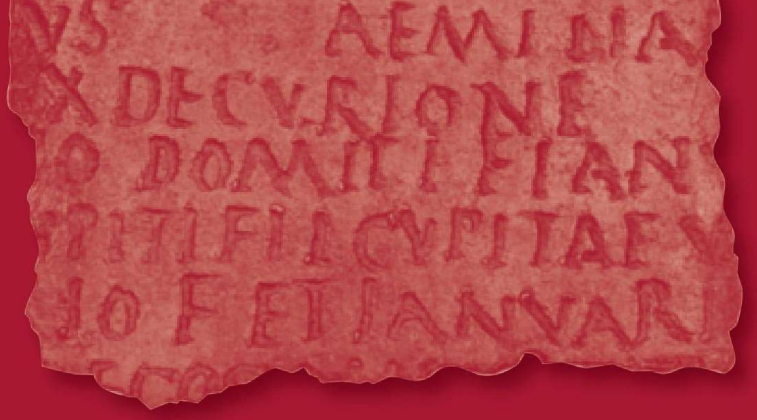

Herausgegeben von:

Thomas Corsten
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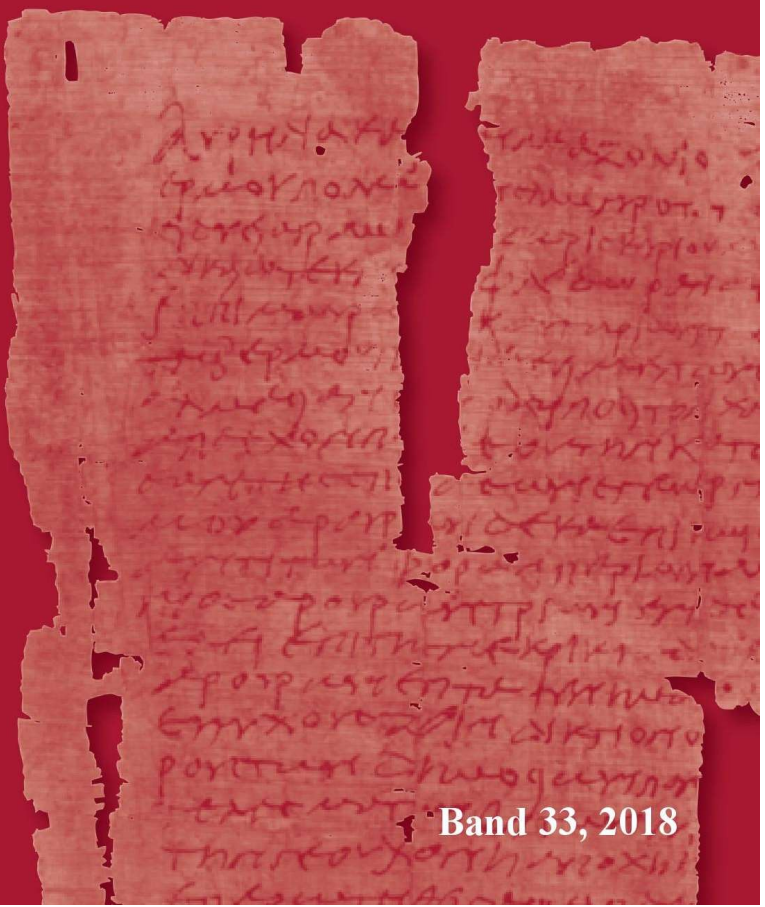

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DIMITRIOS PAPANIKOLAOU

On the Reluctant Orator of Ephesos

In 1989, D. Knibbe, H. Engelmann and B. Iplikçioğlu published a newly-found inscription from Ephesos.[1] In its seventeen extant lines, the inscription preserves a rhetorical text, the end of the letter of an accomplished orator to the authorities of Ephesos. In this letter, the orator [from now on: the Reluctant Orator] expresses his reluctance to hand over to the authorities of Ephesos a transcript of an oration that the city very much liked to be inscribed and put at a public place; at the end, after he has expressed his initial reluctance, he agrees to hand over the text of the oration (an improvised text honouring the city) to be inscribed.[2] Since its publication, this prime specimen of late antique Greek prose has received an important treatment by M. Debrunner Hall, a discussion that offered further insights into the highly rhetorical nature of the composition.[3] Aim of this paper is to examine further traits of the rhetoric of the Reluctant Orator not treated so far; it will also attempt to offer a new approach to the question of the identity of this important Greek orator of later antiquity.[4]

The text of the surviving portion of the inscription runs as follows:[5]

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[1] D. Knibbe, H. Engelmann, B. Iplikçioğlu, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos XI*, JÖAI 59 (1989) 227–230 Nr. 61.

[2] Reluctance to hand over a transcript of the oration: ll. 2–12. Agreement to hand it over: ll. 12–17.

[3] M. Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor – A Recently Published Inscription from Late Imperial Ephesos*, ZPE 91 (1992) 121–128, with English translation of the text on p. 122. Her text has influenced the subsequent republication of the text in SEG 39 (1989) [*sed* 1992] no. 1193 [W. Pleket], and B. Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale*, Paris 2002, no. 280.

[4] The word 'Greek' is used in this paper without reference to the real ethnic identity of the people mentioned. Given the fact that Greek was at that time (fourth/fifth century AD) the absolute language of higher learning in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire (Greece proper, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Cyrenaica), as Latin was in the West, the term "Greek" in this paper is used on a purely linguistic basis: it simply signifies a writer who writes in Greek. On the universality of Greek in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire during the fifth century AD, see F. Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire. Power and Belief under Theodosius II (408–450)* (Sather Classical Lectures 64), Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 2006, 13–34.

[5] The text is that of Knibbe, Engelmann, Iplikçioğlu, *Neue Inschriften* (n. 1), with φιλοσκώμμονα (instead of φιλοσκομμορία) in l. 2, after the plausible suggestion of Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor* (n. 3) 121. The punctuation follows Debrunner Hall, ibid.

