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Abstract

Himerius is the primary source of knowledge about the teaching of rhetoric in Athens in the 4th century AD. The *Polemarchic Oration* (*or*. 6 Colonna) is the only fictive oration from Himerius preserved in full and the single declamation (μελέτη) survived from antiquity which imitates the Athenian funeral speeches. Despite considerable similarities, the term 'imitation' seems to apply just to a certain extent, for the speech follows the traditional contents quite freely. The passages from the *Polemarchic Oration* here analysed make it possible to understand how and why the Athenian funeral eloquence became many centuries later a subject suited for the needs of a teacher of rhetoric. This imaginary oration appears to be both a development of two preliminary exercises (προγυμνάσματα) typical of the Greek education in Imperial age, namely narration (διήγημα) and praise (ἐγκώμιον), and a display of Himerius's devotion to the Athenian cultural heritage.

1. The *Bibliotheca* of Photius constitutes today a valuable source on the 4th century AD sophist Himerius, who taught rhetoric in Athens for most of his life.[1] Chapter 165 (107b 14−109a 4) provides an index of seventy-five orations followed by a positive evaluation of Himerius's rhetorical style, while chapter 243 (353a 21−377a 23) preserves excerpts of various length taken from the first half of the index.[2] Since many of these orations would not be known otherwise, Colonna (1951: p. XVII) rightly defines Photius as «Himerianae memoriae pat[er]».[3] At the top of the index, Photius lists five fictive orations (μελέται), two being deliberative (συμβουλευτικαί) and three judicial (δικανικαί).[4] Then, we find the *Polemarchic oration*, which is described as an "encomium of the fallen in battle for freedom against the Persians and a praise of war" (108a 5f. ἐγκώμιόν ἐστι τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας πρὸς Πέρσας ἐν μάχῃ πεσόντων καὶ πολέμου ἔπαινος). Himerius impersonates indeed a polemarch delivering a funeral speech at the end of the 5th century BC. This '*corpusculum*' of imaginary orations was apparently set at the beginning of the *corpus* to prove Himerius's rhetorical excellence, being better than any other of his speeches, as argued by Photius himself (107b 27−30). Rhetorical exercises functioned as models that the pupils were called to imitate and provided entertainment for the learned audience and readership. During his teaching career it is likely that Himerius composed more imaginary orations than we have evidence for, but those who selected the speeches – Himerius himself or rather his students[5] – decided to include in the anthology just the *Polemarchic oration* as an example of epidictic μελέτη. This is also the only fictive oration from Himerius preserved in full and the single, full-blown exercise survived from antiquity which imitates the Athenian funeral speeches. The term 'imitation', however, seems to apply just to a certain extent, for the speech follows the traditional contents quite freely. After a brief comparison of the *Polemarchic oration* with the sources it drew inspiration from, this paper will attempt to point out the *raison d'être* of the speech by analysing 'progymnasmatically' some passages considered representative of Himerius's style and teaching method. The desire to give an example of how theory may be put into practice originated from an advice of Penella (2011: p. 89), who urges to «read all Roman imperial literature *progymnasmatically*».

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1   For the life of Himerius, see Barnes (1987), Schamp (2000), Raimondi (2012).

2   As to the nature and purpose of the *Bibliotheca*, see at least the introduction of L. Canfora (pp. XI−LXIV) and the discussion on the manuscript tradition by S. Micunco (pp. LXV−LXXXV) in the recent Italian translation (Bianchi & Schiano 2016). An updated discussion is to be found in Isépy (2022).

3   Only three manuscripts of direct tradition survived, **R** (*Par.* suppl. gr. 352, XII[ex]−XIII[in]), **B** (*Barocc.* 131, XIII[2/2]), and **A** (*Monac.* gr. 564, XIII−XIV). Fragments from Himerius's speeches are to be found also in the so-called *excerpta Neapolitana* (Mazzon 2021) and in the *Lexicon* of Andreas Lopadiotes (Guida 2018). The last available edition of Himerius is Colonna (1951), who improved on that of Dübner (1849). Wernsdorff (1790) remains however very useful.

