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The Theory of Moral Sentiments

道德情操论

原著　亚当·斯密

Adam Smith

注释　张冲

上海外语教育出版社

出 版 说 明

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二〇〇〇年一月

简　介

亚当·斯密(1723－1790)是英国著名的哲学家和经济学家,出生于苏格兰,并且在格拉斯哥和牛津大学接受教育。1759年,斯密的第一本重要著作《道德情操论》发表。1776年,斯密最享有盛名的代表作《国富论》(The Wealth of Nations)诞生,使他成为了西方经济学领域第一个从严肃而系统的理论角度来研究资本的本质,以及分析欧洲国家的工业和商业发展的人。1787年,斯密被任命为格拉斯哥大学的校长。

《道德情操论》一书是斯密在担任格拉斯哥大学逻辑学教授和道德哲学教授时,根据其讲稿进行总结、提炼与改编而成的作品。该著作为普通的道德体系奠定了基础,并且在此后的道德伦理和政治思想的历史发展中占据了中心地位。本书在一定程度上是对大卫·休谟(David Hume)(1711－1776)的哲学体系的一种继承和发展。在书中,斯密通过分析与阐述一个公正的旁观者的同情心与思维构造,形成了自身独具特色的道德情操、道德判断,以及美德等的理论体系。此著作经久不衰的生命力在于:它重构了启蒙运动时期对道德、社会、科学等影响政治经济学、法律,以及政府理论的观点。

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Introduction

1. FORMATION OF *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*

(*a*) *Adam Smith's lectures on ethics*

The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Adam Smith's first book, was published in 1759 during his tenure of the Chair of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow. A second, revised edition appeared in 1761. Smith left Glasgow at the beginning of 1764. Editions 3 (1767), 4 (1774), and 5 (1781) of TMS differ little from edition 2. Edition 6, however, published shortly before Smith's death in 1790, contains very extensive additions and other significant changes. The original work arose from Smith's lectures to students. The revisions in edition 2 were largely the result of criticism from philosophically minded friends. The new material in edition 6 was the fruit of long reflection by Smith on his wide knowledge of public affairs and his equally wide reading of history.

Adam Smith was appointed to the Chair of Logic at Glasgow in 1751 and moved to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in 1752. His predecessor as Professor of Moral Philosophy, Thomas Craigie, was already ill in 1751, and Smith was asked to substitute for him with lectures on natural jurisprudence and politics in addition to taking the Logic class. Thereafter Smith gave the whole of the Moral Philosophy course, in which he was expected to deal with natural theology and ethics before proceeding to law and government. In view of the speed with which Smith had to prepare his

extensive range of teaching at Glasgow, it was inevitable that he should make use of material already available from a series of public lectures which he had delivered in Edinburgh during the years 1748 – 50. These lectures were sponsored especially by Lord Kames. Both Dugald Stewart in a biography of Smith and A. F. Tytler in one of Kames describe the subject-matter of the Edinburgh lectures simply as rhetoric and belles lettres[1], but it seems that by 1750 Smith also included political and economic theory, presumably under the title of jurisprudence or civil law. In a later part of his biography (IV. 25), Dugald Stewart refers to a short manuscript written by Adam Smith in 1755, listing 'certain leading principles, both political and literary, to which he was anxious to establish his exclusive right[2].' Stewart says that they included 'many of the most important opinions in *The Wealth of Nations*'[3], and then quotes a few sentences from the manuscript itself. These end with a statement from Smith that 'a great part of the opinions enumerated in this paper' had formed 'the constant subjects of my lectures since I first taught Mr. Craigie's class, the first winter I spent in Glasgow, down to this day, without any considerable variation' and that they had also 'been the subjects of lectures which I read at Edinburgh the winter before I left it.'

A report of the content and character of the early Glasgow lectures, both in the Logic and in the Moral Philosophy class, was given to Stewart by John Millar, Professor of Law at Glasgow, originally a pupil and afterwards a close friend of Smith. In his Logic course Smith dispatched the traditional logic rather briskly and then 'dedicated all the rest of his time to the delivery of a system of rhetoric and belles lettres'. His Moral Philosophy

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〔1〕 belles lettres **纯文学,如诗歌、戏曲等**

〔2〕 exclusive right **专有权,专营权利**

〔3〕 *The Wealth of Nations* **亚当·斯密的著作《国富论》**

course could not rely so heavily on the Edinburgh lectures but it will certainly have drawn on them in its latter sections. Millar's report to Dugald Stewart gives a detailed description of it.

