



拥抱自然 思考社会 回归常识 丰盈自我
影响人类的伟大思想

— 企鹅人文经典 —

看不见的手

The Invisible Hand

[英] 亚当·斯密

伟大的思想家用简洁的文字，带给人类最伟大的思想启迪；
我们用简单的方法，走近这些卓尔不群的人物，
聆听他们振聋发聩的声音。

英汉对照

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中国出版集团公司
中国对外翻译出版有限公司

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· 英汉对照 ·

[英] 亚当·斯密 著

马 睿 译

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电 话 / (010) 68359376 68359303 68359719

邮 编 / 100044

传 真 / (010) 68357870

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观 念

——《伟大的思想》代序

每隔一段时间，媒体就喜欢评选一次“影响世界的 X 个人”或者“改变历史的 X 项发明”。然而，在我看来，几乎所有人类史上最重大的变革，首先都是一种观念的变革。

我们今天之所以会关注气候的变暖与生物多样性的保存，是因为我们看待地球的方式变了，我们比以前更加意识到人在自然中的位置，也更加了解自然其实是一个动态的系统。放弃了人类可以主宰地球的世界观，这就意味着我们接受了一个观念的变化。同样地，我们不再相信男人一出生就该主宰女人，甚至也不再认为男女之别是不可动摇的本质区分，这也是观念的变化。如果说环保运动和女权运动有任何影响的话，那些影响一定就是从大脑开始的。也不要只看好事，20 世纪最惨绝人寰的浩劫最初也只不过是些小小的观念，危险的观念。比如说一位德国人，他相信人类的进化必以“次等种族”的灭绝为代价……

这套丛书不叫“伟大的巨著”，是因为它们体积都不大，而且还有不少是抽取自某些名著的章节。

可它们却全是伟大的观念，例如达尔文的论天择，潘恩的

论常识，它们共同构成了人类的观念地图。从头看它们一遍，就是检视文明所走过的道路，从深处理解我们今天变成这个样子的原因。

也许你会发现其中有些陌生的名字，或者看起来没有那么“伟大”的篇章（譬如普鲁斯特追忆他的阅读时光），但你千万不要小看它们。因为真正重要、真正能够产生启蒙效果的观念往往具有跨界移动的能力，它会跨越时空，离开它原属的领域，在另一个世界产生意外的效果。就像马可·波罗在监狱里述说的异国图景，当时有谁料得到那些荒诞的故事会诱发出哥伦布的旅程呢？我也无法猜测，这套小书的读者里头会不会有下一个哥伦布，他将带着令人惊奇的观念航向自己的大海。

梁文道

《伟大的思想》中文版序

企鹅《伟大的思想》丛书于 2004 年开始出版。在英国，至今已付印 80 种，尚有 20 种计划出版。美国出版的丛书规模略小，德国的同类丛书规模更小一些。丛书销量已远远超过 200 万册，在全球很多人中间，尤其是学生当中，普及了哲学和政治学。中文版《伟大的思想》丛书的推出，迈出了新的一步，令人欢欣鼓舞。

推出这套丛书的目的是让读者再次与一些伟大的非小说类经典著作面对面地交流。太长时间以来，确定版本依据这样一个假设——读者在教室里学习这些著作，因此需要导读、详尽的注释、参考书目等。此类版本无疑非常有用，但我想，如果能够重建托马斯·潘恩《常识》或约翰·罗斯金《艺术与人生》初版时的环境，重新营造更具亲和力的氛围，那也是一件有意思的事。当时，读者除了原作者及其自身的理性思考外，没有其他参照。

这样做有一定的缺点：每个作者的话难免有难解或不可解之处，一些重要的背景知识会缺失。例如，读者对亨利·梭罗创作时的情况毫无头绪，也不了解该书得到的认可及其影响。不过这样做的优点也很明显。最突出的优点是，作者的初衷又一次变得重要起来——托马斯·潘恩的愤怒、查尔斯·达尔文的灵光、塞内加的隐逸。这些作家在那么多国家影响了那么多人的生活，其

影响不可估量，有的长达几个世纪，读他们书的乐趣罕有匹敌。没有亚当·斯密或阿图尔·叔本华，难以想象我们今天的世界。这些小书的创作年代已很久远，但其中的语言已彻底改变了我们的政治学、经济学、智力生活、社会规划和宗教信仰。