4   The imaginary orations of Himerius mainly deal with classical Athenian history (Penella 2007: pp. 156−162). Using the Latin translations of Colonna, the deliberative speeches are titled (*scil. declamatio*) *Hyperidis pro Demosthene* (*or.* 1) and *Demosthenis pro Aeschine* (2), while the judicial orations are *contra Epicurum* (3), *contra divitem* (4) and *Themistoclis contra Persarum regem* (5).

5   The opening scholia (*tituli*) present at the head of each oration in manuscripts **R** and **B** provide information about the circumstances of the speech that cannot be inferred from the speech itself, see Barnes (1987: p. 207, n. 8). It is unlikely, therefore, that they originated long after the death of Himerius.

2. In classical Athens, it was customary to assign to a distinguished citizen the task of delivering every year of war a commemorative speech at the end of the burial ceremony.[6] The earliest funeral speech we have evidence for is that of Pericles for the soldiers fallen in the Samian war.[7] There survive also some relatively long fragments from Gorgias' rhetorical display (*VS* 82 B 5f.).[8] The Athenian funeral orations available to ancient scholars were almost the same as today, namely the speech held by Pericles at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (Th. II 35–46), Plato's *Menexenus*, those attributed to Lysias (2) and Demosthenes (60), and that of Hyperides (6).[9] Whether Himerius read these speeches seems doubtful, though.[10] If he ever did, he decided not to make any clear hint at them. He certainly took Isocrates' *Panegyricus* and Aristides' *Panathenaicus* into account.[11] 'Modern' models for Himerius may have been also οἱ τρεῖς Ἀριστείδου λόγοι mentioned by the rhetor Menander (418, 10–26 R. & W.). The speeches are lost, but Menander tells us that Aristides composed them «such as would have been delivered by the polemarch (...). But because of the passage of time, it has come to be predominantly an encomium. Who could lament before the Athenians for those who fell 500 years before? (...) So Aristides, if he had spoken these speeches over the recently fallen, would have used the headings of the funeral speech which belong especially to it. As it is, however, the long passage of time removes the occasion for lamentations or consolations».[12] In Imperial times funeral speeches became suited for praising individuals, and the Treatise II (*Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*) handed down under the name of Menander contains three chapters on how to compose a funeral speech depending on the circumstances of the death and the goal of the speaker (9 Περὶ παραμυθητικοῦ, 11 Περὶ ἐπιταφίου, 16 Περὶ μονῳδίας). The main topic of Aristides' lost three speeches might have been an encomium of the Athenian military deeds. He is likely to have drawn material from the classical funeral speeches, just as he did in the *Panathenaicus*.

By following the structure of Himerius's *Polemarchic oration*, it becomes clear that the speech shares many traditional themes of praise with the 'ancient' models. After having praised the custom (νόμος) of delivering public funeral orations in the opening section (§ 1),[13] Himerius recalls the autochthonous origin of the Athenians (§ 2f.).[14] Then he

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6   Establishing when the practice began remains a matter under discussion; a date right after the Persian Wars seems very likely. For an exhaustive summary, see Pritchett (1985: pp. 112–124).

7   Hdt. VII 162, Arist. *Rh.* 1365a 29–34 and 1411a 2–4, Plut. *Per.* 8, 9 and 28, 4–7.

8   Buchheim (2012), Ioli (2013).

9   [D. H.] *Rh.* 6, 1 (278, 1–5 R.), Canfora (2011).

10   On the Athenian funeral speeches as a whole, see Soffel (1974), Ziolkowski (1981), Loraux (1986), Prinz (1997).

11   For instance, §§ 5 (the wanderings of Demeter) and 26 (Xerxes' invasion of Greece) draw ideas and text portions from Isoc. 11, 28 and Aristid. 1, 124 L. & B., respectively. Isocrates himself (11, 74) makes clear that he is borrowing traditional themes from the funeral speeches of his time. It is likely that the *Panegyricus* sands somewhat as an answer to Plato's *Menexenus*, see Eucken (2010); *contra*, Müller (1991).

