

Lost Rhetoric Found. Non-Extant Rhetorical Handbooks of Rhetoricians and Sophists from the Pre-Platonic Time until Late Hellenism as Literary Sources in *Suda*

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Abstract: This article touches an area of the history and technical disposition of rhetoric, which has not been considered a subject or research on rhetoric so far. Under the marginalized and rather frustrating condition of lost works of rhetoric we can see that the research concerning the history of rhetoric stops at the point where the ground of evidential rhetorical handbooks is not available. We will present rhetorical textbooks mostly unknown, since a documentation exists for them only in titles of the writings, while the books got lost. This work is a contribution to the historical development of rhetoric. We will discuss it as far as possible, since the authorship and chronological relation is in many cases not clear.

Keywords: Rhetoric; sophistry; rhetorical handbooks; *Suda*; Hellenism; Greek literature.

I. Introduction: Research Approach of this Study: Tracing Back the Hidden Path of Rhetoricity.

State of Research and the Question “The Ancient Literature on Sophistry as a System and Historical Movement”?

1. The Subject of Research

This article is a first approach to presently known rhetorical works that have been lost mentioned in other works comprising the time of pre-Platonic studies to late Hellenism. This work is a first step towards the ‘lost history’ of rhetoric. Since the works of rhetoric also were produced by sophists, we will list here rhetorical handbooks both from rhetoricians and sophists. The philo-

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sophers were a specialized group of intellectuals and their appearance was always from their perspective distinguished from the sophists. On the contrary, the sophists did not seem to take approaches to distinguish themselves from the philosophers or any other group and their own feeling of belonging together as a group was never highly developed. The history of the sophists since the time of Plato to Late Antiquity has the documentation of only a few historical writings about the sophists. Most of them are anecdotes and the writings of sophists, when they are today extant, were so different in their nature and purpose and also closely related to other intellectual areas that the Platonic question ‘Who is the Sophist?’ and ‘What Did a Sophist Do?’ need to be reflected again. Traditionally, sophistical treatises are considered writings of the pre-Platonic time of the early sophists. But also the later sophists were productive regarding treatises that were in most cases related to rhetorical advices and served for instruction. We must assume that an unknown number of sophistical treatises exists that have not been preserved and that have not been noticed in other extant texts that mention them. Here our investigation starts with the Byzantine source *Suda* mentioning such writings. The sophists as an individualized group of educators were not organized and we also must assume that most of their instructions were delivered orally and were never written down. We are interested in two types of writings:

- in the sophistical treatises that have as their subject the rhetorical theory. They are mostly rhetorical treatises written by professional sophist that had also other professional disciplines they worked in;

- in the ancient writings that are concerned with sophistry in a historical or genealogical way or even in a systematical way presenting the topics of sophistry

Informations like titles and names of authors of the rhetorical books are preserved in the Byzantine *Suda*. In this work we find the titles of rhetorical works in the entries for each author

mentioned. We will follow here the edition of the *Suda Online* edition of the *Stoa Consortium* in original text and in translation. The majority of the titles of the books is *Techne Rhetorike*, *Art of Rhetoric*; they served as contributions to this very common type of rhetorical books with the aim of instruction of the reader. The titles and authors we present here cover Greek history, Roman history, and Byzantine history of rhetoric. The earliest entry for rhetoric in *Suda* we have is related to a pupil of Gorgias named Polus. The latest entries for rhetoric in *Suda* fall in the Byzantine time. The genres of rhetorical treatises are besides the *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ) works called *On Types of Style* (Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου), *On Issues* (Περὶ στάσεων), and commentaries of other works. Also rhetorical writings about specific aspects of rhetoric and the analysis of rhetorical speeches of famous speakers were practiced. Practical works like speeches or declamations and progymnasmata are for us here of less importance.

This study is a study discussing missing works of the earliest history of the discipline rhetoric written in the time between the earliest beginnings of rhetoric and Byzantine time. The study gives an insight on works about rhetoric mostly unknown and not discussed in research about the history of rhetoric. We will also here discuss treatises dealing with the art of sophistry as a branch of knowledge we can distinguish from theory and writings that were dedicated to the history and the form of the sophistical discipline, an aspect with less attention in the studies about sophistry. From the perspective of a literary study, the writings concerning rhetoric are non-literary pragmatic writings with an instructional or documentary purpose. This kind of classification we can also trace back to one of the origins of the medium of rhetorical writings, the papyri in Egypt as one of the authentic sources of rhetorical writings commonly classified as rhetorical papyri, a branch of the non-literary papyri. We must generally distinguish between the rhetoricians that performed as speakers, the orators, and rhetoricians that were instructors of rhetoric.

Of course there are cases where both professions were performed by one person. But especially in the Late Roman time rhetorical schools were established and promoted by the Roman state and here the didactical writings were referring writings for this profession. An example is the professor of rhetoric Quintilian, who wrote the compilation *Institutio Oratoria* dealing with the history and the system of rhetoric. In the 1st and 2nd century the education of rhetoric flourished all over the Roman Empire.

2. State of Research: Books Unknown, Known, and Edited

Samuel used the expression “rhetorical papyrus”.² This type of writing from Egypt must have served as one of the first tools to store information. It is generally assumed that Corax and Tisias wrote the first rhetorical treatise. As marks of the beginnings of written history of rhetoric Corax and Tisias stand for the earliest beginnings in Greece. Among the papyri that have been found containing rhetorical writings are very important sources for the history of rhetoric of earliest times of rhetoric. The *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* was first attributed to Aristotle, later to Anaximenes. Haskins mentioned that “Aristotle’s articulation of *techne rhetorike* transcends its historical context and therefore can be mapped onto other historical periods and cultures.”³ Braet (2007: 416) mentioned Aristotle as the founding father of fallacies and concluded that “three classical disciplines may be said to represent

² Hobson Samuel, Deborah, *A Greek Rhetorical Papyrus in the Yale Collection*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. Microfilms, 1969.

³ Haskins, Ekaterina, “Choosing Between Isocrates and Aristotle: Disciplinary Assumptions and Pedagogical Implications”: *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* (2006). Find Articles. December 12, 2008. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa4142/is_200604/ai_n17171232. The rhetorile *techne* is discussed in a broader approach towards the concept in: Löbl, Rudolf, *Techne — Techne. Untersuchung zur Bedeutung dieses Wortes in der Zeit von Homer bis Aristoteles*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann 1997.



the origin of the study of fallacies: logic, dialectic, and rhetoric.”⁴ Sullivan mentioned that “the earliest surviving descriptions of issues theory come from the Latin rhetorical artes.”⁵ While Sullivan assumed that the earliest surviving descriptions of issues theory come from the Latin rhetorical artes, we can find earliest examples in Greek literature. The *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* was first attributed to Aristotle, later to Anaximenes. Baumhauer mentioned as criteria for ‘sophistic rhetoric’ the arts of the speech as taxis, the idea of the eikos and probability as basic form of speech, antilogia and sophismen, thesis and topoi, ethos und pathos, and specific forms of lexis, which for example can be found in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*.⁶

The presented rhetorical textbooks are only preserved in papyri and only a part of them is edited. The earliest Roman rhetorical treatise is the anonymous Latin *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Sullivan showed that we have full accounts of status from the anonymous Latin *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.18-27, 2.2-26), Cicero’s *De Inventione* (1.10-19, 2.12-end), and *De Oratore* (1.139ff, 2.104-13), *De Partitiones Oratoria* (98-108), *Topica* (93-96), and Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria* (3.5-6, 7.2-end). Each of these treatises is a variant of Greek originals, the best known among them is the one of Hermagoras (2nd century BCE).⁷

⁴ Braet, Antoine, “The Oldest Extant Rhetorical Contribution to the Study of Fallacies (Cicero *On invention*, 1.78-96, and *Rhetoric to Herennius*, 2.31-46: Reducible to Hermagoras?):” *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 40.4 (2007): 416-433

⁵ Sullivan, Robert G., “Hermogenes on Issues: Strategies of Argument in Later Greek Rhetoric”: *Argumentation and Advocacy* Fall, 1996. Find Articles. December 12, 2008. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb6699/is_ai_n28678766

⁶ Baumhauer, Otto A., *Die sophistische Rhetorik. Eine Theorie sprachlicher Kommunikation*. Stuttgart: Metzler 1986, 130-178

⁷ Sullivan, Robert G., “Hermogenes on Issues: Strategies of Argument in Later Greek Rhetoric”: *Argumentation and Advocacy* Fall, 1996. Find Articles.

