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An analysis of the use of tyche and tyche-related words in the histories of Polybius

Howard R. Hammond
San Jose State University

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Histories of Polybius**

Hammond, Howard Ralph, M.A.

San Jose State University, 1989

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300 N. Zeeb Rd.
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AN ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF
TYCHE AND TYCHE-RELATED WORDS
IN THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Department of Graduate Studies and Research
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

in Special Major:

Classical Greek Studies

By

Howard R. Hammond

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APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Dr. Roger K. Heller

Dr. Joan M. Todd

Dr. M. D. Olcott

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

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SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

During the period 167 to ca. 120 B.C. Polybius, a Greek statesman and military leader, wrote the Histories, which was the first work to focus attention on the rise of Rome to world hegemony.¹ In this work the frequent use of the word tyche, which commonly means fortune or chance, has created a problem for many readers.

This study addresses that problem. It is concerned with Polybius' use not only of tyche, but also of tyche-related words which have meanings such as misfortune and unfortunate. The thesis of this study is that when Polybius used these words he was not referring to the acts of the Greek cult-goddess Tyche, nor of the Roman cult-goddess Fortuna. To the most extent he used these words loosely, writing in the Hellenistic vernacular, but in a number of instances, with intent to give emphasis to moral lessons, he wrote of tyche as an unexplainable force or power, which unexpectedly and sometimes capriciously changes the outcome or direction of men's plans and actions.²

The Histories of Polybius is the only history from the Middle Hellenistic period which has survived in any

appreciable amount. The first five books are extant, the remaining books exist as fragments or not at all. The Greek text used in this study is contained in the Loeb Classical Library work: Polybius, The Histories.³

Polybius

Polybius was born ca. 200 in Megalopolis. Lycortas, his father, was an active statesman-political leader in the Achaean League, so Polybius grew up in a political-military environment where the main problem for leaders was to maintain good relations with the growing power of Rome, and to survive conflicts with other Greek states, while at the same time living with growing pressure from Macedonia. Polybius' education and training was probably typical for a youth of his station. He remarks that he likes to ride and hunt, a sport which he pursued all his life. An unsubstantiated story has it that he died at age eighty-two, as a result of a fall from his horse while hunting.⁴

Polybius' work displays no strong knowledge of literature; he quotes Homer, sometimes inaccurately, but it seems he studied Herodotus and Thucydides, and some historians of his and earlier generations. He dislikes Phylarchus, who made favorable remarks about Sparta. He refers to Aratus, Pictor, Fabius, Philinus, and devotes most of Book XII to Timaeus, disputing with that author in almost every chapter.

Although Polybius mentions Aristotle only two times in his extant work, and this is in reference to the Locrians, his idea—his concept—of fortune as related to the cause of things strongly suggests that he was very familiar with Aristotle's commentary in Physics on fortune as the cause of things.⁵

Polybius' grammar shows he had some training in the Attic dialect, but much of his writing is in the Koiné, the Greek world language of his day. Some of the time he uses an articular infinitive or a participle as the only verbal in a sentence. Stephen Usher complains that Polybius uses a high frequency of adverbs and adverbial phrases, and that his lines reflect not literary language, but contemporary language elements of the Hellenistic city-state bureaucracy.⁶

In the year 182 young Polybius was selected to carry the urn containing Philopoemen's ashes in a funeral procession. In the Histories, x.21 Polybius says, "I have formerly in three books, not in this work, treated of him." This is in reference to a work called The Life of Philopoemen, a lost work.⁷

In Book IX Polybius refers to "my book on tactics." This work is mentioned in Arrian and Aelian. This book, which is lost, may have been written in his early years, or perhaps while he was in Rome.⁸ All through the Histories he shows a keen interest in techniques and tactics of war.

Although his father, Lycortas had been elected strategos, general, of the Achaean League on two separate occasions, Polybius did not hold an elected post until the year 170/69. That fateful year, the year the Romans defeated the Macedonians at Pydna, Polybius was hipparch, cavalry leader and second in command of the Achaean forces.

Lycortas' political party, which included Polybius, had a policy of wait-and-see with respect to Rome, before committing the League to choose. The opposition, led by Callicrates, had the position that for the League nothing should be more important than support and collaboration with Rome. Archon, a member of Callicrate's party, was strategos that year of Pydna, so when Rome triumphed over the Macedonians and their supporters, Greek leaders, such as Callicrates, rushed to capitalize on the situation, heaping abuse on their political adversaries, and giving their names to any Roman who would listen. Callicrates gave Rome a list of over one-thousand Achaeans, including Polybius, all of whom were interned in Italy. No charge was ever made against them. This was not limited to the Achaean League; men from Boeotia, Epirus, Aetolia, Acarnania, Thessaly, and Perhaebia also were sent to Italy and interned.⁹

When Polybius arrived in Rome, he fully expected to be sent with the other Achaeans to towns in Etruria. But this was not to happen.

Polybius explains how the young sons of L. Aemilius Paullus, the victor of Pydna, befriended him and managed to have him remain in Rome:

Now I have already explained [in a lost fragment] that their acquaintance took its origin in the loan of some books and a conversation about them. But, as their intimacy grew, and when the Achaeans in detention were being sent off to provincial towns, Fabius and Scipio, the sons of Lucius Aemilius, urgently begged the praetor to allow Polybius to remain in Rome. This was accomplished, and their friendship now became closer. (xxxi.23.4-6.)

Whether these books were Scipio's or Polybius' is not known. Fabius and Scipio had been permitted by their father to remove some of the books from the library of King Perseus after he had been defeated at Pydna. Polybius very probably brought books from home, realizing from the past experience of other internees that he would be in Italy for a long period of time.¹⁰

Remaining in Rome Polybius became a friend of Scipio for the rest of his life, and very probably Scipio's tutor. Extant parts of the Histories do not say that Polybius was a tutor to Scipio, but most historians think he was.

Polybius would remain in Rome until the year 150, when some three-hundred internees who were still alive were allowed to go home. Polybius had arrived home in Megalopolis when M. Manilius, the Roman consul for 149, asked him to go to Lilybaeum. But, while enroute, he learned that Carthage had accepted Roman terms, so he returned home once again. When the Carthaginian war flared up once again, he joined

Scipio, and thus was present at the fall of Carthage.¹¹

After the fall of Carthage he did not return home at once. It seems that he participated in a voyage with some of Scipio's men along the coast of Africa and then up along the coast of Portugal.¹² It is possible that he wanted to avoid returning home at that time, for by 147 Achaea was ready to go to war against Sparta over another one of her defections from the League.

The patres in Rome knew about this, but said nothing. However, the Roman commander in Macedonia, Q. Metellus, advised the Achaeans to do nothing. In the spring of 146, the Achaeans still being ready to go to war, Metellus sent envoys to a League meeting at Corinth. There they received a rude reception, being mocked by a "jingoist gathering." With this, the patres in Rome decided that their dignitas was compromised, and Metellus was ordered to move against Achaea. Erich Gruen tells what happened:

Rome's forcible intrusion took them by surprise. To her credit, Achaea resolved to see the fight through.... Unequal, of course, it was. Metellus smashed Achaean contingents with his army from Macedonia. Then L. Mummius, leading the Republic's forces from Italy, wiped out the last resistance and delivered his stern and unforgettable lesson: the city of Corinth, where Roman envoys had been jeered and ridiculed, was ruthlessly sacked.¹³

Decem legati, as is usual, went to Greece to assist Mummius in enforcing a peace upon the Achaeans. Their task was over in six months. Rome was hesitant about policing the region, and Polybius, having returned home, was asked

to help. He proceeded to, as he writes, "help implement the new constitution and the laws."¹⁴ The Achaeans were apparently pleased with Polybius' work, for statues were erected to him, according to Pausanias, at Megalopolis, Tegea, Pallantium, Lycosura, and Mantinea; there also is epigraphic evidence for dedications at Cleitor and Olympia.¹⁵

In Book XXXVIII, looking back to the defeat of the Achaeans by Rome, Polybius writes, "not only are the Greeks to be pitied...but more to the point what they did was unfortunate." He used the word "ἀτυχία" which has been translated as "unfortunate." This word to the Greek has the meaning of "shameful misfortune," a resultant generated by man's own folly. To Polybius, the authors of Achaea's ἀτυχία were her demagogic leaders, who provoked the disaster by their decisions.¹⁶

This appears to be the turning point in Polybius' work. There is a change of direction at Book XXX, and it is believed by many that subsequent books were written after 146. As F. W. Walbank writes, "The Histories began by being focused on Rome; they end by being focused on Polybius."¹⁷

The Cults of Tyche and Fortuna

At the Time of Polybius

The cults of the Greek goddess Tyche and the Roman goddess Fortuna were very popular during the Hellenistic

period. Although Polybius was not thinking of the deity when he wrote the term tyche, much of the time he was confronted with the idea of "fortune" which was very much a part of the turbulent Hellenistic culture—both as a religious concept and in everyday life.

Greece and the lands to the East, which were conquered by Alexander, had entered the Hellenistic age by 323, the date of his death. However, Rome's participation in this new age probably should not be dated as being before 229/228, the time of the first Illyrian War, or perhaps with the acquisition of Sicily in 241. During this new age, which lasted until at least A.D.30, the social fabric of the Western "civilized world" was destroyed, but at the same time, there was a spread of the polis concept into non-Greek lands. Not only were armies on the move, traders, merchants, adventurers, and even peasants were journeying. Traditional religions were being impacted with new ideas. There was some exporting of Greek gods to new colonial cities, and Greeks were being exposed to Jewish and Brahmin "philosophies," as they were called. The Romans learned about the Greek cult-goddess Tyche—who bore a strange resemblance to their Fortuna. As Tarn writes, "the creative impulses...forbade anything ever to be the same again." He also noted that the Hellenistic time was as if a strong, fresh wind was blowing away many of the old concepts of the social world.¹⁸

Polybius recognized what was happening even before the change in his life-style from active statesman and military leader to that of a passive observer in Rome. He was able to accept his new role, and acknowledge that the Greek world, and the rest of the world too, was becoming subordinate to Rome; he tried to explain this to the Greeks in his writings.

He makes no comments about social conditions in Italy, although he lived there for sixteen years. Only once does he say anything about life in Greece: in XXXVI.17 he writes that the whole of Greece has been subject to a decrease in population, so that some cities have become deserted and the land lies fallow.¹⁹

Concerning Polybius' religious attitude, F. W. Walbank writes that Polybius "accepts what has been called the political view of religion, namely, that whether the gods exist or not, it is expedient that the people should believe that they do."²⁰ W. W. Fowler writes that while Polybius was living in Rome, three temples of Fortuna were constructed, and that one of them was dedicated by L. Aemilius Paullus, Scipio's father. It is conceivable that Scipio attended the dedication, and that his close friend Polybius also attended. In any case, Polybius makes no mention of Fortuna or Fortuna-cult temples.²¹

Tyche in the Hellenic Period

Although this subsection of the study concerns Tyche and Fortuna in the Hellenistic period, it is necessary to go back into earlier Greek sources to obtain some idea of possible origins of Tyche-cults. The evidence is fragmented, and some sources make questionable statements. Writing about Tyche, in what reads like the words of a discouraged scholar, L. Ruhl, writing in Roscher's Lexicon, says that if the reader has questions about Tyche, to go to Plutarch, that all other writers do.²²

The Hellenic period is said to begin with the first Olympiad in 766; Homer is the earliest extant work.

Roscher's Lexicon reports "there is no mention of Tyche in Homer."²³ Cunliffe's Lexicon confirms this; not only is there no mention of Tyche, a lexicon search shows no usage of the tyche-related words listed below, with one exception, the verb τυγχάνω.²⁴

In Demeterhymnos 420 Tyche and six other daughters of Okeanos are playing in "the fine meadows" with Demeter's daughter, the Maid. Hesiod's Theogony has more "players" but Tyche is one.²⁵

In an early text is an Alcman fragment, edited by T. Bergk: "Tyche, Eunomia, and Peitho were sisters and daughters to Prometheus." E. Rohde, Roman 276. Amm.2, asks, "Tochter des Prometheus?" Alcman fluorit 654-611.²⁶

In a fragment from Archilochus (ca.650) Bergk finds, "Tyche and Moirai give all things good and bad to man."²⁷

Aeschylus (ca.525-456) writes of Tyche in his tragedies, such as "not equal to Tyche," in Pers. 374; "saving Tyche," in Ag. 664; and in Ag. 1042, Tyche is personified as Fate. The epithet of "saving" for Tyche appears a number of times in Pindar. Pindar in a lost poem also calls Tyche "city carrying." He uses the epithet in the ode "For Ergoteles of Himera," "I pray, daughter of Zeus, the deliverer, saving Fortune, keep watch over Himera." In this instance Pindar has Tyche the daughter of Zeus.²⁸

Images to Tyche appeared at an early date. Pausanias writes about a "temple and a stone statue to Tyche" in Pharai. She is holding a sphere on her head, and with her other arm cradles Almatheia's horn—a cornucopia. Pausanias says the statue was sculpted by Bupalos, an artist who is said to have lived in the second-half of the sixth century.²⁹

Illustrations of statues and coins depicting Tyche all show her cradling a cornucopia, the other arm sometimes carries a spinning-spindle instead of supporting the sphere.

There are many works about Greek religion and its cults, but little has been written concerning Tyche.

For example, Lewis Farnell's The Cults of the Greek States, a five volume work, relegates Tyche to less than two pages under the heading "Minor Cults," commenting as follows:

As to Tyche...she became more prevalent in the Hellenistic and the Roman periods, helped probably by the sister-figure of Roman Fortuna. That such a conception should have become popular shows a degeneracy both in Greek religion and Greek intellectual thought.³⁰

Jane Harrison relates an ancient legend concerning a baby Sosipolis (city-saving) who saved the Elean army. Her words are summarized as follows:

The baby Sosipolis was placed in front of the Elean forces which was confronted by an Arcadian invasion army; the baby changed into a snake, and so confounded the Arcadians that they ran away. Then the snake disappeared into the ground. Sosipolis was of the Earth, so he was the son of Earth. As a child he had a sanctuary in common with Tyche near Olympia. The boy is illustrated as holding the horn of Almatheia, the goat who nursed and cared for him. This horn is filled with fruits of the land to be given to mankind. [This is the same horn, a cornucopia, which later Tyche is depicted as holding.]³¹

Another legend from Harrison relates to the Agathos Daimon (Good Spirit); this spirit was at first sexless, but under influence of Greek patriarchalism, perhaps, becomes masculine. He has a shadowy mother or wife by name of Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune). This Agathos Daimon appears again in a legend at Lebadeia in Boeotia where he shares a sanctuary with Agathe Tyche.

In a summary fashion, Harrison writes that "the Agathos Daimon and Sosipolis are one and the same, and Sosipolis, it will be remembered, is but another name for

Zeus Soter (Savior of the City.) What Harrison leaves out is that Tyche or perhaps Agathe Tyche also is an ancient figure in Greek mythology, a Daimon whose "man-made image" changes her action over the centuries to meet the changing needs of the Greeks .³²

Walter Burkert in his recent study of Greek religion reminds his reader that the Greek gods all have personalities, that they are far from spiritual, and have "each its own plastic being." Each is an abstraction clothed with anthropomorphism, so that they become characters born of collective minds, growing in substance and feeding that growth on their very creators: mankind. It must be remembered that there was no state priesthood, unlike Rome, for Greece was a geographical entity, not a political one. Each city, each tribe, had its own tradition which it independently maintained. Yet, somehow the Greek people maintained some continuity of an overall tradition.

Burkert actually devotes one paragraph to Tyche:

No man or intelligence can dispute the importance of the phenomena and situations designated by abstract terms. Tyche...enjoyed the swiftest rise to fame.... In Euripedes, the question is being asked whether Tyche who raises up and casts down is not stronger than the other gods. And so Tyche takes on the character of the Great Goddess who rules over all life, and in Hellenistic times becomes...the city goddess in many places. The most famous was the Tyche of Antioch.³³

Early in the fifth century written history came into existence as a literary form; Herodotus (ca. 484-425), wrote about a world in which the people were subject to the rule of supernatural forces. In his Histories, he used the word tyche only fifteen times.

Writing about fifty years later, Thucydides (ca. 460-400), wrote of a world entirely governed by man, without divine guidance being mentioned. Yet, he used the word tyche thirty-seven times, and tyche-related words for a total of one-hundred and thirty-six (of fourteen different words.)

Not writing in the history genre, Aristotle (384-322) discussed tyche as fortune and chance; he wrote quite copiously about this phenomenon in his Physics and in the Rhetoric. In Poetics, he discussed peripeteia as a "reversal of the situation," and as "a reversal of fortune."

Turning to the genre of oratory, Demosthenes (384-322), seemed to favor using the word tyche. For example, in De Corona (which the ancients called pro Ctesiphon) he used that word twenty-two times, and about the same number of tyche-related words. This is in a text which is only 132 (modern) pages in length.

There obviously was a gradual change in the belief of the common people over the years, for in the Hellenistic period the people habitually spoke of Tyche as a goddess. The concept of fortune and chance, one of mankind's oldest and most persistent traditions, became part of the culture.

Fortuna During the
Monarchy and Early Republic

The tradition with respect to gods and goddesses has inconsistencies. Sosipolis Zeus is seen as a baby, again a youth, and later a man; Tyche always is represented as an adult, sometimes a mother, other times as a nurse. The Roman Fortuna in early tradition was a benefactor of the first-born child, as Fortuna Primageneia. Other times she appears to be the goddess of "fruits of the fields." And then sometime later she relates to the concept of "fortune" and "chance."

It is possible that Fortuna was first a "Latin" deity; tradition has it that she was celebrated in many of the Italian provinces. One of her oldest shrines was at Praeneste, outside of Rome. It is said (by Livy, Ovid, Varro, and others) that the cult of Fortuna was introduced into Rome by the sixth king, Servius Tullius (traditionally 578-535).

This Roman goddess is often known as Fors Fortuna, but not consistently. Many see this to be "Chance Fortune" in an English translation, although the idea of "chance" may not have been the original intention. Both fors and fortuna have a common root in fero, which has a meaning of "to bear," and also "to bring"; this may well be derived from the Greek fero (φέρω), which also has a meaning of "to bear" and "to bring." This worried many writers, for

Donatus, Eugraphius, Nonius, and even Cicero speak about Fors and Fortuna. In De Legibus 2.28 he writes:

Vel Fors, in quo incerti casus significantur magis:
 "For example Chance, in which accidental events
 signify much more."

Yet it seems that in primitive times, Fors Fortuna or Fortuna was a goddess of fertility, of importance to both women and the farmer.³⁴

It is known that Fors Fortuna feast day is June 24; this date marks the summer solstice—so the feast day coincides with Midsummer Day, an important date for the farmer.

The historical record is obscure as to when the Fortuna-cult concept moved away from the fertility idea to fortune and chance. Writers such as Plautus, Donatus, Terence, and Columella, all lived during the Hellenistic period, so their use of the idea of Fors Fortuna denoting fortune, luck, or success, provides no help. It would appear that the idea of Fortuna as the goddess of fortune, chance, and success, was something which developed in Hellenistic time, perhaps stimulated by the strong attention being given to the Greek Tyche-cults.

Tyche and Fortuna in the Hellenistic Age

By the time Polybius began to write in 167, the cult of Tyche was well established in Greece, the islands, in Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria, and even to some extent

in Egypt. At that time the Fortuna-cults were confined to Italy. From the written evidence it appears that the Tyche-cults, or at least the concept of the goddess Tyche, was a more popular element of the Greek culture, both at home and abroad, than the Fortuna-cult in the Roman culture. However, this apparent anomaly may well be due to the fact that extant amount of Greek writing exceeds that of Latin writing in a ratio of about ten to one.

Walbank writes, "The Hellenistic world had made Fortune a great goddess." Altheim says that [in this time period] there was a simple borrowing by the Romans from the Greek culture, which is to say that the Romans apparently were caught up by the Greek concept of Tyche as the goddess of Fortune.³⁵

Roscher's Lexicon lists the cities in which evidence has been found that there was a cult of Tyche. Many references are to Pausanias, some are archaeological; for these two reasons, it is impossible to definitely state that the list applies to the Hellenistic period, some of the sites may be earlier. On the other hand, the growth of Tyche-cult worship during the Hellenistic period, lends credence to the thought that they probably were Hellenistic in most cases. Twenty-sites are on the mainland of Greece; and no-one knows how many small villages had shrines or at least altars to Tyche. Pausanias says that Megalopolis, Polybius'

home-town, had a shrine to Tyche behind the civic buildings; the shrine is said to have contained a stone statue some five-feet high. At Olympia there was a statue (very probably wooden) covered with gold and ivory.

The same list shows two temples to Tyche in Thrace, one at Byzantium, and one in Heraclea in Perinth. Three temples are listed for Sicily, and eleven in the Aegean Islands—from Imbros to Thera. There were nineteen temples listed in Asia Minor, twelve in Syria and Palestine, and two in Egypt. All the temples had some form of art to represent Tyche. Only one city is reported to have made Tyche the official city-protector, that being Antioch.³⁶ A comparable listing of Fortuna-cult sites has not been found.

Whereas Tyche seems to have had only the epithet of Agathe (Good), R. Peter in Roscher lists some seventeen epithets for Fortuna, ranging from Bona to Virilis. He also lists a number of statues and shrines to Isis-Fortuna, one to Fortuna-Panthea, and several shrines in which Fortuna art was accompanied by personifications such as Hope, Faith, Victory, and even Mars.³⁷

J. K. Davies writes in Cambridge Ancient History concerning religion in Polybius' time:

There were, however, at least two modes of relationship between individuals and gods or cosmic powers which were new or took on renewed force in the Hellenistic period. One was scepticism. Its manifold forms ranged from the ostentatious blasphemy of Philip V's admiral Dicaerchus,

erecting altars to Asebeia (Impiety) and Paranoia (Lawlessness),³⁸ through Polybius' own views of religion as a tool of Social control,³⁹ and his [Polybius'] widely shared elevation of Tyche (Fortune) to the status of a deity in her own right, to scepticism as a specific current in Hellenistic philosophy.⁴⁰

In the above text Davies is making a somewhat sweeping statement concerning Polybius without due consideration of all of Polybius' use of the word tyche, by writing: "Polybius' widely shared elevation of Tyche to the status of a diety." Davies may be referring to the one place in the Histories, where in xxxvi.17 Polybius uses the phrase "to god and to fortune." However, the intent of the phrase depends upon the translation of the word "καί." Polybius may well have intended the reader to hear the phrase as "to god even fortune," or "to god also fortune." There is no certainty in the thought that Polybius has equated tyche with the gods. See discussion under Section II, under xxxvi.17.

A search of fragments of writers such as Posidonius (ca. 150-35), whose writing began where Polybius ended, Silenus of Kale, Aratos of Sicyon (ca. 270-30), and Timaeus of Tauromenium (ca. 356-260), all refer only a few times to tyche. Only the work of Diodorus Siculus shows much use of this word. The McDougall Lexicon shows he used tyche one-hundred and nineteen times.⁴¹

Gruen writes that Philhellenism was a fact by the second century, perhaps even the third, and that Greek gods

were well known in Rome.⁴² Yet, the Greek idea of Tyche does not appear to have crossed over into the Roman idea of Fortuna. The word meant "success" in a great many more instances to the Romans; not an uncontrollable chance thing, but success which man thinks may be under his own control—at least to some extent.

Two questions remain unanswerable at this time. Did the majority of Greeks share Polybius' concept of tyche as an unexplainable force or power? Certainly, an inanimate power could not be appealed to as one did the gods. If such were the case, why were there so many temples and shrines to Tyche throughout the regions of Greek influence?

More study is needed on the subject of "Fortune in the Hellenistic Period." Professor Z. Stewart, regarding the concept of Tyche during the Hellenistic period, says "You are looking for something that does not exist." And Professor Noel Robertson writes, "So far as I know, no monograph has been devoted to Tyche in the Hellenistic period."⁴³

The Word Τύχη

The word Τύχη, which has been transliterated as Tyche until this point in the study, appears 132 times in the extant parts of the Histories. The greatest number of translations is as fortune, followed by chance, then

by several others. The word "fortune" is capitalized only one time in this study to indicate the idea of the deity. In all the other instances Polybius uses the word either in a colloquial sense or to refer to the unexplainable power.

The definitions in the Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon were used in this work.⁴⁴ In addition to the entry for "τύχη," the one for the article "ὁ, ἡ, τό" is of help. In line B.II.2 "τὸ τῆς τύχης = ἡ τύχη." In a variation to this, when Polybius writes "τὰ τῆς τύχης," seemingly he means whims or caprices of fortune.

Τύχη being a feminine noun creates a problem for the reader and the translator; reflexive pronouns, adjectives, and participles which refer to that noun have feminine inflections, which develop a mental-image of a goddess named "Fortune," when, in fact, Polybius is using vernacular terms, or else writing about the unexplainable force or power of the same name.

Τύχη-related Words

To gain a better understanding of Polybius' intention by the use of the word "τύχη," this study also examines those texts in which words related to τύχη, either by root or meaning, are being used. These have been labeled τύχη-related words. Forty-one such words have been studied. These words and their meanings are listed below.

ἀκληρέω, to be unfortunate; this verb is related to the word κληρος below

ἀκληρία, ἡ, misfortune

ἀδόπτωμα, unlucky chance, misfortune

ἀποτυγχάνω, to fail to hit, as in to be unlucky; this verb used in the sense of being unlucky

ἀποτυχία, failure

ἀτυχέω, to be unfortunate, fail; passive: mischance, failure

ἀτύχημα, ατος, τό, misfortune, miscarriage; to Polybius this word often meant shameful misfortune

ἀτυχία, ἡ, misfortune, ill-luck, defeat; may also mean shameful misfortune

αὐτομάτως, = ἀπὸ ταύτομάτου, by chance

διευτυχέω, to continue to be fortunate, to continue to be prosperous

δυστυχέω, to be unlucky, to be unfortunate

δυστύχημα, ατος, τό, piece of ill-luck, failure, misfortune

ἐντυγχάνω, light upon, meet with, fall in with; the present active participle: chance persons

ἐπιτυχής, ἐς, hitting the mark, fortunate, successful

ἐπιτυχία, ἡ, luck, chance, success

ἔρμαιον, τό, properly a gift of Hermes, i.e., an unexpected piece of luck, god-send

εὖ, well, kindly, thoroughly, etc.; used one time with sense of good luck

εὐδαιμονία, ἡ, prosperity, good fortune, opulence

εὐτυχέω, to be prosperous, to be fortunate, successful

εὐτύχημα, ατος, τό, piece of good luck, success

εὐτυχής, successful, fortunate

εὐτυχία, good luck, success

εὐτυχῶς, fortunately

κινδυνεύω, to make a venture, to run a risk, chance to encounter

κλήρος, ου, ὁ, a lot, a casting lot

κληρόω, to cast lots, to appoint by lot, to draw lots

πάθος, εος, τό, anything that befalls one, suffering, misfortune, calamity

παράδοξος, ον, contrary to expectation, incredible;
see commentary on page 30

παράδοξως, unexpectedly, incredibly

παράλογος, ον, beyond calculation, unexpected, in the
neuter: unexpected event

παράλογως, unexpectedly, unaccountably

παρατυγχάνω, to happen to be present, often in parti-
ciples: any chance person

περιπέτεια, ἡ, reversal, turning right around, esp.
sudden change of condition, unexpected event

συγκυρέω, to come together by chance, meet with an accident

συμβαίνω, of events only: to happen, to come to pass

σύμπτωμα, ατος, τό, anything that happens, chance occur-
rence, misfortune, mischance

συμφορά, ἡ, event, chance, hap, misfortune, calamity,
circumstance

συντυχία, ἡ, occurrence, happening, by chance

ταγαθά, contraction for τὰ ἀγαθά, the goods of fortune

ταυτόματον, contraction for τὸ αὐτοματον, a chance

τυγχάνω, happen to be, to hit a mark; of events: happen to one, befall; aorist participle, any chance person, of things, any chance result.

In this list the word "happen" appears as one of the meanings in five of the τύχη-related words. These have been included because happen has a simple meaning of chance occurrence. Other Greek words with a meaning of happen have not been included in the list in order to keep it to a manageable length.

Writing about the word "happen," Adolph Torstrik notes that this English word comes closer to the Greek meaning of τύχη than the German Zufall or any other modern European word.⁴⁵

This list does not include every possible word that has some relationship to τύχη by meaning, although all the root-related words have been included, provided they are found in the Histories. This has been done to keep this study to a manageable length. For the same reason, not all instances of use of the listed words have been investigated in the study. However, the number of words not studied is very small.

Index of Lines

An index of lines in the Histories has been compiled to provide a means of locating the lines of Greek text, or of pages in this thesis, for each word studied and reported upon. The index is arranged alphabetically by word. Each

line which contains a $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ -related word or $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ is listed, first by line number in the Histories, and secondly by the number of the page in this work. Some lines contain more than one kind of word, and in some instances the same word may be used more than once, so what appears to be duplication is not that. This index appears at the back of this work.

Performing the Study

The study began with a reading of the text of the Histories, and the preparation of a list of lines containing the study words. The list was then expanded by means of the computer listing of words from the file of Polybius at the Thesaurus Linguae Graeca (TLG), University of California, Irvine, California.

Each selected, pertinent line has been quoted, translated, and then analyzed with respect to Polybius' use and intent of the word $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ and the $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ -related words in the line. In some instances the translations of W. R. Paton, E. S. Shuckburgh, and Ian Scott-Kilvert have been referred to and quoted for comparison or corroboration—as the case may be.⁴⁶

During the process of analyzing and commenting on Polybius' words, it was essential to think of his education, background, and military-political training. These all had

a strong influence on his writing. So did the works of Herodotus and Thucydides, particularly the latter writer, whose style he seems to have tried to follow.

He associated with military men, both in Greece and in Italy, so he was often exposed to soldier's talk, in which words such as fortune, chance, and luck were common. These words entered his work by intent, so that his reader would learn about the vicissitudes of fortune, if he was not already aware of this.⁴⁷

SECTION II

TRANSLATION AND ANALYSIS OF SELECTED LINES

FROM THE HISTORIES

Book I

Polybius writes Chapters 1 through 5 as an overall introduction; 1.1 to 3.6 provides an opening discussion on the subject of history, and 3.7 to 5.5 gives an introduction to Books I and II. In these introductory lines Polybius frequently uses the word τύχη and τύχη- related words to both remind and teach the reader that human life and history are filled with instances of unexpected events and vicissitudes of fortune which are beyond man's control. Polybius emphasizes that one must study history to learn how others have met with the unexpected, and to learn how to encounter irrational changes and reversals of fortune.

1.1. Εἰ μὲν τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀναγράφουσι τὰς πράξεις παραλελειφθαι συνέβαινε τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἱστορίας ἔπαινον, ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸ προτρέπεσθαι πάντας πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ παραδοχὴν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπομνημάτων, διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐτοιμοτέραν εἶναι ἀνθρώποις διόρθωσιν τῆς τῶν προγεγενημένων πράξεων ἐπιστήμης:

"Indeed, if it had happened that those who recorded earlier events had neglected to praise history itself, probably it would be necessary to persuade everyone to study and

accept such treatises as this one; for nothing is certain to be more corrective for men than the understanding of doings of earlier times."

In this opening line Polybius uses the verb συμβαίνω, which for events has the meaning of "to happen," or "to come to pass." As noted above, the word happen has a sense of fortuitous or chance occurrence, thus it is proper to think that Polybius' was thinking of a word which has the meaning of chanced. Christopher Watson, who published in 1568, saw this and opened his translation with, "If it had chanced that historians...."⁴⁸

1.2-3. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ τινὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ ποσόν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀρχῇ καὶ τέλει κέχρηται τούτῳ, φάσκοντες ἀληθινωτάτην μὲν εἶναι παιδείαν καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας μάθησιν, ἐναργεστάτην δὲ καὶ μόνην διδάσκαλον τοῦ δύνασθαι τὰς τῆς τύχης μεταβολὰς γενναίως ὑποφέρειν τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων περιπετειῶν ὑπόμνησιν, δῆλον ὥς οὐδενὶ μὲν ἂν δόξαι καθήκειν περὶ τῶν καλῶς καὶ πολλοῖς εἰρημένων ταυτολογεῖν, ἥκιστα δ' ἡμῖν:

"But since not just some [historians], not even for a certain period of time, but all, as the saying goes, have used this [knowledge of the past] as the beginning and the end, having asserted, on the one hand, that the soundest education and training for success in public life is obtaining knowledge from history, and on the other, the manifestly best and abiding schooling in the art of being capable of nobly enduring the vicissitudes of fortune is the reminding of oneself of the sudden changes of others; so evidently,

no one, and least of all myself, would think it proper to repeat what has been so well and often said."

The word μεταβολή, not necessarily a τύχη-related word in itself, used in the plural has a meaning of vicissitudes, which when used with τύχη in the genitive, gives the phrase "vicissitudes of fortune," words which the Greeks knew from their usage in the Greek tragedies, and a phrase which was commonly used—a commonplace—in the Hellenistic period. Περιπέτεια, a sudden change (of fortune), on which many a plot in the Greek tragedies hinges, was also a common idea to the Hellenistic peoples.

Diodorus Siculus used both terms frequently, so did Plutarch writing late in the Hellenistic period (ca. A.D. 80-90). Sallust, writing ca. 63 B.C. demonstrates a commonplace usage of this idea in the opening chapter of Bellum Catilinae:

Sed perfecto fortuna in omni dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque:

"But certainly fortune domineers in every affair; it is that thing which from caprice makes all events famous or obscure rather than in conformity with truth."

In Ad Herennium II.XXXI, (possibly written ca. 85), Cicero, after listing ten commonplaces to stir the emotions of an audience to an oration, adds:

Misericordia commovebitur si variam fortunarum commutationem dicemus:

"We shall stir pity in our hearers by recalling the vicissitudes of fortune."

The context of Polybius' introductory lines shows no indication of the actions of a goddess Tyche; he is writing about an impersonal power; writing about sudden changes and vicissitudes, Polybius and the other above cited authors are referring to that unexplainable force or power which inflicts sudden reversals, drastic changes on all mankind.

1.4. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν πράξεων, ὑπὲρ ὧν προηγήμεθα γράφειν, ἱκανὸν ἐστὶ προκαλέσασθαι καὶ παρορμῆσαι πάντα καὶ νέον καὶ πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὴν ἐντευξιν τῆς πραγματείας:

"For just the unexpectedness of the events, about which I have chosen deliberately to write, is enough to invite and stimulate everyone, both young and old, to the study of this work."

The neuter τύχη-related word παράδοξον with its meanings of unexpectedness, contrary to expectation, and incredible, is one of the hallmarks which Polybius uses throughout his work; he uses this word fifty-one times in books I to III. This hallmark in itself means the work of the power of fortune. Walbank writes that it is "a part of Polybius' legacy from the [earlier] Hellenistic historians who borrowed it from tragedy."⁴⁹

Aristotle (Poetics 9.1452a4) writes it as παρὰ τὴν δόξαν, saying that when events occur "contrary to

expectation they cause fear and a feeling of pity." The words in Ad Herennium, quoted above, convey the same idea: "We shall stir pity in our hearers by recalling the vicissitudes of fortune."

2.1. ὥς δ' ἔστι παράδοξον καὶ μέγα τὸ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπόθεσιν θεώρημα γένοιτ' ἂν οὕτως μάλιστ' ἐμφανές:

"How incredible and vast is the spectacle concerning our times proposed for discussion; this should become most clearly apparent...."

The use of παράδοξον, which can be translated as incredible or contrary to expectation, shows Polybius' continuing effort to stimulate the interest of his readers.

4.1-2. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραγματείας [ἴδιον καὶ τὸ θ' θαυμάσιον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὅτι καθάπερ ἡ τύχη σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πράγματα πρὸς ἓν ἐκλινε μέρος καὶ πάντα νεύειν ἠνάγκασε πρὸς ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν, οὕτως (2) καὶ δεῖ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπὸ μίαν σύνοψιν ἀγαγεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὸν χειρισμὸν τῆς τύχης, ᾧ κέχρηται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων συντέλειαν:

"For the strange and wondrous [thesis] of my own systematic history concerning our times is this: that even as fortune has guided nearly everyone of the affairs of the world toward one direction, and has forced them to incline to one and the same end, so also should the writer by his historical work, under one overall view, show the readers this handiwork of fortune, by which she has subjected to her the consummation of the affairs of the world."

In these two lines Polybius stresses his concept of fortune; it is his belief that the historian should show the reader how mankind's affairs are controlled. His mind is clearly made up; he wants his readers to learn how much fortune—as a determining power or force—controls the end-result of planned affairs. Polybius, the military leader, holds this controlling-capability of fortune in his mind as a central idea.

4.3-5. νῦν δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς μὲν κατὰ μέρος πολέμους καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἅμα τούτοις πράξεων καὶ πλείους πραγματευομένων, τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ συλλήβδην οἰκονομίαν τῶν γεγενημένων, πότε καὶ πόθεν ὠρμήθη καὶ πῶς ἔσχε τὴν συντέλειαν, ταύτην οὐδ' ἐπιβαλόμενον οὐδένα βασανίζειν, ὅσον γε (4) καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναί, παντελῶς ὑπελαβὼν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ μὴ παραλιπεῖν μηδ' ἑᾶσαι παρελθεῖν ἀνεπιστάτως τὸ κάλλιστον ἅμα κῶφελιμώτατον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς τύχης. (5) πολλὰ γὰρ αὕτη καινοποιούσα καὶ συνεχῶς ἐναγωνιζομένη τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίοις οὐδέπω τοιόνδ' ἀπλῶς οὐτ' εἰργασατ' ἔργον οὐτ' ἡγωνίσατ' ἀγώνισμα, οἷον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς:

"And then observing the work of writers who fully engaged themselves with particular wars and their accomplishment, and the general and collective direction of the actions which have happened, when and where each had been set in motion and how it was guided to consummation, I saw that no one was giving attention to this nor examining it closely, at least as far as I know; so I conceived it completely necessary not to leave unnoticed nor allow to pass without attention this most beneficent and at the same time the most profitable practice of fortune. For she is bringing about new things and continually taking a part in men's

lives, and never before has she put on such a show-piece such as you see, nor exerted herself in such a contest as [she has] in our times."

Polybius expresses his concern that earlier historians had not paid attention to the "practice of fortune" when describing actions and events. Polybius is writing about a cosmic power, not a goddess; Walbank writes that this concept of fortune is a "force in the universe," and adds that this is,

the Tyche of Demetrius of Phalerum (cf.xxix.21.3-6), and it is significant that the word καινοποιεῖν [line 5, "bringing about new things"], otherwise found only in verse prior to Polybius, is taken from Demetrius.⁵⁰

5.3. In the line of text immediately prior to this, Polybius tells his reader that he would adopt as the starting point of his work the first time the Romans crossed the sea from Italy to Libya. This is an important event, for the Romans were not well-equipped to fight at sea, nor were they so-trained, and furthermore, the Carthaginians at that time had control of the sea.

καὶ ῥητέον αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς διαβάσεως αἰτίαν ψιλῶς, ἵνα μὴ τῆς αἰτίας αἰτίαν ἐπιζητούσης ἀνυπόστατος ἢ τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως ἀρχὴ γένηται καὶ θεωρία:

"One must mention only the cause itself of the crossing-over; so that the first cause does not become in itself speculation while seeking without sure foundation after a cause of the cause."

This line does not contain τύχη or τύχη-related words, but it has been included in this study because it does give Polybius' thinking about cause. Polybius has been criticized by some writers who think he often uses the idea of fortune to explain the origin of events. This might be true in some instances, for he, like many historians since his time, probably found "cause" to be a very slippery item to handle.

Arno Mauersberger's Lexikon entry for ἀνυπόστατος (speculation, theory) in this text would have the verb form γένηται (it becomes in itself) the verb of the second clause, so the translation becomes (without changing the sense):

I must mention the cause of the crossing over, so that one should not be seeking after a cause of the cause without a sound foundation so that the first cause becomes itself but speculation.⁵¹

6.4. γενόμενοι δ' ἐγκρατεῖς πάντων τῶν Λατίνων διὰ τε τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐπιτυχίαν, μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπολέμουν Τυππηνοῖς, ἔπειτα Κελτοῖς, ἔξῃς δὲ Σαυνίταις:

"[The Romans] becoming masters of all of the Latins both by valor and success in the battles, next went to war with the Etruscans, then with the Celts, and thereafter the Samnites."

The τύχη-related word ἐπιτυχία in this line can be translated as luck, chance, or success. The editors of the L&S Lexicon selected the translation "success" for this word. Polybius could actually have been thinking of the soldier's commonplace words, "fortune of battle."

Walbank notes that Rome did not fight the three powers in succession as Polybius suggests. All three gave Rome trouble from time to time until ca. 290, when in the final battles with the Samnites, in which the Gauls and the Etruscans participated, Rome reduced them to impotence.⁵²

6.8. γενόμενοι δὲ παραδόξως πάντων ἐγκρατεῖς, καὶ ποιησάμενοι τοὺς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντας ὑφ' αὐτοὺς πλὴν Κελτῶν, μετὰ ταῦτα πολιορκεῖν ἐνεχείρησαν τοὺς τότε κατέχοντας τὸ Ῥήγιον Ῥωμαίους:

"Contrary to expectations [the Romans] became masters of the whole country, bringing the people of Italy, except for the Celts, under them. Then they undertook a siege against the [renegade] Romans who were occupying Rhegium at that time."

The adverb παραδόξως can be translated as "incredibly," "contrary to expectation," or maybe even as Paton does, "extraordinary good fortune." As said earlier, this word is one of Polybius' hallmarks, which in itself has a meaning of the "power of fortune."

Walbank, commenting on the action against the Roman force at Rhegium, writes that "there is evidence that the Romans took action against these troops only when they spread their activities to seize Croton and destroy Caulonia."⁵³ Polybius assumes the Romans in Rhegium were at fault for the reasons described in i.7.3-4, which follows.

7.3-4. παρεισελθόντες δ' ὡς φίλοι, καὶ κατασχόντες τὴν πόλιν, οὓς μὲν ἐξέβαλον τῶν πολιτῶν, οὓς δ' ἀπέσφαξαν. (4) πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα τῶν ἡκληρηκότων, ὥς ποθ' ἡ τύχη διένειμε παρ' αὐτον τὸν τὸν τῆς παρανομίας καιρὸν ἐκάστοις, οὕτως ἔσχον:

"And they [the Roman garrison] came in under pretense as friends, and they occupied the city. They cast some men out of the body of citizens, and they slayed the others. When they had accomplished these deeds, they took possession of the unfortunate women and children, as if, at that time of this transgression of decency, fortune had assigned a master to each and every one of them, so there they were."

The verb ἀκληρέω, as ἡκληρηκότων (perfect participle), appears five times in this study; this is its first appearance. It has a definition of to be unfortunate, which is in line with the situation of the women and children. Τύχη refers to fortune, an unfeeling power.

13.11-12. οὔτε γὰρ πολυχρονιώτερον τούτου πόλεμον εὐρεῖν ῥάδιον οὔτε παρασκευὰς ὁλοσχερεστέρας οὔτε συνεχεστέρας πράξεις οὔτε πλείους ἀγῶνας οὔτε περιπετείας μείζους τῶν ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ (12) πολέμῳ συμβάντων ἐκαστέροις. αὐτὰ τε τὰ πολιτεύματα κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀκμήν ἀκέραια μὲν ἦν τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς, μέτρια δὲ ταῖς τύχαις, (13) πάρισα δὲ ταῖς δυνάμεσι:

"For neither is it easy to think of a war [First Punic] which lasted longer, nor with more extensive preparations or more continuing actions, nor more extensive battles, or greater sudden changes to both sides when they came together in appointed battle. And the states, themselves, throughout

those most critical times, on the one hand, had customs that were without guile, and on the other, fair in their actions, and evenly-matched in strength."

Περὶπέτεια, which has the meaning of "a sudden change," is used by Polybius fifty-six times in the Histories. A sudden change or a reversal of fortunes is common to the battlefield; one of the two contestants will receive a change, a reversal of plan, for one will lose, whereas both made plans to win.

The presence of the word τύχαις in the phrase μέτρια δὲ ταῖς τύχαις has led translators to immediately think of "fortunes." However, a very acceptable translation of the word is "acts of human beings," which fits in with the sense of the whole sentence. The sentence is comparing two powers, and the idea of an outside activity, a force or power does not meet the criteria of the sentence's intent.

For this phrase, Schweighaeuser writes: "receiving but modest help from fortune." Paton says, "moderate in fortune," and Shuckburgh, "their fortunes still at a moderate level."

21.9. μετ' οὐ πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας, οὕτως ἐναργούς ὄντος καὶ προσφάτου τοῦ περὶ τὸν Γνάιον ἀτυχήματος, παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸς Ἀννίβας εἰς τὸ παραπλήσιον ἀμάρτημα προφανῶς ἐνεπέσεν:

"And not many days later, with so much being prominent with regard to Gnaeus' recent mistake, Hannibal, himself, nearly fell openly into the same error."

Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, the Roman consul appointed to command the new (large) fleet, put to sea earlier than the rest with seventeen ships. Enroute to the Straits of Messina, where he planned to rendezvous with the rest of the fleet, he "embraced a proposal" to sail to the city of Lipara on an island to the west of the straits. Hannibal heard of this diversion, and sent Boodes (a Carthaginian senator) with twenty ships to attack Gnaeus. Boodes arrived at night and bottled Gnaeus up in the harbor of Lipara. At dawn, the "Roman crew hastily took refuge on land, and Gnaeus, falling into a state of terror...finally surrendered to the enemy," (Polybius, i.21.4-8). For this, Walbank reports, Gnaeus gained the nickname of Scipio Asina.⁵⁴

Hannibal's error was that a few days later, hearing that the rest of the Roman fleet was sailing along the coast of Italy, and anxious to see a glimpse of the Roman ships, sailed north and unexpectedly came upon them, losing most of his ships, escaping with only a few (Polybius, i.21.10-11.)

When Polybius uses the word ἀτυχῆμα to "label" what Gnaeus did, he was not talking about a "misfortune," but a human "mistake" in judgement. There seems to be no intent on Polybius' part to tell the reader that fortune had anything to do with this, a simple human mistake, even though it was a big one. He merely used the best word, even though it relates by root to τύχη.

22.1. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα συνεγγίσαντες τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν τόποις, καὶ συνέντες τὸ γεγονὸς σύμπτωμα περὶ τὸν Γνάιον, παραυτίκα μὲν διεπέμποντο πρὸς Γάιον [Δουίλιον] τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τοῦτον ἀνέμενον:

"After this the Romans approached the coast of Sicily, and learning of the calamity which had happened to Gnaeus, they at once sent word to Gaius Duilius, the commander of the land forces, and awaited his arrival."

Σύμπτωμα, used here the first of thirty-eight times, has the broad meaning of anything that happens. An analysis of the scope and impact of the happening on the Romans shows that "calamity" would be a good synonym to use here. Certainly the loss of seventeen ships, crew, and soldiers would be at least a "calamity" to the Romans.

Although this is one of the τύχη-related words, the intent behind the loss cannot be laid at fortune's door. It is apparent that the loss to the Romans is due to a foolish error on the part of Gnaeus, and Polybius recognizes this. He does not imply that the power of fortune is involved in this episode. Later in this work it will be seen where the word σύμπτωμα is used with activity by the power, fortune.

23.1. Ὁ δὲ Γάιος [Δουίλιον] ὡς θᾶπτον ἔγνω τὴν περιπέτειαν τοῦ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἡγουμένου, παραδούς τὰ πεζικὰ στρατόπεδα τοῖς χιλιάρχοις αὐτὸς διεκομίσθη πρὸς τὸν στόλον:

"As soon as Gaius Duilius learned about the sudden reversal of the commander of the sea-force, he handed over his

of the commander of the sea-force, he handed over his forces to the tribunes and proceeded to the fleet."

Even though the loss of the seventeen ships and men was a result of a mistake made by Gnaeus, the result of this was περιπέτεια, which can be translated as a sudden change of condition or fortune, or a reversal.

24.1. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι παραδόξως ἀντιπεποιημένοι τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐλπίδος, διπλασίως ἐπερρώσθησαν ταῖς ὁρμαῖς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον:

"And the Romans incredibly having [successfully] contended on the sea beyond all expectations, their eager desire for war was twice as strong."

Polybius again uses the τύχη-related adverb παραδόξως, which can be translated as incredibly, which in this sentence is more appropriate than contrary to expectation, inasmuch as Polybius supplies the word ἐλπίδος, translated as expectation or hope.

35.1-2. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ πολλά τις ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐπισημαινόμενος εὖροι πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίου συντελεσθέντα. καὶ γὰρ τὸ διαπιστεῖν τῇ τύχῃ, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς εὐπραγίας, ἐναργέστατον ἐφάνη πᾶσι τότε διὰ τῶν Μάρκου συμπτωμάτων:

"In this great occurrence one can see for oneself much which would contribute [to a better conduct] of human life. For, in fact, the precept to distrust fortune completely, and especially during a period of success, is most distinctly made clear to all by the mischances of Regulus."

For eleven chapters prior to these two lines,

Polybius writes a chronicle about the First Punic War without using the word τύχη or any τύχη-related words, with one exception; in line 34.12 he uses the adverb παραδόξως, in saying that "unexpectedly" a number of Roman soldiers managed to escape to the town of Aspia, while all the others were captured or killed.

This is very typical of Polybius' work; he writes many chapters, throughout the Histories, without mentioning fortune. Then, after he completes his historical narrative, he writes a chapter of personal reflections, which he insists are for the purpose of teaching the reader. Walbank reports that "it is generally agreed that Fabius and Philinus are Polybius' exclusive sources for the First Punic War." Chapters 23 to 34 are derived from these sources, and chapter 35 is Polybius' lesson for the reader.⁵⁵

In these two lines of Polybius' reflections (35.1-2) he is talking about a "fortune" which is a force which strikes Regulus just when he has been successful, reversing his position. Initially he showed no pity to the Carthaginians when he won the first battle, then when the same people, led by the mercenary Xanthippus, win the next battle, he is shown no pity or mercy. His own "mischances," his own hubris after a success, struck him down.

35.5-7. εἷς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος καὶ μία γνώμη τὰ μὲν
ἀήττητα πλήθη καὶ πραγματικὰ δοκοῦντ' εἶναι καθεῖλε, τὸ
δὲ προφανῶς πεπτωκὸς ἄρδην πολίτευμα καὶ τὰς ἀπηλγηκυίας

ψυχὰς τῶν δυνάμεων ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον (6) ἤγαγεν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτων ἐπεμνήσθην χάριν τῆς τῶν (7) ἐντυγχανόντων τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι διορθώσεως. δεῖν γὰρ ὄντων τρόπων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταθέσεως, τοῦ τε διὰ τῶν ἰδίων συμπτωμάτων καὶ τοῦ διὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων:

"For one man and one mind [Xanthippus] laid low that host which seemed to be unconquerable and efficient, and he restored the state [Carthage], which had clearly fallen into utter despondency, and raised the spirits of the forces for war. I make mention of these things to set them straight for the sake of those chance readers of these words. For there are two ways of changing for the better for all men; one through their own misfortunes, and the other through those of other men."

The first τύχη-related word in this text is the present participle of ἐντυγχάνω, which has the meaning of chance persons. The second such word is συμπτωμάτων, which has a meaning of misfortunes. Polybius uses this "teaching" theme often in his early books. But Regulus, who commanded the Romans who lost to Xanthippus, probably would not have appreciated Polybius' lesson.

Both of the subject-words, chance and misfortune, are used as part of the popular vernacular. Polybius is writing about actions of men, not of the power, fortune.

37.1-6. δικάραντες δὲ τὸν πόρον ἀσφαλῶς καὶ προσμύξαντες τῇ τῶν Καμαριναίων χώρᾳ, τηλικούτῳ περιέπεσον χειμῶνι καὶ τηλικούταις συμφοραῖς ὥστε μὴδ' ἂν εἴπειν ἀξίως δύνασθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν (2) τοῦ συμβάντος....

(3) ταύτης δὲ μείζω περιπέτειαν ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ κατὰ θάλατταν οὐδ' ἱστορηθῆναι συμβέβηκεν. (4) ἥς τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ οὕτως εἰς τὴν τύχην ὥς εἰς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐπανοισιτέον... (5) οὐδενὶ προσσχόντες τῶν λεγομένων ἐπλεον ἔξω πελ-ἄγιοι, σπουδάζοντές τινας τῶν ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ πόλεις τῇ τοῦ (6) γεγονότος εὐτυχήματος φαντασία καταπληξάμενοι προσλαβέσθαι. πλὴν οὗτοι μὲν μικρῶν ἐλπίδων ἔνεκα μεγάλους περιτυχόντες ἀτυχήμασι τότε τὴν αὐτῶν ἀβουλίαν ἔγνωσαν:

"They had passed safely through the strait [of Messina] and were off the coast of Camaria when they were overtaken by a great storm and so terrible an event that it is difficult to describe on account of being an overwhelming occurrence.

(3) And history does not relate a more violent sudden change of condition happening at sea at one time [two hundred and eighty four ships were lost, and eighty were saved]. (4) The blame must not be ascribed to fortune but rather to those who were the commanders. (5) For not one of those who were in command heeded what had been said to them ["stand out from the coast of Sicily, for there are few safe anchorages"], they sailed into the outer sea, making haste and sailing close by some of the [Sicilian] coastal cities, thinking to strike terror into them by the display of their recent success and thus win them over. (6) So for the sake of these meager expectations, they met with great misfortune at that time , and came to acknowledge their lack of judgement."

Polybius writes that not only were the commanders warned about staying away from the coast of Sicily, but also that one of the dangerous astral periods was not over, and

that another astral period was soon to arrive, bringing a possibility of bad weather; however, this warning also fell on deaf ears.

In this five lines of text Polybius is not writing about the power or force of fortune, but of natural events and men's foolish actions. He does use τύχη-related words such as συμφορά, event; περιπέτεια, sudden change of condition; συμβαίνω, happening or occurrence; εὐτύχημα, success; and ἀτύχημα, misfortune; however, they are not used in a manner as to make the reader think of an act of the power fortune. He uses τύχη in line 4, but only to say that the blame must not be placed on fortune but on the commanders.

38.1. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, συνέντες τὸν γεγονότα φθόρον τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐόλου, καὶ νομίσαντες κατὰ μὲν γῆν ἀξιόχρεως σφᾶς εἶναι διὰ τὸ προγεγονὸς εὐτύχημα, κατὰ δὲ θάλατταν διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην τῶν Ῥωμαίων περιπέτειαν:

"The Carthaginians hearing of the destruction of the Roman fleet, and conceiving that they would be able to hold their own [on land] because of their earlier success, and now at sea, on account of what they had learned about the Roman sudden change of condition [were encouraged to make extensive military and naval preparations.]"

The use of the words εὐτύχημα, success, and περιπέτεια, sudden change, in this instance is of common, normal words. Once again this is a case where Polybius believes the Roman loss and the Carthaginian gain is man-made.

39.7. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τούτων συμβάντων, καίπερ ὄντες ἐν παντί φιλότιμοι διαφερόντως, ὅμως τότε διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμπτωμάτων τοῦ μὲν ἔτι στόλον ἀδροῖζειν ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπέστησαν:

"And in Rome since these things had happened, although being exceedingly ambitious in all matters, because of the magnitude of the misfortunes they [the Senate] were constrained at that time to withdraw from the business of further mustering a new fleet."

The "misfortunes" which had happened, were to the commanders of the fleet, foolish mistakes, but, to the Roman Senate these mistakes became "misfortunes." Polybius is not telling his readers that fortune had a hand in this; he is using the words συμβαίνω and σύμπτωμα in a common sense.⁵⁶

39.9. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων περιπετελιῶν συνέβη πάλιν ἐπικυδέστερα γενέσθαι τὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πράγματα:

"As a result of the reversals which are discussed above, the prospects of the Carthaginians became much brighter again."

Polybius selected the most descriptive noun when he used περιπέτεια, for the losses which the Romans sustained were "reversals," at least for the time being, to Roman fighting capability. Polybius is writing about reversals brought about by men's actions, not by fortune.

47.7. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τύχην εἰσπλεύσας νυκτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀνήγετο φανερώς:

"And by chance he had sailed in by night, and when coming back out he withdrew openly."

In this line Polybius writes about the city of Lilybaeum on the western shore of Sicily. The Romans had effectively blockaded the harbor. Diodorus writes that the Romans had sunk fifteen cercuri (small fishing boats) in the entrance, leaving only a narrow entry passage (xxiv.1.2.) Hannibal, surnamed "the Rhodian," had volunteered to enter the harbor to gain intelligence for Carthage concerning the condition of the Carthaginian forces which were unable to leave the city because of the blockade. Hannibal with skill and audacity managed to sail into the harbor through the narrow passage in the daylight. The next day he managed to sail out and elude the Roman blockaders. He did this for several times. Finally, the Romans established a "waiting" force right at the "narrows," and hoped to capture Hannibal should he again try to enter. But, as line 47.7. reports, "By chance, he had sailed in by night," the night before the Romans had placed the waiting force. The next day, he again sailed out with great speed, but was overhauled by a fast ship; he had to turn and engage. Being no match for the pick-ed boarders, the ship was captured and Hannibal the Rhodian was captured and the blockade-running stopped.⁵⁷

The term "by chance," which is the translation of κατὰ τύχην, is common, everyday language; no intent to conjure an image of fortune can be seen here.

55.1-5. Τούτου δὲ συμβάντος, τὰ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὖθις ἀνέκυψε καὶ πάλιν ἐπιρρεπεστέρας εἶχε (2) τὰς ἐλπίδας, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἡτυχηκότες, τότε δ' ὀλοσχερῶς, ἐκ μὲν τῆς θαλάττης ἐξέβησαν, τῶν δ' ὑπαίθρων ἐπεκράτουν· Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ἐκυρίεθον, τῆς δὲ γῆς οὐχ ὅλως ἀπήλπιζον. (3) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντες ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις ἐσχετλίαζον, οἳ τ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ Λιλύβαιον στρατόπεδα, διὰ τὰ προειρημένα συμπτώματα. (5) ὁ δ' Ἰούνιος, ἀνακομισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῆς ναυαγίας καὶ περιπαθῆς ὢν, ἐγένετο πρὸς τὸ καινοτομῆσαι τι καὶ πράξαι τῶν δεόντων, σπουδάζων ἀναμαχέσασθαι τῇν γεγεννημένην περιπέτειαν:

"And with this happening, the [hopes] of the Carthaginians again rose and it seemed that things were more favorable, (2) while the Romans who earlier had been unfortunate to a certain extent, then entirely pulled out of the sea, and maintained control of the country; so now the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, and on the whole they did not despair. (3) After all these things, the Romans as a whole lamented, both in Rome and at the encampment at Lilybaeum, because of the earlier misfortunes. (5) Iunius [a Roman commander, not a consul], returned to the army camp after the shipwreck, and being greatly distressed, became innovative and [tried] to accomplish something needful, being most eager to make up for the reversals which they had sustained."

Prior to these lines Polybius explains that the Romans suffered losses during the siege of Lilybaeum and the later battle of Drepana, the resultant being that Rome was for the time being "pulled away from the sea." Line 1 refers to these losses as "happenings," which to the Romans was "unfortunate" to say the least. In line 2 he uses the

perfect participle of ἀτυχέω, which translates as those who had been unfortunate. Line 3 has the word σύμπτωμα, translated as misfortunes, and line 5 has the word περιπέτεια, which translates as reversals. Careful consideration of these four τύχη-related words and the text in which they occur, shows that Polybius was writing, not about the work of the power, fortune, but of circumstances which the Roman leaders should have tried to anticipate by planning.

58.1. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὥπερ ἀγαθὸς βραβευτὴς ἡ τύχη, μεταβιβάσασα παραβόλως αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ προειρημένου τόπου καὶ τοῦ προὔπαρχοντος ἀθλήματος εἰς παραβολώτερον ἀγώνισμα καὶ τόπον ἐλάττω συνέκλεισεν:

"Notwithstanding this, fortune, like a good umpire, shifted them [the Romans and Carthaginians] in a remarkable way from the contest in which they had been engaged, and crowded them into a smaller field and into a more hazardous contest."

This line of text, like all of chapter 57, immediately preceeding, deviates from Polybius' historical narrative style. In that chapter, he likens the two combatants to two "champion boxers, both distinguished for pluck, and in perfect training, continually delivering blow for blow."

At first reading of this line, it appears that Polybius is personalizing "fortune." This is not the case. The phrase "fortune, like a good umpire," is one he seems to like; he uses it several times in the Histories. Actually, it is a literary device, something to titillate the reader.

Walbank holds a similar opinion, for he writes:

In such passages [as 58.1] the personification [of Fortune] is formal and rhetorical; it represents part of the common reservoir of expression on which Polybius drew.

And W. Siegfried writes that this is "pure metaphor, springing for the most part from an atmosphere heightened to match the situation."⁵⁸

The reason Polybius wrote line 58.1 is that there was a "remarkable" change in the military situation of the Romans versus the Carthaginians. After three years of hand-to-hand combat on the plains in the vicinity of Heircte, Sicily, the Carthaginians seized a town between the two Roman forces, placing the one which was on a mountain under siege, and cutting communication between the two Roman forces. For the next two years the battles were fought in a much smaller area of land, all due to the daring move by the Carthaginians. Fortune, either as a goddess or a power had nothing to do with this, only the daring of Rome's enemy.

59.1. ὁμως δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ψυχομαχοῦντες, καίπερ ἔτη σχεδὸν ἤδη πέντε τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν πραγμάτων ὀλοσχερώς ἀφεστηκότες διὰ τε τὰς περιπετείας καὶ διὰ τὸ πεπεῖσθαι δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πεζικῶν δυνάμεων κρινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον:

"In a similar way [to the Carthaginians] the Romans had been fighting desperately, although they had withdrawn entirely from actions at sea both because of the reversals and because of their belief that land forces by themselves

would decide the war [seeing that they were not making progress on land, decided for the third time to look at the use of sea-forces.]"

