APPIAN THE ARTIST: RHYTHMIC PROSE AND ITS LITERARY IMPLICATIONS*

I INTRODUCTION

If we had no idea which parts of Greek literature in a certain period were poetry or prose, we would regard it as our first job to find out. How much of the Greek prose of the Imperial period is rhythmic has excited less attention; and yet the question should greatly affect both our reading of specific texts and our understanding of the whole literary scene. By 'rhythmic' prose, this article means only prose that follows the Hellenistic system of rhythm started, it is said, by Hegesias, and adopted by Cicero and by many Latin writers of the Imperial period. Estimates of how much Greek Imperial prose is rhythmic have long varied drastically. Some experts suggest that all or much artistic Greek prose in the period is rhythmic, others that what little there is fades out after the first century A.D., as part of the victory of Atticism. There has been fairly little substantial work on rhythmic prose in the first three centuries A.D. for over fifty years (more on accentual prose from the fourth). The object of this article is to investigate a large part of one author's work thoroughly, and to establish that that part is rhythmic. It will also aim to show how that conclusion should greatly affect our whole conception of the author as a writer, and our reading of his every sentence.[1]

Appian may seem an unexpected choice: his style and his manner of writing have not on the whole been greatly appreciated, and the question whether he is rhythmic has never to my knowledge been considered. Recent scholarship has realized how much Appian designs and thinks about his work; the realization needs to be extended to the

[1] Contrasting views on extent of rhythmic prose in Imperial Greek: E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1898), 2.918-22; cf. e.g. 1.423-7; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Asianismus und Atticismus' [1900], *Kleine Schriften* 3 (Berlin, 1969), 223-73, at 257-9; R.L. Hunter, *A Study of* Daphnis & Chloe (Cambridge, 1983), 85 (though 'rhythmical' is not used as narrowly as 'rhythmic' here); M. Winterbottom, 'On ancient prose rhythm: the story of the dichoreus', in D. Obbink and R.B. Rutherford (edd.), *Culture in Pieces: Essays on Ancient Texts in Honour of Peter Parsons* (Oxford, 2011), 262–76, at 264. Hunter at 84-5 on Longus and Winterbottom at 263-5 on developments in Greek are among the most significant contributions in relatively recent times. Earlier, an especially important general treatment is the work of A.W. de Groot: *A Handbook of Antique Prose-Rhythm* I (Groningen, The Hague, Leipzig, 1919); *Der antike Prosarhythmus* I. *Zugleich Fortsetzung des Handbook of Antique Prose-Rhythm* (Groningen, 1921); *La Prose métrique des anciens* (*Collection d'études latines* 2) (Paris, 1926). Particularly valuable as a treatment of a single author (though he includes comments on others) is St. Heibges, *De clausulis Charitoneis* (Diss. Münster; Halle, 1911), supervised by W. Kroll. On the accentual system which begins in the fourth century see W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (*Wiener Byzantinische Studien* 16) (Vienna, 1981), esp. 51-71; C. Klock, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Rhythmus bei Gregor von Nyssa. Ein Beitrag zum Rhetorikverständnis der griechischen Väter* (*Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 173) (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), 219-300.

specifics of his writing, as would seem obvious if we were considering Sallust, Tacitus or Thucydides (Appian's foremost model). The study should in principle be of significance for Appian, and for the period more widely; the detailed discussion will offer some means of establishing what other Imperial prose is rhythmic, and give us pointers to reading that rhythmic prose with stylistic sensibility.[2]

The study of Greek prose-rhythm has been diverted by consideration of rhythm in the times before Hegesias, a subject intrinsically much more obscure. There are more hopes of success in pondering whether or not individual Imperial authors adhere to a system that is essentially known than there are in working out a rhythmic system for each Classical author. The endings that will be taken as rhythmic in this article are the standard ¯˘˘ ¯˘ ¯ / ¯ ¯ ¯ ˘˘ ¯ , ¯ ˘ ¯ ¯ ¯ , ¯ ˘ ¯ ¯ ¯ ¯ , ¯ ˘ ¯ ¯ ¯ . Any long can be resolved except for the last, which can be replaced by a *breuis in longo*; the last syllable, whether or not thus lengthened by quasi-metrical pause, is simply marked as long in the examples below. Two other endings (their resolved forms included) are not here classed as rhythmic, that is, as part of this rhythmic system: ¯ ˘ ¯ ¯ ¯ ˘ ¯ and ¯ ¯ ¯ ¯. The former is not supported as rhythmic by Latin practice with *atque* + consonant or by Latin theorizing. The matter is not of crucial importance, since this ending comes much less often than the second. It does, though, form a higher proportion of apparently unrhythmic endings in Appian than in pre-Hellenistic prose, so that regarding it as unrhythmic will make it harder to show that Appian was rhythmic (since there will be a smaller difference between Appian and pre-Hellenistic prose in the number of apparently rhythmic endings). For that very reason, it would be prudent for now to regard it as unrhythmic. The second rhythm, ¯ ¯ ¯ ¯, is in shape completely unlike the single-short sequences here regarded as rhythmic; the resolved forms it would bring with it—and it would be still more anomalous to admit the ending but exclude its resolutions—mark out the double-short character that it would possess. (Note also the worries at Cic. *Orat*. 224, Quint. *Inst*. 9.4.97 [in Russell's text], 9.4.101.) The sequence accounts, with its resolutions, for most unrhythmic endings. But if we did regard it as rhythmic, that would not create a problem for the argument to come. The argument could simply be altered from presenting unrhythmic prose as higher in its proportion of unrhythmic endings than

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[2] Some typical comments on Appian's style: E.L. Bowie, 'Appian', in P.E. Easterling and B.M.W. Knox (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* I *Greek Literature* (Cambridge, 1985), 707-9, at 709: 'stylistically undistinguished, but … far from unreadable'; similarly B.C. McGing, 'Appian's "Mithridateios"', *ANRW* 2.34.1 (1993), 496-522, at 520; M. Weißenberger, 'Das Imperium Romanum in den Proömien dreier griechischer Historiker: Polybios, Dionysios von Halikarnassos und Appian', *RhM* 145 (2002), 262-81, at 271, 'der für Appians Stil ungewöhnliche Aufwand an stilistischem Schmuck … (Trikolon, Parallelismus, Homoioteleuton)' (on *Proem* 41; this certainly gives a misleading impression: for the superlatives cf. e.g. *Hisp.* 318, *B Civ.* 2.621, for the three features e.g. *Hisp.* 197, *Hann.* 102). More responsive to Appian's writing is an article by a scholar who works especially on Latin poetry: J. Henderson, 'Three men in a vote: proscription and the power of the text (Appian, *Bellum Civile* 4.1.1-6.51)', *Histos* 1 (1997), 93-112. Cf. also E. Potz, '*Ficta, non facta dicere* – und trotzdem die Wahrheit berichten. Caesar, *Bellum civile* 1, 43-87 und Appian, *Emphylia* 2, 42 f.', *Grazer Beiträge* 21 (1995), 85-94, at 89 and 91-2; and already H. Strebel, *Wertung und Wirkung des Thukydideischen Geschichtswerkes in der griechisch-römischen Literatur. (Eine literargeschichtliche Studie nebst einem Exkurs über Appian als Nachahmer des Thukydides)* (Diss. Munich; Speyer am Rhein, 1935), 92: 'Appian … kann wenigstens nach der formalen Seite keineswegs als reiner Compilator angesehen werden, der hinter seinen Quellen verschwindet' (73-92 for Appian and Thucydides). On shape and thought in Appian's work, see n. 23 below; an early aside in the right direction: J.P.V.D. Balsdon, review of P. Meloni, *Il valore storico e le fonti del libro macedonico di Appiano* (Rome, 1955), *JRS* 46 (1956), 199-201, at 200: 'Appian (who is commonly assumed to have had no mind of his own)'.

rhythmic prose: it would instead present it as higher in its proportion of a particular end-
ing which was on this view rhythmic in rhythmic prose but was less used there than in
unrhythmic prose.[3]

In Latin prose, the practised reader can usually decide from a few pages whether an
author is rhythmic; it appears to be much harder in Greek prose. The system was devised
to suit Greek. In unrhythmic Latin ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ occurs still more frequently than in Greek,
thanks to various linguistic changes in Latin and Proto-Italic; and the standard Latin pat-
tern of a final verb makes all the more conspicuous the efforts required of Romans to
sustain rhythmic writing. With Greek prose, it is easy to be unsure; I have myself chan-
ged my mind more than once on whether Appian is rhythmic. These difficulties prompt
us to see whether quantification will help. Some past use of figures in this area makes
one nervous of employing statistics; but we have a simple question, and can produce
firmly differentiated masses and apply straightforward methods.[4]

Particular problems of prosody need not be gone into here. Clashing vowels we will
negotiate later in our voyage; for the present, we will leave on one side those places
where only the supposition of hiatus would produce a rhythmic ending. (Where a rhyth-
mic ending is produced only by elision, or crasis, of kinds not routine in prose, the pas-
sage is counted as non-rhythmic.) It does not especially matter how mute and liquid are
treated, provided that we approach them in the same way across the texts that we con-
sider. It is a tenable position that Attic in the Imperial period was valued as a spoken, not
just as a written, dialect, and that it is proper to apply the rules of shortening that we see
in Attic speech of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.; at any rate, they will be applied
here. A few of the non-rhythmic Classical texts we will consider are admittedly in dia-
lects other than Attic; but we are interested only in comparing with Appian the data a
non-rhythmical text would produce, not in the rhythm these texts would have, if they
had one, in their own dialect. Finally, there is the matter of Latin names. For some
names, scansion in Greek is obvious; but when it is not, closes that include them will
be left aside.[5]

