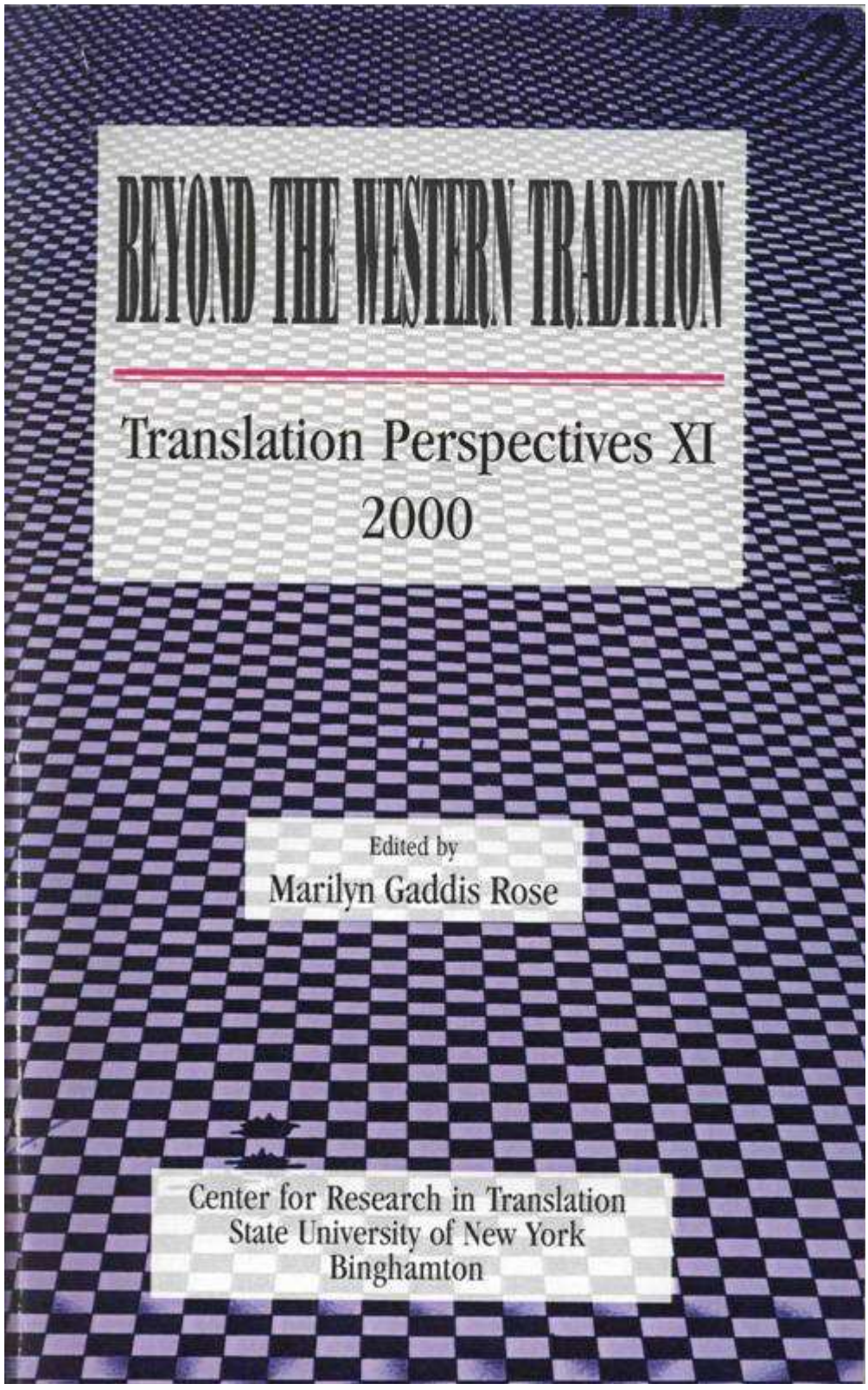
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Essays on Translation
Outside Standard European Languages

PLUS

Addendum of Advice for Translating
Between any Two Natural Languages

Center for Research in Translation
State University of New York at Binghamton

From the Society of Jesus to the East India Company: A Case Study in the Social History of Translation

SEÁN GOLDEN

In 1600 the first Jesuit missionaries reached Beijing (Peking), and the East India Company was founded in London. Both enterprises would have a major impact on Sino-European relations, and in both cases, for better or for worse, translation policy would play a leading role. This article will present a bare narrative of the events involved, while indicating areas where research into the documentation available could yield some very interesting results for translation and intercultural studies.

