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Iamblichus: *De mysteriis*

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Iamblichus:

De mysteriis

I.9-15, II.11, IV.1-13, V.23-26, VI.5-7, VIII.7-8

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by

Emma C. Clarke
John M. Dillon
and
Jackson P. Hershbell

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μεμαθήκαμεν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, οὐδὲ σὺ ὀρθῶς ἡμᾶς ἐρωτᾷς ὡς εἰδότας τι περιττότερον, εἴπερ μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων διαφέρομεν.

Ἀλλ' οὐδέν ἐστι τούτων ὑγιές· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦνται ἔν τισι τοῦ κόσμου μέρεσιν, οὔτε τὰ περὶ γῆν ἄμοιρα αὐτῶν καθέστηκεν. Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν κρείττονες ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς περιέχονται, περιέχουσι πάντα
[9] *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ γῆς ἐν τοῖς πληρώμασι τῶν θεῶν | ἔχοντα τὸ εἶναι, ὁπόταν ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς τὴν θείαν μετοχὴν γένηται, εὐθὺς ἔχει πρὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἑαυτῶν οὐσίας προϋπάρχοντας ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς θεούς.*

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ ὅλη διαίρεσις αὕτη ψευδής ἐστι καὶ ἡ ἔφοδος ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἰδιωμάτων θήραν παράλογος καὶ τὸ διοικίζειν ἔν τινι τόπῳ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀντιλαμβάνεται τῆς ὅλης ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐσίας καὶ δυνάμεως, διὰ τούτων παρεστήσαμεν. Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν διανομὴν τῶν κρειττόνων ἀντειρημένων, ὡς οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος τοῖς ἀληθέσι νοήμασιν ἀντιλέγουσαν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δεῖ τοῦ λόγου στοχάζεσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ τῆς θείας ἐπιστήμης, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦτο ἐναρμόζομεν τὴν ἀπηρτημένην ἀμφισβήτησιν πρὸς εὔλογόν τινα καὶ θεολογικὴν ἀντίληψιν.

9 *Τίθημι δὴ οὖν ἐρωτῶντά σε οὐκ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀπόρημα, διὰ τί, ἐν οὐρανῷ κατοικούντων τῶν θεῶν μόνως, χθονίων καὶ ὑποχθονίων εἰσὶ*
[10] *παρὰ τοῖς θεουργικοῖς κλή|σεις· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ἀληθὲς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ, ὡς κατ' οὐρανὸν μόνον οἱ θεοὶ περιπολοῦσι· πάντα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστι πλήρη·*

[28].10 μηδὲν (α p. n.) M^c: μηδένα M μηδένα^{πο} (sc. μηδὲν ἀπὸ) V || [29].6 αὐτοῖς (οις s. v.) V^2: αὐτῇ VM || 7 παρεστήσαμεν V: παραστήσωμεν M || 8 ἀντειρημένων V: ἀντειρημένην M || 13 οὐκ scripsi: οὐ VM οὔ cj. Gale | ἐκεῖνο scripsi: κακεῖνο VM || [30].1 ἀρχῇ M: ἀρχῶν V

even we priests would have learned anything from the gods, and that you are wrong to interrogate us as if we had some special degree of knowledge, if in fact we differ in no way from other mortals.

But in fact none of this is valid. For neither is it the case that the gods are confined to certain parts of the cosmos, nor is the earthly realm devoid of them. On the contrary, it is true of the superior beings in it that, even as they are not contained by anything, so they contain everything within themselves; and earthly things, possessing their being in virtue of the totalities[53] of the gods, whenever they come to be ready for participation in the divine, straight away find the gods pre-existing in it prior to their own proper essence.

So then, we have established on the basis of these considerations that this whole method of division is false, and this effort to ferret out distinctive properties[54] is absurd, and the confining of the gods to a particular location does not properly reflect the totality of their essence or potency. It would have been right, therefore, to leave aside altogether the examination of your objections to this distribution of roles among the superior classes of being, on the grounds that it provides no substantial challenge to true conceptions on the subject; but because one must give thought rather to the demands of reasoning and divine science, and not argue ad hominem, we on our part propose for this reason to accommodate this misguided disputation to a rational and theologically sound perspective.

9 I propose, therefore, to assume that you are not asking the question, "Why, seeing that the gods dwell solely in the heavens, do theurgists invoke terrestrial and subterranean beings?" because your initial hypothesis here is unsound, to the effect that the gods go about only in the heavens. In fact, of course, "all

[53] The term πλήρωμα is one proper originally to Gnostic circles (also favoured in the Pauline corpus, e.g., Rom 11:12; Eph 3:9; Col 2:9), and seems to occur here for the first time in Neoplatonic authors. What the precise significance of the plural is here is not clear, but one might extrapolate backwards from such a passage of Proclus as *ET* prop. 177, where it is laid down that "every νοῦς is a πλήρωμα of forms."

[54] That is, of the various classes of divine being.

ἀλλὰ πῶς ἐνύδριοί τινες λέγονται καὶ ἀέριοι, τόπους τε διειλήχασιν ἄλλοι ἄλλους, καὶ σωμάτων μοίρας διεκληρώσαντο κατὰ περιγραφήν, καίτοι δύναμιν ἄπειρον ἔχοντες καὶ ἀμέριστον καὶ ἀπερίληπτον, πῶς τε αὐτῶν ἔσται ἡ ἕνωσις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μερῶν μερισταῖς περιγραφαῖς διειργομένων, καὶ καθ' ἑτερότητα τῶν τόπων καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων σωμάτων διειλημμένων.

Πάντων δὴ οὖν τούτων καὶ ἄλλων παραπλησίων ἀπεράντων ζητημάτων μία ἀρίστη λύσις, κατιδεῖν τὸν τρόπον τῆς θείας λήξεως. Αὕτη τοίνυν ἐάν τε μοίρας τινὰς τοῦ παντός, οἷον οὐρανὸν ἢ γῆν, ἐάν τε πόλεις ἱερὰς καὶ χώρας, ἐάν τε καὶ τεμένη τινὰ ἢ ἱερὰ ἀγάλματα διαλαγχάνῃ, πάντα ἔξωθεν ἐπιλάμπει, καθάπερ ὁ ἥλιος ἔξωθεν φωτίζει πάντα ταῖς ἀκτῖσιν. Ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ φῶς περιέχει τὰ φωτιζόμενα, οὕτωσὶ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἡ δύναμις τὰ μεταλαμβάνοντα αὐτῆς ἔξωθεν περιείληφεν. Καὶ
11 ὥσπερ ἀμιγῶς | πάρεστι τῷ ἀέρι τὸ φῶς (δῆλον δ' ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐν αὐτῷ καταλείπεσθαι φῶς ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ τὸ ἐλλάμπον ἀναχωρήσῃ, καίτοι θερμότητος αὐτῷ παρούσης ἐπειδὰν τὸ θερμαῖνον ἐκποδὼν ἀπέλθῃ), οὕτω καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὸ φῶς ἐλλάμπει χωριστῶς ἐν αὐτῷ τε μονίμως ἱδρυμένον προχωρεῖ διὰ τῶν ὄντων ὅλων. Καὶ μὴν τό γε φῶς τὸ ὁρώμενον ἓν ἐστι συνεχές, πανταχοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλον, ὥστε μὴ οἷόν τε εἶναι χωρὶς ἀποτεμέσθαι τι αὐτοῦ μόριον μηδὲ κύκλῳ περιλαβεῖν μηδὲ ἀποστῆσαί ποτε τοῦ παρέχοντος τὸ φῶς.

Κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ οὖν καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος μεριστὸς ὢν περὶ τὸ ἓν καὶ ἀμέριστον τῶν θεῶν φῶς διαιρεῖται. Τὸ δ' ἔστιν ἓν καὶ αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ ὅλως, ἀμερίστως τε πάρεστι πᾶσι τοῖς δυναμένοις αὐτοῦ μετέχειν,

[30].6 ἔσται M: ἐστιν V || [31].4 αὐτῷ] αὐτῷ VM || 5 ἓν ἐστι M: ἔνεστι V || 10 καὶ[1] V: καὶ τὸ M || 11 ὅλως V: ὅλον M

things are full of gods."[55] I prefer to take it that you are asking this: "how comes it that some divinities are termed 'aquatic' and 'aerial,' different ones being allotted to different locations, and circumscribed within distinct types of bodily substance, whereas in fact they possess a potency which is unlimited and undivided and uncircumscribed; and further, how will their mutual unity be preserved, if they are separated off in particular circumscribed areas, and distinguished by virtue of the differentiation of their locations and the bodies which serve as their substrata?"

To all these problems, and an infinite number of others like them, the single best solution is to examine closely the mode of allotment of roles among the gods. So then, whether we are talking about the assignment of regions of the universe, such as heaven or earth, or of cities or localities consecrated (to one deity or another), or even of precincts or sacred statues,[56] the fact is that divinity illumines everything from without, even as the sun lights everything from without with its rays. Even as the sunlight, then, envelops what it illuminates, so also does the power of the gods embrace from outside that which participates in it. And similarly, even as the light is present in the air without blending with it (this is clear from the fact that no light is left in it when once the light-producing element has been withdrawn,[57] whereas a body retains heat after the withdrawal of the heating element), even so the light of the gods illuminates its subject transcendently, and is fixed steadfastly in itself even as it proceeds throughout the totality of existence. Even visible light, after all, is a continuum, everywhere the same throughout, so that it is not possible to cut off any part of it, nor to circumscribe it round about, nor to detach it ever from its source.

On the same principle, then, the world as a whole, spatially divided as it is, brings about division throughout itself of the single, indivisible light of the gods. This light is one and the same in its entirety everywhere, is present indivisibly to all things that

[55] This does, as Des Places suggests, seem to be an intentional reminiscence of the famous dictum of Thales, as quoted by Aristotle, *De an.* 1.5.411a8 and Plato, *Leg.* 10.899b9.

[56] For more discussion of such allocations, see below V.23–24.

[57] For this light-imagery, and for the theory of the nature of light which lies behind it, we may compare certain key passages of Plotinus, esp. *Enn.* 4.5.6–7, but also 1.6.3.18–19 and 2.1.7.26–30. See Finamore (1993).

παντελεῖ τε δυνάμει πεπλήρωκε πάντα, καὶ ἀπείρῳ δή τινι τῇ κατὰ αἰτίαν ὑπεροχῇ συμπεραίνει τὰ ὅλα ἐν αὑτῷ, συνήνωταί τε πανταχοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ καὶ τὰ τέλη ταῖς ἀρχαῖς συνάπτει· ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ὁ σύμπας μιμούμενος
2] *οὐρανὸς καὶ κόσμος τὴν ἐγκύκλιον περιφορὰν περιπολεῖ, συνήνωταί | τε* 1
πρὸς ἑαυτόν, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα κατὰ κύκλον περιδινούμενα ποδηγεῖ, πάντα τε ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὄντα καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα φερόμενα συνέχει, μέτροις τε τοῖς ἴσοις ἀφορίζει καὶ τὰ πορρωτάτω διῳκισμένα, καὶ τὰς τελευτὰς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς οἷον γῆν οὐρανῷ συγκεῖσθαι ποιεῖ, μίαν τε συνέχειαν καὶ ὁμολογίαν 5
τῶν ὅλων πρὸς ὅλα ἀπεργάζεται.

Τὸ δὴ τῶν θεῶν ἐμφανές τις ἄγαλμα καθορῶν οὕτως ἡνωμένον ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν αἰδεσθείη περὶ θεῶν τῶν αἰτίων αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἔχων ἀλλοίαν, τομάς τε ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀποδιαλήψεις παρεισάγων σωματοειδεῖς τε περιγραφάς; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶομαι πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν οὕτωσὶ διατεθῆναι· εἰ γὰρ οὐδείς ἐστι λό- 10
γος οὐδὲ σχέσις συμμετρίας οὐδὲ οὐσίας τις κοινωνία οὐδὲ κατὰ δύναμιν ἤ τινα ἐνέργειαν συμπλοκὴ πρὸς τὸ διακοσμοῦν τοῦ διακοσμουμένου, ὡς τὸ μηδέν, ἵνα οὕτως εἴπω, κεῖται ἐν αὐτῷ οὔτε παρατάσεώς τινος κατὰ διάστασιν οὔτε τοπικῆς περιοχῆς οὔτε ἀποδιαλήψεως μεριστῆς οὔτε ἄλ-
λης τοιαύτης ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῶν θεῶν ἐμφυομένης παρισώσεως. Πρὸς 15
3] *μὲν γὰρ τὰ | ὁμοφυῆ κατ' οὐσίαν ἢ δύναμιν ἢ καὶ ὁμοειδῆ πως ὄντα ἢ καὶ* 1
ὁμογενῆ δύναταί τις περίληψις ἢ διακράτησις ἐπινοεῖσθαι· ὅσα δ' ἐστὶν ἐξῃρημένα τοῖς ὅλοις παντελῶς, τίς ἂν ἐπὶ τούτων ἀντιπερίστασις ἢ δι' ὅλων διέξοδος ἢ μεριστὴ περιγραφὴ ἢ κατὰ τόπον περιοχὴ ἤ τι τῶν τοιού-
των ἐπινοηθείη ποτ' ἂν ἐν δίκῃ; ἀλλ' οἶμαι τὰ μετέχοντά ἐστιν ἕκαστα 5
τοιαῦτα, ὡς τὰ μὲν αἰθερίως τὰ δ' ἀερίως τὰ δ' ἐνυδρίως αὐτῶν μετέχει· ἃ δὴ κατιδοῦσα καὶ ἡ τῶν ἔργων τέχνη χρῆται ταῖς οἰκειώσεσι καὶ κλήσεσι

[31].13 αὐτῷ] αὐτῷ VM || [32].7 τις V et (σ s. v.) M^2: τι M || 13 τὸ VM: τε (ο p. n., ε s. v.) V^2 || 14 ἀποδιαλήψεως M: ἀπὸ διαλήψεως V || [33].3 ἀντιπερίστασις cj. R: ἀντιπαράστασις VM ἀντιπεριστάσεις cj. U || 6 μετέχει VM: μετέχειν (ν s. v.) M^2

are capable of participating in it, and has filled everything with its perfect power; by virtue of its unlimited causal superiority it brings to completion all things within itself, and, while remaining everywhere united to itself, brings together extremities with starting-points. It is, indeed, in imitation of it that the whole heaven and cosmos performs its circular revolution, is united with itself, and leads the elements round in their cyclic dance, holds together all things as they rest within each other or are borne towards each other, defines by equal measures even the most far-flung objects, causes lasts to be joined to firsts, as for example earth to heaven, and produces a single continuity and harmony of all with all.

Beholding the visible image of the gods thus in its unified state, would not one feel ashamed to hold about the gods, the authors of all this, a doctrine inappropriate to them, introducing into one's account of them divisions and breaks in continuity and circumscriptions more proper to corporeal entities? I certainly think that anyone whatsoever would be so disposed. For if there is no ratio,[58] no relation of symmetry, nor community of essence, nor interweaving in either potency or act exercised by the ordering element upon the ordered, this latter lies within it, so to speak, as a nothingness, without any spatial distension or local encompassing or division into parts or any other form of assimilation being engendered by the presence of the gods. In respect of entities which are homogeneous in essence or potency, or indeed of the same species or genus, it is possible to conceive of some type of encompassing or direct control; but with regard to such beings as are completely and in all respects transcendent, how in this case can one properly conceive of any reciprocal interchange, or total interpenetration, or circumscription of individuals, or encompassing of localities, or anything of the sort? It is my view, then, that the participants (in divine influences) are in each case of such a nature that they participate in them either through the medium of aether or of air, or yet of water; and it is by observing this that the art of (divine) works[59] makes use of correspondences[60] and

[58] We adopt Thomas Taylor's rendering of λόγος here.

[59] Namely, theurgy.

[60] That is to say, the system of chains of connection between various parts of the universe.

κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην διαίρεσιν καὶ οἰκειότητα.

10 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰς τὸν κόσμον διανομῆς τῶν κρειττόνων γενῶν τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· μετὰ δὲ ταύτην αὖθις ὑποτείνας σαυτῷ διαίρεσιν ἑτέραν, τῇ τοῦ ἐμπαθοῦς καὶ ἀπαθοῦς διαφορᾷ χωρίζεις τῶν κρειττόνων τὰς οὐσίας. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτην δέχομαι τὴν διαίρεσιν. Οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν γὰρ τῶν κρειττόνων γενῶν ἐστιν ἐμπαθὲς οὐδ' ἀπαθὲς οὕτως ὡς ἀντιδιαι-
34] ρούμενον πρὸς τὸ παθητὸν οὐδ' ὡς πε|φυκὸς μὲν δέχεσθαι τὰ πάθη, δι' ἀρετὴν δ' αὐτῶν ἤ τινα ἄλλην σπουδαίαν κατάστασιν ἀπολελυμένον. Ἀλλ' ὅτι παντελῶς ἐξήρηται τῆς ἐναντιώσεως τοῦ πάσχειν ἢ μὴ πάσχειν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ πέφυκεν ὅλως πάσχειν, καὶ ὅτι κατ' οὐσίαν ἔχει τὴν ἄτρεπτον στερεότητα, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὅλοις αὐτοῖς τίθεμαι τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἄτρεπτον.

Ἴδε γὰρ εἰ βούλει τὸ ἔσχατον τῶν θείων, τὴν καθαρὰν τῶν σωμάτων ψυχήν· τί δεῖται αὕτη τῆς ἐν τῇ ἡδονῇ γενέσεως ἢ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς φύσιν ἀποκαταστάσεως, ὑπερφυὲς οὖσα καὶ τὴν ἀγέννητον ζωὴν διαζῶσα; τί δὲ τῆς εἰς φθορὰν ἀγούσης λύπης ἢ διαλυούσης τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἁρμονίαν μετέχει, σώματος οὖσα παντὸς ἐκτὸς καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα μεριζομένης φύσεως, τῆς τε κατιούσης ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἁρμονίας εἰς τὸ σῶμα παντάπασιν οὖσα χωριστή; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν προηγουμένων τῆς

[33].8 καὶ i. m. V^2 : om. VM || 12 ὁτιοῦν (pr. ν eraso) M^c : ὁτινοῦν VM || [34].2 σπουδαίαν κατάστασιν V : κατάστασιν σπουδαίαν M

invocations which have regard to such a system of divisions and relationships.

10 So much, then, for the question of the assignment of the superior classes of being to the various parts of the cosmos. Next, however, you propose for yourself another division, and make a distinction according to "the differentiation of the superior classes in relation to passibility and impassibility." However, I do not accept this division either. For in fact none of the superior classes is subject to passions, nor yet is it free from passions in the sense of being contrary to what is passible, nor as being of a nature subject to passion, but being freed from this through its moral excellence or some other good disposition.[61] It is rather because they completely transcend the distinction between passible and impassible, because they do not even possess a nature that is susceptible to passion, and because they are endowed by their essence with inflexible firmness, that I postulate impassibility and inflexibility in respect to all of them.

Consider, if you will, the least of divine beings, the soul pure from contact with body. What need does it have of the generative aspect of pleasure, or of the "return to the natural state" that pleasure induces,[62] seeing that it is something supernatural, and living a life not subject to generation? And what could be its participation in that pain which leads to destruction or brings about the dissolution of the harmony of the body, when it is external to all body and to that nature which is divided about body,[63] and is completely separated from that which descends from the harmony in the soul into bodies? It does not even have need of the

[61] "Abamon" here uses an argument of some subtlety, denying the relevance to a subject of a given characterisation, if this characterisation is not meaningfully negatable. One cannot properly, he asserts, describe a divinity as ἀπαθής unless it were of such a nature as to be potentially ἐμπαθής. This principle, not unlike the "verifiability principle" of Logical Positivism, is actually a criticism, not just of Porphyry, but of Greek theologising in general.

[62] This seems to be a reference to the theory of pleasure as a restoration of an organism to its natural state enunciated by Plato at *Philebus* 31d, but possibly also to Epicurus's theory of "catastematic" pleasure, cf. frg. 416–428 Usener. The description of pain just below as a dissolution of the harmony of the body is also derivable from this passage of the *Philebus*.

[63] A reference to the "being which is divided about bodies" of *Timaeus* 35a.

αἰσθήσεως παθημάτων προσδεῖται, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅλως ἐν σώματι κατέχεται,
5] οὐδὲ περιειργομένη που δεῖται δι' ὀργάνων | σωματικῶν ἑτέρων τινῶν σω- 1
μάτων ἐκτὸς ὄντων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι· ὅλως δὲ ἀμέριστος οὖσα καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ
εἴδει μένουσα τῷ αὐτῷ, καθ' αὑτήν τε ἀσώματος ὑπάρχουσα καὶ μηδὲν
ἐπικοινωνοῦσα πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ πάσχον σῶμα, οὔτ' ἂν κατὰ διαί-
ρεσιν οὔτε κατ' ἀλλοίωσίν τι πάθοι, οὔθ' ὅλως ἔχοι οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν τροπῆς ἢ 5
πάθους ἐχόμενον.

Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅταν εἰς τὸ σῶμά ποτε παραγένηται, οὔτε αὐτὴ πάσχει
οὔτε οἱ λόγοι οὓς δίδωσι τῷ σώματι· εἴδη γάρ εἰσι καὶ οὗτοι ἁπλοῖ καὶ
μονοειδεῖς, ταραχὴν οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' ἔκστασιν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν εἰσδεχόμενοι. Αἰ-
τία δὴ οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν γίγνεται τῷ συνθέτῳ τοῦ πάσχειν· τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ 10
ἔστι δήπου τὸ αὐτὸ ὅπερ τὸ ἀποτελούμενον. Ὥσπερ οὖν γιγνομένων τε
καὶ φθειρομένων τῶν συνθέτων ζῴων γένεσις οὖσα πρώτη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐ-
τὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν ἐστιν ἀγέννητος καὶ ἄφθαρτος, οὕτω καὶ πασχόντων τῶν
μετεχόντων τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μὴ καθόλου ἐχόντων τὸ ζῆν καὶ τὸ εἶναι, συμ-
6] πλακέντων δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀόριστον καὶ | τὴν ἑτερότητα τῆς ὕλης, αὐτὴ καθ' 1
ἑαυτήν ἐστιν ἄτρεπτος, ὡς κρείττων οὖσα κατ' οὐσίαν τοῦ πάσχειν, ἀλλ'
οὐχ ὡς ἐν προαιρέσει τινὶ τῇ ῥεπούσῃ πρὸς ἀμφότερα τὸ ἐμπαθές, οὐδ'
ὡς ἐν μετουσίᾳ ἕξεως ἢ δυνάμεως προσλαβοῦσα ἐπίκτητον τὸ ἄτρεπτον.

[35].10 συνθέτῳ M: συνθέτως V || 14 καθ' ὅλου VM: καθ' ὅλον (ν ex υ, ο repet. s. v.) V² || [36].3 ἐμπαθές VM: ἀπαθές (ἐμ p. n., ἀ s. v.) V² (ἀπαθὲς καὶ τὸ) ἐμπαθές cj. Sodano

experiences which control sense-perception, for it is not at all confined within a body, and not being constrained in any way it has no need of exercising perception by means of corporeal organs upon any other bodies situated outside itself; and in general, being indivisible and remaining in one selfsame form, being in its essence incorporeal and having no communication with the body that comes into being and suffers, it would not undergo any experience either through division or through modification, nor would it have any element in it that depended upon change or passion.

But even when it eventually arrives in the body, not even then does it itself suffer, nor yet do the reason-principles which it imparts to the body;[64] for these, too, are forms and simple and uniform, admitting no disturbance nor displacement from their proper state. It is the soul, then, in the last analysis, which becomes for the composite[65] the cause of its experiencing passions; and the cause, certainly, is not the same thing as the effect. Even as, then, composite living beings come into existence and are destroyed, the soul, which is their primary cause of generation, is in its essence ungenerated and indestructible, so also, while what participates in soul and does not possess life and being to an absolute degree, but is enmeshed in the indefiniteness and otherness of matter, is subject to suffering, the soul in itself is unchangeable, as being superior in its essence to passion—not owing its impassivity[66] to any mental attitude[67] which might incline in either direction, nor through participation in any state or potency taking on an unchangeability, which is merely adventitious.

[64] The first part of this statement is in accord with the doctrine of Plotinus on the impassivity of the soul proper (cf. in particular *Enn.* 3.6.1–5), but the assertion that even the λόγοι of soul in body are impassible goes rather further than Plotinus would wish to go, at least as regards terminology. Plotinus would agree that nothing that was a form could be subject to passions, but he recognised a sort of emanation or "trace" of soul in body, which makes up the composite which is the living body.

[65] σύνθετον, sc. of soul (or at least life-principle) and body.

