

University of Michigan

Zizhi Tongjian

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Why *Zizhi Tongjian*

As a Chinese history book lover, I can hardly come up with other books rather than *Zizhi Tongjian*¹ to translate. *Zizhi Tongjian* is an 11-th century chronicle history book that covered 1362 years of China's history (Lafleur, iv). Chinese Chairman Mao had carefully read this book for seventeen times (Xiaolai, page 1, volume 1). It is the first Chinese history book in chronicle form, but English readers are unfamiliar with it.

The author of *Zizhi Tongjian*, Sima Guang, was a politician in Song Dynasty, a more diverse era than in pre-Song times (Lafleur, 62). Hoped to convey his own Confucian understanding toward history, he criticized on previous Chinese histories more openly than ancient authors. He named this book as *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid Government*, a literal translation of “*Zizhi Tongjian*”, which comes from Emperor Taizong of Tang’s comment that “Using metal as a mirror, you can dress up; using other people as a mirror, you can see yourself [advantages and disadvantages]; using history as a mirror, you can know the future [of country’s rise and fall]” (Old book of Tan, Weizheng). The meaning of “*Zizhi Tongjian*” is to study history comprehensively and to predict the future, in order to aid Chinese government in Song Dynasty.

My translation focused on the history about 280s BCE; at that time, King Pyrrhus of Epirus just began to invade Italy, and Colossus of Rhodes was not yet finished. So, readers should not anticipate that this story could tell current governors how to run governments or solve political dilemmas. Even Franklin Roosevelt’s policies at 100 years ago could not help on current affairs, 2000-years old political strategies are nearly useless in 21 century. However, the history I am translating does match 21-century and actually “mirror” many contemporary affairs in certain

¹ *Zizhi Tongjian* (资治通鉴) is also known as *Zi Zhi Tong Jian* or *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid Government*

degrees. There were many states at that period, just like there are many countries now. In my translation, Wang Sunsu's story tells us the importance of royalty to a country, which could mirror Hong Kong's "Occupy Central" movement in 2014; Lord Weisi stealthily monitored officers and citizens, which could mirror Chinese censorship on internet, and also remind readers about Edward Snowden's escape from U.S.; relationships between Lin Xiangru and Lian Po could mirror political-military discordance in China. Using history to criticize current events was a basic skill for Chinese historians and scholars, using the history in my translation to mirror some 21-century affairs should not be hard for readers, even if different readers would have distinct understandings toward history.

Readers should keep in mind that morality system in Confucianism is only partially right according to current morality. Different from current American value, Confucius advocated religious ritual, righteous, and wisdom over democracy. Knowing this fact could not only help readers to understand this translation, but also help people to understand current Chinese government philosophy. While United Nation is criticizing China for its terrible human rights condition, Chinese government think China did a perfect job on enhancing human rights, because their understandings toward human rights are different. Chinese government does not focus on freedom of speech but aims at health care and employee welfare. Just like Lydia Liu wrote that makeshift translation dominated in China at 19th century, "rights" was translated to "two negative words" (Liu, 149), and many Chinese have a false understanding toward it. This kind of misconception is alleviated now, but it's not solved completely. More details on morality difference are included in Translation Challenge part.

Hoping English readers could have a better understanding toward Chinese culture and Chinese history, I decided to translate a history book to English readers. Moreover, as Nancy

Florida commented on her project that “[her translation] might perform its work within the larger discursive spaces of a global comparative dialogue elicits further consideration of the political implications...” (Florida, 7), Chinese history translation could also bring different views to contemporary global affairs. Thus, I choose Zizhi Tongjian to translate.

Challenges in Translating

Short Words

Students who want to translate Chinese into English would find idioms are hard to translate. Chinese writers, especially ancient ones, love to use metaphors, idioms, and phrases in short words, because short words are concise and powerful. However, translators would face huge challenge to translate these phrases. Sima Guang loved to use short and small words to portrait characters, and his descriptions of stories and people’s emotions are not vivid enough to attract modern readers.