Intercultural Contact & Transfer: Naval Exploration & Missionary Policy

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Vatican sent missionaries to the court of the Mongol khans, but no lasting relations were established. This was the period known as the Yuan dynasty in China (1275-1368), but the Europeans knew it as *Cathay*, which was for them a different country from China, attested to by Arab travelers such as Ibn Battuta (1304-1368). Marco Polo stated he had lived and worked there for 17 years in the service of Kubilai Khan (1275-1292). The Franciscan monk John of Montecorvino (1246-1328) reached the Yuan capital of Cambaluc (Beijing) in 1294 and built his first church there in 1299. Three more missionaries, Andrew of Perugia, Peregrine of Castello and Gerald arrived in 1308. The *Carta catalana* (1375) was the first European *mapamundi* to include *Cathay*. This Mission disappeared with the fall of the Yuan dynasty.

Under the new Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the Chinese Moslem admiral Zheng He (1371-1433) organized seven naval expeditions across the Indian Ocean for diplomatic and commercial purposes. These reached the Arabian Peninsula and began descending the east coast of Africa between 1405 and 1433, following pre-established Chinese and Arab trade routes. The largest of these expeditions included a fleet of more than 300 deep sea vessels (by way of comparison, the Spanish Armada included some 130 ships), but no further expeditions were permitted. Had they continued, and had the Chinese fleets rounded the Horn of Africa heading west, the history of Europe and of the rest of the world could well have been very different. As things turned out, it was Bartolomeu Dias (1450-1500) who rounded the Horn of Africa in 1488, heading east, bringing Europe into

contact by sea with India and East Asia, while Columbus headed west in 1492, looking for an alternative route to Asia. Vasco da Gama (1460-1524) became the first European explorer to reach India by circumnavigating Africa (1497-99), and Fernando de Magallanes (Magellan, 1480-1521) organized the first expedition which circumnavigated the globe.

The Vatican's division of the world between Spain and Portugal during the "Age of Discovery" had given the Portuguese priority in the "East Indies" and Asia. They established footholds in Goa, on the Indian subcontinent, and in Macao, on the edge of China, which would prove crucial for the beginnings of Sino-European contact. Portuguese imperialism emphasized the creation of trading and diplomatic posts rather than the total military victory followed by colonization practiced by the Spanish. The conquest of the "West Indies" or the "New World" included the imposition of the Roman Catholic religion by force of arms. This forced "conversion" of the American Indians under Spanish domination did not occur without controversy, however. The conflicting points of view on this subject defended by different religious orders came to fuel a long-term polemic within the Church which would eventually have very direct consequences for Sino-European relations.

Within the double context of the Spanish conquest of the Americas and the intra-European struggle characterizing the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation, the Spanish ex-soldier Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) founded the Society of Jesus in 1540. This new religious order was specifically designed to act as a highly trained, tightly organized, ultra-disciplined "special reaction force" in the service of the Pope, independent of all secular rule. The Jesuits were meant to be immune to the influences of individual kings or kingdoms because they were bound by a vow of obedience to the Pope. In order to facilitate their geographical and social mobility, they were not bound by the vows that characterized the more typical monastic orders.

