

THE CHREIA AND ANCIENT RHETORIC



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THE CHREIA AND ANCIENT RHETORIC
Commentaries on Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata*

Volume Editor
Craig A. Gibson

The Chreia
and Ancient Rhetoric

Commentaries on Aphthonius's
Progymnasmata

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by

Ronald F. Hock

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric: Commentaries on Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* / [translated and edited by] Ronald F. Hock.

pages cm. — (Writings from the Greco-Roman world; number 31)

Text in English and Greek

“This is the third and final volume of the Chreia in Ancient Education and Literature Project sponsored by the Institute of Antiquity and Christianity at the Claremont Graduate University in Claremont, California. The first volume, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric: The Progymnasmata*, appeared in 1986 and introduced and translated the chreia chapters from all the extant *Progymnasmata* as well as some related texts. The second volume, *The Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric: Classroom Exercises*, was published in 2002, and introduced and translated the various classroom exercises that used the chreia during the primary and secondary stages of the curriculum but especially during the third, or rhetorical, stage where elaborating a chreia became the principal exercise for students to undertake”—Introduction.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-58983-644-0 (paper binding) — ISBN 978-1-58983-645-7 (electronic format) (print)

1. Chreiai. 2. Chreiai—Translations into English. 3. Aphthonius, 4th cent. *Progymnasmata*. 4. Classical literature—Translations into English. 5. Rhetoric, Ancient. I. Hock, Ronald F., 1944— editor, translator.

PA3469.C48 C48 2013

888/.002-dc23

2012041822

Printed on acid-free, recycled paper conforming to
ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R1997) and ISO 9706:1994
standards for paper permanence.



In memory of Edward N. O'Neil

συνεργού και φίλου

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Abbreviations

PRIMARY RESOURCES

Ambros. gr.	Codex Ambrosianus graecus
Anon. Schol.	Anonymous scholia
<i>Anon. Seg.</i>	<i>Anonymous Seguerianus</i>
<i>AP</i>	Anthologia Palatina
<i>Ars gramm.</i>	Dionysius Thrax, <i>Ars grammatica</i>
Barrocc.	Codex Bodleianus Baroccianus graecus
<i>Bis acc.</i>	Lucian, <i>Bis accusatus</i>
Brit. Mus. addit.	British Museum additional manuscript
<i>Cat.</i>	Lucian, <i>Cataphus</i>
Coisl. gr.	Codex Coislinianus graecus
<i>Comm. in Aphth.</i>	<i>Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata</i>
<i>De an.</i>	Aristotle, <i>De anima</i>
<i>Dem. enc.</i>	Pseudo-Lucian, <i>Demosthenis encomium</i>
<i>Demetr.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Demetrius</i>
<i>Demosth.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Demosthenes</i>
<i>Eleg.</i>	Theognis, <i>Elegiae</i>
<i>Fab.</i>	<i>Fabulae</i> (Aesop, Aphthonius)
<i>Frag.</i>	Epicharmus, <i>Fragmenta</i>
<i>Hec.</i>	Euripides, <i>Hecuba</i>
<i>Hell.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>
<i>Hes.</i>	Lucian, <i>Hesiodus</i>
<i>Hom.</i>	Basil, <i>Homiliae</i>
<i>Il.</i>	Homer, <i>The Iliad</i>
<i>Intr.</i>	Porphyry, <i>Introduction</i>
Laur.	Codex Laurentianus graecus
Laur. S. Marc.	Codex Laurentianus San Marco
Marc. gr.	Codex Marcianus graecus
<i>Men.</i>	Lucian, <i>Menippus</i>
<i>Merc. cond.</i>	Lucian, <i>De Mercede conductis</i>
<i>Mon.</i>	Menander, <i>Monostichoi</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>
<i>Nub.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Nubes</i>
O.Claud.	Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina

<i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>The Odyssey</i>
<i>Orat.</i>	<i>Orationes</i> (Demosthenes, Dio Chrysostom, Isocrates, Julian)
Oxon. misc	Codex Oxiensis miscellaneus graecus
Paris. gr.	Codex Parisinus graecus
P.Berol.	Papyrus Berolensis
<i>Pelop.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Pelopidas</i>
<i>Phoc.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Phocion</i>
<i>Progymn.</i>	<i>Progymnasmata</i> (Aphthonius, Georgius, Libanius, Nicepheros, Nicolaus, pseudo-Nicolaus, Theon)
<i>Progymn. Frag.</i>	Sopatros, <i>Progymnasmatum Fragmenta</i>
<i>Rhet.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Rhetorica</i>
<i>Rhet. ad Alex.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i>
<i>Rhet. ad Her.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>
Riccard. gr.	Codex Riccardianus graecus
Taurien. gr.	Codex Tauriensis graecus
UB Salamanca	Universitas Bibliotheca Salamanca
<i>V. Apoll.</i>	Philostratus, <i>Vita Apollonii</i>
Vat. gr.	Codex Vaticanus graecus
<i>V.H.</i>	Aelian, <i>Varia historia</i>
Vindo. phil. gr.	Codex Vindobonensis philosophicus graecus
<i>Vit. dec. orat.</i>	Pseudo-Plutarch, <i>Vitae decem oratorum</i>
<i>WD</i>	Hesiod, <i>Works and Days</i>

SECONDARY RESOURCES

ABla	Analecta Blatadon
ArchExSard	Archaeological Explorations of Sardis
<i>AttiSocLSL</i>	<i>Atti Società linguistica Scienze e Letteratura</i>
<i>BNĴ</i>	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
<i>BS</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
ByzA	Byzantinische Archiv
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca
CHellSt	Center for Hellenic Studies
<i>Chreia 1</i>	R. F. Hock and E. N. O'Neil, eds., <i>The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. Vol. 1: The Progymnasmata</i> . Society of Biblical Literature Texts

- and Translations 27. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.
- Chreia* 2 R. F. Hock and E. N. O'Neil, eds., *The Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric. Vol. 2: Classroom Exercises*. Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Greco-Roman World 2. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002.
- CJ* *Classical Journal*
- CQ* *Classical Quarterly*
- CR* *Classical Review*
- CSCT Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
- ÉchO* *Échos d'Orient*
- GRBS* *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
- HAW Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
- H/ON R. F. Hock and E. N. O'Neil, eds., *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. Vol. 1: The Progymnasmata*. Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations 27. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.
- ICS* *Illinois Classical Studies*
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JÖB* *Jahrbuch der Österreichische Byzantinistik*
- LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- MH* *Museum helveticum*
- MMed The Medieval Mediterranean
- ODB* A. P. Kazhdan et al., eds. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- PG *Patrologia graeca*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 162 vols. Paris: Migne: 1857–1886.
- PGL* G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
- PhilAnt *Philosophia Antiqua*
- PhW* *Philologische Wochenschrift*
- PRSt* *Perspectives in Religious Studies*
- PS* Hugo Rabe, ed., *Prolegomenon Sylloge. Rhetores Graeci* 14. Leipzig: Teubner, 1931.

PSI	<i>Papiri greci e latini</i> (Pubblicazione della Società Italiana)
PW	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . New edition by Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. 50 vols. in 84 parts. Stuttgart: Metzler and Druckenmüller, 1894–1980.
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>RHT</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire des textes</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLWGRW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Greco-Roman World
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
<i>SicGymn</i>	<i>Siculorum Gymnasium</i>
SPByzS	Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies
Suda	Adler, Ada, ed., <i>Suidae Lexicon</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–1938.
Teubner	Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum teubneriana
TLing	Trends in Linguistics
TSHCyp	Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
WByzSt	Wiener Byzantinische Studien
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Introduction

This is the third and final volume of the Chreia in Ancient Education and Literature Project sponsored by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at the Claremont Graduate University in Claremont, California. The first volume, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric: The Progymnasmata*,¹ appeared in 1986 and introduced and translated the chreia chapters from all the extant *Progymnasmata* as well as some related texts. The second volume, *The Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric: Classroom Exercises*,² was published in 2002; it introduced and translated the various classroom exercises that used the chreia during the primary and secondary stages of the curriculum but especially during the third, or rhetorical, stage, where elaborating a chreia became the principal exercise for students to undertake.

The years since the publication of these volumes have witnessed a renewed scholarly interest in these texts, and this interest has advanced their study in significant ways. For example, regarding the *Progymnasmata* Michel Patillon and Giancarlo Bolognesi have edited and translated the complete text of Theon's *Progymnasmata*,³ and George Kennedy has provided an easily accessible English translation of all the *Progymnasmata*.⁴ Advances in the analysis of the *Progymnasmata* proceed in various directions. For example, Ruth Webb, Malcolm Heath, and Manfred Kraus have

¹ Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil, eds., *The Progymnasmata* (vol. 1 of *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric*; SBLTT 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986).

² Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil, eds., *Classroom Exercises* (vol. 2 of *The Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric*; WGRW 2; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002).

³ Michel Patillon and Giancarlo Bolognesi, eds., *Aelius Theon, Progymnasmata* (2nd ed.; Paris: Belles Lettres, 2002).

⁴ George A. Kennedy, trans., *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (WGRW 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

written updated surveys of the *Progymnasmata*,⁵ whereas others have focused on issues regarding individual *Progymnasmata*. Thus, Craig Gibson has refined and clarified the translation of two terms in the *Progymnasmata* of pseudo-Hermogenes and Aphthonius;⁶ Heath has proposed a later dating for Theon's *Progymnasmata*⁷ and conjectured Minucianus as the author of pseudo-Hermogenes's *Progymnasmata*;⁸ and Gibson has found textual evidence in Nicolaus's *Progymnasmata* for the long-held assumption that its author was a Christian.⁹

Scholarship on the classroom exercises that accompanied the theoretical sections of Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* has also begun to appear.¹⁰ Eugenio Amato has published a new edition of the sample narratives (*διηγήματα*) and speeches-in-character (*ῥητοποιίαι*) of one of Libanius's students, Severus of Alexandria,¹¹ but especially notable in this regard is the work of Gibson, who has translated the voluminous sample exercises either by or attributed to Libanius of Antioch.¹² Gibson has also examined the

⁵ Ruth Webb, "The Progymnasmata as Practice," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (ed. Y. L. Too; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 289–316; Malcolm Heath, "Theon and the History of the Progymnasmata," *GRBS* 43 (2003): 129–60; Manfred Kraus, "Aphthonius and the Progymnasmata in Rhetorical Theory and Practice," in *Sizing Up Rhetoric* (ed. David Zarefski and Elizabeth Benacka; Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland, 2008), 52–67.

⁶ Craig A. Gibson, "Two Technical Terms in Greek Progymnasmata Treatises," *RhM* 152 (2009): 141–49.

⁷ Heath, "History of the Progymnasmata," 141–58.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 132, 158–60.

⁹ Craig A. Gibson, "Was Nicolaus the Sophist a Christian?" *VC* 64 (2010): 496–500.

¹⁰ New classroom texts that have chreiai include one attributed to Digenes on O.Claud. 413, published in Jean Bingen et al., eds., *Mons Claudianus: Ostraca Graeca et Latina* (Paris: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1997), 263–65, and a restored chreia attributed to Olympias, the mother of Alexander, in P.Berol. inv. 21258v, published by Nikos Litinas, "A Chreia of Olympias?" *ZPE* 172 (2010): 197–98.

¹¹ Eugenio Amato, ed., *Severus Sophista Alexandrinus: Progymnasmata quae exstant omnia* (Teubner 2002; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 3–30.

¹² Craig A. Gibson, trans., *Libanius' Progymnasmata: Model Exercises in Greek Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (WGRW 27; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008).

anonymous sample exercises included in the commentary on Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* by John Doxapatres¹³ and has used a sample description (ἔκφρασις) of the Alexandrian temple of Tyche by pseudo-Nicolaus to date more securely this author to the late fourth or early fifth century.¹⁴

But when it comes to the extensive commentary tradition on Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* scholarship is still sparse, due in part to a reputation that these commentaries are "a dreary waste of pedantry and triviality."¹⁵ This opinion has, of course, some truth in it, given the repetition of earlier materials by later commentators and the beginner level of the material contained in these prrhetorical exercises. But that is hardly the entire story. Apart from the pedantry and triviality, there is much in these commentaries that deserves our attention, if we are to appreciate their role in late-antique and Byzantine education. Herbert Hunger has provided a useful summary and a starting point for work on them, and Kennedy's translation of the *Progymnasmata* also includes a partial translation of at least John of Sardis's commentary.¹⁶ But much work on the commentaries remains to be done, and it is the intention of this third volume to begin that work, the preliminary work, by providing full introductions to the six texts collected here as well as facing translations of the chapters on the chreia along with explanatory notes. It is hoped that others will go on to provide much-needed critical editions of these texts as well as more insightful and contextual analyses of them.

At any rate, each text in this volume will be based on the standard edition, usually Christian Walz's. Several changes, however, have been made to these texts, largely to aid the reader. Page

¹³ Craig A. Gibson, "The Anonymous Progymnasmata in John Doxapatres' *Homiliae in Aphthonium*," *ByzZ* 102 (2009): 83–94.

