

From Social Reform to Knowledge Dissemination: A Case Study of the Chinese (Re)translations of the Science Text *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*

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Introduction

The translation of non-literary texts, especially science texts, compared to that of literary texts, tends to receive less attention not only from general readers in public, but also from scholars. One phenomenon of such tendency is that non-literary texts are far less retranslated. Different from literary texts, which could have as many as dozens of retranslations, such as the English novel *Jane Eyre*, which has more than thirty Chinese retranslations, non-literary texts in general have much fewer retranslations, with many of them never retranslated. The reasons for retranslation of non-literary texts differ from those for literary texts. Literary texts are retranslated, as investigated by many researchers, often because of particular consideration of new target reader groups, language, style, aesthetics, commercial interest, and the like; while non-literary texts tend not to be retranslated for that many different purposes, it is commonly agreed that knowledge dissemination is the major motive behind their retranslations.

The earliest study on retranslation in some sense dates back to the 19th century, as in Goethe's discussion of the three epochs of the translation of foreign literature (Robinson, 1997). While more recent studies focusing on retranslation have flourished since the 1990s, increasing with a greater impetus in the first decade of the 21st century (Tian), many focus on literary translation, uncovering the motivations of retranslations, examining their reception, investigating the factors that facilitate the retranslation of certain works, and so on. Studies like Du-Nour (1995), Armstrong (2008), Lu (2014), Cadera and Walsh (2016), Pujol (2017), Liu and Wang (2018), fall into this category. There are also studies on non-literary text retranslations, for instance, Huang (2009), Wang (2013), Tan and Xin (2017). Among the studies on non-literary retranslation, a few focus on science texts, such as Xu and Wang (2017), and Xiao (2018). Yet, comparatively speaking, studies on science text retranslations are far fewer than those on literary texts. Besides, the studies on science text retranslations, from what I observe, tend to make comparative analysis of the retranslations of certain texts from linguistic perspectives. Few focus on looking into the paratexts of the retranslations of science texts. Thus, this article tries in some way to fill this gap. I will analyze the paratexts of four Chinese (re)translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, and discuss how the motivations for its (re)translations change from social reform to knowledge dissemination, and argue how the retranslations also re-present Yan Fu's translation in new contexts with a new set of goals.

Methodology and Theoretical Basis

This study is mainly based on a qualitative analysis which compares the paratexts of four Chinese (re)translations of the science text *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*. In the comparative analysis, I use tables and graphs to summarize the paratexts used in the (re)translations and exemplify the paratexts that explain or imply the motivation of these versions. Based on the analysis of the paratexts of the four versions and a comparison of their paratexts, I argue that the Chinese retranslation of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* involves a motivation transformation.

The theoretical framework I draw on is mainly the theory of paratexts. The concept of “paratext” was put forward by the French literary theorist Genette. According to Genette (1997), the presence of a text in the form of a book relies on “accompanying productions” (1), such as title, preface, illustration. These verbal and non-verbal productions reinforce the text’s presence in the world. Genette defines them as paratext, which is “what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public” (1). As a threshold of a book, the paratext “offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back” (2). In Genette’s paratext framework, two categories of paratexts are differentiated: the peritext, elements situated within the book itself, such as title, preface, note; the epitext, distanced elements located outside the book, such as interviews, letters, diaries. The paratext framework was initially applied to literary criticism, then borrowed into other fields, like media studies, cultural studies, translation studies. In translation studies, since Kovala (1996) and Hermans (1996), interest in analysis applying paratext theory has been on the rise. In the past ten years, quite a few collections of paratextual translation studies were compiled, such as Gil-Bardaji, et al (2012), Pellatt (2013), Belle and Hosington (2018), Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar (2019). In these collections, various topics were discussed from the perspective of paratextual analysis or within Genette’s paratext framework. Batchelor (2018) proposed “a theory of paratextuality of translation” (139). In her framework, paratext is defined as “a consciously crafted threshold for a text which has the potential to influence the way(s) in which the text is received” (142). Batchelor expanded Genette’s typology of paratext parameters into those of space, substance, time, senders and addressees, and function, making it “adequate to contemporary translation studies” (153). As can be seen, the concept of paratext has traveled into translation studies from its initial field of research and formed a well-grounded tradition of research in the new field. The paratextual analysis in this paper, which focuses on one of the two categories of paratexts: peritexts, is a response to such tradition.

Four Chinese (Re)translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*

Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays is a science text published by Thomas H. Huxley in late 19th century. It is a collection of essays about the author’s scientific thought on morals and politics. The collection was first translated into Chinese and published by Yan Fu in 1898 in the late Qing Dynasty, titled *Tianyan Lun* (《天演论》). It proved to be a huge success, with quite a few reprints.

The second translation (first retranslation) came out in 1971, nearly 80 years later, titled *Jinbua Lun and Lunli Xue (Old Translation Tianyan Lun)* (《进化论与伦理学(旧译<天演论>)》). The third translation (2nd retranslation) appeared 34 years later in 2005, titled *Jinbua Lun and Lunli Xue (Complete Version) (Tianyan Lun Attached)* (《<进化论与伦理学>(全译本)(附<天演论>)》), and was revised in 2010. The latest translation (3rd retranslation) came out in 2017, 12 years after the second retranslation was published, titled “*Tianyan Lun*” & *A Complete Chinese Translation of Its Original ‘Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays’* (《<天演论>及其母本<进化论与伦理学>全译》).

Paratextual Analysis of Chinese (Re)translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*

a) Paratextual Analysis of the First Translation

The first Chinese translation was produced in 1896 and serialized between 1897 and 1898 in the daily newspaper *Kuo Wen Pao's* (《国闻报》) periodical version *Kuo Wen Hui Pian* (《国闻汇编》) founded by Yan Fu. In 1898 it was published and so well accepted that quite a few editions were published. Even today, it is still reprinted. This translation appeared in more than 30 editions with different paratexts. The following table presents the paratexts of some editions that are traceable.