Loyola's most effective disciple was the Basque Francis Xavier (1506-1552), whom he sent to convert Asia in 1540, the same year the Order was formally accepted by the Vatican. As a result of his analysis of the methods and the results of the policy of forced conversion undertaken in the Americas, Loyola had predicated an alternative policy of "accommodation" or "adaptation" to local customs and culture in the process of converting Asia. Xavier went first to Goa, arriving there in 1542. From Goa he went to Malaysia, where he successfully founded a mission. He reached Japan in 1549, where he refined and consolidated

Loyola's policy of adaptation. He came to the conclusion that the key to converting Japan would be the conversion of its ruling elite. He also came to the conclusion that Japanese culture was based on Chinese culture, and that the key to converting both Japan and China was to be found in China. Xavier's adherence to a personal vow of poverty had made a very favorable impression in India and Malaysia, but it earned him the contempt of the Japanese elite, and he therefore adopted a more opulent lifestyle to adapt his image to the expectations of his hosts. If the rulers could be persuaded to accept Christianity, then the ruled would automatically follow suit, he believed. The key to converting the ruling elite would be the Jesuits' demonstration of their own intellectual prowess and their own respect for the host culture. This was a major change in attitude compared to the policy followed in the Americas. The Jesuit missionaries did not accompany a conquering military force which despised the culture of the people it came to conquer; they arrived as guests determined to study their hosts' language and culture and to respect their hosts' customs.

Sino-European Relations: Establishing a European Mission in China

Francis Xavier had no chance to test his theory. He died aboard a ship in 1552 while waiting for permission to enter China. The policy of accommodation that he had proposed for East Asia was not the only alternative being defended at the time. In 1582 the Spanish Governor of the Philippines petitioned Philip II of Spain to send a major naval expedition to invade China and convert the Chinese by force of arms, as the *Conquistadores* had done in the Americas. The Spanish king took some time to respond to this petition. He had to choose between sending his "Invincible Armada" against China or against England, and in 1588 he opted to invade England. The cost of that failed expedition saved China from the threat of any subsequent naval attack from the Philippines, and left the way open for the Society of Jesus to apply its policy of accommodation in the attempt to convert China.

The Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), who was eventually charged with implementing this policy, was born the same year Francis Xavier died. He went to Macao to learn Chinese and to begin his studies of Chinese culture. With great patience he petitioned the Chinese imperial court for permission to establish a mission on the Chinese mainland, and in 1582 he became the first European missionary to reside in China since John of Montecorvino had lived and worked in

Cathay. Ricci did not yet know whether Cathay and China were the same place (resolution of this geographical conundrum would be one of the keys which gave Ricci access to imperial favor). Over a period of years he managed to move his mission closer and closer to Beijing, the capital of the empire, while continuing to study the language and culture. His overall strategy, in line with the policy proposed by Loyola and Xavier, was to establish a working relationship with high-ranking scholar-officials and, if possible, with the Emperor himself. In 1600, accompanied by the Spanish Jesuit Diego de Pantoja, he finally reached Beijing, and was given permission to establish a mission there. Thus began an episode in the history of Sino-European relations that would have very significant consequences for both sides. Jesuit translations of the Chinese Confucian classics and correspondence between the Mission and European intellectuals provided Europe with access to reliable information about China, while Jesuit translations of European texts on geography, geometry and astronomy changed the course of the Chinese scientific tradition.

Ricci died in Beijing in 1610, having set the foundations for the Jesuit policy of adapting their missionary methods and their message to the expectations of Chinese culture and customs. Both his legacy of success with the imperial court, and the policy of accommodation which had facilitated that success, would be disputed internally, on Chinese soil, by succeeding generations of Jesuits, and externally in the Vatican, by competing religious orders. Ricci's analyses of the hypothetical common ground that would make possible the transfer of European Christian concepts to Chinese Confucian culture mark a watershed in the history of translation and intercultural studies, but they have not been studied much outside the context of Roman Catholic Church history. The counter arguments of the opponents of his policy of accommodation provide equally interesting documents for the study of intercultural transfer. Only recently have the Chinese documents related to this controversy begun to come to light. The Chinese imperial court intervened actively in the dispute. Its own intellectual judgement of the theological arguments formed the basis of the dispute which came to be known as the "Chinese Rites and Terms Controversy," and this also concerned the intellectual authority of the disputants. This would decide the future of the Mission in Beijing.