Among the papyri found containing rhetorical writings are very important sources for the history of rhetoric of early times. The general research state is here progressing and the databases for the text corpora including rhetorical papyri are published. In the introduction *Objectives and Methodology of the Project* of the *Catalogue of Paraliterary Papyri* (CPP) is written: "Greek lists and catalogues appear to have been different from similar texts in Near-Eastern societies by their tendency to rational ordering. So it is not by accident that as a literary prose genre it first developed with the sophists. As a typical expression of Greek rational thought this elementary form of textual communication came to play a key-role in education and science."⁸ Poster (2000: 116) stated: "The inventional focus, however, of much modern rhetorical theory has tended to relegate figuration either, on the one hand, to the domains of literary criticism or linguistics (the heirs of ancient grammar) or, on the other hand, to an ancillary position. The concomitant marginalization of the study of figures has had a significant effect upon contemporary scholarship in historical rhetoric."⁹ Poster's statement about the ignorance of the stylistic aspects of rhetoric is as a contemporary state of rhetoric a contradiction to the importance of stylistic treatises in ancient classic rhetoric.

It is widely assumed that Corax along with a pupil Tisias wrote the first *Rhetorike Techné* as handbook of rhetoric. Kennedy (1959: 169) stated that Aristotle, "who wrote the first great treatise on rhetoric that is still extant, traces the beginnings of rhetoric to two Sicilians, Corax and Tisias, who are credited with developing

December 12, 2008. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb6699/is_ai_n28678766

⁸ Huys, Marc, Nodar, Alberto, *Lists and Catalogues in Greek Paraliterary Papyri*. K.U.Leuven, Department of Classical Studies. Catholic University of Leuven. <http://perswww.kuleuven.ac.be/~u0013314/lists&catalogues.htm>

⁹ Poster, Carol, "Being, Time, and Definition: Toward a Semiotics of Figural Rhetoric": *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 33.2 (2000) 116-136. Citation 116



the earliest rhetorical theory (see Cicero, *Brutus*, 46)".¹⁰ In research in classics the sophists have been traditionally treated as a sub-section of the rhetoricians. Leonard Spengel's collection *Rhetores Graeci* includes of books as literary canon of Greek rhetoric.¹¹ *Suda* is a compilation of works, books today both known and unknown. One entry of *Suda* is very interesting, since it gives evidence of a physical examination of the libraries for the listing of the books of a sophist who lived under the emperor Marcus Aurelius. *Suda* or its source writes 'I have found the following works in the libraries' (ἐξ ὧν ταῦτά μοι εὑρηται ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν βιβλίων θήκαις) about Damophilus the philosopher and sophist raised by Julian, the consul under the emperor Marcus mentioning *Bibliophile* (book 1), To Lollius Maximus, *On the Life of the Ancients*, and very many other works.¹² Since *Suda* mentions in the entries of writers exactly the number of books a literary work consisted of, we must assume that *Suda* or the source he compiled for getting the information about the writings must have seen the books physically and counted them. We must be aware that *Suda* might have transmitted errors of his sources. Harpocration of Alexandria was an important source for the *Suda* itself. Only a selected part of entries of the authors of works mentioned by *Suda* contains listings of books. *Suda* use to count the works of an author in books (βιβλία). Now it is interesting to ask, which unit a biblion represented. The biblion was the smallest unit of a publication. Some of the rhetorical treatises consisted of one or more books. The source of *Suda* or *Suda* itself must have had an autopsy of the books and knowledge of the volumes of book each of the titles contained. The *Suda Online* project editors Finkel, Hutton, Rourke, Scaife, and

¹⁰ Kennedy, George A., "The Earliest Rhetorical Handbooks": *The American Journal of Philology* 80.2 (1959) 169-178. Citation 169

¹¹ Sprengel, Leonard, *Rhetores Graeci*. 3 Vol. Leipzig, Teubner: 1853-1856

¹² *Suda*. Adler number: delta, 52. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

Vandiver stated in their online introduction of the translation project that this is a way to make such a source more known and characterized it as follows: "A massive work of about 30,000 entries, and written in sometimes dense Byzantine Greek prose, the *Suda* is an invaluable source for many details that would otherwise be unknown to us about Greek and Roman antiquity, as well as an important text for the study of Byzantine intellectual history."¹³ As a contribution to the historical development of rhetoric they are important for the understanding of the development of rhetoric as a discipline. The sources *Suda* compiled for the documentation of the works are lost and so we can only emphasize the high value of the compilation for the history of rhetoric. Since the digital edition of papyri is in a state of progress and the classification of the rhetorical papyri develops, we consider it helpful to present the sources of *Suda* even in their rudimentary form facing a potential later identification of sources and a general diachronic overview of the rhetorical treatises available. Besides the political academic disputes arising from such a translation work, the *Suda* is for some researchers a problematic source considering that there are errors in it occurring from the action of compilation the sources the editor used. But the majority of details in it gives us some notices about unknown material and fills blank places; without *Suda* this knowledge would not exist at all. The project *Suda Online* even traced the entries of the articles — if possible — back to the sources *Suda* or the sources of *Suda* had used and so contribute to the textual and literary criticism of a non-literary documentary source. Since the project is employed with this textual criticism, we won't continue this discussion about the sources used by *Suda*. Matthaios in *Suda The Character and Dynamics of an Encyclopedic Byzantine Dictionary*

¹³ Finkel, Raphael; Hutton, William; Rourke, Patrick; Scaife, Ross; Vandiver, Elizabeth, *Overview. Suda Online Project. Stoa Organization*. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org/sol/about.shtml>

discussed the editorial history of the work.¹⁴ *Suda* is as a resource for the existence of rhetorical treatises of high value, since we get an additional insight on the genres and forms of rhetorical writings produced in the time from ancient beginnings to Byzantine time.