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[3] On prose before Hegesias note recently S. Usher, ‘Eurhythmia in Isocrates’, *CQ* 60 (2010), 82-95.
It seems reasonable to accept ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ as part of the rhythmic system, though it is less common than the
other three endings: it is strongly supported by Cicero’s use of *atque* + consonant to obtain it (cf. G.O.
Hutchinson, ‘Rhythm, style, and meaning in Cicero’s prose’, *CQ* 45 [1995], 485-99, at 485-6).
Longin. 39.4 in fact suggests its place in the system (cf. D.A. Russell, *‘Longinus’ On the Sublime:
Edited with Introduction and Commentary* [Oxford, 1964], 175); Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.107-8 quotes it
from Cicero (*Phil.* 2.63) and finds it acceptable in delivery, despite anxieties about poetry. Even
De Groot (n. 1 [1921]), 66 notes that it occurs twice in the inscription of Antiochus I of
Commagene and is somewhat more common in Cicero than in unrhythmic prose; he grudgingly thinks
it permitted in rhythmic prose if not actually sought. The overall case would not be affected if the
ending were accounted unrhythmic.
[4] For the changes in Latin and Proto-Italic see A.L. Sihler, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek
and Latin* (New York and Oxford, 1995), 68-70, 75-80, 83-5.
[5] Heibges (n. 1), 57-9 and Hunter (n. 1), 126 n. 1 adopt a different approach to mute and liquid; for
our purposes it is best to be austere, and limit the possibilities for rhythmic endings. For reasons to be
explained elsewhere I have not gone so far as to suppose in Appian Attic lengthening before initial
rho; equality has required the same treatment in the earlier texts which are used to provide comparative
data. But the issue is of no significance for the argument: thus it affects none of the sentence-endings
in *B Civ.* 5 or Lysias 1-7 and 9-10 (used in § II below). The name Ἀπουλήιος (*B Civ.* 1.125, etc.)
exemplifies two problems in Latin names: does ου capture the quality of the Latin vowel but not
form a long syllable? does -ηι (despite editors’ accentuation and non-subscript iota) capture Latin
-ēi-, including the consonantal *i*? A metrical inscription (*IGUR* III 1166.4-5) suggests that the
name Πομπήιος, so common in Appian, was pronounced as three syllables. On Appian’s knowledge
of Latin, cf. É. Famerie, *Le Latin et le grec d’Appien. Contribution à l’étude du lexique d’un historien*

II SENTENCES

For the purposes of this article, I have scanned the whole of the *Bella Ciuilia*, a subset of Appian's larger creation. This is the most extended continuous part of his work. It is unlikely that one book of it would be rhythmic, one not; it is unlikely too that these books would be rhythmic and the rest of his *Roman History* not. I have read all the rest of his work with rhythm in mind, and have also taken random samples for numerical comparison; on this basis, it seems clear that what is true of the *Bella Ciuilia* is true of the whole *Roman History*. The *Civil Wars* occupy 645 Teubner pages; over 20,000 endings to phrases or sentences have been examined.

It will eventually become apparent that rhythm in Appian informs the whole sentence, not just the end of it; but, since it is more difficult to determine where an internal phrase ends, the discussion will begin by looking at the ends of sentences. It will also at some points bring in half-sentences, that is, endings followed by a high point; there seems to be no difference as regards Appian's practice, but for the sake of perspicuity attention will chiefly be concentrated on endings followed by a modern full stop. It will be borne in mind that no rhythmic prose is rhythmic throughout; to give a first rough example, the 108 sentences of Cicero's certainly rhythmic *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo*, fragments excluded, give 95 rhythmic, 13 not (88.0% and 12.0%); 100 sentences of his certainly rhythmic *Academica Priora* (from 9 *quibus de rebus* to 32 *relinquamus*), in Plasberg's text, offer 93 rhythmic (with *iudici* at 19) and 7 non-rhythmic. If we took paragraph endings, a point where we might a priori especially expect a rhythmic close, in Thucydides Book 8 (OCT or Alberti) we find, documents and the very end aside, 41 closes that would be rhythmic if Thucydides had followed the Hellenistic system, 24 that would be non-rhythmic (63.1% and 36.9% respectively of the total rhythmic + non-rhythmic). (One other close would need hiatus to be rhythmic and is left out of account; three of the non-rhythmic endings would become rhythmic with elision, in one case with elision of ταῦτα, elided five times, it seems, in Thucydides' MSS.)

In Book 1 of Appian, paragraph endings in Mendelssohn-Viereck's edition are 70 rhythmic, 11 non-rhythmic (86.4% and 13.6% of rhythmic + non-rhythmic). (Four further paragraph endings would be rhythmic but would require hiatus and are omitted; one non-rhythmic paragraph ending [1.31] would be rhythmic if we elided ἀντί, as apparently 14 times in Appian's MSS, one [393] if we elided ταῦτα, as apparently 63 times in Appian's MSS.) In Book 1, if we exclude endings which require hiatus to be rhythmic, 606 sentences end rhythmically, 81 not, that is 88.2% rhythmic, 11.8% non-rhythmic; the sentences of Book 2 give 694 rhythmic, 83 non-rhythmic, that is 89.3% and 10.7%. In Book 3, the sentences are 464 rhythmic, 63 non-rhythmic, that is 88.0% and 12.0%. (One of the non-rhythmic endings in Book 1, four in Book 2 and one in Book 3 would become rhythmic with hiatus but the hiatus would need to replace a manuscript elision; they are left as non-rhythmic, not excluded.) We could also look in Book 3 at colons as well as full points; together they produce 631 rhythmic endings, 79 non-rhythmic, that is 88.9% and 11.1%. The same two exercises for Books 4 and 5 yield: Book 4: rhythmic sentence-endings 575, non-rhythmic 99 (85.3% and 14.7%); Book 5: rhythmic sentence-endings 627, non-rhythmic 88 (87.7% and

12.3%); Book 4: endings at colons and full points rhythmic 786, non-rhythmic 136 (85.2%, 14.8%); Book 5: endings at colons and full points 816 rhythmic, 120 non-rhythmic (87.2% and 12.8%).[6]

We should try to form some kind of comparison between these figures and the figures for an author unlikely to use the Hellenistic system of rhythm. We may first take the sentence-endings in Book 5 and compare them with the sentence-endings in Lysias speeches 1-7 and 9-10; these are 429 rhythmic, 289 non-rhythmic (59.7% and 40.3%; the same exclusion for hiatus as with Appian). To get the total exactly the same as in Appian Book 5, we may leave off the last three sentences of Lysias and so get 427 and 288 (same percentages). We could now employ a chi-squared test to see how likely it is that the difference between the figures is due to chance. It would be prudent to use the method that will produce a higher probability of chance: that is, we are not yet supposing we can predict an average result, but are merely comparing two sets of data. The procedure is to calculate the sum of the two values of

$$(n1 - n2)^2 / (n1 + n2)$$

where $n1$ and $n2$ are the numbers observed in a given category in the two sets of data; in our case the categories will be first rhythmic endings, and then unrhythmic endings, $n1$ in Appian and $n2$ in Lysias. We square the difference between 627 and 427 (rhythmic endings) and divide it by the sum of 627 and 427, and so with the difference between 88 and 288 (unrhythmic endings); we then add the two figures together. So $\chi^2 = (627-427)^2 / (627+427) + (88-288)^2 / (88+288) = 144.33$.

There is only one degree of freedom (our four figures in a table would give two rows and two columns; if we subtract one from each two and multiply, we obtain one). With $\chi^2 = 144.33$ we would pass far beyond the usual tables for probability, and arrive at a probability of purely random difference so small—with such a string of noughts after the decimal point—that it can be regarded as equivalent to zero. The same would apply if we took from Appian a sample with a lower proportion of rhythmic endings; so the sentences of Book 4 (575 rhythmic, 99 non-rhythmic; 85.3% and 14.7%) may be set against the first 674 sentences from the sample in Lysias (400 rhythmic, 274 non-rhythmic; 59.3% and 40.7%). $\chi^2 = 113.51$. For the sake of comparison, if χ^2 were 10.83, the probability would be 0.001 (1 in 1,000), if 15.14, 0.0001 (1 in 10,000).[7]

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[6] Note that Klock (n. 1), 230 treats high point before direct speech as weak punctuation. To avoid suspicion of choice or change on rhythmical grounds, Mendelssohn-Viereck's text of *B Civ.* has been followed throughout (but not always in punctuation). Problems of text rarely affect rhythm at the end of paragraphs or sentences; but one should note e.g. 1.331, where θέαν ἀθέμιστον. had already aroused disquiet on stylistic grounds, after ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐς ὄψεις ἐτρέποντο ἀθεμίστους (-γοῖς ἐς ὄψεις |, -ōντŏ ἀθέμῐ́στοūς |; see n. 10 below and § III). Deletion of ἀθέμιστον would give a rhythmic ending. If Appian is indeed rhythmic, textual criticism will need to bear it in mind. Thus P. Goukowsky, 'Sur les funérailles de Pompée', in C. Brixhe (ed.), *Hellènika symmikta. Histoire, linguistique, épigraphie* 2 (Paris, 1995), 55-61, at 58-9 brings forward for 2.361 the variant ἄλλως ἐπέγραψεν from Vat. Gr. 2156 (A.D. 1450); but ἄλλος gives better rhythm (and sense), on my view of mute and liquid. In considering the authorship of the new fragment Goukowsky ascribes to Appian, one would have to see if it looked rhythmic (it does) ('Trois nouveaux extraits d'Appien', ibid. 63-70, at 65-8; cf. *Hisp.* 8). (More on the contents of the MS: M.L. Amerio, 'Ancora sui nuovi frammenti di Appiano', *Invigilata Lucernis* 21 [1999], 35-42.)

[7] For a table see M.L. Samuels and J.A. Witmer, *Statistics for the Life Sciences* (Upper Saddle River, NJ, and London, 2003³), 686 (appendix of tables omitted from fourth edition). For the type of χ^2 test which compares two unknown distributions to ascertain if they are different, see W.H. Press, S.A. Teukolsky, W.T. Vetterling, B.P. Flannery, *Numerical Recipes in C: The Art of Scientific Computing* (Cambridge, 1992²), 620-3, esp. 622.

This seems encouraging. The problem with our proceedings so far is that the sentences form a single stretch of text or a set of texts (some of Lysias' speeches); they are either consecutive (Appian) or usually so (Lysias). Yet the assumption of such a test is that the instances are independent; the close cohesion of the sentences conflicts with this assumption. The result of the calculation is still so remarkable that it looks likely that the two sets of data are different kinds of thing; but we must try some further tests to give our impression more solidity. First we may try a smaller sample of randomly chosen sentences within the two bodies of data used in our original test. The smallness of the sample already means that the result will be less striking. One hundred sentences were chosen randomly from the same portion of Lysias and from Appian, *Bella Ciuilia* 5; any that were unusable for the familiar reasons (hiatus and Latin names) were replaced by other randomly chosen sentences. The result was: Appian: rhythmic 82, non-rhythmic 18; Lysias: rhythmic 56, non-rhythmic 44. Here the same χ^2 test produced 15.80; the probability of chance is, as we have seen, <0.0001 (less than 1 in 10,000). In a second and larger supplementary test, twenty sentences were chosen at random from twenty authors unlikely to use the Hellenistic system of rhythm; these were compared with 400 sentences chosen at random from the whole *Bella Ciuilia*. (We are not yet in a position to provide a matching twenty authors of rhythmic prose, since we are only in the course of showing that even one particular Imperial Greek author wrote rhythmically.) Again in both cases unusable sentences were replaced with usable ones randomly selected. The 400 sentences of Appian gave 328 rhythmic closes, 72 non-rhythmic (82% and 18%). The twenty authors produced 249 rhythmic closes, 151 non-rhythmic closes (62.25% and 37.75%). $(328-249)^2 / (328+249) + (72-151)^2 / (72+151)$ gives χ^2 as 38.80283825. This figure again is too high for the tables, and results in a probability of chance that may be regarded as in practice equivalent to zero. We already have, then, a decisive proof.[8]

These were the specific numbers for rhythmic sentences, which show a range limited to between 9 and 14 out of 20: Heraclitus (already fragmented; of course non-consecutive sentences only) 14, Herodotus 9, Gorgias 13, Antiphon 13, Andocides (1–3) 12, Thucydides 12, Hippocratic corpus (vols. 1-2 Kühlewein) 13, Lysias 14, Plato (first three volumes of OCT) 14, Xenophon 13, Isaeus 11, Aeneas Tacticus 14, Demosthenes 11, Aeschines 14, Apollodorus ([Demosthenes] 46, 49, 50, 52, 53 and 59) 9, Hyperides 13, Dinarchus 13, Lycurgus 13, Aristotle 11, Theophrastus (*Historia Plantarum* and *De Causis Plantarum*) 13.[9]

III HIATUS

Two further strong arguments may be brought in, partly to add still more assurance, but also to show the practical effect of the rhythmic system, and to take us deeper into the nature of Appian's rhythmic prose. First, hiatus.

