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Research on the Translator of Xinxi Xiantan as the First Translated Fiction in China

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Abstract Who is the translator of Xinxi xiantan, the first translated fiction in modern China? This has been a mystery for over one hundred years. Although some progress has been made since 1990s, there is still no compelling evidence or pronounced conclusion on this topic. Based on the research of the scholars at the time, this paper aims to make use of such initial data as newspapers, journals, collections of poems, diaries, draft reports to the throne, the unpublished manuscripts and files of the imperial examination at that time to discover the one-hundred-year mystery and provide a full certification, so that the problem can be solved in the true sense. In addition, this paper also tries to show the basic features of the translator’s life with detailed information.

Keywords Xinxi xiantan, Lishao jushi, translator, Jiang Qizhang, modern history of fiction

Review of the Topic

As the first translated fiction, Xinxi xiantan 听夕闲谈 (Night and Morning)

1 It was not the first translated novel in the strict sense, because twenty years earlier, the British missionary William C. Burns translated into Chinese and published The Pilgrim's Progress by John Bunyan with the help of some Chinese scholars in the third year of Xianfeng’s reign (CE 1853). In addition, the missionary William Muirhead preaching in Shanghai at that time also translated and published part of the book. Zhou Zuoren said in Ouzhou wenxueshi 欧洲文学史 (The history of European literature) published in 1919 that The Pilgrim’s Progress by John Bunyan was the beginning of the modern novels. The readers


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was twenty years earlier than *Bali Chahuanü yishi* 巴黎茶花女遗事 (*La Dame aux Camélia*) translated by Lin Shu 林纾, which was once regarded as the beginning of translated fictions in the Qing dynasty. *Xinxi xiantan* was serialized on issue 3 to 28 of *Yinghuan suoji* 瀛寰琐记 (Around the World) published by *Shenbao* 申报 (Shanghai newspaper) from 1873 to 1875, with Lishao jushi 蠲勺居士 as the name of the translator, and then the monographs were issued. Great significance was attached to the fiction in the history of cultural exchange between the Easy and the West as well as the history of translation. For instance, An Ying 安英 argued in “Minchu xiaoshuo fazhan de guocheng” 民初小说发展 的过程 (The development process of the fictions in early Republic of China) that the translator of *Xinxi xiantan* was “the first one who sowed translating seed in the wasteland” and “the pioneer of introducing the Western literature.” 2 Meanwhile, “*Xinxi xiantan* xiaoxu” 昕夕闲谈小叙 (Forward to Night and Morning) by Lishao jushi was actually the beginning of the fiction theories afterwards. In the preface to *Xinxi xiantan* the translator pronouncedly criticized the traditional literary view of regarding fictions as heresy, and called in question “who regards fictions as heresy?” 3 which was somewhat a challenge and rebellion against the traditional views on fictions in China. During the process of transformation of fictions in late Qing dynasty from the ancient to the modern, *Xinxi xiantan* marked the tentative but important change of the people’s understanding towards fictions, thus being attached transitional significance in the theories of modern fiction. Therefore, it exerted great influence on the facet of both practice and theory of introducing foreign fictions.

*Xinxi xiantan*, however, left two mysteries to the later generations. One was about the original manuscript and the writer; the other was about the translator’s real name and anecdotes. The former involves the foreign literature’s origin and its influence when introduced into China, and the later involves the specific figure of cultural transplant and text translation, both of which were important issues about the study on the modern cultural exchange between China and foreign countries. As to the original manuscript and the writer, Lishao jushi merely said in “*Xinxi xiantan* xiaoxu” that “a famous Western author wrote this book.” When introducing the translation in 1873, *Shenbao* called it “a newly translated British fiction.” In the advertisement titled “A Newly Translated British Fiction,” *Shenbao* just said that “this fiction was written by a British intellectual,” 4 but did not tell the name of the author and the original title of this


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3 Lishao jushi, “*Xinxi xiantan* xiaoxu”, in *Yinghuan suoji*, vol 3, 1873.
4 *Shenbao*, December 6, the eleventh year of Tongzhi’s reign (January 4, 1873).

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can refer to page 145 of *Ouzhou wenxueshi* published by Yuelu shushe in 1989. However, the book was usually considered as a religious reading or a religious book and it was said in the preface that “the teachings in *Bible* was collected in the book.”

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3 Lishao jushi, “*Xinxi xiantan* xiaoxu”, in *Yinghuan suoji*, vol 3, 1873.
4 *Shenbao*, December 6, the eleventh year of Tongzhi’s reign (January 4, 1873).
Research on the Translator of Xinxi Xiantan as the First Translated Fiction in China

fiction. As to the translator, it was only known as “Lishao jushi.” In Shenbao guan shumu (Booklist of Shanghai newspaper) of 1877, this book was said “to be translated from a British fiction by a famous scholar,”\(^5\) without the specific name of the translator mentioned. Therefore, this translation left various mysteries that are hard to discover and was thus called “the first translated novel in modern period that is full of mysteries.” Zou Zhenhuan 邹振环 once said, “Even more than one hundred years has passed, there are still various mysteries as to the original manuscript, author and translator, which are waiting for the scholars related to explore further.”\(^6\)

The scholars who are engaged in the study on the history of modern Chinese literature, the history of fiction, the cultural exchange between China and the West, and the history of translation have been trying to discover these mysteries, but due to the fact that the materials were lost or scattered, little advances was made and no one could solve the problem. It is not until 1990s some new progress was made on this issue. In 1992, “Guanyu lishao jushi qiren de diandi yice” 关于蠡勺居士其人的点滴臆测 (A bit conjecture about Lishao jushi) by Yan Tingliang 颜廷亮 and “Guanyu Lishao jushi he Lichuang wodusheng” 关于蠡勺居士和藜床卧读生 (About Lishao jushi and Lichuang wodusheng) by Guo Changhai 郭长海 were published successively.\(^7\) The article by Guo Changhai brought into the open of an advertisement in Xinwen bao 新闻报 (Newspaper of current affairs) of May 11, 1905 for the first time:

