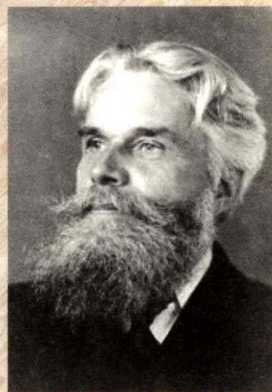


Havelock Ellis

· THE FUNCTION OF TABOOS

朗朗书房
▼家庭书架▼

英汉对照



禁忌的功能

THE FUNCTION
OF TABOOS

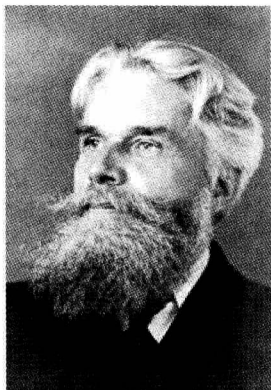
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出版前言

文明的传承，是在一代代人的精神相濡中不知不觉完成的；一部部好书，就是传承世界文明的一个个使者，通过它们，世界文明浑圆贯通的历史才得以构筑。

家庭是一个人生命和精神的起点，也是终点。如果把一本本书比喻成一片片树叶，那它们最终都要“叶”落归家。因此，说家庭书架事关文明传承，似乎也并非危言耸听。

在欧美诸国，普通家庭在客厅、壁炉旁或卧室等处一般都有书架，其上摆满了他们所谓的“家庭读物”。这种家庭读物并非菜谱、医疗保健或旅游指南之类，而主要是经典的文学艺术作品；这些书也不是纯粹为了装饰或摆设而整整齐齐码在书架上供人观瞻而不蒙主人垂青翻阅，而是似乎随意地放诸床头或茶几或阳台甚至卫生间里，家人触手可及，率意翻阅；抑或出门旅行前随意带上一册，在候机候车的间隙捧而读之。

而在经济飞速发展的当代中国，当我们不经意间走进一个个越来越宽敞明亮的中国家庭，能看到琳琅满目充满了艺术感的家具，能感受到灯光营造出的朦胧诗意，却很少能看到一个摆放了那些人类沉淀已久的文明成果的书架；当我们乘飞机或火车出行时，多见匆忙而过的旅客手中的时尚杂志或街头八卦小报，却少见有人手捧一册文学或艺术作品在喧嚣中静静阅读。

作为出版人，每当此时，我们的心灵就犹如受到重重的一击，总觉得

空气中应该弥漫着一点灵动潮湿的东西，一种让钢筋水泥也笼罩上诗意的东西。

承续了5000年悠久文明的中国人，却时时处处表现出这种精神的贫乏和失意。我们内心充满着遗憾和忧伤……

是这样的遗憾和失落，是这样久违了的文明意识，是这样的感时伤怀，是这样的一种萦绕于心的担当，让我们起意策划出版这样一套充满着人文气息的“家庭书架”。

这是一套在西方文化发展丰富和无比强大的读物，这还是一套普通人可以阅读但充满了贵族气息的读物。这套“家庭书架”，承载着每个与之结缘的个体的希望和梦想，反和文明积淀过程中影响久远的读物，这是一套影响了欧美诸民族心灵无意识和集体文明意识的读物，这是一套可以让个体精神世界变得无比映了那些敏感而伟大的创作者的伟大的灵感和善良的心怀；这套“家庭书架”是英语世界的丰碑，是那些善于思考、长于想象的创作者的心灵圣坛，是每个读者心灵的指南，是那些伟大作者思想智慧的无限延伸，是人类文明的承载者和担当者……

这套“家庭书架”在西方长销不衰。原因一，其题材多为文学艺术类、传记类、历史类、游记散文、社会文化类等；原因二，其作者虽然身份、职业不同，但都以文辞优美著称，即使深奥难测的美学或哲学著作，如罗素金的《艺术十讲》、佩特的《柏拉图和苏格拉底》，也因作者完美的散文笔法而显得深入浅出。其他如华盛顿·欧文的《英国速写》、马克·吐温的《说谎艺术的腐朽》、吉卜林的《旅行书简》、卢卡斯的《佛罗伦萨的漫游者》、鲍斯韦尔的《伦敦日志》等，也都册册出自闻名世界的文学家之手。这些游记或散文，不仅充满了精神感召的力量，而且篇篇都可作英语美文的欣赏文本。手持这些文本阅读的过程，完全是一次次轻松愉悦的精神旅行。