《伟大的思想》丛书一直求新求变。地区不同，收录的作家也不同。在中国或美国，一些作家更受欢迎。英国《伟大的思想》收录的一些作家在其他地方则默默无闻。称其为“伟大的思想”，我们亦慎之又慎。思想之伟大，在于其影响之深远，而不意味着这些思想是“好”的，实际上一些书可列入“坏思想”之列。丛书中很多作家受到同一丛书其他作家的很大影响，例如，马塞尔·普鲁斯特承认受约翰·罗斯金影响很大，米歇尔·德·蒙田也承认深受塞内加影响，但其他有些作家彼此憎恨，如果发现他们被收入同一丛书，一定会气愤难平。不过，读者可自行决定这些思想是否合理。我们衷心希望，您能在阅读这些杰作中得到乐趣。

《伟大的思想》出版者
西蒙·温德尔

Introduction to the Chinese Editions of Great Ideas

Penguin's Great Ideas series began publication in 2004. In the UK we now have 80 copies in print with plans to publish a further 20. A somewhat smaller list is published in the USA and a related, even smaller series in Germany. The books have sold now well over two million copies and have popularized philosophy and politics for many people around the world—particularly students. The launch of a Chinese Great Ideas series is an extremely exciting new development.

The intention behind the series was to allow readers to be once more face to face with some of the great non-fiction classics. For too long the editions of these books were created on the assumption that you were studying them in the classroom and that the student needed an introduction, extensive notes, a bibliography and so on. While this sort of edition is of course extremely useful, I thought it would be interesting to recreate a more intimate feeling—to recreate the atmosphere in which, for example, Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* or John Ruskin's *On Art and Life* was first published—where the reader has no other guide than the original author and his or her own common sense.

This method has its severe disadvantages—there will inevitably be statements made by each author which are either hard or impossible to understand, some important context might be missing. For example the reader has no clue as to the conditions under which Henry Thoreau was writing his book and the

reader cannot be aware of the book's reception or influence. The advantages however are very clear—most importantly the original intentions of the author become once more important. The sense of anger in Thomas Paine, of intellectual excitement in Charles Darwin, of resignation in Seneca—few things can be more thrilling than to read writers who have had such immeasurable influence on so many lives, sometimes for centuries, in many different countries. Our world would not make sense without Adam Smith or Arthur Schopenhauer—our politics, economics, intellectual lives, social planning, religious beliefs have all been fundamentally changed by the words in these little books, first written down long ago.

The Great Ideas series continues to change and evolve. In different parts of the world different writers would be included. In China or in the United States there are some writers who are liked much more than others. In the UK there are writers in the Great Ideas series who are ignored elsewhere. We have also been very careful to call the series Great Ideas—these ideas are great because they have been so enormously influential, but this does not mean that they are Good Ideas—indeed some of the books would probably qualify as Bad Ideas. Many of the writers in the series have been massively influenced by others in the series—for example Marcel Proust owed so much to John Ruskin, Michel de Montaigne to Seneca. But others hated each other and would be distressed to find themselves together in the same series! But readers can decide the validity of these ideas for themselves. We very much hope that you enjoy these remarkable books.

Simon Winder
Publisher
Great Ideas



CONTENTS

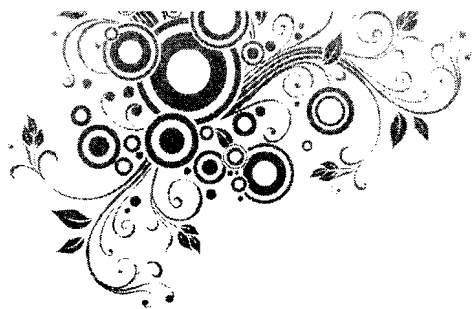


目 录

- » 1 The Division of Labour 002
论劳动分工
- » 2 The Principle of the Division of Labour 028
劳动分工的原理
- » 3 The Principle of the Commercial System 040
商业体系的原理
- » 4 Restraints on the Importation of Goods 108
对商品进口实施的限制
- » 5 The Unreasonableness of Restraints 168
限制的不合理性
- » 6 The Agricultural Systems 218
农业体系

看不见的手

The Invisible Hand



1

The Division¹ of Labour

The greatest improvement in the *productive powers*² of labour, and the greater part of the skill, *dexterity*³, and judgement with which it is anywhere directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labour.

