he largely manages to maintain the stylistic use of parallelism in his version in English. This indicates that, where possible, Watson's translation is mindful of form and content, aesthetic style and denotative meaning. But that, what his treatment of this sentence indicates is that the priority is clarity, historical context, and accessibility. By employing explicitation and simplification, he transforms a culturally dense phrase into a digestible and coherent expression for English-speaking readership.

Here, I would like to discuss Waston's approach of adding annotations in his translation. As it is well known, Watson's translation of *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the Grand Historian*) remains one of his most significant contributions to the English-language canon of Chinese classical literature. Yet, despite its acclaim for literary elegance, the work attracted criticism due to its limited use of scholarly annotation. Among the most vocal critics was Oxford Sinologist Professor Homer H. Dubs, who expressed serious dissatisfaction with what he perceived as the translation's lack of academic rigor. For Dubs, it was both "unimaginable and unacceptable" that a foundational text such as the *Shiji* could be presented without extensive footnotes and historical commentary.[344] When Columbia University Press planned to publish Watson's *Ssu-ma Ch'ien: Grand Historian of China* in 1958, Dubs wrote a letter to the publisher warning that the decision might damage the press's scholarly reputation.[345] His critique reflects a broader divide in translation studies: one approach favors philological accuracy and exhaustive contextual annotation, while the other values literary readability and stylistic clarity.

Watson firmly defends his choice to avoid a dense scholarly apparatus in his *Rejoinder to C. S. Goodrich's Review of Records of the Grand Historian of China* (1963):

> A translation of a small portion of the *Shih chi* with full scholarly apparatus, such as Dr. Goodrich wishes I had done, would not fill these needs because historians are customarily bulky writers and they must be read in bulk before one can get a true sense of their scope and style.[346]

The "needs" Wason refers to are those of

[344] Wu, 2024, 54.
[345] Ibid., 54. Also seen in *The Shih Chi and I* by Watson, 1995, 202.
[346] Watson, 1963,114-115.

> the general reader and student who is not a specialist in Chinese history, but who wants to know what sort of book China's first great historian wrote, what kind of material he included, how he organized it, and what interpretation he put on it.[347]

In "Chen Yiwu Shu", though a much shorter excerpt, Watson unexpectedly includes annotations. While brief and not overtly academic, they may represent a departure from his earlier minimalist stance. The notes appear more exploratory than scholarly, perhaps indicating an intermediate phase where Watson began testing the approach of contextual supplementation without fully adopting a sinological framework. The significance of this moment lies in its subtlety: Watson was starting to negotiate the tension between making Chinese texts approachable and doing justice to their cultural, linguistic, and historical complexities. It reflects an emerging self-awareness of the limitations of unannotated translation. In his essay "The Shih Chi and I" (1995), Watson later acknowledged: "I think, particularly now that I am a good deal older […] I am fully aware of the need for a scholarly and copiously annotated translation of the *Shih Chi*".[348] This statement marks a clear evolution that Watson recognizes the value of dense annotation not only for specialists but for a deeper engagement with the primary text. By analyzing Watson's statements and translation practices across time, one can trace a nuanced development in his philosophy of translation that mirrors both his maturing understanding of historiography and the needs of varied readerships. Watson's development illustrates the translator's evolving role, from mediator for the target audience to protector of the original's intellectual integrity. His trajectory is a valuable case study in how translators adapt over time, often aligning their practice with changing expectations of scholarship, audience, and their own growth as interpreters of culture.

Watson once revealed that his central challenge in translating Chinese historical texts did not lie in understanding the original Chinese, but in selecting the appropriate kind of English to convey their tone and texture.[349] He expressed a clear intention to use contemporary American English in his translations, aiming for accessibility while maintaining fidelity to the original.[350] One of the most distinctive features of Watson's literary style emerges when he grapples with the complex parallel structures so common in

---

[348] Watson, 1995, 202.
[349] Watson, 1995, 203.
[350] Watson, 2012, 9.

classical Chinese. These structures are notoriously difficult to render naturally in English, yet Watson often managed to preserve their rhetorical force and literary charm through careful syntactic choices. His translation style reflects an effort to express the elegance and rhythm of the original through balanced, nuanced English prose. The following examples illustrate how he captures the literary grace of the source text while negotiating the structural and idiomatic challenges inherent in cross-cultural translation.

Parallelism in Original Text	Watson's Translations
火輪者，至拙之船也。	Streamers are exceedingly clumsy vessels;
洋炮者，至蠢之器也。	Cannons are exceedingly stupid devices.
船以輕捷為能，	Ships are useful to the degree that they are light and swift;
械以巧便為利。	Machines beneficial to the degree that they are efficient and convenient.
亦非有夷船與水師縱橫百戰於海島，	It is not as though the barbarian ships and our marine forces had fought a hundred battles though the length and breadth of the coastal islands;
又非有大臣宿將僵仆相望於炮丸。	Or that our great statemen and seasoned generals had all been felled by cannonballs and lay strewn about within sight of one another.

Table 30. Parallelism in Original Text and Watson's Translations

The original uses a balanced syntactic rhythm typical of refined classical Chinese prose. Each couplet mirrors the next in structure and cadence, producing a rhetorical elegance that suggests reasoned, morally resonant critique, common in political essays of the period. The original formal parallelisms enhance clarity, persuasion, and literary sophistication. Rendered with a striking rhythm and rhetorical force, the translation demonstrates both the literary charm of the original Chinese and the translator's nuanced attempt to echo that charm in English, particularly through the use of parallel structure, evaluative diction ("useful to", "beneficial to"), and poised contrasts that carry moral and political weight beneath a surface of aesthetic grace. For instance, the two lines "Streamers are […]; cannons are […]" echo the Chinese pairing *huolun zhe* 火輪者 / *yangpao zhe* 洋炮者, and their predicates are nearly identical in syntax and rhythm. The translator's choice of "exceedingly clumsy" and "exceedingly stupid" mirrors the terms *zhi zhuo* 至拙 and *zhi chun* 至蠢, preserving the evaluative harshness of the original while avoiding a descent into casual or vulgar English. The translation of the last two sentences in Table 30 that include a pair of conditional

negatives ("It is not as though…" / "or that…") retains the sarcastic counterfactual tone of the original. Notably, the phrase "lay strewn about within sight of one another" translates the Chinese 僵仆相望於炮丸 with poetic but grim clarity. There is almost a tragic stage set here, with "strewn about" evoking classical images of battlefield death, while "within sight of one another" adds emotional weight, even a touch of pathos. These are excellent examples of how literary craft in language mirrors political or ideological critique. Through these, the translator does more than transfer meaning; he reanimates the rhetorical soul of the original.

Assessing Watson's translation style reveals a deliberate, interpretive framework that evolves in response to both the literary nature of the original texts and their historical and linguistic contexts. His translations of classical Chinese literature display different stylistic approaches. These shifts are not arbitrary but reflect interpretive choices shaped by the demands of the source text, its genre, and its intended readership. In translating classical Chinese texts, Watson exhibits a strong sensitivity to rhetorical structure, historical nuance, and textual clarity. The classical language, with its terse syntax, rich parallelism, and cultural allusions, requires interpretive decisions that go beyond the literal. Watson used to recall that Professor Chi-chen Wang 王際真 (1899-2001), one of his teachers at Columbia, was very insistent that translations not only be accurate in meaning but in an English style that was pleasing and unlabored. "The hours spent with him that year left me with the conviction that in translating such texts, it is not enough merely to bring across the meaning of the Chinese; one must do so in a manner that reads like natural, idiomatic English. This conviction has remained."[351]

4.5 Conclusion

It is important for me to end the chapter by focusing on Burton Watson's 2000 translation, as it exemplifies the journal's commitment to presenting a diversity of translators and approaches. This, in turn, draws attention to the translator's agency as a cultural mediator—one of the central concerns of my thesis. Within the special issue "Chinese Impressions of the West" of *Renditions*, although the overarching theme continues to prioritize 'China's

[351] Watson, 1995, 199.

response to the West,' Watson's translation represents a markedly different approach. While it remains attentive to denotational clarity and employs explicitation where necessary, it also strives to capture the idiosyncratic style and form of the source text. Thus, even as it translates a comparatively 'conservative' work, Watson's translation contributes meaningfully to the diversity of perspectives.

The founding editor George Kao highlights the inherent complexity and plurality of translation that *Renditions* tried to do justice to.

> 'There are translations and translations.' […] to me this is a profound statement illustrative of the pluralism that is inherent in the art of rendering one language into another. For any piece of literary writing there could be three or four or more equally acceptable translations. There are, to be sure, differences from one version to another, and varying degrees of excellence and deficiency as the case may be. But it is in the nature of translation to be tentative not final. […] That is why we have chosen to give our magazine the rather flexible name '*Renditions*'.[352]

A single original text can give rise to multiple translations, each shaped by context, patronage, and ideology. In this chapter, I have examined cases across different periods, from 1970s to 2000, to illustrate the diversity of translation as an art form. Correspondingly, emphasis was placed on different aspects: creative adaptation and restructuring in the translation of *Bizarre Happenings*; the use of visual aids to facilitate cultural understanding in *The Travels of Lao Can*; and rhetorical-stylistic experimentation in "Chen Yiwu Shu." As a cultural mediator, *Renditions* not only introduced Chinese literature to the English-speaking world but also reshaped cultural perceptions of China. Through its editorial and translational practices, reinterpreted texts, redefined authorial identities, and reframed them within contemporary academic discourse, the journal sought to weave a broader narrative of China's encounter with the West.

[352] Kao, 1975, 6.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I set out to achieve two main aims: first, to contribute to a broader understanding of the history of translating Chinese literature in the Anglophone world; and second, to offer new insights into the historical interactions between China and the West, enabling a fuller contextualisation of how these exchanges have been shaped by cultural, political, and ideological forces. Focusing on the translation of Late Qing literature into English, my thesis has addressed both aims by examining the context, discourse, motivations, and consequences of translation practices during this period, and by revealing the ways in which such translations reflected and contributed to the evolving dynamics between China and the West.

As discussed in the introduction and Chapter One, even though extant scholarship has recognised the growing importance of translation between Chinese and English from the beginning of the nineteenth century, much of the focus has been on the role played by English-speaking translators and linguists on their travels to China during this period rather than how Late Qing literature itself has fared in translation. This meant that one of the first tasks I had to carry out was to attempt to reconstruct the history of Late Qing literature into English myself. The database I created as a basis on which to draw broader conclusions about the history of translation of Late Qing texts was, however, inevitably shaped by the different understandings (and historiographical renderings of the period). For instance, initially my focus was on authors of non-fictional essays, the scholar-officials who were for a long time considered the main transmitters of knowledge (and the standard bearers of Chinese classical tradition). This in turn was reflected in reception of Late Qing literature in the West, which for a long time assumed this to be a period of little interest from a literary perspective, leading to the principal focus in translation being on the texts' denotative significance as historiographical material. My database both reflects shifts in understanding and reception of Late Qing literature, and enables us to see the different authors and texts selected for translation, the key periods of translation activity, the agency of different translators and publishers, and the incidence of retranslation. The different trends that emerge from my database are presented and described in Chapter One, and formed the basis for my selection of case studies for closer analysis in the remainder of the thesis, in recognition of the fact that

translation history cannot limit itself to presenting changes in the selection of authors and texts but needs to read these phenomena in relation to wider historical context, both in terms of ideological and poetic shifts in the target culture and in terms of evolving relations between China and the West.

On the one hand, my thesis structure reflects the impact of Cold War politics on translation of Late Qing literature, tracing the increase in translation activity in the 1950s and 1960s through two key projects: *China's Response to the West* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. On the other hand, it attends to changes in attitude towards the translation of Late Qing literature as political relations between China and the West began to thaw from the 1970s onwards, via the contribution of the journal *Renditions* to the translation and dissemination of Chinese culture in the English-speaking world. However, together these three projects span a much wider period, with *China's Response to the West* rooted in scholarly activities that dated from pre-World War II and continuing to influence approaches to Asian Studies into the 1980s and 1990s, *Sources of Chinese Tradition* offering insight into continuities and evolutions in approach via the revised edition published in 1999, and *Renditions* spanning a period of 50 years from 1973 to 2024. Within this structure I have been careful to select case studies that are representative of the range of data uncovered in my database, attending closely to texts that have been retranslated, in order to attend to shifts in reading, and balancing attention to the most prominent source authors and translators with recognition of the diversity of voices rendered into English.

While most existing studies of translation from Chinese literature into English have tended to focus on identifying over-arching translation strategies, such as explicitation, domestication or foreignization, for instance, my own commitment in this thesis to a translation history framework, drawing from Anthony Pym alongside Toury's basic model of Descriptive Translation Studies, means that I have ended up using a more flexible approach to microtextual analysis. One of the principal critiques of Toury's model of Descriptive Translation Studies has been that he does not offer a clear model for microtextual analysis beyond placing Source and Target texts in parallel and attending to shifts. While initially I had intended to focus primarily on the strategies used for translating cultural references, I soon realised that this did not always capture the most important information in regard to the texts in my database, where the widespread recourse to abridgement and restructuring of argument provided much clearer evidence of ideological rewriting. Likewise, the omission

of cultural references in translation did not always indicate an overarching strategy of target-orientated domestication, as is sometimes assumed. In the case of the translations of essays by Feng Guifen and Liang Qichao, it became apparent that the versions included in *China's Response to the West*, as translated by Ssu-yu Teng and revised by Fairbank, were in general very source-orientated in spite of omitting cultural references to ancient sources. This both goes against basic hypotheses about retranslation, as explained by Massardier-Kenny, by which or 'hot' translations are expected to be freer than later ones, and reminds us of the need to combine diachronic translation analysis with translation archaeology, translation criticism and attention to translator agency, as advocated by Pym. In the case of Teng's translations for *China's Response to the West*, the removal of references to ancient textual authorities is attributed to the operation of patronage and poetic norms: it is the publishers who ask for the 1950 text to be abridged to conform to target historiographical expectations, as will be further explained below. At the same time, it is his agency as principal translator of the essays included in the volume which leads to the high level of formal and structural fidelity to the source mode of argumentation.

This combination of a translation history framework as my main methodology alongside a more flexible, multidimensional approach to microlinguistic analysis ultimately enabled insights that would not have been possible if I had limited my study to a particular dimension across all of the case studies, and, I hope, avoided the tendency in some diachronic approaches to translation to always tell a story of increasing quality, fidelity and adequacy across time. Here I will outline just a few of the insights revealed in the course of my thesis.

In Chapter Two, I examined the influential volume *China's Response to the West* as a Cold War intellectual artifact that both reflected and shaped international understandings of modern Chinese intellectual history. By tracing the translated Late Qing documents and the ways in which they were framed, the chapter demonstrated that translation functioned not merely as linguistic transfer but as a medium of ideological expression or intervention. This was revealed by a combination of archival study, analysis of paratexts and close microtextual analysis of key translations compared with subsequent retranslations. Perhaps unsurprisingly, my analysis shows that the volume cast East-West encounters within a narrative of China 'responding' to a normative Western modernity, thereby reinforcing interpretations of Late Qing reform as reactive or imitative. Yet the volume did not simply reproduce prevailing geopolitical assumptions; it actively shaped the modern Chinese intellectual

history by elevating elite texts as the primary lens for interpreting Late Qing reform thoughts and by establishing a model in which intellectual history as a discourse facilitated understanding of modern politics. For generations of students and scholars, it shaped expectations about what Late Qing reform texts 'ought' to look like. Therefore, translation functioned as a medium of ideological framing that not only reinforced Cold War perspectives on China but also actively shaped subsequent historiographical discourse, embedding these assumptions into the international study of modern Chinese intellectual history for decades. The persistence of this influence was evident even in Burton Watson's 2000 translation of "Chen Yiwu shu" 陳夷務疏 (A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: Excerpts), with which I ended Chapter Four.

Retranslation was examined in both Chapters Two and Three, though with different emphases. From a diachronic perspective, Chapter Two demonstrates that retranslation provides a lens not only for tracing linguistic evolution but also for observing the shifting ideological and scholarly landscapes through which historical documents have been interpreted. The changing translation of *yi* 夷, from "barbarians" to "Westerners", across generations of translators exemplifies this trajectory: lexical evolution mirrors broader shifts in academic attitudes, political sensibilities, and historical understandings of China's relations with other counties. Terms once translated through a Sinocentric framework have gradually been reframed in more historically contextualized and relatively neutral ways. Likewise, the diachronic examination of the retranslation history of Liang Qichao's "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 in Chapter Three, spanning from the 1950s to the 2020s, underscores the complexity of retranslation practices, where choices emerge from a balance of textual fidelity, interpretive freedom, and rhetorical objectives.

