

**Professor Benjamin Schwartz's Influence on the Studies
of Yan Fu in Japan***

Appendix: Selected Works on Yan Fu in Japan

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摘要

史华兹老师对日本严复研究的影响

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史华兹老师的名著《In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West》出版于 1964 年。1978 年，东京大学出版会出版了由我翻译的该书日文版《中国的近代化与知识分子—严复和西方》。二者相隔 14 年，这并没有什么特别理由。今天，我是想通过这个报告，把史华兹先生的严复研究给日本学者的严复研究所带来的影响，向大家加以说明。为此，我想把日本的严复研究的历史分为 3 个时期，(1) 1964 年以前，(2) 从 1964 到 1978 年，(3) 1978 年以后。

从本文后面的参考文献目录《日本的严复研究》(“Selected Japanese Works on Yan Fu”) 可以看到，在第一期(史华兹之前)，显然日本已经出现了相当数量的严复研究。一般来说，在清末思想史上，严复被认为是把进化论从西方介绍到晚清中国的人物(小野川秀美的《清末政治思想研究》是个代表)。可以说，学者们在研究康有为、梁启超时顺便提到严复，但是却没有一个人，把严复作为具有极其重要意义的思想家而加以研究。

第二期(1964-78)是受到史华兹冲击(影响)的时期。日本的几位研究中国思想的学者，读完 Schwartz, “In Search of Wealth and Power” 之后，想把其内容运用于自己的严复研究(其代表作是高田淳《史华兹的严复论》，1966 年)。但是，这个时期是，中国的文化大革命以及其后的动荡时期。由于当时日本知识界对中国的关心还没有定型，因此史华兹老师的关于严复研究的巨大冲击波没能推广。

第三期(1978 年以后)，为增进日本学界对史华兹老师的严复研究的意义之广泛理解，我的译著起到了一定的作用。时值中国开始现代化建设，严复也被恢复了名誉。人们普遍认为，严复是给近代中国留下很大影响的思想家，他深刻地揭示了近代中国所面临的困难和矛盾。我的译著也重版 4 次，其发行量达到 3,400 册。

史华兹老师的严复研究，近来不仅被近代中国思想史研究者，也被其他诸多领域的学者，称赞为是关于亚洲对西方文化的接受和抵抗方面的最好研究。史华兹老师的严复研究，尤其给近代日本政治思想的研究带来了强烈影响。现在已经出现了严复和日本政治思想家的比较研究。政治思想史研究、文化演变研究、翻译论等等，方法论方面的研究也深受史华兹老师的影响。

但是，关于近代中国和近代日本，当她们面对近代西方社会时，两者的命运出现了哪些共同点，是在何处两者的命运出现了差异等等，可以说，真正的思想史研究才刚刚开始。

It was in 1964 that Professor Benjamin Schwartz's great book, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West, Western Thought in Chinese Perspective*, was published. I had been a student enrolled in the Program of Regional Studies, East Asia, at Harvard for a year when this memorable event took place. I still remember the excitement that the book's publication aroused among graduate students around Harvard-Yenching and 1737 Cambridge Street. I too ran to buy a copy; it was perhaps the only book I read through of my own motivation that year, besides the many required course readings I struggled to read. I was overwhelmed by its contents, by its method, by its insights and by its profound messages. I immediately sensed that the book would not only be an instantaneous guide for a graduate student who was not sure of what to do with his research for a dissertation, but would also become a life-long guide for a would-be scholar. I did not have the slightest idea at that time that I would later translate the book into Japanese.

My Japanese translation of *In Search of Wealth and Power* was published from the University of Tokyo Press in 1978, with the Japanese title *Chugoku no Kindaika to Chishikijin: Gen Puku to Seiyo*, or "China's Modernization and Intellectuals: Yan Fu and the West." Fourteen years had passed since the publication of the original book. There was no particular reason for this lapse: I had been teaching the history of international relations in East Asia at the University of Tokyo for some years since 1970, when one of my colleagues and the University Press proposed me to do the translation. I clearly remember how exhilarated, honored, and fortunate I felt. It took me some years, however, to finish the translation, because while teaching many courses, I had to compare Professor Schwartz's translation with Yan Fu's translation, the original text and often times its Japanese translation that already existed, before I could decide on my own translation. I was thankful that I had chances to study Professor Schwartz's work and the Western classics carefully again.