His course of lectures on this subject [Moral Philosophy] was divided into four parts. The first contained Natural Theology[1]... . The second comprehended Ethics strictly so called, and consisted chiefly of the doctrines which he afterwards published in his Theory of Moral Sentiments. In the third part, he treated at more length of that branch of morality which relates to *justice*, ...

Upon this subject he followed the plan that seems to be suggested by Montesquieu[2]; endeavouring to trace the gradual progress of jurisprudence, both public and private, from the rudest to the most refined ages, ... This important branch of his labours he also intended to give to the public; but his intention, which is mentioned in the conclusion of the Theory of Moral Sentiments, he did not live to fulfil.

In the last part of his lectures, he examined those political regulations which are founded, not upon the principle of *justice*, but that of *expediency*[3], and which are calculated to increase the riches, the power, and the prosperity of a State .... What he delivered on these subjects contained the substance of the work he afterwards published under the title of An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.

There is no evidence to suggest that the Edinburgh lectures included ethical theory proper, and we must therefore presume that Smith's composition of the subject-matter of TMS began in 1752 at Glasgow.

Millar's statement that both of Smith's books arose from his lectures on Moral Philosophy is confirmed by the evidence of

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〔1〕 Natural Theology **自然神学**

〔2〕 Montesquieu **孟德斯鸠**(Charles Louis de Secondant Montesquieu, 1689 – 1755),**法国政治哲学家、法学家、启蒙思想家**

〔3〕 expediency *n*. **方便;私利;权宜**

James Wodrow, writing (probably in 1808) to the eleventh Earl of Buchan.

Adam Smith, whose lectures I had the benefit of hearing for a year or two ... made a laudable attempt at first to follow Hut[cheso]ns animated manner,[1] lecturing on Ethics without papers, walking up and down his class rooms but not having the same facility in this that Hut had, ... Dr. Smith soon relinquished the attempt, and read with propriety, all the rest of his valuable lectures from the desk. His Theory of Moral Sentiment founded on sympathy, a very ingenious attempt to account for the principal phenomena in the moral world from this one general principle, like that of gravity in the natural world, did not please Hutcheson's scholars so well as that to which they had been accustomed. The rest of his lectures were admired by them and by all especially those on Money and Commerce, which contained the substance of his book on *the Wealth of Nations* ....

Francis Hutcheson[2] was Professor of Moral Philosophy from 1730 to 1746. Smith was his pupil in the late 1730s, Wodrow[3] in the 1740s. Wodrow remained at the University as Keeper of the Library from 1750 to 1755.

It seems, then, that the first published version of TMS was prepared or worked up from the final form of the second part of Smith's lectures on Moral Philosophy. No doubt there was steady development between 1752 and 1758. Although no copy of a student's notes of Smith's lectures on ethics has as yet appeared, there is some evidence from which we can reconstruct his method of improving what he had written. In Appendix II we give reasons for thinking that a fragmentary manuscript of philosophical

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〔1〕 made a laudable ... manner, (他)首先值得称赞地追随赫奇逊那种活泼的方式。

〔2〕 Francis Hutcheson 赫奇逊(1694－1746),英国伦理学家

〔3〕 Wodrow 沃德罗(Robert Wodrow, 1679－1734),苏格兰历史学家

considerations on justice is a part of Smith's lectures on ethics. Revisions within the manuscript itself and detailed comparison with corresponding passages in TMS show that Smith tended to work over previous composition rather than write a new version. He made minor corrections both of style and of content, he inserted substantial additions, and when it came to preparing a text for publication he shuffled passages about like pieces in a jigsaw puzzle.[1] Exactly the same methods of development can be seen in the changes that Smith made when revising the printed book for edition 2 and for edition 6. There is far more evidence for tracing the genesis of *The Wealth of Nations*; we have two Reports by students, apparently from successive sessions, of Smith's lectures on jurisprudence, a fairly long manuscript that has been called 'An early draft of part of *The Wealth of Nations*', and two fragmentary manuscripts that come much nearer to the text of WN itself. From this material Professor Ronald L. Meek and Mr. Andrew S. Skinner have been able to give an extraordinarily precise account of the development of Smith's thought on a central topic of his economic theory. The picture of Smith's working methods that emerges from a comparison of these documents with one another and with WN is similar to that gathered from the more limited evidence for TMS.[2].

The printed text at times betrays its origin in lectures. At several points Smith refers back to something he has said on a former 'occasion', whereas it would be more natural, in a book, to write of an earlier 'place'. Then again, in the final paragraph of the work he promises to treat of the general theory of jurispru-

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〔1〕 ... he shuffled ... in a jigsaw puzzle. ……**他把段落移来移去就像智力拼图玩具**。jigsaw puzzle *n*. **七巧板,智力拼图玩具**

〔2〕 The picture of Smith's working methods ... for TMS. **亚当·斯密的这种把这些文件彼此以及与《国富论》进行对比的工作方式与为《道德情操论》获取更为有限的论据的方式相似**。

dence in another 'discourse'.

