

【英汉对照全译本】

THE ANNALS OF IMPERIAL ROME

# 罗马帝国编年史

[古罗马]塔西佗 著

(二)

中国社会科学出版社

【英汉对照全译本】

THE ANNALS OF IMPERIAL ROME

---

# 罗马帝国编年史

---

---

[古罗马]塔西佗 著  
贺 严 高书文 译

---

(二)

中国社会科学出版社

# CONTENTS

## 目 录

### (一)

#### PART One Tiberius

#### 第一部分 提贝里乌斯

CHAPTER 1	From Augustus To Tiberius .....	2
第一章	从奥古斯都到提贝里乌斯 .....	3
CHAPTER 2	Mutiny On The Frontiers .....	40
第二章	发生在边防军中的兵变 .....	41
CHAPTER 3	War With The Germans .....	98
第三章	与日耳曼人的战争 .....	99
CHAPTER 4	The First Treason Trials .....	194
第四章	第一次叛国罪的审判 .....	195
CHAPTER 5	The Death of Germanicus .....	240
第五章	日耳曼尼库斯之死 .....	241

CHAPTER 6 Tiberius And The Senate ..... 324

第六章 提贝里乌斯和元老院 ..... 325

(二)

CHAPTER 7 ‘Partner Of My Labours’ ..... 418

第七章 “我的分忧担劳的好搭档” ..... 419

CHAPTER 8 The Reign Of Terror ..... 558

第八章 恐怖统治 ..... 559

PART Two Claudius And Nero

第二部分 克劳狄乌斯和尼禄

CHAPTER 9 The Fall Of Messalina ..... 652

第九章 美撒里娜之死 ..... 653

CHAPTER 10 The Mother Of Nero ..... 712

第十章 尼禄的母亲 ..... 713

(三)

CHAPTER 11 The Fall Of Agrippina ..... 808

第十一章 阿格里披娜之死 ..... 809

CHAPTER 12	Nero And His Helpers .....	924
第十二章	尼禄及其帮凶 .....	925
CHAPTER 13	Eastern Settlement .....	1000
第十三章	东方移民地 .....	1001
CHAPTER 14	The Burning Of Rome .....	1046
第十四章	罗马大火 .....	1047
CHAPTER 15	The Plot .....	1068
第十五章	阴谋 .....	1069
CHAPTER 16	Innocent Victims .....	1110
第十六章	无辜的牺牲者 .....	1111
译者后记 .....		1154

## CHAPTER 7

### ‘ Partner Of My Labours ’

In the consulships of Gaius Asinius Pollio (II) and Gaius Antistius Vetus (I), Tiberius now began his ninth year of national stability and domestic prosperity (the latter, he felt, augmented by Germanicus' death). But then suddenly Fortune turned disruptive. The emperor himself became tyrannical—or gave tyrannical men power. The cause and beginning of the change lay with Lucius Aelius Sejanus, commander of the Guard. I have said something of his influence, and will now describe his origins and personality—and his criminal attempt on the throne.

Sejanus was born at Vulsinii. His father, Lucius Seius Strabo, was a Roman knight. After increasing his income—it was alleged—by a liaison with a rich debauchee named Marcus Gavius Apicius, the boy joined, while still young, the suite of Augustus' grandson Gaius Caesar. Next by various devices he obtained a complete ascendancy over Tiberius. To Sejanus alone the otherwise cryptic emperor spoke

## 第七章 “我的分忧担劳的好搭档”

盖乌斯·阿西尼乌斯·波里奥(二世)和盖乌斯·安提司提乌斯·维图斯(一世)担任执政官的时候,开始了提贝里乌斯在全国安谧和繁荣的情况下进行统治的第九年。<sup>[1]</sup>(而他认为,日耳曼尼库斯的死亡更加倍促进了国家的繁荣。)但接下来,命运却突然发生了巨大的转变,提贝里乌斯本人变成了暴君——或者把权力交到残暴的人的手中。这种转变的开始和造成这种情况的原因,在于提贝里乌斯的近卫军长官路奇乌斯·埃里乌斯·谢雅努斯。关于他的影响,我在上面已经谈到过了一些情况。现在我就要谈一谈他的出身和品质,以及他那想夺取皇权的罪恶企图。