[66] Despite Des Places's demurral, and following Hopfner, it seems necessary to the argument to read ἀπαθής here for the ἐμπαθής of V and M, though the presence of ἐμπαθής in the best MSS is certainly embarrassing. The point seems to be the same as that made above, that the soul is not impassible in any sense which might imply that it could conceivably be subject to passions.

[67] Rendering thus προαίρεσις. On the meaning of this term in later Greek philosophy, see Rist (1974).

Ὁπότε δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐσχάτου γένους τῶν κρειττόνων, ὥσπερ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀδύνατον ἐπεδείξαμεν τὴν μετουσίαν τοῦ πάσχειν, τί χρὴ δαίμοσι καὶ ἥρωσιν αὐτὴν προσάπτειν, οἵπερ ἀίδιοί τέ εἰσι καὶ συνοπαδοὶ τῶν θεῶν διὰ παντός, εἰκόνα τε τῆς διακοσμήσεως τῶν θεῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ διαφυλάττουσιν, ἐχόμενοί τε ἀεὶ διατελοῦσι τῆς θείας τάξεως καὶ οὐδέποτε αὐτὴν ἀπολείπουσιν; ἴσμεν γὰρ δήπου τοῦτο, ὡς τὸ πάθος ἄτακτόν τέ ἐστι καὶ πλημμελὲς καὶ ἀστάθμητον, ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ὄν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ προσκείμενον ὑφ' οὗ κατέχεται καὶ ᾧ δουλεύει πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν· τοῦτο δὴ οὖν ἄλλῳ τινὶ γένει προσήκει μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἀεὶ καὶ συνηρτημένῳ
71 τοῖς θεοῖς, τάξιν τε τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ περίοδον μετ' αὐτῶν πε|ριόντι. Ἀπαθεῖς τοίνυν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ δαίμονες καὶ πάντα τὰ συνεπόμενα αὐτοῖς τῶν κρειττόνων γενῶν.

11 Πῶς οὖν πρὸς ἐμπαθεῖς αὐτοὺς πολλὰ δρᾶται ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις; φημὶ δὴ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἀπείρως λέγεσθαι τῆς ἱερατικῆς μυσταγωγίας. Τῶν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἑκάστοτε ἐπιτελουμένων τὰ μὲν ἀπόρρητόν τινα καὶ κρείττονα λόγου τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει· τὰ δ' ὡς σύμβολα καθιέρωται ἐξ ἀιδίου τοῖς κρείττοσι· τὰ δ' εἰκόνα τινὰ ἄλλην ἀποσώζει, καθάπερ δὴ καὶ ἡ γενεσιουργὸς φύσις τῶν ἀφανῶν λόγων ἐμφανεῖς τινας μορφὰς ἀπετυπώσατο· τὰ δὲ τιμῆς ἕνεκα προσάγεται ἢ ἀφομοιώσεως ὁποιασοῦν ἢ καὶ οἰκειώσεως στοχάζεται· ἔνια δὲ τὸ ἡμῖν χρήσιμον παρασκευάζει ἢ καθαίρει πως καὶ ἀπολύει τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάθη, ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἡμῖν συμβαινόντων δεινῶν ἀποτρέπεται. Οὐ μὴν ἔτι γε συγχωρήσειεν ἄν τις ὡς ἄρα πρὸς ἐμπαθεῖς τοὺς θεραπευομένους θεοὺς ἢ δαίμονας μέρος τι τῆς ἁγιστείας προσφέρεται· οὔτε γὰρ πέφυκεν εἰσδέχεσθαί τινα ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων μεταβολὴν ἡ καθ' αὑτὴν ἀίδιος καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία.

[37].9 μορφὰς V: μορφώσεις M

Since, then, we have shown in the case of the lowest class of the superior beings, that is, the soul, that it is impossible that it have any part in experiencing passion, how can one attribute any such participation to daemons and heroes, who are eternal, and constantly in attendance upon the gods, and who themselves preserve, on the same terms, an image of the administration of the gods, do not cease to maintain the divine order, and never depart from it? For we know, I presume, that passion is something disordered and defective and unstable, never being its own master, but dependent upon that by which it is controlled and to which it is enslaved for purposes of generation. It therefore belongs to some other class than that which is eternal and directly dependent upon the gods, and which goes about with them on the same ordered circuit. So then, the daemons also are impassible, and so are all those of the superior classes who follow along with them.

11 So then, you ask, "Why is it that many theurgical procedures are directed towards them as if they were subject to passions?" Well, my reply to that is that the question is asked out of an inexperience of sacred mystagogy. Of the works of theurgy performed on any given occasion, some have a cause that is secret and superior to all rational explanation, others are like symbols consecrated from all eternity to the higher beings, others preserve some other image,[68] even as nature in its generative role imprints (upon things) visible shapes from invisible reason-principles; others yet are performed in honour of their subjects, or have as their aim some sort of assimilation or establishment of familiarity.[69] There are some, again, which provide something useful for us, or in some way or other purify and dissolve our human passions, or ward off some other of the dangers that menace us. One would not, however, for all that, agree that some part of our ritual is directed towards the gods or daemons, which are the subjects of our cult as subject to passions; for that essence which is in itself eternal and incorporeal cannot itself admit any alteration emanating from bodies.

[68] The distinction here made between εἰκών and σύμβολον may be mere literary variation, but it may reflect the distinction sometimes made in the Neoplatonic tradition between the two terms. Cf. Dillon (1975).

[69] Namely, with the divine. It is not clear what distinction is envisaged between ἀφομοίωσις and οἰκείωσις in this context.

[38] | *Οὔτε, εἰ ὅτι μάλιστα χρείαν εἶχε τοιαύτην, προσεδεήθη ἄν πο-* 1
τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην θρησκείαν, αὐτὴ ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ
τῆς τοῦ κόσμου φύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ γενέσει πάσης τελειότητος ἀπο-
πληρουμένη, καὶ εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, πρὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι προλαμβάνουσα
τὸ αὔταρκες διὰ τὴν ἀνενδεῆ τοῦ κόσμου ὁλότητα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς οἰκείαν 5
ἀποπλήρωσιν, καὶ διότι μεστὰ πάντα τῶν οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν τὰ κρείττονα
γένη ὑπάρχει.

Κοινὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἔστω παραμύθια περὶ τῆς ἀχράντου θρη-
σκείας ὡς τά τ' ἄλλα οἰκείως συναρμοζομένης τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ
διότι καθαρὰ πρὸς καθαροὺς καὶ ἀπαθὴς πρὸς ἀπαθεῖς προσάγεται· τὰ 10
δ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα ἐπιόντες τὴν μὲν τῶν φαλλῶν στάσιν τῆς γονίμου
δυνάμεως σύνθημά τι εἶναί φαμεν, καὶ ταύτην προκαλεῖσθαι νομίζομεν
[39] *εἰς τὴν γενεσιουργίαν τοῦ κόσμου· διό|περ δὴ τὰ πολλὰ τῷ ἦρι καθιεροῦ-* 1
ται, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὁ πᾶς κόσμος δέχεται ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν τῆς γενέσεως ὅλης
τὴν ἀπογέννησιν. Τὰς δ' αἰσχρορρημοσύνας τῆς περὶ τὴν ὕλην στερήσεως
τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀσχημοσύνης τῶν μελλόντων διακοσμεῖ-
σθαι ἡγοῦμαι τὸ ἔνδειγμα παραδέχεσθαι, ἅπερ ὄντα ἐνδεῆ τοῦ κοσμεῖσθαι 5
ἐφίεται τοσοῦτο μᾶλλον ὅσῳ πλέον καταγιγνώσκει τῆς περὶ ἑαυτὰ ἀπρε-
πείας. Πάλιν οὖν μεταδιώκει τὰ τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ καλῶν αἴτια, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν
αἰσχρῶν ῥήσεως τὸ αἰσχρὸν καταμανθάνοντα· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔργον τῶν αἰ-
σχρῶν ἀποτρέπει, διὰ δὲ τῶν λόγων τὴν εἴδησιν αὐτοῦ ἐμφαίνει, καὶ πρὸς
τὸ ἐναντίον μεθίστησι τὴν ἔφεσιν. 10

Ἔχει δ' ἔτι ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλον λόγον τοιοῦτον. Αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν ἀν-
θρωπίνων παθημάτων τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πάντῃ μὲν εἰργόμεναι καθίστανται
σφοδρότεραι· εἰς ἐνέργειαν δὲ βραχεῖς καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ συμμέτρου προαγόμε-
[40] *ναι χαίρουσι | μετρίως καὶ ἀποπληροῦνται, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀποκαθαιρόμεναι* 1

[38].3 πάσης V: om. M || 5 ἀνενδεῆ cj. Z^3 i. m. et (ἀν i. m.) B^4: ἐνδεῆ VM | ἑαυτῆς cj. BQ: ἑαυτοῖς VM || 8 κοινὰ V: κοινὴ M | παραμύθια V: παραμυθία M || 9 τά τ' ἄλλα V: om. M (lac. 5 ll.) || [39].10 μεθίστησι V: καθίστησι M || 13 βραχεῖς] βραχεῖαν cj. Bernays (cf. 252, 13) || [40].1 καὶ ἐντεῦθεν M: καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν V

In any case, even if it were admitted that it had any such requirement, it would not have any need of human beings for such service as this, since of itself it derives fulfilment both from the nature of the cosmos and from the whole perfection of the realm of generation, and indeed, if one may so put it, even before having any need, it is assured of self-sufficiency by virtue of the non-deficient totality of the cosmos and its own proper fulfilment, and because all the superior classes of being are replete with their own proper goods.

Let this, then, be our general explanation of the unsullied mode of divine worship: it confers upon all other beings an intimate attachment to the classes superior to us, because in fact it brings the pure to the pure and the impassive to the impassive. Turning to your questions in more detail, however, we declare that "the erection of phallic images"[70] is a symbol of generative power, and we consider that this is directed towards the fecundating of the world; this is the reason, indeed, why most of these images are consecrated in the spring, since this is just when the whole world receives from the gods the power of generating all creation. And as for the "obscene utterances," my view is that they have the role of expressing the absence of beauty which is characteristic of matter and the previous ugliness of those things that are going to be brought to order, which, since they suffer from a lack of ordering, yearn for it in the same degree as they spurn the unseemliness that was previously their lot. So then, once again, one is prompted to seek after the causes of form and beauty when one learns the nature of obscenity from the utterance of obscenities; one rejects the practice of obscenities, while by means of uttering them one makes clear one's knowledge of them, and thus turns one's impulses in the opposite direction.

There is also another similar point to be made on this matter. The powers of the human passions that are within us, when they are repressed, become correspondingly stronger; but if one exercises them in brief bursts and within reasonable limits, they enjoy moderate relief and find satisfaction, and hence, being

[70] This being, plainly, one of the troublesome examples cited by Porphyry. Another one is cited just below.

πειθοῖ καὶ οὐ πρὸς βίαν ἀποπαύονται. Διὰ δὴ τοῦτο ἔν τε κωμῳδίᾳ καὶ τραγῳδίᾳ ἀλλότρια πάθη θεωροῦντες ἱσταμεν τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη καὶ μετριώτερα ἀπεργαζόμεθα καὶ ἀποκαθαίρομεν· ἔν τε τοῖς ἱεροῖς θεάμασί τισι καὶ ἀκούσμασι τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἀπολυόμεθα τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀπ' αὐτῶν συμπιπτούσης βλάβης.

Θεραπείας οὖν ἕνεκα τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς καὶ μετριότητος τῶν διὰ τὴν γένεσιν προσφυομένων αὐτῇ κακῶν, λύσεώς τε ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς χάριν τὰ τοιαῦτα προσάγεται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰκότως αὐτὰ ἄκεα Ἡράκλειτος προσεῖπεν, ὡς ἐξακούμενα τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐξάντεις ἀπεργαζόμενα τῶν ἐν τῇ γενέσει συμφορῶν.

12 Ἀλλ' αἱ κλήσεις, φησίν, ὡς πρὸς ἐμπαθεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς γίγνονται, ὥστε οὐχ οἱ δαίμονες μόνον εἰσὶν ἐμπαθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ θεοί. Τὸ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει καθάπερ ὑπείληφας. Αὐτοφανὴς γάρ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτοθελὴς ἡ διὰ τῶν κλήσεων ἔλλαμψις, πόρρω τε τοῦ καθέλκεσθαι ἀφέστηκε,
41] διὰ τῆς | θείας τε ἐνεργείας καὶ τελειότητος πρόεισιν εἰς τὸ ἐμφανές, καὶ τοσούτῳ προέχει τῆς ἑκουσίου κινήσεως ὅσον ἡ τἀγαθοῦ θεία βούλησις τῆς προαιρετικῆς ὑπερέχει ζωῆς. Διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης οὖν βουλήσεως ἀφθόνως οἱ θεοὶ τὸ φῶς ἐπιλάμπουσιν εὐμενεῖς ὄντες καὶ ἵλεῳ τοῖς θεουργοῖς, τάς τε ψυχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακαλούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἕνωσιν αὐταῖς τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς χορηγοῦντες, ἐθίζοντές τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἔτι ἐν σώματι

[40].2 δὴ V: om. M || 7 ἕνεκα post οὖν M: post ψυχῆς V || 10 ἐξακούμενα scripsi: ἐξακουόμενα VM ἐξακεσόμενα cj. Gale || 14-15 αὐτοθελὴς VM: αὐτοτελὴς cj. B

"purified,"[71] are laid to rest through persuasion, and not by violence. That is why, when we behold the passions of others both in comedy and in tragedy, we stabilise our own passions, and render them more moderate, and purify them; and similarly in the sacred rites, by viewing and listening to obscenities we are freed from the harm that would befall us if we practised them.

It is therefore for the tending of the soul within us, and for the moderation of the evils that attach themselves to it because of generation, and for the freeing and emancipation of it from its bonds[72] that such actions are performed. And that is why Heraclitus[73] was right to describe them as "remedies," inasmuch as they cure the maladies that threaten us and render our souls resistant to the woes of generation.

12 "But invocations," the objection goes,[74] "are addressed to the gods as if they were subject to external influence,[75] so that it is not only daemons that are thus subject, but also the gods." In fact, however, your assumption is not correct. For the illumination that comes about as a result of invocations is self-revelatory and self-willed, and is far removed from being drawn down by force, but rather proceeds to manifestation by reason of its own divine energy and perfection, and is as far superior to (human) voluntary motion as the divine will of the Good is to the life of ordinary deliberation and choice.[76] It is by virtue of such will, then, that the gods in their benevolence and graciousness unstintingly shed their light upon theurgists, summoning up their souls to themselves and orchestrating their union with them, accustoming them, even while still in the body, to detach themselves from

[71] A clear reference to the Aristotelian theory of catharsis, as set out in *Poetics* 6. For discussion see Clarke (2001, 78).

[72] An allusion, presumably, to the freeing of the prisoner in the Cave, in *Republic* 7.515c (λύσεώς τε ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν embodies a verbal reminiscence).

[73] Frg. 68 D–K. One may reasonably doubt whether Heraclitus meant what "Abamon" wants him to mean.

[74] This seems a reasonable rendering of the third person φησίν, which is otherwise a little odd, since "Abamon" addresses Porphyry directly most of the time.

[75] This seems to be the sense of ἐμπαθεῖς here.

[76] This distinction seems to owe something to Plotinus's discussion of the nature of divine freedom in *Enn.* 6.8. The correct rendering of προαιρετικῆς ζωῆς is not an easy matter; it means a life subject to rational choices between alternatives, such as the gods do not have to make.

οὔσας ἀφίστασθαι τῶν σωμάτων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀίδιον καὶ νοητὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν περιάγεσθαι.

Δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ὃ νυνί φαμεν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς σωτήριον· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεωρεῖν τὰ μακάρια θεάματα ἡ ψυχὴ ἄλλην ζωὴν ἀλλάττεται καὶ ἑτέραν ἐνέργειαν ἐνεργεῖ καὶ οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος εἶναι ἡγεῖται τότε, ὀρθῶς ἡγουμένη· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀφεῖσα ζωὴν τὴν μακαριωτάτην τῶν θεῶν ἐνέργειαν ἀντηλλάξατο. Εἰ δὴ κάθαρσιν παθῶν καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν γενέσεως ἕνωσίν τε πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἀρχὴν ἡ διὰ τῶν κλήσεων
12] ἄνοδος παρ|έχει τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, τί δήποτε πάθη τις αὐτῇ προσάπτει; οὐ γὰρ τοὺς ἀπαθεῖς καὶ καθαροὺς εἰς τὸ παθητὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον ἡ τοιαύτη κατασπᾷ, τοὐναντίον δὲ τοὺς ἐμπαθεῖς γενομένους ἡμᾶς διὰ τὴν γένεσιν καθαροὺς καὶ ἀτρέπτους ἀπεργάζεται.

Ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἱ προσκλήσεις διὰ πάθους συνάπτουσι τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς ἱερέας· διὰ δὲ τῆς θείας φιλίας τῆς συνεχούσης τὰ πάντα κοινωνίαν παρέχουσι τῆς ἀδιαλύτου συμπλοκῆς· οὐχ ὡς τοὔνομα, ὥς γε οὕτω δόξαι, αὐτόθεν ἐμφαίνει, τὸν νοῦν τῶν θεῶν προσκλίνουσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀληθὲς ὡς βούλεται ἀναδιδάσκειν, τὴν γνώμην τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτηδείαν ἀπεργαζόμεναι πρὸς τὸ μετέχειν τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἀνάγουσαι αὐτὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ διὰ πειθοῦς ἐμμελοῦς συναρμόζουσαι. Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ ὀνόματα θεῶν ἱεροπρεπῆ καὶ τἄλλα θεῖα συνθήματα ἀναγωγὰ ὄντα πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς συνάπτειν αὐτὰς δύναται.

43] | **13** Καὶ δὴ καὶ αἱ τῆς μήνιδος ἐξιλάσεις ἔσονται σαφεῖς, ἐὰν τὴν μῆνιν τῶν θεῶν καταμάθωμεν. Αὕτη τοίνυν οὐχ, ὡς δοκεῖ τισι, παλαιά τίς ἐστι καὶ ἔμμονος ὀργή, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀγαθοεργοῦ κηδεμονίας παρὰ θεῶν ἀποστροφή, ἣν αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστρέψαντες, ὥσπερ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ

[41].12 δὲ M: om. V || [42].5 προσκλήσεις] προσκλίσεις cj. Gale || 13 αὐτὰς] an αὐτὴν? || [43].3 ἀγαθοεργοῦ VM: ἀγαθουργοῦ fec. V² | παρὰ cj. i. m. V²Z⁴: περὶ VM τῶν cj. Nock || 4 ἣν] ἧς cj. Sicherl

their bodies, and to turn themselves towards their eternal and intelligible first principle.

It is plain, indeed, from the rites themselves, that what we are speaking of just now is a method of salvation for the soul; for in the contemplation of the "blessed visions"[77] the soul exchanges one life for another and exerts a different activity, and considers itself then to be no longer human—and quite rightly so: for often, having abandoned its own life, it has gained in exchange the most blessed activity of the gods. If, then, it is purification from passions and freedom from the toils of generation and unification with the divine first principle that the ascent through invocations procures for the priests, how on earth can one attach the notion of passions to this process? For it is not the case that such activity draws down the passionless and pure into proneness to passion and impurity; on the contrary, it renders us, who have come to be subject to passions by reason of birth, pure and immutable.

But not even in the case of the invocations is it through the experiencing of passion that they link the priests to the gods; it is rather in virtue of the divine love which holds together all things that they provide a union of indissoluble involvement—not, as the name seems immediately to imply, inclining the mind of the gods to humans, but rather, as the truth of things itself desires to teach us, disposing the human mind to participation in the gods, leading it up to the gods and bringing it into accord with them through harmonious persuasion. And it is for this reason, indeed, that the sacred names of the gods and the other types of divine symbol that have the capacity of raising us up to the gods are enabled to link us to them.

13 Again, the question of the "propitiations of (divine) wrath" will become clear, if we take the trouble to comprehend the true nature of the "wrath" of the gods. This is not, as is believed in some quarters, any sort of ancient and abiding anger,[78] but a consequence of the rejection of the beneficent solicitude of the gods, which involves our turning ourselves away from them,

[77] This seems to embody a reference to the μακαρίαι θέαι of Plato, *Phaedr.* 247a4.

[78] As Des Places suggests ad loc., this looks like a reference to Plato, *Phaedr.* 244d, where there is talk of "diseases and very great troubles" being visited upon certain families by reason of ancient blood-guilt. This sounds, therefore, like a glancing criticism of Plato.

φωτὸς κατακαλυψάμενοι, σκότος ἑαυτοῖς ἐπηγάγομεν καὶ ἀπεστερήσαμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀγαθῆς δόσεως. Λύναται οὖν ἡ ἐξίλασις ἡμᾶς ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς τὴν κρείττονα μετουσίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀνεσταλμένην ἀφ' ἡμῶν θείαν κηδεμονίαν εἰς κοινωνίαν προαγαγεῖν, καὶ συνδῆσαι συμμέτρως τὰ μετεχόμενά τε καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντα πρὸς ἄλληλα. Τοσοῦτον οὖν ἀφέστηκε τοῦ διὰ πάθους ἐπιτελεῖν τὸ ἑαυτῆς ἔργον ὥστε καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀφίστησι τῆς ἐμπαθοῦς καὶ ταραχώδους ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀποστροφῆς.

Αἱ δ' ἐκθύσεις ὅ τι πάρεστι κακὸν ἐν τοῖς περὶ γῆν τόποις ἰατρεύουσι καὶ παρασκευάζουσιν ὥστε μηδεμίαν τροπὴν ἢ πάθος τι περὶ ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι. Εἴτε οὖν διὰ θεῶν εἴτε διὰ δαιμόνων ἡ τοιαύτη γίγνοιτο, βοη-
44] θοὺς | ἐπικαλεῖται καὶ ἀλεξικάκους καὶ σωτῆρας τούτους, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἀποδιοπομπεῖται πᾶσαν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀπὸ τῶν παθημάτων βλάβην. Οἱ δὴ τὰς πληγὰς ἀποτρέποντες τὰς γενεσιουργοὺς καὶ φυσικὰς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ποτὲ διὰ παθῶν αὐτὰς ἀπείργουσιν. Εἴ τε νενόμικέ τις τὴν ἀπόληψιν τῆς προστασίας ἐπεισάγειν τινὰ αὐτόματον βλάβην, ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐκθύσεως πειθὼ τῶν κρειττόνων, εἰς κηδεμονίαν ἀνακαλουμένη πάλιν αὐτῶν τὴν εὐμένειαν καὶ ἀποτρέπουσα τὴν στέρησιν, παντελῶς ἂν εἴη καθαρὰ καὶ ἄτρεπτος.

14 Ἔτι τοίνυν αἱ λεγόμεναι θεῶν ἀνάγκαι τὸ ὅλον τοῦτο θεῶν εἰσιν ἀνάγκαι καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν γίγνονται. Οὐκ ἄρα ὡς ἔξωθεν οὐδ' ὡς κατὰ βίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς τἀγαθὸν ὠφελεῖ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, οὕτως ἔχουσι τὸ πάντῃ οὕτωσὶ καὶ μηδαμῶς ἄλλως διακεῖσθαι. Βουλήσει ἄρα ἀγαθοειδεῖ συγκέ-
45] κραται αὕτη καὶ ἔρωτός ἐστι φίλη ἡ τοιαύτη ἀνάγκη, τάξει τε | οἰκείᾳ θεῶν ἔχει τὸ ταὐτὸν καὶ ἄτρεπτον, καὶ ὅτι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐνὶ ὅρῳ συνέχεται, καὶ ἐμμένει τούτῳ καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐξίσταται. Διὰ πάντα δὴ οὖν ταῦτα τὸ ἐναντίον συμβαίνει οὗ σὺ συνελογίσω· ἀκήλητον καὶ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀβίαστον συμβαίνει εἶναι τὸ θεῖον, εἴπερ ὄντως ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν

[43].5 κατακαλυψάμενοι M: καταλυψάμενοι V || 8 προαγαγεῖν VM: προσαγαγεῖν cj. Gale || 14 γίγνοιτο VM: γένοιτο cj. B || [44].1 ἐπικαλεῖται VM: ἐπικαλεῖ τε cj. B || 4 ἀπείργουσιν V: ἀπείργειν M | ἀπόληψιν] ἀπόλειψιν cj. Gale || 5 αὐτόματον V: ἀσώματον M || 9 εἰσὶν M: ἴδιαι i. m. V² εἰδι' V || 10 βίαν i. m. V²: μίαν VM | τὸ VM: τὸ τῷ (τῷ i. m. V² || 12 αὕτη] an αὐτὴ? || [45].2 τὸ ταὐτὸν M et (τ s. v.) V²: τοσαυτὸν V || 5-6 ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν αἱ τοιαίδε] an ἀληθῶς εἰσιν τοιαίδε αἱ?

just as though in the middle of the day we were to hide ourselves from the light, and so bring darkness upon ourselves and deprive ourselves of the excellent gift of the gods. "Propitiation," then, has the capacity to turn us towards participation in the higher realm, and to bring us into communion with the divine care which had been denied us, and to bind together harmoniously with one another, participants and participated. So far, then, is it from accomplishing its work through the medium of passion, that it actually relieves us of the passion and turbulence that accompanies our turning away from the gods.

