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## 乌托邦 UTOPIA

[英] 托马斯·莫尔 著  
杜智勇 译

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大书虫

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# 乌 托 邦

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杜智勇 译

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# FOREWORD

## 导 读

《乌托邦》的作者托马斯·莫尔 1477 年生于伦敦一个富裕家庭，其父曾任皇家高等法院法官。莫尔幼年就在伦敦圣安东尼学校学习拉丁文，1492 年进牛津大学攻读拉丁文和形式逻辑，后改学法律，1501 年成为正式律师。1523 年当选为下议院议长，1525 年受命为兰开斯特公国首相，1529 年任内阁大臣，由于对国王的离婚案持异议并拒绝宣誓承认国王为英国教领袖而被捕入狱，1535 年被处死。

在《乌托邦》第一部里，莫尔借旅行家拉斐尔·希斯拉德之口讲出对 16 世纪初欧洲国家（主要是英国）基本政治制度和社会制度的看法。他尖锐地抨击了英国的君主专制制度和专制君主的对外侵略政策，说这种政策不但使被侵略国家遭到蹂躏，也使本国民不聊生。君主为了贪图私利而对臣民进行无情剥削，国王的谋臣们还随时为

剥削百姓找出这样那样的论据。国内的大批贵族不劳而获,靠剥削在自己田庄上做活的佃农为生。莫尔认为,要建立公正的秩序,必须彻底废除私有制,一切局限性的改革都不能根治社会的痼疾。

《乌托邦》第二部描述了在幻想的国度乌托邦岛上实行的各种制度。这就是莫尔借拉斐尔·希斯拉德的介绍来说明他的理想之国的设想。

莫尔的《乌托邦》对16世纪初英国的政治制度和经济状况进行了深刻的批判,并揭示社会的不平等和劳苦大众受剥削的主要原因。它是社会主义思想史上第一个得出人类社会一切不平等的现象是私有制造成的这个极其重要的结论;鲜明而真实地评述了原始积累带来的经济变化所造成的社会后果。这就是成千上万的小农在圈地运动中普遍被剥夺了土地,处于衣食无着的贫困状态。马克思在《资本论》第一卷专论资本主义起源的第24章中,曾将其作为史料引用。单从圈地史方面来看,《乌托邦》至今仍然具有最珍贵的史料价值。

《乌托邦》的历史作用在于提出私有制是人类社会一切不平等现象的根源的同时,提出一个独特的、统一的思想体系,勾画了一个在当时认为是理想社会的蓝图,成了对空想社会主义某些原理加以明确表述的第一本著作。所以,在社会思想史上占有特殊的地位。

## BOOK I

HENRY VIII, the unconquered King of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great monarch, having some differences of no small consequence with Charles, the most serene Prince of Castile, sent me into Flanders, as his ambassador, for treating and composing matters between them. I was colleague and companion to that incomparable man Cuthbert Tonsal, whom the King with such universal applause lately made Master of the Rolls, but of whom I will say nothing; not because I fear that the testimony of a friend will be suspected, but rather because his learning and virtues are too great for me to do them justice, and so well known that they need not my commendations unless I would, according to the proverb, 'Show the sun with a lantern.' Those that were appointed by the Prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges, according to agreement; they were all worthy men. The Margrave of Bruges was their head, and the chief man among them; but he that was esteemed the wisest, and that spoke for

## 第一部

亨利八世,这位不曾打过败仗的英国国王,由于具备多种优良的美德而由王子成为伟大的国王,在一些并非无关紧要的问题上与查理,最为尊贵的卡斯提尔国王发生了争执,于是把我作为他的大使派到法兰德斯,为的是讨论并解决他们之间的问题。作为我的同伴,与我一起去的是那位无与伦比的卡思伯特·滕斯托尔,新近一件值得大家为他喝彩的事情就是,他被国王任命为案卷法官,但对于他,我并不想多说什么;并不是因为我害怕一个朋友的证词会受到别人的怀疑,确切地说是因为他的博学和美德都太出众了,我不能给予恰当的赞美,并且,他是如此出名,根本不需要我的赞美,除非我打算像一条谚语所说的那样,“打着灯笼照耀太阳。”那些受到国王任命前来接待我们的官员,按照事先的安排,在布鲁日和我们见了面;他们都是显贵的人。布鲁日市长是他们的头领,也是他们中间最重要的人物;可是,他们中被尊为最聪明的人、作为总

the rest, was George Temse, the Provost of Casselsee; both art and nature had concurred to make him eloquent: he was very learned in the law; and as he had a great capacity, so by a long practice in affairs he was very dexterous at unravelling them.

