

●世界史研究

古希腊“三列桨战船”的产生及特征

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摘 要: 早在公元前 3000 年,爱琴海地区已经出现了带龙骨的桨船“长船”。经过米诺文明和迈锡尼文明在撞角和甲板两个方面的发展,公元前 8 世纪产生了最早的战船“两列桨船”。撞角的发展和复合式桨手分布结构的采用,推动了公元前 7 世纪“三列桨战船”的产生。三列桨战船不仅拥有坚固轻巧的船体,而且具有严密的人员组织系统,最终凭借优良的战斗性能在公元前 5 世纪迅速推广,成为古典时期希腊世界的主力战船。三列桨战船的使用标志着古典希腊的顶峰,但在公元前 4 世纪以后,随着希腊城邦文明的衰落,三列桨战船逐步退出历史舞台。在很大程度上,三列桨战船发展、演变是古典希腊兴衰的集中体现。

关键词: 古希腊;战船;三列桨战船

海战在古希腊历史的发展演变中扮演了重要角色。无论是希波战争,还是伯罗奔尼撒战争,“三列桨战船”(trieres)都是希腊海战的主要作战单元,因而是希腊城邦文明处于巅峰时期的缩影。虽然三列桨战船是古希腊史研究中频繁出现的关键词,但目前国内学界专门性的研究并不多见。因此,本文系统梳理三列桨战船的产生和主要特征,尝试从一个微观的历史细节入手,管窥古典希腊兴衰的历史线索。

一、三列桨战船的前身:从长船到两列桨船

从目前我们掌握的文献和考古证据来看,古希

腊船只的发展是从“长船”(long ship)开始的,以树干为龙骨,在其两侧拼接船板,构成两舷。^①在基克拉底群岛(Cycladic)的赛若斯岛(Syros)上发现的约公元前 3000 年的陶制长柄平底盘上,刻画有大量的长船形象。整个船体窄而长,船首有鱼形和穗状的装饰物,船尾有一个翘起的突出物,它的功能仍不清楚。有学者认为它是船的尾舵,但也有学者认为它更像船首的撞角。^②长船没有桅杆和帆,图像中大量的线条表明船只是靠划桨来前进的。^③

公元前 16 世纪,米诺文明占据了希腊世界的海上主导权。修昔底德记载:“米诺斯是我们通过传闻而知的人当中最早掌握水师的,他统治了现在希腊海的绝大部分。”^④先进的航海技术为米诺文明的

* 本文系西南大学中央高校基本科研业务费专项资金项目“古希腊作家的‘世界’观念研究”(SWU1509408)、国家自然科学基金项目青年项目“斯特拉波《地理志》研究”(16CSS003)的阶段性成果之一。

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① Fike Mejer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*, Croom Helm, 1986, p.1.

② 参见 Fike Mejer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*, p.3, fig. 1.2. 对于青铜时代的长船船首与船尾的辨识西方学界仍有争议,相关讨论可参见:George F. Bass, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, Texas A&M University Press, 1998, p.7.

③ George F. Bass, *Seagoing ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, pp.74—75.

④ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.4, 本文引用的古希腊文献均根据“牛津古典文本”(Oxford Classical Texts),除特殊说明外,均为作者自译。对于米诺斯海权这一问题,学界存有争议,但均认同米诺文明在早期希腊历史上的海上优势地位。参见:Robin Hagg and Nanno Marinatos eds., *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality*, Svenska Institutet i Athens, 1984.

海上优势地位提供了必要条件,在考古发现的壁画、印章中,出现了大量的船只形象,最为典型的是在锡拉岛(Thera)的阿克罗蒂里(Acrotiri)西屋遗址发现的绘有米诺船只的壁画。^①与“长船”笔直的船干不同,米诺船为船干呈弯月形的“圆形船”(round ship)。船首和船尾呈对称状弯曲,当进行和平贸易时,饰有花状装饰物的船只右侧为船首,但是在战斗情况下装饰成猛兽头部的左侧转为船首,船只的左侧下端有类似撞角的尖状突出物,上方有装备士兵的塔楼。^②根据壁画的描绘我们可以推断,米诺船至少已经部分安装了甲板,舵手站在甲板上,手持单舵控制着船的航向。^③

公元前15世纪后半期,迈锡尼文明取代了米诺文明在东地中海地区的海上优势地位,改变了米诺文明“圆形船”的结构,重新回到了基克拉底时期的“长船”传统。龙骨的前端延伸出船首形成一个尖状的突出物,船尾向上弯曲。船身低而直,船首、尾分别有由栏杆组成的塔楼,船中部安装了新型的卷帆。^④在考古发现的图像资料中,迈锡尼船只形象的表现方式独具特色:两条粗线条,中间由排列规则的梯状竖线连接。底层横线代表船舷,桨手们在船舷上划桨;上层横线代表甲板,甲板和底部的船舷之间是敞开的,没有连接起来;中间的规则竖线代表支撑甲板的支柱,两个支柱之间构成了一个桨手划桨的开放式桨阁(oar-box)。^⑤巴斯(George F. Bass)指出,连接船首、船尾的甲板已经覆盖了整个船长,但并未横向覆盖整个船宽,甲板稍低于船首和船尾的平台。^⑥甲板通常作为水兵战斗的平台,同时也为桨手提供了部分屏障。

