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POLYBIUS
III
THE HISTORIES



Translated by
W. R. PATON

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

W. R. PATON

IN SIX VOLUMES

III



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THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

- δύνασθαι βεβαίως μηδὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων πότερ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸ πολίτευμα σύμπαν ἢ δημοκρατικὸν ἢ μοναρχικόν. καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκὸς ἦν πάσχειν.
- 12 ὅτε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων ἀτενίσαιμεν ἐξουσίαν, τελείως μοναρχικὸν ἐφαίνεται εἶναι καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅτε δ' εἰς τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου, πάλιν ἀριστοκρατικόν· καὶ μὴν εἰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἐξουσίαν θεωροίη τις, ἐδόκει σαφῶς εἶναι δημοκρατικόν.
- 13 ὧν δ' ἕκαστον εἶδος μερῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκράτει, καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι πλήν ὀλίγων τινῶν ταῦτ' ἐστίν.
- 12 Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπατοὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἐξάγειν τὰ στρατόπεδα παρόντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ πασῶν εἰσι κύριοι τῶν
- 2 δημοσίων πράξεων. οἳ τε γὰρ ἄρχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ὑποτάττονται καὶ πειθαρχοῦσι τούτοις πλήν τῶν δημάρχων, εἷς τε τὴν σύγκλητον οὔτοι
- 3 τὰς πρεσβείας ἄγουσι. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις οὔτοι τὰ κατεπεύγοντα τῶν διαβουλίων ἀναδιδόασιν, οὔτοι τὸν ὅλον χειρισμὸν τῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτελοῦσι.
- 4 καὶ μὴν ὅσα δεῖ διὰ τοῦ δήμου συντελεῖσθαι τῶν πρὸς τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἀνηκόντων, τούτοις καθήκει φροντίζειν καὶ συνάγειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, τούτοις εἰσφέρειν τὰ δόγματα, τούτοις βραβεύειν
- 5 τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πλείοσι. καὶ μὴν περὶ πολέμου κατασκευῆς καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἐν ὑπαίθροις οἰκονομίας σχεδὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι.
- 6 καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς τὸ δοκοῦν, καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους καθιστάναι, καὶ διαγράφειν τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ διαλέγειν τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους
- 7 τούτοις ἔξεστι. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ζημιῶσαι τῶν ὑποταττομένων ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις ὃν ἂν
- 8 βουλευθῶσι κύριοι καθεστᾶσιν. ἐξουσίαν δ' ἔχουσι καὶ δαπανᾶν τῶν δημοσίων ὅσα προθεῖντο, παρ-

tion that it was impossible even for a native to pronounce with certainty whether the whole system was aristocratic, democratic, or monarchical. This was indeed only natural. For if one fixed one's eyes on the power of the consuls, the constitution seemed completely monarchical and royal; if on that of the senate it seemed again to be aristocratic; and when one looked at the power of the masses, it seemed clearly to be a democracy. The parts of the state falling under the control of each element were and with a few modifications still are as follows.

12. The consuls, previous to leading out their legions, exercise authority in Rome over all public affairs, since all the other magistrates except the tribunes are under them and bound to obey them, and it is they who introduce embassies to the senate. Besides this it is they who consult the senate on matters of urgency, they who carry out in detail the provisions of its decrees. Again as concerns all affairs of state administered by the people it is their duty to take these under their charge, to summon assemblies, to introduce measures, and to preside over the execution of the popular decrees. As for preparation for war and the general conduct of operations in the field, here their power is almost uncontrolled; for they are empowered to make what demands they choose on the allies, to appoint military tribunes, to levy soldiers and select those who are fittest for service. They also have the right of inflicting, when on active service, punishment on anyone under their command; and they are authorized to spend any sum they decide upon from the public funds, being accompanied by a

51 Τὸ δὲ Καρχηδονίων πολίτευμα τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν
μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς κατὰ γε τὰς ὄλοσχερεῖς διαφορὰς
2 συνεστάσθαι. καὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἦσαν παρ' αὐτοῖς,
καὶ τὸ γερόντιον εἶχε τὴν ἀριστοκρατικὴν ἐξουσίαν,
καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν κύριον τῶν καθηκόντων αὐτῶ·
καθόλου δὲ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρμογὴν εἶχε παραπλη-
3 σίαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. κατὰ γε
μὴν τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους, καθ' οὓς εἰς τὸν Ἄννι-
βιακὸν ἐνέβαινε πόλεμον, χεῖρον ἦν τὸ Καρχηδονίων,
4 ἄμεινον δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παντὸς καὶ
σώματος καὶ πολιτείας καὶ πράξεώς ἐστὶ τις αὔξη-
σις κατὰ φύσιν, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἀκμὴ, κ᾿πειτα
φθίσις, κράτιστα δ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν
ἀκμὴν, παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ τότε διέφερον ἀλλήλων τὰ
5 πολιτεύματα. καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἢ Καρχηδονίων
πρότερον ἴσχυε καὶ πρότερον εὐτύχει τῆς Ῥωμαίων,
κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἢ μὲν Καρχηδῶν ἤδη τότε παρήκ-
μαζεν, ἢ δὲ Ῥώμη μάλιστα τότε εἶχε τὴν ἀκμὴν
6 κατὰ γε τὴν τῆς πολιτείας σύστασιν. διὸ καὶ
τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλίαις παρὰ
μὲν Καρχηδονίοις ὁ δῆμος ἤδη μετειλήφει, παρὰ
7 δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀκμὴν εἶχεν ἢ σύγκλητος. ὅθεν
παρ' οἷς μὲν τῶν πολλῶν βουλευομένων, παρ'
οἷς δὲ τῶν ἀρίστων, κατίσχυε τὰ Ῥωμαίων
8 διαβούλια περὶ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις. ἢ καὶ πταί-
σαντες τοῖς ὄλοις τῶ βουλευέσθαι καλῶς τέλος
ἐπεκράτησαν τῶ πολέμῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων.

