PLOTINUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY A. H. ARMSTRONG

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IN SEVEN VOLUMES

IV

ENNEADS IV. 1-9



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PREFACE

TO LOEB PLOTINUS IV-V

The text of these volumes, except in a few places, is that of the second volume of the revised editio minor of Henry and Schwyzer, Plotini Opera II Oxford Classical Texts, 1977. The editors, translator, and publishers have agreed that somewhat fuller critical notes should be appended to the Greek text than in the first three volumes of the Loeb Plotinus. These critical notes show clearly all places where the printed text departs from the manuscripts and all places where the text of these volumes differs from that of the Oxford Plotinus (H-S2): as a result of the extensive critical revision of the text of their first edition which the editors undertook in the preparation of the Oxford text, and in which the translator to a modest degree participated (hence the use of the first person plural in the notes where the changes are agreed by all), these latter are very few (26 in the Fourth Ennead, 7 in the Fifth). A number of them are corrections adopted by the editors after the publication of the Oxford Plotinus II and recorded in Addenda et Corrigenda ad Textum et Apparatum Lectionum in III (1982) pp. 304-325.

A word of explanation and apology is due to the reader for the long interval between the publication of the first three volumes and that of these two. The translator's work was completed (except for

PREFACE

minor corrections and revisions) in 1976: but as the result of the agreement between the Oxford University Press and the Loeb Classics the volumes could not have been published with the Greek text before 1979. The subsequent delay was due to the financial stringencies which beset all academic publishing at the present time.

A. H. Armstrong.

SIGLA

A = Laurentianus 87, 3.

A' = Codicis A primus corrector.

E = Parisinus Gr. 1976.B = Laurentianus 85, 15.

R = Vaticanus Reginensis Gr. 97.

J = Parisinus Gr. 2082.

U = Vaticanus Urbinas Cr. 62.

S = Berolinensis Gr. 375.

N = Monacensis Gr. 215.

M = Marcianus Gr. 240.

C = Monacensis Gr. 449.

V = Vindobonensis philosophicus Gr. 226.

Q = Marcianus Gr. 242.

L = Ambrosianus Gr. 667.

D = Marcianus Gr. 209.

w = AE

x = BRJ

y = USM

z = QL

Enn.a = wxUC

 $Enn.b = A^{lmg}xUC$

mg - in margine

ac = ante correctionem

pc = post correctionem

* = consensus editorum sequentium cum editore nominato

ital. = cod. vel ed. Eusebii

H-S 1 - Henry-Schwyzer, editio maior

H-S² = Henry-Schwyzer, editio minor (= OCT)

B-T = Beutler-Theiler

 $Dodds = CQ \ 28 \ (1934) \ 47-53$

IV. 1 [2]. ON THE ESSENCE OF THE SOUL I

Introductory Note

This little work is placed first in the Fourth Ennead by most MSS, and this order is confirmed by Porphyry in his account of his edition (Life ch. 25, see vol. I p. 78 ff.) and by the Pinax (table of contents: see p. 3). Fixino and the editio princeps, with the later editors, however, place it second, after the little detached note (IV. 2 [1]) which here follows it. Henry and Schwyzer print it first, but continue to number it IV. 2. It seemed to me slightly less illogical to print it first and number it IV. 1, while retaining the original numbering of the printed editions in brackets.

IV. 1 [2]. (4) ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

1. Τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσίαν τίς ποτέ ἐστι ζητοῦντες σωμα οὐδεν αὐτην δείξαντες είναι, οὐδ' εν ἀσωμάτοις αδ άρμονίαν, τό τε της έντελεχείας ούτε άληθὸς οὕτως, ώς λέγεται, οὕτε δηλωτικόν ὂν τοῦ 5 τί ἐστιν ἀφέντες, καὶ μὴν τῆς νοητῆς φύσεως εἰπόντες καὶ τῆς θείας μοίρας εἶναι τάχα μὲν ἄν τι σαφες είρηκότες είημεν περί της οὐσίας αὐτης. όμως γε μην προσωτέρω χωρείν βέλτιον τότε μέν οὖν διηροῦμεν αἰσθητῆ καὶ νοητῆ φύσει διαστελλόμενοι, εν τῷ νοητῷ τὴν ψυχὴν τιθέμενοι. 10 νῦν δὲ κείσθω μὲν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ· κατ' ἄλλην δὲ όδον το προσεχές της φύσεως αὐτης μεταδιώκωμεν. λέγωμεν δή τὰ μὸν πρώτως είναι μεριστά καὶ τῆ αύτων φύσει σκεδαστά· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι, ὧν οὐδὲν μέρος ταὐτόν ζοτιν οὔτε ἄλλφ μέρει οὔτε τῷ ὅλω, τό τε μέρος αὐτῶν ἔλαττον εἶναι δεῖ τοῦ παντὸς 15 καὶ ὅλου. ταῦτα δέ ἐστι τὰ αἰσθητὰ μεγέθη καὶ όγκοι, ὧν έκαστον ἴδιον τόπον ἔχει, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄμα ταὐτὸν ἐν πλείοσι τόποις εἶναι. ἡ δέ ἐστιν

IV. 1 [2]. ON THE ESSENCE OF THE SOUL I

1. In our enquiry into what the soul's essential being is, we have shown that it is not any body, and, again, that in the class of bodiless things it is not a harmony; we have abandoned the concept of entelechy, which is not true in the sense in which it is stated and does not make clear what the soul is; and certainly, when we said that the soul belongs to the intelligible nature and the divine order, we did perhaps manage to say something exact about its essential being. But all the same, it would really be better to go further: for then we were dividing and defining things by their perceptible or intelligible nature, and putting the soul in the intelligible class. But now, let it remain in the intelligible, but we will follow another route in our attempt to track down the particularity of its nature. Let us state that there are some things which are primarily divisible and by their very nature liable to dispersion: these are the things no part of which is the same as either another part or the whole, and the part of which must necessarily be less than the all and whole. These are the perceptible sizes and masses, which each have their own place, and it is not possible for the same one to

mony; ch. 8⁵ that it is not an Aristotelian entelechy; chs. 9–12 expound Plotinus's own view as stated in the text.

 $^{^1}$ The references back are to IV. 7 (2). Chs. 1–83 demonstrate that the soul is not a body; ch. 84 that it is not a har-8

ON THE ESSENCE OF THE SOUL I

be in several places at once. But there is another kind of being, opposed to this one, which in no way admits division, is without parts and cannot be divided into parts: it does not admit any extension, even in our thought about it: it has no need of place, and is not in any other being either part-wise or wholewise; it rides, so to speak, on all beings at once, not so as to make them its basis, but because the other things cannot exist without it and do not want to; it is real being always in the same state, common to all that come after it like the centre in the circle, to which all the lines which extend to the circumference are attached but none the less let it remain in itself. and have from it their origin and their being, and participate in the point, and their principle is what is without parts; in proceeding from it they attached themselves to that central point. There is, then, this primarily indivisible being which dominates in the intelligible and among real beings, and there is also that other in the perceptible world which is altogether divisible; and, bordering on the perceptible, and rather near it, and in it, there is another nature which is not primarily divisible, like bodies, but all the same does become divisible in bodies; so that when bodies are divided, the form in them is divided too, but is a whole in each of the divided parts, becoming many and remaining the same, when each of the parts is completely separated from another part, since it is completely divisible: like colours and all qualities and every shape, which can be at the same time in many separate things, while having no part which is affected in the same way in which another part is affected: and therefore this too must be affirmed to be in every way divisible. But

PLOTINUS: ENNEAD IV. 1.

πρὸς δ' αὖ ἐκείνη τῆ ἀμερίστω πάντη φύσει ἄλλη έξης οὐσία ἀπ' ἐκείνης οὖσα, ἔχουσα μὲν τὸ αμέριστον απ' ἐκείνης, προόδω δὲ τῆ απ' αὐτῆς 45 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν σπεύδουσα φύσιν εἰς μέσον ἀμφοῖν κατέστη, τοῦ τε άμερίστου καὶ πρώτου καὶ τοῦ περί τὰ σώματα μεριστοῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ούν όντινα τρόπον χρόα καὶ ποιότης πάσα πολλαχοῦ μέν ἐστιν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐν πολλοῖς σωμάτων ὄγκοις, άλλ' ἔστι τὸ ἐν ἑκάστω ἀφεστως τοῦ ἐτέρου πάντη, 50 καθόσον καὶ ὁ ἄγκος τοῦ ἄγκου ἀπέστη καν τὸ μέγεθος δὲ εν ἢ, ἀλλὰ τό γε ἐφ' ἐκάστω μέρει ταθτόν κοινωνίαν οθδεμίαν είς δμοπάθειαν έχει, ότι τὸ ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ἔτερον, τὸ δ' ἔτερόν ἐστι· πάθημα γὰρ τὸ ταὐτόν, οὐκ οὐσία ἡ αὐτή. ἡν δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτη τῆ φύσει φαμέν είναι τῆ ἀμερίστω προσ-55 χωροῦσαν οὐσία, οὐσία τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐγγίγνεται σώμασιν, περί α καὶ μερίζεσθαι αὐτῆ συμβαίνει οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο πασχούση, πρὶν σώμασιν έαυτὴν δοθναι. ἐν οἷς οὖν γίγνεται σώμασι, κἂν ἐν τῷ μεγίστω γίγνηται καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα διεστηκότι, δοῦσ' ἐαυτὴν τῷ ὅλῳ οὐκ ἀφίσταται τοῦ εἶναι μία. 60 οὐχ οὕτως, ὡς τὸ σῶμα ἔν· τῷ γὰρ συνεχεῖ τὸ σῶμα έν, εκαστον δὲ τῶν μερῶν ἄλλο, τὸ δ' ἄλλο καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ. οὐδ' ὡς ποιότης μία. ἡ δ' ὁμοῦ μεριστή τε καὶ ἀμέριστος φύσις, ἣν δὴ ψυχὴν είναι φαμεν, ούν ούτως ώς το συνεχές μία, μέρος 65 ἄλλο, τὸ δ' ἄλλο ἔχουσα· ἀλλὰ μεριστὴ μέν, ὅτι

ON THE ESSENCE OF THE SOUL I

again, next to that altogether indivisible nature there is another reality following upon it and deriving from it, having indivisibility from that other nature, which pressing eagerly on in its progress from the one to the other nature, established itself in the middle between the two, the indivisible and primary and the "divisible which is in the sphere of bodies", which is upon bodies: [it does] not [behave] in the same way in which every colour and quality is the same in many places and many bodily masses, but the quality or colour in one mass is totally separate from that in the other, just as much as one mass is separate from the other; and even if the magnitude is one, vet what is the same in each part has no community [with any other] leading to a common experience, because this "same" is one thing here, another there: for what is the same is an affection, not the same substance. But the reality which we affirm to be immediately above this nature [of the forms in body], and bordering on the indivisible reality, is substance and becomes present in bodies, and it happens to become divided in the sphere of bodies, though it was not affected in this way before it gave itself to bodies. In any bodies, therefore, which it enters, even if it enters the largest of all and that which is universally extended, by giving itself to the whole it does not abandon its unity. It is not one in the sense in which body is one; for body is one by continuity, but its parts are different from each other and in different places. And it is not one in the way in which quality is, either. But the nature at once divisible and indivisible which we affirm to be soul is not one in the way in which the continuous is, having different parts; but it is divisible in that it

δέξασθαι· ώστε είναι των σωμάτων πάθημα τὸν

μερισμόν, οὐκ αὐτῆς.

2. "Οτι δε τοιαύτην έδει την ψυχης φύσιν είναι, καὶ τὸ παρὰ ταύτην οὐχ οἶόν τε εἶναι ψυχὴν οὔτε αμέριστον οὖσαν μόνον οὕτε μόνον μεριστήν, άλλ' ἀνάγκη ἄμφω τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον είναι, ἐκ τῶνδε 5 δηλον. εἶτε γὰρ οὕτως ἦν, ώς τὰ σώματα, ἄλλο, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἔχουσα μέρος, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ ἑτέρου παθόντος τὸ ἔτερον μέρος εἰς αἴσθησιν ἦλθε τοῦ παθόντος, άλλ' ἐκείνη ἂν ή ψυχή, οδον ή περὶ τὸν δάκτυλον, ώς έτέρα και έφ' έαυτης οδσα ήσθετο τοῦ παθήματος πολλαί γε όλως ήσαν ψυχαι αί 10 διοικοῦσαι ἔκαστον ἡμῶν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ πᾶν τόδε οὐ μία, ἀλλὰ ἄπειροι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων. τὸ γὰρ τῆς συνεχείας, εί μη είς εν συντελοί, μάταιον οὐ γάρ δή ὅπερ ἀπατῶντες έαυτοὺς λέγουσιν, ὡς διαδόσει

is in all the parts of that in which it is, but indivisible in that it is present in all the parts of it as a whole and in any one part as a whole. And anyone who clearly sees the greatness of the soul, and clearly sees its power, will know what a divine and wonderful thing it is and that it is one of the natures which transcend the things of this world. It has no size, but is present with every size, and is here and again there, not with a different part of itself but the same: so that it is divided and not divided, or rather it is not itself divided and has not become divided: for it remains whole with itself, but is divided in the sphere of bodies by the peculiar divisibility of bodies, since they are not able to receive it indivisibly; so that the division is an affection of bodies, not of itself.

2. The following arguments make it clear that the soul had to be a nature of this kind, and that there cannot be a soul different from this one which is neither only indivisible nor only divisible, but must be both in the way we have described. For if it was like bodies, having parts different from each other, then when one part was affected the other would not arrive at any perception of the affected part, but it would be that particular soul, the one in the region of the finger, for instance, which would perceive the affection as a soul distinct from the other and on its own: so, speaking generally, there would be many souls directing each one of us, and furthermore it would not be one soul which would direct this universe, but innumerable souls separate from each other. For the talk about continuity, if this does not gather to a unity, is futile: we certainly cannot accept what [the Stoics] say, deceiving themselves,

ON THE ESSENCE OF THE SOUL I

that the perceptions reach the ruling principle by "transmission".1 For, first of all, to say that the ruling principle is a part of the soul is speaking without critical reflection: for how will they divide the soul, and say that one part is different from another. and one is the ruling principle? By what amount of quantity or difference of quality will they distinguish each part, when the mass is one and continuous? And will only the ruling principle perceive, or the other parts also? And if only the ruling principle perceives, and the object of perception comes into contact with the ruling principle itself, in what place will it perceive the object of perception as situated? But if the object comes into contact with another part of the soul, since this part is not naturally adapted to perceive, it will not transmit its affection to the ruling principle, and there will be no perception at all. And if the object comes into contact with the ruling principle itself, it will either come into contact with a part of it, and this will perceive, but the other parts will not any more: there would be no point in their doing so; or there will be many, indefinitely many, perceptions, and they will not all be alike; but one will say "I was affected first" and another, "I perceived another's affection"; but they will every one of them except the first be ignorant of where the affection occurred. Or even per haps each part of the soul will deceive itself by supposing that the affection has occurred there where it is. But if not only the ruling principle, but any other part of the soul as well, is going to have per-

¹ For the Stoic doctrine see Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenia II 441 and 854 and Alexander of Aphrodisias De Anima 41, 5 Bruns.

ἔσται, ήτις όμοῦ τε πάντα περιλαβοῦσα ἔχει καὶ 45 μετὰ φρονήσεως ἄγει, πλήθος μὲν οὖσα, ἐπείπερ πολλὰ τὰ ὄντα, μία δέ, ἵν' ἢ εν τὸ συνέχον, τῷ μὲν πολλῷ αὐτῆς ἐνὶ ζωὴν χορηγοῦσα τοῖς μέρεσι πᾶσι, τῷ δὲ ἀμερίστῳ ἐνὶ φρονίμως ἄγουσα. ἐν οῖς δὲ μὴ φρόνησις, τὸ εν τὸ ἡγούμενον μιμεῖται τοῦτο. τοῦτ' ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ θείως ἠνιγμένον τῆς

50 ἀμερίστου καὶ ἀςὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐχούσης καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ σώματα γιγνομένης μεριστῆς τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν συνεκεράσατο οὐσίας εἶδυς. ἔυτιν οὖν ψυχὴ εν καὶ πολλὰ οὕτως· τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν εἴδη πολλὰ καὶ εν· τὰ δὲ 55 σώματα πολλὰ μόνον· τὸ δ' ὑπέρτατον εν μύνον.

ON THE ESSENCE OF THE SOUL I

ception, why will one part be the ruling principle and the other not? Or why is there any need for the perception to go up to the ruling principle? And how will it know as one the contents of many perceptions, of eyes and ears for instance? But on the other hand, if the soul was altogether one, in the sense of being altogether indivisible and a selfcontained unity, and altogether escaped from multiplicity and divisibility, then nothing which soul took hold upon would ever be ensouled as a whole: but soul would set itself, so to speak, at the centre of each living being and leave the whole mass of it soulless. So then the soul must be in this way both one and many and divided and indivisible, and we must not disbelieve this on the ground that it is impossible for something which is one and the same to be in many places. For if we do not accept this, then the nature which holds together and directs all things will not exist, which encompassing all together holds and directs them with wisdom; it is a multiplicity because the beings of the universe are many, but one, that what holds them together may be one; by its manifold oneness it dispenses life to all the parts, and by its indivisible oneness it directs them wisely. This is the meaning of the divinely inspired riddling saying. "He mixed a third form of being from both, from the indivisible which is always in the same state and that which becomes divisible in the sphere of bodies." So the soul is one and many in this way: the forms in body are many and one; bodies are many only; the Supreme is one only.

 $^{^{1}}$ The reference is $\emph{Timaeus}$ 35A1-4 (a passage repeatedly quoted or referred to in Plotinus's works on the soul).

IV. 2 [1]. (21) ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ Δ EΥΤΕΡΟΝ

'Εν τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ νοητῷ ἡ ἀληθινὴ οὐσία· νοῦς τὸ άριστον αὐτοῦ· ψυχαὶ δὲ κάκεῖ· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ καὶ ένταθθα. κάκείνος ὁ κόσμος ψυχὰς ἄνευ σωμάτων έχει, οὖτος δὲ τὰς ἐν σώμασι γινομένας καὶ 5 μερισθείσας τοις σώμασιν. ἐκει δὲ όμοῦ μὲν νοῦς πᾶς καὶ οὐ διακεκριμένον οὐδὲ μεμερισμένον, δμοῦ δὲ πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ ἐν αἰῶνι τῷ κόσμω, οὐκ ἐν διαστάσει τοπική. νοῦς μὲν οὖν ἀεὶ ἀδιάκριτος καὶ οὐ μεριστός, ψυχή δὲ ἐκεῖ ἀδιάκριτος καὶ ἀμέριστος ἔχει δε φύσιν μερίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μερισμὸς αὐτῆς τὸ 10 ἀποστήναι και έν σώματι γενέσθαι. μεριστή οὖν εἰκότως περὶ τὰ σώματα λέγεται εἶναι, ότι ούτως αφίσταται καὶ μεμέρισται. πως ούν καὶ ἀμέριστος; οὐ γὰρ ὅλη ἀπέστη, ἀλλ' ἔστι τι αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐληλυθός, δ οὐ πέφυκε μερίζεσθαι. τὸ οὖν ἐκτῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ τῆς περὶτὰ σώματα 15 μεριστης ταὐτὸν τῷ ἐκ της ἄνω [καὶ κάτω]1 ούσης 2 καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἐξημμένης, ῥυείσης δὲ μέχρι τῶνδε, οἶον γραμμῆς ἐκ κέντρου. ἐλθοῦσα δὲ ἐνθάδε τούτω τω μέρει ὅρα, ε ὧ 4 καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ

IV. 2 [1]. ON THE ESSENCE OF THE SOUL II

In the intelligible world is true being; Intellect is the best part of it; but souls are There too; for it is because they have come Thence that they are here too. That world has souls without bodies, but this world has the souls which have come to be in bodies and are divided by bodies. There the whole of Intellect is all together and not separated or divided. and all souls are together in the world which is eternity, not in spatial separation. Intellect, then, is always inseparable and indivisible, but soul is inseparable and indivisible There, but it is in its nature to be divided. For its division is departing from Intellect and coming to be in a body. It is therefore properly said to be "divisible in the sphere of bodies" because it departs and is divided in this way. Then how is it also "indivisible"? Because the whole of it did not depart, but there is something of it which did not come [down here] which is not naturally divisible. So then "from the indivisible and that which is divisible in the sphere of bodies" is equivalent to saying that soul is composed of the part which is above and that which is attached to that higher world but has flowed out as far as these parts, like a line from a centre. But when it has come here in this part, see how in this way it preserves in this very part the nature of the whole.

del. Bréhier.

² Enn. ε: ἰρύσης Enn. b, H-S1-2.

³ Igal: δρᾶ Enn.

⁴ Enn. 1, H-S1-2: ως Enn. b, Igal.

PLOTINUS: ENNEAD IV. 2.

μέρει σώζει τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ὅλου. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μύνον μεριστή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμέριστος· τὸ γὰρ
20 μεριζόμενον αὐτῆς ἀμερίστως μερίζεται. εἰς ὅλον
γὰρ τὸ σῶμα δοῦσα αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ μερισθεῖσα τῷ
ὅλη εἰς ὅλον τῷ ἐν παντὶ εἶναι μεμέρισται.

ON THE ESSENCE OF THE SOUL II

For even here it is not only divisible, but also indivisible; for that of it which is divided is indivisibly divided. For it gives itself to the whole body and is not divided in that it gives itself whole to the whole and is divided in that it is present in every part.

IV. 3-5. ON DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE SOUL

Introductory Note

This great work (Nos. 27-29 in the chronological order). rather oddly divided by Porphyry into two major parts (see notes on IV. 3. 32 and IV. 4. 29) with an appendix on seeing (and hearing), belongs to Plotinus's middle period. It was written soon after the treatise on omnipresence (VI. 4-5 [22-23]) and in Porphyry's chronological order immediately follows the treatise on impassibility (III. 6 [26]). In all these treatises Plotinus seems to have been particularly inclined to minimise the distinction between Intellect and Soul and to represent souls at their highest as virtually indistinguishable from intellects. In the great work which immediately follows in the chronological order (divided by Porphyry into III. 8 [30], V. 8 [31], V. 5 [32]. and II. 9 [33]) the distinction between the hypostases is more strongly emphasised. The work consists of a series of very thorough discussions of what seemed to Plotinus to be the main difficulties in the Platonic doctrine of soul as he understood it. It is helpful to us (whose normal philosophical starting-point is very different) in our efforts to understand both the philosophy of Plotinus and late Greek philosophy in general to see how these difficulties arise. In the first place it is important to remember that for Plotinus, as for his Platonist and Stoic predecessors and his Neoplatonic successors, "soul" does not mean only, or primarily, human soul. The physical universe as a whole is a single ensouled living being, and its great parts, the heavenly bodies and the earth, have divine souls

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greatly superior in dignity and power to human ones. The problem therefore arises of the relationship of our souls to the World-Soul, and we should notice that the conclusion of the very careful discussion of this at the beginning of IV. 3 is that we are not parts or products of the World-Soul, but it and our souls and all other souls are parts of the hypostasis Soul, beings, that is, on essentially the same level. The World-Soul is our elder sister, not our mother, and we can rise as high as it and become its fellow-contemplatives and collaborators. Problems also arise and have to be carefully considered about the psychology of the universe as a whole, the heavenly bodies and the earth, about whether they have or need sense-percep-

tion and memory.

We also need to remember that for Plotinus, as for all Platonists, the presence of souls in bodies is something which raises problems and has to be accounted for. The distinctive characteristic of Platonic thinking about the soul is that its activities of pure thought, which seem to be independent of the body, are not considered in any way problematic; it is the soul's presence, activity and experience in the body and the world of the senses which Platonists find in need of explanation. Hence a large part of IV. 3 is devoted to discussing how the soul gets into the body and in what sense it can ever be said to be "in" the body. It does not seem that there is as much difference as has sometimes been maintained between Plotinus's earlier and later views on the descent of souls into bodies, though, as always with him, there are variations of emphasis in different passages. The doctrine at which he eventually arrives in IV. 8 (6) (after a very pessimistic and dualistic beginning) does not appear to be substantially different from that in this treatise or in later writings, e.g. II. 9 (33), I. 4 (46), III. 2-3 (47-8), I. 1 (53). Consistently with this Platonic attitude, Plotinus takes care in his detailed discussions of sense-perception and emotion to maintain a strict body-soul dualism and does his best to show, here as elsewhere, that body cannot really affect soul

(this is particularly stressed in the immediately preceding III. 6 [26]). In the last part of the work (IV. 4. 30-cnd) and in the appendix (IV. 5) the doctrine, already mentioned, that the physical universe is a single living being, is used to solve two different sorts of problem: first, the characteristically late antique problem of how petitionary prayers to the stars and magic spells work; and then, in IV. 5, the problems, much discussed by both ancient and later psychologists, of how we see (and hear) and whether a medium is necessary for this sort of perception at a distance. Both are solved, to the satisfaction of Plotinus, by appealing to the sympathy which unites the parts of the universal living organism.

Readers of the parts of this work which deal with the problems about soul in body are recommended to make continual use of Dr. H. J. Blumenthal's Plotinus' Psychology. His Doctrines of the Embodied Soul (The Hague 1971). Reference has been made to this several times in the notes, but its general helpfulness for understanding this very difficult and complex part of Plotinus's thought cannot be sufficiently indicated by particular references.

Synopsis

IV. 3-4

The investigation of the soul is of central importance: it is an investigation of that which investigates. Let us first consider five arguments of those who consider that our souls are part of the Soul of the All (ch. 1). Detailed discussion and refutation of these arguments (chs. 2–8). The entry of soul into body: how body is made by soul's "going forth" and is contained in soul, which is present to it without being affected (ch. 9). Soul between the two universes, intelligible and sense-perceived (which are not spatially separated), making this world in the image of the other (chs. 10–11). The descent of particular souls into bodies is required by the natural order (and their highest

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parts remain above): it is the result of an irresistible impulse which draws them to the bodies prepared for them by Universal Soul, and so is at once free and necessary (chs. 12-13). Comparison with the story of Prometheus, Epimetheus and Pandora arbitrarily interpreted (ch. 14). Souls descend first from the intelligible world to heaven and then some of them go to earthly bodies; the reasons for their differences here below are diverse (ch. 15). Punishments, suffering, injustices are part of the universal order (ch. 16). Heaven is closer to the intelligible than earth; the distracting magic of our lower world (ch. 17). In what sense disembodied souls, or souls in heavenly bodies, are reasonable, and why they do not talk (ch. 18). The embodied soul: what Plato means by "divisible" in the sphere of bodies, and what in embodied soul remains "indivisible" (ch. 19). Neither soul as a whole nor its so-called parts are in body as a place. In what sense then can soul be said to be "in body "? Discussion of this question, on more or less Peripatetic lines but rejecting the Peripatetic solution that soul is in body as form is in matter (chs. 20-21). The analogy of light; body is in soul, not soul in body, and the different organic parts of body (brain and nervous system etc.) are illumined and activated by soul according to their capacities and needs (chs. 22-3). What happens to souls when they have left their bodies, and how sinful souls inevitably and naturally wander into the appropriate place of punishment (ch. 24). Discussion of memory (continuing to IV. 4. 12): what has memory? Certainly not eternal beings; but does it belong to soul or the composite living being (ensouled body) (ch. 25)? Sense-perception and memory; memory belongs to the soul, not the composite (ch. 26). But to which soul? The analogy of the shade of Heracles (ch. 27). It is soul's image-making power which is the seat of memory, of desires, perceptions, and the verbal expression of our thoughts (chs. 28-30). Two image-making powers are required, one for the higher and one for the lower soul (ch. 31). What memories pass from one soul to the other,

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and how quickly good souls lose their memories in the higher world; they do not even remember who they are, but are assimilated to Intellect, grasping the whole of intelligible reality in a single act of intuition (IV. 3. 32-IV. 4. 2). How souls again re-actualise their potential memories when they descend from the intelligible world to heaven and then to the world below (chs. 3-5). Memory and the souls in heaven (in the living, divine, heavenly bodies): they do not exercise memory and do not need to (chs. 6-8). The memory of "Zeus": this divine name can be used either for the World-Soul or for Divine Intellect as Maker of the physical universe; neither needs memory for its divine activity in the world (chs. 9-11). Calculation and memory are only necessary to beings which are not yet intelligent (ch. 12). The difference between Nature and Intellect (chs. 13-14). Time and souls, universal and individual (chs. 15-17). Discussion of the experience and activities of embodied soul (continuing to ch. 29): body is not soulless but ensouled, like warmed air (ch. 18). The nature of pain and pleasure (ch. 19). The part played by body and soul in desire (chs. 20-21). The psychology of the earth: does it have perceptions (ch. 22)? Organs are necessary for sense-perception (ch. 23). The perceptions of the universe and its great parts (heavenly bodies and earth), which do not need sense-organs like ours (chs. 24-7). The part played by body and soul in passions (chs. 28-9). Prayer, magic and the operations of the stars: difficulties can be resolved by understanding the interaction of the parts in the organic unity of the whole (chs. 30-39). The magic of the universal living organism (chs. 40-5).

IV. 5

How do we see? Discussion and detailed refutation of theories that a medium is necessary for sight (chs. 1-4). A medium is not necessary for hearing either: both are to be explained by the organic unity of the universe (ch. 5). Light as incorporeal energy or activity of the luminous

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body (chs. 6-7). If there was a body outside the universe, could the universe see it, if it had an eye on its outside? No, because there would not be the organic sympathy which makes perception possible (ch. 8).

IV. 3. (27) ΠΕΡΙ ΨΎΧΗΣ ΑΠΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

1. Περί ψυχής, όσα ἀπορήσαντας δεί είς εὐπορίων καταστήναι, ή καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἀπορίαις στάντας τοῦτο γοῦν κέρδος ἔχειν, εἰδέναι τὸ ἐν τούτοις ἄπορον, ὀρθως ἄν ἔχοι τὴν πραγματείαν 5 ποιήσασθαι. περί τίνος γάρ ἄν τις μαλλον τὸ πολύ λέγων καὶ σκοπούμενος εὐλόγως ἄν διατρίβοι η περί ταύτης; διά τε πολλά καὶ άλλα, καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' άμφω την γνωσιν δίδωσιν, ών τε άρχη έστι καὶ ἀφ' ών έστι. πειθοίμεθα δ' αν καὶ τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ παρακελεύσματι αύτους γινώσκειν παρακελευομένω περί 10 τούτου την έξέτασιν ποιούμενοι. ζητείν τε τά άλλα καὶ εύρεῖν βουλόμενοι δικαίως ἂν τὸ ζητοῦν τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο ζητοῖμεν, τό γε ἐραστὸν ποθοῦντες λαβεῖν θέαμα τοῦ νοῦ. 1 ἡν γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῶ παντὶ νῶ τὸ διττόν : ὥστε εὐλόνως ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος τὸ μὲν οὕτως μᾶλλον, τὸ δὲ οὕτω. τὰς δὲ

1 θέαμα τοῦ νοῦ Dodds: θεαμάτων Enn.*, H-S1: θέαμα Theiler.

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1. It would be right to occupy ourselves with the soul, with all the points at which we find ourselves in difficulties about it and must arrive at a solution, or, continuing in just these difficulties, at least gain this advantage, that we know what the difficult points are. For what could one more reasonably spend time in discussing and investigating extensively than this? There are many other reasons for doing so, and especially that it gives us knowledge in both directions, of the things of which the soul is the principle and those from which it is derived. And in enquiring into this we should be obeying the command of the god who urged us to know ourselves.1 And, since we wish to seek and find other things, and long to grasp the lovely vision of the intellect, it would be proper for us to seek the real nature of that which seeks. For in universal Intellect, too, there was duality; so that it is reasonable that in partial things one should be more of one kind, and

maxim. But while Alexander firmly announces that his intention is to commend Aristotle's doctrine, Plotinus (though remaining convinced throughout that Plato's doctrine as he understands it is the true one) is much more independent in tone, and even suggests that the investigation would be worth making even if all it did was to show us what the difficulties are. It is the difference between a philosopher and a commentator.

¹ It is interesting to compare the beginning of this great treatise on the soul with the beginning of the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias on Aristotle's work on the same subject (Alexander De Anima 1-2 Bruns). Plotinus had probably read Λlexander's work and quotes the same Delphic

20 τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας, μέχρις ὧν καὶ ἡ τοῦ παντὸς ψυχὴ ἔρχεται, μηδὲ τὸ ὁμοίως νοερόν, καὶ εἰ συγχωροῖεν τὸ ὁμοίως, τῷ ¹ μὴ μόρια αὐτῆς εἶναι εἰναι γὰρ ὁμοειδῆ καὶ τὰ μέρη τοῖς ὅλοις. παραθήσονται δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα τοῦτο δοξάζοντα, ὅταν πιστούμενος τὸ πὰν ἔμψυχον εἶναι λέγη, ὡς

25 σωμα μέρος ὂν τοῦ παντὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον, οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν μέρος τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ψυχῆς εἶναι. καὶ τὸ συνέπεσθαι δὲ ἡμᾶς τῆ τοῦ παντὸς περιφορὰ καὶ λεγόμενον καὶ δεικνύμενον ἐναργῶς εἶναι, καὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὰς τύχας ἐκεῦθεν λαμβάνοντας εἴσω τε γενομένους ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος

30 ήμας την ψυχην λαμβάνειν. καὶ ὅπερ ἐπὶ ἡμῶν μέρος ἔκαστον ἡμῶν πορὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς λαμβάνει, οὕτω καὶ ἡμας ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον μέρη πρὸς τὸ ὅλον ὄντας παρὰ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς μεταλαμβάνειν ὡς μέρη. καὶ τὸ ψυχη δὲ πᾶσα παντὸς

35 έπιμελειται το θαψύχου τὸ αὐτὸ το θτο σημαίνειν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἔξωθεν ψυχῆς καταλείποντος μετὰ τὴν το θου αὐτη γὰρ ἡ τὸ πῶν ἄψυχον ἐν ἐπιμελεία τιθεμένη.

2. Πρὸς δη ταῦτα πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο λεκτέον, ὡς όμοειδη τιθέμενοι τῷ τῶν αὐτῶν συγχωρεῖν ἐφάπτεσθαι, τὸ αὐτὸ γένος κοινὸν διδόντες ἔξω

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one of another. And we must consider how the gods are received into the soul. But we shall consider this when we investigate how the soul comes to be in a body; but now let us go back to those who say that our own souls, also, come from the soul of the All. For they will, perhaps, assert that it is not a sufficient argument for our souls not being parts of the Soul of the All that they too reach us far as it does, and are intellectual in the same way (even if they accept that "in the same way"), for parts [they will assert] have the same form as their wholes. And they will bring forward Plato as holding this opinion, when, to confirm that the All is ensouled, he says that, just as our own bodies are part of the All, so our souls are part of the Soul of the All. And [they will assert] that it is said and clearly shown that we follow along with the circuit of the All, and, deriving our characters and fortunes from it, and being inside the All, receive our souls from that which encompasses us. And what in us each part of us receives from our soul, in the same way we too, being on the same pattern parts in relation to the whole, receive as parts from the whole soul. And [they will say that] "all soul cares for all that is soulless" means just this, and that when Plato said it he intended not to leave anything else outside soul, beyond the Soul of the All: for this is the soul put in charge of all that is soulless.

2. The first answer which we have to make to this is the following: that, by agreeing that [the Soul of the All and individual souls] occupy themselves with the same [bodies] they admit that they have the same form, and so by this same admission give them

 $^{1 \}tau \hat{\varphi}$ (conjungendum cum 18 lκανόν) H–S1: $\tau \alpha \hat{v}$ Enn.

PLOTINUS: ENNEAD IV. 3.

ποιοῦσι τοῦ μέρος εἶναι· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἂν τὴν 5 αὐτὴν καὶ μίαν έκάστην πᾶσαν δικαιότερον ἂν εἴποιεν. μίαν δὲ ποιοῦντες εἰς άλλο ἀναρτῶσιν, δ μηκέτι τοῦδε η τοῦδε ἀλλὰ οὐδενὸς ὂν αὐτὸ η κόσμου ή τινος άλλου αὐτὸ ποιεῖ, δ καὶ κόσμου καὶ ότουοῦν ἐμψύχου. καὶ γὰρ ὀρθῶς ἔχει μὴ πᾶσαν την ψυχήν τινος είναι οὐσίαν γε οὖσαν, ἀλλ' είναι, 10 ἡ μή τινός ἐστιν ὅλως, τὰς δέ, ὅσαι τινός, γίγνεσθαί ποτε κατά συμβεβηκός. ἴσως δὲ δεῖ λαβεῖν τὸ μέρος ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις πῶς λέγεται σαφέστερον. τό μεν δη ώς σωμάτων μέρος, εἴτε όμοειδες τὸ σῶμα, εἴτε ἀνομοειδές, ἐατέον ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἐπισημηναμένους, ώς έπὶ τῶν δμοιομερῶν ὅταν λέγηται 15 μέρος, κατὰ τὸν ὄγκον ἐστὶ τὸ μέρος, οὐ κατὰ τὸ είδος, οίον την λευκότητα οὐ γάρ ή ἐν τῷ μορίῳ τοῦ γάλακτος λευκότης μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γάλακτος λευκότητος, άλλὰ μορίου μέν έστι λευκότης, μόριον δε οὐκ ἔστι λευκότητος ἀμέγεθες 20 γὰρ ὅλως καὶ οὐ ποσὸν ἡ λευκότης. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μέν οὕτως. ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν οὐ σωμάτων λέγωμεν μέρος, ήτοι οὔτως ώς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν λέγοιμεν ἄν, ώς τὰ δύο τῶν δέκα· ἔστω δὲ ἐπὶ ψιλῶν μόνων τὸ λεγόμενον η ώς κύκλου καὶ γραμμης μέρος, η ώς έπιστήμης μέρος τὸ θεώρημα. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν 25 μονάδων καὶ τῶν σχημάτων ἀνάγκη ὥσπερ ἐπὶ

a common genus and exclude individual souls from being parts; on the contrary, it would be more proper for them to say that they are the same, and one, and each soul is all. But if they make it one they attach it to something else, which is no longer the soul of this or that but is not itself the soul of anything, either of the universe or of anything else, but makes that which is soul both of the universe and of anything ensouled. And it really is correct that not all of soul belongs to anything, since of course it is an essence, but there is a soul which absolutely does not belong to anything, and all those which do belong to anything become souls of things occasionally and incidentally. But perhaps we must get a clearer idea of what "part" means in things of this kind. We can leave out of account "part" as understood of bodies, whether the body is all of the same form or not, noting only this, that when one speaks of "part" in the case of bodies whose parts are alike, the "part" refers to the mass, not to the form, as for instance with whiteness; for the whiteness in the portion of milk is not a part of the whiteness of the whole milk but is the whiteness of a portion, but not a portion of whiteness; for whiteness is totally without magnitude, and not a quantity. But when we speak of "part" in things which are not bodies, we should be using it either as we do in the case of numbers, two part of ten, for instance: what we are saying is to be applied only to numbers by themselves; or as we speak of a part of a circle and a line, or as we say a theorem is part of a science. Now in the case of numerical units and geometrical figures it is necessary that, just as with bodies, the

τῶν σωμάτων ἐλαττοῦσθαί τε τὸ ὅλον τῷ εἰς τὰ μέρη μερισμώ, έλάττω τε τὰ μέρη ἔκαστα τῶν ὅλων είναι ποσά γάρ ὄντα καὶ τὸ είναι ἐν τῷ ποσῷ ἔχοντα, οὐ τὸ αὐτοποσὸν ὄντα, μείζω καὶ ἐλάττω ἐξ ανάγκης γίνεται. κατά δή ταθτα οὐκ ἐνδέχεται 30 ἐπὶ ψυχῆς τὸ μέρος λέγεσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ποσὸν οὕτως, ώς δεκάδα τὴν πᾶσαν, τὴν δὲ μονάδα είναι· άλλα τε γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα συμβήσεται, καὶ ούχ έν τι τὰ δέκα, καὶ έκάστη αὐτῶν τῶν μονάδων η ψυχη ἔσται, η έξ ἀψύχων ἀπάντων ή ψυχή, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ὅλης ψυγῆς συγκεγώρηται ὁμοειδὲς 35 είναι. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συνεχοῦς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὸ μέρος, οίον τὸ ὅλον ἐστίν, είναι, οίον κύκλου ἢ τετραγώνου, η οὐ πάντα γε τὰ μόρια ὅμοια ἐφ' ὧν ἔστι λαβεῖν τὸ μέρος, οίον ἐπὶ τῶν τριγώνων τρίγωνα, ἀλλὰ παραλλάσσοντα· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν δμοειδῆ τίθενται εἶναι. καὶ 40 ἐπὶ γραμμῆς δὲ τὸ μὲν μέρος ἔχει τὸ γραμμὴ είναι, άλλὰ τῶ μεγέθει διαφέρει καὶ ἐνταῦθα. ἐπὶ δὲ ψυχής ή διαφορά τῷ μεγέθει εἰ λέγοιτο τῆς μερικῆς πρός την όλην, ποσόν τι έσται καὶ σῶμα την διαφοράν λαμβάνουσα καθό ψυχή παρά τοῦ ποσοῦ. αλλα ύπέκειντο πασαι όμοιαι καὶ όλαι. φαίνεται δέ 45 οὐδὲ μεριζομένη οὕτως ώς τὰ μεγέθη, οὐδ' ἂν συγχωρήσαιεν δε οὐδε αὐτοὶ κατατέμνεσθαι τὴν ολην είς μέρη· ἀναλώσουσι γὰρ τὴν ὅλην, καὶ ὅνομα

whole should become less by division into parts, and each of the parts should be less than the whole; for since they are quantitative and have their reality in their quantity, but are not absolute quantity, they necessarily become more and less. In this sense it is not admissible to speak of " part " when discussing soul; for it is not quantitative in a sense in which the whole could be the ten and the individual soul the unit; many other absurd consequences will follow [from this supposition] and, in particular, the ten are not one thing, and either each of the actual units will be a soul, or the soul will be entirely composed of soulless things, and, besides, it has been agreed that the part of the total soul has the same form as it. And in the case of a continuous surface it is not necessary for the part to be of the same kind as the whole, [the parts of] a circle or a square, for instance; or at any rate it is not necessary for all the parts to be like the whole, in the case of those figures where it is possible to take a part like the whole (as the part of a triangle can be a triangle), but they vary; but they assume that the soul is all of the same form. And in the case of a line, the part has the property of being a line, but there is a difference here too, a difference of size. But in the case of soul, if one were to say that the difference of the partial soul from the whole was one of size, then soul will be some kind of quantity, and a body, which gets its distinctive nature as soul from its quantity; but it was assumed that all souls were of like kind and wholes. But soul is obviously not divided in the way in which sizes are, and [our opponents] themselves would not agree that the whole soul is cut up into parts: if they do, they will use up the whole,

5 πᾶσαν οὖκ ἐν σώματι, ἀλλ' ἔξω τοῦ σώματος τοῦ
¹ Kirehhoff*: λέγοι wRJUC: λέγει B.

² Theiler: ή Enn.*

³ R, Creuzer*: δακτυλίω wBJUC, H-S.

and it will be only a name, unless it was once a kind of universal principle [but exists no longer], as if when wine has been divided into many portions, one might call each portion of wine in each jar a part of the whole wine. Well then, is it a part in the way in which a theorem that belongs to a science is said to be a part of the whole science, which continues to exist [as a whole] none the less, and its division is a kind of manifestation and activity of each individual part? In a state of affairs like this each theorem contains the whole science potentially, but the science is none the less a whole. If this is how it is with the whole soul and the others, the whole, of which the parts are parts of this kind, will not be the soul of anything, but an independent reality: so it will not even be the soul of the universe, but this too will be one of the partial souls. So all [both individual souls and the soul of the universel will be parts of one, since they have the same form. But how then does one come to be the soul of the universe, and the others of parts of the universe?

3. But perhaps individual souls are parts in the way in which in one living thing the soul in the toe¹ might be called a part of the whole soul in all the living being? But this way of thinking about it either allows no soul to exist outside body, or makes all soul disembodied, and puts even the soul called

else in Greek δακτίλιος means a ring or something ring-shaped; (ii) there is no reason for Plotinus to use a diminutive in either passage. So it seems to me more reasonable to assume the recurrence of the same scribal mistake twice (perhaps the scribe of the archetype had some reason for thinking about rings while he was copying the early chapters of IV. 3!) than a use of a fairly common Greek word in an unprecedented sense for no good reason.

¹ Here and in IV. 3. 8. 43 practically all the MSS read $\delta \alpha \kappa \tau \nu \lambda l \omega$, which Henry and Schwyzer wish to retain, supposing that in these two places alone in Greek the word means digitulus, a "fingerlet" or "toelet". But (i) everywhere

κόσμου την τοῦ παντὸς λεγομένην, τοῦτο δέ σκεπτέον νῦν δὲ ώς λέγοιτο ἂν κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα έξεταστέον. εί γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς παρέχει αὐτὴν πασι τοις έν μέρει ζώοις, και ούτω μέρος έκάστη, διαιρεθείσα μέν οὐκ ἄν αύτὴν έκάστω παρέγοι, ή 10 αὐτή δὲ πανταχοῦ ἔσται ή ὅλη, μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή έν πολλοίς άμα οδοα. τούτο δε οὐκέτ' αν την μεν όλην, την δε μέρος αν είναι παράσχοιτο, καί μάλιστα οίς τὸ αὐτὸ δυνάμεως πάρεστιν (εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ἄπασαι . 1 ἐπεὶ καὶ οἷς ἄλλο ἔργον, τῶ δὲ ἄλλο, οἶον ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ὠσίν, οὐ 15 μόριον ἄλλο ψυχῆς δράσει, ἄλλο δὲ ἀσὶ λεκτέον παρείναι—άλλων δὲ τὸ μερίζειν οὕτως—άλλὰ τὸ αὐτό, κἂν ἄλλη δύναμις ἐν ἐκατέροις ἐνεργῆ [είσὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ἄπασαι] 2 τῷ δὲ τὰ όργανα διάφορα είναι διαφόρους τὰς ἀντιλήψεις γίνεσθαι, πάσας μέντοι είδων είναι είς [είδος] 3 20 πάντα δυναμένης 4 μορφοῦσθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰς έν ἀναγκαῖον είναι πάντα ἰέναι. τῶν δὲ ὀργάνων, δι' ὧν, μὴ ⟨πάντα⟩ 5 πάντα δύνασθαι δέξασθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν παθήματα διάφορα γίνεσθαι τοῖς δργάνοις, την δε κρίσιν παρά τοῦ αὐτοῦ οίον δικαστοῦ καὶ 25 τούς λόγους τούς λεγομένους καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα κατανενοηκότος. άλλ' ὅτι ἕν γε πανταχοῦ, εἴρηται, καὶ ἐν τοῖς διαφόροις τῶν ἔργων. εἴ τε ὡς αἰ

that of the All outside the body of the universe. This we must consider [later]; but now we must enquire in what sense it would be possible to speak of "part" according to this analogy. For if the soul of the All gives itself to all the partial living things, and each individual soul is a part in this sense, then if it was divided it would not give itself to each, but it will be itself everywhere, the complete soul existing simultaneously in many things as one and identical. But this would no longer allow one soul to be the whole and the other a part, especially in the case of things which have the same amount of power: for all the powers are present in both souls. For where organs, too, have different functions, eyes and ears for instance, we must not say that one part of the soul is present in sight, another in the earsthis sort of division belongs to other philosophersbut the same part, even if a different power, is active in each separate organ; but because the organs are different, different perceptions occur—though all are of forms, since the soul can take the shape of all forms (the fact that all perceived forms must go to one centre also makes this clear). And [we must say that] it belongs to the organs through which the forms go that not all of them are able to receive everything, and the affections differ according to the organs, but the judgement on them comes from one and the same principle, which is like a judge and is well informed about the words spoken and the things done. But we have already said that the soul is one thing everywhere, also in its different functions.

 $^{^1}$ hue transpos. Theiler; ảμφοτέραις sc. ται̂ς φυχαι̂ς, ἄπασα: sc. αί δυνάμεις.

² transpos. Theiler ad lin. 12-13.

³ del. Kirchhoff*: † εἰς είδος πάντα δυνάμενον μορφοῦσθαι† Η-S.

⁴ Theiler: δυνάμενον Enn.

⁵ Boutler.

αἰσθήσεις, οὐκ ἔνι ἕκαστον αὐτὸν νοεῖν, ἀλλὶ ἐκείνην· εἰ δ' οἰκεία ἦν ἡ νόησις, ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐκάστη. ὅταν δὲ καὶ λογικὴ ῇ ψνχή, καὶ οὕτω λογικὴ το ὡς ⟨ἡ⟩¹ ὅλη λέγεται, τὸ λεγόμενον μέρος ταὐτόν, ἀλλὶ οὐ μέρος ἔσται τοῦ ὅλου.

4. Τί οὖν φατέον, εὶ οὕτω μία, ὅταν τις ζητῆ τὸ έντεθθεν πρώτον μέν ἀπορών, εὶ οδόν τε οθτως έν αμα έν πασιν, έπειτα, όταν έν σώματι ή, ή δε μή έν σώματι; ἴσως γὰρ ἀκολουθήσει ἀεὶ ἐν σώματι 5 πᾶσαν είναι καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ παντός οὐ γὰρ ὤσπερ ἡ ἡμετέρα λέγεται καταλείπειν τὸ σωμα· καίτοι τινές φασι τόδε μέν καταλείψειν, οὐ πάντη δὲ ἔξω σώματος ἔσεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ πάντη έξω σώματος έσται, πῶς ἡ μὲν καταλείψει, ἡ δὲ ού, ή αὐτὴ οὖσα; ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ νοῦ ἑτερότητι 10 χωριζομένου έαυτοῦ κατὰ μέρη ἄσχιστα 2 ἀπ' άλλήλων, όντος 3 δε δμοῦ ἀεί—ἀμέριστος γὰρ ἂν είη αύτη ή οὐσία—οὐδεμία τοιαύτη ἂν ἀπορία κατέχοι επί δε της ψυχής της λεγομένης μεριστής είναι κατά σώματα τοῦτο τὸ ἔν τι είναι πάσας πολλάς αν έχοι απορίας εί μή τις το μέν εν 15 στήσειεν έφ' έαυτοῦ μὴ πῖπτον εἰς σῶμα, εἶτ' έξ έκείνου τὰς πάσας, τήν τε τοῦ ὅλου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας, μέχρι τινός οἷον συνούσας ⟨άλλήλαις⟩ 4 καὶ μίαν τῷ μηδενός τινος γίνεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πέρασιν αὐτῶν έξηρτημένας [καὶ συνούσας άλλήλαις] 5 πρὸς τὸ

¹ Theiler.

² Theiler: μάλιστα (vcl ἔκαστα C) Enn.

³ Theiler: ἀντων Enn.

⁴ Harder.

⁵ del. Harder.

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And if our souls were like sense-perceptions, it is not possible for each one of us to think himself, but the soul of the All [would have to do the thinking]; but if our thinking was our own, each soul would be independent. But since the soul is also rational, and rational in the sense in which the universal soul is called rational, that which is called a part will be the same as the whole, not a part of the whole.

4. What then is to be said, if the soul is one in this way, when someone enquires into the consequences, and raises the first difficulty, whether this sort of simultaneous unity in all things is really possible, and the next, if it is possible when some soul is in body, and some not in body? For perhaps it will follow that all soul is always in body, and especially the soul of the All: for it is not said to leave the body, as ours is; and yet some people do say that ours will leave this particular body, but will not be altogether outside body. But if it is going to be altogether outside body, how will one soul leave the body and the other not, when it is the same soul [in both]? Now in the case of Intellect, which separates itself by differentiation into parts which are not cut off from each other, but is all together for ever-for this reality is surely undivided—no difficulty of this kind can arise; but in the case of the soul which is said to be divisible in relation to bodies, this assertion that all souls are one thing has many difficulties; unless of course one made the one stand by itself without falling into body, and then said that all the souls, the Soul of the All and the others, came from that one, living together with each other, so to speak, down to a certain level and being one soul by be longing to no particular thing; and that, being

25 μέρος ἐν τῷδε καὶ τῆ ἐπιστροφῆ τοῦ προσδεομένου φροντίσεως, τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐοικυίας τῆ ἐν φυτῷ μεγάλῳ ψυχῆ, ἡ ἀπάνως τὸ φυτὸν καὶ ἀψόφως διοικεῖ, τοῦ κατωτάτω τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ παντός, τοῦ δὲ ἡμῶν κάτω, οἷον εὶ εὐλαὶ ἐν σαπέντι μέρει τοῦ

30 φυτοῦ γίγνοιντο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἔμψυχον ἐν τῷ παντί. τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ψυχῆς τῆς ὁμοςιδοῦς τῷ ἄνω τῆς ὅλης, οἷον εἴ τις γεωργὸς ἐν φροντίδι τῶν ἐν τῷ φυτῷ εὐλῶν γίνοιτο καὶ ταῖς μερίμναις πρὸς τῷ φυτῷ γίγνοιτο, ἢ εἴ τις ὑγιαίνοντα μὲν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑγιαινόντων ὅντα πρὸς ἐκείνοις

35 είναι λέγοι, πρὸς οίς ἐστιν ἢ πράττων ἢ θεωρίαις ἐαυτὸν παρέχων, νοσήσαντος δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαις ὄντος πρὸς τῷ σώματι είναι καὶ τοῦ σώματος γεγονέναι.

5. 'Αλλὰ πῶς ἔτι ἡ μὲν σή, ἡ δὲ τοῦδε, ἡ δὲ ἄλλου ἔσται; ἄρ' οὖν τοῦδε μὲν κατὰ τὸ κάτω, οὐ τοῦδε δέ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου κατὰ τὸ ἄνω; ἀλλ' οὕτω γε Σωκράτης μὲν ἔσται ὅταν ἔν σώματι καὶ ἡ Σωκράτους ψυχή·

fastened [to the one] by their edges on their upper side, they strike down this way and that, like the light which, just when it reaches the earth, divides itself among houses and is not divided, but is one none the less. And the Soul of the All would always remain transcendent because it would have nothing to do with coming down, even with its lower part, nor with a turning to the things here below, but our souls would come down because they would have their part marked off for them in this sphere, and by the turning to them of that which needs their care. The Soul of the All (that is, its lowest part) would be like the soul in a great growing plant, which directs the plant without effort or noise; our lower part would be as if there were maggots in a rotten part of the plant—for that is what the ensouled body is like in the All. The rest of our soul, which is of the same nature as the higher parts of universal soul, would be like a gardener concerned about the maggots in the plant and anxiously caring for it. Or it is as one might speak of a healthy man living with other healthy men as being at the service of his neighbours either in his action or his contemplation; and of a sick man, concerned with the care of his body, as being at the service of his body and belonging to it.

5. But how will there still be one particular soul which is yours, one which is the soul of this particular man, and one which is another's? Are they the souls of particular individuals in the lower order, but belong in the higher order to that higher unity? But this will mean that Socrates, and the soul of Socrates, will exist as long as he is in the body; but

Harder, B-T: τὸ Enn.*
 suspic. H S¹, ser. B-T: τὰ Enn.

¹ For this image ep. Marcus Aurelius XII. 30.

5 ἀπολεῖται δέ, ὅταν μάλιστα γένηται ἐν τῶ ἀρίστω. η ἀπολείται οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἐπεὶ κάκεῖ οἱ νόες ούκ ἀπολοῦνται, ὅτι μή εἰσι σωματικῶς μεμερισμένοι, είς εν, άλλα μένει εκαστον εν ετερότητι έχου τὸ αὐτὸ ὅ ἐστιν είναι. οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ ψυχαὶ 10 ἐφεξῆς καθ' ἔκαυτον νοῦν ἐξηρτημέναι, λόγοι νῶν οδσαι καὶ ἐξειλιγμέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνοι, οἶον πολὺ έξ ολίγου γενόμεναι, συναφείς τῷ ολίγφ οὖσαι αμερεστέρω εκείνων εκάστω, μερίζεσθαι ήδη θελήσασαι καὶ οὐ δυνάμεναι εἰς πᾶν μερισμοῦ ἰέναι, τὸ ταὐτὸν καὶ ἔτερον σώζουσαι, μένει τε έκάστη ἕν καὶ 15 όμοῦ εν πᾶσαι. εἴρηται δὴ κεφάλαιον τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι έκ μιᾶς, καὶ αί ἐκ μιᾶς πολλαὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ νῷ, [κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ] 1 μερισθεῖσαι καὶ οὐ μερισθεῖσαι, καὶ λόγος είς τοῦ νοῦ ἡ μένουσα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς λόνοι μερικοί καὶ ἄυλοι, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ.

6. Διὰ τί δὲ ἡ μὲν τοῦ παντὸς ψυχὴ ὁμοειδὴς οὖσα πεποίηκε κόσμον, ἡ δὲ ἐκάστου οὔ, ἔχουσα καὶ αὐτὴ πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῆ; τὸ γὰρ δύνασθαι ἐν πολλοῖς

¹ del. Kirchhoff.

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he will cease to be precisely when he attains to the very best. Now no real being ever ceases to be; since the Intellects There too are not dissolved into a unity because they are not corporeally divided, but each remains distinct in otherness, having the same essential being. So too it is with souls, which depend in order on each several intellect, and are expressions of intellects, further unfolded than they are, having passed, we may say, from brevity to multiplicity.1 They are linked to the brevity of intellect by that in each of them which is least divided. They have already willed to be divided but cannot reach complete division; they keep identity and difference; each soul remains one, and all are one together. So we have given the sum of the discussion, that the souls spring from one, and the souls springing from one are many in the same way as Intellect, divided and not divided; and the soul which abides is a single expression of Intellect, and from it spring partial expressions which are also immaterial, just as in the world of Intellect.

6. But why has the Soul of the All, which has the same form as ours, made the universe, but the soul of each individual has not, though it too has all things in itself? (We have explained that it can

¹ For the belief that there are Forms or Ideas of individuals (at least of individual men), which is probably, but not quite certainly, asserted here, cp. V. 7. It also seems to be implied in IV. 3. 12, 1–5. For a careful examination of all the evidence about Forms of individuals in Plotinus see H. J. Blumenthal, "Did Plotinus believe in Ideas of Individuals?" in *Phronesis* 11 (1966), 61–80; A. H. Armstrong, "Form, Individual and Person in Plotinus"; in *Dionysius* 1 (1977), 49–68 (= A. H. Armstrong *Plotinian and Christian Studies* (London 1979), No. XX.

γίνεσθαι ἄμα καὶ είναι εἴρηται. νῦν δὲ λεκτέον— 5 τάχα γὰρ καὶ πῶς ταὐτὸν ἐν ἄλλω καὶ ἄλλω τὸ μὲν τοδί, τὸ δὲ τοδι ποιεῖ ἢ πάσχει ἢ ἄμφω, γνωσθήσεται ἢ καθ' αύτό γε τοῦτο ἐπισκεπτέον—πῶς οὖν καὶ διὰ τί κόσμον πεποίηκεν, αἱ δὲ μέρος τι κόσμου διοικούσιν. η θαυμαστόν οὐδέν τοὺς την αὐτην έπιστήμην έχοντας τους μέν πλειόνων, τους δέ 10 έλαττόνων ἄρχειν. ἀλλὰ διὰ τί, εἰπεῖν ἄν ἔχοι τις. άλλ' ἔστιν, εἴποι τις ἄν, καὶ ψυχῶν διαφορά, ἢ μαλλον, καθό ή μεν οὐκ ἀπέστη τῆς ὅλης, ἀλλ' ἔσχεν έκει ούσα περί αύτην το σώμα, αί δε ήδη όντος οίον άδελφης ψυχης άρχούσης μοίρας διέλαχον, οξον 15 προπαρασκευασάσης ταύτης αὐταῖς οἰκήσεις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸν ὅλον νοῦν ἰδεῖν, τὰς δὲ μαλλον πρός τους αυτών τους έν μέρει. τάχα δ' αν καὶ αὖται δύναιντο ποιεῖν, τῆς δὲ ποιησάσης οὐκέτι οδόν τε καὶ αὐταῖς, πρώτης ἐκείνης ἀρξάσης. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ἄν τις ἡπόρησε, καὶ εἰ ἡτισοῦν καὶ ἄλλη πρώτη 20 κατείχε. βέλτιον δὲ λέγειν τῷ ἐξηρτῆσθαι μᾶλλον των ἄνω· των γὰρ ἐκεῖ νενευκότων ἡ δύναμις μείζων. σώζουσαι γὰρ αύτὰς ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἐκ τοῦ ράστου ποιοθοι· δυνάμεως γαρ μείζονος μή πάσχειν έν οίς ποιεί ή δε δύναμις εκ τοῦ ἄνω μένειν. μένουσα

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come to be and [continue to] exist in many things at once.) But now we must state—perhaps we shall also come to know how the same thing, when it is now in one body and now in another, does now this and now that, or is affected in this or that way, or both: this however requires a special discussion to itself-how then and why the Soul of the All has made the universe, but the particular souls direct [each] a part of it. There is of course nothing remarkable in some of those who have the same knowledge being in control of more, and some of less. But one could ask the reason why. But there is, one might answer, a difference between souls, and all the more in that the Soul of the All has not separated itself from soul as a whole but remained there and put on the body, but the individual souls, since body exists already, received their allotted parts when their sister soul, as we may say, was already ruling, as if it had already prepared their dwellings for them. There is a difference too, in that the soul of the All looks towards Intellect as a whole, but the individual souls rather to their own partial intellects. But perhaps these too would have been able to make [a world], but as the soul of the All had done so already they were unable to do so as well, since it had begun first. One could raise the same difficulty just as well if any other soul had taken the first place. But it is better to say [that the soul of the All has made the world because it was more closely dependent on the beings above it: the beings which incline that way have greater power. For they keep themselves in a place of safety, and so make with the greatest ease; for it is a mark of greater power not to be affected in what it makes;

25 οὖν ἐν αὐτῆ ποιεῖ προσιόντων, αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ προσηλθον. ἀπέστησαν οὖν εἰς βάθος. ἢ πολὺ αὐτῶν καθελκυσθέν συνεφειλκύσατο καὶ αὐτὰς ταῖς γνώμαις είς τὸ κάτω είναι. τὸ γὰρ δευτέρας καὶ τρίτας τῶ ἐγγύθεν καὶ τῷ πορρώτερον ὑπονοητέον είρησθαι, ώσπερ καὶ παρ' ήμιν ούχ δμοίως πάσαις 30 ψυγαίς υπάρχει τὸ 1 πρὸς τὰ ἐκεῖ, ἀλλ' οἱ μέν ένοιντο αν, οί δε βάλλοιεν αν εγγύς εφιέμενοι, οίς δὲ ἦττον ἄν ἔχοι τοῦτο, καθὸ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν οὐ ταις αὐταις ἐνεργοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οι μὲν τῆ πρώτη, οί δὲ τῆ μετ' ἐκείνην, οἱ δὲ τῆ τρίτη, ἀπάντων τὰς

πάσας έχόντων.

7. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτη. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν Φιλήβω λεχθέν παρέχον ὑπόνοιαν μοίρας τῆς τοῦ παντὸς τὰς άλλας είναι; βούλεται δὲ ὁ λόγος οὐ τοῦτο, ὅ τις οἴεται, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἦν χρήσιμον αὐτῷ τότε, καὶ τὸν 5 οὐρανὸν ἔμψυγον είναι, τοῦτο οὖν πιστοῦται λέγων, ώς ἄτοπον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄψυχον λέγειν ήμων, οἱ μέρος σώματος ἔχομεν τοῦ παντός, ψυχὴν έχόντων. πως γαρ αν το μέρος έσχεν αθώχου τοῦ παντός όντος; δήλον δὲ μάλιστα τὸ τῆς γνώμης αύτοῦ ἐν Τιμαίω ποιεῖ, οὖ γενομένης τῆς ψυχῆς 10 τοῦ παντὸς ὕστερον τὰς ἄλλας ποιεῖ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μιγνύων κρατήρος, ἀφ' οδ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὅλων, δμοειδή ποιών καὶ την άλλην, την δε διαφοράν δευτέροις καὶ τρίτοις διδούς. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Φαίδρω

¹ Harder B-T: τὰ Enn.*

and power comes from abiding above. The Soul of the All, then, abiding in itself makes, and the things which it makes come to it, but the particular souls themselves go to the things. So they have departed to the depths; or rather, a great part of them has been dragged down and has dragged them with it by their thoughts to the lower existence. For we must understand that souls were called "second" and "third "1 according to whether they are nearer to or farther from [the higher world]; just as among us too not all souls have the same relationship to the realities There, but some men may unify themselves, others nearly reach this point in their striving, and others attain it in a lesser degree, in so far as they act by powers which are not the same, but some by the first, others by that which comes after it, others by the third, though all of them have all.

7. So much for that. But what about the passage in the *Philebus* which suggests that the other souls are parts of the soul of the All 2? But this is not, as someone thinks, the intention of what is said, but what suited Plato's purpose at that stage in the argument, that the universe is ensouled. He establishes that by saying that it is absurd to say that the universe is soulless, when we, who possess a part of the body of the All, have souls. For how could the part have a soul when the All was soulless? He makes his own thought especially clear in the Timaeus, where [the Demiurge], when the soul of the All has come into existence, makes the other souls, mixing them from the same mixing-bowl from which he made the soul of the whole, making the other kind of soul of the same form [as the soul of the All] but giving it a difference by using second and third class

See Timaeue 41D7.