From a synchronic perspective, Chapter Three further highlights the impact of sociopolitical contexts on translation by examining contrasting translations of *jinqu* 進取—"aggressive" versus "progressive". On one hand, the choice of "aggressive" reflects a translator's position shaped by Cold War epistemologies, revealing how sociopolitical ideologies influence scholarly interpretation at the level of individual word choice. On the other hand, these divergences demonstrate that translation is inseparable from understanding that each translator brings their own interpretive framework, shaped by personal identity, disciplinary orientation, and intellectual commitments. This aligns with Steiner's argument

that translation inevitably involves an interpretive "aggression/penetration" within his conception of the hermeneutic motion, through which meaning is subtly reshaped rather than simply reproduced.[291] Together, these diachronic and synchronic analyses show that retranslation not only reveals shifts in language and scholarly method but also exposes the changing discursive frameworks through which China's modern intellectual history has been mediated to the English-speaking world.

The comparison between the 1960 and 1999 editions of *Sources of Chinese Tradition* in Chapter Three reveals significant shifts in editorial and translational practices that mirror broader transformations in the field of Chinese intellectual history. The 1960 edition, like *China's Response to the West,* rendered the translator 'invisible' by withholding attribution. By contrast, the substantially revised 1999 edition identifies translators for most selections, allowing readers to recognize the specific intellectual agents behind each translation. This shift in attribution, accompanied by expanded contributors and wider institutional representation, reflects evolving academic priorities in the 1990s, particularly a growing desire to move beyond traditional political-philosophical narratives toward more culturally, socially, and intellectually diverse approaches to Chinese history. The enlargement of the anthology parallels this disciplinary broadening, embodying the globalization and diversification of Chinese intellectual history. The editorial reclassification of Zhang Zhidong's "Quanxue pian" 勸學篇 (Exhortation to Learning), shifted from "Conservative Reactions" in the 1960 edition to "Moderate Reform and the Self-Strengthening Movement" in the 1999 revision, illustrates the evolved historiographical paradigms to reinterpret the author not as a conservative but as a reform-oriented thinker, despite minimal changes to the translation itself. Such editorial decisions underscore not only the fluidity of historical interpretation but also how both anthologies influence the way scholars interpret and rethink history across different generations.

Chapters Two and Three both examine historical materials translated by historians, whose work tends to be utilitarian in nature; that is, they are prioritizing historical intelligibility and thematic coherence over textual integrity or stylistic nuance. For instance, their translations frequently omit classical allusions, simplify cultural references and syntax structure, privilege clarity and acceptability as Chester Tan did, and employ conventionalized terminology such as choosing "linguists" rather than "interpreter" or "translator" for *tongshi* 通事 in the interest of historical accuracy rather than contemporary reinterpretation. Such

strategies are closely tied to disciplinary commitments: as historians, they approached these texts primarily as repositories of historical political and ideological content rather than as literary artifacts. In this sense, historical analysis shaped not only what was selected for translation but also how it was translated. Consequently, their work reflects a disciplinary lens that values historical instruction over rhetorical or aesthetical pursuing. The translated texts in both volumes therefore offer more than linguistic translations; they reveal how disciplinary orientation shapes the translation of Late Qing literature and thus contribute to the formation of broader perceptions of China within the Anglo-American academy.

Finally, even though I ended my analysis with Burton Watson's translation in *Renditions* of "Chen Yiwu shu" 陳夷務疏 (A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: Excerpts), a 'conservative' text that seems to take us back to the kind of analyses and representations of Late Qing that we saw in Fairbank's volume in the 1950s, Chapter Four was conceived to provide a panoramic view of the journal's introduction of a greater diversity and cultural plurality in its representation of Chinese, and Late Qing, literature and culture. To do full justice to *Renditions*' contribution, I would have loved to be able to continue to explore its contribution to the dissemination of Chinese literature in translation into the twenty-first century, with the inclusion of previously marginalized voices and perspectives, such as female literary works. However, it was also important for me to end the thesis with a focus on Burton Watson. On the one hand, his invitation to contribute to *Renditions* with the translation of a text outside of his main expertise reveals a commitment by the journal to present a diversity of translators, thus drawing attention to the agency of the translator as a cultural mediator, which has been one of the main focuses of my thesis. On the other hand, it presents an opportunity to compare closely the approach taken by *China's Response to the West* in the years after World War II in the context of the Cold War, with a more plural and diverse translation project undertaken fifty years later in the context of open cultural exchange between China and the rest of the world, with the key mediating role of institutions like Chinese University of Hong Kong.

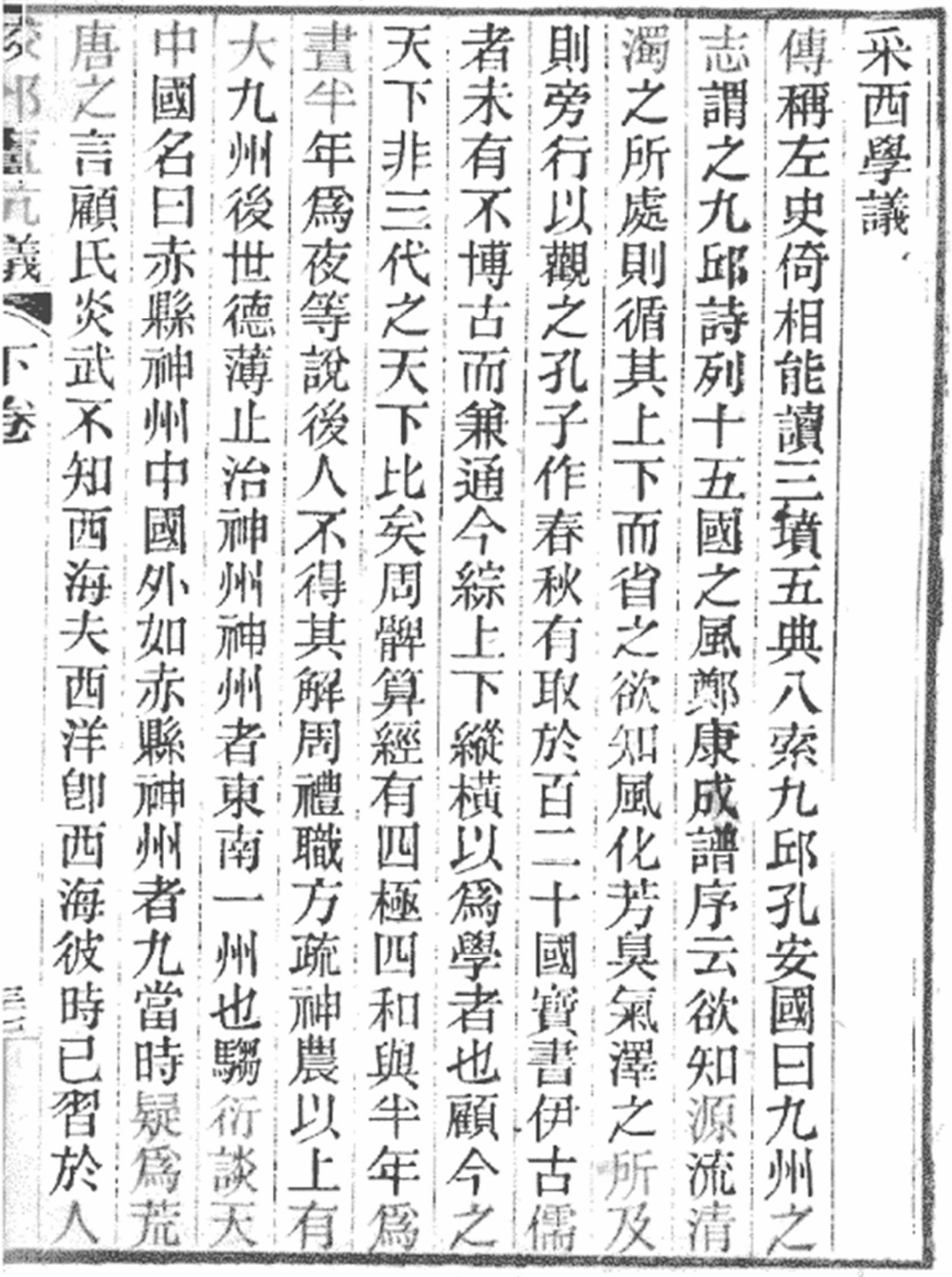
Ultimately, by tracing the translation of Late Qing literature into English, this thesis contributes to a broader understanding of how Late Qing China has been interpreted, reframed, and transmitted within the Anglophone world. Positioned at the intersection of history, literature, cultural studies, and translation studies, the findings illuminate the complex cultural, political, and ideological forces that have shaped the cross-cultural

circulation of Chinese texts, as well as the pivotal role translators, historians, and editors have played as mediators, interpreters, and cultural agents. Recognizing that they are not neutral messengers but shaped by their own historical contexts helps us better understand how their choices influence the ways that China is perceived in the English-speaking world. In doing so, the thesis explores the historical dynamics of China-Anglophone intellectual exchange and provides a foundation for more critically informed approaches to future translation and scholarship.

Appendices

Appendix 1 “Cai Xixue yi” 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge, 1884) in Chinese by Feng Guifen 馮桂芬

(in *Jiaobinlu kangyi* 校邠廬抗議, ch. 2, p. 37a-39b, Harvard Yenching Library)



採西學議

傳稱左史倚相能讀三墳五典八索九邱孔安國曰九州之志謂之九邱詩列十五國之風鄭康成譜序云欲知源流清濁之所處則循其上下而省之欲知風化芳臭氣澤之所及則旁行以觀之孔子作春秋有取於百二十國寶書伊古儒者未有不博古而兼通今綜上下縱橫以爲學者也顧今之天下非三代之天下比矣周髀算經有四極四和與半年爲晝半年爲夜等說後人不得其解周禮職方疏神農以上有大九州後世德薄止治神州神州者東南一州也騶衍談天中國名曰赤縣神州中國外如赤縣神州者九當時疑爲荒唐之言顧氏炎武不知西海夫西洋卽西海彼時已習於人

口職方外紀等書已入中國顧氏或未見或見而不信皆未可知今則地球九萬里莫非舟車所通人力所到周髀禮疏騶衍所稱一一實其地據西人輿圖所列不下百國此百國中經譯之書惟明未意大里亞及今英吉利兩國書凡數十種其述耶穌教者率猥鄙無足道此外如算學重學視學光學化學等皆得格物至理輿地書備列百國山川阨塞風土物產多中人所不及昔鄭公孫揮能知四國之爲子產能舉晉國實沈臺駘之故列國猶有其人可以中華大一統之邦而無之乎亦學士之羞也今之習於夷者曰通事其人率皆市井佻達游閒不齒鄉里無所得衣食者始爲之其質魯其識淺其心術又鄙聲色貨利之外不知其他且其能不過略

通夷語閒識夷字僅貨目數名與俚淺文理而已安望其留心學問乎惟彼亦不足於若輩特設義學招貧苦童稚兼習中外文字不知村童沾豐穎悟者絕少余嘗於吾鄉村塾義塾中物色異敏之士數十年無所得而又漸染於夷場習氣故所得仍與若輩等今欲采西學宜於廣東上海設一翻譯公所選近郡十五歲以下穎悟文童倍其廩餼住院肄業聘西人課以諸國語言文字又聘內地名師課以經史等學兼習算學一切西學皆從算學出西人十歲外無人不學算今欲采西學自不可不學算或聞英華書院墨海書館西人或師內地人之知算者俱可方院藏書甚多又俄夷道光二十七年所進書千餘種存略宜發院擇其有理者譯之由是而歷算之術而格致之理而制器尚象之法兼綜條貫輪船火器之外正非一端如

歷法從古無數十年不變之理今時憲以乾隆甲子爲元承用已逾百年漸多差忒甲辰修改臣等守西人舊法進退其數不足依据必求所以正之聞西人見用地動新術與天行密合是可資以授時又如河工前造百龍搜沙之器以無效而輟聞西人海港刷沙其法甚捷法用千匹馬大火輪置船旁可上可下潮退時下其輪使附於沙而轉之沙四飛隨潮而去凡遥潮之地皆宜之黃河水性湍急更無處不宜自下流迤邐而上積日累月鍥而不舍雖欲復由地中行之舊不難此不特黃河可用北河亦可用即南運河徒陽等處亦可用且東南水利久不治數日之霖積月不退宜於通潮各海口如法濬之使下流迅駛則上流雖不濬而自有一落千丈頭之勢可收事半功倍之效是可資以行水又如農具織具百工所需多用機輪用力少而成功多是可資以治生其他凡有益於　國計民生者皆是奇技淫巧不與焉三年之後諸文臣於諸國書應口成誦

者許補本學諸生如有神明變化能實見之行事者由通商大臣請
賞給舉人如前議中國多秀民必有出於夷而轉勝於夷者誠今日論學一要務矣夫學問者經濟所從出也太史公論治曰法後王本荀子爲其近己而俗變相類議卑而易行也愚以爲在今日又宜曰鑒諸國諸國同時並域獨能自致富强豈非相類而易行之尤大彰明較著者如以中國之倫常名教爲原本輔以諸國富强之術不更善之善者哉且也通市二十年來彼曾之習我語言文字者甚多其尤者能讀我經史於我
朝章吏治輿地民情類能言之而我都護以下之於彼國則

蒦然無所知相形之下能無愧乎於是乎不得不寄耳目於
憃愚謬妄之通事詞氣輕重緩急轉輾傳述失其本指幾何
不以小嫌釀大衅夫馭夷爲今天下第一要政乃以樞紐付
之若輩無怪彼已之不知情僞之不識議和議戰汔不得其
要領此
國家之隱憂也此議行則習其語言文字者必多多則必有
正人君子通達治體者出其中然後得其要領而馭之地理全志作於癸丑年書中於日本國記其欺侮亞墨利加觸石漁船時思報復於安南國極惡其議防之嚴權稅之重於緬甸國亦有宥吏橫征之怨未幾日本安南皆有兵端可見彼國書不可不觀若能知其未譯之書所得必倍多綏靖邊陲道又在是如謂六合之內論而不議封故見而限咫聞恐古博物君子必不爾也

Appendix 2 "Cai Xixue yi" in parallel with its English translation in China's Response to the West (1954)

"Cai Xixue yi" 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge, 1884) in parallel with its English translation by Ssu-yu Teng, as published in *China's Response to the West* (1954), pp. 51-52.