As for the "expiatory rites," their purpose is to heal the evil present in the terrestrial realm, and to ensure that no deviation or passion manifests itself in us. Whether such a result comes about by means of gods or daemons, the purpose of the rites is to invoke these as helpers and protectors and saviours, and through them to conjure away all harm emanating from influences from the sense-world.[79] There is no way, after all, that those who turn aside the assaults of the world of nature and generation can achieve this through the employment of passions. And if anyone thinks that the cutting off of protective care automatically brings with it some harm, then the persuasion which expiatory rites exercise upon the higher classes of being, recalling them once again to care and goodwill towards us, and averting the deprivation of this, would be entirely pure and immutable.

14 Furthermore, the so-called "necessities of the gods" are just that: necessities of the gods, and come about in accordance with the nature of the gods.[80] It is not, then, as from an outside source or by force, but as their good would have it of necessity, that they are always so disposed, and never inclined otherwise. Such a necessity as this, then, is mingled with a benign will and is a friend of love, and by virtue of an order proper to gods possesses identity and unchangeability, and because it is, according to the same terms and conditions, held within a single limit, it remains within it and does not step outside of it. So, for all these reasons, there results the contrary of your conclusions; the consequence is that the divine is exempt from external bewitchment or affection

[79] This seems a more satisfactory rendering than "passions."

[80] The meaning of θεῶν ἀνάγκαι here is "necessities put upon the gods" by spells and suchlike. "Abamon" deliberately gives the phrase another meaning, that of "necessities emanating from the gods," in what follows.

αἱ τοιαίδε ἐν τῇ θεουργίᾳ δυνάμεις, οἵας ἡμεῖς ἀπεδείξαμεν.

15 *Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐπ' ἄλλην μεταβαίνεις ἀντιδιαίρεσιν θεῶν πρὸς δαίμονας· λέγεις γὰρ θεοὺς εἶναι νόας καθαρούς, ὡς ἐν ὑποθέσει προτείνων τὴν δόξαν ἢ ὥς τισιν ἀρέσκουσαν αὐτὴν ἀφηγούμενος, νοῦ δὲ μετόχους ψυχικοὺς ὄντας τοὺς δαίμονας ἀπολογιζόμενος. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν φι-* 10
λοσόφων τοῖς πολλοῖς ταῦτα δοκεῖ, οὐδ' ἐμὲ λέληθε· πρὸς δὲ σὲ οὐκ οἶμαι
δεῖν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὸ φαινόμενον ἀληθές. Ὑποσυγκέχυται γὰρ πάντα τὰ
τοιαῦτα δοξάσματα, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν δαιμόνων ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποφερόμενα
[46] *(νοῦ | γὰρ μέτοχοί εἰσιν αὗται) ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἐπὶ τὸν κατ' ἐνέργειαν* 1
ἄυλον νοῦν ἀποπίπτοντα, οὗ δὴ παντελῶς οἱ θεοὶ προέχουσιν. Τί οὖν δεῖ
ταῦτα ἰδιώματα ἀπονέμειν, ἅπερ οὐδ' ὅλως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς οἰκεῖα; τὸ μὲν
δὴ τῆς διαιρέσεως (πάρεργον γάρ ἐστιν ἄλλως) μέχρι τοσούτου μνήμης
ἀξιούσθω· ἃ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀπορεῖς, ἐπείπερ ἅπτεται τῆς ἱερατικῆς 5
θεραπείας, λόγου τυγχανέτω τοῦ προσήκοντος.

Ἔτι γὰρ μᾶλλον ἀκλίτους καὶ ἀμιγεῖς αἰσθητοῖς εἰπὼν εἶναι τοὺς
καθαροὺς νόας ἀπορεῖς, εἰ δεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὔχεσθαι. Ἐγὼ δ' οὐδ' ἄλ-
λοις τισὶν ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν εὔχεσθαι. Τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ νοερὸν καὶ ἕν,
ἢ εἰ νοητὸν αὐτὸ καλεῖν ἐθέλοις, ἐγείρεται τότε ἐναργῶς ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, 10

[45].10 ψυχικοὺς M: ψυχικὰς V || [46].3 ταῦτα VM: ταῦτα τὰ cj. Velsenius | ἐστὶν V: εἰσὶν M || 4 ἄλλως M: ἄγγεως V || 9 νοερὸν cj. Gale: νοητὸν VM

or constraint, if in truth the powers inherent in theurgy are real, and such as we have demonstrated them to be.

15 Following upon this, you pass to another feature differentiating gods and daemons; for you say that "gods are pure intellects," advancing this opinion as an agreed principle, or presenting it as the view of certain people, whereas you reckon daemons, as being ensouled, to be merely "participant in intellect." Now I am quite well aware that the majority of philosophers hold this view, but I do not think that I should conceal from you what I believe to be the truth. In fact, all opinions of this sort are subject to a certain degree of confusion, since they involve a transfer of characteristics from daemons to souls (for these latter are participant in intellect), and from gods in turn to the immaterial Intellect in act,[81] to which the gods are absolutely superior. Why, then, should one attribute these things to them as properties, when they are not proper to them at all? So let this mention suffice as regards the point of differentiation (more would be superfluous, since it is irrelevant to the main question); however, the difficulties which you raise concerning it, since they have some bearing on hieratic cult, should be given due consideration.

So then, after declaring that pure intellects are "unbending and not mingled with the sensible realm," you raise the question as to whether it is proper to pray to them. For my part, I would hold the view that it is not proper to pray to any others. For that element in us which is divine and intellectual and one—or, if you so wish to term it, intelligible[82]—is aroused, then,

[81] That is to say, from νοῦς at the highest level of the hypostasis of Intellect (= Being), which is what gods are, down to Νοῦς proper, the third and lowest moment of the hypostasis, which is "in act" what the gods are "in potency" or "covertly." These gods may be identified with what Iamblichus elsewhere calls "the monads of the forms" (cf. *Comm. Phileb.* frg. 4). Since the highest element in any given hypostasis is theoretically identical with the lowest element of the one above it, these entities may also be regarded as henads, the lowest element in the realm of the One, as they were later for Syrianus and the Athenian School.

[82] The terms "intellectual" and "intelligible" actually pertain to different levels of being in Iamblichus's metaphysics, and the highest element in us would be intelligible (and indeed unitary), rather than intellectual, but "Abamon" seems here to be relatively unconcerned with the distinction. For the distinction between the noetic, noeric, and even noetic-noeric realms, however, see Dillon (1973, 417–19) and *Comm. Tim.* frg. 34 Dillon with comments ad loc.

ἐγειρόμενον δὲ ἐφίεται τοῦ ὁμοίου διαφερόντως καὶ συνάπτεται πρὸς αὐ-
τοτελειότητα. Εἰ δέ σοι ἄπιστον εἶναι καταφαίνεται, πῶς φωνῆς ἀκούει
τὸ ἀσώματον καὶ ὡς αἰσθήσεως προσδεήσεται καὶ δὴ ὧτων τὰ λεγόμε-
47] *να ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἑκὼν ἐπιλανθάνῃ τῆς τῶν πρώτων | αἰτίων* 1
περιουσίας ἔν τε τῷ εἰδέναι καὶ τῷ περιέχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν
πάντα· ἐν ἑνὶ γὰρ δήπου συνείληφεν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὁμοῦ τὰ ὅλα· οὔτε δὴ οὖν
διὰ δυνάμεων οὔτε δι' ὀργάνων εἰσδέχονται εἰς ἑαυτοὺς οἱ θεοὶ τὰς εὐ-
χάς, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς δὲ περιέχουσι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰς ἐνεργείας τῶν λόγων, καὶ 5
μάλιστα ἐκείνων οἵτινες διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἁγιστείας ἐνιδρυμένοι τοῖς θεοῖς
καὶ συνηνωμένοι τυγχάνουσιν· ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ τηνικαῦτα αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον πρὸς
ἑαυτὸ σύνεστι, καὶ οὐδ' ὡς ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον κοινωνεῖ τῶν ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς
νοήσεων.

Ἀλλ' αἱ λιτανεῖαι, ὡς φῄς, ἀλλότριαί εἰσι προσφέρεσθαι πρὸς τὴν 10
τοῦ νοῦ καθαρότητα. Οὐδαμῶς· δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτο, διότι τῇ δυνάμει
καὶ καθαρότητι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τῶν θεῶν ἀπολειπόμεθα, ἐγκαιρότατόν ἐστι
πάντων ἱκετεύειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὑπερβολήν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ συναίσθησις τῆς περὶ
ἑαυτοὺς οὐδενείας, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς παραβάλλων τοῖς θεοῖς κρίνοι, ποιεῖ τρέπε-

[46].13 δὴ scripsi: δι' codd.; secl. (vel δύο cj.) Sodano || 14 εὐχαῖς VM: προσευχαῖς cj. Parthey || [47].11 post καθαρότητα spatium 6 ll. in V, 3 in M; post οὐδαμῶς, 4 ll. in V, 3 in M (quibus tantum indicari dialogum vult Bidez, *Mélanges Desrousseaux*, p. 15, n. 2)

clearly in prayer, and when aroused, strives primarily towards what is like to itself, and joins itself to essential perfection.[83] And if it seems to you incredible that the incorporeal should hear a voice,[84] and that what we utter in prayer should have need of a further sense-organ, and specifically of ears, you are deliberately forgetting the facility of the primary causes for knowing and comprehending within themselves all that is inferior to them; for they embrace in unity within themselves all beings together.[85] So then, it is neither through faculties nor through organs that the gods receive into themselves our prayers, but rather they embrace within themselves the realisations of the words of good men, and in particular of those which,[86] by virtue of the sacred liturgy, are established within the gods and united to them; for in that case the divine is literally united with itself, and it is not in the way of one person addressing another that it participates in the thought expressed by the prayers.

"But prayers of petition,"[87] you say, "are not suitable for presentation to the purity of the Intellect." Not so: for by reason of this very circumstance, i.e. that we are inferior to the gods in power and in purity and all other respects, it is eminently suitable that we entreat them to the greatest degree possible. The consciousness of our own nothingness, if one judges it in comparison with the gods, makes us naturally turn to supplications; and by the

[83] Or, "the archetype of perfection." The term αὐτοτελειότης is found only here.

[84] As Des Places points out ad loc., this echoes Plotinus's criticism of the Gnostics in *Enn.* 2.9.14, where he asks them sarcastically if they imagine that the incorporeal is affected by sounds (lines 8–9). Plotinus is referring to the Gnostic practice, which they shared with the magical tradition, of binding the gods or daemons with magical names and utterances. This is what "Abamon" is here rejecting, in the name of the higher theurgy.

[85] A reference to the ὁμοῦ πάντα of Anaxagoras, a favourite epithet of the intelligible realm since Plotinus.

[86] We take this to refer to the λόγοι rather than to those who utter them. These would presumably include the various kinds of *voces magicae* recognised in theurgic ritual. This is in accord with the view that Iamblichus expresses elsewhere that theurgic formulae have a special power deriving from the fact that they are in some way divine language, immediately comprehensible to gods, though not to us. It is therefore as if the divine in us is communicating directly with the divine in the universe. For Iamblichus's doctrine of prayer, see below IV.3; V.26; for discussion see Dillon (1973, 407–11).

[87] This is the specific meaning of λιτανεῖαι.

σθαι πρὸς τὰς λιτὰς αὐτοφυῶς· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἱκετείας κατὰ βραχὺ πρὸς τὸ
[48] ἱκε|τευόμενον ἀναγόμεθα, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ ὁμοιότητα ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεχῶς
αὐτῷ προσομιλεῖν κτώμεθα, τελειότητά τε θείαν ἠρέμα προσλαμβάνομεν
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀτελοῦς.

Εἰ δέ τις ἐννοήσειε καὶ τὰς ἱερατικὰς ἱκετείας ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν
θεῶν ἀνθρώποις κατεπέμφθησαν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν εἰσι συνθήμα-
τα καὶ μόνοις τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπάρχουσι γνώριμοι, τρόπον τέ τινα καὶ αὗται
τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσι δύναμιν τοῖς θεοῖς, πῶς ἂν ἔτι αἰσθητὴν τὴν τοιαύτην
ἀλλ' οὐ θείαν καὶ νοερὰν ὑπολάβοι δικαίως εἶναι ἱκετείαν; ἢ τί ἂν εἰκό-
τως πάθος εἰς αὐτὴν παρεμπίπτοι, εἰς ἣν οὐδ' ἀνθρώπινον ἦθος σπουδαῖον
δύναται ῥᾳδίως ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι;

Ἀλλὰ τὰ προσαγόμενα, φησίν, ὡς πρὸς αἰσθητικοὺς καὶ ψυχικοὺς
προσάγεται. Εἴ γε σωματικαῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ συνθέτοις μόναις συμπεπλή-
ρωτο ἢ ὥσπερ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ὀργάνων ψιλὴν ὑποκειμέναις· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
ἀσωμάτων εἰδῶν μετέχουσι τὰ προσαγόμενα καὶ λόγων τινῶν καὶ μέτρων
[49] ἁπλουστέρων, κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον τῶν προσαγομένων | θεωρεῖται ἡ οἰ-
κειότης, καὶ εἴ τις ἐγγύθεν ἢ πόρρωθεν συγγένεια ἢ ὁμοιότης πάρεστιν,
ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ αὕτη πρὸς ἣν νυνὶ λέγομεν συναφήν· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστί τι τῶν
κατὰ βραχὺ προσῳκειωμένων τοῖς θεοῖς, ᾧ μὴ πάρεισιν εὐθὺς οἱ θεοὶ
καὶ συνάπτονται. Οὐκ ἄρα ὡς πρὸς αἰσθητικοὺς ἢ ψυχικούς, κατ' αὐτὰ
δὲ τὰ θεῖα εἴδη καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς γίγνεται αὐτῶν ἡ κατὰ τὸ
δυνατὸν ἐπιπλοκή. Ὥστε καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς διαιρέσεως ἀποχρώντως
ἀντειρήκαμεν.

16 Ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης ἐν τοῖς σοῖς γράμμασιν ἡ σώματι καὶ ἀσω-
ματίᾳ θεοὺς δαιμόνων χωρίζουσα, μακρῷ δή τινι κοινοτέρα οὖσα τῆς

[48].11 φησίν VM: φῂς cj. Gale || 12-13 συμπεπλήρωτο M: συνεπλήρωτο V || 14 τὰ προσαγόμενα M: om. V || [49].6 εἴδη (ει ex η et εἴδη i. m.) V^2: ἤδη VM

practice of supplication we are raised gradually to the level of the object of our supplication, and we gain likeness to it by virtue of our constant consorting with it, and, starting from our own imperfection, we gradually take on the perfection of the divine.

And if one were to consider also how the hieratic prayer-formulae have been sent down to mortals by the gods themselves, and that they are the symbols of the gods themselves, and not known to anyone but them, and that in a way they possess the same power as the gods themselves, how could one any longer justly believe that such supplication is derived from the sense-world, and is not divine and intellectual? Or how could any element of passion be reasonably insinuated into this activity, seeing that not even a virtuous human character can easily be brought to the requisite level of purity?[88]

"But the offerings made," so the argument says, "are presented as if to beings possessed of sense-perception and souls." Yes, if they were made up only of corporeal and composite powers, or such as were calculated, as it were, merely to appeal to (sense)-organs; but since the offerings partake also of incorporeal forms and of reason-principles of a certain sort and measurements of simple nature, from this very circumstance alone one may see the suitability of the offerings. And indeed, if any degree of kinship and likeness, whether near or remote, is present, this is sufficient for the contact of which are now speaking. For nothing enters, even to a minimal extent, into likeness with the gods, to which the gods are not straightway present and united. It is not, then, as with beings which are possessed of sense-perception and souls, but in accordance with the divine forms themselves and with the gods themselves, that the contact (resulting from these offerings), so far as possible,[89] comes about. That, then, will suffice as a reply to this distinction you make.

16 Following on from this distinction, there comes, in your treatise, a section distinguishing gods and daemons in respect of corporeality and incorporeality, a distinction much more

[88] That is to say—and it is a point often reiterated by "Abamon" (see e.g. II.11.96–97)—not even the most accomplished sage, so long as he maintains a purely intellectual approach (as does Porphyry, and as did Plotinus), can attain to the highest levels of theurgic union.

[89] An employment of the Platonist formulation κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν from *Theaet.* 176b1–2.

φαντάσματα προτείνειν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ; καὶ πότε ἂν τὸ μόνιμον καὶ ἱδρυμένον ἐν ἑαυτῷ γένος καὶ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ἀληθείας αἴτιον εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν ἕδραν μίμημα ἄν τι ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀπατηλὸν ἐμποιήσειεν; οὐδαμῶς ἄρα θεὸς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταβάλλει εἰς τὰ φαντάσματα, οὔτε ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ταῦτα ἐν ἄλλοις προτείνει, τὰ δ' ἀληθῆ ἐν τοῖς ἀληθέσιν ἤθεσι τῶν ψυχῶν ἐλλάμπει· κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν θεῶν συνοπαδοὶ ζηλωταὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εἰσιν αὐτοπτικῆς ἀληθείας.

[95] | Ὃ δὲ νῦν λέγεις, ὡς κοινόν ἐστι ⟨τὸ⟩ τῆς εἰδωλοποιίας καὶ τῆς περιαυτολογίας θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, συμφύρει πάντα τὰ τῶν κρειττόνων γένη ἐν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν αὐτῶν ἀπολείπει διαφορὰν πρὸς ἄλληλα· ἔσται γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὕτω κοινὰ πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν ἀποδοθήσεται ἐξαίρετον. Ἔνεστι δ' οὖν καὶ δικαιότερον πρὸς σὲ ἀντιλέγειν· τί δὴ οὖν ἔσται κρεῖττον τὸ τῶν θεῶν γένος παρὰ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων; ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἔχει κοινότητα ταῦτα τὰ γένη, οὔτε φανταστική ἐστιν αὕτη, οὔτε ἀπὸ τῶν τελευταίων καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις πταισμάτων τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀληθῆ ἀποτυπώματα ἀναλογίζεσθαι προσήκει. Οὕτως ἄν τις καὶ περὶ τούτων δοξάζων τυγχάνοι τοῦ προσήκοντος καὶ τοῖς θείοις κεχαρισμένου.

11 Τὰ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἐν οἷς τὴν περὶ τούτων ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπάτην, ἀνοσιουργίαν καὶ ἀκαθαρσίαν νενόμικας, προτρέπεις τε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ

[96] περὶ αὐτῶν παράδοσιν, ἔχει | μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἀμφισβήτησιν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ πᾶσιν ὡσαύτως. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν συγχωρήσειεν ἐπιστήμην τυγχάνουσαν τοῦ ὄντος οἰκειοτάτην εἶναι [τῆς θείας αἰτίας] θεοῖς, τὴν δ' ἄγνοιαν τὴν ὑποφερομένην εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν πορρωτάτω τῆς θείας αἰτίας τῶν ἀληθῶν εἰδῶν ἀποπίπτειν; Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, προσθήσω τὸ ἐλλεῖπον· καὶ διότι φιλοσόφως μᾶλλον καὶ λογικῶς ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν

[95].1 τὸ add. cj. Gale || 5 ἔνεστι M: ἔνεσται V || 6 παρὰ] περὶ VM || 12 ἀπάτην i. m. V²: ἀγάπην VM || [96].2 παρὰ M: περὶ V || 3 τῆς θείας αἰτίας del. cf. Saffrey (cj. 4) | θεοῖς] θεῶν cj. Gale

forward phantasms? And under what circumstances should their class of being, that is permanent, established in itself, and cause of essence and of truth, implant in an alien setting a deceptive imitation of itself? In no way, surely, does a god either change itself into phantasms or project these from itself into other beings, but it radiates its true forms in the true ways of souls. By the same token, those also who accompany the gods[150] are emulators of the gods' self-revelatory truth. But what you now claim, that there is a common link between the formation of images and bragging among the gods, daemons and others, confuses all the kinds of superior beings with one another and allows no difference of one to the other. For thus everything will be common to all of them and no special characteristic will be conceded to those superior. It is open to me to make the more just reply to your query, "in what way, then, will the race of gods be better than those of daemons?" For these classes have nothing in common; it is neither the skill of producing appearances that links them, nor is it fitting to extrapolate from the last and lowest deviations the primary and true impressions important for primary beings. It is if one holds such opinions as this about these matters, that one will hit upon what is appropriate and pleasing to the divine beings.

11 Your next remarks, in which you express the view that ignorance and deception about these matters contribute to impiety and impurity, and in which you exhort us toward true traditional teaching, admit of no dispute, but may be agreed on alike by all. For who would not agree that knowledge which alights upon being is most appropriate to the gods, whereas ignorance which declines towards non-being falls very far from the divine cause of true forms.[151] But since it has not been stated with sufficient accuracy, I will add to what is lacking, and because [this suggestion] makes a defence philosophically and logically rather

[150] Socrates argues in the *Republic* that a god would be least likely to have many shapes (ὁ θεός γε καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντῃ ἄριστα ἔχει, *Resp.* 381b4) and that the so-called conjuring up of the gods is nothing but sorcery; see *Resp.* 380d1–7. Cf. *Phaedr.* 248c.

[151] This presumably refers to the One or to the henadic realm in general.

ἐνεργὸν τῶν ἱερέων τέχνην τὸν ἀπολογισμὸν ποιεῖται, διὰ τοῦτο οἶμαι δεῖν θεουργικώτερον εἰπεῖν τι περὶ αὐτῶν.

Ἔστω μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἄγνοια καὶ ἀπάτη πλημμέλεια καὶ ἀσέβεια, οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο ψευδῆ ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ οἰκείως τοῖς θεοῖς προσφερόμενα καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἔργα, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἔννοια συνάπτει τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς θεουργούς· ἐπεὶ τί ἐκώλυε τοὺς θεωρητικῶς φιλοσοφοῦντας ἔχειν τὴν θεουργικὴν ἕνωσιν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς; νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔχει τό γε ἀληθὲς οὕτως· ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀρρήτων καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν νόησιν θεοπρεπῶς ἐνεργουμένων τελεσιουργία ἥ τε τῶν νοουμένων τοῖς θεοῖς μόνον συμβόλων ἀφθέγκτων δύ|ναμις [97] 1
ἐντίθησι τὴν θεουργικὴν ἕνωσιν. Διόπερ οὐδὲ τῷ νοεῖν αὐτὰ ἐνεργοῦμεν· ἔσται γὰρ οὕτω νοερὰ αὐτῶν ἡ ἐνέργεια καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἐνδιδομένη· τὸ δ' οὐδέτερόν ἐστιν ἀληθές. Καὶ γὰρ μὴ νοούντων ἡμῶν αὐτὰ τὰ συνθήματα ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν δρᾷ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον, καὶ ἡ τῶν θεῶν, πρὸς οὓς ἀνήκει ταῦτα, ἄρρητος δύναμις αὐτὴ ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐπιγιγνώσκει τὰς οἰκείας εἰκόνας, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ διεγείρεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας νοήσεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχει φύσιν τὰ περιέχοντα ὑπὸ τῶν περιεχομένων οὐδὲ τὰ τέλεια ὑπὸ τῶν ἀτελῶν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν μερῶν τὰ ὅλα ἀνακινεῖσθαι. Ὅθεν δὴ οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων νοήσεων προηγουμένως τὰ θεῖα αἴτια προκαλεῖται εἰς ἐνέργειαν· ἀλλὰ ταύτας μὲν καὶ τὰς ὅλας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρίστας διαθέσεις καὶ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς καθαρότητα ὡς συναίτια ἄττα προϋποκεῖσθαι χρή, τὰ δ' ὡς κυρίως ἐγείροντα τὴν θείαν βούλησιν αὐτὰ τὰ θεῖά ἐστι συνθέματα· καὶ οὕτω τὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀνακινεῖται, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων ἐνδεχόμενά τινα εἰς ἑαυτὰ ἀρχὴν τῆς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας.

