

## FRAGMENTS

Most of the fragments attributed either by ancient sources or by the acumen or speculation of scholars to P. lack any context and little of historical relevance can be said about them. I have commented only where I felt I had something to say.

1. See vi. 11 a 4 where, according to Athen. x. 440 E, P. mentioned the sweet wine of Aegosthena (see ad loc.). Stephanus may be referring to that passage, where however the adjectival form is *Aἰγοσθενεῖ* (dative), which Schweigaeser, followed by Hultsch, corrected to *Aἰγοσθενίτη* in the light of this fragment.

4. **κοινὴν . . . τὴν φύσιν**: 'they have an ambiguous character'—since they can be used both for and against the people they are supposed to protect; for a similar use of *κοινός* cf. vi. 22. 4, xi. 1. 8 (of elephants at the Metaurus).

**αἴτιαι δουλείας**: if occupied by a tyrant or royal garrison.

6. See xxxv. 5. 1 n. for the possibility that this fragment refers to Aemilianus' taking up a challenge at Intercatia (in 151).

7. **Μητρόδωρον**: if this is the general who won Thasos for Philip V in 202 (xv. 24. 2 n.), the fragment suggests a later breach.

9. **οὐδ' ἄπαξ ἐνίκησεν**: cf. xv. 11. 7 (Hannibal's own claim); but Plutarch is perhaps thinking of P.'s statement in connection with Marcellus' death (x. 33. 2), that Hannibal himself never met with disaster. That assertion throws doubt on the annalistic account of Marcellus' victories near Nola (Livy, xxiii. 16. 2–16, 39. 7 f., 41. 13–46. 7; xxiv. 13. 8–11. 17).

10. **ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Κερκυραίων ἄπαξιώσει**: Niese, ii. 779 (cf. 468) refers this to the expedition against Corcyra which App. *Mac.* 1 and Zon. ix. 4. 2 attribute to 215. Both De Sanctis, iii. 2. 364, and Holleaux, 185 n. 1, reject this expedition as a doublet of that undertaken in 216; but in 216 Philip made no move on Corcyra (v. 109. 4–110. 4), nor is there any other occasion when he did so. Livy, xxiii. 39. 4, states that after the treaty with Hannibal, 'prius se aestas circumegit quam mouere ac moliri quicquam rex posset'; nevertheless the present passage counts somewhat in favour of accepting the historicity of the expedition—though P.'s words suggest something less than a direct attack. Holleaux (whose view I accepted in *Philip V*, 279), in dismissing Niese's view as erroneous, omits to mention the addendum

in which Niese adduces this fragment. If this case is accepted, the fragment will stand between vii. 9 and 10, as part of *res Graeciae* of Ol. 141, 1 = 216/15.

18. See xxxv. 5. 2 n. for the possibility (but not more) that this fragment concerns Scipio's duel at Intercatia in 151 (cf. fg. 6).

20. *Arcesine* on Amorgos was perhaps mentioned in connection with the battle of Lade (cf. xvi. 14. 5) in 201; so Schweighaeuser, v. 54 no. 7.

21. **Ἄρπυια**: the Enchelei are probably the same as the Enchelanes of v. 108. 8; the latter is generally taken to be a town near Lake Lychnidus (see ad loc.), but Hammond (*Macedonia*, 94) points out that the form is unlikely as the name of a town, and it is more probable that P. is referring to a people. The Enchelei-Enchelanes, whose royal house claimed descent from Cadmus and Harmonia, will have inhabited the area west of the lake; cf. Zippel, 13; Hammond, *Epirus*, 439 and map 14. Stephanus states that Harpyia was so called because Baton (a Dardanian name), the charioteer of Amphiaraus, settled there *μετὰ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν αὐτοῦ*, i.e. after he was 'snatched away'. This may be from P.; for other aetiological explanations see iv. 39. 6, 43. 6, 59. 5 (cf. Wunderer, ii. 44). For Harpyia see also Herodian Techn. i. 281 Lentz. Neither its site nor the context in which P. mentioned this otherwise unknown town (cf. Putsch, *RE*, vii. 2, *Nachtrag*, 'Harpyia', col. 2880) can be determined.