II. Lost Books: The Ancient Literature on Sophistry as a System and Historical Movement

1. Sophistic Treatises

Among the sophistical treatises we must distinguish between writings of sophists that referred to rhetorical topics and a set of writings dealing with the history of sophistry. Some of the historical writings are well known and edited since the earliest reception of antiquity, while a number of theses works seem to be lost and *Suda* gives us a chance to know their titles and authors. The titles related to the technical parts of sophistry we can describe as a number of treatises dealing exclusively with sophistry and its techniques. As the first book that is exclusively concerned with sophistical topics we must mention the *Sophistical Refutations* of Aristotle. Later writings about sophistry were historical writings about persons that performed sophistry. According to Diogenes Laertius, the book of Aristotle is called Διαίρεσεις σοφιστικαὶ (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* book 5, 22). Diogenes Laertius is a source for ancient books concerning sophistry and sophists that are non-extant. Diogenes Laertius mentions a book Πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς of Metrodorus (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* book 10, 24). According to Diogenes Laertius, Chrysippus wrote Περί τῶν σοφισμάτων πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Πόλλιν in two books (*Lives of*

¹⁴ Matthaïos, Stefanos, "Suda. The Character and Dynamics of an Encyclopedic Byzantine Dictionary." Centre for the Greek Language. Conference Paper 2003. Centre for the Greek Language. December 12, 2008. <http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/files/document/conference-2003/012MatthaïosEn.pdf>

Eminent Philosophers book 7, 198). According to Diogenes Laertius, among the works of Antisthenes is a writing Περί τῶν σοφιστῶν φυσιογνωμονικός and Kleanthes wrote a book Περί τοῦ τὸν σοφὸν σοφιστεύειν (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* book 6, 16 and book 7, 175).¹⁵ Phrynichus of Bithynia wrote *Sophistic Training* (Σοφιστικῆς παρασκευῆς βιβλία 47). Phrynichus was according to *Suda* a sophist who wrote Atticist, or Attic Vocabulary in two books, Collection of Established Usages, and Sophistic Training in 47 or 74 books.

Φρύνιχος, Βιθυνός, σοφιστής. Ἀττικιστὴν ὑπ' Ἀττικῶν
ὀνομάτων βιβλία β#, Τιθεμένων συναγωγὴν, Σοφιστικῆς
παρασκευῆς βιβλία μζ, οἱ δὲ οὐδ'.¹⁶

As the first book exclusively dedicated to sophistical topics we must mention the Sophistical Refutations of Aristotle. Later the writings on sophistry were historical writings about persons that performed sophistry. According to Diogenes Laertius, the book of Aristotle is called Διαιρέσεις σοφιστικάι (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* book 5, 22). Hermagoras wrote *On Sophistry addressed to the Academicians* (Περί σοφιστείας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς) (*Suda*. Adler number: epsilon, 3023).

2. Works of the History of Sophistry and Rhetoric

The writings dealing with sophistical topics show us that this branch of knowledge was actually considered from the perspective of these writings in the classical Roman time as guidelines and historical writings about this branch of knowledge and in the light of the writings on sophistry we present here and the writings known dealing with sophistical topics we can assume that

¹⁵ Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*. Mikrosapoplous. December 12, 2008. <http://www.mikrosapoplous.gr/dl/dl01.html>

¹⁶ *Suda*. Adler number: phi, 764. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>



sophistry was at least partly considered an independent discipline, a development we can back up looking at the variety of literary and rhetorical writings sophists produced. Antisthenes is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius writing *Physiognomikos of the Sophists* (Περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν φυσιογνωμονικός) (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* book 6, 16). Callimachus wrote *Museum* (Μουσεῖον) and *Tables of Men Distinguished in Every Branch of Learning, and their Works* (Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων, καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν ἐν βιβλίοις κ# καὶ ρ#), *Table and Description of Teachers in Chronological Order from the Beginning* ((Πίναξ καὶ ἀναγραφή τῶν κατὰ χρόνους καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένων διδασκάλων), and *Table of Democrates' Rare Words and Compositions* (Πίναξ τῶν Δημοκράτους γλωσσῶν καὶ συνταγμάτων) (*Suda*. Adler number: Kappa, 227). The Stoic philosopher of the 3rd century BCE named Chrysippus wrote *On the Sophisms of Herakleides and Pollos* (Περὶ τῶν σοφισμάτων πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Πόλλιν) in two books (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* book 7, 198). Heron wrote *On the Ancient Orators, and the Speeches in Which They Were Victorious When Competing Against Each Other* ((Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν λόγων, οἷς ἐνίκησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζόμενοι) (*Suda*. Adler number: eta, 552)).

Valerius Harpocration wrote *Lexicon of the Ten Orators* (Λέξεις τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων) and *Collection of Fine Passages* (Ἀνθηρῶν συναγωγή) (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 4014). Julian wrote a *Lexicon of Julian Containing the Words used by the Ten Orators* (Photius. *Bibliotheca or Myriobiblion*. Nr. 150). According to Diogenes Laertius, Kleanthes wrote *On the Sophistical Actions of the Wise* (Περὶ τοῦ τὸν σοφὸν σοφιστεύειν) (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* book 7, 175). Metrodorus according to Diogenes Laertius wrote *On the Sophists* (Πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς) (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* book 10, 24). Phrynichus Arabius was a grammarian and rhetorician of the 2nd century BCE (*Suda*. Adler number: phi, 764). Phrynichus wrote *Sophistic Training*

(Σοφιστικῆς παρασκευῆς βιβλία 47 or 48), *Atticist, or Attic Vocabulary in two books* (Ἀττικιστὴν ὑπ' Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων βιβλία β#), *Collection of Established Usages* (Τιθεμένων συναγωγῇν). Phrynichus is also mentioned by Photius (*Bibliotheca*. Nr. 158) as the author of *Rhetorical Equipment*. A pupil of Gorgias was Polus mentioned as a rhetorician or sophist writing *On Diction* (Περὶ λέξεως) (*Suda*. Adler number: pi, 2170). In *Suda* Polus of Acragas was a rhetor or rather one of the older sophists; he was the teacher of Licymnius. Zosimus of Gaza or Ascalon wrote a *Rhetorical Lexicon* alphabetically arranged, a *commentary on Demosthenes*, and a *commentary on Lysias* (*Suda*. Adler number: zeta, 169).¹⁷ Androkleides wrote *Concerning the Troublesome Rhetoricians* (Περὶ τοῦ ἐμποδῶν τεχνολόγων) (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 2180). According to *Suda*, Metrophanes was the son of the rhetor Cornelianus of Lebadia in Boeotia. Metrophanes of Eucarpia in Phrygia wrote *On Types of Style* (Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου), *On Issues* (Περὶ στάσεων), *Commentary on Hermogenes' Art* (εἰς τὴν Ἑρμογένους τέχνην ὑπόμνημα), and *Commentary on Aristides* (εἰς Ἀριστείδην ὑπόμνημα) (*Suda*. Adler number: mu, 1009).

3. Works of Unknown Time and Place of Origin. Books Composed as Art of Rhetoric (Rhetorike Techne)

The writings about sophistry from authors we know less about (in some cases we have the names and some biographical notices, but not enough data to localize them), were in most cases produced in the time of the Roman Empire. They are mainly treatises classified as Art of Rhetoric and we conclude that their authors were practicing rhetoricians as instructors. *Suda* lists many authors and works we cannot place in a certain time and place. Here we have just the names and titles worth to mention to get an impression about the works that existed focusing on the topic.

¹⁷ *Suda*. Adler number: zeta, 169. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

Abas lived in an unknown time and wrote an *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ). Abas is called by *Suda* a Greek sophist and rhetorician about whose life nothing is known.¹⁸ According to *Suda*, Abas was a sophist, who left *historical commentaries* and an *Art of Rhetoric* (Historika hupomnêmata kai Technên rhêtorikên katalipôn).¹⁹ Aspasia of Tyre lived in an unknown time and wrote *On the Art of Rhetoric* (Περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς) (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 4204). An Anonymus wrote *Lexicon of the 'Pure Style'* in an unknown time (Photius. *Bibliotheca or Myriobiblion*. Nr. 146). An Anonymus, probably the same, wrote the *Lexicon of the 'serious style'* (Photius. *Bibliotheca or Myriobiblion*. Nr. 147). An Anonymus wrote the *Lexicon of the 'political style'* (Photius. *Bibliotheca or Myriobiblion*. Nr. 148). Living in an unknown time Epiphanius, son of Ulpian of Petra, is called a sophist. He taught both there and in Athens and wrote *On Similarity and Difference of the Issues, progymnasmata, declamations, Demarchs, Polemarchicus, epideictic speeches*, and other assorted investigations.

