



*Library of Classical Studies*

西方古典学研究



希腊罗马史料集



(二)

公元前4世纪的希腊

(英文影印版)

〔加拿大〕菲利普·哈丁 编译 黄洋 导读

*Translated Documents of Greece & Rome 2*

*From the end of the Peloponnesian War to the battle of Ipsus*



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西方古典学研究

*Library of Classical Studies*

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## “西方古典学研究”总序

古典学是西方一门具有悠久传统的学问,初时是以学习和通晓古希腊文和拉丁文为基础,研读和整理古代希腊拉丁文献,阐发其大意。18世纪中后期以来,古典教育成为西方人文教育的核心,古典学逐渐发展成为以多学科的视野和方法全面而深入研究希腊罗马文明的一个现代学科,也是西方知识体系中必不可少的基础人文学科。

在我国,明末即有士人与来华传教士陆续译介希腊拉丁文献,传播西方古典知识。进入20世纪,梁启超、周作人等不遗余力地介绍希腊文明,希冀以希腊之精神改造我们的国民性。鲁迅亦曾撰《斯巴达之魂》,以此呼唤中国的武士精神。1940年代,陈康开创了我国的希腊哲学研究,发出欲使欧美学者不通汉语为憾的豪言壮语。晚年周作人专事希腊文学译介,罗念生一生献身希腊文学翻译。更晚近,张竹明和王焕生亦致力于希腊和拉丁文学译介。就国内学科分化来看,古典知识基本被分割在文学、历史、哲学这些传统学科之中。1980年代初,我国世界古代史学科的开创者日知(林志纯)先生始倡建立古典学学科。时至今日,古典学作为一门学问已渐为学界所识,其在西学和人文研究中的地位日益凸显。在此背景之下,我们编辑出版这套“西方古典学研究”丛书,希冀它成为古典学学习者和研究者的一个知识与精神的园地。“古典学”一词在西文中固无歧义,但在中文中可包含多重意思。丛书取“西方古典学”之名,是为避免中文语境中的歧义。

收入本丛书的著述大体包括以下几类:一是我国学者的研究成果。近年来国内开始出现一批严肃的西方古典学研究者,尤其是立志于从事西方古典学研究的青年学子。他们具有国际学术视野,其研究往往大胆而独具见解,代表了我国西方古典学研究的前沿水平和发展方向。二是国外学者的研究论著。我们选择翻译出版在一些重要领域或是重要问题上反映国外最新研究取向的论著,希望为国内研究者和学习者提供一定的指引。三是西方古典学研习者亟需的书籍,包括一些工具书和部分不常见的英译西方

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古典文献汇编。对这类书,我们采取影印原著的方式予以出版。四是关系到西方古典学学科基础建设的著述,尤其是西方古典文献的汉文译注。收入这类的著述要求直接从古希腊文和拉丁文原文译出,且译者要有研究基础,在翻译的同时做研究性评注。这是一项长远的事业,非经几代人的努力不能见成效,但又是亟需的学术积累。我们希望能从细小处着手,为这一项事业添砖加瓦。无论哪一类著述,我们在收入时都将以学术品质为要,倡导严谨、踏实、审慎的学风。

我们希望,这套丛书能够引领读者走进古希腊罗马文明的世界,也盼望西方古典学研习者共同关心、浇灌这片精神的园地,使之呈现常绿的景色。

“西方古典学研究”编委会

2013年7月

## 导 读

呈现给读者的这套“希腊罗马史料集”( *Translated Documents of Greece and Rome* ), 是希腊罗马史研究领域的一套重要史料集, 1977年起由剑桥大学出版社陆续出版, 现已成为英语世界希腊罗马史专业学习与研究必备的工具书。全套共5册, 按历史分期分为《古风时代至公元前5世纪末的希腊》(1977年第1版, 1983年第2版)、《公元前4世纪的希腊》(1985年)、《希腊化时代》(1985年)、《至奥古斯都统治时期的罗马与希腊》(1984年)、《早期罗马帝国》(1988年), 分别由所在领域的一位专家选编和翻译, 涵盖了从希腊古风时期到公元2世纪前期的希腊罗马史。这套史料集的编辑与翻译由美国的希腊罗马史专家主持并参与, 主编为已故哈佛大学古代史教授贝蒂安(Ernst Badian)和已故纽约州立大学古代史教授谢尔克(Robert K. Sherk), 四位编译者分别为布朗大学古典学教授福尔那拉(Charles W. Fornara, 现为该校荣退教授)、加拿大英属哥伦比亚大学古典学副教授哈丁(Phillip Harding, 现为该校荣退教授)、加州州立大学古代史教授伯斯坦(Stanley M. Burstein, 现为该校荣退教授)和谢尔克本人。史料集的初衷是为了满足美国高校希腊罗马史专业本科生和研究生学习与研究的需要, 出版之后却取得了意想不到的效果, 受到全世界希腊罗马史研究者的广泛使用。