While Ricci was consolidating his Mission in Beijing, the East India Company began its own activities in Asia. In 1612 the Company dealt the Portuguese a military defeat in

India and began trading with Asia. This trade would inevitably bring the Company into contact with China, but the policy it would eventually follow in order to gain access to China would prove to be just the opposite of the Jesuit policy of accommodation. The Company considered knowledge of the Chinese language to be a mere tool for improving their trading conditions. It gave no importance to the study of Chinese culture, nor did it respect Chinese customs. The Company was interested in economic exploitation for immediate profit, not cultural accommodation for long-term gains.

The Jesuit mission in Beijing became a Sino-European cultural bridge that overlapped the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing dynasties (1644-1911), linking both sides until the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773 closed a channel of communication that had provided intellectuals on each side with largely reliable information about the other. The Order was not restored until 1814, and by that time the priority of influence in Sino-European relations had fallen into the hands of the East India Company. Their pursuit of economic monopoly by any means, including the force of arms, replaced the Jesuit policy of demonstrating intellectual prowess and showing respect for Chinese culture. Trade missions and diplomatic missions began to replace religious missions in importance.

While European intellectuals had access to reliable information from the Jesuit mission in Beijing, China and her culture fascinated such leading figures as Leibniz (1646-1716), Montesquieu (1689-1755), and Voltaire (1694-1778), inspiring their visions of enlightened despotism, of a civil service based on merit, and of a natural theology or secular culture. *Chinoiserie* became the rage. China rode high in European esteem. When access to reliable information was cut off, and the profit to be gained from contact with China became purely economic rather than cultural, the image of China declined to the point where her dismemberment and colonization became the aim of European imperialism. In European eyes, China became a symbol of obsolescence and decadence, the "Sick Man of Asia." At both ends of this time-scale of Sino-European relations, translation policy played a major role, favorable in the case of the Society of Jesus, unfavorable in the case of the East India Company, and in both cases it was a source of controversy.

Translation Policy and Intercultural Transfer: the Rites and Terms Controversy

Ricci's study of the Confucian classics that formed the

basis of Chinese cultural ideology led him to the conclusion that they were purely secular in nature, and therefore not incompatible with Church doctrine. There were two potential stumbling blocks to this conclusion. The first had to do with monotheism, and the second with a series of rites basic to Chinese culture. If Chinese culture had its own concept of monotheism it would be possible to use this concept as a bridge for the intercultural transfer of the Christian concept of God. If the concepts were equivalent there would be no incompatibility between Chinese customs and Christian faith. Ricci came to the conclusion that the concepts of *Shangdi* (Sovereign-on-High) and *Tian* (Heaven), attested to in the earliest Confucian classics, were equivalent to the Christian concept of God. This decision had two consequences. These terms could be used to translate the Christian concept, and they could also be used to explain it. Ricci proposed interpreting what he considered to be the Chinese concept of monotheism as being equivalent to the "natural theology" of pre-Christian cultures that could be "completed" by being assimilated to the Christian concept. It was simply a matter of explaining to the Chinese intellectuals that their *Shangdi* or *Tian* was the same as the Christian God. They just had not been aware of that fact.

Chinese rituals were a more complicated case. Heads of family performed rituals in honor of their ancestors, and scholar-officials performed rituals in honor of Confucius. These rituals included sacrifices. Ricci came to the conclusion that Confucianism was a secular philosophical system and that these rites were simply civic ceremonies. This was a crucial matter. If the rites were simply customs devoid of religious content, then Chinese converts to Christianity could continue to perform them. If not, they would have to renounce them. Renunciation of these rituals would bar Chinese intellectuals from participation in public life, however, and would lead to their ostracism. Ricci's application of the Jesuit policy of accommodation enabled him to convert leading Chinese scholar-officials without requiring them to renounce any aspect of their own Confucian culture, thereby gaining favor at the imperial court for himself, his colleagues, his Mission, and the religion he had come to preach.