After we had several times met without coming to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days to know the Prince's pleasure. And since our business would admit it, I went to Antwerp. While I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other, Peter Giles, born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honor, and of a good rank in his town, though less than he deserves; for I do not know if there be anywhere to be found a more learned and a better bred young man: for as he is both a very worthy and a very knowing person, so he is so civil to all men, so particularly kind to his friends, and so full of candor and affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two anywhere to be found that are in all respects so perfect a friend. He is extraordinarily modest,

发言人身份出现的却是乔治·坦西斯,加塞尔城的教会长;修养和天赋都让他变得极为雄辩:他在法律方面也很博学;除此之外,他还具有较强的能力,经过长期的事务谈判以后,他仍然能很老练地不让问题得以顺利解决。

在我们经过几次会面,又没有达成协议之后,他们就到布鲁塞尔去了几天,以便听取他们国王的意向。而我们也因为有事要办,就去了安特卫普。我在那里的时候,在众多拜访我的人中间,有一个人与其他人相比更容易被我接受,那就是彼得·贾尔斯,他就在安特卫普出生,是一个具有很高荣誉的人物,而且还有很高的地位,然而,他所应得到的还不止这些;因为我不知道在哪里还能够找到一个比他更博学、受到更好教育的年轻人:他天生就是一个很值得尊敬、又非常聪明的人,而且他对每一个人都很礼貌,对他的朋友都特别善良,胸怀坦率,充满了友爱,所以就很有可能不管在哪里都找不到一位在各方面都如此完美的朋友。他非同一般地谦虚,在他身上没有一点做作;可是,没

there is no artifice in him; and yet no man has more of a prudent simplicity: his conversation was so pleasant and so innocently cheerful, that his company in a great measure lessened any longings to go back to my country, and to my wife and children, which an absence of four months had quickened very much. One day as I was returning home from mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him by accident talking with a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman.

As soon as Peter saw me, he came and saluted me; and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said: 'Do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you.'

I answered, 'He should have been very welcome on your account.'

'And on his own too,' replied he, 'if you knew the man, for there is none

有人比他更小心谨慎更单纯了: 他的谈话如此令人愉悦, 有如此纯粹的快乐, 所以, 有他做伴, 在很大程度上削弱了我打算回到自己国家、回到妻子和孩子身边的愿望, 已经离开他们四个月了, 这种思念变得十分强烈。一天, 我在圣母教堂礼拜之后(那是重要的教堂, 在安特卫普是所有教堂中最为拥挤的), 在回家的路上, 偶然间看到他和一个陌生人在说话, 那人看上去已经过了他的壮年阶段; 他的脸皮晒得发红, 留着长长的胡子, 大衣很随便地披在身上, 由他的表情和习惯我判断出他是一个海员。

彼得一看见我就过来跟我打招呼; 我正要向他回礼, 他却把我拉到旁边, 指着 he 刚才与之谈话的那个人, 说道: "你看到那个人了吗? 我正想带他去见你呢。"

我回答说: "由于你的原因, 他会受到非常热烈的欢迎。"

"也是由于他自己的原因," 他回答说, "要是你认识他的话。"



alive that can give so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do; which I know you very much desire.'

Then said I, 'I did not guess amiss, for at first sight I took him for a seaman.'

'But you are much mistaken,' said he, 'for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveller, or rather a philosopher. This Raphael, who from his family carries the name of Hythlodæ, is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world that he divided his estate among his brothers, ran the same hazard as Americus Vesputius, and bore a share in three of his four voyages, that are now published; only he did not return with him in his last, but obtained leave of him almost by force, that he might be one of those twenty - four who

因为现在在活人里面,没有人能像他那样对陌生的民族和国家做出如此详尽的报道;我知道这正是你非常渴望得到的。"

接着我就说:“看来我没有猜错,第一眼看见他,我就认定他是一个海员。”

“那你就大错特错了,”他说道,“因为他出海时并不是作为一名海员,而是作为一个旅行家,或者作为一个哲学家。这位拉斐尔——他的家族传下来的姓氏为希斯拉德——精通拉丁文,不过他的希腊文也学得异常地好,他对这种语言的研究比对前一种还更为深入一些,因为他曾全身心投入到哲学里面,从那里,他得知罗马人没有留给我们一点有价值的东西,除了辛尼加和西塞罗的部分文章以外。他是一个葡萄牙人,他很热切地希望了解整个世界,所以,就把他的财富分给了各位兄弟,然后与亚美利哥·韦斯浦契等人一起去冒险,在韦斯浦契的四次航行中他与之同行出去了三次,关于这几次出行的游记目前已经发行了;只是在最后一次出行时,他并没有回来,而是通过武力得以留了下来,于是,他就成为那二

were left at the farthest place at which they touched, in their last voyage to New Castile. The leaving him thus did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home to be buried in his own country; for he used often to say that the way to heaven was the same from all places; and he that had no grave had the heaven still over him. Yet this disposition of mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five Castilians, had travelled over many countries, at last, by strange good - fortune, he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calicut, where he very happily found some Portuguese ships, and, beyond all men's expectations, returned to his native country.'

