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POLYBIUS
THE HISTORIES
II



Translated by
W. R. PATON

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POLYBIUS (born c. 208 B.C.) of Megalopolis in the Peloponnese (Morea), son of Lycortas, served the Achaean League in arms and diplomacy for many years, favouring alliance with Rome. From 168 to 151 he was hostage in Rome where he became a friend of Aemilius Paulus and his two sons, especially adopted Scipio Aemilianus whose campaigns he attended later. In late life he was trusted mediator between Greece and the Romans whom he admired; helped in the discussions which preceded the final war with Carthage; and, after 146 B.C., was entrusted by the Romans with details of administration in Greece. He died at the age of 82 after a fall from his horse. The main part of his famous historical work covers the years 264–146 B.C. With two introductory books, it described the rise of Rome to the destruction of Carthage and the domination of Greece by Rome. It is a great work; accurate, thoughtful, largely impartial, based on research, full of insight into customs, institutions, geography, causes of events and character of people; it is a vital and most interesting achievement of first rate importance, despite the incomplete state in which all but the first five of the forty books have reached us. Polybius' overall theme is how and why the Romans spread their power as they did.

REF 937.04
POLYBIUS.
THE HISTORIES,
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLA*
VOLUME 2

APR 6 1995

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POLYBIUS

II

POLYBIUS

THE HISTORIES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
W. R. PATON

IN SIX VOLUMES

II



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

MCMLXXIX

American ISBN 0-674-99152-4
British ISBN 0 434 99137 6

First printed 1922
Reprinted 1954, 1960, 1967, 1975, 1979

Printed in Great Britain

Digitized by Microsoft®

THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

αἱ περιέχουσαι παρὰ θάλατταν τὴν Λατίνην χώραν, ὑπὲρ ἧς ποιοῦνται τὰς συνθήκας.

- 25 Ἔτι τοιγαροῦν τελευταίας συνθήκας ποιοῦνται. Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν Πύρρου διάβασιν πρὸ τοῦ συστήσασθαι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὸν περὶ Σικελίας πό-
- 2 λεμον· ἐν αἷς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τηροῦσι πάντα κατὰ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ὁμολογίας, πρόσκειται δὲ τούτοις τὰ
- 3 ὑπογεγραμμένα. “ἐὰν συμμαχίαν ποιῶνται πρὸς Πύρρον, ἔγγραπτον ποιείσθωσαν ἀμφοτέροι, ἵνα ἐξῆ βοθηεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμουμένων
- 4 χώρα· ὁπότεροι δ’ ἂν χρεῖαν ἔχωσι τῆς βοηθείας, τὰ πλοῖα παρεχέτωσαν Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔφοδον, τὰ δὲ ὀψώνια τοῖς αὐ-
- 5 τῶν ἐκάτεροι. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν Ῥωμαίοις βοθηείτωσαν, ἂν χρεῖα ᾖ. τὰ δὲ πληρώματα μηδεὶς ἀναγκαζέτω ἐκβαίνειν ἀκουσίως.”
- 6 Τὸν δ’ ὄρκον ὀμνύειν ἔδει τοιοῦτον, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πρώτων συνθηκῶν Καρχηδονίους μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς πατρώους, Ῥωμαίους δὲ Δία λίθον κατὰ τι παλαιὸν ἔθος, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τὸν Ἄρην
- 7 καὶ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον. ἔστι δὲ τὸ Δία λίθον τοιοῦτον· λαβὼν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα λίθον ὁ ποιούμενος τὰ ὄρκια περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἐπειδὰν ὁμόση δημοσίᾳ πίστει,
- 8 λέγει τάδε· εὐορκοῦντι μὲν μοι εἶη τὰγαθὰ· εἰ δ’ ἄλλως διανοηθεῖην τι ἢ πράξαιμι, πάντων τῶν ἄλλων σωζομένων ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις, ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων βίων, ἱερῶν, τάφων,
- 9 ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκπέσοιμι οὕτως ὡς ὄδε λίθος νῦν. καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ρίπτει τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς χειρός.
- 26 Τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ τηρουμένων τῶν συνθηκῶν ἔτι νῦν ἐν χαλκώμασι παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Καπετώλιον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀγορανόμων

on the coast of that Latin territory with which the treaty is concerned.

