

**Two English Translations of the Chinese
Epic Novel *Sanguo yanyi*: A Descriptive and
Functionalist Study**

by
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Declaration

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Abstract

This comparative study investigates the English translations of China's first novel, *Sanguo yanyi*. The focus is firstly on describing the factors that affect the production of each of the translations and secondly on identifying and determining the approaches and strategies used by the two translators. The primary objective of the study is to gain a better understanding of literary translation between two distinctly different languages by objectively describing and analyzing the factors relevant to the production of the two translations. The secondary objective is to evaluate the two translations by using the functionalist approach to translation. To this end, the study determines which of the two translations better serves the purpose of providing South African students of Chinese with insight into and appreciation of some aspects of Chinese culture which would enhance their Chinese studies.

The key theories and models that are introduced and applied are Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), which was mainly established by Gideon Toury in the 1980s and the Functionalist Approach, which was established by Vermeer and Reiss also in the 1980s and further developed by Nord. DTS focuses on pragmatic aspects, such as social, cultural and communicative practices instead of only on linguistic units. Within this framework, decision-making processes and translational norms of the two translators of *Sanguo yanyi* are examined. Three representative chapters of the source text and their translations are selected as the focus of the investigation. Furthermore, a description of the entire translation process is provided – from the translators' original planning and agents acting as patrons of the project to the approaches and strategies that the translators are considered to have adopted in the process of translating. Within Functionalism the function of the target text in the target culture determines which aspects of the source text should be transferred to the target text. From this theoretical approach the findings regarding the translation strategies and processes in the translations of *Sanguo yanyi* are used to ultimately determine the extent to which the translators succeed in conveying the collective memory of some of the cultural-historical issues in China to the target texts, while at the same time making the texts accessible to Western (South African) students.

Opsomming

In hierdie studie word daar 'n vergelykende ondersoek na twee Engelse vertalings van China se eerste roman, *Sanguo yanyi*, onderneem. Daar word eerstens gefokus op 'n beskrywing van die faktore wat die produksie van elk van die vertalings beïnvloed en daarna word die benaderings en strategieë geïdentifiseer wat deur die twee vertalers gebruik is. Die primêre doel van die studie is om 'n beter begrip van literêre vertaling tussen twee beduidend verskillende tale te verkry deur die faktore wat 'n rol in die betrokke vertaalprosesse speel op 'n objektiewe wyse te beskryf en te ondersoek. As sekondêre doelstelling word die twee vertalings binne die raamwerk van die funksionalistiese benadering tot vertaling geëvalueer. Daar word naamlik ondersoek watter een van die vertalings die beste slaag in die doel om aan Suid-Afrikaanse studente 'n dieper insig in en groter waardering vir sekere aspekte van die Chinese kultuur te verskaf ten einde hulle studie van die Chinese taal aan te vul.

Die belangrikste teorieë en modelle wat gebruik word, is deskriptiewe vertaalstudie (DTS), wat as navorsingsrigting binne vertaling hoofsaaklik deur Gideon Toury in die tagtigerjare gevestig is, en funksionalisme, wat ook in die tagtigerjare deur Vermeer en Reiss ontwikkel is en later deur Nord uitgebrei is. DTS fokus op pragmatiese aspekte soos sosiale, kulturele en kommunikatiewe praktyke eerder as bloot op linguistiese eenhede, en die besluitnemingsprosesse en vertaalnorme van die twee vertalers van *Sanguo yanyi* word binne hierdie raamwerk ondersoek. Drie verteenwoordigende hoofstukke van die bronteks en hulle vertalings word as die fokus van die ondersoek gebruik. Verder kom 'n bespreking van die vertaalprosesse in die geheel aan bod – vanaf die vertalers se aanvanklike beplanning en agente wat as patronate van die projek optree tot die resepsie en invloed van die doeltekste in die Engelssprekende wêreld. Binne die funksionalisme bepaal die funksie van die doelteks binne die doelkultuur watter aspekte van die bronteks na die doelteks oorgedra word. Vanuit hierdie teoretiese benadering word die bevindinge rakende die vertaalstrategieë en –prosesse in die vertalings van *Sanguo yanyi* gebruik om uiteindelik te bepaal in watter mate die vertalers daarin slaag om die herinnering aan kultuurhistoriese kwessies in China in die doeltekste behoue te laat bly en die tekste terselfdertyd vir Westerse (Suid-Afrikaanse) studente toeganklik te maak.

用描述翻译学和功能翻译理论对《三国演义》的两种英译本的研究

论文摘要

本论文是对中国第一部长篇小说《三国演义》的两种英文全译本进行的比较研究。研究方法是首先对译本形成的相关因素进行描写，然后通过分析，归纳出译者在翻译过程中所使用的方法和策略。研究的目的是有二：一是尽可能客观地对《三国演义》两种英译本的产生过程进行描述和分析，从而更加深入地了解英汉两种截然不同的语言之间的文学翻译现象；二是借用功能翻译理论对两个译本进行评估，从而确定哪种译本对南非汉语学生在了解中国文化、促进汉语学习等方面帮助更大。本文作者试图在译语环境下找出译本的功能。原文中的三个章节被选用作研究文本。

本论文的理论依据是描述翻译学和功能翻译理论。前者产生于上世纪八十年代，代表人物为以色列学者图里。后者与前者几乎同时形成，主要代表人物为德国学者弗米尔、蕾丝以及诺德。描述翻译学主要的研究对象是翻译的社会、文化、交流等语用方面，而非语言本身。以本文为例，两位译者为什么要选择翻译《三国演义》、他们的翻译规范或标准是什么等方面都是描述翻译学的研究对象。此外，对整个翻译过程的描述也是必不可少的一个环节。翻译过程包括最初的翻译计划、翻译发起人或赞助者、译者在翻译过程中使用的方法和策略等。功能翻译理论把译本放在译语文化中进行研究。翻译目的，即译作的功能是否满足译语文化的需求，是对所译原文内容进行遴选取舍的标准。本文的第二项重点内容是借用功能翻译理论对两种译本的进行比较分析，试图确定一种更适合南非汉语学生使用的译本。

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Chinese culture and Western culture differ greatly from each other. It is well known that a good understanding of some aspects of a certain culture can undoubtedly facilitate the mastery of a specific language. Furthermore, the Chinese language is very different from English and most of the other European languages in a number of ways. Compared to more than 400 million Chinese learners of English,¹ there are only forty million foreign learners of Chinese² around the world, although this number is increasing fast as China is beginning to play an increasingly important role globally. Chinese books and newspaper articles are written in Chinese characters, which are different from the Roman alphabet, and Westerners who are used to reading Romanized script find Chinese characters difficult to master. It usually takes longer for Western learners of Chinese to learn to read Chinese than for Chinese learners to learn to read English.

In some European countries, where citizens have had contact with China through Christian missionaries for centuries, Chinese studies and studies related to China are not new fields of research or interest. In the United States of America, the development of Chinese studies has accelerated in the second half of the twentieth century, and in some fields Americans have surpassed Europeans in research on China (cf. Yu 1997). Various academic institutions offering courses in Chinese studies have in fact been established in the United States, of which the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard University and the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia University are among the most famous.

In South Africa, however, Chinese language learning and Chinese studies are still new fields of study. Until 2007, only two South African universities offered formal Chinese courses at an elementary to intermediate level, namely Stellenbosch University and the University of South Africa. In 2009, Rhodes University became the third university in South Africa to formally offer Chinese courses. In 2010, the University of Cape Town also introduced an initial Chinese course.

¹ www.bj.chinanews.com/news/2010/0312/6753.html. Retrieved on 2 September 2011.

² www.chinese.people.com.cn/GB/13471561.html. Retrieved on 2 September 2011.

As the Chinese writing system³ is fundamentally different from that of most Western languages, difficulties arise for Western learners of Chinese. Very few undergraduate students who have studied Chinese for two or three years are able to read Chinese newspaper articles, let alone Chinese books. Most of the Westerners (and South Africans) who are interested in China and wish to learn more about the country and culture have to read English translations of Chinese books or English articles written by researchers on China. Trustworthy translations are therefore immensely important, since they can give readers insight into the source text (hereafter ST) as well as into some of the cultural and historical customs and morals of the source culture.

The Chinese civilization has a history of over 3 000 years, which has left the world with a great number of valuable classics. It is estimated that the number of Chinese classics produced before 1911⁴ was between 80 000 and 100 000. In 2008, the first list of Chinese classics was announced after it had been approved by the State Council. The list included 2 392 books, of which 2 282 were written in Chinese characters and 110 in languages of different minority groups in China. According to a survey, during the one hundred years of the last century, nearly 100 000 Western classics were translated into Chinese, but the number of Chinese classics that were translated into Western languages was only 500 (Wang & Wang 2009: 2). This unbalanced situation suggests that more Chinese books are waiting to be translated and that more qualified translators need to be trained in order to increase Westerners' knowledge of China, since translations of Chinese texts still form the basis of the West's understanding of China.

The researcher started developing a course in the Department of Modern Foreign Languages at Stellenbosch University for Mandarin Chinese modules 318 and 348, which are programs offered to students who have successfully completed a two-year Chinese program. As mentioned above, the students' Chinese is still not at such a level that they can read articles or books in Chinese directly, but most of them have a strong desire for a broader knowledge and deeper understanding of Chinese culture and history after having studied Chinese for two years. Currently, available textbook contents do not meet these needs.

³ Chinese language is recorded in the form of characters, i.e. ideographs. There are about 1 500 to 2 000 commonly-used characters, though the total number can be as many as 50 000. Even native speakers of Chinese, when they start to receive education, have to devote great effort and time to learning to recognize and write out the characters correctly.

⁴ The year 1911 marks the end of the last Chinese feudal empire.

Literary works are considered an important enhancement of the teaching of Chinese language and culture, and thus in the courses at Stellenbosch University two popular English translations of the novel *Sanguo yanyi* (*Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and *Three Kingdoms*⁵) were chosen to use in the teaching of specific critical aspects of Chinese culture. This novel is the first of the “Four Great Chinese Classics” (cf. 2.1). The reasons for choosing *Sanguo yanyi* and its translations as the current research topic will be further discussed in 2.5.11. In reference to the two complete English translations, a number of questions immediately arise, such as why the translators undertook such a project, what the translations look like, for whom the translations were made, which translation is more suitable for students of Chinese, what approaches the translators have used to achieve better effects and why a new translation was produced. These questions are central to this study, and will be addressed throughout the subsequent chapters.

1.2 Brief background information on the two translations and translators

This study focuses on two complete English translations of *Sanguo yanyi*. These two translations are considered to be the most popular among Western readers (cf. France 2000: 232). The details of the two target texts (hereafter TTs) are provided below, with brief background information on each publication and translator.

Translation 1: *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*
Translated by C. H. Brewitt-Taylor
Reset and published by Tuttle Publishing in 2002
Pages: 1 360 (Volume 1: 690 and Volume 2: 670)
ISBN: 0-8048-3467-9

Brewitt-Taylor’s translation was first published in two volumes in Shanghai in 1925. It was reprinted in the United States by the Charles E. Tuttle Company in Rutland, Vermont in 1959 and simultaneously published in Tokyo. This translation was the first full English translation of any of the major traditional Chinese novels. In this translation, the old Wade-Giles System⁶

⁵ These are the titles of the two complete English translations to be studied.

⁶ Wade-Giles is a Romanization system (phonetic notation and transcription) for the Chinese language, mainly for proper names and cultural items. Wade-Giles was developed from a system produced by Thomas Wade in

was used to translate proper names. The translation, which focuses more on the story itself, supplies no notes on historical circumstances, but it was written in fluent and somewhat archaic English.

Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor (1857–1938) was an Englishman. He went to China in his twenties and worked as an officer in the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs in a number of Chinese cities. He spent most of his adult life in China. In addition to a successful career as a customs official, he also achieved distinction as a scholar of Chinese. He was the first person to translate a full Chinese novel into English and became one of the pioneers who introduced this genre to the English-speaking world. In 2009, a biography of Brewitt-Taylor by Isidore Cyril Cannon was published in Hong Kong. This book, entitled *Public Success, Private Sorrow*, based on years of study and research, is “valuable reading for anyone studying the history of translation and the Western discovery of Chinese culture” (cf. Cannon 2009).⁷

Translation two: *Three Kingdoms* (Chinese–English Bilingual Version)
Translated by Moss Roberts
Foreign Language Press (P.R.C)
First Edition 2000
Pages: 3 115
ISBN: 7-119-02408-6

The translation by Roberts is the latest complete English translation. It uses the modern Pinyin name system.⁸ In addition to the text, the translator also provides eleven maps of important battles and numerous notes. Roberts also wrote a seventy-eight-page afterword, “About Three Kingdoms”, to discuss the backgrounds and possible themes of the novel.

the mid-nineteenth century, and became a set form with the publication of Herbert Giles’s Chinese-English dictionary in 1892. Wade-Giles was the main system of transcription of Chinese language in the English-speaking world for most of the twentieth century. Wade-Giles was used in several standard reference books and in almost all books about China published before 1979, when the new Chinese Spelling System started to become accepted internationally.

⁷ Brief introduction found on the flap of the book cover of Cannon’s *Public Success, Private Sorrow*.

⁸ “Pinyin” is short for “Hanyu Pinyin”. It was adopted by the People’s Republic of China in 1958 as a newly designed phonetic scheme to facilitate the promulgation of the standard Chinese language. The scheme is a Romanized system functioning to annotate standard Chinese pronunciation with Roman letters. The system was adopted in 1979 by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) as the standard Romanization for modern Chinese (ISO-7098: 1991). It has also been accepted by the government of Singapore, the Library of Congress, the American Library Association, and many other international institutions. For both Chinese natives and foreigners learning to speak Chinese and to enter Chinese language text into computers, Pinyin has become a useful tool.

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Due to the fact that the *Sanguo yanyi* is lengthy – 120 chapters divided into many separate stories – translators often choose only one or a few chapters to translate. According to Guo Yu (2008), “from the publication of P.P. Thomas’s translation of *The Death of the Celebrated Minister Tung-cho* in 1820 to the publication of Moss Roberts’s unabridged translation of *Three Kingdoms* in 1994, seventeen different English translations, abridged or complete, have come into being in the past 170 years.” Even the translators of the two complete versions started with abridged versions.

Numerous articles have been published in Chinese journals on Roberts’s translation of *Sanguo yanyi*. These articles include reviews, comments on translation strategies and theoretical analyses, and a few relevant quotations and comments are mentioned here. Zhang Haoran (2001) is of the opinion that Roberts’s translation “has a good choice of words as it relies on the context; also its images and characters have been fully reproduced and the style remains close to the original”. Zhang Haoran and Zhang Xijiu (2002) conclude that the translating techniques Roberts employed include literal translation, liberal translation, contextual amplification and annotation. He Xianbin (2003) argues that Moss Roberts’s translation demonstrates that the polysystem theory cannot predict the strategies of an individual translator, and that English translations of Chinese works do not always have to be domesticated in order to gain acceptance among Western readers. Zhang Yu and Tian Cuiyun (2007) investigate the different approaches Roberts employed in trying to make his translation more fluent and natural.

A few papers that compare the two English translations also appeared in Chinese journals recently. Zhang Xiaohong (2007) introduces the idea of “translation purpose” from skopos theory and aims to demonstrate that the “purpose” affects the quality of the product by comparing the two English translations. Zhu Yuping (2008) compares the two English translations from a functionalist point of view. He finds that Brewitt-Taylor’s translation has made many more changes from the original text in order to make the stories more interesting to read, while Roberts’s translation is very loyal to the original text. Chen Xiaoli and Zhang Zhiquan (2011) use skopos theory as a guide to compare the translations of the chapter titles

in these two translations. Their analysis shows that Brewitt-Taylor's translation is more liberal, using such strategies as omission, rewriting and sense-for-sense translation. Roberts's translation, on the other hand, is more literal, adopting a word-for-word strategy. They conclude that the two different styles of the TTs are brought about by different translation skopoi and translation briefs.

In reference to articles and papers published on the English translations of the ST in Chinese, it is significant to note that not a single academic paper discussing the translations has been published in English. One of the reasons for this might be that very few Western researchers have a sound enough knowledge of the Chinese language to be able to read and understand the ST sufficiently. Any attempt at commenting on the TT without referring to the ST itself is not convincing, at least academically. This dissertation therefore aims to fill this gap since it discusses both TTs and compares them to the ST.

1.3 Overview of research conducted on the translations of *Sanguo yanyi*.

According to investigations carried out by the researcher, numerous articles and papers on the English translations of *Sanguo yanyi* have been published in Chinese in Chinese language journals over the past two decades. Luo (2009), for instance, collected nine papers on the topic in question and briefly comments on them. Most of these articles are only a few pages long and focus on one (small) aspect relating to the translation(s). More research has been done on Roberts's latest translation than on Brewitt-Taylor's. In this section, some of the available articles will be examined in order to provide an overview of research on translations of *Sanguo yanyi*.

Zhou & Zhou's paper (1988) "On the English Translations of *Sanguo yanyi*" compares and discusses Brewitt-Taylor's translation and Zhang Yiwen's abridged translation (Chapters 43–50). Judged against Yan Fu's three criteria *xin* (faithfulness), *da* (expressiveness) and *ya* (elegance), Zhou & Zhou (1988) consider Brewitt-Taylor's translation as an excellent work in general and they mention that, in regard to the style and rhetoric, his translation also excels. They do refer to problems found in Brewitt-Taylor's translation, including errors caused by misreading Chinese characters; misunderstanding words, idioms and poems in the original text; and being too exuberant or flashy from time to time which leads to inaccuracy (Zhou & Zhou 1988). They also mention omissions caused by the translator's failure to understand the

original; and failure to translate the implied intentions in the original text. Sometimes the translator's lack of knowledge of Chinese historical background also causes mistranslation (cf. Zhou & Zhou 1988).

Zhang (2001) comments on Moss Roberts's translation of *Sanguo yanyi* and gives a brief analysis of the English version. This version, according to Zhang, shows the following striking features: (1) a good choice of words as it relies on the context; (2) the images and personalities of the characters have been fully reproduced and the style remains close to the original (Zhang 2001). The examples below illustrate Zhang's point of view.

The following example, discussed by Zhang (2001), compares Roberts's translation with another translated version of *Sanguo yanyi* and Zhang argues that Roberts's version better transfers the style of the original text.

ST (Chapter 43):

肃接檄文观看。其略曰：“孤近承帝命，奉词伐罪。旄麾南指，刘琮束手；荆襄之民，望风归顺。今统雄兵百万，上将千员，欲与将军会猎于江夏，共伐刘备，同份土地，永结盟好。幸勿观望，速赐回音。”⁹

Roberts's translation:

Cao's note said: Under a recent imperial mandate, I have authority to act against state criminals. Our banners tilted southward; Liu Zong bound his hands in submission. The populace of Jingzhou, sensing the direction of events (extra space), has transferred its allegiance to us. We have one million hardy warriors and a thousand able generals. We propose that you join us, General, in a hunting expedition to Jiangxia in order to strike the decisive blow against Liu. Then, sharing the territory between us, we may seal an everlasting amity. Please do not hesitate but favour us with a speedy reply.

Another version:

Lu Su read the letter, the gist of which was as follows: “At the emperor's command, I have led my army south to punish the guilty. Liu Cong has been captured, his people have

⁹ Brewitt-Taylor's translation of this text:

Lu Su read the letter, which said, “When I, the solitary one, received the imperial command to punish a faulty my banners went south and Liu Ts'ung became my prisoner, while his people flocked to my side at the first rumour of my coming. Under my hand are a hundred legions and I have many able captains. My desire is, General, that we go on a great hunting expedition into Chianghsia and together we attack Liu Pei. We will share his land between us and we will swear perpetual amity. If happily you would not be a mere looker-on I pray you reply quickly.”

surrendered, and I now command a force of a million picked men and a thousand able generals. I hope, you will join me, general, in a hunting expedition at Jiangxia to attack Liu Bei, so that we can divide his territory between us and pledge everlasting friendship. Do not hesitate, but give me an early reply!”

The original text is part of an official call to arms. Admitting that both translations are fluent, Zhang (2001) argues that the second translation does not seem formal enough to transfer the style, while Roberts’s translation is both fluent and faithful.

Zhang (2001) also points out some minor problems existing in Roberts’s translation. These problems were caused mainly by the translator’s failure to understand some culture-specific references correctly. The following is one of the examples given:

ST (Chapter 45, emphasis added):

瑜曰：“子翼良苦：远涉江湖，为曹氏作**说客**耶？”干愕然曰：“吾久别足下，特来叙旧，奈何疑我作说客也？”

Roberts’s translation (Chapter 45, emphasis added):

“My friend, you have taken great trouble, coming so far to serve as Cao Cao’s **spokesman**,” Zhou Yu responded. Taken aback, Jiang Gan said, “We have been apart so long, I came especially to reminisce. How could you suspect me of such a thing?”

According to Zhang (2001), “说客” should be translated as “emissary”¹⁰ instead of “spokesman”, which simply refers to someone who speaks on behalf of another. But in the novel, it is Jiang Gan’s mission to persuade his old school-mate Zhou Yu to surrender to Cao Cao. Jiang Gan’s character should be an “emissary” or “envoy”, “a person sent as a diplomatic representative on a special mission” (*OED*).

The seven examples provided in Zhang’s paper are all taken from Chapters 43–50. These examples are representative enough in scope and typicality and the research is based on the traditional prescriptive and evaluative approach.

Zhang & Zhang (2002) discuss the strategies used by Roberts to translate realia (culture-specific elements). They identify and examine four major strategies, namely literal or word-

¹⁰ Brewitt-Taylor uses “emissary” in his translation.

for-word translation, free or sense-for-sense translation, contextual amplification and annotation (Zhang & Zhang 2002). Literal translation seems to be Roberts's preferred translation strategy and he employed it frequently as long as the translated text was understandable and expected to be accepted by the intended readers. Free translation was used when translating metaphors and when translating figurative meanings of some culture-specific terms. Roberts used contextual amplification, which in this context mostly incorporates addition, to clarify and to elaborate on hidden meanings or background knowledge that the modern Western reader might not be familiar with. Annotation was used to explain historical background or allusions, and to correct errors in the original text.

Xianbin He (2003) uses the polysystem theory to analyze Roberts's translation. He argues that the often-quoted polysystem theory runs counter to the free-translation practice in Late Qing (around AD 1900) in China. He's (2003) analysis of Roberts's complete source-oriented version of *Sanguo yanyi* demonstrates that the polysystem theory cannot predict the strategies of an individual translator, and that English translations of Chinese works do not always have to be domesticated in order to gain acceptance among Western readers (cf. He 2003). He (2003) further argues that when discussing the choice of translation strategies, it is necessary to differentiate the translational orientations of a socio-cultural group and its individuals, and to interpret their translational actions with different theories and methods.

In Zhang & Tian's (2007) article *A Translator's Creativity as Exemplified in the Translated Version of "Three Kingdoms"* they focus on translation as a creative process. They also discuss Roberts's translation, which they consider a success: "[the] translator's creative approach plays an important role in order to produce a successful translation in which Western readers can fully appreciate the quality of the original Chinese text" (Zhang & Tian 2007). The article aims to study how to make translations fluent and natural when translating classical Chinese literary works for native English readers whose language and cultural background are totally different to those of the Chinese. The challenge faced by the translator is to translate ancient classical literary language, especially culture-specific elements, into popular modern English in a creative way.

Most of the examples provided in Zhang & Tian's article refer to the translations of Chinese idioms, allusions and metaphors. Roberts's translation is creative, flexible and loyal – loyal to both the original text and to the Western readership (cf. Zhang & Tian 2007). An example is the idiom “愿效犬马之劳”, which literally means “serve like a dog or a horse”. The idiom

was rendered as “let me do my best” in one instance and as “I would toil unsparingly, like a dog or a horse, entirely at your service”, in another.

One problem with Zhang & Thian’s paper is that there are no clear indications of the chapters or pages all their examples were taken from.

Zeng (2008) examines how words measuring volume were translated by Roberts. These words have distinctive Chinese characteristics. Four such measuring words were selected: “斗” (“dou”), “石” (“shi”), “斛” (“hu”) and “升” (“sheng”). Roberts used different English “equivalents” to translate each of these words, showing the inaccuracy and inconsistency of the translation. “斗” (“dou”) was translated as “peck”, “bushel”, “gallon”, “bowl”, “ladle”, “dipper” and “measure”; “斛” (“hu”) as “bushel”, “ration”, “vat”, “jar” and “peck”; “升” (“sheng”) as “peck”, “jar” and “pint”. According to Zeng (2008), the translator adopted a domesticating approach to translate these words to make them understandable for English readers. However, confusion is created in various instances, such as the use of American units of measurement that causes problems for British readers. Furthermore, as shown in the above-mentioned equivalents, “peck” was used as a translation equivalent for three different words in the ST, namely “斗”, “斛” and “升”. The use of ambiguous or vague words such as “bowl”, “ladle”, “dipper”, “measure”, “vat”, “jar”, “quantities” in the TT as translation equivalents of words which depict a clear indication of the volume in the ST, is also problematic, as is the omission of these words portraying units of measurement in the translation.

Zeng (2008) suggests the use of transliteration (direct translation) and footnotes to render these problematic units of measurement. For instance, “斗” could be rendered as “dou” in the TT and further explanation or clarification could be provided in a footnote.

In another article, Zeng (2007) examines how “数合” (“shu he”) was translated by Roberts. “数” (“shu”) means “a certain number of”. “合” (“he”) in the ST means “a fighting clash (bout) on horseback”. “数合” refers to a virtual number of these back-and-forth encounters in horse-back fighting. “数合” is extended to “十数合” (“shishuhe” – more than ten or a dozen) or “数十合” (“shushihe” – dozens of, a few dozen). According to Zeng (2007), there are sixty-two instances of “数合” in the ST (in all 120 chapters), which were translated literally

twenty-three times and freely thirty-nine times. “数” was translated as “a few”, “several” and “before many”; “合” was translated as “exchange”, “encounter”, “passage”, “pass”, “clash”, “bout”, “round”, “pass-at-arms” and “fight with”. Omissions of either “数” or “合” were identified in the free translation. Zeng (2007) concludes that Roberts’s translation is not completely faithful to the original when translating these fighting encounters.

1.4 Problem statement and focus

Both Roberts’s and Brewitt-Taylor’s translations of *Sanguo yanyi* will be used in this study. Judging by the extensive metatexts¹¹ on Roberts’s translation, he seems to have provided more detailed and comprehensive information on the work in addition to the complete translation of the original text. However, the continued popularity of Brewitt-Taylor’s translation shows that readers and publishers like it one way or the other, indicating that Roberts’s new translation has not completely taken its place. Roberts gave a “word of recognition” to Brewitt-Taylor’s 1925 translation in the acknowledgements to his 1994 translation, saying he read it “long before gathering enough Chinese to confront the original” (Roberts 1994). The popularity of Brewitt-Taylor’s translation makes it worthwhile to investigate how the approaches and strategies he employed compare with those used by Roberts. The following reviews provide a general comparison of the two translations. A detailed analysis of the two translations will be conducted in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

The translation by Brewitt-Taylor is highly readable and retains the dignity in English of the majesty of the classical Chinese. I am especially impressed by his admirable rendering of the passages of poetry in rhyme and metre. His translation has made this most popular tale of the East a classic now for the West also.¹²

Brewitt-Taylor’s translation is nice to listen to. “Empires wax and wane, states cleave asunder and coalesce”; the sound itself is beautiful, and yet still renders the sense clearly. The Roberts translation certainly succeeds in the latter, but the beauty is lost. However,

¹¹ A metatext is a text describing and explaining another text, such as reviews or research. In this case, metatexts focus on the translation product.

¹² Retrieved from Amazon Book Reviews by Plotinus. Available at http://www.amazon.com/Romance-Three-Kingdoms-San-Guo/dp/0893469246/ref=cm_cr_pr_sims_t.

Brewitt-Taylor requires a very great vocabulary, whereas Roberts is more tame in this regard. Still, this was a book for scholars, and the translation should at least reflect that.¹³

This translation (Moss Roberts's Translation) has a modern feel, so it was easier to read than other translations that I have read. Moss Roberts does a good job of making the story flow. However, as some other reviewers have said, it doesn't have a poetic feel. While the story has been translated, it is always difficult to translate literature into other languages. Having said that, I think this is an excellent translation for those who want an easy read or those who are reading *Three Kingdoms* for the first time.¹⁴

The researcher aims to conduct an investigation of the two English translations of *Sanguo yanyi* from a different perspective than the studies previously referred by choosing different sample segments and adopting different approaches. The main purpose of the study is to draw comparisons between the two TTs by firstly describing the relevant factors that affect the production of each of the translations and secondly by trying to identify and determine the approaches or strategies employed by the two translators. The analysis and findings will be used to ultimately ascertain which translation succeeds in conveying the collective memory of some of the cultural-historical issues in China, while at the same time making the text accessible to Western (South African) readers.

1.5 Goals

The primary goal of the study is to gain a better understanding of literary translation between two distinctly different languages by objectively analyzing the factors relevant to the production of the two translations. The analysis will mainly consist of a descriptive study in which the various translation approaches and strategies employed by the two translators will be compared and investigated in order to determine the motivations behind certain approaches and strategies.

The secondary goal is to evaluate the two translations by using the functionalist approach to translation. To this end, the study determines which of the two translations better serves the

¹³ Retrieved from Amazon Book Reviews. Available at http://www.amazon.com/Romance-Three-Kingdoms-Vol-2/product-reviews/0804834687/ref=dp_top_cm_cr_acr_txt?ie=UTF8&showViewpoints=1.

¹⁴ Retrieved from Amazon Book Reviews. Available at http://www.amazon.com/Three-Kingdoms-Chinese-Classics-4-Volumes/product-reviews/7119005901/ref=dp_top_cm_cr_acr_txt?ie=UTF8&showViewpoints=1. Retrieved on 7 June 2009.

purpose of providing South African students of Chinese with insight into and appreciation of some aspects of Chinese culture which would enhance their Chinese studies.

The findings could also add value to the study of translation from cultural and/or historical perspectives.

1.6 Theoretical framework

The following theoretical approaches to translation and translation strategies will be explained, considered and applied in the comparative study of the two translations.

1.6.1 Retranslation hypothesis

Retranslation is a common phenomenon in the history of translation. Since Roberts's translation is a retranslation, a discussion of this phenomenon is directly relevant to the current study. Although retranslation of scientific and technical texts is a best-avoided practice, the retranslation of literary texts has usually been regarded by many scholars as a positive phenomenon, since it contributes to the diversity of the available interpretations of and broadens perspectives on the ST (Gürçağlar 2009). The denotation of the concept of retranslation and the theoretical assumptions on this concept will be discussed in Chapter 3.

1.6.2 Linguistic approach versus functionalist approach

The linguistic approach to translation, which was put forward in the 1960s and developed by Nida, Newmark, Catford and Wills, operates mainly on a linguistic perspective of translation. This approach concentrates on the language systems of the two languages involved and claims that the ST is the yardstick against which the TT should be judged. The ideal translation would be a complete equivalent of the ST on all linguistic levels.

The functionalist approach, on the other hand, established by Vermeer, Reiss and Nord in the 1980s, was developed mainly in criticism of the linguistic approach. "Skopos" (a Greek word meaning "function" or "aim") is the key concept in this approach. Some of the main ideas of the functionalist approach include the notions that a translation is regarded as translation when

it functions as a text in the target culture; that the function of a translation in the target culture determines which aspects of the ST should be transferred to the TT; that the ST is only seen as a source of information; and that the success of a translation is determined by whether it is interpreted by the target reader in a way that is coherent¹⁵ with his or her situation. The concept of equivalence is also used in the functionalist approach (cf. Nord 1997: 89–91), but in a different sense than in the linguistic approach, as discussed in Chapter 4.

1.6.3 Domestication versus foreignization

The frequently-quoted words of Schleiermacher explain the difference between domesticating and foreignizing strategies in translation: “There are only two (methods of translating). Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader toward him (foreignization). Or, he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author toward him (domestication)” (Schleiermacher, as quoted in Lefevere 1992: 149).

Different translators may employ different strategies in their translations. For instance, to be loyal to the author of the ST, some native Chinese translators are inclined to use foreignizing strategies to translate from Chinese into English, while native English translators might use domesticating strategies to translate Chinese texts in order to make their translations more accessible to English readers. It may also happen that the same translator uses both strategies during a translation. The two translations that are examined in this study were both produced by native English speakers. A careful investigation will be conducted to analyze the strategies used by both translators during the translation process.

1.6.4 Descriptive studies of the two translations

From the 1980s onwards, the focus in and of Translation Studies (TS) has been shifting from text to context. Accordingly, an increasing amount of research in TS has been dedicated to the relationships between translations and the cultures that generate them. In keeping with this development in the field, a descriptive study will be conducted on the two English translations of *Sanguo yanyi*. Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) describe translations as facts of target

¹⁵ This would imply that the expectations of the target reader are met. For instance, if the function of a translated version of a literary work is for it to be used as an instrument for teaching source-text cultural values, the target reader might expect inter alia more strategies of explication.

systems. This approach focuses on pragmatic aspects, such as social, cultural and communicative practices instead of on linguistic units. Translation is namely seen as the result of a socially contextualized activity (Toury 1985). Within this framework, decision-making processes and translation strategies and norms employed and adhered to by the two translators of *Sanguo yanyi* will be investigated and examined. Moreover, a description of the entire translation process, from the translators' original planning to the agents acting as patrons of the project to the reception and influence of the TTs in the English-speaking world will be discussed.

1.7 Research design and methodology

A descriptive study of the various translation procedures and the social and academic backgrounds of the two translators will be conducted. The reception of both TTs in the English-speaking world will also be discussed by examining reviews and related research.

A qualitative study will also be conducted to compare and analyze the approaches to translation utilized by the two translators. This analysis will be based on relevant theoretical approaches (as introduced in Chapter 4).

In an analysis of an extensive text such as *Sanguo yanyi*, segments have to be selected to focus research on. The number of segments to be selected and the criteria for selection have to be determined before research commences. The ST comprises 120 chapters with ten to twenty pages in each chapter. Attempting a comprehensive study of all the chapters and their translations in detail is not feasible, especially on a microstructural level. Selecting a number of chapters as representative of the entire ST seems to be the only solution. However, the number of chapters to choose and which chapters to choose remain problematic.

Looking at chapters included in abridged translations of *Sanguo yanyi* might provide a viable solution to the problem of selection. The interest of translators of abridged versions of the novel seems to vary, however. Some translators focus on a certain character and translate the corresponding chapter or chapters telling the story of that character. For example, Stanislas Julien translated Chapters 3–9 into French, which tell the story about Dong Zhuo's rise and fall. Other translators are interested in important events such as the Battle of the Red Cliff, and choose to translate the relevant chapters. For instance, Z.Q. Parker (in 1925), Yang

Xianyi and Gladys Yang (in 1962) and Cheung Yik-man (in 1972) all chose to translate Chapters 43–50.¹⁶ It is thus evident that different segments are selected for different purposes. For those translators who only translate excerpts of the ST, their choice seems focused mainly on the plot (cf. Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Chapters that have been translated most in abridged translations (into English, French and German)¹⁷

Chapter	Number of translations
1	8
3, 4, 8	7
2, 41, 46	6
5, 6, 9, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 49	5
7, 44, 50	4
29	3
25, 34, 37, 38, 75, 77	2

From the table it is clear that the chapters that are translated most are mainly in the first half (first 60 chapters) of the novel. This seems to suggest that the most interesting stories are told in the first half of the book. The death of Guan Yu, one of the major characters, occurs in Chapter 77, followed by the deaths of Cao Cao (Chapter 78), Zhang Fei (Chapter 81), and Liu Bei (Chapter 85). Zhuge Liang, one of the central characters, dies in Chapter 104, which indicates that the climax is over and the remaining chapters are considered less interesting. This is also reflected in the translators' choices of chapters to translate. In the abridged translations referred to in Table 1.1, no chapters from 105–120 were translated except for Chapter 108.

It is important to note that translators and researchers may also choose to focus on different segments, and for different purposes. In order to conduct valid research, for example, researchers cannot limit their focus to the attractiveness of the plot. They would need to ensure that selections are representative and that segments selected convey the most characteristics and functions of the ST. Furthermore, the length of the text has to be considered. In the case of *Sanguo yanyi*, for example, which contains 120 chapters, it would

¹⁶ Cf. sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.

¹⁷ Wang & Du (2006).

be impossible to analyze the entire text, but one or two chapters would also not be considered representative of the entire text.

In addition to bearing in mind the length of the entire text, the lengths of individual chapters are also an important consideration. The length of each chapter of *Sanguo yanyi* varies, ranging from six pages to seventeen and a half taking Roberts's translation as an example. The shortest is Chapter 24, which only contains six pages. The longest are Chapters 60 and 120, containing seventeen pages and seventeen and a half respectively.

For the purposes of this study, three chapters and their corresponding translations were selected as the focus of analysis. These three chapters are Chapter 1, Chapter 60 and Chapter 120. The length and extensiveness of these chapters were considered before they were selected for analysis. The three selected chapters add up to forty-six and a half pages, excluding the footnotes (Chapter 1 has twelve pages; Chapter 60 has seventeen pages; Chapter 120 has seventeen and a half pages.) If pages with footnotes are counted, the overall length of the three selected chapters will be fifty-three pages (five and a half full pages containing only the footnotes to these three chapters).

In consideration of the plot of the novel, the first and the last chapters are important since they reflect how the story starts and how it ends, how the empire of Han was divided at its end into three kingdoms, and how the country was united again under the empire of Jin. In the first chapter, four major characters of the novel such as Cao Cao, Liu Bei, Guan Yu and Zhang Fei are introduced. The last chapter tells the story of how the new empire Jin defeats the Kingdom of Wu and captures its king. The first and last chapters are therefore selected because of their importance as a novel and their richness of cultural elements. Furthermore, there are many proper names and culture-specific elements in these two chapters.

Other factors such as those reflecting strategies of dealing with culture-related references and degrees of consistency were also taken into consideration in the selection of chapters as focus of the analysis. Chapter 60 was chosen for three reasons. Firstly, this chapter is right in the middle of the book and by studying it the degree of consistency can be reflected on. Secondly, this chapter contains plenty of dialogue, which is the key method used to portray characters in traditional Chinese novels. These dialogues or direct speeches provide material for analysis regarding the strategies adopted by the two translators. Finally, in terms of the plot, Chapter

60 includes some important events which are crucial to Liu Bei's successful invasion of the west province, which is later to become the base of the Kingdom of Shu.

Thus, three chapters, namely Chapters 1, 60 and 120 from the ST and their corresponding translations in the two TTs were selected as the focus of study. All examples and most data will be taken from this selection. The analysis of the translations will mainly be based on Descriptive Translations Study (DTS) and Functionalism. These two theories are further discussed in Chapter 4.

1.8 Chapter layout

The dissertation consists of seven chapters. Apart from this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 focuses on the ST and the reasons for choosing this text. Chapter 3 traces the production of the two translations and includes a description of why and how the translators chose to translate the ST. The backgrounds of the translators are also discussed. In Chapter 4, a review of the literature on the relevant translation theories is provided. Chapter 5 entails the analysis of the translations from the perspective of DTS. A discussion of the two translations based on the functionalist approach to translation follows in Chapter 6. Finally, Chapter 7 will conclude the study by summarizing the findings from the comparisons and analysis of the two translations. Topics for further research will also be given in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2: Discussion of the source text, *Sanguo yanyi*

This chapter provides an overview of the ST, *Sanguo yanyi*. The first three sections give a brief introduction of the development and general structure of the traditional Chinese novel. Section four introduces the other three novels of the “Great Four”. Section five discusses various aspects of *Sanguo yanyi* and motivates the choice of this text as a focus of study.

2.1 Introduction

Chinese literature is one of the major literary heritages of the world, with an uninterrupted history of more than 3 000 years, dating back to at least the fourteenth century BC.

The history of the written Chinese language can be divided into three periods. Archaic Chinese (c. 1500 BC–c. AD 200) includes works by Confucius and other philosophers of his time. Classical Chinese (c. 200–c. 1920) includes the prose and poetry of Han Yu and Du Fu, as well as other stories and novels. Finally, Vernacular Chinese includes contemporary works of literature. The classical Chinese novels, which came into being around 600 years ago, were actually mostly written in a combination of Classical Chinese and Vernacular Chinese.

It is the Chinese and not the American novel which has shaped my own efforts in writing. I believe the Chinese novel has an illumination for the Western novel and for the Western novelist.

Buck (1938)

Writing changes over time to meet the needs of different generations. In the history of Chinese literature, the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) and Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) were the golden ages of the Chinese novel. Among countless novels published across the span of this period of hundreds of years, six were the most outstanding and influential, of which four novels were published during the Ming Dynasty and two during the Qing Dynasty (cf. Hsia 1968).

Table 2.1 Six classical Chinese novels

Original title	Attributed to	Title in English translation
《三国演义》	Luo Guanzhong	a. Romance of the Three Kingdoms b. Three Kingdoms
《水浒传》	Shi Nai'an & Luo Guangzhong	a. Outlaws of the Marsh b. Water Margin c. All Men are Brothers
《西游记》	Wu Cheng'en	a. Monkey b. Journey to the West
《金瓶梅》	Lanling Xiaoxiaosheng	a. Golden Lotus b. Gold Vase Plum c. The Adventurous History of His-men and his Six Wives
《红楼梦》	Cao Xueqin & Gao'E	a. Dream of the Red Chamber b. The Story of a Stone c. A Dream of the Red Mansions
《儒林外史》	Wu Jingzi	a. Informal History of the Literati b. Scholars

The first three novels mentioned above were works of collective authorship, while the last three were written by individual authors single-handedly and more creatively.

Since the late Qing Dynasty, it has generally been accepted that **four** novels were the greatest, judged by their length, impact and literary value. Today, the “Four Great Chinese Classics”, namely *Sanguo yanyi*, *Shuihu zhuan*, *Xiyou ji* and *Honglou meng* can be found in almost every home of Chinese intellectual families. Each of these novels became representative of a genre: history, legends of heroic deeds, fantasy and human affairs. The four novels, which were supposed to be composed by individual artists, were all immensely long, vast in scope, and vivid in characterization and description. The two novels *Jin Pin Mei* and *Rulin waishi* eventually disappeared from the list because the former was replaced by *Honglou meng*, a more superior novel of a similar genre, and the latter, though considered one of the best novels of satire and humor, is neither well constructed nor long enough (only fifty-five chapters).

A discussion of the motivation for selecting *Sanguo yanyi* as the focus of this study will be provided later in this chapter, after short summaries of each of the other “Four Great Chinese Classics”.

2.2 How the first Chinese novel came into being

In Chinese, “Xiaoshuo” (literally translated as “small talk”) is the general name used to refer to short stories, novellas and novels. Xiaoshuo in China can be understood as the unofficial records of history written for and enjoyed by ordinary people (Zhou 2008: 9–10). Collections of short stories began to appear as early as late Han Dynasty (25–220). Before the Tang Dynasty (618–907), short stories were only brief sketches of people or things or scores of words (Wang & Wang 2009: 207). In the Tang Dynasty (618–907) and the Song Dynasty (960–1279), short stories became quite popular among the commoners, although prose and poetry remained the main literary forms for intellectuals. For various reasons, however, the time and conditions were not ripe for the novel until the fourteenth century.

Since the Song Dynasty, significant cultural shifts took place in the Chinese society. Song rulers carried through reforms to make education more accessible to commoners, fostering more readers and writers. Printing developed as a commercial enterprise and made the written word much more widely available. In the increasingly commercial economy during and after the Song Dynasty, merchants and landowners outside the nobility gained power and supported new forms of entertainment. The Mongols conquered China and replaced the Song with the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368), alienating a group of scholars who refused to participate in the new regime. The interests of these scholars, which included literature, became an important means to express their identity as a semi-autonomous social group. With that new identity, expressions of independence from conventional, state-supported literary values emerged. Public storytelling gradually became fashionable and writers or performers themselves wrote down the episodes which, over time, developed into lengthy works (cf. Gunn 2008).

Nobel Laureate for literature Pearl S. Buck gave a vivid description of the birth of the Chinese novel in her Nobel Lecture on 12 December 1938:

But the real reason why the Chinese novel was written in the vernacular was because the common people could not read and write and the novel had to be written so that when it was read aloud it could be understood by persons who could communicate only through spoken words. In a village of two hundred souls perhaps only one man could read. And on holidays or in the evening when the work was done he read aloud to the people from some story. The rise of the Chinese novel began in just this simple fashion. After a while

people took up a collection of pennies in somebody's cap or in a farm wife's bowl because the reader needed tea to wet his throat, or perhaps to pay him for time he would otherwise have spent at his silk loom or his rush weaving. If the collections grew big enough he gave up some of his regular work and became a professional storyteller. And the stories he read were the beginnings of novels. There were not many such stories written down, not nearly enough to last year in and year out for people who had by nature, as the Chinese have, a strong love for dramatic story. So the storyteller began to increase his stock. He searched the dry annals of the history which the scholars had written, and with his fertile imagination, enriched by long acquaintance with common people, he clothed long-dead figures with new flesh and made them live again; he found stories of court life and intrigue and names of imperial favorites who had brought dynasties to ruin; he found, as he traveled from village to village, strange tales from his own times which he wrote down when he heard them. People told him of experiences they had had and he wrote these down, too, for other people. And he embellished them, but not with literary turns and phrases, for the people cared nothing for these. No, he kept his audiences always in mind and he found that the style which they loved best was one which flowed easily along, clearly and simply, in the short words which they themselves used every day, with no other technique than occasional bits of description, only enough to give vividness to a place or a person, and never enough to delay the story. Nothing must delay the story. Story was what they wanted.

[...]

From such humble and scattered beginnings, then, came the Chinese novel, written always in the vernacular, and dealing with all which interested the people, with legend and with myth, with love and intrigue, with brigands and wars, with everything, indeed, which went to make up the life of the people, high and low.

Buck (1938)

Proof that the traditional Chinese novel originated from storytelling can be seen in many examples. For example, words such as “且说” (cf. Example 2.1¹⁸) and “却说” (cf. Example 2.2) are used frequently in the novel. “说” (“shuo”) means “talk” or “speak”, indicating the story is being told orally. But neither of the translations rendered this word literally, as illustrated in the examples below.

Example 2.1

¹⁸ In this example and all the examples that follow, ST refers to source text, T1 refers to Brewitt-Taylor's translation and T2 refers to Roberts's translation.

(Chapter 1 of *Sanguo yanyi*, emphasis added)

ST: 且说张角一军，前犯幽州界分。

T1: It is now time to turn to Chang Chio. He led his army into Yuchow the northern of the eight divisions of the country.

T2: As for Zhang Jue's army, it began advancing on Youzhou district.

Example 2.2

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 却说玄德引关、张来颍川，听得喊杀之声，又望见火光烛天，...

T1: We return now to Yuan-te. He and his brothers were hastening toward the point of danger when they heard the din of battle and saw flames rising high toward the sky.

T2: Meanwhile Xuande and his brothers neared Yingchuan, hurrying toward the roar of battle and the glowing night horizon.

Further evidence of the oral origins of Chinese novels can be found at the ends of each chapter of a typical novel, where the reader is addressed directly. For instance, in the first three of the four classics¹⁹, the reader is told to wonder about something – along the lines of “if you want to know what happens next, you have to listen to the following chapter to find out.” The reader is urged to **listen to**, not to **read** the next installment, which emphasizes the oral tradition. Example 2.3 is the last sentence of the first chapter of *Sanguo yanyi*. This again clearly indicates that the novel originated from stories told orally in a series of episodes.

Example 2.3

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 毕竟董卓性命如何，且听下文分解。

T1: Tung Cho's fate will be unrolled in later chapters.

T2: Did Zhang Fei kill the Imperial Corps commander? Read on.

The word-for-word translation of this sentence would be: “Will Dong Zhuo die or be killed? Please **listen to** the section that follows.”

¹⁹ The fourth novel, *Honglou meng*, was written much later than the other three. Also cf. 2.4.3.

2.3 The structure and features of a traditional Chinese novel

A traditional Chinese novel is usually “chapter-divided” which is similar to the Western tradition. In a typical Western novel, there are usually two formats for the chapter titles. One format is that chapters are divided simply by order of numbers such as “Chapter One”, “Chapter Two”, etc. For the other format, which is more commonly found in traditional novels, chapter titles are used to summarize the content of the chapter. An example of this format is found in Cervantes’s classic Spanish novel *Don Quixote*, as shown below (cf. Cervantes 1993).

BOOK I

- I. The quality and manner of life of the renowned Don Quixote de la Mancha
- II. Of Don Quixote’s first Sally
- III. An Account of the pleasant method taken by Don Quixote to be dubbed a Knight²⁰

The Chinese novel has similar formats to those of the West. While the modern Chinese novel follows the former pattern of the Western one, in the traditional Chinese novel, the title trying to summarize the content in the corresponding chapter is either a sentence or a couplet consisting of two lines. For instance, the title of the first chapter of *Sanguo yanyi* is:

Three Bold Spirits Plight Mutual Faith in the Peach Garden
Heroes and Champions Win First Honors Fighting the Yellow Scarves²¹

The title is normally an antithetical couplet, summarizing the two episodes that each chapter usually contains. The reason for including two episodes in a chapter might be that one episode is not long enough to fill a fixed period of storytelling (one hour for instance) during which the audience or the reader’s attention is captured. This custom for chapter titles is reader-friendly and enables readers to have a general idea of the content of a chapter before going into the details of the story.

Furthermore, each chapter except for the final one always ends with the formula mentioned above: “If you want to know what happens next, please listen to the following chapter to find

²⁰ These chapter titles are from the English translation by P.A. Motteux (cf. Cervantes 1993). Capitalization is kept as in the book.

²¹ As found in Roberts’s translation.

out”. It is customary for the narrator as well as the novelist to end each day’s recital or chapter at a climax to keep the audience or reader in suspense. Audiences were traditionally kept guessing so as to entice them to return to listen to the next narration.

Another feature of the Chinese novel is that poems are always incorporated in the chapters to enhance the development of the story or to comment on characters or their deeds. These poems are often placed at the beginning or end of a chapter, or in the middle following an important event (such as the death of an important character or valor of a warrior) to enhance the effect. Some poems are copied directly from the works of famous poets in previous dynasties, and some are composed by the authors themselves.

As Liu (1966: 201–202) points out: while a typical Western novel normally concentrates on the depiction of a single historical figure to whom all the other characters are subordinate, the Chinese novel presents the exciting tales of a single historical epoch with its multiple heroes and villains, and its rapid succession of breathtaking events. Although the Chinese novel is weak at providing complete character studies, according to Liu (*ibid.*), it succeeds in giving a continuous picture of history unfolding from year to year. The strict adherence to chronological sequence allows the Chinese novel to fulfill the important function of popularizing history (cf. Liu 1966: 201–202).

As discussed in 2.3, the oral tradition of the Chinese novel causes professional raconteurs to “aim to attract their audience with a continuous series of exciting events and lively characters in as many storytelling sessions as possible”, thus the Chinese novel may appear to Western critics to be “episodic and loose in structure” (Liu 1966:204).

2.4 The other novels

In this section I will give a brief overview of each of the three novels before focusing on *Sanguo yanyi*. In each of the overviews, the historical background to the work will be introduced, and the authorship, plot, main characters, adaptations and influence discussed. Comments on the translations of these novels into foreign languages, especially English, will also be offered.

2.4.1 *Shuihu zhuan*

The novel *Shuihu zhuan*, (literally translated as “marsh chronicles”; English translations include *Outlaws of the Marsh*, *Tale of the Marshes* and *Water Margin*), is attributed to Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong. It was officially published in the sixteenth century, and is vaguely based on the historical bandit Song Jiang and his thirty-six companions during the mid-Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127). The novel gives a detailed account of the trials and tribulations of 108 outlaws and it is the most influential book on peasant uprisings in Chinese history. Song Jiang himself was a historical figure, but the other outlaws in the novel were largely fabricated. Their base was Liangshanpo, a region of Mount Liang and its surrounding marshes, located in the present-day Shandong Province.

Legends of Song Jiang and his bandit gang started to appear in the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279). The Yuan Dynasty playwrights also wrote about Song Jiang’s uprisings at Mount Liang. Storytellers put together these legends and anecdotes to create a fully-developed story. Then, as Buck has described (cf. section 2.2), men of letters started selecting material from oral legends, storytellers’ scripts and various dramas and compiled one great novel, creating a coherent and readable story. It is highly likely that the novel was improved and written by a number of artists and writers, though Shi Nai’an and Luo Guanzhong enjoyed the status of authorship. However, disputes over the authorship continue to this day. In his book *The Classic Chinese Novel* C. T. Hsia suggests that Luo used Shi’s source to compile *Shuihu* in the same manner that he used Chen Shou for *Sanguo* (Hsia 1968: 77).

Since its original publication, *Shuihu zhuan* has appeared in a large number of editions ranging from seventy to 120 chapters. The first known edition of the novel appeared in the year 1540 in one hundred chapters. Between 1540 and 1640, at least ten important editions appeared due to a sudden burst of publishing activity (Liu 1966: 203). The longest and most complete 120-chapter edition was published in 1614. A famous literary critic Jin Shengtān (d. 1661) significantly edited the work by cutting the 120-chapter novel in half, retaining only its first seventy chapters, which became the most widely circulated edition (ibid.: 203–204).

The plot of the complete version of *Shuihu zhuan* consists of two parts. The first 70 chapters form the major part of the novel and deal with the uprisings of and victories over the government troops of Song Jiang and his bandit-heroes. In this part, Song Jiang and his men

are forced to kill corrupt officials and evil rich people to help the poor, which might remind readers of Robin Hood and his Merry Men. The second part, the remaining 30 chapters, deals with Song Jiang and his band's surrender to the government and their enlistment in the government's campaigns against other major rebels.

Major characters in the novel, before they were forced to make their way to Liangshan, came from various backgrounds, such as military officers and *Yamen* officials, merchants and innkeepers, thieves and prostitutes, Buddhist monks and Taoist priests. They represented a large segment of society and were all persecuted by authorities. One of the distinctive features of the novel is the nicknames given to each of the 108 outlaws. These men are popularly known by their nicknames which vividly reveal the unique personalities of the individuals. The four major characters in the novel are Song Jiang, Lin Chong, Li Kui and Lu Zhishen. Song Jiang is called Opportune Rain at a time of drought, indicating his generosity. The nickname for Li Kui is the Black Whirl, suggesting his temperament. Lin Chong is called the Leopard Head which refers to his appearance. Lu Zhishen's nickname, the Tattooed Monk, refers to his initiation in the Buddhist order. It is widely agreed that the vividness of character portrayal by the characters' own actions and words, rather than by the author's explanation, is the greatest achievement of the novel.

The novel is often viewed as subversive, since it deviates from the traditions of previous novels which generally have the glorification of the deeds of emperors and kings as their themes. Because *Shuihu zhuan* lauds acts of resistance to repression and sings the praises of the "Greenwood outlaws", it was banned several times under the Ming and Qing Dynasties. However, the bans did not prevent the novel from becoming exceptionally popular over several centuries. Readers have been drawn to the robust spirit of resistance to oppression, expressed in vivid images and language (cf. Zhang 1995: 362). The novel adopts the spoken language of the people of the Song Dynasty. The living language spoken by the characters is a refinement of northern colloquial speech and similar to what is heard in many regions of China.

Shuihu zhuan has been translated into many languages. The first translation, into Japanese, was made by Kanzan Okajima and published in 1757. The first translation into a European language was into French in 1850. English translations, abridged and full, of the novel include the following:

1. *Robbers and Soldiers* (1929) by Geoffery Dunlop. This is a retranslation of a German version including the seventy chapters.
2. *All Men are Brothers* (1933) by Pearl S. Buck (赛珍珠). It is a translation of the seventy-chapter version in two volumes (1 279 pages) and published in both New York and London. The translation was criticized for its many errors and inaccuracies.
3. *The Water Margin* by J.N. Jackson, which was published in Shanghai in 1937 and was also a seventy-chapter translation.
4. *Outlaws of the Marsh* (1980). Of the later editions, this version by Chinese-naturalized Jewish-American scholar Sidney Shapiro is considered one of the best. Shapiro's translation was initially published by the Beijing Foreign Languages Press as a three-volume set. It is a complete translation of the seventy-chapter version combined with the hundred-chapter version (cf. Shapiro 1999).
5. *The Marshes of Mount Liang* by Alex and John Dent-young. This is the most recent translation and was published by Hong Kong's Chinese University Press. It is a five-volume translation of the 120-chapter version. Each volume is given a new subtitle. The five subtitles are *The Broken Seals*, *The Tiger Killers*, *The Gathering Company*, *Iron Ox* and *The Scattered Flock*.²²

2.4.2. *Xiyou ji*

Xiyou ji (literally translated as *Journey to the West*) by Wu Cheng'en is also a hundred-chapter novel. It is a book of fantasy and humor. Originally published in the 1590s, the book is a fictionalized account of the legends of the Buddhist monk Xuan Zang's epic pilgrimage to India in order to obtain Buddhist religious texts (called "sutras") during the Tang Dynasty.

Interestingly, Xuan Zang, on whom the novel is based, was not only a major figure in Chinese Buddhism but also a great translator. He traveled abroad for seventeen years and brought 657 Buddhist texts, packed in 520 cases, back from India. When he returned, he devoted himself to translating these scriptures into Chinese and establishing the Mere-Ideation School (唯识宗) in Chinese Buddhism. During the remainder of his life, he translated seventy-five scriptures, 1 335 volumes in all, in nineteen years. In his translations, he put forward and carried out five

²² http://www.amazon.com/Broken-Seals-Marshes-Mount-Liang/dp/9622016022/ref=sr_1_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1315138851&sr=8-2. Retrieved on 3 September 2011.

principles of transliteration, which were followed by many monk-translators after him.²³ During his lifetime, Xuan Zang's pilgrimage to India became of interest to the public. Upon his return to China, he was commissioned by the Emperor Taizong to record his experiences in the foreign country. The outcome was a book entitled *Datang xiyu ji* (*Great Tang Records of the Western Regions*), which proved to be a useful source in the study of Sino-India communications. According to the book, Xuan Zang suffered a lot of hardships during his journey. As his legend grew with his fame, Xuan Zang became a popular subject for storytellers. Before Wu Cheng'en formed the story into a long and richly humorous novel, the story itself had already become a part of Chinese folk and literary tradition in the form of colloquial stories, a poetic novelette of seventeen chapters, a six-part drama in twenty-four acts and a crude colloquial story (Liu 1966: 229).

Based on its plot, the novel *Xiyou ji* can be divided into three major sections. The first seven chapters deal with the birth of a monkey from a magic rock and its acquisition of magic powers. The next five chapters relate the story of Xuan Zang, known as Tripitaka, and the origin of his mission to the Western Paradise, and how his entourage of four animal spirits — the magically gifted Monkey, the slow-witted and clumsy Pigsy, and the fish spirit Friar Sandy and the White Dragon Horse — are converted to Buddhism. The bulk of the novel — from Chapter 13 to Chapter 100, recounts the eighty-one adventures that befall Tripitaka and his followers on their journey to India and culminates in their attainment of the sacred scrolls. Since nine is the biggest single-digit number and nine times nine equals eighty-one, the significance of the figure indicates that the perils they encounter on the way are numerous.

There are three fully-developed characters in the novel, namely Monkey, Tripitaka and Pigsy. Monkey is the dominant figure and a great fighter by nature. His own fighting prowess makes him all but invincible. He defeats all monsters by either exerting his skill and courage or using his knowledge and wisdom. Monkey has been regarded as a symbol of man's restless ambition. Tripitaka, called San Zang in the novel, is depicted as a weak and useless monk, a nincompoop. The only positive aspect about him is his determination to preserve himself so he can reach his goal and collect the scriptures. Pigsy is a man of large appetite, lazy, greedy and boastful. He is always the first to give up when things are going badly, but he can be convinced otherwise by Monkey. Every boy brought up in the Chinese world wants to be

²³ His principles of translation will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

Monkey and would refuse to be compared to Pigsy, who has become a character of greediness, idleness and stupidity.

This novel has obvious merits on which Liu (1966: 233–234) makes the following comment:

The vastness of its fantasy, the rich variety of its supernatural stories and characters, and the inexhaustible fund of its wit and humour combine to make the *Journey to the West* one of the most delightful books in world literature. Moreover, as a novel of religious allegory or a satirical romance, its adventures are more thrilling, more entertaining, and more colourful than its Western counterparts, *The Pilgrims Progress* and *Don Quixote*, to which it has sometimes been compared.

Abridged English translations²⁴ include *The Golden-Horned Dragon king; or the Emperor's Visit to the Spirit World*, translated by Samuel I. Woodbridge and published in 1895 in Shanghai by N.G. Herald; *One of the World's Literary Masterpieces. A Mission to Heaven*, translated by Timothy Richard (李提摩太) and published in 1913 by the Shanghai Christian Literature Society; *The Buddhist Pilgrim's Progress: the Record of the Journey to the Western Paradise* from the Shi Yeu Ki, translated in 1930 by Helen M. Hayes; *Monkey: A Folk-Tale of China*, translated by Arthur Waley and published in 1942 in New York by Allen and Unwin;²⁵ and *The Magic Monkey* translated by Chan Christina and Chan Plato and published in 1944 in New York.

Complete translations include *The Journey to the West* by Anthony C Yu (余国藩), which was published by the University of Chicago Press from 1977 to 1984. This is a complete translation in four volumes, with an extensive scholarly introduction and notes. The latest full-length translation was made by W.J.F. Jenner and published by the Foreign Languages Press in Beijing in 1977 and in 1986 (cf. Jenner 2000). This is a translation in three volumes with a few notes and a seventeen-page afterword by the translator (cf. Wang & Wang 2009: 245).

2.4.3 *Honglou meng*

²⁴ Cf. Wang & Wang's (2009) account of Chinese classics in English translation.

²⁵ Although this translation was received quite well, Waley only translated thirty of the one hundred chapters.

Honglou meng is a novel containing 120 chapters and was first published in 1792. The first two-thirds of the book are attributed to Cao Xueqin and the last forty chapters to Gao E. The titles of its English translations include *The Dream of the Red Chamber* by Florence McHugh & Isabel McHugh, *The Story of a Stone* by David Hawkes and *A Dream of the Red Mansions* by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang.

Very little is known about Cao Xueqin's life. The few biographical facts that are verifiable include that he was born and raised in an aristocratic family, but he died in misery and isolation. *Honglou meng*, the first novel to utilize autobiographical experience on a large scale, is a tragedy about a love triangle in the aristocratic Jia clan, which had enjoyed imperial favor for generations but eventually lost its status causing the family to live in reduced circumstances.

Pages full of idle word

Penned with hot and bitter tears:

All men call the author fool;

None his secret message hears (translated by David Hawkes).

This famous rhyme (cf. Hawkes 1973) in the first chapter of *Honglou meng* reveals the author's true feelings about producing this work. From his own bitter personal experiences, Cao created a tragic love story between a young man, Jia Baoyu, and a young woman who is his cousin, Lin Daiyu. Jia Baoyu detests his destined career and stubbornly pursues his sentimental devotion to the girls in his household, especially his frail and temperamental cousin, Li Daiyu. Along with their love story, he described in careful detail the ups and downs of four leading aristocratic families: Jia, Shi, Wang, and Xue. It is through his precise description of the decline of these four families that we are given a deep and careful analysis and criticism of the Qing Dynasty's economics, politics, culture, education, law, ethics, religion, and marriage, focusing in particular on the social superstructure of the Qing Dynasty, China's last feudal dynasty.

The first eighty chapters, under the title of *The Story of a Stone*, had been circulated among Cao's friends even when the author was still alive. It was a product of Cao's last ten years, left incomplete at the time of his death, and it was not published until almost thirty years later. The last forty chapters have remained problematic in regard to the authenticity of the author Gao E (cf. Liu 1966: 238, 291).

The novel is universally considered the greatest of all Chinese novels. As a panorama of Chinese social life, in which almost every imaginable feature is submitted to the reader, the novel is altogether without rival.

Few works, whether Oriental or Occidental, are its peers in the vastness of its length, the vividness of its narration, the subtlety of its character portrayal, and the skilful use of the colloquial language. It represents the highest development of Chinese fiction and with it the transition of the novel from collective to individual authorship is completed.

Liu (1966: 237)

The study of *Honglou meng*-related subjects even led to the emergence of a new academic discipline – Redology. This study can be categorized into two major themes: “xiayi” (“狭义”) and “guangyi” (“广义”). “Xiayi”, meaning “narrow sense”, includes detailed studies of the author and editions of the novel while “guangyi”, meaning “broad sense”, focuses on the society in the novel, including the people, arts, culture, etc. The researchers in this field can be divided into four general groups according to the approaches they use and the topics they focus on. Researchers in the first group are the commentators; in the second they are known as the index group; those in the third group are textual critics and the fourth group is the literary thought group. The branches of research include:

- The Cao Studies, which investigates the family history and life of Cao Xueqin and his connection to the novel.
- The Zhi Studies, which investigates the relationships between Zhiyan Zhai, Cao and the novel. Zhi’s notes throughout the texts of the first 80 chapters provide valuable information on the origin of the novel. Zhou Ruchang’s new book even suggests that Zhiyan Zhai, who has been known as a close friend of Cao, is actually Cao’s wife and the novel is a product of the joint effort of husband and wife.
- Comparative Studies, which is mainly concerned with distinguishing between different editions and the original texts.
- Investigative Studies, which mainly investigates the plot of the final twenty-eight chapters in reference to that of the first eighty.²⁶

²⁶ Cf. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Redology>

Debates over different topics have never ceased among scholars, and new books and papers on the subject continue to be published. Recently, the renowned writer Liu Xinwu established a new area of research – the Qin Studies. This recaptured public interest in Redology, especially after Liu gave a series of lectures on one of the characters Qin Keqin in the Lecture Room, which was featured on China Central Television Channel Ten (CCTV–10).

As early as 1816, just twenty-four years after its publication, parts of *Honglou meng* were translated into English by Robert Morrison in Macao. Some dialogues from Chapter 31 were translated and included in a Chinese-teaching textbook called *Dialogues and Detached Sentences: With a Free and Verbal Translation in English Collected from Various Sources, Designed as an Initiatory Work for the Use of Students of Chinese*.

The first English translations of *Honglou meng* appeared between 1830 and 1893, of which the translators were J.F. Davies, Robert Thom, Edward Charles Bowra and H. Bencraft Joly. Between 1830 and 1986, nine English translations were published. In 1942, Robert Thom translated several extracts under the title *Dream of the Red Chamber* for a magazine called *The Chinese Speaker*. E.C. Bowra's translation of the first eight chapters was published in *The China Magazine* in 1868–1869. H. Bencraft Joly translated the first 56 chapters between 1892 and 1893. This was considered an excellent translation and is still in print. Joly's did not manage to fulfill his dream of translating the entire novel before his death.

Between 1927 and 1958, a few abridged translations were published. Wang Liangzhi (王良志) published his abridged translation in New York in 1927, focusing only on the love story between Jia Baoyu and Lin Daiyu. Wang Chi-Chen's (王际真) translation, *Dream of the Red Chamber*, for which Arthur Waley wrote the preface, was also an abridged translation published in 1929 simultaneously by Doubleday, Doran & Co. in New York and Routledge in London. According to the translator, there are 232 male characters and 189 female characters in the novel. Interestingly, in this translation, the names were rendered into English using two different methods. Men's names were transcribed according to their sounds, but women's names were rendered according to their meanings. This “double standard” caused many debates among scholars (Wang 1988: 273). In 1933, Yuan Jiahua and Shiming published their abridged translation. After that, the novel was not translated until 1958 when the abridged version *The Dream of the Red Chamber* was published. This version was a retranslation from

the German translation of Franz Kuhn. The translators were the sisters Florence and Isabel McHugh.²⁷

Two complete translations of *Honglou meng* currently exist. The first, entitled *The Story of the Stone* was published in five volumes between 1973 and 1980. The first 80 chapters of this version were translated by David Hawkes and the last 40 by John Minford. The second complete translation of *Honglou meng*, entitled *A Dream of Red Mansions*, was translated by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang and published in Beijing in three volumes between 1978 and 1980 (Wang 1988: 270–274). Hawkes & Minford’s translation gives subtitles²⁸ to each volume – “The Golden Days” for Part 1, “The Crab-flower Club” for Part 2, “The Warning Voice” for Part 3, “The Debt of Tears” for Part 4 and “The Dreamer Wakes” for Part 5.

2.5 The source text, *Sanguo yanyi*

In this section, I will provide a detailed discussion of various aspects of the novel, from its historical background, authorship, editions, to its theme, adaptations, impact, etc.

《三国演义》, or *Sanguo yanyi*, was the first full-length novel with clear chapter divisions to appear in China. This epic novel describes the political and military conflict in the Chinese empire from AD 168–265. Rival power groups Wei, Shu and Wu – led by Cao Cao, Liu Bei and Sun Quan respectively – fought for control of the Chinese empire during the period known in Chinese history as that of the Three Kingdoms, which was one of the most tumultuous and fascinating periods in Chinese history.

Sanguo yanyi is an epic saga of brotherhood and rivalry, loyalty and treachery, and victory and death. The novel is as important in Chinese culture as the Homeric epics or Shakespeare’s historical dramas have been in the West. It highlights the sharp and complicated political and military conflicts of that time, and had a far-reaching influence on the political and military strategies of later ages.

²⁷ Some information is taken from an translated article on *Honglou meng*: 《红楼梦学刊》2007年03期.

²⁸ http://www.amazon.co.uk/s/ref=nb_sb_noss?url=search-alias%3Daps&field-keywords=story+of+the+stone. Retrieved on 3 September 2011.

The novel is arguably considered the most influential novel in Chinese society since its publication about 600 years ago. The text, originally a 240-chapter novel, was later revised to comprise 120 chapters and ranging in length from 700 to 1 700 pages in different printed versions. The authorship has traditionally been attributed to Luo Guanzhong (c1300–1400).

2.5.1 The title, authorship and editions of the novel

The formal and accurate title of the novel should be *Sanguozhi yanyi* instead of *Sanguo yanyi*. *Sanguo zhi* is the official history book about the period of the Three Kingdoms. “Sanguo” means “three kingdoms” and “zhi” refers to “record(s)”. “Yanyi” means “introduce or explain the content of (a book)”. The original title implies that Luo’s novel is the explanation or elaboration of *Sanguozhi*. According to Liu Shide (cf. Fu 2006: 3), all Ming editions of the novel found today, except for one, use *Sanguozhi yanyi* as the title.

The popular title *Sanguo yanyi*, without “zhi”, originates from the later copies of the Mao edition (cf. below), although the first impression of this still has “zhi”. In the 1950s, Beijing’s People’s Literature Press, the only publisher approved by the government to print old novels at that time, printed the novel omitting the “zhi” in the title. *Sanguo yanyi* had been established as the title of the book ever since. In the works of some famous scholars, when the novel is mentioned, “zhi” is still used. Many editions of the Japanese translation of the novel are simply titled *Sanguo zhi* (Wang Lina 1988: 23–27).

In the past, Chinese scholars generally professed, at least in public, a lofty disdain for popular fiction. Because of this attitude, although the novel had delighted and influenced many generations of readers, it was not as highly regarded as were poetry and history. So not until modern times, as a result of the influence of the West, has prose fiction come to assume a new status as serious literature. This long neglect, therefore, has made the modern attempt to reconstruct the authorship of the novels and to trace their evolution [...] a difficult and challenging task.

Liu (1966: 195)

Novelists in ancient China did not enjoy a high social status and Luo Guanzhong was no exception. But, unlike the uncertainty and disputes over the authorship of the other three novels, he was fortunate enough to be universally recognized as the author of *Sanguo yanyi*.

In about 1930, a Ming text written by Jia Zhongming and entitled *Luguibu xubian* (meaning “supplementary jottings on those who have died”) was found. This supplementary text gave brief introductions to seventy-eight dramatists and their works in the late Yuan and early Ming period. The biography of Luo Guanzhong was listed as the second. The short account reads:

Luo Guanzhong, native of Taiyuan. Pseudonym “Wanderer by Lake and Sea”. A man of solitary habits, he is skilled at writing *yuefu*²⁹ poems and is a pure and honest person. We have been friends despite the difference in our ages. A man with a wealth of experience, Luo is widely traveled. We last met each other more than sixty years ago, and there has been no news from him since. (cf. Liu 2007: 8 for the Chinese original and Roberts 2000: 3072 for the English translation).

This piece of record provides no information concerning Luo Guanzhong’s life or death but it is generally agreed that Luo lived in the fourteenth century.

For his life span, the estimated dates are 1330–1400, as inferred by Lu Xun, and 1328–1398, as inferred by Zheng Zhengduo. Luo Guanzhong’s name is Ben and Guangzhong is actually his style or courtesy name. His hometown is also a matter of dispute among scholars. Some argue that he was born in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, while others hold he was born in Dongyuan, Shandong Province. Both provinces are located in the north of the country. It is generally agreed that he spent most of his adult life in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, which is in the east of China. He was thought to have taken part in the uprisings at the end of the Yuan Dynasty to overthrow the Mongol regime and after the Ming Dynasty was founded, he stopped his involvement in politics and devoted his life to composing novels. Dozens of works, including dramas, appeared under his name besides *San Guo*, which became his most important work (cf. Zhao 1998).