Ἐπιφάνιος, Οὐλπιανοῦ, Πετραῖος, σοφιστής: παιδεύσας
ἐν τε αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν Αῤῥήναις. ἔγραψε Περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ
διαφορᾶς τῶν στάσεων, προγυμνάσματα, μελέτας,
Δημάρχους, Πολεμαρχικόν, λόγους ἐπιδεικτικούς: καὶ τινα
σύμμικτα θεωρήματα.²⁰

Leon in an unknown time wrote *On Issues* (Περὶ στάσεων) (*Suda*. Adler number: lambda, 265). Another Leon, Leon of Alabanda, wrote *Art* (Τέχνη) and *On Issues* (Περὶ στάσεων) (*Suda*. Adler number: lambda, 265). *Suda* in the entry for Euagoras of

¹⁸ *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. Ed. William Smith. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Library 2005. Online Edition. Ancient Library. December 12, 2008. <http://www.ancientlibrary.com/seiffert/0298.html>

¹⁹ *Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 20. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

²⁰ *Suda*. Adler number: epsilon, 2742. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

Lindos mentions that he was a historian. He wrote a *Life of Timagenes* and of other learned men, *Thucydidean Enquiries* alphabetically arranged, an *Art of Rhetoric* in five books (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ ἐν βιβλίοις ε#), *Questions in Thucydides arranged by word*, and a history covering the queens of Egypt. (*Suda*. Adler number: epsilon, 3363). Gaianus lived in an unknown time and wrote *On Construction* in five books (Περὶ συντάξεως βιβλία ε#), *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ), and declamations (*Suda*. Adler number: gamma, 9). In *Suda* Gaianus of Arabia was called a sophist and a pupil of Apsines of Gadara. Gaianus wrote *On Construction* in five books, an *Art of Rhetoric*, and declamations. Gaianus practiced as a sophist in Berytus.²¹ In an unknown time Aelius Harpocraton wrote *On the Apparent Examples of Ignorance in the Orators* (Περὶ τῶν δοκούντων τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ἡγνοῆσθαι), *Hypotheses to the Speeches of Hyperides* (ὑποθέσεις τῶν λόγων Ὑπερίδου), *On the Falsity of Herodotus' History* (Περὶ τοῦ κατεψεῦσθαι τὴν Ἡροδότου ἱστορίαν), *On Order in Xenophon* (Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι τάξεων), *On the Art of Rhetoric* (Περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς), and *On Types of Style* (Περὶ ἰδεῶν) (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 4013). In an unknown time Gaius Harpocraton wrote *On Antiphon's Figures* (Περὶ τῶν Ἀντιφώντος σχημάτων) and *On the Speeches of Hyperides and Lysias* (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 4012). In an unknown time Kallinikos (*Suda*. Adler number: kappa, 231) wrote *On Bad Taste in Rhetoric* (Περὶ κακοζηλίας ῥητορικῆς). Serapion wrote *On Mistakes in Declamations* (Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς μελέταις ἀμαρτανομένων), *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ), lectures in 7 books (Ἀκροάσεων βιβλία ζ#) (*Suda*. Adler number: sigma, 115). We know that Serapion, a rhetor, held a speech as counsellor to the Alexandrian. In *Suda* Serapion surnamed Aelius was mentioned as a rhetor from Alexandria. He wrote *On Mistakes in Declamations*, *Lectures*, *Panegyric on the emperor Hadrian*, *Speech in Council to the*

²¹ *Suda*. Adler number: gamma, 9. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

Alexandrians, Whether Plato was Right to Expel Homer from the Republic, and a host of other works and an *Art of Rhetoric*.²² *Suda* noticed that Hermogenes' *Art of Rhetoric* is very famous and was used by other rhetoricians and sophists. *Suda* narrates that Hermogenes lived in the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and had great natural talent. Regarding the works of Hermogenes Aphthonius wrote *Progymnasmata on Hermogenes' Art of Rhetoric* (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 4630). Hermogenes wrote *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορική), *On Issues* (Περὶ στάσεων βιβλίον α#), *On Types of Styles* (Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου βιβλία β#), and *On Issues* in 13 books (Περὶ στάσεων βιβλία ιγ#) (*Suda*. Adler number: epsilon, 3046).²³

4. Rhetorical Works of Early Greek Culture. First Sophistic

At the time of Isocrates Philiscus of Miletus wrote an *Art of Rhetoric* in two books. Philiscus of Miletus was a rhetor and a pupil of the rhetor Isocrates. Previously he was a most remarkable aulos-player. Isocrates used to call him 'aulos-borer'. His writings are *Milesian Speech*, *Amphictyonic Speech*, *Art of Rhetoric* in two books, and *Isocrates' Denial*. Siburtius was the reader and servant of Theodectes of Phaselis (*Suda*. Adler number: Sigma, 364). He wrote *Arts of Rhetoric* (sic) (ἔγραψε τέχνας ῥητορικάς). Eratosthenes' pupil was Aristophanes of Byzantium, whose pupil Aristarchus was in turn. His pupils were Mnaseas, Menander and Aristis. Mnaseas of Berytus (*Suda*. Adler number: mu, 1147) wrote *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορική). Menander of Laodicea wrote a *commentary on Hermogenes' Art* and a *commentary on Minucianus' Progymnasmata* (*Suda*. Adler number: Mim, 590).

²² *Suda*. Adler number: sigma, 115. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

²³ Cf. Conley, Thomas, "Hermogenes 'On Types of Style'": *Rhetorica* 5.4 (1987) 431-436

5. Rhetorical Works of the Roman Empire

In the time prior to or at the time of Antoninus Caesar Aristokles of Pergamum (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 3918) wrote *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορική), *Letters, On Rhetoric* in five books (Περὶ ῥητορικῆς βιβλία ε), and *Declamations* (Μελέται). The *Suda* entry on Aelius Aristides is as follows:

Of Hadriani. Sophist. (Hadriani is a city in Mysia, now Bithynia.) Pupil of the rhetor Polemo of Smyrna. Son of Eudaemon, who was a philosopher and priest in the temple of Zeus in his native city. (Others write that his father was Eudaemon.) He attended Herodes' classes in Athens, and those of Aristocles in Pergamum. He lived under Antoninus Caesar, and survived until Commodus. As for his speeches, one would not find an end to them anywhere, and they are in different ways and in different respects successful.²⁴

According to *Suda*, Caecilius was a Sicilian from Callatis and rhetor and practicing sophistry (rhetor, sophisteusas) in Rome under Caesar Augustus, and until Hadrian (*Suda*. Adler number: kappa, 1165). Caecilius wrote *Demonstration that Every Word of Elegant Language has been Spoken* (Ἀπόδειξις τοῦ εἰρησθαι πᾶσαν λέξιν καλλιρρημοσύνης) in alphabetical order, *Comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero* (Σύγκρισις Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος), *How the Attic and Asian Styles Differ* (Τίτι διαφέρει ὁ Ἀττικὸς ζῆλος τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ), *On the Stylistic Character of the Ten Attic Orators* (Τίτι διαφέρει ὁ Ἀττικὸς ζῆλος τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ), *Comparison of Demosthenes and Aeschines* (Σύγκρισις Δημοσθένους καὶ Αἰσχίνου), *On Demosthenes, which of his speeches are genuine and which misattributed* (Περὶ Δημοσθένους, ποῖοι αὐτοῦ γνήσιοι λόγοι καὶ ποῖοι νόθοι), and *On Things Said Consistently and Inconsistently with History by the Orators* (Περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἱστορίαν ἢ παρὰ ἱστορίαν εἰρημένων τοῖς ῥήτορσι). Basilicus was a rhetorician and sophist of Nicomedeia in the early 3rd century CE