26. Cf. xxi. 20. 7 n., xxxix. 3. 6 n.

27. Cf. i. 56. 3; but Stephanus seems to be referring to some lost passage.

31. For *δικαιοδοσία* cf. xxiii. 1. 1 n.

39. On *hexereis* see i. 26. 11, xvi. 7. 1. But in the surviving fragments P. nowhere gives their measurements, nor, as he does not do so in book i, is there any obvious place where he could do so in the context of sea-battles between Rome and Carthage. If *ἐκτίθεσθαι πως ἔδοξε* can be pressed, Zosimus is perhaps not very sure of his recollection; but see the beginning of the extract *δοκοῦσι δέ πως*. On Zosimus' very superficial acquaintance with P. see F. Paschoud, *Entretiens sur Polybe*, 305–37 (but he deals only with the other two passages, Zos. i. 1. 1, 57. 1, where P. is mentioned); *RE*, 'Zosimos (8)', col. 811.

40. Should this refer to the drunkenness of the Celts (xi. 3. 1) at Metaurus (207), it would stand between xi. 1. 1 and 1. 2 (cf. xi. 1. 2 n.).

41. For the comparison between the doctor and the general cf. xi. 25. 2–7; von Scala, 101. P. likes this medical simile; cf. i. 81. 5–11 n.; and for similar examples see Plato, *Rep.* viii. 564 c (though P. will hardly have had that passage in mind; cf. Wunderer, iii. 111).

42. Schweighaeuser, v. 63 fg. 28, assigns this to a speech of Perseus to his troops after Callicinus in 171 (cf. xxvii. 8. 1–15 n.; Livy, xlvi. 61. 4–8), but this seems unlikely; the use of *αὐτοῖς* to describe the Romans and the reference to the Macedonians by name seem inappropriate to a Macedonian speaker.

43. This probably refers to the arrival of C. Claudius Nero in Spain (211) to take charge after the deaths of the Scipios (cf. Vol. II, p. 8), an event described in Livy, xxvi. 17. 1–2; see Schweighaeuser, v. 73 fg. 67. Some such word as *συμάχους* or *στρατιώτας* has fallen out before *ἐν τῇ Ταρρακῶνι*.

*προκαθίσαντας ἐπὶ τῆς διαβάσεως*: probably the crossing over the river Tulcis, modern Francoli (Mela, ii. 90), to the west of the town; its mouth served as the harbour of Tarraco (cf. Schulten, *RE*, 'Tarraco', col. 2398).

47. Schweighaeuser, v. 70 fg. 58, refers this to the elder Africanus (cf. Livy, xxix. 26. 5); but Nissen, *Rh. Mus.* 1871, 276, believes it to be concerned with Aemilianus, and would place it in book xxxvi (cf. xxxvi. 8. 7). For the reference to *ταύτοματον καὶ τύχη πις* see xxxi. 30. 3 n.; there the role of chance is qualified more than it is here, but on the whole it supports Nissen's attribution. The context of this fragment is unknown. It is perhaps unlikely that these words are from some speaker rather than from P. himself (so Siegfried, 56).

53. See xxi. 18. 5 n. for a variant.

54. *Cappadocia*: cf. xxxi. 8. 2 n. for the likelihood that P.'s account of Cappadocia and the story that it was granted to a Persian who saved a king from a lion came in that book. On the usually accepted boundaries of Cappadocia see Strabo, xii. 1. 1–3, C. 533–4; above, v. 43. 1 (to P. it reached Pontus). See further Magie, i. 200–2; Ruge, *RE*, 'Kappadokia', cols. 1910–11.

*ὄνομα Περσικόν*: its Persian name was Katpatuka, 'the land of the beautiful horses' or 'the land of the Tucha or Ducha' (Ruge, loc. cit.).

60. *Size of a Spartan mora*: the *mora* is first mentioned in 404 (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 31), and seems to be part of a military reorganization carried out after the Peloponnesian War. There were evidently six *morai* (Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 11. 4) but the relationship of the *mora* to the unit called a *lochos* (cf. Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1. 30, 4. 20, 5. 10) is not clear.

The *mora* seems to have varied in size. We hear of *morai* of 500 (Ephorus), 700 (Callisthenes), and 900 (P.) men; Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5. 12 mentions one of 600 men in 392. See on Spartan army organization Michell, 233–47.

