

**SEEKING OUT THE REMOTE AND THE DIVINE:
STORY PARADIGMS SHAPING SECOND SOPHISTIC 'LIVES'**

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Certification

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis and all sources used have been acknowledged in this thesis.

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Katherine Moignard

9.6.15

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Abstract

This thesis arose from the observation that two sorts of journeys commonly described in Second Sophistic literature – to religious and, in particular, oracular sites, and to the 'end of the earth' – are rarely considered together, although they have in common the liminal nature of their destinations. Like oracular sites, the boundaries of the earth were numinous, closer to the gods than the places we know, their inhabitants superior or in touch with the divine. The thesis proposes that, and explores the ways in which, tales of journeys of both kinds were regularly used by Second Sophistic writers to assert – or deny – the superior or even divine nature of their protagonists. Here, 'Second Sophistic writers' are identified simply as writers active in the period c. 60-230 CE.

The body of the thesis is contained in Volume 1 (Chs 1-8). Chapter 1 introduces the thesis and discusses the kinds of places accounted liminal in Second Sophistic thought. Part A (Ch. 2) then provides a comprehensive survey of the accounts of journeys to such places that are to be found in a range of Second Sophistic works. It reveals the underlying similarity of diverse stories about pre-Second Sophistic protagonists (both mythological and historical) who deliberately seek out the remote or the divine. These stories are generally less about the destinations than about the protagonists: they are accounts of tests which establish (or enable the protagonists to develop and/or earn) the superior status generally credited to them.

It follows that they are stories about journeys that can be considered 'liminal' in a sense developed in the twentieth century by anthropologists and psychologists, and introduced in Ch. 1. Just as 'liminal' places are thresholds potentially permitting transition from this world to one transcending it, so a 'liminal' experience effects a transition from one level of consciousness or social role to a transcendent one. In tribal societies, initiation is a liminal experience that changes an individual's social status and role; in more complex societies, less formally-organized experiences can be pivotal in developing an individual's self-perception and initiating his or her career. Obviously, the identification of experiences of this kind is central to biography and autobiography.

A single moment or event – an anointing, a revelation, an encounter, a decision – can constitute the liminal experience which changes an individual's life. However, in the context of traditional societies, van Gennep moved beyond discussion of the liminal moment or event – initiation – to focus upon the liminal *period* of the duration of initiation ceremonies. The duration of a pilgrimage has more recently been suggested as a liminal period in the lives of participants. The concept of a liminal period can be more broadly understood: any deliberate

life-choice may involve a period of trial – of separation from an old role with a new one still not irrevocably assumed – before it issues in a new self-assessment and social role.

In Part B (Chs 3-6) of this thesis, two biographies and two bodies of autobiographical writing are examined for their use of the well-known narratives (paradigmatic stories) and established formulae (story paradigms) associated with journeys to liminal destinations. In Philostratos' biography of Apollonios of Tyana (Ch. 3), journeys to liminal destinations culminate in the encounters that simultaneously establish the protagonist's innate superiority and make him the individual he has the capacity to be. Lucian uses variants of the same paradigms to denigrate his Alexander of Abonouteichos (Ch. 4). Dion of Prousa (Ch. 5) and Aelius Aristeides (Ch. 6) describe locationally liminal encounters that account (metaphorically or literally) for the critical turning points in their lives. Their 'biographies' – to the extent that we can reconstruct them from their own and other accounts – enable us to identify not only liminal moments or events but also the extended, sequestered (i.e. liminal) periods associated with them that made these episodes pivotal to the protagonists' later (elevated) self-perceptions and roles.

Dion and Aristeides understand, explain or even construct their lives on the basis of familiar paradigms. Moreover, in their sophisticated accounts, they (and Philostratos and Lucian) use references to story paradigms and paradigmatic stories as a code, to convey to educated and perceptive listeners or readers more than is explicitly said. It follows that a listener or reader who correctly understands the meaning passes a test. As a coda to the thesis, Part C (Ch. 7) takes up the issue of a 'sophistic' author and presents the reader as a protagonist who deliberately engages with the author upon taking up a text.

Ch. 8, the conclusion, summarizes both the paradigms used by Second Sophistic writers to assert their protagonists' superiority and the concepts of human 'divinity' with which they engaged; and it compares the 'liminal experiences' that can be ascribed to the four protagonists of the focal works of Part B.

Volume 2 of the thesis consists of Appendices and Tables intended to be read in conjunction with Volume 1. The Appendices provide background information taken for granted in the thesis proper. The Tables detail the results of the comprehensive survey of sources that is described in Part A; the conclusions drawn in Ch. 2 are based upon the data collected in them.

