

# **Translation and Ideology: A Study of Lin Zexu's Translation Activities**

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## **Statement of Candidate**

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled “Translation and Ideology: A Study of Lin Zexu’s Translation Activities” has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University and Wuhan University under a cotutelle arrangement.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Shunyi Chen (Student ID: )

18<sup>th</sup> November, 2016

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## Abstract

Lin Zexu (1785-1850) was an outstanding statesman, thinker and poet in China during the Qing Dynasty. He was known as a ‘national hero’ during the Opium War period (1838-1841) for his anti-opium campaign and anti-invasion endeavours in China. He was referred to as the first person in modern China to ‘open his eyes to observe the world’ as he advocated Western learning and organised Western learning translation. As a patron of translation, Lin organised a series of translation activities from 1838 to 1840 in his role as High Imperial Commissioner of the Qing Court under Emperor Daoguang. This included newspaper translation, book translation, and diplomatic correspondence translation, covering the opium trade, Western geography and laws, etc. These activities had a far-reaching impact on the late Qing society.

A number of studies have been conducted by history scholars on the historical figure of Lin Zexu, covering nearly every aspect of his life and career. However, only a few studies on his translation activities have been conducted by translation scholars. A number of historical facts in relation to Lin’s translation activities have been discovered and analysed, however, textual studies of both source texts and translated texts under Lin’s patronage have been rarely conducted.

This research aims to study Lin Zexu’s translation activities from the perspective of ideology, in particular, patron’s ideology. It addresses the holistic issue of how Lin exerted his ideological influence upon various links in the translational chain: selection of translators, selection of source texts, translation quality control, translation strategies, and target text examination. It attempts to conduct a parallel comparative study on both available source texts and target texts pertinent to Lin’s translation activities with a view to uncovering the ideological issues reflected in the translated texts.

This research shows that Lin achieved his translation purposes by exerting his ideology as a patron over various links in the translational chain. Lin’s selection criteria for translators conformed to his definition of ‘talent’, which prioritised political and ideological reliability. His selection of source texts demonstrated his pragmatism in that they all served the following objectives: 1) to gain knowledge for his anti-opium campaign, and 2) to seek intelligence for his fight against British invasion. In order to exert ideological manipulation over translation quality, Lin employed the methods of back-translation, re-translation, and target text examination. Via his ideological interpellation or subjectification of his translators, Lin injected his ideologies into the minds of his translators who, in turn, applied these ideologies to the actual translation process. To achieve Lin’s ideological objectives, his translators employed strategies of sinolisation, uglification, dwarfing, and defamiliarisation, all of which revealed Lin’s ethnocentrism and feudalism.

A study of Lin’s translation activities sheds light on how patrons exert their ideological influence on various aspects of translation, and provides insights into selection of translators, selection of source texts, translation quality control, selection of translation strategies, and translator and interpreter training.

**Keywords:** Lin Zexu; translation and ideology; the patron’s ideology; patronised translation; the Opium War

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## Chapter 1 Introduction

This section introduces the research objects, research objectives, research questions, and research methodology. It also discusses the significance of the research and outlines the structure of this thesis.

### 1.1 Research Objects

This research examines Lin Zexu's translation activities from the perspective of ideology. It is first a study of the personage of Lin Zexu<sup>1</sup>. Lin Zexu (1785-1850) was an outstanding statesman and national hero during the Opium War period (1838-1841) (Yang, 1981). He was born in Houguan (now Fuzhou City), Fujian Province. In his career as an official he served as Governor-General of Huguang (now the provinces of Hunan and Hubei), Governor-General of Shan'gan (now the provinces of Shanxi and Gansu) and Governor-General of Yungui (now the provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou) in the Qing government. In late 1838, Lin was appointed as Imperial Plenipotentiary Commissioner by Emperor Daoguang to tackle opium affairs in Guangdong (Chen, 1979). As a scholar-official in the Qing government, Lin differed from other court officials as well as the Emperor in that he believed knowledge of foreign countries was strategically important if China was to resist the incursion of foreign powers. In particular, during the Opium War period, Lin put himself at odds with the dominant ideology of the time by patronising a translation unit aimed at gaining information about the English which would assist China in resisting foreign invasion.

Lin Zexu's translation activities covered newspaper translation, book translation, diplomatic correspondence translation, and oral translation. His book translation, in turn, covered opium-related translation, geographic translation, and legal translation. Figure 1 shows a general overview of Lin's translation activities:

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<sup>1</sup> The name is expressed according to Chinese tradition: the surname, Lin, goes before the given name, Zexu. He is referred to as Lin for short. All Chinese personal names in this thesis are expressed in this way except for the name of the author of the present thesis.

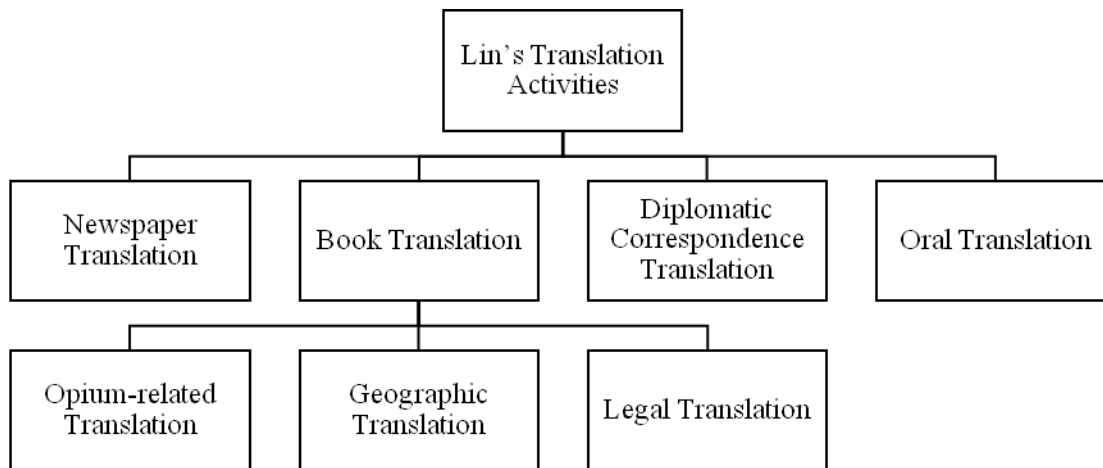


Figure 1. Lin's translation activities

## 1.2 Research Objectives

This research aims to identify how translation activities are affected by the patron's ideology, and how patrons exert their ideology over various links of the translational chain. It also aims to identify how and why Lin Zexu organised the translation activities, and what implications his translation activities offer us. It attempts to show that:

1. the translation activities organised by Lin had a huge impact on social development in China;
2. the translation activities organised by Lin revealed his ideology, both ideology of translation and ideology in translation;
3. Lin's ideological manipulation in the translation activities was a deliberate act;
4. Lin's translation activities were successful in providing reference for his anti-opium campaign and fight against British invasion.

## 1.3 Research Questions

This research addresses three main questions:

1. What texts did Lin Zexu organise for his translators to translate?
2. How did Lin Zexu organise, manage, and intervene in the translation activities?
3. Why did Lin Zexu organise the translation activities in this way?

## 1.4 Research Methodology

This research adopts documentary, and historical and archival research methods. In

terms of the documentary method, it attempts to cover the translated works of Lin Zexu's translation activities, and to conduct a parallel study of the translated works alongside the originals (contrastive approach) on lexical and syntactic levels, and a detailed and careful study of the para-texts (e.g. prefaces, postscripts), reviews, etc. With regard to the historical and archival method, this research explores, analyses and interprets documents and archives related to Lin's translation activities. These include primary material included in Lin's diaries, correspondences, memorials, and proclamations. It also references his biographies, pertinent historical records and archives, together with research papers and books written about Lin, covering a wide range of textual and historical data. Class analysis will be employed to explore Lin's ideological development and ideologies involved in translation along with his class, class relations, class conditions, and the social structures of his time. The research adopts both synchronic and diachronic research methods. Regarding the synchronic method, target texts are located in the era in which they were translated, and analysed and evaluated in terms of the ideology and poetics of that time. With the diachronic method, target texts are compared with today's translations which are free from ideological intervention to identify the differences between them. In addition, this research adopts a descriptive rather than prescriptive research method.

The textual data come from the following four sources: 1) source newspapers and target newspapers, 2) source books and target books, 3) source diplomatic and official letters and target ones, and 4) unrecorded oral texts and their translated written texts. Table 1 presents a list of the source text and target text pairs:

Table 1. List of sources/source texts and target texts as data collected for the thesis

Source/Source Text	Target Text
<i>The Canton Press</i>	澳门新闻纸 ( <i>ao men xin wen zhi</i> , ‘Macao News’)
<i>The Canton Register</i>	
<i>The Canton Register</i>	澳门杂录 ( <i>ao men za lu</i> , ‘Macao Miscellaneous Notes’, extinct)
<i>The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China</i>	在中国做鸦片贸易罪过论 ( <i>zai zhong guo zuo ya pian mao yi zui guo lun</i> , ‘The Sins of Doing Opium Trade in China’, extinct)
<i>The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7</i>	华事夷言 ( <i>hua shi yi yan</i> , ‘Barbarian Writings concerning Chinese Affairs’)
<i>Unrecorded oral texts</i>	洋事杂录 ( <i>yang shi za lu</i> , ‘Miscellaneous Notes on Foreign Affairs’)
<i>An Encyclopaedia of Geography</i>	四洲志 ( <i>si zhou zhi</i> , ‘Geography of the Four Continents’)
<i>The Law of Nations</i>	各国律例 ( <i>ge guo lv li</i> )
谕英国国王书 ( <i>yu ying guo guo wang shu</i> )	<i>Letter to the Queen of England</i>

Table 1 provides a complete list of Lin’s translations and their source texts. As well as being a minor source of *Macao News*, the *Canton Register* was mostly translated to create a separate newspaper in Chinese named *Ao Men Za Lu* (Macao Miscellaneous Notes) (Shao & Lin, 2002). Unfortunately, the translated text *Ao Men Za Lu* (Macao Miscellaneous Notes) is extinct, as is the translated text ‘在中国做鸦片贸易罪过论’ (*zai zhong guo zuo ya pian mao yi zui guo lun*). As a result, it is impossible to conduct a comparative study of the source text and target text.

## 1.5 Significance of the Research

The significance of this research is that it both enriches the study of Lin’s translation activities, and assists towards a coherent attitude to translation in China.

### 1.5.1 Enriching the Study of Lin Zexu’s Translation Activities

Lin Zexu’s translation activities have rarely been studied in the field of translation. Among the few earlier studies, only general information such as the books to have been translated and details of Lin’s translators are mentioned. Additionally, few text-based studies



on Lin's translation activities have been conducted. Due to the unavailability of some source texts and target texts in China, a parallel study between the source texts and target texts is not feasible. The present research presents an overview and comprehensive picture of Lin's translation activities by uncovering his translation facts and analysing the source texts alongside their originals. As such, this research contributes to the study of translation history in Translation Studies by mining hitherto unknown historical translation data of Lin Zexu.

#### 1.5.2 Enlightening China's Translation Today

One of the purposes of a translation history study is to draw lessons from historical information regarding translation in order to provide insights into today's translations. The present research reflects a series of issues concerning translation which deserve further consideration such as conflict between dominant ideology and individual ideology, the patron's ideology, state patronage, the status of translators and interpreters, translator and interpreter training, translation quality control, and selection of translation strategies. Lin's translation activities provide tentative answers to some of the issues and provide us with examples in some aspects. However, no ready-made models are available to follow. We have to locate these issues in the context of today's China, which is at a critical stage of its modernisation drive and in the era of the 'Chinese Dream', and in today's world which is in the process of globalisation, to seek suitable answers. Peace and development have become the two themes of the contemporary world in which every state enjoys equal rights and every individual enjoys equal human rights. Some of the out-dated ideologies revealed in Lin's translation activities should be rectified and developed to meet the needs of today's international relations.

#### 1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of three sections, namely, introduction, body and conclusion, with the body section comprising five chapters. In these chapters, Lin's translation activities are first described, and then analysed from the perspective of ideology.

The Introduction introduces the research objects, research objectives, research questions, research methodology, significance of the research, and structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 is the literature review, summarising previous research on Lin Zexu's

translation activities in China and points out the limitations of previous research and the tasks of the present research.

Chapter 3 is the theoretical basis of this research, dwelling on the notion of ideology and its relationship with translation. It reviews the developments (its source and flow) of the notion of ideology and research on translation and ideology. It combines ideology theory and post-colonialism theory, focusing on key concepts in each theory. Drawing on previous definitions of ideology, this researcher defines the notions of ideology, ideology in translation, and ideology in translation from a post-colonial perspective. It distinguishes ‘ideology of translation’ and ‘ideology in translation’, and discusses three forms of ideology related to the present research: one of the former (pragmatism) and two of the latter (ethnocentrism and feudalism). It also addresses the ideological subjectification of translators and translation patronage to demonstrate how translators are interpellated or hailed and how they are patronised.

Chapter 4 answers the first research question. It provides an introduction to Lin’s translation activities and his translation patronage. Lin’s translation activities include newspaper translation, book translation, diplomatic correspondence translation, and translation of oral texts. His translation patronage was undifferentiated in that the economic, status and ideological components were merged together. It also explores the significance of Lin’s translation activities.

Chapters 5 and 6 answer the second research question. Chapter 5 discusses Lin’s direct participation in the translation activities, namely, translator selection, source text selection, translation quality control, and determining and interaction with readership. Lin used various means to conduct translation quality control: back-translation, re-translation, and target text examination, which further covers target text polishing and note-taking.

Chapter 6 discusses Lin’s indirect participation in the translation activities as evidenced by his interventions in his translators’ translation strategies. In order to achieve Lin’s ideologies, his translators employed four main strategies: sinolisation, dwarfing, uglification, and defamiliarisation.

Chapter 7 answers the third research question from an ideological perspective. It first

addresses Lin's motivations for the translation activities, then explores the ideological factors behind the translation activities. Regarding the ideological factors, this researcher tries to locate answers from the socio-historical context in which the translation activities take place and in his ideological development. An attempt is also made to discover the ideologies involved or revealed in the translation activities, especially his translator and source text selection and his translators' translation strategies.

Chapter 8 explores the implications of Lin's translation activities and the insights they provide into translation in China today. The activities provide insights into our understanding of the conflict between dominant ideology and individual ideology, the interaction between the patron's ideology and the translator's ideology, the status of translators and interpreters, translator and interpreter training, translation quality control, and translation strategies.

The Conclusion summarises the major findings, outlines the contributions and limitations of the present research, and proposes several suggestions for future studies.

## Chapter 2 Literature Review

Lin Zexu, as an important historical figure in modern China, has been widely studied both in China and overseas. However, his translation activities being an important part of his political career, deserve more academic attention because they helped open his eyes to the outside world, and eventually led to many decisions which he made in his anti-opium campaign and his attempts to thwart England's invasion of China. Their significance in Chinese modern history and Chinese modern translation history cannot be ignored. This chapter commences with a brief review of previous research on the historical figure of Lin Zexu, and then reviews the previous research on his translation activities in the hope of identifying gaps in that research which will be the subject of the present research.

### 2.1 Previous Research on Lin Zexu

Lin Zexu has been widely studied both inside and outside of China.<sup>2</sup> Previous research on Lin Zexu focuses on his anti-opium campaign and anti-invasion endeavour, highlighting his patriotic image with facts and details.

Much research has been conducted on Lin Zexu as a historical figure, including his life story, religious beliefs, and official work. Foci have been given to his role in the anti-opium campaign and anti-invasion endeavours which strengthen his image as a 'national hero'. Previous research has been accomplished by investigating his diaries, memorials, proclamations, literary works, etc. Academic conferences or forums on Lin Zexu are held every year in different locations and the frequently-discussed topics include: Lin's Opening Eyes to the Outside World, Lin's ideology and traditional Chinese culture, Lin and social problems during the mid-Qing Dynasty, Lin and the Opium War, Lin's pragmatism and comprehensively deepening reform, Lin and livelihood issues, Lin and frontier issues, Lin and ethnic policy, Lin's view on national defence, Lin's view on clean government, Lin's

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<sup>2</sup> See Luke S. K. Kwong's "The Chinese Myth of Universal Kingship and Commissioner Lin Zexu's Anti-Opium Campaign of 1839" in *English Historical Review* (2008, Volume CXXIII, Issue 505, 1470-1503); Joyce A. Madancy's, *The Troublesome Legacy of Commissioner Lin: The Opium Trade and Opium Suppression in Fujian Province, 1820s to 1920s* published by Harvard University Asia Center in 2003; Samuel M. Wilson's "Coffee, tea, or opium?" published in *Natural History* in 1993, etc.

view on drug prohibition, the contemporary value of Lin Zexu's Thought, Lin's view on water conservation and water control strategies, Lin's patriotism, etc. (Lin & Lin, 2015).

However, previous research on Lin Zexu provides general information of his translation activities only rather than a detailed account. In addition, previous researchers aimed to construct a positive image of Lin Zexu by focusing on his positive ideologies such as patriotism and people-foundation ideology. His negative ideologies, including ethnocentrism and feudalism, are generally ignored or avoided. Just like a coin has two sides, Lin Zexu as a historical figure has both positive and negative attributes to consider, as do his ideologies. The present research conducts a critical analysis of Lin's negative ideologies by examining his translated texts. The negative ideologies do not, however, diminish Lin's lofty image as a 'national hero'.

## 2.2 Previous Research on Lin Zexu's Translation Activities

Lin Zexu's translation activities are mainly studied in China rather than overseas. In Chinese academia, a number of scholars have made contributions to the study of Lin Zexu's translation work. Some scholars (Lin, 1986; Chen, 1964, 1985, 1990; etc.) investigated Lin Zexu's newspaper translation. Lin Yongyu, Chen Shenglin, etc., studied the translated newspaper, *Ao Men Xin Wen Zhi* (*Macao News*), from a historiographical perspective, laying down facts or observations, making modifications and adding comments.<sup>3</sup>

Lin Yongyu (1985) conducted a detailed study of Lin Zexu's newspaper translation and book translation sources, his translators, and the effects of his translation. As such, they provide valuable resources for later research. According to Lin Yongyu (1985), Lin Zexu's

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<sup>3</sup> See Lin Yongyu's "On the Translation Work Organised by Lin Zexu" (*Collected Papers on Lin Zexu and the Opium War*, 1985); Chen Shenglin's "Translation of *Ao Men Xin Wen Zhi* and the Beginning of Lin's Marching Towards the Modern Times" (*Journal of Sun Yat-sen University*, 1990, No. 2 and No. 3); Yin Wenjuan's "Lin Zexu's Translation Team and its Translated Books and Newspapers" (*Fujian Tribune, The Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2010, No. 6); Feng Zuyi's "Re-investigation of *Ao Men Xin Wen Zhi*" (*Guizhou Social Sciences*, Vol. 247, No. 7); Wang Hai's "*Ao Men Xin Wen Zhi* and China's Early Translated Newspaper" (*Journalism Lover*, 2007, No. 11); Chen Yang's "On the Forerunner of Translated Newspaper: *Ao Men Xin Wen Zhi*" (*Assets and Finances in Administration and Institution*, 2011, No. 4); Xu Xinping's "Studies on the Translation Activities and Ideas of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan" (*Journalism and Communication*, Vol. 15, No. 6); Zheng Liangen's "Lin Zexu's 'Internal Reference'" (*China Newspaper*, 23 April 2004, page T00); Ning Shufan's "On *Ao Men Xin Wen Zhi* and *Ao Men Yue Bao*" (*Journalism Studies Literature*, 1990, No. 2); Chen Gaowen's "Remarks on *Ao Men Xin Wen Zhi*" (*Journalism and Communication*, 1991, No. 1), etc.

translations cover the following sources: newspapers including *Macao News*, *Macao Monthly* and *Macao Miscellaneous Notes*; books including *The Law of Nations*, *An Encyclopaedia of Geography*, *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China*; and diplomatic correspondence and official documents including diplomatic notes and prohibitions, and public proclamations collected by Liang Tingnan.

Chen Shenglin (1990a, 1990b) conducted a comprehensive study of the translation of *Macao News*. He situated Lin's translation of *the Macao News* in the specific historic context in which Lin lived, and found that what Lin learnt from the translated newspapers provided intellectual support for his anti-opium campaign and fight against British invasion. According to Chen Shenglin (1990a, 1990b), Lin's newspaper translation supported his initiative to make Chinese people aware of the outside world and promoted the development of modern diplomacy and national defence. Moreover, it helped him gain a better understanding of the characteristics and activity patterns of Western invaders.

The following scholars also made considerable contributions to Lin Zexu's book translations: Chen Yuan, Chen Hua, Wang Weijian, Han Qin, Tan Shulin, etc. Chen Yuan (1979) gave a brief mention of the books Lin organised for his translators to translate by tracing some of the translated texts to their origins. They found that Lin's translation activities were motivated by the practical needs entailed in the fight against opium and the avoidance of foreign invasion. According to Chen Yuan (1979), Lin's translation activities marked a new page in the annals. However, due to limit of the time, his translations were mostly of internal reference and did not ignite sparks among intellectuals throughout the country. Chen Hua (1993) tackled several issues concerning *Si Zhou Zhi* (Geography of the Four Continents) translated from Hugh Murray's *An Encyclopaedia of Geography* by probing the book's sources and comparing the source text in parallel with the target text. Chen Hua (1993) conducted a detailed study of the book by providing valuable information about, and insights into, the problems of its translation. According to Chen Hua (1993), Lin Zexu safeguarded state sovereignty and territorial integrity by correcting a series of fallacies in the source text such as 'three Chinas' and 'Manchuria as foreign dominion', which indicated his political ideology.

Several scholars studied Lin Zexu's legal translation, or more specifically, his translation of international law, which is a subcategory of Lin's book translation. Wang Weijian (1985) investigated Lin Zexu's translated works of Western international law. He probed the historical background of the translation project and traced some of the chapters in the target text to their origins in the source text. By studying Yuan Dehui's translated version alongside Dr. Parker's version he found Yuan's was better than Parker's based on the following reasons: 1) Yuan translated with reference to Parker's version, 2) translation from English into Chinese is relatively easier for a Chinese native who is much more at ease with using Chinese expressions, and 3) Yuan's version conformed to Chinese poetics (Wang, 1985).

Han Qin (2008) found that Lin's translation of international law focused on three themes, namely, the right to prohibit the importation of harmful products in international trade transactions, the legal status of foreign businessmen, and the launching of war and its decision-making right, which provided a legal basis for drug prohibition. Tan Shulin (2010) studied Lin Zexu's translation of Western modern international law, with a focus on Dr. Parker's translation of Swiss jurist Emerich de Vattel's *The Law of Nations*. According to Tan, Parker's intentions in doing translation for Lin were to gain his favour, set up a benevolent image of Americans in China, and create an easy environment in which to preach. By comparing Dr. Parker's version with Yuan Dehui's, Tan also found that Yuan's translation was comparatively more "complete, fluent and clear" (Tan, 2010, p. 360). Tan suggested foreign missionaries' roles in cultural exchanges between China and the West in the modern times should be re-evaluated and stereotyped views (say, foreign missionaries as cultural invaders and imperialists) should be rectified.

Other scholars studied Lin Zexu's translation activities from the perspective of patronage and the role of initiator. Huang Xiaojia and Wang Yongjian (2014) studied purposes behind Lin's translation patronage. They distinguished 'purpose' from 'aim' in the discussion by drawing on German skopos theory: the former is periodical, and the latter is ultimate. According to Huang and Wang (2014), the purposes of Lin's translation patronage included: learning about the foreigners, learning from the enemy, and negotiating with foreign powers; and the ultimate aim of his patronage was to open the door of the Qing

government to embrace the world.

Su Yan (2015) investigated Lin Zexu's translation of newspapers and books from the perspective of patronage. According to Su, Lin's patronage offered his translators ideological, economic, and social status guarantees. Su held that Lin's translation was a passive reaction to foreign invasion. Speaking objectively, however, it opened up the historical process of China's foreign exchanges and marked the beginning of China's Western Learning Movement. It also provided ideological and intellectual support for the Self-Strengthening Movement (1960s to the 1990s) and the Hundred Days Reform (1898), the political powers of which later became the two most important patrons in late Qing Dynasty by organizing a series of translation projects.

Tang Fang (2007) explored Lin Zexu's role as an initiator of translation and demonstrated the effects of translation in constructing culture and ideology in a society. According to Tang (2007), Lin, as an initiator, exerted significant influence on various facets of the translational act: translation purpose, source text selection, determination of target readers, translation strategies, and reception of the target texts. Wang Hai and Chen Caiyun (2013) were the first researchers to explore deeply the texts (source texts and target texts) of Lin's newspaper translations. They adopted a descriptive approach in their examination of the translation strategy and techniques of *Macao News*. According to the authors, Lin Zexu exerted a decisive influence on the translation of *Macao News* by dispensing undifferentiated patronage in which economic patronage, status patronage, and ideological patronage were integrated.

Compared to Wang Hai and Chen Caiyun's double-sided study (i.e., touching upon both the source text and the target text), Liu Lishan's research was somewhat limited in that it was single-sided. Liu (2014) conducted research only on the target texts of *Macao News*, describing and commenting on its contents and features. Liu found that the general strategy of Lin's newspaper translation was foreignization which is evidenced by the selection of topics and syntactic features, and the transliteration technique at the lexical level, which is also a means of foreignization.

Previous research presents a range of facts concerning Lin's translation activities,



focusing on the following three questions: 1) What texts were translated? 2) Who translated the texts? and 3) Why were these texts chosen for translation?

However, the following limitations were also identified in relation to the previous research:

- 1) Previous research lists many facts concerning Lin's translation activities, but as for issues concerning Lin's source texts such as the source newspapers in Lin's newspaper translation and the source book of '华事夷言' (*hua shi yi yan*), consensus has not yet been achieved, leading to mistakes concerning the sources. The discrepancies were due to scholars' relying on logical reasoning for conclusions instead of target text - source text comparison (the most effective way), i.e., identifying source texts by comparing the target texts with the hypothesised source texts, which was due to the unavailability of some of the source texts pertinent to Lin's translation activities.
- 2) Little research has been done concerning the micro-level issues such as what specific translation strategies and techniques were employed and why these strategies and techniques were employed in translating these newspapers and books.
- 3) Most previous research utilises second-hand rather than first-hand material, thus reducing its validity and reliability. This may largely be due to scarcity of relevant documents and unavailability of some original materials (i.e., some materials are extinct or unavailable or inaccessible in certain areas). For example, historical records of Lin's translation work are scarce and some source texts are unavailable in mainland China.
- 4) Little textual analysis has been conducted to compare the source texts and the target texts in a parallel manner. Previous research touched upon only a very small proportion of all the texts pertinent to Lin's translation activities. A thorough investigation of the target texts in parallel with their originals is needed for valid conclusions and generalisations.
- 5) Previous research has been done more by historians than by translation studies scholars, the former focusing on historical facts and their historical significance, while the latter paying close attention to differences between source texts and target texts

and the socio-cultural factors behind these discrepancies. A mixed method merging historiographical approach and translation studies approach is conducive to a scientific study of Lin's translation activities.

- 6) Previous research by translation studies scholars are mainly accessed from the perspectives of patronage and the initiator, and no research has been conducted from the perspective of ideology yet. Ideology provides a new perspective for researchers to view Lin's decision-making in the translation process and uncover determining factors behind the linguistic transfer.

These points naturally fall in the domain of the present research: to clarify falsified points concerning Lin's translation facts by tracing the target texts to their origins (source texts) in first-hand materials, to conduct research into the actual translation process, to conduct a parallel textual study of the source texts and target texts, and to study Lin's translation activities from a new perspective, say, the perspective of ideology. Translation is in effect and in eventuality a textual transfer, and the target text implies all the ideological factors behind the participants' decision-making, both conscious and unconscious. A comparison of the source texts and the target texts thus hits at the core of the study of Lin's translation activities from the perspective of ideology.

### 2.3 Summary

The literature review shows that previous research of Lin's translation activities are somewhat limited and unsystematic. That is to say there is a lack of comparative study between source texts and target texts, and a systematic analysis of the translation backgrounds, motivations, process, and strategies. These are the tasks of the present research. Despite the limitations of the previous research we can still utilise the methodology in respect of their emphasis on contextualisation and historicisation in the current study.

## Chapter 3 Theoretical Basis

This chapter is a brief review of the theories on which the present research is based, namely, ideology theory and post-colonial theory, upon which, a theoretical framework is constructed by integrating the two theories into one.

### 3.1 The Notion of Ideology

The study of ideology is traditionally associated with the field of politics and did not come to the fore in translation studies until the beginning of the twenty-first century. Thus, the combination of ideology and translation studies is relatively new. The issue of ideology rose to prominence with the cultural turn in translation studies during the early 1990s. The importance of ideology in translation can never be overemphasised, as Alvarez and Vidal (1996) pointed out:

If we are aware that translating is not merely passing from one text to another, transferring words from one container to another, but rather transporting one entire culture to another with all that this entails, we realize just how important it is to be conscious of the ideology that underlies a translation. (p. 5)

Ideology is an inexhaustible topic and like a river it has its source and flow. To gain a better understanding of the concept of ideology we have to trace back to its source and flow as this will facilitate our understanding of the research topic from the perspective of ideology, which functions as the theoretical basis of the present research.

#### 3.1.1 Interpretation of Ideology

The term 'ideology' is compounded from the Greek terms *eidos* and *logos* (Vincent, 1992). It was first coined by French theorists Cabanis, Destutt de Tracy, and their friends as a theory or a science of ideas. As a science of ideas, ideology was to investigate the natural origin of ideas. Interestingly, Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1817/1970), a French Enlightenment aristocrat and philosopher, stated that the notion of ideology fell within the field of zoology as Condillac, referred to as the real founder of ideology by Tracy, granted animals a soul and thereby the capacity to feel, judge, and remember.

In late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, sensationism played an important part in the formation of a new group of thinkers called ‘the idéologues’. This group included Destutt de Tracy, Cabanis, Maine de Biran and others. Destutt de Tracy presented a series of memoirs expounding a sensationist view that was to form the basis of ideology, or the science of ideas. Tracy (1805) defined ideology as the study of the formation of ideas, which is ideology proper. It means the expression of ideas or grammar, and the combination of ideas or logic (O’Neal, 1996).

The very mention of the term, ideology, reminds readers of several famous names: Karl Marx, Friedrich Von Engels, Louis Althusser, Terry Eagleton, etc. To Marx and Engels, ideology refers to social ideological forms: legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic (Marx, 1995), representing the interests of the ruling class who legitimate and naturalise them. Ideology is also defined as a body of ideas systematically biased towards a particular social group which defends, justifies, legitimises, or speaks for a particular social group and is an apologia for that social group (Parekh, 1982). Ideology is related to social production which includes material production and mental production. The ruling class not only controls material production, but also mental production as the class which controls material production controls mental production. Marx and Engels (1965) claimed, “they [the ruling class] rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch” (p. 52). They went to expound as follows:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas (i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of the society), is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. (Marx & Engels, 1965, p. 61)

Marx and Engels’s conception of ideology was based on class differentiation: landlords, capitalists, wage labourers, and petty bourgeoisie. Realising the potential negative implications of the term ‘class’, Marx used ‘class’ and ‘social group’ interchangeably. As

ideology plays an important role in class differentiation, the ruling class always tries to transform its self-consciousness into an ideology that dominates the society in order to legitimise and naturalise it. This self-consciousness, as the dominant ideology, is regarded central, orthodox and lawful, while other types of consciousness different from or contrary to this self-consciousness are regarded as peripheral, unorthodox and unlawful. Through the management and control of ideology, the ruling class expounds and defends the sanctity of its regime, the legitimacy of its interests, the authority of its will, the supremacy of its thoughts, and the perfection of its morality; that is, all its rights and interests in the economic, political and cultural fields (Xiao, 2012). Ideology, especially the dominant ideology, instinctively moves towards self-legitimation and mostly likely results in ossification and indoctrination.

Louis Althusser, a follower of Karl Marx, conducted research on Karl Marx. His work, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (1970) is another milestone in the field of ideology. He distinguished (Repressive) State Apparatus from Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). For Althusser (1971), (Repressive) State Apparatus belongs entirely to the public domain, and much of the Ideological State Apparatus remains part of the private domain. (Repressive) State Apparatuses comprise the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons, etc., and Ideological State Apparatus includes a long list of sub-categories (Althusser, 1971):

- the religious ISA (the system of the different churches),
- the educational ISA (the system of the different public and private ‘schools’),
- the family ISA,
- the legal ISA,
- the political ISA (the political system, including the different parties),
- the trade-union ISA,
- the communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.),
- the cultural ISA (literature, the arts, sports, etc.).

According to Althusser (1971), all the state apparatuses function by both repression and ideology, with the difference being that (Repressive) State Apparatuses function predominantly by repression, whereas Ideological State Apparatuses function predominantly by ideology.

Althusser's definition of ideology models on Marx's conception of ideology as it touches upon conditions of production and existence. To Althusser (1971), ideology is a "representation" (p. 162) of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence. According to him, ideology is an imaginary relation to real relations and is a "lived relation" (p. 163); that is, ideology is inseparable from life (Althusser, 1971). Ideological representations are omnipresent; that is, they are present in all aspects of life such as our beliefs and attitudes towards politics, economics, religion, philosophy, morality, aesthetics, work, study, etc.

Althusser moves from social reproduction to ideology and from ideology to the subject (Macherey, 2012). It is the subject that is constitutive of ideology and all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects (Althusser, 1971). The difference between an individual and a subject lies in the person's recognition that he is being interpellated or hailed. The very process of interpellation signifies a subject. However, not every individual can be interpellated into subjects. Only those who are 'worthy of becoming subjects' (p.12) are selected and interpellated (Macherey, 2012). Interpellation is achieved by individuals' acknowledging or recognising that they have positioned themselves according to the forms that they call destinies and they are not at liberty to ignore it (Macherey, 2012).

Ideology is one of the most important aspects of life. An individual therefore necessarily lives and works within the framework of ideology. He occupies his assigned place within the existing social order willingly, voluntarily, as if to do so was human nature, without giving his actions and beliefs a second thought (Williams, 1993). Althusser posited that the ideological state apparatuses were both a stake and a site of class struggle through which the ideology of the ruling class was realised (Therborn, 1980).

British scholar, Terry Eagleton, published two books on ideology; *Ideology: An Introduction* and *Ideology*. He not only introduces important ideas of scholars, but also systematically addresses problems concerning ideology. He divides Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) into religious ISA, educational ISA, family ISA, legal ISA, political ISA, trade-union ISA, communications ISA, and cultural ISA by following Althusser (Eagleton, 1994). Each ISA has a corresponding ideology. That is to say, there are as many types of

ideology as there are ISA: religious ideology, educational ideology, family ideology, legal ideology, political ideology, trade-union ideology, communications ideology, and cultural ideology.

There are almost as many theories of ideology as there are theorists writing on ideology. However, nobody has yet come up with a single adequate definition of ideology (Eagleton, 2007). Eagleton (2007) lists some of the oft-quoted definitions of ideology:

- a) the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life;
- b) a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class;
- c) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
- d) false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
- e) systematically distorted communication;
- f) that which offers a position for a subject;
- g) forms of thought motivated by social interests;
- h) identity thinking;
- i) socially necessary illusion;
- j) the conjuncture of discourse and power;
- k) the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world;
- l) action-oriented sets of beliefs;
- m) the confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality;
- n) semiotic closure;
- o) the indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure; and
- p) the process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality (p. 1).

There are binary oppositions in the above definitions such as 'ideas' and 'false ideas', In addition, it can be dynamic or static as it may be a process, a body, a form, a conjuncture,

or a medium. A process is inevitably dynamic, and a body/form/conjecture/medium is usually static. Being ‘action-oriented’, it shows its dynamism: it triggers actions and aims at actions. Being ‘semiotic’, it is about ideas. Ideology usually carries pejorative meanings. It is a set of values, meanings and beliefs which are to be viewed critically or negatively (Eagleton, 2007). Few people believe their own ideas to be ideological and most people label others’ ideas as ideology. For example, Napoleon coined the term *ideologue* to refer to the ideas of his opponents. As can be seen from these definitions, ideology can be both commendatory and pejorative. It is a bias or misunderstanding to regard it to be only pejorative.

Eagleton (1994) holds that the domain of ideology coincides with that of signs and that without signs there is no ideology. Language, as a sign system, shoulders ideology and expresses ideology, and it is thus a carrier of ideology. Translation as a form of linguistic transformation is a vehicle of ideological expression.

In addition to the above mentioned theorists, there are well-established researchers whose studies, though not so directly focused on ideology, are also closely related to ideology. For example, Göran Therborn, Yukio Tsuda, Stuart Hall, Michel Foucault, and van Dijk, just to name a few.

Ideology, especially political ideology, persists in identifying itself with a theory of power (Therborn, 1980). Based on Althusser, Göran Therborn develops his conception of ideology in a broad sense. According to Therborn (1980), ideology refers to the aspect of the human condition under which human beings lead their lives as conscious actors and acts as the medium through which this consciousness operates. To him, ideology also refers to a false idealist approach to human consciousness and the motives of human action and our understanding of them. For Therborn, ideology is a rather complex concept: it can be an aspect, an approach, or a process. It includes both everyday notions and experience, and intellectual doctrines, both of which are consciousness of social actors and institutionalised discourses in a given society (Therborn, 1980). Ideology has various discourses: science, art, philosophy, law, etc., all of which are ideological configurations and may function as ideologies. Following Marx and Engels, Therborn attaches great importance to forces and relations of production and the conflict between them. In this sense, ideology refers to its



manifestation in the various forms in which men becomes conscious of this conflict.

Therborn (1980) summarised his conception of ideology as follows:

- a) The generation of ideologies in human societies is always from the point of view of social science and historiography, a process of change of pre-existing ideologies.
- b) Ideological change, as well as the generation of ideologies, is always dependent upon non-ideological material change.
- c) The most important material change is constituted by the internal social dynamics of societies and their modes of production.
- d) Every mode of production requires specific economic positional ideologies and every exploitative mode of production specific class ideologies.
- e) Every new mode of production will generate new economic positional ideologies.
- f) All human societies exhibit existential- and historical-inclusive as well as historical-positional ideologies.
- g) The concrete forms of existential, historical-inclusive and historical-positional ideologies other than the economic are not directly determined by the mode of production, but changes in the former are overdetermined by the latter.
- h) New modes of production and new classes will generate forms of existential, historical-inclusive and other historical-positional ideologies that are capable of supporting and reinforcing the new predominant class ideologies, if the former do not already exist. (pp. 41-42)

According to Stuart Hall (1982), a scholar of media ideology, the reflection of economic reality at the level of ideas could be replaced by a straightforward class determination. Based on Marx and Engels' conception of class, Hall (1982) defined classes as

historical givens: their ideological unity already given by their position in the economic structure. Classes had to be understood only as the complex result of the successful prosecution of different forms of social struggle at all levels of social practice, including the ideological (Hall 1982). Echoing Marx and Engels' (1965) argument that "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (p. 61), Hall (1982) also states that the ruling class and the dominant ideas are integrated. As such, their relationship should not be abandoned as to abandon the relationship between the ruling class and the dominant ideas is to "throw the baby out with the bath water" (p. 84).

Michel Foucault's conception of ideology was laid upon Marxist foundation and his theory, in turn, provides the foundation for Althusser's theory. According to Foucault (1980), ideology is the level of speculative discourses that cannot explain the great technologies of power. For Foucault, ideology is not material reality, but an abstraction. It cannot explain the real effects of power relations in society. Foucault accorded great importance to the effects of power on the body. His ideology was painted with metaphysical and religious colours as he held that the road to man's soul passed from his flesh and bones rather than his mind.

Yukio Tsuda, with Nagasaki University, published *Language Inequality and Distortion* in 1986, in which he devoted one chapter to the conception of ideology. Tsuda made criticisms on the ideology of 'civilisation' and addressed language inequality and distortion. To Tsuda (1986), the ideology of civilisation originated from the differentiation between "the civilised" (the Western people) and "the savage" (the non-Westerners) (p. 87). Moreover, language inequality lies in the dominance of certain languages, say, the working languages of the United Nations, over all others in international communication. Native speakers of the several languages can express their ideas and values in these chosen few languages with much ease and comfort; whereas people who speak other languages are very frequently faced with difficulties in using these languages (Tsuda, 1986). This is closely tied to translation in the power relations between the source language and the target language: a higher percentage of translations have been completed from dominant languages, say, English, to less powerful languages.

Teun Adrianus van Dijk is a scholar in discourse analysis, text linguistics, and critical

discourse analysis. In addition to being a linguist, van Dijk is also a theorist on ideology, though his ideology is still closely tied to cognition and discourse. van Dijk lists six strategies of ideological control, mainly based on the interaction between elite ideology and popular ideology. According to the linguist, the elite class may not necessarily abide by the elite ideology and may tend to obey popular ideology, and vice versa. This is a very interesting fact that was neglected by Marx and Engels in their absolute conclusion ('the dominant ideology hypothesis'). Even within dominant groups there are ideological dissidents (van Dijk, 1998).

Ideology seems to be one of the most impalpable and elusive concepts in modern and contemporary times. The term itself is ideological and, as a branch of politics, has been used to explain social phenomena.

To sum up briefly, in terms of subject, ideology is the ideas system of a certain class, stratum or group, and individual ideology is subordinate to their class, stratum or group; in terms of content, ideology is a conscious expression of meaning by specific subjects based on specific interests and values comprising ideas and beliefs; in terms of object, ideology reflects social life, especially domination and power in political and legal life, which includes, but is not restricted to, the ruling class.

As can be seen from above, different theorists and scholars define ideology differently and for different purposes. Marx and Engels defined ideology as "social ideological forms representing the interests of the ruling class who legitimate and naturalize them" (Marx, 1995, p. 33). Marx and Engels' definition was drawn from a class perspective and labour division in a class-based society. Touching upon the existential basis of the notion, their definition could be regarded as the basis for its later development into various disciplines. Simpson (1993), drawing on the research of Marx and Engels, defined ideology as "the tacit assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups" (p. 5), which focuses on collective, social consciousness rather than that of individuals.

According to the list of definitions summarised by Eagleton (2007), ideology may be: 1) ideas of a social group or class, 2) (false) ideas of a dominant political power, or 3) action-oriented beliefs. The first definition may be referred to as collective ideology, the second as

dominant ideology, and the third as touching upon its action-triggering function. Ideology may be neutral or pejorative as it may be ideas or false ideas. Its action-triggering function indicates the pragmatic nature of ideology and may form a distinctive type of ideology: pragmatism.

In the present research, ideology is defined as ideas or beliefs of an individual or a social group or class, on various social issues, especially important or pressing ones, with which the individual attempts to change or improve the status quo and tackle the social issues. It aims to maintain the interests and social status of the individual or the social group or class. In a class-based society, the ruling ideology – usually the dominant ideology – serves to maintain the interests of the ruling class and safeguard its sovereignty. Individual ideology may conform or run counter to the dominant ideology. In the first case, it may integrate into the dominant ideology or even the ruling ideology; whereas in the second case it may be labelled as oppositional ideology or rebel ideology and subjected to resistance from the dominant ideology. Figure 2 shows the relationship between the two:

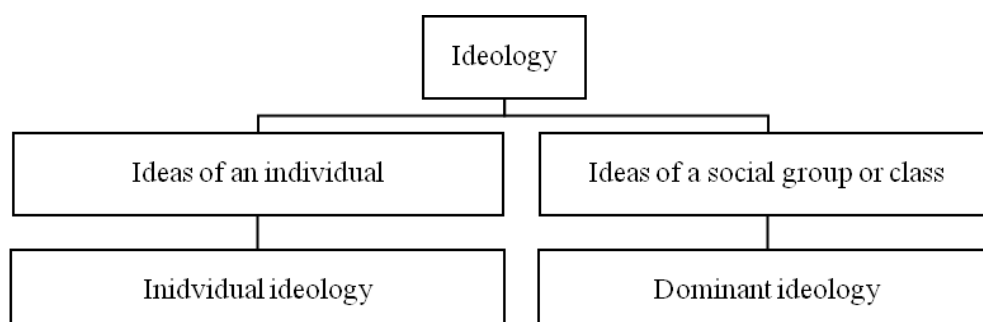


Figure 2. Relationship between individual ideology and dominant ideology

Ideology may be political, economic, military, diplomatic, cultural, educational, or ethical. It is omnipresent, covering every aspect of social life. It triggers and affects actions, shapes society or international communities, and takes shape in social realities and interactions between individuals or societies. It pushes social development and may, in extreme cases, reverse the direction of social development.<sup>4</sup> Ideology changes and develops with social changes and developments. It is socially formulated, and individual ideologies are inseparable from their social beings. They are based on and modified by social ideologies.

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<sup>4</sup> It reverses the direction of social development such as the dominant ideology of the organisers of the Cultural Revolution over the ten years from 1966 to 1976 in China.

For instance, Lin's ideology developed and deepened in response to the social realities of domestic strife and foreign invasion. His individual ideology, albeit oppositional to the dominant ideology, was affected by the dominant ideology and may have been modified by the latter.

### 3.1.2 Classification of Ideology

Ideology is classified into different subcategories by different scholars. The various classifications result from the different criteria scholars adopt. In this section, some major classifications are made.

#### 1) Ideology and Subject

In terms of subject, ideology can be divided into collective ideology and individual ideology. Collective ideology is the body of ideas reflecting the needs and aspirations of society as a collective. It is often held by the majority of people in a community. In contrast, individual ideology is one possessed by an individual in society. In the field of translation studies, collective ideology equals dominant ideology and individual ideology equals translator's ideology, that is, the ideology of an individual translator and/or translator groups. Individual ideology may conform to or deviate from collective ideology (i.e., the dominant ideology). If the two ideologies align, the results are satisfactory; if the former deviates from the latter, it may result in conflicts.

Paul Simpson (1993) defined ideology as the tacit assumptions, beliefs and value systems shared collectively by social groups. It seemed to Simpson that ideology is collectively shared rather than individually owned. He focused on collective ideology while neglecting individual ideology. Individual ideology, to a great extent, is affected by collective ideology, but there are cases where individual ideology is inconsistent with collective ideology. In this case, the individual ideology acts as an oppositional ideology.

#### 2) Ideology and Content

Different scholars make different classifications of ideology in terms of content. Andrew Vincent, a scholar of political science, divides (political) ideology into eight categories: liberalism, conservatism, socialism, anarchism, fascism, feminism, ecologism,

and iconoclasm (Vincent, 1992). Yang Liu (2010), working in the translation field, however, divides ideology into eight subcategories, namely, state ideology, religious ideology, aesthetic ideology, individual ideology, cultural ideology, political ideology, economic ideology, and media ideology, with a degree of overlap between some of them.

Each classification serves a certain purpose, and a consensus of the classification of ideology in terms of content is even not necessary for academic investigation. Generally speaking, ideology can be divided into nine categories: political, economic, military, scientific and technological, religious, legal, literary, cultural, and media, in terms of content.

### 3) Ideology and Position

In terms of position, ideology can be divided into two categories: central ideology and peripheral ideology. Central ideology is usually the ideology which takes a central position in society over which it rules with authority. On the contrary, peripheral ideology takes a peripheral or secondary position in society. According to Russian Formalists, culture is a “complex ‘system of systems’ composed of various subsystems” (Steiner, 1984, p. 112). In this sense, ideology may be regarded as a subsystem of culture. Within the system, the positions of sub-ideologies are dynamic rather than static with each competing for the central position. In other words, the central ideology aims to keep other ideologies out of the centre, and the peripheral ideologies are in a constant struggle for the centre. Objectively speaking, the interplay between central ideology and peripheral ideology pushes society forward.

### 4) Ideology and Quality

In terms of quality, ideology can be divided into dominant ideology and oppositional ideology or rebel ideology, conservative ideology and innovative ideology. In Marxist philosophy, the term ‘dominant ideology’ denotes the attitudes and beliefs, values and morals shared by the majority of people in a given society. As a mechanism of social control, the dominant ideology frames how the majority of the population think about the nature of society and their places in it, and the nature of being a member of a social class (Bullock & Trombley, 1999). In a society there are various ideologies representing different interest groups. The ideology of the ruling class is usually the dominant ideology whose status is guaranteed by repressive state apparatuses such as the army and the prisons. Other ideologies

may either conform to or contradict the dominant ideology. The contradictory ideology is often referred to as oppositional ideology (McLaren, 1991).

Conservative ideology is a form of political pragmatism (Vincent, 1992). It rejects change and is self-satisfied with what it has already had, aiming to safeguard its vested interests and to maintain the existing system and status quo. There is a constant struggle between conservative ideology and innovative ideology, and the former tends to win out, especially when it is held by the majority.

It is worth mentioning that some of the above-mentioned subcategories of ideology may form a list of binary oppositions, as shown in Figure 3:

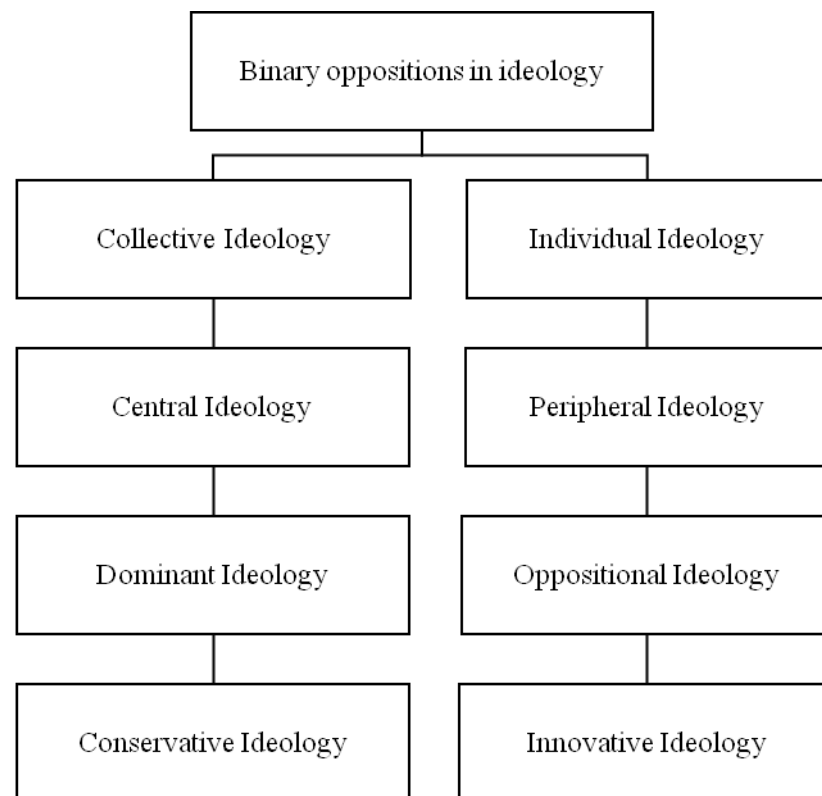


Figure 3. Binary oppositions of ideology

It also should be pointed out that some of the ideologies discussed above may overlap. For example, the central ideology is usually the dominant ideology of a society, and the peripheral ideology is most likely the oppositional ideology.

### 3.2 Ideology and Translation

Translation as a social practice can also be explained by the concept of ideology. Scholars in the translation field have achieved fruitful results in the study of translation from

an ideological perspective. It is generally acknowledged that translations are not conducted in a vacuum. Translation is regarded as both a cultural product and a social practice. Ideology, as a crucial factor in culture, is inherently relevant to translation studies. Jiang Xiaohua (2003) holds that ideology functions in translation in six ways: 1) to serve politics, 2) to affect selection of source texts, 3) to cater to readers' mainstream consciousness, 4) to affect translators' interpretations of the source text, 5) to accommodate itself to social ethics, and 6) to accommodate itself to readers' aesthetic habits.

Studies of ideology in translation commenced in the 1990s with the emergence of the 'cultural turn', and flourished at the beginning of the twenty-first century with the emergence of the 'sociological turn'. Many concepts are put under the scrutiny of ideology such as power, style, psychoanalysis, post-colonialism, cultural hegemony, etc. This, however, may lead to a tendency towards pan-ideologisation, which is not conducive to the study of ideology itself.

André Lefevere (1992a) arrayed a series of related topics in order of importance: ideology, patron, poetics, discourse, and language and education. Translation Studies should recognise this order and its implications, and locate its studies in its socio-cultural, ideological, and poetological contexts (Hermans, 1994). According to Lefevere (1992a), the most important thing is not how words are matched on the page, but why they are matched that way, what social, literary, and ideological considerations led translators to translate as they did.

Since the 1990s, Translation Studies has moved from linguistic to cultural studies, originating from Russian Formalists who defined culture as "a complex 'system of systems' composed of various subsystems such as literature, science, and technology" (Steiner, 1984, p. 112). Translated literature is taken as a subsystem of the literary system. Lefevere based his systems theory on Russian Formalism and moved steps forward by regarding translation as the rewriting and examination of the role of ideology, patronage and poetics in translated literature. According to Lefevere (1992b), two factors exert control on the literary system from within and without: professionals and the patronage, respectively.

Professionals are critics, reviewers, teachers, translators, etc., and patronage refers to



persons or institutions that further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature (Lefevere 1992b). Professionals like translators are control factors within the literary system and they exert direct influence on texts. Patronage, however, can be both individual persons and groups of persons, or institutions which exert indirect influences on texts such as the publication and sale of translated works. The former is intra-textual and the latter is extra-textual. Moreover, the former is usually under the control of the latter.