12   Transl. by Russell & Wilson (1981: p. 171).

13   Th. II 35, Pl. *Mx.* 236d–237a, Lys. 2, 1f., D. 60, 1–3, Hyp. 6, 1–3.

14   Th. II 36, 1–3, Pl. *Mx.* 237b–c, Lys. 2, 17, D. 60, 4, Hyp. 6, 6f.

recounts Athens' civilizing influence on mankind (§ 4),[15] the wanderings of Demeter (§ 5),[16] the goods and activities brought to the Greeks by Athens (§ 6),[17] the contest between Athena and Poseidon (§ 7),[18] and the mythical trials at the Areopagus (§ 8) – a well-known myth which lacks, however, in the Athenian funeral speeches.[19] The bulk of the speech is devoted to military deeds (πράξεις). There seem to have been four must-have topics of praise regarding the Athenian mythical past, namely the rescue of the Heraclids, the wars against Thracians and Amazons, and the burial of the Seven against Thebes, to which Himerius adds a minor myth (§ 9–13).[20] Then the narration of the first Persian war is extended by the telling of prior events (§ 14–22)[21] and followed by the second Persian war (§ 23–28).[22] Conversely, the many fights that Athens faced against other Greeks until the end of the 5th century are highly compressed (§ 29–31).[23] Finally, a praise of all the Athenian dead soldiers (§ 32)[24] introduces a brief epilogue (§ 33).[25]

Despite such similarities, the ties to the 'ancient' models are rather loose. As a matter of fact, the praise of the Athenian democracy is missing in the *Polemarchic oration*,[26] as one might easily expect from a sophist writing imaginary orations under the late Roman empire. Any mention of themes too tight to classical Athens is avoided accurately. As noted above, a consolation for the parents[27] or a lamentation for the fallen[28] would seem out of place because of the great amount of time that has elapsed. However, a fictive exhortation[29] could fit well in the speech, for it is suited to praise civic duties and military deeds even in general terms. Since none of these features find place in the *Polemarchic oration*, neither imitation nor challenge can be accepted as plausible underlying goals for the composition of this speech. The *Polemarchic oration* cannot be regarded indeed as nothing but a sheer encomium of Athens' military past and cultural heritage.

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15 Pl. *Mx.* 237d–e, 238b, D. 60, 5.

16 Pl. *Mx.* 238a, D. 60, 5.

17 Th. II 38, Pl. *Mx.* 238a, Hyp. 6, 4f.

18 Pl. *Mx.* 237c.

19 There is no need to suppose that Himerius relies on Isoc. 18, 37f. or Aristid. 1, 46, 367, 385 L. & B. He himself was an Areopagite (*or.* 25, *titulus*), and the Areopagus represented the ancient nobility of Athens more than any other Athenian institution. Hints at the mythical trials are to be found also in *or.* 7, § 1, 8, § 15, 59, § 3.