Cicero is well known to avoid, almost entirely, the use of *atque* followed by a consonant except in rhythmic closes, though these sometimes extend further back into the

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[8] Out of the non-rhythmic endings in the 400 sentences of Appian, 60 were forms of $‾‾‾‾$, 12 were forms of $‾ ˘ ˘ ‾ ˘ ˘$; of those in the twenty authors, the figures were 138 and 13.

[9] Pherecydes of Athens was originally one of the twenty, but later banished, since it was feared so many dactylic names would produce an abnormal specimen of non-rhythmic prose. Lycurgus took his place.

sentence than in the standard forms of them adopted here. This clear connection between an unusual feature and rhythm helps to confirm that Cicero is writing rhythmically. Many Greek authors of the Imperial period are well known to avoid hiatus, though not entirely. Suppose that Appian employs hiatus, save for the commonest words, preponderantly at closes that would be rhythmic; that would show a strong connection between the two phenomena, and help to confirm that rhythm is real, that he is writing rhythmically. It would also provide anticipatory confirmation of a point we will come to presently, that rhythm is not confined to the end of sentences or half-sentences.[10]

We would do best to exclude from consideration (a) places where there is a significant possibility that the first of the two vowels could be elided (or the second prodelided, or both merged in crasis): these are not adequately clear cases of hiatus. We would also do best to exclude (b) very common words, notably καί and ὁ (any part), where hiatus seems not greatly to concern authors of the period: here the presence of hiatus is not striking, and so does not provide a salient departure from a usual avoidance. The two classes (a) and (b) come together, since MSS and papyri seem to indicate that in Greek prose it is usually common words, not words in general, which are liable to elision. It would be perilous to use the authority of MSS and papyri to assert that there is elision at any particular point; but the general diffusion of this approach in them is a strong reason for caution in supposing hiatus with such words. After all, literary papyri on the whole come from Egypt, and the greatest number from the second century A.D.: precisely the milieu of Appian. The presence of Appian himself on papyri is exiguous; but we may take an example from a recently published second-century papyrus of Plutarch, close to the author's lifetime. It displays αλλωσπερ at Plut. De prof. virt. 75C (P.Oxy. 5153 col. ii 4); the MSS, according to Gärtner's edition of 1993, have ἀλλ' ὥσπερ. ἀλλ' is far commoner than ἀλλά followed by vowel as the two forms are reported for the MSS of Appian (290 to 47; for the Civil Wars, B is Mendelssohn-Viereck's principal guide). There is at the least a considerable possibility that Appian most often wished the word to be elided. With other common words, the MSS of Appian sometimes elide, sometimes not: thus 2480 instances of δ', as against 1688 of δέ + vowel. In general, elision must be considered a serious possibility for such words, whether universally or sporadically.[11]

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[10] See R.G.M. Nisbet, 'Cola and clausulae in Cicero's speeches' [1990], in S.J. Harrison (ed.), Collected Papers on Latin Literature (Oxford, 1995), 312-24, at 319-22 for atque and at 316-18 for the occurrence of hiatus after clausulae; Hutchinson (n. 3), 486-90 and 496 for atque. Hiatus in Appian is discussed by A. Zerdik, Quaestiones Appianeae (Diss. Kiel, 1886), 49-82: a useful collection of material, though the significance of rhythm is not glimpsed (partly a matter of date, cf. F. Novotný, État actuel des études sur le rythme de la prose latine [Eos Suppl. 5] [Lwów, 1929], 2-33 for history of study); contrast Heibges (n. 1), 54-6, though he does not distinguish between common words and others.

[11] Once the existence of rhythm is established, the most plausible hypothesis will be that with these words elision sometimes operates, sometimes not; the reader's rhythmic sense could have been relied on as a guide. Thus, though τοῦτο is elided 34 times, the possibility of hiatus seems guaranteed, if Appian is rhythmic, by the recurring phrase ἐς τοῦτὸ ἐτἔλεῦτᾱ |, followed by full stop: Sic. fr. 2.5, Mac. fr. 9.4; by high point: B Civ. 5.155; by comma: Hisp. 322, B Civ. 5.352. (Rhythmic closes, potential or actual, are marked by | for their end; ⌋ is used for the first close when two overlap [p. 801]. When | appears at the beginning of a quotation, it indicates that the words begin directly after a rhythmic close.) Note that P. Dur. 2 fr. A does not support, as T.F. Brunner thought, the manuscript στρατιὰν δὲ ἀγείρας at B Civ. 2.27, where rhythm would favour elision; see C.B. Welles, 'Fragments of Herodotus and Appian from Dura', TAPhA 70 (1939), 203-312; T.F. Brunner, 'Two papyri of Appian from Dura-Europus', GRBS (1984), 25, 171-5; R.G. Babcock and W.A. Johnson,

Many of the words where elision, crasis, etc., occur often or from time to time in the MSS of Appian and other authors: δέ, τε (much more rarely elided in Appian than δέ), ἀλλά, οὐδέ, μηδέ, μήτε, οὔτε, εἴτε, εἶτα, παρά, ἀντί, ἀπό, ἐπί, κατά, ὑπό, διά, μετά, ἵνα, τάχα, κἀκεῖνος (κἀκεῖθεν, κἀκεῖ, etc. also found), κἀμέ, κἄν, κἂν, οὗτος, τοιοῦτος, ὅδε, πᾶς, ἄλλος, ἕτερος, τις, ποτε, μάλιστα; (only in MSS of other prose authors) ἄρα (but ἄρ᾽ once in Appian), ἔνθα, ἔτι, ὅσος, τοιόσδε, πρῶτος, τότε, ὅτε. Frequency of hiatus in Appian and elsewhere suggests it would also be reasonable to exclude hiatus after the following: ἤ, πάνυ, περί, possessive adjectives (τοῦ ἐμοῦ οἰκέτου, etc.); and before οὖν, parts of εἶναι, and unemphatic personal pronouns (including αὐτόν). Proper names too are sometimes treated with licence; numerals are often in hiatus, especially the lower ones. We should further omit places where the hiatus is accompanied by punctuation, since pause in the sentence would sufficiently justify it; the only exceptions are where the commas of editors seem purely syntactic and pause not inevitable.[12]

It may be most enlightening to take a limited portion of text, and consider the occurrences of hiatus in some detail. (Italics are used for the hiatus which concerns us in each example.) These are the majority of instances from Book 5.1-200 before colon or full point where elision is unlikely and hiatus—in most cases only hiatus—would produce a rhythmic ending: 1 (first sentence) | καὶ εὐθὺς ὀφθεῖσᾰ ἐκρᾰτεῖ. | (cf. for example *Mac.* fr. 9.3 μαθοῦσᾰ ἐπέκῡρωσεν, | *Syr.* 362 ἐπιτοξεύσᾱσᾰ ἔκτεινεν, |), 39 | ὥς μοι περὶ Σύρων λέγοντῐ εἴρηταῐ· | (very similar phrases, again rhythmic, 2.61, *Ill.* 11), 99 ὡς δικαιότερᾰ αἱροῡμένον. |, 123 | καὶ τάδε μὲν ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἀγρίππᾱς | ἐγίγνετὄ ἅπαντᾰ· | (cf. 2.189 ἐγίγνετὄ ὅμοιᾱ. |; commas after μέν and Ἀγρίππας in Mendelssohn-Viereck), 151 καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλᾱντὄ ὀλίγοῐ, | καὶ αὐτοῖς εἵποντὄ ἕτεροῐ·, 154 | ἐκάλει τῆι σάλπιγγῐ ἀνᾰχωρεῖν. | (cf. for example 2.366 μείζονῐ ἐγίγνοντὄ. |, 412 ἠρεμοῦντῐ ἀπέκλεισεν· |, 3.28 ἐν θαύμᾰτῐ ἔχοντες, |), 162 | καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐγὼ τήνδε [note word-order] | ἠγνόησᾰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. | (cf. 1.300 | καὶ ἔκειτὄ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, |; ἐπὶ πλεῖστον is often the last part of a rhythmic ending without hiatus, cf. for example [with full stop or colon to follow] 1.9, 86, *Sam.* fr. 4.18, *Pun.* 618), 165 | οὓς τῆς ἐμῆς προτίθημῐ εὐκλεῖᾱς. | (note word-order), 168 | τούτοις ὅμοιᾱ ἔλεγον. | (cf. 63 | ψεύδεσθαι διδαχθέντᾰ ἔλεγον |; comma after ὅμοια in Mendelssohn-Viereck).

Within the sentence or part-sentence, elision is unlikely and hiatus would produce a rhythmic ending in instances like the following: 5.3 | ἕτερα ἐμφῡλιᾰ ὅμοιᾱ, | στρατηγοῦ μέν κτλ. (cf. *Hisp.* 70 ἐσεμνύνετὄ ὅμοιᾱ· |), 6 ὁπλίταις τε ἐξ ὧν ἐδύνᾱντὄ ἀνέπληροῦν | καὶ ἐρέταις κτλ., 25 ὅτε ἐν Μουτίνηι συνηλλάσσοντὄ ἀλλήλοῐς | (cf. 81 συνέθεντὄ ἀλλήλοῐς | [same phrase at *Pun.* 136, followed by comma], 2.415 διεχρήσᾱντὄ ἀλλήλους· |, 4.108 ἐπειρῶντὄ ἀλλήλων. | ; nine instances in Appian of an ending in -ντο followed by ἀλλήλ- and a comma), or the parallel participial phrases at 75 ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου κατεμέμφετο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ | ὡς ἀντιπράσσοντᾰ Ἀντωνίωῐ, | καὶ Φουλβία ὡς πολεμοποιοῦντᾰ ἐν ἀκαίρωῐ, | κτλ. (cf. for example 3.58 | τὸν δόντᾰ ἀνέλόντες. |, *Pun.* 72 τὸν δόντᾰ ἤλεγξε. |, *Syr.* 198 | ἀναφέροντᾰ ἐς Ῥώμην· |, *Mith.* 201 | καὶ τὸν ὑπαντήσᾱντᾰ ἔκτεινε. |).

