significat regium flumen 7). Secondly, readers may well have remembered that the name of the contemporary Nabataean king was Malchus 8) (± 40-70 A.D.). Thus it seems not impossible that Petronius's pun would indeed have been savoured by the literary gourmets of his day.

UTRECHT, Instituut voor Geschiedenis

JAN BREMMER

1) Compare the translation 'Emir' by J. C. Rolfe (Loeb, 1950) and W. Seyfarth (Berlin 1970).
2) Fr. Altheim-R. Stiehl, Die Araber in der alten Welt, II (Berlin 1965), 325 f. argue that a phylarchus cannot have been a king. They are followed by J. Fontaine (Budé, 1977), who translates: "Malik, dit Posodocès".
3) J. Meursius, Exercitationum criticarum ... pars secunda: animadversionum miscellinarum libri quattuor (Leiden 1599), 44.
7) Cf. Amm. Marc. 24, 2, 7 Naarmalcha ... quod fluvius regum interpretatur, 24,6,1 Naarmalche ... quod amnis regum interpretatur.

TWO DOCTORS FROM KOS?

Curt. IX 5, 25-27: Critobulus, inter medicos artis eximiae, sed in tanto periculo territus, admoveire metuebat manus, ne in ipsius caput parum prosperae curationis recideret eventus. Lacrimantem eum ac metuentem et sollicitudine propemodum exanguem rex conspexerat: "Quid", inquit, "quod ve tempus expectas, et non quam primum hoc dolore me saltem moriturum liberas? An times ne reus sis, cum insanabile vulnus acceperim?" At Critobulus tandem vel finito vel dissimulato metu hortari eum coepit ut se continendum praebet, dum spiculum evellerat.

In autumn of 326 B.C. Alexander was severely wounded in an attack on the Mallians of India. According to one version known to Arrian, Perdikkas, a member of the bodyguard, removed the arrow that was lodged in the King's chest; another attributes the act to a doctor from Kos. Yet even here there is not agreement in the

sources: Curtius IX 5, 25 calls him Kritoboulos, Arrian VI 11, 1 Kritodemos 1). Kind, in his RE-articles of 1922, thought that they were both to be identified with Kritoboulos, a known doctor at the Macedonian court 2). But Berve thinks otherwise. He prefers Arrian’s Kritodemos and sees in Curtius’ account “eine Verwechslung mit Kritodemos . . . und eine Analogie zur Behandlung König Philippi’s durch K[ritoboulos]” 3).

Indeed it is true that Kritoboulos was reputed in antiquity as the physician who removed an arrow from Philip’s eye after the battle at Methone: Pliny (NH 7, 37) says that he extracted the shaft so skilfully that Philip’s face suffered no disfigurement as a result of either the wound or the operation 4). If Berve is correct, Curtius confused this doctor with the more obscure Kritodemos of Kos and ascribed to Kritoboulos a second feat of wonderful surgery. In view of Curtius’ reputation, it all sounds plausible.

Berve sees no difficulty in identifying Kritoboulos the physician with one of the trierarchoi of the Hydaspes-fleet named by Nearchos (FGrHist 133 Fr = Arr. Indike 18, 7: Κριτόβουλος ὁ Πλάτωνος Κῶος); whence we derive the additional information that he was the son of a certain Platon 5) and—what is more important for our purposes—that he was from Kos. Now surely it follows that, if Philip’s physician and the trierarchos are identical, Kritoboulos was retained by Alexander as Court-physician and acquired great wealth and honour 6). His trierarchy was, of course, not the command of a warship, a task ill suited for an elderly doctor, but the responsibility to meet the expenses of fitting out such a vessel 7). And, if he is known to have been present at the Hydaspes only shortly before Alexander’s Mallian campaign, does it not seem likely that he, and not an obscure doctor (also from Kos, and with a name that differs in only one syllable), removed the arrow from Alexander’s chest?

Was this doctor Kritodemos or Kritoboulos? We must choose. Berve’s preference for the former springs from the traditional faith in the superiority of Arrian’s testimony, a faith that has at last been shaken by A. B. Bosworth: “Arrian is too fallible in his handling of sources for his narrative ever to be dispensed from cross-examination” 8). We have no external evidence to corroborate Arrian’s claim that Kritodemos performed the operation, or that he existed at all. And I find it more plausible that Arrian made a slight (and unintentional) error in recording the name of this doctor from Kos than that Curtius deliberately fabricated the information about Kritoboulos on the basis of what he had read of that physician’s treatment of Philip.

The University of CALGARY (Canada)  W. HECKEL