

THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

APPENDIX I  
THE DIVISIONS OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE AFTER THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, OB. JUNE B.C. 323.

Justin, 12, 16; Arrian, *An.* 7, 28.

οἱ βασιλεῖς { Philip III. (Arrhidaeus) half-brother of Alexander, ob. B. C. 317.  
Alexander IV. (posthumous son of Alexander by Roxana),

Successive Guardians { Perdicas, killed B. C. 321.  
(οἱ ἐταίμοι ἤντη). { Arrhidaeus and Python (for a few months), resigned B. C. 321.

Hipparch . . . Seleucus. Captain of the Bodyguards . . . Cassander.

FIRST DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE. Diodorus Sic. 18, 3; Justin, 13, 4.	
Macedonia and Greece.	Antipater.
Egypt, and parts of Libya and Asia.	Ptolemy s. of Lags.
Pamphylia (3), Lycia, Antigonus.	Greater Phrygia.
Caria.	Cassander.
Thrace.	Lysimachus.
Paphlagonia.	Eumenes.
Media Major.	Python.
Syria.	Laomedon.
Phrygia Hellespontica.	Leonatus.
Tydia.	Melager (1).
Chilicia.	Philotas.
Media Minor.	Atropatos.
Bactria ulterior.	Unchanged (2).
India.	Python s. of Agenor.
Indian Colonies.	Taxiles.
Parapanisus.	Oxyartes.
Arachosia and Silyria.	Dravaca and Aeri.
Bactria.	Amynatas.
Sogdiana.	Stasandros.
Parthians.	Phriap.
Hyrcania.	Phraathernes.
Carmania.	Teghobarnes.
Persis.	Panctes.
Babylonians.	Archon.
Mesopotamia.	Arctasians.

(1) Justin, calls him Menander.  
(2) The provinces and governors printed in italics are not mentioned by Diodorus here, who merely says that they were unchanged. But the list given by Justin agrees with that of Diodorus in the next settlement, with certain exceptions, which may be regarded as changes arising from death or other causes.  
(3) Justin gives Pamphylia and Lycia to Nearchus.

SECOND ARRANGEMENT, B. C. 321.  
οἱ βασιλεῖς { Philip III. (Arrhidaeus) ob. 317 B. C.  
Alexander IV. (son of Alexander by Roxana).  
Regent with absolute powers . . . Antipater, ob. B. C. 318. Strategus of the Empire . . . Antigonus.  
" " Polysperchon, B. C. 318-315. Chiliarch " " Cassander (s. of Antigonus).

B.C. 321. SECOND ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROVINCES. Diod. 18, 39.

Antipater (Un- changed.) Mace- donia and Greece,	Ptolemy, s. 9 = Lagus,	Antigonus.	Cassander.	Lysimachus. (Un- changed.) Caria.	Thrace.	Media. Syria.	Cilicia.	Baby- lonia. Cappadocia.	Lydia.	Phrygia Hellas- pontica.	Arthibadaus.	Amphi- machus.	The other provinces as in the previous list.
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THIRD ARRANGEMENT, B.C. 312-311.

Kir-g . . . Alexander IV (in charge of Roxana). Strategus in Europe till the king comes of age . . . Cassander.

B.C. 312-311. THIRD ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE. Diod. Sic. 19, 105.

Ptolemy, s. of Lagus.	Lysimachus.	Cassander.	Antigonus.	Seleucus Nicator.	Greece nominally free, B.C. 307 Demetrius (s. of Antigonus) becomes Master of Athens.
Egypt.	Thrace.	Macedonia.	All Asia ( <i>ἀφρικήθαι</i> ).	Babylonia.	

B.C. 311. Alexander IV and Roxana murdered by order of Cassander.

B.C. 306. FOURTH ARRANGEMENT. Kingdoms formed, AFTER THE NAVAL VICTORY OF DEMETRIUS OVER PTOLEMY. Diod. 39, 53.

Ptolemy, s. of Lagus.	Antigonus.	Seleucus.	Lysimachus.	Cassander.	Demetrius Poliorcetes (s. of Anti- gonus) also takes the title of <i>King</i> and in B.C. 304 returns to Athens and wages war with Cassander.
King of Egypt.	King of Syria and Asia.	King of Upper Asia.	King of Thrace.	King of Macedonia.	

B.C. 301. SETTLEMENT AFTER THE BATTLE OF IPSUS, IN WHICH ANTIGONUS FELL.  
(Lysimachus and Seleucus against Antigonus and Demetrius.)

Ptolemy, s. of Lagus, ob. 285.	Seleucus Nicator, ob. B.C. 280.	Lysimachus, ob. 281.	Cassander, ob. B.C. 297.	Greece is nominally free, but in B.C. 295 Deme- trius takes Athens, and becoming King of Macedonia in B.C. 205 to B.C. 287, he retains Greece as part of the kingdom. In the con- fusion which followed it was practically free.
King of Egypt.	King of Syria.	King of Thrace.	King of Macedonia.	

