



Society of Biblical Literature



Writings from the Greco-Roman World

John T. Fitzgerald, General Editor

Editorial Board

David Armstrong
Elizabeth Asmis
Brian E. Daley, S.J.
David G. Hunter
David Konstan
Michael J. Roberts
Johan C. Thom
Yun Lee Too
James C. VanderKam

Number 4

Iamblichus: *De mysteriis*

Volume Editor
Johan C. Thom

Excerpts: III. 11 - 22

Iamblichus:
De mysteriis

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by

Emma C. Clarke

John M. Dillon

and

Jackson P. Hershbell

2003

Society of Biblical Literature
Atlanta

περιόδους αἰτίας εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων, οὔτε τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου καταδοχὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐναντίου ἀφαίρεσιν ἰατρειάν τινα φέρειν τῆς τοιαύτης ὑπερβολῆς φήσομεν· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα πάντα σωματοειδῆ | καθέστηκε, [123] ζῶης δὲ θείας καὶ νοεῖας πάντῃ κενώριστα. Ἐκαστον δὲ ἢ πέφυκε ταύτῃ συμβαίνει καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ ἐνεργήματα τελεῖσθαι· ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐγείροντα καὶ ἀναβακχεύοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πνεύματα ἐκβέβληκεν ἄλλην πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ φυσικὴν κίνησιν, καὶ οὐ δεῖ δὴ τὸν 5 τρόπον αὐτῶν ἀφομοιοῦν ταῖς συνήθως γιγνωσκομέναις ἐνεργείαις, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ παντελῶς παραλλάττοντα καὶ πρωτοεργὰ τῶν θεῶν αἷτια αὐτὰς ἀνάγειν προσήκει.

11 Ἐν μὲν δὲ οὖν τοῦτο εἶδος θεοφορίας τοῖονδε καὶ οὕτω γινόμενον ὑπάρχει· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ τῶν χρηστηρίων διαβόητον καὶ ἐναργέστατον 10 ἐστὶ πολυμερές ἐνθεον μαντεῖον, περὶ οὗ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποφαίνει· οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ πιόντες, καθάπερ ὁ ἐν Κολοφῶνι ἱερεὺς τοῦ Κλαρίου, οἱ δὲ στομίους παρακαθήμενοι, ὡς αἱ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεσπίζουσαι, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὕδατων ἀτμιζόμενοι, [124] καθάπερ αἱ ἐν Βραγχίδαῖς προφῆτιδες. Τριῶν δὲ τούτων διωνύμων χρηστηρίων ἐμνημόνευσας, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον ἐνταῦθα, πολὺ γὰρ πλεονάζοντα ὑπῆρχε 1 τὰ παραλείποντα· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ προείχε τῶν ἄλλων ταῦτα, καὶ ἅμα οὐ ἕνεκα ἐζητεῖτο ἰκανῶς ἀνεδίδασκες, περὶ τοῦ τρόπου φημι τῆς ἐκ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιπεμπομένης μαντείας, διὰ τοῦτο δὴ ἠρκέσθης τούτοις. Καὶ ἡμεῖς 5 οὖν περὶ τῶν τριῶν τούτων ποιησόμεθα λόγον, τὸν περὶ τῶν πολλῶν μαντείων λόγον ὑπερβάντες.

Τὸ δὲ ἐν Κολοφῶνι μαντεῖον ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ πᾶσι δι' ὕδατος χρηματίζειν. Εἶναι γὰρ πηγὴν ἐν οἴκῳ καταγεῖν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πίνειν τὸν 10 προφῆτην ἐν τισὶ τακταῖς νυξίν, ἱερουργιῶν πολλῶν γενομένων πρότερον,

[123].6 συνήθως M: συνήθων V | γιγνωσκομέναις VM: γινομέναις cj. Gale || 11 ἀποφαίνει VM: ἀποφαίνεις scr. Gale || 12 κλαρίου cj. i. m. Z⁴ et Boulliau i. m. R et U: βλαρίου VM || 14 βραγχίδαῖς scr. Gale: βραγχίδαις M et (ai ex e, δαις i. m.) V² βραγχίδες V || [124].1 τούτων διωνύμων M: τούτων ιδιωνύμων V || 2 ἐνταῦθα] ἦν ταῦτα cj. Gale || 4 ἀνεδίδασκες VM: ἀν ἐδίδασκες scr. Gale || 5 ἠρκέσθης V: ἠρκέσθη M || 10 τισι V: τισι δὲ M

that seasonal periods are causes of these conditions, nor that the reception of the like and removal of the contrary, will offer a remedy for such excess. For all such things are corporeal and wholly separated from a divine and intellectual life. But each thing accomplishes its own activities according to its nature, so that, in fact, spirits from the gods, arousing humans and causing them to burst into Bacchic frenzy, drive out all other human and natural activity, and we shall not compare their manner of existence to those activities known in ordinary ways: but it is proper to trace them back to divine causes, wholly other and primordial.

11 This, then, is one kind of divine transport and how it comes about. Another kind of divination, famous and most splendid, is that of the inspired oracle, which takes diverse forms. About this you declare the following: "Some are inspired while drinking water, like the priest of Clarian Apollo in Colophon;¹⁹⁶ others while sitting near apertures like the women who prophesy at Delphi;¹⁹⁷ others while inhaling vapours from waters, like the prophetesses of the Branchidai."¹⁹⁸ You have mentioned three of these far-famed oracles, not because there are only three, for those omitted are much more numerous, but since these take precedence over the others, you have at the same time sufficiently explained why you investigate them—that is to say, you were concerned with the mode in which divination is imparted to human beings by the gods, and it was for this reason that you were content to select these, and thus we will take account of these three, while passing over the many other oracles.

It is agreed by everyone that the oracle at Colophon prophesies by means of water. There is a spring in a subterranean chamber, and from it the prophet drinks on certain appointed nights, after performing many preliminary ceremonies, and after

¹⁹⁶ Both the god and his oracle are called "Clarios" because of the small town of Claros west of Colophon, and northwest of Ephesos. See Buresch (1889). On "Abamon's" account of this oracle, cf. Parke (1985, 219-24); Clarke (2001, 59-60).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Proclus ap. Psellos, *Script. Min.* 1.248.16-18: "there are others who work themselves up into a state of inspiration deliberately, like the prophetess at Delphi when she sits over the chasm."

¹⁹⁸ The Branchidai were descendants of Branchos, favoured by Apollo and charged with the oracle at Didyma. On this oracle see Günther (1971); Athanassiadi (1989-1990); Fontenrose (1988); Clarke (2001, 63-65).

πίοντα δὲ χρησμοφδεῖν οὐκ ἐθ' ὀρώμενον τοῖς παροῦσι θεωροῖς. Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἶναι μαντικὸν ἐκέينو τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν πρόδηλον· τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, οὐκ ἐτ' ἄν, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, πᾶς ἀνὴρ γνοίη· δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ διήκειν τι δι' αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα μαντικόν· οὐ μέντοι τό γε ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει. Τὸ γὰρ
 [125] θεῖον οὐ διαπεφοίτηκεν οὕτω διαστατῶς καὶ μεριστῶς ἐν | τοῖς αὐτοῦ 1
 μετέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς παρέχον ἔξωθεν καὶ ἐπιλάμπον τὴν πηγὴν, πληροῖ
 δυνάμεως αὐτὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μαντικῆς· οὐ μέντοι τοῦ γε θεοῦ πᾶσά ἐστιν
 ἢ ἐπίπνοια ἥτινα παρέχει τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν ἐπιτηδειότητα μόνον
 καὶ ἀποκάθαρσιν τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγοειδοῦς πνεύματος ἐμποιεῖ, δι' ἣν δυνατοί 5
 γιγνόμεθα χωρεῖν τὸν θεόν. Ἄλλη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ παρουσία καὶ προ-
 τέρα ταύτης καὶ ἄνωθεν ἐναστράπτουσα· αὕτη τοίνυν οὐδενὸς ἀφέρστηκε
 τῶν ἐχόντων διὰ τῆς οἰκειότητος συναφὴν πρὸς ἑαυτήν· πάρεστι δ' εὐθὺς
 καὶ χρῆται ὡς ὀργάνῳ τῷ προφήτῃ οὔτε ἑαυτοῦ ὄντι οὔτε παρακολον-
 θοῦντι οὐδὲν οἷς λέγει ἢ ὅπου γῆς ἐστίν· ὥστε καὶ μετὰ τὴν χρησμοφδίαν 10
 μόγῃς ποτὲ ἑαυτὸν λαμβάνει· καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πίνειν δὲ οὕτως ἀσιτεῖ τὴν ἡμέ-
 ραν ὅλην καὶ νύκτα, καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς τισιν ἀβάτοις τῷ πλήθει καθ' ἑαυτὸν
 ἀνακεχώρηκεν ἀρχόμενος ἐνθουσιᾶν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ ἀπαλ-
 λαγῆς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἄχραντον ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ
 [126] θεοῦ παρασκευάζει· ἐξ ὧν δὴ εἰς καθαρὰν ἐδραν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς | ἐλ- 1
 λάμπουσιν ἔχει τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίπνοιαν, ἀκώλυτόν τε αὐτῇ παρέχει τὴν
 κατοκωχὴν καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν τελείαν ἀνεμπόδιστον.

Ἡ δ' ἐν Δελφοῖς προφήτις, εἴτε ἀπὸ πνεύματος λεπτοῦ καὶ πυρῶ-
 δους ἀναφερομένην ποθὲν ἀπὸ στομίου θεμιστεύει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, εἴτε ἐν 5
 τῷ ἀδύτῳ καθημένη ἐπὶ δίφρου χαλκοῦ τρεῖς πόδας ἔχοντος χρηματίζει,
 εἴτε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τετράποδος δίφρου ὃς ἐστὶν ἱερὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, πανταχῇ
 οὕτω δίδωσιν ἑαυτήν τῷ θεῷ πνεύματι, ἀπὸ τε τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πυρὸς

[125].5 ἀγοειδοῦς] γειωδοῦς cj. Boulliau i. m. R et U || 11 μόγῃς V
 et (γ s. v.) M²: μόλις M || 13 ἀνακεχώρηκεν scr. B: ἀνακεχώρικεν VM |
 ἐνθουσιᾶν VM: ἐνθουσιῶν cj. B || [126].2 αὐτῇ V: ἑαυτῇ M || 3 κατοκωχὴν
 scripsi: κατακωχὴν VM | τελείαν VM: τελείαν καὶ cj. B || 6 ἔχοντος M et
 (o s. v.) V²: ἔχοντας V

drinking, he delivers his oracles, no longer seen by the spectators present. That this water has oracular power is immediately obvious. But how this is so, as the saying goes, "not every man may know."¹⁹⁹ For it seems that some prophetic spirit passes through the water; but this is not correct, for the divine does not permeate what partakes in a fragmented and divided manner, but it is by exercising its power from without, and illuminating the spring, that it fills it with its own prophetic power. Still, not every inspiration that the water gives is from the god, but this only bestows the receptivity and purification of the luminous spirit in us,²⁰⁰ through which we are able to receive the god. But the presence of the god is different from and prior to this, and flashes like lightning from above. This holds aloof from no one who, through a kindred nature, is in union with it; but it is immediately present, and uses the prophet as an instrument while he is neither himself nor has any consciousness of what he says or where on the earth he is, so that even after prophesying, he sometimes scarcely gets control of himself.²⁰¹ Even before drinking, he fasts the whole day and night, and after becoming divinely inspired, he withdraws by himself to sacred, inaccessible places, and by this withdrawal and separation from human affairs, he purifies himself for receiving the god; and through these means, he has the inspiration of god illuminating the pure sanctuary of his own soul, and providing for it an unhindered divine possession, and a perfect and unimpeded presence.

The prophetess at Delphi, however, whether she gives oracles to human beings from a subtle and fiery spirit brought up from an aperture, or prophesies in the innermost sanctuary while seated on a bronze stool with three legs, or on a seat with four legs that is sacred to the god, she thus gives herself absolutely to the divine spirit, and is illuminated by the ray of divine fire. And

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Plato, *Epin.* 978a1.

²⁰⁰ A reference to the soul-vehicle, which was the pneumatic mediating entity between the soul and the body and, if we accept the influence of Hermetic and/or Chaldaean concepts, between man and the divine; see Dodds (1963, 313–18) on the origins of the idea. Porphyry played down the role of theurgy by arguing that its usefulness for purifying corrupted soul-vehicles was its sole and limited power (Porphyry ap. Proclus, *Comm. Tim.* 3.234.18–32; *Regr.* frg. 2).

