

## THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

2 δεδηλώκαμεν, ὧν χωρὶς οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦν συμπεριενε-  
 χθῆναι δέοντως οὔτε τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις οὔτε τοῖς  
 3 μετὰ ταῦτα ῥηθησομένοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν. πλὴν οὐκ ἐντρε-  
 πομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων, εἴξαντες τῇ περιστάσει, καὶ  
 βαρυνόμενοι μὲν, οὐκ ἔχοντες δὲ ποιεῖν οὐδέν, ἐξ-  
 εχώρησαν Σαρδόνοσ, συνεχώρησαν δ' εἰσοίσαι ἄλλα  
 χίλια καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον, ἐφ' ᾧ  
 4 μὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνοισ ἀναδέξασθαι τοῖς καιροῖς.  
 διὸ καὶ δευτέραι, μεγίστην δέ, ταύτην θερέον αἰτίαν  
 5 τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάτος πολέμου. Ἀμίλικας γὰρ  
 προσλαβὼν τοῖς ἰδίοις θυμοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργὴν  
 τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς θάπτον τοὺς ἀποστάντας τῶν μισθο-  
 φόρων καταπολεμήσας ἐβεβαίωσε τῇ πατρίδι τὴν  
 ἀσφάλειαν, εὐθέως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ  
 τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πράγματα, σπουδαίων ταύτη χρήσα-  
 6 σθαι παρασκευῇ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον. ἦν  
 δὲ καὶ τρίτην αἰτίαν νομιστέον, λέγω δὲ τὴν εὐροιαν  
 τῶν κατ' Ἰβηρίαν πραγμάτων Καρχηδονίου. ταύταις  
 γὰρ ταῖς χερσὶ πιστεύσαντες εὐθαρσῶς ἐνέβησαν εἰς  
 τὸν προεξηρημένον πόλεμον.

7 Ὅτι δ' Ἀμίλικας πλείστα μὲν συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὴν  
 σύστασιν τοῦ δευτέρου πολέμου, καίπερ τετελευτηκῶς  
 ἔτεσι δέκα πρότερον τῆς καταρχῆς αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ μὲν  
 ἂν εὐροι τις εἰς τοῦτο· σχεδὸν δὲ πρὸς πίστιν ἄρκοῦν  
 ἔσται τὸ λέγεσθαι μέλλον.

11. καθ' οὓς γὰρ καιροὺς καταπολεμηθεὶς Ἀννίβας  
 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τέλος ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέχώρησε καὶ

## BOOK III. 10.2-11.1

preceding Books, without a perusal of which it is impossi-  
 ble to follow properly what I am now saying and what I am  
 about to say); but as the Romans refused to negotiate, the  
 Carthaginians had to yield to circumstances, and though  
 deeply aggrieved they were powerless, and evacuated Sar-  
 dinia,<sup>15</sup> agreeing also to pay twelve hundred talents in ad-  
 dition to the sum previously exacted, in order not to be  
 forced to accept war at that time. This, then, we must take  
 to be the second and principal cause of the subsequent  
 war; for Hamilcar, with the anger felt by all his compatriots  
 at this last outrage added to his old indignation, as soon as  
 he had finally crushed the mutiny of the mercenaries and  
 secured the safety of his country, at once threw all his ef-  
 forts into the conquest of Spain, with the object of using  
 the resources thus obtained for the war against Rome. This  
 success of the Carthaginian project in Spain<sup>16</sup> must be held  
 to be the third cause of the war, for relying on this increase  
 of strength, they entered upon it with confidence.

Of the fact that Hamilcar, although he died ten years  
 before the beginning of the Second Punic War, contrib-  
 uted much to its origin many evidences can be found; but  
 the anecdote<sup>17</sup> I am about to relate suffices, I think, to con-  
 firm this.

11. At the time when Hannibal on his final defeat by the  
 Romans had left his native land and was staying at the

15 P. finds the second and main cause in the affair of Sardinia in  
 238.

16 Carthaginian success in Spain is mentioned as the  
 third cause. For the Carthaginians there see H. H. Scullard, *CAH*  
 (2nd ed.) 8, 1989, 17-43 and map p. 18. 17 If genuine, as  
 many scholars believe, it is not clear how it came to P. It contrib-  
 utes nothing to the search for the causes of the war.

- παρ' Ἀντιόχῳ διέτριβε, τότε Ῥωμαῖοι συνθεωροῦντες ἦδη τὴν Αἰτωλῶν ἐπιβολὴν ἐξαπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Ἀντίοχον, βουλόμενοι μὴ λαθάνειν σφᾶς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις, ὄρωντες τὸν Ἀντίοχον προσέχοντα τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ πρόθυμον ὄντα πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαῖοις, ἐθεράπευον τὸν Ἀντίβαν, σπουδαζόντες εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον. ὁ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. προβαίνοντος γὰρ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπόπτως ἔχοντος αἰεὶ καὶ μάλλον πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίβαν, ἐγένετό τις καιρὸς αἰεὶ ἐπὶ λόγον ἀχθῆναι τὴν ὑποκουρουμένην ἀποπίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἐν ᾗ καὶ πλείους ἀπολογισμοὺς ποιησάμενος Ἀντίβας τέλος ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο κατήντησε, δυσχρηστῶν τοῖς λόγοις. ἔφη γάρ, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἔξοδον μέλλοι στρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων, ἔτη μὲν ἔχειν ἐννεα, θύοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Διὶ παρεστάναι παρὰ τὸν βωμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλλιερήσας κατασπέσαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ποιῆσαι τὰ νομιζόμενα, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοὺς περὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἀποστήναι κελεύσας μικρόν, αὐτὸν δὲ προσκαλεσάμενον ἐρέσθαι φιλοφρόνως εἰ βούλεται συνεισφορᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν. ἀσμένως δὲ κατανεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, καί τι καὶ προσαξιώσαντος παιδικῶς, λαβόμενον τῆς δεξιᾶς προσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βωμόν καὶ κελεύειν ἀψάμενον τῶν ἱερῶν ὀμνῆναι μηδέποτε Ῥωμαῖοις εὐνοήσειν. ταῦτ' ὄντιν εἰδὸτα σαφῶς ἠξίου τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἕως μὲν ἂν τι δυσχερὲς βουλήται κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, θαρρεῖν καὶ πιστεύειν, αὐτὸν

