



伟大的声音

The Great Address

影响人类历史 进程的演说

The Speeches of Impact on Human Process

{ 影响千年历史的不朽思想 凝练人类智慧的伟大声音 }

徐翰林◎选译

 武汉出版社
WUHAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

英汉对照
伟大的声音
The Great Address

影响人类历史进程的演说

The Speeches of Impact on Human Process

徐翰林 选译

 武汉出版社
WUHAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

(鄂)新登字 08 号

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

影响人类历史进程的演说：汉英对照 /徐翰林选译. —武汉：
武汉出版社，2009.5

(伟大的声音)

ISBN 978-7-5430-4203-2

I.影… II.徐… III.①英语—汉语—对照读物②演说—汇编—世界—IV.H319.4: I

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字 (2009) 第063231号

书 名：影响人类历史进程的演说

编 著：徐翰林 选译

责任编辑：李 俊

封面设计：晨旭光华

出 版：武汉出版社

社 址：武汉市江汉区新华下路103号 邮 编：430015

电 话：(027)85606403 85600625

http://www.whcbs.com E-mail:wuhanpress@126.com

印 刷：北京东海印刷有限公司 经 销：新华书店

开 本：720mm×1000mm 1/16

印 张：18

版 次：2009年6月第1版 2009年6月第1次印刷

定 价：19.80元

版权所有 侵权必究

如有质量问题，由承印厂负责调换。



目录 Contents



第一卷 伟大的声音

The Great Speeches



2 / 在殉国将士葬礼上的演说 伯里克利

4 / The Funeral Oration of Pericles Pericles

6 / 申辩 苏格拉底

9 / Apology Socrates

11 / 金冠辩 狄摩西尼

14 / On the Crown Demosthenes

16 / 致众士兵 汉尼拔

18 / To His Soldiers Hannibal

21 / 我们要创造更多的希望 马丁·路德

23 / Before the Diet of Worms Martin Luther

25 / 奴隶与自由民 约翰·保尔

26 / Bondmen and Freemen John Ball

37 / 独立宣言 托马斯·杰斐逊

32 / The Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson

36 / 论出版自由 托马斯·厄斯金

38 / The Liberty of the Press Thomas Erskine

40 / 最后的演说辞 马克西米连·罗伯斯比尔

42 / His Last Speech Maximilien Robespierre

44 / 杰斐逊首任就职演讲 托马斯·杰斐逊

47 / First Inaugural Address Thomas Jefferson

51 / 家不和,则不立 亚伯拉罕·林肯

53 / A Divided House Cannot Stand Abraham Lincoln

54 / 葛底斯堡公墓的演说 亚伯拉罕·林肯

56 / Gettysburg Address Abraham Lincoln

57 / 解放宣言 亚伯拉罕·林肯

59 / The Emancipation Proclamation Abraham Lincoln

62 / 在马克思墓前的讲话 弗里德里希·恩格斯

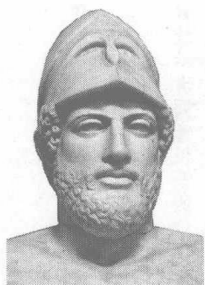
65 / Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx Friedrich Engels





▲ 伯里克利在发表演说。

在殉国将士葬礼上的演说



伯里克利（公元前495—公元前429），古雅典最伟大的政治家和民主派领袖，实行奴隶主民主政治。当政期间完成奴隶主民主宪法，发展工商业，奖励文化，大兴土木。从公元前443年到公元前429年，他任将军委员会的首席将军，成为雅典的最高统治者。在他任职期间，雅典文化和国势都发展到巅峰状态。

.....

我们没有抄袭邻国的政治制度。我们不是模仿者，相反，我们是别人的楷模。我们的政府造福于大多数人，而不是为少数人谋利，这是人们称其为民主政府的原因。解决私人争执时，每个人在法律上是平等的；从社会地位来看，在公众事务中获得晋升的基础是能力而不是虚名，既不能让阶级地位贬低人们的价值，也不能让贫困阻挡人们前进的道路；有能力为国家服务的人，不应该因地位卑微而受妨碍。政府生活中能享受的自由，也同样适用于日常生活。我们非但不为嫉妒而相互监视，也不会因邻居随心所欲而发怒；甚至不会纵容自己面露不快，尽管这种脸色不会造成实在的损伤，却着实令人讨厌。但是这种个人交往中的随和，并不会使我们成为无法无天的公民。正是害怕这种情况的发生，反而让我们有了法律的最高保障。它教导我们服从执法机构和法律，尤其是关于保护受害人的法律，不管这些法律是否确实载入了法典。即使这些法律没有明文