採西學議	**On the Adoption of Western Knowledge**
《傳》稱左史倚相能讀三墳、五典、八索、九丘，孔安國曰：「九州之志，謂之九丘」，《詩》列十五國之風，康成《譜序》雲：「欲知源流清濁之所處，則循其上下而省之；欲知風化芳臭氣澤之所及，則旁行以觀之。」孔子作《春秋》，有取于百二十國寶書。伊古儒者，未有不博古而兼通今，綜上下縱橫以爲學者也。	Omitted
顧今之天下，非三代之天下比矣，	The world today is not to be compared with that of the Three Dynasties (of ancient China)
《周髀算經》有四極、四和與半年爲晝、半年爲夜等說，後人不得其解。《周禮》職方疏：神農以上有大九州，後世德薄，止治神州。神州者，東南壹州也。騶衍談天，中國名曰赤縣神州，中國外如赤縣神州者九。當時疑爲荒唐之言。顧氏炎武不知西海，夫西洋即西海，彼時已習于人口。《職方外紀》等書已入中國，顧氏或未見，或見而不信，皆未可知。	Omitted
今則地球九萬裏，莫非舟車所通，人力所到。	Now the globe is ninety-thousand li around, and every spot may be reached by ships or wheeled vehicles
《周髀》、《禮》疏、騶衍所稱，壹壹實其地，	Omitted

據西人輿圖所列，不下百國。此百國中經譯之書，惟明末意大裏亞及今英吉利兩國書凡數十種，其述耶穌教者，率猥鄙無足道。此外如算學、重學、視學、光學、化學等皆得格物至理，輿地書備列百國山川厄塞、風土物產，多中人所不及。	According to what is listed on the maps by the Westerners, there are not less than one hundred countries. From these one hundred countries, only the books of Italy, at the end of the Ming dynasty, and now those of England have been translated into Chinese, altogether several tens of books. Those which ex-pound the doctrine of Jesus are generally vulgar, not worth mentioning. Apart from these, Western books on mathematics, mechanics, optics, light, chemistry, and other subjects contain the best principles of the natural sciences. In the books on geography, the mountains, rivers, strategic points, customs, and native products of the hundred countries are fully listed. Most of this information is beyond the reach of our people.
昔鄭公孫揮能知四國之爲，子產能舉晉國實沈、台骀之故，列國猶有其人，可以中華大壹統之邦而無之乎？亦學士之羞也。	Omitted
今之習于夷者曰「通事」，其人率皆市井佻達遊閑，不齒鄉裏，無所得衣食者始爲之。其質魯、其識淺、其心術又鄙，聲色貨利之外，不知其他，且其能不過略通夷語、間識夷字，僅如貨目數名與俚淺文理而已，安望其留心學問乎？	Nowadays those familiar with barbarian affairs are called “linguists.” These men are generally frivolous rascals and loafers in the cities and are despised in their villages and communities. They serve as interpreters only because they have no other means of making a livelihood. Their nature is boorish, their knowledge shallow, and furthermore, their moral principles are mean. They know nothing except sensual pleasures and material profit. Moreover, their ability consists of nothing more than a slight knowledge of the barbarian language and occasional recognition of barbarian characters, which is limited to names of commodities, numerical figures, some slang expressions and a little simple grammar. How can we expect them to pay attention to scholarly studies?
惟彼亦不足于若輩，特設義學，招貧苦童稚，兼習中外文字。不知村童沽豎，穎悟者絕少。（注：余	Omitted

嘗于吾鄉村塾、義塾中物色異敏之士，數十年無所得）而又漸染于夷場習氣。故所得仍與若輩等。	
今欲采西學，宜于廣東、上海設壹翻譯公所，選近郡十五歲以下穎悟文童，倍其廩饩，住院肄業，聘西人課以諸國語言文字；又聘內地名師，課以經史等學，兼習算（注：壹切西學皆從算學出，西人十歲外，無人不學算。今欲采西學，自不可不學算。）	If today we wish to select and use Western knowledge, we should establish official translation offices at Canton and Shanghai. Brilliant students up to fifteen years of age should be selected from those areas to live and study in these schools on double rations. Westerners should be invited to teach them the spoken and written languages of the various nations, and famous Chinese teachers should also be engaged to teach them classics, (Note: All Western knowledge is derived from mathematics. Every Westerners of ten years of age or more studies mathematics. If we now wish to adopt Western knowledge, naturally we cannot but learn mathematics...)
或師西人。或師內地人之知算者俱可	Omitted
聞英華書院、墨海書院藏書甚多，又：俄夷道光二十七年所進書千餘種，存方略館，宜發院擇其有理者譯之。	I have heard that there are large collections of books in the Mei-hua shu-kuan [American Presbyterian Press] and in the Mo-hai shu-kuan [London Missionary Society's Printing Office]. Moreover, in 1847 the Russian barbarians presented us with more than one thousand books which are preserved in the Fang-lueh-kuan [Military Archives Office, in Peking]. These books should be sent to the new schools so that the valuable ones may be selected and translated
由是而曆算之術、而格致之理、而制器尚象之法，兼綜條貫。輪船、火器之外，正非壹端。如曆法，從古無數十年不變之理，今《時憲》以乾隆甲子爲元，承用已逾百年，漸多差忒。甲辰修改，墨守西人舊法，進退其數，不足依據。必求所以正之，聞西人見用地動新術，與天行密合，是可資以授時。又如河工前造百龍搜沙之器，以無效而輟，聞西人海港刷沙，其法甚捷。（注：法用千匹馬大火輪置	Omitted

船旁，可上可下。于潮退時下其輪，使附于沙而轉之，沙四飛隨潮而去。凡通潮之地皆宜之。黃河水性湍急，更無處不宜。自下流迤邐而上，積日累月，锲而不舍，雖欲複由地中行之舊不難。此不特黃河可用，北河亦可用，即南運河徒陽等處亦可用。且東南水利久不治，數日之霖，積月不退，宜于通潮各海口如法浚之，使下流迅駛。則上流雖不浚，而自有壹落千丈強之勢，可收事半功倍之效。）是可資以行水又如農具、織具，百工所需，多用機輪，用力少而成功多，是可資以治生。其他凡有益于國計民生者，皆是奇技淫巧，不與焉。	
三年之後，諸文童于諸國書應口成誦者，許補本學。諸生如有神明變化，能實見之行事者，由通商大臣請賞給舉人，如前議。中國多秀民，必有出于夷而轉勝于夷者。	After three years all students who can recite with ease the books of the various nations should be permitted to become licentiates; and if there are some precocious ones who are able to make changes or improvements which can be put into practice, they should be recommended by the Superintendent of Trade to be imperially granted a chu-jen degree as a reward. As we have said before, there are many brilliant people in China; there must be some who can learn from the barbarians and surpass them
誠今日論學壹要務矣。 夫學問者，經濟所從出也，太史公論治曰：「法後王。本《荀子》爲其近己而俗變相類，議卑而易行也。」愚以爲在今日又宜曰：「鑒諸國」。諸國同時並域，獨能自致富強，豈非相類而易行之尤大彰明較著者？	Omitted
如以中國之倫常名教爲原本，輔以諸國富強之術，不更善之善者哉？且也通市二十年來，彼酋之習我語言文字者甚多，其尤者能讀我經史，于我朝章、吏治、輿地、民情類能言之，而我都護以下之于彼國則瞢然無所知，相形之下，能無愧乎？于是乎不	If we let Chinese ethics and famous [Confucian] teachings serve as an original foundation, and let them be supplemented by the methods used by the various nations for the attainment of prosperity and strength, would it not be the best of all procedures?

得不寄耳目于蠢愚謬妄之通事，詞氣輕重緩急，轉輾傳述，失其本指，幾何不以小嫌釀大釁。	Moreover, during the last twenty years since the opening of trade, a great many of the foreign chiefs have learned our written and spoken language, and the best of them can even read our classics and histories. They are generally able to speak on our dynastic regulations and government administration, on our geography and the state of the populace. On the other hand, our officers from generals down, in regard to foreign countries are completely uninformed. In comparison, should we not feel ashamed? The Chinese officials have to rely upon the stupid and silly "linguists" as their eyes and ears. The mildness or severity, leisureliness or urgency of their way of stating things may obscure the officials' original intent after repeated interpretations. Thus frequently a small grudge may develop into a grave hostility.
夫馭夷爲今天下第壹要政，乃以樞紐付之若輩，無怪彼己之不知，情僞之不識，議和、議戰汔不得其要領	At the present time the most important administrative problem of the empire is to control the barbarians, yet the pivotal function is entrusted to these people. No wonder that we understand neither the foreigners nor ourselves, and cannot distinguish fact from unreality. Whether in peace negotiations or in deliberating for war, we can never achieve the essential guiding principles...
此國家之隱憂也	Omitted
此議行，則習其語言文字者必多，多則必有正人君子通達治體者出其中，然後得其要領而馭之	If my proposal is carried out, there will necessarily be many Chinese who learn their written and spoken languages; and when there are many such people, there will certainly emerge from among them some upright and honest gentlemen who thoroughly understand the fundamentals of administration, and who would then get hold of the essential guiding principles for the control of foreigners...
（注：《地理全志》作于癸醜年，書中于日本國記其欺侮亞墨利加觸石漁船時思報複，于安南國極惡	Omitted

其譏防之嚴、榷稅之重，于緬甸國亦于婿吏橫徵之怨。未幾日本、安南皆有兵端，可見彼國書不可不觀。若能知其未譯之書，所得必倍多）綏靖邊陲，道又在是。如謂六合之內，論而不議，封故見而限咫聞，恐古博物君子必不爾也。	

Appendix 3 Retranslations of "Cai Xixue yi" 採西學議 (On the Adoption of Western Knowledge)

Source Text	Target Text 1	Target Text 2	Target Text 3	Target Text 4
Authored by Feng Guifen 馮桂芬 in 1884.	Translated by Teng and Fairbank in 1954, pp. 51-52.	Translated by Chester C. Tan in 1960, pp. 710-711.	Translated by Mason J. Gentzler in 1977, pp. 70-71.	Translated by David Atwill and Yurong Atwill in 2021, pp. 75-76.
採西學議	On the Adoption of Western Knowledge	On the Adoption of Western Learning	On the Adoption of Western Learning	On the Adoption of Western Learning
《傳》稱左史倚相能讀三墳、五典、八索、九丘，孔安國曰：「九州之志，謂之九丘」，《詩》列十五國之風，康成《譜序》雲：「欲知源流清濁之所處，則循其上下而省之；欲知風化芳臭氣澤之所及，則旁行以觀之。」孔子作《春秋》，有取于百二十國寶書。伊古儒者，未有不博古而兼通今，綜上下縱橫以爲學者也。	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
顧今之天下，非三代之天下比矣，	The world today is not to be compared with that of the Three Dynasties (of ancient China)	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
《周髀算經》有四極、四和與半年爲晝、半年爲夜等說，後人不	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted

得其解。《周禮》職方疏：神農以上有大九州，後世德薄，止治神州。神州者，東南壹州也。驺衍談天，中國名曰赤縣神州，中國外如赤縣神州者九。當時疑爲荒唐之言。顧氏炎武不知西海，夫西洋即西海，彼時已習于人口。《職方外紀》等書已入中國，顧氏或未見，或見而不信，皆未可知。				
今則地球九萬裏，莫非舟車所通，人力所到	Now the globe is ninety-thousand li around, and every spot may be reached by ships or wheeled vehicles	Omitted	Today the world is 90,000 li around. There is no place boats and vehicles do not travel or human power does not reach.	Omitted
《周髀》、《禮》疏、驺衍所稱，壹壹實其地，	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
據西人輿圖所列，不下百國。此百國中經譯之書，惟明末意大裏亞及今英吉利兩國書凡數十種，其述耶穌教者，率猥鄙無足道。	According to what is listed on the maps by the Westerners, there are not less than one hundred countries. From these one hundred countries, only the books of Italy, at the end of the Ming dynasty, and now those of England have been translated into Chinese, altogether several tens of books. Those which ex-pound the doctrine of Jesus are generally vulgar, not worth mentioning.	Omitted	According to Westerners' maps, there are at least one hundred countries in the world. Of the books of these hundred countries, only those from Italy from the time of the end of the Ming and from present-day England, numbering in all several tens, have been translated. Among them, those about Christianity are trivial and vulgar, not worthy of mention.	Omitted
此外如算學、重學、視學、光	Apart from these, Western books on mathematics,	Western books on mathematics, mechanics, optics,	In addition to these, books on mathematics,	

學、化學等皆得格物至理，輿地書備列百國山川厄塞、風土物產，多中人所不及。	mechanics, optics, light, chemistry, and other subjects contain the best principles of the natural sciences. In the books on geography, the mountains, rivers, strategic points, customs, and native products of the hundred countries are fully listed. Most of this information is beyond the reach of our people.	light, and chemistry contain the best principles of the natural sciences. In the books on geography, the mountains, rivers, strategic points, customs, and native products of the hundred countries are fully listed. Most of this information is beyond the reach of the Chinese people.	mechanics, optics, light, chemistry, and others all contain the ultimate principles of under- standing things. The books on geography thoroughly list the mountains, rivers, strategic points, customs, and products of the hundred countries. Most of this information is unavailable to people in China.	
昔鄭公孫揮能知四國之爲，子產能舉晉國實沈、台駘之故，列國猶有其人，可以中華大壹統之邦而無之乎？亦學士之羞也。	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
今之習于夷者曰「通事」，其人率皆市井佻達遊閑，不齒鄉裏，無所得衣食者始爲之。其質魯、其識淺、其心術又鄙，聲色貨利之外，不知其他，且其能不過略通夷語、間識夷字，僅如貨目數名與俚淺文理而已，安望其留心學問乎？	Nowadays those familiar with barbarian affairs are called “linguists.” These men are generally frivolous rascals and loafers in the cities and are despised in their villages and communities. They serve as interpreters only because they have no other means of making a livelihood. Their nature is boorish, their knowledge shallow, and furthermore, their moral principles are mean. They know nothing except sensual pleasures and material profit. Moreover, their ability consists of nothing more than a slight knowledge of the barbarian language and	Omitted	Omitted	Currently those who are aware of Western affairs are called tongshi [translators]. All are people who engage in trivial affairs, and are not valued by the community. Simply looking for a way to feed and clothe themselves they begin to work for Westerners. Their character is rough and shallow, their intentions despicable. All they lust for is profit. In addition, their knowledge of Western languages is limited mostly to merchandise, commerce and slang. How could they be expected to pay attention to scholarly topics?

	occasional recognition of barbarian characters, which is limited to names of commodities, numerical figures, some slang expressions and a little simple grammar. How can we expect them to pay attention to scholarly studies?			
惟彼亦不足于若輩，特設義學，招貧苦童稚，兼習中外文字。不知村童沽豎，穎悟者絕少。（注：余嘗于吾鄉村塾、義塾中物色異敏之士，數十年無所得）而又漸染于夷場習氣。故所得仍與若輩等。	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Since there was a need, we established special schools to enroll children from poor families to study both Chinese and Western languages. However, most of those village children are misbehaved and not very intelligent (for several decades I have even tried to find smart students from my own villages and found none). Even worse, they slowly adopted the bad habits of Westerners. What we achieved is no better than previous ones.
今欲采西學，宜于廣東、上海設壹翻譯公所，選近郡十五歲以下穎悟文童，倍其廩饩，住院肄業，聘西人課以諸國語言文字；又聘內地名師，課以經史等學，兼習算（注：壹切西學皆從算學出，西人十歲	If today we wish to select and use Western knowledge, we should establish official translation offices at Canton and Shanghai. Brilliant students up to fifteen years of age should be selected from those areas to live and study in these schools on double rations. Westerners should be invited to teach them the spoken and written languages of the various nations, and	If we wish to use Western knowledge, we should establish official translation bureaus in Guangzhou and Shanghai. Brilliant students not over fifteen years of age should be selected from those areas to live and study in these schools on double allowances. Westerners should be appointed to teach them the spoken and written languages of the various nations,	If we wish to adopt Western knowledge, we should establish an official translation bureau at Canton and Shanghai. Young students, fifteen years of age or younger, who are quick at understanding, should be selected from nearby areas and given double stipends to live at these schools and learn this profession. Westerners should be appointed to teach the spoken and written	If we want to use Western learning, it is necessary to create translation academies at Guangdong and Shanghai. We should select gifted children younger than fifteen-years-old from the nearby areas and offer them a small living allowance along with room and board. Westerners from a variety of countries should be hired to teach their

外，無人不學算。今欲采西學，自不可不學算。）	famous Chinese teachers should also be engaged to teach them classics, (Note: All Western knowledge is derived from mathematics. Every Westerners of ten years of age or more studies mathematics. If we now wish to adopt Western knowledge, naturally we cannot but learn mathematics...)	and famous Chinese teachers should be engaged to teach them classics, history, and other subjects. At the same time they should learn mathematics. (Note: All Western knowledge is derived from mathematics.... If we wish to adopt Western knowledge, it is but natural that we should learn mathematics)	languages of the various countries, and famous teachers from within China should teach the classics, history, and other subjects. The students should concurrently learn mathematics. (Note: All Western learning derives from mathematics. Westerners above the age of ten all study mathematics. Hence, if we wish to adopt Western learning, we must study mathematics.)	spoken and written languages. Famous scholars from within China should be hired to teach the classics, history, and other subjects. The students should at the same time be taught mathematics. (All Western learning derives from mathematics.)
或師西人。或師內地人之知算者俱可	Omitted	Omitted	It can be taught either by Westerners or by Chinese who understand the subject.	Omitted
聞英華書院、墨海書院藏書甚多，又：俄夷道光二十七年所進書千餘種，存方略館，宜發院擇其有理者譯之。	I have heard that there are large collections of books in the Mei-hua shu-kuan [American Presbyterian Press] and in the Mo-hai shu-kuan [London Missionary Society's Printing Office]. Moreover, in 1847 the Russian barbarians presented us with more than one thousand books which are preserved in the Fang-lueh-kuan [Military Archives Office, in Peking]. These books should be sent to the new schools so that the valuable ones may be selected and translated	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted
由是而曆算之術、而格致之理、而制器尚象之法，兼綜條貫。輪船、火器之外，正非壹	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted

端。如曆法，從古無數十年不變之理，今《時憲》以乾隆甲子爲元，承用已逾百年，漸多差忒。甲辰修改，墨守西人舊法，進退其數，不足依據。必求所以正之，聞西人見用地動新術，與天行密合，是可資以授時。又如河工前造百龍搜沙之器，以無效而輟，聞西人海港刷沙，其法甚捷。 （注：法用千匹馬大火輪置船旁，可上可下。于潮退時下其輪，使附于沙而轉之，沙四飛隨潮而去。凡通潮之地皆宜之。黄河水性湍急，更無處不宜。自下流迤邐而上，積日累月，锲而不舍，雖欲複由地中行之舊不難。此不特黄河可用，北河亦可用，即南運河徒陽等處亦可用。且東南水利久不治，數日之霖，積月不退，宜于通潮各海口如法浚之，使下流迅駛。則上流雖不浚，而自有壹落千丈強之勢，可收事半功倍之效。）是可資以行水又如農具、織具，百工所需，多用機輪，用力少而成功			I have heard that with their new methods the Westerners have found that the movements of the earth conform closely to those of the heavens. This can be of assistance in fixing the calendar... I have heard that the Westerners' method of clearing sand from harbors is very effective.... This can be of assistance to keep the water flowing. Also, for agricultural and sericultural tools, and things required for the various crafts,	

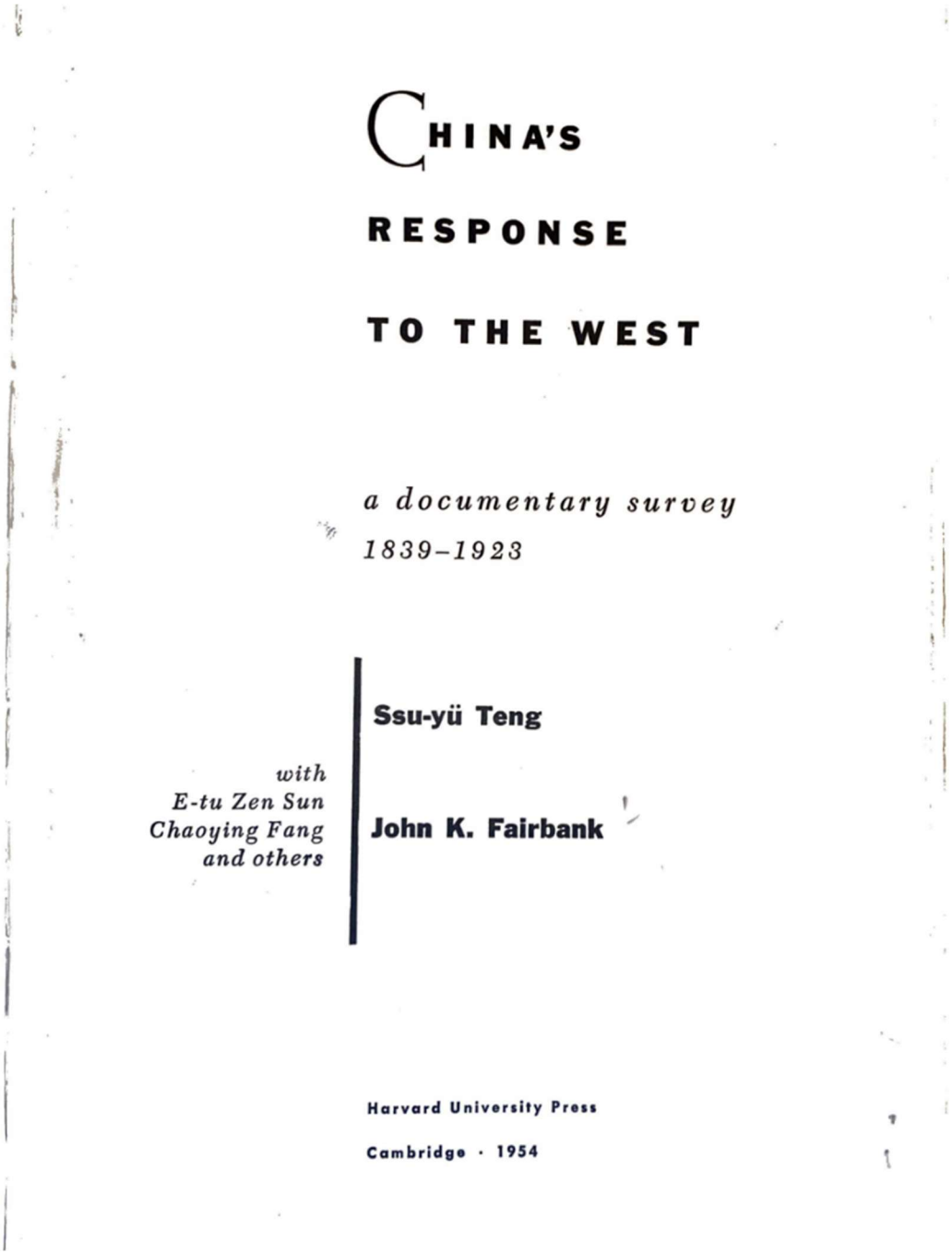
多，是可資以治生。其他凡有益于國計民生者，皆是奇技淫巧，不與焉。			they mostly use mechanical wheels, which require little energy but accomplish much. These can assist people to earn their living. Other things beneficial to the national economy and the livelihood of the people should also be used. We need not bother about rare skills or cunning arts.	
三年之後，諸文童于諸國書應口成誦者，許補本學。諸生如有神明變化，能實見之行事者，由通商大臣請賞給舉人，如前議。中國多秀民，必有出于夷而轉勝于夷者。	After three years all students who can recite with ease the books of the various nations should be permitted to become licentiates; and if there are some precocious ones who are able to make changes or improvements which can be put into practice, they should be recommended by the Superintendent of Trade to be imperially granted a chu-jen degree as a reward. As we have said before, there are many brilliant people in China; there must be some who can learn from the barbarians and surpass them	Omitted China has many brilliant people. There must be some who can learn from the barbarians and surpass them.	After three years, all those students who can readily recite the foreign books should be granted the licentiate degree. And if there are any who are especially bright and adept, who have acquired the ability to apply their knowledge, the Superintendent of Trade should recommend that they be granted the chi-jen degree as a reward, as I previously proposed. There are many intelligent people in China. Surely there are some who, having learned from the barbarians, can surpass them	After three years, all those students who can smoothly read and recite foreign books should be licensed. The especially gifted students who practically apply their learning should be recommended by the Minister of Trade to receive the juren degree as a reward. As I previously indicated, China has many talented minds. Certainly, there are those who having learned from Westerners can surpass them.
誠今日論學壹要務矣。 夫學問者，經濟所從出也，太史公論治曰：「法後王。本《荀子》爲其近己而俗變相類，議卑而易行也。」愚以爲在今日又宜曰：「鑒諸國」。諸國同時	Omitted	Omitted It is from learning that the principles of government are derived. In discussing good government, the great historian Sima Qian said (following Xunzi),“Take the latter-day kings as your models.” This	Omitted The principles of government are derived from learning. In discussing good government, Ssu-ma Ch'ien (Note: following Hsün Tzu) said, " Take the later kings as models," because they were	One of the main responsibilities of government is education. Omitted

並域，獨能自致富強，豈非相類而易行之尤大彰明較著者？		was because they were nearer in time; their customs had changed from the past and were more similar to the present; and their ideas were not so lofty as to be impracticable. It is my opinion that today we should also take the foreign nations as our examples. They live at the same time and in the same world with us; they have attained prosperity and power by their own efforts. Is it not fully clear that they are similar to us and that their methods can easily be put into practice?	closer to his own time, and customs, having changed, were more alike, so that their ideas were easy to implement because they were plain and simple. In my humble opinion, at the present time it is also appropriate to say "Learn from the various nations," for they exist at the same time and in the same world as we do. They themselves have been able to achieve wealth and power. Is it not evident that they are similar to us and hence their ways are easy to implement?	
如以中國之倫常名教爲原本，輔以諸國富強之術，不更善之善者哉？ 且也通市二十年來，彼酋之習我語言文字者甚多，其尤者能讀我經史，于我朝章、吏治、輿地、民情類能言之，而我都護以下之于彼國則瞢然無所知，相形之下，能無愧乎？于是乎不得不寄耳目于蠢愚謬妄之通事，詞氣輕重緩急，轉	If we let Chinese ethics and famous (Confucian) teachings serve as an original foundation, and let them be supplemented by the methods used by the various nations for the attainment of prosperity and strength, would it not be the best of all procedures? Moreover, during the last twenty years since the opening of trade, a great many of the foreign chiefs have learned our written and spoken language, and the best of them can even read our classics and histories. They are generally able to speak on our dynastic regulations and government administration, on our	If we let Chinese ethics and Confucian teachings serve as the foundation, and let them be supplemented by the methods used by the various nations for the attainment of prosperity and power, would it not be the best of all solutions? Moreover, during the past twenty years since the opening of trade, a great number of foreign chiefs have learned our written and spoken language, and the best of them can even read our classics and histories. They are generally able to speak on our dynastic regulations and civil administration, on our geography and	What could be better than to take Chinese ethical principles of human relations and Confucian teachings as the foundation, and supplement them with the techniques of wealth and power of the various nations?	Omitted Since the expansion of trade over the past 20 years, many foreigners have learned our language and studied our literature. Some of them can even read our classics and history, recognize our statutes and administration, and know our geography and customs. Our officials under the rank of Military

輾傳述，失其本指，幾何不以小嫌釀大釁。	geography and the state of the populace. On the other hand, our officers from generals down, in regard to foreign countries are completely uninformed. In comparison, should we not feel ashamed? The Chinese officials have to rely upon the stupid and silly "linguists" as their eyes and ears. The mildness or severity, leisureliness or urgency of their way of stating things may obscure the officials' original intent after repeated interpretations. Thus frequently a small grudge may develop into a grave hostility.	the condition of our people. On the other hand, our officials from the governors down are completely ignorant of foreign countries. In comparison, should we not feel ashamed? The Chinese officials have to rely upon stupid and preposterous **interpreters** as their eyes and ears. The mildness or severity of the original statement, its sense of urgency or lack of insistence, may be lost through their tortuous interpretations. Thus frequently a small grudge may develop into a grave hostility.		Commander [duhu] level know nothing about other countries. By comparison should we not be ashamed? As a result, we have to rely on dull-witted **translators** to communicate. The tone and basic meaning were transmitted, much of the original significance is lacking—and many small inaccuracies have caused big disputes.
夫馭夷爲今天下第壹要政，乃以樞紐付之若輩，無怪彼己之不知，情僞之不識，議和、議戰汔不得其要領	At the present time the most important administrative problem of the empire is to control the barbarians, yet the pivotal function is entrusted to these people. No wonder that we understand neither the foreigners nor ourselves, and cannot distinguish fact from unreality. Whether in peace negotiations or in deliberating for war, we can never achieve the essential guiding principles...	At present the most important political problem of the empire is to control the barbarians, yet the pivotal function is entrusted to such people. No wonder that we understand neither the foreigners nor ourselves and cannot distinguish fact from untruth. Whether in peace negotiations or in deliberating for war, we are unable to grasp the essentials.	Omitted	I lament the fact that our foreign affairs, the key concern for our government, are dependent upon such people. No wonder, we do not understand each other thoroughly, and cannot distinguish the truth from lies. Negotiations for peace or war are carried out without fully understanding the matters at hand.
此國家之隱憂也	Omitted	This is indeed the underlying trouble of our nation.	Omitted	These unresolved issues are our country's unseen peril.

此議行，則習其語言文字者必多，多則必有正人君子通達治體者出其中，然後得其要領而馭之	If my proposal is carried out, there will necessarily be many Chinese who learn their written and spoken languages; and when there are many such people, there will certainly emerge from among them some upright and honest gentlemen who thoroughly understand the fundamentals of administration, and who would then get hold of the essential guiding principles for the control of foreigners...	Omitted	Omitted	If this proposal is implemented, if many more people study foreign languages surely many more people with high standards and character will appear among them. Afterwards, we will understand the crucial elements of our foreign policy and manage them more appropriately.
（注：《地理全志》作于癸醜年，書中于日本國記其欺侮亞墨利加觸石漁船時思報複，于安南國極惡其譏防之嚴、榷稅之重，于緬甸國亦于婿吏橫徵之怨。未幾日本、安南皆有兵端，可見彼國書不可不觀。若能知其未譯之書，所得必倍多）綏靖邊陲，道又在是。如謂六合之內，論而不議，封故見而限咫聞，恐古博物君子必不爾也。	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted	Omitted

Appendix 4 Images of the title page and table of contents of China's Response to the West (1954).



CHINA'S

RESPONSE

TO THE WEST

a documentary survey

1839–1923

Ssu-yü Teng

with
E-tu Zen Sun
Chaoying Fang
and others

John K. Fairbank

Harvard University Press

Cambridge · 1954

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix
Reigns of the Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty xi

PART ONE. THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND 1

Chapter I. Introduction 1

Chapter II. Some Elements in the Chinese Intellectual Tradition 6

a. *Some Early Ch'ing "Nationalist" Thinkers* 7
b. *The Early Jesuit Influence in China* 12
c. *The Attitude of the Ch'ing Court toward the Westerners* 17

PART TWO. RECOGNITION OF CHINA'S NEED TO KNOW THE WEST, 1839–1860 23

Chapter III. Commissioner Lin's Program for Meeting British Aggression 23

Doc. 1. Lin Tse-hsü's Moral Advice to Queen Victoria, 1839 24
Doc. 2. A Letter of Lin Tse-hsü Recognizing Western Military Superiority, 1842 28
Doc. 3. Wei Yuan's Statement of a Policy for Maritime Defense, 1842 30
Doc. 4. Cantonese Denunciation of the British, 1841 36

Chapter IV. The Policy of Conciliation 36

Doc. 5. Ch'i-ying's Method for Handling the Barbarians, 1844 37
Doc. 6. Hsü Chi-yü's Acceptance of Western Geography, 1848 42

Chapter V. The Emergence of the Theory of Self-Strengthening 46

a. *Prince Kung and the Tsungli Yamen* 47
Doc. 7. The New Foreign Policy of January 1861 47
b. *Feng Kuei-fen and his Essays* 50
Doc. 8. On the Adoption of Western Knowledge 51
Doc. 9. On the Manufacture of Foreign Weapons 52
Doc. 10. On the Better Control of the Barbarians 54
c. *The Taiping Rebels' Interest in Modernization* 55
Doc. 11. Hung Jen-kan's Proposals, 1859 57

PART THREE. THE DESIRE FOR WESTERN TECHNOLOGY, 1861–1870 61

Chapter VI. Tseng Kuo-fan's Attitude toward Westerners and their Machinery 61

Doc. 12. Excerpts from Tseng's Letters, 1862 63

Doc. 13. Founding the Shanghai Arsenal 64
Doc. 14. Tseng's Views on Treaty Revision, 1867 65

Chapter VII. Li Hung-chang and the Use of Western Arms 68
Doc. 15. Li's Letter to Tseng Kuo-fan on the Ever-Victorious Army, February 1863 69
Doc. 16. Li's Recommendation of Western Military Methods, June 1863 70
Doc. 17. The Tsungli Yamen Memorial of June 1863 on China's Defensive Strategy 7:

Chapter VIII. Institutions for Linguistic and Scientific Studies (The T'ung-wen Kuan) 73
Doc. 18. Li Hung-chang's Support of Western Studies, 1863 74
Doc. 19. Wo-jen's Objection to Western Learning, 1867 76
Doc. 20. The Tsungli Yamen's Rebuttal, 1867 77

Chapter IX. Tso Tsung-t'ang and the Foochow Shipyard 79
Doc. 21. Tso's Plans of 1866 81