This was not the only aspect of Ricci's strategy, however. His first challenge was gaining the confidence of the scholar-officials. Both Ricci and his companion, Diego de Pantoja, had learned Chinese well and were well-versed in the Confucian classics. As a result they were respected by scholar-officials who had earned their own positions at court by displaying

their intellectual prowess and mastery of the same Confucian classics. The Jesuit missionaries had something more to offer as well: information about the world outside of China. This information was both geographic and scientific. Ricci translated part of Euclid into Chinese. Geometry had not previously played a role in the development of Chinese mathematics. Ricci and Pantoja were able to help Chinese astronomers correct their calendar. This had always been matter of the highest importance for the Chinese court. They prepared a *mapamundi* for the emperor, and introduced European music to the imperial court. They also transmitted geographical information to Europe, confirming the fact that Cathay and China were the same country, and establishing the latitude of Beijing. They ingratiated themselves with the scholar-officials by supplying information the officials wanted. Their converts included major intellectuals such as Xu Guangqi (1562-1633), Li Tianjing (1579-1659), Li Zhizao (1565-1630) and Wang Zheng (1571-1644). This transfer of scientific knowledge was not always fluid, however. They began translating the latest European texts on astronomy but were forced to leave gaps in their translations when the Inquisition acted against Galileo. The Chinese astronomers detected these gaps, but the missionaries could neither fill them in nor explain why they were there, raising suspicions among some of the scholar-officials. This was the first example of Jesuit obedience to the rulings of the Vatican interfering with their enterprise in Beijing, and it would not be the last.

When Ricci died in 1610, Diego de Pantoja followed the advice of his Chinese colleagues and petitioned the emperor for permission to erect a tomb. This tactic demonstrated the extent to which the Jesuits understood Chinese customs. Respect for ancestors formed an integral part of Chinese culture, and permission to erect a tomb for Ricci would enshrine both Ricci and his Mission on Chinese soil. It would also confer the emperor's *beneplacit* on the Jesuit's missionary activity. Aided by scholar-official converts, Pantoja succeeded in getting permission.

Ricci's successor as head of the Mission, the Italian Jesuit Nicholas Longobardi (1565-1654), disagreed with some of the principles that Ricci had established. He carried out his own investigation of the Chinese classical texts and came to the conclusion that the common ground between Confucianism and Christianity that Ricci had postulated did not exist. Chinese culture did not distinguish between spirit and matter, so the Chinese concepts of *Tian* and *Shangdi* could not correspond to the Christian concept of God. Longobardi's refutation

of Ricci's postulates (ca. 1624) is a fascinating document from the point of view of translation and intercultural studies. It demonstrates a deep understanding of the fact that the conceptual bases of Chinese culture are different from the conceptual bases of European culture. It is also a methodological model for carrying out intercultural studies. The consequences of Longobardi's disagreement with Ricci were drastic. Although his refutation was limited to the problem of translating specific terms, and he did not question Ricci's interpretation of Chinese rites, converts would have been forced to renounce practices and beliefs they considered to be vital to their own culture. A formal debate was organized in order to determine whether or not the terms *Deo*, *Angelis* and *Anima Rationali* had equivalents in Chinese culture. Both sides in the debate were ordered to consult the Chinese classics and their commentaries, and to contrast their interpretation of these texts with the opinions of Chinese scholars in order to determine whether or not Chinese and Europeans understood the same concepts for the same terms. Ricci's advocates won the debate and Longobardi shelved his refutation.

While the Jesuits in Beijing developed a close working relationship with high-ranking scholar-officials, other missionary orders in southern China, began to question the Jesuit policy of accommodation. Many Jesuits who collaborated with the imperial court were named to high office. As a result they dressed as high-ranking Chinese officials and followed official protocol in all matters. Their influence created envy in other orders. On the other hand, missionaries working in the provinces did not come into contact with high-ranking officials or intellectuals, and as a result they were less informed and their missionary policy was less prone to accommodation. The controversy over Rites and Terms resurfaced. A conference of various missionary orders organized in Guangzhou (Canton) in 1667-68 reconfirmed Ricci's policy. The one dissenting vote at this conference, the Spanish Dominican Domingo Navarrete (1616-1686), failed to respect the decision. He published his own refutation of the accommodation policy, incorporating Longobardi's unpublished treatise on the subject, and carried his battle to the Vatican, thereby setting forces in motion that would put an end to Jesuit influence in Beijing. Navarrete and his allies convinced the Vatican that the Jesuit policy was wrong. Various European intellectuals, including Leibniz, took active part in the debate, as did Chinese intellectuals and the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722). In 1669 the Vatican published a papal degree allowing missionaries flexibility in the application of Ricci's