1] ... σαν̣αδ[
2 φθόνου κεκρυμμένου φιλοσκώμμο̣ν̣α γλῶτταν ἐγείροντος, ὃς καὶ μέ[μφεται]
3 εἰ τύχοι τις παρὰ τηλικαύτης πόλεως ἥστινος οὖν ἀμοιβῆς εἰς λόγον τοῦ τ̣ο̣ι̣ούτου γέρως
4 ψόγου καθαρεύειν οὐκ ἐᾶι τὸ γινόμενον. ἔπειθ’ ὅτι μέγα μοι συνάγεται τ[ῶν χ]ρεῶν τὸ
5 φορτίον τῶν παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως ἀγαθῶν, πρὸς ἀπόδοσιν οὐκ ἀρκούσης ἐμοὶ τῆς
6 παρούσης δυνάμεως, καθάπερ οἱ τὰ πολλὰ δανειζόμενοι δυσχεραίνουσιν πρὸς ἀπόδοσιν
7 ἀθρόαν, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τοὺς χρήστας εὐγνωμοσύνης ἑλκόμενοι καὶ τὸ χρέως ἀδυνατοῦν-
8 τες ἐκτῖσαι. καὶ τρίτον ὅτι λόγους ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου παιχθέντας διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς τοῦ
9 νόμου τιμῆς, ἵνα ‘τὸ τῆς σιωπῆς ἀκίνδυνον’ φύγωμεν ‘γέρας’, ἐγγράφειν ἀξιοῦτε τὸν
10 ἔπαινον εἰς τοὺς ἔπειτα παραπέμποντες ὥσπερ ἐκτείνοντες τοῖς γράμμασιν τὴν
11 μνήμην εἰς χρόνου μῆκος ἄπειρον, ἐλεγχομένου τοῦ παίξαντος διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ
12 βήματος ὡς ἐν φίλοις ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς συγγραφὴν τότε τολμήσαντος. ἀλλ’, εἰ
13 καὶ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ λυσιτελὲς ἑκατέρῳ φανερόν,
14 νικάτω τὸ δόγμα τῆς πόλεως πάντως. ὁ νικηθεὶς οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσεται
15 διὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἁπάντων κρατεῖν ἀεὶ νικῶσαν εὔχομαι τοὺς μὲν
16 φίλους εὖ ποιοῦσαν ἑκόντας τοὺς δὲ ἐναντίους ἐξ ἀνάγκης
17 ἄκοντας.

[added later]
18 κύριε βοήθι πάσ̣ᾳ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ γράψαντι.

The inscription uncovered at Ephesos reveals a prose piece which constitutes an important testimony for the artistic Greek prose of the later antiquity. Debrunner Hall has already made reference to the various characteristics of the style of this prose piece: its strong use of Attic vocabulary of the classical times, its use of complicated periodic style, its application of a variety of tropes (chiasm, antitheton, variatio), of poetical quotation, of reminiscences from celebrated rhetorical texts of the past and the present (Aelius Aristeides, Libanius) — all of them signs of a highly ornate text belonging to the later Roman period of Greek rhetoric.[6] By and large, the prose piece betrays an

[6] Cf. Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor* (n. 3) 123–126.

orator whose rhetorical achievement *per se* (irrespective of its literary merit)[7] is indicative of a robust Greek erudition.

On that point, I would wish to call attention to another characteristic of the style of this prose piece, which has not hitherto received much attention, despite the fact that it has something to say about the date of the text and the inscription. This characteristic is the use of accentual rhythm and the complete abandonment of the quantitative one.[8] In the seventeen preserved lines of the text, the overwhelming majority of pauses inside the text are compliant with the rules of accentual rhythm as these are applied among the great Greek orators of the later antiquity. The Reluctant Orator uses rhythm based on accent and on the presence of an even number of syllables between the last and the penultimate accented syllables before his pauses, as the catalogue cited beneath seems to suggest [strong syntactical pauses are marked with an asterisk]:[9]

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[7] Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor* (n. 3) 124; 127 expresses a negative view of the Reluctant Orator's style. For a different evaluation, see later on in this paper.

[8] The existence of accentual rhythm in postclassical Greek prose was first noted by W. Meyer, Der accentuirte Satzschluss in der griechischen Prosa vom 4.–16. Jahrhundert. Um einen Anhang *ergänzt*, Göttingen 1891 [= id., *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik II*, Berlin 1905, 202–235], who first attempted to analyse the laws of this rhythmicality. Meyer's initial remarks were supplemented by subsequent scholarly discussions, who brought into light a form of rhythm, according to which (at least in the stage of development of accentual rhythm discussed in this paper: i.e. from the later third century AD to the seventh) orators and sophists strove to achieve an even number of syllables between the two last accented syllables before each pause, and usually together with the use of προπαροξυτόνησις of the last word: see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Lesefrüchte*, Hermes 34 (1899) 214–218; P. Maas, *Die Rhythmik der Satzschlüsse bei dem Historiker Prokopios*, BZ 21 (1912) 52–53; A. W. de Groot, *Untersuchungen zum byzantinischen Prosarhythmus (Prokopios van Cäsarea)*, Groningen 1918; E. Fehrle, *Satzschluß und Rhythmus bei Isidoros von Pelusion*, BZ 24 (1924) 315–319; S. Skimina, *De Ioannis Chrysostomi rhythmo oratorio* (Archiwum filologiczne Polskiej Akademij umiej 6), Cracow 1927; id., *État actuel des études sur le rhythme de la prose grecque II*, Lwów 1930; id., *De Gregorii Nazianzeni orationum rhythmo*, in: *Acta II Congressus philologorum classicorum slavorum*, Prague 1931, 229–235; A. Cavallin, *Studien zu den Briefen des hl. Basilius*, Lund 1944, 99–107; G. C. Hansen, *Rhythmisches und Metrisches zu Themistios*, BZ 55 (1962) 235–240; W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Wiener Byzantinische Studien 16), Vienna 1981; C. Klock, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Rhythmus bei Gregor von Nyssa. Ein Beitrag zum Rhetorikverständnis der griechischen Väter* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, Heft 173), Frankfurt am Main 1987, 221–271.

[9] On this most basic tenet of late antique accentual rhythm, see Klock, *Untersuchungen* (n. 8) 227–229; Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus* (n. 8) 31, 46, both based on the work of P. Maas, *Rhythmisches zu der Kunstprosa des Konstantinos Manasses*, BZ 11 (1902) 505–512 (whose research results apply partially also to the practice of late antique writers), and Skimina, *De Ioannis Chrysostomi rhythmo* (n. 8). In late antique accentual rhythm, enclitics, articles, prepositions, particles, conjunctions, monosyllable adverbs are considered as unaccented in the majority of cases, a fact which is taken into account in the present study: on the categories of words considered as atonal in Greek accentual rhythm during the later antiquity, see Skimina, *État actuel II* (n. 8) 2–3; Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus* (n. 8) 34; Klock, *Untersuchungen* (n. 8) 227.