The proper translation of περιπέτεια in this text is reversal, something which occurred as a result of Roman errors. No idea of fortune seems to be implied by Polybius in this line.

59.4. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐξεχώρησαν τῆς θαλάττης
εἰξάντες τοῖς ἐκ τῆς τύχης συμπτώμασι τὸ δὲ δεύτερον
ἐλαττωθέντες τῇ περὶ τὰ Δρέπανα ναυμαχίᾳ:

"Indeed the first time they [Romans] retired from the sea was because they yielded to the disasters [brought] by fortune, the second time was due to suffering a loss in a sea-battle near Drepana; [but now they made this third attempt.]"

Inasmuch as σύμπτωμα is anything that happens, the best translation, from the Roman standpoint, for the words τοῖς συμπτώμασι would be "to the disasters." For the term ἐκ τῆς τύχης, "by fortune," seems to be most suitable.

It is interesting that Polybius, who up until this line has pointedly showed his readers that the troubles of the Romans at sea were brought about by themselves, now points his literary finger at the power of fortune as having "brought the disasters." This change of outlook on the part of Polybius is what causes writers to say that he is careless.⁵⁹ This change may well have been intentional,

made to allow him to present the reader with another moral lesson about the vicissitudes of fortune, which here are called "disasters brought by fortune."

61.7. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐπαράμενον τοὺς ἱστοὺς καὶ κατουρῶσαν αὖθις ἀπεχώρει πρὸς τὴν Ἱερὰν νῆσον, εὐτυχῶς καὶ παραδόξως ἐκ μεταβολῆς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν τοῦ πνεύματος συνεργήσαντος:

"[Fifty ships were sunk and seventy were captured with their crews.] While the remaining number [of Carthaginian ships] raised their masts, and sailing before the wind, retreated back to Holy Isle, fortunately and incredibly the wind co-operated by coming about at the right time for them."

Polybius uses the adverbs εὐτυχῶς and παραδόξως to introduce the idea of something beyond man's control. Surprisingly, in this episode in which the Romans go back to the sea once again and rout the Carthaginian fleet, he could have, but did not, tell his readers how "fortune" turned the table on the Carthaginians, who never expected to see the Romans at sea again.

Polybius is not implying that fortune was responsible for the fair winds; these adverbs are an idiomatic element of Polybius' rhetoric. It must be remembered that Polybius very likely used a scribe, dictating his text to that man.

63.9. ἐξ ὧν δῆλον τὸ προτεθὲν ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡς οὐ τύχη Ῥωμαῖοι, καθάπερ ἔνιοι δοκοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰκοτὼς ἐν τοιοῦτοις

καὶ τηλικούτοις πράγμασιν ἐνασκήσαντες οὐ μόνον ἐπέ-
βάλοντο τῇ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ δυναστείᾳ τολμηρῶς,
ἀλλὰ καὶ καθίσκοντο τῆς προθέσεως:

"In consequence of which it has been said by me from the beginning that it is clear that the Romans not by chance, as some of the Greeks have been thinking, and certainly not spontaneously, but rather even quite plausibly have trained themselves in such great and vast enterprises, and not only applying themselves to the hegemony of the entire world and to boldly exercising political power, but they even attained the goal as proposed."

In this line Polybius firmly states that Rome achieved her position by training and applying her people to the task of gaining a world empire. When he says "not by chance," he rules out the idea that "fortune" arranged the affairs of the world to favor Rome, and firmly says that the Romans did it on their own. His interpretation of τύχη in this line is "chance," without any connotation of "fortune." His use of τύχη and αὐτόματος in this line is most certainly intentional; the two words have very similar meanings (Walbank says, "virtually synonymous."). He wishes the reader to think "not by chance," and then for emphasis, "not spontaneously."

This line contradicts what Polybius says earlier in line i.4.1 above; that line said that Rome achieved world domination by the actions of "fortune." However, he realizes that if this were the only reason for Rome's achievement,

the Histories would have no lesson to teach to the readers, particularly the Greeks. Walbank writes that "the answer to this aporia [perplexity] is that Fortune favored the Romans because they were worthy."⁶⁰ Polybius has no intention of turning the Roman readers against himself, so he truthfully relates that they achieved their sovereignty by hard work and discipline. His "οὐ τύχη" does not invalidate the words in 4.1, to him, the guidance of fortune, the unexplainable power, still exists.

65-88, The Carthaginian Mercenary War

From chapter 65 to 88, the end of Book I, Polybius writes about the Carthaginian Mercenary War, which he calls the Libyan War.

After the end of hostilities in Sicily, the Carthaginians transported around twenty thousand mercenary soldiers and their baggage back to Carthage. These men were from many parts of the Mediterranean basin, but the greater number were from Libya. At first, Carthage did not pay off these men, later they tried to make partial payments. So they revolted. Led by an escaped Roman slave, Spendius, and a Libyan freeman, Mathos, they fought Carthage for over three years. After many losses, Carthage finally won; and in so doing, they regained possession of all of Libya, and inflicted punishment on the authors of the revolt. However, Carthage was ill-fitted to resume hostilities with Rome.

74.14. ἀμφοτέρους δοκεῖ τοῦτους εἰκῇ παραλόγως προέσθαι:

"It is said that in each instance he [Hanno, Carthaginian general] let these opportunities go by heedlessly and unreasonably."

This is the closing clause in a long sentence that says Hanno (who was a good supply man, but no tactician) literally threw away four opportunities to beat the mercenaries in two staged battles and two surprise attacks.

This clause is included because of the use of the adverb παραλόγως, a synonym for παράδοξος. As noted on page 30 this word is used throughout the Histories, usually with the meaning of unexpectedly, or contrary to expectation; however, in this instance it has the meaning of unreasonably. Once again, Polybius is writing about human error, not something that occurs without explanation.

81.1. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, τοῦ δυστυχήματος αὐτοῖς ἀναγγελθέντος, ποιεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχον, ἐσχετλίαζον δέ, καὶ περιπαθεῖς γινόμενοι τῇ συμφορᾷ πρὸς μὲν Ἀμίλκαν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀννώνα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξέπεμπον, βοηθεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖν τοῖς ἡτυχηκόσι:

"When the news of this misfortune was reported to the Carthaginians, they could do nothing, and being greatly distressed over this event they dispatched an embassy to Hamilcar and the other general, Hanno, asking them to come to aid and avenge those men who had been so unfortunate."

The event which Polybius is referring to is the disposition of seven-hundred Carthaginian soldiers who had

been captured by the mercenaries. Spendius had his men cut off the hands of the prisoners, including General Gesco, who had been the one who pleaded with Carthage to treat the returning mercenaries with justice. The mercenaries then cut off other extremities, broke the captives legs, and threw them into a trench.

This is the only time Polybius uses δυστύχια, a neuter noun of the consonant declension, with a primary meaning of piece of ill-luck or misfortune. Polybius must have had some other stronger meaning than "misfortune" to describe this act. The verb άτυχέω at the end of the line is found nineteen times in the Histories. None of the three words underlined above have any reference to the work of fortune; once again Polybius is writing about bad things that men do to each other.

82.10. τοῖς γε μὴν Καρχηδονίοις οὐδέ θάψαι συνεχώρησαν τοὺς ήτυχηκότας αἰτουμένοις:

"In no way would they [the mercenaries] consent to the request from the Carthaginians to be allowed to bury those soldiers who had been so unfortunate."

Polybius again uses the verb άτυχέω. To call the dead soldiers "unfortunate," may seem to be using a weak term, however, it must be remembered that Polybius writes about events recorded in one of his sources, possibly by Philinus. As a military man himself, Polybius should be inured to atrocities on the battlefield. The verb άτυχέω

refers to acts of man, not fortune.

86.2..προσχωρούντων δὲ καὶ μετατιθεμένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν Λιβύων διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς εὐτύχημα, ποιησάμενοι τὰς πλείστας πόλεις ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Τύνητα, καὶ πολιορκεῖν ἐνεχείρησαν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μάθω:

"Also because of his [the Carthaginian Hamilcar] success the [mercenary] Libyan forces changed their mind and went over to them [Carthaginians], and gaining control of most of the cities, they hastened to Tunis where they besieged Mathos."

The noun εὐτύχημα very properly translates as success; Polybius is writing about Hamilcar's achievement, something accomplished by the man, not by fortune's help.

86.6-7. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Σπενδίου σταυρὸν ἀγαγόντες καὶ τιμωρησάμενοι πικρῶς, ἐκεῖνον μὲν καθεῖλον, τοῦτον δ' ἀνέθεσαν ζῶντα καὶ περικατέσφαξαν τριάκοντα τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους περὶ τὸ τοῦ Σπενδίου σῶμα, (7) τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἐκ παραθέσεως ἀμφοτέροις ἐναλλάξ διδούσης ἀφορμὰς εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων τιμωρίας:

"So then with this they [the mercenaries] led him [Hannibal] at once to Spendius' stake and exacted great vengeance upon him, then they took that one [Spendius] down; they crucified Hannibal while he was living and slaughtered over thirty of the most distinguished Carthaginians around the body of Spendius. As if fortune, for the purpose of comparison, granted each [belligerent] an opportunity to excessively punish each other."

In this instance there is little doubt but that Polybius writes about the power *τυχή*. Most translations of this line print Fortune with an initial capital. Walbank comments as follows:

Here *Tyche* is a power which delights in change for its own sake, especially when the *peripeteia* [sudden change] carries an ironic flavor, an aspect of *Tyche* stressed by Demetrius of Phalerum, xxix.21; and it is not peculiar to Polybius.⁶¹

87.1. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, παραδόξου τῆς περιπετείας αὐτοῖς φανείσης δυσθύμως καὶ δυσελπίστως εἶχον πάλιν:

"And when this incredible reversal of condition became known to the Carthaginians, they once again became despondent and low-spirited."

This line refers back to 86.6-7 above. Hannibal had just taken in Spendius and his troops, crucifying that man, although the mercenaries had surrendered, when Mathos and some of the Libyan mercenaries showed up and reversed the situation, capturing Hannibal and killing many, and driving the rest to flight.

Polybius borrows from tragedy once again with his use of *παραδόξου τῆς περιπετείας*, incredible reversal. He sees no work of fortune here, this is another example of man's mistake; Hannibal was guilty of negligence and overconfidence as Polybius says in 86.5.

Book II

It appears to the reader that in Book II Polybius feels more comfortable, for much of what he writes about is familiar to him, not from having lived during this period, but from having read and studied the history more fully. After a short summary, as historians of his day were accustomed to write, he turns in Chapters 2 to 12 to the First Illyrian War. This is when Rome first crossed the sea to the Greek peninsula with Roman legions, an important event to the Greek people. In line 2.2 Polybius writes,

This matter...deserves the serious attention of those who wish to gain a true view of the purpose of this work and of the formation and growth of Roman power.

In Chapter 13 he tells how Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian had made substantial contributions to Carthage by his activity in Spain. The Romans seeing this progress, expressed a need to become involved in Spain.

From Chapter 14 to 35 Polybius writes about Rome and the people in Gaul. He describes the invasion of the Celts in 225, and at this time writes also about the earlier invasions of the people into Italy.

In Chapter 36 Polybius returns to his narrative on Spain, and tells how Hannibal became commander of Carthage's forces in Spain.

Chapter 37 to the end of Book II describes events in Greece, the rise of the Achean League, and the Cleomenean war.

In this book, in comparison with the earlier part of Book I, Polybius uses τύχη and τύχη-related words more frequently in relationship to men's misfortunes and mistakes, and less often with respect to fortune as a power or a force. He sometimes uses these words as "aids" to a lesson—no doubt meant primarily as lessons to his Greek friends, inasmuch as he is writing about themes and deeds familiar to them.

1.3. καὶ τὰ συμβάντα κατὰ τοῦτον ἀσεβήματα μέχρι τίνος προύβη καὶ τίνα διέξοδον ἔλαβε τὰ παράλογα τῶν ἔργων, ἕως τοῦ τέλους καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐπικρατείας:

"And [I described] the profane acts which happened on both sides, and the unexpected events and their issues, until such time as this all ended with the mastery of the Carthaginians."

τὰ παράλογα, in the neuter plural translates as "unexpected events." This is another example of Polybius' use of literary expression based on words from the popular vernacular of his time. No intent to bring any action by fortune is seen in this usage of the term.

2.10-11. τινῶν δέ, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν προΐόντων πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀμφισβητοῦντων πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ παρακαλοῦντων τὰ πλήθη μὴ προδιαλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἀκέραιον ἔαν, ᾧ ποτ' ἂν ἡ τύχη βουλευθῇ περιθεῖναι (11) τοῦτον τὸν στέφανον, ἔδοξε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, ὅς ἂν ἐπικατασταθεῖς στρατηγὸς κρατήσῃ τῆς πόλεως, κοινὴν ποιεῖν τῷ προὔπαρχοντι καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν ὅπλων:

"But some men, and most of all the candidates [for office

of strategos], disputed about the arrangements and appealed to the people not to judge and decide beforehand, but leave it alone, for at any time fortune may choose (11) to whom the crown is to be bestowed. It was resolved by the Aetolians that whomever had been the elected strategos at the time the city fell, he should act to share with the earlier one the distribution of the booty and the honor to inscribe their shields."

Polybius disliked the Aetolians. So he must have enjoyed the opportunity to write this story. It seems that the Aetolian League ran into strong resistance from the city of Medion; under no circumstances would Medion join the league. So the league sent a force to lay siege to Medion. While the league was encamped around the town, the fall equinox came upon them; this was the date for annual elections for league magistrates, including the strategos who was in command of the besiegers at Medion. Should the city not fall until the new strategos took command, the outgoing man would not share in the booty nor have the honor of having his name inscribed on the soldier's shields.

A new strategos was elected (a man may not run for office two consecutive years), and was to take office the next day. However, the night of the election a force of five-thousand Illyrians came by boat, landed, and at day-break attacked the Aetolians, driving them away, killing

some, and capturing many. The Medionians also joined in the attack, killing more Aetolians, and taking more prisoners, and taking the arms and baggage of those they captured or killed. The Illyrians, having executed the orders from their king, carried off their captured baggage and other booty and sailed for home.

The Medionians, thus being saved, met in assembly, and among other things, discussed how to inscribe their own shields. They decided to inscribe them as won from and not by the present Aetolian chief magistrate and the candidates for next year's office. Polybius could not end his story without moralizing, which he does in line 4.3 below.

The use of τύχη in line 2.10 above appears to be a contrived use; as if he uses the word here to justify using it again in 4.3 below. In any case, he is referring to fortune, a force or power, and not to a daimon.

4.3. τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις συμβαινόντων ἐνδεικνυμένης τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν:

"It was just as if fortune of set purpose was displaying her power unto all other men concerning these events which had happened."

Polybius writes about fortune, the unexplainable power or force in this line; this is the same power he tells about in i.35.2 and i.86.7 above, a fortune which delights in reversing situations to the discomfiture of men who tell

themselves that everything is proceeding as planned.

The phrase ἐνδεικνυμένης...δύναμιν, "displaying her power," appears in xxix.21.5 in a quotation from Demetrius of Phalerum.

4.4-5. ἃ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῖς προσεδόκων ὅσον ἤδη πείσεσθαι, ταῦτα πράττειν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις παρέδωκεν ἐν πάνυ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ κατὰ τῶν πολέμων. (5) Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ τῇ παραδόξῳ χρησάμενοι συμφορᾷ πάντας ἐδίδαξαν μηδέποτε βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὥς ἤδη γεγονότος, μηδὲ προκατελπίζειν βεβαιουμένους ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀκμήν ἐνδεχόμενόν ἐστιν ἄλλως γενέσθαι, νέμειν δὲ μερίδα τῷ παραδόξῳ πανταχῇ μὲν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς:

"For those things which by this time they [the Medionians] had been expecting would be done to them by the enemy, in a very short period of time she [fortune] gave those people the same things to do against the enemy. (5) And the Aetolians who had experienced this misfortune contrary to expectation thus taught all men never to take counsel with themselves concerning the future as if it were the present, nor to entertain firm hopes beforehand over things which could possibly happen in another way. We, being but men, should in every matter assign a part to the unexpected event, most of all in wars."

Polybius narrated this episode concerning the Medionites, the Aetolians, and the Illyrians, for two reasons. The first is to show how Teuta became ruler of the Illyrians; the second is to teach a lesson to his readers, very likely most of all to his Achean friends.

When the Illyrians who had successfully attacked the Aetolians returned home, they gave their king, Agron, an account of the battle. He was so overjoyed over the outcome against the Aetolians, the proudest of people, he, as Polybius writes, "took to carousing and other convivial excesses, that he fell into a pleurisy that ended fatally in a few days." He was succeeded on the throne by his wife Teuta.

The second reason is that Polybius, the serious-minded military man wanted to use this incident to again remind his readers, and one can expect he very much had his young friend Scipio in mind, that "the fortune of war" can quickly go either way, and that best laid plans are not sufficient. The military leader must, as he said, "assign a part to the unexpected event." His "fortune" in these lines is that unexplainable power, a power which seems to delight in reversing a situation, just when it looks foolproof.

Walbank calls the words ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, "being but men," a communis locus, a common place, found in Sophocles, several passages in Diodorus (probably drawn from Polybius), and also in Stoic and Peripatetic writings.

4.8. χρωμένη δὲ λογισμοῖς γυναικείοις, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ γεγονός εὐτύχημα μόνον ἀποβλέπουσα, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς οὐδὲν περισκεπτομένη,

"And being endowed with a woman's reasoning, she [Queen Teuta] looked steadfastly only at the recent success

[of the Illyrians at Medion], and was unable to carefully observe things which were happening outside of this."

Sources present conflicting information about the third century, but it seems certain that the Illyrians had long been accustomed to marauding and piracy. Polybius says that Teuta "in the first place" gave letters of marque—to use a more modern term—to privateers to pillage any ship they met. Next she collected a fleet and troops, which she sent out, ordering the commanders to treat all countries as enemies.

Polybius uses the τύχη-related word εὐτύχημα in the above text; the proper translation in this case is success. There is no reason to select the translation "piece of good luck," because it appears that the Illyrian attack had been well conceived and well carried out.

6.1-2. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιούτοις περιπεσόντες
ἀτυχήμασι, καὶ πάσας ἀπολέσαντες τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας,
 ἐπρέσβευον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος,
 δεόμενοι μεθ' ἱκετηρίας σφίσι βοηθεῖν. (2) οἱ δὲ κατε-
 λήσαντες τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
 παραβοηθοῦντες ἦγον εἰς Ἑλίκρανον:

"So then [the Epirotes] having met with the foregoing misfortunes, and having lost all hope in themselves, they sent embassies to the Aetolians and to the Achaeian league asking for help. (2) And both [leagues] took pity on their circumstances, and soon afterwards the rescue forces came to Helicranum."

The "foregoing misfortunes" which Polybius writes about are as follows. Teuta's newly organized attack force took to sea and landed at Phoenice in Epirus for provisioning. There they met with a group of Gauls, about eight-hundred, who were in the employ of the Epirots. The Illyrians talked the Gauls into betraying Phoenice, which they did. The Illyrians landed and took the town with the help of the Gauls. The Epirots main force learned about this and came with a large force to relieve Phoenice; this force encamped outside of town with their front on a river. Their commanders were lax, sent part of the force to guard a nearby city, Antigonia, and as Polybius writes, "they themselves henceforth remained at their ease." In other words: no outpost guards. The Illyrians, learning about the division of the force, crossed the river at night, and in the morning defeated the Epirots, many of whom were killed and still more taken prisoner, the rest escaping toward Atintania. This force sent the messages to the Aetolians and the Achaeans.

The misfortunes which Polybius writes about in line 1 are man-made, not brought about by an effort on the part of fortune. The second τύχη-related word, συμφορά, is best translated as "circumstance" in the context of this line. Both words have commonplace meanings—as well as source.

7.1-3. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ὄντας παραλόγως περι-
 πεσεῖν τινι τῶν δεινῶν οὐ τῶν παθόντων, (2) τῆς τύχης
 δὲ καὶ τῶν πραξάντων ἐστὶν ἐγκλημα, τὸ δ' ἀκρίτως καὶ
 προφανῶς περιβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς
 ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι τῶν πασχόντων ἀμάρτημα. (3) διὸ καὶ
 τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τύχης πταίουσιν ἔλεος ἔπεται μετὰ συγ-
 γνώμης κἀπικουρία, τοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀβουλίαν ὄνει-
 δος καπιτίμησις συνεξακολουθεῖ παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν:

"For on the one hand, being but men, to unexpectedly fall
 foul of some kind of sufferings is not the [fault] of the
 sufferers, (2) but on the other hand it is a defect of the
fortune of those who bring it about, who rashly and clearly
 involve themselves in the greatest misfortunes, acknowledg-
 ing it is the fault of those who suffer. (3) Wherefore on
 the one hand compassion for the men who fall at fortune's
instance is followed by pardon and succor, while on the
 other if through their own thoughtlessness, it attends
 everywhere that right-thinking men blame and rebuke them."

In Chapter 7 Polybius, having completed his narra-
 tive about the Epirots, writes still another lesson. He
 ends the chapter by saying:

I thought it necessary to speak at length on this sub-
 ject to show how foolish the Epirots were, and that no
 people, if wise, should ever admit a garrison stronger
 than their own forces, especially if they are barbar-
 ians [Gauls].

Polybius uses τύχη in two different ways. In the first he
 talks about a "defect of fortune" of certain men. He is
 not thinking of the power, fortune, but of something inherent

in the men. In the second use, he is talking about the power, fortune, a power that causes men to fall. His lesson being that when men fail by their own thoughtlessness, they should be blamed, but if men fall by fortune's action, they deserve pardon and succor. The Epirots fell by their mistakes, therefore the Aetolians and the Achaeans should not have sent troops to help them—this according to the lesson Polybius presents.

7.11. οὓς ἠπειρῶται τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῶν νόμων φύλακας ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονεστάτην πόλιν ἐγχειρίσαντες, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως φανείησαν αὐτοῖς τῶν συμπτωμάτων αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι γεγονότες:

"These were the men [Gauls] whom the Epirots employed to guard their democracy and laws, and to whom they entrusted their most prosperous city; how unreasonable is it that they should have been charged as being the cause of their own misfortunes?"

Obviously Polybius does not like Gauls. To him there are no shades of grey, only black and white; and to him, as to most of the Greeks, the name Gaul or Celt arouses black thoughts.

The misfortunes here are obviously man-made. There is no thought here that fortune caused them.

20.6-7. ταῦτα δὲ συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τῷ τρίτῳ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Πύρρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πέμπτῳ δὲ τῆς Γαλατῶν περὶ Δελφοῦς διαφθορᾶς. (7) ἐν γὰρ τούτοις ἡ τύχη τοῖς καιποῖς ὥς ἂν εἰ λοιμικὴν τινα πολέμου διάθεσιν ἐπέστησε πᾶσι Γαλάταις:

"These events happened to have occurred three years before the crossing of Pyrrhus into Italy, and five years before the destruction of the Gauls at Delphi. (7) For it seems that at this time as if fortune had afflicted some epidemic of war on all Gauls."

The phrase "as if fortune had afflicted" is a literary expression, nothing more. The Gauls were (and would continue to be) a fighting nuisance to the "civilized" peoples; Polybius could not explain the Gauls capacity to wage war, so he selected this expression.

Walbank would disagree with this, for he writes that "in afflicting the Gauls thus Tyche is playing the role of capricious diety."⁶² His comment must be carefully read; he does not say Tyche, the diety, but that Polybius' concept of Tyche, the power, is playing the role of capricious diety.

Polybius' intent in this line may well have be as follows: "...it was as if by their own way of life an epidemic state of war afflicted the Gauls."

26.1. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος ὁ προκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν τόπων ἀκούσας τοὺς Κελτοὺς διὰ Τυρρηνίας ἐμβεβληκότας συνεγγίζειν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, παρῆν βοηθῶν κατὰ σπουδὴν εὐτυχῶς εἰς δέοντα καιρὸν:

"At the right time Lucius Aemilius, who was situated in the district near the Adriatic, hearing that the Celts had invaded Tyrrhenia [Etruria] and were approaching Rome, came

hurriedly to help, fortunately arriving in just the proper moment."

The adverb εὐτυχῶς, found in Pindar, the tragedies, in Herodotus, and many other works, has a primary meaning of fortunately and successfully. Herodotus (3.39.3), writing about Cambyses, says, "for which ever way he proposed to march, all things ended fortunately." To Polybius this must have been a familiar word, one commonly encountered in his sources. It can mean fortunately or successfully without any mental reservation as being other than a literary expression, with no intent on the part of the writer that it refers to activity by a power, or least of all a diety.

From chapters 14 to 35.2 Polybius writes about the many wars between Rome and the Gauls. Circa 281 the Gauls decided that Rome wanted to totally exterminate them, so the two largest tribes, the Insubres and the Boiiurges, together, incited all the Gauls, including the formidable Gaesatae, to join in a war against Rome. Next, the Gaesatae descended into the Po valley, some forces remained behind to protect their lands, and others advanced into Etruria.

When the Romans heard about this they sent Aemilius with his army to Ariminum to await the enemy, one of their praetors to Etruria, and the other consul, Gaius Atilius to Sardinia with his legions. This was the situation when the word came to Aemilius that he was needed in the vicinity of

Clusium, nearly ninety miles away from Ariminium.

32.5. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰνσούβρων προεστῶτες, θεωροῦντες ἀμετάθετον οὖσαν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἔκριναν τῆς τύχης λαβεῖν πεῖραν καὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁλοσχερῶς:

"The chieftains of the Insubres, seeing that the hostile intentions of the Romans were unchanged, decided to take a chance and entirely hazard all by themselves."

This is one of the few instances when Polybius means chance when he writes the word τύχη. This is an impersonal word, an expression from the common language. He uses this word because it is most appropriate. The Insubres outnumbered the Roman force, so they decided to take a chance and fight. In each military confrontation, even when the odds favor one of the combatants, each one of them is taking a chance—a military maxim.

34.15. οἱ δὲ Κελτοί, διὰ τὸ παρὸν εὐτύχημα μέιναντες ἐπὶ ποσὸν εὐθαρσῶς, μετ' οὐ πολὺ τραπέντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὰς παρωρείας:

"And the Celts, by reason of some degree of success stood their ground courageously, after not very long however turned and took flight to the side of the mountains."

The word εὐτύχημα can be interpreted as "success," or as "a piece of good luck." Polybius could have meant either one, but, to be conservative, the meaning "success" has been selected. In this instance the word success shows no inference of fortune's help to the Celts.

35.2-6. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Κελτοὺς πόλεμος τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τόλμαν τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἀνδρῶν, ἔτι δὲ κατὰ τὰς μάχας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπολλυμένων καὶ παραταττομένων, οὐδενὸς καταδεέστερος τῶν ἱστορημένων, (3) κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ τὴν ἀκρισίαν τοῦ κατὰ μέρος χειρισμοῦ τελέως εὐκαταφρόνητος, διὰ τὸ μὴ τὸ πλεῖον, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ἅμας τὸ γινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν θυμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ λογισμῷ (4) βραβεύσθαι. περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς συνθεωρήσαντες μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίων ἐξωσθέντας, πλὴν ὀλίγων τόπων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτάς τὰς Ἀλπεις κειμένων, οὐκ ᾔθεμεν δεῖν οὔτε τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐφοδὸν αὐτῶν ἀμνημόνευτον παραλιπεῖν οὔτε τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεις οὔτε τὴν τελευταίαν (5) ἐξανάστασιν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἰκεῖον ἱστορίας ὑπάρχειν τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐπεισόδια τῆς τύχης εἰς μνήμην (6) ἄγειν καὶ παράδοσιν τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις, ἵνα μὴ τελέως οἱ μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνευνόητοι τούτων ὑπάρχοντες ἐκπλήττῳται τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ παραλόγους τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφόδους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἐν νῷ λαμβάνοντες ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἐστὶ καὶ λίαν εὐφθαρτον τὸ τοιοῦτον, τὴν ἐφοδὸν αὐτῶν ὑπομένωσι καὶ πάσας ἐξελέλεγχῳσι τὰς σφετέρας ἐλπίδας πρότερον ἢ παραχωρῆσαι τινος τῶν ἀναγκαίων:

"This was the end of the war against the Celts, a war, on the one hand, of men who contended for victory with desperation and daring, and on the other, in which a great number of those men drawn up in battle perished. It was inferior to none of those wars which have been recorded, but was quite pitiable with respect to the planning and want of judgement in the handling of details. In short, the whole affair was decided by the Gauls in anger more than by reason. I observed the Gauls after they were removed from the plain of the Po River, and except for a few places close to the Alps, I did not think that I should leave unmentioned their first invasion, nor their subsequent actions, nor their final expulsion. For it seems to be a proper task for a writer of

history to take up and interpret such episodes of fortune into the record to keep and hand down to future generations, that those who follow us without conception of these facts may not be panic-stricken by unforseen and unexpected attacks of the barbarians, but having some comprehension of how short-lived and perishable is the might of such people, they may confront the invaders and put every hope of safety to the test before yielding anything they value."

This long text has been given in its entirety, not only because it shows the typical Greek hatred of the Celts, but more to the point that it explains to some extent the phrase "episodes of fortune." Polybius narrates how Rome has repeatedly been forced to cease other military activity and concentrate on threats imposed by the Celts. Rome wanted to do something about Hasdrubal's growing success in Spain, but the new threat from Gaul deterred them.

Polybius sees this Celtic invasion as another episode in Rome's grand play, in which "one act" is the complete subjugation or destruction of Carthage and its colony in Spain. The episode must be completed before the next big act can get underway. The question which begs an answer is this: When Polybius writes of episodes of fortune, does he mean Rome's fortune as something which she possesses—as in "Rome's fortune, good or bad," or is he thinking in terms of a play being staged by the power fortune, a play in which

Rome unwittingly has the leading role?

In i.4.1-2 Polybius established his thesis that fortune has turned the affairs of the world towards Rome. So in this instance he must be thinking about that same fortune, an unexplainable power, as a producer of a play in which Rome is "her" leading actor, her hero—for the time being. The fact that he uses the τύχη-related word παράλογος (unexpected) in the next line, a word he borrows from tragedy, supports such a conjecture. Other authors accept the idea of this being fortune's play: Schweighaeuser writes "lusus fortunae," Shuckburgh has "such episodes in the drama of Fortune," and Walbank writes that,

They [the episodes] are interludes because they interrupt the direct development of Roman power, to which they contribute nothing, and yet they are the work of Tyche. Such interludes...must be faced and mastered; how to meet them is P.'s lesson.⁶³

37.6. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀρκούντως ἂν ἔχοι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάμνησιν ἀπὸ τῶν νῦν ῥηθέντων καιρῶν, διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν προγεγονότων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱστορίαν ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἐκδεδοῖσθαι καὶ γνώριμον ὑπαρχειν ἅπασιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξηλλαγμένον ἀπηντῆσθαι μηδὲ παράλογον ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, ὥστε προσδεῖσθαι τῆς τῶν προγεγονότων ὑπομνήσεως:

"So then concerning actions in Asia and in Egypt it would be sufficient to remind you of what took place after the above-mentioned date [221/220], for the reason that the history of the events which happened to those people before has been written by many—as is well known to all, besides in

our times neither drastic change nor an unexpected event has been visited upon them by fortune, so there is no need for us to recall what happened there."

Regarding Polybius' "above mentioned date," Hannibal succeeded Hasdrubal as commander of Carthaginian forces in Spain in 221; the Social War in Greece began in 220.

In this line Polybius is clearing his desk, as it were, so that he can begin to write about events in Greece. Polybius, the soldier-writer, is speaking in this line. He refers to the lack of changes and of unexpected events in a "ho, hum," manner. His use of the terms "unexpected event" and "by fortune," is vernacular wording, little attempt to invoke the idea of fortune not being interested can be seen in this line. As Walbank would say, this is a Hellenistic commonplace set of words.

38.4-5. πῶς οὖν καὶ διὰ τί νῦν εὐδοκοῦσιν οὗτοί τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ἅμα τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν μετεκληφότες; δῆλον ὡς τύχην μὲν λέγειν οὐδαμῶς ἂν εἴη πρεπον· φαῦλον γάρ· αἰτίας δὲ μᾶλλον ζητεῖν. χωρὶς γὰρ ταύτης οὔτε τῶν κατὰ λόγον οὔτε τῶν παρὰ λόγον εἶναι δοκούντων οὐδὲν οἶόν τε συντελεσθῆναι:

"How is it then, if both these people [Arcadians and Laconians] and the majority of the Peloponnesians have consented henceforward to share—at once—the constitution and the name of the Achaeans? It is clear that it would be unseemly to say it was by reason of chance, for that is too easy [a way out]; so by all means one must look for causes.

For without a cause, that which is held to be neither according to reason nor contrary to reason can be accomplished."

In this text Polybius uses the noun τύχην without the article; he does this only eight times in the extant Histories. He tries to be precise in his grammar, so his meaning this time appears to be an "impersonal" chance or luck. This line has caused considerable scholarly debate and conjecture. Walbank summarizes this by saying that,

The rejection of Tyche [by Polybius] in this instance very largely reflects the local patriotism of the Achaean statesman [Polybius], who will attribute the whole of his country's success to its own merits.

The only problem which Walbank leaves to his reader is: what is his translation of τύχη in this line? However, it is very possible that the professor would answer such a question by stating that when Polybius wrote the word τύχη, he thought τύχη, and nothing else. This is a point which any translator often forgets.⁶⁴

49.7-8. ἔάν μὲν οὖν Αἰτωλοὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς γεγεννημένην εὐνοίαν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Δημήτριον καιροῖς ἐντρεπόμενοι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν ὑποκρίνονται, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν, πολεμήσειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πρὸς Κλεομένη· καὶ μὲν ἡ τύχη συνεπιλαμβάνηται, μὴ δεῖσθαι χρείας τῶν βοηθησόντων· ἂν δ' ἀντιπίπτῃ τὰ τῆς τύχης, Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ συνεπιτίθωνται, προσέχειν αὐτὸν παρεκάλουν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἵνα μὴ πρόηται τοὺς καιροὺς, ἔτι δὲ δυναμένοις σφῶζεσθαι Πελοποννησίοις ἐπαρκέσῃ:

"So then, if the Aetolians through respect of the goodwill of the Achaeans, gained in their [Aetolian's] war with Demetrius,

say they will maintain the peace, the Achaeans said they would continue the war against Cleomenes; and so if fortune takes part on their side, they would not need help; however, if chance events fall upon them, and the Aetolians join in attacking them, they entreated him [Aratus] to take heed of these important conditions, in order that he does not dismiss the opportunity, while it was still possible to save the Peloponnesians."

Polybius is saying that if the Aetolians maintain their neutrality in a war by the Achaeans against Cleomenes of Sparta, it would be safe to go ahead—this would mean fortune was on their side, but if the Aetolians would break the peace, such would be the chance events in his text.

The first use of "fortune" in this text certainly refers to a power, a power whose help the Achaeans would appreciate, then all would be well for the Achaeans. But, if chance events would fall upon them, then Achaea would be in deep trouble, beset on two fronts.

The words "τὰ τῆς τύχης" in the text above has the neuter nominative plural article τὰ as part of the term. The Greek-English Lexicon states that the meaning of this term should be "chance events."⁶⁵ However, although this meaning is based on usage by Thucydides (with which Polybius would be familiar), the words might—to Polybius—have had a meaning such as "the winds of fortune," or even the "plans

of fortune." Any choice selected would still refer to the power, fortune.

50.11. προελθὼν Ἀρατος, καὶ τὴν τε τοῦ βασιλέως προθυμίαν ἀποδεξάμενος καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν διάληψιν ἐπαινέσας, παρεκάλει διὰ πλειόνων μάλιστα μὲν πειρᾶσθαι δι' αὐτῶν σφῆζειν καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι τούτου κάλλιον οὐδὲ συμφορώτερον· ἐὰν δ' ἄρα πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀντιβαίῃ τὰ τῆς τύχης, πρότερον ἔφη δεῖν ἐξελέγξαντας πάσας τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας τότε καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων βοηθείας:

"Aratus came forward, and expressing his satisfaction of the king's [Antigonos'] willingness and approving the judgement of the council members, he exhorted them at some length, begging them on the one hand to attempt to save both the cities and the country, for nothing could be more suitable and noble than this; if, he said, on the other hand chance events should go against you, then before asking for help from friends, you should fully prove to yourselves at that time that all hope is gone."

Once again Polybius writes the phrase τὸ τῆς τύχης; this has been translated as "chance events" in accord with the lexicon citation as it was in 49.8 above. No attention is given to the idea of fortune the power when such words are used; in reality, however, whether Polybius intended it or not, fortune, the impersonal, unexplainable power is as much present in "chance events" as when "fortune" acts. It is of interest that Polybius uses the phrase τὸ τῆς τύχης a total of four times in the extant Histories.

52.1. Ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης, καταπληξάμενος τοῖς προειρημένοις εὐτυχήμασι, λοιπὸν ἀδεῶς ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς πόλεις, ἃς μὲν πείθων, αἷς δὲ τὸν φόβον ἀνατεινόμενος:

"Cleomenes, having terrified them [the Achaeans] by those successes mentioned above, from then on without fear or scruple passed through the cities, gaining some by persuasion, others by threats."

The "successes" Polybius refers to were as follows: first the Achaeans were worsted while on march by Cleomenes near Lycaenum and again in a pitched battle at Ladoceia, and finally the whole force of the Achaean league was defeated at the Hecatombaeum in Dyme.

From the context it appears more reasonable to call these εὐτυχήμασι successes rather than "pieces of good luck." Both are acceptable translations. Cleomenes and his Spartan forces were better fighters, so the whole string of victories was man-made, not something produced by fortune.

56.6. βουλόμενος δὴ διασαφεῖν τὴν ὁμότητα τὴν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Μακεδόνων, ἅμα δὲ τοῦτοις τὴν Ἀράτου καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, φησὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας γενομένους ὑποχειρίους μεγάλοις περιπεσεῖν ἀτυχήμασι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην καὶ μεγίστην πόλιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τηλικαύταις παλαιῶσαι συμφοραῖς ὥστε πάντας εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ δάκρυα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀγαγεῖν:

"Wishing to make quite clear the cruelty of Antigonos and the Macedonians and also that of Aratus and the Achaeans, he [Phylarchus, the historian] says that when the Mantineans surrendered, they suffered great misfortunes, and this most ancient and greatest city in Arcadia wrestled with such

misfortunes as to move all the Greeks to tears."

Both τύχη-related words, ἀτύχημα and συμφορά, relate to conditions brought about by men and not by fortune; the words which were selected by Polybius define the result of enemy acts. It is interesting—and somewhat puzzling—that while both words can be translated, and probably are best translated, as "misfortune," they have different roots. Ἀτύχημα, which is literally "no-fortune, is closely related to the verb τυγχάνω (in the sense of to happen) by way of τύχη, both of which may have a root in the source of τεύχω (in the sense of cause, bring to pass.)

The root of συμφορά is φέρω, which has meanings of to bear or carry a load, from which come the ideas of endure and suffer. Some translators use the word "calamity" or "disaster" for συμφορά, perhaps because they sound more disastrous than misfortune, yet the English language dictionary give "misfortune" as the basic meaning of both. Polybius may have a good "meaning" for συμφορά, but what it may have been is unknown; the Greek-English lexicon contains few Hellenistic word explanations.

The "misfortunes" which Phylarchus was talking about, by way of Polybius' "pen," was that most of the men of the city, Mantinea, were massacred, the rest enslaved along with the women and children; and the wealth of the city was divided between Achaeans and Macedonians, in a ratio of one to two.⁶⁶

56.13. χωρίς τε τούτων τὰς πλείστας ἡμῖν ἐξηγεῖται
τῶν περιπετειῶν, οὐχ ὑποτιθεῖς αἰτίαν καὶ τρόπον τοῖς
 γινομένοις, ὧν χωρίς οὐτ' ἐλεεῖν εὐλόγως οὐτ' ὀργιζ-
 εσθαι καθηκόντως δυνατόν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων:

"Apart from this, Phylarchus relates to us at length about
 s great number of sudden reversals, but does not venture
 causes of the manner in which they came into being, without
 which neither is it possible to feel reasonable pity, nor
 proper anger aover these chance events."

Once again, and justly, Polybius complains about
 Phylarchus' text. The sudden reversals experienced by the
 Mantineans do have a cause. The cause was that these people
 deserted the Achaean League, and ranged themselves on the
 side of Cleomenes and his Spartans, thus leaving themselves
 open to reprisal from the League. Both of the τύχη-related
 words in the above text relate to man-made conditions, not
 to fortune's efforts.

To help the reader to understand the meaning of the
 three texts and translations which follow immediately below,
 here is a summary of Chapters 57 and 58, which preceed the
 three texts.

Polybius says that Phylarchus is biased in favor of
 Cleomenes, so he gives his own version of what happened at
 Mantinea. Perhaps Phylarchus' work was the only source
 available to Polybius, but he is unhappy with it. He writes
 of Phylarchus' "vice of sensationalism" in line 59.3.

As stated above, the Mantineans had deserted the Achaean League, and of their own free will put themselves into the hands of the Aetolians and then of Cleomenes. So when, four years later, Aratus and the Achaeans took the city as part of the war against Cleomenes, Aratus issued orders that the soldiers must leave the property of the people alone. Next he called the people of Mantinea together, and told them that if they rejoined the league he would guarantee their security. This took the people of Mantinea by surprise.

Polybius does not report that they agreed to join the league, but a little later, the more-responsive citizens saw discord developing, so they asked for a garrison of Achaean troops. Aratus sent three hundred Achaeans and two hundred mercenaries to garrison the city. Very soon, the Mantineans fell-out with the Achaeans, invited the Lacedaemonians back, put the city in their hands, and massacred the Achaean garrison. Polybius says, "It is not easy to name any greater or more atrocious act of treachery than this."

So, for this reason, Aratus returned and killed many and placed the others in slavery. Polybius writes most of Chapter 58 explaining why Mantinea received the treatment recorded in history. It appears that at this time the city of Mantinea pretty much disappeared from the record,

at least for a period of time. Walbank writes that, "subsequently Aratus refounded the town under the name of Antigoneia...but a Delphic list of θεωροδόκοι [ambassadors], dating between 192 and 172 [some 30 to 50 years after being destroyed by the Achaeans], mentions the name Mantinea."⁶⁷

57.8. οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' εἴ τινες ἀνθρώπων εὐγνώμονεστέροις ἐνέτυχον πολεμίοις οὐδ' εἴ τινες ἀβλαβέστερον ἐπάλαισαν τοῖς μεγίστοις δοκοῦσιν εἶναι συμπτώμασι Μαντινέων διὰ τὴν Ἀράτου καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς φιλανθρωπίαν:

"For I do not know whether any men have met with more considerate enemies nor more harmless ones, who came [unscathed] out of the greatest of misfortunes, than the Mantineans, all because of the benevolence of Aratus and the Achaeans."

The first word underlined in the text is the verbal ἐνέτυχον (aorist, third person pl. of ἐντυγχάνω) which is being monitored because in certain usage it can have meaning of any chance person, or fall upon, as a misfortune might. In this line the meaning is a prosaic "have met with." The other underlined word, συμπτώμασι, here translated as "misfortunes," is not intended by Polybius to refer to an action of fortune; Polybius uses the word in a sarcastic manner; he is writing about Phylarchus' "tissue of falsehoods."

58.12..ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδενὸς περαιτέρω συνεξακολουθήσαντος Μαντινεῦσι κατὰ τὴν περιπέτειαν πλήν τοῦ διαρπαγῆναι τοὺς βίους καὶ πραθῆναι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ὁ συγγραφεὺς αὐτῆς τῆς τερατείας χάριν οὐ μόνον ψεῦδος εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ὅλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπίθανον:

"And yet, although nothing further of consequence happened to the Mantineans during this sudden change [of conditions] other than the plundering of their livelihood and the selling of free men, the historian [Phylarchus] for the sake of sheer entertainment not only introduced a complete falsehood, but a falsehood that is unbelievable."

This time Polybius uses the noun περιπέτεια to name the Mantinean "debacle." In earlier lines he used both σύμφορα and σύμπτωμα as names for the same thing. Σύμπτωμα and περιπέτεια have a common root in "Πετ-," and share in a common meaning of "falling," as in a city or army falling. Σύμφορα has the root "φέρω," which has a definition of to bear or carry, as in the Latin fero. This little digression offers no visible reason for Polybius using different nouns for the same event. In any case, he is still thinking of man-made changes, not something generated by fortune.

61.1. Χωρίς τε τούτων τας μὲν Μαντινέων ἡμῖν
συμφορὰς μετ' αὐξήσεως καὶ διαθέσεως ἐξηγήσατο, δῆλον
 ὅτι καθήκειν ὑπολαμβάνων τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι τὰς παρανόμους
 τῶν πράξεων ἐπισημαίνεσθαι, τῆς δὲ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν:

"And apart from these things, while he [Phylarchus] was relating with exaggeration and elaboration to us about the misfortunes of the Mantineans, seeing it as a historian's duty to write about criminal acts, does not mention the noble conduct of the Megalopolitans."

Polybius is still castigating Phylarchus. He selects

the noun συμφορά in this line; this has been translated as "misfortunes," συμφοράς of the Mantineans brought upon themselves by their own acts.

66.3-4. οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ λαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἀργὸν οὐδ' ἔξοπλον διὰ τὸ πρὸς πᾶν ἐτοίμως (4) ἀντικινεῖσθαι τὸν κλεομένην, τῆς μὲν τοιαύτης ἐπινοίας ἀπέστη, τέλος δ' ἔξ ὁμολογου διὰ μάχης ἀμφοτέρω προέθεντο κρίνειν τὰς πράξεις. πάνυ γὰρ εὐφυεῖς καὶ παραπλησίους ἡγεμόνας ἡ τύχη συνέβαλε τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας:

"But Antigonus being unable to find either a neglected or unarmed place, for the reason that Cleomenes always quickly made a countermovement, gave up such an idea. Finally both kings agreed to a proposal to decide the issues through battle; for both were highly qualified and nearly equal as commanders, these men whom fortune had brought together."

This was the battle of Sellasia in July 222 between Sparta and Macedonia. Cleomenes' forces were defeated; in 69.11 Polybius reports that Cleomenes and a few horsemen reached Sparta in safety. There Cleomenes went to the port of Gythium, where he had a ship waiting as a contingency, and sailed with his friends to Alexandria.

Polybius says that "fortune" brought these two leaders together. Yet, a reading of Polybius' earlier chapters shows that neither the power fortune nor a diety of that name brought these two together on the battlefield. It was the work of Cleomenes, the Achaeans, and Antigonus that led from Mantinea to Sellasia by way of Corinth and Megalopolis.

Personal ambition and the desire for power brought these men to the battleground, not the power fortune. Polybius knowing this, used "fortune" as a literary expression, a soldier speaks, saying "fortune brought them together."

In the above text, the word πράξεις has been underlined; the translation used here is "issues," however, the phrase "κρίνειν τὰς πράξεις" could properly be translated as "to decide their fortunes," as some translators have done. Polybius uses this word many times in his work where it could as well be translated as "fortune." Again, very probably if he had such a thought, it was with respect to an expression in the vernacular, rather than a reference to the power—fortune.

70.2. οὕτως αἰεί ποθ' ἡ τύχη τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων παρὰ λόγον εἴωθε κρίνειν:

"Thus as ever, fortune is wont to decide the most weighty issues against reason."

In the line immediately preceeding this, Polybius explains that after Antigonus had taken Sparta (and this was the first time Sparta had been occupied), he restored the Ephors and abolished Cleomenes' Lycurgan reforms. He treated the people with "generosity and humanity," and left in a few days, for he heard that the Illyrians had invaded Macedonia.

Walbank, properly, suggests that this line was too hastily copied from Phylarchus by Polybius, losing some of

its sense, because Antigonus' victory, in this instance, was not irrational. Plutarch, who also may have had access to Phylarchus, writes in Cleomenes 27.6: ἡ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων κρίνουσα τῷ παρὰ μικρὸν τύχῃ, "Fortune, who decides the most important matters by a narrow margin." Antigonus won by a small margin, as Plutarch correctly writes.⁶⁸

In the above line Polybius thinks about "fortune" as a power, Phylarchus also may have been thinking the same.

Book III

The first three chapters of this book outline the Histories, as originally planned by Polybius, for the fifty-three year period from 220 to 168. However, after he began, he decided to carry his work to the year 146, and in chapters four and five he explains why he did this. Scholars usually assume that Polybius decided to carry his work beyond 168 only after the Romans defeated the Achaeans and destroyed Corinth, but, as Walbank writes, this cannot be proved.

Chapter 6 through 30 sort of alternate between the Hannibalic War and the Second Illyrian War. Then in 31 and 32 Polybius takes time out from his historical narrative to write a "digression," as he calls it. These chapters are personal views regarding his work, and also a discussion on causality in history. The reason for the digression is somewhat obscure; perhaps he had complaints about the length of his work—forty books. He says it is simpler to read his work than to collect and read separate works on all the events he covers in one work.

From Chapter 33 to the end of the book Polybius writes about the conflict between Rome and Carthage, ending with the campaign of Cannae in 216.

All the τύχη-related words used in this book can be classified as expressions from a military-man's vernacular.

The examples in this book do not indicate an act or an intervention by fortune. There are five lines in the book containing the word τύχη; there is no indication that each use indicates anything but that Polybius was "thinking" of the power fortune.

In Book III Polybius introduces the idea of "casting lots," an ancient way of winning or loosing by chance or through luck of one individual among those casting the lots. In 62.7 he uses the verb κληρώω, in the form κληρώσασθαι, to cast lots, and in 62.9 is the noun κληῖρος, a casting lot. Why Polybius used the words for the first time at this point may well be that they were used by the author of the source-work he used to provide the story of the prisoner's duel in Chapter 62.

It is entirely possible that many of the τύχη-related words, and even many instances of the use of τύχη, itself, may have originated in the same way: from the writings in his sources.

3.6. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θέντες ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὰς Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Κεφαλληνῶν ἀτυχίας ἐπιβαλοῦμεν τοὺς Εὐμένει συστάντας πρὸς τε Προυσίας καὶ Γαλάτας πολέμους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν μετ' Ἀριαράθου πρὸς Φαρνάκην:

"And after these stories, the misfortunes of the Aetolians and Cephallenians having been brought before the reader's view, we shall give attention to the wars engaged in by Eumenes against both Prusias and the Gauls, and in like

manner for Pharnaces [king of Pontus] attack on Ariarathes [of Cappadocia, an ally of Eumenes]."

At the opening of this line Polybius is writing of the end of the Aetolian War (189) and the siege of Cephalenia (189/8), as described in xxi.25-33. The misfortunes that Polybius writes about here are not only man-made, but, to him, "shameful" as well. As noted on page 22 above, the word *ἀτυχία* to Polybius denotes "shameful misfortune."

Erich Gruen writes that in Polybius' analysis the word *ἀτυχία* becomes distinguished from *συμφορά*, although both can have a meaning of misfortune, and that,

The latter [*συμφορά*] is a neutral term, implying no judgement, but *ἀτυχία* is redefined [by Polybius] with a negative connotation: it takes on a discreditable meaning, shameful misfortune generated by the folly and wickedness of those who suffered it.⁶⁹

4.5. διὰ τὸ πολλοῖς μὲν τὰ μέγιστα δοκοῦντ' εἶναι τῶν κατορθωμάτων, ὅταν μὴ δεόντως αὐτοῖς χρήσωνται, τὰς μεγίστας ἐπενηνοχένας συμφοράς, οὐκ ὀλίγοις δὲ τὰς ἐκ-
πληκτικωτάτας περιπετείας, ὅταν εὐγενῶς αὐτὰς ἀναδεξ-
ωνται, πολλάκις εἰς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος περιπετωκέναι
μερίδα:

"On the one hand, what are thought by many [people] to be their greatest successes, whenever not properly used, have brought them great misfortunes, not minor ones but the most startling reverses; [on the other] the most terrible suffering, bravely endured, often suddenly changes to actual advantage."

Polybius is writing a lesson. He says that Rome's overall advances toward world dominion in the fifty-three

years from 220 to 168 came not from early successes, as much as from her staying power in the face of great adversities. He uses the two τύχη-related words, underlined above, to denote conditions brought about by man, not by fortune.

5.6. οἷς κατάλληλα Μακεδόνων μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμπολιτείας ἀποστάντων, ἅμα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ τέλος ἔσχε τὸ κοινὸν ἀτύχημα πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος:

"With these [major] events [taking place] contemporarily, the withdrawal of the Macedonians from their alliance with the Romans, and the Lacedaemonians from the Achaean League, at one and the same time this common misfortune was both the beginning and the end of the whole of Greece."

There seems to be scholarly agreement that Polybius wrote the first five chapters of this book after 146, then inserting them. He certainly must have viewed these two sorry events, which he calls "common misfortune," as affairs which were brought about by man's foolishness, and not something caused by fortune.

The first of these two events was Andriscus' gaining control of Macedon. He, an Adramyttian adventurer, claimed to be Philip, son of Perseus, and pretender to the throne of Macedonia. He approached Demetrius I in Syria, who turned him over to Rome; but escaping, he gained Thracian help and invaded Macedonia, where after two victories, he gained

control of Macedonia in 149. The extant evidence is poor, but it appears Rome sent an embassy under Scipio Nasica to talk to Andriscus in 150. Polybius reports (xxxvi.10) that the Thessalians sent a letter to Achaea asking for help against Andriscus who was threatening them. Polybius tells no more about this, but Larsen writes that Scipio took command of Achaean troops, and undoubtedly others as well, and drove Andriscus out of Thessaly. Yet, Andriscus was still in control of Macedonia, so in 149 Publius Iuventius was sent with a Roman legion and auxiliaries to expell Andriscus. The Roman force was annihilated and the commander was killed. Andriscus moved again into Thessaly. A new force from Rome, under command of praetor Q. Caecilius Metellus was sent out. Metellus defeated Andriscus and the Macedonians in 148. Metellus apparently then became the first Roman governor of Macedonia.⁷⁰

The second event was the Achaean War of 146. It also led to the temporary dissolution of the Achaean League. It seems clear that Polybius wrote a fairly complete account of this event, but only a few parts of his writing have been preserved. Polybius places the blame on Critolaus and Diaeus. The controversy over Sparta having left the League was at the heart of the problem. Rome told Achaea to leave Sparta alone. Diaeus could not. So the patres apparently decided that enough was enough. A force under Mummius came over from

Italy. Meanwhile, Metellus had marched down from the north, and at Scarphea on the Malian Gulf, caught up with Critolaus and the Achaeans, defeating them decisively. Arriving at Corinth, Mummius waited two days, fearing a trap; then he entered the city, sacked and burned it. Greece was not made into a Roman province at this time, but it was put under the watchful eye of the governor of Macedonia.⁷¹

5.7. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα· προσδεῖ δ' ἔτι τῆς τύχης, ἵνα συνδράμῃ τὰ τοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν:

"This then, as said above, is my plan; yet there is still need of fortune, that she may agree to sustain my life until the completion to the proposed end [of my work]."

This sentence is still part of the introductory or explanation part of Book III. It appears clear that this part of the book was written after 146 when Polybius would be more than fifty-four years of age (if he was born about the year 200). The pronoun "she" in the text leads the reader to think of personified "Fortune." Polybius, however, is very probably speaking of the power, fortune. The reason for using "she" is that the verbal συνδράμῃ refers back to the feminine noun τύχη.

6.9. τίνες γὰρ ἀληθῶς· ἦσαν αἰτίαι καὶ πόθεν φύλαι συνέβη τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας πόλεμον, εὐμαρὲς καὶ τῷ τυχόντι συνιδεῖν:

"For truly, these were the causes and origin which happened to produce the war against the Persians [by Alexander], and it is easy to see at a glance how this chanced to happen."

This line has been cited because of the use of the verb συμβαίνω, with its meaning of to happen, and as well the present participle of τυγχάνω, with its meaning of to come to pass, or as sometimes written, it chanced to happen. Although Polybius uses these words, no intent can be seen here to bring "chance" into the reader's mind. This very probably is a case of simple word selection, the best verbs to fit a need.

15.6. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας, ἅτε νέος μὲν ὢν, πλήρης δὲ πολ-
εμικῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπιτυχής δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, πάλαι δὲ
παρωρμημένος πρὸς τὴν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐχθραν, πρὸς μὲν
ἐκείνους, ὡς κηδόμενος Ζακανθαίων:

"And Hannibal, who was young and full of warlike impulse, successful in his enterprises, and spurred on by his long-standing enmity against the Romans, at that time, in no way caring for them [claimed to be protecting the interests] of the Saguntines."

The word ἐπιτυχής, in this part of a long sentence, can be translated as successful or as fortunate. Either word meets the needs of the sentence. No hint of "fortune" coming to help Hannibal can be seen here. Again a case of simple word selection by Polybius.

20.4. ὧν οὐτ' εἰκὸς οὐτ' ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἢ τύχῃ καὶ τοῦτο προσένειμε Ῥωμαίοις, τὸ φρονεῖν αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς:

"Which is not at all probable nor true, unless, by Zeus, fortune also allotted to the Romans, in addition to other gifts, [the ability] to be wise directly from the hour of birth."

The word τύχῃ appears to name the force or power "fortune." So far this power has been able—in Polybius' way of thinking—to direct, to judge, and to cause reversals, so why not be able to allot a capability at birth to the Romans? The only question which the line raises is are the "other gifts" also allotted by fortune? The reader is apt to think of a deity in such a case, which would lead the mind to the goddess Τύχῃ or even Fortuna. However, Polybius is being sarcastic; he is writing about other writers who have been producing false stories about the Roman Senate.

In line prior to this, Polybius writes as follows:

How is it on the one hand that these authors draw a wonderful picture of the gloomy aspects of the Senate, and on the other tell us that fathers brought their sons from the age of twelve upwards to the Senate floor... and divulged not a syllable even to a near relative?

The authors he refers to are Chaereas and Sosylus, of whom Polybius says in line 20.5:

Not for history, but for my part, they seem to have the rank and authority of a common gossip of a barber shop.

20.6. Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, προσπεσόντος σφίσι τοῦ γεγονότος κατὰ τοὺς Ζακανθαίους ἀτυχήματος, παραχρῆμα πρεσβευτὰς ἐλόμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐξαπέστειλαν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα:

"The Romans, when they had heard the news of the misfortune which had fallen upon Saguntum, immediately appointed ambassadors and dispatched them to Carthage."

The τύχη-related word ἀτύχημα, translated as "misfortune" is a commonplace word, Polybius places no fortune-related emphasis on its use here; he could as well have said, "As soon as the Romans heard about the fall of Saguntum."

Of interest is the fact that Polybius often uses, as he does here, the somewhat uncommon reflexive pronoun σφεῖς, σφέα, (they). Possibly he picked-up this usage from the work of Thucydides, who uses this plural form often in reference to the subject.

31.3. εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς ἂν μήτε περὶ τῶν κατ' ἰδίαν μήτε περὶ τῶν κοινῶν τολμήσαι τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπος ὢν, διὰ τὸ, κἂν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν εὐτυχῇ τὴν γε περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίδα μηδὲν ἂν ἐκ τῶν νῦν παρόντων εὐλόγως βεβαίωσασθαι μηδένα τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων:

"But if there is no one who would venture to speak, neither about things in relation to his own affairs nor about those of his country, therefore, even if he may be prosperous in his present state, but as concerns his future, no man being of sound mind could expect from his present circumstances to be reasonably prosperous in the future."

The word εὐτυχῇ above proves to be the third singular subjunctive of εὐτυχέω, with a meaning—in this instance—of

he may be prosperous. Arno Mauersberger in his Polybios Lexikon cites glücklich (fortunate) as the proper translation for this verb.⁷²

Polybius, however, is retelling an old Greek story—a maxim—that man should never expect to maintain today's prosperity tomorrow. Polybius is not referring to fortune, only to man's own doings.

62.7 and 9. πάντων δ' ἀναβοησάντων ἅμα καὶ δηλούντων ὅτι βούλονται μονομαχεῖν, κληρώσασθαι προσέταξε, καὶ δύο τοὺς λαχόντας καθοπλισαμένους ἐκέλευσε μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. (9) ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδηλώθη τὰ κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον, ἦσαν οἱ μὲν εἰληχότες περιχαρεῖς, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τούναντίον:

"When all shouted at the same time, signifying that they were willing to fight in single combat, he ordered them to cast the lots, and the two to whom the lot fell were to arm themselves and do combat against each other. (9) When the fall of the lot was made known, those who won were overjoyed, the others the opposite."

Both the verb κληρώ, to cast by lot, to choose by lot, and the noun κλῆρος, a casting lot, are used infrequently by Polybius (in fact the whole text reads as if it were copied from some source.) Casting of lots may have preceded the concept of fortune; this is an ancient way of selecting or gaming. Games of chance are a part of almost all soldier's way-of-life. To Polybius this was an expression of soldier's thinking, no action of the power, fortune.

Polybius has Hannibal addressing his troops in this text, and in the two which follow. This story may come from Polybius' source, possibly Fabius.⁷³ It appears that Hannibal arranged the following "play" as a means of delivering emphasis to his prebattle speech. He had a small number of young Gauls brought before the troops; these men had been captured during Hannibal's march through the Alpine passes, and had been purposely mistreated and wore heavy fetters in preparation for this moment.

Hannibal exhibited some Gaulish armor, some horses, and rich, military clothing. He then asked the Gauls if they would fight single-handed combat with each other, the prizes shown them to go to the victor, and the vanquished to have the mercy of death. All the prisoners "shouted with one-voice" that they were willing to fight, so Hannibal ordered them to draw lots to determine two contenders.

When the lot was determined, the winners fought; the victor was free, the vanquished was "freed from suffering by death." Then Hannibal turned to his troops and said, as written in line 63.3 below,

Fortune has brought you—has hemmed you in—the same kind of vital contest, and the prizes she has placed before you are the same [as these prisoners earned.]