The effects of the division of labour, in the general business of society, will be more easily understood by considering in what manner it *operates*⁴ in some particular *manufactures*⁵. It is commonly supposed to be carried furthest in some very *trifling*⁶ ones; not perhaps that it really is carried further in them than in others of more importance: but in those trifling manufactures which are *destined*⁷ to supply the small wants of but a small number of people, the whole number of workmen must necessarily be small; and those employed in every different *branch*⁸ of the work can often be collected into the same *workhouse*⁹, and placed at once under the view of the *spectator*¹⁰. In those great manufactures, on the contrary,

1

论劳动分工

Notes

- 1 division [di'viʒən]
n. 分配, 分工
- 2 productive power
生产力
- 3 dexterity
[dik'steriti] n.
(身、手等的) 灵巧, 熟练, 敏捷
- 4 operate ['ɒpəreɪt]
v. 起作用, 产生影响
- 5 manufacture
[mænjʊ'fæktʃə]
n. 制造业
- 6 trifling ['traɪflɪŋ]
a. 没什么价值的, 微不足道的, 不重要的
- 7 destined
['destɪnd] a. 预定的, 注定的
- 8 branch [brɑ:ntʃ]
n. (政府等机构的) 部门
- 9 workhouse
[wɜ:khaʊs] n. 工厂, 作坊, 车间
- 10 spectator
[spek'teɪtə] n. 旁观者, 目击者

人类劳动生产力最显著的提高, 以及人们在进行劳动、应用劳动时所体现出来的绝大部分技能、熟练性和决断力, 似乎都是劳动分工的结果。

要了解劳动分工在社会的一般事务中的作用, 比较容易的方法是考察在某些具体的制造业中是如何进行劳动分工的。人们普遍认为, 在某些微不足道的制造业中, 劳动分工是最细的; 或许并不是这些微不足道的制造业真的要比那些更为重要的制造业分工更细, 而是在那些只需满足少数人的少量需求的微小制造业中, 工人的总数必然很少, 整个工作过程中各个不同部门雇用的人员往往可以聚集在同一个车间, 我们可以一下子就看见他们。相反, 在那些满足大多数人的大量需求的大型制造业

which are destined to supply the great wants of the great body of the people, every different branch of the work employs so great a number of workmen that it is impossible to collect them all into the same workhouse. We can seldom see more, at one time, than those employed in one single branch. Though in such manufactures, therefore, the work may really be divided into a much greater number of parts than in those of a more trifling nature, the division is not near so obvious, and has accordingly been much less observed.

To take an example, therefore, from a very trifling manufacture; but one in which the division of labour has been very often taken notice of, the *trade*¹ of the *pin-maker*²; a workman not educated to this business (which the division of labour has *rendered*³ a *distinct*⁴ trade), nor *acquainted*⁵ with the use of the machinery employed in it (to the invention of which the same division of labour has probably given occasion), could *scarce*⁶, perhaps, with his utmost *industry*⁷, make one pin in a day, and certainly could not make twenty. But in the way in which this business is now carried on, not only the whole work is a *peculiar*⁸ trade, but it is divided into a number of branches, of which the greater part are likewise peculiar trades. One man draws out the *wire*⁹, another straightens it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth *grinds*¹⁰ it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires three distinct operations; to put it on is a peculiar business, to whiten the pins is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which, in some manufactories, are all performed by distinct hands,



Notes

- 1 trade [treɪd] *n.* 职业, 行业, 手艺
- 2 pin-maker *n.* 别针制造者
- 3 render ['rendə] *v.* 使得, 使成为
- 4 distinct [dis'tɪŋkt] *a.* 有区别的, 不同的, 单独的, 独立的
- 5 acquaint [ə'kweɪnt] *v.* 使认识, 使了解
- 6 scarce [skeɪs] *ad.* 几乎不, 简直不
- 7 industry ['ɪndəstri] *n.* 勤劳, 勤奋
- 8 peculiar [pi'kju:ljə] *a.* 特有的, 独具的
- 9 wire ['waɪə] *n.* 金属丝, 金属线, 铁丝
- 10 grind [graɪnd] *v.* 磨

中, 工作过程中每一个不同的工作部门都会雇用很多人, 所以不可能将他们集中在一个车间工作。除了在同一个部门工作的人之外, 我们很少能一次看见很多人。因此, 尽管和那些微小的制造业相比, 实际上这类制造业中的劳动划分要细致得多, 分成很多部门, 但其分工并不是特别明显, 因而不太会被人注意。