In this short essay, I would like to discuss the influences of Professor Schwartz's Yan Fu studies on the studies of Yan Fu in Japan. To do so, I divide the history of the studies of Yan Fu into three periods, namely, first,

the period before 1964, second, the period from 1964 to 1978, and third, the period after 1978.

The First Period (before 1964)

As you will see in the Appendix, “Selected Japanese Works on Yan Fu”, there were naturally a number of studies on Yan Fu in Japan during the first period, preceding that of Professor Schwartz. As far as my survey tells, the first postwar Japanese work on Yan Fu appeared in 1954. On the whole, it was common to place Yan Fu in the history of political thought during the late Qing period as a person who had introduced the Western theory of evolution to late Qing China. Most works discussed Yan Fu in reference to Kang You-wei and Liang Qi-chao, with focus on the latter two thinkers (typical being Onogawa Hidemi, *A Study of Late Qing Political Thought*, 1960 [Appendix, 4].) It seems safe to say that there was no Japanese researcher who thought of discussing Yan Fu independently, as a thinker of outstanding significance.

The Second Period (1964-1978)

The second period is a period in which the studies of Yan Fu in Japan caught the impact of Professor Schwartz’s studies. A few Japanese researchers of modern Chinese thought read *In Search of Wealth and Power* in the original English and tried to make use of its contents for their own Yan Fu studies. Representative is Takata Atsushi, who published an article titled “B. Schwartz’s View of Yen Fu” in 1966 (Appendix, 11). In this article, Takata examines each chapter of Professor Schwartz’s book in great detail.

For one thing, Takata viewed Professor Schwartz’s work as an attempt at refuting the then popular view that regarded Yan Fu as a proponent for all-out Westernization who later returned to Chinese tradition. Takata concluded that Professor Schwartz had succeeded in this endeavor. More importantly, Takata was impressed by Professor Schwartz’s effort to consider Yan Fu in a wider perspective of the encounter of Eastern and Western thoughts. Professor Schwartz, Takata says, did not want to place Yan Fu in modern Chinese intellectual history simply for his influence over such intellectuals as Liang Qi-chao, Hu Shih, Lu Xun and Mao Ze-dong. Takata maintains that Yan Fu’s questions were responding to the needs of all

societies in those days and even to those of China and the West today. . Takata understood that Professor Schwartz believed that universal realms existed in human cultures, making it possible for us to transcend the self. Takata said that Professor Schwartz's Yan Fu studies transcended the boundaries of a specialized field of modern Chinese intellectual history¹⁾.

I should say that Takata, and most of the Japanese scholars in the field of modern Chinese intellectual history who followed Takata, were correct to characterize Professor Schwartz's Yan Fu studies as universalistic. It seemed difficult, however, to infuse this universalistic understanding of Yan Fu into concrete studies of Yan Fu in particular and the modern Chinese intellectual history in general. In the end of his conscientious introduction of Professor Schwartz's book, Takata himself proposed that attempts be made to illuminate on what points Chinese thought and European thought touched each other or opposed each other in their encounter, by analyzing why the evolutionary cosmology of the West and the metaphysics of the ancient Chinese "dao" could be combined in Yan Fu's mind²⁾. In the actual course of development, however, we put much energy in debates, sometimes futile, on the question of endogenous vs. exogenous modernization of China.

On the whole, during this period, China went through the Great Cultural Revolution and its aftermath of disruption. Accordingly, Japanese intellectuals' interests in China were strayed. It took some time before the impact of the "big bang" of Professor Schwartz's Yan Fu studies was felt widely beyond the specialists' field of modern Chinese intellectual history.

The Third Period (since 1978)

It seems that my Japanese translation, published in 1978, played a certain role in bringing Professor Schwartz's Yan Fu studies to wider appreciation in Japan. The publication of the translation happened to coincide with the beginning of China's "xiandaihua" and the eventual reevaluation and honor redemption of Yan Fu. Yan Fu was now considered to be a thinker who had left major accomplishments for modern China. Yan Fu has become widely accepted as a significant thinker who struggled with modern China's

¹⁾ Takata Atsushi, "B. Schwartz's View of Yen Fu" (Appendix, 11), p.48.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp.74-75.

immense difficulty and dilemma at the deepest level.