principles in order not to alienate potential Chinese converts. In 1692 the Kangxi emperor published an Edict of Toleration sanctioning missionary activity as long as it respected Ricci's principles. But in 1693 Charles Maigrot (1652-1730), Apostolic Vicar in China, issued a Mandate against the policy of accommodation. In 1704 the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (the Inquisition) prohibited the policy of accommodation. As a result of the controversy this generated, the Vatican sent a delegation in 1705, headed by a Papal Legate, Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710), to sort matters out among the missionaries in China.

The Kangxi emperor could not tolerate what he considered to be Vatican interference in Chinese matters and summoned Maigrot to an imperial audience in 1706. He had already told Tournon that unless Christianity were compatible with Confucianism, foreigners would not be allowed to stay in China. He required Maigrot to supply a list of the quotations from Confucian texts that he considered to be incompatible with Christianity. The list Maigrot compiled demonstrated his meager knowledge of the Confucian classics. The interview with the Kangxi emperor was disastrous for the interests of the Vatican. The emperor improvised an oral examination of Chinese which Maigrot failed, and his arguments also failed to convince the emperor, who sent his own delegation to Rome to debate the case with the Vatican. Meanwhile he banished Maigrot. Tournon responded in 1707 by banning the Chinese rites, thus sealing the fate of the Missions in China. The emperor ordered the Portuguese to detain Tournon in Macao, obliged the Jesuits to reside in Beijing (where they would continue to act as his advisers on non-religious matters), and expelled all of the other religious orders from China. In 1723 the emperor banned Christianity. Papal Bulls in 1715 and 1742 definitively banned any form of accommodation, and the Jesuits were formally suppressed in 1773. The Vatican would not reverse its ruling until 1939. There would be no more Chinese access to European science and technology until the aftermath of the Opium War (1840).

Throughout the Rites and Terms Controversy, a number of delegations defending both sides of the question travelled between China and Europe. In order to defend their respective points of view, these delegations quoted from Chinese classical texts and commentaries, thereby introducing knowledge of Chinese culture into European circles. More than 300 translations into Chinese are attributed to Jesuit missionaries, 200 of them related to science and technology. The Jesuit Philippe

Couplet (1623-1693) completed the publication of *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, a Latin translation of the Confucian classics, in 1687. He also published a chronology of the history of the world based on Chinese historical texts which had major impact in European circles. Leibniz exchanged letters with Jesuit correspondents and discovered, among other things, that the binary system of mathematics he had invented was present in the *Yi jing*. Both he and his disciple Christian Wolff (1679-1754) lectured and published articles on Chinese matters. A Chinese convert named Arcadio Huang travelled to Europe in the company of a delegation involved in the dispute. Around 1710 he married and resided in Paris, where he became the first bibliographer of the French king's Chinese library. He was interviewed extensively about Chinese culture by Montesquieu, and thus contributed significantly to *L'Esprit des lois*. Voltaire demonstrated his familiarity with and admiration for Chinese culture in his *Essai sur les moeurs*.