Lefevere (1992b) studied ideology in parallel with patronage and poetics. To him, ideology may be a component or factor in patronage and patronage may also be included in ideology. Though separate constructs, ideology and patronage are actually interrelated and inter-inclusive. Ideology, in Lefevere's understanding, is "a set of discourses which wrestle over interests which are in some way relevant to the maintenance or interrogation of power structures central to a whole form of social and historical life" (Shuttleworth, 2004, p. 136). In connection with patronage, there are basically two types of ideology: translators' ideology and patron's ideology. Patrons (people or institutions) often enforce their ideology upon translators, and translators tend to have relatively little freedom in translating, especially when the translation is initiated or sponsored by a patron. If the translator's ideology is not in opposition to the patron's ideology and the translations are not in conflict with target culture ideology, it is easier for the translations to be published in the target culture society. Lefevere (1992b) held that faithful translation is often inspired by a conservative ideology. This is true, especially when the source culture ideology is in conflict with the target culture ideology. In this case, a faithful translation goes against the target ideology. In Lefevere's (1992b) understanding, ideology determines translation strategies and solutions to translation problems.

Hatim and Mason (1997) defined ideology as a "body of assumptions which reflects the beliefs and interests of an individual, a group of individuals, a social institution, etc., and which ultimately finds expression in language" (p. 218). As they have convincingly argued, ideology shapes discourse and discourse practices help to maintain, reinforce or challenge ideologies (Hatim & Mason, 1997). As a form of discourse practice, translation is shaped by ideology while simultaneously helping to maintain, reinforce or challenge ideology. It is thus a two-way dynamic process. According to Hatim and Mason (1997), all uses of language

reflect a set of users' assumptions which are closely bound up with attitudes, beliefs and value systems. As a form of language use, translation is inevitably bound up with attitudes, beliefs and value systems which fall into the domain of ideology.

Hatim and Mason (1997) hold that the translator has a filtering function: filtering the text world of the source text through his/her own world-view/ideology. In fact, filtering is a process of manipulation, intervention, control, selection, and 'mediation'. Generally, the translator filters the contents or elements which are inconsistent with his/her ideology and the ideology imposed on him/her by his/her patron. This filtering is realised through various translation strategies and is indeed a process of ideological manipulation. Hatim and Mason (1997) divide translator mediation into three types: minimal mediation, maximal mediation, and partial mediation (1997). Furthermore, their study of ideology is more of a linguistic approach than a cultural one. They use linguistic features or devices to analyse translators' ideological mediations and the linguistic devices serve as tools for their ideological study.

Lawrence Venuti (1992) held that translation studies should include ideological determinations. This is because translation as a cultural practice is inscribed with ideologies that serve the competing interests of groups and the translated text should be situated in its social and historical circumstances, with consideration of its cultural political role. Venuti (1992) viewed the translator as the agent of cultural practice and translation as playing an important geopolitical role by wielding enormous power in the construction of national identities.

Alvarez and Vidal (1996) held that translating is a political act and that translation always implies an unstable balance between the power one culture exerts over another. The study and practice of translation is thus inevitably an exploitation of power relationships within textual practices that reflect power structures.

*Translation and Ideology: Encounters and Clashes* (2007) edited by Sonia Cunico and Jeremy Munday is a milestone work on translation and ideology. As the title suggests, translation is a site of clashes or conflicts between different powers or interest groups. It focuses on ideology in the translation of a variety of discourses: scientific, journalistic, academic, political, commercial, etc., concerned with asymmetrical power relations and

hegemony between the parties involved in the translation. In all discourses, translation is revealed as the construction of meaning to either support and strengthen or to resist existing ideologies (Cunico & Munday, 2007). Translation as a social practice helps to maintain and shape or to resist and challenge existing asymmetrical power relations (Cunico & Munday, 2007).

In China, translation scholars tend to employ Western translation theories, especially Lefevere's theory, to study ideology in translation. Most research is general rather than specific, and parallel textual studies of both the source text and target text are usually not undertaken. Previous research focuses on cultural factors and the implied power relationships, and largely neglects the analyses of textual materials, namely, source texts and target texts (Xiu, 2011). Generally, Chinese scholars tackle ideology in translation in two ways: 1) descriptive studies of the translation history during a certain era to identify the effects and manipulation of ideology on translation, and 2) case studies of different eras and locations to uncover the effects of ideology on various facets of translation such as selection of source texts, implementation of translation strategies, and target text reception.

The research findings related to the two ways are mainly published in academic journals. The journal, *Foreign Languages and Their Teaching*, published several papers on translation and ideology. For example, Sun Yifeng (2003) held that translation is a cultural dialogue in which cultural fragments are reorganised and where ideology is imbedded in the cultural fragments both before and after the reorganisation. Sun (2003) also suggested the discursive hegemony of culture should be subverted and deconstructed, and the effective way of coping with inequality should be to construct a multicultural society with inclusiveness and differences. Fang Yili (2013) differentiated between 'ideology of translation' and 'translation of ideology': the former is a critical perspective that examines the power relationships implied by translation phenomena, processes and results, and the network constituted by the source language society, culture and text, and target language society, culture and text; while the latter focuses on the examination of ideology at the micro-level including lexical, syntactic, and textual levels.

When examining the different translations of the title *Shuihuzhuan* (A Story of the

Water Margin), one of the Four Great Classical Chinese Literary Works, by Sidney Shapiro and Pearl S. Buck respectively, Li Jing (2016) found that the entire translation process is manipulated by ideology, including the translator's ideology (individual ideology) and the social ideology (dominant ideology), which involves the patron's ideology, and the dynamic interaction between the two ideologies results in differences in the translation product. Following their investigation of translation activities in modern China, especially the selection of source texts, Wu Sha and Tu Guoyuan (2007) hold that the study of ideology provides a new perspective for translation studies, shifting the focus from an intra-textual study to an extra-textual study. This helps us gain a better understanding of translation as rewriting and recreation in an alien culture rather than as a purely linguistic transfer.

Ideology was primarily associated with politics, but has now become a branch of cultural studies in Translation Studies (Alvarez & Vidal, 1996; Cunico & Munday, 2007; Hatim & Mason, 1997; Lefevere 1992a, 1992b; Venuti, 1992; etc.). It is generally held that ideology is inseparable from translation. Some scholars even go so far as to argue that all translational acts are ideological and that the relationship between translation and ideology is an ideological one (Schäffner, 2003). Lydia H. Liu (1995) claimed, "Translation is no longer a neutral event untouched by the contending interests of political and ideological struggles. Instead, it becomes the very site of such struggles" (p. 26). Hence, it hits the core of the study of ideology in translation studies.

Hatim and Mason (1997, p. 218), working in the field of translation, hold that ideology is expressed in language. In terms of translation, ideology may be defined as ideas of an individual or a social group or class on various aspects or elements of translation. These aspects or elements may cover translator selection, translation motivation, source text selection, translation procedures and process, translation strategies, and translation reception. It focuses on the functions of translation: how translation relates to society and how it serves to fulfil social needs and address social problems.

As mentioned above, ideology can be divided into collective ideology and individual ideology. In terms of translation, individual ideology can be divided into several subcategories. In the translational chain, there are a series of actors or players: 1) the initiator

2) the commissioner, 3) the source text producer/author, 4) the target text producer/translator, 5) the target text user, and 6) the target text receiver (Holz-Manttari, 1984), in a temporal succession. Each has his/her own ideology. Accordingly, at each link of the translational chain there are corresponding ideologies. Lefevere (1992b) insightfully added a new player – patron – to the translational chain, which differs from initiator and/or commissioner,<sup>5</sup> thus bringing to the fore a new ideology, namely, patron’s ideology.

A patron’s ideological influence on a translation activity is comprehensive and can be reflected in a series of procedures in translation: translator selection, source text selection, translation quality control, translation strategies, etc. A patron’s ideological manipulation may be both direct and indirect. A patron can exert direct ideological manipulation on translator selection, source text selection, and translation quality control; and indirect ideological manipulation by exerting his/her translation patronage on his/her translators and by intervening on his/her translators’ translation strategies. Figure 4 illustrates this:

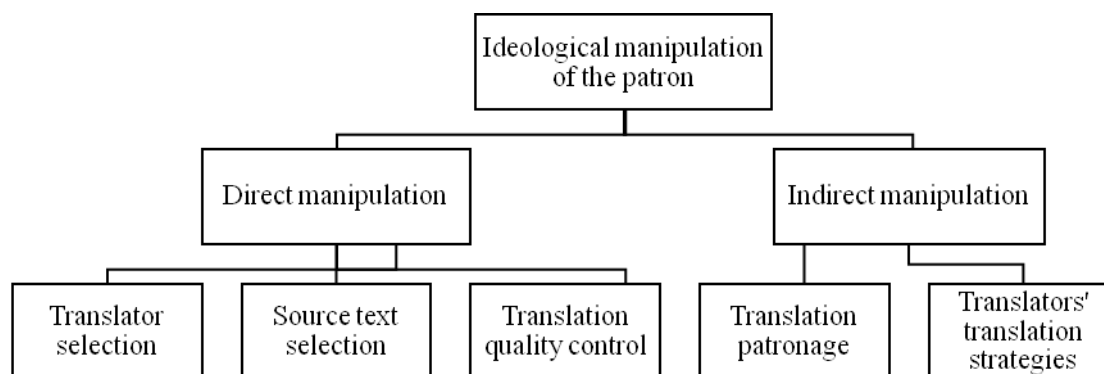


Figure 4. Manipulation model of patron’s ideology upon translation

So far, what has been discussed is mainly ideology of translation. However, a distinction has to be made between ‘ideology of translation’ and ‘ideology in translation’ (Fang, 2013). Ideology of translation refers to ideology concerning translation such as views

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<sup>5</sup> An initiator is a person or institution that initiates a translation project and that needs the translation; a commissioner is the agent that contacts the translator (Munday, 2001); a patron is a person or institution that patronises a translation project economically only or economically, socially and ideologically. A patron can be both an initiator and a commissioner.

on translation function, translation motivation, the relationship between translation and society, selection criteria for translators and source texts, interaction with readership, etc. These views determine the organisational form of the translation process. Ideology in translation refers to various specific ideologies involved or revealed in the translation process such as source text selection and translation strategies. These ideologies determine the quality of the final translation product and its reception. Translation activities were inevitably triggered or shaped by ideology, i.e., ideology of translation. The translation process, in particular, the actual translating such as selection of translation strategies, is manipulated by specific forms of ideology for certain purposes, i.e., ideology in translation. The present research includes both ideology of translation and ideology in translation.

In relation to the present research, pragmatism is a conspicuous form of ideology (i.e., ideology of translation) held by the patron. The word ‘pragmatism’ is derived from its adjective ‘pragmatic’. As a philosophical concept, its history extends back to ancient Greece, acquiring the meaning of “businesslike, practical or ready for action” (Carus, 1908, p. 321). Pragmatism is the application of a “greater and more sovereign principle” (Leighton, 1904, p. 148) to the theory of knowledge. Charles Peirce introduced it into philosophy in 1878 (Carus, 1908). The central premise of pragmatism is that philosophy must be connected to practice (Misak, 1999). Pragmatism derives from two sources: Kant’s doctrine of the primacy of the practical reason, and the modern scientific view of the meaning of hypotheses (Pratt, 1909). According to Peirce (cited in Mills, Durepos & Wiebe, 2010), pragmatism constitutes the application of the experimental method in the pursuit of knowledge, with hypotheses provisionally verified in practice. *The Concise Macquarie Dictionary* defines pragmatism as “character or conduct which emphasises practical values or attention to facts; practicality” (Delbridge, 1985, p. 985). Being action-triggering and conduct-targeting, pragmatism is to insure a definite line of conduct.

Pragmatism was an implicit ideology in ancient China and remains so in modern China. Traditional Chinese pragmatism was different to Western pragmatism in that it was rooted in Confucianism and had its own discourse as revealed in its own expressions such as *jing shi* (经世, ‘administering state affairs as statecraft’), *tong jing zhi yong* (通经致用, ‘applying the method of interpreting ancient classics to practice’), and *jing shi zhi yong* (经世

致用, ‘administering state affairs for practical utility’). It had vague representations back in the Zhou and Song Dynasties. In late Ming and early Qing Dynasties, pragmatists like Gu Yanwu, Huang Zongxi and Wang Fuzi took it as statecraft to help resolve social problems and consolidate the sovereignty of the Qing government. Pragmatists demonstrated a strong sense of social responsibility and patriotism, and also revealed their class limitations (limitations of the landlord class).

### 3.3 Post-colonialism and Translation

Post-colonialism was first introduced to translation studies in the mid- to late-1980s. The terms ‘post-colonial theory of translation’ or ‘post-colonial translation studies’ were first used by Douglas Robinson in his 1997 work, *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained*. Post-colonial theory of translation opened a new window for translation studies and moved the field away from its linguistic concentration on ‘faithfulness’, ‘accuracy’, ‘equivalence’ and ‘correspondence’ to a wider scope of cultural studies. It broadened the vision of a cultural study of translation by focusing more on the power relations between source culture and target culture, and the historical conditions under which target texts are produced.

Post-colonialism is an academic trend with a strong political and cultural colour which emerged in the 1970s in Western academia, with an eye to ex-colonisers and ex-colonies (Chen, 2008). Located within the field of cultural studies, it draws on the achievements of a wide range of subjects: anthropology, sociology, history, philosophy, psychoanalysis, ethnic studies, political science, literary criticism, gender studies, etc. (Robinson, 1997). Post-colonial studies have progressed through several stages: Orientalist history, nationalist history, and postcolonial history (Prakash, 1990). However, there is not yet consensus on the scope of post-colonial studies. Douglas Robinson attempted to divide it into post-independence studies, post-European colonisation studies, and power-relations studies. These three forms refer to the study of Europe’s former colonies since independence, the study of Europe’s former colonies since colonisation, and the study of all cultures/societies/countries/nations in terms of their power relations with other cultures/etc., respectively (Robinson, 1997).

Ideology of translation is generated by two languages and two cultures, and reveals the power relations between the languages and cultures. Ideology in translation is closely related to such post-colonial concepts as power, hegemony, and empire, which provide a new perspective for translation studies. Seen from a post-colonial perspective, ideology in translation may also show itself in the form of consciousness such as power consciousness and empire consciousness.

A string of concepts, inferences and tropes on translation are constructed in a post-colonial context (Fei, 2003) such as post-colonialism, power relations, and empire. In turn, they show the core and kernel of post-colonial studies in translation studies.

### 1) Post-colonialism

As the prefix ‘post’ suggests, ‘post-colonialism’ means ‘after colonialism’. It is the study of the relationship between ex-colonisers and ex-colonies after colonisation. In this sense, post-colonialism is the successor of colonialism. Oxford Dictionaries defines ‘colonialism’ as ‘the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically’.<sup>6</sup> This definition is inadequate because colonialism covers more than political and economic colonisation, namely, political, economic, military, cultural, ideological, religious, and even educational colonisation.

Colonialism lasted for around five and a half centuries from the fifteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. It goes hand in hand with colonisation and is the result of the latter. Stemming from colonialism, post-colonial studies focus on the aftermath of colonialism and the relationship between the ex-colonisers and the ex-colonies. If colonialism is violent, bloody, direct, and visible, post-colonialism is nonviolent, indirect, and invisible.

Translation from a post-colonial perspective is a tool of colonisation as well as a weapon of decolonisation in both colonial and post-colonial ages. According to Robinson (1997), translation plays three roles in both colonial and post-colonial ages: a) as a channel of colonisation, b) as a lightning-rod for cultural inequalities, and c) as a channel of

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<sup>6</sup> See Oxford Dictionaries, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/colonialism>. last accessed [2015-12-16].



decolonisation. In both colonial and post-colonial translations, the European translators portray the coloniser as the superior, advanced, and civilised *Self* and the colonised as the inferior, primitive, and uncivilised *Other*. The otherness itself indicates a kind of contempt, belittling and bias towards the colonised.

## 2) Power Relations

Among Robinson's tripartite division of post-colonial studies, power-relations studies is of most relevance to the present research. Power is an essential element in post-colonial studies. *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* lists a number of definitions for *power*, among which are: the ability to do something or act in a particular way; the capacity to influence the behaviour of others, the emotions, or the course of events; a right or authority given or delegated to a person or body which is political authority or control; a country viewed in terms of its international influence and military strength; etc. (Soanes & Stevenson, 2006)

Power relations is a key intersection between translation studies and post-colonial studies (Chen, 2008). It is a manifestation of ideology and serves to "establish and sustain relations of power which are systematically asymmetrical" (Thompson, 1990, p. 7). Scholars are interested in unbalanced or asymmetrical power relations between different nationalities, races, languages and cultures. Power relations and other ideological considerations have a significant impact on discourse practices (Chilton & Schäffner, 2003). Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler (1999) claimed that translation has undergone a "power turn" (p. xxxiii). Edward W. Said (1978) summarised the West-East relationship as a power relationship, a dominance relationship, and a hegemonic relationship. Gayatri C. Spivak (1993) discloses power relations, explicit and implicit, in cultural collisions and the blending of two cultures. Post-colonial translation studies integrate translation and politics, and explore translation strategies caused by factors such as ideology and power in translations from 'inferior' languages to 'superior' languages (Fang, 2004).

Tejaswini Niranjana (1992) described translation as "a practice shapes, and takes shape within, the asymmetrical relations of power that operate under colonialism" (p. 2). She then criticised translation studies' Western orientation and summarised three main failings,

one of which is, “that translation studies has until recently not considered the question of power imbalance between different languages” (Niranjana, 1992, p. 48). After her investigation of how source texts of ‘humble’ origin were manipulated by English colonialists in translation and a rewritten image of the ‘Orient’ was constructed, Niranjana (1992) pointed out that translation is a site of asymmetrical power relationships between different languages, races and peoples.

Power relations is also a key term in Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi’s co-edited book, *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice*. They see clearly the power imbalance between vernacular languages and the language of power, English:

Meanwhile, however, the old business of translation as traffic between languages still goes on in the once-and-still colonised world, reflecting more acutely than ever before the asymmetrical power relationship between the various local ‘vernaculars’ (i.e., the languages of the slaves, etymologically speaking) and the one master-language of our post-colonial world, English. (Bassnett & Trivedi, 1999, p. 13)

The asymmetrical power relationship between the master language (the superior language) and the vernacular language (the inferior language) was and still is conspicuous in some of the former colonies such as India, Brazil, Hong Kong, and Macao. Language inequality is a good example of power imbalance which, in turn, affects linguistic practices like translation.

### 3) Empire

‘Empire’ is another key concept related to the present research. Empire refers to an extensive group of states ruled over by a single monarch, an oligarchy, or a sovereign state (Soanes & Stevenson, 2006). It tends to be a political concept, closely related to the relationship of political control imposed by some political societies over the effective sovereignty of other political societies (Doyle, 1986). Robinson (1997) defined empire from a postcolonial perspective as “a political system based on military and economic domination by which one group expands and consolidates its power over many others – usually one nation over many other nations” (p. 8). According to Hobson, Lenin, Schumpeter, and their

followers, empire reflects hegemonic imperialism defined as “the leadership of dominance, especially by one state or social group over others” (Soanes & Stevenson, 2006, p. 661).

Empire is a system of interaction between two political powers: the dominant metropole and the subordinate periphery. The former exerts political control over the latter (Doyle, 1986). Throughout history there have been a number of great empires: the Assyrian empire, the Chinese empire, the Egyptian empire, the Macedonian empire, the Persian empire, the Roman empire, the Holy Roman empire, the Mongol empire, and the Ottoman empire (Robinson, 1997). The two greatest empires of the nineteenth century were the British empire and the French empire, a time when the Chinese empire was declining. The Chinese empire, though on the decline, remained immersed in the beautiful dream of the ‘Celestial Empire’. Seemingly it was a great empire ‘ruling over the whole world’; whereas, in effect it was a subordinate periphery and on the verge of collapse. The dream and the reality formed a stark contrast which implied that tragedy for the great empire was on the way.

Drawing on the concepts defined in this section, this researcher tries to further define ideology of translation from a post-colonial perspective. That is, ideology of translation as the ideas or beliefs of an individual or a social group or class on extra-textual, cultural issues like power relations, hegemony, and resistance. It aims to resist foreign power or hegemony, reverse the asymmetrical power relations between the source text and the target text, and restore the balance between them. Its ultimate aim is to maintain the interests and social status of the individual or the social group or class, or to consolidate their sovereignty. Translation is used as a tool to achieve power balance and as a weapon to maintain power. However, ideology of translation is achieved by specific ideologies, ideologies in translation.

Seen from a post-colonial context, the present research covers two specific ideologies: ethnocentrism and feudalism.

#### 1) Ethnocentrism

Originally a psychological concept, ethnocentrism is now applied in various social science disciplines. The term ethnocentrism was first coined by Ludwig Gumplowicz in 1879 (Bizumi & Duckitt, 2013). It is the belief in the inherent superiority of one’s own group and culture accompanied by a feeling of contempt for other groups and cultures (Delbridge et al.,

1985). It is premised on the belief that one's own ethnic group or one's own culture is superior to other ethnic groups or cultures; and that one's cultural standards can be applied in a universal manner (Hooghe, 2008). William Graham Sumner used the term to identify the roots of imperialism. According to Sumner, ethnocentrism had the general meaning of provincialism or cultural narrowness. It refers to the view that one's own culture is central, while others' are less prominent (Sumner, 1940), showing the tendency of ethnic centeredness and acceptance of culturally 'alike' and rejection of the 'unlike' (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950).

Ethnocentrism is similar to geocentrism and anthropocentrism. Geocentrism signifies the belief that the earth takes a central position in the universe, and anthropocentrism signifies the belief that human beings take a central position on the earth (Bizumic, 2014). In relation to China, we may coin the term sinocentrism to refer to the belief that China (the Chinese empire) takes the central position in the universe. In the present research it has been reworded as sinocentrism.

Gumplowicz called our attention to several examples of ethnocentrism in history: Greeks' believing other groups as barbarians, French regarding themselves as civilised (Gumplowicz, 1887), Hegel's belief that Germans represent the Gods, Chinese perceiving their country presides in the middle of the universe, Jews believing themselves to be God's chosen few, etc. (Gumplowicz, 1895). Taking feudal China as an example, Chinese people believed that China presided at the centre of the earth and named China *Zhongguo* (central/middle kingdom), *Zhonghua* (central civilisation) or *tianxia* (the area beneath the heaven), and the Emperor presumably ruled over everything beneath the heaven and named himself *tianzi* (Son of Heaven).

Ethnocentrism covers two components: cultural ethnocentrism and economic ethnocentrism, the former being of direct relevance to the present research. Cultural ethnocentrism refers to the belief that one's own cultural norms and attitudes are superior to the cultures of other societies or groups, and this cultural superiority is threatened by new arrivals from a foreign land regarded as inferior to one's own land (Hooghe, 2008). Cultural ethnocentrism originates from cultural closeness and ignorance of the outside world.

Psychologically speaking, it originates from lack of cultural confidence (Hooghe, 2008).

Ethnocentrism is associated with education level: higher levels of education associated with lower levels of ethnocentrism (Hooghe, 2008). However, this association is not necessarily natural and direct, but rather a matter of potential.

## 2) Feudalism

The word ‘feudalism’ is derived from ‘feu’ (land tenure), ‘feud’ (fief) or ‘feudum’ (fiefdom) (Critchley, 1978). The term originated in the early sixteenth century in France in reference to a treatise entitled *Libri Feudorum* compiled in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. It is mainly an idea developed throughout Western Europe from the tenth century to the thirteenth century. Feudalism, as defined by Belgium-based scholar, F. L. Ganshof, has two uses: to signify ‘a form of society’, or to signify “a body of institutions creating and regulating the obligations of obedience and service – mainly military service – on the part of a free man (the vassal) towards another free man (the lord), and the obligations of protection and maintenance on the part of the lord with regard to his vassal” (Ganshof, 1970, p. xvi). The first use constitutes the broad or wide sense of the word; whereas the second sense reflects the strict or narrow sense of the word. French historian, Marc Bloch (1961), adhered to the first sense, viewing feudalism as a type of society.

According to Joseph R. Strayer and Rushton Coulborn (1965), feudalism is primarily a method of government, rather than an economic or a social system, in which the essential relationship is that between lord and vassal. It has to be admitted that the lord-vassal relationship is still an economic problem, more or less. As mentioned above, feudalism is a subcategory of economic ideology. Discussions have focused on the inconsistency between the English word ‘feudalism’ and the Chinese expression *feng jian* (封建).<sup>7</sup> A distinction should be made as there is a gap between the two expressions, though they are generally taken as equivalents in China. Chinese feudal society was different from European feudal society in that the former was a totalitarian society, and the latter was a pre-capitalist society. Chinese feudalism was demonstrated in every aspect of society: politics, economy, culture,

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<sup>7</sup> See Hou Jianxin’s thesis, “A Discussion of the Concept of ‘Feng Jian’” (*Social Sciences in China*. 2005, 6: 173-188); Hou Shudong’s thesis, “Three General Conceptions of Feudalism” (*Journal of Beijing Normal University, Social Science Edition*. 2008, 6: 72-79), etc.

etc.; whereas, European feudalism is primarily evident in the economic strata, shown as the fief system.

The term *feng jian* was originally an economic one, meaning “[an emperor] enfeoffing land to nobles and allowing them to establish separate states as vassal states” (Feng, 2006, ii). However, the Chinese society was getting farther and farther away from the original meaning of it from Qin to Qing Dynasties. It was under constant attack by philosophers such as Gu Yanwu, though it was defended by a few others like Huang Zongxi (Feng, 2006). It was then developed to a concept more of political significance than economic meaning.

In the present research, feudalism is defined as a feudal ideology based on the political system and social structure in a feudal society, exerting a significant influence on every aspect of society: politics, economy, culture, etc. Its demerits are conspicuous as compared with capitalism. It is more a political ideology than an economic one, though it stems from the economic stratum, in the present research.

### 3.4 Translation Patronage

Ideology is often enforced by patrons who commission or publish translations (Lefevere, 1992b). A patron can be a person, a group of persons, and/or an institution which can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature (Lefevere, 1992b). According to Lefevere (1992b), patronage is the power that induces pleasure, forms knowledge, and produces discourse.

Patronage comprises, in order of importance, an ideological, an economic, and a status component, all of which are closely related to each other. The ideological component comes first in Lefevere’s three components as constraining the choice and development of both form and subject matter. The economic component sees to it that writers and rewriters are able to make a living, say, by receiving a salary for doing translation. The status component implies integration of translators into a certain support group and its lifestyle (Lefevere, 1992b). Figure 5 shows a comprehensive picture of the three components.

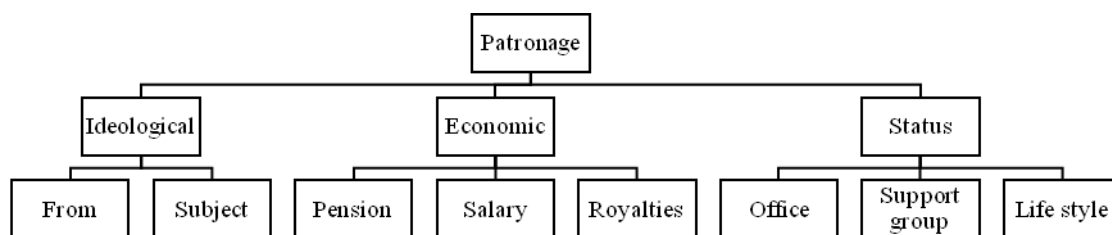


Figure 5. Components of translation patronage

Acceptance of patronage implies that writers and rewriters (such as editors and translators) work within the parameters set by their patrons and that they should be willing and able to legitimise both the status and power of those patrons as attested most forcibly (Lefevere, 1992b). According to Lefevere (1992b), there are two types of patronage: differentiated patronage and undifferentiated patronage. As for differentiated patronage, the three elements of patronage (i.e., the economic, status, and ideological components) were separated, while for undifferentiated patronage, the three elements of patronage were merged. The latter is of relevance to the present research.

A patron's ideology involves the subjectification for translators which defines the nature of the patron's ideology. Seen from Althusser's ideology theory, translator's subjectivity is not individualistic, independent or self-maintaining, but subjectified by exterior forces such as ideology.

### 3.5 Ideological Subjectification

According to Althusser (1971), the subject is constitutive of ideology. Ideology transforms individuals into subjects by interpellation or hailing (Althusser, 1971). It is the process of interpellation or hailing that transforms an individual into a subject. But how? A translator is an individual before he/she becomes a subject. An individual is not a qualified translator: a qualified translator is a subject who has met the specifications agreed upon by the patron and the translator, and who conforms to the ideology of the patron. The patron's ideology may be consistent or inconsistent with the dominant ideology or ruling ideology, either partly or fully.

Translators become subjects or subjectified by the patron's ideological interpellation. That is to say, once a translator agrees to work under the auspices of a patron and abide by

his/her requirements – including ideological requirements – the translator is regarded as subjectified by the patron's ideological interpellation. Being subjectified, the translator recognises he/she is a translator of the patron and then works within the framework of ideology the patron has established and designated. Translators are assigned a certain place in the social ladder by the patron and enjoy certain rights and interests accordingly. In the meantime, they are confined to the patron's ideological framework and have little freedom beyond these confines. Ideological interpellation is like an invisible hand, handling and manipulating the ideology of the translators working under patronage.

For translators, the patron's ideology has priority over the dominant ideology or ruling ideology in cases of ideological conflict as the translation project is initiated, funded or commissioned by no other than the patron. However, when the patron's ideology enters into conflict with the dominant ideology, the former, as oppositional ideology, usually fails and the latter tends to win out as it is guaranteed by status apparatuses.

### 3.6 Summary

This chapter reviews some of the key theoretical concepts related to ideology for the present research: ideology theory and post-colonial theory. It is evident from the theoretical review that some of the concepts are complicated and that there is not yet consensus on their definitions, components, relationships, etc. For instance, the concept *ideology* itself is complex and no adequate definition has yet been made. In the present research, ideology of translation is defined from a post-colonial perspective as the ideas or beliefs of an individual or a particular social group or class, on extra-textual, cultural issues such as power relations, hegemony, and resistance. On the basis of the concepts reviewed, a theoretical framework is constructed for later analyses of Lin's ideology involved in translation.

Furthermore, at least five hypotheses can be drawn based on the above theoretical review: 1) Patronised translation activities are affected by the patron's ideology, both ideology of translation and ideology in translation; 2) A patron's ideological manipulation goes through the whole translation process, i.e., every link of the translational chain; 3) A patron's ideology is injected to the minds of translators working under patronage via the patron's ideological interpellation or hailing, or the translator's ideological subjectification; 4)



The success of the ideological subjectification is the precondition of the patronised translation and dictates the nature of the translation project; and 5) The ideological component of patronage is backed by the economic component and the status component. These hypotheses act as reminders for the researcher during the research process.

## Chapter 4 An Introduction to Lin Zexu's Translation Activities

This chapter introduces Lin's translation activities and his translation patronage, and discusses the significance of his translation activities. By Lin's translation activities we mean the translations he organised for his translators to translate, since he was not a translator himself and could not engage in actual translating. The translation activities were initiated, commissioned, funded and patronised by him. The translated products involved take various forms: newspaper translation, book translation, diplomatic translation, and translation of oral texts. Lin exerted undifferentiated patronage on his translators in which economic, status and ideological components were merged. Lin's translation activities are of tremendous significance: they provided valuable intelligence for his anti-opium campaign and fight against British invasion, helped open Chinese eyes to the outside world, triggered Western-learning translation, promoted China's ideological development in modern times, and enlightened later social movements and reforms.

### 4.1 Translations under Lin Zexu's Patronage

This section introduces four categories of translation activities under Lin's patronage; namely, newspaper translation, book translation, diplomatic correspondence translation, and translation of oral texts.

#### 4.1.1 Newspaper Translation

Lin's newspaper translation occupies a large proportion in his translation activities. The *Canton Press* and the *Canton Register* were the main sources where Lin selected materials for translation. All translations were put together in the form of a newspaper named *Macao News*, which was not the name of an official newspaper. It was so named because the source newspapers were temporarily published at that time in Macao. The only existing copy of *Macao News* is currently stored in the Nanjing Library in six volumes dated from 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1838 to 7<sup>th</sup> November, 1840. There are discontinuities between the volumes. For example, Volume I begins from 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1838 and ends at 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 1839; and Volume II begins from 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1839 and ends at 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1839, with a time gap from 3<sup>rd</sup> August to 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1839 between them. No available documents provide a sound explanation for

the gap, and as a result, it is the existing six volumes that the present research relies on for investigation.

It is probable that more than one of Lin's translators participated in newspaper translation as is evidenced by the fact that some of the proper names were translated inconsistently. For example, in the *Canton Press* dated 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1839, the word 'Dost Mahommed' was translated differently in the same paragraph: '啰士嘛啲蔑' (*luo shi ma he mie*) and '哪士嘛啥喊' (*na shi ma han mie*) respectively; and in the *Canton Press* dated 14<sup>th</sup> December, 1839, the word 'Greece' was also translated differently in the same paragraph: '额力士国' (*e li shi guo*) and '额里西国' (*e li xi guo*) respectively. This indicates that at least two translators participated in the translation of the same paragraph.

#### 4.1.2 Book Translation

Lin's book translation activities cover opium-related translation, geographic translation, and legal translation. His opium-related translation mainly refers to the translation of two books: Algernon S. Thelwall's *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China*, and Charles Toogood Downing's *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7*. His geographic translation mainly refers to the translation of *An Encyclopaedia of Geography* authored by Scottish geographer, Hugh Murray, and his legal translation mainly refers to the translation of *Le Droit des Gens* (The Law of Nations) authored by Swiss legal expert, Emmerich De Vattel.

Unfortunately, the translated text of Thelwall's book, *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China*, disappeared without trace and it is thus impossible to conduct a parallel study of the source text and the target text. *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7* describes what a foreigner saw and heard in China, and more importantly, how Downing, a British merchant at Guangzhou, interpreted what he saw and heard in China from a Western perspective. It was translated by Dr. Hill, surgeon of British bark *Sunda*<sup>8</sup>. *An Encyclopaedia of Geography* by Hugh Murray was an important work on world geography. It was first published in London in 1834, and then published in Philadelphia in 1837, 1841, 1852, etc., with a minor change to the title. The London version bore the title, *An Encyclopaedia of Geography*; whereas, the

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<sup>8</sup> The British bark *Sunda* was wrecked on 12 October, 1839, near the island of Hainan. The survivors from the wreck were kindly treated and interviewed by Lin Zexu at Canton (Chang, 1964)

Philadelphia version was entitled, *The Encyclopaedia of Geography*. Moreover, the London version was in a single book, whereas the Philadelphia version comprised three volumes. The majority of Chinese scholars hold that Lin Zexu took the Philadelphia version as the original work (Chen, 1993).<sup>9</sup> It was translated by Liang Jinde, one of Lin's reliable Chinese translators.

*The Law of Nations* was a work on international law by Emmerich De Vattel. It was translated by Dr. Parker and Yuan Dehui, respectively. The title of Parker's version, '滑达尔各国律例' (*hua da er ge guo lv li*, 'Vattel's *The Law of Nations*'), is a translation of the main title 'The Law of Nations', and the title of Yuan's version, '法律本性正理所载' (*fa lv ben xing zheng li suo zai*, 'The Nature of Law based on Justice') is a translation of the subtitle, 'Principles of the Law of Nature applied to the Conduct and Affairs' (Lai, 2011).<sup>10</sup> Translation of *The Law of Nations* aroused Chinese people's legal consciousness in international discourse. Introduction of Western laws into China pushed China one step forward towards legal modernisation as Chinese feudal laws were built on traditional Chinese philosophy and morality and were incongruent with modern Western laws based on theology. Employing international law in handling foreign affairs was more scientific and effective, and raised China's diplomacy to the level of world diplomacy (Wang, 1985).

#### 4.1.3 Diplomatic Correspondence Translation

Lin's diplomatic correspondence translation refers to the translation of his letter to the Queen of England (Queen Victoria) and one of his official proclamations. Lin's letter to the Queen of England was a lengthy one, with a detailed account of the evil effects of the opium trade. It made a plea to the Queen to put an end to the opium trade. The letter was drafted by Lin Zexu, Deng Tingzhen, and Yi Liang in Chinese. Basically, there were two letters: the first drafted in March-April, 1839 and the second in July-August, 1839 (Gulick, 1973). The second letter was actually a second version of the first (Gulick, 1973). Its chief purpose was to publicise the new Chinese statute that stipulated the death penalty would be imposed on

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<sup>9</sup> The present thesis takes the title, *An Encyclopaedia of Geography*, as it is the name referred to in most previous research.

<sup>10</sup> The translated subtitle, '法律本性正理所载', is not a literal, but rather a free translation of 'Principles of the Law of Nature applied to the Conduct and Affairs'. Its back translation is 'The Nature of Law based on Justice'.

foreign merchants who imported opium into China, rather than just to suppress the opium trade in China (Chang, 1964). It was first translated by Yuan Dehui and then back translated in Chinese by William C. Hunter, an American merchant to see whether or not it was equivalent to the original Chinese version. Out of caution, Lin asked Dr. Peter Parker<sup>11</sup> to make another translation from the original into English to compare it to Yuan's translation for faithfulness. When Lin had the opportunity to meet Dr. Hill he asked him to proofread the two translations made by Yuan and Parker, respectively.

In addition to his letter to the Queen of England, Lin also drafted an official proclamation entitled, 'Great imperial commissioner's governor's of two Kwang provinces<sup>12</sup> lieutenant-governor's of Canton earnest proclamation to foreigners again issued', which he presented to British opium traders in China. The proclamation was later translated by Yuan Dehui from Chinese into English and published in *The Chinese Repository*.

#### 4.1.4 Translation of Oral Texts

Lin's oral translation refers to the translation of a series of oral interrogations, interviews, advertisements, and notes compiled in 1846 into a thin book entitled, '洋事杂录' (*Yang Shi Za Lu*, 'Miscellaneous Notes on Foreign Affairs'). The title was added by one of Lin's immediate subordinates, Chen Depei. Though signed by Liang Zhi (Liang Jinde), there may have been other translators involved in this project as evidenced by the inconsistency of the translated proper names. For example, in one section 'Bengal' was translated differently: '孟哑啦' (*meng ya la*) in paragraph 4, Section III, and '孟啊啦' (*meng a la*) in paragraph 15 of the same section. Regrettably, the role of other translators cannot be confirmed to date. There was not the technology to record conversations at that time so we can only conduct an analysis of the translated text, rather than a parallel study of both the source text and the target text.

#### 4.2 Lin Zexu's Translation Patronage

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<sup>11</sup> Dr. Peter Parker (1804-1888) was an American physician and missionary in China during the Qing Dynasty. He was the first Protestant medical missionary to China. He travelled to Canton in February, 1834 and opened the Guangzhou Boji Hospital in 1835. Apart from being an ophthalmologic expert, he was also a 'temporary' translator employed by Lin Zexu.

<sup>12</sup> The expression "two Kwang provinces" refers to Guangdong Province and Guangxi Province.

In feudal societies, undifferentiated patronage was usually exerted by a totalitarian monarch or a high official, etc. Lin's translation patronage was undifferentiated in that the three elements of patronage: the economic, status, and ideological components, were merged. The three components of patronage played their roles in Lin's translation activities as his translators were well-paid, duly supported and respected by him, and successfully interpellated.

As previously mentioned, patronage can be exerted by individuals or groups of individuals: a religious body, a political party, a social class, a royal court, publishers, and the media. Through Lin's economic, status, and ideological patronage, his translators were interpellated or hailed. From 1839 to 1841, Lin personally organised a series of translation activities after being appointed as Plenipotentiary Imperial Commissioner and before being expelled from the Qing court and forced into exile. He was actually a patron of translation and, as is argued in this thesis, ideology affects such aspects as source text selection, translation procedures, and translation strategies. Lin's control over translators is unparalleled in current society (Wang & Chen, 2013).

Below is a brief discussion of the three components of Lin's patronage, namely, economic, status, and ideological patronage.

#### 4.2.1 Economic Patronage

The economic component concerns payment to translators and determines whether they can make a living or lead a comfortable life by taking up translation as a profession. The payment may appear in the form of pension, salary, or royalty. The economic component played its role in Lin's translation activities as Lin paid high salaries to his translators. This is evidenced by Roswell S. Britton's (1933) statement:

Lancelot Dent, president of the [Morrison Education] Society, said that Lin 'inveigled' one of the 'most intelligent and advanced boys' and kept him 'fully employed' at translating 'English papers and books' during the whole time Lin was at Canton. ... He was well treated and well paid, ... (p. 32)

However, it is a pity that the name of the boy translator was unrecorded, and also undiscovered by later researchers. Lin was fully aware of the importance of translation to his

anti-opium campaign and fight against British oppression. Not knowing the English language himself, he had to rely on ‘linguists’ (translators) to achieve this purpose. China’s feudal educational system focused on the reading of ancient classics and did not include foreign language acquisition at all, although Manchu-Chinese and Manchu-Mongolian translation were included in the Imperial Examination (He, 2009). However, Manchu and Mongolian were not foreign languages in the strict sense. As such, foreign language professionals were rarely available. Lin knew how to attract translators and to keep them on the job. He attached great importance to his translators’ financial benefits by offering a monthly salary of more than 10 taels, equalling the monthly pay of a high-ranking court official (Shao & Lin, 2002). This shows that Lin came to realise that economy was the driving force in deciding employees’ efficiency and loyalty. In a society where translators were looked down upon collectively, Lin’s translators were both happy with and honoured by the salary they received.

#### 4.2.2 Status Patronage

The status component implies the translators’ social status, namely, the bottom, middle or top level of the social hierarchy, and influences the translators’ self-consciousness. In turn, this provides an important psychological basis for their work performance. Status may present in different forms: appointment to some office, membership to a particular support group, a shift to a certain life style, etc. Finding suitable translators for his translation work was not an easy job for Lin as there was a scarcity of foreign language professionals in the Qing government. Foreign language professionals, especially translators and interpreters, were even rarer. In the Qing government, translators, referred to as linguists, had very low social status. They were inferiors in society and were disregarded by court officials and scholars (Yang, 1981). There were however a small number of ‘linguists’ or compradors who knew a little English but were assigned very low social status and were very often mistreated and labelled as traitors (Chen, 1979).

Lin realised the importance of talented people in consolidating and safeguarding state power. For this reason, he called on the whole of society to pay due attention to talented people and to utilise them properly (Jiao, 1985). He not only rectified the ‘name’ (translators were useful professionals, not traitors) for translators, but also granted them academic posts

to acknowledge their value. Furthermore, Lin often sent his translators to manage foreign affairs in his name. His translators were addressed as *fan yi guan* (translation officer) rather than *tong shi* (linguist) (Jiao, 2005). In this way, they were endowed with a certain power and social status.

#### 4.2.3 Ideological Patronage

The ideological component determines which subjects are to be chosen for translation and in what form the translation is to be presented. It determines all the procedures or steps that will follow. The ideological component requires that Lin guarantee his translators to abide by and conform to his ideology in their translations. As Lin had no knowledge of the English language and could not read the translations in parallel with the source texts, he could not participate in actual translating. However, he was a man never lacking in wisdom and was thus very prudent and meticulous in ensuring his translators' ideological loyalty. He asked several foreigners to translate for him, but he was aware that he could not rely on any single one as they had different ideological stances. Thus, in English-Chinese translation he would have most probably asked one of his Chinese translators to translate the same texts to establish the foreigner's loyalty. For example, Lin asked Dr. Parker to translate Vattel's, *The Law of Nations*. Out of suspicion of Parker's loyalty, he asked Yuan Dehui, one of his permanent translators, to translate it again to check the reliability of Parker's version (Liu, 2001). By acquiring the translators and by comparing the translations from the same source text Lin successfully exerted his ideology over his translators.

As said before, ideological patronage entails ideological interpellation. Lin's translators became subjects or were subjectified by his ideological interpellation. As such, they recognised that they were translators for an imperial high official and worked within the ideological framework Lin had designated. As Lin's translators, they enjoyed great honour and certain rights and interests. They had little freedom however beyond the confines designated by Lin. Ideological interpellation was like an invisible hand, handling and manipulating the ideology of the translators working under patronage.

For translators, the patron's ideology took priority over the dominant or ruling ideology as the translation project is initiated, funded or commissioned by the patron. In the



Qing government, the ruling ideology – also the dominant ideology – was not conducive to translation activities. Lin had a contrasting attitude towards translation however. To Lin, translation was a way to learn about the outside world as well as to learn from it. However, due to fear of the imperial power and blind loyalty to the Emperor, Lin's ideology could only go partially in opposition to the ruling ideology. In other words, Lin could only fight against the ruling ideology when to do so would not take too much risk. In this sense, to conform to Lin's ideology was to conform to the ruling ideology.

To recruit translators is to select people with the potential to be interpellated and to become subjects. Through interpellation, the patron's ideology is injected into the minds of the translators. Lin's translators were so ideologically subjected or subjectified that their ideology conformed to their patron's. By being interpellated or hailed as 'linguists' by Lin, his translators recognised their status as translators and positioned themselves according to the 'specifications' made by their patron, Lin. They had to adhere to the specifications from beginning to end, and had no freedom to ignore, disrespect, or object to them unless they were otherwise hailed (i.e., hailed as 'non-linguists' by Lin).

#### 4.3 Significance of Lin Zexu's Translation Activities

Lin's translation activities not only had immediate effects, but also had far-reaching significance. As for the immediate effects, they provided valuable intelligence for his anti-opium campaign and fight against British invasion. As for the far-reaching significance, they helped to open Chinese people's eyes to the outside world, triggered Western-learning translation, promoted China's ideological development in the modern times, and enlightened later social movements and reforms. What's more, their significance for translation history was incalculable. Lin's translation activities are even regarded as the third climax in Chinese translation history (Ma, 1999).

##### 4.3.1 Providing Intelligence for Lin's Anti-opium Campaign

Lin acquired a lot of useful information from the translated newspapers and books concerning details of opium traffic and sales, British policy on opium, and foreigners' attitudes towards opium. Based on the information gathered through his translation activities, Lin managed to formulate the policies and measures which laid the basis for initial victory in

his anti-opium campaign (Shao & Lin, 2002).

Generally, *Macao News* provided Lin with the following information about opium and the opium trade:

- 1) General information of the opium trade including the total amount of opium traded across the world, the amount of opium delivered by Britain to China, the total value of opium exported to China by Britain, the number of opium ships at Humen, and the amount of opium sales in China from January to June, 1839;
- 2) British opium policies and regulations such as those relevant to the Asia Company and British trade;
- 3) Foreigners' attitudes and responses to the opium trade and opium bans. This included Captain Elliot's reply to the Commissioner concerning his opium ban, Elliot's promise to deliver opium, Britain's attitude towards China's official ban of opium, America's attitude towards the opium ban, negative effects of the opium trade suspension on British tax revenue, the legality of the opium monopoly, a British citizen's request to the Queen for suspending British opium trade in China, and Thelwall's book entitled, *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China*;
- 4) British request for compensation such as the British financial loss from China's opium ban, Elliot's request for compensation, and British opium dealers' requests for compensation; and
- 5) Bond of consent to stop opium traffic. This information provided a useful and dynamic reference for Lin's anti-opium campaign: for his decision-making and policy-making in accordance with changes of situation, enabling him to adapt his work to the changing situation, and assisting him in winning the battle of opium.

From the translated text, *Hua Shi Yi Yan*, Lin gained information about the opium trade, opium clippers, revenue of foreign trade, opium trade during the reign of Emperor Keen-loon, prohibition of opium during the reign of Emperor Kia-king; severities against opium-smokers, quantities of opium imported from India and Turkey, the general smuggling trade, and how the opium trade stopped. China's opium prohibition during the two reigns of Emperors Keen-loon and Kia-king provided Lin with past experience on how to combat opium. The paragraph about opium clippers informed Lin of the means of transportation for

opium smuggling, and the paragraph about revenue of foreign trade in Britain revealed how much the British government gained from opium tax and how important it was to the British economy. The information implied the potential protest against China's opium ban from Britain, especially British opium dealers, and drew a very clear picture for Lin of the opium trade between Britain and China. As a result, he could establish his counter-measures as reflected in the ancient Chinese saying, 'Know the enemy and know thyself, and thou can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat.'

The translated legal text, *Ge Guo Lv Li*, also concerned the topic of opium including the right of a state to prohibit the entrance of foreign merchandise and to confiscate smuggled goods. This was closely related to the opium ban to exclude opium from China and to confiscate smuggled opium from British merchants. The legal articles provided the legal grounds for Lin's opium ban, enhanced his sense of justice, and boosted his confidence to run his anti-opium campaign. The translated texts had a "decisive influence" (Hsü, 1960, p. 125) on Lin as he used it as a legal weapon in proclaiming an opium contraband and demanding its destruction, and in requesting the Queen of England to stop the opium trade in his letter to her (Hsü, 1960).

Lin's oral translations touched upon opium and the opium trade including the varieties of opium, opium planting, methods of opium destruction, British opium trade in China, British people's reactions to China's opium ban, and British regulations for merchant ships. These written texts offered direct knowledge to Lin's anti-opium campaign, acted as a direct reference for his work, and satisfied the immediate needs of the time.

The above information provided useful intelligence for Lin's anti-opium campaign. This is evidenced by his memorials to the Emperor. In a memorial to the Emperor dated 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 1839, Lin (1965) reported:

Harbours at Bengal, Bombay, and Madras all belong to the UK. It is a two-month travel distance from these harbours to the UK, and a slightly shorter distance from them to the inland of China. Crafty barbarians, reckless with greed and disregardful of China's strict opium ban, have been commuting between foreign oceans and seas of Fujian and Zhejiang Provinces, via Guangdong Province and

south Macao. The routes are familiar to them. They frequently take forbidden goods [opium] to places they are not allowed access to. (p. 648)

#### 4.3.2 Providing Intellectual Support for Lin's Fight against Foreign Invasion

The translated newspaper provided intellectual support for Lin's fight against foreign invasion. For example, *Macao News* dated 25<sup>th</sup> July, 1840 dealt with the potential threat from Russia on China's south-western frontier from which Lin detected the problem of defence against Russian invasion. In the newspaper dated 27<sup>th</sup> June, 1840, Lin learnt that British troops were to invade Dinghai and Tianjin in the north. In turn, he worked out precautions to fight against the potential invasion and disrupted the initial attempt by Britain to invade China (Chen, 1998). To sum up briefly, *Macao News* provided the following information concerning foreign invasion:

- 1) Military statuses of foreign powers such as military statistics of the principal powers of Europe, Indian military affairs, Russia's victory in Tartary, Russia and Britain's struggle for hegemony in Afghanistan and Turkey, the military work of Peter the Great, Antarctic and Arctic expeditions of American and French ships, war in India, and the route from St. Petersburg to India;
- 2) Small conflicts and battles such as the case of Lin Weixi<sup>13</sup>, gunfire at Nan'ao Island, conflicts in Tsim Sha Tsui, the potential British-Sino War, estimation of the battle in Humen, the Sino-British battle of Macao's Barrier Gate, the battle of Kowloon, the battle of Xiamen between Britain and China<sup>14</sup>, the British conquest of Zhoushan Island, fire on Spanish warships, and inland river runners;
- 3) British preparatory work for war such as Elliot's stationing at Tsim Sha Tsui, Elliot's

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<sup>13</sup> On 12 July 1839, a group of British sailors took shore leave at a Chinese village called Tsim Sha Tsui, Kowloon, Hong Kong, and demolished a Chinese temple and beat up a local villager named Lin Weixi in a drunken brawl, who died next day. Lin Zexu ordered delivery of the murderer, but it was declined by Captain Elliot, the then Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China, who attempted to solve the problem with money. Lin Zexu, however, insisted on death penalty for the murderer and resorted to the law book, *The Law of Nations*, for legal support.

<sup>14</sup> In a letter to Yi Liang dated the 8<sup>th</sup> lunar month of the 20<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Daoguang (September, 1840), Lin mentioned the battle of Xiamen by referring to *Macao News*, 'The gossip about the battle of Xiamen was exaggerating. I feel doubtful about it as I did not see any exaggerated words in barbarians' newspapers. If things are like what has been said in your memorial to me, the gossip monger was exaggerating.'

fire ships anchoring at Dagou, Britain adding sailors to its naval forces, foreign warships steering for Zhoushan Island, and Britain's new way to make cannons;

- 4) Situation of British troops in China such as the non-acclimatisation of British soldiers in Zhoushan Island, the protest from foreigners against harbour closures, and the war and peace debate in Britain's House of Commons. This information touched upon details of foreign military affairs and their actions in China and provided useful reference for Lin's preparatory work for war. It also helped him to beat back foreign invaders and expel them from China, as well as to win a preliminary victory in the fight against foreign invasions.

Lin's book translations also played a very important role in the development of his anti-British invasion strategies and his precautions against Russian expansion. The translated book, *Si Zhou Zhi*, presented detailed information about foreign affairs such as histories, politics, geographical demarcations, waterways, land ways, and the military strengths of various countries in the world. The information opened Lin's eyes by providing a detailed picture of most countries in the world. It helped him to understand the military strategies of China's main enemies including the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US): their military histories, past wars, military strengths and weaknesses, and the routes to and from locations, etc. This intelligence was conducive to Lin's counter-measures and war plans as evidenced by his initial victories in small local battles that preluded his fight against foreign invasion, especially British invasion.

Lin's legal translation facilitated his negotiations with Captain Elliot in the case of Lin Weixi. The translated text, *Ge Guo Lv Li*, provided him with legal knowledge in international law, helped him to fight Elliot's shielding of the suspect, and protected China's national reputation. Lin learnt from *Ge Guo Lv Li* that foreigners in England were subject to British laws. Accordingly, foreigners in China should obey Chinese laws which included the death penalty for murderers. Lin's legal translation met the requirements of China's diplomacy in the late-Qing Dynasty and upgraded the Qing government's capabilities to engage in international relations.

Lin's oral translation, *Yang Shi Za Lu*, also touched upon military affairs in foreign countries related to potential foreign invasion. It included general information about British

troops; travel routes between Britain and China; waterways and land routes from England to Canton; the arrival and departure dates of British people; travel routes from England to Russia; and travel routes from Russia to Tartary, Afghanistan, and Persia. *Yang Shi Za Lu* provided a vivid depiction of British troops and the movements and actions of merchant ships, which were unavailable in newspapers and books. This enabled Lin to gain dynamic knowledge of British troops and to make counter-measures accordingly.