γλῶτταν ἐγείροντος* (l. 2, two syllables); ἥστινος οὖν ἀμοιβῆς (l. 3, five syllables); ἐâι τὸ γινόμενον* (l. 4, two syllables); χ]ρεῶν τὸ φορτίον (ll. 4–5, two syllables); πόλεως ἀγαθῶν* (l. 5, four syllables); παρούσης δυνάμεως* (l. 6, two syllables); πρὸς ἀπόδοσιν ἀθρόαν* (ll. 6–7, three syllables); εὐγνωμοσύνης ἑλκόμενοι (l.7, two syllables); ἀδυνατοῦντες ἐκτῖσαι* (ll. 7–8, two syllables); ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου παιχθέντας (l. 8, two syllables); νόμου τιμῆς* (l. 9, two syllables); φύγωμεν γέρας* (l. 9, two syllables); ἀξιοῦτε τὸν ἔπαινον (ll. 9–10, two syllables); ἔπειτα παραπέμποντες* (l. 10, four syllables); τοῖς γράμμασιν τὴν μνήμην (ll. 10–11, two syllables); εἰς χρόνου μῆκος ἄπειρον* (l. 11, ´ – – ´ – –, see discussion later on); ἐλεγχομένου τοῦ παίξαντος (l. 11, two syllables); βήματος ὡς ἐν φίλοις* (l. 12, four syllables); τότε τολμήσαντος* (l. 12, two syllables); τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον* (l. 13, two syllables); ἑκατέρῳ φανερόν* (l. 13, three syllables); τῆς πόλεως πάντως* (l. 14, two syllables); αἰσχυνθήσεται διὰ τὴν πόλιν* (ll. 14–15, four syllables, συνίζησις in διά); νικῶσαν εὔχομαι* (l. 15, ´ – – ´ – –, see discussion later on); εὖ ποιοῦσαν ἑκόντας* (l. 16, two syllables); ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄκοντας* (ll. 16–17, ´ – – ´ – –, see discussion later on).

At first, it should be noted that due caution should always prevail when analysing (or extracting statistics from) a fragmentary text. We can never be sure if a phenomenon, found at a certain frequency in the surviving text, was met under the very same frequency also in the lost portion of the text. There is due suspicion that it was, but the question is always raised, if the frequency of this phenomenon (or rather the phenomenon itself) was confined to a certain part of the text which happens to have survived (e.g. the end of the letter, for instance).

Nevertheless, as the above cited clausulae demonstrate, the prose of the Reluctant Orator complies with the rules of accentual rhythm, as these are known from the rhetorical practice of other Greek orators of the later antiquity (nn. 8, 13, 14). If we take into account both grammatical/syntactical and sense pauses, 20 out of 26 discernible pauses (76% of the total) have an even number of syllables between the penultimate and the last accented syllables before the pause. In the 16 out of those 26 pauses (61% of the total), the Reluctant Orator actually achieves an accentual clausula consisting of strictly *two* syllables between the last and the penultimate accented syllable.[10] The percentages of application of accentual rhythm in the Ephesian prose piece do not considerably fall, even if we take into account only strong syntactical pauses (marked above with an asterisk). Fourteen out of 19 pauses of this type (73% of the total) have an even number of syllables between the penultimate and the last accented syllables;

[10] This accentual clausula was particularly sought by the majority of orators of the period who used accentual rhythm (Aphthonios, Severos of Alexandreia, Nikolaos of Myra, Prokopios of Gaza, Chorikios of Gaza) and especially by Himerius and Gregory of Nyssa, where the clausula reaches an unprecedented percentage (close to 70%): see remarks and percentages in Klock, Untersuchungen (n. 8) 228; 242; 244–245; 247–250; Hörandner, Der Prosarhythmus (n. 8) 41–42; 51–54; 61–71; 74–78; 160–162.

ten out of 19 (52,5% of the total) have strictly *two* syllables between the last and the penultimate accented syllable.

As it always happens in this form of rhythmicality, the Reluctant Orator avoids the juxtaposition of accented syllables at the end of his pauses.[11] Even when he is bound to violate accentual rhythm (i.e. having to accept one, three or five syllables between the two last accented syllables), he mostly uses accentual clausula ´ – – ´ – – (l. 11: μῆκος ἄπειρον, l. 15: νικῶσαν εὔχομαι, ll. 16–17: ἀνάγκης ἄκοντας), trying at least to achieve two syllables *after* the last accented syllable of the period through the προπαροξυτόνησις of the last word.[12] By and large, the Reluctant Orator uses endings in προπαροξύτονον in 11 out of 26 cases of discernible pauses (42%), or in 8 out of 19 strong syntactical pauses (42%). This fact denotes that he is definitely not indifferent to the use of παροξύτονα at the end of the cola; his percentage of application of proparoxytonal endings is almost the same as that of Themistius.[13] The percentage of the application of late antique accentual rhythm in the Reluctant Orator's prose (73–76% of all pauses, the 52–61% being the two-syllable clausula and 42% being endings in προπαροξύτονον), *if it indeed depicts the actual distribution of the relevant phenomena inside the text in its full form* (i.e. both the preserved and the lost part of the letter), draws the rhetorical practice of this Orator close to the well-documented practice of other Greek orators of the later antiquity: namely Gregory of Nyssa and Himerius (in terms of the two-syllable clausula) and Themistius (in terms of προπαροξυτόνησις).[14]

Another trend visible in the practice of the Reluctant Orator is the almost complete abandonment of quantitative rhythm in his prose. In the 25 pauses of the surviving prose of the Reluctant Orator there is no visible trend towards the attainment of prose rhythm based on the interplay of long and short syllables; at least the limited canon of clausulae used par excellence by the epideictic orators of the Hellenistic and Roman times is missing[15] and there is no evidence that he uses any particular form of quantitative

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[11] Juxtaposition of accented syllables at the end of the colon or period is definitely avoided: see Klock, *Untersuchungen* (n. 8) 228; 236.

[12] On the προπαροξυτόνησις of the last word as a technique of some of the orators who applied accentual rhythm in their prose (and especially Himerius, Themistius and Gregory of Nazianzos), see Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus* (n. 8) 27; 32; 42; 52; Klock, *Untersuchungen* (n. 8) 228; 237; 247; 249; 251.

[13] On the similar application of proparoxytonal endings in Themistius (43–46% of his endings), see Klock, *Untersuchungen* (n. 8) 249. Nevertheless, Themistius is fond of the four-syllable clausula (almost 40%), something which does not happen in the prose of the Reluctant Orator: Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus* (n. 8) 54.

[14] See percentages of the application of accentual rhythm among those Greek stylists (anywhere between 75–90% of all pauses) in Klock, *Untersuchungen* (n. 8) 240–255; Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus* (n. 8) 160–162. Libanius and his disciple John Chrysostomus avoid this type of rhythm in their prose, as it also happens with emperor Julian: Klock, *Untersuchungen* (n. 8) 245–246; Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus* (n. 8) 54–55; 60–61, with older bibliography.