When Peter had said this to me, I thanked him for his kindness, in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man whose conversation he knew would be so acceptable; and upon that Raphael and I embraced each other. After those civilities were passed which are usual with strangers upon their first meeting, we all went to my house, and entering into the garden, sat down on a

十四名人员中的一员,一起留在了他们曾经到达的最远的地方,最后一次出海,他们去了新卡斯塔尔。这次让他留下来,确实让他感到很满足,因为他是一个喜欢旅行而不愿意回到家乡、最终被埋葬在自己国家里的人;他常说这样的话‘各个地方通往天堂的路都是一样的’;还有‘即使没有坟墓,上天也会把他掩埋’。然而,这种想法让他付出了昂贵的代价,如果不是上天对他非常仁慈的话;因为在那之后,他与五个卡斯塔尔人一起游历了许多国家,最后,一个意外的好机会让他回到了锡兰,又从那里到了卡利卡特,在卡利卡特他很幸运地碰到几条葡萄牙船,所以,出乎所有人的意料,他又回到了自己的祖国。”

彼得向我说过这些以后,我对他的好心表示了感谢,他打算介绍我与那人认识,他知道我肯定乐意与他谈话;出于这个原因,我与拉斐尔彼此拥抱了对方。在说过一些与陌生人初次见面通常要说的客气话之后,我们一起去了我住的地方,在花园里的一张绿色长凳上坐了下来,彼此间就开始谈话。他对我们

green bank, and entertained one another in discourse. He told us that when Vespucci had sailed away, he and his companions that stayed behind in New Castile, by degrees insinuated themselves into the affections of the people of the country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently: and at last they not only lived among them without danger, but conversed familiarly with them; and got so far into the heart of a prince, whose name and country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plentifully with all things necessary, and also with the conveniences of travelling; both boats when they went by water, and wagons when they travelled over land: he sent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see: and after many days' journey, they came to towns and cities, and to commonwealths, that were both happily governed and well-peopled. Under the equator, and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lay vast deserts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun; the soil was withered, all things looked dismally,

说,当韦斯浦契离开以后,他与他那些留在新卡斯塔尔的同伴们由于经常和当地的人见面,对待他们也很和善,就慢慢地获得了那个国家人民的好感:到最后,他们不但丝毫没有危险地生活在他们中间,而且还能亲密地与他们进行交流;并且深入到了位国家领导人的内心,他的名字和国家我都忘掉了,他们为他们准备了充足的必需品,提供了旅行时的各种便利;他们走水路时他们为他们提供船只,他们在陆地上行走时他则为他们提供马车:他还为他们派了一位非常忠实的向导,当他们打算拜见某一位领导人时,他会为他们作介绍,而且向对方推荐:在许多天的旅行中,他们到过许多乡镇和城市,也到过许多统治良好、发展也相当繁荣的共和国。在赤道的下面,以及在太阳移动范围内的赤道的两边,有着广阔的沙漠,到处都因为太阳持续不断的照射而十分炎热;土地干裂,所有的景物看起来都很阴郁,所有的地方都人迹罕至,住满了野兽和毒蛇,即便也住着一些人,但他们自身的野蛮和残忍程度与野兽相比一点也不弱。

and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men that were neither less wild nor less cruel than the beasts themselves.

But as they went farther, a new scene opened, all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild; and at last there were nations, towns, and cities, that had not only mutual commerce among themselves, and with their neighbors, but traded both by sea and land, to very remote countries. There they found the conveniences of seeing many countries on all hands, for no ship went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat - bottomed, their sails were made of reeds and wicker woven close together, only some were of leather; but afterward they found ships made with round keels and canvas sails, and in all respects like our ships; and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully into their favor, by showing them the use of the needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant.