The oldest complete printed edition of the novel was published in 1522 with a preface dated 1494. The title of this voluminous publication is *Sanguo zhi tongsu yanyi* (an explanation of SanguoZhi, done in the popular style), with the name Luo Guanzhong printed as the author (Liu 2007: 4, 30, 38). It can be assumed that during the gap of about one hundred years, Luo’s manuscripts were circulated by hand in the form of copies. Liu Wu-chi (1966: 197) explains:

²⁹ *Yuefu* poems are composed in a folk song style and the length of each line is usually made up of five characters.

This is understandable: any adventurous book trader would have thought twice before embarking on such a big enterprise as the publication of this voluminous novel, while wealthy scholar-officials who could afford the printing expenses would not have cared to publish something which could bring them neither credit nor recognition. So it did not achieve book form until the middle of the Ming dynasty when there was greater prosperity among the people, especially in the Soochow-Hangchow area, when printing became cheaper and more widely available, and when changing literary taste in favour of popular literature encouraged the search for new material for the book market and subsequently the publication of novels, story collections, and plays.

However, debates never stop over the novel's authorship, time of production and its editions. In his book *Perceiving the Three Mysteries of Sanguo yanyi*, Zhang Zhihe (2002) argues that the novel was written by an unknown author in the mid-Ming Dynasty and that Luo Guanzhong was not a novelist, but rather a dramatist. Zhang reached this conclusion after spending about ten years doing research on different editions. But Liu Shide (cf. Fu 2006: 4) provided evidence that Zhang made a mistake by regarding a later edition published in the mid-Ming as older than the 1522 edition.

The novel was written partly in Vernacular Chinese and partly in Classical Chinese, initially published in twenty-four volumes, each of which contained ten chapters. There was a seven-character title to each chapter starting with "Heroes Plight Mutual Faith" and ending with "Wang Rui Uses Strategy to Take over the City of Stone". The novel was copied by hand until it was first printed in 1522. In the 1660s, Mao Lun and his son Mao Zonggang significantly edited the text, fitting it into 120 chapters. The title was also abbreviated to *Sanguozhi yanyi* and the text was reduced from 900 000 to 750 000 characters. According to the notes in the Mao edition, significant editing was done in the following aspects: some archaic words and lengthy words were deleted for a narrative flow; some "incorrect" historical records were corrected based on authoritative history books; some descriptions were elaborated to make the stories more coherent and reasonable; some relevant texts which had been collected in *Wen Xuan* 《文选》, a general anthology of prose and verse made by Xiao Tong, were added; the single-sentenced title of each chapter was changed into a double-sentenced title; the old comments made by Li Zhi were removed and replaced by new comments made by Mao; the use of third-party poems was reduced and replaced by more well-known poems of the Tang and Song; some fabricated plots were deleted; and most passages praising Cao Cao's advisers and commanders were removed.

Mao's edition is a revision of the original, published with commentaries. Compared with Luo's original edition, which uses abundant documentary material and has a rough narrative style, the Mao edition undoubtedly excels from an artistic point of view, though some critics argue that Mao changed too much of the original texts. Since the publication of Mao's edition, which is widely considered to be a superior literary work, the previous version was almost completely supplanted. Publishers seem reluctant to print Luo's edition³⁰ for fear that profits are not guaranteed. Luo's edition can hardly be found in bookstores across China where publishers have never stopped printing the Four Great Classics.

The format of the Mao edition consists of three parts – a general comment on each chapter, which is placed before the main text, the main text and brief comments inserted in the main text (cf. the following page for an example of the format – the main text is in big, bold characters and the comments are in smaller fonts). Most of the printings of Mao's edition only keep the main text on which both of the two English translations are based. From time to time, Roberts referred to Mao's comments in the notes to his translation.

³⁰ There are two editions available. One was published in 1980 by Shanghai guji chubanshe and the other in 2008 by Renmin chubanshe. Both are two-volume editions.

第一回 宴桃園豪傑三結義 斬黃巾英雄首立功 (The chapter title)

人謂魏得天時、吳得地理、蜀得人和，乃三大國將興，先有天公、地公、人公三小寇以引之。

亦如劉季將為天子，有吳廣、陳涉以先之；劉秀為天子，有赤眉、銅馬以引之。以三寇引出三國，是全部中賓主；以張角兄弟三人引出桃園兄弟三人，此又一回中賓主。

今人結盟，必拜關帝；不知桃園當日，又拜何神？可見盟者，盟諸心，非盟諸神也。今人好通譜，往往非族認族；試觀桃園三義，各自一姓；可見兄弟之約，取同心同德，不取同姓同宗也。

若不信心而信神，不論德而論姓，則神道設教，莫如張角三人，同氣連枝，亦莫如張角三人矣。

而彼三人者，其視桃園為何如耶！

齊東絕倒之語，偏足煽惑愚人，如“蒼天已死，黃天當立”是已。且安知南華老仙天書三卷，非張角謬言之而眾人妄信之乎！愚以為裹黃巾、稱黃天，由前而觀，則黃門用事之應；由後而觀，則黃初改元之兆也。

百忙中忽入劉、曹二小傳：一則自幼便大，一則自幼便奸；一則中山靖王之後，一則中常侍之養孫；低昂已判矣。後人猶有以魏為正統，而書“蜀兵入寇”者，何哉？

許劭曰：“治世能臣，亂世奸雄”，此時豈治世耶？劭意在後一語，操喜亦喜在後一語。喜得惡，喜得險，喜得直，喜得無禮，喜得不平常，喜得不懷好意。只此一喜，使是奸雄本色。(Commentary on the chapter by Mao)

話說天下大勢，分久必合，合久必分。週末七國分爭，併入于秦。及秦滅之後，楚、漢分爭，又併入於漢；漢朝自高祖斬白蛇而起義，一統天下，後來光武中興，傳至獻帝，遂分為三國。推其致亂之由，殆始於桓、靈二帝 (The main text edited by Mao)。<出師表>曰：“歎息痛恨於桓、靈。”故從桓、靈說起。桓、靈不用十常侍，則東漢可以不為三國。劉禪不用黃皓，則蜀漢可以不為晉國。此一部大書，前後應照起 (Brief comments inserted in the text by Mao)。桓帝禁錮善類，崇信宦官。及桓帝崩，靈帝即位，大將軍竇武、太傅陳蕃共相輔佐。時有宦官曹節等弄權，竇武、陳蕃謀誅之，機事不密，反為所害，中涓自此愈橫。將說何進，先以陳、竇二人作引。建寧二年四月望日，帝禦溫德殿。方升座，殿角狂風驟起。只見一條大青蛇，從梁上飛將下來，蟠於椅上。白蛇斬而漢興，青蛇見而漢危。青蛇、白蛇，遙遙相對。○“惟虺惟蛇，女子之祥。”寺人正與女子一類也，故有此兆。帝驚倒，左右急救入宮，百官俱奔避。須臾，蛇不見了。忽然大雷大雨，加以冰雹，落到半夜方止，壞卻房屋無數。建寧四年二月，洛陽地震。又海水泛溢，沿海居民，盡被大浪捲入海中。水將滅火。光和元年，雌雞化雄。此兆尤切中宦官。以男子而淨身，則雄化為雌矣，以閹人而干政，則雌又化為雄也。六月朔，黑氣十餘丈，飛入溫德殿中。秋七月，有虹見於玉堂。五原山岸，盡皆崩

裂。種種不祥，非止一端。先說災異，引起盜賊。帝下詔問群臣以災異之由。議郎蔡邕上疏，以為霓墮、雞化，乃婦寺干政之所致，言頗切直。首卷書以蔡邕起，以董卓結，蓋邕固一代文人也，使不失身董卓，則<三國志>當成于蔡邕之手，豈成于陳壽之手哉？。帝覽奏歎息，因起更衣。曹節在後竊視，悉宣告左右；遂以他事陷邕於罪，放歸田裡。後張讓、趙忠、封諤、段珪、曹節、侯覽、蹇碩、程曠、夏惲、郭勝十人朋比為奸，號為“十常侍”。帝尊信張讓，呼為“阿父”。有此張父，自然生出張角等兄弟三人來。朝政日非，以致天下人心思亂，盜賊蜂起。

時鉅鹿郡有兄弟三人，以此兄弟三人，引出桃園兄弟三人來。一名張角，一名張寶，一名張梁。那張角本是個不第秀才，脫儒冠而裹黃巾，負卻秀才名色。因入山采藥，遇一老人，碧眼童顏，手執藜杖，喚角至一洞中，以天書三卷授之，曰：“此名<太平要術>，汝得之當代天宣化，普救世人；若萌異心，必獲惡報。”若無此句，人不肯信。角拜問姓名。老人曰：“吾乃南華老仙也。”言訖，化陣清風而去。此事誰見來？張角是自言之，而人遂信之，正與篝火狐鳴一般伎倆。角得此書，晝夜攻習，能呼風喚雨，號為“太平道人”。稱謂絕奇。中平元年正月內，疫氣流行，張角散施符水，為人治病，自稱“大賢良師”。名號愈出愈奇。角有徒弟五百余人，雲遊四方，皆能書符念咒。次後徒眾日多，角乃立三十六方，大方萬餘人，小方六七千，各立渠帥，稱為將軍。書符念咒，只好遣鬼為將，奈何以人為將乎！稱“道人”，稱“師”，又稱“將軍”，名號愈出愈奇。訛言：“蒼天已死，黃天當立。”造語不通之極。如此秀才，宜其不第也。○漢將興，有赤帝、白帝之奇讖；漢將亡，有蒼天、黃天之妖言。赤、白、蒼、黃，二帝二天，正遙遙相映。又雲：“歲在甲子，天下大吉。”令人各以白土書“甲子”二字於家中大門上。青、幽、徐、冀、荆、揚、兗、豫八州之人，家家侍奉大賢良師張角名字。天子既呼張讓為父，天下又安得不奉角為師。

2.5.2 Sources that the novel uses³¹

The Three Kingdoms period was one of the most interesting periods in Chinese history and this period has been a major subject of historical storytellers at least since the late Tang (618–907). Long before Luo Guanzhong compiled the novel *Sanguo yanyi* in the late Yuan (1279–1368) or early Ming (1368–1644) period, the characters and events of the three kingdoms had been romanticized by poets, storytellers, and playwrights. The sources from which Luo Guanzhong collected the information for the novel mainly include:

1. Chen Shou's *Sanguozhi* (Records of Three Kingdoms) with annotations by Pei Songzhi
2. Fanye's *Houhanshu* (History book of the Later Han Dynasty)
3. Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* (Literally means “comprehensive mirror to aid in government”)
4. *Sanguozhi pinghua* (Plain story of *Sanguozhi*)
5. Gan Bao's *Soushenji* (In search of the supernatural)
6. Liu Yiqing's *Shishuo xinyu* (A new account of tales of the world)
7. Operas and folk tales about the Three Kingdoms Period since Tang

1. Chen Shou's *Sanguozhi* 《三国志》 with annotations by Pei Songzhi

It was conventional in China to have the country's history officially recorded by top historians of the time. Typically, after collecting credible sources, these canonical history records were produced in the next dynasty by officially organized editing, revising, and collating. The *Twenty-Four Histories* are the most influential official history books written in the form of a series of biographies, the first being *Shiji* (*Records of the Historian*) by Sima Qian and the last being *Ming Shi* (*History of the Ming Dynasty*).

Sanguo zhi (*The Records of Three Kingdoms*) is the official and authoritative historical text on the period of the Three Kingdoms which covered events from the Yellow Turban Rebellion in AD 184 up to the unification of the Three Kingdoms under the Jin Dynasty in AD 280. It was written by Chen Shou (陈寿) in the third century. The work is a collection of the histories of

³¹ The information in this section, unless mentioned specifically, is mainly based on the corresponding entries in Shen & Tan's 2007 publication *A Companion to Sanguo yanyi*.

the rival states Cao Wei, Shu Han and Eastern Wu of the Three Kingdoms incorporated into a single comprehensive text.

Sanguo zhi contains sixty-five volumes and about 360 000 words, which are divided into three books. The “Book of Wei” contains thirty volumes, the “Book of Shu” contains fifteen volumes while the “Book of Wu” contains twenty volumes. Each volume is organized in the form of one or more biographies. The space allocated to a biography is dictated by the importance of the figure. Many of the political, military, and economic figures from the period of the Three Kingdoms are included in the work, as well as those who contributed to the fields of culture, arts and science.

In the fifth century, the work was further annotated by Pei Songzhi (裴松之), who became the Gentleman of Texts under the Song of Southern Dynasties, and was given the assignment of editing the book, which was completed in 429. Pei referred to all relevant passages from other sources to illuminate the text. The titles he drew up amounted to 210, although most of them have been lost (c.f. Hsia: 1968: 39). Pei went about providing detailed explanations of the geography and other elements mentioned in the original work. More importantly, he made corrections to the work, in consultation with records he collected of the period. In regard to historical events and figures, he added his own commentary as well as Chen Shou’s opinions. From his broad research, he was able to create a history which was relatively complete, without many of the loose ends that characterized the original (cf. Roberts 1994).

Chen Shou’s Sanguo zhi with Annotations from Pei Songzhi became a reliable and influential reference book for later scholars and readers. Luo Guanzhong is believed to have based large parts of his novel on the work. Almost all the important historical events described in the novel are fundamentally the same as those in *Sanguo zhi*. The edition believed to be the closest to Luo’s original text is named *Sanguo zhi tongshu yanyi*, meaning “popularized story of the records of Three Kingdoms”. *Sanguo zhi* may be considered the *Sanguo zhi yanyi*’s ancestral source material (Roberts 1994: 1480).

2. Fan Ye’s *Houhanshu* 《后汉书》

Houhanshu (*History Book of the Later Han Dynasty*), one of the books of the *Twenty-Four Histories* of Chinese history, was written by Fan Ye in the fifth century and covers the history of the Eastern Han Dynasty from 25 to 220 CE. It also adopts the traditional format of

biographical recording of important people. This book contains a few biographies that cannot be found in the *Sanguozhi*, such as the biography for Kong Rong and the biography for Mi Heng. For some biographies also included in the *Sanguozhi*, *Houhanshu* provides more information, such as in biographies for Dong Zhuo, Lu Bu and Liu Biao. From the biographies of the *Houhanshu*, Luo Guanzhong incorporated some material into the stories of the above-mentioned characters.

3. Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* 《资治通鉴》

Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* (literally translated as “Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government” or “General History for the Aid of Government”) was a pioneering reference work in Chinese historiography. The work provides a chronological, historical account of China's development, narrating the country's history from the Warring States Period in 403 BCE to the beginning of the Song Dynasty in 959 CE – a period of 1 362 years. Emperor Yingzong of Song ordered Sima Guang and other scholars to begin compiling the book in 1065 CE and they presented it to his successor Emperor Shenzong of Song in 1084 CE. The work contains 294 volumes and about three million Chinese characters.

Prior to its publication, the standard Chinese dynastic histories primarily divided chapters between annals of rulers and biographies of officials. *Zizhi tongjian* changed the format of histories from a biographical style to a chronological style, the first of its kind to employ this strategy, and is better suited for analysis and criticism than previous works. Its contents focus more on political and military events rather than economics and culture.

The book's chronological narration of important events during the Three Kingdoms period makes the outline of the history clearer and more systematic, which is believed to have had a great influence on Luo in structuring the stories and “may be considered as the ancestor to the format of the novel” (Roberts 1994: 1480).

4. *Sanguozhi pinghua* 《三国志平话》

The earliest attempt to combine Sanguo-stories into a written work was *Sanguozhi Pinghua*, (literally meaning “plain story of *Sanguozhi*”), published sometime between 1321 and 1323. The author and the time of writing are unknown. Although *Pinghua* has three volumes and about 80 000 Chinese characters, it is still not long enough to be called a novel. This version

combined themes of legend, magic, and morality to appeal to the peasant class and some plots are far removed from historical facts. Both the contents and the style of writing in *Sanguozhi pinghua* are considered rather poor, though Luo might have adopted its basic storyline. *Pinghua* is considered one of the most important texts for the writing of *Sanguo yanyi* and “may be called a primitive blueprint for *Three Kingdoms*” (Roberts 1994: 1488).

5. Gan Bao’s *Soushenji* 《搜神记》

Soushenji (meaning “in search of the supernatural”) is believed to be written by Gan Bao (干宝) in the fourth century. Gan Bao was a historian and a firm believer in fate and the occult. He applied the historians’ method of recording the fantastical stories which were current in his time. The original texts in 30 volumes became incomplete after the Song Dynasty, and in the Ming Dynasty Hu Yinglin compiled the texts into a twenty-volume book which has been handed down over the centuries. The book is a collection of legends, short stories, and hearsay concerning spirits, ghosts, and other supernatural phenomena. The book was written in a brief but elegant style, and it contains 464 stories in total. Luo Guanzhong adopted some plots from the book, such as “Yu Ji Prays for Rain” (Chapter 29) and “Guan Lu Shows His Divining Powers” (Chapter 69).

6. Liu Yiqing’s *Shishuo xinyu* 《世说新语》

Shishuo xinyu (meaning “a new account of tales of the world”) was compiled by Liu Yiqing in the fifth century. It is a sketchbook containing anecdotes reflecting aristocrats’ lives and thoughts from the end of the Han Dynasty (220 CE) to the Eastern Jin Dynasty (420 CE). Its eight volumes were divided into thirty-six chapters, including chapters on moral integrity, discourse, government affairs and literature. Its style – an elegant, succinct and yet colloquial reworking of historical or pseudo-historical material – has attracted continuing admiration. *Shishuo xinyu* pioneered the genre of the sketchbook, inspiring many later novels of its kind, and offers rare information on the ancient Chinese aristocracy. Many minor but interesting stories in *Sanguo yanyi* are believed to have been taken from *Shishuo xinyu* by both Luo and Mao³². For example, Luo used the stories of “Look at Plums to Quench Thirst”, “Yang Xiu Shows off His Talent”, “Cao Zhi Composes a Poem within Seven Paces”, etc.

³² Mao Zonggang, the chief commentator and reviser of the novel.

In addition, Luo was believed to refer to many other storybooks and books of history, such as *Hanjinchunqiu* by Xi Zhaochi (third century), *Yulin* by Pei Qi (third century), *Tongjiangangmu* by Zhu Xi (twelfth to thirteenth century), *Taiping guangji* (“records of the Taiping Era”) by Li Fang (eleventh to twelfth century), *Dongpo zhilin* by Su Shi (eleventh to twelfth century), *Dongjing menghualu* (eleventh to thirteenth century), etc. (Shen & Tan 2007: 2–5).

7. Other works, operas and folk tales about the Three Kingdoms period since the Tang Dynasty

Myths from the Three Kingdoms period existed as oral traditions before any written compilations. In these popular stories, the characters typically took on exaggerated characteristics, often becoming immortals or supernatural beings with magical powers. These stories grew in popularity among the Han Chinese during the reign of the Mongol emperors of the Yuan Dynasty. During the succeeding Ming Dynasty, an interest in plays and novels resulted in further expansions and retelling of the stories.

Separate stories made into dramas during the Song and Yuan Dynasties include: *The Assassination of Dong Zhuo* (author unknown), *Lord Guan Goes to the Feast* (B) by Guan Hanqing, *The Girl Diao Chan* (author unknown), *Cao Zijian Formed Prose within Seven Steps* by Wang Shifu, *Three Heroes Fighting against Lu Bu at Hulaoguan Pass* by Wu Hanchen, etc. (Shen & Tan 2007: 6–12). These dramas intertwined elements of reincarnation and karma, making the stories and characters rich and vivid.

To compile *Sanguo yanyi*, Luo is believed to have made use of some of the available historical records mentioned above and material from Tang Dynasty poetic works, Yuan Dynasty operas and his own personal interpretations of elements such as virtue and legitimacy. Luo combined this historical knowledge with a gift for storytelling to create a rich tapestry of personalities.

2.5.3 The plot and style of writing

Sanguo yanyi depicts important historical events between 169 and 280 with a focus on the rise and fall of the Three Kingdoms. In Chinese history spanning about 2 000 years, the pattern of

the “dynastic cycle” has been repeated time and again. The famous opening line of the novel reads: “Empires wax and wane; states cleave asunder and coalesce.” The story ends with the line reversed: “States fall asunder and re-unite; empires wax and wane.” This “dynastic cycle” in the novel is revealed through the descriptions of the fall of the Han Dynasty, the subsequent division of its empire into three kingdoms – Wei, Shu, and Wu, and the reunification of the country under the Jin – a new ruling house.

Sanguo yanyi can be roughly divided into four parts, in keeping with the four major plots in the novel. The first part consists of Chapters 1–33 and mainly describes the Yellow Scarves Uprising and how Cao Cao unified the north of China. The second part, Chapters 34–50, is about the Battle of the Red Cliff and the formation of the Three Kingdoms. The third part, Chapters 51–105, focuses on the events involving the Kingdom of Shu and Zhuge Liang’s activities. The last part, Chapters 116–120, concludes the novel with the reunification of China. The four plots are briefly discussed below.

1. The Yellow Scarves Uprising and Cao Cao unifies the north of China³³

During Emperor Ling’s reign in the final years of the Han Dynasty, empresses and eunuchs interfered frequently in government affairs. As a result, the court administration became extremely corrupt and outlaws swarmed across the country. The most powerful rebel group was the Yellow Scarves,³⁴ led by the three Zhang brothers. The government’s efforts to suppress the rebellions led to a rise in the number of military warlords and nobles, some of whom became powerful beyond the control of the central government. In the civil war that followed, the warlords fought each other for land and followers and the less powerful ones either surrendered to the more powerful or were diminished and exterminated. Cao Cao used this opportunity to build power. He took the Emperor Xian from the hands of the rebelling generals and established a new court at Xuchang. He turned the emperor into a puppet. Later on, Yuan Shao and Cao Cao became the two most powerful warlords. At the crucial Battle of Guandu, Cao Cao, whose troops were outnumbered, defeated Yuan Shao and gained control of the north of China. This later served as the foundation of the Kingdom of Wei. During this

³³ The north of China had been the center of politics, military affairs and economy for many years and major capitals are always in the north, especially before Tang (From Moss Roberts’ translation, 1994: 399-400).

³⁴ The name comes from the rebels who bound their heads with yellow scarves (From Moss Roberts’ translation, 1994: 267-268).

time of turmoil, many of the major characters are introduced, for example Cao Cao, Liu Bei, Guan Yu and Zhang Fei.

2. The Battle of the Red Cliff and the formation of the Three Kingdoms

Cao Cao wished to unify the whole country, including the east and south of the Yangtze River. Sun Quan, who inherited the rule of the rich southern lands³⁵ from his father and brother, became the obvious obstacle for Cao Cao. Another contending power was Liu Bei, who was defeated and chased by Cao Cao's troops and was eventually cornered. In order to survive, Sun and Liu were forced to form an alliance and defeated Cao Cao's army at the famous Battle of the Red Cliff. After that, Cao Cao retreated to the north, Sun Quan kept his rule over the east and south of the Yangtze and Liu Bei based himself in the southwest. There were wars and battles among them, but the confrontation continued with no sides yielding.

3. Zhuge Liang's activities

Zhuge Liang, who helped Liu Bei establish the Kingdom of Shu, becomes the major character after his first appearance in Chapter 36. Liu Bei paid three visits to Zhuge Liang in order to persuade him to leave behind his life in seclusion and assist Liu in winning the throne. Zhuge Liang agreed and proved himself to be an invaluable asset to Liu Bei. He arranged an alliance with Sun Quan to defeat Cao Cao, and guided Liu Bei to the occupation of Jingzhou, a key strategic district. He then helped Liu conquer Shu and establish the Kingdom of Shu-Han. After Liu Bei's death, Zhuge Liang acted as the prime minister and regent of the young prince Liu Shan. To maintain the stability of the kingdom, he campaigned against the Southern Man and the northern Kingdom of Wei. He finally died of exhaustion in the battlefield.

4. The reunification of China

After Zhuge Liang's death, warfare continued among the Three Kingdoms. General Sima Yi of Wei and his sons took the power from the emperor and controlled the Kingdom. The Sima family sent troops to first defeat the troops of Shu Han and capture Liu Shan, bringing an end to the Kingdom of Shu Han. In AD 265, Sima Yan established the Jin Dynasty to replace the Kingdom of Wei. Sima Yan ordered the Jin troops to attack the Kingdom of Wu from the land

³⁵ This area is where the Kingdom of Wu would eventually be founded.

of Shu-Han. After a long period of warfare, the emperor of Wu surrendered to Sima Yan and the whole country was unified again. Thus the Three Kingdoms period came to an end.

According to Chen Wenxin (2007: 3–11), the narrative structure employed in *Sanguo yanyi* makes it attractive to a wide spectrum of readers. The novel's narrative style falls into three categories. The first is found in a faithful recording of an entire event. In such instances, a third-person narrator is employed and characters are portrayed through their words and actions instead of by exploring their inner thoughts. An example from Chapter 33 is provided below. When Cao Cao began planning to attack Wuhuan, Cao Cao's officers checked him and urged him to return to the capital for fear that Liu Biao and Liu Bei would attack. The response of Guo Jia, Cao Cao's major advisor, and Cao Cao's reaction to his advice illustrate the first style of narration:

“My colleagues are wrong. You are feared across the realm, my lord, while the desert tribes will be off guard, secure in their remoteness. A sudden strike is bound to succeed. Remember that Yuan Shao and the Wuhuan had close ties and that as long as the Yuan brothers survive, they will be a threat. Liu Biao, on the other hand, is an armchair strategist. He knows he can't dominate Liu Bei. If he gives Liu Bei a major task, he will lose control. If he gives Liu Bei a trivial task, he will refuse. The capital only appears to be vulnerable during this extended campaign. Actually, there is little risk.” “Sound advice,” Cao Cao decided and led the entirety of his forces, supported by thousands of supply wagons, to carry the war to the Wuhuan.”³⁶

The second type of narrative style is the fictional description. This type employs techniques from drama and storytelling and is used to achieve fictional effects such as decorative description, suspense creation and description of psychological movement. A number of well-known stories include “Liu Bei Pays Three Visits to Zhuge Liang”, “Kongming Debates the Southern Officials”, “Jiang Gan Springs a Trap at the Congregation of Heroes” and “Kongming Leaves a Plan in the Brocade Bag”.

The final type is note-like sketches, which started and developed from the Three Kingdoms period. The anecdotes of some historical figures are inserted from time to time to make the reader take a break from the major plots. For instance, in Chapter 22, Zheng Xuan, a great scholar in history but a minor character in the novel, is introduced as follows:

³⁶ From Roberts's translation: 399–400.

Zheng Xuan (Kangcheng) was a scholar of many talents who had once studied under Ma Rong, famed for his knowledge of the classic *Book of Odes*. Ma Rong himself was in the habit of lecturing to students before a crimson curtain behind which sat singing girls. Around the room maids stood in waiting. But during the three years that Zheng Xuan studied there, his glance never strayed from the books before him – an act of self-discipline that Ma Rong admired. After Zheng Xuan had completed his studies and returned home, Ma Rong sighed and said, “Xuan is the only one who has grasped the essence of my teachings.”

In Zheng Xuan’s own household all the serving girls were versed in the *Odes*. Once a maidservant displeased Zheng Xuan, and he had her kneel for a long time at the steps before the main hall. Another maidservant teased her, quoting from the *Odes*: “What hast thou done to land in the mire?” The punished maid, quoting back, replied, “I voiced my complaint and met with wrath.” This shows the refinement of Zheng Xuan’s household.³⁷

2.5.4 Fictitious changes to the historical facts

Due to its widespread popularity, many readers falsely believe *Sanguo yanyi* to be the real history of the Three Kingdoms period. Actually, written as a popular novel, many stories are fictitious and were created on the basis of tales or historical incidents from other periods. These fictitious stories roughly fall into three categories.

The first category includes those stories without any factual basis, such as “Oath of the Peach Garden”, “Guan Yu slays six generals and crosses five passes”, “Guan Yu releases Cao Cao at Huarong Pass”, “Zhuge Liang argues with the scholars of Wu”, “Zhuge Liang prays for and borrows the Eastern Wind” and “Zhuge Liang and Zhou Yu’s relationship”. Interestingly, these stories are among the most popular ones due to the mastery of description.

The second category includes those stories which were only briefly recorded in history books, but elaborated on extensively in the novel. Most of the plots in the novel fall into this category. The stories “Liu Bei pays three visits to Zhuge Liang” and “Meng Huo captured and released by Zhuge Liang seven times” are examples of this category.

³⁷ From Roberts’s translation: 267–268.

The third category includes those stories which actually happened to other people instead of to the characters in the novel. The author obviously intended to achieve effects by presenting a fuller image of the characters. Examples are “Zhang Fei trashes the imperial inspector” (Liu Bei actually did this. Liu Bei in the novel is a gentle leader while Zhang Fei is quick-tempered) and “Guan Yu slays Hua Xiong” (Sun Jian was the one who slew Hua Xiong. This change was intended to add fame to Guan Yu, who was later promoted to deity status).

Through his intricate portrayal of the characters, Luo Guanzhong succeeds in swaying readers toward his pro-Liu and anti-Cao sentimental bias. In the novel, each of the important figures is a model of a certain ethic or character, such as Cao Cao’s treachery, Guan Yu’s loyalty to his sworn brothers, Liu Bei’s benevolence, and Zhuge Liang’s wisdom, all repeatedly displayed through a variety of situations. As a result, ordinary readers may often begin to look at the historical characters from the literary perspectives, and confuse literary fabrication with historical facts.

Ma (2005: 119)

2.5.5 The structure

In his commentary, Mao Zonggang divides the structure of the novel into six large narrative segments which form the novel’s framework. There are “six beginnings” and “six endings”, which do not necessarily start or end in specific chapters.

The first narrative tells the story of the Han emperor. It begins with the reign of Emperor Xian and ends when Cao Pi usurps the Han throne. The second relates the history of the Kingdom of Shu. It begins with Liu Bei declaring himself emperor in Chengdu and ends with his son Liu Shan’s surrender to Wei. The third begins with the story of the three brothers taking the oath in the peach garden and ends with the death of the eldest brother Liu Bei in Baidi, entrusting his son to the care of Zhuge Liang. The fourth narrative is the story of Zhuge Liang which begins with Liu Bei’s three calls to Zhuge Liang’s thatched hut and ends with Zhuge Liang’s six unsuccessful offensives against Wei and his death in Wuzhangyuan. The fifth is the story of the Kingdom of Wei. It begins with its first reign period and ends with Sima Yan receiving the abdication of the last Wei emperor. The sixth tells the story of the Kingdom of

Wu. It begins when Sun Jian conceals the imperial seal and ends when Sun Hao tenders the seal to the Jin emperor (cf. Roberts 1994: 1515).

2.5.6 The characters

Though most of the major characters' activities depicted in the novel stay true to historical facts, the author, a novelist and not an historian, did incorporate and add existing or imaginative details in an attempt to make his key characters unforgettable. The author focused mainly on the struggle and contest between two military groups led by Liu Bei and Cao Cao respectively, relatively minimizing the events and activities in the Kingdom of Wu.

Five of the major characters were greatly elaborated and very well portrayed by the author, namely Cao Cao, Zhuge Liang, Liu Bei, Guan Yu and Zhang Fei. It is actually a book of talents. Mao Zonggang chooses three dominant characters whom he calls three “绝” (“jue”), meaning “incomparable”. Cao Cao is portrayed as the most evil or amoral villain, Guan Yu as the symbol of bravery and valor and Zhuge Liang as an embodiment of wisdom and intellect.

Cao Cao is generally portrayed in the novel as a character of cruelty, suspicion, selfishness, hypocrisy, treachery and ruthlessness, and “becomes the personification of evil, much distorted and debased from his true role in history” (Liu 1966: 199). His notorious summarization of his life philosophy, “Better that I should wrong the world than that the world should wrong me,” forever secured his place as the foremost villain in Chinese popular literature. These are the words he uttered after he learned that he had made a mistake by slaughtering all the members of his host's family for fear of their murdering him. They were actually merely sharpening a knife to kill a pig to hold a banquet in his honor.

However, Cao Cao is also brave and quick-minded, as can be seen in the excerpt provided below. This excerpt from Chapter 4 brings Cao Cao to the scene in a very vivid way when he volunteers to kill Dong Zhuo, the powerful and evil prime minister. The background can be briefly summarized as follows: In the year 190, the last Han emperor was being held hostage by Dong Zhuo, a tyrannical warlord who wanted to form his own army. His behavior angered many court officials. One of them, called Wang Yun, held a banquet one night to cry about the cruel deeds of Dong Zhuo and his colleagues joined him, feeling the same anguish. Cao

Cao, however, laughed and said it was impossible to cry Dong Zhuo to his death. Cao Cao suggested the following solution:

“These later days,” Cao Cao continued, “I have bowed my head to Dong Zhuo with the sole desire of finding a chance to destroy him. Now he begins to trust me, and so I can approach him sometimes. You have a sword with seven precious jewels which I would borrow, and I will go into his palace and kill him. I care not if I die for it.”

“What good fortune for the world that this is so!” said Wang Yun.

With this Wang Yun himself poured out a goblet for Cao Cao who drained it and swore an oath. After this the treasured sword was brought out and given to Cao Cao who hid it under his dress. He finished his wine, took leave of the guests, and left the hall. Before long the others dispersed.

The next day Cao Cao, with this short sword girded on, came to the palace of the Prime Minister.

“Where is the Prime Minister?” asked he.

“In the small guest room,” replied the attendants.

So Cao Cao went in and found his host seated on a couch. Lu Bu³⁸ was at his side.

“Why so late, Cao Cao?” said Dong Zhuo.

“My horse is out of condition and slow,” replied Cao Cao.

Dong Zhuo turned to his henchman Lu Bu.

“Some good horses have come in from the west. You go and pick out a good one as a present for him.”

And Lu Bu left.

“This traitor is doomed!” thought Cao Cao. He ought to have struck then, but Cao Cao knew Dong Zhuo was very powerful, and he was afraid to act. He wanted to make sure of his blow.

Now Dong Zhuo’s corpulence was such that he could not remain long sitting, so he rolled over couch and lay face inwards.

“Now is the time,” thought the assassin, and he gripped the good sword firmly.

But just as Cao Cao was going to strike, Dong Zhuo happened to look up and in a mirror he saw the reflection of Cao Cao behind him with a sword in the hand.

“What are you doing, Cao Cao?” said Dong Zhuo turning suddenly. And at that moment Lu Bu came along leading a horse.

Cao Cao in a flurry dropped on his knees and said, “I have a precious sword here which I wish to present to Your Benevolence.”

³⁸ Dong Zhuo’s adopted son and a fierce warrior.

Dong Zhuo took it. It was a fine blade, over a foot in length, inlaid with the seven precious signs and very keen---a fine sword in very truth. Dong Zhuo handed the weapon to Lu Bu while Cao Cao took off the sheath which he also gave to Lu Bu.

Then they went out to look at the horse. Cao Cao was profuse in his thanks and said he would like to try the horse. So Dong Zhuo bade the guards bring saddle and bridle. Cao Cao led the creature outside, leapt into the saddle, laid on his whip vigorously, and galloped away eastward.

Lu Bu said, "Just as I was coming up, it seemed to me as if that fellow was going to stab you, only a sudden panic seized him and he presented the weapon instead."

"I suspected him too!" said Dong Zhuo.

Just then Li Ru³⁹ came in and they told him.

"Cao Cao has no family here in the capital but lodges quite alone and not far away," said Li Ru. "Send for him. If he comes forthwith, the sword was meant as a gift. But if he makes any excuses, he had bad intentions. And you can arrest him."

They sent four prison warders to call Cao Cao.

They were absent a long time and then came back, saying, "Cao Cao had not returned to his lodging but rode in hot haste out of the eastern gate. To the gate commander's questions he replied that he was on a special message for the Prime Minister. He went off at full speed."

Excerpt from Brewitt-Taylor's translation (43–45)⁴⁰

This passage creates the impression that Cao Cao is not only brave but also clever. His bravery and wisdom gradually established him as the strongest candidate among the warlords trying to unify the country.

The depiction of Guan Yu (or Lord Guan in Roberts's translation) in the novel has "completely replaced the historical one in the Chinese imagination. When he is mentioned at all today, it is the figure as he appears in this novel that the Chinese have in mind" (Miller 1959: x). To account for his popular image in Chinese society, Guan Yu was portrayed in the novel as the most righteous and loyal warrior. He is the best-loved of all heroes and is described as a man of great prowess. He has a long beard, phoenix eyes, a face as ruddy as ripe dates and a deep, bell-like voice. Guan Yu's initial deed of valor was described impressively in Chapter 5. In a battle between Dong Zhuo and the coalition led by Yuan Shao, Hua Xiong, who became Dong Zhuo's general after defeating Sun Jian, the vanguard of the coalition, rode towards the coalition's camp to taunt:

³⁹ Dong Zhuo's adviser.

⁴⁰ I changed the spelling of the names from Wade-Giles to Pinyin for the sake of consistence.

At this point a spy reported that Hua Xiong had brought his armored cavalry down from the pass, displaying Sun Jian's red headdress on the tip of a pole, and was at the camp's entrance mouthing taunts. "Who will go?" asked Yuan Shao. From behind Yuan Shu, Yu She, a commander known for bravery, stepped forward and volunteered. But Hua Xiong made short work of him. Alarm stirred the assembly. Governor Han Fu recommended his own champion commander, Pan Feng, and Yuan Shao urged him to the field. Pan Feng went forth with a huge axe, but the news came back swiftly of his death too at Hua Xiong's hands. The assembly began to panic. "It's a pity Yan Liang and Wen Chou, my own top generals, are not here," Yuan Shao said. "Either one could end our worries." At that, a voice from the back boomed, "I offer to present Hua Xiong's head to you personally."

The assembled lords turned to the speaker, a man over nine spans, with a great beard flowing from rich ruddy cheeks. His eyes were like those of the crimson-faced phoenix, his brows like nestling silkworms, his voice like a tolling bell. He fixed his eyes directly on the audience. "Who is this man?" demanded Yuan Shao. "Guan Yu, sworn brother of Xuande," answered Gongsun Zan. "His position?" asked Shao. "Mounted archer under Xuande," was the reply. At that, the war-ruler's brother, Yuan Shu, burst out, "Are you trying to insult us? A mere archer! Have we no more commanders? What nonsense! Get him out of here!" But Cao Cao checked Yuan Shu: "Pray, hold your temper. This man has made his boast. He can't be a coward. Now let him make it good. You'll have plenty of time to condemn him if he fails." "But to send out an archer!" Yuan Shao said. "Hua Xiong will laugh in his sleeve!" "He does not look like an ordinary soldier," Cao Cao replied. "How is Hua Xiong going to know?" Finally, Lord Guan spoke: "If I fail, my head is yours."

Cao Cao had a draft of wine heated for Lord Guan before he mounted. "Pour it," said the warrior, "and set it aside for me. I'll be back shortly." He leaped to his horse, gripped his weapon, and was gone. The assembly of lords heard the rolling of drums and the clamor of voices outside the pass, and it seemed as if the heavens would split open and the earth buckle, as if the hills were shaking and the mountains moving. The terror-struck assembly was about to make inquiry when the jingling of bridle bells announced Lord Guan's return. He entered the tent and tossed Hua Xiong's head, freshly severed, on the ground. His wine was still warm. A poet of later times sang Lord Guan's praises:

His might sufficed to hold in place
the frames of sky and land.

The painted war drums charged the air
at the chieftains' field command.
The hero put the cup aside
to slake his combat lust;
Before the wine had time to cool,
Hua Xiong lay in the dust.

Excerpt from Roberts's translation (84–85)

This account of Guan Yu's confidence and ability is quite memorable. Another example of his bravery is displayed on one occasion when he had to receive a surgical operation on his arm wounded by a poisoned arrow. The famous surgeon Hua Tuo was called to perform the operation. The doctor "parted the flesh, exposing the bone: it was already coated green. The knife made a thin, grating sound as it scraped the surface, until everyone present blanched and covered his face. But Lord Guan continued eating and drinking, laughing and talking as he played (a game of chess), showing no sign of pain" (Roberts's translation: Chapter 74). Unfortunately, Guan Yu's character developed into an arrogant and stupid warrior, which eventually led to his downfall and death.

Zhuge Liang served as the military advisor and later prime minister to Shu Han. He is often recognized as the greatest and most accomplished strategist of his era. Nicknamed "Crouching Dragon", the wisdom and achievements of Zhuge Liang were made popular by the novel, which incorporated popular folklore, pseudo histories, and opera scripts into the character, turning him into an embodiment of wisdom and intellect itself.

A reclusive before rising to prominence, Zhuge Liang joined Liu Bei in 207 only after the latter visited him in person three times. He first presented his famous Longzhong Plan to Liu Bei, predicting the future division of the country. Then in the Battle of Red Cliffs, Zhuge Liang played a crucial role in bringing Liu Bei and Sun Quan into alliance to defeat Cao Cao's invading troops. After Liu Bei's death, Zhuge Liang became the chancellor of Shu. To pursue his goal of restoring the Han Dynasty and unifying China, Zhuge Liang started South Expeditions and Northern Expeditions. On his fifth expedition to the north, he died of exhaustion and illness in an army camp at the age of fifty-four.

Zhuge is an uncommon two-character compound family name. His name has become synonymous with wisdom in the Chinese language and culture. Many of his strategies have been talked about with delight by people due to the success of the novel. In Chapter 46, before

a crucial battle, Zhuge Liang successfully completed a task of having 100 000 arrows made within three days by “borrowing” arrows from his enemies. In another strategy, as told in Chapter 95, he was able to resist an advancing Wei army with a great number of soldiers by using an almost undefended city. This story even became a Chinese idiom as the “Strategy of an Empty City”, meaning to present a bold front to conceal a weak defense.

The following excerpt is part of Zhuge Liang’s memorial submitted to the Second Emperor Liu Shan before Zhuge Liang took his first Northern Expedition:

“I began as a common man, toiling in my fields in Nanyang, doing what I could to keep body and soul together in an age of disorder and taking no interest in making a name for myself among the lords of the realm. Though it was beneath the dignity of the late Emperor to do so, he honored my thatched cottage to solicit my counsel on the events of the day. Grateful for his regard, I responded to his appeal and threw myself heart and soul into his service.

“Hard times followed for the cause of the late Emperor. I assumed my duties at a critical moment for our defeated army, accepting assignment in a period of direst danger. Now twenty-one years have passed. The late Emperor always appreciated my meticulous caution and, as the end neared, placed his great cause in my hands. Since that moment, I have tormented myself night and day lest I prove unworthy of his trust and thus discredit his judgment.

“That is why I crossed the River Lu in the summer heat and penetrated the barren lands of the Man. Now, the south subdued, our arms sufficing, it behooves me to marshal our soldiers to conquer the northern heartland and do my humble best to remove the hateful traitors, restore the house of Han, and return it to the former capital. This is the way I mean to honor my debt to the late Emperor and fulfill my duty to Your Majesty.

“As for weighing the advantages of internal policy and making loyal recommendations to Your Majesty, that is the responsibility of Guo Youzhi, Fei Yi, and Dong Yun. My only desire is to obtain and execute your commission to chasten the traitors and restore the Han. Should I prove unfit, punish my offence and report to the spirit of the late Emperor. If those three vassals fail to sustain Your Majesty’s virtue, then their negligence should be publicized and censured.

“Your Majesty, take counsel with yourself and consult widely on your right course. Examine and adopt sound opinions and never forget the last edict of the late Emperor. Overwhelmed with gratitude for the favor I have received from you, I now depart on a distant campaign. Blinded by my tears falling on this petition, I write I know not what.”

Excerpt from Roberts’s translation (Chapter 91)

2.5.7 *Sanguo yanyi*-related topics for study and the theme(s) of the novel

Various books and papers have been written on a range of topics related to the novel. Some of these topics include:

- a. When the book was written
- b. Luo Guanzhong's place of origin
- c. Luo Guanzhong's ideology
- d. The origin and development of different editions
- e. Factual and factious plots
- f. The structure of the novel
- g. The descriptions of warfare in the novel
- h. Mao edition
- i. The application of the novel in other fields
- j. Computer-assisted research on the novel
- k. Re-evaluating Cao Cao

It can be argued that readers from different backgrounds or readers of different times have different points of view on the theme of the same work. The major theme or themes in *Sanguo yanyi* have been fervently debated among Chinese scholars. There are about 30 different theories on the theme of the novel. Traditional scholars suggested the following as major themes: "legitimism", "loyalty", "pro-Liu Bei and anti-Cao Cao", "benevolent government", etc. Other traditionally influential suggestions of the major theme were: the rise and fall of the ideal liege (Liu Bei); finding the ideal minister (Zhuge Liang); the conflict between the ideal liege (Liu Bei) and the consummate villain (Cao Cao); and the cruelties of injustice of the feudal government.⁴¹ During the last century, researchers have put forward some new hypotheses. Huang Jun's "National Tragedy Theory" suggests that in feudal society it is wickedness and political trickery instead of justice and morality that played the dominant role. Shen Bojun argues that the author wished to express his longing for the unification of the country and to sing high praises for loyal and devoted heroes and talents (Mei & Han 2002: 11). Duan Qiming suggests four themes run through the whole novel: praise for the policy of benevolence; praise for heroic deeds; praise for the resourcefulness of talents; and feelings of tragedy (Fu Guangming 2006: 293).

⁴¹ *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Wikipedia article. Retrieved on 6 June 2009.

Western scholars seem to look at the novel from different perspectives. Roy Andrew Miller thinks the novel's "chief theme is the nature of human ambition" (Miller 1959: xii). Roberts's interpretation is the promotion of Confucian values, especially "yi", which can be rendered widely into English as the following: righteousness, appropriateness, responsibility, obligation, duty, the Code, commitment, service, cause, self-sacrifice and honor (Roberts: 2007: vii).

2.5.8 Adaptations

Since its publication, *Sanguo yanyi* has been adapted for various genres. Books, TV serials, movies, cartoons, games and music based on the novel are still regularly produced.

In the 1960s, the novel was adapted into a sixty-volume black-and-white picture-book series, entitled *Lianhuanhua*, which has become a popular work of art in China. The publisher is the celebrated Shanghai People's Arts Publishing House. Dozens of artists contributed to the project, which took about eight years to complete (1956–1963). The series, which makes the novel more graphic and vivid by giving prominence to the main thread of plots and major characters, has been so well received that it has been reset and reprinted a number of times. The reprinted series had sold at least twenty million copies in 2010.⁴²

In 2006, Yi Zhongtian, a professor of Chinese at Xiamen University, became a household name mainly due to the huge success of his series of lectures entitled "Savoring the Three Kingdoms", in which he comments on personalities of the Three Kingdoms. His lectures were given on the "Lecture Room" – a popular program on the Science and Education Channel of China Central Television Network (CCTV–10). His lectures were collected and compiled into a book in two volumes called *Yi Zhongtian Savouring the Three Kingdoms*. The first volume, published in 2006, was ranked as the best-selling book in China in that year. The second volume has also been a bestseller since its publication in 2007.

In the mid-1990s, there were a total of 230 million television sets in China, and it became the country with the most TV sets in the world (Hong 2007: 131). Television has become the main medium to convey traditional culture.

⁴² http://www.chinaxwcb.com/2010-08/06/content_203924.htm. Retrieved on 30 May 2012.

The first attempt to turn *Sanguo yanyi* into a TV drama was made by Hubei TV Station. They produced a fourteen-episode TV series entitled *Zhuge Liang*. It included most of Zhuge Liang's activities and was screened in February 1986.

China Central Television Station (CCTV) spent nearly four years (1990–1994) and \$170 million in bringing the novel to the screen – an eighty-four-episode TV series, with each episode comprising forty-five minutes. Movie stars such as Tang Guoqiang and Bao Guoan played the leading roles. According to the data collected by Hong (2007: 127):

Three Kingdoms has recorded a number of other “mosts” in the history of China's television drama productions: the largest number of people involved in the production (altogether, 400 000 performers, and a production crew of a few hundred members who traveled more than 10 000 kilometers); the biggest number of reruns (it has been broadcast a total of 120 times at various television stations, excluding broadcasts in foreign countries); the biggest audience (a total of 1.2 billion people across the world watched the series); the highest ratings among all Chinese entertainment programs (on average the rating was around 60 percent); the largest number of videotapes sold (five million); and finally, it has been exported to the largest number of foreign countries and areas (a total of 12 countries and areas).

CCTV released an entirely new series adaptation of the novel with the name *Three Kingdoms* in May 2010. Directed by Gao Xixi, the ninety-five-episode series had a budget of over 100 million RMB (about 1.4 billion US \$). Famous actors and actresses from the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong and Taiwan joined the team.

In 2008, director John Woo produced a popular film *Red Cliff* depicting the most famous warfare in the novel. The movie was released in Asia in two parts. The first part was released in July 2008 and was very well received not only in China, but also in a number of other Asian countries, especially in Korea and Singapore. The second part was released in 2009. It was “touted as the most expensive Chinese-language movie ever made”, with a cost of 80 million US \$ (cf. *The Hollywood Reporter* 2008).

Pingshu (literally meaning “commenting books”), a popular form of performance art of traditional Chinese storytelling, has a broad mass appeal both in urban and rural areas, among young and old. *Pingshu* performers often wear gowns and stand behind a table. The

performance can be watched live or on television, but most people listen to *Pingshu* over the radio, which is more convenient. The performers talk in Putonghua based on the Beijing dialect, and they often add their own commentaries on the subjects and the characters in their storytelling. A section of a story usually lasts twenty-five to thirty minutes. The art of *Pingshu* is one of the genres imbued with special Chinese characteristics and the richest colors of Chinese aesthetics.⁴³

A number of well-known *Pingshu* performers told stories about *Sanguo yanyi*.⁴⁴ Yuan Kuocheng (1929–) adapted the full novel into a 365-part series of *Pingshu* stories, each lasting twenty-five to thirty minutes. Yuan started performing these stories on China Central Radio Station in 1983, and since then his *Pingshu* of *Sanguo* has become the most popular *Sanguo*-story. His performances were also written down and developed into a book of three volumes, containing 1.8 million characters in total. Another *Pingshu* artist, Shan Tianfang, developed a 112-part series, which covers the stories from the first part of the novel. Lian Liru (female) also made a 300-part series *Pingshu* series. These *Pingshu* stories are usually broadcast on radio stations and later converted to MP3 formats, which are sold as CDs or can be downloaded from relevant websites. Yuan and Shan are among the most famous *Pingshu* artists.

A radio drama series bearing the same title as that of the novel was produced by Sichuan People's Radio Station. It consisted of 108 episodes and was broadcast continuously from December 1993 to April 1994. The script was also published in August 1995 by Sichuan University Press.

Between 1988 and 1998, China's Ministry of Post and Telecommunications issued four mint stamp sets and three souvenir stamp sheets based on the twenty-three most popular stories told in the novel. The stamps were designed by Chen Quansheng and Dai Honghai and depict stories such as "Three Brothers Swear Brotherhood", "Three Heroes Fighting Against Lu Bu", "Rating Heroes in the Realm while Drinking Wine", "Raiding Three Visits to Zhuge Liang", "Battle at Red Cliff", "The Stratagem of Empty City" and "Three Kingdoms United under the Reign of Jin". The stamps were warmly received by collectors, and were characterized by refined pictures and a distinct national style.

⁴³ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pingshu>. Retrieved on 5 July 2009.

⁴⁴ <http://www.tingchina.com/pingshu/>. Retrieved on 2 July 2012.

Furthermore, many games (for computer and video, as well as board games) influenced by *Sanguo* (either the history or the fiction or both) have been created, including the “Dynasty Warriors” series, “Romance of the Three Kingdoms” (a video-game series), “Dynasty Tactics”, etc. The computer game “Romance of the Three Kingdoms Series” is said to have been developed to its eighth generation. The following case is an example of the popularity of *Sanguo*-related computer software:

Object, a Beijing-based software company, made *The Battle of the Red Cliffs*, which follows characters from the *Three Kingdoms* series and is its best-selling game for the personal computer. *The Battle of the Red Cliffs* was also released in Taiwan, Hong Kong, South East Asia, and North America. According to the company, in just three months 25 000 units of *The Battle of the Red Cliffs* were sold in the United States alone.

Hong (2007: 132–133)

2.5.9 The influence

Among the “Four Great Chinese Classics”, *Sanguo yanyi* has been considered the most influential one, not only in China, but also in a number of Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, Vietnam, etc. Besides being an extremely significant epic work, its literary merit has had a great impact on China’s literature and art.

This short and bloody era of warfare and political intrigue was one of the most interesting and romantic in China's long history; and, ever since, it has been a favourite subject of historical fiction and other art forms.

Encyclopedia Britannica (2008)

In the foreword to a collection of his papers entitled *The Three Kingdoms That You Do Not Know*, Shen Bojun (2008) writes that in the history of Chinese fiction, *Sanguo yanyi* tops the other novels in six different aspects:

1. It was China’s first mature novel.
2. Over 1 200 people are mentioned and described, of whom about 1 000 have names.
3. The number and types of literary products that originated from *Sanguo yanyi* are the largest;
4. Hundreds of cultural relics and places of interest scattered in about twenty provinces across the country are related to the novel.

5. The amounts and the scope of the spread of the legends and stories related to the novel are also the largest.
6. It has had the greatest impact on shaping the Chinese spiritual life and the Chinese nation's characteristics.

In his foreword to Roberts's (2000) translation, John S. Service provides a list of reasons why Chinese people, ordinary or important, cannot do without the book, and continues as follows (Service 2000):

Three Kingdoms continues to have vitality in Chinese attitudes and behaviour. That fact alone makes it important to us outsiders who seek to know and understand China. [...] The literate of China read and reread it; those who can not read learn it (perhaps even more intensely) from storytellers and opera and word of mouth. It is simply, a terrific story. Every element is there: drama and suspense, valor and cowardice, loyalty and betrayal, power and subtlety, chivalry and statecraft, the obligations of ruler and subject, conflicts in the basic ties of brotherhood and lineage.

The main characters in *Sanguo yanyi*, especially Cao Cao, Zhuge Liang, Guan Yu and Zhang Fei, have all become models of a certain type of character appearing continuously in later works. Cao Cao, the treacherous politician, has become one of the most disputable figures in Chinese history. He and his two talented sons were also famous poets and writers of prose, and the three Caos have been listed among the most important literary figures in Chinese literature. Zhuge Liang, the prime minister of the Kingdom of Shu, is widely admired and respected and has become the symbol of wisdom in the Chinese world. Today, for example, a meeting for the purpose of solving complicated problems is called a "Zhuge Liang Meeting". Guan Yu, the second of the three sworn brothers, owing to the awe he inspired, and the faithful service to his brother Liu Bei, became the Saint of Military Prowess in line with Confucius, who is China's Saint of Civil Accomplishments. Even today statues of Guan Yu (Lord Guan) are found in temples, shops and households throughout Chinese communities. Zhang Fei, who is the third sworn brother, is a model warrior of strength and fearlessness. Imitations of Zhuge Liang, Guan Yu and Zhang Fei abound in later works.

Many Chinese idioms and proverbs in use today originated from the tales of the novel. Among the most frequently used are: "Speak of Cao Cao, and Cao Cao arrives", which is equivalent to "speak of the devil" in English; "three reeking tanners are enough to overcome Zhuge Liang the mastermind", which suggests that when put together, three incapable persons

will always overpower one capable person; “Liu Bei borrows Jingzhou – borrowing without returning”, which indicates that there are people who borrow but never return what they borrowed, so be wary of them.

A number of academic organizations have been established to facilitate research on *Sanguo yanyi*. The *China Sanguo yanyi Society* was formally founded in April 1984 when the second national seminar on *Sanguo yanyi* was held in Luoyang⁴⁵, Henan Province. Liu Shide, a senior research fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, has been president ever since. The Society regularly organizes conferences and seminars, and collects and publishes papers, which further promotes research on the novel. In addition, there are also two provincial-level (Hubei⁴⁶ and Sichuan) and one municipal-level (Mianyang) academic societies involved in research on *Sanguo yanyi*.

The *Journal of Sanguo yanyi* was created in Chengdu⁴⁷ in July 1985 and was the only journal focusing exclusively on the novel. Though its publication was ceased after two issues, it was quite influential. A number of academic journals hold special columns for papers on the novel. To name a few: *Social Sciences Research* (Chengdu), *New Comments from Tianfu* (Chengdu), *Research on Ming and Qing Novels* (Nanjing⁴⁸), *Journal of Xuchang Teachers' College* (Xuchang⁴⁹), *Journal of Chengdu University* (Chengdu), *Journal of Hainan University* (Haikou), *Science of Leadership* (Zhengzhou), and *Forum on Chinese Culture* (Chengdu) (Shen 2005: 879–884).

Sanguo yanyi's influence on minority groups in China and other eastern countries has also been widespread. China has more than 50 minority groups. Shen Bojun (2005) argues that *Sanguo yanyi* has had a deep influence on minority groups such as Man, Mongols, Korean, Uyghurs, Muslims, Miao, etc. mainly in three different aspects. These include political and military aspects; aspects related to literature and arts; and social and psychological aspects. For example, military leaders from the Man ethnic group, when battling with the Chinese Han army, successfully used strategies learned from *Sanguo* to win decisive battles. Many minority groups' art forms, from narrative to drama, borrow materials or stories from the

⁴⁵ Capital of Eastern Han, prior to Three Kingdoms Period.

⁴⁶ Where the famous Battle of Red Cliff took place.

⁴⁷ Capital of Shu in the Three Kingdoms period.

⁴⁸ Capital of Wu in the Three Kingdoms period.

⁴⁹ Capital of Wei in the Three Kingdoms period.

novel. *Sanguo yanyi* has also had an impact on the forming of values in some ethnic groups (cf. Shen 2005: 248–151).

Sanguo yanyi “has greatly influenced East Asian thought and life” (Hong 2007: 126). There are over twenty different Japanese translations of the novel and the overall number of copies of the printed versions in Japanese is estimated to be over ten million. One adapted edition in Japanese, called *Cartoon Sanguozhi*, was so popular that over forty million copies have been printed. In addition, there are over one hundred clubs of *Sanguo* fans across Japan. A video game with the same name developed by the famous Japanese company Nintendo is said to have entered its eighth generation.

In Korea, *Sanguo yanyi* is the most popular and influential Chinese novel. Dozens of translations and adaptations of the novel have been published and tens of thousands have been sold. In 1997, the state television of Korea sent a team to China and produced a fifteen-episode featured documentary named *Exploring Chinese Literature – Sanguo yanyi*. The team spent twenty days investigating dozens of historical sites related to the Three Kingdom period. Jinhee Kim (2007: 143–149) contributed an essay titled “The Reception and the Place of Three Kingdoms in South Korea”. By focusing on its reception by the readers, Kim examined the long tradition of translation and adaptation of *Sanguo yanyi* in South Korea. In his essay he mentions the influence of the novel on the Korean youth (Kim 2007: 143–149):

The exploration of fan clubs through which anonymous readers share independent interpretations and findings on the novel has fostered a tremendous following among young readers. The new readership has helped transform the novel into a learning tool. For example, audiocassette tapes built around the dialogues in the novel are popular among K-12 students of conversational Chinese.

Even an adapted translation of *Sanguo yanyi* “has been voted by high school students as the most essential book in preparing for the nationwide college entrance examinations” (ibid.: 147). However, the novel has also been considered to “pose a threat to the innocent indigenous people” by some Korean scholars (ibid.: 148).

In Thailand, *Sanguo yanyi*-related questions often appear in the entrance examinations to colleges. In Malaysia, an academic association focusing on research of *Sanguo yanyi* was founded recently. Although the novel has not been as influential in the West, due to various reasons, it can be believed that its popularity will increase in the future (Shen 2005: 252–256).

2.5.10 Research conducted on *Sanguo yanyi* by Western scholars

Since the appearance of different translations of *Sanguo yanyi* (cf. sections 3.2 & 3.3), Western scholars have been conducting research on the novel itself and relevant topics. Research on *Sanguo yanyi* can be roughly divided into five categories. The first is the translator's commentary and notes to his translation. The second includes prefaces, a foreword or an afterword to the translations written by experts of Chinese. The third category includes newspaper or journal articles discussing the novel. The fourth comprises the relevant chapters in a general history of Chinese literature, and the fifth category includes collections of papers by scholars focusing on topics related to the novel.

The topics Western scholars seem to focus their research on include the themes in *Sanguo yanyi*, the character portrayal, the structure of the novel, and the editions and origins of the novel (cf. Wang 1988: 29–37). The following is a list of some important English works on *Sanguo yanyi*:

Table 2.2 English writings on *Sanguo yanyi* between 1939 and 1978
(cf. *ibid.*: 38–43)

Year	Author	Title	Publisher/Journal
1939	Buck, Pearl S.	<i>The Chinese Novel</i>	New York: John Day & London: Macmillan
1951	Fitzgerald, C. P.	<i>The Chinese Novel as a Subversive Force</i>	MeanJin Quarterly Issue 10
–	Crump, James	P'ing-hua and the Early History of the San-kuo Chih	Journal of the American Oriental Society
1960	Ruhimann, Roberts	Traditional Heroes in Chinese Popular Fiction in <i>The Confucian Persuasion</i>	Stanford University Press
1964	Riftin, B. L.	Problems of the Development of the Chinese Historical Narrative	Moscow "Nauka" Publishing House
1964	Hanan Patrick	The Development of Fiction and Drama in <i>The Legacy of China</i>	Oxford University Press
1967	Liu, Tsun-yan	Chinese Popular Fiction in Two London Libraries	Hong Kong: Lung Men Bookstore
1968	Hsia, C.T.	The Romance of the Three Kingdoms: A Critical Introduction In <i>Classical Chinese Novel</i>	Columbia University Press
1968	Boute, Edward L.	Chu-ko Liang and the Kingdom of Shu Han (Ph.D. Dissertation)	Chicago University Press

1971	Yang, Winston L.Y.	The Use of the San-Kuo as a Source of the San-kuo Chih yen-I (Ph.D. Dissertation)	Chicago University Press
1976	Kroll, Paul William	Portraits of Ts'ao Ts'ao: Literary Studies on the Man and the Myth	Ann Arbor: University of Michigan
1976	Wang, John C.Y.	The Cyclical View of Life and Meaning in the Traditional Chinese Novel	Institute des Hauts Etudes Chinoises
1976	Yang, Winston L.Y.	Lo Kuang-chung in <i>Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644</i>	Columbia University Press
1978	Li, Peter	Narrative Patterns in San-kuo and Shui-hu in <i>Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays</i>	Princeton University Press

The most recent research publication on *Sanguo yanyi* in English is a collection of papers entitled *Three Kingdoms and Chinese Culture*. This book, edited by Kimberly Besio and Constantine Tung, was published in 2007 by the State University of New York Press. From a variety of disciplines, the essays in this volume explore the multifarious connections between the novel *Sanguo yanyi* and Chinese culture and the discussions are helpful to better understand the novel's unique place in Chinese culture.

2.5.11 Motivation for choosing *Sanguo yanyi* as a focus of study

While the other three of the Great Four Chinese novels are all largely fictitious, *Sanguo yanyi* consists of “70% historical facts and 30% fabrication (七分事实, 三分虚构)”.⁵⁰ It is more beneficial for Chinese learners and researchers to enjoy the story and learn some history at the same time. Readers cannot always help comparing the characters and stories described in the novel with those counterparts recorded in history books.

In terms of the contents, *Xiyou ji* is a book of fantasy and best loved by young children. It should not be considered as the best choice for university readers.

In comparison with *Shuihu zhuan*, a popular saying goes: “The young shouldn't read *Shu Hu* while the old shouldn't read *Sanguo* (少不读水浒, 老不读三国)”. The former depicts the lives of outlaws and their defiance to the established social system, which could easily have a

⁵⁰ Zhang Xuecheng: *Zhangshi yishu wanbian*, cited in ZLHB: 691-92. From the notes to the afterword of *Three Kingdoms* by Roberts (2000: 3100).

negative influence on young children. “The latter presents all kinds of sophisticated stratagems, deceptions, frauds, trickeries, traps and snares employed by the three kingdoms and their individual characters to compete with each other”, which might tempt the experienced old readers who should “know the will of the heavens” (according to Confucius) to “exhaust or strain themselves with always having to consider how to deceive others”.⁵¹ Furthermore, the tragic feelings of the novel are not what older people need either.

As for *Honglou meng* and its two English translations, a great many books and journal articles have already been written on them and it seems difficult to add anything to the subject without repeating what others have already studied. Furthermore, according to Zhou Ruchang, one of the most famous experts on *Honglou meng*, none of the existing translations achieved success because the original novel is so comprehensive, complicated and artful that even Chinese readers misunderstand and misinterpret it from time to time. Zhou suggests that the only way to fully understand the novel is to read the original text directly.

A reviewer rightly points out: “Although in pure literary sense, *Three Kingdoms* probably may not be as connotative as *Outlaws of the Marsh* and not as beautifully written as *Dream of the Red Chamber*, it has proven to be the most enduring and universally popular.”⁵² Furthermore, Brewitt-Taylor gave the following description of the novel’s popularity and suitability for young people: “There is barely a word in the one-hundred and twenty chapters that could not be translated in the primmest of young ladies schools or read in any drawing room” (Cannon 2009: 204). Therefore the researcher thought it best to focus on *Sanguo yanyi*, so that the outcome will be more fruitful.

2.6 Conclusion

By using DTS as tool, this chapter mainly discussed the ST- *Sanguo yanyi*. This in-depth discussion of the ST intends to bring about a whole picture of what the ST is like by describing the most relevant aspects of the ST. The discussion started with a general introduction to the development of the Chinese novel. Thereafter three other novels, which have enjoyed the same status as the ST, together with their translations into other languages,

⁵¹ From The Romance of The Three Kingdoms – Wikipedia article

⁵² http://www.amazon.com/Three-Kingdoms-Chinese-Classics-4-Volumes/product-reviews/7119005901/ref=cm_cr_pr_link_next_4?ie=UTF8&showViewpoints=0&pageNumber=4. Retrieved on 7 June 2009.

especially English, were briefly introduced and discussed. The last section focused on basic information and some significant aspects of the ST under study. Previous research on the ST by Western scholars and the motivation for choosing the ST as a focus of study were also discussed at the end of the chapter. This discussion also proves that the ST on which the two TTs were based, did exist and the two TTs are not so called “assumed translations” or “pesudotranslations” (cf. Toury 1995:34).

Chapter 3: The English translations and translators of *Sanguo yanyi*

This chapter focuses on the two complete English translations of *Sanguo yanyi* and consists of two sections. The first section mainly discusses the translations of *Sanguo yanyi* into different foreign languages, especially into English. In the second section, the two translators of the English version are introduced.

3.1 Overview of the translations of Chinese classics into foreign languages

China has a rich literary heritage and a long tradition of translation activities. However, far more books written in Western languages have been translated into and published in Chinese, especially over the last couple of centuries, than the other way around, due to the following reasons:

1. Socio-economically, China began to fall behind the Western powers in the middle of the nineteenth century. Not many Europeans wanted to learn the Chinese language or felt a need, at least socio-economically, to do so, and as a result very few people from Europe had achieved a good command of Chinese.
2. The Chinese language is very different from any of the Indo-European languages, both linguistically and in socio-culturally speaking, which adds to the degree of difficulty of learning Chinese as a foreign language. Furthermore, the vast gap between the Chinese culture and Western cultures hinders the understanding of China and Chinese through translated books.
3. China had closed herself to the outside world for hundreds of years – until the 1970s – which hindered cultural exchange and communication with other countries, especially regarding cooperation between the publishing sectors in China and the West.

A few translators from the West, however, most of them missionaries or staff members working in consulates to Chinese cities, did translate some Chinese classics into major European languages such as English, German and French. A few Chinese scholars such as Gu

Hongming (辜鸿铭) and Lin Yutang (林语堂), who had received many years of formal education in Western institutions and as a result had an excellent command of English, also translated some Chinese classics into English. Broadly speaking, Chinese classics refer to all classical texts, regardless of whether they were written in Classical Chinese or in Vernacular Chinese, written before the year 1911 when the last imperial empire of the Qing collapsed (Wang & Wang 2009: 1).

The first recorded translation of Chinese writing into a foreign language was into Sanskrit, dating back to AD 508–534 (Ma & Ren 2003: 2). In 1590, Spanish missionary Juan Cobo translated the Chinese book *Mingxin baojian* 《明心宝鉴》 (*Precious mirror of the clear heart*), into Spanish. This is considered the first translation of Chinese literature into a European language (ibid.: 4).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Europe's interest in China was heightened due to the translations of Chinese philosophical classics into Latin by Jesuit missionaries. In the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) Dynasties, the *Four Books* and *Five Classics*, Chinese classic texts chosen by Neo-Confucianist Zhu Xi (1130–1200), who lived in the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279), were mandatory subjects of study for Chinese Confucian scholars who wished to become government officials.⁵³ These fundamental books of Confucianism were chosen to be translated first, perhaps because they were considered the most important books in China. The first of the Latin translations were produced by Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), an Italian whose Chinese name 利玛竇 is quite well-known in China. Ricci came to China in 1599 and translated the *Four Books*, 四书, (*Great Learning, Doctrine of the Mean, Confucian Analects and Mencius*). Nicolas Trigault (1777–1628) was a Frenchman who came to China in 1611. He was responsible for the Latin translations of the *Five Classics*, 五经, (*Books of Songs, Book of Documents, Book of Changes, Book of Rites and The Spring and Autumn Annals*) (cf. Ma & Ren 2003: 33–50).

Besides Confucianism, Chinese tradition has also been shaped by Taoism and Buddhism. The two fundamental works of Taoism are *Laozi* (*Dao De Jing*) and *Zhuangzi*. The former was translated into Latin in about the middle of the eighteenth century, and after that it was translated into different European languages. Published in 1934 and reprinted several times, Arthur Waley's English translation of *Laozi* played an important role in spreading Laozi's

⁵³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Four_Books_and_Five_Classics. Retrieved on 2 July 2012.

thought in the West (cf. Fu 1999: 61–63). *Zhuangzi*'s first complete English translation, made by Frederic Henry Balfour, was published in 1881 in Shanghai and London, under the title *The Divine Classic of Nan-hua: Being the Works of Chuang Tsze, Taoist Philosopher*. Other complete translations of *Zhuangzi* into English include those of H A. Giles (1889), James Legge (1891), Burton Watson (1960), James R. Ware (1963) and Victor H. Mair (1994) (cf. Wang 1999: 69–74).

In the past 1 000 years, many Chinese classics have been translated into foreign languages, mainly into Japanese and European languages. The texts covered broad topics, ranging from works of history, philosophy and literature to works on agriculture, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, divination, art criticism, and all sorts of miscellaneous writings. The important non-literary texts are also considered classics in their respective fields.

In order to introduce Chinese classics to the Western world in a more comprehensive and systematic way, the Library of Chinese Classics, a Chinese-English bilingual library project was founded in 1995. It was a key state-sponsored publishing project. The series was a major cultural project in that, for the first time, it presented a systematic and complete set of selected and translated Chinese classics to the world, and became a foundation project for showcasing the very best of traditional Chinese culture. About one hundred of the most influential works from various fields were selected for inclusion in the project by experts and scholars. The fields included literature, history, philosophy, politics, economy, military science, and science and technology. Selections and versions were determined after careful reasoning, comparing, and proofing. Each book contained what was claimed to be the best Chinese edition and English translation. The translators were a combined team of English natives and Chinese natives who were widely acclaimed in Chinese-English translation circles. Some ancient texts were also provided with authentic modern Chinese translations in line with their English translations. The books were co-published by the Beijing-based Foreign Language Press and a dozen other publishers across China. The first series, ninety-two volumes in total and published in 1997, included the texts of fifty titles⁵⁴ which covered such areas as philosophy, religion, literature, literary criticism, history, mathematics and Chinese medicine. The second series, containing 35 other titles, is scheduled to be published in the years to come.

⁵⁴ www.china-guide.com/culture/library.html. Retrieved on 27 Feb 2011. Also cf. Addendum A.

To promote research on and practice of the translation of Chinese classics, the Center for English Translation of Chinese Classics was set up at Shantou University in Guangdong Province in 2002. In the following year, the Unit for English Translation of Chinese Classics was established at Dalian University of Technology. Some Western scholars in recent years also contributed to this field. For instance, John Minford edited *Classical Chinese Literature* and Stephen Owen published his translation *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Wang 2009: 3).

3.2 Translations of *Sanguo yanyi* into foreign languages other than English

By 2006, the novel *Sanguo yanyi* had been translated (fully and in abridged versions) into nearly twenty different languages (Wang & Du 2006). The information contained in the following paragraphs is mainly based on Wang (1988), Wang & Du (2006) and Ma & Ren (2003).

The earliest translation of the *Sanguo yanyi* into a foreign language was into Japanese and was published between 1689 and 1692. This was a complete translation in 50 volumes by Tsukido and is known as the Kichita Saburobei edition. The translation was first started by Tsukido's older brother who died when he was only halfway through it. Tsukido took over the work and finished the task. According to the Japanese scholar Ogawa Tamaki, this translation was not based on Mao Zonggang's annotated edition, but rather on of Li Zhuowu's edition with references to Chen Shou's *Annals of the Three Kingdoms* and some revision of the original text (Shi 2000: 44). From 1836 to 1968, more than a dozen Japanese translations of *Sanguo yanyi*, most of which are complete translations, were published (Wang 1988: 23–27).

Sanguo yanyi was the first Chinese novel to be translated into Korean. The first Korean translation dates back to as early as 1859 (Ma & Ren 2003: 602). But Kim (2007: 144) mentions that the oldest translation available for viewing in the National Library of Korea, referred to as the Yi Book, dates back to 1871. In the twentieth century, translating *Sanguo yanyi* was “particularly embraced by the publishing industry” (ibid.) in Korea.