20 Pl. *Mx.* 239a–b, Lys. 2, 3–16, D. 60, 6–8.

21 Th. II 36, 4, Pl. *Mx.* 240a–e, Lys. 2, 20–26, D. 60, 9–11.

22 Pl. *Mx.* 241a–d, Lys. 2, 27–47, D. 60, 9–11.

23 Th. II 36, 4, Pl. *Mx.* 241e–246a, Lys. 2, 48–66.

24 Th. II 42f., Lys. 2, 67–70, D. 60, 19–24, Hyp. 6, 9–26.

25 Th. II 46, Pl. *Mx.* 249c, D. 60, 37.

26 Th. II 37, Pl. *Mx.* 238b–239a, Lys. 2, 18f., D. 60, 25f.

27 Th. II 44, Pl. *Mx.* 247c–248d, Lys. 2, 77–80, D. 60, 35–37, Hyp. 6, 41–43.

28 Lys. 2, 71–76, D. 60, 32–34.

29 Th. II 43, 45, Pl. *Mx.* 246a–247c, 248d–249c.

3. While reading it, the *Polemarchic oration* may arouse the feeling that the speech is made of individually conceived narratives following one after the other. One may also wonder whether this 'chain' of self-contained narratives simply reflects rhetorical habits or rather a specific purpose. The tricks and rhetorical devices used to bring variety and impart vividness to each narration point towards the latter. Indeed, most of the passages can be analysed in terms of and defined as narration (διήγημα), namely one of the easiest preliminary exercises (προγυμνάσματα) typical of Greek education in Imperial times.[30]

The προγυμνάσματα consisted of different types of speech and were graded according to their difficulty, so as to help students to progressively advance in prose composition. By training imagination, critical thinking, and literary taste, they introduced the pupil to the highest degree of the ancient rhetorical curriculum, where he learned how to compose declamations. Narration was considered especially suited to the judicial *narratio*. By practising the exercise on narration, students became accustomed to presenting the circumstances under debate in different ways while arguing for and against them. Narration is defined indeed as an «exposition of an action that has happened or as though it had happened».[31] The section on the wanderings of Demeter (§ 5) closely follows the rules suggested by the handbooks for composing a clear, short, and persuasive narrative:

> ἐπλανᾶτο Δημήτηρ κατὰ τῆς ὑφ᾽ ἡλίῳ πάσης, ὡς λόγος, τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῆς Κόρης μεταδιώκουσα· γῆν δὲ ἐπελθοῦσα πᾶσαν καὶ θάλασσαν, ὡς κατ᾽ Ἐλευσῖνα γίγνεται, τῆς τε πλάνης ἔστη, καὶ τὴν ζητουμένην κομίζεται· μισθοὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρων εἰσφέρουσα, τοῖς τὴν πλάνην τῆς θεοῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων λύσασι καρποὺς χαρίζεται καὶ μυστήρια, ὧν τοῖς μὲν τὴν τροφήν, τοῖς δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἡμέρωσεν. ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη χάρις εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἴληφε.[32]

The main classification applied to narration rests on the degree of truth present in what is said. According to the subdivision accepted by Aphthonius (*Prog*. 2,2 P.), the species (εἶδος) of a narrative may be dramatic (δραματικόν), historical (ἱστορικόν), or political (πολιτικόν). Aphthonius would identify this narrative as dramatic, for he ruled out the type called mythical (μυθικόν). Mythical narratives could be confused, indeed, with

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30   The earliest surviving treatise is that of Theon (Patillon 1997). It is dated from the 1st century AD and is addressed to teachers. Handbooks meant for pupils come from Ps.-Hermogenes (3rd century?) and Aphthonius (4th–5th), a pupil of Libanius and author of the most famous treatise on προγυμνάσματα in antiquity (Patillon 2008). The textbook of Nicolaus (5th) aims at giving a comprehensive overview of previous literature. They are translated into English by Kennedy (2003). A helpful summary of ancient theories regarding each exercise is provided by Berardi (2017). The model exercises transmitted in the *corpus* of Libanius help understand how theory was put into practice (Gibson 2008).

31   Aphth. *Prog.* 2,1,1–2 P. διήγημά ἐστιν ἔκθεσις πράγματος γεγονότος ἢ ὡς γεγονότος. If not otherwise stated, the translations of the passages quoted from the handbooks of προγυμνάσματα are taken from Kennedy (2003).