A little known aspect of Sino-European intercultural transfer might serve to encapsulate the contradictions and lost opportunities of this period. Ricci and Pantoja had offered a spinet as a gift to the imperial court. Pantoja learned to play the instrument, gave a "virtual" concert at court (although it was a "command" performance, the emperor was not actually present), and taught several court eunuchs to play the instrument. In 1608 Ricci published eight pieces of music for the organ. The Kangxi emperor required the services of missionaries who were musicians and painters (e.g., Giuseppe Castiglione, 1688-1766), and tried to add their art to the Chinese repertoire. The Portuguese Jesuit Tomas Pereira (d. 1708) left a treatise on Chinese music unfinished. In 1701, at the request of the Kanxi emperor, the Vatican sent Teodorico Pedrini (1671-1746) to China. He was meant to accompany Tournon, but arrived too late and followed an alternate route which cost him five years of misadventures, including kidnapping by pirates. He finally reached Macao in 1710, bearing a Cardinal's cap for Tournon, who was then on his deathbed. In 1711 Pedrini reached Beijing, where he was received by the emperor the same day he arrived. Pedrini composed Baroque music at the imperial court and completed Pereira's treatise on Chinese music. His legacy was carried on by the Jesuit Joseph Marie Amiot (1718-1793), who developed a system of annotation for Chinese music and sent various manuscripts of transcriptions of Chinese music to correspondents in Europe, along with commentaries on the differences between the music of both cultures and on the performance of Chinese music. Amiot was also the author of the first European transla-

tion of *Sunzi Tingfa, the Art of War* by Sunzi. His translation may well have reached the hands of Napoleon, thus influencing the history of Europe in a decisive manner. Initiatives such as these survived the demise of the Jesuit link in China but they no longer played the role they had a hundred years before, and failed to influence Sino-European relations.

Translation Policy and Intercultural Transfer: the East India Company's Interpreters

In 1719 an anonymous employee of the East India Company in Guangzhou (Canton) produced an incomplete part-English, part-Portuguese version of an erotic Chinese novel, with the help of a Portuguese-speaking Chinese informant. This was the first literary translation from Chinese into a European vernacular language. In 1736 a young employee in Guangzhou named James Flint offered to learn Chinese on behalf of the Company. His interest did not extend to Chinese culture or customs. He was interested in acting as an interpreter on behalf of Company interests. The times were no longer auspicious for intercultural transfer, however. In 1753 a petition to the Chinese authorities, composed by Flint and transcribed by a Chinese assistant, resulted in orders being issued for the arrest of the author of the petition. The composition displayed a complete lack of knowledge of Chinese protocol and was clearly designed to benefit the Company, not the imperial court. This same year two more students of Chinese, Thomas Bevan and a man named Barton, were sent to Guangzhou by the Company. Flint's skills as an interpreter enabled the Company to send trading expeditions up the coast of China to negotiate with local officials. The Chinese authorities did not look kindly on these expeditions. In 1757 an imperial Edict put an end to them and restricted foreign trade to the port of Guangzhou. In 1759 Flint was sent north to deliver a petition for better trading conditions. He reached the city of Tianjin, but he was imprisoned for two and a half years, conducted overland to Guangzhou (the first British subject to make this journey), and ordered to leave the country, which he did in 1762. The Company failed to get his expulsion order rescinded. An even more drastic consequence of Flint's diplomatic blunder and lack of understanding of Chinese culture was the execution of the Chinese person accused of transcribing Flint's petition, which failed, among other things, to respect the elaborate stylistics of Chinese imperial protocol. As a result, all Chinese people were forbidden to act as scribes or teachers for foreigners. Bevan, whose movements had been

restricted when Flint was deported, returned to England in 1773. By 1790 the Company, which had never seen any utility in studying Chinese culture, and only limited utility in learning the language, had become openly hostile to the training of employees as interpreters.

For a generation, the East India Company operated without cultural intermediaries in China. In 1792 the English government sent a diplomatic mission headed by Lord MacCartney (1737-1806) to negotiate better trading conditions with the imperial court. Since there were no English interpreters of Chinese available, the delegation employed two Chinese students from the Roman Catholic College of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Naples as interpreters. A scientist named John Barrow and a 12-year old boy named Thomas Staunton, son of a member of the delegation, studied Chinese with the two interpreters during the voyage. By the time the delegation reached China, Staunton knew Chinese well enough to act as interpreter. Lord MacCartney had access to missionaries who acted as interpreters while he was in Beijing, but his audience with the emperor was held at the latter's summer residence outside of Beijing, and only members of the delegation were allowed to attend. MacCartney had to make do with a child and a Chinese student as his interpreters. An additional problem concerned the official transcription of the translation of MacCartney's speech. Memories of the execution of James Flint's scribe were still vivid and no scholar-official would directly transcribe the text. As a result, MacCartney was translated from English into Latin, for the benefit of a Chinese interpreter who did not understand English. The Latin was then translated into conversational Chinese which was subsequently rewritten in accordance with official protocol, the draft translation being destroyed to protect the scribe.