但我们也忐忑！译事沉疴如今业已成为当代中国知识领域难以治愈的顽疾，虽然当前仍有少数译者在译事丛林中艰难爬梳并屡有优秀成果问世，

但我们已经很难看到把翻译当做一门学问的优秀翻译家了。

在这样萧索的环境下组织翻译出版这套汇聚诸多大师著作的大型中英双语版“家庭书架”，一如逆水行舟，虽然在激流暗礁中处处是陷阱和漩涡，但只要能为读者朋友提供一份份可资借鉴的阅读文本，我们愿意奋力划桨，并期待在我们身后，千帆竞发！

我们同时也深知，要在两种不同语言之间进行巧妙的置换和替代谈何容易，尤其是翻译大师的著作。译者犹如走钢丝的杂技演员，在两种语言之间的钢索上行走已属艰难，为了博取喝彩，他还必须步履轻松，姿态优美，时时做出一些高难度的动作！面对凌空独索，我们甚至怀疑思想是根本无法在两种语言间传达的。鉴于此，我们只能说：为了理想之塔慢慢矗立，虽然我们的译文一定存在着许多难以克服的问题，但我们愿如农夫般劳作。

我们还寄希望于读者与我们一道修筑这座精神之塔，能同时用两种语言来欣赏这些伟大作品的读者自然会有足够的英语鉴赏力，我们有勇气将这些文本呈现给你们，请你们提出自己的疑问，指出我们的不足，使这套丛书在今后不断的修订过程中获得最佳效果。

译事维艰，出版维艰，但有优秀的读者在，就有希望在！在优秀的读者和伟大的作者之间，我们愿成为一条钢索。

中国人民大学出版社

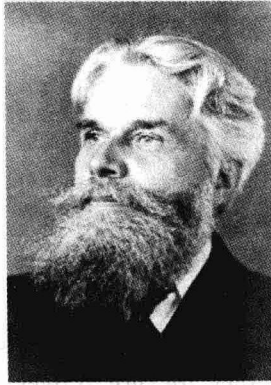
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禁忌的功能

1. The Function of Taboos

When people talk nowadays of the social aspects of modern life, and especially of its sexual aspects, they are sure to refer to what they call the disappearance of taboos. They proceed to enumerate a number of things which in our society were formerly forbidden (and presumably not done) and now are not forbidden, together with a corresponding list of things which were formerly prescribed (and presumably carried out) but now are regarded as unnecessary, indifferent, or even undesirable, to use no stronger term.

It seems possible to any one whose memory goes back for half a century that these people may be justified in their statements, and as one who has sometimes been execrated or eulogized for playing a part in the change I have no wish to deny its existence. It even seems to me that the time has come for taking a broad view of this change. I think I am competent to take that view, for my attitude is really impartial, since if, on the one hand, I have done my best to destroy some taboos, on the other, I not only have a firm faith in taboos but I regard them as absolutely an indestructible element of social life, and not of human life alone.

A taboo, speaking roughly, simply indicates something that is "not done." ① The reason why it is not done may be, and often is, unknown to those who observe the taboo. So that all sorts of reasons—often very unreasonable reasons—are invented to explain the taboo. But below the surface there always are reasons for taboos. Among wild birds in a special phase of bird-existence it is taboo to remain close to human beings. That taboo is strictly analogous to human taboos; it is an adopted custom. It is not found everywhere among birds. When men first visit virgin islands of the southern seas there are birds who do not regard human beings as taboo. The taboo is introduced later when human beings have become destructive to the bird society. It is, of course,

1. 禁忌的功能

当人们谈起如今的社会生活，特别是关于性方面的社会生活的时候，他们必定会提到所谓的“禁忌的消失”。他们会滔滔不绝地列举出一系列原来被禁止（很可能没有人会去做），但是现在我们不会再禁止的事情，同样也会列举出许多原来规定应该去做（很有可能大家都去做），但是现在被人们视为完全没有必要的、无关紧要的，甚至是不受欢迎的事情。

对于任何一个了解半个世纪前情形的人来说，那些人的言论也许是正确的，并且作为一个因为参与变革而时而受到辱骂，时而又得到褒扬的人，我绝不会否认变革的存在。甚至对我来说，我觉得我们应该更加宽容地看待这些变革。我认为自己的这种观点很有说服力，因为我的观点是相当公正的，一方面，我竭尽全力去破除一些禁忌，而另一方面，我不仅坚信禁忌的作用，还将它们视为社会生活中不可缺少的元素，这不仅指人类自己而言，就连动物也不能缺少这些禁忌。