² Cp. Philebus 30A-B, where, as Plotinus suggests, Plato is really mainly concerned to argue that the universe must have a soul just as we have.

1 Theiler: διαφόρων Enn.*

2 Harder B-T (in alvo materna Ficinus): μητέρων Enn.*

¹ Again a reference to Timeeus 41D7.

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ingredients.1 And what about the passage in the Phaedrus "All soul cares for all that is soulless "2? What could it be, then, which directs the nature of body, and either shapes it or sets it in order or makes it, except soul? And it is not the case that one soul is naturally able to do this, but the other is not. Plato says, then, that the "perfect" soul, the soul of the All, "walks on high", and does not come down, but, as we may say, rides upon the universe and works in it; and this is the manner of direction of every soul which is perfect. But when he speaks of the "soul which moults" he makes this another, distinct from the perfect one. But as for our following round the circuit of the All, 3 and deriving our characters from it and being affected by it, this would be no sort of indication that our souls are parts [of the soul of the All]. For the soul is capable of taking many impressions from the nature of places and waters and air; and the situations of cities and the temperaments of bodies are different. And we stated that, since we are in the All, we have something from the soul of the whole, and we agreed that we were affected by the circuit of the universe; but we opposed another soul to this, and one which shows itself other especially by its opposition. As for the fact that we are begotten inside the universe, in the womb too we say that the soul which comes into the child is another one, not that of the mother.

our lower selves, the composites of body and soul, by the physical universe of which they are parts, see II. 3. 9-12. Plotinus was always ready to admit that most of what ordinary people think of as distinctive traits of character and personality are due to physical conditions, heredity and environment.

² The reference is to *Phaedrus* 246B6. He then goes on to consider Plato's distinction, which follows immediately, between the perfect soul which is "winged" and "walks on high" and the soul which "loses its feathers" and falls into a human body, whose fall and subsequent fate is described in the rest of the great myth.

³ Cp. Timaeus 90C8-D1. For a fuller statement of Plotinus's own position on the determination of the characters of

PLOTINUS: ENNEAD IV. 3.

8. Ταθτα μέν οθν οθτως ἂν ἔγοι λύσεως καὶ τοθ της συμπαθείας μη έμποδίζοντος τον λόγον έκ γάρ της αὐτης πάσαι οὖσαι, έξ ης καὶ ή τοῦ ὅλου, συμπαθείς, καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται, ὅτι καὶ μία καὶ 5 πολλαί. περὶ δὲ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὸ ὅλον τῆς διαφοράς ὅπως, εἴρηται. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ὅλως περὶ διαφοράς ψυχής καὶ νῦν συντόμως λεγέσθω, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τὰ σώματα μὲν ἂν γίγνοιτο διαφέρειν καὶ ἐν τοις ήθεσι μάλιστα καὶ ἐν τοις τῆς διανοίας ἔργοις καὶ ἐκ τῶν προβεβιωμένων βίων κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς 10 προβεβιωμένους φησί τὰς αίρέσεις ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίγνεσθαι. εί δέ τις φύσιν ψυχης όλως λαμβάνοι, καὶ ἐν ταύταις εἴρηνται αί διαφοραί, ἐν οἷς καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα ἐλέγετο, καὶ ὅτι πάντα πᾶσαι, κατά δὲ τὸ ἐνεργῆσαν ἐν αὐτῆ ἑκάστη. τοῦτο δε τῶ τὴν μεν ενοῦσθαι ενεργεία, τὴν δε εν 15 γνώσει ζείναι ,1 την δε εν δρέξει, και εν τῷ ἄλλην άλλα βλέπειν καὶ ἄπερ βλέπει είναι καὶ γίγνεσθαι. καὶ τὸ πληρες δὲ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τέλειον οὐχὶ ταὐτὸν πάσαις. ἀλλ' εἰ ποικίλον τὸ ὅλον σύνταγμα αὐταῖς—είς γὰο πᾶς λόγος πολὺς καὶ ποικίλος, ώσπερ ζώον ψυχικὸν πολλάς μορφάς έχον—εἰ δὴ 20 τοῦτο, καὶ σύνταξίς ἐστι, καὶ οὐ διέσπασται τὰ όντα όλως ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, οὐδὲ τὸ εἰκῆ ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν, ὅπου μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς σώμασι, καὶ ἀριθμόν τινα ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν είναι. καὶ γὰρ αὖ έστάναι δεῖ τὰ

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8. This then is how it is with the solution of this problem, and the fact of sympathy does not hinder our arguments: for since all souls derive from the same from which the soul of the Whole derives too, they have a community of feeling. For we have said already that they are both one and many. We have also explained how the part differs from the whole. We have made a general statement about the differences between souls, and now let us add briefly that besides their [different] bodies they can differ very notably in character, and in the activities of discursive reason and as a result of the lives they have lived before; for Plato says that the souls' choices take place according to their previous lives. And if one takes a general view of the nature of soul, the differences in souls have been mentioned in those passages too where there was talk of "seconds" and "thirds", and it was said that all souls are all things, but each [is differentiated] according to that which is active in it: that is, by one being united in actuality, one being in a state of knowledge, one in a state of desire, and in that different souls look at different things and are and become what they look at; and the fullness and completion for souls is not the same for all. But if the whole structure in which they exist is complex—for every single rational principle is manifold and complex, like a soul-organism containing many forms-if this is really so, there is structural organisation, and the realities are not completely cut off from each other, and there is nothing random among the realities (as there is not even among bodies), and it follows that there must be a [definite] number. For, again, realities must be static, and the intelligible realities must remain

τῶν σωμάτων τῆ φύσει τοῦ καθέκαστον ῥέοντος ἄτε ἐπακτοῦ τοῦ εἴδους ὅντος το εἶναι κατ' εἶδος ἀεὶ

ὑπάρχει μιμήσει τῶν ὅντων, τοῖς δὲ ἄτε οὐκ ἐκ συνθέσεως οὖσι τὸ εἶναί ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ὅ ἐστιν

ἀριθμῷ ἔν, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρχει, καὶ οὕτε 30 γίνεται ὁ μὴ ἦν, οὕτε ὅ ἐστιν οὐκ ἔσται. ἐπεὶ καὶ

εὶ ποιοῦν τι ἔσται αὐτά, ἐκ μὰν ὕλης οὐκ ἄν· εἰ δὰ καὶ τοῦτο, δεῖ τι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὐσιῶδες προσθεῖναι·

ωστε μεταβολή περὶ αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο ἔσται, εἰ νῦν

πλέον ποιεί ἢ ἔλαττον. καὶ διὰ τί νῦν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀεὶ οὕτως; καὶ τὸ γενόμενον δὲ οὐκ ἀίδιον, εἴπερ

35 πλέον καὶ ἔλαττον· κεῖται δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τοιοῦτον.

πῶς οὖν ἄπειρον, εἰ στήσεται; ἢ τἢ δυνάμει τὸ ἄπειρον, ὅτι ἡ δύναμις ἄπειρος, οὐχ ὡς μερισθησομένης εἰς ἄπειρον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ βεὰς οὐ πεπερασ-

μένης εἰς ἄπειρον. ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐ πεπερασμένος. καὶ αὖται τοίνυν οὐ πέρατι ἀλλοτρίω ἐστὶν

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the same, and each must be numerically one: for this is how it is this definite reality. For in some things, because of their bedily nature, individuality is fluid because the form comes in from outside and they have continual existence only according to specific form, in imitation of the real beings, but in others, since they are not produced by composition, the existence of each is in that which it is, numerically one, which is there from the beginning, and does not become what it was not and will not cease to be what it is. Since even if there is to be something which makes them it will not make them out of matter; if it does do this it must add something substantial from itself: so that there will be change affecting this making power itself, if it now makes more and now less. And why should it make more or less now, but not go on always in this same way? And that which has come into being will not be everlasting, if it is now more and now less; but it is settled that soul is a thing of this [everlasting] kind. How then will it be infinite, if it is going to remain static? Its infinity lies in its power; it is infinite because its power is infinite, and not as if it was going to be divided to infinity. For God too is not limited. And these souls, too, are not each what

 $^{^1}$ This passage is interesting as an example of the sense in which Plotinus is prepared to speak of the Second and Third Hypostases as $\tilde{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho\rho_S$ (infinite in the sense of unlimited or unbounded). δ $\theta\epsilon\delta$ in line 38 is probably No \hat{vs} . Any kind of spatially conceived or numerical infinity is excluded from his intelligible world (cp. line 37 here and VI. 6. 17–18).

[&]quot;Infinity" there can only mean infinity of power (as here) or unboundedness because there is nothing to bound or measure intelligible reality—intelligible number is the ultimate measure and so not itself measured, bounded or limited (as in VI. 6). The doctrine of "relative ἀπειρία" in Proclus (Elements of Theology props. 89–96, pp. 83–7 Dodds) is helpful to the understanding of Plotinus here. The One for him is infinite in the sense of being absolutely beyond any sort of determination or limitation, because it is beyond being and thought, but is hardly ever called ἄπειρος.

¹ del. Theiler.

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they are by some external limit, as if they were a definite size, but each is itself as much as it wants to be, and never goes outside itself as it proceeds, but that part of it which is naturally adapted to reach bodies reaches everywhere in them; it is certainly not torn away from itself when it is in the finger 1 as in the foot. So it is also in the All, to whatever it reaches; it is in one part of a plant and also in another, even if it is cut off; so that it is in the original plant and the part cut off from it: for the body of the all is one, and soul is everywhere in it as in one thing. And when an animal rots, if many others spring from it, the original soul of the whole animal is no longer in the body: for the body on its side does not have the capacity to receive it, or the animal would not have died. But the products of the decay which are adapted for the generation of animals, some for those of one kind and some for those of another, have soul since there is nothing from which it is absent, but one thing is able to receive it and another not to receive it. And things which become ensouled in this way do not make more souls: for they depend on the one soul which remains one; just as in ourselves, when some parts are cut off and others grow instead of them, soul leaves the old ones and comes to the new as long as the one soul remains. But in the All the one soul is always there; but some of the things within it take soul and some put it off, but the soul-activities remain the same.

9. 'Αλλὰ ⟨καὶ⟩ 1 πῶς ἐγγίγνεται σώματι ψυχή, ζητητέον. τίς ὁ τρόπος; [καὶ πῶς]. οὐχ ἦττον γάρ καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσαι τε καὶ ζητήσαι ἄξιον. έπεὶ τοίνυν διττὸς ὁ τρόπος τῆς εἰς σῶμα ψυχῆς 5 εἰσόδου ή μὲν γὰρ γίνεται ψυχῆ ἐν σώματι οὔση τῆ τε μετενσωματουμένη καὶ τῆ ἐκ σώματος άερίνου η πυρίνου είς γήινον γινομένη, ην δή μετενσωμάτωσιν οὐ λέγουσιν εἶναι, ὅτι ἄδηλον τὸ άφ' οὖ ή εἴσκρισις, ή δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσωμάτου εἰς ότιοῦν σῶμα, ἡ δὴ καὶ πρώτη ἂν εἴη ψυχῆ κοινωνία 10 σώματι-όρθως αν έχοι έπισκέψασθαι περί ταύτης, τί ποτέ έστι τὸ γινόμενον πάθος τότε, ὅτε ψυχὴ καθαρά οὖσα σώματος πάντη ἴσχει περὶ αὐτὴν σώματος φύσιν. περί μέν δή τής τοῦ παντόςέντεῦθεν γὰρ ἴσως (εἰκὸς) 1 ἄρξασθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ άναγκαῖον τυγχάνει-δεῖ δὴ τῷ λόγῳ τὴν εἴσοδον 15 καὶ τὴν ἐμψύχωσιν διδασκαλίας καὶ τοῦ σαφοῦς χάριν γίγνεσθαι νομίζειν. ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ έψύγωτο τόδε τὸ παν, οὐδε ην 3 ότε σώμα ύφειστήκει ψυχης ἀπούσης, οὐδὲ ὕλη ποτὲ ὅτε άκόσμητος ήν άλλ' ἐπινοῆσαι ταῦτα χωρίζοντας αὐτὰ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τῷ λόγῳ οἶόν τε. ἔξεστι γὰρ 20 ἀναλύειν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῆ διανοία πᾶσαν σύνθεσιν. έπεὶ τό γε ἀληθὲς ὧδε ἔχει· σώματος μὲν μὴ ὅντος οὐδ' ἂν προέλθοι ψυχή, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τόπος ἄλλος έστίν, ὅπου πέφυκεν είναι. προϊέναι δὲ εἰ μέλλοι, γεννήσει έαυτη τόπον, ώστε καὶ σῶμα. της δή στάσεως αὐτῆς ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ στάσει οίονεὶ ρωννυμένης 25 οξον πολύ φως εκλάμψαν επ' άκροις τοις έσχάτοις του πυρός σκότος έγίνετο, όπερ ίδουσα ή ψυχή, ¹ Theiler. ² del. Theiler. ³ Preller: οὐδ' ἐνῆν Enn., H-S¹.

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9. But we must also enquire how soul comes to be in body. What is its way of entering? This too is a subject no less worth wondering about and enquiring into. Now there are two ways of soul entering body; one is when a soul is already in a body and changes bodies, or passes from a body of air or fire to one of earth (people do not call this change of body because the body from which entry is made is not apparent); and the other, passage from bodilessness to any kind of body, which would of course be the first communication of soul with body. About this last, then, it will be proper to investigate what it is that happens when a soul which is altogether pure and free from body takes upon itself a bodily nature. It is perhaps suitable, or rather it is necessary, to begin with the Soul of the All. Of course [when talking about the Soul of the All] we must consider that the terms "entry" and "ensoulment" are used in the discussion for the sake of clear explanation. For there never was a time when this universe did not have a soul, or when body existed in the absence of soul, or when matter was not set in order; but in discussing these things one can consider them apart from each other. [When one is reasoning about] any kind of composition, it is always legitimate to analyse it in thought into its parts. For the truth is as follows. If body did not exist, soul would not go forth, since there is no place other than body where it is natural for it to be. But if it intends to go forth, it will produce a place for itself, and so a body. Soul's rest is, we may say, confirmed in absolute rest; a great light shines from it, and at the outermost edge of this firelight there is a darkness. Soul sees this darkness and informs

θεμιτὸν γειτονοῦν τι αὐτῆ λόγου ἄμοιρον εἶναι, οἷον έδέχετο τὸ λεγόμενον "άμυδρὸν εν άμυδρω" τω γενομένω. γενόμενος δη οίον οίκός τις καλός καὶ 30 ποικίλος οὐκ ἀπετμήθη τοῦ πεποιηκότος, οὐδ' αδ έκοίνωσεν αύτὸν αὐτῆ, ἀλλὰ πανταγοῦ πῶς ἄξιος έπιμελείας νομισθείς ώφελίμου μέν έαυτῷ τῷ εἶναι καὶ τῷ καλῷ, ὄσον δὴ τοῦ εἶναι δυνατὸν ἦν αὐτῷ μεταλαμβάνειν, άβλαβοῦς δὲ τῶ ἐφεστηκότι· ἄνω 35 γὰρ μένων ἐπιστατεῖ· ἔμψυχος τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ, έχων ψυχήν ούχ αύτοῦ, ἀλλ' αύτῷ, κρατούμενος οὐ κρατῶν, καὶ ἐχόμενος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχων. κεῖται γάρ ἐν τῆ ψυχῆ ἀνεχούση αὐτὸν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμοιρόν έστιν αὐτῆς, ώς ἂν ἐν ΰδασι δίκτυον τεγγόμενον ζώη, οὐ δυνάμενον δὲ αύτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ἐν ὧ ἐστιν· 40 άλλὰ τὸ μὲν δίκτυον ἐκτεινομένης ήδη τῆς θαλάσσης συνεκτέταται, όσον αὐτὸ δύναται οὐ γὰρ δύναται ἀλλαχόθι ἕκαστον τῶν μορίων ἢ ὅπου κείται είναι. ή δε τοσαύτη έστι την φύσιν, ὅτι μη τοσήδε, ώστε πῶν τὸ σῶμα καταλαμβάνειν τῷ αὐτῶ, καὶ ὅπου ἂν ἐκταθῆ ἐκεῖνο, ἐκεῖ ἐστι καὶ 45 εἰ μὴ εἴη δὲ ἐκεῖνο, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτῆ εἰς μέγεθος μέλοι· ἔστι γὰρ ἥτις ἐστί· τοσοῦτον γάρ ἐστι τὸ παν, όπου έστιν αὐτή, και δρίζεται τῷ ὅσον, εἰς

τοσαύτη ἐστὶν ἡ σκιά, ὅσος ὁ λόγος ὁ παρ' αὐτῆς. ὁ δὲ λόγος τοιοῦτος ἦν, ὡς μέγεθος τοσοῦτον 50 ἐργάσασθαι, ὅσον τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἐβούλετο μέγεθος ἐργάσασθαι.

όσον προϊὸν σώζουσαν αὐτὴν αύτὸ ἔχει. καὶ

was used "dimly in the dimness" which came to be. There came into being something like a beautiful and richly various house which was not cut off from its builder, but he did not give it a share in himself either; he considered it all, everywhere,

excellence (as far as it can participate in being) but does him no harm in his presiding over it, for he rules it while abiding above. It is in this sort of way that it is ensouled; it has a soul which does not belong to it, but is present to it; it is mastered, not the master, possessed, not possessor. The universe

worth a care which conduces to its very being and

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was not lawful for that which borders on soul to be

without its share of formative principle, as far as

that was capable of receiving it of which the phrase

lies in soul which bears it up, and nothing is without a share of soul. It is as if a net immersed in the waters was alive, but unable to make its own that in which it is. The sea is already spread out and the net spreads with it, as far as it can; for no one of its

parts can be anywhere else than where it lies. And soul's nature is so great, just because it has no size, as to contain the whole of body in one and the same grasp; wherever body extends, there soul is. If body did not exist, it would make no difference to soul as regards size; for it is what it is. The universe

extends as far as soul goes; its limit of extension is the point to which in going forth it has soul to keep it in being. The shadow is as large as the rational

formative principle which comes from soul; and the formative principle is of such a kind as to make a size as large as the form from which it derives wants

to make.

10. Οὕτω δὴ ἀκούσαντας χρὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀεὶ ούτως ελθόντας όμου λαβείν πάντα όντα οίον τὸν άέρα, τὸ φῶς, τὸν ἥλιον, ἢ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἥλιον ὁμοῦ πάντα, τάξιν δὲ πρώτων 5 καὶ δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων ἔχοντα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ψυχὴν αεὶ έστωσαν ή τὰ 1 πρώτα καὶ τὰ ἐφεξης ώς πυρός έσχατα, είς ήστερου τοῦ πρώτου έκ τοῦ ἐσχάτου νοουμένου πυρός σκιας, είτα ἐπιφωτιζομένου άμα καὶ τούτου, ώστε οἷον εἶδος ἐπιθεῖν τῶ ἐπιβληθέντι 10 πρώτω γενομένω παντάπασιν άμυδρῶ. ἐκοσμεῖτο δε κατά λόγον ψυχης δυνάμει έχούσης έν αύτη δι' όλης δύναμιν κατά λόγους κοσμείν οία και οί έν σπέρμασι λόγοι πλάττουσι καὶ μορφοῦσι τὰ ζῶα οξον μικρούς τινας κόσμους. ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν ἐφάψηται ψυχης, ούτω ποιείται ώς έχει φύσεως ψυχης ή 15 οὐσία ή δὲ ποιεῖ οὐκ ἐπακτῷ γνώμη οὐδὲ βουλήν ή σκέψιν ἀναμείνασα ουτω γάρ αν οὐ κατά φύσιν, άλλά κατ' ἐπακτὸν τέχνην ἃν ποιοῖ. τέχνη γὰρ ύστέρα αὐτῆς καὶ μιμεῖται ἀμυδρὰ καὶ ἀσθενῆ ποιοῦσα μιμήματα, παίγνια ἄττα καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ άξια, μηχαναίς πολλαίς είς εἴδωλον φύσεως 2 20 προσχρωμένη. ή δὲ οὐσίας δυνάμει κυρία σωμάτων

¹ Igal: ϵἴτα Enn., H-S¹: ἢ τὰ Theiler, H-S².

² suspic. H-S¹: εἰς εἴδωλον φύσιν Enn., Perna: εἰς εἰδώλων (Pernams) φύσιν Creuzer* (ad simulacra pingenda Ficinus), sed φύσις aliud ac κατὰ φύσιν (lin. 16) significare non potest.

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10. With this understanding we must go back again to that which is always unchanged and grasp all as existing simultaneously; just as the air, the light, the sun, or the moon, the light and again the sun all exist simultaneously, but hold first, second and third positions, so here there is soul always static, or the first, then the next in order, like the last gleams of the light of a fire; afterwards the first coming from this last gleam is thought of as a shadow of fire, and then this at the same time is thought of as illuminated, so that it is as if a form hovered over what is cast upon soul, which at first was altogether obscure. It was given ordered beauty according to a formative rational principle, since soul has potentially in it, and throughout the whole of it, the power to set in order according to rational principles; just as the formative rational principles in seeds mould and shape living beings like little ordered universes. For whatever comes into contact with soul is made as the essential nature of soul is in a state to make it; and it makes, not according to a purpose brought in from outside, nor waiting upon planning and consideration; for in this way it would not make according to nature, but to an art brought in from outside. For art is later than soul, and imitates it, making dim and weak imitations, toys not worth much, bringing in many devices to help it in producing an image of nature. But soul is by its essential power in control

7 for his fullest critique of the idea of "artisan" creation. But Plotinus can be much more positive about art, and can even say that sometimes art can improve on nature because the artist's mind has direct access to the Forms in the Intelligible world of which natural things are images too, and sometimes, for various reasons, very imperfect ones; ep. V. 8. 1. 34 40.

¹ The context of this depreciation of art, which follows Plato's closely, should be noted. It is one of Plotinus's frequent assertions of the inferiority of planned, rational (in the ordinary human sense) activity as inferior to the divine, spontaneous activity which works without planning; cp. V. 8.

είς το γενέσθαι τε καὶ οὕτως ἔχειν ώς αὐτὴ ἄγει, οὐ δυναμένων τῶν ἐξ ἀργῆς ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῆ αὐτῆς βουλήσει. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὑστέροις ἄλληλα ἐμποδίζοντα πολλάκις ἀποστερεῖται τοῦ τυχεῖν μορφῆς 25 της οἰκείας, ην δ λόγος δ εν σμικρῷ θέλει· ἐκεῖ δε γιγνομένης καὶ τῆς ὅλης μορφῆς ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ τάξιν των γενομένων ἄμα ἐχόντων ἀπόνως τὸ γενόμενον καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως καλόν ἐστι. κατεσκευάσατο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλματα, τὰ δὲ ανθρώπων οἰκήματα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἄλλοις. τί γὰρ 30 έδει γίνεσθαι παρά ψυχης, η ών την δύναμιν εἰς τὸ

ποιείν έχει; πυρός μέν γάρ θερμά ποιείν, και τό ψύχοιν ἄλλου. ψυχης δε το μεν εν αὐτη το δε εξ αὐτης εἰς ἄλλο. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀψύχοις τὸ μὲν [ἐξ αὐτ $\hat{\omega}$ ν] 1 οἷον εὕδει κείμενον ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸ δὲ ⟨ἐξ αὐτῶν > 1 εἰς ἄλλο δμοιῶσαι πρὸς αύτὸ τὸ παθεῖν

35 δυνάμενον· καὶ κοινὸν δὴ τοῦτο παντὶ τῷ ἔντι είς δμοίωσιν έαυτω άγειν. ψυχής δὲ ἔργον καὶ τὸ έν αὐτῆ ἐγρηγορός τι καὶ τὸ εἰς ἄλλο ώσαύτως, ζην οδν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ποιεῖ, ὅσα μὴ ζη παρ' αύτων, καὶ τοιαύτην ζωήν, καθ' ήν αὐτή ζή. ζώσα οὐν έν λόγω λόγον δίδωσι τῷ σώματι, εἴδωλον οδ

40 έχει—καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἴδωλον ζωῆς, ὅσον δίδωσι τῷ σώματι-καὶ μορφάς σωμάτων, ὧν τοὺς λόγους

¹ transpos. Kleist (Studien 40): del. Dodds, B-T.

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of bodies, so that they come to be and are in the state to which soul leads them, since their first principles are unable to resist its will. In the things that come after one often hinders another and they are deprived of the attainment of their proper form, that which the formative principle operating on a small scale wishes them to have; but there in the universe as a whole, where the whole form is produced by soul and the things which are produced have all together an order, what has come into being is beautiful without labour or hindrance. But soul has constructed in the world shrines of gods and dwellings for men, and others for other creatures. For what else ought to come from soul except the things which it has the power to make? It belongs to fire to make things hot, and to something else to cool them; but one power belongs to soul which remains within it, and another which goes out to form something else. In soulless things the one power, so to speak, lies asleep in them; and the power from them which goes out to something else consists in making like themselves that which is capable of being affected: and this is of course common to all that exists, to bring things to likeness with themselves. But the work of soul is something awake, both that within it and in the same way that which goes out to something else. Soul therefore makes alive all the other things which do not live of themselves, and makes them live the sort of life by which it lives itself. So since it lives in a rational principle, it gives a rational principle to the body, an image of that which it has—for what it gives to the body is also [only] an image of life—and the shapes of body, of which it has the rational formative prinέχει· έχει δὲ καὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντων. διὸ πάντα καὶ δ κόσμος έχει.

11. Καί μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλαι σοφοί, ὅσοι έβουλήθησαν θεούς αὐτοῖς παρεῖναι ίερὰ καὶ άγάλματα ποιησάμενοι, είς την τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ἀπιδόντες, ἐν νῷ λαβεῖν ὡς πανταχοῦ μὲν εὐάγωγον 5 ψυχης φύσις, δέξασθαί γε μην ράστον αν είη άπάντων, εἴ τις προσπαθές τι τεκτήναιτο ὑποδέξασθαι δυνάμενον μοιράν τινα αὐτης. προσπαθές δέ τὸ ὁπωσοῦν μιμηθέν, ὤσπερ κάτοπτρον άρπάσαι είδός τι δυνάμενον. καὶ γὰρ ή τοῦ παντὸς φύσις πάντα εθμηχάνως ποιησαμένη είς μίμησιν ὧν 10 είχε τους λόγους, επειδή εκαστον ούτως εγένετο έν ύλη λόγος, δς κατά τὸν πρὸ ύλης ἐμεμόρφωτο, συνήψατο τῷ θεῷ ἐκείνῳ, καθ' ὅν ἐγίνετο καὶ εἰς ον είδεν ή ψυχή καὶ είχε ποιούσα. καὶ δὴ οὐχ οδόν τε ην άμοιρον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνον αὖ κατελθεῖν εἰς τοῦτον. ἦν δὴ νοῦς ἐκεῖνος ὁ 15 ἐκεῖ ἥλιος—οὖτος γὰρ ἡμῖν γινέσθω παράδειγμα τοῦ λόγου-ἐφεξῆς δὲ τούτω ψυχὴ ἐξηρτημένη μένουτος νου μένουσα. δίδωσι δή αύτη τὰ πέρατα ciples: it has these of gods and of everything. This, then, is why the universe too has everything.

11. And I think that the wise men of old, who made temples and statues in the wish that the gods should be present to them, looking to the nature of the All, had in mind that the nature of soul is everywhere easy to attract, but that if someone were to construct something sympathetic to it and able to receive a part of it, it would of all things receive soul most easily. That which is sympathetic to it is what imitates it in some way, like a mirror able to catch [the reflection of a form. Yes, the nature of the All, too, made all things skilfully in imitation of the [intelligible] realities of which it had the rational principles, and when each thing in this way had become a rational principle in matter, shaped according to that which was before matter, it linked it with that god in conformity with whom it came into being and to whom the soul looked and whom it had in its making.2 For it was certainly not possible for the thing made to be without a share in the god, nor again for the god to come down to the thing made. So that sun in the divine realm is Intellect—let this serve as an example for our discourse-and next after it is soul, dependent upon it and abiding while Intellect abides. This soul gives the edge of itself

Neoplatonic theurgic practice, though not without objection from the more rational members of the school: cp. Eunapius 475 (Maximus, Eusebius of Myndus, and the Emperor Julian).

¹ The allusion here is to the ancient Egyptian practice of ritually animating statues: cp. the Hermetic Asclepius 37. II p. 347 Nock-Festugière. It became a regular part of later

² For a fuller and more developed account of the making of the forms or rational principles in matter by Nature (the lowest, immanent part of universal Soul) and how the weak, dreamy form-making activity of Nature is linked through Soul with the divine forms in Intellect (here referred to as "the god") see III. 8. 1-5.

αὐτῆς τὰ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον τούτῳ τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ ποιεῖ διὰ μέσου αὐτῆς κἀκεῖ συνῆφθαι οἷον 20 έρμηνευτικὴ γενομένη τῶν τε ἀπ' ἐκείνου εἰς τοῦτον καὶ τῶν τούτου εἰς ἐκεῖνον, ὅσον διὰ ψυχῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνον φθάνει. οὐ γὰρ μακρὰν οὐδὲ πόρρω οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν καὶ αὖ πόρρω τῷ διαφορᾳ καὶ μὴ μίξει, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ [οὐ τόποις] ² καὶ συνεῖναι χωρὶς ὄν. θεοὶ δέ εἰσιν οὖτοι τῷ ἀεὶ μὴ 25 ἀποστατεῖν ἐκείνων, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐξαρχῆς ψυχῷ προσηρτῆσθαι τῷ οἷον ἀπελθούσῃ ψυχῷ, ταύτῃ δέ, ἤπερ καὶ εἰσι καὶ δ λέγονται, πρὸς νοῦν βλέπειν οὐδαμοῦ ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐκεῖ βλεπούσης.

12. 'Ανθρώπων δὲ ψυχαὶ εἴδωλα αὐτῶν ἰδοῦσαι οἷον Διονύσου ἐν κατόπτρῳ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο ἄνωθεν όρμηθεῖσαι, οὐκ ἀποτμηθεῖσαι οὐδ' αὖται τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρχῆς τε καὶ νοῦ. οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ νοῦ

1 Theiler: τη̂ Enn.*, H-S1.

2 ut glossam post συνείναι delevimus.

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which borders on this [visible] sun to this sun, and makes a connection of it to the divine realm through the medium of itself, and acts as an interpreter of what comes from this sun to the intelligible sun and from the intelligible sun to this sun, in so far as this sun does reach the intelligible sun through soul. 1 For nothing is a long way off or far from anything else-distance in another sense is a matter of difference and not being mixed but [the divine] is by itself, and is with the world while remaining separate. These [heavenly bodies] are gods by for ever not departing from those intelligible gods and by being linked to the original soul by the soul which, so to speak, went away [to the visible world], and by this, by which they are what they are also called, they look towards Intellect, since soul for them never looks elsewhere than There.

12. But the souls of men see their images as if in the mirror of Dionysus ² and come to be on that level with a leap from above: but even these are not cut off from their own principle and from intellect.

to tear him to pieces and eat him; after they had done so Zeus destroyed them with his thunderbolts and men were made out of their ashes; so we contain a "Titanic", earthy, evil element and also a divine Dionysiac one which must be released by purification. Plotinus here simply takes the mirror, in which Dionysus enjoyed seeing his own reflection, as a symbol of the attractiveness of the visible world for the souls which must descend into it (all material things for him are reflections of soul). The later Neoplatonists worked out an elaborate allegorical interpretation of the whole story, in which the rending of Dionysus by the Titans symbolises the "division" of the divine power in the material world. The relevant passages are collected in O. Kern Orphicorum Fragmenta (Berlin 1963) 209. See further J. Pépin in Revue Internationale de Philosophie 24 (1970) 304-20.

¹ For the connection of the visible sun to the intelligible sun ep. Julian Oration IV (To King Helios) passim: though for Plotinus this relationship of the two suns is just an example of the way in which everything in the sense-world is linked to the intelligible, of the intimate presence of the divine in the whole material world, but in Julian it is a theological doctrine of central importance.

² For the Orphic story to which Plotinus here casually alludes see W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* 2nd ed. (London 1952) 122-3. The mirror was one of the toys with which the Titans lured away the child Dionysus-Zagreus

10 δίδωσιν ἀναπαύλας ἐν χρόνοις ποιῶν σωμάτων έλουθέρας, ιν' έχοιεν έκει και αθται γίνεσθαι, οθπερ ή του παντός ψυχή ἀεὶ οὐδὲν τὰ τῆδε έπιστρεφομένη. δ γὰρ ἔχει τὸ πῶν ἤδη, τοῦτο αὖταρκες αὐτῷ καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται, κατὰ λόγους ἀεὶ έστηκότας εν χρόνοις περαινόμενον καὶ κατά

15 χρόνους ἀεὶ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καθιστάμενον 1 ἐν μέτροις βίων ώρισμένων είς συμφωνίαν άγομένων τούτων 2 έκείνοις καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνα, [τῶνδε] ³ περαινομένων ύφ' ένα λόγον, πάντων τεταγμένων έν τε καθόδοις ψυγῶν καὶ ἀνόδοις καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα σύμπαντα. μαρτυρεί δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς συμφωνίας τῶν ψυχῶν

20 πρός τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντός τάξω οὐκ ἀπηρτημένων, άλλὰ συναπτουσῶν ἐν ταῖς καθόδοις ἑαυτὰς καὶ μίαν συμφωνίαν πρός την περιφοράν ποιουμένων, ώς καὶ τὰς τύχας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς προαιρέσεις σημαίνεσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἄστρων σχήμασι

25 καὶ οἷον μίαν τινὰ φωνὴν οὐκ ἐκμελῶς ἀφιέναι· καὶ

For they did not come down with Intellect, but went on ahead of it down to earth, but their heads are firmly set above in heaven. But they experienced a deeper descent because their middle part was compelled to care for that to which they had gone on, which needed their care. But Father Zeus, pitying them in their troubles, makes the bonds over which they have trouble dissoluble by death and gives them periods of rest, making them at times free of bodies, so that they too may have the opportunity of being there where the soul of the All always is, since it in no way turns to the things of this world. For what it has is the All already complete; this is and will be sufficient to itself: it completes its course periodically according to everlastingly fixed rational principles, and everlastingly returns to the same state, period by period, in a proportionate succession of defined lives, these here being brought into harmony with those there and completed according to them,1 everything being ordered under one rational principle in the descents of souls and their ascents and with regard to everything else. The harmonious adjustment of the souls to the order of this All of ours witnesses to this; they are not cut off from it, but fit themselves in in their descents and make one harmony with its circuit, so that their fortunes and their lives and their choices are indicated by the figures made by the heavenly bodies and they sing, as it were, with one

¹ Apc Bac, Perna, Creuzer, Müller*: καθιστάμενα Αβc EBpc RJUC, Kirchhoff, H-S.

² Theiler: ἀγόμενα ταῦτα Enn., H-S.

³ del. Theiler.

I adopt Theiler's text here (see critical notes), in spite of the three alterations of the MSS which he makes, because it seems to me to be the only way of giving a satisfactory sense to the passage and because the critical reasons he gives for his alterations seem to me persuasive (see his note ad loc.).

τὸ μουσικῶς καὶ ἐναρμονίως μᾶλλον τοῦτο εἶναι ἢνιγμένως. τοῦτο δὲ οἰκ ἄν ἦν μὴ τοῦ παντὸς κατ' ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦντος καὶ πάσχοντος ἕκαστα ἐν μέτροις περιόδων καὶ τάξεων καὶ βίων κατὰ γένη διεξόδων, οῦς αὶ ψυχαὶ διεξοδεύονσιν ὁτὲ μὲν ἐκεῖ, 30 ότὲ δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὁτὲ δὲ εἰς τούσδε τοὺς τόπους ἐπιστρεφόμεναι. νοῦς δὲ πᾶς ἀεὶ ἄνω καὶ οὐ μή ποτε ἔξω τῶν αὐτοῦ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ίδρυμένος πᾶς ἄνω πέμπει εἰς τὰ τἢδε διὰ ψυχῆς. ψυχὴ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν διάκειται εἶδος καὶ δίδωσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτήν, ἡ μὲν ὡσαύτως, 35 ἡ δὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, ἴσχουσα ἐν τάξει τὴν πλάνην. κάτεισι δὲ οὐκ ἀεὶ τὸ ἴσον, ἀλλ' ότὲ μὲν πλέον, ὁτὲ δὲ ἔλαττον, κἂν πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ γένος ἔŋ· κάτεισι δὲ εἰς ἔτοιμον ἐκάστη καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, τῆς διαθέσεως.

άνθρωπον, ή δε είς ζώον άλλη άλλο.
13. Το γαρ αναπόδραστον και ή δίκη ούτως εν φιίσει κρατούση ιέναι εκαστον εν τάξει προς δ εστιν εκαστον γενόμενον είδωλον προαιρέσεως και διαθέσεως άρχετύπου, και εστιν εκείνο παν 5 ψυχης είδος εκείνου πλησίον, προς δ την διάθεσιν την εν αύτη έχει, και τοῦ τότε πέμποντος και εισάγοντος οὐ δεῖ, οὕτε ἵνα ελθη εἰς σῶμα τότε

έκει γάρ, ὧ αν όμοιωθείσα ή, φέρεται, ή μεν είς

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voice and are never out of tune. (And this is more properly the hidden meaning of the doctrine that the heavenly spheres move musically and melodically.) 1 But this could not be if the action and experience of the All was not on all occasions in accordance with the intelligible realities, in its measuring of periods and orders and the living through of the lives according to their kinds which the souls live through, sometimes in the intelligible world, sometimes in heaven, and sometimes turning to these regions. But Intellect as a whole is always above, and could never be outside its own world, but is settled as a whole above and communicates with things here through soul. Soul, because it is nearer, is disposed according to the form which comes to it from Intellect, and gives to the things below it, one kind of soul always in the same way, the other in different ways at different times, having its wanderings arranged in regular order. But [the individual soul] does not always come down the same distance, but sometimes more, sometimes less, even if it comes to the same species [of body]: each soul comes down to a body made ready for it according to its resemblance to the soul's disposition. It is carried there to that to which it is made like, one soul to a human being and others to different kinds of animals.

13. The incscapable rule and the justice [which govern the descent of souls] are thus set in a natural principle which compels each to go in its proper order to that to which it individually tends, the image of its original choice and disposition: each form of soul in that world is close to that to which it has an internal disposition, and there is no need of anyone to send it or bring it into body at a particular time,

¹ The "fortunes and lives and choices" come from the concluding myth of Plato's Republic (see 617B). For a fuller discussion by Plotinus of this passage in Plato see III. 4. 5. Plotinus here, characteristically, interprets "the music of the spheres" allegorically to suit his own philosophical purposes. For the old literal interpretation of this Pythagorean doctrine see Cicero Somnium Scipionis 5. 10; and cf. P.-M. Schuhl Eludes sur la Fabulation Platonicienne (Paris 1947) 117 ff.

¹ Theiler, cf. IV. 4. 11. 19.

² Theiler: περὶ τὰς Enn., H-S: περὶ del. Volkmann*.

³ Theiler.

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⁴ Theiler: διοικήσεις Enn.* ,H-S.

5 Theiler: γινομένων R, H S: γιγνομένας Vitringa, Volkmann.

6 transposuimus.

⁷ Harder B-T: πέμπειν Enn.*

8 αὐτοῖς τοῖς Kirchhoff: αὐτοῖς Enn.: τοῖς H-S2.

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or into this or that particular body, but when its moment comes to it it descends and enters where it must as if of its own accord. Each has its own time and when it comes, like a herald summoning it, the soul comes down and goes into the appropriate body, so that what happens is like a stirring and carrying away by magic powers and mighty attractions: it is like the way in which the ordered development of a living thing comes to its fulfilment as [its soul] stirs and produces everything in its time-for instance sprouting of beards and horns, and at the moment special impulses, and breaking out into spots in excessive numbers which were not there before, and like the ordered development of trees coming about at its appointed time. The souls go neither willingly nor because they are sent, nor is the voluntary element in their going like deliberate choice, but like a natural spontaneous jumping or a passionate natural desire of sexual union or as some men are moved unreasoningly to noble deeds. Each special kind has its special destiny and moment, one now and one at another time. Intellect which is before the universe has its destiny too, to remain There, however much it also sends out; and the individual, which is subordinated to the universal, is sent according to law. For the universal bears heavily upon the particular, and the law does not derive from outside the strength for its accomplishment, but is given to be in those themselves who are subject to it, and they

14. Τούτων δη γινομένων φωτα πολλά δ κόσμος οῦτος ἔχων καὶ καταυγαζόμενος ψυχαῖς ἐπικοσμειται ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἄλλους κόσμους ἄλλον παρ΄ ἄλλου κομιζόμενος, παρά τε θεῶν ἐκείνων παρά τε υῶν τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς διδόντων· οῖον εἰκὸς καὶ τὸν μῦθον αἰνίττεσθαι, ὡς πλάσαντος τοῦ Προμηθέως τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπεκόσμησαν αὐτὴν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι θεοί· γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν, καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἐνθεῖναι φωνήν, θεαῖς δ' ὁμοίαν τὸ εἶδος, καὶ ᾿Αφροδίτην τι δοῦναι καὶ Χάριτας καὶ ἄλλον ἄλλο δῶρον καὶ ὀνομάσαι ἐκ τοῦ δώρου καὶ πάντων τῶν δεδωκότων· πάντες γὰρ τούτω ἔδοσαν τῷ πλάσματι παρὰ προμηθείας τινὸς γενομένω. ὁ δὲ Ἐπιμηθεὺς ἀποποιούμενος τὸ

bear it about with them. And if the time comes too, then what it wills to happen is also brought about by beings themselves in whom it is present, so that they accomplish it themselves because they bear it about, strong by its firm establishment in them; it makes itself a sort of weight in them and implants a longing, a birth pang of desire to come there where the law within them as it were calls them to come.¹

14. Because all this has happened this universal order of ours, which has many lights and is illuminated by souls, is being further set in order and adorned, receiving new ordered beauties over and above its former ones, one from one source and one from another, from the gods of that other world and the other intellects which give souls 2; it seems likely that this is the hidden meaning of the story that when Prometheus had made the woman the other gods too helped to adorn her; that "he mixed earth with water ", and gave her a human voice, and made her like the goddesses in appearance, and that Aphrodite gave her something and the Graces, and different gods gave her different gifts, and that she took her name from the gift and all the givers: for all gave something to this formation which came into existence as a result of a forethought (or "providence"). But what could Epimetheus rejecting

its purpose is to reconcile the divergent accounts, pessimistic and optimistic, given by Plato in different dialogues. But there does not seem to be any fundamental difference between the thought of IV. 8 and the thought of this chapter. See further my Introductory Note to IV. 3-5, p. 26 ff.

² Cp. VI. 4. 14. 18-19 (from a treatise written shortly before this one) where the population of the intelligible world is described as including men (in their pure intelligible state) as well as gods.

¹ περιφέροντας λαχύσαντα Vitringa, Harder, Cilento, Β-Τ: περιφέροντα καὶ λαχύσαντα Enn.: περιφέροντας καὶ λαχύσαντας H-S¹.

¹ The teaching of this chapter about the descent of the human soul should be carefully compared with that in the early treatise On the Descent of the Soul IV. 8. 3-6. In this treatise one can see particularly clearly the variations of emphasis and the fluctuations between optimism and pessimism about the material world and our life in it which are characteristic of Plotinus' discussions of this subject, because

δῶρον αὐτοῦ τί ἂν σημαίνοι ἢ τὴν τοῦ ἐν νοητῷ μᾶλλον αἴρεσιν ἀμείνω εἶναι; δέδεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς 15 ὁ ποιήσας, ὅτι πως ἐφάπτεται τοῦ γενομένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος δεσμὸς ἔξωθεν· καὶ ἡ λύσις ἡ ὑπὸ 'Ηρακλέους, ὅτι δύναμίς ἐστιν αὐτῷ, ὥστε καὶ ὧς λελύσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οῦν ὅπῃ τις δοξάζει, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐμφαίνει τὰ τῆς εἰς τὸν κόσμον δόσεως, καὶ προσάδει τοῦς λεγομένοις.

15. "Ιασι δὲ ἐκκύμασαι τοῦ νοητοῦ εἰς οὐρανὸν μὲν πρῶτον καὶ σῶμα ἐκεῖ προσλαβοῦσαι δι' αὐτοῦ ἤδη χωροῦσι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γεωδέστερα σώματα, εἰς ὅσον ἄν εἰς μῆκος ἐκταθῶσι. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἀπ' 5 οὐρανοῦ εἰς σώματα τὰ κατωτέρω, αἱ δὲ ἀπ' ἄλλων εἰς ἄλλα εἰσκρινόμεναι, αἶς ἡ δύναμις οὐκ ἤρκεσεν ἄραι ἐντεῦθεν διὰ βάρυνσιν καὶ λήθην πολὺ ἐφελκομέναις, δ αὐταῖς ἐβαρύνθη. γώονται δὲ

the gift of what had been formed signify except that the choice of a life lived more in the intelligible world is the better one? And the maker is bound because he is somehow in contact with that which he has made, and a bond of this kind is external; and his freeing by Heracles means that he has power even so to free himself. This interpretation is as anyone likes to think it, except that the story displays the gifts made to the universal order and is in harmony with what we say.

15. The souls when they have peeped out of the intelligible world go first to heaven, and when they have put on a body there go on by its means to earthier bodies, to the limit to which they extend themselves in length.² And some souls [only] come from heaven to lower bodies; others pass from one body into another, those whose power is not sufficient to lift them from this region because they are weighed down and forgetful, dragging with them much that weighs upon them. They become different

moon, and that consequently the primary and proper material abode of souls is in this higher region from which they descend, assuming progressively inferior sorts of bodies according to the depth of their descent, the earthly body being the last and lowest: cp. chs. 9 and 17 of this treatise and Appendix II, The Astral Body in Neoplatonism in Proclus The Elements of Theology ed. E. R. Dodds, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963) 313-21. Philosophical cosmic religion was something which Plotinus took seriously. He defends it vigorously against astrological superstition in II. 3 and against the Gnostic contempt for the divinities of the visible heaven in II. 9. But it occupies a place of moderate importance in his thought, and is not easy to reconcile with other aspects of it; and the idea of "astral" or "pneumatic" bodies superior to our earthly bodies is of much less importance to him than the belief in the divinity of the heavenly bodies.

¹ The story of Prometheus, Epimetheus and Pandora here follows Hesiod, with slight variations: for the making of Pandora see Hesiod Op. 60–89; for the binding and loosing of Prometheus see Hesiod Theog. 521–8. Plotinus' remark about his own casual allegorical interpretation (line 17) shows how little seriously he took this sort of thing. The ancient myths do of course for him, as for other men of his age, express profound truths in symbolic form. But as long as you recognise what the truths are, it does not matter whether you discover them in any particular myth, or how you interpret the details of the poets' stories.

² Here there appears the "cosmic religiosity" which Plotinus shared with other philosophers of late antiquity: the belief, that is, that the celestial regions and the heavenly bodies are divine and far closer to any higher, spiritual or intelligible, divinities there may be, than the world below the

16. Τὰ μὲν οὖν γινόμενα τιμωρήματα εἰς τοὺς πονηροὺς μετὰ δίκης τῆ τάξει ἀποδιδόναι προσήκει ὡς κατὰ τὸ δέον ἀγούση ὅσα δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς συμβαίνει ἔξω δίκης, οἷον κολάσεις ἢ πενίαι ἢ τόσοι, ἄρα διὰ προτέρας ἁμαρτίας λεκτέον γίνεσθαι; συμπέπλεκται γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ προσημαίνεται, ὡς 84

περιάγουσα, ώς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς κατελθοῦσιν

είναι, ὅτι οὕτως, ώς τὰ μὲν ώδὶ τεθῆναι, τὰ δὲ ώδὶ

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either because of the variety of the bodies into which they entered or because of their fortunes or their upbringing, or they themselves bring with them a difference coming from themselves, or all these causes, or some of them, operate together to produce the differences. And some of them have altogether become subject to the destiny of this world, but others are sometimes subject to it and sometimes belong to themselves; others again accept all that it is necessary to endure, but are able to be selfpossessed in all that is their own work, living according to another code of laws, that which governs the whole of reality, and submitting themselves to [this] other ordinance. This code of laws is woven from all the rational principles and causes here below, and the movement of souls and the laws which come from the intelligible world; it is in harmony with these last, and takes its principles from that world and weaves together what comes after with the intelligible principles, keeping undisturbed all things which can maintain themselves in accordance with the disposition of the intelligibles, and making the others circulate according to their natures, so that the responsibility lies with the souls which have come down for coming down in such a way that some are put in this place and others find themselves in that.

16. It is fitting to attribute the punishments which fall with justice on the wicked to the [universal] order in that it directs the world according to what is right; but as for all that happens without justice to the good, like [unjust] punishments or poverty or sickness, are these to be said to have come upon them because of previous sins? For these are woven in and signified beforehand, so that they too happen

PLOTINUS: ENNEAD IV. 3.

11.1

καὶ αὐτὰ κατὰ λόγον γίγνεσθαι. ἢ οὐ κατὰ λόγους φυσικούς ταθτα, οὐδ' ήν ἐν τοῖς προηγουμένοις, άλλ' έπόμενα έκείνοις οίον πιπτούσης τινός οἰκοδομίας τὸν ὑποπεσόντα ἀποθανεῖν ὁποῖός ποτ' 10 αν η, η καὶ ἵππων 1 δύο κατὰ τάξιν φερομένων η καὶ ένὸς τὸ ἐμπεσὸν τρωθῆναι ἢ πατηθῆναι. ἢ καὶ τὸ ἄδικον τοῦτο οὐ κακὸν ὂν τῷ παθόντι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου χρήσιμον πλοκήν. ἢ οὐδὲ ἄδικον ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν έχον ² τὴν δικαίωσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ μὲν δεῖ νομίζειν συντετάγθαι, τὰ δὲ κεχαλάσθαι εἰς τὸ 15 αὐτεξούσιον. εἰ γὰρ κατ' αἰτίας γίγνεσθαι δεῖ καὶ φυσικάς ἀκολουθίας καὶ κατὰ λόγον ἕνα καὶ τάξιν μίαν, καὶ τὰ σμικρότερα δεῖ συντετάχθαι καὶ συνυφάνθαι νομίζειν. καὶ τὸ ἄδικον δὴ τὸ πορ' άλλου είς άλλον αὐτῷ μέν τῷ ποιήσαντι ἄδικον, 20 καὶ οἰκ ἀφείθη αἰτίας ὁ δράσας, συντεταγμένον δ' έν τῶ παντί οὐκ ἄδικον ἐν ἐκείνω οὐδ' εἰς τὸν παθόντα, άλλ' οὕτως ἐγρῆν. εἰδ' ἀγαθὸς ὁ παθών, είς αγαθὸν ή τελευτή τούτων. δεί γαρ τήνδε τήν σύνταξιν ο ὖκ ἀθεεὶ οὐδὲ ἄδικον, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῆ είς την τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀπόδοσιν νομίζειν, ἀδήλους 25 δὲ ἔχειν τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσι παρέχειν μέμψεως αἰτίας.

17. "Οτι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ νοητοῦ εἰς τὴν οὐρανοῦ ἴασιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τὸ πρῶτον χώραν, λογίσαιτο ἄν τις ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων. εἰ γὰρ οὐρανὸς ἐν τῷ αἰσθητῷ τόπῳ ἀμείνων, εἴη ἂν προσεχὴς τῶν νοητῶν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις.

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according to rational principle. No, these things do not occur according to the rational principles of nature and are not given in their premises, but are consequences of them; for instance, if a building falls the man who is underneath it is killed, whatever sort of man he is; or if two horses are moving in an orderly way-or even one-anything which gets in the way is injured or trampled. Or [we should think that this injustice is not an evil to the sufferer [and contributes] to the interweaving of the whole. Or it is not unjust because it has its justification from former faults. For one must not think that some things are contained in the order, while others are let loose for the operation of free will. For if things have to happen according to causes and rational sequences and according to one rational principle and a single order, one must think that the less important things too are contained in the order and woven in. And the injustice which one man does to another is certainly an injustice from the point of view of the doer, and the man who perpetrates it is not free from guilt, but as contained in the universal order it is not unjust in that order, or in relation to the sufferer, but it was ordained that he should so suffer. But if the sufferer is a good man, this will turn out for his good. For one must not think that the order is godless or unjust, but that it is accurate in the distribution of what is appropriate, but it keeps its reasons hidden and gives grounds for blame to those who do not know them.

17. One could deduce from considerations like the following that the souls when they leave the intelligible first enter the space of heaven. For if heaven is the better part of the region perceived by the

¹ Theiler: τινων Enn.*, H-S¹.

² Vitringa, Müller*: ἐχόντων Enn., H-S1.

5 ἐκείθεν τοίνυν ψυχοῦται ταῦτα πρῶτα καὶ μεταλαμβάνει ὡς ἐπιτηδειότερα μεταλαμβάνειν. τὸ δὲ γεηρὸν ὕστατόν τε καὶ ψυχῆς ἤττονος πεφυκὸς μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ τῆς ἀσωμάτου φύσεως πόρρω. πᾶσαι μὲν δὴ καταλάμπουσι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ διδόασιν οἶον τὸ πολὺ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκείνω,

10 τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖς ὑστέροις ἐναυγάζονται, αἱ δ' ἐπιπλέον κατιοῦσαι ἐναυγάζουσι μᾶλλον κάτω, αὐταῖς δὲ οὐκ ἄμεινον εἰς πολὺ προϊούσαις. ἔστι γάρ τι οἱον κέντρον, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτω κύκλος ἀπὰ αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμπων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἄλλος, φῶς ἐκ φωτός ἔξωθεν δὲ τούτων οὐκέτι φωτὸς κύκλος

15 ἄλλος, ἀλλὰ δεόμενος οὖτος οἰκείου φωτὸς ἀπορία αὐγῆς ἀλλοτρίας. ἔστω δὲ ρόμβος οὖτος, μᾶλλον δὲ σφαῖρα τοιαύτη, ἢ δὴ κομίζεται ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης—προσεχὴς γὰρ αὐτῆ—ὁσον ἐκείνη ἐναυγάζεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγα φῶς μένον ἐλλάμπει, καὶ διήκει κατὰ

20 λόγον έξ αὐτοῦ αὐγή, τὰ δ' ἄλλα συνεπιλάμπει, τὰ μὲν μένοντα, τὰ δ' ἐπιπλέον ἐπισπᾶται τῆ τοῦ ἐλλαμπομένου ἀγλαΐα. εἶτα δεομένων τῶν ἐλλαμπομένων πλείονος φροντίδος, ὥσπερ χειμαζομένων πλοίων κυβερνῆται ἐναπερείδονται πρὸς τὸ πλέον τῆ τῶν νεῶν φροντίδι καὶ ἀμελήσαντες αὐτῶν

See note on ch. 15. There is here a certain "creeping spatiality". Plotinus does not really think that any part of

the material universe, even the highest heaven, can be nearer

to the intelligible than any other, because the intelligible is

not in space at all. But here his language is influenced, per-

haps not only by the "cosmic religiosity" of his time, but by his favourite myth in Plato's *Phaedrus* (cp. 246D6–247E6).

² Cp. VI. 4. 9. 25-6 and the Nicene creed. It is interesting

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senses, it borders on the last and lowest parts of the intelligible. So these heavenly regions are first ensouled thence, and participate in soul first because they are better adapted to participate. But the body of earth is the last, and less naturally adapted to participate in soul and far from the bodiless nature. All souls then illuminate the heaven and give it the greatest and first part of themselves, but illuminate the rest of the world with their secondary parts: those which come down further throw their light lower, but it is not to their advantage to have gone on so far. For there is a kind of centre, and around this a circle shining out from it, and beyond these another, light from light 2: but outside these there is no longer another circle of light but this next circle through lack of its own light needs illumination from another source. Let this be a wheel, or rather a sphere of a kind which from the thirdfor it borders upon it-obtains all the illumination which that third receives. So the great light abides and shines, and its radiance goes out through the world in rational order and proportion; the other lights join in illuminating, some staying in their places, but others are more attracted by the brightness of what is illuminated. Then as the things which are illuminated need more care, just as the steersmen of ships in a storm concentrate more and more on the care of their ships and are unaware that

to find exactly this phrase ($\phi\hat{\omega}s$ & $\phi\omega\tau\delta s$) which appears in Plotinus in strongly subordinationist contexts, occupying an important place in the first great credal affirmation of non-subordinationist Trinitarian theology, where the Fathers of Nicaea are trying to state with the utmost possible emphasis that the Son is not inferior to the Father as one Plotinian hypostasis is to that above it.

⁸⁸

αὐτῷ, καὶ παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ ζωὴν μένουσα πάντη έν $\tau \hat{\omega}$ ἄν ω .

18. Πότερα δὲ λογισμῷ ψυχὴ χρῆται πρὶν ἐλθεῖν καὶ πάλιν αὖ ἐξελθοῦσα; ἢ ἐνταῦθα ὁ λογισμὸς εγγίγνεται εν απόρω ήδη ούσης και φροντίδος πληρουμένης και μαλλον άσθενούσης έλάττωσις 5 γὰρ νοῦ εἰς αὐτάρκειαν τὸ λογισμοῦ δεῖσθαι: ωσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τέχναις ὁ λογισμὸς ἀποροῦσι τοις τεχνίταις, όταν δέ μη χαλεπον ή, κρατεί και έργάζεται ή τέχνη. ἀλλ' εἶ ἐκεῖ ἄνευ λογισμῶν, πῶς ἄν ἔτι λογικαὶ εἶεν; ἢ ὅτι δύνανται, εἴποι τις άν, όταν περίστασις, εὐπορήσαι διασκοποῦσαι.

10 δεί δε του λογισμού λαβείν του τοιούτον επεί εί τις λογισμόν λαμβάνει την έκ νοῦ ἀεὶ γινομένην καὶ οὖσαν ἐν αὐταῖς διάθεσιν, καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἑστῶσαν καὶ οἷον ἔμφασιν οὖσαν, εἷεν ἂν κάκεῖ λογισμῷ χρώμεναι. οὐδὲ δὴ φωναῖς, οίμαι, χρῆσθαι νομιστέον ἐν μὲν τῶ νοητῷ οὖσας καὶ πάμπαν, σώματα 15 δ' έχούσας έν οὐρανώ, όσα μεν διὰ χρείας η δι'

¹ Theiler: $\tau \epsilon$ Enn.*, H-S¹.

they are forgetting themselves, that they are in danger of being dragged down with the wreck of the ships, these souls incline downwards more with what is theirs. Then they are held fettered with bonds of magic, held fast by their care for [bodily] nature. But if every living creature was like the All, a perfect and sufficient body and in no danger of suffering, then the soul which is said to be present would not be present in it, and would give it life while remaining altogether in the upper world.

18. Does the soul use discursive reasoning before it comes and again after it goes out of the body? No, discursive reasoning comes into it here below, when it is already in perplexity and full of care, and in a state of greater weakness; for feeling the need of reasoning is a lessening of the intellect in respect of its self-sufficiency; just as in the crafts reasoning occurs when the craftsmen are in perplexity, but, when there is no difficulty, the craft dominates and does its work. But if they are without reasoning processes there, how could they still be reasonable? Because they are capable, one might say, when the circumstances arise, of considering rationally with the greatest of ease. But one must understand reasoning in this sort of sense; because if one understands reasoning to be the state of mind which exists in them always proceeding from Intellect, and which is a static activity and a kind of reflection of Intellect, they would employ reasoning in that other world, too. Nor do I think that we should suppose that they use speech in the intelligible world, and altogether, even if they have bodies in heaven, there would be none of that talk there which they engage in here because of needs or over doubtful and dis-

¹ For the "magic" of the physical universe, the living power of its organic unity on which the art of the magician depends, see IV. 4. 40.

19. Πότερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμέριστον καὶ μεριστόν ώσπερ κραθέντων, η άλλη μέν καί κατ' άλλο τὸ ἀμέριστον, τὸ δὲ μεριστὸν οἶον ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἔτερον μέρος αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ τὸ μὲν λογιζόμενόν 5 φαμεν άλλο, τὸ δὲ άλογον; γνωσθείη δ' αν ληφθέντος τί λέγομεν έκάτερον. ἀμέριστον μέν οδν άπλως είρηται αὐτώ, μεριστόν δὲ οὐχ άπλως, άλλα περί τα σώματά φησι γινομένην μεριστην καὶ ταύτην οὐ γεγενημένην. την δή σώματος 10 φύσιν δράν δεῖ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν οἴας ψυχῆς προσδεῖται, καὶ ὄ τι δεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς πανταχοῦ τῷ σώματι καὶ όλω παρείναι. πᾶν μὲν δὴ τὸ αἰσθητικόν, εἴπερ διὰ παντὸς αἰσθήσεται, ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ μερίζεσθαι· πανταγοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὂν μεμερίσθαι ἂν λέγοιτο· όλον δέ πανταχοῦ φαινόμενον οὐ μεμερίσθαι αν 15 παντελώς λέγοιτο, περί δὲ τὰ σώματα γίγνεσθαι μεριστόν. εἰ δέ τις λέγοι ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις αἰσθήσεσι

puted points; but as they do everything they do in order and according to nature they would not give orders or advice and would know by intuition what passes from one to another. For here below, too, we can know many things by the look in people's eyes when they are silent; but there all their body is clear and pure and each is like an eye, and nothing is hidden or feigned, but before one speaks to another that other has seen and understood. But there is nothing absurd in spirits and souls in the air using voices; for they are [embodied] living creatures of a particular kind.

19. Are the "indivisible" and the "divisible" elements of the soul in the same place, as if they were mixed together, or is the "indivisible" in a different place and differently related, but the "divisible" so to speak following upon it and another part of soul, just as we say that the reasoning part is one thing and the unreasoning part another? This could be answered when it has been understood what we mean by each. The term "indivisible" is used without qualification, but "divisible" is not unqualified but Plato says that soul "becomes divisible in the sphere of bodies ", and not that it has already become so. One must then observe what kind of soul the nature of body requires in order to live, and what of soul must be present everywhere to body as a whole. Now the whole of the sense faculty, since it is going to operate throughout the whole body, comes to divide itself; for since it is everywhere it might be said to be divided; but since it appears everywhere as a whole, it could be said not to be absolutely and completely divided, but to become "divisible in the sphere of body". But if anyone

20 αὐξητικὸν ὡσαύτως· καὶ εἰ περὶ τὸ ἦπαρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν καρδίαν ὁ θυμός, ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων. ἀλλ' ἵσως ταῦτα οὐ παραλαμβάνει ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μίγματι, ἵσως δὲ ἄλλον τρόπον καὶ ἔκ τινος τῶν παραληφθέντων ταῦτα.

25 λογισμός δὲ καὶ νοῦς; οὐκέτι ταῦτα σώματι δίδωσιν αὐτά καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν οὐ δι ὀργάνου τελεῖται τοῦ σώματος ἐμπόδιον γὰρ τοῦτο, εἴ τις αὐτῷ ἐν ταῖς σκέψεσι προσχρῷτο. ἄλλο ἄρα ἐκάτερον τὸ ἀμέριστον καὶ μεριστόν, καὶ οὺχ ὡς ἔν κραθέντα, ἀλλ' ὡς ὅλον ἐκ μερῶν ἑκατέρου

30 καθαροῦ καὶ χωρὶς τῆ δυνάμει. εἰ μέντοι καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ σώματα γιγνόμενον μεριστὸν παρὰ τῆς ἐπάνω δυνάμεως ἔχει τὸ ἀμέριστον, δύναται τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀμέριστον καὶ μεριστὸν εἶναι, οἷον κραθὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸ ἐλθούσης ἄνωθεν δυνάμεως.

20. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τόπῳ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς ψυχῆς λεγόμενα μέρη, ἢ ταῦτα μὲν ὅλως οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐν τόπῳ καὶ ποῦ, ἢ ὅλως οὐδέν, ἐπιστῆσαι ποοσήκει. εἴτε γὰρ μὴ ἀφοριοῦμεν

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says that it is not divided at all in the other senses, but only in that of touch, we must reply that it must divide itself in the others too in this way, since it is body which participates in it, but less than in the sense of touch. And the plant principle in it, too, and the principle of growth are divided in the same way; and if desire is in the region of the liver and the spirited part in the region of the heart, the same argument will apply to them. But perhaps Plato does not admit that these sensations occur in the mixture of which we have been speaking: perhaps he considers that they arise in another way and as a result of some one of the things which have been already received.1 But what about reasoning and intellect? These no longer give themselves to the body; for their work is not done through the instrument of the body: for this gets in the way if one uses it in rational investigations. So then the "indivisible "and the "divisible" are two different things, and not like one mingled thing but like a whole of parts, each of which is pure and separate in its power. If, however, that which is "divisible in the sphere of bodies "holds the "indivisible "from a higher power, this same thing can be both indivisible and divisible, as if it was mixed from itself and the power which comes into it from above.

20. It is proper that we should pay attention to the question whether these and the other so-called parts of the soul are in place, or whether these are

¹ With Theiler I take the subject of παραλαμβάνει here to be "Plato", not, as most editors (including Henry-Schwyzer), "the body". Plotinus in this chapter is trying to give a coherent and philosophically satisfactory exposition of Plato's account of human psychology in the Timaeus, based on the often quoted text 35A1-3, to which he refers at the beginning

of the chapter. At this point he seems somewhat uneasy about Plate's firm attribution of different parts of the soul to different parts of the body in 70-71. In the next sentence he turns, perhaps with relief, to the clear-cut dualism of *Phaedo* 65.