25. A further and final treaty with Carthage was made by the Romans at the time of Pyrrhus' invasion before the Carthaginians had begun the war for Sicily. In this they maintain all the previous agreements and add the following: "If they make an alliance with Pyrrhus, both shall make it an express condition that they may go to the help of each other in whichever country is attacked. No matter which require help, the Carthaginians are to provide the ships for transport and hostilities, but each country shall provide the pay for its own men. The Carthaginians, if necessary, shall come to the help of the Romans by sea too, but no one shall compel the crews to land against their will." 279 B.C.

The oaths they had to swear were as follows. In the case of the first treaty the Carthaginians swore by their ancestral gods and the Romans, following an old custom, by Jupiter Lapis, and in the case of this latter treaty by Mars and Quirinus. The oath by Jupiter Lapis is as follows. The man who is swearing to the treaty takes in his hand a stone, and when he has sworn in the name of the state, he says, "If I abide by this my oath may all good be mine, but if I do otherwise in thought or act, let all other men dwell safe in their own countries under their own laws and in possession of their own substance, temples, and tombs, and may I alone be cast forth, even as this stone," and so saying he throws the stone from his hand.

26. The treaties being such, and preserved as they are on bronze tablets beside the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in the treasury of the Quaestors, who

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- 2 ταμείῳ, τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως θαυμάσειε Φιλίνου του
 συγγραφέως, οὐδὲ διότι ταῦτ' ἠγνόει· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
 οὐ θαυμαστόν, ἐπεὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι καὶ Ῥωμαίων
 καὶ Καρχηδονίων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ μάλιστα δο-
 3 κοῦντες περὶ τὰ κοινὰ σπουδάζειν ἠγνόουν· ἀλλὰ
 πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἐθάρρησε γράψαι τὰναντία τούτοις,
 διότι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ὑπάρχοιεν συν-
 θῆκαι, καθ' ἃς ἔδει Ῥωμαίους μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι Σι-
 4 κελίας ἀπάσης, Καρχηδονίους δ' Ἰταλίας, καὶ διότι
 ὑπερέβαινον Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους,
 ἐπεὶ ἐποιήσαντο τὴν πρώτην εἰς Σικελίαν διάβασιν,
 μήτε γεγονότος μήθ' ὑπάρχοντος παράπαν ἐγγράφου
 5 τοιούτου μηδενός. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ λέγει
 βύβλῳ διαρρήδην. περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ
 τῆς ἰδίας πραγματείας μνησθέντες, εἰς τοῦτον ὑπερ-
 εθέμεθα τὸν καιρὸν κατὰ μέρος περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξερ-
 γάσασθαι διὰ τὸ καὶ πλείους διεψεῦσθαι τῆς ἀλη-
 θείας ἐν τούτοις, πιστεύσαντας τῇ Φιλίνου γραφῇ.
 6 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ κατὰ τοῦτό τις ἐπιλαμβάνεται Ῥω-
 μαίων περὶ τῆς εἰς Σικελίαν διαβάσεως, ὅτι καθό-
 λου Μαμερτίνοὺς προσέλαβον εἰς τὴν φιλίαν καὶ
 μετὰ ταῦτα δεομένοις ἐβοήθησαν, οἵτινες οὐ μόνον
 τὴν Μεσσηνίων πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ῥηγίνων
 παρεσπόνδησαν, εἰκότως ἂν δόξειε δυσαρεστεῖν.
 7 εἰ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὑπολαμ-
 βάνει τις αὐτοὺς πεποιῆσθαι τὴν διάβασιν, ἀγνοεῖ
 προφανῶς.
- 27 Συντελεσθέντος τοίνυν τοῦ περὶ Σικελίας πολέ-
 μου ποιοῦνται συνθήκας ἄλλας, ἐν αἷς τὰ συνέχοντα
 2 τῶν ἐγγράπτων ἦν ταῦτα· “ ἐκχωρεῖν Καρχηδονίους
 < καὶ Σικελίας ἀπάσης καὶ > τῶν νήσων ἀπασῶν τῶν
 3 κειμένων Ἰταλίας μεταξὺ καὶ Σικελίας. τὴν ἀσφά-
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can fail to be surprised at Philinus the historian, not indeed for his ignorance of them, for that is by no means surprising, since still in my time, the most aged among the Romans and Carthaginians and those best versed in public affairs were ignorant of them; but how did he venture and on what authority to state just the opposite, to wit that there was a treaty between Rome and Carthage by which the Romans were obliged to keep away from the whole of Sicily and the Carthaginians from the whole of Italy, and that the Romans broke the treaty and their oath by their first crossing to Sicily? There is, as a fact, no such document at all, nor ever was there; yet in his Second Book he states this in so many words. I mentioned the subject in the introductory part of this work, but deferred until the present occasion the detailed treatment it deserves, in view of the fact that many people, relying on Philinus' work, have false notions on the subject. True, if as regards the crossing of the Romans to Sicily anyone chooses to blame them for having ever consented to receive into their friendship and afterwards to help those Mamertines who seized treacherously not only Messene but Rhegium, he would have good reason for his disapproval, but if he supposes that they crossed contrary to treaty and to their oath he is obviously ignorant of the true facts.