No.	Title	Year of Publication	Publisher	Translator's Preface	Translator's Commentary	Foreword	Translator's Note
1	Huxley's Zhigong Tianyan Lun (Manuscript)(赫胥黎治功天演论)(手稿)	1896	N/A	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
2	Tianyan Lun Xuanshu (天演论悬疏)	1897-1898	《国闻汇编》	Yes	Yes	No	No
3	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1898	陕西味经售书处	No	Yes	No	No
4	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1897-1898	沔阳卢氏慎始基斋刻	Yes	Yes	No	No
5	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1898	沔阳卢氏慎始基斋刻	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1898	侯官嗜奇精舍石印出版	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7	Huxley's Tianyan Lun (赫胥黎天演论)	1901	富文书局石印出版	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
9	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1903	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
10	Wu Rulun's Abridged Tianyan Lun (吴汝纶节本天演论)	1903	上海文明书局印行	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
11	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1905	上海商务印书馆	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
12	Tianyan Lun (天演论)	1921	上海商务印书馆	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 1 Paratextual Elements of *Tianyan Lun* translated by Yan Fu (Adapted from Sun, 2003: 133-134)

In this table, “Translator’s Commentary” refers to Yan Fu’s Fu’an (復案) which appears at the end of each essay. In Fu’an, Yan Fu explained and commented on some key ideas, or provided some background knowledge related to the essay, or voiced his political views. “Translator’s Note” refers to Yan Fu’s Yili Yan (譯例言) which introduced how he translated this book, such as his principles of translation.

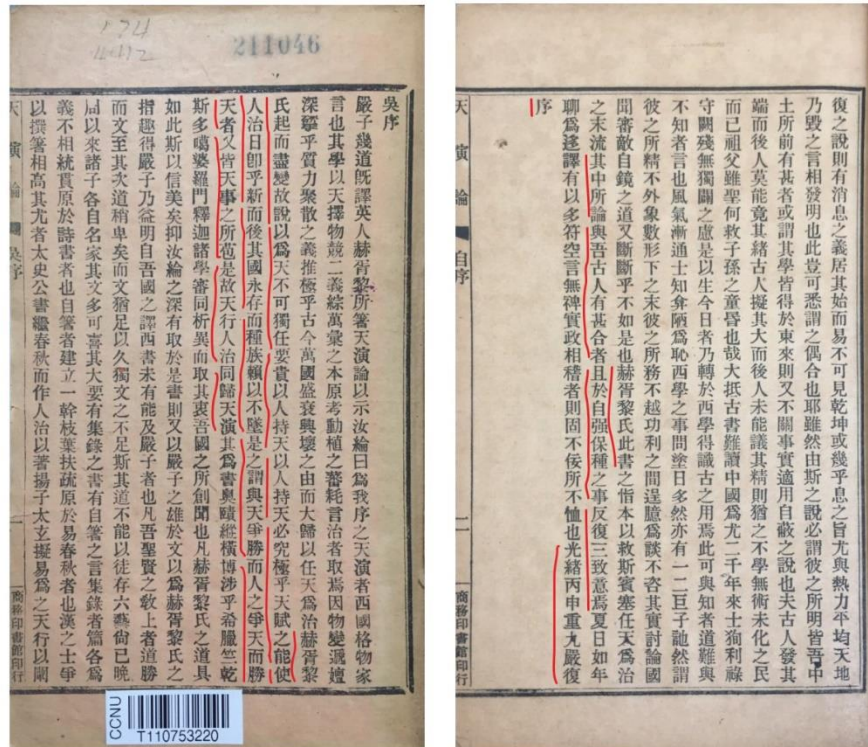
As the table shows, every edition includes the translator’s comments, almost every edition has a translator’s preface, most editions have a foreword and translator’s note, and most editions are titled *Tianyan Lun*.

As Graph 1 shows, Wu Runlun’s foreword pointed out that

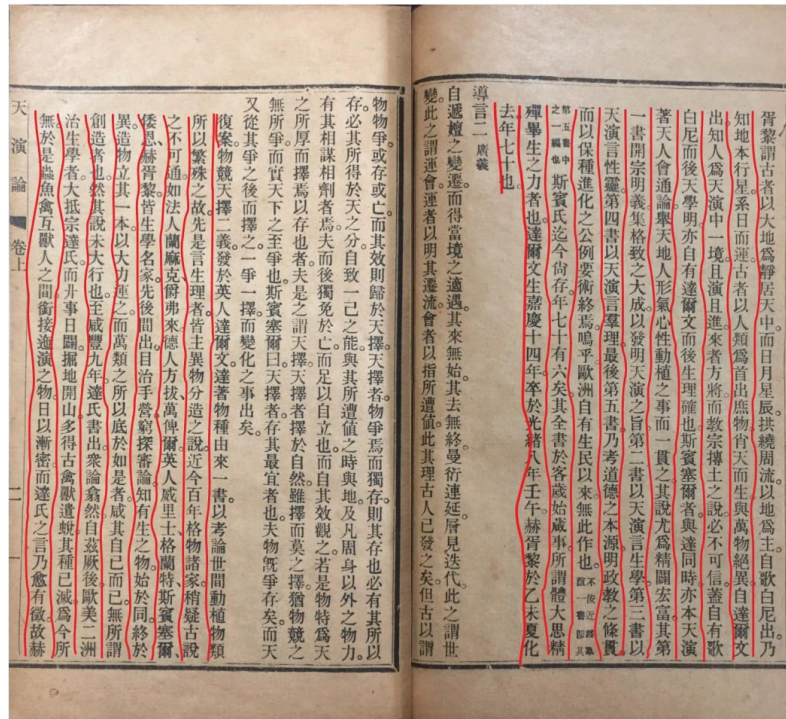
people must bring out their best to achieve progress every day, so that their country and nation could survive and never disappear, this is called taking full advantage of natural laws; people’s taking full advantage of natural laws is in itself in line with natural laws, thus the development of nature and human society follows natural laws likewise (以人持天, 必究极乎天赋之能, 使人治日即乎新, 而后其国永存, 而种族赖以不坠, 是之谓与天争胜。而人之争天而胜天者, 又皆天事之所苞, 是故天行人治, 同归天演 See underline in Graph 1).

Yan Fu also emphasized the idea of “survival of the fittest in natural selection”. In the preface, he claimed, “many ideas repeatedly argued in Huxley’s book are quite similar to what the Chinese ancients said, which is helpful for China to develop and save itself from corruption and invasion” (赫胥黎氏此书……其中所论, 与吾古人有甚合者, 且于自强保种之事, 反复三致意焉 See underline in Graph 2). Yan Fu not only advocated such ideas in the preface, but also repeatedly explained and commented on them in what he called Fu’an in the essays. For instance, he explained the concepts of “struggle for existence” (物竞) and “natural selection” (天择) in his Fu’an (See underline in Graph 3). In addition, Yan Fu wrote a Yili Yan for *Tianyan Lun*, in which he pointed out the difficulties and methods of translation. He put forward three principles of translation, Xin (信) (Faithfulness), Da (达) (Smoothness) and Ya (雅) (Elegance), which are regarded as longstanding translation criteria in China. In Yili Yan, Yan Fu did not discuss much about the idea of “struggle for existence” and “natural selection,” as his main purpose is to explain how he translated *Tianyan Lun*. But he did mention that he coined the terms like “物竞,” “天择” in Chinese (物竞、天择、储能、效实诸名, 皆由我始 See underline in Graph 4). In addition, the paratextuality of the front cover also reveals implicit meaning. As Graphs 5 and 6 show, the title on the cover of Yan Fu’s translation occupies a large space, with the title of some editions almost occupying the whole page, which is very eye-catching. Since Tianyan (天演) was a new term and new concept introduced into China by Yan Fu, the cover design would easily attract the readers’ attention. Besides, some editions included the translator’s name on the front cover, which conveys the message that the translator (well known among officials and scholars) hoped to influence his intended readers (the government officials and scholars of the time) through his translation. Another feature of the paratexts of *Tianyan Lun* is its typography. As Graphs 1-3 show, the language used by Yan Fu is traditional Chinese, and the