'The Appian papyrus from Dura-Europus (P.Dura 2)', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 31 (1994), 85-8.
[12] After Appian's rhythmic status is accepted, it will become legitimate to look again at hiatus with common words; it will be clear that even here a great many instances form part of rhythmic phrases.

It already looks as if there is a relation between hiatus and rhythm. Now we need to take a more general look at hiatus within the portion of text 5.1-200. The broad picture, which applies to the *Civil Wars* as a whole, is that general rhythmical principle allows hiatus, like *breuis in longo*, after a rhythmic close, so at the end of a phrase and in 'metrical' pause; in these cases the first element in the hiatus may be a short vowel or a long vowel or a diphthong. Hiatus is also permitted where a phrase ends unrhythmically, as a sentence can; the same point about the first element applies. Within a phrase, if the common words above are excluded, hiatus is at the least rare except as part of a rhythmic close; in hiatus within a rhythmic close, the first element is normally a short vowel. This picture suggests a special connection between hiatus and rhythm. It is arguable that there are no actual exceptions in this portion; if there are a few exceptions, the preponderance that remains suffices to establish a significant pattern, and thus the presence of the rhythmic system in the text. It would be reasonable to maintain that in two apparent exceptions we are again dealing with very common words or word-groups after which hiatus matters less. At 60 εἰ μὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐπινῑκῐᾰ λᾰβοῖεν. |, where the hiatus would not be part of a rhythmic close, πρότερος can be thought similar to πρῶτος above. So cf. for example Cass. Dio 39.17.1 and six more times τῶι (…) προτέρωι ἔτει, and Joseph. *AJ* 18.344 and Plut. *Cic.* 41.7 τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρός. At 88 τῶι ὄντι is followed by hiatus, as at 2.112 and in 14 out of 64 occurrences of the phrase in Dio of Prusa (excluding from the 64 two places where the phrase is followed by punctuation and hiatus). The remaining exception is 19 πολὺ πλείονα αἰτούντων. It would be easy to replace πλείονα with πλέονα: the form is very common in Appian (cf. for example 5.51, and note the similarly tempting close of a sentence in the MS at *Pun.* 490 πολὺ πλείονας ὄντας., and in the MSS at *Sic.* fr. 2.2 ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνθέσθαι., cf. fr. 2.3 ἐπὶ πλέοσῑ σῠνέθεντο. |).[13]

We have not yet discussed the nature of phrases; 'phrase' is only a shorthand, since a sizable single word can form a separate entity for these purposes, and a brief beginning to a sentence or part of it can be followed by a break and the main start. In all the instances of hiatus from *B Civ.* 5.1-200 which could be inside phrases but not as part of a rhythmic close, actually the word or group of words, or those following, or both, are marked out by emphasis in the meaning of the sentence, and thus detachment and

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[13] At *Syr.* 201 πολεμούμενον δὲ καὶ πλέοσῑ χρῆσθαῑ· | one can see how the rhythmic phrase has been added to Polyb. 21.43.13; cf. K. Brodersen, *Appians Antiochike (Syriake 1,1-44,232). Text und Kommentar nebst einem Anhang: Plethons Syriake-Exzerpt* (*Münchener Arbeiten zur Alten Geschichte* 3) (Munich, 1991), 203; note the alterations of Polybius in a rhythmic direction, e.g. at *Syr.* 202 μηδὲ φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ὑποδέχεσθαι |; Polyb. 21.43.15 μηδ' ὑποδέχεσθαι τοὺς φεύγοντας. *B Civ.* 5.20 τοῦ ὑμετέρου εὐεργέτου, | would have been an exception to the principle on the short first element if we had not excluded possessive adjectives; but cf. e.g. Philo, *Leg.* 316 τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἱεροῦ, *Decal.* 1 τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔθνους (τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔθνους |), Joseph. *AJ* 14.323 τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔθνους. At *B Civ.* 5.34 Ἀντωνίωι μὲν ἡ περὶ ἅπαντα τέως ἐπιμέλεια ἀθρόα ἠμβλύνετο, ἀθρόα will be neuter plural with ἅπαντα (ἀθρόᾱ ἠμβλῠνέτο, |); cf. Posid. F 253.88-9 Edelstein-Kidd, Philo, *Abr.* 199, Luc. *Tyr.* 18. To make sure that no instances of hiatus in 5.1-200 were missed, -α α-, -α ε-, etc., were searched for by computer. In the *Civil Wars* generally, there are exceptions to the picture given above, but they are infrequent. A particularly intractable example of hiatus as part of a non-rhythmic close is 4.485 | ἐς πέτρας ἢ ἀκτὰς ἐξεφέροντο ἐρήμους. (cf. *Syr.* 318 | ἤρξατο ἄχθεσθαι [comma follows in Viereck-Roos, Brodersen and Goukowsky], *Mith.* 68 ἐπέκειντο ὄπισθεν). Medio-passive endings are occasionally elided in MSS of Imperial authors (so *B Civ.* 4.349 ἀφῖκετ' αὐτῶι, |, Plut. *Brut.* 37.7 ὤιχοντ' ἀποπτάμενοι. [ὤιχοντ' ἀποπτάμενοῑ. |]); such a solution would not imply that we should elide all the great number of Appian's medio-passive endings in hiatus (it would become an inexplicable coincidence that they occur mostly in rhythmic phrases). For diphthongs (not simple long vowels) as part of rhythmic closes cf. *B Civ.* 3.107 ἀγορᾱι ἀνέτιθεῑ. |, 265 ἐπὶ τῆι δεδομένηι ἀρχῆι |.

the end of a phrase are apt. Here, then, the phrases close unrhythmically. Particles, word-order, or a long first element in the hiatus provide further support for the articulation: 6 | καὶ αὐτὸ ὁπλίταις τε ἐξ ὧν ἐδύνᾰντὸ ἀνέπλῆροῦν | καὶ ἐρέταις ἐκ θεραπόντων ἢ δεσμωτῶν, ; 38 | καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάντων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης, εἴ τῐς ἐπῐχεῖροῐῆ, | σκευᾰσᾰμένων τὄξοῖς, |; 73 καὶ ἡ δόξᾰ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτᾱς ἐφέρῐτο. | (cf. previous sentence | ὃ δὲ καῐ γένοῖτὸ | ἐς τοὺς στρατοὺς ἐδᾰπᾰνᾱτὸ. |); 74 | προκρούσμᾰτᾰ ἐς τὸν Καίσᾰρᾰ ἐγίγνετὸ | καὶ διᾰφὄραὶ μείζοῡς· |; 92 | χῶρίον τε | ὥρῐστὸ τῆῐ δίκηῐ | Γάβιοι … καὶ συνέδρῐον | τοῖς κρῐνοῦσῐν ἐγίνετὸ | καὶ βήμᾰτᾰ ἐν μέσωῐ δῠο | τοῖς ἐροῦσῐν | ὡς ἐν δίκηῐ. |; 108 | καὶ μάλῐστᾰ | τοῦδε τοῦ ἐμφυλίου οὐκ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὑμῖν ἢ Θρᾴκης κτλ.; 175 | ὡς δὲ καῐ σπεύδοντα εῖδε τὸν Λεῡκῐον | πᾰρῐλθεῖν | ἐς τὸ Καίσαρος χαράκωμα, ; 177 | καὶ τάδε λέγω οὖ πᾰραῐτοῡμενὸς | πᾰθεῖν ὅ τῐ θέλοῐς |; 197 οὕτως ἀεί μοι προσενήνεχθε ὡς κτλ.[14]

Similar principles apply to the demarcation of phrases that are rhythmic, when there is no punctuation; we are thus not trapped in a circular dependence on rhythm alone. Here are some examples, either for hiatus which forms part of a rhythmic close or for hiatus the first element of which occurs at the end of a rhythmic close. It will be noted that only in the latter type can the first element be a long vowel or a diphthong (cf. for example 3.284 ἐς τὸ χαράχωμᾰ αὐτοῐ | ὑπὸ ἀδὄξῐᾱς, | ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὸ ἔστησᾱν· |). 21 οὐχ ὡς ἐβούλῐσθε | ἀλλ' ὡς ἦν ἄξῐον, |; 36 ὡς βᾰσῐλῐδᾰ | ἀχθῆναῐ μὲν ἐκέλεῠσεν, |; 37 | ὅτι Ρωμαίων καῐ Πᾱρθῠαῖων | ὄντῐς ἐφὄροῐ | ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιδεξῐῶς εῖχὸν |; 65 | ἐλοιδόρουν τε καῐ ἔβᾰλλὸν | καὶ φεύγοντᾰ ἐδῐῶκὸν | ἔς τε κτλ.; 97 | ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν ῐερῶν ἐδᾰνεῐζετὸ | σὺν χάριτῐ ἀπὸδῶσεῖν | ὑπῐσχνοῠμενὸς, | ἀπὸ τῐ Ρῶμῆς | ἐκ τοῦ Κᾰπῐτωλῐοῡ | κτλ.; 99 οἱ γὰρ περὶ σφῶν δεδῐὄτῐς | ἢ τᾰ ὄντᾰ ἀφαῐροῠμενοῐ | ῆ τὴν πὄλῐτεῖᾱν | ὅλως ἀπὸστρῐφὄμενοῐ | ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχώρουν μάλῐστᾰ· |; 104 | ἐπόρθει τὰ τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσῐν ῠπῆκὄᾱ | ἔς τε κτλ.; 152 τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καῐ τὰ σῶμᾰτᾱ | ὅλα συνέκέκὄπτὸ, |; 174 | ἐπιδεικνὺς ἅμα τὴν γνώμῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήμᾰτὸς· | καὶ ὃ Καῖσᾰρ συνεὶς | ἀντῐμῐμεῖτὸ | ἐς δεῖγμᾰ καῐ ὅδε | τῆς εἰς τὸν Λεύκιον εὐνοίᾱς ἐσὄμενῆς. |; 176 | εἰ μὲν ξένος ὢν ἐπολέμῆσᾰ, | ὦ Καῖσᾰρ, | αἰσχρὰν ᾰν τὴν τοιαύτην ῆσσᾱν ῆγοῡμῆν | καὶ αἰσχῐὄνᾰ ἔτῐ | τὴν πᾰράδὄσῐν· |; 195 | προυκάθῆτὸ ἐπῐ βήμᾰτὸς | καὶ προσέτᾰξῐ μὲν ἅπᾱσῐ | κτλ.

