

【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

(一)

中国社会科学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

罗马帝国编年史/[古罗马]塔西佗著;贺严,高书
文译. —北京:中国社会科学出版社,2007.8
(西方学术经典译丛)
ISBN 978-7-5004-6300-9

I. 罗… II. ①塔…②贺…③高… III. 罗马帝国—编年
史 IV. K126

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2007)第 097621 号

出版策划 曹宏举
责任编辑 丁玉灵
责任校对 尹 力
技术编辑 李 建

出版发行 中国社会科学出版社
社 址 北京鼓楼西大街甲 158 号 邮 编 100720
电 话 010—84029450(邮购)
网 址 <http://www.csspw.cn>
经 销 新华书店
印 刷 北京京晨纪元印刷有限公司
版 次 2007 年 8 月第 1 版
印 次 2007 年 8 月第 1 次印刷
开 本 630×970 1/16
印 张 73
字 数 786 千字
定 价 138.00 元

凡购买中国社会科学出版社图书,如有质量问题请与本社发行部联系调换
版权所有 侵权必究

出版说明

为了进一步促进中西文化交流,构建全新的西学思想平台,我们出版了这套《西方学术经典译丛》(英汉对照全译本)。本译丛精选西方学术思想流变中最有代表性的部分传世名作,由多位专家学者选目,内容涵盖了哲学、宗教学、政治学、经济学、心理学、法学、历史学等人文社会科学领域,收录了不同国家、不同时代、不同体裁的诸多名著。

本译丛系根据英文原著或其他文种的较佳英文译本译出,在国内第一次以英汉对照的形式出版。与以往译本不同的是,本译丛全部用现代汉语译出,尽量避免以往译本时而出现的文白相间、拗口难懂的现象;另外出于尊重原作和正本清源的目的,本译本对原作品内容一律不做删节处理,全部照译。以往译本由于时代和社会局限,往往对原作品有所删节,因此,本译本也是对过去译本的补充和完善。

为加以区别,原文中的英文注释,注释号用①、②……形式表示;中文译者注释则以〔1〕、〔2〕……形式表示。至于英译本中出现的原文页码和特殊索引等问题,中文译者在“译者后记”中将予以解释、说明。另外,在英文原著或原英译本中,有一些表示着重意义的斜体或大写等字体,考虑到读者可以在英汉对照阅读中注意到,在本译文中没有照样标出,还望读者理解。

中国社会科学出版社

The Annals Of Imperial Rome

By *Tacitus*

English Translation

By *Michael Grant*

本书根据 Penguin Books Ltd. 1988 年版本译出

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

【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

(一)

中国社会科学出版社

PART One Tiberius

CHAPTER 1

From Augustus To Tiberius

When Rome was first a city, its rulers were kings. Then Lucius Junius Brutus created the consulate and free Republican institutions in general. Dictatorships were assumed in emergencies. A Council of Ten did not last more than two years; and then there was a short-lived arrangement by which senior army officers—the commanders of contingents provided by the tribes—possessed consular authority.

第一部分 提贝里乌斯^{〔1〕}

第一章 从奥古斯都到提贝里乌斯^{〔2〕}

罗马建城之初,是由国王进行统治的。然后,路奇乌斯·尤尼乌斯·布鲁图斯建立了执政官制度和自由政体,独裁只是在紧急情况下所采取的措施。十人团的任期不能超过两年,部落议事会所授予的军团将领的权力也是临时性的安排。

〔1〕 这一部分记述的是提贝里乌斯(前42~37年)在位期间的事。提贝里乌斯于公元14年登上帝位,一直到公元37年去世。有历史学家称其为“虐政时期”的开始。

〔2〕 塔西佗在本章所提到的事件列简表如下:

公元前753年,传说罗马建城。

公元前510年,路奇乌斯·布鲁图斯担任执政官。

公元前451~前449年的一部分,十人团执政。

公元前444~前367年(中间有间断),设置拥有执政官权力的军团将领的职位。

公元前87~前84年,路奇乌斯·秦纳四次连任执政官。

公元前82~前79年,苏拉的独裁时期。

公元前60/59~前53年,庞培、马尔库斯·利奇尼乌斯·克拉苏斯和尤利乌斯·恺撒的第一次三人执政时期。

公元前49~前44年,尤利乌斯·恺撒的独裁时期。

公元前43年,安东尼、屋大维(即后来的奥古斯都)和马尔库斯·艾米利乌斯·列庇都斯的第二次三人执政时期。

公元前43年,布鲁图斯和卡西乌斯横死。

公元前36年,庞培被击败,列庇都斯被排除。

公元前30年,安托尼乌斯自杀。

Subsequently Cinna and Sulla set up autocracies, but they too were brief. Soon Pompey and Crassus acquired predominant positions, but rapidly lost them to Caesar. Next, the military strength which Lepidus and Antony had built up was absorbed by Augustus. He found the whole state exhausted by internal dissensions, and established over it a personal regime known as the Principate.

Famous writers have recorded Rome's early glories and disasters. The Augustan Age, too, had its distinguished historians. But then the rising tide of flattery exercised a deterrent effect. The reigns of Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and Nero were described during their lifetimes in fictitious terms, for fear of the consequences; whereas the accounts written after their deaths were influenced by still raging animosities. So I have decided to say a little about Augustus, with special attention to his last period, and then go on to the reign of Tiberius and what followed. I shall write without indignation or partisanship: in my case the customary incentives to these are lacking.

The violent deaths of Brutus and Cassius left no Republican forces in the field. Defeat came to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, Lepidus was dropped, Antony killed. So even the Caesarian party had no leader left except the 'Caesar' himself, Octavian. He gave up the title of Triumvir, emphasizing instead his position as consul; and the powers of a tribune, he proclaimed, were good enough for him—powers for the protection of ordinary people.

He seduced the army with bonuses, and his cheap food policy was successful bait for civilians. Indeed, he attracted everybody's goodwill by the enjoyable gift of peace. Then he gradually pushed ahead and absorbed the functions of the senate, the officials, and even the law. Opposition did not exist. War or judicial murder had disposed

后来,秦纳和苏拉建立了专制统治,但是也都很短暂,不久就被庞培和克拉苏斯夺得,而且庞培和克拉苏斯的大权也很快又落入了恺撒之手。接着,列庇都斯和安托尼乌斯建立起来的军事大权被奥古斯都获取。奥古斯都又重整由于内争而纷乱不堪的城邦,并以普林凯普斯^[1]的名义建立了一个王国。

著名的历史学家已经记录下了早期罗马的光荣和不幸,奥古斯都时代,也已经有了优秀的历史学家。但阿谀奉承之风一旦兴起,其后果就是记录真实历史的传统消失了。在提贝里乌斯、盖乌斯、克劳狄乌斯和尼禄活着的时候,人们怀着恐惧的心情编写他们统治的历史,而在他们死后,人们撰述的作品又受到余怒未消的愤恨情绪的影响,两者都有失历史的客观性。因此,我想说一说奥古斯都,特别是他当政的后期。接下来再谈一谈提贝里乌斯和他的继承者们的统治。在我撰写这些历史时,既没有什么愤慨,也没有任何派性偏见,因为在我身上缺乏通常足以引起愤慨和偏见的那一种动机。

布鲁图斯和卡西乌斯的横死使共和国丧失了武装作战的力量,塞克斯图斯·庞培在西西里战败,^[2]列庇都斯被清除,安东尼被杀死。这样,恺撒党除了“恺撒”本人,即屋大维以外已没有其他领导者了。屋大维放弃了三头之一头衔,他声称自己只是一个普通的执政官,而且一个执政官所拥有的权力只要足以用来保护普通民众就可以了。

他用奖励来笼络军队,用廉价的粮食来平息市民们的情绪。而实际上,他用和平博得了人们对他的好感。然后,他逐渐地提

[1] 普林凯普斯这个称号只代表一种头衔,并不能拥有任何行政和军事权力,拥有这个头衔的人被列为首席元老。

[2] 公元前36年,塞克斯图斯·庞培在佩洛鲁姆海角附近海面上被阿格里帕打败。

of all men of spirit. Upper-class survivors found that slavish obedience was the way to succeed, both politically and financially. They had profited from the revolution, and so now they liked the security of the existing arrangement better than the dangerous uncertainties of the old regime. Besides, the new order was popular in the provinces. There, government by Senate and People was looked upon sceptically as a matter of sparring dignitaries and extortionate officials. The legal system had provided no remedy against these, since it was wholly incapacitated by violence, favouritism, and—most of all—bribery.

