scripts, and tons of resulting errors,[11] the copyist might have begun by misreading the word as *devolbit*.

Therefore my suggestion is to abandon Haupt's *devolsit* in Catull. 63.5 in favour of Achilles Statius' *devellit*.

University of Warsaw   KONRAD KOKOSZKIEWICZ

draco@ibi.uw.edu.pl

---

[11] Catull. 63.18 *erocitatis O*, *crocitatis GR* (< *ere citatis*); 63.38 *cibellos O*; 63.90 *omne GR* (< *oe*), *esse O* (< *ee*); etc.

TWO TEXTUAL EMENDATIONS IN APPIAN
(*HANN*. 10.43; *B CIV*. 1.6.24)

I

τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων φιλανθρωπευσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν, <u>θηρεύων</u> τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὰς πόλεις

Showing generosity to those from the allies, he dispersed them to their own territories, hunting the cities through his generosity.   (Appian, *Hannibalic Wars*, 10.43)[1]

This passage is from the description of Hannibal's propaganda offensive in the aftermath of the Battle of Lake Trasimene. White's Loeb translation of the last clause ('sent them home without ransom, *in order to conciliate their towns*')[2] smoothes over a jarring metaphor in the transmitted Greek text. Appian, as the passage stands, does not in fact speak of 'conciliating the towns'. Rather, he says that Hannibal was *hunting* them: θηρεύων.

In itself, the idea of metaphorically 'hunting' good will through φιλανθρωπία is a perfectly natural idiom in classical Greek. Compare Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.2.2: τούτοις ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν φιλίαν θηρεύειν. This very parallel, however, reveals the awkwardness of Appian's apparent expression here. It is natural to speak of hunting a city's *good will* in such a context. In Xenophon, we note, the object of the verb of hunting is φιλίαν. It is much less natural to speak of hunting the city *itself* with φιλανθρωπία, as Appian seems to be doing. Metaphors this cryptic and elliptical

---

* The author thanks *CQ*'s anonymous referee for comment and correction.

[1] The texts of Appian used as a basis for this discussion are the 1905 Teubner of L. Mendelssohn and P. Viereck for the *Civil Wars* and the 1939 Teubner of P. Viereck and A.G. Roos, as revised by E. Gabba in 1962, for the remainder of the corpus.

[2] H. White, *Appian's* Roman History I (London, 1912), 321. Compare K. Brodersen, *Appian von Alexandria: Erster Teil: Die römische Reichsbildung* (Stuttgart, 1987), 128: 'um durch solche Vergünstigung ihre Städte für sich zu gewinnen'; D. Gaillard, *Appien* Histoire Romaine *livre VII: Le livre d'Annibal* (Paris, 1998), 9: 'cherchant à prendre les cités au piège de ses bons sentiments'.

are not characteristic of the historian's usual prose style. Appian's other instances of hunting imagery are much more straightforward: contrast *B Civ.* 4.129.541 (hunting down the rout from the battle of Philippi), *B Civ.* 4.129.545 (the hunt from the last passage produces a friend rather than an enemy) and *B Civ.* 5.101.421 (the man-hunt for Menodorus).[3]

White's attempt to produce a more natural flow of sense in his translation offers a clue as to how to resolve the difficulty. If we read θεραπεύων in place of θηρεύων, the sentence becomes much clearer: Hannibal is *conciliating* the cities with his generosity, not hunting them. Appian likes to use θεραπεύω in this sense: compare *Hann.* 2.4 (twice, of Hamilcar), *Mac.* 11.1, *B Civ.* 1.65.298 and 299, and, especially, *Hisp.* 23.90 (also of cities).[4] Confusion between the two verbs may be paralleled by Sopatros' inaccurate citation of Plato *Gorgias* 464d2.[5]

We may note in conclusion that reading θεραπεύων at this point in the historian's narrative helps to make sense of an otherwise puzzling particle in the following sentence (*Hann.* 10.44). Talking about the division of spoils, Appian comments τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς συστρατεύουσι Κελτοῖς ἀποδόμενος, ἵνα καὶ τούσδε θεραπεύσειε τῷ κέρδει, προύβαινεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν. With the transmitted text, the point of the καί in this sentence is unclear. White, for example, ignores it in his English text, while in other translations it sits oddly.[6] If Appian has already used the verb θεραπεύω in the previous sentence, however, its force becomes obvious. Hannibal, having conciliated the cities, conciliates the Celts *as well*.