PART FOUR. EFFORTS AT SELF-STRENGTHENING, 1871–1896 85

Chapter X. The Problem of Leadership: Personalities and Institutions 85
a. *Li Hung-chang and his Subordinates* 86
b. *The Empress Dowager's Influence* 88
Doc. 22. Wen-hsiang's Warning of Disaster, 1874 90

Chapter XI. Training Students Abroad 91
a. *The Educational Mission to the United States* 91
Doc. 23. The Proposal of Tseng and Li in 1871 91
Doc. 24. Letters of Li Hung-chang concerning the End of the Mission, 1880–1881 94
b. *Students in Europe* 95
Doc. 25. Ma Chien-chung's Report on his Studies in France, 1877 95

Chapter XII. Diplomatic Missions Abroad 97
Doc. 26. Prince Kung's Discovery of International Law, 1864 97
Doc. 27. A Letter of Kuo Sung-tao from London, 1877 99
Doc. 28. Tseng Chi-tse's Account of his Audience with the Empress Dowager, 1878 102

Chapter XIII. Problems of the Industrialization Effort 108
Doc. 29. Li Hung-chang's Defense of Building Steamships, 1872 108
a. *The Principle of "Government-supervision and Merchant-operation"* 112
Doc. 30. The Criticisms of Cheng Kuan-ying, c. 1892 113
b. *The Debate over Railroads* 116
Doc. 31. Shen Pao-chen's Purchase of the Shanghai-Wusung Railway, 1876 116
Doc. 32. Hsueh Fu-ch'eng's Support of Railroad Building, 1878 117

Chapter XIV. The Attempt at a Positive Foreign Policy 118
Doc. 33. Kuo Sung-tao on the Futility of a War Policy, 1884 121
a. *Building a Modern Navy* 123
Doc. 34. Chang P'ei-lun's Proposal of 1884 124
b. *The Failure at Self-Strengthening* 125
Doc. 35. Li Hung-chang's Conversation with Itō Hirobumi, 1895 126
c. *The Alliance with Russia* 127
Doc. 36. Liu K'un-i's Secret Proposal, July 1895 127
Doc. 37. Chang Chih-tung's Memorial of August 1895 128
Doc. 38. Text of the Sino-Russian Secret Treaty of 1896 130

PART FIVE. THE REFORM MOVEMENT THROUGH 1900 133

Chapter XV. Promoters of Institutional Change 133
a. *The Missionary Influence* 134
b. *Early Chinese Advocates of Reform* 135
Doc. 39. Writings of Wang T'ao 137
Doc. 40. Essays of Hsueh Fu-ch'eng 142

Chapter XVI. K'ang Yu-wei and Some of his Associates 147
Doc. 41. K'ang Yu-wei's Statement for the "Society for the Study of Self-strengthening," 1895 152
Doc. 42. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao on Reform, 1896 154
Doc. 43. T'an Ssu-t'ung on the Need for Complete Westernization 158
Doc. 44. Wang K'ang-nien on Democracy 161

Chapter XVII. The Reform Program of Chang Chih-tung 164
Doc. 45. Selections from Chang's "Exhortation to Study," 1898 166

Chapter XVIII. The Failure of 1898 175
a. *The Court and the Emperor* 175
Doc. 46. K'ang Yu-wei's Conversation with the Emperor, June 1898 177
Doc. 47. Itō's Conversation with the Emperor, September 1898 179
b. *The Conservative Opposition* 180

Chapter XIX. The Boxer Uprising 187
Doc. 48. Proclamations of the Boxers 188
Doc. 49. Memorials of Anti-Boxer Martyrs, 1900 190

PART SIX. REFORM AND REVOLUTION, 1901–1912 195

Chapter XX. The Conservative Reform Movement
a. *The Post-Boxer Program* 196
Doc. 50. The Joint Proposals of Liu K'un-i and Chang Chih-tung, 1901 197

b. *Educational Reform* 205
Doc. 51. A Memorial of Chang Chih-tung and Yuan Shih-k'ai Urging Abolition of the Old Examinations, 1903 206
c. *Constitutionalism* 207
Doc. 52. A Report on Constitutional Governments Abroad, 1906 208
d. *Yuan Shih-k'ai and the Modern Army* 209

Chapter XXI. Economic Development 211
Doc. 53. Sheng Hsuan-huai's Argument for Government Banking, 1896 213
Doc. 54. Economic Views of Chang Chien 216

Chapter XXII. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Nationalism 220
Doc. 55. "The Renovation of the People" by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, 1902 220

Chapter XXIII. Sun Yat-sen's Early Revolutionary Program 223
Doc. 56. The Manifesto of the T'ung-meng-hui, 1905 227

PART SEVEN. IDEOLOGICAL FERMENT AND THE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT, 1912–1923 231

Chapter XXIV. The Search for New Principles 231
a. *The Variety of the New Thought* 231
b. *Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and Freedom in Education* 234
Doc. 57. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's Views on the Aims of Education, 1912 235
Doc. 58. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's Policy for Peking University, 1919 238

Chapter XXV. Early Converts to Marxism 239
Doc. 59. Ch'en Tu-hsiu's "Call to Youth," 1915 240
Doc. 60. Li Ta-chao, "The Victory of Bolshevism," November 15, 1918 246
Doc. 61. Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Argument for Historical Materialism, 1923 249

Chapter XXVI. Hu Shih and Pragmatism in China 251
Doc. 62. Hu Shih, "The Significance of the New Thought," 1919 252
Doc. 63. Hu Shih, "On the Literary Revolution," 1922 255

Chapter XXVII. Sun Yat-sen's Reorientation of the Revolution 258
Doc. 64. Sun Yat-sen's Theory of Knowledge and Action, 1919 260
Doc. 65. Sun Yat-sen's Adoption of the Russian Party System, 1923 264

Chapter XXVIII. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's Review of China's Progress, 1873–1922 267

Postface. A Further Approach to the Problem 274

Index 277

University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

CORA
Cork Open Research Archive
Cartlann Taighde Oscailte Chorcaí

Liu, S. 2025. The translation of Late Qing (c.1839-1912) Chinese literature in the Anglophone world. PhD Thesis, University College Cork.

Please note that Appendix 5 (pp. 254) is unavailable due to a request by the author.

CORA Cork Open Research Archive http://cora.ucc.ie

Appendix 6 Methodology for determining the scholarly reception of the selected texts in CNKI

To investigate how the eight source texts are positioned and interpreted within Chinese academia, a systematic literature survey was conducted using the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI), the largest and most comprehensive database of Chinese scholarly publications. Rather than analysing individual articles in isolation, the study sought to identify dominant research trends, recurring themes, and patterns of scholarly attention surrounding each text. The investigation proceeded in three stages.

Stage One: Systematic Retrieval.

Each of the eight shared texts was searched individually using CNKI's Advanced Search. Searches employed the original Chinese titles, authors' names. Searches were restricted to publications in Chinese and included journal articles, doctoral and master's theses, conference proceedings, and newspapers. To ensure consistency across cases, the same search strategy and filtering criteria were applied to every text. For texts associated with historical figures, for example, Lin Zexu, additional keywords referring to the specific document were combined with the author's name when necessary to improve precision and reduce irrelevant results.

Stage Two: Thematic Classification

Because the search returned thousands of publications for some texts, the analysis focused on identifying recurring research themes rather than conducting close readings of every article. CNKI provides searchable metadata, including titles, keywords, abstracts, subject classifications, which enabled large scale thematic analysis. Each retrieved publication was coded according to its principal research focus. Categories were developed inductively after reviewing a representative sample of the search results, and also based on CNKI's subject classification, such as historical significance; literary analysis; political thought; philosophy; Confucian studies; nationalism and patriotism; textual criticism, ect.. Emphasis will be put on literary works. Where articles addressed multiple themes, coding was based on the primary research objective indicated in the title and abstract.

Stage Three: Comparative Analysis

After thematic coding, the frequency and prominence of different research themes were examined for each text. The analysis will consider what theme/style the author received the greatest scholarly attention; which interpretive frameworks dominated Chinese scholarship; which themes were relatively neglected; and whether the Chinese scholarly profile differed from the presentation of the same text in *China's Response to the West* and *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Rather than relying solely on publication counts, the study examined overall thematic tendencies across literature. This approach allowed the research to identify how Chinese scholars collectively position each author or text within its own intellectual tradition and to compare these priorities with the editorial framing adopted in English-language anthologies.

Data Interpretation

The objective is to establish the dominant patterns of interpretation within the source culture. Consequently, conclusions will be drawn from recurring themes evident across the corpus of publications rather than from isolated studies. Representative examples will be consulted to illustrate major trends identified through the thematic survey.

The table below records the search results in CNKI available as of December 22, 2025:

Author	**Records in CNKI**	**Number of Selected Texts Across the Two Volumes**	**Notes**
Lin Zexu 林则徐	A total of 6,640 records were identified, of which 566 focus on his literary works.	3	A total of 6,640 records related to the topic of "Lin Zexu 林则徐" were identified, covering a wide range of disciplines, including history, politics, archaeology, literature, education, and so on. Among 566 records on his literary works, a number engage with poems written by him during his exile to Xinjiang following the First Opium War. These poems frequently explore themes such as landscape depiction and the expression of personal emotion. In addition, some studies offer literary interpretations or historical analyses of his poetry. By contrast, the essay "Letter to the English

			Ruler,*"* which is included in both volumes, receive relatively limited attention within Chinese scholarship.
Feng Guifen 馮桂芬	A total of 621 records were identified, of which 33 focus on his literary works.	3	Only two records in CNKI relate to "Cai Xixue yi" 采西學議. Both are journal articles, titled: 1. "Comments on the Educational Ideologies in Evaluations of the Adoption of Western Doctrines" (2001); 2. "Feng Guifei's cai Xixue yi" 馮桂芬的采西學議 (Feng Guifei's "On the Adoption of Western Knowledge/Learning", 1991). He has been studied relatively less extensively than other figures listed in the table. His essay "Cai Xixue yi" 采西學議 has received limited attention in Chinese scholarship, in contrast to the greater interest it has attracted in international studies.
Liang Qichao 梁啟超	A total of 15,055 records were identified, of which 2,494 focus on his literary works.	2	Research on Liang Qichao in CNKI spans a broad range of genres and fields, including intellectual history, philosophy, politics, culture, language, art theory, and ethnics, among others. "Xinmin shuo" is associated with 466 records, with research perspectives primarily drawn from philosophy, politics, and intellectual history. On this basis, the text appears to have attracted scholarly attention from researchers both within China and internationally.
Zhang Zhidong 張之洞	A total of 6,891 records were identified, of which 394 focus on his literary works.	2	There are 98 records in CNKI related to his essay *"*Quanxue pian*"* 勸學篇 (Exhortation to Learn, 1898), which was selected in both Fairbank's volume and de Bary's volume. Research on this text in CNKI includes studies of its translation, analyses of his ideas and their influence, and comparative examinations of the essay alongside works by Japanese writers from the same modern period.

Wang Tao 王韜	A total of around 2,000 records were identified, of which 385 focus on his literary works.	2	The records primarily focus on his role as an intellectual and journalist, as well as his contributions to the development of the Chinese newspaper industry.
Xue Fucheng 薛福成	A total of 652 records were identified, of which 68 focus on his literary works.	3	The records focus primarily on his diplomatic activities and political ideas. In addition, his travel diaries from Europe have attracted attention within Chinese scholarship.
Zeng Guofan 曾國藩	A total of 8,585 records were identified, of which 1,106 focus on his literary works.	5	He has been extensively studied by Chinese scholars. Among the records, 2,411 relate to China's neoteric and modern history, 653 focus on biographical studies.

University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

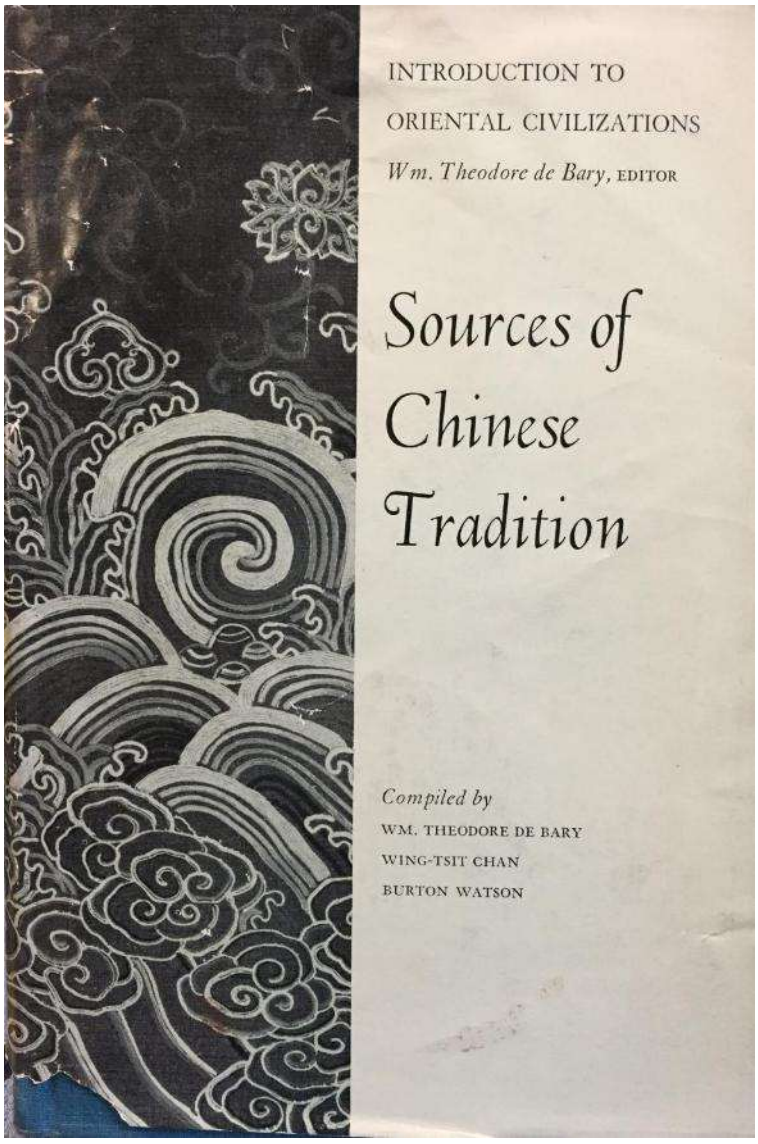
CORA
Cork Open Research Archive
Cartlann Taighde Oscailte Chorcaí

Liu, S. 2025. The translation of Late Qing (c.1839-1912) Chinese literature in the Anglophone world. PhD Thesis, University College Cork.

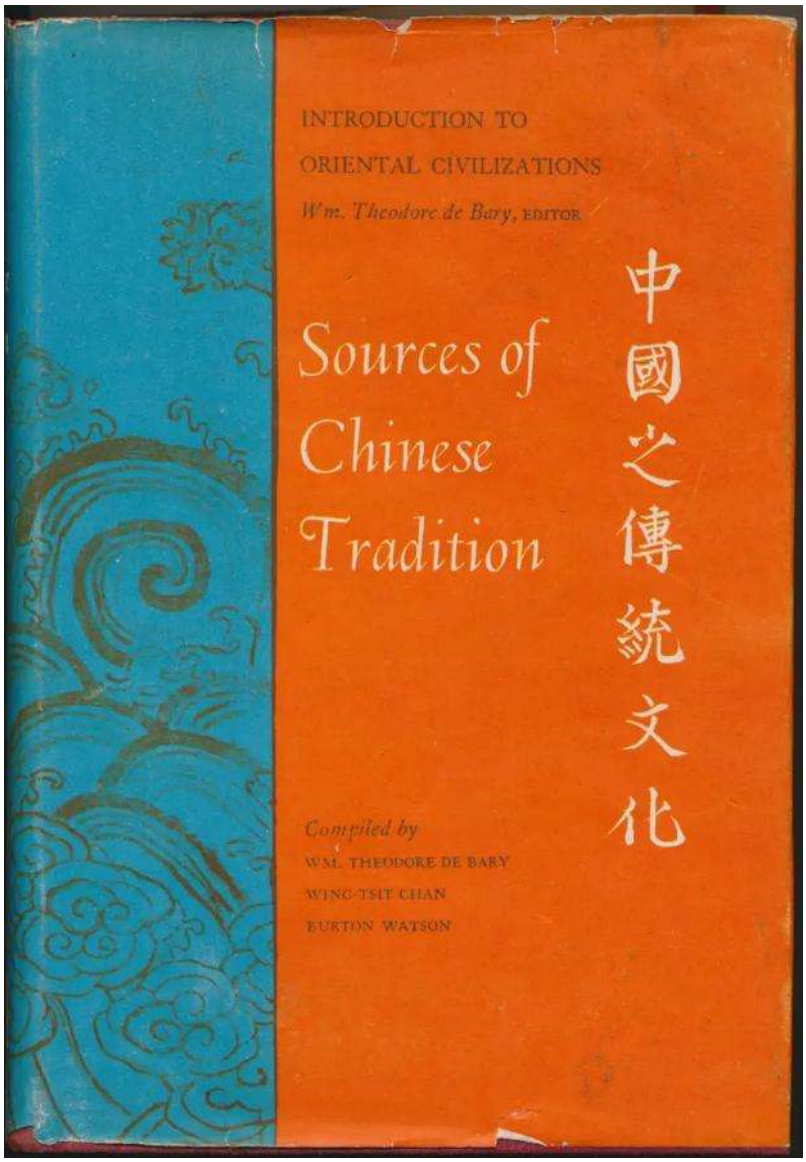
Please note that Appendices 7 & 8 (pp. 259-274) are unavailable due to a request by the author.

