

孟广林◎主编



西方历史 文献选读

(中世纪卷)

**Selected Readings of
Historical Documents in the West
(Medieval Times)**

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社会科学文献出版社
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前 言

五卷本《西方历史文献选读》(*Selected Readings of Historical Documents in the West*), 由中国人民大学历史学院世界史专业教师团队历时5年集体攻关完成。作为“九八五工程”子课题项目的成果, 这套丛书共分“古代卷”“中世纪卷”“近代卷”“现代卷”“当代卷”, 精心遴选西方重要的历史文献, 力图多层次、全方位地显现西方各个历史时期在经济、政治、军事、思想文化、社会生活诸方面的基本状况与特征, 从中透显出西方历史的演进脉络、流变趋向乃至发展规律。这些篇目, 或对文献全文收录, 或截取其中核心部分, 在文献后编者运用马克思主义唯物史观依据相关历史背景对之作一解读, 以期帮助读者阅读、理解。此外, 还开列了一些与文献所反映的问题相关的研究著作, 供有兴趣的读者延伸阅读, 作进一步的深入探究。

我们之所以要设计这一课题并尽力完成, 其主旨在于为世界史学科建设搭建一个基础性的学术平台, 进一步提升本科生与研究生教育的教学水平。

众所周知, 历史文献资料是历史研究的基础与出发点, 同时也是史学人才培养的重要素材。改革开放前, 由于语言、信息乃至经费等方面的限制, 我国史学界在选编历史文献参考资料上基本采用了外文中译的方式, 老一辈的史学家为此呕心沥血, 成果凸显。周一良、吴于廑主编的《世界通史资料选辑》, 齐思和、刘启戈主编选译的《中世纪初期的西欧》《中世纪中期的西欧》《中世纪晚期的西欧》, 齐世荣主编的《当代世界史资料选辑》以及诸多的国别史、断代史乃至编年史、历史名著的编译等, 涉及各

个历史时期各主要地区、国家的经济、政治、军事、思想文化、社会生活等各个方面的原始资料，对于史学人才的培养发挥了十分重要的作用。自改革开放以来，随着国际学术交流的日益扩大和学术研究的不断拓展，依赖于汉译历史资料进行教学逐渐显现出其明显的局限性，这不仅使学生难以熟悉相关的各种名称、典故与术语，而且对相关历史现象的理解也有着诸多的文化隔膜感。为了克服这一困境，一些大学专门编选专业外语教材并设置相关的课程，一些教师径直开列外文书目让学生研习。这些举措虽然收到了一定效果，但不足以形成良好的长效机制。专业外语教材的历史资料编选常常显现出明显的研究热点的偏向性与历史时空的跳跃性，难以明晰地彰显长时段的历史过程与纷繁复杂的历史现象，很难与世界通史的基础性课程有机整合起来。同时，径直给学生（特别是本科生）开列外文参考书目在当下也难以收效，主要缘由是国内大多数高校的外文藏书数量十分有限，难以满足学生的借阅需求。在此情况下，的确应该结合基础性课程系统地编选一整套外文历史文献资料，来强化相关的教学需要。

我们的历史文献编选之所以聚焦在西方，主要有两个缘由。其一是团队力量有限。要编选整个世界通史课程的基础性文献，涉及众多的国家、地区，而我们团队又几乎都从事西方历史的教学与研究，要大跨度地涉猎非西方的历史文献资料，不仅精力有限，而且学力不逮。而更重要的另一个考虑，则是旨在引导学生更多地关注西方历史。这些年来，中国的世界史取得显著的发展，但客观地说，西方历史是国内学者多为关注的学术领域。一段时间以来，国内史学界曾大力提倡世界史研究领域的均衡性，呼吁多关注非西方的国家和地区的历史，有的甚至将之提升到打破“西方中心”论之学旨高度。为了推动这一理路，一些高校教材在编写时，大幅度地压缩西方历史的内容，扩充非西方的国家和地区的历史内容。应该说，这类主张的出发点是好的、无可非议的。但应该指出，在现阶段乃至今后很长的一段时期，片面地强调世界史教学与研究的均衡性也是欠妥当的。西方历史之所以为国内大多数学人所看重，自然有着深层次的思想根源，与近代西方的崛起及其对世界的巨大影响、与中华民族近代的命运与探索、与当代中国社会主义现代化建设进程的曲折和拓展密切关联。可以