²⁴ *Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 3902. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

(*Suda*. Adler number: beta, 159).²⁵ Basilicus wrote *On the Figures of Diction* (Περὶ τῶν διὰ τῶν λέξεων σχημάτων), *On Rhetorical Preparation (or On Practice)* (Περὶ ῥητορικῆς παρασκευῆς ἥτοι περὶ ἀσκήσεως) and *On Paraphrase* (Περὶ μεταποιήσεως). In the 2nd century CE Aristocles of Messene in Italy was a peripatetic philosopher who wrote *Arts of Rhetoric* (Τέχνας ῥητορικὰς) (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 3916). Aristokles composed *On Philosophy in 10 books; Whether Homer or Plato is the most Serious*. In these books he catalogues all the philosophers and their opinions. He also wrote an *Art of Rhetoric*, *On Sarapis*, and *Ethics* in 9 books.²⁶ The sophist Aspasia of Byblos was a contemporary of Aristides and Hadrian (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 4203). Aspasia wrote *On Figured Issues* (Περὶ στάσεων ἐσχηματισμένων), *declamations* (Μελέται), *Arts* (Τέχναι), *Commentaries* (ὑπομνήματα), and *Informal Discourses* (Λάλαι). Hadrian (or Adrian) of Tyre in the 2nd century practiced as a sophist in Athens under Marcus Antoninus (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 528). Hadrian wrote declamations, *On Types of Style in five books* (Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου ἐν βιβλίοις ε), *On Distinctive Features in the Issues in three books* (Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν ἰδιωμάτων ἐν βιβλίοις τρισίν), and letters and epideictic speeches. Caligula (Caesar Tiberius) wrote an *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ) (*Suda*. Adler number: kappa, 1198). Tryphon of Alexandria was a Greek grammarian of the time of Augustus. His treatise *πάθη λέξεως* appeared first at Milan in 1476 in Constantin Laskaris's *Greek Grammar*. Tryphon wrote *On Breath and Tropes* (Περὶ πνευμάτων καὶ τρόπων) (*Suda*. Adler number: tau, 1115). Apollonius (Dyscolus) of Alexandria was a grammarian (*Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 3422) who wrote *On the*

²⁵ *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. Ed. William Smith. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Library 2005. Online Edition. Ancient Library. December 12, 2008. <http://www.ancientlibrary.com/seiffert/0298.html>

²⁶ *Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 3916. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

Division of the Parts of Speech in four books (Περὶ μερισμοῦ τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν βιβλία δ#), *On Homeric Figures* (Περὶ σχημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν), and *On Fabricated History* (Περὶ κατεψευσμένης ἱστορίας). Porphyry (*Suda*. Adler number: pi, 2098) wrote a *Commentary on Minucian's Art of Rhetoric* (Εἰς τὴν ΜινουκIANOῦ τέχνην). Ptolemy of Alexandria was a grammarian nicknamed Pindarion (*Suda*. Adler number: pi, 3034). He wrote *On the Stylistic Character of Homer* (Περὶ τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ χαρακτήρος). Theon of Alexandria, the philosopher, wrote *On the Arts of Rhetoric* (Περὶ τεχνῶν ῥητορικῶν βιβλία τρία) (*Suda*. Adler number: theta, 203). Aelius Theon of Alexandria, the sophist, wrote *Art* (Τέχνη), *On Progymnasmata* (Περὶ προγυμνασμάτων), *Commentary on Xenophon* (ὑπόμνημα εἰς Ξενοφῶντα), *On Isocrates* (εἰς τὸν Ἰσοκράτην), *On Demosthenes* (εἰς Δημοσθένην), *Rhetorical Hypotheses* (Ῥητορικὰς ὑποθέσεις), and *Questions on the Composition of Discourse* (Ζητήματα περὶ συντάξεως λόγου) (*Suda*. Adler number: theta, 206). Lachares wrote *Rhetorical Selections* (ἔγραψε Ἐκλογὰς ῥητορικὰς κατὰ στοιχεῖον) (*Suda*. Adler number: lambda, 231). Lachares, son of Lachares, from Athens was a sophist and pupil of Heracleon of Athens. *Suda* narrates that he taught many pupils, among whom Eustephius, Nicolaus and Asterius are well-known. He flourished under the emperors Marcianus and Leon. He wrote *On Colon, Comma and Period*, informal discourses, a history according to Cornutus, *Rhetorical Selections* in alphabetical arrangement. Lachares the sophist was according to *Suda* rather slow of speech, but handsome and fine in appearance and as to virtue, he deserved to be called a philosopher rather than a sophist. He was an especially pious man, and having lost his sight he regained it.²⁷

Heath (2002/3: 129-60) described how Minucianus is best known as a contributor to issue-theory criticised by Hermogenes,

²⁷ *Suda*. Adler number: lambda, 231. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

who was probably his younger contemporary. In the *Suda* (M, 1087) a later Minucianus, a sophist with a floruit under Gallienus (253-68), is credited with an *Art of Rhetoric and Progymnasmata*, and Heath assumed that is likely to result from a conflation of two homonyms. For Heath the fact that Menander, in the latter part of the third century, wrote a commentary on Minucianus' progymnasmata (*Suda* M590) supports the attribution to the second-century Minucianus, and confirms that it was a technical treatise (Menander also wrote a *commentary on Hermogenes On Issues*).²⁸ Minucianus, son of the sophist Nicagoras, wrote an *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ) (*Suda*. Adler number: mu, 1087).

Nicolaus of Myra in Lycia was according to *Suda* the brother of Dioscorides the grammarian and a proconsul, consul, and patrician. Nicolaus also was a sophist in Constantinople; he was a pupil of Lachares. Nicolaus wrote an *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ) and declamations.²⁹ Another Nikolaus who has written Progymnasmata is mentioned by Sprengel in *Rhetoric Graeci* who ascribed the title sophist to Nikolaus. Numenius wrote *On the Figures of Diction* (Περὶ τῶν τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων), *Hypotheses to Thucydides and Demosthenes* (ὑποθέσεις τῶν Θουκυδίδου καὶ Δημοσθένους), and a *collection of chreiai* (Χρηιῶν συναγωγὴ) (*Suda*. Adler number: nu, 518). Various sophists called Alexander are mentioned in the *Suda*. In *Suda* Alexandros Aigaios is called a Peripatetic philosopher and teacher of the emperor Nero, along with the philosopher Chaeremon. Alexandros Aigaios had a son called Caelinus. There is also another Alexander of Aphrodisias, a philosopher and an Alexander of Numenius, a sophist, and an Alexander surnamed Claudius, a sophist, besides Alexander of

²⁸ Heath, Malcolm, "Theon and the History of the Progymnasmata": *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 43 (2002/3) 129-60

²⁹ *Suda*. Adler number: nu, 395. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