60 b. There seems to be confusion between *Motiηνή* in Spain and the Roman colony at Mutina (cf. iii. 40. 8).

64. Büttner-Wobst queried the attribution to P. because of hiatus (*καὶ εἰς*) and the unlikely *εἴηρτίκεσσαν*; but the former occurs at xxii. 17. 2, xxx. 26. 7, and xxxiii. 5. 2 and 17. 1 (all of which Büttner-Wobst treats as non-Polybian phraseology) and Hultsch's *εἴηρτίκεσσαν* is an easy emendation of the latter. Zippel, 133 f., thought the reference was to the occasion mentioned in App. *Ill.* 14, when a Cornelius (whom he took to be L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, cos. 156) suffered a defeat at the hands of the Paeonians; cf. De Sanctis, iv. 1. 437 f. This identification of Appian's Cornelius has been generally accepted, but M. G. Morgan (*Historia*, 1974, 183–216) argues persuasively that he is P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, cos. 138, and that he sustained the disaster while praetor in 141. The present fragment he refers to the Dalmatian War of 156/5, and in particular to its opening phases. The Pannonians would in that case be the Scordisci who (Obsequens, 16, *Dalmatae Scordis* (*cti superati*) fought, perhaps as mercenaries, with the Dalmatians (Zippel, 132; and other sources quoted by Morgan, *Historia*, 1974, 194 n. 46). Morgan further argues that Strabo, vii. 5. 3, C. 314, uses *Pannonii* as a *Sammelname* for all the tribes in the Balkan hinterland, that the genealogy which makes Scordiscus the son of Paion (or Pannonius) (App. *Ill.* 2) would make the Scordisci part of the Pannonian family, and that since Strabo (who used P. for the part of his work which dealt with the Paeonians: Strabo, vii. 5. 1, C. 313 = xxiv. 4) does not criticize him in this context, P. too must have given 'Pannonian' this wide sense. This is however highly hypothetical, and not sufficiently firm to identify the context of this fragment. See also A. Mócsy, *RE*, Suppl.-B. ix, 'Pannonia', col. 528; *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London, 1974), 12–13.

66. This may correspond to Livy, xliv. 10. 10, describing an incident of 169, when the Roman fleet raided the Macedonian coast; see the note following xxviii. 11. 3 n.

67. Cf. xxii. 3. 7 n.; Schweighaeuser, v. 70–71 fg. 59 thinks Africanus is meant, but xxxvi. 8. 6 points to Aemilianus; this fragment probably belongs in that context.

68. **Πάρθος**: see xviii. 47. 12 n. (where however the form is feminine). Hammond (*Epirus*, 621; *Macedonia*, 96 n. 4) argues that in that pas-

sage both Parthus and Lychnis are areas, not towns, in the vicinity of Lake Lychnidus and the upper Shkumbi river. But Lychnis and Lychnidus may have been alternative forms for the name of a town; to Apollodorus *Parthus* was certainly a *πόλις*. Though towns were not common in the upper Shkumbi valley, there were some, such as that now discovered at Selcë (cf. N. Ceka, 'La ville illyrienne de la Basse-Selce' in *Iliria* 2 (1972), 167–215; Ceka would identify Selcë with Pelion, but Pelion seems to have been in the Devoll valley; cf. Hammond, *JHS*, 1974, 66–77, identifying it with the hill of Goricë).

69. Küster plausibly emended *πλαδαρόν* to *κλαδαρόν*, used of *δόρατα* in vi. 25. 5; see Schweighaeuser's note on that passage.

70. Büttner-Wobst refers this fragment to the betrayal of Tarentum to Q. Fabius Maximus in 209 (cf. x. 1 n.); on this see Livy, xxvii. 15. 4–16. 9; Zon. ix. 8; App. *Hann.* 49; Plut. *Fab.* 21; Polyaen. viii. 14. 3. According to the anecdote which will have been in P. (cf. De Sanctis, iii. 2. 638), the treachery was organized by a Tarentine in Fabius' service, whose sister in Tarentum had engaged the affections of the Bruttian garrison commander. The Tarentine used this fact to effect a pretended desertion, and eventually to win over the Bruttian to surrender the town to the Romans. Against this identification is the fact that in the other sources the Tarentine approached Fabius *before* concerting his plot; the order of events here seems to be the reverse. Büttner-Wobst suggests that the subject is Heracleides of Tarentum, who was expelled because suspected of planning to betray Tarentum to the Romans (xiii. 4. 6); but this was probably soon after the Carthaginians gained the city (viii. 4. 2 n.) and hardly during Fabius' command; nor does the story as P. tells it (xiii. 4. 6–7) fit the remark here. Finally, Büttner-Wobst's proposal to emend *τρίτον* to *τοῦ Ταραντίνου* (sc. *Ἡρακλείδου*) seems over-bold.