迈锡尼文明瓦解之后,爱琴海地区的海上活动受到严重挫折,但是残存的海上贸易以及大量的海盗行为仍然维系着古希腊不多的航海活动。在公元前8世纪,逐渐恢复的航海活动重新刺激了古希腊造船技术的发展,新型的“两列桨船”(dieres)应运而生。事实上,早在迈锡尼时期已经出现了向两层桨船的过渡,在位于希腊中部的利沃那提斯(Livonates)的皮尔戈斯遗址(Pyrgos)发现的约公元前12世纪的陶片中,就出现了可以在甲板上划桨的船只形象。^⑦两列桨船依然是单人单桨,但与长船不同的是,采取了上、下两层桨手的复合式结构,桨手们可以同时船舷和甲板上划桨。^⑧两列桨船的甲板纵向覆盖了整个船长,但横向并未覆盖全部船宽,在船舷和甲板之间是开放式的桨阁。与此同时,此前由规则竖线代表的甲板支柱演变为更为结实、面积更大的长方形屏障,以便更好地支撑甲板。随着船板的增加、长方形屏障的使用,桨手身体的裸露部分随之大幅缩小,因此获得了更大的掩护。^⑨迈锡尼时期船首的尖状突出物在公元前8世纪被加固,足以承受一个人的重量,从而演变为武器意义上的“撞角”。^⑩

到了公元前7世纪,两列桨船获得了进一步的发展。上层桨手已经不再坐在下层桨手的正上方,而是采取了品字形分布,位于下层桨手的前上方;^⑪撞角也戴上了不易被水腐蚀的青铜质鞘套。^⑫在公元前6世纪的陶瓶画中,两列桨船的桨阁完全覆盖上了只留有桨孔的船板,并在齐甲板处形成了一层新的船舷,用方格状的栏杆围绕。^⑬船舷用相对较厚的木材制成,起着横向加固船体的作用。^⑭下层桨手

①参见Fike Mejer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*, p.5, fig. 1.4.

②Avner Raban, "The Thera Ships: Another Interpretation," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (Jan., 1984), pp.11—19.

③George F. Bass, *Seagoing ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, pp.90—95.

④George F. Bass, *Seagoing ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, p.137.

⑤参见Fike Mejer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*, p.7, fig. 1.5.

⑥George F. Bass, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, p.156.

⑦参见George F. Bass, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, p.136, fig. 7.16.

⑧参见Fike Mejer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*, p.20, fig. 3.1.

⑨R. T. Williams, "Early Greek Ships of Two Levels," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 78 (1958), p.127.

⑩Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.49.

⑪Fike Mejer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*, p.23.

⑫Lion Casson and Elisha Linder, "The Evolution in Shape of The Ancient Ram," in Lion Casson and J. Richard Steffy eds., *The Athlit Ram*, Texas A&M University Press, 1991, p.67.

⑬参见Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, fig. 81.

⑭Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.64.

的桨穿过上、下船舷之间的桨孔划行,而上层桨手的船桨则用皮带固定在上船舷由护栏形成的方形格中。^①方形的卷帆依然由布条缝制而成,表面有横向的绳索固定,连接帆布的帆椽(yard)由索绳(paral)固定在桅杆顶端,通过系在帆椽上的卷帆索(brail)可以调整帆的方向和角度,桅杆用绞扎绳索(woolding)呈间隔状加固。^②两列桨船产生之后,一直存在到了公元前1世纪。^③

与米诺文明、迈锡尼文明的船只不同,古风时期的“两列桨船”已经成为真正意义上的战船。在公元前8世纪之前,希腊的战船和商船之间并无本质的区别,然而,随着古风时代日益频繁的海上活动,对船只的性能提出了更高的、专门化的要求,出现了战船和商船的分化,商船逐渐强调船只的载重量,船体更宽,延续了米诺船的“圆形船”传统;而战船则着重发展战斗力,船体窄而长,延续了早期的“长船”传统,其突出代表便是两列桨船的产生。^④到公元前6世纪,古典时期战船的典型特征都已具备。

第一,撞角的出现为古典时期的战船提供了战术上的准备。从古希腊早期船只的发展来看,无论是基克拉底群岛的长船、米诺文明的圆形船,还是几何陶片上的两列桨船,撞角都已经成为了一种经常性的装备。撞角的作用最初不是作为海战的武器,而是为了减少航行时水的阻力以提高航速,以及减少登陆作战时船首承受的压力。^⑤在古典时期的撞角战术广泛使用以前,海战的主要方式仍是由甲板上的士兵投掷带有铜尖的长矛或弓箭,当两船靠近后转化为接舷战,重装步兵们“在船只静止的时候,排成队列投入战斗”。在《荷马史诗》和几何陶片上,^⑥都没有海战中使用撞角的记载或图像。尽管

撞角并未成为主要的战斗武器,但是撞角出现本身,以及青铜套鞘的出现都证明船只战斗力的增强,为古典时期的战船作好了战术上的准备。第二,两列桨船的桨手分布方式为古典时期的三列桨战船提供了结构上的准备。两列桨船通过升起的甲板增加了桨手的数量,这种新的上下两层的复合式桨手分布结构,在增加了船只承载桨手数量的同时,避免了因船的长度增加而降低船的灵活性和机动性。

需要指出的是,在《荷马史诗》的记载中,通常根据桨手的数量将船只分为20、30、50桨船,而“两列桨船”的命名方式是以船舱横截面每侧船舷桨手的数目为依据,与日后出现的三列桨战船(trieres),以及四列(tetres)、五列(pentes)、六列(exeres)桨战船的命名方式相同。但是,在公元前6世纪和公元前5世纪,古希腊人并没有创造出“两列桨船”这一专门词汇,而是继续沿用根据桨手总数的命名方式,这一现象导致部分学者认为两列桨船直到凯撒生活的罗马共和国晚期才出现,^⑦斯塔尔(Chester G. Starr)也误认为古希腊战船由单层的50桨船直接发展为三列桨战船。^⑧事实上,在“两列桨船”的发展基础上,古风时期的地中海世界已经出现了“三列桨船”的雏形。在森纳克瑞部(Sennacherib)遗址发现的浮雕中,描绘了约公元前700年的一条腓尼基两列桨船。^⑨在两列桨船原有甲板的中间位置新增加了一层甲板。尽管新增加的甲板还没有装备桨手,但正如莫里森(J. S. Morrison)所认为的那样,这层新增加的甲板是向三列桨战船的重要过渡和前身。^⑩我们可以认为,两列桨船的出现距离修昔底德笔下“甲板没有完全覆盖船宽”的三列桨战船仅一步之遥。^⑪

①R. T. Williams, "Early Greek Ships of Two Levels," p. 127.

②Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.69.

③W. W. Tarn, "The Greek Warship," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 25 (1905), p.146.

④Fike Mejer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*, p.24.

⑤George F. Bass, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*, pp.157—158.

⑥Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.49.3

⑦R. T. Williams, "Ships in Greek Vase-Painting," *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 18, No. 54 (Oct., 1949), p.136. 参见:Caesar, *The Civil War*, 3.40.2

⑧Chester G. Starr, "The Ancient Warship," *Classical Philology*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Oct, 1940), p.369.

⑨参见 Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, fig. 76.

⑩J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p.32.

⑪Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.14.3. 对修昔底德原文中“dia pases”的理解,参见:Simon Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, Vol. I, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, ad loc.

二、三列桨战船的结构特征

在古风时代两列桨船的基础上,三列桨战船在公元前7世纪初产生。虽然关于三列桨战船产生的具体时间存在争议,甚至有学者认为三列桨战船起源于腓尼基,但大多数学者采信了修昔底德的说法,亦即:科林斯最早建造了希腊的三列桨战船,科林斯的造船人阿米恩诺克利(Ameinocles)在公元前704年到了萨摩斯,并为萨摩斯建造了四条三列桨战船。^①此后,三列桨战船的建造技术逐渐在东地中海地区扩散开来。根据希罗多德的记载,公元前499年起义的爱奥尼亚人已经能够组织起一支由353条三列桨战船组成的水师。^②在希波战争之后,三列桨战船被大规模使用,成为古典时期希腊世界的主力战船。

在船体结构上,三列桨战船最为明显的特征是在两列桨船的基础上增加了第三层桨手。新增加的甲板由舷外支架支撑,舷外支架依托于由中船舷(两列桨船的上船舷)向上延伸的船板,伸出船体约60厘米,^③从船首沿着弯曲的船舷延伸到船尾。^④最初,三列桨船的上层甲板只覆盖了中间部分的船宽。据普鲁塔克记载,经过客蒙(Cimon)在公元前467年的改装,三列桨战船的上层甲板才覆盖了整个船宽。^⑤莫里森认为,在公元前5世纪,三列桨战船已经装备了覆盖了全部船宽的上层甲板,但甲板

中间仍然留有供船员穿梭的缝隙。^⑥通常上层桨手的身体裸露在外边,但卡森认为三列桨战船有时会配备皮质的屏障保护桨手。^⑦据此,基本完全覆盖船宽的上层甲板、侧面突出的舷外支架,以及皮质的屏障,给桨手充分的安全屏障。

此外,三列桨战船的船首经常被装饰成动物的头部,其突出部分用大量结实的木材横向加固,在吃水线处延长为一个端点,用来安装可以拆卸的被绘成鼻子形状的撞角。^⑧在公元前5世纪,单齿钝形撞角演变为两齿,在公元前4世纪还出现了三齿撞角。^⑨在撞角的后上方是经过特别加固的侧塔(epotides),在船首遭到撞击时侧塔起着保护舷外支架的作用。^⑩船尾延续了几何陶时代向内弯曲的扇形形状,通常高于船首,配有登陆用的梯子。在雅典的三列桨战船船尾还安装了金色的雅典娜神像。^⑪两只尾舵分别安装在船尾的两侧,在每支舵的舵杆上横向安装了弓形的舵柄,舵手坐在船尾甲板中间部分的艉楼上,通过水平调节舵柄来控制船的航向。^⑫在船的中部,三列桨战船除了拥有方形卷帆外,还增加了一个向前倾斜的辅帆,两只桅杆都固定在龙骨上方的基座上。索具与公元前6世纪两列桨船的配置大致相同,利用卷帆索可以将帆调整为不同的大小和形状,^⑬帆通常为白色,以粉色代表“旗舰”,黑色代表哭泣,也会采用绿色作为伪装色。^⑭卡森认为,辅帆的主要作用是协助舵手调整航向,而非增加船的动力。^⑮主帆主要在巡逻时使用,在准备战斗

①Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.13.2. 有学者认为源自东方的腓尼基人, 参见:M. Basch, "Phoenician Oared Ships," *The Mariners' Mirror*, Vol. 55 (1969), p.230. 也有学者认为, 三列桨战船起源于希腊萨摩斯, 参见:J. A. Davison, "The First Greek Trireme," *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1/2. (Jan.-Apr, 1947), pp.18—24. 关于该问题的专门讨论可参见:H. T. Wallinga, *Ships and Sea-power before the Great Persian War*, Brill, 1993.

②Herodotus, *Histories*, 6.8

③Fike Mejer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*, p.37. 参见:J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, p.161, fig. 45.

④Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.86.

⑤Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, Cimon, 12.2

⑥J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, p.159.

⑦Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.88.

⑧J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, p.166.