[15] On the quantitative rhythmicality of Hellenistic and Roman-era Greek sophists ("Asianists"), based on cretic-choreus, dichoreus, dicretic, hypodochmiacs and various choriambic metres, see E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert vor Christus bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, Leipzig ^{3}1915 (= ^{1}1898) 135–137; 140–141; 410–416; 420–421; J. Waldis,

rhythm of any kind whatsoever.[16] His prose proceeds based on accentual rhythm only, a fact which raises the suspicion that he belongs to a period in the history of Greek oratory characterised by the complete abandonment of quantitative rhythmicality for the sake of an accentual one.

Abandonment of quantitative rhythm cannot be seen in rhetorical practice before the end of the third century AD, when accentual rhythm is seen for the first time (at the expense of the quantitative one) in the Σμινθιακὸς λόγος of Menander Rhetor.[17] The practice (a particularly avant-garde one at that time) seems to have become really robust only during the fourth century AD. During that century, accentual rhythm seems to have utterly substituted the quantitative one in artistic Greek prose, as the texts of the great Greek orators of the time demonstrate (n. 14). In the fifth century AD, a literary

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Sprache und Stil der grossen griechischen Inschrift vom Nemrud-Dagh in Kommagene (Nordsyrien). Ein Beitrag zur Koine Forschung, Diss. Zürich, Heidelberg 1920, 58–62; S. Skimina, *État actuel des études sur le rhythme de la prose grecque I* (Bulletin Internationale de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, Classe de Philologie-Classe d' histoire et de Philosophie III), Cracow 1937, 137–152; 174–175; 180–183; 191–192; D. Papanikolaou, *The Aretalogy of Isis from Maroneia and the Question of Hellenistic Asianism*, ZPE 168 (2009) 61–63; id., *IG V.2, 268 (= SIG³ 783) as a Monument of Hellenistic Prose*, ZPE 182 (2012) 142–143.

[16] It should be noted here that the three most beloved quantitative clausulae of a postclassical sophist (cretic-choreus, dichoreus, dicretic: see n. 15 above) are virtually absent in the Ephesos piece; this fact constitutes decisive evidence that the Reluctant Orator did not have any particular form of quantitative rhythm in his mind when he composed this prose. No postclassical sophist who used quantitative rhythm would ever strive to achieve paeonic endings like ἐᾶι τὸ γινόμενον (⏑⏑⏑⏓, l. 3) or dactyl-cretics like αἰσχυνθήσεται διὰ τὴν πόλιν (–⏑⏑–⏑⏓, ll. 14–15), or double choriambs like εὐγνωμοσύνης ἑλκόμενοι (–⏑⏑– –⏑⏑⏓, l. 7), or heroic metres like μῆκος ἄπειρον (–⏑⏑–⏓, l. 11), ποιοῦσαν ἐκόντας (–⏑⏑–⏓, l. 16) or unidentifiable metres like πρὸς ἀπόδοσιν ἀθρόαν (⏑⏑⏑⏑–⏑⏓, ll. 6–7).

[17] The presence of accentual rhythm in the Σμινθιακὸς λόγος, cited in large portions inside the treatise Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν of Menander Rhetor as a model of prose hymn (437,5–446,13 Spengel), was first noted by Wilamowitz, *Lesefrüchte* (n. 8) 217–218. On Menander Rhetor and his Σμινθιακὸς λόγος, see text in C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci ex codicibus Florentinis Mediolanensibus Monacensibus Neapolitanis Parisiensibus Romanis Venetis Taurinensibus et Vindobonensibus 9*, Stuttgart, Tübingen, London, Paris 1836, 319–330; L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci 3*, Leipzig 1856, 437–446; C. Bursian, *Der Rhetor Menandros und seine Schriften* (Abhandlungen der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philol. Classe 16.3), Munich 1882, 142–151; D. A. Russell, N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor*, Oxford 1981, 206–224 (text and translation); 350–361 (commentary). On Menander Rhetor, his work and his world, see discussions in G. A. Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World. 300 BC–AD 300*, Princeton 1972, 636–637; id., *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, Princeton 1983, 25–26; 68–69; id., *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, Princeton 1994, 227–228; J. Soffel, *Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede in ihrer Tradition dargestellt, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert*, Meisenheim am Glan 1974; F. Gascò, *Menander Rhetor and the Works attributed to him*, ANRW II 34.4 (1998) 3110–3146; M. Heath, *Menander: A Rhetor in Context*, Oxford 2004. A papyrological find of the early 1970s seems to close the old issue of the attribution of the treatises to Menander for good: H. Maehler, *Menander Rhetor and Alexander Claudius in a Papyrus Letter*, GRBS 15 (1974) 305–311. On Wilamowitz's unfounded thesis that Minucianus and Dexippus used accentual rhythm, see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen 2*, Berlin 1932, 521 n. 1.

critic called Lachares would deplore the absolute loss of quantitative rhythm in rhetorical practice through a specialised treatise on the subject.[18] Unfortunately, subsequent generations of Greek orators did not prove sensitive to Lachares' laments: quantitative rhythm seems to have been utterly forgotten by that time and no traces of even the slightest revival of it are visible in the Greek prose of the following late antique and medieval centuries.

Given the above analysis, the prose piece of the Reluctant Orator could not have been written before the first decades of the fourth century AD. Given the solely accentual prose rhythm of his prose, a date in the fourth century AD (if not the fifth) seems at the moment to be iron-clad. Therefore, the Reluctant Orator emerges as another example of the trends in Greek oratory during later antiquity, trends already known from the extensive extant prose of the great rhetorical luminaries of the time (nn. 10–14); those trends can be verified and further substantiated today with the aid of lucky epigraphical (Reluctant Orator) or papyrological finds.[19]

But who could this Reluctant Orator be? Given the lack of any further evidence on the stone, any identification of the Reluctant Orator with a certain late antique orator known to us is at the moment precarious, if not impossible. It is extremely probable that the Reluctant Orator will keep his identity secret from us for the foreseeable future. Debrunner Hall regarded the Reluctant Orator as a minor Greek orator of the time and she based this assumption on her negative criticism of the Reluctant Orator's style: according to her, this style, overburdened as it is with tropes, heavily archaising, artificial and affected, is most probably not the product of a great Greek orator of the time who is known to us.[20]

On that point, I would wish to express my disagreement over this approach. Our own age, familiarised as it is with the plain and unassuming prose of the modern European and American novel, used to raise its shoulders with indifference (if not hostility) towards the 'baroque' style of much of Greek oratorical prose during the Hellenistic and imperial Roman periods. Much of the Greek oratory of the time (if not all of it) was

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[18] On the Athenian rhetorician Lachares (ca. AD 410–480) and the remains of his work in defence of quantitative rhythm, see H. Graeven, *Ein Fragment des Lachares*, Hermes 30 (1895) 289–313; L. Radermacher, *Lachares* (4), RE 12.1 (1924) cols. 332–334; W. von Christ, W. Schmid, O. Stählin, *Wilhelm von Christs Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur. Teil II: Die nachklassische Periode der griechischen Litteratur. Zweite Hälfte: von 100 bis 530 nach Christus* (HdAW VII. II, 2), Munich ^{6}1924, 1101–1102; Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric* (n. 17) 167–168; PLRE 2.652 (Lachares 2); M. Weißenberger, *Lachares* (2), DNP 6 (1999) col. 1040. It is indicative of the trends of the time that, throughout his work, the rhetorician Lachares uses accentual rhythmicality: see Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus* (n. 8) 72–73.