Xinxi xiantan, a retranslation of the No. 1 English novel published

It is an English novel of more than 50 chapters. The book contains the myriads of changes, hence a bizarre and grotesque one. It was originally translated by Jiang Zirang, but the translation was not good enough and the readers could not feel the smooth flowing of the words. Now the original English book was found and the scholar who has a thorough knowledge of both western and traditional Chinese literature was invited to translate the book again. The irrelevant and redundant words were crossed out. The book was divided into two volumes, bound in the western style and sold at the price of nine jiao. It was sold at Wenming Bookstore of Chessboard Street in Shanghai, Feihong Cabinet and Wenbao Bookstore of Sima Road.\(^8\)

This advertisement was published practically once a week from May 11 to

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\(^5\) Major (ed.), Shenbao guan shumu, 1877, p. 18.
\(^6\) Zou Zhenhuan, 1996, p. 70.
\(^7\) Gansu shehui kexue 甘肃社会科学 (Gansu social sciences), 1992 (5); Ming-Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu 明清小说研究 (The journal of Ming-Qing fiction studies), 1992 (3–4).
\(^8\) The mistakes in Guo Changhai’s quotation are corrected by the author of this paper according to Xinwen bao.
June 1 of 1905. It for the first time revealed that the real name of Xinxi xiantan’s translator was Jiang Zirang, hence deserving attention. The article by Mr. Guo also mentioned three essays published by Lishao jushi on Yinghuan suoji with the pen name of Xiaojiluo anzhu 小吉罗庵主 (The owner of Xiaojiluo hut). Mr. Guo then made some research on Jiang Zirang, pointing out that he was a person of some reforming ideas and an open horizon. Mr. Guo also expressed his excitement at solving this mystery, saying that “he felt greatly delighted since the doubts and suspicions were cleared up.”

The article by Mr. Yan held that “the real name of Lishao jushi might be Guan Sijun 管斯骏.” There were many confusions and errors in Mr. Yan’s argumentation, and what is more, he mistook the retranslator Guan Sijun, style-named Lichuang wodusheng for Lishao jushi. The conclusion drawn by him was also wrong. Later, in Wanqing xiaoshuo lilun (The theory of novels in the late Qing dynasty) he gave up his former opinion for Guo Changhai’s idea and also revised his conclusion. He pointed out that “the real name of Lishao jushi was Jiang Zirang.” However, it is worth noticing that one section of Mr. Yan’s article was devoted to “other names used by Lishao jushi.” The author cited some related materials from Shenbao and Yinghuan suoji to argue that Xiaojiluo anzhu, Hengmeng anzhu 衙梦庵主 and Xiling xiasi 西冷下士 were all names ever used by Lishao jushi. Thus the connections between Xiaojiluo anzhu, Hengmeng anzhu and Xiling xiasi were made clear. His way of reasoning and some information he provided were truly inspiring.

After the two articles mentioned above, Patrick Hanan, the famous American scholar, the expert of the history of novels and a professor of Harvard University published “Tan diyi bu hanyi xiaoshuo” (On the first novel translated into Chinese) in Wenxue pinglun (Literature review). It was a very brilliant article. Hanan went to the national museum and national library of Britain for many times so as to find out the original English novel from the multitude of Victorian novels. According to his research, Xinxi xiantan was the Chinese translation of the first half of Night and Morning written by Edward Bulwer Lytton, a 19th century British author. The novel was published in London in 1841 and edition used by the translator was published in 1851 or later. The article by Hanan made a careful study on the differences between the original work and the translated one. As a result, the mystery around the original work and its author was solved satisfactorily.

At the same time, Hanna also raised some questions and expressed his opinion

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9 As for the relationship between the retranslator Guan Sijun, style-named “Lichuang wodusheng,” the author has written another article on it.
10 Yan Tingliang, 1996, p. 10.
11 Hanan, 2001. Later the article was collected in Chen Pingyuan, 2002. The readers can also refer to Hanan, 2004.
Research on the Translator of *Xinxi Xiantan* as the First Translated Fiction in China

...concerning the translator of *Xinxi xiantan*. It was pointed out in the article that the advertisement carried on *Xinwen bao* in Shanghai said that the translator was Jiang Zirang. Although the name was first mentioned 30 years after the publication of the translated work, the advertisement was supposed to carry weight since the name was given clearly and specifically. However, what followed was the question who was Jiang Zirang. Nobody knew the person, let alone relating him to *Shenbao* or *Yinghuan suoji*. Hanan thought the translator might be Jiang Zhixiang (蒋芷湘) with a style-name Zixiang (子相) and an original name Jiang Qizhang (蒋其章), one of the early chief-editors of *Shenbao*. Lishao jushi, the boss of *Shenbao* might be the person who co-operated closely with the translator to start *Yinghuan suoji*. He then assumed “a process of two-people-translation,” saying that Ernest Major might first of all recommend *Night and Morning* to Jiang Qizhang and offered the book to him. They adopted the then-popular method of “two-people-translation,” namely Major translating the book orally first and Jiang Qizhang taking the oral translation down. Hanan asked how we should explain the name of Jiang Zirang which appeared in the advertisement in 1905. Was Zirang another style-name of Jiang Qizhang’s? Or it might be that the writer of the advertisement confused Jiang Qizhang with Wu Zirang, another former chief-editor of *Shenbao*.12

The results of Guo Changhai and Hanan’s researches were widely accepted by the scholars home and abroad and adopted in many academic works, such as *Jindai fanyi wenxue gailun* (A survey of the modern translated literature) by Guo Yanli 郭延礼, *Jindai xixue yu Zhongguo wenxue* (The modern Western learning and Chinese literature) by Guo Yanli and Zhang Guogong 张国功, and *Shanghai wenxue tongshi* (A general history of Shanghai literature) by Qiu Mingzheng 邱明正.13 Japanese scholar Tarumoto Teruo supplemented and revised his work *Xinbian qingmominchu xiaoshuo mulu* (A new catalogue of the novels in the late Qing dynasty and early period of the Republic of China) and published *Xinbian zengbu qingmominchu xiaoshuo mulu* (A new and supplemented catalogue of the novels in the late Qing dynasty and early period of the Republic of China) in 2002, which was the most comprehensive and detailed book on the study of Chinese novels of that period. Guo Changhai and Hanan’s research results were adopted in the book and it was said that *Xinxi xiantan* was the translation of the first half of *Night and Morning* and the translator Lishao jushi’s real name was Jiang Zirang.14