Source: 倚门而望

Literal Translation: I am sitting by the door, look out, and hope you could come back home soon.

Moreover, considering Venuti’s theory on translation visibility that “effect of fluent discourse, of the translator’s effort to insure easy readability by adhering to current usage, maintaining continuous syntax, fixing a precise meaning...starting with the translator’s crucial intervention in the foreign text” (Venuti, 1-2), I tried to use different words to describe story rather than translate the work literally. However, the balance between visibility and invisibility should be handled rigorously; otherwise, my translation would either lose fidelity or readability.

In this case, considering the length of translation on “倚门而望” and the word’s impact on readers, I decided to truncating its meaning and to shorten the translation.

New Translation: I am waiting you at the door.

Background Knowledge and Stereotype

Another difficulty is readers’ background knowledge. Target readers of this book are emperors, politicians, and ambassadors. Assumed all readers were familiar with Chinese history, Sima Guang omitted many basic introductions on famous events and characters, which raised a hard task for translators.

On the other hand, Chinese literature is notorious for its innuendo, and Chinese political literature is even more indirect than normal literatures. Hoping the emperor could think critically, Chinese historians usually borrowed stories from previous dynasties to comment on contemporary affairs; if they criticized contemporary affairs directly, they would have a high risk to be sentenced to death.

Moreover, I realized Chinese characters in Zizhi Tongjian are stereotyped by historians; “the distinctive feature of Chinese historiography..., when compared with that of the West...would be: its stereotype character” (Lafleur, 4). If English reader did not understand the stereotypes of characters, they would feel confusing when reading my translation.

One example is shown below. Readers might have questions: what Heshibi is; why there are two kings in China; why King of Qin wanted it.

Source: 赵王得楚和氏璧，秦昭王欲取之，请易以十五城。

Literal translation: King of Zhao got Heshibi from Chu, but King of Qin wanted it and asked to exchange it with fifteen cities.

Another example shown below is related to Chinese stereotype. English readers would feel “ritual” very strange and would think the logic in this sentence is weak.

Source: 故修礼者王，为政者强，取民者安，聚敛者亡。

Literal Translation: Thus, the ruler who reinforces ritual will be real king, the ruler who carefully studies politics will be strong, the ruler who advocates democracy will be safe, and the ruler who aggregates by taxing will be dead.

As Dingwaney proposed that “translation involves far more than looking for the closest lexical equivalent... translation, ideally, makes familiar, and thereby accessible, what is confronted as alien, maintain the familiar in the face of otherness without either sacrificing or appropriating difference” (Dingwaney, 304). I would try to mediate between ancient Chinese and modern English. One way to solve this problem is to make some footnotes to describe characters’ personality and histories. Another way is to build these persons’ personality through my translation as a whole. The first method is not reader-friendly, and the second way is too difficult. Thus, I would try to combine both methods to translate this work.

Names

Different from English names, Chinese’s first name comes after last name. I will use the syntax “Lastname Firstname” to translate Chinese names, in which I will omit a comma between them. For instance, “Sima Guang” would represent “Sima, Guang” rather than “Guang, Sima” in my translation.

Because Chinese names all look similar, English readers can hardly identify them. For instance, the last names “Lian” and “Lin” are hard to distinguish. Thus, I list a glossary of all characters and states in the beginning of each section. Moreover, different from the tradition

using last names to represent a person, I will choose either a person's first name or last name in my translation for clarity. So, I will use "Po" to represent "Lian Po" and "Xiangru" to represent "Lin Xiangru".

There is particularly a difficult to translate two states' names, "魏" and "卫", which are both translated to "Wei" by modern Chinese translation. Thus, I have to adopt a Cantonese translation, so that "魏" would be translated into "Ngai", and "卫" would be translated into "Wai".