²⁰¹ For prophesy in an ecstatic trance within the magical papyri, see PGM IV. 435–439.

ἀκτίνος καταυγάζεται. Καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀναφερόμενον
ἀπὸ τοῦ στομίον πῦρ κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν περιέχῃ, πληροῦται ἀπ' 10
αὐτοῦ θείας αὐγῆς· ὅταν δ' εἰς ἔδραν ἐνιδρυνθῇ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῇ σταθερᾷ τοῦ
θεοῦ μαντικῇ δυνάμει συναρμόζεται· ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν τοιούτων πα-
ρασκευῶν ὅλη γίγνεται τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ τότε δὴ πάρεστιν αὐτῇ χωριστῶς
[127] ὁ θεὸς ἐπιλάμπων, ἕτερος ὢν καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ | τῆς 1
ἰδίας ἔδρας καὶ πάσης τῆς περὶ τὸν τόπον φυσικῆς καὶ ἱερᾶς φαινομένης
κατασκευῆς.

Καὶ μὴν ἢ γε ἐν Βραγχίδαῖς γυνὴ χρησμοφδός, εἴτε ῥάβδον ἔχουσα
τὴν πρῶτως ὑπὸ θεοῦ τινος παραδοθεῖσαν πληροῦται τῆς θείας αὐγῆς, εἴ- 5
τε ἐπὶ ἄξονος καθημένη προλέγει τὸ μέλλον, εἴτε τοὺς πόδας ἢ κράσπεδόν
τι τέγγουσα τῷ ὕδατι ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀτμιζομένη δέχεται τὸν θεόν, ἐξ
ἀπάντων τούτων ἐπιτηδεῖα παρασκευαζομένη πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἔξωθεν
αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνει.

Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν θυσιῶν πλῆθος καὶ ὁ θεσμὸς τῆς ὅλης ἀγι- 10
στείας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δρᾶται πρὸ τῆς χρησμοφδίας θεοπροπῶς, τὰ τε λουτρὰ
τῆς προφήτιδος καὶ ἡ τριῶν ὁλων ἡμερῶν ἀσιτία καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀδύτοις αὐτῆς
διατριβὴ καὶ ἐχομένης ἤδη τῷ φωτὶ καὶ τερπομένης ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ· καὶ
γὰρ αὐτὰ πάντα παράκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ ὥστε παραγενέσθαι καὶ παρουσίαν 15
ἔξωθεν ἐπιδείκνυσιν, ἐπίπνοιάν τε θαυμασίαν ὅταν πρὶν καὶ εἰς τὸν συνήθη
[128] τόπον ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς | ἀναφε- 1
ρομένῳ ἕτερόν τινα πρεσβύτερον χωριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου θεὸν ἀναφαίνει,

when the fiery spirit coming up from the aperture,²⁰² dense and
abundant, envelops her entirely in a circle, she is filled by it with
a divine brightness; whenever she is found on the seat of the god,
she is in harmony with the divine, unwavering oracular power.
And as a result of both these preparations she becomes wholly the
god's possession. Then, indeed, the god is present, shining on her
separately, being himself other than the fire, the spirit, the partic-
ular abode, and all the physical and sacred trappings appearing in
connection with the place.

And as for the woman at Branchidai who gives oracles, it is
either by holding the staff first given by a certain god²⁰³ that she
is filled by the divine radiance; or else when sitting on the axle²⁰⁴
she predicts the future; or whether dipping her feet or skirt in the
water, or inhaling vapour from the water, at any rate, she receives
the god: prepared and made ready by any or all of these prelimi-
naries for his reception from without, she partakes of the god.

This is what is shown by the abundance of sacrifices, the
established custom of the whole ritual, and everything that is per-
formed with due piety prior to divination: also the baths of the
prophetess, her fasting for three whole days, abiding in the inner-
most sanctuaries, already possessed by light, and rejoicing in it
for a long time. For all these things show that the god has been
invoked, and that his arrival comes from without, a marvellous in-
spiration even before coming to his accustomed place; and in the
very spirit rising up from the spring²⁰⁵ it shows forth another god,

²⁰² Oppé (1904) disproved the theory that the chasm at Delphi emitted
mephitic vapours almost a century ago, but this ancient fantasy lingers on in
the modern mind (see esp. De Boer, Hale, and Chanton, 2001). For the notion,
see Pliny, *Nat.* 2.208; Diodorus Siculus 16.26; Pausanias 10.5.7; Plutarch, *Mor.*
434b4–5; Strabo, *Geogr.* 9.3.5. “Abamon” is clearly a whole-hearted believer in
the myth. On the oracle of Apollo at Delphi see Amandry (1950); Athanassiadi
(1989–1990); Fontenrose (1978); Clarke (2001, 60–63).

²⁰³ The staff of Apollo, supposedly passed to his loyal followers, and the
symbol of prophetic power at Didyma.

²⁰⁴ For speculation on the use of an “axle” at Didyma, see Fontenrose
(1988, 80–83) and Parke (1985, 212). *PGM* IV. 681 exemplifies prayers to the
guardians of the ἄξων who command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven;
cf. *PGM* VII. 686–690, but this may be entirely irrelevant.

²⁰⁵ Des Places takes πηγὴ as meaning “fount” or “source” here, but
“spring” seems more appropriate given the context.

[128].14 ἐπιλάμπων M: ἐπιλάμπει V || [127].13 ἐχομένης VM: κατε-
χομένης cj. Gale | τερπομένης V: ἐρπομένης M

τὸν αἴτιον καὶ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῆς πηγῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς μαντικῆς ὁλης.

12 Φαίνεται δὴ ὅν καὶ ἡ τῶν χρηστηρίων μαντεία συνομολογοῦσα ταῖς ὁλαῖς ὑποθέσεσιν ἃς προειρήκαμεν περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς. Ἀχώριστος μὲν γὰρ οὕσα τῆς φύσεως τῶν τόπων καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῇ σωμάτων ἡ τοιαύτη δύναμις, ἡ προϋοῦσα κατὰ κίνησιν τὴν ἀφορίζομένην ἀριθμῶ, οὐ δύναται τὰ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀεὶ προγινώσκειν ὡσαύτως· ἀφειμένη δ' ἀπόλυτος τῶν τόπων καὶ τῶν διαμεμετρομένων τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς χρόνων (ἅτε δὴ κρείττων οὕσα τῶν γιγνομένων κατὰ χρόνον καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τόπου κατεχομένων) τοῖς πανταχοῦ οὖσιν ἐξ ἴσου πάρεστι, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ χρόνον φνομένοις πάντοτε ἅμα σύνεστιν, ἐν ἐνὶ τε συνείληφε τῶν ὁλων τὴν ἀλήθειαν διὰ τὴν χωριστὴν ἑαυτῆς καὶ ὑπερέχουσιν οὐσίαν.

[129] Εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς εἰρήκαμεν, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε τόπου | οὔτε μεριστοῦ σώματος ἀνθρωπίνου οὔτε ψυχῆς κατεχομένης ἐν ἐνὶ εἵδει μεριστῶν περιεἴληπται μεριστῶς ἡ μαντικὴ τῶν θεῶν δύναμις, χωριστὴ δ' οὕσα καὶ ἀδιαίρετος ὁλη πανταχοῦ πάρεστι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνειν αὐτῆς δυναμένοις, ἔξωθεν τε ἐπιλάμπει καὶ πληροὶ πάντα, δι' ὁλων τε τῶν στοιχείων διαπεφοίτηκε, γῆν τε καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ κατεῖληφεν, οὐδέν τε ἄμειρον ἑαυτῆς οὔτε τῶν ζώων οὔτε τῶν ἀπὸ φύσεως διοικουμένων ἀπολείπει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν μᾶλλον τοῖς δὲ ἥττον ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς δίδωσιν τινα μοῖραν προγνώσεως· αὐτὴ μέντοι πρὸ τῶν ὁλων προϋπάρχουσα αὐτῷ τῷ χωριστῷ ἑαυτῆς ἱκανὴ γέγονεν ἀποπληρῶσαι πάντα, καθ' ὅσον ἕκαστα δύναται αὐτῇ μετέχειν.

13 Ἴδωμεν τοίνυν τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἄλλο εἶδος ἰδιωτικὸν καὶ οὐ δημόσιον μαντείας, περὶ οὗ λέγεις ταῦτα· «οἱ δ' ἐπὶ χαρακτήρων στάντες ὡς οἱ πληροῦμενοι ἀπὸ εἰσκήσεων». Τοῦτο τοίνυν διὰ τοὺς κακῶς αὐτῷ χρωμένους οὐ ῥάδιον ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ περιλαβεῖν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρόχειρον [130] καὶ κακῶς ἐπιπολάζον ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις ψευδολογία τε καὶ | ἀπάτη χρώμενον οὐκ ἀνεκτὴ, οὐδ' ὁλως ἔχει τινὸς θεοῦ παρουσίαν, κίνησιν δὲ τινα τῆς ψυχῆς ποιεῖται παρὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ ἀμυδρὰν τινα ἀπ'

more senior and distinct from the site, who is responsible for the site, the spring, and for all divination.

12 It is clear, then, that the divination of oracles is consonant with all the suppositions that we expounded previously about prophetic inspiration. For such a power, if inseparable from the nature of places and of bodies subject to it, or preceded by a motion limited by number, cannot know beforehand things everywhere and always in the same manner. But if separate and free from places and times measured by number (since it is superior to things happening in time and held in place) it is equally present with beings wherever they are, and is always at the same time present with those growing in time, and embraces in one the truth of all existing things because of its own separate and superior essence.

If, then, we have stated these things correctly, the divinatory power of the gods is bounded by nothing divisible, neither by place, nor by a divisible human body, nor by a soul contained in any single form of divisible entities, but being separate by itself and indivisible, it is wholly present everywhere to those able to share in it. And it both illuminates from without and fills all things, and permeates all the elements: it embraces both earth, air, fire, and water, and leaves nothing deprived of itself, neither living beings nor beings governed by nature, but to some it gives a greater portion of its foreknowledge, and to others a lesser portion. And existing itself prior to the totality of things, it is sufficient, by its own separateness, to fill all things to the extent that each is able to share in it.

13 After this, let us now look at another form of divination, private and not public, about which you say this: "of those who stand on (magical) characters, they are filled with spiritual influences."²⁰⁶ However, because of those who put it to bad use, it is not easy to do justice to this form of divination in a single account. But that which is readily accessible and widespread among the vulgar throng, employing falsehood and deceit of an intolerable nature, enjoys the presence of no god, but produces a certain motion of the soul, contrary to the gods, and draws from them

[128].5 & V: ἀεὶ M || 9 χρόνων cj. B: χρόνον VM || [129].6 τε² V: om. M

²⁰⁶ On the magical characters cf. PGM III. 292-303; VII. 586; XIII. 1003. For discussion of the ritual process of standing on the characters, adopted by medieval magicians, see Dodds (1951, 292, 296), and note Ammianus Marcellinus 29.1.29-32.

αὐτῶν εἰδωλικὴν ἔμφασιν ἔλκει, ἥτις διὰ τὸ ἐξίτηλον τῆς δυνάμεως εἶ-
 θεν ἐνίοτε ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων φάσλων πνευμάτων ἐπιταράττεσθαι· ἥ δ' 5
 ὄντως τῶν θεῶν τυγχάνουσα, τὰ τε ἄλλα εἰλικρινῆς καὶ καθαρὰ ἀτρεπτος
 ἀληθῆς, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων πνευμάτων ἀβατός ἐστι καὶ ἀνεμπό-
 διστος· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡλίου καταλάμπαντος οὐ πέφυκε τὴν αὐγὴν ὑπομένειν
 τὸ σκότος, ἐξαίρνης δὲ ἀφανὲς ἄρδην καθίσταται καὶ παντελῶς ἐκ μέσων
 ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ ἐκποδὼν ἐξίσταται, οὕτω καὶ τῆς πάντα ἀγαθῶν πληροῦσης 10
 τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεως πολλαχόθεν ἐπιλαμπούσης οὐκ ἔχει χώραν ἢ τῶν κα-
 κῶν ταραχὴ πνευμάτων, οὐδὲ δύνатаί ποῦ διαφαίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥς τὸ μηδὲν
 ἢ ἐν τῷ μὴ ὄντι κεχώρισται, οὐδαμοῦ φύσιν ἔχουσα κινεῖσθαι τῶν κρειτ-
 τόνων παρόντων ἢ παρενοχλεῖν αὐτοῖς δυναμένη ἥνικα ἂν ἐπιλάμπωσιν.