12 Refer to “Tan diyibu hanyi xiaoshuo” and *Zhongguo jindai xiaoshuo de xingqi*, pp. 105–109.
The two doubts about the original book and its writer seemed completely solved, but who was the real translator of *Xinxi xiantan*? It should be admitted that the advertisement on *Xinwen bao* offered the most direct and clear information up to now and therefore should not be denied easily. However, this did not mean that it was beyond doubts. First of all, it was only a single evidence, which were not supported by the related materials yet. Second, in terms of time, the advertisement appeared on *Xinwen bao* 30 years after the publication of *Xinxi xiantan* and it was written by people of later time. Therefore, the probability of mistake was also allowed. And what mattered more was the question who was Jiang Zirang. Lishao jushi might be Jiang Zirang, but nobody knew who he was. How was he related to *Shenbao* or *Yinghuan suoji*? Those questions had to be answered. If not, the conclusion could not be considered as correct.

On the other hand, Hanan’s opinion that Lishao jushi was Jiang Zixiang (Jiang Qizhang) was truly intelligent even though it was not accepted by people like Tarumoto Teruo. The strong point of this opinion lay in that it connected the person with *Shenbao* and *Yinghuan suoji*. *Yinghuan suoji* was a literary publication originated by *Shenbao* and it was written in *Shenbao guan shumu* that “the publication primarily carried the works contributed or dedicated by our colleagues, but the newspaper office invited some famous people to select from the contributions and dedications.”

That is to say, the poetry and essays published on the journal were all by their colleagues. However, the translated novel *Xinxi xiantan* was serialized on the journal for as long as three years, which was obviously a planned project and might be done by some insiders. Therefore, Hanan associated the translator with Jiang Zixiang, one of the early chief-editors of *Shenbao*. What is more, there was the difference of only one word between Jiang Zixiang and Jiang Zirang, so his suspicion and speculation not only were quite reasonable and but also left people some room for imagination.

Indeed, there were also some defects in Hanan’s opinion. First of all, his opinion was not supported by some authentic evidence. In fact, Hanan also used such words as “might,” “probably,” “if,” “guess” and “speculation” in his discussion. For example, he said, “Major, the boss of *Shenbao* might work together with the translator (probably Jiang Qizhang) on *Yinghuan suoji.*” He also said in another article entitled “Zaoqi *Shenbao* de fanyi xiaoshuo” (The translated novels on the early *Shenbao*) that “I believe there might be two translators and a process of two-people translation. If Major and Jiang Qizhang really worked together to translate *Night and Morning* to Chinese, they also might be the translators of three other works.” Six or seven months later, the first part of *Xinxi xiantan* was published on *Yinghuan suoji* and “if my guess
Research on the Translator of *Xinxi Xiantan* as the First Translated Fiction in China

is right, the two translators might be busy on the one hand with publication of the new journal and on the other with the translation of *Xinxi xiantan* within the six or seven months. If this supposition was correct, then the translation by Major and Jiang Qizhang reflected their efforts of introducing the foreign novels to Chinese readers in the past three years. It thus can be seen that Hanan himself was not sure about the speculation, let alone offering some reliable evidence. In terms of the word mistake, Jiang Zirang might be confused with Jiang Zixiang, but we could not rule out the possibility that Jiang Zirang was Wu Zirang, who was the other editor-in-chief of *Shenbao*. Due to the lack of reliable evidence and the weak argumentation, Hanan’s opinion was not adequate enough to deny the authenticity of the advertisement carried on *Xinwen bao* or to verify Jiang Zirang as the real translator. Obviously, the correctness of Hanan’s opinion was to be proved. Once the precondition failed, the whole discussion would be rendered invalid. Tarumoto Teruo did not adopt Hanan’s opinion probably for the sake of prudence.

In view of the reasons above, it should be said that the two opinions mentioned above had both their advantages and disadvantages. Therefore, the translator of *Xinxi xiantan* deserved further research. The direct and valid first-hand information and the convincing evidence should be provided to verify or deny the identity of the translator and only in this way could the mystery be solved.

**Verifying the Identity of the Translator**

Before probing into the real name of translator, we should briefly examined the few pen names used by Lishao jushi so as to base our research on the solid foundation.

Lishao jushi had quite a few pen names, including Xiaojiluo anzhu, Lishao yuyin and Hengmeng anzhu etc. Lishao jushi was the same person as Lishao yuyin because when *Xinxi xiantan* was serialized on *Yinghuan suoji*, the name “Lishao jushi” was signed on the work from the third volume to the twenty-eighth volume with the only exception of volume eleven, on which the name of “Lishao yuyin” was signed. It thus can be seen that Lishao yuyin and Lishao jushi referred to the same person.

Lishao jushi also used such names as Xiaojiluo anzhu, Xiaojiluo’an zhuren and Jiluo daoren. It was written at the end of “*Xinxi xiantan* xiaoxu” that “on December 8 of the lunar calendar, Lishao jushi wrote this in “Xiaojiluo’an,” his house in Shanghai.” This showed to us that his residence in Shanghai was called “Xiaojiluo’an,” so he was surely “Xiaojiluo anzhu.” And the comments signed

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with the name “Xiaojiluo anzhu” could also be seen in certain volumes of Xinxi xiantan. The five articles of “Yuleguo ji” 鱼乐国记 (Travel to Yuleguo), “Shunfengshuo yi er” 顺风说一、二 (The first and second talks on following wind), “Rensheng sheng jilingji lun” 人生生机灵机论 (On the ingenuity of human beings), “Ji Yingguo tadong julun dianmo” 记英国他咚巨轮颠末 (On the wreckage of an English luxury liner) and “Changqidao youji” 长崎岛游记 (Travel to Nagasaki) were all published with the name of “Xiaojiluo anzhu” or “Xiaojiluo’an.” His works “Jinchangzu lienü xiaozhuan” 金阊祖烈女小传 (The biography of the virtuous women) and “Weitang shuangjie hezhuan” 魏塘双节合传 (The biography of two outstanding people) were published on Shenbao respectively on November 8, 1872 and January 1, 1873. In addition, any of his poetry, prefaces and postscripts were also carried on Shenbao and Yinghuan suoji, for example, a postscript was written at the end of the second volume of Mengchan xiaoji 梦禅小记 (Mengchan notes).