52 Τὰ γε μὴν κατὰ μέρος, οἷον εὐθέως τὰ πρὸς
τὰς πολεμικὰς χρεῖας, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὰς κατὰ θάλατ-
ταν, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἄμεινον ἀσκοῦσι καὶ παρασκευά-
ζονται Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τὸ καὶ πάτριον αὐτοῖς
ὑπάρχειν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ταύτην καὶ

51. The constitution of Carthage seems to me to have been originally well contrived as regards its most distinctive points. For there were kings, and the house of Elders was an aristocratical force, and the people were supreme in matters proper to them, the entire frame of the state much resembling that of Rome and Sparta. But at the time when they entered on the Hannibalic War, the Carthaginian constitution had degenerated, and that of Rome was better. For as every body or state or action has its natural periods first of growth, then of prime, and finally of decay, and as everything in them is at its best when they are in their prime, it was for this reason that the difference between the two states manifested itself at this time. For by as much as the power and prosperity of Carthage had been earlier than that of Rome, by so much had Carthage already begun to decline; while Rome was exactly at her prime, as far at least as her system of government was concerned. Consequently the multitude at Carthage had already acquired the chief voice in deliberations; while at Rome the senate still retained this; and hence, as in one case the masses deliberated and in the other the most eminent men, the Roman decisions on public affairs were superior, so that although they met with complete disaster, they were finally by the wisdom of their counsels victorious over the Carthaginians in the war.

52. But to pass to differences of detail, such as, to begin with, the conduct of war, the Carthaginians naturally are superior at sea both in efficiency and equipment, because seamanship has long been their national craft, and they busy themselves with the sea

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2 θαλαττουργεῖν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τὸ δὲ
 περὶ τὰς πεζικὰς χρείας πολὺ δὴ τι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς
 3 τὸ βέλτιον ἀσκοῦσι Καρχηδονίων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 τὴν ὅλην περὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦνται σπουδὴν, Καρχη-
 δόνιοι δὲ τῶν μὲν πεζικῶν εἰς τέλος ὀλιγοροῦσι,
 τῶν δ' ἵππικῶν βραχεῖάν τινα ποιοῦνται πρόνοιαν.
 4 αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ὅτι ξενικαῖς καὶ μισθοφόροις
 χρῶνται δυνάμεσι, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐγχωρίοις καὶ
 5 πολιτικαῖς. ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ταύτην
 τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδεκτέον ἐκείνης μᾶλλον· ἢ μὲν
 γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τῶν μισθοφόρων εὐψυχίαις ἔχει τὰς
 ἐλπίδας ἀεὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἢ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν
 ταῖς σφετέραις ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς τῶν συμμάχων
 6 ἐπαρκείαις. διὸ κἂν ποτε πταίσωσι κατὰ τὰς
 ἀρχάς, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀναμάχονται τοῖς ὅλοις,
 7 Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τὸναντίον. <ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ> ὑπὲρ
 πατρίδος ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ τέκνων οὐδέποτε δύ-
 νανται λῆξαι τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ μένουσι ψυχομα-
 8 χοῦντες, ἕως ἂν περιγένωνται τῶν ἐχθρῶν. διὸ
 καὶ περὶ τὰς ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις πολὺ τι λειπόμενοι
 Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ὡς προεῖπον ἐπάνω,
 τοῖς ὅλοις ἐπικρατοῦσι διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετάς·
 9 καίπερ γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ συμβαλλομένης εἰς τοὺς
 κατὰ θάλατταν κινδύνους τῆς ναυτικῆς χρείας,
 ὅμως ἢ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν εὐψυχία πλείστην παρ-
 10 ἔχεται ῥοπὴν εἰς τὸ νικᾶν. διαφέρουσι μὲν οὖν
 καὶ φύσει πάντες Ἰταλιῶται Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων
 τῇ τε σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ψυχικαῖς τόλμαις·
 μεγάλην δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔθισμῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ
 11 μέρος ποιοῦνται τῶν νέων παρόρμησιν. ἐν δὲ
 ῥῆθὲν ἰκανὸν ἔσται σημεῖον τῆς τοῦ πολιτεύματος
 σπουδῆς, ἣν ποιεῖται > περὶ τὸ τοιούτους ἀπο-
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more than any other people ; but as regards military service on land the Romans are much more efficient. They indeed devote their whole energies to this matter, whereas the Carthaginians entirely neglect their infantry, though they do pay some slight attention to their cavalry. The reason of this is that the troops they employ are foreign and mercenary, whereas those of the Romans are natives of the soil and citizens. So that in this respect also we must pronounce the political system of Rome to be superior to that of Carthage, the Carthaginians continuing to depend for the maintenance of their freedom on the courage of a mercenary force but the Romans on their own valour and on the aid of their allies. Consequently even if they happen to be worsted at the outset, the Romans redeem defeat by final success, while it is the contrary with the Carthaginians. For the Romans, fighting as they are for their country and their children, never can abate their fury but continue to throw their whole hearts into the struggle until they get the better of their enemies. It follows that though the Romans are, as I said, much less skilled in naval matters, they are on the whole successful at sea owing to the gallantry of their men ; for although skill in seamanship is of no small importance in naval battles, it is chiefly the courage of the marines that turns the scale in favour of victory. Now not only do Italians in general naturally excel Phoenicians and Africans in bodily strength and personal courage, but by their institutions also they do much to foster a spirit of bravery in the young men. A single instance will suffice to indicate the pains taken by the state to turn out men who will be ready to endure