Casilon, a sophist and brother of the sophist Eusebius and a pupil of Julian in *Suda* mentioned. Another Alexander mentioned by *Suda* is Alexander, son of Alexander the legal advocate, a Cilician from Seleucia and sophist nicknamed Peloplaton.³⁰ Paul of Tyre wrote an *Art of Rhetoric* (Τέχνη ῥητορική) (*Suda*. Adler number: pi, 809). Paul was according to *Suda* a rhetor who lived at the time of Philo of Byblos. Potamo son of Lesbos wrote *On the Perfect Orator* (Περὶ τελείου ῥήτορος) (*Suda*. Adler number: pi, 2127). In *Suda* Potamo of Mitylene, son of Lesbos, was both a rhetor and sophist in Rome in the time of Caesar Tiberius. Sabinos was according to Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (1920: 2555) a sophist at the time of Hadrian. Sabinos wrote the rhetorical handbook *Eisagoge kai Hypotheseis Meletetikes Hyles* in four books.³¹ He wrote the *Eisagoge kai Hypotheseis Meletetikes Hyles*, a rhetorical handbook in four books. Ulpian (*Suda*. Adler number: omicron, 9119) mentions *Progymnasmata* and an *Art of Rhetoric* (τέχνη ῥητορική). *Suda* has three entries for Ulpian of Emesa. One mentioning him as a sophist, who wrote *Traditions of Emesa, of Heliopolis, of Bosporus, and of many other peoples, Progymnasmata*, and an *Art of Rhetoric*. The other mentions that he previously taught in Emesa, in the time of the emperor Constantine. *Miscellaneous discourses, declamations, informal discourses*, and certain other works were written by Ulpian. A third entry mentions an Ulpian of Gaza.³²

6. Rhetorical Works of the Byzantine Time

Byzantine rhetorical treatises relied on the classical Greek tradition of rhetorical treatises. Most of the authors here mentioned are actually not known and the titles here mentioned

³⁰ *Suda*. Adler number: alpha,1128. *Suda Online*. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

³¹ Gerth, Karl L., "Sabinus (22a)" *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. 2nd Semi- Vol. I A,2. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1920: 2555

³² *Suda*. Adler number: omicron, 911, omicron, 912, omicron, 913



support our knowledge about rhetoric in this culture. Byzantine culture had rhetorical schools established by the state and professors working at the universities. Onasimos of Cyprus or Sparta wrote *Divisions of the Issues* (Στάσεων διαίρεσεις), *Art of Judicial Oratory To Apsines* (Τέχνην δικανικὴν πρὸς Ἀψίνην), *On the Art of Controversio* (Περὶ ἀντιρρητικῆς τέχνης), and *Progymnasmata* (Suda. Adler number: omicron, 327). Onasimos of Cyprus or Sparta was a historian and sophist among those, who lived under Constantine. He wrote *Divisions of the Issues* (staseôn diaireseis), *Art of Judicial Oratory To Apsines* (Technên dikanikên pros Apsinên), *On the Art of Controversio* (Peri antirrêtikês technês), *progymnasmata*, *declamations*, *encomia*, and very many other works.³³ In the entry Onasimus is written that he was from Cyprus or Sparta and a historian and sophist of those who lived under Constantine. Epiphanius of Syria, sometimes called the Arab, was a poet as well as a sophist mentioned by Eunapius in *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*. Epiphanius taught rhetoric at Laodicea before he moved to Athens. He is mentioned by Sozomenus, and was a correspondent of Libanius. Though he died young he left several technical treatises on rhetoric, which are all lost.³⁴ Epiphanius lived in the days of Constantius and Julian the Apostate or the reign of Theodosius the Great. (Suda. Adler number: epsilon, 2741). He wrote *On Similarity and Difference of the Issues* (Περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ διαφορᾶς τῶν στάσεων) and *progymnasmata*. Helladius of Alexandria wrote *Use of all Kinds of Diction* (Λέξεως παντοίας χρῆσιν κατὰ στοιχεῖον). Helladius was a grammarian living under the emperor Theodosius the younger. His works are *Use of all Kinds of Diction*, *Description of Ambition*,

³³ Suda. Adler number: omicron, 327. Suda Online. Stoa Consortium. December 12, 2008. <http://www.stoa.org>

³⁴ Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*. Introduction by Wilmer Cave Wright. The Tertullian Project. December 12, 2008. http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eunapius_01_intro.htm

Dionysus, or Muse, Description of the Baths of Constantius, and Praise of the Emperor Theodosius (*Suda*. Adler number: epsilon, 732).

III. Conclusions

Many treatises on rhetorical topics existed that are now lost. Even though they are no longer available, we must consider them as important sources for the history of rhetoric. The majority of the treatises here described are rhetorical handbooks, technical writings for the instruction of learners of rhetoric. *Suda* as a late source of the Byzantine time is a compilation of antique works. Due to the fact that the *Suda* was written in Greek, we can be relatively sure that the titles of the works even from the earliest time of Greek rhetoric are transmitted correctly. The papyri today known give us an insight on the variety of genres and forms of writing we can classify as rhetorical papyri. The rhetorical documents of the time between the earliest beginnings of rhetoric and the Byzantine time show a wide variety focusing on rhetoric from an abstract perspective of the rhetorical theory, which was established since the time of Corax and Tisias. While the speeches and the writings of students about rhetorical topics represent applied rhetoric (*rhetorica utens*), the writings preserves in *Suda* are theoretical groundwork for the history and theory of rhetoric and sophistry as a technical discipline serving educational traditions (*rhetorica docens*). The classic form of this educational literary work is the *Art of Rhetoric*, which contains all data and information related to rhetoric in a systematical way and aims to serve as a comprehensive guide in all fields of rhetoric. This classic type of treatise was also used in later time and got its modifications by each writer who composed an *Art of Rhetoric*. Other important kinds of rhetorical treatises we find in the corpus examined are the studies in issues and the stylistic guidelines dealing with the stasis-theory and the stylistic forms of rhetorical speeches and writings. Less representative are the writings that deal with specific topics and issues of rhetoric. Due to the various documents not preserved as a

full version of an original writing, we have only a selective insight on writings now lost. But they may serve as a connection between the recently upcoming amount of papyri on rhetorical issues that have normally no titles or names of authors, and the titles of the works mentioned by *Suda*. The technical availability of these papyri will allow us in future time to compare the papyri known to titles of rhetorical writings we know and rhetorical writings that are extant.

IV. Sources

1. Lost Books:

The Ancient Literature on Sophistry as a System and Historical Movement

Works of Sophists and Rhetoricians (Alphabetical Order)

Abas

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 20

Art of Rhetoric (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ)

Anonymus

Lexicon of the 'Pure Style'

Photius. *Bibliotheca or Myriobiblion*. Nr. 146

Anonymus

Lexicon of the 'Serious Style'

Photius. *Bibliotheca or Myriobiblion*. Nr. 147

Anonymus

Lexicon of the 'Political Style'

Photius. *Bibliotheca or Myriobiblion*. Nr. 148

Antisthenes

Diogenes Laertius. Lives of Eminent Philosophers book 6, 16

Physiognomikos of the Sophists (Περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν φυσιογνωμονικός)

Aphthonius

See online-edition of: *Suda*. Adler number: alpha, 4630

Progymnasmata on Hermogenes' Art προγυμνάσματα

Aristocles of Pergamum

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 3918

Art of Rhetoric (Τέχνη ῥητορική)

Letters (Ἐπιστολαί)

On Rhetoric in five books (Περὶ ῥητορικῆς βιβλία ε)

Declamations (Μελέται)

Aristocles of Messene in Italy (Peripatetic philosopher)

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 3916

Arts of Rhetoric (Τέχνας ῥητορικὰς)

Aspasius of Byblos

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 4203

On Figured Issues (Περὶ στάσεων ἐσχηματισμένων)

Declamations (Μελέται)

Arts (Τέχναι)

Commentaries (Ὑπομνήματα)

Informal discourses (Δάλια)

Aspasius of Tyre

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 4204

On the Art of Rhetoric (Περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς)

