



经典文库 英汉对照

THE CROWD

A STUDY OF THE POPULAR MIND

乌合之众

大众心理研究

GUSTAVE LE BON

[法] 古斯塔夫·勒庞◎著 王浩◎译

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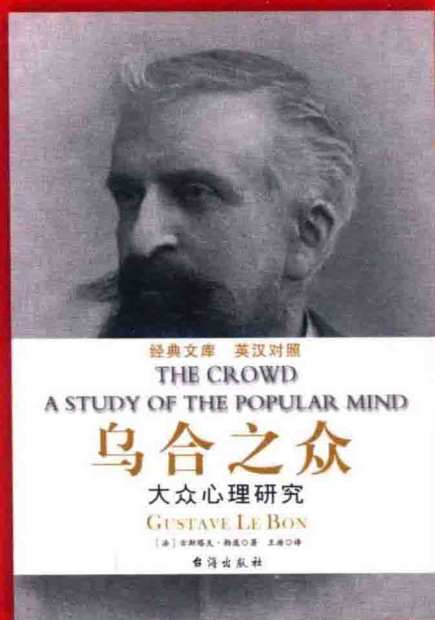
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古斯塔夫·勒庞（Gustave Le Bon, 1841~1931），法国著名社会心理学家和社会学家，以研究群体心理特征而著称。1866年，他在巴黎获得医学博士学位。1884年开始研究群体心理学。他的研究涉及三个领域：人类学、自然科学和社会心理学。晚年，他的兴趣转向社会心理学。他认为，民族精神或种族灵魂是整个社会生活的基础。勒庞最著名的著作《乌合之众：大众心理研究》（The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind）出版于1895年，已被翻译为近20种语言。19世纪20年代，他的思想达到了顶峰。他的预知令人震惊，他在作品中预见了20世纪所有的心理学和政治发展。此外，他还写有《各民族进化的心理学规律》《法国大革命和革命心理学》《战争心理学》等一系列具有广泛世界影响的社会心理学力作。



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Gustave Le Bon

目
Contents
录

INTRODUCTION THE ERA OF CROWDS

导 言 群体的时代 1

BOOK I THE MIND OF CROWDS

第一卷 群体的思想

CHAPTER I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CROWDS PSYCHOLOGICAL
LAW OF THEIR MENTAL UNITY

第一章 群体的一般特征——群体思想一致的心理学法则 13

CHAPTER II. THE SENTIMENTS AND MORALITY OF CROWDS

第二章 群体的情感和道德观 28

1. IMPULSIVENESS, MOBILITY, AND IRRITABILITY OF CROWDS/

群体的冲动、易变和暴躁 30

2. THE SUGGESTIBILITY AND CREDULITY OF CROWDS /	
群体的易受暗示和轻信	34
3. THE EXAGGERATION AND INGENUOUSNESS OF THE	
SENTIMENTS OF CROWDS / 群体情绪的夸张与单纯	46
4. THE INTOLERANCE, DICTATORIALNESS AND CONSERVATISM	
OF CROWDS / 群体的偏执、专横和保守	50
5. THE MORALITY OF CROWDS / 群体的道德	54
 CHAPTER III. THE IDEAS, REASONING POWER, AND IMAGINATION OF	
CROWDS	
第三章 群体的观念、推理与想象力	58
1. THE IDEAS OF CROWDS / 群体的观念	59
2. THE REASONING POWER OF CROWDS / 群体的理性	64
3. THE IMAGINATION OF CROWDS / 群体的想象力	66
 CHAPTER IV. A RELIGIOUS SHAPE ASSUMED BY ALL THE CONVICTIONS	
OF CROWDS	
第四章 群体信仰所采取的宗教形式	72

BOOK II THE OPINIONS AND BELIEFS OF CROWDS

第二卷 群体的意见和信念

CHAPTER I. REMOTE FACTORS OF THE OPINIONS AND

第一章 群体的意见和信念中的间接因素 83

1. RACE / 种族 86

2. TRADITIONS / 传统 87

3. TIME / 时间 91

4. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS / 政治和社会制度 ... 92

5. INSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION / 教育 97

CHAPTER II. THE IMMEDIATE FACTORS OF THE OPINIONS OF CROWDS

第二章 群体意见的直接因素 111

1. IMAGES, WORDS, AND FORMULAS / 形象、词语和套话 113

2. ILLUSIONS / 幻觉 121

3. EXPERIENCE / 经验 123

4. REASON / 理性 125

CHAPTER III. THE LEADERS OF CROWDS AND THEIR MEANS OF PERSUASION

第三章 群体的领袖及其说服的方法	130
1. THE LEADERS OF CROWDS / 群体的领袖	131
2. THE MEANS OF ACTION OF THE LEADERS: AFFIRMATION, REPETITION, CONTAGION /	
领袖的动员手段: 断言、重复和传染	138
3. PRESTIGE / 名望	145