Yan Tingliang first suggested that Hengmeng anzhu should also be the pen name of Lishao jushi’s.17 According to the existing information, it could be confirmed that Hengmeng anzhu and Xiaojiluo anzhu were the same person. The strongest evidence was that a poem written by Jiang Mei 江湄, style-named “Hecha shannong 鹤槎山农” was published on Shenbao on January 9, 1873 and the poem said that “I had ever appreciated your article as transparent and unpolluted as the autumn water and then I had the honor to read your famous work Xiaojiluo’an gao 小吉罗庵稿 (Xiaojiluo’an manuscript); your new work is as elegant and refined as the spring wind.”18 It is said in the poem that Jiang Mei had read Xiaojiluo’an gao by Hengmeng anzhu, which proved that Hengmeng anzhu and Xiaojiluo anzhu should be the same person. In addition, “Benguan fuqi” 本馆附启 (The postscript of this newspaper office) was added to “Zhuanxiang laoren zeng xiaojiluo anzhu xu 篆香老人赠小吉罗庵主序 (The preface written for Xiaojiluo anzhu by Zhuanxiang laoren)” which was published on Shenbao on December 25, 1873. Zhuanxiang laoren was Gu Jingxiu 顾敬修. The postscript said that “Hengmeng anzhu of this newspaper office had the honor to know you and I feel extremely grateful for the preface you have written for me.” And it was written in the preface that “Mr. Hengmeng is a poet from the south and a gifted young man from Xiling.”19 It thus can be seen that Xijiluo anzhu was Hengmeng anzhu who was one of the staff of Shenbao and lived in Shanghai. A lot of poetry and postscripts by Hengmeng anzhu were published on Shenbao and Yinghuan suoji, for example, the postscript by Hengmeng anzhu was attached to Lilienü Jinliefu hezhuan 李烈女金烈妇合传 (A joint biography

17 Yan Tingliang, 1992. However, his discussion is not adequate.
18 Shenbao, January 9, 1873.
19 Shenbao, December 25, 1873.
of two women of chastity, Mz. Li and Mz. Jin) by Yue Mansheng 越缦生. The postscripts written by Hengmeng anzhu were also added to such works as Cheng Wuqing xunqinji 程勿卿寻亲记 (Cheng Wuqing’s search of his relatives) by Zhu Yuncheng 朱允成, Qiuhuaishi shiliushou 绮怀诗十六首 (Sixteen poetry of expressing emotions) by Huang Jingren 黄景仁, Changqidaoyouyi by Xiaojiluo’an and Jinling qishi wen 金陵秋试文 (Jinling Autumn exam articles) by Ji Lu 寄庐. The poetry written by Hengmeng anzhu and published on the two newspapers were simply too numerous to be mentioned one by one.

The case cited above show that the translator had several pen names. It was just as Hanan pointed out that the same as other scholars of that time, the translator were obviously using many pen names. A more interesting case is that the report “Lun Hangzhou zhizao jingshu da’anjian” 论杭州织造经书大案件 (A criminal case of grave nature in Hangzhou) published on Shenbao on February 11, 1873 was said to be dictated by Lishao jushi, drafted by Xiling xiashi and taken down by Hengmeng anzhu and a postscript by Xiaojiluo anzhu was added to the end of the report. Yan Tingliang thought the different names of names of Lishao jushi, Xiling xiashi, Hengmeng anzhu and Xiaojiluo anzhu made us feel that they were not the same person, but a closer examination would reveal that they actually were. He then pointed out that Xiling xiashi was in fact another name of Lishao jushi’s and “the practice of using four pen names in the same work was the little trick of a scholar and should not cause any surprise.”

Hanan also said in his article that it was obvious that the author used the pen name Xiaojiluo anzhu while writing essays, he signed the names of Hengmeng anzhu on his poetry and the name of Lishao jushi was signed when the author wrote vernacular fiction. When he reported a criminal event in Hangzhou, he playfully used the three names as well as Xiling xiaoshi.

It should be said that Lishao jushi, Xiaojiluo anzhu and Hengmeng anzhu were undoubtedly the same person. Whether “Xiling xiashi” was Lishao jushi or not was still to be proved. The reason was as follows. On October 24, 1872, Shenbao carried an article entitled “Jiesha lun” 戒杀论 (On the prohibition of killing) by Xiling huanyin and the article talked about the prohibition of killing in Buddhism. It said that “I did not have a child when reaching the age of 40. My friend Wang Jingtang 王景谭 said to me that ‘you should get rid of the habit of eating eel so that you might be granted a child.’ He also mentioned that one of his ancestors also obeyed this prohibition and then got three children. Later I also abided by the prohibition for the sake of children. What is more, who would be hardhearted enough to kill willfully since everyone has the sense of compassion? Therefore I told my chef not to cook eel any more. I got a son the year later, but

20 Yan Tingliang, 1992.
unfortunately he died young. However, I still obeyed the prohibition as usual and
I got another son this year.” The author therefore wrote “Jiesha lun” to express
his ideal. The postscript by Hengmeng anzhu was attached to the article and it
said that “I was greatly moved by the ‘Jiesha lun’ by Xiling huanyin.” On
December 5, the newspaper carried another article entitled “Xu jiesha lun” 续戒
杀论 (A sequel to ‘On the prohibition of killing’) which said that “I did not
expect the two virtuous scholars of Xiling huanyin and Hengmeng anzhu would
promote the prohibition of killing.” This might show that Xiling huanyin and
Hengmeng anzhu were not the same person. What is more, it is said in the first
article that Xiling huanyin had not got a child in the age of 40, which meant that
he was in his forties at that time. However, Hengmeng anzhu was born in 1842
and therefore should be 30 years old in 1872. Hence, if Xiling xiashi and Xiling
huanyin were the same person, then Hengmeng anzhu should be a different one.
Anyway, this problem needed further evidence to prove. Fortunately, it was not
closely related to the topic of this article, so we would not further our discussion
on it.