[131] | Τί ποτ' οὖν τοσοῦτον διάφορόν ἐστιν ἐκατέρου τούτων, οὐκ ἄλ- 1
 λους χρήσομαι γνωρίσμασιν εἰς τὴν διάκρισιν αὐτῶν ἢ αὐτοῖς τοῖς παρὰ
 σοῦ ῥηθεῖσιν· ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃς «οἱ ἐπὶ χαρακτήρων στάντες», οὐδὲν ἄλλο
 ἔοικας σημαίνειν ἢ τὸ αἴτιον τῶν περὶ ταῦτα κακῶν πάντων. Εἰσὶ γάρ 5
 τινες οἱ τὴν δλην πραγματείαν τῆς τελεσιουργοῦ θεωρίας παριδόντες περὶ
 τε τὸν καλοῦντα καὶ περὶ τὸν ἐπόπτην, τάξιν τε τῆς θρησκείας καὶ τὴν
 ὁσιωτάτην ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τῶν πόνων ἐμμονὴν ἀτιμάσαντες, θεσμούς τε
 καὶ ἐντυχίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀγιστείας παρωσάμενοι, ἀποχωρῶσαν νομίζουσι
 τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν χαρακτήρων μόνην στάσιν, καὶ ταύτην ἐν μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ποιησά- 10
 μενοι, εἰσκρίνειν νομίζουσι τι πνεῦμα· καίτοι τί ἂν γένοιτο ἀπὸ τούτων
 καλὸν ἢ τέλειον; ἢ πῶς ἔνεστι τὴν αἰδίων καὶ τῷ ὄντι τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαν
 ἐφημέροις ἔργοις συνάπτεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς πράξεσι; διὰ ταῦτα δὴ οὖν οἱ
 [132] τοιοῦτοι προπετεῖς ἄνδρες τοῦ | παντός ἀμαρτάνουσιν, οὐδ' ἄξιον αὐτοὺς 1
 ἐν μάντεσι καταριθμεῖσθαι.

14 Περὶ δ' ἄλλον γένους μαντικῆς λέγεις ταῦτα· «ἄλλοι παρα-
 κολουθοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα, κατὰ τὸ φανταστικὸν θειάζουσιν,
 οἱ μὲν σκότος συνεργὸν λαβόντες οἱ δὲ καταπόσεις τινῶν οἱ δ' ἐπωδὰς 5
 καὶ συστάσεις· καὶ οἱ μὲν δι' ὕδατος φαντάζονται οἱ δ' ἐν τοίχῳ οἱ δ' ἐν

an indistinct and phantom-like appearance which sometimes, be-
 cause of the feebleness of its power, is likely to be disturbed by evil
 daemonic influences. But there is that type which truly connects
 with the gods, uncontaminated in all respects, pure, unwavering,
 true, and is indeed both inaccessible to and unobstructed by spir-
 its of an opposite nature. For just as when the sun shines, the
 darkness by its nature is not able to resist its light, and suddenly
 becomes wholly invisible, withdraws completely from its midst,
 and altogether ceases, so when the power of the gods, filling all
 with its benefits, shines forth in many directions, the tumult of
 evil spirits has no place, and cannot manifest itself in any way, but
 is set apart as nothing or non-being, in no way having a nature
 to move itself when superior beings are present, or able to cause
 them annoyance when they shine forth.

As to the great difference between each of these, I will use
 no other tokens for distinguishing them than those mentioned by
 you. For when you mention "those who stand upon the charac-
 ters" you seem to signify nothing else than what is the cause of
 all evils inherent in these divinations. For there are some who
 overlook the whole procedure of effective contemplation, both in
 regard to the one who makes an invocation and the one who enjoys
 the vision; and they disdain the order of the sacred observance, its
 holiness and long-protracted endurance of toils, and, rejecting the
 customs, prayers and other rituals, they believe the simple stand-
 ing on the characters to be sufficient, and when they have done
 this for a mere hour, they believe that they have caused some spirit
 to enter. And yet how could anything noble or perfect result from
 this? Or how can the eternal and truly existing essence of the gods
 be united with ephemeral acts in sacred procedures? Hence, be-
 cause of these things, such rash men go wholly astray, and are not
 worthy to be counted among diviners.

14 Concerning another kind of divination you say the fol-
 lowing: "others who retain consciousness in other respects, are
 inspired according to their imagination, some taking darkness as
 an accessory, others the ingestion of certain potions, others incan-
 tations and formulae of communications.²⁰⁷ Some have visions
 by means of water, others on a wall or in the open air, others

[130].6 εἰλικρινῆς M: εἰλικρινῆ V || 9 ἐκ μέσων V: ἐν μέσῳ M ||
 [131].8 ἐντυχίας cj. i. m. B³ vel B⁵: τελετάς id. ἐνταχίας VM ἐνταφίας (φ s. v.)
 V² εὐταξίας i. m. B⁴ εὐσταθείας i. m. B⁵ || 9 ἐπὶ V^c: ἀπὸ VM || [132].1
 οὐδ' cj. i. m. B⁵: τοῦ δὲ VM τοῦ (δὲ p. n.) V² | ἄξιον VM: ἄξιον εἶναι (εἶναι
 s. v.) V²

²⁰⁷ Implying the methodology recorded in the magical papyri and simi-
 lar catalogues. Cf. VII.5 and our note ad loc. on barbarian names.

ὑπαίθρῳ ἀέρι οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλίῳ ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανόν». Πᾶν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δ' λέγεις τῆς μαντείας γένος πολυειδὲς ὃν μιᾷ συνείληπται δυνάμει, ἢν ἂν τις φωτὸς ἀγωγὴν ἐπονομάσειεν. Αὕτη δὲ πού τοι περιεκείμενον τῇ ψυχῇ αἰθερῶδες καὶ ἀγγοειδὲς ὄχημα ἐπιλάμπει θεῶν φωτί, ἐξ οὗ δὴ φαντασίαι θεῖαι καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν φανταστικὴν δύναμιν, κινούμεναι ὑπὸ τῆς βουλήσεως τῶν θεῶν. Ὅλη γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐν αὐτῇ δυνάμεις ὑποκείμεναι τοῖς θεοῖς κινεῖνται, ὅπως ἂν (οἱ) ἡγεμόνες αὐτῆς ἐθέλωσιν.

[133] Καὶ τοῦτο διχῶς γίγνεται ἡ παρόντων τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν | θεῶν ἡ προ-
δραμόν τι εἰς αὐτὴν φῶς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπιλαμπόντων· καθ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τὸν
τρόπον χωριστὴ καὶ ἡ θεία παρουσία ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἔλλαμψις. Ἡ μὲν οὖν
προσοχὴ καὶ διάνοια τῆς ψυχῆς παρακολουθεῖ τοῖς γιγνομένοις, ἐπειδὴ
τούτων τὸ θεῖον φῶς οὐκ ἐφάπτεται· ἐπιθειάζει δὲ τὸ φανταστικόν, διό-
τι οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἐγείρεται εἰς τρόπους φαντασιῶν,
ἐξηλλαγμένης πάντῃ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης συνηθείας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ τὸ ἐναντίον δεκτικὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου κατὰ μετα-
βολὴν καὶ ἔκστασιν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἡ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ οἰκεῖον δι' ὁμοιότητα,
διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εἰκότως τότε μὲν σκότος συνερῶν λαμβάνουσιν οἱ φωτα-
γωγοῦντες, τότε δὲ ἡλίῳ φῶς ἢ σελήνης ἢ ὅλως τὴν ὑπαίθριον αὐγὴν
συλλαμβανόμενα ἔχουσι πρὸς τὴν ἔλλαμψιν.

[134] Ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ καταστάσεις τινων χρῶνται, ὅσα οἰκεῖα τοῖς θεοῖς
ὑπάρχει τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπιφέρεισθαι, ἡ καὶ ἐπωδαῖς ἢ συστάσεις, καὶ αὐ-
ταῖς οἰκείαις παρεσκευασμέναις | εἰς τε τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς ὑποδοχῆς
καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν. Ἐνίοτε δ' αὖ καὶ δι' ὕδατος
ἄγουσι τὸ φῶς, ἐπειδὴ διαφανὲς ὃν τοῦτο εὐφρῶς διάκειται πρὸς ὑπο-
δοχὴν τοῦ φωτός. Ἄλλοτε δ' εἰς τοῖχον αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ἐπιλάμπειν, ταῖς
ιεραῖς τῶν χαρακτήρων καταγραφαῖς προεπτερίζοντες ἔδραν ἀρίστως εἰς
τὸν τοῖχον τῷ φωτί, καὶ ἅμα ἀποστηρίζοντες αὐτὸ ἐνταῦθα ἐν τινὶ στερεῷ

in the sun or some other celestial body." All this kind of divination you mention, being of many forms, is encompassed by one power which someone might call "evoking the light."²⁰⁸ This somehow illuminates the aether-like and luminous vehicle²⁰⁹ surrounding the soul with divine light, from which vehicle the divine appearances, set in motion by the gods' will, take possession of the imaginative power in us. For the entire life of the soul and all the powers in it move subject to the gods, in whatever way its leaders decree.

And this happens in one of two ways: either from the presence of the gods in the soul, or from their shining on it some advanced light. In either case, both the divine presence and its illumination are separate from the soul. The soul's attention and intellect thus closely follow what is happening, since the divine light does not touch upon these. But the imagination is inspired because it is not roused by itself, but by the gods, to modes of imagination when normal human behaviour has been completely displaced.

Since, however, either the contrary is receptive of its contrary by change and movement outward from itself, or the congenital and kindred because of similarity, in virtue of these principles, those which draw down the light sometimes take darkness as an ally, and sometimes they have as allies the light of the sun and moon, or, in general, the sunlight under the sky, to assist their illumination.

Sometimes they also use conditions of certain objects that are akin to the gods who are about to intervene, or alternatively incantations or communications, which are also akin to and prepared for the gods' reception, their presence and manifestation. Sometimes, moreover, they also conduct the light through water, since this, being transparent, it is naturally well suited for the light's reception. At other times they cause it to shine on a wall, having expertly prepared in advance a place on the wall for the light with sacred inscriptions of magical symbols, and at the same

[132].9 δὴ M: δέ V || 13 οἱ add. cj. W || 14 αὐτῆς (ἡ s. v.) cj. W²: αὐτοῖς VMW || [133].8 ἐπεὶ VM: ἐπειδὴ cj. B. || 15 οἰκείαις VM: οἰκείως cj. Gale; an αὖ ταῖς οἰκείαις? || [134].4 εἰς cj. Gale: εἰ VM

²⁰⁸ φωτὸς ἀγωγή or φωταγωγία was a way of making higher beings visible through light shining on water (and/or oil) in bowls or cups. On this cf. Damascius, *Hist. phil.* frg. 75F Athanassiadi, and note her comments ad loc. for parallels with *Myst.* II.3.71. For φωταγωγία in the magical tradition see *PGM* IV. 955 and 1103. See also Dodds (1951, 299).

²⁰⁹ See above on III.11.

χωρίῳ, ὥστε μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ διαχεῖσθαι.

Γένοιντο δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλοι πλείονες τρόποι τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς ἀγωγῆς· ἀλλ' ὁμῶς εἰς ἓν ἀνάγονται πάντες, εἰς τὴν τῆς αὐγῆς ἔλλαμψιν, ὅπου περ ἂν καὶ δι' οἷων ὀργάνων ἐπιλάμπωσιν. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἕξωθεν τέ ἐστιν αὕτη καὶ μόνη τῇ βουλήσει καὶ νοήσει τῶν θεῶν ὑπηρετοῦντα κέκτηται τὰ πάντα, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον φῶς ἔχει ἱερὸν καταναγάζον, τὸ μὲν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθέρος τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀέρος ἢ σελήνης ἢ καὶ ἡλίου καταλάμπον ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς οὐρανίας σφαίρας, φαίνεται ἐκ πάντων τούτων αὐτεξούσιος καὶ πρωτοεργὸς καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐπάξιος ὁ τοιοῦτος ὢν τρόπος τῆς μαντείας.