63.1-3. Ἀννίβας δὲ διὰ τῶν προειρημένων τὴν προκει-
ρημένην διάθεσιν ἐνεργασάμενος ταῖς τῶν δυνάμεων ψυχαῖς,
(2) μετὰ ταῦτα προελθὼν αὐτὸς τοῦτου χάριν ἔφη παρεισάγ-
ειν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἔν' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων συμπτωμάτων
ἐναργῶς θεασάμενοι τὸ συμβαῖνων βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῶν σφίσι

παρόντων βουλεύονται πραγμάτων. (3) εἰς παραπλήσιον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀγῶνα καὶ καιρὸν τὴν τύχην συγκεκλειμέναι καὶ παραπλήσια τοῖς νῦν ἄθλα προτεθειμέναι:

"When Hannibal had made an impression on his troops with this example, he came forward and told them that he had brought the prisoners in front of them so that they, the troops, might clearly look on the misfortunes of others, so that they could consider, on their own behalf, the possible consequences. (3) 'For,' he said, 'fortune has hemmed you in the same kind of vital contest, and the prizes she has placed before you are the same.'"

The phrase, "fortune has placed prizes before you," is a formal figure of speech, but one Hannibal's soldiers would understand. Polybius very probably had no thought of fortune, the power or force, as he wrote—or even copied—this line.

63.6 and 8. τοῖς δ' ἡττωμένοις καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐπιθυμίαν ὑπομένουσι φεύγειν ἢ κατ' ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον ἐλομένοις το ζῆν παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ πάσης ἀτυχίας μετασχεῖν. (8) εἰόπερ ᾤετο δεῖν αὐτοὺς, ἀποκεκομμένης καθόλου τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλπίδος, τὴν αὐτὴν διάληψιν ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς πραγμάτων ἥνπερ ἀρτίως ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων συμπτωμάτων:

"'But for those who have been defeated and for those who for the sake of living survive by fleeing, or for those who take for themselves any other means of continuing to live, is to share of every evil and of every misfortune.' (8) Now, because he thought to harden them, he said, 'Being cut-off as you are from any such kind of hope, make the same

judgement, which you have just been making about the chances of these other men, with respect to your circumstances.'"

Hannibal is still talking to his soldiers, who were watching the two prisoners fight for their lives and freedom. It should be noted that Polybius uses the word ἀτυχία in line 6, a noun which means "shameful" misfortune. It was shameful, both in the eyes of Hannibal and of Polybius, for a soldier to flee the battlefield. If not Hannibal's personal belief, it certainly was Polybius'. In line 5 he speaks of "departing from life on the battlefield, struggling till your last breath." This is Polybius' personification of a soldier.

The word "misfortunes" and the word "chance" in the next line both have reference to man-made affairs—again. It would appear that fortune does not concern "herself" with individual soldiers (in Polybius' vocabulary).

81.7. καὶ μὴν δειλία καὶ βλακεία κατ' ἰδίαν μὲν
αὐτοῖς ὄνειδος ἐπιφέρει τοῖς ἔχουσι, περὶ δὲ τὸν τῶν
ὅλων ἡγεμόνα γενομένη κοινὸν ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστον
συμπτωμάτων:

"And truly, cowardice and laziness in private affairs brings disgrace upon those who have them, on the other hand, being found in a commander-in-chief, it is the greatest of misfortunes."

The subject of this text is Gaius Flaminius, Roman consul designate for the year 223. The account of Flaminius is apparently from a hostile source, but to his credit, in the text below Polybius says that Flaminius was seeking a battle with the enemy. This may have been in Polybius' mind when he used the word σύμπτωμα in the above text. This word has a somewhat "neutral" meaning of misfortune, as compared, for example, to ἀτυχία, which can mean shameful misfortune.

84.11-13. ἑξακισχίλιοι δ' ἴσως τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐλῶνα τοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον νικήσαντες παραβοηεῖν μὲν τοῖς ἰδίους καὶ περιστάσθαι τοὺς ὑπεναντίους ἡδυνάτου, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν συνορᾶν τῶν γινομένων, καίπερ μεγάλην δυνάμενοι πρὸς τὰ ὅλα (12) παρέχεσθαι χρεῖαν· αἰεὶ δὲ τοῦ πρόσθεν ὀρεγόμενοι, προῆγον πεπεισμένοι συμπεσεῖσθαι τισιν, ἕως ἔλαθον ἐκπεσόντες πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους τόπους· (13) γενόμενοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρων, καὶ τῆς ὀμίχλης ἤδη πεπτωκυίας, συνέντες τὸ γεγονός ἀτύχημα, καὶ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν ὄντες ἔτι δυνατοὶ διὰ τὸ τοῖς ὅλοις ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ πάντα...τινα κώμην Τυρρηνίδα:

"About six-thousand men, who were in the defile, defeated the enemy to their front, but were unable to help their own army [which was to the rear], or get to the rear of their adversaries, because they could not see what was happening [because of fog]. They accordingly pressed on to the front, always expecting to engage some of the enemy, until they discovered they were moving onto high ground. So arriving at the crest, the fog having lifted, their misfortune became apparent, and they were no longer able to act, because the enemy was now completely and without a doubt

victorious and occupying all the ground [below], so they closed ranks and retired to a certain Etruscan village."

On occasion , for the sake of the reader, it is necessary to provide a long text, all for the sake of one word. In this text, Flaminius' army was "mouse-trapped" in a dense mist or fog between Lake Thrasymene and some hills. Hannibal had previously occupied the face of the hills and fell upon the Romans when they entered the so-called defile. The troops to the front fought their way through, but "about fifteen thousand" fell, according to Polybius. In an earlier sentence, Polybius says these men "perished in a shameful and most pitiable manner."

The noun ἀτύχημα used in this text is meant to show a "shameful" misfortune. Polybius is aiming this shameful misfortune straight against Flaminius as a sort of post-humous diatribe—Flaminius fell during this battle. Polybius is writing about a man-made disaster, he intends no one to think of fortune, only Flaminius' failure as a leader.

85.7. Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην προσπεσόντος ἤδη τοῦ γεγονότος ἀτυχήματος, στέλλεσθαι μὲν ἢ ταπεινοῦν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς οἱ πρεστώτες τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἡδυνάτουν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς, λέγειν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡναγκάζοντο τὰ γεγονότα, συναθροίσαντες τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν:

"But by the time the news of the misfortune which had taken place arrived in Rome, the heads of government were unable to minimize the known facts in view of the magnitude of the

event, so they were compelled to assemble the people and tell them what happened."

Translation of ἀτυχήματος as "misfortune" in the sense of being shameful is consistent with line 84.13 above. Both this "misfortune" and the "event," which are a proper translation for the whole battle, are not in reference to the idea of fortune taking a part in the defeat. Polybius appears to write it as something which could have been avoided, and would have been if the commander had been a capable one: this is the sense the reader obtains from Polybius' entire story on the defeat at Lake Trasimene.

85.9-10. καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως συνέβη. πολλῶν γὰρ χρόνων ἀπειροὶ καὶ τοῦ ῥήματος καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ὑπάρχοντες τῆς ὁμολογουμένης ἥττης οὐ μετρίως οὐδὲ κατὰ σχῆμα (10) τὴν περιπέτειαν ἔφερον:

"And this [great consternation] happens naturally. For many years they [Roman people] had no experience with the word or fact of coming to terms with defeat; they could not bear this reversal of circumstances with moderation or dignity."

Polybius relates that when the people of Rome began to hear about the defeat of Flaminius, they, being unaccustomed to news of defeat, became greatly concerned. But the Senate, says Polybius, "remained self-possessed, taking thought for the future."

The τύχη-related word συμβαίνω in the opening is best translated as "happen." The other τύχη-related word,

περιπέτεια, translated as "reversal" would be a mild term as far as the Roman people were concerned, but to Polybius this would appear to be a proper word to use as a description of the result of the event—which was hardly a battle. Neither word is meant to infer that fortune acted in this.

86.6. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τριταίας οὔσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν μάχην προσαγγελίας, καὶ μάλιστα τότε τοῦ πάθους κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὥς ἂν εἰ φλεγμαίνοντος, ἐπιγενομένης καὶ ταύτης τῆς περιπετείας, οὐ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον αὐτὴν συνέβη διατραπῆναι:

"And in Rome, three days after the tidings about the battle, and most certainly when emotion throughout the city was inflamed, came the news of this [new] reversal, and now not only the people, but also the Senate, were thrown into consternation."

Polybius is writing about a new defeat. Consul Gnaeus Servillius at Ariminium, hearing of Hannibal's invasion of Etruria, unable to move his whole army quickly, sent a force of four-thousand horse under Gaius Centenius on ahead. Hannibal heard of this move, so he sent off his pikemen and part of his cavalry. Encountering Gaius, they killed about half of the Roman contingent and pursued the others, and captured them the next day.

This was the new reversal. Polybius, the military-minded writer, chose to (properly) call this a reversal, and not a misfortune. Commanders, said Polybius to himself, do not send a part of one's force into unknown circumstances.

This "reversal" was man-made; fortune had no part in it.

87.6. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ δικτάτορα μὲν κατέστησαν Κόιντον Φάβιον, ἄνδρα καὶ φρονήσει διαφέροντα καὶ πεφυκότα καλῶς. ἔτι γοῦν ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἱ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας Μάξιμοι, τοῦτο δ' ἔστι μέγιστοι, διὰ τὰς ἐκείνου τάνδρος ἐπιτυχίας καὶ πράξεις:

"The Romans appointed Quintus Fabius dictator, a man both with surpassing judgement and one who had been well-born. Of a truth, during my day members of this family still are called Maximus, and this is the 'Greatest,' owing to the successes and practical abilities of that man."

As an aftermath of the two defeats which the Romans had just suffered, the Senate moved quickly and appointed a dictator: he would be a single general with full powers.

The word δικτάτορα, underlined above, was very probably "coined" by Polybius from the Latin dictator, who was elected for six months , and invested with full power. He would not have wished to use the Greek τύραννος, which, as "an absolute sovereign" is appointed, for by Polybius' time the word was coming to imply reproach, like the English language "tyrant."

The phrase "ἐπιτυχίας καὶ πράξεις" vividly illustrates Polybius' use of a τύχη-related word in a context where the word must relate to human qualities, and not to external activity by fortune. It has been noted that in several instances Polybius has used πράξεις where a meaning of "practical abilities" appears to be the most suitable.

Walbank says that Polybius was wrong about applying the cognomen Maximus to the family of Q. Fabius of the year 217; the name goes back to Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, the consul of 322.⁷⁴

97.5. οὐδέποτε γὰρ πρότερον θαρρήσαντες διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ ἀσμενίζοντες τῇ τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε φιλία καὶ συμμαχία, τότε διέβησαν καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐθάρρησαν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν πέραν πραγμάτων, μεγάλα καὶ ταύτομάτου συνεργήσαντος σφίσι πρὸς μεριεστῶτας καιρούς:

"For never before did [the Romans] have the boldness to cross the Ebro [River], but had been content with friendship and alliance of those on the other side, but now for the first time crossed over to contend with the tribes on the other side; chance also contributed by means of opportune circumstances."

This is the first time Polybius uses ταύτοματον; eight instances of use of this word are included in this study. Polybius seems to use this word whenever he wants to indicate "chance." He could have used τύχη, for that is an acceptable word for "chance," but apparently it is not to Polybius.⁷⁵ This "chance" is explained in the discussion following the next text below. The reader will note that chance appears to be a man-made thing, not something fortune initiated.

97.8. ἔνθα δὴ γίνεται τις πραγμάτων περιπέτεια τοιάδε:

"At this time a certain sudden change takes place."

Polybius uses two chapters to describe the incident he calls "a certain sudden change." The sudden change he writes about is that many Iberians, who had been reluctant allies, but nevertheless allies of the Carthaginians, most suddenly became allies of the Roman forces. This is the story.

A wealthy pro-Carthaginian, named Abilyx, who, in Polybius' own words: "Reasoned with himself in a manner thoroughly Iberian and barbarian on the question of obtaining the release of [certain] hostages." The hostages were young sons of leaders in the cities of Iberia which Hannibal thought were "not reliable." Abilyx smooth-talked the Carthaginian general Bostar into releasing the sons to him, with the understanding that Bostar would have the gratitude of the fathers, and thus the cities, and the Roman advance would be forestalled—even before it began. Bostar took the bait, and delivered the young men to Abilyx.

Now, Abilyx, almost certain that Rome would end up the winner in the coming clash, wanted to be on the winner's side. So, next he went to the Roman general, Publius, and explained that if the general had the hostages, and would return them to their fathers, all of Iberia would be most grateful to the Romans. Publius thought this was wonderful, and promised great rewards to Abilyx if he would deliver the hostages to him.

The hostages were delivered to the Romans. Great rewards were heaped on Abilyx, and the Romans went from city to city, returning the boys, and receiving a grand welcome, and many of the Iberians became allies of the Romans.

Walbank notes that this story may be a duplication of the story of P. Scipio's capture of the hostage at New Carthage, as related by Polybius in x.18.3f. In any event, it is certain that Polybius saw no evidence of fortune's handiwork in this incident; if a true incident, the sudden-change was man-made.⁷⁶

99.8-9. Βώστωρ δὲ παιδικώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν δόξας ἐγκεχειρικέναι τοὺς ὁμήρους τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκ εἰς τοὺς τυχόντας ἐπεπτώκει κινδύνους. (9) καὶ τότε μὲν ἤδη τῆς ὥρας κατεπειγούσης διέλυον εἰς παραχειμασίαν ἀμφοτέρωι τὰς δυνάμεις, ἱκανοῦ τινος ἐκ τῆς τύχης γεγονότος συνεργήματος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας πρὸς τὰς ἐπικειμένους ἐπιβολάς:

"And Bostar was judged more childish than is suited for a man his age for having placed the hostages into enemy hands, thus he had fallen into no ordinary dangers. (9) And now at the hastening of the season both sides broke-up their forces for wintering there; by good fortune enough things had happened to assist the Romans with respect to the matter of the children [hostages] in the enterprises they had in mind."

This text indicates the aftermath of the deliverance of the boy hostages to their fathers. The verb form *τυχόντας*

has been underlined because it is a present participle of τυγχάνω, one of the words in the τύχη-related word list on page 24. Because it has a great many different meanings, the verb τυγχάνω has been used many times by Polybius, as is the case in this text, but few uses have reference to meanings of either happen or chance persons or events. These meanings relating to happen and chance are the reason this verb is on the τύχη-related word list.

The phrase "ἐκ τῆς τύχης" in the above text has been translated as "by good fortune." Polybius uses this phrase as an ordinary expression from the Hellenistic vernacular, and he shows no intent to create an image of the power, fortune.

106.3-5. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον, βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου, τὸ μὲν ἐλλεῖπον πλῆθος ἔτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν ὅλην ἐπιβολὴν (4) παραχρῆμα καταγράψαντες ἔξαπέστειλαν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Γνάιον διεσάφησαν ὁλοσχερῇ μὲν κίνδυνον κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον συνίστασθαι, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἀκροβολισμοὺς ὥς ἐνεργοτάτους ποιεῖσθαι καὶ συνεχεστάτους χάριν τοῦ γυμνάζειν καὶ παρασκευάζειν εὐθαρσεῖς τοὺς νέους πρὸς τοὺς ὁλοσκερεῖς (5) ἀγῶνας, τῷ καὶ τὰ πρότερον αὐτοῖς συμπτώματα δοκεῖν οὐχ ἥμισυ γεγονέναι διὰ τὸ νεοσυλλόγοις καὶ τελέως ἀνασκήτοις κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις:

"And in regard to Aemilius, after taking counsel with the senate, he at once registered a great number of men to make a levy, and sent them [to the front], and made it quite clear to Gnaeus [Servilius] concerning the danger of engaging [the new troops] in a general operation, but to skirmish

actively and continuously to train them, to develop courage in the young men for an entire battle, for [the Senate] seemed to think that all of their recent misfortunes occurred because they used newly mustered and completely untrained legions."

It was late fall of 217 that this happened. In consular elections Aemilius Paulus and Gaius Terentius Varro were elected, and the two dictators of the previous year laid down their batons. At that time, Aemilius Paulus invested Gnaeus Servilius and Marcus Regulus, consuls from the year before, with proconsul duties. This is how Gnaeus "inherited" the newly formed legion.

Both Hannibal and the Celts in the north had been giving Rome trouble, so these, above mentioned, untrained legions were hastily formed. Polybius, surprisingly, notes, but does not comment about the lack of training. Perhaps this is because his source did not. It is very close to the time of the campaign of Cannae, so it is most unusual for Polybius to remain silent about the lack of training.

The word συμπτώματα, which has been translated as "misfortune," is used here in the vernacular, for the misfortunes are all the fault of the Romans, not of fortune.

108.3. ἦν δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς τοῦτον τείνοντα τὸν νοῦν, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν νεωστὶ γεγονότων συμπτωμάτων

ὥδε γὰρ καὶ τῇδε που συνέβαινε διατετράφθαι καὶ προσδεῖσθαι παραινέσεως τοὺς πολλοὺς:

"And the major part of his [Aemilius'] speech [to the Roman soldiers] was directed to reach the mind concerning the misfortunes which had been occurring recently. For it happened that they were exceedingly perplexed, and in very great need of counsel."

Aemilius had been conferring with the Senate about the coming battle with Hannibal at Cannae; so alarmed was the Senate that they doubled the number of legions for each consul to four. Aemilius then returned to the field, and addressed his troops, whose morale was at low ebb due to the recent defeats at the hands of Hannibal's troops.

Aemilius' speech is full of commonplaces. The use of the words "misfortune" and "happen" does not show that Polybius is writing about the power, fortune, but about tragic circumstances brought about by man.

108.9. τοῖς δὲ κατὰ Τυρρηνίαν αγωνισαμένοις οὐχ οἷον πρότερον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ συνιδεῖν ἐξεγένετο τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα γεγόμενον σύμπτωμα:

"And those who had fought in Etruria had not been able to see in front [of themselves], and could not see plainly those whom they were to fight, having gone by them on account of the mishap of the [heavy] fog which had come up."

Aemilius is still talking to his men; now he is explaining how the Romans came to be defeated in the heavy

fog at Lake Trasimene. The τύχη-related word σύμπτωμα seems to have been used quite regularly by Polybius' source, because it shows up quite frequently during the narrative of the campaign at Cannae. It has been translated as "mishap," which is an acceptable meaning, but because Aemilius would possibly have used this sense of the word to soften the idea of defeat—blame it on the weather. Polybius is still using these fortune-related words in a "human" context, he does not seem to relate this to fortune.

118.6. καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐπιμετρούσης καὶ συνεπαγωνιζομένης τοῖς γεγονόσι τῆς τύχης συνέβη μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, τοῦ φόβου κατέχοντας τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν στρατηγὸν ἀποσταλέντ' εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐμπεσόντα παραδόξως ἄρδην ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν διαφθαρῆναι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως:

"For it seems as if it is fortune's [way] to add insult to injury: besides having stirred such a contest [as I have just described], it happened that only a few days later that a commander of a force who had been dispatched into Gaul, had been unexpectedly attacked from an ambush, and the force was utterly destroyed by the Celts, and all this while the city was yet panic-stricken."

With Chapter 118 Polybius has left his historical narrative and has given the reader some of his views on the then present and future of Rome. In the above line, he uses the word τύχη for the fifth time in Book III. He refers to the force or power, named "fortune," and not to the

Greek cult-goddess, nor the Roman cult-goddess of the same name.

This line also includes the τύχη-related words συμβαίνω and παραδόξως; the first is used in the sense of "happen," and the second as "unexpectedly." With τύχη and both of these other words being used by Polybius in the same line of thought, it would appear that he relates these two to fortune, "she" who "added insult to injury." He relates to the power or force, fortune.

Book IV

Chapters 1 and 2 provide an introductory sketch of the book, which begins with 220 and ends in late February or early March of 218.

Chapters 3 to 37 discuss the course of the Social War in which the Aetolians, and their allies Sparta and Elis, were opposed by Philip V of Macedon and the Hellenic League. This war lasted from 220 to 217.

Polybius considers his work a universal history, so in chapters 38 to 52 he moves eastward and shows what was going on during the struggle of Byzantium to save herself from attack by both Rhodes and Bithynia. Byzantium, having complete control of Pontus trade, levied duties on exports, and precipitated the war. The Rhodians, who were the authority on maritime matters, objected to the levy, and entered the war. Bithynia began land attacks, to which Byzantium was vulnerable. Byzantium tried to get aid from Macedonia, but that fell through. Bithynia hired the Thracians to hem Byzantium in on the European side, keeping the Byzantines inside of the city walls. Then Cavarus, a Gallic king, intervened to end the war. Byzantium and Bithynia both agreed, and Rhodes sent Aridices as envoy, and at the same time dispatched Polemocles with three triremes. As Polybius writes, "sending the Byzantines, at once, the spear and

the herald's staff." Treaties were made; the Byzantines engaged not to levy tolls.

From chapters 53 to 55, Polybius writes about affairs in Crete. Chapter 56 discusses how Mithridates of Pontus attacks Sinope, and tells about Rhodian help. These last four chapters were very possibly extracted from a Rhodian source.⁷⁸

From Chapters 57 to 87, the end of this book, Polybius returns to write about the Social War: the events of 219 and the next winter.

In this book Polybius uses the word τύχη four times, and, in two of these, analysis of the text shows they do not mean the power, fortune, but are commonplace expressions, a part of Polybius' vernacular.

There are eighteen lines in this book which contain a τύχη-related word. One line is most unusual in that it speaks of "god," and luck, but does not invoke the idea of fortune. The remaining seventeen lines speak of man-made "misfortunes" which afflict the people Polybius writes about.

2.4. μάλιστα δ' ἀπὸ τούτων ἡρξάμεθα τῶν καιρῶν διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν τύχην ὥσανεὶ κεκαινοποιηκέναι πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις καιροῖς:

"But most of all, I am beginning from the time of these events [ca.220], because it seems as if all the inhabited world had been renewed by fortune in the course of the times which I have described above."

Prior to this line, Polybius summarizes Book III, and again mentions the dethronement of Cleomenes, and the deaths of Antigonos Doson, Seleucus Ceraunus, and Ptolemy Euergetes, which all took place about the same period of time. Polybius liked such synchronisms, which were a regular feature of histories in the Hellenistic period. Walbank writes that "the outward sign of Tyche's intentions is the synchronism in the change of rulers."⁷⁹ It seems clear that Polybius sees the working of fortune in these synchronisms, but not of a goddess.

3.4. ὄντες δ' ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς προθέσεως, βραχέα
ταύτομάτου σφίσι συνεργήσαντος ἔλαβον ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὴν
 ἐπιβολὴν τοιαύτας:

"And they [Aetolians] being intent on this purpose, with the assistance to some extent of chance, took the following pretext to make a hostile move."

The contraction ταύτομάτου translates most reasonably as "chance" in this line: not anything to do with fortune, chance as in soldier's words is the reason for the use of the word.

Polybius is writing about the origin of the Social War. While Antigonos was alive, the Aetolians were quiet, fearing the Macedonians. Then that king died, and infant Philip succeeded him; and then the Aetolians looked for pretexts to do something about gaining loot. Some brigands took courage and began to make forays on the Messenian borders.

7.1-3. Οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοί... (3) διακούσαντες τῶν λεγ-
ομένων, καὶ συναγανακτοῦντες μὲν τοῖς Πατρεῦσι καὶ
Φαραεῦσι συμπάσχοντες δὲ ταῖς τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀτυχίαις:

"And the Achaeans...heard the speeches to the end, and were
indignant along with the people of Patrae and Pharae, and
sympathized with the misfortunes of the Messenians."

Ἀτυχίαις as noted above has the meaning, at least
to Polybius, of "shameful misfortune." Shameful in that the
perpetrators were not just some brigands, but the Aetolian
forces, who advanced through the territories of Patrae,
Pharae, and Tritaea, until they reached Phigalea; then they
made a sudden rush and invaded Messenia. The invasion of
Messenia was made in spite of the fact that Aetolia had a
long-standing alliance and friendship with the Messenians.
The word has no connotation of fortune's handiwork; it is all
man-made misfortune.

8.10. Θετταλῶν γοῦν ἵππεῖς κατ' ἑλὴν μὲν καὶ φαλαγ-
γηδὸν ἀνυπόστατοι, χωρὶς δὲ παρατάξεως πρὸς καιρὸν καὶ
τόπον κατ' ἄνδρα κινδυνεῦσαι δύσχρηστοι καὶ βραδεῖς:

"For example [consider] the Thessalian cavalry, when in a
troop or a main body they are irresistible, yet they are slow
and nearly useless, depending upon time and place, when they
chance to encounter a man on foot in single-handed combat."

Polybius started this chapter discussing the qual-
ities of the Greek leader, Aratus, explaining that he was
extremely capable in many ways, but in the field was slow,
timid, and devoid of personal courage. He gives three

examples of how men under one set of circumstances can perform effectively, and under another be very ineffective.

This line is included because Polybius used the participle of the verb κινδυνεύω; this verb appears to mean "chance to encounter," or possibly "run the risk of meeting." The verb has many venture-type meanings, but in the Histories seems to be used in the sense of "chance encounter" only two times, although the verb is used eighty-eight times in the extant work.

The line should not be looked at in the light of fortune or chance, it actually is "soldier-talk" from a frustrated cavalryman, who has become a writer-teacher.

12.14-13.3. Ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ Καφύας γενόμενος κίνδυνος τοῦτον ἀπέβη τὸν τρόπον· (13.1) οἱ δὲ Μεγαλοπολῖται συνέντες τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς περὶ τὸ Μεθύδριον ἐστρατοπεδευκότες, ἤκον ἀπὸ σάλπιγγος πανδημεὶ βοηθοῦντες (2) τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρᾳ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μεθ' ὧν ζώντων ἤλπισαν κινδυνεύσειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, τούτους ἠναγκάζοντο θάπτειν ὑπὸ (3) τῶν ἐχθρῶν τετελευτηκότας. ὀρύξαντες δὲ τάφρον ἐν τῷ τῶν Καφυέων πεδίῳ, καὶ συναθροίσαντες τοὺς νεκρούς, ἐκήδευσαν μετὰ πάσης φιλοτιμίας τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας:

"Actually the venture which took place near Caphyae turned out this way: the Megalopolitans, hearing that the Aetolians had encamped near Methydrium, called up their whole levy by trumpet, coming to the rescue the day after the battle. So, now they were compelled to bury those men [the Achaeans who had not fled] who had been killed by the enemy, those men with whom they had expected to run the risk against the enemy. So, digging a trench in the plain of

Caphyae, they collected the bodies of the fallen, and buried those unfortunates with all due honors."

Just prior to this line, Polybius had been explaining the meeting between the Aetolian and Achaean forces. The Aetolians, faced with strong Achaean forces, decided it would be wise to evacuate Messenia, which they had invaded as mentioned in 7.1-3 above. They moved north towards Elis, were in the foothills, when Aratus, leading the Achaeans, foolishly attacked the Aetolian cavalry which was guarding the rear of the column. This cavalry shouted to the light-infantry for assistance, and fell upon the leading elements of the Achaeans. The Achaean light-infantry, which was in the lead, fell back; and then there was an orderly retreat, soon followed by a rout, because in the hills, the cavalry and light-infantry of the Aetolians had the advantage. The Achaean survivors ended up in the towns of Orchomenus and Caphyae, but about five-hundred were killed by the Aetolians.

Now, says Polybius, the Aetolians moved through the center of the Peloponnese; after making an attempt on Peloponnese, they pillaged the land around Sicyon, and withdrew back to Aetolia by way of the Isthmus. "Such," Polybius writes, "was the beginning, the cause and origin of the Social War." In other words, Aratus started the whole war.

In the above text the word κινδυνεύσειν is a future active infinitive of the verb κινδυνεύω; it has been

underlined to bring it to the reader's attention, because of the discussion about this verb on page 117. In this instance there is no reason to say "chance encounter," because a meeting was anticipated, only the risk remained.

The final word in the text is ἡτυχηκότητας, a perfect active participle of ἀτυχέω, translated as "those who had been unfortunate," or as shown in the above translation, "those unfortunates." This is a common word, one which Polybius would use under the circumstances. A fatalistic thought, not related to fortune. The soldiers followed custom and buried their dead.

13.6-14.1. Τὴν μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν ἀφορμὴν ὁ συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος ἔσχεν ἐκ τούτων, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένου δόγματος ἀπάντων τῶν συμμάχων, (7) ὁ συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων πόλιν ἐπεκύρωσαν, διαπρυτανεύσαντος τὸ διαβούλιον (14.1) Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως. τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πλῆθος μετὰ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἀθροισθὲν εἰς τὴν καθήκουσαν σύνοδον, πικρῶς διέκειτο καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον ὡς τοῦτον ὁμολογουμένως αἴτιον γεγονότα τοῦ προειρημένου συμπτώματος:

"This then was the cause and origin of the Social War; and the beginning came about as a result of the resolution of all the allies, which was made after these events. This [resolution] was confirmed while the allies (7) assembled in the city of Corinth, deliberating under the leadership of King Philip. (14.1) A few days afterwards the people of Achaea [Achaean Federal Assembly] gathered together in regular assembly, privately and publicly bitterly denounced

Aratus as having indisputably caused the disaster which had taken place as described above [the defeat at Caphyae.]"

To Polybius, the σύμπτωμα, the disaster, at the meeting of the hills and the plains of Caphyae, was the beginning, if not the cause, of the Social War. He would not have been thinking of a milder meaning than disaster, for he believed that this was a turning point, and also that it was something brought about by man, not by some action of the power, fortune.

19.10-12. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πέμπειν τὰς βοη-
θείας κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν ἐνεκάκησαν, βραχεῖς δὲ τινὰς
παντελῶς ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς, στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ δοκεῖν
μόνον, ἐξέπεμψαν. (11) "Ἀρατος δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἔχων
πολιτικώτερον ἢ στρατηγικώτερον ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ἐβουλ-
εύσαντο· (12) μέχρι γὰρ τούτου τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγε, προσ-
ανέχων καὶ μεμνημένος τῆς προγεγενημένης συμφορᾶς·

"The Lacedaemonians had culpably failed to send the full complement of men which they were bound to furnish; to save appearances they sent only a very small number of horse and foot [in response to Aratus' call for soldiers from Messenia and Lacedaemonia], But Aratus, who had his Achaean levies, because of present circumstances, displayed on this occasion the bearing befitting a statesman rather than that of a man more versed in generalship; for until this time he remained quiet, having well remembered his earlier misfortune."

In this text the translation "misfortune" appears to be the most appropriate for συμφορᾶς, although it seems to be a weak descriptive noun for what actually happened.

Polybius certainly is talking about man-made misfortunes, no act by fortune can be noted in this text.

19.13. Κυναιθεῖς δὲ μεγάλοις ἀτυχήμασιν ὑπ' Αἰτωλῶν καὶ μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντες ὁμῶς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔδοξαν ἡτυχηκέναι δικαιοτάτα:

"But then the Cynaetheans who fell foul of great misfortunes and terrible events by the [hands of] the Aetolians, in spite of all this seemed of all men to have been the most deserving to have been unfortunate."

Polybius writes two chapters following the above line to explain his reason for the oxymoron, "the most deserving to have been unfortunate." He calls the Cynaetheans savages, and that they surpassed all other Greeks in cruelty and wickedness. He gives as his reason for this the fact that these people were the only ones in Arcadia who did not engage in the practice of music, not only in early training in school, but as well in everyday life and in the military. This cultural lack is the reason he gives for the people of Cynaetha being deserving of their troubles.

The three τύχη-related words in the above text relate to conditions, to happenings brought about by the Cynaetheans themselves.

21.7. σημεῖον δὲ τῆς Κυναιθέων ἀτυχίας περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων δυσαρρεστήσεως:

"Then as proof of the [shameful] misfortune of the Cynaetheans in this respect, and the detestation of the other

Arcadians for practices such as these."

Polybius explains that after the massacre at Cynaetha (by the Aetolians), the survivors sent an embassy to Sparta. So great was the dislike of these people that as the embassy approached towns enroute to Sparta, they were met by heralds who gave them "instant notice to depart." And the town of Mantinea went so far as to make a solemn purification of the town by sacrifices after the embassy moved on.

Polybius again uses the term ἀτυχίας, which to him means shameful misfortune. This line does not imply that fortune had anything to do with this, it is all man-made misfortune.

21.11. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Κυναϊθέων ἕνεκα, ἵν' ἂν ποτ' αὐ-
τοῖς ὁ θεὸς εὖ δῶ, τραπέντες πρὸς παιδείαν ἡμερῶσιν
αὐτοῦς, καὶ μάλιστα ταύτης πρὸς μουσικὴν:

"And I also spoke for the sake of the Cynaetheans, in order that, should god ever grant them good luck, that they would civilize themselves by turning towards education, and most of all to music."

This is the only line in the Histories in which the word εὖ can be translated as "good luck," although it is found thirty-one times in the work with other meanings. Paton translates this as "better fortune," and Shuckburgh the same; however, Mauersberger writes his translation in this instance as gnadig dazu verhilft, which perhaps is more

appropriate for a god: "to give them help."

"Ἐὰν ποτ' αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς εὖ δῶ," is a proverbial expression quoted by Aristotle (Nicomachean Ethics, ix.9.1, 1169b) from Euripides' Orestes, 667.⁸⁰

It seems in this line that Polybius could not be referring to fortune; he probably is using a proverbial expression, as noted above, an expression which is often in use today with little change.

27.8. ἀμφοτέροις τοίνυν ὁ ζῆλος οὗτος τῆς πολιτείας αἵτιος κατέστη τῶν μεγίστων συμπτωμάτων:

"Therefore for both states [Aetolia and Sparta], this culpable violation of the civil polity of a state was to become the greatest of calamities."

In 27.1-7 Polybius explains that the Aetolians, after declaring by public decree that they were not going to war with anyone, made an expedition in full force and pillaged the countries of their neighbors. The Spartans did the same thing by taking possession of the Cadmea, and not withdrawing their garrison, although they punished the general.

When Polybius wrote the phrase "the greatest of calamities" he was writing in the vernacular, fortune or chance do not seem to be considered here; he was thinking about two Greek entities, who were capable of anything that is bad for the Achaean League of states.

32.2. ἡθροίζετο δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν ταύτην αἰεὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς, καὶ μεγίσταις ἐποίουν παλαίειν τὴν πατρίδα συμφοραῖς:

"But the continued use of such a policy always collected [evils] for themselves, and finally their country was involved in the gravest misfortunes."

The oligarchs of Messenia brought the gravest of troubles upon themselves and the people, because, as Polybius writes, "they were always too much inclined for peace." Messenia, situated on the border between Arcadia and Lacedaemonia, never accepted friendship from Arcadia, nor were they hostile to the Spartans. Polybius' view was that sometimes war is a necessity, and that the Messenians should have sided with Arcadia against Lacedaemonia. The word συμφοραῖς in the above text means man-made misfortunes, and has no reference to action by fortune.

33.11-12. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Μεσσηνίων, ἵνα μνημονεύοντες τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς περὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἀτυχημάτων ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀληθινῶς ἀντέχωνται τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς (12) εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως, καὶ μήτε φόβον ὑφορώμενοι μήτ' εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐγκαταλείπωσιν ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ὁλοσχερέσι περιστάσεσιν:

"Therefore, I have said these things for the sake of the Arcadians and the Messenians, in order that, remembering the misfortunes which have happened to their countries at the hands of the Lacedaemonians, that they may cling to each other actually with goodwill and faith, and let no fear of war induce them to desert each other in critical times."

There are two τύχη-related words in this text, συμβαίνω, which can mean to happen, and ἀτύχημα, which means misfortune, sometimes shameful. Both words relate to evils which have come about, mainly, through man's foolishness.

48.11-13. τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων αὐτῷ παραδόξως εὐροο-
ντων, ἐπεὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀτταλον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ Πέργαμον συν-
έκλεισε τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πάντων ἦν ἐγκρατής, ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς
(12) εὐτυχήμασι παρὰ πόδας ἐξώκειλε, καὶ διάδημα περιθέ-
μενος καὶ βασιλέα προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν βαρύτερος ἦν τότε
καὶ φοβερώτερος τῶν ἐπὶ (13) τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου βασιλέων
καὶ δυναστῶν:

"After he [Achaeus] had shut up Attalus within the walls of Pergamus, contrary to all expectations, and had become master of all the rest of the country, he was so elated by
t these pieces of good luck that in a moment he drove head-long, and bestowed the diadem upon himself, and called himself king. At this moment he was the most imposing and formidable of all the kings and princes this side of the Taurus."

Achaeus was a kinsman of young king Seleucus. After Seleucus ascended the throne, he learned that Attalus had taken over all his dominions this side of the Taurus. So he hastened to cross the Taurus with a great army to defend his interests, but he was assassinated by the Gaul Araturis and by Nicanor. Achaeus, who was with Seleucus, at once avenged the murder, and took command of the army. The troops urged him to take up the crown, but he decided to hold it for the

younger brother Antiochus. But, as Polybius says, "he drove headlong and gave in to the feel of power."

The adverb παραδόξως, with its meaning of contrary to expectation, and the noun εὐτύχημα, with a meaning of pieces of good luck (from the sound of the text Polybius meant good luck, not success), both indicate that these victories were not so much Achaeus' doings as they were something which just happened. Nevertheless, Polybius does not feel that the power, fortune, had anything to do with this, and that the whole campaign had "soldier's luck" in favor of Achaeus.

51.7. συνεκύπησε δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἄτοπον· ὁ γὰρ Τιβοΐτης καταγόμενος ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἔσφηλε τὰς ἐπιβολὰς αὐτῶν, μεταλλάξας τὸν βίον:

"And something else unwanted also happened to the Byzantines; for Tiboetes being brought down from Macedonia defeated their plans by dying."

This was about the last hope of the Byzantines. They anxiously looked for a way out of their troubles, being under attack by both Rhodes and Prusias, when Cavarus, the Gallic king, intervened, convincing all concerned that they should end hostilities.

This line has been included because of the verb form συνεκύπησε, the aorist of συγκυρέω. This verb has the meaning of to come together by chance, and for events, like the verb συμβαίνω, it means to happen. Paton, however, favors

the idea of chance. He writes: "At the same time the Byzantines met with another mischance." Whichever word is used, it appears that Polybius considers this to be a man-made problem, and not one initiated by fortune.

53.3. περιέπεσον δὲ καὶ Λύττιοι βραχὺ πρὸ τούτων
τῶν καιρῶν ἀνηκέστῳ συμφορᾷ:

"And also, shortly before this time [ca. 220], the people of Lyttos met with an irreparable calamity."

Polybius in this line is talking about the state of affairs in Crete. The whole island has been taken over by Cnossus in alliance with Gortynia, except for the town of Lyttos. The alliance had plans to move against Lyttos, when five towns, for some unknown reason, dropped out of the alliance, and sided with Lyttos. Also about half of the people of Gortynia were on Lyttos' side in the planned attack.

Undaunted, Cnossus hired about one-thousand Aetolian mercenaries, and moved to attack Lyttos. The men of Lyttos had armed themselves and moved out of the town to meet the enemy; the Cnossians heard of this and sent some troops to take the city. This was accomplished, and the women and children were taken to Cnossus. Then the Cnossians burned and completely destroyed the town.

Later, when the Lyttian men returned, they found no city nor people. There is little doubt but that the calamity of Lyttos was made by man, and not by the power, fortune.

54.3-4. οἱ δὲ Λύττιοι παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξοδείας, καὶ συνθεασάμενοι τὸ συμβεβηκός, οὕτως περιπαθεῖς ἐγένοντο ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥστε μηδ' εἰσελθεῖν μηδένα τολμῆσαι τῶν παρόντων εἰς τὴν (4) πατρίδα· πάντες δὲ περιπορευθέντες αὐτὴν κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνοιμώξαντες καὶ κατολοφυράμενοι τὴν τε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τύχην, αὖθις ἐξ ἀναστροφῆς ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν τῶν Λαππαίων πόλιν:

"When the men of Lyttos came back to their city from their expedition, and took in at a glance that which had happened, their hearts were so distressed that they could not approach nor gain courage to enter into the [destroyed] town; so one and all, after having marched around it many times, both wailing and lamenting the fate of their home and of themselves, turned their backs from it and went over to the city of the Lappeans."

This is part of the story begun in 53.3 above. To define τὴν τύχην as "fate" is proper with respect to the text and the Lexicon. Both underlined terms are part of the Hellenistic vocabulary, and do not refer to fortune.

56.1-2. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Κρήτην ἐν τούτοις ἦν· περὶ δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐξήνεγκε Σινωπεῦσι πόλεμον, καὶ τις οἶον ἀρχὴ τότε καὶ πρόφασις ἐγενετο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀχθείσης (2) ἀτυχίας Σινωπεῦσιν:

"So then it was like this with respect to these affairs in Crete: during these critical times, Mithridates also brought on a war with the Sinopians. And this was only a beginning, and it became the cause of the misfortunes which brought the Sinopeans to their end."

Polybius uses the word ἀτυχία, which to him often has the meaning of shameful misfortune, and he uses the word πρόφασις, with a meaning of alleged cause. It appears that Polybius is writing about a man-made affair, and not something brought about by the power, fortune.

Walbank says that Polybius is referring to a later seizure of Sinope (than in 219) by Pharnaces of Pontus in 183, and that the war against Sinope was the first event in the ruin of that city, and that it was alleged as a reason for Pharnaces' later, successful assault.⁸¹ Polybius does not write about Sinope after this, so no explanation of why he writes about the town in this manner appears to exist.

58.12. Αίγειρᾶται μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν ἀποβαλόντες τὴν πατρίδα, διὰ τὴν εὐψυχίαν καὶ γενναιότητα πάλιν ἔσωσαν παραδόξως:

"So then the Aegiratanians lost their city through negligence, but, incredibly, they rescued it back again through good courage and valor."

The τύχη-related word παραδόξως has been translated as "incredibly." Fortune did not act to help these people regain their city, they did it by themselves.

76.1. Ἀπελλῆς δέ, ὃς ἦν μὲν εἰς τῶν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου καταλειφθέντων ἐπιτρόπων τοῦ παιδός, πλείστον δ' ἐτύγχανε τότε δυνάμενος παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ:

"But Apelles, who was one of the guardians bequeathed by Antigonus for the young Philip, happened to be the one having the greatest influence with the king at that time."

Apelles, being the one whom young King Philip trusted the most, was beginning on a program to "put down" Aratus and the Achaeans who were at the Macedonian court.

Polybius uses the verb τυγχάνω, which can have an implied meaning of chance. The above clause could well have been translated as : "chanced to be the one having the greatest influence." The Lexicon definitions would support such a translation, also see the discussion on happen on page 24. There are over 150 uses of this verb (τυγχάνω); each has been studied to see if the context supports the idea of chance.

81.5. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐφόρους δειπνοῦντας καταλαβὼν πάντας αὐτοῦ κατέσφαξε, τῆς τύχης τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθείσης δίκην:

"So then, he [Cheilon] seized the ephors [of Sparta] while they were taking their main meal, murdering them all; this act of man inflicting on them a fitting penalty."

Cheilon considered that he was the lawful heir to the throne, and was deeply resentful of having been passed over by the ephors (five magistrates who selected the king and exercised some controlling power over him). Polybius

feels that the ephors met with their just deserts, for Lycurgus (Cheilon's rival) had bribed the ephors to select him.

The term τῆς τύχης, a substantive, which Polybius has placed in the genitive, has been translated as "this act" of man. This is appropriate for it was something decided upon by Cheilon, and in no way reflects an action of fortune. Both Paton and Shuckburgh use the translation of "chance," and Walbank would disagree with the above translation for he writes, "Tyche is the bringer of retribution in iv.81.4."⁸²

Polybius' rather consistent use of the genitive term, τῆς τύχης, as a substantive, but without prefixing it with the neuter article, τό, as per the lexicon example, again raises the unanswerable question: when Polybius writes in this manner is it possible that he is thinking of a meaning such as "the judgement of fortune," or as Walbank suggests, "the punishment of fortune"?

81.12. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκούργου νομοθεσίας καλλίστη χρησάμενοι πολιτεία καὶ μεγίστην ἔχοντες δύναμιν ἕως τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης, αὗτις ἐπὶ τάναντία τραπείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς τύχης, καὶ τοῦμπαλιν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν προβαινούσης:

"So then, the Lacedaemonians who ever since the legislation of Lycurgus had experienced a most favorable government and had the greatest power until the battle with the Leuctrans; after that fortune took a contrary turn against them, and

their system of government instead of improving, began to go from bad to worse."

Should the term "τῆς τύχης" not be considered to be in the substantive, the clause "αὐτίς...αὐτοῖς τῆς τύχης" has a meaning of "thereafter fortune took a contrary turn against Sparta." Paton and Shuckburgh both translate this in the same way. Walbank also sees "fortune" acting capriciously against Sparta, although Polybius does not suggest that Sparta deserved defeat at Leuctra or later. Fortune is the subject.⁸³

Book V

Chapters 1 to 30.7 continue the narrative about the Social War, the events of 218. Then the scene shifts to Asia and takes up with the war between Antiochus and Ptolemy for Coele-Syria. At 40.4 Polybius goes back to Antiochus' succession to the throne, and includes the rebellion of Molon and that of Achaeus, continuing this until the end of Chapter 57.

From 58 to 87 the text treats with the Fourth Syrian War, from 219 to 217. From Chapter 88 to 90, Polybius writes about the Rhodian earthquake of c. 227, so it is chronologically out of place. From 91 to the end of the book at Chapter 105, he finishes his text on the Social War.

There are nineteen entries of a τύχη-related word, several being found in the same line. All relate to man-made difficulties, such as reversals or misfortunes, none appear to be something done by fortune.

The word τύχη appears four times in the book. Two translations are of "chance," one only of the power, "fortune," and one appears to be best translated as "success."

14.11. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μεγαλέαν καὶ Λεόντιον δυσχερῶς ἔφερον τὴν γεγενημένην ἐπιτυχίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥς ἂν διατεταγμένοι μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπελλῆν πάσαις ἐμποδιεῖν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτοῦ, μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸναντίον προχωροῦντων:

"But Megaleas and Leontius suffered great annoyance at the

success which had been achieved by the king [Philip], for they had pledged themselves to Apelles to hinder all his [Philip's] plans, but were not able to do so, the turn of events were set against them."

The word ἐπιτυχία has a meaning of luck, chance, or success; from the context of the narrative, the most appropriate seems to be "success." This was Philip's success, no hint that fortune acted on Philip's behalf can be seen in this text.

20.10. Μεσσήνιοι μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη περιπετεία χρησάμενοι πάλιν δι' Ἀργούς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνεκομίσθησαν:

"So then with the Messenians being subjected to so great a reversal, they returned back to their home through Argos."

The Messenians were attacked enroute by Lycurgus. As soon as they saw the enemy approaching, the Messenians ran, abandoning bag and baggage, and took refuge in the nearest village walls (Glympeis). Lycurgus did capture most of the horses and took the baggage, killed five men, but took no prisoners. This was the Messenians great "reversal." Fortune was not a part of this debacle, it was man-made. True, this was a reversal, but Polybius could have better said, "to get off so lightly."

24.1-2. Ἡδὴ δὲ τῆς ὥρας συναγωγῆς, ἀπαναγκαζόμενος αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύειν περὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν στενῶν (2) ἔξοδον ἐχρήσατο στρατοπεδεῖα, κατὰ σύμπτωμα τῶν ἡγεμόνων περιβαλομένων τοιοῦτον τόπον οἷον οὐκ ἂν ἄλλον τις εὖροι βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Λακωνικῆς παρ' αὐτήν:

"The day was now drawing to an end, so he availed himself of a place for encampment near the narrow end of a pass; his officers [already] by chance had chosen that very place and not another for anyone wishing to invade Laconia passing close by the city [Sparta] itself."

Σύμπτωμα has been translated as "by chance," and this seems to be the most logical for the context of the line. In effect this term says "it just happened," which makes sense etymologically, for that word derives from the verb συμπίπτω, which has an impersonal meaning of it happened. No effort on fortune's part can be seen in the use of this word, it is a happenstance.

28.4. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐπιστολαί τινες ἀνεπέμφθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα τόπων παρὰ τοῦ Μεγαλέα διαπεμπόμεναι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς, ἐν αἷς ἦν παράκλησις τε τῶν Αἰτωλῶν θαρρεῖν καὶ μένειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, διότι τὰ κατὰ τὸν Φίλιππον ἔξω τελέως ἐστὶ δῖα τὴν ἀχόρη ἰαν:

"And during this time certain letters were sent to him [Philip] from Phocis, [letters] which Megaleas had sent over to the Aetolians, in which he demanded of the Aetolians to be confident and standfast in the war, since Philip's fortunes were coming to an end owing to scarcity of supplies."

This line has been included because of the use of the neuter plural article τὰ to designate Philip's prospects, which has been translated as being "fortunes." Shuckburgh uses the phrase "Philip was in extremities," but Paton likes

the idea of fortunes, saying "Philip's fortunes were at their last ebb." Walbank writes that the passage seems to be corrupt, and that Hultsch's emendation seems most plausible: "Philip's fortunes were going completely to ruin."⁸⁴

The line was included, not to show some kind of effort by fortune, but to show how the word fortune can be readily, perhaps too often, be used for material things, and in this case, Philip's prospects of winning the war.

34.1-2.. Ὡς γὰρ θάπτον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κληθεὶς Φιλοπάτωρ, μεταλλάξαντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐπανελόμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάγας καὶ τοὺς τούτῳ συνεργοῦντας (2) παρέλαβε τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου δυναστείαν, νομίσας τῶν μὲν οἰκείων φόβων ἀπολελῦσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς προειρημένης πράξεως, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς κινδύνων ἀπηλλάχθαι διὰ τὴν τύχην, Ἀντιγόνου μὲν καὶ Σελεύκου μετηλλαχότων, Ἀντιόχου δὲ καὶ Φιλίππου τῶν διαδεδεγμένων τὰς ἀρχάς:

"Now when Ptolemy called Philopater, immediately after his father's death, made away with his brother Magas and those who were his partisans, and then succeeded to the throne of Egypt, he considered that he had set himself free of domestic perils by what he had already done, and that outside dangers had been removed by luck, for Antigonos and Seleucus had just died, and Antiochus and Philip were altogether young, in fact almost boys."

Ptolemy, called Philopater, by his actions and a bit of luck, was suddenly the top diadochi; but he failed to live up to the surname Philopater, for he became the playboy of the year 222 in Egypt, treating all kingly duties with

"entire negligence and indifference...neglecting to control all matter owing to shameful amours and constant drunkenness," reports Polybius in the remaining lines in Chapter 34.

Polybius uses the term τὴν τύχην which could have the meaning of fortune, chance, or luck. The fact that he prefixed the term with "through" or "by" and considering the sense of the line, a translation of "by luck" has been selected. It would seem that as he wrote this, Polybius may have been thinking "by sheer dumb luck Ptolemy was for a little time a top dog." It does not appear that Polybius was thinking about "fortune."

42.7-8. διὸ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐπιστολὴν πλάσας ὡς παρ' Ἀχαιοῦ διαπεσταλμένην προσήνεγκε τῷ βασιλεῖ, διασαφοῦσαν ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ πραγμάτων ἀντιποιήσασθαι, καὶ φησὶ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι χορηγήσειν πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἐπιβολάς, ἐὰν ἀναλάβῃ διάδημα καὶ φανερός (8) γένηται πᾶσιν ἀντιποιοῦμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἔχειν αὐτὸν καὶ νῦν, τῆς δὲ ἐπιγραφῆς αὐτῷ φθονοῦντα τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης διδόμενον ἀποτρίβεσθαι στέφανον:

"Finally in pursuit of this he [Hermeias, the head of government] forged a letter which he brought to the king [young Antiochus]; this letter was supposed to have been sent by Achaeus showing plainly that Ptolemy encouraged him to lay claim to the government, promising help with ships and money and all things if he would take up the diadem and would claim the sovereign power, even though he was reluctant to accept the glory and declined the crown granted by fortune."

In this line it appears that Polybius was thinking of fortune, the unexplainable power or force, when he wrote ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. However, the whole passage may be suspect. No doubt Polybius obtained this story from a source which reported that the letter was a forgery, but Polybius, himself, in viii.15.9-10 says that Achaeus had often acted in negotiations with Ptolemy. So the letter may not have been a forgery. This leads to the idea that in this instance that Polybius used "fortune" as a literary device.

56.2. διὸ λαβὼν καιρὸν προσφέρει τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγον, παρακαλῶν μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν μηδ' ἀνυπονόητον εἶναι τῆς Ἑρμείου τόλμης, μηδ' ἕως τούτου περιμεῖναι μέχρις ἂν οὗ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ταδελεφῶ παλαίῃ συμπτώμασιν:

"So when [Apollophanes, the king's physician] found an opportune time he approached the king [young Antiochus] to talk, encouraging him not to be remiss nor shut his eyes to Hermeias' recklessness, so that he, himself, does not wait until he might have to wrestle with misfortunes resembling those [which happened] to his brother."

Misfortunes appears to be the best translation of the word σύμπτωμα. It appears that Polybius is writing about man-made misfortunes, not something brought on by fortune.

58.10-11. συνέβαινε γὰρ Σελεύκειαν ἔτι τότε κατέχεσθαι φρουραῖς ὑπὸ ἑξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐεργέτην ἐπικληθέντα Πτολεμαῖον καιρῶν, (11) ἐν οἷς ἐκεῖνος διὰ τὰ Βερενίκης συμπτώματα καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης ὀπγὴν στρατεύσας εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν τόπους ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο ταύτης τῆς πόλεως:

"For it so happened that at that time Seleucia was still occupied by a garrison under the king of Egypt, and had been ever since the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, who, because of the misfortunes of Berenice in that place, mounted an invasion against the land of Syria, and then became master of the town."

This text contains two τύχη-related words. The first is συμβαίνω, which in this instance means happen. In this text it seems that Polybius used this verb without any intention of meaning that chance or fortune had anything to do with the fact that the garrison had been in Seleucia for a long time.

The second word, συμπτώματα, is part of the phrase "διὰ τὰ Βερενίκης συμπτώματα," which has been translated as "because of the misfortunes of Berenice." Misfortunes is a weak word to describe the murders of Berenice and her son. Perhaps for this reason, some translators see fit to translate this word as "murder." The term τὰ...συμπτώματα is accusative plural, not singular. Also, Polybius usually tried to be precise, so if he wanted the reader to think "murder" he would have used the word φονή in one of its plural forms.

From Polybius' statement it appears that Berenice was dead before the invasion, but, if so, a false story was circulated that she and the boy were alive.

67.3-4. ἤ καὶ παραγενομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν, καὶ συγκαταβαινόντων εἰς τοὺς κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ τῆς διαλύσεως λόγους κατὰ τὰς ὑπὸ (4) τῶν περὶ τὸν Σωσίβιον ἐντολάς, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν ἄρτι γεγονὸς ἀτύχημα καὶ προφανὲς ἀδίκημα περὶ τῆς ἐνεστῶσης καταλήψεως τῶν περὶ Κοίλην Συρίαν τόπων οὐ δεινὸν ἐνόμιζε κατὰ τὰς δικαιολογίας:

"So then, when the envoys arrived at Seleucia, and as they had been instructed by Sosibus, they consented to discuss in detail the terms of the proposed arrangement, the king [Antiochus] quite plainly did not consider, for his part, much about the misfortune which had been suffered [by the people], nor the wrong which had been incurred by his occupation of the region of Coele-Syria."

Polybius is writing about the Fourth Syrian War, a war which, says Walbank, "bristles with problems."⁸⁶ The misfortune in the text refers to man-made things, not something done by the power, fortune.

74.2-4. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἦκε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς (3) τὴν πόλιν οἱ δὲ Σελγεῖς δυσελπιστοῦντες μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις διὰ τὴν κοινὴν περιπέτειαν, ἐκπεπληγμένοι δὲ ταῖς ψυχαῖς διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ἀτύχημα, περίφοβοι τελέως ἦσαν καὶ περὶ σφῶν (4) αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος:

"So then this man [Garsyeris] came with his forces to the city; the Selgians had little hope of help from their allies on account of their shared-in-common reversal, and having complete despair for their lives, because of the misfortune which had just taken place, they were in exceedingly great fear for themselves and their country."

Polybius is writing about King Antiochus' operations in Asia Minor. The people of Pednelissus asked Achaeus, an assistant of Antiochus, for help because they were under siege by the Selgians, and in danger of being defeated. So, Achaeus sent Garsyeris with six-thousand foot and five-hundred horse to raise the siege. The Selgians fought well, and retreated to Selge, at which time they decided to ask Garsyeris for terms, sending an envoy named Logbasis.

The misfortune suffered by the people of Selge was brought about by their own actions, not by fortune. The reversal that Polybius writes about came from overconfidence and carelessness, brought about by man's acts.

75.5-6. τούτου δ' αἰτιὸν ἐστὶν ὅτι τὰς τῶν πρότερον ἐπταικότων ἐν ἐκάστοις περιπετείαις οὐ ποιοῦμεθα προχείρους, ἀλλὰ σίτου μὲν καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος ἔτι δὲ τειχῶν καὶ βελῶν κατασκευὰς μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ δαπάνης ἐτοιμαζόμεθα πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα τῶν (6) συμβαίνοντων, ὃ δ' ἐστὶ ῥᾶστον μὲν τῶν ὄντων, μεγίστας δὲ παρέχεται χρείας ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλέσι καιροῖς, τούτου πάντες κατολιγωροῦμεν:

"The reason for this is that we do not remember [from history] about the sudden reversals of those who earlier made similar mistakes. With much labor and expense we collect grain, supplies, and missiles, and build walls to guard against what may happen. Then we completely neglect the simplest precaution which would be the greatest service at a critical time."

In Chapter 75 Polybius once again breaks his narrative to teach a lesson. In many cases, when a town is engaged in long periods of negotiation with a besieging force, individual soldiers—unarmed—are permitted to enter the city to buy provisions. These men then have an opportunity to look at the towns defenses, and in some instances they have found ways to hide, and remain in the town until a number of troops have joined them. This is what happened at Selge. Soldiers from Garsyeris' force went to Logbasis' house and hid there. Thus there would be a force within when the force outside the walls would try to enter the town.

Garsyeris almost succeeded. All of the people of Selge were in assembly to discuss the siege; for some foolish reason the outpost guards were also present. Logbasis armed the enemy soldiers in his house, and sent a message to Garsyeris to take the town. Polybius continues this lesson in the next text.

In this text, there are two τύχη-related words: περιπέτεια and συμβαίνω, with meanings of sudden reversal and happen. Both words refer to troubles originating with people, and have no reference to an act of fortune.

76.3. συνθεασαμένου δέ τινος κατὰ τύχην αἰπόλου τὸ συμβαῖνον καὶ προσαγγείλαντος πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ Κεσβέδιον ὤρων μετὰ σπουδῆς, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ φυλάμεινα, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ὑπὸ τὸν θυμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Λογβάσιος:

"It happened that a certain goatherd by chance caught sight of what was going on [outside the walls] and came and told the news to the assembly. Some men hastened with zeal to the Cesbedium [citadel], some went to the guard-posts, but the greatest number went in anger against Logbasis' house."

Garsyeris abandoned the attack against the walls and the Cesbedium, and went back to camp. But the Selgians were still afraid, so they again parleyed with the enemy. Finally, they paid 400 talents and released all prisoners, and later paid 300 talents more to raise the seige.

The first τύχη-related word συμβαίνω, meaning to happen, is used here as a commonplace. The second term, κατὰ τύχην, which has been translated "by chance," is also a commonplace term, because it was by stray chance that the goat-herd was in the right position to notice the enemy's movements.

88.1-4. ῥόδιοι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς προειρημένους καιροὺς ἐπειληγμένοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸν σεισμόν τὸν γενόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον, ἐν ᾧ συνέβη τὸν τε κολοσσὸν τὸν μέγαν πεσεῖν καὶ πλεῖστα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν νεωρίων, (2) οὕτως ἐχείριζον νουνεχῶς καὶ πραγματικῶς τὸ γεγονός ὥς μὴ βλάβης διορθώσεως δὲ μάλλον (3) αὐτοῖς αἴτιον γεγέσθαι τὸ σύμπτωμα. τοσοῦτον ἄγνοια καὶ ῥαθυμία διαφέρει παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἐπιμελείας καὶ φρονήσεως περὶ τε τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν βίους καὶ τὰς κοινὰς πολιτείας, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν καὶ τὰς ἐπιτυχίας βλάβην ἐπιφέρειν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ τὰς περιπετείας ἐπανορθώσεως γίνεσθαι παραιτίας. (4) οἱ γοῦν ῥόδιοι τότε παρὰ τὸν χειρισμόν τὸ μὲν σύμπτωμα ποιοῦντες μέγα καὶ δεινόν:

"At about the time of which I have been speaking [ca. 227], the Rhodians used the pretext of the earthquake, which had happened a short time earlier, in which it happened that the great colossus fell down along with most of the wall and the dockyards, to simply manage the aftermath in a sensible and practical way so that the chance occurrence was more a cause for improvement than damage. So great is the difference between ignorance and carelessness, and caring and prudence, of men in private lives and in civil governments. Just as on one hand successes may inflict damage, and on the other, sudden changes become the cause for improvements. The Rhodians so dealt with the chance occurrence, managing to bring about great and wondrous things."

Polybius says that "As for the towns which contributed gifts for the stricken island [Rhodes], it would be difficult to enumerate them."

Six words have been underlined in the above text. The first two, verb forms, γεγόμενον and συνέβη, both mean happen. It appears he is thinking about a natural occurrence, and not an act of fortune. The other four underlined words are τύχη-related, but here again it seems he is not thinking about the power, fortune. It is possible he may think of the earthquake as an act of the gods, but he gives no hint of this in his words.