One book reviewer picked up the translation as one of the three best books of that year. Kawata Teiichi, a Japanese scholar of modern Chinese politics, pointed to the meaning of Professor Schwartz's Yan Fu studies for Japanese readers when he said in his review of the translation (Appendix, 26), "When does a foreign book, especially an academic book, get translated into Japanese? ...It is when that book contains a very unique interpretation of the subject which may be somewhat already known, and the interpretation compels us Japanese to change our conception." Kawata recommended the book as a must reading for the Japanese, who went through a similar historical experience, to understand the encounter of two different civilizations, Chinese and Western, and the Chinese responses and transformation. He said in his conclusion that Professor Schwartz's book would certainly provide a great deal of inspiration to those who are interested in the history of thought, not Chinese alone but in general³⁾. My translation is now in its fourth edition, and has sold 3,400 copies.

Professor Schwartz's book in translation was selected as one of the classic books on modern Asia by a guidebook titled *Classic Books on Modern Asia*, published in 1992. Sunayama Yukio, in his commentary of Professor Schwartz's book, noted in the beginning that the book represented a unique yet essential reflection that took place within Harvard's History Department, the center of the "stimulus-response" approach, during the peak era of the approach⁴⁾. Sunayama repeats Professor Schwartz's sentences which go: "in dealing with the encounter between the West and any given non-Western society and culture, there can be no escape from the necessity of immersing ourselves as deeply as possible in the specificities of both worlds simultaneously. We are not dealing with a known and an unknown variable but with two vast, ever-changing, highly problematic areas of human experience."⁵⁾ Sunayama was attracted by Professor Schwartz's method to go back to the universal core of the modern civilization of the West through the

³⁾ Kawata Teiichi, "Review of Schwartz, Hirano, tr., *China's Modernization and Intellectuals: Yen Fu and the West*" (Appendix, 26), pp.128, 129, 130.

⁴⁾ Sunayama Yukio, "Schwartz, Hirano tr., *China's Modernization and Intellectuals: Yan Fu and the West*" (Appendix, 44), p.15.

⁵⁾ Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*, p.2.

prism of Yan Fu⁶). Reflecting on the contemporary Japanese intellectual concerns with cultural relativism, Sunayama called the reader's attention to the fact that *Ideas across Cultures*, edited by Professors Paul Cohen and Merle Goldman and published in 1990 in commemoration for Professor Schwartz's retirement, contained both Hoyt Tillman's and Andrew Nathan's articles, presenting opposite views concerning how to deal with the encounter between the West and Chinese culture⁷).

In the meantime, Professor Schwartz's Yan Fu studies were highly assessed by specialists not only in the field of modern Chinese intellectual history but in much wider fields as the best work on Asia's acceptance of, and resistance to, the modern Western cultures. The bibliography in the Appendix reveals that an increasing number of studies on Yan Fu by Japanese specialists focused on specific aspects of Yan Fu's thought and translation and carried out much detailed analyses. This may be an influence of Professor Schwartz's method.

Studies of modern Japanese political thought received a particularly strong influence from Professor Schwartz's Yan Fu studies. The bibliography in the Appendix shows that a fair number of studies compared Yan Fu with modern Japanese political thinkers, notably Fukuzawa Yukichi. Yamashita Shigekazu, a specialist of modern Japanese political thought who published a fine book, *Spencer and Modern Japan*, recently turned to studying Yan Fu's translation of the classics of Western political thought. His analyses are too meticulous and voluminous for me to even summarize them. It is to be noted that Yamashita frequently quotes Professor Schwartz's original texts and the Japanese translation faithfully on critical points. Professor Schwartz's influence has now extended to the methods of studies of political thought, studies of cultural contacts and changes, and studies of translation.

From Now On

Finally, I think we have in front of us an important area of investigation not fully developed yet. That is a question of to what extent modern China and modern Japan, both non-Western societies and cultures that confronted the

⁶) Sunayama, p.20.

⁷) *Ibid.*, pp.24-25.

modern West, went together, sharing the same destiny and then at what point and how they departed to follow their own ways. This sort of comparative study will make legitimate studies of the history of thought that may provide a key to solving the problematic that Professor Schwartz raised and left for us.