[19] Accentual rhythm is most probably used in the anonymus Panegyric for Emperor Julian, preserved in papyrus fragments in London and Vienna: see reconstruction of the text in A. Guida, *Un anonimo panegirico per l'imperatore Giuliano (Anon. Paneg. Iul. Imp.)*, Florence 1990, and esp. p. 78 regarding style and prose rhythm.

[20] See Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor* (n. 3) 124 ("not an original mind, nor a great stylist, but he provides a lively example of what thousands of mediocre rhetors could produce after being trained in the discipline"); 127 ("it might seem strange that a city like Ephesos takes an interest in the work of so mediocre — at least in our eyes — a rhetor").

readily dismissed in the past as artificially archaising, too much leaning on the Greek (and especially Attic) past, not exactly in connection with real life, the product of a politically weak and enslaved community.[21] In extreme cases, variants of ornate post-classical Greek style could be treated as the manifestation of the decadent oratory of some ghost rhetorical school from Asia Minor ("Asianism").[22]

This approach comes into sharp contrast with how the Greek-speaking world of those times viewed this oratory. In fact, there is extensive evidence (from the late Hellenistic period down to the Later Antiquity) suggesting that the performance of the postclassical Greek orator was a major social event of the Greek πόλις; the exuberance of an orator's style contributed to the social acceptance and success of the entire event and this is at least what emerges from certain passages of Ps-Demetrius' Περὶ ἑρμηνείας (first century BC),[23] Aelius Aristeides (second century AD),[24] or Eunapius (early fifth

[21] An epitome of all those unfounded opinions of older researchers on postclassical Greek literature in general (and rhetoric in particular) may be found in the highly problematical paper of B. A. van Groningen, *General Literary Tendencies in the Second Century AD*, Mnemosyne [ser.4] 18 (1965) 41–56, and esp. 51–56. For an important discussion of van Groningen's incoherent views, see T. Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire. The Politics of Imitation*, Oxford, New York 2001, esp. 41–45.

[22] On the notorious issue of the "Asian" school in postclassical Greek rhetoric, a supposed school of decadent rhetoric, see the older discussions of W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern, von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus 1*, Stuttgart 1887, 1–20; id., *Über den kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang und die Bedeutung der griechischen Renaissance in der Römerzeit*, Antrittsrede Tübingen, Leipzig 1898; Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (n. 15), 126–152; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Asianismus und Attizismus*, Hermes 35 (1900) 1–52. The historical validity of an "Asian" school of oratory has been called into question by T. Whitmarsh, *The Second Sophistic*, Oxford 2005, 50–52, and W. Hutton, *Describing Greece. Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias*, Cambridge 2005, 222–240; its existence is rejected by Papanikolaou, *The Aretalogy of Isis* (n. 15) 59–70; id., *IG V.2, 268* (n. 15) 148–152, and by A. J. S. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge 2012, 18–26.

[23] See Ps.-Demetr. Eloc. 15, where a periodic form of style, which is called σοφιστικόν and is associated with Isocrates and Gorgias, is described for its effects upon mass audiences: τῶν δὲ τὰς πυκνὰς περιόδους λεγόντων οὐδ' αἱ κεφαλαὶ ῥᾳδίως ἑστᾶσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν οἰνωμένων, οἵ τε ἀκούοντες ναυτιῶσι διὰ τὸ ἀπίθανον, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐκφωνοῦσι τὰ τέλη τῶν περιόδων προειδότες καὶ προαναβοῶσι. Demetrius' treatise Περὶ ἑρμηνείας is usually dated in the early first century BC: Kennedy, *A New History* (n. 17) 88; A. Dihle, *Zur Datierung der Schrift des Demetrios über den Stil*, RhM 150 (2007) 298–313.

[24] Comments on the effects of a sophists' performance (and clausulae) can be found in Aelius Aristides' oration Κατὰ τῶν ἐξορχουμένων. See Aristid., Or. 35 Keil, 46–47 (Or. 50 Dindorf, p. 564), where the sophist ἀκροτελεύτιον δ' ἐπεφθέγγετο ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν κομματίων ὥσπερ ἐν μέλει ταὐτόν. οἱ δ' ἀκροαταὶ καὶ ἐρώμενοι οὕτω σφόδρα ἐξεπλήττοντο καὶ κατείχοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ μέλους ὥσθ' ὅτε δὴ ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς τῷ ῥήματι, ἐκγελάσαντες αὐτοὶ ὑπέβαλον, οὐκ ἀνταποδιδόντες ὥσπερ ἠχὼ τὴν φωνήν, ἀλλὰ προλαμβάνοντες· καὶ δῆτα ἡδὺς ἦν ὁ κορυφαῖος ἰὼν κατόπιν τοῦ χοροῦ. προσῆπτον δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο 'τοῦ κόρδακος οὕνεκα', ὥστ' ἐλεεινὸν τὸ χρῆμα τῆς συναυλίας εἶναι τοῦ τε σοφιστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐφ' οἷς ἐπτόητο. The Aristidean phrase οὐκ ἀνταποδιδόντες ὥσπερ ἠχὼ τὴν φωνήν, ἀλλὰ προλαμβάνοντες should be matched with Ps-Demetrius' phrase (Eloc. 15) ἐκφωνοῦσι τὰ τέλη τῶν περιόδων προειδότες καὶ

century AD).[25] As the Ephesian inscription reveals, this performance and its rhetorical style could also be officially honoured by the Greek δῆμοι of the time.[26] It was definitely not a form of rhetoric which was considered to be decadent: it was fully compatible with the prevalent fashion of the time and it was exactly what the authorities of cities and what much of the populace (erudite or not) wanted to hear from an orator visiting their city (cf. nn. 23–26).

In fact, the surviving portion of the inscription reveals a text not devoid of some degree of sophistication: impeccable use of Attic Greek, periodic style, poetical allusion and quotation, tropes of any kind, accentual rhythm, and, moreover, a very delicate treatment of its theme. We only have to rethink the overall structure of the argument in the surviving text. The Reluctant Orator expresses (with much gentleness indeed) his initial reluctance to hand over his Ephesian oration to the authorities of Ephesos to be inscribed on stone. He uses short *recusationes* to explain this reluctance, of which only three are visible today into the surviving part of the text: (1) there is fear that he will be ridiculed by antagonistic orators for having his oration inscribed at Ephesos (I do not

προαναβοῶσι: both phrases constitute clear markers of the reception of a prose replete with sonorous clausulae by audiences of the time.