毫不夸张地说,从观照中国的历史、现实与未来予以考量,西方无疑是一个最重要的历史参照坐标。不可否认,西方史学界的“西方中心”论的确包含着西方人“种族优越”论、“殖民征服合理”论的社会达尔文主义的谬论,但近代以来,对非西方国家、地区的传统社会而言,西方在世界历史发展潮流中的引领地位乃是客观的历史存在,也就是说,西方人借助资本主义工业化的张力,推动了世界各个地区的一体化。西方人的殖民主义侵略,客观上也刺激了非西方地区与国家告别传统、迈向现代的历史进程。直到十月革命发生后,特别是中国革命胜利后和中国改革开放所逐渐建构的中国社会主义现代化模式初步显现后,“西方中心”论才逐渐失去了“经验事实”的支撑。作为东方大国崛起的中国的历史与现实,必须更多地要在与西方历史的对称性参照中获得自我身份的理解、获得历史经验教训的借鉴。任意冲淡、压缩西方历史的做法,无疑是不明智的、非历史主义的。如果学者不去重点研究它,学生不去重点学习它,对它知之不多乃至知之甚少,又如何去突破“西方中心”论?事实上,当下史学界对西方历史的一些观点,仍旧深陷在西方史学界的传统诠释模式中而不能自拔,诸多学生对西方历史的不少理解仍然是西方学者曾经曲解乃至任意打扮的东西。在此情况下,重点研习西方历史的意义不言而喻。

正是基于以上缘由,我们编选了这套西方历史文献集。其中既有大量的原始资料(Primary Sources),也有不少当代权威史家整理、编译的第一手资料(Printed Primary Sources)。我们深知,研究西方历史,参考诸多语言种类的原始文献资料极其重要。然而,在当下的世界史教学中,由于学科起步较晚,语言训练欠缺,我们只能依照实际现状选编适用性普遍的英文历史文献来进行教学。不积跬步,无以至千里。在国内尚无这类书籍的情况下,我们相信这套书的出版,将填补我国世界史专业教学教材方面存在的重要空白,大大提升世界史专业本科生乃至研究生层次基础课程教学的质量,有力促进我国世界史学科的建设。

孟广林

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Tacitus: Germania^{*}

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The Inhabitants, Origins of the Name “Germany”. The Germans themselves I should regard as aboriginal, and not mixed at all with other races through immigration or intercourse. For, in former times it was not by land but on shipboard that those who sought to emigrate would arrive; and the boundless and, so to speak, hostile ocean beyond us, is seldom entered by a sail from our world. And, beside the perils of rough and unknown seas, who would leave Asia, or Africa for Italy for Germany, with its wild country, its inclement skies, its sullen manners and aspect, unless indeed it were his home? In their ancient songs, their only way of remembering or recording the past they celebrate an earth-born god Tuisco, and his son Mannus, as the origin of their race, as their founders. To Mannus they assign three sons, from whose names, they say, the coast tribes are called Ingaevones; those of the interior, Herminones; all the rest, Istaeuvones. Some, with the freedom of conjecture permitted by antiquity, assert that the god had several descendants, and the nation several appellations, as Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi, Vandilij, and that these are nine old names. The name Germany, on the other hand, they say is modern and newly introduced, from the

* 塔西陀《日耳曼尼亚志》节选。

fact that the tribes which first crossed the Rhine and drove out the Gauls, and are now called Tungrians, were then called Germans. Thus what was the name of a tribe, and not of a race, gradually prevailed, till all called themselves by this self-invented name of Germans, which the conquerors had first employed to inspire terror.