[135] | 15 Φέρε δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν διὰ τέχνης ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιτελούμενον τρόπον μετέλθωμεν, ὅστις στοχασμοῦ καὶ οἰήσεως πλείονος εἴληφε· λέγεις δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτου τοιαῦτα· οἱ δ' ἤδη καὶ διὰ σπλάγχνων καὶ δι' ὀρνίθων καὶ δι' ἀστέρων τέχνην συνεστήσαντο τῆς θήρας τοῦ μέλλοντος. Εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πλείονες τέχναι τοιαῦται, πλὴν ἄλλα καὶ αὗται γε ἀποχρῶσιν ἐνδείξασθαι πᾶν τὸ τεχνικὸν εἶδος τῆς μαντικῆς. Ὡς μὲν οὖν τὸ ὄλον εἰπεῖν, σημείοις τισὶ τοῦτο θεοῖς χρῆται ἐκ θεῶν ἐπιτελουμένοις κατὰ ποικίλους τρόπους. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θείων τεκμηρίων κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς τὰ δεικνύμενα σημεῖα συμβάλλει πως ἡ τέχνη καὶ στοχάζεται τὴν μαντείαν, ἐξ εἰκότων τινῶν αὐτὴν συλλογίζομένη. Τὰ μὲν οὖν σημεῖα οἱ θεοὶ ποιοῦσι διὰ τῆς φύσεως τῆς δουλευούσης αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν, τῆς τε κοινῆς καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐκάστων, ἢ διὰ τῶν γενεσιουργῶν δαιμόνων οἵτινες τοῖς στοιχείοις τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τοῖς μερικοῖς σώμασι ζῴοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πᾶσιν ἐπιβεβηκότες ἄγουσι τὰ φαινόμενα | μετὰ ῥασιτώνης ὀπηπερ ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς. Συμβολικῶς δὲ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμφαίνουσι, καὶ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος προδηλώσωσι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον οὔτε λέγοντες οὔτε κρύπτοντες ἀλλὰ σημαίνοντες, ἐπειδὴ τῆς

time fixing the light on a solid place so that it will not be too diffused.

There might be many other ways for conducting the light, but all are reduced to one, i.e. the shining of the bright light in whatever way and through whatever instruments it may shine forth. Since, then, this light is from without and alone achieves all its effects serving the will and intelligence of the gods, the greatest light has a sacred brightness which, either shining from above in the aether, or from the air, or moon or sun, or any other heavenly sphere, appears apart from all these things to be such a mode of divination that is autonomous, primordial, and worthy of the gods.

15 Come, then, let us turn to the mode of divination, accomplished by human skill, which partakes largely of guessing and supposition. About this you say the following: "some have already established a technique for pursuing the future by means of entrails, birds, and stars." There are also many other such techniques, but these are sufficient for illustrating every artificial kind of divination.²¹⁰ So, then, to speak generally, this kind uses certain divine signs that have been perfected by the gods in various ways. From divine signs, in virtue of the relationship of things to the signs shown, the technique somehow draws conclusions and guesses at the divination, inferring it from certain probabilities. The gods produce the signs either by means of nature, which is subservient to them for the creation of each thing, both universal and particular, or through the agency of daemons concerned with creation, who, presiding over the elements of the universe and individual bodies, indeed over all living beings in the cosmos, guide the phenomena with ease in a manner pleasing to the gods. They reveal through symbols the purpose of the gods, even giving advance notice of the future, "neither talking nor concealing," as Heraclitus says, but "giving indication by signs,"²¹¹ since they

²¹⁰ "Abamon" proceeds, in the following chapters, to separate human attempts to divine the future from the methods dictated by the gods, although the distinction is clearer to him than it will ever be to us. Cf. the extraordinary remark in the *Chaldaean Oracles*: "the starry procession has not been brought forth for your sake. The wide-winged flight of birds is never true, nor the cuttings and entrails of sacrificial victims. All these are playthings, the props of commercial fraud" (*Orac. chald.* frg. 107 Des Places, trans. Majercik).

²¹¹ See Heraclitus, frg. 93 D-K.

[134].9 αὐγῆς (γ s. v.) V²: αὐτῆς VM || 15 ὢν τρόπος cj. Gale: δν τρόπον VM || [135].5 τοιαῦται V: τοιαῦτα M | αὐταὶ scripsi: αὐταὶ VM || 7 τοῦτο (ο s. v.) V²: τοῦτω VM || 11 αὐτοῖς (οι s. v.) V²: αὐτῆς VM

δημιουργίας τὸν τρόπον ἀποτυποῦσι καὶ διὰ τῆς προδηλώσεως. Καθάπερ
οὐδ' εἰκόνων γεννώσι πάντα, καὶ σημαίνουν σὺν αὐτῷ [καὶ] διὰ συν- 5
θημάτων ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν σύνθεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀφορμῆς εἰς
ὁξύτητα πλείονα ἀνακινούσιν.

16 Ταῦτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἀνθρωπίνης τοιαύτης
τέχνης διωρίσθω· κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τὰ μὲν σπλάγχνα ἢ τε ψυχὴ τῶν ζώων
καὶ ὁ ἐφεστῆκώς αὐτοῖς δαίμων καὶ ὁ ἀήρ ἢ τε κίνησις τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ 10
ἢ τοῦ περιέχοντος περιφορὰ μεταβάλλει ποικίλως ὅπῃπερ ἂν ἀρέσκη τοῖς
θεοῖς. Σημεῖον δὲ τὸ πολλάκις εὐρίσκεισθαι αὐτὰ ἀκάρδια ἢ ἄλλως ἄμοιρα
τῶν κυριωτάτων μερῶν ὧν ἀπεστερημένα οὐχ οἷά τε ἦν ὅλως τοῖς ζώοις
παρέχειν τὸ ζῆν. Τοὺς δ' ὀρνίθας κινεῖ μὲν καὶ ἡ τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς ὁρμὴ,
[137] | κινεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ζώων ἔφορος δαίμων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀέρος τροπὴ 1
καὶ ἡ καθήκουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δύναμις εἰς τὸν ἀέρα· πάντα συμφω-
νοῦντα τοῖς βουλήμασι τῶν θεῶν ἄγει αὐτὰς ὁμολογουμένως οἷς οἱ θεοὶ
κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπιτάττουσιν. Σημεῖον δὲ καὶ τούτου μέγιστον· οὐ γὰρ τῶν
κατὰ φύσιν τινὲν προσέοικε πράγματι τὸ ἀπορρήσσειν τοὺς ὀρνίθας αὐτοὺς 5
ἐαυτοὺς καὶ ἀναιρεῖν πολλάκις· ἀλλ' ὑπερφυῖς δὴ τι τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦτο,
ὡς ἑτέρου τινὸς ὄντος τοῦ διὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων ταῦτα ἀπεργαζομένου.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν αἱ γε τῶν ἀστρῶν φορεαὶ πλησιάζουσι μὲν ταῖς κατ' οὐ-
ρανὸν αἰδίαις περιφοραῖς, οὐ τόπω μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ 10
ταῖς τοῦ φωτὸς διαδρομαῖς· κινουῦνται δὲ ὅπῃπερ ἂν οἱ κατ' οὐρανὸν θεοὶ
κελεύωσιν. Τὸ γὰρ εὐαγέστατον καὶ ἄκρον τοῦ ἀέρος, ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον
ἐξάπτεσθαι εἰς πῦρ, ἅμα τε ἐπινεύουσιν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαίεται.
Ἐὰν δέ τις καὶ νομίζῃ τῶν οὐρανίων τινὰς ἀπορροίας ἐνδίδοσθαι εἰς τὸν
ἀέρα, καὶ οὗτος οὐκ ἀλλότρια δοξάσει τῶν δρωμένων ἐν τῇ θεῇ τέχ- 1
[138] | νῇ πολλάκις. Καὶ ἡ ἔνωσις δὲ καὶ ἡ συμπάθεια τοῦ παντός | καὶ ἡ ὥς 1
ἐφ' ἐνὸς ζώου συγκίνησις τῶν πορρωτάτω μερῶν ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντων, τὴν
τῶν σημείων τούτων πομπὴν ἐκ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις καταπέμπει, διὰ τοῦ

impress, as with a likeness, the manner of creation actually by giving advance notice. Thus even as they create all things by images, so also they signify them in the same way by agreed-upon signs; and perhaps they even awaken our understanding, by the same impulse to a greater acuteness.

16 Let these, then, be our general definitions concerning this whole variety of the human art.²¹² But, in particular, as regards the entrails, the life of living beings, the daemon presiding over them, the air and the movement of air, and the revolution of the surrounding sky transform them²¹³ in a manner pleasing to the gods. A proof is that they are often found without a heart or without other essential parts, the lack of which makes it impossible for them to grant life to living beings. Birds are moved not only by the impulse of their own particular soul, but also by the guardian daemon of living beings; and furthermore, the circulation of the air and the power descending from the sky to the air, bringing everything into harmony with the gods' purposes, lead them in conformity with what the gods initially command. The greatest sign of this is that it does not seem like some natural occurrence that birds rend and often kill themselves: this is some supernatural deed because that which accomplishes these things through the birds is some other being.²¹⁴

Moreover, the movements of the stars come close to the eternal revolutions of heavenly bodies, not only locally, but also in their powers and emissions of light. They are moved in whatever way the gods in the sky command. For since the purest and highest point of the air is apt for being kindled into fire, at once the gods give a sign and it is immediately kindled.²¹⁵ But if someone thinks that certain emanations of heavenly bodies are transmitted to the air, even he will not have conceived anything different from things frequently done in the divine craft. And the union and sympathy of the all and the simultaneous motion, as in a single living being, of parts farthest away as though they were near by, cause the sending down of these signs from the gods to human

²¹² That is, of inferior methods of divination.

²¹³ Namely, the entrails.

²¹⁴ Note that all of the above are occurrences that, "Abamon" believes, cannot be explained through natural causes.

²¹⁵ "Abamon" is presumably referring to lightning, or perhaps, since this is an account of extraordinary or supernatural phenomena, to shooting stars.

[136].5 καὶ σημαίνουσιν] προσσημαίνουσιν cj. Gale | καὶ² del. cj. Gale
|| 6 σύνθεσιν VM: σύνεσιν cj. Gale || 11 ὅπῃπερ M et (πη s. v.) V^c: ὅπερ V
|| [137].13 τις (σ s. v.) V²: τι VM

οὐρανοῦ μὲν πρώτως ἔπειτα διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐκφαινομένην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα λαμπρότατα.

Δῆλον δὴ οὖν διὰ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τοῦτο γέγονεν, ὡς
δογάνοις μέσοις πολλοῖς οἱ θεοὶ χρώμενοι τὰ σημεῖα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπι-
πέμπουσι, δαιμόνων τε ὑπηρεσίαις καὶ ψυχῶν καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὅλης χρώ-
μενοι πᾶσι τε τοῖς περὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐκείνοις ἀκολουθοῦσι, κατὰ μίαν ἀρχὴν
ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ ἀνιέντες τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κατιοῦσαν κίνησιν, ὅπῃ περὶ αὐ-
τῶν ἐθέλωσιν. Αὐτοὶ δὲ οὖν χωριστοὶ πάντων καὶ ἀπολελυμένοι τῆς σχέσεως
καὶ συντάξεως τῆς πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν ἄγουσι πάντα ἐν τῇ γενέσει καὶ φύσει
κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν βούλησιν. Ἦκει δὲ οὖν εἰς ταῦτο τῷ τῆς δημιουργίας
καὶ προνοίας τῶν θεῶν λόγῳ καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς ἀπολογισμός. Οὐ
[139] γὰρ καθέλκει οὐδὲ οὗτος | ἐπὶ τὰ τῆδε καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν τῶν κρειττόνων
νοῦν, μένοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ τε σημεῖα καὶ τὴν μαντείαν ὅλην πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέφει καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προϊόντα αὐτὰ ἀνευρίσκει.

17 Ζητεῖς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς μαντείας τίς τέ ἐστι
καὶ ὁποῖος, ὃν ἤδη μὲν ἡμεῖς κοινῇ τε καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐξηγησάμεθα, σὺ
δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποφαίνῃ γνώμην τῶν μάντεων, ὡς πάντες διὰ θεῶν ἢ
δαιμόνων φασὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος τυγχάνειν τῆς προγνώσεως, οὐδὲ οἶόν τε
ἄλλους εἰδέναι αὐτὸ ἢ μόνους τοὺς τῶν ἐσομένων κυρίους. Ἐπειτα ἀπο-
ρεῖς εἰ ἄχρη τοσούτου κατάγεται εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἀνθρώπων τὸ θεῖον ὡς μὴ
ὀκνεῖν τινὰς καὶ ἀλφιτομάντεις εἶναι. Τὸ δὲ οὐ καλῶς ὑπολαμβάνεις, τὴν
περιουσίαν τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀγαθότητα
καὶ τὴν πάντα περιέχουσαν αἰτίαν κηδεμονίαν τε ἡμῶν καὶ προστασίαν
ὑπηρεσίαν ἐπονομάζων. Καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοεῖς τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐνεργείας, ὥστε
[140] οὐ καθέλκεται οὔτε ἐπιστρέφεται οὗτος εἰς ἡμᾶς, χωριστὸς δὲ | προη-
γεῖται καὶ δίδωσι μὲν τοῖς μετέχουσιν ἑαυτόν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὔτε ἐξίσταται
ἀπ' ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε ἐλάττων γίγνεται οὔθ' ὑπηρετεῖ τοῖς μετέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ
τοῦναντίον πᾶσιν ὑπηρετοῦσι προσχρῆται.

Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ἄλλο διαμαρτάνειν ἢ παροῦσα ἐπίστασις· ὡς γὰρ
ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὑποθεμένη τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἔργα, οὕτω διαμφισβητεῖ περὶ

beings, first through the heaven and then through the air, with the
greatest possible brightness.

Indeed, this becomes clear from everything said, namely,
that the gods, through the use of many intermediate instruments,
send forth signs to human beings, using not only the services of
daemons, but also those of souls and of all nature and all things in
the cosmos which obey these, guiding them according to a single
principle, and allowing their own motion to proceed from them in
whatever way they wish. Indeed, then, while being transcendent
over all things and free from every relationship and co-ordination
with those in the realm of becoming, they lead everything in the
realm of generation and nature in accordance with their own will.
In this way, then, this explanation of divination concords with the
account of the creative activity and foreknowledge of the gods.
For it does not drag down the intellect of the supreme beings into
this world and to us, but while this remains stable in itself, it refers
back to it the signs and all divination, and reveals them as pro-
ceeding from it.

17 But you seek further concerning "the manner of div-
ination, what it is and what kind of thing it is," which we have
already explained, both in general and in particular. And initially
you declare the attitude of the diviners, "how all say that they at-
tain foreknowledge of the future through gods or daemons, and
that it is impossible for others to know it, or only for those who are
masters over the future." Then you raise the question whether the
divine is brought down for the service of human beings, to the ex-
tent that it does not hesitate even to take on the role of those who
divine with barley meal. But you don't properly understand what
you call "service" when applying this word to the overwhelming
power of the gods, and their superabundant goodness, and their
all-encompassing responsibility, their care and patronage. More-
over, you ignore the manner of their activity, that this is neither
drawn down nor turned toward us, but, being transcendent, it
guides and gives itself to its participants; and is neither altered in
itself nor made less, nor is it subservient to its participants, but,
on the contrary, it makes use of all that is subservient to it.

The present objection seems to me to go astray in another
direction: in gauging the gods' work by those of humans, there
thus arises a problem as to how these works come to be. Because

[138].4 ἐκφαινομένην V: ἐκφαινομένου M || 10 ἐξηγούμενοι (τ p. n., γ
s. v.) V²: ἐξηγούμενοι VM || 11 καὶ M et s. v. V²: om. V || [139].2 αὐτῷ
scripsi: αὐτῷ V αὐτῷ (sine spir.) M || 4 τὸ V: om. M

αὐτῶν πῶς γίνεται. Διότι γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐπιστρεφόμενοι καὶ τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐνίστε προσκείμενοι τοῖς διοικουμένοις ἐπιμελούμεθα αὐτῶν, διὰ τοῦτο κακῶς εἰκάζει καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν δύναμιν ὑπηρετικὴν εἶναι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατευθυνόμενοις· ἡ δ' οὔτε ἐν τῇ ποιήσει τῶν κόσμων οὔτε ἐν τῇ προνοίᾳ τῆς γενέσεως οὔτε ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτῆς μαντεία καθέλκεται ποτε εἰς τὰ μετέχοντα, ἀλλὰ μεταδίδωσι μὲν πᾶσι τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ παραπλήσια πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὰ ὅλα ἀπεργάζεται, ὠφελεῖ τε τὰ διοικούμενα ἀφθόνης, μένει δὲ ὡς πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς οἰκείας τελειότητος πεπληρωται. Καὶ αὕτη μὲν οὐ γίνεται τῶν μετεχόντων, τὰ δὲ μεταλαμβάνοντα ἴδια ἑαυτῆς ἀπεργάζεται καὶ σώζει μὲν αὐτὰ παντελῶς, | μένει δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῇ τελεία καὶ συλλαμβάνει μὲν αὐτὰ ἅμα ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ὑπ' οὐδενός γε μὴν ἐκείνων οὔτε κρατεῖται οὔτε περιέχεται.

Μάτην οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη ὑπόνοια παρενοχλεῖ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μερίζεται ὁ θεὸς παρὰ τοὺς διηρημένους τρόπους τῆς μαντείας, ἀλλ' ἀμερίστως ἅπαντας ἀπεργάζεται· οὐδὲ κατὰ χρόνον διηρημένως ἄλλοτε ἄλλους ἐπιτελεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀθρόως καὶ ἅμα δημιουργεῖ πάντας κατὰ μίαν ἐπιβολήν· οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατέχεται περιειλημμένος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ διωρισμένος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα συνέχει, συνείληφέ τε αὐτὰ ἐν ἐνὶ καὶ προάγει κατὰ μίαν βούλησιν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄχρι τῶν ἀψύχων οἶον ψηφιδίων ἢ ῥάβδων ἢ ξύλων τινῶν ἢ λίθων ἢ πυρῶν ἢ ἀλφίτων διήκει τῇ προδηλώσει, αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατόν ἐστι τῆς θείας μαντικῆς προσημασίας, διότι καὶ τοῖς ἀψύχοις ψυχὴν καὶ τοῖς ἀκινήτοις κίνησιν ἐνδίδωσι, ποιεῖ τε πάντα | σαφῆ καὶ γνώριμα καὶ λόγον μετέχοντα καὶ ἀφωρισμένα τοῖς τῆς νοήσεως μέτροις, καίτοι μηδένα λόγον ἔχοντα ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν. Καὶ ἄλλο δὴ τί μοι δοκεῖ δαιμόνιον τι θαῦμα ὁ θεὸς ἐν τούτοις διασημαίνει. Ὡς περὶ γὰρ ἐνίστε τῶν εὐθηδικῶν τινα ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ σοφίας μετὰ λόγους ἀποφθέγγεσθαι, δι' οὗ πᾶσι κατάδηλον γίνεται, ὡς οὐκ ἀνθρώπειόν τι, θεῖον δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶ

we are turned towards our objects, and are sometimes emotionally attached when we give heed to them; on account of this, we wrongly infer that the gods' power is subservient to those guided by them. But neither in the creation of ordered worlds, nor in the providence governing the realm of becoming, nor in respect of divination, is the divine power ever drawn down to its participants, but it shares its goods with all, and fashions all things in likeness to itself; it assists without envy those things controlled by it, and the more it remains by itself, the more it is filled by its own perfection. And this does not happen from those participating in it, but it fashions its participants as its own and preserves them wholly. It remains complete in itself, subsumes them at the same time into itself, and is certainly not ruled or encompassed by any of them.

To no purpose, then, are human beings bothered by such a suspicion. For the god does not suffer division in consequence of the diverse modes of divining, but without division produces them all. Nor is it in accordance with time that he brings to completion different things in different ways, but he fashions them all together at once, and according to one intuition. Nor is he held fast in his signs, either encompassed or limited by them, but he contains in himself all the signs, and comprehends them as one, and brings them forth from himself according to a single purpose.

But if this divine power extends in its predictions to inanimate objects, such as little pebbles, rods, or certain woods, stones, wheat, and barley meal,²¹⁶ this is itself the most astonishing prognostication by divine divination, because it gives life to inanimate things and motion to things motionless, and makes all clear, knowledgeable, and participating in reason, and definable according to the measures of intelligence, and yet having no reason in themselves. And there is indeed another divine wonder, it seems to me, that the god indicates by these means. For just as he makes some simple-minded human being utter statements full of wisdom,²¹⁷ by which it becomes clear to all that this is not some

²¹⁶ See also V.23.233. Such inanimate objects were commonly used in theurgic practice as vessels for divine action. Cf. Proclus, *Comm. Tim.* 1.213.16–18; Proclus as reported in *CMAG* 6:150.28–30.

²¹⁷ The simplicity of the inspired was a long-held tradition in antiquity; see Euripides, *Ion* 1323; Plato, *Ion* 534d–e; *Phaedr.* 244b; Apuleius, *Apol.* 43; Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 45.11; Maximus of Tyre, 8.1b; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.54.2–3.

[140].11 τῆς M: om. V | καθέλκεται scr. B: καθέλκεται (κ s. v.) V καθέλκεται VM || 14 ὡς s. v. V²: om. VM || [141].4 μάτην M et (pr. v p. n.) V^c: μάντην V || 11 ψηφιδίων M: ψηφίδων V || [142].5 μετὰ λόγους scripsi: μετὰ λόγου VM

τὸ γεγονός, οὕτως διὰ τῶν ἀπεστερημένων γνώσεως τὰ πάσης γνώσεως
προέχοντα νοήματα ἀποκαλύπτει· καὶ εἶναι ἅμα ἀναφαίνει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
ὡς πίστεως ἄξια ὑπάρχει τὰ δεικνύμενα σημεῖα, καὶ ὅτι κρείττονά ἐστι
τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἐξηρημένος ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ θεός· οὕτω τὰ ἐν τῇ φύσει ἄγνω- 10
στα γνωστὰ ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ μὴ γιγνώσκοντα γιγνώσκοντα, ἡμῖν τε δι' αὐτῶν
ἐντίθησι φρόνησιν, καὶ δι' ὅλων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κινεῖ τὸν νοῦν
ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν τε ὄντων καὶ γεγονότων καὶ ἐσομένων.

Οἶμαι δὴ οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸν τρόπον τῆς μαντικῆς γεγονέ-
[143] ναι καταφανῆ, παντελῶς ὑπερὰντων ὄντα οἷς | ὑφορᾷ σὺ καὶ ὑποπτεύεις. 1
Ἡγεμονικός γάρ ἐστι καὶ πρωτοεργός αὐτεξουσίος τε καὶ ὑπερέχων συν-
εληφώς τε ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ ὅλα ἄλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς περιεχόμενος ὑπὸ τινων οὐδὲ
διειρογόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν μεταλαμβάνοντων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀθρόως καὶ ἀδιορί-
στως πᾶσιν ἐπιβεβηκώς καὶ ἐνεξουσιάζων, ἀδιορίστῳ δὲ δυνάμει ἐπικρα- 5
τῶν τὰ ὅλα καὶ διασημαίνων ἀθρόως. Ἀφ' ὧν δὴ διαλύσεις ῥαδίως τὰς
ἰδιωτικὰς ταύτας καὶ παρενοχλούσας τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπορίας,
ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν νοερὰν καὶ θεῖαν καὶ ἄψευστον ἀπὸ πάντων προσημασίαν τῶν
θεῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐπανάξεις δεόντως.

18 "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ κατάγεται τὸ θεῖον εἰς τὰ σημεῖα τῆς μαντικῆς 10
διὰ τούτων ἡγωνισάμεθα· δέχεται δ' ἡμᾶς ἄγων ἐξ ἁγῶνος ἑτερος, οὐκ
ἐλάττων τοῦ ἡδὴ προανυσθέντος, ὃν ἐπάγεις εὐθὺς περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τῆς
μαντικῆς, εἰ θεὸς ἢ ἄγγελος ἢ δαίμων ἢ ὅστισοῦν πάρεστι ταῖς ἐπιφανείαις
ἢ μαντείαις ἢ ταῖς ὁποιοῦσιν ἱεραῖς ἐνεργείαις. Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο ἄπλοῦς
[144] ἐστὶν ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν λόγος, | ὥς οὐχ οἷόν τε τῶν θεῶν ἔργων δρᾶσθαι 1
ἱεροπρεπῶς ἄνευ τοῦ παρεῖναι τινα τῶν κρείττωνων ἔφορον καὶ ἀποπλη-
ρωτὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐνεργείας· ἀλλ' ὅπου μὲν τέλεια τὰ κατορθώματά ἐστι
καὶ αὐταρκῆ καὶ ἀνευδεῖ, θεοὶ τούτων εἰσὶν ἡγεμόνες, ὅπου δὲ μέσα καὶ

[142].11 τε M et (περὶ p. n.) s. v. V²: περὶ V || 13 γεγονότων V: γενο-
μένων M || [143].1 ὑφορᾷ VM: ὑφορᾷς cj. U || 5 ἀδιορίστῳ M: ἀδιορίστως
V || 9 δεόντως M et (σ s. v.) V²: δεόντων V || [144].1 τε VM: τέ τι (τι s.
v.) V²

human but a divine accomplishment, so through beings deprived
of knowledge he reveals thoughts which surpass all knowledge. At
the same time, the god manifests to humans that the signs shown
are worthy of credence, and that they are superior to nature, and
that the god is exalted above it. So he makes things unknown
in nature known; things not knowledgeable he makes knowledge-
able, and through these he implants wisdom in us, and by means
of all beings in the cosmos he moves our mind to the truth of
things that are, have been, and will be.