As it was mentioned above, Lishao jushi, Xiaojiluo anzhu and Hengmeng
anzhu referred to the same person. Therefore, if the real names and identities of
Xiaojiluo anzhu and Hengmeng anzhu could be made clear, the mystery around
Lishao jushi could be solved. Following this train of thought, the author of this
article carefully studied the related information on Shenbao and Yinghuan suoji,
the poetry collection of the Qing Dynasty, the relevant manuscripts, the test
papers of the imperial examination, the county annals, the diaries and the
newspapers and eventually he found out some adequate evidence. In the
following part of this article, the author would prove his opinion from several
aspects so as to solve the mystery which remained unsolved for one hundred
years.

1. The real name of Xiaojiluo anzhu

On November 15, 1875, Shenbao carried the antiphon poetry written by
Lüchen daoren 履尘道人 and Xiaojiluo’an zhuren. It was said in Liu Lüchen’s
刘履尘 poem that “Jiluo daoren” was “Xiaojiluo’an zhuren” who was a person
of great filial piety and honesty. At that time, he was invited by Xu Guancha 许
观察, his father-in-law to work in Gannan government of Jiangxi province. And
he also considered himself as the son-in-law of Mr. Xu. Living together in
Qiannan County, the two people talked happily with each other and then wrote
antiphon poetry together. The notes to Liu Lvchen’s poetry explained that
Xiaojiluo’an zhuren’s works included “Yuehen louying tu” 月痕楼影图 (The
picture of moonlight and building shadow), an elegy and “Dongqing laowu tu” 冬青老屋图 (The picture of holly and old house) and he also wrote Zegutangshi chuji 泽古堂诗初集 (Zegutang poetry collection).

The two paintings of “Yuehen louying tu” and “Dongqing laowu tu” were also
mentioned in “Zhouzhong xuhuairen shi” 舟中续怀人诗 (A poem of emotion expression) which was written by Xiaoju’an and published on Shenbao on May 29. The poem was written in memory of many people, such as Gu Zhanxiang 顾篆香, an official, Jiang Yiren, a teacher, Huang Tianhe, a teacher, Yang Zhihong, a senior official and Huang Xiaoyuan, a common person.

Xiaoju’an said that Jiang Yiren had written Hubei xinyuefu 湖北新乐府 (The new folk songs of Hubei) and he also mentioned that “you wrote the foreword for two of my paintings.” This showed that the painter was Xiaoju’an and Jiang Yiren ever wrote foreword for “Yuehen louying tu” and “Dongqing laowu tu.” If Jiang Yiren was Jiang Mei, he was born in Jiading, Jiangsu province with the style-names of Yiren, Tianshan and Hecha shannong. He was a famous scholar in Shanghai at that time. His house was named Qiushui xuan 秋水轩 and he wrote such works as Qiushuixuan yincun 秋水轩印存 (Qiushuixuan collection of seals), Qiushuixuan shigao 秋水轩诗稿 (Qiushuixuan poetry manuscript) and Menghualu yinpu 梦花庐印谱 (Menghualu collection of seals). In fact, Jiang Mei wrote for the painting “Yuehen louying tu” not only the foreword, but also a poem. Qiushuixuan shigao now was stored in Shanghai Library and a poem named “Yuehen louying tu wei Jiang Zixiang xiaolian Qizhang zuo” 月痕楼影图为蒋子相孝廉其章作 (A poem written for the picture of yueheng louying by Jiang Zixiang, style-named Qizhang) was in volume 6 of Qiushuixuan ergao 秋水轩二稿 (The second draft of Qiushui xuan).

“Yuehen louying tu” by Xiaoju’an, the foreword written by Jiang Mei and the poem by Jiang Mei altogether proved that “Xiaoju’an” was Jiang Zixiang, style-named Qizhang. Therefore, the real name of Xiaoju’an anzhu was made clear now.

“Yuehen louying tu” was painted by Jiang Zixiang to mourn his deceased wife and besides Jiang Mei, a lot of other poets wrote for the painting. For example, the poem “Ti Jiang Zixiang Qizhang yuehen louying tu” 题蒋子相其章月痕楼影图 (A poem written for Yuehen louying tu by Jiang Zixiang, style-named Qizhang) by Ge Qilong 葛其龙 was collected in Ji’an shichao 寄庵诗钞 (Ji’an Poetry),22 Huang Duo 黄铎 wrote the poem “Yuehen louying tu wei qiantang Jiang Zixiang xiaolian Qizhang ti” 月痕楼影图为钱塘蒋子相孝廉其章题 (A poem written for Yuehen louying tu by Jiang Zixiang, style-named Qizhang) which was collected in Quyu ji 起余集 (Quyu collection),23 and the poem “Yuehen louying tu wei Jiang Zixiang Qizhang ti” 月痕楼影图为蒋子相其章题 (A poem written for Yuehen louying tu by Jiang Zixiang, style-named Qizhang) by Wan Zhao was collected in the third volume of Hejian shikan ji 赫田诗龛集

22 Ge Qilong, Ji’an shichao, vol 1, 1878, pp. 18–19.
23 Huang Duo, Quyu ji, vol 4, 1911, p. 7.
In addition, some *ci*-poetry and verses were also written on the painting, for example, “Baiziling Yuehen louying tu wei Jiang Zixiang xiaolian ti” 百字令 月痕楼影图为蒋子相孝廉题 (Baiziling, a poem of Yuehen louying tu for Jiang Zixiang) in *Qingxi cichao* 青溪词钞 (Qingxi collection of *ci*-poetry) by Jiang Shizhe 蒋师辙 and “Ti Jiang Zixiang Yuehen louying tu” 题蒋子相月痕楼影图 (A poem written for Yuehen louying tu by Jiang Zixiang) in *Biyulou yigao* 比玉楼遗稿 (Biyulou posthumous manuscript) by Huang Zhenjun 黄振均.

It can be seen from the poetry mentioned above that these scholars and men of letters were friends of Jiang Qizhang’s. And they traveled, drank and wrote poetry together, thus leaving the works mentioned above. It was doubtless that “Xiaoqiluo’an” was Jiang Zixiang, style-named Qizhang.

2. The real name of Hengmeng anzhu

Secondly, we can also prove that Hengmeng anzhu was the pen name of Jiang Zixiang’s by citing some relevant poetry collection.