CORA Cork Open Research Archive http://cora.ucc.ie

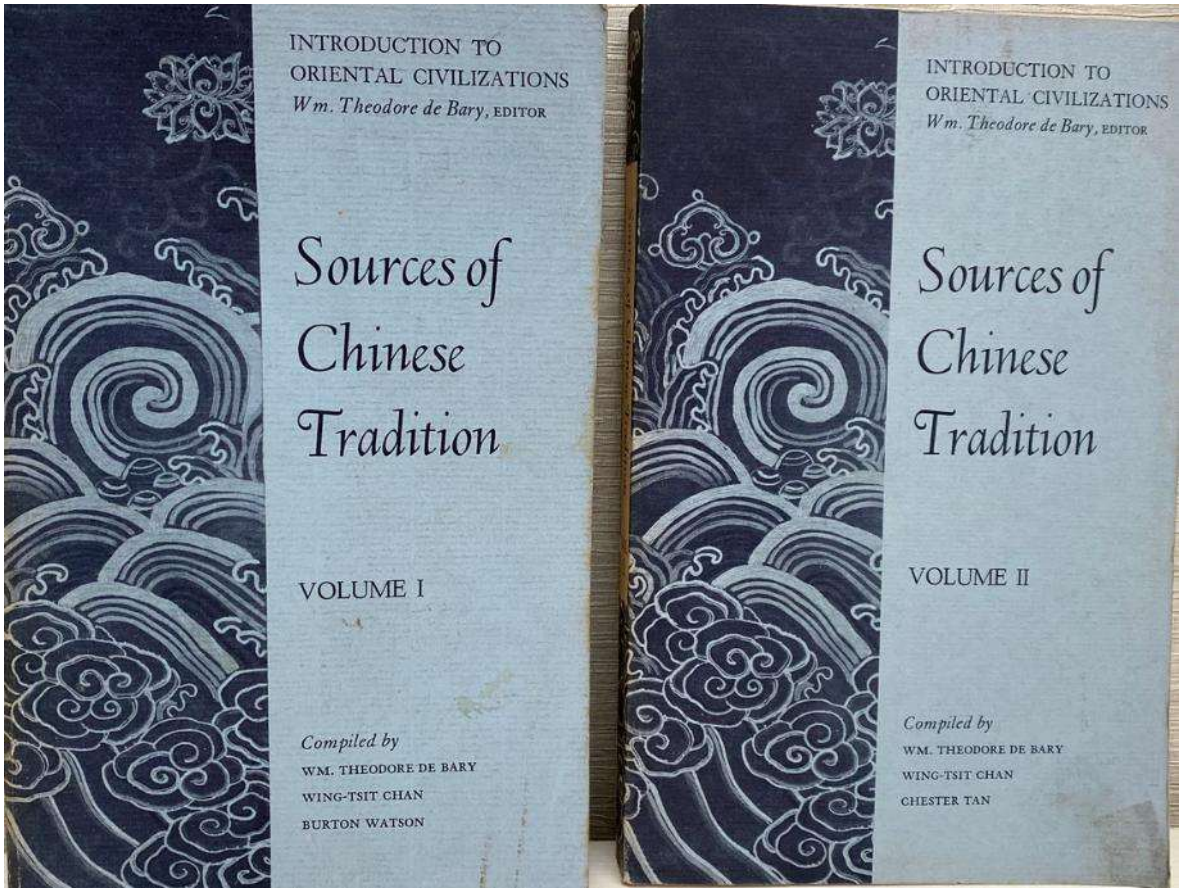
Appendix 9 Cover page images of different editions of *Sources of Chinese Tradition*



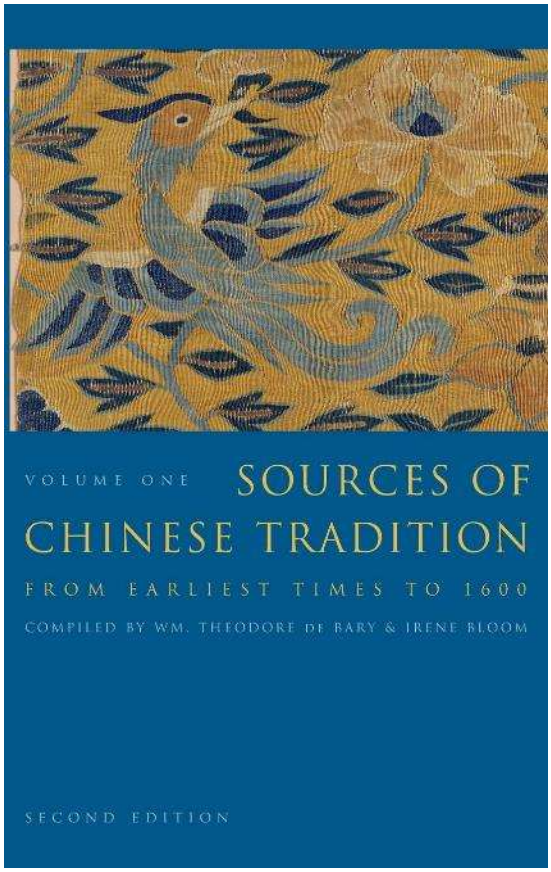
Sources of Chinese Tradition, 1st edition 1960, xxiv, 976pp. Columbia University Press.

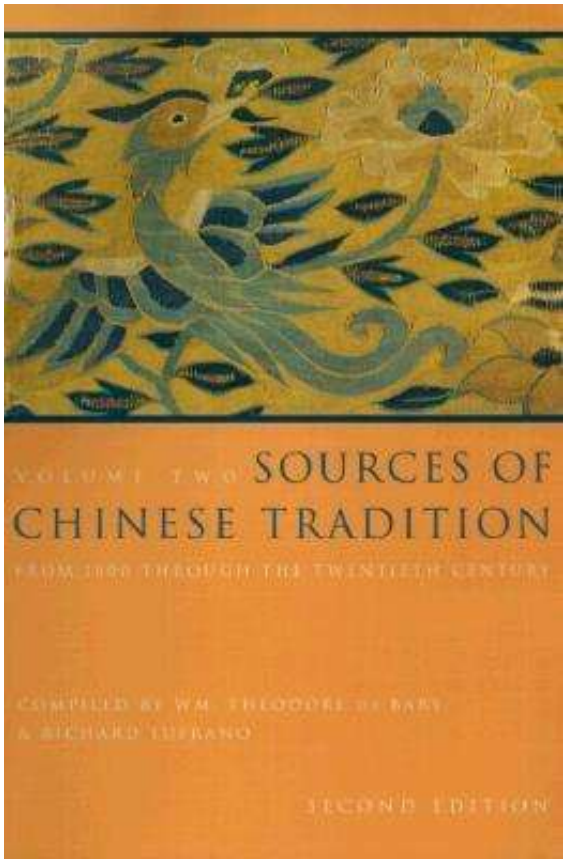


Sources of Chinese Tradition, 1960 edition, second printing, small octavo. xx + 870pp. Columbia University Press.



Sources of Chinese Tradition, two volumes, 1964 edition. Vol.1 xxxiii, 578pp; Vol.2 xii, 322pp. Columbia University Press.





Sources of Chinese Tradition, second edition, vol.1 published in 1999, vol. 2 published in 2000, Columbia University Press.

Appendix 10 Chester Tan's translation of "Xinmin shuo" 新民說 (A People Made New, or Renewing the People, 1902-1905)

(In *Sources of Chinese Tradition* 1960, pp. 755-759.)

Source Text	**Target Text**
敘論	A People Made New
自世界初有人類以迄今日，國於環球上者，何啻千萬？問其巋然今存，能在五大洲地圖占一顏色者，幾何乎？曰：百十而已矣。此百十國中，其能屹然強立，有左右世界之力，將來可以戰勝於天演界者，幾何乎？曰：四五而已矣。夫同是日月，同是山川，同是方趾，同是圓顱，而若者以興，若者以亡，若者以弱，若者以強；則何以故？或曰：「是在地利。」然今之亞美利加，猶古阿美利加，而盎格魯撒遜〈英國人種之名也〉民族何以享其榮？古之羅馬，猶今之羅馬，而拉丁民族何以墜其譽？或曰：「是在英雄。」然非無亞歷山大，而何以馬基頓今已成灰塵？非無成吉思汗，而何以蒙古幾不保殘喘？嗚呼噫嘻！吾知其由。國也者，積民而成。國之有民，猶身之有四肢五臟筋脈血輪也。未有四肢已斷，五臟已瘵，筋脈已傷，血輪已涸，而身猶能存者。則亦未有其民愚陋怯弱渙散混濁，而國猶能立者。故欲其身之長生久視，則攝生之術不可不明；欲其國之安富尊榮，則新民之道不可不講。	Since the appearance of mankind on earth, thousands of countries have existed on the earth. Of these, however, only about a hundred still occupy a place on the map of the five continents. And among these hundred–odd countries there are only four or five great powers that are strong enough to dominate the world and to conquer nature. All countries have the same sun and moon, all have mountains and rivers, and all consist of people with feet and skulls; but some countries rise while Others fall, and some become strong while others are weak. Why? Some attribute it to geographical advantages. But geographically, America today is the same as America in ancient times; why then do only the Anglo–Saxons enjoy the glory? Similarly, ancient Rome was the same as Rome today; why then have the Latin people declined in fame? Some attribute it to certain heroes. But Macedonia once had Alexander, and yet today it is no longer seen; Mongolia once had Chingis Khan, and yet today it can hardly maintain its existence. Ah! I know the reason. A state is formed by the assembling of people. The relationship of a nation to its people resembles that of the body to its four limbs, five viscera, muscles, veins, and corpuscles. It has never happened that the four limbs could be cut off, the five viscera wasted away, the muscles and veins injured, the corpuscles dried up, and yet the body still live. Similarly, it has never happened that a people could be foolish, timid, disorganized, and confused and yet the nation still stand. Therefore, if we wish the body to live for a long time, we must understand the methods of hygiene. If we wish the nation to be secure, rich, and honored, we must discuss the way for the people's being "made new."

Bibliography

Aixela, J. F. 1996. “Culture Specific Items in Translation”. In *Translation, Power, Subversion*, by Román Alvarez, M. Carmen Africa Vidal. Multilingual Matters Ltd, pp. 52-79.

Arkush, R. David and Leo O. Lee 李歐梵. 1989. *Land Without Ghosts: Chinese Impressions of America from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present.* University of California Press.

Atwill, David G., and Yurong Y. Atwill. 2021. *Sources in Chinese History: Diverse Perspectives from 1644 to the Present*. Routledge.

Baker, Mona, and Gabriela Saldanha, eds. 2020. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Baker, Mona. 1992. *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation*. Routledge.

Bassnett, Susan, and André Lefevere, eds. 1995. *Translation, History and Culture*. Cassell.

Bassnett, Susan, and André Lefevere. 1998. *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*. Multilingual Matters.

Bassnett, Susan, and Harish Trivedi. 2012. *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice*. Taylor and Francis.

Bassnett, Susan. 2014. *Translation*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Beal, Edwin G. 1985. “Fang Chaoying”. *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 1985 (77):72-75. https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/jeal/vol1985/iss77/15.

Bernstein, Richard. “William Theodore de Bary, Scholar Who Opened Western Minds to Asian Thought, Dies at 90.” *New York Times*, July 14, 2017.

Bien, Gloria. 2012. *Baudelaire in China: A Study in Literary Reception*. University of Delaware Press.

Bien, Gloria, and Arthur W. Biddle et al. 1996. *Temporary Literature of Asia.* Prentice Hall.

Bodde, Derk. 1960. Review of *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, et al. *Artibus Asiae* 23 (3/4): 254-255. https://doi.org/10.2307/3248000.

Bloom, Irene. 1995. "Remembering Chan, Wing-Tsit". *Philosophy East and West* 45 (4): 466-471.

Bridgman, Elijah Coleman, and Samuel Wells Williams. 1839-1840. "Loss of British Bark Sunda." *The Chinese Repository* 8: 478-86. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044005277884&seq=7

Brunnert, H. S., V. V. Hagelstrom, and N. F. Kolesov, et al. 1912. *Present Day Political Organization of China*. Kelly and Walsh.

Cao, Qing 曹青. 2023. *The Language of Nation-State Building in Late Qing China: A Case Study of the Xinmin Congbao and the Minbao, 1902-1910*. Routledge.

Chan, Leo Tak-hung 陳德鴻. 2003. *One into Many: Translation and the Dissemination of Classical Chinese Literature*. Brill.

Chan, Sin-wai 陳善偉, and David E. Pollard, eds. 2001. *An Encyclopaedia of Translation: Chinese-English, English-Chinese*. The Chinese University Press.

Chan, Wing-tsit 陳榮捷.1953. *Religious Trends in Modern China.* Columbia University Press.

——. 1963. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy.* Princeton University Press.

——.1969. *An Outline and an Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Philosophy.* Yale University Far Eastern Publications.

Chang, Kang-i Sun 孫康宜, and Stephen Owen, eds. 2010. *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature, Volume 2*. Cambridge University Press.

Chang, Kang-i Sun 孫康宜, Haun Saussy, and Charles Yim-tze Kwong 鄺龔子, eds. 1999. *Women Writers of Traditional China: An Anthology of Poetry and Criticism*. Stanford University Press.

Chen, Fukang 陈福康. 1991.“Feng Guifei de Cai Xixue yi” 馮桂芬的采西學議 (Feng Guifei’s “On the Adoption of Western Knowledge/Learning”). In *Zhongguo fanyi* 中國翻譯 (Chinese Translators Journal) 4: 49-50.

Chen, Janet Y. 陳雁, Pei-kai Cheng 鄭佩凱, Michael Elliot Lestz, and Jonathan D. Spence 1999, 2014. *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*. W.W. Norton & Company.

Chen, Runcheng 陳潤城. 2007. “Deng Siyu (Teng Ssu-Yu) and the Development of American Sinology After World War II”. *Chinese Studies in History* 41 (1): 3-40. https://doi.org/10.2753/CSH0009-4633410101.

Chen, Shunyi 陈顺玉. 2017. “Translation and Ideology: A Study of Lin Zexu’s Translation Activities”. *Meta* 62 (2): 313-332.

Chen, Weihong 陈伟红 and Cheng Xiaojuan 程小娟. 2014. "An Analysis of Lin Shu’s Translation Activity from the Cultural Perspective”. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies.* 4 (6): 1201–1206.

Cherrington, Ruth. 1997. *Deng's Revolution: Young Intellectuals in 1980s China.* Macmillan.

Chu, Samuel C., and Kwang-Ching Liu 劉廣京, eds. 1994. *Li Hung-Chang and China’s Early Modernization*. M. E. Sharpe.

Cohen, Paul A. 1984. *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past.* Columbia University Press.

Crossley, Pamela Kyle. 1997. “The Historiography of Modern China”. In *Companion to Historiography*, edited by Michael Bentley. Routledge, pp. 627-644.