Indeed, I think that from these considerations the manner of
divination has become absolutely clear, wholly opposed to those
of which you have a glimpse and an inkling. For it is sovereign and
primordial, both self-governing and prevailing, encompassing all
things in itself, but itself neither encompassed by some things nor
constrained by its participants. And it presides in itself over all,
and exercises its power²¹⁸ over all and without distinction, ruling
over the universe with unlimited power and giving forth signs all
at once. From these observations you will indeed easily resolve
those difficulties of yours, both peculiar and bothersome to many
human beings, and you will raise yourself suitably to the intelli-
gible, divine and infallible prognostic of the gods.

18 Thus we have contended by these arguments that the
divine is not brought down to the signs of divination. But another
contest awaits us no less than that already won which you intro-
duce directly concerning the causes of divination: "whether it is
a god or an angel, or daemon, or some other such being who is
present at the epiphanies, at the divinations, or at any of the sac-
red actions." In response to this, our argument is simple: divine
works cannot be accomplished with due propriety without some
presence of superior beings, beholding and contemplating the sac-
red action;²¹⁹ but whenever the things done rightly are complete,
self-sufficient, and without defect, the gods are their leaders; and
whenever they are (only) middling, and fall somewhat short of

Olympiodorus, *Comm. Alc.* 8.12; *PGM* IV. 850-929; Eunapius, *Vit. soph.* 504;
cf. also Seneca, *Ep.* 41.4-5; 2 Cor 4:7. Plutarch, *Pyth. or.* 405c tells us that the
current Pythia was the daughter of a poor farmer and a simple girl. Cf. also
Aristotle, *Eth. eud.* 1247b-1248a.

²¹⁸ ἐνεξουσιάζειν, cf. Iamblichus, *Comm. Tim.* frg. 50.

²¹⁹ That is, the process of theurgy.

βραχύ τι τῶν ἄκρων ἀπολειπόμενα ἀγγέλους ἔχει τοὺς ἐπιτελοῦντας αὐτὰ 5
καὶ ἀποδεικνύοντας, τὰ δ' ἔσχατα δαίμοσι διαπράττεσθαι ἀπονενέμνται·
πάντα γε μὴν ἐνὶ γέ τινι τῶν κρείττονων ἐπιτέτραπται τῶν θεοπρεπῶν
πράξεων ἢ κατόρθωσις· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ λόγον περὶ θεῶν ἄνευ θεῶν λαβεῖν δυ-
νατόν, μήτοι γε δὴ ἰσόθεα ἔργα καὶ πᾶσαν πρόγνωσην ἄνευ θεῶν τις ἂν
ἐπιτηδεύσειεν. Τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρώπειον φῶλον ἀσθενές ἐστι καὶ σμικρόν, βλέ- 10
πει τε ἐπὶ βραχύ, σύμφυτόν τε οὐδένεϊαν κέκτηται· μία δ' ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ
τῆς ἐνυπαρχούσης πλάνης καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀστάτου μεταβολῆς ἰα-
τρεία, εἴ τινα μετουσίαν θείου φωτός κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν μεταλάβοι· ὁ δὲ
ταύτην ἀποκλείων ταῦτόν ποιεῖ τοῖς ἐξ ἀψύχων ψυχῇν παράγουσιν ἢ τοῖς
[145] ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνοήτων νοῦν ἀπογεννώσιν· | καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν μὴ θείων 1
τὰ θεῖα ἔργα ἀναιτίως ὑφίστησιν.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν θεὸν ἢ δαίμονα ἢ ἄγγελον εἶναι τὸν ἀποτελοῦντα τὰ
κρείττονα ἔργα συγχωρήσειεν ἂν τις· οὐ μὴν ἔτι γε δίδομεν ὁ σὺ προσ-
έροίφας ὡς ὁμολογούμενον, ὅτι δι' ἡμῶν ἐλκόμενος ἀνάγκαις ταῖς τῆς 5
κλήσεως ταῦτα ἐπιτελεῖ. Κρείττων γὰρ ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ πᾶς ὁ
συναπτόμενος αὐτῷ τῶν κρείττονων χορὸς, οὐ τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπαγο-
μένης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅση τὸν κόσμον κατείληφεν· διότι δὴ τὴν ἄνθρω-
φύσιν καὶ μηδεμίαν παραδεχομένην ἐπίκτητον τάξιν οὐκ ἔνεστι δουλεύειν
οὐδεμιᾷ ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπεισιούσῃ ἀνάγκῃ. Εἴτα μέντοι καὶ ἡ κλήσις καὶ τὰ 10
δρῶμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιστήμονος τῇ ἐξομοίῳ καὶ τῇ οἰκείῳ προστρέ-
χει τοῖς κρείττοσιν αὐτὰ καὶ συνάπτεται, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ διὰ βίας ἀπεργάζεται
τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐνέργειαν.

Οὐ τοίνυν, ὡς σὺ νενόμικας, παθόντος τοῦ ἐπιστήμονος θεωρητοῦ
[146] τὰ γινόμενα ὁράται εἰς τοὺς θεσπίζον|τας, οὐδὲ πάθους προσηρησαμένου 1
εἰς τὸν χρησμοδοῦντα διὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης οὕτως ἐπιτελεῖται ἢ μαντεία· ἄλ-
λότρια γὰρ ταῦτα τῆς τῶν κρείττονων οὐσίας καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα ἀνάρμοστα
ὑπάρχει.

the best, they have angels for their accomplishment and manifes-
tation; and the last or lowest works are assigned to the daemons
for their accomplishment. At any rate, in all actions concerning
the gods, their successful performance is entrusted to some supe-
rior being. After all, since it is impossible to gain even theoretical
knowledge of the gods without the gods, still less would someone
be able to accomplish god-like deeds and have total foreknowledge
without the gods. For the human race is feeble and puny, it sees
but a little ahead, and is endowed with a congenital futility. But
there is one remedy for its inherent straying, confusion, and un-
stable changing, and that is, if it participate so far as possible in
some portion of the divine light. But whoever excludes this, does
the same thing as they who produce a soul from things without
a soul, or who would generate a mind from things mindless; for
such a person postulates divine works without a cause from things
not divine.

So, then, one might concur that it is a god or a daemon or an
angel that brings superior works to completion; and yet we do not
accept what you toss in as if agreed upon, that "it is through being
drawn down to us by the necessities of our invocation that the supe-
rior being accomplishes these things." For the god is superior
to necessity, and the whole chorus of superior beings attached to
it is superior to necessity, not only that imposed by human beings,
but also from the necessity which embraces the cosmos. Hence, it
is not possible for the immaterial nature that has not received into
itself any external ranking, to do service to any necessity coming
from elsewhere. So then, the invocation and rites performed by
the expert ascend to the superior beings and attach themselves to
them by assimilation and appropriation, but not through force do
they achieve their own activity.

It is thus not as you suppose, i.e. that it is through the theur-
gic adept being affected that the things happening are seen in
those prophesying, nor it is that when this action is imposed upon
the oracle-giver that divination is thus accomplished by necessity.
For these things are foreign to the essence of superior beings, and
suited rather to other things. ²²⁰

[144].9 μήτοι M: μήτι V || [145].14 ὡς V: καὶ M ὡς καὶ (καὶ add. s.
v.) V² || [146].3 ἀνάρμοστα VM: ἐνάρμοστα (ε s. v.) V²

²²⁰ Reading ἐνάρμοστα with Ficino for ἀνάρμοστα of the MSS.

19 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ὡς ὄργανόν τι μέσον ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν κρείττωνων αἴτιον 5
καὶ ὁρᾷ διὰ τοῦ θεσπίζοντος ὁ καλῶν. Καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἀνόσιον φθέγγε-
σθαι· πολὺ γὰρ τοῦδε μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς ἐκεῖνο ὡς θεὸς μὲν πάντα
ἐστὶ καὶ πάντα δύναται καὶ πάντα πεπλήρωκεν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μόνος σπου-
δῆς ἀξιολόγου καὶ τιμῆς μακαρίας ἐστὶν ἄξιος· τὸ δ' ἀνθρώπειον αἰσχρο-
ν καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς μέρει καὶ παίγνιόν ἐστι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον παραβαλλόμενον. 10
Γελῶ δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούων, ὡς αὐτόματός τισιν ὁ θεὸς πάρεστιν
ἦτοι διὰ γενέσεως περίοδον ἢ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας. Οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἔσται τὸ ἀγέν-
νητον τὸ κρείττον, εἰ ἢ περίοδος αὐτὸ ἄγει τῆς γενέσεως, οὐδὲ πρῶτως
αἴτιον τῶν ὄλων, εἰ κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας καὶ αὐτὸ τισι συντάττεται. Ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ἀνάξια καὶ τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἐννοίας ὑπάρχει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θεουργίᾳ 15
γιννομένων ἔργων ἀλλότρια· πέπονθε δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη ζήτησις ταυτὸν ὅπερ 1
καὶ περὶ τῆς δημιουργίας τοῦ παντός καὶ τῆς προνοίας οἱ πολλοὶ πάσχου-
σιν· μὴ δυνάμενοι γὰρ μαθεῖν ὅστις ὁ τρόπος αὐτῶν, τὰς τε ἀνθρώπων
φροντίδας καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀποκρίνοντες, καὶ τὸ ὅλον
ἀναιροῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὴν προνοίαν τε καὶ δημιουργίαν. Ὡς περ οὖν πρὸς 5
τούτους ἀπαντᾶν εἰώθαμεν ὡς ἄλλος τις τρόπος ἐστὶν ὁ θεῖος τῆς ποιή-
σεως καὶ κηδεμονίας, οὗ δὴ δι' ἄγνοιαν οὐ χρὴ τὸ πᾶν ἀποδοκιμάζειν ὡς
οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑφ' ἐσθήκει, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς σὲ ἂν τις δικαιολογήσαιο ὡς
πρόγνωσις πᾶσα καὶ ἔργων αἰδίων προῤῥις θεῶν μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργα, οὔτε δὲ δι'
ἀνάγκης οὔτε δι' ἄλλας ἀνθρωπίνους αἰτίας ἐπιτελεῖται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοιαύτας 10
ὁποίας οἱ θεοὶ μόνοι γινώσκουσιν.

20 Ἄρ' οὖν ἐφέμενοι τούτων εὐλόγως ἂν τὴν δευτέραν παρὰ σοὶ 1
τιθεμένην αἰτιολογίαν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀποδεξαίμεθα ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ ταῦτα 1
λέγει τε καὶ φαντάζεται, καὶ ἔστι ταύτης πάθη ἐκ μικρῶν αἰθυγμάτων
ἐγειρόμενα; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἔχει φύσιν ταῦτα οὔτε ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ ὥδι ὑπολαμβά-
νειν· πᾶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ γιννόμενον ὑπ' αἰτίου τινὸς γίγνεται, καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς

[146].8-9 σπουδῆς VM: οὗτος σπουδῆς (οὗτος add. s. v.) V² || 9
ἀξιολόγου cj. Gale: ἄξιος λόγου M ἀξίας λόγου (acc. mut., alt. α ex ο) M^c ἀξίας
λόγος V ἄξιος λόγος (pr. ο ex α) V² ἀξίως λόγου cj. B || 12 pr. τὸ VM: p. n.
V² || 13 αὐτὸ V: αὐτὸς M || 15 περὶ cj. i. m. B⁴: παρὰ VM || [147].8
δικαιολογήσαιο cj. B.: δικαιολογίσαιο VM || 12 ἐφέμενοι VM: ἀφιέμενοι cj.
Gale || 13-[148].1 -δεξαίμεθα scripsi: -δειξαίμεθα VM

19 But the causality of the superior beings is not even like
some intermediate instrument, nor (can it be said) that the one in-
voking acts through the one prophesying. Indeed to assert these
things is impious. For it is much more true that god is all, and has
power over all, and all things have been filled by his own self, and
he alone is worthy of highest esteem and of blessed honour. But
the human being is shameful, and is as nothing, and a toy com-
pared with the divine.²²¹ And I even laugh hearing this: that the
god is spontaneously present to some whether by reason of the
cycle of creation or through some other causes. For the superior
being will no longer be unbegotten if it is the cycle of generation
that brings it, nor will it be the primordial cause of everything if
itself be co-ordinated with some things by reason of other causes.
These statements are thus unworthy both of thought about the
gods, and are alien to what is accomplished in theurgy. But such
a line of inquiry falls into the same error that the many also expe-
rience concerning the creation of the universe and of providence.
For not being able to learn what their nature is, and excluding any
concern for human beings and or thought about them when deal-
ing with the gods, they remove from them all providential care
and creativeness. In the same way, then, as we are accustomed to
meet these arguments by declaring that the divine mode of cre-
ation and guardianship is quite different, and that we should not,
just because of our ignorance, reject it entirely as not even exist-
ing from the beginning, so likewise, in response to you, one may
reasonably advance the view that all foreknowledge and execution
of eternal works are divine works, not accomplished by necessity
or by other human causes, but by reason of such as the gods alone
know.