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not in any way in place but the others are, and where they are, or whether no part of the soul is in any way in place. For either, if we do not allot a place to each of the parts of the scul and put none of them anywhere,1 not making them any more inside the body than outside, we shall make the body soulless, and shall find it difficult to see how the works of the soul which are done through bodily instruments ought to come about; or, if we give a place to some of them, but not to others, then it will appear that we are not making those to which we do not give a place work within us, so that the whole of our soul is not in us. Now we must say in general that neither any of the parts of the soul nor the whole soul are in body as in a place. For place is something encompassing, and encompassing body, and where each divided part is, there it is [and nowhere else] so that the whole is not [as a whole] in any place; but soul is not a body, and is no more encompassed than encompassing. It is certainly not in the body as in a receptacle either.2 For the body would be soulless, whether it encompassed the soul as a receptacle or as a place, unless perhaps "it was ensouled" by a sort of transmission from the soul which remained collected together in itself, and then the amount of which the receptacle partakes will be lost to soul. But place in the strict and proper sense is bodiless and not a body: so what need would it have of soul? And body would come near to soul with its edge, not with itself. And many other objections could be made to [soul's being in body] as in place.

thinks that, if one is to use spatial metaphors at all, it is letter to say that body is in soul than that soul is in body: cp. e.g. lines 14-15 here and ch. 22, 8-9.

¹ The sense seems much better if, with Theiler, we omit the comma between ψυχ $\hat{\gamma}$ s and τόπου printed by Henry-Schwyzer.

² The denial that soul is in body as a place or a receptacle

is normal Aristotelian dectrine: ep. the long critical discussion of ways in which the soul may be said to be "in" the body by Alexander of Aphrodisias De Animu 13-15 Bruns, of which Plotinus makes use here and in the next chapter. Plotinus

έν τόπω είναι. καὶ γὰρ συμφέροιτο ἂν ἀεὶ ὁ τόπος, καὶ αὐτό τι ἔσται τὸν τόπον αὐτὸν περιφέρον. 25 ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ ὁ τόπος διάστημα εἴη, πολὺ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἂν εἴη ὡς ἐν τόπω τῷ σώματι. τὸ γὰρ διάστημα κενὸν εἶναι δεῖ· τὸ δὲ σῶμα οὐ κενόν, ἀλλ' ἴσως έν ὧ τὸ σῶμα ἔσται, ὥστε ἐν τῷ κενῷ τὸ σῶμα. άλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ὡς ἐν ὑποκειμένω ἔσται τῷ σώματι. τὸ γὰρ ἐν ὑποκειμένω πάθος τοῦ ἐν ῷ, ὡς χρῶμα 30 καὶ σχημα, καὶ χωριστὸν ή ψυχή. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ώς μέρος ἐν ὅλω· οὐ γὰρ μέρος ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος. εὶ δέ τις λέγοι, ώς ἐν ὅλω μέρος τῷ ζώω, πρῶτον μὲν ή αὐτὴ ἂν μένοι ἀπορία, πῶς ἐν ὅλῳ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ώς ἐν τῶ ἀμφορεῖ τοῦ οἴνου ὁ οἶνος, ἢ ώς ὁ ἀμφορεύς, οὐδ' ή καὶ αὐτό τι ἐν αύτῷ ἔσται. 35 αλλ' οὐδ' ώς ὅλον ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι· γελοῖον γὰρ τὴν μεν ψυχὴν ὅλον λέγειν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα μέρη. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ώς είδος ἐν ὕλη· ἀχώριστον γὰρ τὸ ἐν ὕλη είδος, και ήδη ύλης ούσης ύστερον το είδος. ή δέ ψυχή τὸ είδος ποιεί ἐν τῆ ὕλη ἄλλη τοῦ είδους οὖσα. 40 εί δε ού το γενόμενον είδος, άλλα το χωριζόμενον φήσουσι, πῶς τοῦτο τὸ είδος ἐν τῷ σώματι, ουπω φανερον [καὶ χωριστον ή ψυχή]. πῶς οὖν ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡ ψυχὴ λέγεται πρὸς πάντων; ἢ ἐπειδή οὐχ δρατὸν ή ψυχή, ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμα. σῶμα οὖν ὁρῶντες, ἔμιμυχον δὲ συνιέντες, ὅτι κινεῖται 45 καὶ αἰσθάνεται, ἔχειν φαμέν ψυχὴν αὐτό. ἐν αὐτῷ άρα τῶ σώματι τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀκολούθως ἂν λέγοιμεν. εί δέ γε όρατον ή ψυχή καὶ αἰσθητον ἦν

¹ del. Volkmann* ut iteratum e lin. 29-30.

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For place would always be carried along with it, and body itself would be something carrying space itself about. But even if place is taken to mean interval, soul would still less be in body as in place. For an interval must be void; but body is not void; though that in which body is may be, so that body is in the void. But soul will certainly not be in body as in a substrate, either: for that which is in a substrate is an affection of that in which it is, colour and shape for instance, and soul is something separable. It is certainly not, either, like a part in the whole: for soul is not a part of body. If someone were to suggest that it was like a part in a whole living creature, first of all the same difficulty would remain about how it is in the whole: for it is not, presumably, as the wine is in the jar of wine, or the gallon in the gallon jar, or in the way in which some one thing is in itself. But it is not, either, in body as a whole is in its parts: for it would be absurd to say that the soul is a whole and the body its parts. But it is not, cither, present like the form in matter: for the form in matter is inseparable, and it comes afterwards to the matter which is already there. But soul makes the form in matter and is other than the form [which it makes]. But if they assert that it is not the form which comes to be in the matter, but the separate form, it is not yet clear how this is the form in the body. How then is it that the soul is said by everyone to be in the body? It is because the soul is not visible, but the body is, so we see the body and are aware that it is ensouled because it moves and perceives, and so say that it has soul. It would then be a natural consequence for us to say that the soul is actually in the body. But if the soul was visible

21. Τί οὖν; πῶς πάρεστιν, εἴ τις ἐρωτώη μηδέν αὐτὸς λέγων ὅπως, τί ἐροῦμεν; καὶ εἰ δμοίως πᾶσα, η ἄλλο μέρος ἄλλως, τὸ δ' ἄλλως; έπεὶ τοίνυν τῶν νῦν λεγομένων τρόπων τοῦ ἔν τινι 5 οὐδεὶς φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ σῶμα άρμόττων, λέγεται δὲ οὕτως ἐν τῷ σώματι εἶναι ή ψυχή, ώς δ κυβερνήτης έν τῆ νηί, πρὸς μέν τὸ χωριστήν δύνασθαι είναι τήν ψυχήν καλώς είρηται, τον μέντοι τρόπον, ώς νθν ήμεις ζητοθμεν, οθκ αν πάνυ παραστήσειεν. ώς μέν γάρ πλωτήρ κατά 10 συμβεβηκός αν είη εν αὐτῆ ὁ κυβερνήτης, ώς δὲ κυβερνήτης πῶς; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν πάσἢ τὴ νηί, ωσπερ ή ψυχή εν τῷ σώματι. ἀλλὰ ἇρα οὕτω φατέον, ώς ή τέχνη έν τοις δργάνοις, οίον έν τῷ οἴακι, [οῖον] 1 εὶ ἔμψυχος ὁ οἴαξ ἢν, ὤστε κυβερνητικήν είναι ένδον τήν κινούσαν τεχνικώς; νύν δέ 15 τοῦτο διαλλάττειν, ὅτι ἔξωθεν ἡ τέχνη. εἰ οὖν κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τὸ τοῦ κυβερνήτου τοῦ ἐνδύντος πρός τὸν οἴακα θείμεθα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι είναι ώς εν δργάνω φυσικώ-κινεί γάρ ούτως αὐτὸ έν οίς αν εθέλη ποιείν—δρ' αν τι πλέον ήμιν προς

¹ del. Volkmann*.

and perceptible, in every way surrounded by life and extending equally to all the extremities [of the body], we should not have said that the soul was in the body, but that the unimportant was in the more important, and what is held together in what holds it together, and that which flows away in that which does not.

21. Well then, how is it present? If someone asks the question and does not give any answer himself, what are we going to say? And is it all present in the same sort of way, or one part in one way and another in another? For indeed, none of the ways of a thing's being in anything which are currently spoken of fits the relationship of the soul to the body, but it is also said that the soul is in the body as the steersman is in the ship; this is a good comparison as far as the soul's ability to be separate from the body goes, but would not supply very satisfactorily the manner of its presence, which is what we ourselves are investigating. For the steersman as a voyager would be present incidentally in the ship, but how would he be present as steersman? Nor is he in the whole of the ship, as the soul is in the body. Are we then to say that it is present as the skill is in the tools, in the rudder for instance, so that if the rudder was ensouled the steersman's skill which moves it according to the rules of his art would be within it? But the difference is this, that the skill comes from outside. If then, according to the model of the steersman who has got into the rudder, we stated that the soul was in the body as in a natural tool-for this is how the soul moves the body in whatever it wants to do-should we gain any advantage from the next point of view of our investiga-

τὸ ζητούμενον γένοιτο; ἢ πάλιν ἀπορήσομεν πῶς 20 ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ, καίτοι τρόπος οὕτος ἔτερος τῶν πρόσθεν ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔτι ποθοῦμεν ἐξευρεῖν καὶ έγγυτέρω προσελθείν.

22. 'Αρ' οδύ ούτω φατέου, όταν ψυχή σώματι παρή, παρείναι αὐτὴν ώς το πύρ πάρεστι τῷ ἀέρι; καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τοῦτο παρὸν οὐ πάρεστι καὶ δι' όλου παρον ούδενὶ μίγνυται καὶ ἔστηκε μὲν αὐτό, 5 τὸ δε παραρρεί· καὶ ὅταν ἔξω γένηται τοῦ ἐν ῷ τὸ φως, ἀπηλθεν οὐδὲν ἔχων, ἕως δέ ἐστιν ὑπὸ τὸ φως, πεφώτισται, ωστ' δρθως έχειν καὶ ένταῦθα λέγειν, ώς ὁ ἀὴρ ἐν τῷ φωτί, ἤπερ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῷ άέρι. διὸ καὶ Πλάτων καλῶς τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ θεὶς ἐν τω σώματι ἐπὶ τοῦ παντός, ἀλλὰ τὸ σωμα ἐν τῆ 10 ψυχῆ, καί 1 φησι τὸ μέν τι εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ῷ τὸ σωμα, τὸ δὲ ἐν ὧ σωμα μηδέν, ὧν δηλονότι δυνάμεων οὐ δεῖται τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν άλλων ψυχῶν ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος. τῶν μὲν ἄλλων δυνάμεων ούδὲ παρουσίαν τῷ σώματι λεκτέων τῆς ψυχῆς εἶναι, 15 ὧν δὲ δείται, ταῦτα παρείναι, καὶ παρείναι οὐκ ενιδρυθέντα τοις μέρεσιν αὐτοῦ οὐδ' αὖ τῷ ὅλῳ, καὶ

πρὸς μὲν αἴσθησιν παρεῖναι παντὶ τῷ αἰσθανομένω τὸ αἰσθητικόν, πρὸς δὲ ἐνεργείας ήδη ἄλλο ἄλλω.

23. Λένω δὲ ὧδε· τοῦ σώματος πεφωτισμένου

1 καί (etiam) Enn.: del. Vitringa, H-S2.

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tion? We shall again be in a difficulty about how it is in the tool, though this is a way of being in the body different from those mentioned before; all the same we are still anxious to discover it completely and approach nearer to the goal of our investigation.

22. Are we to say then that when soul is present to body it is present as fire is present to air? For this too like soul is present without being present, and is present throughout the whole and mixed with none of it, and stays still itself while the air flows past; and when the air goes outside the space where the light is, it departs without retaining anything of it, but while it is under the light it is illuminated, so that one can rightly say here too that the air is in the light rather than the light in the air. That is why Plato 1 rightly does not put the soul in the body when he is speaking of the universe, but the body in the soul, and says also that there is a part of the soul in which body is and part in which there is no body, clearly the powers of the soul of which the body has no need. And the same principle clearly applies to the other souls. We must not say that there is even a presence of the other powers of soul to the body, but that the powers which it needs are present, and present without being situated in its parts, or in the whole either, and the sense-faculty is present to the whole of the perceiving body for the purposes of sense-perception, but one part at one time to one and one to another according to the [particular] sense-activity [which is going on].

23. What I mean is this: when the ensouled body is illuminated by soul, one part of it participates in

¹ The reference is to Timaeus 36D9-E3: cp. ch. 20, n. 2.

τοῦ ἐμψύχου ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλλο ἄλλως μεταλαμβάνειν αὐτοῦ μέρος καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀργάνου πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτηδειότητα, δύναμιν τὴν προσ-5 ήκουσαν είς τὸ ἔργον ἀποδιδοῦσαν, οὕτω τοι λέγεσθαι την μέν έν δφθαλμοῖς δύναμιν την δρατικήν είναι, την δ' έν ωσι την ακουστικήν, καί νευστικήν έν γλώσση, ὄσφρησιν έν ρίσί, τήν δέ άπτικήν εν παντί παρείναι· πρός γάρ ταύτην τήν αντίληψιν παν τὸ σωμα όργανον τῆ ψυχῆ είναι.1 10 τῶν δὲ ἀπτικῶν ὀργάνων ἐν πρώτοις τοῖς νεύροις όντων, ά δή και πρός την κίνησιν τοῦ ζώου την δύναμιν έχει, ένταῦθα τῆς τοιαύτης δούσης έαυτήν, άρχομένων δε άπο εγκεφάλου των νεύρων, την της αλσθήσεως καὶ όρμης άρχην καὶ όλως παντός τοῦ ζώου ἐνταῦθα ἔθεσαν φέροντες, οδ δηλονότι αί 15 άρχαὶ τῶν ὀργάνων, ἐκεῖ παρεῖναι τὸ χρησόμενον τιθέμενοι-βέλτιον δὲ λέγειν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ένεργείας της δυνάμεως έκει-οθεν γαρ έμελλε κινεῖσθαι τὸ ὄργανον, ἐκεῖ ἔδει οἷον ἐναπερείδεσθαι την δύναμιν τοῦ τεχνίτου ἐκείνην τὴν τῷ ὀργάνῳ πρόσφορον, μᾶλλον δέ οὐ τὴν δύναμιν—πανταχοῦ 20 γὰρ ἡ δύναμις—ἐκεῖ δὲ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἡ ἀρχή, οδ ἡ

¹ Beutler: παρείναι Enn.*

one way and one in another; and according to the adaptation of [each] sense-organ to its task, as soul gives [each] the appropriate power for its task, so the power in the eyes is called that of sight, the power in the ears that of hearing, and the power of taste is said to be present in the tongue, that of smell in the nostrils, and that of touch in the whole body: for the whole body is sense-organ to the soul for this perception. Since the organs of touch are in the first nerves, which also have the power to set the living being in motion because the appropriate soulpower communicates itself at this point, and since these nerves begin in the brain,1 they established the principle of perception and of impulse and in general of the whole living being in the brain, assuming that obviously that which was going to use the organs would be there where their beginnings were-but it would be better to say that the beginning of the actualisation of the potency [of perception] is there. For it was necessary that at the point from which the organ [or tool] was going to be moved that the power of the workman, as we may call it, which was appropriate to the tool should be fixed: or rather not the power—the power is everywhere—but the beginning of its actualisation at the point where the

centre and seat of the intelligence. Their discoveries had been used and developed by the great Galen (2nd century A.D.) and were well known in the time of Plotinus. Platonists welcomed these discoveries as confirmation of the view of Plato that intelligence was located in the head (Timaeus 44D—E: the reasons given are hardly scientific!) as against that of Aristotle, the Stoies and the Epicureans, who located intelligence in the heart—a view still defended by Alexander De Anima 94, 7 ff. and 98, 24 ff. Bruns: cp. H. J. Blumenthal Plotinus' Psychology (The Hague 1971) 75.

¹ The great doctor Herophilus of Chalcedon (first half of the 3rd century B.C.) and his younger contemporary Erasistratus of Ceos had discovered a great deal about the functions of the nervous system and the importance of the brain as its

άρχη τοῦ ὀργάνου. ἐπεὶ οὖν ή τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι δύναμις και ή τοῦ όρμαν ψυχης οὖσα 1 αἰσθητικης καὶ φανταστικής [φύσις] 2 ἐπάνω ἑαυτής εἶχε τὸν λόγον, ώς ἂν ⟨φύσις⟩ ² γειτονοῦσα πρὸς τὸ κάτω 25 οῦ αὐτὴ ἐπάνω, ταύτη ἐτέθη τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐν τοῖς άκροις τοῦ ζώου παντός ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ώς οὖσα οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλω, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τούτω τῷ αἰσθητικώ, δ ἐν τώ ἐγκεφάλω ἐκείνως ίδρυτο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔδει σώματι διδόναι, καὶ τῷ σώματος μάλιστα τῆς ἐνεργείας δεκτικῷ, τὸ δὲ σώματι 30 οὐδαμοῦ κοινωνοῦν πάντως ἐκείνω κοινωνεῖν ἔδει, δ ψυχης είδος ην και ψυχης δυναμένης τὰς παρὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀντιλήψεις ποιεῖσθαι. αἰσθητικὸν γὰρ κριτικόν πως, καὶ φανταστικόν οίον νοερόν, καὶ όρμη καὶ ὄρεξις, φαντασία καὶ λόγω έπόμενα. έκει οὖν τὸ λογιζόμενον οὐχ ὡς ἐν τόπω, ἀλλ' ὅτι 35 τὸ ἐκεῖ ἀπολαύει αὐτοῦ. πῶς δὲ τὸ ''ἐκεῖ'' ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ, εἴρηται. τοῦ δὲ φυτικοῦ αδ καὶ αὐξητικοῦ καὶ θρεπτικοῦ μηδενὸς ἀπολειπομένου, τρέφοντος δὲ τῷ αἵματι, τοῦ δὲ αἵματος τοῦ τρέφοντος εν φλεψίν όντος, άρχης δε και φλεβών καὶ αίματος ἐν ήπατι, οἶον 3 ἐναπερειδομένης 40 ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐνταῦθα ἡ τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ μοίρα της ψυχης οἰκεῖν ἀπεδόθη. ὁ γάρ τοι καὶ γεννά και τρέφει και αύξει, τοῦτο και τούτων

Theiler: οὕσης Enn.
 transpos. Igal.

organ begins. Since, then, the power of sensation which is also that of impulsion, belonging to the soul which perceives and imagines, has reason above it, as it were a nature in close contact on its underside with that which this is above, the ancients thus put reason at the highest point of the whole living creature at the head, supposing it to be not in the brain but in this perceptive faculty which in the way described above was situated in the brain. For one part of the soul had to give itself to body, and to the part of body most receptive of its activity, but the other part, which had no communication with body, was under the absolute necessity of communicating with the first part, which was a form of soul, and of soul capable of apprehending what came from reason. For the perceptive part of the soul is in some way capable of judgement, and the imaging part has a sort of intelligence, and impulse and desire are there following the lead of the imaging faculty, and reason. The reasoning part therefore is there in the perceptive not as in a place but because that which is there draws upon it. We have already explained the sense in which we say that the perceptive part is "there". The part of the soul too which we have in common with plants, which is responsible for growth and nutrition, is not absent from any part of the body, and since it nourishes by means of the blood, and the nourishing blood is in the veins, and the starting point of veins and blood is in the liver, it is as if this [nutritive] power was fixed there, and so the appetitive part of the soul was assigned this place to dwell in. For that which generates and nourishes and produces growth must necessarily also have an appetite for generation, nourishment and

Harder, H-S, cf. lin. 17: öθεν Enn.*

24. 'Αλλὰ ποῦ ἐξελθοῦσα τοῦ σώματος γενήσεται; ἢ ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐκ ἔσται, οὖ οὐκ ἔστι τὸ δεχόμενον όπωσοῦν, οὐδὲ δύναται παραμένειν τῷ μὴ πεφυκότι αὐτὴν δέχεσθαι, εἰ μή τι ἔχοι αὐτοῦ δ 5 έλκει προς αυτό άφρονα οῦσαν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν έκείνω, εὶ ἄλλο ἔχει, κἀκεῖ ἀκολουθεῖ, οὖ πέφυκε τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ γίνεσθαι. ὄντος δὲ πολλοῦ καὶ έκάστου τόπου, καὶ παρὰ τῆς διαθέσεως ἥκειν δεῖ το διάφορον, ήκειν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἐν τοῖς οὖσι δίκης. οὐ γὰρ μή ποτέ τις ἐκφύγοι, δ παθεῖν ἐπ΄ 10 ἀδίκοις ἔργοις προσήκει ἀναπόδραστος γὰρ δ θείος νόμος όμοῦ ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῶ τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸ κριθὲν ήδη. φέρεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πάσχων ἀγνοῶν ἐφ' ά παθεῖν προσήκει, ἀστάτω μὲν τῆ φορᾶ πανταχοῦ αλωρούμενος ταις πλάναις, τελευτών δε ώσπερ πολλά καμών οίς άντέτεινεν είς τον προσήκοντα 15 αὐτῷ τόπον ἐνέπεσεν, ἑκουσίῳ τῆ φορᾳ τὸ ακούσιον είς το παθεῖν ἔχων. εἴρηται δὲ ἐν τῷ

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growth. But since the thin, light, quick, pure blood is the proper organ for the spirited part of the soul, the spring of this, the heart—for this is where blood of this kind is separated out—is made to be the appropriate dwelling place for the seething of the spirited part.¹

24. But where will the soul be when it has left the body? It will not be here below, where there is nothing capable in any way of receiving it, and it cannot stay with that which is not naturally adapted to receive it, unless, because it is unreasonable, it still has something of body which draws it to it. If it has another body, it is in that, and accompanies it to the place naturally appropriate to its existence and development. But since there are many places for each as well [as many bodies], the difference between them must come from the disposition of the soul, and must come also from the justice in the nature of things. For no one can ever evade what he ought to suffer for his unrighteous doings: for the divine law is inescapable and has in itself together with the judgment already pronounced its execution. He too who is to suffer punishment is carried unknowing to what he has to suffer; on his unsteady course he is tossed about everywhere in his wanderings, and in the end, as if utterly weary, by his very efforts at resistance he falls into the place which suits him, having that which he did not will for his punish-

¹ Kirchhoff*.

² Kleist.

³ Kirchhoff*.

⁴ del. Ficinus, Creuzer*, iterata ex 24, 20-21.

¹ I print and translate here the text and punctuation adopted by Beutler-Theiler: the minor alterations by Kirchhoff and Kleist which they accept, the insertion of δυτος and the transposition of καρδία with their punctuation, seem to me to give a much better sense than the MSS text retained by Henry-Schwyzer.

25. Περὶ δὲ μνήμης, εἰ αὐταῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶνδε τῶν τόπων ἐξελθούσαις μνημονεύειν ὑπάρχει, ἢ ταῖς μέν, ταῖς δ' οὔ, καὶ πάντων ἤ τινων, καὶ εἰ μνημονεύουσιν ἀcἰ, ἢ ἐπί τινα 5 χρόνον τὸν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἀφόδου, ζητεῖν ὁμοίως ἄξιον. ἀλλ' εἰ μέλλομεν ὀρθῶς περὶ τούτων τὴν ζήτησιν ποιεῖσθαι, ληπτέον τί ποτε τὸ μνημονεῦόν ἐστι. λέγω δὲ οὐ τί μνήμη ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐν τίνι συνίστασθαι πέφυκε τῶν ὄντων. τί μὲν γάρ ἐστι μνήμη,

¹ transpos. Beutler.

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ment as a result of the course which he willed. But it is stated in the law how much and how long he must suffer, and again there come together the release from punishment and the ability to escape up from these regions by the power of the harmony which holds the universe together. But if the souls have bodies they have the capacity to be aware of bodily punishments: but those souls which are pure and do not in any way draw anything of body to them will necessarily also have no place anywhere in body. If then they are nowhere in body—for they have no body-a soul of this kind will be where substance and reality and the divine are-that is in god-there it will be with them and in him. But if you are still looking for the place where the soul is, you must look for the place where they are; but in looking you must not look for it with your eyes or in the way you look for bodies.

25. It is likewise worth investigating the question of memory, whether the souls themselves which have left these regions have the power of remembering or whether some of them have and others have not, and whether they remember everything or only some things, and if they always remember, or only for the time close after their departure. But if we are going to carry out our investigation of these questions correctly, we must understand what it is that remembers, I do not mean what memory is, but in what kind of realities it naturally exists. For what memory is, we have discussed elsewhere and there has been plenty of talk about it, but we must

Plotinus on memory other than the long ch. 3 of IV. 6 and the careful discussion of the subject and content of memory which follows immediately here has survived.

¹ It is not clear to what discussion of memory Plotinus is here referring. His short treatise On Sense-Perception and Memory (IV. 6) is, according to Porphyry, later than the present one (No. 41 in the chronological order). In the treatise III. 6 (26), written immediately before IV. 3-4, there is a brief treatment of memory which again seems to presuppose a previous discussion. In both these cases the references may be to oral discussions; at any rate, no trace of any writing of

15 εἰς αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ χρόνος, ἀλλ' αἰὼν περὶ τὸ ὄν, καὶ οὔτε τὸ πρότερον οὔτε τὸ ἐψεξῆς, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀεὶ ὡς ἔχει ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σὐ δεχόμενον παράλλαξιν. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμοίῳ πῶς ἂν ἐν μνήμῃ γένοιτο, οὐκ ἔχον οὐδ' ἴσχον ἄλλην κατάστασιν μεθ' ἣν εἶχε πρότερον, ἢ νόησιν ἄλλην μετ'

20 ἄλλην, ἴνα ἐν ἄλλη μὲν ἢ,² ἄλλης δὲ μνημονεύῃ ἣν εἶχε πρότερον; ἀλλὰ τί κωλύει τὰς ἄλλων μεταβολὰς εἰδέναι οὐ μεταβάλλοντα αὐτόν, οἷον κόσμου τὰς περιόδους; ἢ ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν πρότερον, ἄλλο δὲ ὕστερον νοήσει ἐπακολουθοῦν ταῖς τοῦ τρεπομένου μεταβολαῖς, τό τε μνημονεύειν παρὰ τὸ νοεῖν ἄλλο.

25 τὰς δὲ αὐτοῦ νοήσεις οὐ μνημονεύειν λοκτέον· οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον, ἵνα κατέχῃ μὴ ἀπέλθοιεν· ἢ οὕτω γε τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ φοβοῖτο μὴ ἀπέλθοι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ψυχὴν φατέον μνημονεύειν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἷον λέγομεν τὸ μνημονεύειν εἶναι ὧν ἔχει

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understand more exactly what it is that has the natural capacity of remembering. If memory is something acquired, either learnt or experienced, then memory will not be present in those realities which are unaffected by experience or those which are in the timeless. We must certainly not attribute memory to God, or real being or Intellect; for nothing [external] comes to them and there is no time, but eternity in which real being is, and there is neither before nor after, but it is always as it is, in the same state not admitting of any change.1 But how can that which stays in an identical and exactly similar state be in a condition of memory, when it neither has nor holds another way of being different from that which it had before, or one thought after another, so that it might stay in one and remember the other which it had before? But what prevents it from knowing the changes of other things without changing itself, the revolutions of the universe for instance? The reason is that it will think of one thing as before and another as after, following the changes of that which turns, and remembering is something different from thinking. One must not say that it remembers its own thoughts: for they did not come, so that it has to hold them fast to prevent them from going away; or in this way it would be afraid that its own essential nature might go away from it. In the same way, then, the soul must not be said to remember, either, in the sense in which we are speaking of remembering, the things

¹ Igal: ἐν χρόνω Enn.: ⟨μὴ⟩ ἐν χρόνω Kirchhoff, H-S¹⁻².

² H-S²: μὲν ἦ A^{ac}E, Kirchhoff*: μένη A^{pc}x∪C, Perna, Creuzer, H-S¹.

¹ The question whether divine beings (including higher souls and the World-Soul) have memory is fully treated and answered, as here, in the negative, in the latter part of the discussion which begins here (IV. 4. 16-17).

30 συμφύτων, άλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν, ἔχειν καὶ μη ἐνεργεῖν κατ' αὐτά, καὶ μάλιστα ἐνταῦθα ήκούση. τὸ δὲ ἐνεργεῖν ήδη—ταῖς ἐνεργούσαις ά είχου μνήμην καὶ ἀνάμνησιν προστιθέναι ἐοίκασιν οι παλαιοί. ὤσθ' ἔτερον είδος μνήμης τοῦτο διὸ καὶ χρόνος οὐ πρόσεστι τῆ οὕτω λεγομένη 35 μνήμη. άλλ' ίσως εύχερως περί τούτων έχομεν καὶ οὐκ έξεταστικώς. ἴσως γὰρ ἄν τις ἀπορήσειε, μήποτε οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ ἐκείνης ἡ λεγομένη τοιαύτη ανάμνησις και μνήμη, αλλά άλλης αμυδροτέρας, η τοῦ συναμφοτέρου τοῦ ζώου. εἴτε γὰρ ἄλλης, πότε ἢ πῶς λαμβανούσης; εἴτε τοῦ ζώου, πότε ἢ 40 πως; διὸ ζητητέον τί έστι των έν ήμεν τὸ τὴν μνήμην ισχον, όπερ καὶ έξ άρχης έξητουμεν καὶ εί μεν ή ψυχή ή μνημονεύουσα, τίς δύναμις ή τί μέρος, εί δὲ τὸ ζώον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ αἰσθανόμενον έδοξέ τισι, τίς ὁ τρόπος, καὶ τί ποτε δεῖ φάναι τὸ ζώον, καὶ ἔτι εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν αἰσθημάτων δεῖ 45 τίθεσθαι ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τῶν νοημάτων, ἢ άλλο τοῦ έτέρου.

26. Εἰ μέν οὖν τὸ ζῷον τὸ συναμφότερόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι ταῖς κατ' ἐνέργειαν, δεῖ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι τοιοῦτον εἶναι—διὸ καὶ κοινὸν λέγεται

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which it possesses as part of its nature, but when it is here below it possesses them and does not act by them, particularly when it has just arrived here. But as for its activity, the ancients seem to apply the terms "memory" and "recollection" to the souls which bring into act what they possessed. So this is another kind of memory; and therefore time is not involved in memory understood in this sense. But perhaps we are being too easy-going about this, and not really examining it critically. For someone might perhaps raise the difficulty that perhaps what is called memory and recollection of this kind does not belong to that [higher] soul, but to another dimmer one, or to the composite, the living creature. Now if it belongs to another soul, when or how did it get it? And if it belongs to the living creature. when or how? So we must enquire what it is of the things within us which possesses memory, which is just what we were enquiring from the beginning. And if it is the soul which remembers, which power or what part of it; but if it is the living creature just as the power of sense-perception has been thought by some to belong to this-how it works, and what one is to say that the living creature is, and, further, whether one must ascribe the apprehension of sense-perceptions and thoughts to the same thing, or a different one for each.

26. If then the composite living thing is involved in actual sense-perceptions, perception must be something like boring holes and weaving—that is why it is called "common" 1—in order that the soul

lower soul), which is the other element in the "composite living thing". See Blumenthal *Plotinus* Psychology 61. There is no reference to anything like Aristotle's $\kappa o \nu \eta$ ato $\theta \eta o \epsilon s$.

¹ The comparison of activities in which body and soul are both involved to craft activities like weaving is taken from Aristotle $De\ Anima\ A\ 4,\ 408b13$. But Plotinus has characteristically substituted the particular carpenter's operation $\tau\rho\nu n\hat{a}\nu$ "boring holes" for Aristotle's vaguer and more general $oleo\delta o\mu\epsilon\hat{v}\nu$ "building", to make the picture more vivid. κοινόν here means common to body and ϕ ύσις (nature or

—οἷον τὸ τρυπᾶν καὶ τὸ ὑφαίνειν, ἴνα κατὰ μὲν τὸν 5 τεχνίτην ή ψυχὴ ή ἐν τῶ αἰσθάνεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ὄργανον τὸ σῶμα, τοῦ μὲν σώματος πάσχυντος καὶ ύπηρετούντος, της δε ψυχής παραδεχομένης την τύπωσιν την τοῦ σώματος, η την διά τοῦ σώματος, η την κρίσιν, ην εποιήσατο έκ τοῦ παθήματος τοῦ σώματος οδ δή ή μέν αἴσθησις ούτω κοινὸν 10 ἔργον λέγοιτο ἄν, ἡ δὲ μνήμη οὐκ ἀναγκάζοιτο τοῦ κοινοῦ είναι τῆς ψυχῆς ἤδη παραδεξαμένης τὸν τύπον καὶ ἢ φυλαξάσης ἢ ἀποβαλούσης αὐτήν εἰ μή τις τεκμαίροιτο κοινόν καὶ τὸ μνημονεύειν είναι έκ τοῦ ταῖς κράσεσι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ μνημονικοὺς καὶ ἐπιλήσμονας ἡμᾶς γίγνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς 15 κωλυτικόν αν ή οὐ κωλυτικόν λέγοιτο τὸ σῶμα γίνεσθαι, της δε ψυχης το μνημονεύειν οὐχ ήττον εἴη. τῶν δὲ δὴ μαθήσεων πῶς τὸ κοινόν, ἀλλ' ούχ ή ψυχὴ ή μνημονεύουσα έσται; εί δὲ τὸ ζῶον τὸ συναμφότερον οὕτως, ὡς ἔτερον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν είναι, 20 πρώτον μὲν ἄτοπον μήτε σῶμα μήτε ψυχὴν τὸ ζῶον λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ μεταβαλόντων ἀμφοτέρων ετερόν τι εσται το ζώον οὐδ' αὖ κραθέντων, ώς δυνάμει την ψυχην έν τω ζώω είναι έπειτα 1 καὶ ουτως οὐδεν ήττον της ψυχης το μνημονεύειν έσται, ὥσπερ ἐν οἰνομέλιτος κράσει εἴ τι γλυκάζει, 25 παρὰ τοῦ μέλιτος τοῦτο ἔσται. τί οὖν, εἰ αὐτὴ μέν μνημονεύοι, τῶ δὲ $\langle τῶ \rangle^2$ ἐν σώματι εἶναι [τῶ] 2 μὴ καθαρὰ είναι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ποιωθείσα, αναμάττευθαι δύναται τοὺς τῶν αἰσθητῶν τύπους

may be in the position of the workman in perceiving and the body in that of the tool; the body experiences and serves, and the soul receives the impression made on the body, or the impression which comes through the body, or the judgment which it made as a result of the experience of the body: sense-perception would certainly have in this case to be called a common work, but memory would not have to belong to what was common, as the soul would have already received the impression and either kept it or thrown it away; unless one was going to conclude that remembering is a common activity from the fact that the mixture of bodily elements makes us have good or bad memories. But even so the body might be said to be obstructive or not obstructive, but remembering would none the less belong to the soul. And how can it be what is common, and not the soul, which is the principle which remembers what we study? But if the composite living thing is something of such a sort as to be different from both its components, first of all it is absurd to say that the living thing is neither body nor soul: for the living thing will not be something different as the result of both of them having changed, nor again as the result of their having been mixed, so that the soul is in the living thing potentially. And then even so remembering would belong just as much to the soul, as in a mixture of wine and honey any sweetness there is will be due to the honey. But suppose it itself remembers, but because it is not pure as a result of being in the body, but has a kind of special quality, it is able to receive the impressions made by the

Beutler: ἐπεὶ Enn.*
 transpos. Theiler.

καὶ τῷ οἶον ἔδραν ἐν τῷ σώματι πρὸς τὸ παραδέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ ώσπερ παραρρεῖν; ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μέν 30 οί τύποι οὐ μεγέθη, οὐδ' ωσπερ αὶ ἐνσφραγίσεις οὐδ' ἀντερείσεις ἢ τυπώσεις, ὅτι μηδ' ἀθισμός, μηδ' ωσπερ έν κηρῶ, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος οἶον νόησις καὶ έπὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν νοήσεων τίς ή αντέρεισις λέγοιτο αν; η τί δεί σώματος ή ποιότητος σωματικής μεθ' ής; άλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν 35 αύτης κινημάτων ἀνάγκη μνήμην αὐτη γίγνεσθαι, οΐον ὧν ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἀπέλαυσεν οὐδὲ ηλθεν είς σώμα τὸ ἐπιθυμητόν. πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴποι τὸ σῶμα περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς αὐτό; ἢ πῶς μετὰ σώματος μνημονεύσει, δ μη πέφυκε γινώσκειν όλως τὸ σῶμα; ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν λεκτέον εἰς ψυχὴν 40 λήγειν, ὅσα διὰ σώματος, τὰ δὲ ψυχῆς εἶναι μόνης, εί δεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν είναί τι καὶ φύσιν τινὰ καὶ ἔργον τι αὐτῆς. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἔφεσιν καὶ μνήμην της έφέσεως άρα καὶ της τεύξεως καὶ της οὐ τεύξεως, ἐπείπερ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆς οὐ τῶν 45 ρεόντων. εί γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο, οὐδε συναίσθησιν οὐδε παρακολούθησιν δώσυμεν οὐδέ τινα σύνθεσιν καὶ οίον σύνεσιν. οὐ γὰρ δή οὐδεν ἔχουσα τοῦτων έν τη φύσει αὐτης ταῦτα κομίζεται ἐν σώματι, ἀλλ' ένεργείας μέν τινας ισχει ών εργων δείται ή επιτέλεσις δργάνων, των δε τας δυνάμεις ήκει

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sense-objects 1 and is also able to do this because it has a kind of standing-ground in the body for receiving them and does not, so to speak, flow away? But to begin with, the impressions are not magnitudes; nor are they like seal-impressions or counter-pressures or stamps, because there is no pushing and it is not like what happens in wax, but the way of it is like thinking even in the case of sense-objects. But in acts of thought what counter-pressure could there be said to be? Or what need is there of a body or bodily quality as an accompaniment? But surely, too, the soul must have memory of its own movements, of what it desired, for instance, and of what it did not enjoy and the desired object did not enter the body. For how could the body speak of what did not come into it? Or how will it remember with the help of the body something which the body has been in no condition to know at all? But we must say that some things, all that come through the body, reach as far as the soul, and others belong to the soul alone, if the soul must be something, and a distinct nature, and have a work of its own. If this is so, it will have aspiration, and memory of its aspiration, and of attaining or not attaining it, since its nature is not one of those which are in a state of flux. For if this is not so, we shall not grant it self-awareress or consciousness of its own activities or any sort of power of combination and understanding. For it certainly is not the case that it has none of these in its own nature and acquired them in the body, but it has some activities of the works required for the completion of the bodily organs, and brings the potentialities of some of them with it when it comes, and the actualities of others. But as far as

An example of Plotinus's continually repeated attack on the corporealist Stoic theory of sense-perception: cp. SVF I 484 and II 343 for the theory; Plotinus's fullest statement of the Platonic case against Stoic psychology is IV. 7. 1–83 (ch. 6 deals with sense-impressions).

50 φέρουσα, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας. τὸ δὲ τῆς μνήμης καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐμπόδιον ἔχει· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν προστιθεμένων τινῶν λήθη, ἐν δ' ἀφαιρέσει καὶ καθάρσει ἀνακύπτει πολλάκις ἡ μνήμη. μονῆς δὲ οὔσης αὐτῆς ἀνάγκη τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν κινουμένην καὶ ῥέουσαν λήθης αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ
55 μνήμης εἶναι· διὸ καὶ ὁ τῆς Λήθης ποταμὸς οὖτος ἂν ὑπονοοῖτο. ψυχῆς μὲν δὴ ἔστω τὸ

πάθημα τοῦτο.

27. 'Αλλὰ τίνος ψυχῆς, τῆς μὲν λεγομένης ὑφ' ήμῶν θειοτέρας, καθ' ἥν ἡμεῖς, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ὅλου; ἢ λεκτέον εἶναι μνήμας ἐκατέρας, τὰς μὲν ἰδίας, τὰς δὲ κοινάς· καὶ ὅταν μὲν 5 συνῶσιν, ὁμοῦ πάσας, χωρὶς δὲ γενομένων, εἰ ἄμφω εἶεν καὶ μένοιεν, ἐκατέραν ἐπιπλέον τὰ ἐαυτῆς, ἐπ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον τὰ τῆς ἐτέρας. τὸ γοῦν εἴδωλον ἐν "Αιδου 'Ηρακλέους—τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ εἴδωλον, οἶμαι, χρὴ νομίζειν ἡμᾶς—μνημονεύειν τῶν πεπραγμένων πάντων κατὰ τὸν βίον, αὐτοῦ 10 γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν. αὶ δὲ ἄλλαι τὸ συναμφότερον ⟨γενόμεναι⟩ [οὖσαι] ¹ οὐδὲν πλέον ὅμως εἶχον λέγειν· ἢ ἄ γε ² τοῦ βίου τούτου, καὶ αὐταὶ [τὸ συναμφότερον γενόμεναι] ³ ταῦτα ἤδεσαν· ἢ εἴ τι δικαιοσύνης ἐχόμενον. ὁ δὲ 'Ηρακλῆς

1 γενόμεναι e lin. 12 transpos. H-S2: οδααι Enn.

memory is concerned, it has the body as an actual hindrance: since even as things are, some additions produce forgetfulness, and when they are removed and purged away the memory revives. And since memory is a stable condition, the body's nature, moving and flowing, must be a cause of forgetfulness, not of memory: this is why the "river of Lethe" might be understood in this sense. So, then, let this experience [of memory] belong to the soul.

27. But to which soul, that which we shall call the more divine, by which we are ourselves, or the other which comes from the Whole? Perhaps we must say that there are memories of both kinds, some individual and some common; and when the two souls are together all their memories coincide; but if they become separated, if they were both to exist and persist in separation, each would have its own memories for a longer time and for a short time those of the other. At any rate the shade of Heracles in Hades ²—this shade too, I think, we must

conclusion of the great myth which ends the Republic (621C).

The reference is to Odyssey 11. 601ff., where the shade of Heracles in Hades is distinguished from Heracles himself, who is with the gods: cp. I, 1. 12. 31ff. The passage had been recognised since Aristarchus as a later interpolation, but Plotinus was not aware of this (he was not a scholar), or ignored it. His philosophical explanation had earlier forerunners, the ultimate source of which may be in the Old Academy or post-Platonic Pythagoreanism. See Plutarch De facie in orbe lunae 944F-945A with the note of H. Cherniss ad loc. (Moralia, Loeb edition vol. 12); F. Cumont Lux Ferpetus (Paris 1949) 189-91: H. J. Blumenthal op. cit. 86; and the latest and most thorough examination by J. Pépin, "Héracles et son reflet dans le Néoplatonisme" in Le Néoplatonisme (Paris 1971) 167-

 $^{^2}$ H–S²: $\tilde{a}\tau\epsilon$ wBpcRJUC: $\hat{a}\pi\delta$ Bac: $\tau\hat{a}$ Kirchhoff, Volkmann*, B–T: $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\hat{\iota}$ Dodds.

³ del. H–S², ut correctionem ad lin. 10 falso loco insertam: $\tau \circ$ $\mathring{\eta} \delta e \sigma a \nu$ del. Theiler.

An example of casual philosophical interpretation of a Platonic myth: the "river of Lethe" is taken from the

αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνευ τοῦ εἰδώλου τί ἔλεγεν, οὐκ εἴρηται.

15 τί οὖν ἂν εἴποι ἡ ἑτέρα ψυχὴ ἀπαλλαγεῖσα μόνη; ἡ γὰρ ἐφελκομένη ὅ τι κἄν, πάντα, ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἢ ἔπαθεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῷ καὶ ἄλλων μνῆμαι ἂν φανεῖεν ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν βίων, ὥστε τινὰ τούτων καὶ ἀτιμάσασαν ἀφεῖναι. σώματος γὰρ καθαρωτέρα γενομένη καὶ ἐν σώματι γενομένη ἄλλῷ ἐξέλθοι, ἐρεῖ μὲν τὰ τοῦ ἔξω βίου [καὶ ἐρεῖ εἶναι],¹ οῖ ² ἄρτι ἀφῆκε [ἐρεῖ δὲ] ³ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρόσθεν. χρόνοις δὲ πολλῶν τῶν ἐπακτῶν ἀεὶ ἔσται ἐν λήθη. ἡ δὲ δὴ μόνη γενομένη τί μνημονεύσει; ἢ πρότερον

25 σκεπτέον τίνι δυνάμει ψυχῆς τὸ μνημονεύειν παραγίνεται.

28. ᾿Αρά γε ῷ αἰσθανόμεθα καὶ ῷ μανθάνομεν; ἢ καὶ ῷ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν τῶν ἐπιθυμητῶν, καὶ τῶν ὀργιστῶν τῷ θυμοειδεῖ; οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν ἀπολαύσει, φήσει τις, ἄλλο δὲ μνημονεύσει τῶν ἐκείνου. τὸ

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consider to be our self—remembers all that he did in his life, for the life particularly belonged to the shade. But the other souls which became composite entities [of higher and lower soul], all the same had nothing more to talk about than the things of this life, and they themselves knew them-except perhaps something concerned with righteousness. But Homer does not tell us what Heracles himself said, the Heracles without the shade. What then would the other soul say when it has been freed and is alone? The soul which drags after it anything at all [from the body] would speak of everything which the man had done or experienced. But as time goes on after death, memories of other things would appear from its former lives, so that it would even abandon with contempt some of these memories of its immediately past life. For since it has become freer from bodily contamination it will go over again in its memory also what it did not have in this life; but if when it goes out [of this body], it comes to exist in another, it will speak of the events of its outward life, of what it has just left and of many events of its former lives. But in time it will come to forgetfulness of many things which occurred to it from time to time. But when it comes to be alone what will it remember? First we must enquire what power of soul it is which remembering accompanies.

28. Is it that by which we perceive and by which we learn? Or does our remembrance of the things we desired accompany our power of desiring, and of the things which made us angry, our spirited power? For, someone will say, there will not be one thing which enjoys [the desired objects] and

¹ del. Theiler.

² Theiler: ô Enn.*

³ del. H–S².

10 ἢ αἴσθησιν ἄλλως ἐκάστω· οἶον εἶδε μὲν ἡ ὅρασις, οὐ τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν, ἐκινήθη δὲ παρὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν οἷον διαδόσει, οὐχ ὥστε εἰπεῖν τὴν αἴσθησιν οἴα, ἀλλ' ὥστε ἀπαρακολουθήτως παθεῖν. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ εἶδε τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, ὁ δὲ θυμὸς ἀνέστη, οἷον εἰ ποιμένος

15 ίδόντος ἐπὶ ποίμνη λύκον ὁ σκύλαξ τῆ όδμῆ ἢ τῷ κτύπῳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἴδὼν ὅμμασιν ὀρίνοιτο. καὶ τοίνυν ἀπέλαυσε μὲν τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν, καὶ ἔχει ἵχνος τοῦ γενομένου ἐντεθὲν οὐχ ὡς μνήμην, ἀλλ' ὡς διάθεσιν καὶ πάθος ἄλλο δὲ τὸ ἑωρακὸς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔχον τὴν μνήμην τοῦ

20 γεγενημένου. τεκμήριον δὲ τὸ μὴ ἡδεῖαν εἶναι τὴν μνήμην πολλάκις ὧν μετέσχε τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν, καίτοι, εἰ ἐν αὐτῷ, ἦν ἄν.

29. "Αρ' οὖν τῷ αἰσθητικῷ φέροντες ἀναθήσομεν

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another which remembers the objects enjoyed by the first. On this assumption the desiring power is moved by what it enjoyed when it sees the desired object again, obviously by means of the memory. For why [otherwise] should it not be moved when something else is seen, or seen in a different way? What then prevents us from giving the desiring power perception of desirable things and, again, the perceptive power desire, and giving everything to everything so that each is named by that which predominates in it 1? Now perception can be attributed to each power in a different way. Sight, for instance, sees, not the desiring power, but the desiring power is moved by a sort of transmission from the perception, not so that it can say what sort of perception it is, but so that it is unconsciously affected by it. And in the case of anger, sight sees the wrongdoer and the anger arises; it is like when the shepherd sees the wolf by the flock and the sheepdog is excited by the scent or the noise, though he has not himself seen the wolf with his eyes. And the desiring power, certainly, enjoyed and has a trace of what happened implanted in it, not like a memory, but like an [unconscious] disposition and affection; but it is another power which has seen the enjoyment and of its own motion retains the memory of what happened. It is evidence of this that the memory of the desiring power's experiences is often not pleasant, though if it had been in it, it would have been.

29. Shall we then take the memory and put it in chez Plotin et avant Plotin' in Les Sources de Plotin (Entretiens Hardt V, Vandoeuvres-Genève 1960), with the discussion, 107-57.

¹ suspic. Volkmann, scr. B-T: τοῦτο Enn.*

¹ The idea of "naming by predominance" goes back at least to Anaxagoras (see Aristotle *Physics* A 4, 187b1 ff.) and was used by Antiochus of Ascalon in discussing the question whether an incompletely happy life could be called "happy" (Cicero *Tusculans* V 22). It became important in post-Plotinian Neoplatonism: see P. Hadot, "Etre, Vie, Pensée

την μνήμην, και τὸ αὐτὸ ήμιν μνημονευτικόν και αἰσθητικὸν ἔσται; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὸ εἴδωλον μνημονεύσει, ώς έλέγετο, διττόν τὸ αἰσθητικόν ἔσται, 5 καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ αἰσθητικὸν δὲ τὸ μνημονουτικόν, ἀλλ' ότιοῦν ἄλλο, διττὸν τὸ μημονεῦον ἔσται. ἔτι εἰ τὸ αἰσθητικόν, καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ἔσται καὶ τῶν διανοημάτων τὸ αἰσθητικόν. ἢ ἄλλο γε δεῖ ἐκατέρων. ᾶρ' οὖν κοινὸν θέμενοι τὸ ἀντιληπτικὸν τούτω δώσομεν άμφοῖν τὴν μνήμην; άλλ' εἰ μὲν εν καὶ ταὐτὸ 10 τὸ ἀντιλαμβανόμενον αἰσθητῶν τε καὶ νοητῶν, τάχα ἄν τι λέγοιτο· εἰ δὲ διαιρεῖται διχῆ, οὐδὲν ήττον δύο αν είη. εί δὲ καὶ έκατέρα τῆ ψυχή δώσομεν ἄμφω, τέτταρα αν γένοιτο. ὅλως δὲ τίς ανάγκη, δι αισθανόμεθα, τούτω καὶ μνημονεύειν, 15 καὶ $\tau \hat{\eta}$ αὐτ $\hat{\eta}$ δυνάμει γίνεσθαι ἄμφω, καὶ $\hat{\omega}$ διανοούμεθα, τούτω των διανοημάτων μνημονεύειν; έπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ αὐτοὶ διανοεῖσθαι κράτιστοι καὶ μνημονεύειν, καὶ ἐπίσης αἰσθήσει χρησάμενοι οὐκ έπίσης μνημονεύουσι, καὶ εὐαισθήτως ἔχουσιν άλλοι, μνημονεύουσι δὲ άλλοι οὐκ ὀξέως ἐν αἰσθήσει 20 γεγενημένοι. ἀλλὰ πάλιν αὖ, εἰ ἄλλο ἐκάτερον δεήσει είναι, και άλλο μνημονεύσει ὧν ή αἴσθησις ήσθετο πρότερου, κάκεῖνο δεῖ αἰσθέσθαι οὖπερ μελλήσει μνημονούσειν; η οὐδεν κωλύσει τῷ μνημονεύσοντι τὸ αἴσθημα φάντασμα εἶναι, καὶ τῷ φανταστικώ άλλω όντι την μνήμην και κατοχήν

the perceptive power, and will what remembers and what perceives be the same thing for us? But if the shade, too, is going to remember, as was said, the perceptive power will be double, and even if it is not the perceptive power but something else which remembers, this remembering power will be double. Again, if it is the perceptive power which remembers, this will also perceive studies and thoughts [as well as sense-objects]. But there must be a different power for each of these. Shall we then assume that there is a common power of apprehension, and give to it the memory of both? But if that which apprehended the objects of both the senses and the intelligence was one and the same, perhaps there would be something in this statement; but if it is divided in two, there will all the same be two powers. But if we give both of them to each soul, then there will be four. But in general, what necessity is there for us to remember by that by which we perceive, and for both perceiving and remembering to come about by the same power, and for us to remember our thoughts by that by which we think? For the same people are not the best at thinking and at remembering, and those who are equally perceptive have not equally good memories, and some people have quick perceptions, but others whose perceptions are not keen remember well. But once more, if it is going to be necessary for each of the two to be different, and something else is going to remember what perception first perceived, will that something else have to perceive what it is going to remember? Now nothing will prevent a perception from being a mental image for that which is going to remember it, and the memory and the reten-

30. Τὸ δὲ τῶν διανοήσεων τί; ἄρά γε καὶ τούτων τὸ φανταστικόν; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν πάσῃ νοήσει παρακολουθεῖ φαντασία, τάχα ἄν ταύτης τῆς φαντασίας, οἷον εἰκόνος οὔσης τοῦ διανοήματος, 5 μενούσης οὕτως ἄν εἴη τοῦ γνωσθέντος ἡ μνήμη· εἰ δὲ μή, ἄλλο τι ζητητέον. ἴσως δ' ἄν εἴη τοῦ λόγου τοῦ τῷ νοήματι παρακολουθοῦντος ἡ παραδοχὴ εἰς τὸ φανταστικόν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ νόημα ἀμερὲς καὶ

1 Creuzer*: ἐφεῖοθαι Enn., H-S.

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tion of the object from belonging to the imagemaking power, which is something different: for it is in this that the perception arrives at its conclusion, and what was seen is present in this when the perception is no longer there. If then the image of what is absent is already present in this, it is already remembering, even if the presence is only for a short time. The man with whom the image remains for a short time will have a short memory, but people with whom the images remain for a long time have better memories; this power is stronger in them, so that it does not easily change and let the memory go, shaken out of it. Memory, then, will belong to the image-making power, and remembering will be of things of the mental image kind. And we shall say that the differences between men in respect of memory are due to the fact that their imagemaking powers are differently developed, or to the degree to which they attend or do not attend to them, or to the presence or absence of certain bodily temperaments, and whether they change or not and, so to speak, produce disturbances. But this we shall discuss elsewhere.1

30. But what is it that remembers thoughts? Does the image-making power remember these too? But if an image accompanies every intellectual act, perhaps if this image remains, being a kind of picture of the thought, in this way there would be memory of what was known; but if not, we must look for some other explanation. Perhaps the reception into the image-making power would be of the verbal expression which accompanies the act of intelligence.

¹ These words seem to express the intention to write something like ch. 3 of the later treatise IV. 6.

ούπω οξον προεληλυθός είς το έξω ένδον ον λανθάνει, ό δὲ λόγος ἀναπτύξας καὶ ἐπάγων ἐκ τοῦ νοήματος εἰς 10 τὸ φανταστικὸν ἔδειξε τὸ νόημα οἷον ἐν κατόπτρω, καὶ ή ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ οὕτω καὶ ή μονή καὶ ή μνήμη. διό καὶ ἀεὶ κινουμένης πρός νόησιν της ψυχης, όταν εν τούτω γένηται, ήμιν ή αντίληψις. άλλο γὰρ ἡ νόησις, καὶ ἄλλο ἡ τῆς νοήσεως 15 ἀντίληψις, καὶ νοοῦμεν μὲν ἀεί, ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα δὲ οὖκ ἀεί· τοῦτο δέ, ὅτι τὸ δεχόμενον οὐ μόνον δέχεται νοήσεις, άλλά καὶ αἰσθήσεις κατά θάτερα. 31. 'Αλλ' εί τοῦ φανταστικοῦ ἡ μνήμη, έκατέρα δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ μνημονεύειν εἴρηται, δύο τὰ φανταστικά. γωρίς μεν οὖν οὖσαι ἐχέτωσαν ἑκάτερα, ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῶ πορ' ἡμῖν πῶς τὰ δύο καὶ τίνι αὐτῶν 5 έγγίνεται; εὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις, διτταὶ ἀεὶ αί φαντασίαι· οὐ γὰρ δή τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν νοητών, τὸ δὲ τών αἰσθητών οὕτω γὰρ ἂν παντάπασι δύο ζωα οὐδὲν ἔχοντα κοινὸν πρὸς ἄλληλα έσται. εἰ οὖν ἀμφοτέραις, τίς ἡ διαφορά; εἶτα

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The intellectual act is without parts and has not, so to speak, come out into the open, but remains unobserved within, but the verbal expression unfolds its content and brings it out of the intellectual act into the image-making power, and so shows the intellectual act as if in a mirror, and this is how there is apprehension and persistence and memory of it. Therefore, even though the soul is always moved to intelligent activity, it is when it comes to be in the image-making power that we apprehend it. The intellectual act is one thing and the apprehension of it another, and we are always intellectually active but do not always apprehend our activity; and this is because that which receives it does not only receive acts of the intelligence, but also, on its other side, perceptions.1

31. But if memory belongs to the image-making power, and each of the two souls remembers, as has been said, there will be two image-making powers. Well, then, when the souls are separate we can grant that each of them will have an imaging power, but when they are together, in our earthly life, how are there two powers, and in which of them does memory reside? If it is in both of them, the images will always be double; for one certainly cannot suppose that the power of one soul has images [only] of intelligible things and the power of the other images [only] of perceptible things; for in this way there will be two living things with nothing at all in common with each other. If then [both kinds of images]

relatively unimportant. As it appears in an early, a middleperiod, and a late treatise, Plotinus seems to have held this doctrine consistently throughout his writing period.

¹ For this doctrine that the awareness of our own thinking which makes memory possible can only take place when pure thought is translated into images, cp. IV. 8.8 and I. 4.9-10; these passages add that the translation into images depends on the good health and freedom from disturbance of the body; consciousness in the ordinary sense, with memory, is thus secondary, dependent on our own physical condition, and

32. Τί δὲ δὴ φίλων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικός; πατρίδος δὲ καὶ τῶν ὧν ἄν καὶ ἀστεῖος οὐκ ἄτοπος μνημονεύων; ἢ τὸ μὲν μετὰ πάθους ἐκάστου, ὁ δὲ ἀπαθῶς ἄν τὰς μνήμας τούτων ἔχοι· τὸ γὰρ 5 πάθος ἴσως καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὰ ἀστεῖα τῶν παθῶν τῆ σπουδαία, καθόσον τῆ ἐτέρα τι ἐκοίνωσε. πρέπει δὲ τὴν μὲν χείρονα καὶ τῶν τῆς ἐτέρας ἐνεργημάτων ἐφίεσθαι τῆς μνήμης καὶ μάλιστα, ὅταν ἀστεία ἢ καὶ αὐτή· γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀμείνων καὶ τῆ παιδεύσει τῆ παρὰ 10 τῆς κρείττονος. τὴν δὲ δεῖ ἀσμένως λήθην ἔχειν

are in both souls, what is the difference? And why do we not recognise it? Now when one soul is in tune with the other, and their image-making powers are not separate, and that of the better soul is dominant, the image becomes one, as if a shadow followed the other and as if a little light slipped in under the greater one; but when there is war and disharmony between them, the other image becomes manifest by itself, but we do not notice what is in the other power, and we do not notice in general the duality of the souls. For both have come together into one and the better soul is on top of the other. This other soul, then, sees everything, and takes some things with it which belong to the other when it goes out [of the body] but rejects others; as when we keep company with inferior people and then change to other companions, we remember little of the inferior ones but more of the better sort.

32. But what about the memories of our friends and children and wife? Of our country, and all the things it would not be absurd for a man of quality to remember? Now the image-making power remembers each of these with emotion, but the man of quality would have his memories of them without emotion; for the emotion, perhaps, was in the imaging power even from the beginning, and those of the emotions which have any good quality pass to the noble soul, in so far as it has any communication with the other one. It is proper for the whole soul to aspire to the activities of the memory of the higher soul, especially when it is of good quality itself: for a lower soul can be comparatively good from the beginning and can become so as a result of education by the higher soul. But the higher soul ought to

¹ transpos. H–S², et sic verterat Bouillet: $\langle \tau \dot{o} \rangle$ suspic. Creuzer, scr. Bréhier, B–T.

² C^{pc}, Creuzer* (sodalibus Ficinus): ἐτέοων wxC^{ac}: ἐκατέρων U.

τῶν παρὰ τῆς χείρονος. εἴη γὰρ ἂν καὶ σπουδαίας ούσης της έτέρας την έτέραν την φύσιν χείρονα είναι κατεχομένην ύπὸ τῆς έτέρας βία. ὅσω δὴ σπεύδει πρός τὸ ἄνω, πλειόνων αὐτῆ ἡ λήθη, εἰ μή που πας δ βίος αὐτη καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοιοῦτος οίος 15 μόνων τῶν κρειττόνων είναι τὰς μνήμας ἐπεὶ καὶ ένταθθα καλώς τὸ έξιστάμενον τῶν ἀνθρωπείων σπουδασμάτων. ανάγκη οδυ καλ των μνημονευμάτων ωστε έπιλήσμονα ἄν τις λέγων την άγαθην όρθως αν λέγοι τρόπω τοιούτω. ἐπεὶ καὶ 20 φεύγει έκ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ εἰς εν συνάγει τὸ ἄπειρον ἀφιείς. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλῶν, άλλὰ έλαφρὰ καὶ δι' αύτῆς Επεὶ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ὅταν έκει έθέλη είναι, έτι ούσα ένταθθα ἀφίησι πάντα όσα άλλα· όλίγα τοίνυν κάκεῖ τὰ ἐντεῦθεν· καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ οὖσα πλείω. καὶ εἴποι ἂν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκεῖ-25 νος ἀνδραγαθίας έαυτοῦ, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα σμικρά ήγούμενος και μετατεθείς είς άγιώτερον τόπον καί έν τῶ νοητῶ γεγενημένος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα λογύσας τοις άθλοις, οία άθλεύουσι σοφοί,

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be happy to forget what it has received from the worse soul. For it could be that even when the higher soul is noble, the other soul is naturally a rather bad one and is restrained forcibly by the higher soul. The more it presses on towards the heights the more it will forget, unless perhaps all its life, even here below, has been such that its memories are only of higher things; since here below too it is best to be detached from human concerns, and so necessarily from human memories; so that if anyone said that the good soul was forgetful, it would be correct to say so in this sort of sense. For the higher soul also flies from multiplicity, and gathers multiplicity into one and abandons the indefinite; because in this way it will not be [clogged] with multiplicity but light and alone by itself; for even here below, when it wants to be in that higher world, while it is still here below it abandons everything that is different [from that world]; and there are few things here that are also there; and when it is in heaven it will abandon still more. And Homer's Heracles might talk about his heroic deeds: but the man who thinks these of little account and has migrated to a holier place, and has been stronger than Heracles in the contexts in which the wise compete,1---

¹ Porphyry, oddly, divides the great treatise here in the middle of a sentence. This may seem rather less odd if we consider that the sentence is anacoluthic: that the point of division marks the transition from the man of middle virtue (symbolised by Heraeles) to the contemplative sage; and that division here enables Porphyry to lay great emphasis on the important question which begins IV. 4 (cp. the way in which Porphyry divides the treatise On Providence (III. 2–3) and the exciting question with which Plotinus himself begins I. 1).

ΙΥ. 4. (28) ΠΕΡΙ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΑΠΟΡΙΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΈΡΟΝ

1. τί οὖν ἐρεῖ; καὶ τίνων τὴν μνήμην ἔξει ψυχὴ έν τῷ νοητῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐκείνης γενομένη; η ακόλουθον είπειν έκεινα θεωρείν και περί έκεινα ένεργείν, έν οίς ἔστιν, η μηδέ ἐκεί είναι. των 5 οὖν ἐνταῦθα οὐδέν, οἷον ὅτι ἐφιλοσόφησε, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα οὖσα ἐθεᾶτο τὰ ἐκεῖ; ἀλλ' εἰμὴ έστιν, ότε τις ἐπιβάλλει τινί τῆ νοήσει, ἄλλο τι ποιείν η νοείν κάκείνο θεωρείν—καὶ ἐν τῆ νοήσει οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμπεριεχόμενον τὸ "ἐνενοήκειν", ἀλλ' ὕστερον ἄν τις τοῦτ', εἰ ἔτυχεν, εἴποι, τοῦτο δὲ 10 ήδη μεταβάλλοντος—οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἐν τῷ νοητῷ καθαρώς ὄντα μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν τῆδέ ποτε αὐτῷ τινι γεγενημένων. εἰ δὲ καί, ὥσπερ δοκεῖ, άχρονος πάσα νόησις, έν αἰῶνι, ἀλλ' οὐκ έν χρόνω οντων των έκει, αδύνατον μνήμην είναι έκει ούχ ότι των ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ὁτουοῦν. ἀλλὰ 15 έστιν εκαστον παρόν· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ διέξοδος οὐδὲ

IV. 4. ON DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE SOUL II

1.—What will he say? And what will the soul remember when it has come to be in the intelligible world, and with that higher reality? It is consistent to say that it will contemplate those things among which it is, and its mental activity will be concerned with them, or else it will not be there at all. Will it not, then, remember any of its experiences here below, for instance that it engaged in philosophy. and even that while it was here it contemplated the things in that other world? But if it is not possible, when one has one's thought directed on something, to do anything else but think and contemplate that object-and the statement "I had thought sit before]" is not included in the thinking, but one would say it afterwards, if one said it at all, that is when an alteration in one's thinking has already taken place; it would not then be possible, when one is purely in the intelligible world, to remember the things which happened to one at any time when one was here. But if, as we believe, every act of intelligence is timeless, since the realities there are in eternity and not in time, it is impossible that there should be a memory there, not only of the things here below, but of anything at all. But each and every thing is present there; so there is no discursive thought or transition from one to the other. Well.