The National War-Songs. They say that Hercules, too, once visited them; and when going into battle, they sing of him first of all heroes. They have also those songs of theirs, by the recital of which ("baritus," they call it), they rouse their courage, while from the note they augur the result of the approaching conflict. For, as their line shouts, they inspire or feel alarm. It is not so much an articulate sound, as a general cry of valor. They aim chiefly at a harsh note and a confused roar, putting their shields to their mouth, so that, by reverberation, it may swell into a fuller and deeper sound.

Physical Characteristics. For my own part, I agree with those who think that the tribes of Germany are free from all taint of intermarriages with foreign nations, and that they appear as a distinct, unmixed race, like none but themselves. Hence, too, the same physical peculiarities throughout so vast a population. All have fierce blue eyes, red hair, huge frames, fit only for a sudden exertion. They are less able to bear laborious work. Heat and thirst they cannot in the least endure; to cold and hunger their climate and their soil inure them.

Climate and Soil, Precious Metals. Their country, though somewhat various in appearance, yet generally either bristles with forests or reeks with swamps; it is more rainy on the side of Gaul, bleaker on that of Noricum and Pannonia. It is productive of grain, but unfavourable to fruit-bearing trees; it is rich in flocks and herds, but these are for the most part undersized, and even the cattle have not their usual beauty or noble head. It is number that is chiefly valued; they are in fact the most highly prized, indeed the only riches of the people. Silver and gold the gods have refused to them, whether in kindness or in anger I cannot say. I would not, however, affirm that no vein of German soil produces gold or silver,

for who has ever made a search? They care but little to possess or use them. You may see among them vessels of silver, which have been presented to their envoys and chieftains, held as cheap as those of the clay. The border population, however, value gold and silver for their commercial utility, and are familiar with, and show preference for, some of our coins. The tribes of the interior use the simpler and more ancient practice of the barter of commodities. They like the old and well known money, coins milled, or showing a two-horse chariot. They likewise prefer silver to gold, not from any special liking, but because a large number of silver pieces is more convenient for use among dealers in cheap and common articles.

Arms Military Manoeuvres and Discipline. Even iron is not plentiful with them, as we infer from the character of their weapons. But few use swords or long lances. They carry a spear (*framea* is their name for it), with a narrow and short head, but so sharp and easy to wield that the same weapon serves, according to circumstances, for close or distant conflict. As for the horse-soldier, he is satisfied with a shield and spear; the foot-soldiers also scatter showers of missiles each man having several and hurling them to an immense distance, and being naked or lightly clad with a little cloak. There is no display about their equipment; their shields alone are marked with very choice colours. A few only have corslets, and just one or two here and there a metal or leather helmet. Their horses are remarkable neither for beauty nor for fleetness. Nor are they taught various evolutions after our fashion, but are driven straight forward, or so as to make one wheel to the right in such a compact body that none is left behind another. On the whole, one would say that their chief strength is in their infantry, which fights along with the cavalry; admirably adapted to the action of the latter is the swiftness of certain foot-soldiers, who are picked from the entire youth of their country, and stationed in front of the line. Their number is fixed — a hundred from each canton; and from this they take their name among their countrymen, so that what was originally a mere number has now become a

title of distinction. Their line of battle is drawn up in a wedge-like formation. To give ground, provided you return to the attack, is considered prudence rather than cowardice. The bodies of their slain they carry off even in indecisive engagements. To abandon your shield is the basest of crimes; nor may a man thus disgraced be present at the sacred rites, or enter their council; many, indeed, after escaping from battle, have ended their infamy with the halter.