Basilicus

Suda. Adler number: beta, 159

On the Figures of Diction (Περὶ τῶν διὰ τῶν λέξεων σχημάτων)

On Rhetorical Preparation (or On Practice) (Περὶ ῥητορικῆς παρασκευῆς ἥτοι περὶ ἀσκήσεως)

On Paraphrase (Περὶ μεταποιήσεως)

Callimachus

Suda. Adler number: Kappa, 227

Museum (Μουσεῖον)

Tables of Men Distinguished in Every Branch of Learning, and their Works (Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων, καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν ἐν βιβλίοις κ# καὶ ρ#)

Table and Description of Teachers in Chronological Order from the Beginning (Πίναξ καὶ ἀναγραφὴ τῶν κατὰ χρόνους καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένων διδασκάλων)



Table of Democrates' Rare Words and Compositions (Πίναξ τῶν Δημοκράτους γλωσσῶν καὶ συνταγμάτων)

Caecilius

Suda. Adler number: kappa, 1165

Demonstration that Every Word of Elegant Language has been Spoken
(Ἀπόδειξις τοῦ εἰρησθαι πᾶσαν λέξιν καλλιρρημοσύνης)
alphabetically ordered

Comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero (Σύγκρισις Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος)

How the Attic and Asian Styles Differ (Τίτι διαφέρει ὁ Ἀττικὸς ζῆλος τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ)

On the Stylistic Character of the Ten Attic Orators (Τίτι διαφέρει ὁ Ἀττικὸς ζῆλος τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ)

Comparison of Demosthenes and Aeschines (Σύγκρισις Δημοσθένους καὶ Αἰσχίνου)

On Demosthenes, which of his speeches are genuine and which misattributed (Περὶ Δημοσθένους, ποῖοι αὐτοῦ γνήσιοι λόγοι καὶ ποῖοι νόθοι)

On Things Said Consistently and Inconsistently with History by the Orators (Περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἱστορίαν ἢ παρὰ ἱστορίαν εἰρημένων τοῖς ῥήτορσι)

Chrysippus

Diogenes Laertius. Lives of Eminent Philosophers book 7, 198

On the Sophisms of Herakleides and Pollos (Περὶ τῶν σοφισμάτων πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Πόλλιν) in two books.

Epiphanius

Suda. Adler number: epsilon, 2741

On Similarity and Difference of the Issues (Περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ διαφορᾶς τῶν στάσεων)

Progymnasmata

Declamations

Demarchs (Δημάρχους)

Polemarchicus (Πολεμαρχικόν)

Epideictic speeches

Euagoras of Lindos

Suda. Adler number: epsilon, 3363

Life of Timagenes and of other learned men (Βίος Τιμαγένους καὶ ἑτέρων λογίων)

Thucydidean Enquiries alphabetically arranged (Ζητήσεις κατὰ στοιχεῖον Θουκυδίδου)

Art of Rhetoric in 5 books (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ ἐν βιβλίοις ε#)

Questions in Thucydides arranged by word (τῶν παρὰ Θουκυδίδου ζητουμένων κατὰ λέξιν)

Gaius

Suda. Adler number: gamma, 9

On Construction in five books (Περὶ συντάξεως βιβλία ε#)

Art of Rhetoric (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ)

Declamations

Hadrian

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 528

Declamations

On Types of Style in five books (Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου ἐν βιβλίοις ε)

On Distinctive Features in the Issues in three books (Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν ἰδιωμάτων ἐν βιβλίοις τρισίν)

Letters and epideictic speeches

Hermogenes

Suda. Adler number: epsilon, 3046

Art of Rhetoric (Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ)

On Issues (Περὶ στάσεων βιβλίον α#)

On Types of Styles (Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου βιβλία β#)

Heron

Suda. Adler number: eta, 552

On the Ancient Orators, and the speeches in which they were victorious when competing against each other (Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν λόγων, οἷς ἐνίκησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζόμενοι)

Harpocration, Valerius

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 4014

Lexicon of the Ten Orators (Λέξεις τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων)

Collection of Fine Passages (Ἀνθηρῶν συναγωγή)



Harpocraton, Aelius

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 4013

On the Apparent Examples of Ignorance in the Orators (Περὶ τῶν δοκούντων τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ἡγνοῆσθαι)

Hypotheses to the Speeches of Hyperides (ὑποθέσεις τῶν λόγων Ὑπερίδου)

On the Falsity of Herodotus' History (Περὶ τοῦ κατεψεῦσθαι τὴν Ἡροδότου ἱστορίαν)

On Order in Xenophon (Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι τάξεων)

On the Art of Rhetoric (Περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς)

On Types of Style (Περὶ ἰδεῶν)

Harpocraton, Gaius

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 4012

On Antiphon's Figures (Περὶ τῶν Ἀντιφώντος σχημάτων)

On the Speeches of Hyperides and Lysias (Περὶ τῶν Ὑπερίδου καὶ Λυσίου λόγων)

Julian

Photius. *Bibliotheca or Myriobiblion*. Nr. 150

Lexicon of Julian containing the words used by the ten orators

Kallinikos

Suda. Adler number: kappa, 231

On Bad Taste in Rhetoric (Περὶ κακοζηλίας ῥητορικῆς)

Kleanthes

Diogenes Laertius. *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* book 7, 175

On the Sophistical Actions of the Wise (Περὶ τοῦ τὸν σοφὸν σοφιστεύειν)

Lachares

Suda. Adler number: lambda, 231

Rhetorical Selections (ἔγραψε Ἐκλογὰς ῥητορικὰς κατὰ στοιχεῖον)

Leon

Suda. Adler number: lambda, 265

On Issues (Περὶ στάσεων)

Leon of Alabanda

Suda. Adler number: lambda, 265

Art (Τέχνη)

On Issues (Περὶ στάσεων)

Maior

Suda. Adler number: Mim, 46

On Issues in 13 books (Περὶ στάσεων βιβλία ιγ#)

Menander of Laodicea

Suda. Adler number: Mim, 590

Commentary on Hermogenes' Art

Commentary on Minucianus' Progymnasmata

Metrodorus

Diogenes Laertius. Lives of Eminent Philosophers book 10, 24

On the Sophists (Πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς)

Metrophanes of Eucarpia in Phrygia

Suda. Adler number: mu, 1009

On Types of Style (Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου)

On Issues (Περὶ στάσεων)

Commentary on Hermogenes' Art (εἰς τὴν Ἑρμογένους τέχνην
ὑπόμνημα)

Commentary on Aristides (εἰς Ἀριστείδην ὑπόμνημα)

Minucianus, son of the sophist Nicagoras

Suda. Adler number: mu, 1087

Art of Rhetoric (Τέχνη ῥητορική)

Progymnasmata

Mnaseas of Berytus

Suda. Adler number: mu, 1147

Art of Rhetoric (ἔγραψε τέχνην ῥητορικήν)

Nicolaus of Myra in Lycia

Suda. Adler number: nu, 395

Art of Rhetoric (Τέχνη ῥητορική)

Declamations

Numenius

Suda. Adler number: nu, 518

On the Figures of Diction (Περὶ τῶν τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων)

Hypotheses to Thucydides and Demosthenes (Ὑποθέσεις τῶν Θουκυ-
δίδου καὶ Δημοσθένους)



A collection of chreiai (Χρειῶν συναγωγή)

Onasimos of Cyprus or Sparta

Suda. Adler number: omicron, 327

Divisions of the Issues (Στάσεων διαιρέσεις)

Art of Judicial Oratory To Apsines (Τέχνην δικανικὴν πρὸς Ἀψίνην)