It seems he is writing in the vernacular of his day. Also there is a possibility that he is relying upon his source material, and even copying from it to some extent. Walbank writes that the source of this story is probably Zeno of Rhodes.⁸⁷

98.3-5. εἴτ' ἐκμετρησάμενοι τὸ καθ' αὐτούς, κάπειτα τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν κλιμάκων καὶ καθόλου τῶν τοιούτων ὀργάνων, ἃ μικρὰν ἔχοντα τὴν ἀσχολίαν ἐν μεγάλῳ δίδωσι τὴν αὐτῶν πεῖραν, εἰκῇ καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγχειρίζουσι, (4) πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐγκαλεῖν; οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων πράξεων ἢ ποιῆσαι τι τῶν δεόντων (5) ἢ μηδὲν παθεῖν δειῶδον, ἀλλ' ἅμα ταῖς ἀποτυχίαις ἔπεται βλάβη κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους:

"Having little experience in such an occupation [as building scaling-ladders] gives great problems, and if they entrust this work at random to any chance men, surely is this not worthy of censure? For in enterprises such as these, it is not a question of either succeeding or of no one being exposed to danger, but with failures damage follows at once in many ways."

This text has not indication of an act of fortune; it is about selecting "any chance persons" that walk by to build something essential to a successful attack. As said by Polybius, "is this not worthy of censure?" This is an instance where the verb τυγχάνω fully meets the criterion of a τύχη-related word. The word ἀποτυχία has one meaning: failure. It is used by Polybius only four times; it is possible he borrowed it from a source.

102.1. τοιούτοις δὲ χρησάμενος λόγοις ταχέως παρ-
ώρμησε τὸν Φίλιππον ὡς ἄν, οἶμαι, καὶ νέον βασιλέα καὶ
κατὰ τὰς πράξεις ἐπιτυχῇ καὶ καθόλου τολμηρὸν εἶναι
δοκοῦντα:

"And by such words as these he [Demetrius] quickly aroused Philip; that, I think, is to be expected in a young king with successful achievements and [having] courage in general."

Demetrius of Pharos, after he escaped from the Romans during the Second Illyrian War (spring of 219), fled to the court of young Philip of Macedon (who was about twenty years of age in 217). He helped to foster an anti-Roman policy at the court, so when a courier brought news to Philip of the defeat of the Romans by Hannibal at Trasimene (217), Philip told no one but Demetrius. Polybius writes that he immediately advised Philip to "get the Aetolian war over with as soon as possible, to reduce Illyria then, so that he could mount an expedition to Italy." And Philip loved every word of it apparently.⁸⁸

In the above text Polybius uses the adjective ἐπι-
τυχῆς for the second time of six in his extant work. Here it is best translated as "successful," and refers only to the man's achievements. It is being used in a conventional way.

103.3. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ σπεύδοντες διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλε-
μον ἑξαπέστελλον ἄμα τούτοις πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον,
ἀξιοῦντες παραγενέσθαι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς σφᾶς, ἵνα

τῆς κοινολογίας ἐκ χειρὸς γινομένης τύχῃ τὰ πράγματα
τῆς ἀρμοζούσης διεξαγωγῆς:

"The Aetolians, who were most anxious to bring the war to an end, sent along with them [delegates from the allies] delegates to Philip, urging him to come and meet them with his army, so that by a conference in good faith, the affair might be suitably settled with success."

In this line, the word τύχῃ, which is in the dative singular, might be translated as either "good fortune," or as "success." Polybius very probably meant "success," for a conference, if settled to the satisfaction of both sides, would most likely be considered a "success" rather than one in which "good fortune" is attained.

Book VI

From this point on the books in the Histories exist only in fragmentary form. However, no substantial part of Book VI appears to have been lost outright. Manuscript Codex F. Vaticanus Urbinas Gr. 102, which contains the excerpts for Books VI-XVIII, is constructed in quaternions, except for two gatherings, some of which are unnumbered.

In Book VI Polybius departs from his general narrative concerning historical events, and writes in a more descriptive manner. The book is divided into six subjects. Chapter 2 is all that is available from the original introduction. Chapters 3 through 10 give a discussion on the form of states, and how they evolve. Chapters 11 through 18 discuss the elements of the Roman constitution. From Chapter 19 through 42 Polybius goes into detailed exposition of the Roman military system. In Chapters 43 through 56 the Roman republic is compared with other constitutions, and Chapter 57 provides a general conclusion concerning the Roman republic, along with some comments on its future.

In this book there are twenty-four instances of the τύχη-related words, and four of τύχη. None of the τύχη-related words refer to an act by fortune, and only one of the uses of the word τύχη means the power, fortune. On page 154 attention has been given to a word which is not on the τύχη-related word list, being used so infrequently: εὐδαιμονία.

2.4-7. κερκρμένου δὲ τούτου κερρὸν οὐχ ἑώρων ἐπιτη-
 δειότερον εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ δοκιμασίαν τῶν λέγεσθαι μελ-
 λόντων (5) ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ νῦν ἐνεστῶτος. καθά-
 περ γάρ οἱ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν φαύλων ἢ τῶν σπουδαίων
 ἀνδρῶν ποιούμενοι τὰς διαλήψεις, ἐπειδὴν ἀληθῶς πρό-
 θωνται δοκιμάζειν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀπεριστάτου ῥαστώνης κατὰ
 τὸν βίον ποιοῦνται τὰς ἐπισκέψεις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐν ταῖς
 ἀτυχίαις περιπετειῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις κατορθω-
 μάτων, (6) μόνον νομίζοντες εἶναι ταύτην ἀνδρὸς τελείου
 βάσανον τὸ τὰς ὁλοσχερεῖς μεταβολὰς τῆς τύχης μεγαλοψύχως
 δύνασθαι καὶ γενναίως ὑποφέρειν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον χρῆ
 θεωρεῖν καὶ πολιτείαν. (7) διόπερ οὐχ ὁρῶν ποίαν ἂν τις
 ὀξυτέραν ἢ μείζονα λάβοι μεταβολὴν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τῆς γε
 Ῥωμαίοις συμβάσης, εἰς τοῦτον ἀπεθέμην τὸν κερρὸν τὸν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν προειρημένων ἀπολογισμον· γνοίη δ' ἂν τις τὸ
 μέγεθος τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐκ τούτων:

"And this point having been decided, I saw no more suitable
 time than now for giving attention to an examination of the
 constitution [of the Romans]. (5) For just as those who pri-
 vately decide for themselves concerning the badness or the
 goodness of men, whenever they really resolve to put things
 to the test for themselves, they do not make their investi-
 gations in relation to a life of leisure not encompassed by
 danger, but in the misfortunes from reversals of condition,
 and in the chances of successes, (6) believing this to be
 the only test of a perfect man, one who is able to endure
 high-mindedly and nobly the entire vicissitudes of fortune,
 and so it should be in our judgement of states. (7) So,
 therefore, as I could not see any more violent or greater
 change—at least in our times—than which happened to the
 Romans, I reserved until now the giving an account of what I
 might have said earlier. And [the reader] may learn some
 things about greatness of change from these lines."

In line 5 two phrases contain τύχη-related words. The first, which has been translated as "in the misfortunes from reversals of condition," has the words άτυχία and περιπέτεια; and the second, which has been translated as "in the chances of successes," has the word έπιτυχία. Polybius refers here to man-made conditions, so is using these words as part of Hellenistic vernacular.

Line 6 contains the phrase "vicissitudes of fortune," which has been discussed on page 29 above. This is a commonplace expression, and within the meaning of line 6, does not have reference to the power or force, fortune.

Line 7 contains the word συμβάσης, a form of the verb συμβαίνω, which has been translated as "happened." As noted on page 24 above, the word happen, by definition, denotes chance occurrence. Polybius uses συμβαίνω throughout in a manner to indicate that he thinks of it as a common, everyday word (as do most people today.) It appears he has no intention of suggesting the idea of chance to the reader.

2.8-9. "Ότι τὸ ψυχαγωγοῦν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐπιφέρων τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι τούτ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν αἰτιῶν (9) θεωρία καὶ τοῦ βελτίονος ἐν ἐκάστοις αἵρεσις. μεγίστην δ' αἰτίαν ἡγητέον ἐν ἅπαντι πράγματι καὶ πρὸς ἐπιτυχίαν καὶ τούναντίον τὴν τῆς πολιτείας σύστασιν:

"For the thing which attracts and at the same time brings benefit to those who are eager for knowledge is this: the contemplation of causes and the choosing of the more fitting one in each case. And one must consider in all affairs

that the chief cause not only for success but also the opposite is the composition of the constitution."

Polybius is drawing the reader's attention to the subject of the constitution, so that he can begin to discuss that of Rome's system of government—the Roman constitution, a physical and intellectual "structure."

In this text Polybius is still telling his reader that chief causes do not admit of the element of fortune, he follows the view he held when he wrote i.63.9 (see pages 51-52) and used the term οὐ τύχη. Here he is saying, "success or failure."

8.5-6. μετέστησαν μὲν τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, (6) ταχὺ δὲ κατεσκεύασαν ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσι πάλιν τὰ παραπλήσια τοῖς ἄρτι ῥηθεῖσι· διὸ καὶ παραπλήσιον συνέβαινε τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι τῆς καταστροφῆς τοῖς περὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἀτυχήμασιν:

"So the people changed the aristocracy into an oligarchy, and then quickly they [the oligarchs] built-up in the minds of the people a feeling similar to that [of the aristocrats and the tyrants] of which I just spoke; and whereupon it happened that their [the oligarch's] government came to be overturned by reason of the same kind of mistakes as had been made by the tyrants [and the aristocrats]."

Polybius is explaining the evolution of the forms of government, and is using "a people" as an example. In this text he writes ἀτυχήμασιν, which has been translated as "mistakes," although both Paton and Shuckburgh both view

the meaning of the word as disaster. Mistakes can be the cause of disasters, among other things, and mistakes lead to overturning of the government.

Polybius also uses the word "happened" in this text. As in vi.2.7 above, on page 149, Polybius uses this verb without any specific motive, he uses the verb in the popular vein. Both underlined words are in reference to man-made circumstances.

10.12-14. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τινι προῖδόμενος πόθεν ἕκαστα καὶ πῶς πέφυκε συμβαίνειν, ἀβλαβῶς συνεστήσατο τὴν προειρημένην πολιτείαν· (13) Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν τέλος ταύτῃ πεποιήνται τῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καταστάσεως, (14) οὐ μὴν διὰ λόγου, διὰ δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων, ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰετὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις ἐπιγνώσεως αἰρούμενοι τὸ βέλτιον, οὕτως ἦλθον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μὲν Λυκούργῳ τέλος, κάλλιστον δὲ σύστημα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτειῶν:

"So then that man [Lycurgus] by some reasoning foreseeing from what cause and how everything happens to come into being, put together a secure constitution such as I have described above, but, the Romans have brought about the same complete state-of-affairs in their country, of a truth, not through reasoning, but in the course of many troubles and struggles, in consequence they always choose the better way from the experience gained in sudden changes of conditions; thus they came to the same end result as Lycurgus, and as far as concerns us, with the best constitution of any state."

The final clause above is pertinent to Polybius' day, because by 170 the Lycurgan Sparta is a thing of the

past. The word περιπετείαις (dative plural) has been translated as "sudden changes" which appears to be closer to Polybius' idea than "disaster." Both Shuckburgh and Paton see this as disaster in the singular. Even Walbank says for the entire clause, "in the light of experience acquired in disasters."⁸⁹

15.7. καὶ μὴν τὰς ἐπιτυχίας τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐκτραγωδῆσαι καὶ συναυξῆσαι καὶ πάλιν ἀμαυρῶσαι καὶ ταπεινῶσαι τὸ συνέδριον ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν:

"Then too the Senate has the power to exaggerate and enlarge, and contrariwise to obscure and belittle the successes of those who were in command of some expedition."

Polybius is narrating a list of the things the Roman Senate can do, such as order and pay for a grand triumphal parade for a general who has been successful, or even downplay his victory and deny him a triumph. In this line Polybius uses ἐπιτυχία in its secondary sense of successes, the primary being luck or chance. This can be the only translation, and its meaning is a man-made thing.

17.5. καὶ γὰρ χρόνον δύναται δοῦναι καὶ συμπτώματος γενομένου κουφίσαι καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀδυνάτου τινὸς συμβάντος ἀπολῦσαι τῆς ἐργωνίας:

"Then also [the Senate] is able to grant a delay in time [to a contractor], and relieve him of normal production if he is [suffering from a] mishap, and if it is absolutely impossible to meet a contract to release him from the work."

Here Polybius uses the word σύμπτωμα, which has been translated as "mishap," which has a modern dictionary definition of an unfortunate accident. In the second century B.C. as in today, mishap is a common word, part of the conventional language.

18.5-6. ὅταν γε μὴν πάλιν ἀπολυθέντες τῶν ἐκτὸς φόβων ἐνδιατρίβωσι ταῖς εὐτυχίαις καὶ περιουσίαις ταῖς ἐκ τῶν κατορθωμάτων, ἀπολαύοντες τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ ὑποκολακευόμενοι καὶ ῥαθυμοῦντες τρέπωνται πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ πρὸς (6) ὑπερηφανίαν, ὃ δὴ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, τότε καὶ μάλιστα συνιδεῖν ἔστιν αὐτὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ ποριζόμενον τὸ πολίτευμα τὴν βοήθειαν:

"Then again, whenever they have been freed from external alarms and are lingering fondly in their successes and abundance [gained] from their right actions, enjoying the good fortune, and are turned by flattery and idleness, [which shows] insolence and arrogance, as it usually happens, then we see that the constitution [the state] provides a remedy for correcting the evil."

Polybius is still writing about the Roman constitution and its people. He uses the τύχη-related word εὐτυχία, which can be either good luck or success, but from the context is best translated as "successes" in the plural—he is not talking about anything but man-made things here.

The word εὐδαιμονίας has been underlined to draw the reader's attention. This is not a fortune-related word, and it is a word which Polybius uses very infrequently. Yet, based on the two root-words, εὖ and δαιμόνια, with meanings

of good and of a goddess (being in the feminine) is best translated as "good fortune," and is possibly what Polybius intended.

In this text Polybius apparently still is talking about man-made successes and good fortune; fortune's effort is not apparent from the context.

37.4. διὸ τελείως οἱ περιπεσόντες ἅπαξ τοιαύτη συμφορᾷ καταφθείρονται :

"So that those who have fallen one time only into a misfortune, such as this, are completely destroyed."

Polybius is writing about courts-martial punishment for a soldier by means of a fustuarium, a cudgel. Even if he should survive running the gauntlet of soldiers, he is not permitted to return to his family and home.

Misfortune seems to be a weak noun to use for such a punishment, but the word συμφορά provides meanings such as event, hap, mishap, misfortune, circumstance, and a doubtful (in Polybius' way of thinking) calamity, so misfortune may be the most suitable.

38.2. συναθροίσας γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὁ χιλίαςρχος καὶ προαγαγὼν εἰς μέσον τοῦς λελοιπότας, κατηγορεῖ πικρῶς, καὶ τὸ τέλος ποτὲ μὲν πέντε, ποτὲ δ' ὀκτώ, ποτὲ δ' εἴκοσι, τὸ δ' ὅλον πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος αἰεὶ στοχαζόμενος, ὥστε δέκατον μάλιστα γίνεσθαι τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων, τοσούτους ἐκ πάντων κληροῦται τῶν ἀποδεδειλιακότων :

"The tribune assembles the legion and brings into the center those who had deserted in danger. He charges them harshly, and finally he casts lots with those who had played the

coward, [choosing] sometimes five, sometimes eight, sometimes ten, always seeking to obtain as near as possible the tenth part at the most of those who had gone wrong."

Polybius has been writing about the Roman military system since Chapter 19; in this chapter he is explaining punishment given to soldiers who have left their battle positions from fear—desertion. Polybius uses the verb κληρώ, which has the meaning (in the context of this line) of to cast lots; he is speaking of the idea of luck or chance in a soldier's vernacular, and not of intervention by the power, fortune.

38.4. λοιπόν τοῦ μὲν κινδύνου καὶ φόβου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν κληρὸν ἐπ' ἴσον ἐπικρεμαμένου πάσιν, ὡς ἂν ἀδήλου τοῦ συμπτώματος ὑπάρχοντος· τοῦ δὲ παραδειγματισμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν κριθοφαγίαν ὁμοίως συμβαίνοντος περὶ πάντα, τὸ δυνατόν ἐκ τῶν ἐθισμῶν ἐλληπται καὶ πρὸς κατάπληξιν καὶ διόρθωσιν τῶν συμπτωμάτων:

"Further, the risk and fear over the lot is hanging over all equally, as is the uncertainty of chance as to where it may fall; and as the disgrace of the barley rations falls on all alike, the best possible practices have been taken to inspire fear and to correction of these occurrences."

This text contains three τύχη-related words, one of which has been used two times with somewhat different meanings—both of which meet with lexicon entries. Polybius writes about the military, and of things that soldiers do, and it appears that he has no thought of fortune as he writes this text.

39.11. τοιαύτης δ' ἐπιμελείας οὔσης καὶ σπουδῆς περὶ τε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τιμωρίας τὰς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, εἰκότως καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν πολεμικῶν πράξεων ἐπιτύχη καὶ λαμπρὰ γίνεται δι' αὐτῶν:

"And considering the attention being [given] to both reward and punishment in the armies, it is natural that the executions of the military actions engaged in by them are successful and brilliant."

The adjective ἐπιτυχής had a primary meaning of successful. Polybius uses this word with no apparent intent to say anything but "οὐ τύχη" in Rome's military operations.

43.2-5. τὴν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων οὐ πάνυ τι πολλοῦ προσδεῖσθαι πέπεισμαι λόγου διὰ τὸ μήτε τὰς αὐξήσεις ἐσχηκέναι κατὰ λόγον μήτε τὰς ἀκμὰς ἐπιμόνους, μήτε τὰς μεταβολὰς ἐνηλλαχέναι μετρίως, (3) ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ προσπαίου τινὸς τύχης σὺν καιρῷ λάμψαντας, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἔτι δοκοῦντας ἀκμὴν καὶ μέλλοντας εὐτυχεῖν, τῆς ἐναντίας (4) πεῖραν εἰληφέναι μεταβολῆς. Θηβαῖοι μὲν γὰρ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων πρὸς αὐτοὺς μίσει συνεπιθέμενοι, διὰ τὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ καὶ δευτέρου, τῶν τὰ προειρημένα συνιδόντων, περιεποιήσαντο παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν (5) ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φήμην. ὅτι γὰρ οὐχ ἡ τῆς πολιτείας σύστασις αἰτία τότ' ἐγένετο Θηβαίοις τῶν εὐτυχημάτων, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν προεστῶτων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴ, παρὰ πόδας ἡ τύχη τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἐποίησε δῆλον:

"For I have convinced myself that the system of the Athenians and the Thebans need not be [discussed] at much length, they have neither grown according to reason, nor have they flourished for long, and the reversals they suffered were not in due measure. (3) But, suddenly, as the saying goes, some luck together with seizing an advantage, still appearing to be at their highest point, and destined to be fortunate, they experienced (4) a violent reversal. For the

Thebans using in their attack the mistakes of the Lacedaemonians and also the hatred of the allies towards them, due to the merit of one or at the most two men who had learned of these weaknesses, gained in Greece a reputation for (5) valor. Indeed, at that time the cause of the successes of the Thebans was not the form of the constitution, but the excellence of their leaders, fortune made this quickly evident to all."

Polybius is comparing the constitution of Rome with that of other states in Chapters 43 through 56. Writing here about Athens and Thebes, he quickly dismisses them, for as he writes, "they never grew by a normal process." To him, this normal process is one of anacyclosis: the growth of a state from kingship to oligarchy to democracy; a system which he has great difficulty in substantiating.

In line 2 Polybius uses the term μεταβολάς, which translates as "reversals." Surprisingly, he does not, as he does earlier, use the whole phrase: "reversals or vicissitudes of fortune." In line 3 he writes two fortune-related words, which have been translated as "luck," and "to be fortunate."

In line 4 he again uses the term "reversals." In line 5, he speaks of "successes" and "fortune."

Careful consideration of these lines indicates that Polybius is using all of these words in a commonplace way, that he is not referring to fortune, with one exception.

The word "fortune" in line 5 refers to the power or force;
Polybius uses the word here to teach a lesson.

51.5. καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἡ Καρχηδονίων πρότερον ἔσχυε
καὶ πρότερον εὐτύχει τῆς Ῥωμαίων, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἢ μὲν
Καρχηδὼν ἤδη τότε παρήκμαζεν, ἢ δὲ Ῥώμη μάλιστα τότε
εἶχε τὴν ἀκμὴν κατὰ γε τὴν πολιτείας σύστασιν:

"For at an earlier date the power and prosperity of Carthage was greater than that of Rome, nevertheless by that time [start of the war] that of Carthage was already past its prime, while Rome was at her greatest, at least as far as her government was concerned."

Εὐτύχει, with a meaning of prosperity, has been used here in a commonplace manner. No inference to the power, fortune, is seen in this line. Polybius is writing about the decline of a people. Their constitution was changing: Carthage at this time moved from control by the council to control by the people.

53.2. περίξ δὲ πάντος τοῦ δήμου στάντος, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἃν μὲν υἱὸς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καταλείπεται καὶ ἡ τύχη παρών:

"And when all the people of the deme are standing around, a son mounts the rostrum and discourses on the virtues and successes the dead man left as a heritage."

In this line Polybius is writing about the Roman funeral and burial practices. A son, or a close relation, delivers a laudatio, a funeral oration.

The feminine noun τύχη has been translated as "successes," although it has a singular case ending. It also could have been translated as "good fortune." The success or good fortune is a man-made thing, not something brought by the power, fortune.

53.3. δὲ ὧν συμβαίνει τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀναμιμνησκομένους καὶ λαμβάνοντας ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὰ γεγονότα, μὴ μόνον τοὺς κεκοινωνηκότας τῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκτός, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γίνεσθαι συμπαθεῖς ὥστε μὴ τῶν κηδευόντων ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τοῦ δήμου φαίνεσθαι τὸ σύμπτωμα:

"And with this, the multitude, and not only those who have a part in these doings, but those who have none, when the facts are recalled and brought before their eyes, is moved to such sympathy that the misfortune of the loss seems not to be confined to the private mourners, but something common to all the people."

Still writing about funerary practices, Polybius uses the much-used word σύμπτωμα, which has a general meaning of misfortune. The word could have been translated as "loss," which would have been a more "modern" word-usage. The idea of the power, fortune, does not enter into this thought.

54.1. πλὴν ὃ γε λέγω ὑπὲρ τοῦ θάπτεσθαι μέλλοντος, ἐπ' αὖν διέλθῃ τὸν περὶ τούτου λόγον, ἀρχεται τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ προγενεστάτου τῶν παρόντων, καὶ λέγει τὰς ἐπιτυχίας ἑκάστου καὶ τὰς πράξεις:

"In addition to this, the man who speaks over the body about to be buried, when he finishes speaking about the deceased, recounts the successes and the achievements of the rest whose images are present."

When a person dies, images of other noted family members are carried to the funeral. These images, masks, are often worn by men who resemble the dead family members in height and weight. Then, after the burial of the recent deceased member, the orator eulogizes the men whose images are on display.

Polybius uses the word *ἐπιτυχία* in this text; he very probably meant success, not luck, for the orator would be displaying the departed one's achievements in the best light.

58.7-8. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μεγάλοις κατὰ τὰς μάχας περιπεπτωκότες ἐλαττώμασι, πάντων δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐστερημένοι τότε τῶν συμμάχων, ὅσον οὐπω δὲ προσδοκῶντες τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος (8) αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρεσθαι κίνδυνον, διακούσαντες τῶν λεγομένων οὔτε τοῦ πρέποντος αὐτοῖς εἶναι ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὀλιγόρησαν οὔτε τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲν τοῖς λογισμοῖς παρεῖδον:

"But though the Romans feared very greatly that they would be worse off from excessive losses in battles, and now, so to speak, that they had been deprived of all their allies, and expecting, like as not, that Rome itself would become imperiled, [the Senate] heard to the end what these men [Roman prisoners of Hannibal] had to say, neither permitting themselves under the circumstances to disregard their

dignity, nor neglected to take into consideration every proper step that might be taken."

After his victory at Cannae, Hannibal captured some eight-thousand Roman soldiers that he found encamped in the rear. He sent ten of these men to Rome, after making them swear to return. Acting on Hannibal's orders, they told the Senate that if Rome would pay three minae for each soldier, Hannibal would release them. The Senate saw that Hannibal was after money, and also that any ransom of prisoners would lower the spirits of troops still facing Hannibal. So, in spite of Rome's need of soldiers, the Senate refused, and sent nine of the men back on their own. The tenth man, who had tried by a ruse to claim that he was not bound by any oath to return to Hannibal, was put in chains and returned.

Regarding the "loss of allies," Walbank writes that the revolt of allies "stopped short of Latium, Umbria, and Etruria."⁹⁰ In this text Polybius uses the word "συμφοραῖς," which seems best when translated as "circumstances." This is a man-made situation, not one of fortune's.

Book VII

As stated above all books from VI onward are fragmentary. The events in Book VII are about the first half of Olympiad 141, this being the period beginning 216/15.

Chapter 1 is about the people of Capua in Campania, and also the people of Petelia in Bruttium. Chapters 2-5 are about Syracuse and its kings Hiero and Hieronymus. In Chapter 6 Polybius talks about Leontini, and in Chapters 7 and 8 he writes a criticism of previous writers and also covers some miscellaneous items.

Chapter 9 discusses the treaty between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia, and in 10 and 11 he continues with a narrative on Philip. Chapter 14 also covers miscellaneous affairs, and the last three chapters concern Antiochus' capture of Sardis.

This book contains only five τύχη-related words and one use of the word τύχη. Not one of the five words are relative to the power, fortune, being commonplace, relating to human actions. The word τύχη, as used by Polybius in 8.1 is in a positive sense meaning that the power, fortune, brought nothing real to King Hiero, explaining that he was a "self-made" man, who started from scratch, as it were.

7.1-2. "Ὅτι τινὲς τῶν λογογράφων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς καταστροφῆς τοῦ Ἱερωνύμου γεγραφότων πολὺν τινα πεποίηται λόγον καὶ πολλήν τινα διατέθεινται τερατείαν, ἐξηγοῦμενοι μὲν τὰ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς γενόμενα σημεῖα καὶ τὰς ἀτυχίας τὰς (2) Συρακοσίων, τραγῳδοῦντες δὲ τὴν ὁμότητα τῶν τρόπων καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν πράξεων, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τὸ παράλογον καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τῶν περὶ τὴν καταστροφήν αὐτοῦ συμβάντων, ὥστε μήτε Φάλαριν μήτ' Ἀπολλόδωρον μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα γεγονέναι τύραννον ἐκείνου πικρότερον:

"It is fairly well known that some of the chroniclers who have written concerning the overturning of Hieronymous, some have done this, mostly for themselves, at length, and some have set forth many marvels, telling on the one hand of the omens that occurred before his reign and the misfortunes of the Syracusans, and on the other, describing in tragic words the cruelty of his words and the impiety of his actions, and after all that the unexpected and strange happenings attendant upon his sudden end, so that neither Phalaris nor Apollodorua nor any other tyrant would seem to have been more savage."

Polybius uses the word ἀτυχία in this text with a meaning of "shameful" misfortune, the shame being directed towards Hieronymous and not the people of Syracuse. With the words παράλογος and συμβαίνω, meaning, in that order, unexpected and happening, he introduces two more fortune related words into the text, but any intention on Polybius' part to invoke the thought of acts by fortune appears to be remote.

8.1. Ἰέρων μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεκτήσατο τὴν Συρακοσίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀρχήν, οὐ πλοῦτον, οὐ δόξαν, οὐχ ἕτερον οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἑτοιμον παραλαβών:

"For indeed, in the first place Hiero by himself won sovereignty of Syracuse and her allies, he received nothing in hand from fortune, no wealth, no glory, nor anything else."

When Polybius writes ἐκ τῆς τύχης there is little doubt but that he means fortune, not chance or luck, for he includes the article. It appears he means the unexplainable power, fortune, not a daimon—goddess. But, why did he specifically name fortune? He could as well have said that Hiero received help from no one, or was he borrowing from a source again? Polybius' source could have been Fabius or Timaeus, or both.

14.5. οὕτω πάλιν ἐπακολουθήσας Δημητρίῳ καὶ παραίτιος γενόμενος Μεσσηνίοις τῶν ἄρτι ῥηθέντων ἀτυχημάτων, ἅμα τὴν παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις εὖνοιαν καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἀπέβαλε πίστιν:

"So again being guided by Demetrius and becoming in part a cause of the misfortunes which had come to the Messenians, as discussed above [see page 146], at once he lost goodwill with his allies and trustworthiness with the other Greeks."

Philip V unsuccessfully attacked Messene, and was unable to take the citadel, but he did kill many of the Messenians, hence the word ἀτυχήμα, misfortune. This was poor, man-made judgement, not the work of fortune, so there is no thought, by Polybius, that this is anything but a commonplace word.

14.6. τηλικαύτην τοῖς νέοις βασιλεῦσι ῥοπήν ἔχει καὶ πρὸς ἀτυχίαν καὶ πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ τῶν παρεπομένων φίλων ἐκλογὴ καὶ κρίσις, ὑπὲρ ἧς οἱ πλείους οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ῥαθυμοῦντες οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ποιοῦνται πρόνοιαν:

"The choice and judgement by young kings concerning those friends who surround them can have a very great influence on them, leading to misfortune or to improving the kingdom; this is a matter which most of them are remiss about, and to which they give the least thought."

Polybius uses the word ἀτυχία in this text, very probably meaning misfortune, perhaps even foolish misfortune, but it seems doubtful that he was thinking of "shameful" misfortune, which is his usual idea of this word. In any event, it seems that he is writing about man-made misfortunes, not those brought by fortune.

Book VIII

Starting with Book VIII most of the chapter numbers are followed by another enclosed in parentheses; as explained in note 3, page 2, these numbers refer to Greek texts other than the Buttner-Wobst which is followed here.

The fragments of this book cover the two-year period starting with 214/13, and begin with two chapters devoted to Polybius' views on the Carthaginians and Rome. For example, in 2(4).3 he reminds the reader how much fortune has done for Rome in so short a time, completely ignoring his "οὐ τύχη" premise stated in i.63.9 on page 51.

Chapters 3-7 concern Sicily, 8-12 are about affairs in Greece, and 13 and 14 are about Philip of Macedonia. The remaining chapters follow Polybius' usual arrangement, narrating about Asia, then Italy, where he writes about the Carthaginian capture of Tarentum; next, he writes about Rome's capture of Syracuse in Sicily, ending with a one-line fragment about Spain.

This book contains one use of a fortune-related word meaning chance events, and two uses of the word τύχη, both appearing to mean fortune, the unexplainable power.

2(4).3-4. πῶς γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ψιλῶς αὐτὰς καθ' αὐτὰς ἀναγνόντα τὰς Σικελικὰς ἢ τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς πράξεις, γινῶναι καὶ μαθεῖν ἢ μέγεθος τῶν γεγονότων ἢ τὸ συνεχὸν, τίινι

τρόπῳ καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας τὸ παραδοξότατον καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔργον ἢ τύχῃ συνετέλεσε; (4) τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ πάντα τὰ γνωριζόμενα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν ἀγαγεῖν, ὃ πρότερον οὐχ εὕρισκεται γεγονός:

"For how is it possible by simply reading about these actions themselves in Sicily or Spain to learn about and understand either the magnitude of the occurrences or the main affair, and in what manner and by what form of government fortune accomplished this most unexpected feat during our times? But this work of mine points out that all parts of the inhabited world were brought under one power and one dominion, something which has never been accomplished before this time."

In this text Polybius complains about writers, whose monographs treat with one war, one action. He says that one must provide works which encompass all the activity in an universal history—such as his. Here he tells the reader, once again, that "fortune" accomplished the feat of bringing all of the inhabited world under the control of one power. He is reiterating his thesis of 1.4.1, but this time he adds the phrase "by what form of government." This seems to indicate that he feels that the "world domination" came about because of Rome's constitution. His use of the word fortune in this text cannot be ignored, so he must be talking about the power, fortune, and also Rome's capability—an enigma.

20(22).9-10. παρεισελθόντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Καμβύλον καὶ καθισάντων τὸν Ἀχαιὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν δεδεμένον, εἰς

τοιαύτην ἀφασίαν ἦλθε διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ὥστε πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἀποσιωπῆσαι, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον συμπαθῆς (10) γενέσθαι καὶ δακρῦσαι. τοῦτο δ' ἔπαθεν ὁρῶν, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, τὸ δυσφύλακτον καὶ παράλογον (11) τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης συμβαινόντων:

"But when Cambylus came in secretly and put Achaëus, who was bound hand and foot, on the ground, he [Antiochus] became completely speechless because of this incredible situation, and for a long time remained speechless, and at last became deeply affected and burst into tears. And he was deeply affected by this, seeing, as it seems to me, that chance events from [the hand of] fortune are hard to guard against and are beyond calculation."

In what appears to be two simple sentences, Polybius has employed three τύχη-related words and the word τύχη. The two sentences were preceeded by five chapters explaining how the plot was carried out to entice Achaëus to be captured and brought to Antiochus. Polybius says that this lesson leaves two lessons for posterity: first, to trust no one too readily, and second, not to be boastful in the season of prosperity.

The whole text is orientated to permit Polybius to say that "chance events from [the hand of] fortune" were responsible for Achaëus' capture and subsequent death. This was Polybius' intent, but it appears, on the surface at least, that the whole episode of capturing Achaëus was a man-made affair.

Book IX

Book IX begins right after the fall of Tarentum (winter of 213/12), and covers two years. In Chapter 1 and 2 Polybius writes about different types of history. From 3-9 he writes about Hannibal, and about his march on Rome. In Chapter 10 Polybius is critical about the Roman's action of taking too much booty from the defeated city, Syracuse, that they could have taken all the gold and silver in the city-coffers, but not the people's personal works of art. Very probably he was thinking about the booty taken from Macedonia and Greece after Pydna. This is followed by a brief fragment on Spain, and then a long narrative in Chapters 12 through 20 on generalship.

Chapters 22-26 concern Hannibal's character. Then 26-27 are about Sicilian affairs. These are followed by detailed speeches by two envoys at an assembly in Sparta. Polybius' source gives a lucid story of Greece's future with respect to Rome and Macedonia, but Polybius, surprisingly, does not comment on this.

In this book there are twenty-five τύχη-related words, none of which appear to relate to acts of fortune. The word τύχη appears three times; all appear to mean the power, fortune.

6.5. ἄρτι δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν κατεστρατοπεδευ-
κόντων καὶ διανοουμένων τῇ μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμέρᾳ καταπει-
ράζειν αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, γίνεται παράδοξόν τι καὶ τυχι-
κὸν σύμπτωμα σωτηρίαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίους:

"But just after Hannibal had set up camp, and while he was thinking over the idea of making an attempt on the city [Rome] itself on the next day, something incredible happened, and a chance occurrence saved the Romans."

Polybius uses two terms, "incredible happened," and "chance occurrence," not to arouse pity—as is done in tragedy—but to add suspense. The first term employs a form of the verb γίγνομαι and the τύχη-related word παράδοξος to give "incredible happening." The second term τυχικὸν σύμπτωμα, translated as "chance occurrence," employs the verb τυγχάνω, which in certain of its forms has the meaning of chance. The use here of these two verbs is not consistent with Polybius' usual style; possibly he uses his source, words and all. Walbank thinks this line may have come from Silenus.⁹¹ This is a man-made situation, the idea of the power, fortune, is not apparent.

Hannibal was encamped that night not far from Rome. Two Roman legions, one newly formed and ready to move out, the other, not fully enrolled with men, was temporarily in bivouac in the city. The next morning the two consuls were able to march their new legions out of Rome, where they drew them up in front of the gates. "This," said Polybius, "put a check on Hannibal."

8.6-7. γενομένης δὲ περιπετείας, καὶ τινος αὐτο-
μόλου τὴν νύκτα διαπεσόντος εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν καὶ δια-
σαφήσαντος Ἀγησιλάῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ συμβαῖνον, καὶ τῶν
βοηθούντων παραγενομένων εἰς τὸν (7) τῆς καταλήψεως
καιρὸν, ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπесφάλη:

"But a reversal took place, not only did a deserter escape in the night into Mantinea, but he also made a clear statement to Agesilaus, the king, about the happenings; so with the Spartans coming to give help just at the time of the occupation, he [Epameinondas] was disappointed of his hope."

Quite properly, Polybius used the word περιπέτεια in the sense of "reversal." Epameinondas, commander of the Theban forces, managed to outwit the forces of Sparta, and after an all-night march, his forces occupied much of the lower part of the then undefended city. The deserter, however, alerted the Spartans, and after a hearty breakfast, the Thebans marched back to the vicinity of Mantinea, and once again avoided fighting with the Spartans. Just as the Thebans approached undefended Mantinea, a force of Athenians showed up, and Epameinondas was unable to take that city. This explains the meaning of the words in the next text.

The two τύχη-related words in the text, περιπετείας and συμβαίνω are in reference to man-made troubles.

8.13. διόπερ εἰκότως οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἐπιμέμφονται τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔργοις, φάσκουντες τῷ μὲν ἡγεμόνι πεπραῆχθαι πᾶν ὅσον ἀγαθὴ στρατηγῶ, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπε-
ναντίων κρείττω, τῆς δὲ τύχης ἥτις γεγενῆσθαι τὸν
Ἐπαμινώνδαν:

"Writers, therefore, reasonably cast blame upon those who ordered the actions described above, while they assert that the commander did all that is sufficient for a good general to do, and that while more powerful than his enemies, Epameinondas had been brought down by fortune."

Polybius could not understand why this commander could not succeed, so he places the reason for the failure on fortune, the unexplainable force or power. Nevertheless, the serious reader will have noted that Polybius thinks quite highly of Epameinondas, and that the use of the word τύχη in closing this narrative, may have been done so as not to blame the man too harshly, or, as Walbank says, it may have been simply a matter of "verbal elaboration."⁹²

9.1-3. Τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον ἂν τις εἶπον καὶ περὶ τῶν (2) κατ' Ἀννίβαν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ προσβαλόντα τοῖς πολεμίοις πειραθῆναι διὰ τῶν ἐκ μέρους ἀγώνων (3) λύειν τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ τὸ ταύτης ἀποπεσόντα τῆς προσβολῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὀρμῆσαι τὴν Ῥώμην, κάπειτα μὴ καθικόμενον τῆς προθέσεως διὰ τᾶς ἐκ ταύτομάτου περιπετείας αὐθις ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς συντρίψαι μὲν τοὺς ἐπομένους, ἐφεδρεῦσαι δὲ τῷ κατὰ λόγον, εἰ συνέβη γενέσθαι κίνημα περὶ τοὺς τὴν Καπύην πολιορκοῦντας:

"But anyone may say about the same things concerning Hannibal. For not only did he engage the enemy, he tried to raise the siege by successive attacks, then failing in this assault, he made a start towards Rome, and then he did not reach it because of its rescue by a chance reversal [of his

plan], then he turned around and broke up the pursuing troops, and then waited to see if the force besieging Capua would happen to move."

In the opening of this text Polybius is comparing Hannibal's actions with those of Epameinondas as shown in ix.8.6-7 and 13 above. Hannibal was denied the chance to attack Rome because of the deployment of the two new legions outside the gates of the city as stated in ix.6.5, when as a "chance occurrence" the city was saved. The lines show that Hannibal had enthusiasm, a great belief in his army's capabilities, but all forces of that time had rather weak intelligence concerning the enemy's dispositions, plans, and level of training. In this text the words "chance reversal," and "happen," all are commonplace words, part of Polybius' literary expression.

10.1, 9-11, 13. Οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἔξω κοσμεῖται πόλις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν οἰκούντων ἀρετῆς.... (9) οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοὺς πέλας ἐλεεῖν συμβαίνει τοὺς θεωμένους, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἀναμιμνησκομένους τῶν οἰκείων συμπτωμάτων. (10) ἐξ ᾧ οὐ μόνον φθόνος, ἀλλ' οἷον ὀργή τις ἐκκαίεται πρὸς τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ιδίῶν περιπετειῶν ἀνάμνησις ὥς ἂν εἰ προτροπή (11) τις ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ τῶν πραξάντων μῦθος. (13) οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν τῶν μεταλαμβανόντων ἀεὶ τὰς δυναστείας, ἵνα μὴ σκυλεύοντες τὰς πόλεις κόσμον ὑπολαμβάνωσιν εἶναι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας συμφοράς:

"A city is not adorned by external things, but by the virtue of its inhabitants.... (9) For now it happens that those who are spectators no longer have pity for their

neighbors, but themselves, as they recall to mind their own misfortunes. (10) Not only from envy, but as if some kind of passion is kindled against those who have been prosperous; for to be reminded of their own reversals of fortune renews hatred against those who were to blame....(13) But of a truth, let these words freely suffice concerning those who for a time claim sovereignty, and that those who strip cities of their possessions should not assume that the misfortunes of others should become an ornament to their own country."

Polybius devotes all of Chapter 10 to criticizing Rome for sacking the city of Syracuse in the year 211. It is said that the booty from Syracuse was greater than that which could have been taken from Carthage. Cato criticized the act, and Livy echoes Polybius.⁹³ The τύχη-related words underlined in the text relate to man's actions. Polybius bitterly writes about things men do to their fellow-men, without any help from the power, fortune, or from a daimon.

12.1, 3, 6-7, 10. Πολλήν μὲν ἐπισκέψεως χρεῖαν ἔχει τὰ συμβαίνοντα περὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἐπιβολὰς· ἔστι δὲ δύνατον ἐν ἑκάστοις αὐτῶν εὐστοχεῖν, ἂν σὺν νῶ τις πράττῃ τὸ προτεθέν. (3) ὅτι γε μὴν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν καιρῷ πάλιν ἐνεργουμένων πλείω γίνεται τὰ διαμαρτανόμενα τῶν κατορθουμένων, οὐδὲ τοῦτο γινῶναι χαλεπὸν ἐκ τῶν συμβαίνοντων. (6) τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπροθέτως ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς συμβαίνοντα πράξεις μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἀρμόζει λέγειν, (7) περιπετείας δὲ καὶ συγκυρήσεις μᾶλλον.... (10) οὕτως ἡ φύσις πρὸς τὰς ἀποτυχίας τῶν ἐπινοηθέντων ἱκανὸν ἐν καὶ τὸ τυχόν ἐποίησε τῶν κατὰ μέρος· πρὸς δὲ τὸ κατορθοῦν μόλις ἱκανὰ πάντα:

"The idea of chance events has need of much consideration in war planning; it is possible to succeed at all times, if we manage the steps we take to bring about a certain result.

(3) And of those operations in earlier times, the greater number happened to fail rather than succeed. This is not difficult to understand by knowing what had happened. (6-7) In no way is it fitting to describe as actions, things in wars which happen undesignedly, but rather as sudden changes and as coincidences. (10) Just the very nature of plans makes any chance thing sufficient to cause failures of the part one takes; however, for successful accomplishment of an action, doing everything possible is scarcely enough."

Chapter 12 is the first of nine to discuss military tactics; Polybius adds that he "has gone into greater detail in my notes on tactics."⁹⁴ The verb συμβαίνω is used three times: in line 1 as chance events, and in lines 3 and 6 with a meaning of to happen. Περιπέτεια in line 7 means sudden change, and τυχόν, an aorist participle in line 10 means any chance thing.

In these nine chapters Polybius is writing what seems to be a supplement to his lost book Tactics. He is writing to military leader about military affairs, so he talks in the "soldier's idiom." Chance events, sudden changes, and failure of planning are things which these men know about; these are commonplace, regular happenings on the

battlefield. These are intangible, but they do occur, as any military planner will testify. Polybius is not intentionally referring to the concept of the power, fortune, but he seems to acknowledge "her," for he says that "doing everything possible is scarcely enough." He is actually thinking about man-made failures and reversals, many of which can be traced to insufficient planning.

14.3. δεύτερον δ' ἱστορεῖν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς τυχοῦσι:

"But the next best thing [to being acquainted with the terrain] is to inquire carefully about it, and not to rely upon those who are chance informants."

Polybius has just said that it is best for the general to know the countryside in which he will be fighting. Knowledge gained by having been there before, but if that is not possible, make sure your local informers know what they are talking about.

In this text Polybius uses the second aorist participle of τυγχάνω, which with the article has a meaning of those who are chance persons, or those chance persons, and written above as "chance informants." These informers give the information, so Polybius is not talking about fortune.

16.2-3. ἱκανὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρὰ δόξαν γινόμενα μὴ δυνάμενα τυγχάνειν προνοίας ἀκριβοῦς εἰς τὸ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν

παρασκευάζειν καὶ πολλάκις, (3) οἷον δμβρων καὶ ποταμῶν ἐπιφοραὶ καὶ πάγων ὑπερβολαὶ καὶ χιόνες, ἔτι δ' ὁ καπνῶδης καὶ συννεφῆς ἀήρ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις:

"For, namely, there are sufficient numbers of events contrary to expectation which we are not able, in the strict sense of the word, to foresee. And trying to be prepared for these leads to great and frequent difficulties; things such as sudden bursts of rain, high rivers, excessive frost and snow, and further, a foggy and clouded-over air and the like."

With the phrase "events contrary to expectation," Polybius is leading his reader back to ix.12.1 where he speaks of "chance events," and also to i.1.4 with its "unexpectedness of events," but in a different context. In this text Polybius is talking about pragmatic things which confront the general in day-to-day fighting: man-made situations.

The infinitive τυγχάνειν has been underlined; this time the verb form means to be, much like εἶναι.

17.8-9. Ταχὺ δὲ τῆς πύλης κλεισθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστώτων διὰ τὸ μηδέπω μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδον ἡτοιμάσθαι, συνέβη μὴ μόνον τῆς πράξεως ἀποτυχεῖν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως συμπράττουσιν αἰτίους γενέσθαι τῶν μεγίστων συμπτωμάτων. καταφανεῖς γενόμενοι παραχρῆμα προβληθέντες ἀπέθανον. (9) τί οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν τῆς περιπετείας αἰτιον γεγονέναι; τὸ ποιήσασθαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπλοῦν τὸ σύνθημα:

"[Aratus and his men, thinking that the signal had been given, made a rush to the city], but the gate was closed

in haste by the guards, because as yet the men within the city were not prepared; it turned out that not only did the coup of Aratus and his men fail, but also it produced the greatest of misfortunes upon those citizens who were acting with him. They had become known and were put on trial and put to death. If someone should ask what was responsible for the unexpected turn of events which had come about [the answer must be] it was the use of a single signal by the commander."

Polybius again uses the verb ἀποτυγχάνω, this time in the sense of to fail, and not in the sense of failing by being unlucky. Polybius says that a commander must use double-signals or counter-signals to ensure accurate understanding, so it would appear that he means human failure to take appropriate measures to ensure the message is properly sent and received.

Polybius also uses two τύχη-related words σύμπτωμα, meaning misfortune, and περιπέτεια, meaning a sudden change or something unexpected. There is no evidence to show that he is writing about the power, fortune, only man-made failures and executions.

21.1. Ὅτι τοιαύτης διαθέσεως ὑπαρχούσης περί τε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδονίους, καὶ παλιντρόπων ἑκατέροις ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀπαντωμένων ἐναλλάξ

προσπιπτόντων, κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν ἄμα λύπην καὶ χαρὰν ὑπο-
τρέχειν εἰκὸς ἦν τὰς ἐκάστων ψυχὰς:

"Such then being the existing status of the Romans and the Carthaginians, and contrarily, one and then the other experiencing alternations by fortune; as the poet [Homer] says, 'It is fitting for pain and joy to insinuate itself in the minds of each one at the same time.'"

Livy explains (xxvi.37): Rome lost in Spain, won in Sicily, lost the city of Tarentum, but regained its citadel, worried over Hannibal at the gates of Rome, while in the East, contained the hostility of Philip. On the other hand, the Carthaginians could offset the loss of Capua with the gain of Tarentum; the Romans sent a new army to Spain, and the march on Rome was stopped, fortuitously, by two brand-new, untrained legions.

As he does often, Polybius seems to have forgotten his Homer, who said in Odysseus xix.471: τὴν δ' ἄμα χάρις καὶ ἄλγος ἔλε φρένα, "and at the same time joy and anguish seized her heart."

The fact that Polybius uses the agent indicator "ὕπὸ" tells his reader that he means "fortune," the capricious one, who, in turn, makes one and the other happy and unhappy. This is the first time in many (extant) chapters that he speaks of the power, his inconsistent daimon—but apparently not the Hellenistic cult-goddess.

22.9. "ενιοι μὲν γὰρ ἐλεγχεσθαί φασι τὰς φύσεις ὑπὸ τῶν περιστάσεων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις καταφανεῖς γίνεσθαι, κἂν ὅλως τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἀναστέλλωνται, τοὺς δὲ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις. ἐμοὶ δ' ἔμπαλιν οὐχ ὕγιες εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ λεγόμενον:

"For some say that [men's] natures are brought to the proof by circumstances, and that they become clearly seen in their abuse of authority, even if they previously wholly concealed it, while others contrarily [are revealed] in their misfortunes. But contrarily, to me, it seems this view is not sound."

Polybius is talking about the character of Hannibal, the one man, who in Polybius' opinion was responsible for all that befell the Romans and the Carthaginians. His view is that in most cases men act and speak with constraint due to the complexity of facts and the words of friends.

Polybius uses the word "misfortune" in this text. He certainly is talking about something brought about by man's actions, not fortune's efforts.

28.4. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ μάχη νικήσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐχρήσατο μεγαλοψύχως τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν, οὐκ ὅπως Ἀθηναίους εὖ ποιήσῃ, πολλοῦ γε δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἵνα διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους εὐεργεσίας προκαλέσῃται τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν ἐθελοντὴν αὐτῷ τὸ προσταττόμενον:

"Not long after he [Philip] conquered the Athenians in battle he showed magnanimity in his successes, not that he was acting out of kindness towards the Athenians, far from it, but in order that kindness towards them might get others to submit to him voluntarily."

The τύχη-related word εὐτύχημα used to indicate "good luck," as in "successes," is a military commonplace, and is not an indication of any help from fortune. This fragment is from Polybius' rendering of a speech at Sparta by Chlaeneas the Aetolian, who said that the downfall of Greece began with the kings of Macedon, and that Philip's magnanimity towards Athens was intended to lull other Greek states, so that they would join him. Polybius' lesson is that eventual Roman sovereignty over Greece was brought about to some extent by the Greeks giving in to Macedon.

29.10-12. ἀλλ' ὁρῶν οὐκ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δυναστείαν ἔσομένην, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὴν Πελοποννησίων ἀρχὴν κατήκησθε, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο βλέπων εὖ πεφυχότα τὸν Κλεομένην καὶ τὴν τύχην (11) ὑμῖν λαμπρῶς συνεργοῦσαν, ἅμα φοβηθεῖς καὶ φθονήσας παρῆν, οὐ Πελοποννησίοις βοηθήσων, ἀλλὰ τὰς ὑπετέρας ἐλπίδας ἀφελούμενος καὶ τὴν (12) ὑμέτεραν ὑπεροχὴν ταπεινώσων:

"But seeing that his power [Philip's] would not be secure if you [Spartans] gained for yourselves the complete rule of the Peloponnese, and seeing that Cleomenes had a nature disposed to do this, and that fortune was working splendidly together with you, he came here, actuated by both fear and envy, not to help the Peloponnesians, but to cut short your hopes and humble your power."

It appears that Polybius is talking about fortune, the unexplainable, in this text, for he uses the verb συνεργέω, which has a meaning of to cooperate, or to work

together with, implying in this case that fortune, the power, is supporting Sparta. This text is still part of Chlaeneas' speech to the people of Sparta.

33.2-3. Ἐφη τοιγαροῦν Χλαινέας Φίλλιπον τὸν Ἀμύντου διὰ τῆς Ὀλυνθίων ἀτυχίας κύριον γενέσθαι (3) Θετταλίας. ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ Φίλιππον οὐ μόνον Θετταλοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπολαμβάνω σεσῶσθαι:

"Now then Chlaeneas said that Philip, son of Amyntas, became master of Thessaly through the misfortune of Olynthus. But I say that not only the Thessalians, but also the rest of the Greeks owe their safety to Philip."

Lyciscus, the envoy from Acarnania, is offering a rebuttal to Chlaeneas, as he says, to correct errors. As Walbank writes, "The speeches turn on the issue: is Macedon or Rome the real threat to Greece?"⁹⁵ Surprisingly, Polybius does not comment in his text on the relative merit of either speech.

The τύχη-related word ἀτυχία, which may have been copied from Polybius' literary source, relates to the destruction of Olynthus, and appears to have been a man-made affair.

39.3. καὶ τὰ μὲν τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπάγουσι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, πεισόμενα δῆλον ὅτι ἄπερ εἰκὸς ἐστὶ πάσχειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὰς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων πεσοῦσιν ἐξουσίας· τὰ δ' ἐδάφη κληρονομοῦσι τῶν ἡτυχηκότων Αἰτωλοί:

"So the Romans are carrying off the women and children, to suffer what those people must suffer who fall into alien hands, while the Aetolians each acquire a share of the property of those who have been unfortunate."

Lyciscus of Acarnania is concluding his speech. For a "punch-line" he tells the Spartans that they should join with the Achaeans and Macedon, for the alliance of Rome and the people of Aetolia would bring down on Sparta what was happening to the cities of Acarnania.

The perfect participle, ἡτυχηκότων—of the verb ἀτυχέω, has been used here to describe what happened to the cities of Acarnania which had been overrun by the Romans and the Aetolians. This is a man-made disaster. There is no intent on Polybius' part to invoke the idea of fortune, the unexplainable power.

Book X

Book X begins with the year 210. Chapter 1 briefly describes the geography of Italy from the strait of Messina to Calabria. Chapters 3 through 20 are about the situation in Spain, and particularly with the character of the new commander Publius Cornelius Scipio, who would become known as Africanus Major. He was the son of a man of the same name and nephew of Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, known as Calvus, both of whom were killed in Spain, and succeeded by the younger Scipio. This new commander was to defeat the Carthaginians and establish Roman dominion in Spain.

From 21 through 24 Polybius writes about Philopoemen of Megalopolis, reminding his reader that he had previously written three books, now lost, about that leader. Chapter 25 is a fragment of an unknown Macedonian's speech, probably delivered at Aegium in 209. The next chapter is a short one about Philip V in which Polybius writes about Philip's sexual excesses.

Chapters 27 to 31 concern Antiochus' expedition to Arsaces in Pythia, ca. 210. Chapter 32 is about the death of Consul Cladius Marcellus, and 33 is a brief discussion about Hannibal in which Polybius uses the word *τύχη* twice. For some unexplainable reason Polybius does this often when he writes about that Carthaginian leader. Chapters 34 through

40 are about Scipio in Spain. Chapter 41 concerns Greece, the the Macedonians, and the Aetolians in 209-208. From 43 through 49 Polybius abandons his historical narrative, and writes about ways to improve fire-signalling. Book X concludes with two fragments, one about the Oxus River, and the other about Antiochus' campaign in Bactria.

Polybius uses the word τύχη ten times in this book. In five cases "fortune" the power appears to be the most reasonable translation. Of the remaining five, one seems to be an extractor's error, for fortune does not fit the context, in three cases, the word "chance" is the best translation, and the remaining use is in the plural form τύχας, which seems to be "chance events."

Twelve instances of the use of τύχη-related words have been found in this book; all appear to refer to man-made situations, not happenings brought about by fortune.

2.5-7. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες αὐτὸν ἐπιτυχῇ τινα καὶ τὸ πλεῖον αἰεὶ παραλόγως καὶ ταύτομάτῳ κατορθοῦντα τὰς (6) ἐπιβολὰς παρεισάγουσι, νομίζοντες ὥς ἂν εἰ θειοτέρους εἶναι καὶ θαυμαστοτέρους τοὺς τοιούτους ἄνδρας τῶν κατὰ λόγον ἐν ἐκάστοις πραττόντων, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπαινετόν, τὸ δὲ μακαριστόν εἶναι συμβαίνει τῶν προειρημένων, καὶ τὸ μὲν (7) κοινόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι:

"So then, all other writers introduce him [P. Cornelius Scipio] as someone who hits the mark and most always accomplishes [things] unexpectedly and by chance, considering such men to be more divine and more worthy of admiration

than those who act by reason, not being aware that the one is the object of praise, and as said above, happens to be enviable, and the other, by chance, is commonplace."

Someone who most always "hits the mark" is assumed to have his own daimon, hence considered as near divine by some. This opinion comes from other writers, but Polybius sees Scipio as a capable person, only because he uses reason and is calculating. Polybius uses five τύχη-related words in this text; all relate to man-made actions, not acts of fortune.

3.7. περιγενομένης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ φήμης ὁμολογουμένης διὰ τὴν προειρημένην χεῖραν, λοιπὸν ἤδη πάντως (MSS)/[σπανίως] (ed.) αὐτὸν ἐδίδου κατὰ τοὺς ὕστερον καιροὺς εἰς τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν κινδύνους, ὅτ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναρτηθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος αἱ τῶν ὅλων ἐλπίδες· ὅπερ ἰδιὸν ἐστὶν οὐ τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύοντος, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἡγεμόνος:

"And having gained an acknowledged reputation for bravery because of his service [with his father], as explained above above, he [Scipio] seldom exposed himself to personal dangers during critical periods, because the entire hopes of his country depended upon one whose personal concern was not to put faith in chance, but upon a sensible leader."

This line has been translated using the emendation of σπανίως (seldom), and not πάντως (altogether), which would change the sense of the whole line. The word τύχη is translated as "chance" rather than "fortune," because

Polybius is thinking along a military line, where every operation encounters some element of chance—on one side or the other.

5.8. οἱ γὰρ δυνάμενοι τοὺς καιροὺς μηδὲ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ διαθέσεις ἐκάστων ἀκριβῶς συνθεωρεῖν, ἢ διὰ φαυλότητα φύσεως ἢ δι' ἀπειρίαν καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, εἰς θεοὺς καὶ τύχας ἀναφέρουσι τὰς αἰτίας τῶν δι' ἀγχίνοϊαν ἐκ λογισμοῦ καὶ προνοίας ἐπιτελουμένων:

"Those who are incapable of taking an accurate view of every one of the opportunities, causes, and dispositions, either through lack of judgement or inexperience and indifference, attribute to the gods and chance events [of fortune] the causes of what is being accomplished by readiness of mind with calculation and foresight."

The accusative plural form of τύχη, appearing in the phrase "εἰς θεοὺς καὶ τύχας," is found only twice in the extant work. Schweighaeuser translates this as "ad deos et fortunae casus": to the gods and chance events of fortune. Walbank agrees with this translation, which has been used above.⁹⁶ Polybius is talking about Scipio, the careful planner, in this text.

6.1-3. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε συνηθροισμένων τῶν δυνάμενων παρεκάλει μὴ καταπεπληῆχθαι τὴν προγεγενημένην (2) περιπέτειαν. οὐ γὰρ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἡττησθαι Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων οὐδέποτε, τῇ δὲ προδοσίᾳ τῇ Κελτιβήρων καὶ τῇ προπετείᾳ, διακλεισθέντων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διὰ (3) τὸ πιστεύσαι τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τῶν εἰρημένων:

"All the troops had been assembled after he [Scipio] arrived, then he exhorted them not to be panic-stricken by the recent reversals, saying that the Roman valor never had been beaten by the Carthaginians, that the reversals were due to the treachery of the Celtiberians and by rashness, the commanders [his father and uncle] having become separated from each other because of their trust in the alliance with the tribesmen."

The feelings of the soldiers can be understood. They had been defeated on two fronts and lost two generals. Then, here comes a new general from Rome, saying, "Do not be downhearted." Polybius exhibits no irony in his text, he seems convinced that the younger Scipio is all that his source, possibly Fabius, says he is. He might be writing in this manner to show Rome's tenacity in overcoming bad situations.

The word περιπέτειαν has a meaning of reversal. It relates to a reversal brought about by trusting the allies, man-made trouble, not a reverse brought by fortune.

7.1-2. "Ετι μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ πυνθανόμενος ἐπιμελῶς τὴν τε προδοσίαν τῶν Κελτιβήρων καὶ τὸν διαζευγμὸν τῶν ἰδίῳν στρατοπέδων, καὶ συλλογισζόμενος ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτο συμβαίνει τοῖς περὶ τὸν πατέρα γενέσθαι (2) τὴν περιπέτειαν, οὐ κατεπέπληκτο τοὺς Καρχηδονίους οὐδ' ἥττητο τῇ ψυχῇ, καθάπερ οἱ πολλοί:

"From the very beginning, having learned by inquiries at Rome about the treachery of the Celtiberians and the separation of the [Roman] armies, he reached the conclusion that

from the facts that he had in hand, his father's reversal happened to be caused by this [treachery], and that he was not terrified by the Carthaginians, nor had he been broken in spirit like most people."

Polybius uses the two τύχη-related words περιπέτεια and συμβαίνω in this text, not with any intent to show that fortune, the power, intervened in the war, but that the two commanders failed to take full consideration of the possible instability of local allies.

7.3. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐντὸς Ἰβηρος ποταμοῦ συμμάχους ἀκουῶν μένειν ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἡγεμόνας στασιάζειν μὲν πρὸς σφᾶς, ὑβρίζειν δὲ τοὺς ὑποταττομένους, εὐθαρσῶς διέκειτο πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, οὐ τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς:

"When he [Scipio] heard later that the allies on this [the Roman] side of the Ebro river remained friendly toward them, and that the Carthaginian commanders were quarreling with each other and maltreating their subjects, he felt more securely disposed about his expedition, relying not on chance, but on conclusions he made from his premises."

In Polybius' words, Scipio rules out chance, and evaluates his outcome against the Carthaginians on known intelligence, and does not plan on hopes, i.e., chance giving him a win in the coming encounter. In this line τύχη appears to be best translated as "chance," for the power, fortune, has not entered into Scipio's thinking, nor Polybius'.