73. This story of Ptolemy II sending Nile water to Antiochus II's court for the use of his daughter Berenice does not sound like P.; both von Scala, 261 n. 1, and Wilamowitz (in Athen. ii. 54 B Kaibel) independently suggest Phylarchus as the author.

74. The reference is possibly to the bringing of Perseus before Aemilius Paullus in 168 (xxix. 20. 1); in the Livian account, based on P. (Livy, xlv. 7. 4), the crowd hampered Perseus' advance 'donec a consule lictores missi sunt, qui summoto iter ad praetorium facerent'. If this identification (by Hultsch and Büttner-Wobst) is correct, the fragment should stand between xxix. 19. 11 and 20.

76. In 140 P. Scipio Aemilianus, along with L. Caecilius Metellus Calvus, cos. 142, and Sp. Mummius, was sent on a general tour of

inspection among the eastern allies of Rome; see Broughton, i. 418 for references; Otto and Bengtson, *Niedergang*, 38; Astin, 127. Scipio was accompanied by Panaetius (Cic. *Acad. pr.* ii. 5; Poseidonius, *FGH*, 87 F 6 (where Poseidonius is confused with Panaetius), F 30; Plut. *Mor.* 200 E–F) but the present fragment does not prove that P. was also with him (cf. Vol. I, p. 5 n. 11). If however his journey took in Achaea (cf. xxxix. 5. 2 n.)—and this is hypothetical—no doubt P. will have made contact with him there and will probably have had a part in any dispositions he may have made. Where P. mentioned this embassy, which was of course later than the terminal date of the *Histories*, is not known. See further xxxiv. 14. 6 n., 15. 2 n.; Ziegler, *RE*, 'Polybius (1)', cols. 1458, 1461.

78. Cf. xi. 2. 3.

82. What these *τύλοι* (or *τύλα*, as Suidas calls them) are is not clear. Schweighaeuser, v. 99 fig. 129, thinks they are wooden pegs ('clavis ligneis'), presumably used to split the rock and complete the mine; but Büttner-Wobst emends the text and makes the meaning 'holes had to be made for the props ('fulcris') which held up the mine.' The context may be Philip's attempt to take Lamia in 191 (xx. 11. 3 n.; see Livy, xxxvi. 25. 4, 'subter Macedones cuniculis oppugnabant, et in asperis locis silex paene inpenetrabilis ferro occurrebat'); in which case this fragment would stand between xx. 8. 6 and 9. 1.

83. See Vol. I, p. 22 n. 4; xxxvi. 17. 1.

84. Hyrtacus or Hyrtacina lay in the south-west corner of Crete not far from Elyros; its identification with the ruins half an hour's walk south of the village of Temenia (Bursian, ii. 549) is not assured; cf. Bürchner, *RE*, 'Hyrtakina', cols. 538–9. Where P. mentioned it is unknown.

85. Philippi, later famous for the defeat of Brutus and Cassius by Octavian and Antony, was in the east Macedonian plain between the Strymon and the Nestus, and west of Mt. Orbelus. Philip II founded it on the site of Crenides (later Daton): see Johanna Schmidt, *RE*, 'Philippi', cols. 2206–44, for a comprehensive account of the town (and excavations); P. Collart, *Philippi, ville de Macédoine* (Paris, 1937). P. could have mentioned it almost anywhere in *res Macedoniae*.