谢雅努斯生于沃尔西尼,<sup>[2]</sup>他的父亲路奇乌斯·塞乌斯·斯特拉波,是一个罗马骑士。当他的收入增加以后——据称,是靠和一个名字叫做玛尔库斯·伽维乌斯·阿披奇乌斯的有钱的浪荡子弟私通获得的,虽然年纪还小,谢雅努斯却加入了圣奥古斯都的外孙盖乌斯·恺撒的随从。以后,通过各种各样巧妙的手段,他获得了对提贝里乌斯进行控制的完全的优势。只有对谢雅努斯

---

[1] 公元 23 年,即罗马建城 776 年。

[2] 埃特路里亚的 12 个城市之一,在卡西亚大道旁,现在叫波尔塞那。

freely and unguardedly. This was hardly due to Sejanus' cunning; in that he was outclassed by Tiberius. The cause was rather heaven's anger against Rome—to which the triumph of Sejanus, and his downfall too, were catastrophic. Of audacious character and untiring physique, secretive about himself and ever ready to incriminate others, a blend of arrogance and servility, he concealed behind a carefully modest exterior an unbounded lust for power. Sometimes this impelled him to lavish excesses, but more often to incessant work. And that is as damaging as excess when the throne is its aim.

The command of the Guard had hitherto been of slight importance. Sejanus enhanced it by concentrating the Guard battalions, scattered about Rome, in one camp. Orders could reach them simultaneously, and their visible numbers and strength would increase their selfconfidence and intimidate the population. His pretexts were, that scattered quarters caused unruliness; that united action would be needed in an emergency; and that a camp away from the temptations of the city would improve discipline. When the camp was ready, he gradually insinuated himself into the men's favour. He would talk with them addressing them by name. And he chose their company



一个人,神秘莫测的提贝里乌斯可以自由地谈话,毫无顾忌。这种情况,很难说是由于谢雅努斯的狡诈,因为在这一点上,提贝里乌斯其实是大大超过谢雅努斯的。这样的情况毋宁说是上天降于罗马的愤怒,因为无论是谢雅努斯得势还是垮台,对罗马来说都是一场灾难。这个人有着胆大粗莽的性格和不知疲倦的体格;他善于隐蔽自己的思想,总有办法陷害别人;傲慢和奴性混合在一起;在谦恭谨慎的后面,掩盖着对权力的无穷欲望。这种欲望有时会促使他走向极度的奢侈和浪费,然而在更多的情况下却促使他不断地勤奋工作。而在他想夺取王位的时候,这些品质和奢侈浪费一样都是有害的。

迄今为止,近卫军长官的权力并不大。但是谢雅努斯把分散在整个罗马的那些步兵中队<sup>〔1〕</sup>集中在一个营地里,以加强近卫军长官的权力。这样军队能同时接到命令,同时他们明显可知的人数、力量还能够增强他们的自信心,并能够慑服众人。他这样做的借口是,分散的军队不容易控制;而有些情况下需要紧急召集联合行动;而且军营远离城市的引诱,军队的纪律性就会得到加强了。当近卫军的军营准备就绪之后,他便开始逐渐地取得普通士兵的好感,他和他们交谈,叫着他们的名字向他们致敬。同时,他又亲

---

〔1〕 这时共有9个中队,每一个中队由一个将领率领,人数是1000人,并且有补充的骑兵团。从公元41年,他们把克劳狄乌斯拥戴为皇帝,到公元306年他们宣布马克森提乌斯为皇帝为止,皇帝的立废大权一直在他们手里。六年之后,在穆尔维乌斯桥上几乎被康司坦丁消灭的近卫军被解散,而在城东不远的军营也被摧毁了。

and battalion-commanders himself. Senators' ambitions, too, he tempted with offices and governorships for his dependants.

Tiberius was readily amenable, praising him in conversation—and even in the senate and Assembly—as ‘the partner of my labours’, and allowing honours to his statues in theatres, public places, and brigade headquarters. Yet Sejanus' ambitions were impeded by the wellstocked imperial house, including a son and heir—in his prime—and grown-up grandchildren. Subtlety required that the crimes should be spaced out; it would be unsafe to strike at all of them simultaneously. So subtle methods prevailed. Sejanus decided to begin with Drusus, against whom he had a recent grudge. For Drusus, violent-tempered and resentful of a rival, had raised his hand against him during a fortuitous quarrel and, when Sejanus resisted, had struck him in the face.