APPENDIX II  
THE KINGS OF EGYPT, SYRIA, AND MACEDONIA, TO THE END OF THE  
PERIOD EMBRACED IN POLYBIUS'S HISTORY

B. C.	EGYPT	B. C.	SYRIA	B. C.	MACEDONIA
366-285	Ptolemy, s. of Lagus	306-301	Antigonus the One-eyed	323-311	{ Alexander IV.
283-247	Ptolemy II. Philadelphus	301-280	Seleucus Nicanor	323-317	{ Philip III. (Arrhidaeus)
247-222	Ptolemy III. Evergetes	280-261	Antiochus I. Soter, s. of Antigonus the One-eyed	311-306	Regency of Cassander
222-205	Ptolemy IV. Philopator	261-246	Antiochus II. Theos	306-296	Cassander
205-181	Ptolemy V. Epiphanes	246-226	Seleucus II. Callinicus	296	Philip IV. s. of Cassander
181-146	Ptolemy VI. Philometor	226-223	Seleucus III. Alexander	296-294	Antipater } sons of Cassander Alexander }
170-154	Ptolemy VII. Physcon, joint king with his brother, Ptolemy VI.	223-187	or Ceraunus	294-287	Demetrius I. Poliorcetes, ob. 283
146-117	Ptolemy VII. sole king	187-175	Antiochus III. the Great	287-281	Divided between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus
		175-164	Seleucus IV. Philopator	281-280	{ Seleucus, Nicanor { Ptolemy Ceraunus, s. of Ptolemy of Egypt
		164-162	Antiochus IV. Epiphanes	280-277	[Various claimants]
		162-150	Antiochus V. Eupator	277-239	Antigonus Gonatas, s. of Demetrius I.
		150-147	Demetrius I. Soter	239-229	Demetrius II. s. of Gonatas
		147-125	Alexander Balas	229-179	Philip V. s. of Demetrius II.
			Demetrius II. Nicator		[Antigonus Dosison, nominally his guardian assumes the crown B.C. 229-220]
				179-168	Perseus [Macedonia a Roman province]

## APPENDIX III

I, 21. The capture of Cornelius Asina is ascribed by Livy (*Ep.* 17) to an act of treachery, *per fraudem velut in colloquium evocatus captus est*. He is copied by Florus (2, 2) and Eutropius (2, 10). See also Valerius Max. 6, 6, 2. This is perhaps not incompatible with the narrative of Polybius, which, however, does not suggest it. He must have been released at the time of the entrance of Regulus into Africa, for being captured in B.C. 260, we find him Consul for B.C. 254, without any account of his release being preserved.

## I, 32-36.—XANTHIPPIUS THE LACEDAEMONIAN

The fate of Xanthippus has been variously reported. Polybius represents him as going away voluntarily, and Mommsen supposes him to have taken service in the Egyptian army. Appian, however, asserts that he and his men were drowned on their way home to Sparta by the Carthaginian captains who were conveying them, and who were acting on secret orders from home (8, 4). Mommsen also regards the account of Polybius of the reforms introduced in the Carthaginian tactics by Xanthippus as exaggerated: "The officers of Carthage can hardly have waited for foreigners to teach them that the light African cavalry can be more appropriately employed on the plain than among hills and forests." The doubt had apparently occurred to others [Diodor. Sic. fr. bk. 23.] The mistake, however, was not an unnatural one. For other references to Xanthippus see Cicero *de Off.* 3, 26, 7; Valerius Max. 1, 1, 14; Dio Cassius, fr. 43, 24.

## I, 34.—M. ATILIUS REGULUS

No more is told us of the fate of Regulus, and Mommsen says "nothing more is known with certainty." Arnold, following Niebuhr, declared the story of his cruel death to be a fabrication. The tradition, however, of his mission home to propose peace, his subsequent return after advising against it, and his death under torture, was received undoubtingly by the Roman writers of the time of Cicero and afterwards. See Cicero, *Off.* 3, § 99; *ad Att.* 16, 11; *de Sen.* § 74; *Paradox.* 2, 16; *Tusc.* 5, § 14. Horace,

*Od.* 3, 5; Livy, *Ep.* 18; Valerius Max. 1, 1, 14; Dio Cassius, fr. 43, 28. To Appian (8, 4) is due the additional particular of the barrel full of nails, *καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καθείρξαντες ἐν γαλεάγρῳ κέντρα πάντοθεν ἐχούσῃ διέφθειραν*. Against this uniformity of tradition is to be set the silence of Polybius. But on the other hand, in this introductory part of his history, Polybius does not profess to give full particulars (see note to 1, 21); and in the case of Regulus, he has not stated what we learn from Livy (*Ep.* 18) and Valerius Max. 4, 4, 6, that his stay in Africa for the second year was against his own express wish, his private business requiring, as he thought, his presence in Italy.