⑨J. Richard Steffy, *Wooden Ship Building and the Interpretation of Shipwrecks*, Texas A&M University Press, 1994, pp.59—61.

⑩Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.85.

⑪Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 545—554

⑫J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, p.173.

⑬J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, p.178.

⑭Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.234.

⑮Lionel Casson, "The Emergency Rig of Ancient Warships," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 98 (1967), pp.43—48.

前拆卸贮藏到岸上,只使用辅帆。^①在大多数情况下,三列桨战船依靠风力前进,三层桨手轮流划桨,只有在战斗中或需要高速前进时才同时划桨。^②在船帆的辅助下,组织有序的三层桨手能够为船只提供了强大的前进动力。

在内部构造上,三列桨战船采取了当时先进的“榫接结构”(Mortise and Tenon)。古代地中海地区的船只通常采用两种建造方式,早在青铜时代即出现了“缀合结构”的船只(laced ship),首先用手斧将船板整平,然后在两块船板的边缘穿好绳孔,用钻孔器分别在船板的内侧凿好内孔,并插入销子,最后将两块船板对接后用双股绳捆绑固定即可。^③荷马描绘了奥德赛就是采用这种方法建造了船只。^④在公元前6世纪—公元前5世纪,随着古希腊世界航海活动的勃兴,特别是三列桨战船的推广,对船只的内部结构提出了更高的要求,逐渐采用“榫接结构”,即:首先在两块相邻船板的边缘钻孔,接着用凿子分别在船板的内侧凿好榫眼,并插入榫接,最后将木钉分别插入两块船板已经钻好的孔里,固定插入船板内部的榫接。^⑤

近年来,陆续发现的地中海古代沉船为我们复原三列桨战船的内部结构提供了可靠依据。龙骨一般由橡木充当,龙骨的上方凿成“凸”状,上方钉有起保护作用的“护垫”(knee)。^⑥龙骨尾端榫接翘起的船尾部分,前端嵌接弯曲的船首部分。将龙骨翼板斜接在龙骨的低边上,用两根木钉固定插入龙骨和龙骨翼板榫接,榫接通常用橡木等硬木材制作,起着船体的内部支架作用。用一根长木钉穿过连接在龙骨上的两层龙骨翼板和中间的护垫。接着,用直径较小的长铁钉穿过木钉,并将钉尖弯曲固定。^⑦坚固的龙骨结构保证了船只在经受撞击时所承受

的压力。船体由多条贯穿船首和船尾的列板构成,而每条列板由2—3块较短的条型船板嵌接而成,船板之间的嵌接面,以及第一块列板和龙骨翼板、两条列板之间都采用榫接方式连接。船体下方的榫接稍长,上方的稍短,相邻两层榫接呈“品”字形分布。一条条列板纵向排列,组成了船体的侧面,约公元前4世纪的商船科瑞尼阿(Kyrenia)沉船每侧有9块列板组成。^⑧在船体的里侧安装了由橡木制成的船肋系统。船肋系统分为两种,一种由地板肋骨(floor timber)和较短的复肋材(futtock)组成,另一种由半肋骨(half timber)和较长的复肋材组成。两种船肋交替安装,并用铁钉固定在船板上,铁钉伸出的尖部弯曲抓在肋材的表面。与此同时,用加厚的列板构成船舷,如同紧箍一样起着横向加固船体的作用。^⑨这样,三列桨战船纵向有船肋结构和船板内部榫接结构的支撑,横向有船舷加固,使得船体非常坚固,足以承受撞击敌船或被撞击时的巨大冲力。

三列桨战船的构造在注重坚固性的同时,尽可能地减轻船只的重量,因而具有极强的灵活性。船板主要选用冷杉、松木等软木材,以冷杉为最佳。软木材重量较轻,可以保证船只海上航行的高速度和灵活性,较轻的重量使得三列桨战船在被撞击后仍能浮在水面上。^⑩软木材浸水后体积膨胀填补了船板之间的缝隙,但同时也增加了船体的重量,因此,船匠们通常选择在干燥的夏季采伐木材,^⑪并在三列桨战船使用2—3个月后就将其拖上岸晒干,以减轻不必要的重量。^⑫最为典型的例证是公元前480年入侵希腊的波斯水师,将战船全部拖到爱琴海北部的多里斯克斯(Doriscus)海岸晒干,以此作为战前的重要准备,而来不及晒干的希腊水师战船重

①Fike Mejer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*, p.40.

②J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, p.255.

③参见Samuel Mark, "Odyssey 5.234—253 and Homeric Ship Construction: A Reappraisal," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 95, No.3 (Jul., 1991), p.443, fig. 2.

④Homer, *Odyssey*, 5.243—259.

⑤参见Samuel Mark, *Homeric Seafaring*, Texas A&M University Press, 2005, p.26.

⑥参见J. Richard Steffy, *Wooden Ship Building and the Interpretation of Shipwrecks*, p.47, fig. 3—28.

⑦J. Richard Steffy, *Wooden Ship Building and the Interpretation of Shipwrecks*, pp.43—48.

⑧J. Richard Steffy, *Wooden Ship Building and the Interpretation of Shipwrecks*, p.50.

⑨J. Richard Steffy, *Wooden Ship Building and the Interpretation of Shipwrecks*, p.51, 图示参见同页:fig. 3—34.

⑩J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, p.279.

⑪Samuel Mark, *Homeric Seafaring*, p.80.

⑫J.S. Morrison, "The Greek Ships at Salamis and the Dieklous," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 111 (1991), p.169.