As is mentioned above, Hengmeng anzhu was one of the staff of *Shenbao* and he also published a lot of poetry on the newspaper, especially in the years 1872 and 1873. At that time, the men of letters in Shanghai held a few elegant meetings and they composed poetry, most of which were published on *Shenbao*. The poetry written by Hengmeng anzhu and his friends would not tell us who he was and what his real name was. However, the problem could be readily solved by a closer study of the poetry. The adequate evidence could be found in *Qiushuixuan shigao* by Jiang Mei.

The first case in point was the poem written by Jiang Mei and published on *Shenbao* on January 9, 1873. Jiang Mei said in the poem that he’d had the honor to read *Xiaoqiluo’an gao* by Hengmeng anzhu, which showed that Xiaoqiluo’an and Hengmeng anzhu were the same person. What is more, there was only the difference of a few words between this poem and “Xiaohan diyijici Jiang Zixiang yun” 消寒第一集次蒋子相韵 (On the first volume of Jiang Zixiang’s poetry). And it was also said in the notes to the latter poem that “I ever read Xiaoqiluo’an gao.” Thus, the relationship between the three was clearly shown and Hengmeng anzhu, Xiaoqiluo’an zhuren and Jiang Zixiang were actually the same person.

The second case in point is the poem written by Longqiu jiuyin 龙湫旧隐 (the style-name of Ge Qilong) and published on *Shenbao* on January 13, 1873. It was said in the notes to the poem that “Hecha shanrong did not show up in the first two meetings and he kept the appointment today. However, Hengmeng anzhu was late for the gathering.” In addition, there was a poem written by Hengmeng

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anzhu and it was said that “Mengjiao anzhu came to invite me instead of sending an invitation. However, I came to the meeting very late and should be punished.” It thus can be seen that Hengmeng anzhu was late for the elegant meeting for business, so he was made to drink as a punishment. On the same day, the newspaper carried a poem by Jiang Mei, style-named Hecha shangnong.

Jiang Mei also said in the poem that “Hengmeng anzhu was late.” In the seventh volume of Qiushuixuan ergao 秋水轩二稿 (The second draft of Qiushuixuan collection), the same poem was entitled “Xiaohan disanji ci yingeng yun” 消寒第三集次隐耕韵 (The poem made in the third meeting after Yingeng). The poem collected in the second draft was exactly the same as the one carried on Shenbao and it was said in the notes to the former one that “when Zixiang came, the meeting almost came to its close.” The notes revealed that Hengmeng anzhu was Jiang Zixiang.

The third case in point is that some men of letters in Shanghai had a farewell dinner in honor of Hengmeng anzhu in the restaurant by the river when they held the fourth meeting. The poem by Hengmeng anzhu was seen on Shenbao on January 16, 1873 and on January 18, the newspaper published a poem by Longqiu jiuyin, which was answered by another poem by Hengmeng anzhu. In the literary circles of Shanghai at that time, many poets have joined the chorus of poetry making, such as Mengyou xianshi 梦游仙史 and Aiwu luzhu 爱吾庐主.

On February 18, 1873, Shenbao carried a poem by Hecha shangnong, which was confirmed to be the same as the poem “Xiaohan disiji jijian Zixiang guiwulin 消寒第四集即饯子相归武林” (The fourth meeting and the farewell dinner to send Zixiang back to Wulin) collected in the sixth volume of Qiushuixuan ergao. There was only the difference of a few words between these two poems. However, it was worth noticing that when the poem was published on Shenbao, the note said that “the farewell dinner was held to send Hengmeng anzhu back to Wulin” and when the poem was collected, the note said that “the farewell dinner was held to send Zixiang back to Wulin.” And in the poem, the pen name “Longqiu jiuyin” was also changed into the style-name of “Yingeng.” This would be enough to show that Hengmeng anzhu was Jiang Zixiang.

The fact that Hengmeng anzhu was Jiang Zixiang, style-named Qizhang could be proved not only by the poetry written by Jiang Mei, but also by the antiphon poetry by others. Two other examples might as well be offered.

The fourth case in point is that two poems by Hecha shangnong were published on Shenbao on April 2, 1873. The same poem could be found in the seventh volume of Qiushuixuan ergao and was entitled “Jiang Zixiang xiaolian Qizhang guofang, jiyi huabie 蒋子相孝廉其章过访，即以话别 (Jiang Zixiang style-named Qizhang came for a visit and we said a few parting words). Jiang Mei pointed out that Hengmeng anzhu’s name was Jiang Zixiang and his style-name was Qizhang. On the same day, Shenbao also carried the antiphon
poetry by “Longqiu jiuyin,” “Lütian jushi” and “Luzhou shiyin” under the title of “Qianti ci Hecha shannong yun” (The poetry in answer to Hecha shannong’s poem). Luzhou shiyin was Huang Duo (CE 1823–1878), style-named Zixuan, Xiaoyuan and Luzhou shiyin and he was born in Jiangning, Jiangsu province (the present Nanjing, Jiangsu province). He excelled in both poetry, medicine and painting and had wrote *Quyu ji*. The poem “He yiren xi Zixiang jianguo jiyi huabie yuanyun” (Meeting Zixiang and saying a few parting words) could be found in volume four of *Quyu ji* and it was the same as the one the author published on *Shenbao*. The poem referred to Jiang Mei, which showed that the poetry were written by Huang Duo and Jiang Mei. This again could directly prove that Hengmeng anzhu was Jiang Zixiang.

The fifth case in point is the two poems entitled “Suimu ganhuai” (Recalling the past year with emotion) were written by Hengmeng anzhu and published on *Shenbao* on April 17. On the same day, the antiphon poetry by Hecha shannong, Longqiu jiuyin and Luzhou shiyin also appeared on *Shenbao*. After Jiang Mei’s poem published on *Shenbao* and the one collected in the seventh volume of *Qiushuixuan ergao* were compared with each other, the two were found to be the same. And the latter poem was entitled “Ciyun Jiang Zixiang suimu ganhuai” (The poem in answer to ‘Recalling the past year with emotion’ by Jiang Zixiang).