7.7-8. ἔὰν δὲ πρὸς ἓνα συμβαλεῖν σπεύδων, κἄπειτα τούτου φυγομαχήσαντος, ἐπιγενομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δυνάμεων, συγκλεισθῇ που, κατάφοβος ἦν μὴ ταῖς αὐταῖς Γναίῳ τῷ θείῳ καὶ Ποπλίῳ τῷ (8) πατρὶ περιπέσῃ συμφοραῖς:

"[There were three Carthaginian forces]. If he marched to fight against one, and then this one were to refuse to engage, and the other two forces were to come up to help, might he not find himself hemmed in? So he was fearful that the same kind of misfortunes which fell upon his uncle Gnaeus and his father Publius might befall him."

The τύχη-related word συμφοραῖς has been translated as "misfortunes." From the text it seems this is in reference to man-made misfortunes, not to an act of the power, fortune.

9.2-3. Τούτοις δὲ τοῖς ἐκλογισμοῖς ὁμολογοῦντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἔλθωσι τῆς πράξεως, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν τούτου πρόνοιαν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν τύχην ἀναφέρουσι (3) τὸ γεγονός κατόρθωμα, καὶ ταῦτα χωρὶς τῶν εἰκότων καὶ τῆς τῶν συμβεβιωκότων μαρτυρίας:

"And the historians who agree he made these calculations, whenever they come up against the fulfillment of his plan, know not the how of this nor the foresight in this man, so they bring up [the idea] that success has been produced by the gods and fortune, and saying these things in spite of all probability and the testimony of those who have been living with him."

The word τύχη in the phrase "τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν τύχην" appears to refer to the power, fortune.

24 (22).7. Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρέυς ἕως λόγου τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπέδειξε, φήσας ὅτι καθάπερ ἐν οἰκοδομίαις, ἐὰν κατὰ μίαν πλίνθον θῆς καὶ καθ' ἓνα δόμον ἐπιμελείας τύχη τὸ παρατεθέν, οὕτως ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ λόχον ἀκριβωθέν ὅλην ποιεῖ τὴν δύναμιν ἰσχυράν:

"Demetrius of Phaleron pointed out, as far as words go, that just as in building a house, if one places each brick in proper position, and if each course is placed beside the other with care, so in an army, the exact arrangement of each man and each company makes the whole force strong."

The word τύχη in this line has no relationship to a meaning of fortune or chance. As a somewhat later development it also can have a meaning of position or station in life (v. LSJ Lexicon, col. 2, p. 1839). Demetrius may have used a different word, and a substitution was made.

32.3-4. τῶν δὲ Νουμάδων εἰθισμένοι τινὲς τοῖς ἀκροβολιζομένοις καὶ καθόλου προπορευομένοις ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὑπεναντίων χάρακος ἐνέδρας ποιεῖν, ὑπεστάλκεισαν κατὰ τινὰ συντυχίαν (4) ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον:

"Now some of the Numidians who had made a practice of bringing about an ambush for skirmishers, and in general for any of the enemy who advanced out of their fortified camp, as it happened, had hidden themselves below the crest of a hill."

Polybius' text now has moved on to consider affairs in Italy. This line begins the narrative of how the Roman consul Claudius Marcellus failed to follow a lesson of war, which says whenever one is out in front of the main body, watch out for enemy skirmishers—and never trust a hill.

Polybius uses the phrase "κατά τινα συντυχίαν," which, grammatically, may be translated as "by some chance.". However, an ambush is not a chance thing, and an experienced military man, such as Polybius, would very likely have thought in terms of "as it happened." In either case, the τύχη-related word συντυχία can be translated either way. This refers to a man-made affair, not one of the power, fortune.

32.5-9. καὶ τὸν μὲν Κλαύδιον εὐθεὶς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμπλοκῇ καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους ἅμα τούτῳ κατέβαλον....(6) οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ θεωποῦντες τὸ γινόμενον οὐδαμῶς ἠδυνήθησαν ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν....καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Κλαυδίου τραυματίαν, μόλις καὶ παραδόξως τὸν κίνδυνον διαπεφευγότα. (7) Μάρκος μὲν οὖν ἀνακώτερον ἢ στρατηγικώτερον αὐτῷ χρησάμενος τοῖς δεδηλωμένοις περιέπεσε (8) συμπτώμασιν ἐγὼ δὲ παρ' ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν πολλάκις ἀναγκάζομαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπομιμνήσκειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, θεωπῶν, εἰ καὶ περὶ τι τῶν τῆς στρατηγίας μερῶν ἄλλο, καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διαμαρτάνοντας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καίτοι προδήλου (9) τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπαρχούσης:

"Marcellus and some others were cut down early in the engagement, and some of the others were wounded at the same time....(6) The Romans in the camp, although they were spectators of what was going on, had no way of helping those who were being attacked....and the son of Marcellus was wounded, but incredibly escaped. (7) So then, Marcellus met with and experienced a misfortune, which showed him to be more a simple person than much of a general. Throughout this work of mine I find that I am often compelled to mention that

any chance persons who do such things as this, observing that if the general concerns himself with the other parts of of his duties, and then fails utterly as a commander over one part, indeed fails utterly as a commander."

In this text Polybius uses three τύχη- related words: the adverb παραδόξως, incredibly, the neuter noun σύμπτωμα, misfortune, and the verb ἐντυγχάνω. The verb is found thirty-five times in the extant Histories, but only three of these can be said to be related to chance. This is in the form of a present participle, which has a meaning of any chance persons. In this text these three words relate to man-made troubles, and not something done by fortune.

33.4-7. καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως· ἀκεραίου μὲν γὰρ καὶ σωζομένου τοῦ προεστῶτος, κἂν ποτε πέσῃ τὰ ὅλα, πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς ἢ τύχη δίδωσι πρὸς τὸ πάλιν ἀνακτῆσθαι (5) τὰς ἐκ τῶν περιπετειῶν ἐλαττώσεις· πταίσαντος δέ, καθάπερ ἐν νηὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου, κἂν τὸ νικᾶν ἢ τύχη τοῖς πολλοῖς παραδιδῶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὐδὲν γίνεται διὰ τὸ πάσας ἐξηρηθῆσαι (6) τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐκάστοις ἐκ τῶν ἡγουμένων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι πρὸς τοὺς ἢ διὰ κενοδοξίαν ἢ μεираκιώδει παραστάσει περιπίπτοντας τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀλογήμασιν ἢ δι' ἀπειρίαν ἢ διὰ καταφρόνησιν· (7) ἔν γὰρ αἶετι τῶν προειρημένων αἴτιον γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων περιπετειῶν:

"[Thus far Hannibal never met with disaster to himself...so greatly did he take care of his own safety]. This is very reasonable, for when the commander is safe and sound, even if at any time total defeat occurs, fortune grants many means for recovering for oneself the losses from those earlier

reversals of circumstances. If he makes a mistake, just as might the pilot of a ship, even if fortune might help the soldiers to conquer their enemies, it would be of no help to them, because the hopes of one and all are dependent upon those who are the leaders. These things tell me that those men who fall into errors such as this, do so through vanity, childish dissent, or through inexperience or even contempt of the enemy. Some one of these always can be declared to be the cause of such unexpected events."

Close reading of this text shows that Polybius is not saying that "fortune might help." He is teaching a lesson to his reader: a Greek or Roman friend, his friend Scipio, or any reader. Fortune is being used as a literary device. Walbank writes, "Here τύχη is little more than a figure of speech."⁹⁷ The two uses of τύχη and the two of the τύχη-related word περιπέτεια are considered to be common-places. Polybius is highly irritated with foolish men who are commanders.

34.1-2. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν Πόπλιος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ποιούμενος τὴν παραχειμασίαν ἐν Ταρράκωνι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων δεδηλώκαμεν, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς Ἰβήρας εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν φιλίαν καὶ πίστιν ἐνεδήσατο διὰ τῆς τῶν ὁμήρων ἐκάστοις (2) ἀποδόσεως, λαβὼν συναγωνιστὴν ἐκ ταύτομάτου πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος Ἐδεκῶμα τὸν Ἐδετανῶν δυνάστην:

"In Spain, Publius Scipio, the Roman commander, whom I am writing about, took up his winter quarters as Tarraco.

First he secured the confidence and friendship of the Iberians by the restoration of hostages [taken by the Carthaginians] to their homes, receiving, by chance, help in this from Edeco, the prince of the Edetani."

Scipio had just taken the city of New Carthage, where the hostages had been held captive. The return of the Spanish women and children to their homes gained considerable cooperation for Scipio.

The τύχη-related word ταύτομάτου used here has the meaning of chance, but Polybius appears to have no intent to show the work of fortune by its use.

37.4-5. προέθετο γὰρ διότι δεῖ παρεσκευασμένον τὰ δυνατὰ συμβαλεῖν πρὸς μάχην τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, κἂν μὲν ἡ τύχη δῶ τὸ νικᾶν, βουλευσασθαι μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ἑξῆς ἀσφαλῶς. (5) ἂν δ' ἀντιπίπτῃ τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀποχώρησιν μετὰ τῶν διασωζομένων ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς Γαλατίαν:

"So he proposed to himself that he must make all possible preparations to engage the enemy, and if, on the one hand, fortune should grant victory, he [Hasdrubal] would take counsel with himself in security about his next action. On the other hand, if he decided after deliberation that he should resist against joining in battle, he would execute a withdrawal with the survivors with him into Gaul."

Hasdrubal is alone, thinking over his options. The word "fortune" is used here as a literary device, and does not imply that the power, fortune, might act.

40.6-7. ἴσως μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε δικαίως ἂν τις ἐπεσημύνατο τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν τάνδρός, ἢ νομιδῇ νέος ὢν καὶ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ συνεκδραμούσης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε πάντας τοὺς ὑποταττομένους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τε ταύτην κατενεχθῆναι τὴν διάληψιν καὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν, ὅμως ἐν ἑαυτῷ διέμεινε καὶ παρητεῖτο (7) τὴν τοιαύτην ὁρμὴν καὶ φαντασίαν:

"Perhaps then on this occasion one certainly might have realized the greatness of mind of this man [Scipio], in view of the fact that he was quite young and fortune had fallen to his lot so much that all those who were subject to him were prone to give him the name [of king] of their own accord. In spite of this he kept his head and declined this eager desire [on the part of the Spaniards] and prestige."

After the battle of Baecula there was a great acclaim by the Spanish people to call Scipio "king." As said by Walbank, this was not to call him "king of Rome" or even "king of the Spaniards," but as a Hellenistic recognition of a military man of highest moral and leadership qualities: a "kingly" character.⁹⁸ Scipio, knowing well of Rome's strong aversion to the appellation "king," would have gone to great lengths, if necessary, to quell this usage.

Polybius' use of the word τύχη at first reading appears to negate his words in x.5.8 where he tells the reader that Scipio's achievements were due to "readiness of mind from calculation and foresight." However, after due consideration, it seems that Polybius is using the idea of fortune in a commonplace, Hellenistic vein.

40.9. Πόπλιος δὲ τοσοῦτον ὑπερέθετο μεγαλοψυχία τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὥς οὐ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν εὐξασθαί τις τοῖς θεοῖς οὐ τολμήσειε, λέγω δὲ βασιλείας, τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ δεδομένον ἀπηξίωσε, καὶ περὶ πλείονος ἐποίησατο τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ταύτης πίστιν τῆς περιβλέπτου καὶ μακαριστῆς:

"Publius [Scipio] excelled so much greatness of mind over other men, that he would not venture to pray to the gods as any man for greater goodness, and I mean kingship, this honor which had been offered often by fortune, which he refused, for he esteemed his country more, and this faith was the admiration and envy of all."

Polybius admires Scipio; his description of the attack on the Carthaginians in x.39 shows that he is satisfied in his own mind that Scipio defeated Hasdrubal on his own merits. No evidence of words in that chapter indicates that Polybius feels that fortune or luck was responsible; adequate planning and using the terrain and the lack of preparedness of the enemy, led to Scipio's victory.

For these reasons it seems that Polybius has used the term "by fortune" to cover not only this victory, but many earlier ones. The words imply that "fortune has offered the crown to Scipio." This was again a literary device, a Hellenistic commonplace; the line offers no intent that fortune, the unexplainable power won for him this battle or others. It appears that this is Polybius, the soldier, the military leader talking, a man who knows one variable of warfare is luck (i.e., chance, fortune.)

Book XI

Book XI begins with the year 207. Chapter 1a is a five line fragment from the preface. Chapters 1 through 3 are on Hasdrubal, younger brother of Hannibal. After the battle of Baecula and the loss of New Carthage to Scipio, he crossed the Pyrenees, part of Gaul, and then the Alps, to arrive in Italy in early spring. The Romans met his forces in Umbria and won; Hasdrubal was killed during the action.

Chapter 4(5) through 6(7) narrates a speech, perhaps made by Thrasyrates of Rhodes at a gathering of neutrals (with respect to Philip of Macedon) at an Aetolian congress.⁹⁹ The fragment of 7(4) concerns Philip's subsequent invasion of Aetolia. Chapters 8 through 10 discuss Achaean officer dandyism and dress and attitude, and their poor care of their arms and armor.

Chapters 11 through 18 cover the battle of Mantinea culminating with the defeat and death of Machanidas, the Lacedomanian, brought about by the Achaean confederation led by Philopoemen. 19a is a fragment on the importance of informing the reader about causes of actions and wars. This is followed by a brief narrative on Hannibal's generalship in Chapter 19; this is a subject which Polybius never tires of writing about.

Chapters 20 through 24 concern the battle of Ilipa, where Scipio defeats Hasdrubal, son of Gisco. Then Polybius writes at length in Chapters 25 through 30 about the Roman mutiny (possibly in the encampment at Sucro, Spain on the Jucar River). He describes Scipio's way of containing the mutiny by apprehending, exposing, and then executing the five and thirty leaders of the mutiny.

Chapters 31 through 33 are of the defeat of Androbales at the battle of Ebro. The last chapter (39) concerns Antiochus' situation in Bactria.

The word τύχη appears six times in this book: in two of these it seems Polybius is thinking about the power fortune; two seem best translated as "chance," and the other two appear to be commonplaces or literary expressions.

There are eight τύχη-related words in this book. All refer to man-made situations, none appear to have to do with action or intervention by the power fortune.

2.3. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ διότι πολλοῖς μὲν χρησ-
 ἀμενος ἀγῶσι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ποικίλαις
 περιστάσεσι παλαίσας διὰ τὸ ... τοὺς ἐπαποστελλομένους
 ἐκ Καρχηδόνης εἰς Ἰβηρίαν στρατηγούς, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς
 εἰρημένοις καιροῖς ἀξίως μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς Βάρκα, καλῶς δὲ
 καὶ γενναίως τὰς περιπετείας καὶ τὰς ἐλαττώσεις διε-
 τέλει φέρων:

"I have shown [in earlier books] his [Hasdrubal] many nearly equal struggles against the Romans, struggling against many embarrassing difficulties, caused by the generals sent to Spain from Carthage, in all those critical times described

above, he persevered, bearing reversals and defeats well and nobly in a manner worthy of his father, Barcas."

Polybius is sympathetic towards Hasdrubal, who struggled against odds, many not of his own making. Here he uses περιπετείας which has a meaning of reversals. In this instance, the word is used to convey the idea of happenings which are man-made.

2.5-6. τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ἰδεῖν ἔστι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, ἐπειδὴν συνιστῶνται τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἀγῶνας, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἐνδοξα καὶ λυσιτελεῖ συνεχῶς λαμβάνοντας ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν, καὶ πολλάκις ἐφιστάνοντας καὶ διαλογιζομένους πῶς ἐκάστοις χρήσονται, κατὰ (6) λόγον σφίσι χωρησάντων τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀποπτωμάτων οὐκέτι πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθεμένους, οὐδ' ἐν νῶ λαμβάνοντας πῇ καὶ τί πρακτέον ἐκάστοις ἐστὶ κατὰ τὰς περιπετείας:

"It is known that most generals and kings, when they engage everything in behalf of their struggles, place before their eyes the glory and profit that will come from victory, and while they, to the best of their abilities, give consideration to those affairs which go in their favor, are unable to visualize how to manage misfortunes, and are not able to comprehend what they must do concerning reversals of their circumstances."

In the second line the τύχη-related word ἀπόπτωμα appears for the only time in extant work of Polybius; it has been translated as "misfortune." The other such word in the text, περιπέτεια, meaning reversal of situation, appears very often.

Both words are used in a commonplace manner with no apparent intent to invoke the idea of the power fortune.

2.9-10. 'Ασδρούβας δ', ἕως μὲν ἦν ἐλπίς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον τοῦ δύνασθαι πράττειν ἄξιόν τι τῶν προβεβιωμένων, οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον προενοεῖτο κατὰ τοὺς κινδύνους ὥς τῆς αὐτοῦ (10) σωτηρίας· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάσας ἀφελομένη τὰς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας ἡ τύχη συνέκλεισε πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον καιρόν:

"But Hasdrubal, as long as there was a reasonable hope of being able to accomplish something worthy of his past, was most careful of his own safety during action, but when fortune deprived him of all hope in the future, he shut the doors for the last time."

When Hasdrubal saw that all was lost, he "shut the doors," i.e., committed suicide. Polybius, as did many, fully approved of such action by the losing commander. Even Plato, who frowns on suicide, unless legally ordered by the state, says that it may be acceptable when caused by some intolerable and inevitable stroke of fortune (Laws, 873c).

Polybius has used the word "fortune" as a literary device; there seems to be no intent to think of this word as "she" or as the power.

2.11. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω περὶ τῶν ἐν πράγμασιν ἀναστρεφόμενων, ἵνα μήτε προπετῶς κινδυνεύοντες σφάλλωσι τὰς τῶν πιστευσάντων ἐλπίδας μήτε φιλοζωοῦντες παρὰ τὸ δέον αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἐπονειδίστους ποιῶσι τὰς αὐτῶν περιπετείας:

"So then, [to conclude], as has been said above, leaders are unable to reverse actions which have been completed,

nor may they blunder into risky situations which destroy the hopes of those who trust in them, nor may they love life so much as to add shame and reproaches to their reversals."

Polybius uses the word περιπέτεια in the sense of reversals on the battlefield, reversals not brought about by the intervention of fortune, but by man's actions, or worse, lack of proper actions.

4(5).4. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός, ὅταν ὑφάψῃ τις ἀπαξ τὴν ὕλην, οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τούτου προαιρέσει γίνεται τὸ συμβαῖνον, ἀλλ' ἢ ποτ' ἂν τύχη λαμβάνει τὴν νομήν, τὸ πλεῖον τοῖς ἀνέμοις κυβερνώμενον καὶ τῇ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὕλης διαφθορᾷ, καὶ πολλάκις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἐμπρήσαντα πρῶτον ὤρμησε παραλόγως, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ πόλεμος:

"For even as it is with fire, whenever someone lights a fire under some wood, the result thereafter no longer becomes dependent upon choice, but it spreads wherever chance directs it, being fully guided by the wind and the burning up of existing fuel, and often unexpectedly making an attack against the man, himself, who first began it, and war itself is this way."

This line is from Polybius' account of Thrasyrates speech to the Aetolian congress, where the orator berates the Greeks who would side with Philip, telling them that they are actually fighting for the enslavement and ruin of Greece.

In this text the words συμβαῖνον, τύχη, and παραλόγως have been underlined; the first is included in the

fortune-related word list, but in this instance it has the meaning of consequences or result, and not as happen or chance event. The word τύχη has been translated as "chance," although the fact that Polybius included the article ἡ leads to the possibility he was thinking of "fortune" as in the case of a proper noun. The third word, a fortune-related word, παραλόγως, has been translated as "unexpectedly." In the two latter cases there appears to be no reason to think that Polybius is referring to anything other than chance happenings, and not to an act by the power, fortune.

4(5).7-8. καὶ γὰρ εἰ κατὰ τινα τύχην ἐπολεμεῖτε πόλεμον ἀλυσιτελῇ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ παντὶ πολέμῳ τοῦτο παρέπεται κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον, ἔνδοξον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποθεσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀποβαινόντων ἐπιγραφὴν, ἴσως ἂν τις ὑμῖν ἔσχε (8) συγγνώμην, φιλοτίμως διακειμένοις:

"For now if by some chance you were engaged in war, which is indeed unprofitable, which for the most part is a common condition, but glorious in the motive which prompted it, and in the reputation likely to accrue, you might be pardoned for acting from ambitious motives."

The orator is still speaking to the Aetolian assembly; he is using the phrase "by some chance" in an oratorical manner. There appears no intent in his words to invoke the idea of fortune, the unexplainable power.

5(6).8. καὶ ταῦτα πρότερον μὲν ἡγνοεῖτο· νυνὶ δὲ διὰ τῆς ὤρειτῶν καὶ τῶν τालαιπῶρων Αἰγινηγῶν ἅπασι γεγόναντε καταφανεῖς, τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξώστραν ἀναβιβαζούσης τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγνοίαν:

"This was not understood in earlier times, but now through your treatment of the people of Oreum, and that of the distressed Aeginetans, your conduct had become clearly seen by all, as if fortune by design brought your bad conduct upon the stage."

These seem to be Polybius' words rather than those of the speaker, Thrasyrates, for the idea of fortune acting as a play-producer is used often in the Histories. Some translators capitalize "fortune," but there is nothing here to lead the reader to believe that Polybius is thinking of anything other than the unexplainable power, fortune.

8.4. Τοῖς γὰρ πλείστοις ὑπεγεγόνει τις ζῆλος οὐκ εὐτυχῆς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀλαζονείας καὶ τῆς ἀκαιρίας:

"A certain emulation, not of success, but of the false pretension and the bad taste of the others had become the desire on the part of the greater number."

Polybius is writing about the Achaean generals, "who were absolutely unversed," dandies who gave attention only to their dress. He speaks as a military-leader as he uses the word εὐτυχῆς, meaning success, which is something a man aspires to attain. Fortune does not enter into this.

8.7. Οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τὰ μὲν ἔργα τῶν εὐτυχούντων οὐδὲ πειρῶνται μιμεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ πάρεργα ζηλοῦντες μετὰ βλάβης ἐκθεατρίζουσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀκρισίαν.....:

"On the one hand most people do not attempt to imitate the deeds of those who are successful, on the other, by emulating the incidental things to their detriment, they make a spectacle of their own want of judgement."

Polybius compares his contemporary Achaean generals with the highly capable and successful Philopoemen. He uses the verb εὐτυχέω in the sense of successful, for he would never think of Philopoemen as merely fortunate.

14.3. μέγα μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ τὸ προτερήματος ἀρχὴν λαβόντα προσθεῖναι τὰκόλουθον, πολὺ δὲ μεῖζον τὸ σφαλ-
έντα ταῖς πρώταις ἐπιβολαῖς μεῖναι παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ συν-
ιδεῖν τὴν τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων ἀκρισίαν, καὶ συνεπιθέσθαι
τοῖς τούτων ἁμαρτήμασιν:

"On the one hand perhaps it is a great feat to follow up an initial victory to improve on it, but, on the other, it is a much greater thing when the first attempts have failed, to remain calm and to see clearly any lack of judgement on the part of those who are succeeding, and then to take advantage of their errors."

It would be a remarkable general who could do this. At the battle of Mantinea in 207, Machanidas of Sparta has bested Philopoemen up to this point. Now, Philopoemen sees a mistake made by Machanidas, and he takes advantage of it, and wins. Polybius is teaching a lesson in this text. Both this and the previous text (xi.8.7) refer to man-made successes, not something caused by the power, fortune.

19.4-6. εἶχε γὰρ Λίβυας, Ἰβηρας, Λιγυστίνους, Κελτούς, Φοίνικας, Ἰταλούς, Ἑλλήνας, οἷς οὐ νόμος, οὐκ ἔθος, οὐ λόγος, οὐχ ἕτερον οὐδὲν ἦν κοινὸν ἐκ (5) φύσεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀγχίνοια τὰς τηλικαύτας καὶ τοιαύτας διαφορὰς ἐνὸς ἐποίει προστάγματος ἀκούειν καὶ μιᾷ πείθεσθαι γνώμῃ, καίπερ οὐχ ἀπλῆς οὔσης τῆς περιστάσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποικίλης, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν αὐτοῖς λαμπρὰς ἐπιπνεούσης τῆς τύχης, ποτὲ (6) δὲ τοῦαντίον:

"For he had with him Africans, Spaniards, Ligurians, Celts, Phoenicians, Italians, and Greeks, peoples who neither in their laws, customs, or language, nor in any other respect had anything naturally in common. But in spite of this, the sagacity of this commander [Hannibal] was so great and so noble, that it forced men so different to respond to a single word of command and to a single will. And yet, these were not under simple circumstances, but under changeable ones; and on the one hand, the strong wind of fortune was in their favor, and on the other, it was the other way."

There is little doubt but that Polybius admired Hannibal; in xi.19.6-7 he says that if Hannibal had begun in other parts of the world, and had finished with Rome, he would have succeeded. In the above line Polybius is talking about the unexplainable power called "fortune."

24.8-9. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ θεὸς αὐτοῖς τις συνεπελάβετο τῆς σωτηρίας, παραχρῆμ' (9) ἂν ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα συντροφῆς ἐξαισίου, καὶ καταρραγέντος ὄμβρου λάβρου καὶ συνεχοῦς, μόλις εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν στρατοπεδείαν ἀνεκομίσθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.....:

T "Then if some deity had not helped the Carthaginians to safety, they would have been driven from their stronghold at once. But then a sudden storm arose and came down on them with extraordinary intensity, such heavy rain burst out furiously and continuously, so that the Romans scarcely were able to return to their encampment."

Spain is famous for its sudden, heavy rainstorms. The Romans were pressing the Carthaginians, using their best troops when the storm occurred.

This text does not contain a τύχη-related word, but has been included for it is one of the rare lines in which Polybius writes that a "deity" assisted anyone. Polybius is casual about religion, but as Walbank says, "Polybius has been described as irreligious, yet he has not completely thrown-off a belief in the gods."¹⁰⁰ A storm of such a magnitude could be called an act-of-god, a subject which he discusses in xxxvi.17 below.

24a.3. τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τούτου χρόνον Καρχηδονίους Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμημέναι, νυνὶ δὲ τὴν τύχην παραδεδωκέναι καιρὸν εἰς τὸ Ῥωμαίους Καρχηδονίοις ἐξενεγκεῖν πόλεμον:

"For up to this time the Carthaginians had been making war against the Romans, but now fortune has given the Romans the opportunity to begin fighting against the Carthaginians."

In this fragment Polybius has used τύχη in the sense of the unexplainable power or force called "fortune. Perhaps

Polybius again is thinking of fortune as the play-producer as he did in i.4.1-2, page 31 above, and again in ii.35.2-6, on pages 71-72, and xi.5(6).8, on pages 204-5. This time "fortune" has given the lead in the play to the Romans.

In each case he comes close to personalizing "τύχη," but the reader never is given any indication that he is referring to an act by the Greek goddess Τύχη. In this case it seems not to be a commonplace, but action by the unexplainable force or power, fortune.

Book XII

Most of the fragments of Book XII form a criticism of the work of Timaeus of Tauromenium, a historian who wrote during his exile in Athens, remaining there for some fifty years after ca. 317. His History, which consisted of thirty-eight books, was available to Polybius, but today exists only as fragments. Polybius praises his work for accuracy in chronology and research, but then turns around and castigates him as an armchair, impractical historian.

Polybius may have written Book XII as late as 146, and inserted it in the Histories at that time. Although the book does not follow the historical narrative sequence, as do most of the other books, it does not appear to have been written as an afterthought.¹⁰¹

There are two digressions from the criticism of Timaeus in this book. Chapter 2, the first, is on the lotus tree of Africa. The second is in Chapters 17 through 22, in which Polybius writes about the inability of Calisthenes, the expeditionary-historian to Alexander, to write properly about the battle of Isus.

In Book XII Polybius has used $\tau\acute{o}\chi\eta$ -related words six times, and the word $\tau\acute{o}\chi\eta$ one time, this being in the accusative plural.

6a.3-4. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ξενίας καὶ τὰς συγγενείας τῶν δεσποτῶν οἱ δουλεύσαντες, ὅταν εὐτυχήσωσι παραδόξως καὶ χρόνος ἐπιγένηται, πειρῶνται προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ συνανανεοῦσθαι τῶν κατὰ φύσιν (4) ἀναγκαίων μᾶλλον, αὐτῷ τούτῳ σπουδάζοντες τὴν προγεγενημένην περὶ αὐτοῦς ἐλάττωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἐξαλείφειν, τῷ βούλεσθαι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπόγονοι μᾶλλον ἐπιφαίνειν ἢ περ' ἀπελεύθεροι:

"For not only the kindnesses, but also the friendships and the family ties with the masters of those who are slaves, who, after some time has passed may become fortunate unexpectedly, will attempt to affect and copy not only the likings but the friendships and relationships of their masters, taking more pains than blood-relations, hoping to remove their former status by the very effort to appear as descendants rather than as freedmen of their former master."

With the phrase "may become fortunate unexpectedly," that is, the slaves may gain their freedom, Polybius uses the words borrowed from Greek tragedies, words which have become common Hellenistic words. The idea of "fortunate" has no reference to an act of fortune, only efforts of the masters freeing a slave.

13.4-6. πόθεν δ' ἐγὼ καταστοχάζομαι τοῦτο; πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καὶ πεφυκέναι καὶ τεθράφθαι καλῶς Δημοχάρην, ἀδελφιδοῦν (5) ὄντα Δημοσθένους, δεύτερον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ μόνον στρατηγίας αὐτὸν ἡξιώσθαι παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τιμῶν, ὧν οὐδέν ἂν αὐτῷ (6) συνεξέδραμε τοιαύταις ἀτυχίαις παλαίοντι:

"In what way do I infer this [that Timaeus bears false witness]? Well, first and foremost Demochares had good birth and breeding, being nephew of Demosthenes, and secondly, the

Athenians considered him worthy of not only being a general, but also of other offices, none of which he could have aspired to if he had to wrestle such shameful misfortunes [as Timaeus wrote about]."

By the year 146, if not earlier, Polybius has come to see ἀτυχία as meaning shameful misfortune, which is an appropriate translation here. Yet it must be recognized that in writing this about Demochares, he is writing about "false witnessing" by a man, and that the power, fortune, is not involved. Walbank translates the phrase "τοιαύταις ἀτυχίαις παλαίοντι" as "had he such acts of shame to combat," ignoring the basic meaning of ἀτυχίαις.¹⁰²

14.2. καίπερ εἰ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὑπῆρχε τι τοιοῦτον ἀτύχημα περὶ Δημοχάρην, ποῖος καιρὸς ἢ ποῖα πράξεις ἡνάγκασε Τίμαιον ταῦτα κατατάττειν εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν:

"Although, in truth, if Demochares had any such disgrace, what state of affairs or what issue compelled Timaeus to place these words in his history?"

The word "disgrace" has been selected as a most likely meaning for ἀτύχημα. None of the English words listed on page 22 satisfy the context. Mauersberger's Lexikon has the entry of Verschulden, and Makel: translated as "fault," and "stigma," in the same order. Walbank translates this using the word "disgrace."¹⁰³ Translating this noun as "disgrace" takes it out of the τύχη-related word category.

However, the Lexicon is only a guide, and, for example, does not indicate that both ατύχημα and άτυχία, used above, carry the sense of shameful, or as Mauersberger says, stigma or guilt.

25e.5-6. τὸ γὰρ ἐποπτεῦσαι τὰ πρότερον ὑπομνήματα πρὸς μὲν τὸ γνῶναι τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων διαλήψεις καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας αἷς πρὶν εἶχον ὑπὲρ διαθέσεων, τόπων, ἐθνῶν, πολιτειῶν, πράξεων, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ συννεῖναι τὰς ἐκάστων περιστάσεις καὶ τύχας, αἷς κέχρηται κατὰ τοὺς (6) ἀνωτέρω χρόνους, εὐχρηστόν ἐστι:

"For the idea of looking at old memoranda is useful for gaining knowledge of the ancients and the thoughts they had about some places, peoples, states, and events, and further to help become acquainted with each of the circumstances and chance happenings [of fortune], which they had experienced throughout former times."

In this text the use of the plural form τύχας could mean chance events (of fortune), following Schweighaeuser's translations, or even chance happenings, as above. The same phrase was used in x.5.8, where Polybius speaks of " the gods and chance events." These chance happenings do seem to refer to the power, fortune, in this instance.

25i.4-5. καὶ τὸ μὲν ματαίως καὶ ἀκαιίως (5) καὶ πρὸς πάντα πάντας διεξιέναι τοὺς ἐνόντας λόγους, ὃ ποιεῖ Τίμαιος πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπόθεσιν εὐρεσιλογῶν, τελέως ἀνάληθες καὶ μειρακιῶδες καὶ διατριβικόν—ἅμα καὶ πολλοῖς άποτυχίας αἷτιον ἤδη τοῦτο γέγονε καὶ καταφρονήσεως—τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἀρμόζοντας καὶ καιρίους αἷι λαμβάνειν, τοῦτ' ἀναγκαῖον:

"But without reason or occasion to recite all possible arguments for everything, as Timaeus does to every subject with ingenious explanations, absolutely false and affected and pedantic—and at the same time this has caused failure and brought contempt on many—the necessary thing being to choose suitable and opportune arguments."

The τύχη-related word ἀποτυχία, selected only because of its root-relationship to τύχη, has only one meaning listed in the Lexicon: failure. Mauersberger's Lexikon shows Mißerfolg, also meaning failure. This "failure" was brought about by man.

25k.7-8. μικρῷ πρότερον εἰρηκῶς ὅτι κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χάριν ἔχει τοῖς Γέλῳις τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι τοὺς λόγους ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀλλ' ἐν συνεδρίῳ καλῶς γινώσκοντι (8) τὰς τοιαύτας περιπετείας:

"Having made small talk, he said that he was thankful to the Geleans for not holding the talks in the assembly, but in the council, where those present were well aware of such great sudden changes [which occur in war]."

Polybius still is complaining about the poor quality of Timaeus' reporting. This is supposed to be an excerpt from a speech made by a statesman, Hermocrates. This text is included only because of the τύχη-related word περιπέτεια, a word borrowed from Greek tragedy, meaning sudden change or reversal of a situation. This is a man-made situation.

Book XIV

Book XIV is the next book in this thesis; from this point onward books will appear to be missing. There are two reasons for this: either no fragments of the book have survived, or the existing fragments of a book do not contain the word τύχη or τύχη-related words.

In Book XIV, which covered the 140th Olympiad (204-201), only the first year's narrative exists. In Chapters 1 through 10 Polybius writes about Scipio and the Roman armies in Africa. In Chapters 11 and 12 he writes about affairs in Egypt.

This book contains seven τύχη-related words, but does not contain the word τύχη.

5.1-2. κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, θεωροῦντες τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐξαιρομένης φλογός, ὑπολαβόντες αὐτομάτως ἀνῆλθαι τὸν τῶν Νομάδων χάρακα, τινὲς μὲν (2) ἐβοήθουν ἐξ αὐτῆς, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐκτρέχοντες ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἀνοπλοὶ συνίσταντο πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας στρατοπεδείας, ἐκπλαγεῖς ὄντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις:

"In the meantime the Carthaginians, observing the magnitude of the fire and the height of the flames rising to the sky, supposing that the Numidian camp of reed-huts had caught on fire by chance, did two things: some rushed to give assistance, while others running out of the camp, unarmed, stood together and gawked with fear as to what was happening."

Both the Roman and Carthaginian forces were encamped about 40 kilometers northeast of Carthage during the winter of 204-3. Scipio had been wooing the Numidian force, weak allies of the Carthaginians, and also offering to talk peace with the Carthaginians—the farthest thing from his mind. Frequent visits to the Numidian camp by Scipio's messengers brought him intelligence that the Numidian forces were sheltered by reed and matting huts—flimsy, easily set on fire. As spring approached, he decided to take the two camps by surprise. He deployed a force under darkness, sent advance troops to fire the Numidian huts, and then attacked the panic-stricken troops.

The word αὐτομάτως in this text is not on the list of τύχη-related words listed on pages 22-24 above; however, this adverb is the equivalent of the term ἀπὸ ταύτομάτου, the noun of which is on the list. This term translates as "by chance." In writing this Polybius is considering man-made effects, not something which actually was "by chance," except in the minds of the onlooking soldiers.

5.5-6. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν τοῦ μὲν τῷ πυρὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτόθεν εὐθέως ἀπέστησαν, γνόντες ἐκ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ὅτι καὶ περὶ τοὺς Νομάδας οὐκ αὐτομάτως, καθ' ἅπερ ὑπέλαβον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων (6) ἐπιβολῆς καὶ τόλμης ἐγγέγονει τὸ δεινόν:

"So Hasdrubal at once directly withdrew from rescuing those who were in the fire, knowing that what had happened to the Numidians was not by chance, as was supposed, but was due

to the enterprise and the clever daring of the enemy."

Not only did Scipio fire the Numidian camp, he did the same to the Carthaginian camp. In the uproar, Hasdrubal and the Numidian chief, Syphax, managed to escape, each with a small body of horse.

Polybius again uses the adverb αὐτομάτως, with the meaning of by chance. This is the same man-made affair as in xiv.5.1. The same line includes the word συμβαίνω, with a meaning of happening. This word also refers to the debacle which confronted the enemy: a man-made debacle.

5.12-13. καθόλου δὲ πᾶς ἦν ὁ τόπος οἰμωγῆς, βοῆς ἀτάκτου, φόβου ψόφου παρηλλαγμένου, σὺν δὲ τούτοις πυρὸς (13) ἐνεργοῦ καὶ φλογὸς ὑπερβαλλούσης πλήρης· ὧν ἓν ἱκανὸν ὦν εκπλήξαι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, μηδ' ὅτι καὶ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ συγκυρήσαντα παραδόξως:

"In a word the whole place was one of loud wailing, disorderly cries of fear, of weird and strange sounds, and along with these a raging fire exceeding all bounds. Any one of these would have been sufficient to strike terror into mankind. This also all came together by chance at the same place unexpectedly."

This text contains the τύχη-related word παραδόξως meaning unexpectedly or incredibly, as said before, a word borrowed from the tragedies. It also has the aorist participle of the verb συγκυρέω, which has been used once before in iv.51.7. Both words refer to man-made troubles.

6.6-9. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι....(7) ἐλπίσαντες γὰρ πολιορκήσιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συγκλείσαντες εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν προσοῦσαν τῆς Ἰτύκης, ἐν ἣ τὴν παραχειμασίαν ἐποιούντο, κατὰ τὴν μὲν τοῖς πεζοῖς στρατεύμασι, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ ταῖς ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο πάσας ἡτοιμακότες τὰς παρασκευάς, (8) ἅμα τῷ μὴ μόνον τῶν ὑπαίθρων οὕτως ἀλόγως καὶ παραδόξως ἐκχωρῆσαι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη προσδοκᾶν κίνδυνον, τελέως ἐκπλαγεῖς (9) ἦσαν καὶ περίφοβοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς:

"And the Carthaginians....had hoped to hem in and blockade the Romans on the cape adjacent to Utica, where they had their winter quarters. They made all preparations for the purpose of making expeditions by land and sea against them. Then all at once irrationally and incredibly they had to give way the command of the open country to the enemy, and expected their own city would be in danger, so they became thoroughly panic-stricken and faint-hearted."

In this text Polybius uses the τύχη-related word παραδόξως, with its meaning of incredibly. The incredible situation, from the viewpoint of the Carthaginians, was that Scipio gained control of the open country by the daring, but well-planned night attack on the two enemy camps—using fire. This word refers to a man-made situation, fortune does not enter into it.

7.2-3. ἅμα δὲ καὶ νείμας τῶν λαφύρων...τοὺς μὲν...ἐμπόρους ἐξαπέστειλε...λυσιτελῶς· (3) καλῆς γὰρ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἐλπίδος ὑπογραφομένης ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος εὐτυχήματος, ἐτοίμως τὴν παροῦσαν ὠφέλειαν οἱ στρατιῶνται παρ' οὐδέν ποιούμενοι διετίθεντο τοῖς ἐμπόροις:

"And at the same time Scipio went about distributing the spoils to the soldiers...[a little later] he sent the merchants away, for [they were buying the booty] most profitably. The good indication of hope which permeated the whole camp, having produced this piece of good luck, led the soldiers to attach little value to their booty, so they readily disposed of it to the merchants."

It was a general practice for itinerant merchants to follow the armies, and to buy booty from the soldiers, paying little for it. The lacunae makes the text somewhat ambiguous, but most likely, the soldiers were satisfied with the money they did receive. They had no desire to be encumbered with it, for they had visions of more booty in the future.

The τύχη-related word εὐτύχημα may be translated as "piece of good luck" or "success." The former meaning was selected as being the most appropriate to the soldiers. No fortune-related effort is seen here.

9.9. τινὲς δὲ ταύτας μὲν ἔφασαν μηκέτι φέρειν τοὺς καιροὺς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὀχυροῦν καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς πολιορκίαν· πολλὰς γὰρ δώσειν ἀφορμὰς ταυτόματον. ἂν ὁμονοῶσιν:

"But some people, on the one hand, asserted that they had no time left to take these steps, and on the other, that they should fortify the city and prepare against a siege,

for chance could give them many occasions [for striking a successful blow] if they would only agree to harmonious cooperation."

The people of Carthage were in disorder. Scipio was marching against Tunis, which was in full view of Carthage. Various groups of people each had an idea of what to do. There was no council in Carthage to take control, for at an earlier date the Carthaginians had voted for a rule by the people.

In this text Polybius uses the word ταῦτόματον, which has a meaning of chance. The people had lost their capability to unite and fight, hoping that something might turn up to save them. This is wishful thinking, no idea of fortune, the unexplainable power, seems to be present in this text.

Book XV

The fragments of Book XV relate to the years 203 to 202. The first nineteen chapters are about activity in both Italy and Africa, but most of the narrative concerns the battle of Zama between the Romans and the Carthaginian forces, and with the settlement after the battle.

Chapter 20 narrates about the agreement between Philip V of Macedonia and Antiochus III against young King Ptolemy of Egypt. Chapters 21 through 24 concern Philip's takeover of the city of Cius, which was in Bithnyia on the Sea of Marmara.

Chapters 24a through 36 concern Ptolemy V and the downfall of Agathocles. Chapter 37 is a one line fragment on the character of Antiochus.

This book, which is longer than many of the books above, contains 19 instances of the use of the word τύχη. The book also contains 25 τύχη-related word uses; this number contains 13 different words.

1.8. διόπερ ἔφασαν οὐκ ἄγνοεῖν ὅτι πᾶν εἰκότως ἂν πάθοιεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ τῆς τύχης ἔνεκα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐδέοντο μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ τὴν σφετέραν ἀβουλίαν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς Ῥωμαίων καλοκαγαθίας:

[The Roman legates on arriving at Carthage addressed the senate and then the people's assembly, where they reminded the Carthaginians that earlier at Tunis their envoys had

accused themselves of having been alone guilty of breaking the original treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians.] "Therefore, they affirmed they were not ignorant of what in all likelihood might be inflicted upon them by the Romans, but for the sake of the fortune of all mankind they begged them not to be implacable and make them suffer, then their folly could be proof of the nobleness of the Romans."

The word τύχη implies no action here by fortune; Walbank writes that the phrase "τῆς τύχης ἔνεκα τῶν ἀνθρώπων" is a communis locus: common to both Stoic and Peripatetic sources. No doubt it was a common phrase to many in that period of time.¹⁰⁴

1.13-14. οὗ συμβάντος ποίους ἐπικαλέσεσθε, ἔφη, θεοὺς; ποίοις δὲ χρώμενοι λόγοις τὸν ἐκ τῶν κρατούντων ἔλεον ἐπισπάσεσθε (14) πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν συμφοράς; πάσης εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλπίδος ἀποκλεισθήσεσθαι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν ἀθεσίαν καὶ τὴν ἀβουλίαν:

"Of what kinds of gods," he said, "will you invoke help, and what sort of plea will you use to persuade the victors to have pity towards your misfortunes? Will your faithlessness and folly not exclude you from almost all hope for the mercy of gods and men?"

This is a continuing part of the speech made by one of the Roman legates, who was speaking in xv.1.8 above. He uses the word συμφορά, a τύχη-related word which has the meaning of misfortune in this text; it also has been translated as "calamity," but to the Roman speaker this would

most likely be a misfortune, inasmuch as he was referring too something which could happen to the Carthaginians. If it were to happen to the Romans, he might think of it as a calamity! The word συμβάντος has been underlined above, only as a reminder that in certain uses it has the meaning of happen, for which reason it has been included in the τύχη-related word list. The text implies no action by fortune.

6.6-7.1. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἀμφοισθητήσαντες ἐξεπολεμώσαμεν ἀλλήλους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατ' Ἰβηρίαν, τὸ δὲ τέλος ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης οὕτω νοουθετούμενοι μέχρι τούτου προβεβήκαμεν ὥστε καὶ περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους οὓς μὲν κενιδυνευκέναι, (7) τοὺς δ' ἀκμήν ἔτι καὶ νῦν κινδυνεύειν, λοιπὸν ἔστιν, εἴ πως δυνάμεθα δι' αὐτῶν παραιτησάμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς διαλύσασθαι τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν φιλοτιμίαν. (8) ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔτοιμός εἰμι τῷ πεῖραν εἰληφέναι δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς εὐμετάθετός ἐστιν ἡ τύχη καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἑκάτερα ποιεῖ μεγάλας (7.1) ῥοπὰς, καθάπερ εἰ νηπίοις παισὶ χρωμένη· σὲ δ' ἀγωνιῷ Πόπλιε λῖαν, ἔφη, καὶ διὰ τὸ νέον εἶναι κομιδῇ καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντα σοι κατὰ λόγον κεχωρηκέναι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην καὶ μηδέπω μέχρι γε τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὴν τῆς τύχης ἐμπεπτωκέναι παλιρρύμην, μήποτ' οὐ πεισθῆς διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἑμοῖς λόγοις, καίπερ οὓσι πιστοῖς:

[Hannibal is speaking at a meeting with Scipio.] "But ever since we went to war over Sicily, and then next after that over Spain, and in the end although we were admonished by fortune that the one nation's native soil has been in danger, and now ours is on the edge of danger; it remains for us to see if by any means we are able to entreat the gods to put an end to this present rivalry. So then I am ready to attempt this, as I have learned by actual experience itself that fortune is so fickle that even a small turn of the

scale in either direction produces changes of great importance, exactly as if she were treating with little children. But I am very much disturbed about you, Publius, he said, both because you are a young man, and because success has come to you constantly in all ways, both in Spain and in Libya. You never have, at least up to now, chanced to encounter a reverse of fortune, yet, you will never be persuaded by means of my words, although they are true."

Hannibal has been called back to "save" Carthage; he disregards the Carthaginian's plea to do immediate battle with the Romans, and having a strong desire to meet Scipio, sent a herald to ask for such a meeting. Polybius' source for this is unknown, but it appears there may have been a meeting between these two opponents.

The word τύχη appears three times in this text, and the usage appears to be commonplace, soldier talk. How much the use of τύχη (or fortuna) is due to Polybius is unknown, but the ideas of "admonished by fortune," "fickle fortune," and "a reverse of fortune," sound like Polybius, and point towards his unexplainable power, fortune. Hannibal no doubt spoke through a Latin interpreter in the vocative case, in a familiar manner rather than formally, or possibly Polybius wrote this in the familiar manner.

Polybius uses the phrase "εἰς τὴν τῆς τύχης ἐμπεπτω-
κέναι παλιπύρην," which translates literally as "to have

fallen into the ebb and flow of fortune." It has, however, been translated more simply as "chanced to encounter a reverse of fortune."

8.3 βλέπειν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης οὐδενὸς ἥττον καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων στοχάζεσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν:

"In fact [said Scipio], no one was more aware than himself of chance events, and that, as far as lies in his power, he would endeavor by no means to yield to human uncertainty."

In accordance with the LSJ Lexicon, the phrase "τὰ τῆς τύχης" is translated as "of chance events," a good general's phrase. It is of interest that Shuckburgh says, "uncertainty of Fortune," Paton, "the fickleness of Fortune," and Walbank makes no comment on this line. It seems, however, that Scipio is not thinking of fortune, but only of chance things which do happen, which when written down by Polybius appears to be something not of fortune's doings. This line is part of Scipio's rejection of the plea for peace made by Hannibal.

9.2-5. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαύριον ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξηγον ἀμφοτέρω καὶ συνίσταντο τὸν ἀγῶνα, Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς σφετέρας σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην πραγμάτων, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας. (3) ἐφ' ᾧ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστήσας συμπαθῆς (4) γένοιτο κατὰ τὴν ἐξήγησιν; οὔτε γὰρ δυνάμεις πολεμικωτέρας οὐδ' ἡγεμόνας ἐπιτυχεστέρους τούτων καὶ μᾶλλον ἀθλητὰς γεγονότας τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἐργῶν εὖροι τις ἂν ἐτερούς, οὐδὲ μὴν ἅθλα μείζω τὴν τύχην ἐκτεθεικυῖαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις (5) τῶν τότε προκειμένων· οὐ γὰρ τῆς Λιβύης αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐμελλον κυριεύειν οἱ τῇ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὅσα νῦν πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν ἱστορίαν:

"And the next morning at daylight, both sides at the same time led their forces out and joined battle. The Carthaginians for their own safety and dominion over Libya, the Romans for the empire and the sovereignty of the whole world. Is there anyone who knows he can remain unmoved by such a narrative? For one could not find two forces with more skilled soldiers or commanders, who have been more successful than these, and who have had more practice in the art of war. Indeed, fortune has not offered a more splendid prize to contenders then that which was laid before them at that time. For it was not Libya itself, nor Europe, that the victor was destined to be lord and master of, but of all those parts of the world which so far have fallen within the scope of my history,"

This is the opening of the battle of Zama. Polybius calls both commanders, Hannibal and Scipio, ἐπιτυχεστέρους, "more successful" (a form of the adjective ἐπιτυχής). He reserves the superlative, "most successful," for the winner. The second study-word in this text is τύχη, which in this case is the unexplainable power, fortune, that offers a prize to the contenders, and then awards it to one of the two. To the pragmatic Polybius, this is essentially the fortune-of-war, he knows only one will get the prize, with or without help. Yet, he presents the idea to his reader, the idea of the unexplainable fortune, to titillate him..

10.5. τῆς δ' οὖν τύχης ἡμῖν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀθλῶν εἰς ἑκατέρον τὸ μέρος ἐκτεθεικυίας, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴημεν ἀγεννέστατοι καὶ συλλήβδην ἀφρονέστατοι πάντων, εἰ παρέντες τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐλοίμεθα τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν διὰ φιλοζωίαν:

"And since fortune has offered a share in the greatest of prizes to each of you, how can we not be the most low-born, and in short, the most foolish of all men if we pass up the most bountiful benefits, and choose the greatest of evils by reason of cowardice?"

Scipio is orating his troops before the start of the battle of Zama. He strongly reminds them of the horrible fate they would face if they desert, and are captured by the Carthaginians. Scipio uses the word "fortune," knowing that the men would know what he was talking about. Every soldier has some belief in the "fortune-of-war." Essentially, this is a commonplace word; neither Scipio nor Polybius intends to have the reader assume it means either the goddess Τύχη or the unexplainable power, fortune.

15.4-6. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἰς λόγους συνελθὼν ἐπειράθη δι' αὐτοῦ (5) λύσιν ποιήσασθαι τῶν ἐνεστώτων· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ προειδότος τὰ κατορθώματα, ἀλλ' ἀπιστοῦντος τῇ τύχῃ καὶ προορωμένου τὰ περὶ τὰς μάχας (6) ἐκβαίνοντα παράλογα:

"First, he [Hannibal] had attempted, by himself, during a meeting with Scipio, to bring about the termination of the present wars. This, then, is the man who is conscious of his former successes, but harbors a mistrust in fortune, and keeps looking for the unexpected events in any battle."

Polybius has written before of how both Hannibal and Scipio had trained themselves to watch carefully during a battle for the "unexpected event." This phrase and the word fortune, as used in this text, are both commonplaces, and do not refer to the idea of the power, fortune.

16.5-6. εἰ δὲ πάντα τὰ δυνατὰ ποιήσας πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν ἐσφάλη τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον ἀήττητος ὢν, συγγνώμην (6) δοτέον ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ ταυτόματον ἀντέπραξε ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε πάλιν κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν ἄλλου κρείττονος ἀντετυχεν· ὃ δὴ καὶ τότε γεγονέναι περὶ ἐκεῖνον φήσειεν ἂν τις:

"And if he [Hannibal], who before this time had never been conquered, is defeated after he has done all things possible towards victory, one must give him pardon. For there are times when even chance counteracts the designs of valiant men, and then, there are times when, as the saying goes:

'A brave man meets in return one still better.'

And clearly we might say that is what happened with regard to that man."

Having completed his narrative on the battle of Zama, Polybius explains Hannibals' defeat as due to chance and that Scipio was the better man. The word ταυτόματον is a popular expression, having no connotation of an act of fortune, the unexplainable power. Walbank sees the translation of the word as "bad luck," or "the unforeseeable element."¹⁰⁵

17.1-2. τὰ γὰρ ὑπεραίροντα τὴν κοινὴν συνήθειαν τῶν παρ' ἐνίοις ἐθισμῶν, ὅταν μὲν αὐτοπαθῶς δόξῃ γίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν συμπτωμάτων, ἔλεον ἐκκαλεῖται παρὰ τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοῦουσι, καὶ (2) συγκινεῖ πῶς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ὁ ξενισμός· ἐπὶ δὲ φαίνεται γοητείας χάριν καὶ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν γίνεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὐκ ἔλεον, ἀλλ' ὀργὴν ἐξεργάζεται καὶ μῖσος. ὃ καὶ τότε συνέβη γενέσθαι περὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίων:

"When some men transcend the common custom to which most people are accustomed, if this is from genuine feelings due to the magnitude of their misfortunes, it elicits pity from those who see and hear it, and somehow its strangeness moves everyone of us. When such things, however, are seen as being mere illusion and hypocrisy, this gives rise, not to pity, but to anger and hatred. And this is what happened to be presented by the ambassadors of the Carthaginians."

After the battle, ambassadors from Carthage came to Scipio, seeking clemency for the city. Polybius does not tell his reader what the ambassadors had to say.

The phrase "τὸ μέγεθος τῶν συμπτωμάτων," meaning the magnitude of their misfortunes, is a common Hellenistic phrase having no connotation of an act by the power, fortune.

17.4-6. αὐτῶν δὲ χάριν ἔφησε καὶ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κεκρίσθαι σφίσι πράως χρῆσθαι καὶ μεγαλοψύχως (5) τοῖς πράγμασι. φανήσεσθαι δὲ τοῦτο κάκείνοις ἔφησεν, ἂν ὀρθῶς διαλαμβάνωσι περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων· οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι μάσχειν ἢ ποιεῖν ἢ διδόναι σφίσιν ἐπιταχθήσεται, τοῦτο δεῖν νομίζειν δεινόν, ἀλλ' εἴ τι συγχωρηθήσεται φιλό-νθρωπον, τοῦτο μᾶλλον (6) ἡγεῖσθαι παράδοξον, ἐπεὶ περ ἡ τύχη παρελομένη τὸν ἔλεον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν συγγνώμην διὰ τὴν σφετέραν ἀδικίαν ὑποχειρίους πεποίηκε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς:

"But for our own sake, said Scipio, and in consideration of the fortune [of war] and of mankind, we have decided to treat them [the Carthaginians] mildly and magnanimously for their actions. This will be evident to you if you see the situation rightly. For you must be no stranger to the fact that some kind of suffering, obligations, and sacrifices must be imposed upon them. But if any favor is granted, you must believe this to be very contrary to any expectation, seeing that fortune has put an end to pity and pardon for yoursselves, and on account of your wrongdoing, she has made you subject to your enemies."

Scipio is responding to the ambassador's plea for leniency. The first use of the word τύχη appears to be in the vernacular, with no intent to say that "fortune" as an unexplainable power is at work. However, the second use, it seems that with "fortune putting an end to pity and pardon," the power, fortune, is being written about. The phrase "contrary to any expectation," often a commonplace, this time seems to strengthen the idea of an acting "fortune."

19.5. θαυμαστόν γὰρ αὐτῷ φανῆναι καὶ τελέως ἐξηλλαγμένον, εἴ τις ὑπάρχων Καρχηδόνιος καὶ συνειδὼς τὰ βεβουλευμένα καὶ κοινῇ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστοις ἡμῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων οὐ προσκυνεῖ τὴν τύχην, εἰ γεγονὼς ὑποχείριος τοιούτων τυγχάνει φιλανθρώπων:

"It seems astounding and quite incomprehensible to me, said Hannibal to them, that anyone who is a citizen of Carthage, and who is conscious of the designs that we all, in common

and individually, had against the Romans, should not fall down and worship fortune, since he has come under Rome's power, and has obtained such lenient terms as these."

Hannibal is speaking to the Carthaginians, who are upset with the thought of complying with the Roman edict, lenient as it may be. Polybius has Hannibal using the word τύχη, translated as "fortune." The singular noun referring to each citizens "personal fortune." Paton translates this as "bless his stars," which says Walbank, "gets the effect." He adds that this is merely a vivid verbal coinage. Whatever word is used for τύχη, as Walbank says, it is verbal coinage, and not in reference to the power, fortune.

20.4-7. ἐξ ὧν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐμβλέψας ὅσον εἰς κάτοπτρον εἰς τὴν συνθήκην ταύτην αὐτόπτης δόξειε γίνεσθαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὀμότητος, ἔτι δὲ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης (5) πλεονεξίας τῶν προειρημένων βασιλέων; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως τῇ τύχῃ μεμψάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων ἐν τοῦτοις ἀντικαταλλαγείῃ, διότι ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐπέθηκε μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν δικήν, τοῖς δ' ἐπιγενομένοις ἐξέθηκε κάλλιστον ὑπόδειγμα πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν τὸν τῶν προειρημένων βασιλέων παραδειγματισμόν; (6) ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν παρασπονδούντων μὲν ἀλλήλους, διασπωμένων δὲ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρχήν, ἐπιστήσασα Ῥωμαίους, ἀκείνοι κατὰ τῶν πέλας ἐβουλεύσαντο παρανόμως, ταῦτα κατ' ἐκείνων δικαίως ἐκύρωσε (7) καὶ καθηκόντως:

"Who cannot look attentively into this treaty, as into a mirror, without imagining that he sees reflected in it impiety towards the gods and cruelty to mankind, as well as being able to prophesy the surpassing covetousness of these kings [Philip V and Antiochus III]? But at the same time,

who among those who reasonably find fault with fortune for her capricious handling of human affairs, will not be reconciled to her when he learns that she inflicted the appropriate penalty on these princes, and after what happened that she exhibited a most auspicious example by setting-up the kings to public shame?"

In Chapter 20 Polybius looks at the conduct of Philip V and Antiochus III against the throne of Egypt. During the lifetime of Ptolemy IV, when he had no need of help from these two kings, they were ready to assist. When he died, the two hastened to take parts of the realm from the infant Ptolemy V. Philip was to take Egypt, Caria, and Samos, while Antiochus was to take Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. However, "fortune" foiled them by bringing in the Romans, who soon defeated both interlopers. Both were compelled to pay tribute, give up their gains, and obey orders from Rome, and as Polybius says below: the Ptolemaic kingdom was reestablished.

The three lines of the text have been included here to show the use of reflexive pronouns, third person, singular, feminine endings in several verb forms, all of which refer to fortune. This is Polybius' unexplainable power, fortune, which is capable of making judgements and giving out penalties. The context of his sentences show no thought that he is writing about the Greek goddess, Τύχη.

20.8. τὸ τελευταῖον ἐν πάνυ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ τὴν μὲν Πτολεμαίου βασιλείαν ἡ τύχη διώρθωσε, τὰς δὲ τούτων δυναστείας καὶ τοὺς διαδόχους τοὺς μὲν ἄρδην ἀναστᾶτους ἐποίησε καὶ πανωλέθρους, τοὺς δὲ μικροῦ δεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιέβαλε συμπτώμασι.....:

"Finally, in a very short period of time, fortune reestablished the kingdom of Ptolemy, and in one case she wholly ruined and brought about utter destruction to the dynasties of these [two kings] and their successors, and in the other, she involved them in such misfortunes as to be little short of that...."

The fragment ends abruptly at this point. Polybius uses the two words. τύχη and σύμπτωμασι, in a manner as to show that he is referring to the unexplainable force or power, fortune.

21.3-5. Κιανοὶ μὲν οὖν περιέπεσον τηλικαύταις συμφοραῖς οὐχ οὕτως διὰ τὴν τύχην οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν πέλας ἀδικίαν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀβουλίαν (4) καὶ κακοπολιτείαν, προάγοντες αἰεὶ τοὺς χειρόιστους καὶ κολάζοντες τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους τούτοις, (5) ἵνα διαιρῶνται τὰς ἀλλήλων οὐσίας, εἰς ταύτας οἷον ἐθελοντὴν ἐνέπεσον τὰς ἀτυχίας, εἰς ἃς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως πάντες ἄνθρωποι προφανῶς ἐμπίπτοντες οὐ δύνανται λῆξαι τῆς ἀνοίας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βραχὺ διαπιστῆσαι ῥάδιον, καθάπερ ἔνια τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων:

"So then the people of Cius fell foul of great misfortunes, not so much through chance nor because of the injustice of their neighbors, but in a great part on account of their own thoughtlessness and bad government. For by advancing the worst men and removing those who opposed them, in order to divide the properties of others amongst themselves, they fell into those misfortunes, of which we may say that men

in general, who do these things with their eyes open, are not able to cure themselves of their folly, and cannot conceive the least suspicion [of what they are doing], as do even some of the speechless animals."