故试举一个非常微小的制造业, 在该制造业中人们往往能够注意到劳动分工的例子, 比如别针制造业。一个没有受过任何职业培训(劳动分工使之成为一种专门的职业), 也不熟悉该职业所使用的机械(同样, 这类机械的发明很可能是劳动分工的结果)如何应用的人或许无论怎样吃苦耐劳, 勤勤恳恳, 也不一定能一天做出一枚别针, 更不能做 20 枚了。但是该行业发展到今天, 不仅整个工作已成为专门的职业, 而且这种职业又分成了许多部门, 其中大部分部门又逐渐成为专门的职业。一个人抽出铁丝, 另一个人将其拉直, 第 3 个人将其切断, 第 4 个人将其一端削尖, 第 5 个人将另一端打磨好以便装上圆头; 制作圆头则另需要 3 种不同的操作: 装圆头、把针涂白, 以及把针装到纸盒里都已经是专门的职业。这样, 别针制造这样一个重要的职业就被分成大约 18 种不同的工序。在有些工厂中, 这 18 种不同的

though in others the same man will sometimes perform two or three of them. I have seen a small manufactory of this kind where ten men only were employed, and where some of them consequently performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but *indifferently*¹ *accommodated*² with the necessary machinery, they could, when they *exerted*³ themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day. There are in a pound upwards of four thousand pins of a middling size. Those ten persons, therefore, could make among them upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins, might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. But if they had all *wrought*⁴ separately and *independently*⁵, and without any of them having been educated to this peculiar business, they could certainly not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day; that is, certainly, not the two hundred and fortieth, perhaps not the four thousand eight hundredth part of what they are at present capable of performing, *in consequence of*⁶ a proper division and combination of their different operations.

In every other art and manufacture, the effects of the division of labour are similar to what they are in this very trifling one; though, in many of them, the labour can neither be so much *subdivided*⁷, nor reduced to so great a *simplicity*⁸ of operation. The division of labour, however, so far as it can be introduced, *occasions*⁹, in every art, a *proportionable*¹⁰ increase of the productive powers of labour. The separation of different trades and employments from one another

Notes

- 1 indifferently
[in'difrəntli]
ad. 不感兴趣地，冷淡地，不在乎地
- 2 accommodate
[ə'kɒmədeɪt] *v.* 容纳，为…提供空间
- 3 exert [ɪg'zɜ:t]
v. 用力，尽力
- 4 wrought [rɔ:t]
〈古〉work 的过去式和过去分词
- 5 independently
[ɪndɪ'pendəntli]
ad. 独立地，单独地
- 6 in consequence of
因为，由于…的缘故
- 7 subdivide
[sʌbdi'vaɪd] *v.* 再分，重分，把…分得更小
- 8 simplicity
[sɪm'plɪsɪti] *n.* 简单，简易，简明
- 9 occasion
[ə'keɪʒən] *v.* 引起，造成
- 10 proportionable
[prə'pɔ:ʃənəbl]
a. 〈proportional 的古语形式〉成比例的

工序分别由 18 个人操作，而在其他工厂，有时会有一个人担任两三种不同的操作。我见过一间这种类型的小工厂，只雇用了 10 个人，其中有几个人从事两三种不同的操作。尽管他们很穷而根本不考虑购买必要的机械设备，但他们如果勤勉努力，仍然能够每天制造 12 磅重的别针。中等大小的别针，1 磅最多可达 4,000 枚。以此计算，这 10 个人一天最多可以生产 48,000 枚别针，每个人的生产量为这一总数的 1/10，这样我们可以大致推断出，每人每天可以制造 4,800 枚别针。但是如果所有这些分开独立工作，且其中没有人受过该行业的专门培训的话，则每人每天制造的别针数量不会达到 20 枚，甚至有可能 1 枚也制造不出来；那样一来，他们每天的工作量或许不及现今工作量的 1/240，甚至不及现今工作量的 1/4,800，相比之下，如今的高效正是合理分工和不同工种之间协同合作的结果。

别针制造虽然是微不足道的行业，但就劳动分工的效果来说，其他各种工艺和制造业与其没有什么差别，尽管许多行业中的劳动分工没有这么细，也不可能简化成如此简单的操作。然而一旦可以进行劳动分工，则必然可以在每一种工艺中相应地提高劳动生产力。各个行业之所以各自分立，雇用不同