粗略地讲，禁忌就是指出了一些“不能做”的事情。¹至于为什么不能做这些事情，那些遵守禁忌的人也许，而且通常情况下并不知道。因此，人们发明了各种各样的理由——经常是毫无道理的理由——去解释禁忌。但是，在禁忌的外表之下，每种禁忌都有自己存在的理由。对于野生鸟类这个独特的鸟类王国而言，禁止同人类接近就是它们必须遵守的禁忌。那条禁忌和人类的禁忌极其相似；它是一个拿来主义的禁忌。并不是所有的鸟类都有这条禁忌。当人类首次登陆南部海洋的无人岛屿时，那里的鸟并

completely unnecessary to be aware of the reason for the taboo, and if birds ever acquired speculative minds they would invent reasons. That is, as we know, exactly what human societies do. The distinction of human taboos lies largely in their high imaginativeness, alike as regards their nature and the supposed reasons assigned for them, and in the comparative swiftness with which they may change.

Yet taboos remain as essential in human life as in life generally. They are a part of tradition, and it is difficult to say that tradition, though always growing and changing, is anywhere non-existent or that life would be possible without it. Among lower forms of life we commonly talk of an adaptation to the environment. The adoption of a taboo, whether or not by modifying it, is exactly such an adaptation to the environment, in accordance with tradition. In the British Isles it is usually taboo for men and women to go about naked. But it is not invariably so. In the seventeenth century, as Fynes Moryson testifies, high-born ladies could go about naked in some districts of Ireland, and, as Pepys testifies, occasional eccentric individuals could do so even in the streets of London. It is quite likely that this taboo will shift again—it is indeed already beginning to do so—and become less stringent. Taboos are constantly liable to shift backwards and forwards over the threshold between prohibition and permission. We witness similar shifting taboos in nature, and it might not be too fanciful to trace them even in the plant world. We are often so obsessed by our own modes of activity that we fail to realize that we are, after all, a part of nature and that the same movements which occur in us also occur, however widely different the forms, in other vital phenomena.

Unthinking people sometimes talk as though taboos were effete relics of the past which it is in our power to cast away altogether. A litter reflection might serve to show not only that they are far too numerous and too deeply rooted to be torn up at will but that we should be in a sad case without them, indeed that human society could not survive their loss. It is certain that property—which from Neolithic times and no doubt earlier has been an important element of human society—could not exist without the taboo against stealing. Law and the police struggle against the violations of that taboo; but they do so very ineffectually; they could not do it at all in the absence of the taboo, for we all of us everyday possess the opportunity to steal. Among savages nearly everywhere it is taboo which binds the members of the clan together and ensures that they shall behave one to another in a decently social manner.²⁰ We have lost the word but we have the bond under other names. Today, a distin-

不把同人类接触看成是禁忌。随着人类对鸟类社会的迫害，这条禁忌就产生了。当然，我们没有必要去弄清楚这条禁忌的原因，而且如果鸟儿懂得逻辑推理的话，它们也会编出一些理由来。那就和我们所熟知的人类社会发生的事情一样了。人类禁忌的不同之处，很大程度上在于他们高度的想象力——如同上天赋予他们的本性和推理能力一样，以及这些禁忌发生变化的速度相对较快。

然而，人类生活中的禁忌，跟动物生活中的禁忌一样，都是必不可少的。这些禁忌是传统的一部分，虽然那些传统经常演进或发生变化，但是我们很难说它们已经不复存在，也不能认为我们已不再需要它们。在低等形式的生命中，我们经常谈论的是一种对环境的适应。采纳了一种禁忌——无论是否修改它，就是一种对环境的适应，就是符合传统的。在英国，裸体通常都是一种禁忌，无论男女。但是事情并不总是一成不变的。在17世纪，据莫里森所言，出身名门的大家闺秀可以在爱尔兰的某些地区从事裸体活动，而佩皮斯更证实了，偶尔甚至会有行为古怪的人在伦敦街头公然裸体示众。很可能这种禁忌会再次发生改变——现在已经开始改变了——并且变得不那么苛刻。禁忌总是不断地在禁止和允许的门槛上前后摇摆。我们在自然界同样发现了这种禁忌的变化，甚至在植物界中发现这种现象也不足为奇。我们经常被我们自己的行为模式所困扰，导致我们不能清楚地认识到：不管怎么说，我们都是自然的一部分，发生在自然界的事情也同样会发生在我们身上，无论它们在形式上看起来跟我们是多么的不同。

头脑简单的人有时会不切实际地高谈阔论，认为所谓的禁忌总有一天会像明日黄花那样被我们弃置不顾。然而只要略加思考，我们就会发现，这些禁忌不仅数量庞大，还深深地根植在我们的生活之中，根本不可能被我们随意丢弃。如果没有这些禁忌，我们将处在一个可悲的境地之中，人类社会将会遭受无法挽回的损失。如果没有那些针对盗窃的禁忌的话，人类的那些财富——它们从新石器时代就开始存在，并且毫无疑问很早就成

guished English lawyer, Lord Buckmaster, calls it "social opinion." He is strongly opposed to capital punishment and to any form of vengeance wreaked on the criminal. "It is my belief," he said, giving evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons (26 March 1930), "that the real deterrent against crime is social opinion. It is not the police nor the laws. It is the healthy public opinion which affects and surrounds a man from his youth. In other words, it is the existence of taboos."