The first translation of *Sanguo yanyi* into a European language was into Latin between 1879 and 1882. It was a translation of twelve chapters by the Italian missionary Angelo Zottoli (1826–1902), published in Shanghai in a Latin-Chinese bilingual textbook called *Cursus*

litteraturae sinicae neomissionariis accomodatus. The twelve chapters included in the book were 1–4, 25, 45–49 and 56 (Wang 1988: 8).

Sanguo yanyi was first translated into French by Stanislas Julien (1797–1873) in 1834. The translation, an abridgement published in French as *La Mort de Tongtcho*, is the story of Dong Zhuo's rise and fall from Chapters 3 to 9 of the original novel. In 1853, Antoine Pierre Louis Bazin translated part of the first chapter of *Sanguo yanyi* and published his translation under the title *Revolte des Bonnets jaunes*. De Bussy published a translation of Chapter 12 in Shanghai in 1891. Xu Zhongnian's French translation of Chapters 4, 41, and 43 was included in his book *Anthologie de la Litterature Chinoise* in 1932. Pierre Daudin translated Chapter 6 and had it published in 1937 in his book *Sigillographie sino-annamite*. In 1942, Alph Hubrecht published his partial translation of the first chapter in a French-Chinese journal *Etudes Françaises*. Huibrecht's translation was entitled *Le Serment des Trois Braves* (Wang Lina: 15–17). In 1845 and 1851, the first standalone edition of the translation was published in two volumes respectively. This translation, titled *San-koué-chy, Ilan kouroun-I Pithé: histoire des trois royaumes*, only consists of the first forty-four chapters, and was done by Théodore Pavie. Nghien Toan and Louis Ricaud translated and published half of the full text (up to Chapter 60) of *Sanguo yanyi* from 1960 to 1978 (*ibid.*: 17). This translation, entitled *Les Trois Royaumes*, is considered the best French translation of most of the chapters. No full translation of the 120-chapter novel into French has yet been made.

In German, Wilhelm Grube's (1816–1884) abridged translation, focusing on the story of Chapter 91, was the first. This translation was published in 1894 in the fourth issue of a Beijing-based journal called *JPOS* (Journal of Peking Oriental Society). In 1913, Leo Greiner published his translation of five stories selected from different chapters of *Sanguo yanyi* in Berlin. The titles in German are “Die List Admirals” (from Chapter 45), “Der Held Kuan” (from Chapter 75), “Der Rächer” (from Chapter 65), “Der gelbe Storchenschloss” (from Chapter 45) and “Der Kampf um die schöne Tiao Tsien” (from Chapter 8). Hans Rudelsberger's translation “Die Geschichte vom Tyrannen Tung-cho und der schönen Tänserin Tiao-chan” was published in 1914 in his book *Chinesische Novellen*. R. Wilhelm translated two stories, “Der Feuer Gott” and “Der Kriegs Gott”, based on Chapters 11 and 77 respectively, which was published in his *Chinesisch Volksmärchen*, printed in 1914, 1915 and 1921. From 1938 to 1939, Irmgard Grimm published her translations of some stories from Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 41 and 42 in different installments in the magazine *Sinica*. During the same period and in the same magazine, Franz Kuhn published his translations of some stories

from Chapters 8, 9, 13, 34, 37 and 38 (ibid.: 18–20). In 1940, Kuhn published his translation of the first 38 chapters, entitled *Die Frei Reiche*, in Berlin. This translation is divided into twenty chapters and includes twenty-four Chinese wooden-cut illustrations which were collected by F.W.K. Müller (ibid.: 20). In addition to translating *Sanguo yanyi*, he also translated quite a few other classical Chinese novels into German.

The Dutch version, retranslated from Franz Kuhn's German version, was published in 1943. The translator is C.C.S. Crone and the title is *De eed in de Perzikgaarde; of Hoe een Sandalen-maker het tot Keizer bracht* (ibid.: 20).

The first Russian translation of *Sanguo yanyi* was published in 1921 in a book entitled *Legends from China*. It was a selection of ten popular stories from the novel, and was translated by В.П.Шкуркин. A full translation of the 120-chapter novel into Russian was done by В. А. Панасюк and published by the Moscow Literature Publishing House in 1954. It contains two volumes and includes a brief introduction, a historical map, sixteen illustrations and a list of titles in the period of Three Kingdoms. In 1984, an abridged version based on the full translation was published by the Soviet Union National Literature Press. Some errors were corrected and a preface and notes were contributed by a famous sinologist Li Fuqing (李福清) (Ma & Ren 2003: 419–420).

Sanguo yanyi was also translated into such languages as Estonian, Polish, Vietnamese, Thai, and Mongolian (Wang 1988: 22–28).

3.3 English translations of *Sanguo yanyi*

The number of English translations of the novel, partial or full, far exceeds translations into other Western languages. In the sections that follow, an introduction of different pieces of translation will be presented in chronological order, starting with the abridged versions.

3.3.1 Abridged translations in journals and book chapters

Some famous stories in *Sanguo yanyi* are not only popular among Chinese readers but also favored by English translators, whose selections seem to conform to Chinese taste.

In English, the first translations of *Sanguo yanyi* were of excerpts serialized in periodicals during the nineteenth century. In 1820, P.P. Thoms published his translation of the first nine chapters, entitled “The Death of the Celebrated Minister Tung-Cho”, in Volumes 10 and 11 in Collection 1 of the *Asian Journal* 《亚洲杂志》. Tung-Cho (Dong Zhuo) is an important character both in history and in the novel.

In 1849, S. W. Williams (卫三畏) published his translation of the first chapter (“Oath Taken by Members of the Triad Society”) in Issue 18 of the *Chinese Repository* 《中国从报》. The translator added notes explaining the background of the story. The story of the oath, of which there is no historical record, is one of the most famous stories known to Chinese readers.

A translation of the first nine chapters entitled “San Kuo Chih” appeared in Volume 3 of the magazine *China Review* in Hong Kong. The translator only gave the penname X.Z. There is a short preface briefly introducing the history book *Sanguozhi* by Chen Shou, the novel and its author Luo Guanzhong. The first nine chapters mainly tell the story of Dong Zhuo.

Later on, G.G. Stent translated the “Brief Sketches from the life of Kung Ming” 《孔明的一生》, a series published in *CRNQ* (*China Repository*) between 1876 and 1880. The translator included a preface with comments on Zhuge Liang (one of the major characters of the novel).

Herbert Allen Giles (翟里斯) published parts of his translation of *Sanguo yanyi* in 1882 in a book entitled *Historic China and Other Sketches*, which was printed by a London-based publisher. Giles also translated the stories of eunuchs (“Eunuchs Kidnap an Emperor”) and Lord Guan (“The God of War”) in 1882–1883, and these stories were included in a collection of his translations entitled *Gems of Chinese Literature* 《古文选珍》, published by Kelly & Walsh in 1848 and reprinted in Shanghai in 1922. He also translated Chapter 78, entitled “Dr Hua”,⁵⁵ which was included in his book *A History of Chinese Literature* published in 1923 in New York by D. Appleton and Company (阿普尔顿出版社). Giles, a British diplomat, was a famous expert on China and Chinese literature (a sinologist). Giles and Thomas Wade co-

⁵⁵ Dr Hua Tuo is a well-known Chinese medicine expert and his fame spread far and wide because of the popularity of the novel. His operation on Lord Guan’s wounded arm is one of the most impressive stories in the novel. L.H. Giles’s translation of the biography of Hua To was included in his book *Gallery of Immortals*, published in London in 1938.

created the well-known and widely-used Wade-Giles phonetic system for rendering Chinese proper names into English. In 1897, Giles became only the second professor of Chinese appointed at the University of Cambridge, succeeding Thomas Wade.

In 1886, C. Arendt published his translation of Chapters 41, 42 and 108 in Issues 1 and 2 of the *JPOS (Journal of Peking Oriental Society)*. Chapters 41 and 42 tell the story of how Zhao Zilong saved the heir of his lord single-handedly, while Chapter 108 recounts the death of Sun Quan, the King of Wu, and a battle between Wu and the invading troops of Wei.

F. L. Hawks Pott translated “Selections from ‘The Three Kingdoms’” 《三国选》, based on Chapters 29, 41 and 46, which was published in the first issue of *EAM (亚东杂志)* in 1902. An illustration accompanied each of the episodes. In his brief introduction, the translator mentioned that the *Sanguo yanyi* had been as popular in China as the works of Waverley in the West. He also declared that his translation was faithful to the original. Chapter 29 tells how the young hero Sun Ce died and how his dying wish was executed. Chapter 46 is about Zhuge Liang borrowing arrows from the enemy to escape the intentional punishment of Zhou Yu.

During the 1920s, various English translations of stories and chapters in *Sanguo yanyi* appeared in journals and collections. In 1921, Frederick H. Martens published his English translation – based on the German version – of the story about Lord Guan, entitled of *The God of War*. The story was included in Martens’s *Chinese Fairy Book (中国神话故事集)* which was published in New York. In 1923, C. A. Jamieson published his translation “Chugoh Leang and the Arrows” in NS 54 of the *Journal of the North China Branch of RAS* in Shanghai. In 1925, Z.Q. Parker’s translation Chapters 42 to 50, entitled “The Story of Three Kingdoms, the Battle of the Red Cliff” was published in installments in the *China Journal of Science and Arts*. A separate edition was published the following year by Shanghai Commercial Press, with an introduction, translator’s preface and a famous essay on Zhuge Liang, the major character of the original novel. In his book *A History of the Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions (1927)*, E.C. Werner included his translation of some relevant texts from *San Kuo*.

3.3.2 Separate editions of the English translations of *Sanguo yanyi*

In 1905, Rev. J. Steele published his translation of *The 43rd Chapter of the Three Kingdom Novel* in Shanghai with the subtitle *Logomachy*. This edition was intended for use by foreign learners of the Chinese language. The full Chinese text of the chapter is provided, as well as an introduction, a preface, a few maps, an index of characters and notes on proper names of people, places and dynasties. Chapter 43 tells how Zhuge Liang, through debating, persuaded the South to form an alliance with his lord against the powerful Cao Cao.

In 1962, Chinese Literature Press in Beijing published *Battle of the Red Cliff* translated by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang. It is the full translation of Chapters 43 to 50 with some woodcut pictures.

In 1972, Cheung Yik-man (张亦文), a Chinese Canadian, published his translation of Chapters 43 to 50 in Hong Kong with the title *Sanguo yanyi jinghua (Essence of the Three Kingdoms)*, which covers the description of the most famous battles in the novel, the Battle of the Red Cliff. This translation was republished in 1985 by Foreign Language Press in Beijing (Wang & Du 2006).

Roberts published his translation *Three Kingdoms: China's Epic Drama* in New York in 1976. This was an abridged translation consisting of forty-six chapters based on the adapted edition published by Beijing People's Publishing House in 1972. There are four maps and forty-four illustrations in Roberts's edition. The Wade-Giles system was adopted to translate names of people and places. The details of this edition are provided below:

Three Kingdoms: China's Epic Drama

By Kuan-Chung Lo, Guanzhong Luo, Moss Roberts

Edition: illustrated

Published by Pantheon Books, 1976

ISBN 0394407229, 9780394407227

318 pages

This abridged edition was originally intended for use in teaching Chinese in undergraduate courses. At the end of each chapter, a short introduction of the corresponding historical backgrounds is provided by the translator. In his introduction, Roberts mentioned that this translation was intended for the reader who is unfamiliar with Chinese culture as it reduces

the multiplicity of historical detail in order to present the essential dramatic narrative. It aims to “reveal the story’s vivid life as a work of art, a masterpiece from a high civilization” (Roberts 1976: xx). The illustrations are taken from three books, two of which are early editions of the novel in Chinese and the other is *Illustrated Record of the Saintly Career of Lord Guan* (1829) by Lu Chan (cf. Roberts 1976). On the back cover, short comments by three professors of Chinese and history are printed.

Another abridged version of Roberts’s translation was published in 1999:

Three kingdoms: a historical novel

By Guanzhong Luo, Moss Roberts, Kuan-Chung Lo

Edition: abridged, illustrated

Published by University of California Press, 1999

ISBN 0520215850, 9780520215856

504 pages

This abridged translation is based on the unabridged translation of *Three Kingdoms* (cf. 3.4.2). This “has been designed to serve students in courses on Asian history and literature as well as comparative literature” (Roberts 1999: vii). “The translator has tried to strike an appropriate balance between the epic dimensions of the whole novel and the need of students and the reading public for a relatively convenient and manageable way to become acquainted with the work” (ibid.). All footnotes to the text and to the afterword have been removed in the abridged version.

Another complete English version of *Sanguo yanyi* is entitled *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. This set of ten volumes, published by AsiaPac Books Pty Ltd, is a complete pictorial rendition of the novel. Compiled by Zhang Qirong, illustrated by Li Chengli and translated into English by Wu Jingyu, Yin Shuxun & Hu Shiping, the set has 1 500 pages of lavishly beautiful illustrations (in black and white). This comic series covers every major event of the Three Kingdoms period, from the beginning to its end.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ <http://www.asiapacbooks.com/product.asp?pid=768>. Retrieved on 5 September 2011.

Asiapac Books Pty. Ltd. is a Singapore-based publishing house. It mainly publishes and distributes books and comics on Asian culture, history and philosophy.

The most recent complete English translation was done by Roberts and co-published by California University Press, USA and Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, in 1992. This translation, together with the translation by Brewitt-Taylor, will be discussed in the next section.

3.4 The two complete English translations

By 2011, only two complete translations of *Sanguo yanyi* into English have been published. The first is *San Kuo*, or *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* translated by Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor, and the second is *Three Kingdoms*, translated by Roberts. In the following sections, both translations will be introduced and discussed. Relevant book reviews will also be used in the discussions.

3.4.1 Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor's translation

Under the title of *San Kuo, or Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, Brewitt-Taylor's translation was first published in 1925 in Shanghai by Kelly & Walsh.⁵⁷

Kelly & Walsh was formed in 1876 by combining two Shanghai booksellers: Kelly and Co. and F. & C. Walsh. The new company was incorporated on 1 July 1885 and was most active from the 1880s to the 1930s, with publications from cities including Hong Kong, Singapore, Tokyo, and Yokohama. Kelly & Walsh moved to Hong Kong following the occupation of China by the Japanese, and was ultimately sold to Swindon Book Company in Hong Kong.⁵⁸

In 1929, Kelly & Walsh printed a popular edition of Brewitt-Taylor's translation with the following publisher's note:

The Standard edition of this translation of China's most famous historical novel was published in 1925 and is fast becoming out-of-print.

⁵⁷ Kelly & Walsh mainly published books in Western languages and was quite well-known in China in the early 1900s.

⁵⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kelley_and_Walsh. Retrieved on 24 March 2011.

The Price of this Standard edition, it was realized, was above the purchasing capacity of the average Chinese reader, and, therefore, in view of the ever-increasing desire on the part of the latter to embrace Western learning, it was thought that a cheaper edition might meet with the support of Chinese friends who would be interested in reading in English what most of them have already read in their mother tongue.

In the hope that this may be realized, the Publishers now have pleasure in placing this Popular Edition on the market and they trust it will meet with cordial approval.

In 1941, this edition was reprinted for a second time by Kelly & Walsh. This two-volume version was reprinted simultaneously in the United States and Tokyo in 1959 by the Charles E. Tuttle Company in Rutland, Vermont. Roy Andrew Miller contributed an introduction to this reprinted version. The publication details are as follows:

Romance of the three kingdoms: San kuo chih yen-i

By Guanzhong Luo, Kuan-chung Lo, Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor

Translated by Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor

Edition: unabridged, reissue, illustrated

Published by C. E. Tuttle Co., 1959

This edition was reprinted in 1970, 1976, 1990 and 1995.⁵⁹

The Tuttle Publishing Company was established in 1948 by Charles Egbert Tuttle in Vermont in the USA and Tokyo in Japan. It has been a leading publisher of books on Asia ever since. The aim of the Company is “to publish fine books which connect the cultures of the East with the West and provide greater understanding between the two.”⁶⁰ According to information from its website, Tuttle has published more than 6 000 books since its founding in 1948. Many of the books originally published by Charles E. Tuttle in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s remain popular today. The company now produces 150 new titles each year, most of which still focus on the areas of Asian interest that Tuttle has long been known for.

In 2002, Tuttle reset and republished the paperback version with a new preface by Robert. H. Hegel, who also acted as a reader for “the first half of the manuscript (of the other complete

⁵⁹ Cf. Addendum B for book covers of some of these reprints.

⁶⁰ <http://www.tuttlepublishing.com/aboutus/>. Retrieved on 23 March 2011.

English translation) for the UCP” (cf. “Acknowledgement” in Roberts 1994). This edition consists of two volumes and contains 1 460 pages. There are very few notes and no illustrations.

Romance of the Three Kingdoms Volume 1

By Lo Kuan-Chung, Guanzhong Luo, Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor, Robert E. Hegel

Translated by Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor

Contributor Robert E. Hegel

Published by Tuttle Publishing, 2002

ISBN 0804834679, 9780804834674

Romance of the Three Kingdoms Volume 2

By Lo Kuan-Chung, Guanzhong Luo, C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, Robert E. Hegel

Translated by C. H. Brewitt-Taylor

Contributor Robert E. Hegel

Published by Tuttle Publishing, 2002

ISBN 0804834687, 9780804834681

Some other publishers also published C. H. Brewitt-Taylor’s translation, including:

- Cheng Wen Publishing Co (Taiwan): 1969
- Heian International Publishing Company: 1985, 2000
- Graham Brash (Singapore): 1985, 1988
- Lightning Source:⁶¹ 2005
- Silk Pagoda:⁶² 2005, 2008

It should be noted that these above-mentioned publishers are all based in Asia.

3.4.1.1 Comments on and reviews of Brewitt-Taylor’s translation

⁶¹ A private printing company.

⁶² Amazon.com sells an electronic version by Silk Pagoda. But the translation, though claimed to be translated by Brewitt-Taylor, is actually a heavily modified one.

Book reviewers rarely comment on the quality of a translation because normally a translated book is reviewed as if it were an original. If there is any reference to the book being a translation, the assessment is usually based entirely on a rather superficial analysis of the translation in relation to the target-cultural norms of languages and literature.

Nord (2005: 179)

Comments and reviews of a text which are not part of the book are regarded as metatexts. Metatexts include all comments and reviews of a text – positive as well as negative. Paratexts, on the other hand, are reviews printed on the inside or outside covers of a book mainly for promotional purposes. Paratexts⁶³ regarded as part of a book and always hold positive views. In the following paragraphs, the paratexts and selected metatexts of Brewitt-Taylor's translation will be discussed.

A number of comments and reviews on Brewitt-Taylor's translation have appeared since its first publication in 1925. Many of these reviews only focused on the translation "as if it were an original", which is often the case with reviews of translated texts, as illustrated in Nord's quotation above. This section focuses on reviews which comment on aspects of the work as a translation (and not an original). Some of the reviewers seem to be experts, but most appear to be common readers. However "superficial" they may appear, all these reviews and comments reflect the gains and losses in the translation product from the perspectives of readers.

The earliest comment found was by A.J. Bowen in 1926; a year after the translation was first published (cf. Cannon 2009: 157):

Mr. Brewitt-Taylor, formerly of the Chinese customs Service, has placed the West under great obligations by this translation of a very distinctively Eastern work.

[...]

The translator has done a most excellent piece of work. It is a real translation, and not an extended summary. It gives you the author's exact words, in so far as they can be expressed in idiomatic English. But better still, the way of saying it in English preserves

⁶³ "Paratext" is defined by Gérard Genette as those parts in a published work that accompany the main text. Paratexts of a work include the author's name, the title of the book, preface or introduction, illustrations, etc. (Genette 1997: 1). The paratext is "the means by which a text makes a book of itself and proposes it as such to its readers" (ibid.). The paratexts are usually supplied by editors and publishers, forming a reference to the main text of the book.

very well indeed the tone and spirit and the movement of the original – a task by no means easy of accomplishment, a success which few translators of Chinese achieve.

This comment reflects the criteria for a good translation of that time: a good translation must be not only faithful (“信”) to the original (“the author’s exact words”), but also expressive (“达”) in the receptor language (“expressed in idiomatic English”). Furthermore, the higher demand is to preserve “the tone and spirit and the movement of the original”. It is obviously prescriptive and evaluative.

A review by E. Mengel appeared in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. It reads: “Mr. C. H. Brewitt-Taylor undertook a great task. We are glad that its magnitude did not daunt him but that he has brought it to a completion. The work is magnificently done” (cf. Cannon 2009: 158). No further comments were offered, and the reviewer did not elaborate on what specifically he considered to be “magnificently done”.

An article written by an E.T.C.W. appeared in *Peking & Tientsin Times*,⁶⁴ introducing and recommending the translation. The year of writing is unfortunately untraceable. It is interesting to read the following comments on the translator and his translation:

Of Mr. Brewitt-Taylor’s competence as a translator (the “invaluable middleman between the import of thought”) there can be no question; his excellent *T’an-lun-hsin-p’ien* proved that many years ago. And, be it noted, this is a translation properly so-called, not a mere resumé of the narrative, so that we may compare it sentence by sentence with the Chinese text. The translation has also hit the happy mean of preserving the spirit and life of the original without making us “see the Chinese” as we read, which would render the perusal cumbersome and fatiguing. The *Yen-i* written in the delightful easily read *kuan-hua*⁶⁵, soothes the reader’s mind and carries him along, in the same way as a pleasantly-working motor-engine on a good road with a competent chauffeur.

This comment also mentions what the reviewer thinks a good translation should achieve, namely structural equivalence (may be “compare[d] sentence by sentence with the [original]”), and spiritual equivalence (“preserving the spirit and life of the original”).

The following reviews were found in recent years:

⁶⁴ A copy of this article is attached as Addendum D.

⁶⁵ “Kuan-hua” refers to official or formal language.

I think that all Westerners should be exposed to this classic of the East. Without a doubt, 'Romance of the Three Kingdoms' is one of the very best works of literary art that the human mind had ever produced. However, I must warn the first time reader of the complete deluge of names with which he will be accosted. To further complicate matters, different publishers of the book spell the names in different ways (e.g. Cao Cao = T'sao T'sao, Chuko Lee-ong = Zhuge Liang). I was aided in this struggle by the fact that I had played a game with these characters, so that I was familiar with some of them. The author revels in his knowledge of history, and expects the same of his readers, but the reader may feel completely overwhelmed. Just keep in mind the three main characters, and try to remember who follows whom, and you should do fine (however, it is frustrating when the character Xun Yu introduces the character Xun You, etc.). 'Empires wax and wane, states cleave asunder and coalesce'. The first statement in the book is as true today as it was 2 000 years ago. If you are a reader who prides himself on his knowledge of the classics, I can honestly say that your mental library is incomplete until you read this book.

M. A. Jenkins (10 October 2002)⁶⁶

This review, while highly praising the success of the translation, points out that the translated names of people are confusing. It also gives instructions on how to read and understand the translation.

The story is truly a classic and the translation is pretty good. However, the actual product is pretty sloppy. Volume one was less problematic than volume two, but both had a high number of instances. The main problem is that letters that are similar in shape, such as b and d, p and g, etc. get switched, almost once a page. Also, the names weren't proofread very well, as apostrophes get pretty regularly left out. In a translation system where an apostrophe is the only difference between the names to two characters or places, this becomes a source of confusion. Also, entire words are left out pretty regularly. I wonder if any highly fluent English speakers actually got to proofread this, because most of these errors are so obvious. These errors aren't so bad that it is unreadable, but they really take a person out of the scene while the confusion is dispelled."⁶⁷

This comment reflects the dissatisfaction with the printing and proofreading. But it does not mention the version and publisher of the translation in question.

⁶⁶ http://www.amazon.com/Romance-Three-Kingdoms-Set-See/dp/0893469262/ref=sid_dp_dp. Retrieved on 7 June 2009.

⁶⁷ http://www.amazon.com/Romance-Three-Kingdoms-Vol-1/product-reviews/0804834679/ref=dp_top_cm_cr_acr_txt?ie=UTF8&showViewpoints=1. Retrieved on 7 June 2009.

I don't want to waste space on what a great literary work this is (self-evident), rather this particular translation and edition from Tuttle press. The paper and cover is high quality and attractive, and Brewitt's translation captures a lot of the camaraderie and pride of the characters, as well as the small poems scattered throughout, although of course if one could read old style Chinese that is ideal (I can't). There are some spelling mistakes and inconsistencies (a name spelt differently 2x) but overall a fine edition and a great story.⁶⁸

This review is generally quite positive, though the spelling mistakes have been pointed out for attention.

While this edition was easily readable, I sometimes struggled with keeping all of the dozens of characters' names straight. An added difficulty was that Chinese of that time had at least two names, a formal and "polite" name, and are additionally sometimes referred to by nicknames.⁶⁹

This review reminds us of the importance of translating Chinese names in a manner acceptable to the TT situation.

3.4.2 Roberts's translation⁷⁰

In 1976, Pantheon Books in New York published a shortened and abridged translation of *Sanguo yanyi* by Roberts. He adopted *The Three Kingdoms* as the title of his translation in order to distinguish it from Brewitt-Taylor's earlier translation. Roberts (1976: xx) states his aim with this translation as follows:

Three Kingdoms is not only a complex book but a very long one. For the reader who is unfamiliar with Chinese culture this translation presents the essential dramatic narrative while reducing the multiplicity of historical detail. The abridgement aims at a clarity of focus which, it is hoped, reveals the story's vivid life as a work of art, a masterpiece from a high civilization.

⁶⁸ http://www.amazon.com/Romance-Three-Kingdoms-Vol-1/product-reviews/0804834679/ref=dp_top_cm_cr_acr_txt?ie=UTF8&showViewpoints=1. Retrieved on 7 June 2009.

⁶⁹ <http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/158771>, Retrieved on 6 March 2011.

⁷⁰ Cf. Addendum C for some book covers of Roberts's translations of *Sanguo yanyi*.

Regarding the selection of material and methodology, he states (ibid.: xxiv):

In presenting the nucleus of the epic as economically as possible, this translation concentrates on chapters 20 to 85 of the original one hundred and twenty. Thus a little over half of the text is covered. However, many of these inner sixty-five chapters are only partially translated, with many summary bridges, condensations, and splices. Thus the bulk of the translation amounts to about one-fourth of the original.

From this it is evident that not one chapter was translated completely. It is clearly stated that this translation is a retelling of the original text rather than a faithful abridged translation. Pantheon reprinted this edition in 1977.

A review of this version written by Nachtkind on 15 December 2009 reads:

The version I read was an abridged translation designed to be accessible to a casual, Western reader. Therefore, a lot is doubtless missing from the original. It was a good read anyway – not the sort of book I would typically enjoy, but enough to keep me interested.⁷¹

Roberts must have wished to do a complete translation of the 120 chapters and was waiting for such an opportunity, which finally arose in the early 1990s. In the acknowledgements to his full translation of *Sanguo*, Roberts gives an account of how the project was made possible to complete:

This project first took shape as an abridged *Three Kingdoms*, which Pantheon Books published in 1976 for use in college classes.⁷² The abridged version has its limitations and its mistakes, however, and I harbored the hope that some day the opportunity to translate the entire text would present itself. That opportunity came in 1982 when the late Luo Liang, deputy editor-in-chief at the Foreign Languages Press,⁷³ proposed that I translate the whole novel for the Press. He and Israel Epstein arranged for me to spend the year 1983–1984 at the FLP as a foreign expert. I arrived in Beijing and began work

⁷¹ <http://www.goodreads.com/review/show/62627023>. Retrieved on 23 March 2011.

⁷² The 1976 abridged version, which the translator intended to be used “in college classes”, appears to be a perfect choice of text for South African students of Chinese. The focus in this study, however, is on the two complete translations of *Sanguo yanyi* instead of on any of the abridged versions.

⁷³ Foreign Language Press (FLP) in Beijing mainly publishes translated Chinese texts in foreign languages.

in September of 1983. At the FLP I enjoyed the friendship and benefited from the advice of a number of colleagues. [...] I was also fortunate to have been awarded a National Endowment for the Arts fellowship for the translation.

He continued to tell how he finalized the complete version for publication:

During 1984 Brian George of the University of California Press visited the FLP and helped to prepare the way for joint FLP-UCP publication. [...] The UCP, the FLP, and I concluded that Western readers would be best served by adding a full set of notes and an extended commentary on the text. This format was adopted, and the translation became eligible for support from the National Endowment for Humanities. In 1985 and 1986 I was fortunate to hold a fifteen-month fellowship from the NEH that relieved me of half my teaching duties.

The plan to add notes and commentary on the text to best serve the readers reflects the visibility of the translator and the foreignizing approach that the translator adopted. (Cf. a discussion on this in section 4.3.) Roberts's initial intention for his abridged version might be thought to extend to his complete translation, the target readers of which include college students (of Chinese).

It took Roberts eight years (1983–1991) to complete the translation. In an interview in 2001, he told the *Sichuan Daily* that among all those well-known novels and stories, he liked *Sanguo yanyi* best, because in the novel the true Chinese spirit, which was that the people long for unification, was conveyed. One of the characters he liked was Diaochan,⁷⁴ a fictitious girl who sacrificed her life for the righteous cause to get rid of Dong Zhuo, the ruthless prime minister who had the emperor dethroned and murdered. As for the translation itself, Roberts mentioned that the most difficult work for him was how to translate the poems in the novel into easy-to-understand English while keeping the sense of the rhymed original texts.⁷⁵

Roberts's complete translation was first jointly published by the University of California Press (UC Press) and Foreign Language Press (Berkeley, 1991 and Beijing, 1994). UC Press is considered one of the most distinguished publishers of academic texts in the United States, with publications covering a range of fields, such as the humanities, social sciences, and

⁷⁴ One of the "Four Beauties" in ancient China. The other three are Xi Shi, Wang Zhaojun and Yang Yuhuan.

⁷⁵ *The American Who Translated San Guo Yai Yi*. An interview by Sichuan Daily.

<http://www.sichuandaily.com.cn/2001/07/13/104212778.html>. Retrieved on 22 August 2009.

natural sciences. UC Press publishes approximately 200 new books and forty multi-issue journals annually.⁷⁶ The Foreign Languages Press (FLP) in Beijing was established in 1952. Its mission is to let the world “Know China through Books.” Its publications are mainly translations of Chinese works into different languages. According to information on their website, “over the past half century, FLP has published, in 43 languages, over 30 000 book titles.”⁷⁷ The average number of titles published annually is about 600.

The UC Press and FLP edition of Robert’s translation of *Sanguo yanyi* was published in four volumes and contained 2 340 pages. By 2008, this edition had already been reprinted twelve times. The same edition was reprinted in 1994 in three volumes and 2004 in two volumes. The 2004 edition was only for sale outside China. This study uses the three-volume edition published in 1994 in the analysis. Details on the text will be provided in section 5.2.

In 2000, as one of the books of the *Library of Chinese Classics*, Roberts’s translation (a Chinese-English bilingual version) was published by Foreign Languages Press and Hunan People’s Publishing House. This bilingual version is a five-volume set containing 3 115 pages.

In addition to the full translation of the ST, Roberts’s translation also includes useful information in the form of the paratexts such as illustrations, maps, notes and an introduction. On the first few pages of Volume 1, eleven portraits of the main characters are printed with a brief introduction to each underneath. Throughout the text, forty-seven illustrations and eleven maps are provided. Detailed notes are attached to each chapter, explaining relevant historical backgrounds, differences between different editions of the novel and differences between the novel and official records of history. In Volume 4, 115 principle characters in the novel are briefly introduced in alphabetical order, and fifty-two main events are explained in chronological order. Volume 4 also provides a bilingual list of titles, terms and offices, and includes a four-page foreword by John S. Service and a 110-page afterword (including the notes to the afterword) by the translator. A list of abbreviations of titles of important books referred to in the novel is also given in Volume 4.

In 1999, based on his full translation, Roberts had an abridged edition published by the California University Press in order to “strike an appropriate balance between the epic dimensions of the whole novel and the need of students and the reading public for a relatively

⁷⁶ <http://www.ucpress.edu/about.php?p=info>. Retrieved on 25 March 2011.

⁷⁷ <http://www.flp.com.cn/en/newsdetail.cfm?iCntno=341>. Retrieved on 25 March 2011.

convenient and manageable way to become acquainted with the work” (Roberts 1999: vii). This edition is published in two parts and designed for undergraduate courses in Chinese studies. In addition to the shortened chapters, the abridged edition removed all footnotes to the text and to the afterword. But “bridging material” has been written by the translator to “ease the reader’s transitions from one section of the novel to another and to preserve to the fullest extent possible the main lines of the narratives” (ibid.). Readers who wish to know more about the novel’s history and literary context or those who wish to pursue particular problems of character, incident, or style are advised to consult the unabridged edition.

Compared with the unabridged version, the following changes were made to the abridged version: contents in the chapters were shortened and some paratexts were omitted, such as all the notes, the illustrations, the abbreviations, and the list of titles, terms, and offices (cf. section 5.2.1.5.2).

3.4.2.1 Comments on and reviews of Roberts’s translation

There seems to be more reviews and comments focused on Roberts’s translation than on Brewitt-Taylor’s translation. However, most of the reviews are still based on the translated novel itself as a whole “as if it were an original”, and very few make direct comments on the translation itself. Below are some exceptions to the norm.

Three Kingdoms gives us the Iliad of China. First of the five great works of traditional prose fiction, this master narrative transforms history into epic and has thereby educated and entertained readers of five centuries with unforgettable exemplars of martial and civic virtue, of personal fidelity and political treachery. Moss Roberts’s translation is of surpassing excellence and impeccable scholarship. It should delight and captivate Western readers for many years to come.

Anthony C. Yu, University of Chicago⁷⁸

This comment is used as a paratext of the publication and as such intends to promote sales of the book with its high praise of the translation. Anthony C. Yu is a translator of *Xi youji*, one of the Four Great Chinese classic novels. Yu compliments Roberts’s translation, using the words “surpassing excellence and impeccable scholarship”. This phrase seems to indicate that

⁷⁸ This paratext is from the inside flap of the Chinese-English bilingual edition.

the translation is not simply a translated novel but a work of scholarship, a notion that could be useful in research on novel-related issues.

Moss Roberts's elegant and powerful translation of China's most important historical romance has a stunning directness that aptly conveys the dramatic boldness of the original episodic narrative. English readers may now finally understand why this 15th-century novel so strategically shaped the political worldview of generations of Chinese.

Frederic Wakeman, University of California at Berkeley⁷⁹

This review uses "elegant" and "powerful" to stress the success of this translation, implying that the translation is both readable and reliable enough to be used to understand Chinese people's "political worldview".

First off, you have to read the full translation of this book. I read the 1976 abridged version of *Three Kingdoms* translated by Moss Roberts first and thought it was pretty good, but felt that the story wasn't developed enough and lacked cohesion. Then a few years ago I finally found and purchased the full unabridged version published by the University of California Press and also translated by Dr. Roberts. This is the full-blown epic from start to finish with all the details and many of the translation errors of the previous editions eliminated. The prose was also improved and flows eloquently throughout the book's entire 3000+ pages.

A reviewer (GLP)⁸⁰

This reviewer compares the abridged and the full translations, expressing his personal preference for the full version, which not only corrects many of the errors in the abridged version, but also allows the story to develop more fully.

The following review, written by a Chinese-English bilingual, is quite long. Comments are therefore provided after every paragraph.

I'd read the original archaic text when I was about eight years old, so obviously my views will be heavily slanted by my familiarity with this text. On approaching this translation, what I find is a well done, respectful and informative translation that doesn't quite nail

⁷⁹ This review refers to the hardcover edition.

⁸⁰ http://www.amazon.com/review/R1OCNQC80BVB70/ref=cm_cr_pr_viewpnt#R1OCNQC80BVB70.

Retrieved on 6 June 2009.

the tone of the original text, but will be a good read for modern readers who don't read Chinese.

This starting paragraph reflects the reviewer's positive opinion on the translation as a whole. It mentions that the Roberts's translation is also suitable for those who have no knowledge of the Chinese language. For most modern South African students of Chinese who devote a very limited time studying Chinese, this translation may also be a good read since most of them are hardly able to access the original Chinese text directly.

And to be honest, Chinese is extremely hard to translate into English. Just the fact that subjects, articles and pronouns are often omitted from a sentence is enough to cause nightmares for a Chinese-English translator. And even by Chinese standards, *The Three Kingdoms* is a work whose linguistic economy is staggering. In one page, this book can convey the deaths of half a dozen characters, three to four battles, multiple schemes, and include four or five "tribute" poems, to boot. Such is the style of this work, and it could not have been easy for translator Moss Roberts to adapt this style into English. And he has done the job remarkably, for though I don't think he was able to convey the flavour and rhythm of the original language (the question is, also, whether that would have been possible), his translation makes a good read, and strives to be faithful to the original text, down to the chapter divisions and the inclusion of the "tribute" poems which frequent the book. This was an essential piece in the style of the book and I was (en)joyed to see the device retained.

Here the reviewer holds the opinion that, since Chinese and English are so different from each other, it is impossible to "convey the flavour and rhythm of the original language". However, according to the reviewer, Roberts did a remarkable job, for his translation "strives to be faithful to the original text", even when handling the "tribute" poems which are found throughout in the book.

There are instances scattered throughout where I felt the tone of the language may have been misinterpreted, or diluted by the language barrier. Obviously, I'm not a Chinese professor (as Prof. Roberts is), but as a native speaker, I felt his translations sometimes didn't quite hit the mark. For example, in the original text, one poem on the character Cao Cao distinctly used a word which meant "deception" or "guile", but Prof. Roberts adapted it to "craft", which dilutes the disapproving tone of the original. When Yuan Shao refused aid to Liu Bei on account of his son's illness, his advice to the messenger was "if he is in trouble, he may seek refuge with me", which suggests patronage, not "find refuge north

of the river”, which suggests a tactical maneuver related to geography. These are but two examples and you can certainly argue that the meaning of the original text is up for grabs, but as a Chinese native speaker and reader, one who has grown up with this text and re-read the book hundreds of times, I still find the translation a little off. There is also no attempt at creating period flavour in the language – the translation is modern, not aiming to add archaic English flavour to try to reflect the age of the original Chinese text. This may be a good point, however, since the use of archaic English added to the language barrier might have resulted in a book that's very difficult to read. I think Prof. Roberts sacrificed flavour for clarity, a fair tradeoff to the benefit of the translation.

In this paragraph, the reviewer points out that sometimes the translation does not transfer the “tone” of the original successfully, or even misinterprets the meaning. Furthermore, the translation is in modern English while the novel is a fourteenth-century book, and therefore it might be reasonable to “add archaic English flavour to try to reflect the age of the original Chinese text”. However, using modern English for a modern readership may be one of the general strategies that the translator adopts.

Again, the question is whether an English translation (or any other translation) could ever be accurate in this way to the original. Personally, I do think many of the discrepancies in meaning could have been avoided, or ameliorated. However, as aforementioned, for a reader who's never read the original, this issue won't affect his/her enjoyment of the text. Just the fact that there is a translation of this extremely important work of Chinese literature is a cause for celebration, and for those people new to this realm, this set of books is a great discovery.⁸¹

This last paragraph of the review concludes that, although there are discrepancies which occur as a result of misunderstandings of the original text, the work as a whole is a success and will be enjoyed especially by those who cannot read the original.

In the last review that will be discussed here, the reader holds the opinion that the translation fails to keep the “characteristics” of the original and that it leaves little for readers to imagine and wonder about, to the extent that it is not possible to truly appreciate the epic through reading the translation. According to the reviewer, this is just another normal case of great literature lost in translation:

⁸¹ http://www.amazon.com/Three-Kingdoms-Chinese-Classics-4-Volumes/product-reviews/7119005901/ref=dp_top_cm_cr_acr_txt?ie=UTF8&showViewpoints=1. Retrieved on 7 June 2009.

The Three Kingdoms have been, since its creation, the staple of literature in the Orient. It has been translated into Korean, Japanese, and numerous other languages and has been read by scholars, historians, and military strategists everywhere in Northern Asia. However, as anyone who has already read the *Three Kingdoms* in any of the North Eastern Asian languages will promise, the English version unfortunately does not capture the essence in which the “Odyssey” of China rose to its widespread fame and ubiquity. It lacks the characteristics that demand to stand as one of the greatest historical and legendary pieces in existence today. That is why it is literature, not simply history. The artistic hand of Luo Guanzhong is almost wiped off and a bland history with awkward word choice is left that leaves little to imagination and wonder. For people who are interested in the epics of Chinese literature, to gain a simple understanding of the events and perhaps some of the strategies, the book can be recommended. However, to truly appreciate the epic that has created sayings that if you read the story three times, you can be deemed a scholar, the translation simply lacks too much. It is unfortunately, another case of great literature unable to be shared since it was lost in translation.⁸²

3.4.3 Reviews comparing both translations

I love the *Three Kingdoms*. However, having read Brewitt-Taylor’s masterful exposition, this translation seems lacking, in my opinion. First, I must confess, I hate the modern Pinyin system of romanization. I cannot abide in a system where letters do not have the proper values. I mean, an entire generation of Americans (and God help the ignorant French!) will pronounce names like Cao Cao as “Cow Cow”, or the Qin dynasty as the “Kwin” dynasty. The Brewitt-Taylor translation uses the old Wade system, and while it can be hard on the eyes, the reader gets a sense of at least the rough pronunciation (Cao Cao is rendered Ts’ao Ts’ao, Qin is rendered Ch’in, etc). Also, Brewitt-Taylor’s translation is nice to listen to. ‘Empires wax and wane, states cleave asunder and coalesce’; the sound itself is beautiful, and yet still renders the sense clearly. The Roberts translation certainly succeeds in the latter, but the beauty is lost. However, Brewitt-Taylor

⁸² http://www.amazon.com/Three-Kingdoms-Chinese-Classics-4-Volumes/product-reviews/7119005901/ref=cm_cr_pr_link_next_8?ie=UTF8&showViewpoints=0&pageNumber=8. Retrieved on 23 March 2011.

requires a very great vocabulary, whereas Roberts is more tame in this regard. Still, this was a book for scholars, and the translation should at least reflect that.⁸³

This reviewer is not used to the new Pinyin system that is adopted in Roberts's translation, and argues that Brewitt-Taylor's translation is more beautiful and has a great vocabulary, while Roberts's translation excels in rendering the sense clearly and is "a book for scholars". This suggests that Roberts's translation is good for experts in either translation or literary studies. In this regard, it appears that Roberts had succeeded in his purpose of translating the entire text to best serve Western readers by adding extensive paratexts after he had realized the limitations of his first abridged translation which was "for use in college classes". However, his second abridged translation based on the full version seems to indicate that even the full translation has its limitations when it is used for undergraduate courses because it contains too much information, some of which was intentionally omitted to address this problem (cf. 3.4.2).

Cannon (2009: 160) writes the following on reviews of Roberts's translation:

The publisher's blurb to Roberts's new translation refers to its being a 'readable translation ... the early English version [being] turgid'. A review of Roberts's translation avers the novel's 'indelible position in the Chinese heritage' and goes on to describe Brewitt-Taylor's translation as complete but faulty. The reviewer states that Roberts provides in his 1991 edition a complete and authoritative translation which 'perfectly captures the feelings of the original text'.

However, he continues as follows:

Not all Sinologues share these views. A contrasting view has been presented by John Minford.⁸⁴ The *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* is, to me, best translated by C.H. Brewitt-Taylor, though there is a recent one by Moss Roberts.

He and another British Sinologue who had compared the two translations and were familiar with the Chinese version were asked separately how they thought they compared. Their verbal assessments coincided: their view was that Roberts's version was both more

⁸³ http://www.amazon.com/Romance-Three-Kingdoms-Vol-2/product-reviews/0804834687/ref=dp_top_cm_cr_acr_txt?ie=UTF8&showViewpoints=1. Retrieved on 23 March 2011.

⁸⁴ Minford is the translator of the last forty chapters of *Hong Loumeng*, the greatest Chinese novel of all time. He is also one of the translators of *Ludingji* – one of the most popular modern Wuxia novels.

complete ('everything was there') and more scholarly, with very useful annotations, but they considered that Brewitt-Taylor's translation better captured the flavour of the original and was more concise and stylistically superior; Brewitt-Taylor caught the essence more. The verdict of each was the same: 'he has not been superseded.'

The comment that Brewitt-Taylor's version is "more concise" is presumably based on a general assumption. Sometimes Brewitt-Taylor used more words than Roberts did to translate the same text. For instance, Brewitt-Taylor used more words (7 204) than Roberts (7 160) to translate Chapter 60 (cf. Table 5.2 in section 5.2.1.6). Brewitt-Taylor focused on transferring the flavor and style of the original, while Roberts's translation is better for the serious researcher of Chinese culture.

3.5 The translators

Knowledge of a translator's background enables us to have a better understanding of his translations. In this section, the two translators' backgrounds will be investigated and discussed.

As already mentioned, the most popular English translations of *Sanguo yanyi* are *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* by Brewitt-Taylor and *Three Kingdoms* by Roberts. The fame and achievements of both translators are largely due to their translations of this great Chinese epic.

3.5.1 Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor

"Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor made a very significant contribution to Western knowledge of Chinese culture, for his *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* was the first of the great Chinese novels to be translated into English" (Wood, in Cannon 2009).⁸⁵

3.5.1.1 Life and career

⁸⁵ These are the words of Frances Wood (Curator of Chinese Collection at the British Library), in his foreword to Cannon's *Public Success, Private Sorrow* (2009).

Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor was born in 1857 and died in 1938. Very few documents about his life are available. He “was a man who revealed little of himself” (Cannon 2009: 3). Fortunately, in 2009, a biography of Brewitt-Taylor was published in Hong Kong by retired British scholar Isidore Cyril Cannon. The main title of the book is *Public Success, Private Sorrow* and it has as *The life and Times of Charles Henry Brewitt-Taylor (1857–1938), China Customs Commissioner and Pioneer Translator*. It is listed as one of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Studies Series. This biography has provided most of the information used to compile the introduction to and discussion of Brewitt-Taylor’s life and career in this section.

Like many Westerners working in China or doing China-related research, Brewitt-Taylor also had a Chinese name, Deng Luo (邓罗), which is a transliteration of “Taylor”. “Brewitt” was his mother’s maiden name and he was the only child of the family to be given this name. He did not use the hyphen until he was married in 1880. He used the hyphen after he came to China and apparently “may have wished to make himself more distinctive as a writer or distance himself from his family [since] the hyphen would have suggested a higher status in his origins than he actually had” (Cannon 2009: 44).

Before this biography was published, I was only able to locate to get a brief account of his life from an Obituary Notice which appeared in a journal called *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. 99, p300. The notice reads:

CHARLES HENRY BREWITT-TAYLOR, late Commissioner to the Chinese Customs service, died on 1938 March 4 at his residence, Cathay, Earlsferry, Fife, aged eighty years. He was born at Kingston, Sussex, 1857 December 11, and spent most of his active life in China. For many years he resided at Foochow and taught navigation and astronomy at the Imperial Arsenal there. During the hostilities of 1884–1885 his house was wrecked in the bombardment by the French fleet. In 1891 he was appointed to the Imperial Maritime Customs, being afterwards attached to the Chinese Post Office; while Postmaster at Shanghai he was responsible for the building of the new Post Office. He was in Peking during the siege of the Legations in the Boxer rising of 1900, when his translation of a long Chinese novel was destroyed and had subsequently to be rewritten. He published a work on *Problems and Theorems in Navigation and Nautical Astronomy*, and edited and enlarged a second edition of F. Hirth’s *Textbook of Modern Documentary Chinese*; in addition he made various translations from the Chinese, including the novel in two volumes mentioned above, entitled *San Kuo, or Romance of the Three Kingdoms*.

He married, first, Alice Mary Vale, who died in 1891, and by whom he had two sons, both of whom predeceased him, one being killed in the Great War; then secondly, Ann Michie, of Tientsin, who survives him with two daughters.

He was elected a Fellow of the Society on 1885 May 8.

This obituary is also quoted in Cannon's biography of Brewitt-Taylor. He pointed out some minor errors in the notice, such as that Brewitt-Taylor's wife died in 1890 instead of 1891 and that he was survived by two daughters-in-law, not two daughters (cf. Cannon 2009: 236).

Brewitt-Taylor's social origins were humble, as he belonged to the working class. His father worked as a boatman and his mother was a dressmaker. He was the middle child of five children. His father, Charles Taylor, committed suicide at the age of 48, when Brewitt-Taylor was only ten. "His family's humble circumstances together with his father's suicide might well help to explain his later desire to distance himself from most of his family, his reticence over discussing them, as well as his determination to do well in life" (Cannon 2009: 15).

Brewitt-Taylor did not go to college, though perhaps he had intended to do so as he obtained his matriculation. At the age of twenty-two, he must have received training and acquired a good knowledge of astronomy, because he tried to apply for the post of junior assistant at the Royal Observatory in Greenwich. He was turned down merely because he did not pass the health test – he had very bad eyesight. He then married quickly and the young couple went to China shortly afterwards.

Brewitt-Taylor secured a position to teach mathematics and navigation in Foochow, China. Through hard work he was quite successful both as a professional and as a student of Chinese in spite of various hazards he and his family encountered. In 1885, he was "awarded the Double Dragon, Second Class, Third Division after five years in his post" (Cannon 2009: 43). This honor or this level of award was for the vice-consul of people of equivalent rank since at that time "honours in China were hierarchically ranked according to status" (ibid.).

In 1890, his wife Alice, with whom he was very much in love, died. She "may have had altogether six babies who died at birth or in infancy," (Cannon 2009: 42) due to the poor health conditions in the expatriate community during that time. Brewitt-Taylor, only thirty-two years old, was left desolate with two young sons to raise on his own. In the following

year, he joined the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs (ICMC) in Tientsin (Tianjin). He was appointed in the Indoor Staff as a Third Assistant A, partially due to his mastery of the Chinese language. In 1894, he married Ann Amy Jane Michie, who was ten years younger than him and a daughter of a prominent businessman. In July 1898, Brewitt-Taylor was promoted and appointed as a Second Assistant A at the headquarters of the Customs Inspectorate in Peking (Beijing). He was in charge of the Chinese Department there. A man of ability, Brewitt-Taylor's next promotion quickly followed. By early 1899, he was promoted to Deputy Commissioner in Peking and in 1900 to Acting Commissioner of Swatow (Shantou). Between 1902 and 1905, the family lived in Shanghai where he was District Postmaster. In December 1905, they had to relocate again, this time to Mengtze in Yunnan Province,⁸⁶ where he was appointed as Acting Commissioner and ex-officio postmaster.

His wife Ann's health deteriorated around this time and she was accompanied back to Britain for more professional treatment. Among expatriate wives, psychiatric disorders were not rare. Another factor that caused Ann's condition to worsen was the romance she developed with one of the Brewitt-Taylor's young colleagues, while Brewitt-Taylor was away for business trips. The affair was discovered and the young man resigned and left Mengtze shortly after Brewitt-Taylor's return.

In 1908, Brewitt-Taylor, accompanied by Ann, took up his new position as Full Commissioner at the ICMC Headquarters in Peking. He was also the co-director of a newly established Customs College, which trained "selected Chinese for senior positions in the ICMC" (Cannon 2009: 121). During his final year in Peking, 1912–1913, Brewitt-Taylor was appointed Acting Chief Secretary of the ICMC. On returning to China from a holiday in England in 1914, he was posted as Commissioner in Foochow, where he spent nearly two years. Then he was posted to Mukden, in the far north-east of China. Ann did not return to China with her husband, as her condition continued to worsen. As Commissioner in Mukden, Brewitt-Taylor was also responsible for a Customs language school. The aim of the school was to "teach Chinese to new, promising expatriate Customs staff, ones who were especially being groomed for promotion" (Cannon 2009: 135). In August 1918, Brewitt-Taylor's 30-year-old son Raymond was killed in the First World War. A distraught Brewitt-Taylor dedicated his translation of *San Guo* to the memory of his dear son.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Yunnan is a province in South-west of China, bordering Vietnam.

⁸⁷ Cf. Brewitt-Taylor's translator's note in *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*.

His last post in China was in Chungking (Chongqing), an important city on the upper reaches of the Yangtze river in Sichuan Province. He stayed there briefly. He took up his position in April 1920 and handed over control to his successor in November of the same year. He was 63 years old by then and he returned to Britain for his retirement. He joined his wife in her house in Scotland. In 1933, Brewitt-Taylor lost his remaining son Leonard, who died of an unknown illness at the age of 49. Brewitt-Taylor died in 1938 at his residence from “uraemia, pyelitis and chronic cystitis (kidney disease and inflammation of the bladder)” (Cannon 2009: 167).

3.5.1.2 Chinese language background

This section provides background information on Brewitt-Taylor’s knowledge of Chinese, his relocation to China and the reasons behind his translation of *Sanguo yanyi*.

Brewitt-Taylor was believed to have had contact with some Chinese students in London before going to China in 1880. Foochow Naval Yard School in China had developed a relationship with the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. The school sponsored several students to study in England in 1877, 1882 and 1886. Cannon (2009: 18) suggests that “it is not impossible that by being in the Greenwich area he learned about the China opportunity” and that he could have known Yan Fu, who was selected by the Chinese government to study at the Royal Naval College at that time and who was later to become one of the most famous translators in China. In the autumn of 1880, Brewitt-Taylor went to teach in the English Division of the Foochow Naval Yard School, the staff of which were made up of both Chinese and Western teachers.

After arriving in China, Brewitt-Taylor most likely employed a Chinese tutor, which at the time was the norm for anyone who wanted to study the language seriously. It is highly likely that Brewitt-Taylor was encouraged by Thomas Wade and Herbert Giles to study Chinese writing and publishing. In less than five years after his arrival in his late twenties, he started publishing his translations from Chinese. His first piece of published writing, found in the Royal Asiatic Society’s journal for 1885, was a translation of a chapter from a popular novel *Jing Hua Yuan (Flowers in the Mirror)*. In the same year he published another translation about Chinese filial piety. He also contributed a paper to a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1886. More of Brewitt-Taylor’s writings appeared in a number of journals in the

years that followed. They were mostly translated extracts simply presented without an introductory context or with just brief notes. This appeared to be customary at the time.

In 1892, shortly after his arrival in Tientsin, Brewitt-Taylor was invited to a special banquet for the seventieth birthday celebrations of the famous Li Hung-chang (Li Hongzhang) – the Imperial Commissioner for Northern Trade. Brewitt-Taylor was asked by Chang Chih-tung (Zhang Zhidong), another viceroy, to translate a eulogistic address to Li. This public demonstration showed Brewitt-Taylor’s prowess in the Chinese language.

Around 1898, when he was Assistant Chinese Secretary and often drafted Chinese correspondence and documents, he produced a little booklet in Chinese on economic policy, which was “a guide to Chinese traders to the kinds of goods foreign traders wanted and how they value them” (Cannon 2009: 79).

His last known published writing before *Sanguo yanyi* was a revision of the *Textbook of Documentary Chinese: For the Special Use of the Chinese Customs Service*. This work, published in two volumes, had originally been edited by eminent sinologist Dr. Friedrich Firth, who was later appointed professor of Chinese Studies at Columbia University. Brewitt-Taylor was granted the task of revising the work for a second edition. He “completely reconstructed and enlarged the work” (Cannon 2009: 106) which is cited as one of three important translations of Ch’ing (Qing) documents.

During Brewitt-Taylor’s time in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, foreigners were a dominant force. But most of them only focused on material gains and avoided the cultural interest of the host nation. There were few Westerners who were fluent in Chinese and “they were frequently treated with disdain by compatriots” (Cannon 2009: 47). English novelist Somerset Maugham who traveled to China made the following comment, as quoted in Cannon (2009: 47):

[...] China bored them all, they did not want to speak of that; they only knew just so much about it as was necessary to their business, and they looked with distrust upon any young man who studied the Chinese language [...] It was well-known that all those fellows who went in for Chinese grew queer in the head.

Another similar view was held by J.O.P. Bland, a scholar of Chinese, also quoted in Cannon (ibid.):

I observed that the mentality of Europeans who became absorbed in the intensive study of Chinese gradually assume an oriental complexion and, in the end, becomes estranged from the European outlook on life, habits of thought and standards of conduct.

Fortunately, the few “queer-headed” Westerners who were absorbed by Chinese history and language brought knowledge and understanding to the West and were not deterred by the attitudes described above. They became sinologists – specialists in China-related research. Thomas Wade, Herbert Giles and Brewitt-Taylor were among the most accomplished sinologists. In 1930, Brewitt-Taylor donated three precious volumes of the great Ming Chinese encyclopedia *Yongle Dadian* to the British Museum. How he obtained them was unclear.

3.5.1.3 Translation of *Sanguo yanyi*

In 1889 or 1890, Brewitt-Taylor’s first piece of translation from *Sanguo yanyi* was published. It was an account of the death of Sun Ce, who laid the foundation of the Kingdom of Wu. In 1891, he published another translation from *Sanguo yanyi*. It was at about this time that he began to devote himself to translating the novel. In a book review he wrote: “With all humility I venture to say that in my opinion the book is very interesting and the interest grows as the story developed. It well repays the toil of reading” (Cannon 2009: 50).

In 1892–1893, Brewitt-Taylor published another extract from the novel, “A Deep-Laid Plot and a Love Scene”, which was the last of his writings to be found in a journal. It has been suggested that it was Herbert Giles who encouraged Brewitt-Taylor to fully translate the novel, as he recognized Brewitt-Taylor’s ability and tenacity to undertake the task. He also wrote a review for Brewitt-Taylor’s translation.

Sanguo yanyi was very popular among Chinese readers in Brewitt-Taylor’s time and he started reading the entire novel. As his interest in the novel grew, he became more confident about completing a full translation. By 1900, Brewitt-Taylor had finished a full draft of his translation of *Sanguo yanyi*. However, he suffered a shattering blow. During a siege against foreigners the same year, the draft was entirely destroyed, together with parts of another piece

of translation he was working on, namely of a small textbook for the teaching of Chinese. It was not until 1925 that Brewitt-Taylor was able to complete and publish his final translation (cf. Cannon 2009: 154).

In December 1925, Brewitt-Taylor's translation of the *Sanguo yanyi* appeared as *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, a hardcover in two volumes published in Shanghai by Kelly and Walsh. In the first print of the first edition it states that the text had been "especially prepared for the use and education of the Chinese People." Thus, the initial aim of the publisher was to reach the Chinese market, which stands in contrast to Roberts's intention with his translation, namely to reach students or experts of Chinese (cf. 3.4.2). The following year, Kelly & Walsh also brought out a cheaper edition of the work.

In addition to his personal interest in the novel, Brewitt-Taylor also chose to translate *Sanguo yanyi* to intentionally promote the status of fictional novels, which at that time was not considered "high literature". Fully aware of the traditionally limited view of fiction as literature, he expressed his intention of promoting this genre in his preface, making it part of the paratext. He quoted another foreign scholar to justify his translation in his preface, before giving a description of the novel (cf. Cannon 2009: 155):

Works of fiction par excellence are not admitted by the Chinese to form a part of their national literature. Those who have imbibed European ideas on the subject, however, will feel that the novels and romances are too important as a class to be overlooked. The insight they give in the national manners and customs of various ages, the specimens which they furnish of an ever-changing language, the fact of this being the only channel through which a large portion of the people gain their knowledge of history, and the influence which they must consequently exercise in the formation of character, are reasons too weighty to be left out of account, notwithstanding the prejudices of scholars on the subject. Foremost among these in popular estimation is the *San Guo Chih Yen-i*.

Brewitt-Taylor's translation was the first attempt at a complete translated version of the first Chinese novel. He was undoubtedly the pioneer to introduce Chinese popular literature to the English-speaking world.

3.5.1.4 Paratexts and metatexts⁸⁸ on *Sanguo yanyi* and its translation

In his translator's note, Brewitt-Taylor comments briefly on his translation. He explains how he handled the personal names in his translation. For the sake of easy reading for the English-speaking readers, he decided to simplify the names by omitting the courtesy names of most of the characters (cf. Brewitt-Taylor 2002):

The *San Kuo* is distinctly Eastern, a book adapted for the story-teller; one can almost hear him. It abounds in names and genealogies, which seem never to tire the Eastern reader or listener. Happily, English admits pronouns in place of so many strangely spelt names which ought to appear, and they have been used; and as most persons have at least a *tzu* (*zi*) in addition to the *hsing* (*xing*) and *ming* I have tried to lighten the burden on the foreign reader's memory by using only the *hsing* or the *hsing* and *ming* of a man, suppressing his *tzu* in the case of very well-known characters.

Manchu, Japanese, Siamese, and possible other versions of the *San Kuo* have been made, and now to these I have attempted to add one in English, with what measure of success I leave to curious readers qualified to compare my rendering with the original.

The Wade system of romanisation, in which the vowels are pronounced as in Italian, has been used.

In his translator's note, he first mentions the difficulties he had encountered during the translation process and then relates strategy he used to handle these difficulties. He also reveals his motivation for translating the book, namely to "add one in English" in addition to the published translations in a few other languages.

It seems that Brewitt-Taylor developed a deep interest in traditional Chinese culture and literature at an early stage. The following extract (Cannon 2009: 203) is from a lengthy article he wrote on the novel (and is thus considered part of the metatext), which was published in *China Review* in 1890 while he was in Foochow. In this article he discusses different aspects of the novel, showing that he had studied it carefully after deciding to translate it. The first of the following extracts briefly compared the novel to the similar genre in the Western tradition. He also discusses the meaning of the novel's title (cf. Brewitt-Taylor 2002):

⁸⁸ Cf. footnotes 11 and 63 for the definitions of metatext and paratext respectively.

The work referred to by most people under the name of the *San-Kuo*, or even under the fuller title, is a *Yen-i* or Paraphrase of History according to Mayers, who published a brief account of this and other romances in *Notes and Queries* for August 1867. The term Paraphrase seems to be more fitting than that of romance, for the romance portion consists almost entirely of legends that have grown up and wreathed themselves round the figures of two or three of the more important characters. These are of the same class as those relating to King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table; those that the myth-finders tell us belong no more to Arthur than to Joshua, as they are sun and nature myths common to all the world and cropping up in all sorts of places in all sorts of disguises. They have assumed the dress with which the common people of every time and every country have clothed their heroes.

Brewitt-Taylor goes on to discuss the nature of the book, which does not seem to be a novel according to the criteria set in the Western tradition (*ibid.*):

The *San Kuo* cannot be considered a novel in the common sense of the term, not even a historic novel like Scott's. There is historic basis and authority for all the more striking events and the book itself bears witness to this, for the number of characters is far greater than one would be likely to invent and it would be unnecessary and a serious defect for any novelist to burden his pages with such an enormous number of characters.

In the same paragraph he points out the difficulties of combining actual history and elaboration. He expresses his admiration for the author's superior skills which make the book a great work of art (*ibid.*):

Seven hundred creations would tax the most prolific invention, and to keep these distinct and move them in due and timely order, to account for some and to dismiss the others and not to let them rise again in awkward places would be indeed a gigantic task. But in the *San Kuo* no man once killed appears in a later chapter, though, if he only flees, he is sure to be heard of again. Even with the history as a check, there is no question as to the genius of the romancer, or whatever we point. It required a mind of no mean order to introduce so many men, to let each work out his own part, speak and act consistently; but they and their entrances and exits are all managed with consummate skill.

In the following paragraphs of the same article, Brewitt-Taylor focuses on the problem of how to describe the work, which appeared more suitable to be called a historic drama than a novel or romance:

To my mind the *San Kuo* has more the character of a long historic drama than of a novel or romance, the author having confined his attention to the writing up of parts for different actors, that their words and recorded deeds may be in keeping with each other. Certainly, if such was his aim, he has admirably succeeded. The characters speak as if on the stage, the battles seem stage battles, the actors almost smell of paint. They talk much compared with what they do, their emotions are described like the instructions to the player, and the book abounds with strong contrasts and dramatic situations. The continuous use also of *Oratio Recta*, and the entire development by this means, strengthens the idea. If on the other hand we regard the book as a novel, at least in the ordinary sense of the term, we find a lack of some very important particulars.

This comment validates that the novel partially originated from dramas and operas (cf. 2.5.2). In fact, several dramas and operas were also created from the story in the novel, as shown by Mackerras (1976: 478): “In the traditional Peking Opera repertory there were well over one hundred items with stories taken directly from the *Sanguo yanyi*.”⁸⁹

In the first place there is an absence of plot. The meeting of the three great heroes Liu Pei, Kuan Yun (Yu) and Chang Fei and their subsequent adventures, and later the introduction of Chu-ko-Liang as a sort of *Deus ex machine*, can hardly be termed a plot. Certainly they all laboured and suffered and fought, always drawing nearer and nearer to the China, when the representative of the Hans, in the person of Liu Pei, sat on the throne as titular Emperor of Shuh. But this as a plot is feebly strung together and by no means made a leading feature. The author endeavours rather to impress the conventional Liu Pei's character upon us than to interest us in his adventures or show him rising superior to his ill fortune. Then again in the whole narrative is too clearly historical, to allow the necessary freedom to the plot of a story, and in this connection we must remember that the history is that of fifteen centuries ago, when matters were recorded which would be neglected by the modern historian, and omissions made which are now regarded as of great importance. Another objection to the term novel is the very great prominence given to the rival houses of Wu and Wei, although Liu Pei is *the* hero of the book. The final victory lay really with the house of Wei, founded by Ts'ao Ts'ao, and this character, though a mighty and important one, is clearly subsidiary to Liu Pei as far as the book concerned. Scarcely any novelist would have been satisfied with the very partial success of Liu Pei in Shuh, which country Wei excelled in power, and Wu in wealth. Nor would he have missed the golden opportunity for ending his story at the point where Liu Pei sat

⁸⁹ Also cf. 2.5.8.

upon the throne of Shuh as Emperor, representative of the Han Dynasty. No novelist would have allowed his hero's son to die degraded, or have removed his important subordinate characters in such ways as they disappear. On the whole I should prefer to call the *San-Kuo* neither a romance nor a novel but rather a history, a historical drama not written for the stage.

Brewitt-Taylor suggests that the work lacks some basic features of a typical novel. Firstly, it does not have a plot. Secondly, its narrative is too historical to allow a plot to develop. Thirdly, the hero Liu Bei does not seem to be described as the hero, since “the very great prominence” is given to his rivals. After a long analysis, the last part of this extract concludes that the work could be more appropriately called a “historical drama not written for the stage”, instead of a novel or a romance. However, this statement is contradicted by the finalized title Brewitt-Taylor chose for his translation, namely *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*.

He also described the work's popularity and suitability for young people (cf. Chapter 2.5.11). Although it is a good read for young people, he, as a learner of Chinese as a second language, mentioned the difficulty in reading the original text, “With all humility I venture to say that in my opinion the book is very interesting and the interest grows as the story developed. It well repays the toil of reading” (Quoted in Cannon: 2009: 50).

However, few clues can be traced in either paratexts or metatexts on how Brewitt-Taylor had translated the work, how he dealt with the difficulties, etc. One possible reason for the lack of discussion of these aspects might be that in his time, the ST and the ST author were considered the major role players even in the production of a translation. Translators' voices and even the translators' names were usually ignored. Metatexts or paratexts (in TL) mainly focused on discussing ST-related topics instead of TT-related topics. Another possible reason why Brewitt-Taylor never commented on his translation process, from the descriptions in his biography (cf. 3.5.1), might be that he appeared to be a confident but introverted man of actions who might have been reluctant to reveal to the public his personal feelings about his own weaknesses (such as the degree of his mastery of the Chinese language) and hardships in completing the work.

3.5.2 Moss Roberts

The life of Moss Roberts does not seem as complex as that of Brewitt-Taylor. Born in 1936, he was professor of Chinese at New York University and a renowned American sinologist. His Chinese name is Luo Mushi (罗慕士). Roberts obtained both his MA (in English) in 1960 and Ph.D. (in Chinese) in 1966 from Columbia University. In addition to teaching Chinese language, he has also taught Chinese philosophy and classical Chinese literature, modern Chinese and Japanese literature and Vietnamese history and culture.⁹⁰

He started showing interest in Chinese and Chinese studies in 1959 when he became a student at Columbia University where he took a special liking to *Sanguo yanyi* and the culture related to the novel. In 1963, his dream to go to China came true when he went to Taiwan for further study of Chinese language and culture.

In the 1980s, he spent about one year in Beijing as an expert working for the Foreign Languages Press (cf. 3.4.2). He also spent half a year in Shanghai teaching English at Shanghai Teachers' University (cf. Roberts 2001).

3.5.2.1 Roberts as a lecturer

Roberts has taught Chinese culture, philosophy and literature to university students. The following feedback was retrieved on 20 May 2011 from a website called <http://www.ratemyprofessors.com/ShowRatings.jsp?tid=197997>. A student wrote the following about Roberts's lectures on 22 March 2009: "I took his Historical Epics of China and Japan class, and it was one of the most enjoyable Gen Ed. class I've ever taken. Prof Roberts was very knowledgable (knowledgeable) and knew so much about different cultures. He is also great at tying back to contemporary issues. I highly recommend this class, but I would try to take a Chinese class beforehand."

Other positive comments were written on 26 March 2006: "Prof. Roberts is so intelligent. He relies on the text, but pulls political information from today in order to relate the text with the modern world. One must have a sense of irony and wit in order to enjoy his humor. If you don't find the class funny or interesting, then you probably do not understand it. His Chinese Phil. was great." As well as: "He's amazingly intelligent and definitely knows his material.

⁹⁰ This information was taken from paratext "About the Translator" which is on page 2340 of the paperback edition of *Three Kingdoms*, published by the Foreign Languages Press in Beijing in 1995.

His knowledge is incredible, but there will be a lot of reading required for the course. One of the most interesting individuals you will find.”

Some students did leave negative comments, however, complaining that Roberts is “scatterbrained and hard to understand”, “boring and disorganized”. He apparently “digresses” and “always goes on tangents”.

3.5.2.2 Publications

Roberts has published extensively and is a prolific translator. In addition to the complete translation of *The Three Kingdoms*, he also published the following translations in English:

Critique of Soviet Economics

A translation of Mao Zedong’s Reading Notes

Published by Monthly Review Press in 1977

ISBN: 0-783-79611-0

This book includes Roberts’s translations of Mao Zedong’s three articles on Soviet economics – “Reading Notes on the Soviet Text Political Economy”, “Concerning Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR” and “Critique of Stalin’s Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR”. The introduction was written by James Peck and notes were provided by Richard Levy (cf. Zedong 1977).

Chinese Fairy Tales and Fantasies

Edited and translated by Roberts

Published by Pantheon Books in 1979

ISBN: 0-394-73994-9

The translated stories are grouped into the following six categories: tales of enchantment and magic, tales of folly and greed, the animal kingdom, women and wives, ghosts and souls, and judges and diplomats. In the introduction, Roberts suggests that one of the purposes of most of the tales is to publicize the crimes of the mighty, which are Confucianism-equipped, and the injustices suffered by the subordinate order which are represented by the Taoists (Roberts 1979: xv).

Dao De Jing: The Book of the Way, Laozi

An annotated translation with textual notes and a critical introduction

Published by University of California Press in 2001

ISBN: 0-520-2055503

In the introduction, Roberts gives a detailed discussion of this often-translated work of Chinese philosophy. Regarding the reason why he retranslated the work, he wrote:

With so many English versions of the *Dao De Jing*, why another? There is much of value in most of the English translations, but each is only partially successful. The synergy of the work's themes as well as the concision of its phrasing makes many of its stanzas so ambiguous and suggestive that definitive interpretation, much less translation, has often proved unattainable. Rendering in another language a work that says so much in so few words, and about whose meanings scholars differ greatly, can only be problematic. Even in Chinese, many *Dao De Jing* passages seem like paintings of striking detail that compel the gaze but always remain partly out of focus. Each translator tries to refine the images or to find fresh language to capture the power of Laozi's gnomic lines. In the end, however, the only justification I can offer for a new attempt is that it is meant not only to improve but also to be improved upon. The cumulative effect of multiple translations contributes to the understanding of the Laozi, just as the ongoing performance tradition of musical works yields new possibilities of expression and appreciation.

Roberts (2001: introduction)

Roberts was firstly not satisfied with the existing translations of *Dao De Jing*. Secondly, he believed that a new translation would only contribute to the understanding of the ST. The relevant aspects discussed in the introduction include the title and different versions of the ST, Confucius and Laozi, China in Laozi's time, Confucians, Daoists, Heredity, and Terms of the *Dao De Jing: De, Dao, Tian*. The translation is based on the most popular version of eighty-one stanzas. In addition to the notes, a long comment is also given on each stanza, reflecting the translator's personal understanding and interpretation of the text. Roberts seems to be an ideal translator to study because he explains his thoughts on his translations in his paratextual annotations.