In addition to the antiphon poem by Jiang Mei, the poem “Suimu ganhuai” by Luzhou shiyin also appeared on *Shenbao*. The same poem was collected in the fourth volume of *Quyu ji* by Huang Duo. The collected one and the published one had the same beginning and end; while minor differences occurred in the middle parts of the two poems. In terms of the poem itself, it was also entitled “Suimu ganhuai” and therefore should be written in answer to the poem by Hengmeng anzhu. Before that, on April 7, *Shenbao* carried the poem “Suimu ganhuai ershou yunci Hengmeng anzhu yuanyun” (Two poems of recalling the past year with emotion, written in answer to the one by Hengmeng anzhu) by Yang Wenbin 杨文斌, style-named Kunchi diaotu 昆池钓徒. The two poems by Yang Wenbin and Huang Duo were both entitled “Suimu ganhuai” and one was in answer to the poem by Hengmeng anzhu while the other to the poem by Jiang Zixiang. This clearly showed that Hengmeng anzhu was Jiang Zixiang.

In the discussion above, we followed the two paths of “Xiaojiluo anzhu” and “Hengmeng anzhu” to prove that they were both the style-names of Jiang Zixiang. This could adequately prove that the real name of Lishao jushi, the translator of *Xinxi xiantan*, was Jiang Zixiang, style-named Qizhang.

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26 Huang Duo, *Quyu ji*, vol. 4, p. 7.
3. The proof of his works

Thirdly, in terms of the works, Hengmeng anzhu had written such works as Xiaojiluo’an gao and Xiaojiluo’an shigao. It was mentioned previously that Liu Lvchen said in his poem that “Jiluo daoren” was “Xiaojiluo’an zhuren” who had written Zegutangshi chuji. According to Jiang Qizhang’s test paper in the imperial examination, he filled in the form of curriculum vitae in 1877 for the exam, saying that “he has the style names of Zixiang and Gongzhi and is a student from Hangzhou, Zhejiang province. He has written “Zegutang ji” (Zegutang collection).”27 It can thus be seen that the same work has the different names of Xiaojiluo’an gao, Xiaojiluo’an shigao, Zegutang shi chuji and Zegutang ji, so the name seemed undecided. What Liu Lvchen said in his poem corresponded to curriculum vitae of Jiang Qizhang, which would show to us from a different perspective that Xiaojiluo anzhu and Hengmeng anzhu were both Jiang Qizhang.

The evidence from the three aspects would undoubtedly prove that the real name of Lishao jushi, the translator of Xinxi xiantan was Jiang Zixiang, style-named Qizhang. Guo Changhai revealed that the name of the first translator was Jiang Zirang according to the advertisement carried on Xinwen bao. It was the first time that the name of the translator was offered and the advertisement was the only information concerned, so it was widely accepted in academia. However, Guo’s opinion was wrong and should be corrected. At the same time, the research above also made clear the relationship between Jiang Zixiang and Shenbao so as to lay a solid foundation for the further study. However, it should be pointed out that the advertisement presented by Guo Changhai and Yan Tingliang’s opinion about the relationship between Lishao jushi and Hengmeng anzhu both helped to bring the problem to the forefront. Hanan’s suspected that the translator might be the editor-in-chief of Shenbao and then therefore paid a lot of attention to his connection with the newspaper office. The explorations, doubts and discussions mentioned above either offered important clue or expanded the scope of research, so they were all inspiring in their own ways. During the process of academic research, these efforts should also be given credit. To sum up, the mystery around the first translator of Xinxi xiantan had remained for one hundred years and now it was finally solved. The evidence was irrefutable and the case was over.

**Jiang Qizhang, the Man and His Deeds**

Due the scarce historical resources, little was known and remembered about the

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life story of Jiang Qizhang. Fortunately two articles he had written at the provincial examination and the metropolitan examination, the form of his curriculum vitae and some detailed information about his family were kept in *Qingdai zhujuan jicheng* (The collection of the imperial examination papers of the Qing dynasty). According to the collection, “Jiang Qizhang has such style-names as Zixiang, Gongzhi, Zhi'an and Xingyi. He was born on April 24th of the 22nd year of Daoguang’s reign period. He was a student from Hangzhou, Zhejiang province. His temporary residence is in Qiantang county and his ancestral home is in She county, Anhui province.”

It could be known that Jiang Qizhang’s exact birth date was June 3, 1842.

A careful study on the files of the imperial examination and the related poetry collection would show that Jiang Qizhang was born in Qiantang, Zhejiang province (the present Hangzhou) and style-named Zixiang and he also had a few other style names, such as Zixiang 子湘 and Zhixiang 芝湘. His ancestral home was in She county, Anhui province and his ancestors were Huizhou merchants. Later they moved to Hangzhou. His great-grandfather Jiang Yuanwei 蒋袁慰 was a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level and later was elected the magistrate of the county. His grandfather Jiang Xueqian 蒋学谦 and his father Jiang Fengchen 蒋逢辰 were both senior licentiates. Among the four sons in the family, Jiang Qizhang was the oldest one and his brothers were Kuizhang 奎章, Yuzhang 玉章 and Yuezhang 曰章. He received the family instructions at the younger age and later was educated formally. When he was a young man, he attended schools in Hangzhou and Shanghai. After passing the imperial examination at the county level, he went through the annual examination and was enrolled in Hangzhou Institution as a student who enjoyed meal allowance from the government. He passed the provincial civil service examination in 1870 and according to *Tongzhi jiunian Gengwu zhengke Zhejiang xiangshi* (The imperial exam at the provincial level in Zhejiang in the ninth year of Tongzhi’s reign), “the forty-eighth one is Jiang Qizhang who is twenty-nine and a student from Hangzhou Institution.”

In early 1872, Major was preparing to start *Shenbao* and Jiang Qizhang had already been known as the “scholar of filial piety and honesty in Wulin,” hence being invited. And the former editor-in-chief of *Shenbao* Huang Xiexun said,

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“The initiator of *Shenbao* was the Englishman Major while the chief editor was the Chinese man Jiang Zhixiang.”\(^{31}\) As one of the earliest editors of *Shenbao*, Jiang Zixiang participated in the editing affairs from the very beginning and played an important role in the smooth operation of the newspaper. He also published many poems with the pen names of Hengmeng anzhu and Xiaojiluo anzhu. Shortly after the start of *Shenbao*, he went to Japan, which gave him the inspiration to write “Changqidao youji.” At the same time, he also took up the editing affairs of *Yinghuan suoji*, a monthly publication affiliated to *Shenbao*. For example, the foreword and preface of *Jinghuan suoji* were written by Lishao jushi and so were many postscripts. In addition, he worked together with another person to translate *Xinxi xiantan* which was serialized on the publication.