Polybius is teaching a lesson; the people of Cius have only themselves to blame. Walbank says the same.¹⁰⁶ The word ἀτυχίας means shameful misfortunes, something the people of Cius could have avoided. The three underlined words, συμφοραῖς, τὴν τύχην, and ἀτυχίας, can be seen to relate to man-made troubles, fortune does not enter into this.

22.2-3. τὰ δ' ἐναντία τούτοις οὐ καθεώρα, καίπερ ὄντα προφανῆ, πρῶτον μὲν ὥς οὐκ ἀδικουμένω, παρασπονδοῦντι δὲ (3) τῷ κηδεστῇ τοὺς πέλας ἐβοήθει, δεύτερον ὅτι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα περιβαλὼν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀτυχήμασιν ἀδίκως ἔμελλε κυρώσειν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ διαδεδομένην φήμην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τοὺς φίλους ὁμότητος:

"But he [Philip] did not see the reverse side to these things, although it was quite plain. In the first place, he was assisting his kinsman [Prusias] by marriage, who was not being wronged, and who was breaking faith with his neighbors. Secondly, that by involving a Greek city [Cius] without right or reason in the greatest of misfortunes, he was about to prove the report which had been spread around about his cruelty to his friends."

Polybius uses the word ἀτύχημα, which has the meaning of shameful misfortune. Shameful on the part of Philip,

who had no good reason for his action. After taking Cius, he returned home, and committed one act of treachery after another. The word "misfortune" refers to a man-made thing.

22.5-23.1. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι τοὺς Ῥοδίους οὕτως ἀπετεθριώκει τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν μηδένα (23.1) λόγον ἔτι προσίεσθαι περὶ Φιλίππου. καὶ γὰρ ἡ τύχη πρὸς γε τοῦτο τὸ μέρος αὐτῷ συνήργησε προφανῶς:

"But in addition to these things, Philip had aroused such savage hatred that the Rhodians from that time on would not believe even one word about him; even fortune helped clearly to share by also engaging in this."

Philip had built himself a fleet, something that Rhodes did not like at all. He promised Rhodes that he would leave Cius alone, but he went ahead and brutally destroyed it. Also, he stirred up the Cretans against the Rhodians, so the Rhodians united with Attalus and fought him off the coast of Chios. Tarn writes that Philip's sea force never recovered from the losses; Polybius says Philip lost, but his source probably was Zeno, a Rhodian. The above text may have Zeno as its source.

Polybius says "fortune" helped pull Philip down. It seems that Polybius is writing about the power, fortune, although Walbank writes that pure chance played a part in the coincidence...no idea of a purposeful power seems [to be] implied.¹⁰⁷

25.9. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ βασιλέως οὐθεὶς οὐδένα λόγον ἐποίητο, περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀρσινόης, ἀνανεούμενοι τινὲς μὲν τὴν ὀρφανίαν αὐτῆς, ἔτιοι δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ ζῆν ὕβριν, ἣν ὑπέμεινε, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, σὺν δὲ τούτοις τὸ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀτύχημα, εἰς τοσαύτην παράστασιν ἐνέπιπτον καὶ δυσθυμίαν ὥστε πλήρη γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν στεναγμοῦ, δακρύων, οἰμωγῆς ἀκαταπαύστου:

"For certain, no one cared to speak a single word about the [dead] king. But of Arsinoe, some recalled her orphanhood, others the violent treatment of her from the beginning, and finally those reports concerning her shameful death brought the people into such a great state of desperation and despair, that it became a city of groaning, tears, and incessant lamentations."

Polybius says that this display was not so much of affection for Arsinoe, as it was of hatred of Agathocles, one of the guardians of the infant son of Arsinoe and Ptolemy IV. Agathocles and Sosibus conspired to take over the kingdom from inside. They read a forged will to the people in which it was written that those two were appointed guardians of the infant son by Ptolemy.

The word ἀτύχημα in this text is normally translated as "misfortune" or "shameful misfortune." In this instance, however, the word "misfortune" has been dropped and the phrase reads: "shameful death." It would be redundant to a marked degree to say "shameful misfortune," for death is the greatest misfortune for the deceased. The word refers to an act by a man, and does not refer to the power, fortune.

25.23-25. ὅθεν πολλῆς μὲν καὶ παντοδαπῆς γινομένης
 δυσареστήσεως, οὐδεμιᾶς δὲ θεραπείας οὐδὲ βοηθείας προ-
 σαγομένης, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον αἰεὶ προσεπαγομένης ὕβρεως,
 ὑπερηφανίας, (24) ῥαθυμίας, ἀνεθυμιᾶτο πάλιν ἐν τοῖς
 πολλοῖς τὸ προϋπάρχον μῖσος καὶ πάντες ἀνενεοῦντο τὰ
 προγεγενημένα περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀτυχήματα (25) διὰ
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους:

"So that strong dissatisfaction of all sorts was being
 created [against Agathocles], and no attempt was being made
 to conciliate or help the aggrieved ones, there was constant
 repetition of wanton violence, arrogance, and indifference.
 The hatred that was buried in the people's minds flared up
 again, and they all recalled the shameful miafortunes that
 had been brought on the kingdom by these men."

In this text Polybius uses the word ἀτυχήματα, mean-
 ing shameful misfortune, misfortunes to the people, brought
 about by Agathocles, not the power, fortune.

Agathocles had removed all the good men in power,
 and filled the vacancies with his friends. It is to be
 assumed that Polybius means the former king's appointees,
 and not the entrenched Egyptian bureaucrats. Agathocles
 also checked any disaffection in the army ranks by giving
 them a pay advance. Then he spent the greater part of the
 day and night in drinking and debauchery, so very soon a
 strong dislike against him was aroused on all sides.

The people wanted someone to whom they could turn
 for leadership against Agathocles and his cohorts, and
 found one in a man named Tlepolemus. This man was a military

governor of a district on the Mediterranean. He had hopes of becoming guardian of the young king, and of directing the country's affairs. He began by entertaining various groups of army officers in order to gain their support. At once, Agathocles raised accusations against Tlepolemus, charging him with disaffection to the king, and stated that he was planning to invite Antiochus to take over Egypt.

Meanwhile Philip and Macedonian troops had come into the country. Agathocles met with them, bringing along the young king. Polybius says that the Macedonians " paid absolutely no attention to his words."

28.4-8. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διελθὼν τὴν αὐλὴν ἀνελπίστως παρέπεσε γυμνὸς εἰς τινα σκηνὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων, συνεγγυς κειμένην (5) τῆς αὐλῆς, καταλαβὼν δὲ κατὰ τύχην ἀπιστῶντας καὶ συνηθροισμένους, ἔλεγε τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν συμβεβηκότα (6) καὶ τὸ παράλογον τῆς σωτηρίας. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἠπιστοῦν, τὰ δὲ πάλιν ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν (7) γυμνὸν ἠναγκάζοντο πιστεύειν. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς περιπετείας ὃ τε Μοιραγένης μετὰ δακρύων ἔδεϊτο τῶν Μακεδόνων μὴ μόνον τῆς αὐτοῦ συνεπιλαβέσθαι σωτηρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ (8) βασιλέως, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν:

[The executioners gradually went away, and Moeragenes was left by himself.] "Much to his surprise, he was able to pass through the palace, and although naked, he desperately rushed into a nearby tent of the Macedonians, not far from the palace. And, by chance, finding the guards fully assembled and eating breakfast, he told them about what had happened, and the unexpectedness of his deliverance. On the one hand they disbelieved him, but, on the other, after seeing

him naked, they were compelled to believe him. Nearly overwhelmed with his unexpected deliverance, with tears in his eyes, Moeragenes begged the Macedonians to not only help him to safety, but to save the king as well, and most of all, their own lives."

As explained earlier, Agathocles and Sosibus, using a will they had forged, made themselves guardians of the young king. For some unexplained reason, possibly that he was an informer for Tlepolemus, one of the king's bodyguards was arrested. This man was Moeragenes. He was taken to the palace dungeon, stripped, and questioned. Before he could be tortured, a messenger came and summoned the torturers. Left alone, unshackled, Moeragenes fled from the palace, and came across the Macedonian encampment.

Polybius uses "κατὰ τύχης" in the second line; this is best translated as "by chance," which means just that, and has no connection with the power, fortune. The text also contains παράλογον, meaning unexpectedness, and περιπετείας, which can mean unexpected event. Both refer to commonplace events, not something brought about by fortune.

29.4-5. οὐ γὰρ ἐγενήθησαν ὥραι τέτταρες καὶ πάντα τὰ γένη συμπεφωνήκει καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ (5) πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθεσιν. συνήργησε γὰρ μεγάλα καὶ ταῦτο-ματον ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ πρὸς τὴν συντέλειαν:

"In less than four hours all the different people, both soldiers and civilians, had come to agree to attack the

government. In this critical period chance assisted very much towards the accomplishment of this undertaking."

The Macedonian soldiers took Moeragenes advice, marched to the city, and joined the people who were on the verge of revolt against Agathocles. As Polybius writes, "Once the movement began, it spread like wildfire." The proper word here is chance, a lucky juxtaposition of the desires of several groups to overthrow the tyrant. Man-made things, nothing to do with fortune.

32.1-3. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ κατολοφυρόμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν τύχην οὐδὲν ἤνυσον, τέλος ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν παῖδα μετὰ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. (2) οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες, παραλαβόντες τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ταχέως ἐφ' ἵππον ἀναβιβάσαντες, ἤγον (3) εἰς τὸ στάδιον:

"But when a great bewailing of their fate accomplished nothing at all, they [Agathocles and his wife] finally sent the boy out with the bodyguards. Whereupon the Macedonians took the king and mounted him on a horse, and led him into the stadium." [Arriving at the stadium, now filled with people, the young king was greeted with loud cheers and clapping of hands.]

The phrase "τὴν αὐτῶν τύχην" is best translated as "of their fate," and not, as Paton writes, "their evil fate." Agathocles and Agathoclea, his wife, would not think of it as "evil fate," only "fate." Fate is an acceptable translation of this word; fortune is not considered in this case.

33.1-2. τοῦ δὲ ποιεῖν αἷμα καὶ φόνοσ ἐγένετό τις ἐκ
(2) ταύτομάτου καταρχὴ τοιαύτη:

"And the bloodshed and murders which followed happened to be brought about from a certain chance beginning."

The "chance beginning" came about in this manner. The people were all in the stadium; Philo, one of Agathocles' henchmen, wandered into that place "suffering from an excess of drinking." Observing the excitement, he remarked that the people would "have cause to repent" if Agathocles were there. Evidently he was unaware of Agathocles' surrender of the boy king. The crowd hustled him into the center of the stadium, by which time he had been stabbed repeatedly. Having tasted blood, the crowd went wild: soon Agathocles was led in in fetters, someone was benevolent, and stabbed him to death, whereupon the crowd dismembered him. Agathoclea, the wife, and many others suffered the same fate that day, as the source, or perhaps Polybius, says, "For terrible is the cruelty of the Egyptian when anger is aroused."

"Chance" appears to be the best translation for ταύτομάτου. It is very likely that the idea of "chance" in this text, and in lines 28.5 and 29.5 above, all come from the source author rather than Polybius. The idea of a vengeful "fortune" acting here does not suggest itself. Polybius' own ideas on the subject of "fortune" appear in the following text.

34.1-4. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν τὰς τερατείας καὶ διασκευάς, αἷς κέχρηται πρὸς ἐκπληξιν τῶν ἀκουόντων ἐνιοι τῶν γεγραφότων τὰς πράξεις ταύτας, πλείω τὸν ἐπιμετροῦντα λόγον διατιθέμενοι τοῦ (2) συνέχοντος τὰ πράγματα καὶ κυρίου, τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τύχην ἀναφέροντες τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τιθέντες ὑπὸ τὴν ὀψιν τὸ ταύτης ἀβέβαιον καὶ δυσφύλακτον, οἱ δὲ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὑπὸ λόγον ἄγοντες, περιώμενοι τοῖς γεγονόσιν αἰτίαν καὶ (3) πιθανότητος ὑποτάττειν. οὐ μὴν ἔγωγε προεθέμην τούτῳ χρῆσασθαι τῷ χειρισμῷ περὶ τῶν προειρημένων διὰ τὸ μήτε πολεμικὴν τόλμην καὶ δύναμιν ἐπισημον γεγονέναι περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα μήτε (4) χειρισμὸν πραγμάτων ἐπιτυχῇ καὶ ζηλωτὸν μήτε τὸ τελευταῖον τὴν αὐλικὴν ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ κακοπραγμοσύνην διαφέρουσαν:

"I am aware that some authors in describing these events used sensationalism and elaborate descriptions, which they used for the sake of making the story more striking. Some of them ascribe that which happened to fortune and give their opinion about her aspect of caprice, and how hard it is to guard against her, and others carry on about the unexpectedness of these chance events without thought, arranging circumstances and plausible causes for everything. I, myself, however, do not intend to treat this matter thusly, because Agathocles did not have courage in war, nor did he happen to have outstanding ability, and he was not successful in the handling of affairs, and not to be emulated, and finally he did not have the acuteness and mischevious-address which serve a courtier's ends to perfection."

This certainly is Polybius, not one of his sources. Here he is writing indirectly as it were, concerning "fortune," "chance events," "unexpectedness," and "successful." His use here of these fortune-related words and of fortune

is in a critical sense, and it would appear that he is using these words only as examples of style, and that he attaches no "concept of fortune" to them at this time. His words are not "teaching words" in the sense of telling the student to be aware of the consequences of the "caprices of fortune," but telling his reader to write simply and factually, without sensationalism.

35.6-7. διὸ καὶ Πόπλιον Σκιπίωνά φασι τὸν πρῶτον καταπολεμήσαντα Καρχηδονίους ἐπωτηθέντα τίνας ὑπολαμβάνει πραγματικωτάτους ἀνδρας γεγονέναι καὶ οὖν νῶ τολμηροτάτους, εἰπεῖν τοὺς περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα (7) καὶ Διόνυσιον τοὺς Σικελιώτας. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἐπίστασιν ἄγειν τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, καὶ πού καὶ τῆς τύχης ποιησασθαι μνήμην, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, καὶ καθόλου προστιθέναι τὸν ἐπεκδιδάσκοντα λόγον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶς ἀρμόζει:

"Then they say that Publius Scipio, who was the first to completely subdue the Carthaginians, when asked by someone, who had been the greatest men of action together with enterprise, he replied, "Agathocles and Dionysius the Sicilians." It is proper for the writers to direct the attention of our readers to such men as these, and to some degree to recall their fortune and the uncertainty of human affairs, and in general to add to our teaching something besides a moral, but of such men as we have been speaking about [such as Agathocles the Egyptian] in no way is it fitting."

This is Polybius talking to himself, as well as to his reader; when he talks about "men's fortune and the uncertainty of human affairs," he actually means the same as

"the vicissitudes of fortune," which he wrote earlier in his work. There is little doubt but that Polybius is thinking of the unexplainable force or power called fortune, and not a diety when he writes in this vein.

36.1-9. In Chapter 36, the closing of the extant fragments of Book XV, Polybius is still very disturbed about the extent to which many writers have dwelled on the story about Agathocles the Egyptian. He feels that this man's exploits and unseemly end contribute little to history. He uses a number of τύχη-related words in the first nine lines of this chapter, but not once does he use the word τύχη. The reader will note that in these nine lines and their translations, which follow, these words are used in a commonplace manner, and that they do not seem to imply any reference to the word of the power, fortune.

1-2. Διὰ δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας τὸν μετ' αὐξήσεως (2) λόγον ἀπεδοκιμάσαμεν ὑπὲρ Ἀγαθοκλέους, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ πάσας τὰς ἐκπληκτικὰς περιπετείας μίαν ἔχειν φαντασίαν τὴν πρώτην ἀξίαν ἐπιστάσεως:

"For these reasons I refrained from enlarging on the story of this man, and no less because all the sensational sudden changes are worthy of attention only when first received by the mind."

3. Δυεῖν γὰρ ὑπαρχόντων τελῶν, ὠφελείας καὶ τέρψεως . . . ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ὁ πλεονασμὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκπληκτικῶν συμπτωμάτων ἐκτὸς πίπτει:

"For there are two objectives [of study]: of benefit and of pleasure....The overabundance of astounding chance occurrences fails to contribute to both of these."

4. ζηλοῦν μὲν γὰρ τίς ἂν βουληθεῖη τὰς παραλόγους περιπετείας; οὐδὲ μὴν θεώμενος οὐδ' ἀκούων ἡδεται συν-εχῶς οὐδεὶς τῶν παρὰ φύσιν γενομένων πραγμάτων καὶ παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν ἔννοιαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων:

"For, I ask, who would wish to emulate unexpected reversals? For surely no one enjoys seeing or hearing continually of those circumstances which come into being contrary to nature and contrary to the common conception of mankind."

7. διόπερ ἡ ζηλωτὸν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ λεγόμενον ἡ τερπνόν. ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐκτὸς τούτων συμφορᾶς πλεονασμὸς οἰκ-ειότερόν ἐστι τραγωδίας ἢ περ ἱστορίας:

"Therefore, that which is told to us ought to be something to emulate or to be pleasurable, and overelaboration of an event without either of these is more suited to tragedy than to history."

8-9. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι συγγνώμην ἔχειν τοῖς μὴ συνεφιστάνουσι μήτ' ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς φύσεως μήτ' ἐπὶ (9) τὰ καθόλου κατὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πράγματα· δοκεῖ γὰρ αὐ-τοῖς ταῦτ' εἶναι μέγιστα καὶ θαυμαστότατα τῶν προγεγ-ονότων οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ παρατυχόντες ἐγκυρήσωσιν ἢ πυθόμενοι παρὰ τινων πρὸς αὐτὰ ταῦτα προσέχωσι τὸν νοῦν:

"But perhaps it is necessary to be disposed to forgive those writers who cannot make the reader attentive, neither to things of nature, nor to things in general concerning world affairs; for it seems to them that among past events the greatest and most wonderful are those things which they

heard about from someone, or those which they chanced to meet, and therefore turned their attention towards these things."

Book XVI

The fragments of Book XVI to the most extent relate to the year 201. That year's main events, as reported by Polybius, are the battles of Chios and Lade, and Philip's invasion of Pergamum and Peraea. Chapters 1 through 12 relate to Philip's campaign in Asia Minor, and his attack on Pergamum and the battle of Chios.

Chapter 13 is a fragment about Nabis the tyrant of Sparta. In Chapters 14 through 20 Polybius more or less abandons his historical narrative, and criticizes the Rhodian historians, Zeno and Antisthenes, although he seems to have used their works as sources. Polybius, his usual critical self, says about these men such things as, "... writers should be ashamed of such nonsensical errors."

Chapter 21 is a fragment about the character of Tlepolemus, who was head of the Egyptian government. In chapter 22 Polybius writes about King Antiochus and his attack and sack of Gaza. Chapter 23 has Scipio returning from Africa to Rome, and briefly describes his triumph. Chapter 24 is a short narrative on Philip in Caria. Chapter 25 and 26 are about Attalus at Athens, and the next two chapters are Polybius' commentary on Attalus and Philip.

Chapters 29 through 35 are on the siege of Abydus. Chapters 36 through 38 are about Philopoemen's expedition

against Nabis and the Spartans. Chapter 39 is a short excerpt, taken from Josephus' Antiquities Judaica, about Scopas, Ptolemy's general destroying the Jewish nation, which actually may have been Scopas' siege of Damascus.

In contrast to the previous book there are only five lines which include the word τύχη or τύχη-related words. Τύχη appears in three lines, and three τύχη-related words are used, one of them two times.

3.3. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου δεκῆρης, ναυαρχὶς οὖσα, παραλόγως ἐγένετο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑποχείριος:

"And Philip's ship with ten men to an oar, fell unexpectedly into the hands of the enemy."

The τύχη-related adverb παραλόγως certainly might be translated as "unexpectedly," rather than "strange chance," as Paton has it, or "extraordinary," as in Shuckburgh. The happening is one that can be blamed on insufficient protection for the flagship, a human-failure that can be blamed on Democrates, Philip's admiral, rather than chance or fortune.

6.9-10. Φίλιππος δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὅλοις ἡλαττωμένος παρὰ πολὺ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, τῇ δὲ περιπετεία τῇ κατὰ τὸν Ἀτταλοῦ ἐπαρθείς, ἐπ'ἀνέπλει, καὶ πολλὸς ἦν συναθροίζων τὰς σφετέρας ναῦς καὶ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθαρσεῖς εἶναι (10) διότι νικῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ:

"While Philip on the whole had suffered a loss in the great naval battle, he was so elated with the sudden change [of situation] against Attalus, and he began to quickly gather

together their ships, while exhorting the men to be of good courage, since they had the upper-hand in the sea-fight."

Attalus' fleet was overpowering the right wing of the Macedonian fleet, but three ships went to the rescue of one which was being sunk. Then Philip's ships cut them off and they ran ashore. One supposedly was Attalus' ship, but through a subterfuge, he managed to get away, and made his way to Erythrae. So Philip signalled his men that they had won, although they had not.

The word περιπέτεια, with a meaning of sudden change or reversal of circumstances, refers in this text to man-made actions, not that of fortune.

28.1-3. 'Αλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν ἀρξασθαι καλῶς καὶ συνακμάσαι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων (2) αὖξ-
ησιν ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἤδη γεγονέναι, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν
τὸ προτεθέν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἀντιπιπτούσης συνε-
κπληρῶσαι τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ (3) τῆς προθυμίας ἐλλιπὲς ἐπ'
ὀλίγων γίνεσθαι:

"But it seems to me that while there are many men who begin well for themselves, and whose enthusiasm flourishes with the growth of their affairs, there are those men who carry a purpose to the end, even when fortune has been adverse for them, they make up for the deficiency by the exercise of reason: there are few such men."

The phrase "when fortune has been adverse," has the same meaning as "vicissitudes of fortune," which Polybius has used fairly often before this. No doubt he is thinking

of fortune, the unexplainable, but at the same time using it in a conventional way.

29.6-9. καθάπερ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ μὲν τισιν Ὠκεανοῦ προσαγορευομένου, παρὰ δέ τισιν Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους, δυνατὸν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλατταν εἰσπλεῦσαι μὴ οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦ καθ' Ἡρακλέους (7) στήλας περαιωθέντα στόματος, οὕτως οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Πόντον ἀφικέσθαι μὴ οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦ μεταξὺ Σηστοῦ καὶ Ἀβύδου διαστήματος ποιησάμενον τὸν εἰσπλουν. (8) ὥσπερ δὲ πρὸς τινα λόγον τῆς τύχης ποιουμένης τὴν κατασκευὴν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πορθμῶν, πολλαπλάσιον εἶναι συμβαίνει τὸν καθ' Ἡρακλέους στήλας πόρον τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον. (9) ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἑξήκοντα σταδίων, ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀβυδὸν δυεῖν, ὥς ἂν εἴ τινος τεκμαιρομένου διὰ τὸ πολλαπλασίαν εἶναι τὴν ἔξω θάλατταν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς:

"For just as one cannot sail from the sea called by some the Ocean and by some the Atlantic sea except by passing through the Pillars of Hercules, so no one can reach the Propontis and the Pontus [Euxine] except by sailing through the passage between [the cities of] Sestus and Abydus. It is just as if during the forming of these two straits fortune created some proportion between them, for the passage at the Pillars of Hercules is much wider than the Hellespont, being sixty stades, while the width of the latter at Abydus is two stades, as if this were some design due to the Ocean being many times the size of our sea."

Polybius is explaining that the two cities of Sestus and Abydus command the narrow strait of the Hellespont. If Philip can take these cities he has control of both Rome's way to the Pontus Euxinus, and as well the trade-route of

Greek cities such as Athens, which obtained its corn-supply from the lands on the Pontus.

In describing the narrowness of the strait in the vicinity of the cities Sestus and Abydus (which is about 1,950 meters), Polybius appears to say that τύχη either designed or ordained the width. He is using τύχη "quite loosely" when he attributes an ancient earth-building act to "her." As Walbank writes, this appears to be a verbal elaboration, helped by current Hellenistic expression.¹⁰⁸

32.5. διὸ καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν τις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀβυδηνῶν περιπετείας μέμψαιτο τῇ τύχῃ, διότι τὰς μὲν τῶν προειρημένων συμφορὰς οἷον ἐλεήσασα παραυτίκα διωρθώσατο, περιθεῖσα τὴν νίκην ἅμα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἀπὸ ληψιμένοις, περὶ δ' Ἀβυδηνῶν τὴν ἐναντίαν εἶχε διάληψιν:

"Therefore one might most strongly find fault with fortune over the complete reversal of the Abydenes situation, since in the aforementioned cases of the other people [the Phocians and the Acarnanians], as if in pity, she immediately set right their circumstances, bestowing victory together with the safety they despaired, but in respect to the Abydenes she made an opposite judgement."

Ca. 200 Philip laid siege to Abydos. The people fought valiantly, freed their slaves, put all their valuables in some ships which they sent into the straits, and then fired them, and had fifty of the older, trustworthy citizens kill all the women and children, and all perished to a man. Polybius refers to an earlier narrative in which

the Phocians were under attack by the Thessalians, but won a victory; this narrative is lost, but Pausanias reports on it in x.1.1-4.

In this text Polybius invests the concept of τύχη with the ability to set things right by bestowing a victory on the Phocians at an earlier date, but making an opposite judgement with respect to Abydos. In this text it appears that Polybius is not just using Hellenistic language, but is writing about the unexplainable "fortune," a power that makes decisions and judgements.

Book XVIII

Book XVIII begins with the year 198/197, and concludes with the winter of 197/196. The opening chapters, 1 through 12 are about a conference between the Roman T. Quinctius Flaminius and King Philip, and includes some discussion about the aftermath.

Chapters 13 through 15 are on the subject of treachery—a digression from the historical narrative which has created much scholarly discussion as to its context. Chapter 16 is about Attalus' visit to Sicyon, and a very brief chapter is on the cruelty of the wife of Nabis the tyrant.

The main narrative in this book is about the campaign of Flaminius in Thessaly and the battle of Cynoscephalae. Flaminius had about 32,000 men of which some 8,000 were Greeks; and it is said that Philip had about 25,500. This is followed by chapters 34 through 39 on the aftermath of the engagement.

Chapter 40a and 41 concerns Attalus and his death. Chapter 42 talks about embassies to and from the Roman Senate; Chapter 43 is about the Boeotians, and then 44 through 48 are on the subject of Flaminius and the Roman commissioners in Greece. Chapter 49 is about King Antiochus meeting with the Roman envoys while he was in Thrace. Then chapters 53 through 55 concern Scopas in Alexandria.

In the fragments of this book Polybius uses the noun τύχη three times, and six τύχη-related words, two of them being used two times each for a total of eight.

12.(17.12).1-2. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξαπέστειλε, καθάπερ ἐπάνω προεῖπα, τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον πόλεμον ἐψηφίσατο κατὰμονον εἶναι, δοῦσα τῷ Τίτῳ τὴν (2) ἐπιτροπὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ταχὺ δὲ τούτων εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διασαφηθέντων ἐγεγόνει τῷ Τίτῳ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν, ἐπὶ βραχὺ μὲν καὶ ταύτομάτου συνεργήσαντος, τὸ δὲ πολὺ διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ προνοίας ἀπάντων κεχειρισμένων:

[Having cut-off the Macedonian envoys from speaking further], "the Senate now, just as I said above, dispatched both of the consuls into Gaul, and apart from that to continue the war against Philip, assigning to Titus Flaminus the task of commissioner over Greek affairs. And quickly these actions were made quite clear to Greece, and now all had come to pass as Flaminus wished, chance having contributed but little, but much through his foresight in nearly all his management of affairs."

Polybius chooses to use the τύχη-related word ταύτομάτου to indicate that "chance" had little to do with helping Flaminus attain his post in Greece. This is chance as the soldier sees it, the way a die falls, nothing at the hands of fortune—as Polybius sees it.

This is ca. 199, and Polybius is at the best one year old, and already, some thirty years before he is to become interned in Rome, a virtual prisoner, Rome is almost

in complete control of Greece, for as Livy writes in xxxii. 17.5, "Quinctius [Flaminius] has leave to make independent judgement with respect to peace or war."

14 (17.14).13-15. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν γὰρ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀντιπαραγωγῆς τὸ τέλος ἀπέβη τὸ πείραν λαβεῖν τῶν μεγίστων συμπτωμάτων (14) πταίσασι τῇ μάχῃ τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ φιλοδοξίαν, καὶ πορρωτέρω τὰ τῆς ἀτυχίας ἂν αὐτοῖς προὔβη (15) διὰ τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν:

"For, on the one hand, the plotting against Philip by the Athenians ended with the experience of suffering from the gravest misfortunes, defeated as they were in the battle near Chaeronea; on the other, the consequences of their defeat would have been advanced even further, thanks to Demosthenes' policy, if it had not been for Philip's magnanimity and love of glory."

As said before, this chapter has to do with the subject of treachery. Polybius feels that Demosthenes erred when he cast reproach on leaders from cities in Arcadia, who gave Philip free passage in his campaign against the Lacedaemonians with the hope that their cities would become free from the Spartan yoke—definitely a gamble. Athens lost to Philip at Chaeronea; so Polybius sees Demosthenes' policy responsible for the results.

The τύχη-related word σύμπτωμα, translated here as "misfortune," relates to man-made decisions. The word ἀτυχίας, however, in the phrase "τὰ τῆς ἀτυχίας," has been

translated as "defeat," an acceptable word according to the Lexicon. Actually, the key word in the phrase is "τά," which literally can mean the things. The most important things of a defeat are the consequences, which is why this word has been selected. The defeat and the consequences are the results of men's actions, not fortune's.

The selection of the word ἀτυχία by Polybius seems to indicate that he has the feeling that the defeat was a shameful one, a defeat brought about by Demosthenes' poor judgement.

15 (17.15).4-6. τοὺς τοιούτους ὑπὸ τὸ τῆς προδοσίας ὄνομα μετρίως ἂν τις ὑποτάττοι πάντας. (5) οἷς λυσιτελεῖς μὲν ἀληθῶς ἢ καλὸν οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε συνεξηκολούθησε, τὰ δ' ἐναντία πᾶσιν ὁμολογουμένως. (6) ἢ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔστι πρὸς τὸν ἔξ ἀρχῆς λόγον, πρὸς τί ποτε βλέποντες ἢ τίσι χρώμενοι διαλογισμοῖς ὁρῶσι πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀτυχίαν:

"It would be quite fair to classify all such men as traitors. In reality, this never turned out to be an advantage nor a benefit, as all men will testify. So, one wonders what was the reason for starting this, and what visions, or what considerations were being used at the time they rushed headlong into shameful misfortune."

Prior to this, Polybius has been talking about men, who in a season of great danger, either for their own sake and advantage, or owing to their differences with the other party, would place their city in the hands of the enemy.

These are the men whom he talks about in these lines. Men, who, for themselves alone, rush their cities into "shameful misfortune." No action by fortune is being suggested by Polybius in these lines, the acts are the result of human frailty.

15 (17.15).12-14. εἰν δὲ ποτε καὶ τὰς ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἐπιβουλὰς διολίσθωσιν, ἥ γε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις φήμη τιμωρὸς αὐτοῖς ἔπεται παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον, πολλοὺς μὲν φόβους ψευδεῖς, πολλοὺς δ' ἀληθεῖς παριστάνουσα καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, πᾶσι δὲ συνεργοῦσα καὶ συνυποδεικνύουσα τοῖς κακὸν τι κατ' ἐκείνων βουλευομένοις, (13) τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον οὐδὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἕωσα λήθην αὐτοὺς ἔχειν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, ἀλλ' ὄνειρώττειν ἀναγκάζουσα πᾶν γένος ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ περιπετείας, ἅτε συνειδόμενος αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐκ πάντων ἀλλοτριότητα πρὸς (14) σφᾶς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν μῖσος:

"But if they [traitors] ever manage to give the slip to the retribution of both [their employers and those they betrayed], their evil name among other men follows them for their whole life, creating many false apprehensions and many real ones, both night and day. Assisting and abetting those who have evil designs against them, and finally not permitting them to sleep to forget, but compelling them to dream of every kind of plot and sudden change of condition, conscious as they are of the estrangement from everyone, and of men's common hatred [of a traitor]."

Polybius is continuing his talk on the subject of treason. Here one has a glimpse of, a partial understanding of Polybius, himself, who without compromise, had said

in earlier lines that a commander who has failed, would be justified in taking his own life, has no room in his code of conduct for one who betrays his city, his fellow-man.¹⁰⁹

Polybius uses the τύχη-related word περιπέτεια, which has, in this context, a meaning of sudden change. One would expect him to use a word such as calamity, disaster, or misfortune in this line instead of sudden change. The concept of the man being haunted by night and day has its parallel in xxiii. 10 below, where Polybius writes that King Philip is tormented night and day by avenging spirits sent by fortune. In this text, however, Polybius does not indicate that fortune is responsible for this traitor's troubles—but that they are man-made.

28 (11).4-5. χρήσιμον καὶ καλὸν ἂν εἴν τὸ τὴν διαφοράν ἐρευνῆσαι, καὶ παρὰ τί συμβαίνει Ῥωμαίους ἐπικρατεῖν καὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐκφέρεσθαι τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγώνων, ἵνα μὴ τύχην λέγοντες μόνον μακαρίζωμεν τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἀλόγως, καθάπερ οἱ μάταιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων:

"And it may be useful and serve a good purpose to examine the difference [between Roman and Macedonian equipment and formation], and into the reason why it turns out that the Romans prevail and carry-off the prizes of war from the battlefield, so that we do not say it was chance alone and congratulate the victors without reason, just as if we were thoughtless men."

In this chapter Polybius begins to compare the two forces at the battle of Cynocephalae. Τύχην is translated

as "chance" in this text; this appears to be the most appropriate for a military man to use in this context. Chance, as used here does not mean "fortune" as it might under different circumstances: battlefield chances are in Polybius' mind as he writes this.

33 (16).4-7. Ἰσως μὲν οὖν καὶ ἑτέροις ἤδη τοῦτο συμβέβηκε, τὸ τὰς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις ἐξουσίας μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν ἀνθρωπίνως, ἐν δὲ ταῖς περιπετείαις εὐλαβῶς ἵστασθαι καὶ (5) νουνεχῶς· ἐν τοῖς δὲ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ Φίλιππον τοῦτο γέγονε. δῆλον δ' ἔσται τοῦτο διὰ τῶν (6) μετὰ ταῦτα ῥηθησαμένων· καθάπερ γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁρμὰς ἐπὶ τὸ δέον αὐτοῦ σαφῶς ἐδηλώσαμεν, καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολήν, καὶ πότε καὶ διὰ τί καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ πράξεις μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἐξηγησάμεθα, (7) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον χρὴ καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ δηλῶσαι καὶ τὴν εὐστοχίαν, καθ' ἣν μεταθέμενος τοῖς ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἐλαττώμασιν εὐλογιστότατα δοκεῖ κεχοῆσθαι τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν καιροῖς:

"Perhaps this has also by this time happened to others, that on the one hand they have not been able to carry their authority with humanity in their successes, but on the other they have been able to stand firm, cautiously and sensibly in their sudden reversals; and this [latter instance] is the way it was with Philip. And this will be evident from what I am saying below. For as I have clearly pointed out, his desires from the beginning were to do the right thing, and the change contrariwise after a period of time, and when, and why, and how it happened, and relating in full with proof of his actions. In the same way I must also point out his change of mind, and his dexterity in adapting himself to the losses inflicted by fortune, which he seems to have

faced by himself with exceptional prudence in those most critical of times."

Once again Polybius is the teacher; the first two underlined words, ἐπιτυχίαις and περιπετείαις, meaning in the same order, successes and sudden reversals, are both meant to seem to be the work of "fortune." Polybius may have done this to remind his reader of the vicissitudes of fortune. The underlined phrase "τοῖς ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἐλαττώμασιν," can be rendered as "the defeats inflicted by fortune," or as above: "the losses inflicted by fortune." Scholars have changed words, argued about the words which Polybius may have used in his original, but all agree that the sense of the line is that the losses or defeats which Philip sustained made him into a prudent commander. It is clear that King Philip, as a military commander impresses Polybius. Other lines in the Histories show that he does not personally like Philip, but he does not let that get in the way of his evaluation of the King as a leader.

The word τύχη in the phrase discussed above certainly relates to the unexplainable power, fortune, who acts in this instance to inflict either losses or defeats on King Philip.

46 (29).14-15. θαυμαστὸν γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ ταύτης γενέσθαι τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν τίτον, ὥστε πᾶσαν ὑπομεῖναι δαπάνην καὶ πάντα

κίνδυνον χάριν τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας· μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ δύναμιν (15) ἀκόλυσθον τῇ προαιρέσει προσενέγκασθαι· τούτων δὲ μέγιστον ἔστι τὸ μὴδὲν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀντιπαῖσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἅπαντα πρὸς ἓνα καιρὸν ἐκδραμεῖν, ὥστε διὰ κηρύγματος ἑνὸς ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας Ἑλληνας καὶ τοὺς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐλευθέρους, ἀφρουρήτους, ἀφορολογήτους γενέσθαι, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς ἰδίοις:

"For it was a wonderful thing that the Romans and their leader Titus [Flaminius] should perform this, incurring every expense and facing every danger for the freedom of Greece; and it was a great thing that they had brought a force for war consistent with the purpose; and moreover, the greatest of all was that there was not one attempt by fortune to resist them, but everything without exception contributed to this one moment, when through one proclamation all those Greeks dwelling in Asia and Europe became free, ungarrisoned, subject to no tribute, and governed by their own laws."

This is a long text to provide for the sake of the one use of τύχη, but the reader needs this text in order to understand Polybius' intent. It appears that he is telling his reader that on this occasion "fortune did not become capricious, and abandon Rome." At least not yet! Walbank is of the opinion that the phrase should read: "there were no accidents to upset the plan."¹¹⁰ He feels there is no personification of Tyche here; yet, it appears that Polybius knows that, if she so desired, fortune could turn. It seems he is reminding his reader of the unexplainable fortune.

48 (31).7-9. πολλῶν δὲ παρισταμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν πρῶτως καὶ λολιτικῶς μεμψιμοιρούντων αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κοῖνωνικῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι μηδὲ τηρεῖν τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνθήκας, (8) τῶν δὲ λοιδορούντων καὶ φασκόντων οὐτ' ἂν ἐπιβῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδέποτε Ῥωμαίους οὐτ' (9) ἂν νικῆσαι Φίλιππον, εἰ μὴ δι' ἑαυτοῦς, τὸ μὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτων οἱ περὶ τὸν Γνάιον ἀπεδοκίμασαν, παρεκάλουν δ' αὐτοὺς πρεσβεύειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, διότι πάντων παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου τεύξονται τῶν δικαίων:

[Gnaeus Cornelius, a member of Rome's commissioners to Greece, spoke to the general assembly of the Aetolians, exhorting them to maintain their original attitude, and keep their friendliness with Rome.]

"And many speakers appeared before the body, some mildly and in a constitutional manner complaining that the Romans did not suffer the others to partake in the successes, and that they did not take care of the [terms of] the original treaty, and further asserting and rebukingly saying that the Romans would never have set foot on Greece, nor would have conquered Philip, if it had not been for them [the Aetolians]. Gnaeus refrained from answering every one of these, and encouraged them to send ambassadors to Rome, for the reason that they would obtain complete justice from the senate."

The Roman commissioners sent to Greece after the battle of Cynoscephalae have been meeting with various bodies of people and with individuals, such as Philip. The above text is self-explanatory, the Aetolians think that they deserve more than they received. Polybius uses the

τύχη-related word εὐτύχημα (in the neuter dative plural) with a meaning of successes. It should be mentioned that the L&S Lexicon, page 970, under the word κοινωνικῶς, translates the whole phrase "κοινωνικῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι" as "to suffer others to partake in one's good fortune," citing Polybius 18.48.7. The prefix of εὐ- in the word εὐτύχημα does add the sense of good, but seems to be redundant if used with "success."

It appears that Polybius is writing about successes brought about by Roman capability, not something which fortune has brought about.

Book XX

This book relates to the year 192/1. All extant fragments are from res Graecia of the Constantinian excerpts. Chapters 1 and 2 consist of one line each, and 3 is short. The first chapters of any length are 4 through 7, which concern conditions in Boeotia.

Chapter 8 is about the marriage of a girl to Antiochus; Chapter 9 is about Achaea and Aetolians. This subject continues through Chapter 11. Chapter 12 concerns Philopoemen's words about a gift from Sparta, which he rejects.

This short book contains six τύχη-related words and one use of the word τύχη.

5.6. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τέλος κατίσχυσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀσκῶνδαν γεγομένης τινὸς περιπετείας τοιαύτης:

"Nevertheless, in the end, Ascondas and his party prevailed, which came about from a sudden change, as follows."

Περιπετείας, a sudden change, is used here about a natural phenomenon which stranded Antigonus on the shores of Boeotia. No irrational act by a power is indicated by Polybius' words. He is relating an incident which happened some years earlier, possibly ca. 227. It seems that Antigonus who after the death of Demetrius had become guardian of Philip, was actually enroute to Asia when he became

stranded. It was rumored, incorrectly, that he was about to raid the country. Neon, the hipparch of Boeotia, was nearby with some of his cavalry at the time the Macedonians became stranded, but he did not attack. When the flood tide came in a little later, Antigonus' men were able to row away. Everyone of the Boeotians, except for the Thebans, were pleased with Neon's non-action, and so Neon and his party were in favor again, whereas they had been subject to much criticism and dislike before the incident.

5.11. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος, ἐπελθούσης μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς πλήμης καὶ κουφισθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν, τῷ μὲν Νέωνι μεγάλην εἶχε χάριν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ συνεπιτεθεῖσθαι σφίσι κατὰ τὴν περιπέτειαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν προκείμενον ἐτέλει πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν:

"Antiochus, when the flood tide came in very shortly thereafter and the ships having been lightened, was very grateful to Neon for standing fast, and not having set-upon them after their unexpected grounding. He now continued his voyage to Asia."

In this instance, περιπέτειαν, an unexpected event, is best translated as "unexpected grounding." It was normal for ships of that day to row or sail close to shore as much as possible. The grounding of the ships was a natural event, not something brought about by fortune. Walbank reports that E. Will suggests that a tidal wave, a tsunami, from the Rhodian earthquake of 227 may have been the cause of sudden shoaling.¹¹¹

6.5. τούτοις δ' ἠκολούθησε καὶ ἕτερος ζῆλος οὐκ
εὐτυχής:

"But unfortunately another extravagance was added on top of these evils."

In Boeotia for twenty-five years, both civil and criminal justice had ceased to be administered. Some leaders even provided pay from public funds for the indigent, says Polybius, sounding indignant. The people learned to pay court to, and invest power in, such politicians who would help them escape legal consequences of crimes and debts; and these supporters, in addition, received public funds from those magistrates whom they had elected. Then, as Polybius says in line 6.5, another extravagance came into being. When childless men died, they did not leave their property to the nearest heirs, they left it to their friends, who spent the money on junketing and banqueting. And even men with families left their money and property to their clubs, so that many Boeotians had free dinners all year long, never eating at home.

Polybius uses the τύχη-related word εὐτυχής, as an adverb, which when combined with the negative οὐκ can be translated as "unfortunately." Not a word to trace to some effort by fortune, but a man-made trouble.

7.1-2. τοιαύτην δ' ἔχοντες οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς πολιτείας, εὐτυχῶς πῶς διώλισθον καὶ τοὺς κατὰ (2) Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς κατ' Ἀντίοχον καιροὺς. ἔν γε μὴν τοῖς ἑξῆς οὐ διέφυγον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀνταπόδοσιν

ἡ τύχη ποιουμένη βαρέως ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμβαίνειν· ὑπὲρ
ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ποιησόμεθα μνήμην:

"Such being the conditions of public affairs in Boeotia, somehow, fortunately, they were able to slip through the critical times both of Philip and of Antiochus. Nevertheless, there was no escape for them in the future, for it seemed just as though fortune designedly repaid them, falling heavily upon them, concerning which I shall write below."

The τύχη-related word εὐτυχῶς in this line is an adverb formed from the stem of the adjective εὐτυχής; it may have a meaning of successfully or fortunately, but from the context of the line, fortunately appears to be the most reasonable selection. It seems that this word has no relationship to an action by fortune; however, the manner in which Polybius uses τύχη in the second sentence of the line, giving her the capacity to repay or requit the Boeotians, and "falling heavily" upon them, leads to the conclusion that both of the subject-words are orientated towards the power or force, namely fortune.

11.1. περὶ δὲ τῆς συνβάσεως τῷ Νικάνδρῳ περιπετείας
οὐκ ἄξιον παρασιωπῆσαι:

"But the sudden change which happened to Nicander does not deserve to be passed over in silence."

Περιπέτεια in the sense of sudden change in Nicander's well-being, nor the word συμβαίνω in the sense

of happened indicate any action by fortune. The sudden change and the happening are both linked to Nicander's actions.

Nicander was one of three Aetolian envoys which had been sent to Ephesus to ask Antiochus for aid. Returning from there, he reached Phalara, and trying to reach Hypata, he attempted at night to go there between the two armies of the Romans and the Macedonians; however, he was apprehended by the Macedonians, and was brought to King Philip, who to his surprise, treated him kindly.

Book XXI

The fragments of this book are for three different years: 191/0, 190/89, and 189/8. All consist of extracts from the Constantinian excerpts. There are six major subdivisions within this book, and each of these contains many narratives, some very brief, so that a listing of all of them would be a long meaningless list. For this reason only the major ones are being listed. These are as follows:

Chapters 1 through 3 are affairs of Italy; 3b through 5 are about affairs of Greece; affairs of Asia are covered in Chapters 6 through 17, and again in Chapters 33 through 45. Affairs in Italy are taken up again in Chapters 18 through 24, and affairs in Greece in Chapters 25 through 32.

In the extant fragments of Book XXI there are eleven instances of use of τύχη-related words, and the word τύχη is found in three lines of text.

2 (3)(1).1-3. Ὅτι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῆς κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν νίκης ἄρτι προσηγγελημένης, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δήμῳ παρήγγειλαν ἐλινύας ἀγειν ἡμέρας ἑννέα—(2) τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν σχολάζειν πανδημεὶ καὶ θύειν τοῖς (3) θεοῖς χαριστήρια τῶν εὐτυχημάτων:

"With the announcement to the Romans of the victory in the sea-battle, the senate at once ordered a [supplicato] rest for nine days—this is to keep a public holiday and to sacrifice thank-offerings to the gods for their success."

The victory being celebrated was the Roman defeat of Antiochus off the coast of Asia Minor, near Corycus in the fall of 191. The fortune-related word "success" relates to something done by the Romans, not by fortune.

7 (5).6-7. ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν συμβαινόντων (7) ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαλήψεις. ἄρτι γὰρ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο προκεχειρισμένοι τὸν Πausίστρατον, διὰ τὸ πρᾶξιν ἔχειν τινὰ καὶ τόλμαν, παραχρῆμα μετέπιπτον εἰς τάναντία ταῖς γνώμας διὰ τὴν περιπέτειαν:

"For most men are good at judging a situation by what happens to occur rather than by reasoning things out. They [the Rhodians] appointed Pausistratus for the very reason that he was energetic and daring, but all of a sudden they entirely changed their minds on account of their sudden reverses."

This text contains two τύχη-related words , συμβαίνω and περιπέτεια; the first has a meaning of happen, and the second is best translated as "sudden reverses," although "complete disaster" might be more appropriate. . The Rhodians lost all their ships but five in the battle. Both of the subject-words refer to man-made situations, and not to an act of fortune.

14 (11). 4-6. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν διελέχθη, παρακαλῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴτε τὴν τύχην λίαν ἐξελέγχειν ἀνθρώπους ὑπάρχοντας, μὴτε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς αὐτῶν ἐξουσίας ἀόριστον ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ περιγράφειν (5) μάλιστα μὲν τοῖς τῆς Εὐρώπης ὄροις· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην μεγάλην ὑπάρχειν καὶ παράδοξον διὰ τὸ (6) μηδένα καθίχθαι τῶν προγεγονότων αὐτῆς:

"And Publius Scipio argued this subject in much another way, exhorting the Romans neither to put fortune to the proof too much, they being but mortal men, nor create for themselves a power without boundaries; but limit themselves most of all within the boundaries of Europe. For even then this was a great and incredible empire which had been brought into existence, and no one in the past had attained this."

The phrase "not to put fortune to the proof" is a commonplace, the likes of which Polybius has used often. Yet, he is thinking and writing about that unexplainable power, fortune, which has no loyalty, a capricious fortune, who could drop the Romans without "regret." Scipio knows this when he makes the statement, he uses the words as a military man, a soldier talking, but at the same time, he says, in effect, "do not press your luck too far."

The τύχη-related word παράδοξον, meaning incredible, can be considered as being a common word, not associated with an act of fortune, unless it is taken into consideration with the word "fortune" earlier in the text. It could be that the empire became incredible through Fortune's efforts, or it could be argued that it was Roman grit, . . . might, and discipline that did it. Polybius argues both ways as has been seen earlier in this study, however, here it appears that he is thinking of a man-made—Roman—empire.

16 (13).7-9. κληθέντες δ' εἰς τὸ συνέδριον πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἕτερα διελέχθησαν, παρακαλοῦντες πρῶως χρῆσασθαι (8) καὶ μεγαλοψύχως τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι, φάσκοντες οὐχ οὕτως Ἀντιόχῳ τοῦτο συμφέρειν ὥς αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπεὶ περ ἡ τύχη παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν. (9) τὸ δὲ συνέχον ἡρώτων τί δεῖ ποιήσαντας τυχεῖν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους:

"Being summoned to the consul's advisory council, they made another very long speech [Antiochus' envoys], urging the Romans to use their successes mildly and magnanimously, alleging that this was not so much a benefit to Antiochus as to the Romans themselves, seeing as how fortune had bestowed unto them the empire and sovereignty of the inhabited world. With that, they asked what they should do at this time to secure peace and friendship with the Romans."

After the battle of Magnesia (190), Scipio told the envoys from Antiochus that the answer was the same as he gave them before the battle when they had come to the Hellespont: Antiochus must retire from Europe and from all of Asia on this side of the Taurus, he must pay 15,000 Euboean talents over a period of time, and repay Eumenes the 400 talents he still owed him, he also was to give up several enemies of Rome, and as security, twenty hostages named by Rome. With this being accepted, the Seleucid empire ceased to be a Mediterranean power.

The two τύχη-related terms, εὐτυχήμασι and ἡ τύχη are common envoy language, and have no meaning with respect

to τύχη as a power or force controlling Rome's destiny. Line 9, which contains the aorist infinitive of the verb τυγχάνω, τυχεῖν, has been included in the text only to illustrate the word usage. This infinitive has the meaning of just now, or at this time. Each use of the verb in all of its forms has been reviewed in this study. As shown here, the great majority of translations show no reference to fortune or chance.

22 (xxii.5).6. ἐν ᾧ μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν γεγόνειναι σύμπτωμα κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν, πρὸς ὃν οἰκειότατα διάκεινται βασιλέα καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν, πρὸς τοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀντιπεπρωμέναι τὴν φύσιν τῶν πραγμάτων:

"Next they [the Rhodians] said that this to them was the greatest misfortune to happen to their embassy, for they are well disposed to the king [Eumenes], who is very friendly with them, both in public and in private, but the very nature of these things places them in opposition to him."

Polybius uses the τύχη-related word σύμπτωμα in this line with a meaning of misfortune. The ambassadors were in a predicament: they were in favor of the Greeks in Asia being free and autonomous, but as they said, "this was not at all in the interests of Eumenes and his brothers." The text does not indicate that fortune has anything to do with the misfortune; it is a commonplace word as used here.

26 (xxii.9).14-19. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ κἄν ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν βίον ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ δοῦναι τὰ τρία τάλαντα. (15) τοσαύτη τις ἐνίοις πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ὁρμὴ παρίσταται (16) καὶ προθυμία. τότε δ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ ταυτόματον συνήργησεν πρὸς τὴν φιλαργυρίαν, ὥστε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπαῖνον καὶ συγκαταθέσεως

τυχεῖν τὴν (17) ἀλογιστίαν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν περιπέτειαν.
 μετὰ γὰρ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας γραμμάτων παραγεννηθέντων ἐκ τῆς
 Ῥώμης περὶ τῆς ἀφεσεως, αὐτὸς μόνος (18) ἀπελύθη χωρὶς
 λύτρων. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοί, γνόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ περιπέτειαν,
 Δαμοτέλη προεχειρίσαντο (19) πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
 πρεσβευτήν:

"And it seems to me that he [Alexander the Isian] would have perished rather than pay out three talents [for his ransom]; so strong is the impulse and so great the eagerness of some people to hoard money. But then, for that man chance worked together with his love of money, so, as his foolish action brought praise and approval from all men, he gained his end by means of a complete reversal of affairs, for a few days later a letter arrived from Rome demanding the release of the envoys. He alone was released from prison without paying a ransom. The Aetolians learning of his unexpected release, again chose [another man,] Damoteles to be the ambassador to Rome."

The first τύχη-related word ταυτόματον, translated as "chance" in the sense of unexpected, satisfies the climax of the story. The other such word, used two times, translated as first, "reversal," and then as "unexpected," or as Walbank writes, "strange experience," satisfies the story line.¹¹² All three of these words refer to man's folly, both on the part of Alexander, and of the Epirots, who captured the envoys on their way to Rome.

Alexander the Isian, reportedly the richest man in Greece, was selected with four other men to go to Rome as envoys from Aetolia. They were sent because a returning envoy announced that Marcus Pluvius Nobilor, accompanied by an army, was crossing the sea to attack Aetolia. It was hoped that the four new envoys could "deprecate the anger of the Romans." En route to Rome the envoys were captured by Epirots, who demanded five talents ransom for each one. Three were willing to pay, but Alexander said, "No." He then spent several days and nights bewailing his fate. In the meanwhile, the Epirots began to worry as to what Rome would do if the word of the capture of envoys became known. So, they reduced the ransom to three talents. Three envoys paid up, and were released, but Alexander said that he would pay only one talent, and that even that was too much. So, he remained in prison, even though he was elderly, and was worth more than two hundred talents. Then as the text above reports, he was released without paying one talent. As Polybius writes, Alexander would most likely perished before paying three talents.

29 (xxii.12).4. ἦγον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἄγοντές τινες τοὺς περὶ Δαμοτέλην· ὁ γὰρ Μάρκος πυθόμενος τὴν περιπέτειαν αὐτῶν ἔγραψε τοῖς θυρρευσῖν ἀνακομίζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς αὐτόν:

"And then after a few days, some men from the Acarnanians came, bringing with them Damoteles and those with him.

For Marcus, on learning of their sudden reversal of condition, had written to the people of Thyrrheium, asking them to send the men to him."

To understand this fragment, the reader must go back to the note for xxi.26.14-19. Damoteles was the envoy who came back from Rome to warn of an imminent attack by the Romans. It was the same man, on being sent back again to Rome, as a replacement for Alexander and his associates, who was himself captured on his next trip. The above sudden reversal, the capture of Damoteles and his party, is a man-made affair, fortune does not seem to have had a part in this.

35 (xxii.18).3. ὧν διακούσας ὁ Γνάιος ἐκείνοις μὲν ὑπέσχετο βοηθήσειν μετὰ μεγάλης χάριτος, αὐτὸς δὲ νομίσας ἔρμαϊον εἶναι τὸ προσπεπτωκὸς ἐποίητο τὴν πορείαν ὥς ἐπὶ τῆς Παμφυλίας:

"Gnaeus Manlius, who listened to those request with great goodwill, said that he would undertake the rescue [of the city of Isinda]; and believing this to be an unexpected piece of luck to be able to strike against them, he made a forced march towards the region of Pamphylia."

This action took place in Asia Minor. Manlius, the Roman consul, was approached by envoys begging help against Termessians, who were devastating Isinda, and all the country around it. As the text shows, Manlius was happy to help.

The underlined word in this text is ἔρμαϊον, one which has not been used before in the extant Histories. It may have been introduced by an epitomator, or it could have come from a source-work. It has been translated as "an unexpected piece of luck"; properly, the word says, "a gift from Hermes." Hermes being a god who was known to give good luck to mankind. This is the only use of the word found in the Histories.

38 (xxii.21).2. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν αὐτὴν ταξίαρχος ἐχρήσατο
τῇ τύχῃ στρατιωτικῶς καὶ κατήσχυεν:

"The centurion who by chance had charge of her, indulged himself like a soldier, and took possession of her."

This line has little claim to be a true fragment, although Plutarch, from whose work it comes, writes in Moralia, 258c f. that Polybius says he met and conversed with the woman at Sardis. The line includes the term "τῇ τύχῃ," which seems to fit the context with "by chance." Some translations of Plutarch have this as "made use of his fortune." Whatever word is selected, this appears to be a man-made affair, and not fortune's.

The story concerns a Celtic chief's wife, Chiomara, who was captured along with other women by Manlius' forces when they defeated the Gauls in Asia. Later, she was ransomed for a considerable sum, so her captor, the centurion, took her to the river to deliver her over, and to receive

the money. At the meeting place, she embraced the centurion, and at the same time gave some signal to the waiting Gaul, who rushed up and decapitated the Roman with one blow.

Calmly, says the excerpt, she took up the head, wrapped it in a fold of her skirt, and crossed the river to her waiting husband. She dropped the head on the ground, and said, "Only one man who has lain with me is alive." The husband replied, "it is good to keep faith."

Book XXII

The text of the fragments of Book XXII is for the years 188/7 to 185/4. This book contains only two τύχη-related words, ταυτόματον and άτυχία, and each is used only once. There is no use of the word τύχη.

Chapter 3, lines 1 through 4, the first fragment of this book, is about the much discussed killing of eighty Spartans by Philopoemen at Compasium. But, as far as this thesis is concerned, Chapter 18 is the most important one.

In it, Polybius writes that the war against Rome was planned by Philip, who died before it could be put in motion, so his son, Perseus inherited the execution of it. Then, Polybius adds that the plot to kill King Eumenes, who had been to Rome, and while there spoke out against Perseus, plus the killing of certain Boeotian envoys, some of whom had planned to speak out against an alliance with Perseus, combined to make the beginning of the war. The most interesting aspect of the chapter is, that not once does Polybius even infer that fortune or chance had any part in the cause of or the beginning of the war. And the text sounds like Polybius wrote it, not an extractor or a source. Walbank notes that "whether all or any of these allegations [made by Polybius] were true is no longer ascertainable."¹¹³

4 (xxiii.2).3. πολλῆς δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀμφισβητήσεως ὑπαρχούσης διὰ τὸ πλείους εἶναι τοὺς καχέκτας τῶν εὐπόρων, ἐγίνετό τι συνέργημα τοῖς τὰ βέλτισθ' αἰρουμένοις ἐκ ταύτομάτου τοιοῦτον:

"But it was beginning to be a considerable dispute, as the politically disaffected were more numerous than the property-tied class [which supported Rome], when certain support by chance happened for the better faction."

Polybius uses the word ταύτομάτον in this line with an apparent meaning of chance. It seems he is saying that it just turned out this way, and that he is not thinking of any effort by the power, fortune.

The chance he refers to is that Flaminius had been working in Rome to secure the return to Boeotia of exiled Zeuxippus, who was certainly a member of the "disaffected" group for he was an indicted thief and murderer. For the whole story of this man, see the rest of Chapter 4.

13 (17) (xxiii.13).7-10. κολασάμενος δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ πληρώσας τὸν ἴδιον θυμόν, ἐκαραδόκει τὴν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν (8) παρουσίαν πεπεισμένος μηδένα τολμήσειν κατηγορήσειν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν φόβον. μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον παραγενομένων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀππίον καὶ ταχέως πυθομένων τὰ γεγονότα κατὰ τὴν Μαρώνειαν (9) καὶ πικρῶς τῷ Φιλίππῳ μεμψιμοιρούντων ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐβούλετο μὲν ἀπολόγεσθαι, φάσκων μὴ κεκοινω- νηκέναι τῆς παρανομίας, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντας Μαρωνείτας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποκλίνοντας πρὸς Εὐμένη κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτόν, εἰς ταύτην ἐμπε- πτωκέναι (10) τὴν ἀτυχίαν:

"Philip, having thus chastised his opponents and satisfied his vengeance [on the people of Maronea], waited for the arrival of the [Roman] legates, convinced that no one would

dare to accuse him, owing to fear; but shortly afterwards Appius and his men arrived, and, having soon heard what had happened at Maronea, imputed Philip as to blame for this. He professed to defend himself, alleging he had not taken part in that transgression of decency, but that the people of Maronea themselves were at discord, and that some of them were turning aside to favor Eumenes, and some towards himself, in this way this misfortune had fallen on themselves."

Although Philip called it a "misfortune," to Polybius it was a shameful misfortune, because he used the noun ἀτυχία. Shameful because Philip, who had delusions of greatness, was not a great man, but one who simply had to have his own way in spite of, or perhaps because, Rome said "no, evacuate his hold on the Thracian cities."

The word denotes a man-made misfortune, not one brought about by fortune, for after receiving the message from Rome, Philip sent Cassander, under cover, to arrange for a "quiet" massacre of the Maroneans—which did take place a few days later after Cassander made all the necessary arrangements to introduce Thracians into the town at night.

Book XXIII

The fragments of Book XXIII to the most extent are for the years 184 to 182. It begins with four chapters on the subject of Greek embassies. Chapter 5 is about the soldier-courtier, Deinocrates of Messenia. Three line Chapter 6 is about Spartan envoys to Rome. Chapter 7 is about Demetrius' return to Macedonia. Chapter 8 tells how Philip, grumbling and sighing, evacuated from Thrace, obeying orders from Rome. Chapter 9 again concerns Greek embassies to Rome.