Invited by a Chinese weekly, Roberts wrote an article introducing Chinese readers to the work of Noam Chomsky. The essay was translated into Chinese and published in January 2007. Roberts was a founding member of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, which published the journal *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*. Chomsky was among the initial members of the journal. One of his students wrote about Roberts: "Beware, he is politically

radical and periodically talks about how great Noam Chomsky is.”⁹¹ Roberts also wrote political critiques for the *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*. These pieces include “Contra Ideocracy” (1997) and “Bad Karma” (2000), which is a discussion of US-China relations. His other articles include “We Threaten the World” and “Changing Places: China and the United States”.⁹²

3.5.2.3 Paratexts and metatexts on *Sanguo yanyi* and its translation

Included as an afterword in his translation of *Sanguo yanyi*, Roberts wrote a long essay to discuss the novel. The essay consists of several parts. The first part discusses the novel’s historical origins, including its debated authorship and editions. The second part elaborates on the suggested theme or themes of the novel, the virtue of the main characters, and the royal lineage and legitimacy of Liu Bei and Cao Cao, founders of the two kingdoms, as the Han emperor. The third part introduces the sources that the novel uses (also cf. 2.5.2). The major sources include Chen Shou’s *Sanguozhi*, which is a historical record of the Three Kingdoms period using a method of biographical series; Pei Songzhi’s the *Sanguozhi* combined with the notes in which Pei added a vast quantity of material in the form of notes drawn from more than 200 sources; Sima Guang’s *Zizhi tongjian* (General History to Aid Government), which is an important book of history and basically chronological in structure; Zhu Xi’s *Zizhi tongjian gangmu*, in which Zhu Xi the founder of the Neo-Confucian philosophy remade the book for his own didactic purposes. Some works of poets of the Tang and the Song also contributed to the making of the novel. Part four of Roberts’s essay analyzes how storytelling and drama in the Yuan furnished Luo Guanzhong the novelist with imaginative components and sufficient inspiration (Roberts 1994: 1487). Part five discusses the social and political background of the author, Luo Guanzhong, and his time (fourteenth century). Part six focuses on the novel’s status in the Ming-Qing transition (mid-seventeenth century) when the novel was set in its final form, which has become the universal edition. Part seven discusses how Mao Zonggang edited the novel and made it a literary classic. Part eight compares Zhuge Kongming’s in Luo’s original novel with the Kongming in the Mao edition.

⁹¹ From <http://www.ratemyprofessors.com/ShowRatings.jsp?tid=197997>. Retrieved on 23 July 2011.

⁹² From <http://www.Zcommunications.org/changing-places-china-and-the-united-states-by-moss-roberts>. Retrieved on 23 July 2011.

Roberts's most recent publication on *Sanguo yanyi* is perhaps a foreword written in 2007 for a collection of papers titled *Three Kingdoms and Chinese Culture*. The title of the foreword is "The Language of Values in the Ming Novel *Three Kingdoms*". Roberts discusses the traditional Chinese values reflected in the novel and argues that the novel can be read as a study of values in conflict. The most important value in the novel is *yi*, which can be rendered widely into English as "responsibility", "obligation", "duty", "the Code", "commitment", "service", "cause", "self-sacrifice", "honor" and "righteousness". Other values discussed include *zhong* (loyalty), *xiao* (filial piety), *ren* (humanity) and *ti* (fraternal devotion). "The phrase *yanyi* in the novel's title, really a genre title, probably signifies 'elaborating on the moral significances of'" (Roberts 2007: vii).

3.5.3 Social and academic backgrounds and interests of the two translators

Any translation, as both an enactment and a product, is necessarily embedded within social contexts. On the one hand, the act of translating, in all its various stages, is undeniably carried out by individuals who belong to a social system; on the other, the translation phenomenon is inevitably implicated in social institutions, which greatly determine the selection, production and distribution of translation and, as a result, the strategies adopted in the translation itself.

Wolf & Fukari (2007: 1)

It is interesting to note that in both of the translators' Chinese names, there is the same Chinese character Luo (罗), which is no other than the surname of the author Luo (罗) Guanzhong. Brewitt-Taylor's Chinese name is Deng Luo (邓罗), while Roberts's is Luo Mushu (罗慕士). This might be a co-incidence. However, it may not be impossible that they use the author's surname to show their admiration for the masterpiece. It is not clear whether they created their own Chinese names or whether their names were suggested by their Chinese colleagues.

Brewitt-Taylor did not go to college in the UK and he went to China in his early twenties. His initial profession was a teacher of mathematics and navigation, which seemed distant from his interest in translating literature. He later worked as a customs officer in China for another thirty years. It seems that translating *San Guo* was an entirely personal interest which he pursued in his spare time.

Roberts has an MA in English literature and a PhD in Chinese, which proves him to be an expert on both English and Chinese. He appears to be more qualified for the job of translating a Chinese classic into English. Furthermore, in completing the translation, many more research papers on the novel must have been available to Roberts than would have been to Brewitt-Taylor, who, however, spent more years in China.

As mentioned earlier, Brewitt-Taylor spent about ten years (1890–1900) translating the novel, while Roberts took eight years (1983–1991). Brewitt-Taylor finished the first translation (manuscripts) when he was forty-three and it is only when he was already sixty-five years old that his translation was first published – in 1925. As discussed in 3.5.1, Brewitt-Taylor was a customs officer by profession and writing and translating were only his interests done in his spare time. Due to the unstable social environment in China at this time, where he lived most of adult life, and his frequent transference of jobs and places, it is highly likely that for him to focus on the project continuously was a difficult task, even if he seems to have been a strong-minded character. To be able to complete the project and have it published successfully was a great achievement.

Roberts was much more fortunate than Brewitt-Taylor regarding the translation. He completed his translation and had it published at the age of fifty-five. Both translators mainly used their spare time for the project, although Roberts was more fortunate to be able to devote two or three years specifically to translating the novel.

It can be assumed that both translators would have had a good income and economic security, which means that they did not need to do the translation to earn money, though both might have received payment from publishers. Both had translated chapters or abridged versions before completing the full translation. Brewitt-Taylor translated chapters and published them in English journals in China, while Roberts translated chapters and abridged versions for the purpose of teaching Chinese culture to his American students.

Their different social circumstances played important roles in their translations. Due to the instability in his life, the time that Brewitt Taylor could devote to the project must have been fragmentary, and the relevant materials or research outputs on *Sanguo yanyi* that he could refer to must have been very limited compared with those that Roberts had access to. The first factor may contribute to inconsistency and the second to inaccuracies or errors, both of which

have been found in Brewitt-Taylor's translation (cf. Chapter 5). Furthermore, the status of the Chinese language and culture was much lower at Brewitt-Taylor's time. This factor must have limited the scope and number of his readers.

Living in a time when the Chinese language and culture were enjoying a rising status in the world, Roberts can be assumed to have received much more support from various parties when conducting his translation. This contributed to the extensive paratextual and metatextual material, which make his translation a good object to study.

3.6 Retranslation hypothesis

Brewitt-Taylor's English translation of *Sanguo yanyi* was initially published in 1925 and Roberts's English translation of the same text was published in 1994. Thus it is suggested that Roberts's translation of *Sanguo yanyi* is a retranslation. In order to prove or disprove this claim, the phenomenon of retranslation has to be investigated. In this section, the retranslation hypothesis and its implications for the current study will be explored.

3.6.1 Denotation of the concept

In the broad sense, the term "retranslation" may have a few denotations. Traditionally it was used to refer to an "indirect", "intermediate", "relay" or "second-hand" translation (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 76). "Retranslation" refers to a process during which a text is translated through a mediating source language or a language other than either the source language (SL) or the target language (TL). Different English versions of the Bible which are not translated directly from Hebrew (the Old Testament) or Greek (the New Testament) would be typical examples of retranslations. In the 1920s and 1930s in China, Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales, Henrik Ibsen's dramatic works, Miguel de Cervantes's magnum opus *Don Quixote* and some works from the former Soviet Union were translated into Chinese from English or French translations, which might have been more widespread and accessible than the original versions. Another reason might have been that the Chinese translators of those works could only read English or French.

The most commonly used denotation of the term “retranslation” refers to “either the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language, or the result of such an act, i.e. the retranslated text itself” (Gürçağlar 2009: 233). This phenomenon is also called New Translation or Multiple Translations (Almberg 1995: 927), which refers to a text that is translated into the same TL more than once or into different TLs.

The following study will focus on this last denotation of the concept, and the term “retranslation” as used here will specifically refer to a new translation of the same ST into the same TL.

3.6.2 Theoretical assumptions on retranslation

The most frequently retranslated works are sacred texts and literary works. Most of the great literary classics, worldwide, have been translated more than once. Retranslation of these texts is usually regarded as a positive phenomenon, since it contributes to diversity and broadens the available interpretations of the ST. Non-literary retranslation of scientific and technical texts is a practice that is best avoided, as it is generally viewed as redundant repetition or implication that the existing translation is not considered to be good enough (Gürçağlar 2009: 234).

Retranslation is normally conducted by a different translator at a different time. The time gap between the initial translation and the retranslation may vary from a few years to hundreds of years. Short texts such as poems are usually retranslated more frequently than lengthy works. The same translator could also retranslate a text that he/she has translated before. For instance, in 1944, Fu Lei published his Chinese translation of Honoré de Balzac’s novel *Le Père Goriot* (1835). Seven years later he had his retranslation published, because he was dissatisfied with his first translation, which he thought was “too rigid and inflexible, not fluid and smooth enough, and the original rhythm and taste are lost” (Fu 1951: 81).

The following paragraphs attempt to describe assumptions on retranslation from three perspectives, namely the necessity of retranslation, motives for retranslation and the relationship between the first translation and the “new” translation(s).

3.6.2.1 Necessity of retranslation

Though retranslation has been criticized by some scholars as being “wasteful” (Almberg 1995: 926), the phenomenon continues to exist. In China, translation scholars have been discussing retranslation since the 1930s. In 1935, modern Chinese writer and translator Lu Xun (1881–1936) published an essay in favor of retranslating important literary works. In his essay, entitled “Multiple Retranslations Are Necessary”, Lu Xun argued that retranslation is necessary even if a good translation of a work already exists. The retranslator can benefit from the old translation and try to achieve “perfection”. He even suggested that two or more contemporary translators can commence translating the same work at the same time with full awareness of each other’s continuing work. This is to encourage competition. Furthermore, language changes constantly, and therefore a work can deserve as many as “seven or eight” translations or retranslations. Another renowned literary critic, Mao Dun (1896–1981), was also a strong supporter of retranslation. He commented on the two Chinese translations of the English novel *Jane Eyre*, arguing that both works are good translations and, more importantly, that the two works provide material or data for translation scholars or translators enabling them to study and compare different methods of translation in order to improve translation quality (Almberg 1995: 928).

In the West, retranslation of literary works is also widely regarded as a positive phenomenon. The Retranslation Hypothesis was originally suggested by the French translation scholar Antoine Berman in 1990. In terms of literary retranslation, Berman argued that the translation of literary works is an “incomplete act” and only through retranslations can it strive for completion (Gürçağlar 2009: 233). Berman’s “completion” means the retranslation is usually “closer” to the ST. This seems to be true in the case of the two translations of *Sanguo yanyi* examined in this study. When compared with Brewitt-Taylor’s initial translation, Roberts’s translation, which is considered a retranslation, seems “closer” to the ST in a number of ways such as text division, sentence structure, word use, writing style, etc. Snell-Hornby (1988: 113–114) argues that the literary translation is an act of communication and that any translation can rarely attain the stability of an original work. Generations later, the translation “loses its communicative function as a work of literature within a continually shifting cultural system” (ibid.). Then the need to create new translations arises. This argument seems true in this case. Although Brewitt-Taylor’s translation is still in print and popular, the need for a new translation arose specifically for contemporary students and experts of Chinese, which resulted in Roberts’s retranslation.

3.6.2.2 Motives for retranslation

Retranslation can be initiated by either the translator or the publisher, or both. A retranslation can be done by the same person who did the initial translation or it can be done by a different translator. For instance, in some cases, the translator of the initial translation may also do the retranslation and adopt a totally different method. In the current study, based on the same ST, Roberts published an abridged translation first in 1976, then he did a complete translation in the 1990s, and published a shortened version again in 1999. His unabridged translation could be considered a retranslation. In regard to a different translator, there may be two situations where retranslation occurs, as explained below.

In most cases, the retranslator is not the same person as the initial translator. The retranslator, fully aware of the existing translation, does the retranslation because he/she might not be satisfied with the existing translation and want to do it differently. Or, according to Venuti (in Gürçağlar 2009: 236), some retranslations may originate purely from a retranslator's personal appreciation of a text. In such cases retranslators also want to translate the text, even though an existing translation exists.

In regard to the publisher, there may also be several situations where retranslation occurs. The publisher might wish to publish a different translation of a desired book (say a classic whose copyright has expired already) that has been translated and published by another publisher. A retranslation could also be carried out to introduce a new interpretation of the ST or to address a different readership (Gürçağlar 2009: 235).

If a translation is very old and the language and style have become outdated, a new translation will be necessary for a contemporary readership. This is regarded by Berman as the "issue of ageing". Berman suggests that "while originals remain forever 'young', translations will age with the passage of time, thus giving rise to a need for new translations" (Gürçağlar 2009: 234). The ageing of translations and the need for new translations are also associated with "language change and the need to update the wording and terminology used in earlier translations" (Hanna in Gürçağlar 2009: 233).

Some scholars also suggest that “changing social contexts and the evolution of translation norms” contribute greatly to the motives of retranslation (Brownlie in Gürçağlar 2009: 234). However, “translation norms” that are prevalent at the time when the initial translations are produced are not always easy to determine and identify. This is the case for the initial translation of *Sanguo yanyi* and therefore, only the social contexts will be described in this study. For a detailed discussion of the motives for the retranslation in this study, cf. 3.7.

3.6.2.3 The relationship between the first translation and the “new” translation(s)

Venuti (in Gürçağlar 2009: 235) argues that retranslations “justify themselves by establishing their difference from one or more previous versions.” The tension and competition between the different translations obviously favor the new ones, though the translators may use approaches and strategies other than those used in pre-existing translations to intentionally “establish the difference”. It is assumed that the differences are guided more by social or ideological premises than by linguistic or literary deficiencies in the previous translations. Pym suggests the concept “active retranslations”, which “share the cultural and temporal location and are indicative of “disagreements over translation strategies, challenging the validity of previous translations” (Pym 1998: 82–83).

Antoine Berman suggests that an inherent “failure” is at its peak in the first translations which, “driven by cultural and editorial considerations, are assumed to suppress the alterity of the translated text and to feature cuts and changes that are motivated by a concern for higher levels of readability” (Gambier in Gürçağlar 2009: 233). Thus, the first translations are usually domesticated translations or target-oriented (acceptable). “The subsequent translations, by contrast, pay more attention to the letter and style of the source text and maintain a cultural distance between the translation and its source, reflecting the singularity of the latter” (ibid.). Thus retranslations tend to be more foreignized or source-oriented (adequate). This is the case with Roberts’s retranslation of *Sanguo yanyi* (cf. 3.7).

The assumptions on retranslation can be summarized as follows:

1. In terms of necessity, retranslation of literary works is not only necessary but also important.

2. In terms of motives, changing social contexts play an important role and both the retranslator and the publisher intend to establish the retranslation's difference from the pre-existing translation(s).
3. In terms of the relationships between the initial translation and the retranslation, the former tends to be more target-oriented and more likely to use a more domesticated approach and the latter tends to use a more foreignized approach. These differences are mainly guided by social or ideological premises.

3.7 Roberts's translation of *Sanguo yanyi* as a retranslation

As discussed earlier, Roberts's translation of *Sanguo yanyi* is considered a retranslation. This section will briefly discuss the factors which brought about this retranslation.

In terms of Brewitt-Taylor's translation, the translator and publisher at that time intended to address the Chinese readership who wished to learn English through reading English translations of Chinese classics. But the target readership that the 2002 reprint of this translation aims to address has changed. Judging from the introduction and the preface, the publisher's target is the general Western reader who wants to learn about China. Translating such an extensive work single-handedly is by no means an easy task. It took Brewitt-Taylor about ten years to complete the project (Cannon 2009: 155), as discussed earlier in this chapter. The motives for the initial translation seemed in the first place to be the translator's personal appreciation of the ST. Brewitt-Taylor did get some encouragement from some scholars of his time, but whether he got any support from the publisher is not yet clear.

There must have been some strong motives to drive Roberts, the retranslator, to complete his project of retranslation. In the acknowledgements, Roberts briefly mentioned the factors which contributed to his completion of the project (cf. 3.4.2). The initial purpose of the publication of this retranslation was to address the readership outside China who would be interested in Chinese studies. Afterwards, this version was reprinted in China several times to meet the needs of Chinese learners of English. This secondary purpose would be determined by the Chinese publisher who knows the local market better and wishes to increase the sale of the translation.

Brewitt-Taylor's translation must have been available at the time when Roberts was teaching Chinese in America. Roberts mentioned in the acknowledgements to his complete translation *Three Kingdoms* that he had read Brewitt-Taylor's translation:

A word of recognition is also due to C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, whose 1925 translation of *Three Kingdoms* I read long before gathering enough Chinese to confront the original.

Roberts did not use Brewitt-Taylor's translation for his students, instead, he translated some chapters himself first, which led to the publication of the abridged version. This shows that the readership his retranslation of the novel was intended to address were American learners of Chinese and he did not think Brewitt-Taylor's translation would work.

In this case, it is the combination of the efforts of both the translator and the publisher(s) that made the complete translation possible. However, the major driving force to the completion of the retranslation would normally be the publisher. Without their support, especially financial support, it might be postulated that Roberts would not have completed the translation. Even if he did complete it eventually, it would probably have taken him longer to finish the project.

After T2 (Roberts's translation) was published, T1 (Brewitt-Taylor's translation) was still reprinted and in circulation. Different readers have different tastes. Reviews and comments can be found on both of these two translations, be they positive or negative. The new translation has not replaced the initial translation in this case, though more research papers published focus on the new translation. The co-existence of both versions should be viewed in a positive light, adding to a better understanding of the ST as well as the translation phenomenon.

The findings from the comparison of the two translations are as follows (cf. 5.2.2.9):

The features of T1: more target-oriented; reads like a novel; relatively incomplete and inconsistent when translating some proper names; sounds archaic; motivated mainly by the translator's personal appreciation of the work.

The features of T2: more source-oriented; reads like a scholarly work; complete and consistent when translating proper names; addresses contemporary readership; motivated by both the publisher(s) and the translator's personal appreciation of the work.

Following the discussion of retranslation, and the differences between the two English translations of *Sanguo yanyi* provided in the sections above, the three general assumptions on retranslations put forward in 3.6.2.3 can be applied to this study as follows:

1. In terms of necessity, retranslation of literary works is not only necessary but also important.

Brewitt-Taylor's translation, though it contains many errors, was a popular and established translation. Roberts, who was fully aware of its existence, still did the retranslation. Although Roberts's version is regarded by many as the better one, it has not replaced the previous one. Both translations are in print and circulation. A retranslation might be necessary even if a good translation of the same work already exists because of the reasons discussed in the next paragraph.

The assumption that if a translation was done long ago and the language and style become outdated, a new translation will be necessary for contemporary readership, is only partially true in this case, since T1, which was done at the beginning of the last century, is still perfectly readable in the twenty-first century. Both works provide material or data for translation scholars or translators to study and compare different methods of translation in order to improve translation quality. Translation of literary works is an "incomplete act" and only through retranslations can it strive towards completion.

2. In terms of motives, changing social contexts play an important role and, both the retranslator and the publisher intend to establish the difference from the pre-existing translations.

In most cases, the retranslator, fully aware of the existing translation, still does the retranslation, the reason usually being that the translator is not satisfied with the pre-existing translation and he/she wants to do it differently. This is true in the current case study in which Roberts wanted to offer a more adequate and complete translation. Here "adequate", in Toury's sense, means to stay close to the ST culture (cf. "initial norms" as discussed in 4.2.3.1).

Some retranslations may originate purely from a translator's personal appreciation of a text with no other reasons. This is partially the case here. Roberts translated parts of the novel before he had the opportunity to translate the entire novel. Another situation might arise when a publisher wishes to publish a different translation of a desired book (say a classic whose copyright has expired already) that has been translated and published by another publisher. A retranslation may also be carried out to introduce a new interpretation of the ST or address a different readership. This is true of Roberts's version, because the retranslation is co-published by a Chinese publisher and an American publisher. The translation is being sold both in China and outside of China. There are two types of readers in China – Chinese learners of English, who may want to use the translation to learn English, and foreigners staying in China, who read the translation to learn about Chinese history and literature. The readers outside of China, whether they are Chinese who were born overseas or those who have no Chinese background, may use the translation as a tool to provide information on China. For the students of Chinese as a foreign language, this translation may be used as a tool (like a Chinese-English dictionary) to help read the ST in Chinese. The students can also read the TT directly which functions as a Chinese literary work in English translation.

3. In terms of the relationships between the initial translation and the retranslation, the former tends to be more target-oriented and more likely to use domesticating approaches and the latter tends to use a more foreignizing approach.

Retranslations “justify themselves by establishing their difference from one or more previous versions” Venuti (in Gürçağlar 2009: 235). The differences which are found in the retranslation are guided more by social or ideological premises than by linguistic or literary deficiencies in the previous translations. Retranslations that share the cultural and temporal location and are indicative of “disagreements over translation strategies”, challenging the validity of previous translations.

This is true in the case of the two translations under study. In the time when Brewitt-Taylor did the translation, China was poor and underdeveloped. Very few people from English-speaking countries were keen on learning about China, let alone the Chinese language and history. Thus Brewitt-Taylor had to make his translation as readable as possible to win over more readers. But in the 1990s, when Roberts retranslated the novel, China had become an emerging power and the biggest market in the world. More and more people were learning about China and learning the Chinese language. To meet this need, Roberts adopted a more

foreignizing approach to provide the readership with thorough information on the Chinese culture as far as his own knowledge on the source culture sufficed.

3.8 Conclusion

By describing the two translations and their translators, this chapter shifted the focus to the relevant aspects from the ST in the context of the source culture (as discussed in Chapter 2) to the two TTs in the context of the target culture, in which both TTs were received as fully functional texts. The introduction to the lives and careers of the two translators was done as focus on the roles that the translators had played in the production of their translations and to recognise them as the main agents in this process. This discussion can also help to understand the approaches and strategies adopted by the two translators . Furthermore, the retranslation phenomenon was discussed in general and applied to Roberts's retranslation.

Chapter 4: Literature study

Translation studies today is a cluster of overlapping perspectives. There is no unified way of approaching the study of translation. Practitioners and scholars stake out certain territories and construct their own isolated understandings of translation reality. [...] Each perspective emphasizes a different aspect of translation. Translation invites and recommends a variety of theoretical and methodological responses.

Neubert, as quoted in Ma & Miao (2009: 63)

All theories are generalizations of phenomena. The practice of translation has been conducted and discussed for ages. What translation is about and how to study translation have long been matters of debate among translators and translation scholars. It is generally agreed in the West that the study of translation as an academic subject only began in the 1950s or 1960s. Foundation-laying works include those of Jakobson (1959), Nida (1964), Catford (1965) and Levý (1969) (cf. Munday 2001; Gentzler 2002; Snell-Hornby 2006). Since then, numerous theories and hypotheses on TS have been studied by scholars from different schools or academic backgrounds.

This chapter will introduce and discuss a few of these translation theories that are relevant to the current study and will be applied in the analysis of the selected TT segments in the next chapters. These theories or approaches, all formulated and developed by scholars from Western countries, include Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), Functionalism and foreignization vs. domestication. In the first section, an overview will be given of the traditional approaches in TS, after which DTS will be introduced and discussed. The next section examines domestication and foreignization as used by Venuti, followed by a section on Functionalism. In the last section, Chinese translation theories will be introduced.

4.1 Linguistic approaches in TS

Linguistics is the formal study of language(s) in a scientific way. Language is the most important communication tool among human beings. Generally, translation does not happen without language. It is obvious that studying translation from a linguistic point of view is necessary and reasonable.

The same root of the Indo-European language family has led to many structural similarities between different languages. These similarities naturally made people regard translation as a process of decoding and recoding. The linguistic approach to translation was put forward in the 1960s and developed mainly by Eugene Nida from the USA, Peter Newmark and John Catford from the UK, and Wolfram Wills and Albrecht Neubert from Germany. Hermans (1994: 11) gives the following description of this approach:

[...] a linguistic operation consisting of the substitutions of source-language grammatical and lexical elements with equivalent target-language grammatical and lexical elements, together with the simultaneous exchange of source-language phonological and/or graphological elements for target-language phonological and/or graphological elements.

The linguistic approach to translation concentrates mainly on the language systems of the two languages involved and claims that the ST is the yardstick against which the TT is to be judged. Schäffner (2003: 3) describes this model as “a process of linguistic transcoding”, i.e. translation is considered to be the process of first decoding a text, and then simply recoding it into another code. The ideal translation would be completely equivalent to the ST on all linguistic levels.

Nord (2005: 34–35) calls this model of decoding and recoding “the two-phase model”. She argues that this model might lead to the inaccurate “suggestion that a receptive proficiency in the source language and a productive command of the target language are all a translator needs.” She suggests “the three-phase” model by inserting transfer (transcoding) in between these two phases. The translator’s competence has to come into play and the translator has to be “visible” in both the process and the product.

In the following sections, the models of linguistically-oriented translation will be introduced. These models were suggested by Nida, Newmark, Catford and Wills respectively.

4.1.1 Nida: Theory of “equivalences”

Regarded as “the patriarch of translation studies and a founder of the discipline” (Snell-Hornby 2006: 26), Eugene A. Nida, who was an American Bible translator and prominent theorist, published extensively on TS. His influential works include *Towards a science of*

translating: With special reference to principles and procedures involved in Bible translating (1964), in which he summarized various aspects of his translation theory and advanced his theory of dynamic equivalence, and *The theory and practice of translation* (1969), in which he further clarified and amended his theory with examples drawn from his own rich experience in Bible translating.

On the basis of his experience in Bible translating and concepts from Noam Chomsky's Transformational Generative Grammar and the concept of Deep Structure, Nida developed a linguistically-oriented theory of translation in the 1960s. Nida suggested two different "equivalences" in the process of translation, namely formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence, which later became known as functional equivalence.

4.1.1.1 Formal equivalence

Formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. In such a translation one is concerned with such correspondences as poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence, and concept to concept. Viewed from this formal orientation, one is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language. This means, for example, that the message in the receptor culture is constantly compared with the message in the source culture to determine standards of accuracy and correctness.

Nida (1964: 159)

Formal equivalence is considered as a type of structural equivalence, which can be called a "gloss translation", in which "the translator attempts to reproduce as literally and meaningfully as possible the form and content of the original" (Nida 1964: 159). Thus "the aim of a translator who is striving for formal equivalence is to allow the ST to speak 'in its own terms' rather than attempting to adjust it to the circumstances of the target culture" (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 61). Formal equivalence is similar to the Chinese concept *zhiyi* (直译), meaning "direct translation", "literal translation" or "word-for-word translation". Formal equivalence is "a means of providing some degree of insight into the lexical, grammatical or structural form of a source text" (Hatim & Mason 1990: 7). In the 1930s in China, this strategy of striving for formal equivalence was intentionally used by Lu Xun in translation from Russian to Chinese to "enrich" the Chinese language by borrowing new structures and methods of expressions from Russian (cf. 4.5.2.1 and 4.5.2.5). The problem

with this attempt was the unnatural expressions in Chinese which were hard to understand (in order to make the translated text fully comprehensible, numerous footnotes would have been required) and the translation was not well received by readers.

Formal equivalence is also useful for back-translation.⁹³ Nida (1964: 68) summarized this model as follows:

It is both scientifically and practically more efficient (1) to reduce the source text to its structurally simplest and most semantically evident kernels, (2) to transfer the meaning from source language to receptor language on a structurally simple level, and (3) to generate the stylistically and semantically equivalent expression in the receptor language.

For translating between languages belonging to the same language family and with similar linguistic features, this model can be a useful strategy to follow. But its limitations are obvious when translation occurs between languages with different linguistic structures and different cultural backgrounds, for instance, between English and Chinese. Nida & Taber (1969: 201) admitted that a translation using this model “distorts the grammatical and stylistic patterns of the receptor language and hence distorts the message.”

Nida also proposed the concept of dynamic equivalence, as discussed below.

4.1.1.2 Dynamic equivalence

This concept was first mentioned in Nida’s 1959 article “Principles of Translation as Exemplified by Bible Translating” when he attempted to describe one of two basic orientations found in the process of translation. He further postulated the concept in his 1964 work as follows:

A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression. [...] In such a translation one is not so concerned with matching the receptor-language message with the source-language message, but with the dynamic relationship, that the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message.

⁹³ Back-translation is a process in which a translated text is retranslated into the SL.

This concept begins to show a sign of shift from a ST orientation to a TT orientation. In 1969, Nida clarified the definition of dynamic equivalence in his book *The Theory and the practice of Translation*: “Dynamic equivalence is therefore to be defined in terms of the degree to which the receptors of the message in the receptor language respond to it in substantially the same manner as the receptors in the source language” (Nida 1969: 24). This means, in other words “[...] the message of the original text has been so transported into the receptor language that the response of the receptor is essentially like that of the original receptors” (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 47). This concept is similar to the Chinese concept *Yiyi* (意译), which means “intention or message translation”.

However, how to measure and compare the response of the receptor or the effect of the texts (both the ST and the TT) on the reader has been problematic, if not virtually impossible.

4.1.1.3 Functional equivalence

Nida used the term *functional equivalence* to replace dynamic equivalence in his later works to serve to “highlight the communicative functions of translating” (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 64). The concept of function was stressed to avoid the term “dynamic” being misunderstood by some people for something which has impact (Nida 1993: 124).

In general it is best to speak of ‘functional equivalence’ in terms of a range of adequacy, since no translation is ever completely equivalent. A number of different translations can in fact represent varying degrees of equivalence. This means that “equivalence” cannot be understood in its mathematical meaning of identity, but only in terms of proximity, i.e. on the basis of degrees of closeness to functional identity.

[...]

Such a view of functional equivalence implies different degrees of adequacy from minimal to maximal effectiveness on the basis of both cognitive and experiential factors. A minimal, realistic definition of functional equivalence could be stated as ‘The readers of a translated text should be able to comprehend it to the point that they can conceive of how the original readers of the text must have understood and appreciated it. Anything less than this degree of equivalence should be unacceptable.

[...]

A maximal, ideal definition could be stated as ‘The readers of a translated text should be able to understand and appreciate it in essentially the same manner as the original readers did.’ The maximal definition implies a high degree of language-culture correspondence between the source text and target languages and an unusually effective translation, so as to produce in receptors the capacity for a response very close to what the original readers experienced. This maximal level of equivalence is rarely, if ever, achieved, except for texts having little or no aesthetic value and involving only routine information.

Nida (1993: 117–118)

From these two definitions of equivalence we can see that the minimal level is realistic while the maximal level is idealistic. Even the minimal level is idealistic, however, in the sense that ST readers are expected to always be able to comprehend and appreciate the ST better than the TT readers can comprehend and appreciate the TT. If good translations always lie somewhere between the two levels (Nida 1993: 224), then it seems that many translations are supposed to be “bad”. Actually, Nida’s functional equivalence “is a flexible concept with different degrees of adequacy” (Ma & Miao 2009: 6).

Among Nida’s three concepts, only formal equivalence seems to be concrete enough to be applied in the evaluation of the adequacy of a translation. The other two concepts are too idealistic to be measured in practice.

4.1.2 Catford: Formal correspondence and textual equivalence

In his well-known book *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (1965), Catford views language as a set of systems operating at different levels and gives a systematic description of translation from a linguistic point of view. He identifies and defines the concepts *textual equivalence* and *formal correspondence*.

Formal correspondence refers to a formal relationship which exists when a TL category (unit, class, structure, element of structure, etc.) occupies, as closely as possible, the “same” place in the “economy” of the TL that the given SL category occupies in the SL (Catford 1965: 27). This model was established on the basis of a formal comparison of SL units and TL units. Due to the fact that inevitable incompatibilities exist between the systems of the two languages, formal correspondence is nearly always approximate rather than absolute. This

model can perhaps be more useful when analyzing the units of two languages with similar structures and cultural origins.

Textual equivalence occurs when any TL text or portion of the text which is “observed on a particular occasion [...] to be the equivalent of a given SL text or portion of text” (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 169). For example, in the French sentence “Mon fils a six ans”, translated into English as “My son is six”, the phrase “mon fils” is said to be the textual equivalent of “my son”.

The weakness of Catford’s model is that it never goes beyond the sentence to incorporate the text as a unit of meaning and “his examples are almost all idealized (i.e. invented and not taken from actual translations) and decontextualized” (Munday 2001: 62). Catford’s approach has become less influential since the 1980s when the “cultural turn” in TS overtook the linguistic approaches (Snell-Hornby 1988: 15).

4.1.3 Peter Newmark: Semantic and communicative translation

Peter Newmark, a renowned translation scholar and experienced translator, proposed two modes of translation: semantic and communicative translation. These two terms have been quoted frequently and are Newmark’s major contributions to translation theory. The following figure (Newmark 1981: 39) gives a general idea of the differences between the two concepts:



According to Newmark, in semantic translation, “the translator attempts, within the bare syntactic and semantic constraints of the TL, to reproduce the precise contextual meaning of the author” (ibid.: 22). In communicative translation, “the translator attempts to produce the same effect on the TL readers as was produced by the original on the SL readers” (ibid.).

Semantic translation focuses primarily on the semantic content of the ST, while communicative translation emphasizes the TL. The example given by Newmark is the translation of the German phrase “Bissiger Hund” or the French “Chien méchant” into English. Rendering them as “dog that bites” or “savage dog” are considered semantic translations, which “would be more informative but less effective” (ibid.), while “Be aware of the dog!” is regarded as the communicative translation, which is more effective when used as a warning.

4.1.3.1 Semantic translation

Although Newmark’s semantic translation has been linked to Nida’s formal equivalence and his communicative translation to Nida’s dynamic equivalence, Newmark distances himself from Nida’s concepts of equivalence and receptor-orientation, arguing that the success of equivalent effect is “apparent” and “illusory” and that “the conflict of loyalties, the gap between emphasis on source and target language will always remain as the overriding problem in translation theory and practice” (Newmark 1981: 38). According to Newmark, “semantic translation attempts to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original” (ibid.: 39). He further explains that “semantic translation remains within the original culture and assists the reader only in its connotations if they constitute the essential human (non-ethnic) message of the text” (ibid.: 39).

Thus, a semantic translation follows the ST closely at word and syntax level and consequently tends to strive to reproduce the form of the original as closely as TL norms will allow. No effort is made to shift the ST into a target cultural context.

A semantic translation tends to be more complex, more awkward, more detailed, more concentrated, and pursues the thought-processes rather than the intention of the transmitter. It tends to overtranslate, to be more specific than the original, to include more meanings in its search for one nuance of meaning.

Newmark (1981: 39)

Greater attention is paid to rendering the author’s original thought-processes into the TL rather than to attempts at re-interpreting the ST in a way that the translator considers more appropriate for the target setting. A semantic translation will therefore treat the original words

as sacred, even if this requires reproducing inconsistencies, ambiguities and errors. Semantic translation is usually appropriate for expressive texts,⁹⁴ such as literary, technical and scientific texts. When compared with Nida's concept of formal equivalence, Newmark's semantic translation is less extreme and therefore conforms more closely to a common translation strategy (Hatim & Mason 1990: 7).

4.1.3.2 Communicative translation

Communicative translation, according to Newmark, "attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original" (Newmark 1981: 39).

Generally, a communicative translation is likely to be smoother, simpler, clearer, more direct, more conventional, conforming to a particular register of language, tending to undertranslate, i.e. to use more generic, hold-all terms in difficult passages.

Newmark (1981: 39)

In communicative translation the emphasis should be on conveying the message of the original in a manner which conforms to the linguistic, cultural and pragmatic conventions of the TL, rather than on mirroring the actual words of the ST as closely as possible without infringing the TL norms. When producing a communicative translation, the translator is permitted greater freedom to interpret the ST and will consequently smooth over irregularities of style, remove ambiguities and even correct the author's factual errors. Communicative translation attempts to make the TT fulfill one specific communicative function, which is determined by the type of TL reader envisaged. This mode of translation is a common method used in many types of translation. It is appropriate for most non-literary works such as journalistic writing, textbooks and public notices.

Newmark states that when there is a conflict between semantic and communicative translation in practice, the latter would win. While semantic translation is used for expressive texts, communicative translation is for informative and vocative texts, although it is not always possible to clearly distinguish between these three types of texts.

⁹⁴ Following the German linguist Karl Bühler's functional theory of language, Newmark proposed three main types of texts: expressive, informative and vocative (1988: 39).

Newmark's approaches are very prescriptive and have been criticized by many scholars. However, his work has merit, particularly when considering that the large number of examples "provide ample guidance and advice for the trainee and [that] many of the questions he tackles are of important practical relevance to translation" (Munday 2001: 46).

All of the approaches introduced above address the translation of linguistic elements on sentence level. They are focused on equivalence on word or sentence level and have an evaluative nature in the sense that they are prescribing how to translate. (Translators are supposed to stay as close as possible to the ST.) The other role-players in translation, such as the author, translator, publisher, TT receiver, etc. are not discussed. This limitation was later broken by the promoters of DTS and Functionalism, which will be discussed in 4.2 and 4.4.

4.1.4 Neubert's "top-down model" – a textual perspective on translation

Text linguistics was developed in the 1970s as a new discipline in the field of applied linguistics. In text linguistics the text is defined as the basic unit of communication and therefore as the primary object of research. When applied to TS, the text itself, instead of words or sentences, is considered to be the basic unit of translation, and translation is defined as retextualizing the ST. The focus of text-linguistic approaches to translation is on reproducing texts instead of reproducing meanings (Schäffner 2003: 5).

Albrecht Neubert is an important scholar of the German Leipzig School of Translation Theory, which is characterized by a linguistically-oriented, scientific approach to translation. Neubert, together with Gregory M. Shreve co-authored *Translation as Text* (1992), in which they discuss the idea of the text-linguistic model in translation.

If we look at good translations and compare them with dreary dictionary-bound, grammar book-inspired, linguistically correct translations, the limitations of the linguistic approach will be apparent. The lexical items, syntactic structures, and textual properties that make a successful translation are not necessarily those a contrastive linguistic model might have predicted.

Neubert, as quoted in Ma & Miao (2009: 72)

Not satisfied by the linguistic model of translation, which presumes a bottom-up process which begins with words and their discrete meanings, but presents constraints operating at a level beyond the sentence, Neubert proposed the text-linguistic model by developing the “top-down” text production for translation. Neubert describes this model as follows:

In the text-linguistic model meaning is not sentence-bound. The model locates and distributes meaning equivalence throughout the text. Instead of being isolated in words and sentences, meaning is also carried globally in the text. What is actually carried over into the target text during translation is the composite semantic value and pragmatic function of the source text. With the global meaning of the original as the determining factor, the translation is reconstructed as a new semantic and pragmatic totality in the target language community. The surface structure of the reconstruction is not a sentence by sentence rendering of the original. It is a top-down recreation of the text through the purposeful selection of target language resources.

Neubert, as quoted in Ma & Miao (2009: 73)

In this “top-down” model, the essential unit of translation is the entire text. From the text one calculates backwards to arrive at the global proposition, which is then divided into smaller, single, transportable semantic units. Meaning is also carried globally in the text at the same time.

In terms of the treatment of meaning in translation, Neubert further explicated that the text-linguistic model does not involve the transfer of meanings, but rather the transfer of the *communicative values* of the ST. Communicative values refer to the communicative contextualization of words and meanings in discourse, which are composites seen entirely at a textual level and in communicative context. The text-linguistic model’s frame of reference is the textual systems of two communicating communities. “In the translator’s eyes, the target text is a text induced as a response to another text. The translator facilitates the textuality of the target text by mediating the two textual systems. Translations according to this model are ‘*text-induced text productions*’” (Neubert, as quoted in Ma & Miao 2009: 74).

The text-linguistic model differs from the linguistic model in its broader, text-based conception of meaning and its more realistic formulation of the notion of translational equivalence at a textual and communicative level.

Besides Neubert, the German scholar Katharina Reiss (2000: 24–43) also contributed to the text-linguistic approach, especially in an attempt to categorize texts into different types – informative, expressive and appellative, which were linked to corresponding translation methods. The informative text type (such as reports and textbooks) should be translated correctly and completely. In the case of the expressive text type (such as novels and poems), the aim of translation is identifying an analogy of the artistic form. For the appellative type (advertisements and propaganda leaflets, for instance), it is important to identify the behavioral reactions, therefore adaptation should be used. However, these distinctions are relative, and the limitation of typologies of this kind is the grey areas between different types. For instance, some so-called informative texts may contain expressive segments and vice versa.

Although the text-linguistic models broadened the focus of translation to text-level comparisons, it is still limited in regard to equivalence to the ST function. Text-linguistic approaches to translation still have a strong prescriptive nature, suggesting what a better or more correct translation should be like.

4.2 Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)

The publication of *The Manipulation of Literature* in 1985 marked a complete shift in TS from a source-oriented to a target-oriented perspective. In his introduction to the collection, Theo Hermans, the editor, summarized the shift of focus in TS by mentioning the common view of the scholars who contributed to the collection:

What they have in common is, briefly, a view of literature as a complex and dynamic system; a conviction that there should be a continual interplay between theoretical models and practical case studies; an approach to literary translation which is descriptive, target-oriented, functional and systemic; and an interest in the norms and constraints that govern the production and reception of translations, in the relation between translation and other types of text processing, and in the place and role of translations both within a given literature and in the interaction between literatures.

Hermans (1985: 10–11)

The starting point or the early call of DTS, Hermans suggests, is John McFarlane's 1953 essay "Modes of Translation" in *The Durham University Journal*. The intention of the essay

was to overturn many of the traditional approaches to studying translation, which had been prescriptive and focused on the assessment of translation termed by McFarlane as “Accuracy of rendering with Grace of expression” (Hermans 1999: 18). McFarlane suggests an approach which “accepts translation as it is rather than as we might wish it to be, and which wants to give insight into its nature rather than to urge it to perform the impossible” (ibid.). The new approach should be, in McFarlane’s words, “diagnostic rather than hortatory” (cf. Hermans 1999: 19). He emphasizes that “before we can begin to make value judgements about translation, we must know more about its nature, and it is suggested that an analysis of *procedure* – in the belief that translation is as translation does – is the approach that promises best” (McFarlane, as quoted in Gentzler 2001: 104).

4.2.1 Holmes’s scheme of the discipline

James S Holmes (1924–1986) was an American translation scholar and poet. For many years he taught TS at the University of Amsterdam. He first suggested the name “Translation Studies” in 1972 in his seminal article “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies”. Since then “Translation Studies” has been adopted as the standard term for the discipline and has been “unquestioningly used in English today” (Snell-Hornby 2006: 42). Holmes mapped out the structure of TS as having three branches: theory, descriptive studies and practice.

The term “Descriptive Translation Studies” was also first proposed by James S. Holmes in the same paper:

As a field of pure research – that is to say, research pursued for its own sake, quite apart from any direct practical application outside its own terrain – translation studies thus has two main objectives: (1) to describe the phenomena of translating and translations as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience, and (2) to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted. The two branches of pure translation studies concerning themselves with these objectives can be *designated descriptive translation studies* (DTS) or *translation description* (TD) and *theoretical translation studies* (ThTS) or *translation theory* (TTh).

Holmes (1988: 71, emphasis in original)

Holmes further distinguished between product-oriented studies, process-oriented studies and function-oriented studies.

Product-oriented DTS attempt to describe existing translations. There are two phases of this type of description. In the first phase, the description of individual translations, or text-focused translation description, is conducted. The second phase is a comparative translation description, in which comparative analyses are made of various translations of the same text. Holmes suggested that product-oriented DTS might lead to a general history of translations (Holmes 1988: 72).

Function-oriented DTS describe the function of translations in the target social-cultural context. A function-oriented study is a “study of contexts rather than texts”, which addresses such questions as “which texts were or were not translated at a certain time in a certain place, and what influences were exerted in consequence” (ibid.). The emphasis on this type of study led to the development of a field of translation sociology.

Process-oriented DTS investigate “the process or act of translation itself” (ibid.). These studies attempt to determine the translator’s mental processes during the translation process. This area of study is very complex and difficult to conduct, although there was hope that its complexity might lead to a new research field called “psycho-translation studies”. Attempts, though relatively few, have been made in this direction, and among others, Think-Aloud Protocols (TAPs) generated considerable interest.

TAP studies are problematic, since, according to Toury (1985: 18), the translator’s mental processes “are only *indirectly* available for study as they are a kind of ‘black box’ whose internal structure can only be guessed, or tentatively reconstructed.” Although they cannot solve the mysteries of translation, TAP studies can provide access to valuable information about the nature of translation. In the past ten years or so, this type of research has progressed in terms of research design and has expanded to new areas. Research software has also been developed to facilitate the creation of large-scale projects to study the translation process. Such projects include the Translation Process (TRAP) project at the Copenhagen Business School which introduced the notion of triangulation⁹⁵ in process-oriented research. Process in the Acquisition of Translation Competence and Evaluation (PACTE) is hosted at the

⁹⁵ Triangulation means that the translation process is approached from different angles to obtain a more reliable and complete account of the phenomenon under investigation (cf. Jääskeläinen 2009: 293).

University Autònoma de Barcelona with a focus on the development of translation competence. The PRONIT project at the Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro aimed to design a framework for a translator-training program by investigating the translation processes of language students and experienced professional translators (cf. Jääskeläinen 2009: 293).

In terms of the internal organization of DTS, Toury argues that the three branches or aspects should not be treated separately because they determine and bear on each other: “There is no real point in a product-oriented study without taking into account questions pertaining to the determining force of its intended function and to the strategies governed by the norms of establishing a ‘proper’ product” (Toury 1995: 13). The most important of the three orientations is function, which governs both the make-up of the product and “the strategies which are resorted to during the production of the text in question, and hence the translation process as such” (ibid.).

Far beyond the traditional comparative analysis of STs and TTs, Holmes emphasizes the need to consider various active factors on the receiving end of translation, and he calls on researchers to study the translated texts in the target culture from a sociological perspective. Holmes’s new approach has considerably widened the horizon of DTS, since in the broadest sense any or all translation-related phenomena can become objects of study.

Traditional translation theories and linguistically-oriented translation theories are mainly source-oriented and prescriptive, but the DTS is evidently target-oriented and descriptive. Among scholars who adopted and promoted DTS approaches, Itamar Even-Zohar, Gideon Toury, Theo Hermans, Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere are of the most influential.

4.2.2 Polysystem theory

Russian Formalism is the main basis of the polysystem theory (Hermans 1999: 103; Gentzler 2001: 114–115), which was proposed in the late 1970s by Itamar Even-Zohar, a leading Israeli translation scholar. A polysystem was conceived as a “heterogeneous, hierarchized conglomerate (or system) of systems which interact to bring about an ongoing, dynamic process of evolution within the polysystem as a whole” (Shuttleworth 2009: 197).

Even-Zohar outlined the structure and evolution of literary systems, suggesting that different literatures and genres, including translated and non-translated works, compete for dominance or primary position in a given literary polysystem. Even-Zohar's polysystem theory stresses the decisive role the target culture plays in translation, pointing out that the existing factors in the target cultural system determine the selection and rejection for certain literary works to be translated. This echoes Holmes's function-oriented TS (cf. 4.2.1).

In terms of the function and position of translated literature in the literature polysystem, Itamar Even-Zohar point out, according to "work carried out in this field by various other scholars, as well as my own research", that "the 'normal' position assumed by translated literature tends to be the peripheral one" (Even-Zohar 2000: 196), which means translations are classified as secondary systems in most literary-system models, since translated literature is usually seen as originating from a foreign entity. However, under the following three social circumstances translated literature may assume the primary or "innovatory" role in the target literature.

1. If the target literature is still "young" and has not been fully established or crystallized. In this case,

[...] translated literature simply fulfils the need of a younger literature to put into use its newly founded (or renovated) tongue for as many literary types as possible in order to make it serviceable as a literary language and useful for its emerging public. Since a young literature cannot immediately create texts in all types known to its producers, it benefits from the experience of other literatures, and translated literature becomes in this way one of its most important systems.

Even-Zohar (2000: 194)

The translated literature, which is normally from "older" and well-established literature, simply fulfils the need of the "young" literature to look for and possibly "borrow" new literary models, which may become the most important in the target literary system.

2. If the target literature, though relatively established, is "weak" or "peripheral" within a large group of correlated literatures. The socio-cultural contexts of this type are mostly smaller nations dominated by the culture of large ones. In this situation,

[...] such literatures often do not develop the same full range of literary activities (organized in a variety of systems) observable in adjacent larger literatures (which in consequence may create a feeling that they are indispensable). They may also “lack” a repertoire which is felt to be badly needed vis-à-vis, and in terms of the presence of, that adjacent literature. This lack may then be filled, wholly or partly, by translated literature. For instance, all sorts of peripheral literature may in such cases consist of translated literature.

(ibid.)

The translated literature may serve both as a medium through which new ideas are imported and as the form of writing most frequently initiated by leading writers or avant-garde writers in the native language (Gentzler 2001: 117).

3. If, in the target literature, there is a critical turning point, crisis or literary vacuum. In this case, “when established models are no longer tenable for a younger generation”,

[...] even in central literatures, translated literature may assume a central position. This is all the more true when at a turning point no item in the indigenous stock is taken to be acceptable, as a result of which a literary “vacuum” occurs. In such a vacuum, it is easy for foreign models to infiltrate, and translated literature may consequently assume a central position. Of course, in the case of “weak” literatures or literatures which are in a constant state of impoverishment (lack of literary items existing in a neighbour or accessible foreign literature), this situation is even more overwhelming.

Even-Zohar (2000: 194-195)

Under these circumstances, new elements from foreign models are introduced into a literary system in the receiving culture where there is no type holding sway.

Even-Zohar also explored the relationship between the translated literature and the literary polysystem along two lines: (1) the way that the texts to be translated are selected by the receiving culture and (2) the way that translation norms, behavior and policies are influenced by other target-language systems (Gentzler 2001: 117; Munday 2001: 109).

The selection of the texts to be translated is governed by conditions within the receiving polysystem. Texts are chosen to be translated because they are compatible with “the new

forms needed by a polysystem to achieve a complete, dynamic, homogeneous identity” (Gentzler 2001: 118).

Positions of translated literature in the literary polysystem may significantly influence the translator’s strategic decisions. In other words, the translator tends to use different models or strategies according to the position that the translated literature occupies in the target system. If the translated literature is central within the polysystem, the translator is more concerned with the linguistic and cultural features of the ST to produce an adequate translation.

Since translational activity participates, when it assumes a central position, in the process of creating new, primary models, the translator’s main concern here is not just to look for ready-made models in his home repertoire into which the source texts would be transferable. Instead, he is prepared in such cases to violate the home conventions. Under such conditions the chances that the translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy (in other words, a reproduction of the dominant textual relations of the original) are greater than otherwise.

Even-Zohar (2000: 196)

If the translation is peripheral within a given polysystem, the translator will not be concerned with importing new forms and techniques, instead, he will be prepared to find existing norms that function as equivalents in the target literature, and emphasize literary conventions and cultural features in the target system. Thus, the translation will reinforce the current aesthetic norms or values (Gentzler 2001: 118).

Naturally, when translated literature occupies a peripheral position, it behaves totally differently. Here, the translator’s main effort is to concentrate upon finding the best ready-made secondary models for the foreign text, and the result often turns out to be a non-adequate translation or (as I would prefer to put it) a greater discrepancy between the equivalence achieved and the adequacy postulated.

Even-Zohar (2000: 197)

Scholars hold various opinions on the polysystem theory. Susan Bassnett (2002: 7) believes the theory “filled the gap that opened up in the 1970s between linguistics and literary studies and provided the base upon which the new interdisciplinary Translation Studies could build.” She considers the polysystem theory to be “startlingly important, for it can be opened out into a call for a radical rethinking of how we draw up literary histories, how we map out the

shaping forces of the past and present” (Bassnett & Lefevere 1998: 127–128). Furthermore, it opened up many new avenues of research in TS, such as the study of translation history and the recovery of old statements on translation (ibid.: 128).

Polysystem theory was a radical development because it shifted the focus away from arid debates about faithfulness and equivalence towards an examination of the role of the target text in its new context. Significantly, this opened the way for further research into the history of translation, leading also to a reassessment of the importance of translation as a force for change and innovation in literary history.

Bassnett (2002: 6–7)

Bassnett (in Bassnett & Lefevere 1998:127) points out the “crudeness” in Even-Zohar’s suggestion of instances where translated literature could occupy a central position in a polysystem. The problematic quote is repeated here:

(a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized; i.e. when a literature is ‘young’, in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either ‘peripheral’ or ‘weak’, or both, and (c) when there are turning points, crises or literary vacuum.

Even-Zohar, as quoted in Bassnett (1998: 127)

Bassnett considers the terms “peripheral” and “weak” to be evaluative terms which may cause controversy. These criteria also need to be clarified.

Gentzler argues that there are a few “minor” problems with the polysystem theory. These problems include: some proposed universals are based on relatively little evidence; Even-Zohar’s uncritical adoption of the Formalist model, which was proposed in the 1920s, might not be appropriate for the situation in the 1970s; the model is too abstract and the degree of objectiveness is not certain (cf. Gentzler 2001: 120–2; Munday 2001: 111).

4.2.3 Toury’s DTS

Gideon Toury, a colleague of Even-Zohar at the University of Tel Aviv, has mostly developed the notion of DTS. He argues that the main goal of TS, as an empirical science, is to develop a descriptive branch.

In contradistinction to non-empirical sciences, empirical disciplines are devised to account, in a systematic and controlled way, for particular segments of the ‘real world’. Consequently, no empirical science can make a claim for completeness and (relative) autonomy unless it has a proper *descriptive branch*. Describing, explaining and predicting phenomena pertaining to its object level is thus the main goal of such a discipline.

Toury (1995: 1), emphasis in original

From the findings of a field study on literary translation into Hebrew, Toury “turned his attentions to developing a theory of translation, because he found fault with existing source-oriented theoretical models of translation” (Gentzler 2001: 125). He became skeptical of such notions as “ideal” translations or what a translation “should” be and suggested that any kind of linguistic message which is accepted as translation by the target culture is worthy of study as a translation. Translations are described as facts of target systems.

Semiotically speaking, it will be clear that it is the *target or recipient culture*, or a certain section of it, which serves as the initiator of the decision to translate and of the translating process. Translating as a teleological activity *par excellence* is to a large extent conditioned by the goals it is designed to serve, and these goals are set in, and by, the prospective receptor system(s). Consequently, translators operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture *into* which they are translating, and not in the interest of the source text, let alone the source culture.

Toury (1985: 18–19)

Toury reformulated the context in which translation occurs: “translation are facts of target cultures; on occasions facts of a special status, sometimes even constituting identifiable (sub)systems of their own, but of the target culture in any event” (Toury 1995: 29). For Toury, DTS is a TT-oriented discipline consisting of “carefully performed studies into well-defined corpuses, or sets of problems” (Toury 1995: 1, emphasis original).

According to Toury (1985: 18), research into translation should start with observational facts, which include translated texts and their constitutive elements on various levels, before moving on to the reconstruction of non-observational facts which refer to translating processes. He proposed a four-step method to study translation: (1) to study the acceptability of the translation in the target culture, (2) to compare and analyze the TT and the ST, (3) to identify

and describe the relationships between the two texts, and (4) to reach an overall concept of translation underlying the corpus under study (Toury 1985: 21–22).

Steps 1, 2 and 3 above are important to the current study. The acceptability of the TT in the target culture was discussed in Chapter 3. Chapters 5 and 6 will focus on analyzing the translations and comparing them to the ST.

4.2.3.1 Norms

The concept of norms is a key concept and a useful instrument in DTS (Hermans 1999: 73). However, the term has been used and understood differently and its value has been asserted strongly as well as called into question (Schäffner 1999: 1). As a prescriptive translational approach, “norms are perceived and presented as guidelines, or even rules, which a translator needs to follow in order to produce an acceptable translation” (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 113). Within DTS, “norms are understood in more neutral terms as reflections of the translation practice which typifies the translations produced by a certain translator, school of translators or entire culture” (ibid.).

For Toury, norms are socio-cultural constraints moving between two extremes – relatively absolute rules and pure idiosyncrasies. Translation is a norm-governed activity. The definition for norms in TS is “the translation of general values or ideas shared by a certain community – as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into specific performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioral dimension” (Toury 1995: 55; 1999: 14). Norms should be described and accounted for instead of being dictated and formulated.

Toury classifies and describes three kinds of translational norms: preliminary norms, initial norms and operational norms. Preliminary norms govern translation policy, which refers to factors that govern the choice of text-types to be translated, and directness of translation, which “involve the threshold of tolerance for translating from languages other than the ultimate source language” (ibid.: 58). Hermans (1999: 75) suggests that the decision to translate into the native or into a second or third language also falls into this category. Initial norms govern the translator’s decision to adhere primarily to the ST, which determines the

translation's adequacy, or to the target culture, which determines the translation's acceptability. Operational norms control the decisions made during the act of the translation. Within this category two kinds of norms are distinguished: (1) matricial norms, which help determine the macro-structure of the text and govern decisions concerning the translation's degree of completeness against the ST, its form of actual distribution and the textual segmentation (Toury 1995: 59); and (2) textual-linguistic norms, which "govern the selection of material to formulate the target text in, or replace the original textual and linguistic material with" (ibid.). In Hermans' words (1999: 76), the textual-linguistic norms "affect the text's micro-level, the detail of sentence construction, word choice, the use of italics or capitals for emphasis, and so on".

Snell-Hornby (2006: 75) makes an interesting comparison between Toury's norms and some German scholars' ideas on translation:

As regards Toury's translational norms, we see interesting parallels with the German tradition. His "initial norms" echo Schleiermacher [...], who however ruled out the compromise permitted by Toury. The "preliminary norms" as "translation policy" are in the German functional school part of the translation brief or *skopos*, [...], whereas the operational norms are discussed as "translation strategies", e.g. involving "text-type conventions" (Toury's text-linguistic norms).

Andrew Chesterman's description of norms is also discussed by Hermans (1999) and Munday (2001). Chesterman (1993: 8) distinguishes professional norms, which control translation behavior or process, and expectancy norms, which determine the translation product.

Professional norms are sub-divided into (1) the accountability norm, (2) the communication norm, and (3) the relation norm. The accountability norm is an ethical norm which requires the translator to be loyal to the original writer, the commissioner and the prospective readership. The communication norm is a social norm which requires the translator to optimize communication between the original writer and/or commissioner and the prospective readership. The relation norm is a linguistic norm which requires the translator to establish and maintain an appropriate relation between TT and ST (ibid.: 8–9).

Expectancy norms "are established by the receivers of the translation, by their expectations of what a translation (of a given type) should be like, and what a native text (of a given type) in the target language should be like" (ibid.). These norms can be regarded as the criteria to

distinguish translations from non-translations. If a translator abides by them, his/her translations will be proper and legitimate. If he/she fails to observe them, the product is likely to be called something else such as adaption, paraphrase, parody, etc. (Hermans 1999: 78).

Some translations, such as business letters, advertisements and technical manuals are called “covert” translations, which are expected by target readers in a given culture at a given time to be indistinguishable from native, non-translated texts. Translations such as literary translations, interlinear glosses in linguistic texts and certain kinds of legal texts are called “overt” translations. These types of translations are expected by target readers to occupy a different category in the target polysystem and the ST tends to be closely bound in one way or another to the source culture (Chesterman 1997: 65).

4.2.3.2 Laws

For Toury, the study of norms is only an intermediate stage and the ultimate goal is to determine possible universal laws of translation.

The cumulative findings of descriptive studies make it possible to formulate a series of coherent laws which would state the inherent relations between all the variables found to be relevant to translation. Lying as it does beyond descriptive studies as such, the formulation of these laws may be taken to constitute the ultimate goal of the discipline in its theoretical facet.

Toury (1995: 16)

Toury points out that lists of possibilities and directives are not laws. The two tentative laws that Toury identifies are: (1) the law of growing standardization (ibid.: 267) and (2) the law of interference (ibid.: 274).

The first law can be formulated as “in translation, textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favour of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire” (ibid.: 268, the set of square brackets in the original). This means the variables in the ST are usually disrupted or simplified in translation and the textual patterns in the TT tend to be less complex and more standardized. This is especially the case when the translated text occupies a peripheral position in the target system.

Chesterman proposes a hypothesis, the law of stylistic flattening, which corresponds to Toury's first law (cf. Chesterman 1997: 71).

The second law concerns the interference from the ST:

in translation, phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text, whether they manifest themselves in the form of *negative transfer* (i.e., deviations from normal, codified practices of the target system), or in the form of positive transfer (i.e., greater likelihood of selecting features which do exist and are in any case).

Toury (1995: 275, emphasis in original)

When the translation occupies a primary or major position in the target system, the tolerance of interference will increase. Chesterman makes a similar hypothesis according to which the ST leaves traces in the TT linguistic structures. Even competent professional translators cannot free themselves from these interferences (Chesterman quoted in Hermans 1999: 94).

Chesterman also proposed a third hypothesis – the law of explication, which means that in presenting information, translations tend to be more explicit than the originals (ibid.).

4.2.4 Theory of rewriting

For Lefevere, rewriting includes “any processing of a text whether in the same or another language or in another medium” (Hermans 1999: 127). Thus, rewriting includes operations such as translation, criticism, reviewing, summary, adaptation for children, anthologizing, adapting into a comic strip or TV film, etc.

[...] translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting, and [...] it is potentially the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author and/or a (series of) work(s) in another culture, lifting that author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin [...].

Lefevere (1992: 9)

Regarding translation as a kind of rewriting, Lefevere put forward a theory of rewriting in which translation holds a unique position in the system of target literature. Influenced by the

Russian Formalists' literary theory and Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (cf. 4.2.2), Lefevere gives the following description of literary systems: A society, or a culture, can be considered as a supersystem, within which literature is one of the subsystems. A society is the environment of a literary system. The system of society and the system of literature are open to each other and influence each other. There is a control factor in the literary system which keeps the system relatively stable. The control function is shared by two elements. One is the combination of ideology and poetics, which functions inside the literary system. The other is patronage, which operates outside the literary system, guaranteeing that it does not go too far from other social systems (cf. Lefevere 1985: 226–227).

Lefevere thus argues that the three concepts, ideology, poetics and patronage contribute to the controlling of a literary system. Ideology is defined in Lefevere's 1985 article as "the world view", which refers to what a society should be like or should be allowed to be at a certain moment. In his later works, ideology is defined, following Fredric Jameson's concept, as a "grillwork of form, convention, and belief which orders our actions" (Lefevere 1992: 16). A more updated description is "the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time and through which readers and translators approach texts" (Hermans 1999: 126–127). Lefevere argues that "some rewritings are inspired by ideological motivation, or produced under ideological constraints" (Lefevere 1992: 7). The ideological constraint determines a translator's basic strategy in one form or another as it plays a crucial role in the translation process. It is important to consider ideological factors when analyzing a translated work (Lefevere 1985: 226–227).

Poetics, according to Lefevere, is the dominant concept of what literature should be or can be allowed to be in a given society (1992: 14). A poetics consists of two parts: "One is an inventory of literary devices, genres, motifs, prototypical characters and situations, and symbols; the other is a concept of what the role of literature is, or should be, in the social system as a whole" (Lefevere 1992: 26). Poetics influences the choice of translation strategies on the translator's part.

Both the ideological and poetological considerations work together to determine the translator's strategy and solution to specific problems. "Ideology and poetics particularly shape the translator's strategy in solving problems raised by elements in the Universe of Discourse of the original and the linguistic expressions of that original" (ibid.: 48). In the

process of translation, the considerations of ideology and poetics are more important than linguistic considerations (ibid.: 39).

Patronage refers to “the powers (persons, institutions) which help or hinder the writing, reading and rewriting of literature” (Lefevere 1985: 233). Patronage can be exerted by both an individual person who is powerful at a given time and by a group of persons such as a religious body, a political party, a social class, publishers or the media (Lefevere 1992: 15). Patrons try to regulate the relationship between the literary system and the other systems.

Patronage has three components: the ideological component, the economic component and the status component. The ideological component constrains the “choice and development of form and subject matter” and patronage is basically ideologically focused. (ibid.: 16). The economic element concerns the economic payment of writers and rewriters, including translators, by the patrons. The status component implies that the beneficiary is expected to conform to the patron’s expectations. It is status conferred upon a writer in a given society that allows him or her to be integrated into a certain support group and its lifestyle (ibid.). Patronage can be undifferentiated or differentiated. In undifferentiated patronage, the three components, ideological, economic and status, are all dispensed by one patron (ibid.: 17). Totalitarian regimes and the monarchies of the past are good examples of this type of patronage. In differentiated patronage, the three components are independent of each other. This is typical of democratic or liberal societies, where “economic success is relatively independent of ideological factors, and does not necessarily bring status with it, at least not in the eyes of the self-styled literary elite” (ibid.).

According to Lefevere (1985: 232–233), all writing of literature takes place under at least one of the following constraints: patronage, poetics, universe of discourse,⁹⁶ the natural language in which the work is composed, and the original work itself. Translation, which is probably the most obvious instance of rewriting, operates under almost all of these constraints.

Translation operates first of all under the constraints of the original, itself the product of constraints belonging to a certain time. Second, the language changes, quite dramatically.

⁹⁶ “Universe of discourse” refers to “the knowledge, the learning, the objects and the customs of a certain time, to which writers are free to allude to in their work” (Lefevere 1985: 232–233). The universe-of-discourse features are particular to a given culture.

Third, the universe of discourse very often poses insuperable problems for any kind of so-called ‘faithful’ translation.

(ibid.: 235)

Translation as rewriting can also be reflected from the linguistic perspective. Translators do not usually translate words or sentences, they translate “units”. Translators translate “units” that they think are neither too long nor too short but a length that they feel comfortable with (Lefevere 1993: 17). When translating the same ST, different translators may have different “units of translation”. An example from *Sanguo yanyi* and its two translations serves as illustration:

(Chapter 120)

ST: 炎至卧榻前，祐下泪曰：“臣万死不能报陛下也！”

T1: The sight of his king at his bedside brought tears to the eyes of the faithful old soldier. “If I died a myriad times, I could never requite Your Majesty,” said he.

T2: As he came near the sickbed, Yang Hu said tearfully, “ten thousand deaths could not repay all I owe Your Majesty.”

In this case, both T1 and T2 are considered as rewritings of the ST. T2 appears to be a closer rendition of the ST structurally than T1.

4.3 Domestication and foreignization

Lefevere attaches great importance to the translator’s ideology when approaches are selected in the process of translating. The ideology largely determines the translation strategies. The concepts of domestication and foreignization suggested by Venuti echoes Lefevere’s argument. These two strategies concern both the choice of text to translate and the translation method (Munday 2001: 146).

The distinction between domesticating and foreignizing translation strategies can be traced back to the German theologian and translation theorist Friedrich Schleiermacher in the early nineteenth century. He famously stated: “There are only two (methods of translating). Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader toward him. Or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author toward him” (Lefevere in Venuti 1995: 19–20). However, it was Venuti who gave new meaning to

foreignizing translation strategy. In his 1995 book *The Translator's Invisibility: A history of Translation*, Venuti draws the following conclusions:

Admitting (with qualifications like “as much as possible”) that translation can never be completely adequate to the foreign text, Schleiermacher allowed the translator to choose between a domesticating method, an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home, and a foreignizing method, an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad.

Venuti (1995: 20)

4.3.1 Venuti

Lawrence Venuti (1953–) is a professor of English at Temple University and a leading scholar of TS in the United States of America. As an active translation practitioner, he has translated a large number of works from Italian and French into English covering a wide array of fields, from art criticism to sociology. Venuti has contributed many important theoretical articles and works to TS. He edited two books on TS, *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology* (1992) and *The Translation Studies Reader* (2000, 2004), and authored another two, namely *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (1998) and *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995, 2008). The latter is considered his most influential work. In this book, Venuti examines the history of translation into English within the Anglo-American tradition from the seventeenth century to the present day and he discovers that the domesticating translation strategy has dominated the translation practice, which inevitably overshadows the “foreignness” of the ST, creating illusory effects upon the target readers, namely:

A translated text, whether prose or poetry, fiction or non-fiction, is judged acceptable by most publishers, receivers, and readers when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text – the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the ‘original’.

Venuti (1995: 1)

Venuti believes that it is “the prevailing concept of authorship” (Venuti 1998: 31) that contributes to this situation in which the author has exclusive rights to his works and the translator is placed in a subordinate position (Venuti 1995: 8). Translation is rarely given attention. This condition, encouraged by the publishing industry, leads to the invisibility of the translator. Venuti bemoans the phenomenon of domestication and argues that this situation has affected the translation industry in a negative way. He further argues that it is necessary to challenge the domination of domesticated translation by consciously adopting other translation strategies, especially foreignization.

In the sections that follow, the two concepts domestication and foreignization will be discussed. These two concepts are relevant to the current study because “the choice of whether to domesticate or foreignize a foreign text has been allowed only to translators of literary texts, not to translators of technical materials” (ibid.: 41).

4.3.2 Domestication

Venuti uses this term to “describe the translation strategy in which transparent, fluent style is adopted in order to minimize the strangeness of the foreign text for TL readers” (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 44). This definition echoes what Schleiermacher said when referring to translations that “leave the reader in peace, as much as possible, and move the author towards him”. In domesticated translation, the translator’s situation and activity are “invisible”. In his book *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation*, Venuti reveals the “invisibility of the translator” in contemporary Anglo-American culture. This invisibility is a reflection of the hegemony of English.

British and American publishing, in turn, has reaped the financial benefits of successfully imposing Anglo-American cultural values on a vast foreign readership, while producing cultures in the United Kingdom and the United States that are aggressively monolingual, unreceptive to the foreign, accustomed to fluent translations that provide readers with the narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural other.

Venuti (1995: 15)

He claims that two factors contribute to this invisibility: firstly, the translator’s tendency to use fluent English in his translation in order to produce an idiomatic and readable translated

text which creates an illusion of transparency; secondly, the way translations are received and evaluated by readers and reviewers in the target culture.

An approach based on domestication involves the following steps: the careful selection of texts which lend themselves to being translated in such a strategy; the conscious adoption of a fluent, natural-sounding TL style; the adaptation of a TT to conform to target discourse types; the interpolation of explanatory material; the removal of SL realia and the general harmonization of the TT with TL preconceptions and preferences (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 44).

4.3.3 Foreignization

A translated text should be the site where a different culture emerges, where a reader gets a glimpse of a cultural other, and resistancy, a translation strategy based on an aesthetic of discontinuity, can best preserve that difference, that otherness, by reminding the reader of the gains and losses in the translation process and the unbridgeable gaps between cultures.

Venuti (1995: 306)

Foreignized translation refers to “the type of translation in which a TT is produced which deliberately breaks target conventions by retaining something of the foreignness of the original” (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 59). This “entails choosing a foreign text and developing a translation method along lines which are excluded by dominant cultural values in the target language” (Venuti 1997: 242). The translator “leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him”, in Schleiermacher’s words (cf. Lefevere in Venuti 1995: 19–20).

According to Venuti (1995: 305–306), foreignization is a method of translating in a non-fluent style which includes adherence to SL form and retention of source cultural elements as well as the non-standard TL. By so doing, the presence of the translator will be made visible and the foreign identity of the ST will be highlighted.

Venuti (1995: 147–166) uses his own translation of Tarchetti’s work to illustrate his foreignizing translation strategy. Tarchetti is a minor Italian writer of the nineteenth century. He employed foreignizing strategies in his own creative writing. Venuti’s deliberate choice to

translate a minor writer is itself an instance of foreignization. In his translation, Venuti adopts a non-fluent strategy by deliberately including the non-standard TL elements, such as modern American slang, in order to make the translator “visible” and the readers will realize they are reading a translated work from a foreign culture.

Domestication in translations has been the main trend, which suggests that translation by nature is typically domesticating. In China the two concepts are translated as 同化 (“tonghua”) for domesticated translation and 异化 (“yihua”) for foreignized translation. Positive comments are always made on natural and fluent translations, such as Zhao Yuanren’s Chinese translation of *Alice’s Adventure in Wonderland* (cf. Rong 2008: 211–222). The comments on foreignized translations or so-called “stiff” translations, like those of Lu Xun’s, are quite controversial (cf. 4.5.2.5). This does not only apply to Anglo-American tradition, but also to other major languages like Chinese.

4.4 Functionalist approaches

A move away from the linguistic approaches of translation in the 1970s and 1980s was marked by the emergence and flourishing of the functionalist and communicative approaches to the analysis of translation (Munday 2001: 73).

Functionalist approaches to translation were developed in Germany in the late 1970s by a group of scholars. Representatives of this school include Katharina Reiss, Justa Holz-Mänttari, Hans J Vermeer and Christiane Nord. Reiss first suggested the functionalist approach to translation in 1971 “when she included the ‘special function of a translation’ as an additional category in her model of translation criticism – a category which was to replace the normal criteria of equivalence-based critique in those (special) cases where the target text was intended for a purpose different from that of the source text” (Nord 2005: 5). To the English-speaking world, Vermeer’s article “Skopos and Commission in Translation Action” (1989, in Venuti 2000), which outlines the skopos theory, and Christiane Nord’s 1997 book entitled *Translation as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained*, which summarizes the functionalist approaches, are helpful in understanding this innovative model. Vermeer’s skopos theory and Nord’s model “functionalism plus loyalty” will be discussed in detail in this section. Gentzler (2001: 71, 70) comments as follows on the theoretical contribution of the functionalist approaches:

The emergency of a functionalist translation theory marks an important moment in the evolution of translation theory by breaking the two-thousand-year-old chain of theory revolving around the faithful vs. free axis.

[...]

