"THE FOURTH SOPHISTRY" IN THE CULTURAL SPACE OF LATER ANTIQUITY (VITH CENT)

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ABSTRACT
The article substantiates the phenomenon of the "fourth sophistry" as a special phase (stage) of the late-antique rhetorical tradition development. Unlike the previous ones, the representatives of the "fourth sophistry" were already Christians, they taught Christians, but they used traditional classical examples. They are separated by a century from the preceding "third sophistry". Another of their essential features is that they are provincial and connected with a school tradition. In general, the sophists of the fourth generation are important precisely in terms of knowledge transfer and the forms of this transfer. Besides, with their help, a local version of the Early Byzantine cultural synthesis was developed, which also adapted classical rhetoric.

Keywords: The Fourth Sophistry, cultural space, antiquity

INTRODUCTION
The term "Second sophistry" goes back to Flavius Philostratus (VS 481): "... The next [i.e., ancient] sophistry - it's more correctly called not a new, but the second one ... - portrayed the poor and the rich, the nobles and tyrants, and drew famous events and famous persons of the past in the compositions." This term has long been established and it is usually applied now to Greek literature from the middle of the 1st to the middle of the 3rd century. (Dion Chrysostom, Elijah Aristides, Lucian, the Philostratus family, etc.) [Whitmarsh, 2005; Richter, Johnson, 2017].

Until recently, the authors of the IVth century were included in this series. But Libaniy opens a special pleiad of authors of the 2nd half of the IVth century, which also includes such important figures as Phemisty, Hymery, Proerezy, Julian the Emperor and Sinezy. In 1993, Laurent Pernot [Pernot, 1993] proposed the term "Third sophistry" precisely for the designation of rhetors and the sophists of the fourth century, mainly its middle and the second half.

The term has been developed considerably in recent years [Malosse, Schouler, 2009; Amato, 2006; Quiroga, 2007]. The authors of this series form a very clear internal and chronological unity. In this case, the rhetorists of the end of the 5th - 6th centuries (Gorapolon the Younger, Procopius Gazsky, Horiky) can be fully called the representatives of the "Fourth Sophistry."

As far as we know, this term has not been encountered in historiography previously. Meanwhile, the rhetoric and the sophistry of the 6th century are quite different from the preceding one in chronology (almost a century long gap), and by the circumstance that its bearers were already Christians (in the "Third Sophistry" only Proaresius was a Christian).

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY
The sources of the study are the works of early Byzantine authors of the VIth century, who left rhetorical works on ancient subjects. First of all, it's Prokopy Gazsky and Horiky. Nowadays, the era of late antiquity is one of the most urgent and poorly studied problems in historical science. Our task is to substantiate the phenomenon of "fourth sophistry" as a special stage in the development of classical rhetoric, as well as to highlight its specific features.
Methodological basis of the work: the principles of objectivity and historicism in the context of local civilization theory.
Methods: content analysis, comparative-historical analysis and synthesis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
As Liv van Hoof correctly notes, "since the historians of late antiquity have long gone beyond the paradigm of decay and destruction to the study of a number of transformations and dynamic changes, it shouldn't be a surprise that sophists have been poorly studied as a whole in the context of late antiquity. To put it bluntly, the classicizing late Greek rhetoric is a set of petrified topos that are passed on to the offspring at schools by teachers who used them as a refuge against contemporary religious, political and sociocultural evolutions, not only quantitative but also qualitative, of course" [Van Hoof, 2010].

This judgment looks somewhat harsh, especially for the time of Libanius and the "Third Sophistry", perhaps it suits more to the sixth-century Gaza school ("Fourth sophistry"), but on the whole it is not far from the truth only in a remote historical perspective.

Even the "Fourth Sophistry" was not a set of petrified truths (the future bishops were now learning the eloquence using the examples from the classical tradition), nor the refuge of crypto-pagan intellectuals in the era of victorious Christianity and Justinian's persecution in respect of pagans. Procopius of Gaza and Horiky were quite sincere Christians, and Procopius was a theologian who studied the Old Testament. Nevertheless, a classical eloquence in all forms was a lively and interesting subject for them in the process of knowledge translation through the Gaza School.

We will try to justify this term and try to show its differences from the previous stages of sophistry development.

Prokopy of Gaza (circa 475-528) is one of the most prominent representatives of the Gaza Christian rhetorical school of V-VI centuries - a unique phenomenon in the history of early Byzantine culture, where the synthesis of classical and Christian heritage reached the most fruitful expression. In this school, future bishops and priests studied eloquence on the examples of classical antique mythology, which was harmless to them. Procopius addresses in his letters to a wide range of people - relatives, friends, colleagues, rhetoricians, students, etc. - and expresses an opinion on the most diverse situations. Often a scientist seems to push a person away to the background, however, behind the complexity of Procopius' literary style, we can see certain features of his inner world. Together with friendship and family ties, his relationship with his students is the most important one.