¹⁴ Craig A. Gibson, "The Alexandrian Tychaion and the Date of Ps.-Nicolaus' *Progymnasmata*," *CQ* 59 (2009): 608–23.

¹⁵ Such is the opinion of J. D. Denniston in his review of the introductory chapters of these commentaries (see his review of Hugo Rabe, ed., *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, *CR* 46 [1932]: 86).

¹⁶ Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (2 vols.; HAW 12.5.1–2; Munich: Beck, 1978), 1:78–79, and Kennedy, *Progymnasmata*, 173–228. Unfortunately, the following book came to my attention too late to be considered (see *ByzZ* 103 [2010]: 259): K. Alpers, *Untersuchungen zu Johannes Sardonios und seinem Kommentar zu den Progymnasmata des Aphthonios* (Braunschweig: Cramer, 2009).

numbers from the standard editions have been inserted in parentheses at the appropriate places. Quotations from Aphthonius's chapter on the chreia are printed in bold and further identified by the line number(s) from Hock/O'Neil, *Chreia* 1 (= H/ON; "Aphthonius" is abbreviated as "Aphth") in parentheses, along with the page and line numbers from Rabe's standard edition¹⁷ (= Rabe) in square brackets. The structure of the commentaries has been made explicit by providing a number and title in bold and in pointed brackets for each section of the commentary. In addition, "verse" numbers have been added within each section for easier referencing.

The earliest known commentary on the progymnasmata is that by Menander of Lycian Laodicea in the early third century. According to the Suda, he wrote a commentary on Minucianus's *Progymnasmata* as well as on the Hermogenean corpus.¹⁸ This commentary has not survived, and in fact the whole of the extant commentary tradition is entirely Byzantine and devoted to explaining not Minucianus's but Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata*. By the sixth century Aphthonius's had become the standard set of progymnasmata and so was included in the Corpus Hermogenianum, the five-part rhetorical canon that was made up of Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* along with four writings attributed to Hermogenes of Tarsus—Περὶ Στάσεων (*On Issues*), Περὶ εὐρέσεως (*On Invention*), Περὶ ἰδεῶν (*On Types of Style*), and Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος (*On Method*).¹⁹

The earliest commentary on Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* is by John of Sardis, who belongs to the mid-ninth century. His chapter on the chreia is thus the first text in this volume, and the subsequent five texts range from the turn of the millenium to the

¹⁷ Hugo Rabe, ed., *Aphthonii Progymnasmata* (Rhetores Graeci 10; Leipzig: Teubner, 1926).

¹⁸ See Suda 3:361: Μένανδρος Λαοδικεύς τῆς παρὰ τῷ Λύκῳ τῷ ποταμῷ σοφιστῆς. ἔγραψεν ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὴν Ἑρμογένους τέχνην καὶ Μινουκιανοῦ προγυμνάσματα; and Malcolm Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 34, 51, 69, 93.

¹⁹ For the texts of these Hermogenean treatises, see Hugo Rabe, ed., *Hermogenis Opera* (Rhetores Graeci 6; Leipzig: Teubner, 1913). Only two of the treatises are now considered authentic, *On Issues* and *On Types of Style*, but since the commentators assumed all to be by Hermogenes, they will be so treated here. For a summary of the content of these treatises, see Hunger, *Literatur*, 1:76–77.

late fifteenth century. They include the P-scholia from around the year 1000, Doxapatres's commentary from the late eleventh century, the *Rhetorica Marciana* from the late twelfth, Maximus Planudes's commentary from the late thirteenth, and Matthew Camariotes's epitome from some decades after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The range in size of these commentaries is equally broad, as John Doxapatres's is the longest at 483 pages, whereas Matthew Camariotes's comes in at a meager six.

What scholarship there is on these commentaries tends to focus, as will become clear in the introductions to the individual commentaries, on dating and sources and on making only the most general of statements about their contents. Close analysis of the contents of the commentaries themselves is largely missing, so it is to that task that the introductions to the individual commentaries are devoted. At this point, however, only some preliminary observations need be made.