μετάβασις ἀφ' έτέρου ἐπ' ἄλλο. τί οὖν; οὐκ 1 τινι γεγενημένων Enn.*: ἐπιγεγενημένων Page, H-S¹: codices defendit Theiler, collato VI. 6. 13. 59.

έσται διαίρεσις ἄνωθεν εἰς εἴδη, ἢ κάτωθεν ἐπὶ τὸ καθόλου καὶ τὸ ἄνω; τῷ μὲν γὰρ νῷ μὴ ἔστω ένεργεία όμου ὄντι, τῆ δὲ ψυχῆ ἐκεῖ οὔση διὰ τί 20 οὐκ ἔσται; τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν άθρόαν άθρόων γίγνεσθαι; ἆρ' οὖν ὥς τινος ὁμοῦ; η ώς πολλων όμου πάσας νοήσεις. του γάρ θεάματος όντος ποικίλου ποικίλην καὶ πολλήν τήν νόησιν αμα γίγνεσθαι καὶ πολλάς τὰς νοήσεις, οἷον αἰσθήσεις πολλὰς προσώπου ὀφθαλμῶν ² ἄμα 25 δρωμένων καὶ ρινός καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἀλλ' ὅταν ἕν τι διαιρή καὶ ἀναπτύσση; ἢ ἐν τῷ νῷ διήρηται. καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον οἷον ἐναπέρεισις μᾶλλον. τὸ δὲ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς εἴδεσιν οὐ χρόνω ον ούδε την νόησιν τοῦ προτέρου και ύστέρου χρόνω ποιήσει έστι γὰρ καὶ τάξει, οίονεὶ φυτοῦ ἡ τάξις 30 ἐκ ρίζων ἀρξαμένη εως είς τὸ ἄνω τῷ θεωμένῳ οὖκ ἔχει ἄλλως ἢ τάξει τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ὖστερον αμα τὸ πῶν θεωμένω. ἀλλ' ὅταν εἰς εν βλέπη, είτα ³ πολλά καὶ πάντα ἔχη, ⁴ πῶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον έσγε, τὸ δὲ ἐφεξῆς; ἢ ἡ δύναμις ἡ μία οὕτως ἦν μία, ώς πολλὰ ἐν ἄλλω, καὶ οὐ κατὰ μίαν νόησιν 35 πάντα. αί γὰρ ἐνέργειαι [οὐ] 5 καθ' ἔνα, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ

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then, will there be no division starting from above into species, or an ascent from below to the universal and the higher? Granted that the Intellect does not have this, since it is all together in one in its actuality, why should the soul when it is there not have it? What then prevents the soul too from having a unified intuition of all its objects in one? Can it really see them as one thing, all together? Rather, it is as if all its acts of intelligence, with their many objects, were all together. For since its object of contemplation is richly varied, the act of intelligence too is richly varied and multiple, and there are many acts of intelligence, as there are many acts of perception of a face when the eyes and the nose and the other features are all seen at once. But [what happens] when the soul divides and unfolds some one object? It is already divided in Intellect and an act of this kind is more like a concentration of attention. And, as the prior and the subsequent in the species-forms are not temporal, so neither will the soul make its acts of intelligence of the prior and the subsequent in temporal sequence. For there is also the prior and the subsequent in order, as in a plant the order which begins from the roots and extends to the topmost point does not have for the observer the prior and the subsequent in any other way than in order, since he observes the whole plant at once. But when the soul looks first at one [intelligible object], and then possesses the whole multiplicity of them, how does it possess one first and another next? The one power is one in such a way that it becomes many in something else, and does not comprehend all things by one act of intelligence. For its acts are individual, but always to-

Kleist, testatur Theologia II. 11: ἄνω Enn., H–S¹.
 Cpc, Kirchhoff* (oculos Ficinus): ὀψθαλμῷ wxUCcc.

³ xUC: είτὰ (sic) w: είτὰ Perna, Creuzer, H-S¹.

⁴ xUC: έχει w, Perna, Creuzer, H-S¹.

⁵ del. Theiler, quod testatur Theologia II. 20.

2. 'Αλλά ταῦτα μὲν ταύτη. ἐαυτοῦ δὲ πῶς; η οὐδὲ ἐαυτοῦ ἔξει τὴν μνήμην, οὐδ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ θεωρών, οἷον Σωκράτης, η ὅτι νοῦς η ψυχή. πρὸς δή ταῦτά τις ἀναμνησθήτω, ὡς ὅταν καὶ ἐνταῦθα 5 θεωρή καὶ μάλιστα ἐναργῶς, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς έαυτον τότε τη νοήσει, άλλ' έχει μεν έαυτόν, ή δὲ ἐνέργεια πρὸς ἐκεῖνο, κἀκεῖνο γίνεται οἶον ύλην έαυτον παρασχών, είδοποιούμενος δε κατά τὸ δρώμενον καὶ δυνάμει ὢν τότε αὐτός. τότε οὖν αὐτός τί ἐστιν ἐνεργεία, ὅταν μηδὲν νοῆ; ἤ, εἰ μὲν 10 αὐτός, κενός ἐστι παντός, ὅταν μηδὲν νοῆ. εἰ δέ έστιν αὐτὸς τοιοῦτος οίος πάντα είναι, ὅταν αὐτὸν νοή, πάντα όμου νοεί ωστε τή μεν είς έαυτον ό τοιούτος επιβολή και ενεργεία εαυτόν δρών τα πάντα ἐμπεριεχόμενα ἔχει, τῆ δὲ πρὸς τὰ πάντα έμπεριεχόμενον έαυτον. άλλ' εί ούτω ποιεί, μετα-15 βάλλει τὰς νοήσεις, ὁ πρότερον αὐτοί οὐκ ήξιοῦμεν. η λεκτέον επί μεν τοῦ νοῦ τὸ ώπαύτως έχειν, επί δέ της ψυχης έν οδον έσχάτοις τοῦ νοητοῦ κειμένης

¹ Theiler: γινομένων Enn., H-S¹: †γινομένων † H-S²: ἐν . . . γινομένων del. Kleist, Harder: ἄλλοις γινομένων ήδη ⟨πολλῶν οὐκ ἀεὶ πᾶοαι· ήδη⟩ Igal non male. gether in a power which remains unchanged, but is divided in other things. For that intelligible object is able in virtue of its not being one to receive in itself the nature of the many which did not previously exist.

2. But enough about this. How does it remember itself? It will not even have the remembrance of itself, or that it is the man himself, Socrates for instance, who is contemplating, or that it is intellect or soul. Besides, one should certainly remember that even here below when one contemplates, especially when the contemplation is clear, one does not turn to oneself in the act of intelligence, but one possesses oneself; one's activity, however, is directed towards the object of contemplation, and one becomes this, offering oneself to it as a kind of matter, being formed according to what one sees, and being oneself then only potentially. Is a man then actually himself in any way when he is thinking nothing at all? Yes, if he is [merely] himself he is empty of everything, when he is thinking nothing at all. But if he is himself in such a way as to be everything, when he thinks himself, he thinks everything at once; so that a man in this state, by his intuition of himself, and when he actually sees himself, has everything included in this seeing, and by his intuition of everything has himself included. But if this is what he does, he changes his acts of intelligence, and we ourselves did not think it right to assert this before. Must we say then that unchangeability belongs to Intellect, but that in the case of Soul, which lies, so γινομένων. It adds nothing to what has been said in the pre-

¹ I very tentatively adopt Theiler's σχιζομένη here to produce an intelligible text, though I think locus nondum sanatus (H—S²) may well be right. Kleist and Harder delete ἐν . . .

εἴπερ ἐπεστράφη στραφεῖσα γὰρ οὐδὲν μεταξὺ ἔχει, εἴς τε νοῦν ἐλθοῦσα ἥρμοσται, καὶ άρμοσθεῖσα ἤνωται οὐκ ἀπολλυμένη, ἀλλ' ἔν ἐστιν ἄμφω καὶ 30 δύο. οὕτως οὖν ἔχουσα οὐκ ἂν μεταβάλλοι, ἀλλὰ ἔχοι ἂν ἀτρέπτως πρὸς νόησιν ὁμοῦ ἔχουσα τὴν συναίσθησιν αὐτῆς, ὡς ἕν ἄμα τῷ νοητῷ ταὐτὸν γενομένη.

3. Έξελθοῦσα δὲ ἐκεῖθεν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχομένη τὸ ἔν, τὸ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀσπασαμένη καὶ ἔτερον ἐθελήσασα εἶναι καὶ οἶον προκύψασα, μνήμην, ὡς ἔσικεν, ἐφεξῆς λαμβάνει. μνήμη δὲ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἐκεῖ ἔτι

5 κατέχει μή πεσείν, ή δὲ τῶν ἐνταυθα ώδὶ φέρει, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐκεῖ κατέχει, καὶ ὅλως, οὖ μνημονεύει, ἐκεῖνό ἐστι καὶ γίνεται. ἦν γὰρ τὸ μνημονεύ-

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to speak, on the frontier of the intelligible, this change can happen, since it can also advance further into Intellect? For if something comes to be in the region of that which abides, it must be different from that which abides, and not abide in the same way. No, we must not even say that there is a change, when the soul moves from its own content to itself, and from itself to the rest of its content: for the self is all things, and both are one. But does the soul when it is in the intelligible world experience this "one thing after another" in relation to itself and its contents? No, when it is purely and simply in the intelligible world it has itself too the characteristic of unchangeability. For it is really all the things it is: since when it is in that region, it must come to unity with Intellect, by the fact that it has turned to it, for when it is turned, it has nothing between, but comes to Intellect and accords itself to it, and by that accord is united to it without being destroyed, but both of them are one and also two. When therefore it is in this state it could not change but would be unalterably disposed to intelligence while at the same time having a concurrent awareness of itself, as having become one and the same thing with its intelligible object.

3. But if it comes out of the intelligible world, and cannot endure unity, but embraces its own individuality and wants to be different and so to speak puts its head outside, it thereupon acquires memory. Its memory of what is in the intelligible world still holds it back from falling, but its memory of the things here below carries it down here; its memory

4. Ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν καὶ τάγαθὸν διὰ νοῦ ὁρᾶ, οὐ γὰρ στέγεται ἐκεῖνο, ὥστε μὴ διελθεῖν εἰς αὐτήν· ἐπεὶ μή σώμα τὸ μεταξύ ώστε ἐμποδίζειν καίτοι καὶ σωμάτων μεταξύ πολλαχή είς τὰ τρίτα ἀπὸ τῶν 5 πρώτων ή ἄφιξις. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κάτω δοίη αὐτήν, ἀναλόγως τῆ μνήμη καὶ τῆ φαντασία ἔχει δ ηθέλησε. διὸ ή μνήμη, καὶ όταν τῶν ἀρίστων ή, ούκ άριστον. δεί δέ την μνήμην λαμβάνειν οὐ μόνον εν τῶ οἶον αἰσθάνεσθαι ὅτι μνημονεύει, ἀλλά καὶ ὅταν διακέηται κατὰ τὰ πρόσθεν παθήματα ἢ 10 θεάματα. γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν, καὶ μὴ παρακολουθοῦντα ότι έχει, έχειν παρ' αύτῷ ἰσχυροτέρως η εἰ εἰδείη. είδως μεν γάρ τάχα αν ως άλλο έχοι άλλος αὐτὸς ων, άγνοων δε ότι έχει κινδυνεύει είναι δ έχει. δ δή πάθημα μαλλον πεσείν ποιεί την ψυχήν. άλλ' 15 εὶ ἀφισταμένη τοῦ ἐκεῖ τόπου ἀναφέρει τὰς μνήμας όπωσοῦν, είχε κάκει. ἢ δυνάμει.3 ἡ δὲ ἐνέργεια of what is in heaven keeps it there, and in general it is and becomes what it remembers. For remembering is either thinking or imaging; and the image comes to the soul not by possession, but as it sees, so it is disposed; and if it sees sense-objects, it sinks low in proportion to the amount of them it sees. For because it possesses all things in a secondary way, and not so perfectly [as Intellect], it becomes all things, and since it is a thing belonging to the frontier between the worlds, and occupies a corresponding position, it moves in both directions.

4. Now in the intelligible world the soul also sees the Good through Intellect; for it is not excluded, so as not to come through to the soul, since what is between them is not a body which would obstruct it —yet even with bodies between there are many ways of arrival at the third level from the first. But if the soul gives itself to what is below it, it has what it wants in proportion to its memory and imaging power. Therefore memory, even when it is of the best, is not the best thing. But one must understand memory not only in the sense of a kind of perception that one is remembering, but as existing when the soul is disposed according to what it has previously experienced or contemplated. For it could happen that, even when one is not conscious that one has something, one holds it to oneself more strongly than if one knew. For perhaps if one knew one would have it as something else, being different oneself, but if one does not know that one has it one is liable to be what one has; and this is certainly the experience which makes the soul sink lower. But if when the soul leaves the intelligible region it recovers its memories, it had them somehow there

¹ αὐτῆ (sc. τῆ ψυχῆ) Kirchhoff*: αὐτἡ xUC, Creuzer: αὕτη w, Perna.

² del. Beutler.
³ Gollwitzer, Bréhier, Harder, Cilento, B-T: ἡ δύναμις Enn.:
del. Kirchhoff, Müller, Volkmann.

ἐκείνων ἠφάνιζε τὴν μνήμην. οὐ γὰρ ὡς κείμενοι ἢσαν τύποι, ἵνα ἄν ἢ ἴσως ἄτοπον τὸ συμβαῖνον, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις ἦν ἡ ἀφεθεῖσα ὕστερον εἰς ἐνέργειαν. παυσαμένης οὖν τῆς ἐν τῷ νοητῷ ἐνεργείας, εἶδεν ἃ 20 πρότερον ἡ ψυχή, πρὶν ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι, ἰδοῦσα ἦν.

5. Τί οὖν; κἀκεῖνα νῦν αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις, καθ' ἡν τὸ μνημονεύειν, είς ενέργειαν ἄγει; ἢ εί μεν μὴ αὐτὰ έωρωμεν, μνήμη, εί δ' αὐτά, ὧ κάκεῖ έωρωμεν. έγείρεται γάρ τοῦτο οἷς έγείρεται, καὶ τοῦτό έστι 5 τὸ δρῶν περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων. οὐ γὰρ εἰκασία δεῖ γρώμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι οὐδὲ συλλογισμῷ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄλλοθεν εἰληφότι, ἀλλ' ἔστι περὶ τῶν νοητών, ώς λέγεται, καὶ ἐνθάδε οὖσι τῷ αὐτῷ λέγειν, 1 ο δύναμιν έχει τάκει θεωρείν. ταὐτὸ γὰρ οΐον εγείραντας δει όραν τάκει, ώστε και εγείραι 10 ἐκεῖ· οἷον εἴ τις ἀνάγων αύτοῦ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπί τινος ύψηλης σκοπιας όρώη α μηδείς των οὐ σὺν αὐτῶ ἀναβεβηκότων. ἡ τοίνυν μνήμη ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαίνεται ἄρχεσθαι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, ήδη τῆς ψυχης τους έκει τόπους καταλειπούσης. έντευθεν μεν οὖν εν οὐρανῷ γενομένη καὶ στᾶσα θαυμαστόν 15 οὐδέν, εἰ τῶν ἐνθάδε μνήμην πολλῶν ἔχοι οἴων είρηται, καὶ ἐπιγινώσκειν πολλάς τῶν πρότερον

1 Crouzer* (dicere Ficinus): λέγεται Enn.

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too. Yes, it had them potentially, but the active actuality of the intelligible realities obscured the memory. For its memories were not like imprints left in it (a supposition which would possibly have absurd consequences), but the potentiality was there which was later let loose into actuality. So when the actuality in the intelligible world ceased to be active, the soul saw what it had been seeing before it came to be in that world.

5. Well, then, does this very potentiality by which we remember bring the intelligible realities also to actuality in us now? If we did not see them themselves, it is by memory [that they are actual], but if we did see them, it is by that with which we also saw them there. For this is awakened by that which awakens it, and this is the power which sees in the sphere of the realities we mentioned. For one must not, when one makes statements about the intelligible world, use analogy or syllogistic reasoning which takes its principles from elsewhere, but even when we are here below we can speak about the intelligible realities by that same power which is able to contemplate the higher world. For one must see the things in that world by a kind of awakening of the same power, so that one can awake it in the higher world also; as if one went up to some high viewpoint and raising one's eyes saw what no one saw who had not come up with one. From our discussion, then, it seems that memory begins in heaven, when the soul has already left the higher regions. Now if the soul has arrived in heaven from down here and stays there, it is in no way surprising if it remembers many things here below of the sort we have mentioned, and recognises many souls from

οιεν; οὐ γὰρ ἄτοπον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πάθη ἔστωσαν ἀποθέμεναι, τὰ δ' ἤθη οὐ κωλύεται μένειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ διαλέγεσθαι δύναιντο, καὶ οὕτως ἂν γνωρίζοιεν. ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀκ τοῦ νοητοῦ κατέλθωσι, πῶς; ἢ

ἀνακινήσουσι τὴν μνήμην, ἐλαττόνως μέντοι ἢ 25 ἐκεῖναι, τῶν αὐτῶν· ἄλλα τε γὰρ ἔξουσι μνημον- εύειν, καὶ χρόνος πλείων λήθην παντελῆ πολλῶν πεποιηκὼς ἔσται. ἀλλ' εἰ τραπεῖσαι εἰς τὸν αἰ-

σθητὸν κόσμον εἰς γένεσιν τῆδε πεσοῦνται, ποῖος τρόπος ¹ ἔσται τοῦ μνημονεύειν; ἢ οὐκ ἀνάγκη εἰς πῶν βάθος πεσεῖν. ἔστι γὰρ κινηθείσας καὶ στῆναι

30 ἐπί τι προελθούσας καὶ οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει πάλιν ἐκδῦναι, πρὶν γενέσεως ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' ἔσχατον τόπον.

6. Τὰς μὲν σὖν μετιούσας καὶ μεταβαλλούσας [τὰς ψυχὰς] ² ἔχοι ἄν τις εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ μνημονεύσουσι τῶν γὰρ γεγενημένων καὶ παρεληλυθότων ἡ μνήμη· αἷς δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει μένειν, τίνων ἄν αὖται μνημονεύσιεν; ἄστρων δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς τῶν γε ἄλλων ἀπάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐπιζητεῦ ὁ λόγος τὰς μνήμας, καὶ τε-

among those it knew previously, especially if they must necessarily be clothed in bodies of similar forms [to their earthly ones]. And even if they have changed the forms of their bodies and adopted spherical ones, might they recognise [each other] by their characters and the individuality of their behaviour 1? For this is not absurd. Granted that they have put away their passions, there is nothing to prevent their characters persisting. And if they were also able to talk, they could recognise [each other in this way too. But when they come down from the intelligible world to heaven, how do they remember? They will arouse again their memories of the same things, but less than the souls which come from below; for they will have other things to remember, and the longer time which has elapsed will have produced complete forgetfulness of many things. But if they turn to the world of sense and fall to birth here, what will be the manner of their rememberings? It is not necessary to fall the whole way into the depths. For it is possible for souls in motion to halt when they have advanced a certain distance, and nothing prevents them from emerging again before they come to the lowest point of the process of generation.

6. One could say, then, that souls which migrate and change their state will also remember; for memory is of things which have happened and are past; but as for the souls to which it belongs to remain in the same state, what could they remember? The discussion is trying to find out about the memo-

¹ Kleist, Volkmann*: ποΐος χρόνος Enn.: πόσος χρόνος Thillet.

² del. Kirchhoff, Müller, H-S.

¹ In view of the importance attached to spherical shape (and circular motion) as the most perfect in late antiquity, Plotinus's lack of interest in the shape of our heavenly bodies is striking.

ην αὐτοῖς ἐν γνώσει—τίνες ἃν λογισμοὶ ἢ τίνες συλλογισμοὶ αὐτοῖς γίγνοιντο ἢ διανοήσεις; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων αὐτοῖς ἐπίνοιαι καὶ μηχαναί, 15 ἐξ ὧν διοικήσουσι τὰ ἡμέτερα ἢ ὅλως τὰ τῆς γῆς:

 έξ ων οιοικησουσι τα ημετερα η ολως τα της γης
 ἄλλος γὰρ τρόπος τῆς εἰς τὸ πᾶν παρ' αὐτῶν εὐθημοσύνης.

7. Τί οὖν; ὅτι τὸν θεὸν εἶδον οὐ μνημονεύουπιν; ἢ ἀεὶ ὁρῶσιν. ἔως δ' ἂν ὁρῶσιν, οὐκ ἔνι δήπου φάναι αὐτοῖς έωρακέναι· παυσαμένων γὰρ τοῦτο ἂν πάθος εἴη. τί δέ; οὐδ' ὅτι περιῆλθον χθὲς τὴν ὅ γῆν καὶ [τὐ] ¹ πέρυσιν, οὐδ' ὅτι ἔζων χθὲς καὶ πάλαι καὶ ἐξ οῦ ζῶσιν; ἢ ζῶσιν ἀεί τὐ δὲ ἀεὶ ταὐτὸν ἕν. τὸ δὲ χθὲς τῆς φορᾶς καὶ τὸ πέρυσι τοιοῦτον ἂν εἴη, οἷον ἂν εἴ τις τὴν ὁρμὴν τὴν κατὰ πόδα ἔνα γενομένην μερίζοι εἰς πολλά, καὶ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην καὶ πολλὰς ποιοῖ τὴν μίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα 10 μία φορά, παρὰ δὲ ἡμῖν μετροῦνται πολλαὶ καὶ ἡμέραι ἄλλαι, ὅτι καὶ νύκτες διαλαμβάνουσιν. ἐκεῖ δὲ μιᾶς οὔσης ἡμέρας πῶς πολλαί; ὤστε οὐδὲ τὸ πέρυσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ διάστημα οὐ ταὐτόν,

del. Buchwald.

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ries of the soul of all the heavenly bodies in general, and in particular about the sun and moon, and in the end it will go as far as the soul of the All, and will dare to be busy with the memories of Zeus himself. And in looking for this it will observe what their discursive reasonings and calculations are, if there are any. If, then, they neither investigate nor are perplexed—for they need nothing and learn nothing which was not part of their knowledge before—what could their calculations or logical deductions or discursive reasonings be? They will not even have designs and devices concerned with human affairs, by which they will manage our business and that of the earth in general: the right order which comes from them to the All is of another kind.

7. Well, then, will they not remember that they saw God? They always see him; and while they see him it is surely not possible for them to say that they have seen him: this would be something which would happen to those who have ceased to see. Well, will they not remember that they went round the earth yesterday, and last year, and that they lived yesterday and for a long time past and from the beginning of their lives? They live for ever: and "for ever" means an identical unity. The "yesterday" of their transit and the "last year" would be the same kind of thing as if one was to divide the step taken by one foot into many parts, and make the one step into many, one after another. For up there there is one transit, but we measure many, and different days, because nights intervene. But there, since there is one [unbroken] day, how can there be many? So there is not a last year either. But the space traversed is not the same, but

μνήμη. 8. "Η οὐκ ἀνάγκη οὕτε ὅσα τις θεωρεῖ ἐν μινήμη τίθεσθαι, οὔτε τῶν πάντη κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἐπακολουθούντων ἐν φαντασία γίγνεσθαι, ὧν τε ἡ νόησις καὶ ή γνωσις ἐνεργεστέρα, εἰ ταῦτα αἰσθητώς 5 γίγνοιτο, οὐκ ἀνάγκη παρέντα τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτῶν τῷ κατά μέρος αἰσθητῶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι, εἰ μή τις ἔργω οἰκονομοῖτό τι, τῶν ἐν μέρει τῆ γνώσει τοῦ ὅλου ἐμπεριεχομένων. λέγω δὲ ἔκαστον ὧδε· πρώτον μέν τὸ μὴ ἀναγκαῖον είναι, ἄ τις ὁρᾶ, παρατίθεσθαι παρ' αύτῷ. ὅταν γὰρ μηδὲν 1 δια-10 φέρη, η μη πρὸς αὐτὸν η ὅλως ή αἴσθησις ἀπροαιρέτως τῆ διαφορά τῶν δρωμένων κινηθεῖσα, τοῦτο αὐτή ἔπαθε μόνη τῆς ψυχῆς οὐ δεξαμένης εἰς τὸ είσω, ἄτε μήτε πρὸς χρείων μήτε πρὸς ἄλλην ώφέλειαν αὐτῆς τῆς διαφορᾶς μέλον. ὅταν δὲ ή 15 ἐνέργεια αὐτὴ πρὸς ἄλλοις ἢ καὶ παντελώς, οὐκ ἂν άνάσχοιτο των τοιούτων παρελθόντων την μνήμην,

ὅπου μηδὲ παρόντων γινώσκει τὴν αἴσθησιν. καὶ 1 Beutler: μηδὲ Enn., $H-S^1$: μὴ Kirchhoff*, Theiler.

different, and the section of the Zodiac is different. Why, then, will not the star say, "I have passed through this section, and am now in another"? And if it keeps watch over human affairs, why does it not see the changes which take place among men, and that they are now different? And if this is so, it sees that men and their affairs were formerly otherwise: so that it also has memory.

8. Now it is not necessary to deposit in onc's memory everything that one observes, or that altogether incidental consequences should come to be present in the imaging faculty; and further, in the case of things of which the thought and knowledge is more effective, it is not necessary, if these occur in the field of sense-perception, to let the knowledge of them go and pay attention to the particulars perceived by sense (unless one is engaged in the practical management of something), since the particulars are included in the knowledge of the whole. What I mean by each of these statements is as follows. First point: that it is not necessary to keep stored up in oneself what one sees. When what is perceived makes no difference, or the perception is not at all personally relevant, but is provoked involuntarily by the difference in the things seen, it is only the senseperception which has this experience and the soul does not receive it into its interior, since the difference is not of concern to it either because it meets a need or is of benefit in some other way. And when the

souls to the unchanging life of eternity, because they are not aware of and do not remember their embodied experience in so far as it is temporal and changing, see my "Eternity, Life and Movement in Plotinus' Accounts of Noës" in Le Néoplatonisme (Paris 1971) 68-9.

For the idea that we have sensations of which we are unconscious cp. IV. 9. 2; V. 1. 12; see E. R. Dodds "Tradition and Personal Achievement in the Philosophy of Plotinus" (J.R.S. 50, 1960, 5-6) for Plotinus's discovery of the unconscious. On the assimilation in these chapters of celestial

μὴν ὅτι τῶν πάντη κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς γινομένων οὐκ

ανάγκη εν φαντασία γίνεσθαι, εί δε καὶ γίνοιτο,

οὐχ ώστε καὶ φυλάξαι καὶ παρατηρήσαι, άλλὰ καὶ

αν τις, εὶ τὸ λεγόμενον οὕτω λάβοι. λέγω δὲ ὧδε·

20 δ τύπος τοῦ τοιούτου οὐ δίδωσι συναίσθησιν, μάθοι

35 παρατηροῖ ἔκαστα τοῦ ταὐτοῦ. εἰ οὖν τὰ ἄστρα

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φερόμενα τὰ αὐτῶν πράττοντα φέρεται καὶ οὐχ ἵνα

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soul's activity is directed to other things, and completely directed to them, it will not accept the memory of things like these when they have passed away, since it is not aware of the sense-impression produced by them when they are there. Then again, one might understand the point that things which happen altogether incidentally do not necessarily come to be present in the imaging faculty, and even if they did would not necessarily be there in such a way that it would guard and observe them, but the impression of a thing like this does not produce a conscious perception, if one took what was said in the following sense. This is what I mean: if it is never a primary consideration to us in local motion to cut through this piece of air and then that, or, even more, to pass through the air at all, we shall not observe the air or have an idea of it in our minds as we walk. For if it was not a primary consideration to us to complete a particular stretch of the road, but we could go on our way through the air, it would be no concern of ours at what milestone in the land we were, or how much of the way we had covered; and if we did not have to travel for a particular space of time, but only to travel, and referred no other activity to time, we should not remember successive periods of time. It is also well known that when our reason grasps what is being done as a whole, and has confidence that it will be completely carried out in this particular way, it will not any more attend to the details as they occur. Again, when someone is always doing the same thing, there would be no point in his observing the details of this same operation. If, then, the heavenly bodies in their courses move along concerned with their own affairs and not

παρέλθη ταῦτα ὅσα παρέρχεται, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς οὕτε ή θέα ὧν πάρεισιν, οὕτε τὸ παρελθεῖν, κατά συμβεβηκός τε ή πάροδος, πρὸς ἄλλοις τε ή γνώμη μείζοσι, τά τε αὐτὰ ἀεὶ δι' ὧν διέρχονται 40 ταῦτα, ὅ τε χρόνος οὐκ ἐν λογισμῷ ὁ ἐν τοσῷδε, εἰ καὶ διηρεῖτο, οὐκ ἀνάγκη οὕτε τόπων ὧν παρίασιν ούτε χρόνων είναι μνήμην. ζωήν 1 τε την αὐτην έγοντα, δπου καὶ τὸ τοπικὸν αὐτοῖς περὶ ταὐτόν, ώς μή τοπικόν, άλλά ζωτικόν τὸ κίνημα είναι ζώου ένὸς εἰς αύτὸ ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν στάσει μὲν ώς πρὸς 45 τὸ ἔξω, κινήσει δὲ τῆ ἐν αὐτῷ ζωῆ ἀιδίῳ οὖση καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ χορεία ἀπεικάσειέ τις τὴν κίνησιν αὐτῶν, εὶ μὲν ἱσταμένη 2 ποτέ, ἡ πᾶσα αν εἴη τελεία ή συντελεσθείσα έξ άρχης είς τέλος, άτελης δε ή εν μέρει εκάστη· εί δε τοιαύτη 3 οία αεί, 50 τελεία ἀεί. εὶ δὲ ἀεὶ τελεία, οὐκ ἔχει χρόνον ἐν ὧ τελεσθήσεται οὐδε τόπον ωστε οὐδε έφεσιν αν έχοι ούτως - ώστε ούτε χρονικώς ούτε τοπικώς μετρήσει· ὥστε οὐδὲ μνήμη τούτων. εἰ μέντοι αὐτοὶ μὲν ζωὴν ζῶσι μακαρίαν ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς τὸ ζῆν προσεμβλέποντες, ταύτη δὲ 4 τῶν ψυχῶν 55 αὐτῶν πρὸς εν [ταύτη] 5 τῆ νεύσει καὶ τῆ έξ αὐτῶὶ είς τον σύμπαντα οὐρανον ἐλλάμψει—ὥσπερ χορδαν έν λύρα συμπαθώς κινηθείσαι μέλος αν ἄσειαν έν φυσική τινι άρμονία—εί ούτω κινοίτο ό σύμπας

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in order to cover the distance which they cover, and their business is not the sight of what they pass or the passing, and their passage is incidental and their mind is on other, greater things, and these things which they travel through are always the same, and the time taken on a particular stage of their course is not calculated (even if it were divided into stages): then there is no necessity for them to have any memory of the regions they have passed through or the periods of time; and they have the same life, in that their local movement also is around the same centre, so that it is not a local but a vital movement, the movement of a single living being with a selfdirected activity, at rest in relation to what is outside it, but in motion by virtue of the everlasting life in it—even if one were to compare their motion to a dance, if it was a dance which at some time came to a stop, the whole would be perfect when it had been completed from beginning to end, but each figure which formed a part of it would be imperfect; but if it is the sort of dance which goes on for ever, it is for ever perfect. But if it is for ever perfect, it has no time or space within which it will be completed: so consequently it will have no aspiration [for completion]; and in consequence of this it will not measure either temporally or spatially; and consequently it will have no memory of this. If, of course, the heavenly bodies themselves live a blessed life, and contemplate this life besides with their souls, by this direction of their souls towards one object and by the illumination which extends from them to the whole heaven-like strings on a lyre plucked harmoniously they sing a song which is naturally in tune-if this is how the whole heaven

¹ ApcCpc (=Schegk), Creuzer* (vitam Ficinus): ζώων Aac ExUCac.

² Kirchhoff*: ἐσταμένη H-S1. 3 Kirchhoff*: τοιαύτη H-S1.

⁴ Volkmann*: τῆ δè wxC: τῆδε U.

⁵ del. Volkmann*, ut correctionem ad $\tau \hat{\eta}$ falso loco insertam.

9. 'Ο δὲ δὴ πάντα κοσμῶν Ζεὺς καὶ ἐπιτροπεύων καὶ διατιθεὶς εἰσαεί, ψυχὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ βασιλικόν νοῦν ἔχων καὶ πρόνοιαν, ὅπως γίνοιτο, καὶ γινομένων ἐπιστασίαν καὶ τάξει διοικῶν καὶ 5 περιόδους έλίττων πολλάς ήδη καὶ τελέσας, πῶς ἂν έν τούτοις ἄπασι μνήμην οὐκ ἔχοι; δπόσαι τε ένένοντο καὶ οἷαι αἱ περίοδοι, καὶ ώς ἂν καὶ ἔπειτα γένοιτο, μηχανώμενος καὶ συμβάλλων καὶ λογιζόμενος μνημονικώτατος αν είη πάντων, όσω καὶ δημιουργός σοφώτατος. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν 10 περιόδων τῆς μνήμης καὶ καθ' αύτὸ ἂν ἔχοι πολλην απορίαν, όπόσος αριθμός είη καὶ εἰ εἰδείη. πεπερασμένος γὰρ ὢν ἀρχὴν τῷ παντὶ χρονικὴν δώσει εί δ' ἄπειρος, οὐκ εἰδήσει, ὁπόσα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργα. ἢ ὅτι ἕν,¹ εἰδήσει, καὶ μία ζωὴ ² αεί-ούτως ³ γαρ απειρος-και το εν ου γνώσει 15 έξωθεν, άλλ' ἔργω, συνόντος ἀεὶ τοῦ οὕτως ἀπείρου, μαλλον δέ παρεπομένου καὶ θεωρουμένου οὐκ έπακτω γνώσει. ώς γάρ το αύτου ἄπειρον της

and its parts move, the heaven itself being self-directed and the different parts having the same direction in different ways (since their positions are different), then our account will be still more correct, since the life of all the heavenly bodies is still more one and uniform.

9. But Zeus who sets all things in order and administers and directs them for ever, who has a "royal soul" and a "royal mind" and foresight of how things will happen and authority over them when they have happened, and arranges the heavens in order and sets their cycles turning and has already brought many cycles to completion, how could he not have memory when all this is going on 1? In his devising and comparing and calculating how many eycles and of what kind there have been, and how thereafter they may come to be, he would have the best memory of all, just as he is the wisest craftsman. Now the matter of his memory of the cycles is in itself one of much difficulty; there is the question of how great the number is and whether he could know it. For if the number is limited it will give the All a temporal beginning; but if it is unlimited, he will not know how many his works are. Now he will know that his work is one and a single life for ever-this is how the number is unlimited-and will know the unity not externally, but in his work; the unlimited in this sense will always be with him, or rather follows upon him and is contemplated by a knowledge which has not come to him from something other than himself. For as he knows the

description of the activity of Zeus is inspired by Plato Phaedrus 246E4-6; his "royal soul" and "royal mind" are from Philebus 30D1-2.

¹ Kirchhoff*: ἐν Enn., H-S¹.

² Theiler: μιᾶ ζωῆ Enn.*

³ Kirchhoff, Volkmann*: οὖτος Enn., H-S1.

As Plotinus says at the beginning of the next chapter, it was legitimate for a Platonist of his period to use "Zeus" as a name either for Divine Intellect or for the Soul of the Universe: cp. III. 5. 8, where Zeus is Intellect. The general

ζωῆς οἶδεν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τὴν εἰς τὸ πᾶν οὖσαν μίαν, οὐχ ὅτι εἰς τὸ πᾶν.

10. 'Αλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸ κοσμοῦν διττόν, τὸ μὲν ὡς τὸν δημιουργὸν λέγομεν, τὸ δὲ ὡς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ψυχήν, καὶ τὸν Δία λέγοντες ὅτὲ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν φερόμεθα, ὅτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν τοῦ 5 παντός. ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἀφαιρετέον πάντη τὸ πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω μίαν αὐτῷ ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἄχρονον ζωὴν διδόντας. ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου ζωὴ τὸ ἡγούμενον ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχουσα ἔτι ἐπιζητεῦ λόγον, εἰ οὖν καὶ αὕτη μὴ ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι ἔχει τὸ ζῆν, μηδ' ἐν τῷ ζητεῦν ὅ τι δεῦ ποιεῦν. ἤδη γὰρ ἐξεύρηται 10 καὶ τέτακται ἃ δεῦ, οὐ ταχθέντα· τὰ γὰρ ταχθέντα ἦν τὰ γινόμενα, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν αὐτὰ ἡ τάξις· τοῦτο δὲ ψυχῆς ἐνέργεια ἐξηρτημένης μενούσης ¹ φρονήσεως, ἡς εἰκὼν ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ τάξις. οὐ τρεπομένης δὲ

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unlimitedness of his own life, so he knows his activity exercised upon the All as being one single activity, but not that it is exercised upon the All.

10. But since the ordering principle is twofold, we speak of one form of it as the Craftsman and the other as the Soul of the All; and when we speak of Zeus we sometimes apply the name to the Craftsman 1 and sometimes to the ruling principle of the All. In the case of the Craftsman we must completely eliminate "before" and "after" and give him a single unchanging and timeless life. But the life of the universe which contains in itself the ruling principle still requires discussion [to determine] whether this too has a life which is not spent in calculation or in enquiring what it ought to do.2 [It does], for the things it ought to do have already been discovered and ordered without being set in order; for the things set in order were the things that happened, and what made them was the order; and this is the activity of soul which depends on an abiding intellect of which the image is the order in soul. But if that intelligence does not change, it is

universe, its lower phase, Nature, being the immanent principle of life and bodily form. Soul's creative activity is for him real and important (cp. V. 1. 2; II. 9. 18) but instrumental and intermediary, entirely dependent on the creative energy of the living World of Forms which is Intellect: cp. V. 8. 7. 15-16. So Intellect remains for him the "true Craftsman and maker of the universe" (V. 9. 3. 25-6).

¹ AacE, Crouzer*: μέσης ούσης ΑρακUC, Η S1.

¹ It seems to have been traditional in the Platonic school to identify the Craftsman, the maker of the world in the *Timaeus*, with Divine Intellect, and Plotinus maintains this identification, though for him Universal Soul is the transcendent organising and directing principle of the material

² The spontaneous, unreasoning (though supremely intelligent) character of the creative activity of Intellect and higher soul is something on which Plotinus several times insists, against Jews, Christians and simple-minded Platonists who supposed that God thought out his plans for the world and then made it: cp. especially the chapter cited in the last note. V. 8, 7.

έκείνης ἀνάγκη μηδὲ ταύτην τρέπεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ότὲ 15 μεν βλέπει εκεῖ, ότε δε οὐ βλέπει ἀπολειπομένη γὰρ ἄν ἀποροῖ· μία γὰρ ψυχὴ καὶ ἕν ἔργον. τὸ γὰρ ἡγεμονοῦν εν κρατοῦν ἀεί, καὶ οὐχ ότὲ μὲν κρατοῦν, ότὲ δὲ κρατούμενον πόθεν γὰρ τὰ πλείω, ωστε καὶ γενέσθαι μάχην η ἀπορίαν; καὶ τὸ διοικοῦν εν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀεὶ ἐθέλει. διὰ τί γὰρ ἂν 20 καὶ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, ἵνα εἰς πλείω ἀπορῆ; καίτοι, εί και εν οδσα μεταβάλλοι, οὐκ αν ἀποροί οὐ γὰρ ότι ήδη πολλά τὸ πῶν καὶ μέρη ἔχει καὶ ἐναντιώσεις πρός τὰ μέρη, διὰ τοῦτο ἂν ἀποροῖ, ὅπως διαθεῖτο: οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν ἄρχεται, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων, καὶ ἀπὸ πρώτου 25 αρξαμένη δδώ ανεμποδίστω έπὶ πάντα είσι καὶ κοσμεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κρατεῖ, ὅτι ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἔργου μένει τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ταὐτόν. εἰ δ' ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο βούλοιτο, πόθεν τὸ ἄλλο; εἶθ' ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν άπορήσει, καὶ ἀσθενήσει τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆ εἰς αμφίβολον τοῦ πράττειν εν λογισμοις ζούση.

11. Έστι γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ζώου ἡ διοίκησις, ἡ μέν τις ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν καὶ μερῶν, ἡ δέ τις ἀπὸ τῶν ἔνδον καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καθάπερ ἰατρὸς μὲν ἔξωθεν ἀρχόμενος καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἄπορος πολ-

necessary that this soul does not change either; for it does not sometimes look to Intellect and sometimes not; for if it left off looking it would be perplexed; for there is one soul and one work. For the ruling principle is one, always dominant, and not sometimes dominant and sometimes dominated: for from what source could come a multiplicity [of ruling principles] so that there would be strife between them and perplexity? And the one directing principle always wills the same thing: for why should it will now one thing and now another, so as to be perplexed about the multiple alternatives? Yet, even if, being one thing, it were to change, it would not be perplexed; for because the All is already many, and has parts, and oppositions between the parts, it is not for this reason in perplexity about how it shall arrange them; for it does not start from the last and lowest things, or from the parts, but from the primary things, and beginning from the first it proceeds by an unobstructed way to all things and arranges them in ordered beauty and dominates them for this reason, because it persists in one and the same work and is the same thing. But if it wishes for one thing after another, where would the other thing it wished for come from? Then it would be perplexed about what it ought to do, and its work would weaken as it advanced in its calculations to uncertainty about what to do.

11. The administration of the universe is like that of a single living being, where there is one kind which works from outside and deals with it part by part, and another kind which works from inside, from the principle of its life. So a doctor begins from outside and deals with particular parts and is often perplexed

PLOTINUS: ENNEAD IV. 4.

5 λαχή καὶ βουλεύεται, ή δὲ φύσις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς άπροσδεής βουλεύσεως. καὶ δεῖ τοῦ παντὸς τὴν διοίκησιν καὶ τὸν διοικοῦντα ἐν τῷ ἡγεῖσθαι οὐ κατ' ιατροῦ ἔξιν είναι, ἀλλ' ώς ή φύσις. πολὺ δὲ μαλλον έκει το άπλουν, όσω κατά πάντων έμπεριειλημμένων ώς μερών ζώου ένός. πάσας γάρ τὰς 10 φύσεις κρατεῖ μία, αἱ δὲ ἔπονται ἀνηρτημέναι καὶ έξηρτημέναι καὶ οἶον ἐκφῦσαι, ώς αἱ ἐν κλάδοις τῆ τοῦ ὅλου φυτοῦ. τίς οὖν ὁ λογισμὸς ἢ τίς ἀρίθμησις η τίς ή μνήμη παρούσης ἀεὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ένεργούσης καὶ κρατούσης καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ διοικούσης; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὅτι ποικίλα καὶ διάφορα τὰ 15 γινόμενα, δεί συνεπόμενον ταίς του γινομένου μεταβολαίς και τὸ ποιούν ήγεισθαι. ὅσω γὰρ ποικίλα τὰ γινόμενα, τοσούτω τὸ ποιοῦν ώσαύτως μένον. πολλά γάρ καὶ ἐφ' ένὸς ἐκάστου ζώου τὰ γινόμενα κατά φύσιν καὶ οὐχ δμοῦ πάντα, αί ήλικίαι, αί ἐκφύσεις ἐν χρόνοις, οΐον κεράτων, 20 γενείων, μαζών αὐξήσεις, ἀκμαί, γενέσεις ἄλλων, ού των πρόσθεν λόγων ἀπολλυμένων, ἐπιγιγνομένων δὲ ἄλλων δηλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ γεννωμένῳ αθ ζώω τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ σύμπαντα λόγον εἶναι. καὶ δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν φρόνησιν ἄξιον περιθείναι καὶ καὶ ταύτην καθόλου είναι οίον κόσμου φρόνησιν 25 έστωσαν, πολλήν μέν και ποικίλην και αὐ άπλην ζώου ένος μεγίστου, οὐ τῷ πολλῷ ἀλλοιουμένην,

and considers what to do, but nature begins from the principle of life and has no need of consideration. And the administration and the administrator of the All must not behave like a doctor in its ruling, but like nature. But the administration of the universe is much simpler, in that all things with which it deals are included as parts of a single living being. For one nature rules all the natures, and they come after it, depending on and from it, growing out of it so to speak, as the natures in branches grow out of that of the whole plant. What calculation, then, can there be or counting or memory when intelligence is always present, active and ruling, ordering things in the same way? One certainly should not think that, because a great variety of different things comes to pass, that which produces them also conforms to the changes of the product. The unchanging stability of the producer is in proportion to the variety of products. For the things which happen according to nature in one single living being are many, and they do not all happen at once; there are the different ages and the growths which occur at particular times, for instance of the horns or the beard or the breasts; there is the prime of life and procreation of other living things; the previous rational forming principles are not destroyed, but others come into operation as well; this is clear from the fact that the same rational forming principle [which is in the parentl, and the whole of it, is also in the offspring. So it is right to attribute the same [unchanging] intelligence [to the Soul of the All] and that this, as belonging to the universe, is a kind of static universal intelligence, manifold and varied, and yet at the same same time simple, belonging to a single mighty

άλλὰ ἔνα λόγον καὶ όμοῦ πάντα· εἰ γὰρ μὴ πάντα, οὐκ ἐκείνη, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑστέρων καὶ μερῶν ἡ φρόνησις.

12. 'Αλλ' ἴσως τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον ἔργον φύσεως αν τις είποι, φρονήσεως δὲ ἐν τῷ παντὶ οὐσης καὶ λογισμούς ἀνάγκη καὶ μνήμας είναι. ἔυτι δὲ τοῦτο ἀνθρώπων τὸ φρονεῖν ἐν τῷ μὴ φρονεῖν 5 τιθεμένων, καὶ το ζητεῖν φρονεῖν τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ φρονεῖν νενομικότων, τὸ γὰρ λογίζεσθαι τί ἄλλο ἂν κίη ἢ τὸ ἐφίεσθαι εύρεῖν φρόνησιν 1 καὶ λόγον ἀληθη καὶ τυγχάνοντα [νοῦ] 2 τοῦ ὄντος; ὅμοιος γὰρ ὁ λογιζόμενος κιθαρίζοντι είς κιθάρισιν καὶ μελετώντι είς έξιν καὶ όλως τῷ μανθάνοντι είς γνῶσιν. 10 ζητεῖ γὰρ μαθεῖν ὁ λογιζόμενος ὅπερ ὁ ἤδη ἔχων φρόνιμος ωστε έν τω στάντι το φρονείν. μαρτυρεί δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ λογισάμενος. ὅταν γὰρ εὔρη δ δεῖ, πέπαυται λογιζόμενος καὶ ἀνεπαύσατο ἐν τῷ φρονήσαι γενόμενος. εί μεν οὖν κατά τοὺς μανθάνουτας τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ παντὸς τάξομεν, 15 λογισμούς ἀποδοτέον καὶ ἀπορίας καὶ μνήμας συμβάλλοντος τὰ παρεληλυθότα τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν. εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὸν εἰδότα, ἐν στάσει όρον έχούση νομιστέον αὐτοῦ είναι τὴν φρόνησιν. είτα εί μεν οίδε τὰ μελλοντα-τὸ γὰρ μὴ είδεναι λέγειν ἄτοπον-διὰ τί οὐχὶ καὶ ὅπως ἔσται οὐκ 20 είδήσει; εί δὲ είδήσει καὶ ὅπως ἔσται, τί ἔτι δεῖ τοῦ λογίζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ τὰ παρεληλυθότα πρὸς τὰ παρόντα συμβάλλειν; καὶ ή γνωσις δὲ των

A^{ac}E, Perna*: φρονεῦν A^{pc}xUC, H-S¹.
 del. Vitringa, Volkmann*.

living being, not subject to change because of the multiplicity of things, but a single rational principle and all things at once; for if it was not everything, it would not be that [universal] intelligence, but the

intelligence of partial things.

12. But perhaps someone might say that a work of this kind belongs to nature, but it is necessary that the intelligence which is in the All should have calculations and memories. This is a statement of men who assume that unintelligence is intelligence, and have come to the conclusion that to seek to be intelligent is the same thing as being intelligent. For what else could calculation be but the effort to find intelligence and reason which is true and attains to the truly existent? For the man who calculates is like one who is playing the lyre to acquire the art of lyre-playing or who is practising to acquire habitual proficiency, or in general like one who is learning in order to know. For the man who is calculating seeks to learn that which if someone already possesses, he is intelligent: so that intelligence is in one who has come to rest. The man who has been calculating is himself a witness to this; for when he finds what is needed, he stops calculating; and he comes to rest because he has entered into intelligence. If then we are going to put the ruling principle of the universe into the class of learners, we should attribute to it calculations and perplexities and memories which are proper to one who compares the past with the present and the future. But if we are going to class it as the knower, we must consider that its knowing is in a repose which reached its term. Then if it knows future events and it would be absurd to say that it did not-why will it not

μελλόντων, εἴπερ αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖται παρεῖναι, οὐ τοιαύτη ἂν εἴη, οἵα τοῖς μάντεσι πάρεστιν, ἀλλ' 25 οἴα αὐτοῖς τοῖς ποιοῦσι τοῖς πεπιστευκόσιν ὅτι έσται, τοῦτο δὲ ταὐτὸν τοῖς πάντα κυρίοις, οἶς οὐδὸν ἀμφίβολον οὐδὲ ἀμφιγνοούμενον. οἷς ἄρα άραρεν ή δόξα, τούτοις παραμένει. ή αὐτή άρα καὶ περὶ μελλόντων φρόνησις, οΐα καὶ ή περὶ παρόντων, κατὰ τὸ ἐστάναι τοῦτο δὲ λογισμοῦ 30 ἔξω. ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ οἶδε τὰ μέλλοντα, ἃ αὐτὸς ποιήσει, οὐδὲ εἰδήσει ποιήσει 1 οὐδὲ πρός τι βλέπων [ποιήσει],² ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπελθὸν ποιήσει· τοῦτο δὲ ταὐτὸν τῶ εἰκῆ. μένει ἄρα καθὸ ποιήσει. άλλ' εὶ μένει καθὸ ποιήσει, οὐκ ἄλλως ποιήσει, η ώς οξον τὸ ἐν αύτῶ παράδειγμα ἔχει. μοναχῶς 35 ἄρα ποιήσει ώσαύτως οὐ γὰρ νῦν μὲν ἄλλως, υστερον δὲ ἄλλως, ἢ τί κωλύει ἀποτυχεῖν; εἰ δὲ τὸ ποιούμενον διαφόρως έξει, ἀλλ' ἔσχε γε διαφόρως οὐ παρ' έαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ δουλεῦον λόγοις: οὖτοι δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ποιοῦντος: ὥστε ἠκολούθησε τοις έφεξης λόγοις. ώστε οὐδαμή τὸ ποιοῦν 40 ἀναγκάζεσθαι πλανᾶσθαι οὐδ' ἀπορεῖν οὐδ' ἔχειν πράγματα, ώσπερ τινές ψήθησαν δύσκολον είναι την των όλων διοίκησιν. τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πράγματα ήν, ως ἔοικε, τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔργοις ἀλλοτρίοις.

2 delevimus.

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know how they will turn out? And if it knows how they will turn out, why does it still need calculation and comparison of past events with present? And its knowledge of future events, granted that it has it, will not be like that which diviners have, but like that which those have who make things happen with full confidence that they will do so; this is the same as saying, those who are fully masters of the situation to whom nothing is doubtful or disputable. Now those who have a fixed opinion retain it permanently. The intelligence of future things is, then, in its stability, of the same kind as that of present things; but this is outside the sphere of calculation. But if it does not know the future things which it is going to make, it will not make them with knowledge or looking at any [model] but will make whatever comes to it; but this is the same as saving, it will make at random. [The model], then, according to which it will make, abides. But if that according to which it will make abides, it will not make otherwise than in conformity with the pattern which it has in itself. It will make, then, in one single unvarying way; for it will not make now in one way and now in another, or what is there to prevent its failing? But if that which is being made is in different states, these different states do not derive from itself, but it is subservient to the rational forming principles; and these come from the maker, so that it follows upon the forming principles in their series. So the maker is in no way compelled to be in doubt or perplexity or to have difficulties, as some people have thought who considered the administration of the universe to be a burden. For to have difficulties is a matter, so it seems, of undertaking tasks which

¹ Kirchhoff*: ποιῆσαι Enn., H-S1.

τοῦτο δὲ ὧν μὴ κρατεῖ. ὧν δέ τις κρατεῖ καὶ μόνος, τίνος αν ούτος δέοιτο η αύτου καὶ της 45 αύτοῦ βουλήσεως; τοῦτο δὲ ταὐτὸν τῆς αὐτοῦ φρονήσεως τῶ γὰρ τοιούτω ή βούλησις φρόνησις. οὐδενὸς ἄρα δεῖ τῶ τοιούτω εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν, ἐπειδή οὐδ' ή φρόνησις ἀλλοτρία, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς οὐδενὶ ἐπακτῷ χρώμενος. οὐδὲ λογισμῶ τοίνυν οὐδὲ

μνήμη. ζπακτά γάρ ταθτα.

13. 'Αλλά τί διοίσει τῆς λεγομένης φύσεως ἡ τοιαύτη φρόνησις; η ότι ή μεν φρόνησις πρώτον, ή δὲ φύσις ἔσχατον· ἴνδαλμα γὰρ φρονήσεως ή φύσις καὶ ψυχης ἔσχατον ον ἔσχατον καὶ τον ἐν 5 αὐτῆ ἐλλαμπόμενον λόγον ἔχει, οἷον εἰ ἐν κηρῷ βαθεί διικνοίτο εἰς ἔσχατον ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐν τῆ έπιφανεία τύπος, έναργοῦς μεν όντος τοῦ ἄνω, ϊχνους δὲ ἀσθενοῦς ὄντος τοῦ κάτω. ὅθεν οὐδὲ οἶδε, μόνον δὲ ποιεῖ· δ γὰρ ἔχει τῷ ἐφεξῆς διδοῦσα ἀπροαιρέτως, τὴν δύσιν τῷ σωματικῷ καὶ 10 ύλικῶ ποίησιν ἔχειν, οἶον καὶ τὸ θερμανθέν τῶ έφεξης άψαμένω δέδωκε τὸ αύτοῦ είδος, θερμον έλαττόνως ποιήσαν. διά τοῦτό τοι ή φύσις οὐδέ φαντασίαν έχει· ή δε νόησις φαντασίας κρείττον· φαντασία δε μεταξύ φύσεως τύπου καὶ νοήσεως. ή μέν νε οὐθενὸς ἀντίληψιν οὐδε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ή δε 15 φαντασία σύνεσιν ἐπακτοῦ· δίδωσι γὰρ τῷ

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do not belong to one, that is, of which one is not master. But in work of which someone is master. and sole master, what does he need except himself and his own will? But this is the same thing as his own intelligence; for in a being of this kind will is intelligence. So a being like this needs nothing for its making, since its intelligence does not belong to someone else but is itself, using nothing brought in from outside. So it does not use calculation or

memory; for these come from outside.

13. But how will intelligence of this kind differ from what we call nature 1? It differs in that intelligence is primary, but nature is last and lowest. For nature is an image of intelligence, and since it is the last and lowest part of soul has the last ray of the rational forming principle which shines in it, just as in a thick piece of wax a seal-stamp penetrates right through to the surface on the other side, and is clear on the upper side, but a faint trace on the lower. For this reason it does not know, but only makes; for since it gives what it has spontaneously to what comes after it, it has its giving to the corporeal and material as a making, just as a heated body gives its own form to that which is next in contact to it and makes it hot in a lesser degree. For this reason nature does not have an imaging faculty either; but intellect is higher than the power of imaging: the imaging faculty is between the impression of nature and intellect. Nature has no grasp or consciousness of anything, but the imaging faculty has consciousness of what comes from outside; for it gives to the

the unreasoning creativity of Nature, the soul-principle immanent in the physical world, which is below reason and imagination (for its unconscious activity see III. 8. 3-4).

¹ Plotinus here recognises, but does not satisfactorily solve, one of the great difficulties which his idea of unreasoning intelligence brings with it in his hicrarchical system. This is, as he says here, how to explain in any intelligible way the difference between the unreasoning intelligence of Intellect and higher soul, which is above reason and imagination, and

φαντασθέντι είδεναι ἃ ἔπαθεν· ἡ δὲ γέννα αὐτὴ καὶ ἐνέργεια ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεργήσαντος. νοῦς μὲν οὖν ἔχει, ψυχὴ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἐκομίσατο εἰς ἀεὶ καὶ ἐκεκόμιστο, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτῆ τὸ ζῆν, καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀεὶ σύνεσις νοούσης· τὸ δὲ ἐξ 20 αὐτῆς ἐμφαντασθὲν εἰς ὕλην φύσις, ἐν ἢ ἴσταται τὰ ὄντα, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, καὶ ἔυτιν ἔσχατα ταῦτα τοῦ νοητοῦ· ἤδη γὰρ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μιμήματα. ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις εἰς αὐτὴν ποιοῦσα καὶ πάσχουσα, ἐκείνη δὲ ἡ πρὸ αὐτῆς καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς ποιοῦσα 25 οὐ πάσχει, ἡ δ' ἔτι ἄνωθεν εἰς σώματα ἢ εἰς ὕλην οὐ ποιοῦ.

14. Τὰ δὲ σώματα ὑπὸ φύσεως λεγόμενα γίγνεσθαι τὰ μὲν στοιχεῖα αὐτὸ τοῦτο [τὰ σώματα], τὰ δὲ ζῷα καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἄρα οὕτως, ὥστε τὴν φύσιν οἷον παρακειμένην ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν; οἷον 5 ἐπὶ φωτὸς ἔχει· ἀπελθόντος οὐδὲν ὁ ἀὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔχει, ἀλλὶ ἔστιν οἷον χωρὶς τὸ φῶς, χωρὶς δὲ ὁ ἀὴρ οἷον οὐ ² κιρνάμενος· ἢ οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ θερμανθέντος, οὖ ἀπελθόντος μένει τις θερμότης ἐτέρα οὖσα παρὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ πυρί, πάθος τι τοῦ θερμανθέντος. τὴν μὲν γὰρ μορφήν, ἢν δίδωσι 10 τῷ πλασθέντι, ἔτερον εἶδος θετέον παρὶ αὐτὴν τὴν φύσιν. εἰ δὲ τι ἄλλο παρὰ τοῦτο ἔχει, ὅ ἐστιν οἷον μεταξὺ τούτου καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως, ζητητέον. καὶ ἥτις μὲν διαφορὰ φύσεως καὶ τῆς εἰρημένης ἐν τῷ παντὶ φρονήσεως, εἴρηται.

one who has the image the power to know what he has experienced; but intellect itself is origin and activity which comes from the active principle itself. Intellect, then, possesses, and the Soul of the All receives from it for ever and had always received, and this is its life, and what appears at each successive time is its consciousness as it thinks; and that which is reflected from it into matter is nature, in which, or indeed before it, the real beings come to a stop, and these are the last and lowest realities of the intelligible world: for what comes after at this point is imitation. But nature acts on matter and is affected by it, but that soul which is before nature and close to it acts without being affected, and that which is still higher does not act on bodies or matter.

14. As for the bodies which are said to be produced by nature, the elements are just precisely products of nature; but are the animals and plants so disposed as to have nature present in them? Their relationship to nature is like that of air to light: when light goes away air holds nothing of it. but the light is in a way separate and the air is separate and as if it did not mix with the light. Or it is like that of fire and the heated body, when if the fire goes away a heat remains which is distinct from the heat in the fire and is an affection of the heated body. In the same way the shape which nature gives to the formed body must be considered as another form, distinct from nature itself. But if the body has anything else besides this, which is somehow in between it and nature itself, we must investigate it. And so we have explained the difference between nature and the intelligence in the All about which we were speaking.

¹ del. Kirchhoff.

 $^{^2}$ Creuzer, Volkmann* (non Ficinus), cf. IV. 3. 22. 3: δ Enn., H–S¹.

15. Ἐκείνο δὲ ἄπορον πρὸς [τὰ νῦν] ι ἄπαντα τὰ (νῦν) 1 εἰρημένα· εἰ γὰρ αἰών μὲν περὶ νοῦν, χρόνος δὲ περὶ ψυχήν—ἔχειν γάρ φαμεν ζέν > 2 τῆ ύποστάσει 3 του χρόνου περί την της ψυχης έν-5 έργειαν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης—πῶς οὐ, μεριζομένου τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὸ παρεληλυθὸς ἔχοντος, μερίζοιτο ἂν καὶ ή ενέργεια, καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρεληλυθός ἐπιστρέφουσα ποιήσει καὶ ἐν τῆ τοῦ παντός ψυχῆ τὴν μνήμην; καὶ γὰρ αὖ ἐν μὲν τῷ αἰῶνι τὴν ταὐτότητα, ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν ἐτερότητα τίθεσθαι, ἢ ταὐτὸν αἰὼν 10 έσται καὶ χρόνος, εἰ καὶ ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεργείαις τὸ μεταβάλλειν οὐ δώσομεν. ἆρ' οὖν τὰς μὲν ήμετέρας ψυχὰς μεταβολήν δεχομένας τήν τε άλλην και την ενδειαν οία εν χρόνω φήσομεν είναι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ὅλου γεννᾶν μὲν χρόνον, οὐ μὴν ἐν χρόνω είναι; άλλ' έστω μή εν χρόνω τί εστιν, δ 15 ποιεί γεννών αὐτὴν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ μὴ αἰῶνα; ἢ ὅτι, ά γεννά, οὐκ ἀίδια, ἀλλὰ περιεχόμενα χρόνω. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐν χρόνω, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάθη αὐτῶν άττα ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ποιήματα. ἀίδιοι γὰρ αί ψυχαί, καὶ ὁ χρόνος ὕστερος, καὶ τὸ ἐν χρόνω ἔλαττον χρόνου περιέχειν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν χρόνον τὸ ἐν χρόνω, 20 ὧσπερ, φησί, τὸ ἐν τόπω καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

16. 'Αλλ' εἰ ἐν αὐτῆ τόδε μετὰ τόδε καὶ τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ὕστερον τῶν ποιουμένων, κὰν εἰ

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15. But there is the following difficulty in relation to all that has just been said: for if eternity belongs to Intellect and time to Soul-for we maintain that we grasp time in its essential nature as around the activity of soul and deriving from it-how, if time is divided up, and has a past, will not the activity of soul be divided up, and when it turns towards the past will produce memory in the Soul of the All as well [as in our souls]? For, again, one must place sameness in eternity and otherness in time, or time and eternity will be the same, even if we do not attribute change to the activities of soul. Shall we then say that our souls, which are subject to other kinds of change and especially to deficiency, are somehow in time, but the soul of the universe generates time, but is not in time? But, granted that it is not in time, what makes it generate time, and not eternity? It is because the things which it generates are not eternal, but encompassed by time; since even the [individual] souls are not in time, but such affections as they have are, and the things they make. For the souls are eternal, and time is posterior to them, and that which is in time is less than time; for time must encompass what is in time, as is the case, Aristotle says, with what is in place and number.1

16. But if in soul one thing comes after another and if it itself makes some of its works earlier and some later, that is, if it makes them in time, it also

¹ transpos. Theiler.

Igal.
 Enn., II-S.: την ὑπόστασιν Kirchhoff*.

 $^{^{-1}}$ φησί "he says" refers here, exceptionally, to Aristotle, not to Plato; cp. I. 1. 4. 26. The reference is to Physics Δ , 12, 221a18 and 28–30. This the clearest assertion in Plotinus that individual human souls in their true, highest nature live, not in time, but in eternity.

directs itself to the future; and if so, also to the past. Now the earlier and the past are in the things it makes, but in it nothing is past, but all the rational forming principles are present at once, as has been said.1 But in the things that are made there is no simultaneity, as there is no togetherness, though there is togetherness in the rational forming principles, as the hands and feet in the rational principle are together, but in the objects of sense they are separate. And yet there is separateness in another way in the intelligible world; so that there is also priority in another way. Now one could speak of separateness consisting in otherness; but how could one speak of priority unless the arranging principle gave orders? But if it gives orders it will say "this after that": for why will not all things exist at once? Now if the arranging principle is other than the arrangement, it will be of such a kind as to speak, in a way; but if that which gives orders is the primary arrangement, it no longer says, but only makes this after that.2 For if it says it, it does so with its eye on the arrangement: so that it will be other than the arrangement. How then is it the same? Because the arranging principle is not form and matter, but only form and power, and Soul is the second active actuality after Intellect; but the "this after that" is in the [material] things which cannot all exist at once. For the soul of this kind is a noble thing, like a circle fitting itself round its centre, the first expansion after the centre, an unextended extension: for this is how each of the intelligible realities] is. But if one ranks the Good as a centre one would rank Intellect as an unmoved circle and Soul as a moving circle; but moving by

¹ The reference back is to the end of ch. 11.

PLOTINUS: ENNEAD IV. 4.