Morality in Confucianism

As I mentioned Chinese have different morality and norms compared to Europeans and Americans. "忠, 孝, 义" (are "royalty", "filial piety", and "righteousness") are the three most important moralities in China. When have to choose between "righteousness" and life, an elite should choose righteousness and abandon his/her life.

So, suicide was usual in ancient China, and these people would be praised if they sacrificed their lives to maintain Confucian morality.

Chinese has depreciated freedom of speech since 3000 years ago. A government officer would be killed without mercy if he spoke against his emperor. Confucius tried to advocate freedom of speech, but many emperors failed to put Confucian advice into practice. In this translation, an officer was killed by King of Yan because he spoke ill of Yueyi, and then King of Yan prohibited any other people to malign Yueyi. Americans would think King of Yan is too autocratic to allow freedom of speech. However, Sima Guang and most current Chinese people praise King of Yan's decision because Yueyi is a royal and righteous person.

There are many other culture and morality differences between America and China. My hope for my translation is same as Florida's for her project that "translation produced by writing across differences instead of against differences" (Florida, 7). So, I tried to introduce these culture differences both in the introduction and in the translation.

Translation of “Zhou Ji, Volume 4” in Zizhi Tongjian

Year Thirty-two (283 BCE).

Ambassadors from State of Qin and State of Zhao met at Rang City. State of Qin captured Ngaian City in Ngai, and they did not draw back until reaching Daliang, Ngai's capital.

State: Qi. Character: Naochi, Tian Fazhang, and Wang Sungu.

When Naochi's Chaos² occurred, Tian Fazhang, prince of State of Qi, changed his name and hided in Taishi Yin's home as a worker. Taishi Yin's daughter found Fazhang's appearance was stalwart and unusual; so, she stealthily supplied cloths and foods to Fazhang, and even married him secretly. At the same time, Wang Sungu, King of Qi's attendant, cannot find the prince and had to come back home. His mother said, “When you leaving home every morning [to work], I am waiting you at the door; when you leaving home every night, I am still waiting you at the door. Now, you cannot even find prince. Wouldn't you feel shameful to come home!” Then, Wang Sungu rushed to a crowded street and shouted, “Naochi killed our king! Please raise your right hand if you want to kill Naochi with me!” More than four hundred people followed

² Naochi's Chaos: At 284 BCE, Yan, Qin, Zhao, Han, and Ngai united an army and defeated Qi. King of Qi escaped to Ju City in Chu with his followers, and he asked Chu's general Naochi for help. Even though he king promised to share his land with Naochi, Naochi killed him.

³ This dialogue means: I am patient to wait you coming back home everyday, and you should also be patient to wait the prince to come back. This is a famous story in China, and the phrase “waiting at the door” (倚门而望) in modern Chinese allusively represents parents' love to children.

him to kill Naochi. After Naochi died, ministers in Qi tried to seek the prince and wanted to nominate him as new king. On the other hand, Fazhang, afraid these people would secretly harm him, observed for a long time and then revealed his identity. After finding the prince, the ministers supported him to be the new king and tried to defend Ju City from enemy's attack. They claimed to the world, "King of Qi ascends the throne in Ju City!"

State: Zhao, Qin. Character: Lin Xiangru, King of Qin, King of Zhao. Item: Heshibi

King of Zhao got Heshibi⁴ from State of Chu, and King of Qin wanted to exchange it with fifteen cities. King of Zhao did not want to give it to Qin, but he was afraid of Qin's military strength; on the other hand, if he premised the request, King of Qin could break the promise of giving fifteen cities. Then he asked Lin Xiangru for advice. Xiangru answered, "King of Qin wants to exchange Heshibi for fifteen cities. If we forbid this transaction, we are unjustified, and they could attack us. However, if we gave them Heshibi and they did not compensate us cities, they become unjustified. Comparing these two schemes, I think we'd better to give them Heshibi. I volunteered to escort Heshibi to Qin. If Qin did not offer us fifteen cities, I will bring Heshibi back in original perfect condition." King of Zhao promised and assigned him to Qin. After Xiangru arrived Qin and gave Heshibi to Qin, King of Qin did not intent to compensate Zhao cities. Xiangru deceived⁵ King of Qin and got it back. He asked an attendant to move