[25] In one passage (VS 489 Wright), Eunapius describes a performance of the Christian sophist Prohaeresius in front of an unnamed Roman proconsul of Achaea: τοῦ δέ (sc. Προαιρεσίου) εἰπόντος ὡς «καὶ ἕτερον αἰτήσω βαρύτερον», εἶτα κελευσθέντος εἰπεῖν, «κροτείτω με» φησί «μηδὲ εἷς». ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ πολλοῦ πᾶσιν ἐπέτειλε φόβου (scil. ὁ ἀνθύπατος), ἄρχεται μὲν ὁ Προαιρέσιος λέγειν ῥύδην, κατὰ τὸν κρότον ἀναπαύων ἑκάστην περίοδον, τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίως Πυθαγορικὸν θέατρον, ὑπὸ τοῦ θαύματος καταρρηγνύμενον, μυκηθμοῦ καὶ στόνου διάμεστον ἦν. It should be noted that κρότος in this passage does not mean "applause", since, at the beginning of the passage, the proconsul of Achaea has banned applauses while Prohaeresius was declaiming (and that is why the audience is called ἀναγκαίως Πυθαγορικὸν θέατρον, "audience bound by compulsory Pythagorean-like silence"). What is important is the phrase ἀναπαύων ἑκάστην περίοδον: the term ἀνάπαυσις in the vocabulary of literary criticism during the Second Sophistic (Hermogenes of Tarsus) is associated with the rhythmical endings of periods: see Hermog. Id. 218, 22 Rabe; 218, 24 Rabe (ἀναπεπαῦσθαι); 219, 20 and 25 Rabe; 220, 7 Rabe; 222, 8 Rabe; 223, 3 and 15 Rabe; 234, 3 and 12 Rabe et alibi. Cf. J. C. G. Ernesti, *Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae*, Leipzig 1795, 20, s.v. ἀνάπαυσις, '*clausula. h.e. modus ille, quo oratio in fine desinit, [...] quia spiritus et impetus animi oratoris tum quiescit*'; E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, New York, Leipzig 1888, 148, s.v. ἀνάπαυσις, 2. 'cadence, the end of a period or a verse'; LSJ[9] 115, s.v. ἀνάπαυσις, 3. 'Rhet. cadence of a period'. Therefore, what seems to be described through the phrase κατὰ τὸν κρότον ἀναπαύων ἑκάστην περίοδον is a particular rhetorical device (κρότος) appearing at the end of periods; this form of cadence seems to have contributed to the final scenes of the audiences' and the proconsul's adoration towards Prohaeresius, the most graphic among those reported for a late antique orator (Eunap. VS 489–90).

[26] Such honours towards an orator and his performance(s) were definitely not unknown in the Greek-speaking world during Roman imperial times. See, for instance, the honours bestowed on Aelius Aristeides by the Greek cities of Egypt in OGIS 709. Other honours recorded in Greek inscriptions are conveniently collected in B. Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* (n. 3). Those inscriptions bear longer or shorter honorific texts: the inscribing of a whole oration that the orator delivered (which is the honour bestowed upon the Reluctant Orator) is, of course, unprecedented even by the standards of city honours towards sophists as these are recorded during the Roman imperial period.

know if the Reluctant Orator implies here orators from cities hostile to Ephesos, like Smyrna for instance),[27] (2) providing the text of his speech is not going to match the benefits he has already received from that city, (3) it seems inappropriate that an oration destined for an extempore demonstration and performance is going to be inscribed permanently on stone. Through one phrase at the end of the letter (ll. 13–14), he makes a reversal of what he has already said: he will hand over the oration, since the δόγμα τῆς πόλεως (of such an important city like Ephesos, cf. l. 3: παρὰ τηλικαύτης πόλεως) is more powerful than an orator's reluctance. He ends his letter with a wish, which, behind its Xenophontean overtones,[28] plays (at least in my view) in an allusive way with the theme of the antagonism of Ephesos with another city, namely Smyrna.[29]

An unprejudiced overview of the 17 surviving lines of the letter reveals an astute and sometimes allusive text; it would be really unjust to say that this text lacks any sense of sophistication. At least, this letter should not be treated as a specimen of empty pomposity, of necrophiliac linguistic archaism or of the supposed "decadence" of post-classical Greek rhetoric — outdated notions of previous generations of classical scholars which have blighted any serious attempt at analysing the Greek oratory of the period on its own right.

Given the above analysis, we have to reject the notion that this text is the product of a mediocre orator of the time: after all, the δῆμος of Ephesos would never bestow upon a mediocre orator the honour of inscribing a whole oration of his including an accompanying letter to the city.[30] Further erudite references inside the text (i.e. the mention of fierce antagonists who want to grasp the opportunity to mock him, in ll. 2–4) oblige us to reject the view that the Reluctant Orator was considered in his times to be a trivial and unimportant orator, or one whose activity remained unnoticed to others. It should also be taken into consideration that the Reluctant Orator appears to have received further honours in the past from the city of Ephesos, at least if we believe that this is what is implied in ll. 4–5 through the phrase 'the burden of debts accumulated

[27] It is unclear if the person implied here is the Smyrnean orator Nymphidianus, Julian's protegé orator. On the possible connection between Nymphidianus' career and the honours for the Reluctant Orator in Ephesos, see n. 36 in this paper.

[28] On the Xenophontean echoes in the passage, see Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor* (n. 3) 124.

[29] The evidence on the fierce antagonism between the two cities in Later Antiquity is conveniently collected by C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, Cambridge 1979, 6.