MacCartney's delegation was a failure, in part because he refused to comply with official protocol and kowtow. But his experience of the delegation made him aware of the value of being able to communicate directly with Chinese officials in Chinese, and he requested permission for foreign merchants and their employees to study Chinese. A Chinese teacher was found for a few young employees of the East India Company, but this activity was soon restricted by the Chinese authorities. Thomas Staunton, whose ability to speak Chinese had earned the emperor's affection and an imperial gift, continued his studies of Chinese and went to work for the East India Company at Guangzhou in 1800. The Company introduced a new policy in favor of training its own employees to act as interpreters, and

managed to establish a school of Chinese which would last, despite official Chinese disapproval, until 1834, when the Company lost its monopoly over Asian trade.

Among the important figures associated with this school was Robert Morrison (1782-1834), the first Protestant missionary to work in China. He did this clandestinely, since missionary activity was strictly prohibited. He was officially a translator for the East India Company. Morrison accompanied William Pitt Amherst (1773-1857) on another failed English diplomatic mission to Beijing in 1816. One more diplomatic mission to the Governor of Guangzhou in 1834, headed by Lord John William Napier, would also fail. Growing European frustration with Chinese trade restrictions would lead to the first Opium War, followed by more than a century of upheaval in China. The East India Company's translation policy was the opposite of the Jesuit policy of accommodation. Their interest in exploiting China economically was the opposite of the Jesuit policy of furthering the interests of the Chinese court as a way of ingratiating themselves and their religion. The Chinese response to the Company's translation policy was also the opposite of their response to the Jesuits. Unlike the Vatican, however, the Company could impose its will by force of arms.

Robert Morrison's most important contribution to the history of Sino-European relations was the translation of the Bible in Chinese published in 1819. Throughout the nineteenth century, Protestant missions that had originally entered under cover of the East India Company would proliferate in China, taking advantage of the status of extraterritoriality that various countries imposed on China to promote their commercial interests. The Protestant missions did not ingratiate themselves with scholar-officials and did not gain favor at court. They faced the same problems of translation and intercultural transfer that the Catholic missionaries had faced 200 years earlier, but they preached to ordinary people, not to the cultural and political elite. Their translations of the Bible would have an unexpected influence on Chinese history. A Protestant missionary tract translated into Chinese fell into the hands of a failed young Chinese intellectual named Hong Huoxiu (1814-1864) who began to work with Protestant missionaries. He was disturbed to discover that part of his name coincided with the Protestant transliteration of the name of God (*Elohim*) as *Ye Huohuo*. He changed his name to Hong Xiuquan in order to eliminate this coincidence, choosing the element *quan* because it represented the concept of "completing" Chinese Confucian monotheism by assimilating it to Christian monotheism that the earlier Je-

suit missionaries had predicated. Hong also read that the Christian God was *Da fumu*, Father and Mother of everyone. This led him to the conclusion that he was a son of God and therefore the brother of Jesus Christ. He founded a new religion that was a mixture of Chinese customs and Christian doctrine that horrified the missionaries and inspired a revolutionary movement, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. The Taipings controlled a great deal of southern China from 1851-1864 and nearly overthrew the Qing dynasty, which was eventually saved by a combination of foreign military intervention and a "self-strengthening movement" organized by loyal scholar-officials. Hong Xiuquan inspired both Sun Yat-sen and Mao Zedong, and the self-strengthening movement lead to the creation of the first Chinese translation academies, a new element in the social history of translation which would eventually play a major role in the modernization and recuperation of China.

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