It is clear enough that the use of hiatus follows a system. This system is bound up with rhythm, and hence the existence of this system helps to confirm the existence of rhythm. In other words, the lesser system implies the larger one.

IV PHRASES

The second confirmatory argument is for the reader particularly strong. Closes that appear rhythmic occur in Appian not just at the end of sentences or half-sentences

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[14] E. Fraenkel, 'Kolon und Satz, II' [1933], *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1964), 2.93-139, at 117 n. 1 and 135 views as a 'Kurzkolon' even an opening particle when followed by another word followed by ἄν; in 'Nachträge zu "Kolon und Satz, II"', ibid. 131-9, at 138 n. 2 he inclines to the promising designation 'Auftakt'. At the other end of the sentence or part of it, apparent hiatus within an unrhythmic phrase can be actually at the end of a rhythmic phrase, followed by a short unrhythmic close; cf. e.g. outside the *Civil Wars, Mac.* fr. 9.4 ἐς τὸν τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνᾱ | ἐπελθών,; *Mith.* 535 | ὃ περὶ τῶι ξίφει φάρμακον ἀεῐ πῐρῐέκεῖτὸ | ἐκίρνη. (comma after περιέκειτο in Viereck-Roos and Goukowsky).

but throughout the sentence. It would be rare to find 15 consecutive words, as words are conventionally counted, where there was not an apparent rhythmic close (a few seeming exceptions, like 1.451 from οἳ καὶ πάντα, disappear in the light of the discussion on hiatus above). In say Thucydides, Appian's chief model, it is not rare to find a stretch of 15 words with no close that would be rhythmic (closes that would be rhythmic are again marked with '|'): so 6.10.5 ὥστε χρὴ σκοπεῖν τινα αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ μέτεώρωι τῆι πόλεῖ | [τῆι Krüger: τε codd.: τε τῆι Jones] ἀξιοῦν κινδυνεύειν καὶ ἀρχῆς ἄλλης ὀρέγεσθαι πρὶν ἣν ἔχομεν βεβαιωσώμεθα, εἰ Χαλκιδῆς γε οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἔτη τοσαῦτα ἀφεστῶτες ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν [ἀφ᾽ om. CMG] ἔτι ἀχείρωτοί εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς κατὰ τὰς ἠπείρους ἐνδοιαστῶς ἀκροῶνται. ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἐγεσταίοις δὴ οὖσι ξυμμάχοις | ὧς ἀδικουμένοῖς | κτλ. (35 words between 'rhythmic' closes; 18 if we read ἀφεστῶτες ἡμῶν |), 17.7-8 οἱ γὰρ πατέρες ἡμῶν | τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους οὕσπερ νῦν φασὶ πολεμίους ὑπολείποντας ἂν ἡμᾶς πλεῖν καὶ προσέτι τὸν Μῆδον ἐχθρὸν ἔχοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσαντο, οὐκ ἄλλωι τινὶ ἢ τῆι περιουσίαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἰσχύοντες. καὶ νῦν οὔτε ἀνέλπιστοί πω μᾶλλον Πελοποννήσιοι ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐγένοντο, εἴ τι καὶ πάνυ ἔρρωνται, τὸ μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν ἐσβάλλειν, κἂν μὴ ἐκπλεύσωμεν, ἱκανοί εἰσι, τῶι δὲ ναυτικῶι | οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο βλάπτειν· (56 words between, or, with a possible close at μᾶλλον Πελοποννήσιοῖ |, 34 and 20). Nor would say Lysias be unforthcoming; cf. for example 1.7 | πασῶν ἦν βελτίστη· καὶ γὰρ οἰκονόμος δεινὴ καὶ φειδωλὸς [ἀγαθὴ] [ἀγ. del. Dobree] καὶ ἀκριβῶς πάντα διοικοῦσα. ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι ἡ μήτηρ ἐτελεύτησεν, πάντων [Xᵖᶜ (one letter [not ἠ?] deleted before π.): ἢ πάντων η] τῶν κακῶν ἀποθανοῦσα αἰτία μοι γεγένηται [for perfect cf., for example, 14.35 and note ἀποθ.]. ἐπ᾽ ἐκφορὰν γὰρ αὐτῆι ἀκολουθήσασα ἡ ἐμὴ γυνὴ ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὀφθεῖσα χρόνωι διαφθείρεται· | (39 words between, or, with ἀγαθή, 8 and 30; perhaps not 19 and 17 with ἢ: ἢ might in sense make ἢ πάντων τῶν κακῶν | an unsatisfactory rhythmic phrase).

If we take a short passage at random from Thucydides 7 (38.2), and treat it as if rhythmic, we find in the central part a looseness that would be surprising in Appian. | τῆι δ᾽ ὑστεραίαι | οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ἡσύχαζον, | οὐδὲν δηλοῦντες ὁποῖόν τι τὸ μέλλον ποιήσουσιν· ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἰδὼν ἀντίπαλα τὰ τῆς ναυμαχίας γενόμενα | καὶ ἐλπίζων αὐτοὺς αὖθις ἐπιχειρήσειν τούς τε τριηράρχους ἠνάγκαζεν ἐπισκευάζειν τὰς ναῦς, εἴ τίς τι ἐπεπόνηκεῖ, | καὶ ὁλκάδας προώρμισε | πρὸ τοῦ σφετέρου σταυρώματος, | ὃ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀντὶ λιμένος κληιστοῦ ἐν τῆι θαλάσσηι ἐπεπήγει. [-τοῖς πρὸ τῶν νεῶν | and -τι λιμένος κληιστοῦ | possible]. In Appian, if we ignore the existence of phrases which are self-contained but non-rhythmic, that is, if we treat such phrases, except when full stop or colon follows, as part of the next phrase with a rhythmic close, then phrases containing rhythmic closes seem to have an average of six or seven words. (This average treats overlapping rhythmic closes [see p. 801 below] as two phrases.) If we take the most famously affecting passage in Thucydides Book 7—and in Appian rhythmic density is notably found at intense moments—we find sequences of at least 31 and 21 words between closes that would be rhythmic (75.2 δεινὸν … ἀπολείψει, 75.2-3 ξυνέβαινε … τινὰ τῶν; if no would-be rhythmic close at τοῦ στρατοπέδου, 54 words); there are other sequences of 14, 12, 11, 12, 9, 13 and 10 words (75.4 εἴ … ἀπιόντων and οὐκ … τό, 75.5 καὶ κατάμεμψις … πόλει and καὶ ταύτηι … τεσσάρων, 75.7 οἷς … τοῦτο, ἀντὶ δ᾽ … ἐναντίοις and ὅμως … ταῦτα). There is no remotely similar passage in the *Civil Wars*.

So far, the assumptions made on where a rhythmic close is to be found have not impeded the argument: less generosity on both sides of the equation would still leave a substantial gap between Appian and non-rhythmic prose. But working our

assumptions out more explicitly will take us further into the rhythmic quality of Appian's writing. Here it will be necessary to show what a reading of the prose as rhythmic would look like, and so to posit such reading as a hypothesis; the neatness with which it fits the text will then confirm the hypothesis. But the emphasis of the discussion will not be solely on further establishing Appian's rhythmic status: the literary roles of rhythm will also start to emerge.

A good place to begin, as was glimpsed in the previous section, is particles. Some particles tend to indicate that the phrase they belong in is substantial enough to be considered rhythmic—provided, of course, that it is long enough to contain a rhythmic close. The same applies to what precedes a phrase that is marked as beginning by a particle, whether pre-positive or post-positive; so does the proviso on length. Part of what the proviso ultimately requires is that the reader (or listener) should be capable of noticing rhythmic phrases and should identify them as such if they emerge. That seems a reasonable model to work with, and will be reinforced when we come to overlapping rhythms.

Some examples, starting with two to illustrate what the reader does: 2.270 … τὸ δὲ πεζὸν αὐτὸν Πομπήιον ἄγειν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰτᾰλῐᾱν | εὔνουν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν οὖσᾰν | καὶ πολεμίων ἔρημον, | κτλ. Here τε marks the beginning of a new phrase at the word before, and, because that phrase is long enough for a rhythmic close, καί is seen to mark a new phrase too; these two phrases with rhythmic close balance each other. By contrast, in what follows, κρατυνάμενον δ᾽ αὐτήν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰβηρῐᾱν |, the brevity of αὐτήν means that the reader does not attempt to make αὐτήν τε a rhythmic phrase on its own, but rather part of the single phrase marked by τε … καὶ … καί (or else of a phrase ending καὶ Γᾰλᾰτῐᾱν |). 1.421 | ἐπὶ ἑστίᾱσῐν ἐκᾰλεῖ | Νωρβανόν τε καὶ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῶι στρᾰτηγοῦς, | κτλ. The τε and καί show that the object of ἐπὶ ἑστίασιν ἐκάλει will be substantial (it continues for three more rhythmic phrases); the reader can then take that initial verbal phrase as a self-contained and rhythmic unit. Its potential rhythmic close had already opened that as an option.