It is indeed only the existence of such taboos which enable us to possess any sacredness of personality at all. It is taboos that preserve our more refined sensibilities from the people who wipe their mouths with the tablecloth and blow their noses on the serviette, and it is taboos that preserve us from being murdered outright. If we were objects of complete indifference to our fellows, or of no more concern than stones or trees, we should soon be driven up to or over the verge of suicide. Life is livable because we know that wherever we go most of the people we meet will be restrained in their actions towards us by an almost instinctive network of taboos. We know that they will allow us the same or nearly the same degree of freedom and privilege that they claim for themselves; if we take our place in a queue at a railway station or a theatre they will not thrust themselves in front of us; if we claim a seat by placing our suitcase on it they will not fling the article aside and place themselves there; if they desire to perform any of the intimate natural excretory functions which are commonly regarded as disgusting they will not spontaneously do it before our faces; if—to come to the sphere with which taboos are today for most persons specially associated—they chance to experience an impulse of sexual attraction they will not lay lustful hands on us but either conceal their feeling or strive to find delicate methods of expressing it. No published laws and regulations—even when such exist—are needed to restrain them. They are held back by almost instinctive taboos.

The pronounced growth of a new taboo in a whole nation is seen in the change of attitude towards drunkenness which has taken place in England during the life-time of those past middle age, and is clearly demonstrated alike by the statistics of the consumption of alcohol and police-court convictions for drunkenness. Among the upper classes drunkenness had disappeared as a prominent social phenomenon at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was in the previous century that a great statesman like Pitt could openly relieve himself of the results of excessive drink by going behind the Speaker's chair in Parliament to vomit, and that men of good society after dinner, when

为了人类社会的重要元素——就不可能存在。法律和警察为了维护这个禁忌而奋斗，但是他们的工作收效甚微；他们的工作离不开禁忌，因为我们每天都有机会去盗窃。在野蛮社会中，禁忌几乎无处不在，它们将氏族的成员紧密地团结在一起，并且保证所有人的行为举止都符合社会文明。²⁹虽然我们已经弃用了这个词，但只不过是给这种约束关系换了其他的名字而已。一位杰出的英国律师——巴克马斯特男爵将它称为“社会观点”。他强烈反对死刑或者任何形式的复仇行为。“这是我的信仰，”他在给英国国会下议院特别委员会作证（1930年3月26日）时说：“真正能够对犯罪起到威慑作用的是社会观点——既不是警察，也不是法律，而是从一个人年轻时起即能对他施加影响的健康的社会观点。换句话说，就是禁忌的存在。”

正是因为这些禁忌的存在，才使我们拥有了庄严的人格。正是这些禁忌，使得我们的行为更加优雅，同那些用桌布擦嘴、用餐巾擦鼻子的人们区分开来；正是这些禁忌，保护我们不会被谋杀。如果我们的存在对于同伴来说完全无足轻重，得到的关注甚至不比一块石头或一棵树更多，那么我们很快就会被逼到自杀的边缘。生活是美好的，因为我们知道：无论我们走到哪里，碰到的大部分人都会按照一个几乎已成本能的禁忌体系来约束自己的行为。我们知道：他们会允许我们享有跟他们一样或者几乎一样的自由和特权；如果我们在火车站或者剧院里面排队，他们不会插队；如果我们将手提箱放在位置上，表明这个位置已经有人了，那么他们也不会把手提箱扔到一边，然后自己坐到位置上去；如果他们有了那些通常被认为恶心的对个人来说却极为私密和自然的排泄的欲望，他们会很自然地避开我们；如果——我们现在谈论的是一个和大部分人都息息相关的禁忌——他们偶然萌生了对异性的冲动，他们不会直接将好色的双手放在我们身上，而是会隐藏自己的情感，或者去寻找更微妙的表达这种情感的方法。我们不需要公开的法律或者法规——就算这种法律和法规已经存在了——去限制这些行为。它们几乎都会被本能的禁忌所阻止。