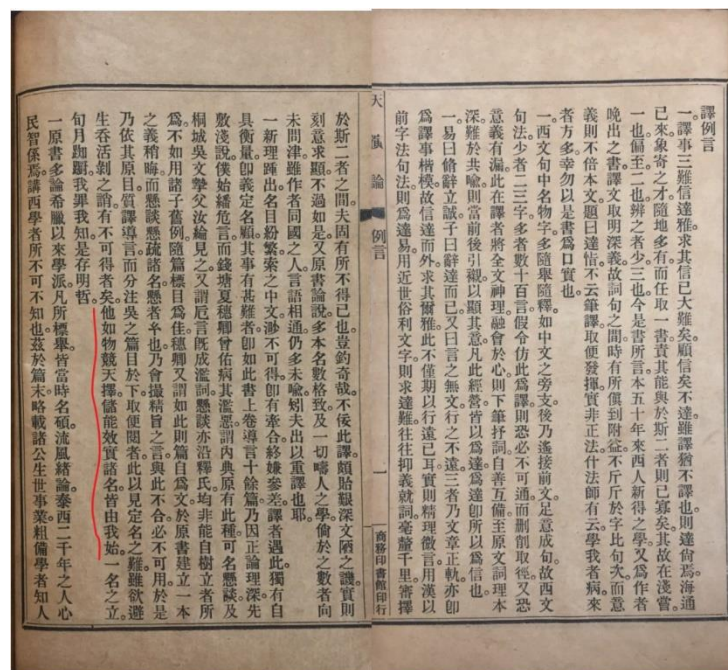
characters are arranged vertically from right to left, which is the convention of the typography of books before the 20th century, conforming to the reading habit of the intellectuals. This typography is different from that of books published in the modern period and it would help in gaining a larger readership from the intellectuals and government officials as it conformed to their reading habits.



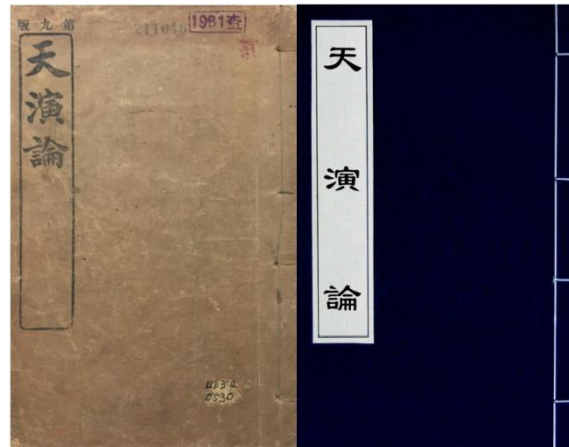
Graph 1 Wu Runlun's Foreword (Yan, 1898 Preface: 1) Graph 2 Translator's Preface (Yan, 1898 Preface: 2)



Graph 3 Translator's Commentary (復案) (Yan, 1898: 2)



Graph 4 Translator's Note (譯例言) (Yan, 1898 Translator's Note:1)



Graph 5 Cover of *Tianyan Lun* (Yan, 1898)



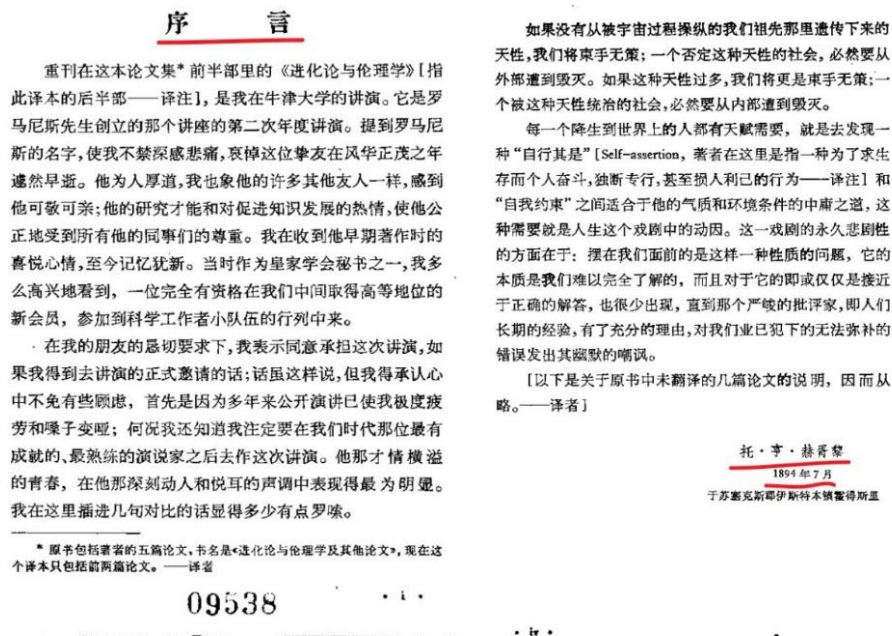
Graph 6 Cover of *Tianyan Lun* (from Xu, 1996: 263&265)

From the above paratextual analysis, it can be seen that such concepts as “evolution” (进化), “struggle for existence,” “natural selection,” and “survival of the fittest” (适者生存) were coined in the hope of raising public awareness, enabling people to acquire new knowledge and to improve themselves, so that they could overcome their ignorance and work to make the country strong and revitalized. The foreword by Wu Rulun, an influential scholar of the period, the preface and translator’s commentary all conveyed the idea of making China strong by enlightening the public through introducing such concepts as “物竞” and “天择.” Thus, we can argue that the main motive behind the translation *Tianyan Lun* was to enlighten the public and government, especially scholars and intellectuals of the late Qing Dynasty, so as to bring about social reform.