To safeguard his domination Augustus made his sister's son Marcellus a priest and a curule aedile—in spite of his extreme youth—and singled out Marcus Agrippa, a commoner but a first-rate soldier who had helped to win his victories, by the award of two consecutive consulships; after the death of Marcellus, Agrippa was chosen by Augustus as his son-in-law. Next the emperor had his stepsons Tiberius and Nero Drusus hailed publicly as victorious generals. When he did this, however, there was no lack of heirs of his own blood: there were Agrippa's sons Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar. Augustus had adopted them into the imperial family. He had also, despite pretended reluctance, been passionately eager that, even as minors, they should be entitled Princes of Youth and have consulships reserved for them. After Agrippa had died, first Lucius Caesar and then Gaius Caesar met with premature natural deaths—

高自己的地位和声望,把元老院、高级长官甚至司法权都集中在自己手里。反对者消失了,他用战争或者法律制裁的手段将具有独立自主精神的人全部消除掉,剩下的贵族们认为奴隶般的服从是升官发财的最好途径。他们既然从革命中获得了好处,因此也就乐于在现行制度中苟且偷安,甚于喜欢那种旧体制能带来的危险。而且新统治在各行省都很受欢迎,元老院和人民的管理,反而由于权贵之间的互相倾轧和官吏们的敲诈盘剥而得不到信任。法制对此也提供不了什么有效的制止措施,因为暴力、偏私,特别是各式各样的贿赂,已经使它无能为力了。

为了加强自己的统治,奥古斯都让他姐姐的儿子玛尔凯路斯,^[1]一个十分年轻的小伙子担任祭司和高级行政官;^[2]又提拔虽是平民出身但粗通军事,曾经帮助他获得胜利的玛尔库斯·阿格里帕,给予他两次连任领事的殊荣。玛尔凯路斯死后,奥古斯都又选择了阿格里帕作为自己的女婿。接下来,皇帝又公然授予他的继子提贝里乌斯和尼禄·杜路苏斯两人以凯旋将军的头衔。然而,他这样做并没有削弱他自己的家族:阿格里帕的两个儿子盖乌斯·恺撒和路奇乌斯·恺撒被奥古斯都纳入他的帝王之家中。^[3] 尽管假装不情愿,他却是十分渴望在他们尚未成年时就授予他们青年元首的称号,并为他们保留执政官的位置。阿格里帕死后,先是路奇乌斯·恺撒,接着是盖乌斯·恺撒也相继死

(1) 克劳狄乌斯·玛尔凯路斯是维吉尔的叙事诗《埃涅伊特》中的重要人物,他娶了奥古斯都的女儿优利娅,20岁的时候就死了。

(2) 古罗马掌管公共建筑物、道路、供水、社会秩序和文娱活动等民政行政官。

(3) 盖乌斯和路奇乌斯是阿格里帕和优利娅的两个儿子,是奥古斯都的外孙。

unless their stepmother Livia had a secret hand in them. Lucius died on his way to the armies in Spain, Gaius while returning from Armenia incapacitated by a wound.

Nero Drusus was long dead. Tiberius was the only surviving stepson; and everything pointed in his direction. He was adopted as the emperor's son and as partner in his powers (with civil and military authority and the powers of a tribune) and displayed to all the armies. No longer was this due to his mother's secret machinations, as previously. This time she requested it openly. Livia had the aged Augustus firmly under control—so much so that he exiled his only surviving grandson to the island of Planasia. That was the young, physically tough, indeed brutish, Agrippa Postumus. Though devoid of every good quality, he had been involved in no scandal. Nevertheless, it was not he but Germanicus, the son of Nero Drusus, whom the emperor placed in command of the eight divisions on the Rhine—and, although Tiberius had a grown son of his own, he ordered him to adopt Germanicus. For Augustus wanted to have another iron in the fire.