规定,但你一旦触犯,就将成为公认的耻辱。

另外,为了让大脑从繁忙的事务中恢复清醒,我们也提出了许多方法。娱乐活动和祭祀典礼贯穿全年始终,而幽雅的住所让我们的日常生活充满快乐,帮助我们驱散所有烦忧。我们庞大的城市吸引世界各地的产品来到我们的港口,使得我们雅典人享受别国的产品像享受自己的产品那样熟悉。

从军事政策来看,我们跟对手也有不同。尽管敌人的窥探有时会因我们的开放而受益,但我们仍然把城市的大门向世界敞开,从不拒绝外国人的参观和学习;与政策和制度相比,我们更愿意信赖公民的天性;从教育来看,我们的对手从摇篮开始就接受残酷的纪律教育,而我们雅典人自由地生活,却同样随时可以接受任何真正危机的挑战。斯巴达人从来不敢单独来侵犯我们国家,每次总是带领它所有的同盟者一起来;而我们雅典人进入邻国的领土时从来都是单枪匹马,却往往能够轻而易举地打败那些保家卫国的人们。这些事实就是证据。我们从来不用联合武力攻击敌人,因为我们既要组织海上力量,又要在陆地上分派公民执行许多种不同的勤务;因此,敌人打败我们任何一个武装分队,就可以看作打败了整个国家,而相反,如果他们被任何一个分队打败,也就可以说被我们全体人民打败。然而,即使我们惯于安乐而不喜劳苦,即使我们的勇敢来自于天性而非训练而成,我们仍然不惧危难。我们拥有两重优势,既不需要忍受预先的艰苦训练,在需要的时候,又能和那些从未停止训练的人一样英勇无畏。

……



历史链接

为了争夺希腊的霸权,公元前431年—公元前404年,雅典及其同盟者与以斯巴达为首的伯罗奔尼撒同盟之间发生战争。战争以雅典的失败而告终,斯巴达取代雅典成为希腊诸城邦的霸主。战争给繁荣的古希腊带来了前所未有的破坏,导致战后希腊奴隶制城邦的危机,整个希腊开始由盛转衰,并最终为马其顿所灭。本文是伯里克利在战争初期的第一批雅典牺牲者葬礼上的演说。

The Funeral Oration of Pericles

Pericles

...

Our constitution does not copy the laws of neighboring states; we are rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves. Its administration favors the many instead of the few; this is why it is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; if to social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way; if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition. The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbor for doing what he likes, or even to indulge in those injurious looks which cannot fail to be offensive, although they inflict no positive penalty.

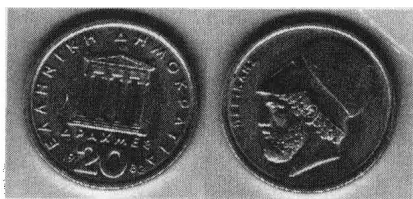


伯里克利时代的希腊

But all this ease in our private relations does not make us lawless as citizens. Against this fear is our chief safeguard, teaching us to obey the magistrates and the laws, particularly such as regards the protection of the injured, whether they are actually on the statute book, or belong to that code which, although unwritten, yet cannot be broken without acknowledged

disgrace.

Further, we provide plenty of means for the mind to refresh itself from business. We celebrate games and sacrifices all year round, and the elegance of our private establishments forms a daily source of pleasure and



1982年发现的希腊硬币，反面为伯里克利头像。

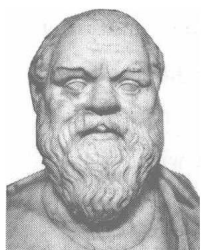
helps to banish the spleen; while the magnitude of our city draws the produce of the world into our harbor, so that to the Athenian the fruits of other countries are as familiar a luxury as those of his own.