这套史料集之所以如此受欢迎, 是因为编译者独到的眼光和严谨而专业的翻译。编译者意识到, 虽然专业的研究者需要直接以古希腊文和拉丁文的原始文献为依据来从事研究, 但高校希腊罗马史专业的大多数本科生乃至硕士研究生还不具备直接阅读原文所需要的语言基础, 而相当一部分重要的史料并不是来自于常见的史书如希罗多德、修昔底德的著作, 或者是塔西佗和普鲁塔克的记载, 而是来自于一些不常见的历史著作, 甚至史书残篇、碑铭、纸草文书, 抑或是保存在后世的评注(scholia)和10世纪拜占庭的古代世界百科全书《苏达辞书》(*Suda*)中。这些史料不仅难以寻觅, 而且部

## 2 希腊罗马史料集(二)

分甚至没有英译本。因此,他们有意识地从这些不常见的史料中选取一些重要者,加以翻译和注释,以期补充业已译成英文的常见史料。其结果是,这套史料集所收集的史料不仅对于学习者十分有用,甚至对专业研究者也大有裨益。

在翻译方面,编译者严格采取直译的方式,以期尽量保持原文的风格,接近原文的意思。对于碑铭和残篇,亦严格按原文的格式,仅仅译出残留的文字部分,并且明确标示出残损部分和原文每一行的分行之处。史料集各册采取统一格式,分条目按年代顺序排列,在必要时则分大专题再按年代顺序排列。对每一条目,必先交代清楚史料来源和最为重要的相关研究文献,然后是史料译文,最后还附有必要的注释,以帮助读者理解史料。文中所涉文献多用缩写,所指在册首“缩写说明”中均予详细交代。对于碑铭、纸草文献和残篇,译文中穿插多种符号,以标示史料的原始状态,册首亦均附“符号说明”,详解其含义。册尾又各附专有名词释义(术语表)、附录及分类索引,帮助读者阅读和使用。

在我国,主要的希腊罗马史书中,大部已译成中文出版。但对于专业的学习者和大部分的研究者而言,大量尚未译成中文或者英文的史料仍令人望而却步,何况即使对于能够阅读原文史料的少数研究者,绝大部分不常见的史料也都难以寻觅。而与此同时,我国的希腊罗马史教学和研究业已发展到了不能仅仅依赖几部汉译史书、而需要更为全面地占有和利用史料的阶段。为了适应这一新的发展的需要,我们从大量英译希腊罗马史史料集中,选取这套“希腊罗马史料集”,予以影印出版。其原因首先在于,它编选的多数史料既不常见,又十分重要;其次在于它所遵守的翻译原则十分严格,使之具有很大的可靠性;还在于我们相信其范围和篇幅恰好适用于我国的希腊罗马史教学与研究。同样,之所以选择直接影印而不译成中文出版,亦是为了尽量保障史料的可靠性。我们希望,这套史料集对于我国的希腊罗马史学习者与研究者会有所裨益。

然而这套史料集尚有不足之处,即它并不涵盖公元2世纪及以后的希腊罗马史。但有兴趣者不难找到其他便利的史料集,例如劳德里奇出版社出版的“劳德里奇古代世界史料集”(Routledge Sourcebooks for the Ancient World)丛书,其中各册专题性更强,但所收史料更为丰富。与罗马帝国相关的各册包括《罗马帝国政府史料集》(The Government of the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook, Barbara Levick 编,2000年第2版)、《公元前31年至公元337年

的罗马军队史料集》(*The Roman Army, 31 BC-AD 337: A Sourcebook*, Brian Campbell 编,1994 年版)、《罗马帝国的妇女与法律史料集》(*Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood*, Judith Evans Grubbs 编,2002 年版)、《古代晚期史料阅读》(*Readings in Late Antiquity: A Sourcebook*, Michael Maas 编,2010 年第 2 版)等。

黄 洋

2013 年 10 月

**Translated Documents of Greece and Rome**

*E. Badian and Robert K. Sherk, Editors*

**VOLUME 2**

**From the end of the Peloponnesian War to the battle of Ipsus**

**FOR MY FAMILY**

## Translated Documents of Greece and Rome

### SERIES EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Greek and Roman history has always been in an ambivalent position in American higher education, having to find a home either in a Department of History or in a Department of Classics, and in both it is usually regarded as marginal. Moreover, in a History Department the subject tends to be taught without regard to the fact that the nature of the evidence is, on the whole, very different from that for American, English, or French history, while in a Classics Department it tends to be viewed as a 'philological' subject and taught by methods appropriate to Greek and Latin authors. Even on the undergraduate level the difference may be important, but on the graduate level, where future teachers and scholars, who are to engage in original research, are trained, it becomes quite clear that neither of these solutions is adequate.