4.210 Μᾶρκος δὲ Βρούτωι στρᾰτηγῶν | προεγέγραπτο μὲν καὶ ὅδε δῐᾰ τόδε, | ἡττωμένου [ἡττημένου Mendelssohn] δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου | συλλᾰμβᾰνόμενος | ὑπεκρίνατο εἶναι θεράπων κτλ. Because of μέν, Βρούτωι στρατηγῶν is highlighted as part of a distinct phrase (Μᾶρκος δὲ Βρούτωι στρατηγῶν), a part taken up in διὰ τόδε as Μᾶρκος is in ὅδε. The μέν, δέ and pluperfect set up connections between the third and fourth rhythmic phrases and the first and second, and στρατηγῶν contrasts with θεράπων (cf. 185 [disguise as slave]; 194 [disguise as praetor]). The rhythm thus helps to articulate point for the phrases within the sentence.[15]

1.442 | οὖτος γᾰρ δοκεῖ πρῶτος | οὓς ἐκόλᾰσε θᾰνᾰτωι ⌊ προγρᾰψαι | καὶ γέρα τοῖς ἀναιροῦσῐ | καὶ μήνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσῐ | καὶ κολάσεις τοῖς κρύπτουσῐν ἐπῐγρᾰψαι. | (Cf. *Mith.* 86: ἐπεκήρυξε δὲ καὶ ζημίαν τοῖς καταθάπτουσῐν αὐτοὺς | ἢ ἐπικρύπτουσι καὶ μήνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσῐν | ἢ τοὺς κρυπτομένους ἀναιροῦσῐ, |.) The καί before μήνυτρα brings out the parallel between the phrase with rhythmic close that it introduces and the phrase with rhythmic close that precedes. The καί before κολάσεις brings out another parallel group of words; but this phrase is ended with the

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[15] καί probably does not include διὰ τόδε; cf. 197. ἐστρατηγηκώς at 202, unlike στρατηγῶν at 210, refers to a praetorship; cf. *Them. Or.* 34.34, 2.219.2-3 Downey-Norman.

infinitive ἐπιγράψαι, which governs the preceding accusatives and itself matches the infinitive προγράψαι, which rhythmically ended the first half of the sentence.[16]

1.447 … ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ὁ Σύλλᾱς μὲτῆεῖ | καὶ ἐκόλᾱζε καὶ τᾱσδε, | τῶν μὲν ἀκρϝοπόλεῑς κᾰτᾱσκᾱπτῶν | ἢ τείχη κᾰθαῑρῶν | ἢ κοινὰς ζημίᾱς ἐπῐτῐθεῑς | ἢ εἰσφοραῖς ἐκτρύχῶν βᾰρῠτᾰταῑς· |. The μέν marks the start of a new development in the sentence; the three ἤς, because the units are long enough, bring out the parallel between the four participial phrases, which all end rhythmically. The first two match each other exactly, with accusative and participle; the third adds an epithet (to an accusative of a different sort); the fourth uses a dative and puts its superlative epithet at the end. The rhythm underlines and sharpens the structure. For a similar growth cf., for example, 5.327 | χαλεπαίνων δέ, ὡς ὁ Καῑσᾰρ ἔλεγεν, | εῑτε ἐπῐ τούτοῑς | εῑτε κατὰ γνώμην ἄπῑστον | εῑθ' ὑπὸ ζήλου τῶν ἑτέρων μεγάλους στρατοὺς ἔχοντων | εῑτε Μηνοδώρου διερεθίζοντος αὐτὸν | ἀνοχὰς μᾱλλον ἢ βεβαίους σπονδὰς εῑναῑ νομῑζεῑν, | κτλ. (in this case the last member begun by εἴτε turns into two phrases with rhythmic close).

3.194 (193 … στρατὸν δὲ οὐδένα πω ἔχοντες ῐδῑον | … ἐς τᾱς νέᾱς ᾱρχᾱς | πάντα ᾰνέτῐθεντο.) | τῶι Καῑσᾰρῐ δ' ὁ στρατὸς | πελέκεᾱς τε καὶ ῥαβδοφῠρϝοῦς ἐσκεῠᾱσμένοῠς | πρὸσᾰγᾰγϝόντες, | ἠξίουν ἑαυτὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ᾰποφῆναῑ, | πολέμου τε ἡγεμονεύοντα καὶ σφῶν αἰεὶ ὑπ' ᾱρχοῦσῐ τᾱχθέντων. | τε and καί indicate a substantial object; this throws emphasis on to the opening words (| τῶι Καῑσᾰρῐ δ' ὁ στρατὸς |) as a separate entity. Both Octavian and his army are emphasized by the context. The army's treatment of Octavian is opposed to the Senate's, and they try to take his magistracy into their own hands; Octavian and army are matched in the last part of the sentence (πολέμου τε κτλ.). Rhythm alerts the reader to the organization of the prose.[17]

4.480 (Μοῦρκος δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀηνόβᾱρβος | ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα μακραῖς ὑπῆντων. |) καὶ αὐτοὺς αῑ ὁλκάδες | ἱστίωι μὲν αῑ πρῶταῑ | διέφῠγϝον ὀλῐγαῑ, | αῐ λοιπαὶ δέ, χαλάσαντος ἄφνω τοῦ πνεύματος, | ἐν γαλήνηι σταθερᾱι κατὰ τὸ πέλᾱγος ῑλῶντο, | ὑπό του θεῶν ἐκδεδομέναι τοῖς πολεμῐοῑς. | The μέν makes the ὁλκάδες stand out (for the order at the start καὶ αὐτοὺς αῑ ὁλκᾰδες | cf. for example 323–4 … ἐπολῑορκοῦντο. | καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος |). The subject αἱ ὁλκάδες is then re-expressed as two subsets. The ὁλκάδες are an unmilitary sort of ship, frighteningly confronted with a large number of military craft (cf. for μακραί and for ὁλκάδες 2.175, 204, 222, 243-5, 4.347, 368, 5.406, 526; slowness of μακραί *Hann.* 584). The μέν also separates αἱ πρῶται as predicate; the two rhythmic closes in swift succession for the

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[16] Cf. *Syr.* 40 | τετρακόσια ἀνέστῆσᾱ ᾱστῆ | καὶ περὶ τῆι πόλει τὸν ἀγῶνα πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐπέστῆσᾱ, |; Cic. *Arch.* 12 *neque ad communem adferrĕ frūctūm* | *neque in aspectum lucēmquĕ prōferrē,* |. The parallel from *Mith.* 86 is not in E. Gabba, *Appiani Bellorum Civilium liber primus. Introduzione, testo critico e commento con traduzione e indici* (Florence, 1967²), 254–6, or in P. Goukowsky and F. Hinard, *Appien, Histoire Romaine, VIII, Livre XIII, Guerres Civiles, Livre I* (Paris, 2008), 190. *Mith.* 85, which mentions not only Sulla but also the *Bella Ciuilia,* suggests here an ominous parallel between the two men's actions; the link perhaps even hints at Mithridates as the source for Sulla's idea on how to deal with enemies (worth considering historically, if one separates the idea of the lists?).

[17] For doubts on the text of the last part, cf. Zerdik (n. 10), 66, and Viereck's apparatus. Hiatus after αἰεί/ἀεί is found at *Pun.* 623, *B Civ.* 2.577 and quite frequently in Plutarch; the diphthong in a rhythmic ending at *B Civ.* 2.577 suggests that the word is treated as a common one for the purposes of hiatus. On Appian's shaping of the history here in 3.194 cf. P. Goukowsky and P. Torrens, *Appien, Histoire Romaine X, Livre XV, Guerres Civiles, Livre III* (Paris, 2010), 140-1 (one could go further).

ships that get away (… πρῶταῑ | … ὀλῑ́γαῑ |) contrast with the longer phrases to convey the lot of the hapless ships that are becalmed. Rhythm is used expressively.[18]

From the examples already considered it will be apparent that what look like rhythmic closes occur frequently in each sentence. How tightly rhythmic closes can be packed in is illustrated by the phenomenon of overlapping rhythmic closes. Overlap has been suggested in Cicero; it operates through the reader or listener following one rhythmic close until that close is in turn absorbed into the start of the next. Some strong examples follow. 1.431 | Λαμπώνιός τε … ὅσοι τε ἄλλοῑ στρᾰτῑηγοῑ | τῆς Καρβωνείου στάσεως αὐτοῖς σῠνῆσᾰν, | δῐέφῠγον. |, cf. 413 καὶ Καρρίνᾱς δὲ νῠκτός, | ὕδατός τε ὄντος ἐξ οῡρᾰνοῡ πōλλοῡ | καῑ σκότοῡς, | αἰσθομένων μέν τι τῶν πἔρῐκᾰθῆμἔνων, | διὰ δὲ τὸν ὄμβρὸν ᾰμἔλοῡντων, | δῐέφῠγε. |[19]

1.371 τά τε ψηφίσματα ἃ ἐπεκήρῡξᾱν αὐτῶῑ | λŏγῑζŏμἔνοῑ |. 1.360 Σύλλας δὲ τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤκουσῑν ᾰπō τῆς βοῡλῆς | [a lesser example] ᾰπἔκρῑνᾰτο | αὐτὸς μὲν οῡπŏτē | ἀνδράσι τοιάδε ἔργᾰσᾰμἔνοῑς | ἔσεσθαῑ φῐλος, | τῆι πόλει δ' οῡ φθŏνῆσεῑν | χαριζομένηι τὴν σωτηρῐᾱν αὐτοῖς· |. 1.396 … | ἔστε Μάριον τὸν ἔτἔρŏν ὕπᾰτŏν | [a lesser example] μἔγᾰ́λῆι μᾰ́χῆι | περὶ Πραινε̄στὸν ῆττῆσθαῑ | πῠθόμἔνŏς | κτλ.

2.360 (death of Pompey) … | ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐς αὐτὸν εῖπēν· | ᾰρᾱ́ σε γινώσκω, συστρατιῶτα;' καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα μὲν ἔπἔνεῡσεν, | ἀποστραφέντα δ' εὐθὺς ἐπάτᾱξē πρῶτŏς, | εῖθ' ἔτἔροῑ. | In this example the reader is not waiting, say, for a main verb; the sentence moves its perspective when it had seemed complete. In 1.413 above, by contrast, the rhythm intensifies the movement back to the subject of the sentence in the final verb. In general, in these examples rhythm underlines and heightens the structure of sentences.[20]

The density of rhythm varies in Appian, within the kind of limits indicated at the start of this section. This is not a sign that rhythm does not exist; rather, both density and variation can serve an expressive function. We have already seen an example (4.480, on the ships). Such features play an important role in the verbal realization of Appian's large design. It is not simply that we can accumulate enough instances to make expressiveness a plausible possibility, as we might do, say, with examples of expressive enjambement in Lucan or Statius. We can survey those places in the *Civil Wars* where rhythmic closes are densely packed and where at the same time unrhythmic

[18] For the divine element at the end cf. e.g. I. Hahn, '«Appianus tacticus»', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 18 (1970), 293-306, at 293-5 (thinks divine intervention very rare without a human decision as intermediary); B. Goldmann, *Einheitlichkeit und Eigenständigkeit der Historia Romana des Appian* (*Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 6) (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 1988), 32. Giving by a god: e.g. *Hann.* 224. For the antithesis of ships cf. also L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), 169.

[19] Note also *Hann.* 205. In *B Civ.* 1.413 | ὕδατός τε ὄντος ἐξ οῡρᾰνοῡ πōλλοῡ | is marked as a self-sufficient phrase, which is then expanded, by the intertextuality with Thuc. 2.77.6 ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολύ (Appian confirms that ἐξ οὐρανοῦ should not be omitted there, as by the OCT and Alberti). For overlap in Cicero see Hutchinson (n. 3), 494-6; id., 'Pope's spider and Cicero's writing', in T. Reinhardt, M. Lapidge, J.N. Adams (edd.), *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose* (*PBA* 129) (Oxford, 2005), 179-93, at 181 n. 5, 184, 186, 188, 190.