κινούμενον δὲ τῆ ἐφέσει. νοῦς γὰρ εὐθὺς καὶ ἔχει καὶ περιείληφεν, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα ὄντος ἐφίεται. ἡ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς σφαῖρα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνως ἐφιεμένην ἔχουσα ἡ πέφυκεν ἐφίεσθαι κινεῖται. πέφυκε δὲ ἡ σῶμα τοῦ οῦ ἔστιν ἔξω 30 ἐφίεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ περιπτύξασθαι καὶ περιελθεῖν πάντη ἑαυτῷ. καὶ κύκλῳ ἄρα.

17. 'Αλλά πως οὐ καὶ ἐν ἡμῶν οὕτως αἱ νοήσεις αί της ψυχης και οι λόγοι, άλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἐν χρόνο καὶ 1 τὸ ὕστερον καὶ αἱ ζητήσεις ώδί; ἆρ' ὅτι πολλά ἃ ἄρχει καὶ κινείται, καὶ οὐχ εν κρατεί; η 5 καὶ ὅτι ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο πρὸς τὴν χρείαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν οὺχ ώρισμένον ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ἀεὶ καὶ ἄλλο ἔξω. ὅθεν ἄλλο τὸ βούλευμα καὶ πρὸς καιρόν, ὅτε ἡ χρεία πάρεστι καὶ συμβέβηκεν ἔξωθεν τουτί, εἶτα τουτί. καὶ γὰρ τῷ πολλὰ ἄρχειν ἀνάγκη πολλὰς καὶ τὰς φαντασίας εἶναι καὶ 10 ἐπικτήτους καὶ καινὰς ἄλλου ἄλλω καὶ ἐμποδίους τοίς αὐτοῦ ἐκάστου κινήμασι καὶ ἐνεργήμασιν. όταν γὰρ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν κινηθῆ, ἦλθεν ἡ φαντασία τούτου οξον αἴσθησις ἀπαγγελτική καὶ μηνυτική τοῦ πάθους ἀπαιτοῦσα συνέπεσθαι καὶ ἐκπορίζειν τὸ ἐπιθυμούμενον τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐν ἀπόρω 15 συνεπόμενον καὶ πορίζον ἢ καὶ ἀντιτεῖνον γίνεται. καὶ ὁ θυμὸς δὲ εἰς ἄμυναν παρακαλῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεί κινηθείς, καὶ αί τοῦ σώματος χρείαι καὶ τὰ

1 χοόνω και Theiler: χρύνοις Enn.*

aspiration. For Intellect immediately possesses and encompasses the Good, but Soul aspires to [the Good] beyond being. But the sphere of the All, since it possesses the soul which aspires in that way, moves by its natural aspiration. But its natural aspiration as a body is to that which it is outside: that is, it is an enfolding and surrounding it on every side with itself, and so therefore [movement in] a circle.

17. But why are not the thoughts and reasonings of the soul of this kind in us too, but here below we are in time and there is succession and in this way investigations? Is it because there are many things which rule and are moved, and it is not one which has the power? Yes, and it is because there is one thing after another related to our needs and the present moment, not definite in itself but always related to one external thing after another; as a result our decisions are different and relevant to the occasion when the need arises, and now this and now that external incident occurs. For because there are many that rule it is necessary that there should be many mental images, and they must come in from outside and the images of one must be new to another, and they must get in the way of the movements and activities of each individual part. For when the desiring part of the soul is moved, the mental image of its object comes like a perception announcing and informing us of the experience, and demanding that we should follow along with it and obtain the desired object for it; but our other part necessarily falls into perplexity, whether it goes along and obtains the object or resists. And the spirited part when it summons us to repel something does the same when it is moved, and the needs of

1 del. Kirchhoff*.

² Theiler.

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the body and the passions make us have continually different opinions. Then there is ignorance of the [true] good, and the soul's not knowing what to say K. when it is dragged in every direction, and still other results from the mixture of all these. But is it actually our best part which has different opinions? No, perplexity and variety of opinions belong to the gathering [of our various parts and passions]: from our best part the right account of the matter is given to the common gathering, and is weak because it is in the mixture, not by its own nature. But it is as if in the great clamour of an assembly the best of the advisers does not prevail when he speaks, but the worse of those who clamour and shout, but he sits quietly unable to do anything, defeated by the clamour of the worse. And in the worst kind of man there is the common gathering and his human nature is composed of everything in the manner of a bad political constitution; in the middling man it is as it is in the city in which some good can prevail as the democratic constitution is not entirely out of control; but in the better kind of man the style of life is aristocratic; his human nature is already escaping from the common gathering and giving itself over to the better sort.1 But in the best man, the man who separates himself, the ruling principle is one, and the order comes from this to the rest. It is as if there was a double city, one above and one composed of the lower elements set in order by the been shared, not only by his friends of the Roman senatorial aristocracy but by everyone who wrote or spoke about politics in the later Roman Empire (Christians as well as pagans). For the sources of the opinions here see Plato Republic VIII 557 ff. and (for the $\mu \epsilon \cos$ and his state) Aristotle Politics IV 1295a25 ff.

¹ Plotinus is not interested in politics. When, as here, he expresses political opinions incidentally in the course of a Platonic analogy between soul and state, they are taken from Plato and Aristotle and have little relevance to the Roman Empire in the 3rd century A.D.; though the belief in the inferiority of democracy which he expresses here would have

18. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ εἰ ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ τι ἔχει τὸ σώμα και παρούσης ζη της ψυχης έχον ήδη τι ίδιον, η δ ἔχει ἡ φύσις ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ προσομιλοῦν τῷ σώματι ἡ φύσις. ἢ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα, ἐν ῷ 5 καὶ ψυχή καὶ φύσις, οὐ τοιοῦτον εἶναι δεῖ, οἶον τὸ άψυγον καὶ οξον ὁ ἀὴρ ὁ πεφωτισμένος, ἀλλ' οξον ὁ τεθερμασμένος, καὶ ἔστι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ζῶου καὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ δὲ οἱον σκιὰν ψυχῆς ἔχοντα, καὶ τὸ άλνεῖν καὶ τὸ ἥδεσθαι δὲ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἡδονὰς περί τὸ τοιόνδε σῶμά ἐστιν· ἡμῖν δὲ ἡ τούτου 10 άλγηδών καὶ ή τοιαύτη ήδονὴ εἰς γνῶσιν ἀπαθῆ ἔρχεται. λέγω δὲ ἡμιν τῆ ἄλλη ψυχῆ, ἄτε καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦδε σώματος οὐκ ἀλλοτρίου, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν ὄντος. διὸ καὶ μέλει ήμῖν αὐτοῦ ώς ήμῶν ὄντος. οὕτε γὰρ τοῦτό ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς, οὔτε καθαροὶ τούτου ήμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐξήρτηται καὶ ἐκκρέμαται ἡμῶν, 15 ήμεις δὲ κατά τὸ κύριον, ήμων δὲ ἄλλως ὅμως τοῦτο. διὸ καὶ ήδυμένου καὶ ἀλγοῦντος μέλει, καὶ όσω ἀσθενέστεροι μαλλον, καὶ όσω έαυτοὺς μὴ χωρίζομεν, άλλὰ τοῦτο ήμῶν τὸ τιμιώτατον καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τιθέμεθα καὶ οἷον εἰσδυόμεθα εἰς αὐτό. χρη γάρ τὰ πάθη τὰ τοιαῦτα μη ψυχης 20 όλως είναι λέγειν, άλλα σώματος τοιοῦδε καί τινος κοινοῦ καὶ συναμφοτέρου. ὅταν γὰρ ἕν τι ἢ, αύτω οίον αὐταρκές ἐστιν. οίον σωμα μόνον τί ἂν πάθοι ἄψυχον ὄν; διαιρούμενόν τε γὰρ οὐκ αὐτό,

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powers above. But now it has been explained that in the soul of the All there is unity, sameness and likeness, but in other souls things are different, and what the reasons for this are. So much, then, for that.

18. Now about whether the body has anything by itself, and possesses already something of its own in its life when soul is present, or whether what it has is nature, and this, nature, is what is in association with body. Now the body itself, in which are soul and nature, cannot be something of a soulless kind or like air which is illuminated, but it must be like air which is warmed; the body of an animal or a plant has a kind of shadow of soul, and pain and bodily pleasures affect a body which is so qualified; but the pain of this body and pleasure of this kind result for us in a dispassionate knowledge. When I say "for us "I am referring to the other soul, since the qualified body does not belong to someone else, but is ours, and so we are concerned with it because it belongs to us. We ourselves are not it, nor are we clear of it, but it depends upon and is attached to us. "We ourselves" refers to the dominant and essential part of us: this body is in a different way ours, but ours all the same. So we are concerned with its pains and pleasures, more in proportion as we are weaker and do not separate ourselves, but consider the body the most honourable part of ourselves and the real man, and, so to speak, sink ourselves in it. For we must say that experiences of this kind do not belong entirely to the soul, but to the qualified body and something common and composite. For when something is one, it is sufficient to itself; for example, what could happen to body by itself if it was lifeless?

άλλ' ή ἐν αὐτῷ ἔνωσις. ψυχή τε μόνη οὐδὲ τοῦτο 25 [οὐδὲ τὸ διαιρεῖσθαι], 1 καὶ ούτως ἔχουσα ἐκφεύγει παν. όταν δε δύο εθέλη εν είναι, επακτώ χρησάμενα τῷ εν ἐν τῷ οὐκ ἐᾶσθαι εἶναι εν τὴν γένεσω εἰκότως τοῦ ἀλγεῖν ἔχει. λέγω δὲ δύο ούκ, εί δύο σώματα· μία γὰρ φύσις· ἀλλ' ὅταν άλλη φύσις άλλη έθέλη κοινωνείν καὶ γένει άλλω, 30 καί τι τὸ χείρον λάβη παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος, καὶ έκεινο μέν μη δυνηθη λαβείν, έκείνου δέ τι ίχνος, καὶ οῦτω γένηται δύο καὶ εν μεταξύ γενόμενον τοῦ τε δ ην καὶ τοῦ δ μη ἐδυνήθη ἔχειν, ἀπορίαν εγέννησεν αύτῷ ἐπίκηρον κοινωνίαν καὶ οὐ βεβαίαν είληχός, άλλ' είς τὰ έναντία ἀεὶ φερομένην. 35 κάτω τε οὖν καὶ ἄνω αἰωρούμενον φερόμενον μὲν κάτω ἀπήγγειλε τὴν αύτοῦ ἀλγηδόνα, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνω τὴν ἔφεσιν τῆς κοινωνίας.

19. Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον ἡδονήν τε εἶναι καὶ ἀλγηδόνα, εἶναι μὲν ἀλγηδόνα γνῶσιν ἀπαγωγῆς σώματος ἐνδάλματος ψυχῆς στερισκομένου, ἡδονὴν δὲ γνῶσιν ζώου ἐνδάλματος ψυχῆς ἐν 5 σώματι ἐναμμυζομένου πάλιν αὖ. ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν τὸ πάθος, ἡ δὲ γνῶσις τῆς αἰσθητικῆς ψυχῆς ἐν τῆ γειτονία αἰσθανομένης καὶ ἀπαγγειλάσης τῷ εἰς δ λήγουσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις. καὶ ἦλγύνθη μὲν ἐκεῖνο.

¹ del. Kirchhoff*, ut glossam ad οὐδὲ τοῦτο.

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For if it was divided the division would not affect it itself, but the unity in it. And soul by itself is not subject even to division, and when it is in this state escapes everything. But when two things aspire to unity, since the unity which they have is an extraneous one, the origin of pain, it is reasonable to expect, lies in their not being permitted to be one. I do not mean "two" as if there were two bodies, for they would have one and the same nature; but when one nature wants to share with another one. and a different kind, and the worse takes something from the better, and cannot take it itself but only a trace of it, and so there come to be two things, and one which has come to be in between what it was and what it could not grasp, this makes difficulties for itself by acquiring a communion with the other which is hazardous and insecure, always borne from one extreme to the other. So it swings up and down, and as it comes down it proclaims its pain, and as it goes up its longing for communion.

19. This is what people call pleasure and pain; pain is consciousness of withdrawal of a body which is being deprived of the image of soul, and pleasure is the knowledge of a living being that the image of soul is again fitting itself back in the body. The affection, then, is there, in the body, but the knowledge belongs to the perceptive soul, which perceives in the neighbourhood of the affection and reports to that in which the sense-perceptions terminate. And it was the body which felt the pain—I mean by "felt

is genuinely affected: soul perceives the affection without being affected (on Plotinus's difficulties in maintaining this position see Blumenthal l.c.).

¹ For a clear and full explanation of Plotinus's doctrine of the parts played by body and soul in experiencing pleasure and pain see H. J. Blumenthal *Plotinus' Psychology* ch. 5, "The Affections". The essential point of it is that only body

λέγω δὲ τὸ "ὴλγύνθη" τὸ "πέπονθεν ἐκεῖνο". οδον εν τη τομη τεμνομένου του σώματος ή μεν 10 διαίρεσις κατά τὸν ὄγκον, ή δ' ἀγανάκτησις κατά τὸν ὄγκον τῷ μὴ μόνον ὄγκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιόνδε ονκον είναι εκεί δε και ή φλεγμονή ήσθετο δε ή ψυχή παραλαβούσα τῷ ἐφεξής οἶον κεῖσθαι. πασα δὲ ἤσθετο τὸ ἐκεῖ πάθος οὐκ αὐτὴ παθοῦσα. αἰσθανομένη γὰρ πᾶσα ἐκεῖ λέγει τὸ πάθος εἶναι, 15 οῦ ἡ πληγὴ καὶ ἡ οδύνη. εἰ δ' ἦν αὐτὴ παθοῦσα έν παντί ὅλη τῷ σώματι οὖσα, οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν οὐδ' αν έμήνυσεν ὅτι ἐκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔπαθεν αν τὴν δδύνην πασα καὶ ώδυνήθη όλη, καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν οὐδὲ έδήλωσεν ὅτι ἐκεῖ, ἀλλὰ ὅπου ἐστίν εἶπεν ἂν ἐκεῖ· έστι δὲ πανταχοῦ. νῦν δὲ ὁ δάκτυλος ἀλγεῖ, καὶ ὁ 20 ἄνθρωπος ἀλγεῖ, ὅτι ὁ δάκτυλος ὁ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. τὸν δὲ δάκτυλον ὁ ἄνθρωπος λέγεται ἀλγεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ γλαυκὸς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ ¹ τὸ ἐν όφθαλμώ γλαυκόν. ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὖν τὸ πεπονθὸς άλγεῖ, εἰ μή τις τὸ "άλγεῖ" μετὰ τὸ ἐφεξῆς αἰσθήσεως περιλαμβάνοι περιλαμβάνων δὲ 25 δηλονότι τοῦτο σημαίνει, ώς όδύνη μετὰ τοῦ μὴ $\lambda \alpha \theta \in \hat{\nu} \quad \tau \hat{\eta} \nu \quad \delta \delta \hat{\nu} \nu \eta \nu \quad \tau \hat{\eta} \nu \quad \alpha \hat{\nu} \theta \eta \sigma \hat{\nu} \quad \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda^{\prime} \quad \delta \hat{\nu} \nu \quad \tau \hat{\eta} \nu$ αἴσθησιν αὐτὴν οὐκ ὀδύνην λεκτέον, ἀλλὰ γνῶσιν όδύνης· γνῶσιν δὲ οὐσαν ἀπαθῆ εἶναι, ἵνα γνῷ καὶ ύγιῶς ἀπαγγείλη, πεπουθώς γὰρ ἄγγελος σχολάζων τῷ πάθει ἢ οὐκ ἀπαγγέλλει, ἢ οὐχ ύγιης ἄγγελος.

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the pain "that the body was affected; as in a surgical operation when the body is cut the division is in its material mass, but the distress is felt in the mass because it is not only a mass, but a mass qualified in a particular way; it is there too that inflammation occurs. But the soul perceives it, taking it over because it is, so to speak, situated next to it. The whole soul perceives the affection in the body without being affected itself. For it perceives as a whole and says that the affection is there where the wound and the pain are. But if it was affected itself, being wholly present in every part of the body, it would not have said or indicated that the affection was there [in that particular place] but would all have been affected by the pain, and in pain as a whole, and would not have said or made clear that the pain was there [in that particular place] but would have said that it was there where the soul is; but the soul is everywhere. But as it is the finger has a pain, and the man has a pain, because the man's finger does. The man is said to have a pain in his finger in the same way as we speak of a bright-looking man, because of his bright eyes. So then that which is affected has the pain, unless one takes "has the pain " as including the immediately consequent perception: if one includes this obviously one is indicating that pain goes with sense-perception's awareness of the pain. But, then, the sense-perception itself is not to be called pain, but knowledge of pain; but since it is knowledge it is unaffected, so that it can know and give a sound report. For a messenger who is affected, if he gives himself over to the affection, either does not deliver his message or is not a sound and reliable messenger.

¹ suspic. Creuzer, ser. Kirchhoff*: καὶ Enn., H-S1.

PLOTINUS: ENNEAD IV. 4.

20. Καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὕτω κοινοῦ καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης σωματικής φύσεως ακόλουθον τίθεσθαι γίνεσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ ὁπωσοῦν ἔχοντι σώματι δοτέον τὴν 5 ἀρχὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως καὶ προθυμίας, οὕτε τῆ ψυχῆ αὐτῆ άλμυρῶν ἢ γλυκέων ζήτησιν, άλλὰ ὁ σῶμα μέν ἐστιν, ἐθέλει δὲ μὴ μόνον σῶμα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινήσεις έκτήσατο πλέον η αὐτή, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ διὰ την επίκτησιν ηνάγκασται τρέπεσθαι διὸ ούτωσὶ μεν έχον άλμυρων, ούτωσι δε γλυκέων, καὶ 10 ύγραίνεσθαι καὶ θερμαίνεσθαι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μελῆσαν, εὶ μόνον ἦν. ὥσπερ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐκ τῆς ὀδύνης ἐγίνετο ή γνωσις, καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐκ τοῦ ποιοῦντος τὸ πάθος ή ψυγή βουλομένη ἐποίει τὴν φυγήν, καὶ τοῦ πρώτου παθόντος διδάσκοντος τοῦτο φεύγοντός πως καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῆ συστολῆ, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἡ 15 μεν αισθησις μαθούσα και ή ψυχὴ ή έγγύς, ην δή φύσιν φαμέν την δοῦσαν τὸ ἴχνος, ή μέν φύσις την τρανήν έπιθυμίαν τέλος οδσαν της άρξαμένης έν έκείνω, ή δ' αΐσθησις την ψαντασίαν, άφ' ής ήδη η πορίζει ή ψυχή, ης το πορίζειν, η άντιτείνει καὶ καρτερεί καὶ οὐ προσέχει οὔτε τῷ ἄρξαντι τῆς 20 ἐπιθυμίας, οὔτε τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτεθυμηκότι. άλλὰ διὰ τί δύο ἐπιθυμίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι τὸ επιθυμούν μόνον τὸ σώμα τὸ τοιόνδε; η εἰ ἔστιν έτερον ή φύσις, έτερον δε το σώμα το τοιόνδε παρά της φύσεως γενόμενου-έστι γάρ ή φύσις προ τοῦ τὸ τοιόνδε σώμα γενέσθαι, αῦτη γὰρ ποιεῖ τὸ 25 τοιόνδε σώμα πλάττουσα καὶ μορφοῦσα—ἀνάγκη

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20. And it is consistent to attribute the origin of the bodily desires to this kind of common entity and bodily nature. For the origin of appetite and impulse is not to be attributed to the body in any sort of state, nor the search for savoury or sweet to the soul itself, but [the origin] is that which is body, but wants to be not only body, but has acquired a greater number of movements than the soul itself, and has been compelled by this acquisition to turn in many directions; so when it is in one state it desires savoury things, in another sweet, and to be cooled, or warmed, which would be of no concern of its if it was alone. But just as in the case of pain it was from the pain that the knowledge came, and the soul, wishing to take the body away from that which produced the affection, brought about flight-and the part which was primarily affected taught it this by taking flight itself in a way by its contraction-so in this case too it is sense-perception which acquires knowledge and the soul near by, which we call nature, which gives the trace of soul to the body; nature knows the explicit desire which is the final stage of that which begins in the body, and sense-perception knows the image, and the soul starts from the image, and either provides what is desired—it is its function to do so-or resists and holds out and pays no attention either to what started the desire or to that which desired afterwards. But why do we say that there are two desires, but not that it is only that qualified body which we have been discussing that desires? Because, if nature is one thing and the qualified body another which has come into being from nature (for nature exists before the qualified body has come into being, since it itself makes the qualified body, shapμήτε ἄρχειν αὐτὴν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιόνδε σῶμα τὸ πεπονθὸς ταδὶ καὶ ἀλγυνόμενον τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ πάσχει ἐφιέμενον, ἡδονῆς ἐκ τοῦ πονεῖν καὶ πληρώσεως ἐκ τῆς ἐνδείας τὴν δὲ ψύσιν ὡς μητέρα, ὥσπερ στοχαζομένην τῶν τοῦ 30 πεπονθότος βουλημάτων, διορθοῦν τε πειρᾶσθαι καὶ ἐπανάγειν εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ ζήτησιν τοῦ ἀκεσομένου ποιουμένην συνάψασθαι τῆ ζητήσει τῆ τοῦ πεπονθότος ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὴν περάτωσιν ἀπ' ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡκειν. ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ—εἴποι ἄν τις προεπιθυμίαν ἴσως καὶ προθυμίαν—τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἄλλου καὶ δι' ἄλλου ἐπιθυμεῖν, τὴν δὲ ποριζομένην ἢ μὴ ἄλλην εἶναι.

21. "Οτι δέ τοῦτό ἐστι, περὶ ὁ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς έπιθυμίας, καὶ αἱ ἡλικίαι μαρτυροῦσιν αἱ διάφοροι. άλλαι γάρ παίδων καὶ μειρακίων καὶ ἀνδρῶν αί σωματικαὶ ύγιαινόντων τε καὶ νοσούντων τοῦ 5 ἐπιθυμητικοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄντος δηλον γὰρ ὅτι τῷ σωματικόν καὶ σῶμα τοιόνδε εἶναι τρεπόμενον παντοίας τροπάς παντοδαπάς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ίσχει. καὶ τὸ μὴ συνεγείρεσθαι δὲ πανταχοῦ ταῖς λεγομέναις προθυμίαις την πάσαν έπιθυμίαν, είς τέλος της σωματικής μενούσης, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν 10 λογισμον είναι μη βούλεσθαι η φαγείν η πιείν επί τι προελθούσαν την επιθυμίαν λέγει, όσον ήν έν τῶ τοιῷδε σώματι, τὴν δὲ φύσιν μὴ συνάψασθαι αὐτὴν μηδέ προσθέσθαι, μηδέ βούλεσθαι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐχούσης, ἄγειν εἰς φύσιν, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν τῷ παρὰ ψύσιν καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἐπιστατοῦσαν. 15 εί δέ τις πρός το πρότερον λέγοι άρκεῖν το σώμα 1 Λac, Kirchhoff, Müller, Volkmann: προθέσθαι ApcExUC.

ing and forming it), then it is necessary that nature should not begin desire; but it must be the qualified body which is affected in particular ways and feels pain in desiring the opposite of what it experiences, pleasure instead of suffering and sufficiency instead of want; but nature is like a mother, trying to make out the wishes of the sufferer, and attempting to set it right and bring it back to herself; and, searching for the remedy, she attaches herself by her search to the desire of the sufferer, and the consummation of the desire passes from the body to nature. So one might say, perhaps, that the desiring comes from the body itself—one might call it preliminary desiring and eagerness-but that nature desires from and through something clse, and it is another soul which provides what is desired or does not.

21. The differences of age-groups show that it is in this region that desire starts, for the bodily desires of children and adolescents and men, and of healthy men and sick men, are different though the desiring faculty is the same: because it is bodily and a qualified body it is subject to every sort of change and has every variety of desire. And the whole desire is not in all cases aroused by what we call impulses and does not wish to eat or drink before consideration though the bodily desire persists to the end; this means that the desire reaches a certain point, as far as it was in the qualified body, but nature does not attach itself to the desire or associate itself with it or wish, as the desire is not according to nature, to bring it into nature, since it has to decide itself what is against nature and according to nature. But if someone answers this first argument by saying that the body in its different states is sufficient to

διάφορον γινόμενον διαφόρους τῷ ἐπιθυμητικῷ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ποιεῖν, οὐκ αὔταρκες λέγει πρὸς τὸ ἄλλου παθόντος ἄλλως αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου διαφόρους ἐπιθυμίας ἔχειν, ὁπότε οὐδ' αὐτῷ γίνεται τὸ ποριζόμενον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ ἐπιθυμητικῷ ἡ 20 τροφὴ ἢ θερμότης καὶ ὑγρότης [οὐδὲ κίνησις] 1 οὐδὲ κούφισις κενουμένου οὐδὲ πλήρωσις μεστου-

μένου, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου πάντα.

22. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν φυτῶν ἆρα ἄλλο μὲν τὸ οἶον έναπηχηθέν τοις σώμασιν αὐτῶν, ἄλλο δέ τὸ γορηγήσαν, δ δή έπιθυμητικόν μέν έν ήμιν, έν έκείνοις δε φυτικόν, η έν μεν τη γη τοῦτο ψυχης έν 5 αὐτῆ οὔσης, ἐν δὲ τοῖς φυτοῖς τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου; ζητήσειε δ' ἄν τις πρότερον, τίς ψυχὴ ἐν τῆ γῆ, πότερα ἐκ τῆς σφαίρας τοῦ παντός, ἣν καὶ μόνην δοκεῖ ψυχοῦν πρώτως Πλάτων, οἶον ἔλλαμψις 2 είς την γην, η πάλιν αδ λέγων πρώτην καί πρεσβυτάτην θεών τών έντὸς οὐρανοῦ καὶ 10 αὐτῆ δίδωσι ψυχὴν οἵαν καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις· πῶς γὰρ αν θεός είη, εί μη ἐκείνην ἔχοι; ὥστε συμβαίνει καὶ τὸ πράγμα ὅπως ἔχει ἐξευρεῖν δύσκολον, καὶ μείζω ἀπορίαν ἢ οὐκ ἐλάττω ἐξ ὧν εἰρηκεν ὁ Πλάτων γίνεσθαι. άλλα πρότερον, πως αν εὐλόγως ἔχειν τὸ πρᾶγμα δόξειε. τὴν μεν οὖν φυτικήν ψυχήν ώς έχει ή γη, έκ των φυομένων

del. Igal.
 Kirchhoff*: ἔλλαμψιν ARJUC, H–S: ἔλαμψιν EB.

make the desires in the desiring faculty different, he does not produce a sufficient reason to show why when one thing is affected in different ways the desiring faculty itself has various desires on behalf of this other, when what is provided to satisfy the desires is not for it. For certainly food, warmth, moisture, relief of what is emptied or satisfaction of what is filled, do not benefit the desiring faculty, but

they all belong to the body.

22. But in the case of plants, is the kind of echo of soul in their bodies one thing and that which supplies it another, which is the desiring power in us, but the growth-power in them, or is this in the earth, as the earth has a soul in it, and is it what comes from this which is in plants? One might enquire first what soul there is in the earth. Is it a kind of illumination coming to the earth from the sphere of the All, which alone Plato seems to think primarily ensouled; or, on the other hand, when he says that the earth is "the first and oldest of the gods within heaven", does he give it too a soul like that of the stars? For how could it be a god if it did not have a soul like that? So the consequence is that it is difficult to discover the real state of affairs, and what Plato has said makes the situation more, or at least not less, perplexing. But first of all we should consider what appears to be most probably the real state of affairs. One might con-

concerned to arrive at a true, rationally defensible solution of the problem with which he is dealing; and, though Plato seems to him to be the safest guide to follow, his reverence for him is not so exaggerated as to prevent him here and elsewhere complaining of the difficulties raised by the obscurity or carelessness of the master's language: cp. III. 6. 12. 9-11.

¹ This passage illustrates the attitude of Plotinus to reason and the traditional authority of Plato. He is primarily

15 έξ αὐτῆς ἄν τις τεκμαίροιτο: εὶ δὲ καὶ ζῷα πολλὰ έκ γης γινόμενα δράται, διὰ τί οὐ καὶ ζώον ἄν τις εἴποι αὐτὴν εἶναι; ζώον δὲ τοσοῦτον οὖσαν καὶ οὐ σμικρὰν μοῖραν τοῦ παντὸς διὰ τί οὐ καὶ νοῦν έχειν φήσειε καὶ οὕτω θεὸν εἶναι; εἵπερ δὲ καὶ 20 τῶν ἄστρων ἔκαστον, διὰ τί οὐ καὶ τὴν γῆν ζῷον μέρος τοῦ παντὸς ζώου οὖσαν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔξωθεν μέν συνέχεσθαι ύπὸ ψυχης άλλοτρίας φατέον, ένδον δέ μη έχειν ώς οὐ δυναμένης καὶ αὐτης έχειν οἰκείαν. διὰ τί γὰρ τὰ μὲν πύρινα δύναται, τὸ δὲ γήινον ού; σώμα γὰρ έκάτερον καὶ οὐκ ἶνες οὐδε εκεί οὐδε σάρκες οὐδ' αίμα οὐδε ύγρόν. 25 καίτοι ή γη ποικιλώτερον καὶ ἐκ πάντων τῶν σωμάτων. εὶ δ' ὅτι δυσκίνητον, τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ μὴ κινεῖσθαι ἐκ τόπου λέγοι τις ἄν. ἀλλὰ τὸ αλοθάνεσθαι πῶς; πῶς γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄστρα; οὐ γὰρ δή οὐδε σαρκών τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, οὐδ' ὅλως σῶμα δοτέον τῆ ψυχῆ, ἵνα αἰσθάνοιτο, ἀλλὰ τῷ 30 σώματι δοτέον ψυχήν, ίνα ή καὶ σώζοιτο τὸ σῶμα. κριτική δε ούση τή ψυχή υπάρχει βλεπούση είς σῶμα καὶ τῶν τούτου παθημάτων τὴν κρίσιν ποιείσθαι. τίνα οὖν ⟨τὰ⟩ 1 παθήματα γῆς, καὶ τίνων αι κρίσεις; ἐπεὶ ² καὶ τὰ φυτά, καθόσον νης, οὐκ αἰσθάνεται. τίνων οὖν αἰσθήσεις καὶ διὰ 35 τίνων; η οὐ τολμητέον καὶ ἄνευ ὀργάνων γίνεσθαι

jecture from the things which grow out of it that the earth has a growth-soul; but if many animals are visibly produced by the earth, why should one not say also that it is an animal? But since it is so large an animal, and no small part of the All, why should not one say that it has intelligence also, and so is a god? For if each of the stars is a living thing, why should not the earth also be a living thing, since it is part of the universal living thing? For one must certainly not say that it is held together from outside by a soul which does not belong to it, but has no soul within it, as if it was not able to have a soul of its own as well as the stars. For why should the fiery bodies be able to have a soul, but not the body of earth? For both are bodies, and the stars do not have muscular fibres or flesh or blood or humours any more than the earth does; even though the earth is more varied in composition and made of all bodies. But if [it is objected] that it is not very mobile, one might say that this only refers to its not moving from its place. But how does it have sense-perception? Well, how do the stars? For perception does not belong to flesh, nor, in general, does a body have to be given to the soul so that it may perceive, but a soul to the body so that the body may exist and be kept in being; but since the soul has the power of making judgments it can look to the body and make a judgment also about the body's affections. What then are the affections of the earth, and about what are the judgments made? Plants, too, insofar as they belong to earth, have no perceptions. Of what, then, are the earth's perceptions, and through what organs do they come? It is surely not too rash to say that perceptions take place with-

² Müller: ἔπειτα Enn., H-S¹ (τα correctio ad lin. 32 falso loco inserta).

αἰσθήσεις; καὶ εἰς τίνα δὲ χρείαν τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι αὐτῆ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ διὰ τὸ γινώσκειν ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἴσως † γνῶσις, οἶς μὴ ἐκ τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι γίνεταί τις χρεία. ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἄν τις συγχωρήσειεν. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τὴν χρείαν ἐν 40 τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς εἴδησίς τις οὐκ ἄμουσος, οἷον ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ωἱ γὰρ τούτων αἰσθήσεις καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἡδεῖαι. τοῦτο μὲν οῦν σκεπτέον ὕστερον νῦν δὲ πάλιν, εἰ αἱ αἰσθήσεις τῆ γῆ, καὶ [ζώων] ¹ τίνων αἱ αἰσθήσεις, καὶ πῶς. 45 ἢ ἀναγκαῖον πρότερον ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἀπορηθέντα καὶ καθόλου λαβεῖν, εὶ ἄνευ ὀργάνων ἔστιν αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ εὶ πρὸς χρείαν αἱ αἰσθήσεις, κᾶν εἰ ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὴν χρείαν γίγνοιτο.

23. Δεῖ δὴ θέσθαι, ὡς τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐστι τῷ ψυχῷ ἢ τῷ ζώῳ ἀντίληψις τὴν προσοῦσαν τοῖς σώμασι ποιότητα συνιείσης καὶ τὰ εἴδη αὐτῶν ἀποματτομένης. ἢ τοίνυν μόνη ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς δ ἀντιλήψεται, ἢ μετ' ἄλλου. μόνη μὲν οῦν καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς πῶς; ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς γὰρ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ μόνον νόησις· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων, δεῦ πρότερον καὶ ταῦτα ἐσχηκέναι ἤτοι ὁμοιωθεῖσαν ἢ τῷ ὁμοιωθέντι συνοῦσαν. ὁμοιωθῆναι μὲν οῦν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς μένουσαν

¹ del. Theiler.

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out organs. And what use would perception be to the earth? It would not need it for knowledge. For the power of thought 1 perhaps suffices for beings which have no need arising from sense-perception. One could not, however, accept this argument. For over and above need there is in the objects of perception a knowing which brings a not uncivilised pleasure, of the sun and the other heavenly bodies, and the sky and the earth, for instance: for the perception of these is pleasant in itself. This, then, we must consider later; now we must go back to the question whether the earth has perceptions, and of what it has perceptions, and how long it has them. First, we must take up again the difficulties which have been raised, and consider in general whether there can be perception without organs, and if perceptions are to meet a need, or if they have any other purpose independent of need.

23. We must suppose that the perception of senseobjects is for the soul or the living being an act of apprehension, in which the soul understands the quality attaching to bodies and takes the impression of their forms. Well, then, the soul will either apprehend alone by itself or in company with something else. But how can it do this when it is alone and by itself? For when it is by itself it apprehends what is in itself, and is pure thought; but if it also apprehends other things it must first have taken possession of them as well, either by becoming assimilated to them, or by keeping company with something which has been assimilated. But it cannot be

Henry-Schwyzer tentatively conjectured $\chi\rho\hat{\eta}\sigma\iota s$ and Thillet (Revue internationale de philosophie 24, 1970, 206) now suggests $\delta\delta\sigma\iota s$.

¹ The most likely supposition seems to be that γνῶσις here is a gloss on the whole phrase which has ousted some other word now lost; as it is not possible to be quite certain what that word was, I print the MSS text with Henry-Schwyzer and translate δύναμις, a plausible suggestion of Cilento.

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ούν οξόν τε. πως γάρ ἂν δμοιωθείη σημείον 10 γραμμή; ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἡ νοητὴ τῆ αἰσθητῆ ἂν γραμμῆ έφαρμόσειεν, οὐδὲ τὸ νοητὸν πῦρ ἢ ἄνθρωπος τῷ αἰσθητῶ πυρὶ ἢ ἀνθρώπω. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἡ φύσις ἡ ποιούσα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῶ γενομένω ἀνθρώπω εἰς ταὐτόν. ἀλλὰ μόνη, κᾶν εἰ οἶόν τε τῷ αἰσθητῷ έπιβάλλειν, τελευτήσει είς νοητοῦ σύνεσιν, ἐκφυγόν-15 τος τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ αὐτήν, οὐκ ἐχούσης ὅτῳ αὐτοῦ λάβοιτο. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ὁρατὸν ὅταν ψυχὴ πόρρωθεν όρα, καν ότι μάλιστα είδος είς αθτήν ήκη, άρχόμενον το προς αὐτὴν οἷον ἀμερές ὂν λήγει εἰς τὸ ύποκείμενον χρώμα καὶ σχημα, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ δρώσης. οὐ τοίνυν δεῖ μύνα ταῦτα εἶναι, τὸ ἔξω 20 καὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἂν πάθοι· ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸ πεισόμενον τρίτον είναι, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ τὴν μορφήν δεξόμενον. συμπαθές άρα καὶ δμοιοπαθές δεῖ εἶναι καὶ ὕλης μιᾶς καὶ τὸ μὲν παθεῖν, τὸ δὲ γνώναι, καὶ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι τὸ πάθος, οίον σώζειν μέν τι τοῦ πεποιηκότος, μὴ μέντοι ταὐτὸν 25 είναι, αλλά ατε μεταξύ τοῦ πεποιηκότος καὶ ψυχῆς ον, τὸ πάθος ἔχειν μεταξὺ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ νοητοῦ κείμενον μέσον ἀνάλογον, συνάπτον πως τὰ ἄκρα 198

assimilated while it remains by itself. For how could a point be assimilated to a line? For even the intelligible line would not assimilate to the sensible one, nor would the intelligible fire or man assimilate to the sense-perceived fire or man (since even the nature which makes the man does not identify itself with the man who comes into being). But when the soul is alone, even if it is possible for it to direct its attention to the world of sense, it will end with an understanding of the intelligible; what is perceived by sense will escape it, as it has nothing with which to grasp it. Since also when the soul sees the visible object from a distance, however much it is a form which comes to it, that which reaches it, though it starts by being in a way without parts, ends in the substrate of the form as colour and shape, when the soul sees all that is there outside. There cannot, then, be nothing but these two things, the external object and the soul: since then the soul would not be affected; but there must be a third thing which will be affected, and this is that which will receive the form. This must be jointly subject to like affections and of one matter with the sense-object, and it must be this which is affected and the other principle [the soul] which knows; and its affection must be of such a kind that it retains something of that which produced it, but is not the same as it, but as it is between the producer of the affection and the soul, it must have an affection which lies between the sensible and the intelligible, a proportional mean somehow linking the extremes to each other, with

άλλήλοις, δεκτικόν αμα καὶ απαγγελτικόν ύπάρχον, έπιτήδειον όμοιωθηναι έκατέρω. όργανον γάρ ον 30 γνώσεώς τινος ούτε ταὐτὸν δεῖ τῷ γινώσκοντι είναι οὔτε τῷ γνωσθησομένω, ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ἑκατέρω όμοιωθήναι, τῶ μὲν ἔξω διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν, τῷ δὲ εἴσω διὰ τοῦ τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ εἶδος γενέσθαι. εὶ δή τι νῦν 1 ὑγιὲς λέγομεν, δι' ὀργάνων δεῖ σωματικών τὰς αἰσθήσεις γίνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο 35 ἀκόλουθον τῶ τὴν ψυχὴν πάντη σώματος ἔξω γενομένην μηδενός ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι αἰσθητοῦ. τὸ δὲ ὄργανον δεῖ ἢ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα, ἢ μέρος τι πρὸς έργον τι άφωρισμένον είναι, οίον ἐπὶ άφῆς καὶ όψεως. καὶ τὰ τεχνητὰ δὲ τῶν ὀργάνων ἴδοι τις αν μεταξύ των κρινόντων και των κρινομένων 40 γινόμενα καὶ ἀπαγγέλλοντα τῶ κρίνοντι τὴν τῶν ύποκειμένων ιδιότητα ό γάρ κανών τῷ εὐθεῖ τῷ έν τη ψυχή και τῷ ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ συναψάμενος ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τεθείς το κρίνειν τῷ τεχνίτη τὸ τεχνητον έδωκεν. εί δὲ συνάπτειν δεῖ τὸ κριθησόμενον τῷ δργάνω, η και διά τινος μεταξύ διεστηκότος πόρρω 45 τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ, οἷον εἰ πόρρω τὸ πῦρ τῆς σαρκός, $\langle \ddot{\eta} | καί \rangle^2 | τοῦ μεταξύ μηδέν παθόντος, <math>[\ddot{\eta}]^2 | οίον$ εί κενών τι είη μεταξύ όψεως καὶ χρώματος, δυνατὸν ὁρῶν τοῦ ὀργάνου τῆ δυνάμει παρόντος, ἐτέρου λόγου. ἀλλ' ὅτι ψυχῆς ἐν σώματι καὶ διὰ σώματος ή αἴσθησις, δήλον.

νῶν Theiler: τοίνυν Enn.*
 Kleist.

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the capacity both of receiving and of transmitting information, suitable to be assimilated to each of the extremes. For since it is the organ of a kind of knowledge it must not be the same either as the knower or what is going to be known, but suitable to be assimilated to each, to the external object by being affected, and to the internal knower by the fact that its affection becomes form. If, certainly, what we are going to say now is sound, senseperceptions must take place through bodily organs. This is consistent as well with the fact that the soul when it is altogether outside the body does not apprehend anything perceived by the senses. The organ must be either the body as a whole or some member of it set apart for a particular work; an example of the first is touch, of the second, sight. And one can see how the artificial kind of organs [or tools] are intermediaries between those who judge and what they are judging, and inform the judger of the characteristics of the object under consideration: for the ruler acts as link between the straightness in the soul and that in the wood; it has its place between them and enables the craftsman to judge that on which he is working. But it belongs to another discussion to determine whether what is to be judged must be immediately linked to the organ, or can affect it through a space between when it is at a distance from the sense-object, as when the fire is at a distance from the flesh, or if the medium is not affected, as if there was a void between the seeing and the colour, the possibility of seeing being due to the potential presence of the organ. But it is clear that sense-perception belongs to the soul in the body and working through the body.

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24. Τὸ δὲ εἰ τῆς χρείας μόνον ἡ αἴσθησις, ὧδε σκεπτέον. εί δη ψυχη μεν μόνη οὐκ αν αισθησις γίνοιτο, μετὰ δὲ σώματος αἱ αἰσθήσεις, διὰ σῶμα αν είη, εξ οῦπερ καὶ αι αισθήσεις, καὶ διὰ τὴν 5 σώματος κοινωνίαν δυθείσα, καὶ ήτοι ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπακολουθοῦσα—ὅ τι γὰρ πάσχει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ φθάνει τὸ πάθος μεῖζον ὂν μέχρι ψυχῆς—ἢ καὶ μεμηχάνηται, ὅπως καὶ πρὶν μεῖζον γενέσθαι τὸ ποιούν, ώστε καὶ φθείραι, η καὶ πρίν πλησίον γενέσθαι, φυλάξασθαι. εί δή τοῦτο, πρὸς χρείαν ἂν 10 εἷεν αἱ αἰσθήσεις. καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ πρὸς γνῶσιν, τῷ μη έν γνώσει όντι άλλ' άμαθαίνοντι διά συμφοράν, καὶ ἵνα ἀναμνησθη διὰ λήθην, οὐ τῷ μήτε ἐν χρεία μήτε ἐν λήθη. ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο, οὐ περὶ τῆς γης αν μόνον είη σκοπείσθαι, άλλα και περί ἄστρων άπάντων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 15 καὶ τοῦ κόσμου. μέρεσι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς μέρη, οἶς καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ὑπάρχει, γένοιτο ἂν αἴσθησις κατὰ του παρόντα λόγου, όλω δε πρός αύτο τίς αν είη άπαθώς έχοντι πανταχή έαυτοῦ πρὸς έαυτόν; καὶ γάρ εί δεῖ τὸ μὲν ὄργανον τοῦ αἰσθανομένου είναι, έτερον δὲ παρὰ τὸ ὅργανον τὸ οδ αἰσθάνεται 20 ύπάργειν, τὸ δὲ πῶν ὅλον ἐστίν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν δι' οὖ, τὸ δὲ οὖ ή αἴσθησις ἀλλὰ συναίστ

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24. But the question whether perception is only concerned with need must be considered in this way. If the soul when it is alone could not have senseperception, but its perceptions are with the body, then perception would be for the sake of the body, from which the perceptions also come, and would be given to the soul because of its communion with the body; and either it would be a necessary consequence-for every affection of the body, if it is one of the stronger ones, also reaches as far as the soulor it has been devised so that we can take steps to guard ourselves against what is acting on the body before it becomes so strong as to destroy us, or before it comes too near. If this is so, perceptions would be intended for need. For even if they are also intended for knowledge, this would be for a being which is not in knowledge but is ignorant because of its misfortune, and so that it might remember again because of its forgetfulness, not for a being which is not in a state of need or forgetfulness. But if this is so, our investigation will not be confined to the earth, but must be about all the heavenly bodies and particularly the whole heaven and universe. For according to the present argument parts which are subject to being affected will have sensation directed to other parts, but what sensation directed to itself could the whole have, when it is in every way incapable of being affected; what sensation of itself directed to itself could the universe have? Again, if the organ of perception must belong to that which perceives, and that which it perceives must be something different from the organ, but the All is one whole, it would not have an organ through which the perception comes distinct from the object

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θησιν μέν αύτοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν συναισθανόμεθα, δοτέον, αἴσθησιν δὲ ἀεὶ ἐτέρου οὖσαν οὐ δοτέον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅταν ἡμεῖς παρὰ τὸ καθεστώς ἀεί τινος τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι ἀντιλαμβανώμεθα, 25 έξωθεν προσελθόντος ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα. ἀλλ' ώσπερ εδ' ήμων οὐ μόνον των έξωθεν ή αντίληψις, άλλα καὶ μέρει μέρους, τί κωλύει καὶ τὸ πῶν τῆ άπλανεῖ τὴν πλανωμένην δρᾶν, καὶ ταύτη τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῆ βλέπειν; καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀπαθῆ ταῦτα τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν, καὶ ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις ἔχειν καὶ 30 την ορασιν μη μόνον ώς καθ' αύτην της άπλανους είναι, άλλ' ώς οφθαλμοῦ ἀπαγγέλλοντος τῆ τοῦ παντός ψυχη ἃ είδε; καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαθής, διὰ τί ώς ὅμμα οὐκ ὅψεται φωτοειδὲς ἔμψυχον ὄν; άλλ' δμμάτων, φησίν, οὐκ ἐπεδεῖτο. άλλ' εἰ 35 ότι μηδέν έξωθεν ύπελέλειπτο όρατόν, άλλ' ένδον γε ήν καὶ έαυτον όραν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυσεν εἰ δ' ότι μάτην ἂν ἦν αύτὸν ὁρᾶν, ἔστω μὴ προηγουμένως μέν ούτως ένεκα τοῦ όραν γεγονέναι, άκολουθεῖν δὲ τῷ οὕτως ἔχειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης. διὰ τί οὐκ αν είη τοιούτω όντι σώματι διαφανεί το δραν; 25. "Η οὐκ ἀρκεῖ είναι τὸ δι' οῦ, ἵνα ὁρῆ καὶ

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which it perceives; but we must grant it selfperception, just as we are aware of ourselves, but not perception of a continual succession of different objects; since we too, when we apprehend something in our body which differs from its permanent state, apprehend it as something coming from outside. But just as with us there is not only apprehension of things outside, but apprehension of part by part, what prevents the All from seeing the sphere of the planets with that of the fixed stars, and looking at the earth and the things in it with the planetary sphere? And, if these [parts of the universe] are not free from the other affections, why should they not have other sense-perception, and particularly why should not sight not only belong to the sphere of the fixed stars as its own by itself, but as an eye announcing to the soul of the All what it sees? And even if it is not subject to the other affections, why should it not see as an eye when it is luminous and ensouled? But, Plato says, "it had no need of eyes".1 But if this was because there was nothing visible left outside, there were things to see within it, and nothing prevented it looking at itself; but if it was because it would be pointless for it to look at itself, let us assume that it was not brought into being as it is with the main purpose of seeing, but that seeing is a necessary consequence of its being as it is. Why should not a translucent body of this kind have the power of seeing?

25. [The answer is that the existence of the medium is not a sufficient cause for sight, and in

¹ The reference is to *Timaeus* 33C1-2. As always, what Plato says is accepted as in some sense true, but very firmly interpreted to fit in with Plotinus's present line of argument.

26. Γίνονται δὲ εὐχῶν γνώσεις κατὰ οἶον σύναψιν καὶ κατὰ τοιάνδε σχέσιν ἐναρμοζομένων, καὶ αἱ ποιήσεις οὕτως· καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάγων τέχναις εἰς τὸ συναφὲς πῶν· ταῦτα δὲ δυνάμεσιν ἐπομέναις συμπαθῶς.

5 Εί δὲ τοῦτο, διὰ τί οὐ καὶ τὴν γῆν αἰσθάνεσθαι

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general for perception, but the soul must be so disposed as to incline towards sense-objects. But for the soul [of the universe], to which it is natural to be always directed towards the objects of intellect, even if it can perceive, this could not happen because it is always directed towards higher things; so with us too, when we are strongly concentrating on the objects of intellect, as long as we are in this state, sights and other perceptions pass unnoticed; and in general, when one is concentrating entirely on one thing, all the others are unnoticed. And then, too, it is mere inquisitiveness to want to apprehend a part by a part, as if a man were to look at himself, and if it is not for some purpose, it is futile. And to see the sight of something else as beautiful is the mark of someone who is suffering or in need. But smelling and tasting flavours one would consider as mere externalities and distractions of the soul; but one would suppose that the sun and the other heavenly bodies see and hear incidentally. Certainly if one supposes that they pay attention [to the world below by means of both these senses, the supposition would not be unreasonable. But if they pay attention, they will remember: it is absurd not to remember the benefits one confers. How then will they confer benefits, if they do not remember?

26. Their knowledge of prayers is the result of a sort of linking and a particular disposition of things fitted into the whole, and the same applies to their accomplishment of what we pray for; and in the arts of the magicians everything is directed to this linking: this means that magic works by powers which follow on sympathetically.

But if this is so, why should we not give perception

¹ Theiler: $\tau \hat{\eta}$ Enn., H–S¹.

² del. Kleist.

δώσομεν; άλλὰ ποίας αἰσθήσεις; ἢ διὰ τί οὐ πρώτον άφην καὶ μέρει μέρους άναπεμπομένης ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον τῆς αἰσθήσεως καὶ τῷ ὅλω πυρὸς καὶ των ἄλλων; καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὸ σῶμα δυσκίνητον, οὖτι 10 γε ἀκίνητον. ἀλλ' ἔσονται αἱ αἰσθήσεις οὐ τῶν μικρών, άλλὰ τών μεγάλων. άλλὰ διὰ τί; ἢ ὅτι άνάγκη ψυχης ένούσης τὰς κινήσεις τὰς μεγίστας μὴ λανθάνειν. κωλύει δ' οὐδὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ αλοθάνεσθαι γίνεσθαι, ΐνα εὖ τίθοιτο τὰ πρὸς άνθρώπους, όσον είς αὐτὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάκειται 15 - εὖ τίθοιτο δὲ οἷον συμπαθῶς - καὶ ἀκούειν δὲ εύχομένων και έπινεύειν εύχαις ούχ δυ ήμεις τρόπον, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις αἰσθήσεσι παθητὴν εἶναι πρὸς αύτήν. καὶ τάλλα, οδον όσμῶν πέρι καὶ τῶν γευστῶν; ἀλλ' ἤ,¹ ὅσα ὀσφραντὰ κατὰ τὰς τῶν χυλῶν δσμάς, πρός ζώων πρόνοιαν καὶ κατασκευὴν καὶ 20 ἐπισκευήν τοῦ σωματικοῦ αὐτῆς. καὶ οὐκ ἀπαιτητέον α εφ' ήμων ὄργανα οὐδε γὰρ πασι ζώοις ταὐτά· οἷον ὧτα οὐ πᾶσι, καὶ οἷς μὴ ἔστιν, ἀντίληψίς ἐστι ψόφων. περὶ δὲ ὄψεως, εἰ φωτὸς δεῖ, πως; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀπαιτητέον ὅμματα. εἰ οὖν τοῦ φυτικοῦ συγχωρουμένου ήν συγχωρείν, ή έν πνεύ-25 ματι όντος τοῦ φυτικοῦ πρώτως, οὕτως ἔχειν, (η) 2 όντος πνεύματος, τί χρη απιστεῖν καὶ διαφανές είναι; μαλλον δ' είπερ πνεῦμα, καὶ διαφανές

² suspic. Cilento, add. Harder.

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to the earth? But what sort of perceptions? Why not first touch, both touching of part by part (with sense-perception reporting this to the governing principle) and touching of fire and the other elements by the whole? For even if the earth's body is difficult to move, it is certainly not immovable. But the earth's perceptions will not be of small things, but of great ones. But why? Because it is necessary, since there is a soul in it, that it should not be unaware of the greatest movements. And there is nothing to prevent the earth having perceptions for this reason, too, that it may make good arrangements for men, as far as the affairs of men concern it-it will make good arrangements by a kind of sympathy -and hearing those who pray to it, and answering their prayers, not in the way we do, and being subject to affection by the other senses in relation to itself. And what about other things, for instance concerning scents and flavours? But [it will perceive] the scents which come from the juices of plants in order to provide for living things and for the construction and repair of its own bodily parts. And we must not require it to have the organs which we have: for these are not the same in all living creatures; for instance, not all have ears, and those which do not have them are able to apprehend sounds. But how about sight, if light is necessary? For we certainly must not require eyes. If, then, accepting that the earth has a power of growth, we could agree that this was so either because the power of growth was primarily in the breath of life, or because it was the breath of life, why should we disbelieve that this is also translucent? But rather, if it is the breath of life, it must also be translucent, and, when it is

¹ coniecimus: ἄλλως ἢ Enn.: ἄλλως ἢ Theiler: ἄλλων καὶ Blumenthal: del Kirchhoff*.

καί, ἐλλαμπόμενον παρὰ τοῦ κύκλου, ἐνεργεία διαφανές· ὅστε οὐδὲν ἄτοπον οὐδ' ἀδύνατον ὁρᾶν τὴν ἐν τῆ γῆ ψυχήν. καὶ δεῦ παὶ νοεῖν ψυχὴν οὐ 30 φαύλου σώματος εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ θεὸν εἶναι· πάντως γὰρ καὶ ἀγαθὴν δεῦ ἀεὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι.

27. Εὶ οὖν τοῖς φυτοῖς δίδωσι τὴν γεννητικήν η αὐτην την γεννητικήν, η έν αὐτη μέν ή γεννητική, ταύτης δὲ ἴχνος ἡ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς—καὶ οὕτως αν είη ώς ή σαρξ ξμψυχος ήδη καὶ ἐκομίσατο, εἰ 5 έχει, καὶ τὴν γεννητικὴν ἐν αύτοῖς τὰ φυτά. ένοθσα δὲ δίδωσι τῷ σώματι τοῦ φυτοῦ ὅπερ βέλτιον, ὧ διαφέρει τοῦ κοπέντος καὶ οὐκέτι φυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ξύλου. ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γε τῷ σώματι της γης τί δίδωσιν ή ψυχή; οὐ ταὐτὸν δεῖ νομίζειν σώμα είναι γήινον ἀποτμηθέν τε της γης 10 καὶ μένον συνεχές, οἶα λίθοι δεικνύουσιν αὐξόμενοι μέν, έως είσὶ συνηρτημένοι, μένοντες δὲ ὄσον ετμήθησαν αφηρημένοι. έκαστον μεν οθν μέρος ϊχνος ἔχειν δεῖ νομίζειν, ἐπιθεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτω τὸ παν φυτικόν, δ οὐκέτι τοῦδέ ἐστιν ἢ τοῦδε, ἀλλά 1 w, Perna*: δή xUC.

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illuminated by the heavenly circuit, actively translucent; so that there is nothing absurd or impossible in the earth's soul seeing. And we must certainly consider that it is the soul of no inferior body, so that it is even a god: for this soul must also be

always good in every way.

27. If, then, the earth gives the generative soul to plants-either the generative soul itself, or the generative soul is in the earth itself and a trace of it is the generative principle in plants—in this latter case too, plants would be like flesh which is already ensouled and have acquired, if they possess it, the generative soul in themselves. And this generative soul, being present in the body of the plant, gives it what is better in it, that by which it differs from the piece which has been cut off and is no longer a plant. but only a stick. But what does the soul give to the body of the earth itself? One should not consider an earthy body the same when it is cut off from the earth and when it remains connected with it, as stones show, which grow as long as they are attached to the earth but remain the size they were cut when they are taken away from it. One must therefore consider that each part has a trace of the generative soul, and the whole power of growth is diffused over this, and belongs no more to this part or that, but

¹ This remarkable doctrine that stones grow as long as they remain parts of the living body of the earth (cp. VI. 7. 11. 24–5) is a striking illustration of the strength of the conviction that the great parts of the universe, the earth and the heavenly bodies, and the universe as a whole are living organisms. The idea that minerals and stones in the earth grow is to be found in Strabo V. 2. 6 and VII. 5. 8 and may well go back to the great Stoic geographer and philosopher Posidonius: see W. Theiler Vorbereitung d. Neuplatonismus (Berlin 1930) 74.

της όλης είτα την τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ φύσιν οὐκέτι

15 τῷ σώματι συμπεφυρμένην, ἐποχουμένην δέ
είτα την ἄλλην ψυχην καὶ νοῦν, ην δη Ἑστίαν καὶ
Δήμητραν ἐπονομάζουσιν ἄνθρωποι θεία φήμη καὶ
φύσει ἀπομαντευομένη τὰ τοιαῦτα χρώμενοι.

28. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτη. ἐπανιτέον δὲ πάλιν καὶ περὶ τοῦ θυμοειδοῦς ζητητέον, εἰ, ὥσπερ τῶν επιθυμιών την άρχην και άλγηδόνας και ήδονάς τὰ πάθη, οὐ τὰς αἰσθήσεις—ἐν τῷ οὕτως ἔχοντι 5 σώματι ετίθεμεν τῷ οἱον ζωωθέντι, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ καὶ πάντα τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ οὕτως έχοντος σώματος θησόμεθα η μέρους τινός σώματος, οἶον καρδίας οὕτως ἐχούσης ἢ χολῆς οὐ νεκροῦ σώματος καὶ εἰ, ἄλλου ὅντος τοῦ διδόντος, τὸ ίχνος τὸ ψυχικόν, ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἕν τι τοῦτο ὁ θυμός, 10 οὐκέτι παρὰ φυτικοῦ 1 ἢ αἰσθητικοῦ. ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν καθ' όλον τὸ σῶμα τὸ φυτικὸν ὂν παντὶ ἐδίδου τῷ σώματι τὸ ἴχνος, καὶ τὸ ἀλγεῖν ἦν ἐν παντὶ καὶ τὸ ήδεσθαι, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐν παντὶ τοῦ πληροῦσθαι· ή δὲ τῶν ἀφροδισίων οὐκ εἴρητο, ἀλλ' 15 ἔστω περὶ τὰ μόρια τῶν τοιούτων τελεστικά. ἔστω δε δ περί το ήπαρ τόπος της επιθυμίας άρχη, ότι τὸ φυτικόν έκει ένεργει μάλιστα, δ τὸ ἴχνος τὸ ψυχικὸν τῷ ήπατι καὶ τῷ σώματι παρέχει ἐκεῖ δέ, ὅτι έκει ἄρχεται ή ἐνέργεια. ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ βυμικοῦ 2

2 Theiler: θυμοῦ Enn.*

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to the whole earth: then comes the nature of senseperception which is no longer "mixed up with the body" but in contact with it from above; then the rest of the soul and its intelligence, which men, making use of divine revelation and a nature which divines such things, call Hestia and Demeter.

28. So much, then, for this. But we must go back again and enquire about the passionate power, whether, just as we placed the origin of desires, and pains and pleasures—the feelings, not the perceptions—in the body in a particular state, the body, that is, somehow given life, so we shall attribute the origin of the passionate spirit, or the passionate spirit as a whole, to the body in a particular state, or some part of the body, for instance to the heart in a particular state or the bile in a body which is not dead; and also whether, if it is something else which gives it, the passionate power is the trace of soul, or whether here the passionate spirit is this one particular thing, no longer derived from a power of growth or perception. Now in the case of desires the power of growth, which is in the whole body, gave the trace of soul to all the body, and pain and pleasure were in it all, and the origin of desire was in all the body, the desire, that is, of being satisfied; the desire of sexual pleasures was not mentioned, but let us assume that it concerns the parts which bring them to fruition. Let us grant, too, that the region around the liver is the origin of desire, because the power of growth is most active there which gives the trace of soul to the liver and to the body: it is there because its activity begins there. But about the passionate

¹ Sleeman (C.Q. 20, 1926, 53): θυμικοῦ Enn.*

Plato Phaedo 66B5.

τί τε αὐτὸ καὶ τίς ψυχή, καὶ εἰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἴχνος περὶ 20 την καρδίαν η άλλο τι την κίνησιν είς συναμφότερον τελοῦν παρέχεται, ἢ ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἴχνος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι παρέχεται. πρῶτον οὖν σκεπτέον, τί αὐτό. ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν πάσχη τὸ σῶμα μόνον, άλλά καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄν καὶ ἔτερός τις τῶν προσηκόντων, καὶ ὄλως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄν τις παρὰ τὸ 25 προσήκον ποιή, δργιζόμεθα, δήλόν που όθεν καὶ αλοθήσεως δεί και συνέσεώς τινος έν τῶ ὀργίζεσθαι. διὸ καὶ εἰς ταῦτά τις ὁρῶν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φυτικοῦ ώρμησθαι, άλλ' έξ άλλου αν ζητοί τον θυμον την νένεσιν ισχειν. άλλ' ότον ταις σωματικαίς δια-30 θέσεσιν ἔπηται τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς πρόχειρον, καὶ ὅταν οί μεν ζέοντες αίματι καὶ χολή έτοιμοι είς τὸ δργίζεσθαι ώσιν, ανειμένοι δὲ πρὸς όργας οί άγολοι λεγόμενοι καὶ κατεψυγμένοι, τά τε θηρία πρός τὰς κράσεις ἀλλ' οὐ 1 πρός τὸ δοκηθὲν

1 κράσεις ἀλλ' οὐ Bréhier: κράσεις οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἀλλὰ Enn.: Βράσεις οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἀλλὰ Η-S.

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power [we must enquire] what it is itself and what kind of a soul it is, and whether a trace derived from it causes movement around the heart or something else which is classed as part of the composite being, or whether here it is not a trace, but the passionate power of soul itself which causes anger. First of all, then, we must consider what it is itself. It is obvious, I think, that we are angry not only over whatever our bodies suffer, but over the sufferings of anyone closely connected with us, and in general over anyone's improper behaviour. So there is need of perception and some kind of understanding in being angry. For this reason anyone looking at these facts would not think that passion arose from the power of growth, but would try to find that it had its source in some other power of soul. But when a propensity to anger follows bodily dispositions, and when those whose blood and bile are boiling are prompt to fly into a rage, and those who are said to be "without bile" and "chilly" are easy-going and slow to anger, and animals are angry because of their temperaments, but not because it appears to them that

But the sense given by this emendation—that animals are not made angry by the "boiling up" of anger in another animal, but only by their supposition that they are being ill-treated—seems to me inconsistent with the whole argument of the sentence, which is that the causes of anger should be locked for in the constitution and state of the body, not in the soul. Bréhier's emendation gives exactly the necessary sense here and does not seem to me an intolerably violent change. I append Schwyzer's latest note on the passage (on a postcard to me), in which he makes clear with force and elegance in both ancient languages that he maintains his original position: "In IV 4, 28, 32 (quamvis ab employs ne non ab infideli Page despectus repulsus derelictus) $\beta\rho\delta\sigma\varepsilon_{1}$ ($\kappa\delta\gamma\dot{\omega}$ $\tau\dot{\alpha}s$ $\delta\rho\gamma\dot{\alpha}s$ $\xi\chi\omega$ $\tau\rho\dot{\alpha}s$ $\tau\dot{\alpha}s$ $\delta\rho\kappa\eta\dot{\delta}\dot{\epsilon}v$ $\delta\nu\mu\dot{\nu}\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\dot{\alpha}\dot{\epsilon}$."

¹ With the utmost regret I find myself compelled (with Theiler and B. S. Page in his latest (1969) revision of MacKenna's translation) to reject Professor H.-R. Schwyzer's emendation $\beta\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\iota_S$ —printed in the Henry-Schwyzer text—and fall back on the best of Bréhier's usually unacceptable critical suggestions. All that can be said in favour of $\beta\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon_S$ is excellently said by Schwyzer in his "Sieben $\ddot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\dot{\xi}$ εἰρημένα bei Plotin" in Mus. Helv. 20 (1963) 193–5. My reason for rejecting it is not the unprecedented sense given to the rare word $\beta\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma_S$ ("boiling"). Schwyzer makes a reasonable case for this, and is also of course right in saying that the substitution of κρύσεις for $\beta\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon_S$ is paleographically easy to explain

they have been ill-treated, one would be inclined to attribute anger again to the more bodily part and to that which keeps the living organism together. And when the same people are more prone to anger when they are ill than when they are healthy, and when they have not tasted food than when they have eaten, they indicate that fits of anger, or the origins of anger, belong to the qualified body, and that the bile or the blood, as a kind of animating principle. produce these movements of such a kind that, when the qualified body suffers, the blood or the bile are immediately set in motion, and a perception occurs, and the mental image puts the soul in touch with the state of the qualified body, and the soul launches itself against what has caused the pain; but on the other hand, the process can start from above: the reasoning soul, when a wrong appears, even if it is not a wrong which concerns the body, has that impassioned thing just described ready to hand and makes an ally of it, as it is naturally adapted to fight against the enemy which has been shown to it. And there are two kinds of angry passion, one which is irrationally awakened and drags the reason over to its side by means of the mental image, and one which begins in the reason and comes to its conclusion in that which is naturally adapted to be angry; and both of these derive from the power of growth and generation which constructs the body so as to be receptive of pleasures and pains, and it is this which makes the body bilious and bitter. And by being in a body of this kind the trace of soul is moved in this way by displeasure and anger, and, because wrong has been done to it itself first, it tries in a way to wrong the others too and, so to speak, make them

Igal: καὶ Enn.
 transposuimus.