b) Paratextual Analysis of the First Retranslation

The 1971 retranslation was far less influential than the first translation. Compared to *Tianyan Lun* with more than 30 editions, this retranslation has only 1 edition. It mainly includes 5 paratexts: an author’s preface, a publication note, Chairman Mao’s quotes, a table of contents and a translators’ note. Its preface is not the translators’ preface or foreword from some influential scholar in the target culture, but the author’s preface from his original book (translated into Chinese) (See Graph

7), which was not included in any editions of *Tianyan Lun*. The inclusion of the author's preface indicates that the retranslation intended to present to its readers what the book was originally like in its original language, transferring knowledge as it was from the original. In the publication note, it was pointed out that "Huxley's book was retranslated under Chairman Mao's instruction, "Make the past serve the present and foreign knowledge serve China," for cadres to learn from" (遵照毛主席关于“古为今用，洋为中用”的教导，我们现在出版了这个新译本，供干部学习参考和批判)。See underline in Graph 8). In Chairman Mao's quotes, it was also clearly stated that "China should acquire advanced knowledge from foreign countries" (中国应该大量吸收外国的进步文化 See underline in Graph 9). The translators' note in this retranslation is different from that of *Tianyan Lun* which mainly explained how the translator translated the book. This note was a collection of explanatory entries (as shown in Graph 10) attached at the end of the book rather than at the front of it as in *Tianyan Lun*. With this note, readers could have a better understanding of the terms or names used in each essay of the book. On its front cover, we can see its publisher, Science Press (科学出版社 See underline in Graph 11), a famous publisher focusing on science books. The front cover features the name of the author rather than the translator. The presence of the publisher's name indicates that the retranslation intended to disseminate science knowledge.



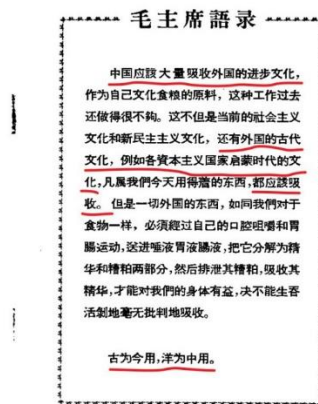
Graph 7 Author's Preface (Translation Group of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, 1971: i-iv)

出版说明

本书系英国生物学家托·亨·赫胥黎^①所著。著者旨在大力宣传达尔文主义。总的来讲，书的前半部是唯物论的，后半部是唯心论的。清代严复（1853—1921）在1895年用文言文意译了这本书的主要内容，并附加了他自己的许多见解，书名为《天演论》。遵照毛主席关于“古为今用，洋为中用”的教导，我们现在出版了这个新译本，供干部学习参考和批判。

1971年3月

Graph 8 Publication Note (Translation Group of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, 1971)



Graph 9 Chairman Mao's Quotes (Translation Group of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, 1971)

译者注释

I. 导论部分

① 赫胥黎 (Thomas H. Huxley, 1825—1895) 英国著名的生物学家，达尔文的朋友和积极支持者。在达尔文发表《物种起源》一书后，他竭力支持并大力宣传进化学说，与当时宗教势力作激烈的斗争。他首次提出了人猿同祖论。赫胥黎写了许多有关动物学、比较解剖学、古生物学和人类学的著作。列宁在《唯物主义和经验批判主义》这一光辉著作中指出：“赫胥黎的哲学正象马赫的哲学一样，是具体主义和贝克莱主义的混合物。但是在赫胥黎的著作中，贝克莱主义是偶而出現的，而他的不可知论是唯物主义的遮羞布。”（第204页）——见文前“出版说明”

② 凯撒 (Gaius Julius Caesar, 公元前100—44) 古罗马统治者。曾两次渡海侵入不列颠(英国)。公元前46年，建立独裁统治，推行多项加强中央集权的改革，并订定历法——儒略历等。——第1页

③ 植被 (Vegetation) 在一定地区内，覆盖地面的植物及其群落总体的泛称。——第1页

④ 冰川时期 (Glacial Period) 地质历史的最后一个纪，即第四纪。约距今一百万年前。——第2页

⑤ 白垩 (Chalk) 生物化学沉积岩之一。白垩纪是地质时代中生代的最后一个纪，因欧洲西部在该时代的地质主要为白垩沉积而得名。约开始于一亿四千万年前，结束于七千万年前。——第2页

⑥ 苏塞克斯 (Sussex) 英国英格兰东南部的一个郡。——第2页

⑦ 康德 (Immanuel Kant, 1724—1804) 德国资产阶级唯心主义哲学家。是不可知论的创始人之一。——第6页

• 80 •

Graph 10 Translators' Note (Translation Group of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, 1971: 80)

进化论与伦理学

(旧译《天演论》)

[英] 赫胥黎 著

科学出版社

Graph 11 Front Cover (Translation Group of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, 1971: Front cover)

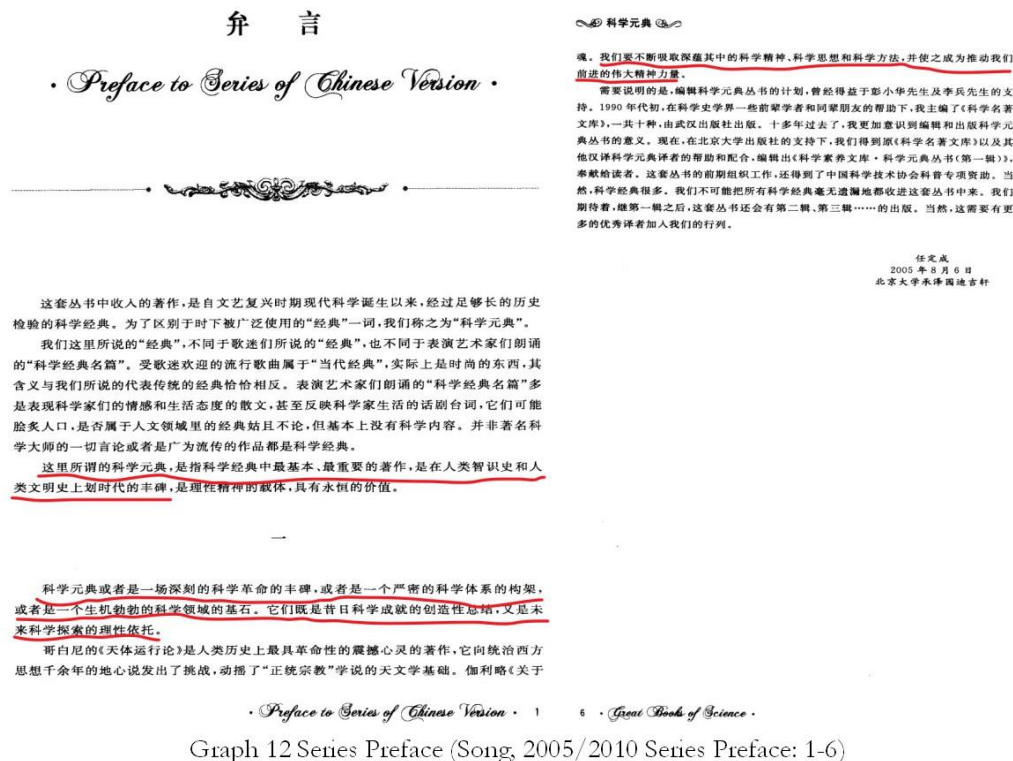
As the above analysis reveals, whether the author's preface or the translators' note are attached at the front or the end, they all intended to provide readers with knowledge from the original book. The publication note and Chairman Mao's quotes clearly reveal the main purpose of this retranslation: to help readers acquire knowledge. Thus, it could be said that the 1971 retranslation was aimed at knowledge dissemination.