Cui, Feng 崔峰. 2022. “Ideology, Patronage, and Manipulation of Translation in *Zouxiang Weilai Congshu*: *With Special Reference to the Translation and Introduction of Max*

Weber". *Frontiers in Communication* 7. https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2022.1031692.

De Bary, William Theodore, Wing-tsit Chan 陳榮捷, and Burton Watson. 1960. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. Columbia University Press.

——.1964. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. In 2 vols. Columbia University Press.

De Bary, William Theodore, and Irene Bloom. 1999, 2000. *Sources of Chinese Tradition: Volume 1: From Earliest Times to 1600 (Second Edition)*. Columbia University Press.

De Bary, William Theodore, and Richard Lufrano.1999, 2000. *Sources of Chinese Tradition: Volume 2: From 1600 through the Twentieth Century (Second Edition)*. Columbia University Press.

De Bary, William Theodore. 1959. "Asian Studies for Undergraduates: The Oriental Studies Program at Columbia College". *The Journal of Higher Education* 30 (1): 1-7. https://doi.org/10.2307/1977840.

Doleželová-Velingerová, Milena. 1980. *The Chinese Novel at the Turn of the Century*. University of Toronto Press.

Duke, Michael S. 1985. *Blooming and Contending: Chinese Literature in the Post-Mao Era*. Indiana University Press.

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley, Cong Zhang, and Ping Yao, eds. 2023. *Chinese Autobiographical Writing: An Anthology of Personal Accounts*. University of Washington Press.

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. 2014. *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook.* The Free Press.

Elliott, Mark. C. 2001. *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*. Stanford University Press.

Evans, Nancy. 1969. "The Banner-School Background of the Canton T'ung-Wen Kuan". *Papers on China: From Seminars at Harvard University* 22a: 89-103.

Evans, P. M. 1982. “The Long Way Home: John Fairbank and American China Policy 1941-72”. *International Journal: Canada’s Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 37 (4): 584-605. https://doi.org/10.1177/002070208203700405.

Even-Zohar, Itamar. 1978/2012. “The Position of Translated Literature Within the Literary Polysystem”. In *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, Routledge, 2012, pp. 162-167. Also in *Papers in Historical Poetics*, Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute, 1978, pp. 21-27.

——.1990. *Polysystem Studies.* Tel Aviv: Porter Institute of Poetics and Semiotics, Duke University Press, special issue of *Poetics Today*, 11:1.

Fairbank, John King, and Kwang-Ching Liu. 1950. *Modern China: A Bibliographical Guide to Chinese Works, 1898-1937*. Harvard University Press.

Fairbank, John King. 1978. *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 10, Late Ch’ing, 1800-1911, Part 1.* Cambridge University Press.

Fairbank, John King, and Kwang-Ching Liu, eds. 1978. *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 11, Late Ch’ing, 1800-1911, Part 2.* Cambridge University Press.

Fairbank, John King. 1964. *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of Treaty Ports, 1842-1854.* Harvard University Press.

——. 1979. “William L. Holland and the IPR in Historical Perspective”. *Pacific Affairs* 52 (4): 587–90.

——.1982. *Chinabound: A Fifty-Year Memoir*. Harper Colophon Books.

Feng, Guifen 馮桂芬, and Dai Yangben 戴揚本. 1998. *Jiaobinlu kangyi: yangwu yundong de lilun gongling* 校邠廬抗議: 洋務運動的理論綱領 (Jiaobinlu Petitions: The Theoretical Outline of the Westernization Movement). Zhongzhou guji chubanshe.

Feng, Guifen 馮桂芬. 1883. “Cai Xixue yi 采西學議”. In *Jiaobinlu kangyi* 校邠廬抗議 (Jiaobinlu Petitions), by Feng Guifen 馮桂芬. Guangren tang.

Feng, Zhijiao 馮誌姣. 2023. “Study on English Translations (1929-2021) of the *Travels of Lao Can*”. PhD Dissertation, Southwest Jiaotong University.

Ge, Guilu 葛桂錄. 2017. *20 Shiji Zhongguo gudai wenxue zai yingguo de chuanbo yu yingxiang* 20 世纪中国古代文学在英国的传播与影响 (The Dissemination and Influence of Ancient Chinese Literature in the 20th Century in the United Kingdom). Daxiang chubanshe.

Gentzler, J. M. 1977. *Changing China: Readings in the History of China from the Opium War to the Present*. Praeger.

Giles, Herbert Allen. 1909. *A History of Chinese Literature*. D. Appleton.

Girardot, Norman J. 2002. *The Victorian Translation of China: James Legge’s Oriental Pilgrimage*. University of California Press.

Gonzalez, David. 1991. “John K. Fairbank, China Scholar Of Wide Influence, Is Dead at 84”. *The New York Times*, Sept. 16, 1991. https://www.nytimes.com/1991/09/16/nyregion/john-k-fairbank-china-scholar-of-wide-influence-is-dead-at-84.html.

Gulick, Edward Vose. 1974. *Peter Parker and the Opening of China*. Harvard University Press.

Hanan, Patrick. 2004. *Chinese Fiction of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. Columbia University Press.

Harrison, Henrietta. 2021. *The Perils of Interpreting: The Extraordinary Lives of Two Translators between Qing China and the British Empire.* Princeton University Press.

Heijns, Audrey. 2003. “*Renditions*: 30 Years of Bringing Chinese Literature to English Readers”. *Translation Review* 66 (1): 30-33. https://doi.org/10.1080/07374836.2003.10523843.

Hickey, William. 1962. *The Prodigal Rake: Memoirs of William Hickey.* Dutton.

Ho, Ping-ti 何炳棣. 1959. *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953*. Harvard University Press.

Holland, William L. 1995. *Remembering the Institute of Pacific Relations: The Memoirs of William L. Holland*. Tokyo: Ryukei Shyosha.

Holley, Joe. 2008. "*George Kao: Writer-Translator Helped Readers in China, U.S. Share Cultures*." *Washington Post* (7 March): B07.

Holoch, Donald. 1980. "The Travels of Laocan: Allegorical Narrative". In *The Chinese Novel at the Turn of the Century*, edited by Milena Dolezelova-Velingerova. University of Toronto Press.

Hooper, Paul F., ed. 1995. *Remembering the Institute of Pacific Relations: The Memoirs of William L. Holland*. Ryukei Shyosha, pp. 77-120.

Hsia, Chih-tsing 夏志清. 2004. "The Travels of Lao Ts'an: An Exploration of Its Art and Meaning (1969)". In *C. T. Hsia on Chinese Literature*, edited by Chih-tsing Hsia. Columbia University Press.

——. 2016. *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*. The Chinese University Press.

——. 2015. *The Classic Chinese Novel: A Critical Introduction*. Revised edition. Chinese University Press.

Hu, Ying 胡英. 2000. *Tales of Translation: Composing the New Woman in China, 1898-1918*. Stanford University Press.

Huang, Alexander C. Y. 2006. "Lin Shu, Invisible Translation, and Politics". *Perspectives*. 14 (1): 55-65. doi:10.1080/09076760608669017

Huang, Lihua 黄利花. 2013. "Lin Zexu waijiao huodong yu jindai zaoqi waishi fanyi" 林则徐外交活动与近代早期外事翻译 (Lin Zexu's diplomatic activities and early diplomatic translation in the modern times). *Lantai shijie* 兰台世界 (Lantai world). (8): 81-82.

Huang, Mingfen 黄鳴奮. 1995. “Jin si shiji yingyu shijie Zhongguo gudianwenxue zhi liuchuan” 近四世纪英语世界中国古典文学之流传 (The Dissemination of Chinese Classical Literature in the English-Speaking World Over the Past Four Centuries). *Xueshu jiaoliu* 学术交流 1995 (3): 125-128.

Huang, Ruoze 黄若澤. 2023. “The Politics of Translation: The Rockefeller Foundation and the China Translation Project in the Early Cold War (1947-1952)”. In *Translation Studies and China: Literature, Cinema, and Visual Arts*, edited by Haiping Yan, Haina Jin, Paul Gladston. Routledge.

Hucker, Charles O. 1985. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford University Press.

Hummel, Arthur W. 1960-1961. Review of *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, by Wm. Theodore De Bary. *Philosophy East and West* 10 (3/4): 169-170. https://doi.org/10.2307/1397014.

Hummel, Arthur W., and Pamela Kyle Crossley. 2018. *Eminent Chinese of the Qing Period: 1644-1911/2*. Berkshire Publishing Group.

Hung, Eva, and David Pollar. 1998. “Chinese Tradition”. In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, edited by Mona Baker. Routledge.

Hung, Eva 孔慧怡. 2000. “Preface”. In *Renditions* 53 & 54: v-xii.

Hunter, William C. 1882. *The “Fan Kwae” at Canton Before Treaty Days, 1825-1844*. Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.

——.1885. *Bits of Old China*. London, K. Paul, Trench, & Co.

Huters, Theodore. 2005. *Bringing the World Home: Appropriating the West in Late Qing and Early Republican China*. University of Hawaii Press.

——. 2005. “Creating Subjectivity in Wu Jianren’s *The Sea of Regret*”. In *Dynastic Crisis and Cultural Innovation: From the Late Ming to the Late Qing and Beyond*. Harvard Asia Center.

——. 2024. “Editor’s Page”. *Renditions* no. 100 (Spring 2024):8.

Iannucci, Amilcare Alfredo, Suzanne Conklin Akbari, and John Tulk. 2008. *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*. University of Toronto Press.

Idema, Wilt, and Beata Grant. 2004. *The Red Brush: Writing Women of Imperial China*. Harvard University Asia Center.

Ji, Lingjie 季淩婕. 2020. “When Literature Became Knowledge: English Encyclopaedic Writings on Chinese Literature from the Late 18th to the Early 20th Century”. *Monumenta Serica* 68 (2): 393-416. https://doi.org/10.1080/02549948.2020.1831222.

K. Scott Wong. 1992. “Liang Qichao and the Chinese of America: A Re-Evaluation of His ‘Selected Memoir of Travels in the New World’”. *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11 (4): 3-24. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27500979

Karl, Rebecca. 2012. “Feminism in Modern China”. *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 6 (2): 235–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/17535654.2012.738873.

Kao, George. 1975. “Taking Stock”. *Renditions* no.4: 4-7.

Larner, John. 2008. “Plucking Hairs from the Great Cham’s Beard: Marco Polo, Jan de Langhe, and Sir John Mandeville”. In *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*. University of Toronto Press.

Lazich, Michael C. 2000. *E. C. Bridgman (1801-1861): America’s First Missionary to China*. Edwin Mellen Press.

Lee, Theresa Man Ling. 2007. “Liang Qichao and the Meaning of Citizenship: Then and Now”. *History of Political Thought* 28 (2): 305-327.

Lee, Tong King 李忠慶. 2020. “The Identity and Ideology of Chinese Translators”. In *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*, edited by Shei, Chris, Zhao-Ming Gao, and Weixiao Wei. Routledge, pp. 244-256.

Lefevere, Andre. 1982. “Mother Courage’s Cucumbers: Text, System and Refraction in a Theory of Literature”. *Modern Language Studies* 12 (4): 3-20.

——. 1992a. *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*. Routledge.

——. 1992b. *Translation, History, Culture: A Sourcebook.* Routledge.

Legge, James. 1861. *The Chinese Classics: Volume 1. Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean.* Clarendon Press.

Lei, Letian 雷樂天. 2025. "Identifying China's Long 1980s." *The China Quarterly*, published online: 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741025101471.

Li, Bo 李波, and Liu Meilong 劉美隆. 2021. "A Study of Stephen Soong's Translation Thoughts and Activities." *Translation Quarterly* 100: 43-56.

Li, Chien-Nung 李劍農. 1956. "The Political History of China, 1840-1928". Translated by Ssu-Yu Teng and Jeremy Ingalls. D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.

Li, T'ien-I 李田意. 1968. *Chinese Fiction: A Bibliography of Books and Articles in Chinese and English.* Yale University Press.

Li, Baojia 李寶嘉. 1974. "Modern Times: A Brief History of Enlightenment: excerpts". Translated by Douglas Lancashire. *Renditions* 2: 127-164.

Li Hongzhang 李鴻章. 1921. *Li Wenzhong gong quanji* 李文忠公全集 (Collected works of Li Wenzhong). Shangwu yinshuguan.

Li Choh-Ming 李卓敏. 1973. "Foreword". *Renditions* 1: 3.

Liji 禮記 (*The Book of Rites*). 1885. Translated by James Legge. Kessinger Publishing.

Li, Zehou 李泽厚. 2008. *Wo yu bashi niandai* 我與八十年代 (The 1980s and I). Sanlian chubanshe.

Liang, Qichao 梁啓超. 1916. *"Xinmin shuo"* 新民說. In *Yinbingshi wenji* 飲冰室文集. Zhonghua shuju.

Liao, Dake 廖大珂. 2015. “Qingdai haiwai maoyi tongshi chutan” 清代海外贸易通事初探 (Inquiry into the Interpreter of Overseas Trade During the Qing Dynasty)”. *Haiyang shi yanjiu* 海洋史研究 (Studies of Maritime History) (1): 258-291.

Liddicoat, Anthony J. 2016. “Translation as Intercultural Mediation: Setting the Scene”. *Perspectives* 24 (3): 347-353. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2015.1125934.

Lin, Shuen-fu 林順夫. 2001. “The Last Classic Chinese Novel: Vision and Design in the Travels of Laocan”. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (4): 549-564. https://doi.org/10.2307/606498.

Liu, E 劉鶚. 1903-1904. Laocan youji 老殘遊記. *Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* 绣像小说 (chapter 1-13). 1907. *Tianjin ririxinwen* 天津日日新闻.

——. 1948. *Mr. Derelict*. Translated by Xianyi Yang 楊憲益, and Gladys Yang. London: Allen & Unwin.

——. 1983. *The Travels of Lao Can*. Translated by Xianyi Yang 楊憲益, and Gladys Yang. Chinese Literature Press.

——. 1989. “Lao Can youji erji” 老殘遊記二集 (The Sequel to Lao Can Youji, Chapter 7-9). Translated by Timothy C. Wong 黃宗泰. *Renditions* 32: 20-45.

——. 1990. *The Travels of Lao Tsan*. Translated by Harold Shadick. Columbia University Press.

Liu, Kwang-Ching 劉廣京. 1963. *Americans and Chinese: A Historical Essay and a Bibliography*. Harvard University Press.

Liu, Lydia He 劉禾, Rebecca E. Karl, and Dorothy Ko, eds. 2013. *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory*. Columbia University Press.

Liu, Lydia He 劉禾. 1995. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937*. Stanford University Press.

——. 2004. *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*. Harvard University Press.

——. 1999. *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations.* Duke University Press

Liu, Shih Shun 劉師舜. 1975. *Vignettes from the Late Ch'ing*. Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Long, Jianyu 龍劍宇. 1998. *Wushizhai lansheng: Peng Dehuai guli jixing* 乌石寨揽胜: 彭德怀故里纪行 (Wushizhai Tourist Attraction: A Journey Through Peng Dehuai's Hometown). Southwest University Publishing Group.

Lundbaek, Knud. 1983. "The Image of Neo-Confucianism in Confucius Sinarum Philosophus". *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44 (1): 19-30.

Mailhac, Jean-Pierre. 1995 "Formulation of Translation Strategies for Cultural References". *European Studies Research Institute*.

Mann, Susan. 2001. *Under Confucian Eyes: Writings on Gender in Chinese History.* University of California Press.

Marx, Karl. 1862. "Colonialism and Modernization: Chinese Affairs". *Die Presse*, July 7. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1862/07/colonialism-modernization.htm.

Mason, Ian. 2009. "Discourse, Ideology and Translation". In *Translation Studies: Critical Concepts in Linguistics*, edited by Mona Baker. Routledge.

Massardier-Kenney, Françoise. 2015. "Toward a Rethinking of Retranslation". *Translation Review* 92 (1): 73-85. https://doi.org/10.1080/07374836.2015.1086289.

Martin, Douglas. 2017. "Wm. Theodore de Bary, Renowned Columbia Sinologist, Dies at 97". *The New York Times*, July 17, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/17/world/asia/wm-de-bary-dead-columbia-university-sinologist.html.