On the Art of Controversio (Περὶ ἀντιρρητικῆς τέχνης)

Progymnasmata

Paul

Suda. Adler number: pi, 809

Art of Rhetoric (Τέχνη ῥητορική)

Phrynichus of Bithynia

Suda. Adler number: phi, 764

Sophistic Training (Σοφιστικῆς παρασκευῆς βιβλία 47 or 48)

Atticist, or Attic Vocabulary (2 books) (Ἀττικιστὴν ὑπ' Ἀττικῶν
ὀνομάτων βιβλία β#)

Collection of Established Usages (Τιθεμένων συναγωγὴν)

Phrynichus

Photius. *Bibliotheca*. Nr. 158

Rhetorical Equipment

Philiscus of Miletus

Suda. Adler number: phi, 360

Art of Rhetoric (in 2 books)

Polus

Suda. Adler number: pi, 2170 (Rhetorician or sophist)

On Diction (Περὶ λέξεως)

Potamo son of Lesbonax

Suda. Adler number: pi, 2127

On the Perfect Orator (Περὶ τελείου ῥήτορος)

Sabinos

Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

2nd Semi- Vol. I A, 2. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1920: 2555

*Eisagoge kai Hypotheseis Meletetikes Hyles, a rhetorical handbook in four
books*

Serapion

Suda. Adler number: sigma, 115

On Mistakes in Declamations (Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς μελέταις ἀμαρτανομένων)

Art of Rhetoric (Τέχνη ῥητορική)

Lectures (7 books) (Ἀκροάσεων βιβλία ζ#)

Siburtius

Suda. Adler number: Sigma, 364

Art of Rhetoric (τέχνη ῥητορική), written as plural *Arts of Rhetoric* (“ἔγραψε τέχνας ῥητορικάς”)

Timaeus

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities

Lexicon to Plato

Ulpian

Suda. Adler number: omicron, 9119

Progymnasmata

Art of Rhetoric (τέχνη ῥητορική)

Zosimus of Gaza or Ascalon

Suda. Adler number: zeta, 169

Rhetorical Lexicon (alphabetically arranged)

Commentary on Demosthenes

Commentary on Lysias.

Others

Androkleides

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 2180

Concerning the Troublesome Rhetoricians (Περὶ τοῦ ἐμποδῶν τεχνολόγων)

Apollonius (Dyscolus) of Alexandria (Grammarians)

Suda. Adler number: alpha, 3422

On the Division of the Parts of Speech in four books (Περὶ μερισμοῦ τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν βιβλία δ#)

On Homeric Figures (Περὶ σχημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν)

On Fabricated History (Περὶ κατεψευσμένης ἱστορίας)



Caligula. Caesar Tiberius

Suda. Adler number: kappa, 1198

Art of Rhetoric (τέχνη ῥητορική).

Helladius

Suda. Adler number: epsilon, 732

Λέξεως παντοίας χρῆσιν κατὰ στοιχεῖον

Hermagoras

Suda. Adler number: epsilon, 3023

On Sophistry addressed to the Academicians (Περὶ σοφιστείας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς)

Porphyry

Suda. Adler number: pi, 2098

Commentary on Minucian's Art of Rhetoric (Εἰς τὴν Μινουκιανοῦ τέχνην)

Ptolemy of Alexandria (grammarian) nicknamed Pindarion

Suda. Adler number: pi, 3034

On the Stylistic Character of Homer (Περὶ τοῦ Ὀμητικοῦ χαρακτήρος)

Theon (of Alexandria. Philosopher)

Suda. Adler number: theta, 203

On the Arts of Rhetoric (Περὶ τεχνῶν ῥητορικῶν βιβλία τρία)

Theon, Aelius (of Alexandria. Sophist)

Suda. Adler number: theta, 206

Art (Τέχνη)

On Progymnasmata (Περὶ προγυμνασμάτων)

Commentary on Xenophon (ὑπόμνημα εἰς Ξενοφῶντα)

On Isocrates (εἰς τὸν Ἰσοκράτην)

On Demosthenes (εἰς Δημοσθένην)

Rhetorical Hypotheses (Ῥητορικὰς ὑποθέσεις)

Questions on the Composition of Discourse (Ζητήματα περὶ συντάξεως λόγου)

Tryphon

Suda. Adler number: tau, 1115

On Breath and Tropes (Περὶ πνευμάτων καὶ τρόπων)

2. Primary Sources, Databases, Collections

Suda Online

Suda. *Suda Online*: Byzantine Lexicography. Project by Raphael Finkel, Bill Hutton, Patrick Rourke, Ross Scaife, Elizabeth Vandiver, et al, *Suda OnLine and the Stoa Consortium*, <http://www.stoa.org/sol/>

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Photius. *Bibliotheca or Myriobiblion* (Cod. 1-165, Tr. Freese). Tertullian.org, http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/photius_03_bibliotheca.htm

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Resumo: Este artigo ocupa-se de um aspecto da história e da técnica da retórica que não tem, até agora, sido considerado como uma área de investigação no domínio dos estudos retóricos. Como decorrência do estatuto marginal das obras perdidas, percebe-se que a história da retórica é interrompida sempre que não se encontram disponíveis provas materiais da existência de manuais de retórica. Serão, assim, apresentados manuais de retórica maioritariamente desconhecidos, uma vez que, tendo a obra desaparecido, estes surgem apenas documentados em títulos de outros textos. Pretende-se que este trabalho seja uma contribuição para o desenvolvimento da história da retórica. Nesse sentido, conduzir-se-á a discussão até ao limite do possível, uma vez que, em muitos casos, as questões de autoria e datação permanecem obscuras.

Palavras-chave: Retórica; Sofística; manuais de retórica; *Suda*; Helenismo; Literatura Grega.

Resumen: Este artículo se ocupa de un aspecto de la historia y de la técnica de la retórica que hasta la fecha no ha sido considerado un área de investigación en el ámbito de los estudios retóricos. Como resultado del estatuto marginal de las obras perdidas, se entiende que la historia de la retórica se interrumpe cada vez que no se encuentran disponibles pruebas materiales de la existencia de manuales de retórica. Presentaremos así manuales de retórica en su mayoría desconocidos, puesto que, al haber desaparecido la obra, sólo aparecen documentados en títulos de otros textos. Nuestra intención es que este trabajo aporte una contribución al desarrollo de la historia de la retórica. Para ello se llevará la discusión hasta el límite de lo posible, dado que en muchos casos las cuestiones de autoría y datación son aún oscuras.

Palabras clave: Retórica; Sofística; manuales de retórica; *Suda*; Helenismo; Literatura Griega.

Résumé: Cet article aborde un aspect de l'histoire et de la technique de la rhétorique qui, jusqu'à présent, n'avait pas encore été considéré comme un champ de recherche dans le domaine des études rhétoriques. Le statut marginal des œuvres perdues a fait en sorte que l'histoire de la rhétorique se trouve interrompue à chaque fois qu'aucune preuve matérielle de l'existence de manuels de rhétorique ne soit disponible. Par conséquent, et dans la mesure où l'œuvre a disparu, nous présenterons des manuels de rhétorique méconnus pour la plupart, puisqu'ils n'apparaissent qu'en tant que titres d'autres textes. Nous prétendons donc que ce travail soit une contribution au

développement de l'histoire de la rhétorique. La discussion sera donc menée jusqu'aux limites du possible, dans la mesure où, dans plusieurs cas, les questions liées à l'auteur et à la datation restent obscures.

Mots-clé: rhétorique; sophistique; manuels de rhétorique; *Suda*; Hellénisme; littérature grecque.