c) Paratextual Analysis of the Second Retranslation

Different from the previous incomplete (re)translations, this retranslation, published in 2005 and revised in 2010, is a complete translation and includes 7 paratexts: a series preface, a translator's introduction, a non-translator introduction, an author's preface, an appendix, background information with illustrations, and a list of names in English and Chinese.

Compared with the previous (re)translations, this retranslation includes more paratexts, which provides readers with more information on the book and related subject. The first preface is a Series Preface, which indicates that this book is part of this series. As the preface points out, "the science classics referred to in the series preface are the most fundamental and important books in science; they are epochal in the history of human knowledge and civilization" (这里所谓的科学元典, 是指科学经典中最基本、最重要的著作, 是在人类智识史和人类文明史上划时代的丰碑 See underline in Graph 12). Hence, it can be argued that the main aim of this retranslation is knowledge dissemination. Besides, at the bottom left of each even page of the series preface, the statement "Great Book of Science" is inserted, which reinforces the aim of disseminating knowledge. Following the series preface, some background information illustrations about the social and scientific developments are provided, as shown in Graph 13, introducing the background to the period when Huxley wrote the book. Such supplementary information offers readers knowledge on the background of Huxley's ideas, which enhances their understanding of the knowledge in his book. The introduction after the illustrations includes a detailed commentary on the first translation. As is pointed out, Yan Fu's "adapted and abridged translation aimed to bring about social reform to save China from 'extinction,' which indeed has led to tremendous changes in China during late the 19th

century and early 20th century” (正是这种“歪曲原意”的翻译, 在当时的中国社会迅速掀起了一股“天演”热, 如一声惊雷, 对 19 世纪末 20 世纪初的中国历史产生了不同凡响的影响 See underline in Graph 14). The translator's introduction provides a detailed introduction to the structure and main points of Huxley's original, for readers to have a preview and better understanding of the knowledge in the book. As is said, “the following provides a brief introduction to the main points of the six parts of the retranslation for easier reading on the readers' part” (为了便于读者阅读, 下面对六个部分进行简要说明 See underline in Graph 15). We can see that although the two introductions focus on different aspects, the former on Yan Fu's translation, and the latter on the original, both are intended to enable readers to have a better understanding of the knowledge. In addition to the first introduction that comments on *Tianyan Lun*, *Tianyan Lun* is attached at the end of the book as an appendix, as shown in Graph 16, for reference and comparison purposes. And a list of names, which was not available in the previous (re)translations is also attached as shown in Graph 17. On its front cover, we can see a line “Collections and Series of Science Classics” (科学素养文库·科学元典丛书 See underline in Graph 18). Its inside cover lists the first series of science classics already published (See underline in Graph 18). The inclusion of the book in the series of science classics reveals that the main purpose of this retranslation is to disseminate scientific knowledge.



细胞学说、能量守恒和转化定律、进化论被称为19世纪自然科学的三大发现。这三大发现，为辩证唯物主义的产生提供了重要的自然科学的理论依据，受到马克思、恩格斯的高度评价。

→ 1836—1839年由德国植物学家施莱登 (M.J.Schleiden, 1804—1881) 和施旺 (Th.Schwann, 1810—1882) 共同创立的细胞学说，揭示了生物界在细胞层次上的统一性和共同起源。对神创论是一个有力的驳斥，为生物进化论以及辩证唯物主义自然观的建立提供了重大的科学依据。图为不同细胞和组织的模式图。



→ 亥姆霍兹 (Hermann von Helmholtz, 1821—1894)，德国物理学家，生理学家，他第一次以数学方式提出能量守恒定律。他是从“永动机不可能实现”这个事实入手研究并发现能量转化和守恒原理（即热力学第一定律）。该定律指出，热能可以从一个物体传递给另一个物体，也可以与机械能或其他能量相互转换，在传递和转换过程中，能量的总值不变。




↑ 达尔文于1859年发表《物种起源》一书，标志进化论理论的正式确立。达尔文进化论认为物种是变化的，不是由简单到复杂，从低等到高等逐渐进化的，自然界种种生物都是通过这个过程演化而来的。人类亦如此。达尔文进化论把发展、变化、联系的观点引进了生物学，使生物学最终摆脱了神学的束缚，成为真正的科学。



↑ 达尔文的《物种起源》《人类的由来及性选择》以及赫胥黎的《人类在自然界的地位》相继出版，进化论的影响越来越大。图为上述作品的中译本。



↑ 《进化论与伦理学》英文版及其扉页。《进化论与伦理学》最初作为一个小册子，1893年在罗马尼斯演讲之后立即发表。该书和它的“导论”，于1894年以《论文集》的第9卷的形式第一次一起出版，书名为《进化论与伦理学及其他论文》，在随后的近百年里不断重版。1947年，赫胥黎的“导论”和“进化论与伦理学”，连同孙子朱利安·赫胥黎所写的3篇论文，以书名为《进化论与伦理学：1893—1943》再版。




↑ 《进化论与伦理学》一书中也收录了赫胥黎给《泰晤士报》写的讨论布斯 (William Booth, 1829—1912) 先生《最黑暗的英格兰及其出路》的信。这些信件已在1890.12—1891.1期间的《泰晤士报》上发表。图为布斯的 *In Darkest England and The Way Out* 一书中的插图。



↑ 赫胥黎在英国皇家学院演说时也吸引了许多来自中国的学者。如后来成为“中国传播进化论第一人”的严复。



Graph 13 Background Information with Illustrations (Song, 2005/2010)

《进化论与伦理学》导读一
 中国近代思想史上的《天演论》

欧阳哲生
 (北京大学 教授)