One problem is the standard of proficiency that should be required in Greek and Latin – both difficult languages, necessitating years of study; and few students start the study, even of Latin, let alone Greek, before they come to college. The editors recognize that for the student aiming at a Ph.D. in the subject and at advancing present knowledge of it there can be no substitute for a thorough training in the two languages. Nevertheless, they believe that it is possible to extend serious instruction at a high level to graduate students aiming at reaching the M.A. level and to make them into competent teachers. It is also possible to bring about a great improvement in the standard of undergraduate courses not requiring the ancient languages – courses that instructors themselves usually find unsatisfactory, since much of the source material cannot be used.

In order to use this material, at both graduate and serious undergraduate levels, the instructor must, in fact, be able to range far beyond the standard authors who have been translated many times. Harpocration, Valerius Maximus, and the *Suda* are often necessary tools, but they are usually unknown to anyone except the advanced scholar. Inscriptions, papyri, and scholia can be baffling even to the student who does have a grounding in the ancient languages.

It is the aim of the series to supply that need for translations of materials not readily available in English. The principal historical authors (authors like Livy and Plutarch) are not included; they are easy enough to find in adequate translations, and the student will have to

## *Series Editors' Introduction*

read far more of them than could be provided in a general source book. References to important passages in the works of those authors have been given at suitable points, but it is assumed that the instructor will direct the student's reading in them. While doing that reading, the student will now be able to have at his side a comprehensive reference book. Occasionally a passage from an otherwise accessible author (not a main historical source) has been included, so that the student may be spared the temptation of failing to search for it. But most of the material collected in this series would be hard for him to find anywhere in English, and much of it has never been translated at all.

Such translations of documentary sources as exist (and there are some major projects in translation among them, e.g. in the field of legal texts, which are intended to be far more than source books for students) tend to be seriously misleading in that they offer continuous texts where the original is (so often) fragmentary. The student cannot be aware of how much actually survives of the document and how much is modern conjecture – whether quite certain or mere guesswork. This series aims at presenting the translation of fragmentary sources in something like the way in which original documents are presented to the scholar: a variety of type fonts and brackets (which will be fully explained) have been used for this, and even though the page may at first sight appear forbidding to one unaccustomed to this, he will learn to differentiate between text and restoration and (with the instructor's help and the use of the notes provided) between the dubious, the probable, and the certain restoration. Naturally, the English can never correspond perfectly to the Greek or Latin, but the translation aims at as close a correspondence as can be achieved, so that the run of the original and (where necessary) the amount surviving can be clearly shown. Finer points of English idiom have deliberately been sacrificed in order to produce this increased accuracy, though it is hoped that there will be nothing in the translation so unnatural as to baffle the student. In the case of inscriptions (except for those with excessively short lines) line-by-line correspondence has been the aim, so that the student who sees a precise line reference in a modern work will be able to find it in the translation.

Translation is an art as well as a science; there are bound to be differing opinions on the precise interpretation and on the best rendering of any given passage. The general editors have tried to collaborate with volume editors in achieving the aims outlined above. But there is always room for improvement, and a need for it. Suggestions and corrections from users of the series will always be welcome.

The general editors sincerely hope that the present series will make a major contribution to raising the standard of ancient history teaching

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in the U.S.A. and, indeed, wherever English is the medium of instruction, and that it will help to convey to students not fully proficient in Greek or Latin, or even entirely ignorant of those languages, some of the immediacy and excitement of real (as distinct from textbook) history. Perhaps some will be encouraged to develop their skill in the two languages so as to go on to a fuller understanding of the ancient world, or even to professional study of it.

*Harvard University*  
*State University of New York at Buffalo*

E.B.  
R.K.S.

## VOLUME EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this volume is to supplement the standard and easily accessible sources of the history of the Greek world in the fourth century BC.

It is not surprising that a large proportion of the documents translated here are inscriptions from Athens, for the Athenians of the fourth century, at least while they governed themselves democratically, continued their fifth-century practice of publishing all their public business (peace treaties, laws, casualty-lists, accounts, etc.) on marble stelai. But by the end of the fifth century this practice had become widespread in the Greek world, even in states that were not democratic. So the student will find inscriptions from Delphi, Boeotia, Tegea, Cyrene, Samos, Skepsis, Olynthus and several other places. Down to the death of Alexander the Great in 323 I was able to use the selection in M.N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, vol. 2, though it occasionally needed to be supplemented by recent finds (e.g. nos. 8, 9 and 45). For the period after 323 the selection is entirely my own.