[30] Cf. Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor* (n. 3) 127, who, despite her negative criticism of the Reluctant Orator's style (n. 20 of this paper), contends that "one might speculate that the rhetor was a famous man in his day, and that the Ephesians wanted to be able to boast that 'the great such-an-such said this about us, and here is the letter to prove it'". In the corresponding note (p. 127, n. 26), Debrunner Hall adds "one should not rule out the possibility that the author was famous not as a rhetor but e.g. as a member of the imperial court". I would take the argument one step further, arguing that the man was famous mostly as an orator and a man of letters. On the Ephesian βουλή, the main body of local government in late antique Ephesos, see Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (n. 29) 13–14.

from the benefits bestowed by your own city' (ἔπειθ' ὅτι μέγα μοι συνάγεται τ[ῶν χ]ρεῶν τὸ φορτίον τῶν παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως ἀγαθῶν, cf. also ll. 6–7 καθάπερ οἱ τὰ πολλὰ δανειζόμενοι δυσχεραίνουσιν πρὸς ἀπόδοσιν ἀθρόαν, where he equals himself metaphorically with men who received many loans).[31] Even the enigmatic phrase διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ βήματος (ll. 11–12), which was interpreted in the past as evidence that the Orator won a rhetorical contest in Ephesos, seems to make the case for the Reluctant Orator's popularity even stronger. The tide of recent research stresses the possibility that the phrase denotes the existence of a simple festival; within the framework of this festival an epideictic speech is delivered by the Reluctant Orator alone after the public's (or rather the city's) request.[32]

Therefore, the Reluctant Orator (a non-Ephesian orator) has been honoured by Ephesos repeatedly; he also delivers epideictic orations in Ephesian festivals without antagonists (probably as a guest orator) and (afterwards) he has his oration inscribed on stone after the request of the Ephesian βουλή: all the above considerations render even more probable that the Reluctant Orator was one of the famous and widely recognisable oratorical figures of the age. But, then, the question comes back: who could this orator be?

My own answer is, that it would be a great surprise if the Reluctant Orator is *not* one of the dozens of well-attested orators of the fourth or fifth century AD mentioned in Karl Gerth's *Realenzyklopädie* article on postclassical Greek rhetoric [*Zweite Sophistik*, Supplb. 8 (1956) cols. 731–772] or even narrated in Eunapius' Βίοι σοφιστῶν

[31] Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* (n. 3) 494 rightly points out to this passage as evidence that the Reluctant Orator had appeared successfully in Ephesos even before receiving the present honour of having his Ephesian oration inscribed.

[32] The phrase ἑορτὴ τοῦ βήματος had been interpreted (in combination with the phrase νικάτω τὸ τῆς πόλεως δόγμα) as the sign of a rhetorical contest supposedly won by the Reluctant Orator: see Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor* (n. 3) 125–126. Such contests were not unknown in the fourth century AD: see Libanius' letter to Celsus (742 Foerster), where Libanius refers to a rhetorical contest held in Nicomedia between him and (most probably) Himerius; the contest is organised by the *consularis Bithyniae* Pompeianus: on the letter and the contest, see the commentary in G. Fatouros, T. Krischer, *Libanios: Briefe. Griechisch-deutsch*, Munich 1980, 255–256. Of course, one has to wonder if the phrase ἑορτὴ τοῦ βήματος implies such a contest. W. H. Pleket, in SEG 39, no. 1193, and A. Chaniotis, *Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion 1992*, Kernos 9 (1996) 367, no. 59, consider the expression as a metaphor, denoting a simple festival, in which the Reluctant Orator gives an impromptu speech (after being called by the city?) without really participating in a competition. This interpretation seems to become more probable, if one takes into account expressions like λόγους ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου παιχθέντας (l. 8), παίξας ὡς ἐν φίλοις (ll. 11–12): they probably provide testimony to the unofficial, leisurely nature of the orator's enterprise.

καὶ φιλοσόφων.[33] Himerius of Bithynia could be a possible candidate;[34] we cannot reject the possibility that he could be Prohaeresius, Hephaestion, Sopolis, Tuscianus of Lydia, Anatolius of Beryttus, Eusebius of Alexandria, Parnassius, Epiphanius of Syria, Diophantus the Arab, Acacius of Caesareia-in-Palestine, Calliopius (*ab epistulis* of emperor Theodosius) a.o. — all of them famous sophists of the fourth century AD discussed in the aforementioned work of Eunapius.[35] By and large, we should be talking about an orator of this very high standard: an internationally acclaimed figure of the time, a formidable orator-performer who could receive honours from a metropolis like Ephesos for his oratorical skill. Given the lack of further evidence, we are unable to determine today, if the request of this highly ornate text from a great orator of the age had anything to do with the regional politics of the period, e.g. the Ephesians' possible

[33] On Eunapius' Βίοι Σοφιστῶν καὶ Φιλοσόφων, see text in J. Giangrande, *Eunapii Vitae Sophistarum*, Rome 1956; M. Becker, *Eunapius aus Sardes: Biographien über Philosophen und Sophisten. Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Roma Aeterna 1), Stuttgart 2013. On Eunapius in general, see W. Schmid, *Eunapios* (2), RE 6.1 (1907) cols. 1121–1127; PLRE 1.296; R. J. Penella, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century AD. Studies in Eunapius of Sardis*, Leeds 1990; R. Goulet, *Prohérésius le païen et quelques remarks sur la chronologie d'Eunape de Sardes*, AntTard 8 (2001) 209–222; M. Baumbach, *Eunapios*, DNP 12/2 (2002) cols. 959–960.

[34] See text of Himerius' extant works in A. Colonna, *Himerii declamationes et orationes cum deperditarum fragmentis*, Rome 1951, with English commentary and translation in R. J. Penella, *Man and the Word: the Orations of Himerius*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 2007. On this pagan sophist in general, see von Christ, Schmid, Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (n. 18) 1000–1004; Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric* (n. 17) 140–149; T. D. Barnes, *Himerius and the Fourth Century*, CPh 82 (1987) 206–225; M. Weißenberger, *Himerios*, DNP 5 (1998) cols. 561–563. Older commentary still retaining some scholarly value: G. Wensdorf, *Himerii Sophistae quae reperiri potuerunt videlicet Eclogae e Photii Myriobiblo repetitae et declamationes*, Göttingen 1790. On Himerius' semi-poetic style (including poetic allusion and accentual rhythm), see Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (n. 15) 428–231, 439; H. Schenkl, *Himerios*, RE 8.2 (1913) cols. 1633–1634; H. Völker, *Himerios, Reden und Fragmente: Einführung, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Serta Graeca 17), Wiesbaden 2003, 73–78. A number of Himerius' orations (or. 26; 59–60 Colonna) denotes Himerius' connections with Ephesos and Ionia. Penella, *Man and the Word* (n. 34) 12, associates Himerius' style with the supposed school of "Asianism": see my objections in n. 22.