The two most important shifts in theoretical developments in translation theory over the past two decades have been (1) the shift from source-text oriented theories to target-text oriented theories and (2) the shift to include cultural factors as well as linguistic elements in the translation training models. Those advocating functionalist approaches have been pioneers in both areas.

4.4.1 Skopos theory

“Skopos” is a Greek word meaning “goal” or “purpose”. Vermeer introduced this term into translation theory. Action theory and communication theory form the theoretical basis of skopos theory. Action can be defined as an intentional change or transition from one state of affairs to another, and if generalized to cases where there are two or more agents, such as a case of translation, the theory of action can become a theory of interaction (Nord 1997a: 16). For Vermeer, translation is a type of human action, which is intentional, purposeful behavior that takes place in a given situation. “Any form of translational action, including therefore translation itself, may be conceived as an action, as the name implies. Any action has an aim, a purpose” (Vermeer 2000: 211).

The aim of translational action and the mode in which the action is to be realized are negotiated with the client who commissions the action. Therefore, it is essential for the translator to specify the aim and mode (Vermeer 2000: 211). The skopos of a translation is therefore the goal or purpose, defined by the commission. The commission is the instruction given by oneself or by someone else to carry out the translation, and, if necessary, can be adjusted by the translator. In order for the skopos to be defined precisely, the commission must thus be as specific as possible.

If the commission is specific enough, after possible adjustment by the translator himself, the decision can then be taken about *how* to translate optimally, i.e. what kind of changes will be necessary in the *translatum* with respect to the source text.

Vermeer (2000: 230)

A *translatum*, according to Vermeer, is a functionally adequate TT, which is “primarily determined by its *skopos* or its commission, accepted by the translator as being adequate to the goal of the action” (ibid.).

Skopos theory, as mentioned above, focuses on the purpose of the translation. The purpose determines the translation methods and strategies to be employed to produce a TT which is functionally adequate. One perfect translation is not the goal of the translational action. Translators are allowed to choose corresponding strategies according to cultural conditions and the needs of the TT readership.

The *skopos* theory thus in no way claims that a translated text should *ipso facto* conform to the target culture behaviour or expectations, that a translation must always “adapt” to the target culture. This is just one possibility: the theory equally well accommodates the opposite type of translation, deliberately marked, with the intention of expressing source-culture features by target-culture means. Everything between these two extremes is likewise possible, including hybrid cases. To know what the point of a translation is, to be conscious of the action—that is the goal of the *skopos* theory.

Vermeer (2000: 231)

Nord (1997a: 18–25) elaborates on Vermeer’s argument viewing translation as an intentional, interpersonal and intercultural interaction with a ST. She defines the different agents and the roles they play in producing a translation. The agents include the initiator, the commissioner, the translator, the ST producer, the TT receiver, and the TT user (ibid.). The initiator is a person, group or institution who defines the purpose of the translation, starts off the translation process and determines its course. The initiator can be the ST author, the prospective TT receiver or the commissioner. The translator plays a crucial role in the translation process. The ST producer produces the text to serve as the ST for a translational action. The TT receiver is the addressee of the translation for whom the TT is produced. The TT user is someone who finally puts the TT to use. It is not impossible that “different agent roles may be fulfilled by the same person” (ibid.: 22).

Skopos theory identifies five types of translation.

1. The *interlinear version* (or word for word translation). An example is the glosses created by Bible translators. These glosses merely reproduce the linear sequence of words,

irrespective of any rules of the TL language system. The purpose of this type of translation is to provide access to a sacred text.

2. The *grammar translation*. An example is materials used in foreign-language teaching. It only functions at sentence level, and there is no context.
3. The *documentary* or “scholarly” translation. This is a text-level literal translation which is oriented towards the ST and tries to preserve the local color of the ST, sometimes by “foreignizing” the TL.
4. The *communicative* or “instrumental” translation. This translation is intended to fulfill a new communicative purpose in the target culture. The text’s function typically remains the same as that of the ST.
5. The *adapting* or “modifying” translation. In this type, the ST functions as raw material to serve a particular purpose, for instance in a situation where news reports are used by press agencies (cf. Snell-Hornby 2006: 52–53). This also implies that one ST can be translated in different ways, because different skopoi can be provided for one ST.

This identification reflects that “a translation is seen in terms of how it serves its intended purpose, and the concept of translation, when set against the former criterion of SL equivalence, is more differentiated and indeed closer to the realities of translation practice” (ibid.: 53).

Nord’s notions of translation types are less differentiated. She makes a distinction between documentary translation and instrumental translation as two broad translation types in order to show how the TT is intended to function in the target culture.

Documentary translation “aims at producing in the target language a kind of document of (certain aspects of) a communicative interaction in which a source-culture sender communicates with a source-culture audience via the source text under source-culture conditions” (Nord 1997a: 47). In this situation, since no attempt is made to make adjustments in the light of the target context, the TT recipient becomes merely an observer. Different aspects of STs are focused upon, leading to various forms of documentary translation. Examples include word-for-word or *interlinear* translation, *literal* or *grammar* translation, and *philological* or *learned* translation (ibid.: 47–50). *Interlinear* translation “focuses on the morphological, lexical or syntactic features of the source-language system as present in the ST”, aiming to “show the structural features of one language by means of another” (ibid.). *Literal* or *grammar* translation “is intended to reproduce the words of the original by adapting

syntactic structures and idiomatic use of vocabulary to the norms of the target language” (ibid.). This kind of translation is mainly used in foreign-language teaching. *Philological* or *learned* translation reproduces the ST in a literal way but “adds the necessary explanations about the source culture or some peculiarities of the source language in footnotes or glossaries” (ibid.). This form is often used to translate ancient texts or texts from distant cultures. The documentary translation seems to be a summary of the first three types mentioned above.

Instrumental translation, the second of Nord’s two broad types of translation, “aims at producing in the target language an *instrument* for a new communicative interaction between the source-culture sender and a target-culture audience, using (certain aspects of) the source text as a model” (ibid.: 47). The instrumental translation will produce a text that may have a same or similar function as the ST. Three sub-types can be classified: *equifunctional* translation, *heterofunctional* translation and *homologous* translation. *Equifunctional* translation (also called *function-preserving* translation in Nord’s previous works) achieves the same function as that of the ST. Translations of pragmatic texts such as manuals and instructions for use belong to this type. *Heterofunctional* translation is used if the function of the ST can only be meaningfully preserved or realized as a whole or “for reasons of cultural and/or temporal distance”, and it will have to be adapted in a way that can at least transfer the author’s intentions (ibid.: 51). This type is also called *adapted* translation. Adapted translations of classics for children would be an example. *Homologous* translation means the “TT might be supposed to represent the same, or a homologous, degree of originality as the original with regard to the respective culture-specific corpora of texts” (ibid.: 52). Poetry translation can be said to belong to this type.

4.4.2 Functionalism plus loyalty

Nord sees the skopos theory as a general model of translation, being pragmatic, culture-oriented, consistent, practical, normative, and comprehensive. However, she points out two of its limitations: one is that the basic principle of the skopos theory, which can be paraphrased as “the translation purpose justifies the translation procedures”, might be interpreted as “the end justifies the means”, which would mean no restriction to the range of possible ends for the same ST (Nord 1997a: 124). On the other hand, within the framework of the skopos theory in which the ST is treated as no more than an information provider, the translator might not keep the necessary responsibility towards the ST author or the ST itself.

Furthermore, the theory does not clarify the translator's obligations to the expected readers (ibid.: 125).

For Nord, the skopos of the TT must be compatible to a certain extent with the intentions of the ST author. Therefore, she puts forward her own functionalist model: functionalism plus loyalty. The concept of "loyalty" highlights the "responsibility translators have toward their partners in translational interaction" (Nord 1997a: 125). Loyalty differs from the concepts "faithfulness" or "fidelity". Faithfulness or fidelity usually refers to relationships between the texts themselves, while loyalty stresses the translator's responsibilities towards *people*, i.e. the clients and users of their translations, and, more importantly, the author of the ST. The concept of loyalty thus means a limited, range of justifiable TT functions (ibid.).

Nord summarizes her functionality-plus-loyalty model as such:

The Loyalty principle takes account of the legitimate interests of the three parties involved: initiators (who want a particular type of translation), target receivers (who expect a particular relationship between original and target texts) and original authors (who have a right to demand respect for their individual intentions and expect a particular kind of relationship between their text and its translation). It is the translator who has to mediate and, where necessary, see the understanding of all sides.

Nord (1997a: 127–128)

Functionality is the most important criterion for a translation but not the only one. There is a certain relationship between the ST and the TT. The translation skopos specifies the nature of this relationship, which provides the criteria for the decision as to which elements of the ST are to be kept and which elements may or must be adapted to the target situation. Therefore, translation should be dependent on the compatibility of the TT skopos with the given ST. The translator then "is committed bilaterally to the ST as well as to the TT situations, and is responsible to both the ST sender and the TT receiver" (Nord 2005: 32).

4.4.3 Functionalism in literary translation

Nord (1997a: 80–103) discusses the ways in which functionalist approaches can be applied to the translation of literary texts. She analyzes the actional aspects of literary communication

and identifies the relevant agents and the roles they play in the production of literary texts and their translations – the sender or author of the ST, intentions guiding literary production, receivers of the translation, medium through which the texts are transmitted, situational factors of place, time and motive of producing literary texts, the message in a literary text, and effect and function of the literary texts on the readers. Literary texts have unique features and functions. For instance, the expressive function of literary texts is usually stronger than the referential function which is normally found in non-literary texts; the receivers of literary texts are expected to have specific expectations conditioned by their literary experience, as well as a certain command of the literary codes (ibid.: 80); literary texts can produce a particular aesthetic or poetic effect in its readers, affecting the interaction between writer and reader (ibid.: 82).

Nord further analyzes the four basic relations to describe cross-cultural literary communication: the relation between the sender's intention and the text, the relation between the sender's intention and the receiver's expectation, the relation between referent and receiver and the relation between the receiver and the text. Four suppositions are formulated as follows:

Supposition 1: The target receiver takes the translator's interpretation for the intention of the sender.

The sender and the text producer of the original text are the same person, but in translated literature, the sender provides the intention and the translator, as one of the many possible readers, tries to infer and verbalize the sender's intention from the ST. Thus, what is actually translated is the translator's interpretation of the sender's intention.

Supposition 2: The function of the translated text is based on the interpretation of an interpretation of the sender's intention and on the target-cultural background knowledge and expectation of the target receivers.

In the ideal case of the original literature, an author succeeds in verbalizing his/her intention in the text on condition that he/she correctly anticipates the readers' background knowledge. The function of the original text is based on the intention of the sender and the background knowledge and the expectation of the readers. In a translated text, the translator's

interpretation of the sender's intention and the background knowledge of the target receivers play a crucial role in the function of the text.

Supposition 3: In both the source and the target situations, the comprehension of the text world depends on the cultural background and the world knowledge of the receivers.

The text world corresponds to the culture reality. The ST world corresponds to the ST culture, which will pose problems to the TT receivers who have a different world knowledge and cultural background. Cultural difference and distance from the ST world affects the TT receivers' comprehension of the translated text.

Supposition 4: The elements of the target-literature code can only achieve the same effect on their receivers as the source-literature elements have on theirs, if their relation to literature tradition is the same.

In addition to stylistic features such as rhythm, prosody, syntax, metaphors and symbols, literature codes also include characters, ideas, expressiveness and atmosphere. These codes are culture-bound and they are not the same for the source and target cultures. In translation, it cannot be assumed that the effect will be the same even if a translator uses the same stylistic means the author used in the original text.

Nord goes on to discuss the *skopos* in literary translation (1997a: 88–93). “In literary translation, the translator is expected to transfer not only the message of the source text but also the specific way the message is expressed in the source language” (ibid.: 89). In an ideal case, in regard to text function and text effect, this equivalence should be established between the ST and the TT. The basic requirements that the translator must fulfill is to successfully establish such equivalence, as:

1. The translator's interpretation should be identical with the sender's intention.
2. The translator should verbalize the sender's intention in such a way that the TT is able to achieve the same function in the target culture that the ST achieved in the source culture.
3. The target receivers should understand the text world of the translation in the same way the source receivers understood the text world of the original.
4. The effect the translation has on its readers should be the same as the effect the ST has or had on its readers (ibid.: 89–90).

Based on these equivalence requirements, Nord makes the following corresponding skopos suggestions:

1. The translator interprets the ST not only in regard to the sender's intention but also in regard to its compatibility with the target situation.
2. The TT should be composed in such a way that it meets the expectations of the target situation in a way that is compatible with the sender's intention.
3. The text world of the translation should be selected according to the intended target-text function.
4. The code elements should be selected in such a way that the target-text effect corresponds to the intended target-text functions (ibid.: 92–93).

A functionalist analysis of the English translation(s) of *Sanguo yanyi* will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4.5 Chinese translation theory

Although both translators studied in this dissertation are native speakers of English, the ST is a typical Chinese novel with Chinese characteristics. It will be relevant to also explore the traditional Chinese thinking about translation – ideas, viewpoints, reflections and theories expressed by Chinese scholars and translators. Important questions that arise regarding the Chinese translation tradition include the following: Has the Chinese tradition developed in a completely different way to that of the other (especially Western) translations? Are there any similarities between Chinese thinking and Western thinking on the translation phenomenon? In this section, attempts will be made to introduce and summarize Chinese discourses and theories on TS in order to obtain answers to these questions.

4.5.1 Western centrality in TS

In the preface to Wang Bingqin & Wang Jie's book *Chinese Translation Theories in the 20th Century*, Xu Yuanchong (许渊冲) wrote the following on translation theory:

Western Translation Studies focus on the problems of translation between Western languages. According to statistics processed by computer, most Western languages share more similarities than differences, and above 90% (of language units) may have equivalents. Therefore, theories of equivalence were suggested. However, more differences exist between Chinese and Western languages and only about 40% (of language units) equivalents can be found. Therefore, the theories of equivalence may only solve 40% of problems in translation between Chinese and Western languages; 50% percent of the problems will have to seek solutions from “Theory of translation as creative work” (创造论) or “Theory of translation as Art” (艺术论).

Xu (2009: 12, my translation)

As this dissertation focuses on English translations of Chinese literature, it is necessary to discuss the developments of translation theories from both Chinese and Western perspectives. Chinese translation theories, though not studied in a systematical way until recently, did develop and experience “turns” like those in the West. Historically, China and the West have evolved so strikingly differently in almost all social and cultural aspects that both linguistic and cultural gaps seem to be too wide to bridge.

Language and culture are closely related. A number of groupings between various languages are termed by linguists as “language families”. The largest is the Indo-European language family, which includes the dominant languages of the industrialized world (the West) such as English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Translation activities and TS have been promoted by the spread of religions (Bible translation for instance), acquisition of knowledge, industrialization, urbanization, trade and wars. Compared with the rest of the world, all of these elements have developed or spread rapidly in the West since the Renaissance. Thus, up to the present, TS is still overwhelmingly Western-oriented. Susan Bassnett (2002: 20) mentions that she is “well aware that among the many aspects of translation not developed here, the problem of translation between non-related languages is clearly one of the most crucial.”

With China’s increasing role in world economy over the past three decades, the Western world “is growing increasingly curious to understand the workings of the Chinese mind” (Minford 2006).

Chinese, which has the world's largest number of native speakers, is classified as one of the Sino-Tibetan languages, which is strikingly different from any of the Indo-European languages. Chinese linguist Shen Xiaolong notes some peculiarities of the Chinese language:

1. The preference for economy of expression (简);
2. The aspiration toward achieving phonological harmony;
3. The close attention to balance between empty (虚) and concrete (实); and
4. The tendency to use the various parts of speech freely, as long as what is said makes sense (cf. Chan 2004: 35).

Liu Miqing, a translation theorist, expresses a similar view by declaring that the Chinese language is composed of “sentence sections” or “phrases”, which are the primary building blocks (板块) for clauses, sentences, and even paragraphs. These sections are strung together rather loosely around the “topic” or the thought to be expressed, which shows “spirit controls form.” In Indo-European languages, by contrast, formal features play a significant role in sentence making and the languages are structured by means of “chain connections” (Chan, 2004: 39).

Since the late nineteenth century, Chinese translators and translation scholars have written numerous articles and essays discussing different aspects of translation. However, most of these texts are in Chinese and their viewpoints and arguments are little known outside of China. The barrier of linguistics and culture between Chinese and Indo-European languages is so large that up to the present, Chinese scholars who are able to write in natural English or any other Indo-European language are still rare, although English has been studied in China for over a century. Chinese texts which have been translated into major European languages are mostly literary works.

4.5.2 Traditional Chinese views on translation

China is a vast country with many regional languages. Since antiquity, exchanges between different tribes or ethnic groups, who were speaking different languages, must have involved translation activities. From ancient times to the middle of the last century in China, brief discourses as well as long reflections on the phenomenon of translation are voluminous. In

Chinese social and cultural development, there have been several times in Chinese history when translation activities played a significant role, which naturally increased the output of views and reflections on translation.

4.5.2.1 Five major “waves” of translation output

According to Ma Zuyi (2007: 373), translation practice was conducted as early as in the Zhou (周) Dynasty (eleventh century to 221 BC) when a sort of institute was established for foreign affairs, providing interpreters or translators. The first recorded piece of translation was a poem entitled *Song of the Yue Girl*, which was translated from the Yue language into Chinese in the Spring and Autumn period 春秋, 770–476 BC (Ma 2007: 374).

In the 3 000 years of Chinese history, from the Zhou Dynasty to the present, there have been five periods when translation played a crucial role in China’s social development. These periods relate to the translation of Buddhist scriptures (148–1037), the translation of Western science and technology at the end of the Ming (明) Dynasty (1368–1644), the translation of Western humanities and social sciences at the end of the Qing (清) Dynasty (1644–1911), the translation of Russian materials in the middle of the twentieth century and finally, the translation of works of different genres at present (Lin 2005: 161).

In regard to TS, China seems to have experienced a similar development to that of the West, namely translation or TS were considered a peripheral field until the end of the twentieth century. “Speaking of the distinctiveness of the Chinese view of translation, it is a well-known fact that in China, translation has for centuries been regarded as a marginal, if not trivial, activity” (Chan 2004: 3). Another aspect which is similar to that of the West is that “Chinese thinking on translation remained for some time strongly influenced by an attitude which saw the target culture as infinitely superior, and hence not quite the ‘recipient’ – until the tables were turned at the beginning of the twentieth century” (ibid.). The status of the Chinese language in the Chinese community appears similar to Anglo-American hegemony as discussed by Venuti (cf.4.3).

[...] it must be admitted that many Chinese translation theorists are prone to vague, impressionistic assertions concerning translations. [...] This impressionistic bent is evidenced in the direct borrowing of terminology from the discourse of traditional literary

criticism, presumably in the absence of existing terms for the description of translated works. It is not until the extensive importation of Western linguistic parlance since the 1960s that a more systematic, and less subjective, analysis of the translational process is made possible.

Chan (2004: 3)

Chen (2000: 5) suggests that the earliest recorded words on translation are those of Confucius (557–479 BCE): “Ming Cong Zhuren, Wu Cong Zhongguo,” (名从主人，物从中华) which means when writing about foreign countries, “the name(s) follow the source text but the things (contents) follow the Chinese way.” Laozi’s often quoted words “信言不美，美言不信”, which means “trustworthy (or true) words are not beautiful, beautiful words are not trustworthy (or true)” suggest two Chinese concepts on translation.

Only since the middle of the last century, a few scholars made attempts to summarize a translation theory with Chinese characteristics. Dong Qiusi’s article “On Building Our Translation Theories” (1951) was the first call in the last century to open up Chinese translation theory as a new area of investigation. He argues that translation theory can be formulated on the basis of three aspects: correct methodology, exhaustive field study and thorough research. There are both generic and specific features in translation theory (Dong, quoted in Luo 1984: 543–544).

After studying the texts on translation from the Han Dynasty up to the twentieth century, Luo Xinzhang, in the introduction, entitled “Chinese Translation Theory, a System of Its Own” to his *A Collection of Essays on Translation* (1984), concludes that China has its own system of translation theory by singling out Yan Fu (严复), Fu Lei (傅雷) and Qian Zhongshu (钱钟书) as representatives of the Chinese tradition. Luo’s viewpoints will be provided later.

Liu Miqing (1990) suggests that translation theories for China must be based on:

- a descriptive approach which looks at language facts;
- an emphasis on semantic structures;
- a functional or communicative perspective (cf. Chan & Pollard 2007: 223).

Liu himself is a scholar familiar with both Western and Chinese translation theories. His suggestion is perhaps influenced by DTS, Nida and Newmark's linguistic approaches and Functionalism.

4.5.2.2 Published works on translation from 1978–2009

Since China adopted a policy of reform and opened to the world in 1978, research on translation has boomed, together with all other academic areas. Collections of papers were compiled and research outputs were increased. Important works or collected papers on TS published during the past 30 years will be introduced briefly.

Essays on Translation, compiled by Liu Jingzhi and published in Hong Kong in 1981, is a collection of articles and papers written in Chinese by scholars and translators from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. It consists of 402 pages.

Collected Essays on Translation was compiled by Luo Xinzhang and published by Beijing's Commercial Press in 1984. This collection contains 180 articles on translation by scholars from as early as the Han (汉) Dynasty up to the 1980s. In addition, some research papers on these articles are also included. Luo's introduction to this collection, titled "Chinese Translation Theory – a System of its Own", is regarded as a very influential paper. In the paper Luo proposes his famous summary of the development of Chinese translation theory, which will be discussed in the next section.

Collected Papers on Translation, also published in 1984, was compiled by editors of the journal *Translation Correspondence*. The collection is in two volumes. The first volume is a collection of fifty-one papers published during 1894 and 1948. The second volume has sixty-three papers published in the period between 1949 and 1983.

It should be mentioned that quite a number of influential papers are included in all three above-mentioned collections.

Translation Studies in China was published in 2002. It was compiled by Yan Chensong and published by the Shanghai Foreign Studies Press. The collection includes papers and articles published in the last twenty years of the twentieth century. The papers, thirty-six in total, are

grouped into four sections: translation theory, literary translation, translation studies from a cultural perspective and Western translation theories.

Scholars attempted to categorize representative translation theories or approaches that emerged and appeared influential in China's long history of studies of translation. In the following two sections, two suggestions made from these attempts are discussed.

4.5.2.3 Development of Chinese translation theories suggested by Luo (1984)

Luo's introduction to his 1984 *Collected Essays on Translation* proved to be an influential article. He suggested that the following four translation principles should be representative of the most important viewpoints on translation in China.

1. *An ben er chuan* (按本而传) “source-text oriented principle of translation” by Zhi Qian and Dao An (314–385).

The ancients argued that one should ‘translate according to the basic meaning of the original,’ (*an ben er chuan*) and that while there is a need ‘to make the plain beautiful’ (*yi shi chu hua* 依实出华), ‘no attempt should be made to beautify the translation at the expense of the basic meaning’ (*qu bu guai ben* 趣不乖本).

Luo (1984: 18, translated by Tan Zaixi. In Chan, 2004: 234)

Zhi Qian (who lived in the third century) suggested that translators “adhere to the original gist and give no polish to the language” and Dao An advocated “literal transferring in accordance with the original text without any alteration at the expense of the original words and sentences.” “I make some reversion to strengthen out the sentence order. Except for that, I follow the original text strictly as it really is” (Liu 2007: 1030).

2. *Xin da ya* (信达雅) “faithfulness (or fidelity), comprehensibility⁹⁷ and elegance”, which was put forward by Yan Fu (1854–1921).

⁹⁷ Other English renderings of this concept include: communicability, lucidity, expressiveness or fluency.

“Translation involves three requirements difficult to fulfil: faithfulness (*xin*), comprehensibility (*da*) and elegance (*ya*). Faithfulness is difficult enough to attain but a translation that is faithful but not comprehensible is no translation at all. Comprehensibility is therefore of prime importance.”⁹⁸

[...]

While pointing out ‘the three difficulties of translation’ (*yi shi san nan* 译事三难), Yan Fu says that ‘it is most difficult to be faithful.’ ‘Being faithful’ constitutes an improvement on the ancients’ idea of ‘translating the basic meaning of the original.’ Research over the past decades has allowed us to say: ‘Faithfulness in translation surely covers fluency and elegance as well. The aim of fluency is to achieve faithfulness, while the aim of elegance is certainly not to embellish fluency. A translation that conveys not only the meaning but also the style of the original is considered a faithful translation.’ Therefore, ‘faithfulness’ suggests also ‘fluency’ and ‘elegance.’

Luo (1984:18. In Chan, 2004: 234)

3. *Shensi* (神似), “spiritual resonance or resemblance in spirit or closeness of spirit” by Fu Lei (1908–1966). According to Fu Lei, “in terms of effect, translation, like imitation in painting, should be in search of resemblance in spirit rather than in form” (Chan 2004: 7).

It is extremely difficult to achieve ‘faithfulness’ in the absolute sense – we only strive for closeness to the original. Fu Lei therefore stresses ‘getting at the spirit of the original’ and advocates ‘spiritual resonance.’ This undoubtedly constitutes an improvement on Yan’s ‘faithfulness,’ and takes the study of translation into the field of aesthetics.”

Luo (1984: 18. In Chan, 2004: 235)

However, “Fu Lei’s striving for ‘resemblance in spirit’ had only a limited success in his own translations – certainly his range of vocabulary and mastery of demotic language fall short of Balzac’s rich, protean French – and for most others it has remained only an ideal” (Wang Zuoliang quoted in Chan & Pollard 2007: 1003).

4. *Huajing* (化境), “the realm of transformation or sublimation” by Qian Zhongshu (1910–1998).

According to Qian Zhongshu, the idea of ‘the realm of transformation’ implies that ‘the translation is so faithful to the original that it does not read like a translation’ and that ‘the

⁹⁸ Yan, Fu. 1901. Preface to *Tianyanlun*. Translated by C.Y. Hsu. In (Chan 2004: 69).

essence and guise of the original should remain.’ Here Qian’s statement that ‘the translation does not read like a translation’ is just as well expressed as Fu Lei’s remark that the translation should read ‘as if it had been written by the author in Chinese,’ whereas Qian’s ideas that ‘the essence and guise of the original should remain’ is an improvement on Fu’s ‘spiritual resonance,’ as well as a removal of translation from the field of aesthetics to the perfect state of art.

Luo (1984: 18–19. In Chan, 2004: 235)

Chan (2007: 9) suggests that Qian’s idea originated from both China’s traditional Buddhist and Taoist concepts and criteria posited by Western scholars, such as the French scholar George Savile in the seventeenth century, the German scholar Wilamowitz-Mollendorff in the twentieth century and the French poet Paul Valéry. This view appears to echo Venuti’s invisibility of the translator.

4.5.2.4 Development of Chinese translation theories suggested by Wang Bingqin and Wang Jie

Wang & Wang (2009) suggests that before the 1970s there appeared ten influential theories or models in the Chinese history of translation, which are listed below:

Table 4.1 Models of translation suggested by Chinese scholars

Ideas	Chinese original	When	Who
Literal versus Liberal	文质说	before 1840	Zhi Qian, Dao An, Xuan Zang
Faithfulness, Expressiveness, Elegancy	信达雅	1900s	Yan Fu
Faithfulness plus Naturalness	信顺论	1920s-1930s	Qu Qiubai
Translation as creative work	创作论	1920s-1940s	Guo Moruo
Translation as a fine art	美学论	1940s	Lin Yutang
Translation as art	艺术论	1940s	Zhu Guangqian
Artistic-concept oriented translation	艺术创造性翻译论 (意境论)	1950s	Mao Dun
Spiritual resonance	神似论	1950s	Fu Lei
Ensemble Theory	整体 (全局) 论	1950s	Jiao Juyin
Realm of transformation	化境论	1960s	Qian Zhongshu

Basically, most of these models are subjective, prescriptive and evaluative, and concern mainly translation assessment, i.e. what a good translation should be like. There is a Chinese idiom, “Xue Yi Zhi Yong” (学以致用), which means “the purpose of study is to apply it in the practice”. Traditionally, Chinese people have thought that the usefulness of theories lie in their application in solving practical problems. Theorizing that is not relevant to practice has been denounced as empty talk. As Chan (2004: 55) emphasizes:

[...] Chinese translation theory has long been viewed as indistinguishable from principles, which are decidedly normative. Another prevalent belief in the Chinese case is the inseparability of the translation theory from criticism; for that reason evaluative statements almost always pass for ‘theory’ in China.

4.5.2.5 Lin Shu and Lu Xun – two extremes of liberalism and literalism

Lin Shu (林纾, 1852–1924) did not know any foreign languages but produced nearly 183 translations from English and French into Classical Chinese. He co-translated with more than a dozen collaborators who knew English and French. His translations, in elegant classical Chinese language, ranged from short stories to novels and influenced many great writers of the early twentieth century in China (cf. Ma 1998: 424–433). Some of his translations, according to Qian Zhongshu, seem to have improved the original texts. For instance, a piece of original text from Charles Dickens’s novel *Nicholas Nickleby* (from Chapter 18) reads like this:

[...] Miss Knag laughed, and after that, cried. “For fifteen years,” exclaimed Miss Knag, sobbing in a most affecting manner, “for fifteen years have I been the credit and ornament of this room and the one upstairs. Thank God,” said Miss Knag, stamping first her right foot and then her left with remarkable energy, “I have never in all that time, till now, been exposed to the arts, the vile arts, of a creature, who disgraces us with all her proceedings, and makes proper people blush for themselves. But I feel it, I do feel it, although I am disgusted.”

Lin Shu’s Chinese translation, when translated back into English, becomes:

Miss Knag at first laughed and then cried, weeping bitterly in a most touching manner. She exclaimed vehemently: “For fifteen years I have added luster to this establishment, upstairs and down. Thank Heaven – “as she said this she stamped her left foot and then stamped her right foot, stamping and saying, “I have not been humiliated one single day. How could I have expected to have fallen into the trap of this little creature! What low and despicable wiles, this kind of behaviour that taints us all and is beneath the contempt of all persons of morality. I have nothing but disgust and contempt for it, and yet I feel so hurt! Oh, how I feel hurt!”⁹⁹

According to Qian,

That line ‘crying in a sort of sing-song tone’ was Lin Shu’s own addition as he let his pen carry him away, [...] Lin must have felt that Dickens’s characterization was not laying it on thick enough, and so he added a heavy-handed brushstroke of his own in order to heighten the risibility of the character and the situation. Critics and literary historians have agreed on Lin’s ability to communicate Dickens’ comic style, but judging from this example Lin did more than that; he often contributed his own comic satiric flourishes by way of embellishing the Dickensian humour.”

Qian, in Chan (2004: 108)

Arthur Waley, the renowned British poet and sinologist, also wrote about Lin Shu’s translation:

Dickens, inevitably, becomes a rather different writer and to my mind a better writer (in Lin Shu’s classical Chinese). All the overelaboration, the overstatement and uncurbed garrulity disappear. The humour is there, but is transmuted by a precise, economical style; every point that Dickens spoils by uncontrolled exuberance, Lin Shu makes quietly and efficiently.”

Waley, in Chan & Pollard (2007: 398)

Zhao Jingshen 赵景深 expressed a similar view that “since readers care above all for something easy to read, he would not mind a few departures from the original so long as he could produce a smooth version” (Wang Zuoliang 2007: 1000). This echoes Venuti’s domesticated translation.

⁹⁹ Qian Zhongshu: *Lin Shu de Fanyi* (“The Translations of Lin Shu”), translated by George Gao.

Holding firmly the traditional view that translation must first and foremost be faithful to the original, quite a number of prominent writers and translators in the 1920s and 1930s spoke openly against Lin Shu's translations, which were even denounced as "distorted translations" by Mao Dun (茅盾, 1896–1981). Others simply said that Lin was rewriting and not translating.

Lu Xun (鲁迅, 1881–1936), the most influential modern Chinese writer, practiced an extreme literalism in translation. He translated Russian literary works and Marxist literary criticism into Chinese. He rationalized his view on translation in a letter to Qu Qiubai (瞿秋白, 1899–1935) who was a leftist writer:

As far as the art of translation is concerned, if the first group of readers is to be the target, I would advocate "literal translation." In my own translation, even if (a phrase) is unnatural, I will not replace it with a more straightforward expression that shifts the emphasis unnecessarily. Even in creative writing, I think the distinction (among different sorts of readers) has to be made by the author. We import as much as we can, and then digest and absorb as much as we can. What is usable is retained, and what is not is abandoned to the past. So if we tolerate "a certain degree of awkwardness" at present, it does not mean that we are simply on the defensive.

Luo (1984: 276, translated by Leo Chan)

Structurally, the Chinese language differs drastically from Western languages. Following the extremely literal approach, some sentences in Lu Xun's translations could leave the readers baffled. Lu Xun's position was counteracted by Liang Shiqiu (梁实秋, 1902–1987), translator of the complete works of Shakespeare. Liang called Lu Xun's translations "stiff translation" or even "dead translation," which sometimes hardly makes any sense to the TL reader because "Lu Xun had followed the original text too closely and ended up with syntax much too convoluted to be understood," and consequently "reading Lu Xun's translations was like reading a map and trying to locate places with one's fingers" (Chan 2004: 18).

From the perspective of the socio-cultural background in the 1930s in China, there were two reasons behind Lu Xun's preference to extreme literalism. In addition to the above-quoted explanation by Lu Xun, the other reason, which concerns the Chinese language itself, (extra space) is elaborated by Qu Qiubai in his letter (dated 5 December 1931) to Lu Xun:

Translation – in addition to introducing the content of the original to Chinese readers – has another important function, that is, helping us create a new modern Chinese language. The Chinese language (as well as its written system) is so deficient that it lacks names for many everyday objects. Indeed it has not developed completely beyond the stage of “sign language” - everyday conversation almost can’t do without the help of “gestures.” Of course, there is almost a complete absence of all those adjectives, verbs and prepositions that express subtle differences and complex relationships.

Luo in Chan (2004: 21)

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, translation theories and approaches which are relevant to the current study have been discussed. Linguistic and textual approaches were discussed as the first translation theories from which DTS and functionalism evolved. These latter two theoretical approaches will be applied to the study of the two translations in the next two chapters. Chinese translation theories were discussed briefly, mainly for referential and informational purposes. Some of the approaches from the Chinese perspective will be mentioned in the detailed analysis of the two translations.

Chapter 5: A Descriptive study of the two English translations of *Sanguo yanyi*

Translating anything from Chinese into English is never an easy task. The two languages are so different, both structurally and grammatically; individual words often do not have an exact match; what seems pithy and concise in one language can seem clumsy and tedious in the other. I have heard translating between the two compared to capturing a cloud and putting it in a box: you will never quite get it all in – and by the time you are through, the result, though not without its own merits, will no longer be exactly the same shape.

Tydesley (2008: vii)

This chapter describes and compares the two translations within the framework of DTS, which was introduced in Chapter 4. The aspects to be described here include the preliminary data discussing what the two translations look like, their paratexts, macro-level structures and micro-level elements of the selected texts. On the basis of these descriptions, the approaches and strategies adopted by the translators are identified and discussed. In addition to aspects of DTS, other theoretical approaches that were discussed in Chapter 4 will be referred to where relevant. All the examples are taken from the three selected chapters, namely Chapters 1, 60 and 120.

5.1 Methodology of describing translations

Different methods of comparing two texts have been suggested by scholars. However, not one method is preferred by the majority of scholars. As Hermans (1999: 55) points out:

The main differences between them concern approach and procedure. Some are source-text based, while others treat the source and target text on an equal basis; some but not all make use of a *tertium comparationis*, a hypothetical intermediate construct serving as a point of comparison for both the original and the translation; some proceed from bottom up, i.e. from textual micro-structures to macro-structural issues, others from the top down; some focus on the texts themselves, others on how readers respond to them.

Hermans (ibid.: 55–71) introduces five models of describing and comparing translations. The five models include (1) Eugene Nida’s “three-stage” technique, which is used to compare translations not only with their sources but also different translations of the same original; (2) Toury’s model of AT or Adequate Translation, which is “flawed and unworkable” in Herman’s words; (3) Van Leuven-Zwart’s model, which is an extremely detailed and extensive bottom-up procedure; (4) Jelle Stegeman’s “Real Readers” model, which measures various responses from the readers of translated texts; and (5) José Lambert and Hendrik van Gorp’s checklists – a top-down model.

Of these five models, the first two, Nida’s “three-stage” model and Toury’s AT model, are strongly source-oriented and crude (Hermans 1999: 55–57). The third one, Van Leuven-Zwart’s model, which is considered as the most detailed model of translation shifts (Munday 2001: 55), is too complex to implement (Gentzler 2001: 134). The “Real Readers” model “tells us more about the psychology of reading in artificial laboratory situations than about translation description and analysis” (Hermans 1999: 64). Only José Lambert and Hendrik van Gorp’s model, though still problematic, seems easier to apply in the description of different texts.

5.1.1 José Lambert and Hendrik van Gorp’s model of describing translations

In the first paragraph of the article “On Describing Translations”, Lambert and Van Gorp (1985: 42–43) declare that they will try to bridge the “wide gap between the theoretical and the descriptive approach” by specifying how DTS should be carried out. They then suggest a hypothetical scheme for describing translations.

In this chapter, the two English translations of *Sanguo yanyi* and the original text will be compared and analyzed according to the “Synthetic Scheme for Translation” suggested by Lambert & Van Gorp (ibid.: 52–53). The aspects of comparison will include: (1) preliminary data; (2) macrostructural features; (3) microstructural features and (4) systemic context. When comparing the microstructural features of the translations with the original text, some methods will be adopted from Van Leuven-Zwart’s model.

5.2 A comparison between the two translations

A comparison will be made to describe the differences and similarities between the TTs – the initial translation by Brewitt-Taylor and the retranslation by Roberts. Brewitt-Taylor’s translation will be referred to as “T1” and Roberts’s translation will be referred to as “T2”. Examples and tables are given to help illustrate the findings. Possible reasons for differences found will also be investigated.

5.2.1 Preliminary data

This is the first step in analyzing translations, and studies aspects such as the outward presentation and packaging of the translation. The general information about the TT is collected to determine the nature and characteristics of the TT in the target culture system, and perhaps the intended readership envisioned by the publishers. The data to be compared comprise information contained in the title and on the title page, and information on general strategies of the translators contained in the paratexts¹⁰⁰ such as prefaces, dedications, disclaimers, introductions and footnotes (Lambert & Van Gorp 1985: 52).

5.2.1.1 Bindings

¹⁰⁰ Paratexts are what José Lambert & Hendrik van Gorp (1985) refer to as metatexts and they include the texts found on the title page, in the preface and in footnotes. Cf. footnote 63 for a more detailed discussion of “paratext”.



Brewitt-Taylor's translation (T1)



Roberts's translation (T2)

T1 is a paperback in two volumes. The chapters are evenly divided between the two volumes. Volume 1 contains the first sixty chapters and Volume 2 contains the last sixty chapters. The volume number is printed on the front cover, the spine and on the title page inside the book.

T2 is a hardcover in three volumes. Each of the three volumes has a jacket (loose paper cover) carrying introductory information. Volume 1 contains the first forty-seven chapters, Volume 2 contains Chapter 48 to 96 and Volume 3 contains Chapter 97 to 120. The volume number is only printed on the spine.

5.2.1.2 Titles

The title of T1 is *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*.¹⁰¹ The original Chinese text of the title is also printed alongside the English title. The Chinese title is printed vertically, which was customary for printing Chinese texts before 1919, and traditional Chinese characters 《三國志演義》 are used.

In T2, *Three Kingdoms* is adopted as the main title to differentiate it from the previous translation. The subtitle, *A Historical Novel*, is provided to differentiate it from the *Records of the Three Kingdoms*, which is believed to be the main source of the original novel. The original Chinese title 《三國演義》, in calligraphy by Yang Xianyi,¹⁰² is printed, also vertically and in traditional Chinese characters, on the front cover of the hardcover, not on the jacket.

In both TTs, the use of Chinese characters printed in a traditional way adds an archaic flavor. T2 even makes use of Chinese calligraphy by a well-known person for the book title, which is typical practice in publishing and printing Chinese books.

5.2.1.3 Cover pages



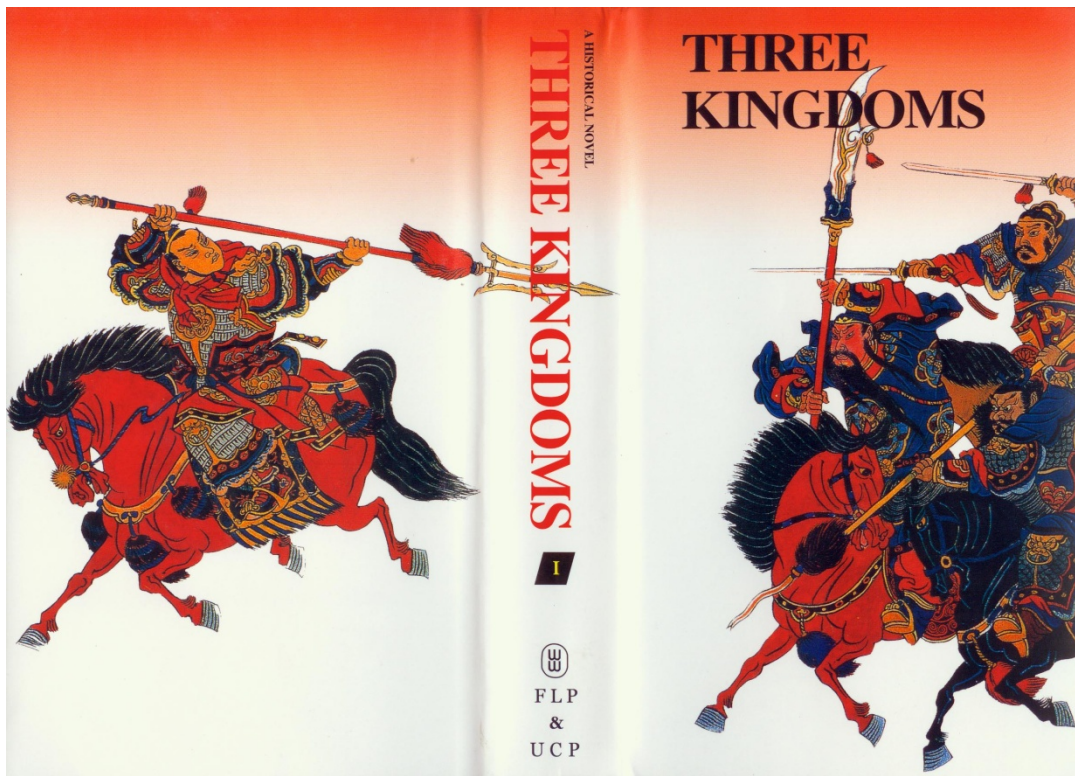
Cover pages of the ST

¹⁰¹ In the first edition of Brewitt-Taylor's translation, published in 1925, the title is *San Kuo, or Romance of The Three Kingdoms*.

¹⁰² Yang is a renowned Chinese translator of literary works in twentieth-century China.



Cover pages of T1



Cover page of T2

The covers (jacket in T2) in both versions are in color.

On the cover page of T1, the title is printed in big letters in a bilingual format. In addition to the titles in English and in Chinese, there is also the original author's name (Lo Kuan-chung), the translator's name ("translated from the Chinese by C.H. Brewitt-Taylor"¹⁰³), the person who wrote the introduction ("with an introduction by Robert E. Hegel"), and the name of the publisher. The name of the publisher (Tuttle) is printed at the left bottom in very small letters indicating the publication is a "classic". An illustration of Cao Cao, one of the major characters in the novel, is also printed on the front cover. The illustration is from a traditional Chinese drama. Interestingly, the image is split into two halves, with each volume carrying one half of the image, so that the two volumes have to be pieced together to form the complete illustration. On the back cover a short comment, which reads, "One of the greatest and best-loved works of popular literature," is provided as well as a brief introduction to the novel. On the inside back cover, nine covers of books on China which the publisher is marketing, are printed. T1 is listed as one of these titles.

T2 has a hard cover in dark blue and a dust jacket. On the front cover, the title is printed in Chinese characters. The main title is also printed in English, together with part of the illustration which stretches across the spine and the back cover. The colored illustration depicts the story of the famous tangled fight between the three brothers and Lu Bu. Another part of the illustration is printed on the back cover. The text on the jacket across the spine is the same as that on the spine of the hard cover and includes the main title and the subtitle in English, and the name of the publishers. The texts on the front flap of the dust jacket include the full title, names of the original author, the translator who also contributed the notes and afterword, and the name of the person who wrote the foreword. A blurb (brief introduction to the novel) is also printed, which continues to the back flap. The back flap also contains brief introductions of the original author, the translator and the writer of the foreword. At the bottom of the same page the name of the publisher and the jacket designer are also printed.

One of the most authoritative versions of *Sanguo yanyi* in modern China was published by the People's Literature Publishing House. The first edition was published in 1953 and the edition was reprinted frequently with slightly differently-designed covers. Compared with the cover pages of the translated versions, the cover pages of the original novel appear to be much simpler, with only the title, author's name (in some reprints the author's name is printed on

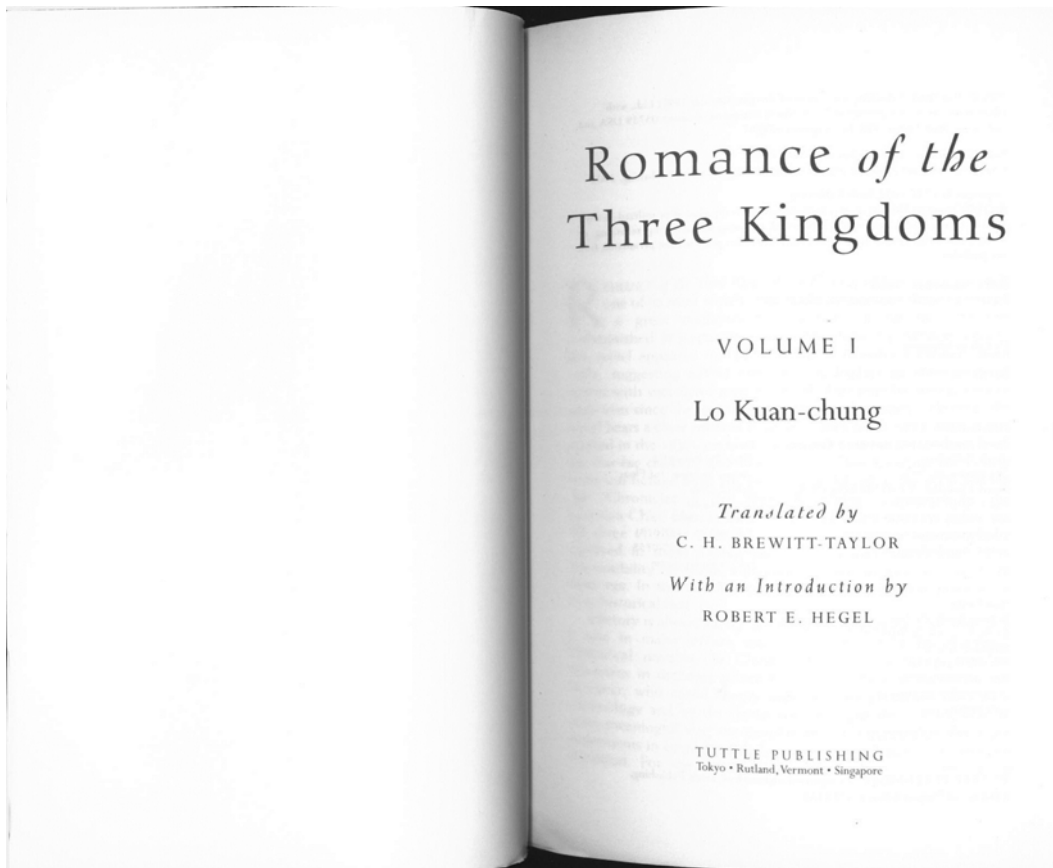
¹⁰³ In the first edition, the translator's profession is also mentioned as such: "late of the Maritime Customs Service of China".

the spine) and the publisher's name printed. The background of the cover, whatever the colors in different editions or reprints, appears to be blurred old illustrations.

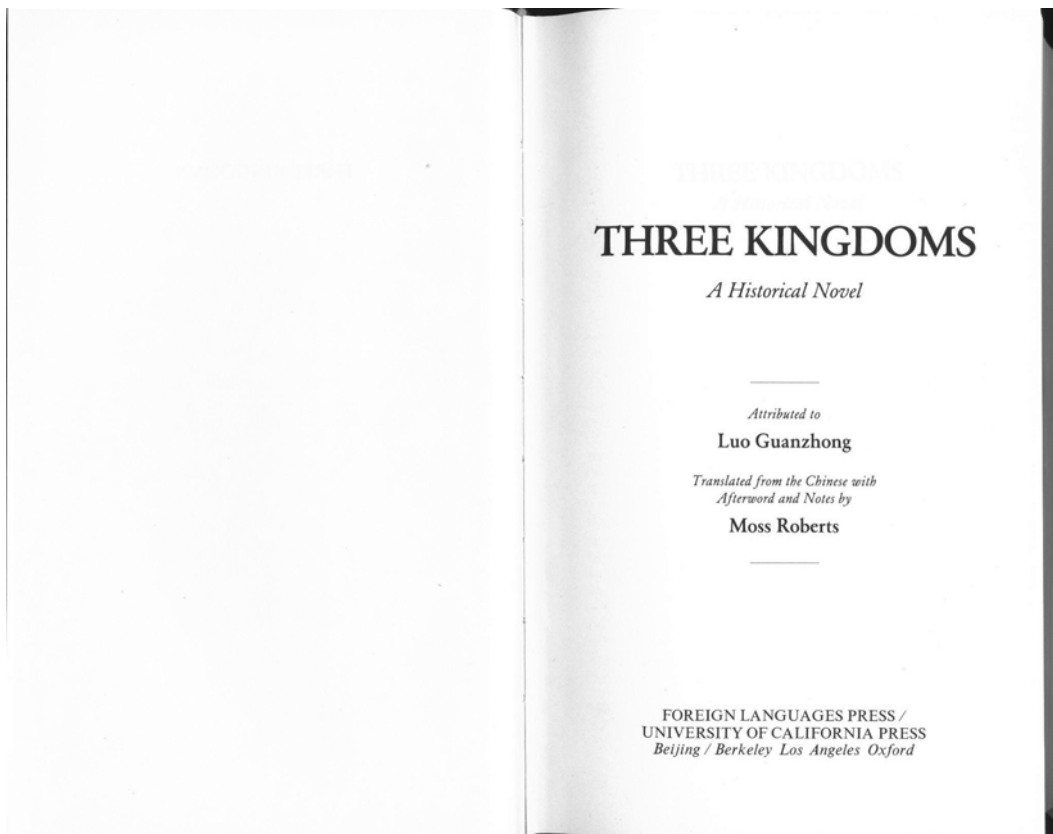
Compared with the cover page of the ST, which would appear plain and old-fashioned to the modern reader, the cover pages of the two TTs appear to be more colorful. More elements are included on the cover page of T1, which reflect the publisher's attempts to enable (intended) readers to get as much information as possible from looking at the cover page only. This design appears to be more target-reader orientated. T2 has fewer elements on its cover page, only the title and a picture, which seems to encourage its readers to open the book and explore the pages inside. The design of the cover page of T2 seems to be more Chinese-oriented with a plain and simple style.

However, the different images printed on the cover pages of the two TTs gives the reader different impressions. The illustration on the cover page of T1 (half of it on each of the two volumes) seems to be a picture of Cao Cao appearing in traditional Chinese operas. The illustration looks like an artwork of papercutting. But the reader who has little knowledge of Chinese culture would normally ignore the identity portrayed by the illustration, with only a rough impression that it looks Chinese or Eastern. This might have been the designer's intention so that the reader is expected to gather that the book is a romance from China and assume that it would be an interesting read. From the illustration on the cover page of T2, the general Western reader is expected to assume that the book was a war story in the period of the three kingdoms. A Chinese reader would probably be able to identify the three people in the illustration immediately by their looks and the weapons they are using.

5.2.1.4 Title pages



Title page of T1



Title page of T2

On the title page of T1, the printed information includes the translated title in English in a large font, the number of the volume, the author's name, the translator's name, the name of the writer of the introduction and the name and location of the publisher. The name of the person who wrote the introduction is printed in several places, showing that he might be an important person or may have played an important part in bringing this translation into (re)publication. On this page there is no record of the SL from which the novel was translated.

The title page of T2 contains similar information to T1's. The only differences are that there is no mention of an introduction (or its author) on the title page of T2, and that the SL is mentioned on the title page of T2.

5.2.1.5 Paratexts

The definition of "paratext" given by Gérard Genette was discussed in Footnote 63. In translated texts, paratext also includes translator's notes and added footnotes and glossaries.

5.2.1.5.1 Paratexts only found in T1

Paratexts found only in Brewitt-Taylor's translation include:

1. A table of contents. The titles of the 120 chapters are provided, with corresponding page numbers.
2. A dedication. Brewitt-Taylor dedicated his translation to his son. The words "To the memory of my son Raymond" was printed in the first edition published in 1925. These words are not found in the edition used in this study, however.
3. The way of numbering the footnotes. Notes are given in two ways in T1, namely footnotes and brackets (cf. example 5.1). There are only a few footnotes, found on pages 33, 95, 131, 152, 194, 208, 211 and 384 of Volume 1, and pages 349, 498 and 628¹⁰⁴ of Volume 2. On most of the pages there is only one note which is normally marked with an asterisk (*). On page 33 there are two notes, marked with a single asterisk (*) for the first note and a double asterisk (***) for the second. Three notes appear on page 153 of Volume 1. They are marked and numbered with an asterisk (*) for the first note, a dagger (†) for the

¹⁰⁴ The note on this page, printed in smaller letters, is inserted in the text, not at the bottom.

second note and a double dagger (§) for the third note. Using the asterisk and dagger to mark the notes adds an ancient feel to the text. There is no indication as to who added the notes – the translator or the editor. This adds to the invisibility of the translator, whereas the use of paratexts usually makes the translator more visible.

5.2.1.5.2 Paratexts only found in T2

The paratexts that are only found in T2 include:

1. A page of general contents which only contain the titles of the paratexts, not the chapters of the main text.
2. A list of maps, eleven in total, illustrating the important districts and battles.
3. The translator's acknowledgements, in which the translator briefly accounts how the complete translation was made possible.
4. Twelve illustrations of the main characters in the novel: Liu Bei, Zhang Fei, Diaochan, Lü Bu, Cao Cao, Guang Yu, Sun Quan, Zhuge Liang, Zhao Yun, Lu Su, Zhou Yu and Sima Yi.
5. A full set of notes (cf. Table 5.1 and Example 5.1) which are grouped and numbered according to corresponding chapters. In this edition, all notes are placed at the end of the last volume.¹⁰⁵ Since all the grouped footnotes are placed in the last book, the reader has to have the third volume available within reach while reading the first or the second volume, which creates inconvenience.
6. A list of principal characters (pages 1539–1544). The list contains 114 characters. A brief introduction to each of these characters is provided.
7. A chronology of the main events (pages 1545–1550). This chronology covers the time span from AD 168 to AD 280, and chapter numbers are given in brackets at the end of the narration of the events. This arrangement enables the reader to relate the events to the corresponding chapters in which the events take place.
8. A list of titles, terms and offices (pages 1551–1554). This is a partial list with two categories. The English translations are on the left-hand side and their corresponding equivalents in Pinyin on the right.

¹⁰⁵ In a four-volume paperback edition published in 1993 by the Foreign Language Press in China, the notes are grouped and placed at the end of each volume. The Chinese-English bilingual edition is structured similarly in regard to the notes.

9. A list of abbreviations (page 1557). These are abbreviations of the books that the translator refers to in his essay.

5.2.1.5.3 Paratexts found in both T1 and T2

The similar paratexts found in both T1 and T2 include:

1. Introduction (T1) and foreword (T2)

T1 includes an introduction¹⁰⁶ written by Robert E. Hegel of Washington University, and a short note by Brewitt-Taylor in the first edition of the translation in 1925. In the seven-page introduction, Hegel briefly provides information on four aspects of the novel, namely its content, its historical background, its authorship as well as the formation of the text and its appeal to readers. Hegel does not comment on the translation itself.

In T2, a foreword was written by John S. Service, who mainly recounts his personal experience related to the novel.

2. Translator's note (T1) and afterword (T2)

In T1 the translator's note is very brief, only half a page,¹⁰⁷ and mainly explains the way in which the people's names were translated.

In T2 there is a very extensive afterword by Roberts (pages 1459–1527). This is actually a long essay discussing the original novel. The essay consists of the following eight sections:

1. Historical origin: the period and the novel;
2. Virtue, lineage and legitimacy;
3. The novel's use of sources;
4. Storytelling and fiction in the Yuan;
5. Luo Guanzhong and Han nationalism in the Yuan-Ming translation;

¹⁰⁶ In the 1959 edition, the introduction was contributed by Roy Andrew Miller, who received his Ph.D. in Chinese studies at Columbia. Miller does not comment on the translation in this introduction. But in the brief introduction on the jacket of this edition, Brewitt-Taylor's translation is praised as "masterly".

¹⁰⁷ This is the last part of the original preface by the translator, Brewitt-Taylor. The first part of the preface is a summary of the novel (cf. 6.3.1).

6. Three Kingdoms in the Ming-Qing transition;
7. Three Kingdoms as literature: the Mao commentary; and
8. Kongming in Mao Zonggang's edition.

There are 88 endnotes accompanying Roberts's afterword.

The paratexts in T1 and T2 differ in the following ways:

1. The extensiveness of the paratexts.

It is clear that T1 has a limited number of paratexts that provide very basic information about the novel and the translation, while T2 supplies much more background information. Table 5.1 shows that the footnotes supplied in T2 are far more than the footnotes supplied in T1. The large number of footnotes used by Roberts indicates his intent to make his translation a topic for research on at least the relevant fields regarding *Sanguo yanyi*.

Table 5.1 Number of notes given in the selected translated texts

	Chapter 1	Chapter 60	Chapter 120
T1	3	4	1
T2	34	14	14

2. Format of the notes.

In T1, in addition to the normal way of treating footnotes, notes are occasionally placed in the text between brackets following elements needing further explanation (cf. Example 5.1). This seems to reflect that Brewitt-Taylor wanted his translation to be read smoothly, which according to Toury's definition of the initial norm, signifies an acceptable translation.

In T2, all notes are provided as endnotes. These notes are grouped according to chapters and printed at the end of the last volume.

Example 5.1

ST: 中山靖王刘胜之后，汉景帝阁下玄孙，姓刘名备，字玄德。

T1: He was a descendant of a Prince whose father was the grandson of the Emperor Ching (**the occupant of the dragon throne a century and a half B.C.**) His name was Liu Pei, or more commonly Liu Yuan-te.

T2: This man was a descendant of Liu Sheng, Prince Jing of Zhongshan, a great-great-grandson of the fourth Han emperor, Jing. His name was Liu Bei; his style, Xuande.*

*Note: Jing was emperor of the Former Han from 156 to 140 B.C. Emperor Guang Wu, founder of the Later Han, traced his lineage to Emperor Jing. The word *xuan* means “red mixed with black.” The color symbolism suggests a darkened Han virtue. Another possible allusion is to Liu Bang, who had briefly conceived of himself as the Black Emperor, perhaps thinking to be a Qin emperor (Qin’s color symbol was black) before deciding to found a new dynasty, the Han.

5.2.1.6 General strategy

Both translations appear to have been based on the same version of the ST and both are complete translations (cf. Table 5.2), although more omissions are identified in T1 than in T2. It is not clear whether some omissions in T1 are due to missing paragraphs in the ST or whether they were omitted intentionally by the translator. Two notable omissions found in the selected chapters from T1 include a poem at the beginning of the book (before Chapter 1) and a paragraph at the end of the last chapter stating the dates of deaths of the kings. According to Toury’s definition of preliminary norms, both translations are direct translations from the ST, therefore from Chinese and not translations through an intermediate language.

Table 5.2 Number of words¹⁰⁸ in the selected ST and TT chapters

	Chapter 1	Chapter 60	Chapter 120	Total (of the 3 chapters)
ST	4 639	7 303	5 529	17 471
T1	4 553	7 024	6 169	17 746
T2	4 552	6 699	6 924	18 175

The word counts was done electronically by a computer. It is easy to count the words in the ST since the text can be downloaded from the internet for free. Both of the TTs are copyrighted and are not available for downloading. The counting therefore has to be conducted partially by hand. Firstly, the texts of the selected chapters in the two translations

¹⁰⁸ Chinese characters in the ST.

were typed into a computer in a Microsoft Word document to establish a corpus. Then the software TextSTAT was used to conduct the word count automatically. The count only includes the words in the chapter contents, excluding the words in the notes. Both translators more or less used the same number of words. For Chapter 1 and Chapter 120, Roberts used about 1 000 more words (as endnotes) to explain background knowledge and culture-specific elements. But he used fewer words than Brewitt-Taylor to translate Chapter 60. From this it can be deduced that both translations are complete translations.

With the assistance of TextSTAT, it was also found that Brewitt-Taylor used 2 714 different words to translate the three chapters, while Roberts used 3 687 different words. This reflects that T2 has a richer vocabulary than T1.

5.2.2 Macro-level structures

This level of analysis covers aspects such as the general strategy that the translator adopts; the division of the text into chapters, sections and paragraphs; the use of typographical conventions; the titles of chapters; macro-level alterations; and the overall handling of plot, setting, proper names and culture-specific elements (Lambert & Van Gorp 1985: 52). General selection of words, patterns of omissions and explications, literary structures such as poetry, and register are also to be compared in this section. These aspects are considered as belonging to the macro-level since they refer to elements that would influence the translation as a whole regarding translation strategies, intentions and functions.

5.2.2.1 Division of the text

This concerns the format of the text. The overall division of the text in both translations is similar. Both T1 and T2 are divided into 120 chapters, corresponding with the ST. The 120 chapters are of similar lengths and thus are more or less evenly spread throughout the novel.

Differences in divisions, however, are found in the text within each of the chapters. From Table 5.3 it is evident that ST chapters are not divided into many paragraphs. This is not like the format of a modern Western novel in which direct speech is treated as a separate paragraph. In a typical traditional Chinese novel, dialogues, which are usually short and brief,

are packed into one paragraph. This format of the ST has been changed to a large extent in both translations. In T1, the division of the text into paragraphs does not closely follow the paragraph structure of the ST. A ST paragraph is split into many small paragraphs in T1 and each piece of dialogue is treated as a separate paragraph.

In this respect, T2 stays relatively closer to the ST than T1. T1 uses a more domesticating approach, namely most direct speeches are treated as separate paragraphs, but in T2 the approach cannot be identified easily. It is neither domesticated nor foreignized, perhaps an approach between these two strategies. Roberts seems to have tried to keep the original textual format, but some paragraphs in the ST were too long and they had to be split when translated into English; otherwise one paragraph would have covered several pages, which would appear strange to English readers.

Table 5.3 reflects of the overall division of the selected ST chapters and the two corresponding TT chapters.

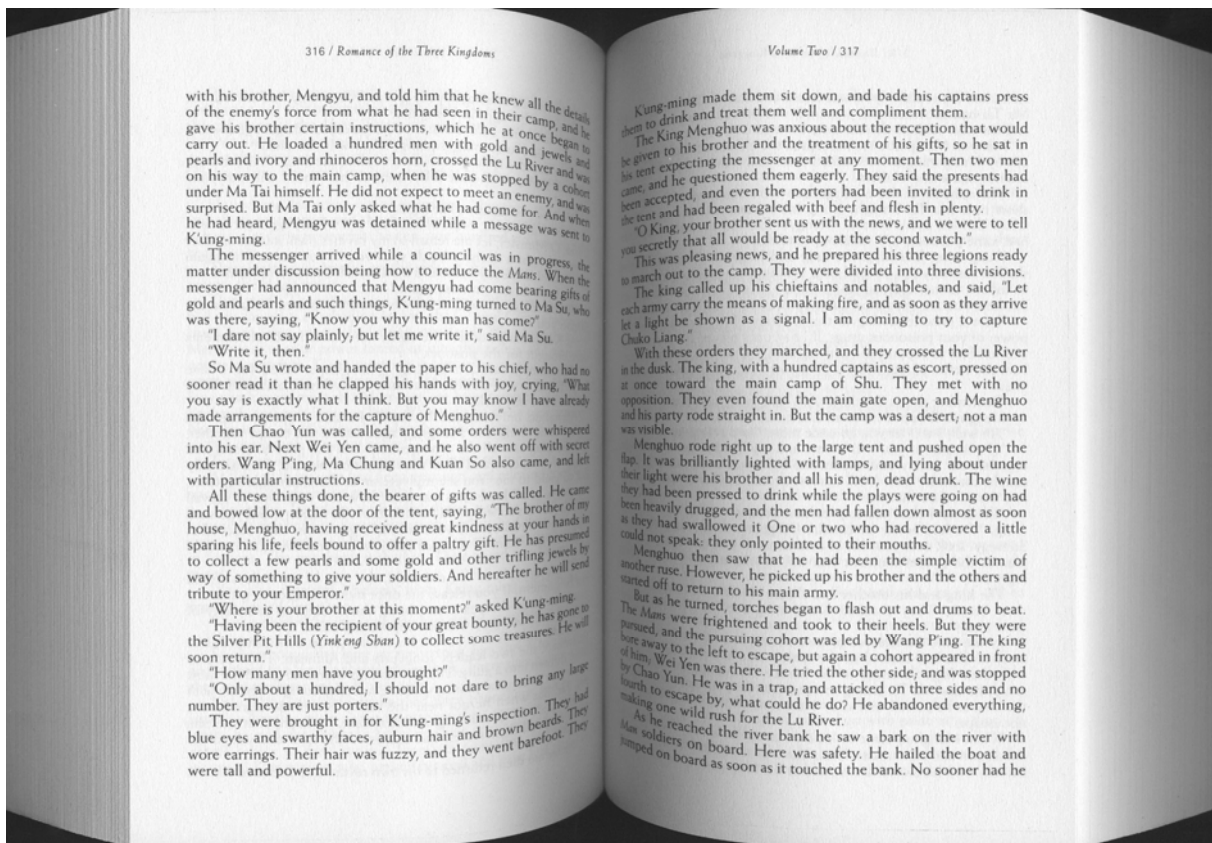
Table 5.3 Number of paragraphs in the selected chapters of the ST and TTs

	Chapter 1	Chapter 60	Chapter 120
ST	12	20	22
T1	76	176	140
T2	43	49	55

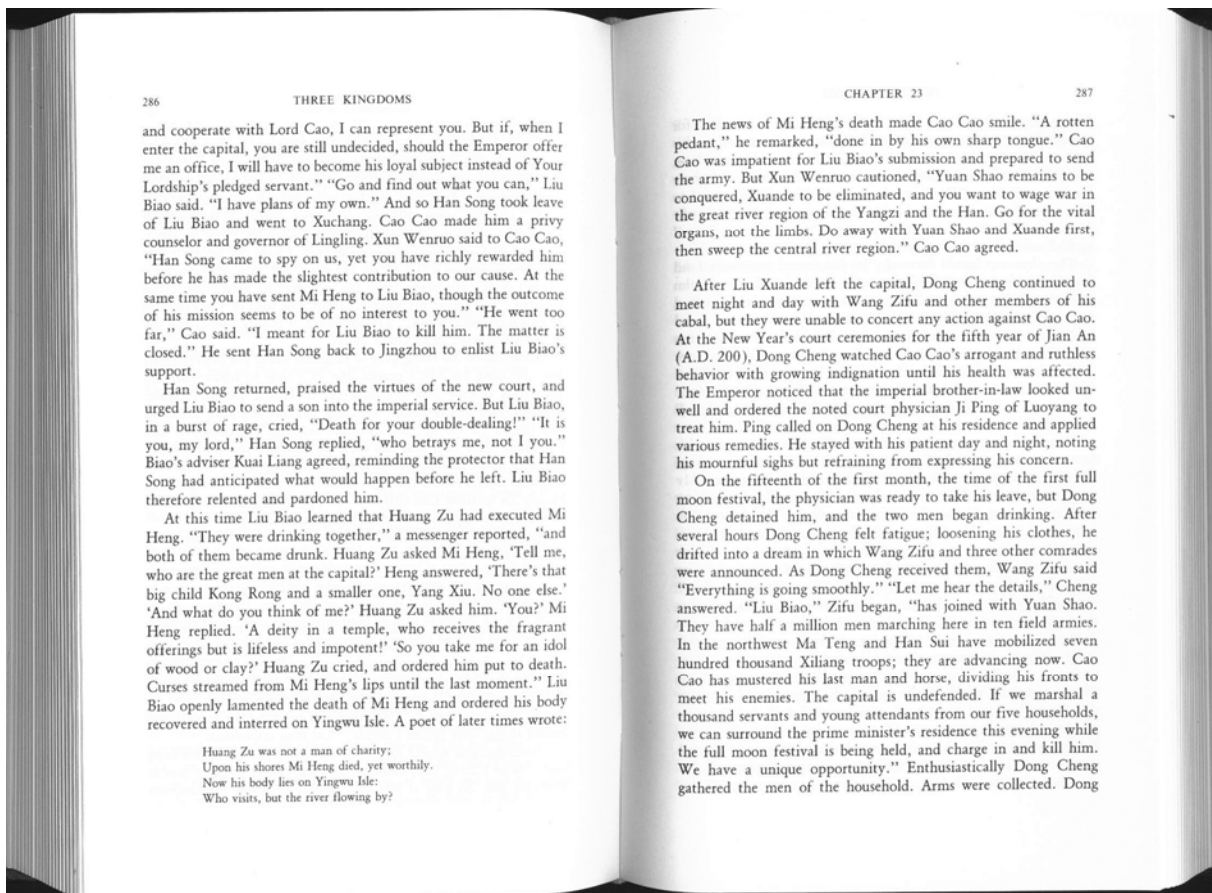
5.2.2.2 Typographical conventions

The layout of the pages in the bulk of T1 is as follows: At the top of each page, centered, the page number, title of the novel (on pages with an even page number) and the number of the volume (on pages with an odd page number) are printed.

The first letter of the first word at the beginning of each chapter is capitalized and enlarged to vertically occupy three lines in the normal text. A first-line indent indicates the start of new a new paragraph.



Layout of pages in T1



Layout of pages in T2

The layout of the pages in the bulk of T2 is as follows: At the top of each page with an even page number, the title of the novel is centered and the page number is printed in the left corner. At the top of each page with an odd page number, the chapter number is centered and the page number is printed in the top right corner.

The first word of each chapter is capitalized and has an enlarged first letter occupying two lines in the normal text. A first-line indent indicates the start of a new paragraph.

5.2.2.3 Titles of chapters

Table 5.4 Translation of chapter titles in the selected parts of the ST¹⁰⁹

ST	第一回 宴桃园豪杰三结义 斩黄巾英雄首立功
T1	CHAPTER I FEAST IN THE GARDEN OF PEACHES: BROTHERHOOD SWORN SLAUGHTER OF REBELS: THE BROTHERS HEROES
T2	Chapter 1 Three Bold Spirits Plight Mutual Faith in the Peach Garden Heroes and Champions Win Honors Fighting the Yellow Scarves
ST	第六十回 张永年反难杨修 庞士元议取西蜀
T1	CHAPTER LX CHANG SUNG TURNS THE TABLES ON YANG HSIU: OCCUPATION OF SHU DISCUSSED
T2	Chapter 60 Zhang Song Confounds Yang Xiu Pang Tong Proposes the Conquest of Shu
ST	第一百二十回 荐杜预老将献新谋 降孙皓三分归一统
T1	CHAPTER CXX A VETERAN OFFERS NEW PLANS: SUN HAO SURRENDERS AND THE THREE STATES RE-UNITE
T2	Chapter 120 With the Recommendation of Du Yu, an Old General Offers a New Plan With Sun Hao's Surrender, the Realm Is United

Regarding the translations of chapter titles, both content and form will be discussed. The content of the title of each chapter in the ST is an attempted summary of the corresponding chapter. Both translations have transferred the events summarized in the ST, but T1 appears to

¹⁰⁹ Capital letters are used as in the two TTs.

be briefer, omitting people's names. Pang Shiyuan in the title of Chapter 60 and Du Yu in the title of Chapter 120 are not translated in T1.

In terms of the format, the ST is a neat couplet, namely in both sentences of each couplet, the same number of characters are used and words of same parts of speech are matched. The title of Chapter 60 serves as an example:

ST:

张永年(3 characters, proper name) 反难(two characters, verb) 杨修(2 characters, proper name)

庞士元(3 characters, proper name) 议取(two characters, verb) 西蜀(2 characters, proper name)

T1:

Chang Sung	turns the tables on	Yang Hsiu
(2 words, proper name)	(4 words, verbal phrase)	(2 words, proper name):

Occupation of Shu	discussed
(3 words, noun phrase)	(1 word, verb)

T2:

Zhang Song	confounds	Yang Xiu
(2 words, proper name)	(1 word, verb)	(2 words, proper name)

Pang Tong	proposes	the conquest of Shu
(2 words, proper name)	(1 word, verb)	(4 words, noun phrase)

T2 seems to be a little closer to the ST, trying to render the title into a couplet as well. T1 seems more causal in this respect. In terms of the printing, in T1, capital letters and Roman numerals are used for chapter titles. This appears to be an attempt to lend an ancient flavor to the text, trying to bring the translation closer to the original, which was written about 600 years ago. In T2, the titles are printed in a standard, contemporary format, intending to address the contemporary readership.