32   «Demeter had been wandering over every part of the earth under the sun, as they tell it, in pursuit of the abducted Kore. Having traversed the whole earth and the sea, she put an end to her wandering when she reached Eleusis and got back the girl she had been searching for. As a reward for this doubly happy outcome, the goddess gave the fruits of the earth and the [Eleusinian] mysteries to those countrymen of ours who had brought an end to her wandering. She tamed our diet with the first gift and our minds with the second. This was the origin of the first and greatest benefaction of our city to the whole human race» (Transl. by Penella 2007: p. 194).

the similar – but in many ways different – exercise on fable (μῦθος).[33] A second classification takes the *persona loquens* into account. The narrative on Demeter is descriptive (ἀφηγηματικόν): «descriptive is everything that is said by one person alone narrating everything».[34] Narration, indeed, might be dramatic (δραματικόν), if reported by the supposed characters, or mixed (μικτόν). Another category reflects somehow what moderns call speech acts.[35] The same narration could be set out as a question, a command, a dialogue, and so on. In other words, these manners (τρόποι) express the outcome that the speaker wishes to achieve. They have been listed and suggested by Theon «in order to make the language varied».[36] The given narrative is written, therefore, in «the manner of a straightforward statement» (τρόπος τοῦ ἀποφαινομένου),[37] because the only purpose it has is precisely to tell straightforwardly how Demeter put an end to her wanderings and what the city of Athens gained from the goddess. A different arrangement would produce another effect on the supposed hearer.[38]

4. Such classifications address the outward features that characterize narrations, not their wording. However, a closer analysis of the word choice and disposition may be attempted. The figure (σχῆμα) of the narration on Demeter is classed as direct declarative (ὀρθὸν ἀποφαντικόν),[39] because it keeps the nominative case through the whole account. The maintenance of the nominative creates clarity and makes the language easy to understand. A common type of exercise meant for younger students was indeed the declension (κλίσις) of the same narrative in complicated syntactical structures.[40] Also, the development of a steady rhythm achieves clarity. Verbs usually mark the starting point of a new narration (ἐπλανᾶτο), which is sometimes introduced by a general remark.[41]

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33 Nicolaus (*Prog.* 13, 4‒9 F.) explains the difference between fables and mythical narratives: «Mythical narratives (μυθικὰ διηγήματα) share with fables (μῦθοι) the need to be persuasive, but they differ because fables are agreed to be false and fictional, while mythical narratives differ from others in being told as though they had happened and being capable of having happened or not having happened». Since fables are agreed to be false, the exercises on refutation (ἀνασκευή) and confirmation (κατασκευή) would hardly suit them.

34 Nicol. *Prog.* 12, 9s. F. ἀφηγηματικὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστιν, ὅσα ἀπὸ μόνου λέγεται τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ ἀπαγγέλλοντος αὐτά. Nicolaus seems to be the first one in reporting this kind of classification, which attests to a growing interest in late antiquity for narratology (Berardi 2017: pp. 83s.).

35 Schenkeveld (1984).

36 Theon 91, 9s. S. [= p. 55 P.] ὅπως ἄν τις βούλοιτο ποικίλλων τὴν φράσιν.

37 Theon 87, 22s. S. [= p. 50 P.].

38 For other manners present in the *Polemarchic oration*, see below. In *or.* 10, § 1 Himerius explains that he decided to set out the προπεμπτικὸς λόγος for Diogenes in the form of a dialogue (εἰς σχῆμα διαλόγου) to make this relatively new genre seem older and thus infuse into it the dignity of the Platonic dialogues he took inspiration from, see Milo (2015).

39 [Hermog.] *Prog.* 2,4,5‒7 P.

40 Berardi (2017: pp. 186‒189).

41 See *e.g.* § 4 (Athens is the first city to have revealed the most beautiful things on Earth.) ἄρχεται δὲ τῶν δωρεῶν ἀπὸ πρώτων (...) | § 12 (Not only are the mythical deeds worthy of praise, but also some more recent achievements.) ἐκίνησε φθόνος ποτὲ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως (...) | § 17 (The Persian preparations for the war seemed inadequate.) ἀνέστη μὲν γὰρ μικροῦ καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον (...) | § 20 (Athens' readiness surprised the Persians.) ἐφόνευον ἄλλους ἐν ἄλλοις τοῖς εἴδεσι τῶν φόνων (...). ἐμάχοντο δὲ οὐχ οἱ ζῶντες