[35] Eun. VS 482–497 (Boissonade's pagination). From those sophists (whose texts are lost) what exists today is Eunapius' narrative and the relevant Realenzyklopädie and PLRE entries (heavily dependent on Eunapius). On Prohaeresius, for instance, the Christian holder of the prestigious Chair of Rhetoric at Athens and the greatest sophistic performer of later antiquity, see W. Enßlin, *Proairesios* (1), RE 23.1 (1957) cols. 30–32; A. Müller, *Studentenleben im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Philologus 69 (1910) 310–12; 317; E. Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätrömischer Zeit*, Budapest 1946, 26–30; Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric* (n. 17) 9; 138–141; D. F. Buck, *Prohaeresius' recruitment of students*, LCM 12.5 (1987) 77–78; PLRE 1.731; C. Markschies, *Prohairesios*, DNP 10 (2001) col. 376; Goulet, *Prohérésius le païen* (n. 33) 209–222; E. J. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 2006, 48–78. R. Cribiore (*The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch*, Princeton, Oxford 2007, 52–54) regards Prohaeresius as an exponent of "Asianic" oratory: cf., however, my objections to the concept in n. 22.

discontent at the rise of the Smyrnean sophist Nymphidianus to a high rhetorical post (*magister litterarum graecarum*) at the court of Julian.[36]

On that point, as the present paper comes to its end, it would be appropriate to note that this inscription probably preserved in its full form an important (albeit sadly not yet uncovered) dossier of literary prose texts. This dossier could at least include the Ephesian Oration of a famous orator of the day, together with an accompanying letter composed by the very same orator; the accompanying letter could well have been inscribed before the oration.[37] What survives today is most probably only the end of the accompanying letter. If uncovered in a somewhat fuller form, this inscription would form an interesting parallel to other landmark inscriptions in the history of Greek literary epigraphy: namely the royal inscriptions of Antiochus I of Commagene (the most important surviving pieces of Hellenistic rhetoric) or the huge philosophical inscription of Diogenes at Oenoanda.[38] Only with these aforementioned inscriptions, epigraphical marvels both in terms of length and content (prime pieces of Hellenistic and Roman-era Greek prose, testimonies to late Hellenistic royal ideology or to the final stages of Epicurean philosophising), could the Reluctant Orator's prose piece be matched in its integral form. The undoubted presence of letters in the Reluctant Orator's inscription brings his text closer

[36] On that point, it would be appropriate to raise the issue of the circumstances related to the request of this text on the part of the Ephesian authorities. This request might not be disconnected from two facts: (1) The well-documented antagonism between Ephesos and Smyrna, which is alluded to by the Reluctant Orator in lines 16–17: cf. Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor* (n. 3) 128 and also n. 29 of this paper. (2) The presence of the Smyrnean sophist Nymphidianus in the court of Julian in the capacity of official composer of the Greek correspondence of the Emperor (Eun. VS 497); this fact might not have been much liked by the Ephesians. It is possible that the Ephesians might have requested this text after the collapse of Julian's regime from an orator who indeed delivered it and who might well have been a sophist (Christian or not) hostile to Nymphidianus or to Julian. Of course, the working hypotheses in this note might be proven or disproven by future finds in the area. Through this analysis, I want to raise awareness of the fact that the Ephesians' request of this text might not have been irrelevant to the politics of the period. On the fact that Nymphidianus might still be alive when this text was composed, since he seems to have died at an old age: see Eun. VS 497; PLRE 1.636. On the transformation of Ephesos into a Christian city during the fourth century AD, a fact depicted also in its material remains, see Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (n. 29) 38; 69–74; 87–88; 98. On Ephesos' ecclesiastical superiority over Smyrna: Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (n. 29) 6; 38–45.

[37] That the inscription included in its fuller form the Ephesian Oration of the Reluctant Orator and the accompanying letter to the city of Ephesos, see Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor* (n. 3) 127. I wish to thank here the anonymous reviewer of the paper for his remark that the letter might have preceded the oration.

[38] On the cult inscriptions of Antiochus I of Commagene, and especially those found at Mount Nimrod, Arsameia-upon-Nymphaeus and Arsameia-upon-Euphrates, see text in H. Waldmann, *Die kommagenischen Kultreformen unter König Mithradates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I.*, Leiden 1973, 63–71; 82–89; 98–99; 102–103; 124–130. On the highly ornate rhetoric of Antiochus' royal inscription on Mount Nimrod, see OGIS 383; Waldis, *Sprache und Stil* (n. 15). On the rhetorical style of Diogenes of Oenoanda, see W. Crönert, *Zur griechischen Satzrhythmik*, RhM 54 (1899) 595–599; Skimina, *État actuel I* (n. 15) 187–188; A. Grilli, *Osservazioni al testo di Diogene da Enoanda*, PP 15 (1960) 125–133; G. N. Hoffman, *Diogenes of Oinoanda. A Commentary I*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota 1976, 66–72.

to the inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda (a text replete with Diogenes' letters to others);[39] on the other hand, if the Reluctant Orator's inscription contained an oration as well (something extremely probable in my view), this feature would partially bring his inscription closer to the highly rhetorising inscriptions of Antiochus I of Commagene.

Therefore, any further epigraphical finds from late Roman Ephesos (if they ever occur in the future) will provide us with important new evidence on the identity of the Reluctant Orator and with much bigger parts of a prime specimen of late antique Greek oratory. Such finds would potentially enable us to form a clearer picture of genres of the Greek oratory of the period not always well represented in our manuscript sources;[40] they would thus act as a supplement to our knowledge of a great era of Greek rhetorical erudition and sophistic activity throughout the Eastern part of the Roman Empire.

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[39] On the Epicurean inscription of Diogenes at Oenoanda as an interesting parallel to the text of the Reluctant Orator, see Debrunner Hall, *The Reluctant Rhetor* (n. 3) 128.

[40] Given the loss of the preceding oration, its genre is still an open question. It could well be an ἐγκώμιον πόλεως, an oratorical genre discussed by Menander Rhetor (Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, 346,26–367,8 Spengel); this type of encomium could involve further encomia to the acropolis, the ports, the history, the polity of the city etc. Alternatively, we could also postulate that it may have been an ἐπιβατήριος λόγος and especially the subgenre of it which involved the performance of the oration on the part of the orator upon his arrival to a city (see Men. Rh. Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν 377,32–378,7; 382,10–384,32 Spengel); this type of oration could involve a eulogy of the authorities and the citizens of the city and could gradually descend into a eulogy of the city itself (the Reluctant Orator definitely perceives his oration as a type of ἐγκώμιον: see l. 10). To the best of my knowledge, the only surviving example of a proper ἐγκώμιον πόλεως from Late Antiquity is Libanius' Ἀντιοχικός (an encomium to his own city). Surviving specimens of ἐπιβατήριος λόγος (which nevertheless all descend more or less into a longer or shorter ἐγκώμιον πόλεως) include Himerius' εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν (or. 41 Colonna), Διάλεξις ἐν Φιλίπποις (or. 40 Colonna) and Λαλιὰ εἰς Ἰουλιανὸν καὶ Μουσώνιον (or. 39 Colonna), orations that include encomia of late antique Constantinople, Philippoi and Thessalonica respectively. On all those ἐπιβατήριοι λόγοι, see comments in Penella, *Man and the Word* (n. 34) 34–46.