量就相对更大。^①在战船重新下水前,要拍进木楔以堵塞船板间因吸水膨胀或脱水收缩产生的缝隙。^②通常,船匠们更青睐于年代较久的木材,因为它们在水中长期浸泡不易被腐蚀。^③尽管如此,服役时间的长短仍然成为衡量战船性能的重要指标。从考古发现的公元前4世纪的雅典水师记录来看,人们往往根据使用时间的长短来区分战船性能的优劣,甚至将旧战船改装为民用船只。^④在三列桨战船制造完之后,船匠们会将剩余的松木加热提取松油,掺入盐,并和蜡一起涂在船体表面以弥补船板之间剩余的空隙,并使船体变得更为光滑。^⑤三列桨战船的建造需要耗费大量的金钱。在公元前4世纪后半期,船体大约需要5000德拉克马,各类配套装备需要4000德拉克马,甚至青铜撞角也需耗费500德拉克马,因此,加上其他开支建造一条全新的三列桨战船至少需要2塔兰特。^⑥再加上风暴、船难和战斗中的损失,以及日常的维修,费用极其昂贵。

需要指出的是,三列桨战船有着共同的结构特征,但也分为不同的类型。第一,从地区上看,雅典侧重于撞角战术的使用,因而要求战船具有较高的灵活性和高速度,船体更窄、更长,选用船板的厚度较薄;而科林斯等城邦侧重于甲板上重装步兵接舷作战的战术,所以上层甲板较宽,选用的船板更厚,船只整体上也更重。第二,从功能上看,三列桨战船除了战斗用船外,还发展出运兵船、运马船等特殊用途的船型,针对不同的功能作出了相应的改造。^⑦总之,在古风时代两列桨船发展的基础上,公元前7世纪初产生了最早的三列桨战船,三列桨战船的船体结构和内部构造继承了公元前8世纪以后两

列桨船的特点,进而形成了坚固而又轻巧的船体。

三、三列桨战船的人员组织与战斗性能

三列桨战船之所以成为古典时期希腊世界的主力战船,不仅在于坚固而又轻巧的船体,还因为具有严密的人员组织系统,并据此形成了卓越的战斗性能。当一条三列桨战船建造完毕之后,沿着长约37米,宽约3米的斜坡,从船坞中滑入海中,^⑧地中海的波涛成为三列桨战船优越性能得以发挥的舞台。

熟练的桨手(nautai)是三列桨战船人员组织系统的首要环节。在阿里斯托芬《阿卡奈人》545—554所描绘的嘈杂声中,三列桨战船开始了出航前的准备,桨手们纷纷走向各自的岗位。在三列桨战船的每侧,下船舷分布着27名下层桨手(thalamites),桨柄从桨孔中伸出。在下层桨手的前上方,分布着27名中层桨手(zugites),中层桨手的桨孔分布在中船舷和上船舷之间。^⑨此外,三列桨战船增加了坐在中层桨手前上方的31名上层桨手(thranites),上层桨手因为坐在舷外支架上,可以看到伸出船体的桨片,因此担任管理其他两层桨手的任务,并得到较高的薪给。^⑩桨手们面向船尾,每个桨手持一支桨,桨杆用皮带圈固定在船舷上以防止打滑,桨片的形状从下层到上层桨手依次变窄、变长。^⑪

在公元前5世纪—前4世纪,三列桨战船的人员组织系统除了170名桨手之外,还包括1名船长(trierarchos),约30名辅助水手(hyperesia),每条战船载员量共计约为200人。^⑫担任三列桨战船船长

①Herodotus, *Histories*, 7.59.3

②Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 545—554.

③Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.182.

④Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.92.

⑤J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, p.188.

⑥Lionel Casson, "A Trireme for Hire (Is. 11.48)," *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, Vol. 45, No. 1 (1995), pp. 241—245. 亚里士多德记载,地米斯托克利(Themistocles)利用100塔兰特建造了100条三列桨战船,参见:Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 22.29—38. 关于三列桨战船的造价,参见:“雅典水师船表”IG i3 1032,以及Richard F. Wevers, *Isaeus: Chronology, Prosopography, and Social History*, Mouton, 1969, pp.19—20.

⑦J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, pp.227—230.

⑧J. Morrison and R. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships 900—322 B.C.*, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp.181—186.

⑨Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.83.

⑩Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 6.31.3

⑪J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, p.172.

⑫对“hyperesia”的解释有争议,哈蒙德(N. G. L. Hammond)认为是桨手的泛称,参见:N. G. L. Hammond, “The Narrative of Herodotus VII and the Decree of Themistocles at Troezen,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 102 (1982), pp.75—93.但是,本文认为莫里森的解读最具说服力,即:hyperesia是与nautai(桨手)相对的群体,应理解为协助三列桨战船船长的辅助水手。参见:J. S. Morrison, “Hypersia in Naval Context in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 104 (1984), pp.48—59.