If we turn to our military policy, there also we differ from our antagonists. We throw open our city to the world, and never by alien acts exclude foreigners from any opportunity of learning or observing, although the eyes of any enemy may occasionally profit by our liberality; trusting less in system and policy than to the native spirit of our citizens; while in education, where our rivals from their very cradles by a painful discipline seek after manliness, at Athens we live exactly as we please, and yet are just as ready to encounter every legitimate danger. In proof of this it may be noticed that the Lacedaemonians do not invade our country alone, but bring with them all their confederates; while we Athenians advance unsupported into the territory of a neighbor, and fighting upon a foreign soil usually vanquish with ease men who are defending their homes. Our united force was never yet encountered by any enemy, because we have at once to attend to our marine and to dispatch our citizens by land upon a hundred different services; so that, wherever they engage with some such fraction of our strength, a success against a detachment is magnified into a victory over the nation, and a defeat into a reverse suffered at the hands of the entire people. And yet if with habits not of labor but of ease, and courage not of art but of nature, we are still willing to encounter danger, we have the double advantage of escaping the experience of hardships in anticipation and of facing them in the hour of need as fearlessly as those who are never free from them.

...



▲ 拉斐尔名画《雅典学院》，走廊中间是苏格拉底及其得意门生柏拉图。



苏格拉底（公元前470—公元前399），古希腊的哲学家和演说家，雅典人。其父是雕刻匠，早年随父学艺，后从事哲学研究和教学。他认为哲学的目的是认识自己，研究自己，教导人们的生活。他无著作传世，其言行均辑于弟子柏拉图的《苏格拉底言行回忆录》。公元前399年以“渎神违教”之罪被控入狱，不久被判死刑，服毒而死。

申 辩

如果换一种方式来思考，我们就会发现很有理由相信死亡是件好事；理由就在于死亡只有两种可能性——一种是虚无或者彻底无知觉的状态，另一种是人们常说的灵魂从一个世界移居到另一个世界。假如你认为死亡是一种失去知觉的状态，就像一种安详得连梦都不会来打搅的深睡，那么死亡就真是一种难以言说的收获了。如果要某人将这样一个安然无梦的夜晚，与生命中度过的其他日日夜夜相比，然后说出他一生中有多少日夜能比这样的夜晚更加愉快，我想，任何人——且不说是平民，就是国王都无法做出回答。所以我说，如果死亡真是这么一回事的话，那么死亡就是一种收获——永恒也不过就是一夜。而如果死亡像大家所说的，是所有的死者迁往另一个世界永居，那么，我的朋友们，还有法官们，难道还有比这更妙的事情吗？假如当这些旅行者们到达地底的世界后，就真的能够摆脱这尘世的判官，见到据说是在那里主持正义的法官米诺斯、拉达

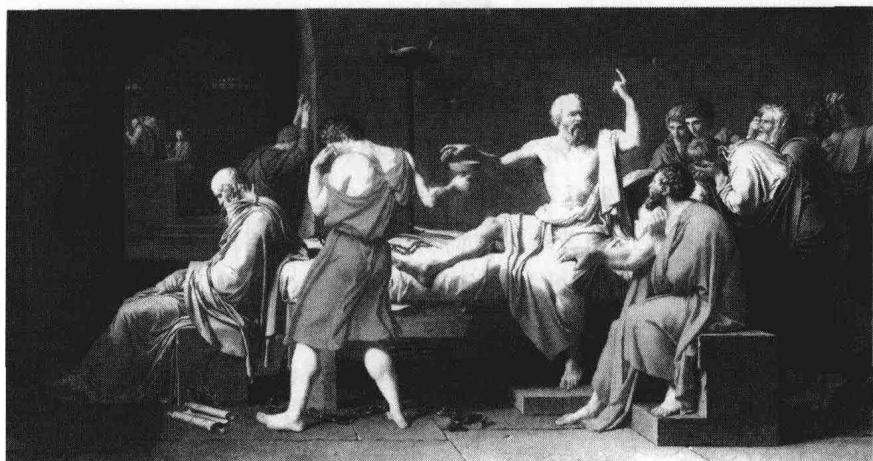
曼提斯、爱考斯,以及特立普托勒摩斯和其他一些一生公正无私的上帝之子,那么这死亡之行就有所值了。如果有机会同奥菲士、缪萨尤斯、赫西奥德以及荷马谈话,那还有什么代价不能付出呢?不仅如此,如果死亡真是如此,我甚至愿意死了又死。我自己也很想在那里和帕拉默底斯、忒拉蒙的儿子埃阿斯以及其他受不公平审判而死的古代英雄们碰面,和他们交谈。我相信,把我自己的苦难跟他们所遭受苦难的相比,肯定能带给我极大的快乐和安慰。最要紧的是,我可以像在这个世界中一样,继续在新的世界里进行我关于真理和谬误的研究。我就可以知道谁是真正的智者,而谁只是自作聪明。法官们,如果可以检验远征特洛伊的伟大领袖,奥德修斯、西西弗斯和其他无数的人们,不仅是男人还有女人,那么还有什么代价不能付出呢?与他们谈话,向他们请教,将会是多么快乐的一件事!如果传言属实,那儿的人们绝不会因为提出问题而被处死,他们比我们快乐得多,而且他们都将永生!

