

## GREEK DECLAMATION AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE

A Greek declamation was an ‘imaginary speech’: a fictitious speech composed for a rhetorical scenario set in classical Greece. Although such speeches began as rhetorical exercises, under the high Roman empire they developed into a full-blown prestigious genre in their own right. This first monograph on Greek declamation for nearly forty years re-evaluates a genre that was central to Greek imperial literature and to ancient and modern notions of the ‘Second Sophistic’. Rejecting traditional conceptions of the genre as ‘nostalgic’, this book considers the significance of Greek declamation’s re-enactment of classical history for its own times and integrates the genre into the wider history of the period. It shows through extended readings how the genre came to constitute a powerful and subtle instrument of identity formation and social interaction, and a site for free thinking on issues of major contemporary importance such as imperialism and inter-polis relations.

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# GREEK DECLAMATION AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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*For my parents*

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## *Preface*

This book considers the significance of Greek declamation's re-enactment of classical history for the times in which it was written. Despite the great growth in work on Greek imperial literature in recent decades, declamation, which was central to the culture of the Greek East, is still too often sidestepped entirely, given only cursory treatment, or left to specialists in rhetoric. I give serious and sustained attention to the genre and seek to integrate it into the wider history of the period.

The period studied is the first three centuries of the common era. This might at first surprise, given that it constitutes neither the beginning nor the end of the genre's story, and that, of the hundred or so declamations that have survived in full, only twenty-four date from this period. But there are good reasons for such a focus. This is the first period for which we have sufficient evidence for a general study to be possible, the Hellenistic evidence being simply too scanty. Furthermore, it is a formative period in the history of the genre. The star declaimer Aelius Aristides enters the canon of Greek rhetoric in this era, creating expectations about what declaimers and declamation should look like. Moreover, Philostratus' *Vitae sophistarum*, the indispensable starting point for this period, and the concept of the 'Second Sophistic' that it propounds, have been key in determining ancient and modern ideas of declamation and sophistry. Finally, in terms of the scholarly landscape, this is one of the most neglected periods in the history of this neglected genre; declaimers and declamations from Late Antiquity have been and continue to be studied much more intensively.

The publication of this book marks the end of a long journey. My first debt is to four institutions without which this research would simply not have been carried out: the Arts and Humanities Research Council, which funded my master's degree; the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, which funded my doctoral studies; and the A. G. Leventis Foundation and the Institute for Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition at the University of

Bristol, which jointly funded three years as a postdoctoral fellow. Chapter 4 (reproduced with permission) represents an updated and expanded version of Guast (2017). My view on the authenticity of the *Peri politeias* attributed to Herodes in Appendix 1 is repeated from Guast (2019).

My second debt is to the small army of supervisors who have supported my work: Ewen Bowie, the supervisor of my master's degree, and Tim Whitmarsh, Chris Pelling, and Jaś Elsner, who supervised my doctorate. I am grateful to all my *Doktorväter* for their unfailing generosity with their time, their ideas, their professional know-how, their networks, and their books both during my degrees and particularly afterwards, even when I had left the profession. Ewen Bowie and Simon Goldhill then began the process of turning thesis into monograph with their trenchant observations at my doctoral viva, a process that the series editors and external reader continued later on; I am very grateful to all of them.

Much of this work benefited from the feedback of audiences in Nijmegen, Budapest, Pisa, Oxford, Toronto, Bristol, and Cambridge. Corpus Christi College, particularly my 'college advisors' Stephen Harrison and Constanze Güthenke, was also an invaluable source of support of all kinds, and I profited from discussions with the 'Coffeesophists' who met there in 2012 to 2013, particularly Dawn LaValle, Stuart Thompson, and Dan Jolowicz. Outside Oxford, Glenn Most had some wise words during my stay in Pisa, and Malcolm Heath has offered advice and generously shared with me his unpublished catalogue of Greek and Latin declamation titles. At Bristol, my mentors Nicoletta Momigliano and Patrick Finglass guided the footsteps of this early-career researcher, and Ellen O'Gorman and Richard Cole filled me with ideas about exemplarity and metalepsis.

Friends provided support both academic and non-academic along the way, particularly Sam Baddeley, Alex Beard, Roberta Berardi, Anna Magdalena Blomley, Nicolette Busuttil, Lyndsay Coe, Daniel Finch-Race, Jessica Glueck, Jonathan Griffiths, Alex and Lewis Marraccini, Hal McKend, Ingrid Ockert, Geraldine Porter, Emily Rutherford, Sophie Schoess, and James Thorne. My thanks go also to my supportive and talented colleagues at Winchester College, as well as to the boys (and now girls), who have lived up to their reputation in their polite interest in the progress of this book.

But the greatest debt of course is to my parents, John and Barbara Guast, for unfailing and unquestioning support of every kind since 1987.