One other piece of internal evidence seems to match part of the description of the original Glasgow lectures given to Dugald Stewart by Millar: 'Each discourse consisted commonly of several distinct propositions, which he successively endeavoured to prove and illustrate.' Much of Part II of TMS can be said to fit this account in a general way, but the first chapter, II.i.1, illustrates it quite strikingly and would seem, if unrelated to Millar's account and the lecture form, a rather odd way of continuing from the more natural mode of discussion in Part I. If this chapter does indeed retain Smith's original method of procedure in his lectures, it is almost unique in this respect and shows that Smith must have commonly recast the actual structure of his lectures for the book, even though he kept most of the words and phrases.

The printed text allows a further conjecture about the lectures. The *last* part of the book seems to originate from material that formed the *first* part of the lectures on ethics in their earliest version. Why otherwise should Smith set out here (VII.i.2) the two main problems of ethical theory, as if by way of introduction, when in fact most of his task is already done? It seems probable (and it would accord with his usual method of approaching a subject) that at first he entered upon ethics with a survey of its history in dealing with the two topics of moral motive and moral judgement. Having carried the history up to the thinkers of his own day, he will have reflected upon the differences between the two theories that impressed him most, those of his teacher Hutcheson and his friend Hume. Whether or not he already had definite views of his own on these matters in 1752, it is impossible to say; in any event his account of sympathy and its place in moral judgment will have developed as he gave more attention to the subject. Once it had developed it became the focus of Smith's own distinctive theory of ethics, and at this stage if our conjecture about the original form of the lectures is correct, Smith will have

recast his thoughts, starting off with sympathy, building up his theory from that base, and making the historical survey a sort of appendix[1].

An examination of changes in style might perhaps give some guidance about alterations from the original lecture notes. There is a clear difference in style between much of what Smith wrote for edition I and the considerable additions, including the whole of Part VI, which he composed late in life for edition 6. The earlier matter tends to be rhetorical, in tune with[2] the style accepted for lectures in the mid-eighteenth century, while the later writing is in the more urbane[3] style of WN. Both WN and the additions to TMS were of course written with a direct view to publication. When one remembers the type of classes that Smith addressed as a Professor in Glasgow, the style of the original material can be better understood. Most of the students were of the age of secondary schoolboys today. The number attending the class of public lectures on Moral Philosophy in Smith's time was probably about eighty, many of them being destined for the Church. To hold the attention of his class Smith used rhetorical language and made humorous references to manners of the day[4] in a way likely to interest young people.

Of the lectures that Smith delivered in his last four years at Glasgow after the publication of TMS, Stewart (III.1) writes:

During that time, the plan of his lectures underwent a considerable change. His ethical doctrines, of which he had now published so valuable a part, occupied a smaller portion of the course than formerly; and accordingly, his attention was naturally directed to a more complete

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〔1〕 making ... appendix. **把历史的调查作为了一种附属**。
〔2〕 in tune with **与……合调子,合拍**
〔3〕 urbane *adj*. **彬彬有礼的,文雅的**
〔4〕 manners of the day **当时的礼节**

illustration of the principles of jurisprudence and of political oeconomy.

The last statement appears to be borne out[1] by the two surviving Reports of the lectures on jurisprudence as delivered in sessions 1762 – 3 and 1763 – 4. It would be wrong, however, to infer from Stewart's account that Smith's thought on ethics stood still at this time. There is substantial development of his theory in edition 2 of TMS, especially of his notion of the impartial spectator. He can also be seen to apply that concept in the lectures on jurisprudence, so that there is a continuity in his thinking, as indeed Smith himself makes plain at the end of TMS.

(*b*) *Influence of Stoic philosophy*[2]

Stoic philosophy is the primary influence on Smith's ethical thought. It also fundamentally affects his economic theory. Like other scholars of his day Smith was well versed in[3] ancient philosophy, and in TMS he often refers as a matter of course to Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero (the last sometimes, but not always, as a source of information about Stoicism[4]). In his survey of the history of moral philosophy in Part VII, however, Stoicism is given far more space than any other 'system', ancient or modern, and is illustrated by lengthy passages from Epictetus[5] and Marcus Aurelius[6]. (The *Discourses* of Epictetus seem to have been chiefly responsible for Smith's early fascination with Stoicism.) In editions 1 – 5 of TMS some of this material on the