在雅典被认为是富有者对城邦的捐助义务,他不仅是船只的最高指挥者,还需负责船只的保养和维修费用,并支付桨手们额外的补贴。大约在西西里远征之后,出现了双船长(sunstrierarchos),两名船长各负责6个月。^①三列桨战船的辅助水手包括:舵手(kybernetes),地位仅次于船长,因为船长的选拔主要依据是财富而非才能,所以多数情况下船长会将指挥权转让给船尾的舵手;桨手长(keleustes),主要任务是管理桨手,激励士气,因为还负责传达舵手指令的职责,所以一般位于舵手附近;五十士官(pentekontarchos),协助执行桨手长的指令,同时管理船只的钱粮事物;船首哨官(prorates),负责瞭望敌情和风向,协助舵手掌管航向;长笛手(auletes/tri-eraules),负责协调桨手们划桨的节奏;修船师(naupegos),负责维修船只。此外,辅助水手还包括10名水兵(epibatai)和4名弓箭手(toxotai),^②剩余的10名辅助水手则分为两组,分别作为舵手和船首长的助手,也可作为备用桨手。^③在船只高速前进时,水兵坐或趴在上层甲板上,准备投掷长矛或登上敌船,但莫里森认为,在注重撞角战术的雅典三列桨战船上,水兵的主要作用是维持桨手们的秩序。^④通常情况下,雅典三列桨战船的人员由公民、居住在雅典的侨民(metoikos)和来自雅典盟邦的外邦人(xenos)构成,^⑤但在公元前4世纪,出现了奴隶担任桨手的现象。^⑥

三列桨战船严密的人员组织系统使得坚固而又轻巧的船体结构转化为实际的战斗力。因为三列桨战船具有快速、灵活的特点,所以撞角逐渐成为海战中的主要武器,并发展出一套精密的撞角战术。撞角战术大致分为两种:第一种是环航战术

(periplous),由三列桨战船构成的船队将己方的战船排成一列纵队,然后快速驶向敌方船队的侧翼,用撞角撞击敌船的船舷,或机动到敌船的后方,撞击敌船的船尾。第二种是穿插战术(diekplous),三列桨战船高速行驶,穿过敌船的防线,然后迅速调转头,撞击敌船船尾。公元前494年,波凯亚(Phocaea)人狄奥尼修斯(Dionysios)在教授爱奥尼亚人海战技巧时,第一步便是练习如何穿越敌人的防线。^⑦如果船长和水手们的航海技术足够熟练,战船还可以倾斜一定的角度,在穿插敌船的过程中使船身快速擦过敌船的船舷,从而折断敌船的船桨,使其丧失动力。

事实上,撞角战术强大威力的发挥是三列桨战船上人员组织系统实际功效的集中体现,因而具有极高的技术要求。在两条高速航行的船只相撞的情况下,如果角度过正,很容易撞坏自身的撞角和船首。不仅如此,在撞击敌船时,如果力度过轻,起不到破坏敌船的作用,如果相反,则会难以迅速拔出撞角,使自身陷入危险的境地。在萨拉米海战中,波斯船队中一支萨摩特拉开的船撞击一支阿提卡船,正当那只阿提卡船沉没的时候,一支埃及那的船又将这只没有来得及拔出撞角的萨摩特拉船撞沉,但戏剧性的是,这只埃及那船自身在撞击之后也没有迅速拔出撞角,希罗多德描述道:“擅于使长枪的萨摩色雷斯人(Samothracians)在被击沉的船上向对方水兵投掷标枪,将对方水兵一扫而光后占有了那条船。”^⑧正如哈拉得(A. J. Holladay)所说,尽管撞角战术被认为是最有效的战术并被长期使用,但是它只被自信拥有足够熟练航海技术的水手们所采用。^⑨

①Borimir Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period: A Study of Athenian Naval Administration and Military Organization in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, p.72.

②在某些情况下,epibatai(水兵)不被看作是hyperesia,比如:Demosthenes, 50.10, 25, 32, 36. 参见:J. S. Morrison, "Hyperesia in Naval Context in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC," esp. pp.55—56.

③J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, pp.108—114.

④J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, p.110.

⑤Thucydides, *The Peloponnsian War*, 1.143.1—2

⑥奴隶作为桨手的情况并不常见,使用奴隶的文献参见:Thucydides, *The Peloponnsian War*, 7.13.2; Xenophon, *History of Greece*, 1.6.24; IG 22 1951.117.修昔底德提到了科基拉人(Corcyraeans)和歧奥斯人(Chian)水师中使用奴隶的情况,参见:Thucydides, *The Peloponnsian War*, 1.55.1, 8.15.2. 相关讨论参见:J. S. Morrison, *The Athenian Trireme: The History and Reconstruction of an Ancient Greek Warship*, pp.117—118.

⑦Herodotus, *Histories*, 6.12

⑧Herodotus, *Histories*, 8.90.2

⑨A. J. Holladay, "Further Thought on Trireme Tactics," *Greece&Rome*, Vol.35, No.2 (1998), p.150.

三列桨战船战斗性能的发挥不仅需要高超的驾驶技术,而且在空间和时间上都有着特定的限制条件。在通常情况下,为了保持船只的战斗力、提高速度和机动性,三列桨战船的设计往往尽可能地节省空间和重量,雅典的三列桨战船尤其是如此。位于下层桨手的凳子下面的船只储藏室,只能用来贮藏船桨、索具等极端重要的物资。^①桨手们在航行中需要消耗大量的水,战船的设计也没有给桨手们预留睡眠和进食的空间。因此,每隔一段时间桨手必须登岸舒展身体,并到沿岸居民提供的市场上购买水、食物等补给。戈姆(A. W. Gomme)指出,在正常的航行条件下,三列桨战船一天在海上最多可以航行12小时,每隔24小时战船就必须靠岸更新饮水等补给。^②因为续航能力低,战船的航行距离严重依赖于航线沿岸是否有友好的居民提供可以购买补给的市场。雅典水师在远征西西里期间,因为无法获得友好城邦供给的谷物和人力,所以只能通过在地劫掠获取补给。^③除此之外,天气因素也对三列桨战船性能的发挥产生重要影响。复合式的桨手结构增加了驾驶船只的难度,而轻便的船体使得船只在风浪中更加难以控制。正如卡森所说,三列桨战船与其说是战船,不如说是一艘赛艇。^④因此,三列桨战船出航时,一般都要选择风平浪静的时候,以尽可能地避免风暴等恶劣天气。^⑤受季风的影响,地中海地区的航海时段为每年的3月10日到11月10日,其中5月27日到9月14日为最佳航海时间。在秋、冬季节,古希腊鲜有海战,只有一些非常重要的派遣、急需物资的运输,以及无法延误的水师行动。^⑥公元前430—前429年冬季,雅典派遣20条船环伯罗奔尼撒半岛航行,派遣6条船到开利阿、吕西亚征收贡款都属于极特殊的情况。^⑦

