RETHINKING THE GODS

Ancient philosophers had always been fascinated by religion. From the first century BC onwards, the traditionally hostile attitude of Greek and Roman philosophy was abandoned in favour of the view that religion was a source of philosophical knowledge. This book studies that change, not from the usual perspective of the history of religion, but as part of the wider tendency of Post-Hellenistic philosophy to open up to external, non-philosophical sources of knowledge and authority. It situates two key themes, ancient wisdom and cosmic hierarchy, in the context of Post-Hellenistic philosophy and traces their reconfigurations in contemporary literature and in the polemic between Jews, Christians and pagans. Overall, Post-Hellenistic philosophy displayed a relatively high degree of unity in its ideas on religion, which should not be reduced to a preparation for Neoplatonism.

PETER VAN NUFFELEN is Professor of History at Ghent University, Belgium. His research interests cover ancient historiography, religion and philosophy. His publications include the monograph *Un héritage de paix et de piété. Étude sur les Histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène* (2004) and the edited volumes *Monotheism in Late Antiquity between Pagans and Christians* (2010) and *One God. Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire* (2010), both with S. Mitchell.

GREEK CULTURE IN THE ROMAN WORLD

Editors

SUSAN E. ALCOCK, Brown University JAŚ ELSNER, Corpus Christi College, Oxford SIMON GOLDHILL, University of Cambridge

The Greek culture of the Roman Empire offers a rich field of study. Extraordinary insights can be gained into processes of multicultural contact and exchange, political and ideological conflict, and the creativity of a changing, polyglot empire. During this period, many fundamental elements of Western society were being set in place: from the rise of Christianity, to an influential system of education, to long-lived artistic canons. This series is the first to focus on the response of Greek culture to its Roman imperial setting as a significant phenomenon in its own right. To this end, it will publish original and innovative research in the art, archaeology, epigraphy, history, philosophy, religion, and literature of the empire, with an emphasis on Greek material.

Titles in series:

Philostratus Edited by Ewen Bowie and Jas Elsner

The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor Arjan Zuiderhoek

Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community Ann Marie Yasin

> Galen and the World of Knowledge Edited by Christopher Gill, Tim Whitmarsh and John Wilkins

Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World Edited by Tim Whitmarsh

Homer Between History and Fiction in Imperial Greek Literature Laurence Kim

Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion Verity Platt

> Narrative, Identity and the Ancient Greek Novel Tim Whitmarsh

Women and Visual Replication in Roman Imperial Art and Culture Jennifer Trimble

The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium Peter Thonemann

> Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution J. S. Spawforth

Rethinking the Gods: Philosophical Readings of Religion in the Post-Hellenistic Period Peter Van Nuffelen

RETHINKING THE GODS

Philosophical Readings of Religion in the Post-Hellenistic Period

PETER VAN NUFFELEN



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge св2 8ru, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107012035

© Peter Van Nuffelen 2011

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2011

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data Nuffelen, Peter van. Rethinking the gods : philosophical readings of religion in the Post-Hellenistic period / Peter van Nuffelen. p. cm. – (Greek culture in the Roman world) Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-1-107-01203-5 I. Philosophy, Ancient – History. 2. Religion – Philosophy – History. I. Title. BI71.N84 2011 180 – dc23 2011033570

ISBN 978-1-107-01203-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel timetables, and other factual information given in this work is correct at the time of first printing but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee the accuracy of such information thereafter. Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-01203-5 - Rethinking the Gods: Philosophical Readings of Religion in the Post-Hellenistic Period Peter Van Nuffelen Frontmatter More information

Contents

Ack	enowledgements	<i>page</i> vii
Note on abbreviations		viii
	Introduction	I
PAF	RT I ANCIENT WISDOM	
I	Tracing the origins: ancients, philosophers and mystery cults	27
2	Plutarch of Chaeronea: 'History as a basis for a philosophy that has theology as its end'	48
3	Numenius: philosophy as a hidden mystery	72
4	Dio Chrysostom, Apuleius and the rhetoric of ancient wisdom	84
PAF	RT II COSMIC HIERARCHY	
5	Towards the pantheon as the paradigm of order	IOI
6	The Great King of Persia and his satraps: ideal and ideology	122
7	Dio Chrysostom: virtue and structure in the kingship orations	I47
8	Plutarch: a benevolent hierarchy of gods and men	157

v

vi	Contents	
PAI	RT III POLEMIC AND PREJUDICE: CHALLENGING The discourse	
9	Lucian, Epicureanism and strategies of satire	179
IO	Philo of Alexandria: challenging Graeco-Roman culture	200
II	Celsus and Christian superstition	217
	Epilogue	231
Bibliography Index		242 269

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-01203-5 - Rethinking the Gods: Philosophical Readings of Religion in the Post-Hellenistic Period Peter Van Nuffelen Frontmatter More information

Acknowledgements

The present book is the product of my 'Exeter years'. I came to Exeter in 2004 to work as a post-doctoral research fellow on the pagan monotheism project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and directed by Stephen Mitchell. The book was finished whilst holding a lectureship in the same department. The Department of Classics and Ancient History in Exeter was, and continues to be, a warm, inspiring and intellectually challenging community of scholars, to which I owe a great deal personally and professionally. Final revisions to the manuscript were made in Cincinnati, when holding a Margo Tytus Fellowship (summer of 2009), and in Oxford, as a Visiting Member of the Corpus Christi Classics Centre (2009–10). Some of the ideas of this book were first tested on audiences in Krakow, Leuven, Münster, Bristol and Cardiff; sections of it were read by Hans Hauben, Alfons Fürst and Josef Lössl. I here wish to express my sincere gratitude for the stimulating feedback I received. I am also grateful for the suggestions of the readers and series editors, which have substantially improved the book.

I wish to thank three persons in particular. Stephen Mitchell not only read and commented on the entire book, but was a source of encouragement and inspiration throughout my years in Exeter. With his warm personality and intellectual rigour, he has set very high personal and academic standards. Notwithstanding high demands on his own time, Chris Gill has commented on the entire manuscript and even read some chapters twice, providing crucial suggestions and stimulation for the lay-out of the argument. Finally, my wife, Lieve Van Hoof, commented thoroughly and critically on the manuscript and helped me rethink the material. I dedicated my first book to her gratuitously (as it should be) because she is the love of my life. She continues to be, but in this case she has also earned the dedication by hard labour. Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-01203-5 - Rethinking the Gods: Philosophical Readings of Religion in the Post-Hellenistic Period Peter Van Nuffelen Frontmatter <u>More information</u>

Abbreviations

Abbreviations of ancient sources follow S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (1996), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn, Oxford. Journal titles follow the list of *L'Année philologique* (www.annee-philologique.com/aph/).