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〔1〕 be borne out **被证实**

〔2〕 Stoic philosophy **斯多葛哲学;坚忍主义哲学**

〔3〕 be well versed in **对……很精通**

〔4〕 Stoicism **斯多葛哲学,斯多葛学派**

〔5〕 Epictetus **爱比克泰德**,(55 – 135),**希腊斯多葛派哲学家**

〔6〕 Marcus Aurelius **马可·奥勒利乌斯**(121 – 180),**新斯多葛派哲学家,罗马皇帝**,161 – 180 **在位**

Stoics appears separately in Part I, but the separation does not produce a lesser impart on the reader; on the contrary, it shows up more clearly the pervasive character of Stoic influence. Even in edition 6 there remain in the earlier Parts of the book enough direct references to and quotations from Stoic doctrine to indicate this. Stoicism never lost its hold over Smith's mind. When revising his book for edition 6 in his last years, he not only moved two of the earlier passages on 'that famous sect' (as he calls it in the Advertisement) to the historical survey in Part VII. He also added further reflections, especially on the Stoic view of suicide, stimulated no doubt by the posthumous publication of an essay by Hume[1] arguing that suicide was sometimes admirable.

More important, however, is the influence of Stoic principles on Smith's own views, again something that persisted to his latest writings. In the fresh material added to edition 6 of TMS, Smith's elaboration of his account of Stoicism in Part VII is less significant than the clearly Stoic tone of much that he wrote for Part III on the sense of duty and for the new Part VI on the character of virtue. Part VI deals with the three virtues of prudence, beneficence, and self-command. The third of these, which also figures in the additions to Part III, is distinctively Stoic. The first, though common to many systems of ethics, is interpreted by Smith in a Stoic manner. He departs from Stoicism in his views on beneficence, but even there, when he comes to discuss universal benevolence in VI. ii. 3, he introduces Stoic ideas and Stoic language to a remarkable degree.

Smith's ethical doctrines are in fact a combination of Stoic and Christian virtues — or, in philosophical terms, a combination of Stoicism and Hutcheson. Hutcheson resolved all virtue into[2] benevolence, a philosophical version of the Christian ethic of love.

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〔1〕 Hume **休谟**(David Hume, 1711 – 1776),**苏格兰历史学家、哲学家**

〔2〕 resolve all virtue into **把所有美德分解成……**

At an early stage in TMS, Adam Smith supplements this with Stoic self-command.

> And hence it is, that to feel much for others and little for ourselves, that to restrain our selfish, and to indulge our benevolent affections, constitutes the perfection of human nature; ... As to love our neighbour as we love ourselves is the great law of Christianity, so it is the great precept of nature to love ourselves only as we love our neighbour, or what comes to the same thing, as our neighbour is capable of loving us. (I.i.5.5)

Smith emphasizes self-command again when supplementing for edition 6 his treatment of the sense of duty in Part III. He there repeats the dual character of his ideal. "The man of the most perfect virtue ... is he who joins, to the most perfect command of his own original and selfish feelings, the most exquisite sensibility both to the original and sympathetic feelings of others' (II.3.34). In Part VI Smith goes farther, making self-command a necessary condition for the exercise of other virtues. Great merit in the practice of any virtue presupposes that there has been temptation to the contrary and that the temptation has been overcome; that is to say, it presupposes self-command. 'Self-command is not only itself a great virtue, but from it all the other virtues seem to derive their principal lustre'[1] (VI.iii.11). For Adam Smith, self-command has come to permeate the whole of virtue, an indication of the way in which Stoicism permeated his reflection over the whole range of ethics and social science.

When Smith sets Stoic self-command beside Christian love in the first of the quotations given above, he calls it 'the great precept of nature[2]'. Life according to nature was the basic tenet[3] of Stoic ethics, and a Stoic idea of nature and the natural

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〔1〕 principal luster **主要的光彩**

〔2〕 the great precept of nature **自然的伟大规则**

〔3〕 tenet *n*. **原则**

forms a major part of the philosophical foundations of TMS and WN alike. The Stoic doctrine went along with a view of nature as a cosmic harmony. Phrases that occur in Smith's account of this Stoic conception are echoed when he expresses his own opinions. The correspondence is most striking in the chapter on universal benevolence, where Marcus Aurelius is recalled by name as well as in phrase: 'the great Conductor' whose 'benevolence and wisdom have ... contrived and conducted the immense machine of the universe' (in the new material of edition 6 at VI.ii.3.4 – 5) is a recollection of the 'all-wise Architect and Conductor' of 'one immense and connected system', 'the whole machine of the world', (quoted from Marcus Aurelius in VII.ii.1.37). Essentially similar turns of speech are to be found in a number of passages, both early and late, of TMS. Indeed, the frequency of such phrases leads one to think that commentators[1] have laid too much stress on the 'invisible hand[2]', which appears only once in each of Smith's two books. On both occasions the context is the Stoic idea of harmonious system, seen in the working of society.