II

ὧδε μὲν ἐκ στάσεων ποικίλων ἡ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίοις ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μοναρχίαν περιέστη· ταῦτα δ᾽ ὅπως ἐγένετο, συνέγραψα καὶ συνήγαγον, ἀξιοθαύμαστα ὄντα τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἰδεῖν φιλοτιμίαν ἀνδρῶν ἄμετρον καὶ φιλαρχίαν δεινὴν καρτερίαν τε ἄτρυτον καὶ <u>κακῶν ἰδέας μυρίων</u>.

Thus the Roman state passed from manifold civil conflicts to harmony and monarchy. I have written and gathered together how these things happened, since they are worth the attention of those who want to behold unbounded ambition of men and terrible desire for power and unyielding endurance and types of countless woes.

(Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.6.24)

In this passage, Appian introduces his account of civil conflict at Rome. Most of what the MSS transmit here is straightforward. One expression, however, is a little odd: κακῶν ἰδέας μυρίων ('types of countless woes'). If Appian is interested in classifying the woes of civil conflict into types, one would expect him to focus not upon the number of those woes *tout court* but rather on the number of different *types* of woes. Without such an emphasis, it is hard to see what an unadorned ἰδέας contributes to the sentence. White clearly felt this problem, and so rendered

---

[3] Compare E. Famerie, *Concordantia in Appianum* (Hildesheim, 1993), 1016.
[4] Compare Famerie (n. 3), 1013.
[5] See E. R. Dodds, *Plato: Gorgias* (Oxford, 1959), 94, apparatus criticus to 464d2.
[6] Brodersen (n. 2), 128: 'um durch diesen Gewinn *auch* sie an sich zu binden'; Gaillard (n. 2), 9: 'il l'accorda aux Celtes qui faisaient campagne avec lui afin que le profit lui valût leurs bonnes grâces à eux *aussi*' (my italics, in both cases).

κακῶν ἰδέας μυρίων as 'the *countless forms* of evil'.[7] This gives the necessary
emphasis to make the sentence satisfying, but does not accurately represent the
Greek text as the MSS have transmitted it.

White's translation does, however, point to a possible solution. Appian's diction
is often strongly influenced by that of Thucydides,[8] and particularly so here, in a
passage that promises the presentation of civil *stasis*. Thucydides' account of *stasis*
in Corcyra lays great emphasis on the multiplicity of different types of woes that
result from civic unrest: πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη θανάτου (3.81.5); οὕτω πᾶσα
ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας διὰ τὰς στάσεις τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ (3.83.1). Hornblower,
in his commentary on Thucydides 1.109.1, where the historian is again talking
about many types of something (war, in this case) notes that such phrases, 'often
expressed in the words πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη "there was every form of …", are
frequent in Th.[ucydides], esp. with words meaning death'.[9] He also cites similar
examples at 3.98.3, 7.29.5 and 2.19.1.

A common element in all these Thucydidean expressions, 'every/many type(s)
of *x*', is that the adjective expressing plurality agrees grammatically with the word
for 'type', not its dependent genitive. Appian's usage elsewhere in his work shows
an identical pattern. Compare *Pun.* 73.333: νόσων … ἰδέαι πᾶσαι; *Mith.* 22.87:
συμφορῶν ἰδέαι ποικίλαι; *Mith.* 54.219: παντοίαις ἰδέαις κακῶν; *B Civ.* 1.9.36:
τροπὰς κινδύνων ποικίλας; *B Civ.* 1.84.381: πολέμων ἰδέαι πᾶσαι; *B Civ.* 4.13.49:
τρόποι τῶν φόνων ποικίλοι; *B Civ.* 4.14.53: ἰδέα τε πᾶσα κακῶν. The patterning
of adjective and nouns also stays the same in other classical historians who are
expressing the same idea, as for example at Tac. *Hist.* 3.28.1: *varia pereuntium
forma et omni imagine mortium.*

In short, then, both the weight of parallels and the sense of the sentence suggest
that Appian in fact wrote κακῶν ἰδέας μυρίας at *B Civ.* 1.6.24.

Somerville College, Oxford   L.V. PITCHER
                                                luke.pitcher@classics.ox.ac.uk

---

[7] H. White, *Appian's* Roman History *III* (London, 1913), 13. Compare E. Gabba, *Appiani
Bellorum Civilium* Liber Primus (Firenze, 1958), 353: 'svariate forme di male'; J. Carter,
Appian: The Civil Wars (London, 1996), 4: 'evil in ten thousand shapes'.

[8] H.G. Strebel, *Wertung und Wirkung des Thukydideischen Geschichtswerkes in der grie-
chisch-römischen Literatur: Eine literargeschichtliche Studie nebst einem Exkurs über Appian
als Nachahmer des Thukydides* (Speyer am Rhein, 1935).

[9] S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides Volume I: Books I–III* (Oxford, 1991),
173–4.