⁴ Heshibi (He Shi Bi, 和氏璧): a perfect piece of jade found in the State of Chu. It was first made into a jade disc (Bi 璧) and obtained by King of Zhao. In this story, King of Qin did not successfully obtain it. However, after conquering China, Emperor of Qin made it into *Imperial Seal of China* at 221 BCE.

⁵ Deceive: Xiangru deceived King of Qin that there is a blemish on Heshibi. Then King of Qin gave it back to Xiangru and asked him to point out the blemish. After getting Heshibi on hand, Xiangru suddenly ran to a pillar and threatened that he will destroy Heshibi. Then King of Qin promised to compensate fifteen cities, but Xiangru insisted that they should hold a five-days

Heshibi back to Zhao secretly at night, but he stayed at state of Qin. Had to praise him as a talent person, King of Qin not only absolved him from death, but also sent him back to Zhao courtly.

After Xiangru came back to Zhao, King of Zhao granted him the position of Shangdaifu.

State: Wai.

Character: Lord Weisi

Lord Weisi in State of Wai died, and his son ascended as Lord Weihuai. When Lord Weisi is alive, he loved to spy on others' privacy. After hearing that a local government officer had a broken blanket at home, Lord Weisi granted him a new one. The officer was surprised and thought Lord Weisi is omniscient. Lord Weisi also asked someone to pass a gateway and bribe a customs officer with large amount of money. Then Lord Weisi called in the customs officer, accused him for grafting, and commanded him to return the money. The officer was scared. Moreover, Lord Weisi loved his concubine Xieji and minister Ruer but afraid they would deceive him and monopolize in government. So, he promoted another concubine and another minister, claiming, "then I can compare your performances."

A famous criticizer, Xunzi said, "Lord Weicheng and Lord Weisi are creepy and petty, who failed to grasp people's mind. Zichan could grasp people's mind but failed at governance. Guanzhong succeed in governance, but failed at advocating mending customs⁶. Thus, the ruler

ceremony before the transaction (Shi Ji, biography of Lin Xiangru). This story is so famous that Sima Guang just omitted the detailed description.

⁶ Lord Weicheng, Lord Weisi, Zichan and Guanz'hong are famous politicians in ancient Chinese. Xunzi quoted their government policies to elaborate the importance of "mending" old social customs. However, there is a constant debate on how to interpret "mending customs" over a thousand years. The phrase "mending customs" (修礼) once was interpreted as "social reform", which is quite different from its literal meaning. "Grasp people's mind" requires governors to listen to citizens' advices, which is an elementary stage of democracy. However, compared to social customs, this kind of democracy was depreciated in Confucianism.

who mending customs will dominate the world, the ruler who carefully studies governance methods will become strong, the ruler who grasp citizens' minds will be safe, and the ruler who aggregates by taxing will die."

Year Thirty-three (282 BCE).

State of Qin defeated State of Zhao and seized two cities.

Year Thirty-four (281 BCE).

State of Qin defeated State of Zhao again and seized Stone City.

Ranghou was reappointed as prime minister in State of Qin.

State: Chu.

Character: Zhaozi, Mr. Wu

State of Chu intended to attack State of Qin with two other countries, because State of Chu wanted to conquer Kingdom of Zhou. King Zhou assigned Mr. Wu to inform Zhaozi in Chu, "Never attack Kingdom of Zhou!" Zhaozi answered, "We never intended to attack Kingdom of Zhou. However, I still want to ask the reason for not attacking." Mr. Wu replied, "Kingdom Zhou only owns few hundred acres of land, but it was referred as the host of all states.