In the analysed chapter, verbs are set either at the beginning or at the end of each sentence so that phrases become rhythmical and, therefore, pleasing to the ear (ἐπλανᾶτο ... μεταδιώκουσα). The symmetrical disposition of some keywords helps to reach such an effect (Δημήτηρ ... ὡς λόγος ... Κόρης). Hyperbaton (τοῖς ... λύσασι) is a typical feature of Himerius's fictive orations, and Photius (107b 42–108a 2) praises his usage as elegant.[42] Himerius mastered indeed the *Prosarhythmus* and stands among the Greek authors who first adopted rhythmical clausulae based on word accents, not their vowels' length.[43]

The main virtues (ἀρεταί) of narration are agreed to be clarity (σαφήνεια), conciseness (συντομία), and credibility (πιθανότης).[44] Given that the wanderings of Demeter are a widely known myth, narrative seeks to avoid unnecessary explanations or fussy details because «things that can be supplied (by the hearer) should be altogether eliminated by one who wants to compose concisely».[45] In other words, a careful selection achieves clarity and prevents from doing the mistake of creating lengthy digressions that distract the hearer. The handbooks make indeed explicit that the elements (στοιχεῖα) needed for a complete narration are six in number and answer to the questions 'who, what, where, when, how, why'.[46] The narrative on Demeter displays every given element except for the manner (τρόπος), which can easily be classed as the willing (ἑκούσιος),[47] since the myth tells about the rewards Demeter gave to the Athenians because of the help she received from them.[48]

As to the structure, the narrative on Demeter lacks an opening line. However, it features an epilogue stating what was the first benefaction of Athens to the human race. Such a comment is called ἐπιφώνημα: «to add a maxim (γνώμη) to each part of the narration is called ἐπιφωνεῖν. Such a thing is not appropriate in historical writing or in a political speech but belongs rather to the theatre and the stage (...). Of course, when it is smoothly mixed in and these gnomic statements escape notice, the narration does somehow become charming».[49] Maxim represents a statement concerning human lives

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μόνον (...).

42 According to Castiglioni (1951: pp. 347f.), the words τῶν ἡμετέρων should be deleted. But he might have been unaware of what Photius too noticed as common stylistic feature of Himerius.

43 Hörandner (1981: pp. 51–54), Völker (2003: pp. 73–78), Andreassi (2021: pp. 73–76).

44 Theon (79, 20–85, 28 S. [= pp. 40–48 P.]) speaks at length about what to follow and avoid while writing a narrative according to the virtues recognised as leading principles.

45 Theon 84, 12s. S. [= p. 46 P.] τὰ συνυπακουόμενα πάντως συμπεριαιρετέον τῷ συντόμως ἀπαγγέλλειν βουλομένῳ.

46 Aphth. *Prog.* 2,3,1–3 P. τὸ πρᾶξαν πρόσωπον, τὸ πραχθὲν πρᾶγμα, χρόνος καθ' ὅν, τόπος ἐν ᾧ, τρόπος ὅπως, αἰτία δι' ἥν. This might seem almost obvious, but the matter must be seen the other way around: many theories systematised in antiquity did not change throughout the time.

47 Theon 79, 12–15 S. [= p. 39 P.].

48 While Demeter is the doer, the wanderings are the thing done. Time is marked by the expression ὡς λόγος (that is, in antiquity) and Eleusis is the place where the action takes place. The pursuit of Kore is the reason of Demeter's research, but what caused the abduction of her daughter is not given, precisely because the founding myth of the Eleusinian mysteries were known to both learned and common Greeks.