After considering every possibility, Sejanus felt most inclined to rely on Drusus' wife Livilla, the sister of Germanicus. Unattractive in earlier years, she had become a great beauty. Sejanus professed devotion, and seduced her. Then, this first guilty move achieved—since a woman who has parted with her virtue will refuse nothing—he incited her to hope for marriage, partnership in the empire, and the death of her husband. So the grand-niece of Augustus, daughter-in-

自选任他们的百人团长和将领。他还用当他的下属就授予罗马的和行省的官职的办法来引诱元老们的野心。

提贝里乌斯对谢雅努斯百依百顺,他不仅仅在日常的谈话中,甚至在元老院和民众的集会中,都称赞他为“我的分忧担劳的好搭档”,并且使他享有胸像被放置在剧院、广场和军团总部的荣誉。但是谢雅努斯的野心还受着一大群皇室成员的阻挡——包括一位已是成年的儿子和正在成长起来、能够作为继承人的孙子。<sup>〔1〕</sup>此时,聪明的策略就是谋叛的罪行要逐步进行,因为想同时对付所有这些人是极不安全的,这就需要使用更加狡诈的手段。谢雅努斯决定从杜路苏斯开始下手,因为不久之前他和杜路苏斯之间发生过冲突,谢雅努斯心怀怨恨。杜路苏斯性情暴躁,对忤逆他的人非常恼恨,在偶然发生的一次争吵中,他动手打了谢雅努斯,而在谢雅努斯反抗时,他又给了谢雅努斯一记耳光。

在考虑了各种可能之后,谢雅努斯觉得,要陷害杜路苏斯,最好的办法是依靠杜路苏斯的妻子利维拉,即日耳曼尼库斯的妹妹。虽然她小时候并没有什么吸引力,但长大之后却非常漂亮。谢雅努斯对她大献殷勤,并且诱使她和自己有了奸情。于是,第一桩罪行成功地实施了——一个女人一旦偏离了自己的贞操德行,就无法拒绝任何诱惑了——谢雅努斯又煽动起她想跟自己结婚、分享帝国大权并谋杀自己丈夫的欲望,如此一来,她,奥古斯都

---

〔1〕 皇帝家族中的男子除了提贝里乌斯本人之外,还有尼禄·恺撒、杜路苏斯·恺撒、他的继子日耳曼尼库斯的儿子们,以及杜路苏斯的孪生儿子提贝里乌斯·盖美路斯和日耳曼尼库斯等。

law of Tiberius, mother of Drusus' children, degraded herself and her ancestors and descendants with a small-town adulterer; she sacrificed her honourable, assured position for infamy and hazard. The plot was communicated to Eudemus, Livilla's friend and doctor, who had professional pretexts for frequent interviews. Sejanus encouraged his mistress by sending away his wife Apicata, the mother of his three children. Nevertheless the magnitude of the projected crime caused misgivings, delays, and (on occasion) conflicting plans.

Meanwhile, at the beginning of the year Drusus Caesar, one of Germanicus' children, assumed adult clothing, and the senate's decrees in honour of his brother Nero Caesar were repeated. Tiberius spoke as well, warmly praising his own son Drusus for his fatherly affection to the sons of his 'brother' Germanicus. For, though lofty positions are not easily compatible with friendliness, Drusus was believed to like the young men or at least not to dislike them.

Next there was a revival of the old idea of a tour in the provinces by Tiberius. The emperor justified his proposal (the object of frequent lip-service by him) on the grounds of the numerous soldiers due for release, and the need to fill their places by conscription. There were not enough volunteers, he said, and they lacked the old bravery and discipline, since voluntary enlistment mostly attracted penniless vagrants. Then he briefly enumerated the army formations and the provinces under their protection. I now propose to do the same—in order to give an idea of the Roman armed forces and dependent monarchs at that time, when the empire was so much smaller.