μαρτύριον δὲ τοῦ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τοῦτο τῷ έτέρῳ ίχνει ψυχής τὸ τοὺς ήττον τῶν σωματικῶν ήδέων έφιεμένους καὶ όλως σώματος καταφρονοῦντας ήττον κινείσθαι πρός όργας [καὶ ἀλόγα ἀπαθεία].1 60 το δε τὰ δένδρα μὴ ἔχειν θυμὸν καίπερ τὸ φυτικὸν έχοντα οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν· ἐπεὶ οἰδ' αἴματος οὐδὲ χολής αὐτοῖς μέτεστιν. ἐγγενομένων μὲν γὰρ τούτων ἄνευ αἰσθήσεως ζέσις αν εγένετο μόνον καὶ οΐον άγανάκτησις, αἰσθήσεως δὲ ἐγγενομένης καὶ πρός τὸ ἀδικοῦν ἂν ἤδη, ὥστε καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι, 65 δρμή. ἀλλ' εὶ τὸ ἄλογον τῆς ψυχῆς διαιροῖτο εἰς τὸ έπιθυμητικόν και θυμοειδές και το μέν είη το φυτικόν, τὸ δὲ θυμοειδὲς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἴχνος περὶ αἷμα η χολήν η το συναμφότερον, οὐκ ἄν ὀρθή ή άντιδιαίρεσις γίνοιτο, τοῦ μεν προτέρου, τοῦ δέ ύστέρου ὄντος. η οὐδὲν κωλύει ἄμφω ὕστερα καὶ 70 των επιγενομένων εκ του αυτού την διαίρεσιν είναι ορεκτικών γαρ ή διαίρεσις, ή δρεκτικά, οὐ της οὐσίας, ὅθεν ἐλήλυθεν. ἐκείνη δὲ ή οὐσία καθ' αύτην οὺκ ὄρεξις, ἀλλ' ἴσως τελειοῦσα την ὅρεξιν συνάψασα αὐτῆ τὴν παρ' αύτῆς ἐνέργειαν. καὶ τὸ έκπεσον δε είς θυμον ίχνος περί την καρδίον λέγειν 75 οὐκ ἄτοπον· οὐ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ αἴματος ἀρχὴν τοῦ τοιοῦδε ἐνταῦθα λεγέσθω $\epsilon l \nu a \iota$.

¹ del. Harder.

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like itself. The fact that those who are less desirous of bodily pleasures and in general despise the body are less moved to anger is evidence that this trace of soul is consubstantial 1 with the other. But there is no need to be surprised that trees do not have a passionate spirit although they have the power of growth, since they have no share of blood or bile. For if these were present in them without senseperception there would only be a secthing and a kind of irritation, but if sense-perception was present as well there would then be a drive against the cause of the wrong, resulting also in a movement of selfdefence. But if the irrational part of the soul was divided into the desiring and the passionate, and the first was taken to be the power of growth, and the passionate a trace of it in the blood or the gall or the composite being, the dichotomy would not be a correct one, as one would be prior and one posterior. There is however nothing to prevent both being posterior, and the division being one between two things which are derived from a common source: for the division is one of impulses in so far as they are impulses, not of the substance from which they have come. But that substance in itself is not an impulse, but perhaps it brings the impulse to its goal by taking to itself the activity which comes from it. And it is not absurd to say that the trace of soul which is expressed in passion is in the region of the heart; for this is not to say that the soul is there, but the starting point of the blood which has this qualification.

 $^{^1}$ The occurrence of the word $\delta\mu oov{\sigma} os$, so the ologically important later, as an ordinary philosophical term here should be noted.

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29. Why, then, supposing that the body is like something warmed, but not like something illuminated, does it not have any trace of life when the other soul has gone out of it? It does have it for a short time, but it fades quickly, just as with things which are warmed when they go away from the fire. There is evidence for this in the growth of hair on corpses, and the growth of their nails, and the living creatures which move for a long time after they have been cut in two; for this is probably the trace of life still present in them. And if it goes away with the other soul, this is not a sign that it is not different from it. For when the sun goes away it is not only the light which is continuous with it and depends on it and is attached to it which goes, but the light which passes from this to that which is outside it and is seen in the things near by it, which is different from that first light, goes away too. Does it then really go away too, or does it perish? This is a question we must ask both about light of this kind and about the life in the body, which we say belongs to the body as its own. It is obvious that there is nothing of the light left in the things illuminated; but our discussion is enquiring whether it changes back into that which produced it or does not exist at all. How then can it not exist at all when it was certainly something before? But what, anyhow, was it? That in the case of corrupt bodies, when the bodies from which the light (which we call colour) comes have changed, the light does not exist is something into which nobody enquires, for instance where the colour of a burnt-out fire is, just as no one enquires where its shape is. But still, shape is a disposition, like clench-

del. Theiler.

² Theiler: μεταβαλλόντων Enn., H-S.

³ del. Kleist.

⁴ Theiler.

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ing and opening the hand, but colour is not like this, but like sweetness. What then prevents sweetness and sweet scent from not perishing with the destruction of the sweet or sweet-scented body, but passing into another body, but not being perceptible because the bodies which have received something of them are not of such a kind that the qualities in them make an impact on sense-perception? So then the light of bodies which have perished would remain, but the repercussion, which is the result of all the [visible] qualities, would not remain. One might of course say that one sees by convention, and that the socalled qualities are not in their substrates.1 But if this is so, we shall make the qualities indestructible and not originating in the structure of bodies, and [we shall maintain] that it is not the forming principles in the seeds which make the colours, in the case of many-coloured birds, for instance, but they bring existing colours together, or produce them but make use in doing so also of the colours in the air, which is full of things of this kind; for in the air they are not as they appear in bodies when they come to exist in them. But let us leave this difficult question here. When, however, the [luminous] bodies remain unchanged, if the light is continuous with them and not cut off, what prevents it, when the luminous body moves to another place, from moving along with it? [This would apply both to] the light immediately adjacent to the luminous body and to any light which is continuous with that adjacent to it, even if it is not seen to move away, just as it does not appear to approach. But in the case of soul, we have discussed and really there are only atoms and void: see fr. B 125 Diels-Kranz.

¹ The reference is to the doctrine of Democritus the Atomist that "secondary qualities" exist only "by convention",

τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἀεὶ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστα καὶ ἐστερημένα τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμενα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μένειν ἢ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἀποτέτμηται τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι μία καὶ πολλαί, καὶ ὅστις ὁ τρόπος, ἐν ἄλλοις. ἀλλὰ τί τὸ ἤδη σώματος γενόμενον ἴχνος τῆς ψυχῆς ὄν; ἢ εἰ μὲν ψυχῆς συνέψεται, εἴπερ μὴ ἀποτέτμηται, τῷ ψυχῆς λόγῳ· εἰ δὲ οἱον ζωὴ τοῦ σώματος, ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ἐκεῖ, ὄς περὶ φωτὸς ἰνδάλματος ἡπορεῖτο, καὶ εἰ δινατὸν ζωὴν ἄνευ ψυχῆς εἶναι, εἰ μὴ ἄρα τῷ σκεπτέον.

30. Νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ μνήμας μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις περιττὰς εἶναι ἐθέμεθα, αἰσθήσεις δὲ ἔδομεν καὶ ἀκούσεις πρὸς ταῖς ὁράσεσι καὶ εὐχῶν δὴ κλύοντας ἔφαμεν, ἃς πρὸς ἥλιον ποιούμεθα καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς

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elsewhere 1 whether the secondary parts follow along with the prior ones, and those in successive order go along always with those before them, or whether all the individual parts are on their own and separated from those before them and able to remain permanently on their own, or whether in general no part of soul is cut off, but all are one and many, and in what way this is so. But what is that which already belongs to the body and is a trace of soul? Now if it is soul, it will, if it is not cut off, go along with the rational principle of soul. But if it is a kind of life of the body, the same problem arises which arose about the vestige of light, and we must also enquire whether it is possible to have life without soul, except perhaps by the close presence of soul working on something else.2

30. But now, since we established that memory in the heavenly bodies was unnecessary, but gave them perceptions, and hearing as well as sight, and said that they heard the prayers which we make to the sun, and other men to the stars,³ and since it is

 $^{^{-1}}$ The reference back is to the earlier treatise IV. 9 (8) If AU Souls are One.

² At this point the MSS preserve a note which tells us that in the edition of Eustochius the second book on the soul ended here and the third book began with the next chapter. This is the only evidence for the existence of another edition of the works of Plotinus by his physician Eustochius (see Life chs. 2 and 7 and my Preface to Vol I, ix). Whether this was the edition from which Eusebius took his quotations in the Praeparatio Evangelica, as Henry and Schwyzer, with some probability, still maintain, or whether, as a number of other good Plotinian scholars suppose, Eusebius was using Porphyry's edition, is a much disputed but not very important question: in either case the evidence of the Eusebius quotations confirms the soundness of the textual tradition (see Henry and Schwyzer Plotini Opera II (1959) Praefatio X-XI). If, of course, we could be certain that Eusebius was using the Eustochius edition, we should have some confirmation of the general belief of Plotinian scholars that Porphyry did not as editor tamper with the text of Plotinus.

³ The cult of the sun was rare, but not unknown, in the ancient Greek world: it flourished particularly at Rhodes, where Helios was the most important god. Socrates prayed to the sun, and this was not considered unusual (Plato Symposium 220D4-5). Everyone admitted that the sun was a god, even if he was not much worshipped. In Plotinus's own time the cult of the sun was gaining in importance, and shortly after his death, in 274, the Emperor Aurelian established the cult of the Sun Lord of the Empire at Rome, with a college of senatorial portifices. For devout pagans of the first Christian centuries the sun was often of central religious importance: see Julian Oration IV (Hymn to King Helics) and Macrobius Saturnalia I. 17 ff. But the cult of the star-gods was always rightly regarded in the Greek world as Oriental (especially Chaldean) and not belonging to the ancient Greek religious tradition.

5 ἄστρα ἄλλοι τινὲς ἄνθρωποι, καὶ πεπίστευται, ώς δι' αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ τελεῖται καὶ δή καὶ ούτω ράστα, ώς μη μόνον πρός τὰ δίκαια τῶν έργων συλλήπτορας είναι, άλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ πολλὰ των αδίκων, τούτων τε πέρι παραπεπτωκότων ζητητέον - έχει γάρ καὶ καθ' έαυτὰ μεγίστας καὶ 10 πολυθρυλλήτους παρά τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσω ἀπορίας, θεούς συνεργούς καὶ αἰτίους γίγνεσθαι ἀτόπων έργων, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἔρωτας καὶ ἀκολάστους συλλήψεις—τούτων τε οὖν εἴνεκα καὶ μάλιστα περί οδ έξ άρχης δ λόγος, της μνήμης ούτων. δήλον γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ εὐξαμένων ποιοῦσι καὶ 15 οὐ παραχρήμα δρῶσιν αὐτά, ἀλλ' εἰς ὕστερον καὶ πάνυ πολλάκις είς χρόνους, μνήμην ὧν εὔχονται άνθρωποι πρός αὐτοὺς ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ πρόσθεν λόγος ό παρ' ήμων λεγόμενος οὐκ ἐδίδου τοῦτο. ἀλλά καὶ πρός τὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργεσίας ἦν ἂν τοιοῦτον, 20 οἷον Δήμητρος καὶ Έστίας γῆς γε οὔσης εἰ μή τις τῆ γῆ μόνον τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν τὰ ἀνθρώπεια λέγοι. άμφότερα οὖν πειρατέον δεικνύναι, πῶς τε τὰ τῆς μνήμης θησόμεθα έν τούτοις—δ δή προς ήμας έχει, οὐ πρὸς τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ οὐ κωλύονται μνήμας διδόναι-καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλλοκότως δοκούν-25 των γίγνεσθαι, δ φιλοσοφίας έργον ἐπισκέψασθαι, εἴ πη ἔστιν ἀπολογήσασθαι πρὸς τὰ κατὰ θεῶν τῶν 226

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believed that the heavenly bodies accomplish many things for men, and do so in such a casual way that they are not only helpers in right actions, but in many wrong actions too, we must enquire into these incidental questions—for there are very great difficulties about them in themselves and these are much talked about by those who dislike the idea that gods should be culpable accomplices in improper behaviour, especially in love affairs and wanton couplings -for these reasons, and particularly about what we were discussing at the beginning, their memory. For it is obvious that if when we pray they act, and do not do it at once, but afterwards, and very often after a long delay, they have memory of the prayers which mortals offer to them. But the argument which we expounded earlier did not allow this. But there would also be some such need of memory for the conferring of benefits on mortals as with Demeter and Hestia-earth after all 1-unless one were to attribute to the earth alone a beneficent influence on human life. We must therefore try to explain both how we are going to understand the phenomena of memory in these beings-this is something which concerns us, not the opinions of others, who are not prevented from giving [the heavenly bodies] memory-and also about these strange and unpleasant things which seem to happen, which it is the task of philosophy to investigate and see if there is any defence to be found to the charges brought against

Demeter was, naturally, always closely connected (though not originally identified) with the earth in Greek religious tradition. The identification of Hestia with earth is to be found in the 5th century B.C. (Euripides frs. 938 and 944 Nauck) and ep. Plato Phasdrus 247A1.

31. Καθόλου τοίνυν τὰς ποιήσεις ληπτέον ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς πείσεις, ὅσαι γίγνονται ἐν τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ, τάς τε λεγομένας φύσει, καὶ ὅσαι τέχνη γίνονται. καὶ τῶν φύσει τὰς μὲν φατέον ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς 5 γίνεσθαι είς τὰ μέρη καὶ ἐκ τῶν μερῶν είς τὸ πᾶν η μερών είς μέρη, τὰς δὲ τέχνη γινομένας η της τέχνης, ώσπερ ήρξατο, έν τοις τεχνητοις τελευτώσης, η προσχρωμένης δυνάμεσι φυσικαίς είς έργων φυσικών ποιήσεις τε καὶ πείσεις. τὰς μὲν οὖν τοῦ όλου λέγω, όσα τε ή φορά ή πάσα ποιεί είς αύτην 10 καὶ εἰς τὰ μέρη—κινουμένη γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν διατίθησί πως καὶ τὰ μέρη αὐτῆς—τά τε ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ φορά καὶ ὅσα δίδωσι τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς μερῶν δὲ πρός μέρη πείσεις (καὶ ποιήσεις) εύδηλοί που παντί, ήλίου τε πρός τε τὰ ἄλλα σχέσεις [καὶ ποιήσεις] 1 καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις 15 στοιχείοις αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις—περὶ ὧν ἐκάστου ἐξεταστέον. τέχναι δὲ αἱ μὲν οἰκίαν ποιοῦσαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα

¹ Theiler post Bréhier in versione.

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the gods in the sky; and we must also try to explain about the whole universe itself—since this kind of charge is directed against it too—and see if those people are to be believed who say that the whole heavenly system is subject to spells put upon it by the presumption and skill of men. And our discussion will also enquire about spirits, in what way they are said to serve magical purposes, unless the problems of spirits are also solved by the previous discussion.

31. We must, then, take a general view of all actions and experiences which occur in the whole universe, both the ones which are called natural and those which come about by art: we must say that some of the natural ones are effects of the All on its parts and [some] of the parts on the All or of the parts on the parts; and that in those which come about by art the art either ends as it began, in the products of art, or brings in natural powers to help in producing acts and experiences which belong to the works of nature. By the acts of the whole universe I mean those which the whole heavenly circuit does to itself and its parts-for as it moves it disposes both itself and its parts in a certain wayboth those within the circuit itself and all the effects which it produces on the things on earth. The effects and actions of parts on parts are obvious, presumably, to everyone, the positions of the sun in relation to the other heavenly bodies and the things on earth, and in the other elements, and not only the actions of the sun but those of the other heavenly bodies and of the things on the earth and in the other elements —each of these requires separate investigation. As for the arts, those which produce a house and the

τεχνητά είς τοιοῦτον έληξαν ιατρική δέ καὶ γεωργία καὶ αἱ τοιαθται ὑπηρετικαὶ καὶ βοήθειαν είς τὰ φύσει εἰσφερόμεναι, ώς κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν. 20 ρητορείαν δὲ καὶ μουσικήν καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχαγωγίαν η πρός τὸ βέλτιον η πρός τὸ χειρον ἄγειν ἀλλοιούσας, εν αίς ζητητέον, όσαι αί τέχναι καὶ τίνα τὴν δύναμιν έχουσι· καί, εἴπερ οἶόν τε, ἐν τούτοις απασι τοις πρός την παρούσαν χρείαν ήμιν και τό 25 διατί ἐφ' ὅσον δυνατὸν πραγματευτέον. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ή φορὰ ποιεῖ, αὐτὴν μὲν πρῶτον διαφόρως διατιθείσα καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτῆς, ἀναμφισβητήτως μέν τὰ ἐπίγεια οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς διαθέσεσι, καὶ τῶν μερῶν ἕκαστον είς τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ ὅλως τὰ κάτω ποιεῖ, πολλαχῆ 30 δήλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ἐκεῖνα, ὕστερον νῦν δὲ τὰ πᾶσιν ἢ τοῖς πλείστοις συγχωρούμενα ἐάσαντες ούτως έχειν, όσα διὰ λόγου φανεῖται, πειρατέον λέγειν τὸν τρόπον ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς ποιήσεως λαβόντας. οὐ γὰρ μόνον θερμὰ καὶ ψυχρὰ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἃ δὴ ποιότητες πρώται των στοιχείων λέγονται, οὐδ' 35 οσαι έκ της τούτων μίξεως ποιείν λεκτέον οὐδὲ πάντα τὸν ἥλιον θερμότητι, ψύξει δὲ ἄλλον τινά—τί γὰρ ἂν ψυχρὸν εἴη ἐν οὐρανίω 1 καὶ πυρίνω σώματι; —οὐδ' ἄλλον ύγρῷ πυρί. οὕτω τε γὰρ οἰδὲ τὴν διαφοράν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν οἶόν τε. πολλά δὲ καὶ τῶν 40 γινομένων είς τούτων τι ούχ οδόν τε άναγαγείν. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ τις τὰς τῶν ἡθῶν διαφορὰς δοίη αὐτοῖς

other products of art terminate in these; but the arts of medicine and agriculture and others of this kind are ancillary and help natural things to be in a natural state; but rhetoric and music and all the class of arts which influence the soul must be said to lead men to be better or worse by changing them; in these we must enquire how many they are and what is the power they have; and in all these which are relevant to our present purpose we must, as far as is possible, concern ourselves with the reason why. Now it is abundantly clear that the heavenly circuit acts, first of all disposing itself and the bodies within it in different ways, and indisputably acting on the things of earth, not only in their bodies but in the dispositions of their souls, and that each of the parts of the circuit acts on the things of earth and in general on what is below it. But we shall discuss later whether the things of earth also act on the heavenly bodies; but for the present, we grant that what is agreed by all, or by most people, is so, in so far as rational discussion will show it to be so, and we must try to explain the way in which the heavenly bodies act, starting from the beginning. For we must not simply assert that it is hot and cold and things of this kind which act, the things which are called the primary qualities of the elements, nor that the sun does everything by its heat, and some other heavenly body by its cold-for what cold could there be in a fiery body in the heavens?-and another by its humid fire. In this way it is not possible to understand the difference between them, and there are many things which happen which cannot be referred to one of these qualities as its cause. For even if one were to attribute differences

κατά τὰς τῶν σωμάτων κράσεις διὰ ψυχρότητα έπικρατούσαν η διά θερμότητα τοιαύτας—πως αν φθόνους η ζηλοτυπίας η πανουργίας είς ταθτα ἀνάγοι; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ταῦτα, τύχας γοῦν πῶς, χεί-45 ρους τε καὶ βελτίους, πλουσίους καὶ πένητας, καὶ πατέρων εὐνενείας η αὐτων, θησαυρών τε εύρέσεις; μυρία ἄν τις έχοι λέγειν πόρρω ἄγων σωματικής ποιότητος της έκ των στοιχείων είς τὰ των ζώων σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς ἰούσης. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ προαιρέσει 50 ἀναθετέον τῶν ἄστρων καὶ τῆ τοῦ παντὸς γνώμη καὶ τοῖς τούτων λογισμοῖς τὰ συμπίπτοντα περί εκαστα των ύπ' αὐτά. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐκείνους μηγανασθαι περί τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως οἱ μὲν γένοιντο κλέπται, οί δὲ ἀνδραποδισταὶ τοιχωρύχοι τε καὶ ἱερόσυλοι, ἄνανδροί τε ἄλλοι 55 καὶ θήλεις τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ δρώντες, οὐ γὰρ ὅτι θεών, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων μετρίων, τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ ώντινωνοῦν τὰ τοιαῦτα έργάζεσθαι καὶ καταμηχανᾶσθαι, έξ ὧν αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ήτισοῦν ἀφέλεια ἂν γίγνοιτο.

32. Εὶ οὖν μήτε σωματικαῖς αἰτίαις ἀναθήσομεν μήτε προαιρέσεσιν, ὅσα ἔξωθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα καὶ ὅλως ἐπὶ γῆς ἀφικνεῖται ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, τίς ἂν εἴη λοιπὴ καὶ εὔλογος αἰτία; πρῶτον τοίνυν 232

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of character to these qualities [and say that] they were as they were according to the bodily temperaments,1 because of the predominance of cold or heat -how could one refer envy or jealousy or wickedness to these causes? But even if one could, how could one anyhow make them responsible for fortunes, for men being good and bad, rich and poor, for the mobility of their families or themselves, and for the finding of treasures? One could mention a vast number of things, leading the discussion very far from the bodily quality which comes from the elements to the bodies and souls of living creatures. We must certainly not, either, attribute to the deliberate choice of stars and the decision of the All, and to their rational calculations, what happens to the individuals subject to them. For it would be inappropriate for those divinities to plan human affairs so that some men became thieves, and other kidnappers, housebreakers and temple-robbers, others again effeminate, womanish in their doings and feelings and committing indecencies. So far from being appropriate behaviour for gods, it would not even be appropriate for respectable men, or perhaps any kind of men, to do and plan things like this, from which they would get not the slightest benefit.

32. If, then, we are not to attribute all that comes from the sky to us and the other living creatures, and in general upon the earth, to bodily causes or the deliberate choices of the heavenly bodies, what reasonable explanation is left? First of all we must

¹ The "bodily temperaments" are those of men, not of the stars. Plotinus follows a long Greek tradition in attributing differences in emotional character and strength of the desires to the varying proportions of the elements mixed in the body.

5 θετέον ζώον εν πάντα τὰ ζώα τὰ έντὸς αὐτοῦ περιέχον τόδε το παν είναι, ψυχήν μίαν έχον είς πάντα αὐτοῦ μέρη, καθόσον ἐστὶν ἕκαστον αὐτοῦ μέρος· μέρος δὲ ἕκαστόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν τῷ παντὶ αίσθητῶ, κατὰ μὲν τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάντη, ὅσον δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς τοῦ παντὸς μετέχει, κατὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ 10 ταύτη· καὶ τὰ μὲν μόνης ταύτης μετέχοντα κατὰ πᾶν ἐστι μέρη, ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλης, ταύτη ἔχει τὸ μὴ μέρη πάντη είναι, πάσχει δὲ οὐδὲν ῆττον παρὰ τῶν άλλων, καθόσον αὐτοῦ τι ἔχει, καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνα, ἃ έχει. συμπαθές δή παν τοῦτο τὸ έν, κοὶ ώς ζώον 15 έν, καὶ τὸ πόρρω δὴ ἐγγύς, ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἑνὸς τῶν καθέκαστα ὄνυξ καὶ κέρας καὶ δάκτυλος καὶ ἄλλο τι των οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλὰ διαλείποντος τοῦ μεταξὺ καὶ παθόντος οὐδὲν ἔπαθε τὸ οὐκ ἐγγύς. οὐ γάρ έφεξης των δμοίων κειμένων, διειλημμένων δέ έτέροις μεταξύ, τῆ δὲ όμοιότητι συμπασχόντων, 20 καὶ εἰς τὸ πόροω ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἀνάγκη τὸ παρὰ τοῦ μή παρακτιμένου δρώμενον. ζώου τε όντος καὶ είς έν τελοῦντος οὐδὲν οὕτω πόρρω τόπω, ὡς μὴ ἐγγὺς είναι τῆ τοῦ ένὸς ζώου πρὸς τὸ συμπαθεῖν φύσει.

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posit that this All is a "single living being which encompasses all the living beings that are within it ": it has one soul which extends to all its parts, in so far as each individual thing is a part of it; and each thing in the perceptible All is a part of it, and completely a part of it as regards its body; and in so far as it participates in the soul of the All, it is to this extent a part of it in this way too; and those things which participate in the soul of the All alone are altogether parts, but all those which also participate in another soul are in this way not altogether parts, but none the less are affected by the other parts in so far as they have something of the All, and in a way corresponding to what they have.1 This one universe is all bound together in shared experience and is like one living creature, and that which is far is really near, just as, in one of the individual living things, a nail or horn or finger or one of the other limbs which is not contiguous: the intermediate part leaves a gap in the experience and is not affected, but that which is not near is affected. For the like parts are not situated next to each other, but are separated by others between, but share their experiences because of their likeness, and it is necessary that something which is done by a part not situated beside it should reach the distant part; and since it is a living thing and all belongs to a unity nothing is so distant in space that it is not close enough to the

¹ The quotation which introduces this sentence is Plato *Timaeus* 30D3-31A1. The doctrine indicated here, that men are truly parts of the all but not only parts—there is something in them which transcends the organic unity of the cosmos in which their lower natures share—is of great importance to Plotinus: see the *Introduction* to this treatise, p. 27.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸ ποιοῦν ἔχον πεῖσιν έχει οὐκ ἀλλοτρίαν, ἀνομοίου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ ποιοῦν-25 τος άλλότριον τὸ πάθημα καὶ οὐ προσηνὲς τὸ πάσγον ἴσχει. βλαβερὰν δὲ ποίησιν ἄλλου πρὸς ἄλλου ένδς ὄντος ζώου οὐ δεῖ τεθαυμακέναι· ἐπεὶ καὶ έφ' ήμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις ταῖς ἡμετέραις βλάπτοι αν άλλο πρὸς άλλου μέρος, ἐπεὶ καὶ χολή καὶ δ θυμός ἄλλο, ώς δοκεῖ, πιέζει καὶ κεντεῖ. καὶ δὴ 30 καὶ ἐν τῶ παντὶ ἔστι τι θυμῷ καὶ χολῆ ἀνάλογον καὶ ἄλλο ἄλλφ· καὶ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς δὲ ἐμπόδιον έσται άλλο άλλω, ωστε καὶ άφανᾶναι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ μόνον εν ζώον, άλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ ὂν ὁρᾶται ώστε καθόσον μεν έν, έκαστον τῷ ὅλῳ σώζεται, καὶ καθόσον δὲ καὶ πολλά, πρὸς ἄλληλα συνιόντα 35 πολλαχῆ τῷ διαφόρῳ ἔβλαψε· καὶ πρὸς τὴν αύτοῦ χρείαν ἄλλο ἔτερον ἔβλαψε, καὶ δὴ καὶ τροφήν εποιήσατο συγγενες άμα καὶ διάφορον ύπάρχον· καὶ σπεῦδον ἕκαστον ἐαυτῷ κατὰ φύσιν, όσον τε οἰκεῖον τοῦ ἐτέρου, λαμβάνει εἰς αὐτό, καὶ όσον άλλότριον εγίνετο, άφανίζει εὐνοία τῆ έαυτοῦ. 40 ἔργον τε τὸ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦν ἕκαστον τὸ μὲν δυνηθὲν ἀπολαῦσαί τι τῶν αὐτοῦ ἔργων ἀφέλησεν, δ δ' άδύνατον ήν ύπομείναι την όρμην του έργου, ηφάνισεν η έβλαψεν, ωσπερ όσα αὐανθείη αν παριόντος πυρός, η ζώα ελάττω ύπο μειζόνων δρόμου παρασυρείη η καί που πατηθείη. πάντων 45 δὲ τούτων ἡ γένεσις ἥ τε φθορὰ ἀλλοίωσίς τε πρός τὸ χείρον ἢ βέλτιον τὴν τοῦ ένὸς ζώου 236

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nature of the one living thing to share experience. So, then, that part which has a likeness to that which is acting upon it has an experience which is not alien to it, but if that which is acting is unlike, that which is affected has an experience which is alien and unpleasant. But one should not be surprised if the action of one part on another is harmful when it is one living creature: for in ourselves too in our activities one part can harm another, since bile and the passionate spirit, so it seems, oppress and sting another part. And there is certainly something in the All which corresponds to bile and the passionate spirit, and other things which correspond to others fin our bodies; and in plants one part gets in the way of another, so as even to make it wither. This All is visibly not only one living creature, but many; so that in so far as it is one, each individual part is preserved by the whole, but in so far as it is many, when the many encounter each other they often injure each other because they are different; and one injures another to supply its own need, and even makes a meal of another which is at the same time related to and different from it; and each one, naturally striving to do the best for itself, takes to itself that part of the other which is akin to it, and makes away with all that is alien to itself because of its self-love. Each as it does its own work benefits that which can profit in any way from its workings, but makes away with or injures that which cannot endure the impact of its activity, like the things which are withered when fire comes near them, or the smaller animals which are swept aside or even trampled underfoot by the rush of larger ones. The coming into being and destruction and alteration for

πῶν μένειν ἐν τῶ κινεῖσθαι τὸ μένειν ἔχον. 33. Τῆς δὴ φορᾶς τὸ εἰκῆ οὐκ ἐχούσης, ἀλλὰ λόγω τω κατά τὸ ζώον φερομένης, έδει καὶ συμφωνίαν τοῦ ποιοῦντος πρὸς τὸ πάσχον εἶναι καί τινα τάξιν εἰς ἄλληλα καὶ πρός ἄλληλα 5 συντάσσουσαν, ώστε καθ' έκάστην σχέσιν τῆς φορᾶς καὶ τῶν αὖ ὑπὸ τὴν φορὰν ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην την διάθεσιν είναι, οίον μίαν ὄρχησιν εν ποικίλη χορεία ποιούντων έπεὶ καὶ έν ταις παρ' ήμιν ορχήσεσι τὰ μὲν έξω [πρὸς την ὅρχησιν] 1 καθ εκαστον των κινημάτων, ως έτέρως μεταβαλλόντων 10 τῶν συντελούντων πρὸς τὴν ὄρχησιν, αὐλῶν τε καὶ ώδων καὶ των ἄλλων των συνηρτημένων, τί ἄν τις λέγοι φανερών ὄντων; άλλὰ τὰ μέρη τοῦ τὴν όρχησιν παρεχομένου καθ' έκαστον σχήμα έξ ανάγκης οὐκ ἂν ώσαύτως δύναιτο ἔχειν, τῶν μελῶν τοῦ σώματος ταύτη συνεπομένου καὶ καμπτομένου, 15 καταπιεζομένου ² μεν ετέρου, ανιεμένου δε άλλου, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πονοῦντος, τοῦ δὲ ἀναπνοήν τινα ἐν τῷ διαφόρω σχηματισμώ δεχομένου. καὶ ή μέν προαίρεσις τοῦ ὀρχουμένου πρὸς ἄλλο βλέπει, τὰ

¹ del. Theiler ut iteratum e lin. 9–10. ² Igal: καὶ πιεζομένου Enn.: καὶ $\langle \tau \hat{\omega} \nu | \mu \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \rangle$ πιεζομένου Theiler.

δὲ πάσχει τῆ ὀρχήσει ἐπομένως καὶ ὑπουργεῖ τῆ

worse or better of all these individual things brings to its fulness the unhindered life according to nature of that one [universal] living creature; since it was not possible for all the individual things to be as if they were alone nor for the final purpose to be directed and look towards them when they are [only] parts, but it must be directed to that of which they are parts, and since they are different, they cannot all have their own for ever in a single life; it was not possible for anything to persist altogether the same, if the All was going to persist, which has its persistence in its movement.

33. The heavenly circuit has nothing casual in it, but goes according to the rational principle of its living organism; there must therefore be a harmony of action and experience and an order which arranged things together, adapting them and bringing them into due relation with each other, so that according to every figure of the heavenly circuit there is a different disposition of the things which it governs. as if they were performing a single ballet in a rich variety of dance-movements. In our ballets, too, there is no need to mention, since they are obvious, the external elements, the way in which piping and singing and everything else which joins in contributing to the total effect of the performance change variously at every movement. But the parts of the dancer's body, too, cannot possibly keep the same position in every figure: as his body follows the pattern of the dance and bends with it, one of his limbs is pressed hard down, another relaxed, one works hard and painfully, another is given a rest as the figuring changes. The dancer's intention looks elsewhere; his limbs are affected in accordance with

ορχήσει καὶ συναποτελεῖ τὴν πᾶσαν, ώστε τὸν 20 εμπειρου ορχήσεως είπεῖν ἄν, ώς τῷ τοιούτω σχηματισμώ αἴρεται μὲν ύψοῦ τοδὶ μέλος τοῦ σώματος, συγκάμπτεται δὲ τοδί, τοδὶ δὲ ἀποκρύπτεται, ταπεινὸν δὲ ἄλλο γίνεται, οὐκ ἄλλως τοῦ όρχηστοῦ προελομένου τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῆ τοῦ ὅλου σώματος ὁρχήσει θέσιν ταύτην ἀναγκαίαν 25 ἴσχοντος τοῦδε τοῦ μέρους τοῦ τὴν ὄρχησιν διαπεραίνοντος, τοῦτον τοίνυν τον τρόπον καὶ τὰ έν οθρανώ φατέον ποιείν, όσα ποιεί, τὰ δὲ καί σημαίνειν, μάλλον δε τον μεν όλον κόσμον την όλην αύτοῦ ζωήν ἐνεργεῖν κινοῦντα ἐν αύτῷ τὰ μέρη τὰ μεγάλα καὶ μετασχηματίζουτα ἀεί, τὰς δὲ 30 σχέσεις των μερών πρός άλληλα και πρός το όλον καὶ τὰς διαφόρους αὐτῶν θέσεις ἐπόμενα καὶ τὰ άλλα, ώς ζώου ένος κινουμένου, παρέχεσθαι, ώδὶ μέν ἴσχοντα κατά τὰς ώδὶ σχέσεις καὶ θέσεις καὶ σχηματισμούς, ώδι δε κατά τὰς ώδι, ώς μη τους σχηματίζομένους τοῦς ποιοῦντας είναι, άλλὰ τὸν 35 σχηματίζοντα, μηδ' αὖ τὸν σχηματίζοντα ἄλλο ποιούντα ἄλλο ποιείν—οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλο—ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν πάντα τὰ γινόμενα είναι, ἐκεῖ μὲν τὰ σχήματα, ενθαδί δε τὰ συνεπόμενα τοῖς σχήμασιν άναγκαΐα παθήματα περί τὸ ούτωσὶ κινούμενον 40 ζώον είναι, και αθ περί το ούτωσι συγκείμενον και συνεστώς φύσει καὶ πάσχον καὶ δρών εἰς αὐτὸ άνάγκαις.

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the dance and serve the dance, and help to make it perfect and complete; and the connoisseur of ballet can say that to fit a particular figure one limb is raised, another bent together, one is hidden, another degraded; the dancer does not choose to make these movements for no reason, but each part of him as he performs the dance has its necessary position in the dancing of the whole body.1 It is in this way, then, that we must say that the beings in the sky do what they do (but some things they only indicate); or, better, we should say that the whole universe actively lives its own complete life, moving its great parts within itself, and continually rearranging them, and, as when a single living thing moves, the relations of the parts to each other and to the whole and their different positions make everything else follow, being disposed in one way according to one set of relationships, positions, and arrangements and another way according to another, so that it is not the arranged parts which do what is done, but the arranger; but the arranger is not a doer distinct from what he does —for he is not acting on something different from himself—but he is himself all the things he does, the arrangements up in the sky and their consequences here below, which are experiences necessarily affecting the living being when it moves in this particular way, the living being, that is, which is composed in this particular way and naturally conjoined, and necessarily both acts upon itself and experiences its own action.

of the pantominus to symbolise the living and moving harmony of the cosmos, suggest that Plotinus may at some period of his life have attended and enjoyed performances by pantomini. The coincidence of symbolism with the (much later) bronze figures of the dancing Shiva from India is striking.

¹ The dancer here, as in III. 2.16, is one of the great solo ballet artists of the Empire, the *pantomimi*, who danced whole mythological stories by themselves to a choral and orchestral accompaniment. These excellent descriptions, and the choice

34. 'Ημᾶς δὲ διδόντας τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πάσχειν, ὅσον ἢν ἡμέτερον ἐκείνου τοῦ σώματος, μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἐκείνου νομίζοντας, μέτρια παρ' αὐτοῦ πάσχειν. ὥσπερ οἱ ἔμφρονες τῶν θητευόντων τὸ τὰν τι τοῦς δεσπόζουσιν ὑπηρετοῦντες, τὸ δ' αὐτῶν ὄντες, μετριωτέρων τῶν παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου ἐπιταγμάτων διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνοντες, ἄτε μὴ ἀνδράποδα ὄντες μηδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἄλλου. τὸ δὲ τῶν σχηματισμῶν διάφορον τῶν θεόντων μὴ ἰσοταχῶν

10 λόγω δὲ φερομένων καὶ διαφόρων τῶν σχέσεων τοῦ ζῷου γινομένων, εἶτα καὶ ἐνταῦθα τούτων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν συμπαθῶν πρὸς τὰ ἐκεῖ γινομένων, εὕλογον ζητεῖν, πότερα συνέπεσθαι φατέον ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἐκείνοις, ἢ τὰ σχήματα τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν ποιουμένων ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ σχήματα ἑπλῶς

όντων ἀναγκαῖον ἢν γίνεσθαι, ώς νῦν γίνεται.

15 ἢ τὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς σχηματισμός ταὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἄλλου καὶ αὖ ἄλλων τὴν αὐτὴν σημασίαν ἢ ποίησιν ἐργάζεται· ἐπεὶ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος διάφορον ἔχειν τὴν φύσιν δοκεῖ. ἢ ὀρθῶς ἔχει λέγειν τὴν τούτων σχημάτισιν ταδὶ καὶ τοιάνδε διάθεσιν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἄλλων τὴν αὐτὴν

20 οὖσαν ἐν σχηματισμῷ ἄλλην; άλλ' εἰ τοῦτο, οὐκέτι τοῖς σχήμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς σχηματιζομένοις δώσομεν. ἢ συναμφοτέροις; τοῖς γοῦν αὐτοῖς διάφορον σχέσιν λαβοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ

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34. But we, by yielding that part of ourselves to experience which was our share of the body of the All, and not considering the whole of ourselves to belong to it, are subject to experience only within reasonable limits: just as sensible serfs with one part of themselves serve their master, but with another belong to themselves, and therefore receive more reasonably limited orders from their master since they are not slaves and do not totally belong to another. But it was necessary that the arrangements of the heavenly bodies should vary as they now do, since the heavenly bodies do not run their courses at equal speeds. But since the heavenly bodies move according to reason and their relationships within the [universal] living being vary, and then here below these events occur in our own sphere in sympathy with those above, it is reasonable to enquire whether we should assert that these earthly occurrences follow on those above by correspondence, or whether the figures have the powers which bring about what is done, and whether it is simply the figures or the figures made by particular heavenly bodies. For the same arrangement of the same body in relation to another body and then again to others does not produce the same signification or action: since even by itself each appears to have a different nature. Or is it right to say that the configuration of these particular heavenly bodies is of a particular kind and this specific disposition, but the configuration of other heavenly bodies which is the same in arrangement is another? But if this is so, we shall give the power no more to the figures but to the actual bodies which are arranged. Should we give it to both? For we shall certainly give different

αὐτῷ μόνῳ διάφορον τόπον ἄλλα. ἀλλὰ τί; ποιήσεις ἢ σημασίας; ἢ τῷ συναμφοτέρῳ τῷ 25 σχηματισμῷ τῷ τούτων ἄμφω καὶ ποιήσεις καὶ σημασίας ἐν πολλοῖς, ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ σημασίας μόνον. οὖτος τοίνυν ὁ λόγος δυνάμεις μὲν δίδωσι τοῖς σχήμασι, δυνάμεις δὲ καὶ τοῖς σχηματιζομένοις ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ὀρχουμένων ἔχει μὲν δύναμίν τινα καὶ χεὶρ ἐκατέρα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέλη, ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ 30 σχήματα πολλήν, τρίτα δέ ἐστι τὰ συνεπόμενα, αὐτῶν τε τῶν εἰς τὴν ὅρχησιν παραλαμβανομένων τὰ μέρη καὶ ἔξ ὧν ταῦτα, οἷον χειρὸς τὰ συνθλιβόμενα καὶ νεῦρα καὶ φλέβες συμπαθοῦντα.

35. Πῶς δὴ οὖν αὖται αἱ δυνάμεις; σαφέστερον γὰρ πάλιν λεκτέον, τί τὸ τρίγωνον παρὰ τὸ τρίγωνον διάφορον ἔχει, τί δὲ ὁδὶ πρὸς τονδί, καὶ κατὰ τί τοδὶ ἐργάζεται καὶ μέχρι τίνος. ἐπειδὴ δ οὖτε τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν οὖτε ταῖς προαιρέσεσιν ἀπέδομεν τὰς ποιήσεις τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον σώματος ἦν ποιήματα τὰ γινόμενα, ταῖς δὲ προαιρέσεσιν, ὅτι ἄτοπον ἦν προαιρέσεσι θεοὺς ποιεῖν ἄτοπα. εἰ δὲ μνημονεύοιμεν, ὅτι ζῷον ἕν ὑπεθέμεθα εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι οὔτως ἔχον συμπαθὲς 10 αὐτὸ ἐαυτῷ, ἔξανάγκης ἔδει εἶναι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι

powers to the same heavenly bodies when they take up different relative positions, and even to the same single one when it occupies a different place. But what powers are we giving them? Powers of action or of signification? To the combination, the arrangement of these particular stars, both, and in many cases there is both action and signification, but elsewhere there are only significations. This argument, then, gives powers to the figures and powers to the bodies arranged: since with dancers each hand has a distinct power and so have the other limbs, but the figures also have great power, and then there is a third group of consequentially effective things, the parts of the limbs which are brought into the dance and their constituents, for instance the clenched fingers of the hand and the muscles and veins which are affected along with them.

35. How, then, should we understand these powers? We need to explain again more clearly what is the difference between triangle and triangle, in what way this heavenly body differs from that, and why and up to what point it acts in this particular way. For we did not attribute their activities either to their bodies or to their deliberate choices: not to their bodies, because the things which happened were not the works of body alone, and not to their choices, because it would be inappropriate for gods to choose to do inappropriate things. But if we remember that we posited that the universe is a single living thing, and that since it is so it was absolutely necessary for it to have an internal self-communication of its experiences; and if we remember further that the

calculation was based: cp. II. 3. 4, where Plotinus shows himself much more hostile to the astrologers than here.

^{1 &}quot;Triangles" are among the important "configurations" or "aspects" of the apparent patterns of the signs of the Zodiac at various seasons on which a great deal of astrological

κατά λόγον ή διέξοδος της ζωής σύμφωνος έπυτη άπασα, καὶ ὅτι τὸ εἰκῆ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῆ ζωῆ, ἀλλὰ μία άρμονία καὶ τάξις, καὶ οἱ σχηματισμοὶ κατὰ λόγον, καὶ κατ' ἀριθμούς δὲ ἔκαστα καὶ τὰ χορεύοντα ζώου μέρη, ἄμφω ἀνάγκη όμολογεῖν 15 την ενέργειαν τοῦ παντὸς είναι, τά τε εν αὐτῷ γινόμενα σχήματα καὶ τὰ σχηματιζόμενα μέρη αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐπόμενα καὶ οὕτω, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ζῆν τὸ πᾶν, καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις είς τοῦτο συμβάλλειν, ἄσπερ 1 καὶ ἔχοντες ἐγένοντο ύπο του έν λύγοις 2 πεποιηκότος. καὶ τὰ μέν 20 σχήματα οἷον λόγους εἶναι ἢ διαστάσεις ζώου καὶ ρυθμούς καὶ σχέσεις ζώου κατὰ λόγου, τὰ δὲ διεστηκότα καὶ ἐσχηματισμένα μέλη· ἀλλὰ 3 καὶ είναι τοῦ ζώου δυνάμεις χωρίς [τῆς] 4 προαιρέσεως άλλας τὰς ὡς ζῷου μέρη, ἐπεὶ τὸ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῖς ἔξω καὶ οὐ συντελοῦν πρὸς τοῦ ζώου τοῦδε 25 την φύσιν. μία γαρ ή προαίρεσις ένδς ζώου, αί δὲ δυνάμεις αι άλλαι αὐτοῦ πρὸς αύτὸ πολλαί. ὅσαι δ' έν αὐτῷ προαιρέσεις, πρὸς τὸ αὐτό, πρὸς ὁ καὶ ἡ τοῦ παντὸς ἡ μία. ἐπιθυμία μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου πρὸς άλλο των έν αὐτω· λαβεῖν γάρ τι των έτέρων έθέλει μέρος τὸ ἄλλο μέρος ἐνδεὲς ὂν αὐτό καὶ θυμὸς 30 πρός έτερον, όταν τι παραλυπή, καὶ ἡ αύξησις παρ' ἄλλου καὶ ή γένεσις εἰς ἄλλο τῶν μερῶν. το δ' όλον και έν τούτοις μέν ταῦτα ποιεί, αὐτο δὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ζητεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ βλέπει. τοῦτο τοίνυν καὶ ή ὀρθὴ προαίρεσις ἡ ὑπὲρ τὰ πάθη

> ¹ Theiler: ἄσπερ Enn.* ² Enn., H-S¹ recte: εὐλόγως H-S².

3 Dodds, Cilento: άλλα Enn.*

4 del. Theiler.

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process of its life must be rational and all in tune with itself, and that there is nothing casual in its life but a single melody and order, and that the celestial arrangements are rational, and each individual part moves by numbers, as do the dancing parts of the living being, we must admit that both are the activity of the All, the figures in it and the parts of it which are arranged in figures (and the consequences of these and how they follow), and that this is the way in which the All lives, and the powers contribute to this, which they were brought into existence possessing by him who made them in their rational principles. And the figures are like the proportions and intervals of the living being and its rational rhythms and relationships, and the bodies which are set at intervals and arranged in figures are its limbs; but there are other powers of the living being, which are, apart from deliberate choice, like parts of the living being, since what belongs to deliberate choice in these beings is outside [the universal organism] and does not contribute to the nature of this living being. For the deliberate choice of the one living being is one, but the other powers which it has directed towards itself are many. But all the choices which occur in it are directed to the same end to which that one choice of the All is directed. For the desire of one thing in it is directed towards another thing in it; for one part wants to take a part of the others since it is itself in need; and anger is felt against another part, when it is annoying in some way, and growth derives from another of the parts and coming into being results in another. But the Whole does these things in these parts, but itself seeks the Good, or rather gazes upon it. This too is what the right

ζητεί και είς το αὐτο ταύτη συμβάλλει έπει και 35 των παρ' ἄλλφ θητευόντων πολλά μέν των ἔργων αὐτοῖς βλέπει πρὸς τὰ ἐπιταχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου, ή δὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ὄρεξις πρὸς τὸ αὐτό, πρὸς ο καὶ ὁ δεσπότης. εὶ δὴ δρᾶ τι ήλιος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα άστρα είς τὰ τῆδε, χρη νομίζειν αὐτὸν μεν ἄνω βλέποντα είναι-- εφ' ένδς γάρ τον λόγον ποιητέου 40 -ποιείσθαι δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὤσπερ τὸ θερμαίνεσθαι τοις έπι γής, ούτω και εί τι μετά τουτο, ψυχής διαδόσει, όσον ἐν αὐτῷ, φυτικῆς 1 ψυχῆς πολλῆς υὔσης, καὶ ἄλλο δὲ δμοίως οἷον ἐλλάμπον δύναμιν παρ' αύτοῦ ἀπροαίρετον διδόναι. καὶ 45 πάντας 2 δή έν τι οὕτως ἐσχηματισμένον γενομένους την διάθεσιν ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην αδ διδόναιωστε καὶ τὰ σχήματα δυνάμεις ἔχει—παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ούτως η ούτως άλλως καὶ άλλως—καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων γίνεσθαί τι—παρὰ γὰρ [τὸ] 3 τούτους άλλο καὶ άλλο αὖ παρ' άλλους. ἐπεὶ καὶ 50 καθ' αύτὰ τὰ σχήματα, ώς δυνάμεις ἔχει, καὶ έπὶ τῶν τῆδε ἄν τις ἴδοι. διατί γὰρ τὰ μὲν φοβερὰ τοῖς δρῶσι τῶν σχημάτων μηδέν τι προπεπονθότων των φοβουμένων, τὰ δὲ οὐ φοβεῖ όφθέντα; καὶ ἄλλους μὲν ταδί, ἄλλους δὲ ταδί; η ότι είς μεν τον 4 τοιόνδε ταδί εργάζεται, είς δε

1 Kirchhoff*: φυσικής Enn., H-S1.

3 del. Creuzer.

choice which transcends the emotions seeks and in this way it contributes to the achievement of the same purpose: since when serfs work for another man many of the things they do are directed to fulfilling the commands of their master, but their aspiration to the Good is directed to the same end to which their master also aspires. If then the sun and the other heavenly bodies act in any way on the things here below, one must think that the sunit is best to speak of one body only-remains looking above, but just as its warming of the things on earth proceeds from it, so do any subsequent actions upon them, by a dissemination of soul, as far as is in its power, since there is plenty of the growth-soul in it. And in the same way any other heavenly body, without choosing to do so, gives off a kind of irradiation from itself. And all the heavenly bodies when they have been unified in this or that particular configuration produce now one and now another disposition of things: so that the figures have power -for according to this or that figure different consequences follow—and something is due to the actual heavenly bodies arranged in the figures-for one consequence follows if these particular heavenly bodies are in the figure, and another if others are. As regards the figures themselves, one can see from what happens here below that they have powers. For why are some figures terrifying to those who see them though those who are terrified have had no experience of evil from them before, but others when they are seen do not terrify? And why do these particular figures terrify some people and different ones others? It is because these particular ones work on a man of a particular kind and

² πάντας (sc. ἀστέρας, masc. sicut 47-8 ἐσχηματισμένων) et τούτους suspic. Theiler: πάντα Enn.*

⁴ Kirchhoff*: 70 Enn., H-S.

55 τοῦτον ἄλλα, οὐκ ἂν μὴ δυναμένων εἰς τὸ πεφυκὸς ποιείν. καὶ ούτωσὶ μὲν σχηματισθὲν ἐκίνησε τὴν όψιν, ούτωσὶ δὲ οὐ τὸν αὐτόν. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις λέγοι τὸ κάλλος εἶναι τὸ κινοῦν, διατί τὸν μὲν τοῦτο, τὸν δὲ ἄλλο ἐκίνησε, μὴ τῆς κατὰ τὸ σχήμα διαφοράς την δύναμιν έχούσης; διατί γάρ 60 τὰς μὲν χρόας φήσομεν δύναμιν ἔχειν καὶ ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ σχήματα οὐ φήσομεν; ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅλως άτοπον είναι μέν τι έν τοις οῦσι, μη μέντοι ἔχειν τι ο δύναται. τὸ γὰρ ον τοιοῦτον, οἷον η ποιεῖν η πάσχειν· καὶ ἐν μὲν τοῖς δοτέον τὸ ποιεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ των άλλων άμφω. καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις δὲ 65 δυνάμεις καὶ παρὰ τὰ σχήματα καὶ ἐν τοῖς παρ' ήμιν είσι πολλαί, ας οὐ θερμά ή ψυχρά παρέχεται, άλλὰ γενόμενα ποιότησι διαφόροις καὶ λόγοις είδοποιηθέντα καὶ φύσεως δυνάμεως μεταλαβόντα, οΐον καὶ λίθων φύσεις καὶ βοτανῶν ἐνέργειαι θαυμαστά πολλά παρέχονται.

36. Ποικιλώτατον γὰρ τὸ πᾶν καὶ λόγοι πάντες
ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δυνάμεις ἄπειροι καὶ ποικίλαι· οἰον
δέ φασι καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου ἄλλην μὲν δύναμιν
ἔχειν [ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ] ¹ ὀστοῦν τόδε, τοδὶ δ' ἄλλην,
5 χειρὸς μὲν τοδὶ καὶ δακτύλου τοῦ ποδός, καὶ
οὐδὲν μέρος εἶναι ὁ μὴ ἔχει καὶ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ
ἔχει—ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς, εἰ μή τις τὰ τοιαῦτα
μεμάθηκεν—οὕτω καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον· μᾶλλον δὲ

¹ del. Theiler, Harder.

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others on this other man, since they cannot fail to act on that which corresponds to their nature. And something with one kind of figure stimulates one to look at it, but another kind does not stimulate the same man. And if someone were to say that it is the beauty which stimulates, why does one stimulate one man and another another, if it is not the difference in figure which has the power? For why should we assert that colours have power and act, but not assert that figures do? It would be absolutely absurd for something to exist in reality but not to have any power which it could exercise. For anything which exists is of such a kind that it can either act or be acted upon 1: in some cases we should attribute action, in other cases both. But besides the figures there are also powers in the bodies subject to configuration; and in the bodies in our world there are many powers which are not produced by hot or cold things but by things which have come into existence as the result of different qualities and been formed by rational principles and have a share in the power of nature. as the natures of stones and the active powers of herbs produce many astonishing results.

36. The All is full of the richest variety: all rational formative principles are present in it, and an unbounded store of varied powers. It is like what they say about man, that each of the bones has its own distinctive powers, the bones of the hand one power and the toe-bone another, and there is no part which has not a power, and one different from every other—but we know nothing about it, unless one of us has studied this sort of subject. The

¹ This philosophical commonplace goes back to Plato Sophist 247D-E and 248C.

ίχνος ταθτα ἐκείνων· ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἀδιήγητον δὲ καὶ θαυμαστήν ποικιλίαν είναι δυνάμεων, καὶ δή 10 καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν φερομένοις. οὐ γὰρ δή, ωσπερ άψυχον οἰκίαν μεγάλην άλλως καὶ πολλήν εκ τινων εθαριθμήτων κατ' είδος, οίον λίθων καὶ ξύλων, εὶ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, εἰς κόσμον έδει αὐτὸ γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὸ ἐγρηγορὸς πανταχή καὶ ζῶν ἄλλο ἄλλως καὶ μηδὲν δύνασθαι 15 είναι, ὁ μὴ ἔστιν αὐτῷ. διὸ καὶ ἐνταῦθα λύοιτο αν ή ἀπορία ή πως ἐν ζώω ἐμψύχω ἄψυχον: ούτως γὰρ ὁ λόγος φησὶν ἄλλο ἄλλως ζῆν ἐν τῷ όλφ, ήμας δὲ τὸ μὴ αἰσθητῶς παρ' αὐτοῦ κινούμενον ζην μη λέγειν· το δέ έστιν έκαστον ζων λανθάνον, καὶ τὸ αἰσθητῶς ζων συγκείμενον 20 ἐκ τῶν μὴ αἰσθητῶς μὲν ζώντων, θαυμαστὰς δὲ δυνάμεις cis το ζην τῷ τοιούτῳ ζώω παρεχομένων. μη γάρ αν κινηθηναι έπι τοσαθτα άνθρωπον έκ πάντη άψύχων των αὐτῷ δυνάμεων κινούμενον, μηδ' αὖ τὸ πᾶν οὕτω ζῆν μὴ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ 25 ζώντων τὴν οἰκείαν ζωήν, κἂν προαίρεσις αὐτῷ μη παρή ποιεί γαρ και προαιρέσεως οὐ δεηθέν, ατε προαιρέσεως ον προγενέστερον· διὸ καὶ πολλά δουλεύει αὐτῷ 1 ταῖς δυνάμεσιν.

37. Οὐδὲν οὖν τῷ παντὶ ἀπόβλητον αὐτοῦ· ἐπεὶ καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὅσα τῶν τοιούτων λέγομεν ποιεῖν, εἴ τις τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν ζητήσειε τί ποτ'

1 Theiler: αὐτῶν wxUC: αὐτοῦ z.

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All is like this, but even more so: or rather the parts of our bodies with their powers are only traces of the parts and powers of the universe. In the All there is an indescribably wonderful variety of powers, especially in the bodies which move through the heavens. For it did not have to come to be an ordered universe like a soulless house, even if a large and complex one, made of materials easy to reckon up according to kind, stones and timber, perhaps, and other things of the sort; but it exists, all awake and alive differently in different parts, and nothing can exist which does not belong to it. This then solves the difficulty of how there can be anything without soul in an ensouled living being; for in this way the account explains that different things in the Whole live in different ways, but we do not say that anything is alive which does not move itself perceptibly; but each thing of this sort has a hidden life; and the thing which is perceptibly alive is composed of parts which are not perceptibly alive but contribute wonderful powers to the life of a living thing of this kind. Man would not have been moved to such great achievements if the powers in himself from which he started had been without soul, nor would the All live as it does if each particular thing in it did not live its own life-even if the All does not exercise deliberate choice. For it acts without need of deliberate choice, since it is of older birth than choice; and therefore many things serve it with their powers.

37. Nothing, therefore, which belongs to the All can be discarded by it; since with fire and all the other things of the kind which we say are active, if any one of the people who have the reputation of experts tried to find out what their activity was, he

έστι των νυν δοκούντων είδεναι, απορήσειεν άν, 5 εἰ μὴ δύναμιν ταύτην ἀποδοίη αὐτῷ $\langle \tau \hat{\omega} \rangle^1$ ἐν $\tau \hat{\omega}$ παντί είναι, και τοις άλλοις δε το τοιούτον τοις έν χρήσει λέγοι. άλλ' ήμεῖς τὰ μὲν συνήθη οὔτ' άξιοῦμεν ζητεῖν οὔτ' ἀπιστοῦμεν, περὶ δὲ τῶν άλλων των έξω τοῦ συνήθους δυνάμεων ἀπιστοῦμέν τε ώς ἔχει ἕκαστον, καὶ τῷ ἀσυνήθει τὸ 10 θαυμάζειν προστίθεμεν θαυμάσαντες αν καὶ ταῦτα, εὶ ἀπείροις αὐτῶν οὖσιν ἔκαστόν τις προσφέρων έξηγεῖτο αὐτῶν τὰς δυνάμεις. ἔχειν μὲν οὖν έκαστον δύναμίν τινα άλογον φατέον έν τῷ παντὶ πλασθέν καὶ μορφωθέν καὶ μετειληφός πως ψυχης παρά τοῦ ὅλου ὅντος ἐμψύχου καὶ περιειλημ-15 μένον ύπὸ τοιούτου καὶ μόριον ὂν ἐμψύχου οὐδεν γὰρ εν αὐτῶ ος τι μη μέρος—ἄλλα δε ἄλλων πρός το δραν δυνατώτερα καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ούρανίων μαλλον, άτε έναργεστέρα φύσει χρώμενα. καὶ γίνεσθαι πολλά κατά τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας, οὐ τῆ προαιρέσει ἀφ' ὧν δοκεῖ ἰέναι τὸ δρώμενον-20 έστι γάρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς προαίρεσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ ἐπιστραφέντων τῆ δόσει τῆς δυνάμεως, καν ψυχής τι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἴη. γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ζῷα έκ ζώου οὐ τῆς προαιρέσεως ποιούσης οὐδ' αὖ έλαττουμένου οὐδ' αὖ παρακολουθοῦντος· ἀργός 2

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would get into difficulties if he did not attribute this power to their actually being in the All, and did not say the same sort of thing about everything else which is in daily use. But we do not think it proper to investigate ordinary things, nor do we disbelieve in them, but we disbelieve in the detailed working of the other powers which are out of the ordinary, and encounter the extraordinary with astonishment,1 though we should be astonished at these ordinary things too if we were unfamiliar with them and someone presented a detailed account of them to us and explained their powers. We must admit, then, that each particular thing has an unreasoned power, since it is moulded and shaped in the All and in some way has a share of soul from the Whole which is ensouled, and is surrounded by a universe of this kind and is part of an ensouled being-for there is nothing in it which is not a part—but some things are more powerfully effective than others, both among the things on earth and still more among those in the heavens, since these have a clearer nature; and many things happen according to these powers, not by deliberate choice of the beings from which the action appears to proceed—for the powers exist also in beings which have no choice-nor with any direction of attention to the giving of the power, even if there is some transmission of soul from them. For living beings could be generated from a living being without any act of deliberate choice, nor any diminution of the original living being, nor any consciousness of what is happening: for the act of choice would be inactive, if he had it, or it would not be the choice rhetorically amplified by Seneca Naturales Quaestiones VII 1.

Bréhier.

² Theiler: αὐτὸς Enn., H-S¹: αὐτὸ Kirchhoff*.

¹ A philosophical commonplace, probably of Stoic origin,

γὰρ ἦν ἡ προαίρεσις, εἰ ἔχοι, ἢ οὐκ ἦν ἡ ποιοῦσα. 25 εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔχοι τι προαίρεσιν ζῷον, ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ μὴ παρακολουθεῖν.

38. "Α τε 1 οὖν έξ αὐτοῦ μηδενὸς κινήσαντος ἐκ της άλλης αὐτοῦ ζωης γίνεται [καὶ ὅλως ὅσα ἐξ αὐτοῦ]. οσα τε κινήσαντος άλλου, οἷον εὐχαῖς η άπλαις ή τέχνη άδομέναις, ταθτα οὐκ εἰς ἐκείνον 5 έκαστον, άλλ' είς την τοῦ δρωμένου φύσιν άνενεκτέον. καὶ ὄσα μὲν χρηστὰ ³ πρὸς ζωὴν ἤ τινα άλλην χρείαν συμβάλλεται, τῆ δόσει ἀνενεκτέον, έξ άλλου μέρους μείζονος είς άλλο έλαττον ίον. ο τι δ' αν δυσχερές έξ αὐτῶν λέγηται είς τὰς γενέσεις των ζώων ιέναι, η τω μη δύνασθαι τὸ 10 εύγρηστον δέξασθαι τὸ ὑποκείμενου—οὐ γὰρ άπλως γίνεται το γινόμενον, άλλ' είς τοδί καὶ ώδί. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ πάσχον καὶ τὸ πεισόμενον ὑποκειμένην τινά καὶ τοιάνδε φύσιν ἔχειν—πολλά δὲ καὶ αί μίζεις ποιούσιν, εκάστου τι εύχρηστον είς τὸ ζην διδόντος. γίνοιτο δ' ἄν τω καὶ μη συμφερόντων 15 των λυσιτελών την φύσω, καὶ ή σύνταξις ή των όλων οὐ δίδωσιν έκάστιρ ἀεὶ ὁ βούλεται πολλά δέ καὶ προστίθεμεν αὐτοὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι. πάντα δ' όμως είς εν συμπλέκεται καὶ θαυμαστήν τήν συμφωνίαν έχει καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλων ἄλλα, καν ἀπ' έναντίων "η· πάντα γὰρ ένός. καὶ εἴ τι δὲ which would be operative. But if a living being had no choice, still more would there be an absence of consciousness.

38. The effects, then, which come from the heavenly body from its other kind of life without anything stimulating it, and all which are produced by the stimulation of another, for instance by prayers, either plain or sung according to art, all these are to be attributed, not to each individual heavenly body, but to the nature of what is done. And all the effects which are beneficial for the preservation of life or some other useful purpose are to be attributed to the gift [of the heavenly body] and are something which comes from the greater part of the universe to another lesser one; but whatever bad influence is said to come from the heavenly bodies upon the births of living creatures is to be attributed to the inability of the substrate to receive the favourable influence—for what happens does not simply happen, but happens to this specific thing and in this specific way; and that which is affected, and that which is going to be affected, has a specific kind of underlying nature—but also the mixtures of influences produce many effects, though each individual heavenly body gives something beneficial to life. And a bad effect on something may occur also because the naturally favourable forces are not operating to help it, and the concatenation of universal forces does not always give each individual what it wants; and we too add a great deal to what we are given. But all the same, all things are woven into one, and are marvellously in tune, and things come from other things, even if they come from opposites: for all belong to one [universe]. And if anything among the things

¹ Kirohhoff*: ἄτς Perna, Creuzer, H-S¹: ὅτα τε Harder: ὅτα B-T.

² del. Bouillet, Harder, B-T, ut glossam complectentem lin.

¹⁻² ἄ τε et ὄσα τε.
³ Kirchhoff* (utilia Ficinus): χρὴ τὰ Enn.