Ταῦτα δὴ τοῦδε ἕνεκα ἀπεμήκυνα, ὅπως μὴ νομίζῃς ἀφ' ἡμῶν εἶ- [98] 1
ναι τὸ πᾶν κῦρος τῆς ἐν ταῖς θεουργίαις ἐνεργείας, μηδ' ἐν ταῖς ἐννοίαις ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀληθῶς διακειμέναις ὑπολάβῃς καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς αὐτῶν ἔργον κατορθοῦσθαι, μηδ' ἐν τῇ ἀπάτῃ διαψεύδεσθαι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐὰν γνῶμεν τὰ ἑκάστῳ γένει παρακολουθοῦντα ἴδια, ἤδη καὶ τετυχήκαμεν αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀληθείας. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ γνῶναι παραγίγνεταί ποτε ἡ δραστικὴ ἕνωσις, οὐ μὴν ἔχει γε πρὸς αὐτὴν ταὐτότητα· ὥστε

[96].15 ἀφθέγκτων VM: ἀφθέγκτως cj. Rasche (p. 18, n. 1) || [97].8 τὰ τέλεια cj. C et i. m. B^5: ἀτέλεια VM || 13 βούλησιν (βου i. r.) V^2: ...λησιν V (lac. 5 ll.) θέλησιν M | συνθέματα VM: συνθήματα fec. V^2 || [98].3 ὑπολάβῃς V: ὑπὸ λώβης M || 5 γένει cj. Gale: γένη VM

than in accord with the effective skill of priests, I think it necessary to say something more on the theurgic level concerning them.[152]

Granting, then, that ignorance and deception are faulty and impious, it does not follow on this that the offerings made to the gods and divine works are invalid, for it is not pure thought that unites theurgists to the gods. Indeed what, then, would hinder those who are theoretical philosophers from enjoying a theurgic union with the gods? But the situation is not so: it is the accomplishment of acts not to be divulged and beyond all conception, and the power of the unutterable symbols, understood solely by the gods, which establishes theurgic union. Hence, we do not bring about these things by intellection alone; for thus their efficacy would be intellectual, and dependent upon us. But neither assumption is true. For even when we are not engaged in intellection, the symbols themselves, by themselves, perform their appropriate work, and the ineffable power of the gods, to whom these symbols relate, itself recognises the proper images of itself, not through being aroused by our thought. For it is not in the nature of things containing to be aroused by those contained in them, nor of things perfect by things imperfect, nor even of wholes by parts. Hence it is not even chiefly through our intellection that divine causes are called into actuality; but it is necessary for these and all the best conditions of the soul and our ritual purity to pre-exist as auxiliary causes; but the things which properly arouse the divine will are the actual divine symbols. And so the attention of the gods is awakened by themselves, receiving from no inferior being any principle for themselves of their characteristic activity.

I have laboured this point at some length for this reason: that you not believe that all authority over activity in the theurgic rites depends on us, or suppose that their genuine performance is assured by the true condition of our acts of thinking, or that they are made false by our deception. For not even if we know the particular traits that accompany each kind have we then hit upon the truth in regard to the performance of sacred rites. Effective union certainly never takes place without knowledge, but

[152] A reference to his original division of subject-matter into philosophy, theology and theurgy in I.2.

οὐδ' ἡ καθαρότης ἡ θεία διὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς γνώσεως, ὥσπερ ἡ τοῦ σώματος διὰ τῆς ἁγνείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ γιγνώσκειν μᾶλλον ὑπερήνωται αὕτη καὶ ἀποκεκάθαρται. Οὐδ' ἄλλο τοίνυν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τοιοῦτον ὑπάρχον, ὁποῖα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, συνεργεῖ τι πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῶν θείων πράξεων.

Δέχου δὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν παρέργῳ μὲν εἰρημένον, πρὸς ὅλην δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τὴν σὴν περὶ τῆς θεουργικῆς τέχνης ἱκανῶς ἐνιστάμενον. Τῆς δ'
[99] αὐτῆς ἔχεται τούτοις | δυνάμεως κἀκεῖνα ἐν οἷς ὅσιον καὶ ὠφέλιμον εἶναι νενόμικας τὴν περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀγνοίας τῆς περὶ τῶν τιμίων καὶ καλῶν σκότος καλεῖς, φῶς δὲ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐμπλῆσαι τίθεσαι πάντων κακῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δι' ἀμαθίαν καὶ τόλμαν, τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἡγῇ πάντων ἀγαθῶν. Καὶ γὰρ πάντα πρὸς ταὐτὸ τείνει τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένοις, τετύχηκέ τε λόγου τοῦ προσήκοντος μετ' ἐκείνων. Δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτα μὲν παραλιπεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς ζητήσεις μετελθεῖν, καὶ ταύτας διαλῦσαι συντόμως.

[98].8 ὥσπερ VM: ὥσπερ οὐδὲ cj. Gale || 9 ἁγνείας VM: ὑγείας (ὑγ s. v.) V^2 ἀγνοίας cj. F || 14 ἔχεται] ἔπεται cj. s. v. W^2 || [99].4 πάντων cj. Gale: περὶ τῶν VM || 7 τῆς V: om. M

nevertheless it is not identical with it. Thus, divine purity does not come about through right knowledge, in the way that bodily purity does through chastity, but divine union and purification actually go beyond knowledge. Nothing, then, of any such qualities in us, such as are humans contributes in any way towards the accomplishment of divine transactions.

Allow me to contribute this as an afterthought, but one that will refute sufficiently your entire conception of the theurgic technique. What you are asserting here has the same force as that in which you declared that scientific understanding about the gods is a holy and useful thing, and you called ignorance of things honourable and lovely "darkness," but the knowledge of them "light." You consider the one to have filled human beings with all ills, because of their ignorance and audacity, but the other to be the cause of all goods. All these statements tend in the same direction as those mentioned previously, and together with them, they have received proper consideration. We may, therefore, leave these topics, and pass on to questions concerning divination, and resolve them concisely.

IV

1 *Ἄγε δὴ οὖν ὅπως ἐφεξῆς καὶ τὰς δοκούσας ἐναντιώσεις ἐπισκεψώμεθα, τίνες εἰσὶ καὶ τίνα ἔχουσι λόγον. Καὶ δῆτα ἐὰν ὀλίγῳ πλείονα διεξίωμεν περί τινων, ὡς ἂν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἰδίας καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ποιούμενοι τοὺς λόγους, ἐπιμένειν δεῖ σε προθύμως καὶ καρτερεῖν. Περὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων μαθημάτων μεγάλας ἀνίστασθαι δεῖ καὶ τὰς σπουδάς, χρόνῳ τε ἐν πολλῷ δι' ἀκριβείας βεβασανισμένας, εἰ μέλλοις αὐτὸ τελέως γνώσεσθαι· σὺ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν, ὥσπερ ἤρξω, πρότεινε τὰς* [181] *ἐμποιούσας ἀπορίαν διαμφισβητήσεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐν τῷ μέρει δώσω λόγον σοι· λέγε δὴ οὖν· ὅ τι δὴ πάνυ με θράττει, πῶς ὡς κρείττονες παρακαλούμενοι ἐπιτάττονται ὡς χείρονες· ἐγὼ δέ σοι ἐρῶ τὴν ὅλην περὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἀξίαν λόγου διαίρεσιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐνέσται σοι διορισμὸς σαφὴς τοῦ τε δυνατοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου περὶ ὧν ἠρώτησας.*

Θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὅσοι κρείττονες ἡμῶν βουλήσει τῶν καλῶν ἀφθόνῳ τε τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀποπληρώσει μετ' εὐμενείας τοῖς ἁγίοις χαρίζονται τὰ προσήκοντα, οἰκτείροντες μὲν τοὺς τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἀνδρῶν πόνους, τὰ δ' οἰκεῖα ἑαυτῶν γεννήματα καὶ θρέμματα καὶ παιδεύματα ἀσπαζόμενοι. Τὰ δὲ μέσα γένη κρίσεως ἔφορα τυγχάνει· συμβουλεύει τε ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν

[180].10 αὐτὸ] αὐτὰ cj. Gale || [181].2 δὴ² M: δὲ V || 6-7 ἀφθόνῳ cj. Gale: ἀφθόνων VM || 7 χαρίζονται VM: χωρίζονται (ω s. v., sed del. V^{r}) V^{c}

BOOK IV

1 Well then, let us next turn our attention to the objections that it occurs to you to raise, to see what they are and what logical force they possess. And, indeed, if we deal with some of them at slightly greater length than seems proper, so as to give the impression of discoursing self-indulgently and with infinite leisure, you must simply have patience and bear with us. For the greatest subjects of study deserve to attract correspondingly great attention, and to be given close examination over a substantial period of time, if one is going to attain to a perfect understanding of them. So you, then, in conformity with the lines you have laid down, propound the problems that have been giving you difficulty and I, in turn, will render you a proper account of them. State your point, then. "A thing that very much troubles me is this: how does it come about that we invoke the gods as our superiors, but then give them orders as if they were our inferiors?"[247] I will explain to you the entire principle of distinction, so far as it is worth going into, on the question of how powers are invoked, so that from this you may have a clear basis for determining what is possible and what is impossible on the subject of your enquiry.

The gods and the classes of being superior to us, through a wish for the good, and with an ungrudging fulfilment of benefits,[248] bestow with benevolence towards the saints[249] what is fitting to them, taking pity upon the labours of priestly men, and embracing their own offspring, nurselings and pupils. The role of the median classes of being is to preside over the processes of

[247] Are we to suppose that this is a verbatim quotation from Porphyry? It seems to us more probable that it is a dramatised version of a point made by Porphyry in his letter, put in this form to accentuate the rhetorical ploy of presenting Porphyry as the pupil seeking enlightenment.

[248] This language is deliberately reminiscent of Plato's characterisation of the Demiurge at *Timaeus* 29e.

[249] That is to say, the practitioners of theurgy: οἱ ἅγιοι is used by Origen to describe consecrated members of the Christian community, e.g. *Princ.* 1.3.5, Gk. frg. 9, and this usage can be traced back to early Christianity (see, e.g., Acts 9:13, 32, 41; 26:10; Rom 1:7; 8:27; 12:13; 15:25-26, 31; 16:2, 15: 1 Cor 1:2).

καὶ τίνων ἀπέχεσθαι προσήκει, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ἔργα συναίρεται, διακωλύει δὲ τὰ ἄδικα, πολλούς τε τῶν ἐπιχειρούντων ἀφαιρεῖσθαί τι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων παρὰ δίκην ἢ λυμαίνεσθαί τινα πλημμελῶς ἢ ἀπολλύναι, αὐ-
[182] τοὺς ἐποίησε παθεῖν ταῦτα οἷα ἄλλους διενοοῦντο ἐργάζεσθαι. | Ἔστι δὲ 1
δή τι καὶ ἄλλο ἀλόγιστον καὶ ἄκριτον γένος τῶν παραγιγνομένων, ὃ μίαν ἀριθμῷ δύναμιν κατενείματο διὰ τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τοῖς μέρεσι διανομὴν ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιτεταγμένων. Ὥσπερ οὖν μαχαίρας ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ τέμνειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖ ἢ τοῦτο, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ παντὶ διῃρη- 5
μένων πνευμάτων κατὰ φύσεως μεριστὴν ἀνάγκην τὸ μὲν διαιρεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ συνάγει τὰ γιγνόμενα. Γνώριμον δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φαινομένων· τὰ γὰρ Χαρώνεια λεγόμενα ἀφίησί τι πνεῦμα ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πᾶν τὸ ἐμπίπτον ἀδιακρίτως δυνάμενον φθείρειν. Οὕτω δὴ οὖν καὶ ἀφανῆ τινα πνεύματα, διαλαχόντα ἄλλα ἄλλην δύναμιν, ἐκεῖνο μόνον πέφυκε ποιεῖν ὥσπερ ἐπι- 10
τέτακται. Εἰ δή τις παραλαβὼν τὰ συντελοῦντα τεταγμένως εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀλλαχοῦ μετατρέψειε καὶ διαπράξαιτό τι παρανόμως, οἰκεία τότε ἔσται τοῦ κακῶς χρωμένου βλάβη.

[183] | **2** Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἄλλος τρόπος λόγων· ὃ δὲ νυνὶ πρόκειται 1
σκοπεῖν, ἐνίοτε ὁρῶμεν γιγνόμενον. Τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιτάξεων συμβαίνει περὶ τὰ μὴ χρώμενα ἰδίῳ λόγῳ πνεύματα μηδὲ κρίσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα. Καὶ

[181].13-14 αὐτοὺς cj. Parthey: αὐτοῖς VM || [182].4 ἐπιτεταγμένων M: ἐπιτεταγμένον V ἐπιτεταγμένην cj. Gale || [183].2 ἐπιτάξεων V: ἐπιτάξεως M

judgement. They advise as to what is to be done, and from what one should abstain; they co-operate with just actions, while they hinder unjust ones, and in the case of many, who attempt unjustly to appropriate what does not belong to them, or to injure someone improperly, or even to kill them, they cause them to suffer the sort of things that they were planning to inflict on others. There is, however, another class of being from among those which surround us,[250] devoid of reason and judgement, which has been allotted just one power, in the apportionment of tasks which has been prescribed[251] for each entity in each of the parts (of the universe). Even as, then, the role of a knife is to cut,[252] and it does nothing else but this, so also, of those spirits that are distributed about the universe, according to a particular natural necessity, one divides while another brings together things in the realm of becoming. This truth can be observed also from the evidence of our senses; for the so-called "caves of Charon" emit from themselves a certain vapour, capable of destroying indiscriminately anything that falls into them.[253] Even so, then, there are certain invisible spirits, each allotted different spheres of operation, who are naturally adapted to perform only that role to which they are assigned. If then someone, having taken up that which concords with the order of the universe, turns that to another end, and performs some act contrary to law, the harm resulting from that wicked act will appropriately recoil upon him.

2 But that is another aspect of the question. What it is now our purpose to examine, we sometimes see happening. For these commands are addressed to spirits that have no reason or principle of judgement of their own. And yet there is nothing odd about

[250] These seem to be distinct from the evil daemons discussed just above at III.31.176–178. The present entities are not disorderly, or positively evil; they are simply limited to one or another particular function in the universe, and should not be diverted from that.

[251] Reading ἐπιτεταγμένων with Gale, for the ἐπιτεταγμένον of the MSS.

[252] Probably a reminiscence of Plato, *Resp.* 353a.

[253] Such cavities are mentioned by Strabo, *Geog.* 12.8.17; 14.1.11 and 44; [Aristotle], *Mund.* 395b28, both of whom mention various well-known ones in Asia Minor. Cicero, *Div.* 1.79 and Pliny, *Nat.* 2.95.208 give a number of Italian examples.

τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπαντᾷ παραλόγως. Φύσιν γὰρ ἔχουσα λογίζεσθαι ἡμῶν ἡ διάνοια καὶ διακρίνειν ἥπερ ἔχει τὰ πράγματα, πολλάς τε δυνάμεις ζωῆς ἐν ἑαυτῇ συλλαβοῦσα, τοῖς ἀλογίστοις καὶ κατὰ μίαν τοῖς ἐπιτελουμένοις ἐνέργειαν ἐπιτάττειν εἴωθεν. Καλεῖ μὲν οὖν αὐτὰ ὡς κρείττονα, διότι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἡμᾶς παντὸς κόσμου τὰ συντελοῦντα πρὸς τὰ ὅλα περὶ τὰ κατεχόμενα ἐν τοῖς μεριστοῖς ἕλκειν ἐπιχειρεῖ· ἐπιτάττει δὲ ὡς χείροσι, διότι καὶ μέρη τινὰ πολλάκις τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καθαρώτερα καὶ τελειότερα ἐμφύεται τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὸν ὅλον κόσμον· οἷον εἰ τὸ μὲν εἴη νοερόν, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἄψυχον ἢ φυσικόν, τότε γὰρ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖον διατείνοντος τὸ ἐπ' ἔλαττον διῆκον εἰς ἐξουσίαν ἐστὶ κυριώτερον, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπολείποιτο αὐτοῦ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει τῆς ἐπικρατείας.

[184] | Ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλον λόγον ταῦτα τοιοῦτον. Τῆς ὅλης θεουργίας διττόν ἐστι πρόσχημα, τὸ μὲν ὡς παρ' ἀνθρώπων προσαγόμενον, ὅπερ δὴ τηρεῖ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν τάξιν ὡς ἔχει φύσεως ἐν τῷ παντί, τὸ δὲ κρατυνόμενον τοῖς θείοις συνθήμασι καὶ ἄνω μετέωρον δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς κρείττοσι συναπτόμενον, περιαγόμενόν τε ἐμμελῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων διακόσμησιν, ὃ δὴ δύναται εἰκότως καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν σχῆμα περιτίθεσθαι. Κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην οὖν διαφορὰν εἰκότως καὶ ὡς κρείττονας καλεῖ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς δυνάμεις, καθόσον ἐστὶν ὁ καλῶν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἐπιτάττει αὐταῖς αὖθις, ἐπειδὴ περιβάλλεταί πως διὰ τῶν ἀπορρήτων συμβόλων τὸ ἱερατικὸν τῶν θεῶν πρόσχημα.

3 Ἀληθέστερον δ' ἔτι τούτων διαλύοντες τὰ διηπορημένα, ἀφαιρεῖν ἀξιοῦμεν τὰς ὡς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων φαινομένας ἐν τῷ καλεῖν παρακλήσεις

[183].7 ὡς M: ὧν V || 14 αὐτοῦ V: αὐτῷ M || [184].8-9 ἐπιτάττει cj. Gale: ἐπιτάττειν VM

this situation. For since our mind[254] has a natural power of reasoning and of discerning the nature of things, and since it gathers within itself a multiplicity of life-faculties, it is accustomed to giving orders to irrational beings, which are set to carry out just one operation at a time. So it invokes them, on the one hand, as superiors, because it is trying to attract, from the world surrounding us, those beings which contribute to the whole, to concern themselves with what inheres in individual things; it gives them orders, on the other hand, as to inferiors, because often certain parts of what is in the world are naturally purer and more perfect than those which extend to the world as a whole. For example, if the former is endowed with intelligence, while the whole is soulless or endowed merely with the principle of growth,[255] in that case the entity of more restricted extension disposes of more discretionary power than that which is of greater extension, even though it may fall far short of it in size and abundance of force.

There is another explanation that one might give of this, and that is the following: the whole of theurgy presents a double aspect. On the one hand, it is performed by men, and as such observes our natural rank in the universe; but on the other, it controls divine symbols, and in virtue of them is raised up to union with the higher powers, and directs itself harmoniously in accordance with their dispensation, which enables it quite properly to assume the mantle of the gods. It is in virtue of this distinction, then, that the art both naturally invokes the powers from the universe as superiors, inasmuch as the invoker is a man, and yet on the other hand gives them orders, since it invests itself, by virtue of the ineffable symbols, with the hieratic role of the gods.

3 But in order to provide an even more accurate solution to your problems, we think it right, in our invocations, to eliminate such prayers as seem to be addressed to men, as well

[254] "Abamon" uses here the term διάνοια. In normal Platonist parlance it would refer to the discursive intellect, the very essence of which, one would think, is to reason; here, he must be using here in a more general sense—for something like consciousness.

[255] This is really the meaning of φύσις here—the lowest level of soul, the growth-soul.

καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἔργων διανύσει μετὰ μεγάλης σπουδῆς ἐνδιδομένας ἐπιτάξεις. Εἰ γὰρ ἡ φιλίας ὁμονοητικῆς κοινωνία καί τις ἀδιάλυτος συμ-
[185] πλοκὴ τῆς ἑνώσεως συνέχει τὴν ἱερατικὴν ἀπεργασίαν, | ἵν' ὄντως ᾖ θεία 1
καὶ ὑπερέχουσα πᾶσαν τὴν γιγνωσκομένην κοινὴν ἀνθρώποις διάπραξιν, οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἁρμόζει λεγόμενον, οὔτε τὸ προσκαλεῖν οὕτως, ὡς τὰ ἀφεστηκότα ἡμεῖς προσαγόμεθα, οὔτε τὸ κελεύειν τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον τοῖς κεχωρισμένοις, ὡς ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρων ἐγχειρίζομεν· 5
ἡ αὐτὴ δέ τις ἐνέργεια κοινῶς αὐθαίρετος ἐλλάμπουσα τοῦ θείου πυρὸς αὐτόκλητός τε καὶ αὐτενέργητος δι' ὅλων ὡσαύτως ἐνεργεῖ τῶν μεταδιδόντων ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν μεταλαμβάνειν αὐτῆς δυναμένων.

Πολὺ δὴ οὖν κρεῖττόν ἐστι τὸ νυνὶ λεγόμενον, τὸ μὴ δι' ἐναντιώσεως ἢ διαφορότητος ἀποτελεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔργα, ὥσπερ δὴ τὰ γιγνόμενα 10
εἰωθεν ἐνεργεῖσθαι, ταὐτότητι δὲ καὶ ἑνώσει καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ἐν αὐτοῖς κατορθοῦσθαι. Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν καλοῦν ἢ καλούμενον ἢ ἐπιτάττον ἢ ἐπιταττόμενον ἢ κρεῖττον ἢ χεῖρον διαιρῶμεν, τὴν τῶν γενέσεων ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγέννητα ἀγαθὰ μεταφέρομέν πως ἐναντιότητα, ἐὰν δὲ πάντων
[186] | τούτων ὡς γηγενῶν καθάπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον ὑπερίδωμεν, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν καὶ 1
ἁπλοῦν ὡς τιμιώτερον ἀποδῶμεν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι ⟨τῆς⟩ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ποικιλίας, ἀνῄρηται εὐθὺς ἡ πρώτη τῶν ζητημάτων τούτων ὑπόθεσις, ὥστε οὐδεμία περὶ αὐτῶν εὔλογος ἀπολείπεται ἀμφισβήτησις.

4 Τί οὖν δὴ λέγομεν περὶ τῆς μετὰ ταύτην ἐπιζητήσεως, τί δί- 5
καιον δήποτε μὲν ἀξιοῦσι τὸν θεραπεύοντα εἶναι οἱ καλούμενοι, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ἄδικα κελευόμενοι δρᾶν ὑπομένουσιν; πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο ἔχω περὶ τοῦ δικαιοπραγεῖν διαμφισβητῆσαι, ὡς οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς ὅρος ἡμῖν τε φαίνεται περὶ

[184].14 ἡ φιλίας (ἀ p. n., ἡ s. v.) V^r: ἀφιλίας VM || [185].1 ᾖ i. m. V^2: ἡ VM || 5 τοῖς V: om. M || [186].2 τιμιώτερον M et (comp.) V: τιμιώτατα (compendio in V male resoluto) AZ | τῆς add. cj. Westerink || 5 δὴ M: δή τι V || 7 τοῦτο cj. Westerink: τούτῳ codd.

as injunctions forcefully delivered on the accomplishment of operations.[256] For if it is the communion of a friendship based on like-mindedness and an indissoluble bond of unity that gives coherence to the performance of hieratic rites, in order that they may be truly divine and transcend all action known and common to men, then the name of no human activities can apply to it, nor does one employ invocations in the way that one does in order to draw near to one things that are distant, nor to give orders to things separate from us, as when we take in hand one thing after another; but the same activity of the divine fire which shines universally on its own initiative, self-summoned and self-energising,[257] acts in the same way throughout all beings, both those which communicate their powers and those which are able to receive them.

Much better, then, is the principle I have just now laid down, that the works of the gods are not brought to completion in any mode of opposition or differentiation, in the way that works in the realm of generation are normally performed, but each work as a whole is accomplished on the divine level through identity and unity and concord. If, then, we make any distinction between invoker and invoked, or commander and commanded, or, in general, superior and inferior, we are in a way transferring the spirit of opposition to the ungenerated goods of the gods; but if, as is proper, we dismiss all such things as earthly, and if instead we attribute community and simplicity, as being more honourable, to those beings that transcend the variegation of this realm, then the primary basis for your queries is dissolved, so that no reasonable doubt is any longer left concerning them.

4 What, then, are we to say on the question following upon this, to wit, "Why do the entities summoned up require that the officiator be just, while they themselves put up with being bidden to commit injustice?"[258] In response to this, I would first raise an issue about the sense of the term "behave justly," since this does

[256] No doubt utterances such as we find throughout the magical papyri, accompanying a given magical rite.

[257] We have here a sequence of adjectives that have a distinctly Chaldaean ring, though they are not attested in surviving fragments; αὐτενέργητος is indeed attested first in Iamblichus and subsequently in Proclus.

[258] Plotinus addresses this at *Enn.* 4.4.30–39 in the course of his discussion of magic.

αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν ἅτε δὴ ἐπὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἀποβλέποντες τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐπισκοποῦμεν καὶ τὸν ἐν ποσὶ βίον, τίς τέ ἐστι καὶ ὅπως γίγνεται· οἱ μέντοι κρείττονες ἡμῶν ὅλην τὴν ζωὴν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοὺς προτέρους αὐτῆς βίους πάντας ἐπίστανται, καὶ εἴ τινα δὴ τιμωρίαν ἐπάγουσιν ἐκ παρακλήσεως τῶν καλούντων, οὐκ ἔξω τῆς δίκης ταύτην ἐπιφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ στοχαζόμενοι τῶν ἐν προτέροις βίοις ἁμ-
[187] αρτημάτων | τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν πασχόντων· ἅπερ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐχ ὁρῶντες νομίζουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀδίκως περιπίπτειν ταῖς συμφοραῖς αἷς πάσχουσιν.

5 Καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρόνοιαν δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κοινῶς εἰώθασιν οἱ πολλοὶ προσαπορεῖν, εἴ τινες παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κακῶς πάσχουσι μηδὲν ἠδικηκότες πρότερον. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δύνανται ἀναλογίζεσθαι τίς οὖσα ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τίνα ἔχουσα τὴν ὅλην ζωὴν καὶ πόσα ἐν προτέροις βίοις διαμαρτήσασα τυγχάνει, καὶ εἰ ἄρα πάσχει ταῦτα ἅπερ ἐποίησε πρότερον· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ λανθάνει τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας διαγνώσεις ἀδικήματα, τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς ἐστι γνώριμα, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προτίθενται τῆς δικαιοσύνης. Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄνθρωποι τὴν ἰδίαν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοπραγίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας νόμους καὶ τὴν κρατοῦσαν πολιτείαν διανομὴν τῆς ἀξίας ἀφορίζονται εἶναι δικαιοσύνην· οἱ μέντοι θεοὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅλην τοῦ κόσμου διάταξιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν συντέλειαν τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν ψυχῶν ἀποβλέποντες, τὴν κρίσιν τῶν δικαιωμάτων ἐπιβάλλουσιν. Διόπερ δὴ ἄλλως μὲν
[188] παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς | ἄλλως δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν τῶν δικαίων ἡ κρίσις γίγνεται· καὶ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι εἰ μὴ ἐφικνούμεθα ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τελειοτάτης τῶν κρειττόνων κρίσεως.

Τί δὲ κωλύει καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἑκάστῳ καὶ μετὰ τῆς ὅλης συγγενείας τῶν ψυχῶν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς πολὺ διαφερόντως δοκιμάζεσθαι τὸ δίκαιον;

[186].9 μὲν V: δὲ M || 12 πάντας cj. Gale: πάντες VM || [187].4 εἴ τινες VM: οἵτινες cj. B || 7 ταῦτα VM: an ταὐτὰ? || 14 ἄλλως V: ἄλλων M || [188].4 τί scr. Gale: τὶ (ι ex ὁ) V^2 τὸ VM

not appear to have the same definition when applied to us and to the gods. We, after all, in considering reality, look only to the shortest of scales, and to "the life before our feet," what it is and how it came to be, whereas the classes of being superior to us take cognisance of the whole life of our soul and all its previous lives, and if they send some punishment upon us on the invocation of those who petition them, they do not do this outside the bounds of justice, but taking into account offences committed in previous lives of the souls of the victims. It is only through failing to appreciate this that men consider themselves to be unjustly subjected to the misfortunes that they suffer.

5 Indeed, the general run of men commonly raise this same difficulty about providence, if people suffer ill undeservedly without having committed any previous injustice.[259] They are not in a position, however, to make a proper reckoning of the true nature of a given soul, and of what sort of life it has had as a whole, and how many crimes it may have committed in previous lives, and whether it is suffering due to its former actions. There are also many injustices, which escape the attention of men, but are known to the gods, since they do not even propound the same standard of justice as men. For men define justice as "the doing by each soul of its own proper activity,"[260] and as the dispensing of deserts according to the established laws and the prevailing political system; the gods, on the other hand, looking to the structure of the cosmos as a whole and to the overall relationship of souls with the gods, and it is on this basis that they make a judgement as to the apportionment of just deserts. It is for this reason, then, that the judgement of what is just is made differently by the gods from what we would make; and I would not be astonished if in most cases we did not attain to a full and complete understanding of the basis on which our superiors make their judgement.

But why, indeed, shouldn't what is just for each sole individual be reckoned very differently by the gods in each case, when taken with reference to the whole system of the relationships

[259] Plotinus deals with this issue extensively in his major treatise *On Providence* (*Enn.* 3.2–3).

[260] This plainly refers to the Platonic definition of justice worked out in *Republic* 4, though the term αὐτοπραγία (for οἰκειοπραγία) is not found in Plato; it occurs only in the Platonic *Definitions* (411e), and then as part of a definition of σωφροσύνη rather than of δικαιοσύνη.

εἴπερ γὰρ ἡ κοινωνία τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ἔν τε σώμασι καὶ ἄνευ σωμάτων οὔσαις ταῖς ψυχαῖς συμπλοκήν τινα τὴν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ζωὴν καὶ τάξιν ἐναπεργάζεται κοινήν, καὶ τὴν ἔκτισιν τῆς δίκης ἀναγκαῖον ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ἀφ' ὅλων, καὶ μάλιστα ἡνίκα ἂν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν μιᾷ προϋπηργμένων ἀδικημάτων ὑπεραίρῃ τὴν ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῆς ἀκολούθου τοῖς πλημμελήμασι τιμωρίας ἀποπλήρωσιν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἄλλους προστιθείη διορισμούς, καθ' οὓς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἑτέρως τὰ δίκαια παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχοντα ἢ ὡς παρ' ἡμῖν διέγνωσται, γένοιτ' ἂν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἔφοδος ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ καὶ οἱ προειρημένοι μόνοι κανόνες ἐξαρκοῦσιν
[189] εἰς τὸ | δηλῶσαι τὸ καθόλου καὶ πάντα περιέχον γένος τῆς ἐν ταῖς δίκαις ἰατρείας.

6 Ἵνα τοίνυν ἐκ περιουσίας διαγωνισώμεθα πρὸς τὴν νῦν λεγομένην ἀντίληψιν, δῶμεν εἰ βούλει καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον οὗ κατεσκευάσαμεν, ὡς ἄδικά τινα δρᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὰς κλήσεις πραγματείαις· ὅτι τοίνυν οὐδὲ τούτων αἰτιατέον τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτόθεν μὲν πρόδηλον· οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν εἰσιν αἴτιοι, κακοῦ δὲ παντὸς ἀναίτιοι· καὶ οἱ θεοὶ κατ' οὐσίαν ἔχουσι τὸ ἀγαθόν· οὐδὲν ἄρα ἄδικον ποιοῦσιν. Ἀλλ' ἄρα τὰ αἴτια τῶν πλημμελῶς γιγνομένων ζητητέον· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἷοί τέ ἐσμεν εὑρεῖν αὐτά, οὐ χρὴ προΐεσθαι τὴν ἀληθῆ περὶ θεῶν ἔννοιαν, οὐδὲ διὰ τὰ ἀμφισβητούμενα εἰ γίγνονται καὶ ὅπως γίγνονται ἀφίστασθαι χρὴ τῆς ὄντως ἐναργοῦς περὶ θεῶν ἐννοίας· πολὺ γὰρ βέλτιον ἀγνοεῖν προσομολογῆσαι τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῆς
[190] δυνάμεως πῶς τὰ ἄδικα διαπράττεται, ἢ συγχωρῆσαι περὶ | θεῶν ἀδύνατόν τι ψεῦδος, περὶ οὗ πάντες Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι τἀναντία ἀληθῶς διαδοξάζουσιν.

7 Ἔχει μὲν οὖν τό γε ἀληθὲς οὕτως· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ δεῖ προσθεῖναι

[188].8 ἐναπεργάζεται scr. Gale: ἐναπεργάζονται M ἀπεργάζονται V || 8-9 ἀναγκαῖον M et (ον s. v.) V^2: ἀναγκαῖα V || 10 ὑπεραίρῃ] ὑπεραίρει M et (ἡνίκα ἂν cancell.) V^c ἡνίκα ἂν ὑπεραίρει V | τὴν V: τοὺς M | τοῖς V: τῆς M || 12 ἑτέρως V et (σ s. v.) M^c: ἑτέρων M | παρὰ M: περὶ V || [189].5 δρᾶσθαι V: δρᾶσαι M | πραγματείαις V: πραγματείας M || 9 πλημμελῶς M: πλημμελῶν V || 11 γίγνονται^1 V: γίγνεται M || 12 ἀτοπίαν] ἀτονίαν cj. Gale

of souls?[261] For if the community of a common nature between souls in bodies and without bodies produces the same degree of involvement with the life of the cosmos and a common rank, it follows necessarily that the same exaction of justice should be demanded from all of them, and especially when the magnitude of the injustices committed previously by a given soul exceeds the punishment, proportional to the crimes, which can be exacted from a single soul. If one wants to make any other distinctions, to indicate that the gods have a different perspective on justice than has been determined among us men, there might well turn out to be a useful approach to our problem from that quarter also, but for me the principles set out above are sufficient on their own to demonstrate the general and all-comprehensive type of healing which operates in these judgements.

6 However, in order to refute even more comprehensively the objection here raised, let us grant, if you wish, the very contrary of what we have established, that is to say that injustices are committed in the course of actions resulting from invocations. Yet even for these it is quite obvious that the gods should not be held responsible: for the good are causes only of goods, and are free of responsibility for any evil; now the gods, by their very essence, possess the good; therefore they commit no injustice.[262] We must, then, search for the causes responsible for such untoward events. If, however, we are not able to discover them, we must not abandon the true concept of the gods, nor, because of doubts that are raised as to whether and how evil actions occur, dissociate ourselves from the truly clear conception of the gods; for it is far better to admit that we are ignorant, by reason of the inadequacy of our intellectual faculties, of how these unjust actions come about, than to subscribe to an impossible falsehood about the gods, about which all Greeks and barbarians have come to an opposite and true conclusion.

7 This, then, is the truth of the situation. Nevertheless, one must go on to add the number and nature of the causes which

[261] The significance of συνγένεια here is not clear. Does "Abamon" mean the relationships of souls to each other, or of a given soul to its various instantiations?

[262] This syllogism is based on the theological principle laid down in *Resp.* 2.379b, that God is by nature good, and cannot be responsible for any evil, this being something that Porphyry, as a Platonist, would not dare to dispute.

καὶ τὰ αἴτια τῆς ἐνίοτε τῶν κακῶν γενέσεως, πόσα τέ ἐστι καὶ ὁποῖα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἁπλοῦν αὐτῶν ὑπάρχει τὸ εἶδος· ποικίλον δέ τι ὂν ποικίλων κακῶν προηγεῖται τῆς γενέσεως. Εἰ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἄρτι ἐλέγομεν περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῶν κακῶν δαιμόνων τῶν ὑποκρινομένων τὴν τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν δαιμόνων παρουσίαν, πολὺ δήπου τι καταφαίνεται ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιρρέον τὸ κακοποιὸν φῦλον, περὶ ὃ συμβαίνειν φιλεῖ ἡ τοιάδε ἐναντίωσις. Δίκαιον μὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῖ εἶναι τὸν θεραπεύοντα, διότι ὑποκρίνεται εἶναι οἷον τὸ θεῖον γένος· ὑπηρετεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄδικα, διότι πέφυκεν εἶναι πονηρόν. Ἔστω δὴ οὖν ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος περὶ ψεύδους καὶ ἀληθοῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ. Καθάπερ δὴ οὖν ἐν ταῖς μαντείαις μόνως τὸ ἀληθεύειν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπονείμαντες, κατιδόντες τὸ ψεῦδος λεγόμενον ἐν αὐταῖς, εἰς ἕτερον γένος
[191] αἰτίας τοῦτο | ἀνήγομεν, τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων θεοῖς μὲν καὶ ἀγαθοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀποδιδόναι δεῖ μόνως τὸ καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον, τὰ δὲ ἄδικα καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἀπεργάζονται οἱ φύσει πονηροὶ δαίμονες. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ὁμολογούμενον πάντῃ καὶ σύμφωνον πρὸς ἑαυτὸ καὶ ἀεὶ ἑαυτῷ ὡσαύτως ἔχον προσήκει τοῖς κρείττοσι, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον καὶ ἀσύμφωνον καὶ μηδέποτε τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς δαιμονίας διαστάσεώς ἐστιν ἰδιώτατον, περὶ ἣν εἰ γίγνεται τὰ μαχόμενα οὐδέν ἐστι θαυμαστόν· ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἴσως ἂν ἦν θαυμαστότερον, εἰ μὴ οὕτως εἶχεν.

8 Ἀπ' ἄλλης τοίνυν αὖθις ὁρμώμενοι ὑποθέσεως τὰ σωματικὰ μέρη τοῦ παντὸς οὔτε ἀργὰ οὔτε δυνάμεως ἄμοιρα εἶναι τιθέμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ τελειότητι καὶ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει προέχει τῶν ἡμετέρων, τοσούτῳ καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς παρεῖναι μείζονα ἀποφαινόμεθα. Αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἕτερα δύναται καὶ ποιεῖ διαφερούσας τινὰς ἐνεργείας· δύναται δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα πολὺ δήπου πλείονα ἀπεργάζεσθαι. Καὶ δῆτα καὶ εἰς τὰ
[192] μέρη καθήκει | τις ἀπὸ τῶν ὅλων ἡ μὲν συμπαθὴς καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν

[190].5 τὰ M et s. v. V²: om. V || 6 δέ τι ὂν scr. Westerink: δ' ἔτι ὂν V (sed p. n.) et M αἴτιον i. m. V² || 10 φῦλον cj. i. m. B³: φύλλον VM | φιλεῖ M: φιλεῖ καὶ V || [191].1 ἀνήγομεν scripsi: ἀνηγμένον codd. || 14 καὶ³ V: om. M || 15 καθήκει M: καθίκει V

from time to time give rise to evils; and indeed their form is not simple, and being complex it produces the generation of a complexity of evils. For if we were speaking truly just now[263] about phantoms and evil daemons, who assume the appearance of gods and of good daemons, a great profusion of maleficence will evidently flow from that, around which such contradictions will tend to arise. For an evil daemon requires that his worshipper be just, because he is pretending to resemble the divine race; but he engineers this for unjust ends, because he is by nature wicked. The same goes for falsehood and truth,[264] and for good and evil. In the same way, then, that in the case of oracles we attribute to the gods only true responses, and that, if we observe any falsehood being uttered in them, we refer it to another kind of cause, namely that of daemons, even so in the case of just and unjust acts, we should only attribute to gods and to good daemons what is noble and just, whereas unjust and base deeds are committed by daemons of evil nature. And that which is entirely consistent and harmonious with itself and always identical with itself[265] befits the superior beings, while what is contradictory and unharmonious and never in the same state is most proper to the daemonic condition,[266] at which level it will not be surprising to find contradictions; indeed, on the contrary, it would perhaps be more surprising if this were not the case.

8 Starting again from another standpoint now, we declare that the bodily parts of the universe are neither inert nor deprived of power; on the contrary, by the degree that they exceed our own bodies in perfection and beauty and size, by so much do we maintain their possession of greater power. On their own, indeed, they possess each a distinct power and produce differing acts; when linked up to each other, however, they can naturally achieve far more. And thus from the whole there descends to the parts a multiform activity, either working through sympathy by virtue of the

[263] That is, in III.31.

[264] Cf. II.10.

[265] "Abamon" here uses the basic Platonic formulation for the Forms to refer to the gods.

[266] We take this to be the meaning of διάστασις here, rather than "dissension," but that meaning would perhaps not be unsuitable either.

δυνάμεων ἡ δὲ κατ' ἐπιτηδειότητα τοῦ ποιοῦντος πρὸς τὸ πάσχον πολυειδὴς ποίησις. Οὐκοῦν σωματικαῖς ἀνάγκαις συμβαίνει τινὰ περὶ τὰ μέρη κακὰ καὶ ὀλέθρια, ὡς μὲν πρὸς τὰ ὅλα καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ παντὸς ὄντα σωτήρια καὶ ἀγαθά, τοῖς δὲ μέρεσιν ἀναγκαίαν τινὰ φθορὰν ἐπάγοντα, ἢ τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὰς τῶν ὅλων ἐνεργείας, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ συμμίξει καὶ κράσει τῆς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀσθενείας, ἢ τὸ τρίτον ἀσυμμετρίᾳ τῶν μερῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα.

9 *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παντὸς ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ πολλὰ γίγνεται· καὶ γὰρ ἡ συμφωνία τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἡ ἐναντίωσις τῶν ἀνομοίων ἀπεργάζεται οὐκ ὀλίγα. Ἔτι δὲ ἡ τῶν πολλῶν σύνοδος εἰς ἓν τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ζῷον καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις δὲ αἱ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὅσαι ποτέ εἰσι καὶ ὁποῖαι, ἄλλο μὲν ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅλων, ἕτερον δ' ἐπὶ τῶν μερῶν ἐπιτελοῦσι διὰ τὴν τῶν μερῶν διῃρημένην ἀσθένειαν· οἷον ἡ φιλία τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ὁ ἔρως καὶ τὸ νεῖκος, κατ' ἐνέργειαν μὲν ὄντα ἐν τῷ παντί, παθήματα*
[193] *| ἐν τοῖς μετέχουσι τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα γίγνεται· ἐν εἴδεσι δὲ προεστηκότα καὶ λόγοις καθαροῖς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει μεταλαμβάνει τινὸς ὑλικῆς ἐνδείας καὶ ἀμορφίας ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος· συνηνωμένα δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐπὶ τῶν ὅλων, ἐπὶ τῶν μερῶν διαστασιάζει. Καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ πάντων ἐξίσταται τῶν καλῶν καὶ τελείων καὶ ὅλων τὰ μεθ' ὕλης αὐτῶν μεταλαγχάνοντα μεριστά. Ἔνια δὲ καὶ φθείρεται τῶν μερῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ ὅλα τὰ κατὰ φύσιν συνεστηκότα διασώζεσθαι· καὶ θλίβεται δὲ καὶ βαρεῖται ἐνίοτε τὰ*

[192].5 τινὰ V: om. M || [193].5 αὐτῶν V: αὐτῷ M

similarity of powers, or through the fitness of agent for patient.[267] So, then, it is in virtue of constraints consequent on corporeality that there come about evils and causes of destruction for individuals, such as are salutary and good for the whole and for the harmony of the universe, but result in an unavoidable degree of destructiveness for the parts, either because they are unable to bear the activities of the whole, or by reason of some combination and mixture of weakness arising from themselves, or thirdly, from some disproportion of the parts relative to each other.

9 Furthermore, in addition to the body of the world, many effects also follow from its nature;[268] for the concord of like entities and the opposition of unlike ones both produce not a few effects. And again, the combination of many entities into the one single living thing which is the universe, as well as the volume and multiplicity of powers which exist in the world, produce, speaking generally, one type of effect on the whole, and another on the parts, by reason of the fragmented weakness of the parts. For instance, friendship and love and strife, which operate as activities at the level of the universe,[269] become passions at the level of the individuals which participate in them; in the nature of the whole they take a leading role among the forms and pure reason-principles, whereas at the level of partial entities they contract a share of the indigence and deformity of matter; whereas they are united with each other in the whole, at the level of the parts they result in conflict. And so it is that, in all cases, those partial entities involved with matter, which participate in them, deviate from the beauty and perfection of the whole. It is even the case that certain partial entities must perish, in order to preserve the natural constitution of the whole; and sometimes it comes about that the parts are constricted and burdened, whereas those entities on the

[267] Here, we may note, the concept of ἐπιτηδειότης is attached to the agent rather than the patient, which is unusual.

[268] Presumably φύσις, as contrasted with σῶμα, refers to the lower soul of the universe.

[269] A reference to the two cosmic principles of Empedocles (cf. frg. B17 D-K), φιλία and νεῖκος, which had long since been allegorised by later Platonists as the formal and material, or active and passive, principles of the universe, eliminating the cosmic cycle. "Abamon" can therefore take them as permanent, simultaneously operative principles in the universe.

μέρη, καίτοι τῶν ὡς ὅλων φυομένων ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τοιαύτης ὀχλήσεως ἀπαθῶν διαμενόντων.

10 Συλλογισώμεθα δὴ οὖν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων συμβαίνοντα· εἰ γὰρ φυσικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἢ σωματικαῖς τοῦ παντὸς χρῶνταί τινες τῶν καλούντων, ἡ μὲν δόσις γίγνεται τῆς ἐνεργείας ἀπροαίρετος καὶ ἄνευ κακίας· ὁ μέντοι χρώμενος αὐτῇ μεταστρέφει τὴν δόσιν ἐπὶ τἀναντία καὶ τὰ φαῦλα. Καὶ ἡ μὲν συμπαθῶς δι' ὁμοιότητα καὶ δι' ὁμοιότητα τοῖς πάθεσιν ὑπ-
[194] εναντίως συγκινεῖται, ὁ δὲ ἤδη κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕλκει παρὰ | τὸ δίκαιον ἐπὶ τὰ φαῦλα τὸ διδόμενον· καὶ ἡ μὲν κατὰ μίαν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ κόσμου τὰ πορρωτάτω ποιεῖ συνεργεῖν, εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ἕλκειν ἐπιχειροίη μὴ καλῶς μοίρας τινὰς τοῦ παντὸς εἰς ἕτερα μέρη, οὐ τά γε ἐκείνου αἴτια, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τόλμα καὶ παράβασις τῆς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τάξεως παρατρέπει τὰ καλὰ καὶ νόμιμα. Ὁπότε δὴ οὖν οὔτε οἱ θεοὶ δρῶσι τὰ δοξαζόμενα εἶναι πονηρά, ἀλλ' αἱ καθήκουσαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν φύσεις τε καὶ τὰ σώματα, οὔτε αὐτὰ ταῦτα οὕτως ὡς νομίζεται ἐνδίδωσι πλημμέλειάν τινα ἀφ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ δὲ τῶν ὅλων καταπέμπει τοῖς περὶ γῆν τὰς οἰκείας ἀπορροίας, οἵ τε παραδεχόμενοι αὐτὰς συμμίξει τῇ οἰκείᾳ καὶ παρατροπῇ μεταπλάττουσιν, ἑτέρως τε διδομένας ἐπ' ἄλλα μετάγουσιν,

[193].8 ὡς ὅλων V: ὡς ὅλως M ὅλων ὡς cj. A ὅλως cj. B || 14-15 ὑπεναντίως M: ὑπεναντίων V || [194].8 ὡς s. v. V^2: om. VM

level of the whole remain unaffected by the very same source of trouble.[270]

10 Let us sum up, then, the consequences of this doctrine. If certain people, in their invocations, make use of physical or corporeal powers of the universe, the imparting of this activity comes about without premeditation, and so without evil intent; but the user may turn the gift to an opposite, evil end.[271] The gift is set in motion by means of sympathy, through the operation of likeness and <un>likeness[272] acting in conflict with the passions, but the user may, through the exercise of his will, draw the gift, contrary to justice, towards wickedness. The gift, in accordance with the single harmony of the cosmos, brings it about that the most distant elements in it co-operate with one another, but if someone, having fully grasped this, were wickedly to try to draw certain portions of the universe into contact with certain other parts, that is not the fault of the universe; it is rather the audacity[273] of men, and their transgression of the order prevailing in the cosmos, which distorts what is noble and lawful. So then, seeing as it is in any case not the gods that perform those acts which are deemed wicked, but rather the natures that descend from them, and bodies, and that even these do not, as is commonly supposed, emit anything sinful from themselves, but rather send down to creatures on earth their proper emanations for the salvation of the whole, while those that receive them produce alterations in them by reason of the deviation caused by their own particular blending

[270] It is not easy to guess what such a source of trouble might be, but one might conjecture such a phenomenon as a degree of wetness or drought such as would produce great hardship to individuals or particular regions, but which might be necessary for the balance of the cosmos as a whole.

[271] We may compare with this chapter the discussion of the power of magic by Plotinus, in *Enn.* 4.4.40–42, which "Abamon" seems to be reflecting.

[272] We are unable to make much sense of this as it stands, and find the repetition of δι' ὁμοιότητα peculiar, though Des Places manages a (rather forced) translation of it. It might be preferable to read καὶ ἀνομοιότητα, especially since that accords more closely with the beginning of *Enn.* 4.4.40: "but magic spells: how can their efficacy be explained? By the reigning sympathy and by the fact that in Nature there is an agreement of like forces and an opposition of unlike, and by the diversity of those multitudinous powers which converge in the one living universe" (trans. MacKenna).

[273] τόλμα is a loaded word in Neoplatonic circles as a term for human wilfulness. Cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.1.1,4.