的外孙女、提贝里乌斯的儿媳妇、杜路苏斯的孩子们的母亲,便因为这个小市民出身的奸夫,而玷污了她本人、她的祖先和她的子孙们。她牺牲了当前大受尊敬、又有保障的稳固可靠的地位,而换来了声名狼藉的丑行和危险。利维拉的医生和朋友埃乌德木斯也参与了他们的阴谋,因为他的职业可以为他们经常见面作掩护。为了鼓励自己情妇的信心和勇气,谢雅努斯遗弃了他的妻子阿皮卡塔,他的三个孩子的母亲。然而,所计划的罪行的规模也引起了疑虑、拖延,(有时)甚至是意见上的冲突。

同时,就在这一年年初的时候,日耳曼尼库斯的一个孩子杜路苏斯·恺撒第一次穿上了成人的服装。于是元老院将过去给他的哥哥尼禄·恺撒的贺词又重复了一遍。提贝里乌斯也发表了一篇演说,对他自己的儿子杜路苏斯所表现出的,对他的“兄弟”日耳曼尼库斯的孩子们的真挚深厚的父爱,热情洋溢地大加赞扬。虽然高高在上的地位很难与真诚平等的友爱相容,但是大家认为杜路苏斯对少年人却是喜欢的,至少并不讨厌他们。

接下来,又开始重新讨论起关于提贝里乌斯到各个行省去巡视这样一个老话题来。皇帝证明自己的提议的理由(他常常挂在嘴边的借口)是,有大批服役期满的士兵要退役安置,因而还需要征募大量新兵来代替他们。他说,自愿参加军队的人数不足,而且即使有这样的志愿军,他们也太缺乏过去的军队所有的那种勇敢和纪律性,因为自愿来登记当兵的都是些赤贫的流浪者。然后,他简略地列举了军团的数目和在它们保卫之下的行省。我认为我应当讲一讲的,目的是说明一下当时罗马武装的兵力以及和帝国结盟的有哪些王国,而帝

Italy was guarded by two fleets, one on each sea-board, at Misenum and Ravenna; and other warships—Augustus had captured them in his victorious battle of Actium and sent them, strongly manned, to Forum Julii—defended the near coast of Gaul. But our main strength lay on the Rhine; eight brigades, for protection against Germans or Gauls. Three more occupied the recently pacified Spanish provinces, two each Africa and Egypt (Mauretania had been presented by the Roman State to King Juba II). Then the huge stretch of territory between this end of Syria and the Euphrates was controlled by four brigades, while on the frontiers Roman might also maintained certain monarchies against foreign states, the Iberian and Albanian and others. Another four brigades were on the Danube, two in Pannonia and two in Moesia; Thrace belonged to Rhoemetalcus II and the children of Cotys IV. There were two reserve brigades in Dalmatia which had easy access to Italy in an emergency. However, the capital had its own

国当时的疆土比起今天来又是何等狭小。<sup>〔1〕</sup>

两支舰队卫护着意大利,一支在米塞努姆海岸,一支在拉温那海岸。而另一些战舰则护卫着邻近的高卢海岸——这些战船都是奥古斯都在阿克提乌姆一役取得胜利时俘获的战利品,而在配备了强有力的水手之后,奥古斯都就把它们派到佛路姆·优里乌姆城<sup>〔2〕</sup>去了。但我们的主力却部署在莱茵河上,那里有 8 个军团,是用来对付日耳曼人或高卢人的。三个多军团守卫着不久之前才平定的西班牙诸省。<sup>〔3〕</sup>两个军团守卫着阿非利加,两个军团守卫着埃及(玛乌列塔尼亚作为礼物被罗马国家赠送给了优巴国王二世<sup>〔4〕</sup>)。从叙利亚边界直到幼发拉底河之间的一片巨大的地区,则由四个军团控制。同时,在边界地区,罗马的威力还保护着伊伯利亚、阿尔巴尼亚和其他王国,使他们不受外国的侵扰。另外四个军团守卫着多瑙河,两个在潘诺尼亚,两个在美西亚:色雷斯属于莱美塔尔凯斯二世和科提斯四世的儿子们管辖。还有两个预备军团配置在达尔马提亚,达尔马提亚处于进入意大利的有利的地理位置,一旦意大利有紧急需要时,他们可以及时给予支援。当然,首都也有它自己的常备军,即三个城市警卫队和 9