• Chinese Version Introduction •

《天演论》是严复根据赫胥黎于1894年出版的《进化论与伦理学及其他论文》(Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays)一书中的两篇文章(“导论”和“进化论与伦理学”)翻译的。全书采用了意译，并附有一篇自序和29段按语，显然有些按语超过了译文篇幅。因此该书就不是一般的翻译了。严复在翻译和按语中所做的“中国化”工作，大大加强了译作的现实感。严复在《天演论》自序中说：“此书旨在自强保种”。正是这种“旨在保种”的翻译，在当时的中国社会还掀起了“天演”热，如“严译雷”，对19世纪末20世纪初的中国历史产生了不同凡响的影响。

◎ 进化论与伦理学 ◎

馆出版的“严译名著丛刊”基础上改进)收入。《进化论与伦理学》曾于1971年7月由科学出版社出版。此书由该书翻译组直译，只译了一、二部分。根据原文将全书的五部分全部译出。Evolution and Ethics 是按1894年伦敦 Macmillan and Co 出版的 Evolution and Ethics and other Essays 收入，原作有五部分，现只收前两部分。之所以将这三种收集在一起，是便于读者对严译与原作的区别进行比较，以加深读者对严译《天演论》的理解。

欧阳哲生
 2009年7月7日于北京海淀蓝旗营

Graph 14 Non-translator Introduction (Song, 2005/2010 Introduction 1: 1-20)

《进化论与伦理学》导读二

宋启林

(广东金融学院 教授)

• Chinese Version Introduction •

在经历了中日甲午战败的巨大创痛之后,《天演论》所传输的“物竞天择,适者生存”的原则对中国读者的冲激作用,是不言而喻的,许多读者阅读该书时不知不觉得产生共鸣,顺其思路思考民族和国家的前途,或投身维新热潮,或走上革命之路,一场波澜壮阔的宪法维新运动终于在这里找到了自己的有力理论依据。《天演论》提出的思想成为维新领袖、辛亥精英、五四斗士改造中国的武器。康有为、梁启超、孙中山、鲁迅、胡适、毛泽东等人都曾深受其思想的熏陶。

进化论与伦理学

黎当时的心情是自豪又自信,但多少有点担心。

事实说明,赫胥黎的担心有点多余,他的演讲获得了极大的成功。《牛津杂志》(Oxford Magazine)当时(1893年5月)以“罗马尼斯讲座”为题发表了一篇评论性报道。“很难料到有那么多的听众聚集一堂,听取赫胥黎教授作进化论与伦理学的演讲;那种场面,就像大家聚集起来去听现任首相的高谈阔论。”演讲大厅坐满了人,许多人只能站在大厅的后面。他的演讲文采斐然、充满激情、清晰明了、雅俗共赏,感人至深、令人钦佩。“说实在的,这次讲座只有一个缺陷:太多太多的听众,因为运气不好,不能直接站到教授的面前,有时几乎听不清楚。”^①

演讲结束后,“进化论与伦理学”以小册子的形式发行,在不到一个月的时间里,3000册就销售一空,也引来了一些评论。如斯蒂芬(Leslie Stephen, 1832—1904)、米瓦特(St. George Mivart, 1827—1900)、塞斯(Andrew Seth, 1856—1931)等都撰文进行评论^②。为了对有关的批评进行回应,同时弥补罗马尼斯讲座演讲中进化论知识的不足,赫胥黎于1894年写了一篇“导论”,作为“进化论与伦理学”的导言。后来,赫胥黎在编辑《论文集》第9卷时,收录了其他一些文章,题名《进化论与伦理学及其他论文》,1894年由英国麦克米伦公司(Macmillan and Company)首版。

《进化论与伦理学及其他论文》共包括五个部分:(1)进化论与伦理学;导言(1894);(2)进化论与伦理学(1893);(3)科学与道德(1886);(4)资本——劳动之母(1890);(5)社会疾病与糟糕疗方(1891)。其中,“人类社会中的生存斗争”一文,本是赫胥黎1888年写的一篇文章,在编辑第9卷论文集时,他将这篇文章作为第五部分(“社会疾病与糟糕疗方”)的导言。考虑到该文实际上是“进化论与伦理学”演讲内容的“前奏”,故单独作为一个部分,于是本译稿就变成了六个部分。为了便于读者阅读,下面对六个部分作一点简要说明。

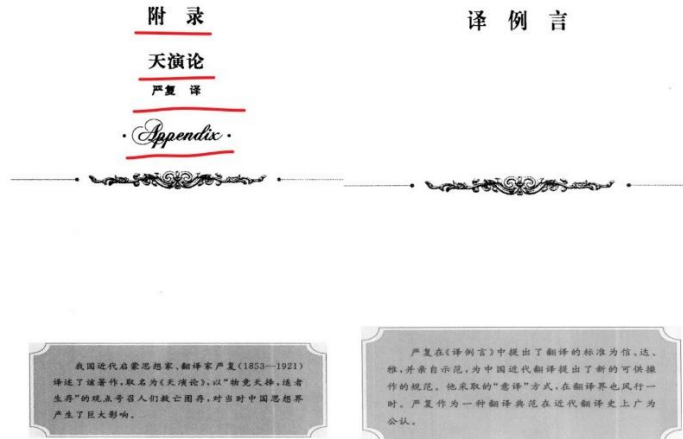
第一、二部分是《进化论与伦理学及其他论文》的主体内容。在这里,赫胥黎主要阐述了三个方面的思想。(1)宇宙间的一切事物都是宇宙过程的产物,处于不断的进化之中。人类社会及其伦理道德也不例外。(2)宇宙过程与伦理过程是性质完全不同的两种类型,二者处处分庭抗礼;宇宙过程“鼓励”生存斗争,“意”在“使最适者生存”;伦理过程抑制生存斗争,意在“使尽可能多的人适宜生存”。(3)人类文明和社会进步是通过伦理本性不断战胜宇宙本性、伦理过程取代宇宙过程来实现的。在这里,赫胥黎实际上将达尔文的生物进化论发展为一般进化论,但他坚决反对将进化论的一般原理照搬到人类社会。赫胥黎呼吁人类要不断培育和发展伦理本性,逐步摆脱宇宙本性的影响;其核心主张是,人类要获得健康发展,就必须从宇宙本性那里继承下来的自行其是和人类社会进化过程中形成的自我克制之间保持一种“中道”。所以,他既反对弃绝人的天性的僧侣主义,也反对斯宾塞倡导的“任天而治”的社会达尔文主义。

第三部分是赫胥黎对利利(William Samuel Lilly, 1840—1919)1886年10月在《双周刊》上发表的《唯物主义与道德》一文的回应。利利是赫胥黎同时代的随笔作家,天主

① The Romanes Lecture, The Huxley File.
② Jungle Verse Garden, The Huxley File.