86. **φρεατοτύπανα:** this word, not found elsewhere, describes a device for raising water from a well or tank, probably similar to one described in Vitruv. x. 4. 1–2. The *tympanum* there mentioned consists of a drum made of planks, fitted around an axis with which it is connected by eight cross-pieces running the length of the drum and extending from the axle to the circumference, so as to divide

the drum into eight equal compartments. Holes in the end of the drum admit water into each bay in turn, the axle is turned by men working a treadmill, and as the bays are successively raised the water runs out through a second set of holes next to the axle into a wooden basin connected with a trough. The following sectional diagram is based on one in A. G. Drachman, *Antikes Technik* (Haases Facetbger, Copenhagen, 1963), 56–57:

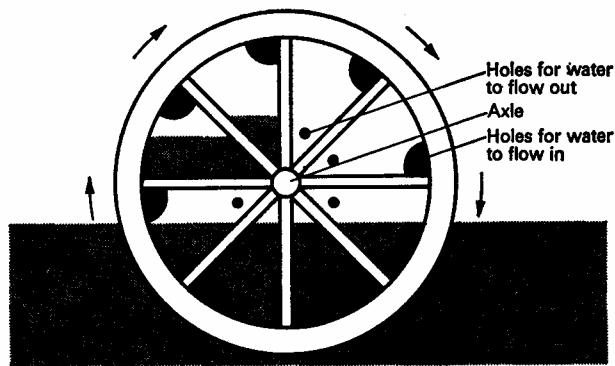


FIG. 10 VITRUVIUS' TYMPANUM: VERTICAL SECTION

Schweighaeuser, v. 100–1 fig. 135, who missed the passage in Vitruvius, wavered between something like a *κῆλων*, a swing-beam on the top of a pole, with a bucket at one end, such as Herodotus (i. 193. 1, vi. 119. 3) describes as in use in Mesopotamia—this is the modern *shadouf*—and some kind of treadmill. He further suggested that P. introduced the word in his account of irrigation in Mesopotamia (cf. ix. 43. 5). But P. could have used the word anywhere, not necessarily in a context of irrigation but, for example, in a comparison with some other device, perhaps of a military nature. On Vitruvius' machine see K. Schneider, *RE*, 'Tympanum', col. 1752 (§ 3 d).

96. See xxv. 2. 14 n. for the possible context.

99. See xxxvi. 2. 1–4 n. for the probable context.

102. ἀναδρομή: 'line of retreat', as the examples show; the line (from an unidentified poet) is misunderstood by Wunderer, ii. 62, to mean '*Aufschwung*', 'effort'.

**Λεύκιος:** unknown; probably not L. Postumius (iii. 118. 6 n.), since, having been mentioned in book iii (which is complete), his catastrophe is unlikely to have been recorded again in book vii.

**Πύρρου . . . πάροδος εἰς Ἀργος:** for Pyrrhus' attack on Argos (and



death there) in 273 see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 32 f.; Paus. i. 13. 8; Polyaen. viii. 68; Strabo, viii. 6. 18, C. 376–7; Niese, ii. 60 n. 3; Lévêque, 613–26.

**ἢ . . . Λυσιμάχου στρατεία . . . ἐπὶ Δρομιχαίτην:** this incident occurred in the second war fought by Lysimachus against the Getae beyond the Danube in 293 or 292 (Diod. xxi. 12. 1–6; Plut. *Dem.* 52. 4; Iustin. xvi. 1. 19; Polyaen. vii. 25; Strabo, vii. 7. 14, C. 305; Memnon, *FGH*, 434 F 5 (1)). He was captured but released by Dromichaetes (here incorrectly called an Odrysian) in the hopes of a lasting settlement. Lysimachus gave him a daughter in marriage and ceded the territory north of the Danube (Paus. i. 9. 6). See Geyer, *RE*, 'Lysimachus', col. 15.

**110.** See xxxv. 2. 2 n.

**112.** Perhaps a reference to Pharnaces' war against Ariarathes of Cappadocia; see xxiii. 9. 3 n., fg. 2 (at the end of the commentary on book xxiii, p. 253).

**τούτοις πιστεύων:** perhaps the Galatians Cassianus and Gaezatorix who at the start supported Pharnaces, though later they joined Eumenes and Ariarathes (xxiv. 14. 6 n.).

