



史学文丛

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Philip II:
Hegemony and Panhellenism

徐晓旭 著

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前 言

这本书是在我博士学位论文（‘Philip II: Hegemony and Panhellenism’，东北师范大学世界古典文明史研究所，2001年）的基础上修改写成的。它研究的问题是马其顿国王腓利二世谋求希腊霸权的行动与泛希腊主义之间的互动关系。

我希望这本书能够证明：伴随着腓利对希腊事务的介入，作为一种传统的族群政治意识形态的泛希腊主义分裂成了三个“派别”。我尝试性地将它们称为“反腓利的泛希腊主义”、“亲腓利的泛希腊主义”和“腓利自我推动的泛希腊主义”。从本质上说，这三种泛希腊主义是对“希腊人-蛮族人对立”、“希腊人的共同利益”等传统的族群政治话语在新形势下的不同操纵。德摩斯提尼和伊索克拉底都留下了大量含有泛希腊主义观点的演说词；前者可被看作反腓利的泛希腊主义者的代表，后者则是亲腓利的泛希腊主义者的代表。通常，学者们并没有将埃斯奇奈斯视为泛希腊主义者。但我希望我的论证能够让人们相信，埃斯奇奈斯原来是一个反腓利的泛希腊主义者，后来转变成了亲腓利的泛希腊主义者。腓利最终取得希腊霸权这一事实表明，他通过自己的泛希

腊主义实践，在城邦各别主义容许的限度内，最大程度地实现了伊索克拉底提出的泛希腊主义计划。正是由于腓利对希腊事务的参与，霸权和泛希腊主义均超越了城邦世界传统的政治视野。

对我来说，写这本书的确不容易。不过，我由始至终都感到很幸运，因为我的周围一直都有热心帮助我的人。对他们，我谨致以最衷心的感谢！首先，我应该把巨大的感谢送给我的导师王敦书教授和玛丽·金格罗丝博士。正是在王先生这位出色的向导的带领下，我步入了希腊史的研究领域，这是一个充满魅力的领域，一片有着美丽景致的田园。王先生连续指导了我的硕士和博士学位论文，是一位一直带我游历这片田园的耐心向导。

在古代，腓利二世的祖先亚历山大一世曾被人赋予 Philhellen（“爱希腊者”）的称号。腓利二世本人也被伊索克拉底暗指为 philhellen。我时常认为，自己其实也是个 philhellen。能在金格罗丝博士的指导下写论文，我感到十分高兴，因为她是位来自澳大利亚的希腊人，并且又是一位公认的为人和蔼的老师。她认真地修改了我的论文稿。我论文所需的很多资料也是她提供的。如果没有两位导师的苦心指导，我不敢想象我的论文能否如期完成。

一份深深的谢意应该为林志纯教授送上。林先生是东北师范大学世界古典文明史研究所的 Founding Father（“开基之祖”）——请允许我用这个恰当的英语名词来称呼他——他为中国的世界古代史学科做出了卓越的贡献。在他的多项成就中，关于古代希腊和古代中国国家的理论曾对我的研究思路有很大的启发。不幸的是，他于 2007 年永远地离开了我们。在这里，我谨向他表达我最深的哀思和敬意。

古典文献的阅读是富有挑战性的，也是充满乐趣的。我衷心感谢张强教授、克里斯托佛·埃尔哈特教授、乔治 W. M. 哈里森博士及其夫人凯若尔·赫申森博士带领我阅读我所要依据的最

重要的古典文献。哈里森夫妇还为我的研究提供了大量资料。

我也由衷地感谢刘家和教授、郭小凌教授、徐家玲教授、晏绍祥教授、吴宇虹教授、詹姆斯·斯图亚特博士、王海利博士、国洪更博士、周秀文老师、高化成老师。他们都曾在我最需要的时刻，给我提供了各种各样的及时帮助。

在我从事关于古代希腊族群认同的博士后研究期间（复旦大学历史系，2001—2003年），我的合作导师黄洋教授常常能够为我提供激发灵感的建议，很多建议都促使我不断地更新对于泛希腊主义的思考。黄老师注重历史解释的学风深深地影响了我。一份特殊的感激之情应该由他来收下。

一篇学位论文变成目前的一本书，首先应该归功于胡年珍女士和刘固盛教授的促成。正是他们最先发现这篇论文可以出版，并把它推荐给华中师范大学出版社的。尤其是刘教授还一直关心着这本书的出版进程。没有他们的积极推动，这本书的出版无论如何都是不可能的。为此我向他们致以最诚挚的感谢。

华中师范大学历史文化学院资助了该书的出版，而这一资助是与学院各位领导的支持分不开的。因此，我在向我的学院表达敬意的同时，也向彭南生教授、刘固盛教授、邢来顺教授和胡年珍女士等学院领导致以衷心的感谢。

最后，但同样至关重要的是，我还要向王中宝女士、黄正柏教授、廖国春先生表达我的由衷谢意。他们认真审校了我的书稿，并为我的写作提出了若干富有价值的意见。

本书注释中注明的古典作家及其著作名称，一般依国际惯例采用缩写形式，缩写体例已详细列出。

徐晓旭

华中师范大学历史文化学院

2009年6月

Preface

This book is adapted from my doctoral dissertation (‘Philip II : Hegemony and Panhellenism ’, IHAC, Northeast Normal University, Changchun, 2001). It explores the interaction between Philip II of Macedon’s pursuit of hegemony and Panhellenism.