The information Lin gathered from the translated texts provided intellectual support for his fight against foreign invasion, and offered reference for his decision-making. The following quotation from one of Lin's memorials to the Emperor dated May, 1840 serves as evidence:

Apart from the details of the movements of ships Smith, Maitland, etc., confirmed and reported to Your Majesty, more intelligence has been newly acquired. On 22<sup>nd</sup> May, two warships were seen at the outskirts of Jiuzhou Ocean heading towards us from foreign oceans. One of the ships was equipped with seventy cannons or so placed in three layers, the other was equipped with only one layer of cannons. On 23<sup>rd</sup>, seven more warships arrived one after another. None of them was huge as they had only one layer of cannons. It was followed by two fire ships, barbarians' cruise and correspondence ships which had previously been to Canton seas. ... They dared not approach us. (Lin, 1965, pp. 837-838)

This was actually an omen of the upcoming Opium War as British warships were gathering near Canton attempting to block the Canton seas. With this knowledge, Lin tightened defences at Canton by organising military rehearsals on the seas, strengthening the batteries at Humen and secretly purchasing Western bronze and iron cannons (Zheng, 2006).

#### 4.3.3 Opening Chinese People's Eyes to the Outside World

Lin, via translation, opened a window to the outside world through which not only he and his colleagues, but also ordinary Chinese people could get to know the outside world. Prior to his translation activities, Chinese people, including Lin, were mostly blind and deaf to the outside world. For example, Ruan Yuan, a Chinese scholar, took England as a vassal state of Holland, and thought France converted from Buddhism to Catholicism. Emperor

Daoguang himself did not even know where England was, whether there was a land route to it, or whether it bordered Russia. Lin, Yi Liang, and other officials assumed the Englishmen's close-fitting clothes to their waists and limbs prevented them from running, and that the Chinese may slay them like dogs and sheep (Lin, 2002). Upon seeing that British envoys did not kneel down before the Emperor, some Chinese people believed that their legs could not bend at all, and that they would therefore fall to the ground if struck in the leg (ibid). Upon his arrival to Guangzhou, Lin held that the US was void of a President and ruled by 24 people in 24 places, making it difficult to pass official decrees throughout the country (Lin, 1965). Lin thought Turkey was part of the US (Chinese History Society, 1954), and believed that in February there were 28 days, and 29 days, 30 days, 31 days and 32 days in some other months (Editorial Committee, 2002). Finally, Lin believed that India produced opium by immersing both killed crows and poppies in a pool. He even reported these assumptions to the Emperor in his memorials (Huang, 2013). It was his translation activities that helped him remove these assumptions and to progress from ignorance to knowledge.

Lin's translation activities helped him to keep abreast of the modern world and to understand the features and regularities of the Western invaders. He came to realise that Western colonialists were forcing the East to subordinate to the West. He came to know the true colours of the colonialists through the details provided in the translated texts. This is evidenced in the following quotation: "England first conducted trade in India, and then got the whole country. It then got Singapore, coveting Macao and the Philippines. And it seems that it is coveting even China" (Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5121). From the information contained in this quotation Lin learnt that trade was the first priority and ultimate goal of the West. To grab endless economic profits was their ultimate pursuit. Bearing this in mind, Lin could establish his work plans accordingly.

Lin had his translated newspapers dispatched to court officials like Guan Tianpei, Yi Liang, and Deng Tingzhen, and even Emperor Daoguang. Emperor Daoguang, initially an opponent of translation and Western learning, would get excited upon receipt of the translated newspapers in the form of memorials and began to learn about foreign countries (Ni, 2008). A wave of Western learning thus initiated from the top down, sweeping society with a driving force. Indeed, Lin's translation activities were an initial step in China's

‘opening to the outside world’ in the modern times. They had a significant impact on late-comers such as Wei Yuan, Yao Ying, and Zuo Zongtang. Wei Yuan proposed that China should learn ‘from the advanced technologies of barbarians in order to subdue them’ in his well-known book, *An Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries* (海国图志, *hai guo tu zhi*). Yao Ying seconded Lin and Wei’s proposal to learn from the West by organising translations of ‘barbarian’ books and communications. Zuo Zongtang, a representative of the Westernisation Movement, introduced under Lin’s influence advanced shipbuilding technologies from the West to China, and set up the Mawei Naval Academy which generated a large pool of naval talent. The Hundred Days Reform was also indebted to Lin’s translation activities as it put his ideas into practice. Feng Guifeng and Liang Qichao went on to explore the cures of China’s backwardness by following Lin’s lead. Yan Fu, Lin Shu, and Liang Qichao advocated Western politics and culture, and promoted social reform in order to change the backwardness of China.

Lin’s translated texts offered new knowledge to the Chinese people and helped them to erase outdated conceptions or misconceptions. For example, *Si Zhou Zhi* included references to the majority of countries in the world and pushed Chinese people to know the outside world. This meant, of course, erasing previous misconceptions such as “China is the centre of the world”, “China is the most prosperous country in the world”, and “people in foreign countries are barbarians” (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 365). Indeed, the translations played a pioneering role in various fields including science, technology, industry, agriculture, education, military matters, and social sciences. They also promoted Western learning in a comprehensive manner. Lastly, they not only changed Chinese officials’ ways of thinking, but also attracted great attention from foreigners in China who praised them as “enriching Chinese people’s knowledge” (Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 4994).

However, despite Lin and his colleagues’ efforts in the translation activities what they learned from the translated texts was somewhat simplistic, sporadic, and unsystematic. For example, there were only simplistic details of the political institutions in the British and American political systems such as the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Parliament, Privy Council, Congress, etc. As to how they worked, however, the translated texts did not offer any information.



#### 4.3.4 Triggering Western-learning Translation

Chairman Mao pointed out, “Progressive Chinese people began to seek for truth from Western countries after innumerable trials and tribulations” (Mao, 1944, p. 1358). The journey of Western-learning was initiated by Lin Zexu in modern times (Yang, 1989). Lin was the first to organise translation activities in modern China, and his translated book, *Si Zhou Zhi*, triggered a zest for world geographical translation. Influenced by Lin, a large number of open-minded scholar-officials started their journey to learn more about the West and to learn from the West, and produced a series of works on Western history and geography. According to statistics, there were 22 world geographical works from 1840 to 1861 (Liu, 1998). Table 2 lists some of the well-known books:

Table 2. Works on Western history and geography, 1840-1861

Author	Book title	Year of publication
Wang Wentai	<i>A Study of England of Red-haired Barbarians</i> (红毛番英吉利考略, <i>hong mao fan ying ji li kao lue</i> )	1841
Wei Yuan	<i>A Treatise on the Great Britain</i> (英吉利小记, <i>ying ji li xiao ji</i> )	1841
Chen Fengheng	<i>A Brief Account on the Great Britain</i> (英吉利纪略, <i>ying ji li ji lue</i> )	1841
Yao Ying	<i>Chronicles of the Great Britain</i> (英吉利国志, <i>ying ji li guo zhi</i> )	1842
Wei Yuan	<i>An Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries</i> (海国图志, <i>hai guo tu zhi</i> )	1843
Wang Yunxiang	<i>A Record of Overseas Barbarians</i> (海外番夷录, <i>hai wai fan yi lu</i> )	1844
Yao Ying	<i>Kangyou Travels</i> (康輶纪行, <i>kang you ji xing</i> )	1846
Liang Tingnan	<i>Four Essays on Off-shore Countries</i> (海国四说, <i>hai guo si shuo</i> )	1846
Xu JiYu	<i>A Brief Survey of the Maritime Circle</i> (瀛寰志略, <i>ying huan zhi lue</i> )	1848
Xia Xie	<i>The Chronicles of the Relations Between China and the West</i> (中西纪事, <i>zhong xi ji shi</i> )	1850
He Qiutao	<i>Geography of the North-West</i> (朔方备乘, <i>shuo fang bei cheng</i> )	1858

The following paragraphs provide more details of the contents of some of the books.

Yao Ying, a Qing historian and man of letters, drew upon lessons from the Opium War to investigate foreign affairs in order to formulate ‘counter-barbarian’ policies and measures. He finished *Kangyou Travels* in 1845, partly based on his personal travels in South-western China and partly on previous geographical works. The book is an account of the history and geography of foreign countries including Britain, France, Russia, India, Nepal, and Sikkim. It helped both young and old Chinese people to get to know the West and the world (Huang,

1995).

Having experienced the hardships of the Opium War period, Liang Tingnan, a feudal intellectual, dived into all sorts of Chinese and Western data and finished his *Four Essays on Off-shore Countries* in 1846. The essays depict British and American history and China's foreign relations from early Qing Dynasty to the Daoguang period (Huang, 1995).

Xu Jiyu's, *A Brief Survey of the Maritime Circle*, presents a systematic study of the geography, history, economy, and culture of nearly 80 countries in the world in ten volumes. It shows Xu came to realise that the world was pluralistic rather than a 'grand-unified' system centred on China and that each custom, religious belief, or standard of value had its merits. Thus, we could not judge the demerits of other countries by Confucian standards.<sup>15</sup> As a follower of Lin, Xu made a breakthrough in the idea of putting Western knowledge into practice and the differentiation between China and barbarians. His pragmatism was clearly evident in this book, but his approach was somewhat different to Lin's. To clarify, Lin's aim was to learn from the advanced technologies of the enemy in order to control them; whereas, Xu's aim was to learn about Western countries in order to cooperate with them more effectively (Chesneaux, Bastid & Bergere, 1976).

Wei Yuan's, *An Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries*, was finished in 1842, the 22<sup>nd</sup> year of the reign of Emperor Daoguang. It was based on Lin's *Si Zhou Zhi* (Geography of Four Continents). It was originally written in 50 volumes, but was later expanded to 100 volumes in which Wei, a follower of Lin and one of his close friends in the court, proposed 'to learn from the advanced technologies of barbarians in order to subdue them' and redefined *yi di* (夷狄): Civilised countries outside China are not *yi di* (barbarians or savages).<sup>16</sup> He thus had a breakthrough in the distinction between China and barbarians and took a step forward in understanding *yi*, *di* and like concepts. It was the first world geographical work compiled by a Chinese person and it was hugely popular in China and Japan. It was passed to Japan in 1851 and had considerable influence on the Meiji Reformation from the 1860s to 1890s (Tao, 2000). The journey of exploration initiated by Lin led to a zeal for world history and geography among Chinese scholars.

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<sup>15</sup> See *Ying Huan Zhi Lue* (final version, Vol. 2).

<sup>16</sup> See *Hai Guo Tu Zhi* (Vol. 2, 43).

In addition to geographical works, works on Western learning also emerged in China such as Feng Guifen's 'Proposing Western Learning' (采西学议, *cai xi xue yi*). Feng Guifen, one of the followers and disciples of Lin, mentioned the importance of translation – especially sci-tech translation – in his paper, 'Cai Xi Xue Yi'. He attached the utmost importance to sci-tech translation and suggested it should be assigned the first translation priority.

Following Yao, Liang, Xu, Wei, and Feng, scholars including Xue Fucheng, Wang Tao, Kang Youwei, and Liang Qichao conducted further explorations of the outside world and drew useful information from foreign documents. It prompted them to reflect on the traditional concept of the 'Celestial Empire' and helped them gain a true picture of the modern world. Thus, it accelerated the ideological shift from closeness to openness and from tradition to modernity. What's more, Lin's application of international laws excerpted from *The Law of Nations* to deal with international disputes blazed the trail for the Qing government to employ international laws to handle foreign disputes. Enlightened by Lin's legal translation, later reformists set about translating Western legal works into Chinese in an organised and systematic fashion.

Translation institutions emerged as a response to the call of the age. During the Westernisation Movement (1960s-1990s) two translation institutions were established: Kiangnan General Manufacturing Bureau Translation Division, and Peking Tungwen College. According to statistics, Kiangnan General Manufacturing Bureau Translation Division translated 44 books throughout the Westernisation Movement, seven of which were works on social sciences, and two on international law (Fu, 1998). During the same period, Peking Tungwen College translated 25 Western books, five of which were on international law and the laws of foreign countries. One of the most prominent among the 25 books was *Wan Guo Gong Fa* (万国公法, *Law of Nations*) translated by William A. P. Martin (whose Chinese name was Ding Weiliang), an American Presbyterian missionary to China, and Dean of Studies and senior instructor at Peking Tungwen College. A total of 500 taels were allocated by Yi Xin, Prince Kung, to produce 300 copies of the book to be distributed to governors in coastal locations to be used as a reference (Hou, 1996). From then on, diplomatic officials in the Qing government began to adopt international law in handling foreign affairs.

Translation institutions, especially non-governmental institutions, became more active in the early Republican period. This was at a time when translation projects of various sorts were initiated (most by non-governmental institutions) to promote Western science and technology, modern education, social movements and reforms, literature and arts, and business activities. Lin's translations had a huge impact not only in China, but also overseas. Part of his translated work, *Si Zhou Zhi*, was translated back into English by E. H. Parker, an English barrister and sinologist, and gained much popularity within the English community (Liu, 2006).

#### 4.3.5 Promoting China's Ideological Development in the Modern Times

Lin's ideology acted as a catalyst for China's ideological development in the modern era. Generally speaking, ideological development was occurring in modern China: from 'putting classics into practice' to 'Western learning originated from China', and from 'Western learning originated from China' to 'Chinese learning for fundamentals and Western learning for use'. Drawing on Lin's idea to 'put classics into practice', leaders of the Westernisation Movement such as Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang, and Li Hongzhang initiated China's modernisation movement. They advocated Chinese learning for fundamentals and Western learning for use, and availed Western learning as a weapon to facilitate China's modernisation (Shi, 1998).

Drawing on Lin's proposal "to learn from the advanced technologies of enemies in order to subdue them" (Wei, 1976, p. 177), Wei Yuan further proposed "to learn from the advanced technologies of barbarians in order to subdue them" (Wei, 1976, p. 177) and this inspired Chinese people to seek truth from the West. Specifically, Wei aimed at 'converting all foreign advanced technologies to Chinese advanced technologies to build a prosperous country with a strong army' (Wei, 1838/1976). The difference between the two proposals lay in the terms 'enemies' and 'barbarians'. Wei extended his target from 'enemies' to 'barbarians' to include both enemies and non-enemies. Wei's proposal led to the promulgation of Western learning and the birth of New Learning<sup>17</sup>, and broadened the

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<sup>17</sup> The "New Learning" refers to Western Learning, i.e., the new culture transmitted to China from the West from late Qing Dynasty to the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement, including social sciences and natural science. It was so called as opposed to the Old Learning (traditional Chinese learning or Chinese classics learning).

horizons of Chinese people under the feudal system.

What also deserves mentioning is that Lin made a breakthrough on the traditional distinction between Cathay (China) and barbarians and realised that China lagged far behind the West in a number of aspects. As such, he declared China needed to learn from the West in order to catch up with it. This breakthrough exerted huge influence on Chinese thinkers in the modern era. It formed the basis of the ideas of early reformers and provided ideological soil for bourgeois reformists and bourgeois democratic revolutionaries (Liu, 2006). It also ushered in an era in which Chinese people began to admit the superiority of Western civilisation over Chinese civilisation in terms of science and technology (Liu, 2006).

Lin's translation activities started a journey of ideological emancipation for others. Xu Jiyu was one of the few who made a substantial breakthrough in the distinction between Cathay and barbarians. In his 1844 draft of *A Brief Survey of the Maritime Circle* (瀛寰志略, *ying huan zhi lue*), the character '夷' (*yi*) was frequently used; whereas in the drafts that followed, it appeared less and less frequently, either deleted or changed to neutral terms. For example, '夷目' (*yi mu*, 'barbarous eye/head') was changed to '英官' (*ying guan*, 'British officer'), and '山之尽头, 夷谓之岌' (*shan zhi jin tou, yi wei zhi ji*, 'Barbarians call the end of the mountain a dangerous place') was changed to '山之尽头, 番谓之岌' (*shan zhi jin tou, fan wei zhi ji*, 'Foreigners call the end of the mountain a dangerous place'). In the section entitled 'Britain' in the 1844 draft, the character '夷' (*yi*) appeared 21 times; whereas in the final version there was no use of the character (Ren, 1992). This is a substantial step forward as Xu shifted his perspective of the world from Monism to pluralism.

Later translators expressed similar ideas. In his 1859 'New Plans to Aid Government' (资政新篇, *zi zheng xin pian*), Hong Rengan, King Shield, an army adviser of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement, pointed out that expressions such as '*yi, di, rong, man*, and *guizi*' (夷狄戎蛮鬼子) are just a matter of verbal victory and uncondusive to statecraft (Hong, 1859). Wang Tao, a late-Qing thinker, remarked in his 1893 *Correspondences of Tao Garden* (弢园尺牘, *tao yuan chi du*), "Seen from the current situation, the commercial intercourse has tied China with the rest of the globe, so it is decadent and rigid to migrate the *rong* people (nomadic people) and repel the *yi* people (barbarians)" (Chen, 1984, p. 27).

Lin's legal translation helped to enlighten China's sovereignty consciousness and international awareness. Prior to his legal translation, there was no such concept as sovereignty, nor the awareness of the international community of which China was a member. In the minds of the Chinese people, all the lands beneath the heaven belonged to the Emperor, and all people on these lands were His subjects. To the Celestial Empire, China lied at the centre of the universe, ruling over all other countries which were its tributary states. There was no such concept as international law and all foreign affairs were handled in accordance to Chinese laws, rules and regulations. Thus, when Chinese laws were no longer applicable in international affairs, China was at a loss as what to do and what rules to abide by. Conscious of the impotence of Chinese law in dealing with international conflicts such as the opium trade and the case of Lin Weixi, Lin set about translating Western law and employing it to resolve international disputes, thus reflecting his proposition to learn from the advanced laws of barbarians in order to subdue them.

Lin's translation activities sparked Chinese people's sense of national identity and enlightened a modern consciousness. The effects of Lin's translation activities on China's ideological development is also seen in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement (1851-1864) led by a collective leadership headed by Hong Xiuquan. Hong, a member of the peasant stratum, learned to open his eyes to the outside world in order to seek ideological assistance for his revolution from the West. He set up the so-called 'Worshipping-God Religion' by using Christianity as a tool. He merged Christianity with elements of Confucianism such as Great Unity and peasant equalitarianism, and redefined some of the key terms of Christianity such as 'God' to suit his purposes and to construct his own ideology. The Taiping Movement advocated anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism, drawing people's attention not only to domestic corruption, but also to external aggression. This was the first time in Chinese history that peasant leaders cast their eyes over the world outside China and employed Western religion as an ideological weapon to fulfil their ideals. Lin's translation activities introduced not only new knowledge, but also new perspectives from which late-comers developed their own ideology to serve their mission.

Although Lin is referred to as the first person in modern China to "open his eyes to observe the world" (Fan, 1947, p. 21), he did not completely remove himself from the

confinement of the distinction between Cathay and barbarians. This was primarily due to his class limitations, nationalism, and absolute loyalty to the Emperor. Later reformers developed his ideology but did not trigger a fundamental revolutionary change due to their class limitations.

#### 4.3.6 Enlightening Later Social Movements and Reforms

Lin's translation work triggered a series of social movements and reforms including the establishment of *Zongli Yamen*, and the development of the Westernisation Movement and the Hundred Days Reform. *Zongli Yamen* was the Qing government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the first diplomatic organ in modern China. Previously there was neither the concept of foreign relations nor a foreign ministry. Rather, the relation between China and foreign countries, especially bordering countries, was one of suzerain and tributary states based on hierarchical power structures. The responsibility of diplomatic affairs was shouldered by local governments. As mentioned earlier, when Lin was appointed Imperial Commissioner, he became the sole diplomat in Guangdong. As such, he was the only high official in charge of diplomatic exchanges. For example, he drafted the letter to the Queen of England and had it translated into English. After the Opium War, diplomatic ties became increasingly complicated. Faced with this new situation, Yi Xin, a leading figure of the Westernisation Movement and the sixth son of Emperor Daoguang, pleaded the Emperor to set up a *Zongli Yamen* to take charge of foreign affairs exclusively. The *Zongli Yamen* was established to merge the Western diplomatic system with traditional feudal elements. Its establishment in 1861 marked the beginning of China's modern diplomatic system (Chen, 1990a).

Lin's translation work also paved the way for the Westernisation Movement ideologically. The Westernisation Movement resumed Lin's journey to probe into new knowledge and Western science and technology. Led by Lin's pragmatism, it set its main content as adopting Western learning and making Western (military) equipment. The Westernisation Movement contributed to major adjustments to China's traditional suzerain-dependency system and created a modern diplomatic system that promoted China's diplomatic modernisation. Influenced by Lin, Zuo Zongtang, another leading figure of the Westernisation Movement, introduced advanced technologies from the West and established

the Mawei Naval Academy. This was the first naval academy in modern China and cultivated a number of talented people in China's modern naval force (ibid).

Reformists of the Hundred Days Reform also put Lin's ideas into practice, reflecting the ideal to build China into a strong nation comparable to Western powers. One of the chief reformists, Kang Youwei, commented on Lin's translation work, "In the 20<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Emperor Daoguang (1840), Lin Wenzhong<sup>18</sup> [Lin Zexu], for the first time in history, started organising foreign newspaper translation in order to gain knowledge of foreign countries" (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 408). Kang Youwei held that China had to reform to become self-strong and believed that one of the means to achieve this was to introduce Western learning into China. By Western learning Kang meant Western political systems and science. In the 'Declaration on the Shanghai Learn-to-be-Strong Society', Kang set as its primary task 'to translate and publish books' on the principle of differential treatment and priority. He published the biography of Peter the Great in *New Knowledge*, a newspaper set up by himself, in instalments, and introduced Peter's political reform to urge the Qing government to improve politics by learning from Russia.

Liang Qichao, another leading figure in the Hundred Days Reform, concluded after researching modern Western history, "Western strength does not rely on their military power (though it does demonstrate it), rather, it depends on translation" (Liang, 1897, p. 10). It was common practice in European countries to translate Greek and Roman classics into modern European languages, and to translate the books listed for school subjects. Based on this knowledge, Liang (1897) coined the slogan, "saving the country by translating" (p. 10). The Western books to be translated however were, according to Liang, in a hierarchical order in terms of importance: 1) books on reforms, directly serving the then reform; 2) textbooks, for recitation; 3) Constitutions, to clarify the foundation on which they build their country; 4) books on rules and regulations for administrative purposes; and 5) business books, to revitalise China's commerce (Guo, 1998). Liang also gained insights from Russia and Japan, as evidenced by the following comment from Ma Huawen (2005):

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<sup>18</sup> 'Wenzhong' (文忠) was an honorary title conferred to ministers after their death for their service and contribution to the country. The character 'wen' means statecraft, and 'zhong' means loyalty to the Emperor and the Sovereignty.



Peter the Great visited various countries and collected all useful books, and had them rendered into Russian in order to educate his people. That's why Russia has remained strong until now... In Japan, all Western practical books can find their translations. That's why its reform hit the point and made it a strong country in the world. (p. 11)

However, all of the social movements aimed to maintain or consolidate feudal rule, rather than overthrow it. Hence, China's modernisation was only a partial transformation within the confinement of traditional Chinese culture and the feudal political system.

#### 4.4 Summary

This chapter introduces Lin's translation activities and three components of his translation patronage, and summarises the significance of his translation activities. His translation activities have far-reaching effects, some of which are still evident in contemporary China such as learning from Western science and technology through translation, and government sponsored translation projects. However, Lin's search for Western knowledge was a passive reaction to foreign aggression, rather than an active endeavour from the start. What merits our attention is that Lin, as a landlord reformist and patriot, organised all of the translation activities with the fundamental purpose to safeguard the interests of the landlord class and maintain feudal rule. Objectively speaking, his translation activities enlightened open-minded Chinese scholar-officials who started their Western learning and promulgated Western knowledge, which gave birth to the New Learning. The translation activities not only advanced China's modernisation, but also inspired Japan, a small feudal country as poor as China at that time, on its path towards Western learning. In this sense, Lin's translation activities are of pioneering significance both within and outside of China, and his contribution to Chinese translation history should also be highly appreciated.

## Chapter 5 Lin Zexu's Direct Participation in Translation

Though a non-translator, Lin was a direct participant in several links of the translational chain: translator selection, source text selection, translation quality control, and determining and interacting with readership. By way of direct participation in translation, Lin exerted a direct ideological manipulation over his translation activities.

### 5.1 Translator Selection

During Lin's lifetime, foreign language professionals were rare in China. Translators and interpreters were even rarer. The situation was worsened by the Qing government's disdain for translators. Notwithstanding these challenges, Lin managed with great effort to employ four 'permanent' translators/interpreters, and quite a few 'temporary' ones. *The Chinese Repository* wrote some rough accounts of the permanent translators/interpreters:

The first is a young man, educated at Penang and Malacca, and for several years employed by the Chinese government at Peking. The second is an old man, educated at Serampore. The third is a young man who was once at the school at Cornwall, Conn., U. S. A. The fourth is a young lad, educated in China, who is able to read and translate papers on common subjects, with much ease, correctness, and facility.<sup>19</sup>

According to the observations of Chen Yuan (1985), the first translator is Yuan Dehui, the second is Aman, the third is Alum, and the fourth is Liang Jinde. To Lin's linguists, translating and interpreting were not distinctly separated as they acted as both translators and interpreters.

Yuan Dehui was a native of Sichuan Province and a Roman Catholic by faith. He studied first in the Roman Catholic school at Penang, and then at the Anglo-Chinese College, Malacca. He had special language skills. He was familiar with Latin and had solid attainments in Chinese. He studied English at the Anglo-Chinese College for 16 months and had a high degree of English proficiency (Tao, 2000). William C. Hunter, Yuan's fellow

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<sup>19</sup> Unknown author. (1839). Crisis in the Opium Traffic. *The Chinese Repository*. Vol 8, 77.

student at the college, included a detailed account of Yuan in his 1885 book, *Bits of Old China*, particularly his language ability:

During about sixteen months that Moore, myself and Shaow-Tih [Yuan Dehui] were at the College together, the latter applied himself to the study of the English language, not lightly but profoundly, and when I left for Canton he had made wonderful progress. Everyone in the College referred to him as ‘the reader’, from the attention he gave to his studies. (Hunter, 1885, p. 261)

At the end of 1829, Yuan became an interpreter in the Court of Colonial Affairs of the imperial government in Beijing. He was later employed by Governor Li Hongbing as a translator. He became Commissioner Lin’s translator and interpreter when Lin arrived in Guangzhou in early 1839 (Hunter, 1885). Samuel R. Brown reported that Yuan accepted Lin’s offer by the latter’s “strongest persuasions and promises” (Britton, 1933, p. 32). He translated Emmerich De Vattel’s, *Le Droit des Gens* (The Law of Nations) and Lin’s correspondence to the Queen of England on the opium trade.

Aman, whose full name is unknown,<sup>20</sup> was born to a Chinese father and a Bengali mother. He was a disciple of Christian missionary, Joshua Marshman, in Serampore in Bengal (Fay, 1997). He came to Guangzhou sometime around 1830 and was recruited by Lin Zexu as an interpreter/translator in early 1839 (Zheng, 2004).

Alum, whose real name is Lin Shi,<sup>21</sup> studied in the US in his early years: first in Connecticut and then in Pennsylvania (Britton, 1933). He came to Guangzhou in 1825 and was recruited by Lin Zexu as an interpreter/translator in 1839 (Smith, 1985).

Liang Jinde, also named Liang Zhi, son of Liang Fa, the first priest of Protestantism in China, was born in Gaoming, Guangdong Province. He was trained by E. C. Bridgman to do Bible translation (the ABCFM, 1840). Liang was recommended to Lin Zexu by his father, Liang Fa, who would later assist his son with his translation work. Liang acquired a

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<sup>20</sup> Aman (阿孟/亚孟) is a nickname. His first name is actually “孟” (*meng*) or there is definitely a “孟” in his full name. According to the local custom in Guangdong, one is usually called in this way: Ah- plus any character in his/her full name. For example, Liang Fa is called Ah-fa. Aman is a variant of Ah-meng.

<sup>21</sup> According to local custom in Guangdong, Lin Shi can be called either Ah-lin or Ah-shi. Alum is a variant of Ah-lin.

“tolerable<sup>22</sup> knowledge of the English language” (Medhurst, 1838, p. 298). Dr. Hill, surgeon of British bark *Sunda*, expressed a vivid account of Liang:

..., one of whom appeared a very intelligent young man, and had been in London for nearly eight years along with the late Mr. Elphinstone. He [Liang Jinde] speaks English remarkably well, much better, indeed, than any Chinese whom I have ever met with, and I regret much that he did not act as our interpreter...<sup>23</sup>

Liang Jinde translated British writer, Hugh Murray’s, *An Encyclopaedia of Geography* into Chinese (The Morrison Education Society, 1841). The Chinese version was entitled, ‘四洲志’ (*si zhou zhi*, ‘Geography of Four Continents’). Liang was regarded as the most competent translator among the four hired by Lin (Bridgman, 1839).

In addition to the permanent translators, Lin also employed a number of temporary translators including William C. Hunter, Russell & Co. merchant; Dr. Peter Parker, an American missionary doctor; Samuel Robbins Brown, missionary of ABCFM<sup>24</sup> and Principal of the Morrison Education Society; Dr. Hill, surgeon of the British bark *Sunda*, etc. What’s more, Lin recruited Hong compradors, linguists, maritime pilots, returned overseas Chinese, church pupils, Chinese chefs serving on foreign merchant ships, foreign staff in hospitals, etc., as assistants in translation (Chen, 1985). Table 3 provides a comprehensive list of Lin’s translators, both permanent and temporary, and their translations:

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<sup>22</sup> As can be interpreted from Medhurst’s 1838 book, *China: Its State and Prospects*, ‘tolerable’ means ‘fairly good’.

<sup>23</sup> Unknown author. (1839). Loss of the British Bark Sunda. *The Chinese Repository*. Vol 8, 483.

<sup>24</sup> ABCFM refers to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Table 3. Lin's translators and their translations

Status	Name	Nationality	Occupation	Years of Translation Experience	Translation(s)
Permanent	Yuan Dehui	Chinese	Translator/interpreter	11 years	<i>The Law of Nations; Letter to the Queen of England</i>
	Aman	Chinese	Translator/interpreter	unknown	unknown
	Alum	Chinese	Translator/interpreter	unknown	unknown
	Liang Jinde	Chinese	Translator/interpreter	unknown	<i>An Encyclopaedia of Geography; The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7; unrecorded oral texts of Miscellaneous Notes on Foreign Affairs</i>
Temporary	William C. Hunter	American	Russell & Co. merchant	unknown	<i>Letter to the Queen of England</i>
	Dr. Peter Parker	American	missionary doctor	unknown	<i>The Law of Nations; Letter to the Queen of England</i>
	Samuel Robbins Brown	American	missionary of ABCFM and principal of the Morrison Education Society	unknown	unknown
	Dr. Hill	British	surgeon of Bark Sunda	unknown	<i>Letter to the Queen of England; The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7</i>

Lin took advantage of the linguistic competencies and professional knowledge of foreigners. He also gave full play to their intellectual advantage and endeavoured to avoid their ideological inadequacies. Take Dr. Parker, for example. Parker was employed by Lin to translate a book on international law. The question is why Lin would choose to employ Parker, a foreigner of inadequate ideological reliability, to translate the book. According to both Tan's and Wang's analysis, the reasons are as follows: 1) Parker had a relatively high level of Chinese language proficiency; 2) Parker was a strong opponent of the British merchant opium trade in China and a staunch supporter of Lin's anti-opium campaign; 3) Parker had acquired some knowledge of international law, which made him a qualified legal translator (Tan, 2010); and 4) Parker himself was very willing to help Lin because this would also be to his own advantage. Translation of international law was conducive to the peaceful

settlement of the conflict between China and Britain, and a peaceful environment was conducive to Parker's missionary work as he often worried that a war between the two countries would impede his missionary work (Wang, 1985).

Before Lin commenced his translation project, Parker presented a long proposal to him on how to manage relations with Western countries. He stated that China should become acquainted with the nature and backgrounds of foreigners so as to restore friendly relations with other countries, and that all the conflicts between China and the West could be remedied by an "honourable treaty" (Stevens & Markwick, 1896, p. 172). Parker also said, "If the great Commissioner regards with favour this expression of friendly sentiment, I shall be most happy to petition him again, or to serve him in any way in my power" (Stevens & Markwick, 1896, p. 172). Though Parker harboured personal intentions in the translation project, he objectively contributed greatly to Lin's translation work.

In reality, Lin followed a series of procedures in selecting talented people and managing personnel affairs. First, he held interviews with candidates to gain thorough knowledge of their life stories, skills, likes and dislikes, places visited, friends made, etc. Second, he would ask his secretaries to take detailed notes of each and every interview, and examine with others the moral quality of the candidates. Third, he created talent files for all of the candidates and a file of *who's who* to identify the most talented candidates which he named '*qian gu jiang shan*' (千古江山, 'state power in perpetuity'). The files were organised in geographical order (i.e., according to the birth place of the candidate) and filled altogether 18 chests (Huang, 1997). The name of the blue book indicated that Lin positioned talented people at a level related to the destiny of the nation. Zhu Kejing (1983), a late Qing scholar, outlined the details:

Each time Lin met a visitor he would enquire about his life story, skills, hobbies, places visited, and friends made. When the visitor was gone, he immediately asked his secretaries to record the conversation in writing, for which he appointed four men. A big cabinet with 18 chests inside was placed in the study to hold the talent files in the order of geographical locations. As a high imperial official, he

regarded the talent problem as the most important affair and frequently listed talent search as his first priority. (p. 15)

## 5.2 Source Text Selection

Translation is not simply an act of faithful reproduction, but a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication (Tymoczko & Gentzler, 1999). Selection of source texts both reveals and serves ideology. Original texts are selected for certain purposes and to serve certain ideologies. Lin's source text selection clearly revealed his pragmatism. In Lin's translation activities, source texts included newspapers and books, with the latter covering opium texts, legal texts, and geographic texts.

Lin was involved in data collection through a variety of channels by every possible means. These channels included inquiries and interrogations, donations, and purchases. Lin was curious and careful, and availed of every opportunity to seek information about foreign affairs. While meeting with foreigners such as sailors, Lin held interviews and enquired about foreign affairs. While interrogating prisoners of war, Lin intentionally extended the scope of the interrogations by asking for extra information. He had all of the conversations recorded with a writing brush. Lin also dispatched nearly 30 men to various locations across China to inquire about information concerning the West, which they recorded in their diaries and presented to him to be archived by date (Chinese History Society, 1954).

As for inquiries and interrogations for example, Lin enquired about names and prices of poppies, British navy and steamers, etc., from American missionaries, merchants, captains, newspaper editors, etc. while they witnessed the destructiveness of opium at Humen (Zhang, 2008). Bingham (1843) mentioned how Lin conducted the inquiry:

During his [Lin's] stay at Chuenpee [Humen], his secretary and aides-de-camp, with other intelligent men, were employed making inquiries, and noting down the answers on every branch of policy and trade, and especially as to what might be the consequence of his present measure; and what compensation would be most agreeable to the owners of the opium.... These observations were daily presented to the commissioner, who had formed a thick volume by the time he returned to Canton. (pp. 81-82)

Lin also enquired from the survivors of British bark *Sunda* about opium planting and production, and the geography of Britain, the US, Turkey, etc. when they sojourned in Guangzhou after the shipwreck (Chinese History Society, 1954). In addition to making inquiries, Lin also availed himself of every opportunity to interrogate captives in order to seek extra information. This will be discussed below.

As for donations, Lin retrieved all of the books in the reference room on Spanish brig, *Bilbaino* (Lin, 1985). However, information regarding the contents of the books and the amount he retrieved is not available. Lin retrieved a slew of books from American missionary, E. C. Bridgman, when meeting with him, including *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* compiled by Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison (Tao, 2000). Lin also accepted donations from Dr. Parker that included a series of maps, geographic books, and a globe (Gulick, 1973).

As for purchases, Lin bought books from foreigners as evidenced in the following statement printed in the *Macau News*, “There are several foreigners, who are willing to widen Chinese people’s knowledge by selling good British books to China, who had the books translated generally by employed translators” (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 412).

Lin participated not only in data collection, but also in choosing the texts to be translated from the collected data (i.e., selection of source texts). According to Bingham (1843), the newspapers and books Lin selected concerned policy and trade, the consequence of the anti-opium measures he took, compensation to the owners of the opium, the Russia-England relationship, etc.

#### 5.2.1 Selection of Source Newspapers

There is no consensus regarding the sources of Lin’s newspaper translation. It is generally agreed however that Lin’s source newspapers were mainly the *Chinese Repository*, the *Canton Press* and the *Canton Register*. Notably, there are slight differences among scholars’ opinions. According to Wu Qiandui and Chen Kuangshi (1980), Lin’s source newspapers are mainly the *Canton Press*, the *Canton Register*, and the *Singapore Free Press*, with sporadic use of newspaper sources published in Bombay, India. According to Chen



Shenglin (1990), there are other minor newspaper sources published in Bengal, London, Calcutta, Sydney, etc.

Xu Xinping (2008) held that Lin translated from the following newspapers published in Macao: *Abelha da China* (since 1822), *Gazeta de Macau* (since 1834), the *Chinese Repository* (since 1832) and the *Canton Press* (since 1835). The first two newspapers were in Portuguese, and the remaining two were in English. However, there is no evidence showing that the two Portuguese newspapers were sources of Lin's newspaper translations. Moreover, there are no records in existing documents showing that even one of Lin's translators acquired even a little Portuguese. In addition, the *Chinese Repository* was published on a monthly basis, which contradicts the fact that *Macao News* came out on a weekly basis.

There are 69 issues altogether still in existence which were passed down by Deng Bangshu (Editorial Committee, 2002) and are presently stored in Nanjing Library. Most issues were translated from newspapers published temporarily in Macao. In fact, *Macao News*' sources are very complicated. According to this researcher's observation, Lin's source newspapers are the *Canton Press* and the *Canton Register*, with the former being the main source, and the latter being the minor source. Both newspapers frequently copied articles from various other newspapers including the *Chinese Repository*, the *Singapore Free Press*, the *Bombay Times*, the *Bangal Hurkarm*, the *Windsor and Eton Journal*, the *Calcutta Courier*, the *Overland Indian Mail*, the *Englishman*, the *Southern Australian*, the *Sydney Monitor*, the *London Mail*, the *London Times*, the *Quarterly Review for Deer*, the *Friend of India*, the *Sydney Herald*, the *Madras Spectator*, the *Spectator*, the *Madras Courier*, the *Bombay Courier*, the *Peking Gazette*, etc. Even the *Canton Press* and the *Canton Register* themselves very often copied articles from each other. This explains why some of the researchers mentioned above mistook the indirect sources for direct sources.

Some of the articles in the indirect sources were republished in the *Canton Press* and the *Canton Register*. However, Lin's translators translated from them without acknowledging this and this led scholars to take them as direct sources of *Macao News*. The major sources of *Macao News* are the *Canton Press* and the *Canton Register* as both were published on a

weekly basis. This echoed Lin's correspondence to Yi Shan, General Jingni, 'Six Suggestions on Defence in Guangdong Province: A Reply to General Yi':

Barbarians published newspapers on a weekly basis, which spread affairs in Guangdong to their own country and affairs in their country to Guangdong.... In recent years, I hired translators, and purchased the newspapers for them to translate secretly into Chinese, from which I acquired plenty of intelligence concerning barbarians, and according to which I made my counter-measures and precautions. (Yang, 2013, pp. 326-327)

It is evidenced in the above excerpt that Lin's translators mainly translated from weekly newspapers rather than monthly ones like *The Chinese Repository*. The majority of texts were translated from the *Canton Press* because, though less influential than the *Canton Register*, it abounded in documents concerning Chinese affairs (Ning, 1990). As for the selected newspapers, Lin did not choose all articles, but only those which served his purposes. This can be seen from the topics of the first ten issues in *Macao News* listed in Table 4. A complete list of the topics is presented in Appendix 1.

Table 4. Topics of the first ten issues in *Macao News*

Dates	Topics	Dates	Topics
16 Jul., 1838	Distinction between Emperor and King/Queen	18 Jul., 1839	Amount of opium; Cantonese response to British opium dealers' request for compensation
23 Jul., 1839	Military statistics of the principal powers of Europe	1-30 Sept., 1839	The Case of Lin Weixi
17 Aug., 1839	Regulations of trade; harbour in Liaodong	14 Sept. 1839	Fire on Spanish warships
24 Aug., 1839	Army of Indus	28 Sept., 1839	Number of opium chests
4 Jul., 1839	British opium dealers' requests for compensation; amount of opium in Singapore	10 Oct., 1839	War in India

From the above table we find that *Macao News* was published every seven days (or weekly), as were its source newspapers. The *Canton Press* was published every Saturday and

the *Canton Register* every Tuesday. They were so named because they used to be published in Canton (Guangzhou) and moved to Macao temporarily in May, 1839.

Collecting the source newspapers from Macao was not easy because newspapers at that time were not as popular as they are today. In addition, reading a newspaper was not the habit of the majority of Chinese people. As transportation in the Qing Dynasty was slow – by any means available – it took some time for the source newspapers to reach Lin’s translation team located in Guangzhou.

### 5.2.2 Selection of Source Books

Lin’s source books are: *An Encyclopaedia of Geography*, *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China*, *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7*, and *The Law of Nations*. These books touch upon such topics as opium, geography, law, and war.

#### 5.2.2.1 Selection of Opium-related Texts

Lin’s opium-related translation included two books: Algernon S. Thelwall’s, *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China*, and Charles Toogood Downing’s, *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7*. The former was published in London in 1839 and made ‘an eloquent appeal for the suppression of opium production in India’, and the latter was published in London in 1838 and showed “great appreciation of Chinese literature and drama, and of Chinese institutions and customs in general” (Waley, 1958, p. 89). The former was translated into ‘在中国做鸦片贸易罪过论’ (*zai zhong guo zuo ya pian mao yi zui guo lun*, ‘The Sins of Doing Opium Trade in China’, extinct), and the latter into ‘华事夷言’ (*hua shi yi yan*, ‘Barbarian Writings concerning Chinese Affairs’).

The source books covered many specific topics, but only a small proportion was selected for translation. Take Chapter III, Volume I of Downing’s, *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7* for example:

Table 5. Contents of *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7 (Chapter III, Vol. I)* and *Hua Shi Yi Yan*

<i>The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7</i>	<i>Hua Shi Yi Yan</i>	<i>The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7</i>	<i>Hua Shi Yi Yan</i>
Macao roads		Chuen-pee	
Contraband trade		The chop	
Consumption of opium		Battle of the Bogue	
Lintin	√	Forts and batteries	
Cum-sing-moon	√	Native pirates	
Opium trade	√	Jealous precaution of the government against Portuguese	
Clippers	√	Native chronicles	
Smug-boats or centipedes	√	Tiger Island and fort	
Receiving vessels		River scenery	
Chinese courage		Paddy-grounds	
Peak and Island of Lintin	√	Duck-boats	
Estuary		Catching shrimps	
Fishing-stakes		Second-bar Pagoda	
Inside pilot		Stone quarries	
Bocca Tigris		Bar-boats	
Annahoy		Wharopoa	
Anson's Bay			

The correspondence between source text and target text for all translations and their contents are further listed in Appendix 2. Most paragraphs in *Hua Shi Yi Yan* can be traced back to their origins in the three volumes of *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7*. Only four short paragraphs are untraceable in the source text. It is difficult to trace the paragraphs to their origins as the paragraphs in the target text are dispersed over the three volumes in disorder, and some of the paragraphs come from two or three paragraphs scattered in different chapters in the source text.

#### 5.2.2.2 Selection of Geographic Texts

*An Encyclopaedia of Geography* included more than 30 countries of the world. However, Lin would only choose for translation the countries which posed the greatest threat to China. The original work consisted of three parts, namely, 'History of Geography', 'Principles of Geography', and 'Geography Considered in Relation to the Various Regions of the Globe'. Each part covered several books and each book comprised several chapters. The original work covered roughly 47 countries and regions in four continents, but the translated work included only 34 countries and regions in a completely different order and writing style. The original work consisted of three parts, but the translated work mainly drew from Part III. Table 6 shows there is roughly a one-to-one correspondence for Book I of the original work and its translated work. The entire structure of the target text and its sources are listed in Appendix 3.

Table 6. Structure of *An Encyclopaedia of Geography*, Book I, and its translation in *Si Zhou Zhi*

<i>An Encyclopaedia of Geography</i>			<i>Si Zhou Zhi</i>
Part III. Geography Considered in Relation to the Various Regions of the Globe	Book I. Europe	Chapter I. General Survey of Europe	
		Chapter II. England	28 <sup>25</sup> . 英吉利国 ( <i>ying ji li guo</i> , ‘the UK’)
		Chapter III. Scotland	
		Chapter IV. Ireland	
		Chapter V. France	18. 佛兰西国 ( <i>fu lan xi guo</i> , ‘France’)
		Chapter VI. Spain	16. 大吕宋国 ( <i>da lv song guo</i> , ‘Spain’)
		Chapter VII. Portugal	15. 布路亚国 ( <i>bu lu ya guo</i> , ‘Portugal’)
		Chapter VIII. Italy	19. 意大里亚国 ( <i>yi da li ya guo</i> , ‘Italy’)
		Chapter IX. Switzerland	25. 瑞国 ( <i>ruì guo</i> , ‘Switzerland’)
		Chapter X. Germany	20. 耶马尼国 ( <i>ye ma ni guo</i> , ‘Germany’)
		Chapter XI. Holland and Belgium	17. 荷兰及弥尔尼王国 ( <i>he lan ji mi er ni wang guo</i> , ‘Holland and Belgium’)
		Chapter XII. Hungary	21. 欧塞特里国 ( <i>ou sai te li guo</i> , ‘Hungary’)
		Chapter XIII. Poland, with Ducal Prussia	22. 波兰国 ( <i>bo lan guo</i> , ‘Poland’)
			26. 普鲁社国 ( <i>pu lu she guo</i> , ‘Prussia’)
		Chapter XIV. Denmark	24. 领墨国 ( <i>lin mo guo</i> , ‘Denmark’)
		Chapter XV. Sweden and Norway	23. 绥林与那威国 ( <i>sui liny u na wei guo</i> , ‘Sweden and Norway’)
		Chapter XVI. Russia in Europe	29. 俄罗斯国 ( <i>e luo si guo</i> , ‘Russia’)
		Chapter XVII. Greece	
		Chapter XVIII. Turkey in Europe	27. 北都鲁机国 ( <i>bei du lu ji guo</i> , ‘North Turkey’)

### 5.2.2.3 Selection of Legal Texts

<sup>25</sup> The categories are numbered according to the order they appear in the translated work.

The topics selected by Lin from *The Law of Nations* are war, hostile measures, international rights, national wars, and national relations. Both Dr. Parker and Yuan Dehui translated the same three paragraphs, and Yuan translated an additional paragraph (Hsü, 1960). According to Dr. Parker (cited in Bridgman, 1839), the paragraphs he translated related to “war, and its accompanying hostile measures, as blockades, embargoes, etc.” (p. 635). On 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 1839, Parker wrote: “I have been engaged for the most part of today in translating some extracts from Vattel’s, *The Law of Nations*, on international rights and upon war” (Stevens & Markwick, 1896, p. 172). In a letter to a friend back at home dated 4<sup>th</sup> September, 1839, Parker wrote: “At his [Lin’s] desire, I have also translated a long paper into Chinese respecting the laws of nations, particularly upon national wars and national intercourse” (Stevens & Markwick, 1896, p. 175). Moreover, in a letter written on 5<sup>th</sup> September, 1839 to Anderson, Parker mentioned his daily language study with his tutor and their having recently translated the passages which dealt with “the right of a state to exclude foreign merchandise, to confiscate smuggled goods and to wage war” (Gulick, 1973, p. 90). Whereas, the additional paragraph translated by Yuan concerned “the need to appeal to foreign rulers for the redress of wrongs done by foreigners” (Hsü, 1960, p. 124).

### 5.2.3 Selection of Oral Topics

*Yang Shi Za Lu* (洋事杂录, ‘Miscellaneous Notes on Foreign Affairs’) comprised only a small part of Lin’s written oral documents (the larger part is extinct), accounting for just ‘one-thousandth’ of Lin’s recorded foreign affairs documents (Chen, Lin & Meng, 1986). It was copied by Chen Depei in cursive handwriting, covering 88 pages, eight vertical lines a page (Chen, 1986). The pamphlet covers 13 small sections and one appendix. The subtitles of each are listed below:

Table 7. Contents of *Yang Shi Za Lu*

Sequence number	Subtitles
I	Four Continents
II	Month Names Dictated by Barbarians in Canton; Month Names Dictated by Barbarians in China; Deduction of Barbarians' Months and Days
III	What Shi Jitai and Rong Lin Said
IV	What Peng Banghui Said; What Yuan Dehui Said; What Wen Wenbo Said
V	Departure and Arrival Dates to and from Britain
VI	What Robert Thom Said
VII	Various Bengali Currencies
VIII	Eight Prohibitions for Merchant Ships Issued by British Queen
IX	Ten Regulations for Barbarian Ships
X	Notes about the United States
XI	Vincent Staunton's Confession on the 23 <sup>rd</sup> day of the 8 <sup>th</sup> lunar month, 1840
XII	What Peng Banghui, Assistant of Magistrate of Xiangshan County, found in the Investigation
XIII	Advertisement of globe; advertisement of map; Red-haired Barbarians' Books
Appendix	Badges

Section XI depicts Vincent Staunton's Confession on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup> lunar month, 1840. Mr. Staunton, a student of Cambridge University and stand-in cleric in Macao, was arrested by the Chinese authorities on 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1840 and sent to Nanhai Prison. He was suspected of involvement in the opium trade and closely interrogated by Lin and other high officials (Bingham, 1843). Their questions to Staunton included "his honourable name and country" (Bingham, 1843, p. 393) and others as recorded in *Yang Shi Za Lu*: the waterway and land routes from England to Canton and their departure and arrival dates; the routes from England to Russia; the routes from Russia to Tartary, Afghanistan, and Persia; and Robert Morrison's *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*. Lin intentionally extended the scope of the interrogation to expand his knowledge of the world (Chen, 1986). The contents provided Lin with valuable information and the selection of topics (questions) showed his pragmatism. Section III, 'What Shi Jitai and Rong Lin Said' also reflected this. It was the



longest section in *Yang Shi Za Lu*, covering 25 small paragraphs. The main topics in Section III are:

Table 8. Contents of Section III, *Yang Shi Za Lu*

Para.	Topics
1	Area and capital of Britain
2	Queen Victoria of England
3	British royal palace
4	Route between Britain and China
5	Eigg, an island on the way to Canton
6	Channel construction project on the way from England, etc., to Canton
7	British units of measurement and currency
8	British calendar
9	British currency
10	Copper coin
11	Grays wharf
12	British geographical position
13	Anglo-French War in 1815
14	English company
15	Classes of opium poppy
16	Patna opium
17	Legal punishments for opium smokers in Great Britain and the US
18	Prohibition of opium smoking in Great Britain, the US, Holland, France, etc.
19	The Anglo-Chinese College
20	Mineral resources of the UK, Spain, the US, Mexico, etc.
21	Singapore
22	Waterway between the US and the Great Britain, between the US and Canton, and between the Great Britain and Canton
23	English word for ‘皇帝’ ( <i>huang di</i> , ‘Emperor’)
24	Strong acid in England, Holland, France, and the US
25	Naming of British King

### 5.3 Translation Quality Control

In order to ensure that what he had selected would be translated accurately, Lin attached great importance to translation quality. In turn, to achieve quality outcomes he adopted several means: back-translation, re-translation, and examination of target texts, with the latter including target text polishing and note-adding.

#### 5.3.1 Back-translation

Back-translation is effective for quality control and ideological manipulation. Dora Wirth (Languages) Ltd. defines it as follows:

A source text is translated into a target (forward) language and the target language text is translated back into the source language by an independent translator who has not had sight of the source text and will therefore provide an unbiased rendition of the meaning of the forward translation for quality-control purposes.

(Back translation. [2016-03-11])

Back translation allows a non-native speaker of the target language to check a forward translation for errors, omissions, additions, etc. and more importantly, ideological inconsistencies (i.e., whether the forward translation has conveyed the patron's intention and ideology). As a mechanism of translation quality control, it was used by Lin to its full extent. The letter to the Queen of England was drafted by Lin Zexu, Deng Tingzhen, and Yi Liang in Chinese and translated into English by Yuan Dehui and Dr. Parker. It was first translated into English by Yuan. As Lin could not read English, he asked American merchant, Hunter, to translate it back into Chinese to check the quality of Yuan's English translation (Gulick, 1973). In this way, Lin might compare the two Chinese versions: the source text and Hunter's back translation from Yuan's translated version. By comparing the two he may then judge whether or not Yuan's translation conveyed his original intention.

#### 5.3.2 Re-translation

Re-translation, as the name suggests, consists of translating a source text which has been previously translated into either the same or a different target language. In the present research, re-translation refers to translating the same source text into the same target language,

either English or Chinese, but mainly the latter. For Lin, a high official well versed in the Chinese language, but with no competence in the English language, it proved to be an effective tool in his work as a checking option.

Re-translation was common practice in Lin's translation activities. As mentioned above in relation to his letter to the Queen of England, Lin first asked Yuan Dehui to translate the Chinese draft into English, and then, due to suspicion of the fidelity or quality of Yuan's translation he asked, via Wu Haoguan<sup>26</sup>, Dr. Parker to make a second translation of the original letter into English (Gulick, 1973). After that, Lin asked both men to check each other's translations to see to what extent the two versions resembled each other (Gulick, 1973). As Lin himself did not know English, he might judge the resemblance through Dr. Parker's reaction after the latter conducted a comparative study of the two English versions (Gulick, 1973). By so doing, Lin was actually assessing the quality of the translations to determine which version should be sent to the British Queen, while exerting his ideological manipulation over the translations.