Government, Influence of Women. They choose their kings by birth, their generals for merit. These kings have not unlimited or arbitrary power, and the generals do more by example than by authority. If they are energetic, if they are conspicuous, if they fight in the front, they lead because they are admired. But to reprimand, to imprison, even to flog, is permitted to the priests alone, and that not as a punishment, or at the general's bidding, but, as it were, by the mandate of the god whom they believe to inspire the warrior. They also carry with them into battle certain figures and images taken from their sacred groves. And what most stimulates their courage is, that their squadrons or battalions, instead of being formed by chance or by a fortuitous gathering, are composed of families and clans. Close by them, too, are those dearest to them, so that they hear the shrieks of women, the cries of infants. They are to every man the most sacred witnesses of his bravery — they are his most generous applauders. The soldier brings his wounds to mother and wife, who shrink not from counting or even demanding them and who administer food and encouragement to the combatants.

Tradition says that armies already wavering and giving way have been rallied by women who, with earnest entreaties and bosoms laid bare, have vividly represented the horrors of captivity, which the Germans fear with such extreme dread on behalf of their women, that the strongest tie by which a state can be bound is the being required to give, among the number of hostages, maidens of noble birth. They even believe that the sex has a certain sanctity and prescience, and they do not despise their counsels, or make light of their answers. In Vespasian's days we saw Veleda, long regarded by many as a divinity. In former

times, too, they venerated Aurinia, and many other women, but not with servile flatteries, or with sham deification.

Deities. Mercury is the deity whom they chiefly worship, and on certain days they deem it right to sacrifice to him even with human victims. Hercules and Mars they appease with more lawful offerings. Some of the Suevi also sacrifice to Isis. Of the occasion and origin of this foreign rite I have discovered nothing, but that the image, which is fashioned like a light galley, indicates an imported worship. The Germans, however, do not consider it consistent with the grandeur of celestial beings to confine the gods within walls, or to liken them to the form of any human countenance. They consecrate woods and groves, and they apply the names of deities to the abstraction which they see only in spiritual worship.

Auguries and Method of Divination. Augury and divination by lot no people practice more diligently. The use of the lots is simple. A little bough is lopped off a fruit-bearing tree, and cut into small pieces; these are distinguished by certain marks, and thrown carelessly and at random over a white garment. In public questions the priest of the particular state, in private the father of the family, invokes the gods, and, with his eyes toward heaven, takes up each piece three times, and finds in them a meaning according to the mark previously impressed on them. If they prove unfavourable, there is no further consultation that day about the matter; if they sanction it, the confirmation of augury is still required. For they are also familiar with the practice of consulting the notes and flight of birds. It is peculiar to this people to seek omens and monitions from horses. Kept at the public expense, in these same woods and groves, are white horses, pure from the taint of earthly labour; these are yoked to a sacred car, and accompanied by the priest and the king, or chief of the tribe, who note their neighings and snortings. No species of augury is more trusted, not only by the people and by the nobility, but also by the priests, who regard themselves as the ministers of the gods, and the horses as acquainted with their will. They have also another method of observing auspices, by which they seek to learn the result

of an important war. Having taken, by whatever means, a prisoner from the tribe with whom they are at war, they pit him against a picked man of their own tribe, each combatant using the weapons of their country. The victory of the one or the other is accepted as an indication of the issue.

Councils. About minor matters the chiefs deliberate, about the more important the whole tribe. Yet even when the final decision rests with the people, the affair is always thoroughly discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, except in the case of a sudden emergency, on certain fixed days, either at new or at full moon; for this they consider the most auspicious season for the transaction of business. Instead of reckoning by days as we do, they reckon by nights, and in this manner fix both their ordinary and their legal appointments. Night they regard as bringing on day. Their freedom has this disadvantage, that they do not meet simultaneously or as they are bidden, but two or three days are wasted in the delays of assembling. When the multitude think proper, they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on these occasions the right of keeping order. Then the king or the chief, according to age, birth, distinction in war, or eloquence, is heard, more because he has influence to persuade than because he has power to command. If his sentiments displease them, they reject them with murmurs; if they are satisfied, they brandish their spears. The most complimentary form of assent is to express approbation with their spears.