#### 1, 60.—LUTATIUS

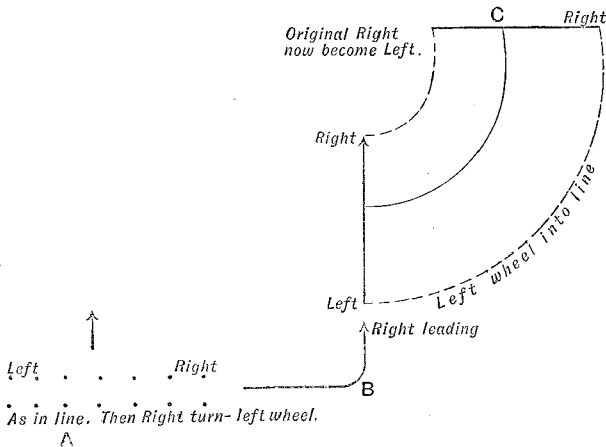
Lutatius is represented by Polybius as directing the operations at the battle of Aegusa; but it appears that he had received some hurt a few days before, and was confined to his lectica during the action (*lectica claudum jucuisse*). The chief direction therefore devolved upon the praetor, Q. Valerius Falto, who accordingly claimed to share his triumph, but was refused on the technical ground that the victory had not been won under his *auspicia*. Valerius Max. 2, 8, 2.

#### 1, 76.—HAMILCAR

(Vol. i. p. 85.) Dr. Warre writes on the manœuvre of Hamilcar as follows: "Hamilcar's army is in column of route; elephants leading, then cavalry, then light-armed infantry, and heavy-armed infantry in the rear. He observes the enemy bearing down hastily; gives orders to his whole force to turn about, and then forms line (*ἐξέτασις*) by successive wheels of his heavy-armed troops. He would thus have changed his heavy-armed from column of route into line by wheeling them while retiring to the right (or left) about. The light-armed apparently passed through the intervals; the cavalry halted when they came to the line now formed up, and at once turned to their front and faced the enemy, and the remainder marched forward to meet them. Polybius does not tell us with what front Hamilcar was marching; but I think it is clear that he was in column of route and not in battle array (*ἐκ παρατάξεως*). Thus the deployment of his columns, *while retiring, by right (or left) about wheel* into line by successive *συντάγματα*, or battalions, would be a very pretty manœuvre, and only such as an able tactician would resort to."

II, 22-23.—SCIPIO AND HASDRUBAL SON OF GESCO

(Vol. ii. p. 67.) Of this passage Dr. Warre has again favoured me with a note and a translation which I append: "The passage in Polybius is very interesting. It is a good tactical example of an attack on both flanks, refusing the centre, the effect being to keep the enemy from moving the troops in his centre to the assistance of his wings. The inversion of order, by which the right became the left in the case of those troops who had first orders 'right turn, left wheel from line into column,' and then 'left wheel into line,' is an ordinary instance of doing what might be called 'clubbing' a battalion or brigade. It is of course on parade a clumsy mistake to make; but Scipio rightly took no notice of it in battle, as Polybius, who sees the matter with a soldier's eye, observes. Scipio's army was inferior in numbers, and so he first moved his Romans *outwards* while still in line, and then formed for attack with the cavalry, light infantry, and three battalions (cohorts) on each flank."



The following is Dr. Warre's translation :—  
 "Polybius 11, 22.—On this occasion Scipio seems to have employed two stratagems. He observed that Hasdrubal was in

the habit of marching out late in the day, of keeping his Libyan troops in the centre, and of posting his elephants in front of each wing. His own custom was to march out at the said hour to oppose him, and to set the Romans in his centre opposite to the Libyans, while he posted his Spanish troops upon his wings. On the day upon which he determined to decide matters he did the reverse of this, and thereby greatly assisted his forces towards gaining a victory, and placed the enemy at no small disadvantage. At daybreak he sent his aides and gave orders to all the tribunes and to the soldiers that they were first to get their breakfast, and then to arm and to parade in front of the ramparts. This was done. The soldiers obeyed eagerly, having an idea of his intention. He sent forward the cavalry and light infantry, giving them joint orders to approach the camp of the enemy, and to skirmish up to it boldly; but he himself took the heavy infantry, and at sunrise advanced, and when he had reached the middle of the plain formed line in just the opposite order to his previous formation. For he proceeded to deploy the Iberians on the centre and the Romans on the flanks."

"For a while the Romans remained as usual silent, but after the day had worn, and the light infantry engagement was indecisive and on equal terms, since those who were hard pressed retired on their own heavy infantry and (ἐκ μεταβολῆς κινδυνεύειν), after retreating formed again for attack, then it was that Scipio withdrew his skirmishers through the intervals of the troops under the standards, and divided them on either wing in rear of his line, first the velites, and in succession to them his cavalry, and at first made his advance *in line direct*. But when distant (? five) furlongs from the enemy he directed the Iberians to advance in the same formation, but gave orders to the wings to turn outwards (to the right wing for the infantry to turn to their right, and to their left to the left). Then he himself took from the right and Lucius Marcius and Marcus Junius from the left the three leading squadrons of cavalry, and in front of these the usual number of velites, and three cohorts (for this is the Roman term), but the one body wheeled to the left and the other to the right, were led in column against the enemy, advancing at full speed, the troops in succession forming and following as they wheeled. . . .

(They were in line, and the cavalry and velites got the word turn, left wheel, and the infantry right wheel and forward, *i.e.* the

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