Another similar but more important case was the translation of Vattel's, *The Law of Nations*. Upon Lin's request, Dr. Parker performed the first translation and then Yuan Dehui performed a second translation. As a result, parts of each translation of the legal text were kept in the final version, as Lin found several sections in each of them acceptable and couldn't decide which single one was better. However, according to Immanuel Chung-Yueh Hsü (1960), Yuan's version was "smoother" (p. 124) than Parker's. Wang Weijian (1985) also had the same opinion.

### 5.3.3 Target Text Examination

Lin's target text examination entailed target text polishing and note-adding, the latter covering note-adding between the lines and that at the end of paragraphs. It was an effective means of quality control and ideological manipulation, but it only concentrated on the

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<sup>26</sup> Wu Haoguan was the commercial name of Wu Bingjian (1769-1843), a native of Quanzhou, Fujian Province. He was a rich businessman in mid-Qing Dynasty and head of the E-wo hong, one of the thirteen hongs of Guangzhou. According to the Imperial Law of the Qing government, direct contacts between Chinese government officials and foreigners should be avoided, and they were usually intermediated through hong merchants. On the other side, the Manchu Dynasty required foreigners to make contact with Chinese merchants, not Chinese government officials.

political and ideological correctness and readability (such as fluency) of the target text, without a comparative study with the source text. Due to this limit, something may be lost, changed, omitted or added in the target text for the sake of ideology.

### 5.3.3.1 Target Text Polishing

Lin participated in polishing translations such as those to be presented to the Emperor. The following paragraph may serve as a telling example:

.....而中国永远如一，非是中国无内乱，然亦常有相继血战。此不过是一人之贪欲，中国暂时受苦。无论有了何等主人，国中即复如前。中国也曾为外国人所平复，然仍是暂时之乱，即平复中国之满洲王，定必用中国之风俗律例。此可谓胜中国人以力，而中国反胜之以文。(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5013)

[..... China was perpetually the same, not because there was no civil strife. Actually there were bloody battles in succession, which were caused by one man's greed and resulted in a temporary disaster. It will take on a look as before whatever ruler it may have. China used to be pacified by foreigners, while it was still a temporary disorder. Even if to pacify Manchu king, they must avail themselves of Chinese customs and laws. It can be said that they conquered China by force, but was defeated by China with civilisation.]<sup>27</sup>

This translation was polished by Lin as:

.....中国非无变乱，不过暂时受苦，乃有一主，即复统一如前。即平复中国之金朝、元朝，必用中国之风俗律例。此可谓胜中国人以力，而中国反胜之以文也。(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5102)

[..... It is not that there was no civil strife in China, but that it was a temporary disaster. It will be as united as before whatever ruler it may have. Even if to pacify China's Jin and Yuan dynasties, they must avail themselves of Chinese customs and laws. It can be said that they conquered China by force, but was defeated by China with civilisation.]<sup>28</sup>

The first paragraph was believed to be polished into the second one by Lin (Zheng, 2004), which is apparently more concise and more elegant. Elegance was one of the literary

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<sup>27</sup> It is a literal translation of the quoted paragraph by the author of the present thesis.

<sup>28</sup> It is a literal translation of the quoted paragraph by the author of the present thesis.

criteria in the Qing Dynasty. Lin made it more elegant to be presented to the Emperor to show the supreme status of the latter as well as his respect. In addition, Lin changed ‘Manchu king’ to ‘Jin and Yuan dynasties’ as ‘Manchu king’ is a naming taboo<sup>29</sup> and must be avoided. By this change, Lin also avoided mentioning the then dynasty as he actually changed ‘the Qing Dynasty’ to ‘Jin and Yuan dynasties’.

### 5.3.3.2 Note-adding

Lin was modest, frank and meticulous in his work. He read closely through the translated texts presented to him and made notes to correct, explain, criticise or comment on certain points.

#### 1) Note-adding in Newspaper Translation

Lin’s notes in the translated news articles fall into three categories: explanatory, critical, and imperative. Notes of the explanatory type are:

- a) Notes of places, that is, providing more information about the places such as ‘加尔吉打，即孟阿拉首部落’ (Calcutta: first tribe in Bengal), ‘加模尔，系阿付颜呢士旦首部落’ (Kabul: first tribe in Afghanistan), ‘巴列士，即佛兰西国都’ (Paris: capital of France), ‘洼声顿，即美利坚国都’ (Washington: capital of America), ‘育奈士跌，即米利坚’ (United States: America), ‘纽育，米利坚大部落名’ (New York: a big tribe in America), etc.;
- b) Notes of time, that is, transference from Western calendar to traditional Chinese calendar such as ‘一千七百三十七年：乾隆三年戊午’ (year 1737: the third year in the reign of Emperor Qianlong, wù wǔ<sup>30</sup>);

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<sup>29</sup> In China’s feudal society, names of elders and Emperors were regarded as taboo. People could not address their elders and Emperors by their name, otherwise they were at risk of being put into prison or beheaded. The remedy was to find synonyms for the taboo names. It caused great difficulties for today’s readers, especially historians. Here ‘Manchu king’ refers to the Manchurian Emperors of Jin, Yuan and Qing dynasties. It is a naming taboo and must be avoided. It was replaced by a similar expression, ‘Jin and Yuan dynasties’.

<sup>30</sup> There are 10 Heavenly Stems and 12 Earthly Branches. The 10 Heavenly Stems are: 甲 (jiǎ), 乙 (yǐ), 丙 (bǐng), 丁 (dīng), 戊 (wù), 己 (jǐ), 庚 (gēng), 辛 (xīn), 壬 (rén), 癸 (guǐ); and the 12 Earthly Branches are: 子 (zǐ), 丑 (chǒu), 寅 (yín), 卯 (mǎo), 辰 (chén), 巳 (sì), 午 (wǔ), 未 (wèi), 申 (shēn), 酉 (yǒu), 戌 (xū), 亥 (hài). They have one-to-one correspondence. For example, 甲(jiǎ)子(zǐ), 乙(yǐ)丑(chǒu), 丙(bǐng)寅(yín), ... As there are

- c) Units of currency and measurements such as ‘棒即镑，十二两’ (pound: 12 *liang*), ‘鲁卑即卢比’ (Ruby); and,
- d) Classes of opium poppy such as ‘叭哒喙：上等公班’ (Patna Opium: first-class opium), ‘默喙：次等公班’ (Benare Opium: second-class opium), ‘麻尔洼：白皮’ (Malwa Opium: baipi or white skin).

These notes, though now seem common-sense, were regarded as new knowledge at that time.

Notes of the critical type are:

- a) An article on China’s prohibition of religions on 16<sup>th</sup> November, 1839 reported that China banned Catholicism and Christianity. Following this article went a note<sup>31</sup>: “The Jesus religion brought by Matteo Ricci upon his first arrival was Catholicism, while the Jesus religion passed by Ferdinand Verbiest upon his first arrival was Christianity. The two were quite different” (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 403). This is a mistake as both Matteo Ricci and Ferdinand Verbiest spread Catholicism in China. Among Lin’s translators, Yuan Dehui and Liang Jinde were both church school graduates and religious believers. As such, they could not have made such a mistake. It is most probable that Lin added this note as a comment himself.
- b) On 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 1839 the newspaper published an article on the opium monopoly in India. It reported that tax contracting triggered bootlegging and that it was hard to levy land duty. A note followed, “Just like China’s salt works are fixed at certain locations to avoid bootlegging” (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 440). This comment links the opium tax to China’s salt tax. Given that Lin used to be Chief Superintendent of the Salt Department of Zhejiang Province, he knew how to combat salt smuggling and bootlegging, and thus this note was most probably added by him.
- c) The newspaper of 25<sup>th</sup> April, 1840 gave a detailed account of Chinese soldiers’ pay and provisions, and a rumour concerning Lin demolishing houses in the exterior area

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10 Heavenly Stems and 12 Earthly Branches, they are not always in a parallel correspondence. It takes many years for 戊 (wù) to meet 午 (wǔ) to form 戊(wù)午(wǔ), and 1737 is one of the years of 戊(wù)午(wǔ).

<sup>31</sup> The note was translated from Chinese into English by the author of the present thesis. The same below.

of Guangzhou for strategic protection. Each section of the account translated was followed by a short line, “The statement is incorrect in that the soldier’s pay and provisions are exaggerated.”, and “Why not build a wall around the outer city to include dwellings outside the city gate?” (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 467). As Lin’s translators did not have access to details of Chinese soldiers’ pay and provisions, or were not eligible to comment on Lin’s demolishing efforts, they were not in the position to make the above comments in the form of a note. Only Lin, a High Commissioner acquainted with China’s military details was eligible to respond to rumours regarding his own work. Therefore, only he was able to make these remarks, which served as a useful guide for later readers.

- d) A comparison was made between the tax revenue and the size of the Chinese, Russian, British and French armies in the newspaper of 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1840. It was followed by a short line: “The data about China’s tax revenue were all incorrect. What were they based on?” (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 473). Lin, in the position of Imperial High Commissioner, naturally knew China’s tax revenue well, while his translators were not in a position to have access to all relevant data.
- e) On 4<sup>th</sup> August, 1840 there was an article in the newspaper on the debate over war and peace in the House of Commons. It included five short notes in small characters like, “These four or five sentences are unintelligible.”, and “These five or six sentences are unintelligible” (Chinese History Society, 1954, pp. 506-507) Lin was the first reader of all the translated texts as they were presented to him for review the moment they were finished. In the original manuscript the words ‘钦差’ (*qin chai*, ‘imperial commissioner’) and ‘林’ (*lin*, ‘Lin Zexu’) were put in a higher position in a single vertical row and Lin was addressed only by his surname *Lin* rather than his given name *Zexu* or his full name *Lin Zexu*. This is evidence of the attempt to highlight his imperial status and to show a superior-subordinate relationship between Lin and his translators. While viewing the translations, Lin wrote notes between the lines which served as a reminder or a direction for the translators to make further modifications.
- f) The newspaper dated 25<sup>th</sup> July, 1840 carried an article on Russia and Britain’s

struggle for hegemony in Afghanistan and Turkey. Immediately below the article, there was a long note:

Through my investigation there are no such names as Tartary, Petersburg, Bokhara, Khiva, etc., in the six maps, so we can only rely on maps in geographical books and maps in foreign works for reference. The information on how to get to India from Petersburg and how far it is between the two is not available in any of the geographical books. According to maps in geographical books there are two ways leading to India, one of which is via Shah Soojah first, then Persia, and then Afghanistan. (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 5073)

No conclusive evidence exists to prove that the long note was taken by Lin, but the tone and manner of speaking indicated a sense of superiority from the upper society, say, a high official of the Qing government. It was most probably made by Lin before the newspaper was sent to other high officials for review. It revealed Russia's ambition for China's north-western territory and reminded Lin of the threats Russia posed on China's border territory.

There was also a note of the imperative type:

On 5<sup>th</sup> September, 1840 the newspaper published a report on a new book<sup>32</sup> which included most government proclamations. It also included Lin's opium-banning proclamation, opium turnover proclamation, and his letter to the Queen of England. There was a short line of note beside the report, "This book is to be sought in Macao" (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 512), which was thought to be added by Lin (Chen, 1979). It is known that Lin sought information through various channels and by various means. He was very interested in accessing useful information and sent people to many locations to search for newspapers and books. Thus we have every reason to believe that this short note was added by Lin.

## 2) Note-adding in Book Translation

Notes in the translated books mainly fall into three categories: corrective, explanatory,

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<sup>32</sup> According to Chen Yuan (1979, p. 191), the book refers to American Baptist missionary, Jehu Lewis Shuck's *Portfolio Chinensis*. However, the Chinese translated version of the book is unavailable.



and commentary. For instance, in the translated version of *An Encyclopedia of Geography*, notes fall into the following categories:

- a) Corrective notes. Lin corrected some of the errors in the original work and commented on the descriptions by adding notes between the lines. For example, the original author divided the Chinese Empire into three sections: China, Tibet, and Eastern Tartary, and stated the last two sections were foreign dominions of China (Xiao, 1999). This is in fact a fallacy of ‘three Chinas’ (Chen, 1993). Lin added notes to correct it and removed this part from the translation.
- b) Explanatory notes. To help readers understand the book, Lin added a lot of notes explaining some of the difficult points or proper names. For example, in order to explain Jamestown, Lin added a short note, “They named the town Jamestown after King James I.” (Lin, 2002, p. 144). Lin also added a note to the Nile River, the longest river in Egypt, explaining that ‘It is Nile River in *Kun Yv Tu Shuo*<sup>33</sup>, with a length of 7,800 *li*<sup>34</sup> and seven channels’ (Xiao, 1999).
- c) Commentary notes. With the purpose to seek strategies on how to resist British invasion in mind, Lin paid special attention to the military power of various countries. He was very interested in Vietnam, a neighbour to the south, which learned from foreign countries to improve its military strength. Lin (2002) commented in the notes:

Out of gratitude for European assistance and admiration for its Warcraft, Emperor Guangzong modelled on its warships and firearms. Vietnam now has three hundred bomb vessels and one naval vessel and has no matches in other Asian countries. Thus it combines Vietnam, Tokyo and Cambodia into one ruling. (p. 1)

Lin also appreciated Russian Emperor, Peter the Great, who pushed Russia to prosperity via reform. He commented in the notes:

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<sup>33</sup> *Kun Yv Tu Shuo* (*Illustrated Explanation of the Entire World*) is a geographical book in Chinese by Ferdinand Verbiest, a Belgian Christian missionary in China in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in 1674.

<sup>34</sup> *li* is a Chinese measurement; one *li* equals half a kilometre.

Peter the Great was smart and remarkable. He left the capital and paid private visits to shipyards and firearms plants in Amsterdam in disguise to learn its craft and returned to pass it on to his subjects, who built the craft firearms and warships which were even better than those made in Holland.

(Lin 2002, p. 127)

Lin's intention in having Murray's work translated was apparent in one of the notes in the translated work. After introducing the geographical borders of the US on each side, there was the line: 'The terrain is extensive in the interior and dangerous and difficult in the exterior, thus even the English troops can no longer watch and wait, (Lin 2002: 154). There is no equivalent of this sentence in the original text, thus we have every reason to hold that it was added by Lin himself as an inter-textual comment to relate it to the then situation: a British-Chinese war was round the corner.

There are eight short notes following Dr. Parker's translation of *The Law of Nations* which are believed to have been added by Lin as comments (Zhang, 1990). These notes served as an explanation to the translated articles of law which included Lin's interpretations of and questions concerning the clauses. They are listed as below<sup>35</sup> (Lin, 1965, p. 5133):

- a) It is right for parents to beat their unfilial children, but it is not right for others to beat my children for their unfilial behaviour.
- b) It is the duty of humanity for a Ryukyuan, who is without money or possessions and is neither able to feed himself or return to his country, to report to the local county administration when he encounters a high wind, which overturns his boat, and is drowned and flushed to the Middle Kingdom by the water wave, before he may return to his country days later.
- c) It is reasonable for the country [China] to prohibit importation of opium by foreigners who bring opium to the province [Guangdong Province] and make profit by spreading the poison [opium].
- d) One should abide by the law of a country when he goes to that country. Should he

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<sup>35</sup> The notes were originally in Chinese and were translated by the author of the present thesis.

violate the law of the country, he should be punished by the law of the country.

- e) If someone purchases and sells prohibited goods, both he and his goods should be dealt with by law.
- f) Americans attend to their own duties respectively. People from other countries cannot join the US army.
- g) Regardless of foreigners in this country.
- h) How could a war commence if the Queen of England declares war with France, but Her minister doesn't want to enter into war and is not willing to dispatch a single general or allocate a single tael?

Translation quality control is a very important link in the translational chain. This is because it dictates the readability and acceptability of the target texts, how these translated texts are received by the readership, and the interaction between the readership and the target texts. In checking the target texts, political or ideological correctness is the first criterion taken into consideration, followed by literary criteria such as fluency and elegance. Via ideological manipulation, Lin put every link of the translational chain under his control. Readers' responses (responses of the Emperor and open-minded court officials) indicated that his ideological manipulation was successful. Lin's translation quality control indicated not only his ideology of translation, but also his ideology in translation.

#### 5.4 Determining and Interaction with Readership

Lin determined the readership of his translations. The translated works were not published and they were mostly for internal use. In feudal China, information flow was directed by 'power': it moved within the ruling class horizontally (Huang, 2012). As such, his translations only went to open-minded court officials like Guan Tianpei, Yi Liang, and Deng Tingzhen, Emperor Daoguang as well as Lin himself.

Yi Liang's readership is evidenced by Lin's correspondence with him. In a letter dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> lunar month, 1839 (March, 1839), Lin wrote, "The newspapers have been translated sporadically. I order that they be bound together in several volumes for your review" (Yang, 1981, p. 46). In a letter dated the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> lunar month, 1839 (18 January, 1840),

Lin wrote, “The latest newspapers were translated yesterday. They are attached to the letter for your review. By the way, you may share them with Hou’an<sup>36</sup>” (Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 3467). From this quotation we believe that Hou’an was probably one of the readers of the translated newspapers, but we cannot be sure as further evidence is not available. It was followed by another letter dated the 30<sup>th</sup> day of the 1<sup>st</sup> lunar month, 1840 (3 March, 1840), which stated, “Two copies of the translated newspapers have been sent to your place for you to pass time with” (Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 3471).

Among the translated newspapers, six issues were presented to Emperor Daoguang as attachments in the guise of memorial, dated the 4<sup>th</sup> day of the 2<sup>nd</sup> lunar month, 1840 (7 March, 1840) (Yang, 1981). The six issues were correspondence between British Captain Elliot, Captain Smith, and British military officers in Macao. In the memorial, Lin wrote, “It is a critical moment to guard against barbarians. It is vital for us to investigate barbarian affairs now and again to gain an understanding of the actual situation, based on which we can develop control measures” (Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 1414).

However, the translations were not known to the people outside of the Court and they did not ignite the ideas and thoughts of ordinary people. Readership size ultimately dictates the effects of translations and the very small readership of Lin’s patronised translations had only minor influence in China at that time.

## 5.5 Summary

This chapter discusses Lin’s translator selection, source text selection, translation quality control methods, and interactions with readership. Lin’s translator selection criteria matched his standards of talent; his source text selection provided him with abundant information about opium and military affairs; his translation quality control methods proved to be effective and is of referential significance for today’s translation; his small readership was caused by the Qing government’s disdain and even prohibition of translation activities which revealed the dominant ideology of translation in the Qing society at that time, and a

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<sup>36</sup> Hou’an refers to Da Hong’a, a Manchurian patriotic general who led Taiwanese in fighting against British invasion.

small readership (only open-minded court officials and the Emperor) dictated a minor influence of his translation activities on the society.

## Chapter 6 Lin Zexu's Intervention in Translation Strategies

This chapter discusses Lin's indirect participation in the translation activities, namely, his intervention in translation strategies. Translators are interpellated or hailed by the patron. Through ideological interpellation, Lin's ideology was injected into the minds of his translators who tried their utmost to apply his ideologies into actual translating or translation strategies. As such, the strategies used by Lin's translators were indicative of his ideologies. To achieve his ideologies, Lin's translators employed the following strategies: sinolisation, dwarfing, uglification, and defamiliarisation.

### 6.1 Sinolisation

Sinolisation, as the word suggests, refers to translating in such a way as to conform to Chinese tradition or culture. It is a kind of acculturation, assimilation, and cultural imperialism. The strategy of sinolisation was bidirectional as it was manifested in both his English-Chinese and Chinese-English translation.

#### 6.1.1 Sinolisation of Newspaper and Book Titles

The titles in Lin's English-Chinese translations were usually determined by Lin himself (Chen, 1997).

First, the names of the major source newspapers – 'The Canton Press' and 'The Canton Register' – and minor source newspapers published in Singapore, Bombay, London, Bengal, etc., were all translated into '澳门新闻纸' (*ao men xin wen zhi*, 'Macao News'). When deciding on the name for the translated newspapers, Lin regarded Macao as the centre and Singapore, Bombay, London, Bengal, etc., as peripheral.

Second, the book title 'The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7' was rendered into '华事夷言' (*hua shi yi yan*, 'Barbarian Writings concerning Chinese Affairs'). The former was a third-person objective description, while the latter was a first-person subjective representation. It is believed Lin decided on the title of the book himself because: 1) as a foreigner, Dr. Hill could not use such a word for himself and his like in China as the character '夷' (*yi*, 'barbarians') in the title was used in a derogatory sense; and 2) a foreigner in China could not

shift the narrative perspective from third-person (the fan-qui) objective description to first-person (华事, ‘our Chinese affairs’) subjective representation in rendering ‘The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7’ into ‘华事夷言’ (*hua shi yi yan*).

Third, the book title ‘An Encyclopaedia of Geography’ was translated into ‘四洲志’ (*si zhou zhi*, ‘Geography of the Four Continents’). The original title is an objective description; whereas the translated title is a Buddhist representation.

#### 6.1.2 Sinolisation of Chronology, Units of Measurement and Currency, and Establishments

Sinolisation was widely used in Lin’s translations, irrespective of whether it was newspaper translation, book translation, or diplomatic correspondence translation. For example, English chronology, units of measurement and currency, and establishments were replaced by Chinese terms as shown in the following tables:

Table 9. Sinolisation of chronology in Lin’s translations

Source Text	Target Text	Today’s Translation
July 7th	七月初七 ( <i>qi yue chu qi</i> , ‘the 7 <sup>th</sup> day of the 7 <sup>th</sup> lunar month’)	7月7日 ( <i>qi yue qi ri</i> )
the 17 <sup>th</sup> century	一千七百年间 ( <i>yi qian qi bai nian jian</i> , ‘between the 1700s and the 1790s’) <sup>37</sup>	十七世纪 ( <i>shi qi shi ji</i> )
1774	千有七百七十四年 (乾隆三十九年) [1774 (the 39 <sup>th</sup> regnal year of Emperor Qianlong)]	1774年 ( <i>yi qi si nian</i> )
the year 800	八百年 (唐德宗贞元十六年) [800 (the 16 <sup>th</sup> regnal year of Zhenyuan of Emperor Dezong of the Tang dynasty)]	800年 ( <i>ba bai nian</i> )
the year of Christ 500	耶稣纪年五百 (南齐永元二年) [500 (the 2 <sup>th</sup> regnal year of Emperor Yongyuan of the Southern Qi dynasty)]	公元 500 年 ( <i>gong yuan wu bai nian</i> )
1822	道光二年 ( <i>dao guang er nian</i> , ‘the second year in the reign of Emperor Daoguang’)	1822 年 ( <i>yi ba er nian</i> )

Chinese chronology was expressed by ‘reign title + number of years in reign’, but Western chronology was based on the year of Jesus’ birth. In translating year dates from English into Chinese, the translator used Chinese characters rather than the original Arabic

<sup>37</sup> It should be ‘一千六百年间’ (*yi qian liu bai nian jian*, ‘between the 1600s and the 1690s’).

numerals, and added Chinese regnal years in brackets after the year dates. Lin's translators transferred all Christian years into Chinese chronology such as '1822' into '道光二年' (*dao guang er nian*), and 'the year of Christ 500' into '耶稣纪年五百 (南齐永元二年)' (*ye su ji nian wu bai, nan qi yong yuan er nian*). The shift from the English calendar to the Chinese calendar resulted in differences in chronology because the English calendar was based on the solar cycle and the Chinese calendar was premised on the lunar cycle.

In translating units of measurement and currency, Lin's translators also replaced English terms with Chinese terms. This is illustrated in the following table which compares Lin's translators' translations and unsinolised translations by this researcher:

Table 10. Sinolisation of units of measurement and currency in Lin's translations

Source Text	Lin's Translators' Target Text	Unsinolised Translation
foot	丈/忽( <i>zhang</i> , '3 1/3 meters'/ <i>hu</i> , '0.0000109 foot')	英尺 ( <i>ying chi</i> )
mile	里 ( <i>li</i> , 'one third mile')	英里 ( <i>ying li</i> )
oz. av.	两 ( <i>liang</i> , '1.7636981 ounce')	盎司 ( <i>ang si</i> , 'ounce')
dollar	银圆 ( <i>yin yuan</i> , 'Chinese silver yuan')	美元 ( <i>mei yuan</i> )
dollar; £	圆 ( <i>yuan</i> , 'Chinese yuan/Chinese silver yuan')	美元 ( <i>mei yuan</i> , 'US dollar'); 英镑( <i>ying bang</i> , 'British Pound')
lakh	十万圆 ( <i>shi wan yuan</i> , '100,000 yuan')	十万卢布 ( <i>shi wan lu bu</i> )

Furthermore, when translating English administrative divisions, establishments and institutions, Lin's translators also employed sinolisation, as shown in Table 11:



Table 11. Sinolisation of administrative divisions, establishments and institutions in Lin's translations

Source Text	Target Text	Unsinolised Translation
kingdom/state	部 ( <i>bu</i> , 'ministry/department')	王国/州 ( <i>wang guo/zhou</i> )
county	大部落 ( <i>da bu luo</i> , 'big tribe')	县 ( <i>xian</i> )
city and borough	小部落 ( <i>xiao bu luo</i> , 'small tribe')	市、区/镇 ( <i>shi, qu/zhen</i> )
kingdom/state/republic	部落 ( <i>bu luo</i> , 'tribe')	王国/州/共和国 ( <i>shi, qu/zhen/zhou/wang guo</i> )
theological seminary	经典馆 ( <i>jin dian guan</i> , 'academy of classics')	神学院 ( <i>shen xue yuan</i> )
common school	义馆 ( <i>yi guan</i> , 'free school')	私立学校 ( <i>si li xue xiao</i> )
mosque	庙 ( <i>miao</i> , 'Buddhist temple')	清真寺 ( <i>qing zhen si</i> )
the Royal library	国库 ( <i>guo ku</i> , 'national stock')	皇家图书馆 ( <i>huang jia tu shu guan</i> )
Chapel Royal, St. James	罗压尔先占士庙 ( <i>luo ya er xian zhan shi miao</i> , 'Royal Chapel temple')	圣詹姆士宫皇家教堂 ( <i>sheng zhan mu shi gong huang jia jiao tang</i> )

The above translated terms were all unique to Chinese society. For example, '庙' (*miao*) was unique to Chinese Buddhism, as mosque was to Islamism. The rendering of 'the Royal library' into '国库' (*guo ku*, 'national stock'), rather than '皇家图书馆' (*huang jia tu shu guan*) showed Lin and his translators' sinocentrism. While there were government institutions such as Wenyuan Pavilion (Pavilion of Literary Profundity) functioning as libraries in the Qing Dynasty, they were not libraries in the modern sense. The term 'chapel' was also sinolised as 'temple', the former being a place of worship for Western religions, the latter a structure reserved for Eastern religious activities such as a Buddhist temple in China.

### 6.1.3 Sinolisation of Official Posts

When translating the names of foreign official posts, the translator added a generic word '官' (*guan*, 'official/officer') after each name to highlight the status of the official. The Chinese-translated official posts were expressed by 'xx 官' (*guan*, 'officer/official'). Table 12 lists examples of this kind, and Appendix 4 provides further examples.

Table 12. Sinolisation of official posts in Lin's translations

Source Text	Target Text	Today's Translation
the Foreign Office	英国管理外国贸易之官 ( <i>ying guo guan li wai guo mao yi zhi guan</i> , 'British foreign trade officer')	外交部 ( <i>wai jiao bu</i> )
the Court	大官 ( <i>da guan</i> , 'big officials')	朝廷 ( <i>chao ting</i> )
Minister	大官 ( <i>da guan</i> , 'big officials')	大臣 ( <i>da chen</i> )
Sir Maitland	水师官 ( <i>shui shi guan</i> , 'naval officer')	梅特兰爵士 ( <i>mei te lan jue shi</i> )
Chamberlain	值宿官 ( <i>zhi su guan</i> , 'officer on the night shift')	内侍 ( <i>nei shi</i> )
Steward	管家官 ( <i>guan jia guan</i> , 'officer of steward')	管家 ( <i>guan jia</i> )
Master of the horse	管马官 ( <i>guan ma guan</i> , 'officer of the horse')	掌马官 ( <i>zhang ma guan</i> )
Royal establishment	罗压尔啞士达唔官 ( <i>luo ya er yi shi da wu guan</i> , 'officer of royal establishment')	皇家机构主管 ( <i>huang jia ji gou zhu guan</i> )
Chief Justice	正官 ( <i>zheng guan</i> , 'officer of official')	大法官/首席法官 ( <i>da fa guan/shou xi fa guan</i> )

As evidenced by the content in Table 12, some of the unsinolised translated terms of official posts still cannot be expressed without the word '官' (*guan*) even in today's modern Chinese language.

#### 6.1.4 Sinolisation of Culture-Loaded Terminology

In addition to the above-mentioned proper nouns like chronology, units of measurement and currency, and establishments, common nouns, especially culture-loaded terminology, were also sinolised in Lin's translations as shown in Table 13:

Table 13. Sinolisation of culture-loaded terminology in Lin's translations

Source Text	Target Text	Today's Translation
population	户口 ( <i>hu kou</i> , 'households')	人口 ( <i>ren kou</i> )
priest	和尚 ( <i>he shang</i> , 'monk')	牧师 ( <i>mu shi</i> )
churchmen	和尚 ( <i>he shang</i> , 'Buddhist monks')	教徒 ( <i>jiao tu</i> )
priest	和尚 ( <i>he shang</i> , 'Buddhist monks')	牧师 ( <i>mu shi</i> )
ballot	拈阄 ( <i>nian jiu</i> , 'draw lots')	投票 ( <i>tou piao</i> )
cholera	胆经 ( <i>dan jing</i> , 'gallbladder channel')	霍乱 ( <i>huo luan</i> )

The terms, '户口' (*hu kou*), '和尚' (*he shang*), '拈阄' (*nian jiu*), and '胆经' (*dan jing*) are all particular to Chinese culture. For example, the medical concept, 'cholera', was translated to 胆经 (*dan jing*, 'gallbladder channel'), a concept in traditional Chinese medicine, as traditional Chinese medicine does not include such a concept.

In addition, some phrases were expressed in traditional Chinese phrases such as illustrated in the following example:

#### Example 1

Source text:

We the undersigned commanders of merchant ships at present lying at Hong Kong, beg most respectfully to submit the following reasons which *in our opinions* ought to prevent the ships being moved from their present anchorage. (*The Canton Press*, 23<sup>rd</sup> November, 1839)

Target text:

我等系现在尖沙咀湾泊之船主，敬求尔准**我等愚见**所说之道理，宜静止船只，不要离开现今湾泊之所。(Lin, 2002, p. 4988)

This example is drawn from the correspondence numbered No. 1 to Captain Charles Elliot, by eleven commanders of ships. In this example, 'in our opinions' was rendered into '我等愚见' (*wo deng yu jian*, 'in our foolish opinions') which is a form of self-depreciatory appellation commonly used in Chinese correspondences. The expression 'in our foolish

opinions' however is rare in English. Rendering the text in this way shows the translator adhered to Chinese poetics.

In Lin's translation, the translator availed every opportunity to highlight the supreme status of the Chinese Emperor. See the following examples:

#### Example 2

Source text:

Heretofore we have known the Chinese merely as a *semi civilised nation* — to whom we sell broadcloth — and from whom we buy tea. (*The Canton Press*, 20<sup>th</sup> June, 1840)

Target text:

我等向来皆以为中国系半入王化之人，我等不过卖羽呢与他们，又由他们买茶叶而已。(Lin, 2002, p. 5063)

The author's back translation:

We have always thought that Chinese are *semi-enlightened by the Emperor*. We just sell broadcloth to them, and from us they buy tea.

#### Example 3

Source text:

-- and a people -- ... -- capable of setting a bright example to *the most polished countries of Europe*. (*The Canton Press*, 20<sup>th</sup> June, 1840)

Target text:

其.....可为欧罗巴有王化国分之榜样。(Lin 2002: 5063)

The author's back translation:

They ... can be a model for *European countries enlightened by the Emperor*.

#### Example 4

Source text:

The whole is an archipelago in itself, inhabited by *semi-civilised* races with strong prejudices against foreign intercourse. (*The Canton Press*, 25<sup>th</sup> April, 1840)

Target text:

彼处各岛上之居民，尚未十分归入王化，保守不准别国人到其地方甚严。(Lin 2002: 5051)

In Examples 2, 3 and 4, ‘semi civilised nation’, ‘the most polished countries of Europe’, and ‘semi-civilised’ were translated into ‘半入王化之人’ (*ban ru wang hua zhi ren*, ‘a person semi-enlightened by the Emperor’), ‘欧罗巴有王化国分’ (*ou luo ba you wang hua guo fen*, ‘European countries enlightened by the Emperor’), and ‘尚未十分归入王化’ (*shang wei shi fen gui ru wang hua*, ‘not fully enlightened by the Emperor’), respectively. In neutral terms, they should be ‘半开化国家’ (*ban kai hua guo jia*), ‘欧罗巴最文明之国’ (*ou luo ba zui wen ming zhi guo*), and ‘半开化’ (*ban kai hua*), respectively. The source texts are not related to the Emperor, but the target texts are. The translator highlighted the Chinese Emperor to reflect his supreme status and the omnipresence of his almightiness. In feudal China, a subject was considered civilised if he or she was enlightened by the Emperor or received the Emperor’s enlightenment (王化, *wang hua*), which means the Emperor’s moralisation. In the Qing Dynasty, people were usually judged by moral standards, and the Emperor’s moralisation was the highest moral standard.

#### Example 5

Source text:

As for those other civil and military mandarins who have exerted themselves in this affair, I let their names be reported to me in a special bulletin, that I, the Emperor, may *award* them *suitable marks of my acknowledgement*. (*The Canton Press*, 25<sup>th</sup> January, 1840)

Target text:

其在事出力文武官员，著查明保奏，候我施恩。(Lin 2002: 5014)

In Example 5, ‘award them suitable marks of my acknowledgment’ was translated into ‘施恩’ (*shi en*, ‘confer a favor upon sb.’). This was traditional feudal discourse which otherwise should be ‘奖赏’ (*jiang shang*). In feudal China, every benefit was regarded as bestowed by the Emperor, son of heaven, and so are any marks.

#### 6.1.5 Sinolisation of Addressing Terms

In Lin's translations, his translators used the term '王' (*wang*, 'King') rather than '皇' (*huang*, 'Emperor') in addressing foreign Kings or Queens. It was correct translation, but was done under a different consideration: the former was lower than the latter. Actually, any Emperor or King of an independent sovereignty enjoys equal status with the Chinese Emperor and should be addressed equally and consistently. However, the translator made a differentiation to show the supreme status of the Chinese Emperor. A better translation to avoid misunderstanding might be '女皇' (*nu huang*, 'Empress/female Emperor') for 'Queen'. In Examples 6 and 7, 'the Queen' and "the Emperor of Russia" were rendered into '王后' and '俄罗斯王', respectively:

#### Example 6

Source text:

5th, that *the Queen's* representatives as superintendents of trade, be allowed direct communication with *the Emperor*, his minister and the local authorities, and also to reside at Peking, or a given port. (*The Canton Press*, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1839)

Target text:

第五，我等王后之代理人，如贸易领事等，俱准一直奏本与皇上，及递禀与各大官地方官府，又准代理人在北京或给一埠头居住。(Lin, 2002, p. 4984)

#### Example 7

Source text:

And when that influence has been fully established to such an extent as to satisfy the ambition of *the Emperor of Russia*, will he abandon all that he has gained, and withdraw his troop? (*The Canton Press*, 25th July, 1840)

Target text:

俄罗斯王倘既得了他所得之地方，岂肯立即收兵乎？(Lin, 2002, p. 5072)

#### 6.1.6 Sinolisation of Legal Terms

*The Law of Nations* was translated by Dr. Parker and Yuan Dehui, respectively. Parker attempted to establish an understanding of international law based on Christian ethics

and moral order; whereas Yuan's diction and argumentation were deeply rooted in Confucian ethics (Wang, 1985). Parker's rendering was literal, while Yuan's was free. International law represents modern ideas in modern language, but Yuan interpreted them in traditional Chinese discourse which reflected a rule-by-man ideology. This is illustrated in the following examples:

#### Example 12

Source text:

Public war is that which takes place between nations or sovereigns, and which is carried on in the name of the public power, and by its order. This is the war we are here to consider; private war, or what which is carried on between private individuals, belongs to the law of nature properly so called. (Vattel, 1844, p. 291)

Parker's version:

盖打仗者，有公私之分，或两国交战，或二主相争，所事皆出于公，而兵权亦出于公，此是也。私自两人相敌，此是性理之常，此之谓也。(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5132)

Yuan's version:

公斗系两国所兴之兵，私斗乃二家**所怀之忿**。以妥当道理而论，凡保护自身及保全自己道理，自然可以有用武之道理。此等道理常在人心中，亦人人所共知。(Editorial Committee, 2002, pp. 5134-5135)

Parker and Yuan each translated part of the book, with some overlapping parts. The above paragraph was translated by both men. Parker's diction was scientific and neutral; whereas Yuan's diction was subjective and ideologically loaded. Yuan's translation was based on Parker's, but was premised on a misunderstanding. For example, '所怀之忿' (*suo huai zhi fen*, 'indignation harboured') is a traditional Chinese word, originating from Chinese Buddhism, which contradicts modern international law discourse. What's more, it was added by Yuan as no equivalent from the source text can be found.

#### Example 13

Source text:

Some *fanatics* indeed, taking in a literal sense the moderation recommended in *the gospel*, have adopted the strange fancy of suffering themselves to be massacred or plundered, rather than oppose force to violence. But we need not fear that this error will make any progress. The generality of mankind will, of themselves, guard against its contagion — happy, if they as well know how to keep within the just bounds which nature has set to a *right* that is granted only through necessity! To mark those just bounds, — and, by *the rule of justice, equity, and humanity*, to moderate the exercise of that harsh, though too often necessary right — is the intention of this third book. (Vattel, 1844, p. 291)

Yuan's version:

有些迂儒，用经典上义理，如己身已被人杀害，犹曰只好任他杀去，而已总不任杀人之名。此等错意见，终怕行不开。原其故，无非为避害保身，此亦人之常情。然后亦不是乱用，若知夫天性所赋之理，不得已而用兵，总合夫道理，以仁义之律法而节制之。(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5135)

In Example 13, Yuan rendered ‘fanatics’ into ‘迂儒’ (*yu ru*, ‘pedantic Confucian scholar’), a traditional Confucian discourse; ‘gospel’ into ‘经典’ (*jing dian*, ‘Chinese classics’); ‘right’ into ‘道理’ (*dao li*, ‘reason’); and ‘the rule of justice, equity, and humanity’ into ‘仁义之律法’ (*ren yi zhi lv fa*, ‘law of benevolence and righteousness’). Yuan thus converted Christianity into Confucianism.

#### Example 14

Source text:

Every state has consequently a right to prohibit the entrance of foreign merchandises; nations that are affected by such prohibition have no right to *complain of it*, as if they had been *refused an office of humanity*. Their complaints would be ridiculous, since their only ground of *complaint* would be, that a profit is refused to them by that nation who does not choose they should make it at her expense. It is, however, true, that if a nation was very certain that the prohibition of her merchandises was not founded on any reason drawn from the welfare of the state that prohibited them, *site would have cause to consider his conduct as a mark of ill-will shown in this instance, and to complain of it on that footing*. (Vattel, 1844, p. 38)



Parker's version:

尝思各国皆有当禁外国货物之例，其外国不得告诉委曲而违此禁，亦不得以仁情推辞。若他**告诉委曲**，是不过**欲利**而已。该国必不以他得利而违自己之禁。试思凡国有禁，皆有所谓而然也。(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5132)

Yuan's version:

各国禁止外国货物不准进口的道理，贸易之人有违禁货物，格于例禁不能进口，**心怀怨恨**，何异人类**背却本分**。最为可笑，若不分别违禁不违禁以及将本求利均不准进口，可以**含怨**。即如甲国货物而至乙国，并不见有违碍，而乙国禁之，此谓之不是好意，亦可**含怨**。(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5133-5134)

In this example, Parker added ‘试思凡国有禁，皆有所谓而然也’ in the translation as a conclusion or comment. Yuan used words like ‘心怀怨恨’ (*xin huai yuan hen*, ‘resentment harboured’), ‘背却本分’ (*bei que ben fen*, ‘deviate from one’s duty’) and ‘含怨’ (*han yuan*, ‘resentment harboured’) in his translation which coloured it with traditional Chinese culture and rule-by-man ideology. The italicised part in the source text was omitted in the translation.

#### Example 15

Source text:

I mean the general laws made to maintain *good order*, and which have no relation to *the title of citizen or of subject of the state*. (Vattel, 1844, p. 172)

Target text:

我思律例之设，原为保存**身家性命**起见，非关遵其例即**子其民**之理，(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5134)

The author's back translation:

I mean the general laws made to maintain *life and possessions*, and which have no relation to observing the laws (i.e., *treating the citizens or subjects of the state like its children*).

The author's translation from the source text:

我意为，律例之设原为保存**伦常**，无关**公民或臣民头衔**。

In Example 15, the equivalents are in italics and bold, respectively. The author's back translation of the target text and translation of the source text are provided to show the difference between the author's translation from an objective stance and Lin's translator's ideologically-manipulated translation. The phrase 'good order' is equivalent to '伦常' (*lun chang*), other than '身家性命' (*shen jia xing ming*, 'life of one's family and oneself'). In addition, the phrase 'the title of citizen or of subject of the state' is equivalent to '公民或臣民头衔' (*gong min huo chen min tou xian*), other than '子其民' (*zi qi min*, 'treating his subjects like his offspring').

#### Example 16

Source text:

The sovereignty is the right to command in *the whole country*; and the laws are not simply confined to regulating the conduct of the citizens towards each other, but also determine what is to be observed by *all orders of people throughout the whole extent of the state*.  
(Vattel, 1844, p. 172)

Target text:

国家抚有天下，治理亿兆，而律例亦不止此。自法制一定，**普天之下莫不遵守**，  
(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5134)

The author's back translation:

The sovereignty is the right to command in *the area beneath the heaven*; and the laws are not simply confined to regulating the conduct of millions of billions of citizens, but also determine what is to be observed by *all orders of people beneath the heaven* as soon as the laws are enacted.

The author's translation from the source text:

国家政权有权治理**国家**，而律例不仅限于调节公民之行为规范，还应制定**全体民众**须遵守之律例。

As mentioned before, the Chinese Emperor believed that he ruled over everything beneath the heavens. Affected by such consideration, Yuan rendered 'the whole country' and 'all orders of people throughout the whole extent of the state' into '天下' (*tian xia*) and '普天

之下’ (*pu tian zhi xia*), respectively. The source text did not exceed the extent of a single country, but the target text equated a single country with the whole world, dismissing the existence of other sovereign countries.

Rooted in different cultural backgrounds, Dr. Parker and Yuan employed different strategies. In translating, *The Law of Nations*, Dr. Parker employed Westernisation, while Yuan employed sinolisation, the former being a strategy of de-familiarisation and the latter a strategy of familiarisation. Dr. Parker’s and Yuan’s dictions are in stark contrast as shown in Table 14:

Table 14. Dr. Parker’s and Yuan Dehui’s dictions in translating *The Law of Nations*

Source Text	Parker’s Translation	Yuan’s Translation
law of nature	性理之常 ( <i>xing li zhi chang</i> , ‘the law of nature’)	所怀之忿 ( <i>suo huai zhi fen</i> , ‘indignation harbored’)
fanatics	(untranslated)	迂儒 ( <i>yu ru</i> , ‘pedantic Confucian scholar’)
right	(untranslated)	道理 ( <i>dao li</i> , ‘reason’)
reason	情 ( <i>qing</i> , ‘circumstance’)	道理 ( <i>dao li</i> , ‘reason’)
rule of justice, equity, and humanity	人心，天理 ( <i>ren xin tian li</i> , ‘man’s heart, and Heaven’s justice’)	仁义之律法 ( <i>ren yi zhi fa lv</i> , ‘law of benevolence and righteousness’)
complain	委屈 ( <i>wei qu</i> , ‘injustice’)	怨恨 ( <i>yuan hen</i> , ‘resentment’)
office of humanity	仁情 ( <i>ren qing</i> , ‘benevolent humanity’)	本分 ( <i>ben fen</i> , ‘one’s duty’)

In addition, Yuan tried every means possible to help Chinese readers understand and accept the book. He changed and omitted chapters and complex arguments to reflect the situation in China. He omitted chapters and concepts unsuited for China at that time such as ‘general will’ and ‘state will’. He shifted the concepts of ‘general will’ and ‘social order’ to the perspective of interpersonal relationships rooted in traditional Chinese ethics. His starting point was traditional Chinese ethics, morals, and social order and he viewed every concept in international law from this starting point. He shifted the concept of “law” as objective existence to an object of emotions and thus something quite subjective. He interpreted international law in a traditional Chinese context and, accordingly, his translation was incompatible with Vattel’s original intention.

### 6.1.7 Sinolisation of Diplomatic Expressions

The letter to the Queen of England was translated by Yuan Dehui and Dr. Parker, respectively. In translating the letter, Yuan adopted sinolisation by rigidly following Chinese diction, syntax, poetics and culture; whereas Parker did not follow the original text so rigidly. Their strategies form a stark contrast, and Parker's strategy highlights Yuan's sinolisation strategy.

The letter opens with the following lines:

#### Example 17

Source text:

洪惟我大皇帝抚绥中外，一视同仁，利则与天下公之，害则为天下去之，盖以天地之心为心也。(Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 169)

Yuan's version:

Magnificently our great Emperor soothes and pacifies China and the foreign countries, regarding all with the same kindness. If there is profit, then he shares it with the peoples of the world; if there is harm, then he removes it on behalf of the world. This is because he takes the mind of heaven and earth as his mind. (Zhang, 2008, p. 167)

Parker's version:

It is only our high and mighty Emperor, who alike supports and cherishes those of the Inner Land, and those from beyond the seas—who looks upon all mankind with equal benevolence — who, if a source of profit exists anywhere, diffuses it over the whole world — who, if the tree of evil takes root anywhere, plucks it up for the benefit of all nations: — who, in a word, hath implanted in his breast that heart (by which beneficent nature herself) governs the heavens and the earth! (Zhang, 2008, p. 497)

The letter ends with the following lines:

#### Example 18

Source text:

我天朝君临万国，尽有不测神威，然不忍不教而诛。(Chinese History Society, 1954, p.

171)

Yuan's version:

Our Celestial Dynasty rules over and supervises the myriad states, and surely possesses unfathomable spiritual dignity. Yet the Emperor cannot bear to execute people without having first tried to reform them by instruction. (Zhang, 2008, p. 168)

Parker's version:

Our celestial empire rules over ten thousand kingdoms! Most surely do we possess a measure of godlike majesty which ye cannot fathom! Still we cannot bear to slay or exterminate without previous warning. (Zhang, 2008, p. 502)

In Examples 17 and 18, Yuan stuck rigidly to the Chinese original. Parker, on the other hand, did not follow the original exactly. Yuan's capitalisation of 'Our Celestial Dynasty' denotes the supreme status of the Chinese empire which was to rule over the whole world under heaven. Moreover, in Yuan's version there are a number of words indicating the superiority of the Qing government over foreign countries, especially England; whereas Parker's equivalents for these words are somewhat neutral in tone. This can be seen in Table 15:

Table 15. Yuan Dehui's and Dr. Parker's dictions in translating Lin's *Letter to the Queen of England*

Source Text	Yuan's Translation	Parker's Translation
恭顺 ( <i>gong shun</i> , 'respectfulness and submissiveness')	politeness and submissiveness	respectful and obedient
震怒 ( <i>zhen nu</i> , 'be enraged')	in a towering rage	quivered with indignation
懍遵 ( <i>bing zun</i> , 'obey')	be absolutely obeyed with awe	be obeyed with fear and trembling
神 ( <i>shen</i> , 'god')	spirits	gods
神威 ( <i>shen wei</i> , 'god's might')	spiritual dignity	godlike majesty
格外天恩 ( <i>ge wai tian en</i> , 'the Emperor's kindness')	extraordinary Celestial grace	extraordinary goodness

Lin's official proclamation was translated by Yuan Dehui from Chinese into English. Like the letter to the Queen of England, Yuan's translation was extreme sinolisation as he

rigidly followed Chinese syntax, as can be seen at first sight from the translated title, “Great imperial commissioner’s governors of two Kwang provinces<sup>38</sup> lieutenant-governors of Canton earnest proclamation to foreigners again issued” and its opening paragraph:

For the managing opium on the last spring being stopped trade for present time will the opium surrendered to the government than ordered be opened the trade the same as before.

(Zhang, 2008, p. 167)

Following this proclamation, an editor’s note reads:

So far as we know, this is the first document which ever came from the Chinese in the English language. It is evidently the work of the commissioner’s senior interpreter, who has for many years been in the employment of the government, at Peking. Its idioms are perfect Chinese; and, like all the documents in their own language, it is without punctuation.

(Zhang, 2008, p. 168)

This is the first time in history that the Chinese government issued an official proclamation in English. Unfortunately, its source text is untraceable. The ‘senior interpreter’ refers to Yuan Dehui. As previously stated, Yuan used to work as an interpreter in the Court of Colonial Affairs of the Imperial government in Beijing. As is evident from the opening paragraph of the proclamation, it was not at all readable. It conformed to Chinese linguistic tradition by sticking strictly to Chinese syntax. It is also strange in that punctuation was not applied throughout the text. One could imagine the effects of this proclamation. Foreign opium traders could hardly understand it and thus could only guess at its meaning: the Qing government ordered that opium should be surrendered.

#### 6.1.8 Sinolisation on Syntactic Level

In addition to the above items on lexical level, sinolisation in Lin’s translation was also shown in its syntactical features. The following example shows simplicity, a stylistic feature characteristic of traditional Chinese language, in Lin’s translated texts:

##### Example 8

Source text:

---

<sup>38</sup> The expression ‘two Kwang provinces’ refers to Guangdong Province and Guangxi Province.

... Capt. Smith sent a despatch to the Commissioner at Chuenpee the purport of which was a demand that the Commissioner withdraw his often repeated threats of burning and destroying the English merchant fleet now at Hong Kong, and allow them to remain there unmolested until the orders of the home-government had been received, or until other arrangements for the discharge of their cargoes had been made. (*The Canton Press*, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1839)

Target text:

士噍一到穿鼻即递禀帖，求钦差不要烧毁在尖沙咀湾泊之船只，容留在彼，等候国中回信，或另设法卸货。(Lin, 2002, p. 4984)

The author's back translation:

Smith sent a dispatch to the Commissioner as soon as he arrived at Chuenpee, begging that the Commissioner should not burn and destroy the English merchant fleet anchoring at Tsim Sha Tsui, and allow them to remain there waiting for the correspondence from their home country, or trying other means to discharge their cargoes.

This source text in Example 8 is a complex-compound sentence, whilst the target text is a run-on sentence consisting of several small clauses. From the author's back translation, we can see that the translator conformed to Chinese poetics, simplifying the language to a great extent. The target text thus becomes concise and readable to Chinese readers. However, some minor messages were lost in the simplification process.

Sinolisation was also evident in Lin's translators' changing the word order of the original sentence to conform to Chinese conventions. For instance,

#### Example 9

Source text:

The extensive territories thus united are bounded on *the west* by the Mediterranean and the long succession of straits which connect it with the Euxine, and divide Asia from Europe. On *the north* they have the Black Sea and the Caucasian territory, where Turkey is conterminous with Russia. To *the east* is Persia, separated by a line varying with the fortune of war, but which at present nearly coincides with the course of the Tigris, beyond which

the mountains of Kurdistan afford a doubtful and debatable ground. To *the south* a portion of the empire, nominally at least, touches the Persian Gulf, but is circumscribed by Arabia. (Murray, 1834, p. 233)

Target text:

东抵巴社，以底格厘士河分界，西抵地中海，南界阿那比阿，北界黑海。(Lin, 2002, p. 27)

Example 10

Source text:

European Russia is bounded on *the north* by the Frozen Ocean, and especially by its great gulf, the Bieloe More, or White Sea. On *the east*, those grand natural limits, the mountains called the Urals, and the rivers Volga and Don, separate it from the Asiatic continent. On *the south*, it is bounded by the Euxine Sea and its gulfs, and by European Turkey. *Westward*, it unites with Russian Poland, which brings it in contact with the dominions of Prussia and Austria. (Murray, 1834, p. 143)

Target text:

东界阿悉亚洲内部落，西界波兰、普鲁社及欧塞特里，南界都鲁机，北抵冰海。(Lin, 2002, p. 127)

In Example 9, the localisers in the source text appear in the following order: the west, the north, the east, and the south; and in the source text in Example 10, they are ordered as the north, the east, the south, and the west. In the target texts, however, they were both: 东 (*dong*, ‘the east’), 西 (*xi*, ‘the west’), 南 (*nan*, ‘the south’), 北 (*bei*, ‘the north’), which conformed to Chinese convention and Chinese readers’ reading habits. In so doing, the translator ensured that the translation adhered to Chinese poetics.

#### 6.1.9 Sinolisation on Rhetorical Level

Sinolisation was also indicated on rhetorical level, i.e., use of rhetorical devices. In actual translation, Lin’s translators employed euphemism to adapt the source text to the target language poetics. A euphemism is a substituted mild, indirect, or vague expression for a harsh or a blunt expression (Delbridge, et al., 1985). The substitution was usually done to



filter elements which were inconsistent with the mainstream ideology and poetics, and to replace these elements with ones that conform to social norms. As previously stated, Hatim and Mason (1997) hold that the translator has a filtering function: filtering the text world of the source text through his/her own world-view/ideology. Generally, the translator filters contents or elements which are inconsistent with his/her ideology and the ideology imposed on him/her by his/her patron. Euphemism was employed by Lin's translator to cover harsh realities or forbidden topics, but in a Chinese way. The following example is drawn from the translation of *An Encyclopaedia of Geography*:

#### Example 11

##### Source text:

Captain Smith, the most efficient leader of the colony, was even taken prisoner and about to be put to death by King Powhatan, when his daughter Pocahontas, *with the humanity characteristic of her sex*, interceded, and obtained for him life and liberty. (Murray, 1834, p. 432)

##### Target text:

英之首领士弥为土目包哈但所擒，自后英人不敢横行，惟与土人**互相姻娅**，**生齿日炽**。(Lin, 2002, p. 144)

##### The author's back translation:

The British leader Smith was arrested by the aboriginal ringleader Powhatan, and the British people dared not run amok any longer thereafter. They *interbred and population increased day by day*.