Due to the structural difference between Chinese and English, it seems unlikely to match the format of the ST in the translations.

5.2.2.4 Relation between types of narrative, dialogue, description

In most cases, both translators dealt faithfully with the narratives, dialogues and descriptions as they are in the ST. Example 5.2 serves as illustration.

Example 5.2

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 玄德曰：“此天佑我也！”三人出庄迎接。

T1: **“Thus does Heaven help us,”** said Yuan-te and the three brothers went forth to welcome the merchants.

T2: **“This must mean that the Heaven is with us,”** said Xuande, as the three brothers went forth to greet the men.

In T1, narratives are used more often than in T2 to translate dialogues and monologues in the ST, as shown by Examples 5.3–5.5).

Example 5.3

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 相者云：“此家必出贵人。”

T1: Noting the luxuriance of its foliage a soothsayer **had predicted that one day a man of** distinction would come forth from the family.

T2: “An eminent man will come from this house.” A fortune-teller once predicted.

Example 5.4

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 璋曰：“公所谋，深于吾有益。”次日，上马出榆桥门。

T1: So spoken Chang Sung and the Prefect replied **that he knew the plan was for his advantage**. Whereupon he mounted his horse to ride out to Elm Tree Bridge.

T2: **“Your planning,”** Liu Zhang said, **“serves my interest profoundly.”** The next day Liu Zhang rode to Elm Bridge Gate.

Example 5.5

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 却说玄德归到寨中。庞统入见曰：“主公今日席上见刘季玉动静乎？”

T1: When Liu Pei had returned to his own tent, P'ang T'ung came in to **ask what impression he had of his host of that day.**

T2: Meanwhile, Xuande had returned to his base, where Pang Tong came to him.
“Your Lordship,” he said, **“what was your sense of Liu Zhang at the banquet?”**

In a few cases, Roberts also used narratives to translate direct speech in T2, as shown in Examples 5.6 and 5.7. He very rarely adopted this method.

It is interesting to note that in Example 5.6, Brewitt-Taylor rendered a narrative in the ST into direct speech in the TL: “What officers have you?” This is contrary to the way he usually translated direct speech. This seems to reflect that Brewitt-Taylor did not pay close attention to the format of the ST.

Example 5.6

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 卓问三人现居何职。玄德曰：“白身。”卓甚轻之，不为礼。

T1: **“What officers have you?”** asked Tung Cho, when he had leisure to speak to his brothers. **“None,”** was the reply. And Tung treated them with disrespect.

T2: Zhuo inquired what offices they held but, **upon learning that they were commoners without position,** disdainfully refused to acknowledge their service.

Example 5.7

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 羊祜下令：“我军不许过界。”众将得令，止于晋地打围，不犯吴境。

T1: **Yang gave strict order not to cross the boundary,** and so each hunted only on his own side.

T2: **Yang Hu had instructed his commanders not to cross into Southland territory,** and as ordered they hunted only within Jin territory.

It has been observed that most dialogues or monologues transformed into narratives in T1 are usually short and brief. They are not the key dialogues which reflect the personalities of the characters. The flavor of the ST is thus not changed much by not faithfully translating these

speeches word for word. However, these examples still indicate that in terms of the format, T1 does not stay as close to the ST as T2.

5.2.2.5 General selection of words

Example 5.8

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 话说天下大势，分久必合，合久必分。

T1: Empires wax and wane; states cleave **asunder** and coalesce.

T2: Here begins our tale. The empire, long divided, must unite; long united, must divide. Thus it has ever been.

Example 5.9

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 华覲出朝叹曰：“可惜锦绣江山，不久属于他人矣！”

T1: “It is pitiful,” said he, “**Ere long** our beautiful country will pass to another.”

T2: Hua He left the court and uttered a deep sigh. “Alas,” he said, “These hills and streams that nature made so lovely are **soon** to pass to another’s hands.”

From examples 5.8 and 5.9, it is evident that in T1, archaic words and phrases such as “asunder” and “ere long” are used occasionally, while Roberts used modern English words in T2.

From the selected chapters, the following archaic words, historical words, and poetic or literary words¹¹⁰ are found in T1: “asunder”, “lo”, “ye”, “alas”, “smite”, “befall”, “doughty”, “ere”, “tho”, “wight”, “wherefore”, “wherefrom”, “thereat”, “therein”, “noontide”, “twain”, “essay (v.)”, “aye” and “nigh”.

Since T1 was produced in the early 1900s, it might be considered normal for Brewitt-Taylor to have used more archaic words in his translation.

¹¹⁰ These words are marked as such in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2005).

In T2, a few of the above-mentioned types of archaic words are also found, such as “grate”, “scourge”, “alas”, “thenceforth”, “behoove”, “fealty”, “liege”, “anew”, “hold sway”. Most of these words occur in the written memorials or verbal proposals from the ministers to the king. Their use is understandable because the translator attempted to transfer the style of the ST and these words must have been used intentionally to achieve the effect of being formal.

5.2.2.6 General alterations

Alterations are strategic efforts made by the translator due to the incompatibility between the ST and the TT. Alterations mainly include omissions and additions. According to Toury’s definition of norms, alterations are controlled by matricial norms which belong to operational norms (cf. 4.2.3.1).

5.2.2.6.1 Omission

Most of the omissions are found in T1. From the three selected chapters, two notable omissions are the theme poetry at the beginning the novel and a paragraph in Chapter 120 stating how and when the last kings of Shu and Wu died. The first notable omission may have been intentional. Brewitt-Taylor might namely have thought the poetry, which is not found in Luo’s original text and was later added in the Mao edition, does not belong to the main text of the novel. Another possible reason for this omission is that the ST edition that Brewitt-Taylor used did not contain the poetry. The omission of the paragraph in the last chapter might be a mistake by the translator who might have thought that he had translated the paragraph, when in fact he had not. It is not likely that the paragraph was missing from the ST edition Brewitt-Taylor used, since this is the only paragraph in the three selected chapters which was not translated.

Sentence-level omissions occur under several circumstances. One instance is the translation of lists of proper names. In the ST, which originated to a large extent from historical books, lists of people or places occasionally appear in one sentence. In T1, these lists of proper names are either omitted or only partially translated, but in T2 all these lists are completely translated word for word (cf. Examples 5.10–5.12 below).

Example 5.10

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 令人各以白土书“甲子”二字于家中大门上。青、幽、徐、冀、荆、扬、兖、豫八州之人，家家侍奉大贤良师张角名字。

T1: [...] and they persuaded people to chalk the symbols for the first year of a cycle on the main door of their dwellings. With the growth of the number of his supporters grew also the ambition of the “Wise and Good.” **He dreamed of empire.**

T2: Jue ordered the words “new cycle” chalked on the front gate of every house, and soon the name Zhang Jue, Great and Worthy Teacher, was hailed throughout the eight provinces of the realm – **Qingzhou, Xuzhou, Jizhou, Jingzhou, Yangzhou, Yanzhou, and Yuzhou.**

In this example in T1, all the names of the provinces are omitted. Brewitt-Taylor translated the text quite freely, even adding his own interpretation, “He dreamed of empire,” to emphasize Zhang’s ambition. The ST does not contain this sentence. This explication is called over-translation. Omission and addition co-exist in Brewitt-Taylor’s translation. Addition is adopted to compensate for the loss caused by the omission in this case.

Example 5.11

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 权曰：“... 兼有诸葛亮、庞统之智谋，关、张、赵云、黄忠、魏延为羽翼。...”

T1: Said Huang Ch’uan, “... He also has **the wisest advisers and the boldest warriors.**”

T2: “... was the reply, “... On top of that, he has **two wise counsellors in Zhuge Liang and Pang Tong;** and he has the support of such valiant warriors as **Guan, Zhang, Zhao Zilong, Huang Zhong, and Wei Yan.**”

The seven people (their names in bold in Example 5.11) are main characters in the novel and they appear frequently. In T1, the phrase “the wisest advisers and the boldest warriors” is used to summarize the intention of the speaker without listing all the famous names one by one.

Roberts followed the ST very closely by consistently translating all the names as they appear in the ST.

Example 5.12

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 贾充、荀顗、冯统三人，力言不可，炎因此不行。

T1: **But three officers, led by Chia Chung**, opposed it, and the orders were withdrawn.

T2: But **Jia Chong, Xun Xu, and Feng Dan** objected strenuously and succeeded in preventing the invasion.

The ST names the three officials. T1 only gives the name of one person, Chia Chung, who is a more important character, and is treated as the representative of the three.

Another case of omission occurs when the translator possibly did not fully understand the meaning of words in the ST or he wanted to disregard some parts which were of minor importance to him.

Example 5.13

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 年二十，举孝廉，为郎，除洛阳北部尉。

T1: He graduated at twenty and began his career in a district near Loyang.

T2: At twenty, Cao received his district's recommendation for filial devotion and personal integrity, and this led to his initial appointment to the palace. Later, he was given command of security in the northern half of the district where the capital, Luoyang, was located.

In Example 5.13, Brewitt-Taylor did not fully translate the nomination and the office title that Cao Cao had held when he was young, due to his possible misunderstanding of the ST.

Example 5.14

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 杨修闻言，满面羞惭，强颜而答曰：“某虽居下寮，丞相委以**军政钱粮**之重，早晚多蒙丞相教诲，极有开发，故就此职耳。”

T1: Yang Hsiu's face suffused with shame at this rebuke, but he mastered himself and replied, “Though I am among the minor officials, yet my duties **are of great importance** and I am gaining experience under the Prime Minister's guidance...”

T2: At these words Yang Xiu flushed crimson. Controlling his expression he answered with effort, “Although I am a minor aide, His Excellency has entrusted me **with the administration of money and provisions for the army**, a weighty responsibility that has taught me much, under His Excellency’s constant guidance.”

The omission of “administration of money and provisions for the army” in T1 reflects the minor importance of the concrete duties in the translator’s opinion.

Example 5.15

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 玄德祖刘雄，父刘弘。弘曾举孝廉，亦尝作吏，早丧。

T1: His father Liu Hung had been a scholar and an official but died young.

T2 Xuande’s grandfather was Liu Xiong; his father, Liu Hong. Local authorities had recommended Hong **to the court for his filial devotion and personal integrity**.¹¹¹
He received appointment and actually held a minor office; but he died young.

Example 5.15 shows Brewitt-Taylor did not translate the name of Liu Bei’s grandfather and the nomination of his father. They were regarded as supporting background of Liu Bei – one of the main characters of the novel.

There are more cases of omission found in Brewitt-Taylor’s translation in the last chapter of the novel. The question can be posed whether these omissions reflect the tiredness or impatience of the translator when the time to complete the project finally came or whether they were intentional.

Example 5.16

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 又遣龙骧将军王濬、广武将军唐彬，浮江东下：水陆兵二十余万，战船数万艘。又令冠军将军杨济出屯襄阳，节制诸路人马。

T1: In addition to the land forces, two large fleets were to operate on the river. A separate force was sent away to Hsiangyang.

¹¹¹ A footnote is provided: *Xiaolian* (filial and honest) designates someone whom the district governor has recommended to the court for examination and appointment. One or two recommendations were made annually from each imperial district.

T2: The ruler of Jin also dispatched Prancing Dragon General Wang Jun and Extender of Warfare General Tang Bin to move east down the river. The land and marine forces together numbered more than two hundred thousand; warships numbered in the tens of thousands. Lastly, the ruler of Jin assigned Champion General Yang Ji to occupy Xiangyang and control the several field armies.

Example 5.16 shows that Brewitt-Taylor omitted many details in his translation. He skipped over all the names of the three generals (Wang Jun, Tang Bin and Yang Ji), their titles (Prancing Dragon General, Extender of Warfare General and Champion General), and the number of troops (200 000) and only kept the reference to the movements of the forces by order of the King of Jin. The selected paragraph in T1 is about three times shorter than the one in T2. Perhaps Brewitt-Taylor thought the omission here would not stop the story from flowing. It is also likely that the translator became tired and decided to skip some words, as it was the last chapter.

Example 5.17

(Chapter 120)

ST: “...驃骑将军孙歆进兵拒夏口等处军马。臣敢为军师，领左将军沈莹、右将军诸葛靓，引兵十万，出兵牛渚，接应诸路军马。”

T1: ...Sun Hsin to Hsiak'ou, while he himself took command of a camp at Niuchu, ready to lend help at any point.

T2: “...And Flying Cavalry General Sun Xin could be ordered to defend Xiakou and other river points. I, your vassal, could then serve as director general command over General of the Left Shen Rong and General of the Right Zhuge Xing to lead a force of one hundred thousand through Niuzhu and reinforce the various field armies as necessary.”

In Example 5.17, the text in the ST is part of a direct speech. Brewitt-Taylor not only omitted some proper names and the number of the troops, but also changed the direct speech into a narrative that keeps only the essence of the ST. The omitted items are still proper names of people and their ranks (“General of the Left Shen Rong” and “General of the Right Zhuge Xing”).

Example 5.18

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 次日，杜预领大军水陆并进。前哨报道：“吴主遣伍延出陆路，陆景出水路，孙歆为先锋：三路来迎。”杜预引兵前进，孙歆船早到。两兵初交，杜预便退。

T1: Soon after the army and the marine forces made a simultaneous advance, but the navy of Wu, under Sun Hsin, came up, and at the first encounter Tu Yu's army retired.

T2: The next day Du Yu led the general advance on land and sea. Scouts informed him: "The ruler of Wu has sent three armies to oppose us – Wu Yan on land, Liu Jing on water, and Sun Xin in the vanguard." Du Yu continued ahead until he encountered Sun Xin's advance ships. The two forces engaged; Du Yu retired.

In Example 5.18, the names of two generals (Wu Yan and Liu Jing) are omitted as part of a narrative in T1, where the ST includes them in direct speech.

Omissions are also identified, though rarely, in Roberts's translation. Example 5.19 reflects that Roberts did not translate the names of Cao Cao's hometown, which appear in the ST. The omission might have been caused, most probably, by the translator's failure to see it in the ST. Brewitt-Taylor only partially translated the names of the hometown.

Example 5.19

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 为首闪出一将，身長七尺，細眼長鬚，官拜**骑都尉**，沛国**譙郡**人也，姓曹名操字孟德。

T1: Their leader was a man of medium stature with small eyes and a long beard. He was one Ts'ao Ts'ao, also known as Ts'ao Meng-te, a **P'eikuo** man, holding the rank of *Chi-tu-yu*.

T2: The leader of this new unit flashed into sight – tall, narrow-eyed, with a long beard. This man's rank was cavalry commander. His surname was Cao; his given name, Cao; his style, Mengde.

In conclusion, the items omitted in the translations, especially in T1, are usually proper names of some minor people (personal names or ranks). The omission of these "unimportant" aspects in the translations might have been considered by the translators as not a serious problem that would affect the flow or cohesion of the story. The fact that Brewitt-Taylor omitted many more parts than Roberts indicates that Brewitt-Taylor made himself more

invisible as translator, since he appeared to have kept in mind TT readers who might have little or no knowledge of Chinese or the original novel. Roberts attempted to keep as many elements as possible from the ST in his translation to make him more visible as the translator. He intended to show his readers the original flavor by not omitting the aspects which may appear difficult to understand in the translation.

5.2.2.6.2 Addition

Addition is another frequently-used strategy used to address incompatibility between the ST and the TT. Examples 5.20 and 5.21 show that in both T1 and T2 additions are used to introduce background knowledge or cultural-specific references. In T1, extra background information is incorporated into the text to enable the target reader to proceed smoothly, while in T2, adding footnotes is the major method. The addition of footnotes reflects the translator's intention to make the translation a scholarly work for study instead of just a popular novel to read for fun. It should be noted that Dollerup (2007: 149), following Leppihalme, only considers footnotes as additions. The additional information incorporated in the text (text-internal) is called explication.

Example 5.20

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 后来**光武中兴**，传至献帝，遂分为三国。

T1: ... till the days Kuang-Wu, whose name stands in the middle of the long line of Han. **This was in the first century of the Western era** and the dynasty had then already passed its zenith. **A century later** came to the Throne the Emperor Hsien, doomed to see the beginning of the division into three parts, known to history as The Three Kingdoms.

T2: Two hundred years later, **after Wang Mang's usurpation**, Emperor Guang Wu Restored the dynasty, and Han emperors ruled **another two hundred years** down to the reign of Xian, after whom the realm split into three kingdoms.*

*Xian was the last Han emperor; this posthumous title meaning "rendering up" map refer to his ultimate abdication. He reigned from A.D. 189 to 220.

Example 5.20 shows that in both translations, additional words carrying background information are incorporated into the translated text. In T2, a footnote gives further information on the emperor's title.

Example 5.21

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 光和元年，雌鸡化雄。

T1: Another evil omen was recorded **ten years later**, when the reign title was changed: certain hens suddenly developed male characteristics, **a miracle which could only refer to the effeminate eunuchs meddling in affairs of State.**

T2: In the first year of **Radiant Harmony (Guang He)** hens were transformed into roosters.*

*A.D. 178-84. Mao: "The eunuchs represent male turned into female. Eunuch interference in government represents female turned into male." A secondary (or "female") rainbow is concentric with but fainter and larger than a primary rainbow.

From Example 5.21 we can see that in T1, the reign title is not translated but the year in which the event took place is indicated as "ten years later". In addition, the explanation for the phenomenon that "hens developed male characteristics" is incorporated into the text directly. In T2, both the year and the background information are provided in the footnote.

Example 5.22

ST: 且说张角一军，前犯幽州界分。

T1: It is now time to turn to Chang Chio. He led his army into Yuchow **the northern of the eight divisions of the country.**

T2: As for Zhang Jue's army, it began advancing on Youzhou district.

Example 5.22 shows that Brewitt-Taylor added and incorporated the additional background information and the location of Yuchow in the country into T1, which is not found in the ST. T2 does not add anything.

The example below (5.23) is the first sentence of Chapter 60. Brewitt-Taylor mentioned in his translation that the major character of this chapter, Zhang Song, already appeared in the previous chapter and his rank ("pie-chia") was low and unimportant ("small").

Example 5.23

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 却说那进计于刘璋者，乃益州别驾，姓张，名松，字永年。

T1: The man who proposed the plan **spoken of in the last chapter** was Chang Sung, who belonged to Ichou and held the **small** office of *pie-chia*, or Supernumerary Charioteer.

T2: The plan was proposed by Zhang Song (Yongnian), the lieutenant inspector of Yizhou.

In conclusion, additions in the translations are used mainly for explication, either by giving notes (in the form of endnotes as in T2) or adding information to the main text (as in T1). Brewitt-Taylor mainly added explication as part of the text, a strategy which makes the translator invisible. Roberts added more explication in endnotes, which makes him more visible as a translator. Overall, explication would contribute to making the text more useful for readers who want to learn more about Chinese culture.

5.2.2.7 Translation of the number of troops

In the ST, being a novel instead of a historical record, not all numbers reflect exact figures, therefore it is not improper to translate these numbers in a flexible way. Readers only need to have a general idea of the size of a troop.

Table 5.5 Translation of the number of troops

Ch.	ST	T1	T2
1	万余人	a myriad	ten thousand
1	四五十万	strength was exceeding great	nearly half a million strong
1	三百余人	three hundred men	three hundred local youths
1	五百余人	five hundred	five hundred
1	兵五万	a huge army	fifty thousand men
1	兵五千	a large body	five thousand men
1	一千军	a goodly party	one thousand men
1	五百人	their troop	his five hundred men

1	一千官军	a thousand more men	add one thousand
1	马步军五千	five thousand horse and foot	led five thousand mounted warriors and foot soldiers
1	万余	thousands	ten thousand
60	十余万	armies reckoned in legions	a hundred thousand under arms
60	五万	five legions	fifty thousand
60	五百余骑	a troop of horsemen	some five hundred cavalry
60	百余人	a large number of men	one hundred men
60	精兵五千	an army	five thousand men
60	三万人马	a great company	thirty thousand soldiers
60	刀斧手一百人	a hundred ruffians	a hundred men
120	不过十余人	numbered only about a score	never exceeded ten men
120	将士数十人	many of his captains	several score of defending officers
120	四十余人	more than two score	over forty
120	铁骑五万	five legions of heavy cavalry	fifty thousand riders
120	引兵十万	–	lead a force of one hundred thousand
120	各引兵五万	–	commanded fifty thousand
120	水陆兵二十余万	–	the land and marine forces together numbered more than two hundred thousand
120	战船数万艘	–	warships numbered in the tens of thousands
120	引兵十万	–	to lead a force of one hundred thousand
120	率兵数万	–	leading tens of thousands of troops
120	水手八百人	eight hundred sailors	eight hundred sailors
120	八百军	the men	eight hundred sailors

While in T2 Roberts translated the ST numbers with corresponding numbers very faithfully and seriously, Brewitt-Taylor used a variety of ways to deal with them in T1. In addition to using numbers to translate numbers, various words conveying the meaning of numbers were also used in T1, such as “huge”, “goodly”, “large”, “legion”, “myriad”, “company”, “score”, etc. In a few cases, numbers in the ST were ignored and even omitted in Brewitt-Taylor’s translation. He might have regarded them as unimportant or he might have wanted to finish the project quickly, because most of these omissions are identified in the last chapter. These omissions or inconsistent use of words found in T1 are not likely to affect the TT reader’s ability to follow the storyline, which was Brewitt-Taylor’s main intention with his translation. Roberts’s more faithful rendering of all these numbers reflects his intention to let his readers know precisely what the ST contains.

5.2.2.8 Translation of realia

When you encounter a new language, some things are easy to learn. You just patch on some new lexical items and grammatical forms and continue listening and talking. Other things are more difficult, but with a little effort the differences from one language to another can be bridged. But some things that come up strike you with their difficulty, their complexity, their inability to fit into the resources you use to make sense out of the world. These things – from lexical items through speech acts up to fundamental notions of how the world works – are called *rich points*.

Agar, quoted in Nord (1997a: 25, italics in the original)

Nord (1997a: 25) suggests that translators should be very aware of these “rich points” in their task because these points, as differences between cultures, always cause cultural conflicts or communication breakdowns among speakers of different languages. These “rich points” are also called “realia”, which are “words (and collocations of a national language) which denote objects, concepts and phenomena characteristic of the geographical surroundings, culture, everyday realities or socio-historical specifics of a people, nation, country or tribe, and which thus convey national, local or historical colour” (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 139–140). As such references are very culture-specific, they have no exact equivalents in other languages. Generally speaking, realia are confined to literary texts and cannot be translated directly or have to be translated with further explanation. The realia investigated here include proper names, allusions, idioms, units of measurement, reign titles of emperors or kings, ranks of officers or officials, and poetry.

5.2.2.8.1 Proper names

A proper name refers to a name for an individual person, place or organization. In English a proper name is spelt with an initial capital, but in Chinese the form of a proper name is the same as the other words in the text. Readers have to identify the proper names from the context and their personal knowledge. In *Sanguo yanyi*, the proper names are mostly names of people and places. Proper names have both sounds and connotations. The translator must decide to render either the sound or the connotation, or both, if possible.

Table 5.6 Translation of proper names

Name of the same person		Surname	Given name	Courtesy name
	ST	刘	备	玄德
	T1	Liu	Pei	Yuan-te
	T2	Liu	Bei	Xuande

Table 5.7 Translation of place names

Name of the same place		Historical name	Geographical name	Political name
	ST	蜀	西川	益州
	T1	Shu	Hsich'uan/ West country	Ichou
	T2	Shu/the Riverlands	the Riverlands	Yizhou/the province of Yi/the Riverlands

Table 5.8 Translation of organizational names

Organizational name		
	ST	黄巾
	T1	Yellow Turbans
	T2	Yellow Scarves (note: In Chinese, Yellow Scarves is <i>huang jin</i> . Yellow is the imperial color; the word <i>jin</i> , “a piece of cloth,” is the lower element in the graph <i>di</i> , “emperor.” Rebels often establish a counter-emperor to challenge the one in power.

In T1 the Wade-Giles system is used to transcribe proper names. Wade-Giles is a Romanization system (phonetic notation and transcription) for the Chinese language, mainly used for proper names and cultural items. Wade-Giles was developed from a system produced by Thomas Wade in the mid-nineteenth century, and reached a set form with Herbert Giles's Chinese-English dictionary of 1892. The system was the main system of transcription of Chinese language in the English-speaking world for most of the twentieth century. This system was used in several standard reference books and in almost all books about China published before 1979, when the new Chinese Spelling System started to become accepted internationally.¹¹² Brewitt-Taylor's translation was produced before 1925 when it was first

¹¹² Cf. <http://en.wikipedia.org/Wade-Giles>. Retrieved on 15 September 2011.

published, and it was customary then to use the Wade-Giles system to translate Chinese proper names.

In T2 *Pinyin* is used to transcribe proper names. *Pinyin* is a short form for *Hanyu Pinyin* (literally means “spelt sounds”). It was adopted by the People’s Republic of China in 1958 as a newly-designed phonetic scheme to facilitate the promulgation of the standard Chinese language. The scheme is a Romanized system functioning to annotate standard Chinese pronunciation with Roman letters. The system was adopted in 1979 by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) as the standard Romanization for modern Chinese (ISO-7098: 1991). Roberts’s translation was published in the 1990s when *Pinyin* was being promoted by the Chinese government and gradually became accepted internationally. Furthermore, Roberts’s translation received support from the Beijing publisher Foreign Languages Press, therefore the use of *Pinyin* would have been a requirement of the publisher.

In the ST, the personal names of important characters usually consist of three parts – a surname (“Xing”), a given name (“Ming”) and a courtesy name (“Zi”). The “Zi” usually consists of two characters and carries a similar meaning to the Ming. The “Zi” was given to an adult person in feudal China and used to address people in a formal way. In T1, Brewitt-Taylor rendered this courtesy name in various ways, using “more commonly”, “usually called”, “also known as” (Chapter 1), “ordinary name” (Chapter 3), “minor name” (Chapter 36). Most courtesy names of the less-important characters are ignored in T1. In T2, Roberts translated all courtesy names, which are referred to as “style”. For example, “His surname was Cao; his given name, Cao; his style, Mengde” (Chapter 1). In later chapters of T2, the courtesy name is simply placed in a bracket following the names, as in “The plan was proposed by Zhang Song (Yongnian), the Lieutenant Inspector” (Chapter 60). Both translators rendered the sounds of the personal names (transcription), without reflecting the connotations of the names. In T2, notes are given to explain the connotations of the names of Liu Bei, Guan Yu and Zhang Fei (cf. Roberts 1994: 1559–60). These explanations provided in T2 are considered as the translator’s intention to help his readers understand more about Chinese culture through the names of the main characters. The function of T1 is mainly to provide a readable Chinese story in English, therefore explanations of these names would have been considered unnecessary.

“黄巾” in the ST is the name for the rebels who wear yellow scarves. Both translators rendered its connotation into English instead of its sounds (“huangjin”) (cf. Table 5.8). Roberts added a note to explain the connotation of this name (Roberts 1994: 1558).

When translating place names, there are some other differences in addition to the use of the two different spelling systems. For example, in Chapter 60, three different names (cf. Table 5.7) are used in the ST to refer to the same land or area where Shu of the Three Kingdoms would be based. These names are used based on three different perspectives – historical, geographical and political. When translating the name in its geographical sense, “西川”, both translators rendered its literal meaning: as “the West country” (in T1) and “the Riverlands” (in T2). In T1, Brewitt-Taylor also used transcription of sounds (“Hsich’uan”), which is an example of inconsistency in T1. When translating the other two names where Shu would be based, transcription of sounds was used by both translators. However, Roberts used “the Riverlands” to refer to the same place throughout T2, which can be considered as an attempt to avoid confusion.

In T1, place names and people’s courtesy names are frequently omitted. In Example 5.24, the name of the county (“Yuyuan”) is not given in T1, while in T2 provides both the names of the county (“Yuyuan”) and district (“Jianning”).

Example 5.24

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 璋视之，乃建宁俞元人也，姓李，名恢。

T1: He was one, Li K’uei, of Chienning.

T2: Liu Zhang looked on Li Hui from **Yuyuan** in Jianning.

In conclusion, from the examples taken from the selected chapters, it can be deduced that when translating personal names, both translators transcribed the sound. When translating geographical names, both transcription of sound and rendering of connotation were used by the two translators. The connotation of the organizational name was transferred by both translators.

5.2.2.8.2 Allusions

“An allusion is a direct or indirect reference to a person, place, event or character, usually well-known in history, literature, legend, mythology or books” (Hwang 2001: 15). Because allusions grow out of the soil of the SL, there are usually no exact equivalent expressions in the TL. When translating allusions, the most common practice for a translator is to give a direct translation along with footnotes to explain the references and implications. Another method is to use similar references in the TL. For instance, “Romeo” and “Juliet” are used as translations for a symbol of devoted young Chinese lovers in Chinese stories or novels. This can be regarded as the adoption of a domesticating approach. But this may cause confusion in the minds of target readers since the settings between the two literatures are so different. Footnoting, though not perfect, has been the best policy. Giving a footnote is a more foreignizing approach.

Lefevere makes the following comments on the translation of allusions:

One the whole, most translators do not try to convey the literary allusions, except in an “explanatory note.” Maybe because allusions point to the final, real aporia of translation, the real untranslatable, which does not reside in syntactic transfers or semantic constructions, but rather in the peculiar way in which cultures all develop their own “shorthand,” which is what allusions really are. A word or phrase can evoke a situation that is symbolic for an emotion or a state of affairs. The translator can render the word or phrase and the corresponding state of affairs without much trouble. The link between the two, which is so intricately bound up with the foreign culture itself, is much harder to translate.

Lefevere (1992: 56–57)

Example 5.25

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 汉朝自高祖斩白蛇而起义，一统天下， ...

T1: The rise of the fortunes of Han began with **the slaughter of the White Serpent**. In a short time the whole Empire was theirs and their magnificent heritage was handed down in successive generations...

T2: The Han court’s rise to power began when **the Supreme Ancestor slew a white serpent***, inspiring an uprising that ended with Han’s ruling a unified empire.

* The Supreme Ancestor (Gao Zu), founder of the Han, was Liu Bang (256 to 195 B.C.), one of many rebels against the Qin. According to his “Basic Annals” in the *SJ* the serpent he slew was the son of the White Emperor, god of the west, which

certain Qin kings had worshiped. The “Feng shan shu” of the *SJ* explains the incident of the killing of the serpent as the killing of the son of the White Emperor by the son of the Red Emperor. Eventually, fire and the color red came to symbolize the Han; they also symbolized the Zhou dynasty.

T1 gives a direct translation of this allusion (“高祖斩白蛇”) without further explication, which is likely to cause confusion to the TL readers. T2 provides a long note to explain the background of this allusion by referring to “*SJ*” (the first great book of history by Sima Qian). Though the note is lengthy, it would be useful for some intended readers of T2, such as those advanced learners of Chinese or Chinese studies scholars, who may be interested in learning more about Chinese history in addition to enjoying the novel.

Example 5.26

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 角拜问姓名。老人曰：“吾乃南华老仙也。”言讫，化阵清风而去。

T1: With a humble obeisance Chang took the book and asked the name of his benefactor. “I am **the Hsien of the Southern Land of Glory**,” was the reply, as the old gentleman disappeared in thin air.

T2: Zhang Jue asked the old man’s name, and he replied, “**The old Hermit From Mount Hua Summit -- Zhuang Zi, the Taoist sage.**” Then he changed into a puff of pure breeze and was gone.

In T1, Brewitt-Taylor translated the allusion (“南华老仙”) word for word. In T2, though he did not provide a footnote, Roberts gave the background information in the text (“Zhuang Zi, the Taoist sage”) in addition to the word-for-word translation.

Example 5.27

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: “岂不闻逐兔先得之语乎？将军欲取，某当效死。”

T1: You know the saying, that **the leader in the hunt gets the quarry**. If you will only consent, I will serve you to the death.”

T2: As the saying goes, ‘**He who gets to the rabbit first, wins the chase.**’ I stand prepared to give you my full support.”

In T1, Brewitt-Taylor translated the allusion (“逐兔先得”) freely, while Roberts opted for a literal translation. Neither mentioned the source (*Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms*) from which this allusion comes.

5.2.2.8.3 Idioms and fixed expressions

Both idioms and fixed expressions are fixed in terms of form and allow little or no variation in form. An idiom is “a speech form or an expression of a given language that is peculiar to itself grammatically or cannot be understood from the individual meanings of its elements” (*American Heritage Dictionary* 2008). Usually, the meaning of an idiom is not transparent, in other words the meaning of an idiom cannot easily be deduced from the meanings of the words that constitute it, while the meaning of a fixed expression is transparent. An idiom may have two meanings – literal and idiomatic (or figurative). People normally use an idiom in its idiomatic sense. A fixed expression is used in its literal sense.

Baker (1992: 68–70) suggests the following difficulties in translating idioms or fixed expressions:

1. There may be no equivalent in the TL for an idiom or fixed expression;
2. An idiom or fixed expression may have a similar counterpart in the TL, but its context of use may be different;
3. Since an idiom may be used in the ST both in its literal and idiomatic senses at the same time, the same effect cannot be successfully reproduced in the TT; and
4. In the SL and TL, the contextual situation that an idiom is used in may be different.

However difficult it is to translate idioms or fixed expressions, translators have been translating them. A number of solutions and strategies have been suggested by translators. Baker (*ibid.*: 72–76) discusses four strategies when translating idioms:

1. Using an idiom of similar meaning and form in the TT, which should be the best solution;
2. Using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form. It is possible to find an idiom in the TL with a meaning similar to that of the idiom in the ST, but which has different lexical items;
3. Paraphrasing the idiom. This is the most common way of translating idioms; and

4. Translating by omitting the idiom. This is the last choice when there is no close match in the TL and the meaning cannot be easily paraphrased.

Finding a similar idiom is perhaps a good solution, but the problem is that most idioms don't have equivalents in the TL. From the three selected chapters, thirty-six idioms were collected. Almost all idioms in the ST were translated in both T1 and T2. Omission only occurs once in T2. Some idioms were rendered literally and some freely (paraphrased). Both strategies (literal and free) belong to the third strategy for translating idioms – paraphrasing. No notes were provided for explication. Perhaps the translators had thought that the meanings of the idioms they translated were clear enough.

In both translations, the translators rendered the following idioms (Table 5.9) literally or faithfully as they tried to keep the taste of the original. This direct translation does not mean that a corresponding idiom in the TL was used. Using a corresponding idiom in the TL to translate an idiom in the SL is, if not impossible, extremely rare, especially in a translation between Chinese and English.

Table 5.9 Translation of idioms

Ch.	ST	T1	T2
1	望风而靡	melt away at a whisper of one's coming	scatter on the rumor of one's approach
1	相貌堂堂	one's appearance is dignified	one's statue is imposing
1	措手不及	ere one could recover himself	before one could defend himself
1	威风凛凛	one's appearance is awe-inspiring	one's bearing is awesome
60	九流三教	schools of philosophy and the culture stand forth as models	the various schools of philosophy and religion
60	过目不忘	remember it like this after only one reading	memorize it at a glance
60	名垂青史	name will live in history	fame will pass into history
60	青山不老，绿水长存	as the blue mountains grow not old and the green waters always remain	as sure as the hills stay green and the rivers ever run
60	良药苦口利于病，忠言逆耳利于行	Good medicine is bitter in the mouth but good for the disease; faithful words offend the ear but are good for the conduct	Effective medicine is bitter to the mouth but remedies disease. Loyal words offend the ear but benefit one's conduct
120	恣意妄为	become more wanton and vicious	act on one's impulses
120	势不可当	in irresistible force	in irresistible force
120	可乘之机	the time is near	the time has come

Table 5.10 shows idioms that were rendered literally in T1, but more freely in T2. Roberts may have thought that a literal translation could cause confusion to the Western readers.

Table 5.10 Translation of idioms (continued)

Ch.	ST	T1	T2
1	朋比为奸	rivals in wickedness and associates in evil deeds	vicious gang
1	喜怒不形于色	hide all feeling under a calm exterior	taciturn and reserved
60	天下无敌	the one man against whom no one can stand	emerge unrivalled
60	千山万水	many high mountains and numerous streams	hilly and rough

The following idioms were translated more literally in T2 than in T1:

Table 5.11 Translation of idioms (continued)

Ch.	ST	T1	T2
1	同心协力	promise mutual help to one end	combine strength and purpose
1	不计其数	many thousands	more than could be counted
60	卖主求荣	Traitor	sell sovereign for high position
120	足智多谋	able and crafty	a man of high intelligence and productive plans

The following idioms were rendered freely in both T1 and T2:

Table 5.12 Translation of idioms (continued)

Ch.	ST	T1	T2
60	柔中有刚	hard enough within in spite of his mild exterior	has an iron hand under that soft touch
120	秋毫无犯	(no) soldiery	avoid even the slightest encroachment on their interests

The second idiom in the ST (Table 5.12), “秋毫无犯” 秋毫”, refers to the animal’s autumn hair or a bird’s newly-grown down which is very thin. “秋毫” is used to refer to something that is so small as to be almost indiscernible. The idiom means “not to cause the slightest offense against the civilians.”

Idioms or fixed expressions are found occasionally in both TTs. These idioms or fixed expressions in the TT are used to translate normal expressions in the ST, **not** used to translate the corresponding idioms or fixed expressions in the ST. The following idioms were collected from the translations of the selected chapters.

“wax and wane” (Chapter 1 in T1)
“writ large” (Chapter 1 in T1)
“turn the tables on” (Chapter 60 in T1)
“win the day” (Chapter 120 in T1)
“pros and cons” (Chapter 120 in T1)

“put one in his place” (Chapter 60 in T2)
“in the making” (Chapter 120 in T2)

A list of idioms from the selected ST chapters and their translations is provided as Addendum E at the end of this dissertation.

5.2.2.8.4 *Metaphors and similes*

Metaphors and similes are figures of speech. A figure of speech is “an established form of abnormal expression designed to produce a special effect” (*Brewer’s Dictionary of Phrase & Fable* 1999: 440), or “an expression or use of language in a non-literal sense in order to achieve a particular effect” (*Bloomsbury Concise English Dictionary* 2005: 532). The definition of a metaphor given by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2005) is “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to an object or action it is not literally applicable to”, and a simile is “a figure of speech involving the comparison of one thing of a different kind, used to make a description more emphatic or vivid”. In a simile, “items from different classes are explicitly compared by a connective such as *like*, *as*, or *than* or by a verb such as *appears* or *seems*” (Barnet 2006: 745). “A metaphor asserts the identity, without a connective such as *like* or a verb such as *appears*, of terms that are literally incompatible” (ibid.: 746).

Newmark, in his paper “Metaphor in Language and Thought” (1985), proposes eight procedures for translating metaphors:

1. Reproducing the same image in the TL;
2. Replacing the image in the SL with a standard TL image;
3. Translation of metaphor by a simile;
4. Translation of metaphor (or simile) by simile plus sense;

5. Conversion of metaphor to sense;
6. Modification of metaphor;
7. Deletion; and
8. Reproducing the same metaphor combined with sense

(Newmark in Fung, 2007: 661–662)

In the following table, an attempt has been made to identify which of the methods above has been used in the two TTs:

Table 5.13 Translation of metaphors and similes

Ch.	ST	T1	Method	T2	Method
1	呼风唤雨	summon the winds and command the rain	1	summon the wind and invoke the rain	1
60	赴汤蹈火	through fire and water	1	walk through fire or boiling water	1
60	口似悬河	speech being like the River of Heaven	1	superb rhetorical powers	5
60	如雷灌耳	it has reverberated through my ears.	6	resounding reputation has long been known	6
60	披沥肝胆	be perfectly open and plain	5	bare innermost thoughts	5
60	泰山之安	secure as Mount T'ai	3	secure as Mount Tai	3
60	累卵之危	as precarious as a pile of eggs	3	as precarious as a pile of eggs	3
60	烧眉之急	as when fire singes one's eyebrows	3	-	7
60	癣疥之疾	a skin disease	1	a superficial problem	5
60	心腹之大患	mortal malady	5	a threat to our vitals	5
60	犬马之劳	do what little I can	5	do whatever is necessary	5
60	羽翼	-	7	the support	5
60	唇齿	eternal protector	5	"lips and teeth," mutual adherents	4
60	水火相敌	as mutually antagonistic as fire and water	3	struggles against me as fire and water	3
60	金石之	words are as jewels	3	memorable advice	5

	言				
60	如亲芝兰	feel as if I were about to enjoy the delight of seeing a brother	5, 6	meet a kindred spirit of noble intent	5,6
120	破竹之势	easy as the splitting of a bamboo	3	as easily as a knife splits bamboo	3
120	披麻救火	throw on hemp to put out a fire	1	beat out flames with dry hemp	1
120	反掌	easy	5	ease of turning one's palm	1
120	巢	very home and centre	5	deep in their lair	1

Both translators seem to have used methods five, one, and three most often to translate metaphors. But neither of them used method two, e.g. replacing the image in the SL with a standard TL image. The reason might be the vast cultural difference between the West and the East. Take the metaphor “披沥肝胆” for example. It is listed as number five in the table. This metaphor in the ST literally means “open one’s liver and trickle one’s gallbladder” or “split one’s liver and gall with exertion”. It is concerned with the concepts of how the liver and gallbladder are treated in traditional Chinese medicine. In the West, regarding the processes of thought or thinking, “mind”, “heart” and “soul” are normally used instead of “liver” or “gall”. Brewitt-Taylor translated this freely as “be open and sincere” in T1, while Roberts used “bare innermost thoughts” in T2, thus both translators had converted it to make sense.

5.2.2.8.5 Measurement

Table 5.14 Translation of units of measurement

Units	Ch.	ST	T1	T2	Notes
Organization unit	1	方	circuit	command	
Weight	1, 60	两	<i>liang</i>	ounce/tael/ <i>liang</i>	T2 explains in footnote
Weight	1	斤	catty	<i>jin</i>	T2 explains in footnote
Length	1	丈	ten-foot	ten-span	T2 explains in footnote
Length	1, 60, 120	里	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	T2 explains in footnote
Volume	60, 120	斗	bushel	bushelful/gallon	
Area	120	顷	–	hectare	one 顷 <i>qing</i> is equal to 6.6667 hectares

The units of measurement in the ST are typically Chinese and usually no English equivalent can be found. In both translations, all the units except one in the selected chapters are translated using either transcription (“两” to “liang”, “里” to “li”) or assimilation (“两” to “ounce”, “斗” to “bushel”). But Roberts gave footnotes to some of the translations in T2, for example: “A span (*chi*) was slightly under 10 inches. Six *chi* made a *bu* (pace); and 300 *bu* made a *li*, about one-third of a mile” (Roberts 1994: 1558). “The *jin*, approximately twenty ounces, consisted of ten *liang*, or ‘taels’” (ibid.: 1560).

Sometimes the translation of the same unit is not consistent in T2, for instance, three different words (“ounce”, “tael” and “liang”) are used in different chapters to translate the same concept”两” (cf. second row in the table).

The unit of area in the ST is “顷” (“qing”), which is listed in the last row in the table. The phrase in the ST containing this unit is “800 顷”. One such unit roughly equals to 6.6667 hectares in English. This unit itself does not occur in T1, and Brewitt-Taylor used “extensive area” used for the Chinese phrase “800 顷”. Interestingly, Roberts converted it directly to hectares in T2: “500 hectares” for “800 顷”.

5.2.2.8.6 Reign titles

In imperial China, years were dated from the beginning of the reign of the emperor in power at that time. These reign titles are not the real names of the emperors. Sometimes the same emperor changed his reign title several times. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Chinese have adopted the Western system of referring to years.

In the original text, scores of reign titles are mentioned. Twelve reign titles appear in the selected chapters, as shown in the table below.

Table 5.15 Translation of reign titles

ST	Ch.	T1	T2
建宁	1	Chien-Ning	Established Calm (Jian Ning)
光和	1	–	Radiant Harmony (Guang He)
中平	1	–	Central Stability (Zhong Ping)

元兴	120	<i>Yuan-Hsing</i> (AD 264)	Yuan Xing, “Primary Prosperity” year 1 (AD 264)
甘露	120	<i>Kan-lu</i>	Gan Lu, “Sweet Dew” year 1 (AD 265)
宝鼎	120	<i>Pao-Ting</i>	Bao Ding, “Precious Tripod” year 1 (AD 266),
建衡	120	–	Jian Heng, “Established Balance” (AD 269-71)
凤凰	120	–	Feng Huang, “The Phoenix” (AD 272–74))
咸宁	120	–	Xian Ning, “Universal Tranquility” (AD 278)
泰始	120	–	Tai Shi, “Magnificent Inception” (AD 271)
太安	120	–	Tai An, “Magnificent Peace” (AD 320)
太康	120	–	Tai Kang, “Magnificent Prosperity” (AD 283)

In T1, the reign titles are largely ignored – of the twelve reign titles identified in the selected text, only four are translated, using the method of transcription. It is observed that the first of the three reign titles in Chapter 1 and the first three of the nine titles in Chapter 120 are translated. During the process of translation, Brewitt-Taylor might have thought that translations of these reign titles would make little sense in the TT situation and therefore decided not to translate these titles. When discussing norms in his 1995 book, Toury points out that “a translator’s behaviour cannot be expected to be fully systematic” (Toury 1995: 67).

In T2, Roberts translated all the reign titles by means of transcription followed by a word-for-word rendering of the meanings. In addition, in Chapter 120, he also provided corresponding years of these reign titles, based on the Gregorian calendar, as a reference for the reader. This enables the reader to be aware of the years when these titles were changed. The inconsistency of doing this in Chapter 120 but not in Chapter 1 might have been caused by a change in strategy of the translator. When translating Chapter 1, he might not have realized it would be better to provide the corresponding year in addition to the literal meaning of these reign titles. After completing the translation of the entire novel, he then neglected to revise the translation of reign titles in the previous chapters. Actually, only a few chapters contain these reign titles.

5.2.2.8.7 Official ranks

In the Han Dynasty, officials were ranked in terms of their annual salaries stated in grain payments, from fewer than one hundred up to a maximum of 10 000 bushels (Hucker 1985: 4). The official ranks are divided into three categories – the central government, territorial administration and the military (ibid.: 6–7). The ranks mentioned in the ST are mostly military ones. Table 5.16 portrays the translations of these ranks. Capital letters are used as in the TTs.

Table 5.16 Translation of titles, ranks and offices

	ST	Ch.	T1	T2	Rank ¹¹³
1	大将军	1	General	Regent-Marshal	1
2	太傅	1, 120	Grand Tutor/T'ai-fu	Imperial Guardian	1
3	仪郎	1	–	court counselor	7
4	中郎将	1	–	Imperial Corps commander	8
5	太守	1	Prefect of a province	Governor of a province	5
6	校尉	1	<i>Hsio-yu</i>	Commandant	4
7	亭侯	1	Marquis	lord	
8	部尉	1	–	command(er) of security	
9	黄门	1	Eunuch	eunuch from the Inner Bureau	5
10	别驾	60	<i>pie-chia</i> , or Supernumerary Charioteer	lieutenant inspector	
11	主簿	60	accountant	First Secretary	7
12	帐前从事	60	A secretary	an aide	
13	丞相	120	First Minister / senior Prime Minister	prime minister	
14	左典军	120	–	Left Army Superintendent	
15	左将军	120	General/-	General of the Left	3
16	王	120	Prince	prince	
17	右大司马	120	Minister of War	grand marshal of the Right	1
18	中书丞	120	–	the deputy treasurer	4
19	镇东将军	120	“Guardian of the East,”	Queller of the East	2
20	都督	120	–	Field Marshal	
21	部将	120	Officer/captain	subordinate commander/subornate	
22	司马	120	–	commanding officer	6
23	大司农	120	High officer	Minister of Agriculture	3
24	右将军	120	General	general of the Right	3
25	镇南大将军	120	“Guardian of the South”	Queller of the South	2
26	州刺史	120	Governor	imperial inspector	5
27	侍中	120	–	Privy Counselor	
28	秘书丞	120	–	deputy of the Household	

¹¹³ The ranks here are based on the *Encyclopedia of Sanguo yanyi* for the reference and interest, which is not directly relevant to this topic of study. In much of the imperial China, a system of gradations called the Nine Ranks were used. This system originated at the very end of Han, in AD 220 (Hucker 1985: 4).

				Secretariat	
29	大都督	120	chief command(er)	Chief Commander	1
30	镇东大将军	120	–	Supreme Commander, Queller of the East	
31	安东大将军	120	–	Supreme Commander, Pacifier of the East	
32	建威将军	120	–	General, Establisher of Prestige	4
33	平南将军	120	–	General, Restorer of Order to the South	
34	龙骧将军	120	–	Prancing Dragon General	
35	广武将军	120	–	Extender of Warfare General	
36	冠军将军	120	–	Champion General	
37	司徒	120	–	minister of the interior	1
38	司空	120	–	minister of works	1
39	车骑将军	120	–	General of Chariots and Cavalry	2
40	骠骑将军	120	– / General of Cavalry	Flying Cavalry General	2
41	牙将	120	–	Garrison Commander	5
42	前将军	120	–	Forward Army General	
43	中书令	120	–	private secretary	
44	光禄勋	120	–	the director of the Palace officials	
45	中郎	120	–	palace courtiers	
46	辅国大将军	120	“Pillar of the State”	Commanding General Who Guides the Kingdom	2

In T1, only about half of these titles are translated and the rest are omitted in the translation (cf. Addendum F). Translation strategies Brewitt-Taylor used to translate these titles are varied and inconsistent. Sometimes he used transcription, for example: “校尉” was transcribed as “Hsio-yu”, but assimilation was used on other occasions to treat these items, such as “General of Cavalry” for “骠骑将军”.

All forty-six titles identified in the selected chapters were translated by Roberts in T2. The translation of these titles, all dealt with by assimilation, is consistent throughout. A minor problem is that capital letters were not used for a few fixed titles, such as “minister of the interior” and “minister of works”. These might be printing errors since the text is too extensive to be proofread perfectly.

5.2.2.8.8 Poetry

Poetry plays an important part in *Sanguo yanyi*. Poems are incorporated into the novel from time to time to achieve various effects, such as making comments on an event, singing praise for a heroic deed, or expressing feelings towards a character's death. All the poems in the novel belong to the category “regulated poetry” (律诗), written in a popular style which matured and flourished in the Tang Dynasty (618–906). The characteristics of this “regulated poetry” include a fixed number of characters in each line (mostly five or seven), rhyming mostly on the sounds of the last character in every other line, words of similar parts of speech echoing each other, etc.

Due to the big difference between Chinese and English, in terms of the format, translating poetry is a difficult task, if at all possible. In an interview with the *Sichuan Daily*, a Chinese provincial-level newspaper, Roberts mentioned that the most difficult task he faced when he translated the novel was translating the poetry into readable and smooth English.

In the ST, there is a well-known *ci* poem¹¹⁴ at the beginning of the first chapter of the novel. This *ci* was added by Mao Zonggang when he edited the novel. No translation of this *ci* is found in Brewitt-Taylor's translation, though he had translated almost all of the other poems. Roberts has translated this *ci* (cf. Addendum G).

There are two pieces of rhymed songs in the selected chapters. In T1, each of the songs is translated freely into a narrative. In T2, they are rendered literally and the translator made an attempt to have the songs rhymed as well (cf. Examples 5.28 and 5.29).

Example 5.28

(Chapter 1)

ST: 苍天已死,
黄天当立;
岁在甲子,
天下大吉。

¹¹⁴ Ci is a kind of lyric Chinese poetry, which was originally written to be sung to a tune of set patterns and set rhythm and tempo.

- T1: They talked wildly of the death of the blue heavens and the setting up of the yellow;
they said a new cycle was beginning and would bring universal good fortune.
- T2: The pale sky is on the wane,
Next, a yellow one shall reign;
The calendar's rotation
Spells fortune for the nation.

In terms of the rhyme scheme, the ST is AABB, and T2 is also AABB. It is understandable that a different number of words in each line is used in the TT for the same number of words in the ST.

Example 5.29

(Chapter 120)

ST: 宁饮建业水，
不食武昌鱼；
宁还建业死，
不止武昌居！

T1: the gist of which is that it is better to drink the water of Chienyeh than eat the fish of Wuch'ang, better to die in Chienyeh than to live in Wuch'ang.

T2: "Better Jianye water than Wuchang fish to eat /
Better dead in Jianye than alive in Wuchang seat."

In T2, Roberts used two lines to translate the four lines in the ST. The rhyme scheme in the ST is ABCB, and AA in T2. The song in T2 in Example 5.29 is in quotation marks and a slash "/" is used as a division mark. These punctuation marks do not occur in the ST.

All six poems in Chapters 60 and 120 are translated in both TTs (cf. Addendum G). Generally speaking, T2 follows the ST more closely than T1, at least in terms of the number of lines. In T1, some lines in the ST are expanded. The two poems in Examples 5.30 and 5.31 have four lines each in the ST and the same number of lines appear in T2, but Brewitt-Taylor rendered them into an eight-line poem and six-line poem respectively.

Example 5.30

(Chapter 60)

ST: 倒挂城门捧谏章，
 拚将一死报刘璋。
 黄权折齿终降备，
 矢节何如王累刚！

T1: Head downwards at the city gate one hung,
 A last remonstrance in his outstretched hand,
 Resolved that, were his words rejected, he
 Would not survive defeat. Sincere was he
 Who, desperate, held to Liu Chang's silken robe
 Until his broken teeth released their grip.
 Sincere indeed, but how can he compare
 With stern Wang Lei, who went to awful death?

T2: Suspended from the city gate, the protest note in hand,
 So he chose to die in the service of Liu Zhang.
 Huang Quan, with his broken teeth, gave in at the end;
 Wang Lei alone exemplifies fidelity unstained.

The rhyme scheme in this poem is AABA in the ST. T1 is not rhymed and in T2 the rhyme scheme is ABAA. In terms of the content, the ST is intended to praise Wang Lei for his absolute loyalty to his lord Liu Zhang. Another minister, Huang Quan, is also mentioned. He was loyal and determined at first too, but when Liu Zhang refused to listen to him, he eventually betrayed his lord. Huang Quan is mentioned in the poem only in contrast to Wang Lei, who continued to be loyal to his lord and country until his death. T1 does not mention Huang Quan's name, which might cause confusion to the readers. However, T1 seems to be more successful in depicting the determination of Wang Lei by using such descriptive words as “last”, “resolved”, “desperate” and “sincere”. T2, though neat and rhymed, does not seem vivid enough.

Example 5.31

(Chapter 120)

ST: 晓日登临感晋臣，
 古碑零落岷山春。
 松间残露频频滴，
 疑是当年堕泪人。

T1: I saw the fragments of a shattered stone

One spring time on the hillside when, alone,
I walked to greet the sun. The pines distilled
Big drops of dew unceasing; sadness filled
My heart, I knew this was the Stone of Tear,
The stone of memory sad of long-past years.

T2: A morning climb – the temple – Yang Hu’s moving tale
On old stone shards, one spring in Xian hills,
The constant fall of dewdrops through the pines-
Are they the tears of those who mourned him then?

The two translations in this example (5.31) again reflect their distinctive features. T1 is more free and vivid, while T2 is closer to the ST both in form and content. However, this time, T1 rhymes.

5.2.2.9 Findings of the two TTs on macro-level comparison

From the comparisons on the macro-level structures of the two translations made above, a number of distinctive features are observed in T1:

- Attempts to be free from the ST structures, focusing more on the naturalness of expression in the TT;
- Proper names are omitted heavily to facilitate smooth reading; and
- Various words are used for the same concept in the ST to avoid dullness and repetition.

The features found in T2 are:

- Attempts to keep close to the ST in both form and content;
- Terms used in the TT are generally consistent throughout; and
- Reads more like a historical book than a novel.

5.2.3 Micro-level comparisons

In this section, micro-level structures of the two translations will be compared with the ST. The micro-level structure of a text refers to the levels of individual words, clauses and sentences. The aspects to be compared and analyzed include grammatical patterns, vocabulary, modality, particular language varieties, and micro-level shifts, mistranslations or errors. The findings of the analysis will reflect decisions and strategies in the microstructure used by the translators.

5.2.3.1 Grammatical patterns

The ST is written in formal Chinese. The language used is partly archaic and partly vernacular. The text is easy to understand for native Chinese readers in modern times, but it is not very colloquial. There are a number of modified or simplified versions of the novel in circulation, aimed at helping school children enjoy the story. Neither of the two translations in question was based on any of these modified versions, since both the translators had the ability to read the original text.

Both translators are native speakers of English and the language used in their translations, generally speaking, is natural and idiomatic. In regard to grammatical patterns, no obvious trend or habit found specific to the individual translator was observed. Both translators used long and short sentences, clauses and phrases, active and passive voice. A brief corpus study was done to investigate the differences and similarities between the two translations by counting the frequency of conjunctions in the selected chapters. The software used was TextSTAT.

Table 5.17 Number of conjunctions in the selected TT chapters

Conjunction words	Frequency in T1	Frequency in T2
and	475	620
but	53	69
however	8	8
if	14	44
or	17	17
so that	3	6
therefore	0	2
when	36	33
why	8	16
yet	3	7

From Table 5.17, it can be deduced that T2 appears to contain more long sentences than T1. The conjunctions “and”, “but”, “if”, “why” and “yet” occur far more frequently than in T2. “When” is the only conjunction used more times in T1 than in T2.

Structurally speaking, Chinese and English are very different. Modern English is closer to vernacular Chinese than to archaic Chinese, which is much briefer in form. The ST is in half-vernacular and half-archaic Chinese, as mentioned above, and it is almost impossible to translate the ST sentences into modern English using a strict word-for-word method.

Example 5.32

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 那人不甚好读书；性宽和，寡言语，喜怒不形于色；素有大志，专好结交天下豪杰；生得身长七尺五寸，两耳垂肩，双手过膝，目能自顾其耳，面如冠玉，唇若涂脂；中山靖王刘胜之后，汉景帝阁下玄孙，姓刘名备，字玄德。

(Word-for-word translation: That man did not like studying; by nature gentle, with few words, not showing feelings; ambitious, fond of making friends with heroes; seven feet and five inches tall, two ear lobes touching shoulders, both hands could reach down below knees, eyes could see his ears, complexion was as clear as jade, lips was red as if they were creamed; Prince Liu Sheng’s descendant and grandson of the Emperor Jing, surnamed Liu and named Bei, styled Xuande.)

T1: This man was no mere bookish scholar nor found **he** any pleasure in study. But **he** was liberal and amiable, albeit a man of few words, hiding all feeling under a calm exterior. **He** had always cherished a yearning for high emprise and had cultivated the friendship of men of mark. **He** was tall of stature. **His** ears were long, the lobes touching **his** shoulders, and **his** hands hung down below **his** knees. **His** eyes were very prominent, so that **he** could see backward past **his** ears. **His** complexion was clear as jade and **he** had rich red lips. **He** was a descendant of a Prince whose father was the grandson of the Emperor Ching, (the occupant of the dragon throne a century and a half B.C.) **His** name was Liu Pei, or more commonly Liu Yuan-te.

T2: This man, though no scholar, was gentle and generous by nature, taciturn and reserved. **His** one ambition was to cultivate the friendship of the boldest spirits of the empire. **He** stood seven and a half spans tall, with arms that reached below **his** knees. **His** ear lobes were elongated, **his** eyes widely set and able to see **his** own ears. **His** face was flawless as jade, and **his** lips like dabs of rouge. This man was a

descendant of Liu Sheng, Prince Jing of Zhongshan, a great-great-grandson of the fourth Han emperor, Jing. **His** name was Liu Bei; **his** style, Xuande.

As one of the two “translational laws”, Toury argues that translated text tends to be more standardized (cf. 4.2.3.2). Example 5.32 illustrates this tendency. Only one third person pronoun can be found in the ST. This is typical of ancient Chinese in which very few pronouns were used (cf. the word-for-word translation for the structure and style of the ST). But in both translations, a number of third person pronouns were added to make the TT more grammatical and idiomatic. In T1, “he” occurs seven times and “his” eight times, while in T2 “he” appears once and “his” nine times. If the translations had as few third person pronouns as the ST, they would seem too foreign or too ungrammatical since they would have no cohesive markers.

5.2.3.2 Vocabulary

From time to time, for the same concept, different words are used in the two TTs. In Table 5.18, the translation from an authoritative Chinese-English dictionary is also provided as a reference. This section will investigate what caused the translator to use different words for the same concept.

Table 5.18 Different words in the translations for the same concepts in the ST

Ch.	ST	T1	T2	CED ¹¹⁵
1	豪杰	a. men of mark b. worthy men	a. heroes b. bold spirits c. men of bold spirit	a. hero; b. person of exceptional ability
1	榜文	a. notice b. notice	a. call b. notice	a. proclamation b. notice
60	使	a. emissary	a. envoy	a. emissary b. envoy c. messenger
60	州	a. province b. department c. city d. district e. territory	a. territory b. region c. province d. piece of the realm e. department	a. an administrative division in former times
60	仁	a. generous and well	a. benevolent	a. benevolence,

¹¹⁵Entries from *A Chinese-English Dictionary*. Wei (2007).

		disposed b. humane c. kindly, noble	b. humane and benevolent	kind-heartedness, humanity
60	慈	–	a. kind	a. kind b. loving
60	宽	a. liberal-minded b. liberal	a. magnanimous b. magnanimity	a. generous, lenient
60	厚	–	a. liberal	a. kind b. magnanimous
60	拒	a. against b. fend off c. withstand	a. struggle against b. stop c. block d. defend e. guard against	a. resist b. repel
60	谏	a. remonstrate b. venture to argue	a. protest b. remonstrate c. in remonstrance	a. remonstrate b. admonish
60	仁义	a. virtues b. noble character c. righteousness d. kindly and noble	a. humanity and justice b. humanity and sense of honour c. humane and honourable	a. benevolence and unrighteousness
60	勇	a. bold	a. brave	a. brave b. valiant c. courageous
60	义	a. righteousness	a. honour b. honourable	a. justice b. righteousness c. humanities
60	斩	a. slaughter b. slay c. behead d. put to death	a. slay b. cut down c. execute d. put to death	a. slay b. behead c. decapitate
120	哨马	a. spies b. scouts	a. scouts b. scouts	–
60/ 120	臣	a. servant b. minister c. officers d. courtier	a. vassal b. official c. liege men d. attendant	a. subject b. minister
120	索	a. links	a. chains	–
120	锥	a. hammers	a. stakes	a. awls
120	表	a. memorial	a. bulletin	a. memorial
120	县	a. department	a. county	a. county

The words listed above in the ST include nouns, verbs and adjectives. Their English translations reflect that when the translators translated nouns with concrete meanings, they

tended to choose one “equivalent” word in English and kept using it throughout. Of course, the two translators may have chosen different words for the same thing.

When they translated nouns with abstract meanings and verbs, however, the translators tended to use different synonyms in different contexts. The reason is that the word itself in the ST has either multiple semantic meanings or different interpretations.

5.2.3.3 Mistranslations or errors

Table 5.19 Mistranslations in the two TTs

Ch.	ST	T1	T2	Suggested correct translation
1	禁锢	pay no heed to (incorrect)	drive from office and persecute (partially correct)	
1	青蛇	black snake (incorrect)	green snake (correct)	
1	蜨墮	showers of insects (incorrect)	the secondary rainbow (correct)	
1	妇寺干政	feminine interference in State Affairs (incomplete)	interference in government by empresses and eunuchs (complete)	
1	乃江夏竟陵人氏，汉鲁恭王之后也	a scion of the Imperial House through a certain Lu, Prince Kung of Chingling (incorrect)	a native of Jingling country in Jiangxia and a descendant of Prince Gong of Lu of the imperial clan (correct)	
1	玄德就邀他同坐，叩其姓名。	Presently Yuan-te crossed over, sat down beside him and asked his name. (incorrect)	Xuande invited him to share their table and asked who he was. (correct)	
1	祭礼	wine for libation (incorrect)	other offerings (correct)	
1	金鼓	drums, money (incorrect)	gongs, drums (correct)	
60	纵横三万余里	the area thirty thousand square <i>li</i> (correct)	its area exceeds thirty thousand <i>li</i> (incorrect)	

60	华容逢关羽	when Hua Yung encountered Kuan Yu (incorrect)	(when you met) Lord Guan at Huarong Pass (correct)	
60	是日天晚	next day at evening (incorrect)	by nightfall (on the same day) (correct)	
60	顿首	with bowed head (incorrect)	touching his head to the ground (correct)	
60	叩首	bowed his head (incorrect)	stuck his head to the ground/floor (correct)	
120	次年	the very first year (incorrect)	the following year (correct)	
120	溯流供给	refused tribute (incorrect)	exact excessive tribute (incorrect)	ship tribute against the current of the river
120	省百役	reduce the number of officers (incorrect)	reduce the people's burden of military service and corvette labor (correct)	
120	晋主司马炎	the King of Wei (incorrect)	ruler of Jin, Sima Yan (correct)	
120	不过十余人	about a score (incorrect)	never exceeded ten men (correct)	
120	羊叔子	old Uncle Yang (incorrect)	Yang Hu (correct)	
120	吴人有降而欲去者，皆听之。	Any of the men of Wu who desired to desert to the other side were allowed to come over. (incorrect)	He had permitted all Southlanders who had surrendered but desired to leave to do so. (correct)	
120	祜曰：“拜官公朝，谢恩私门，臣所不取也。”	The dying man answered, “I bowed before the officials in open court, I besought the kindness of the private attendants, but all in vain.” (incorrect)	Yang Hu said, “To recommend someone in open court so that later he could show his gratitude to me privately was something I chose to avoid.” (correct)	
120	围棋	game of <i>wei-ch'i</i> (correct)	chess (incorrect)	
120	沈莹	Shen Jung (incorrect)	Shen Rong (incorrect)	Shen Ying
120	佳酿	on ceremonial occasions (incorrect)	the wine is finely brewed (correct)	
120	诸葛靚	Chuko Ching (correct)	Zhuge Xing (incorrect)	

120	下江	went down stream (incorrect)	move sailors downstream (incorrect)	downstream
120	自缚	his face covered (incorrect)	his hands tied behind him (correct)	
120	张燕	Chang Miao (incorrect)	Zhang Yan (correct)	
120	张绣	Han Hsiu (incorrect)	Zhang Xiu (correct)	

The errors or mistranslations in the table are judged by comparing the translations with the ST. There are many more errors in T1 than in T2. Most of the errors are caused by the translators' failure to understand the meaning of the ST correctly. Some mistranslations of proper names are due to the translators not knowing the correct pronunciations of these names. These mistranslations are defined as "negative shifts" – as incorrect translational solutions caused by a misunderstanding on the part of the translator (Popovič, in Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 152). For T1, these errors are not serious enough to affect the flow of the story-line, and a fluent story-line was the main intention of the translator. But the errors in T2, though fewer, should be considered as negative since the translation was intended to convey the Chinese history and culture correctly.

5.2.3.4 Register

Register is a "variety of a language or a level of usage, as determined by degree of formality and choice of vocabulary, pronunciation, and syntax, according to the communicative purpose, social context, and social status of the user" (*OED* 2005). In a successful novel in its original form, the use of language in a dialogue should properly depict the identity and personality of the speaker in order to achieve the effect of vividness. These register-related issues in a translation are sometimes dealt with in a different way, since the readers of the ST are expected to be equipped with entirely different background knowledge.

Example 5.33

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 角拜问姓名。老人曰：“吾乃南华老仙也。”言讫，化阵清风而去。

T1: With a humble obeisance Chang took the book and asked the name of his benefactor. "I am the Hsien of the Southern Land of Glory," was the reply, as the old gentleman disappeared in thin air.

T2: Zhang Jue asked the old man's name, and he replied, "The old Hermit from Mount Hua Summit --- **Zhuang Zi, the Taoist sage.**" Then he changed into a puff of pure breeze and was gone.

In Example 5.33, the true identity of the old hermit, "Zhuang Zi, the Taoist sage", was added in T2, intending to provide the background knowledge for the target reader. However, it is in direct speech, and it is not proper for the speaker to speak out his own name. Zhuang Zi's original name is Zhuang Zhou, which he could have used to refer to himself. Zhuang Zi is used only by others to show respect to this Taoist sage. The sage would not openly show respect to himself when he uses self-introduction. Thus the register in the translation is not appropriate if judged by the standard of a good novel.

In T1, the meaning of "仙" was not translated. Only the sound ("Hsien") was transcribed. The reader will not be able to fully understand this concept, except if some notes are provided to explain what a "Hsien" is. This translation is thus not successful either. For T1, the suggested translation of "Hsien" should have been "immortal". For T2, a better way would have been to explain the identity of the hermit in a note.

Example 5.34

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 靖曰：“贼兵众，我兵寡，明公宜作速招军应敌。”

T1: Said Tsou, "They are many but we few; **you** must enlist more men to oppose them."

T2: "They are many," said Jing, "and we are few. The best course, **Your Lordship**, is to recruit an army quickly to deal with the enemy."

In Example 5.34, the subordinate Zou Jing is addressing his senior officer, making suggestions. The etiquette used in the ST should be adhered to by using "Your Lordship" as in T2 instead of "you" as in T1, which is too casual in this case.

Example 5.35

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 关公曰：“卢中郎已被逮，别人领兵，我等去无所依，不如且回涿郡。”玄德从其言，遂引军北行。

T1: It was useless to continue on that road so Kuan Yu proposed to go back and they retook the road.

T2: “With **Lu Zhi** arrested and replaced,” said Lord Guan, “we have nowhere to go but back to Zhuo district.” Xuande agreed and began marching north.

In traditional Chinese culture, it is a serious offence to mention directly the name of someone who is senior in age or rank. In Example 5.35, Lu Zhi is the former teacher and current leader of Liu Bei, Guan Yu’s sworn brother. In the ST, Guan Yu mentions Lu Zhi’s surname plus his official title, which reveals Guan Yu’s respect for his brother’s teacher and this is regarded as proper etiquette. In T2, Lu’s full name was translated in Guan Yu’s speech, which is considered offensive and inappropriate. There is no reason why Guan Yu would want to be rude to his brother’s teacher. In T1, the direct speech is changed into a narrative and both Lu’s name and title are omitted.

Example 5.36

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 松大笑曰：“此书吾蜀中三尺小童，亦能暗诵，何为‘新书’？此是战国时无名氏所作，**曹丞相**盗窃以为己能，止好瞒足下耳！”

T1: “This book! Every child in Shu knows this by heart. What do you mean by calling it a new book? It was written by some obscure person of the time of the Warring States (Chou Dynasty, about 320 B.C.) and **Ts’ao Ts’ao** has plagiarized it. But he has deceived no one but you, Sir.”

T2: Zhang Song laughed as he replied, “What? The children in our land of Shu know this sort of stuff by heart! Why call it new? It was written in the Warring States era by an unknown hand and has not been plagiarized by **Prime Minister Cao**. He seems to have put one over you, at any rate.”

In Example 5.36, the register in T1 is inappropriate. Even if he is scolding Cao Cao, it is impossible for Zhang Song to pronounce Cao’s name directly in front of Cao’s official. In T2 the situation is handled appropriately by referring to “Prime Minister Cao”.

Example 5.37

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: “...**大帝**时，后宫女不满百；**景帝**以来，乃有千数：此耗财之甚者也。...”

- T1: “**In former times** the palace women numbered less than a hundred; **for years past** they have exceeded a thousand. This is an extravagant waste of treasure.”
- T2: The harem of less than one hundred imperial concubines at the time of **the Great Emperor, Sun Quan**, has grown to more than a thousand since the time of **Emperor Jing, Sun Xiu** – an unconscionable waste of resources.

In Example 5.37, the ST is part of a petition by a minister to the King of Wu. When the period of time is mentioned, T1 is not faithful enough in only giving a rough estimate of time (“in former times”; “for years”). This type of shift is defined as generalization by Van Leuven-Zwart. Generalization is a “type of modulation in which the dissimilarity between ST and TT transemes is characterized by a shift toward greater generality in the TT” (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 66).

In T2, the register is affected by adding the names of the emperor. In ancient China, it was one of the most serious offences to mention the King’s name either in speech or in a petition. The intention of the translator is obvious – to clarify the confusion for the reader. This is appropriate in terms of providing background information for the target reader, but not appropriate for translating a historical novel. In Toury’s terms, this is not adequate if the ST is taken into account but this is acceptable in the TT, which may have a completely different readership. Thus, both translations here would be considered acceptable and successful if their intended readers were general English-speaking people who were not serious learners of Chinese history and culture, such as the readers of T1. But, for those serious readers, neither of the translations here is successful since they are not loyal enough to either the ST or the intention of the ST author.

5.2.3.5 Interpretation and/or overtranslation

Sometimes translators add something in a TT that is not found in the ST. This can be regarded as a translator’s personal interpretation of the ST, which leads to the phenomenon of overtranslation.

Example 5.38

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 玄德见他形貌异常，问其姓名。

T1: **At once** Yuan-te saw he was not ordinary man and asked who he was.

T2: Half in fear, half in admiration, Xuande asked his name.

In Example 5.38, both T1 and T2 show some alterations. In T1 “at once” was added, which is not found in the ST. In T2, “half in fear, half in admiration” is the translator’s personal interpretation of Xuande’s feelings when he saw Zhang Fei. The sentence in the ST simply means “When he saw Zhang Fei’s external appearance was not ordinary, Xuande asked who he was.”

Example 5.39

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 操曰：“来日我于西教场点军，汝可先引他来，使见我军容之盛，教他回去传说：吾即日下了江南，便来收川。”

T1: **Ts’ao Ts’ao grudgingly consented, saying**, “I am reviewing troops tomorrow on the western parade-ground. You may bring him there and let him see what my army looks like. He will be able to talk about it when he goes home. When I have dealt with the south I shall take the west in hand.”