Punishments, Administration of Justice. In their councils an accusation may be preferred or a capital crime prosecuted. Penalties are distinguished according to the offence. Traitors and deserters are hanged on trees; the coward, the unwarlike, the man stained with abominable vices, is plunged into the mire of the morass with a hurdle put over him. This distinction in punishment means that crime, they think, ought, in being punished, to be exposed, while infamy ought to be buried out of sight — lighter offences, too, have penalties proportioned to them; he who is convicted, is fined in a certain number of horses or of cattle. Half of the fine is paid to the king or to the state, half to the person whose

wrongs are avenged and to his relatives. In these same councils they also elect the chief magistrates, who administer law in the cantons and the towns. Each of these has a hundred associates chosen from the people, who support him with their advice and influence.

Training of Youth. They transact no public or private business without being armed. it is not, however, usual for anyone to wear arms till the state has recognized his power to use them. Then in the presence of the council one of the chiefs, or the young man's father, or some kinsman, equips him with a shield and a spear. These arms are what the "toga" is with us, the first honour with which youth is invested. Up to this time he is regarded as a member of a household, after wards as a member of the commonwealth. Very noble birth or great services rendered by the father secure for lads the rank of a chief; such lads attach themselves to men of mature strength and of long approved valour. It is no shame to be seen among a chief's followers. Even in his escort there are gradations of rank, dependent on the choice of the man to whom they are attached. These followers vie keenly with each others as to who shall rank first with his chiefs, the chiefs as to who shall have the most numerous and the bravest followers. It is an honour as well as a source of strength to be thus always surrounded by a large body of picked youths; it is an ornament in peace and a defence in war. And not only in his own tribe but also in the neighboring states it is the renown and glory of a chief to be distinguished for the number and valour of his followers, for such a man is courted by embassies, is honoured with presents, and the very prestige of his name often settles a war.

Warlike Ardour of the People. When they go into battle, it is a disgrace for the chief to be surpassed in valour, a disgrace for his followers not to equal the valour of the chief. And it is an infamy and a reproach for life to have survived the chief, and returned from the field. To defend, to protect him, to ascribe one's own brave deeds to his renown, is the height of loyalty. The chief fights for victory; his vassals fight for their chief. If their native state sinks into the

sloth of prolonged peace and repose, many of its noble youths voluntarily seek those tribes which are waging some war, both because inaction is odious to their race, and because they win renown more readily in the midst of peril, and cannot maintain a numerous following except by violence and war. Indeed, men look to the liberality of their chief for their war-horse and their bloodstained and victorious lance. Feasts and entertainments, which, though inelegant, are plentifully furnished, are their only pay. The means of this bounty come from war and rapine. Nor are they as easily persuaded to plough the earth and to wait for the year's produce as to challenge an enemy and earn the honour of wounds. Nay, they actually think it tame and stupid to acquire by the sweat of toil what they might win by their blood.

Habits in Time of Peace. Whenever they are not fighting, they pass much of their time in the chase, and still more in idleness, giving themselves up to sleep and to feasting, the bravest and the most warlike doing nothing, and surrendering the management of the household, of the home, and of the land, to the women, the old men, and all the weakest members of the family. They themselves lie buried in sloth, a strange combination in their nature that the same men should be so fond of idleness, so averse to peace. It is the custom of the states to bestow by voluntary and individual contribution on the chiefs a present of cattle or of grain, which, while accepted as a compliment, supplies their wants. They are particularly delighted by gifts from neighbouring tribes, which are sent not only by individuals but also by the state, such as choice steeds, heavy armour, trappings, and neck-chains. We have now taught them to accept money also.

Arrangement of Their Towns, Subterranean Dwellings. It is well known that the nations of Germany have not cities, and that they do not even tolerate closely contiguous dwellings. They live scattered and apart, just as a spring, a meadow, or a wood has attracted them. Their village they do not arrange in our fashion, with the buildings connected and joined together, but every person surrounds his dwelling with an open space, either as a precaution against the disasters of