Meyer-Fong, Tobie Sarah. 2013. *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in 19th Century China*. Stanford University Press.

Michael, Franz H. 1966. *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents, Volume I: History*. University of Washington Press.

——. 1971. *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents, Volume 2 and 3*. University of Washington Press.

Millán, Carmen, and Francesca Bartrina. 2013. *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*. Routledge.

Mingxin Xiong 熊明信. 2017. "Protecting Regional Interests: Feng Guifen and His Contributions to Tax Rationalization in Southern Jiangsu in 1853-74". PhD diss., Universität Hamburg.

Morrison, Robert. 1815. *Translations from the Original Chinese: With Notes*. Thoms. https://openlibrary.org/works/OL7553263W/Translations_from_the_original_Chinese?edition=key%3A/books/OL7053399M&mode=all.

Muller, A. Charles. 1992. *The Great Learning.* accessed May 2025, http://www.acmuller.net/con-dao/greatlearning.html.

Munday, Jeremy. 2016. *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*. Routledge.

Munz, Peter. 1997. "The Historical Narrative". In *Companion to Historiography*, edited by Michael Bentley. Routledge, pp. 851-872.

Nathan, Andrew J. 1986. *Chinese Democracy*. University of California Press.

Nida, Eugene A. 1964. *Towards a Science of Translating: With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating*. Brill.

Osterhammel, Jürgen. 2015. *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*. Translated by Patrick Camiller. Princeton University Press.

Pang White, Ann A., ed. 2022. *Readings in Chinese Women's Philosophical and Feminist Thought: From the Late 13th to Early 21st Century*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Peng, Shulin 譚樹林. 2019. "Yuan Dehui qiren qishi kaolun" 袁德輝其人其事考論 (An Overview of Yuan Dehui and His Achievements). *Wenhua zazhi* 文化雜誌 (Review of Culture) 107: 146-152.

Platt, Stephen R. 2013. *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom: China, the West, and the Epic Story of the Taiping Civil War*. Atlantic Books United Kingdom.

——. 2018. *Imperial Twilight: The Opium War and the End of China's Last Golden Age*. Alfred A. Knopf Inc.

Porter, David. 2019. "Bannermen As Translators: Manchu Language Education in the Hanjun Banners". *Late Imperial China* 40 (2): 1-43. https://doi.org/10.1353/late.2019.0006.

Pritchard, Earl H. 1955. Review of *China's Response to the West, a Documentary Survey, 1839-1923,* by Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank. *Research Guide for China's Response to the West, a Documentary Survey, 1839-1923,* by Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank. *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 14 (4): 568-569.

Pu Yang 蒲阳. 2001. "'Cai Xixue yi' zhong de jiaoyi sixiang pingshu" 《采西学议》中的教育思想评述 (Comments on the Educational Ideologies in Evaluations of the Adoption of Western Doctrines). In *Zunyi shifan xueyuan xuebao* 遵义师范学院学报 (Journal of Zunyi Normal College) 4: 82-83.

Pulleyblank, E. G. 1961. Review of *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, by William T. de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson. *Pacific Affairs* 34 (2): 197-199. https://doi.org/10.2307/2752995.

Pym, Anthony. 1996. "Catalogues and Corpora in Translation History". In *The Knowledges of the Translator: From Literary Interpretation to Machine Translation*, edited by Malcolm Coulthard and Pat Odber de Baubeta. Edwin Mellen Press, pp. 167-190.

——. 1992. "Complaint Concerning the Lack of History in Translation Histories". *Livivs* 1: 1-11.

——. 1998. *Method in Translation History*. Routledge.

Qin, Jiang 蒋勤. 2020. "Qingdai Shicang Queshi de keju canyu he wenwu zhi dao" 清代石仓阙氏的科举参与和文武之道 (Civil and Military Examination Participation of the Que Lineage in Shicang Village in the Qing Dynasty). *Shehui* 社会 (Chinese Journal of Sociology) 6 (4): 106-125.

Rawski, Evelyn Sakakida. 1979. *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*. University of Michigan Press.

Robinson, Douglas. 2019. *Transgender, Translation, Translingual Address*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Ropp, Paul S. 1990. *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*. University of California Press.

——. 2002. Review of *Under Confucian Eyes: Writings on Gender in Chinese History*, by Susan Mann and Yu-Yin Cheng. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 61 (3): 1035-1036. https://doi.org/10.2307/3096374.

Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. Vintage Books.

Schäffner, Christina. 2003. "Third Ways and New Centres Ideological Unity or Difference?" In *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology-Ideologies in Translation Studies,* edited by Maria Calzada-Pérez. Routledge, pp. 23-41.

Shei, Chris, Zhao-Ming Gao 高昭明, and Weixiao Wei 魏維曉, eds. 2020. *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Translation*. Routledge.

Sima, Qian 司馬遷.1993. *Records of the Grand Historian. Qin dynasty*. Translated by Burton Watson. Chinese University of Hong Kong; Columbia University Press.

Somers, Harold L. 1996. *Terminology, LSP, and Translation: Studies in Language Engineering in Honour of Juan C. Sager*. John Benjamins Publishing.

Song, Yuwu 宋玉武. 2009. *Encyclopedia of Chinese-American Relations*. McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers.

Soothill, William Edward and Lewis Hodous. 1937. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms with Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index*. Paul Kegan.

Spence, Jonathan D. 2013. *The Search for Modern China*. W.W. Norton & Company.

Steiner, George. 1975. *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*. Oxford University Press.

Stirling, Isabel. 2006. *Zen Pioneer: The Life & Works of Ruth Fuller Sasaki*. Shoemaker & Hoard.

Stray, Christopher. 1998. *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830-1960*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198150138.001.0001.

Sun, Yifeng 孫亦豐, and Dechao Li 李德潮. 2023. *Transcultural Poetics: Chinese Literature in English Translation*. Routledge.

Gürçaglar, Sehnaz Tahir. 2013. "Translation history". In *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, edited by Carmen Millán, Francesca Bartrina. Routledge, pp. 131-143.

Tan, Chester C. 譚春霖. 1955. *The Boxer Catastrophe*. Columbia University Press.

——.1956. "Selected Works. Vol. I: 1926-1936; Vol. II: 1937-1938; Vol. III: 1939-1941, by Mao Tse-Tung". *Political Science Quarterly* 71 (2): 298-299. https://doi.org/10.2307/2145037.

——. 1971. *Chinese Political Thought in the Twentieth Century*. Doubleday.

Tang, Fang 唐昉. 2007. "Lun fanyi faqiren de juese——Lin Zexu fanyi huodong ge'an yanjiu" 论翻译发起人的角色——林则徐翻译活动个案研究 (Initiator's Role in Translation: A Case Study of Lin Zexu). *Chongqing wenli xueyuan bao (shehui kexue ban)* 重庆文理学院学报 (社会科学版) (Journal of Chongqing University of Arts and Science [Social sciences edition]) (2):102-106.

Teng, Ssu-yü 鄧嗣禹, and John King Fairbank. 1954, 1979. *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923*. Harvard University Press.

Toury, Gideon. 2012. *Descriptive Translation Studies—and Beyond*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Turner, Frank M. 2005. "Victorian Classics: Sustaining the Study of the Ancient World". In *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain,* edited by Martin Daunton. British Academy pp. 159-172.

Tytler, Alexander Fraser. 1978. *Essay on the Principles of Translation*. John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Valdeón, Roberto A., and Youbin Zhao 趙友斌. 2020. "Literary Translation Research in China". *Perspectives* 28 (5): 645-658. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2020.1778285.

Van Dyke, Paul Arthur. 2005. *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*. Hong Kong University Press.

Venuti, Lawrence. 1995/2017. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. Routledge.

——. 1998. *The Scandal of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*. Routledge.

Vinay, Jean-Paul, Jean Darbelnet, Juan C. Sager, and Marie-Josée Hamel. 1995. *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Waley, Arthur. 1995. *The Opium War through Chinese Eyes*. Stanford University Press.

Waley-Cohen, Joanna. 1993. "China and Western Technology in the Late Eighteenth Century". *The American Historical Review* 98(5): 1525-1544. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2167065?origin=crossref&seq=1.

Waln, Nora. 1992. *The House of Exile*. Soho Press.

Wang, Ermin 王爾敏. 1976. *Bibliography of Western Translation of Chinese Works*. Taiwan Commercial Press.

Wang, Huiyu 王惠玉. 2024. "Is Confucius a Philosopher or a Saint? Michele Ruggieri's Views from His Translations of the *Four Books*". *Religions* 15 (7): 838. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15070838.

Wang, Kaiyun 王闓運. 1915. "Chen Yiwu shu" 陳夷務疏. In *Xiangyilou quanji* 湘绮樓全集. Guangyi shuju.

——. 2000. "Chen Yiwu shu" 陳夷務疏 (A Memorial on Barbarian Affairs: Excerpts). Translated by Burton Watson. *Renditions* 53 & 54: 27-32.

Wang, Yi-t'ung 王伊同. 1955. Review of *China's Response to the West, A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* by Ssu-yü Teng, John K. Fairbank, E-tu Zen Sun, Chaoying Fang; *Research Guide for China's Response to the West, A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923* by Ssu-yü Teng, John K. Fairbank, E-tu Zen Sun. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 18 (3/4): 489-494.

Watson, Burton. 1958. *Ssu Ma Chien, Grand Historian of China*. Columbia University Press.

——. 1963. "Rejoinder to C. S. Goodrich's Review of Records of the Grand Historian of China". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1): 114-115. https://doi.org/10.2307/597770.

——. 1995. "The Shih Chi and I". *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 17: 199-206. https://doi.org/10.2307/495590.

——. 2012. "An Interview with Burton Watson". Interview by John Balcom. *Translation Review* 70 (1): 7–12. https://doi.org/10.1080/07374836.2005.10523916

White, Theodore H. 1978. *In Search of History: A Personal Adventure*. Harper & Row.

Widmer, Eric, and J. D. Frodsham. 1975. "The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-T'ao. Liu Hsi-Hung and Chang Te-Yi." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 34 (2): 517-518. https://doi.org/10.2307/2052770.

Wilbur, C. Martin. 1982. “J. K. Fairbank: A Fifty-Year Memoir”. *The China Quarterly* 92: 714-719. http://www.jstor.org/stable/653688.

Williams, Raymond. 1976. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Oxford University Press.

Wilkinson, Endymion. 2001. Review of *Sources of Chinese Tradition. Second edition. Volume 1* by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Irene Bloom; *Sources of Chinese Tradition. Second edition. Volume 2* by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Richard Lufrano. *China Review International* 8 (1): 93-101. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23731849.

Wittfogel, Karl August. 1957. *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power*. Yale University Press.

Wong, Lawrence Wang-chi 王宏志. 2007. “Translators and Interpreters During the Opium War between Britain and China (1839-1842)”. In *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*, edited by Myriam Salama-Carr. Rodopi, pp. 41-60.

Wong, Timothy C. 黃宗泰. 1983. “Notes on the Textual History of the Lao Ts'an yu-chi”. *T'oung Pao, Second Series* 69 (1/3): 23-32.

——. 1989. “The Sequel to Lao Can Youji: Translator Introduction”. *Renditions* (32): 20-45.

——. 1989. “The Name "Lao Ts'an" in Liu E's Fiction”. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109 (1): 103-106.

——. 1991. “The Travels of Lao Ts'an by Harold Shadick*”. Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 13 Dec.: 161-163.

——. 2003. *Stories for Saturday: Twentieth Century Chinese Popular Fiction*. University of Hawai’i Press.

——. 2006. *Sherlock in Shanghai.* University of Hawai’i Press.

Wong, Young-tsu 汪榮祖. 2002. *Cong chuantong zhong qiubian: wanqing sixiangshi yanjiu* 从传统中求变：晚清思想史研究 (Seeking Change from Tradition: A Study of the Intellectual History of the Late Qing Dynasty). Baihuazhou wenyi chubanshe.

Woodsworth, Judith.1998. “History of Translation”. In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, by Mona Baker. Routledge, pp.100-105.

Wright, David. 1994. “Tan Sitong and The Ether Reconsidered”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57 (3), 551-575.

Wu, Jianren 吳趼人 (1903-1905). “Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang” 二十年目睹之怪現狀. *Xin xiaoshuo* 新小說 (New Novel) 8-15: 17-24.

——. 1975. *Vignettes from the Late Ch’ing: Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed over Two Decades*. Translated by Shih Shun Liu 劉師舜. Chinese University of Hong Kong.

——. 1975. "Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang” 二十年目睹之怪現狀 (Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed over Two Decades). Translated by Shih Shun Liu 劉師舜. *Renditions* 4: 129-148.

——. 1975. “A Bannerman at the Teahouse”. Translated by Gloria Bien. *Renditions* 4: 148-150.

——. 1995. *The Sea of Regret: Two Turn-of-the-Century Chinese Romantic Novels*. Translated by Patrick Hanan. University of Hawai’i Press.

——. 2005. “Yueyue xiaoshuoxu” 月月小說序 (Preface to The All-Story Monthly). Translated by Theodore Hunters.

——. 2012. “New Story of the Stone: Excerpts”. Translated by Sterling Swallow. *Renditions* 77 & 78: 39-69.

Wu, Jianren 吳趼人, and Fu Lin 符霖. 1995. *The Sea of Regret: Two Turn-of-the-Century Chinese Romantic Novels*. Translated by Patrick Hanan. University of Hawaii Press.

Wu, You 吳攸. 2022. “A Fictional Prescription for National Emancipation: The Translation of Political Novels in Late Qing China”. *Interventions International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 24 (8): 1328-1344.

Wu, Tao 吳濤. 2024. “An Analysis of the Image Positioning and Literary Characteristics of Burton Watson’s English Translation of Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji)”.

Chinese Studies in History 57 (1): 47-57. https://doi.org/10.1080/00094633.2024.2340917.

Xie, Tianzhen 谢天振 et al. 2009. *Zhong-Xi fanyi jianshi* 中西翻译简史 (A Brief History of Translation in China and the West). Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

Yang, Guozhen 杨国桢. 1981. *Lin Zexu zhuan* 林则徐傳 (Lin Zexu's Biography). Renmin chuban she.

Yang, Xiao 楊曉. 2002. "Liang Qichao's Political and Social Philosophy". In *Contemporary Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Chung-Ying Cheng 成中英 and Nicholas Bunnin. Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Yang, Xiong 揚雄. 2013. *Fayan* 法言(Exemplary Figures). Translated by Michael Nylan. University of Washington Press.

Ye, Weili 葉維力. 2001. *Seeking Modernity in China's Name: Chinese Students in the United States, 1900-1927*. Stanford University Press.

Ye, Xiaoqing 葉曉菁. 2003. *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life 1884-1898.* University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies.

Yu, Zhongli 俞中立. 2015. *Translating Feminism in China: Gender, Sexuality and Censorship*. Routledge.

Yu, Ziqiao 于子橋. 2001. "2000 Nian Meiguo dongya yanjiu xianzhuang" 2000 年美国东亚研究现状 (The Current State of American Studies of East Asia in 2000). *Guoji zhengzhi yanjiu* 国际政治研究 (The Journal of International Studies) 3: 135-141.

Yuan, Tung-li 袁同禮. 1958. *China in Western Literature: A Continuation of Cordier's Bibliotheca Sinica*. Yale University Far Eastern Publication.

Zarrow, Peter. 1988. "He Zhen and Anarcho-Feminism in China". *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47 (4): 796-813. https://doi.org/10.2307/2057853.

——. 2023. *Thoughts from the Ice-Drinker's Studio: Essays on China and the World.* Penguin Random House.

Zeng, Pu 曾樸. 1982. “A Flower in a Sinful Sea”. Translated by Rafe de Crespigny and Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁. *Renditions* 17 & 18: 137-192.

Zhang, Zhidong 張之洞.1937. “Quanxue pian” 勸學篇 (Exhortation to Learn). In *Zhang Wenxiang gong quanji* 張文襄公全集, by Zhang, Zhidong 張之洞. Chuxue jinglu chongyin.

Zhang, Haihui 張海慧, Xue, Zhaohui 薛朝暉, and Jiang, Shuyong 蔣樹勇, et al. 2013. *A Scholarly Review of Chinese Studies in North America*. The Association for Asian Studies, Inc.