As the famous scholar and editor, Jiang Qizhang came to know many men of letters living in Shanghai or visiting to Shanghai through various communication channels. He ever said that after starting *Shenbao*, “I made friends with many famous scholars through the introduction of Longqiu jiuyin.”\(^{32}\) During this period of time, he attended the elegant gatherings in Shanghai and wrote antiphon poetry with others, hence an active figure in the literary circles. In the winter of 1872, the literary figures in Shanghai had four famous elegant gatherings and the second meeting was organized by Hengmeng anzhu. He offered *Muzhai waiji* (Muzhai outside collection) as the topic for poetry making and the fourth meeting was held as a farewell party in honor of Jiang Qizhang. In the four elegant gatherings, the men of letters in Shanghai popularized the poetry composition and the poems they made were mostly published on *Shenbao*.

While working in the newspaper office, Jiang Qizhang also edited and published *Wenyuan jinghua* (The essence in the world of literature), which collected more than five hundred model essays for the imperial examination. Although only “Yishengge zhuren” was mentioned in the preface of the book, Jiang Qizhang did do his part in the work. It was clearly recorded in *Shenbao guan shumu* published in 1877 that “the book collected the essays written by the contemporary figures and was edited by Jiang Zhixiang from Wulin.”\(^{33}\) The book contained the essays written by Xue Fucheng, Ge Qilong and many others and six essays by Jiang were also selected, four of them signed the name Jiang Qizhang and the other two signed Jiang Qizhang, style-named Zixiang.\(^{34}\) The book edited by Jiang not only catered to the social needs, but also manifested the imperial-examination complex of many people, such as Jiang

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\(^{31}\) Huang Xiexun 黄协埙, “Benbao zuichu shidai zhi jingguo” 本报最初时代之经过 (The early stage of our newspaper), in *Shenbao guan*, 1997, p. 27.

\(^{32}\) *Shenbao*, December, 25, 1872.

\(^{33}\) Major (ed.), *Shenbao guan shumu*, p. 4.

\(^{34}\) Jiang Qizhang (ed.), *Wenyuan jinghua*, 1873.
Qizhang, He Guisheng and Qian Xinbo.

The same as many other scholars, Jiang Qizhang still bore in mind the imperial examination while he was editing the newspaper. According to the reliable sources, Jiang Qizhang passed the highest imperial examination in the third year of Guangxu’s reign period and to be specific, he ranked the forty-ninth among the candidates of the third level. It was recorded in Mingqing jinshi timing beilu (The list of the successful candidates in the imperial examinations during the Ming and Qing dynasties) that “Jiang Qizhang was born in Qiantang, Zhejiang and he ranked the forty-ninth among the candidates of the third level in the third year of Guangxu’s reign period.” More detailed information was kept in the record of metropolitan examination which said that “Jiang Qizhang was the forty-eighth in the provincial examination, the fifty-sixth in the metropolitan examination, the forty-ninth among the third-level candidates in the palace examination and the forty-third among the second-level candidates in the court examination. He was appointed by the Emperor to be the county magistrate at once.”

Qingdai zhujuan jicheng collected his essays written during the examinations, such as “Xiuji yi’an baixing” (Cultivating oneself and then serving the people) and “Jianxian yanran hou yongzhi” (The discovery and the employment of the virtuous people). Although these were the eight-part essays written for the imperial examinations, they still could manifest the ideas and writing style of Jiang Qizhang.

Jiang Qizhang left the newspaper office after passing the imperial examination and he went to his appointed post of Dunhuang magistrate in the spring of the next year. The information about his life and work in Dunhuang was recorded in Zuo Zongtang quanji (The complete works of Zuo Zongtang), especially the letters and memorials to the throne. In the sixth year of Guangxu’s reign period, Zuo Zongtang reported to the imperial court about the “evil intention and ineffective governing” of Jiang Qizhang and dismissed him from the position. Later his friend said that he was dismissed because he was scandalized by his enemies while others suspected it might be related to Zuo Zongtang’s prejudice against the staff of newspaper offices. Zuo Zongtang said in a letter to his friend that “the newspaper office is the last resort for the rascal men of letters.” Jiang used to be the chief editor of the newspaper office, which might have exerted negative influence on him. After leaving Dunhuang, Jiang Qizhang went through Jiayu pass to Sinkiang and he worked as the assistant to Zhang Yao, a subordinate of Zuo Zongtang in Aksu and

36 Gu Tinglong, p. 334.
37 Ibid., pp. 337–349.
Kashgar. This experience was recorded in the works by his colleagues, such as Zeyatang shiji (Zeyatang poetry collection) and Wenji (Collected works) by Shi Buhua and Yuemantang riji (Yuemantang diaries) by Li Ciming. For example, it was said “Jiangmu muzhiming” the epitaph for Mrs. Jiang) in the sixth volume of Zeyatang shiji that “Duke Qiantang ruled Kashgar with his exemplary conduct and nobility of character and he was assisted by Jiang Qizhang.”\(^{40}\) In the diary by Mr. Li on January 16, 1883, it was said that “Zixiang used to be magistrate of Dunhuang and later was dismissed. Now he was working Mr. Zhang as a secretary.”\(^{41}\) These quotations would provide some information about Mr. Jiang’s work as a secretary for Zhang Yao. Later Zhang was transferred to Shandong to be the provincial governor and Jiang followed him there and stayed for more than ten years.

To sum up, Jiang Qizhang had a life of variety and an official career of many twists and turns. The different places of Hangzhou, Shanghai, Dunhuang, Xinjiang and Shandong witnessed the changes of his identities and positions, such as a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level, a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations, the magistrate and the secretary. As a person who had experienced many ups and downs, his thoughts would be to various to sum up. Thus, a more reliable conclusion could be reached only after an in-depth study and exploration.

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\(^{40}\) Shi Buhua, 2002, p. 357.

\(^{41}\) Li Ciming, 2004, p. 9695.
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