Conquering its land could neither enrich attacker's state nor enlarge attacker's army, and the attacker would also gain a regicidal fame for killing the host. However, many states planned to attack it because ritual relic is in it. Tiger's meet is stinking and has sharp claws, but people still try to attack it; Elk does not have sharp claws, and people are much more willing to attack it if we give it a nice tiger's fur. The situation for Chu is the same. Kingdom Zhou is just like tiger, and many states wanted to conquer it even if profit is few; your country, State of Chu, is like a clawless elk, possesses large land. If you robbed ritual relic from Kingdom of Zhou, many other states would use this event as excuse to crusade your country, split your nation, and occupy your

land.” Zhaozi thought this advice is reasonable and sincere; so he gave up the decision to conquer Kingdom of Zhou.⁷

Year Thirty-five (280 BCE).

Baiqi, Senior General in State of Qin, defeated State of Zhao’s army, killed twenty thousand people, and seized Guanglang City. Then, State of Qin assigned Sima Cuo to maneuver army from West Long to attack State of Chu’s Qianzhong City. State of Chu was forced to cede all the lands north of Hanshui and Shangyong.

Year Thirty-six (279 BCE).

Baiqi, Senior General in State of Qin, attacked State of Chu and occupied Yan, Deng, West Lin, and some other cities.

State: Qin, Zhao.

Character: Lian Po, Lin Xiangru, King of Qin, King of Zhao

King of Qin sent a messenger to tell King of Zhao that he wanted to meet and to restore a good relation with King of Zhao at Mianchi, a place south of Yellow River in Qin. King of Zhao was scared and did not want to meet him, but Lian Po and Lin Xiangru said, “If you declined this meeting, other countries would think Zhao is a weak, inferior, and timid country.” Then, King of Zhao decided to attend this meeting, and Xiangru would accompany him. Lian Po sent them to Zhao’s border and bade farewell, “This trip, including travel time and ceremony time, would not

⁷ Note: Mr. Wu’s advice seems reasonable, but actually is harmful for Chu State. Chu State’s capital was occupied and burned into fire four years later (278 BCE), even if they did not attack Kingdom of Zhou.

exceed 30 days. If you haven't come back in 30 days, please allow me to nominate⁸ our prince as the new king; so that we can cut off Qin's intention to use you as a hostage." King of Zhao promised.

They met at Mianchi on time. King of Qin and King of Zhao were drinking together in a banquet. In the middle of the banquet, King of Qin asked King of Zhao to play musical instrument Se, and King of Zhao did that. Then, Lin Xiangru kneeled down and asked King of Qin to play musical instrument Fo for equality, but King of Qin refused. Xiangru threatened, "I will cut your throat and suicide in five seconds!" Suddenly, King of Qin's bodyguards stand up, lifted their swords, and were ready to guard their king; on the other hand, Xiangru glared at and roared to them. King of Qin was reluctant to played the musical instrument. In the banquet, King of Qin did not find more opportunity to humiliate them. Moreover, State of Zhao's army was waited in vigilance nearby; so, King of Qin did not dare to behave disrespectfully any more. After the meeting, King of Zhao granted Xiangru the position of Shangqin, a better government position than Lian Po's.

Lian Po said, "I am the senior general and have devoted to guard our state for so many years. Xiangru, a common people, achieved a better position than me by merely speaking. I feel shameful being inferior to him." He also claimed publicly, "I will humiliate him whenever I saw him!" Heard Po's announcement, Xiangru avoided meeting Po and absented every government meeting. When seeing Po on the street, Xiangru would take a detour and avoid coming across with him. Xiangru's followers were unhappy at Xiangru's behavior, but Xiangru responded, "Do

⁸ Only current king has the power to nominate next king. In this case, Lian Po, a senior general, asked for the permission of nomination, which is an unusual situation. Another similar case is in 283 BCE, Tian Fazhang was supported to ascend as King of Qi (beginning of this translation).