I hope to have demonstrated that in response to Philip’s participation in Greek affairs, Panhellenism as a traditional ethno-political ideology split up into three ‘sects’, which I tentatively term as ‘anti-Philippic Panhellenism’, ‘pro-Philippic Panhellenism’, and ‘Philip’s self-promoting Panhellenism’. They were in essence different types of manipulation of the traditional ethno-political discourse concerning the ‘Greek-barbarian antithesis’, ‘Greek common interests’, etc. under new circumstances. Both Demosthenes and Isocrates have left us voluminous orations involving Panhellenic views. The former, therefore, may be considered a representative of anti-Philippic

Panhellenists, and the latter, of pro-Philippic Panhellenists. Conventionally, Aeschines has scarcely been regarded as a Panhellenist, but I wish one would be convinced that he underwent a shift from anti-Philippic Panhellenism to pro-Philippic Panhellenism. Philip's acquirement of hegemony in Greece marked that through his Panhellenic practice he turned Isocrates' Panhellenic programme into reality to the greatest extent allowed by the *polis* particularism. It was because of Philip's presence in Greece that both hegemony and Panhellenism were developed beyond the traditional political horizons of the *polis* world.

It was indeed not easy for me to write this book, but I have always been lucky, for many persons kindheartedly helped me. I wish to thank warmly all of them. I owe a huge debt of gratitude to my supervisors Prof. Wang Dunshu and Dr. Mary Zingross. It was Prof. Wang who led me into the field of Greek history—a charming field. He kept supervising my master's and doctoral dissertations. As a philhellene, I have always been glad that I had a chance to study under the supervision of Dr. Zingross who, coming from Australia, is a Greek by origin, and also an agreeable teacher. She offered me many scholarly sources useful for my dissertation and corrected my writing. The completion of my dissertation would have been inconceivable without their painstaking direction.

I should particularly like to thank Prof. Lin Zhichun, the Founding Father of IHAC, for enlightening me with his sagacious theory on the ancient Greek and Chinese states. But

unfortunately he passed away in 2007. Here I wish to show him deep honour.

I am most grateful to Prof. Zhang Qiang, Prof. Christopher Ehrhardt, Dr. George W. M. Harrison and his wife Dr. Carol Hershenson for guiding me in reading most of the main classical texts as sources for my dissertation. Dr. Harrison and Dr. Hershenson also provided me with a number of classical and academic sources.

I also wish to thank sincerely Prof. Liu Jiahe, Prof. Guo Xiaoling, Prof. Xu Jialing, Prof. Yan Shaoxiang, Prof. Wu Yuhong, Dr. James Stewart, Dr. Wang Haili, Dr. Guo Honggeng, Ms. Zhou Xiuwen, and Mr. Gao Huacheng for rendering me valuable assistance in various ways.

When I did post-doctoral research on Greek ethnic identity at Fudan University (2001-2003), my co-advisor Prof. Huang Yang often gave me inspiring suggestions, which have impelled me to rethink about Panhellenism. I should like to express my great gratitude to him.

I am very much indebted to Ms. Hu Nianzhen and Prof. Liu Gusheng for recommending this book to Central China Normal University Press. Especially Prof. Liu has all the time been caring about its publication. Without their promotion, the publication of this book would have been impossible.

The College of History and Culture of Central China Normal University has sponsored the publication of this book, which has been related to the support of the College leaders. Therefore, while saluting my College, I should like to thank the leaders

Prof. Peng Nansheng, Prof. Liu Gusheng, Prof. Xing Laishun, and Ms. Hu Nianzhen.

Last but not least, my thanks go to Ms. Wang Zhongbao, Prof. Huang Zhengbai, and Mr. Liao Guochun for checking and criticizing the manuscript, and to Ms. Feng Huiping for arranging the publication of this book.