The audience of Prokopy appears as a community that shares the same moral values and cultural tastes as he does. Within the framework of this community, the art of Procopius finds its justification: he is a "sophist", and a highly moral person at the same time, a Christian who can lead his contemporaries in the right direction, reminding them of virtuous examples. The audience of the rhetoric is characterized as a "swarm of wise bees", which varies between pagan heritage and Christian spirituality.

Thus, one of the key figures of the early Byzantine culture, the Procopius of Gaza, is gradually emerging at one of the leading places concerning the study of cultural continuity, the gradual "reformatting" of the classical heritage clothed in a Christian shell in Early Byzantium [Bolgova, 2014].

Horiky (500-590) is the best and the last representative of the Greek rhetoric of the 6th century, and also the most peculiar representative of the Gaza School. In his writings, he does not tell us anything about his life, career or family. There is only one definite reference in his writings that he was born in Gaza. There is also no one among his contemporaries who would have mentioned him in correspondence; even his teacher Procopius does not mention him in his letters. The only information about Horiky comes from Photius (cod. 160) and the Suda, and both these notes refer only to his style and literary qualities [Downey, 1958]. Consequently, we know little about Horiky's life. Most of the scientists who studied his works, believe that the flowering of his activities was in 520-530-ies (more precisely, in 520-540-ies).
Horiky speaks with a great enthusiasm about his native region and its inhabitants. He praises the softness
and the manners of the Gazians [Downey, 1963], their holidays and their love to live in the open air; Throughout his life, Horiky loved Gaza and enjoyed his life there.

Horiky had to have a very strong classical educational background. He was very well versed in Homer, Plato, tragedies, and especially - in classical historians and speakers.

The judgments about the stylistic features of Ghazian prose, about the impact on his work and the
frequency of their citation lead to the conclusion that the main language of instruction in Gaza was the
classical Attic dialect [Tomadakis, 1961]. Horiky was an exceptionally rhetoric, but not a poet or a
philosopher.

Christian education, including sacred hermeneutics and Christian morality, appears as an important part of the curriculum at Gaza School already by the end of the 5th century. The lives of the saints probably formed another training course (the content and the style of Funer.In Mar by Horiky testify to his acquaintance with the lives of saints), but this was, perhaps, only for those who were preparing for the priesthood. First of all, the school was focused on Greek grammar, classical literature and rhetoric.

Horiky, apparently, was engaged only in teaching and research. He was modest enough not to seek civilian administrative posts of any kind. It was enough for him to fill his life with recitations or speeches, various educational and charitable events, besides being a teacher, a hegemon (i.e., scholar) in his school. In 536, when he uttered his Laud. Marc. I, Horiky was a teacher and scientist, and modestly determined himself as one of the responsible local educators.

The general Horiky's mentality seems to reflect the emerging concept of a monk philosopher, which replaces the more traditional concept of a philosopher-teacher [Marrou, 1982].

At the beginning of the VIth cent. rhetoric was the part of the cultural image of an educated Christian. There was no use of speeches in the political sphere any longer, but, together with legislative or ceremonial goals and in court, they also served the Church. The Christian preacher, however, as a rhetorician, will differ little from a pagan rhetoric in basic details. The ethical and rhetorical aspects of speech were two elements that formed a new union inspired by the development of Christian values. Horiky also expresses indirectly his attitude towards the degeneration of political rhetoric application.

Horiky was a Christian, but this is almost invisible in his surviving works, except when he talks about the building of temples, philanthropy and bishop's activities.

Therefore, in our opinion, the classicizing rhetoric of the Christians of the 6th century, such as Procopius and Horiky, may be called the Fourth Sophistry, in contrast to the Third one (the 2nd half of the 4th century).

Horiky in his oratorical art, mainly stressed the rhetorical aspect, but he also included the ethical one. He taught rhetoric in accordance with the rules and the methods of previous periods. Libanius and Elijah Aristide seem to have been his most influential teachers. Horiky followed them conscientiously and presented them as favorite samples in the classrooms of his school. He mentioned Libaniy 493 times, and the sample of the ideal rhetorician is described by the phrase "Ερμού τύπον" ("a scientist like Hermes"), which he borrowed from Elijah Aristide. On the other hand, since he also regarded Thucydides and Demosthenes as the fundamental sources of rhetoric, he took their style, language and methods [Kustas, 1973].