In the above example, the words written in bold and italics are marked as equivalents. It is actually a mistranslation in which the translator mistook the expression 'with the humanity characteristic of her sex' for 'with whom she had sex'. In the Qing government, sex was a forbidden topic. To talk about sex bluntly in either oral form or written form was a violation of the dominant ideology and poetics. The violator may even be subject to some penalty. When touching upon sex, scholars would generally employ euphemism or directly delete or ignore it. In translation, it is not preferable for translators to omit references to sex

included in the source text.

## 6.2 Dwarfing

Dwarfing was employed in Lin's translation to deprecate the status of foreign countries. To dwarf foreigners is to uplift the Chinese. Dwarfing is the embodiment of power relations. Generally speaking, China and the UK, as independent diplomatic identities, assume equal status in international relations regardless of their overall strength. The fact is that asymmetrical power relations existed between the two entities: the UK assumed a more powerful position than China. Interestingly, China was blind to the power imbalance and falsely believed that the relationship between the 'Celestial Empire' and England was a hierarchical one: China assumed a higher position than the UK, thus producing a falsified asymmetrical power relationship between the two. This false conceptualisation of the power relationship situated China and the UK in a higher-lower relationship rather than one of equal status.

### 6.2.1 Dwarfing with Words Denoting Hierarchical Relationships

Dwarfing was widely employed in translating words, especially verbs and nouns, denoting hierarchical relationships by Lin's translators. For example:

#### Example 19

Source text:

With reference to the murder of Lin Weihe, captain Elliot *assures* the commissioner that every investigation was made to detect the murder, but there having been many American and English sailors on shore, it was impossible to detect him. Hereafter he *proposes* that a joint investigation be determined on, congenial with the customs of both nations. The most severe search shall be continued after the murderer of Lin Weihe, and a reward offered for him; and if found, he shall be placed on his trial according to the laws of his own country, before the honourable (Chinese) officers. Captain Elliot thinks it right his Excellency's wishes should be complied with as regards the receiving ships, and the proscribed, as soon as the first northerly wind sets in, which will be in a few days; he *appeals*, however, in favour of Mr. Donald Matheson and Mr. Henry, they not having been concerned in the drug.

(*The Canton Press*, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 1839)

Target text:

又论及杀林维喜之凶手，义律稟钦差云：“已经查察，因□ 咭喇之水手人众，并咪喇坚之水手亦在岸上，故此难查。”又稟云：“将两国之规矩会同查办，今已出赏格严查，倘若查出之时，将犯交中国官府台前，依英国法律审判，义律之意想。若过数日，北风一起，各泵以及所赶逐之人，即应离此地矣。惟呀咭□、同咭哩平时并无做鸦片贸易，因此稟明中国官府，免逐回国。” (Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 4980)

In Example 19, the verbs ‘assures’, ‘proposes’ and ‘appeals’ were all rendered into ‘稟’ (*bing*, ‘to report to one’s superior’). Captain Elliot, Queen Victoria’s representative in China and Commissioner Lin’s counterpart in Britain, actually assumed equal status with Lin. They were not in a ‘superior-inferior’ relationship, but the character ‘稟’ (*bing*) indicated such a relationship. Today’s unbiased rendering of the verbs ‘assures’, ‘proposes’ and ‘appeals’ might be ‘向...保证’ (*xiang...bao zheng*), ‘建言’ (*jian yan*) and ‘请求’ (*qing qiu*), respectively.

#### Example 20

Source text:

This chop, having been delivered, the Chinese requested the ships of war to remove some way farther away from the Bogue, and Capt. Smith complied with their wish and dropped down about three miles, waiting for the *reply*. (*The Canton Press*, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1839)

Target text:

送稟以后，退出约有三里，听候批示。(Lin, 2002, p. 4984)

In Example 20 the source text is rather long; whereas the target text is very short and simple. The word ‘reply’ was translated into ‘批示’ (*pi shi*, ‘written instructions by a superordinate’). The former does not denote a superordinate-subordinate relationship, but the latter does. The same is true with the following example:

#### Example 21

Source text:

On the following morning the despatch was returned, unopened, ... and again *demanded* the immediate surrender of Lin Weihe. (*The Canton Press*, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1839)

Target text:

及至次日早晨即二十八日，提督发回，并未启视，**吩谕**速即交出杀死林维喜之凶手。

(Lin, 2002, p. 4984)

The word ‘吩谕’ (*fen yu*, ‘to instruct or request by a superordinate or senior’) denotes a hierarchical relationship between superordinate and subordinate, whilst ‘demand’ does not have such a denotation. By so doing, Captain Smith was dwarfed.

### Example 22

Source text:

... two *junks* on fire, to which a number of smaller boats filled with combustibles were attached, ... We hear that the boats of H. M. S. Volage were employed in towing these fire ships out of the line of danger. (*The Canton Press*, 7<sup>th</sup> March, 1840)

Target text:

有**中国师船**两只及许多小船，满装引火之物，.....时**窝拉疑兵船**上，当遣三板将火船拨至岸上，离去各船，以免于危险。(Lin, 2002, p. 5034)

In the above example, Chinese ‘junks’ was translated into ‘中国师船’ (*zhong guo shi chuan*), and the British warship, Volage, was rendered into ‘窝拉疑兵船’ (*wo la yi bing chuan*). ‘师船’ (*shi chuan*) and ‘兵船’ (*bing chuan*), though semantically the same (meaning ‘warship’), differ in emotional colouring: the former is commendatory, whilst the latter is neutral. The differential treatment of the Chinese and British warships praised and honoured Chinese troops and dwarfed the British naval force.

### Example 23

Source text:

The Chief Superintendent resolved to go down to Macao.... journey down the river, sick and dispirited, and finally *terminated* it and *his life* together, disappointed and broken-hearted. (Downing, 1838c, p. 182)

Target text:

委船押同律劳卑下澳。律劳卑到澳，即气忿死。(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5130)

The author's back translation:

A boat was despatched to send Lord Napier under escort down to Macao.

The author's translation from the source text:

总监决意下澳。

This is a typical example of dwarfing. First, 'the Chief Superintendent' was translated into '律劳卑' (*lv lao bei*, 'lv laboriously vile'), rather than '总监' (*zong jian*). As a transliteration of 'Lord Napier', this covered his official post and thus formally dwarfed him. Secondly, the source text is an active sentence; whereas the target text is semantically passive because it implies that Napier 'was sent' to Macao. This implies that the Chinese Viceroy, in fact Lord Napier's equal, was of higher status than Napier and that the latter had to obey the orders of the former. Thirdly, 'terminated his life' was translated into '死' (*si*, 'die') which denotes dwarfed meaning to a certain degree. In feudal China, 'die' was referred to in a variety of ways with striking or slight differences in emotional colour or degree such as '崩' (*beng*) for son of heaven, '薨' (*hong*) for Dukes, '卒' (*zu*) for scholar-officials, '不禄' (*bu lu*) for scholars, '死' (*si*) for common people. '死' was a term for common people, the lowest stratum on the social ladder. The word for Lord Napier, a Chief Superintendent, should be '薨', or at least '卒', and should never be '死', if treated in an unbiased manner. '死' (*si*, 'die') was applied to beasts and men, but never to officers of rank.<sup>39</sup> The term '死' lowered the status of Lord Napier, and situated the Chinese Viceroy and his equal, British Chief Superintendent, in an unbalanced power relationship. As such, this dwarfed the British representative.

### 6.2.2 Dwarfing of Addressing Terms

In Lin's translations, his translators availed every opportunity to dwarf foreigners, including foreign rulers. In addressing the Manchu Emperor, the translator consistently used the term '皇帝' (*huang di*, 'Emperor'), while when referring to foreign Emperors the

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<sup>39</sup> Unknown author. The Review of 'The Dispute with China'. *The Canton Register*, 29<sup>th</sup> September, 1835.

translator usually used the term ‘王’ (*wang*, ‘King’). For example:

#### Example 24

Source text:

The *Emperors* [of Austria] put forth their whole strength in endeavouring to crush it by force of arms, and ... (Murray, 1834, p. 83)

Target text:

欧塞特里国之王用兵禁止，不听。(Lin, 2002, p. 82)

The author’s back translation:

The *King* of Austria banned it with force in vain.

The author’s translation from the source text:

欧塞特里国之皇用兵禁止，不听。

#### Example 25

Source text:

... incompatible with the honour of the British crown, and the safety of the *Queen’s* subjects. (Murray, 1834, p. 328)

Target text:

此事不合□ 咭喇之厚道，又不利于□ 咭喇王臣民之平安。(Lin, 2002, p. 202)

The author’s back translation:

... incompatible with the honour of Britain, and the safety of the British king’s subjects.

The author’s translation from the source text:

此事不合□ 咭喇之厚道，又不利于□ 咭喇女皇臣民之平安。

#### Example 26

Source text:

This establishment is very different from all other possessions of *H. M. F. M.* (Murray, 1834,

p. 544)

Target text:

此处地方，与我等**国王**所管之别处地方不同。(Lin, 2002, p. 202)

The author's back translation:

This establishment is very different from all other possessions of my *king*;

The author's translation from the source text:

此处地方，与我等**葡国之皇**所管之别处地方不同。

According to Chinese understanding, Emperors occupy a higher position than Kings, with the latter usually ruled by the former. In the early Qing Dynasty, there were a number of 'Kings' under the rule of the Emperor such as the King of Pingxi, King of Pingnan, King of Jingnan, King of Dingnan, and King of Yi<sup>40</sup>. In Example 26, H. M. F. M. is short for Her Most Faithful Majesty, a reference to John V, King of Portugal during the first half of the eighteenth century.

As previously mentioned, the Chinese Emperor regarded himself as the highest ruler under heaven, thus above all Kings and Queens of other countries. In the letter to the Queen of England, Yuan addressed Queen Victoria as 'King',<sup>41</sup> which in Chinese people's understandings signified a lower status than Emperor. This was a misunderstanding based on sinocentrism. In fact, the British Queen and Chinese Emperor were equal entities, each representing a sovereign state. This is a false consciousness of the power relationship between China and Britain as can be also seen in the following example:

Example 27

Source text:

王其诘奸除慝义尔有邦, (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 171)

Yuan's version:

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<sup>40</sup> King of Pingxi, King of Pingnan, King of Jingnan, King of Dingnan, and King of Yi were Wu Sangui, Shang Kexi, Di Zhongming, Kong Youde, and Sun Kewang, respectively. They were conferred the title of King by Emperor Shunzhi. Furthermore, Chinese Emperors' sons were also conferred the title of King.

<sup>41</sup> Apparently a mistake. It should be 'Queen'.

May you, *O King*, check your wicked and sift your wicked people before they come to China, (Zhang, 2008, p. 168)

Parker's version:

Let then *your highness* punish those of your subjects who may be criminal, do not endeavour to screen or conceal them. (Zhang, 2008, p. 502)

### 6.3 Uglification

Uglification is the process of intentionally making something or somebody ugly to serve a particular ideology. It reveals the differentiation between Cathay and barbarians, according to which, Chinese people were civilised and good-looking, while surrounding nationalities were uncivilised and ugly. To uglify foreigners was to beautify Chinese.

To most Chinese, foreigners were weird and ugly. Though a high official in the government, Lin still harboured a kind of bias towards foreigners due to ignorance. In one of Lin's diary entries he described Portuguese soldiers as follows:

The bodies of the men are tightly encased from head to toe ... they look like actors playing the part of foxes ... They have heavy beards, much of which they shave, leaving only one curly tuft ... indeed, they do really look like devils. (Beeching, 1975, p. 90)

In this quote, Lin described foreigners as devils. Under his influence, Lin's translators employed uglification in the translating process, consciously or unconsciously.

#### 6.3.1 Uglification by Adding the Prefix '口' (*kou*, 'mouth')

In Lin's translation, his translators coined odd, ugly characters by adding the prefix '口' (*kou*, 'mouth') to the left side when transliterating proper nouns such as people's names. This was done to create a sense of foreignness, thus uglifying the referents. For example:

##### Example 28

Source text:

We know not for what reason *Capt. Smith* would not listen to the representations made to him, except it be, that he has, as we are told, orders from *Admiral Maitland* to protect the fleet at Tungkoo. (*The Canton Press*, 16<sup>th</sup> November, 1839)



Target text:

然我等不知士噍因何故不听人所说，除是他另奉有吗咍仑命令，教他在龙鼓保护船只。(Lin, 2002, p. 4986)

In Example 28, ‘Capt. Smith’ and ‘Admiral Maitland’ were translated into ‘士噍’ (*shi mi*) and ‘吗咍仑’ (*ma tuo lun*), respectively, which otherwise should be ‘史密斯船长’ (*shi mi si chuan zhang*) and ‘梅特兰上将’ (*mei te lan shang jiang*). Not only were the titles ‘Capt.’ and ‘Admiral’ omitted, but ‘Smith’ and ‘Maitland’ were rendered to ‘士噍’ and ‘吗咍仑’ by adding a prefix ‘口’ (*kou*) to the left side. This rendered the names quite strange to Chinese readers. It created a sense of foreignness and uglified the referents by producing characters and names non-existent in Chinese. These intentionally made characters were incompatible with the existent Chinese system, and the foreignness resulted in hatred in Chinese readers as they took a contemptuous attitude toward anything foreign that were usually compared to ugly monsters and ghosts. Table 16 lists some examples, with further examples provided in Appendix 5.

Table 16. Uglification by adding the prefix “口” in Lin’s translations

Source Text	Target Text	Today’s Translation
Donald Matheson	呀咍口 ( <i>ma di sun</i> )	唐纳德·马地臣 ( <i>tang na de ma di chen</i> )
Henry	呀拿哩 ( <i>heng na li</i> )	亨利 ( <i>heng li</i> )
Medhurst	噍哈士 ( <i>mi ha shi</i> )	麦都思 ( <i>mai du si</i> )
Bruce	没噜士 ( <i>mo lu shi</i> )	布鲁斯 ( <i>bu lu si</i> )
Douglas	哆额辣士 ( <i>duo e la shi</i> )	道格拉斯 ( <i>dao ge la si</i> )
Lady Grant	喇咍口额喃 ( <i>li di e lan</i> )	格兰特女士 ( <i>dao ge la si</i> )
Lord Palmerston	口吧口嘛士噶 ( <i>lv ba er ma shi dun</i> )	巴麦尊爵士 ( <i>ba mai zun jue shi</i> )
Morrison	吗礼逊 ( <i>ma li xun</i> )	马礼逊 ( <i>ma li xun</i> )

### 6.3.2 Uglification by Using Derogatory Words

Transliteration was widely used by Lin’s translators in rendering proper nouns such as place names, personal names and institutional names. Generally speaking, words in the

translated names should convey neutral tones rather than derogatory meanings. Lin's translators, however, transliterated proper nouns with unpleasant words which transcribed the phonemes in the original English words and uglified them. Transliteration produced in the target text a kind of strangeness and foreignness, thus provoking in the target reader a sense of dislike and hatred. Rendering proper nouns into Chinese characters with derogatory meanings such as '闷' (*men*, 'depressed'), '歪' (*wai*, 'askew'), '窝' (*wo*, 'den'), '鬼' (*gui*, 'ghost'), and '疑' (*yi*, 'suspicious') was a conspicuous form of uglification. Table 17 presents several examples of this kind, and Appendix 6 lists more examples:

Table 17. Uglification by using derogatory words in Lin's translations

Source Text	Target Text	Today's Translation
Cachar <sup>1</sup>	加渣尔 ( <i>jia zha er</i> , 'add dregs you')	察查 ( <i>cha cha</i> )
Connecticut <sup>1</sup>	衰弱底格 ( <i>shuairuo di ge</i> , 'weak bottom grid')	康涅狄格 ( <i>kang nie di ge</i> )
Berlin <sup>2</sup>	麻岭 ( <i>ma ling</i> , 'pockmark ridge')	柏林 ( <i>bo lin</i> )
Lisbon <sup>2</sup>	匿斯闷 ( <i>ni si men</i> , 'ni si depressed')	里斯本 ( <i>li si ben</i> )
New South Wales <sup>2</sup>	纽叟歪尔 ( <i>niu sou wai er</i> , 'niu sou askew er')	新南威尔士 ( <i>xin nan wei er shi</i> )
Quelpoort <sup>2</sup>	鬼尔钵 ( <i>gui er bo</i> , 'ghost er bowl')	奎尔帕特岛 ( <i>kui er pa te dao</i> )
Smith <sup>2</sup>	士蔑 ( <i>shi mie</i> , 'shi contempt')	史密斯 ( <i>shi mi si</i> )
Thelwall <sup>2</sup>	特尔窝尔 ( <i>te er wo er</i> , 'te er den er')	地尔洼 ( <i>di er wa</i> )
Dr. Endlicher <sup>2</sup>	俺里渣 ( <i>an li zha</i> , 'an li dregs')	恩德利希博士 ( <i>en de li xi bo shi</i> )
Congress <sup>3</sup>	滚额里士 ( <i>gun e li shi</i> , 'get-out amount inner soldier')	国会 ( <i>guo hui</i> )
Volage <sup>4</sup>	窝拉疑 ( <i>wo la yi</i> , 'den la doubt')	涡拉机 ( <i>wo la ji</i> )
King <sup>5</sup>	土目 ( <i>tu mu</i> , 'aboriginal ringleader')	国王 ( <i>guo wang</i> )

\*1. Place name, 2. Personal name, 3. Institutional name, 4. Ship name, 5. Official title

Some of the characters in the target text connoted derogatory meanings such as '麻' (*ma*, 'pock'), '渣' (*zha*, 'dregs'), and '滚' (*gun*, 'get out'). In today's translation, neutral words or words with no meanings are used.

As usual, 'foreign' was translated to '夷' (*yi*, 'barbarous') and 'foreigner' to '夷人'

(*yi ren*, ‘barbarian’), no matter whether there is such a word as ‘foreign’ or ‘foreigner’ in the source text or not, as shown in the following examples:

#### Example 29

Source text:

It is well known to all classes of the inhabitants of the provincial city that of late *the English foreigners* have been extremely crafty and deceitful, ... still *the said foreigners* have not hastened to return to their country. (*The Canton Press*, 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1840)

Target text:

省中居民尽皆知道□夷之狡诈，……然该夷尚不肯速行回国。(Lin, 2002, p. 5084)

In Example 29, ‘the English foreigners’ and ‘the said foreigners’ were translated into ‘□夷’ (*ying yi*, ‘English barbarians’) and ‘该夷’ (*gai yi*, ‘the said barbarians’), respectively. By so doing the Englishmen were uglified. Similarly, ‘foreign ship’ was translated into ‘夷船’ (*yi chuan*, ‘barbarian’s ship’) rather than ‘外国船只’ (*wai guo chuan zhi*), and ‘foreigner’ into ‘夷人’ (*yi ren*, ‘barbarian’) rather than ‘外国人’ (*wai guo ren*).

#### Example 30

Source text:

Within the narrow *precincts* of the thirteen Hongs, the whole frontage of which does not exceed seven or eight hundred feet facing the river. (Downing, 1838c, p. 123)

Target text:

十三间夷馆近在河边，计有七百忽地。(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5127)

The author’s back translation:

Thirteen *barbarians’ residences* are near the river, covering an area of approximately 700 *hu*.

The author’s translation from the source text:

河边有一排狭长的房子，面对着河，是十三行的公馆，屋前面积不过七八百英尺。

In Example 30, ‘precincts of the thirteen Hongs’ was uglified into ‘夷馆’ (*yi guan*, ‘barbarians’ residences’). The source text ‘precincts of the thirteen Hongs’ does not denote any derogatory meaning, but the target text ‘夷馆’ does.

In Lin’s diplomatic correspondence translation, Lin’s translators even addressed foreign people as ‘夷’ (*yi*, ‘barbarians’) directly. This is shown in the following example:

#### Example 31

Source text:

唯是通商已久，众夷良莠不齐，(Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 169)

Yuan’s version:

But after a long period of commercial intercourse, there appear among the crowd of *barbarians* both good persons and bad, unevenly. (Zhang, 2008, p. 166)

Parker’s version:

But, during the commercial intercourse which had existed so long, among the numerous *foreign merchants* resorting hither, are wheat and tares, good and bad; (Zhang, 2008, p. 498)

Throughout the letter, Yuan used the word ‘barbarian’ for ‘夷’ (*yi*) 17 times, whereas Parker consistently used ‘foreign’ / ‘foreigner’ / ‘foreign merchant’. In Example 31, Yuan used ‘barbarians’ for ‘夷’, whereas Parker used ‘foreign merchants’. The former is a derogatory term meaning ‘barbarous’ or ‘uncivilised’, while the latter is a neutral term. In traditional Chinese, ‘夷’ was used to refer to foreign people and countries to show Chinese people’s contempt for them. Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary in China, pointed out that ‘夷’ was a “dubious word, never used by ourselves” (Morse, 1926, p. 152). To call foreigners ‘barbarians’ was quite impolite and to render ‘夷’ into ‘barbarian’, though a literal and correct translation, was inappropriate.

Moreover, Lin’s translators used the character ‘蛮’ (*man*, ‘barbarian’) to address foreigners. For example:

#### Example 32

Source text:

Germany is an extensive country, situated in the centre of Europe, and exercising a most powerful influence in the political affairs of that continent. (Murray, 1834, p. 74)

Target text:

耶马尼旧辖大小部落三十有奇，为欧罗巴巨国，与诸蛮中最强。(Lin, 2002, p. 82)

The author's back translation:

Germany used to rule over thirty odd states or kingdoms, hence an extensive country in Europe. It was the most powerful among the *barbarian* countries.

This example is a completely free rendition, or even trans-editing, as there are no equivalents in the source text for the expressions, 'rule over thirty odd states or kingdoms' and 'among the barbarian countries'. The character '蛮' (*man*) was added by the translator to differentiate between Chinese and foreigners, and most probably in contempt of foreigners.

In addition to '夷' (*yi*) and '蛮' (*man*), Lin's translators used '鬼' (*gui*, 'ghost') to address foreigners, as shown in the following examples:

### Example 33

Source text:

..., and we hear that already some few *Parsees* and *Indian Mahometans* that were at Canton have been ordered to leave immediately under pretext of their being spies of the English. (*The Canton Press*, 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1839)

Target text:

我等闻有白头鬼并摩罗鬼，中国说是系与英人探听事情，亦要立即驱逐。(Lin, 2002, p. 4990)

The author's translation from the source text:

我等闻有帕西人并印度伊斯兰教信徒，中国说是系与英人探听事情，亦要立即驱逐。

In Example 33, 'Parsees' and 'Indian Mahometans' were rendered into '白头鬼' (*bai tou gui*, 'white-headed ghost') and '摩罗鬼' (*mo lo gui*, 'mo luo ghost'), respectively. '鬼' (*gui*, 'ghost') is a word which is both derogatory and discriminatory. Parsees, meaning

Persians, were followers of Iranian Prophet, Zoroaster, conspicuous for their white pyjama pants, shawls, and caps. Hence the descriptive phrase ‘white-headed ghost’. ‘摩罗鬼’ (*molo* ghost) is comprised of a transliteration ‘摩罗’ (*mo lo*) plus a generic term ‘鬼’ (*gui*, ‘ghost’). By so doing, the images of Parsees and Indian Mahometans were greatly distorted and uglified. ‘鬼’ (*gui*), meaning “you horrid barbarous devil” (p. 3), was the title applied by people in Guangdong to “all but their own brethren” (Downing, 1838a, p. 3). Even today people from Guangdong still call foreigners ‘鬼佬’ (*gui lao*, ‘devil/ghost’) in private.

Interestingly, Lin’s translator translated ‘India’ into ‘阿三’ (*a san*, ‘Ah- No. 3’), an addressing term with strong derogatory meaning and racial discrimination. ‘阿三’ originated from Shanghai dialect in the 1830s and refers to Indian people (especially Indian policemen) in British Concessions in Shanghai. People in Shanghai harboured a kind of contempt towards them as they acted as lackeys for British colonists. Similarly, Lin’s translators rendered ‘Indian’ into ‘因底阿土番’ (*yin di a tu fan*, ‘Indian aborigines’) which connoted a derogatory meaning in Chinese. This is opposed to the more neutral ‘印第安人’ (*yin di an ren*).

In addition, in the translation of *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7*, the name Lord Napier, British Chief Superintendent in China, was transliterated into ‘律劳卑’ (*lv lao bei*, ‘lv laboriously vile’), while today’s transliteration plus semantic translation is ‘奈皮儿勋爵’ (*na pi er xun jue*). ‘Lord’ was transliterated into ‘律’ (*lv*) which was meaningless, and ‘Napier’ was uglified into ‘劳卑’ (*lao bei*, ‘laboriously vile’). Though transliteration, derogatory meaning was adulterated into the term ‘劳卑’ (*lao bei*). It is said that when Lord Napier learned that his name was translated into ‘劳卑’ he felt “greatly humiliated” (Foreign Office of Great Britain. 1840, p. 9).

In *Yang Shi Za Lu*, the word ‘红毛’ (*hong mao*, ‘red-haired barbarian’) was used to refer to English people. It appeared 12 times in the pamphlet. ‘红毛’ (*hong mao*) originally referred to the Dutch when they first arrived in China in 1601 (Zhang, 1617/1981). Ignorant of their Dutch origins, Chinese people called them ‘红毛番’ (*hong mao fan*, ‘red-haired barbarian’) due to their red hair (Zhang, 1617/1981). Strangely enough, ‘红毛’ (*hong mao*) was a term exclusively for the Dutch before later being used during the early Qing period to

refer to English people when they first set foot in China. This use emerged as a result of the false assumption that England was once a part of Holland before becoming separated (Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica, 1972). ‘毛’ (*mao*, ‘hair’) is a quite indecent word in Chinese as it is usually associated with body hair and pubic hair. Use of the term ‘红毛’ (*hong mao*, ‘red hair’) has an even worse connotation. Use of the term in reference to English people was apparently a means of uglification. As reported in an article dated 6<sup>th</sup> June, 1840, in the *Canton Press*, “Even in the public documents we are contemptuously spoken of as ‘red-bristled barbarians’, ‘foreign devils’, and the like.”

#### 6.4 Defamiliarisation

Defamiliarisation was mainly achieved by way of transliteration, text conversion from one script to another, and adherence to original syntactic order. Transliteration and semantic translation are opposites in translation, especially for the translation of proper nouns such as people’s names, place names, names of organisations, etc. Transliteration refers to writing and translating words or letters using letters of a different alphabet or language. That is, to translate the borrowed words from other languages according to the sounds we hear and then transcribe them in the target language according to the target language phonetic system. Transliteration appeared foreign and unintelligible to Chinese readers, thus resulting in a sense of obscurity or weirdness to them, or a feeling of dislike or even hatred towards foreign objects and foreign people. Strict adherence to original syntactic order is also a form of syntactic foreignization. It also led the Chinese to dislike or even hate foreign languages which appeared ungrammatical, broken, and tongue-tied. In the Qing Dynasty, foreign languages were called “鬼话” (*gui hua*, ‘ghost words’) by people in Guangzhou.<sup>42</sup>

##### 6.4.1 Defamiliarisation on Lexical Level

On the lexical level, transliteration was shown particularly in the translation of nouns, both proper nouns and common nouns. In Lin’s translation, transliteration was used by his translators to render proper nouns such as names of political institutions, places, religions, and administrative divisions. Table 18 lists some of the pairs of proper nouns and common

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<sup>42</sup> 中央社. 清朝人称英语为鬼话 发音遭指很糟糕. 中时电子报.

<http://www.chinatimes.com/cn/realtimenews/20161103003301-260409>. last accessed [04-11-2016].

nouns transliterated by Lin's translators and today's semantic translations. Appendix 5 has more examples.

Table 18. Defamiliarisation of proper nouns and common nouns in Lin's translation

Source Text	Target Text	Today's Semantic Translation
Earl of Cholmondely <sup>1</sup>	左尔门底里阿尔 ( <i>zuo er men di li a er</i> )	乔姆伯爵 ( <i>qiao mu bo jue</i> )
Lord Palmerston <sup>1</sup>	律巴尔麻士顿 ( <i>lv bae r ma shi dun</i> )	巴麦尊爵士 ( <i>ba mai zun jue shi</i> )
Mr. King <sup>1</sup>	经 ( <i>jing</i> )	金先生 ( <i>jin xian sheng</i> )
Parliament <sup>2</sup>	巴厘满 ( <i>ba li man</i> )	议会 ( <i>yi hui</i> )
House of Lords <sup>2</sup>	律好司 ( <i>lv hao si</i> )/ 律好司衙门 ( <i>lv hao si ya men</i> )	上议院 ( <i>shang yi yuan</i> )
House of Commons <sup>2</sup>	甘文好司 ( <i>gan wen hao si</i> )	众议院 ( <i>zhong yi yuan</i> )
Senate <sup>2</sup>	西匿士 ( <i>si ni shi</i> )	参议院 ( <i>can yi yuan</i> )
Privy Council <sup>2</sup>	悖来非冈色尔 ( <i>bei lai fei gang se er</i> )	枢密院 ( <i>shu mi yuan</i> )
Congress <sup>2</sup>	滚额里士 ( <i>gun e li shi</i> )	国会 ( <i>guo hui</i> )
Bishop <sup>2</sup>	比阿士 ( <i>bi a shi</i> )	主教 ( <i>zhu jiao</i> )
bureau <sup>2</sup>	模里敖 ( <i>mo li ao</i> )	局 ( <i>ju</i> )
office <sup>2</sup>	荷非士 ( <i>he fei shi</i> )	办公室 ( <i>ban gong shi</i> )
chamber <sup>2</sup>	占麻 ( <i>zhan ma</i> )	议事厅 ( <i>yi shi ting</i> )
company <sup>3</sup>	甘巴尼 ( <i>gan ba ni</i> )	公司 ( <i>gong si</i> )
sampam <sup>3</sup>	三板 ( <i>san ban</i> )	小船 ( <i>xiao chuan</i> )

\*1. Personal name, 2. Institutional name, 3. Common noun

Some of the terms in Table 18 can be translated semantically to show their meanings, rather than transliterated to cover their meanings. What's more, transliteration made the referents somewhat weird, and made them more difficult to read or understand for Chinese readers, thus hindering the readability of the target text.

Translating political institutions via transliteration defamiliarised the Western political system, but also revealed the deficiencies in the Qing government's political system. By the nineteenth century, separation of powers had long been established in the political systems in



other parts of the world. In contrast, the despotic system of government in China had been intact for nearly 2,000 years. During the Qing Dynasty, political terms such as ‘House of Lords’, ‘House of Commons’, ‘Senate’, and ‘Parliament’ were totally unknown. Lin’s translators were reluctant to render them semantically because it may offend or even insult the Qing government, the Emperor, court officials, and the ‘Celestial Empire’. Transliteration created a sense of vagueness and obscurity related to foreigners, thus allowing Lin and his translation team to avoid unnecessary trouble.

Defamiliarisation was also employed in the translation of *The Fan-Qui in China*, in 1836-7. For example, ‘jury’ was transliterated into ‘主里’ (*zhu li*), while today’s semantic translation is ‘陪审团’ (*pei shen tuan*). The ‘jury’ concept was defamiliarised via transliteration rather than made meaningful via semantic translation. It was due to lack of Western legal knowledge, hatred towards foreign objects, and fear that Chinese people’s exposure to Western political systems may overshadow or threaten China’s Emperor by uncovering the deficiencies of the Chinese political system. The Chinese Empire was a feudal and totalitarian regime which was different from the British tripartite political system with separate legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The Chinese legal system was fundamentally different from the British legal system in that cases in China were tried by ‘大理寺’ (*da li si*, ‘Dali Temple’) and were judged more by the wills of officials than by laws. There was no modern legal concept like ‘court of law’ or ‘jury’ in feudal China. In Britain, cases were decided by a judge who listened to the opinions of the jury, which generally consisted of 12 people. However, the jury concept was strange to Lin’s translators and so transliteration was employed in rendering this term. At the same time, transliteration produced a sense of defamiliarisation which could potentially result in a sense of strangeness, dislike, and even resentment towards Western political systems in the minds of the Chinese people.

#### 6.4.2 Defamiliarisation on Syntactic Level

Defamiliarisation is also revealed in strict adherence to original syntax. Sticking to original syntax enabled the translator to break with Chinese convention and poetics, as evidenced in the following example:

### Example 34

#### Source text:

Mr. Davis informs us that a letter written from Siberia in 1819 stated the quantity annually carried to Russia was about 66,000 chests, containing upwards of five millions of pounds. In 1830, the imports are said to have been 5,563,444 lbs.; in 1832, they were 6,461,064 lbs. The teas, which are mostly of the black sorts, are carried from Kiakhta, overland to Tomsk, and thence partly by land and partly by water, to Novogorod. A Danish ship now and then arrives at Whampoa; and Swedish and Prussian ships come at intervals, but what proportions of their export cargoes is tea we have not been able to ascertain. (Zhang, 2008, p. 160)

#### Target text:

据喇嘛吐由西北厘阿寄来之信，俄罗斯寄茶叶有六万六千箱，计重五百万棒，在一千八百三十年，去五百五十六万三千四百四十四棒。在三十二年，去六百四十六万一千令六十四棒，皆系黑茶。由旱路自喀克图运到担色，担色有两条路：一条水路，一条旱路，均是运到娜窝额罗，黄旗船常至黄埔，绥领船、普鲁社船亦常到黄埔，然我等不能知其装载出口之货物有多少。(Editorial Committee, 2002, pp. 4975-4976)

In Example 34, the syntactic features and word order of the source text were mostly retained. For example, the clause ‘[黑茶]由旱路自喀克图运到担色，担色有两条路：一条水路，一条旱路，均是运到娜窝额罗’ (back translation: The black teas are carried from Kiakhta overland to Tomsk, and by either land or water, to Novogorod) followed closely to the original word order, thus deviating from Chinese syntactic convention. It produced a sense of foreignness in the reader. What’s more, expressions referring to ‘years’ were also foreign to Chinese readers as the Chinese expression traditionally referred to ‘Heavenly Stems’ and ‘Earthly Branches’, such as 甲(jiǎ)子(zǐ), 乙(yǐ)丑(chǒu), and 丙(bǐng)寅(yín). Alternatively, the year was indicated by a number in reigning years of an Emperor such as ‘乾隆三年’ (*qian long san nian*, ‘the third year in the reign of Emperor Qianlong’).

### 6.5 Complex Strategies

Some translation instances show complex strategies (i.e., a combination of more than one strategy) when, say, sinolisation, dwarfing, uglification, and defamiliarisation were combined in one instance, as shown in the following example:

#### Example 35

##### Source text:

The imposts laid upon the fair trade at Canton are very heavy, and have always been the subject of complaint from *the Europeans to the native government*. (Downing, 1838c, p. 163)

##### Target text:

广东洋货税饷甚重，夷商屡禀官宪。(Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 5130)

##### The author's back translation:

The imposts laid upon foreign commodities at Canton are very heavy, and have always been the subject of complaint from *the barbarous merchants to the imperial officials*.

##### The author's translation from the source text:

广东洋货税饷甚重，欧罗巴人屡诉地方衙门。

First, the phrase 'the Europeans' was uglified into '夷商' (*yi shang*, 'barbarous merchant'); second, 'complaint' was translated into '禀' (*bing*, 'to report to one's superior') and thus dwarfed the Europeans; and third, 'the native government' was sinolised into '官宪' (*guan xian*, 'officials') rather than its Chinese equivalent, '衙门' (*ya men*).

Take '夷' (*yi*, 'barbarian/barbarous') for example, it offered an offensive image, especially when used by a Chinese person to address a European person.<sup>43</sup> It was used by Chinese officials to express their contempt and hatred for foreigners (Li, 2008). The *Canton Register* deemed that the word "夷" (*yi*) was used by Chinese as a taunting, insulting, and disrespectful epithet, and a possible substitute for it was "远客" (*yuan ke*, guest from afar).<sup>44</sup> Actually, the most appropriate word for it may be '西洋人' (*xi yang ren*), and the most

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<sup>43</sup> Unknown author. The Dispute with China. *Asiatic Journal & Monthly Register*, March 1835, 145-152.

<sup>44</sup> Unknown author. The Review of 'The Dispute with China'. *The Canton Register*. 29<sup>th</sup> September, 1835.

appropriate word to replace ‘夷商’ (*yi shang*) may be ‘洋商’ (*yang shang*, ‘foreign merchant’).

## 6.6 Summary

The translation strategies employed by Lin’s translators revealed Lin’s ideologies. By way of ideological interpellation or hailing, Lin injected his ideologies into the minds of his translators. Being interpellated or hailed, Lin’s translators became subjects rather than individuals. Lin’s interventions into the translation strategies used by his translators was an indirect form of participation in translation. Examples have been presented to illustrate each strategy. In addition to single strategies, there are also instances of complex strategies, namely, when more than one strategy is combined in single instances.

## **Chapter 7 Viewing Lin Zexu's Translation Activities from an Ideological Perspective**

This chapter views Lin Zexu's translation activities from an ideological perspective. It first discusses Lin's motivations for translation and then explores the ideological factors behind his translation activities.

### **7.1 Lin Zexu's Motivations of Translation**

Lin's motivation for translation was passive rather than active. Had he not been appointed Imperial Commissioner to stem the opium trade he would not have initiated the translation activities; nor would he have the motivation to do so. Lin's motivations for translation can be summarised as follows: first, to seek for intelligence for his anti-opium campaign in order to formulate precautions; second, to seek for intellectual support for his fight against British invasion in order to prepare countermeasures; and third, to save the nation from subjugation and ensure its survival.

Socio-psychologically speaking, motivation has different layers and stages. In terms of a common cause, there are different minor motivations or purposes, all of which serve the ultimate aim (Nord, 1997). As for Lin, the first and second motivations are his direct purposes, and the third his ultimate aim. As such, the first and second motivations served the third. The first motivation is especially apparent in both his newspaper and oral translations, and the second motivation is apparent in both his book and diplomatic correspondence translations. All translation activities under his patronage served the ultimate aim: to save the nation from subjugation and ensure its survival.

### **7.2 Ideological Factors behind Lin Zexu's Translation Activities**

As for ideological factors, Lin's translation activities are first examined in relation to their socio-historical context. Lin's ideological development is then discussed to showcase how his ideology formed. Lastly, the ideologies involved in Lin's source text selection and his translators' translation strategies are explored and specified.

#### **7.2.1 Socio-historical Context of Lin's Translation Activities**

Lin's translation work took place at a special time in the past, namely, the period of the Opium War. As we shall see, his translation activities cannot be separated from the socio-historical context in which they took place. Consequently, an ideological study of Lin's translation activities cannot occur without an examination of the socio-historical context. This section presents the international and domestic contexts in which Lin's translation activities took place. These contexts provide the foundation for understanding Lin's ideological development, his ideologies involved in the translation process, and his ideological manipulation in translation.

Every translation activity takes place in a certain historical context. As Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (1990) stated, "there is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed" (p. 11). Lin's translation activities took place during the Opium War period. During this period there was an apparent asymmetry between China and the West in terms of politics, economics, science and technology, etc. This asymmetry created a chasm between China and Britain on the eve of the Opium War which presaged China's ultimate defeat and dictated Lin's translation motivations and the nature of his translation activities.

#### 7.2.1.1 International Context

In terms of politics, capitalism had long been established in the West by the mid-nineteenth century. Capitalist countries such as the UK, the US and France became the most powerful and advanced countries in the world following their industrial revolutions. Capitalist development, however, was associated with the bourgeoisie's violent plundering of domestic and foreign resources, including human resources. "The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together" (Marx & Engels, 1992, pp. 7-8). As a result, the contradiction between socialisation of production and private ownership as a means of production was becoming increasingly intense.

During the nineteenth century the bourgeoisie in Britain could be categorised into four main factions: the industrial bourgeoisie, the commercial bourgeoisie, the financial (banking) bourgeoisie, and the rural bourgeoisie (the landed aristocracy) (Xue & Li, 1996). Such

categories were determined according to the sphere in which capital was applied. In turn, as the industrial bourgeoisie grew in economic strength, they entered into conflict with the commercial, financial, and rural bourgeoisie. Moreover, they grew eager to participate in politics, leading to a radical movement to reform the parliamentary electoral system in order to break the hegemonic position of the landed aristocracy and financial aristocracy in the parliament. In 1831, the Whigs who represented the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie defeated the Tories who represented the landed aristocracy. This signalled the end of monopoly, conservatism and manor, and the birth of liberty, competition, and factory (Xue & Li, 1996).

The monopoly which the East India Company had over trade with the Qing government was now under constant attack. Indeed, the call by the British industrial bourgeoisie to abolish the monopoly in order to open the Chinese market to private enterprises and ‘free traders’ was growing day by day (Yang, 1981). The efforts of the British industrial bourgeoisie were not successful, however, until 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 1833 when the British Parliament adopted the *Saint Helena Act of 1833* (also referred to as the *Government of India Act 1833*) and ended the East India Company’s trade monopoly with China (Xue & Li, 1996). The East India Company became a purely administrative body and free trade became embedded in British national policy. This significant change indicated that “England ... was apparently girding herself both industrially and politically to capture and hold the markets of Asia” (Dennett, 1922, p. 177).

In terms of the economy, the Industrial Revolution greatly promoted capitalist development in Britain. Capitalist development demanded entry into overseas markets for its manufactured goods and raw materials. British capitalist development went hand in hand with colonial expansion and plundering, as trade and pirate plundering kept abreast with one another (Chen, 1991). In the 1830s, the call for free trade was greater than ever before, as “the economic force behind the free traders was too great to be restricted or contained” (Chang, 1964, p. 15). Free trade triumphed and thus prevailed in Britain throughout the 1840s (Chen, 1991). Due to insufficient demand from domestic markets, Western countries were eager to open up overseas markets to their commodities and capital and to obtain more raw materials for their industry and commerce. As a result, capitalist countries during this period

were in competition for overseas colonies, sources of raw materials, and commodity markets. China, an ancient country with vast territories and abundant resources, had long been their coveted object.

Products from China such as porcelain, cotton, silk and tea were purchased by Western merchants; whereas Western manufactured goods were totally ignored by the Qing government. This was because they held that they owned everything and needed nothing from the West (Yang, 1981). This led to an unfavourable trade imbalance with Great Britain. To reverse the trade deficit, British merchants began to smuggle opium into China in the early nineteenth century. Karl Marx (1861/1985) described this development as follows:

It [the East India Company] being thus transformed from a mercantile into a merely government establishment, the trade to China became completely thrown open to English private enterprise, which pushed on with such vigour that, in 1837, 39,000 chests of opium, valued at \$25,000,000, were successfully smuggled into China, despite the desperate resistance of the Celestial Government. (p. 18)

Supported by the British government, free traders swarmed into Guangzhou for opium smuggling, ensuring the trade took on a 'prosperous' look. According to John Elliot Bingham (1843):

Step on board the opium vessels, and there again the evidence of an active and lucrative trade are everywhere around you. On one side of the deck you see ranges of chests of Patna and Benares,—the other strewed with the contents of chests of Malwa, which is not packed in balls like the Patna, but in loose cakes, every one of which the opium dealer examines, rejecting many chests, perhaps, before he takes one. Turn your eyes aft, and you see again in one place boxes of dollars marked 2,000, others marked sycee, and in another place the Chinese employed for the purpose, emptying bags of dollars and sycee silver, and shroffing or examining them. ... The bargains for opium are mostly made in Canton, though a great many chests are actually sold, and not merely delivered, on board. When the opium is sold in Canton, the seller gives an order to the opium broker for the delivery. (pp. 8-9)



The opium trade brought huge profit to Britain, and that's why British government did not officially ban it.

The Industrial Revolution in the West also gave birth to modern science and technology. As advanced productive forces, they promoted economic development and social progress in the West, and provided technological support for Western powers' external expansion and invasion. In the West, the capitalist revolution – especially the Industrial Revolution – had taken place prior to 1840. The Industrial Revolution created new technologies and brought in new inventions. The steam engine was invented and as a result advanced transportation means such as ships and trains were invented. All the while, warships were built and artilleries were created for overseas invasion (Chen, 1981).

To sum up, the rapid development of the world's leading capitalist countries seriously threatened China as more profit making opportunities were demanded of China's Imperial rulers. The West at that time was both "advanced" and "aggressive" (Lie, 1958, p. 33), and harboured the intention to 'make the East subordinate to the West', in particular, to make China develop in the direction that best meets the needs of the West and act as vassal of the West. From the sixteenth century to the Opium War, Western colonialists came to China one after another: Portugal, Spain, Holland, followed by Britain, France and the US, with an aim to open up China as a new market (Chen, 1991). Britain, "the workshop of the world" and "thalassocrat" (Chen, 1991, p. 9), attempted to wage a war against China to open the country's market to its commodities, including opium. Even on 11 March, 1830, far before the Opium War, W. S. Davidson, a British merchant remarked, "I conceive the result would, sooner or later, be a war between England and China" (Cox, 1830, p. 311). This demonstrates the intention towards war by Britain and the confidence the Empire had in its own power.

#### 7.2.1.2 Domestic Context

In terms of politics, the Chinese Empire was an autocracy whereby the Emperor had absolute power over every division of the political regime. As such, government officials were characterised as superficial, temporary, and irresponsible (Hs ü, 2000). The right of the Emperor to rule was rarely questioned because it was accepted that he was the Son of Heaven and thus ruled with divine authority. The Emperor held that the Chinese Empire was vast in

area and abundant in resources and owned everything in the whole world. The Emperor and government officials disregarded all foreign countries and rejected all foreign contacts. Self-centredness, blind pride, and ignorance prevailed throughout the Imperial Court (Yang, 1981). Moreover, the Qing government was nearly “corrupt to its root” (p. 42) with bribery widespread and officials who paid little attention to people’s well-being (Lie, 1958).

In terms of the Chinese economy, before the Opium War the economy was self-sufficient and natural in which small-scale peasant production prevailed. Handicraft production led to an extremely backward productivity. The self-sufficient economy was mainly organised by units of families in which men did farm work and women engaged in spinning and weaving. Agricultural production served to fulfil both family and taxation needs. What’s more, the opium trade resulted in a huge financial loss to China as significant amounts of silver flowed to Britain (Xue & Li, 1996). The feudal economy could hardly survive the heavy economic burden and the worsening situation. It was on the verge of collapse.

The importation of opium made the economic situation even worse. Opium was first introduced to China in the late seventh or early eighth century as a medicine, and was later smoked by people for pleasure (Yang, 1981). During the 1820s and 1830s, the opium trade to China was on the rise as demand surged. According to an estimate made by the Viceroy of Huguang, there were more than four million opium addicts in 1838, with another Chinese scholar estimating the figure for the same year at 8.5 million addicts (Beeching, 1975). The class of people who consumed opium in China were primarily male, chiefly between the ages of twenty and fifty-five, and of all ranks in society (Downing, 1838c).

The opium trade in China resulted in a rapid outflow of taels which paralysed the economy. According to Yan et al. (1957), there was an outflow of at least 10 million taels each year on the eve of the Opium War. Opium traders colluded with customs officers and court officials, and the bribes paid to the latter only added to the overall level of corruption (Xue & Li, 1996). The opium trade not only resulted in huge financial loss for the Qing government, it also caused great harm to both the physical and mental health of the Chinese people. On this issue, Karl Marx (1951) quoted Montgomery Martin as follows:

Why, the 'slave trade' was merciful compared with the 'opium trade'? We did not destroy the bodies of the Africans, for it was our immediate interest to keep them alive; we did not debase their natures, corrupt their minds, nor destroy their souls. But the opium seller slays the body after he has corrupted, degraded and annihilated the moral being of unhappy sinners, while, every hour is bringing new victims to a Moloch which knows no satiety, and where the English murderer and Chinese suicide vie with each other in offerings at his shrine. (p. 55)

Chinese tradition respected agriculture and despised trade. It went that merchants were at the bottom of the social ladder in terms of social status and intellectual officials were at the higher echelons. As an ancient Chinese poetic line read, 'To be a scholar is to be the top of society.' China's policy of restricting foreign trade was age-old and could be traced back to 1757 when Emperor Qianlong prohibited foreign trade at every port in China (Huang, 1986). Since that time, industry and commerce had been restrained by the ruling class. Despite China's emphasis on agriculture and restraint on commerce, however, there emerged a budding capitalism during the mid- to late-Ming Dynasty. For example, machine workers were employed in workshops in the textile industry in Suzhou and Hangzhou, cities at the lower reaches of the Changjiang River (Duan, 2003). However, the economic sector had not demonstrated substantial improvement until the nineteenth century when industrial and agricultural products were made on a large scale and domestic trade flourished on some trade routes (Duan, 2003). Unfortunately, this occurrence was localised and its influence on the national economy as a whole was quite insignificant.

In relation to foreign trade, the Qing government consistently adopted a dismissive attitude and felt confident that China could go without it. One of the reasons for this attitude was that the Qing government believed foreign trade to be a source of instability and chaos, whereas peace and stability had been its long-harboured aspiration (Huang, 1986). Foreign trade did exist despite the restrictions and in effect brought benefits to China's economy. In foreign trade, China's products such as porcelain, cotton, silk and tea were purchased by Western merchants, and this fuelled China's feudal economy.

In terms of science and technology, China lagged far behind the West at that time. In

the West, the Industrial Revolution saw the emergence of many inventions such as the steam engine, steam ship, and steam locomotive. In China, however, scientific and technological development had long been stagnant due to a scarcity of scientific talent and a general disrespect for science and technology. This resulted in a weakened Chinese economy and military might.

In terms of diplomacy, prior to the Opium War the Qing government adopted a closed-door policy which denied any contact with the outside world. The policy stemmed from a self-centred consciousness and blind self-pride. The Qing government held that China was the biggest, greatest and most powerful country located at the centre of the world. Formal diplomatic contact was not welcomed, international trade was not allowed, and foreign religions were strictly forbidden (Huang, 1986). The closed-door policy also resulted in China's ignorance of Western development. On the eve of the Opium War, no high-ranking Chinese official had any understanding of how shipbuilding, artillery, and navigation had improved the strength of British military forces (Xue & Li, 1996). The Qing court were still immersed in the beautiful dream of the 'Celestial Empire'. Chinese officials believed that heaven was round and the earth was square, and that China lay at the centre of the earth. Indeed, China was named *Zhongguo* (central/middle kingdom), or *Zhonghua* (central civilisation). The Emperor, referred to as *tianzi* (Son of Heaven), ruled over everything, with his authority given by the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming*).

In terms of culture, the Qing government did not tolerate any 'cult' or 'heresy' (Chen, 1991) which deviated from ancient Chinese classics. The banning of books was unprecedentedly strict, and reading 'barbarous books' (p. 5), that is, foreign books, was deemed to be offensive (Feng, 2011). In relation to education, the Imperial examination system had been in existence in China for more than one thousand years. It was applied in the feudal society to select officials from the intellectual class. It originated in the Sui Dynasty, developed in the Song Dynasty, and flourished in the Ming and Qing dynasties (Zhang, 2007). It was taken by intellectuals to be the only entry point into Imperial officialdom and family glory. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the contents tested were restricted to the 'Four

Books’ and the ‘Five Classics’<sup>45</sup> which comprised the ancient wisdom of China and shunned the natural sciences (Feng, 2011). The Emperor was directly in charge of the Imperial examination. He ordered the administration of provincial and metropolitan examinations and supervised the palace examinations in person (Hsü, 2000). The Imperial examination played an important role in the identification and selection of talented people to become state officials in China’s feudal society. However, the examinations were so dull that they restricted creative and innovative thinking by the intellectuals. The lack of progressiveness in China’s education system was thus fundamentally responsible for the nation’s lack of economic and technological development.

In summary, the Chinese Empire was founded upon a feudal regime with the Emperor as absolute ruler. It was operated according to a self-sufficient natural economy, banning all forms of foreign trade. China lacked scientific talent and its technological innovations were rare. In addition, the Imperial examination system restricted the thoughts of intellectuals and restrained them from innovative thinking, leading to a lack of progress in science and technology.

The international and domestic contexts set the background for Lin’s translation activities which were a passive response to the social conditions. The translation project was self-funded (not funded by the government) and conducted in secret. Lin’s secret translation activities were based on the following two considerations: to avoid being involved in unnecessary politics, and to protect his translation work from being disturbed (Huang, 2013). As such, his translation work proved to be fruitful.

### 7.2.2 Lin Zexu’s Ideological Development

This section investigates Lin’s ideological development over three distinct periods, namely, the formative period, the developmental period, and the maturation period. An analysis of the class system in China, that is, class struggle, class relations, social strata, and social structures will be employed to support an analysis of Lin’s ideological development. The aim of the analysis is to reveal the political, ideological, and socio-cultural factors

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<sup>45</sup> The ‘Four Books’ are *Analects of Confucius*, *Analects of Mencius*, *The Great Learning*, and *The Doctrine of the Mean*; the ‘Five Classics’ are *Book of Songs*, *Book of History*, *Book of Changes*, *Book of Rites*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

underpinning the class system.

Ideologies are never held at random (Tedin, 1987). Moreover, the ideologies held by a person can change in accordance with developments in his/her life. The first stage of Lin's ideological development (i.e., the formative period) occurred from his birth in 1785 to the time he was awarded the 'Hanlin Bachelor' (庶吉士, *shu ji shi*) in 1811. The second stage of Lin's ideological development (i.e., the development period) occurred during his seven years in Beijing from 1812 to 1819. The third and final stage of Lin's ideological development (i.e., the maturation period) occurred from the time of his departure from Beijing in 1820 to his banishment to Xinjiang in 1841. The three periods were clearly demarcated in Lin's life time as each marked a specific period in his life: his schooling, early career, and Imperial service at Guangzhou.

#### 7.2.2.1 The Formative Period

The period 1785-1811 marked the formative period of Lin's ideological development. Lin was born into a lower feudal intellectual family in Fuzhou (Yang, 1981), a coastal city in south-eastern Fujian Province.