39. Συνταττομένων δὲ ἀεὶ πάντων καὶ εἰς εν συντελούντων πάντων, σημαίνεσθαι πάντα. άρετη δὲ ἀδέσποτον· συνυφαίνεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς ἔργα τῆ συντάξει, ἄτε καὶ τῶν τῆδε ἐκεῖθεν 5 εξηρτημένων, των εν τώδε τώ παντί τοις θειοτέροις, καὶ μετέχοντος καὶ τοῦδε ἐκείνων. γίνεται τοίνυν τὰ ἐν τῶ παντί οὐ κατὰ σπερματικούς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγους περιληπτικούς καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἢ κατὰ τούς των σπερμάτων λόγους ο γάρ έν σπερματικοις λόγοις ένι τι των γινομένων παρά τους 10 σπερματικούς αὐτούς λόγους οὐδὲ τῶν παρὰ τῆς ύλης είς τὸ όλον συντελούντων οὐδὲ τῶν δρωμένων είς ἄλληλα παρά των γενομένων. άλλά μαλλον αν ἐοίκοι ὁ λόγος τοῦ παντὸς κατὰ λόγον τιθέντα κόσμον πόλεως καὶ νόμον, ήδη είδότα ἃ πράξουσιν οί πολίται και δι' ά πριξουσι, και πρός ταθτα 15 πάντα νομοθετοῦντος καὶ συνυφαίνοντος τοῖς νόμοις τὰ πάθη πάντα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς έπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τιμὰς καὶ ἀτιμίας, πάντων ὁδῷ οδον αὐτομάτη εἰς συμφωνίαν χωρούντων. ή δὲ

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which come into being is at all lacking in excellence, since it is not completely formed because the matter has not been mastered, it is, so to speak, lacking in nobility of birth, and since it is deprived of this falls into ugliness. Some things, then, are done by the heavenly bodies, some the underlying nature introduces, and some are additions due to ourselves.

39. But since all things are for ever brought together into order and all are directed to a single end, all are signified. "But virtue has no master",1 yet its works, too, are woven into the common order, since the things here below depend on the world above, the things in this world on diviner beings, and this universe has a share, also, in those higher realities. What comes to be in the All, then, does not come to be according to seminal formative principles but according to formative principles which include powers which are prior to the principles in the seeds; for in the seminal principles there is nothing of what happens outside the sphere of the seminal principles themselves, or of the contributions which come from matter to the whole, or of the interactions on each other of the things which have come to be. But the rational formative principle of the All is more like the formative thought which establishes the order and law of a state, which knows already what the citizens are going to do and why they are going to do it, and legislates with regard to all this, and weaves together by the laws all their experiences and arts and the honour or dishonour that their acts merit, so that all that happens in the state moves as if spontaneously into a harmonious order. But the

¹ This Platonic phrase, from Republic X 617E3, is more than once quoted by Plotinus: cp. II. 3. 9. 17; VI. 8. 5. 31.

σημασία οὐ τούτου χάριν, ἵνα σημαίνη προηγουμένως, άλλ' ούτω γιγνομένων σημαίνεται έξ 20 ἄλλων ἄλλα ότι γὰρ εν καὶ ένός, καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλου άλλο γινώσκοιτ' αν, καὶ ἀπὸ αἰτιατοῦ δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, καὶ τὸ ἐπόμενον ἐκ τοῦ προηγησαμένου, καὶ τὸ σύνθετον ἀπὸ θατέρου, ὅτι θάτερον καὶ θάτερον όμοῦ ποιῶν. εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς λέγεται, λύοιντο αν ήδη αι απορίαι, ή τε πρός το κακών δόσιν 25 παρὰ θεῶν γίνεσθαι τῷ μήτε προαιρέσεις εἶναι τὰς ποιούσας, φυσικαῖς δὲ ἀνάγκαις γίνεσθαι, όσα ἐκεῖθεν, ώς μερῶν πρὸς μέρη, καὶ ἐπόμενα ένὸς ζωῆ, καὶ τῷ πολλὰ παρ' αὐτῶν τοῖς γινομένοις προστιθέναι, καὶ τῷ τῶν διδομένων παρ' ἐκάστων οὐ κακῶν ὄντων ἐν τῆ μίξει γίγνεσθαι ἄλλο τι, καὶ 30 τῷ μὴ ἔνεκα ἐκάστου ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ ὅλου τὴν ζωήν, καὶ τὴν υποκειμένην δὲ φύσιν ἄλλο λαβοῦσαν άλλο πάσχειν καὶ μηδὲ δύνασθαι κρατήσαι τοῦ δοθέντος.

40. Τὰς δὲ γοητείας πῶς; ἢ τῆ συμπαθεία, καὶ τῷ πεφυκέναι συμφωνίαν εἶναι όμοίων καὶ ἐναντίωσιν ἀνομοίων, καὶ τῆ τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν ποικιλία εἰς εν ζῷον συντελούντων. καὶ γὰρ μηδενὸς μηχανωμένου ἄλλου πολλὰ ἔλκεται καὶ γοητεύεται καὶ ἡ ἀληθινὴ μαγεία ἡ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φιλία καὶ τὸ νεῖκος αὖ. καὶ ὁ γόης ὁ πρῶτος

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signification is not designed for the sake of indicating what is going to happen before it does, but since things happen as they do some are indicated by others; for since all is one and belongs to one, one thing can be known from another, the cause from what is caused and the consequence from the antecedent, and the composite from one of its parts, because the rational principle of the universe composes one part and another together. If this argument is correct, the difficulties would be solved, that about the gift of evils coming from the gods by the consideration that it is not their deliberate choices which are effective but all that comes from above happens by natural necessity, as actions of parts on parts, and as consequences of the life of the one universe; and that we by ourselves contribute much to what happens, and that, though the gifts of the individual heavenly bodies are not evil, something else comes about in their mixture, and that the life of the universe does not serve the purposes of each individual but of the whole, and that the underlying nature receives one thing but experiences another, and is unable to master what it is given.

40. But how do magic spells work? By sympathy and by the fact that there is a natural concord of things that are alike and opposition of things that are different, and by the rich variety of the many powers which go to make up the life of the one living creature. For many things are drawn and enchanted without anyone clsc's magical contrivance: and the true magic is the "Love" and also the "Strife" in the All. And this is the primary wizard and enchan-

from the spells published in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* ed. and tr. K. Preisendanz (2 vols., Berlin and Leipzig 1928, 1931).

¹ The reference is to Empedocles: cp. e.g. fr. B 17, 19–20. This and the following chapters make clear that magic was for Plotinus a manipulation of natural forces, attractions and sympathies resulting from the living organic unity of the physical universe. His interest in it was philosophical rather than practical (see further n. 1 on ch. 43). An idea of the sort of magic of which Plotinus is thinking can be obtained

1 E, Creuzer, Cilento (efficacia nominativus Ficinus): ἀλκῆ ARJUCz, Perna, H-S: ἀλκῆς Β.

 2 om. z: delendum ut e glossa ad 24–5 ἀλλ' $\dot{\eta}$. . . $\psi \nu \chi \dot{\eta}$ ortum.

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ter, from observing whom men came to use his philtres and spells on each other. For, because love is natural to men and the things that cause love have a force of attraction to each other, there has come into existence the helpful power of a magical art of love, used by those who apply by contact to different people different magical substances designed to draw them together and with a love-force implanted in them; they join one soul to another, as if they were training together plants set at intervals. They use as well figures with power in them, and by putting themselves into the right postures they quietly bring powers upon themselves, since they are within one universe and work upon one universe. For if anyone put a magician outside the All, he could not draw or bring down by attractive or binding spells. But now, because he does not operate as if he were somewhere else, he can work on his subjects knowing by what way one thing is drawn to another in the living being. And there is a natural drawing power in spells wrought by the tune and the particular intonation and posture of the magician-for these things attract, as pitiable figures and voices attract; for it is the irrational soul-not the power of choice or the reason-which is charmed by music, and this kind of magic causes no surprise: people even like being enchanted, even if this is not exactly what they demand from the musicians. And we must not think that other kinds of prayers either are freely and deliberately answered: for people charmed by spells do not act with free deliberation, nor, when

ούτως, οὐδ' ὅταν γοητεύη ὄφις ἀνθρώπους, σύνεσιν 30 ο γοητευόμενος έχει, οὐδ' αἰσθάνεται, ἀλλὰ γινώσκει, ήδη παθών, ὅτι πέπονθεν, ἀπαθὲς δ' αὐτῷ τὸ ἡγούμενον ἐστιν. ῷ δ' ηὕξατο, ἦλθέ τι

πρὸς αὐτὸν έξ ἐκείνου ἢ πρὸς ἄλλον.

41. 'Ο δὲ ήλιος ἢ ἄλλο ἄστρον οὐκ ἐπαΐει. καὶ γίνεται τὸ κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν συμπαθοῦς μέρους μέρει γενομένου, ὥσπερ ἐν μιᾶ νευρᾶ τεταμένη. κινηθείσα γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κάτω καὶ ἄνω ἔχει τὴν κίνησιν. 5 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλης κινηθείσης ἄλλη οἶον αἴσθησιν ἔχει κατὰ συμφωνίαν καὶ τῷ ὑπὸ μιῷ ήρμοσθαι άρμονία. εί δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλη λύρα ἡ κίνησις ἀπ' ἄλλης ζρχεται, ὅσον τὸ συμπαθές, καὶ έν τῷ παντὶ τοίνυν μία άρμονία, κἂν έξ έναντίων η καὶ έξ δμοίων δέ έστι καὶ πάντων συγγενών 10 καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων. καὶ ὅσα λωβᾶται ἀνθρώπους, οίον τὸ θυμοειδες έλχθεν μετὰ χολής εἰς ήπατος φύσιν ήλθεν, οὐχ ώς λωβησόμενα οἷον εἰ πῦρ τις έκ πυρος λαβών έβλαψεν άλλον † δ μηχανησάμενος η έλθεῖν η ὁ λαβὼν † 1 ἐκεῖνος ποιεῖ τῷ 2 δεδωκέναι νοῦν τι ³ οἱον μετατιθέν τι ⁴ ἐξ ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλο· 15 καὶ τὸ ἐληλυθὸς ⁵ δέ, εἰ μὴ οἶός τε ἐγένετο δέξασθαι είς δυ μετηνέχθη.

1 locus nondum sanatus. 2 wUz: τὸ xC. ^Β γοῦν τι Enn., H-S: ἀγνοοῦντι Theiler.

4 τῶ δεδωκέναι . . . μετατιθέν τι quoniam aliquid (sc. ignem) praebuit quod quasi traderet quiddam (sc. alterum ignem): μετατιθέν τι Enn.: μετατεθέν Creuzer (translatum Ficinus): μετατεθέν τι Theiler. 5 τὸ ἐληλυθὸς (i.e. τὸ πῦρ) sc. λωβᾶται.

a snake fascinates men, does the one who is fascinated understand or perceive what is happening, but he knows only afterwards that he has had the experience; his ruling intellect, however, remains unaffected. But, when a man prays to a heavenly body, some influence comes from it upon him or upon another

41. But the sun, or another heavenly body, does not hear his prayers. And that which he prays for comes about because one part is in sympathetic connection with another, just as in one tense string; for if the string is plucked at the lower end, it has a vibration at the upper. But often, too, when one string is plucked another has a kind of sense of this by its concord and the fact that it is tuned to the same scale. But if the vibration can even pass from one lyre to another in so far as a sympathy exists, then there is also one single harmony in the All, even if it is composed of opposites; and it is in fact composed of parts which are alike and all akin, even when they are opposites. And all the things which harm men do not come with the intention of harming, but as when the passionate spirit is drawn down with the bile and enters the nature of the liver; just as if someone, taking a light from a fire, hurts someone else-either the person who has made arrangements to go or that one who took it does the damage by having given some fire to someone who, in a way, moves it about from one place to another; and the fire which has come hurts if the person to whom it was transferred was unable to take hold of it.1

for improvement. I, very hesitantly, follow Cilento's suggestion (see his commentary ad loc.) in my translation, as it gives some sort of sense without too violent alteration.

¹ The text here is very uncertain. H-S's critical note, printed under the Greek text, gives the principal suggestions

42. "Ωστε οὖτε μνήμης διὰ τοῦτο δεήσει τοῖς ἄστροις, οθπερ χάριν καὶ ταθτα πεπραγμάτευται, ούτε αισθήσεων αναπεμπομένων ούτε έπινεύσεις τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εὐχαῖς, ώς οἴονταί τινες, 5 προαιρετικάς τινας, άλλὰ καὶ μετ' εὐχῆς γίνεσθαί τι δοτέον καὶ εὐχῆς ἄνευ παρ' αὐτῶν, ἡ μέρη καὶ ένός καὶ ὅτι δυνάμεις καὶ χωρὶς προαιρέσεως πολλαί και αύται και ἄνευ μηχανής και μετά τέχνης, ώς εν ζώω ενί καὶ ἀπολαύει ἄλλο ἄλλον καὶ βλάπτεται τῷ οὕτω πεφυκέναι, καὶ τέχναις 10 ἐατρῶν καὶ ἐπαοιδῶν ἄλλο ἄλλω ἢναγκάσθη παρασχείν τι της δυνάμεως της αύτου. καὶ τὸ πῶν δὲ ώσωύτως εἰς τὰ μέρη δίδωσι καὶ παρ' αύτοῦ καὶ έλκύσαντος ἄλλου εἰς μέρος τι αὐτοῦ, κείμενον τοις αύτου μέρεσι τῷ αύτου φυσικῷ, ώς μηδενός άλλοτρίου τοῦ αἰτοῦντος ὄντος. εἰ δὲ 15 κακὸς ὁ αἰτῶν, θαυμάζειν οὐ δεῖ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ποταμών ἀρύονται οἱ κακοί, καὶ τὸ διδὸν αὐτὸ 1 οὺκ οίδεν ὧ² δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ δίδωσι μόνον ἀλλ' ομως συντέτακται καὶ ζό > 3 δέδοται τῆ φύσει τοῦ παντός : ὥστε, εἴ τις ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῶν πᾶσι κειμένων, οὐ δέον, ἔπεσθαι αὐτῶ ἀναγκαίω νόμω τὴν δίκην. 20 οὔκουν δοτέον τὸ πᾶν πάσχειν: ἢ τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονοῦν αὐτοῦ ἀπαθὲς δοτέον πάντη εἶναι, γιγνομένων δὲ παθών εν μέρεσιν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνοις μεν ήκειν τὸ

3 καὶ δ Theiler: καὶ Enn.* : δ Kleist (Programm 19).

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42. So there will be no need for the heavenly bodies to have memory, either, for this purpose [of answering prayers - this was the reason why this investigation was undertaken-or sense-perceptions arising from the lower world; nor, if we look at it in this way, do they deliberately choose to attend to prayers, but we must admit that some influence comes from them both with and without prayer in so far as they are parts, and parts of one whole; and that there are many powers which work even without deliberate choice, both without contrivance and with [magic] art, as in a single living being; and one thing is benefited and harmed by another because it is naturally so disposed, and by the arts of physicians and magicians one thing is compelled to give something of its power to another. And in the same way the All gives to its parts, both spontaneously and if someone else magically attracts [its power] to a part of it; for it lies at the disposal of its parts by its own natural disposition, and so the one who makes the prayer is no alien. But if the man who prays is evil, there is no need to be surprised; for the wicked draw water from the streams and that which gives does not know itself to what it gives, but only gives; but all the same that which is given is also co-ordinated with the nature of the All; so that if someone takes what he ought not from what lies at the disposal of all, justice pursues him by an inevitable law. We must not therefore assume that the All can be affected; or we must grant that its ruling principle is altogether impassible, and when the parts come to be affected, the affection pene-

z, Creuzer, Müller*: αὐτοῦ wxC: αύτοῦ U.
 Harder, B-T, et testatur Theologia VI. 41: δ Enn.* (δ correctio ad lin. 17).

30 προσιόντος, εί πρόσεισι, λανθάνοντος.

43. () δὲ σπουδαίος πῶς ὑπὸ γοητείας καὶ φαρμάκων; ἢ τῆ μὲν ψυχῆ ἀπαθὴς εἰς γοήτευσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἄν τὸ λογικὸν αὐτοῦ πάθοι, οὐδ' ἄν μεταδοξάσειε· τὸ δὲ ὅσον τοῦ παντὸς ἐν αὐτῷ ὅ ἄλογον, κατὰ τοῦτο πάθοι ἄν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦτο πάθοι ἄν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔρωτας ἐκ φαρμάκων, εἴπερ τὸ ἐρᾶν ἐπινευούσης καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἄλλης τῷ τῆς ἄλλης παθήματι. ὤσπερ δὲ ἐπῳδαῖς τὸ ἄλογον πάσχει, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντάδων καὶ ἀντεπάδων τὰς ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις ἀναλύσει. θάνατον δὲ ἐκ 10 τοιούτων ἢ νόσους ἢ ὅσα σωματικὰ πάθοι ἄν· τὸ γὰρ μέρος τοῦ παντὸς ὑπὸ μέρους ἄλλου ἢ τοῦ παντὸς πάθοι ἄν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀβλαβής. τὸ δὲ μὴ εὐθύς, ἀλλ' ὕστερον, οὐκ ἀποστατεῖ φύσεως.

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trates to them, but since there is nothing there which is contrary to the nature of the All, it is unaffected, directed as it is towards itself. For the heavenly bodies, too, in so far as they are parts, are subject to affections; they are however impassible in themselves, because their powers of choice, as well [as that of the All], cannot be affected and their bodies and natures remain unharmed, and if they give something by means of their soul, their soul is not diminished and their bodies remain the same, and if anything flows from them, it goes imperceptibly, and if anything

thing is added to them, it is unnoticed.

43. But how is the good man affected by magic and drugs? He is incapable of being affected in his soul by enchantment, and his rational part would not be affected, nor would he change his mind; but he would be affected in whatever part of the irrational in the All there is in him, or rather this part would be affected; but he will feel no passionate loves provoked by drugs, if falling in love happens when one soul assents to the affection of the other. But, just as the irrational part of him is affected by incantations, so he himself by counter-chants and counterincantations will dissolve the powers on the other side.1 But he might suffer death or illnesses or anything bodily from such incantations; for the part of the All [in him] would be affected by another part or by the All, but he himself would be unharmed. (That the effects of magic do not follow immediately, but later, is not out of line with nature.) But spirits

¹ delevimus: (είς) τὸ γενόμενον Seidel, B-T.

I still think it probable that, although ἐπωδαῖs in this sentence means ordinary magic spells, when Plotinus speaks of the σπονδαῖοs as ἀντάδων καὶ ἀντεπάδων he is thinking of Plato's metaphorical use of ἐπωδή for salutary philosophical exhortation in Charmides 156 7. He uses the word himself in this way, of the highest sort of philosophy, in V. 3. 17. 18-20. For a further discussion of this passage, and in general

of the attitude of Plotinus to magic, see my contribution to the Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Mediaeval Philosophy 207-8 and the literature there referred to.

δαίμονες δὲ οὖκ ἀπαθεῖς οὖδ' αὖτοὶ τῷ ἀλόγῳ· μνήμας δὲ καὶ αἰσθήσεις τοὐτοις οὖκ ἄτοπον διδόναι καὶ θέλγεσθαι φυσικῶς ἀγομένους καὶ 15 κατακούειν καλούντων τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐγγυτέρω τῶν τῆδε καὶ ὅσῳ πρὸς τὰ τῆδε. πῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς ἄλλο γοητεύει καὶ ἄγει αὐτό· μόνον δὲ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸ ἀγοήτευτον. διὸ καὶ πῶσα πρᾶξις γεγοήτευται 20 καὶ πῶς ὁ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ βίος· κινεῖται γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα, ἃ θέλγει αὐτόν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ εὐπρόσωπος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ μεγαλήτορος Ἐρεχθέως δῆμος. τί γὰρ μαθών τις πρὸς ἄλλο ἔχει; ἢ ἐλκόμενος οὐ μάγων τέχναις, ἀλλὰ τῆς φύσεως, τὴν ἀπάτην¹ δούσης καὶ συναψάσης ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο οὖ τοῖς τόποις, ἀλλ' οἷς ἔδωκε φίλτροις.

44. Μόνη δὲ λείπεται ἡ θεωρία ἀγοήτευτος εἶναι, ὅτι μηδεἰς πρὸς αὐτὸν γεγοήτευται· εἶς γάρ ἐστι, καὶ τὸ θεωρούμενον αὐτός ἐστι, καὶ ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἡπατημένος, ἀλλ' ὁ δεῖ ποιεῖ, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ 5 ζωὴν καὶ τὸ ἔργον ποιεῖ. ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐ τὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ὁ λόγος τὴν ὁρμήν, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴ καὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου, αἱ τοῦ πάθους προτάσεις. τέκνων μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμέλειαι καὶ πρὸς γάμον ² οπουδαὶ ψανερὰν τὴν ὁλκὴν

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themselves, also, are not incapable of being affected in their irrational part; it is not out of place to ascribe memory and sense-perceptions to them and to grant that they are charmed by attractions appropriate to their nature and that those of them who are nearer to the things here below hear the prayers of those who call upon them according to the degree of their concern with things here below. For everything which is directed to something else is enchanted by something else; for that to which it is directed enchants and draws it; but only that which is self-directed is free from enchantment. For this reason all practical action is under enchantment, and the whole life of the practical man: for he is moved to that which charms him. This is the reason for saying" The citizen body of great-hearted Erectheus looks attractive ".1 For why does a man direct himself to something else? He is drawn not by the arts of wizards but of nature, which brings illusion and links one thing to another not spatially but by the magic draughts which it gives.

44. Contemplation alone remains incapable of enchantment because no one who is self-directed is subject to enchantment: for he is one, and that which he contemplates is himself, and his reason is not deluded, but he makes what he ought and makes his own life and work. But in practical life there is no self-possession, and the reason does not produce the impulse, but the irrational also has an origin in the premises derived from the affection. For the care of children and concern for marriage have a manifest drawing power, and so do all the things of the lower world, which are always illusory, whether politi-

¹ Kirchhoff*: τη̂s ἀπάτης Enn., H-S.

wz, Perna*: γάμων xUC, II-S1.

¹ This is a reference to Plato Alcibiades I 132Λ5, where Plato is adapting Iliad 2.547 to his own purposes. Plato adds "but you ought to see it undressed", and the context is the attempt by Socrates to prevent Alcibiades from being corrupted by falling in love with the Athenian demos. This serves Plotinus as a good Platonic illustration of the charms

έχουσιν, όσα τε ανθρώπους δελεάζει ήδέα γινόμενα ταις επιθυμίαις. πράξεις δε αί μεν διά θυμον 10 άλόγως κινούνται, αί δὸ δι' ἐπιθυμίας ώσαύτως, πολιτείωι δὲ καὶ ἀρχῶν ὀρέξεις τὸ φίλαρχον τὸ ἐν ήμιν έχουσι προκαλούμενον. καὶ αί μέν γινόμεναι ύπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι τὸν φόβον, αί δ' ύπερ τοῦ πλείονος τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, αἱ δὲ τῶν χρει-15 ωδών χάριν τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἔνδειαν ζητοῦσαι ἀποπληροῦν φανερῶς ἔχουσι τὴν τῆς φύσεως βίαν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν οἰκειώσασαν. εἰ δέ τις λέγοι τὰς πράξεις τῶν καλῶν ἀγοητεύτους είναι ἢ καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν καλών οὖσαν γοητεύεσθαι λεκτέον, εἰ μὲν ώς αναγκαίας καὶ τὰς καλὰς λεγομένας πράξεις 20 πράττοι άλλο τὸ ὄντως καλον ἔχων, οὐ γεγοήτευται —οίδε γὰρ τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῆδε βλέπει, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλα ὁ βίος—ἀλλὰ τῆ τῆς φύσεως της ανθρωπίνης βία και τη πρώς το ζην τῶν ἄλλων ἢ καὶ αὐτοῦ οἰκειώσει—δοκεῖ γὰρ εύλογον ἴσως μη έξάγειν έαυτον δια την οἰκείωσιν $25 - [\tilde{o}\tau_{\ell}]^{1}$ $\tilde{o}\tilde{v}\tau\omega_{S}$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma_{O}\eta\tau_{E}\tilde{v}\theta\eta$. $\tilde{\epsilon}\ell$ $\delta\hat{\epsilon}$ $\tau\hat{o}$ $\tilde{\epsilon}v$ $\tau\hat{a}\hat{i}s$ πράξεσιν άγαπήσας καλὸν τὰς πράξεις αίρεῖται άπατηθεὶς τοῖς ἴχνεσι τοῦ καλοῦ, γεγοήτευται τὸ περί τὰ κάτω καλὸν διώκων. ὅλως γὰρ ἡ περί τὸ έοικος τω άληθει πραγματεία και όλκη είς αὐτὸ πῶσα ἢπατημένου ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰ del. Theiler.

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which entice men since they give pleasure to their carnal desires. And the practical actions which are caused by our passionate spirit are the result of an irrational impulse, as are in the same way those caused by our carnal desires; political activity and the pursuit of office have the desire of power in us provoking them. And the activities which are undertaken to avoid suffering have fear as their origin, and those for the sake of getting more, carnal desire. Those undertaken because of necessary requirements, since they seek to satisfy a need of nature, obviously have the force of nature behind them making survival our own essential concern. But if someone says that noble practical activities are free from enchantment, or, if they are not, contemplation also, which is of noble objects, is under enchantment, [the answer is] that if one carries out the so-called noble activities as necessary ones, and grasps that what is really noble is something else, one has not been enchanted -for one knows the necessity, and does not look to this world, and one's life is not directed to other things-but one has been enchanted in this way by the force of human nature and by the essential concern for the survival of others, or indeed of oneself—for it seems, perhaps, reasonable not to take oneself out of this world on account of this essential concern. But if one is content with the nobility in practical activities, and chooses activity because one is deluded by its vestiges of nobility, one has been enchanted in one's pursuit of the nobility in the lower world; for, in general, to be actively occupied with the semblance of truth and drawn towards it in any way is characteristic of someone who has been deluded by the forces which draw one to the lower

35 ἀγαθὸν λέγει είναι ὧν ἐκεῖνα λέγει, ἀλλὰ μόνον δ οίδεν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἡπατημένος οὐδὲ διώκων, ἀλλ' έχων. οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἔλκοιτο οὐδαμοῦ.

45. Έκ δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀπάντων ἐκεῖνο φανερόν, ὅτι, ὡς εκαστον τῶν ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἔχει φύσεως καὶ διαθέσεως, οὕτω τοι συντελεῖ εἰς τὸ παν καὶ πάσγει καὶ ποιεῖ, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἐκάστου

5 ζώου εκαστον τῶν μερῶν, ώς έχει φύσεως καὶ κατασκευής, ούτω πρός το όλον συντελεί καί δπουργεί και τάξεως και χρείας ηξίωται δίδωσί τε τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δέχεται τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων, όσων αὐτῷ δεκτική ή φύσις καὶ οίον συναίσθησις παντός πρός παν: καὶ εἰ ἔκαστον δὲ τῶν μερῶν

10 καὶ ζώον ἦν, εἶγεν ἂν καὶ ζώου ἔργα ἔτερα ὄντα τῶν τοῦ μέρους. καὶ δὴ κἀκεῖνο ἀναφαίνεται, όπως τὸ καθ' ήμᾶς ἔχει, ώς ποιοῦντές τι καὶ ήμεῖς εν τῷ παντί, οὐ μόνον ὅσα σῶμα πρὸς σῶμα καὶ πάσχον αὖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἔτι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὑτῶν φύσιν εἰσφερόμεθα συναφθέντες τοῖς συγγενέσιν

15 οίς έγομεν πρός τὰ συγγενή τῶν ἔξω· καὶ δὴ καὶ ψυχαίς ήμῶν καὶ διαθέσεσι συναφείς γινόμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὄντες, πρός τε τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἐν τῷ δαιμονίῳ

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world: this is what the magic of nature does; for to pursue what is not good as if it was good, drawn by the appearance of good by irrational impulses, belongs to one who is being ignorantly led where he does not want to go. And what would anyone call this other than magical enchantment? The man, then, is alone free from enchantment who when his other parts are trying to draw him says that none of the things are good which they declare to be so, but only that which he knows himself, not deluded or pursuing, but possessing it. So he would not be

drawn in any direction.

45. From everything which has been said this is perfectly clear, that each thing in the All, according to how it is in nature and disposition, contributes to the All and is acted upon and acts, just as in each individual living thing each of the parts, according to how it is in nature and condition, contributes to the whole and serves its purposes and has its own proper rank and utility; it gives what comes from it and receives as much of what comes from the others as its nature is capable of receiving; and all has a kind of common awareness of all; and if each of the parts was a living being, it would have functions as a living being different from its functions as a part. And this too has become obvious, how it is with us, that we too do something in the All, not only all that body does to body, and the kind of ways in which body is affected in return, but we also introduce the other nature which we have, in that we are connected by what we have that is akin to us in things outside us: we have certainly become connected, or rather we are connected, by our souls and dispositions both to what is next to us in the region of

τόπω καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως λανθάνομεν δποῖοί τινες ἐσμέν. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ πάντες δίδομεν οὐδὲ ταὐτὸν δεχόμεθα. δ γὰρ 20 μη έχομεν πως αν μεταδοίημεν άλλω, οἷον άγαθόν; οὐδ' αὖ τῷ μὴ δεκτικῷ ἀγαθοῦ ἀγαθόν τι κομιούμεθα. την οὖν αύτοῦ τις κακίαν συνάψας ἐγνώσθη τε ος έστι καὶ κατά τὴν αύτοῦ φύσιν ὤσθη εἰς δ έγει καὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγεὶς εἰς 25 ἄλλον τοιοῦτον τόπον φύσεως δλκαῖς. τῶ δὲ άγαθω αι τε λήψεις αι τε δόσεις καὶ αι μεταθέσεις άλλαι, ὥσπερ ἐκ μηρίνθων όλκαῖς τισι φύσεως μετατιθεμένων. οὕτω θαυμαστῶς ἔχει δυνάμεως καὶ τάξεως τόδε τὸ πᾶν γινομένων ἀπάντων άψόφω κελεύθω κατά δίκην, ην οὐκ ἔστι φυγείν οὐδενί, ης ἐπαΐει μὲν ὁ φαῦλος οὐδέν, 30 ἄγεται δὲ οὐκ είδως οἷ δεῖ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φέρεσθαι: δ δ' ἀναθὸς καὶ οίδε, καὶ οῦ δεῖ ἄπεισι, καὶ γινώσκει πρίν ἀπιέναι οδ ἀνάγκη αὐτῶ ἐλθόντι οἰκεῖν, καὶ εὔελπίς ἐστιν, ώς μετὰ θεῶν ἔσοιτο. έν μεν γάρ ολίγω ζώω σμικραί των μερών αί μεταβολαί και συναισθήσεις και οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν 35 αὐτῷ τὰ μέρη ζῷα εἶναι, εἰ μή που ἐπὶ βραχὺ

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the spirits and to what lies beyond them and it is impossible that it should be unknown what sort of people we are.1 But of course we do not all give the same things, or receive the same: for how could we give to another what we have not get—for instance, good? Nor, again, could we get any good if we have an incapacity to receive it. Anyone, therefore, who connects up his wickedness is recognised for what he is, and according to his own nature is thrust into that which holds him here in this world, and, when he escapes from here, into another region of the same kind by the pull of nature. But for the good man his acts of taking and giving and his transferences are different, since [all things] are transferred by pulls of nature as if they were drawn by lines.2 So wonderfully is this All possessed of power and order; all things go their quiet way according to a justice which nobody can escape; the bad man understands nothing of it, but is taken without knowing it to the place in the All to which he is destined to be carried; but the good man both knows and departs where he must, and knows before he departs where it is necessary for him to come and dwell, and has the good hope that he will be with gods.3 For in a small living being the changes of the parts and their mutual perceptions of each other are little ones, and it is not possible for the parts in it to be living beingsexcept perhaps for a short time in some things 4; but

puppets of the gods moved by strings in I 644D-E (υμήρινθοι 644E2). The "quiet way" is from Euripides Troades 887-8.

3 Cp. Plato Phaedo 63B-C.

¹ As in IV. 3. 15-17 (see notes there) some influence of the "cosmic religiosity" of the period can be detected here. The "region of the spirits" is the air, "what lies beyond them" is the Upper Cosmos of the heavenly bodies.

² Plotinus is here summarising the doctrine of Plato Laws X 903E ff., with a reminiscence of the passage about men as

⁴ Plotinus may possibly be thinking here of Aristotle's reflections on the psychology of cut-up insects in De Anima A 5, 411b19-22 and B 2, 413b19-24.

PLOTINUS: ENNEAD IV. 4.

έν τισιν έν δὲ τῶ ἐν ὧ διαστάσεις τε τοσαῦται καὶ ἔκαστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ χάλασιν ἔχει καὶ ζῷά έστι πολλά, τὰς κινήσεις δεῖ καὶ τὰς μεταστάσεις μείζους είναι. δρώμεν δὲ καὶ ήλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα ἐν τάξει μετατιθέμενα καὶ 40 μετακινούμενα, οὐ τοίνυν ἄλογον οὐδὲ τὰς ψυχὰς μετατίθεσθαι μή τὸ αὐτὸ ἀεὶ ήθος σωζομένας, ταττομένας δὲ ἀνάλογον ὧν ἔπαθον καὶ ποιοῦσι, τάξιν οἷον κεφαλής, τὰς δὲ οἷον ποδών λαβούσας, πρὸς τὸ παν σύμφωνον. έχει γάρ καὶ αὐτο διαφοράς προς το 45 ἄμεινόν τε καὶ χείρον. η δ' αν μήτε το άμεινον το ένταθθα αίρηται μήτε του χείρονος μετέχουσα ή, άλλον τόπον καὶ καθαρὸν ἡλλάξατο τοῦτον, ον είλετο, λαβοῦσα. αἱ δὲ κολάσεις ὤσπερ νενοσηκότων μερών, τών μέν ἐπιστύψεις φαρμάκοις, τών δὲ έξαιρέσεις η καὶ ἀλλοιώσεις, ΐνα ύγιαίνοι τὸ πᾶν 50 εκάστου διατιθεμένου οδ δεῖ· τὸ δ' ύγιεινὸν τοῦ παντὸς ἀλλοιουμένου, τοῦ δὲ ἐξαιρουμένου ἐντεῦθεν, ώς ἐνθαδὶ νοσοῦντος, οὖ δὲ μὴ νοσήσει, τιθεμένου.

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in that in which the distances are so great and each of the things in it has freedom of movement, and there are many living beings, the movements and transitions must be greater. And we see that the sun and moon and the other heavenly bodies make their transits and move from place to place in order. It is not then unreasonable either for souls to change their places, since they do not always keep the same character, and are ranked in accordance with their experiences and actions, some receiving a rank like that of the head, others like that of the feet, in tune with the All: for the All itself has differences of better and worse. But the soul which neither chooses what is better here below, nor has any part in what is worse, changes to another place, a pure one, and has the position which it chose. But the punishments are like [the medical treatment] of diseased parts; some have caustics applied to them, others are extracted or modified, so that the All may be healthy when every part is disposed where it should be; but the healthy state of the All comes about when one part is modified, and another extracted from the place where it is diseased and placed where it will not be diseased.

ΙΥ. 5. (29) ΠΕΡΙ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΑΠΟΡΙΩΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΟΨΕΩΣ

1. Έπει δε ύπερεθέμεθα σκέψασθαι, εί μηδενός όντος μεταξύ έστιν όραν οίον άέρος η άλλου τινός τοῦ λεγομένου διαφανοῦς σώματος, νῦν σκεπτέον. ότι μὲν οὖν διὰ σώματός τινος δεῖ τὸ ὁρᾶν καὶ 5 όλως το αισθάνεσθαι γίνεσθαι, εἴρηται ἄνευ μέν γὰρ σώματος πάντη ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τὴν ψυχὴν είναι. τοῦ δὲ αἰσθάνεσθαι όντος ἀντιλήψεως οὐ νοητῶν, άλλά αἰσθητῶν μόνον, δεῖ πως τὴν ψυχὴν συναφῆ νενομένην τοις αἰσθητοις διὰ τῶν προσομοίων κοινωνίαν τινά πρός αὐτά γνώσεως η παθήματος 10 ποιείσθαι. διὸ καὶ δι' ὀργάνων σωματικών ή γνῶσις διὰ γὰρ τούτων οἱον συμφυῶν ἢ συνεχῶν όντων οίον εἰς ἕν πως πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἰέναι, όμοπαθείας τινός ούτω πρός αὐτὰ γινομένης. εί οὖν δεῖ συναφήν τινα πρὸς τὰ γινωσκόμενα γίνεσθαι, 15 περί μεν των όσα άφη τινι γινώσκεται, τί ἄν τις ζητοῖ; περὶ δὲ τῆς ὁράσεως—εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ὕστερον—ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ὁρᾶν, εἰ δεῖ τι

IV. 5. ON DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE SOUL III, OR ON SIGHT

1. Since we undertook 1 to investigate whether it is possible to see without any medium, like air or some other body of the kind called transparent, we must now carry out the investigation. Now we have said that seeing, and in general sense-perception, must take place by means of some body; for without body the soul is wholly in the intelligible world. Since sense-perception is an apprehension, not of intelligible objects, but of sense-objects alone, the soul must somehow be connected with sense-objects through things which are very much like them and establish a sort of communion of knowledge or affection with them. This is why this knowledge comes through bodily organs; for through these, which are in a way naturally united to or continuous with sense-objects, the soul must somehow in some way come to a unity with the sense-objects themselves, and so a sort of common affection with them must arise. If then there must be a connection with the objects which are being known, why should one investigate all the things which are known by some kind of touch? But about seeing—we shall discuss later if we also ought to include hearing-but about sight, we must enquire whether there must be

¹ In IV. 4. 23. 42 ff. The reference back in the next sentence is to the same chapter.

μεταξύ είναι σώμα της όψεως καὶ τοῦ χρώματος. η νύττοι κατά συμβεβηκὸς ἄν τὸ μεταξύ σῶμα, συμβάλλεται δε οὐδεν πρός ὅρασιν τοῖς ὁρῶσιν; 20 ἀλλ' εἰ πυκνὰ μὲν ὄντα τὰ σώματα, ὥσπερ τὰ γεηρά, κωλύει όρᾶν, ὅσῳ δὲ λεπτότερα ἀεὶ τὰ μεταξύ, μαλλον όρωμεν, συνεργά ἄν τις τοῦ όραν τὰ μεταξύ θείη. ή, εί οὐ συνεργά, οὐ κωλυτικά ταῦτα δὲ κωλυτικὰ ἄν τις εἴποι. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ πάθος πρότερον τὸ μεταξὺ παραδέχεται καὶ οἷον τυποῦται— 25 σημείον δὲ τό, εἰ καὶ ἔμπροσθέν τις ἡμῶν ἔστη 1 πρός το χρώμα βλέπων, κάκεινον όραν—πάθους έν τω μεταξύ μη γενομένου οὐδ' αν είς ήμας τοῦτο άφικνοίτο. η οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὸ μεταξὺ πάσχειν, εἰ τὸ πεφυκός πάσχειν-δ όφθαλμός-πάσχει ή, εί 30 πάσχοι, ἄλλο πάσχει· ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὁ κάλαμος ὁ μεταξύ της νάρκης καὶ της χειρός, δ πάσχει ή χείρ. καὶ μὴν κάκεῖ, εἰ μὴ μεταξὸ ὁ κάλαμος εἴη καὶ ἡ θρίξ, οὐκ ἂν πάθοι ή χείρ. ἢ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ αμφισβητοίτο αν καὶ γάρ, εἰ ἐντὸς δικτύου γένοιτο, ό θηρευτής πάσχειν λέγεται τὸ ναρκᾶν. ἀλλά γὰρ 35 κινδυνεύει ο λόγος έπὶ τὰς λεγομένας συμπαθείας ιέναι. εί δὲ τοδὶ ὑπὸ τουδὶ πέφυκε πάσχειν συμπα-

1 Beutler: ἔσται η Enn.: ἔσται ή H-S1: ἔσται Kirchhoff,

some body between the eye and the colour. Or does the body in between impinge 1 incidentally on the sight, but contribute nothing to the seeing for those who see? But if when the bodies in between are dense, earthy for instance, they prevent us seeing, but we see better in proportion as the intervening bodies are subtler, one might maintain that the intermediaries are a help to sight. Otherwise, if they cannot be a help, they cannot be a hindrance: but one would say that earthy bodies are a hindrance. But if the body in between receives the affection first, and is in a way stamped by it-an indication that this is so is the fact that if someone is standing in front of us, in so far as he is looking at the colour, he sees it too-then, if there was no affection in the intermediary, this would not reach us either. But on the other hand it is not necessary that the intermediary should be affected if that which is naturally disposed to be affected—the eye—is affected; or if it is affected, it is affected in a different way: for the rod which is between the torpedo-fish and the hand is not affected at all in the same way as the hand; and certainly there too, if the rod and the line were not in between, the hand would not be affected.2 Or even this might be disputed: for if the torpedo-fish gets into a net, the fisherman is said to receive a shock. But really the discussion seems to be moving in the direction of the sympathies we

Volkmann*.

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¹ The word νόττοι was used in this context by the Stoics; cp. Alexander of Aphrodisias *Mantissa* p. 130, 15 Bruns (=SVF II. 864).

² The example of the torpedo-fish is probably drawn from ordinary observation; but the comparison of Socrates to the fish in Plato *Meno* 80A may have suggested it to Plotinus.

θῶς τῷ τινα δμοιότητα ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτό, οὐκ ἂν τὸ μεταξὰ ἀνόμοιον ὂν πάθοι, ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἂν πάθοι. εἰ τοῦτο, πολλῷ μᾶλλον μηδενὸς ὄντος μεταξὰ πάθοι ἂν τὸ πεφυκὸς πάσχειν, κἂν τὸ μεταξὰ 40 τοιοῦτον ἢ, οἷον αὐτὸ καὶ παθεῦν τι.

2. Εἰ μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ ὁρᾶν, οἷον τὸ τῆς όψεως φῶς συνάπτειν πρὸς το μεταξὺ [φῶς] 1 μέχρι τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ, δεῖ μεταξύ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ φῶς, καὶ ή ύπόθεσις αυτη το μεταξύ τουτο ζητεί εί δέ 5 τροπὴν ἐργάζεται τὸ ὑποκείμενον σῶμα κεχρωσμένον, τί κωλύει τὴν τροπὴν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸ ὅμμα ίέναι μηδενός όντος μεταξύ; εί και νῦν έξ ἀνάγκης, ότε ἐστί, τρέπεταί πως τὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων πρόσθεν κείμενον. καὶ οἱ ἐκχέοντες δε τὰς ὄψεις οὐκ ἂν έχοιεν ἀκολουθοῦν τὸ πάντως μεταξύ τι είναι, εί 10 μη φοβοῦντο, μη πέση ή ἀκτίς ἀλλὰ φωτός ἐστι, καὶ τὸ φῶς εὐθυποροῦν. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἔνστασιν αἰτιώμενοι δέοιντο αν πάντως του μεταξύ. οί δὲ των είδώλων προστάται διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ λέγοντες διιέναι χώραν ζητοῦσιν, ΐνα μὴ κωλυθῆ· ὥστε, εἰ ἔτι μαλλον οὐ κωλύσει το μηδέν είναι μεταξύ, οὐκ 15 αμφισβητοῦσι τῆ ὑποθέσει. ὅσοι δὲ συμπαθεία τὸ

1 delevimus.

talk about. But if one thing is naturally disposed to be sympathetically affected by another because it has some kind of likeness to it, then the intermediary between them, being unlike, would not be affected, or would not be affected in the same way. If this is so, then that which is naturally disposed to be affected would be so much more if there was nothing in between them, even if the intermediary was of such a kind as to be affected also in some way itself.

2. If then seeing is an activity of such a kind that the light of the eye connects with the intermediary which extends as far as the seen object, the light must be this intermediary, and this supposition requires this intermediary; but if the coloured body which is the object brings about an alteration [in the eye], what prevents the alteration getting to the eye immediately without any intermediary?" This is all the more likely if, even as things are, that which is situated immediately in front of the eyes, when it is there, is necessarily altered in some way. Those who regard seeing as an efflux [of light from the eve] would not in consequence have to maintain that there was any intermediary at all, unless they were afraid that the ray might fall down, but it is a ray of light, and light goes straight. Those who regard resistance as the cause of sight would have every reason for requiring an intermediary. The advocates of images, who say that these pass through the void, require space to prevent obstruction; so that, if the absence of an intermediary will result in even less obstruction, they have no quarrel with the supposition.1

IV. 13, 901A-C; other references in the notes of the Harder-Beutler-Theiler edition II b, p. 548.

¹ This very summary sketch of the doctrines of earlier philosophers, which introduces Plotinus's own view that seeing is by sympathy, seems to depend on earlier brief collections and summary refutations of philosophical theories of vision: cp. especially Alexander of Aphrodisias op. cit. pp. 127, 17 ff. Bruns; also Pseudo-Plutarch De Placitis Philosophorum

όραν λέγουσιν, ήττον μέν όραν φήσουσιν, εί τι μεταξύ είη, ή κωλύοι καὶ ἐμποδίζοι καὶ ἀμυδράν ποιοί την συμπάθειαν μαλλον δε ακόλουθον λέγειν ποιείν πάντως ἀμυδρὰν καὶ τὸ συγγενές, ή καὶ 20 αὐτὸ πάσχον. καὶ γὰρ εἰ σῶμα συνεχὲς ἐν βάθει έκ προσβολής πυρός καίοιτο, άλλά τὸ ἐν βάθει αὐτοῦ τῆ προσβολῆ τοῦ πρόσθεν ἦττον ἂν πάσχοι. άλλ' εἰ ζώου ένὸς μόρια εἴη συμπαθῆ, ἆρ' ἂν ηττον πάθοι, ὅτι μεταξύ τί ἐστιν; ἢ ήττον μὲν ἂν πάθοι, σύμμετρον δ' αν είη τὸ πάθος, ὅσον ἐβούλετο 25 ή φύσις, κωλύοντος τὸ ἄγαν τοῦ μεταξύ: εἰ μή που τοιούτον είη το διδόμενον, ώστε όλως το μεταξύ μὴ πάσχειν. ἀλλ' εἰ συμπαθὲς τῷ ἕν ζῷον είναι, καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν ὅτι ἐν ένὶ καὶ ένός, πῶς οὐ δεῖ, ὅταν τοῦ πόρρω αἴσθησις ἢ, συνέχειαν εἶναι; η την συνέχειαν καὶ τὸ μεταξύ διὰ τὸ τὸ ζῶον δεῖν 30 συνεχές είναι, τὸ δὲ πάθος κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς συνεχούς, η πων ύπὸ πωντὸς φήσομεν πάσχειν. εἰ δὲ τόδε μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦδε, ἄλλο δὲ ὑπ' ἄλλου οὐ τὸ αὐτό, οὐκ ἂν δέοιτό τις τοῦ μεταξύ πανταχοῦ. εἰ οὖν ἐπὶ ὄψεως λέγοι τις δείσθαι, διὰ τί φατέον: έπει οὐδε πανταχοῦ φαίνεται τὸ δι' ἀέρος ἰὸν 35 πάσχειν ποιοῦν τὸν ἀέρα, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον διαιρεῖν: οΐον λίθος εἰ ἄνωθεν πίπτοι, τί ἄλλο ἢ οὐχ ὑπομένει 286

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But all those who say that seeing takes place by sympathy will assert that one would see less well if there was any intermediary, in that it would obstruct and hinder and weaken the sympathy; but it would be more consistent to say that even that which is akin in all circumstances weakens the sympathy, in so far as it is itself affected. Certainly, if a body continuous to the bottom is set alight by the application of fire, all the same the bottom of it will be less affected by the fire applied to it than the part before it. But if the parts of one living being are in sympathy will they be less affected because there is something between them? Yes, perhaps they might be less affected, but the affection would be in the proportion which nature willed, and the intermediary would prevent excess: unless what is conceded amounts to this, that the intermediary is not affected at all. But if sympathy depends on being one living thing, and we are affected because we are in one and belong to one, how is continuity not needed when there is perception of something far off? The answer is that continuity and the intermediary are there because the living being must be continuous, but the affection is only incidentally of something continuous, or we shall have to say that everything is affected by everything. But if one thing is affected by one thing and another by another, not in the same way, one would have no need at all of an intermediary. If then someone says that an intermediary is needed in the case of sight, he must say why; since it does not seem to be even generally true that what goes through the air produces any effect on the air, apart from simply dividing it: for instance, if a stone falls from above, does anything

ό ἀήρ: ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῆ ἀντιπεριστάσει εὔλογον κατὰ φύσιν ούσης της φοράς επεί ούτω και το πυρ άνω τῆ ἀντιπεριστάσει· ἀλλ' ἄτοπον· φθάνει γὰρ τὸ πῦρ 40 τη αύτου κινήσει ταχεία ούση την άντιπερίστασιν τοῦ ἀέρος. εἰ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τάχους ταχύνεσθαί τις την αντιπερίστασίν φησιν, αλλά κατά συμβεβηκός αν γίνοιτο, οὐκ εἰς τὸ άνωθεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ξύλων ή δρμή πρὸς τὸ ἄνω οὐκ ἀθούντων καὶ ήμεις δε κινούμενοι τέμνομεν τον άέρα, καὶ οὐχ ή 45 ἀντιπερίστασις ώθεῖ, πληροῖ δὲ μόνον ἐφεπόμενος τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν κενούμενον. εἰ οὖν τοῖς σώμασι διίσταται τοῖς τοιούτοις μηδέν παθών, τί κωλύει καὶ άνευ διαστάσεως συγχωρείν παριέναι τοίς είς όψιν είδεσιν; εί δὲ μηδὲ πάρεισιν ώς ἐν ροή τὰ εἴδη, τίς πάσχειν ἀνάγκη καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ πάθος 50 πρὸς ήμᾶς τῷ προπαθεῖν ἰέναι; εἰ γὰρ τῷ προπαθεῖν τὸν ἀέρα ἡ αἴσθησις ἡμῖν, οὐκ ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸ βλέποντες τὸ δρώμενον εἴδομεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ παρακειμένου έσχομεν αν την αισθησιν, ωσπερ έπι τοῦ θερμαίνεσθαι. ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὐ τὸ πόρρωθεν πῦρ, ἀλλά 55 ὁ ἀὴρ ὁ παρακείμενος θερμανθεὶς θερμαίνειν δοκεῖ· άφη γὰρ τοῦτο, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δράμασιν οὐχ άφή· ὅθεν ούδ' ἐπιτεθὲν τῷ ὄμιματι τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὁρᾶν ποιεί, άλλὰ φωτισθηναι δεῖ τὸ μεταξύ. ἢ ὅτι σκοτεινὸν ὁ ON DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE SOUL III

else happen except that the air does not stay as it is? For it is unreasonable to say [that the stone falls] as the result of the reciprocal thrust of bodies, when its fall is natural, since if this was so fire would go upwards by reciprocal thrust: but this is absurd, for the fire by the speed of its movement gets ahead of the reciprocal thrust of air. But if anyone says that the reciprocal thrust is speeded up by the speed of the movement of fire, this would all the same happen incidentally, and would not cause the upward movement; for in trees also the impulse to grow upwards comes from themselves, without anything pushing them; and we when we are in motion cut through the air, and the reciprocal thrust does not push us on, but only follows us and fills up the place we have left empty. If then the air parts to make way for bodies like these without being affected, what prevents it from allowing passage, even without parting, for the forms which come to our sight? But if the forms do not even pass through the air as if in a stream, what need is there for the air to be affected and for the affection to reach us through it as the result of its previous affection? For if our perception resulted from the air being previously affected, when we looked at the object of sight we should not see it, but we should get our perception from the air which lay close to us, just as when we are warmed. For in this case it is not considered to be the distant fire, but the warmed air lying close, that warms us; for warming is by contact, but in acts of seeing there is no contact; this is the reason why the senseobject does not produce sight when it is placed on the eye,2 but the intermediary space must be illu-

Cp. again Alexander of Aphrodisias op. cit. 129, 1 Bruns.
 Cp. IV. 6. 1. 32-3; Aristotle De Anima B 7, 419a12-13.

3. Μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον τοῦ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος παθόντος τὸ είδος τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ὁρᾶν [καὶ τὰς τούτων μορφάς] 1 ώσπερ διαδόσει τὸ νύκτωρ ἐν σκότω πῦρ τε καὶ τὰ ἄστρα δρᾶσθαι καὶ τὰς τούτων μορ-5 φάς. οὐ γὰρ δη φήσει τις ἐν τῷ σκοτεινῷ τὰ εἴδη γενόμενα ούτω συνάψασθαι η οὐκ αν ην σκότος τοῦ πυρὸς ἐλλάμι/ιαντος τὸ αύτοῦ εἶδος. ἐπεὶ καὶ πάνυ πολλοῦ σκότου ὄντος καὶ κεκρυμμένων καὶ των ἄστρων [καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς]2 καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν μὴ ἐλλάμποντος ἐκ τῶν φρυκτωριῶν 10 δράται τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πύργων τῶν ταῖς ναυσὶ σημαινόντων. εί δὲ καὶ διιέναι τις λέγοι καὶ ἐν τούτοις το πῦρ ἐναντιούμενος τῆ αἰσθήσει, ἐχρῆν την ὄψιν τοῦ ἀμυδροῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αντίληψιν, οὐκ ἐκείνου αὐτοῦ, οδόν ἐστιν ἐναργές. εὶ δὲ μεταξύ σκότου ὄντος δρᾶται τὸ ἐπέκεινα, 15 πολλώ μαλλον μηδενός. άλλ' ἐκείνω ἄν τις ἐπιστήσειε, μή τῷ μεταξὺ μηδεν οὐκ ἔσται όρᾶν, οὐχ ὅτι μηδέν έστι μεταξύ, άλλ' ότι ή συμπάθεια τοῦ ζώου αναιρείται πρὸς αύτὸ καὶ ή πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν τῶ ἕν είναι, τούτω γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι

² del. Volkmann*.

minated—or this may be because the air is [naturally] dark. If it was not dark, it would not perhaps need light. For the darkness which hinders seeing needs to be mastered by the light. But perhaps when the object is applied to the eye it is not seen because it brings with it the shadow of the air and its own shadow.

3. The most important evidence that we do not see the form of the sense-object by a kind of transmission through the medium of the air which has been affected is that fire and the heavenly bodies and their shapes are seen by night. For certainly nobody will assert that the forms come to be present in the darkness and so make connection with the eye: or there would not be a darkness, as the fire would radiate its own form. For even when it is very dark indeed and the stars are hidden and the light from them does not shine, the fire from beacons and lighthouses is seen. But if someone, contradicting the evidence of the senses, says that even in these cases the fire passes through the air, then the eye would have to apprehend the dimness in the air, not that original fire in all its brightness. But if when darkness intervenes what lies beyond is seen, it would be all the more visible with nothing intervening. But one might pause to consider this further point, whether it is not possible to see in the absence of an intermediary, not because there is no intermediary but because the sympathy of the living being with itself and of its parts with each other, which depends on being one thing, will be done away with. For it

¹ del. Kirchhoff, ut iteratum e lin. 4.

25 ἐκ διαστήματος συμμέτρου· ἢ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τούτῳ. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον. νῦν δὲ κἀκεῖνο ἄν τις μαρτύραιτο εἰς τὰ μὴ τῷ πάσχειν τὸ μεταξὺ τούτῳ τὸ ὁρᾶν γίνεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ δὴ πάσχοι τὸ τοῦ ἀέρος, σωματικῶς δήπουθεν ἀνάγκη πάσχειν τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν οἷον ἐν κηρῷ τύπον γενέσθαι.

30 μέρος δη δεί τοῦ όρατοῦ καθ' ἔκαστον μόριον τυποῦσθαι· ὤστε καὶ τὸ συναφὲς τῆ ὅψει μόριον τοσοῦτον, ὅσον καὶ ἡ κόρη τὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μόριον τοῦ
δρατοῦ δέχοιτο ἄν. νῦν δὲ πᾶν τε ὁρᾶται, καὶ ὅσοι
ἐν τῷ ἀέρι κατά γε τὸ καταντικρὺ ἔκ τε πλαγίων
ἐπὶ πολὺ ὁρῶσιν ἐγγύς τε καὶ κατόπιν οὐκ ἐπιπροσ-

35 θούμενοι· ὤστε ἕκαστον μόριον τοῦ ἀέρος ὅλον οἷον τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ ὁρώμενον ἔχειν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ κατὰ σώματος πάθημα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μείζους καὶ ψυχικὰς καὶ ζώου ἐνὸς συμπαθοῦς ἀνάγκας.

4. 'Αλλά τὸ συναφές τῆς ὄψεως φῶς πρὸς τὸ περὶ

ON DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE SOUL III

looks as if any kind of perception depends on this, that the living being-this All-is in sympathy with itself. For if this were not so, how would one thing share in the power of another, and especially in power from a distance? But we should consider this problem: if there was another universe, that is another living being making no contribution to the life of this one, and there was an eye " on the back of the sky ", would it see that other universe at a proportionate distance 1? This universe would have nothing to do with that one. But we will discuss this later. But now one might produce this additional evidence to show that seeing does not happen through the intermediary being affected. For if the intermediary air was affected, the affection would presumably have to be a bodily one; but this means there would have to be an impression, as in wax. Then a part of the seen object would have to be stamped on each part of the air; so that the part of the air in contact with the eye would receive a part of the seen object just as large as the part which the pupil of the eye would receive according to its own size. But as it is, the whole object is seen, and all those who are in the air see it, from the front and sideways, from far and near, and from the back, as long as their line of sight is not blocked; so that each part of the air contains the whole seen object, the face for instance; but this is not a bodily affection, but is brought about by higher necessities of the soul belonging to a single living being in sympathy with itself.

4. But what is the situation with the light of the

¹ The phrase "on the back of the sky" is taken from Plato *Phaedrus* 247B7-C1. This interesting speculation is pursued further in ch. 8: see note there.

την όψιν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ πῶς; η πρῶτον μεν τοῦ μεταξὺ ἀέρος οὐ δεῖται, εἰ μὴ ἄρα τὸ φῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀέρος ἄνευ λέγοιτο. οὕτω δὲ τοῦτο μεταξὺ 5 κατὰ συμβεβηκός, αὐτὸ δὲ φῶς ἄν εἴη μεταξὺ οὐ πάσχον· οὐδ' ὅλως πάθους ἐνταῦθα δεῖ, ἀλλ' όμως τοῦ μεταξύ· εἰ δὲ τὸ φῶς οὐ σῶμα, οὐ σώματος. και δή οὐ πρὸς τὸ ὁρᾶν ἀπλῶς δέοιτο ἂν τοῦ φωτός τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου καὶ μεταξὺ ἡ ὄψις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ πόρρω δρᾶν. τὸ μὲν οὖν εἰ τὸ φῶς γένοιτο 10 ἄνευ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὕστερον· νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνο σκεπτέον. εί μεν γάρ το φως τούτο το συναφές εμψυχον γίνεται, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ δι' αὐτοῦ φερομένη καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γυγνομένη, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔνδον, ἐν τῷ αντιλαμβάνεσθαι δήπουθεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁρᾶν, οὐδὲν 15 αν δέοιτο τοῦ μεταξύ φωτός, άλλ' άφη ἔσται ἐοικὸς τὸ ὁρῶν τῆς ὁρατικῆς δυνάμεως ἐν φωτὶ ἀντιλαμβανομένης πάσχοντος οὐδὲν τοῦ μεταξύ, ἀλλὰ γίνεται της ὄψεως φορὰ ἐκεῖ. οὖ δὴ ζητητέον, πότερα τῷ διάστημά τι είναι ἐκεῖ δεῖ πορευθῆναι τὴν ὄψιν ἢ τῷ σῶμά τι είναι ἐν τῷ διαστήματι. 20 καὶ εἰ μὲν τῷ σῶμα ἐν τῷ διαστήματι εἶναι τὸ διείργον, εἰ ἀφαιρεθείη τοῦτο, ὄψεται· εἰ δ' ὅτι διάστημα άπλως, άργην δεί ύποθέσθαι την του δρατοῦ φύσιν καὶ οὐδὲν δρῶσαν ὅλως. ἀλλ' οὐχ οξόν τε οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡ άφὴ ὅτι ἐγγύς τι 294

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eye which is connected to the light around the eye and as far as the object? Now first of all the intermediate air is not needed—unless it might be said that the light could not be there without air. In this way the air would be incidentally intermediate, but the light itself would be intermediate without being affected; and in general there is no need of an affection here, but there is, all the same, need for an intermediary; but if the light is not a body, there is no need for a body. And, further, the eye would not need this intermediate light, which is not its own, just for seeing, but only for seeing at a distance. The question then whether light could occur without air will be discussed later 1; but now we must consider our first question. If, then, this connecting light is ensouled, and the soul moves through it and is present in it, as it is also the case with the light within the eye, then of course in the apprehension of the object, which is what seeing is, there would be no need of the intermediate light, but seeing will be like touch; the power of sight will apprehend its object in the light and the intermediary will not be affected but the sight moves to its object. At this point one must enquire whether the sight must move there because there is a space between or because there is a body in the space. And if it is because it is a body in the intervening space which separates sight and object, if this was removed, the sight would see; but if it is simply because there is a space between, one must assume that the nature of the seen object is inert and does nothing at all. But this is not possible: for touch does not only tell us

λέγει καὶ ἄπτεται, ἀλλὰ τὰς τοῦ ἁπτοῦ πάσχουσα 25 ἀπαγγέλλει διαφοράς, καὶ εἰ μὴ διείργοι τι, κἂν τοῦτο πόρρω, ἤσθετο. ἄμα γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ ὁ μεταξὺ και ήμεις πυρός αισθανόμεθα ούκ αναμείναντες θερμανθήναι ἐκεῖνον, μᾶλλον γοῦν τὸ σῶμα θερμαίνεται το στερεον η ο άήρι ωστε δι' αὐτοῦ μαλλον, άλλ' οὐ δι' αὐτό. εἰ οὖν ἔχει δύναμιν 30 είς τὸ δρῶν, τὸ δὲ είς τὸ πάσχειν, ἢ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἡ όψις, διὰ τί ἄλλου δεῖται μέσου εἰς ὁ δύναται πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι; τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμποδίου ἐστὶ δεῖσθαι. έπεὶ καὶ ὅταν τὸ φῶς προσίη τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, οὐ πρότερον δεί τὸν ἀέρα είτα καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἄμα, καὶ πρὶν ἐγγὺς τῆς ὄψεως γενέσθαι πολλάκις οντος άλλαχοῦ, ώς μὴ παθόντος τοῦ ἀέρος ἡμᾶς 35 δράν, μεταξύ όντος τοῦ μὴ πεπονθότος καὶ τοῦ φωτός μήπω έληλυθότος, πρός δ δεί την οψιν συνάψαι. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ὁρᾶν τὰ ἄστρα η όλως πῦρ χαλεπὸν ταύτη τῆ ὑποθέσει ἀπευθῦναι. εί δὲ μένει μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς, φωτὸς δὲ δεῖται 40 ώσπερ βακτηρίας πρός τὸ φθάσαι, έδει τὴν ἀντίληψιν βίαιον καὶ ἀντερείδοντος είναι καὶ τεταμένου τοῦ φωτός, καὶ τὸ αἰσθητόν, τὸ χρῶμα, ή χρῶμα, άντιτυποῦν καὶ αὐτὸ εἶναι· οὕτω γὰρ διὰ μέσου αἰ 296

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that something is near and that it is touching it, but it is affected by and reports the distinctive characteristics of the object, and if there was nothing to separate it, it would perceive the object even if it was a long way off. For the intermediate air and we ourselves perceive a fire at the same time; we do not wait for the air to be warmed. Certainly the solid body 1 is more warmed than the air: so that [the perception of warmth] comes through the air but is not caused by the air. If then the object has the capacity to act, and the recipient of the perception, or in any way the sight, has the capacity to be affected, why does it need another medium to act on what it is capable of acting on? This is to need a hindrance. For when the light of the sun approaches, it does not have to reach the air first and then us, but it reaches both at the same time, and we often perceive it when it is elsewhere, before it comes near our eyes; so we see without the air being affected, with that which has not been affected in between and when the light with which our sight must connect has not yet arrived. Also it would be difficult on this hypothesis to explain correctly how we see the stars, or any kind of fire, at night. But if the soul stays in its own place, but needs light like a stick to reach the object with,2 then the apprehension would be a violent business, with the light stretched out and pushing against the object and the object of perception, the colour as colour, itself pressing back: for this is how sensations of touch occur through a medium. And [on this hypothesis] the object was

I.e. our body.

² Again the Stoic theory according to Alexander of Aphrodisias, op. cit. 130, 17 Bruns (=SVF II 867).

άφαί. είτα καὶ πρότερον ἐγγὺς γέγονε μηδενὸς μεταξὺ ὄντος τότε· οὕτω γὰρ ὕστερον τὸ διὰ 45 μέσου ἄπτεσθαι ποιεῖ τὴν γνῶσιν, οἶον τἢ μνήμη καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον συλλογισμῷ· νῦν δὲ οὐχ οὕτως. ἀλλ' εἰ παθεῖν δεῖ τὸ πρὸς τὸ αἰσθητὸν φῶς, εἶτα διαδοῦναι μέχρι ὄψεως, ἡ αὐτὴ γίνεται ὑπόθεσις τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ τὸ μεταξὺ πρότερον τρεπούσῃ, πρὸς ἢν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἠπόρηται.