Inscriptions are primary sources of information, but their interpretation often depends upon a narrative account. We have, of course, the extant histories of Xenophon and Diodorus, but there were many other historical works, written in the fourth century or later, that pertained to the fourth century. On the one hand there was the *Universal History* of Ephorus of Cyme, upon which Diodorus drew. On the other there was a great variety of monographs, some of which continued Thucydides' history of Greek affairs (*Hellenica*), while others were on more specific topics, like the Sacred War or the careers of Philip, Alexander or the Successors. The writing of local history also increased in popularity, especially at Athens (the *Atthis*).

Only fragments of these works have survived, and those that have have done so in a number of ways. Many, for example, were quoted in extant works or in the scholia that were written in the margins of the texts of some of these works (especially of the orators Aeschines and Demosthenes) by ancient scholars from the Hellenistic period onwards. Others can be found in the compilations of the late Roman or Byzantine lexicographers (e.g. the *Lexicon* of Harpocration, the *Suda*, or the *Bibliotheca* of the Patriarch Photius). A few have been preserved on papyrus, either as fragments of an originally complete text (e.g. the

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*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*) or as quotations in a commentary (e.g. Didymus' commentary on some passages from Demosthenes). The fragments, however found, are collected in Felix Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.

In accordance with the aims of this series I have tried to prevent my own opinions from influencing the presentation of these documents, whether epigraphic or literary. Where several dates have been proposed for a document, these have all been indicated in the heading, but the item is always listed under the earliest date. The arguments in support of the various dates and the interpretation of the document, wherever that is controversial, will be found in the fairly full, though by no means exhaustive, bibliography. The student will usually find enough material in English in the bibliography to enable him/her to understand the historical importance of the document and any controversy that surrounds it. I have, however, frequently added works in other languages for the benefit of those who can read them.

In addition to the bibliography, the heading, in the case of inscriptions, provides the following information: place of origin (and discovery, if different), date (or dates) assigned, material and form (including decorative motifs), identification of script and dialect (if necessary) and an indication whether the mason used the chequer pattern (stoichedon) or not. In the next section I list the texts that I have consulted, using an asterisk to mark the one I have translated. Below that follow the principal literary texts that pertain to the material contained in the document. All dates in the heading and elsewhere are BC, unless otherwise noted.

The format of the translation is that prescribed by the general editors of the series. In particular, they are eager that each line of the translation should normally correspond to a line of the inscription. This has been the most difficult part of my assignment. Some problems could be solved in a regular fashion. For example, where (as often) the subject of an active verb came in the following line, I have made the verb passive and the subject the agent. Other difficulties were less tractable and have resulted in a translation that is less elegant than I should have liked. In the case of recurring formulae I have used the same translation, except where this conflicted with the line division. Finally, I have attempted to distinguish between infinitives and imperatives in my translation of inscriptions. Thus, for infinitives (with two exceptions) I have used the translation established in the first volume (e.g. 'commendation shall be given', etc.). However, the perfect infinitives *epsephisthai* and *dedochthai* have been translated as imperatives, in accordance with the standard interpretation of them. Imperatives have been translated in the variety of ways admitted by the English language.

## *Volume Editor's Introduction*

The system of brackets used in the text is outlined below, but some words are in order about restorations. Where letters have been restored in a proper name, these have been enclosed in square brackets. In other cases, the entire word or words that constitute the translation of a Greek word that has been partially restored are italicized, except where the restoration is so slight that there can be no doubt about it. Where the restoration is quite hypothetical, I have either put it in square brackets or relegated it to a footnote. Where there are a variety of suggested restorations, I have usually noted these in the footnotes, with the names of the scholars who have proposed them after each. Otherwise I have tried to restrict the information in the footnotes to explanation of technical terms, identification of important individuals and sundry material of this sort. The footnotes do not constitute a commentary, but I have occasionally given longer notes either as background to a document or summarizing an important theory that has been proposed in a language other than English.

The passages from literary sources are treated in the same way as the inscriptions, but the presentation is less complex.

As far as the rendition of names of people and places is concerned, I have followed the practice established by the editors. Greek names in the text have been transliterated (the letter *chi* is 'ch' not 'kh'), but the names of authors have been given in their latinized form. The difference is usually no more than that between Ctesias and Ktesias, Philochorus and Philochoros, Lycurgus and Lykourgos. Three names have been treated differently, because they are so well known in their Anglo-Latin form – Philip II of Macedon, Alexander the Great and Ptolemy, son of Lagos. Familiar place names and, consequently, their ethnics have been latinized, e.g. Chalcis and Chalcidians rather than Chalkis and Chalkidians. Less well-known names have been transliterated.