The commentaries on Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* have a number of functions, but most of them can be subsumed under the need to expand on Aphthonius's rather spare treatment of the progymnasmata. For example, the *Suda* correctly sensed that Aphthonius wrote his *Progymnasmata* as preparation for the technical treatises of Hermogenes.²⁰ But nowhere in his *Progymnasmata* does Aphthonius indicate how his lessons actually prepare students for the compositional and argumentative skills they will need for the more advanced task of composing speeches. The commentaries do, stressing how useful (*χρήσιμον*) each progymnasma is for teaching the basics of the three kinds of public speech and the four parts of a speech. Aphthonius gave no rationale for the order (*τάξις*) of the fourteen progymnasmata, but the commentaries provide elaborate justifications of his order, particularly with respect to the *chreia*. Aphthonius provided only the simplest division (*διαίρεσις*) of the subforms of any progymnasma, but the commentaries, especially in the *chreia* chapter, provide a subdivision (*ὑποδιαίρεσις*) and an alternate division (*ἐπιδιαίρεσις*). Aphthonius simply listed the virtues (*ἀρεταί*) of a good narrative, but the commentaries go on to provide detailed instructions

²⁰ See *Suda* 1:432: Ἀφθόνιος, σοφιστής, ἔγραψεν εἰς τὴν Ἑρμογένους τέχνην Προγυμνάσματα.

on how to achieve them. Aphthonius simply listed the headings (*κεφάλαια*) that are to be used in elaborating a chreia, but the commentaries explain their specific functions, suggest ways of composing them, and even justify their order. Aphthonius simply listed the stylistic features required of a speech-in-character, but the commentaries provide instruction on how to attain them. In short, the expansive nature of the commentaries would have made Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* that much easier to use as a textbook for teaching basic compositional skills and especially the methods of argumentation.

In addition, the commentaries identify what subjects are essential to each progymnasma, debate competing interpretations of what Aphthonius really said, incorporate Christian quotations and orators, clarify various words and phrases with synonyms, comment on grammatical features, point out Aphthonius's effective rhetorical figures and strategies in the model exercises, add further examples of model progymnasmata, and even point out variant readings in the manuscripts.

All these features, and still others, will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters, but for now it should be clear that the commentaries provide extensive, useful, and at times sophisticated expansions of Aphthonius's spare treatment. And perhaps it should also now be clear that, far from offering "a dreary waste of pedantry and triviality," these commentaries helped teachers take students through the sequence of progymnasmata or, as Doxapatres put it, "the flight of stairs" (*ἀναβαθμοί*) that would provide them with the skills necessary eventually to study rhetoric,²¹ which was the ultimate goal of the educational curriculum.

It remains my pleasant duty to record the debts incurred in doing this volume. First, those of us who work on the rhetorical texts of Late Antiquity and Byzantium cannot be anything but profoundly indebted to the indefatigable work that Christian Walz and Hugo Rabe put into collecting and editing the rhetorical manuscripts on which we are still dependent.²² My debt to them will become apparent on almost every page of this volume. Thanks are also due to the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity

²¹ See Doxapatres 2:138,16 (Walz) (= *PS* 147,18 [Rabe]).

²² Hunger (*Literatur*, 1:78) lists others, such as Stephan Glöckner and Otmar Schissel, whose work also forms the basis of much contemporary scholarship on Byzantine rhetoric.

and its director Dennis R. MacDonald for their continuing support and encouragement of the Chreia Project. Specific thanks go to members of the Chreia Project who helped in the initial draft translations of the texts in this volume, with special thanks to Professor David Lull of Warburg Theological Seminary for his further work on the introductions and texts of Maximus Planudes and Matthew Camariotes. In addition, I am very grateful indeed to Professor Craig Gibson of the University of Iowa for his help on a number of difficult passages, but also for his meticulous reading of the entire manuscript and his numerous suggestions for its improvement. Thanks also to the Interlibrary Loan staff of Doheny Library at the University of Southern California for their assistance in securing a number of articles that were difficult to find and to Dani Byrd, Dean of Faculty of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at USC, for granting me a sabbatical during the 2009–10 school year, during which substantial work on the volume was done. Thanks are also due to John T. Fitzgerald, the general editor of the Writings from the Greco-Roman World series, for accepting this volume, and to Craig Gibson, the editor of this volume, for his careful and meticulous reading of it, which saved me from numerous infelicities and mistakes. Thanks also to Editorial Director Bob Buller and his staff at the Society of Biblical Literature for seeing this volume through the press.

Finally, even though the late codirector of the Chreia Project, Professor Edward N. O’Neil of the Classics Department at USC, died in 2001 while the second volume was in press, his assistance has continued up to the present, thanks to his “infamous yellow pages,” as they have become known, which provide not only his draft translations of most of the texts in this volume but also his thinking on the grammar and vocabulary of various difficult sentences. Because of his continuing help in this indirect way I have dedicated this volume to his memory.

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January 2011