CHAPTER IV. LIMITATIONS OF THE VARIABILITY OF THE BELIEFS AND OPINIONS OF CROWDS

第四章 群体的信念和意见的变化范围	159
1. FIXED BELIEFS / 牢固的信念	160
2. THE CHANGEABLE OPINIONS OF CROWDS /	
群体意见的多变	166

BOOK III. THE CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF CROWDS

第三卷 不同群体的分类及特点

CHAPTER I. THE CLASSIFICATION OF CROWDS

第一章 群体的分类	179
1. HETEROGENEOUS CROWDS / 异质性群体	181
2. HOMOGENEOUS CROWDS / 同质性群体	184

CHAPTER II. CROWDS TERMED CRIMINAL CROWDS

第二章 被称为犯罪群体的群体	186
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CHAPTER III. CRIMINAL JURIES

第三章 刑事案件的陪审团	193
--------------------	-----

CHAPTER IV. ELECTORAL CROWDS.

第四章 选民群体	204
----------------	-----

CHAPTER V. PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLIES.

第五章 议会	218
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INTRODUCTION

THE ERA OF CROWDS

The evolution of the present age — The great changes in civilisation are the consequence of changes in National thought — Modern belief in the power of crowds — It transforms the traditional policy of the European states — How the rise of the popular classes comes about, and the manner in which they exercise their power — The necessary consequences of the power of the crowd — Crowds unable to play a part other than destructive — The dissolution of worn-out civilisations is the work of the crowd — General ignorance of the psychology of crowds — Importance of the study of crowds for legislators and statesmen.

导言：群体的时代

提要：

当今时代的演变——文明之中的巨大变化是国民群体思想变化的结果——它是群体力量之中的现代信仰——它转变了欧洲各个国家的传统政策——大众阶级的崛起是如何产生的，以及他们施展自身力量的方式——群体力量必然的结果——群众除了搞破坏之外，不能扮演任何重要的角色——破碎不堪的文明的分崩离析是群众作用的产物——对大众心理学的普遍忽视——研究大众对于立法者以及政治家的重要性。

THE great upheavals which precede changes of civilisations such as the fall of the Roman Empire and the foundation of the Arabian Empire, seem at first sight determined more especially by political transformations, foreign invasion, or the overthrow of dynasties. But a more attentive study of these events shows that behind their apparent causes the real cause is generally seen to be a profound modification in the ideas of the peoples. The true historical upheavals are not those which astonish us by their grandeur and violence. The only important changes whence the renewal of civilisations results, affect ideas, conceptions, and beliefs. The memorable events of history are the visible effects of the invisible changes of human thought. The reason these great events are so rare is that there is nothing so stable in a race as the inherited groundwork of its thoughts.

The present epoch is one of these critical moments in which the thought of mankind is undergoing a process of transformation.

Two fundamental factors are at the base of this transformation. The first is the destruction of those religious, political, and social beliefs in which all the elements of our civilisation are rooted. The second is the creation of entirely new conditions of existence and thought as the result of modern scientific and industrial discoveries.

The ideas of the past, although half destroyed, being still very powerful, and the ideas which are to replace them being still in process of formation, the modern age

那些产生于文化剧变之前的伟大变革，比如罗马帝国的衰落，以及阿拉伯帝国的建立，初看似乎更像是由政治的转变，外国势力的入侵，或是朝代的瓦解决定的。但是，从一项对这些事件进行更加细致的研究中，不难看出在它们的表面现象背后，能够看到人们的思想所产生的深刻改变。真正的历史变革，并不是那些以宏伟和暴力的场景令我们震惊的事情。能够令文化实现伟大复兴的唯一重要的变化，是对思想、观念和信仰产生影响的变化。令人印象深刻的历史事件只不过是人类思想的无形变化产生的有形结果而已。这些伟大的历史事件之所以如此非比寻常是在人类这个物种当中，没有什么要比代代遗传的思维根基更加稳固。

当今的时代正是这种人类的思维正在经历一场转变的过程的关键时期之一。

在这样的转变基础下，存在两个基本的因素。第一个因素是宗教、政治和社会信仰的破坏，而我们文明当中的所有因素都植根于此；第二个因素是通过现代科学和工业的探索发现，创造全新的存在和思维条件。

尽管，过去的思想已经被破坏得面目全非，但是它仍旧是非常强大的，那些准备取代它们的想法仍旧在形成的过程当中，当今的时代代表着过渡和无政

represents a period of transition and anarchy.