Chapter 10 gives a well-known account of the terrible misfortunes of King Philip and Macedonia in the year 182. Chapter 11 contains fragments of a speech by Philip to his sons. Chapter 12 is on Philopoemen, Chapter 13 is about Hannibal as a leader, and Chapter 14 concerns Publius Scipio, a man loved by everyone, and Chapter 15 is a short one about conservation after an invasion. Chapter 16 tells how Lycortas, Polybius' father and strategus of the Achaeans, handled the defeat of the Messenians. Chapters 17 and 18 concern the admission of Sparta into the Achean League.

There are nine τύχη-related words in the extant fragments of this book, and five uses of the word τύχη.

3 (xxiv.3).4-6. καὶ τῆς μὲν Φιλίππου καὶ Ῥωμαίων πατριβῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ προβαινούσης ἐπίστασις ἐγενήθη κατὰ τὸ παρὸν διὰ τὴν τοῦ Δημητρίου παρουσίαν. (5) πρὸς

μέντοι γε τὴν καθόλου τῆς οἰκίας ἀτυχίαν οὐ μικρὰ
συνέβη τὴν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοῦ νεανίσκου (6) πρεσβεῖαν
 συμβαλέσθαι:

"The friction between Philip and the Romans was proceeding to become much greater when it was halted for the time being by the presence [in Rome] of Demetrius. However, it happened that the young man's embassy to Rome contributed in no small part of the whole shameful misfortune of the house [of Macedon]."

Embassies from Greece were complaining strongly to Rome about Philip, when his son, Demetrius, arrived there as an ambassador. His extreme youth and lack of general competency led the senate to act kindly towards him. This turned the young prince's head, and he began to have delusions of grandeur. Flaminius added to this feeling by inviting the young man's confidences and eliciting his secrets, and he deluded the youth into cherishing the idea of the Romans securing the Macedonian throne for him. All this both irritated and worried Perseus and Philip. Perseus soon persuaded his father, Philip, to have Demetrius killed.

Polybius uses two τύχη-related words in this line: the first, συμβαίνω, which has a meaning of to happen, and the second, ἀτυχία, which again Polybius vests with the sense of shameful misfortune, as he has in many instances before this in the Histories. Both words refer to things men do to men.

9 (xxiv.10).1-3. ὅτι κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἡ σύγκλητος, παραγενομένων πρέσβων παρ' Εὐμένους καὶ Φαρνάκου καὶ Φιλίππου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, ἔτι δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ἐκπεπτωκότων καὶ παρὰ τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν (2) πόλιν, ἐχρημάτισε τοῦτοις. ἦκον δὲ καὶ Ῥόδιοι (3) πρεσβεύοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς Σινωπέων ἀτυχίας:

"In the second year of the Olympiad [149= year 183/2] upon the arrival [in Rome] of embassies from Eumenes, Pharnaces, and Philip, from the Achaean League, and from both the exiled Lacedaemonians and those in possession of the city, the senate gave all of them an audience. And also Rhodian ambassadors had come because of the shameful misfortune of the Sinopians."

The reader will have noted by this time that when Polybius selects a particular τυχη-related word, he seems to use it repeatedly for a number of chapters. Here again he has written ἀτυχίας as concerns the city of Sinope. King Pharnaces ascended the Pontic throne in 185; Pontus is a region to the east of Sinope, both on the Pontus Euxinus. In 183 he initiated a policy of expansion with a surprise attack on Sinope. Walbank writes that the war against these people lasted four years, but that details are obscure.¹¹⁴ Why Polybius chooses to call this war a shameful misfortune is an unknown at this time.

10 (xxiv.8). The first sixteen lines of this chapter contain a colorful exposition of the trouble facing the royal house of King Philip in the year 182. The text is

fragmented, and has been compressed by the extractor. The lines from this chapter, which are considered pertinent to the study, are given in the following paragraphs along with a commentary.

1. ὅτι τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίπῳ καὶ συμπάσῃ Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν δεινὴ τις ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐνέπεσε καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιστάσεως καὶ μνήμης ἀξία:

"Then this year a certain terrible beginning of evils fell upon King Philip and the whole of Macedonia; this is worthy of close attention and recording."

Polybius does not use a τύχη-related word in his opening sentence of the chapter, he does use the noun κακός, which in this instance has a meaning of evil. It is interesting to note that many translators, by now being well-tutored by Polybius to think of a τύχη-related word whenever Polybius says that things are going from bad to worse, select such a word for their translation; Paton says, "the first outbreak of terrible misfortune," and Shuckburgh writes about "a certain dreadful foreshadowing of misfortune." Both writers undoubtedly decided that the compression by the extractor had eliminated these or similar words.

2-3. καθάπερ γὰρ ἂν εἰ δίκην ἡ τύχη βουλομένη λαβεῖν καιρῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ πάντων τῶν ἀσεβημάτων καὶ παρανομημάτων ὧν εἰργάσατο κατὰ τὸν βίον, τότε παρέστησέ τινας ἐρινύς καὶ ποινὰς καὶ προστροπαίους τῶν δι' ἐκεῖνον ἡτυχηκότων.
(3) οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τοιαύτας ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας, ἕως οὗ τὸ ζῆν ἐξέλιπεν,

ὥς καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁμολογῆσαι διότι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἔστι τις Δίκης ὀφθαλμός, ἥς μηδέποτε δεῖ καταφρονεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὑπαρχοντας:

"For it was exactly as if fortune, meaning to exact a due measure of punishment from him for all of the impious acts and illegal acts which he had committed during his life, then visited him with certain furies and tormentors, and avenging spirits of those men who had been unfortunate because of his evil acts. They possessed him, staying beside him by night and by day, taking vengeance of him, never forsaking him as long as he lived. So as all men acknowledge, as the proverb says, 'Justice has an eye, and we who are but mere mortals must never scorn her.'"

This text contains two τύχη-related words, the noun τύχη and the perfect active participle of the verb ἀτυχέω. The use of the words "as if" tells his reader that Polybius is not stating that the power fortune is punishing Philip, only that "it may seem that way." In view of this it would appear that these two subject-words are used in a Hellenistic popular manner, words used to match the other somewhat colorful words in this chapter.

4. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ταύτην παρεστήσαντο τὴν ἐννοίαν ὅτι δεῖ μέλλοντα πολέμεῖν πρὸς Ῥωμαῖος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ παραθαλαττίων πόλεων τοὺς μὲν πολιτικούς ἀνδρας μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀναστάτους ποιήσαντα μεταγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν νῦν μὲν Ἡμαθίαν:

"For first of all they set before his mind the thought that being about to engage in war with the Romans, he ought to

make the men who take part in politics, who live on the sea-coast and principal cities, take up and depart with their children and women, and change to the place now called Em-anthia."

This line does not contain a τύχη-related word, nor τύχη, but it has been included because there might be some question about the subject of the first clause. Paton's translation says: "For first of all Fortune inspired him with the notion...." However, the verb form παρεστήσαντο, underlined in the text, is an aorist middle, third person plural verb, the subject of which Polybius very probably meant to be the "certain furies, tormentors, and avenging spirits" that were keeping him awake, and not "Fortune."

11. ὄντων δὲ τῶν πλείστων ἐπιφανῶν διὰ τὰς τῶν πατέρων προαγωγὰς, ἐπιφανῇ καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀτυχίαν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐλεεινὴν:

"As most of them were notable because of their father's eminence, the shameful misfortune of the youths also became notable, and the action produced pity on the part of all."

After Philip moved many influential families away to the interior, he had some of the men killed; afterwards he ordered the officers in charge of the various cities to find the sons and daughters of the Macedonians he had killed, and to imprison them. These young people being well known, this action aroused considerable pity.

Again, justifiably so, Polybius uses the word *ἀτυχία* with its meaning of shameful misfortune. Here he is talking about a man-made shameful action, not something brought about by fortune.

12. τρίτον δ' ἡ τύχη δράμα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπεισήγαγεν τὸ κατὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς, ἐν ᾧ τῶν μὲν νεανίσκων ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβουλευόντων:

"But fortune at the same time had a third act to bring upon the stage concerning his sons, in which the youths were plotting against each other."

With Philip's sons plotting against each other as to which one should be the father's successor should he be killed in the war, Philip had to decide which one he would fear the most and be a threat to him in his old age, meaning he would need to decide whom to have killed.

The words "τρίτον δ' ἡ τύχη δράμα," whether they are Polybius' or an extractor's, sound as if they were selected to give a sense of a tragedy on the stage, a means of maintaining the reader's interest. With this in mind, it appears that this is a literary device, and not a firm belief on Polybius' part that the power, fortune, is in control at Philip's court.¹¹⁵

16. ... καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς ψυχῆς οἶονεὶ λυττώσης αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς νεῖκος ἅμα τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔξεκαύθη, τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀναβιβαζούσης ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ τὰς τούτων συμφορὰς:

"... And these curses ran through his mind as if he were insane; at the same time the quarrel among the sons—which I talked about before—burst into flame, as if fortune of set purpose was bringing up on the stage at one and the same time the misfortunes of these youths."

This is a fragmented line. Τύχη in the genitive absolute is used here seemingly in a literary fashion. The whole line has a staged-scene intent written into it, as in line number 12 above. It seems that Polybius is using this word and as well, συμφοράς, in an attention-seeking manner, and that he is not of the opinion that the power, fortune, is actively staging this "play."

12 (xxiv.8b). The fragments of Chapter 12 concern the Achaean strategus Philopoemen of Megalopolis (ca.253-182.) Polybius writes that Philopoemen, Hannibal, and Scipio, all died in the same year, 182; to him, three great men. Four lines in this fragment are pertinent to this study; these lines with their commentary are written in the following paragraphs.

3-4. ὅτι φιλοποίμην ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ἀνηρέθη φαρμάκῳ, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος οὐδενὸς τῶν πρὸ τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν δευτέρου, τῆς τύχης μέντοι γ' ἥτιων, καίτοι δόξας ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρὸ τοῦ βίῳ συνεργὸν ἐσχηκέναι (4) ταύτην. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν παροιμίαν εὐτυχῆσαι μὲν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα δυνατόν, δευτυχῆσαι γε μὴν ἀδύνατον:

"Philopoemen, strategus of the Achaeans, who was seized by the Messenians and put to death by poison, was a man second to none of his predecessors in virtue, however, he was brought down by fortune, although before in all his lifetime this power worked with him and guided him. It seems to me, that, according to the common saying: man is able to be fortunate, but is unable to continue to be fortunate."

The phrase "τῆς τύχης μέντοι γ' ἥττων," which has a meaning of fortune vanquished him, or brought him down, is quite similar to the one Polybius uses in ix.8.13, to show that "fortune brought down Epameinondas," even though Philopoemen did all that a good general should do—up to then.

The word τύχη in line 3, and the aorist infinitives of the verbs εὐτυχέω and δειτυχέω in line 4, are common terms of the day, and do not appear to show that Polybius thinks that the power, fortune, is actually doing all this. This, in spite of the fact that the accusative, feminine, demonstrative pronoun ταύτην, underlined in line 4, has the connotation of "she" along with "this," and is translated as "this power."

5-6. διὸ καὶ μακαριστέον τῶν προγεγονότων οὐχ ὥς δειτυχηκότας τινάς· τίς γὰρ ἀνάγκη ψευδεῖ λόγῳ χρωμένοις ματαίως (6) προσκυνεῖν τὴν τύχην:

"So then, some of our predecessors were blessed, but not as ones who had continued to be fortunate. For what need exists

for those who indulge in speaking falsely, as do those who worship Fortune without reason?"

Polybius again uses the verb δειστυχέω in the form of a perfect active participle with translation of "those who had continued to be fortunate." It appears that he intends the reader to see this word as a commonplace, an element of the current vernacular.

The second word in the text which is underlined is τύχη, which in translation is "Fortune." This is the first instance in this paper that fortune has been capitalized; Polybius is talking about other men who choose to worship Fortune. He may have been contemplating the idea of the Greek goddess, Fortune, or he may have been thinking about the concept of unexplainable fortune, the power or force. Yet, from the context of the sentence, it appears that he does mean the goddess.

6-7. ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὡς πλεῖστον (7) χρόνον ἐν τῷ ζῆν
ἔλεων ἔχοντας ταύτην, κἂν ποτε μετανοῇ, μετρίαις περι-
πεσόντας συμφοραῖς:

"But they [are blessed] who for the greatest part of their life have [been treated] kindly by that one, and who, if she should change her mind, would only encounter moderate misfortunes."

The reader has no choice but to think that the feminine demonstrative pronoun, ταύτην, underlined above, translated as "that one," reflexively refers to the noun

τύχη in line 6, page 290. Polybius, apparently, refers there to Fortune, the Greek goddess Τύχη.

By referring to the listing for the word "τύχη" in the "Index of Lines" for this thesis, the reader will note the entry for line xxiii.12.6 includes a letter "G" to indicate that line refers to the goddess. This is the only line in the extant Histories that appears to make direct reference to the goddess Fortune.

Book XXVII

The fragments of Book XXVII relate to the years 172/1, the first year of which saw the beginning of the war between Rome and Perseus. This is the first book since XXIII to contain the word τύχη or τύχη-related words.

Chapters 1 and 2 concern Boeotia; some cities in that part of Greece still were in favor of placing themselves in Perseus' camp, while others favored the Romans. The Rhodians were wholeheartedly for the Romans, as shown in Chapter 3. Then, as related in Chapter 4, Perseus sent two envoys to Rhodes to ask those people to stay out of the war, to remain as quiet spectators, and perhaps be in a position to act as conciliators, should Rome decide to attack Macedonia.

Chapter 5 tells how Perseus gained support from three Boeotian cities. Rome, hearing of this, invited envoys from those cities, and from Perseus, to come to Rome. These envoys did nothing to conciliate Rome, so all envoys and Macedonians were ordered home. Rome had decided on war. The rest of the book is about the early days of the war, an early victory by Perseus, his bid for peace, the Roman reply and Perseus' decision to continue.

This book contains one use of the word τύχη, and only one line in which a τύχη-related word has been used.

8.8. Ἰδιον γάρ τοῦτο πάντῃ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἔθος καὶ πατριὸν ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἐλαττώσεις αὐθαδεστάτους καὶ βαρύτατους φαίνεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐπιτυχίας ὡς μετριωτάτους:

"For it is a different and a traditional custom with the Romans in all cases, that on the one hand, after having suffered a loss, they show themselves to be most stubborn and imperious, and on the other, after successes as the most moderate."

The line defines the direction the Romans take after a battle is over. As winners, they are moderate in their demands; if they lose, they dig in and fight again, doing this until they do win over their opponent. The τύχη-related word ἐπιτυχίας, meaning successes, refers to results obtained by the Romans, and not brought by the power, fortune.

Polybius has been explaining that after the Macedonian victory over the consul Licinius in the battle at Callicinus, Perseus held a council, in which it was recommended that he send an embassy to Licinius offering terms, which if accepted would benefit Perseus. Adopting the recommendation, Perseus did send an embassy to Licinius. The Romans replied by ordering Perseus to submit absolutely, and give the Senate full authority over the affairs of Macedonia.

16 (14).4-5. συνέβη δὲ τὸν Αὔλον εἰς τοὺς Φανοτεῖς παραγενόμενον καταλῦσαι παρὰ Νέστορι τῷ Κρωπίῳ καὶ

παραδοῦναι καθ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καιρὸν ὁμολογούμενον·
ὃν εἰ μὴ τύχη τις ἐβράβευσε πρὸς (5) τὸ βέλτιον, οὐκ ἂν
μοι δοκεῖ διαφυγεῖν:

"Aulus Hostilius [the Roman consul] as it happened, arrived in Phanota and was staying with Nestor the Cropian. This seemed to his enemies [Theodotus and Philostratus] to be a suitable opportunity to give him into [Perseus'] hands; and if fortune had not, acting as a judge, decided for the better, it seems to me that he would not have escaped."

Theodotus and Philostratus thought that if they could capture Aulus and give him to Perseus, this would be a signal pledge of their fidelity, and also would inflict great injury on the Romans. However, for some unknown reason Nestor divined what was to happen, and made Aulus leave that night.

Polybius has used the τύχη-related word συμβαίνω, with its meaning of to happen, and the words μὴ τύχη, with the literal meaning of not fortune, or "not chance," as Paton chooses to translate it. However, the phrase "acting as a judge," something which Polybius has said before on several occasions, very probably means "fortune the judge" to him. For this reason the words have been translated as "fortune had not." In spite of this use of the word fortune, it does appear that Polybius is talking in the vernacular, but at the same time apparently is referring to the power, fortune.

Book XXIX

This is the first book since XXVII to contain the word *τύχη* or *τύχη*-related words. Book XXIX fragments relate to the years 169/8.

Chapters 1 and 2 relate briefly to affairs in Italy. From 3 through 20 are all related to the war between Rome and the Macedonians, culminating in the battle at Pydna, when Aemilius Paulus defeated the Macedonians. Chapter 12 is a digression from this: a narrative on the writing of history, and may concern the works of historians who wrote about the war with Perseus.

Chapter 21 is Polybius' reflections on the words of Demetrius of Phalerum, in which Demetrius illustrates the power of *τύχη* down through the years, from the invasion of the Persians into Greece to the fall of Perseus. This was an important piece of writing to Polybius, so the entire chapter has been included in this paper.

Chapter 22 concerns Eumenes, King of Pergamum, who, since Perseus had been destroyed, thought he would have peace and quiet—but the Gauls from Asia attacked him. From Chapter 23 to the end of the book Polybius writes about the war between Antiochus and the brothers, Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII. The narrative includes a lengthy discussion of how an embassy from both kings came to the Achaean League

asking for military assistance. The council of the league was divided, some, Lycortas' party, wanted to help the Ptolemies, but the opposition party said that the league should give full attention to serving the cause of Rome.

In this book Polybius uses the word τύχη eight times, and seven different τύχη-related words, each used a single time, plus three "new" words which are τύχη-related.

4 (3).8-10. [Περσεὺς ἐξέπεμψε] Τηλέμναστον τὸν Κρήτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον, (9) μὴ παρορᾶν τὸν καιρὸν μηδ' ὑπολαμβάνειν πρὸς αὐτὸν μόνον ἀνῆκειν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ τὴν βαρύτητα (10) τῶν Ῥωμαίων, σαφῶς δὲ γινώσκειν ὥς ἂν μὴ καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς συνεπιλαμβάνηται, μάλιστα μὲν διαλύων τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, βοηθῶν, ταχέως πεῖραν λήψεται τῆς αὐτῆς ἐαυτῷ τύχης:

"[Perseus sent] Telemnastus the Cretan to Antiochus, urging him not to neglect this opportunity, nor suppose the arrogance and oppression of the Romans appertained only to himself, but to understand clearly that if he did not now assist, best of all by putting an end to the war, and if not, by helping him, he would gain quickly the experience of the same fate for himself."

The time Polybius writes about is very probably the winter of 169/8, and Perseus is trying to line up allies for the forthcoming battles with the Romans. Aemilius Paulus has been sent to take command of the Roman troops.

Polybius uses the word τύχη in the sense of fate in this account of Perseus' message to Antiochus; according to the lexicon this is a proper translation, well suited to the

context of the sentence. It is of interest to note that both Paton and Shuckburgh translate this word as "fate," but in this instance Walbank is silent. This certainly appears to be a commonplace expression.

9 (1f).11. πάντων γὰρ τῶν συμβάντων κακῶν αἰτιον
ἐνόμιζεν Εὐμένη γεγρονέναι, ὅν οὐκ ἂν ἡδυνήθη κατ' οὐδένα
τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι βέλτιον ἢ πολέμιον ποιήσας Ῥωμαίοις:

"For he [Perseus] considered Eumenes to have been the cause of all his unlucky happenings, and in no way was he better able to avenge himself, than by making him [Eumenes] an enemy of the Romans."

The verb συμβαίνω, with a meaning of happening, and κακός, a noun with a meaning of unlucky, as found in tragedies and omens, together meaning unlucky happenings, seems to well satisfy the context of this line. Polybius' use of the verb συμβαίνω shows that he had some idea of the sense of the word meaning happening or to happen by chance, so it appears very reasonable to read "unlucky happening" into this text. However, he is using the words in a conventional manner, and it does not appear that he is thinking about the idea of fortune in this line.

The idea of getting revenge against Eumenes comes from the fact that he was obliged to give perhaps as much as fifteen-hundred talents to Eumenes to put an end to the war. Such a sum of money would be talked about, and eventually the Romans would learn about it—to Eumenes' downfall.

19 (7).1-3. ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ Περσεὺς ἡττηθεὶς ἀνεδίδρασκεν, ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοῦς παρὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων πρεσβευτὰς παραγεγονότας ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλύειν τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον προσκαλέσασθαι (2) τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀναβιβαζούσης ἐπὶ σκηνὴν τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀγνοίαν, εἰ χρή Ῥοδίων λέγειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἐπιπολασάντων ἀνθρώπων (3) τότε κατὰ τὴν Ῥόδον:

"At that time, in which Perseus was defeated and ran away, the senate decided to call the envoys from Rhodes who had come with the object of bringing the war with Perseus to an end: as if fortune by design were bringing on the stage the ignorance of the Rhodians—if we may necessarily say "of the Rhodians," and not rather of those men who are now coming to the top in Rhodes."

Again Polybius uses the metaphor of fortune the producer of plays; he uses the "name" of the unexplainable power, the "she" who acts as a judge, produces plays, and sometimes act so capriciously, that man does not know what next to expect. But in spite of all this, Polybius appears essentially to be using "her" name as a literary device, a means to an end, and that he is not seriously suggesting that fortune is actually performing this act of being a producer.

The senate summoned the Rhodian envoys in order to make an example of these men, telling them, that if they had real intentions of ending the war, they should have applied two years ago when Perseus was encamped in Thessaly and devastating the land and cities of Greece, not now.

20 (6b).1-4. μήτε μεγαλαυχεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι παρὰ τὸ δέον μήτε βουλευέσθαι μηδὲν ὑπερήφανον μηδ' ἀνήκεστον περὶ μηδενὸς, μήτε καθόλου πιστεύειν (2) μηδέποτε ταῖς παρούσαις εὐτυχίαις. ἀλλ' ὅτε μάλιστα τις κατορθοίῃ κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις, τότε μάλιστα παρεκάλει (3) τῆς ἐναντίας τύχης ἔννοιαν λαμβάνειν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω μόλις ἂν ἐν ταῖς εὐκαιρίαις ἀνθρωπον μετρίον (4) ὄντα φανῇναι. τοῦτο γὰρ διαφέρειν ἔφη τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν νοῦν ἔχοντων, διότι συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀτυχίαις παιδεύεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν πέλας:

"Never boast unduly over achievements except for some specific purpose, nor take counsel only with yourself, and do not treat anyone with arrogance or barbarous cruelty, and on the whole, one must not put faith in present successes. When any man is most successful, either in private life or in public affairs, then above all he should reflect on the very opposite of fortune. For only in this way, and in toil and pain, do we show moderation in the seasons of man. This is the difference between the fools and the wise men, for the reason that the former are educated by their own misfortunes, and the latter by those of all mankind."

This is an account of an address given by Aemilius Paullus to his consilium, consisting of his sons, sons-in-law, and younger officers. Perseus is said to have been present.¹¹⁶ Scipio Aemilius, who was present, may have given much of this text to Polybius. If such were the case, the τύχη-related words may be those of Aemilius'. In any case, these words read and sound like commonplace words.

The second τύχη-related word in this text (line 4), ἀτυχία, has had a meaning of shameful misfortunes to Polybius up to this line. However, the context is about the misfortunes of fools, and their misfortunes may well be the result of foolish errors of judgement, but not necessarily shameful. It would appear that Polybius means in this case ordinary misfortunes.

21 (6c). Chapter 21 of this book, fragmented and compressed by the extractors, as it may well be, provides the reader with more than just a recounting of some of the words of Demetrius of Phalerum, a Peripatetic philosopher, statesman, strategos on several occasions in Athens, who wrote the words that Polybius writes about nearly one-hundred and fifty years later. Polybius is giving his reader his own reflections, his own understanding of what has happened to dynasties.

It has been hypothesized that when Polybius first started to write the Histories that he was a firm believer in the capricious τύχη found in the writing of Demetrius of Phalerum.¹¹⁷

Chapter 21 in its entirety is given below. The lines have been separated into synthetic subparagraphs for the sake of the reader and to facilitate analysis and commentary.

1-4. "ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ λίαν μνημονεύειν τῆς Δημη-
τρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως φωνῆς. (2) ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ περὶ
τῆς τύχης ὑπομνήματι βουλόμενος ἐναργῶς ὑποδεικνύναι
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ταύτης εὐμετάβολον, ἐπιστὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς
κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον καιροὺς, ὅτε κατέλυσε τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχήν,
λέγει ταῦτα. (3) εἰ γὰρ λάβοιτ' ἐν νῷ μὴ χρόνον ἀπειρον
μηδὲ γενεὰς πολλὰς, ἀλλὰ πεντήκοντα μόνον ἔτη ταυτί τὰ
πρὸ ἡμῶν, γνοίτ' ἂν ὡς τὸ (4) τῆς τύχης χαλεπὸν ἐνταῦθα:

"And so many times, aye truly, I call to mind the discourse
of Demetrius of Phalerum. For that writer in his treatise
about fortune, wishing to show men an unmistakably clear
view of this one's changeableness, when he comes to deal
with Alexander, when the Persian Empire had gone down to its
grave, tells these things: for if you would consider not
countless years nor many generations, but only the last
fifty years, then you would understand about the cruelty
of fortune."

It seems certain that the works of Demetrius, only
fragments of which exist today, impressed Polybius. In this
translation the word fortune has not been capitalized; al-
though Demetrius may have been writing about the goddess
Τύχη, or possibly an image which was a synthesis of the idea
of the goddess and the unexplainable power or force,
fortune Polybius seems to be thinking about the military
man's, the historian's unexplainable concept of chance and
fortune. In view of this hypothesis, the three underlined
texts, two of which are τύχη, and the third an adjectival
word, changeableness, which many writers translate as "ca-
pricious," are all Hellenistic vernacular terms.

4-5. πεντηκοστῇ γὰρ ἔτει πρότερον οἴεσθ' ἂν ἡ Πέρσας ἢ βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν ἢ Μακεδόνας ἢ βασιλέα τῶν Μακεδόνων, εἴ τις θεῶν αὐτοῖς προύλεγε τὸ μέλλον, πιστεῦσαι ποτ' ἂν ὥς εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Περσῶν μὲν οὐδ' ὄνομα λειφθήσεται τὸ παράπαν, οἱ πάσης σχεδὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐδέσποζον, Μακεδόνες δὲ καὶ πάσης κρατήσουσιν, ὧν οὐδ' ὄνομα (5) πρότερον ἦν γινώριμον:

"Would you think that fifty years ago, either the Persians or the king of the Persians or the Macedonians or the king of the Macedonians, if some one of the gods had foretold to them the future, that at any time they would have believed that by this time the very name of the Persians would have perished completely, and that they no longer were lord and master of nearly all of the civilized world, and that the Macedonians would now be ruling all, whose name was an unknown before now?"

The word τύχη or τύχη-related words do not appear in this text, but it is included for two reasons. First, it give continuity of narrative to the reader, and secondly, to point out the phrase "εἴ τις θεῶν," which has been translated here as "if some one of the gods." Both Paton and Shuckburgh mistranslate this as "if some god." These are Polybius' words; he is using Demetrius' idea about fortune's propensity for suddenly abandoning one protagonist in favor of another one. The question is strictly a rhetorical one, and Polybius knows there is no answer.

5-6. ἀλλὰ ὅμως ἡ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀσύνθετος τύχη καὶ πάντα παρὰ τὸν λογισμὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον καινοποιοῦσα

καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις ἐνδεικνυμένη,
καὶ νῦν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, δείκνυσι πᾶσιν (6) ἀνθρώποις,
Μακεδόνας εἰς τὴν Περσῶν εὐδαιμονίαν εἰσοικίσασα, διότι
καὶ τούτοις ταῦτα τάγαθὰ κέχρηκεν, ἕως ἂν ἄλλο τι βου-
λεύσῃται περὶ αὐτῶν:

"But nevertheless, fortune, who makes no covenant with our life, and who, contrary to all our reasoning, brings about new things and displays her power over things contrary to expectation, now also, it seems to me, makes this clear to all men, by settling the Macedonians into the whole wealth of Persia, and that she has lent them these goods of fortune until she determines something different for them."

This text contains one use of the word τύχη, which from the context certainly seems to be Polybius' concept of the unexplainable power, and not just current vernacular. He is very seriously trying to have his reader fully understand Demetrius' thesis: the inconstancy, the mutability of the power fortune.

Two τύχη-related words in this text directly refer to "fortune's" actions; the first, παράδοξος, a word often used by Polybius, often without a meaning that fortune is responsible for the change, "contrary to expectation," here directly refers to fortune's actions, something "she" seems to be doing almost as to "show off." The second such word is in the phrase ταῦτα τάγαθὰ, meaning these goods of fortune. Τάγαθὰ has not appeared before this in the extant Histories; it is the crisis, contraction, of the article's

vowel in neuter "τά" with "ἀγαθόν," to give a meaning of goods of fortune—among others. Because it is used only one time in Polybius' work, it has not been included in the list of τύχη-related words, but is in the index of these words.

7-8. ὁ νῦν γέγονε κατὰ Περσέα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος ὥσανεῖ θεῖω τινὶ στόματι (8) περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποπεφοίβακεν. ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἐπιστάς τοῖς καιροῖς καθ' οὓς συνέβη καταλυθῆναι τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν, οὐκ ἔκρινον ἀνεπιστάτως παραδραμεῖν, ἅτε γεγενοῦς αὐτόπτης τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε τὸν πρέποντα λόγον ἐπιφθέγγασθαι καὶ Δημητρίου μνησθῆναι:

"Now this happened during the time of Perseus. So then concerning this, Demetrius gave evidence as if someone more than human talked about these things to come. And I, during my writing gave particular attention to the time during which it happened that the Macedonian monarchy had been brought to an end. I chose not to treat this inattentively and in a cursory manner, inasmuch as I had been an eye-witness to this action, but to join in with what was said, recalling to mind the account of Demetrius."

This text contains one τύχη-related word, συμβαίνω, which has a meaning of to happen; the word in this instance is not directly related to fortune's action, so it is considered to be a case of ordinary verb selection. Yet, before leaving this verb, it must be noted from the text, that Polybius implies that fortune has decided that Perseus' time was up, and in her so-called characteristic of being capricious, selects the Romans to win.

In this case the word "happen" does relate to an act by fortune; this question is deferred to the comment at the close of the chapter below.

Polybius says that he was an eye-witness to the fall of the Macedonians; yet, there is no evidence that he was present at the battle of Pydna. At the time he was active militarily, being hipparchus, second-in-command over all the Achaean League. Missing fragments might have explained this statement more fully.

The word θείω has been underlined in the text; its meaning is more than human, a phrase which Walbank says is a commonplace and is no indication of Polybius' religious views.¹¹⁸

9. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι θειοτέραν ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον τὴν ἀπόφασιν ποίησασθαι· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πρότερον ἔτεσι τάληθες ἀπεφήνατο περὶ τῶν ἔπειτα συμβησομένων:

"For it seems to me that this declaration was more divine than one which was being made by man; for nearly a hundred and fifty years ago, he, in very truth, declared plainly about what was to be happening in the future."

The most amazing thing about this last extant line of the chapter is that it does not use τύχη nor any τύχη-related word other than the verb συμβαίνω, with its simple meaning of to happen. It is necessary, based on the context of the line to conclude that Polybius does relate the idea

expressed by the verb συμβαίνω, "to happen," to an action by τύχη in line 9 as well as line 8 above.

For the second time in this study, it appears that Polybius is making a direct reference to the goddess Τύχη. He uses the word τύχη three times in this chapter, but not in the concluding line. Instead, he writes θειοτέραν, a feminine gender, accusative case form of θεῖος, α, ον, with a most likely translation of "divine," using it as a substantive. It is his key word in the phrase: "this declaration was more divine than one which was being made by a man." In this instance, it very strongly appears that Polybius is thinking about the goddess Τύχη, but he is true to himself, and does not permit himself to cross the threshold and specifically write "the goddess Τύχη," nor does he ever do this.

A scholar could say that the term "more divine," regardless of gender, can mean "more like a god, less like a man.: This could be said of a very unusual man, or even of the "unexplainable force or power, called fortune, which afflicts all mankind." If the latter idea is tenable, then it can be said that Polybius is referring to the power, fortune.

22 (6d).1-4. Ὅτι Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Περσέως καὶ Ῥωμαίων μάχης συντετελεσμένης εἰς παράλογον ἐνέπεσε διάθελιν, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν, ὡς δὲ τάνθρωπινα

πράγματα φύσιν ἔχει γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον, εἰς τι τῶν εἰωθότων συμβαίνειν. (2) ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη τοῖς παρὰ λόγον τὰ κατὰ λόγον ἐπιτρέψαι, κἂν τινι συνεργήσῃ καὶ προσθῇται τὴν αὐτῆς ῥοπήν, αὐθις οἷον ἐκ μεταμελείας ἀντισηκοῦν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ κατορθώματα (3) παρὰ πόδας. ὁ καὶ τότε περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη (4) γενέσθαι συνέπεσε:

"Eumenes the king [of Pergamus], after the battle of Perseus and the Romans had been brought to an end, unexpectedly fell into a predicament, as the people say, but for the most part, considering the nature of human affairs, it was bound to happen. For fortune is quite capable of trampling down expectations with the unexpected, and if she helps anyone by throwing her weight into the balance, again she may change her mind and turn the scale against him, and ruin all his achievements. This is what happened to Eumenes."

Eumenes thought that with Perseus having been defeated, his reign would be peaceful from then on. The Gauls of Asia descended upon him, and utterly destroyed his hopes.

The text contains the τύχη-related words, παράλογον, συμβαίνειν, the term παρὰ λόγον, and the word τύχη. Polybius again writes about the capricious power, fortune. The three other words directly relate to "her" capricious power, and are not considered commonplace words as they so often are in earlier texts of Polybius.

Even though it appears that Polybius holds this belief about the concept of fortune, the clause "considering the nature of human affairs, it was bound to happen," illustrates what appears to be Polybius' cautious, perhaps

somewhat stubborn resistance to wholly acknowledging the "idea of fortune," because he knows that it is rational that human affairs will end up the wrong way at least half of the time.

27 (11).11-13. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὅσον οὕτω καταπε-
ονημένην τὴν Πτολεμαίου βασιλείαν τούτῳ (12) τῷ τρόπῳ
διέσωσαν, τῆς τύχης οὕτω βραβεύουσης τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα
πράγματα καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον
καιρὸν ἐλθόντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν ὅλην
Αἴγυπτον παρὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ὀρθωθῆναι, παρὰ τὸ (13) φθάσαι
κριθέντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα πράγματα· μὴ γὰρ γενομένου
τούτου καὶ πιστευθέντος, οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ πειθαρχῆσαι
τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις Ἀντίοχος:

"In this way the Romans saved the kingdom of Ptolemy, which almost has been subdued: fortune in this manner acting as a judge about the matter of Perseus and the Macedonians, so that when extreme measures were going against Alexandria and the whole of Egypt, all was restored back again, by virtue of the decision which had been made earlier concerning the fate of Perseus. For had this not been so, and had not Antiochus been sure of it, in my opinion, he would never have submitted to the [Roman] commands."

Fortune once again acts as a judge in the affairs of mankind, so that when Perseus went down, Egypt was saved. If the Romans still had been occupied with subduing Perseus, or if they had been the losers in encounters with him, they would have been too preoccupied to worry about the growing power of Antiochus. As Polybius says, Perseus had been defeated by the Romans, so the Romans could tell Antiochus

to withdraw his troops from Egypt. It will be noted that Polybius writes that the Romans saved the kingdom of Ptolemy, but that he also says that "fortune in this manner acts as a judge." By writing in this manner he can have his cake and also eat it. It appears that the terminology of fortune acting as a judge is his use of conventional words of the Hellenistic period, and not an admission that Perseus was defeated by fortune. In effect, however, he is admitting—in vernacular—that Perseus' luck ran out, and that luck saved Egypt from Antiochus.

Book XXX

From the evidence in the fragments it seems that Book XXX was for Olympiad 153, the years 168 to 164. Following his plan of writing, Polybius begins with happenings in Italy in Chapters 1 through 5, telling about Attalus in Rome and embassies from Pergamene and Rhodes.

Chapters 6 through 15 are about Greece. The narratives cover anti-Roman statesmen, Aemilius Paullus' visit through southern Greece, congratulatory embassies to the Romans in Macedonia, and two single lines about Aemilius Paullus.

Chapter 16 is a two line text on Egypt. Chapters 17 through 22 relate again to affairs in Italy, and in 23 and 24 Polybius returns to talk about Greece. Chapters 25 through 27 are about about Antiochus IV and his Asian games at Daphne, seemingly given in order to parade his military might to the onlookers. Chapter 28 is one line about the Galatian envoys, and Chapter 29 is about the feelings of people in the Peloponnese against Callicrates.

Chapters 30 through 32, the end of the book, concern embassies from Prusias of Bithynia, Rhodes, and Achaea, to Rome.

In this chapter the word $\tauύχη$ appears two times, and $\tauύχη$ -related words appear six times.

4.15-17. τὸ δὲ γένος τοῦτο τῆς δικαιολογίας οὐδαμῶς ἂν πρέπειν (16) ἀνδρὶ πολιτικῷ δόξειεν, ἐπεῖτοι καὶ τῶν κοινοπραγησάντων περὶ τινων ἀπορρήτων οὐ τοὺς διὰ φόβον ἢ πόρον μηνυτὰς γενομένους τῶν συνειδότην ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πᾶσαν ἐπιδεξαμένους βάσανον καὶ τιμωρίαν καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν συνειδότην παραιτίους γενομένους τῆς αὐτῆς συμφορᾶς, τούτους ἀποδεχόμεθα καὶ τούτους ἄνδρας (17) ἀγαθοὺς νομίζομεν:

"Such kind of pleading, I think, is in no way becoming in a statesman, since surely we do not commend those who have had dealings in any secret thing who from fear or suffering become informers and betray confidences, but we recognize as brave those who endure torture and punishment without being in part the cause of misfortune to their accomplices."

Polybius is talking about a written justification of Rhodes' defense, which the Rhodian ambassador had given at an earlier date to the Roman Senate. The speech, verbal and written, did not please the senate, nor the Greeks resident in Rome and in Greece. The speech was more a complaint about others, and it cloaked the offenses of Rhodes.

The τύχη-related word συμφορά, with a meaning of misfortune, is being used here in a commonplace manner, a conventional word with no apparent reference to activity on the part of fortune.

5.3-4. οὕτως αἰεὶ τὰ μείζω τῶν προσδοκωμένων κακῶν (4) λήθην ποιεῖ τῶν ἐλαττόνων συμπτωμάτων:

"So it is always that the expectation of greater evils makes men forgetful of lesser misfortunes."

Polybius is still writing about the Rhodian embassy to Rome. Before they met with the senate, a praetor mounted the rostra in the Forum, and urged the people to declare war on Rhodes; subsequently, but before he could do too much to incite the crowd, the tribune Antonius pulled him down from the rostra.

Later, when the ambassadors heard the senate's reply to their pleas, they were relieved that there would not be a war; but the senate reproached them bitterly, levying some demands against Rhodes (Polybius does not tell what they were.)

In the meantime, the news of the praetor's speech was carried to Rhodes. When the ambassadors returned there, conveying the good news that there would not be a war, but that there were several severe demands, the people were overjoyed, overlooking the "lesser misfortunes." So happy were they that they immediately voted to send a crown made of ten-thousand gold pieces to Rome as a gift to the city goddess Roma.

The word "misfortune" in the text is undoubtedly a commonplace, used without thought of fortune.

6.5-6. συνέβαινε τοιγαροῦν τρεῖς διαφορὰς γενέσθαι τῶν ἐμπεσόντων εἰς τὰς αἰτίας κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον. (6) ὣν μία μὲν ἦν τῶν οὐχ ἡδέως μὲν ὁρῶντων κρινόμενα τὰ ὅλα καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν πίπτουσιν, οὔτε δὲ συνεργούντων οὔτ' ἀντιπραττόντων ἀπλῶς Ῥωμαίοις οὐδέν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐπιτετραφόντων τῇ τύχῃ περὶ τῶν ἀποβησομένων:

"There happened to be three different kinds of men who were accused for their conduct in the war with Perseus. The first of these did not view with pleasure the final decision that the whole civilized world would be falling under the rule of one authority, but neither did they support nor oppose the Romans, but as it were, entrusted the results to fortune."

Polybius is disgusted with this kind of Greek; his view is to do something, even if it proves to be wrong. He uses the word "fortune" in this text in a commonplace manner, without a hint that he is thinking of the power, fortune.

Polybius' narrative about the other two classes or kinds of Greeks does not use the word fortune, nor a fortune-related word, so the texts are not listed. However, for the curious reader, the other two are as follows. The second group consisted of the Greeks who were happy to see the war come about, and wished Perseus all success, but were unable to impose their views on their fellow-citizens. The third group were those who did convince their states of the righteousness of their views, and to their later sorrow, sent levies to assist Perseus against the Romans.

8.4. ἐλεγχόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων χειρογράφων καὶ τῶν ὑπουργῶν οὐ μόνον ἀτυχεῖν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναισχυντεῖν ἔδοξαν:

"For, being convicted, as it were, face to face by their own handwriting and their own agents, they were considered not only to be unfortunate, but furthermore to be shameless."

The infinitive of the verb ἀτυχέω, used in this text has a meaning of to be unfortunate; Polybius is using this τύχη-related word without reference to fortune, he is writing about man-made misfortunes.

The narrative which leads up to this line is that some men supported Perseus, wrote letters to him, and even sent envoys to Macedon. Then when the Romans found the letters and captured the envoys or agents, in face of such evidence, these Greek men disputed the Roman claims. Polybius writes that by obstinately clinging to life, they did not leave to posterity any grounds for pity or pardon. They acted unlike many Greeks who stood their ground, admitted their support of Perseus, and perished bravely. Polybius' patrician code demands that one does not lie, and to die with honor is foremost.

9.20-21. τίνος οὖν χάριν τὸν πλείω λόγον πεποίημαι
(21) περὶ Πολυαράτου καὶ Δείνωνος· οὐχ ἵνα συνεπεμβαίν-
ειν δόξω ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀτυχίαις:

"The reason I have written at some length concerning Polyaratus and Deinon is not in their behalf; and not because I desire to pounce upon those men's shameful misfortunes."

This is a continuation of the lesson Polybius is giving in 8.4 above. The lesson is to show the lack of wisdom on the part of these men. The word ἀτυχία, with its meaning of shameful misfortune, well satisfies the intent of the narrative. This is a man-made misfortune.

10 (14).1-2. ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα κατίδοι τις ἂν ἅμα τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀβεβαιότητα τῆς τύχης, ὅταν ἂ μάλιστ' ἂν τις αὐτοῦ χάριν οἴηται διαπονεῖν, ταῦτα παρὰ πόδας εὐρίσκηται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς κατασκευάζων. (2) κίονας γὰρ κατεσκεύαζε Περσεύς, καὶ ταύτας καταλαβὼν ἀτελεῖς Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος ἐτελείωσε καὶ τὰς ἰδίας εἰκόνας ἐπέστησεν:

"Anyone can clearly perceive both the abruptness and the fickleness of fortune from those instances when a man believes he is laboring at certain objects for his own gratification, suddenly finds out that he is preparing them for his own enemies; for Perseus was building pillars, and finding them incomplete, finished them and set statues of himself on them."

Again Polybius writes about fickle, capricious fortune; it appears he is thinking about the unexplainable power in this instance. Although Polybius says there were several statues, Plutarch mentions only one, and that at Delphi.

31 (31.7).9. ἐξ ὧν μείζονα φόρον ἐπιτεθείκατε τοῖς Ῥοδίοις τῆς ἀγνοίας ἢ Μακεδόσι τοῖς διὰ παντὸς πολέμοις ὑμῖν ὑπάρξασι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σύμπτωμα τῆς πόλεως:

"From which [it appears] you have imposed a heavier tribute on the Rhodians for one mistake, than on the Macedonians

that have gone through all the battles with you. But the greatest misfortune of our state is this: [The revenue from its harbor has been abolished by your making Delos a free port.]"

After the defeat of the Macedonians, many embassies came to Rome. The Rhodian ambassador is speaking in this text. He said that those guilty of malfeasance against Rome had been executed by the state, and begged the senate not to punish all the people for these men's errors. A Roman envoy had just returned, and he, Tiberius Gracchus, told the senate that Rhodes had obeyed all the decrees of the senate. With his speech he overcame the opposition, and the senate approved an alliance between Rome and Rhodes. Presumably, the harbor status as a free port was revoked.

Polybius uses the τύχη-related word σύμπτωμα, with a meaning of misfortune. This word relates to action taken by the Romans, and not something done by fortune.

Book XXXI

The fragments which make up Book XXXI relate to Olympiad 154, the years 164 to 160. The book begins with a brief note in Chapter 1.1 stating that Tiberius Gracchus, envoy from Rome, subjects to Rome the inhabitants of Cammanene in northwestern Cappadocia. Chapter 1 continues with a narrative of the senate's suspicion of Eumenes and Antiochus. In Chapter 2 Demetrius, hostage in Rome from early childhood to age twenty-three, asks the senate to be permitted to return home to assume the crown, now held by the Antiochus family. The senate said no. Chapter 3 is about an embassy from Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia.

Chapter 4 is a brief narrative about Rhodes and their possession of the city of Calynda in Lycia. Chapter 5 concerns the Roman Senate ceding Calynda to Rhodes. Chapters 6 through 9 are about affairs in Asia. Chapter 10 is about the two young Ptolemies who have partitioned the Egyptian kingdom. The younger brother comes to Rome and asks for help in removing the partition.

In Chapters 11 through 15 Polybius writes at some length about the escape of Demetrius from Italy in the summer of 162. It is widely held that Polybius played a prominent part in the escape; the text says that Polybius begged Demetrius "not to stumble twice on the same stone."

Polybius meant that Demetrius should not appeal again to the senate, but he did, and received the same answer—thereby stumbling twice on the same stone.

Chapter 16 consists of three lines about Asia, followed by 17 and 18 on the subject of the two rival Ptolemy brothers in Egypt. In Chapter 19, Ptolemy learns about his brother's noncompliance with demands, so he sent two envoys to Rome; then in Chapter 20, embassies from both brothers arrive in Rome to plead the two causes.

Chapter 21 concerns Masinissa of Numidian Massyles, who cast covetous eyes on several cities in Africa and on the region called Emporia. Carthage had well-guarded them, so after some time both sent embassies to Rome. Rome said that Carthage was the loser, and Masinissa got the cities, Emporia, and five-hundred talents.

From Chapter 22 to 30 Polybius writes about Aemilius Paullus and Scipio, and certain family affairs. Chapter 31 is about Eumenes and the Rhodians, and 32 concerns envoys from Asia to Rome. The last chapter, 33, is about Demetrius making his peace with Rome through the envoy Ti. Gracchus.

This book exhibits five instances of the use of the word *τύχη*, and a total of seven *τύχη*-related words, of which the verb *συμβαίνει* accounts for three of the uses.

11 (19).1-4. ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ταῦτον προσπεσοῦσης (2) τῆς περὶ τὸν Γνάτιον περιπετείας, ὡς ἀνηρεθῇ, καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου πρεσβευόντων, ὧν ὁ Λυσίας ἔπεμψε, παραγεγονότων καὶ πολλοὺς διαθεμένων λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κεκοινωνηκέναι (3) τῆς πράξεως τοῦ βασιλέως φίλους, ἡ μὲν σύγκλητος παρέπεμπε τοὺς πρεσβευτάς, οὐ βουλομένη διδόναι περὶ τούτων ἀπόφασιν οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' (4) ἐκτίθεσθαι καθόλου τὴν αὐτῆς γνώμην:

"At this time being told the news of the sudden reversal of circumstances with respect to Gnaeus [Octavius], that he was assassinated, and when the envoys of King Antiochus, sent by Lysias, arrived and told them that the friends of the king had no part in this affair, the senate took no heed of this, not wishing to pronounce any decision on the matter, nor to express their opinion in any way."

The text which preceeded this is missing, so the sentence is somewhat difficult to understand. Gnaeus had been sent to Syria by the senate with orders to burn all the decked warships, hamstring the elephants, and do all he and his men could to cripple the king's power. This made Gnaeus very unpopular, so he was assassinated. In the meantime, back in Rome, Demetrius was still trying to get out of the country. He went to Polybius, saying he wanted to again go to the senate, and ask to leave. Polybius advised him to not do that; being young he disregarded the advice, and went back to the senate, but they again told him to wait.

The word περιπέτείας used in this text, has a meaning of sudden reversal, or sudden change. However, it seems

that the sudden reversal was due as much to the plans of the senate as it was to poor Gnaeus. The word refers to man-made troubles, not to some activity by fortune.

25 (xxxi.11).10. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος καλὴν μὲν ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς συμβίωσιν, καλὰς δ' ἐκ φύσεως ὁρμὰς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δέον· πολλὰ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ταυτόματον συνήργησε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην:

"And for this [first] part of his life he dwelled with his natural father, it was opportune, excellent support, and he had good natural impulses to do the right thing, but chance also helped him to carry out his resolve."

Chance, says Polybius, not fortune, helped Scipio to achieve his position in the Roman world. Walbank says that in this case, the right relatives died at the right time.¹¹⁹

Ταυτόματον, an Attic crasis of τὸ αὐτόματον infers the idea of something without visible cause, as in accident. The Stoics have a definition of "chance, which possibly comes close to what Polybius thought of it: "an unknown, obscure cause beyond man's reasoning power." It would be wrong to think that Polybius has the power, fortune, in mind.

26 (xxxi.12).3-4. συνέβαινε δὲ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ προειρημένῃ γυναικί, μεγαλομερῇ τὴν περίστασιν ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις ἐδόδοις, ἅτε συνημακυῖαν (4) τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τῇ Σκιπίωνος:

"And it happened that the woman named Aemilia, as said above, used to display great magnificence when leaving the house for the ceremonies that women attend, inasmuch as she had participated in her lifetime in the fortune of Scipio."

This is the first time in the extant Histories that Polybius had spoken of a man's wealth, his prosperity, as it were, as his fortune. It is very possible that this term or possibly the whole clause containing τῇ τυχεῖ is the result of an extractor's change of words. In any case the word "fortune" does not refer to the unexplainable power.

26 (xxxii.12).7. διὰ τὸν πρὸ χρόνον ἀνακεχωρηκυίας αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐπισημῶν ἐξόδων, τότε κατὰ τύχην οὐσης ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πανδήμου θυσίας, ἐκπορευομένης αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ τῆς Αἰμιλίας περικοπῇ καὶ χορηγίᾳ:

"Formerly she [Scipio's mother] had retired from going out in public processions, then if by chance there was an important public sacrifice, she would appear in all Aemilia's state and splendor."

The term κατὰ τύχην, which has been translated as "by chance," with a little change in wording could also be "there chanced to be." The term is Hellenistic vernacular. Paton chooses to translate this as "happened," which is an acceptable solution, considering the meaning of to happen.

Should the reader be slightly confused by the name Aemilia, she was the wife of the "Great" Scipio, and mother of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who adopted Scipio,

the son of Lucius Aemilius Paullus and his wife Papiria. Aemilius Paullus was to divorce Papiria a few years later. After the divorce, Papiria remained quite secluded, and out of Roman society, because she had little money. Then, when Aemilia, Scipio's step-grandmother died, Scipio inherited some money from her. He, at once, handed most of it over to his natural mother, Papiria, who then began to circulate around Rome, displaying her new riches, with which all the women who witnessed Papiria's splendor praised Scipio's generosity. Adoptio, a legal action, whereby Roman citizens entered another family, and became a legal member, was a fairly common practice.

29 (xxxiii.15).1-3. λοιποῦ δ' ὄντος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν μέρους καὶ κυριωτάτο σχεδὸν ἐν πάσῃ μὲν πολιτεία μάλιστα δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, μεγίστην ἔδει καὶ τὴν ἀσκήσιν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ποιήσασθαι. (2) καλὸν μὲν οὖν τι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῷ (3) καὶ διὰ τῆς τύχης ἐγένετο συνέργημα:

"It remained for him [Scipio] to gain his portion of courage, nearly the most important thing in all states, but especially so in Rome; and for this the training was very severe. So then, deservedly, he came to a new state of being in consequence of this determination and with some assistance from chance."

Polybius seems to mean "chance" when he writes τύχης in this text, just as he meant "chance" in the text of 25 (xxxii.11).10 immediately above, where, however, he uses

ταυτόματον. Emendation of this text required use of Diodorus xxxi.27.3, and in the end it seems that "chance" is the best translation of τύχης. When Polybius writes in this manner, as a military man, it appears that he thinks more often of chance than of fortune, the unexplainable power.

30 (xxxi.16).1-3. ἐγὼ δὲ πλείω πεποίημαι λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς Σκιπίωνος αἰρέσεως ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ἡδεῖαν μὲν ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ὠφέλιμον δὲ τοῖς νέοις τὴν τοιαύτην ἱστορίαν, (2) μάλιστα δὲ βουλόμενος πίστιν παρασκευάζειν τοῖς λέγεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς βύβλοις περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μήτε διαπορεῖν τοὺς ακούοντας διὰ τὸ παράδοξά τινα φανήσεσθαι τῶν συμβαινόντων (3) μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτόν, μήτ' ἀφαιρουμένους τάνδρως τὰ κατὰ λόγον γεγονότα κατορθώματα τῇ τήχῃ προσάπτειν, ἄγνοοῦντας τὰς αἰτίας, ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστα συνέβη γενέσθαι, πλὴν τελέως ὀλίγων, ἃ δεῖ μόνα προσάπτειν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ταύτομάτῳ:

"I have written a considerable account in behalf of Scipio's conduct from his earlier years, for it seemed, on the one hand, that it would be entertaining for the mature, and on the other, that a history such as this would be profitable for the young, but most of all I want to instill confidence in my words in the books which follow. I do not want the reader to have doubts concerning certain incredible events which happened to him, nor to deprive the man of credit for his successes by attributing them to fortune, because of ignorance of what caused some events to turn out as they did, with the exception that there were an absolutely small number of things which one might attribute only to fortune and chance."

These three lines are a portion of Polybius' digression, to use his own word, in which he tells how his close friend, Scipio, achieved his level of leadership through his own efforts, and not through the intercession of fortune. But, being Polybius, he just cannot end such a statement without leaving some room to register a very small doubt, something he does time and time again. He adds the closing clause about a few possibly minor events or affairs in which "fortune" or "chance" may have assisted.

The most interesting feature of these three lines is that they contain two uses of the word τύχη and three τύχη-related words: παραδοξά, συμβαίνω (used twice), and ταύτομάτω; it seems, in spite of Polybius' obvious sincerity, that he is using Hellenistic vernacular when he uses these words, and is not thinking strongly, if at all, of the power called "fortune." Most puzzling is the use of the two subject words in the closing clause; he uses the two words τύχη and ταύτοματον with the copulative καί. He seems to be thinking "fortune and 'accidental' chance." It is possible that the extractor made some changes along the way. Diodorus did not use these three lines, so his work cannot be used for a parallel check.

Book XXXII

The fragments of extracts for Book XXXII relate to Olympiad 155, the years 160 to 156. Chapters 1 through 3 are about embassies to Rome: the first from Ariarathes of Cappadocia bringing a gold crown, the second was a group of envoys accusing Attalus, the third were from King Demetrius, bringing a gold crown and the assassin of Gnaeus Octavius, and the last came from Achaea, asking for release of the interned Achaeans, claiming that the interneers had served their time. Rome vetoed the request.

Chapter 4 briefly discusses Aetolian affairs after the death of Lyciscus, which is discussed in some detail below. Chapters 5 and 6 are about Charops of Epirus, who for nine years created much turmoil and violence in the state. Chapter 7 again talks about more envoys to Rome. Chapter 8 is about King Eumenes, who was growing old in body, but not in mind. Chapter 9 is about a mission sent by Rome to Illyria to investigate the conduct of the Dalmatians. Chapter 10 is about still more envoys to Rome. In Chapters 11 and 12, Polybius appends some brief words on affairs in Asia.

In Chapter 13 Polybius tells how Rome decided to go to war against the Dalmatians, not because the Roman ambassadors had been insulted, but that they had not been there for some time, and also because the Italian men were

growing soft after twelve years without a war. Chapter 14 consists of two lines about envoys from Phoenice, one group from the exiled party, the other from those holding the city. Chapters 15 and 16 are about the war between Prusias and Attalus.

The excerpts of this book contain two uses of the word τύχη, and five τύχη-related words, each used a single time.

2 (6).8. τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ῥιψολογῶν ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην ἀτυχίαν:

"So then by rashly uttering words such as these he fell into bad-luck as I have stated."

Polybius is talking about Isocrates, a Greek grammarian, whom the envoys of Demetrius to Rome had brought with them to give over to the Romans. They also had brought along a Greek, named Leptines, whom they said was the murderer of Gnaeus Octavius, a Roman ambassador. Isocrates was said to be a chatterbox, a braggart, a bore; a man who said that all the Roman legates should have been killed so that there would be no one to report the matter to the Romans.

The word ἀτυχία, translated above as "bad-luck," has the connotation of shameless, as though Polybius feels that the man should have known better than to talk like he did, but that he "shamelessly" just did not know any better. The word is considered to be a commonplace word.

4 (19) (20).3. ὅτι Λυκίσκος κάκιστος ὦν καλῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους εἰκότως ονειδίζειν τῇ τύχῃ διότι τὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄθλον τὴν εὐθανασίαν τοῖς χειρίστοις ἐνίοτε περιτίθουσιν:

"Although Lyciscus was a very evil man, he ended his life nobly. So most men naturally reproach fortune [by saying] that at times she bestows an honorable death on the worst men, that which ought to be an award to noble men."

The fragment does not explain how Lyciscus died. The words in this line appear to be stereotype as Walbank observes.¹²⁰ It does appear that Polybius is not talking about his concept of an unexplainable fortune, but is using Hellenistic vernacular.

8 (22) (23).1-4. ὅτι Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ μὲν σωματικῇ δυνάμει παραλελυμένος ἦν, τῇ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς (2) λαμπρότητι προσανεῖχεν, ἀνὴρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις οὐδενὸς δεύτερος τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν βασιλέων γενόμενος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σπουδαιότατα καὶ κάλλιστα (3) μείζων καὶ λαμπρότερος. ὃς γε πρῶτον μὲν παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν συνεσταλμένην τελῶς εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ λιτὰ πολισμάτια ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν δυναστειῶν ἐφ' ἀμιλλῶν (4) ἐποίησε τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν, οὐ τύχῃ τὸ πλεῖον συνεργῶ χρώμενος, οὐδ' ἐκ περιπετείας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγχινοίας καὶ φιλοπονίας, ἔτι δὲ πράξεως τῆς αὐτοῦ:

"For all that the physical body of King Eumenes had been paralyzed, he could still rely upon the brilliancy of his mind. He was a man in most matters second to none of the princes, his contemporaries, but he was greater than any of them in all that was most important. A man who had inherited from his father a kingdom which had been reduced absolutely to a few barren towns, but made his own dominion into a

rival to the greatest powers, not by experiencing a helping hand from fortune, nor from sudden changes [to his adversaries' plans], but through acuteness and patient industry, and further by his own practical ability."

Polybius appears to be writing about the unexplainable power, fortune. Paton writes a capitalized Fortune, Shuckburgh, chance, and Walbank, good luck. The use of the word συνεργῶ, with its personified meaning of helping, accomplice, or helpmate, tends to make the term οὐ τύχη read as "not from fortune," or "not by fortune," rather than from an impersonal "chance," or "good luck."¹²¹

10 (24) (20).5. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντεύξεσιν μείζω φαντασίαν εἶλκον οἱ περὶ τὸν Διογένην καὶ Μιλτιάδην, ἅτε καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς ἓνα συγκρινόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην περικοπὴν εὐτυχοῦντες πρὸς ἐπταικότα θεωρούμενοι :

"So then throughout these private conversations [with the Roman consuls] by Diogenes and Miltiades [and their staffs], drawing upon a greater creative imagination, and inasmuch as it was the many against one [Ariarathes], they gave all the general appearance of those who were successful contrasted with consideration of [the king's] failure."

Two separate missions, Diogenes', and Miltiades', from Demetrius were too much for Ariarathes. The envoys lied, and met every argument with "utter disregard for the truth, and took no responsibility for what they said." These are Polybius' words, and he adds "falsehood had no trouble

in gaining the day." As he talks about the appearance of these envoys, he uses the τύχη-related word εὐτυχοῦντες, with a meaning of those who were successful. He is talking about apparent man-made success.

11 (25) (xxxiii.12a).8(9)-9(10). ὅτι κατὰ πλεῖστον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις ὡς ἐπίπαν ἄνθρωποι συμφρονοῦσι, κατὰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀποτυχίαις ἀσχάλλοντες τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐλκώδεις (9(10)) καὶ δύσκολοι γίνονται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους:

"We know that for the most part men are generally in harmony with others during their successes, but after failures, being distressed over the circumstances, they become irritable and unpleasant with their friends."

This was the case when Orophernes, who led envoys in the plot against Ariarathes, and Theotimus got into financial troubles, after which both blamed the other.

In this text Polybius uses two τύχη-related words: ἐπιτυχία and ἀποτυχία, meaning, in that order, success and failure. Both have roots in τύχ-, but do not appear to have a translation "related" to fortune. However, "success" is defined as "a kind of fortune," and "failure" is defined as "a want of success." Undoubtedly these words had similar meanings for the Greeks.

Very probably Polybius uses these words in this text without any intent to invoke the idea of fortune, used them as vernacular words.

Book XXXIII

Book XXXIII originally contained events of Olympiad 156, the years 156 to 152. The existing excerpts in many instances are quite fragmented. Perhaps it is due to this that one line only in the extant book contains two $\tau\acute{o}\chi\eta$ -related words, and there is no mention of $\tau\acute{o}\chi\eta$. This line is in Chapter 6.