**115.** This probably refers to Scipio Aemilianus at the fall of Carthage; cf. xxxviii. 20. 4 n.

**117.** If this is Polybian, its context is uncertain; see however v. 62. 4.

**127.** For a similar phrase cf. iv. 52. 1.

**128.** This perhaps refers to Nabis' plans against Messene in 202/1 (xvi. 13. 3), which ignored the fact of his inclusion in the Treaty of Phoenice or the peace between Philip and Aetolia or both (see xvi. 13. 3 n.). It cannot refer to his outbreak, instigated from Aetolia, in 194/3 (Livy, xxxv. 12. 6–9, 13. 1), if indeed it is from P., since the account of that was in book xix, which was already lost when the Suidas lexicon was compiled. But Schweighaeuser (v. 64 fg. 34) queries the attribution to P., since he nowhere else uses *δυσθετεῖν* in the active.

**142.** See xxi. 7. 1–7 n.; this fragment may be from the passage drawn on by Livy, xxxvii. 11. 7, 'Pausistratus primo ut in re necopinata turbatus parumper, deinde uetus miles celeriter collecto animo etc.' (so M. Müller).

**144. τὰς ἐξ ὁμολόγου καὶ συστάδην μάχας:** cf. xi. 32. 7.

**145.** For a possible context see xxxviii. 19. 1 n. (at the end).

151. The Lapateni are unknown; Schweighaeuser, v. 62 fig. 26, in  
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an inconclusive note suggests that they may be the Ligurian Laticini (Livy, xli. 19. 1). Lucius is not identified.

154. This corresponds to Livy, xxxvii. 14. 5, describing a suggestion made by C. Livius to his successor as Roman commander, L. Aemilius Regillus, for blocking the harbour of Ephesus; it was rejected. See note preceding xxi. 8. 1–3 n.

162. This probably refers to Philip V (see Schweighaeuser, v. 100 fg. 132); for a similar operation (but not this one) cf. v. 101. 1–4 (217). This could refer to something happening in 215 or 214, years for which we are not fully informed about Philip's movements.

163. For the Celtiberian custom of having the cavalry fight on foot along with the infantry in case of need cf. Diod. v. 33. 5, probably based on Poseidonius (who may have used P. here: cf. Pédech, *Méthode*, 579 n. 362); but Diodorus does not mention the tethering of the horses. The present fragment looks Polybian and may be from P.'s account of the Celtiberian War (xxxv. 1) or, perhaps less probably, from the geographical book; cf. xxxiv. 8. 1–9. 15; Pédech, *LEC*, 1956, 15.

164. See xxx. 7. 8 n.; that passage qualifies the statement made here with phraseology which suggests that it is intended as a reply —unless indeed (so Schweighaeuser, v. 89 fg. 75) 'potest etiam confictum uideri fragmentum ex eo loco.'

172. Though *κατεξανίστασθαι* is not found elsewhere in P., the fragment may nevertheless be from the *Histories*. Schweighaeuser (v. 69 fg. 53) suggests that, if it is from P., it may refer to Philip V's attack on Thasos in 202 (xv. 24), and a decision taken there to have the *prytaneis* send for help to Rhodes; but *prytaneis* are not attested from Thasos (cf. *IG*, xii. Suppl. 358 ll. 2 ff. for *οἱ ἄρχοντες*, Touloumako, 127, 'unter den ἄρχοντες hat man wohl ein ähnliches Gremium, wie die Prytanen anderer Inselstädte zu verstehen'). Prytaneis are known, however, from Cius (cf. Gschmitz, *RE*, Suppl.-B. xiii, 'Prytanis', cols. 796–7), and the fragment may therefore refer to Philip V's attack on Cius (xv. 21–23); in that case, the Rhodian envoys sent to Philip on her behalf (xv. 22. 4 ff.) may have been sent in response to the embassy proposed here.

174. As Schweighaeuser (v. 68 fg. 50) suggests, this may refer to P. Sulpicius Galba, who commanded the Roman fleet in Greek waters from 210 to 205 (cf. viii. 1. 6 n.), and was reported at Naupactus in 209 (Livy, xxvii. 30. 11); cf. x. 25. 1–5 n.

176. περὶ τὰ Τύανα: this Cappadocian town (cf. Strabo, xii. 2. 7, C. 537) lay at or near Kemes Hisar, c. 19 km. south-west of Niğde, on the

road to the Taurus and the Cilician Gates; see Magie, ii. 1095 n. 4; Ruge, *RE*, 'Tyana', cols. 1630–42. The context is unknown.