κομιδῇ ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων ἀναίτιον ἀποδέδεικται εἶναι τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀδίκων τὸ θεῖον.

[195] | **11** Ἐρωτᾷς δὴ καὶ ἅμα ἀπορεῖς μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς μὴ καθαρῷ 1 μὲν ὄντι ἐξ ἀφροδισίων οὐκ ἂν καλοῦντι ὑπακούσαιεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἄγειν εἰς παράνομα ἀφροδίσια τοὺς τυχόντας οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν. Τὸ δὲ ἔχει μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων σαφῆ τὴν λύσιν· εἰ τῶν μὲν νόμων ἐκτός, κατ' ἄλλην δὲ κρείττονα τῶν νόμων αἰτίαν καὶ τάξιν ταῦτα γίγνεται, ἢ εἰ καθ' 5 ἁρμονίαν μὲν καὶ φιλίαν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, κατὰ δέ τινα ἀσυμπαθῆ κρᾶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν μερῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα συμβαίνει, ἢ εἰ καλῶς διδομένων μεταστρέφεται ἡ δόσις τῶν καλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν λαμβανόντων ἐπὶ τἀναντία.

12 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν τού- των, ὅπως τε γίγνονται καὶ ὅντινα ἔχει λόγον. Δεῖ δὴ νοεῖν ὡς ἓν ζῷόν 10 ἐστι τὸ πᾶν. Τὰ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ μέρη διέστηκε μὲν τοῖς τόποις, τῇ δὲ μιᾷ φύσει σπεύδει πρὸς ἄλληλα. Τὸ δὲ συναγωγὸν ὅλον καὶ τὸ τῆς συγκρά- [196] σεως αἴτιον ἕλκει μὲν καὶ αὐτοφυῶς τὰ μέρη πρὸς τὴν ἀλλή|λων σύμμιξιν. 1 Δύναται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τέχνης ἐγείρεσθαί τε καὶ ἐπιτείνεσθαι μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος· αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὸ καὶ τὸ διατεῖνον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ἀγαθόν τέ ἐστι καὶ πληρώσεως αἴτιον, κοινωνίας τε καὶ συν- όδου καὶ συμμετρίας συναρμοστικόν, ἔρωτός τε ἀδιάλυτον ἀρχὴν ἐντίθησι 5 τῇ ἑνώσει, διακρατοῦσαν τά τε ὄντα καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέρεσι διὰ τὴν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀπόστασιν, καὶ διότι κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν φύσιν ἀτελῆ τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐνδεῆ καὶ ἀσθενῆ, μετὰ πάθους ποιεῖται

[194].12 κομιδῇ VM: καὶ κομιδῇ cj. B || [195].6 ἀσυμπαθῆ V: συμπαθῆ M || 11 μέρη M et (η ex ει) V^2: μέρει V

of elements, which divert them from the purposes for which they were bestowed, it has been clearly demonstrated that the divine is free from blame for evils and injustices.

11 You pose next a question that raises a problem, to wit, "how it can be that the gods will not hearken to a petitioner who is impure by reason of sexual intercourse, but nonetheless they themselves do not shrink from leading those who are involved with them into unlawful sexual liaisons."[274] The answer to this should be obvious from what has just been said. Either these things happen outside the laws, but in accordance with a cause and order of things superior to the laws; or such things come about in accordance with the harmony and friendship[275] obtaining in the cosmos, but (are distorted) by reason of an unsympathetic mixture in its parts; or, while the gift is correctly bestowed, it is perverted to a contrary effect by the receivers of it.

12 One should, nevertheless, give a more particular examination to these very questions, how they come about and what may be their rationale. First of all, we must bear in mind that the universe is a single living being.[276] The parts within it are spatially distinct, but strive towards each other by virtue of their single nature. The force of cohesion in the universe and the cause of their blending draws the parts naturally towards mingling with one another. This force, however, can be artificially aroused and intensified more than is proper. In and of itself this force, and that tension extending throughout the cosmos which derives from it,[277] is good and a cause of fulfilment, co-ordinates community and union and symmetry, and by its unity introduces an indissoluble principle of love, dominating all things both that exist (eternally) and that come into being. At the level of the individual parts, however, by reason of their distinction from each other and the whole, and because according to their proper natures they are

[274] This refers to the great variety of love-charms, such as one finds many examples of in the magical papyri; τοὺς τυχόντας here may refer rather to the victims of these charms than to those who employ them.

[275] Another probable reference to Empedoclean φιλία.

[276] The doctrine of Plato's *Timaeus* 30a–e.

[277] As Des Places remarks ad loc., this conception owes much to the Stoic concept of τόνος.

τὴν ἀλληλουχίαν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἔφεσις σύμφυτος αὐτῶν τοῖς πλείστοις ἔνεστιν.

Κατιδοῦσα δὴ οὖν αὐτὸ οὕτως ἐνσπειρόμενον τῇ φύσει καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν μεριζόμενον τέχνη, πολυειδῶς καὶ αὐτὴ μεριζομένη περὶ τὴν φύσιν ἕλκει ποικίλως αὐτὸ καὶ μετοχετεύει, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἑαυτῷ τεταγμένον εἰς ἀταξίαν μετάγει, τὸ δὲ κάλλος καὶ τὸ τῶν εἰδῶν σύμμετρον ἀσυμμετρίας
[197] *καὶ ἀσχημοσύνης ἐμπίμπλησι, τὸ δ' ἕνεκα τῆς | ἑνώσεως συμφυόμενον σεμνὸν τέλος ἐπ' ἄλλο ἀπρεπὲς μεταφέρει πλήρωμα τὸ κοινόν, κατὰ πάθος ἐκ διαφερομένων πως συμφερόμενον· ὕλην τε ἐνδίδωσιν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς, ἥτις ἀπρόσφορός ἐστιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ γένεσιν, ἢ μὴ δεχομένη παρὰ πᾶν τὸ καλὸν ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλα αὐτὸ μεταβάλλουσα, δυνάμεις τε πολλὰς φυσικὰς διαφερούσας μίγνυσιν, ἀφ' ὧν ὡς ἂν ἐθέλῃ οὕτω κατευθύνει τὰς πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν συμμίξεις· πανταχόθεν οὖν ἀποδείκνυμεν ὡς ἐκ τέχνης τινὸς ἀνθρωπίνης ἡ τοιαύτη γίγνεται κατασκευὴ τῆς τῶν ἀφροδισίων συμπλοκῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπό τινος δαιμονίας ἢ θείας ἀνάγκης.*

13 *Ἐπίσκεψαι δὴ οὖν καὶ κατ' ἄλλο αἰτίων γένος πῶς λίθος ἢ βοτάνη πολλάκις φύσιν ἔχουσιν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν φθαρτικὴν ἢ πάλιν συναγωγὸν τῶν γιγνομένων· μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μειζόνων καὶ ἐν μείζοσι πράγμασι φύσεων ἡ φυσικὴ αὕτη ἐπικράτεια, ἣν οἱ μὴ*
[198] *δυνάμενοι συλλογίζεσθαι τάχ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα | ἔργα τὰ τῶν φύσεων ἐνεργήματα μεταφέροιεν. Ἤδη τοίνυν συνωμολόγηται, ἐν τῇ γενέσει καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πράγματα καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ γῆν τὸ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων φῦλον πλέον ἐπικρατεῖν δύνασθαι. Τί οὖν ἔτι θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτελεῖ; οὐδὲ γὰρ πᾶς ἀνὴρ διακρῖναι δυνηθείη τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ σπουδαῖον αὐτοῦ καὶ φαῦλον ἢ τίσι γνωρίσμασι*

[196].13 ἑαυτῷ VM: ἐν ἑαυτῷ cj. Gale || 15 ἕνεκα τῆς VM: ἐν ἑκάστοις cj. Gale || [197].4 ἀπρόσφορός cj. Gale: πρόσφορός codd. || 11 συναγωγὸν V: συναγαγὸν (α s. v.) V^{r} συναγωγὴν MU συναγωγικὴν cj. Boulliau i. m. U

incomplete and non-self-sufficient and weak, their mutual contact[278] is brought about with the accompaniment of passion; for which reason it comes about that desire and an innate mutual attraction are present in the great majority of them.

Seeing, then, this force thus implanted in nature and distributed throughout it, art,[279] which is itself divided in many forms throughout nature, draws it in various ways and channels it; it brings to disorder that which was ordered of itself, fills the beauty and the symmetry of the forms with asymmetry and ugliness, and transfers the noble end associated with unity to another unseemly sort of fulfilment, a vulgar one, a union of disparate elements brought together somehow under the guidance of passion. It provides from its own resources material that is unsuitable to the production of beauty, either being absolutely unreceptive of beauty, or such as to transform it into something else, and mixes in with it many disparate natural powers, by means of which it organises as it wishes unions for the purposes of generation. So then, on all counts, we can show that it is from some human art that such contrivance of sexual union derives, and not from any compulsion originating from daemons or gods.

13 Consider now, taking another type of causal process: how a stone, say, or a plant may often possess of itself a nature such as either to destroy or, conversely, to put together generated things; might perhaps this sort of natural power after all be present not only in such things as these, but also in superior natures, at higher levels of being, and lead those who are not able to reason clearly to attribute the activities of natural forces to the actions of higher powers? It has previously been agreed, after all, that it is in the realm of generation and in respect of human affairs and such as concern the earthly realm that the tribe of evil daemons has most power. How would it be surprising, then, if such a class of beings performed such deeds as these? Indeed, it is not every man who could discern the good from the evil (among daemons), and by what characteristic signs one may distinguish either of them; but it is precisely by not being able to distinguish

[278] The term ἀλληλουχία is found both in Iamblichus, *Protr.* 21 and in the *Theologumena Arithmeticae* 3.8 De Falco, and the verb ἀλληλουχεῖν in *Comm. Nic.* 7.13, so it seems a favoured Iamblichean term.

[279] That is to say, the art of vulgar magic, rather than theurgy. Indeed, the following passage contains a strong attack on the practices of vulgar magic.

διακρίνεται ἑκάτερον· ὃ δὴ μὴ οἷοί τε ὄντες καθορᾶν ἀτόπως συλλογίζονται περὶ τούτων τὴν τῆς αἰτίας ζήτησιν, καὶ ἐπανάγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα γένη τῆς φύσεώς τε καὶ τῆς δαιμονίας τάξεως· εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς μερικῆς ἐπὶ τούτων συνεπιλαμβάνονταί τινες δυνάμεις εἰς ἀπεργασίαν, τῆς τε ἐν σώματι κατεχομένης καὶ ὅση τὸ μὲν ὀστρεῶδες καὶ γήινον σῶμα ἀφῆκεν, ἐπὶ δὲ πνεύματος θολεροῦ καὶ διύγρου περιπλανᾶται κάτω περὶ τοὺς τῆς γενέσεως τόπους, καὶ αὐτὴ ἀληθὴς μὲν ἂν εἴη
[199] ἡ δόξα, πορρωτάτω δὲ τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων αἰτίας διέστηκεν. Οὐδαμῶς ἄρα τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὅσον ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν δαιμόνιον ὑπηρετεῖ ταῖς παρανόμοις εἰς τὰ ἀφροδίσια τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις, ἐπειδὴ πέφηνεν αὐτῶν ἄλλα αἴτια πολλὰ ὑπάρχοντα.

[198].7 οἷοί (alt. ι e ν) M²: οἷόν VM || 13 αὐτὴ VM: αὕτη malit Parthey || 14 ἡ V: om. M || [199].3 πέφηνεν VM: πέφυκεν cj. B

clearly between these that they come to improper conclusions in their search for the cause of these phenomena, and refer them to the classes of being superior to nature and to the rank of daemons. And if, in addition, certain powers of the individual soul are adduced in these cases as contributing to the achievement of a given result—a soul, that is, which is held in a body after the manner of one which has left behind the shell-like and earthy body, but which still wanders about in the realms of generation mounted upon a murky and damp pneumatic vehicle[280]—this view also would be true, but very far removed from imputing blame to the superior classes of being. In no way, then, is the divinity and the good variety of daemon at the service of the unlawful desires of men for sexual indulgence, since it has been shown that there are many other entities responsible for this.

[280] This seems the best rendering of πνεῦμα here. This whole passage exemplifies Iamblichus's doctrine of the pneumatic vehicle of the soul, on which see Finamore (1985). For other relevant passages, cf. above II.4; II.7; III.11. For the term ὀστρεώδης, cf. Iamblichus, *De an.* §26 Finamore-Dillon (ap. Stobaeus 1:378 Wachsmuth). The notion of restless souls trapped in polluted "vehicles" in the sublunary world and capable of doing mischief receives its Platonic warrant from such a passage as *Phaed.* 81b–d.

ἐναργὴς ἡ βλάβη γίγνεται τοῖς ἀτίμητόν τινα τῶν κρειττόνων παραλιποῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀφανοῦς αὐτῶν παρουσίας ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις οὐ τὸν μὲν τὸν δ' οὔ, πάνυ δὲ τιμητέον καθ' ἣν ἕκαστος εἴληχε τάξιν. Ὁ δὲ ἀγέραστόν τινα ἀφεὶς συνέχεε τὸ ὅλον καὶ τὴν μίαν καὶ ὅλην διακόσμησιν διέσπασεν· οὐχ ὡς ἄν τις οὖν νομίσειεν, ἀτελῆ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παράπαν τὴν ὅλην ἀνέστρεψεν ἁγιστείαν.

22 Τί δέ; οὐχὶ τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ κυριώτατον τοῦ ὅλου πλήθους ἓν ἀνατρέχει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἅμα τὰς πολλὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀρχὰς συνθεραπεύει; καὶ πάνυ γε, φήσαιμ' ἄν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ὀψιαίτατα
231] παραγίγνε|ται καὶ τοῖς σφόδρα ὀλιγιστοῖς, καὶ ἀγαπητὸν εἰ καὶ ἐν δυσμαῖς τοῦ βίου ποτὲ ὑπάρξειεν. Ἀλλ' ὁ νῦν λόγος οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ διαθεσμοθετεῖ (κρείττων γάρ ἐστι παντὸς νόμου), τοῖς δὲ δεομένοις θεσμοῦ τινος προσάγει τὴν τοιαύτην νομοθεσίαν. Λέγει τοίνυν ὅτι καθάπερ κόσμον τινὰ ἐκ πολλῶν τάξεων εἰς μίαν συνιόντα σύνταξιν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν δεῖ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν, ἀνέκλειπτον οὖσαν καὶ ὁλόκληρον, ὅλῳ τῷ διακόσμῳ τῶν κρειττόνων συνάπτεσθαι. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὗτος εἴ γε πολύς ἐστι καὶ παντελὴς καὶ κατὰ πολλὰς τάξεις συμφυόμενος, δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν μιμεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ παντοδαπὸν δι' ὅλων τῶν προσαγομένων δυνάμεων. Κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοίνυν καὶ τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς παντοδαπὰ ὄντα οὐ χρὴ ἐκ μέρους τινὸς τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς συνυφαίνεσθαι πρὸς τὰ προηγούμενα αὐτῶν θεῖα αἴτια, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀτελῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας αὐτῶν ἀνήκειν.

[232] | **23** Ὁ τοίνυν ποικίλος τρόπος τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ἁγιστείας τὰ μὲν ἀποκαθαίρει, τὰ δὲ τελειοῖ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἢ περὶ ἡμᾶς ὄντων,

[230].6-7 παραλιποῦσιν scripsi: περιλιποῦσιν V περιλειποῦσιν M || 8 πάνυ] an πάντας? || 14 γε V: om. M || [231].5 σύνταξιν] σύναξιν cj. F || 11 αὐτοῖς V : αὐταῖς M

So then, even as in the case of visible divine descents the harm done by those who leave any of the higher beings without honour is manifest, so in the case of their invisible presence at sacrifices one must not honour one without another, but each one without exception, according to the rank which they have been allotted. He who leaves any without its share of honour subverts the whole, and wrenches asunder the unity of the total system; it is not a case, as one might think, of providing an imperfect reception, but of the absolute subversion of the whole rite.

22 But come now, you say, is it not the highest purpose of the hieratic art to ascend to the One, which is supreme master of the whole multiplicity (of divinities),[332] and in concert with that, at the same time, to pay court to all the other essences and principles? Indeed it is, I would reply; but that does not come about except at a very late stage and to very few individuals, and one must be satisfied if it occurs even in the twilight of one's life.[333] But the purpose of the present discourse is not to prescribe precepts for such a man (for he is superior to all legislation), but to provide a set of rules for those who need regulation. Our prescription, then, declares that, even as an ordering structure unites various classes of entity into one system, so should the performance of sacrifices, if it is to be complete and without deficiency, join together the whole class of higher beings. But if this class is in fact vast and complete and ramified on many levels, it is necessary that sacred cult represent its variety by paying due reverence to all its attendant powers.[334] In the same way, then, the various things at our level should not be linked together, on the basis of one part only of what is proper to them, to the divine causes which preside over them, but should ascend in their entirety to their leaders.[335]

23 So then, the varied mode of cult in theurgic rites purifies some things, and brings others to perfection, of what is

[332] Presumably that is what is meant here, not multiplicity in general. This is, incidentally, a useful statement of the purpose of theurgy, which is ascent to the One, even as is that of theoretical philosophy.

[333] For the phrase ἐν δυσμαῖς τοῦ βίου, see Plato, *Leg.* 6.770a7.

[334] Presumably a reference to the powers mentioned at the beginning of V.21.

[335] It is not quite clear to what τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς παντοδαπὰ ὄντα refers, but it may be a reference to the various parts and organs of our bodies, which are to be linked to the various spiritual forces which preside over these.

τὰ δὲ εἰς συμμετρίαν καὶ τάξιν καθίστησι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλως ἀπολύει τῆς θνητοειδοῦς πλημμελείας, πάντα δὲ προσήγορα τοῖς ὅλοις κρείττοσιν ἡμῶν ἀπεργάζεται. Καὶ μὴν συνιόντων γε εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν θείων αἰτίων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παραπλησίων αὐτοῖς παρασκευῶν, πάντα τελεῖ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ τῆς θυσίας ἡ τελεσιουργία παρέχεται.

Οὐ χεῖρον δέ τι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσθεῖναι πρὸς ἀκριβῆ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κατανόησιν. Πέφυκεν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀκροτάτων ἡ περιουσία τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐν τῷδε ὑπερέχειν τῶν ὅλων, ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι πᾶσιν ἐξ ἴσου τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνεμποδίστως· ἐλλάμπει τοίνυν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τὰ πρώτιστα, καὶ πάρεστιν ἀύλως τοῖς ἐνύλοις τὰ ἄυλα. Μὴ δή τις θαυμαζέτω ἐὰν καὶ ὕλην τινὰ καθαρὰν καὶ θείαν εἶναι λέγωμεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ
[233] *τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ αὕτη γενομένη, τὴν | τελειότητα ἑαυτῆς ἐπιτηδείαν κέκτηται πρὸς θεῶν ὑποδοχήν. Καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲν διείργει τὰ κρείττονα πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὰ καταδεέστερα ἑαυτῶν ἐλλάμπειν, οὐδὲ τὴν ὕλην οὖν ἀφίστησιν οὐδὲν τῆς τῶν βελτιόνων μετουσίας, ὥστε ὅση τελεία καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀγαθοειδὴς ὑπάρχει πρὸς θεῶν ὑποδοχήν ἐστιν οὐκ ἀνάρμοστος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔδει καὶ τὰ ἐν γῇ μηδαμῶς εἶναι ἄμοιρα τῆς θείας κοινωνίας, ἐδέξατό τινα ἀπ' αὐτῆς θείαν μοῖραν καὶ ἡ γῆ, ἱκανὴν οὖσαν χωρῆσαι τοὺς θεούς.*

[232].6 τελεῖ V: τέλεια M || 8 τι VM: τοι cj. B || [233].4 οὐδὲν cj. Parthey: οὐδὲ VM || 7 ἀπ' VM: ἐπ' (ἐ s. v.) V²

inherent in us or otherwise connected with us, while others, again, it brings to symmetry and order, and others it frees from mortal error, and renders all of them conformable to all the beings superior to us. So it is as a consequence of the conjunction of divine causal agencies and of mortal preparations aligning themselves with those that the performance of sacrifice achieves its end, and confers its great benefits.[336]

There is no harm, at this point, in adding certain further points, in order to clarify our understanding of these matters. In the highest level of beings, the abundance of power has this additional advantage over all others, in being present to all equally in the same manner without hindrance; according to this principle, then, the primary beings illuminate even the lowest levels, and the immaterial are present immaterially to the material.[337] And let there be no astonishment if in this connection we speak of a pure and divine form of matter; for matter also issues from the father and creator of all,[338] and thus gains its perfection, which is suitable to the reception of gods. And, at the same time, nothing hinders the superior beings from being able to illuminate their inferiors, nor yet, by consequence, is matter excluded from participation in its betters, so that such of it as is perfect and pure and of good type is not unfitted to receive the gods; for since it was proper not even for terrestrial things to be utterly deprived of participation in the divine, earth also has received from it[339] a share in divinity, such as is sufficient for it to be able to receive the gods.

[336] For this thought, cf. Plato, *Leg.* 7.809d–e.

[337] This is the principle attributed to Iamblichus by Olympiodorus in his commentary on the *Alcibiades* 110.13 (= Iamblichus, *Comm. Alc.* frg. 8 Dillon), according to which (in opposition to the position later enunciated by Proclus in *ET* prop. 57), "irrespective of that point at which a principle begins to operate, it does not cease its operation before extending to the lowest level." It is of obvious importance to a doctrine of the efficacy of theurgic practices.

[338] This most significant Platonic expression is taken verbally from *Tim.* 41a7 and *Pol.* 273b1, but substantially also from *Tim.* 28c3–4 and 37c7. The question is, to whom, in Iamblichus's theological system, does it refer? Presumably the One, rather than just Intellect, since his point is that matter itself derives from the highest principle.

[339] To what does αὐτῆς refer? Grammatically, the nearest noun is κοινωνία, so that we might understand something like "the divine dispensation." It can hardly refer to matter.

Ταῦτα τοίνυν κατιδοῦσα ἡ θεουργικὴ τέχνη, κοινῶς τε οὑτωσὶ κατ' οἰκειότητα ἑκάστῳ τῶν θεῶν τὰς προσφόρους ὑποδοχὰς ἀνευρίσκουσα, συμπλέκει πολλάκις λίθους βοτάνας ζῷα ἀρώματα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἱερὰ καὶ τέλεια καὶ θεοειδῆ, κἄπειτα ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων ὑποδοχὴν ὁλοτελῆ καὶ καθαρὰν ἀπεργάζεται.

[234] *Οὐ γὰρ δὴ δεῖ δυσχεραίνειν πᾶσαν ὕλην, ἀλλὰ μόνην | τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν τῶν θεῶν, τὴν δὲ οἰκείαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκλέγεσθαι, ὡς συμφωνεῖν δυναμένην εἴς τε θεῶν οἰκοδομήσεις καὶ καθιδρύσεις ἀγαλμάτων καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς τὰς τῶν θυσιῶν ἱερουργίας. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς τόποις ἢ τοῖς δεῦρο κατοικοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις μετουσία ἂν γένοιτο τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων λήψεως, εἰ μή τις τοιαύτη καταβολὴ πρώτη προενιδρυθείη· πείθεσθαι δὲ χρὴ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις λόγοις ὡς καὶ διὰ τῶν μακαρίων θεαμάτων ὕλη τις ἐκ θεῶν παραδίδοται· αὕτη δέ που συμφυής ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τοῖς διδοῦσιν· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ τῆς τοιαύτης ὕλης θυσία ἀνεγείρει*

[233].10 προσφόρους M: προσφορὰς V || 11 ἄλλα VM: ἄλλα τε (τε i. m.) V^2 || [234].6 λήψεως] an λήξεως? || 8 δέ που VM: δήπου cj. Gale

Observing this, and discovering in general, in accordance with the properties of each of the gods, the receptacles adapted to them, the theurgic art in many cases links together stones, plants, animals, aromatic substances, and other such things that are sacred, perfect and godlike, and then from all these composes an integrated and pure receptacle.[340]

One must not, after all, reject all matter, but only that which is alien to the gods, while selecting for use that which is akin to them, as being capable of harmonising with the construction of dwellings for the gods, the consecration of statues,[341] and indeed for the performance of sacrificial rites in general. For there is no other way in which the terrestrial realm or the men who dwell here could enjoy participation in the existence that is the lot[342] of the higher beings, if some such foundation be not laid down in advance. We must, after all, give credit to the secret discourses[343] when they tell us how a sort of matter is imparted by the gods in the course of blessed visions;[344] this is presumably of like nature with those who bestow it. So the sacrifice of such material

[340] This is a good statement of the rationale behind the composition of the substances used in magical spells, as illustrated repeatedly in the magical papyri.