Some twenty years ago, I devoted half of my one-year freshman course on international relations to introducing and discussing Yan Fu's life and thought, using my translation of Professor Schwartz's book as the textbook. One of the students was interested in Yan Fu's tragedy perhaps too strongly. He started thinking why some of the East Asian intellectuals desperately opposed to their countries' accepting the Western civilization when it was clear even to themselves that their opposition was doomed to fail. He tried to solve this puzzle as methodically as possible, by comparing anti-foreign arguments and movements in Japan, Korea and China. Fujita Yuji, *Opposition of Civilizations in Asia: A Comparative Study of Advocacies for Foreign Exclusion and for Conservatism in Japan, Korea and China* (Appendix, 74), originally Fujita's Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Tokyo, was a product of this endeavor. He dealt with intended rejection, instead of acceptance, of the modern Western civilization. He made comparisons between Japan, Korea and China in terms of their histories, topographies, sizes, resources, timing and particularly people's morale. He came to a temporary conclusion that the decisive factor was mutual trust in the receiving society. If Yan Fu was a radical protagonist of rational choice⁸⁾, the advocates Fujita considered were the radical advocates of rational rejection. Fujita's untimely death prevented further development of his thesis, but his work reveals that Professor Schwartz's influence has reached thus far.

⁸⁾ See Takayanagi Shinichi, "The Basic Structure of Yan Fu's Political Ideas" (Appendix, 62), for a suggestion of Yan Fu consistently arguing for rational selection of cultural traits.

Appendix

Selected Works on Yan Fu in Japan

Compiled by HIRANO Kenichiro
with the assistance of Dr. SUDO Mizuyo

【1954】

1. Kumano Shohei, “Yan Fu’s Theory for Education and Educational System of China”, *Hitotsubashi Review*, XXXII-4 (October, 1954).

熊野 正平「嚴復の文教論」『一橋論叢』第 32 卷第 4 号、1954 年 10 月

【1957】

2. Masuda Wataru, “Note on Yan Fu: From the Viewpoint of Literary History”, *Studies in Humanities*, VIII-7 (July, 1957).

増田 渉「嚴復について(覚書)」『人文研究』第 8 卷第 7 号、1957 年 7 月

【1959】

3. Kumano Shohei, “On the Change of Yan Fu’s Way of Thinking”, *Hitotsubashi Review*, XXXII-4 (October, 1959).

熊野 正平「嚴復思想の変遷」『一橋論叢』第 42 卷第 4 号、1959 年 10 月

【1960】

4. Onogawa Hidemi, *A Study of Late Qing Political Thought*, 1960; Chapter 7 “Late Qing Thought and the Theory of Evolution”.

小野川秀美『清末政治思想研究』東洋史研究会、1960 年、第 7 章「清末の思想と進化論」

- 5 Ito Shuichi, “The Theory of Evolution and China’s Modern Thought, 1 and 2”, *Historical Review*, Nos.123 and 124, 1960.

伊藤秀一「進化論と中国の近代思想」(1)(2)『歴史評論』第 123、124 号、1960 年

【1964】

6. Nomura Koichi, *Modern China’s Politics and Thoughts*, Chikuma Publishers, 1964.

野村浩一『近代中国の政治と思想』筑摩書房、1964 年

First Big Bang!

Benjamin I. Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power, Yen Fu and the West*, Harvard University Press, 1964.

【1965】

7. Shimada Kenji, *Pioneers of the Chinese Revolution*, Chikuma Publishers, 1965.

島田虔次『中国革命の先駆者たち』筑摩書房、1965年

8. Sakade Yoshinobu, “The Appreciation of Western Logic at the End of Ch'ing Dynasty”, *Bulletin of the Sinological Society of Japan*, No.17 (1965).

坂出祥伸「清末における西欧論理学の受容について」『日本中国学会報』第17集、1965年、155-163 ページ

9. Takata Atsushi, “Yan Fu's Thought of Evolution in *Tian-yan-lun*: His Endeavor for Universalism”, *Bulletin of the Institute for Comparative Studies of Culture affiliated to Tokyo Women's Christian College*, No.20 (December, 1965).