因此,法官们,为死亡欢呼吧!要相信,不管是生前还是死后,善良的人们都不会遭到恶报。他和他的人们都不会被上帝遗弃;我即将到来的死亡也绝不是偶然。但是我很清楚,我现在最好的出路就是死亡,它会把我从困境中解救出来;因此,神谕并未显现。还是这个原因,我不会怨恨我的宣判者和控诉者;尽管他们对我无不怀好意,但也没有对我造成伤害。不过,对于他们的不怀好意,我还是心怀芥蒂。

我还有一件事要请你们帮忙。朋友们,当我的儿子们长大以后,请你们惩罚他们。如果他们把财富或者别的什么看得比品德还重要,请给他们制造点麻烦,就像我曾经给你们制造麻烦那样,因为他们不知道该注重什么;如果他们一无是处却又自命不凡,请谴责他们,就像我曾经谴责你们那



苏格拉底思考的雕像



世界名画：《苏格拉底之死》

样,因为他们不知道自己是什么。如果你们能够做到,我和我的儿子们都会从你们手中得到公正。

分离的时刻到了,我们各自上路吧——我走向死亡,你们继续活下去。至于生死孰优孰劣,只有上帝知道。



历史链接

苏格拉底目睹了雅典的衰落和覆灭,从雅典的衰败中看到精神方面的弊病,由于人们丢掉了正义和美德,才遭致大祸临头,而出路则在于正人心。

苏格拉底以追求关于善的真知来指导实践,也就是拿人的自我意识代替了神谕。这种内在的确定性显然不是雅典人过去一向相信的神。同时苏格拉底经常到处讨论什么是真正的善与勇敢,对周围的人产生了极大的影响。因此苏格拉底被送上了法庭,指控他的罪名是毒害青年与信奉新的神。苏格拉底拒绝认罪,公民大会判处他死刑。苏格拉底安详地喝下毒酒,用生命捍卫真理。

Apology

Socrates

Let us reflect in another way, and we shall see that there is great reason to hope that death is a good; for one of two things — either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness, or, as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep like the sleep of him who is undisturbed even by dreams, death will be an unspeakable gain. For if a person were to select the night in which his sleep was undisturbed even by dreams, and were to compare with this the other days and nights of his life, and then were to tell us how many days and nights he had passed in the course of his life better and more pleasantly than this one, I think that any man, I will not say a private man, but even the great king will not find many such days or nights, when compared with the others. Now if death be of such a nature, I say that to die is a gain; for eternity is then only a single night. But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead abide, what good, O my friends and judges can be greater than this? If indeed when the pilgrim arrives in the world below, he is delivered from the professors of justice in this world, and finds the true judges who are said to give judgment there, Mino and Rhadamanthus and Aeacus and Triptolemus, and other sons of God who were righteous in their own life, that pilgrimage will be worth making. What would not a man give if he



苏格拉底和学生在一起。

might converse with Orpheus and Musaeus and Hesiod and Homer? Nay, if this be true, let me die again and again. I myself, too, shall have a wonderful interest in there meeting, and conversing with Palamedes, and Ajax the son Telamon, and any other ancient hero who has suffered death through an unjust judgment; and there will be no small pleasure, as I think, in comparing my own suffering with theirs. Above all, I shall then be able to continue my search into the true and false knowledge; as in this world, so also in the next; and I shall find out who is wise, and who pretends to be wise, and is not. What would not a man give, O judges, to be able to examine the leader of the great Trojan expedition; or Odysseus or Sisyphus, or numberless others, men and women too! What infinite delight would there be in conversing with them and asking them questions! In another world they do not put a man to death for asking questions: assuredly not. For besides being happier than we are, they will be immortal, if what is said is true.