[341] A recognised theurgical practice, sometimes gaining a tangible response from the statue. Julian's spiritual master, Maximus of Ephesus, a pupil of a pupil of Iamblichus, was especially adept at this; see Eunapius, *Vit. soph.* 474–475. Maximus was regarded as something of a charlatan due to his flashy theurgic routines, but much admired by the emperor Julian for the self-same reason.

[342] Reading λήξεως here for λήψεως of the MSS in accordance with the suggestion of Des Places. The manuscript reading makes some sense, but it is really redundant after μετουσία.

[343] Presumably those secret books of Hermes about which we will hear more in VIII.1. Cf. also the remarks on the production of matter by God in VIII.3.265.

[344] For example, *PGM* I. 1–42, a conjuration of a πάρεδρος δαίμων, in the course of which a falcon brings an oblong stone which is plainly of supernatural origin.

τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔκφασιν, καὶ προσκαλεῖται εὐθέως πρὸς κατάληψιν, χωρεῖ τε αὐτοὺς παραγιγνομένους καὶ τελείως ἐπιδείκνυσι.

24 Τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἄν τις καταμάθοι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τόπους διανομῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μεριστῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων ἐπιστασίας, ὅση κατὰ διαφόρους τάξεις ἢ μείζονας ἢ ἐλάττονας τὰς λήξεις ταύτας κατενείματο· δῆλον γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι τοῖς ἐπιβεβηκόσι τινῶν τόπων θεοῖς | τὰ [235] ἀπ' αὐτῶν γεννώμενα προσάγεσθαι εἰς θυσίαν ἐστὶν οἰκειότατα, καὶ τοῖς διοικοῦσι τὰ τῶν διοικουμένων· ἀεὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ποιοῦσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔργα διαφερόντως ἐστὶ κεχαρισμένα, τοῖς δὲ πρώτως τινὰ παράγουσι καὶ πρώτως ἐστὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσφιλῆ· εἴτε οὖν ζῷά τινα εἴτε φυτὰ εἴτε ἄλλα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς διακυβερνᾶται ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων, ὁμοῦ τῆς ἐπιστασίας αὐτῶν μετείληχε καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῖν προξενεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδιαίρετον. Ἔνια μὲν οὖν τῶν τοιούτων, σωζόμενα αὐτὰ καὶ τηρούμενα, τῶν συνεχόντων συναύξει τὴν πρὸς θεοὺς οἰκείωσιν, ὅσα τῷ μένειν ἀκέραια τὴν δύναμιν τῆς κοινωνίας θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων διασώζει. Τοιαῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἔνια τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ζῴων, καὶ οἷος ὁ ἱερὸς ἄνθρωπος πανταχοῦ ὑπάρχει. Ἔνια δὲ καθαγιαζόμενα λαμπροτέραν ποιεῖ τὴν οἰκειότητα, ὅσα τὴν ἀνάλυσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων ἀρχὴν συγγενῆ ποιεῖται τοῖς τῶν κρειττόνων αἰτίοις καὶ ἱεροπρεπεστέραν· τελειουμένης γὰρ ἀεὶ ταύτης τελειότερα καὶ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐνδιδόμενα ἀγαθὰ καθήκει.

[234].10 ἔκφασιν VM: ἔμφασιν cj. Gale: an ἔκφανσιν? || 13 ἑκάστῳ M: ἑκάστων V || [235].2 ἐστὶν M: om. V || 4 παράγουσι cj. Nock: προσάγουσι VM

rouses up the gods to manifestation,[345] summons them to reception, welcomes them when they appear, and ensures their perfect representation.[346]

24 The same lesson may be learned also from the division (of divine influence) around the regions of the earth, and from the particular administration of each of the classes of being, such as has allotted the greater or lesser roles that now obtain to the various different orders. It is obvious, after all, that for those gods who preside over one region or another the products of those regions are the most suitable to bring to sacrifice—to the administrators the fruits of their administration; for in all cases their own creations are particularly pleasing to the creators, and to those who are the primary producers of something such things are dear to a primary extent. So whether it is a case of animals or plants or any other products of the earth that are administered by higher beings, they have no sooner received a share in their authority than they procure for us indivisible communion with them. Some among such things, when preserved and kept intact, serve to increase the kinship of those who preserve them with the gods—that is to say, those which, in remaining intact, preserve the power of community between gods and men. Such are certain of the animals in Egypt,[347] and such is the holy man[348] everywhere. Others, however, make the kinship more prominent through being sacrificed, these being those whose resolution into the first principle of their primary elements[349] makes them akin to the causal principles of the higher beings, and thus more honoured by them; for as this kinship is progressively brought to perfection, the benefits deriving from it become ever more perfect also.

[345] Accepting Des Places's suggestion of ἔκφανσιν for ἔμφασιν of the MSS.

[346] Presumably this means that the use of proper material provides the gods with a suitable medium in which to manifest their characteristic natures.

[347] Has the persona of "Abamon" slipped again here? One would have expected him to say "some of the animals here," or "amongst us in Egypt."

[348] This may, as Des Places suggests ad loc., be a reference to the figure of the scapegoat, but it may equally well (as Des Places also allows) refer to the phenomenon of the position of the holy man in late antiquity as a sort of link between his community and the divinity, as discussed by Brown (1971).

[349] That is, by being consumed by fire.

236] | **25** *Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπινα ἔθη ταῦτα ἦν μόνον, καὶ διὰ τῶν* 1
ἡμετέρων νομίμων ἐπεκυροῦτο, εἶχεν ἄν τις λέγειν ἡμετέρων ἐννοιῶν εὑ-
ρέσεις εἶναι τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἁγιστείας· νῦν δὲ θεός ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡγεμὼν ὁ
ἐπὶ θυσιῶν οὕτω καλούμενος, καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἄγγελοι περὶ αὐτὸν παμπλη-
θεῖς ὑπάρχουσιν· καθ' ἕκαστόν τε ἔθνος τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς διακεκλήρωταί τις 5
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κοινὸς προστάτης, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἱερὸν ὁ ἴδιος· καὶ τῶν μὲν
πρὸς θεοὺς θυσιῶν ἔφορός ἐστι θεός, τῶν δὲ πρὸς ἀγγέλους ἄγγελος, τῶν
δὲ πρὸς δαίμονας δαίμων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσαύτως ὃ κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον
γένος συγγενῶς συγκεκλήρωται ἑφ' ἑκάστων. Ὁπότε δὴ οὖν μετὰ θεῶν
ἐφόρων καὶ ἀποπληρωτῶν τῆς θυηπολίας τὰς θυσίας προσάγομεν τοῖς 10
θεοῖς, ὁμοῦ μὲν σέβειν δεῖ τὸν θεσμὸν τῆς ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις θείας ὁσίας,
ὁμοῦ δὲ θαρρεῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς προσήκει (ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἱερουργοῦ-
μεν), ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν εὐλάβειαν ἔχειν, μή πῃ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάξιόν τι
237] *δῶ|ρον προσαγάγωμεν ἢ ἀλλότριον· ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει δὲ κἀκεῖνο παραγγέλλο-* 1
μεν, στοχάζεσθαι πάντων τελέως τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς, τῶν ἐν τῷ παντί, τῶν
κατὰ γένη διωρισμένων θεῶν ἀγγέλων δαιμόνων, καὶ πρὸς πάντας ταύ-
τῃ ὁμοίως προσφιλῆ τὴν θυσίαν δωρεῖσθαι· μόνως γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἐπάξιος
τῶν ἐφεστηκότων αὐτῆς θεῶν ἡ ἁγιστεία γένοιτο. 5

[236].4 οὕτω καλούμενος M: οὕτως ἐπικαλούμενος V || 10 προσάγομεν V: προσαγάγομεν M || 12 ἑαυτοῖς cj. Gale: ἑαυτῆς VM || 13 ἔχειν V: ἔχει M || [237].1-2 παραγγέλλομεν scr. B: παραγγέλομεν VM || 3-4 ταύτῃ (η s. v.) cj. A^r: ταῦτα VM

25 If all this were just a matter of human customs, and derived its validity merely from our conventions, there would be some justification for declaring that the cultic practices honouring the gods were discoveries arising from our conceptions; as it is, however, God[350] is the initiator of these things, he who is called "the god who presides over sacrifices," and there is a great multitude of gods and angels in attendance upon him. Also, to each race upon the earth he has allotted a general supervisor,[351] and a particular one for each holy place;[352] and sacrifices that are directed towards a god have as their overseer a god, while those to angels have an angel, those to daemons a daemon, and in the case of all others likewise, whatever entity suitable to their proper class has been allotted to them. So when we perform our sacrifices to the gods with the backing of gods as supervisors and executives of the sacrificial procedure, we should on the one hand pay due reverence to the regulation of the sanctity of divine sacrifice, but on the other we may have due confidence in ourselves (on the assumption that we are celebrating the rites under the supervision of the gods), while at the same time observing the proper precautions against inadvertently offering to the gods a gift unworthy of, or alien to, them. Finally, we make this recommendation also, that one should make an accurate study of all the entities that surround us, those that inhabit the universe, the gods, angels and daemons assigned to the various nations, and to present one's sacrifices to all in a manner agreeable to them in all cases; for only in this way will our ritual practice come to be worthy of the gods who preside over it.[353]

[350] It is not quite clear to which god "Abamon" intends to refer here. Probably Intellect rather than the One. However, he seemed to merit a capital letter.

[351] What is the status of this entity? "Abamon" may have in mind just the traditional patronage exercised by one or the other Olympian deity over one state or another, such as Athena over Athens, or Hera over Argos, extending this concept to include all other nations (e.g. Venus/Aphrodite over the Romans, or Dionysos, as Yahweh, over the Jews)—all these allotted their roles by the Demiurge.

[352] Or simply "temple," but the more general term seemed most appropriate.

[353] Iamblichus seems to have made a contribution to this project, in the case of the gods of his native Syria at least, in a work used later by the Emperor Julian (*Hymn to King Helios* 150c–d), which may or may not have been part of

26 *Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέρος τῶν θυσιῶν οὐ τὸ σμικρότατόν ἐστι τὸ τῶν εὐχῶν, συμπληροῖ τε αὐτὰς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, καὶ διὰ τούτων κρατύνεται αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιτελεῖται τὸ πᾶν ἔργον, κοινήν τε συντέλειαν ποιεῖται πρὸς τὴν θρησκείαν, καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀδιάλυτον ἐμπλέκει τὴν ἱερατικὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, οὐ χεῖρον καὶ περὶ ταύτης ὀλίγα διελθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιόν ἐστι μαθήσεως, καὶ τὴν περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήμην τελειοτέραν ἀπεργάζεται. Φημὶ δὴ οὖν ὡς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῆς εὐχῆς εἶδός ἐστι συναγωγόν, συναφῆς τε τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον καὶ γνωρίσεως ἐξηγούμενον·*

[238] *τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ κοινωνίας ὁμονοητικῆς συνδετι|κόν, δόσεις τε προκαλούμενον τὰς ἐκ θεῶν καταπεμπομένας πρὸ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νοῆσαι τὰ ὅλα ἔργα ἐπιτελούσας· τὸ δὲ τελεώτατον αὐτῆς ἡ ἄρρητος ἕνωσις ἐπισφραγίζεται, τὸ πᾶν κῦρος ἐνιδρύουσα τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τελέως ἐν αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν παρέχουσα.*

Ἐν τρισὶ δὲ τούτοις ὅροις, ἐν οἷς τὰ θεῖα πάντα μετρεῖται, τὴν πρὸς θεοὺς ἡμῶν φιλίαν συναρμόσασα καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἱερατικὸν ὄφελος τριπλοῦν ἐνδίδωσι, τὸ μὲν εἰς ἐπίλαμψιν τεῖνον, τὸ δὲ εἰς κοινὴν ἀπεργασίαν, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὴν τελείαν ἀποπλήρωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν

[237].10 ταύτης VM: αὐτῆς cj. B | ὀλίγα M: ὀλίγον V || 14 τούτῳ M^c: τούτων V et (ut vid.) M || [238].1-2 προκαλούμενον V: προσκαλούμενον M || 3 ὅλα ἔργα V: ἔργα ὅλα M

26 Since by no means the least part of sacrificial procedure is that of prayers,[354] and indeed prayers serve to confer the highest degree of completeness upon sacrifices, and as it is by means of them that the whole efficacy of sacrifices is reinforced and brought to perfection, and a joint contribution is made to cult, and an indissoluble hieratic communion is created with the gods, there will be no harm in saying a few words on that subject. In fact, it is a worthy subject of study in itself, as well as rendering our knowledge of the gods more perfect. I declare, then that the first degree of prayer is the introductory,[355] which leads to contact and acquaintance with the divine; the second is conjunctive, producing a union of sympathetic minds, and calling forth benefactions sent down by the gods even before we express our requests, while achieving whole courses of action even before we think of them; the most perfect, finally, has as its mark ineffable unification, which establishes all authority in the gods, and provides that our souls rest completely in them.

According to the distinction of these three levels, then, which measure out the whole range of interaction with the divine, prayer establishes links of friendship between us and the gods, and secures for us the triple advantage which we gain from the gods through theurgy, the first leading to illumination, the second to the common achievement of projects, and the third to the perfect fulfilment (of the soul) through fire.[356] Sometimes it precedes

his general treatise *On Gods*. He is reported by Julian, at any rate, as discussing the precise identity (in Greek terms) of the gods Monimos and Azizos, whom he equates with Hermes and Ares respectively.

[354] The subject of this section is not really prayer in the traditional Greek form, but rather theurgic prayer, which was doubtless not very different from the formulae prescribed in the magical papyri, including the use of magical names, sacred words, and even strings of vowels. For a discussion of Iamblichus's theory of prayer, as set out also in his *Timaeus* commentary, cf. Dillon (1973, 407–11).

[355] It seems best to construct technical terms for each of the three stages, since they will be explained in what follows. Even so, the exact distinctions are not very clear. The first stage, at least, produces only preliminary acquaintance—establishes a line of communication, one might say; the second plainly results in joint actions, leading to the conferral of benefits; the third, finally, involves some type of mystical union (such as Plotinus is asserted by Porphyry to have attained on a number of occasions, *Vit. Plot.* 23).

[356] That is to say, fire in the Chaldaean sense, the immaterial fire of divine power.

προηγεῖται τῶν θυσιῶν, ποτὲ δ' αὖ μεταξὺ διαλαμβάνει τὴν ἱερουργίαν, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ τὸ τέλος τῶν θυσιῶν ἀποπληροῖ· ἔργον τε οὐδὲν ἱερατικὸν ἄνευ τῶν ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἱκετειῶν γίγνεται. Ἡ δ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγχρονίζουσα διατριβὴ τρέφει μὲν τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν, τὴν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν
[239] θεῶν ποιεῖ λίαν εὐρυτέραν, ἀνοίγει δὲ τοῖς | ἀνθρώποις τὰ τῶν θεῶν, συνήθειαν δὲ παρέχει πρὸς τὰς τοῦ φωτὸς μαρμαρυγάς, κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ τελειοῖ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν συναφάς, ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἡμᾶς ἐπαναγάγῃ, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα τῆς διανοίας ἤθη ἠρέμα ἀνέλκει, τὰ δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν ἐκδίδωσι, πειθὼ δὲ καὶ κοινωνίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἀδιάλυτον ἐγείρει, τόν τε θεῖον ἔρωτα συναύξει, καὶ τὸ θεῖον τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνάπτει, ἀποκαθαίρει τε πᾶν τὸ ἐναντίον τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ἀπορρίπτει τοῦ αἰθερώδους καὶ αὐγοειδοῦς πνεύματος περὶ αὐτὴν ὅσον ἐστὶ γενεσιουργόν, ἐλπίδα τε ἀγαθὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ φῶς πίστιν τελειοῖ, καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν, ὁμιλητὰς τῶν θεῶν, ἵνα οὕτως εἴπωμεν, τοὺς χρωμένους αὐταῖς ἀπεργάζεται.

Εἰ δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὅπερ εὐχὴν ἄν τις εἴποι, δρᾷ τε ἐν ἡμῖν τοσαῦτα ἀγαθὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἔχει τε πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἣν εἰρήκαμεν κοινωνίαν, πῶς οὐ καὶ διὰ τούτου καταφανὲς γίγνεται τὸ τῶν θυσιῶν τέλος, ὡς συναφῆς
[240] καὶ αὐτὸ δημιουργικῆς μετείληχεν ἐπειδὴ δι' ἔργων οἰ|κειοῦται τοῖς θεοῖς, τό τε ἀγαθὸν αὐτῆς ὡς τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ὅσον ἀπὸ τῶν δημιουργικῶν αἰτίων καταπέμπεται εἰς ἀνθρώπους; καὶ μὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου γε αὖθις τὸ τῶν εὐχῶν ἀναγωγὸν καὶ τελεσιουργὸν καὶ ἀποπληρωτικὸν εὔδηλον γίγνεται, πῶς μὲν δραστήριον πῶς δὲ ἡνωμένον ἐπιτελεῖται πῶς δὲ ἔχει τὸν ἐνδιδόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν κοινὸν σύνδεσμον· τὸ τρίτον τοίνυν, ὡς ἄμφω δι' ἀλλήλων βεβαιοῦται, καὶ δύναμιν ἐντίθησιν εἰς ἄλληλα ἁγιστείας τελείαν ἱερατικήν, ῥᾳδίως ἄν τις ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων κατανοήσειεν.

[238].11 τε VM: δὲ cj. A || [239].5 ἐκδίδωσι VM: ἐνδίδωσι cj. Gale | ἀδιάλυτον cj. W cum Vergicio i. m. R: ἀδιάλυπον VM ἀδιάλειπ(τ)ον (ει s. v.) V² || 14 καὶ αὐτὸ M: ἑαυτὸ V || [240].4 εὔδηλον VM: ἔκδηλον cj. F

sacrifices, sometimes, again, it comes in the middle of theurgic activity, and at other times it brings sacrifices to a suitable conclusion; but no sacred act can take place without the supplications contained in prayers. Extended practice of prayer nurtures our intellect, enlarges very greatly our soul's receptivity to the gods, reveals to men the life of the gods, accustoms their eyes to the brightness of divine light,[357] and gradually brings to perfection the capacity of our faculties for contact with the gods, until it leads us up to the highest level of consciousness (of which we are capable); also, it elevates gently the dispositions of our minds,[358] and communicates to us those of the gods, stimulates persuasion and communion and indissoluble friendship, augments divine love, kindles the divine element in the soul, scours away all contrary tendencies within it, casts out from the aetherial and luminous vehicle[359] surrounding the soul everything that tends to generation, brings to perfection good hope and faith concerning the light;[360] and, in a word, it renders those who employ prayers, if we may so express it, the familiar consorts of the gods.

If this is how one can describe prayer, and if it works such benefits within us, and if it possesses the connection with sacrifice which we have claimed for it, how would this not cast light on the final purpose of sacrifice, that is to say that it brings us into contact with the demiurge, since it renders us akin to the gods through acts; and on its good, that it is co-extensive with all that is sent down from the demiurgic causes to men? And this in turn will make clear the elevative and efficacious and fulfilling function of prayer, how it is effective, how it produces unification, and how it preserves the common link that is vouchsafed to us from the gods. And, thirdly, one could easily grasp from what has been said how sacrifice and prayer reinforce each other, and communicate to each other a perfect ritual and hieratic power.

[357] Cf. II.8.86 on the divine visions as beyond the natural tolerance and capacity of human faculties and on the necessity for angelic help in rendering the visions tolerable.

[358] Perhaps the intellectual virtues of the soul.

[359] That is, the pneumatic vehicle.

[360] This mention of "hope" and "faith," together with that of "love" just above, completes the enumeration of the Chaldaean triad of virtues; cf. Psellus, *Hypotyposis* 74.28 Kroll, 199 Des Places, and Proclus, *Comm. Tim.* 1.212.19; *Comm. Alc.* 51.15–16.

Διόπερ δὴ δι' ὅλων φαίνεται τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἡ πᾶσα σύμπνοια καὶ συνέργεια πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ζῴου παντὸς μᾶλλον συμφυῆ τὰ μόρια ἑαυτῆς παντάπασι κατὰ μίαν συνέχειαν συνάπτουσα, ἧς οὐδέποτε δεῖ καταμελεῖν, οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμίση μέρη αὐτῆς ἐγκρίνοντας τὰ ἄλλα ἀποδοκιμάζειν· ὁμοίως δὲ πᾶσιν ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι καὶ δι' ὅλων αὐτῶν τελειοῦσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας εἰλικρινῶς τοῖς θεοῖς συνάπτεσθαι.

[240].9 ἀγωγῆς VM: ἀναγωγῆς cj. Parthey

This all serves to reveal the total unity of spirit and action that characterises the procedure of theurgy, linking its parts to one another with a completely unbroken coherence, closer than that of any living thing. This is something that one should never neglect, nor, by adopting one or another half of it, exclude the rest. Rather, those who aspire to unite themselves absolutely with the gods should exercise themselves equally in all its branches, and strive to achieve perfection in all of them.

τινα μοῖραν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς οὐκ ὀλίγην εἰς τὴν ἀπεργασίαν αὐτῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων· καὶ γὰρ συντρέπεται καὶ συνεργεῖ καὶ συμπρογιγνώσκει διά τινος συμπαθοῦς ἀνάγκης· ἔστι μὲν οὖν ὁ τρόπος τῆς μαντείας οὗτος τοιοῦτος πάντῃ διεστηκὼς τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀληθινοῦ τρόπου, περὶ σμικρῶν τε καὶ ἐφημέρων πραγμάτων δυνάμενος προλέγειν, περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ διῃρημένῃ φύσει κειμένων ὅσα ἤδη περὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἐμφέρεται, κινήσεις τε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν παρέχει τοῖς δυναμένοις αὐτὰς δέχεσθαι, καὶ πάθη πολυειδῶς ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς πεφυκόσιν ἐπιτηδείως εἰς τὸ συμπάσχειν· διὰ πάθους δὲ οὐκ

[245] *ἂν παραγένοιτό ποτε ἡ τελεία πρόγνωσις· αὐτὸ γὰρ μάλιστα | τὸ ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἄυλον καὶ πάντῃ καθαρὸν τῷ μέλλοντι ἐπιβάλλειν εἴωθε, τὸ δὲ συμμιγνύμενον πρὸς τὸ ἀλόγιστον καὶ σκοτεινὸν τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς καὶ ὑλικοῦ πληροῦται πολλῆς ἀγνωσίας· ὅθεν οὐδέποτε τὴν τοιαύτην τεχνικὴν κατασκευὴν εἰς τὸ μαντεύεσθαι ἀποδέχεσθαι ἄξιον. Οὐδὲ χρῆσθαι αὐτῇ ἐπὶ μεγάλης σπουδῆς δεῖ, οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ χρωμένῳ πιστευτέον ὡς ἔχοντι παρ' ἑαυτῷ σαφὲς καὶ γνώριμόν τι τεκμήριον τῆς ἀληθείας. Τοσαῦτα δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης μαντείας ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω.*

5 *Φέρε δὴ οὖν καὶ περὶ ἄλλου γένους ἀποριῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένην ἔχοντος τὴν αἰτίαν ποιησώμεθα λόγον· ὅπερ ἔχει μέν, ὡς καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς λέγεις, βιαστικὰς ἀπειλάς, μερίζεται δὲ περὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπειλῶν πολυμερῶς· ἢ γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν προσαράξειν ἢ τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐκ-*

[246] *φανεῖν ἢ τὸ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἀπόρρητον δείξειν ἢ στήσειν | τὴν βάριν ἢ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Ὀσίριδος διασκεδάσειν τῷ Τυφῶνι ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ἀπειλεῖ*

[244].13 ἐμφέρεται M: συμφέρεται V || 14 δέχεσθαι V: παραδέχεσθαι M || [245].12 προσαράξειν M: προσαρράξειν V || 13 ἀβύδῳ cj. Sodano Sicherl ex Eus. Theod. (cf. 248, 8): ἀβύσσῳ M et (σ s. v.) V^{c} ἀβύσῳ V

but through the performances it also contributes, in no small way, some portion from itself towards their completion, for it turns together and co-operates and predicts in partnership with it, according to a certain force of sympathy. Therefore since such a mode of divination is entirely different from the mode which is divine and true, it has the power to predict only trifling and everyday events, things which lie in the sphere of divided nature and directly concern generation, and which impart motions from themselves to those who are able to receive them, and create multifarious passions in things naturally fit for impassionment. Perfect foreknowledge, by contrast, is never achieved through passion.[367] For it is that which is entirely immutable and also immaterial and entirely pure that is accustomed to apprehending future events; but that which is mingled with the irrationality and shadowiness of corporeal forms and matter is filled with abundant ignorance. Thus an artificial contrivance of this sort should in no way be valued as a mantic procedure. Nor should one even pay much regard to it, nor have confidence in another who makes use of it as if it possesses any kind of clear and proven sign of truth in its own right. Thus we have said enough about divination of this sort.