From a geo-cultural perspective, one's personal development was inseparable from his/her geographical background (i.e., the environment he/she was born into and brought up in). Lin's hometown, Fuzhou, is a coastal city with a long history. It lies at the lower reaches of the Minjiang River and borders the Taiwan Strait, thus occupying a strategic geographical position. Fuzhou had been a trading hub between China and foreign nations since the Song Dynasty, with a number of shipping routes established. As recorded in *Monograph on Litchi* by Cai Xiang, the then prefect of Fuzhou, "Ships go to territories of Silla, Japan, Ryukyu, and Tazi" (Wang 2003, p. 82). Fuzhou was a city with a rich culture and one of the holy lands of Confucianism. Zhu Xi, a Song Dynasty Neo-Confucian, used to give lectures there. Following Zhu, disciples of Wang Yangming, a Ming Dynasty idealist and Neo-Confucian philosopher, lectured to large audiences there and founded the Fujian School. Born in a land of Confucianism, Lin was immersed in a Confucian culture from his early years.

Both Lin's grandfather and father failed the Imperial examination and achieved only at the level of *lin sheng* (廩生, scholars at county level) in Minxian County. In feudal China,

lower feudal intellectuals had two paths in front of them: to become an official via academic success (i.e., passing the Imperial examination), or, if one failed the Imperial examination, to become a labourer (Yang, 1981). Lin's father, Lin Binri, like most parents at that time, preferred an official post in the Imperial Court as this would bring benefits and high honours to the whole family. **This was a common ideology held by the majority of people in China and was referred to as official-first mentality.** Another reason is that, as an unsuccessful candidate in the Imperial examination, Lin's father laid all his hopes on his son, Lin Zexu, to make up for his own failure.

Lin's mother, Zheng Shuqing, did needlework at home and held the same aspirations as her husband. Seeing his parents and sisters toiling away for subsistence, Lin felt deeply guilty and even considered giving up his studies to alleviate their burden. Upon learning this, Lin's mother replied earnestly, "Men should aim high and should not take such trivial things as filial piety. Your gaining academic achievements and entering into officialdom will be worthy of my pains" (Lin, 1824). Zheng Shuqing, like most Chinese people at that time, looked down on physical labour and regarded scholarly honour and official rank as the loftiest path. The two-thousand-year-long feudal ideology left a deep imprint on young Lin's heart via his parents' words and deeds. Lin, from his early years, was long exposed to the feudal ideology of 'scholarly honour and official rank', which set the basis for his official-first mentality as revealed later in his work.

Lin's father, Lin Binri, was an enlightened intellectual of pragmatic study. He was fond of socialising in civil academic groups such as the Dunshe Society, Chengjiao Society, and Jinchong Shan Tang (Yang, 1981). Indeed, he voraciously poured over the remaining fragments of late philosophers and scholars. He opposed the 'study-for-study' academic views which he believed deviated from reality and did not address the needs of contemporary society (Chen, 1964). Instead, he advocated practical learning, namely, applying what one learned in Chinese classics to solving social problems. Lin's father's pragmatism left an imprint on Lin's heart and its traces can be found in Lin's later official career.

Lin's father was also one of the founders and active participants of an influential literary association, Zhenshuai Club. The Zhenshuai Club convened several times per month

to discuss literature both ancient and present, with each gathering lasting the whole day (Editorial Committee, 2002). The club was at the frontier in breaking feudal conventions. Lin Binri (1995) formulated a set of 20 Club Rules that targeted feudal rituals and conventions. For example, the third rule attacked the bow<sup>46</sup>, one of the feudal rituals, by stating, ‘one shake in a bow is enough from host to guest and vice versa’. In addition, the sixth rule expressly objected to rigid adherence to old conventions and the usage of function words like *zhi*, *hu*, *zhe* and *ye*<sup>47</sup>. Lastly, the seventh rule advocated the avoidance of marriage in casual talk (Lin 1995). These rules were in stark contrast to the red tape of the conservative scholars and officials, and launched a merciless attack on feudal ideologies. These innovative ideas paved the way for Lin’s ideological development later in his official career.

During Lin’s early years, the President of the Aofeng Academy, Zheng Guangce, also exerted considerable influence on his ideological formation. During the early period of Emperor Daoguang’s reign, pragmatism revived social contradictions. Zheng advocated “exhaustive study and practical learning” (明理达用, *ming li da yong*) (Yang, 1981, p. 10), stressed practical learning (Lin, 1819a), and encouraged his disciples to establish ideals and to read purposefully. Zheng himself was fond of practical books (Lin, 1824). Courses at the academy covered stereotyped writing, poetry and prose in addition to practical subjects that focused on social reality. To Zheng and his colleagues, practical learning meant learning for contemporary society, that is, seeking answers to current social problems from books and resolving problems by applying what had been learnt to social practice. Zheng’s ideology of “understanding the essence to achieve practical application” (Editorial Committee, 2002, p. 3187) exerted considerable influence on Lin’s life. On how to select readings, Zheng (1805) suggested that “all practical and useful books should be read in an orderly way”.

Guided by Zheng, Lin broadened his horizons greatly through his examination of the traditional knowledge of Chinese feudal society and by reading various “practical and useful books” (Zheng, 1805). Lin read extensively: from Confucian classics to works of Zhu Xi, Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Yangming; from *Tao Te Ching* (The Classic of the Virtue of the Tao), *Han*

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<sup>46</sup> Bowing was a form of greeting and one of the feudal rituals. People bowed with hands folded in front when greeting guests. It was common practice to bow by shaking the hands thrice.

<sup>47</sup> *zhi* (之), *hu* (乎), *zhe* (者) and *ye* (也) are function words in ancient Chinese. They are a form of verbalism.



*Feizi*, *Zhuangzi* to *The Records of the Grand Historian (Shi Ji)*, and *History of the Han Dynasty (Han Shu)*; and from poetic collections and short sketches to Buddhist scriptures, medical books and inscription rubbings, all of which were imbued with thoughts of the Confucian, Taoist, Legalist and Buddhist schools (Jin, 1910).

Another important person in Lin's early life was Zhang Shicheng, governor of Fujian Province. Lin became Zhang's assistant in 1807 and worked with him for five years. Zhang was fond of both Confucian and Buddhist teachings (Lin, 1985), and asked Lin to copy Buddhist scriptures such as *The Diamond Sutra*, *The Great Compassion Mantra*, *The Amitabha Sutra*, and *The Mantra for Rebirth* (Yang, 1981). With the help of Zhang, Lin conducted a systematic study of the anecdotes of various dynasties. He also studied practical subjects like military tactics, criminal law, rituals, and music (Yang, 1981), all of which provided a solid foundation for the development of his pragmatic ideology. Zhang always encouraged Lin to sit the metropolitan examinations and provided favourable conditions for him to prepare for the examinations. Zhang's encouragement and help resulted in Lin's success in the metropolitan examination and subsequent success in the Imperial examination in 1811. As a result of this success, Lin was granted 'jin shi' (进士, 'successful candidate in the final Imperial examination') and was selected as Hanlin Bachelor (庶吉士, *shu ji shi*) (Yang 1981). From then on, Lin officially commenced his life of Imperial service.

During this period of Lin's life there emerged a pragmatic ideology among progressive intellectuals and official-scholars who promoted partial reform and social change at the local level to address practical social problems. They were also highly critical of all forms of corruption and set themselves as examples of 'clean' practice in their careers as officials (Yang, 1981).

Lin's early school life was the formative period in his ideological development. During this period his parents, teachers, progressive intellectuals, and official-scholars all exerted considerable influence on the formation of his ideology. As a consequence, he developed a habit of reading books about national welfare and people's livelihood with the aim to solve China's social problems and to save the nation from subjugation.

#### 7.2.2.2 The Developmental Period

Lin's ideology then 'developed' during seven years of Imperial service in Beijing from 1813 to 1819. Lin was granted *jin shi* and selected as Hanlin Bachelor in 1811. He entered the Hanlin Academy the same year. Shortly after entering the Academy he asked for leave to attend to his family back at home in Fuzhou (Yang, 1981). Lin did not return to Beijing until June 1813, which marked the real commencement of his Imperial service in Beijing. Lin returned to Beijing at a time when class contradictions were getting increasingly acute and the Heavenly Reason Sect's anti-Qing uprising<sup>48</sup> was raging like a storm (Yang, 1981). The peasant uprising posed a threat to the feudal regime and exposed the ruling crisis within the Qing government. A heated discussion about the cause of the uprising was ongoing among the Emperor and his officials. Although they intentionally avoided the issue of landlords annexing peasants' land – the direct cause of the peasant uprising – they more or less admitted to some issues of class contradiction: official corruption, military incompetence, impotency of laws, etc. (Yang, 1981). The discussion started Lin thinking about the remedies for these symptoms and initiated his journey towards further ideological development.

Within this historical context, practical learning with the tenet of reform and self-strengthening began to prevail among the landlord class. Lin was motivated by the idea of practical learning (Jin, 1893), and came to Beijing with great ambition. His arrival coincided with the Heavenly Reason Sect's anti-Qing uprising in Southern China, which was a response to the call of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement. The uprising was caused by the drought in Northern China and rapidly spread to the Southern provinces. In turn, Lin was determined to suppress the uprising by eradicating its cause: drought. This was first done by paying special attention to irrigation and water conservation in the capital city environs. Lin mistakenly believed this to be the root cause of the peasant uprising rather than the political system itself. What's more, he only wanted to get rid of the cause under the premise that the feudal rule remained intact. This was doomed to failure however as the effect of his efforts was temporary rather than permanent.

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<sup>48</sup> The Heavenly Reason Sect's anti-Qing uprising was a peasant uprising organised by believers of the Heavenly Reason Sect in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. They attempted to overthrow the Qing government in the name of religion. They were so named because they held that the Heavenly Palace was their birthplace and final destination, and also the place from where reason originated.

Lin's socialisation during his stay in Beijing was a "political phenomenon" (Yang, 1981, p. 24), as it promoted his ideological development. In 1819, he joined the Xuannan Poets Society, a literary association organised by petty officials and successor of the Xiaohan Poem Club founded in 1804 (Tao, 2010). Members of the society usually discussed academic issues over a cup of wine. Most were well versed in Confucian classics and textology. They had a lot in common: 1) they were of southern origin; 2) they were mostly literary chamberlains; 3) they were frustrated by the lack of recognition of their talent; and 4) they were discontented with the reality of their situations (Yang, 1981). As such, they were tied closely by their common beliefs and were influenced by each other. Lin's interactions with the other members of the society exerted considerable influence on his ideology. He became fully aware of social problems and moved towards practical learning with a view to solving these problems.

Practical learning was becoming increasingly prevalent in Beijing after the Heavenly Reason Sect's uprising. Tired of social interactions, Lin indulged himself in practical learning by making good use of the abundant book resources in Beijing. In particular, he kept an eye on contemporary affairs (Yang, 1981). His pragmatic ideology was echoed by Wei Yuan, a follower and close friend, who came to Beijing during this period. Wei developed Lin's ideology through the proposition, 'learning from the advanced technologies of barbarians in order to subdue them'. Wei later expanded Lin's *Si Zhou Zhi* into a 100 volume *Hai Guo Tu Zhi* (海国图志, An Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries). Lin, however, harboured no doubts about the feudal system, including its political and ideological systems. He firmly believed that the power of the Emperor came from heaven and that His rule was justified by heaven. This explains Lin's Emperor-almightiness ideology and rule-by-man ideology in his later translation activities. His intention was simply to rectify social malpractices and to consolidate sovereignty.

#### 7.2.2.3 The Maturation Period

The maturation period of Lin's ideological development evolved from the time of his departure from Beijing in 1820 to his banishment in 1841. A very important event in this period was Lin's appointment as Imperial Commissioner to tackle the opium crisis at

Guangzhou in 1838. This marked the real beginning of the maturation period of his ideological development. Prior to this time Lin assumed the positions of Governor of Guangdong Province, Chief Superintendent of the Salt Department of Zhejiang Province, Administrative Commissioner of Jiangsu Province, Judge of Shaanxi Province, Administrative Commissioner of Jiangning, Viceroy of Jiangsu Province, and Governor-General of Huguang Province, successively. These official posts brought Lin closer to social problems and prompted him to constantly think about countermeasures. In dealing with incessant thorny social issues, especially the opium problem, Lin moved towards maturity in his ideology.

On May, 1830, Lin returned to Beijing from his hometown after 27 months of mourning<sup>49</sup> for his deceased father. He stayed in the capital city for more than three months (Yang, 1981) and during this time he made acquaintance with a large number of scholars with the aspiration to save the nation from subjugation. Among the scholars he met were Huang Juezi, Hanlin Academy Editor; Zhang Weipin, a well-known poet in the reigns of Emperor Jiaqing and Emperor Daoguang; and Xu Song, a renowned expert on borderland history and geography (Yang, 1981). Socialising with these scholars signified the revival of pragmatic study and strengthened its status in academia. In addition to these scholars, Lin also interacted with Gong Zizhen and Wei Yuan, both of whom were famous for their severe criticism of Neo-Confucianism<sup>50</sup>, their attempt to expose social corruption, and their advocacy of political reform (Yang, 1981). Great minds think alike and out of admiration for these scholars, Lin appreciated and supported their ideas.

Lin's stay in Beijing was also a time when the opium problem was getting more serious and gaining the attention of the Imperial Court. Opinions towards the banning of opium divided the Imperial Court into two groups: one in support of lifting the ban and one advocating stricter measures.

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<sup>49</sup> Mourning for deceased parents was a traditional ritual for court officials, no matter what the official position. According to Chinese tradition, Lin had to return home and stay there for 27 months before resuming his official post.

<sup>50</sup> Neo-Confucianism is a metaphysical Chinese philosophy based on moral theology which constitutes a legitimate basis for the divine right of Confucianism. Originated from and influenced by Confucianism, it was with the name Neo-Confucianism.

Lin not only insisted on the prohibition of opium smoking, he also argued for the opium dealers to be removed from China. Lin exclaimed in one of his memorials to the Emperor, “If the opium problem is neglected, a few decades from now we shall not only be without soldiers to resist the enemy, but also in want of silver to provide the army. We can’t help trembling at this thought” (Lin, 1965, p. 601). Moved by Lin’s deep concern, Emperor Daoguang made up his mind to get rid of opium and sent Lin to Guangzhou as the Imperial Commissioner to tackle the opium problem. On 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1838 Lin was made Imperial Commissioner to settle the opium problem at Guangzhou (Chen, 1979). Lin’s proposal to ban opium marked a shift in the anti-opium campaign from self-salvation to resistance against foreign invasion (Yang, 1981).

Lin’s proposal to place a strict ban on opium trading is partly linked to China’s ‘agricultural foundation’ ideology which emphasised agriculture (the root) and restrained commerce (the tip).<sup>51</sup> Chinese merchants were looked upon as lower class beings (Farley, 1977). Indeed, the traditional social hierarchy in China had the gentry at the apex, farmers and workers in the middle, and merchants at the bottom, just as the Chinese phrase goes, ‘the gentry, the farmers, the workers, and the merchants’ (士农工商, *shi nong gong shang*), in order of importance. Figure 6 shows the hierarchical order of traditional Chinese society.

the gentry
the farmers
the workers
the merchants

Figure 6. Hierarchical order of traditional Chinese society

The policy of ‘stressing agriculture and scorning commerce’ or ‘stressing agriculture and restraining commerce’ originated in the reign of Emperor Wen of the Han Dynasty. This time-honoured policy was implemented to curb the dominance of powerful speculative merchants (Chen, 1964). According to Chinese tradition, agriculture was deemed the primary profession, and industry and commerce the secondary professions (Tan, 1977). This tradition was also upheld in the Confucian school, the Taoist school, and the Legalist school. There are

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<sup>51</sup> It is, of course, manily because of the great harm of opium and the opium sales in China.

numerous examples which illustrate this tradition: Mencius persuaded King Hui of the State of Liang not to miss the farming season and referred to merchants as ‘low people’; Li Kui adopted a policy to develop agriculture and to restrain handicraft in order to assist the King of Wei to govern his country; Shang Yang exempted farmers and weavers from corvee and degraded poor merchants to slaves in his political reform; Xun Kuang held that ‘More merchants make a poorer country’; and Han Fei referred to agriculture as the ‘tree root’ and industry and commerce as the ‘tree top’ and even regarded workers and merchants as one of the ‘five worms’<sup>52</sup> in society.<sup>53</sup> In a feudal society, the thought of promoting agriculture and restraining commerce played a positive role in consolidating the regime of the emerging landlord class and promoting a feudal economy. However, it no longer suited the age as the natural economy was moving towards a commodity economy, as in the Qing economy.

However, Lin developed the ‘agriculture foundation’ ideology by supporting legal trade. He made a distinction between legal trade and illegal trade, and identified the opium trade as illegal in China. Early in his term as Liang Jiang Governor, Lin took care of the interests of rice merchants and gained their support to combat the grain shortage (Yang, 1981). He knew very well the importance of commerce to a country’s economy. While administering salt affairs, he supported Tao Shu’s salt policy reform in Huaibei, Anhui Province (Yang, 1981) and kept a close eye on the response from the court and the commonality. Lin also kept in close contact with other salt policy makers like Wang Fengsheng, Yu Deyuan, and Wei Yuan. He greatly appreciated their ideas and frequently listened to their opinions on a number of economic matters.

As James B. Pratt (1909) remarked, “all realities influence our practice, and that influence is their meaning for us” (p. 14). Faced with constantly changing situations, Lin found that the Chinese classics could no longer provide him with either sufficient intellectual support, inspiration, or the insights he needed to cope with China’s social problems. Accordingly, he turned to Western literature and practices to inform his understanding, and, consequently commenced his journey of Western learning. His ideology thus changed from

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<sup>52</sup> The ‘five worms’ were: 1) Confucians, 2) political strategists, 3) swordsmen, 4) evaders of military services, and 5) industrialists and businessmen.

<sup>53</sup> 重农抑商. DictAll 词都. <http://www.dictall.com/indu/267/2661756803B.htm>. last accessed [01-12-2015].

‘putting Chinese classics into practice’ to ‘putting Western classics into practice’. Here the term ‘Western classics’ was used in its broad sense and referred to Western knowledge covering science and technology, law, geography, history, politics, etc. To be specific, it referred to Western newspapers, geographic works, and legal books. He used Western classics as a tool in his search for truth in order to seek solutions to social problems. Western classics were not the end, but the means.

There were generally two groups in the Qing court: one was open-minded and progressive, the other closed-minded and conservative. The former included such famous personages as Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan, Deng Tingzhen, Liang Tingnan, Guan Tianpei, and Yi Liang; the latter Yi Xin and Qi Shan. The open-minded group were interested in contemporary affairs and Western science and technology; whereas the conservative group adopted a contemptuous attitude towards Western learning and techniques. As a member of the open-minded group (also referred to as the ‘contemporary affairs’ group), Lin was well aware of the importance of Western learning to help resolve social problems in China and to consolidate the sovereignty of the Empire. As Lin was not competent in any foreign language, he believed this could be achieved via translation. His translation, thus, from the very beginning, was painted a pragmatic colour.

As a feudal official, Lin was, however, firm in the distinction between Cathay and barbarians. He believed that China lay at the centre of the universe and ruled over other countries in the world. This is evident in his Letter to the Queen of England in which he wrote, “Our Celestial Dynasty rules over and supervises the myriad states” (Zhang, 2008, p. 168). Lin also held a xenophobic attitude towards foreigners as evidenced in his depiction of their clothing:

Unfortunately the barbarian [foreigners’] costume was too absurd. The men, their bodies wrapped in short coats and long ‘legs’, resembled in shape foxes and rabbits as impersonated in the plays.... Their beards, with abundant whiskers, were half shaved off and only a piece was kept. Looking at them all of a sudden was frightening. That the Cantonese referred to them as ‘devils’ was indeed not vicious disparagement. (Chang, 1964, p. 201)

There are no substantial differences between Lin's ethnocentrism and feudalism and those of other court officials. However, it should be noted that he later relied on them to a lesser degree as his knowledge about the West increased with the help of translated texts.

As can be seen from the discussion above, Lin's ideological development was greatly affected by the society in which he lived and the people with which he interacted, including his parents, tutors, supervisors, colleagues, and even his inferiors. In addition, as a member of the landlord class, Lin was greatly affected by his class consciousness (i.e., the consciousness of the landlord class).

### 7.2.3 Lin Zexu's Ideology in Translation

Lin's ideology was complex and multifaceted, covering a number of sub-categories such as patriotism, people-foundation ideology, pragmatism, ethnocentrism, feudalism, etc. The ideologies most evident in his translation activities were pragmatism, ethnocentrism, and feudalism.

#### 7.2.3.1 Lin Zexu's Ideology and Translator Selection

Lin's ideology reflected in translator selection was evident in the criteria he applied when selecting translators. Because records concerning these criteria are unavailable, we must rely on documents concerning his views on talent and relate it to his selection of translators.

In Lin's era in China, talented individuals were not readily available and often the talented people that were available were not fully utilised. Fully aware of the importance of talented people in consolidating the ruling power and developing the country, Lin attached great importance to the problems of identifying and utilising people's talent. He was very fond of talented people and had a passion for them. On the importance of talented people and how to utilise them properly, Lin (1819c) noted in one of his communications to Shao Yichen, a Qing man of letters, dated July, 1849:

Generally speaking, talented people are of utmost importance in building a nation.

However, quality of talent differs from person to person. Talented people depend on their utilisers. Disuse of talent is no different to lack of talent, and use of talent



not to the best of their potential is no different to disuse. If, before utilised, a talented person is overly expected, and utilised not to the best of his potential, or confined with a certain literary style, and doubted, he would feel perplexed and his talent would be greatly constrained. This frequently occurred in history to persons of virtue and ideals. I'd like to cultivate and support talented people and have in my employ all talented people under heaven. This all depends on persons in authority who are selfless, just and kind.

The remarks above were made by Lin at a time of domestic strife and foreign aggression, so it was inevitably marked by the age.

As for Lin's personal definition of talent, upon supervising the provincial examination of Yunnan Province in 1819 he proposed a set of criteria: a talented person is one who 'is devoted to study with a practical view, and is not complacent with small achievements made, nor indulging with superficial elegance' (Lin, 1819a). In other words, a talented person is first of all knowledgeable, and secondly practical. By practical Lin meant a talented person should apply what he has learned in practice to solve social problems. Lin attached equal importance to virtue and talent, professional ethics and competence, attitude towards work, and work efficiency (Huang, 1997). He attached utmost importance to the efforts and abilities of talented people to solve social problems and to promote social development.

During the mid-nineteenth century, China lacked foreign language learners and translators. Even translators such as Bao Peng demonstrated limited foreign language competencies and translation capabilities. Often their English was no better than Pidgin English and their performance in translation was very poor. Even though they understood English, they were not allowed to be involved in diplomatic affairs, meaning China's diplomatic translations were mainly accomplished by foreigners. Thus China was relegated to a passive state in foreign exchanges. What's worse, translators and interpreters in the Imperial Court were regarded as 'traitors', most likely due to the negative effects of the incident of Bao Peng. Bao Peng was a Guangdong comprador and bearer of correspondence between Qi Shan and the British plenipotentiary, Captain Elliot. He was sentenced to death as

a traitor after Hong Kong was ceded to the UK. This case resulted in the Qing government's distrust and disdain for domestic 'linguists' (translators and interpreters).

Lin did not have a model to refer to in terms of how to select competent translators. When initiating his translation activities, he was the first high-ranking official in modern China to hire foreigners as translators. At this time only scholars who passed the Imperial examination were regarded as 'orthodox' talented people, with others such as those who had returned from overseas regarded as 'unorthodox'. The latter were politically and ideologically inadequate (Jiao, 1985). Anyone who made contact with them could be accused of illicit collusion with foreigners or even be charged with treason. Notwithstanding these risks, Lin ventured into utilising 'unorthodox' and 'ideologically inadequate' people to translate for him. He recruited Chinese who had returned from overseas as well as foreigners. His high regard for talented people, regardless of their origin and nationality, and his approach to utilising these people, were of pioneering significance in modern China.

In selecting translators/interpreters, Lin applied the following criteria:

First, he attached great importance to the translators' political and ideological positions. His four permanent translators were all Chinese and deeply rooted in Chinese feudal culture. Their patriotism and loyalty to the Sovereignty were without question, and this guaranteed their faithfulness in translation. His temporary translators were either staunch supporters of his anti-opium campaign or opponents of the British opium policy in China (e.g., Dr. Parker).

Second, Lin paid great attention to the translators' linguistic competencies. His translators either studied or lived overseas for a relatively long period of time and had a relatively high level of English proficiency. For instance, Yuan Dehui had studied in Penang and Malacca and had special language skills; Aman had studied in Bengal; Alum had studied in the US in his early years; and Liang Jinde had been in London for nearly eight years.

Third, Lin regarded translation experience highly. His translators worked as translators or interpreters for a period of time before they became his employees. They were not green hands in the translation field, and they had acquired some skills and gained some experience in translation. For example, Yuan Dehui used to be an interpreter in the Court of

Colonial Affairs of the Imperial government in Beijing and translator of Governor Li Hongbing; and Liang Jinde once undertook Bible translation with E. C. Bridgman.

Fourth, Lin paid close attention to the diplomatic capacities of potential translators, for example, their ability to handle foreign affairs and to deal with foreigners. His translators were immersed in foreign culture and quite familiar with foreigners, and they understood the nature, character, actions, etc., of foreigners. They also understood the foreigner's way of thinking and had little difficulty in re-expressing their thoughts.

These criteria made it possible for Lin to exert his ideological manipulation on his translators and on the quality of the translations.

The translator's social and economic status can have a direct impact on their performance. It is more likely for a highly-regarded and well-paid translator to conform to the dominant ideology and poetics in his home country and be loyal to the country, as social and economic status plays a decisive role in the nature of ideological loyalty. In comparison, a translator with low social recognition and a small salary will find it easier to go against the dominant ideology and poetics in his home country. The government's attitude towards translators and interpreters plays a decisive role in their performance in translation activities.

Lin's view on talent was influenced by his family background, educational experience, and social interactions. He was born into a feudal intellectual family of lower social status where he learned during childhood that one's future could only be guaranteed through wisdom and effort. Lin's father, Lin Binri, a frustrated examinee of the Imperial examination, exerted a positive influence on his son's view of talent. In 1816, when Lin was supervising the provincial examination of Jiangxi, his father instructed Lin to be mindful when marking the papers. Lin later recollected:

In 1816, ... while I was supervising the provincial examination of Jiangxi, my father instructed me to be fair and square in marking the papers, as he himself was an unsuccessful applicant and knew quite well that to win a scholarly honour in an imperial examination was never easy. As for recommended papers, I would read through the top three separately; as for papers which were not recommended, I

would also mark with a red pen paper by paper. I did all these by following my father's instructions. (Zhu, 1853)

Lin's view of talent was also influenced to a great extent by Zheng Guangce, Zhang Shicheng, and their like. Zheng was President of Aofeng Academy where Lin spent six years of study and participated as a member of the 'contemporary affairs' group, which advocated the practical application of Chinese classics. Zheng aimed to cultivate people with aspirations. Zhang was governor of Fujian Province and had worked with Lin for five years. Zhang had great expectations for Lin and endeavoured to create every possible condition for Lin to study anecdotes of successive dynasties as well as practical subjects like military tactics, criminal law, rituals, and music.

What's more, Lin's social interactions affected his views on what constituted talent in people. In 1819 he joined the Xuannan Poets Society organised by unsuccessful, but talented lower and middle officials and intellectuals. Lin's interactions with others at the Society made him more aware of the need to reform the existing talent system. The famous poetic lines of Gong Zizhen, a Qing reformist, 'I beg Old Man Heaven to bestir himself/And send down talented people of more kinds than one', represented the call of the Poets Society and was echoed by Lin and his peers.

#### 7.2.3.2 Lin Zexu's Ideology Involved in Source Text Selection

According to Theo Hermans (1985), "all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose" (p. 11). As such, it involves the operation of ideology (Lefevere, 1992b). In selecting source texts for translation, Lin only chose those materials and documents which were beneficial to his anti-opium campaign and anti-aggression struggle. This indicates his pragmatism.

Pragmatism has a long history in China. It emerged during the Zhou Dynasty and became the kernel of Confucianism. It later became established as state orthodoxy in the Western Han Dynasty when the policy of 'Respecting Confucianism Only' was adopted (Zhao, 2003). It prevailed among thinkers during the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, headed by Gu Yanwu, Huang Zongxi and Wang Fuzi (Tian & Liu, 1994). The ideology of pragmatism as a statecraft was first adopted by Confucius when he applied Chinese classics

to solving social problems. As a Confucian ideology, pragmatism provided ideological support to the 'contemporary affairs' scholars in the Opium War period who stepped out of ancient classics and the status of apathy to face reality (Zhao, 2003). Some scholars put forward the slogans 'learning extensively' and 'seeking for truth', and advocated a pragmatic approach to governing the country and to resolving social problems, as opposed to impractical discussions which hindered the development of the country. There appeared a shift from purely academic study to practical study aimed at contemporary affairs (Guo, 2013) with the aim to save the nation from subjugation and to ensure its survival as a strong nation. Pragmatism thus represented a strong sense of social responsibility and patriotism.

Social being determines social consciousness (Marx & Engels, 1965). The rise of pragmatism was a product of class contradictions and national conflicts of the time. Internally, peasant uprisings broke out one after another. The White Lotus Society Rebellion broke out in 1795 and was suppressed by the Qing army in 1804. It was followed by the Heavenly Reason Sect's anti-Qing uprising in 1813. Peasant uprisings indicated there was an urgent need for innovative methods of productivity (Tian & Liu, 1994). It also gave birth to an internal need for learning and application of Western advanced science and technology in China with a view to promoting productivity. These circumstances formed the basis for Lin's translation activities in modern China. Externally, the Qing government was threatened by an unprecedented opium crisis and a forthcoming war. Internal and external troubles pushed official-scholars out from their study of ancient books to face up to reality. Practical contradictions and conflicts forced them to give up the previous 'No Politics' slogan and to utilise politics to seek remedies for the social problems in China (Zhao, 2003).

A great number of intellectuals started to open their eyes and face reality. Consequently, they began to develop a new pragmatism by adding new content to the traditional pragmatism. Among the list were Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan, Gong Zizhen, Yao Ying, Bao Shichen, Huang Juezi, Zhang Jiliang, Shen Yao and Tang Peng (Shen 1985). Politically, they launched merciless criticism of the Qing government, pointing directly to official corruption and its appeasement policy. Militarily, they came to admit that foreign troops were equipped with more advanced weapons and technologies and started to learn from them. Economically, they started to differentiate between legal and illegal merchants and tried to

protect the interests of legal merchants as well as to support the development of a national economy. Culturally, they integrated traditional Chinese learning with Western learning and laid a foundation for the birth of ‘New Learning’<sup>54</sup> (Wu & Wang, 2007). The pragmatic ideology of Lin’s era broke through the isolationist tradition and transitioned from an internal focus on domestic affairs to a focus on affairs in the outside world (Chen, 1985). As opinions divided among the landlord class, Lin and his peers, however, were confronted by opposition from landlord conservatives. Regrettably, due to class limitations, the open-minded landlord class (i.e., Lin and his peers) did not harbour any doubt towards the feudal political system, thus they could not address the root of all the problems: the feudal system.

In the Opium War period, the ideology of pragmatism criticised the status quo in China and advocated Western learning, administrative reform, and the study of world history and geography (Shen, 1985). It added new blood to the feudal intellectual circle by introducing Western knowledge into China. *The Chinese Repository* printed numerous items about Confucian classics, historiography, Imperial decrees and regulations, and cultural heritage. It was an extension of traditional pragmatic thought in the modern era. Generally, it aimed at saving the nation from subjugation and ensuring its survival, and improving the well-being of people. Specifically, scholar-officials focused on useful knowledge in order to solve problems in water transport, river work, salt policy, soldiers’ pay, agriculture, and scarcity of talent. Faced with new circumstances, the ‘contemporary affairs’ scholar-officials brought Western knowledge into their study domain, while at the same time engaged with Chinese classics. Liang Qichao (cited in Shu, 1982) later remarked:

Today’s ‘contemporary affairs’ scholar-officials must be well versed in the six classics and doctrines of masters in the Zhou and Qin dynasties and doctrines of Westerners, combined with historical anecdotes, evolution, and gains and losses of different dynasties, and history of ancient Western civilisation such as Greece and Rome, in order to access statecraft of the past. (p. 125)

During the reigns of Emperors Qianlong and Jiaqing the idea of pragmatism receded

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<sup>54</sup> ‘New Learning’ refers to Western Learning, i.e., the new culture transmitted to China from the West from late Qing dynasty to the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement, including social sciences and natural science. It was so called as opposed to the Old Learning (traditional Chinese learning or Chinese classics learning).

as scholars retreated from state affairs to immerse themselves in textual study. It enjoyed a revival, however, just prior to the Opium War as the contradiction between the Chinese nation and Western imperialists became prominent. This contradiction was marked by Wei Yuan and He Changling's compilation of *Huang Chao Jing Shi Wen Bian* (皇朝经世文编, 'An Anthology of Practical Texts of the Royal Dynasty') in 1826 and the call for reform in water transport, salt policy, river work, and agriculture immediately afterwards (Shen, 1985). This idea became the predominant ideology of the time, and it naturally left an impression on Lin Zexu, an official-scholar long immersed in Confucian culture. Under the threat of an opium war, Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan adapted the Confucian paradigms to meet the needs of the time. For Lin and Wei, pragmatism showed itself in 'putting classics into practice'. By 'classics', they meant both Western and Chinese classics.

Educated in traditional Chinese culture, Lin had a preference for Chinese classics and was keen to put them into practice. When he found the Chinese classics were no longer adequate in his practice later, Lin resorted to Western classics. His pragmatism was then revealed in his proposal "to learn from the advanced technologies of enemies in order to subdue them" (cited in Wei, 1976, p. 177). He advocated the application of Western learning into practice, and for this reason he was called the first person in modern China to 'open his eyes to observe the world'. To the existing Qing establishment, resisting invasion by the West and learning from the West were irreconcilable contradictions, but for Lin they went side by side. He managed to reconcile them and succeeded in fighting against British invasion, at least to some extent.

Generally, Lin's pragmatism underwent two phases: putting Chinese classics into practice, and putting Western knowledge into practice. The first phase was no different to the intentions of other official-scholars, and the second phase was initiated by him to assist his anti-opium campaign and fight against British invasion. Lin's Western learning covered two categories: Western history, geography, laws and current affairs; and Western science and technology, especially advanced military technologies (Xiao, 1995). Lin's Westernisation ideology (as revealed in the translation activities he organised) directed China towards a path of Western learning and provided an ideological basis for China's modernisation drive. As part of the feudal ideology, the idea of putting Chinese classics into practice inevitably

revealed the confinement of the self-sufficient economy, and showed its ignorance of the outside world and dissociation from world developments. This was because it resorted only to Chinese history and ancestral sages for answers to present questions. The idea of putting Western knowledge into practice, however, opened China's eyes to the world, especially to advanced science and technology, political systems, military equipment, etc., and how they may be applied to social practices in China. This ideology later proved to be very effective.

Lin arrived in Guangzhou in November, 1839 to tackle the thorny opium problem (Yang, 1981). Through discourse with foreigners he came to recognise the nature of foreign opium dealers: cunning and insidious, and to realise that knowledge is power. He thus began to value Western knowledge more highly than before. In order to gain detailed knowledge of opium smuggling and smoking he asked his men to collect foreign newspapers and books, and he employed translators to render them into Chinese for information and countermeasures.

Opium was a headache for the Qing government. As Imperial Commissioner, Lin shouldered the responsibility of resolving the issue to the satisfaction of the Emperor and the entire court. Deng Tingzhen, now an advocate of a strict ban, responded, "Let the law concentrate on hitting hard at the wealthy and powerful" (Beeching, 1975, p. 66). Since the law of the Celestial Empire was not convincing enough for foreign opium dealers, international law might be more convincing and awe-inspiring. Thus the translation of an international law book became a natural by-product of the opium ban campaign.

Ideology of the patron determined which texts were and were not to be translated. Lin's selection of source texts was not an impulsive act, but a deliberate one. In choosing texts to be translated, Lin's personal ideology favoured pragmatism and this provided an ideological base for his translation activities. Lin was firm in pragmatism as he was pious in Buddhism. His search for Western knowledge centred on such practical matters as fighting against the opium trade and defending China against British invasion. He collected newspapers and books of the 'barbarians' just because he believed that the intelligence he accessed was conducive to "controlling and pacifying" them (Ren, 1992, p. 201). Guided by this principle, his translation choices all related to these themes.



Lin's selection of source texts relied on a two-step approach. The first was to decide which newspapers and books were to be selected as source texts; the second was to decide which sections, parts, or contents in the source texts were to be selected for translation. Lin's translators usually did partial rather than full translation of these texts.

### 1. Selection of Source Newspapers

Lin's newspaper translation was undertaken to acquire intelligence on the 'barbarians' (Lin, 1839/1981) and to develop counter-measures accordingly. Both outcomes were to directly serve his anti-opium campaign and fight against British oppression. The texts he chose to be translated were to serve this purpose. Lin's pragmatism in his newspaper translation is evident in the issue topics of the *Macao News* listed previously in Table 4.

The texts Lin chose to be translated provided constant sources of information about British affairs, from which Lin developed his work plan. The information Lin gained from the newspapers are as follows (Chen, 1990):

- 1 British government's support for the opium trade and its benefits;
- 2 British people's opposition to the opium trade and support for the anti-opium campaign in China such as Thelwall's opposition to opium trade as revealed in his 1839 work, *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China*; and
- 3 British government's response to China's anti-opium campaign and the move to wage war against China.

Lin treated this information as 'intelligence' and as such it was translated in secret. This is actually a misunderstanding. Newspapers are published openly and run contrary to the notion of secret intelligence. Even in military news there is no secret information. In an age such as this, however, the need for secrecy was understandable because information flow at that time was very slow and news was painted a mysterious colour. Lin adopted a cautious attitude towards the source texts and did not fully rely on the information they contained. He believed there was both true and false information in them and one had to tell them apart (Feng, 2010).

Furthermore, some of the translations bluntly exposed the Qing government's

corruption and incompetence, the Qing army's vulnerability, and criticised Emperors Qianlong and Daoguang, and Lin himself. Of course, the negative comments never reached Emperor Daoguang, otherwise the consequences would have been disastrous. Most probably Lin treated the negative comments about him with an open mind. He was clear that the negative comments were from the newspapers, not from his translators, thus he would never blame them for directly translating these contents. On the contrary, the contents helped him get to know Western opinions about China.

## 2. Selection of Source Books

Lin's source books centred on 'controlling the enemy'. *An Encyclopaedia of Geography* introduced the expansion history of tsarist Russia and may have called the Qing government's attention to the potential invasion of China's eastern border and western frontier. *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China* informed Lin that even in the British Empire there were opponents to the opium trade which added to his drive to abolish the opium trade in China. *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7* presented British people's views on China's anti-opium campaign and provided references for Lin. *The Law of Nations* served as a legal weapon in resolving the case of Lin Weixi<sup>55</sup>.

### 1) Selection of Opium Texts

Lin's selection included two opium texts: Thelwall's, *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China*, and Downing's, *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7*.

*The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China* dealt with the opium trade directly. Via the book, Lin came to know that in England there were people who strongly opposed the opium trade. Thelwall, a representative of cotton cloth capitalists who wanted to sell their cotton cloth to China, attacked the opium trade from religious and ethical grounds because it impeded his cotton cloth sales in China (Chen, 1979). Lin made the best of this conflict to

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<sup>55</sup> On 12 July, 1839, a group of British sailors took shore leave at a Chinese village called Tsim Sha Tsui, Kowloon, Hong Kong. In a drunken brawl they demolished a Chinese temple and beat up a local villager named Lin Weixi, who died the next day. Lin Zexu ordered delivery of the murderer, but it was declined by Captain Elliot, the then Chief Superintendent of British Trade in China. Elliot attempted to solve the problem with money. Lin Zexu insisted on death penalty for the murderer and resorted to the law book, *The Law of Nations*, for legal support.

“attack barbarians with barbarians” and “control barbarians by barbarians” (Chen, 1979, p. 190). At the same time, Lin came to understand that legal trade and illegal smuggling should be differentiated, and that all legal foreign merchant businesses should be supported and protected. Unfortunately, the translated text of *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China* is unavailable today, so it is impossible to conduct a parallel study of the source text and the target text.

*The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7* was of great value to Lin in that it provided him with a detailed account of the extent of opium smuggling. It was written by Charles Toogood Downing and published in three volumes by Henry Colburn in London in 1838. It covered 949 pages, however, the translated book, *Hua Shi Yi Yan*, covers only seven pages. There were approximately 4,000 words in 38 paragraphs, approximately one-fortieth of the length of the source text. Only some of the important or relevant paragraphs were selected and translated. To extract seven pages from a 949-page text was not an easy job. There must be some guideline or standard to follow, by which the paragraphs were chosen to focus on certain topics.

The main topics selected for translation from *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7* included: great inventions of ancient China, Chinese culture, Chinese medicine, Chinese language, Chinese religions, opium trade, transportation means of opium traffic, foreign currency, foreign trade, population of China, Chinese tea, port charges, the Mongolian race, Chinese art of war, etc. These topics fall into two categories: opium and war, Lin’s two biggest and compelling concerns. The topics served Lin’s anti-opium campaign and fight against British invasion and revealed Lin’s pragmatism.

The topics chosen from Chapter III of *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7* is evidence of Lin’s pragmatism. As listed in Table 5, it covers a wide range of topics ranging from consumption of opium to bar-boats. Only six of the 33 topics were chosen by Lin and his translators, and all the six topics served one theme: opium. The Island of Lintin was a place on the coast where cargoes (opium) were covertly discharged; the haven of Cum-sing-moon was the shore opposite to Lintin and was used to discharge cargoes in threatening weather; and clippers and smug-boats or centipedes were the means of transportation for the opium

trade. These topics served Lin's anti-opium campaign.

## 2) Selection of Geographical Texts

One of the main tasks of the Chinese people during the pre-Opium War period was "to learn Western geography: the name, location, resources, and size of each country, like pupils do at schools" (Mao, 1995, p. 116). Thus geographic translation became a necessity. Lin's geographic translation also centred on the purpose of 'controlling the enemy'. To assist the Qing government to manage the political and military confrontations with foreign countries, on December, 1839 Lin asked Liang Jinde to translate Scottish geographer, Hugh Murray's, *An Encyclopaedia of Geography*, into Chinese. The translation was to bear the name, '四洲志' (*si zhou zhi*, 'Geography of the Four Continents').

The original work covered more than 1,500 pages, whereas the final product was reduced to only 49 pages totalling 114,000 words (Xiao, 1999). Accounts of the US and the UK comprised 80 percent of the total volume. *An Encyclopaedia of Geography* started from Europe, and then covered the other continents. However, Lin changed this order: he went from near to far, and east to west with China at the centre. He omitted accounts of China, and started with Vietnam, Thailand and Burma to the south before moving on to India and the south-western Asian countries. Africa and Europe were then covered before ending with America (the American Continent) (Luo, 2002).

The topics selected by Lin and his translator were of immediate and practical significance. They were: terrain, geographical borders, geographical and administrative divisions, area, population, number of troops and equipment, character and nature of the people, culture, literature and arts, etc. All the topics were closely connected with war and served the purpose of war. For instance, terrain told of where battles would be fought, on land or on sea; geographical borders concerned the routes of war (i.e., where to attack and where to retreat); geographical and administrative divisions canvassed how the government managed its troops; number of troops and equipment concerned the military might of a country; character and nature of the people demonstrated the potential ways of behaviour in war; etc. When Lin's translation activities took place, Britain and China were on the verge of

war. By organising the translations Lin was actually preparing for the foreseeable upcoming war. The following two examples show this clearly:

#### Example 36

In 1832, it consisted of 40 ships of the line, 35 frigates, 28 excorvettes and brigs, and nearly 300 smaller vessels, manned by about 44,000 men. (Murray, 1834, p. 158)

其水师亦增大战船四十，小战船三十有五，桅船二十有八，小船三百，水师卒四万有四千。(Luo, 2002, p. 128)

#### Example 37

Italy is bound on the north, and partly on the west, by the vast and continuous range of the highest Alps, which separate her from what she disdainfully terms the ultramontane regions of France, Italy and Switzerland. All the rest of her circle is enclosed by the Mediterranean and its great gulfs ... (Murray, 1834, p. 5)

意大里亚……西北一隅依阿利大山，余三面皆滨地中海。[四面受敌，乱世易遭攻伐。] (Luo, 2002, p. 79)

Italy is bound on the north and west by the Alps, and the other three sides are enclosed by the Mediterranean. [It is subject to attacks from enemies on all sides, especially in troubled times.]<sup>56</sup>

Example 36 is a detailed account of various types of ships in the Russian army. The target text is nearly equivalent to the source text. In Example 37, the translator focused on Italy's geographical borders on four sides. The sentence in brackets [] was added by the translator as a comment. The two examples revealed Lin and his translator's concerns about war, as an ancient saying in Chinese goes: Know the enemy and know thyself, and thou can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat.

In addition, as we can see in Examples 11 and 12, the translated texts were greatly simplified. Quite a few details were omitted and only the core contents, signals of borders, were kept. This demonstrated the real intention of Lin and his translator: to obtain

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<sup>56</sup> This is a back translation made by the author of the present thesis based on Lin's translator's Chinese translation.

geographical information needed for their resistance against British invasion. Lin and his translators only drew out the information they needed and ignored other details.

Another example to show that Lin's selected topics were of immediate and practical significance is the chapter on England. In the original work this included seven sections: 'general outline', 'natural geography', 'historical geography', 'political geography', 'productive industry', 'civil and social state', and 'local geography'. In contrast, the translated work mainly drew from three sections: 'historical geography', 'political geography', and 'productive industry', and restructured them into different sections subtitled '职官' (*zhi guan*, 'government departments'), '军伍' (*jun wu*, 'the army'), '政事' (*zheng shi*, 'political system'), '王宫岁用' (*wang gong sui yong*, 'civil list'), and '杂记' (*za ji*, 'miscellanies'). These sections provided useful information about the political system, military might, geographical demarcation, natural resources, etc., of England, which were of valuable referential significance to Lin's work. What's more, the translator reorganised the chapters into a different order and merged several relevant sections into one. For example, in the original work, 'England', 'Scotland', and 'Ireland' were in different chapters, but the translated version placed all of them under the same title, '英吉利国' (*ying ji li guo*, 'the UK'). In addition, the chapters entitled 'Russia in Europe' and 'Russia on the Caspian' were merged into one chapter in the target text bearing the title, '俄罗斯国' (*e luo si guo*, 'Russia').

Due to various reasons, many of the sentences and paragraphs in *Si Zhou Zhi* cannot be traced back to their origins in the source text. Until now, little research has been done to the source and target texts in a parallel manner. One of the difficulties in accessing the translated text is that the proper nouns such as place names and personal names were transliterated in a way that is incomprehensible to today's Chinese readers, simply because different phonetic systems have been used: the mandarin system for the Qing Dynasty and the pinyin system for today. Another difficulty is that the translated text was restructured to a great extent, namely, the order of sentences and paragraphs in the target text was completely different from that of the source text. Moreover, mistranslations also added to the difficulty of tracing target paragraphs to their origins in the source text.

### 3) Selection of Legal Texts

The source text for Lin's legal translation is *The Law of Nations*. The contents to be translated from the book were decided by Lin. As for the book, Lin only chose the sections of immediate interest or practical significance. *The Law of Nations* was a huge book, but only a very small portion was selected for translation, as remained in its translated text, *Ge Guo Lv Li*.

The translations in *Ge Guo Lv Li* derive from three chapters entitled, 'Of Commerce', 'Of the Care of the Public Ways of Communication, and the Right of Toll', and 'Of War,--Its Different Kinds,--And the Right of Making War', respectively. The findings match Dr. Parker's remarks. The topics were all of immediate significance and were related to the urgent tasks: 'Of Commerce' related to his anti-opium campaign in which he distinguished between the illegal opium trade and the legal trade of other commodities; 'Of the Care of the Public Ways of Communication, and the Right of Toll' related to the case of Lin Weixi, from which he found legal basis for Elliot's delivery of the murderer to Chinese authorities; and 'Of War,--Its Different Kinds,--And the Right of Making War' related to driving the British army away from China's seas. Most paragraphs of the target texts have been identified in the source text, but several small paragraphs are still untraceable.<sup>57</sup>

#### 4) Selection of Oral Topics

The combined text translated from Lin's oral conversations, *Yang Shi Za Lu*, focused on opium and served Lin's anti-opium campaign. The main contents are:

- a) Varieties of Indian opium poppy,
- b) British colonialists' manipulation of opium planting and trading,
- c) British opium trade in China,
- d) Methods of opium destruction,
- e) Prohibition of opium smoking in foreign countries like Great Britain, the United States, Holland, France, Russia, Spain, the Philippines, etc.,
- f) Pathway between Britain and China,

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<sup>57</sup> Several small paragraphs are untraceable in the source text. They are either the translator's summary or comments on the above paragraphs scattered everywhere in the original English version.

- g) British currencies,
- h) British troops,
- i) British education,
- j) British people's reactions to China's opium ban,
- k) British regulations for merchant ships, and
- l) Democracy of the United States.

*Yang Shi Za Lu* made a rough account of British and American conditions and systems, and a detailed account of opium affairs. Furthermore, the statistical figures of British opium sales in China were close to the archival figures tabled in British parliament (Chang, 1964) and this provided strong evidence for Lin's request that the opium be recalled to Britain. From these materials, Lin also learned that the British government established prohibitions for opium trade on the one hand, and participated in opium smuggling on the other. The messages were of great help in his decision-making and policy-making, and provided golden opportunities for his work.

As can be seen from above, Lin's source text selection revealed his pragmatism, that is, he only selected texts of immediate interest or practical significance to serve his two purposes: the anti-opium campaign and the fight against British invasion. The selected texts fulfilled his tasks by providing valuable information for his precautions and counter-measures which proved to be effective, at least partly, to his work.

However, Lin's pragmatism only covered ideas acceptable to traditional Chinese Confucianism, and the idea of learning from the West was confined to a small number of scholars. It did not receive wide recognition and support from the Qing government. Large-scale movements were not triggered, nor were substantial effects achieved. Although it led the Chinese people to search Western knowledge for ways to resist foreign invasion and ensure national survival, it did not become an advanced and effective ideology leading to self-survival and self-strengthening. This is most likely due to its utilitarianism, short-sightedness, and class limitations. Rooted in Confucian ideology, Lin regarded traditional Chinese culture, customs, rituals and teachings as the supreme maxims, and this hindered his



Western study from deeper penetration. However, despite all its limitations, Lin's pragmatism demonstrated features which were distinctively different from traditional Confucian ideology.

#### 7.2.3.3 Lin Zexu's Ideologies Involved in Translation Strategies

Lin's undifferentiated patronage to his translators played a decisive role in their translation strategies. Lin exerted such a profound influence over his translators' strategies that his translators were nearly his stand-ins (Wang & Chen, 2013). Thus Lin's translators' strategies were indicative of his own ideology, namely, ethnocentrism and feudalism. Ethnocentrism was achieved via dwarfing, uglification and defamiliarisation strategies; and feudalism was achieved via sinolisation.

China during the Qing Dynasty was an Imperial Empire with 'an overwhelming power over the land beneath the heaven'. Although on the decline in the mid-nineteenth century, China was still immersed in a beautiful dream of Celestial Empire, overlooking all the land beneath heaven. The Celestial Empire was oblivious to the global shift of power and thus had a false consciousness of the power relations between itself and powers in the West. False judgements were made based on this false consciousness. Lin, as an open-minded official-scholar in the service of the Imperial Empire, was one of the first to jump out from behind the hedge to modify the false consciousness. However, as a scholar deep-rooted in traditional Chinese culture (say, Confucianism and Chinese conceptualisations of the distinction between Cathay and barbarians), Lin could not stand clear of it. Either his ethnocentrism, or the power consciousness and empire consciousness, was built on the false consciousness of power relations.

Lin's ideologies involved in translation strategies can be summarised as ethnocentrism and feudalism. His ethnocentrism covers three sub-categories: sinocentrism, hierarchical ideology, and xenophobia. His feudalism also covers three sub-categories: Emperor-almightiness ideology, official-first mentality, and rule-by-man ideology.