49 Theon 91, 11–25 S. [= p. 55 P.]. See Berardi (2017: pp. 147–151). The narrative concerning the rose given by Aphthonius (*Prog.* 2,5 P.) as model exercise provides an useful comparison since it shows many of the features mentioned above, such as an opening line and an ἐπιφώνημα set at the end.

in general. Otherwise, it might take the form of an observation that imparts knowledge. If the judicial *narratio* aims to teach about the events debated in a lawcourt (*docere*), the progymnasmatic narration teaches the students about cultural matters.[50]

5. Himerius adopts in the *Polemarchic oration* other types of manner (τρόποι), such as exclamations and rhetorical questions. Exclamations are suited to narration because the speaker might decide to address someone directly and praise the deed accomplished, thus creating a narration by means of an exclamation. This is what Theon defines as τρόπος προσαγορευτικός, whose aim is to lay emphasis on the deeds, thus elevating the tone of the speech.[51] Another common way of praising is carried out by turning narrative into a rhetorical question: § 29 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω τί χρήσομαι. πῶς μὲν ἐπαινέσω τὴν Πλάταιαν; πῶς δὲ διεξέλθω τὰ κατὰ Μυκάλην τρόπαια; πῶς Σηστόν; πῶς Ἠιόνα; πῶς τὸ Βυζάντιον; πῶς τὴν παράλιον ἄπασαν; («But I don't know what to do next. How shall I praise Plataea? How shall I recount the victories at Mycale? What about Sestus, Eion, Byzantium, and the whole seacoast?»).[52] By questioning himself as if at a loss, Himerius lists the military deeds accomplished by Athens after the second Persian war following their chronological order. This manner is called ἐπαπόρησις («to raise a doubt»): τὸ δὲ ἐπαπορεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐρωτᾶν κατὰ μὲν τὴν προφορὰν οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων διήνεγκε (...)· ὁ μὲν ἐρωτῶν ἀπόκρισιν ἐπιζητεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἐπαπορῶν οὐ πάντως, ἀλλὰ μόνον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπορεῖ («Raising doubts and asking questions do not differ from each other in procedure (...); while a questioner seeks an answer, one in doubt does not quite do so but only addresses himself as at a loss»).[53] The other way of questioning does not rhetorically ask for an answer. Rather, it makes clear that the speaker is sure about what he says. Theon refers to this type of manner as ἐρώτησις («to ask a question»):[54] εἰ δὲ ἐρωτᾶν βουλοίμεθα, οὕτως ἐροῦμεν· ἆρά γε ἀληθές ἐστιν, ὅτι ...; («If we want to treat this as a question, we shall do so as follows: Is it really true that ...?»).[55]

6. The similarities and differences between the *Polemarchic oration* and the Athenian funeral speeches lead to conclude that Himerius selected the only themes that he con-

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50 See *e.g.* § 28 ὦ μόνοι δείξαντες ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν, ὅτι πᾶσα χεὶρ ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐλέγχεται («O you who alone proved to all mortals that all brute force is overcome by valour!»), and § 7 τῷ θαλλῷ δὲ ὅταν εἴπω, τῇ θεῷ λέγω· Ἀθηνᾶς γὰρ οἶμαι τὸ γνώρισμα («by 'olive branch' I mean the goddess; for the olive branch is, I believe, a symbol of Athena»). Transl. by Penella (2007: pp. 195, 204).

51 Theon 89, 21–23, cf. 102, 32–103, 2 S. [= pp. 26, 52 P.]. See also *e.g.* § 28 ὦ μείζονα Ξέρξου τολμήσαντες· ὦ ψυχὰς στοιχείων βεβαιοτέρας ἐπιδειξάμενοι· ὦ τοῖς Περσῶν τοξεύμασιν οὐ καλυφθέντες τὸ φρόνημα· ὦ δύο τροπαίοις δεκαετῆ στόλον ἐλέγξαντες («O you who dared greater things than Xerxes! You who showed that your souls were more steadfast than the elements! O you whose resolve was not clouded by the Persians' arrows! You who by two victories demonstrated the inferiority of a [Greek] expedition that had lasted ten years!»). Transl. by Penella (2007: p. 204).