高田 淳「嚴復の「天演論」の思想—普遍主義への試み」『東京女子大学附属比較文化研究所紀要』第20号、1965年12月

【1966】

10. Okamoto Hiroshi, “On Yān Fu”, *Journal of Art and Letters*, No.22 (January, 1966)

岡本 宏「嚴復私論—翻訳論と文芸観よりみて」『芸文研究』第22号、1966年1月

11. Takata Atsushi, “B. Schwartz's View of Yan Fu”, *Comparative Studies of Culture*, No.12 (February, 1966).

高田 淳「シュウオーツの嚴復論—一つの東西文明論」『比較文化』第12号、1966年2月

【1967】

12. Takata Atsushi, “Yan Fu and Western Thought: The Case of *Tian-yan-lun*”, Department of Chinese Literature, University of Tokyo, ed., *Modern China's Thought and Literature*, Daian Publishers, 1967.

高田淳「嚴復と西欧思想—『天演論』の場合—」東京大学文学部中国文学研究室編『近代中国の思想と文学』大安、1967年、3-20 ページ

【1970】

13. Takata Atsushi, *China's Modernity and Confucianism*, Kinokuniya Publishers, 1970; Chapter 3 “The Ways of Heaven and Man and the Theory of Evolution: Yen Fu”.

高田淳『中国の近代と儒教』紀伊国屋新書、1970年、特に III 「天人の道と進化論—嚴復」

【1971】

14. Hashimoto Takakatsu, “Yan Fu’s View on the Comparison between Chinese and Western Cultures”, *Eastern Studies*, No.41 (March, 1971)

橋本 高勝「嚴復の中西比較文化論」『東方学』第 41 号、1971 年 3 月

15. Sakade Yoshinobu, tr. and annotation, “Translator’s Introduction to *Tian-yan-lun*”, in Nishi Junzo and Shimada Kenji, eds., *Collected Political Essays during the Late Qing and Early Minguo Period*, Heibonsha Publishers, 1971.

坂出祥伸訳および解説「天演論翻訳の自序」西順蔵・島田虔次編『清末民国初政治評論集』平凡社、1971年

【1972】

16. Shibata Minoru, “Historical and Comparative Study of Japanese and Chinese Terminology of European Origin (II): On Yan Fu’s Choice of Terms for Translation”, *Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, Kansei University*, No.5 (March, 1972)

芝田 稔「日中同文語彙交流の史的研究—嚴復の訳語について-2-」『関西大学東西学術研究所紀要』第 5 号、1972 年 3 月。

【1974】

17. Uno Shigeaki, “China’s Modernization and Japan’s Modernization”, in Uno Shigeaki, ed., *Socio-Cultural History of Japan: Development of Modernization*, Kodansha Publishers, 1974.

宇野重昭「中国の近代化と日本の近代化」同編『総合講座日本の社会文化史 5 近代化の展開』講談社、1974年

18. Nakashita Masaharu, “The Conversion of Yan Fu”, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Toyo University*, No.28 (December, 1974).

中下 正治「嚴復における転向の思想」『東洋大学紀要 文学部篇』第 28 号、1974 年 12 月

【1975】

19. Ishida Takeshi, “Three Thinkers Surrounding *On Liberty*: J.S. Mill, Nakamura Keiu and Yan Fu”, *Tosho*, No.311 (July, 1975).

石田雄 「『自由論』をめぐる三人の思想家—J.S. ミル、中村敬宇、嚴復—」『図書』第 311 号、1975 年 7 月、28-33 ページ

【1976】

20. Ishida Takeshi, “J.S. Mill *On Liberty* and Nakamura Keiu and Yan Fu: An Essay in Comparative History of Ideas”, in Ishida Takeshi, *Law and Politics in the History of Modern Japanese Ideas*, Iwanami Publishers, 1976.

石田雄 「J.S. ミル『自由論』と中村敬宇および嚴復—比較思想史的試論—」同著『日本近代思想史における法と政治』岩波書店、1976 年

【1977】

21. Ito Akio and Kondo Kuniyasu, trs. and annotation, “On the Speed of World Change”, Nishi Junzo, ed., *History of Modern Chinese Thoughts by Original Texts, Vol. 2: “Yang-wu” and “Bian-hua” Movements*, Iwanami Publishers, 1977.