Xu Xiaoxu

College of History and Culture
Central China Normal University

June 2009

Abbreviations, Texts and Conventions

The following abbreviations are used in this book:

Ancient authors

Aelian, <i>VH</i>	Aelian, <i>Varia Historia</i>
Aechin.	Aeschines
Arist.	Aristotle
——, <i>Ath. Pol.</i>	——, <i>Athenaion Politeia</i>
Arrian, <i>Anab.</i>	Arrian, <i>Anabasis</i>
Athen.	Athenaeus
Dem.	Demosthenes
[Dem.]	[Demosthenes]
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hesiod, <i>WD</i>	Hesiod, <i>Works and Days</i>
Isoc.	Isocrates
Just.	Justin

Paus.	Pausanias
Plut.	Plutarch
——, <i>Alex.</i>	——, <i>Alexander</i>
——, <i>Dem.</i>	——, <i>Demosthenes</i>
——, <i>Phoc.</i>	——, <i>Phocion</i>
[Plut.]	[Plutarch]
Plb.	Polybius
Thuc.	Thucydides
Xen.	Xenophon
——, <i>Anab.</i>	——, <i>Anabasis</i>
——, <i>Hell.</i>	——, <i>Hellenica</i>

Fragments

FGH Jacoby, F. (ed.), *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*

Inscriptions

GHI Tod, M. N. (ed.), *A Selection of Greek Historical inscriptions*

Modern Publications

AC	<i>Acta Classica</i>
AHB	<i>The Ancient History Bulletin</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
Arch. Mak.	ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ
CAH 1	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 1st ed.
CAH 2	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2nd ed.
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>

CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
HM 2	Hammond and Griffith, <i>A History of Macedonia</i> , Vol. II
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
Num. Chron.	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
OCD 2	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 2nd ed.
OCD 3	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3rd ed.
REG	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>

The following texts are used in this book:

Aelian, *Varia Historia*

Aeschines, 2. *On the Embassy*

——, 3. *Against Ctesiphon*

Androtion of Athens = FGH 324

Aristotle, *Athēnaion Politeia*

——, F 81

——, F 611

——, *Politics*

——, *Rhetoric*

Arrian, *Anabasis*

Athenaeus

Cicero, *De Inventionē*

Cleidemus = FGH 323

Curtius Rufus

Demades, *On the Twelve Years*.

Demosthenes, 1. *Olynthiac I*

- , 2. *Olynthiac II*
- , 3. *Olynthiac III*
- , 4. *Philippic I*
- , 5. *On the Peace*
- , 6. *Philippic II*
- , 8. *On the Chersonese*
- , 9. *Philippic III*
- , 10. *Philippic IV*
- , 14. *On the Navy-boards*
- , 15. *For the Liberty of the Rhodians*
- , 16. *For the People of Megalopolis*
- , 18. *On the Crown*
- , 19. *On the Embassy*
- , 21. *Against Meidias*
- , 22. *Against Androtion*
- , 23. *Against Aristocrates*
- , 56. *Against Dionysodorus*
- , 60. *The Funeral Speech*
- , *Letter 3*

[Demosthenes], 7. *On Halonnesus*

—, 11. *Answer to Philip's Letter*

—, 12. *Philip's Letter*

—, 17. *On the Treaty with Alexander*

Diodorus Siculus

Ephorus = FGH 70

Frontinus, *Strategemata*

Hellanicus = FGH 4

Herodotus

Hesiod, *Works and Days*

—, *Eoëae*

Homer, *Iliad*

Hyperides, 1. *In Defence of Lycophron*

—, 3. *Athenogenes*

—, 4. *For Euxenippus*

—, Ff 67-71, *The Delian Speech*

—, Ff 76 and 80, *Against Demades for Illegal Proposals*

Isocrates, 4. *Panegyricus*

—, 5. *Philippus*

—, 6. *Archidamus*

—, 8. *On the Peace*

—, 10. *Helen*

—, 12. *Panathenaicus*

—, 15. *Antidosis*

—, *Letter 1*

—, *Letter 2*

—, *Letter 3*

—, *Letter 4*

—, *Letter 9*

Justin

Livy

Lucian, *On the Writing of History*

Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*

Marsyas = FGH 135/6

Pausanias

Philochorus = *FGH* 328

Plutarch, *Alexander*

——, *Aratus*

——, *Demosthenes*

——, *Eumenes*

——, *Moralia*

——, *Pelopidas*

——, *Phocion*

[Plutarch], *Lives of the Ten Orators*

Polybius

Strabo

Theopompus = *FGH* 115

Thucydides

Tod, M. N. (ed.), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*

Trogus, *Prologues*

Xenophon, *Anabasis*

——, *Hellenica*

——, *Poroi*

Loeb editions are used for the texts of all ancient authors cited in this book, with some exceptions: for Justin's *Epitome of Trogus* and Trogus' *Prologues* the Classiques Garnier edition is used; for fragments of other authors (e.g. Theopompus and Philochorus) F. Jacoby's *FGH* edition is used.

While citing important primary sources, I rely on my own translations directly from ancient Greek in the case of Diodorus Siculus, and directly from Latin in the case of most of Justin. I