## Abbreviations

The abbreviations used for Greek and Latin texts are those of H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek–English lexicon*<sup>9</sup> (Oxford, 1940) and P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin dictionary* (Oxford, 1982), or, where those works fail, S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (eds.), *The Oxford classical dictionary*<sup>4</sup> (Oxford, 2012); journal titles are abbreviated according to the conventions of *L'Année philologique*. I list here all additions to or departures from the abbreviations laid down by the above-mentioned reference works, and, for the sake of convenience, a few of their abbreviations for less familiar authors and works:

Anon. Seg. <i>Rh.</i>	‘Anonymous Seguerianus’, <i>Ars rhetorica</i>
Aps. <i>Pr.</i>	Apsines, <i>On figured problems</i>
Aps. <i>Rh.</i>	Apsines, <i>Ars rhetorica</i>
Aristid.	Aelius Aristides
<i>BNP</i>	H. Cancik, H. Schneider, and C. F. Salazar (eds.). <i>Brill's new Pauly: encyclopaedia of the ancient world</i> . 15 vols. Leiden, 2002
<i>CCJ</i>	<i>Cambridge classical journal</i>
Chor. <i>Decll.</i>	Choricius, <i>Declamations</i>
D. Cass.	Dio Cassius
D. Chrys.	Dio Chrysostom
[D. H.]	Ps.-Dionysius of Halicarnassus
<i>GRS</i>	P. Janiszewski, K. Stebnicka, and E. Szabat. <i>Prosopography of Greek rhetors and sophists of the Roman empire</i> . Oxford, 2015
Hermog. <i>Id.</i>	Hermogenes, <i>De ideis</i>
Hermog. <i>Stat.</i>	Hermogenes, <i>De statibus</i>
Him.	Himerius
<i>IG II</i> <sup>2</sup>	J. Kirchner. <i>Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores</i> . Berlin 1913–40

<i>IGRom.</i>	R. Cagnat. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> . Paris: 1906–
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> . Berlin, 1892–1916
Lib.	Libanius
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott. 1940. <i>A Greek–English lexicon</i> <sup>9</sup> . Oxford, 1940
Marc. Aur.	Marcus Aurelius, <i>Meditations</i>
<i>OGI</i>	W. Dittenberger. <i>Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> . Leipzig, 1903–5
<i>OLD</i>	P. G. W. Glare (ed.). <i>Oxford Latin dictionary</i> . Oxford, 1982
Philostr. VS	Philostratus, <i>Vitae sophistarum</i>
Polem.	Polemo
Plut. <i>PGR</i>	Plutarch, <i>Praecepta gerendae reipublicae</i>
<i>PS</i>	H. Rabe. <i>Prolegomenon sylloge. Accedit Maximi libellus De obiectionibus insolubilibus</i> . Leipzig, 1931
Ps.-Hermog. <i>Inv.</i>	Ps.-Hermogenes, <i>De inventione</i>
<i>RE</i>	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll. <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart, 1893–1980
<i>RG</i>	C. Walz. <i>Rhetores graeci</i> . 9 vols. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1832–6
Sopat. Rh. <i>DZ</i>	Sopater ( <i>GRS</i> 338–9), <i>Diairesis zetematon</i>
Syrian. <i>In Hermog.</i>	Syrianus, <i>In Hermogenem commentaria</i>

I cite Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata*, Apsines' *Ars rhetorica*, Hermogenes' *De statibus* and *De ideis*, Ps.-Hermogenes' *De inventione*, and Longinus' *Ars rhetorica* according to the editions of Patillon;<sup>1</sup> Aristides' works according to the editions of Lenz and Behr (1976) and Keil (1898); Syrianus' commentaries on the works of Hermogenes by page and line number in the edition of Rabe (1892); Minucian by page and line number in Spengel and Hammer (1894); Nicolaus of Smyrna's *Progymnasmata* by page and line number in Felten (1913); Hadrian of Tyre by page and line number in Amato (2009); and Menander Rhetor by page and line number in Spengel (1853). I cite Himerius' declamations using the numbering of Colonna (1951); the

<sup>1</sup> Patillon (2001); Patillon and Brisson (2001); Patillon (2008); Patillon (2009); Patillon (2012a); Patillon (2012b).

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Aristides scholia by the numbering in Dindorf (1829); and Ps.-Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Ars rhetorica* by volume, page, and line number in Usener and Radermacher (1899). I cite Aelius Theon's *Progymnasmata* according to the edition of Patillon and Bolognesi (1997), who use the page numbers of Spengel's edition but with their own numeration of the lines, which differs slightly from that of Spengel.

Of the two declamations of Polemo, the first, in favour of Cynegirus, is referred to as 'A', and the second, in favour of Callimachus, as 'B'. Foerster and Richsteig (1929) give each of Choricus' works two numbers: a Roman numeral indicating position within the whole corpus and an Arabic numeral indicating position among Choricus' works of the same genre (the three genres being declamations, *dialexeis*, and other speeches). Thus, Choricus' declamation *Polydamas* is both number X within Choricus' works as a whole and number 1 within his declamations. In this book, Choricus' *dialexeis*, declamations, and other speeches are cited by the Arabic numerals.

Translations are my own unless otherwise specified.