我们可以从人们对酗酒（这是中世纪英国的一种社会现象）的态度中，

the ladies had retired, could drink port till they fell beneath the table. But such scenes among the populace in the streets of that century, as depicted by Hogarth, were much slower to pass away. Within living memory, however, there has been a great change in this respect among the lower social classes, and those of us who knew London fifty years ago can bear witness to the frequency of the signs of drunkenness then compared with their rarity now. The change is reflected in police-court convictions for drunkenness; comparing even so recent a year as 1905 with 1928, there was a drop of seventy-three percent in the convictions during those twenty-three years. To some extent the change is due to diminished facilities for obtaining drink and its higher price. But the young man of today has a new social ideal; he does not want to spend his evenings in a public-house, like the men of an elder generation now dying out; "he puts on a nice suit of clothes," as an ex-Chief Constable of Police remarks, "and nicely cleaned boots, with the other accessories of a tidy turn-out, and takes his young lady to cinema, dance, or wherever fancy may lead them; she is smartly dressed, and he has to live up to her standard. The shillings that used to go in drink are saved up for clothes and to spend on amusements; and the young man is so far different from his predecessor of another generation that he has acquired the necessary amount of self-respect to feel it a disgrace to be seen drunk." In other words, a new taboo has come into existence.

Such taboos are typical in our own society, and are cherished even by the person who professes the strongest contempt for taboos, if he is a fairly normal member of our society. We may even say that he is—whether or not he knows it—actually engaged in increasing and strengthening them. The whole tendency of our society today is to increase and strengthen the taboos which preserve the freedom and enlarge the activities of the individual in moving about in a civilized environment. Several even of those taboos which I have just mentioned as today "almost instinctive" had little or no force half a century ago; I myself can recall the time when some of them had not come into being, or were not commonly recognized, and I can therefore realize the benefits they confer. There is no doubt that the growth of urban life and the associated collectivistic activities which are for the benefit of all, but belong to no individual, demand for their full enjoyment a system of taboos, either automatic or self-imposed by an effort of discipline. It is only so that the municipal organization of books and pictures and music and gardens and fountains becomes possible with all the privileges and the conveniences of urban life. The individ-

发现一种新的禁忌在全国范围内明显增长，当然，酒精的销售量和因为酗酒而锒铛入狱的人数等统计数据也很好地阐释了这一点。在上流社会中，酗酒现象在19世纪初就已消失了，这是社会的一种进步。在18世纪时，诸如皮特这样的政治家，竟然会为了缓解自己因过量酗酒而造成的不适，跑到国会的发言席后面去呕吐；而且上流社会的男性在用餐完毕、妇女退席以后，就可以开怀畅饮，直到喝得酩酊大醉为止。但是这种在那个时代的黎民百姓中盛行的场面，就像贺加斯描绘的那样，慢慢地消失了。然而记忆中出现在底层社会的这种现象发生了很大的变化，我们中那些知道伦敦五十年前是什么样的人能够证明，和现在的情形相比，那时候酗酒现象的确很严重。从因醉酒而锒铛入狱的人数上即可看出这种变化；对比1905年和1928年，在这23年中获罪人数下降了73%。从某种程度上说，之所以会出现这种变化是由于购买渠道的消失和价格的提高。但是，今天的年轻人拥有新的社会理想；他不想像退出历史舞台的老一代人那样，在警察局里面过夜。“他会穿上一套华贵的衣服，”就像前治安长官评价的那样，“和漂亮干净的靴子，再佩戴上其他干净的装饰品，带上年轻女孩去电影院，去跳舞，或者其他能够吸引他们的地方；她也会盛装打扮，而男士们会积极迎合她的标准。那些原本用来买酒的钱被省下来用于购买衣服和进行娱乐活动；现在的年轻人跟他们的前辈有很大的不同，他们具备了必要的自重，要是被别人看到他们酗酒，他们会感到颜面无光。”换句话说，一种新的禁忌出现了。

这些禁忌在我们的社会中非常具有代表性，甚至就连那些对这些禁忌表现出强烈鄙视的人，也一样遵循着这些禁忌，当然前提是如果他还是一名正常的社会成员的话。我们甚至可以说，他——无论他知不知道——实际上已经在增加和强化这些禁忌了。当今社会的趋势就是增加和强化这些禁忌——它们保护了自由并且扩大了个体在文明环境中的活动范围。一些禁忌，甚至是那些我刚刚提到的“几乎成为本能”的禁忌，在半个世纪以前几乎还不能发挥什么效力，或者说根本不具备效力；我自己仍然清晰地