177. Cf. v. 17. 9.

178. Cf. xxxv. 2. 2 n.; fg. 110.

179. **τῇ κατασκευῇ τῶν μαχαιρῶν:** on the adoption of this cutting and thrusting sword from the Spaniards see vi. 23. 6 n.; cf. Diod. v. 33. 3, *ξίφη δὲ ἀμφίστομα καὶ σιδήρῳ διαφόρῳ κεχαλκευμένα φοροῦσιν, ἔχοντες σπιθαμιαίας παραξιφίδας, αἵ χρῶνται κατὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις συμπλοκάς* (from Poseidonius). Like fg. 163, this passage may come either from the account of the Celtiberian War or from book xxxiv (cf. Pédech, *LEC*, 1956, 15; *Méthode*, 579 n. 362).

180. **τῷ Μάγῳ:** evidently Mago, son of Hamilcar, Hannibal's brother, who had crossed from Minorca to the mainland and taken Genua in 205 (Livy, xxviii. 46. 7; Zon. ix. 11; cf. De Sanctis, iii. 2. 511). He there made an alliance with the Ingauni against the Epanterii Montani, another Ligurian tribe. If that is the present context, this fragment is from *res Italiae* of book xiii, the first half of which covers Ol. 143, 3 = 206/5; in that case, it would stand at the beginning of the book.

183. **τὰ . . . χρήματα μεσιτεύειν:** 'to deposit the money', i.e. in neutral hands; LSJ s.v. *μεσιτεύειν* states that the word is here used intransitively, 'to lie on deposit with a stakeholder'; no parallel is quoted and it seems most unlikely. The context is obscure.

184. This seems to refer to Philip and his son Perseus; but whether it is from P. is not clear.

192. Nissen, *Rh. Mus.* 1871, 276, refer this to the situation described in xxxvi. 6. 7, when the Punic envoys receive the final ultimatum in the Roman camp; this is possible, and this fragment would then precede xxxvi. 7. 1. On that view, *συνέδριον* is the consul's *consilium*. For the words *συμπάσχοντας τῇ τῶν ἀκληρούντων ὑπερωδυνίᾳ*, 'sharing in the sorrow and intense grief of the miserable men' (for *οἱ ἀκληροῦντες* in this sense see xxxviii. 3. 6, 3. 7, 3. 9), cf. App. *Lib.* 81, *μέχρι καὶ Ρωμαίους αὐτοῖς ἐπιδακρύσαι*. My main hesitation in accepting this is, however, on account of the phrase *παρεκστῆναι ταῖς διανοίαις*, which seems far too violent for the Roman reaction; but I can suggest no alternative context.

193. Schweighaeuser (v. 72 fg. 65) suggests that the subject is Eudamus, the Rhodian admiral in 190 (cf. Livy, xxxvii. 22. 3); see

xxi. 11 n. In that case Side (cf. v. 73. 3, xxxi. 17. 5 for this Pamphylian city), which was on Antiochus III's side in 192 (Livy, xxxv. 48. 6) and at the time of the sea-battle there in 190 (Livy, xxxvii. 23. 3),

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must subsequently have gone over after the Syrian defeat (cf. Magie, ii. 1134; Schmitt, *Antiochos*, 279). See also Ullrich, 48–49.

**παρῶνας**: light vessels; cf. schol. Aristoph. *Peace*, 143.

196. Perhaps a reference to vi. 25. 3; see Schweighaeuser, vi. 355 ad loc.

202. **τῷ προσπνεύματι**: since the lemma is *πνεύσας*, *προσπνεύματι* is probably a corruption of two words (so Bernhardy); LSJ quotes no other example of it. Hultsch proposes *ἔτι δὲ τούτων ὥσπερ πνεύματι*. The context is obscure.

**μαχομένων ἐκ διαιρέσεως ταῖς μαχαίραις**: 'fighting by means of sword-thrusts'; cf. xviii. 30. 7 n. Evidently a group of men have been surrounded and cannot use a cutting blow of their swords through lack of space.

205. **προπεπωκέναι**: the meaning is 'to give as a present to a person toasted', and so often simply 'to make a present'; cf. Dem. xix. 139 (of Philip II), *ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ προύπινεν αὐτοῖς*. The context is obscure; either Prusias could be meant.