Wherefore, O judges, be good cheer about death, and know of a certainty, that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods; nor has my own approaching end happened by mere chance. But I see clearly that the time had arrived when it was better for me to die and be released from trouble; wherefore the oracle gave no sign. For which reason, also, I am not angry with my condemners, or with my accusers; they have done me no harm, although they did not mean to do me any good; and for this I may gently blame them.

Still I have a favour to ask of them. When my sons are grown up, I would ask you, O my friends, to punish them; and I would have you trouble them, as I have troubled you, if they seem to care about riches, or anything, more than about virtue; or if they pretend to be something when they are really nothing, — then reprove them, as I have reprovèd you, for not caring about that for which they ought to care; and thinking that they are something when they are really nothing. And if you do this, both I and my sons will have received justice at your hands.

The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways — I to die, and you to live. Which is better God only knows.



▲ 古雅典的建筑

金冠辩

.....

我可以断言,埃斯基涅斯,你是利用这件事来显示你的口才和嗓门,并非惩恶扬善。但是,埃斯基涅斯,一个演说家的价值并不在于他语言和声调,而在于能够与人民持相同的观点,以国家的爱憎为自己的爱憎,这才有意义。也只有心怀这点的人才会以忠诚的心志说每一句话。要是对那些威胁到国家安全的人奉承拍马,与人民貌合神离,那自然是无法指望与人民一起得到安全的保障了。但是——你看到了吗——我却得到了这种安全保障,因为我的目标与我的同胞一致,我关注的利益跟人民无异。你是否也是这样呢?人人皆知,你原来是一直拒绝接受出使腓力的任务,但战后你却立即到腓力那边出任大使了,要知道当时给你的国家带来灾难的元凶正是他。怎么会是这样呢?

是谁欺骗了国家?当然是那个口是心非的



狄摩西尼(公元前384—公元前322),古代雅典政治家、演说家。他7岁时,父亲去世,留下的巨额财产被监护人侵吞。狄摩西尼成年之后,决心向法庭提出控诉。他虽然身体虚弱,但意志十分顽强,并克服口吃、吐字不清等先天缺陷,掌握了雄辩术,终于以流畅有力的言辞取得胜利。此后,他长期代人撰写状纸,投身政治,并领导雅典人民进行了近30年反对马其顿侵略的斗争。公元前322年狄摩西尼被捕,后在狱中服毒自杀。

人。庭吏该对谁公开诅咒？当然是上述那类人。对于一个演说家，还有比口是心非更大的罪恶吗？你的品格却正是这样。你竟然还敢张口说话，敢正视这些人！你以为他们不知道？你以为他们昏昏沉睡或如此健忘到记不得你在会上的讲话？在会上你一面诅咒他人，一面发誓与腓力无任何关系，说我出于个人恩怨才告发你，并无任何依据。等到战争的消息传来，你就忘了这一切。你信誓旦旦地承认，你与腓力之间存在友谊——这其实是你们之间雇佣关系的新代名词。埃斯基涅斯，你只是鼓手格劳柯蒂亚的儿子，又能有什么平等和公正的借口使你成为腓力的朋友或知己呢？我真不明白！不！绝对不可能！你只是受雇来破坏国人利益的。虽然你在公开叛变中被当场捕获，事后也遭到了告发，你却还以一些别人可能犯而我却不会犯的事来辱骂我、谴责我。

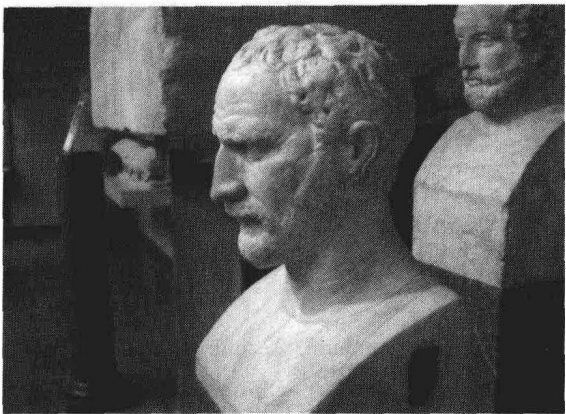
埃斯基涅斯，我们国家有许多伟大而光荣的事业是由我成功完成的，国家没有忘记这些。以下就是明证：在选举由谁来发表葬礼后的演说时，有人建议你。可是，人民不选你，尽管你的声音很动听；也不选狄马德斯，尽管他刚刚签署了和约；也不选海吉门或你们当中的任何人，却选了我。当你和彼梭克利斯们以粗暴而又可耻的态度（慈悲的主啊！）列出你现在所