The Stoics themselves applied the notion to society no less than to the physical universe,[3] and used the Greek word *sympatheia* (in the sense of organic connection) of both. This is not the sympathy that figures in Adam Smith's ethics. Sympathy and the impartial spectator, as Smith interprets them, are the truly original features of his theory. Yet it is quite likely that in his own mind each of these two ideas was intimately related to the Stoic outlook. Like the Stoics he thought of the social bond in terms of 'sympathy', and he describes the Stoic view of world citizenship and self-command as if it implied the impartial spectator.

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〔1〕 commentator *n*. **评论员;注释者**

〔2〕 invisible hand **看不见的手(亚当·斯密价值规律)**

〔3〕 The Stoics ... physical universe, **斯多葛学派哲学家们将这个观点像用于物质的宇宙那样用于社会。**

Man, according to the Stoics, ought to regard himself ... as a citizen of the world, a member of the vast commonwealth of nature .... We should view ourselves ... in the light in which any other citizen of the world would view us. What befalls ourselves we should regard as what befalls our neighbour, or, what comes to the same thing, as our neighbour regards what befalls us. (III.3.11)

In WN the Stoic concept of natural harmony appears especially in 'the obvious and simple system of natural liberty' (IV.ix.51). We should remember that the three writers on whom Smith chiefly draws for Stoic doctrine — Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Cicero[1]— were all Roman, and that the practical bent of the Romans closely connected men's moral duties with their legal obligations as citizens. The universalist[2] ethic of Stoicism became enshrined in the 'law' of nature. This tradition Smith accepted understandably in his setting. Ethics for him implied a 'natural jurisprudence', and his economic theories arose out of, indeed were originally part of, his lectures on jurisprudence.

The Stoic concept of social harmony, as Smith understood it, did not mean that everyone behaved virtuously. Stoic ethics said it was wrong to injure others for one's own advantage, but Stoic metaphysics[3] said that good could come out of evil.

The ancient stoics were of opinion, that as the world was governed by the all-ruling providence of a wise, powerful, and good God, every single event ought to be regarded, as making a necessary part of the plan of the universe, and as tending to promote the general order and happiness of the whole: that the vices and follies of mankind, therefore, made as necessary a part of this plan as their wisdom or their virtue; and by that

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〔1〕 Cicero **西塞罗**(Marcus Tullius Cicero, **前** 106 – **前** 43 **年**),**古罗马政治家、雄辩家、著作家**

〔2〕 universalist *n*. **普遍主义者,信普救说者**

〔3〕 metaphysics *n*. **形而上学,玄学**

eternal art which educes good from ill[1], were made to tend equally to the prosperity and perfection of the great system of nature. (I.ii.3.4)

This doctrine anticipates the better-known statement of Smith's own opinion that the selfish rich 'are led by an invisible hand' to help the poor and to serve the interest of society at large (IV.1.10). Smith has added the idea of a 'deception' by nature and the phrase 'an invisible hand'. The famous phrase may have sprung from an uneasiness about the reconciliation of selfishness with the perfection of the system. In itself the idea of deception by an invisible hand is unconvincing. It gains its plausibility from the preceding account of aesthetic pleasure afforded by power and riches, a pleasure that is reinforced by the admiration of spectators. (Smith himself clearly set most store by the psychological explanation.) But the invisible hand, through its reappearance in WN, has captured the attention, especially of economists.

In the TMS passage Smith writes disparagingly[2] of the 'natural selfishness and rapacity[3]' of the rich, but this does not mean that he regards all self-interested action as bad in itself and redeemable only by the deception of nature. He does not even accept the view of Hutcheson that self-love is morally neutral. Smith follows the Stoics once again in holding that self-preservation is the first task committed to us by nature and that prudence is a virtue so long as it does not injure others. His explicit account of Stoicism in Part VII begins with the doctrine that 'every animal was by nature recommended to its own care, and was endowed with the principle of self-love',[4] for the sake of

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〔1〕 educe good from ill **去粗取精**;educe *vt*. **得出,引出,唤起**

〔2〕 disparagingly *adv*. **以贬抑的口吻,以轻视的态度**

〔3〕 rapacity *n*. **贪婪,掠夺**

〔4〕 every animal was ... self-love, **任何动物天生都会自我关心,被赋予了自爱的原则**