但是,再往前走,他们眼前就出现了新的场景,所有的事物都变得更为温和,空气不再炽热,土地也变得翠绿,甚至连野兽也不那么野蛮了:最后就出现了国家、乡镇和城市。它们不仅在自己中间和与邻居之间有着商业贸易,而且还通过海路和陆路,与较远的国家进行贸易。他们在那里有很多便利机会,可以访问各个地区的许多国家,不管哪一只轮船出海,他和他的同伴们要乘坐,都会受到欢迎。第一次航行时,他们看到的船是平底,船上的帆是用苇叶或柳条编织成的,也有一部分船的帆是皮革制成的;但再到后来,他们又发现了有圆龙骨和帆布船帆的轮船,这在各个方面就和我们的船很相似了;那些海员们都了解天文和航海知识。他向他们展示了指南针的用途,因而得到了他们特别的厚爱,在那之前,他们对此一点也不知道。他们以前出海航行都非常小心,而且只

They sailed before with great caution, and only in summer - time, but now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to the loadstone, in which they are perhaps more secure than safe; so that there is reason to fear that this discovery, which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may by their imprudence become an occasion of much mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every place, it would be too great a digression from our present purpose: whatever is necessary to be told, concerning those wise and prudent institutions which he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no inquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common; for everywhere one may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel man - eaters; but it is not so easy to find States that are well and wisely governed.

As he told us of many things that were amiss in those new - discovered countries, so he reckoned up not a few

在夏季出海,但是现在,他们在各个季节都能出海,完全依靠这块磁铁,这样一来,他们就过于自信,反而招致危险;所以有理由为这项发明表示担心,原本以为这项发明会给他们带来很多好处,但也可能会因为他们的大意,在某一个时刻,对他们造成巨大的伤害。但是,要一一说出他对我们讲的在每一个地方所观察到的东西,需要太长的时间,也远远偏离我们要讲的主题:凡是有必要讲述的东西,有关他在文明国度里所看到的那些聪明而谨慎的机构,在比较恰当的时候,我们会向各位提到。我们向他提了很多问题,都是与这些事情有关的,对此,他非常乐意进行回答;只是,我们对一些怪事并不打听,因为它们都是非常常见的;在每一个地方,人们都能听到关于贪婪的狗和狼群,以及残忍的食人者的故事;但是,像这样很合理、很明智地进行统治的政府还真是不多见。

他还对我们说了很多那些新发现的国家里不正确的事情,他还指出了一些细节,在我们所

things from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of these nations among whom we live; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at some other time; for at present I intend only to relate those particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians: but I will begin with the occasion that led us to speak of that commonwealth. After Raphael had discoursed with great judgment on the many errors that were both among us and these nations; had treated of the wise institutions both here and there, and had spoken as distinctly of the customs and government of every nation through which he had passed, as if he had spent his whole life in it, Peter, being struck with admiration, said:

‘I wonder, Raphael, how it comes that you enter into no king’s service, for I am sure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable: for your learning and knowledge both of men and things, are such that you would not only entertain them very pleasantly, but be of great use to them, by the examples you could set before them and the advices you could

生活的国家,完全可以采用这些模式来改正错误;就像我刚刚说过的那样,在适当的时候,我会对这一点的理由做出解释的;至于现在,我只想提一提他对我们讲的乌托邦社会的风俗和法律,对一些细节加以阐述:但是,在开始的时候,我得引用一些他对我们说的关于那个共和国的一些话。在拉斐尔以很强的判断力讨论过我们和这些国家的许多错误之后,在他评论过各处十分明智的政府,而且很清楚地、就好像他曾在那里度过了一生似地说明了他所经过的每一个国家的风俗习惯之后,彼得对他大为崇拜,就说道:

“我真纳闷,拉斐尔,你为什么不去为某一个国王服务呢?因为我相信,不管对哪一个国王来说,你都会受到极大的欢迎:你的博学以及你所掌握的关于人类和各种事物的广泛知识,不仅能让他们变得十分高兴,而且对他们很有用处,你可以在他们面前树立起榜样,向他们提建议;通过这种方式,你可以为自

give them; and by this means you would both serve your own interest and be of great use to all your friends.'

'As for my friends,' answered he, 'I need not be much concerned, having already done for them all that was incumbent on me; for when I was not only in good health, but fresh and young, I distributed that among my kindred and friends which other people do not part with till they are old and sick, when they then unwillingly give that which they can enjoy no longer themselves. I think my friends ought to rest contented with this, and not to expect that for their sake I should enslave myself to any king whatsoever.'

'Soft and fair,' said Peter, 'I do not mean that you should be a slave to any king, but only that you should assist them, and be useful to them.'

'The change of the word,' said he, 'does not alter the matter.'

'But term it as you will,' replied Peter, 'I do not see any other way in which you can be so useful, both in private to your friends, and to the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier.'