[20] Note the different twist after 2.492 (death of Caesar) | ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν τὸ ξίφος ῆρεῑσē πρῶτŏς, |. At *Mith.* 384 the next close comes before it is expected, to highlight the one-liner, marked out by rhythmic density (cf. 352): 'εἰ μὲν πρέσβεις εἰσῑν οῑ̈δĕ, | πōλλοῑ, | εῑ δὲ πŏλἔμῐοῑ, | πᾰμπᾱν ŏλῑ́γοῑ.' | Here and at *B Civ.* 2.360, if these examples are accepted, what would have been a final syllable lengthened by 'metrical' pause remains short in the overlapping rhythm that surprisingly takes over. (Similarly at 5.92 above | τοῖς ἔροῡσῑν | ὡς ἐν δῐκῆι. |, though there -σῑν would also be rhythmically possible: ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ .)

closes are scarce. The passages, it seems, mostly contribute to the total sequence of the *Civil Wars* by heightening moments important to its themes or climactic in its structure. Books 2 and 3 will serve as examples. One of the two large groups of passages marks points where the civil strife of the Romans reaches peaks of action or reaction: so 2.75-7 on the killing of Clodius and the response, 141 (second part) on terrified flight as Caesar invades, 257 (last part) on panic at Caesar's defeat, 495 (first part) on killing in the tumult at Caesar's death, 629 on Caesar's victories over the Pompeians, 3.32 (first part) emotive report of Caesar's death to Octavian. The other large group helps to highlight the movement towards monarchy: so 2.446 on Caesar's apparently kingly behaviour, 3.39-40 enthusiastic response to the new Caesar, 3.378 Octavian's entry into Rome, and various significant passages on the relation of Antony, Octavian, the soldiers and the Senate (so 3.185, where Octavian is winning legions over). Passages in speeches contribute too; they not only intensify the rhetoric but underline the issues of the work: so the matching passages 2.570 (circumstances, and beginning, of Brutus' speech) and 3.53-4 (near beginning of Octavian's speech to Antony) on the interpretation of the conspirators' deeds.[21]

A few examples of density (and variation) may be considered in more detail. The first is 3.65: τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος ὁ Ἀντώνιος κἄτέπλᾰγη, | τῆς τε̆ πᾰρρησῐᾶς | καῖ τῆς εὐτολμῐᾶς | παρὰ δόξᾰν οἱ πολλῆς | καῖ πᾰρ' ἡλῐκῐᾶν | φᾰνείσης. | χαλεψάμενος δὲ τοῖς τε λόγοις οὐχ ὅσον ἔδει τὸ πρέπον ἐς αὑτὸν ἐσχηκόσῐ | καὶ μάλιστα τῶν χρημάτων τῆι ᾰπαῖτήσει, | αὐστηρότερον αὐτὸν ὦδε̆ ἡμεῖψᾰτο· | (related to the opening here, but less dense, is *Syr.* 206, on Scipio's awe-inspiring appearance). The short rhythmic phrases, marked out by prepositives and postpositives, show the impression which Octavian makes on Antony; the awed intensity fits the whole place of the future monarch in Appian's grand architecture. Longer phrases follow, on the most probable scansion; they portray the less noble reasons for Antony's chilly response.[22]

At 2.286, density highlights Pompey's imminent fall and his uneasy consciousness of it. The passage is leading up to Pharsalus. ἅπερ ὁ Πομπήιος οἷα πολέμων ἔμπειρος ἀπεστρέφετο καὶ νεμεσῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς | ἐνεκᾰλῠπτετο, | κᾰτε̆σῐ̄ωπᾰ δ' ὅμως | ὑπὸ ὄκνοῦ καὶ δέοῠς, | ὥσπερ οὖ στρᾰτηγῶν ἔτῐ, | ἀλλᾰ στρᾰτηγοῠμε̆νος | καὶ πᾰντᾰ πρᾱσσων | ὑπὸ ᾰνᾰγκῆς | πᾰρᾱ γνῶμην. | τοσοῦτον ᾰνδρῐ μεγᾰλοῡργῶι | καὶ παρὰ πᾶν ἔργον ἐς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρᾱν | εὐτυχεστάτῶι γε̆νῶμε̆νῶι | τὸ δύσθυμὸν ἐνε̆πεπτῶκεῑ, | εἴτε ὅτι τὰ συμφέρῶντᾱ κρῖνῶν | οὐκ ἔπεῑθεν, | ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κύβὸν ἐχῶρεῑ | πλήθους ἀνδρῶν τοσῶνδε̆ σωτηρῐᾶς | καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐς τὸτε̆ ᾱηττῆτοῦ· | εἴτε τι καὶ μαντικώτερον αὐτὸν πλησιάζοντος ἤδη τοῦ κακοῦ συνε̆τᾰρᾱσσε̆, | μέλλοντα τῆς ἡμέρᾱς ἐκείνης | ἐκ δυναστεῖᾱς τὄσῆ̄σδε̆ | ᾰθρόως ἐκπε̆σεῑ̄σθαῑ. | This passage, like the preceding one, shows perceptible changes; its overall density remains notable. The relatively long unrhythmic start on Pompey's disdain of his imperceptive fellows is set against a more inward passage (καὶ νεμεσῶν … γνώμην), in which almost every syllable is part of a rhythmic close. For the pair ὑπὸ ὄκνου καὶ δέους as a rhythmic phrase, cf. for example *Sam.* fr. 12.4 | ὠμῶς δ' αὑτοὺς καὶ πῐκρῶς | κτείνῶν τε̆ καὶ σῠλῶν |, *Hisp.* 88 | ὅ δε̆ τόλμηι καὶ τύχηι |,

[21] Cf. Hutchinson (n. 3), 496-9 on density in Cicero; note too Hunter (n. 1), 84.

[22] Cf. A. Gowing, *The Triumviral Narratives of Appian and Cassius Dio* (Ann Arbor, 1992), 66-70 on this meeting. For the impact of Octavian cf. also *Ill.* 58, with κατέπληξε; *B Civ.* 3.368, with ἐξεπέπληκτο; 371, with καταπεπλῆχθαι; 378 (mentioned above), with τεθηπὸτῶν πᾱντῶν |. On Appian's manipulation of events at *Syr.* 206 cf. Brodersen (n. 13), 211-12; and note e.g. *Pun.* 327.

Pun. 552 | ὁ ἐμὸς τρόπος καὶ πόνος |. The neat ὥσπερ οὐ στρᾰτηγῶν ἔτῐ, | ἀλλᾰ στρᾰτηγούμενος | finds significant echoes after this passage, but the echoes have a less compactly rhythmic form: 299 στρατηγεῖτε τοῦ πόνοῦ | μᾶλλον ἢ στρᾰτηγεῖσθε· |, 307 | καὶ οὐδὲ στρατηγοῦντα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρᾰτηγοῦμενον. |, 4.520 ᾿ἐοίκαμεν ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πολεμήσειν, οὐ στρατηγοῦντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρᾰτηγοῦμενοῖ.᾿ | (cf. also *Syr.* 20 ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ ἔχοντᾰ [*sc.* πάντα] βᾰσῐλεύσεῖν | βασιλευόμενον ὑπ᾿ ἐκείνου. | and, for example, *Hann.* 129 ὑποπτευόμενον τε ὑπ᾿ ἐκείνου | καὶ ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτόν. |). The phrases broaden a little with the narrator's perspective (τοσοῦτον … ἐνεπεπτώκει); tight phrases conveying Pompey's possible thoughts (τὰ συμφέροντα κτλ.) enlarge somewhat as he considers the momentousness of the occasion for his side and himself (πλήθους … ἀηττήτου). A long unrhythmic sequence stands back to consider a more mysterious possibility (εἴτε τι κτλ.); a set of rhythmic phrases (μέλλοντα κτλ.) then trenchantly presents the coming heavy and sudden fall, again a part of Appian's grand scheme (note *Proem* 59 on the division of the *Civil Wars* by generals). Such a detailed reading of the fluctuations appears to be invited by Appian's overall use of rhythm in the work; that use certainly indicates a connection between the density in this passage and its power within the big design.

Density can mark out vital passages that have a lower emotional temperature. So 3.370: ἀθρόα δὴ πάντων ἐς πάντα ἦν μετάθεσῑς, | ἀντὶ μὲν δισχιλίων καὶ πεντᾰκοσῐῶν δρᾰχμῶν | τὰς πεντᾰκῑσχῑλῐᾱς, | ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δῠο τελῶν | τοῖς ὀκτῶ δοθῆναῖ | Καῖσᾰρᾰ τε αὐτοῖς | ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν δῐανέμεῖν | καὶ ἐς τὴν ὕπᾰτον ἀρχὴν | παραγγέλλεῖν ἀπόντᾱ. |. The sentence begins with a sweeping phrase on the sudden alteration in the Senate's scheme (ἀθρόα … μετάθεσις), and, as first item, a sum of money (ἀντὶ … δραχμῶν); the rhythmic pace then quickens. Indignity attends the extraordinary and soon repented changes of mind which have been produced by Octavian's advance towards Rome (cf. 349, 355, 357, 364). The final clause and word provide a remarkable culmination. This passage too shows the rise of Octavian and the progress towards monarchy (cf. 371).

The three passages exemplify the connection between Appian's shaping on a massive scale and on a small one. Scholars are now, as we glimpsed earlier, more aware of Appian's large and pervasive structuring; we should endeavour to consider how that structuring is implemented on the level of style.[23]

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[23] For the general possibility note F.J. Gómez Espelosín, 'Estrategias narrativas en la *Historia* de Apiano: algunos ejemplos', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* Ser. 4, 1.1 (1996), 103-17, at 117: 'Su obra obedecía a un diseño artístico particular … , para cuyo completo desarrollo se sirvió de determinadas estrategias narrativas y unos procedimientos estilísticos.' Architecture on the scale of a book (or most of one): Brodersen (n. 13), 232-6; cf. id., 'Appian und sein Werk', *ANRW* 2.34.1 (Berlin and New York, 1993), 339-63, at 359 (even saying [358], 'Tatsächlich gliedert Appian das Material geradezu rhythmisch, etwa wenn … '); C. Leidl, *Appians Darstellung des 2. Punischen Krieges in Spanien (Iberike c. 1-38 § 1-158a). Text und Kommentar* (*Münchener Arbeiten zur Alten Geschichte* 11) (Munich, 1996), 300-4. On *B Civ.*: D. Magnino, 'Le "Guerre Civili" di Appiano', *ANRW* 2.34.1 (Berlin and New York, 1993), 523-54 (building on, but more positive than, E. Gabba, *Appiano e la storia delle guerre civili* [Florence, 1956]). Of the whole work (thematically): Goldmann (n. 18); G.S. Bucher, 'The origin, program, and composition of Appian's *Roman History*', *TAPhA* 130 (2000), 411-58 (with attention to the process of composition, which is perfectly compatible with perception of an evolving design; for monarchy cf. esp. 431-6, and Brodersen [(this note), 1993], 356). Unity on level of military analysis and character of generals: Hahn (n. 18). Studies of moral and military shaping in individual episodes: e.g. E. Potz (n. 2), and id., 'Appians Klio dichtet: Die Curio-Episode bei Appian (E 2,44, 175-45, 185) und Caesar (b.c. II 23-44)', *Philologus* 142 (1998), 293-9; G.S. Bucher, 'Fictive elements in Appian's Pharsalus narrative', *Phoenix* 59 (2005), 50-76.