T2: “Tomorrow I’ll be reviewing the troops in the west field,” **Cao Cao replied**. “Bring him over before it starts. I want him to witness the abundance of our power and let the Westerners know that the day after we conquer the south, we will be coming for the Riverlands.”

In Example 5.39, the ST expression “操曰” simply means “Cao said” or “Cao replied”, but Brewitt-Taylor added “grudgingly consented” to describe Cao’s personal feelings, which is not found in the ST. It is customary in traditional Chinese novels for personal feelings to be reflected or revealed through the words of the characters, not through the author’s description.

Example 5.40

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 操大怒曰：“竖儒怎敢揭吾短处！”

T1: It made Ts’ao Ts’ao very angry **to be thus twitted with his misfortunes** and he said. “you stuck-up pedant! How dare you thus bring up all my failures?”

T2: Cao Cao **was inflamed**. “What petty pedant dares hold up my failures before my face?”

In Example 5.40, “to be thus twitted with his misfortunes” is added in T1. The translator intended to explicate the cause of Cao’s anger. Actually, this is not necessary since the character’s anger is already included in the speech.

Example 5.41

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 松归馆舍，连夜出城，收拾回川。松自思曰：“吾本欲献西川州郡与曹操，谁想如此慢人！”

T1: He returned to his lodging and left the city that night, **reflecting upon what he had intended and what he had accomplished**. Thought he, “I did not expect such arrogance when I came with the intension of giving him a province.”

T2: At his lodgings Zhang Song was preparing to return directly to the Riverlands when something occurred to him: “I was trying to offer the territory to Cao Cao. I never expected to find him so insolent.”

In Example 5.41, alteration is also found in T1. Again the translator added “reflecting upon what he had intended and what he had accomplished”, which is a description of how Zhang Song reflects on his mission. Here Zhang Song’s own reflection is treated as direct speech in the ST.

Example 5.42

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 次日早膳毕，上马行不到三五里，只见一簇人马到。乃是玄德引着伏龙、凤雏，亲自来接。

T1: Next morning, after the early meal, they mounted and continued their journey. Very soon they met Yuan-te himself, with an escort, and his chief advisers, **deferentially standing by the roadside**.

T2: The next day after breakfast Zhao and Zhang rode a little way and then encounter Xuande himself, accompanied by Sleeping Dragon and Young Phoenix.

The alteration in T1 in Example 5.41 is purely the translator’s own addition, which does not actually reflect the ST. To give a warm welcome to a guest does not mean one has to stand by the roadside. Furthermore, Xuande holds a senior position, and the fact that he would

personally come with his most important advisers to receive Zhang Song is already polite enough. This shift from the ST indicates that the translator wanted to stress the courtesy and politeness that Xuande intends to show Zhang Song so that he will be willing to provide crucial support later on.

Example 5.43

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 孔明答曰：“荆州乃暂借东吴的，每每使人取讨。今我主因是东吴女婿，故权且在此安身。”

T1: **K'ung-ming replied**, “Chingchou is only ours temporarily; we have borrowed it from Wu. They are always sending messengers to demand its return....”

T2: “Jingzhou is only on loan to us from the Southland,” **Kongming replied with a smile**, “and they are always sending somebody to reclaim it.”

There is an alteration in T2 in the example above. In the ST, Kongming “replied”. Whether he smiled or not is not mentioned, although it is not unlikely that he smiled if considering the context.

Example 5.44

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 于是皓令镇东将军陆抗部兵屯江口，以图襄阳。

T1: And the king ordered Lu K'ang, “Guardian of the East,” to camp his army at Chiangk'ou in order to attack Hsiangyang.

T2: Sun hao ordered General Lu Kang, Queller of the East, to station forces at Jiangkou, **the main crossing point of the river**, with the objective of seizing Xiangyang.

Another addition in T2 is identified in the example above. Additional information was provided by the translator to emphasize the strategic importance of Jiangkou. This information is only implied, but not stated clearly in the ST.

5.2.3.6 Brief summary of the section

From the analysis of examples in this section, it can be concluded that both translators kept the target reader in mind throughout. They made alterations based on both their personal interpretations of the ST and their consideration of the TT readers' ability to understand the TT. In considering the TT readers, both translators kept the respective purposes of their translations in mind. Brewitt-Taylor's consideration was namely for general readers of English, while Roberts's was for a more specific group of readers, who are expected to effectively utilize the ST.

5.2.4 Systemic context

Toury proposes a three-phase model for systematic DTS to describe the translation product and other relevant factors. These three phases, as summarized by Munday (2001: 112, 121), are as follows:

1. Place the translated text within the target culture system, looking at its significance or acceptability, i.e., whether the TT is accepted as translation in the TT cultural system;
2. Compare and "map" the ST segments and the TT equivalents, trying to identify the shifts and generalize the underlying concept of translation; and
3. Attempt to draw some implications or generalizations regarding the decision-making on translation strategies and the norms¹¹⁶ at work.

In this section, Toury's three-phase model will be applied based on the description and analysis conducted in the previous sections.

5.2.4.1 Toury's three-phase model to describing the translations under study

1. Both Brewitt-Taylor's translation and Roberts's translation are accepted as translations in the target-culture system, the English-speaking world. On the front covers and the copyright pages, the names of both translators and the names of the author to whom the ST is attributed, are published. A detailed description of this information is provided in 5.2.1. Both TTs are direct translations from Chinese. The ST has been a popular Chinese

¹¹⁶ The translational norms suggested by Toury and Chesterman are discussed in 4.2.3.1.

novel for hundreds of years. The comments and reviews on the two translations were discussed in 3.4.1.1 and 3.4.2.1. Most of these reviews appear to be positive and therefore it can be deduced that both translations are generally accepted as successful translations in the target culture.

2. From the comparisons made in the previous sections, it can be inferred that T2 follows the ST more closely than T1. More shifts or alterations from the ST are found in T1. The underlying motivation behind T1 appears to be retelling the novel in the form of a story, omitting the parts which were regarded (by the translator) as incomprehensible to the TT readers. The motivation behind T2 seems to be producing a scholarly work, providing as much background information as possible in addition to the complete translation of the ST.

The third phase will be discussed in the following section.

5.2.4.2 Norms governing the translations

Firstly, a few comments will be made on the polysystem theory. Though it is popular fiction, *Sanguo yanyi* was already regarded as a classic in China when the two translations were conducted. According to the polysystem theory, translated literature usually occupies a peripheral position in the receiving culture, which is true in the case of the English translations of the novel. In some Asian countries, especially Korea, Japan and Vietnam, the translations of the novel seem to hold a much more important position, due to the closeness of the Chinese culture to the cultures in these countries.

In the English-speaking world, the translations of *Sanguo yanyi* have been mentioned mostly in books or articles which specifically introduce or discuss foreign literature. For example, as one of the six influential Chinese classical novels, both Brewitt-Taylor's and Roberts's translations of *Sanguo yanyi* were listed in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* (France 2000: 235). And almost all books on the history of Chinese literature discuss the novel for the same reason. However, the focus of these articles or book chapters mentioned above is the novel itself (in English) instead of its translations. Since their publication, neither of the two translations has been reviewed in significant newspapers in the UK and the USA. Therefore, despite the promotional comments printed as paratexts on the book covers (cf. the discussions of the book reviews in 3.4.1.1 and 3.4.2.1) it can be deduced

that in the English-speaking world, both translations still appear to hold a peripheral position in the polysystem, since most of these reviews are found on websites of bookselling companies such as Amazon and Goodreads, etc.

From the analysis in the previous sections, we can deduce that T1, as a whole, is a more domesticated translation, while T2 tends to be a more foreignized one. There are fewer footnotes in T1 than in T2, the translator is much more visible in T2. Taking the ST as yardstick, more changes were made in T1 than in T2. These alterations – omissions, additions or other shifts – were made in order to let the story flow more smoothly so that the reader can read the translation more easily. T2 generally follows the ST closely and additional background information is usually given in the form of a footnote to enable the readers to either understand the text better or to further study certain aspects.

Toury (1995: 58–61, cf. 4.2.3.1) suggests three types of norms – the initial norms, preliminary norms and operational norms. Initial norms govern the choice made by the translator, consciously or unconsciously, to adhere primarily to the ST, which determines the translation's *adequacy*, or to the target culture, which determines the translation's *acceptability*. Brewitt-Taylor seems to have placed more emphasis on the *acceptability* of his translation in the target culture, while Roberts's translation would be regarded as *adequate*. Toury's concepts of acceptability and adequacy are similar to Venuti's domestication and foreignization.

Preliminary norms concern aspects such as the choice of the SL text to translate and TL into which the translation is done. In terms of preliminary norms, there does not seem to be much difference between the two translations under study. Both translations were based on the text in its original language and both translators translated into their native language, English. No other languages, such as a mediating SL (cf. 3.6.1), were involved. Preliminary norms are also involved in decisions regarding whether the entire ST is translated or parts of it left out. In this case, both TTs are considered complete translations of the ST, although T1 omits parts of the ST from time to time on a micro-structural level.

Operational norms include two subtypes – matricial norms and textual-linguistic norms. Matricial norms concern aspects similar to those focused on in a macro-structural analysis of the translations, and textual-linguistic norms regard looking at translations on a micro-structural level. Both of these aspects have been analyzed in the previous sections. The

analyses show, as a whole, that T1 is a more domesticated or acceptable translation, while T2 is more foreignized or adequate. However, when sentence-level units are examined, the situation becomes more complex. It was found that domestication and foreignization occur in both translations.

Chesterman (1997: 63–70, cf. 4.2.3.1) suggests distinguishing two types of norms – expectancy norms and professional norms. The former are established by the readers. Literary translations belong to “overt” translations. The target readers of these translations should expect something unnatural or foreign. From the reviews of both translations (cf. 3.4.1.1 and 3.4.2.1), it can be deduced that both are readable and adhere to the expectations of general readers. Of course, it is understandable that some higher requirements from the readers were not achieved by the translators. There seems to be more criticism of Brewitt-Taylor’s translation than of Roberts’s.

Professional norms can be sub-divided into three types: accountability norms, communication norms and relation norms. Accountability norms concern ethics and show the translator’s appropriate loyalty to all relevant parties concerning the translation. In the case of the two translations in question, the translator of T2 seems to have kept these type of norms in mind most of the time. The translator of T1 seems to have focused only on a few parties, such as the prospective readership and perhaps the commissioner of the translation. Communication norms by both translators seem to have been adhered to quite well – both played (and Roberts still plays) an important role as successful translators in their own time: Brewitt-Taylor in the 1920s and Roberts in the 1990s. As for the relation norms, it is more complicated to judge the two translators. Since both translations have been relatively successful and well received among the target readership, it seems that both translators kept the prospective readership in mind during the process of translation. Correspondingly, “similarity” is maintained between the ST and the TT, although different degrees of such “similarity” are observed in different sections in both translations. The purpose of the translation will be discussed more specifically in the next chapter.

5.3 Conclusion

A number of examples from the selected chapters of the two TTs were compared here and analysed mainly from the perspective of the approaches and strategies adopted by the two translators. The comparison started with the general features of the two translations such as the cover designs, title pages and paratexts, to determine the specific intentions behind the two publications. This textual comparison was conducted from two broad aspects – macro-level structures and micro-level structures. The last section is an attempt to determine the norms or even the laws that govern the translation procedure on the basis of the analysis in the previous sections.

Chapter 6: A functionalist study of the two English translations of *Sanguo yanyi*

When the question of the superiority of one translation over another is raised, the answer should be looked for in the answer to another question, ‘Best for whom?’ The relative adequacy of different translations of the same text can only be determined in terms of the extent to which each translation successfully fulfils the purpose for which it was intended.

Nida, as quoted in Nord (1997a: 5)

Gentzler (2001: 71) praises the contribution of functionalist translation theory to TS by declaring that the emergence of the theory has broken the “two-thousand-year-old chain of (translation) theory revolving around the faithful vs. free axis”.

In the previous chapter, three selected chapters of the two translations of *Sanguo yanyi* were compared and described, with no comments made on which TT as a whole is better or which aspect(s) of each translation is considered to be better. This chapter attempts to evaluate the two translations from the functionalist perspective, which was discussed in 4.4. The main criterion in the assessment will be whether the translation achieves functional adequacy in the TL situation.

6.1 Overview of research conducted in China on the two translations from the functionalist point of view

Since functionalist approaches are largely motivated by the needs of both practical translation activities and translator training, its suitability to analyzing literary translations has been questioned. Nord devotes a chapter (entitled “Functionalism in Literary Translation”) in her book *Translating as a purposeful activity* to this issue. A number of case studies, such as Ammann’s 1990 model of translation critique, have provided support that functionalist approaches can also be applied to literary texts (Snell-Hornby 2006: 64).

From 1987 to 2006, over one hundred papers discussing the functionalist approaches in TS were published in China (Yang 2009: 21). More research has been done to apply the functionalist approach to technical and commercial translations such as advertisements,

trademarks and labels, tourist guides, news briefs, movie names and subtitles (ibid.: 24–26). In terms of literary translation, the research mainly focuses on the application of skopos theory in analyses of translation methods and strategies (ibid.: 23).

In recent years, a few articles that utilize functionalist approaches to analyze the translation(s) of *Sanguo yanyi* have been published in Chinese language journals. The following paragraphs will briefly discuss these papers.

Zhang Xiaohong (2007) wrote an article attempting to apply skopos theory to a discussion of the two translations. She argues that “faithfulness and expressiveness” are considered to be the fundamental criteria for translation evaluation. These two criteria, however, do not seem to be efficient when dealing with culture-specific elements in translation. In her article, the author introduces the idea of “translation purpose” from skopos theory and tries to demonstrate, through some selected examples from the two English translations of *Sanguo yanyi*, that taking “translation purpose” as a secondary criterion of translation (subordinate to “faithfulness” and “expressiveness”) will enable people to have a better understanding of the concepts “domestication” and “foreignization”.

Zhang suggests that the purpose of Brewitt-Taylor’s translation is to faithfully reproduce an English version of the novel, without too much consideration for the target receivers. Her judgment is based firstly on the fact that the translation lacks additional background information and secondly on a short sentence in the preface which states the translator just “attempts to add another (version) in English” of the novel (cf. Zhang 2007), which was also translated into Manchu, Japanese, Siamese, etc. Roberts’s purpose to translate the novel, according to Zhang, seems more complex – to enable the Western readers to understand China from the perspective of the Chinese themselves. Zhang’s judgment is based on a short paragraph in the translator’s afterword (cf. Zhang 2007):

The novel offers a startling and unsparing view of how power is wielded, how diplomacy is conducted, and how wars are planned and fought; and the novel has in turn influenced the ways the Chinese think about power, diplomacy, and war. *Three Kingdoms*, like all of China major novels, offers Western readers an understanding of China from the perspective of the Chinese themselves.

The last sentence, according to Zhang, suggests that the translation should be keeping as many Chinese elements as possible, while it should also be readable.

Zhang analyzes three in her article. One of the given examples is given below.

(Chapter 35)

ST: 玄德视其人 (水镜先生), 松形鹤骨, 器宇不凡。

Rv: Xuande remarked that he had the configuration of a pine tree, the bone structure of a crane.

Tv: Liu Bei saw before him a figure slender and straight as a pine tree, a very saint-like being.

In the example, “Rv” refers to Roberts’s version and “Tv” to Brewitt-Taylor’s version. Zhang (2007) argues that Roberts’s translation of this sentence fails to achieve its intended purpose because “crane” in Chinese is used positively, to compare a person who is graceful and saint-like, while in English it is regarded as an ugly bird. Brewitt-Taylor’s translation of this sentence is considered to be very successful.

Zhang (2007) suggests that more than one criterion for evaluating translations should be applied. She argues that the principal criteria to evaluate the quality of a translation should be based on the nature of translation, which is the transference of messages between two languages. Thus the two fundamental criteria should be “faithfulness” and “expressiveness”. However, it would be more objective and practical to include more criteria when evaluating practical translation activities. She suggests that the translational purpose (skopos) be included as an additional or subordinate criterion.

Functionalist approaches stress the purpose of translation, and the most decisive criterion for any translation is its purpose. “The textual make-up of the TT is determined by the purpose of the TT, and not exclusively or predominantly by the textual make-up of the ST” (Schäffner: 2001: 23). Zhang’s article places translational purpose into a subordinate position and this goes against functionalism’s fundamental concept of translation.

Lu Shumei’s (2008) article focuses only on Roberts’s translation of *Sanguo yanyi*. She argues that the following three factors, namely the purpose of the translation (skopos), the translating

principles and the target readership, are some of the crucial factors that shape the production of a translation.

She learned, from correspondence with Roberts, that the initial aim of the translation was to “make this work available to college students in a translation” (Lu 2008), since Roberts was a lecturer of Chinese literature at New York University at that time. Roberts provided extensive and detailed notes in order to, on the one hand, help those Western readers who are unfamiliar with Chinese history and culture, and, on the other hand, to encourage his students of Chinese literature to learn more about the work by reading and comparing Mao’s notes and comments. With this aim in mind, it is natural that Roberts attempted to keep as many elements of Chinese culture as possible in his translation. As stated in section 1.4, the secondary goal of this study is to determine which of the two translations (T1 or T2) better serve South African students of Chinese. The background information mentioned above seems to indicate that Roberts’s translation is the more suitable text for foreign students of Chinese – South African students included.

In terms of translation strategies, Roberts utilized far more foreignizing methods than domesticating methods since his translating principles or norms were “to get into the mental framework of the mid-Ming (audience for fiction) and also the late Han (audience for history), and to try to understand what the meaning of the Chinese words would be for their original audiences” (Lu 2008: 81).

Of the three factors mentioned by Lu, it seems translation purpose is the dominant one. The translation strategies and acceptance by the target readership apparently hold a subordinate position. The translator, therefore, plays the key role, which is also stressed by functionalist approaches.

Another paper comparing the two complete translations from the functionalist perspective is by Zhu Yupin (2008). Only three sections were found on the website.¹¹⁷ The examples that illustrate the author’s viewpoints are mainly taken from Chapters 43 to 50, which, according to Zhu, are the most exciting and important chapters of the novel.

¹¹⁷ <http://wss.mofcom.gov.cn/aarticle/a/d/200805/20080405481503.html?4265955973=1218399>.

The publication of a translation is usually initiated by the publisher and the translator. The publisher of Brewitt-Taylor's translation, Kelly & Walsh in Shanghai, mainly publishes textbooks for English-language teaching and learning, as well as relevant reference works. Their target market is mostly foreigners living in China, and every summer the company establishes agencies in some summer resorts in China, such as Lu Mountain and Beidaihe, where foreigners liked to spend their holidays. The publisher has a private, profit-earning nature. Thus the aim of its publication of Brewitt-Taylor's translation was to make money from those Westerners who were interested in reading Chinese literature.

The Foreign Languages Press in Beijing, the publisher of Roberts's translation, is a government-sponsored publisher. It focuses on publishing foreign-language translations of Chinese texts – government documents, works of communist leaders and Chinese literary classics. China opened its doors to the outside world in the early 1980s. The publication of Roberts's translation was to introduce the Chinese culture to the English-speaking world.

The aspects that Zhu compares include the translations of courtesy words, additions and modifications in the translations. By analyzing the examples, Zhu concludes that Brewitt-Taylor aimed to provide a more smooth and natural translation by omitting or changing some of the register in the original text (cf. Zhu 2008). Roberts, by aiming to introduce Chinese characteristics into his translation, tried to keep the original taste by fully rendering the intended politeness and the register. Most of the examples reflect the changes to the ST in Brewitt-Taylor's translation and the attempts to be "faithful" to the ST in Roberts's translation. These findings are against Zhang's argument (cf. above) that Brewitt-Taylor's purpose is to faithfully produce an English version without considering the target readers.

Below is one of the examples Zhu (2008) provides, of when Kongming speaks to Liu Bei who is his lord.

ST: 孔明曰：“连日不晤君颜，何期贵体不安！”

R¹¹⁸: “It is many days since we last met, my lord,” Kongming began. “But I never imagined that your precious health was failing.”

B¹¹⁹: “I have not seen you for days,” said he. “How could I guess that you were unwell?”

¹¹⁸ Roberts's translation.

¹¹⁹ Brewitt-Taylor's translation.

The tone should be polite when a minister speaks to his lord. In this example, Roberts's translation conveys the respect and politeness of the speech, but Brewitt-Taylor's translation appears too casual and direct (Zhu 2008).

Zhu's article attempts to prove from the examples that a translation's purpose determines the translator's strategies. This is stressed by the functionalist approaches. Regarding the changes made by Brewitt-Taylor in his translation, Zhu's comments are positive since these attempts fit the functionalist approaches to TS.

A recent paper by Chen Xiaoli & Zhang Zhiqian (2011) uses the skopos theory as a guide to compare the translation of chapter titles in these two translations. The examples taken are the titles of Chapters 2, 27, 33 and 58. What they have deduced from the analysis of the translations of these four chapter titles is that Brewitt-Taylor translated more liberally, using such strategies as omission, rewriting, and sense-for-sense. Roberts's translation mainly adopted a word-for-word strategy, resulting in a more literal translation. Their conclusion is that the two different styles of the TTs are brought about by different translation skopoi and translation briefs, which play a crucial role both in the translation process and in the product (cf. Chen & Zhang 2011). In their article they provide a table of translation briefs, which will be used and further discussed in 6.2.6.

In conclusion, the articles discussed above apply the functionalist approach in the analysis of certain aspects of the translations. The results that their conclusions are based on are neither complete nor fully convincing. In the following sections, the researcher will attempt to apply the functionalist approaches, which will provide the criteria for evaluation, to the analysis of the two English translations of *Sanguo yanyi* in order to find out which translation or which aspects of a translation better achieve its goal. Translation skopos will be determined based on a detailed analysis of all relevant factors.

6.2 The agents in the process of translating literature

Functionalists consider translation as a purposeful action. Translational action is an interpersonal communicative action, an intercultural action and a text-processing action. In the process of interpersonal interaction, a number of agents are involved. These agents include the initiator, the commissioner, the translator, the source-text producer, the target-text receiver

and the target-text user (Nord 1997a: 20–25). When analyzing the agents of literary translation, the following factors need to be considered: the sender or author; intention; receivers; medium; place, time and motive; message; effect or function. In order to identify the skopos and function of the two translations under study, it will be useful to study the relevant agents. In the following sections, the different agents will be identified and their roles in the translation will be discussed.

6.2.1 The sender or author

In the case of the current study, there is only one ST – the Mao edition of *Sanguo yanyi*. The authorship of the novel on which the Mao edition is based has been attributed to Luo Guanzhong. Mao, together with Luo, can thus be regarded as the authors. Nord (1997a: 80) suggests that the knowledge of the author “has a strong influence on the expectations the receivers have of the text; it may pose serious problems if the work is translated for a culture community where the author is unknown.” Nord therefore suggests that if the author is not known by the TT readers (inter alia by reading other texts in translation of him/her) the translator has to explain much more. The translator cannot rely on presuppositions that the TT reader might have about the way the author writes or about the themes generally addressed by the author.

Neither Luo nor Mao is well known in the English-speaking world, and thus the question can be posed whether the English translations of the novel could cause problems to the receivers. Most Chinese authors are little known in the English-speaking world, and the TT functions in the target culture have to be analyzed much more carefully.

6.2.2 The initiator

The initiator is the party, be it a person, a group or an institution, which “starts off the translation process and determines its course by defining the purpose for which the target text is needed” (Nord 1997a: 20). A translating process is started because the initiator wants the translation for a certain purpose, which determines the requirements to be met by the translation.

In the case of Brewitt-Taylor's translation, the initiator can be regarded as the translator himself, since there is no clear record indicating whether or not Brewitt-Taylor had reached any agreement with a publisher before starting the project in about 1890. It can be assumed that he must have been familiar with a few publishers. As early as in 1885, five years after his arrival in China, Brewitt-Taylor published his first piece of writing – a translation of a chapter of a popular novel called *Ching-hua yüan* 《鏡花緣》. Cannon (2009: 48) suggests that “perhaps B-T initially intended to translate the *Ching-hua yüan* but was persuaded to shift focus to the more renowned and influential *San Kuo Chih Yen-i*”. The person who had persuaded him to translate could have been either a publisher or a colleague, but it was probably H. A. Giles, the well-known sinologist who later succeeded Thomas Wade as professor of Chinese at Cambridge from 1897 to 1932.¹²⁰ Giles wrote a review of Brewitt-Taylor's translation of the *San Kuo* with the following claim: “Much impressed by his literary as well as by his scientific gifts, I urged him to take up the Chinese language and fit himself for a permanent position in China” (ibid.: 45).

In the case of Roberts's translation, the initiator is, in addition to Roberts, the publisher – Beijing's Foreign Languages Press. Beijing's Foreign Languages Press has been publishing foreign language translations of Chinese classics, aiming to introduce Chinese culture to other major cultures in the world. The press has published the English translations of the four classical Chinese novels (cf. the discussion of Zhu Yuping's article several paragraphs before and also the next section).

6.2.3 The commissioner

The commissioner is the agent who “asks the translator to produce a target text for a particular purpose and addressee. The commissioner may influence the very production of the target text, perhaps by demanding a particular text format or terminology” (Nord 1997a: 20).

The commissioner of Brewitt-Taylor's translation is unknown, but the commissioner of Roberts's translation was the publisher, the deputy editor-in-chief at FLP, Mr. Luo Liang. In his acknowledgements, Roberts mentioned that after he published an abridged translation of

¹²⁰ Cf. 3.3.1.

Sanguo yanyi, he hoped that someday the opportunity to translate the entire text would arise. “That opportunity came in 1982 when the late Luo Liang, deputy editor-in-chief at the Foreign Languages Press, proposed that I translate the whole novel for the press. He and Israel Epstein arranged for me to spend the year 1983 to 1984 at the FLP as a foreign expert” (Roberts 1994). Later, the University of California Press joined in the publication of the translation. Both parties arranged their own staff and reader (Ren Jianzhen from the FLP and John S. Service from the UC Press, who also contributed the foreword for the translation) to facilitate and improve the translation. In terms of the format, “... the UCP, the FLP and I [Roberts] concluded that the Western reader would be best served by adding a full set of notes and an extended commentary on the text” (ibid.).

6.2.4 The translator

The translators of the two English versions of *Sanguo yanyi* are C.H. Brewitt-Taylor (1857–1938) and Moss Roberts (1936–), both native English speakers. Brewitt-Taylor was a customs officer in British consulates in China and Roberts is a university lecturer and professor of Chinese at New York University. Both of them finished their own translation single-handedly. Biographical information of the two translators is provided in Chapter 3.5.

6.2.5 The target-text receiver

“The intended target-text receiver is the addressee of the translation” (Nord 1997a: 22). The receiver can be a person, group or institution that actually reads the text after it has been produced (cf. ibid.). The TT receiver of a translation is subject to change if the translation is printed more than once over a relatively long period of time. The same holds true for cases where different editions of the same translation are published in different places and at different times. Thus the TT receivers of the initial translation and those of the later editions might be different.

Brewitt-Taylor’s translation was initially published in 1925. Since then, it has been reprinted a number of times by the same as well as other publishers. The intended TT receiver of the first printing, which was a standard edition, was the general English-speaking reader

interested in reading Chinese stories. The second printing was a popular edition which aimed at the Chinese market with Chinese readers of English.

Furthermore, the standard edition, which was relatively expensive, was supposed to address the English-speaking people in China. They would have included foreigners working in China and Chinese speakers of English who were likely to have had good incomes and been able to afford expensive books. One year later, a popular edition was published by the same publisher. This edition was a cheaper one and aimed at the Chinese market. The intended readers were those students of English or other Western fields who wanted to read the English translation of the novel, but who might not have been able to afford the standard version. Later on, more editions were published in Japan by Tuttle Publishing, thus the intended addressees included English-speaking people in other Asian countries (cf. 3.4.1). This version is still sold in foreign-language bookstores in Beijing, therefore the intended addressees include Chinese learners of English as well. These Chinese readers use the version mainly to study English or, though presumably very rarely, to do research on translation. Of course, not all people who are using the translation necessarily belong to the groups of intended TT addressees.

The TT receivers of T2 are more stable and easier to determine since the translation has been in circulation for less than twenty years. Roberts's translation was initially published in the 1990s, a time when more people in the English-speaking world had better knowledge of China than in Brewitt-Taylor's time. The intended TT receivers of Roberts's translation are the English-speaking readers who want to know more about Chinese history and culture. Since Roberts's translation is also sold in Chinese bookstores, the TT receivers would also include Chinese learners of English, who use this version to learn English or learn to translate from Chinese to English.

6.2.6 The translation brief

“The translation brief specifies what kind of translation is needed. The ideal brief provides explicit or implicit information about the intended target-text function(s), the target-text addressee(s), the medium over which it will be transmitted, the prospective place and time and, if necessary, motive of production or reception of the text” (Nord 1997a: 137).

The table below is a comparison of the translation briefs of the two English versions of *Sanguo yanyi*, suggested by Chen & Zhang (2011: 167). I agree with the summaries of the relevant categories.

Table 6.1 Translation briefs¹²¹ of the two TTs

Translation briefs	T1	T2
Intended TT functions	Produce a Chinese novel in English	Introduce Chinese culture and history through a novel in English
TT receivers	English-speaking readers interested in Chinese stories	English-speaking readers wanting to know more about Chinese culture and history
Prospective time and place	Since 1920s; China and English-speaking countries	Since 1990s; China and English-speaking countries
Medium	Book	Book
Motive for production or reception of the text	Produce a Chinese novel for recreation or entertainment	Produce a Chinese novel to make Chinese culture known

These briefs are deduced by the researchers. It is unclear whether the translators received any of these briefs from the commissioners before they started translating. However, it seems almost certain that neither of the translators had received any briefs, otherwise they would have mentioned them in their translator's notes.

6.3 The skopos of the two translations

“One of the most important factors determining the purpose of a translation is the addressee, who is the intended receiver or audience of the target text with their culture-specific world knowledge, their expectations and their communicative needs” (Nord 1997a: 12). The addressee of a translation can be identified by the publisher when the publisher is the initiator. It can also be identified by the translator who finishes the translation before finding a publisher. Sometimes the addressee is identified by both the publisher and the translator. Once the addressee of a translation is identified, the purpose or skopos of the translation can be determined. The skopoi of the two translations will be discussed in the following pages.

¹²¹ The original text is in Chinese. It was translated into English by the author of this dissertation.

6.3.1 The skopos of Brewitt-Taylor's translation

In the discussion in 3.5.1.3, it was suggested that Brewitt-Taylor's initial reason for translating the novel was out of personal interest. He had been working in China and had translated a few chapters of the novel, which were published in a Chinese journal. The readers of the journal would have been mainly Western people working in China, from missionaries to consulate staff. Along with his growing interest in the novel, his mentor and friend H. A. Giles also encouraged him to translate the complete novel. Giles himself translated some chapters of *Sanguo yanyi*. No record has been found that any publisher ever engaged in the process of Brewitt-Taylor's translation.

The preface written by Brewitt-Taylor is provided here:

WYLIE, in his invaluable *Notes on Chinese Literature*, says, "Works of fiction *par excellence* are not admitted by the Chinese to form a part of their national literature. Those who have imbibed European ideas on the subject, however, will feel that the novels and romances are too important as a class to be overlooked. The insight they give in the national manners and customs of various ages, the specimens which they furnish of an ever-changing language, the fact of this being the channel through which a large portion of the people gain their knowledge of history, and the influence which they must consequently exercise in the formation of character, are reasons too weighty to be left out of account, notwithstanding the prejudices of scholars on the subject. Foremost among these in popular estimation is the *San Kuo Chih Yen-i* (三国志演义). This is a historical novel, in 120 chapters, written by Lo Kuan-chung (罗贯中) of the Yüan dynasty (1260-1341). The plot, which is founded on the historical events immediately succeeding the decadence of the house of Han, is wrought out with a most elaborate complication of details, embracing the period from 168 to 265. Following the course of events from the imbecile reign of Ling Ti of the Han, (extra space) the tale opens with an account of the insurrection of the 'Yellow Caps,' during which Lui Pei (刘备), a descendant of the imperial family, enters into a solemn compact with Kuan Yü (关羽), now the deified Kuan Ti, God of War, and Chang Fei (张飞) to aid each other till death, in their efforts to uphold the falling house. The fortunes of Liu Pei are traced through a series of reverses, till he assumes the royal power, (known afterwards as Chao-Lieh Ti), and the empire became divided into three states Wei, Shu and Wu. Tyranny and bloodshed mark the narrative for nearly a century, till the usurper Ts'ao Mao of the Wei is deposed by his

minister Ssü-ma Chao, whose son became the consolidator of the empire, and founder of the Tsin dynasty, being the Wu Ti of history.”

As a general description of the book, Wylie’s brief note leaves little to be desired; to amplify it would mean an analysis with which I would not weary the reader. I will add, however, that the *San Kuo* is widely read and very generally known, perhaps, however, better through stage performances than by written languages.

The *San Kuo* is distinctly eastern, a book adapted for the story-teller; one can almost hear him. It abounds in names and genealogies, which seems never to tire the eastern reader or listener. Happily, English admits pronouns in place of so many strangely-spelt names which ought to appear, and they have been used; and as most persons have at least a *tzü* in addition to the *Hsing* and *ming* I have tried to lighten the burden on the foreign reader’s memory by using only the *Hsing* and *ming* of a man, suppressing his *tzü* except in the case of very well-known characters.

Manchu, Japanese, Siamese, and possibly other versions of the *San Kuo* have been made, and now to these I have attempted to add one in English, with what measure of success I leave to curious readers qualified to compare my rendering with the original.

The Wade system of Romanisation, in which the vowels are Italian, has been used. In conclusion, I wish to put on record my gratitude to Mr Chen Ti Tsen who typed the text, and Mr. E. Manica Gull who has read the proofs.

Brewitt-Taylor (2002)

The first half of this preface is a summary of the novel that Brewitt-Taylor quoted from A.Wylie. In his preface he did not summarize the novel himself, because he thought A. Wylie’s words were more authoritative to “justify his translation” (Cannon 2009: 155) since he “was well aware of the limited view of fiction as literature held by Chinese traditionally” (ibid.). From Brewitt-Taylor’s own words in the preface to his translation, Cannon suggests a major clue to the reason why he undertook the translation: “to provide a complete example of a neglected genre to the English-speaking world, a genre that was generally more accessible than was classical literature, which had been the focus of the early sinologists.” (Cannon 2009: 156). Poetry and prose as classical literature had enjoyed a higher status than fiction had in China and stories and novels had largely been neglected. Brewitt-Taylor’s comment suggests that the addressees of his translation are “the English-speaking world”. The sentence in his preface, “with what measure of success I leave to curious readers qualified to compare my rendering with the original,” can also be taken to suggest that, in Brewitt-Taylor’s mind, those Chinese-English bilingual people, most of whom were Chinese people, were also part of his intended audience. The statement found in the first edition, “especially prepared for the use and education of the Chinese People,” reflects that “the initial perception of the publisher was

that the level of English literacy among Chinese at the time was sufficiently high to aim at the Chinese market” (ibid.: 154–155). Evidently, this was the main purpose of the publisher who wanted to increase the sales of the translation. In this case, the skopos of the translator and that of the publisher were not the same. The publisher could have adjusted its potential target-reader with each printing of the same translation.

From the information collected above, it seems that the skopos of Brewitt-Taylor’s translation mainly was to provide a readable English version of this Chinese classic to the English-speaking world (those who were, and still are, curious about and interested in reading a popular Chinese story) and perhaps also to Chinese learners or readers of English, who may have wanted (and still want) to use this translation to improve their English.

6.3.2 The skopos of Roberts’s translation

As mentioned in 3.4.2, Roberts’s translation was arranged and sponsored by Beijing’s Foreign Languages Press, who aims to introduce and promote Chinese culture to the outside world. In order to best serve the Western reader who may want to know more about Chinese history in addition to enjoying the story, a full set of notes and an extended commentary were added. The edition used in this study was co-published by the Foreign Languages Press in China and the University of California Press in the United States. When he started translating *Sanguo yanyi*, Roberts was lecturing Chinese literature at American universities. The skopos of his complete translation was to provide the English-speaking students of Chinese or scholars of Chinese studies with material for research, in addition to producing a readable Chinese novel in English. Years later, Roberts realized that most ordinary readers only need a readable version to enjoy the story, thus an abridged edition was published in 1999 by the same publisher (cf. 3.4.2).

The co-publisher of this translation, Foreign Languages Press in Beijing, also sells it in China. China not only has the largest population in the world but perhaps has the biggest number of learners of English. This translation is also sold in most foreign-languages stores in Chinese cities, aiming at the Chinese market with Chinese learners of English as potential readers. Thus it can be suggested that the secondary purpose of this translation is to provide Chinese learners of English with English study material.

6.4 Evaluation of the two translations

In this section, the two translations will be evaluated. The criterion on which this evaluation is based is Nord's principle of "functionalism plus loyalty", which has been discussed in 4.4.2. The basic view of this model is that the translator should be committed bilaterally to the ST as well as to the TT situation, and should be loyal to both the sender and TT receiver. If the TT achieves the intended function, as indicated in the skopos and specified in the brief, in the TL situation, it can be considered a successful translation.

6.4.1 General features of the two translations

From the analysis in the last section (6.3), it is suggested that the two translations have different skopoi. The main purpose of Brewitt-Taylor's translation is to provide a readable Chinese novel in English for English-speaking readers interested in or curious about Chinese history and literature. The TT as a popular novel must be smooth, fluid and relatively easy to follow, in other words, a more instrumental translation. The general features of T1, as discussed in the last chapter include the following:

- Design and format appear to have an ancient flavor (indicating it is an old Chinese novel);
- ST paragraphs are divided into more paragraphs in the TT (closer to the format of a typical Western novel);
- Many direct speeches in the ST are rendered into narratives in the TT (closer to a typical Western narrative) ;
- Omissions and additions are frequently used (to avoid confusion and frustration caused by the "foreignness"); and
- Little additional information is provided (indicating the story is mainly for general readers to read for fun. These readers are assumed to not be interested in the pursuit of further historical information).

These features clearly indicate that the translator paid more attention to the TT receivers in the TT situation than to those bilingual readers or scholars who were "qualified to compare [my] rendering with the original" (Brewitt-Taylor 2002). This instrumental translation, or domesticated translation in Venuti's term, proves that Chinese culture, history and language

in Brewitt-Taylor's time (early 1900s) were considered less important than the English audience's easy reading of the novel.

The intended receivers of Roberts's translation are expected to be more serious readers who may want to gain deeper understanding or acquire more knowledge of Chinese history and culture through reading this popular novel in English. The features of T2 include:

- Design and format are closer to a modern Western novel (indicating it is intended for a modern readership);
- ST paragraphs are broken into more paragraphs in T2, but not as many as in T1 (indicating the translator had bilateral considerations);
- Overall it can be considered a foreignized translation which is closer to the ST wherever possible (indicating the translator primarily considered the sender's intention); and
- Extensive information, in formats such as notes, maps, lists, illustrations and commentary (cf. 5.2.1.5), is provided (indicating the translator expected that readers would be serious enough to require more information relating to the novel).

From this list of features it can be deduced that this translation tends to be a more documentary one. In Roberts's time (about 1990s), Chinese elements were receiving more attention in the English-speaking world, since China was seen as a rising world power.

6.4.2 Function of the two translations

Let us restate, then, that communication function is the decisive criterion for textuality, to which the semantic and syntactic features of the text are subordinate. Utterances lacking semantic coherence as well as utterances without the necessary formal and syntactic properties of cohesion are considered "texts" by their receivers as soon as they fulfill a communicative function.

Nord (2005: 41)

6.4.2.1 Functions of a text

Any written or printed words can be called a text. A text has both content and form. Content deals with what authors say, while form is concerned with how authors express themselves (Reiss 2000: 31). Some texts are content focused and some are form focused. Literary works belong to form-focused texts since “in these texts the author makes use of formal elements, whether consciously or unconsciously, for a specific aesthetic effect (ibid.: 31–32). Reiss (ibid.: 26) suggests a scheme to divide the text into three general types (cf. Table 6.2). She adds another type, namely is appeal focused.

Table 6.2 Functions of a text suggested by Reiss

Language function	Representation	Expression	Persuasion
Language dimension	Logic	Aesthetics	Dialogue
Text type	Content focused (informative)	Form focused (expressive)	Appeal focused (operative)

The novel *Sanguo yanyi* can be categorized as a form-focused text, although, like any other novel, it contains elements of all three text types. Translators should identify the functions of different texts and translate accordingly. Reiss’s approach is still very much ST oriented, but her categorization of text types is helpful in the analysis of the ST.

From the perspective of translation, Nord (2005: 13) views a text as a communicative interaction. In terms of a text’s communicative function, Nord suggests texts should be divided into four basic types:

Referential (also denotative or cognitive) function, focused on the referent or context referred to by the text;

Expressive or emotive function, focused on the sender, the sender’s emotions or attitude towards the objects and phenomena dealt with in the text. Evaluative function is one of the subfunctions;

Appellative (also operative connotative, persuasive or vocative) function, focused on the orientation of the text towards the receiver;

Phatic function, responsible for the development of the social relationship between sender and receiver.

Nord (2005: 47; cf. Nord 1997b: 50)

In regard to literary translation, Nord (1997a: 92–93, cf. 4.5.3) puts forward four skopos suggestions in terms of the translator’s interpretation of the ST, the function of the TT, the

cultural distance between the ST world and the TT world, and the TT effect. The two TTs studied in this dissertation will be evaluated in the following sections mainly based on the four criteria suggested by Nord. The examples in the following sections are all taken from the three selected chapters of *Sanguo yanyi* and their two different translations which were selected as the focus of study. The examples have been selected mainly because the two translators used different strategies to translate the same ST.

6.4.2.1.1 *The translator's interpretation of the ST*

In terms of the translator's interpretation of the ST, the skopos suggestion is:

The translator interprets the ST not only with regard to the sender's intention but also with regard to its compatibility with the target situation.

Nord (1997a: 92)

This suggestion requires that the translator compare the TT profiles with the material offered by the ST. Both the sender's intention in regard to source-culture receivers and "the possibilities that the target receivers have of coordinating the ST information with their own situation and horizon" should be analyzed before deciding which strategies to adopt (Nord 1997a: 92).

There are more mistranslations and errors in T1 than in T2 (cf. 5.2.3.3). This reflects that in T2, the translator interpreted the sender's intention more correctly. In regard to compatibility with the target situation, the situation of the intended target readers should be considered. As mentioned previously, the intended target receivers of T1 are general readers in the English-speaking world, therefore a smooth and readable translation would be appropriate. From the positive reviews of readers and repeated printings by the publishers (cf. 3.4.1), T1 can be considered to have reached this goal. Mainly intended for Western students of Chinese or Western scholars of China, T2 is more complete with the additional information, which reflects it is compatible with the target situation.

When translating the names of the characters in the novel, Brewitt-Taylor (2002) mentions in his preface that "...and as most persons have at least a *tzü*¹²² in addition to the *Hsing* and

¹²² In Pinyin it is Zi.

ming I have tried to lighten the burden on the foreign reader’s memory by using only the *Hsing* and *ming* of a man, suppressing his *tzū* except in the case of very well-known characters” (cf. 6.3.1). “*Tzū*” (“*Zi*” in Pinyin), the courtesy name, is the formal name given to an adult in feudal China. Brewitt-Taylor did not always translate the names in the ST. From time to time, the title or other terms of address were used to translate the names in the ST (cf. Example 6.1).

Example 6.1

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 至卢植军中，入帐施礼，具道来意。卢植大喜，留在帐前听调。

T1: They found **the Prefect** in camp, were admitted to his presence and declared the reason of their coming. **The Prefect** received them with great joy and they remained with him while he made his plans.

T2: They entered **Lu Zhi**’s tent and, after the customary salutations, explained their purpose in coming. **Lu Zhi** rejoiced at the arrival of this relief and took the brothers under his command.

In this example in the ST, Lu Zhi, the Prefect, is mentioned twice, but Brewitt-Taylor avoided the personal name in his translation and used his office title instead. He kept trying to “lighten the burden on the foreign reader’s memory” (Brewitt-Taylor 2002). In this regard, it can be suggested that T1 pays closer attention to the target situation where the office title, which is more easily recognized and remembered, is easier to follow than the personal name spelt in the Chinese way, which is more specific and more difficult to remember for a target reader. The translation skopos of T1, as stated previously, is to provide a readable and smooth English version. Thus it is understandable that Brewitt-Taylor changed the personal name to the office title.

In T2, almost all the names were translated faithfully and fully. Roberts was also aware of the “burden” of the Chinese personal names to the English readership. He mentioned in a note (numbered 23, cf. Roberts 1994) to the first chapter that “for the reader’s convenience the three heroes will be called Xuande, Lord Guan, and Zhang Fei unless the context requires the use of their other names.” Furthermore, as additional information, Roberts provided a list of principal characters in *Three Kingdoms* (cf. Roberts 1994: 1539–1544). This reflects that Roberts also paid attention to the target situation while trying to transfer the sender’s intention.

From the data provided in Table 5.12, which depicts the translation of reign titles, it is evident that in T1, the translator either omitted or transcribed some reign titles. The translator did not interpret the author's intention, but this may be compatible with the target situation in which a readable and fluid story is desired. In T2, the author not only transcribed but also explained all these titles. Again, it seems that T2 achieved its skopos in terms of the interpretation of the ST.

In the following section, some examples on sentence level will be analyzed.

Example 6.2

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 推其致乱之由，殆始于桓、灵二帝。

T1: The descent into misrule hastened in the reigns of the two Emperors Huan and Ling, **who sat in the middle of the second century.**

T2: The cause of Han's fall may be traced to the reigns of Xian's two predecessors, Huan and Ling*

*Note: Emperor Huan [r. A.D. 147 to 68]... Emperor Ling [r. A.D. 168-89].

The function of the ST is referential or informational. In T1, "who sat in the middle of the second century" was added and incorporated into the text in order to inform the Western reader of the (rough) period when the cause of Han's fall started according to the Western calendar. This strategy in T1 achieves the skopos in the translation of this sentence.

In T2, Roberts placed this background information in a footnote that provides accurate reign periods of the two emperors. The skopos of this translation is to provide a readable English version for readers who are interested in learning more about Chinese history and culture. Thus this strategy in T2 can also be considered successful.

Example 6.3

(Chapter 1)

ST: 年二十，举孝廉，为郎，除洛阳北部尉。

T1: He graduated at twenty and began his career in a district near Loyang.

T2: At twenty, Cao received his district's recommendation for filial devotion and personal integrity, and this led to his initial appointment to the palace. Later, he

was given command of security in the northern half of the district where the capital, Luoyang, was located.

As already mentioned, the ST has an informational function. In the example above, the ST provides part of the background of Cao Cao, one of the main characters of the novel. The information is important and should be treated seriously. T1 is too brief, omitting too much, compared with T2, which is very faithful to the ST. Evidently, the translation in T2 conveys the author's intention more correctly and completely.

6.4.2.1.2 *The function of the TT*

In terms of the function of the TT, the skopos suggestion is:

The target text should be composed in such a way that it fulfils functions in the target situation that are compatible with the sender's intention.

Nord (1997a: 92)

This suggestion requires the translator to firstly identify the function or functions that the ST fulfils in the source culture, and then determine which of these functions can be achieved in the target culture by means of an instrumental translation or a documentary translation¹²³ (Nord 1997a: 92).

A few examples carrying cultural messages will be discussed.

Example 6.4

(Chapter 60)

ST: “吾已将益州许刘皇叔矣。专欲与兄共议。”

T1: “I have promised Ichou to Liu Pei, the Imperial Uncle, and I want your especial advice and assistance.”

T2: “I have promised our province to Imperial Uncle Liu, and I want to discuss it with you, brother.”

¹²³ Cf. 4.4.1 for the definition of the two terms.

The ST in Example 6.4 is part of Zhang Song's words. Zhang reached an agreement with Liu Bei to surrender his region and he came back with a mission or order from Liu Bei to persuade his friend to join him. Liu Bei was already his master and when he mentions Liu Bei, he calls him "the Imperial Uncle Liu", which is appropriate. In Chinese culture, to mention the name of one's lord or master directly was considered extremely rude. Thus Liu Bei's full name ("Liu Bei") used in T1 is not acceptable, although it can be assumed that the translator attempted to clarify the meaning. The Chinese custom is ignored here in T1, while T2 renders the original term of address faithfully since the translator kept in mind that some of the expected readers were eager to learn more about the Chinese language and culture.

Example 6.5

(Chapter 60)

ST: “张松昨从荆州过，必与刘备同谋。”

T1: “This Chang Sung has lately come home through Chingchou where he has certainly been plotting with Liu Pei.”

T2: “Zhang Song must have arranged something with Xuande when he passed through Jingzhou.”

The words in Example 6.5 are spoken by a minister of Liu Zhang. The minister thought Liu Bei was Liu Zhang's enemy who planned to invade Liu Zhang's region and occupy the land. When speaking to his master, the minister mentions Liu Bei by his name directly. This was rendered loyally in T1 by Brewitt-Taylor, but in T2, Liu Bei's courtesy name "Xuande" was used. The latter is not appropriate since one should not be polite or even neutral towards one's enemy. In this case it is T2 that ignores the cultural difference between Chinese and English.

Example 6.6

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 汉朝自高祖斩白蛇而起义，一统天下，...

T1: The rise of the fortunes of Han began with **the slaughter of the White Serpent**. In a short time the whole Empire was theirs...

T2: The Han court's rise to power began when **the Supreme Ancestor slew a white serpent***, inspiring an uprising that ended with Han's ruling a unified empire.

*Note: The Supreme Ancestor (Gao Zu), founder of the Han, was Liu Bang (256 to 195 B.C.), one of the many rebels against the Qin. According to his "Basic Annals"

in the *SJ*¹²⁴ the serpent he slew was the son of the White Emperor, god of the west, which certain Qin kings had worshiped. The “Feng shan shu” of the *SJ* explains the incident of the killing of the serpent as the killing of the son of the White Emperor by the son of the Red Emperor. Eventually, fire and the color red came to symbolize the Han; they also symbolized the Zhou dynasty.

“The slaughter of a white serpent”, as used in T1 in the example above, is an allusion. T1 offers no explanation and leaves the target reader confused. This allusion can actually be omitted in the translation since the intended target receiver only needs a readable version. T2 gives detailed background information in a footnote, which is important for the target receivers who are expected to need further information to be able to understand what this allusion refers to.

Example 6.7

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 操谓松曰：“吾视天下鼠辈犹草芥耳。...”

T1: ...but Ts’ao went on, “I regard the **rat-class** of the world (**There is a pun here; the characters for “rat” and “Shu” are read the same**) as of **no more importance than so many weeds, ...**”

T2: Cao responded, “Those **‘river-rats’ * of Shu are nothing but dirt.**”

*Note: Shu, the name of the western region that is modern Sichuan, is a true homophone for shu, “rodent.”

In the ST, there is a pun (two different characters of the same sound “shu”) and a simile (“as unimportant as weeds”). In T1, Brewitt-Taylor explained the pun between brackets in the TT and rendered the simile in a literal way. This method enables the reader to read smoothly. In T2, Roberts provided a footnote for the pun and translated the simile freely, turning “weeds” in the ST into “dirt” in English.

Both translators explained culture-specific elements in their translations. These elements are mostly explained in the text in T1 and in notes in T2. The translation of realia was discussed in 5.2.2.8. The comparison of the two translations in terms of translating realia reflects that more explanations of the cultural references are provided in T2 than in T1. This finding

¹²⁴ Short for *Shi ji*, the first important book of history in China. It was written by Sima Qian.

further reflects that the skopos does play a role in both the translating process and the translation product.

6.4.3 Translation problems and strategies in the two TTs

In an article entitled “A Functional Typology of Translations” included in her book *Text Typology and Translation*, Nord (1997b: 58–61) discusses four categories of translation problems.¹²⁵ Pragmatic translation problems, the first category, result from the contrast between the ST situation and the TT situation in which the texts are used and relate to place, time and addresses. The second category is intercultural translation problems, which arise from the differences in conventions between the two cultures involved. Interlingual translation problems are the result of structural differences in vocabulary, syntax and suprasegmental features of the two languages. Text-specific translation problems, the fourth of Nord’s categories, arise in the translation of a specific text and cannot be generalized. These problems are objective problems, not the subjective difficulties an incompetent translator may have in the process of translation. Schäffner (2001: 32–45) discusses potential translation strategies for addressing these translation problems. She admits that “it is not always possible to assign an identified problem in a specific ST easily and exclusively to one specific problem type. Frequently, overlaps and interrelationships occur (ibid.: 32).” In the following section, some of these problems will be identified and the corresponding strategies that the translators used in addressing these problems will be discussed.

6.4.3.1 Pragmatic translation problems

Pragmatic translation problems, which result from the contrast between the ST situation and TT communicative situation, include the following examples: references to place and time, proper names, culture-bound terms and addressee specifications. Based on functionalist criteria, namely the translation skopos, the translator should choose appropriate strategies to address these problems. Normally, the strategy of cultural filtering is applied to achieve the corresponding skopos. When translating proper names of people and places, both translators used the method of transcription, only transferring the sounds in the text (cf. 5.2.2.8.1). This

¹²⁵ Nord seems to have formulated these problems in 1987 article in German (cf. Nord 1997a: 58, 65).

seems to be the only choice to translate proper names between two different language systems and can be considered an appropriate decision in terms of the skopos. Roberts explained the meanings of a few major characters' names, such as Liu Bei, Zhang Fei, Guan Yu and Cao Cao, in footnotes (cf. Roberts 1995: 1559–1561). For example, in the nineteenth footnote which is provided in the first chapter, Zhang Fei and Liu Bei's names are explained as follows:

Fei means 'to fly'; *yide* means 'wings [assisting] virtue. *De*, 'virtue,' is also part of Xuande's name. The given name, *Bei*, means 'fully endowed' or 'qualified.'

It is appropriate to provide this information since the TT receivers of T2 include readers who want to know more about Chinese elements.

For the culture-specific phenomena, it appears difficult to generalize the strategies that the two translators used (cf. 5.2.2.8.2 for allusion, 5.2.2.8.6 for reign titles and 5.2.2.8.7 for official ranks). Schäffner (2001: 33) emphasizes:

Culture-specific terms frequently pose translation problems since the target readers cannot (always) be supposed to be fully familiar with the source culture. The choice of the most appropriate translation strategy in each case is largely determined by the awareness of a kind of addressees' profile (as part of the analysis of the translation brief).

Essentially, the strategies that Brewitt-Taylor employed include omission and the use of loan words with no explanations. The strategies that Roberts used mainly include word-for-word translations (loan words) and loan words with added explanations in footnotes.

6.4.3.2 Intercultural translation problems

In terms of the cultural distance between the ST world and the TT world the skopos suggestion is: "The text world of the translation should be selected according to the intended target-text function" (Nord 1997a: 92).

It is highly unlikely that the text world is at an equal distance from both the source culture and the target culture, especially when dealing with Chinese culture and the Western culture. This means the translator can make any changes or adjustments concerning the culture-specific items in the ST which are impossible or difficult for target readers to understand. There can be

many strategies to deal with this and one of the suggested methods is to leave the text world as it is and explain the culture-specific references either in the text or in footnotes, glossaries, etc. (Nord 1997a: 93). For the translation of these cultural elements, a documentary method is suggested in order to reproduce a text which is both functional and loyal to all parties involved.

Intercultural problems arise from the differences between conventions of the two cultures involved. Examples include measuring conventions, formal conventions, text-type conventions, conventional forms of address and salutation formulae (Nord 1997b: 59).

The relevant examples taken from the current study are discussed in Chapter 5: division of the text in 5.2.2.1, the titles of chapters in 5.2.2.3, measurement in 5.2.2.8.5. In T1, the strategies that Brewitt-Taylor used include: rearranging the format of the text to cater to the TT readers' reading habits; simplifying the titles of chapters by omitting some of the proper names, which makes the TT easier to read; using similar measurement terms in the TT to replace the measurement terms in the ST; and following the habits of the target culture in terms of the form of address. These strategies were employed in consideration of the TT receivers' zero or limited knowledge of the ST culture. Thus the translations of these aspects can be regarded as appropriate from a functionalist perspective. In T2, the strategies that Roberts used include: trying to keep close to the ST in terms of both the content and the format; transcribing the measurements instead of converting them, with added explanations in footnotes; catering to the conventions in the target culture in terms of the form of address. Employing these strategies was necessary and appropriate based on the criteria set against the model "functionalism plus loyalty."

The following section will discuss examples of how forms of address were translated. The problems caused in translating these terms appear to be intercultural translation problems.

In the ST, the given names and courtesy names of people have meanings themselves. The name of Zhuge Liang – the military adviser of Liu Bei – serves as example. His given name, Liang, means "bright" and his courtesy name, Kongming, means "as wise as Confucius". In the source culture, readers are aware of this. But in both translations, all the names are only transcribed with no explanation of the meanings. The target readers can only pronounce the sounds of the names but have no idea what they actually mean. Thus, strictly speaking, the function of personal names in the ST can never be fulfilled through translations between

Chinese and English, which belong to such different language systems. However, proper names belong to pragmatic translation problems and in functionalist approaches there can never be absolutes, since the appropriateness of a decision on translation strategies depends on the purpose of the TT. For proper names of people, it is acceptable to take them over into the TT as they are (cf. Schäffner 2001: 34–35).

Term of address is a direct reflection of a social system and tradition. China had been a feudal society for 2 000 years where the patriarchal clan systems and strict regulations had been disciplining people's thoughts and behavior (Bao & Bao 2004: 64). In traditional Chinese culture, people use different terms to refer to themselves to show modesty, and different terms to address others to show respect in social communication. The conversations in the ST are mainly conducted by people of a higher social status such as kings, ministers, officials and officers. Thus the terms of address tend to be very formal and appropriate in the corresponding situations. The following examples will show how some terms of address in conversations in the ST were treated by the two translators. In the TT situation, the terms of address appear to have an informative function. Since they normally appear in dialogues, they are considered to have an expressive function as well. The examples include the first, second and third person terms of address.

Three different first person pronouns and their translations are discussed in the following examples.

Example 6.8

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: “将军欲取，**某**当效死。”

T1: If you will only consent, **I** will serve you to the death.”

T2: **I** stand prepared to give you my full support,”

In the ST, “某” (“mou”) is used to refer to oneself, sometimes together with one's surname, to show modesty when speaking to a senior person. It equates to something like “yours truly” in English. Both translators used “I”, which does not reflect the modesty of the speaker as it does in Chinese. Since there is no equivalent for such a term in English semantically, the decision made by both the translators to use “I” is considered appropriate.

Example 6.9

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 玄德曰：“二公休言。吾有何德，敢多望乎？”

T1: “Noble Sirs, pray say no more: what virtue have **I** that I should expect anything from the future?” said Liu Pei.

T2: “Refrain from such statements, gentlemen,” Xuande said. “What virtue have **I** to justify ambition?”

Example 6.10

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 璋叱曰：“再休乱道！玄德是**我**同宗，他安肯夺**我**基业？”

T1: “No more wild talk!” cried Liu Chang angrily. “Yuan-te is of **my** clan and family and will not ravish **me** of my possessions.”

T2: Liu Zhang dismissed the speaker sharply: “Stop this nonsense. Would a kinsman steal **my** estate?”

Both “吾” (“wu”) and “我” (“wo”) mean “I” or “me” or “my/our” in English. Although slightly different from the perspective of Chinese grammar (“吾” is not used as the object in a sentence), both “吾” (“wu”) and “我” (“wo”) in the ST have a similar meaning. These changes are only syntactic and there aren’t any real semantic consequences. “吾” (“wu”) is used more frequently in the ST. In both translations, no difference is distinguished since “I” and “me/my” were used by both translators.

Example 6.11

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 玄德曰：“**备**愿往救之。”

T1: “**I** will go,” said Yuan-te [...]

T2: Xuande volunteered to go there, [...]

In the ST, Liu Bei uses his own given name “备” (“bei”) in the dialogue to refer to himself. It was translated as “I” in T1 and the direct speech was changed into a narrative in T2. Neither translator transferred the intention of the ST author, namely to show modesty before a senior when offering to take a mission. In T1, this makes no difference for the target reader in terms

of the translation brief, but in T2, this does not seem sufficient since T2's purpose is to introduce Chinese elements to Western readers who want to learn more about China.

Table 6.3 Translation of first person pronouns

ST	T1	T1
某	I	I
吾	I	I
我	my/my	my
备	I	not translated

In Table 6.3, it can be seen that in the ST four different words are used as first person pronouns: “某”, “吾”, “我” and “备” (the given name). But in both English translations, only “I” or “me/my” is used to render the different terms, which reflects that this function of first person pronouns in the ST cannot be achieved relatively completely in the translation in the target situation. These are interlingual or/and intercultural translation problems and the two translations, especially T1, can be regarded as having achieved their skopos. However, it would have been better if the translators had provided explanations (placed in a footnote for instance) as a reference to distinguish these four terms for those readers who have some knowledge of the Chinese language.

In the examples below, the translation of second person pronouns in dialogue will be discussed.

Example 6.12

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 璋问曰：“玄德与我同宗，吾故结之为援；汝何出此言？”

T1: The Prefect said, “Why do **you** use such language? Yuan-te is of my family and so I am seeking his support.”

T2: “Xuande and I are royal kinsmen,” Liu Zhang said. “That is why I enlist his support. How can **you** make such a statement?”

In the ST, “汝” (“ru”) is used to address a person who is junior or of similar age to that of the speaker. “You” is used to translate this word in both translations. “You” is the most

commonly-used second person pronoun in English and it is correct to be used here as an equivalent for “汝”. Another term “thou”, which is the archaic or dialect form of “you (singular)”, could have been a substitute. However, both translations are intended for modern readers, therefore neither of the translators chose to use “thou”.

Example 6.13

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 又问，劭曰：“子治世之能臣，乱世之奸雄也。”

T1: ...again he put the question. Then he replied, “**You** are able enough to rule the world, but wicked enough to disturb it.”

T2: But pressed repeatedly, the man finally spoke: “**You** could be an able statesman in a time of peace or a treacherous villain in a time of chaos.”

“子” (“zi”) in the ST is used to address a man to show respect. But neither translation, which simply renders it as “you”, successfully transfers this sense of respect. It can be considered acceptable in T1, but not in T2. The intended readers of T2 include serious learners of Chinese culture, and they should be given the correct information.

Example 6.14

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 吾已将益州许刘皇叔矣。专欲与兄共议。

T1: I have promised Ichou to Liu Pei, the Imperial Uncle, and I want **your** especial advice and assistance.”

T2: I have promised our province to Imperial Uncle Liu, and I want to discuss it with **you, brother.**”

In the ST, “兄” (“xiong”), which literally means “elder brother”, is a courteous form of address between men. It is used in a polite and formal way to address the other male person who has more or less the same social status as that of the speaker. In T1, Brewitt-Taylor translated “兄” as “your”, which is not fully compatible with the function of the ST. In T2, the translation is “you, brother”, which is more on a par with the ST function and coincides with Roberts’s intention.

Example 6.15

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 松曰：“公如不信，吾试诵之。”

T1: “Do **you** disbelieve me? Why, I know it and could repeat it.”

T2: “If **you** don’t believe it,” countered Zhang Song, “let me recite for you.”

In the ST, “公” (“gong”) is used frequently by a speaker to address another person. It is a respectful form of address for a senior man. Both translators used “you” once again to translate this term. No attempts were made in either TT to distinguish this term from other terms to show its specific meaning. Suggested alternatives in English would be “gentleman” or “sir”.

Example 6.16

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 玄德曰：“深感君之厚意。...”

T1: “I am deeply grateful that **you** think so well of me....”

T2: “**Your** concern touches me deeply,” Xuande responded....”

“君” (“jun”) in the ST is another form of address that shows respect for the addressee. “You(r)” is used in both translations, without any indication of the politeness conveyed in the ST.

Example 6.17¹²⁶

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: “此是战国时无名氏所作，曹丞相盗窃以为己能，止好瞞足下耳！”

T1: “It was written by some obscure person of the time of the Warring States (Chou Dynasty, about 320 B.C.) and Ts’ao Ts’ao has plagiarized it. But he has deceived no one but **you, Sir**.”

T2: “It was written in the Warring States era by an unknown hand and has not been plagiarized by Prime Minister Cao. He seems to have put one over **you**, at any rate.”

¹²⁶ The same sentence is used as an example in later in this chapter (Example 6.26) and in Chapter 5 (Example 5.35).

“足下” (“zuxia”) literally means “under or beneath your foot”. It is also a second person form of address that shows respect for the other person by humbling the speaker. T1 uses “you, Sir” while T2 only uses “you”, which is not considered appropriate against the yardstick of the translation brief.

Example 6.18

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 累顿首言曰：“主公今听张松之说，自取其祸。”

T1: With bowed head Wang Lei stood and said, “**My lord** will bring misfortune upon himself if he listens to this Chang Sung.”

T2: Touching his head to the ground, Wang Lei said, “**My lord**, Zhang Song’s advice spells disaster.”

“主公” (“zhugong”) is a term used to address a ruler. Both translators use “my lord”, which is correct and appropriate from a functionalist perspective.

Example 6.19

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: “今日自付与**将军**，不可错失。”

T1: “Today it is offered to your hand and **you** must not miss the opportunity.”

T2: “It would be unwise, **General**, not to take what he offers you so freely.”

Official titles are often used to address another person in a conversation to show respect or politeness. “将军” (“jiangjun”) in the ST is the title of office for a military leader. In addition to the usage of such an appointment or rank, it can also be used as a general term of address for an army leader. In T1, Brewitt-Taylor used “you” as the equivalent term, which is not sufficient. “General” was Roberts’s translation in T2 and it achieves a more similar function to that of the ST. From the functionalist perspective, both translations are considered as appropriate. T1 is intended for a smooth reading while T2 aims to transfer as much as possible of what the ST contains.

Example 6.20

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 刘璋问曰：“别驾有何高见，可解张鲁之危？”

T1: “What proposal have **you** to offer that may avert this danger?”

T2: To Inspector Liu Zhang’s question, “**Lieutenant**, what can be done about the threat Zhang Lu poses from Hanzhong?”

“别驾” (“biejia”) is another office title used to address a speaker to show respect or politeness. In the ST, the speaker Liu Zhang is the ruler of Zhang Song. But Liu was seeking advice, therefore he uses Zhang Song’s official title to show politeness. Brewitt-Taylor used the general term “you” in T1, ignoring the title, while Roberts chose “Lieutenant” in T2, attempting to be loyal to the original and at the same time to be polite.

Example 6.21

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 修入见操曰：“适来丞相何慢张松乎？”

T1: By and bye Yang Hsiu went to see Ts’ao Ts’ao on the matter receiving the emissary from the west and said, “**Sir**, why did **you** formally treat Chang Sung so off-hand.”

T2: Yang Xiu approached Cao Cao. “Why did **you** rebuff Zhang Song just now, **Your Excellency?**” he asked.

“丞相” (“Chengxiang”) in the ST means “prime minister”. When translating this form of address in a conversation, Brewitt-Taylor used the combination of “Sir” plus “you”, while Roberts used “You” plus “Your Excellency”. Both translators were aware of the function of showing respect.

There appear ten different forms of address for the second person in the ST: “汝”, “子”, “兄”, “公”, “君”, “足下”, “主公”, “将军”, “别驾” and “丞相”. The translations of these terms are listed in the following table:

Table 6.4 Translation of second person pronouns

ST	T1	T2
汝	you	you
子	you	you

兄	you	you, brother
公	you	you
君	you	you
足下	you, sir	you
主公	my lord	my lord
将军	you	general
别驾	you	lieutenant
丞相	sir, you	you, your excellency

From the examples in the table above, it can be inferred that when translating the second person forms of address, the variety in the ST cannot be fully translated in the target situation in most cases. Thus the intended goal of T2 cannot always be achieved in this respect.

The translation of third person pronouns will be investigated in the following examples.

Example 6.22

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 拮笑曰：“**彼**亦知吾能饮乎！”

T1: [...] he laughed. “So **he** knows I can drink,” said he.

T2: With a smile Yang Hu responded, “**He**, too, knows my capacity for drink!”

“彼” (“bi”) in the ST is the general term for the third person. In both translations it is translated as “he”, which is normal and correct. The same function as that in the ST has been easily achieved in the TT since “he” is the general third person pronoun in English.

Example 6.23

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 玄德谓关、张曰：“**贼**众我寡；必出奇兵，方可取胜。”

T1: “**They** are many and we but few,” said Yuan-te to his brothers. “We can only beat them by superior strategy.”

T2: “**They** are too many for us. We can win only by surprising them,” Xuande told his brothers.

In the ST, “贼” (“zei”) is used here to refer to the rebels, the enemy. Being a derogatory term, it shows the speaker’s hate and disdain for the rebels. Both translators rendered it as “they”, which does not convey the derogatory sense of the ST term.

Example 6.24

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 修又问曰：“方今刘季玉手下，如公者还有几人？”

T1: “And many such as you, Sir, do you think there are at the orders of **your Governor?**”

T2: “And,” Yang Xiu went on, “could you also tell me something about the men now in **Liu Zhang’s** service? Are there more like yourself?”

In the ST, the speaker (Yang Xiu) is a minister. When he mentions the name of a governor, he uses the governor’s surname plus courtesy name, “刘季玉”, to show politeness. In T1, Brewitt-Taylor translated it as “your governor”, which more or less conveys some politeness. But in T2, the name of the governor was used directly by Roberts, which is considered rude in China.

Example 6.25

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 修曰：“公居边隅，安知丞相大才乎？吾试令公观之。”

T1: “Ah, Sir; that comes of dwelling in out-of-the-way parts. How could you know of the magnificent talents of **the great Minister?** But I will show you something.”

T2: “Living in a backwater as you do,” Yang Xiu responded, “you may be excused for not appreciating **His Excellency’s** talent. Perhaps you should be given an opportunity to see something of it.”

In this example in the ST, Yang Xiu shows great respect when mentioning his master, the Prime Minister “丞相” (“chengxiang”). Both translators rendered this form of address appropriately into English as “the great Minister” in T1 and “His Excellency” in T2.

Example 6.26

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

- ST: “...此是战国时无名氏所作，曹丞相盗窃以为己能，只好瞒足下耳！”
- T1: “It was written by some obscure person of the time of the Warring States (Chou Dynasty, about 320 B.C.) and Ts’ao Ts’ao has plagiarized it. But he has deceived no one but you, Sir.”
- T2: “It was written in the Warring States era by an unknown hand and has not been plagiarized by **Prime Minister Cao**. He seems to have put one over you, at any rate.”

In the example above, the words were spoken by Zhang Song, the envoy. He uses “曹丞相” (“Cao chengxiang”) to refer to Cao Cao in a conversation with Cao’s secretary Yang Xiu. This is a polite way of mentioning him. In T1, Cao Cao’s name is used directly (“Ts’ao Ts’ao”), which is very rude and cannot be accepted in the ST situation, but in the TT situation, where a readable version is the translation skopos, this translation can be considered acceptable. T2 is a word-for-word translation. “Prime Minister Cao” is used to show the necessary respect from an envoy of another kingdom. Since some prospective target readers are learners of the Chinese language and culture, which would also include etiquette, the use of Cao’s title is appropriate.

Table 6.5 Translations of third person pronouns and forms of address

ST	T1	T2
彼	he	he
贼	they	they
刘季玉	your Governor	Liu Zhang
丞相	the Great minister	His Excellency
曹丞相	Ts’ao Ts’ao	Prime Minister Cao

The table above shows that when translating the third person pronouns and forms of address, many more different words can be chosen and the TT can partially keep the function of the ST if the translator intends to do so in order to achieve his translation skopos.

The findings from the discussions reflect that when translating personal pronouns and direct speech, Brewitt-Taylor adopted more flexible approaches to achieve the translation skopos and the strategies he used are necessary and appropriate. Regarding Roberts’s translation, the intended target readers have much more professional knowledge and may expect much more than a smooth and fluid story. The demands for the translator are high and the limitation of

translation can't be avoided due to the linguistic and cultural differences between Chinese and English.

6.4.3.3 Interlingual translation problems

These problems arise from structural differences in the vocabulary and syntax of the two languages. From the functionalist point of view, the appropriateness of the vocabulary and grammar in the TT is not judged against their counterparts in the ST but against the intended purpose of the TT.

In the current study, each of the paragraphs in the ST is rather long and it is frequently seen that a number of forms of direct speech by different speakers are contained in the same paragraph. The strategy that both translators adopted was to split the long paragraphs in their translations to meet the reading habits of the TT readers (cf. 5.2.2.1).

Example 6.27

(Chapter 1)

ST: 那张角本是个不第秀才，因入山采药，遇一老人，碧眼童颜，手执藜杖，唤角至一洞中，以天书三卷授之，曰：“此名《太平要术》，汝得之，当代天宣化，普救世人；若萌异心，必获恶报。”

T1: The eldest was an unclassed graduate, who devoted himself to medicine. One day, while culling simples in the woods, he met a venerable old gentleman with very bright eyes and fresh complexion, who walked leaning on a staff. The old man beckoned Chio into a cave and there gave him three volumes of the “Book of Heaven.” “This book” said he, “is the Way of Peace. With the aid of these volumes you can convert the world and rescue mankind. But you must be single-minded, or, rest assured, you will greatly suffer.”