court of Antiochus, the Romans, who saw through the project of the Aetolians, sent an embassy to Antiochus, wishing to be fully aware what the king's purpose was. The legates, as they saw that Antiochus was lending an ear to the Aetolians and was disposed to go to war with Rome, paid many attentions to Hannibal, wishing to make Antiochus suspicious of him, as in fact they succeeded in doing. For as time went on, the king's mistrust of Hannibal grew ever more strong; and it fell out on one occasion that they came to have a talk about the alienation which had been secretly growing up between them. In the course of the conversation Hannibal defended himself on various grounds, and at length, being at a loss for further arguments, resorted to the following. He said that at the time when his father was about to start with his army on his expedition to Spain, he himself, then nine years of age, was standing by the altar, while Hamilcar was sacrificing to Zeus. When, on the omens being favorable, Hamilcar had poured a libation to the gods and performed all the customary rites, he ordered the others who were attending the sacrifice to withdraw to a slight distance and calling Hannibal to him asked him kindly if he wished to accompany him on the expedition. On his accepting with delight, and, like a boy, even begging to do it besides, his father took him by the hand, led him up to the altar, and bade him lay his hand on the victim and swear never to be the friend of the Romans. He begged Antiochus, then, now he knew this for a fact, as long as his intentions were hostile to Rome, to rely on him confidently and believe that he would

- 9 *συνεργὸν ἔξεν νομίζοντ' ἀληθινώτατον. ἐπὶ δὲ διαλύσεις ἢ φιλίαν συντίθηται πρὸς αὐτούς, τότε μὴ προσδεῖσθαι διαβολῆς, ἀλλ' ἀπιστεῦν καὶ φυλάττεισθαι: πᾶν γάρ τι πράξαι κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ δυνατὸς εἴη.*
12. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀντίοχος ἀκούσας, καὶ δόξας αὐτοπαθῶς, ἅμα δ' ἀληθινῶς εἰρήσθαι, πάσης τῆς προϋπαρχούσης ὑποψίας ἀπέστη. τῆς μέντοι γε δυσμενείας τῆς Ἀμίλικου καὶ τῆς ὄλης προθέσεως ὁμολογούμενον θετέον εἶναι τοῦτο μαρτύριον, ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτῶν φανερὸν ἐγένετο τῶν πραγμάτων. τοιούτους γὰρ ἔχθρους παρεσκεύασε Ῥωμαίοις Ἀσδρούβαν τε τὸν τῆς θυγατρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν υἱὸν Ἀννίβαν ὥστε μὴ καταλιπεῖν ὑπερβολὴν δυσμενείας. Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν οὖν προαποθανὼν οὐ πᾶσιν ἔκδηλον ἐποίησε τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόθεσιν, Ἀννίβαν δὲ παρέδωκαν οἱ καιροὶ καὶ λίαν ἐναποδείξασθαι τὴν πᾶν τρέψαν ἔχθραν εἰς Ῥωμαίους. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πραγμάτων ταπτομένους χρῆ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον φροντίζειν ὡς τοῦ μὴ λαυθάνειν τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν διαλυομένων τὰς ἔχθρας ἢ συντιθεμένων τὰς φιλίας, πότε τοῖς καιροῖς εἴκοιτες καὶ πότε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἠπτώμενοι ποιούνται τὰς συνθήκας, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν ἐφέδρους νομίζοντες εἶναι τῶν καιρῶν ἀεὶ φυλάττωται, τοῖς δὲ πιστεύοντες, ὡς ὑπηκόους ἢ φίλους ἀληθινοῖς, πᾶν τὸ παραπίπτον ἐξ ἐτοίμου παραγγέλλωσιν.

have in him his sincerest supporter, but from the moment he made peace and alliance with her he had no need to wait for accusations but should mistrust and beware of him; for there was nothing he would not do against the Romans.

12. Antiochus, listening to this, thought he spoke genuinely and sincerely and in consequence abandoned all his former mistrust. However, we should consider this as an unquestionable proof of Hamilcar's hostility and general purpose, and it is confirmed by the facts. For he made of his daughter's husband Hasdrubal and his own son Hannibal such enemies of Rome that none could be more bitter. As Hasdrubal died before putting his purpose into execution, it was not in his case evident to all, but circumstances put it in the power of Hannibal to give only too manifest proof of his inherited hatred of Rome. Therefore, statesmen should above all take care that the true motives of the reconciliation of enmities and the formation of friendships do not escape them. They should observe when it is that men come to terms under pressure of circumstances and when owing to their spirit being broken, so that in the former case they may regard them as reserving themselves for a favorable opportunity and be constantly on their guard, and in the latter they may trust them as true friends and subjects and not hesitate to command their services when required.