211. **στοάς**: *uineas*; cf. i. 48. 2 n.; here they afford cover for bringing up rams.

212. **ἡ δὲ τύχη . . . καθάπερ ἐπὶ προσκήνιον**: cf. Vol. I, p. 21 n. 6; xi. 5. 8 n. For *προσκήνιον*, 'stage', see xxx. 22. 4 n.

217. If Meltzer is right in connecting this fragment with the attack on Carthage from the mole (App. *Lib.* 124–5), it will stand between xxxviii. 6. 7 and 7. 1, followed immediately by xxxviii. 19; see p. 48. For the *διατείχισμα* see xxxviii. 19. 1 n. The subject of *προσεβοήθουν* will be the Carthaginians, and Scipio will be bringing up the *σαμβύκαι* against the city; cf. App. *Lib.* 124, *μηχανήματα πολλὰ ἐπάγων*. On *σαμβύκαι* see viii. 4. 2 n.; but as there were no Roman ships on the harbour side of Scipio's mole, these *σαμβύκαι* must be devices used on land, like that in Biton. The reference to 'those forcing them forward from the harbour' seems, however, to be rather against this, hence there is a certain doubt about the proposed attribution of this fragment to the context of the fight from the mole at Carthage.

218. For Philopoemen's practice, designed to make two days' rations last three or even four days, see Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 2. 5, *εἰ παραγγελθείη, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σίτου πλείω χρόνον ἐπιταθῆναι*; *Cyrop.* i. 2. 11. The context is not known. Naber, *Mnem.* 1857, 364, suggested Livy, xxxv. 28 (based on a lost passage from xxix); but this is concerned with Philopoemen's interest and skill in military problems, not with his practice while on campaign.

219. τὸ . . . Πολυβίου παράγγελμα διαφυλάττων: whether this advice was recorded in the *Histories* is questionable. Other sources (Plut. *Aem.* 38. 2 f.; *Apophth. Scip. Min.* 9) emphasize Scipio Aemilianus' preference for avoiding the usual methods of winning popularity, and Astin, 31, observes that he paid great attention to popular favour, but did not exploit activity in the courts and the custom of the *salutatio* to acquire it. He suggests that Scipio's visits to the forum were infrequent and the friends so gained neither many nor important. For P.'s influence in the moulding of Scipio's career see xxxi. 22–30.

220. Against Dindorf's reference of this fragment to the casting into the sea of some of Perseus' treasure and its recovery by divers (Livy, xliv. 10. 3; see note following xxviii. 11. 3 n.) see Müller in *Jahrb.* 1870, 245; ἀναφέρειν is 'to hand over', not 'to bring up' from the sea-bottom. The context is therefore unknown.

221. On the possible context in the war with Perseus (168) see the note on the events leading to the dispatch of Nasica round Olympus which follows xxix. 14. 1–18 n.

228. This probably refers to Eumenes' putting in at Elaea in 190; see xxi. 10. 1–14 n.

232. This also appears as xxxvi. 8. 8.

233. Casaubon referred this to Hannibal's visit to Gortyn during his wanderings, after escaping from the Syrian court following Magnesia (cf. xxi. 43. 11 n.); he had already spent some time in Armenia (Strabo, xi. 14. 16, C. 529; Plut. *Lucull.* 31). For the device by which he tricked the Gortynians, removing his wealth in hollow statues, see Nepos, *Hann.* 9; Iustin. xxxii. 4. 3; Niese, iii. 71 n. 1; Guarducci, *IC*, iv, Gortyn, pp. 23–24. P. must have mentioned Hannibal's wanderings somewhere between xxi. 43. 11 and xxiii. 13 (his death); a likely point would be his arrival at Prusias' court.

234. See the note following xxvii. 6. 4 n. for a likely suggestion of M. Müller that this fragment corresponds to Livy, xlvi. 49. 2.

For two Polybian fragments, Suidas i. 454. 22 Adler, *βαρεῖα χείρ*, and Suidas, iv. 577. 12, *τοῦτο ποιήσας ἐν κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων δικαιότατον* (cf. iv. 18. 7 n.), previously unrecognized, see M. L. West, *CR*, 1973, 9–10.