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ζ Aristeides can be identified with his god	
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VOLUME 2. APPENDICES AND TABLES

APPENDICES

TABLES

FORMAL ASPECTS OF THE PRESENTATION OF THIS THESIS

Editions used

Loeb texts were used for the initial survey of the works of Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*), Dion, Diogenes Laertius, Lucian, Pausanias, Philostratos and Plutarch. Relevant passages from some older Loeb texts (Diogenes Laertius, Lucian) have been compared with more recent critical texts (Long 1964, Macleod 1972-87) and amended with an appropriate note where necessary. Stephens and Winkler (1995) provide Greek texts for fragments of the *De incredibilibus* other than Photios' epitome; the latter is available in Henry's (1959-77) Les Belles Lettres edition of the *Bibliotheca*. Helm's Teubner edition (1991-4) has been used for Apuleius' *Florida* and *Apologia*, and Lumb, Rattenbury, and Maillon's Les Belles Lettres second edition (1960) for Heliodoros' *Aethiopica*. Aristeides' *Orr.* 1-16 are available in Lenz and Behr's fasc. 1-4 of 1976-80. Keil's 1958 (second edition) *Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 2, and the textual corrections set out in Behr's 1981 *P. Aelius Aristides: the complete works* (vol. 2, *Orations* 17-53, 447-70), have been used in conjunction for the remaining orations. These include *HL* 1-6.

The four bodies of work discussed in detail in Ch. 3-6 take as source texts respectively: Jones' 2005 edition of *The life of Apollonios of Tyana*; Macleod's 1974 *Alexander*; the Loeb Cohoon-Lamar Crosby edition of Dion's orations; and Aristeides texts as discussed above.

A note on orthography and nomenclature

A work drawing on both Greek and Latin sources and about figures well-known in the western tradition inevitably presents problems of orthography. For the most part, Greek proper names are transliterated from the Greek; however, in a few cases (most notably Achilles, Alexander, Alexandria, Apollo, Delphi, Lucian, Plato, Plutarch), the commonly-used English form of a name has been preferred. Roman names retain their Latin spelling in their Latin parts; for this reason, one of the principal protagonists of this work is Aelius (Latin) Aristeides (Greek).

Titles of individual works among Plutarch's *Moralia* are as listed by Lamberton (2001, 199-210); for the titles of Dion's and Aristeides' orations, see App. 5 and 6. In conformity with modern convention, 'Apology' is used to refer to Philostr. *VA* 8.7, the speech purportedly prepared by Apollonios for presentation at his trial before Domitian.

The role of Appendices and Tables (Volume 2)

The material in Volume 2 (6 Appendices and 17 Tables) has been separated from the thesis proper for easy reference. The Appendices provide background material facilitating the reading of the text: Appendices 1 and 2 expand on Ch. 1.2.3 and Ch. 1.2.4, and Appendices 3-6 relate to Chapters 3-6 respectively. The Tables detail the results of the comprehensive survey of sources described in Ch. 2 and are intended to be read primarily in conjunction with that Chapter. In it and elsewhere in the thesis, the abbreviation T refers the reader to a Table; thus (for example) T1.5 = Table 1, entry 5.

ABBREVIATIONS

Works listed here are not repeated in the Select bibliography.

<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (1972-)
Apology	Apollonios' prepared speech in his own defence at VA 8.7
<i>AvP</i> 8.3	Habicht, C. 1969. <i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> . 8.3, <i>Die Inschriften des Asklepieions</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter
<i>BMC</i>	<i>British Museum catalogue of Greek coins</i> (London, 1873-1929)
<i>BNP</i>	<i>Brill's New Pauly</i> (Brill; online resource)
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Berlin, 1828-77)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1862-)
<i>DI</i>	Rehm, A. 1958. <i>Didyma</i> . Vol. 2, <i>Die Inschriften</i> . Berlin: Mann
<i>DT</i>	Audollent, A. 1967 ² . <i>Defixionum tabellae</i> . Frankfurt: Minerva
Edelstein	Edelstein, E.J., and L. Edelstein. 1998. <i>Asclepius: collection and interpretation of the testimonies</i> . Vol. 1, <i>Collection of the testimonies</i> . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press (repr. of 1945)
<i>FGrH</i>	Jacoby, F. 1923-58. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden: Brill
Fontenrose	Fontenrose, J. 1978. <i>The Delphic oracle: its responses and operations, with a catalogue of responses</i> . Berkeley: University of California Press, 240-416, 'Catalogue of Delphic responses'
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin, 1860-)
<i>IGRom.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> (Paris, 1906-27)
<i>ILS</i>	Dessau, H., ed. 1954-5 ² . <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> . 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann
<i>IOlbia</i>	Knipovich, T.N., and E.I. Levi. 1968. <i>Inscriptiones Olbiae</i> (1917-1965) = <i>Nadpisi Ol'vii</i> (1917-1965). Leningrad: Academia Scientiarum URSS