##### 1. Ethnocentrism

In China, ethnocentrism originated in the so-called 'Differentiation between Cathay and Barbarians'. This could be traced back to *The Book of Songs* in the mid-Spring and Autumn Period which recorded, "to love the central kingdom and appease the four sides

(north, south, east, and west)” (Jiang, 1998, p. 579). Shi Jie (1984) of the Song Dynasty provided a clear interpretation in his essay, ‘On Cathay’:

The heavens lie above, the earth beneath. Between the heavens and the earth is the Middle/Central Kingdom, and lying on the rims of the heavens and the earth are four barbarians. Barbarians are exterior, and the Middle Kingdom is interior. (p. 98)

Matthew Ricci (1953), an Italian Jesuit priest in China during the Ming Dynasty, also observed:

To them the heavens are round but the earth is flat and square, and they firmly believed that their empire is right in the middle of it. They do not like the idea of our geographies pushing their China into one corner of the Orient. (pp. 166-167)

In the differentiation between Cathay and barbarians, Cathay was regarded as lying at the Central Plains and acting as the centre of civilisation among surrounding nationalities of uncivilised barbarians and savages. Surrounding nationalities were originally confined to ethnic minorities within China, and then later extended to Westerners. Chinese Emperors were sons of heaven and China was the Celestial Empire. The relationship between China and neighbouring nationalities and countries was tributary rather than equal. Barbarians were, according to *Ritual Records: System of King*, *yi* (夷) on the east, *rong* (戎) on the west, *man* (蠻) on the south, and *di* (狄) on the north. Figure 7 illustrates this conceptualisation:

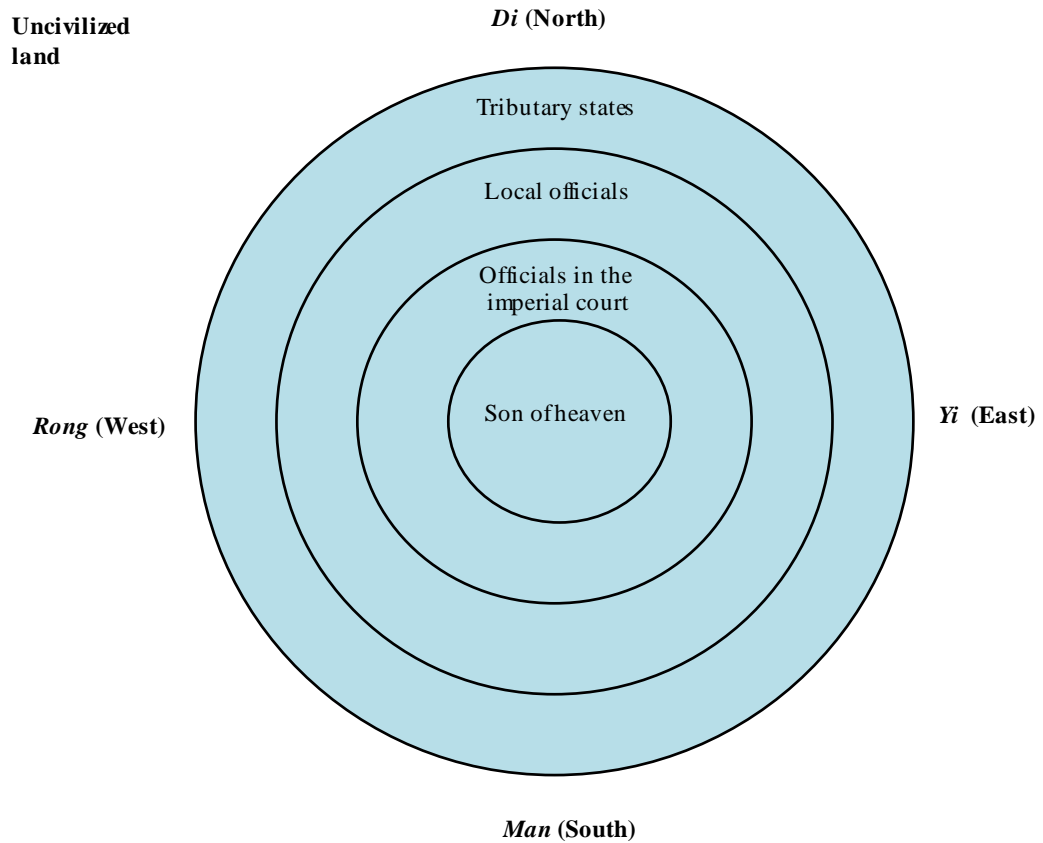


Figure 7. Differentiation between Cathay and barbarians<sup>58</sup>

As can be seen in Figure 7, there are four concentric circles. The first circle, the bull's eye, refers to the Emperor, son of heaven; the second circle refers to officials in the Imperial court, say, the Beijing Court; the third circle refers to local officials such as provincial officials; the fourth circle refers to tributary states. The area within the third circle is Chinese territory, whereas the area in the fourth circle refers to tributary states like Korea, Ryukyu, Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Myanmar, Nepal, and Sulu. The area outside the fourth circle was left for Western countries which were not entitled to Confucian indoctrination (Ren, 1992). This outer space, referred to as the so-called uncivilised land, comprised four parts: *Di* in the north, *Man* in the south, *Rong* in the west, and *Yi* in the east.

As mentioned above, *man* (蛮) originally referred to ethnic groups on the south and *yi* (夷) ethnic groups on the east. In modern times however, *yi* (夷) and *man yi* (蛮夷) were used

<sup>58</sup> Adapted from 百度百科.

<http://baike.baidu.com/picture/1710230/1710230/0/b3508d13edbd3ebd6438db26.html?fr=lemma&ct=single#aid=0&pic=b3508d13edbd3ebd6438db26>. last accessed [07-09-2016].

to refer to foreign people, equivalent to barbarians or savages. Matthew Ricci (1953) observed:

Because of their ignorance of the size of the earth and the exaggerated opinion they have of themselves, the Chinese are of the opinion that only China among the nations is deserving of admiration. Relative to grandeur of empire, of public administration and of reputation for learning, they look upon all other people not only as barbarous but as unreasoning animals. (p. 167)

The connotation and denotation of the concepts of *hua* (华) and *yi* (夷) were never static. With the arrival of Western capitalist colonists, the connotation of the two terms underwent fundamental changes: now meaning specifically people of various colours from Europe, America, Africa and India (Liu, 2006). This conception laid the foundation for the Qing court's approach to foreign relations. In modern times, it was not only foreign people who were equated with barbarians or savages, but also Western technology and inventions which were regarded as ingenious but useless. Lydia Liu (1995) holds that China's decline in the nineteenth century was partly due to its stubbornness in sticking to the distinction between Cathay and barbarians. The distinction between Cathay and barbarians was also deep in Lin's heart. Fortunately, he later came to the realisation that the strength of Western countries was premised to a great extent on their science and technology.

The distinction between Cathay and barbarians originated from Buddhist ideology which had monarchical power as its core and a hierarchical system of Cathay-barbarian distinction as its contents (Ren, 1992). It was a centralised world outlook and monist ideology which viewed China as the centre of the world, as opposed to a pluralistic world outlook which viewed the world as consisting of multiple sovereign states and their colonies (Ren, 1992). The feudal officials deemed the relationship between China and foreign countries was one of suzerain and dependencies. In fact, the relationship had changed to one of sovereign state equality, to which the feudal officials were totally oblivious.

As a pupil, Lin was instructed to believe that Chinese people were superior to others, and this proud belief became even more conspicuous when in office as High Commissioner. To Lin, China was a great country inferior to none, with a vast fertile land and unlimited

natural resources deemed the special favour of heaven. At the bottom of his heart, Lin believed that foreigners were uncivilised and ill-educated with a low level of literacy.

Ethnocentrism is linked to disparaging response by a person to the cultural markers of others (MacDonald, 2001), such as Lin laughing at the clothing of foreigners. It is also associated with education level: the higher the education level, the less ethnocentrism, but a higher education level does not guarantee less ethnocentrism (Hooghe, 2008). Officials in the Imperial Court were well-educated, but all of them harboured ethnocentric views, more or less. However, Lin's ethnocentrism gradually faded as he got to know and better understand the world outside of China, while other feudal scholars in the Court remained firm in their ethnocentric views. Both Lin and other official-scholars were highly educated in the feudal society, but they showed different degrees of ethnocentrism.

As revealed in Lin's translation activities, ethnocentrism falls into three categories, namely, sinocentrism, hierarchical ideology, and xenophobia. Ethnocentrism across all three categories is achieved by strategies of sinolisation, dwarfing, defamiliarisation, and uglification. Sinolisation covers both foreignization and domestication: foreignization in Chinese-English translation, and domestication in English-Chinese translation.

#### 1) Sinocentrism

As the term suggests, sinocentrism (sino+centrism) is the ideological position that China is the centre of the world. Sinocentrism, as a form of geocentrism, is a China-centred ideology originated from the so-called Distinction between Cathay and Barbarians. It originated in the Han Dynasty and became very popular among Chinese people, especially scholar-officials during the Qing Dynasty (Liu, 2006). It is based on the view that China was the most advanced civilisation in the world, with vast territories and abundant resources. Positioned at the centre of the world, China ruled over other countries and protected them in return for their tribute. Starting from this point, anything foreign should be sinolised or presented in a way that conforms with China in translation. Sinocentrism is achieved by the strategy of sinolisation.

Lin's sinocentrism is evident at lexical, syntactic, and rhetorical levels. At the lexical level, Lin's sinocentrism is demonstrated in two aspects: 1) translation of newspapers and

book titles; 2) translation of proper nouns and common nouns. At the syntactic level, Lin's sinocentrism is demonstrated in the shift from English word order to Chinese word order. At the rhetorical level, Lin's sinocentrism is demonstrated in euphemistic translations of taboo topics.

The translation of newspaper and book titles was premised on ideological considerations.

First, as stated previously, the *Macao News*' major sources were the *Canton Press* and the *Canton Register*. They were published temporarily in Macao as were other minor sources from newspapers published in Singapore, Bombay, London, Bengal, etc. An accurate translation of the news from these sources required they be acknowledged as the information sources. The fact that all of the newspaper titles were attributed to *Macao News* demonstrated Lin's sinocentrism.

Second, the book title, *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7* was rendered into '华事夷言' (*hua shi yi yan*, 'Barbarian Writings concerning Chinese Affairs'). It demonstrates a shift in the narrator's voice from third person to first person, a shift of perspective from objective description to subjective representation, and a shift from the West to China.

Third, the book title, *An Encyclopaedia of Geography*, was translated into '四洲志' (*si zhou zhi*, 'Geography of the Four Continents') by Lin in accordance with the Buddhist scriptures (Chen, 1998). According to the scriptures, the earth was divided into four continents.<sup>59</sup> The original title was an objective description, whereas the translated title was premised on the Buddhist view of the world. It was a transfer of perspective from objective description to subjective representation. A completely secular title was translated in such a way as to incorporate a specifically Buddhist view of the world. It was so translated as Buddhism is a traditional Chinese religion and one of China's ideological foundations.

In translating proper nouns and common nouns, Lin's translators replaced English proper nouns with Chinese ones. For example, English years and dates, units of measurement and currency, and establishments were rendered into Chinese names. The new terms were similar, but not necessarily equivalent to the former. For example, 'mile' was rendered into

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<sup>59</sup> The four continents are *Zhanbu* in the South, *Shengshen* in the East, *Niuhe* in the West, and *Julu* in the North.

‘里’ (*li*), which is actually one-third of a mile. Sinolisation of English establishments revealed the deficiency of the Qing government. For example, rendering ‘the Royal library’ into ‘国库’ (*guo ku*, ‘national stock’), rather than ‘皇家图书馆’ (*huang jia tu shu guan*) showed a lack of libraries in the modern sense in the Qing government.

On the syntactic level, Lin’s sinocentrism was demonstrated in the shift from English word order to Chinese word order. For example, the word order ‘the west - the north - the east - the south’ was shifted to ‘东-西-南-北’ (*dong-xi-nan-bei*, ‘the east - the west - the south - the north’).

On the rhetorical level, Lin’s sinocentrism was demonstrated in the translation of taboo topics. For example, in translating the topic of sex, Lin’s translators employed euphemism to cover the fact or express it to a lesser degree with pleasant words, which is common practice in classical Chinese literature.

## 2) Hierarchical Ideology

The hierarchical ideology held that the relationship between China and foreign countries was one of superior-inferior status. Foreign countries were regarded as inferior to China, thus tributary to China. This hierarchy defined the nature of China’s foreign relations. Though a false consciousness, it dominated Chinese people’s minds for thousands of years. Based on this hierarchy, anything foreign, including foreign countries and foreign people should be dwarfed in translation.

Lin’s hierarchical ideology was revealed in the translation of verbs which showed the relationship between the actor and the receiver. For example, the rendering of speech act verbs ‘assures’, ‘proposes’, and ‘appeals’ into ‘禀’ (*bing*) and ‘reply’ into ‘批示’ (*pi shi*) revealed Lin’s and his translators’ incorrect view of the power relationship between China and the West. The original words do not denote a superordinate-subordinate relationship, but the translated words do. Take Example 23 for example, Captain Smith, a British representative in China, should have assumed equal status as Commissioner Lin, a representative of China. This type of hierarchical relationship did not exist between Lin and Smith, but Lin, based on his hierarchical ideology, positioned himself as superior to Smith. The rendition of ‘reply’ to ‘批示’ showed Lin’s higher status and the supremacy of the

‘Celestial Empire’.

Chinese society was represented through a four-tier hierarchical structure: the Emperor at the top, high officials a layer down, several social strata in the middle, and poor civilians at the bottom, quite resembling a pyramid. Chinese people extended this domestic hierarchy to China’s diplomatic relations and the Imperial Court dealt with foreign countries in the same manner as they dealt with local governments. To them, foreign countries were inferior and tributary to the Chinese Empire and the concept of diplomatic intercourse did not exist. This consciousness was detrimental to China’s diplomatic relations and possibly laid the foundation for China’s defeat in the Opium War.

In addition, in Examples 25-28, the translator placed the Qing Emperor and foreign heads of state in an unbalanced power relationship: the former being positioned as higher and superior than the latter.

Lin’s hierarchical ideology was especially evident in his diplomatic correspondence translation. When he set foot in Guangdong as Imperial Commissioner he served as the sole diplomat in the region and was the sole channel of foreign exchange. He shouldered diplomatic responsibilities on behalf of Emperor Daoguang. His diplomatic identity was embedded in his translation of diplomatic correspondence. He was arrogant and even a little conceited as a result of his hierarchical ideology. This can be seen in his letter to the Queen of England. The original letter in Chinese was full of superfluous and boastful diction, and of bombastic style (Bernard & Hall, 1844); elements still traceable after Dr. Hill’s polishing. Lin’s tone indicated that the Celestial Empire was unready to treat the British as diplomatic equals (Farley, 1977) and as such were to be treated as inferiors. His condescending posture was partly due to his assumption that opium smoking was illegal in Britain as it was in China.

### 3) Xenophobia

In xenophobia, the prefix ‘xeno’ means foreign or other, and the stem ‘phobia’ means fear. Combined, it means ‘the fear of that which is perceived to be foreign or strange’.<sup>60</sup> To be more specific, it means a dislike of, or prejudice against, people from other countries. Xenophobia reveals the relations and perceptions of an in-group towards an out-group, for

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<sup>60</sup> Xenophobia. Wikipedia. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xenophobia>. last accessed [24-07-2016].



fear of losing identity, suspicion of its aggression, and desire to eliminate its presence to secure a presumed purity (Bolaffi, 2003). It manifests in translation via defamiliarisation and uglification of foreign countries and foreign people.

In his diplomatic intercourse in Guangzhou, Lin acted indeed as a “dictator” rather than a “negotiator” (Bernard & Hall, 1844, p. 252). For example, he added a ‘口’ (*kou*, ‘mouth’) as a prefix to the names of foreign people, countries, and ships in his memorials to show his contempt for them. Lin also referred to British people as “chicken and dogs”, “dogs and sheep”, and a “heterogeneous race” (Li, 2008, p. 144). To him, Western people were barbarous and uncivilised.

Adding a prefix ‘口’ (*kou*, ‘mouth’) to Chinese characters was intended to show contempt towards the party addressed, indicating that the signified person was barbarous or uncivilised. In other words, by coining odd characters, the translators made the signified appear ugly and abnormal. In feudal society, it was also an ancient custom in Chinese witchcraft to show contempt towards or to curse another by adding a prefix ‘口’ (*kou*, ‘mouth’) or ‘𩇛’ (*san dian shui*, ‘three drops of water’) to personal names or place names in order to subdue the people, things, or monsters hated. These coined words are odd in appearance and some originated from Guangdong vernacular.

In Lin’s diplomatic correspondence translation, Yuan always addressed foreign people as ‘夷’ (*yi*, ‘barbarians’). The character ‘夷’ (*yi*) was not merely a geographical concept denoting the vast land outside of China, but a cultural sign symbolising degradation and inferiority, and thus a way of distinguishing Chinese from barbarians (Fang, 2013). Why did Yuan translate ‘夷’ (*yi*) into ‘barbarian’? Did he do it consciously or unconsciously? These questions are hard to answer today because there is no evidence available to support either of the assumptions. A possible answer is that Yuan did it purposely on behalf of the Qing government to express its hatred for opium smugglers.

The strategy of uglification stigmatised foreign countries and foreign people on the one hand, and strengthened the lofty image of the Chinese Empire (i.e., the Chinese Emperor, Chinese officials, and Chinese people, etc.) on the other hand. However, Lin began to represent the differentiation between Cathay and barbarians differently as time passed and

conditions changed. He came to the realisation that the Chinese and the ‘barbarians’ were equal in dignity and that there were thousands of countries outside the Celestial Empire (Lin, 1965).

## 2. Feudalism

In China, feudalism dates back to the fief system in the Western Zhou Dynasty (Hou, 2005). In the present research, feudalism refers to a feudal ideology based on the political system and social structure in feudal China. It originates from the political system within feudal China and demonstrates the nature and characteristics of that system. It is prevalent in every aspect of social life in the feudal country. In Lin’s era, feudalism had existed for nearly 1,400 years and thus had long been embedded in Chinese society. Feudalism at this time was evident in such forms as totalitarianism, bureaucratism, and hierarchism. These feudal ideologies were tools utilised by the landlord class to rule over the oppressed – the peasant class. Confucianism, as a form of feudal ideology, laid the basis for feudalism and was strongly advocated by the landlord class for ruling purposes. As an official-scholar in feudal China, Lin was inseparable from feudalism, which was a mark of the time.

Relating to Lin’s translation strategies, feudalism covers three sub-categories: Emperor-almightiness ideology, official-first mentality, and rule-by-man ideology. To be more specific, frequent highlights of the Chinese Emperor indicated the Emperor-almightiness ideology, rendering of English official posts into ‘xx 官’ (*guan*, ‘court official’) revealed the official-first mentality, and rendering of Western legal terms in terms of Chinese feudal legal concepts indicated the rule-by-man ideology.

### 1) Emperor-Almightiness Ideology

Emperor-almightiness ideology can be traced back to the Shang and Zhou dynasties (1600 BC-256 BC) when kings were referred to as Gods or Sons of Heaven (Huang 1984). During the Spring and Autumn, and throughout the Warring States periods (770 BC-221 BC), Emperors were praised as “Saints” (Huang, 1984, p. 101) by Confucians. In the middle of the Western Han Dynasty (202 BC-8 AD), Dong Zhongshu, an idealist philosopher, developed this ideology by advocating “The Son of Heaven is appointed by Heaven” and “telepathy between Heaven and man” (Huang, 1984, p. 101). An ancient Chinese saying goes, “All the

land beneath the heaven belongs to the Emperor; all people on this land are His subjects.” As the highest land owner, the Emperor was the highest authority owner. He had absolute power over everything under heaven. His power was undoubted and unquestionable. According to the Emperor-almightiness ideology, the Emperor represented the state and was actually the state. His power was endowed by Heaven, as alluded to in a line from the *Baihu Classics · Jue* in the Eastern Han Dynasty; “The Emperor, whose father is Heaven and mother is earth, is son of Heaven” (Zhao & Xu, 1980, p. 63). In feudal China, the Emperor’s almightiness was omnipresent.

The Emperor’s almightiness had a far-reaching impact on aspects of Chinese people’s lives in the feudal society and naturally left an impression on Lin’s translators’ translation strategies. For instance, in Examples 3, 4 and 5, the source texts have nothing to do with the Emperor, but the target texts relate to the Chinese Emperor. The translator highlighted the Chinese Emperor to reflect His supreme status and the omnipresence of His almightiness. In feudal China, a subject was civilised if he or she was enlightened by the Emperor or received the Emperor’s enlightenment (王化, *wang hua*).

## 2) Official-First Mentality

Official-first mentality, as the name suggests, held that government officials or scholar officials were superior to the populace whom they ruled. In China’s feudal society, subjects were regarded as the sons and daughters of officials, or like domestic animals who were cared for by officials. The Chinese word *mu min* (牧民, ‘govern the people like pasturing cattle and sheep’) indicates the nature and status of Chinese subjects.

In feudal China, Court officials were of very high status in society. To become an official in the Court was the only way to success and prosperity. A famous saying went, ‘A good scholar will make an official.’ Officialdom was the natural outlet for good scholars and this is why the ‘official-first mentality’ was deeply rooted in Chinese people’s minds and officialdom was greatly adored by Chinese scholars. Even in contemporary China, the official-first mentality is still present in every aspect of social life.

Rendering official posts and government institutions into ‘xx 官’ (*guan*, ‘court official’) was a strong indication of Lin and his translators’ official-first mentality. Due to the

official-first mentality in China, nearly all government institutions and official names were expressed by ‘官 xx’ (*guan xx*) or ‘xx 官’ (*xx guan*), meaning ‘official’ or ‘officer’, such as 官府 (*guan fu*, ‘Imperial government’), and 水师官 (*shui shi guan*, ‘customs officer’). As listed in Table 12, all English official posts were translated into ‘xx 官’, and in Example 7, ‘minister’ (大臣, *da chen*) was even rendered into ‘大官’ (*da guan*, ‘big official’) to highlight the high status of government officials.

### 3) Rule-by-Man Ideology

The rule-by-man ideology held that the Emperor was the absolute ruler. He was assisted by his ministers and high officials who were expected to act in accordance with his Imperial will and to show absolute loyalty to him. Rule of law was non-existent in the Chinese context where the Emperor had absolute authority. The Emperor’s Imperial edicts were the supreme law, followed by officials’ ‘gold and jade words’ as local laws. In contrast to the rule-by-law ideology, the rule-by-man ideology saw justice according to the Emperor’s or officials’ will, rather than by law. It shows in Lin’s legal translation in the replacement of English legal terms with traditional Chinese terms in interpersonal relationships or Buddhism.

Lin’s rule-by-man ideology was evident in the legal translations in which Yuan used traditional Chinese discourse to express Western legal concepts. For example, the phrase ‘good order’ was rendered to ‘身家性命’ (*shen jia xing ming*, ‘life of one’s family and oneself’) rather than ‘良好秩序’ (*liang hao zhi xu*). In addition, the phrase, ‘the title of citizen or of subject of the state’ was rendered to ‘子其民’ (*zi qi min*, ‘treating his subjects like his offspring’) rather than ‘公民或臣民头衔’ (*gong min huo chen min tou xian*) in neutral terms. Both ‘身家性命’ and ‘子其民’ are traditional Chinese discourse deeply rooted in traditional Chinese culture. What’s more, Court officials in feudal China regarded their people as their offspring or even their animals, as the phrase ‘子其民’ and other phrases like ‘牧民’ (*mu min*, ‘govern the people like pasturing cattle and sheep’) suggest. This is a traditional rule-by-man ideology which prevailed in China for more than two-thousand years and hindered the development of official-people relationships. It went against Mencius’ ‘people come first, state second, and the ruler last’.

From a different ideological stance, Dr. Parker employed a different strategy,

Westernisation, in the translation of *The Law of Nations*. The Westernisation strategy is one of de-familiarisation for Chinese readers, as opposed to the familiarisation strategy (sinolisation) employed by Yuan.

In addition to the single ideologies, there are complex ideologies (i.e., two or more ideologies) that were merged in one instance as shown in Example 35. First, translation of ‘the Europeans’ into ‘夷商’ (*yi shang*, ‘barbarous merchant’) showed Lin and his translators’ xenophobia. Second, translation of ‘complaint’ into ‘禀’ (*bing*, ‘report to one’s superior’) showed a hierarchical ideology. Third, rendition of ‘the native government’ into ‘官宪’ (*guan xian*, ‘officials’) showed an official-first mentality. Table 19 identifies the ideologies and their corresponding translation strategies:

Table 19. Instances of complex translation strategies

Source Text	Target Text	Unbiased Translation	Translation Strategy	Ideology
the Europeans	夷商 ( <i>yi shang</i> )	欧罗巴人 ( <i>ou luo ba ren</i> )	uglification	xenophobia
complaint	禀 ( <i>bing</i> )	诉 ( <i>su</i> )	dwarfing	hierarchical ideology
the native government	官宪 ( <i>guan xian</i> )	地方衙门 ( <i>di fang ya men</i> )	sinolisation	official-first mentality

However, as time elapsed and Lin’s knowledge of the outside world increased, his ideology changed gradually as seen in the translation of certain terms. The changes in the translation of terms revealed Lin’s ideology was undergoing substantial changes as the context in which the actual translating took place changed. Table 20 lists some of the changes in translation from pejorative and biased terms to more neutral terms:

Table 20. Shifts in the translation of certain terms in Lin's translation

Source Text	Early Translation	Later Translation
Great Britain/England/ the English	□ 咭喇 ( <i>ying ji li</i> )	英吉利 ( <i>ying ji li</i> )
Britain/the English	□ 国 ( <i>ying guo</i> )	英国 ( <i>ying guo</i> )
consul	官 ( <i>guan</i> )	领事 ( <i>ling shi</i> )
foreigner	夷人 ( <i>yi ren</i> , 'barbarian')	外国人 ( <i>wai guo ren</i> )
foreign merchant ship	夷船 ( <i>yi chuan</i> , 'barbarian's ship')	外国商船 ( <i>wai guo shuang chuan</i> )
English foreigner	□ 夷 ( <i>ying yi</i> , 'English barbarian')	英吉利人 ( <i>ying ji li ren</i> )
1826	千有八百二十六年（道光六年） [ <i>qian you ba bai er shi liu nian (dao guang liu nian)</i> , '1826 (the 6 <sup>th</sup> regnal year of Emperor Daoguang)']	一千八百二十六年 ( <i>yi qian ba bai er shi liu nian</i> )
Rupee	元 ( <i>yuan</i> , 'Chinese yuan')	劳碑银 ( <i>lao bei yin</i> )
£	圆 ( <i>yuan</i> , 'Chinese yuan')	棒 ( <i>bang</i> )

As shown in the above table, the derogatory prefix '口' (*kou*, 'mouth') was later removed from the transliterated names such as '□ 咭喇', '□ 国', and '□ 夷'; the pejorative character '夷' (*yi*, 'barbarous') was replaced by the more neutral '外国' (*wai guo*, 'foreign'); traditional Chinese calendar denoted by the number of years under the reign of a certain Emperor was converted back to the Western calendar; and sinolisation of 'Rupee' and '£' into '元' (*yuan*) and '圆' (*yuan*) was shifted to transliteration: '劳碑银' (*lao bei yin*) and '棒' (*bang*), respectively. Changes to the wording of the terms revealed Lin's ideological development as a product of the changes in reality. His ethnocentrism faded as he learned more about the outside world through translation. The knowledge helped him erase some of his previously-held false assumptions and to gain a better understanding of the West. Under his influence, his translators demonstrated an increasingly neutral stance in translation. The shifts in the terms listed in the above table showed this tendency in his ideological shift.

### 7.3 Summary

This chapter conducted an analysis of Lin's translation activities from the perspective

of ideology. First, Lin's motivations for translation were to seek intelligence and intellectual support for his anti-opium campaign and his fight against foreign invasion. The ultimate aim was to save China from subjugation and thus ensure its survival. Second, Lin's translation activities were closely related to the socio-historical background in which the translating took place as well as to the three stages in his ideological development. Third, Lin's ideologies involved in his translation activities (ideology of translation and ideology in translation) revealed pragmatism in source text selection, and ethnocentrism and feudalism in translation strategies. Lin's ethnocentrism and feudalism in translation can be further divided into three subcategories each. Each sub-ideology was achieved via a certain translation strategy or strategies. The correspondence between these ideologies and his translators' translation strategies is presented in the following table:

Table 21. Lin's ideologies and his translators' translation strategies

Ideology	Subcategory of Ideology	Translation Strategies
Ethnocentrism	Sinocentrism	sinolisation
	Hierarchical ideology	dwarfing
	Xenophobia	defamiliarisation, uglification
Feudalism	Emperor-almightiness ideology	sinolisation
	Official-first mentality	
	Rule-by-man ideology	

## Chapter 8 Implications of Lin Zexu's Translation Activities

As Francis Bacon once remarked, “histories make men wise” (cited in Northup, 1908, p. 155). The history of Lin's translation activities has ramifications for contemporary translation in China. The translation activities helped to deepen our understanding of how translations reflect the conflict between dominant ideology and individual ideology, and shed light on the way in which patrons exert their ideological influence on various aspects of translating and the relationship between the patron's ideology and the translator's ideology. Lin's translation activities present a perspective of the status of translators and interpreters, and provide insights into translator and interpreter training, translation quality control, and selection of translation strategies.

### 8.1 Conflict between Dominant Ideology and Individual Ideology

Lin's case shows there is typically a conflict between dominant ideology and individual ideology in translation activities. In this case it is the conflict between the dominant ideology of the Qing government and Lin's individual oppositional ideology. In Qing society, the landlord class owned the majority of land and controlled the means of material production. Whoever controlled the means of material production controlled the means of intellectual production. Translation, as a means of intellectual production, was in the hands of the ruling class and controlled by the ruling intellectual force. It is known that the Qing government adopted a closed-door policy in which international exchanges were not welcomed. During the period of the Qing government, translation was not commonly practiced. It was not allowed by the Emperor and was even banned by Imperial officials. For instance, Qi Shan, a court official, remarked, “Unlike Governor-General Lin, I, as an imperial official of the Celestial Empire, do not probe into foreign affairs” (Wei, 1976, p. 176). The view of translation aired here by Qi Shan also prevailed within the Qing court. It seemed that to Qi and his like, it was shameful to probe into foreign affairs and that an Imperial official was not attending to his proper duties by doing so. Yu Qian, Governor-General of Minzhe (now the provinces of Fujian and Zhejiang), once issued an order that all books on foreign



affairs be destroyed immediately (Yu, 1841).

There are various ideologies in a society representing different interest groups. The Qing court was divided into two groups in terms of Western learning and translation: those against Western learning and those for Western learning. In the conflict between the two groups, the former gained the upper hand and became the dominant ideology. In Lin's translation, dominant ideology refers to the ideology of translation of the ruling class (i.e., of the Emperor and court officials). The dominant ideology, the self-centred and self-sufficing ideology, was exclusive of anything foreign as they regarded China the centre of the universe and, as such, all other countries were inferior and affiliated to China. To the ruling class, there was no such concept as foreign relations. The Qing government adopted a closed-door policy in which international exchanges were not welcomed, and translation was strictly prohibited.

Lin's individual ideology was in stark contrast to the dominant or ruling ideology. He held an oppositional ideology in terms of translation in particular. A weekly newspaper made the following comments on Lin, "... while Lin acted totally contradictorily to the high authorities: he prepared several natives with most competence in translation" (Chinese History Society, 1954, p. 412). Fortunately for Lin, the Emperor was not aware of his practices or else the results could have been disastrous for Lin. In a feudal society where the Emperor has supreme authority, no one was allowed to contradict his views. Any perceived divergence from the view of the Emperor could lead to the suspicion of deception towards the Emperor and the risk of a death sentence. Thus Lin was actually risking his life in organising translation activities.

If there was an ideological conflict between the dominant ideology (i.e., the ruling ideology) of the Qing government and Lin's individual ideology, the latter would have been required to give way to the former. This explains why Lin conducted his translation activities in secret, namely, to cover his oppositional ideology.

Strictly speaking, Lin's ideology was part of the ruling ideology as he was a member of the Court. Like any other Qing official, Lin had to promote the almightiness of the great Imperial Empire, protect its face, and gain favour from the Emperor. However, as Dijk (1998) acutely pointed out, there are ideological dissidents even within dominant groups. In other

words, the ruling class is not ideologically uniform in its views and this gives rise to factions within its numbers. Lin's ideology of translation serves well as evidence for this statement. As a member of the ruling class, Lin resisted (obviously only partly) the dominant ideology, especially the ideology of the Emperor and Court officials in relation to their views on translation. He challenged the dominant ideology by advocating Western learning and promoting translation activities in order to know the outside world and to learn from it. His ideology of translation acted as oppositional ideology.

Lin spared no effort in mediating between the dominant ideology and his individual ideology, trying to achieve a balance between the two. However, he could hardly agree to the former as he was one of the few open-minded people in the Qing court who detected the causes (surface causes, not root causes) of the social problems and realised the importance of translation as a tentative solution to these problems. The Emperor and other Court officials all took a contemptuous attitude towards translation activities and translators, and very often equated translators with traitors. According to Arthur Waley (1958), traitors are "Chinese who entered the service of foreigners, learnt foreign languages, corresponded with foreigners or made friends with them in any way" (p. 222). Based on this logic, both Lin and Lin's translators were 'traitors' because Lin corresponded with foreigners and his translators studied English for a relatively long time. Lin conducted his translation activities in secret and disguised the translated newspaper texts (only six issues) to be sent to the Emperor in the form of memorials. As such, he managed to keep clear of the unnecessary political hot water and to avoid the potential disaster for his translators as well as himself.

Having long been edified by feudal civilisation, Lin, like many of his counterparts in the Imperial Court, was firm in the distinction between Cathay and barbarians. However, Lin was different from other officials in that he modified previously held false assumptions – such as 'China lay at the centre of the universe' – as new situations and understandings emerged. As contact with capitalist countries deepened, Lin gradually emerged from the confinement of the 'Celestial Empire' to rectify outdated views. He opened his eyes to the wider world and re-examined the relationship between China and the world. He initiated the translation of foreign newspapers and books, and advocated the study of foreign science and technology, both of which were regarded as 'diabolic tricks and wicked craft' by other feudal

scholar-officials. His translation initiative was in effect a breakthrough in the closed-door Qing society.

Unfortunately, Lin was held responsible for his inability to resist British invasion in the Opium War and his suspected collusion with the Queen of England. As a result, he was exiled by the Emperor and his translation team was dismissed, thus terminating his translation activities. The ideological conflict between the Qing court and Lin resulted in the failure of the latter. In history, conflicts between dominant ideologies and individual ideologies very often resulted in victory for the former. This demonstrates that in the conflict between dominant ideology and oppositional ideology/ideologies, the former tends to win out as it is guaranteed by status apparatuses. For this reason, ‘wise’ people like Qi Shan would keep their individual ideology hidden and adapt it to the dominant ideology to avoid falling into disfavour with the rulers.<sup>61</sup>

For the same reason, if someone wants to organise translation activities or to get his/her translation published, he/she has to take the dominant ideology into consideration and try to reconcile the relationship between the dominant ideology and his/her individual ideology to avoid unnecessary trouble.

## 8.2 Patron’s Ideology

As stated above, the patron’s ideology plays a crucial or even decisive role in translation. Nonetheless, it has not drawn due attention in Chinese academia. Searching cnki.net<sup>62</sup>, the biggest database of academic papers in China, this author did not locate any articles with the phrase ‘patron’s ideology’ included in the title. Most scholars employ Lefevere’s three-component patronage in an analysis of translation cases in China. Among the three components, ideology can be studied separately, alongside the other two components. The patron’s ideology has a direct impact on the target text; whereas the other two components are not so conspicuously revealed in the target text. Hence, it is necessary to

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<sup>61</sup> According to Lan Tai (2014), Qi Shan made frequent communications with foreigners via correspondences, enquiring about military affairs in Britain to gain a good understanding of the situation in Britain. However, he deceived the Emperor and the Court by concealing his true views to keep conformity with the dominant ideology.

<sup>62</sup> CNKI is short for China National Knowledge Infrastructure.

call patron's ideology to the attention of Chinese academia.

Lin's ideology in translation sheds some light on today's translation patronage in China. There are four waves of translation in Chinese history, each having witnessed a different form of patronage: 1) patronage of Buddhist translation (148-1037), 2) patronage of sci-tech translation at late Ming and early Qing Dynasty (1584-1723), 3) patronage of the late Qing Dynasty and the Republican period (1839-1949), and 4) patronage of the first 30 years prior to the Reform and Opening-up Policy period (1949-1978), equivalent to the so-called China's four climaxes of translation (Wang, 2006). In all four stages, government patronage is the number one patronage in terms of influence and scale, followed by foreign church establishments, domestic civil organisations, publishing institutions, and scholar-officials. Government patronage, especially state patronage, intervenes in translation processes and rewrites alien cultures to its benefit. In terms of degree, government patronage is mostly full rather than partial; in terms of manner, it is mostly undifferentiated rather than differentiated; in terms of condition, it is mostly directive and mandatory rather than suggestive and selective. A full, undifferentiated, directive and mandatory patronage is conducive to ideological control at state level and may serve national policy or propaganda. It is not conducive, however, to a prosperous translation market or the free, healthy development of literature, and science and technology. Fortunately, civil patronages are prospering in China since the implementation of the Reform and Open-up Policy, however state ideological control continues to be a constraint.

The patron affects the strategies of his/her translators by exerting his/her ideology onto them. Ideological manipulation is a means of translation quality control. As for translation strategies, liberal translation rather than literal translation is most often preferred. F. Q. Horatius remarked, "Do not worry about rendering word for word, faithful translator, but render sense for sense" (Lefevere, 1992a, p. 15). Patronage, as with patron's ideology, is a power that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature (Lefevere, 1992b).

However, the translator's ideology may not always align with the patron's ideology. Ideally, the translator's ideology conforms to the patron's ideology in patronised translation.

Conflicts of opinion may arise, however, during patron-translator interactions, but they are usually not acknowledged in order to maintain a 'harmonious' relationship and to keep the translation project going. The interaction between the patron's and the translator's ideologies is dynamic and complex. It actually involves a series of binary oppositions: requirements and strategies, measures and counter-measures, manipulation and anti-manipulation, etc. The patron may have his/her own way in manipulating his/her translator's ideology, such as back-translation, re-translation, and target text examination – as is the case in the present research – backed with economic and social patronage. The translator may be willing to accept the manipulation (as with Lin's translators) in the same way he/she accepts the patronage, or protest against it in an overt or covert (as in most cases) manner.

### 8.3 State Patronage

In terms of behavioural agency, patronage can be divided into individual patronage, institutional patronage, and government patronage. Government patronage can be exerted either by local government or central government, the latter being referred to as state patronage.

In terms of degree or extent, patronage can be divided into differentiated and undifferentiated categories. Differentiated patronage refers to patronage in which the economic component is relatively independent of ideological and status factors; whereas undifferentiated patronage refers to patronage in which the three elements of patronage are merged and dispensed by the same patron (Lefevere, 1992b). In other words, differentiated patronage is partial patronage and undifferentiated patronage is full patronage with regard to the three components. Lin's translation patronage was undifferentiated in that the three components were merged and interrelated to each other. Through undifferentiated patronage, Lin controlled his translators in a comprehensive manner. Moreover, undifferentiated patronage facilitated his ideological manipulation in the translation activities. In today's China, state patronage is usually undifferentiated; that is, the Central Government exerts full patronage over the translators across all three components, especially the ideological component.

In socialist China, a state patron is more common than an institutional or individual

patron. Since the commencement of the Reform and Opening-up Policy, a number of translation projects have been initiated under state patronage in China such as the ‘Panda Books’ and the ‘Library of Chinese Classics’. The ‘Panda Books’ was initiated in the late 1980s and early 1990s by the Chinese government. In this project, 195 literary works have been translated and published including 145 novels, 24 poems, 14 folk tales, 8 essays, 3 fables, and 1 drama (Xie, 2014). The ‘Library of Chinese Classics’ commenced in 1995 and included 100 classics written on topics related to culture, history, philosophy, economics, science and technology, and the military from the pre-Qin Dynasty to modern China. The classics were first translated from ancient Chinese into modern Chinese and then from modern Chinese into English (大中华文库, [2016-08-16]).

However, full, undifferentiated patronage is not conducive to the healthy implementation of translation projects and so partial, differentiated patronage is preferred. As for the organisation of translation projects, a couple of suggestions are proposed here. First, there is no doubt that the translation projects should be initiated and conducted under state patronage, but a competitive mechanism in the form of bidding can be introduced to the projects to get individual translators and institutions involved. Both Chinese translators and overseas sinologists can be called on to bid for the projects. Second, collaborative translation should take priority over individual translation as collective wisdom plays a bigger role in decision making on critical issues such as the translation of key terms and the interpretation of difficult points. Third, differentiated patronage is preferred. Economic patronage should take priority over status and ideological patronage as it directly relates to translator loyalty and translation quality. Ideological manipulation can be loosened to endow translators with greater freedom of expression as today’s society is vastly different to the society in which Lin lived.

#### 8.4 Status of Translators and Interpreters

Translator status, especially their social and economic status, is directly linked to their initiative and subjectivity. A socially respected and well-paid translator will more readily conform to the patron’s ideology and serve their patron faithfully. Otherwise, they may become real traitors and work for the benefit of foreign countries.

After the incident of Bao Peng, the Qing government's attitude towards 'linguists' (translators and interpreters) changed drastically. They no longer trusted them and even equated them to traitors. With distrust and even contempt from the Qing government, linguists naturally endured low socio-economic status. They were often connected with compradors who were very often referred to as traitors. In contrast, translators and interpreters in Western countries generally enjoyed high social status, with some also acting as diplomats, negotiators and army personnel with high salary and great honour.

A variety of internal and external factors led to the defeat of the Qing government in the Opium War. The fact we cannot deny, however, is that the lack of domestic translators and the distrust levelled towards them was partly responsible for the failure of the Qing government in the war. China at that time had few competent translators,<sup>63</sup> not to mention translation institutions. In contrast, the British had access to a number of talented translators and interpreters such as Morrison and son, Staunton and son, Samuel Fearon, etc. There was also access to institutions like the Royal Asiatic Society and the Oriental Translation Committee to train translation professionals (Chang, 1964). In turn, translators played an important role in the war on the side of the British forces.

Translation is creative work rather than a mechanical linguistic transfer. Its creative nature dictates its remuneration. During the late 1830s in feudal China, Lin was clearly aware of this and offered high salaries to his translators – equal to the salary of a high official in the Imperial Court – along with professional respect and status recognition. The manner in which Lin treated his translators effectively enhanced their work efficiency and promoted more ethical practices.

In today's world, translators are highly respected and handsomely paid (Jasonzjw, [2016-03-09]). In contemporary China, however, nearly 180 years after Lin's translation activities, translators and interpreters still have not gained the honour, respect and pay they

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<sup>63</sup> China's few translators including Bao Peng were far from competent and they came from compradors and merchants. Bao Peng's English was very poor and was referred to as 'Canton English'. This poor quality of his English is evidenced in the following citation from *Narrative of the Expedition to China, From the Commencement of the War to Its Termination in 1842*: "Can go makee talkee; -- my thinkie no can settee this pigeon; -- must makee that Emperor cry" (Bingham, 1843, p. 249). It is very poor English in terms of both grammar and pronunciation.

deserve.

First, translation is regarded as the mechanical transfer of linguistic content from one language to another, rather than creative work. Second, translation is not regarded as a profession. Translators and interpreters enjoy very low social status. For example, in televised live press conferences, interpreters will not be included in even one single shot by cameramen: their voices are heard, but their faces remain unseen. The spotlight and foci remain at all times on the spokesperson. Third, translators are surprisingly poorly paid for doing written translation. The price for written translation of 1,000 words (source text) is ¥50-200 Chinese yuan (approximately \$10-40 Australian dollars)<sup>64</sup>, while the average time required to translate 1,000 words is approximately three hours. This means the pay rate is \$3.30-\$13.30 Australian dollars per hour, much lower than Australia's national minimum wage of \$17.70 per hour (Pay, [2016-03-10]). It is a pity that in contemporary China the status of translators (both economic and social) has still not substantially improved. We are lagging behind our history.

Sufficient attention should be paid to raise the socio-economic status of translators to a level that matches and acknowledges the function and creative nature of their work. Sir Stanley Unwin (1946) proposed several suggestions regarding the status of the translator, two of which were that the translator should be adequately paid and that the translator's name should be printed on the title page of the translation. The first suggestion pertains to the translator's economic status, whereas the second suggestion is linked to social status. Eli Sayit (2001), President of the Translators Association of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, suggests that translators should enjoy the same treatment as researchers. The present research hopes to raise Chinese people's awareness of translators and to call their attention to the economic status of translators in the hope that it will be raised to match the nature of translation work.

## 8.5 Translator and Interpreter Training

As mentioned above, China in the Qing Dynasty had few competent translators.

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<sup>64</sup> See 'Measures for Remuneration Payment for the Use of Written Works' issued by the National Copyright Administration of China on 23<sup>rd</sup> September, 2014.



Naturally, they attached little importance to the training of foreign language learners and professional translators and interpreters.

Fortunately, this changed after the Tongzhi Period when the Westernisation Movement (or Self-strengthening Movement) began to pervade modern society. Bearing in mind the lessons learned from previous historical events, the Qing government came to the realisation that translator and interpreter training were urgently required. With the establishment of the School of Combined Learning, China's foreign language education and translator training took on a new look. This is referred to as the "first climax" (p. 18) of foreign language education and translator training in China (Deng, 2006).

Today's China has witnessed great changes in translator and interpreter training. Foreign language teaching, and translator and interpreter training are flourishing as translation and interpreting departments, and institutions of translation and interpreting continue to be established throughout China. Translation was first introduced into Chinese universities and colleges in 2006 as an independent undergraduate course. By 2014, 152 universities and colleges in China were entitled to run the program. In addition, it is estimated that there are more than 3,000 registered translation and interpreting institutions currently operating in China, one-third of which are engaged in translator and interpreter training.<sup>65</sup> China can rely on its own translators and interpreters in every field. Competent Chinese translators and interpreters are even serving in the international arena.

However, the quality of translator and interpreter training is not always satisfactory. Qualified translators and high-quality translations are not always available. In international arena, Chinese translators are not always able to defend China's national interest. These deficiencies can be traced back to China's translator and interpreter training.

As stated in Section 7.2.3.1, Lin's criteria of translators/interpreters are: 1) political and ideological positions, 2) linguistic competencies, 3) translation experience, and 4) diplomatic capacities. These criteria are still significant and applicable to today's translator

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<sup>65</sup> 中国翻译行业现状. Retrieved from [http://wenku.baidu.com/link?url=kGIHTqIiCw6hNGhNEmNp3bRi4EP CNVadMVfVa9lZVgouCweGmFEbpRMaIAxuTGyFds9FuiR\\_8iikmWGLA6ZDWHTtmTVm8kztqYk9sIIgXC](http://wenku.baidu.com/link?url=kGIHTqIiCw6hNGhNEmNp3bRi4EP CNVadMVfVa9lZVgouCweGmFEbpRMaIAxuTGyFds9FuiR_8iikmWGLA6ZDWHTtmTVm8kztqYk9sIIgXC). last accessed [08-10-2016].

and interpreter training in China. In translator and interpreter training, these criteria have to be taken into consideration.

First, political and ideological position is the first quality for translators, especially in socialist China. Political and ideological positions focus on patriotism, national loyalty, and national interest. However, political and ideological instruction should not be organised in a blunt way as training translators and interpreters is not like practising political slogans. It should be incorporated into everyday translation training subtly and invisibly and in a way that is acceptable to trainees. Political and ideological instruction should be merged with language training as some political and ideological slips result from linguistic incompetence. For example, ‘台湾问题’ (*tai wan wen ti*) is translated into ‘the Taiwan issue’ or ‘the issue of Taiwan’ by some translators. However, the correct translation is ‘the Taiwan question’ or ‘the question of Taiwan’. The word ‘issue’ means ‘a controversial problem’ or ‘a question deserving discussion or dispute’ which is actually not the nature of the Taiwan question (Chen, 2013).

Second, translator and interpreter training should concentrate on linguistic competency, as translation and interpreting is, after all, a linguistic transfer which needs relevant linguistic competency. Consequently, in course design, linguistic competency should be highlighted. Courses should cover different areas as politics, economy, literature, business, science and technology, and law. Both general theories of translation and specific translation techniques should be involved in the training program. Trainees are expected to lay a solid foundation for future career with a good mastery of both the source language and the target language, general theories of translation, and specific translation techniques.

Third, translation experience is highly regarded for a translator. In translator training, this may be achieved by exercises (both in class and after class), workshops, and internships. Translation is an experience-oriented profession, and practice helps enhance translators’ skills and enrich their experience. In the later period of the training, trainees may be allowed direct access to small translation projects or projects of minor significance, working with experienced or ‘senior’ translators and interpreters and aided by them.

Fourth, diplomatic capacities should not be neglected, especially for diplomatic translators. Diplomatic capacity, i. e., the ability to handle foreign affairs and to deal with foreigners, is essential for diplomatic translators. Translation is an exchange between people of different countries, different parties and different interests, and also an embodiment of foreign relations. The ability to understand the other party's way of thinking, speaking, and doing things is vital, as it helps re-express their ideas in our mother tongue. Diplomatic capacity is important not only for diplomatic translators but also for non-diplomatic translators because even non-diplomatic translation involves diplomatic affairs and foreign relations.

These criteria play a decisive role in the quality of translators and interpreters and their translations, and should be well implemented in translator and interpreter training. Nonetheless, these criteria are not exhaustive, and there are still other criteria which deserve our attention in translator and interpreter training, such as psychological quality, and professional knowledge. What Lin's permanent translators lacked most was professional knowledge such as geographical knowledge and legal knowledge. The lack of professional knowledge resulted in a series of mistakes in their translations.

## 8.6 Translation Quality Control

Translation quality control is an important link in the production of translated texts. To achieve translation quality control, Lin in his role as patron resorted to a variety of means such as back translation, re-translation, target text examination. Each of these methods helped to greatly improve the quality of his translators' translations. Back translation and re-translation improved the accuracy of the translated texts, and target text examination improved the readability and acceptability of the translated texts, especially in terms of political and ideological correctness.

There are several steps in back translation which can be formulated in the following algorithm: forward translation – back translation – back translation review and discussion – finalisation (Tyupa, 2011). Forward translation is to translate a text from a source language to a target language, and back translation is to translate a text back from a target language to a source language. Forward translation and back translation are done by independent

translators. The most critical link in the above algorithm is back translation review and discussion as this leads to the finalisation of the target text. Linguistic competence and ideological stance play a vital role in the link between back translation review and discussion. In the review process, the reviewer usually compares the back translation with the source text for similarities and discrepancies. What attracts the reviewer's attention are the discrepancies. He/she may try to figure out what caused the discrepancies through discussions with the translators, and then decide whether or not the source text should be translated by another translator.

Back translation is an effective quality assessment tool, especially for reviewers such as Lin who cannot speak the target language. It is especially important in scientific, legal, and commercial translation activities where information value is more important than formal value. Back translation ensures the information value of the source text is maintained. Though time-consuming and costly, back translation is still significant in today's China where translation quality is a headache for relevant government bodies and translation reviewers.

With the strategy of 'Chinese culture going out', a series of translation projects have been initiated under state patronage in China among which the 'Library of Chinese Classics' is the most conspicuous. The project covered 100 classics, but only a few titles were purchased by overseas publishers with the majority circulated within China only (Xie, 2014). Apart from the extra-textual problems raised by Xie (2014) such as 'Who translates?', 'Who publishes', authors' attitudes towards translators, and translatability of the source texts, the quality of the translated texts remains a big problem. Though organised and translated by 'translation experts' (Xie, 2014), most of the translated texts do not have a high level of readability, and consequently they demonstrate low level acceptability. In other words, the quality of the translations is not always good.<sup>66</sup> If back translation is employed, the

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<sup>66</sup> See Wang Hui's 2003 article, 'On Several Problems of the Publication of the Analects in Library of Chinese Classics' (*Journal of Huazhong University of Science and Technology. Social Science Edition*, 1, 37-43); Chen Shujun's 2015 article, 'A Tentative Study of the Quality of C-E Translation of Honglounmeng in the Library of Chinese Classics' (*China Three Gorges Tribune*, 5, 91-94); and Wang Xiaonong's 2013 article, 'On Some Problems with English Translation and Publication of Chinese Classics: A Case Study of Library of Chinese Classics' (*China Three Gorges Tribune*, 11, 43-48).

translation quality will greatly improve and the readability and acceptability will also improve accordingly.

Notwithstanding these advantages, back translation cannot be used as the sole means of translation quality control as it has its own defects (Brislin, 1970):

- a) Highly skilled translators can sometimes produce acceptable back translations from badly garbled translations by a series of inferences and insightful guesses;
- b) Translations that retain grammatical forms of the original language are easy to back translate, but may not be meaningful to target language monolinguals.

Back translation is an effective tool for translation quality control, but only when it is used appropriately can it achieve the desired effects.

Re-translation is also an effective method to improve translation quality. By making use of re-translation, Lin could judge the quality of the first translation. As early as 1935, Lu Xun, a leading literary figure in China at the time, remarked on the importance of re-translation. He held that re-translation helped to improve the quality of translations as later translators might draw on the merits of earlier translations and make new interpretations of the source text (Lu Xun<sup>67</sup>, 1935). Various versions, new and old, later and earlier, can be compared in parallel to determine which one is better. A competitive relationship is also formed among translators and translations which also helps to improve translation quality. In the state patronised translation projects, re-translation can be employed to continually improve the translations.

Examination of translations entails translation review and translation criticism, both of which are urgently required in the field of translation in China. China's translation market appears to be flourishing on the surface, however, the quality of translations is not always satisfactory, as can be seen from target readers' responses.<sup>68</sup> Translation review and criticism helps to polish translated texts, rectify mis-translations, and to crystallise vague points. If it is employed in the state patronised translation projects, the translation quality will improve

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<sup>67</sup> Lu Xun is the pen-name of Zhou Shuren. His surname is not Lu, but Zhou, and the two characters 'Lu' and 'Xun' cannot be separated.

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, Li Ning's 2015 article, 'On the Overseas Reception of Lin Wusun's English Version of *The Art of War*' (*Shanghai Journal of Translators*, 2, 77-82).

substantially and thus improve how the translations are received both at home and abroad.

## 8.7 Selection of Translation Strategies

There are a number of translation strategies available for translators to choose from, each serving a different purpose. Lin's translators employed sinolisation, dwarfing, uglification, and defamiliarisation to achieve certain ideologies. To achieve Lin's ideologies, his translators employed strategies to dwarf, uglify and defamiliarise foreign countries and foreign people. Such strategies are mostly regarded as 'negative' however as they are open to misunderstanding, ignorance, and prejudice, factors which should be avoided in today's translation. Every country and every individual should be respected as they are equal sovereign states and enjoy equal human rights. Neutral, rather than negative strategies should be employed in translation to avoid conspicuous or extreme ideological stances.

In this sense, some of Lin's translators' translations can be re-translated to present a more neutral stance. Words with derogatory meanings could be avoided, the prefix '口' (*kou*) could be removed, and words showing hierarchical relationship could be used with care to produce more neutral and even pleasant translations. Table 22 shows how Lin's translators' sinolised, uglified or defamiliarised translations can be re-translated using neutral strategies.