you think Po is more powerful than King of Qin?” “No”, his followers replied. Xiangru then said, “Even if I am incapable, I dare to glare at and rebuke King of Qin. How would I be afraid of Po? Now, I just consider about our state’s profit: the powerful State of Qin does not dare to attack our state because Po and I were both guarding here militarily and politically. If Po and I chide each other, at least one of us would be harmed. I avoid meeting him because state’s interest is much more important than my personal grudge.” Po astonished after hearing Xiangru’s explanation. So then Po took off his upper garment, naked his upper body, carried a heavy pack of thorns (vitex) at back, walked ten miles to Xiangru’s house, and offered a humble apology to him⁹. Xiangru accepted his apology, and they became best friends.

State: Yan, Qi.

Character: Tian Dan, Yueyi, King of Yan.

Three years ago, when State of Yan was attacking Anping City in State of Qi few years ago, a local officer, Tian Dan, asked his families and friends to use iron sheet to reinforce their wooden vehicles’ bumpers. After the city was sieged, citizens all rushed out of the city. However, road was quickly jammed, and all the vehicles were colliding each other. Yan’s army captured most citizens because their vehicles were broken. Only Tian Dan’s families and friends escaped from Anping to Jimo City. At that time, State of Yan occupied Qi’s most cities, except Ju City and Jimo City. Yueyi, the general of Yan, commanded soldiers to besiege Ju City from east and north, and to besiege Jimo City from west and south. Jimo City’s general died in a battle, and the citizens said, “Tian Dan’s families escaped from Anping City by reinforce their vehicles, which shows he is a talented person at military operation.” So they begged Tian Dan to be a general to fight against Yan’s army. Yueyi leaded his army to attack Jimo City for one year. However, he

⁹ Carrying Vitex request to forgive 负荆请罪: In China, this story became metaphor of self-punishment for forgiveness.

failed to siege the city and had to draw back to surrounding areas nine miles away. He commanded to his soldiers, "If citizens escaped from Jimo City, we should not capture them. Instead, grant them foods, settle them in new areas, and let them do their old jobs." Three years passed, Yueyi still could not occupy the city.

Someone tried to alienate Yueyi and misrepresented him to King of Yan, "Yueyi is an extremely clever person. He captured seventy cities in a short time, but has attacked the remaining two cities for three years. It's not because he cannot siege the cities but because he wants to win people's support in Qi. So then he could betray us and reign at south. Now, Qi's citizens all praised him for his gratitude. He does not begin his scheme because his wife and sons are still in our country. Moreover, there are so many beautiful women in Qi, and he would forget his families sooner or later. Hope thou, our King, to be ready for his betray!" After heard the claim, King of Yan chided the speaker with wrath and said, "My ancestor taught us to respect talent people, not for preserving more lands to my descendants nor me. Unfortunately, the former King lacked virtue and drove our people into resentments. State of Qi took the opportunity and killed our former King. I felt agonized for that chaos, and so I invited talented foreigners into our country for revenge. Whoever can eliminate State of Qi could share lands with me! Now, Mr. Yueyi helped me attacking State of Qi, burning its capital, and avenging for my state. Mr. Yueyi, rather than I, has the privilege to own Qi's land. If he wants to possess State of Qi, I am willing to build a good relation with his state. It's my honor and wish. How do you dare to vilify him?" Then, King of Yan sentenced the speaker to death immediately. He also granted Yueyi's wife and sons new dresses and suits in Queen and Prince's standard. He prepared hundreds horses and vehicles in King's standard for Yueyi, and assigned prime minister to nominate Yueyi as the new King of Qi. Yueyi was surprised for King of Yan's grants, kneeled down, refused the offer,

resigned the nomination, and sworn that he would be royal to King of Yan till death. After that time, Qi's citizens admired Yueyi's morality, other states awed his fame, and nobody dared to defame him any more