As this section has started to indicate, the realization that Appian is rhythmic, and that rhythm runs right through his sentences, should transform our view of him as a writer. His writing now reveals itself as expressive and pointed, in the service both of local impact and argument and of an immense edifice. We will need to engage more responsively with the specifics of his writing: they are a fundamental part of his literary creation.

V IMPERIAL GREEK PROSE: PROSPECTS

If the significance of the subject is allowed for Appian, investigation and study of more authors would seem desirable (I hope to carry some out). But which authors? It would need much more work to attain a full knowledge of how far rhythmic prose extends in the Imperial period; but the discussion so far will enable us to form some preliminary ideas. We will return to the set of twenty sentences each from authors who are unlikely to be rhythmic. They could provide a point of comparison for samples of twenty sentences from Imperial authors, each of whom might or might not be rhythmic. If the pre-Imperial set were an instance of 'normal' distribution, that would add precision to our comparison. We could then work out for this set a sample standard deviation (s) from the mean (μ): μ would be the mean number of sentences out of 20 which would, if the author were following the later system, close rhythmically. This pre-Imperial s could then be used to measure the Imperial writers. To produce it, we would find μ, add together the square of the differences of each example (each 20) from μ, divide by the total of examples – 1, and obtain the square root. Initially, we could get a better idea of the distribution with more examples; so we could break the 400 random sentences up into 100 groups of 4. Two of these groups show 0 sentences that would close rhythmically, 15 show 1, 29 show 2, 40 show 3, 14 show 4. μ is 2.49, s is 0.9795381307. Two groups would fall below $\mu - 2s$ (i.e. $\mu - [2 \times s]$), 15 within $\mu - 2s$, 29 would be within $\mu - s$, 40 within $\mu + s$, 14 within $\mu + 2s$. The general structure and the percentages in the categories ($\mu +$ or $-$) s, $2s$, $3s$ roughly resemble those of a normal distribution (within s: 69%; within $2s$: 98%; within $3s$: 100%; expected: about 68%, 95%, 99.7%). The 29 and 40 depart in a limited way from the symmetry of the Gaussian curve which depicts normal distribution; that departure might easily be rectified with a sample statistically more adequate than 100 (29 is 72.5% of 40). At all events, we could now hypothesize s for the twenty pre-Imperial groups of 20, not to prove anything, but as a means of articulating the divergence between the pre-Imperial list and samples of 20 from some Imperial writers.[24]

Samples of twenty sentences were assembled from Achilles Tatius, Aelius Aristides, Alexander of Aphrodisias (*De Anima*, *De Fato*, *De Mixtione*), Appian (*Bella Ciuilia*), Arrian, Cassius Dio, Chariton, Clement, Dio of Prusa, Epictetus/Arrian, Galen, *Hebrews*, Heliodorus, Herodian the historian, Josephus, Longinus, Longus, Lucian, Maximus of Tyre, Pausanias, Philo, Philostratus (narrative parts of *Vitae Sophistarum*; separate sample for quotations from speeches), Plotinus, Plutarch, Polemon, Theon, Xenophon of Ephesus. In some cases, separate samples of 20 were

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[24] For the mean and the sample standard deviation, see M. Samuels, J. Witmer, A. Schaffner, *Statistics for the Life Sciences* (Harlow, 2014[4]), 63-4, 82-4, 87-8; J.E. Freund and B.M. Perles, *Modern Elementary Statistics* (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2007[12]), 74-93. For the normal distribution, see Samuels, Witmer and Schaffner, 155-81.

taken from different works or groups of works. It may be remembered that no author in the pre-Imperial set showed more than 14 rhythmical closes out of 20, a point which would lie just beyond ($\mu = 12.45+$) hypothesized s, that is 13.98811231. Of the Imperial authors, Cassius Dio, Herodian, and some works of Galen showed 16, beyond the hypothesized pre-Imperial 2s (15.5622462); Achilles Tatius, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Chariton, some Galen, Longinus, Philo, Polemon: 17, just within 3s (17.06433693); Appian, Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* and *Contra Apionem* (not the *Antiquitates*), Longus: 18, beyond 3s—a significant boundary, if we have to do with a normal distribution for the pre-Imperial authors; Plutarch's declamatory *De Fortuna Romanorum*: 19, beyond 4s (18.60244924).

For each of these authors singly (Herodian, etc.), the result is notable: in a normal distribution, about 95% would be within 2s, so results of 16 already prompt more investigation. (A result below 15 should not preclude it for other authors.) In those cases where there has been some earlier research, it confirms the idea that the author is rhythmic. Together the results for all these authors (Herodian, etc.) suggest much rhythmic writing in the period, with intriguing generic and other connections. The prominent place of historiography forms a contrast with Roman historiography, where Sallust, Livy and Tacitus (*Histories*, *Annals*, *Agricola*, *Germania*) stand out from their times in not writing rhythmically. But there also exists Greek historiography in the Imperial period which is unlikely to be rhythmic. So Arrian's *Anabasis* contrasts with Herodian, etc.: a sample showed 9 out of 20, strikingly low within the whole group of Imperial authors sampled, and below 2s. Narrative obviously connects historiography with the novel. Achilles Tatius, Chariton and Longus look rhythmic on the present basis; Xenophon of Ephesus may have reached us in an abridged form; the late Heliodorus is the other author who presents us with 9. The position with rhetoric appears complicated; the Hellenistic material would have suggested it was the first place to look. It was indeed where some earlier scholars looked.[25]

One would get further with an s which was smaller in proportion to the numbers in each example, that is with a larger number of sentences in each; to see the possibilities, one may experiment with 50 sentences each (one could get a hypothetical s for eight groups of 50 in the pre-Imperial writers and add a further two groups from Lysias). Of two samples of 50 sentences from Plutarch's *Lives*, one is beyond the pre-Imperial 2s, one well beyond 3s; of two samples of 50 from the *Moralia*, both are beyond s and within 2s. So far the *Lives* look to be rhythmic, and to have a higher proportion of rhythm than the *Moralia*. A sample of 50 from Galen's less technical writing takes us well beyond 4s; a sample of 50 from his more technical writing is within s. There look to be important distinctions within writers' *œuvres*. Across authors, the use of rhythm would serve different functions; thus the use in Plutarch's *Lives* would differ from that in Appian. Plutarch's use would, for instance, highlight the imaginative

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[25] Cf. n. 1 (Norden, Wilamowitz). See Heibges (n. 1) for Chariton, Josephus (105-8) and Polemon (83-91); for Philo, De Groot ([n. 1], 1921), 63-4, ([n. 1], 1926), 34-5 and Winterbottom (n. 1), 264; for Longus, De Groot ([n. 1], 1926), 35, Hunter (n. 1), 84-5; for Longinus, Wilamowitz (n. 1), 259 n. 1 ('Ein Bösenwilliger könnte manche Klauseln asianisch nennen wollen.'), Russell (n. 3), 196-7. On Roman historiography, cf. G.O. Hutchinson, *Greek to Latin: Frameworks and Contexts for Intertextuality* (Oxford, 2013), 238-40. As for rhetoric and its traditions, one exercise (*P.Oxy.* 3235 [third cent. A.D.]) looks rhythmic in what we have (the proper names in fr. 2 col. ii 5-6 notwithstanding); but the sample is much too small for us to be sure. For the Hellenistic material see recently D. Papanikolaou, 'The Aretalogy of Isis from Maroneia and the question of Hellenistic "Asianism"', *ZPE* 168 (2009), 59-70.

richness of his vocabulary, so unlike Appian's forcefully restricted and recurring words and phrases. These different stylistic functions would relate to differences in thought and large structure. It looks as if rhythmic writing is a feature which should affect our overall vision of the literary landscape in this period; it has also emerged as a means of expression and articulation which should influence our reading of rhythmic texts. Both aspects are important incitements to investigating further.[26]

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[26] For Plutarch's *Lives*, cf. De Groot ([n. 1], 1919), 1-6, 12-13, 42-54; ([n. 1], 1926), 35-6; on the *Moralia*, F.H. Sandbach, 'Rhythm and authenticity in Plutarch's *Moralia*', *CQ* 33 (1939), 194-203. Plutarch is an obvious point of comparison with Appian, and was probably so for Appian himself (his fame is implied e.g. by his appearance in the first chapter of Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*; add to the papyri *P. Gen. inv.* 477 and 504 [second or third cent. A.D.], M. Bagnoud, S. Gindrat, V. Monteventi, S. Nasel, Th. Schmidt, 'Nouveaux fragments d'un papyrus de la *Vie de César* de Plutarque (*P. Gen. inv.* 477 et 504)', *MH* 70 [2013], 10-15). *Vatic. Pal.* 2 puts the comparison of Caesar and Alexander which ends *Bella Ciuilia* 2 after Plutarch's pair *Alexander* and *Caesar*: M. Manfredini, 'Un nuovo testimone di Appiano in un codice di Plutarco', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Napoli* 20 (1977-8), 105-8. Appian's vocabulary cannot be discussed here; but it should once more be seen in relation to his structures. Scholarship on Racine suggestively illustrates how the restriction of vocabulary can contribute to impact and the charging of words: cf. J.-G. Cahen, *Le Vocabulaire de Racine* (Paris, 1946), Ch. Bernet, *Le Vocabulaire des tragédies de Jean Racine : analyse statistique* (*Travaux de linguistique quantitative* 12) (Geneva and Paris, 1983); note 104-6 on Racine and Corneille; M.G. Pittaluga, *Aspects du vocabulaire de Jean Racine* (*Biblioteca della ricerca: Cultura straniera* 40) (Fasano and Paris, 1991); B. Louvat, 'Le Vocabulaire à l'épreuve de la langue : l'exemple d'*Andromaque*', *La Licorne* 50 (2009) (http://licorne.edel.univ-poitiers.fr/document4394.php).