Table 22. Lin's translators' sinolised, uglified or defamiliarised translations vs. their neutral translations<sup>69</sup>

Source Text	Lin's Translators' Target Text	Neutral Translation
£	圆 ( <i>yuan</i> , 'Chinese yuan')	英镑 ( <i>ying bang</i> )
Congress	滚额里士 ( <i>gun e li shi</i> , 'get-out e li shi')	国会 ( <i>guo hui</i> )
the Europeans	夷商 ( <i>yi shang</i> , 'barbarous merchant')	欧洲人 ( <i>ou zhou ren</i> )
India	阿三 ( <i>a san</i> , 'Ah- No. 3')	印度 ( <i>yin du</i> )
Lord Napier	律劳卑 ( <i>lv lao bei</i> , 'lv laboriously vile')	奈皮儿勋爵 ( <i>na pi er xun jue</i> )
foreigner	鬼佬 ( <i>gui lao</i> , 'devil/ghost')	外国人 ( <i>wai guo ren</i> )
complaint	禀 ( <i>bing</i> , 'report to one's superior')	诉 ( <i>su</i> )
the English	□ 国 ( <i>ying guo</i> )	英国 ( <i>ying guo</i> )

<sup>69</sup> The neutral translations were made by the author of the present thesis.

Some of the translated terms applied by Lin's translators are still in use by Chinese people today. It is preferable to shift to a neutral stance.

## 8.8 Summary

In this chapter, the implications or enlightenments of Lin's translation activities are explored. As the first large-scale translation project in modern China, Lin's translation activities enlighten today's translation sponsors/patrons and translators on several aspects:

- 1) If a person wants to get his/her translation published, he/she has to consider the dominant ideology of the target language society and try to align his/her individual ideology with the dominant ideology of the society;
- 2) If a translator works under patronage, it is preferable for him/her to conform to the patron's ideology;
- 3) For state patrons, differentiated patronage is preferable to undifferentiated patronage as it gives the translator more freedom of expression and predicts better translation quality;
- 4) Translators' and interpreters' status, both social and economic, directly links their payment and social recognition, and establishes a psychological basis for their work performance and ideological reliability. There is still much room for improvement in the status of translators and interpreters, especially translators in China;
- 5) Today's China is attaching great importance to translator and interpreter training, and has achieved satisfactory results, partly due to the historical lessons drawn from the Opium War;
- 6) Though in a flourishing state, China's translation market is confronted with the problem of translation quality. It is advisable that Lin's translation quality control methods such as back-translation and re-translation be employed by translators to achieve better quality in translation; and
- 7) In today's translation, positive – or at least neutral – translation strategies are preferable to negative strategies.

## Chapter 9 Conclusion

Lin Zexu, a man with no competence in any foreign language, initiated, commissioned and patronised a series of translation activities in Guangzhou in his office of Imperial Commissioner from 1838 to 1840. During this period, in addition to being a patron Lin was a participant in various links of the translational chain: selection of translators, selection of source texts, formulation of macro-translation strategies, translation quality control, and interaction with readership. Each of these links was, to a greater or lesser extent, shaped by his personal ideology manifested in pragmatism, ethnocentrism and feudalism. His pragmatism was evident in his source text selection, and his ethnocentrism and feudalism were revealed in his translators' translation activities.

### 9.1 Major Findings

The major findings of the present research are as follows:

First, Lin's translation activities revealed his ideology of translation, which was (partly) oppositional to the ruling – or dominant – ideology of that time, namely, the ideology of the Emperor and the majority of court officials. Unlike other court officials, Lin “probed into foreign affairs” (Wei, 1976, p. 176) via the translation of foreign newspapers and books, just as Commissioner Qi Shan said. To Qi Shan, a high official should not interfere with diplomacy. Qi advocated “appeasing millions of people with benevolence and withstanding foreign barbarians with wisdom” (p. 615), and laughed at Lin for his purchase of foreign books which he declared, “officials never paid attention to” (cited in Qi, 1964, p. 615). Lin's ideology was inconsistent with, but far ahead of, his time. Regarded as the first person in modern China to open his eyes to the outside world, Lin came to understand the importance of getting to know the outside world and found translation an effective way to achieve this purpose. It was proved later that his translation activities offered useful reference and



guidance for his work, and had far-reaching effects for modern China.

Second, Lin's ideological development underwent different stages: formative, developmental, and maturation, with each stage affected by the social environment in which he lived and by the people in his life. During the formative period, Lin's parents' great aspirations for him led to the formation of his official-first mentality. The pragmatic ideology among progressive intellectuals and official-scholars established the basis of his pragmatism. During the developmental period, Lin was greatly motivated by the practical learning among the upper class aimed at reform and self-strengthening in the capital, Beijing. The social network he created with the upper class further strengthened his ideological development. During the maturation period, the reality of the opium problem in China and the potential war between Britain and China saw Lin's ideological shift. Attitudes towards opium divided the Court as a constant struggle emerged between those who wanted the opium ban lifted and those, which included Lin, who wanted a stricter ban imposed on the opium trade. The former were firm believers of the 'agricultural foundation' ideology, whereas the latter supported legal commerce and made a distinction between legal commerce and illegal smuggling (such as the opium trade). During the struggle against the opium trade, Lin became conscious of the defects of classical Chinese learning and came to the realisation of the importance of Western learning. However, as a landlord class scholar-official, Lin was firm in his ethnocentrism (sinocentrism) and feudalism, which were no different to other scholar-officials.

Third, Lin's selection of translators revealed his views on talent and his selection of source texts revealed his pragmatism. Although Lin did not comment on the role of translators specifically, he expounded his view on the criteria of talent and how to select talented people. Translators, as a special type of talented people, fit well into his view on talent. As stated above, Lin's checklist for translator selection included in order of importance: political and ideological stance, linguistic competence, translation experience, and diplomatic capacity. His source text selection well revealed his pragmatism as the source texts all related to the key themes of his time: opium, invasion, and war. In simple words, Lin organised the translation activities in order to achieve particular goals.

Fourth, Lin exerted ideological manipulation not only in the translation process, but

also in translation quality control. He identified several ways to ideologically manipulate his translators' translations such as back-translation, re-translation, target text polishing, and note-adding, all of which proved effective. Back-translation was applicable to Chinese-English translation, and re-translation was applicable to English-Chinese translation. Both back-translation and re-translation fit well with his competence in the Chinese language. Examining the back translation against the forward translation, and the re-translation against the first translation enabled Lin to detect the nuances between the different translated versions. Lin's polishing of target texts was reader-targeted with emphasis on readability, acceptability, and ideological correctness. His literary and poetic criteria were conciseness and elegance. Furthermore, his notes in the translated texts served as a means to correct, explain, criticise, or comment on certain points.

Fifth, Lin's translators' translation strategies revealed his ethnocentrism and feudalism. Although Lin did not participate in the actual process of translation, he influenced his translators' translation strategies through the process of ideological interpellation. Under Lin's influence, his translators employed several strategies such as sinolisation, uglification, dwarfing, and defamiliarisation to reflect his ideologies. The general principles of these strategies were to uglify, dwarf, and defamiliarise foreign countries and foreign people, and to beautify and uplift the Chinese Empire and Chinese people, especially the Imperial Court and high officials. Foreign items were rendered in a way that was either familiar and acceptable or strange and unacceptable to Chinese readers. These translation strategies emerged as a result of his ideological manipulation. His ideologies, namely, ethnocentrism and feudalism were deeply rooted in traditional Chinese culture as revealed in his translation strategies.

Sixth, Lin's interaction with the readership revealed his communicative strategies. Readers of Lin's translations were several open-minded court officials like Guan Tianpei, Yi Liang and Deng Tingzhen, and also Emperor Daoguang. Their communications were mainly personal and private. Interpersonal communication is an art in China, and during feudal China in particular, personal communications laid the basis for social communication and for maintaining social networks. Because translation was not in favour during Lin's era, he had to resort to his personal resources to convey his ideas and to pass messages via translation.

This determined that his readers were open-minded and reform-minded officials. Although Emperor Daoguang was a reader of Lin's translated newspapers, he was oblivious to Lin's translation activities because the translations presented to him were in the guise of memorials. Lin's communicative strategy was simply to gain favour from the Emperor and support from open-minded officials. Then, with their help, he could gain wider support in the Court. On the one hand, this helped to maintain translation activities free of open objection from the Court. On the other hand, it also helped to ensure the maximum communication effect of the translations.

## 9.2 Contributions of the Present Research

The present research contributes to the studies of both Chinese modern history and Chinese translation history, and the development of translation theories.

### 9.2.1 Contribution to the Study of Chinese Modern History

The present study contributes to research on Chinese modern history. As a national hero and the first person in modern China to open his eyes to the outside world, Lin attracted scholarly attention not only in China but also within the English community, though most research outcomes have been published in Chinese. As revealed in the literature review, much of the research has been conducted on Lin's life story, work experiences, religious beliefs, literary attainments, etc. Most of the research focused on Lin's anti-opium campaign and his fight against foreign invasion to highlight the image of 'national hero'. His historical deeds such as his 'opium destruction at Humen Beach' are known to every Chinese person, old and young.

A research investigation of Lin Zexu which does not mention his translation activities is similar to giving a house a thorough cleaning with one corner left unswept. Indeed, a historical study of the figure of Lin Zexu that does not mention his translation activities is not comprehensive as they are an integral part of his career as an Imperial Officer and play an important part in the construction of his image of 'national hero'. Through the examination of Lin's translation activities, the present research adds new knowledge to the historical database and enriches the study of Lin Zexu, and thus contributes to the study of Chinese modern history in which Lin has a unique space.

### 9.2.2 Contribution to the Study of Chinese Translation History

The present research also contributes to the study of Chinese translation history by discovering and sorting out Lin's translation activities. Lin's patriotic deeds, such as his anti-opium campaign and anti-invasion efforts, are well known and widely read. Moreover, his lofty image as a national hero has long been established. However, Lin's translation activities, as an integral part of his anti-opium and anti-invasion endeavours, have been largely neglected, rarely studied, or seldom discussed. In the few previous research investigations of Lin, only the works he organised to translate and the identity of his translators are briefly mentioned. Little research has been conducted on his participation in the translation process, his translation strategies, his translation motives, and his translation management. More facts concerning his translation activities need to be uncovered and more source texts need to be identified. The present research aimed to reveal what was not previously known about Lin's translation activities: his source texts and target texts, the historical records on his translation activities, his translation quality control methods, and the effects of his ideology on his translators' translation strategies.

It is a pity that the study of China's translation history does not enjoy greater significance in Chinese academic circles. Statistics show approximately 500 books on translation have been published in China in the latter half of the twentieth century. Of these publications, theoretical books account for 20 percent, and translation history books only 1 percent, and the same is true within the international translation circle (Ke, 2002). Over the past six decades since the founding of the New China, books published on translation history have accounted for only 6.4 percent of the total translation works published, and journal articles on translation history account for only six percent of the total translation articles (Xu & Mu, 2009). Non-history studies are more popular because they do not involve historical data which are hard to locate, obtain, and analyse. This is partly due to the fact that studies of translation history are time-consuming, energy-consuming, patience-demanding, and painstaking, and most often the time spent and efforts paid do not match the results gained. The unavailability of historical documents is also responsible for lack of translation history studies.

This research investigation also encountered these problems. Nonetheless, translation history study is rewarding in that it uncovers hidden, ignored, but very important translation facts which may reconstruct history and offer insights, enlightenment, or lessons for today's work. The present research helps to define the position and significance of translation history in translation studies. Furthermore, it contributes to the study of Chinese translation history by revisiting translation activities of an important historical figure and uncovering hitherto unknown historical facts concerning his translation activities.

Breakthroughs in translation history research rely on the discovery of new data or the analyses of existing data using new methods (Hung, 2005). New data lay the basis for further studies and lead to new conclusions or the rectification of previous false judgements or conclusions (Wang, 2007). Historical documents concerning Lin's translation activities have been unearthed and discussed to strengthen or negate existing conclusions, or to develop new conclusions. The present research contributes to the study of Chinese translation history by rectifying previous conclusions concerning Lin's translation activities.

The present research rectifies a number of statements or conclusions concerning Lin's translation facts. With regards to the source newspapers of *Macao News*, for example, some scholars held that they were the *Canton Press*, the *Canton Register* and the *Singapore Free Press*, with sporadic sources of newspapers published in Bombay, India (Wu & Chen, 1980). Others held that there were minor newspaper sources published in Bengal, London, Calcutta, Sydney, etc., in addition to the above-mentioned three sources (Chen, 1990). Still others held that the newspaper sources were the Portuguese *Abelha da China* and *Gazeta de Macau*, and the English *Chinese Repository* and *Canton Press* (Xu, 2008). However, according to the observations of this author, the source newspapers were only the *Canton Press* and the *Canton Register*. Another example is the source text of *Hua Shi Yi Yan*. Scholars such as Arthur Waley (1958) and Chen Yuan (1979) held that it was translated from J. F. Davis's *The Chinese: A General Description of the Empire of China and Its Inhabitants*. This author's observation, however, shows that it was translated from C. T. Downing's *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7*. These rectifications are meaningful in that they provide reliable sources for future studies and help to avoid further misunderstandings.

### 9.2.3 Contribution to the Development of Translation Theories

Translation theories develop from time to time with the introduction of theoretical concepts or frameworks from other disciplines. The introduction of the notion of ideology from politics into Translation Studies offers a new perspective for translation scholars. The definition of ideology varies among scholars in the field of politics, and so does the definition of ideology among translation scholars. The definitions of ideology and ideology of translation are as complex and controversial as the constructs themselves. Scholars define ideology of translation from different perspectives, and until now the translation field has not reached consensus on an adequate definition of ideology of translation, let alone a definition from a post-colonial perspective. The present research attempts to define ideology of translation from a post-colonial perspective by integrating the notion of ideology with post-colonial translation theory into a single theoretical model. Similar to the notion of ideology, post-colonialism is a political and cultural term introduced into Translation Studies to form post-colonial translation theory. An interdisciplinary approach to translation studies promotes the development of translation theory. In addition, the present research further clarifies the notion of ideology as it relates to translation by making a distinction between ‘ideology of translation’ and ‘ideology in translation’, which has been largely blurred in previous theoretical investigations.

### 9.3 Limitations of the Present Research

Notwithstanding the above mentioned contributions, the present research still has much room for improvement.

First, Lin’s criteria for translator selection are not as clear as we would like as they are not backed by direct evidence in historical documents. Due to unknown reasons, data concerning Lin’s criteria for translator selection are unavailable in existing historical documents. A possible assumption is that his criteria for translator selection were not well preserved because translation was a neglected practice at his time, or that he did not make any remarks on translator criteria. We can only draw insights from the documents concerning his view on talent and relate them to his translator selections. Theoretically, Lin’s criteria for translator selection conform to his view on talent as translators are a special type of talented

people.

Second, Lin's view on translation and ideology of translation are not supported by direct evidence as they are not mentioned in his diaries, treaties, memorials, etc. As a patron with no competencies in foreign language speaking or translation, Lin naturally had little knowledge of translation or the ability to form a systematic view on translation or an ideology of translation. His views on translation including the importance and nature of translation are rather sporadic, spontaneous, and immediate. Insights can be only drawn from his private correspondences, comments on translations, and the translation strategies of his translators.

Third, data analysis in the present research (i.e., analysis of the source and target texts) was performed manually without the use of software or statistical tools. Statistical tools are capable of examining the frequency of certain pairings in the source text and target text, which is beyond the capability of manual work. Statistical tools are not used simply because characters and words in the source texts and the target texts are unrecognisable to them. Some source texts such as the *Canton Press* and the *Canton Register* are only available on microfilm and have to be converted into PDF via a microfilm reader. The converted PDF documents are not recognisable to statistical tools because their quality is often too poor as shown in Appendix 6. In addition, some of the source and target texts, such as *Macao News*, were written in classical Chinese. This made it more difficult for statistical tools to recognise the Chinese characters.

Fourth, the present research is not an exhaustive study in the strict sense, as some of the source and target texts are no longer available. Extinct texts include the target texts '在中国做鸦片贸易罪过论' (*zai zhong guo zuo ya pian mao yi zui guo lun*, 'The Sins of Doing Opium Trade in China'), '澳门杂录' (*ao men za lu*, 'Macao Miscellaneous Notes'), and the source texts of '洋事杂录' (*yang shi za lu*, 'Miscellaneous Notes on Foreign Affairs'). Thus the conclusion can only be made from existing data which is an incomplete data source. This highlights one of the key limitations in studies of history: the unavailability of primary data due to extinction.

Fifth, due to limited space the present research does not cover all the ideologies

revealed in Lin's translation activities. The present research mainly deals with three of Lin's ideologies as revealed in his translation activities, namely, pragmatism, ethnocentrism, and feudalism. There are other ideologies such as imperialism and Buddhist ideology which are not covered. Lin's imperialist ideology originated from his belief in the imperialism of the 'Celestial Empire': China was referred to as Imperial China, Lin was referred to as Imperial High Commissioner, etc. Lin also put his Buddhist ideology into translation practice as is evidenced in the rendering of the book name 'An Encyclopaedia of Geography' into '四洲志' (*si zhou zhi*, 'Geography of the Four Continents'). This was mentioned in the present study, but not fully expanded upon. More ideologies will be discovered with further investigations.

Sixth, it has to be frankly admitted that the present research is also ideological. That is, this author has consciously or unconsciously studied Lin Zexu's translation activities from an ideological perspective and with his own ideological stance. Translation research is also ideological as held by Peter Fawcett (1998) and proved by Martha P. Y. Cheung (2002).<sup>70</sup>

#### 9.4 Suggestions for Future Studies

Finally, the author of the present thesis proposes the following topics for future studies on Lin's translation activities. Lin's translation activities fall to the domain of Chinese translation history studies, which belongs to a wider field of history studies or historiography. History studies aims at mining historical data and enlightening the present world. Furthermore, historical facts are usually studied from a certain perspective, say, sociological, cultural, political, ideological, psychological, and cognitive perspectives. The present research is a just an initial step in the study of Lin Zexu's translation activities, and a lot more research can be done on this topic.

First, the present research covers quite a few texts and each of them can be a separate research topic. The texts are: the *Chinese Repository*, the *Canton Press*, the *Canton Register*, *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China*, *The Fan-Qui in China in 1836-7*, *An Encyclopaedia of Geography*, *The Law of Nations*, 谕英国国王书 (*yu ying guo guo wang shu*, 'Letter to the Queen of England'), and their translated texts, 澳门新闻纸 (*ao men xin*

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<sup>70</sup> Peter Fawcett (1998) held that there is a hidden ideology behind research on ideology and translation, and Martha P. Y. Cheung (2002) proved that translation research is ideological by investigating three seminal Chinese works on translation.



*wen zhi*, ‘Macao News’), 澳门杂录 (*ao men za lu*, ‘Macao Miscellaneous Notes’), 在中国做鸦片贸易罪过论 (*zai zhong guo zuo ya pian mao yi zui guo lun*, ‘The Sins of Doing Opium Trade in China’), 华事夷言 (*hua shi yi yan*, ‘Barbarian Writings concerning Chinese Affairs’), 四洲志 (*si zhou zhi*, ‘Geography of the Four Continents’), 各国律例 (*ge guo lv li*), and Letter to the Queen of England. In addition, there are unrecorded oral texts rendered into 洋事杂录 (*yang shi za lu*, ‘Miscellaneous Notes on Foreign Affairs’). Each text is of great historical value with abundant information. These documents contribute greatly to the translation historical database and the discoveries in each text could be immeasurable. The difficulty lies in that some of the documents are hardly available to researchers in some regions, say, places without *Google* access and places with inadequate document supply systems or inefficient interlibrary loan systems where the information flow is very slow. The availability of these documents determines the initial feasibility of further research.

Second, Lin’s translation activities can be studied from more perspectives, such as the sociological, cultural, socio-cultural, and psychological perspectives. Bourdieu’s sociological theory provides significant theoretical space for the study of Lin’s translation activities from an array of angles such as field, habitus, habitus and doxa, symbolic capital (including social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital), and language. Cultural translation theory such as rewriting theory and post-colonial translation theory offers good angles for the study of Lin’s translation activities. Lin’s translation activities are a form of rewriting which were conducted with the cooperation of Lin as patron and his translators. In addition, Lin’s translation activities were situated in the colonial era and their study thus fits well into the post-colonialism theory. Lin’s translation activities can be studied from a socio-cultural perspective, focusing on the cultural differences and power relations of the two cultures involved in the translation process. This determines the choice of source texts and macro- and micro-translation strategies. Lin’s translation activities can also be studied from a psychological perspective (i.e., social psychology and individual psychology). There are differences, interactions and conflicts between social psychology and individual ideology (Lin’s and his translators’ psychology). Psychological changes can only be detected from linguistic changes (i.e., differences in versions from the initial draft to the final product), since think-aloud protocols are inapplicable to past translation processes.

Third, the interaction between the ruling ideology (the Emperor's ideology and the conservative officials' ideology) and Lin's ideology as partly oppositional and partly aligned can be further studied. Lin's translation activities are the result of his struggle with the ruling ideology. As the first person in modern China to open his eyes to the outside world, Lin was ahead of his time and so was his ideology. Lin was well aware of the potential problems that his oppositional ideology presented to him. He was actually risking his life in organising translation activities. The translation activities themselves are an indication of the initial success of Lin's ideology in its struggle with the ruling ideology. This is despite his ideology being defeated by the dominant ideology when he was held responsible for China's defeat in the first Opium War and exiled to China's north-western frontier. It was not easy for Lin to have his translation products accepted by court officials (though a small percentage of officials did accept them) and the Emperor in a time when translation was equated with treason. The interaction between the dominant ideology and Lin's ideology is filled with fear, pain, efforts, sacrifice, compromise, and strategies.

Fourth, the interaction between Lin's ideology as patron and his translators' ideologies as part of their subjectivity can also be further studied. Lin's translators were known to be loyal to him, but absolute loyalty did not exist. Examples show their ideological subjectivity was sometimes contrary to Lin's ideology and beyond his control. The patron's ideology is less studied than the translator's ideology or subjectivity and even less studied is the interaction between the patron's ideology and translator's ideology. Generally speaking, the patron's ideology is to control the translator's ideology to a certain degree, whereas the translator's ideology is to be free from the patron's ideological manipulation in a manner which is beyond the control of the patron. Moreover, translators aim to demonstrate their subjectivity in an invisible way which does not trigger protest from the patron. There are complicated processes within this interaction that involve a series of binary oppositions: requirements and strategies, measures and counter-measures, manipulation and anti-manipulation, etc. A study of the interaction between Lin's ideology and his translators' ideology will highlight Lin's ideological manipulation and his translators' hidden ideological subjectivities.

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Appendix 1. Issue topics in *Macao News*

Dates	Topics	Dates	Topics
16 July, 1838	Distinction between Emperor and King/Queen	15 Feb., 1840	Lin's transfer to the post of Viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi for his wrongdoings
23 July, 1839	Military statistics of the principal powers of Europe	22 Feb., 1840	Chinese government's withdrawal of means of subsistence at Macao; bond of consent to stop opium traffic; foreign trade; China's newly erected battery in barrier
17 Aug., 1839	Trade Regulations; harbour in Liaodong	29 Feb., 1840	Insufficiency of Laws against the use of opium and its importers
24 Aug., 1839	the Army of Indus	7 Mar., 1840	Attempt to fire the fleet at Tongkoo
4 Jul., 1839	British opium dealers' requests for compensation; amount of opium in Singapore	14 Mar., 1840	Prices of Chinese tea in Britain; British financial loss from China's opium ban; estimation of battle in Humen
18 Jul., 1839	Amount of opium; Cantonese response to British opium dealers' requests for compensation	2 Dec., 1839	Sales of Chinese tea in Britain
1-30 Sept., 1839	The Case of Lin Weixi	16 Nov., 1839	The amount of opium delivered by Britain to China
14 Sept. 1839	Fire on Spanish warships	11 Jan., 1840	British Queen's notification of her marriage
28 Sept., 1839	Number of chests of opium	4 Apr., 1840	Chinese naval forces; Chinese weapons

10 Oct., 1839	War situation in India	11 Apr., 1840	Elliot's promise to deliver opium; Joint memorial by Lin, Deng, and Yi to the Emperor concerning driving British people to exterior waters of Tsim Sha Tsui
12 Oct., 1839	Discussion of the potential British-Sino War	18 Apr., 1840	Reasoning of the illegality of China's official ban of opium; regulations of Asia Company
19 Oct., 1839	Foreign powers' tea importation from China	25 Apr., 1840	Details of Chinese army
26 Oct., 1839	Captain Elliot's letter of reply concerning his opium ban to the Commissioner	25 Apr., 1840	Rumour concerning Lin's demolishing houses in the exterior area of Guangzhou for tactical protection; China's land tax; islands near the coast of China
2 Nov., 1839	Ship insurance advertisement	12 May, 1840	Marriage ceremony of the Queen and Prince Albert
9 Nov., 1839	Conflict in Tsim Sha Tsui	16 May, 1840	Attitude of America in opium ban; comparative view of China, France and Britain; China's tea planting and tea sales in Britain
16 Nov., 1839	Chinese official ban of Christianity; second conflict in Tsim Sha Tsui; Chinese Imperial Court's escapism	23 May, 1840	Study of Chinese literature in Germany
23 Nov., 1839	Captain Elliot's letter requesting ship anchoring	30 May, 1840	Gift money paid to the Queen on her wedding; gunfire at Nan'ao Island; privacy in the China Seas; attack on the Hellas
30 Nov., 1839	Bond of consent to stop opium traffic	15 May, 1840	Commercial treaty between Britain and China
7 Dec., 1839	Opium ships at Humen	6 June, 1840	Suspension of the trade with China; Thelwall's book entitled <i>The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China</i>
14 Dec., 1839	Chinese law concerning foreign trade; the Qing government's ignorance of foreign affairs	13 June, 1840	Attempt at firing, destroying and poisoning the fleet at Capsingmoon; journey of newspapers from London to China; Russia's victory in

			attacking Tartary
14 Dec., 1839	Differential treatment between Britain and the US in opium trade	20 June, 1840	Publication of <i>Esop's Fables</i> in Chinese
17 Dec., 1839	Rhyming of eighteen Chinese poems; Chinese inland fortifications	27 June, 1840	Foreign warships steering for Zhoushan Island; the strategic role of Zhoushan; watercourses of Humen Harbor; Commercial treaty between Britain and China; Public Notice of Blockade of the River and Port of Canton
21 Dec., 1839	China's compensation to British opium dealers	4 July, 1840	About Dr. Parker
21 Dec., 1839	Elliot's work in China	11 July, 1840	Lin's proclamation of destroying English ships and killing Englishmen; Elliot's request for compensation; Lin's order of closing all river mouths
28 Dec., 1839	Sources of Chinese troops, war funding and tactics; positive effects of opium	25 July, 1840	Russia policy in Afghanistan and Turkey; practicability of a Russian invasion of India; daily life and work of French King Louis Philippe; statistical account of the present <i>Journal Melta</i>
4 Jan., 1840	Elliot's stationing at Tsim Sha Tsui	1 Aug., 1840	Lin's town closing; description of the harbor of Zhoushan; harbor close; protest against harbor close; discovery of the Antarctic Continent; Lin's proclamation — increased rewards for Englishmen's heads
11 Jan., 1840	Worth of opium exported to China by Britain; legitimacy of British export of opium to China; commissioner's order of opium delivery; price rises in Britain due to China's opium banning; amount of opium sales in China from January to June 1839; commissioner's favour to opium dealers	4 Aug., 1840	British conquest of Zhoushan Island; debate between war and peace in British House of Commons

18 Jan., 1840	Commissioner's order for opium delivery by Elliot	15 Aug., 1840	Arctic land expedition
25 Jan., 1840	Military minister's order of suspending British trade and expelling of British ships	25 Aug., 1840	Sino-British Battle of Barrier Gate, Macao
1 Feb., 1840	Criticism on Commissioner Lin; China's purchase of Ship Cambridge; negative effects of opium trade suspension on British tax income	29 Aug., 1840	Sickness of British troops at Zhoushan
29 Oct., 1839	Qing government's two proclamations of banning China's trade with foreign ships and of destroying opium, inland river runners; Elliot's regulation on opium traffic banning; legality of opium monopoly	5 Sept., 1840	Lord Stanhope's address to the Queen for suspending British opium trade in China; a new book including most Chinese government proclamations entitled <i>Portfolio Chinensis</i> ; the alarming condition of British residents in China
5 Nov., 1839	Battle of Kowloon	19 Sept., 1840	Battle of Xiamen; British agreement to abide by China's Commercial Law
3 Dec., 1839	Description of Chinese troops; opium monopoly in India	26 Sept., 1840	A comparison between Zhoushan and Macao; warehouse rules of the House of Commons; British opium ships with American flag
8 Feb., 1840	Chinese government's withdrawal of means of subsistence from British people and urging all foreign ships to retreat from Macao harbors; British new way of making cannons; China's potential all-out ban of foreign trade	7 Nov., 1840	Elliot's fire ships anchoring at Dagou; Britain's adding sailors to its naval forces

Appendix 2. Contents of *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7* selected for translation in *Hua Shi Yi Yan*

Contents	Sources	<i>Hua Shi Yi Yan</i>
Gunpowder; Mariner's compass; vaccination	Vol. II, p. 60; p. 60; p. 173	Para. 1
Chinese painting	Vol. II, p. 106	Para. 2
Chinese lanterns	Vol. II, p. 126	Para. 3
Doctrine of the pulse; Fortunate days	Vol. II, pp. 164-165; pp. 165-166	Para. 4
Jesuits	Vol. II, p. 175	Para. 5
Fire of Canton	Vol. II, p. 226	Para. 6
Dressing of foreigners	Vol. II, p. 235-236	Para. 7
Chinese system of government	Vol. II, p. 256	Para. 8
The Chinese language	Vol. II, p. 286	Para. 9
Buddhism in Tibet; Birthplace of Buddha; the Lama	Vol. III, p. 21-22; p. 22; p. 25	Para. 10
High Priest and clergy	Vol. III, p. 35	Para. 11
Life of Kung-tsze	Vol. III, p. 37	Para. 12
Mahomedans in China; Jews	Vol. III, pp. 53-54; p. 54	Para. 13
Malacca College	Vol. III, pp. 78-79	Para. 14
Present Hongs and linguists	Vol. III, pp. 120-121	Para. 15
Frontage of Hongs	Vol. III, pp. 123	Para. 16
Smug-boats or centipedes	Vol. I, p. 53	Para. 17
Lintin; Cum-sing-moon	Vol. I, p.50	Para. 18

Opium trade; opium clippers	Vol. I, pp. 51-52; pp. 54-55	Para. 19
Spanish dollars	Vol. II, p. 34	Para. 20
Foreign sailors' love of wine	Vol. II, pp. 201-202	Para. 21
Revenue of foreign trade	untraceable	Para. 22
Troubles about native servants; Admiral Drury; the linguist; Lord Napier's visit	Vol. I, pp. 274-275	Para. 23
Population of China	Vol. II, pp. 6-7	Para. 24
Importation of rice; Difference between India and China	Vol. II, pp. 23-24; p. 25	Para. 25
Commercial debt	untraceable	Para. 26
The Russians; Overland trade	Vol. III, pp. 124-125	Para. 27
China's value of exports	untraceable	Para. 28
Superintendents of trade	Vol. II, pp. 134-143	Para. 29
Green and black teas	Vol. III, pp. 148	Para. 30
Chinese exactions; Consou tax; Co-hong; Port charges	Vol. III, pp. 163-164	Para. 31
Opium trade during the reign of Emperor Keen-loon; prohibition of the drug during the reign of Emperor Kia-king; severities against opium-smokers	Vol. III, pp. 165-166	Para. 32
Peak and Island of Lintin; fast crabs and scrambling dragons	Vol. III, pp. 167-168	Para. 33
Quantities of opium imported from India and Turkey; general smuggling trade and rice importation	Vol. III, pp. 167-169; p. 184	Para. 34
Stoppage of opium	untraceable	Para. 35
The Mongolian race	Vol. III, p. 319	Para. 36
Civilisation of Chinese; intellect; want of courage	Vol. III, pp. 324-325	Para. 37
Chinese art of war	Vol. III, p. 326	Para. 38

Appendix 3. Structure of *An Encyclopaedia of Geography* and *Si Zhou Zhi*

<i>An Encyclopaedia of Geography</i>			<i>Si Zhou Zhi</i>
Part III. Geography Considered in Relation to the Various Regions of the Globe	Book I. Europe	Chapter I. General Survey of Europe	
		Chapter II. England	28 <sup>71</sup> . 英吉利国 ( <i>ying ji li guo</i> , ‘the UK’)
		Chapter III. Scotland	
		Chapter IV. Ireland	
		Chapter V. France	18. 佛兰西国 ( <i>fu lan xi guo</i> , ‘France’)
		Chapter VI. Spain	16. 大吕宋国 ( <i>da lv song guo</i> , ‘Spain’)
		Chapter VII. Portugal	15. 布路亚国 ( <i>bu lu ya guo</i> , ‘Portugal’)
		Chapter VIII. Italy	19. 意大里亚国 ( <i>yi da li ya guo</i> , ‘Italy’)
		Chapter IX. Switzerland	25. 瑞国 ( <i>rui guo</i> , ‘Switzerland’)
		Chapter X. Germany	20. 耶马尼国 ( <i>ye ma ni guo</i> , ‘Germany’)
		Chapter XI. Holland and Belgium	17. 荷兰及弥尔尼王国 ( <i>he lan ji mi er ni wang guo</i> , ‘Holland and Belgium’)
		Chapter XII. Hungary	21. 欧塞特里国 ( <i>ou sai te li guo</i> , ‘Hungary’)
		Chapter XIII. Poland, with Ducal Prussia	22. 波兰国 ( <i>bo lan guo</i> , ‘Poland’)
			26. 普鲁社国 ( <i>pu lu she guo</i> ,

<sup>71</sup> The categories are numbered according to the order they appear in the translated work.



			‘Prussia’)
		Chapter XIV. Denmark	24. 领墨国 ( <i>lin mo guo</i> , ‘Denmark’)
		Chapter XV. Sweden and Norway	23. 绥林与那威国 ( <i>sui liny u na wei guo</i> , ‘Sweden and Norway’)
		Chapter XVI. Russia in Europe	29. 俄罗斯国 ( <i>e luo si guo</i> , ‘Russia’)
		Chapter XVII. Greece	
		Chapter XVIII. Turkey in Europe	27. 北都鲁机国 ( <i>bei du lu ji guo</i> , ‘North Turkey’)
	Book II. Asia	Chapter I. General View of Asia	
		Chapter II. Turkey in Asia	7. 南都鲁机国 ( <i>nan du lu ji guo</i> , ‘South Turkey’)
		Chapter III. Arabia	
		Chapter IV. Persian empire	5. 巴社国 ( <i>ba she guo</i> , ‘Persia’)
		Chapter V. Independent Persia	
		Chapter VI. Hindostan	4. 印度国 ( <i>yin du guo</i> , ‘India’)
		Chapter VII. Indo-Chinese Countries	1. 安南国 ( <i>an nan guo</i> , ‘Anan/Vietnam’)
			2. 暹罗国 ( <i>xian luo guo</i> , ‘Siam/Thailand’)
			3. 缅甸国 ( <i>mian dian guo</i> , ‘Burma/Myanmar’)
			6. 阿丹国 ( <i>a dan guo</i> , ‘Arracan’)
		Chapter VIII. China	
		Chapter IX. Thibet	
		Chapter X. Tartary	
		Chapter XI. Russia on the Caspian	

		Chapter XII. Siberia	30. 悉毕厘阿国 ( <i>xi bi li a guo</i> , 'Siberia')
		Chapter XIII. Japan	
		Chapter XIV. East Indian Archipelago	
	Book III. Africa	Chapter I. General View of Africa	
		Chapter II. Egypt	8. 依揖国 ( <i>yi yi guo</i> , 'Egypt')
		Chapter III. Nubia	
		Chapter IV. Abyssinia	9. 阿迈斯尼国 ( <i>a mai si ni guo</i> , 'Abyssinia')
		Chapter V. Barbary	11. 阿未利加州之北四国 ( <i>ai wei li jia zhou zhi bei si guo</i> , 'Four Northern Countries in Africa')
		Chapter VI. Western Africa	13. 西阿未利加州 ( <i>xi a wei li jia zhou</i> , 'Western Africa')
		Chapter VII. Southern Africa	12. 南阿未利加州 ( <i>nan a wei li jia zhou</i> , 'Southern Africa')
		Chapter VIII. Eastern Africa	10. 东阿未利加州 ( <i>dong a wei li jia zhou</i> , 'Eastern Africa')
		Chapter IX. Central Africa	14. 中阿未利加州 ( <i>zhong a wei li jia zhou</i> , 'Central Africa')
		Chapter X. Sahara, or Great Desert	
		Chapter XI. African Islands	
	Book IV. America	Chapter I. General View of America	
		Chapter II. British America	
		Chapter III. the United States	31. 育奈士迭国 ( <i>yu nai shi die guo</i> , 'the United States')

		Chapter IV. Northerly Regions of America	32. 北墨利加洲之俄罗斯属地 ( <i>bei mo li jia zhou zhi e luo si shu di</i> , 'Russian territory in North America')
			33. 北墨利加洲之英吉利属地 ( <i>bei mo li jia zhou zhi ying ji li shu di</i> , 'British territory in North America')
		Chapter V. Mexico	
		Chapter VI. Guatemala	
		Chapter VII. Colombia	
		Chapter VIII. Peru	
		Chapter IX. Chili	34. 智利国 ( <i>zhi li guo</i> , 'Chili')
		Chapter X. La Plata	
		Chapter XI. Brazil	
		Chapter XII. West Indies	

#### Appendix 4. Translation of official posts in Lin's translations

Source Text	Target Text	Today's Translation
the Foreign Office	英国管理外国贸易之官 ( <i>ying guo guan li wai guo mao yi zhi guan</i> , 'British foreign trade officer')	外交部 ( <i>wai jiao bu</i> )
high officers	大官 ( <i>da guan</i> , 'big officials')	高官/高级官员 ( <i>gao guan/gao ji guan yuan</i> ) <sup>72</sup>
the Court	大官 ( <i>da guan</i> , 'big officials')	朝廷 ( <i>chao ting</i> )
minister	大官 ( <i>da guan</i> , 'big officials')	大臣 ( <i>da chen</i> )
plenipotentiary	大官 ( <i>da guan</i> , 'big officials')	全权代表 ( <i>quan quan dai biao</i> )
Sir Maitland	水师官 ( <i>shui shi guan</i> , 'naval officer')	梅特兰爵士 ( <i>mei te lan jue shi</i> )
officer in command of Kowloon	九龙之领兵官 ( <i>jiu long zhi ling bing guan</i> , 'commanding official of Kowloon')	九龙司令员 ( <i>jiu long si ling yuan</i> )
Chamberlain	值宿官 ( <i>zhi su guan</i> , 'officer on the night shift')	内侍 ( <i>nei shi</i> )
Steward	管家官 ( <i>guan jia guan</i> , 'officer of steward')	管家 ( <i>guan jia</i> )
Master of the horse	管马官 ( <i>guan ma guan</i> , 'officer of the horse')	掌马官 ( <i>zhang ma guan</i> )
royal establishment	罗压尔嗒士达唔官 ( <i>luo ya er yi shi da wu guan</i> , 'officer of royal establishment')	皇家机构主管 ( <i>huang jia ji gou zhu guan</i> )

<sup>72</sup> Some explanation is needed here to distinguish '大官' (*da guan*, 'big officials') from '高官' (*gao guan*, 'high officers'). The difference is that the character '大' (*da*, 'big/huge') may connote commendatory meaning and is somewhat exaggerated; whereas the character '高' (*gao*, 'high') may be neutral and objective. The rendering of 'high officers' into '大官' well revealed Lin and his translators' official-first mentality, which was, and still is, prevalent in Chinese officialdom.

Chief Justice	正官 ( <i>zheng guan</i> , ‘officer of official’)	大法官/首席法官 ( <i>da fa guan/shou xi fa guan</i> )
Associate Justice	副官 ( <i>fu guan</i> , ‘officer of adjutant’)	副大法官 ( <i>fu da fa guan</i> )
General-in-chief	仁尼腊尔因智甫官 ( <i>ren ni la er yin zhi fu guan</i> , ‘officer of general-in-chief’)	大将军 ( <i>da jiang jun</i> )
Major General	统辖官 ( <i>tong xia guan</i> , ‘general officer’)	少将 ( <i>shao jiang</i> )
Navy Commissioner	管领水师官 ( <i>guan ling shui shi guan</i> , ‘navy officer’)	海军专员 ( <i>hai jun zhuan yuan</i> )
director	官 ( <i>guan</i> , ‘officer’)	主管/主任 ( <i>zhu guan/zhu ren</i> )
deputy	官 ( <i>guan</i> , ‘officer’)	代表 ( <i>dai biao</i> )
Lord	律官 ( <i>lv guan</i> , ‘officer of Lord’)	爵士 ( <i>jue shi</i> )
the court of Pekin	官府 ( <i>guan fu</i> , ‘imperial government’)	北京朝廷 ( <i>bei jing chao ting</i> )
local authorities	水师官 ( <i>shui shi guan</i> , ‘customs officer’)	地方衙门 ( <i>di fang ya men</i> )
the mandarins	中国官府 ( <i>zhong guo guan fu</i> , ‘China’s officials’ court’)	中国人 ( <i>zhong guo ren</i> )

Appendix 5. Transliteration in *Macao News* by adding the prefix ‘口’

Source Text	Target Text	Today's Translation
Donald Matheson <sup>1</sup>	呀咁口 ( <i>ma di sun</i> )	唐纳德 马地臣( <i>tang na de ma di chen</i> )
Henry <sup>1</sup>	軒拿哩 ( <i>heng na li</i> )	亨利 ( <i>heng li</i> )
Medhurst <sup>1</sup>	噍哈士 ( <i>mi ha shi</i> )	麦都思 ( <i>mai du si</i> )
Bruce <sup>1</sup>	没嚕士 ( <i>mo lu shi</i> )	布鲁斯 ( <i>bu lu si</i> )
Douglas <sup>1</sup>	哆额辣士 ( <i>duo e la shi</i> )	道格拉斯 ( <i>dao ge la si</i> )
Lady Grant <sup>1</sup>	喇咁口额嚟 ( <i>li di e lan</i> )	格兰特女士 ( <i>dao ge la si</i> )
Lord Palmerston <sup>1</sup>	口吧口 嘛士頓 ( <i>lv ba er ma shi dun</i> )	巴麦尊爵士 ( <i>ba mai zun jue shi</i> )
Morrison <sup>1</sup>	吗礼逊 ( <i>ma li xun</i> )	马礼逊 ( <i>ma li xun</i> )
Victoria <sup>1</sup>	或哆喇吧 ( <i>yu duo li ye</i> )	维多利亚 ( <i>wei duo li ya</i> )
Martinique <sup>2</sup>	嘛底呢噠 ( <i>ma di ni jue</i> )	马提尼克 ( <i>ma ti ni ke</i> )
Mazatlan <sup>2</sup>	嘛萨嚟 ( <i>ma sa lan</i> )	马萨特兰 ( <i>ma sa te lan</i> )
Trieste <sup>2</sup>	特咧吐底 ( <i>te lie tu di</i> )	的里雅斯特 ( <i>de li ya si te</i> )
Kamtschatka <sup>2</sup>	监札加 ( <i>jian zha jia</i> )	堪察加 ( <i>kan cha jia</i> )
Sydney <sup>2</sup>	腮呢 ( <i>sai ni</i> )	悉尼 ( <i>xi ni</i> )
Batavia <sup>2</sup>	噶啦吧 ( <i>ge la ba</i> )	巴达维亚 ( <i>ba da wei ya</i> )
Rio Janeiro <sup>3</sup>	里流耶呢囉 ( <i>li liu ye ni luo</i> )	里约热内卢 ( <i>li yue re nei lu</i> )
Peru <sup>3</sup>	吡嚕 ( <i>bi ru</i> )	秘鲁 ( <i>bi lu</i> )
Mexico <sup>3</sup>	噍斯果 ( <i>mi si guo</i> )	墨西哥 ( <i>mo xi ge</i> )

Chili <sup>3</sup>	治哩 ( <i>zhi li</i> )	智利 ( <i>zhi li</i> )
Nepal <sup>3</sup>	呢咻尔 ( <i>ni bu er</i> )	尼泊尔 ( <i>ni bo er</i> )
France <sup>3</sup>	弗囉晒 ( <i>fu lan xi</i> )	法国 ( <i>fa guo</i> )
Great Britain <sup>3</sup>	□ 咭喇 ( <i>ying ji li</i> )	英国 ( <i>fu lan xi</i> )
Scotland <sup>3</sup>	嘶噶兰 ( <i>si ge lan</i> )	苏格兰 ( <i>su ge lan</i> )
Ireland <sup>3</sup>	噯伦 ( <i>ai lun</i> )	爱尔兰 ( <i>ai er lan</i> )
Bengal <sup>3</sup>	孟啊啦 ( <i>meng a la</i> )	孟加拉 ( <i>meng jia la</i> )
Madras <sup>3</sup>	曼哒啦萨 ( <i>man da la sa</i> )	马德拉斯 ( <i>ma de la si</i> )
Brazil <sup>3</sup>	没啦济尔 ( <i>mo la ji er</i> )	巴西 ( <i>ba xi</i> )
Germany <sup>3</sup>	耶麻呢 ( <i>ye ma ni</i> )	德国 ( <i>de guo</i> )
Mexico <sup>3</sup>	唛洗咕 ( <i>mai xi gu</i> )	墨西哥 ( <i>mo xi ge</i> )
France <sup>3</sup>	弗囉晒 ( <i>fu lan xi</i> )	法国 ( <i>fa guo</i> )
Holland <sup>3</sup>	荷囉 ( <i>he lan</i> )	荷兰 ( <i>he lan</i> )
The Royal Saxon <sup>4</sup>	啰压尔色臣 ( <i>luo ya er se chen</i> )	皇家萨克逊 ( <i>huang jia sa ke xun</i> )
The Wellesley <sup>4</sup>	噉喱士哩 ( <i>wei li shi li</i> )	韦尔斯利 ( <i>wei er si li</i> )
The Blonde <sup>4</sup>	咻啞底 ( <i>bu lang di</i> )	布朗底 ( <i>bu land di</i> )
Modeste <sup>4</sup>	摩底士底 ( <i>mo di shi di</i> )	摩底士底 ( <i>mo di shi di</i> )
Ernard <sup>4</sup>	依哪 ( <i>mo di shi di</i> )	依那德 ( <i>yi na de</i> )
Pylades <sup>4</sup>	啤啦底士 ( <i>bei la di shi</i> )	皮拉底斯 ( <i>pi la di si</i> )
Patna <sup>5</sup>	叭哒拏 ( <i>ba da nu</i> )	八达拿 ( <i>ba te na</i> )
Malwa <sup>5</sup>	嘛尔洼 ( <i>ma er wa</i> )	嘛尔洼 ( <i>ba te na</i> )

\*1. Personal name, 2. Place name, 3. Country name, 4. Ship name, 5. Opium name

## Appendix 6. Uglification by using derogatory words in Lin's translations

Source Text	Target Text	Today's Translation
Thinae <sup>1</sup>	梯泥城 ( <i>ti ni cheng</i> , 'ladder mud city')	秦尼 ( <i>qin ni</i> )
Tenasserim <sup>1</sup>	底泥色领 ( <i>di ni se ling</i> , 'bottom mud color territory')	德林达依 ( <i>de lin da yi</i> )
Malacca <sup>1</sup>	麻六甲 ( <i>ma liu jia</i> , 'pock six shell')	马六甲 ( <i>ma liu jia</i> )
Cachar <sup>1</sup>	加渣尔 ( <i>jia zha er</i> , 'add dregs you')	察查 ( <i>cha cha</i> )
Martaban <sup>1</sup>	麻渣布 ( <i>ma zha bu</i> , 'linen dregs cloth')	马塔班 ( <i>guo hui</i> )
Connecticut <sup>1</sup>	衰弱底格 ( <i>shuairuo di ge</i> , 'weak bottom grid')	康涅狄格 ( <i>kang nie di ge</i> )
Berlin <sup>2</sup>	麻岭 ( <i>ma ling</i> , 'pockmark ridge')	柏林 ( <i>bo lin</i> )
Hamburgh <sup>2</sup>	寒脉 ( <i>han mai</i> , 'cold vein'), 寒麻 ( <i>han ma</i> , 'cold linen')	汉堡 ( <i>han bao</i> )
Munich <sup>2</sup>	摩匿沼 ( <i>mo ni zhao</i> , 'mo hidden moor')	墨尼黑 ( <i>mo ni hei</i> )
Lisbon <sup>2</sup>	匿斯闷 ( <i>ni si men</i> , 'ni si depressed')	里斯本 ( <i>li si ben</i> )
Trieste <sup>2</sup>	特咧吐底 ( <i>te lie tu di</i> )	的里雅斯特 ( <i>de li ya si te</i> )
New South Wales <sup>2</sup>	纽叟歪尔 ( <i>niu sou wai er</i> , 'niu sou askew er')	新南威尔士 ( <i>xin nan wei er shi</i> )
Malay <sup>2</sup>	无来由 ( <i>wu lai you</i> , 'no reason')	马来 ( <i>ma lai</i> )
Quelport <sup>2</sup>	鬼尔钵 ( <i>gui er bo</i> , 'ghost er bowl')	奎尔帕特岛 ( <i>kui er pa te dao</i> )
Smith <sup>2</sup>	士蔑 ( <i>shi mie</i> , 'shi contempt')	史密斯 ( <i>shi mi si</i> )
Thelwall <sup>2</sup>	特尔窝尔 ( <i>te er wo er</i> , 'te er den er')	地尔洼 ( <i>di er wa</i> )
Dr. Endlicher <sup>2</sup>	俺里渣 ( <i>an li zha</i> , 'an li dregs')	恩德利希博士 ( <i>en de li xi bo shi</i> )



Adam Schaal <sup>2</sup>	阿担士渣尔 ( <i>a dan shi zha er</i> , ‘ <i>a dan shi dregs er</i> ’)	亚当 沙尔 ( <i>ya dang sha er</i> )
Klaproth <sup>2</sup>	格拉悖罗 ( <i>ge la bei luo</i> , ‘ <i>ge la contradictory luo</i> ’)	克拉普鲁斯 ( <i>ke la pu lu si</i> )
Minderagee Praw <sup>2</sup>	皿底腊疑勃老 ( <i>min di la yi bo lao</i> , ‘ <i>utensil bottom dried suspected exuberant old</i> ’)	敏得拉基布罗 ( <i>min de la ji bu luo</i> )
Congress <sup>3</sup>	滚额里士 ( <i>gun e li shi</i> , ‘ <i>get-out amount inner soldier</i> ’)	国会 ( <i>guo hui</i> )
Volage <sup>4</sup>	窝拉疑 ( <i>wo la yi</i> , ‘ <i>den la doubt</i> ’)	涡拉机 ( <i>wo la ji</i> )
King <sup>5</sup>	土目 ( <i>tu mu</i> , ‘ <i>aboriginal ringleader</i> ’)	国王 ( <i>guo wang</i> )

\*1. Place name, 2. Personal name, 3. Institutional name, 4. Ship name, 5. Official title

Appendix 7. Transliteration of proper names and common nouns in the translation of *An Encyclopaedia of Geography*

Source Text	Target Text	Today's Semantic Translation
House of Lords	律好司 ( <i>lv hao si</i> )	上议院 ( <i>shang yi yuan</i> )
House of Commons	甘文好司 ( <i>gan wen hao si</i> )	众议院 ( <i>zhong yi yuan</i> )
Senate	西匿士 ( <i>si ni shi</i> )	参议院 ( <i>can yi yuan</i> )
Privy Council	悖来非冈色尔 ( <i>bei lai fei gang se er</i> )	枢密院 ( <i>shu mi yuan</i> )
Congress	袞额里士 ( <i>gun e li shi</i> )	国会 ( <i>guo hui</i> )
shire	社 ( <i>she</i> )	郡 ( <i>jun</i> )
Christian	克力士顿 ( <i>ke li shi dun</i> )	基督 ( <i>ji du</i> )
Hakim	回教 ( <i>hui jiao</i> )	伊斯兰教 ( <i>yi si lan jiao</i> )
Catholic	加特力 ( <i>jia te li</i> )	天主教 ( <i>tian zhu jiao</i> )
president	勃列西领 ( <i>bo lie xi ling</i> )	总统 ( <i>zong tong</i> )
elector	依力多 ( <i>yi li duo</i> )	选民 ( <i>xuan min</i> )
Senate	西业 ( <i>xi ye</i> )	参议院 ( <i>can yi yuan</i> )
Standing Committee	士丹吝甘密底 ( <i>shi dan lin gan mi di</i> )	常务委员会 ( <i>chang wu wei yuan hui</i> )
Supreme (Court)	苏勃林 ( <i>su bo lin</i> )	最高法院 ( <i>zui gao fa yuan</i> )
Circle (Court)	萨吉 ( <i>sa ji</i> )	巡回法院 ( <i>xun hui fa yuan</i> )
District (Court)	底士特力 ( <i>di shit e li</i> )	地方法院 ( <i>di fang fa yuan</i> )
bureau	模里敖 ( <i>mo li ao</i> )	局 ( <i>ju</i> )
office	荷非士 ( <i>he fei shi</i> )	办公室 ( <i>ban gong shi</i> )

chamber	占麻 ( <i>zhan ma</i> )	议事厅 ( <i>yi shi ting</i> )
company	甘巴尼 ( <i>gan ba ni</i> )	公司 ( <i>gong si</i> )

Appendix 8. A sample of *The Canton Press* in PDF format

Appendix 8 of this thesis have been removed as they contain published material. Please refer to the following citation for details of the article contained in these pages.

1839, October 5<sup>th</sup>, *The Canton Press*.