---

〔1〕 这里所指的是从公元 115 年图拉真当政时期帝国扩大到波斯湾和两年之后哈德里亚努斯当政时期后退之间的事情。从奥古斯都以来,主要兼并的是玛乌列塔尼亚(公元 40 年)、不列颠(公元 43 年)、达奇亚(公元 101~106 年)、阿拉伯·佩特莱亚(公元 105 年)、亚美尼亚和美索不达米亚(公元 114 年)。

〔2〕 现在的佛列优斯。

〔3〕 它们是公元前 19 年被阿格里帕征服的。

〔4〕 努米地亚的优巴一世的儿子,是继塔普苏斯之后被带到罗马并在罗马受教育的。以博学闻名,普利尼和阿提纳乌等作家都多次引用过他的作品。他娶了安托尼乌斯和克利欧帕特拉的一个女儿为妻。

troops; three battalions of city police, and nine of the Guard, mostly recruited in Etruria, or Umbria, or the old territory of Latin rights and early Roman settlements. Then, at appropriate points outside Italy, the provincials contributed naval crews, and auxiliary cavalry and infantry. Altogether these were about as numerous as the regular army. But I cannot enumerate them since, as circumstances required, they changed stations, or their numbers rose or fell.

This, the year in which Tiberius' rule began to deteriorate, seems an appropriate moment to review the other branches of the government also, and the methods by which they had been administered since his accession. In the first place, public business—and the most important private business—was transacted in the senate. Among its chief men, there was freedom of discussion; their lapses into servility were arrested by the emperor himself. His conferments of office took into consideration birth, military distinction, and civilian eminence, and the choice manifestly fell on the worthiest men. The consuls and praetors maintained their prestige. The lesser offices, too, each exercised their proper authority. Moreover, the treason court excepted, the laws were duly enforced.

Levies of grain, indirect taxation, and the other revenues belonging to the State were managed by associations of Roman knights. But the imperial property was entrusted by the emperor to carefully selected agents—some known to him by reputation only. Once appointed, these were kept on indefinitely, often becoming old in the same jobs. The public suffered, it is true, from oppressive food prices. But that was not the emperor's fault. Indeed, he spared neither money nor labour in combating bad harvests and stormy seas. He ensured also that the provinces were not harassed by new impositions and that



个步兵近卫中队,这些步兵中队的士兵大多数是从埃特路里亚和翁布里亚或是从旧拉提乌姆和早期的罗马居民中征募来的。此外,在意大利以外各个行省的适当地点,还有各行省提供的海军舰队、辅助骑兵部队和步兵中队。这些军队加在一起的数量就相当于一支正规军的规模了。但是我无法一一清楚地列举出他们的数量,因为这些军队由于临时情况的需要,常常要到处移驻,而且他们的人数也是时升时降的。

这是提贝里乌斯的统治开始变坏的一年。因此,我认为这是一个好机会,来回顾一下国家的其他部门以及从他即位以来对他们进行统治的方法。首先,公共事务以及最为重要的私人事务都交给元老院去处理。在元老院的主要人物之间,可以对这些事务展开自由的讨论,而皇帝本人则抓住了他们堕落到奴颜婢膝的弱点。在任命官吏的时候,他考虑到候补者的家世、所建立的军功或是在民事方面的突出业绩,要充分证明接受任命的都是最适当的人选。行政官和执政官保持着他们的威望,甚至地位较低的长官也都能行使他们正当的职权。而且除了涉及大逆罪的案件以外,法律一般还是非常有效的。

公粮的征收、间接税的征收和其他的国家税收由罗马的骑士团体来办理。皇帝把皇家的财产委托给经过仔细挑选出来的代理们去处理,其中有些人甚至皇帝本人都不认识,只是由于这个人声名好才任用的。而这些人一旦被任命,就永远留在这种职位上,经常是在同样的职位上一直到老。民众确实是承受着粮价过高的苦恼,但是这并不是皇帝的过错。为了补偿由于歉收或海上风暴所造成的损失,他确实是既不吝惜金钱又不辞辛苦的。他还确保不再给各行省增加新的赋税,也注意不使旧的赋税