5 So, then, let us turn our attention to another set of problems, the explanation of which is obscure. As you say, (another type of divination) involves violent threats, and the nature of the threats is very varied. For it threatens either to burst the heavens or to reveal the secrets of Isis or to divulge the arcane object in Abydos,[368] or to halt the (sacred) barque[369] or scatter the limbs of Osiris for Typhon,[370] or do something else of this

force of life both with man and with the gods. At *De dis* 16.1 he argues that sacrifice is an intermediary between the human and the divine, which is a potted version of Iamblichus's ideas.

[367] On the negative results of the soul's contribution to divination, especially future-prediction, cf. III.7.114.6–7; III.13.130.2–6; III.31.176.13–177.6.

[368] Abydos was an area in Upper Egypt, where a strong association grew up between the myth of Isis and Osiris, and the Pharaohs. Cf. *PGM* IV. 106–108; *PDM* XIV. 628. The "arcane object" (ἀπόρρητον) here was the "red" tomb of Osiris; cf. Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 358a–b.

[369] An Egyptian flat-bottomed boat, sacred to Osiris. For the threat to halt the sacred barque cf. *PGM* III. 99.

[370] The Greeks associated Typhon, a monstrous adversary of Zeus, with Set, Osiris's brother, who murdered Osiris and cut him into pieces.

ποιήσειν. Τοῦτο δὴ πᾶν τὸ εἶδος τῶν λόγων οὐχ, ὡς σὺ νομίζεις, πρὸς ἥλιον ἢ σελήνην ἤ τινα τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἐπανατείνονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι (ἔτι γὰρ ἂν συνέβη δεινότερα ἄτοπα ὧν σὺ σχετλιάζεις), ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἔλεγον, ἐπί τι γένος δυνάμεων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ μεριστὸν ἄκριτον ἀλόγιστον, ὃ δέχεται μὲν ἀπ' ἄλλου λόγον καὶ κατακούει, οἰκείᾳ δὲ συνέσει οὔτε χρῆται οὔτε τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ ψεῦδος ἢ δυνατὸν ἢ ἀδύνατον διακρίνει. Τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον ἀθρόως ἐπανατεινομένων τῶν ἀπειλῶν συγκινεῖται καὶ ἐκπλήττεται, ὡς ἂν οἶμαι πεφυκὸς αὐτό τε ἄγεσθαι ταῖς ἐμφάσεσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ψυχαγωγεῖν διὰ τῆς ἐμπλήκτου καὶ ἀσταθμήτου φαντασίας.

6 *Ἔχει δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλον τοιοῦτον λόγον. Ὁ θεουργὸς διὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἀπορρήτων συνθημάτων οὐκέτι ὡς ἄνθρωπος οὐδ' ὡς ἀνθρωπίνῃ ψυχῇ χρώμενος ἐπιτάττει τοῖς κοσμικοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν*
[247] *θεῶν τάξει προϋπάρχων | μείζοσι τῆς καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὐσίας ἐπανατάσεσι χρῆται· οὐχ ὡς ποιήσων πάντα ἅπερ διισχυρίζεται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τῶν λόγων χρήσει διδάσκων ὅσην καὶ ἡλίκην καὶ τίνα ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεοὺς ἕνωσιν, ἣν παρέσχηκεν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπορρήτων συμβόλων ἡ γνῶσις. Δύναται δέ τις καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὡς τοσαύτην ἔχουσιν οἱ κατὰ μέρη διῃρημένοι δαίμονες, οἱ φυλάττοντες τὰ μέρη τοῦ παντός, ἐπιμέλειαν ἧς εἰλήχασιν ἕκαστοι μερίδος καὶ κηδεμονίαν, ὡς μηδὲ λόγον ἐναντίον ἀνέχεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀίδιον διαμονὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ διαφυλάττειν ἀμετάτρεπτον. Ταύτην τοίνυν ἀμετάπτωτον παρειλήφασι, διότι τῶν*

[246].6 μεριστὸν cj. Saffrey: μεριστῶς codd. || 9 δὴ VM: δὲ cj. B | τοιοῦτον M et (ν add.) V^2: τοιοῦτο V || 13 συνθημάτων M: om. V || [247].3 καὶ τίνα cj. Gale: διὰ τίνα VM καὶ διὰ τίνα (καὶ i. m.) V^2 || 4 παρέσχηκεν VM: παρέσχεν cj. Gale

kind.[371] However, human beings do not, as you think, hold out this entire class of discourse as a threat to the sun and the moon or any of the celestial gods (for that would produce even more outrageous consequences than those which you complain of) but, as I remarked earlier,[372] there exists a certain class of powers in the cosmos—limited, devoid of judgement and highly irrational, which are capable of receiving and obeying rational instruction from another, but neither has any understanding of its own nor distinguishes what is true or false or what is possible or impossible. It is such a class that is at once stirred up and startled when threats are brandished at them, since, it seems to me, it is in their own nature to be led by appearances and to be influenced by other things through a foolish and unstable imagination.

6 These things also have another explanation. The theurgist, through the power of arcane symbols, commands cosmic entities no longer as a human being or employing a human soul but, existing above them in the order of the gods, uses threats greater than are consistent with his own proper essence—not, however, with the implication that he would perform that which he asserts, but using such words to instruct them how much, how great and what sort of power he holds through his unification with the gods, which he gains through knowledge of the ineffable symbols. One may also say this, that such daemons are allotted partial administrative power, and guard the parts of the universe; they are attentive to the part over which they each preside to the extent that they cannot allow a word said against it, and their concern is to preserve the eternal permanence of the things unchanging in the world. Moreover, they have taken on the task of maintaining

[371] These threats are characteristic of magic; cf. *PGM* IV. 2313; V. 253–303; XII. 134. "Abamon" also explains the theurgic ability to order spirits at *Myst.* IV.2. For the ordering and abuse of daemons during exorcisms, note especially those supposedly carried out by Jesus, reported by Mark 5:2–10; Matt 7:28–33; Luke 8:26–39 (cf. Porphyry, *Christ.* frg. 49 Harnack for critical comment on this particular case); Mark 1:23–27; 3:22; 9:17–27; Matt 12:22; 17:14–21; Luke 9:35–45; 11:14–26; 13:10–16; cf. Josephus, *A.J.* 8.45. For strikingly similar pagan sources, see Lucian, *Philops.* 16; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.38; 4.20.

[372] At IV.1–2.

θεῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκίνητος κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ διαμένει· ἐν ᾧ τοίνυν ἔχουσι τὸ εἶναι
οἵ τε ἀέριοι καὶ οἱ περὶ γῆν δαίμονες, τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἄχρις ἀκοῆς ἀνέχονται
ἀπειλούμενον.

7 *Ἢ καὶ οὕτως ἄν τις ἀποδοίη τὸν ἀπολογισμόν· τῶν ἀπορρήτων*
μυστηρίων οἱ δαίμονες ἐπιτροπεύουσι τὴν φυλακήν, οὕτω δή τι διαφερόν-
[248] *τως ὡς ἐνταῦθα πρώτως | συνεχομένης τῆς ἐν τῷ παντὶ διακοσμήσεως.*
Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ μένει μὲν ἐν τάξει τὰ τοῦ παντὸς μόρια, διότι ἡ ἀγαθοποιὸς
τοῦ Ὀσίριδος δύναμις ἁγνὴ καὶ ἄχραντος μένει, καὶ οὐ συμμίγνυται πρὸς
τὴν ἐναντίαν πλημμέλειαν καὶ ταραχήν, μένει δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὅλων ζωὴ καθ-
αρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα ζωογόνα τῶν λόγων κάλλη τῆς
Ἴσιδος οὐ κάτεισιν εἰς τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ ὁρώμενον σῶμα. Ἀκίνητα δὲ
διατελεῖ πάντα καὶ ἀειγενῆ, διότι οὐδέποτε ἵσταται ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου δρόμος·
τέλεα δὲ καὶ ὁλόκληρα διαμένει πάντα, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἀπόρρητα
οὐδέποτε ἀποκαλύπτεται· οἷς οὖν ἔχει τὴν σωτηρίαν τὰ ὅλα (λέγω δὲ ἐν
τῷ τὰ ἀπόρρητα κεκρυμμένα ἀεὶ διατηρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ τὴν ἄφθεγκτον
τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαν μηδέποτε τῆς ἐναντίας μεταλαμβάνειν μοίρας), τοῦτο
οὐδ' ἄχρι φωνῆς ἀνεκτόν ἐστι τοῖς περιγείοις δαίμοσιν ἐπακούειν ὡς ἄλ-
[249] *λως ἔχον ἢ βέβηλον γιγνόμενον, καὶ διὰ | τοῦτο ἔχει τινὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ*
τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῶν λόγων· θεοῖς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀπειλεῖ, οὐδ' ἐστί τις τοιοῦ-
τος τρόπος εὐχῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς γιγνόμενος. Διόπερ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις, παρ'
οἷς διακέκριται καθαρὸς ὁ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς θεοὺς λόγος, οὐδαμοῦ ἀπειλὴ
λέγεται· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ συμμιγνύοντες ἅμα μετὰ τῶν θείων συνθημάτων
καὶ τοὺς δαιμονίους λόγους, χρῶνται ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς. Ἔχεις
δὴ καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτων ἀπόκρισιν συντόμως μὲν μετρίως δ' ἐγῷμαι ἀπο-
κεκαθαρμένην.

[247].12 ἀπειλούμενον M: ἀπειλάμενον V || 14 τι VM: τοι cj. B || [248].2 μὲν V: om. M || 8 ἀβύδῳ VM: ἀβύσσῳ (σσω i. m.) V^2 || 10 κεκρυμμένα M: κεκρυμμένος V κεκρυμμένως (ω s. v.) V^2 || [249].1 ἔχει VM: ἔχει δύναμιν (δύναμιν i. m.) V^2 | τινά an τι? || 4 μόνους M et (ου s. v.) V^r: μόνος V | ἀπειλὴ M: ἀπειλεῖ V ἀπειλεῖν (ν s. v.) V^r || 7 δ' ἐγῷμαι scr. Gale: δέγῶμαι V δέγ' ὦμαι M

this changelessness because the order of the gods remains immovably the same. Held as they are in this state, then, the aerial and terrestrial daemons cannot endure even to hear threats against it.

7 Or this may also be explained as follows. Daemons assume guardianship over the arcane mysteries, because, to a remarkable extent, they primarily contain the orderly arrangement in the world. For it is for this reason that the parts of the universe remain in order, because the beneficent power of Osiris remains sacred and immaculate and is not mingled with the opposing confusion or disorder;[373] and the life of all things remains pure and incorruptible, since the hidden vivifying beauties of the reason-principles of Isis do not descend into apparent and visible body. Rather, all things continue immovable and eternal, because the course of the sun is never halted, and all things remain perfect and entire, since the mysteries in Abydos are never disclosed. As regards, then, that by which the safety of all is preserved (I mean in the eternal preservation of the hidden mysteries, and in the ineffable essence of the gods, never receiving a portion of that which is contrary to it), the terrestrial daemons cannot endure even hearing the suggestion that there could be any alteration or desecration, and this is why this manner of address holds some power over them. But no one threatens the gods, nor does such a manner of invocation occur in relation to them. Hence, among the Chaldaeans, by whom language used for the gods alone is preserved in its purity, threats are never uttered. The Egyptians, however, who combine addresses to daemons with divine symbols, do sometimes use threats.[374] Thus you have an answer to these difficulties which is brief but, I think, sufficiently clear.

[373] For the Platonic concept of daemons and other mediating deities in this context cf. Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 361a–c.

[374] Iamblichus perhaps reveals his true sympathies here.

φησι τὰ γράμματα, ὁ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ἡ μέν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου νοητοῦ, μετέχουσα καὶ τῆς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δυνάμεως, ἡ δὲ ἐνδιδομένη ἐκ τῆς τῶν οὐρανίων περιφορᾶς, εἰς ἣν ἐπεισέρπει ἡ θεοπτικὴ ψυχή· τούτων δὴ οὕτως ἐχόντων ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν κόσμων εἰς ἡμᾶς καθήκουσα ψυχὴ ταῖς περιόδοις συνακολουθεῖ τῶν κόσμων, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ νοητῶς παροῦσα τῆς γενεσιουργοῦ κυκλήσεως ὑπερέχει, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν ἥ τε λύσις γίγνεται τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς νοητοὺς θεοὺς ἄνοδος, θεουργία τε ὅση πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον ἀνάγεται κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ζωὴν ἀποτελεῖται.

7 Οὐκέτι δὴ οὖν, ὃ σὺ ἀπορεῖς, δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις ἀνάγκης, ἣν εἱμαρμένην καλοῦμεν, ἐνδέδεται πάντα· ἔχει γὰρ ἀρχὴν οἰκείαν ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς εἰς τὸ νοητὸν περιαγωγῆς καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν γιγνομένων ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὂν καὶ τὸ θεῖον συναφῆς. Οὐδ' αὖ τοῖς θεοῖς τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἀνήψαμεν, οὓς ὡς λυτῆρας τῆς εἱμαρμένης ἔν τε ἱεροῖς καὶ ξοάνοις θε-
70] ραπεύομεν. Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν θεοὶ λύουσι τὴν | εἱμαρμένην, αἱ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔσχαται φύσεις καθήκουσαι καὶ συμπλεκόμεναι τῇ γενέσει τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῷ σώματι τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἐπιτελοῦσιν· εἰκότως ἄρα τοῖς θεοῖς ἁγιστείαν πᾶσαν προσάγομεν, ὅπως ἂν μόνοι διὰ πειθοῦς νοερᾶς τῆς ἀνάγκης ἄρχοντες τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης ἀποκείμενα κακὰ ἀπολύωσιν.

[269].4 δὴ VM: δὲ (ὲ ex ὴ ?) ut vid. V^2 || 7 κυκλήσεως (κυ i. m.) V^2: κλήσεως VM || [270].2 καθήκουσαι (η ex ι) V^2: καθίκουσαι VM

from the primary intelligible,[441] partaking also of the power of the demiurge, while the other is contributed to us from the circuit of the heavenly bodies, and into this there slips[442] the soul that sees god.[443] This being the case, the soul which descends to us from the (celestial) realms[444] accommodates itself to the circuits of those realms, but that which is present to us in an intelligible mode from the intelligible transcends the cycle of generation, and it is in virtue of it that we may attain to emancipation from fate and ascent to the intelligible gods. That part of theurgy that is involved with ascent to the ungenerated achieves its end through such a level of life as this.

7 It is not, then, after all, the case, as you suggest in your query, that "all things are bound together by the indissoluble bonds of necessity," which we call fate; for the soul contains its own principle of conversion to the intelligible, and of detachment from the realm of generation, and also of union with true being and the divine. Nor yet have we linked fate to the gods, whom indeed we worship by means of temples and statues as liberators from fate. But while the gods free us from fate, the lowest level of natures which descend from them and interweave themselves with the generative processes of the cosmos and with body do bring about fate. It is reasonable, then, that we should bestow all worship upon the gods, in order that, being the only ones who can dominate necessity by means of rational persuasion, they may free us from the evils that lie in wait for us from fate.[445]

had two distinct souls, a rational one emanating from the Demiurge and an irrational one arising from the heavenly sphere and subject to fate.

[441] That is to say, the One-Being, the highest element of the intelligible realm in Iamblichus's system.

[442] ἐπεισέρπει: literally, "slips in," a remarkable turn of phrase, and a *hapax legomenon.* We preserve the active verb, but it is not clear if "Abamon" really intends the initiative to lie with the higher soul itself.

[443] θεοπτικὴ ψυχή: this appears to be a Hermetic term, cf. *Corp. herm. extr.* 2A6; 7.3 N–F: θεοπτικὴ δύναμις.

[444] κόσμοι here refers to the realms presided over by each of the planets, and the fixed stars.

[445] With this discussion of fate should be compared Iamblichus's treatment of the topic in his *Letter to Macedonius on Fate.* See also *Myst.* X.5 and *Comm. Phaedr.* frg. 6A.

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάντ' ἔχεται ἐν τῇ φύσει τῆς εἱμαρμένης, ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρχὴ κρείττων πάσης φύσεως καὶ γνώσεως, καθ' ἣν καὶ θεοῖς ἑνοῦσθαι δυνάμεθα καὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς τάξεως ὑπερέχειν, ἀιδίου τε ζωῆς καὶ τῶν ὑπερουρανίων θεῶν τῆς ἐνεργείας μετέχειν. Κατὰ δὴ ταύτην οἷοί τέ ἐσμεν καὶ ἑαυτοὺς λύειν. Ὅταν γὰρ δὴ τὰ βελτίονα τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργῇ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ κρείττονα ἀνάγηται αὐτῆς ἡ ψυχή, τότε χωρίζεται παντάπασι τῶν κατεχόντων αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν, καὶ ἀφίσταται τῶν χειρόνων, ζωήν τε ἑτέραν ἀνθ' ἑτέρας ἀλλάττεται, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὴν εἰς ἄλλην διακόσμησιν τὴν προτέραν ἀφεῖσα παντελῶς.

71] | **8** *Τί οὖν; οἷόν τέ ἐστι διὰ τῶν πολευόντων θεῶν λύειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι μοιρηγέτας καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις τοὺς βίους δεσμεύοντας; κωλύει μὲν ἴσως οὐδὲν καὶ τοῦτο, εἰ τῶν θεῶν πολλὰς περιεχόντων οὐσίας καὶ δυνάμεις ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἐνυπάρχουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλαι τε ἀμήχανοι ὅσαι διαφοραὶ καὶ ἐναντιώσεις. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἔνεστι λέγειν, ὡς ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν θεῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶν, εἰσί τινες οὐσίας νοηταὶ ἀρχαί, δι' ὧν γίγνεται ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν κόσμων ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀπαλλαγή. Εἰ δ' ἄρα τις καὶ δύο γένη περικοσμίων καὶ ὑπερκοσμίων θεῶν ἀπολείποι, διὰ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων ἔσται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡ ἀπόλυσις· ταῦτα μὲν*

[270].6-14 ἀλλ' — παντελῶς ante 269, 10 οὐκέτι transp. cj. Scott || 6 πάντ' ἔχεται cj. Gale: πᾶν δέδεται (δέδεται i. m.) V² πᾶν δέχεται VM || 7 γνώσεως VM: γενέσεως (γνώσεως p. n.) s. v. V² || [271].9 ἡ V: om. M

But it is not at all the case that everything in the realm of nature[446] is in the grip of fate: there is another principle of the soul superior to all nature and generation,[447] in virtue of which we can unite ourselves to the gods and transcend the cosmic order, and partake in eternal life[448] and in the activity of the supracelestial gods. It is in virtue of this principle that we are actually able to liberate ourselves. For when the better elements within us are active, and the soul is elevated towards the beings superior to it, then it separates itself fully from those things that tie it to generation, and it detaches itself from the worse, and changes one life for another, and gives itself to another order of things, completely abandoning its previous one.

8 Well then, is it possible to liberate oneself through the gods who revolve in the heavens, and at the same time to think of them as "rulers of destiny,"[449] and as "binding down our lives with indissoluble bonds?" There is actually, perhaps, no insuperable problem about this, if (one recognises that) the gods comprehend within themselves many essences and powers, and that there inhere in them in consequence a vast quantity of distinctions and even oppositions. However, one may also say this, that in each of the gods, even the visible ones, there are certain intelligible principles of essence, through which it is possible for souls to gain release from the generative process deriving from the cosmic spheres. If, then, one maintains the existence of two classes of gods, the cosmic and the supracosmic, it is through the supracosmic that the liberation of souls will come about. These

[446] Taking ἐν τῇ φύσει with πάντα rather than with τῆς εἱμαρμένης.

[447] Reading γενέσεως, with Ficino (and Thomas Taylor), for the γνώσεως of V and M, adopted by Des Places, but hardly appropriate to the context.

[448] A possible echo of the Christian expression ζωὴ αἰώνιος?

[449] μοιρηγέτας: this term was used in traditional religion as an epithet of both Zeus and Apollo, but in the plural is only found elsewhere in Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* (1.1127), where it is used of two of the Idaean Dactyls, and in Alciphron (1.20), as an epithet of daemons.

οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν ἀκριβέστερον λέγεται, τίνες τέ εἰσιν ἀναγωγοὶ καὶ κατὰ ποίας αὐτῶν δυνάμεις, πῶς τε τὴν εἱμαρμένην λύουσι καὶ διὰ τίνων ἱερατικῶν ἀνόδων, τάξις τε ὁποία τῆς κοσμικῆς ἐστι φύσεως, καὶ ὅπως ἡ νοερὰ ταύτης ἐπικρατεῖ τελειοτάτη ἐνέργεια· ὥστε οὐδ' ὅπερ ἐκ τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν σὺ παρέθηκας, τὸ στρεπτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς θεούς, ὅσιόν ἐστι
[272] φθέγ|γεσθαι. Νόμοις γὰρ ἀχράντοις καὶ νοεροῖς ὥρισται πάλαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἱερᾶς ἁγιστείας, τάξει τε μείζονι καὶ δυνάμει λύεται τὰ καταδεέστερα, εἰς βελτίονά τε μεθισταμένων ἡμῶν λῆξιν ἀπόστασις γίγνεται τῶν καταδεεστέρων· καὶ οὐ παρὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τι θεσμὸν ἐπιτελεῖται ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε, ἵνα μεταστραφῶσιν οἱ θεοὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰς ὕστερον γιγνομένην ἱερουργίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης καθόδου ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατέπεμψεν ὁ θεὸς τὰς ψυχάς, ἵνα πάλιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπανέλθωσιν. Οὔτε οὖν μεταβολή τις γίγνεται διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀναγωγῆς οὔτε μάχονται αἱ κάθοδοι τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ αἱ ἄνοδοι. Ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ παντὶ τῇ νοερᾷ οὐσίᾳ ἡ γένεσις καὶ τὸ πᾶν τόδε συνήρτηται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν ψυχῶν διακοσμήσει τῇ περὶ γένεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελείᾳ συμφωνεῖ καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ γενέσεως λύσις.

[271].11 ποίας] πόσας cj. Boulliau i. m. U || [272].5 εἰς VM: om. cj. B || 9 τῇ νοερᾷ M: τῇ νοερῷ V νοερῷ τῇ (pr. τῇ p. n., alt. s. v.) V²

matters, however, are given more detailed discussion in the treatises on the gods,[450] specifying which stimulate ascent[451] and in virtue of which of their powers, how they dissolve fate, and through what hieratic modes of ascent, what is the order of the cosmic nature, and how its most perfect intellectual activity manifests its ascendancy; all of which makes plain that those verses of Homer which you quote, to the effect that "the gods may be turned (by prayer),"[452] are impious even to utter. For it is from long ages past that the works of holy theurgy have been determined by immaculate and intellectual laws, and inferior levels of reality are neutralized by a greater order and power, in accordance with which we are separated from what is inferior and transfer ourselves to a better lot. And nothing in such a process is accomplished contrary to the ordinance laid down from the beginning, so that the gods should change their plans in virtue of some subsequently performed theurgic ceremony, but rather it is the case that from their first descent the god[453] sent down the souls for this purpose, that they should return again to him. There is therefore no element of change of plan involved in such a process of ascent, nor is there any conflict between the descents of souls and their ascents.[454] For even as, at the universal level, the realm of generation and this universe are dependent upon intellectual reality, so also in the dispensation of souls, liberation from the processes of generation is in harmony with the care bestowed upon their introduction into generation.

[450] It is tempting to see here a reference to Iamblichus's own treatise *On the Gods*, but this would surely be too gross a breach of "Abamon's" persona to be credible. The overt reference must surely be to some section of the books of Hermes. We need not exclude, however, a covert reference to Iamblichus's own writings on the subject, to be picked up on by those in the know.

[451] There is a class of gods in later Neoplatonism which are ἀναγωγοί. Cf. e.g. Proclus, *In Resp.* 1.90; 2.52; *Comm. Tim.* 1.154.

[452] Porphyry had provocatively quoted *Iliad* 9.497, presumably to make a comparison with the doctrine of the Egyptians.

[453] That is, the Demiurge.

[454] On the whole question of the reasons for, and modes of, the descents of souls, see Iamblichus's discussion in his *De anima* 26–30 Finamore-Dillon.