4 • Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays •

Graph 15 Translator's Introduction (Song, 2005/2010 Introduction 2: 1-7)



Graph 16 Appendix of *Tianyan Lun* (Song, 2005/2010: 141-201)

人名中英文对照表

A	
Adam Smith	亚当·斯密
Ahasuerus	亚哈随鲁
Alexander Grant	亚历山大·格兰特
Alexander	亚历山大
Aphrodite	阿芙罗狄忒
Aratus	阿拉托斯
Ares	阿瑞斯
Aristotle	亚里士多德
Augustine	奥古斯丁
B	
Ballington Booth	巴林顿·布斯
Baur	鲍尔
Ben Tillett	本·蒂利特
Berkeley	贝克莱
Bill	比尔
Bolingbroke	博林布鲁克
Booth Clibborn	布斯·科里波恩
Booth	布斯
Booth-Clibborn	布斯-科里波恩
Borner	伯尔纳
Boscovich	博斯科维奇
Bramwell Booth	布朗威尔·布斯
Britnell	布立特勒尔
Browning	布朗宁
Buchanan	布坎南
Buchner	布希纳
Burton	伯顿

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Graph 17 List of Names (Song, 2005/2010: 136-140)



Graph 18 Covers (Song, 2005/2010: covers)

As the above analysis shows, apart from including Huxley's preface, this retranslation includes many more paratexts, such as two introductions, a translator's preface, background information with illustrations, a list of names, providing more supplementary information for readers, all of which reveal and enhance its purpose: to disseminate knowledge.

d) Paratextual Analysis of the Third Retranslation

The latest retranslation, first published in 2017, like the second retranslation, also includes *Tianyan Lun*. Yet, different from the second retranslation which attaches, in simplified Chinese, a complete version of Yan Fu's traditional Chinese translation as an appendix, this latest retranslation, as its title (*Tianyan Lun & A Complete Chinese Translation of Its Original Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*) indicates, puts Yan Fu's translation before the retranslation rather than attaches it as an appendix at the end. The paratexts of this latest retranslation mainly include covers, an editors' preface (publication note), an introduction, a series foreword, notes, a table of contents, Yan Fu's biography and correspondence, illustrations, a modern Chinese translation of *Tianyan Lun* with annotations, and so on.

On the front cover of this version, its title is divided into two lines with *Tianyan Lun* (《天演论》) on the upper line in a bigger font size and *And a Complete Chinese Translation of Its Original*

“*Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*” (及其母本《进化论与伦理学》全译) on the lower line in a smaller font size (as shown in Graph 19). On the right of the front cover, there are a few lines of words (as circled in Graph 19) stating the great influence of *Tianyan Lun*. On one of its inside cover, a line, *An Illustrated Series of Masterpieces of the Great Minds* (文化伟人代表作图释书系) appears at the top left, indicating that this book is one of the series. In its short series foreword, it briefly explains what the series is about and how the series presents each book to readers, for example,

what “An Illustrated Series of Masterpieces of the Great Minds” includes are masterpieces of great minds that have significant influence on the construction of human’s knowledge system...most of these masterpieces are long and profound pieces which do not meet with the reading habit of contemporary readers, therefore, for some of the series, we have translated them with adaptation and provided some illustrations necessary for readers to have better understanding of the essence of the knowledge in these books (“文化伟人代表作图释书系”所选择的，正是对人类知识体系的建构有着重大影响的伟大人物的代表著作.....这些著述大都篇幅宏大，难以适应当代阅读的特有习惯。为此，对其中的一部分著述，我们在凝练编译的基础上，以插图的方式对书中的知识精要进行了必要补述 See underline in Graph 20).

The message these paratexts convey is that this book is one of the masterpieces of human knowledge, well worth reading, and this book presents itself in a reader-friendly way for easier reading and comprehension. As for *Tianyan Lun*, this book does not just include a reprint of Yan Fu’s version in simplified Chinese, it also provides a modern Chinese translation of Yan Fu’s traditional Chinese version, with annotations and notes added. As the underline in Graph 21 shows, this version provides a modern Chinese translation of *Tianyan Lun*, “translated into modern Chinese with annotations by Yang Heqiang and Hu Tianshou” (杨和强 胡天寿 白话注释). This book has some annotations in each part of *Tianyan Lun*. For example, as can be shown in Graph 23, Yan Fu’s preface is followed by some annotations to explain some concepts or words in Yan’s preface. For each essay in *Tianyan Lun*, a brief introduction is provided at the beginning, followed by some annotations, then by Yang’s and Hu’s modern Chinese translation of Yan Fu’s version. (See the circled part for the essay introduction, the underline parts for the annotations and the modern Chinese translation in Graph 23) In addition, this version has provided some additional materials closely related to Yan Fu, including a brief biography (See underline in Graph 24) and Yan Fu’s correspondence with his teachers and friends (See underline in Graph 25). These additional materials provide more background knowledge and information for readers’ better understanding of Yan Fu’s ideas in *Tianyan Lun* and also of the knowledge of evolution. In addition, this version has provided a complete retranslation as an appendix attached after *Tianyan Lun* with annotations and modern Chinese translations (See underline in Graph 26). This appendix provides readers with a complete picture of Huxley’s ideas in *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*.



Graph 19 Covers (Yan & Liu, 2017 covers)



Graph 20 Series Foreword (Yan & Liu, 2017)



Graph 21 Inside cover (Yan & Liu, 2017)

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Graph 26 Complete Retranslation (Yan & Liu, 2017)

As the above analysis shows, this 2017 version intends not only to help readers have a better understanding of Yan Fu's thoughts in *Tianyan Lun*, and a better understanding of why Yan Fu's *Tianyan Lun* influenced China, but also to help readers to acquire science knowledge from Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*.

e) Summary of Paratextual Analysis

From the paratextual analysis of the four (re)translations, we can see that each has its own features of paratexts, which reveal their main purposes of publication. The following table summarizes their main paratexts.