27. At the close of the war for Sicily, then, they ^{241 B.C.} made another treaty, the clauses of which run as follows: "The Carthaginians are to evacuate the whole of Sicily and all the islands between Italy and Sicily. The allies of both parties are to be

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λειαν ὑπάρχειν παρ' ἑκατέρων τοῖς ἑκατέρων συμμά-
 4 χοῖς. μηδετέρους ἐν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἐπαρχίαις μηδὲν
 ἐπιτάττειν μηδ' οἰκοδομεῖν δημοσίᾳ μηδὲ ξενολογεῖν
 μηδὲ προσλαμβάνειν εἰς φιλίαν τοὺς ἀλλήλων συμ-
 5 μάχους. ἐξενεγκεῖν Καρχηδονίους ἐν ἔτεσι δέκα
 δισχίλια καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα, παραυτίκα δὲ δοῦ-
 6 ναι χίλια. τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους χωρὶς λύτρων ἀπο-
 δοῦναι πάντας Καρχηδονίους τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις."
 7 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν λήξαντες τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ πολέμου
 'Ρωμαῖοι Καρχηδονίοις πόλεμον ἐξενέγκαντες ἕως
 8 δόγματος ἐπισυνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο τοιαύτας· "ἐκ-
 χωρεῖν Καρχηδονίους Σαρδόνοσ καὶ προσεξενεγκεῖν
 ἄλλα χίλια καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα," καθάπερ ἐπάνω
 9 προείπαμεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις τελευταῖαι
 πρὸς 'ΑΣδρούβαν ἐν 'Ιβηρίᾳ γίνονται διομολογήσεις,
 "ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ διαβαίνειν Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ
 10 τὸν 'Ιβηρα ποταμόν." ταῦθ' ὑπῆρχε τὰ δίκαια
 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕως εἰς
 τοὺς κατ' 'Αννίβαν καιροὺς.

28 "Ὡσπερ οὖν τὴν εἰς Σικελίαν διάβασιν 'Ρωμαίων
 οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους εὐρίσκομεν γεγεννημένην, οὔ-
 τως ὑπὲρ τοῦ δευτέρου πολέμου, καθ' ὃν ἐποιή-
 σαντο τὰς περὶ Σαρδόνοσ συνθήκας, οὔτε πρόφασιν
 2 οὔτ' αἰτίαν εὔροι τις ἂν εὔλογον, ἀλλ' ὁμολογου-
 μένως τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἠναγκασμένους παρὰ
 πάντα τὰ δίκαια διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκχωρῆσαι μὲν Σαρ-
 δόνος, ἐξενεγκεῖν δὲ τὸ προειρημένον πλῆθος τῶν
 3 χρημάτων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων περὶ τούτων
 λεγόμενον ἔγκλημα, διότι τοὺς παρὰ σφῶν πλοῖζο-
 μένους ἠδίκουν κατὰ τὸν Λιβυκὸν πόλεμον, ἐλύθη
 καθ' οὓς καιροὺς κομισάμενοι παρὰ Καρχηδονίων
 ἅπαντας τοὺς κατηγμένους ἀντεδωρήσαντο χωρὶς

secure from attack by the other. Neither party is entitled to impose any contribution to construct public buildings, or to enrol soldiers, in the dominions of the other, nor to form alliances with the allies of the other. The Carthaginians are to pay twenty-two hundred talents within ten years, and a sum of a thousand talents at once. The Carthaginians are to give up to the Romans all prisoners free of ransom." Later, at the end of the Libyan War, ^{238 B.C.} after the Romans had actually passed a decree declaring war on Carthage, they added the following clause, as I stated above: "The Carthaginians are to evacuate Sardinia and pay a further sum of twelve hundred talents." The very last of this series of agreements is that made with Hasdrubal in Spain, that "The Carthaginians are not to cross the ^{228 B.C.} Ebro in arms." Such is the diplomatic history of the relations between Rome and Carthage up to the time of Hannibal.