狄摩西尼在苦练演讲。

举的这些罪状来谴责、辱骂我时，人民却更要选举我。尽管你知道原因，但我还是要告诉你。雅典人知道，在处理他们的事务中我付出了忠诚与热忱，正如他们知道你和你们这帮人的不忠一样。当国家昌盛时，你发誓拒绝承认这些事；当国家危难时，你却承认了。因此，对于那些利用国家灾难来换取政治安全的人，我们的人民认为，远在他们如此做时已与人民为敌，现在则更是公认的敌人。

对于那些向死者演说致敬、表扬烈士英勇精神的人,人民认为他不应该和与烈士为敌的人共处一室,同桌而食,他不该与杀人凶手开怀畅饮,并为希腊的大难唱欢乐之歌后,再来这里接受殊荣;他不该用声音来哀悼烈士的厄运而应诚心吊唁



大英博物馆收藏的狄摩西尼的半身像

他们。人民在我和他们自己身上体会到这一点,却无法在你们中的任何人中找到。因此他们选了我,却没有选你们。这是人民的想法,也是人民选出来主持葬礼的死者父兄的想法。依照风俗,丧宴应该设在死者至亲的家中,但人民却命令将宴席设在我家。他们这样做有道理:从个体来讲,他们与死者及其亲属关系比我亲切,可是,对全体死者而言,却没有人比我更亲了。最深切关心他们安危和成就的人,对他们死难的哀痛也最深。

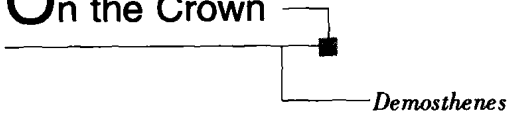


历史链接

公元前346年4月,雅典与马其顿议和。为了给未来的长期斗争争取时间,狄摩西尼同意和谈,并亲自参加谈判。但马其顿国王腓力对他的雄辩极为畏惧,只同埃斯基涅斯协商。埃斯基涅斯提出了一些对马其顿有利的条款,双方订立和约。回国后狄摩西尼斥责埃斯基涅斯媚敌,并控告他在谈判中通敌受贿。因此,埃斯基涅斯对他恨之入骨。

公元前330年,由于狄摩西尼对国家立有大功,雅典决定赠予他金冠。埃斯基涅斯等人借机掀起一场轩然大波,控告提出此项决定的泰西凡等人,并抓住狄摩西尼的某些事情大做文章。狄摩西尼怒斥对手的诬蔑和攻击,最终赢得绝对多数的支持。埃斯基涅斯在这场诉讼中败北,并被赶出雅典,放逐罗得岛。

On the Crown



...

I should conclude, Aeschines, that you undertook this cause to exhibit your eloquence and strength of lungs, not to obtain satisfaction for any wrong. But it is not the language of an orator, Aeschines, that has any value, yet the tone of his voice, but his adopting the same views with the people, and his hating and loving the same persons that his country does. He that is thus minded will say everything with loyal intention: he that courts persons from whom the commonwealth apprehends danger to herself, rides not on the same anchorage with the people, and therefore has not the same expectation of safety. But — do you see? — I have: for my objects are the same with those of my countrymen; I have no interest separate or distinct. Is that so with you? How can it be — when immediately after the battle you went as ambassador to Philip, who was at that period the author of your country's calamities, notwithstanding that you had before persisted in refusing that office, as all men know?

And who is it that deceives the state? Surely the man who speaks not what he thinks. On whom does the crier pronounce a curse? Surely on such a man. What greater crime can an orator be charged with than that his opinions and his language are not the same? Such is found to be your character. And yet you open your mouth, and dare to look these men in the faces! Do you think they don't know you? — or are sunk all in such slumber and oblivion as not to remember the speeches which you delivered in the assembly, cursing and swearing that you had nothing to do with Philip, and that I brought that charge against you out of personal enmity without foundation? No sooner came the news of the battle, than you forgot all that; you acknowledged and avowed that between Philip and yourself there subsisted a relation of hospitality and friendship — new names these for your contract of hire. For upon what plea of equality or justice could Aeschines, son of