That chapter being the only one of interest in this study, the "book summary" is limited to that one. When the city of Priene was under the power of Orophernes, the inhabitants received a deposit of four-hundred talents from him. Polybius does not explain the reason for nor the use of the deposit. Later, when Ariarathes regained his kingdom and Orophernes was removed, the king asked the people of Priene to return the deposit. The people of Prience told the king that they could only return the deposit to the man who made it, Orophernes. So Ariaiathes sent an armed force to devastate the territory of Priene. The Prienians sent an embassy, first to Rhodes, and then to the Romans, but neither paid attention to the pleas for help. The Prienians thought that such a huge sum of money in their hands would enhance their position in the world, but it had the opposite effect.

6 (12).1-2. ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους καὶ
Πριηνεῖς (2) ἐνέπεσον παραλόγῳ συμφορᾷ:

"About this time an unexpected misfortune fell upon those
people of Priene."

The phrase "unexpected misfortune" made up of two
τύχη-related words, certainly appears to be commonplace. It
is doubted that Polybius had the power, fortune, in mind as
he wrote this line.

Book XXXV

The fragments of Book XXXV seem to fall into the period from 154 to about 150. Of particular interest to this study, because it concerns Polybius the "internee," is Chapter 6. This chapter is from Plutarch (Cato Mai.9); the text is Plutarch, but appears to have been drawn from Polybius' work. The chapter relates how Scipio successfully approached Cato on behalf of the Achaean exiles. The Senate voted restitution, so in 150, seventeen years after their arrival in Italy, those exiles still living were allowed to go home to Greece.

Chapter 2 is the only one to contain the word τύχη, and there are no τύχη-related words in the whole book. In Chapter 2, embassies from the allies of Rome in the Celtiberian War, and from the Celtiberians, both came to Rome. The embassies from the allies were allowed to enter Rome, but the enemy embassy was obliged to encamp on the other side of the Tiber. Polybius calls the Celtiberian War, the "fiery war."

2.14. καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἀδηλα πολλάκις ὑπεδεικνυον καὶ τὰς προγεγενημένας μάχας ἀμφιδηρίτους ποιοῦντες ἐν πάσαις ἐμφασιν ἀπέλειπον ὥς ἐπικυδεδεστέρων αὐτῶν γεγονότων:

"For not only did they hint many time of the uncertainty of chance events, but also by representing that the outcome

the battles which had taken place was doubtful, they created the impression that they though they, themselves, had fought more brilliantly [than the Romans.]"

An envoy from one of the hostile tribes, the Arana-cae, is speaking. This is the first appearance in the extant Histories of the phrase "τὰ τῆς τύχης ἄδηλα," and it may belong to Suidas, to whom the texts of Chapters 1 and 2 are attributed. The phrase is a commonplace, and does not reflect the idea of fortune, the unexplainable power.

Book XXXVI

Book XXXVI relates to the latter half of Olympiad 157, the years 150 to 148. The narrative of this book was dominated by the Third Punic War and the rising of Andri-scus in Macedonia, and possibly more influenced by the thoughts of Polybius as he tries to impartially view the evolution of his civilized world.¹²² It should be noted here that this book contains several texts, not necessarily pertinent to this thesis, which provide some excellent insight into what may be called Polybean historiography.

In Chapter 1 Polybius writes about the function of speeches in the historical process. Then in Chapters 2 through 8 he leads up to the Third Punic War, writing about the seeking of justification for such a war by the Romans, and then the negotiations beforehand. Some lines on the war are included in the latter chapter, and then Polybius leaves the war, and returns to it in Book XXXVIII.

In Chapters 9 through 13 Polybius turns toward Macedonia and Greece. Chapters 14 and 15 concern King Prusias and Bithynia. Chapter 16 concerns Massanissa, the king of the Numidians in Africa. Chapter 17, which is covered at some length in this thesis, concerns Polybius' thoughts on Greece and Macedonia.

In this book Polybius uses the word τύχη three times, and three different τύχη-related words are each used one time.

12 (xxxvii.4) (xxxvii.2b).5. γέγονε δέ τι πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἡμῖν οἷον ἐκ ταύτομάτου συνέργημα τὸ μηδένα μέχρι γε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν ταύτων ἡμῖν ὄνομα κεκληρονομημέναι κυρίως, ὅσον γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι:

"It came to pass that I was somewhat assisted by chance, and that no one as far as I know—up to the present time at least—has had selected for him the same proper name as my own."

Polybius opens the line with the verb γίγνομαι, which for events is often translated as "come to pass," and then he uses the clause "up to the present time at least," both of which indicate he means this to be a somewhat humorous sentence. This, combined with the fact that the word ταύτόματον means a spontaneous chance, as in accident, leads to the conclusion that Polybius is using this word in a colloquial sense, and that he is not thinking of fortune.

The fact that he usually uses the noun συνέργημα or the verb συνεργέω, both of which have a general meaning of assistance or support, throws a different light on the word ταύτόματον. If, to him, chance is supported or assisted, even though as chance it is an irrational thing, there is an idea here of personification. So it must be concluded that Polybius is talking about his unexplainable power, and he

means some form of "fortune." Walbank explains this by saying that he has decided that τύχη, θεός τις, or the θεοί who nurse their μῆνις (anger), and τὸ δαιμόνιον, or ταυτόματον, all are roughly synonymous.¹²³

13 (xxxvii.5) (xxxvii.2c).1-2. ὅτι κατὰ τι σύμπτωμα τῶν μὲν τοῦ Καλλικράτους εἰκόνων εἰσφερομένων κατὰ τὸ σκότος, τῶν δὲ τοῦ Λυκόρτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐκφερομένων εἰς τὸ φῶς κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διάθεσιν, (2) πάντας ἠνάγκαζε τὸ γινόμενον ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι διότι δεῖ μηδέποτε τοῖς καιροῖς ὑπερηφάνως χρῆσθαι κατὰ τῶν πέλας, εἰδὸτα διότι καὶ λίαν τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἴδιον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς τύχης, τὸ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπινοήμασι καὶ νομοθετήμασιν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς αὐτοῦς ὑποβάλλειν τοὺς νομοθετήσαντας:

"By some chance the statues of Callicrates were being brought in during the hours of darkness, and on the same day those of Lycortas were being carried out into the light, back into their original positions. This event caused everyone to join in saying that one ought never be arrogantly eager for opportunities against our neighbors, since he should know it is a peculiar practice of fortune to turn right around and subject those men who formulate laws to the very laws of their own contrivance."

Callicrates was one of a two-man embassy sent to Rome in late 149 to reply to Spartan complaints; en route he died. The removal of his statues probably occurred after news of his death reached Achaëa. The statues of Lycortas, Polybius' father, would have been replaced on display, because he would have been able to come back into power after Callicrates death.¹²⁴

Polybius seems to have two subjects mixed together in this text. The moral lesson is that fortune can very quickly reverse a situation. It would seem that he is surely writing about the power, fortune in these lines. Why he uses the noun σύμπτωμα in line 1 is difficult to understand. It seems to reduce the force of the word τύχη in line 2. If it was Polybius' word, and not one introduced by an extractor, it refers to fortune's reversal.

Chapter 17 (xxxvii.9) (xxxvii.4), is a long digression of Polybius', introduced to narrate his ideas on causation, and to continue his remarks about Andrisus, which he begins in Chapter 10. This chapter also may be answer to earlier critics, who may have criticized his use of the word τύχη. Being part of the Constantinian excerpts, these lines, four in number, show text compression and also some apparent word changes. Only four lines of the chapter are included, the others not being pertinent to this study.

1. Ἐγὼ δὲ, φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐπιγράφουσιν ἐπὶ τε τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς κατ' ἰδίαν περιπετείας, νῦν βούλομαι περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους διαστείλασθαι καθ' ὅσον ὁ τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιδέχεται τρόπος:

"And I, says Polybius, while criticizing those who ascribe sudden changes both in public affairs and in incidents in private life to fortune and destiny, I now wish to expand

upon this consideration of [my own views of] political and military history so far as it is admissible to do."

In view of almost all translations of τύχη in Polybius' work as "fortune," and the translation of the verb form εἰμαρμένην (deponent perfect passive participle of μέλλω) as "decreed by fate," the term τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην has been translated as "fortune and destiny," inasmuch as that which is decreed by fate for a man is his destiny. Fortune is considered to be the unexplainable power, and to Polybius, not the goddess.

The words "sudden change," a translation of the τύχη-related περιπέτεια is considered to be grammatically related to fortune and destiny, so it is not considered a commonplace in this line.

2. ὃν μὲν νῆ Δί' ἀδύνατον ἢ δυσχερὲς τὰς αἰτίας καταλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα, περὶ τούτων ἴσως ἂν τις ἀπορῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιοῖτο καὶ τὴν τύχην, οἷον ὀμβρῶν καὶ νιφετῶν ἐξαισίων ἐπιφορὰ συνεχῆς, ἢ τάναντία πάλιν αὐχμῶν καὶ πάγων καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φθορὰ καρπῶν, ὁμοίως λοιμικαὶ διαθέσεις συνεχεῖς, ἅλλα παραπλήσια τούτοις, ὃν οὐκ εὐμαρὲς τὴν αἰτίαν εὐρεῖν:

"The cause [of these sudden changes], by Zeus, perhaps being difficult or impossible for man to comprehend, by way of retreat and being at loss about these things, we could say it may be caused by God or even fortune: such things as extraordinary and long-lasting rainstorms and snowstorms, or in the opposite from drought or cold and their destruction

of produce, and in the same way, continuing widespread plague and other things resembling these, for which it is not easy to find a cause."

Polybius is writing about natural disasters, which today are called "acts of God." The key phrase "ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν...καὶ τὴν τύχην" explains what Polybius is thinking, that these unexplainable disasters—for which no cause can be determined by mere man—may be caused "by God or even fortune." His feeling that God may have caused these things is understandable, but then it seems that his "old" feeling about the unexplainable power, fortune, leads him to add either "even fortune," or as some translators might prefer, "and fortune." However, translating "καί" as a copulative "and" sounds like the causation is being shared between the God and fortune: something that even Polybius would be reluctant to write or even think. The alternative idea expressed by "even" would appear to be more satisfying to Polybius. Thus it appears that he is writing about the power, fortune, the power which goes "roughly" by many names (as listed in the note to xxxvi.12.5 at the top of page 337).

3. διόπερ εἰκότως περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκολουθοῦντες ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἱκετεύοντες καὶ θύοντες ἐξιλασκόμενοι τὸ θεῖον, πέμπομεν ἐρησόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς τί ποτ' ἂν ἢ λέγουσιν ἢ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἄμεινον εἴη καὶ γένοιτο παῦλα τῶν ἐνεστώτων κακῶν:

"Whereupon we, in all likelihood, get through difficulties such as these by following the example of the multitude, by approaching as a suppliant and sacrifice to propitiate God; we send to ask the gods what they would have us do and say to set things right, and to cause a cessation of the present evils."

This line does not include the noun τύχη, but it has been included because of the use of the masculine θεός. The first use, in singular person, appears to be a direct reference to the one god, Zeus. The phrase "we send to ask the gods" is an ageless one, words used by peoples who have pantheons of gods as part of their belief. Polybius could be thinking that this phrase would include "fortune," the inscrutable, the unexplainable, power, fortune. The record thus far in the Histories tells his reader, that whenever he intends the concept of fortune to be seen, he uses the word τύχη or one of "her" roughly synonymous terms. Therefore, it must be concluded that he is not thinking about fortune at this time.

4. ὃν δὲ δυνατόν ἐστι τὴν αἰτίαν εὐρεῖν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ δὴ ἦν ἐγένετο τὸ συμβαῖνον, οὐχὶ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τοιούτων δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀναφορὰν:

"But of those things for which it is possible to find a cause, and not something which just happened to take place, it seems to me that for such as this we should not wish to consider recourse to God."

In this line Polybius is being completely pragmatic, teaching again, as it were, that when one—his reader—can decide on a cause of an event or an action, accept it as that, and do not look for "ulterior motives" and send to ask the gods. One τύχη-related word is present in this line: the verb συμβαίνω, which with the article, τό, forms an attributive participle acting as an adjective to ἥν, quite loosely translated as "something."

This word, nor any other part of this line has any reference to the power, fortune. The line has been included only to present Polybius' view on causation.

Book XXXVIII

The next fragments to survive are of Book XXXVIII. Book XXXVII seems to have been completely lost by the tenth century. This book concerns the latter part of Olympiad 158, for the years 147 and 146. It contains Polybius' commentary on the final fall of Greece, i.e., the Achaean disaster—brought about by men's foolishness, and a discussion of his method of composition.¹²⁵

Chapters 1 through 6 are from Polybius' "Introduction" to this book. From 1 through 4 he engages in a general discussion on the Greek disaster of 147 and 146. In 5 and 6 he writes about his own style and method of composition. In chapters 7 through 8 he writes about the Third Punic War. Now in chapters 9 through 18 he returns to talk about the events in Achaea and the Achaean War. In chapters 19 through 22 he returns to Carthage, the end of the war, and the end of that city.

Perhaps it is due to the fact that the subjects in this book are very personal to Polybius, having participated in all of them, so to speak, that there is an unusual number of uses of the word *τύχη*, and particularly of the *τύχη*-related words. There is a total of forty-seven such words of which thirty-seven are *τύχη*-related, the rest being *τύχη*.

Chapter 1 (3) (1a) consists of nine lines which are an introduction to Polybius' narrative of the disaster of Greece, in which he compares the "end of Greece" with the fate of Carthage. The pertinent lines of the chapter follow as subparagraphs.

1. Ὅτι ἡ λη' βίβλος περιέχει τὴν συντέλειαν τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχίας:

"This edited book encompasses the completion of the shameful misfortune of the Greeks."

It is fairly obvious, from the context and from the use of ὅτι, that this is an excerptor writing; however, the idea, especially the use of the word ἀτυχίας, comes from Polybius. The shameful misfortune, or disaster, as Paton writes, undoubtedly refers to man-made, Greek-made, misfortune, and not to something visited on the Greeks by the unexplainable force or power, fortune.

2-4. καίπερ γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος πλεονάκις ἐπταικυίας, ὅμως οὐδ' ὁποίοις ἂν τις τῶν πρότερον ἐλαττωμάτων οἰκειότερον ἐφαρμόσαι τὸ τῆς ἀτυχίας ὄνομα καὶ τὴν ἐννοιαν ταύτην ὥς τοῖς καθ' (3) ἡμᾶς γεγονόσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀφ' ὧν ἐπαθον ἐλεῆσαι τις ἂν τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς ἐπραξαν ἡτυχηκέναι νομίσειε, πυθόμενος περὶ (4) ἐκαστων τὰς ἀληθείας:

"For though not only the whole of Greece, but also individually [the states] had made mistakes too often; yet, by no means can one more fittingly apply the name of shameful misfortune and all it signifies to any former defeats,

compared to this which has happened to us in our times. For not only are the Greeks to be pitied for what they have suffered, but, still more to the point, we have reason to believe that what they did was more unfortunate for them when we know the truth in detail."

Polybius recognizes that for many years the Greeks have been absorbed in their internecine battles, to the exclusion of any interest in the world about them. Now they have suffered shameful misfortune, shameful because of bad leadership (according to Polybius), and Greece as a whole has become part of the Roman hegemony. The noun ἀτυχία, and the verb ἀτυχέω, both refer to Greek-made misfortunes, not misfortunes brought to them by the power, fortune.

4. δοκοῦντος γοῦν μεγίστου πάθους γεγονέναι τοῦ
περὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους οὐκ ἔλαττον ἂν τις ἡγήσαιτο,
κατὰ δέ τι μείζον τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τότε συμβάν:

"Indeed, that which happened to the Carthaginians is reputed to be the greatest calamity, and some may believe there is nothing worse, but in the case of Greece, what happened at that time was somewhat greater."

The word πάθους has been underlined to call attention to it; in a bad sense this word means suffering, misfortune, or calamity. This word has not been used in a "bad" sense thus far in the extant Histories.

The second word of interest is the τύχη-related word συμβαίνω, which here has the meaning of happened. Both of these words relate to man-made sufferings or happenings, and do not refer to the power, fortune.

6. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ἅμα ταῖς περιπετείαις ἄρδην ἀφανισθέντες ἀνεπαίσθητοι τῶν σφετέρων εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐγένοντο σύμπτωμάτων, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐφορῶντες τὰς αὐτῶν ἀτυχίας παισὶ παίδων παραδόσιμου ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀκληρίαν:

"And then, on the one hand, the Carthaginians, utterly destroyed by their sudden changes of conditions, had no perception of their suffering which had come to pass from these misfortunes, but, on the other hand, the Greeks witnessing their own shameful misfortunes, handed down from father to sons the memory of their misfortune."

In this text Polybius has used four τύχη-related words: περιπέτεια, sudden change; σύμπτωμα, misfortune; ἀτυχία, shameful misfortune; and ἀκληρία, misfortune, or possibly, lot. All four relate to man-made troubles or disasters. These terms are considered to be commonplace.

The noun ἀκληρία is found only twice in the extant Histories, so possibly the word was introduced by an editor or extractor.

7-8. ὥστε καθ' ὅσον τοὺς ζῶτας μετὰ τιμωρίας ἐλεινοτέρους νομίζομεν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐκλείποντων τὸν βίον, κατὰ τοσοῦτο καὶ τὰς τότε περιπετείας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλεινοτέρας νομιστέον τῶν συμβάντων

Καρχηδονίοις, (8) ἐὰν μή τις ἀφροντιστῶν τοῦ καθήκοντος καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, πρὸς αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ συμφέρον ἀποβλέπων ποιῇται τὴν ἀπόφασιν:

"Just as we regard those who remain alive and suffer punishment as more to be pitied than those who lose their life, we should regard the sudden changes of condition of the Greeks more worthy of pity than what happened to the Carthaginians, unless one discards all notion of what is noble, and gives an opinion from a regard only to material advantage."

Polybius' rationale, which he enlarges on in the following chapter, is a typical Greek one. A Carthaginian undoubtedly would disagree with him, and so probably would the Romans. He uses the word περιπετείας, meaning sudden changes, or reversals, where one would expect to see some word meaning misfortune. This word and συμβαίνω both refer to man-made troubles.

9. ὅτι δ' ἔστι τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀληθές, εἴποι τις ἂν ὑπομνηθεὶς καὶ παραθεὶς τὰς δοκούσας μεγίστας συμφορὰς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸς τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα:

"But truly every one should agree with me, provided he recalls to mind what appear to be the greatest misfortunes that have come into being against the Greeks, and compares what is said here now against what I have been saying before this time."

The τύχη-related word συμφορὰ has a general meaning of misfortune. Polybius is still talking about man-made

misfortunes, not something brought about by the power, fortune. Walbank makes an interesting comment about this line: "συμφορὰ is a more neutral word than ἀτυχία."¹²⁶

2 (4) (1b).1. Μέγιστον ἡ τύχη δοκεῖ φόβον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξον διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην:

"It is supposed that the greatest terror that fortune brought to the Greeks was during the crossing over by Xerxes into Europe."

In Chapters 2 and 3 Polybius is briefly reminding his reader of all the major catastrophes that afflicted the Greek people, from the invasion of the Persians in 480 down to the coming of Rome.

There is little doubt but that he is writing about fortune—the power—in this line, however, he uses the word only as a current colloquialism.

2 (4) (1b).4. οὐ μὴν ὄνειδος οὐδ' αἰσχύνην, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον εὐκλειαν παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν μεγίστην ἀπηνέγκαντο διότι πάντ' ἐν ἐλάττονι θέμενοι τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης εἵλαντο κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι:

"Truly they [Athenians] did not incur reproach nor shame, but on the contrary they gained the greatest glory in the eyes of all men, for regarding everything as of less importance, they chose to share the same fortune with the other Greeks."

Herodotus writes that the Persians found Athens forsaken, except for a few men who had barricaded themselves in

the Citadel. The women and children, and old men, had been removed to the island of Salamis. In this manner, by losing their city, the Athenians "shared alike" in the fortunes of all of the Greeks who were in the path of the Persian armies. The line does not refer to the power fortune, but rather to the fact that the Athenians also lost their worldly goods and homes, i.e., their prosperity.

2 (4) (1b).7-8. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐκ Ἀθηναίων ἂν τις εἶναι φήσειε τοῦγκλημα, διότι βαρύτερον ἐχρήσαντο τῇ δοθείσῃ (8) σφίσι παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐξουσία:

"But also this act must be said to be an indictment of the Lacedaemonians, and not something of the Athenian's, since they were showing most oppressively the power which was granted them by fortune."

When Sparta had won the war, the Spartans said to themselves that if they made the Athenians pull down their city wall, they would not dare to rebuild their army, and try to resist us without a wall around their city. So they made the Athenians dismantle much of it. Polybius expresses the Spartan way of life as established by Lycurgus in vi.48.8: "most unambitious and sensible as regards their private lives...most ambitious, domineering, and aggressive towards the rest of the Greeks."

The term "fortune" in this text refers to the power, fortune, but Polybius is using it in a colloquial sense, or so it appears from the context of the whole sentence.

2 (4)(1b).10. διὸ τὰ γεγονότα ταῦτα συμπτώματα μὲν εἶναι φατέον, ἀτυχήματα δ' οὐδαμῶς ῥητέον:

"So these events which have come to pass must be called happenings, but in no wise must one say they are shameful misfortunes."

This is an important line, for it defines, in Polybius' terms, the difference between the troubles of the Greeks in the past and the disaster of 147 and 146. He uses the two terms συμπτώματα and ἀτυχήματα to illustrate the difference.

Συμπτώματα has a primary meaning of anything that happens, particularly violent happenings (being derived from συμπίπτω); this was for the period in which the Persians invaded Greece, then the encounters between Sparta and the Athenians, and later the defeat of the Spartans by the Thebans.

The second term, ἀτυχήματα, with its meaning of shameful misfortune, a misfortune which can be blamed upon the people who subsequently suffer, refers to the Achaean League, and particularly to its leaders, who, in the face of known facts about the Romans, saw fit to invoke Roman retaliation—i.e., the debacle of 147/6 which included the sack of Corinth, disbandment of the Achaean League, and the presence of Rome in Greece from there on.

3 (5) (1c).2-3. ὁ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐλεος οὐ μικρὸν ἐπιχειρόν ἐστι τοῖς ἀδίκως ἀκληροῦσιν, εἴ γε πολλάκις ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν ἅμα ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ὁρμαῖς καὶ τὴν τύχην μεταβαλλομένην καὶ τοὺς κρατοῦντας αὐτοὺς μεταμελομένους καὶ διορθουμένους τὰς τῶν παραλόγως (3) ἡτυχηκότων περιπετείας:

"For the compassion from outsiders is no small reward for those who without reason become unfortunate, since we often see that together with the help of many, fortune also undergoes a change, and the conquerors, themselves, repent and make amends for the unexpected reversals of those who have become unfortunate."

Polybius uses the word τύχη and four τύχη-related words, but from the context there seems to be no intent to invoke the concept of fortune; these are man-made misfortunes, brought about by the political and military downfall of Greece. In lines 2.11-12 above, Polybius has been talking about how the Mantineans had to abandon their city when the Spartans dispersed them. And some time later the Thebans saw the complete destruction of their city by Alexander, who did that as an object lesson to all of Greece before he started East. In both cases, the injured ones were pitied by all, and in time the "fortunes" of the dispersed people began to change.

3 (5) (1c).6-7. διὸ καὶ σπανίους ἂν εὖροις οἷς ὄνειδος ἡκολούθει τῶν ἀκληρούντων ἢ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀτυχίας ὄνομα (7) διέμενεν· ἀκληρεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας ἡγητέον καὶ κοινῇ

καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν τοὺς παραλόγοις συμφοραῖς περιπίπτοντας,
ἀτυχεῖν δὲ μόνους τούτους οἷς διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀβουλίαν
 ὀνειδος αἱ πράξεις ἐπιφέρουσι:

"And because of this only in rare instances did those who became unfortunate incur reproach, and even then escaped the name of misfortune. For one should consider that men who encounter unexpected calamities—not only in private but in public—to be unfortunate, but that only those whose own thoughtlessness brings censure will suffer."

Like many of the lines of text from the Constantinian excerpts, this line was illegible; Walbank writes that it was corrected by Campius, and independently by Hultsch.¹²⁶ The term "τὸ τῆς ἀτυχίας ὄνομα" (the name of bad luck, or the name of misfortune) may have been a current idiom, or it may have been a favorite of some extractor, for it turns up several times in Book XXXVIII.

This text contains six τύχη-related words, all of which relate to man-made misfortunes or troubles. Polybius does not seem to be talking about fortune in this instance. The word ἀτυχία has the meaning, as in other lines, of man-made misfortunes, to the most extent, shameful misfortunes, or at least through thoughtlessness.

3 (5)(1c).8-9. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς
ἠτύχησαν ἅμα Πελοποννήσιοι, Βοιωτοί, Φωκεῖς,....εἷς,
 Λοκροί, τινὲς τῶν τὸν Ἰόνιον κατοικούντων (9) κόλπον,
 μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἔτι Μακεδόνες....μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὸ

πληθος.....των πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ.....ἐπίπαν οὐκ
 ἠκλήρωσαν, ἀλλ' ἠτύχησαν ἀτυχίαν αἰσχροὺν ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα
 καὶ ἐπονείδιστον:

"And during the time which is discussed here, a common misfortune fell upon the Peloponnesians, the Boeotians, the Phocians, [the Euboeans], the Locrians, some of the colonies on the Ionian Gulf, and besides these, the Macedonians.... not resulting from the number of earlier [defeats], but by their whole conduct they brought to themselves, not misfortune, but failure which was shameful misfortune and most disgraceful as could be."

These lines close Polybius' commentary on the "disaster of Greece," to quote his opening words in 1.1 above. He uses four τύχη-related words, but there is little doubt but that he is talking about men, men who made foolish decisions for Macedonia, and not for Rome. As he says a little later, it was not the people, but the authors of these decisions, the political leaders, who made these shameful plans to support Macedonia in the face of known facts about Roman capabilities.

7 (1)(xxxix.1).11-12. διὸ παρακαλεῖν ἡξίου τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἔνεκεν καὶ τῆς τύχης φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως, εἰδὸτα σαφῶς διότι μὴ δυνάμενοι τυχεῖν τοῦτου κατασφαγήσονται πρότερον ἢ (12) παραχωρήσουσι ταύτης:

"He [Hasdrubal] for that reason [urged Gulussa] to encourage the general [Scipio] to consent for the sake of both the

gods and of fortune to spare the city. Be fully assured, [he said,] that if the people are not able to gain this request they would all rather be slaughtered than submit."

Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, has been talking to Gulussa/Golosses, the new commander of the Numidian forces, who assumed command after the death of Masinissa. Gulussa had joined Scipio's forces with a Numidian force. He had been visited by Hasdrubal, who is looking for allies. Gulussa reported the talk to Scipio, and Scipio's reply was to laugh at the plight of the Carthaginians. Yet, later he was to treat the defeated Hasdrubal rather mildly.

Hasdrubal's phrase "both the gods and fortune" is a soldier's colloquialism, and is not to mean that he believed that fortune—either the unexplainable power or the Greek goddess—would enter into the decision.

8 (2) (xxix.2).8-10. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ συνῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ διήκουσε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προτεινομένων πολλάκις τὸν μηρὸν πατάξας, τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν τύχην ἐπικαλεσάμενος, οὐδέποτε ταύτην ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν ἔφασκεν ἐν ᾗ συμβήσεται τὸν ἥλιον Ἀσδρούβαν βλέπειν (9) ἅμα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πυρπολουμένην· καλὸν γὰρ ἐντάφιον εἶναι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ (10) τὸ ταύτης πῦρ:

"But when he [Hasdrubal] met with the king [Golosses], and heard the general's offer [Scipio's], he slapped his thigh many times and called upon the gods and fortune [to hear], saying the day would never come when Hasdrubal would look at the same time upon the sun and on his city being

consumed by fire; for the right-minded man the most noble funeral honors is to be in his native city and amid her flames."

Again Hasdrubal uses the soldier's oath, "the gods and fortune." Polybius may be quoting what Hasdrubal is reported to have said, for Polybius was present with Scipio at the time of the fall of Carthage, and he would have had several opportunities—very probably—to talk with the Numidian leader about his meetings with Hasdrubal.

8 (2) (xxxix.2).11-14. ὃς πρῶτον μὲν, τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν διαφθειρομένων ὀλοσχερῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, πότους αὐτοῖς συνῆγε καὶ δευτέρας τραπέζας παρετίθετο πολυτελεῖς καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας εὐεξίας παραδειγματίζει τὴν ἐκείνων ἀτυχίαν. (12) ἄπιστον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων πλῆθος, ἄπιστον δὲ τὸ τῶν αὐτομολούντων καθ' (13) ἡμέραν διὰ τὸν λιμόν. ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν διαχλευάζων, οἷς δ' ἐνυβρίζων καὶ φονεύων κατεπλήττετο τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ συνεῖχε τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣ μόλις ἂν χρήσαιτο τὸν τύραννός ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ (14) πόλει, καὶ ἐν δεδυστυχηκυῖα πατρίδι:

"He [Hasdrubal], to begin with, when the other citizens were barely enduring famine, gave drinking parties and secondly had sumptuous dinners and by means of his own example of high-living [exposed] the people's shameful misfortune. Deaths were incredibly great in number, and also the daily desertions due to famine. However, by strongly rebuking some, and by executing others, he maintained in a country which was having these misfortunes an authority which a tyrant would scarcely enjoy in a prosperous city."

This text contains three τύχη-related words: αἰτυχία, considered to be shameful misfortune; εὐτυχέω, with a meaning of to be prosperous or to be fortunate; and δυστυχέω, with a meaning of to be unfortunate or, in the case of this text, to have misfortune. This last verb, δυστυχέω, appears only this one time in the extant Histories; it appears once in Herodotus, and four times in Thucydides, which is some indication that the verb was used by Polybius, and not introduced by an extractor.

The "shameful misfortune" of the people of the city can be attributed as having come about from the actions of Hasdrubal. All three τύχη-related words are in reference to his actions, and do not relate to fortune.

9 (7) (1).2-3. οὐ γὰρ ὡς κατὰ περιπέτειαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤκοντος τοῦ δεινοῦ διεσάφουν, ἀλλ' ὡς κατὰ πρόθεσιν ὀρμηκότων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν (3) ἐπὶ τὸ παραδειγματίζειν αὐτούς:

"For they made it quite clear that the danger set against them was just not by chance, but that of set purpose the Achaeans had set in motion actions to make a spectacle of them."

Polybius is now writing about the Roman and Achaean actions before the start of the Achaean War. The senate had sent Aurelius Orestes and a group of legates to Achaea. On their return the legates told the senate that they had barely escaped with their lives. Polybius says that they

exaggerated the truth and exercised invention. After hearing the legates' full story, the senate sent Sextus Julius Caesar with a commission to Achaea, giving him instructions which were not much more than a mild rebuke to the Achaeans. Also, at this time, some legates from Achaea, headed by Thearidas, Polybius' brother, arrived in Rome to deliver an apology to the Romans.

This text contains one τύχη-related word, περιπέτειαν, which according to the lexicons, and all of Polybius' work up to this point, has a meaning of reversal or a sudden change (of condition). In this line these meanings do not satisfy the context, and the most acceptable word appears to be "chance," which has been used. Walbank has come to the same conclusion, but does not offer an explanation.¹²⁷ Possibly an extractor made a word substitution in the extract.

12 (10)(4).1-2. ὁ δὲ Κόιντος ὁ Καικίλιος ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τάδε πυνθανόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ γενομένην ἀκρισίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς Γναῖον Παπίριον καὶ τὸν νεώτερον Ποπίλιον Λαιναῖτον, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Αὔλον Γαβίνιον (2) καὶ Γάιον Φάννιον· οἳ καὶ συνηγμένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Κόρινθον, κατὰ τύχην ἐλθόντες εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ παραχθέντες εἰς τὰ πλήθη διετίθεντο πολλοὺς οὗτοι καὶ φιλανθρώπους λόγους παραπλησίους τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σέξτον:

"When Quintus Caecilius in Macedonia heard of the excitement and commotion in the Peloponnese, he dispatched there as legates Gnaeus Papirius, the younger Popilius Laenas, along with Aulus Gabinius and Gaius Fannius. By chance they

arrived at the time of the assembly of the Achaeans in Corinth; and when they were introduced, they delivered a long and conciliatory speech much in the same terms as that of Sextus Julius Caesar, who had been in Achaea earlier.

As Walbank notes the Roman envoys had no reason to expect that the Achaeans would be in a general assembly (of citizens) at the time of their arrival. As the text shows, it was "by chance" that they had this opportunity to speak to the people; and as Polybius said, they spoke in a conciliatory manner.¹²⁸

16 (xxxix.9)(xl.3).7-9. πάντα δ' ἦν πλήρη παρηλαγμένης φαρμακείας τῶν ῥιπτούντων ἑατοὺς εἰς τὰ φρέατα καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κἂν ἐχθρὸν ἐλεῆσαι θεασάμενον τὴν (8) τότε περιπέτειαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις ἔπταιον ἐνίοτε, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων διαφερόμενοι, ποτὲ δὲ παρασπονδούμενοι διὰ τῶν μονάρχων· (9) κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς ἡτύχησαν ἀτυχίαν ὁμολογουμένην διὰ τὴν τῶν προεστώτων ἀβουλίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγνοίαν:

"And the whole country was under a strange and evil spell, people casting themselves into wells and down from cliffs, so that, as the proverb says, the sudden change of fortune of Greece would have aroused the pity of an enemy, had he witnessed it. In former times they had erred gravely, and sometimes came to grief, quarreling about political issues, but in the time I speak of it is agreed that they failed in shameful defeat, by reason of the folly of those who were chosen as leaders, and through their own ignorance."

This text contains three τύχη-related words:

περιπέτεια, άτυχέω, and άτυχία, all of which relate to man-made ills, not to actions by fortune. The first word, περιπέτεια, which has been translated with the classical "sudden change," sounds weak. Polybius may well have been thinking of "disaster" or "calamity," which is a more likely translation. The other two τύχη-related words can be translated with words from the lexicon, namely "failed" and defeat. The defeat was a shameful defeat, caused by the folly of the leaders, as Polybius notes.

18 (xxxi.11) (xl.5).8-10. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμι διότι δοκεῖ μοι καθάπερ ἀνεί τὴν τύχην τις ἀντιτερεῖσθαι πανούργου καὶ τεχνικῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀνοίαν καὶ μανίαν τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἥ τις ἐξωθουμένη πάντη καὶ πάντως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας τῶν προεστώτων, βουλομένη δὲ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον σώζειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον ἦλθεν ὥσπερ (9) ἀγαθὸς παλαιστής. τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ ταχέως σφῆλαι καὶ ραδίως ἡττῆσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. (10) ὅπερ ἐποίησε:

"For I must say it seems exactly as if some clever and skillful fortune resisted the folly and madness of the leaders, one who thrust back by all ways and by all means at the bad conduct of the leaders, resolving in all ways to save the Achaeans; and just as a good wrestler, she came-up with the one thing remaining to her: this was to quickly trip-up and then easily defeat the Greeks. The very thing which she did."

Polybius personifies "fortune" by use of the obligatory feminine gender of the pronouns, and by the simile of

fortune "just as" or "like" a wrestler defeats the Achaeans. Once again Polybius uses the word "τις" in the phrase "as if some clever and skillful fortune resisted," thereby not saying that fortune did something. This has been typical of him throughout the work. He is not implying that fortune did anything, this is a Hellenistic colloquialism. He ends this chapter by quoting the proverb: "Had we not perished so soon we would never have been saved."

20 (xxxix.4) (xxxix.3a).1-2. ὅτι τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγοῦ ἰκέτου παραγενομένου τοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γόνασιν, ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐμβλέψας εἰς τοὺς συνόντας, ὁρᾷτ', ἔφη, τὴν τύχην, ὧς ἄνδρες, ὡς ἀγαθὴ παραδειγματίζειν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀλογίστοις (2) τῶν ἀνθρώπων:

"When Hasdrubal, the general of the Carthaginians, threw himself as a suppliant at Scipio's knees, the general turning to those present, said, 'Look, my friends, how well fortune knows to make an example of unreasoning men.'"

This is Scipio talking a military man's language, he had no thought of the goddess nor of the unexplainable power, fortune. Polybius was present at the time of the fall of Carthage in the late spring of 146, probably glad not to be in Greece, although as he says, he did everything within his power to help the Achaeans.

21 (xxxix.5) (xxxix.3).1-3. καὶ ἐπιστρέψας ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ λαβόμενός μου τῆς δεξιᾶς, ὦ Πολύβιε, ἔφη, καλὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐγὼ δέδια καὶ προορῶμαι μὴ ποτέ τις ἄλλος τοῦτο τὸ παράγγελμα δώσει περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πατρίδος· ταύτης δὲ πραγματικωτέραν καὶ νουνεχεστέραν (2) οὐ ῥᾶδιον εἰπεῖν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς (3) μεγίστοις

κατορθώμασι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφοραῖς ἔννοιαν λαμβάνειν τῶν οἰκείων πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας περιστάσεως καὶ καθόλου πρόχειρον ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις τὴν τῆς τύχης ἐπισφάλειαν ἀνδρός ἐστὶ μεγάλου καὶ τελείου καὶ συλλήβδην ἀξίου μνήμης:

"And turning from [the burning city of Carthage], and grasping my right hand, he [Scipio] said, 'O Polybius, a glorious moment, I do not know how, but I dread and foresee that at some other [future] time, this order [to fire the city] will be given for the same thing for our country.' And this very statesmanlike and very sensible statement was not easy [for him] to say. For in our greatest success and moment of the enemies calamity, that he should take time to think about our own conditions and on the possibility of a reverse of circumstances, and generally to bear in mind [at the time] of successes, the precariousness of fortune, tells us that he is a great and perfect man, in short, one to be remembered."

This text contains two τύχη-related words, συμφορά, meaning calamity or disaster, and ἐπιτυχία, which in the plural means successes. The phrase "τὴν τῆς τύχης ἐπισφάλειαν" concerns the mutability, the instability, the precariousness of "fortune." It appears that Polybius does not intend his reader to think about the power, fortune, nor the goddess. He is using a "soldier's" vernacular, a Hellenistic colloquialism.

As Walbank notes, the first five lines of Chapter 21 are only partially decipherable, as is often the case with these extracts.¹²⁹ There are several versions of this famous incident. The implication of this text is that it was written by Polybius after the death of Scipio in 129.

The text for 22 (xxxix.6) (xxxix.4).1-3 of this book contains one τύχη-related word, εὐτυχής, but it has not been included in this study. The text comes from Appian, Punic Wars, 132, and as Walbank writes, "there is no reason to include this passage as a fragment of Polybius; it is less close to the original than the brief version in Diodorus [Siculus] xxxii.24."¹³⁰

Book XXXIX

The fragments of Book XXXIX are extracts which come from the Constantinian excerpts. This last narrative book was for the years 146-45, and it may have continued into 145-44. Chapter 1, a discourse on a Roman, Aulus Postumius, may belong in Book XXXVIII; it is difficult to explain why Polybius wrote this sketch.

Chapter 2 is a short narrative on the fall of Corinth. Chapter 3 is a discussion about the statues of Polybius' hero, Philopoemen. Chapter 4 concerns the efforts of the ten commissioners, known as "The Commission of Ten," to dispose of the property of Diaeus, who had assumed command of the Achaean forces after the death of Critolaus in 146.

In Chapter 5 the Ten left for Italy in the spring of 145, enjoining Polybius to visit the cities and clear up matters about which people were doubtful. In Chapter 6 Polybius writes briefly about proconsul L. Mummius. Chapter 7 concerns the death of Ptolemy, King of Syria.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion of the Histories—a didactic work.

In this short book Polybius uses the word *τύχη* only one time, and four *τύχη*-related words, each one time, for a total of five subject-words.

3 (14) (x1.8).3. Οὐσῶν δὲ πολλῶν μὲν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ μεγάλων δὲ τιμῶν, ἃς αἱ πόλεις ἐψηφίσαντο, Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κόρινθον ἀτυχήμασι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνελεῖν ἀπάσας καὶ διώκειν αὐτόν, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὥσπερ ἔτι ζῶντα Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιον καὶ κακόνουν γενέσθαι. λόγων δὲ λεχθέντων καὶ Πολυβίου πρὸς τὸν συκοφάντην ἀντεϊπόντος, οὐθ' ὁ Μόμμιος οὔτε οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπέμειναν ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου τιμᾶς ἀφανίσαι:

"There were many statues of him [Philopoemen], and very great honors were decreed him by several cities. A Roman man at the time of the misfortunes of Greece in Corinth, tried to destroy them all, accusing him—as if he were still alive—of being hostile and ill-disposed towards the Romans. But the matter was discussed, and with Polybius refuting the accusation, neither Mummius nor the legates would suffer the honors of the celebrated man to be destroyed."

The τύχη-related word ἀτύχημα, which to here has been shown to have a meaning of shameful misfortune, is translated here as "misfortunes" because of the whole context: the misfortunes were not necessarily shameful to the few survivors, the shame was that of the leaders, who now were dead.

Although, as mentioned above, Polybius was not present in Greece at the time of the Achaean War and the capture of Corinth, he did return, perhaps very late 146, and after Corinth was destroyed (by senatorial decree).

7 (18) (xl.12).7. κατὰ μέντοι γε τὰς ἐπιτυχίας καὶ κατορθώσεις ἐξελύετο τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ τις οἶον ἄσωτία καὶ ῥαθυμία περὶ αὐτὸν Αἰγυπτιακὴ συνέβαινε· καὶ κατὰ τὰς τοιαύτας διαθέσεις εἰς περιπετείας ἐνέπιπτεν:

"However,,in seasons of good luck and successes his mind grew relaxed, and he fell into a sort of Egyptian dissoluteness and laziness, and in conditions such as these disaster overtook him."

Polybius is writing about Ptolemy VI Philometor, who is said to have died in 145. This chapter gives a conclusion to all the chapters that Polybius has written about affairs in Egypt.

The text contains three τύχη-related words:

ἐπιτυχία, συμβαίνω, and περιπέτεια. Polybius is writing of natural conditions of Ptolemy's age and of man-made affairs. He does not seem to be thinking about some action by fortune in this line.

8 (19) (xl.12).2. διὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων διαμεῖναι, θεωροῦντες τὴν τύχην ὥς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὴ φθονῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἰσχύει καθ' ὃ τις ἂν δοκῇ μάλιστα μακαρίζεσθαι καὶ κατορθοῦν ἐν τῇ βίῳ:

"And therefore I offer prayers to all the gods that the remaining part of my life may continue in the same way and on the same terms, observing well that fortune is envious of mortals, and that most of all she prevails against any man who expects to be most blessed and successful."

In this second line of the extant portion of the epilog, Polybius prays only to the gods. Then, he adds that he knows "fortune," to whom he does not pray, is envious of mankind. In this last use of the word "τύχη" in his (extant) Histories, he tells his reader, in spite of common Hellenistic belief in the cult-goddess Τύχη, that the τύχη he has been writing about is something to which man cannot pray, for it is man's concept, an unexplainable force or power.

8 (19) (xl.12).7-8. ἐξ ὧν τὸ κάλλιστον ἔφαμεν, ἅμα δ' ὠφελιμώτατον περιγενέσθαι τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ γινῶναι πῶς καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἐπεσε τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ πρότερον οὐχ (8) εὕρισκεται γεγονός:

"From what I have made known [in this work], my reader can learn a most profitable lesson, which is to learn and understand in what manner, and by what system of polity the civilized world came under the single rule of the Romans, something which has not happened before this time."

Although this text does not contain the word "τύχη," it is most revealing. By omission of that word, Polybius is giving full responsibility for her achievement to Rome. This is in contradistinction to the view expressed by Polybius in Book I, where "τύχη" appears to play an important part in Rome's achieving "single rule of the civilized world."

SECTION III

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to determine what Polybius intended the reader of his Histories to comprehend and perceive upon encountering the word τύχη and a number of τύχη-related words. Lines from that work, containing 132 uses of the word τύχη, and a total of 381 uses of 41 different τύχη-related words, have been translated and textually analyzed in an attempt to determine their meanings to Polybius.

Τύχη. Polybius' use of the word τύχη falls into three categories. It is used 81 times as a common colloquialism of the Koiné-Hellenistic language. On 50 occasions the word was used as the name for an irrational, unexplainable power or force, and on one occasion it seems to be used as the name for the Greek deity "Τύχη," for a total of 132.

In the first of these three categories, the word is used in a conversational sense, in the popular vein. Τύχη, so much a part of the language of the time, had a meaning of fortune, luck, chance, fate, and even one's material wealth—meager or great. Promoted by the growing-spread of

Tύχη-cults in Greece and into the East, and Fortuna-cults in Italy, the word "fortune" became, as Walbank writes, a communis locus.

The second category of the use of the word τύχη requires some sympathetic understanding of the man, Polybius. He was not irreligious, he was a very pragmatic person who held some belief in the gods. At the same time it appears that he held a belief in a δαίμόνιον, a concept of an unexplainable, non-divine power. This was not a personal thing, like Socrates' "inner-voice," but something universal. He knew he could not pray to this power; he infers that it would do him no good. In xxxix.8.2 he writes that he "offers prayers to all the gods," then he observes that "fortune is envious of mortals," and that she will go against any man "who expects to be most blessed" by fortune. He appears to keep "fortune" separate in his mind from "all the gods."

Polybius lifts this concept of τύχη out of the everyday language by crediting "her" with actions that "she" performs. His τύχη sometimes guides men's affairs, supports one side or the other in battle, acts capriciously, acts as a judge, is an umpire, and performs as a playwright.¹³¹ Most of all, Polybius often reminds his reader, that she is capricious, that again and again, she will desert a man and turn against him.¹³²

The mental image of an anthropomorphic τύχη is nurtured by Polybius' use of the action verbs noted above. This combined with the fact that τύχη is a feminine gender noun, which requires reflexive pronouns, adjectives, and participles referring to that word to have feminine inflections, has led translators and readers, over the centuries, to think of the diety Τύχη. Polybius appears to have thought of this problem, for he tries hard not to cloak his concept of τύχη, the unexplainable power, with the raiment of the goddess Τύχη. To do this, he regularly prefaces "fortune" with words such as "just like," "as if," or "as if some." For example, in xxxviii.18.8, he says, "as if some clever and skillful fortune resisted the folly and the madness of the leaders."

To identify the lines in the Histories in which the word τύχη or any τύχη-related word refers to the power, fortune, refer to the "Index of Lines." The letter "F" appears at the end of each line identification number, if the line appears to refer to the unexplainable power.

The third category of the use of the word τύχη is as the name of the goddess. It appears that Polybius uses this word only one time as the name of the Greek diety. This is in xxiii.12.6 where he uses the phrase, "as do those who worship Fortune foolishly." This one line is identified in the "Index of Lines" with the letter "G".

Tύχη-related Words. Of the 379 τύχη-related words which have been investigated, 350 are identifiable as being communis loci, and the remaining 29 are related to passages concerning the action of the power, fortune. The 41 different words which make up this group are listed on pages 22-24, and are tabulated in the "Index of Lines." Those 29 words related to some act of fortune are identified by the letter "F" which follows the pertinent line number in the "Index of Lines."

Conclusions

1. In the majority of instances Polybius uses the word τύχη in the popular vein. Used throughout the Greek-speaking Hellenistic world, it signified fortune as seen in luck and chance, and was the name of the Greek cult-goddess Fortune.

2. In about 38 percent of the uses of the word τύχη, Polybius invests "his τύχη" with some sort of discretionary power. In these cases, τύχη acts capriciously, judges men, acts as an umpire, acts as a playwright, selects one side or the other in battle, and in general, acts as "her" whim may take her.

Polybius seems to be unaware that he creates a paradox by writing about a mutable, selective τύχη. Walbank, in effect, would probably agree with this conclusion, for he says the following:

"Consequently, to the question whether he believed in an objective power directing human affairs, the answer cannot be an unqualified 'No'; but in so far as it is a qualified 'Yes', his belief was neither sufficiently strong nor sufficiently clear for him to recognize any inconsistency with his normal, rational formulation of the character of Tyche."133

3. In the majority of uses of the 41 different τύχη-related words, Polybius uses them as words which have no relationship to the power, fortune. Only about 8 percent of the use of these words is related to his concept of the power, fortune.

4. It is Polybius' theme that Rome's rise to the rule of the civilized world was because of her determination, mixed-constitution, and tremendous self-discipline. He does write that the power, fortune, played a part in this, but it appears that he did this to teach a lesson to his reader concerning the vicissitudes of fortune. In his final extant lines, in xxxix.8.7-8, he credits it all to Rome's system of polity, and does not mention the power, fortune.

5. To make his work more dramatic, Polybius uses the word τύχη. He also uses it as a teaching "device," to flavor the text, and make it more believable to his Greek reader.

NOTES

1. Dates cited in this thesis are B.C. unless otherwise noted. Scholars do not agree on the time period of the writing of the Histories; it is possible Polybius began as early as 168, and continued up to the time of his death, ca. 118; Frank W. Walbank, Polybius (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 15-21.

2. Walbank discusses part of the problem in two works, writing about $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$, but not the $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$ -related words: Walbank, Polybius, 58-65; Frank W. Walbank, A Historical Commentary on Polybius, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, 1967, 1979), 1:16-26.

3. Polybius, Histories; the extant Greek text used in this thesis is found in the following: Polybius, The Histories, 6 vols., trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1922-27); the text numbers in this work follow the Harvard text which is the Buttner-Wobst (1882-1904); in this work a second set of parenthetical numbers refer to the corresponding text of Hultsch (1867-71), and a third set of parenthetical numbers refer to the corresponding text of Bekker (1844); the text for Books I-V is from the tenth century manuscript: A.Vaticanus Gr. 124; Books VI-XVIII are from the Excerpta Antiqua, preserved in F. Vaticanus Gr. 102, and seven other manuscripts; the (Emperor) Constantine Excerpts contain the fragments of the remaining books, and as well, some fragments of earlier books; John M. Moore, The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

4. Walbank, Commentary, 1:6.

5. There is a great similarity between Polybius' concept of the power, fortune, and the idea expressed by Aristotle in Physics, 196b5, as follows:

Some, however, hold that fortune is a genuine cause of things, but one that has a something divine and mysterious about it, that makes it inscrutable to the human intelligence.

Walbank writes that Polybius "shows little evidence of study of any of these writers [including Aristotle]": Commentary, 1:2; von Scala thinks that Polybius does know something about Aristotle's works; Rudolph von Scala, Die Studien des Polybios (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1890), 146-53.

6. Stephen Usher, The Historians of Greece and Rome (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985) 123-24.

7. Walbank, Commentary, 2:221-22.

8. Ibid., 1:2, 1:601; Walbank, Polybius, 15, 33.

9. Jakob A. O. Larsen, Greek Federal States (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 475-82; Larsen gives a good summary of Roman actions against Greek leagues, states, and men after Pydna.

10. Ibid., 480; Walbank, Commentary, 1:3, 1:3n5.

11. Walbank, Commentary, 1:4-5; Polybius, Histories, xxxviii. 19-22.

12. Walbank, Commentary, 1:5.

13. Erich S. Gruen, The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 522-26.

14. Polybius, Histories, xxxix.5.

15. Ibid., xxxix.3.11; Walbank, Commentary, 1:5n8.

16. Erich S. Gruen, "The Origins of the Achaean War," Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1976: 47-48.

17. Walbank, Polybius, 183.

18. William W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, 3rd. ed. (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1961), 1-2.

19. Ibid., 100-102.

20. Walbank, Polybius, 59-60; Polybius, Histories, vi.56.6-13.

21. W. Warde Fowler, "Polybius' Conception of Τύχη," Classical Review XVII (1903): 445.

22. Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, 7 vols., ed. W. H. Roscher (Leipzig: Teubner, 1916-1924), s.v. "Tyche," column 1309-1380.
23. Roscher, Lexikon, s.v. "Tyche," column 1310.
24. A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect, ed. Richard J. Cunliffe (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), s.v. "τυγχάνω"; according to the Lexicon, Homer uses this verb in Il. 8.430 and in Od. 6.290, and in both the best translation seems to be "chance." No other explanation is offered.
25. Pausanias, A Guide to Greece, 2 vols., trans. and ed. Peter Levi (New York: Penguin Books, 1971), 2:172-73.
26. Roscher, Lexikon, s.v. "Tyche," col. 1311.
27. Ibid., col. 1311.
28. Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft (Stuttgart: Muller, 1948), s.v. vol. 7A, pt. 2, cols. 1654-55, "Tyche," by G. Herzog-Hauser.
29. Pausanias, Guide, 2:173.
30. Lewis R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), 5:446-47.
31. Jane Ellen Harrison, Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion and Themis (New York: University Press, 1962), 240-41.
32. Ibid., 282-85, 310-13.
33. Walter Burkert, Greek Religion, trans. John Raffan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 182-86.
34. Vincent A. Lauria, "The Cult and Iconography of the Goddess Fortuna in Rome and Latium" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1980), 130, and Chap. III.
35. Walbank, Polybius, 60; Franz Altheim, A History of Roman Religion, trans. Harold Mattingly (London: Methuen, 1938), 3, 222; Burkert, Greek Religion, 186.
36. Roscher, Lexikon, s.v. "Tyche," cols. 1345-57.
37. Roscher, Lexikon, s.v. "Fortuna," Suppl. 1, cols. 1511-1540; The cult of Fortuna was not found outside of Italy.

38. Polybius, Histories, xviii.54.8-10.
39. See page 9 of this thesis and Note 20; the reference by Davies is to the Histories, vi.56.6-13.
40. Cambridge Ancient History, 2nd. ed., Vol. VII, Part 1, The Hellenistic World, ed. F. W. Walbank, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 317.
41. Felix Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (F.Gr.H), (Berlin: Weidmansche, 1926), Nos. 87, 175, 231, 566; Lexicon in Diodorum Siculum, ed. J. Iain McDougall (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1983) s.v. "τύχη."
42. Gruen, The Hellenistic World, 2:250-58.
43. Written communication from Professor Zeph Stewart, Director, Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, D.C., dated 23 Feb 1987; written communication from Professor Noel Robertson, Department of Classics, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, dated 4 June 1987; Professor Robertson is author of the article on "Tyche" in the Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed.; when one considers the paucity of extant works from the Hellenistic period (in the Greek language), it appears doubtful if a definitive work on "τύχη" in that period can be written.
44. A Greek-English Lexicon, comps. Henry G. Liddell and Robert Scott, rev. Henry S. Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968)
45. Adolph Torstrik, "Περὶ τύχης καὶ τοῦ αὐτόματου," Hermes 9 (1875), 425-470.
46. Polybius Histories, trans. W. R. Paton; see Note 3 above; The Histories of Polybius, trans. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (London: Macmillan, 1889); Polybius, The Rise of the Roman Empire, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert, Selections (New York: Penguin Books, 1979).
47. The term "commonplace" has been borrowed from Professor Walbank, who wrote it as "communis locus." The word itself is a "cliche," as, of course, is the word "fortune"; when Polybius used the word "τύχη" in the popular vein, he too, was writing down a cliche.
48. The Histories of Polybius, trans. Christopher Watson (London: 1568), 3; "Fortune" is capitalized throughout this work.

49. Walbank, Commentary, 1:40.
50. Ibid., 1:45; Polybius considers τύχη as a force that takes pleasure in change for the sake of change itself.
51. Polybios Lexikon, ed. Arno Mauersberger (Berlin: Akademie, 1968), 144, s.v. ἀνυπόστατος.
52. Walbank, Commentary, 1:49.
53. Ibid., 1:53.
54. Ibid., 1:76.
55. Ibid., 1:93.
56. Ibid., 1:100; Walbank thinks that Polybius added the clause "although being exceedingly ambitious in all matters," to forestall criticism that the Roman action not to build more ships was out of character.
57. Walbank, Commentary, 1:110; nicknames were common at Carthage, where the same personal names, such as Hannibal, were used in excess. The nicknames often related to a geographic locality.
58. Walbank, Commentary 1:122.
59. Robert Herodotus, "La Conception de l'Histoire dans Polybe" (Ph.D. diss., University of Lausanne, 1902), 122.
60. Walbank, Commentary, 1:129-30.
61. Walbank, Commentary, 1:145; von Scala, Die Studien, 164, and 174-75, shows this same kind of a τύχη (irony) appearing in the works of Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, a fragment of Pindar, Horace, Menander, Euripedes, and Xenophon (it must be noted that Plutarch may have copied the idea from an earlier writer).
62. Walbank, Commentary, 1:190, also see his 1:18.
63. Ibid., 1:211-12.
64. Ibid., 1:221.
65. Liddell and Scott Lexicon, s.v. τὸ τῆς τύχης, page 1195, col. 1., attributed to Thucydides 4.55.3.

66. Walbank, Commentary, 1:260-61.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., 289.
69. Gruen, "Origins of the Achaean War," 46-69.
70. The Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd. ed., s.v. "Andriscus," by Alexander Hugh McDonald; Larsen, Greek Federal States, 300, 487-90.
71. Polybius, Histories, xxxviii.9-18; Larsen, Greek Federal States, 488-89.
72. Polybios Lexikon, s.v. εὐτυχέω, 1046.
73. Walbank, Commentary, 1:397.
74. Ibid., 422.
75. Ταυτόματον is a crasis (κρᾶσις, a mingling), a contraction for τὸ αὐτόματον, a removal of the vowel "ο" at the end of the article, and contracting the two into one word. The Atticist disliked the immediate succession of two vowel sounds, and eliminated them by crasis or elision.
76. Walbank, Commentary, 1:432.
77. Liddell and Scott Lexicon, s.v. τυγχάνω, 1832. This verb is looked-at in this thesis as a "τύχη-related word" only in a limited sense, whenever the aorist participle has the meaning of chance persons, things, or results, or when there is a meaning of happen. Professor E. Badian counselled the writer that this verb has so many different meanings that it would be better if it were not considered to be a "τύχη-related word."
78. Walbank, Commentary, 1:507, 511.
79. Ibid., 450.
80. Ibid., 469; Euripides, Orestes, 667.
81. Walbank, Commentary, 1:512.
82. Ibid., 147, 534.

83. Walbank, Commentary, 1:534-35; F. W. Walbank, "Polybius, Philinus, and the First Punic War," Classical Quarterly, (1945), 6, 6n.3.
84. Walbank, Commentary, 1:561.
85. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, 18.
86. Walbank, Commentary, 1:585; Diodorus Siculus, Library of History, trans. Francis R. Walton (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), xxi.1.5.
87. Walbank, Commentary, 1:616.
88. Gruen, The Hellenistic World, 2:368-73; Gruen gives a good assesment of Demetrius; he calls Demetrius "untrustworthy and faithless from the start."
89. Walbank, Commentary, 1:663.
90. Ibid., 746.
91. Ibid., 2:125.
92. Ibid., 1:25; here Walbank says that "to a large extent...the personality with which Polybius invests Tyche is a matter of verbal elaboration, helped by current Hellenistic [word] usage."
93. Ibid., 2:134.
94. Polybius is writing about his lost "Notes on Tactics." The content of this work is unknown. Walbank comments that Polybius very likely used this work in the Histories when he wrote about events in Italy in the year 210, or in the events in Greece in the same year.
95. Walbank, Commentary, 2:163; Walbank writes that "the material of the pair of speeches may come from a literary source...but the two sides are set out with careful objectivity."
96. In a written communication, dated 11 April 1989, Professor F. W. Walbank writes that "he finds Schweighaeuser always worth consulting," and that he translates the phrase "εἰς θεοῦς καὶ τύχας," as "to the gods and chance events of fortune."
97. Walbank, Commentary, 2:244.

98. Walbank, Commentary, 2:252.
99. Ibid., 274-75.
100. Walbank, Polybius, 28, 59-60.
101. Walbank, Commentary, 2:317.
102. Ibid., 357.
103. Ibid., 360.
104. Ibid., 1:155.
105. Ibid., 2:464; In this translation, "chance" is the most reasonable word to use, rather than "bad-luck." To use the latter word implies hindsight, whereas a wise general always knows that "chance" has a part in the outcome of every battle.
106. Walbank, Commentary, 2:475.
107. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, 24; Walbank, Commentary, 2:476.
108. Walbank, Commentary, 1:25.
109. Ibid., 2:564-70; Walbank has some interesting comments on these pages on the subject of treachery. He feels that Polybius' views may be too pro-Achaean to be valid under all circumstances.
110. Ibid., 2:614.
111. Ibid., 3:70.
112. Ibid., 123.
113. Ibid., 208.
114. Ibid., 226-27.
115. Ibid., 232-33.
116. Ibid., 392; Plutarch, Aemilius, 26.
117. Walbank, Commentary, 3:393; von Scala, Die Studien, 159-162.

118. Walbank, Commentary, 3:394.
119. Ibid., 503.
120. Ibid., 522.
121. Ibid., 526-27.
122. Ibid., 651.
123. Ibid., 1:17.
124. Ibid., 3:672; Pausanias, Guide to Greece, vii.
11.8-12.8.
125. Walbank, Commentary, 3:47, 3:685.
126. Ibid., 688.
127. Ibid., 700.
128. Ibid., 706.
129. Ibid., 724.
130. Ibid., 725.
131. The Histories have many examples of the actions of τύχη. All have been selected and examined in Section II of this work. For the examples given in this paragraph, see the following pages: guiding, 31; supporting one side, 60; the playwright, 70; the judge, 60; the caprice, 56.
132. For a good example of the instability, the capriciousness of τύχη, see i.1.2-3, page 28. This is considered by many to be Polybius' theme sentence. Also see ii.70.2, page 85.
133. Walbank, Commentary, 1:26.

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Letter "F" means : related to the power, fortune.

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*The letter "G" refers to the goddess Τύχη.

EPILOG

Διὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὰς
ποιούμεθα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς
ζωῆς ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων
διαμεῖναι....

Polybius xxxix.8.2