It is not easy to say as yet what will one day be evolved from this necessarily somewhat chaotic period. What will be the fundamental ideas on which the societies that are to succeed our own will be built up? We do not at present know. Still it is already clear that on whatever lines the societies of the future are organised, they will have to count with a new power, with the last surviving sovereign force of modern times, the power of crowds. On the ruins of so many ideas formerly considered beyond discussion, and to-day decayed or decaying, of so many sources of authority that successive revolutions have destroyed, this power, which alone has arisen in their stead, seems soon destined to absorb the others. While all our ancient beliefs are tottering and disappearing, while the old pillars of society are giving way one by one, the power of the crowd is the only force that nothing menaces, and of which the prestige is continually on the increase. The age we are about to enter will in truth be the ERA OF CROWDS.

Scarcely a century ago the traditional policy of European states and the rivalries of sovereigns were the principal factors that shaped events. The opinion of the masses scarcely counted, and most frequently indeed did not count at all. To-day it is the traditions which used to obtain in politics, and the individual tendencies and rivalries of rulers which do not count; while, on the contrary, the voice of the masses

府状态的混乱时期。

这个不可避免的混乱时期究竟会演变成什么样子，还都不好做出结论。那个替代我们现有社会的社会究竟会产生什么样的基本观念呢？我们现在还不得而知。不过，我们已经清楚的是，不管未来的社会是按照哪种路线进行组织的，它们都将要考虑一种全新的力量，一种能幸存到最后，现代至高无上的力量，那就是群众的力量。在过去被看作是没有讨论余地，在现在已经衰败或者正在衰败的许多思想的废墟之上，在成功的革命摧毁许多权威来源的废墟之上，这种依靠自身的能力崛起的力量，似乎很快就要注定同其他的力量融合在一起。当我们所有来自古代的信仰开始消失的时候，当社会的古老石柱开始一根接着一根倒塌的时候，群体的力量就成为唯一不受到任何挑战的力量，而且，它的威望将会继续提升。没错，我们将要步入的时代就是群体的时代。

就在差不多一个世纪以前，欧洲各个国家的传统政策和至高无上统治权的对抗是形成众多事件的主要因素。大众的建议很少能够受到重视，甚至完全得不到重视。现在，这种被政治所接受的传统，个人的喜好倾向，以及统治者的对抗变得不再重要了；与之相反的是，大众的声音却开始占据压倒性的优势。这种声音

has become preponderant. It is this voice that dictates their conduct to kings, whose endeavour is to take note of its utterances. The destinies of nations are elaborated at present in the heart of the masses, and no longer in the councils of princes.

The entry of the popular classes into political life — that is to say, in reality, their progressive transformation into governing classes — is one of the most striking characteristics of our epoch of transition. The introduction of universal suffrage, which exercised for a long time but little influence, is not, as might be thought, the distinguishing feature of this transference of political power. The progressive growth of the power of the masses took place at first by the propagation of certain ideas, which have slowly implanted themselves in men's minds, and afterwards by the gradual association of individuals bent on bringing about the realisation of theoretical conceptions. It is by association that crowds have come to procure ideas with respect to their interests which are very clearly defined if not particularly just, and have arrived at a consciousness of their strength. The masses are founding syndicates before which the authorities capitulate one after the other; they are also founding labour unions, which in spite of all economic laws tend to regulate the conditions of labour and wages. They return to assemblies in which the Government is vested, representatives utterly lacking initiative and independence, and reduced most often to nothing else than the spokesmen of the committees that have chosen them.

会把他们的举动口述给君主，令他们的言行竭力去注意那些声音。现在，造就民族使命的地方，存在于群众的内心里，它不再存在于公子王侯的委员会议上。

普通群众的阶层进入政治生活——也就是说，在现实生活中，这种普通群众的阶层逐渐向统治阶层的转变——是我们这个转变的纪元最引人注目的特征之一。普选权的引入在很长的一段时间里都没有产生什么影响力，它并不是我们想的那样成为政治力量转移能够加以辨别的特点。群众力量的逐渐增长，首先是由于一些思想的宣传所致，这些思想缓慢地植入了人们的思维当中，随后，个人逐步成为社团，并且力图实现理论的概念。正是在社团的帮助下，群体开始获得与他们的兴趣相符的想法，尽管这些想法并不是特别的公正，却有着非常清晰的分界线，并且意识到了他们自身的力量。群众开始创立各种联合组织，令一个又一个的权威跪拜在它的面前；他们还建立了工会联盟，置一切的经济法律于不顾，试图管理劳动环境和薪金水平。他们来到了掌控着政府的委员会，代表们完全缺乏积极性和独立性，大多数人甚至堕落到成为那些选出他们的委员会的发言人。

在今天，广大群众要求的定义正变得越来越清晰，就像是要把现有的这个

To-day the claims of the masses are becoming more and more sharply defined, and amount to nothing less than a determination to utterly destroy society as it now exists, with a view to making it hark back to that primitive communism which was the normal condition of all human groups before the dawn of civilisation. Limitations of the hours of labour, the nationalisation of mines, railways, factories, and the soil, the equal distribution of all products, the elimination of all the upper classes for the benefit of the popular classes, &c., such are these claims.