28. While therefore we find that the crossing of the Romans to Sicily was not contrary to treaty, for the second war, that in which they made the treaty about Sardinia, it is impossible to discover any reasonable pretext or cause. In this case everyone would agree that the Carthaginians, contrary to all justice, and merely because the occasion permitted it, were forced to evacuate Sardinia and pay the additional sum I mentioned. For from the charge brought by the Romans against them in justification of this, that in the Libyan war they inflicted wrongs on the crews of ships sailing from Rome, they had freed them on the occasion when they had received back from them all their sailors who had been brought into Carthage and in return gave back

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μίνιος ἀναλαβὼν τὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις προῆγε διὰ
 2 Ἰσθητίας, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸ τῆς τῶν
 Ἄρρητινῶν πόλεως, Γνάιος δὲ Σερούλιος τοῦμπαλιν
 ὡς ἐπ' Ἀριμίνου, ταύτη παρατηρήσων τὴν εἰσβολὴν
 3 τῶν ὑπεναντίων. Ἀννίβας δὲ παραχειμάζων ἐν τῇ
 Κελτικῇ τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους τῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης αἰχ-
 μαλώτων ἐν φυλακῇ συνεῖχε, τὰ μέτρια τῶν ἐπι-
 4 τηδείων διδούς, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον ἐν τῇ πάσῃ φιλανθρωπία διεξῆγε, μετὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα συναγαγὼν παρεκάλει, φάσκων οὐκ ἐκείνοις
 ἦκειν πολεμήσων, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων.
 5 διόπερ ἔφη δεῖν αὐτούς, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς φρονῶσιν,
 6 ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας. παρεῖναι γὰρ
 πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακτησόμενος Ἰταλιώ-
 ταις. ὁμοίως δὲ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἣν ὑπὸ
 Ῥωμαίων ἀπολωλεκότες ἕκαστοι τυγχάνουσι, συν-
 7 ανασώσων. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἀφῆκε πάντας χωρὶς
 λύτρων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, βουλόμενος ἅμα μὲν προ-
 καλεῖσθαι διὰ τοιούτου τρόπου πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς
 κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἅμα δ' ἀπαλλοτριοῦν
 τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίας, ἐρεθίζειν δὲ τοὺς
 δοκοῦντας πόλεσιν ἢ λιμέσιν ἠλαττώσθαι τι διὰ τῆς
 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

78 Ἐχρήσατο δὲ τινι καὶ Φοινικικῷ στρατηγῆματι
 2 τοιούτῳ κατὰ τὴν παραχειμασίαν. ἀγωνιῶν γὰρ
 τὴν ἀθεσίαν τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς τὰς
 περὶ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὸ πρόσφατον τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 συστάσεως, κατεσκευάσατο περιθετὰς τρίχας, ἄρμο-
 ζούσας ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ὀλοσχερεῖς διαφορὰς τῶν ἡλι-
 3 κίων ἐπιπρεπείαις, καὶ ταύταις ἐχρήτο συνεχῶς
 μετατιθέμενος· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας μετ-
 4 ἐλάμβανε τὰς καθηκούσας ἀεὶ ταῖς περιθεταῖς. δι'

advanced through Etruria and encamped before Arretium, while Gnaeus Servilius advanced as far as Ariminum to watch for the invasion of the enemy from that side. Hannibal, who was wintering in Cisalpine Gaul, kept the Roman prisoners he had taken in the battle in custody, giving them just sufficient to eat, but to the prisoners from the allies he continued to show the greatest kindness, and afterwards called a meeting of them and addressed them, saying that he had not come to make war on them, but on the Romans for their sakes and therefore if they were wise they should embrace his friendship, for he had come first of all to re-establish the liberty of the peoples of Italy and also to help them to recover the cities and territories of which the Romans had deprived them. Having spoken so, he dismissed them all to their homes without ransom, his aim in doing so being both to gain over the inhabitants of Italy to his own cause and to alienate their affections from Rome, provoking at the same time to revolt those who thought their cities or harbours had suffered damage by Roman rule.

78. During this winter he also adopted a truly Punic artifice. Fearing the fickleness of the Celts and possible attempts on his life, owing to his establishment of the friendly relations with them being so very recent, he had a number of wigs made, dyed to suit the appearance of persons differing widely in age, and kept constantly changing them, at the same time also dressing in a style that suited the wig, so that not only those who had seen him