Few weeks later, King of Yan died naturally, and his son ascended as new King. The new king once had conflicts with Yueyi when he was a prince. Tian Dan heard the story and assigned a spy to estrange them by saying, "King of Qi already died, but two Qi's cities were not occupied. Yan's new king has conflicts with Yueyi. So, Yueyi did not want come back to State of Yan. Pretending to attack, Yueyi actually wants to aggregate more soldiers and ascend as King of Qi. He slows down attacking and waits for better opportunity. Qi's Citizens afraid Yan's other generals rather than Yueyi." The new King of Yan did already hate Yueyi for a long time, and was deceived by Qi's spy. So he commanded Yueyi to come back to Yan, and used Qijie to replace Yueyi. Yueyi knew the new king's malice and escaped to Zhao State. Later, Yan's soldiers felt resentful, and Yan's army ran into discordance.

At the mean time, Tian Dan, the general of Jimo City in Qi, asked citizens to worship¹⁰ ancestors before eating. So, many birds would fly into Jimo City at dinner-time to eat the worshipping foods. Yan's army outside the city was surprised by the phenomena and did not know what happened. Tian disseminated an explanation, "The God assigns an angel to help Qi State." A Qi's soldier said, "Could I act as the angel?" Tian sat him in the east hastily and called him "Angel". The soldier asked, "Am I guilty to deceive the God?" Tian answered, "No, and do not tell others our secret." Later, Tian claimed he was obeying angel's command whenever he was commanding the army. Tian also disseminated a rumor, "I am afraid Yan's soldiers would

¹⁰ Worship: When worshiping ancestors, Chinese people would offer foods to the earth and the heaven by placing the foods outside houses in a container.

cut prisoners' noses and enforce the prisoners to fight against us." Yan's soldiers heard the rumor and really did that. Qi's citizens saw the prisoners, abhorred Yan's ferocity, and tried their best to defend the city, because they were afraid to be captured by Qi so that they would have the same fate as those prisoners. Tian assigned a spy once more to say, "I am afraid Yan would destroy our graves outside the city." Yan's soldiers heard that and destroyed all the graves outside the city. Saw their ancestors were dug out, Qi's citizens cried out, all requested to fight at battlefield, and increased their morale significantly. At that time, Tian knew his soldiers were brave enough to fight till death. So, he built ramparts with citizens together, compiled his families into army, and distributed his foods to soldiers. He asked crack troops to hide in the bush, and commanded old or women soldiers to defend on the ramparts. He also assigned an ambassador to tell Yan's army that he wanted to surrender, and Yan's soldiers cheered happily for their "success". Tian collected two thousand pounds of gold from citizens, and asked a wealth businessman to send these gold to Yan's army by saying, "My city is surrendering. Here is my gift, and please do not capture my families!" Yan's general was pleasant and promised him. Yan's army became more slacked off after the wealth man's visit. On the other hand, Tian collected one thousand bulls, dressed the bulls with red cloths, painted colorful dragons on them, attached sharp knives on their horn, and tied dry grasses on their tails. When the eve had commenced, Tian ignited the dry grasses, and these bulls were enraged to charge into Yan's base. The bulls' brutality frightened Yan's soldiers. Five thousand crack troops followed the bulls outside the city, and women soldiers drummed battle songs loudly on ramparts. The song was so loud that could shake the heaven and earth. Yan's army felt extremely fearful and fled away. Qi's troops seized the chance, killed Yan's general, and hunted down other Yan's soldiers. They chased days and nights, through Qi's former lands and cities. These cities all came back to Qi,

and their citizens joined into Tian's troop to chase Yan's army. Yan's soldiers escaped to Yellow River, and Tian won back all the lost seventy cities. Then, he came back to Ju City and escorted King of Qi¹¹ back to capital Linzi. King of Qi nominated him as Lord of Anping.

¹¹ King of Qi: Tian Fazhang, who ascended throne in the second paragraph in this translation.

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