The main subject that Horiky taught in Gaza was rhetoric. He believed that oratory is an important subject and exists even among barbarians. In general, he considers rhetoric as an important subject of scientific research and expresses the belief that rhetorical training helps a person to grow in many ways. He complains that many young people of his time follow a military career and neglect the study of rhetoric. Horiky also taught mythology, but it seems that this was not his favorite subject, of course, either because his students did not consider it as a serious subject for scientific research or, perhaps, because it was well-
known already. Undoubtedly, in Gaza, as in other schools of late antiquity, the students of the school had to memorize verses and numerous ancient myths. It is interesting to note that some of these myths that were included in the curriculum were obscene and, obviously, contradicted the Christian values for the education of that period. However, they did not have any religious content, and therefore were not dangerous completely. Indecency, even expressed in public, took place in Early Byzantium quite often (for example, John Chrysostom fought it actively in the beginning of the 5th century).

The term that Horiky uses to qualify the profession of the rhetorician is ρητορική and the corresponding noun of the masculine gender is ρήτωρ. He can also use the term σοφιστης, which, in particular, points to the teacher of rhetoric. The sophist's work was based on the writing of recitations and other rhetorical exercises for public presentation, presumably at school. However, it is clear that Horiky considered the sophist primarily a teacher of rhetoric and a scholar, not limited only to an audience or students, but also engaged in various cultural and social events [Litsas, 1980, pp. 30-38].

The fact that Horiky emphasizes basically the artistic aspect of rhetoric puts him within the framework of Philostratus school, the followers of which were also Libanius and Themistius [Kennedy, 1972, pp. 561-565].

Horiky stated that the duty of the rhetorician was twofold: along with his task of leading young people to the knowledge of the ancients, another important duty was to present public competitions and to enchant his audience with sensible and beautiful speeches. Such a presentation as επισείξις is either a presentation of one rhetoric, or friendly contests between two or more rhetoricians. Rhetor, as a rule, came out to present his art to the public after a careful preparation. However, in other cases the audience asked the rhetorician to speak on a given topic, and then on the contest - to improvise [Walden, 1909, p. 213].

Apparently, most of Horiky's remained speeches were written on preliminary prepared topics. On the other hand, the speech on the occasion of Brumalius Justinian seems to have been composed of εκ του πρόχειρου, during the event spontaneously.

Philanthropy was another typical activity of the Christian rhetoric teacher in Gaza. In one of his speeches, Horiky proudly revealed, apparently for political as well as didactic reasons, some charitable acts made by the commander Sum. He also listed many of Procopius' charitable activities and expressed the conviction that in this way he presented a more complete image of his deceased teacher. Procopius gave money for the comfort of the suffering; his assistance to orphans and widows is known; his financial assistance to those in need from his own funds; His willingness to share grief with those who are in mourn. In all these philanthropic, public and communal events, rhetoricians and rhetoric masters in Gaza have always found opportunities to display their art publicly; they could praise, decorate a wedding or provide a moral judgment.

Rhetor was a popular figure, involved in various public affairs, and was always ready to offer the fruits of his craft.

Given the admiration and respect with which Khoriky wrote about the personality of his teacher Procopius, one can understand that the teacher of rhetoric had a high position in the eyes of his disciples in Gaza. In principle, the personality of the teacher and his fascination as a rhetor consisted in rhetorical words that painstakingly portrayed the way of life of the scholar to many young people, or predetermined their choice of teacher profession [Petit, 1957, pp. 137-139].

Gaza School in the middle of the VIth cent. under Khoriky's pen appears as a harmonious example of early Byzantine cultural synthesis, who took the best of ancient culture, and put it in favor of Christianity.

CONCLUSIONS
In this article it is proposed for the first time to consider rhetors and sophists of the 6th century as a special generation in the history of ancient rhetoric - "Fourth sophistry". There is a number of reasons for this. First of all, this is a chronological break with the "Third sophistry", which entirely relates to the middle -
the second half of the IVth cent. "The third sophistry" is still pagan; "The fourth sophistry" is pagan in content, but its bearers (and often heroes) are already Christians. If the "Third sophistry" embraced the main cultural centers - Athens, Constantinople, Antioch, then the "Fourth" is a regional (provincial) one and localized around the Gaza School. Also, the "Fourth Sophistry" is completely devoid of political and social motives, but it is not devoid of a specific biographical and historical context (Horiky gives a series of biographical speeches addressed to scholars, generals, bishops, philanthropists and women).

Both generations play an important role in the translation of knowledge through the school tradition, but in the VI. the role of the rhetorical school is stated finally in the cultural continuity between antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Besides, it is important to clarify the difference between rhetoric and sophistry. Rhetoric is an educational reproduction of elocution (eloquence). Sophistry is rhetoric with the elements of scientific research, quasi-philosophical interpretation of plots, as well as the possibility of public speaking with impromptu speech without preparation.

Only the works of Procopius of Gaza and Horiky remained from the "fourth sophistry" (we include Gorapollon here conditionally, since his rhetorical works have not reached us), but they are very indicative as a product of traditional municipal urban culture, however, under new, Christian conditions. Therefore, "Fourth sophistry" is one of the most creative variants of early Byzantine cultural synthesis [Bolgova, Bolgov, 2014].

LIST OF REFERENCES