At this time there was no longer any fighting—except a war against the Germans; and that was designed less to extend the empire's frontiers, or achieve any lucrative purpose, than to avenge the disgrace of the army lost with Publius Quinctilius Varus. In the capital the situation was calm. The titles of officials remained the same. Actium had been won before the younger men were born. Even most of the older generation had come into a world of civil wars. Practically no one had

去——或许是因为他们的继母利维拉的毒害，也或许是因为两人是先天的短命。路奇乌斯死于去西班牙军队的途中，盖乌斯在从亚美尼亚回来的途中受伤致死。

尼禄·杜鲁苏斯早就死了，提贝里乌斯是唯一幸存的继子，事情的发展完全在他的预料之中。他被皇帝认作继子，在权力方面成了皇帝的伙伴（他拥有管理行政和军事的权力，还拥有护民官的权力）而且可以在全军面前展现自己的才能。以前，这些都是由他母亲秘密谋划，但是，现在已成为公开要求的理所当然的事情。利维拉把年老的奥古斯都调理得言听计从，以至于把他仅存的一个外孙都流放到了皮亚诺扎岛。尽管这个外孙阿格里帕·波斯图姆斯幼稚、粗暴、蛮横，没有多少优点，也并没有什么丑闻恶行。但是这位帝王却不让他的继子，而是让尼禄·杜鲁苏斯的儿子日耳曼尼库斯成为莱茵河一带八个军团的统帅，虽然提贝里乌斯有一个已经成年的儿子，奥古斯都却仍然让提贝里乌斯将日耳曼尼库斯收为继子。奥古斯都如此安排，是想在继承方面获得多一层的保障。

这时除了对日耳曼人的战争外，已基本没有任何战争了。这场战争与其说是为了扩充帝国的疆土或者获取任何实利，倒不如说是为普布里乌斯·克温克提里乌斯·伐鲁斯军队的失败^{〔1〕}洗雪耻辱。在都城，形势是平静的。官员们的职务依然如旧，没有什么变动。年轻人都出生在阿克提乌姆一战的胜利之后，甚至多数老一代

〔1〕 普布里乌斯·克温克提里乌斯·伐鲁斯是奥古斯都的侄孙女婿，公元9年，他和他的三个军团在威斯特伐利亚的森林中与阿尔米尼乌斯作战，结果被阿尔米尼乌斯全部歼灭。

ever seen truly Republican government. The country had been transformed, and there was nothing left of the fine old Roman character. Political equality was a thing of the past; all eyes watched for imperial commands.

Nobody had any immediate worries as long as Augustus retained his physical powers, and kept himself going, and his House, and the peace of the empire. But when old age incapacitated him, his approaching end brought hopes of change. A few people started idly talking of the blessings of freedom. Some, more numerous, feared civil war; others wanted it. The great majority, however, exchanged critical gossip about candidates for the succession. First, Agrippa Postumus—a savage without either the years or the training needed for imperial responsibilities. Tiberius, on the other hand, had the seniority and the military reputation. But he also possessed the ancient, ingrained arrogance of the Claudian family; and signs of a cruel disposition kept breaking out, repress them as he might. Besides, it was argued, he had been brought up from earliest youth in an imperial household, had accumulated early consulships and Triumphs, and even during the years at Rhodes—which looked like banishment but were called retirement—his thoughts had been solely occupied with resentment, deception, and secret sensuality. And then there was that feminine bully, his mother. ‘So we have got to be slaves to a woman’, people were saying, ‘and to the two half-grown boys Germanicus and Drusus. First they will be a burden to the State—then they will tear it in two!’

Amid this sort of conversation the health of Augustus deteriorated. Some suspected his wife of foul play. For rumour had it that a few months earlier, with the knowledge of his immediate circle but accom-