伊東昭雄・近藤邦康訳および解説「時勢の激変について」西順蔵編『原典中国近代思想史・第二冊・洋務運動と変法運動』岩波書店、1977 年

22. Kondo Kuniyasu, tr. and annotation, “In Refutation of Han Yu”, in Nishi, *Ibid.*

近藤邦康訳および解説「韓愈を駁す」西順蔵編『原典中国近代思想史・第二冊・洋務運動と変法運動』岩波書店、1977 年

23. Kusunose Masaaki, “The Characteristics of Yan Fu’s Bianfa-ziqiang Theory”, *The Hiroshima University Studies, Literature Department*, No.37 (December, 1977).

楠瀬 正明「嚴復の変法自強論の特質」『広島大学文学部紀要』第 37 号、1977 年 12 月

【1978】

24. Mizoguchi Yuzo, “Yen Fu’s *Tian-yan-lun*: By Translating the Two Original Text”, *Journal of Saitama University : Foreign Languages and Literature*, No.12 (1978).

溝口 雄三「嚴復の「天演論」—原文対訳による (1)」『埼玉大学紀要 外国語学文

学篇』第12号、1978年

Second Big Bang ?

Hirano Kenichiro, tr., *China's Modernization and Intellectuals: Yen Fu and the West* (Japanese translation of *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West*, 1964), 1974.

B. I. シュウォルツ著、平野健一郎訳『中国の近代化と知識人一嚴復と西洋』東京大学出版会、1978年

25. Yamada Tatsuo, "Review of Schwartz, Hirano, tr., *China's Modernization and Intellectuals: Yan Fu and the West*," *Communism and International Politics*, No.9 (September, 1978).

山田 辰雄「B. I. シュウォルツ著・平野健一郎訳『中国の近代化と知識人一嚴復と西洋』」『共産主義と国際政治』第9号、1978年9月

26. Kawata Teiichi, "Review of Schwartz, Hirano, tr., *China's Modernization and Intellectuals: Yan Fu and the West*," *The Asia Quarterly*, X-4 (December, 1978).

河田 悌一「B. I. シュウォルツ著・平野健一郎訳「中国の近代化と知識人一嚴復と西洋」」『アジアクォーターリー』第10巻第4号、1978年12月

【1979】

27. Nakashita Masaharu, "Yan Fu in His Later Years", *Bulletin of Orientology*, No.32 (March, 1979)

中下 正治「晩年の嚴復」『東洋学論叢』第4号、1979年3月

28. Nakashita Masaharu, "Concerning the Later Thought of Yan Fu", *Annual Journal of the Asia-Africa Cultural Research Institute*, 1979

中下 正治「嚴復晩年の思想—その伝統思想観について」『アジア・アフリカ文化研究所研究年報』（〔アジア・アフリカ文化研究所〕創立二十周年記念号）、1979年

【1981】

29. Kondo Kuniyasu, *A Study of Modern Chinese Intellectual History*, Keiso Publishers, 1981.

近藤 邦康『中国近代思想史研究』勁草書房、1981年

【1983】

- 30.. Suzuki Shuji, “Yen-Fu’s Translation Loans, and Japanese New Chinese Compounds”, *Studies in the Japanese Language*, No.132 (March, 1983)

鈴木 修次「嚴復の訳語と日本の「新漢語」」『国語学』第 132 号、1983 年 3 月

【1985】

31. Ogata Yasushi, “Yen Fu and John Stuart Mill’s Logical Thought”, *Bulletin of the Sinological Society, University of Tokyo*, No.10 (June, 1985)

緒形 康「嚴復とミル論理学」『中哲文学会報』第 10 号、1985 年 6 月

【1986】

32. Shoko Shigeki, “A Study of Yen Fu”, *Research Bulletin, Nihon University’s College of Economics*, No.3 (1986)

莊光 茂樹「嚴復について — 『天演論』と『癡堂詩集』」『研究紀要（日本大学経済学部）』第 3 卷、1986 年、37-60 ページ

33. Saito Taiji, “Yan Fu’s Translation”, *The Social Science Review*, XXXII-1 (September, 1986)

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