20 Passing on from these points, then, may we reasonably
accept the second explanation advanced by you concerning these
matters, that "the soul both speaks and imagines these things,
and that they are conditions of it which have been produced by
small sparks?"²²² But neither is this according to nature, nor is
it reasonable to understand the situation in this way. For ev-
erything that happens arises from a specific cause, and what is

²²¹ On the human being as a "toy," see Plato, *Leg.* 1.644d-e; 8.804b;
Plotinus, *Enn.* 3.2.15.

²²² For μικρὰ αἰθύγματα cf. III.21.150.15 below, and cf. perhaps Plato,
Leg. 3.677b2.

ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγενοῦς ἀποτελεῖται, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἔργον οὔτε αὐτόματόν ἐστιν 5
(ἀνάτιον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ οὐ πάντως τεταγμένον), οὔτε ἀπ' ἀνθρω-
πίνης αἰτίας ἀπογεννᾶται· ἀλλότριον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὑποδεέστερον, τὸ
δὲ τελειότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀτελοῦς οὐκ ἔχει δύναμιν παραγέσθαι. Πάντα ἄρα
ἀπὸ θείας αἰτίας ἀποβλαστάνει τὰ προσόμοια αὐτῇ ἔργα φυόμενα. Ἡ γὰρ
ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ κατέχεται ὑφ' ἐνὸς εἶδους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος παντα- 10
χόθεν ἐπισκοτεῖται· ὅπερ εἴτε Ἀμέλητα ποταμὸν εἴτε Λήθης ὕδωρ εἴτε
ἄγνοιαν καὶ παραφροσύνην εἴτε διὰ παθῶν δεσμὸν εἴτε ζωῆς στέρησιν εἴτε
ἄλλο τι τῶν κακῶν ἐπονομάσειεν, οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπαξίως εὖροι τὴν ἀτολίαν
αὐτοῦ προσονομάσαι. Πότε οὖν ὑπὸ τοιοῦτου εἰργμοῦ | κατεχομένη ἱκανή 1
ποτε ἂν γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἐνέργειαν, οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδαμῶς τοῦτο
εὐλογον ὑπολαμβάνειν.

Εἰ γὰρ πού τι καὶ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι δυνατοὶ ποιεῖν τῷ μετέχειν καὶ
καταλάμπεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν, τούτῳ μόνῳ καὶ τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας ἀπο- 5
λαύομεν. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἡ τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχουσα ἀρετὴν καὶ φρόνησιν ψυχῇ,
αὕτη καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἔργων μετέχει· καίτοι εἰ ψυχῆς ἦν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα,
ἡ πᾶσα ἂν αὐτὰ ψυχῇ ἀπειργάζετο, ἡ μόνῃ ἡ τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχουσα τελειό-
τητα· νῦν δὲ οὐδετέρω αὐτῶν ἱκανῶς εἰς τοῦτο παρεσκευάσται· ἀλλὰ καὶ 10
ἡ τελεία ὡς πρὸς τὴν θεῖαν ἐνέργειάν ἐστιν ἀτελής. Ἄλλη ἄρα ἡ θεοουρ-
γὸς ἐστὶν ἐνέργεια, καὶ παρὰ μόνων θεῶν ἡ τῶν θεῶν ἔργων ἐνδίδεται
κατόρθωσις, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐχρῆν ὅλως τῇ θεραπείᾳ τῶν θεῶν χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ
τούτῳ γε τῷ λόγῳ ἄνευ τῆς θρησκείας παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἂν ἡμῖν ὑπῆρξε τὰ
θεῖα ἀγαθὰ. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μανιώδη τὰ δοξάσματα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνόητα, ἀφίστα- 1
σθαι χρὴ καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑπονοίας, ὡς αἰτίαν | παρεχομένης ἀξιώλογον
πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἔργων ἀποπλήρωσιν.

21 Μήποτε οὖν ὁ τρίτον προσέθηκας ἐστὶν ἀληθέστερον, ὥς ἄρα
μικτόν τι γίνεταί ὑποστάσεως εἶδος ἐξ ἡμῶν τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἔξωθεν
θείας ἐπιπνοίας. Ὅρα δὴ οὖν αὐτὸ ἀκριβέστερον, μή ποι λάθωμεν παρ' 5
αὐτοῦ παραποδισθέντες καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φαινομένης εὐπρεπειας. Εἰ γὰρ
πού τι ἐκ δυοῖν ἐν ἀποτελοῖτο, ὁμοειδὲς τοῦτο καὶ ὁμοφνὲς πᾶν ἐστὶ καὶ

kindred is produced by that which is kindred, but the divine work
is neither accidental (for such is without a cause, and not at all or-
dered) nor is it produced by a human cause. For this is alien to
it, and subordinate; and that which is more perfect has no abil-
ity to be produced by that which is imperfect. All things, then,
that spring from a divine cause are works that are naturally akin
to it. For the human soul is held fast by a single form, and is ob-
scured by the body on every side; and this condition, whether it
be called the river of Forgetfulness or the water of Lethe,²²³ or
“ignorance” or “madness” or “bondage through excessive emo-
tions” or “deficiency of life,” or any other evil thing one might
name, one would still not find the right word for its strangeness.
How, then, when detained in such a prison, the soul should ever
become adequate for such an activity can in no way reasonably be
accounted for.

For if we seem actually able to act by participating in, and
being enlightened by the gods, it is to this extent alone that we
have the benefit of the divine energy. Because of this, it is not in-
sofar as it has its proper excellence and wisdom that the soul itself
shares in divine works; and yet if such works were of the soul, ei-
ther every soul would accomplish them, or only that one which
possesses its proper perfection. But as it is, neither of them is
able to take on this role. On the contrary, so far as concerns the
divine perfection, even the perfect soul is incomplete. So, then,
theurgic activity is something different, and the successful accom-
plishment of divine works is granted only by the gods. Indeed,
otherwise it would not be necessary to perform the service of the
gods at all; but on this reasoning, without any such worship, we
would possess divine goods intrinsically from our own resources.
But since these opinions are insane or senseless, we must discard
such a supposition as providing any cause worthy of mention for
the fulfilment of divine works.

21 Perhaps, then, what you have put forth third is more
true, that “there comes into being a mixed form of substance from
our soul and from an exterior divine inspiration.” Look at this,
then, more critically, lest being entangled by its apparent plau-
sibility, we find ourselves, all unawares, entangled by it. For if
somehow some one thing comes to be from two, this is entirely of

[148].5 ἐστὶν cj. Gale: ἔσται VM || 10 κατέχεται cj. Gale: καταδέχεται
VM || 14 εἰργμοῦ VM: εἰρμού cj. B || [149].4 μετέχειν M et (tert. e p. n., ei
s. v.) V^r: μετέχεν V || 10 ἀτελής M et (η supra alt. e) V²: ἀτελής V || 13 γε
V: om. M || 14-15 ἀφίστασθαι cj. B⁵: ἀφιστάναι (acc. et vai s. v.) V² ἀφίστα
V ἀφι... M (lac. 3 ll.)

²²³ See Plato, *Resp.* 10.621a5.

δμοούσιον· οὕτω τὰ στοιχεῖα συνερχόμενα εἰς ταὐτὸ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐν τι ἀπεργάζεται, καὶ ψυχαὶ πλείονες εἰς ψυχὴν μίαν τὴν ὅλην συμμίσγνυνται. Οὐ μέντοι τὸ παντελῶς ἐξηρημένον πρὸς τὸ ἐκβεβηκὸς ἑαυτοῦ γένοιτο ἂν πο- 10 τε ἐν, οὐδὲ ψυχὴ τοίνυν μετὰ τῆς θείας ἐπιπνοίας ἐν τι ποιεῖ ὑποστάσεως εἶδος. Εἰ γὰρ ἁμικτόν ἐστι τὸ θεῖον, οὐδ' ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς αὐτὸ συμμίσγνυται· καὶ εἰ ἀμετάβλητον ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τῆς συγκράσεως εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπλοῦ μεταβληθῇ.

[151] Πρότερον μὲν οὖν μικρὰ αἰθύγματα ἀνεγείρειν ἐνόμιζόν τινες καὶ 1 θεία ἐν ἡμῖν εἶδη, ἅπερ, εἴτε φυσικὰ εἴτε ἄλλως ὅπως οὖν ἦν σωματοειδῆ, ἀδύνατα δῆπουθεν ἦν ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων εἰς τὰ θεία μεθίστασθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποφαίνονται συναιτίαν τῆς θείας συγκράσεως, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἰσάξιος γίγνεται τοῖς θεοῖς, δίδωσί τε αὐτοῖς τι μόριον καὶ 5 ἐν τῷ μέρει δέχεται ἀπ' ἐκείνων, μέτρα τε τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἐπιθήσει καὶ αὐτῇ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ὁρισθήσεται· ὁ δὲ δεινότατον ὧν λέγουσί τινες, ὅτι καὶ ἐν στοιχείων τάξει οἱ θεοὶ προηγούμενοι ἐνυπάρξουσιν τοῖς ἀποτελουμένοις ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἔσται τι παραγόμενον ἀπὸ χρόνου καὶ τῆς κατὰ χρόνον 10 συμμίξεως ὃ περιέχει τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν ἑαυτῷ. Τί δὲ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ σύμμικτον τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἶδος; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ συναμφοτέρων, οὐκ ἔσται ἐν ἐκ δυοῖν ἀλλὰ σύνθετόν τι καὶ συμπεφορημένον ἀπὸ τῶν δυοῖν· εἰ δ' ὡς ἕτερον ἀμφοῖν, μετέβλητα ἔσται τὰ αἰδία, καὶ τὰ θεία τῶν ἐν τῇ γε- 1 νέσει φυσικῶν οὐδὲν διοίσει· καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἄτοπον μὲν ἔσται αἰδίων 1 φνόμενον διὰ γενέσεως, ἀτοπώτερον δὲ τι διαλυθήσεται ἐξ αἰδίων ὑφεστηκός. Οὐδαμῶς ἄρα οὐδὲ ἡ τοιαύτη δόξα περὶ τῆς μαντείας ἔχει τινὰ λόγον. Νοήσωμεν δ' ἔτι καὶ τὴν παρὰ δόξον ταύτην ὑπόληψιν, εἴτε μίαν 5 τις αὐτὴν θεῖη εἴτε δύο.

22 Λέγεις τοίνυν ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ γεννᾷ δύναμιν φανταστικὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος διὰ τοιούτων κινήματων, ἢ τὰ προσαγόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης ὑφίστη- 5 σι διὰ τῶν ἐνουσῶν δυνάμεων δαίμονας, καὶ μάλιστα ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων

[150].8 συνερχόμενα cj. B: συνεχόμενα VM || 9 συμμίσγνυται VM: συμπλήγγνυνται cj. B || 11 ὑποστάσεως εἶδος V: εἶδος ὑποστάσεως M || [151].3 μεθίστασθαι cj. B: μεθιστάναι (ους p. n., ἀναι s. v.) V² μεθίστους VM || 5 ἰσάξιος (ω et acc. cancell., ο s. v.) V²: ἰσαξίως VM || 12 συμπεφορημένον] συμπεφυρμένον cj. i. m. B³ | εἰ M: εἰς V || [152].1 γιγνόμενον cj. B: γενόμενον VM | ἄτοπον cj. B: ἀτόπως (ν p. n., σ s. v.) V² ἀτόπων VM || 7 ἢ VM: ἢ i. m. V²

the same form, and of the same nature, and of the same essence. So the elements coming together produce from many one specific thing, and many souls are joined together to form one all-soul.²²⁴ Nevertheless, anything which is completely transcendent cannot become one with that which has gone forth from itself; nor may the soul then produce some one form of substance in communion with the divine inspiration. For if the divine is unmixed, not even is the soul mixed with it; and if it is unchangeable, it would not be transformed from something simple into a compound.