Little adapted to reasoning, crowds, on the contrary, are quick to act. As the result of their present organisation their strength has become immense. The dogmas whose birth we are witnessing will soon have the force of the old dogmas; that is to say, the tyrannical and sovereign force of being above discussion. The divine right of the masses is about to replace the divine right of kings.

The writers who enjoy the favour of our middle classes, those who best represent their rather narrow ideas, their somewhat prescribed views, their rather superficial scepticism, and their at times somewhat excessive egoism, display profound alarm at this new power which they see growing; and to combat the disorder in men's minds they are addressing despairing appeals to those moral forces of the Church for which they formerly professed so much disdain. They talk to us of the bankruptcy of science, go back in penitence to Rome, and remind us of the teachings of revealed truth.

社会给彻底破坏掉一样，持有的想法和原始共产主义紧密联系在一起，这就是所有的人类团体在文化迎来曙光之前的正常状态。对劳动时间的限定，煤矿、铁路、工厂以及土地的国有化，所有商品的平等分配，清除所有的上等级，为人民群众阶级谋利益等等——这就是群众要求的内容。

群众则恰恰相反，他们不善于论证，却急于求成。他们现在所身处的组织给予了他们无穷无尽的力量。我们亲眼见证的那些新生的教条很快就会拥有古老教条的力量；也就是说，无须讨论的残暴且至高无上的力量。广大群众的神圣权利将会取代国王的神权。

那些与我们这些中产阶级不谋而合的作家，他们用最好的方式呈现出了这些阶级相对狭隘的思想，死板的观点，肤浅的怀疑主义，以及时而表现出来的过度的自我主义，当他们看到这种全新的力量正在日益壮大时，他们表现出了极为惊恐的神情；为了对抗人们混沌的思想，他们向那些在以前被他们讽刺蔑视的道德力量发出了绝望的恳求。他们向我们阐述了科学的破产，深表忏悔的转回罗马，提醒我们被揭露的真相的教义。这些新来的皈依者忘记了，现在已经太晚了。即使他们已经被神祇所感动，与此相类似的行动也不会对思想产生相同的影

These new converts forget that it is too late. Had they been really touched by grace, a like operation could not have the same influence on minds less concerned with the preoccupations which beset these recent adherents to religion. The masses repudiate today the gods which their admonishers repudiated yesterday and helped to destroy. There is no power, Divine or human, that can oblige a stream to flow back to its source.

There has been no bankruptcy of science, and science has had no share in the present intellectual anarchy, nor in the making of the new power which is springing up in the midst of this anarchy. Science promised us truth, or at least a knowledge of such relations as our intelligence can seize: it never promised us peace or happiness. Sovereignly indifferent to our feelings, it is deaf to our lamentations. It is for us to endeavour to live with science, since nothing can bring back the illusions it has destroyed.

Universal symptoms, visible in all nations, show us the rapid growth of the power of crowds, and do not admit of our supposing that it is destined to cease growing at an early date. Whatever fate it may reserve for us, we shall have to submit to it. All reasoning against it is a mere vain war of words. Certainly it is possible that the advent to power of the masses marks one of the last stages of Western civilisation, a complete return to those periods of confused anarchy which seem always destined to precede the birth of every new society. But may this result be prevented?

响力，因为他们不大关注那些令最近皈依宗教的人全身心投入的事情。今天的人民群众摒弃了他们的诉说者在昨天就已经摒弃并且加以摧毁的众神。这里没有哪种力量，无论是在神界，还是在人间，能够驱使一条小河逆流回它的源泉。

科学没有破产，它并没有步入当今这种理性的无政府状态，在这种混乱状态中诞生的全新力量也并非是由它所产生出来的。科学向我们承诺过真相，或者，至少是我们的智慧所能理解的一些涉及种种关系的知识，但是它从未向我们承诺过和平或是快乐。它对我们的情感漠不关心，对我们的哀怨闭耳不闻。这只能靠我们自己尽力同科学生活在一起，因为没有任何事物可以挽回本就被摧毁的幻觉。

在所有的国家里，普遍的迹象都是清晰可见的，它向我们展示了群众力量的快速成长，它不愿承认我们认为它注定很快就会停止增长。不管为我们保留的命运会是什么，我们都应该去屈从于它。所以与它相对抗的论证都只不过是徒劳的话语战争。的确，将群众的力量说成是西方文明最后阶段的标志是可能的，它可能退回到那些混乱的无政府状态时期，而这似乎是每个全新社会诞生的先决条件。但是，这样的结果能否得到阻止呢？

直到现在，彻底摧毁一个破碎不堪的文明，已然成为群众最为明确的任务。