	Covers	Author's Preface	Translator's Preface	Foreword	Translator's Intro.	Series Intro.	Intro. by others	Publication Note	Translator's Comment	Translator's Note	Illustrations	Appendix	Others
Yan Fu's translation	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
1971 retranslation	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
2005/2010 retranslation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2017 retranslation	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 2 Paratextual Elements of the Four (Re)translations

As the table shows, Yan Fu's translation and the 1971 retranslation have fewer paratexts than the 2005/2010 and 2017 versions do. Yan's translation mainly includes a translator's preface, commentary and note. These paratexts, especially the translator's commentaries, unveil the intention of the translator: to enlighten the public through the knowledge introduced. The 1971 retranslation includes the author's preface, which provides some background information on the original, and a publication note, which points out that the retranslation aims to provide a new version for readers as a source of knowledge. It also includes Chairman Mao's words which emphasize the importance of learning from the past and foreign countries. These paratexts make it clear that this retranslation aims at knowledge dissemination. The 2005/2010 retranslation includes not only the author's preface, the translator's note and the preface, but also some introductions, illustrated background information, such as the social background and scientific development, which provide supplementary information for readers to better understand the knowledge conveyed through the book. The 2017 version also includes many paratexts like the previous retranslation. Yet what makes it different is that it adds a modern Chinese translation of Yan Fu's *Tianyan Lun* alongside Yan's translation, with annotations added. Besides, this version has also provided a brief biography of Yan Fu and his correspondence with his teachers and friends. These paratexts help readers better understand Yan Fu's thoughts.

(Re)translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays: From Social Reform to Knowledge Dissemination*

Some scholars (Hou, 1999, Xu, 2010, Xu and Wang, 2017 and Xiao, 2018) have discussed the retranslation of science texts. According to Hou (3), retranslation of science texts is necessary and mandatory if 1) the existing translation is too outdated in such aspects as its language and terms, for example; 2) the existing translation is found with so many mistakes as to cause misunderstanding; 3) the original was published in more than one version with many differences. In Xu and Wang's case study of the Chinese sci-tech classic *Tian Gong Kai Wu*, the reasons of its

retranslation mainly lie in: 1) change of social background; 2) change of target readers; 3) the translator's new interpretation of the original. These arguments reveal the reasons for the retranslation of science texts and identify one that is common to all of them: retranlations, whether they are because of a change in target readers or a translator's new interpretation, are generally produced for better knowledge dissemination.

As discussed above, *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* has four (re)translations over 120 years. Three retranlations have been produced since it was first translated in the late Qing Dynasty. As the above paratextual analysis shows, the book was first translated at the end of the 19th century when China was in turmoil during its last monarchy. It was under such background that Yan Fu translated it. From the paratexts of Yan Fu's translation, we can find that he translated this work in the hope of bringing about social reform through enlightening the public and government officials. It was a chaotic period for the country faced with both internal and external troubles. Internally, the government of the monarchy was subject to severe corruption; people lived in poverty, illiteracy and ignorance. Externally, China suffered from foreign aggression and invasion. The government tried in many ways to take China out of crisis but in vain. Many well-educated patriotic officials and other patriots with lofty ideals were quite active to seek ways to save China. One of the ways they found was to learn from western countries through translation to acquire their advanced knowledge, so as to make China strong. Consequently, many books, especially scientific ones, were translated from western languages into Chinese. It was hoped that the knowledge in the translated books could enlighten not only the government but also common people. *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* was translated against such background. From the paratexts of Yan Fu's translation, whether Wu Rulun's preface, Yan Fu's preface or translation commentaries and notes, we can see that Yan Fu intended to influence the public, especially intellectuals and government officials, through his translation, so as to bring social reform to save a chaotic China.

By comparison, the three retranlations were produced under totally different social and political backgrounds. Although the 1971 retranlation and the two other retranlations in the 21st century were produced under different backgrounds, they have the same purpose: knowledge dissemination. The 1971 retranlation took place during the 10-year Cultural Revolution in the unstable period of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Cultural Revolution was initiated to guard against the penetration of capitalism into the communist PRC. The movement hindered the PRC's social, economic and cultural development. Culturally, the acquiring of knowledge from capitalist countries through translation was greatly impeded. It was against such a background that *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* was re-translated. As its publication note pointed out by quoting Chairman Mao's words, it was important to learn from the past and from foreign countries. Thus, this retranlation was produced in the hope that readers could learn from foreign countries.

The two other retranlations were made in the 21st century since the PRC has put forward

the Reform and Opening-up policy for more than 30 years. China has gained tremendous achievements in every aspect after implementing this policy. The government has been attaching more and more importance to the development in the fields of science, education and culture. Translators were selected and resources were arranged to translate or retranslate classics and other books from other countries, especially developed ones. Against such background, *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* was retranslated once more. The 2005/2010 retranslation is included in the series of *Science Classics* translated into Chinese. Its inclusion into the *Science Classics* series indicates that the main purpose of this version is to facilitate the spread of science knowledge. In addition, this retranslation includes a few introductions, and some other supplementary information, such as background information, all of which are intended to facilitate readers' understanding of the science knowledge in this work. There may be some other considerations for this retranslation, like providing a version of simplified Chinese and a complete translation for readers, because the first version is an abridged and adapted translation in traditional and classic Chinese, and the 1971 retranslation is also an incomplete version. Yet, such considerations are secondary, which in some sense are part of its primary concern: to better disseminate knowledge. The 2017 retranslation provides a modern Chinese translation of Yan Fu's version, with introductions and annotations added, which helps readers better understand Yan Fu's thoughts. This modern Chinese translation is arranged in parallel with Yan Fu's *Tianyan Lun* in this version. Following this parallel arrangement of the two versions of *Tianyan Lun*, a new complete retranslation is included. This version is included in *An Illustrated Series of Masterpieces of the Great Minds*. This 2017 version, as the paratextual analysis shows, is also aimed at promoting the spread of knowledge, not only the science knowledge in *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*, but also the social, historical, political and philosophical knowledge in *Tianyan Lun*. In summary, the motivation for the (re)translations of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* was transformed from social reform to knowledge dissemination.

Conclusion

This article analyzes four Chinese (re)translations of the science text *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*. The paratextual analysis reveals that the four versions were translated against different social backgrounds in different periods according to different motivations. The first version, an adapted translation, came out in the late Qing Dynasty, a period of turbulence. It was intended to trigger political and social reform by enlightening the government and people. Its main aim is thus social reform. The second version is a retranslation produced about eighty years later during the Cultural Revolution in the PRC period. This version was formed in another period of social and political turbulence, though in a different way from that of the first version. Against the background that translation was much restricted, this version was produced mainly to disseminate science knowledge. The other two versions are retranslations made in the 21st century. The two versions were produced in a period when the PRC carried out a Reform and Opening-up policy for more than thirty years with a lot of progress made in every aspect. The government attaches more and

more importance to cultural and educational development. Much effort has been spent in translating foreign classics. The two versions, both complete retranslations of the original, were made against such a background, with their motivation set to disseminate knowledge. In a word, the trajectory of *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays*' travel in China experienced a motivation transformation—from social reform to knowledge dissemination. The starting goal is social reform, but in later retranslations, its motivation is transformed into knowledge dissemination.

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