己谋得好处,而且对你所有的朋友也都会很有用处。”

“至于我的朋友们,”他答道,“我不必操太多的心,因为我已经尽到了我应尽的全部义务;因为当时,我不仅身体健康,而且年轻,精力充沛,我把财富分给了所有的亲人和朋友,而如果换了别人,只有在自己很老并且生病的时候,才愿意将这些与他人分享,那时候,虽然他们仍不愿意放弃,但自己实在不能够享受了。我认为,我的朋友们应该对此感到相当满意,不管怎么样,都不要指望我为了他们的原因而束缚我自己,去侍奉某一个国王。”

“动听又漂亮,”彼得说,“我并不是说你应该成为国王的奴隶,而是说你应该去帮助他们,对他们变得有用。”

“只是换个说法而已,”他说道,“并没有改变事情的本质。”

“随便你怎么说吧,”彼得回答说,“我看不出来,你通过其他哪种途径会变得如此有用,不管对你个人,对你的朋友,还是对大众来说,而且那样也会让你的生活更加幸福。”

‘Happier!’ answered Raphael; ‘is that to be compassed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend. And there are so many that court the favor of great men, that there will be no great loss if they are not troubled either with me or with others of my temper.’

Upon this, said I: ‘I perceive, Raphael, that you neither desire wealth nor greatness; and indeed I value and admire such a man much more than I do any of the great men in the world. Yet I think you would do what would well become so generous and philosophical a soul as yours is, if you would apply your time and thoughts to public affairs, even though you may happen to find it a little uneasy to yourself: and this you can never do with so much advantage, as by being taken into the counsel of some great prince, and putting him on noble and worthy actions, which I know you would do if you were in such a post; for the springs both of good and evil flow from the prince, over a whole nation, as from a lasting fountain. So much learning as you have, even with-

“更加幸福!”拉斐尔回答;“就是说用一种我自己感觉最为恶心的办法达到目的吗?现在,我按照自己的意志生活,这一点,我相信很少有朝臣能够做得到。而且,有那么多朝臣去巴结伟大人物,所以,即使没有我或者像我这一类人的辅佐,他们也不会有太大的损失。”

听到这话,我说道:“我明白,拉斐尔,你是一个不渴求财富和地位的人;事实上,我尊重而且崇拜这样的人,甚至超过我对世界上那些伟大人物的尊重。然而我认为,要是你愿意花些时间和思想关心公共事务,尽管有时候你会发现那对你有些不利,但做这些事情才完全适合你那慷慨而富有哲理的心灵;而这一点,你假如不占据有利的地位,作为某个伟大君王的参谋者,引导着他做些尊贵而有价值的事情(假如你真处于这样的地位,我相信你一定能做到),就无法实现;因为无论善良还是邪恶的源泉,都是从国王那里喷射而出,淹没整个国家,就像来自永不停息的泉眼一样。尽管你有博学的知识,却在实际事务方面没有经验,或者你已经做过了伟



out practice in affairs, or so great a practice as you have had, without any other learning, would render you a very fit counsellor to any king whatsoever.’

‘You are doubly mistaken,’ said he, ‘Mr. More, both in your opinion of me, and in the judgment you make of things: for as I have not that capacity that you fancy I have, so, if I had it, the public would not be one jot the better, when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. For most princes apply themselves more to affairs of war than to the useful arts of peace; and in these I neither have any knowledge, nor do I much desire it: they are generally more set on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well those they possess. And among the ministers of princes, there are none that are not so wise as to need no assistance, or at least that do not think themselves so wise that they imagine they need none; and if they court any, it is only those for whom the prince has much personal favor, whom by their fawnings and flatteries they endeavor to fix to their own interests: and indeed Nature has so made us that we all love to be flattered, and to please ourselves with our

大的事情,却没有其他的知识,可不管对哪一位国王来说,你都将成为一个非常称职的大臣。”

“你出了两项错误,”他说道,“莫尔先生,错误在于你对我的看法和对事情的判断上:因为我并没有你想象中我所具有的那些才能,而且,即便我有这份才能,公众们也不会因此而过得更好一点,因为我必须在这生活中牺牲掉我的安宁。大部分国王都很热衷于战事,却无视和平时代的作用;而在这方面,我一点也不懂,也不想懂:他们一般都渴望去夺得新的王国,不管对或者错,却没心思统治好他们拥有的国家。而国王的那些大臣们,没有一个人不是很聪明的,他们不需要任何辅助,最起码,他们认为自己非常聪明,不需要任何辅助;如果他们愿意听某些人的话,那些人也只能是国王非常宠幸的人,他们奉承和巴结这些人,希望能以此达到自己的目的。所有的人都喜欢被别人奉承,这是我们的本性,用自己的观点来让自己感觉愉悦。老乌鸦爱自己的孩子,而猴子也爱自己的后代。既然这样进行奉承,