But formerly some believed that "small sparks" roused in us divine forms which, being either natural or in some other fashion corporeal, obviously cannot be transformed from things of everyday chance to things divine. In the present case, to be sure, they declare the soul is a joint cause of the divine mixture, and it is clear that (on this theory) it becomes equal in worth to the gods, and gives to them a constituent part of itself, and in turn receives something from them, and it also imposes measures upon the superior beings, and is itself limited by them.

But most repellent of what some people say is that the gods, in spite of their precedence, exist in the manner of elements in those things which are produced by themselves, and that there will be something born from time and from a mixture taking place in time which includes the gods in itself. But what indeed is this mixed form of substance? For if it is a complex of both, it will not be one from two, but something composite and constructed from both. But if as an entity other than the two, the eternal things will be changeable, and divine things will not at all differ from physical things in creation. And it will be absurd that an eternal being should be formed through becoming, but more absurd still is the idea that anything consisting of things eternal will be dissolved. By no means, then, has such an opinion about divination any basis. But let us go on to consider the following paradoxical notion, whether one considers it one or two.

22 You say, then, that "the soul generates an imaginative power of the future through such movements," or that "the soul, by means of its inherent powers, shapes the products derived from

²²⁴ An interesting allusion to Plotinus's all-soul; see e.g. *Enn.* 4.3.1-2.

εἰλημμένη. Δοκεῖ δέ μοι ταῦτα δεινὴν παρανομίαν ἐμφαίνειν εἰς ὅλην τὴν
 θεολογίαν τε καὶ τὴν θεωρητικὴν ἐνέργειαν· ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἄτοπον πρῶτον 10
 καταφαίνεται, εἰ γεννητοὶ εἰσι καὶ φθαρτοὶ οἱ δαίμονες· ἕτερον δὲ τούτου
 δεινότερον, εἰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστέρων ἑαυτῶν παράγονται πρότεροι αὐτῶν ὄντες·
 ψυχῆς γὰρ δήπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τοῖς σώμασι δυνάμεων προῦφυστήκασιν οἱ
 [153] δαίμονες. Πρὸς τούτοις πῶς δύναται τὰ τῆς | μεριστῆς ψυχῆς ἐν σώμα- 1
 τι κατεχομένης ἐνεργήματα εἰς οὐσίαν καθίστασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα χωριστὰ
 εἶναι ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς καθ' ἑαυτά; ἢ πῶς αἱ περὶ τοῖς σώμασι δυνάμεις
 ἀφίστανται τῶν σωμάτων, καίτοι ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τὸ εἶναι ἔχουσιν; τίς
 δὲ δὴ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπολύων αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῆς σωματικῆς συστάσεως καὶ μετὰ τὴν 5
 διάλυσιν συνάγων πάλιν εἰς μίαν σύνοδον; ἔσται γὰρ οὕτω προὑπάρχων
 ὁ τοιοῦτος δαίμων πρὸ τοῦ ὑποστῆναι· ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰς κοινὰς ἀπορίας ὁ
 λόγος· πῶς γὰρ δήποτε ἀπὸ τῶν μὴ ἐχόντων μαντικὴν μαντικὴ φύεται,
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μὴ ἐχόντων ψυχὴν σωμάτων ψυχὴ ἀπογεννᾶται; ἢ τὸ ὅλον
 φάναι πῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτελεστέρων τελειότερα παράγεται; καὶ ὁ τρόπος δὲ 10
 τῆς παραγωγῆς φαίνεται μοι ἀδύνατος· τὸ γὰρ διὰ κινήματων τῆς ψυχῆς
 καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι δυνάμεων παράγεσθαι οὐσίαν, ἀδύνατον. Ἀπὸ
 γὰρ τῶν μὴ ἐχόντων οὐσίαν οὐσία οὐχ ὅλα τέ ἐστιν ἀποτελεῖσθαι.

Πόθεν δὲ καὶ φανταστικὴ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίγνεται; παρὰ τίνος λα-
 [154] βούσα τὸ μαντικόν; ὁρῶμεν γὰρ δήπου | τῶν ἐνσπειρομένων διὰ γενέσεως 1
 οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε πλείονός τινος μεταλαμβάνον ἢ ὅσον δίδεται αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 πρῶτως αὐτὸ ἀπογεννῶντος. Τὸ δ' ἔοικε προσθήκην τινὰ περιττοτέραν
 παραδέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος· εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις λέγοι τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων
 ὕλη τοὺς δαίμονας ἐπιβεβηκέναι, προσαγομένην δ' αὐτῇ συμπαθῶς πρὸς 5

[152].11 γεννητοὶ scr. B: γενητοὶ VM || [153].5 μετὰ τὴν cj. Westerink:
 σώματι τὴν VM σωματικὴν (τὴν cancell., κλῆν i. m.) V² || 12 οὐσίαν VM: οὐσία
 i. m. V^c || [154].2 μεταλαμβάνον scripsi: μεταλαμβάνοντος VM || 3 αὐτὸ
 scripsi: ἑαυτὸ VM || 5 προσαγομένη... αὐτῇ VM: προσαγομένης... αὐτῆς cj.
 Gale

matter into daemons, especially when the matter is taken from liv-
 ing beings.”²²⁵ These views seem to me to display an appalling
 disregard both for all theology and for theurgic activity. For one
 absurdity appears from the outset, if daemons are deemed to be
 created and perishable; another even more appalling absurdity is
 if they are created, as beings that are prior, from entities posterior
 to themselves; for certainly the daemons exist prior to both soul
 and bodily powers. Moreover, how is it possible that the activities
 of a divisible soul, held fast in a body, could be transformed into
 essence and exist separately by themselves, outside of the soul? Or
 how may the powers of bodies, although they have their existence
 in bodies, be detached from bodies? Who, then, is it that frees
 them from their corporeal state and, after their dissolution, brings
 them back again to unity? For thus a daemon of such a charac-
 ter will exist prior to its own creation. Your reasoning also has
 general difficulties. For how, I ask, can divination be produced
 from things without a power of divination, and how may a soul
 be created from bodies without a soul? Or how, speaking gener-
 ally, are things more perfect created from those less perfect? Even
 their manner of production appears impossible to me. For it is
 impossible that real being could be produced through the soul's
 movements and through powers in their bodies. For from things
 not having real being, real being cannot be produced.

From whence indeed arises the power to imagine the fu-
 ture? From what does it receive the power of divination? For we
 doubtless see that among the things sown by generation nothing
 ever has more than that given to it by its first generator. But it
 seems rather that the imaginative faculty receives a certain addi-
 tional supplement arisen from what has no being, unless one is to
 say that daemons get a foothold on matter from (sacrificed) ani-
 mals; and that they are moved sympathetically²²⁶ towards it when

²²⁵ This is extremely odd. Porphyry's suggestion, as becomes clearer
 in the following lines, is that humans may actually *create* daemonic forces;
 we learn later in III.28 that some unscrupulous magicians used to create
 daemonic images using material substances, a process called εἰδωλοποιητικὴ
 τέχνη (“image-making”), of which “Abamon” strongly disapproved. See esp.
 III.28.168.

²²⁶ Iamblichus was not a little cautious of the notion of συμπάθεια, not
 least because Plotinus and Porphyry attributed the effectiveness of theurgy
 solely to a process of automatic response. See Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.4.26.3-4;

αὐτὴν κινεῖσθαι. Οὐκοῦν κατὰ γε ταύτην τὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἀπογεννῶνται οἱ δαίμονες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι δυνάμεων, προηγούμενοι δ' αὐτῶν καὶ προϋπάρχοντες συγκινεῶνται αὐταῖς ὁμοειδῶς. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ οὕτως εἰσὶ συμπαθεῖς, οὐχ ὁρῶ τίνα τρόπον εἰσονται τι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀληθές. Οὐ γὰρ συμπαθοῦς δυνάμεως οὐδ' ἐνύλον καὶ κατεχομένης ἔν τινι τόπῳ καὶ σώματι τὸ προγιγνώσκειν τε καὶ προμηνύειν τὸ μέλλον, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον τῆς ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων ἀπολελυμένης. Καὶ αὕτη δὴ οὖν ἡ δόξα τοιαύτας ἐχέτω τὰς εὐθύνas.

[155] | 23 Αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῇδε ἐπιστάσεις ἀνάγονται μὲν εὐθὺς ὡς διαστάζουσai περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς μαντείας, προϊοῦσαι δ' ἀνατρέπειν αὐτὴν παντελῶς ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Διελῶμεθα οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν λόγον πρὸς ἀμφοτέρωτα ταῦτα. Ἀρξώμεθα δὲ διαλύειν πρῶτον τὰ πρότερα· κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς ὕπνους μηδὲν πραγματευσάμενοι ἐνίστε τῷ μέλλοντι ἐπιβάλλομεν, 5 καὶ πραγματευσάμενοι πολλάκις οὐκ ἐπιβάλλομεν. Οὐχ ὅτι ἐξ ἡμῶν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον τῆς μαντικῆς· ἐφ' ὧν γὰρ ὥριται τὸ ἀφ' ἡμῶν προκατάρχον καὶ συνεπόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν σύνταξιν τε ταῦτα συμπλεκόμενῃ ἔχει πρὸς ἄλληλα, ὥρισμένως ἐπὶ τούτων τὰ ἔργα ἐπιτελεῖται, καὶ συνέπεται τοῖς προηγούμενοις τὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ συνηρημένα· ὅταν δ' 10 ἀπολελυμένον ᾗ τὸ αἴτιον καθ' ἑαυτὸ προϋπάρχον, οὐχ ὥριται τὸ τέλος ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκτός κεῖται. Καὶ νῦν οὖν τὸ μὴ πάντως τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔργοις συντρέχειν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀνείροις ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐλλάμπειν, ἔξωθεν τε δείκνυσιν ἀπὸ θεῶν οὖσαν τὴν [156] μαντείαν | καὶ ταύτην αὐτεξούσιον ὅταν βούληται καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐθέλῃ μετ' εὐμενείας τὸ μέλλον ἀναφαίνουσιν.

24 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτον ἐχέτω τὸν ἀπολογισμόν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα πειρώμενος τὸν τρόπον διερμηνεύειν τῆς μαντικῆς, ἀναιρεῖς

it is brought near to them. Therefore according to this opinion the daemons are not generated from the powers in bodies, but while preceding and existing before them, they are moved along with them through specific similarity. But even assuming that they are ever so subject to the influence of sympathy, I do not see in what way they will know anything true about the future. For foreknowledge and forecasting are not the province of a power exerting sympathetic influence or of something enmeshed in matter and held fast in a specific place and body, but, on the contrary it is characteristic of a power that is freed from all these. And let that be a corrective to this opinion of yours.

23 At first sight, the difficulties brought up immediately after this express doubt about the manner of divination; but as they proceed, they tend to overthrow divination entirely. Let us, then, divide our response in accord with both tendencies. And let us begin by resolving the first of these difficulties: for, you say, "in sleep, when not busying themselves with things, one sometimes apprehends the future, and often again when we are busied, we do not apprehend it." Not that the cause of divination comes either from us or from the outside world. For in those cases where the source of divination as determined by us, and that which accompanies it from without have an arrangement linked with one another, they act on the basis of these, occur in due fashion, and follow the causes which precede them, being knit together to one another. But when the cause is free and enjoys pre-existence by itself, the end is not determined by us, and everything depends upon things exterior. Now, as things are, the fact that the truth in our dreams does not wholly concur with our actions, and often shines forth from itself, shows that divination comes from without, for it is from the gods, and that this is in its own power whenever it desires, and that as it wishes, it reveals the future with good will.²²⁷

24 Let these matters, then, have such a reasoned response. But later, when trying to interpret the manner of divination, you

4.4.38-45; Porphyry, *Aneb.* 2.5d; 18d Sodano, refuted by "Abamon" below at III.26-27; cf. V.7.208-V.9.210; X.3.287-288. "Abamon" argues later that such powers of nature are exploited only by magicians, who operate solely περὶ τὴν φύσιν (IX.2.273.11) and make things happen according to "a certain necessary sympathy" (διὰ τινος συμπαθοῦς ἀνάγκης, VI.4.244.9-10).

²²⁷ Cf. above III.2-3.

[154].11 τε scripsi: δὲ VM μὲν cj. Gale || [155].12 πᾶν M: περὶ V πέρας i. m. V² || [156].2 ἀναφαίνουσιν cj. Gale: ἀναφαίνουσα VM || 4 διερμηνεύει (alt. v s. v.) V¹M^c: διερμηνεύει VM