由此可见,一条三列桨战船战斗性能的充分发挥,需要苛刻的条件,包括:船只的建造、战斗环境

的选择、天气因素的影响,以及水师将领对战船性能的熟悉和指挥才华,特别是要求水手们掌握熟练的航海技能。只有在熟练掌握驾驶技术的前提下,针对不同的环境运用恰当的战略战术,才能最大限度地发挥三列桨战船的战斗力。至此,我们才能更为深入地理解修昔底德为何宣称“雅典帝国”不是雅典人通过强力窃取,而是源自盟邦们的请求。^⑧在公元前5世纪的希腊世界,只有“全希腊的学校”雅典有足够的财力和人力,长期维持一支由三列桨战船组成的强大水师。

四、余 论

在古典时期的地中海世界,三列桨战船凭借卓越的战斗性能不仅成为希腊水师的主力战船,而且使用范围遍及希腊半岛、波斯、腓尼基、西西里和埃及等地区。但与此同时,传统的单层30桨、50桨船、两列桨船等船型作为辅助船只依然长期存在。

在古代地中海世界的船只发展史上,始终存在着一种与三列桨战船强调快速、灵活战术的思路完全相反的倾向,即:着重发展战船的坚固性优势,将撞角战术为主的“技术战”转化为接舷战为主的“消耗战”。科林斯等大多数城邦并未像雅典一样将撞角战术放在首位,而是牺牲三列桨战船的高速度和灵活性,回到传统相对简单和廉价“接舷战”,将海战“陆战化”,凭借战船的坚固性对抗雅典战船的机动性。科林斯最早对战船进行改装,紧接着是大港海战中的叙拉古,减少船首的长度,增加了支柱加固船首,在战斗中凭借采取船首相撞的战术,破坏雅典水师的船首和舷外支架,然后进行接舷战。^⑨乔丹认为,即使是撞角战术运用最为娴熟的雅典,在公元前5世纪中期依然试图改装战船以适应接舷战的需要。^⑩公元前5世纪末以后,饱经战乱的雅典

①Lion Casson, "The Feeding of the Trireme Crews and an Entry in IG ii 2 1631," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 125 (1995), p. 261.

②A. W. Gomme, "A Forgotten Factor of Greek Naval Strategy," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol.53, Part 1 (1933), p.18.

③Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 7.13.2

④W. W. Tarn, "The Greek Warship," pp.137, 204.

⑤Lion Casson, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times*, Macmillan, 1959, p.102.

⑥Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.270.

⑦Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.270, note 3.

⑧Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.75.2

⑨Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 7.36

⑩Borimir Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period: A Study of Athenian Naval Administration and Military Organization in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, p.189.

自身也无法提供足够数量的熟练桨手,而在西西里远征船队全军覆没后,仓促之间建造起来的新船也难以像以往一样对木料、船具等精益求精,三列桨战船快速、灵活的战斗性能至此已经失去了熟练水手和精良建造结构的保证。

因此,在公元前4世纪以后,地中海地区的海战方式发生了重大变化。战船的坚固性成为了船只建造首要考虑的因素,足够的金钱和人力,而不是技术开始成为决定战争胜负的关键。^①到了希腊化时代,投石机、弩炮等远距离重型装备开始安装在战船上,战船逐渐向坚固化、大型化发展。当两军相遇时,战船首先要经受礮石的远距离攻击,紧接着是弓箭和长矛,最后当两船靠近时便是接舷战,尽管撞角战术依然作为一种常规战术存在,但是战斗的胜利最后取决于甲板上的水兵。^②战船依然沿袭了两层或三层的复合式桨手结构,但是采取了一桨多人的方式,公元前399年出现了四列桨战船,紧接着是五列、六列桨战船,随着争霸战争的愈演愈烈,尤其是亚历山大死后的“继承者战争”,东地中海地区各个文明间展开了一场扩充水师的“军备竞赛”,大型化的战船迅速推广。在公元前3世纪,出

现了三层桨手、每4名桨手划一支桨的十二列桨船,以及两层桨手、每8名桨手划1只桨的十六列桨船。在公元前2—公元前1世纪,甚至出现了体积更大的三十列、四十列桨船,可以承载4000名桨手、2850名士兵的庞然大物。^③

由此可见,三列桨战船的建造和使用,是希腊城邦文明在古典时期极盛阶段的历史产物。随着古风时代希腊航海活动的勃兴,社会财富的积累,以及波斯入侵的外部刺激,三列桨战船在公元前5世纪迅速推广,成为古典时期希腊世界的主力战船。一支以三列桨战船为主体的强大水师构成了“雅典帝国”的统治支柱。然而,三列桨战船卓越的战斗性能是建立在巨大的物质财富和人力资源之上,因此,修昔底德才在“密提林演说”中强调盟邦的收入是“雅典帝国”统治的基础。^④然而,随着伯罗奔尼撒战争末期“雅典帝国”的逐步瓦解,雅典再也无力继续维持一支由技术先进、性能优越的三列桨战船组成的水师,希腊城邦文明的衰落最终导致海战方式的改变。很大程度上,三列桨战船的发展、演变是古典希腊兴衰的集中体现。

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①Fike Mejer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*, p.108.

②Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.121.

③Lion Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, p.108.

④Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 3.39.8

conditions of their own families. This paper explains that it was closely associated with the abolishment of the late Qing examination system. As the intellectuals could not make sure of their own positions in the society without the imperial examination, they had to reconstruct their own economic identity. And it is also a distorted discourse and logic expression in the process of constructing China's modernity.

Between Aspiration and Reality: The Study on Revolutionary Education in the Central Soviet Area

(HUANG Weiyang)

The study on education in the Central Soviet Area should be put in the particular historical, political and economic background. Before the land reform, patriarchal clans were powerful in the southern Jiangxi and western Fujian area. Therefore, people identified themselves mostly with their clans. In order to guide people to identify with the revolution, the Chinese Soviet regime placed revolutionary education into the school curriculum after they dominated the schools in this area. However, the aspiration was constrained by a series of realistic factors. Promoted by various efforts, the revolutionary education had an impact on people's thinking, but the local people had not yet internalized the revolutionary ideas.

The Disorder During the War: A Preliminary Investigation on Crimes in Chengdu and Chongqing Areas in the Anti-Japanese War

(ZHU Haijia)

During the Anti-Japanese War, various forms of crimes constantly took place in home front cities. The reasons were numerous, for example, the surging population which far surpassed the cities' resource carrying capacity, the wartime economic and environmental degradation, short supply in goods, and mass starvation. The rise of crimes was also associated with the social disorder in a relatively closed natural environment, the corruption of social customs, and the moral decadence. The urban public crimes were diverse, and the criminal groups involved were widespread. Modern judicial ideas were applied to the criminal penalty (prevention and control) method, but criminals were much more severely punished. The crime problem in this period was very complicated and special.

Pragmatic Listlessness: The Beginning of the Professionalization of British Sinology

(LIU Li)

For a long time, British sinologists had been confused and disappointed with the indifference of the British authorities and academia in the specialization process of sinology, calling it the "singular listlessness". The indifferent attitude influenced the development and expansion of British sinology and led it to fall behind Western European countries such as France, Germany and Russia. This article attempts to review the early development of sinology in Britain as well as the establishment process of sinological disciplines marked by the establishment of "Professor of Chinese" at universities. It also analyzes the factors behind the promotion of sinology during this period, and gives a reasonable explanation for the "singular listlessness" attitude.

A Study on Family-Regulating of Weng Tonghe

(WANG Zhongliang)

WengTonghe was a Chinese scholaredified by the Confucian culture. As an ordinary person, Weng practiced self-cultivation to regulatethe family. Being filial and fraternal, he was a most loving husband and father. Self-cultivation rooted in family trait which has important enlightenment and reference significance on the current family tradition and administrative style construction.

The Birth and Features of Ancient Greek Trireme

(GUO Tao)

As early as in 3000 B.C.E., ancient Greek had produced the long ship with oars. During the Minoan

and the Mycenaean periods, the design of ram and deck had achieved great progress. In the 8th century B. C.E., the bireme appeared. The development of the ram and the superstructure of oars resulted in the birth of the trireme. Based on its firm and light structure, the strict personnel organization system, and the excellent combat capability, the trireme was adopted rapidly by other states in the 5th century B.C.E. and became the main style of warships in ancient Greece. In the 4th century B.C.E., the trireme gradually disappeared as a result of the decline of Greek city-states. In conclusion, the evolution of trireme reflected the fate of the classical Greek civilization.

The Historical Explanation of “De-Cossackization” in Russia

(YANG Sumei)

The Cossacks were a special military stratum in Russia. In its 400 years' history, the Cossacks experienced “division”, “Cossackization”, and “de-Cossackization”. From the 17th to the 19th century, when the Russian government was in its high day of expansion and colonialism, “Cossackization” happened, which led to the fast growth of the Cossacks. But at the end of the 19th century, “de-Cossackization” became visible due to various factors. “De-cossackization” means that the Cossacks volunteered or were forced to change their military lifestyle. Right before the beginning of the 20th century, “de-Cossackization” had become inevitable. However, in 1917, it was turned into a compulsory campaign. After the 1917 revolution, “de-Cossackization” experienced four stages. “De-Cossackization” resulted in the decline and total disappearance of the Cossack stratum.

From Psychological Warfare to Public Diplomacy: the Evolution of the United States' Propaganda Strategies and Mechanism, 1945—1965

(HU Tengjiao)

In the early postwar period, the basic principle of foreign propaganda policy in the United States was to show the “full and fair” image of America. After the outbreak of the Korean war, the U.S. policy makers carried out a hard-hitting anti-communist propaganda policy, and continuously strengthened its publicity mechanism. During the middle and late 1950s, the bilateral cultural relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union was established and underwent gradual development. The United States eventually formed a stable and efficient public diplomacy, driven both by the image rhetoric and the anti-communist discourse.

The US Government's Military Policy toward South Korea during the Ford Administration

(HE Fei)

During the Ford administration, the United States implemented the “Pacificism” in the Asia-Pacific region. Under the guidance of the new military security policy, the Ford government formulated strategic military measures, including maintaining the military presence in South Korea, enhancing its self-protection capabilities, and etc.. It not only inherited the strategic contraction policy of the Nixon period, but also highlighted the presence and involvement of the United States military in the Asia-Pacific region. However, as the Ford government failed to make new commitments to South Korea or to supply new military forces, the Ford government's military policy toward South Korea was a mere continuation and development of “Nixonism” under the new circumstances in Asia.