52 Transl. by Penella (2007: pp. 204f.).

53 Theon 88, 9–17 S. [= p. 51 P.]. See also § 31 τὰς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα μάχας ποῦ θήσομεν, ὅτε ...;

54 Theon 88, 1–3 S. [= p. 50 P.].

55 See *e.g.* § 29 πῶς οὐ καθαρὰν πανταχόθεν τῇ πόλει προξενεῖ (*scil.* the Peace of Callias) τὴν εὔκλειαν; | § 30 τίς ἂν παριὼν τὸν ἔπαινον, εἶτ' οὐκ ἀδικεῖν ἂν τὴν πόλιν δόξειε ...; | *ibid*. οὐχ οἵδε μέν εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ ταὐτὸν Αἴγιναν πολιορκοῦντες ...; οὐχ οἵδε οἱ νικήσαντες ...;

sidered suitable for developing a series of narratives (διηγήματα) arranged into a declamation (μελέτη). Photius (*Bibl.* 108a 5) rightly defines the speech as an encomium, and the ἐγκώμιον finds its place too among the προγυμνάσματα of limited difficulty; the only difference between the progymnasmatic ἐγκώμιον and a full-blown exercise lies, indeed, in the degree of completeness shown by the speech.[56] Encomia of cities were both an exercise typical of the schools of rhetoric, and a common practice under the Roman empire. The suggestions given by Ps.-Hermogenes on how to practise the exercise of praising a city (πόλεως ἐγκώμιον) follow the basic outline of the Athenian funeral speeches,[57] while the rhetor Menander (346, 27‒31 R. & W.) makes clear that the actual praises of cities combine the headings suited for a country with those related to individuals. Also, in classical times, funeral speeches praised the city of Athens as if it followed the steps of a human life. Sprung as it claimed to have been from the Attic soil and reared by the gods, Athens performed so many glorious deeds that in the eyes of Himerius it embodied Greek culture as a whole.[58] It is likely that Himerius found the Athenian funeral speeches as the perfect means of teaching the students how to compose narratives and encomia. The *Polemarchic oration* stands therefore as an example of Himerius's mastery of rhetoric, and a display of his devotion to the Athenian heritage.

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56 Berardi (2017: pp. 96‒110).

57 [Hermog.] *Prog.* 7, 15 P. Καὶ μὴν καὶ πόλεως ἐγκώμιον ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἂν χαλεπῶς μεταχειρίσαιο· ἐρεῖς γὰρ καὶ περὶ γένους, ὅτι αὐτόχθονες, καὶ περὶ τροφῆς, ὡς ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐτράφησαν, καὶ περὶ παιδείας, ὡς ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐπαιδεύθησαν. ἐξετάσεις δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου, ποδαπὴ τοὺς τρόπους ἡ πόλις, ποδαπὴ τὴν κατασκευήν, τίσιν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐχρήσατο, τίνα κατέπραξε («And surely you will undertake an encomion of a city without difficulty from these topics; for you will speak about its origin, (saying) that its people are autochthonous, and about its growth, how it was nurtured by gods, and about education, how the people have been taught by the gods. And you will examine, as in the case of a man, what sort of manners the city has, what sort of institutions, what pursuits it follows, what it has accomplished»).

58 *Or.* 68, § 1 καρπὸς δὲ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως λόγος καὶ ἄνθρωπος («But the word and man are the fruits of this city», transl. by Penella 2007: p. 97), cf. 6, § 3 μηδὲ πρὸ Ἀθηνῶν ἑτέρα πόλις ἢ ἄνθρωποι. Penella titled his work *Man and the Word* alluding to Himerius's maxim (68, § 1), which inspired also Cavafy's short poem *Γνωρίσματα*, see Penella (2007: p. xi).

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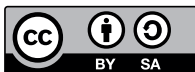Ziolkowski, J. E. (1981). *Thucydides and the Tradition of Funeral Speeches at Athens*. New York: Arno Press.

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