T2: Zhang Jue had failed the official provincial-level examination and repaired to the hills where he gathered medicinal herbs. One day he met an ancient mystic, emerald-eyed and with a youthful face, gripping a staff of goosefoot wood. The old man summoned Zhang Jue into a cave where he placed in his hands a sacred book in three volumes. “Here is the Essential Arts for the Millennium,” he said. “Now that you have it, spread its teachings far and wide as Heaven’s messenger for the salvation of our age. But think no seditious thoughts, or retribution will follow.”

Chinese and English are structurally very different, which makes it impossible or unnecessary to keep the structure of the ST in the translation. In the example above, the excerpt from the ST is just one sentence, but both translators tried to make the TT readable and idiomatic, and decided to split it into a number of sentences (six in both translations). Here both TTs, though neither kept the sentence structure of the ST, are still considered appropriate from the functionalist perspective.

In ancient Chinese, function words or particles were used frequently. These types of words themselves usually do not have concrete meanings. They were used to function in a sentence more in a grammatical sense. These words are normally not translated. In the following examples, four most commonly-used function words will be discussed. They are “者”, “乎”, “耶” and “也” respectively.

Example 6.28

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 时人有桥玄者，谓操曰：“天下将乱，非命世之才不能济。能安之者，其在君乎”

T1: A certain man of the time said to Ts'ao Ts'ao, “Rebellion is at hand and only a man of the greatest ability can succeed in restoring tranquility. That man is yourself.”

T2: At about that time a man called Qiao Xuan said to Cao, “The empire is near ruin and can be saved only by a man capable of dominating the age. You could be the one.”

In this example, two particles are used, namely “者” and “乎”. After the subject of the sentence, “者” is used. It has two grammatical functions here: one is to show a pause, the other is to hint that more text is expressed. This word and its two functions are rendered in neither TTs. The second particle “乎” in the ST functions as an exclamation, but neither translator dealt with it in a grammatical sense.

Example 6.29

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 松看毕，问曰：“公以此为何书耶？”

T1: “What do you take this to be?” asked Chang Sung, when he had finished.

T2: “What book is this?”

“耶” in the ST is commonly-used function word used at the ends of sentences to turn them into questions. Neither of the translators translated the word.

Example 6.30

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 修大惊曰：“公过目不忘，真天下奇才也！”

T1: “You remember it like this after only one reading! Really you are marvelous.”

T2: Yang Xiu was astonished. “You memorized it at a glance,” said Yang Xiu. “Truly a man of rare talent.”

“也”, a modal particle, is used here at the end of the sentence to show judgment or affirmation. In both of the translations, the mood was rendered but not the word.

6.4.3.4 Text-specific translation problems

These problems arise in the translation of a specific text. Metaphors, puns, alliteration, rhyme and rhetorical figures are classified as examples of text-specific translation problems. The discussion in 5.2.2.8.3 shows that the most common strategy both translators used for translating idioms was to paraphrase it, which, in general, is also the most-commonly used strategy used to translate idioms. To paraphrase an idiom means to transfer the message, but lose the format of the ST. In terms of rendering the message, the two translators did not always make the same decision to translate the same idiom. For instance, on some occasions Brewitt-Taylor rendered a specific idiom more freely than Roberts did (cf. Table 5.11 in Chapter 5), while on other occasions Brewitt-Taylor rendered a certain idiom more literally than Roberts did (cf. Table 5.10 in Chapter 5).

In the ST, direct speech is used frequently as a means of revealing the personality of a character. In T1, the translator turned some of these direct speeches in the ST into narratives when he did not consider them important enough. This is called, in a term suggested by Nord,

the instrumental translation. The statistics¹²⁷ of these changes from the three selected chapters are as follows: The translator of T1 changed direct speech into indirect speech twenty-three times, while in T2 there were only three such changes. Chapter 60 has the most dialogues and conversations, but changes from the ST in this chapter are the fewest – only five times in T1 and twice in T2. This reflects that both translators were aware of the importance of these dialogues and wanted to keep the dialogue as original as possible. In a rare case, a narrative is changed into a direct speech in T1 (cf. Example 6.4).

Example 6.31

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 卓问三人现居何职。玄德曰：“白身。”卓甚轻之，不为礼。

T1: **“What offices have you”** asked Tung Cho, **when he had leisure** to speak to the brothers. “None,” was the reply. And Tung treated them with disrespect.

T2: Zhuo inquired what offices they held but, upon learning that they were commoners without position, disdainfully refused to acknowledge their service.

The dialogue in the ST has an expressive function. In T1, Brewitt-Taylor added “when he had leisure”, which is not found in the ST, to depict the speaker’s arrogance. Such changes are made based on the translator’s personal interpretation of the ST.

The following examples will be used mainly to analyze the reason why direct speech forms in the ST were changed into narratives in the translation.

Example 6.32

(Chapter 1, emphasis added)

ST: 关公曰：“卢中郎已被逮，别人领兵，我等去无所依，不如且回涿郡。”玄德从其言，遂引军北行。

T1: It was useless to continue on that road so Kuan Yu proposed to go back and they retook the road.

T2: “With Lu Zhi arrested and replaced,” said Lord Guan, “we have nowhere to go but back to Zhuo district.” Xuande agreed and began marching north.

¹²⁷ This was conducted manually by the researcher.

Guan Yu's proposal, which has an appellative function, intends to persuade Liu Bei to go back to Liu Bei's hometown. In the situation, this seems to be the only choice for the three brothers who might think the same. T2 is a more or less faithful reproduction of the ST (documentary translation) except that Lu Zhi's personal name was taken over into the TT instead of his surname (Lu) plus his title ("Zhonglang" meaning "prefect"). In T1, this sentence was changed into indirect speech, which is less formal. Since the decision to return to Liu Bei's hometown seems to be the only choice for the three brothers, it does not seem to matter who of the three brothers makes such a proposal. Brewitt-Taylor seems to have interpreted the ST in this way and chose to downplay the importance of Guan Yu's words. This decision does not affect the flow of the story and its reception by the general readers, so this change does not violate the translation skopos.

Example 6.33

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 羊祜下令：“我军不许过界。”众将得令，止于晋地打围，不犯吴境。

T1: **Yang gave strict order not to cross the boundary**, and so each hunted only on his own side.

T2: **Yang Hu had instructed his commanders not to cross into Southland territory**, and as ordered they hunted only within Jin territory.

In Example 6.33, the direct speech, if translated into English literally, would be “Cross the Boundary is Prohibited!” Both translators used narrative to translate the direct speech, because the direct speech in the ST is a military order, which is brief and not specific. This speech is not meant to reveal the personality of the speaker. Any army leader may issue the same order. Neither translator violated their translation skopos.

Example 6.34

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 一日，部将入帐禀祜曰：“哨马来报：吴兵皆懈怠。可乘其无备而袭之，必获大胜。”

T1: One day his officers came to his tent **to say that the spies reported great laxity in the enemy's camp, and they wished to attack.**

- T2: One day a subordinate commander entered with a petition for Yang Hu: **“Scouts have reported that the Southland soldiers seem lax and lazy. Since they are unprepared, a surprise attack should defeat them.”**

In the ST, the direct speech is from an unknown, unimportant officer. This seems to be the reason why Brewitt-Taylor used an instrumental translation method. Roberts adopted a documentary one, which is the strategy that is used generally in T2.

Example 6.35

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 遂不从其言，遣法正行。又一人阻曰：“不可！不可！”璋视之，乃帐前从事官王累也。

T1: No notice was taken of Huang Ch’uan, and Fa Cheng was about to set out when another interfered, crying, **“No, No.”** This was a secretary, Wang Lei.

T2: Liu Zhang said; he rejected Huang Quan’s strategy in favor of Fa Zheng’s mission. But another man cried out **in opposition**. It was Wang Lei, an aide in Liu Zhang’s personal service.

The direct speech “No! No!” in the ST is very brief and Brewitt-Taylor reproduced the format in this case. In T2, this is one of the rare cases where Roberts deviated from the ST – he mostly reproduced the format as well as the content of the ST faithfully. From this example it can be deduced that neither of the two translators were entirely consistent when translating direct speech.

Example 6.36

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 陆抗望见，叹曰：“羊将军有纪律，不可犯也。”

T1: **Lu was astonished at the enemy’s scrupulous propriety.**

T2: Watching from afar, Lu Kang said with a sigh, **“What discipline general Yang has! We must not violate his boundary.”**

In this example, Brewitt-Taylor changed Lu Kang’s speech into a narrative to describe Lu’s feeling. The word “astonished” was added to stress the feeling.

For the translation of metaphors and similes, the discussion in 5.2.2.8.4 reflects that the strategies used by the two translators were similar, namely conversion of metaphor to sense; translation of metaphor by a simile; and reproducing the same image in the TL. It can be assumed that the readers of the two translations would have no problem understanding the translated metaphors in the TT. One omission is identified in each of the translations, but with a different metaphor. The following two examples shows these omissions in context in order to determine the appropriateness of these decisions.

Example 6.37

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 权曰：“某素知刘备宽以待人，柔能克刚，英雄莫敌；远得人心，近得民望；兼有诸葛亮、庞统之智谋，关、张、赵云、黄忠、魏延为羽翼。”

T1: Said Huang Ch'uan, "I know all about him; he is liberal-minded to gain people to his side and his softness can overcome the hardest. He is bolder than any other. He gains men's hearts from afar and those near him look up to him. **He also has the wisest advisers and the boldest warriors.**

T2: "I am quite familiar with Xuande's magnanimity," was the reply, "how his gentle approach has overcome the hardest resistance the empire's heroes have put up so far. He has won the allegiance of men from afar, and gratified the hopes of those he has ruled. **On top of that, he has two wise counselors in Zhuge Liang and Pang Tong; and he has the support of such valiant warriors as Guan, Zhang, Zhao Zilong, Huang Zhong, and Wei Yan.**

In the ST, “羽翼” (“yuyi”) is a metaphor which literally means “feathers and wings”, indicating “strong support”. In T1, there is no mention of this metaphor, but the sentence “He also has the wisest advisers and the boldest warriors” implies that “the boldest warriors” are Liu Bei’s “feathers and wings” since these warriors are under Liu Bei’s control. Without translating the metaphor, it is assumed that the TT effect is still felt. In T2, only the symbolic meaning of the metaphor is explained and the TT effect is achieved. It can be assumed that the TT effect in both translations is not the same as the effect in the ST.

Example 6.38

(Chapter 60)

ST: 璋曰：“贼兵犯界，有烧眉之急；若待时清，则是慢计也。”

T1: “If these rebels invade this land the position will be critical, **as when fire singes one’s eyebrows**. It is idle talk to tell me to wait on events.”

T2: “With the enemy at our borders, we cannot waste time.”

In the ST, “烧眉之急” (“shaomeizhiji”) is a metaphor meaning the situation is extremely urgent. This time Brewitt-Taylor fully translated this metaphor while Roberts skipped over it. Roberts’s decision here violates his translation skopos which is to transfer all Chinese elements for serious TT readers.

Another type of text-specific translation problem is the translation of poems. Poems in the ST have two stylistic features: poems are rhymed and are composed with the same number of words in each line of a poem (cf. 5.2.2.8.8). Poetry is a special art and many people believe that poetry is untranslatable. However, the functionalist point of view stresses the effect of the TT on the receivers in the TL. The ST functions only as an information provider and the translator can decide not only how to translate, but also what to translate as long as the translation achieves its skopos. In the current case, most of the poems are reproduced in T1 and all poems are reproduced in T2. Some of the translated versions are rhymed and some are not. Some read smoothly, but some don’t look natural enough. Feedback from TT readers, if it were to be collected and analyzed, might provide insight in this regard. In order to evaluate the translations of these poems within the functionalist framework, further research still needs to be done.

In terms of the TT effect, the skopos suggestion is:

The code elements should be selected in such a way that the target-text effect corresponds to the intended target-text functions.

Nord (1997a: 92–93)

Since the source culture and target culture do not have the same literature that has developed more or less identically, a faithful reproduction of the form and content of the original will not achieve the same effect on the target readers that the ST has on its readers (Nord 1997a: 90). This suggestion indicates that the translator should be familiar with the linguistic means in the target culture that are appropriate to attain a particular text function. By using these means, the translator can produce a text accordingly, so that the target reader will recognize the intention and receive the text with the designed function (Nord 1997a: 93).

The following examples are provided to discuss how some idioms and rhetorical figures are translated in the two English versions. These problems belong to text-specific translation problems, according to Nord (1997b: 61).

Example 6.39

(Chapter 60)

ST: 松曰：“奉主之命，虽赴汤蹈火，弗敢辞也。”

T1: “But at our lord’s command we travel, even **through fire and water**; we never decline,” replied Chang.

T2: “At my lord’s command,” Zhang Song replied, “I would **walk through fire or boiling water.**”

In this example, the Chinese idiom “赴汤蹈火” is more or less equivalent to the English idiom “go through fire and water” meaning “undergo any danger”. Both translators kept the form and context of this metaphor. T2 remains so close to the ST that the English idiom was slightly changed to “walk through fire or boiling water”. Although this change makes the translation less idiomatic in the TL, it is still understandable and more faithful to the ST. It is assumed that the target readers would understand this new, foreign way of presenting an old idea.

Example 6.40

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 修曰：“且无论其口似悬河，辩才无碍。”

T1: “To say nothing about **his speech being like the River of Heaven**, nothing daunts his talent for dialectic.”

T2: “**Superb rhetorical powers,**” was the reply. “He is an unbeatable debater and has a broad knowledge and accurate memory all too rarely found.”

In the ST, “口似悬河” is a commonly-used Chinese idiom meaning literally “words keep flowing like a waterfall”. It figuratively means “speak eloquently and volubly”.

This idiom in the ST is a simile. In T1, it is rendered as “his speech being like the River of Heaven”. Even if there is no such phrase like “River of Heaven” in English, readers can still imagine and understand it. The effect is thus reproduced in the TT in T1. In the case of T2, it

seems as if Roberts was not sure about the connection between words and river, and therefore he only paraphrased the idiom as “superb rhetorical powers”, without reproducing the vivid image of the flowing river. This example seems to indicate that T1 is a documentary translation and T2 an instrumental one. This is however an exception and against the strategies generally used by the two translators.

Example 6.41

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 陛下可诏都督羊祜率兵拒之，俟其国中有变，乘势攻取，东吴**反掌**可得也。

T1: Your Majesty should send Yang Hu to oppose this army, and when internal trouble shall arise let him attack, and victory will then be **easy**.

T2: You Majesty might issue an edict to Field Marshal Yang Hu to lead the army against the south. A coup is likely there, and that will give us the chance to attack. The Southland can be taken **with the ease of turning one’s palm**.

The metaphor “反掌” (“fanzhang”) in the ST means “something is as easy as turning one’s palm.” T1 only transfers its figurative meaning. T2 keeps both the literal and figurative meanings of this word. The translation “with the ease of turning one’s palm” may seem foreign to the target reader but it is entirely understandable and acceptable and keeps the ST effect.

Example 6.42

(Chapter 60, emphasis added)

ST: 累曰：“张鲁犯界，乃**癣疥之疾**；刘备入川，乃**心腹之大患**。”

T1: “A Chang Lu invasion would be but **a skin disease**. Liu Pei’s entry into this country would be **a mortal malady**.”

T2: “Zhang Lu,” Wang Lei continued, “is **a superficial problem**. Liu Bei represents **a threat to our vitals**.”

There are two metaphors in the ST in this example: “癣疥之疾” (“xian jie zhi ji”) and “心腹之大患” (“xin fu zhi da huan”). In T1, the first metaphor was translated literally by Brewitt-Taylor as a “skin disease”, which should be understandable in the target situation. The second metaphor was rendered as “a mortal malady”, which is a combination of its literary meaning

and figurative meaning. In T2, Roberts explained both metaphors figuratively as “a superficial problem” and “a threat to our vitals”, and thereby lost the text effect of a metaphor.

Example 6.43¹²⁸

(Chapter 1)

ST: 讹言：“苍天已死，黄天当立；岁在甲子，天下大吉。”

T1: They talked wildly of the death of the blue heavens and the setting up of the yellow; they said a new cycle was beginning and would bring universal good fortune.

T2: A seditious song began to circulate at this time:

The pale sky is on the wane,

Next, a yellow one shall reign;

The calendar's rotation

Spells fortune for the nation.

The format of this rumor in the ST is a rhymed verse which is made intentionally easy to spread. Brewitt-Taylor rendered this verse into a narrative that only transfers the message. Roberts made an attempt to keep both the form and meaning of the ST in T2. In this case, T2 achieves a better effect than T1.

Example 6.44

(Chapter 60)

ST: “文有相如之赋，武有伏波之才；医有仲景之能，卜有君平之隐。”

T1: “Our administrators are talented as Hsiang-ju (Ssuma Hsiang-ju): our soldiers able as Fu-po (Ma Yuan): our Physicians are expert as Chung-ching; our diviners are profound as Chun-p'ing (yen Tsun).”

T2: “In the civil arts we have had men as gifted as the great rhapsodist Sima Xiangru; in the military, leaders as capable as Ma Yuan; in medicine, physicians as able as Zhang Ji,* in divination, seers as profound as Yang Zun.”

*Note: Sima Xiangru was a noted poet and man of letters of the Western Han. Ma Yuan was the military hero (Tamer of the Deep) who subdued the Viet (Yue) region during the Eastern Han. Zhang Ji was a famed physician of the Eastern Han.

¹²⁸ This example is also used in Chapter 5 (cf. Example 5.28).

The ST is Zhang Song's response to Yang Xiu's question. Yang looks down upon the region Shu when Zhang Song comes as an envoy. Zhang Song's eloquence is well-known. He uses the four people of greatest achievements in different fields to show that his region is full of talented men.

The ST has the following features:

- The four sentences in the ST are very neat couplets in form;
- The sounds and tones combined are natural and beautiful for the ST readers; and
- The four people mentioned are well known to Chinese readers. Their courtesy names, which are all made up of two Chinese characters, are used because this is a formal and serious dialogue.

When comparing the two translations with the ST, it is evident that the form and sounds are not transferred in both translations. The form and sounds here are untranslatable because of the incompatibility between Chinese and English. The only function that can be translated is the content. Both of the translators made attempts to paraphrase the content. Brewitt-Taylor rendered the four courtesy names in T1, and also provided their surnames and given names in brackets as an explication. However, it can be assumed that few Western readers know any of these people. Given names or courtesy names do not make a difference. In T2, Roberts directly replaced the courtesy names with surnames and given names, and provided a note to explain who the first three people were. They are traditionally supposed to be more well-known and important than the fourth one, a diviner. Furthermore, one mistake appears in each of the translations. In T1, Brewitt-Taylor mistook Sima Xiangru, a prose writer, for an administrator, and in T2, the last person's surname is spelt incorrectly. The correct spelling should be "Yan Zun", not "Yang Zun". In conclusion, the effect of the ST is not transferred in both translations.

In conclusion, the analysis conducted above shows that both translations have generally achieved their purpose and can be considered good translations. But in the analysis on sentence level, incompatibilities in different aspects (cf. the sections above) are identified in both translations.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the selected chapters from the two translations from the functionalist perspective and attempted to evaluate them. The findings are as follows:

- Brewitt-Taylor's translation can generally be considered an instrumental one;
- Roberts's translation can generally be considered a documentary one;
- Both translations function successfully as novels;
- In regard to the loyalty principle, both translations seem to have achieved their respective skopoi. There are a number of omissions in T1 which have been translated in T2 because the latter has a different translation skopos; and
- Inconsistencies are found in both translations when dealing with the same type of translation problems.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

In the problem statement of this study presented in Chapter 1, one of the questions posed was why T2 as a retranslation has not fully replaced T1, which was completed about eighty years earlier but is still in print and enjoys some popularity to the present day. The target readers appear to have played a decisive role in this. The success and the relative “longevity” of Brewitt-Taylor’s translation can be verified from Roberts’s change of decisions on his retranslation. Roberts first published an abridged translation in 1976 for undergraduate college and university courses. This version is short and contains limited information. He was not completely satisfied to leave it at this and later wished to translate the entire novel. This ambitious project was completed successfully in the 1990s. However, he shortened the translation in 1999 to meet the needs of students in the above-mentioned undergraduate courses. This shortening seems to indicate that Roberts must have realized the extensive notes and detailed background information provided in his full translation were not necessary for the majority of his target readers, including the undergraduate students of Chinese or Asian studies (cf. 3.4.2). His newly abridged translation appears to correspond to Brewitt-Taylor’s initial translation in that both versions are intended for a more general market of Western readers. This could be a verification of the functionalist notion of “the end justifies the means”.

As stated in section 1.4, this study had two goals: the primary goal and the secondary goal. The primary goal was to describe the relevant aspects of the two translations, and this was achieved in Chapters 2, 3 and 5. These aspects included the background information on the ST, its translations (abridged or unabridged) into different languages, the background information on the two translators and the two complete English translations. Corresponding theories and approaches, of which DTS was the major theoretical framework, were introduced and discussed in Chapter 4. In Chapter 6, the two English translations of the first Chinese novel, *Sanguo yanyi*, were analyzed within the framework of functionalist approaches to translation in order to determine which of the two English versions is a better resource for South African students of Chinese – the secondary goal stated in 1.4. On the basis of the findings and discussions in previous chapters, this concluding chapter will attempt to formulate some generalizations on the translations of this ancient Chinese novel into modern English, which would be an outcome of the first goal stated in Chapter 1.4.

7.1 General findings

In Chapters 5 and 6, a number of examples from the selected chapters of *Sanguo yanyi* were discussed. Although most of the examples concern linguistic elements on word or sentence level, they were not treated within the frame of linguistic approaches to translation, i.e. to investigate the degree of equivalence between the ST and the TT and propose which translation is better according to the closeness of the two TTs to the ST. Such an approach, which is ST oriented and has a prescriptive nature, was not the aim of this study. In the current research, the word or sentence-level examples were used mainly to illustrate arguments from the perspectives of DTS and Functionalism respectively, i.e. to discuss and explain the strategies and approaches adopted in the two translations against the TT contexts. Thus, this study focuses on the TT and the TT contexts and bears a more descriptive nature.

A number of findings from the comparisons and analysis of the two translations will be presented in the following sections.

7.1.1 Translation means variation

Translators are also readers. When reading a text, it is not unlikely that different translators will interpret the same ST in the same way. However, they express or reproduce what they have interpreted in different ways. Different expressions of the same idea could also have a different impact on readers.

In the comparison of the two translations of the same ST, it was found that there often is no exact translation in the two TTs for an element in the ST. The differences between the two TTs start to show at word level and become more obvious at and above sentence level. The longer the text, the more different the translations are. This finding seems to reflect that neither lexical or syntactical similarity nor textual equivalence is possible between the two TTs. The following examples will be used to further explicate this point.

Example 7.1

(Chapter 1)

ST: 话说天下大势，分久必合，合久必分。

T1: Empires wax and wane; states cleave asunder and coalesce.

T2: Here begins our tale. The empire, long divided, must unite; long united, must divide. Thus it has ever been.

These are the opening lines of the novel, which are quite well-known since it not only reflects the Chinese view of history as cyclical rather than linear (as in the West), but also the Chinese philosophical concept “物极必反”, meaning “things will develop in the opposite direction when they become extreme”. The English saying “too much water drowned the miller” conveys a similar message. The two translations are completely different lexically, syntactically and stylistically, but both are readable and idiomatic and convey nearly the same message as the ST.

Example 7.2

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 由是廷臣缄口，不敢再谏。

T1: Thereafter, none **dared** to speak; the mouth of every courtier was “sewed up.”

T2: Thenceforth the vassals sealed their lips, and no one **dared** remonstrate.

In this example, in terms of the use of words, only one word is the same in the two translations. In terms of the sentence structures, the two translations are also largely different from each other. However, the message conveyed by the two versions is more or less the same.

Example 7.3

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: 祐在军，尝着轻裘，系宽带，不披铠甲，帐前侍卫者不过十余人。

T1: **Yang** maintained great simplicity, wearing the lightest of garments and **no armour**. His personal escort numbered only about a score.

T2: When with the troops **Yang Hu** wore **no armor**, only a light fur jacket cinched with a broad belt. The guard at his command tent never exceeded ten men.

Example 7.3 shows that, in terms of the use of words, only three are the same in the two translations. The sentence structures are again largely different. The two TTs still convey more or less the same message.

Example 7.4

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

ST: “今无灾而民命尽，无为而国财空，臣窃痛之。”

T1: “**No natural calamity has** fallen upon the **people**, **yet** they starve; no public work is in progress, **yet** the **treasury** is **empty**. I am distressed.”

T2: **No calamity has** struck, **yet** the **people's** lives are drained. Nothing has been undertaken, **yet** the state **treasury** stands **empty**. How keenly **I** deplore it.”

In this example, there are twenty-five words in each of the translations. About one-third of the words in the two translations are the same. The structures in the two translations are similar and the message is the same.

Generally speaking, T1 is a freer rendition of the ST, while T2 seems to stay closer to the original both semantically and syntactically.

From the analysis of these examples, the following can be deduced: the same ST will have as many diverse translations into the same TL as there are translators. The functions of different TTs as well as their reception by the various TT readers might also differ accordingly.

7.1.2 Translation approaches and strategies

In order to avoid unnatural expressions and make the text more consistent and readable, Brewitt-Taylor used the following domesticating strategies, which makes him more invisible as the translator:

- Avoided providing footnotes;
- Supplied no extra background information in the form of illustrations, maps, etc.;
- Incorporated the background information into the text;
- Replaced personal names in the ST with the titles of the corresponding people;

- Omitted the personal names that are less important in the ST;
- Simplified or omitted the ranks and office titles in the ST;
- Gave additions wherever confusion could have been caused and added his own interpretations when necessary;
- Omitted items which were assumed to be too difficult for the target readers to understand;
- Made contextual adjustments wherever necessary; and
- Translated direct speech into narrative;

These generalizations are deduced on the basis of the descriptions of and findings regarding T1. The translation of one paragraph from Chapter 120 further illustrates some of these points.

Example 7.5

(Chapter 120, emphasis added)

T1: Then one Wan Yu (**rank omitted**) rose and said (**direct speech into narrative**) the young prince was too youthful to rule in such troublous times, and he suggested instead Sun Hao, who stood in the direct line from Sun Quan (**contextual adjustment: this information is mentioned later in the paragraph in the ST**). He was then Marquis of Wuch'eng. The General (**full rank simplified or shortened**) Chang Pu supported his election, saying (**direct speech into narrative**) he was able and prompt in decision. However, Puyang (**personal name shortened**) was doubtful and consulted the Empress Dowager (**use title to replace personal name**). "Settle this with the nobles," she replied; "I am a widow and know nothing of such matters." Finally Sun Hao (**courtesy name omitted**) won the day, and in the seventh month he was enthroned as Emperor in Wu, and the first year of his reign was *Yuan-Hsing* (264 A.D.). The excluded prince (**title or rank used instead of personal name**) was consoled with the title of Prince Yuchang. Posthumous rank (**names of the ranks omitted**) was given to the late Emperor's father and mother (**personal names omitted**).

This translation (T1) is smooth and readable in itself, but when compared with the ST, it can be observed that quite a number of changes or adjustments were made by the translator in order to produce a readable and coherent TT. The focus of the translation is the smoothness of the TT, not the loyal rendition of the ST elements. Brewitt-Taylor evidently used the domesticating approach, and his translation seems to have been governed by Chesterman's expectancy norms discussed in 4.2.3.1. These norms are established by the expectations of TT

readers concerning what a translation of a given type (here a novel) should be like. The TT readers in Brewitt-Taylor's time probably only expected a smooth story, with little interest in learning more about the Chinese language or other specific Chinese elements.

The following is Roberts's translation of the same paragraph. The underlined parts are those omitted or adjusted in T1:

Example 7.6

T2: Left Army Superintendent Wan Yu said, "The heir-son is too young to control the government. It would be better to choose the lord of Wucheng, Sun Hao." General of the Left Zhang Bu added, "Sun Hao has the talent, the insight, the intelligence, and the decisiveness to take the throne." Still undecided, Puyang Xing went before Queen Mother Zhu with the question. She responded, "A poor widow like me knows nothing of such matters as the sacred shrines. The senior lords and ministers should act at their own discretion." And so Puyang Xing welcomed Sun Hao as the sovereign of Wu. Sun Hao (Yuanzong) was the son of Sun He, Sun Quan's heir apparent. In the seventh month of the year Sun Hao assumed the throne and changed the reign year to Yuan Xing, "Primary Prosperity," year 1 (A.D. 264). Hao enfeoffed Sun Wan as prince of Yuzhang and honored his own father, Sun He, with the posthumous title August Emperor Wen. His mother, of the house of He, became queen mother.

This translation appears to be very loyal to the ST author. It can be observed that the omissions in T1 are mostly proper names, which might be the elements affecting a smooth reading. Roberts kept all these elements in T2 in order to keep his TT closer to the ST, or in other words to render a more foreignized translation.

The strategies that Roberts used in his translation can be summarized as follows:

- Provided detailed and extensive footnotes;
- Supplied additional information such as maps, illustrations, lists of people and events, etc.;
- Kept his translation as close as possible to the ST, trying to avoid making changes or adjustments;
- Translated almost everything in the ST, avoiding omissions; and
- Only made additions when explicating ST elements.

7.2 Translation norms and laws

The theoretical background of translation norms and laws were discussed in 4.2.3.1 and 4.2.3.2, and the suggested norms that govern the two translations were discussed in 5.2.4.2. Here I would like to give a further analysis. In terms of the initial norm suggested by Toury, T1 can generally be considered a more acceptable translation, since Brewitt-Taylor appears to have subjected himself to the norms of the target culture. Roberts seems to have aimed at both an adequate and acceptable translation since he tried to take into consideration both ST and TT situations.

Preliminary norms control the translation policy and directness of translation. The translation policy determines the ST selection and the language it is translated into. In the time of the first English translation by Brewitt-Taylor, the ST *Sanguo yanyi* as a Chinese novel was very popular among common Chinese readers. Influential as it was, however, the novel was not considered part of important and serious texts that normally included poetry, prose and philosophical writings. Brewitt-Taylor attempted to promote the status of popular Chinese literature in the English-speaking world. In the 1980s and 1990s, when Roberts's translation was conducted and published, the status of the novel was already promoted as one of the literary genres which was worthy of serious study. Regarding the directness of translation, both English versions are direct translations from Chinese – the SL. The target culture, namely the culture of the English-speaking world, was considered the dominant culture during the times both translations were produced. Therefore Roberts went against the convention, according to Venuti, of translating by foreignizing a text translated into English. Translations from other cultures and languages, including Chinese, were considered peripheral in the English literary system.

Two types of norms, matricial norms and textual-linguistic norms fall under the umbrella of operational norms, which describe the presentation and linguistic matter of the TT. Matricial norms relate phenomena such as changes, adjustments and additional information in the TT to the ST, while textual-linguistic norms govern the selection of the TT linguistic material.

In terms of matricial norms, there are more changes and adjustments in the text of T1, but much more paratexts are supplied in T2. In terms of textual-linguistic norms, T2 appears to be more modern than T1, presumably because it was translated much more recently.

7.3 Different readerships for the English translations of *Sanguo yanyi*

Readers of the English translation of a classical Chinese novel can be roughly divided into three categories. The first category includes those English speakers who read the English version of a Chinese novel mainly for recreational purposes. They do not intend to explore further. What they are interested in, is the plot and flow of the story. The second group includes those who have a keen interest in exploring Chinese history and culture. Students and researchers of Chinese-related topics, second or third generations of Chinese living in English-speaking countries, and even those readers keen on playing the popular Three-Kingdoms-related games fall into this category. South African students of Chinese also belong to this category. The third group consists of those Chinese learners of English and Chinese translation researchers. They read the English translations either to learn how to express Chinese elements in English; or to take the translation itself as a focus of study (cf. 6.2.5).

According to the skopos theory, different translations should be done for different readerships. For general readers who simply want to enjoy the story, Brewitt-Taylor's translation and Roberts's 1976 abridged translation (cf. 3.4.2) could be recommended. However, a few changes could be suggested for Brewitt-Taylor's version. Some cultural references such as the reign titles of emperors and kings (Table 5.15 in 5.2.2.8.6) and the official ranks (Table 5.16 in 5.2.2.8.7) could have been handled more consistently by either translating all of them or omitting all of them. Furthermore, the translation of a title that appears more than once should have been translated consistently.

The translation of personal names is also problematic in T1. Although Brewitt-Taylor made attempts to omit the names or use a person's title to translate his name, discrepancies have been observed. In some cases the full names were translated, in other cases only the surnames were translated and in yet other cases only the given names were translated. Surnames should not be used to refer to a person, because too many people have the same surnames in China. For instance, two surnames, "Chang" and "Tsou" are used to translate "Chang Chio" and

“Tsou Ching” in T1. The correct translation should be either “Chio” and “Ching” or their full names.

The target readers of Roberts’s translation (including his 1999 abridged version, cf. 3.4.2), include the second and the third categories mentioned above. Although Roberts’s is a thorough and careful translation, some changes can still be suggested. There is a discrepancy in the translation of the reign titles. For instance, in the first chapter, the format is as follows (cf. Roberts 1994):

Established Calm (Jian Ning)

 Translation of the meaning (transcription)

In Chapter 80, the format becomes:

Yan Kang, “Prolonged Prosperity”

 Transcription “translation of the meaning”

In Chapter 120, the format is:

Jian Heng, “Established Balance” (A.D. 260-71)

 Transcription, “translation of the meaning” (year indicated in Gregorian calendar)

The change of format reflects the translator’s change of decision to translate the reign titles. However, the format should be consistent throughout. Based on the skopos, I prefer the last format, which offers more information than the other two.

Another suggested change concerns the treatment of the personal names. There are more than 1 000 different names mentioned in the ST. The reason is partly because the novel was based on some historical books. Even for a native reader of the ST, a large number of unimportant people are ignored when reading the novel. All the names in the ST were translated in T2. Even if the intended readers are eager to explore the Chinese culture further, these personal names could still be treated in a more flexible way. For instance, when translating a list of names of less important people, it appears better to translate one or two names as representatives, which may save the readers’ time and effort while at the same time still being

loyal to the ST. This would also apply to Roberts's translation since quite a number of names in the ST only appear once and most ST readers would rather choose to ignore them.

Most of the poems in both translations are not considered very successful (cf. 5.2.2.8.8). If a poem is hard to translate in a readable way, for instance if its rhyme and meter cannot be adhered to, it is suggested either to omit it or to paraphrase it in the TT. Readers of this translation rarely linger on reading these translated poems. The function in the ST is mainly to add effect to the portrayal of the characters or to comment on corresponding events in the ST. For the intended readership of Brewitt-Taylor's translation, most or even all of the poems could have been omitted. For Roberts's translation, a literal translation or a paraphrase of the poems seems to be a better solution.

Lastly, the factors that affect the translation include the translator's personal experience and background, the time at and conditions under which the translation was conducted, and the publisher. Attempts can be made, but an ideal translation that is suitable to all different types of readers does not seem to exist. It is already immensely difficult to produce a version to suit only one readership.

7.4 Recommendation for the learners of Chinese language and culture

The secondary goal, as stated in 1.4, is to determine which of the translations under study better serve the needs of the learners of Chinese language and culture. From the discussions in the previous chapters, strictly speaking, it appears neither of the translations will be ideal for this group of target readers since each of them has its limitations. For instance, inconsistencies found in strategies adopted for translating the same elements have been identified in both translations. However, from a functionalist perspective, Roberts's translation can be regarded as a more suitable English translation for learners of Chinese for the following reasons:

1. The translation is more ST oriented and almost all elements are translated. This enables the students to have more exposure to the information contained in the ST;
2. The extensive additional information as listed in 5.2.1.5 is useful to students who are supposed to learn more about Chinese history and culture; and

3. In terms of the sentence structure, this translation follows the ST more closely, using the foreignizing approach wherever possible. This can help the students of Chinese to get used to the Chinese sentence structure through reading the English version.

Therefore, Roberts's translation (T2) is recommended for English-speaking students of Chinese, especially more advanced learners. Beginner learners of Chinese can read his abridged versions published in 1976 and 1999 respectively. This was also Roberts's own intention, since he mentioned that his abridged translation published in 1976 was "for use in college classes" (cf. 3.4.2) and his abridged translation published in 1999 was "designed to serve students on courses in Asian history and literature as well as comparative literature" (Roberts 1999: vii). Thus his translation product is considered to have fulfilled its skopos.

For those beginner-learners who can only devote limited time to read a few chapters to just get a feel of the classic and to start appreciate the general merits of the novel, most translated chapters, especially chapters 43 to 50, can be recommended (cf. Table 1.1). Selected chapters from either of the translations would be a good choice.

For Chinese learners of English, both TTs are considered as good study material. Brewitt-Taylor's English is considered to be more fluid and has an archaic flavor and Roberts's more modern and standard.

7.5 Further topics for research

The following topics are considered relevant but it falls outside the scope of the current study.

First, an empirical test could be designed. Empirical testing among learners of Chinese in South Africa, but also in other countries, could be done to test whether Roberts actually did fulfill his skopos. Results would show whether students prefer this translation and if they actually do learn more about Chinese culture and language from this translation than from Brewitt-Taylor's. The difficulty of this test could be the scientific designation of the survey and the procedure to conduct the survey in a satisfactory way. This appears to be a worthy but very demanding task.

Another topic that the current research did not explore further was to evaluate the translation of poems that are incorporated in the novel in the two translations. Poetry translation in general appears to be a traditional topic that causes many disputes and arguments. A study could be conducted to explore the characteristics of the poems in *Sanguo yanyi*. The object of study could also be extended to the translations of these poems in various translations – including versions by other translators and abridged versions. The question could be posed whether these poems are translatable at all. If the answer is yes, then the degree of translatability could be investigated as well as the most appropriate strategies to be used to translate these poems.

The third possible topic for further research is the reception of the two English translations in the English-speaking world. Research could focus on the circulation of the translations as well as on methodology that could be used to evaluate the translations. This type of study would have a strong interdisciplinary nature and would set high demands for the researcher who would need to be equipped with knowledge of comparative literature, sociology, and communication studies, etc.

A comparison between the western translation theories and Chinese translation theories could also be conducted. The differences and/or similarities could be investigated from a cultural perspective, through the communications and exchanges in the past hundred or even thousand years between these two distinctively different worlds. How the concept of translation are seen pragmatically between the the two worlds should be the starting point for this study.

Up to the present, English translations of Chinese novels still seem to occupy a peripheral position and they have not yet started to move closer to the center of the English literary system. A few novels by American Chinese writers written in English (not translations) seem to have moved to the center of the English literature. Examples are Amy Tan's *Joy Luck Club* (1989), which was made into a movie and Ha Jin's *Waiting* (1999), which won the National Book Award for Fiction and the PEN/Faulkner Award. An interesting topic for research might be to compare novels on Chinese settings written in English by Chinese authors and English translations of Chinese novels. Such a study might focus on factors that contribute to the assumed lesser readability and popularity of a translated Chinese novel in the English-speaking world compared with one written directly in English.

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Addenda

Addendum A: Titles of the bilingual Chinese classics

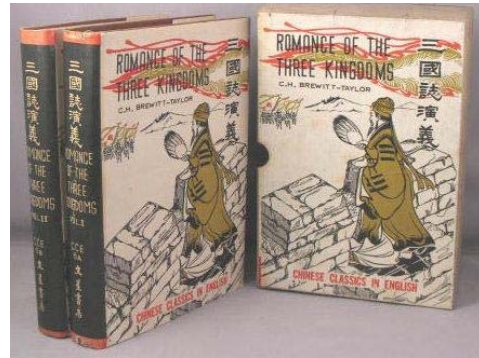
- 《周易》 *The Book of Change* (philosophy)
《论语》 *The Analects* (philosophy)
《老子》 *Laoz* (philosophy)
《孟子》 *Mencius* (philosophy)
《庄子》 *Zhuangzi* (philosophy)
《荀子》 *Xunzi* (philosophy)
《墨子》 *Mozi* (philosophy)
《韩非子》 *Hanfeizi* (philosophy)
《礼记》 *The book of Rites* (philosophy)
《颜氏家训》 *Admonitions for the Yan Clan* (philosophy)
《菜根谭》 *Tending the Roots of Wisdom* (philosophy)
《孙子兵法、孙臆兵法》 *Sunzi: The Art of War, Sun Bin: The Art of War* (philosophy)
《六韬》 *The Six Principles of War* (philosophy)
《吴子、尉缭子》 *Wuzi Weiliaozi* (philosophy)
《管子》 *Guanzi* (philosophy)
《商君书》 *The Book of Lord Shang* (philosophy)
《李卫公对问》 *Li and Wei: Questions and Answers* (philosophy)
《抱朴子》 *Baopuzi* (philosophy/religion)
《坛经》 *The Sutra of Huineng* (religion)
- 《列子》 *Liezi* (fable)
- 《牡丹亭》 *The Peony Pavilion* (drama)
《西厢记》 *Romance of the Western Bower* (drama)
《长生殿》 *The Palace of Eternal Youth* (drama)
《关汉卿杂剧选》 *Selected Plays of Guan Hanqing* (drama)
《邯郸记》 *The Handan Dream* (drama)
《南柯记》 *A Dream under the Southern Bough* (drama)
《楚辞》 *Elegies of the State of Chu* (poetry)

- 《汉乐府》 *The Odes of the Han Dynasty* (poetry)
- 《汉魏六朝诗三百首》 *300 Early Chinese Poems* (poetry)
- 《陶渊明集》 *The Complete Works of Tao Yuanming* (poetry)
-
- 《初刻拍案惊奇》 *Amazing Tales, Series One* (short story)
- 《二刻拍案惊奇》 *Amazing Tales, Series Two* (short story)
- 《搜神记》 *Anecdotes about Spirits and Immortal* (short story)
- 《聊斋志异》 *Strange Tales of Make-Do Studio* (short story)
-
- 《红楼梦》 *A Dream of Red Mansions* (novel)
- 《西游记》 *Journey to the West* (novel)
- 《水浒传》 *Outlaws of the Marsh* (novel)
- 《三国演义》 *Three Kingdoms* (novel)
- 《儒林外史》 *The Scholars* (novel)
- 《封神记》 *Creation of the Gods* (novel)
- 《儿女英雄传》 *The Tale of Heroic Sons and Daughters* (novel)
- 《镜花缘》 *Flowers in the Mirror* (novel)
- 《老残游记》 *The Travels of Lao Ts'an* (novel)
-
- 《浮生六记》 *Six Records of a Floating Life* (prose)
- 《文心雕龙》 *Dragon-Carving and the Literary Mind* (literary criticism)
-
- 《四元玉鉴》 *Precious Mirror of the Four Elements* (mathematics)
- 《九章算术》 *Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Procedures* (mathematics)
-
- 《黄帝内经》 *The Yellow Emperor's Inner Canons of Medicine* (medicine)
- 《本草纲目》 *Compendium of Material Medica* (medicine)
-
- 《尚书》 *The Book of History* (history)
- 《吕氏春秋》 *Lu's Spring and Autumn Annals* (history)
- 《史记》 *Records of the Grand Historian* (history)
- 《汉书》 *History of the Han Dynasty* (history)

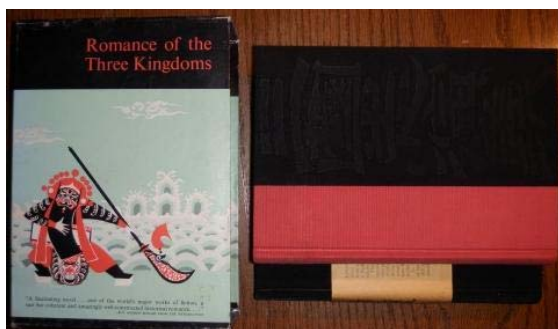
Addendum B: Covers of some of Brewitt-Taylor's translation of *Sanguo yanyi*



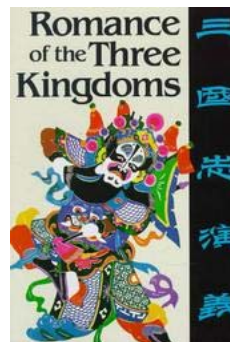
LEFT: The 1925 edition (initial) by Kelly & Walsh¹²⁹



RIGHT: An edition by International Christian University in 1959¹³⁰



LEFT: 1976 reprint¹³¹ by Tuttle Publishing



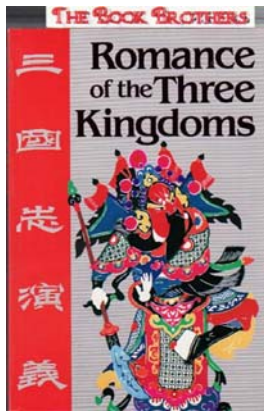
RIGHT: 1990 reprint¹³² by Tuttle Publishing

¹²⁹ http://books.google.com/books?id=0gsSAAAAYAAJ&source=gbs_similarbooks. Retrieved on 23 March 2011.

¹³⁰ <http://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=3523474525&searchurl=tn%3DSan%2Bkuo>. Retrieved on 23 March 2011

¹³¹ <http://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=1649719363&searchurl=tn%3DSan%2Bkuo>. Retrieved on 23 March 2011

¹³² <http://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=639327825&searchurl=tn%3DSan%2Bkuo>. Retrieved on 23 March 2011.



LEFT: 1995 reprint¹³³ by Tuttle Publishing



RIGHT: 2002 reprint¹³⁴ by Tuttle Publishing

¹³³ <http://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=1139613190&searchurl=tn%3DSan%2Bkuo>. Retrieved on 23 March 2011.

¹³⁴ <http://www.tuttlepublishing.com/book/?GCOI=48053100308450>. Retrieved on 23 March 2011.

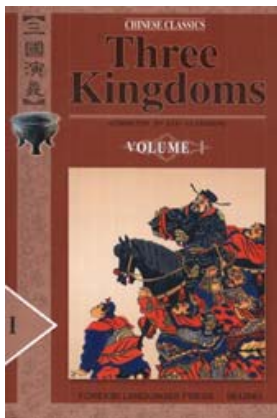
Addendum C: Covers of some of Roberts's translation of *Sanguo yanyi*



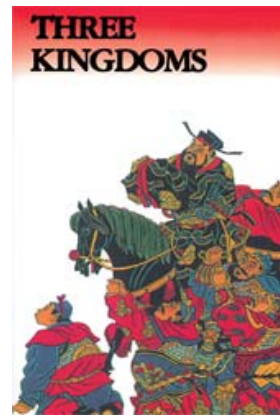
LEFT: 2004 reprint¹³⁵ by the University of California Press (UCP)



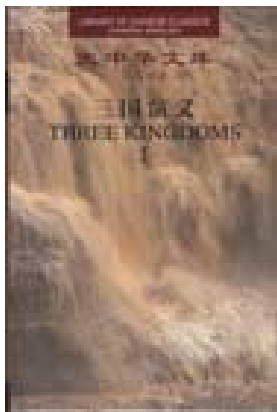
RIGHT: 1999 abridged edition¹³⁶ by UCP



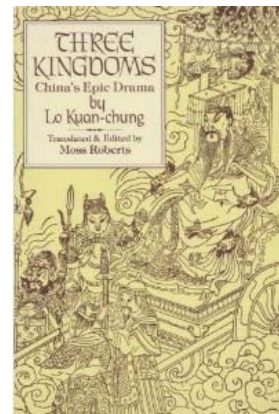
LEFT: Edition by Beijing's FLP¹³⁷



RIGHT: Edition by UCP & FLP¹³⁸



LEFT: Chinese-English bilingual Edition by Beijing's FLP¹⁴⁰



RIGHT: 1976 abridged edition¹³⁹

¹³⁵ <http://www.ucpress.edu/book.php?isbn=9780520224780>. Retrieved on 23 March 2011.

¹³⁶ <http://www.ucpress.edu/book.php?isbn=9780520215856>. Retrieved on 23 March 2011.

¹³⁷ <http://www.flp.com.cn/scrp/book.cfm>. Retrieved on 24 March 2011.

¹³⁸ <http://www.flp.com.cn/scrp/bookdetail.cfm?iBookNo=6188&sYc=1-5>. Retrieved on 25 March 2011.

¹³⁹ http://www.amazon.com/Three-Kingdoms-Chinas-Epic-Drama/dp/0394733932/ref=sr_1_17?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1342415630&sr=1-17&keywords=three+kingdoms. Retrieved on 16 July 2012.

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.flp.com.cn/scrp/book.cfm>. Retrieved on 24 March 2011.

Addendum D: The article by E.T.C.W that appeared in *Peking & Tientsin Times*

PEKING & TIENSIN TIMES,

THE BOOKSHELF.

THE NOVEL THAT GUIDED YUAN.

TRANSLATION OF
"SAN KUO"

PLOTS, MURDERS, AND
WARS.

San Kuo, OR ROMANCE OF THE THREE KINGDOMS. BY C. H. BREWITT-TAYLOR, LATE OF THE MARITIME CUSTOMS SERVICE OF CHINA. AN ENGLISH VERSION OF 2 VOLS. KELLY AND WALSH, LTD., SHANGHAI, ETC., 1925.

The appearance of this translation at a time when China is divided against herself very much as she was in the time of the Three Kingdoms, with "no intelligent Son of Heaven to dispense justice," is appropriate. The author is to be congratulated on the completion of what must have been a very laborious task, for the two volumes comprise no less than 1,260 pages. He should, in fact, be doubly congratulated, for, if I mistake not, when he had completed the greater part of his work, his manuscript was destroyed in a Boxer conflagration. Yet, having seen "the work he gave his life to broken, he stooped to build it up"—but not "with worn-out tools," for there is no trace of anything but sharp and efficient weapons in the very excellent result now happily and safely on the library shelf.

The *San-kuo-chih-yen-i* is to the *San-kuo-chih*, the official history of the period, as Sir Walter Scott's Waverley novels are to Lord Macaulay's *History of England* (though, of course, the latter is more of a history, properly so called, than the bare Chinese chronicle). In the one we have the skeleton only; in the other it is clothed with flesh and blood.

The *Yen-i* is the most read book in China (that is, by the Chinese), and it is to be hoped, now that this reliable English version is avail-

brought rain just when it was wanted (though one was, nevertheless forthwith decapitated for his pains); how prayers to heaven caused adverse to change to favourable winds; how forty-nine men clothed in black and holding black flags prayed to the Great Bear to prolong Chu-ko Liang's life, which (according to the dramatized version) was ended accidentally by his robe catching fire from the bed-side lamp (symbolical of his life), these being thus both extinguished simultaneously (one of the scenes most delighted in by the Chinese people, from Lo Kuan-chung's to the present time). A quotation from the chapter containing the prose (not dramatized) description of this most popular event in the novel will serve to exemplify both the naturalness of Mr. Brewitt-Taylor's style and the excellence of his translation:—

"The dying man turned again to Yang I, saying, "Do not wear mourning for me, but make a large coffer and therein place my body, with seven grains of rice in my mouth. Place a lamp at my feet and let my body move with the army as I was wont to do. If you refrain from mourning, then my leadership star will not fall, for my inmost soul will ascend and hold it in place. So long as my star retains its place I will be fearsome and suspicious. Let the army retreat, beginning with the rear-most division; send it away slowly, one camp at a time. If Sauma pursue, array the army and offer battle, turn to meet him and beat the attack. Let him approach till he is very near and then suddenly display the image of myself that I have had carved, seated in my chariot in the midst of the army, with the captains right and left as usual. And you will frighten Ssuma away."

Yang listened to these words

minister, to their sovereign, the value of friendship, leniency to defeated enemies, and fidelity and self-denial in women.

Of Mr. Brewitt-Taylor's competence as a translator (the "invaluable middleman between the export and import of thought") there can be no question; his excellent *T'an-lun-hsin-p'ien* proved that many years ago. An, be it noted, this is a translation properly so-called, not a mere resumé of the narrative, so that we may compare it sentence by sentence with the Chinese text. The translator has also hit the happy mean of preserving the spirit and life of the original without making us "see the Chinese" as we read, which would render the perusal cumbersome and fatiguing. The *Yen-i* written in the delightful easily-read *kuan-hua*, soothes the reader's mind and carries him along, in the same way as a pleasantly-working motor-engine on a good road with a competent chauffeur.

For those readers who do not understand Chinese the names of offices, such as *hsiao-yu*, *chi-tu-yu*, *fu-ma*, *ssu-ma*, etc., might have been rendered into English. Such transliterations as Kungssun Tsan Junnan, etc., look strange, the hyphenated form and non-reduction of letters except where necessary being (generally), to the mind of the Wade-trained student, more "Chinese," more suitable, and tending to economy of the reader's attention. Discontented souls who hanker after ideal perfection might dream of an annotated edition, interleaved with the Chinese text, and with a full subject-index; but there can be no doubt that Mr. Brewitt-Taylor's valuable work will remain the standard translation of this most fascinating and important of China's twenty thousand well-known many-volumed romances.

E.T.C.W.

in China (that is, by the Chinese), and it is to be hoped, now that this reliable English version is available, that foreigners will pay it the attention it deserves. It is the novel which, according to some modern Chinese, the "knave and traitor" Yüan Shih-k'ai took as a guide-book and pattern for his career. In its English translation it is useful both as an exercise for the student in learning the language (when he has conscientiously studied the English with the Chinese text from beginning to end he will know as much Chinese as he will require for all practical purposes, though he will, of course, have to supplement his learning from Mateer's and Morgan's *New Terms*), and for the fascinating, and at times highly exciting narrative. Though not a contemporary record, it gives us an insight into the habits, customs and beliefs of the wealth of material, especially when we remember that the narrative covers but ninety-seven years in all.

As a novel, it falls into the class of "historical" as distinguished from "social" romances, the distinction in China being very marked. The latter deal, not with wars and battles and plots and counterplots, but are more nearly akin to our love-romances. The former, though not always historically accurate (if, indeed, there is any accuracy in history), hinge on some historical epoch or series of events, and are full of the kind of "life" sighed for by young "Hotspur" Percy, of English history, who, after slaying seven dozen Scots before breakfast, would exclaim: "Fie upon this quiet life! *I want work!*" They are exceedingly animated, often introducing amusing episodes, but are frequently lacking in unity and in that genius of construction we are accustomed to associate with Western masterpieces. Generally their delineations of character—a talent in which the Chinese excel—are admirable.

This work is interesting, moreover, for those who study Chinese superstition. In it we may read of how the magicians Tso-tz'u and Kuan-lu caught perch with rod and line from an empty dish when the cook had failed to provide fish for Ts'ao-ts'ao's banquet; how a terrible storm on the river Lu was calmed by deceiving the *kuei* by throwing in dough heads resembling those of decapitated prisoners, to enable Chu-ko Liang to cross in safety; how magicians

And you will frighten Ssuma away."

Yang listened to these words intently and without remark. That night K'ung-ming was carried into the open and gazed up at the sky.

"That is my star," said he, pointing to one that seemed to be losing its brilliancy and to be tottering in its place. K'ung-ming's lips moved as if he muttered a spell. Presently he was borne into his tent and for a time was oblivious of all about him.

When the anxiety caused by this state of coma was at its height Li Fu arrived. He wept when he saw the condition of the great leader, crying that he had foiled the great designs of the state.

However, presently K'ung-ming's eyes reopened and fell upon Li Fu standing near his couch.

"I know your mission," said he.

"I came with the royal command to ask also who should control the destinies of the state for the next century," replied Li. "In my agitation I forgot to ask that."

"After me, Chiang Wan is the most fitting man to deal with great matters."

"And after him?"

"After him, Fei I."

"Who next after him?"

No reply came, and when they looked more carefully they perceived that the soul of the Great Minister had passed.

Thus died Chuko Liang, on the twenty-third day of the eighth month in the twelfth year of the period *Chien-Hsing*, at the age of fifty and two.

The narrative runs on easily, from the famous oath in the Peach Garden to the deposition of the Emperor, the war of the three brothers against Lu Pu, the burning of the capital, and so through all the complicated plots, murders, wars etc., the main thread being the innumerable misfortunes of Liu-pei, the descendant of the Han imperial family, who had entered into the compact with Kuan Yu and Chang Fei to support the declining dynasty, to the ultimate triumph of Liu Pei, his assumption of the royal power, and the division of the empire into the three kingdoms of Wei, Shu, and Wu, followed later by the establishment of the Chin dynasty under the rule of Ssu-ma Yen (the emperor Wu Ti).

The moral ideas most generally brought out are the faithfulness of

Addendum E: Idioms collected in the selected chapters

Ch.	ST	T1	T2
1	朋比为奸	rivals in wickedness and associates in evil deeds	vicious gang
1	呼风唤雨	summon the winds and command the rain	summon the wind and invoke the rain
1	望风而靡	melt away at a whisper of one's coming	scatter on the rumor of one's approach
1	喜怒不形于色	hide all feeling under a calm exterior	taciturn and reserved
1	相貌堂堂	one's appearance is dignified	one's stature is imposing
1	威风凛凛	one's appearance is awe-inspiring	one's bearing is awesome
1	同心协力	promise mutual help to one end	combine strength and purpose
1	措手不及	ere one could recover himself	before one could defend himself
1	不计其数	many thousands	more than could be counted
60	天下无敌	the one man against whom no one can stand	emerge unrivalled
60	赴汤蹈火	through fire and water	walk through fire or boiling water
60	九流三教	schools of philosophy and the culture stand forth as models	the various schools of philosophy and religion
60	出乎其类，拔乎其萃者	remarkable men	exemplary men of talent and learning
60	过目不忘	remember it like this after only one reading	memorize it at a glance
60	口似悬河	speech being like the River of Heaven	superb rhetorical powers
60	博闻强记	cultured and has a prodigious memory	has a broad knowledge and accurate memory
60	如雷灌耳	it has reverberated through my ears.	resounding reputation has long been known
60	卖主求荣	traitor	sell sovereign for high position
60	披沥肝胆	be perfectly open and plain	bare innermost thoughts
60	名垂青史	name will live in history	fame will pass into history
60	千山万水	many high mountains and numerous stream	hilly and rough
60	青山不老，绿水长存	as the blue mountains grow not old and the green waters always remain	as sure as the hills stay green and the rivers ever run
60	烧眉之急	as when fire singes one's eyebrows	-
60	癣疥之疾	a skin disease	superficial problem
60	心腹之大患	a mortal malady	a threat to our vitals
60	金石之言	words are as jewels	memorable advice
60	良药苦口利于病，忠言逆耳利于行	Good medicine is bitter in the mouth but good for the disease; faithful words offend the ear but are good for the conduct.	Effective medicine is bitter to the mouth but remedies disease. Loyal words offend the ear but benefit one's conduct
60	柔中有刚	hard enough within in spite of his mild exterior	has an iron hand under that soft touch

120	披麻救火	throw on hemp to put out a fire	beat out flames with dry hemp
120	足智多谋	able and crafty	a man of high intelligence and productive plans
120	恣意妄为	become more wanton and vicious	act on one's impulses
120	可乘之机	the time is near	the time has come
120	秋毫无犯	(no) soldiery	avoid even the slightest encroachment on their interests.
120	破竹之势	easy as the splitting of a bamboo	as easily as a knife splits bamboo
120	迎刃而解	welcome the knife after the first few joints have been overcome	the bamboo comes apart as soon as it meets the blade
120	势不可当	in irresistible force	in irresistible force

Addendum F: Titles, ranks and offices in the selected chapters

	ST	Ch.	T1	T2	Ranking ¹⁴¹
1	大将军	1	General	Regent-Marshal	1
2	太傅	1/120	Grand Tutor/T'ai-fu	Imperial Guardian	1
3	仪郎	1	n/a	court counselor	7
4	中郎将	1	n/a	Imperial Corps commander	8
5	太守	1	Prefect of a province	Governor of a province	5
6	校尉	1	<i>Hsio-yu</i>	Commandant	4
7	亭侯	1	Marquis	Lord	
8	部尉	1	n/a	command(er) of security	
9	黄门	1	Eunuch	eunuch from the Inner Bureau	5
10	别驾	60	<i>pie-chia</i> , or Supernumerary Charioteer	lieutenant inspector	
11	主簿	60	Accountant	First Secretary	7
12	帐前从事	60	A secretary	an aide	
13	丞相	120	First Minister/ senior Prime Minister	prime minister	
14	左典军	120	n/a	Left Army Superintendent	
15	左将军	120	General/-	General of the Left	3
16	王	120	Prince	prince	
17	右大司马	120	Minister of War	grand marshal of the Right	1
18	中书丞	120	n/a	the deputy treasurer	4
19	镇东将军	120	“Guardian of the East,”	Queller of the East	2
20	都督	120	n/a	Field Marshal	
21	部将	120	Officer/captain	subordinate commander/subornate	
22	司马	120	n/a	commanding officer	6
23	大司农	120	High officer	Minister of Agriculture	3
24	右将军	120	General	general of the Right	3
25	镇南大将	120	“Guardian of the	Queller of the South	2

¹⁴¹ Ranking here is based on the Encyclopedia of *Sanguo yanyi* for the reference and interest, which is not directly relevant to this topic of study. In much of the imperial China, a system of gradations called the Nine Ranks were used. This system originated at the very end of Han, in AD 220 (Hucker 1985: 4).

	军		South'		
26	州刺史	120	Governor	imperial inspector	5
27	侍中	120	n/a	Privy Counselor	
28	秘书丞	120	n/a	deputy of the Household Secretariat	
29	大都督	120	chief command(er)	Chief Commander	1
30	镇东大將軍	120	n/a	Supreme Commander, Queller of the East	
31	安东大將軍	120	n/a	Supreme Commander, Pacifier of the East	
32	建威將軍	120	n/a	General, Establisher of Prestige	4
33	平南將軍	120	n/a	General, Restorer of Order to the South	
34	龙驤將軍	120	n/a	Prancing Dragon General	
35	广武將軍	120	n/a	Extender of Warfare General	
36	冠軍將軍	120	n/a	Champion General	
37	司徒	120	n/a	minister of the interior	1
38	司空	120	n/a	minister of works	1
39	车骑將軍	120	n/a	General of Chariots and Cavalry	2
40	骠骑將軍	120	n/a / General of Cavalry	Flying Cavalry General	2
41	牙將	120	n/a	Garrison Commander	5
42	前將軍	120	n/a	Forward Army General	
43	中书今	120	n/a	private secretary	
44	光祿勳	120	n/a	the director of the Palace officials	
45	中郎	120	n/a	palace courtiers	
46	辅国大將軍	120	"Pillar of the State."	Commanding General Who Guides the Kingdom	2

Addendum G: Poetry in the selected chapters

Ch.	ST	T1	T2
Theme poem of the novel	滚滚长江东逝水， 浪花淘尽英雄。 是非成败转头空。 青山依旧在， 几度夕阳红。 白发渔樵江渚上， 惯看秋月春风。 一壶浊酒喜相逢。 古今多少事， 都付笑谈中。	—n/a	On and on the Great River rolls, racing east. Of proud and gallant heroes its white-tops leave no traces, As right and wrong, pride and fall turn all at once unreal. Yet ever the green hills stay. Fishers and woodsmen comb the river isles. White-crowned, they've seen enough of spring and autumn tide To make good company over the wine jar, Where many a famed event Provides their merriment. *
1	苍天已死， 黄天当立； 岁在甲子， 天下大吉	They talked wildly of the death of the blue heavens and the setting up of the yellow; they said a new cycle was beginning and would bring universal good fortune.	The pale sky is on the wane, Next, a yellow one shall reign; The calendar's rotation Spells fortune for the nation
1	英雄露颖在今朝， 一试矛兮一试刀。 初出便将威力展， 三分好把姓名标。	Two heroes new to war's alarms, Ride boldly forth to try their arms. Their doughty deeds three kingdoms tell And poets sing how these befell.	Oh, what a day for gallantry unveiled! One man proved his lance and one blade. In maiden trial their martial force was shown, A thrice-torn land will see them gain renown
1	运筹决算有神功， 二虎还须逊一龙。 初出便能垂伟绩， 自应分鼎在孤穷。	Tho' fierce as tigers soldiers be, Battles are won by strategy. A hero comes; he gains renown, Already destined for a crown.	Seasoned plans and master moves; all's divinely done. To one mighty dragon two tigers can't compare. At his first trial what victories are won! Poor orphan boy? The realm is his to share.
1	人情势利古犹今， 谁识英雄是白身？ 安得快人如翼德， 尽诛世上负心人！	As it was in olden time so it is today, The simple wight may merit well, Officialdom holds sway; Chang Fei, the blunt and hasty, where can you find his peer? But slaying the ungrateful would mean many deaths a year.	Status is what counts and always has! Who needs to honour heroes without rank? Oh, let me have a Zhang Fei straight and true, Who'll pay out every ingrate what he's due.
60	古怪形容异， 清高体貌疏。 语倾三峡水， 目视十行书。 胆量魁西蜀， 文章贯太虚。 百家并诸子， 一览更无余。	He boasted not a handsome face, Nor was his body blessed with grace. His words streamed like a waterfall, He read a book and knew it all. Shu's glories could he well rehearse, His lore embraced the universe. Or text or note of scholiast Once read, his memory held fast.	A cranky man, peculiar to describe: Pure and upright, but coarse in countenance, Whose words poured forth like rapids through the gorge, His mastered pages in a single glance. His courage topped them all in western Shu. To every learned sphere he stretched his pen In philosophy and literature he was read, So widely that no point escape his ken.
60	倒挂城门捧谏章， 拚将一死报刘璋。 黄权折齿终降备， 矢节何如王累刚！	Head downwards at the city gate one hung, A last remonstrance in his outstretched hand, Resolved that, were his words rejected, he Would not survive defeat. Sincere was he	Suspended from the city gate, the protest note in hand, So he chose to die in the service of Liu Zhang. Huang Quan, with his broken teeth, gave in at the end; Wang Lei alone exemplifies fidelity unstained.

		Who, desperate, held to Liu Chang's silken robe Until his broken teeth released their grip. Sincere indeed, but how can he compare Within stern Wang Lei, who went to awful death?	
120	宁饮建业水， 不食武昌鱼； 宁还建业死， 不止武昌居！	the gist of which is that it is better to drink the water of Chienyeh than eat the fish of Wuch'ang, better to die in Chienyeh than to live in Wuch'ang..	"Better Jianye water than Wuchang fish to eat/ Better dead in Jianye than alive in Wuchang seat."
120	晓日登临感晋臣， 古碑零落岷山春。 松间残露频频滴， 疑是当年堕泪人	I saw the fragments of a shattered stone One spring time o the hillside when, alone, I walked to greet the sun. The pines distilled Big drops of dew unceasing; sadness filed My heart, I knew this was the Stone of Tear, The stone of memory sad of long-past years.	A morning climb – the temple – Yang Hu's moving tale On old stone shards, one spring in Xian hills, The constant fall of dewdrops through the pines- Are they the tears of those who mourned him then?
120	杜预巴山见大旗， 江东张悌死忠时。 已拚王气南中尽， 不忍偷生负所知。	Chin's army banners waved on Pashan mount And trusty Chang in Chiangling fighting died; He recked not that the kingly grace was spent, He rather chose to die than shame his side.	As Du Yu's banner flew atop Ba Hill, Zhang Ti of the south died for his liege. The realm was now bereft of kingly guise, And yet Zhang Ti refused to compromise.*
120	西晋楼船下益州， 金陵王气黯然收。 千寻铁锁沉江底， 一片降旗出石头。 人世几回伤往事， 山形依旧枕寒流。 今逢四海为家日， 故垒萧萧芦荻秋。	Adown the stream ride storeyed warships tall; With massive chains some seek to stop their way. But Chinling's independence fades away And soon "We yield" is signalled from the wall. Full oft I think bygone days and sign, Along the stream, unmoved, the old hills rest, While I am homeless on the earth's broad breast, Where grim old forts stand grey beneath the sky.	Jin's tall ships subdued the Riverlands; The kingly air of Jinling ebbed sway.* The thousand links sank to the riverbed; One flag of surrender rose above Stone City. How often man must grieve for what has passed; The cold streams run below the changeless hills. Today the king has no home but the world, His battlements forlorn in a reed-bare autumn.
120	后人有古风一篇， 以叙其事曰： 高祖提剑入咸阳， 炎炎红日升扶桑； 光武龙兴成大统， 金乌飞上天中央； 哀哉献帝绍海宇， 红轮西坠咸池傍！ 何进无谋中贵乱， 凉州董卓居朝堂； 王允定计诛逆党，	A poet has summed up the history of these stirring years in a poem: It was the drawing of a glorious day When first the Founder of the House of Han Hsienyang's proud palace entered. Noontide came When Kuang-Wu the imperial rule restored. Alas, that Hsien succeeded in full time	A poet of later times wrote this ballad in the old style marking the highlights of the era: As Gao Zu entered Xianyang, sword in hand, Han's fiery sun climbed the Tree of Dawn. Then dragonlike Guang Wu restored han's rule, And the solar crow soared to the moon of sky. But when this great realm passed on to Xiandi, The fiery disc set in the Pool of Night. He Jin's folly sparked the eunuchs' coup, And Dong Zhuo came and seized the halls of state.

	<p>李催郭汜兴刀枪； 四方盗贼如蚁聚， 六合奸雄皆鹰扬； 孙坚孙策起江左， 袁绍袁术兴河梁； 刘焉父子据巴蜀， 刘表军旅屯荆襄； 张燕张鲁霸南郑， 马腾韩遂守西凉； 陶谦张绣公孙瓒， 各逞雄才占一方。 曹操专权居相府， 牢笼英俊用文武； 威挟天子令诸侯， 总领貔貅镇中土。 楼桑玄德本皇孙， 义结关张愿扶主； 东西奔走恨无家， 将寡兵微作羁旅； 南阳三顾情何深， 卧龙一见分寰宇； 先取荆州后取川， 霸业图王在天府； 呜呼三载逝升遐， 白帝托孤堪痛楚！ 孔明六出祁山前， 愿以只手将天补； 何期历数到此终， 长星半夜落山坞！ 姜维独凭气力高， 九伐中原空劬劳； 钟会邓艾分兵进， 汉室江山尽属曹。 丕睿芳髦才及奂， 司马又将天下交； 受禅台前云雾起， 石头城下无波涛； 陈留归命与安乐， 王侯公爵从根苗。 纷纷世事无穷尽， 天数茫茫不可逃。 鼎足三分已成梦， 后人凭吊空牢骚。</p>	<p>And saw the setting of the sun of power! Ho Chin, the feeble, fell beneath the blows Of palace minions. Tung Cho, vile though bold, Then ruled the court. The plot Wang Yun devised To oust him, failed, recoiled on his own head. The Li and Kuo lit up the flame of war And brigands swarmed like ants through all the land. Then rose the valiant and deployed their might. The Suns carved out a kingdom in the east, Honan the Yuans strove to make their own. The Lius went west and seized on Pa and Shu, Another Liu laid hold on Ching and Hsiang, Chang Miao, Chang Lu, in turn held Cheng by force. Each of three others seized upon a fief; But overtopping all Ts'ao Ts'ao the strong Became first minister, and to his side, Drew many able men. He swayed the court, Without, he held the nobles in his hand; By force of arms he held the capital T'ao Chien, Han Hsiu and Kungsun Ts'an, the bold. Against all rivals. Of imperial stock Was born Yuan-te, who with sworn brothers twain Made oath the dynasty should be restored. These wandered homeless east and west for years, A petty force. But Destiny was kind And led Liu Pei to Nanyang's rustic cot, Where lay Reposing Dragon, he who knew Already that the empire must be rent. Twice Liu essayed in vain to see the sage; Once more he went, and then his fortune turned. Chingchou fell to him, followed Ssuch'uan. A fitting base to build an empire on. Alas! He ruled there only three</p>	<p>Wang Yun formed a plan and struck the rebel down, But Li Jue and Guo Si rose up in arms. Across the land rebellions seethed and swarmed As vicious warlords swooped down on all sides. The house of Sun emerged beyond the Jiang. In the north the clan of Yuan held sway. To the west Liu Yan and Zhang ascended. Liu Biao's legions camped in Jing and Xiang. Zhang Yan and Lu were hanzhong's overlords; Defending Xiliang, Ma Teng and Han Sui Tao Qian of Xu, Zhang Xiu, and Gongsun Zan Cut bold figures in their several <i>zhou</i> Cao Cao took power, Xiandi's minister, Drawing valiant men with arts of peace and war. Xiandi in his thrall, Cao ruled the lords And with his martial hosts controlled the north "Twin Mulberry" Xuande, descendant of the throne, Leagued with Guan and Zhang to save Xiandi He scrambled round the realm (he had no home) His forces scant, a stranger wandering Thrice Xuande's ardent quest led to Nanyang, Where Sleeping Dragon unveiled han's partition: "First take Jingzhou, next the Riverlands; On that rich region, base your own royal stand." Near death in Baidi, having reigned three years, Bei sadly placed his son in Kongming's care. By six offensives from the hills of Qi Kongming sought to change Han's destiny But the time of Han had run – could he not tell? – That night his master star fell past the hills Jiang Wei alone still strove with might and main: Nine times more he fought the north – in vain. Zhong Hui and Deng Ai next led armies west: And to the Cao, Han's hills and streams now passed Cao Pi, Cao Rui, Fang, Mao, and briefly, Huan – The Sima took the empire in their turn. Cao's abdication changed the face of all? No mighty battles marked the Southland's fall Three kings no more – Chenliu, Guiming, Anle. The fiefs and posts must now be filled anew A sky-told fate, infinite in reach, dooms all The kingdoms three are now the stuff of dream For men to ponder, part all praise of blame.</p>
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