- IosPE* Latyshev, B., ed. 1965². *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxeni, graecae et latinae*. Hildesheim: Olms
- LGPN* Fraser, P.M., and E. Matthews, eds. *A lexicon of Greek personal names*, vols 1- . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987-
- LIMC* *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich, 1981-94)
- LSJ* Liddell, H.G., and R. Scott, eds. 1940⁹. *A Greek-English lexicon*, rev. H.S. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Milet* *Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*, ed. T. Wiegand *et al.* (Berlin, 1906-)
- Mitchell/French* Mitchell, S., and D. French, eds. 2012. *The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)*. Vol. 1, *From Augustus to the end of the third century AD* (Vestigia. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte 62). Munich: C.H. Beck
- ML* Meiggs, R., and D. Lewis, eds. 1988². *A selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press
- OCD* Hornblower, S., and A. Spawforth, eds. 1996³. *The Oxford classical dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- OED* Simpson, J., and E. Weiner, eds. 1989². *The Oxford English dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- OGIS* Dittenberger, W. 1986. *Orientalis Graecae inscriptiones selectae*. 2 vols. Hildesheim: Olms (repr. of Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903-5)
- OLD* Glare, P.G.W., ed. (1968-76). *Oxford Latin dictionary*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- PIR²* *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (Berlin, 1933-)
- P.Oxy.* *The Oxyrhynchus papyri* (London, 1898-)
- PSI* *Papiri greci e latini* (Florence, 1912-)
- PW* Parke, H.W., and D.E.W. Wormell. 1956. *The Delphic oracle*. Vol. 2, *The oracular responses*. Oxford: Blackwell

SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden, 1923-)
SNG	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> (British Academy; online resource)
SVF	von Arnim, H.F.A., ed. 2004. <i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i> . 4 vols. Munich: Saur (repr. of Stuttgart: Teubner, 1903-5)
Syll. ³	Dittenberger, W., ed. 1915-24. <i>Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 4 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel
T	Table of this thesis; thus (for example) T1.5 = Table 1, entry 5
TGF	Snell, B., R. Kannicht and S. Radt, eds. 1971-2004. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta</i> . 5 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

Journal titles are abbreviated as in *L'Année philologique*. Abbreviations of the names of the authors and titles of individual Greek and Latin literary works (and the titles themselves) are as given by LSJ or *OLD*, or as follows.

[Anonymous]		<i>Hymnus Homericus</i>	
		<i>in Aesculapium</i>	<i>Hymn.Hom.Aes.</i>
		<i>in Cererem</i>	<i>Hymn.Hom.Cer.</i>
Aristeides	Aristid.	<i>Orationes</i>	<i>Or.</i>
		<i>Hieroi logoi</i>	<i>HL</i>
Antonius Diogenes	Ant.Diog.	<i>De incredibilibus</i>	<i>De incred.</i>
Cicero	Cic.	<i>De natura deorum</i>	<i>ND</i>
Eusebios	Eus.	<i>Contra Hieroclem</i>	<i>CH</i>
		<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	<i>HE</i>
Jerome	Jer.	<i>Chronica</i>	<i>Chron.</i>
Justin Martyr	Justin	<i>Apologia</i>	<i>Apol.</i>
Heliodoros	Heliod.	<i>Aethiopica</i>	<i>Aeth.</i>

Livy		<i>Epitomae Periochae</i>	<i>Epit.Per.</i>
Marcus Aurelius	M.Aur.		
Philo	Ph.	<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>	<i>De cong.</i>
		<i>De vita contemplativa</i>	<i>Vit.Cont.</i>
Pliny	Plin.	<i>Naturalis historia</i>	<i>HN</i>
Plutarch	Plut.	<i>Moralia</i>	<i>Mor.</i>
Scholiast	Σ		
Scriptores Historiae Augustae	SHA		
Seneca	Sen.	<i>Naturales quaestiones</i>	<i>NQ</i>