5. Περί δὲ τοῦ ἀκούειν ἀρα ἐνταῦθα συγχωρητέον, πάσχοντος τοῦ ἀέρος τὴν κίνησιν τὴν πρώτην τοῦ παρακειμένου 1 ύπὸ τοῦ τὸν ψόφον ποιοῦντος, τῷ τὸν μέχρι ἀκοῆς ἀέρα πάσχειν τὸ αὐτό, οὕτως εἰς 5 αἴσθησιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι; ἢ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς μὲν τὸ μεταξύ τῷ παρείναι ἐν μέσῳ ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ τοῦ μεταξύ, ἄπαξ δὲ γενομένου τοῦ ψόφου, οἶον συμβαλλόντων δύο σωμάτων, εὐθέως ἀπαντᾶν πρός ήμας την αἴσθησιν; η καὶ δεῖ μεν ἀέρος την πρώτην τοῦ πληττομένου, τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη 10 ἄλλως το μεταξύ; ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ κύριος είναι ο άληρ του ψόφου μη γάρ αν μηδέ την άρχην γενέσθαι ψόφον δύο σωμάτων συρραγέντων, εὶ μὴ ὁ ἀὴρ πληγεὶς ἐν τῆ ταχεία συνόδω αὐτῶν καὶ έξωσθεὶς πλήξας έδωκε τῷ ἐφεξῆς μέχρις 15 ὤτων καὶ ἀκοῆς. ἀλλ' εἰ ὁ ἀὴρ κύριος τοῦ ψόφου καὶ τούτου κινηθέντος ή πληγή, παρὰ τί ἂν εἶεν αί formerly close to the eye, and there was nothing then between them: for this is the way in which touching through a medium causes knowledge, as if by memory and, still more, by a process of reasoning: but as things are [seeing] is not like this. But if the light near the sense-object has to be affected first, and the affection then transmitted to the eye, this hypothesis becomes the same as that which first brings about an alteration in the intermediary which originates from the sense-object, against which we have raised objections elsewhere.¹

5. But as far as hearing is concerned, must we agree that the neighbouring air is given the first movement by that which makes the sound, and that by the air as far as the ear being affected in the same way the movement reaches our perception? Or is the intermediary affected incidentally because it is in between, and if the intermediary was taken away would the sound, once it had occurred, for instance when two bodies collide, encounter our perception immediately? Or must there be air, that which is set vibrating by the first movement, and will the intermediary air from that point onwards have a different degree of importance? It does seem that there air is responsible for sound: for there would be no sound at all to begin with when two bodies clash together unless the air, struck by their quick coming together and pushed out, struck the air next to it and so transmitted the vibration to our ears and hearing. But if the air is responsible for sound and the vibration is of air in motion, what

¹ Harder: τον παρακείμενον Enn.*: del. Beutler.

¹ It is not clear to what Plotinus is referring here. The passage suggested by Henry-Schwyzer, IV. 4. 23. 20 ff. is, as Theiler points out, not very relevant.

6. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ φῶς γένοιτο ἂν μὴ ὅντος ἀέρος, οἶον ἡλίου [ὄντος] ² ἐν ἐπιφανεία τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιλάμποντος, τοῦ μεταξὺ ὅντος κενοῦ καὶ νῦν κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ὅτι πάρεστι, φωτιζομένου; ἀλλ' εἰ 5 δι' αὐτὸν παθόντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν εἶναι τῷ φωτὶ διὰ τὸν ἀέρα—πάθημα γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἶναι—μὴ ἂν οὖν ἔσεσθαι τὸ πάθημα μὴ ὅντος τοῦ πεισομένου. ἢ πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ αὐτοῦ πρώτως οὐδ' ἦ αὐτός. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἑκάστου

del. Theiler. del. Müller*.

would account for the differences between voices and between other sounds? For bronze when it strikes bronze has a different ring from when it strikes something else, and other things striking others make different noises; but the air is one and so is the vibration in it; the differences of sounds are not just differences of loud and soft. But if a stroke produces sound because it strikes air, it must be admitted that it is not in so far as it is air: for air speaks when it has the static quality of a solid body, when it stays still like something solid before it is set flowing; so that the colliding bodies and their clash are enough [to produce sound] and their impact is the sound which comes to our perception; the sounds inside living beings are evidence of this, which are not in air, but are produced by one part knocking and striking another: bending of joints, for instance, and the grinding of one bone against another with no air between them. But enough of our problems [about hearing]! The line of enquiry has been much the same here too as in the ease of sight, since the experience of hearing is a kind of common awareness of the sort which occurs in a living being.

6. But could light also occur if there was no air, as when the sun shines upon the surfaces of bodies, if the intermediary was void—and even as things are the intermediary is illuminated incidentally, because it is there? But if light resulted from an affection of air and the other [translucent bodies], and light had its substantial existence through the air—for it would be an affection of it—the affection could not exist without something to be affected. Now, first of all light does not belong primarily to air, nor to air in virtue of its intrinsic character; for it belongs

σώματος πυρίνου καὶ λαμπροῦ· καὶ δὴ καὶ λίθων 10 τοιούτων φωτεινή χρόα. ἀλλὰ τὸ εἰς ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ έχοντος χρόαν τοιαύτην ίὸν ἄρα ἂν εἴη μὴ ὄντος έκείνου; άλλ' εί μεν ποιότης μόνον καί τινος ποιότης, εν ύποκειμένω ούσης πάσης ποιότητος, ανάγκη καὶ τὸ φῶς ζητεῖν ἐν ῷ ἔσται σώματι. εἰ δὲ ἐνέργεια ἀπ' ἄλλου, διὰ τί οὐκ ὄντος ἐφεξῆς 15 σώματος, άλλα οἷον κενοῦ μεταξύ, εἴπερ οἷόν τε, οὐκ ἔσται καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπέκεινα; ἀτενὲς γὰρ ὂν διὰ τί οὐ περάσει οὐκ ἐποχούμενον; εἰ δὲ δή και τοιούτον οίον πεσείν, καταφερόμενον έσται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ ἀὴρ οὐδ' ὅλως τὸ φωτιζόμενον ἔσται 20 τόδε έλκον ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτίζοντος καὶ βιαζόμενον προελθείν έπει ουδε συμβεβηκός, ώστε πάντως έπ' ἄλλω, η πάθημα ἄλλου, ὥστε δεῖ εἶναι τὸ πεισόμενον: η έδει μένειν έληλυθότος: νῦν δὲ άπεισιν· ώστε καὶ ἔλθοι άν· ποῦ οὖν; ἢ τόπον δεί μόνον είναι. η ούτω γε απολεί την ενέργειαν 25 [αὐτοῦ] 1 τὴν ἐξ αύτοῦ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου σῶμα τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὸ φῶς. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐδὲ τὸ φῶς τινος ἔσται. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐνέργεια ἔκ τινος ὑποκειμένου, οὐκ εἰς ὑπόκείμενον δέ· πάθοι δ' ἄν τι τὸ ὑποκείμενον, εί παρείη. άλλ' ὥσπερ ζωή ἐνέργεια οὖσα ψυχης έστιν ένέργεια παθόντος αν τινος, οίον τοῦ 30 σώματος, εί παρείη, καὶ μὴ παρόντος δέ ἐστι, τί αν κωλύοι καὶ ἐπὶ φωτὸς οὕτως, εἴπερ ἐνέργειά τις [τὸ φωτεινὸν] 2 εἴη; οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν τὸ φωτεινὸν 3

1 del. Volkmann*.

3 Kleist (Studien 136), B-T: σκοτεινών Enn.*

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also to each and every bright and fiery body: there are even stones of this kind with a shining surface. But could that which passes to something else from a thing which has a surface of this kind exist if air did not? But if it is only a quality, and a quality of something, since every quality is in a substrate. one must look for a body in which light will be. But if it is an activity from something else, why should it not exist and travel to what lies beyond without the existence of an adjoining body, but with a kind of void in between (if that is possible)? For since it is stretched out straight, why should it not get across without support? But if it is of such a kind as to fall, it will move downwards. For it will certainly not be the air (or in general what is illuminated) which pulls it out of the luminary and compels it to proceed: since it is not something which occurs incidentally, so that it is completely dependent on something else, nor is it an affection of something else, so that there must be something which is affected; or it would have to stay when it arrived; but now it goes away, so that it could also come. But where is it then? All it needs is a place. If this is so, the body of the sun will lose the activity which comes from it. But this was the light. If this is so the light will not belong to anything else. But activity comes from a substrate, but does not pass into a substrate; but the substrate. if it was there, would be affected in some way. But, just as life, being an activity, is activity of the soul. and if something, body for instance, is there, it is affected, but life also exists if this something is not there, what would prevent this being so also in the case of light, if it is a kind of activity? For as things

² del. Theiler, ut correctionem ad τὸ σκοτεινὸν falso loco insertam: τοῦ φωτεινοῦ suspic. Creuzer, ser. Kirchhoff*.

τοῦ ἀέρος γεννῷ τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ γῇ συμμιγνύμενος ¹ ακοτεινὸν ποιεῖ καὶ οὐ καθαρὸν ὄντως: ὥστε ὅμοιον εἶναι λέγειν τὸ γλυκὰ εἶναι, εἰ πικρῷ 35 μιγείη. εἰ δέ τις τροπὴν λέγοι τοῦ ἀέρος τὸ φῶς, λεκτέον ὡς ἐχοῆν αὐτὸν τρέπεσθαι τὸν ἀέρα τῇ τροπῇ, καὶ τὸ σκοτεινὸν αὐτοῦ μὴ σκοτεινὸν γεγονέναι ἠλλοιωμένον. νῦν δὲ ὁ ἀὴρ οἷός ἐστι μένει, ὡς ἂν οὐδὲν παθών. τὸ δὲ πάθημα ἐκείνου δεῖ εἶναι, οῦ πάθημα: οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ χρῶμα αὐτοῦ, 40 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ ἐφ' αὐτοῦ: πάρεστι δὲ ὁ ἀἡρ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐτωοὶ ἐπεσκέφθω.

7. Πότερα δὲ ἀπόλλυται ἢ ἀνατρέχει; τάχα γὰρ ἄν τι καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάβοιμεν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ἢ εἰ μὲν ἦν ἔνδοθεν, ὥστε τὸ μετειληφὸς ἔχειν οἰκεῖον ἤδη, τάχα ἄν τις εἶπεν ἀπόλλυσθαι· εἰ δέ δ ἐστιν ἐνέργεια οὐ ρέουσα— περιέρρεε γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐχεῖτο εἴσω πλέον ἢ ὅσον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος ἐπεβάλλετο—οὐκ ἂν ἀπολλύοιτο μένοντος ἐν ὑποστάσει τοῦ φωτίζοντος. μετακινουμένου δὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐστὶ τόπῳ οὐχ ὡς παλιρροίας ἢ μεταμροίας γενομένης, ἀλλὶ ὡς τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐκείνου οὔσης 10 καὶ παραγινομένης, εἰς ὅσον κωλύει οὐδέν. ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰ πολλαπλασία ἡ ἀπόστασις ῆν ἢ νῦν ἐστι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἡλίου, ἦν ἂν καὶ μέχρι ἐκεῦ φῶς μηδενὸς κωλύοντος μηδὲ ἐμποδὼν ἐν τῷ μεταξῦ ἱσταμένου. ἔστι δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέργεια καὶ οἷον

1 Kleist (loc. cit.), B-T: συμμεγνύμενον Enn.*

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are it is not the luminosity of air which generates the light, but air, being mixed with carth, makes it dark and not genuinely pure; so that it is like saying that something sweet exists if it is mixed with something bitter. But if someone says that light is a modification of air, one must reply that the actual air would have to be modified by the modification, and its darkness would be altered and cease to be dark. But now the air stays as it is, as if it was not affected at all. But an affection must belong to that of which it is an affection; light therefore is not the colour of air either, but exists independently. Air is [simply] present. And so let us conclude this enquiry.

7. But does light perish or return to its source? For perhaps from this too we could gain something which would contribute to the solution of our previous problem. Now if it entered into what participated in it, so that this possessed it as its own, perhaps one would have said that it perished; but if it is an activity which does not flow away-for if it was, more of it would overflow all round and pour into the interior of the recipient than reached the recipient from the source of activity—it would not perish as long as the luminary remained in existence. But if the luminary moves, the light is in another place, not as if it flowed back or changed the course of its flow, but because the activity belongs to the luminary and becomes present in so far as there is no obstacle. For even if the distance between us and the sun was many times greater than it is, light would extend over that further distance if there was no obstacle or obstruction standing in between. But the activity within the luminous body, which is

ζωή τοῦ σώματος τοῦ φωτεινοῦ πλείων καὶ οἶον 15 άρχη της ένεργείας καὶ πηγή· ή δὲ μετὰ το πέρας τοῦ σώματος, εἴδωλον τοῦ ἐντός, ἐνέργεια δευτέρα οὐκ ἀφισταμένη τῆς προτέρας. ἔχει γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ἐνέργειαν, ἤ ἐστιν ὁμοίωμα αὐτοῦ, ωστε αὐτοῦ ὄντος κἀκεῖνο εἶναι καὶ μένοντος 20 φθάνειν είς τὸ πόρρω, τὸ μὲν ἐπιπλέον, τὸ δὲ είς έλαττον· καὶ αἱ μὲν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἀμυδραί, αἱ δὲ καὶ λανθάνουσαι, τῶν δ' εἰσὶ μείζους καὶ εἰς τὸ πόρρω· καὶ ὅταν εἰς τὸ πόρρω, ἐκεῖ δεῖ νομίζειν είναι, όπου τὸ ἐνεργοῦν καὶ δυνάμενον, καὶ αὖ οὖ φθάνει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἰδεῖν ζώων 25 λαμπόντων τοῖς ὄμμασι, γινομένου αὐτοῖς φωτὸς καὶ έξω τῶν ὀμμάτων· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ ζώων, ἃ ένδον συνεστραμμένον πῦρ ἔχοντα ταῖς ἀνοιδάνσεσιν εν σκότω εκλάμπει είς τὸ έξω, καὶ εν ταις συστολαις αὐτῶν οὐδέν ἐστι φῶς ἔξω, οὐδ' αὖ έφθάρη, ἀλλ' ἢ ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔξω. τί οὖν; 30 εἰσελήλυθεν; η οὐκ ἔστιν ἔξω, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ πρὸς τὸ ἔξω, ἀλλ' ἔδυ εἰς τὸ εἴσω. το οὖν φῶς έδυ καὶ αὐτό; ἢ οὔ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον. δύντος δὲ επίπροσθέν έστι τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα, ώς μὴ ἐνεργεῖν έκεινο πρὸς τὸ ἔξω. ἔστιν οὖν τὸ ἀπὸ των σωμάτων φως ένέργεια φωτεινοῦ σώματος προς τὸ

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like its life, is greater and is a kind of source and origin of its [outward] activity; that which is outside the limits of the body, an image of that within, is a second activity which is not separated from the first. For each thing that exists has an activity, which is a likeness of itself, so that while it exists that likeness exists, and while it stays in its place the likeness goes far out, sometimes a longer, sometimes a lesser distance; and some activities are weak and dim, and some even indiscernible, but other things have greater activities which go far; and when an activity goes far, one must think that it is there where the active and powerful thing is, and again there at the point it reaches. As for eyes, one can see what happens when animals have luminous eyes, and their light is also outside the eyes; and with animals which have compressed fire within them, and when they expand, in the darkness, the fire shines outside them, and when they contract there is no light outside, neither has it perished, but it either is outside or is not outside. What then? Has it gone in? Now, it is not outside because the fire is not reaching to the outside, but has gone into the inside. Has the light itself, then, gone in too? No, but only the fire; but when it has gone in the rest of the body is in front of it, so that its activity does not reach the outside. The light from bodies, therefore, is the external activity of a luminous body; but the light

De Anima B 7 419a2-6; Plotinus may be using this passage here or a Peripatetic commentary on it.

¹ Plotinus speaks of the light within the eyes, which sometimes flashes out from them, in V. 5. 7. 24 ff. (a comparison for the internal contemplation of Intellect). Aristotle speaks briefly of the phenomenon of phosphorescence (mentioning luminous fish and fungi and eyes which shine in the dark) in

35 ἔξω· αὐτὸ δὲ ὅλως [φῶς] τὸ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις σώμασιν, ἃ δὴ πρώτως ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα, οὐσία ἡ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τοῦ φωτεινοῦ πρώτως σώματος. ὅταν δὲ μετὰ τῆς ὕλης τὸ τοιοῦτον σῶμα ἀναμιχθῆ, χρόαν ἔδωκε· μόνη δὲ ἡ ἐνέργεια οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐπιχρώννυσιν, ἄτε οὖσα ἄλλου κἀκείνου

40 οἷον ἐξηρτημένη, οὖ τὸ ἀποστὰν κἀκείνου τῆς ἐνεργείας ἄπεστιν. ἀσώματον δὲ πάντως δεῖ τιθέναι, κἄν σώματος ἦ. διὸ οὐδὲ τὸ "ἀπελήλυθε" κυρίως οὐδὲ τὸ "πάρεστιν", ἀλλὰ τρόπον ἔτερον ταῦτα, καὶ ἔστιν ὑπόστασις αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐνέργεια. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ κατόπτρω εἴδωλον ἐνέργεια

45 λεκτέον τοῦ ἐνορωμένου ποιοῦντος εἰς τὸ πάσχειν δυνάμενον οὐ ρέοντος ἀλλ' εἰ πάρεστι, κὰκεῖνο ἐκεῖ φαίνεται καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ὡς εἴδωλον χρόας ἐσχηματισμένης ώδι κἂν ἀπέλθῆ, οὐκέτι τὸ διαφανὲς ἔχει, δ ἔσχε πρότερον, ὅτε παρεῖχεν εἰς

50 αὐτὸ ἐνεργεῖν τὸ ὁρώμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅσον ἐνέργεια ἄλλης προτέρας, μενούσης τῆς προτέρας μένει καὶ ἡ ἐφεξῆς ἐνέργεια. εἴ τις δὲ μὴ ἐνέργεια, ἀλλὶ ἐξ ἐνεργείας, οἴαν ἐλέγομεν τὴν τοῦ σώματος οἰκείαν ἤδη ζωήν, ὥσπερ τὸ φῶς

del. Kirchhoff*.

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in bodies of this kind, bodies, that is, which are primarily and originally of this kind, is altogether substance, corresponding to the form of the primarily luminous body. When a body of this kind together with its matter enters into a mixture, it gives colour; but the activity by itself does not give colour, but only, so to speak, tints the surface, since it belongs to something else and is, one might say, dependent on it, and what separates itself from this something else separates itself from its activity. But one must consider light as altogether incorporeal, even if it belongs to a body. Therefore "it has gone away" or "it is present" are not used of it in their proper sense, but in a different way, and its real existence is as an activity. For the image in a mirror must also be called an activity: that which is reflected in it acts on what is capable of being affected without flowing into it; but if the object reflected is there, the reflection too appears in the mirror and it exists as an image of a coloured surface shaped in a particular way; and if the object goes away, the mirrorsurface no longer has what it had before, when the object seen in it offered itself to it for its activity. But with soul also, in so far as it is an activity of another prior soul, as long as the prior soul remains, so does the dependent activity. But suppose someone says that it is not an activity, but the product of an activity, as we said that the life was which belongs to the body already, just like the light which has

form. The doctrine of the incorporeality of light is not very much stressed by Plotinus, and seems to have been of only moderate importance to him; but it did provide a justification (if he felt he needed one) for his very free use of the symbolic language of light when speaking of spiritual activity.

¹ For the incorporeality of light in Plotinus cp. I. 6. 3. 18-19; II. 1. 7. 26-8. The background of the doctrine is Aristotclian (cp. De Anima B 7 418b3 ff.); but for Plotinus it means, as it did not for Aristotle, that light is, as here (cp. lines 49-51), closely parallel to the life which is the incorporeal activity of soul, and is itself, as hereays in I. 6. 3, formative principle and

τὸ ἀναμεμιγμένον ήδη τοῖς σώμασιν; ἡ ἐνταῦθα 55 τῶ καὶ συμμεμίχθαι τὸ ποιοῦν τὸ χρῶμα. ἐπὶ δὲ της ζωης της του σώματος τί; ή παρακειμένης ψυχῆς ἄλλης ἔχει. ὅταν οὖν τὸ σῶμα φθαρῆ—οὐ γὰρ δή ψυχής τι ἄμοιρον δύναται εἶναι-φθειρομένου οῦν τοῦ σώματος καὶ οὐκ ἐπαρκούσης αὐτῷ οὔτε 60 της δούσης οὔτ' εἴ τις παράκειται, πῶς ἂν ἔτι ζωή μένοι; τί οὖν; ἐφθάρη αὕτη; ἢ οὐδὲ αὕτη· εἴδωλον γὰρ ἐκλάμψεως καὶ τοῦτο οὐκέτι δέ έστιν έκει μόνον.

8. Εί δ' εἴη σῶμα ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὅψις τις έντεῦθεν μηδενός κωλύοντος είς τὸ ἰδεῖν, ἄρ' ἂν θεάσαιτο ὅ τι μὴ συμπαθὲς πρὸς ἐκεῖνο, εἰ τὸ συμπαθές νῦν διὰ τὴν ζώου ένὸς φύσιν; ἢ εἰ τὸ 5 συμπαθές διὰ τὸ ένὸς ζώου τὰ αἰσθανόμενα καὶ τὰ αίσθητά, καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις οὕτως οὐκ ἄν, εἰ μὴ τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο τὸ ἔξω μέρος τοῦδε τοῦ ζώου· εἰ γὰρ εἴη, τάχα ἄν. εἰ μέντοι μὴ μέρος cἴη, σῶμα δὲ κεγρωσμένον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ποιότητας έχον, οἶον το ἐνταῦθα, όμοειδὲς ὂν τῷ ὀργάνω; ἢ οὐδ' 10 ούτως, εἰ ὀρθὴ ἡ ὑπόθεσις: εἰ μή τις τούτω γε αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀνελεῖν πειρῷτο ἄτοπον εἶναι λέγων, εἰ μὴ χρῶμα ὄψεται ἡ ὄψις παρόν, καὶ αἰ άλλαι αισθήσεις των αισθητών παρόντων αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐνεργήσουσι πρὸς αὐτά. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄτοπον τοῦτο, πόθεν δὴ φαίνεται, φήσομεν. ἢ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα

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already been mixed with bodies? Now in this case there is colour because that which produces it has been mixed with the bodies. But what about the life of the body? It has it because there is another soul close by it. When, therefore, the body perishes —for nothing can exist without a share of soul—when the body, then, is perishing and neither the soul which gave it life nor any neighbouring soul is sufficient [to avert its destruction] how could the life still remain? Well, then, has this life perished? No. certainly not; for this too is the image of an

irradiation: it is simply no longer there.

8. But if there was a body outside the heavenly sphere and there was an eye looking from our universe with nothing to obstruct its vision, would it see what would not be sympathetically connected with our universe, if as things are sympathetic connection is due to the nature of a single living being? Now if sympathetic connection is due to the fact that perceiving subjects and perceived objects belong to a single living thing, there would be no perception, unless this outside body was part of our [universal] living being: for if it was, there would perhaps be perceptions of it. But suppose it was not a part, but a body which was coloured and had the other qualities like those of a body in this world, and so had the appropriate form for the organ of vision? No, it would not be perceived even so, if our hypothesis is correct: unless someone were to try to destroy the hypothesis by saying that it will be absurd if the sight does not see a colour when it is present, and if the other senses, when their objects are presented to them, do not exercise their activities in relation to them. But we shall state the origin

15 ἐν ἐνὶ ὄντες καὶ ένὸς ταθτα ποιοθμεν καὶ πάσχομεν. τοῦτο οὖν σκεπτέον, εἰ παρὰ τοῦτο. καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτάρκως δέδεικται εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ δι' ἄλλων δεικτέον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ζῶον ὅτι συμπαθὲς αὐτῷ, δηλον· καὶ εἰ εἴη ζώον, ἀρκεῖ· ὥστε καὶ τὰ μέρη, ή ένδς ζώου. ἀλλ' εἰ δι' δμοιότητά τις λέγοι; 20 άλλ' ή ἀντίληψις κατὰ τὸ ζῶον καὶ ή αἴσθησις, ὅτι τοῦ ὁμοίου μετέχει τὸ αὐτό· τὸ γὰρ ὅργανον ομοιον αὐτοῦ· ὤστε ή αἴσθησις ψυχης ἀντίληψις ἔσται δι' ὀργάνων ὁμοίων τοῖς ἀντιληπτοῖς. ἐὰν οὖν ζῶον ὂν αἰσθάνηται μὲν μὴ τῶν ἐν αὑτῷ, τῶν δὲ 25 όμοίων τοις εν αύτω, ή μεν ζωον, αντιλήψεται. $\hat{\eta}^{-1}$ μέντοι τὰ ἀντιληπτὰ ⟨ἀντιληπτὰ⟩ ½ ἔσται οὐχ $\hat{\eta}$ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἢ ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ. ἢ καὶ τὰ άντιληπτὰ οὕτως άντιληπτὰ ὅμοια ὅντα, ὅτι αὕτη αὐτὰ ὅμοια πεποίηκεν, ὤστε μὴ οὐ προσήκοντα είναι· ωστε εὶ τὸ ποιοῦν ἐκεῖ εἴη 3 ψυχὴ πάντη 30 έτέρα, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ ὑποτεθέντα ὅμοια οὐδὲν πρὸς αὐτήν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ ἀτοπία τὸ μαχόμενον ἐν τῆ ύποθέσει δείκνυσιν ώς αἴτιόν έστιν αὐτῆς. άμα γὰρ ψυχήν λέγει καὶ οὐ ψυχήν, καὶ συγγενή καὶ οὐ συγγενη, καὶ ὅμοια ταὐτὰ ⁴ καὶ ἀνόμοια ὅστε

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of this apparent absurdity. It is that here, being in one and belonging to one, we act and are affected in this way. We must therefore investigate whether this is the reason why we do so. And if this has already been sufficiently shown, our demonstration is complete; if not, we must demonstrate it by other arguments as well. Now it is clear that a living being is sympathetically aware of itself; and if the universe is a living being, this is enough; so that the parts also will be sympathetically aware of each other in that they belong to one living being. But suppose someone were to say that this [sympathy] is because of their likeness? But apprehension and perception take place in the living being because one and the same thing participates in likeness; for its organ is like itself; so that perception is the soul's apprehension through organs like the objects apprehended. If then the universe, being a living being, perceives, not the things in itself but things like those in itself, will it perceive them by virtue of being a living thing? In so far as the objects apprehended are apprehended, they will be so not by virtue of their belonging to itself, but in virtue of their being like the things in itself. Now the objects apprehended are apprehended in this way by being like, because this soul [of the universe] has made them like, so that they are not incongruous; so that if the active principle out there is the altogether different soul of that other universe, the objects assumed to exist there would be in no way like the soul of our universe. Certainly, then, the absurdity shows that the contradiction in the hypothesis was its cause: for it says at once "soul" and "not soul" and "akin" and "not akin", and that the objects apprehended

¹ A1JUC: "BR, H-S1.

² Igal.

³ Igal: ή Enn.

⁴ Kirchhoff*: ταῦτα Enn., H-S1.

ἔχουσα τὰ ἀντικείμενα ἐν αύτῆ οὐδ' ἄν ὑπόθεσις
35 εἴη. καὶ γάρ, ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τούτῳ. ὥστε πᾶν καὶ οὐ πᾶν τίθησι, καὶ ἄλλο καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο, καὶ τὸ μηδὲν καὶ οὐ τὸ μηδέν, καὶ τέλεον καὶ οὐ τέλεον. ὥστε ἀφετέον τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὡς οὐκ ὂν ζητεῖν τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῷ αὐτὸ τὸ ὑποτεθὲν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναιρεῖν.

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are "like" and "unlike"; so that since it has these oppositions in itself it is no hypothesis at all. For, besides, it asserts that the soul is in this other universe, so that it postulates something which is "all" and "not-all" and "other" and "not-other", and "nothing" and "not-nothing" and "perfect" and "not-perfect". So the hypothesis must be dismissed, as it is not possible to investigate the consequence of it by destroying its foundation in the very investigation.¹

1 Plotinus in this chapter draws an extreme logical conclusion from his doctrine that perception is due to the sympathy which unites the parts of the great living organism which is the physical universe. Taking up the (to him completely fantastic) suggestion made in ch. 3 that there might be another universe outside this one, he argues that, even if our universe had an eye on its outside, it could not see the other one because it would be outside the universal sympathy which causes perception: the two universes would be distinct organisms with different and unconnected sculs. Plotinus does not seem to advert here to his discussion in IV. 3. 1-5, of which the conclusion is that the hypostasis Soul, of which all souls are parts, is not identical with the Soul of the universe, which is a partial soul, like our souls (though of greater power and dignity). If he had done so, he would have had to consider the possibility that there might be two (or more) such partial souls of distinct universes, united by sympathy as being parts in some sense of the hypostasis Scul. But the unity and uniqueness of the physical universe was a dogma so firmly hold and passionately defended in late antiquity that this line of thought probably never occurred to him.

IV. 6. ON SENSE-PERCEPTION AND MEMORY

Introductory Note

This little treatise is a later supplement to the great treatise on the soul which it immediately follows in the Ennead arrangement. Plotinus is, as always, concerned to show that perceiving and remembering are activities of the soul, and that soul is not a quasi-corporeal thing which passively receives stamps or impressions from sense-objects and then stores them up in its memory.

Synopsis

The expression theory of sense-perception fails to correspond with the facts of sense-experience (ch. 1). The soul is active, not passive, exercising its power of knowing in its acts of sense-perception, as it does to a higher degree in its knowledge of intelligible reality (ch. 2). Memory again is the exercise of a power, which can be strengthened by training and varies in different people (ch. 3).

IV. 6. (41) ΠΕΡΙ ΑΙΣΘΉΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ

1. Τὰς αἰσθήσεις οὐ τυπώσεις οὐδ' ἐνσφραγίσεις λέγοντες εν ψυχή γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὸ τὰς μνήμας πάντως τε καὶ ἀκολούθως ἐροῦμεν κατοχάς μαθημάτων καὶ αἰσθήσεων είναι τοῦ τύπου 5 μείναντος έν τῆ վπιχῆ, ος μηδέ το πρώτον έγένετο. διὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου ἂν εἴη ἄμφω, ἢ ἐγγίγνεσθαί τε έν τῆ ψυχῆ καὶ μένειν, εἰ μνημονεύοιτο, ἡ τὸ έτερον όποτερονοῦν μὴ διδόντα μὴ διδόναι μηδὲ θάτερον. ὅσοι δη λέγομεν μηδέτερον, ἀναγκαίως ζητήσομεν, τίς τρόπος έκατέρου, ἐπειδὴ οὖτε τὸν 10 τύπον τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ἐγγίγνεσθαί φαμεν τῆ ψυχῆ καὶ τυποῦν αὐτήν, οὕτε τὴν μνήμην λέγομεν εἶναι τοῦ τύπου ἐμμείνοντος. εί δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐναργεστάτης αἰσθήσεως θεωροίμεν τὸ συμβαίνον, τάχ' ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων μεταφέρουτες τὸ αὐτὸ ἐξεύροιμεν ἂν τὸ ζητούμενον. δῆλον δὲ 15 δήπου ἐν παντί, ώς αἴσθησιν ότουοῦν λαμβάνοντες δι' όράσεως έκει όρωμεν και τη όψει προσβάλλομεν, οῦ τὸ ὁρατόν ἐστιν ἐπ' εὐθείας κείμενον, ὡς ἐκεῖ δηλονότι της αντιλήψεως γινομένης και πρός τὸ έξω της ψυχης βλεπούσης, άτε μηδενός, οίμαι,

² The phrase comes from Plato Phaedrus 250D2.

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1. Since we say that sense-perceptions are not impressions or seal-stamps on the soul, we cannot say either with any sort of consistency that memories are retentions of what we have learnt or perceived while the impression remains on the soul which was not there to begin with. Both would be a part of the same argument; either one must maintain that an impression enters the soul and remains if there is memory, or, if one does not grant one or the other of these propositions, one must not grant the other either. Those of us who do not say either will necessarily enquire how we perceive and how we remember, since we do not assert that the impression of the sense-object enters the soul and stamps it, nor do we say that memory exists because the impression remains. But if we observe what happens in the case of the " clearest sense ",2 perhaps we could apply the same also to the other senses and find what we are looking for. It is clear presumably in every case that when we have a perception of anything through the sense of sight, we look there where it is and direct our gaze where the visible object is situated in a straight line from us; obviously it is there that the apprehension takes place and the soul looks outwards, since, I think, no impression has

¹ Cp. Aristotle *De Memoria* I. 450a30-32 for the doctrine here rejected.

τύπου ἐν αὐτῆ γενομένου ἢ γιγνομένου, οἰδέπω 1 20 σφραγίδα [λαμβανούσης] 2 ώσπερ έν δακτυλίου λαμβανούσης.3 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐδεήθη τοῦ έξω βλέπειν, ήδη έχουσα παρ' έαυτης είδος τοῦ όρωμένου τούτω τῷ ἐκεῖ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν τύπον βλέπουσα. το δὲ δὴ διάστημα προστιθεῖσα τῷ ὁράματι καὶ ἐξ ὅσου ἡ θέα ἡ ψυχὴ λέγουσα οὕτως ἄν 25 τὸ ἐν αὐτῆ οὐδὲν ἀφεστηκὸς ἀφ' αὐτῆς ὡς πόρρω ου βλέποι; τό τε μέγεθος αὐτοῦ, ὄσον ἐστὶν ἔξω, πως αν όσον έστι λέγοι, η ότι μέγα, οίον τὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦ ἐν αὐτῆ τύπον τοσοῦδε εἶναι οὐ δυναμένου; τὸ δὲ μέγιστον άπάντων εἰ γὰρ 30 τύπους λαμβάνοιμεν ὧν δρῶμεν, οὐκ ἔσται βλέπειν αὐτὰ ἃ δρῶμεν, ἰνδάλματα δὲ δραμάτων καὶ σκιάς, ωστε άλλα μεν είναι αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, άλλα δὲ τὰ ἡμῖν δρώμενα. ὅλως δέ, ὥσπερ λέγεται, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιθέντα τῆ κόρη τὸ δρατὸν θεάσασθαι, αποστήσαντα δε δεί ούτως δράν, τούτο χρή καί 35 πολύ μαλλον επί την ψυχην μεταφέρειν. εί γάρ τὸν τύπον τοῦ δρατοῦ θείμεθα ἐν αὐτῆ, ἐκεῖνο μέν, ῶ ἐνεσφράγισται, οὐκ ἂν ὅραμα ἴδοι δεῖ γὰρ καὶ 4 δύο γενέσθαι τό τε δρών και το δρώμενον. ἄλλο ἄρα δεῖ εἶναι τὸ όρῶν ἀλλαχοῦ ⁵ κείμενον τὸν

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been or is being imprinted on it, nor has it yet received a seal-stamp, like the mark of a seal-ring on wax. For there would have been no need for it to look outwards, if it already had in it the form of the visible object since it saw by this entrance into it of the impression. And when the soul adds the distance to what it sees and says how far it is looking at it from, could it in this way be seeing as distant what was in it and not separated from it by any interval? And how would it be able to state the size as it is outside or say that it is large, to state for instance the size of the sky, when it would be impossible for as large an impression to be inside it? Most important of all: if we received impressions of what we see, there will be no possibility of looking at the actual things we see, but we shall look at images and shadows of the objects of sight, so that the objects themselves will be different from the things we see. But in general, just as it is said that it is not possible to look at a visible object if one puts it on the pupil of the eye, but one must move it away to see it,2 so, much more, one should transfer this to the soul. For if we placed in it the impression of the visible object, that in which the impression was stamped could not see the sight: for that which sees and that which is seen must be two [distinct things]. That which sees, then, must be a distinct thing seeing the impression situated else-

¹ Igal: οὐδὲ τῷ Α¹ΒJUC: οὐδὲ τὴν R.

² del. Igal.

³ Igal: βλεπούσης Enn.

⁴ καὶ defendit Igal, collato V. 5. 11. 4: del. Kirchhoff, H-S.
⁵ ὁρῶν ⟨καὶ⟩ ἀλλαχοῦ H-S¹, sed τὸν τύπον objectum ad τὸ ὁρῶν.

¹ In V. 5. 1. 17-18, where Plotinus is contrasting sense-perception with the immediate intuition of Intellect, he says that in sense-perception we do only see an image of the thing, not the thing itself.

² Cp. Aristotle De Anima B 7, 419a12-13.

τύπον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ῷ ἐστι ¹ κείμενον. δεῖ ἄρα 40 τὴν ὅρασιν οὐ κειμένου εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ κειμένου εἶναι, ἴνα ἦ ὅρασις.

2. Εί οὖν μὴ οὕτως, τίς ὁ τρόπος; ἢ λέγει περὶ ών οὐκ έχει τοῦτο γὰρ δυνάμεως, οὐ τὸ παθεῖν τι, άλλὰ τὸ δυνηθηναι καὶ ἐφ' ὧ τέτακται ἐργάσασθαι. ούτως γὰρ ἄν, οἷμαι, καὶ διακριθείη τῆ ψυχῆ καὶ τὸ 5 όρατον καὶ τὸ ἀκουστόν, οὐκ εἰ τύποι ἄμφω, ἀλλ' εί μή τύποι μηδέ πείσεις, άλλ' ενέργειαι περί δ ἔπεισι πεφύκασιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπιστοῦντες, μὴ οὐ δύνηται, ἐὰν μὴ πληγῆ, τὸ αὐτῆς γινώσκειν δύναμις έκάστη, πάσχειν, άλλ' οὐ γινώσκειν τὸ έγγὺς ποιούμεν, οὖ κρατείν δέδοται, άλλ' οὐ κρατείσθαι. 10 τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ ἀκοῆς δεῖ νομίζειν γίνεσθαι τὸν μὲν τύπον είναι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι πληγήν τινα οδσαν διηρθρωμένην, οδον γραμμάτων έγγεγραμμένων ύπὸ τοῦ τὴν φωνὴν πεποιηκότος, τὴν μέντοι δύναμιν καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσίαν οἶον ἀναγνῶναι 15 τούς τύπους ἐν τῷ ἀέρι γεγραμμένους ἐλθόντας πλησίον, εἰς ὁ ἐλθόντες πεφύκασιν δρασθαι. γεύσεως δὲ καὶ ὀσφρήσεως τὰ μὲν πάθη, τὰ δ' ὅσα αἰσθήσεις αὐτῶν καὶ κρίσεις, τῶν παθῶν εἰσι γνώσεις ἄλλαι τῶν παθῶν οὖσαι. τῶν δὲ νοητῶν ἡ γνῶσις

1 ad ἐστι subjectum τὸ ὁρῶν.

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where, but not in that in which that which sees it is. The seeing, then, cannot be of an object situated where the seeing is, but of something not situated there.

2. If, then, it is not like this, how does it work? [The soul] speaks about things which it does not possess: this is a matter of power, not of being affected in some way but of being capable of and doing the work to which it has been assigned. This is the way, I think, in which a distinction is made by the soul between what is seen and what is heard, not if both are impressions, but if they are not by nature impressions or affections, but activities concerned with that which approaches [the soul]. But we men do not believe that each particular power [of perception can come to know its object unless it is struck by it, and make it be affected by the object near it instead of coming to know it, though it has been appointed to master it, not to be mastered by it. One should suppose that the same kind of process takes place in the case of hearing: the impression is in the air, and is a sort of articulated stroke, like letters written on the air by the maker of the sound: but the power and the substance of the soul does something like reading the impressions written on the air when they come near and reach the point at which they can be seen. And where taste and smell are concerned, there are some affections, but all [tastings and smellings] that are perceptions of them and judgments are acts of knowledge of the affections distinct from the affections themselves. But the

¹ The pre-eminence of sight, the "clearest sense" (cp. p. 321, n. 2), in Greek psychological thought is well illustrated by this casual use of sight-language to describe hearing.

ἀπαθής καὶ ἀτύπωτός ἐστι μᾶλλον· ἀνάπαλιν γὰρ 20 ἔσωθεν οἷον προπίπτει, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν θεωρεῖται· καὶ ἔστιν ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ἐνέργειαι καὶ κυριώτεραι· αὐτής γάρ, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτὴ ἐνεργοῦσα ἔκαστον. πότερα δὲ αὐτὴν μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ δύο καὶ ὡς ἔτερον ὁρᾶ, νοῦν δὲ ἕν καὶ ἄμφω τὰ δύο ἔν, ἐν ἄλλοις.

3. Νου δε τούτων είρημένων περί μνήμης εφεξης λεκτέον εἰποῦσι πρότερον, ώς οὐ θαυμαστόν—μᾶλλον δὲ θαυμαστόν μέν, ἀπιστεῖν δὲ οὐ δεῖ τῆ τοιαύτη δυνάμει της ψυχης-εί μηδεν λαβούσα είς 5 αύτὴν ἀντίληψιν ὧν οὐκ ἔσχε ποιεῖται. λόγος γάρ έστι πάντων, καὶ λόγος ἔσχατος μὲν τῶν νοητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ ἡ ψυχῆς ψύσις, πρῶτος δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ αἰσθητῷ παντί. διὸ δὴ καὶ πρὸς αμφω έχει, ύπὸ μὲν τῶν εὐπαθοῦσα καὶ ἀναβιωσκομένη, ύπὸ δὲ τῶν τῆ δμοιότητι ἀπατωμένη καὶ 10 κατιούσα ώσπερ θελγομένη. ἐν μέσω δὲ οὐσα αἰσθάνεται ἀμφοῖν, καὶ τὰ μὲν νοεῖν λέγεται εἰς μνήμην έλθοῦσα, εί πρός αὐτοῖς γίγνοιτο γινώσκει γὰρ τῷ αὐτά πως είναι· γινώσκει γὰρ οὐ τῷ ενιζάνειν αὐτά, ἀλλὰ τῷ πως ἔχειν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁρᾶν αὐτὰ καὶ είναι αὐτὰ ἀμυδρότερον καὶ γίνεοθαι ἐκ 15 τοῦ ἀμυδροῦ τῷ οἶον ἐγείρεσθαι ἐναργευτέρα καὶ

¹ The reference is probably to V. 6. 1-2.

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knowledge of intelligible objects is much freer from affections and impressions; sense-objects are observed from outside, but the intelligibles in reverse come out, one can say, from within; and they are activities in a higher degree and more authentically: for the object belongs to the knowledge, and the knowledge in its active exercise is each of its objects. But we discuss elsewhere ¹ whether the soul sees itself as two and as another, but Intellect is one, or whether both the dualities are one.

3. But now that we have said this [about senseperception] we must next speak about memory; first we must say that it is not astonishing, or rather it is astonishing, but we should not disbelieve that the soul has a power of this kind, if it receives nothing itself and contrives an apprehension of what it does not have. For it is the rational principle of all things, and the nature of soul is the last and lowest rational principle of the intelligibles and the beings in the intelligible world, but first of those in the whole world perceived by the senses.2 Therefore it is certainly in relation with both; by the power of the one it flourishes and gains new life, by the power of the others it is deceived because of their likeness and comes down as if charmed. But, being in the middle, it perceives both, and is said to think the intelligibles when it arrives at memory of them, if it comes to be near them; for it knows them by being them in a way: for it knows, not because they settle in it, but because it has them in some way and sees them and is them in a rather dim way, and becomes them more clearly out of the dimness by

IV. 4. 2. 17, and for Soul as the link between the two worlds IV. 8. 7.

² The idea of Soul as the intermediary logos, the lowest principle in the intelligible world which is first in the world of sense because it expresses the intelligible there as far as it can, is frequent in Plotinus (and in general in the Platonist or Platonically-influenced thought of late antiquity): ep. in this Ennead, for Soul as in the lowest region of the intelligible

έκ δυνάμεως είς ενέργειαν ίεναι. τὰ δ' αίσθητὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἷον συναψάμενα καὶ ταῦτα παρ' αύτης οἷον ἐκλάμπειν ποιεῖ καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων εἶναι εργάζεται έτοίμης ούσης καὶ πρὸ οἷον ώδινούσης πρός αὐτὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ὅταν τοίνυν ρωσθῆ 20 πρός ότιοῦν τῶν φανέντων, ὥσπερ πρός παρὸν διάκειται ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον καὶ ὅσω μᾶλλον, τόσω ἀεί. διὸ καὶ τὰ παιδία μνημονεύειν λέγεται μᾶλλον, ὅτι μὴ ἀφίστανται, ἀλλὰ κεῖται αὐτοῖς πρὸ ὀμμάτων ώς ἂν δρῶσιν οὖπω εἰς πληθος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀλίγα. 25 οἷς δὲ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἡ δύναμις, ὥσπερ παραθέουσι καὶ οὐ μένουσιν. εὶ δέ γε ἔμενον οί τύποι, οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησε τὸ πληθος ήττον μνήμας. ἔτι, εἰ τύποι μένοντες, οὐδὲν ἔδει σκοπεῖν, ἵνα άναμνησθώμεν, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἐπιλαθομένους ὕστερον ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι κειμένων. καὶ αί εἰς ἀνά-30 ληψιν δὲ μελέται δηλοῦσι δυνάμωσιν ψυχῆς τὸ γινόμενον υπάρχον, ώσπερ χειρών ἢ ποδών τὰ γυμνάσια είς τὸ ποιείν ραδίως, α μὴ ἐν ταῖς χεροίν η ποσὶ κείται, άλλὰ πρὸς ἃ τῆ συνεχεία ήτοίμασται. διὰ τί γὰρ ἄπαξ μὲν ἀκούσας ἢ δεύτερον οὐ μέμνηται, ὅταν δὲ πολλάκις, καὶ ὁ πρότερον ἀκούσας οὐκ 35 ἔσγε, πολλώ ὕστερον χρόνω μέμνηται ήδη; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μέρη ἐσχηκέναι πρότερον τοῦ τύπου· ἔδει γὰρ τούτων μεμνησθαι· ἀλλ' οδον ἐξαίφνης γίγνε-328

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a kind of awakening, and passes from potentiality to actuality. In the same way [the soul] makes the objects of sense which are, so to speak, connected with it, shine out, one might say, by its own power, and brings them before its eyes, since its power [of sense-perception is ready for them and, in a way, in travail towards them. When, therefore, the soul is strongly moved to anything that appears to it, it is for a long time in a state as if the object was present to it, and the more strongly it is moved, the more lasting the presence. This is why children are said to be better at remembering, because they do not go away from things, but they remain before their eyes, since they do not look at a multiplicity of things, but at few; but those whose thought and soul-power are directed to many things, as it were, rush past them and do not linger on them. But if the impressions remained, their multiplicity would not make memories less. Further, if impressions remained, there would be no need for us to consider in order to remember, nor should we forget before and remember afterwards if the impressions were lying ready to hand. And exercises to improve our mental grasp show that what is going on is an empowering of the soul, just like physical training of our arms and legs to make them do easily what does not lie in the arms or legs, but what they are made ready for by continuous exercise. For why, when one has heard something once or twice, does one not remember it, but [only] when one has heard it many times, and, when one has heard something before and not retained it, why does one remember it long afterwards? It is certainly not because one previously had the parts of the impression; for then one would

ται τοῦτο ἔκ τινος [τῆς] 1 ύστέρας ἀκροάσεως ἢ μελέτης. ταθτα γὰρ μαρτυροί πρόκλησιν τῆς δυνά-40 μεως καθ' ην μνημονεύομεν της ψυχης ώς ρωσθείσαν η άπλως η πρός τοῦτο. ὅταν δὲ μη μόνον πρός α έμελετήσαμεν το της μνήμης ήμιν παρή, άλλ' οἵπερ πολλά ἀνειλήφασιν ἐκ τοῦ εἰθίσθαι άπαγγελίαις χρησθαι, ράδίας ήδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς λεγομένας ἀναλήψεις ποιῶνται, τί ἄν τις ἐπαιτι-45 ώτο της μνήμης η την δύναμιν την δωσθείσαν είναι; οί μεν γάρ τύποι μένοντες ἀσθένειαν μαλλον η δύναμω κατηγοροίεν το γάρ έντυπώτατον τώ εἴκειν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, καὶ πάθους ὄντος τοῦ τύπου τὸ μαλλον πεπουθός τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ μνημονεῦον μαλλον. 50 τούτου δὲ τοὐναντίον φαίνεται συμβαῖνον οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἡ πρὸς ότιοῦν γυμνασία εὐπαθὲς τὸ γυμνασάμενον ποιεί: ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων οὐ τὸ ἀσθενες όρα οἷον ὀφθαλμός, ἀλλ' ὅτω δύναμίς ἐστιν είς ενέργειαν πλείων. διό καὶ οί γεγηρακότες καὶ πρός τὰς αἰσθησεις ἀσθενέστεροι καὶ πρός τὰς 55 μνήμας ώσαύτως. ἰσχὺς ἄρα τις καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις καὶ ή μνήμη. ἔτι τῶν αἰσθήσεων τυπώσεων οὐκ ουσων, πως οδόν τε τὰς μνήμας κατοχάς των οὐκ έντεθέντων οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν είναι; ἀλλ' εἰ δύναμίς τις καὶ παρασκευή πρὸς τὸ ἔτοιμον, πῶς οὐχ ἄμα, άλλ' ὕστερον εἰς ἀναπόλησιν τῶν αὐτῶν ἐρχόμεθα; 60 η ὅτι τὴν δύναμιν δεῖ οἶον ἐπιστῆσαι καὶ ἐτοιμάσασ-

¹ om. RJ: delendum suspic. Volkmann: del. Theiler.

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have to remember these; but this happens with a kind of suddenness, as the result of some later hearing or exercise. This is evidence of a calling out of the power of soul by which we remember, in that this is strengthened, either in a general way or for the specific art of remembering. But when the power of memory is present to us not only for what we have trained ourselves [to remember], but men who have acquired a great deal of knowledge through being accustomed to use reports come to a point where they easily apprehend (as people say)1 other information, what could one say was the cause of memory if not the strengthened power? For the persistence of impressions would tell of weakness rather than power; for that which is most impressible is so by giving way, and, since the impression is an affection, that which is more affected must remember more. But what actually occurs appears to be the opposite of this; for nowhere does exercise for any purpose make what is exercised easily affected; since with the senses also it is not what is weak, an eye for instance, which sees, but that organ which has greater power for its activity. This is why those who have grown old are weaker in perception, and in just the same way in memory. So both perception and memory are a kind of strength. Further, when sense-perceptions are not impressions, how could memories be retentions of imprints which were never made [in the soul] at all? But if memory is a power and a preparation for readiness, why do we not come to recall the same things at once, but only later? Because one needs to set up the power, so to speak,

¹ Cp. Aristctle De Memoria 2. 451a20.

θαι. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δυνάμεων όρωμεν είς το ποιήσαι ο δύνανται έτοιμαζομένων καὶ τὰ μὲν εὐθύς, τὰ δέ, εἰ συλλέξαιντο έαυτάς, έργαζομένων. γίγνονται δὲ ώς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οὐχ οί 65 αὐτοὶ μνήμονες καὶ ἀγχίνοι [πολλάκις],¹ ὅτι οὐχ ἡ αὐτή δύναμις έκατέρου, ωσπερ οὐδ' ὁ αὐτὸς πυκτικός καὶ δρομικός ἐπικρατοῦσι γὰρ ἄλλαι έν ἄλλω ίδέαι. καίτοι οὐκ ἐκώλυε τὸν άστινασοῦν έχοντα πλεονεξίας ψυχής αναγινώσκειν τὰ κείμενα, ουδέ τον ταύτη ρυέντα την του πάσχειν και έχειν 70 τὸ πάθος ἀδυναμίαν κεκτῆσθαι. καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχης δε αμέγεθες [καὶ ὅλως] 2 ψυχην μαρτυρεῖ δύναμω είναι. καὶ όλως τὰ περὶ ψωχὴν πάντ' οὐ 3 θαυμαστον άλλον τρόπον έχειν, η ώς ύπειλήφασιν ύπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἐξετάζειν ἄνθρωποι, ἢ ὡς πρόχειροι αὐτοῖς ἐπιβολαὶ ἐξ αἰσθητῶν ἐγγίνονται δι' ὁμοιο-75 τήτων ἀπατῶσαι. οἷον γὰρ ἐν πίναξιν ἢ δέλτοις γεγραμμένων γραμμάτων, ούτως περί των αίσθήσεων καὶ τοῦ μνημονεύειν διάκεινται, καὶ οὕτε οἰ σωμα αὐτὴν τιθέμενοι ὁρωσιν, ὅσα ἀδύνατα τῆ ύποθέσει αὐτῶν συμβαίνει, οὔτε οἱ ἀσώματον.

del. Müller.

² del. Müller, ut iteratum e lin. 71.

3 Theiler (πάντα ζού) Kirchhoff*): πάντα Enn.

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and get it ready. For we see this with the other powers, which are made ready to do what they are able to do, and effect some things at once and some if they collect themselves. But the same people do not as a general rule have both good memories and quick minds,1 because it is not the same power in each case, just as the same man is not a good boxer and a good runner: for different characteristics dominate in different people. And yet there would be nothing to prevent a man who had any kind of superiority of soul from reading off the deposited impressions, nor would a man who had a strong inclination this way have to possess an inability to be affected and to retain the affection. And the sizelessness of soul is also evidence that soul is a power. And in general it is not surprising that anything about the soul is different from what men have supposed because they have not examined it, or from the hasty notions derived from sense-objects which occur to them and deceive them by likenesses. For they think about perception and memory as they do about letters written on tablets or pages, and neither do those who assume that the soul is a body see all the impossibilities which their hypothesis involves, nor do those who assume it to be bodiless.

¹ Cp. Aristotle De Memoria 1. 449b7-8.

IV. 7. ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

Introductory Note

This very early treatise is more "scholastic" than any other writing of Plotinus. The greater part of it is occupied by refutations of school-positions opposed to the Platonic doctrine of the immateriality and immortality of the soul by standard arguments taken from any convenient source; and the positive exposition of Platonic doctrine has little that is originally Plotinian. Bréhier's Notice introducing the treatise gives an excellent short account of the origins of the various arguments. Those against Stoic corporealism (to the refutation of which most of the controversial part of the treatise is devoted) are Peripatetic in origin, probably derived from the De Anima of Plotinus's favourite Aristotelian author, Alexander of Aphrodisias; those against a misinterpretation (so Plotinus thinks) of the Pythagorean soul-harmony doctrine derive from Aristotle's De Anima as well as Plato's Phaedo; those against Aristotle's own entelechy-doctrine are of course Platonic (and perhaps original), but sometimes intelligently exploit difficulties raised by Aristotle himself in the De Anima. The Epicurean position is, as usual, very summarily dismissed (at the beginning of ch. 3) with an objection of Stoic origin.

Considerable portions of the treatise were missing from the archetype of our MSS of the *Enneads*, but were preserved in the excerpts made by Eusebius (*Praeparatio Evangetica XV*, 22 and 10). Henry and Schwyzer give precise details in *Plotini Opera II*, *Praefatio* xviii–xxii. The awkward double numbering of chs. 8¹–8⁵ is due to

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the fact that these chapters, preserved by Eusebius, were not included in the Latin translation of Ficino, from which our chapter-numbering derives; the first printed edition to insert them was that of F. Creuzer.

Chapter 15 is an odd little appendix to the treatise, indicating cursorily the support for belief in the immortality of the soul which those who feel they need this sort of thing can find in traditional religious beliefs and practices. There is no reason to doubt that it is really by Plotinus: it is quite in accordance with his normal respectfully detached attitude to traditional Hellenic religion.

Synopsis

Man is not a simple thing, but a composite of soul and body; the body perishes, but the soul, which is the real self, survives (ch. 1). The soul is not a body: refutation of the Stoic corporealist position (and, incidentally and in passing, the Epicurean) in detail (chs. 2–8³). Refutation of the soul-harmony theory supposed to be held by the Pythagoreans (ch. 8⁴). Refutation of Aristotle's theory that the soul is the body's "entelechy" or inseparable form (ch. 8⁵). Exposition and defence of the Platonic doctrine (chs. 9–14). Those who need this sort of evidence can find support for the doctrine of immortality in oracles and the cult of the dead (ch. 15).

ΙΥ. 7. (2) ΠΕΡΙ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ

1. Εἰ δέ ἐστιν ἀθάνατος ἕκαστος ἡμῶν, ἢ φθείρεται πᾶς, ἢ τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἄπεισιν εἰς σκέδασιν καὶ φθοράν, τὰ δὲ μένει εἰς ἀεί, ἄπερ ἐστὶν αὐτός, ὧδ' αν τις μάθοι κατά φύσιν επισκοπούμενος. άπλοῦν 5 μεν δή τι οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχή, ἔχει δὲ καὶ σῶμα εἴτ' οὖν ὄργανον ὂν ήμιν, είτ' οὖν ἔτερον τρόπον προσηρτημένον. ἀλλ' οὖν διηρήσθω τε ταύτη καὶ ἐκατέρου τὴν φύσιν τε καὶ οὐσίαν καταθεατέον. τὸ μὲν δὴ σῶμα καὶ αὐτὸ 10 συγκείμενον οὖτε παρὰ τοῦ λόγου δύναται μένειν, ή τε αἴσθησις όρᾶ λυόμενόν τε καὶ τηκόμενον καὶ παντοίους δλέθρους δεχόμενον, εκάστου τε τῶν ἐνόντων πρός τὸ αύτοῦ φερομένου, φθείροντός τε ἄλλου έτερον καὶ μεταβάλλοντος εἰς ἄλλο καὶ ἀπολλύντος, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ψυχὴ ἡ φίλα ποιοῦσα μὴ παρῆ 15 τοῖς ὄγκοις. κἂν μονωθή δὲ ἕκαστον γενόμενον ἕν, οὐκ ἔστι, λύσιν δεχόμενον είς τε μορφήν καὶ ὕλην, έξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ ἁπλᾶ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς συστάσεις έχειν. καὶ μὴν καὶ μέγεθος έχοντα, ἄτε σώματα ὄντα, τεμνόμενά τε καὶ είς μικρὰ θραυό-338

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1. One might discover as follows, by an investigation according to the nature of the subject, whether each individual one of us human beings is immortal, or whether the whole human being is destroyed, or whether some of it goes away to dispersion and destruction but some of it, the part which is the self, abides for ever. Man could not be a simple thing, but there is in him a soul, and he has a body as well, whether it is our tool or attached to us in some other way. But let us divide man like this, and consider the essential nature of each part of him. The body, certainly, is also itself a composite thing and so cannot reasonably be supposed to last, and, besides, our senses perceive it dissolving and wasting away and undergoing all sorts of destructions, when each one of its component parts moves to its own place, and one destroys another, and changes into another and does away with it, especially when soul, which reconciles the parts, is not present to their material masses. And even if one part is isolated when it has become one, it is not really [one], since it admits dissolution into form and matter, from which it is necessary that even the elementary bodies should have their composition. And besides this, since they have size, because they are bodies, they can be divided and broken up into little pieces and so under20 μενα καὶ ταύτη φθορὰν ἂν ὑπομένοι. ὥστ' εἰ μὲν μέρος ήμῶν τοῦτο, οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἀθάνατοι, εἰ δὲ όργανον, έδει γε αὐτό εἰς χρόνον τινὰ δοθὲν τοιοῦτον την φύσιν είναι. τὸ δὲ κυριώτατον καὶ αὐτὸς δ ἄνθρωπος, εἴπερ τοῦτο, κατὰ τὸ εἶδος ώς πρὸς ὕλην τὸ σῶμα ἢ κατὰ τὸ χρώμενον ὡς πρὸς ὄργανον.

25 έκατέρως δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτός. 2. Τοῦτο οὖν τίνα φύσιν ἔχει; ἢ σῶμα μὲν ὂν πάντως ἀναλυτέον· σύνθετον γὰρ πᾶν γε σῶμα. εί δὲ μὴ σῶμα εἴη, ἀλλὰ ψύσεως ἄλλης, κάκείνην ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἢ κατ' ἄλλον σκεπτέον. πρῶτον 5 δὲ σκεπτέον, εἰ ὅ τι δεῖ τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, ὃ λέγουσι ψυχήν, ἀναλύειν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ζωή ψυχῆ πάρεστιν ¿ξανάγκης, ἀνάγκη τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, τὴν ψυχήν, εἰ μεν εκ δύο σωμάτων ή πλειόνων είη, ήτοι εκάτερον αὐτῶν ἢ ἔκαστον ζωὴν σύμφυτον ἔχειν, ἢ τὸ μὲν έχειν, τὸ δὲ μή, ἢ μηδέτερον ἢ μηδέν ἔχειν. εἰ μὲν 10 δη ένὶ αὐτῶν προσείη τὸ ζῆν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἂν εἴη ψυχή. τί ὰν οὖν εἴη σῶμα ζωὴν παρ' αύτοῦ ἔχον; πῦρ γὰρ καὶ ἀὴρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ ἄψυχα παρ' αύτῶν· καὶ ὅτω πάρεστι τούτων ψυχή, τοῦτο έπακτῶ κέχρηται τῆ ζωῆ, ἄλλα δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα σώματα οὐκ ἔστι. καὶ οἷς γε δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ στοι-15 χεῖα τούτων ἔτερα, σώματα, οὐ ψυχαί, ἐλέχθησαν είναι οὐδὲ ζωὴν ἔχοντα. εἰ δὲ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ζωὴν ἔχοντος ή σύνοδος πεποίηκε ζωήν, ἄτοπον—εἰ δὲ εκαστον ζωὴν ἔχοι, καὶ εν ἀρκεί-μαλλον δε ἀδύνατον συμφόρησιν σωμάτων ζωὴν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ νοῦν

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go destruction also in this way. So, if this body of ours is a part of us, the whole of us is not immortal, but if it is a tool, it must, since it was given us for a certain time, be of a nature to last for that time. But the other part is the most important and the man himself; if it is this, then it is related to the body as form to matter or user to tool; in either way, the soul is the self.

2. What nature, then, does this have? If it is a body, it must be completely separable into its parts, for every body is a composite. But if it was not a body, but of another nature, then that nature also would have to be investigated either by the same [analytic] method or by another. But first we must enquire into what [constituent parts] we are to analyse this body which they call soul. For since life is necessarily present in soul, then of necessity if this body, the soul, was composed of two or more bodies, either both or all of them will have a connatural life, or one of them will have it and another not, or neither or none of them will have it. Now if life was a property of one of them, this one would actually be the soul. What body, then, could there be which has life of itself? For fire and air and water and earth are lifeless of themselves; and when soul is present to any one of them this makes use of a borrowed life-but there are no other bodies besides these. And those who hold that there are elements other than these have maintained that they were bodies, not souls, and that they did not have life. But if, when no single one of them had life, their coming together produced life, it would be absurd (but if each one of them has life, one is enough) or rather impossible for a drawing together

γεννῶν τὰ ἀνόητα. καὶ δὴ καὶ οὐχ ὁπωσοῦν 20 κραθέντα ταῦτα φήσουσι γίγνεσθαι. δεῖ ἄρα εἶναι τὸ τάξον καὶ τὸ τῆς κράσεως αἴτιον· ὥστε τοῦτο τάξιν ἄν ἔχοι ψυχῆς. οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ¹ σύνθετον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἃν εἴη σῶμα ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἃνευ ψυχῆς οὔσης ἐν τῷ παντί, εἴπερ λόγος προσελθών τῆ 25 ὕλη σῶμα ποιεῖ, οὐδαμόθεν δ' ἃν προσέλθοι λόγος ἢ παρὰ ψυχῆς.

3. Εἰ δέ τις μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ ἀτόμους ἢ ἀμερῆ συνελθόντα ψυχὴν ποιεῖν τῆ ἐνώσει λέγοι καὶ ὁμοπαθεία, ἐλέγχοιτ' ἂν καὶ τῆ παραθέσει μὴ δι' ὅλου δέ, οὐ γιγνομένου ἐνὸς οὐδὲ συμπαθοῦς ἐξ 5 ἀπαθῶν καὶ μὴ ἐνοῦσθαι δυναμένων σωμάτων ψυχὴ δὲ αὐτῆ συμπαθής. ἐκ δὲ ἀμερῶν σῶμα οὐδὲ μέγεθος ἂν γένοιτο. καὶ μὴν εἰ ἀπλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ σώματος τὸ μὲν ὅσον ὑλικὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ ζωὴν ἔχειν οὐ φήσουσιν—ΰλην γὰρ ἄποιον—τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τεταγμένον ἐπιφέρειν τὴν ζωήν, εἰ μὲν 10 οὐσίαν φήσουσι τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο εἶναι, οὐ τὸ συναμφότερον, θάτερον δὲ τούτων ἔσται ἡ ψυχή· δ

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of bodies to produce life and for mindless things to generate mind. [The holders of this theory] will not themselves assert that their elements come alive when mixed at random. There is need, therefore, of an ordering principle and a cause of the mixture; so that this would rank as soul. This is not only because body is composite, but not even a simple body could be in existence without soul being in the universe, if it is the coming of a formative principle to matter which makes body, but a formative principle could not come from anywhere except from soul.

3. But if someone says that it is not so, but that atoms or things without parts make the soul when they come together by unity and community of feeling, he could be refuted by their [mere] juxtaposition, and that not a complete one, since nothing which is one and united with itself in community of feeling can come from bodies which are without feeling and unable to be united, but soul is united with itself in community of feeling.1 But no body or magnitude could be produced from partless constituents. Further, if the body is simple and they 2 are not going to assert that what is material in it has life of itself, but that what holds the rank of form brings the life, then if they are going to say that this form is a substance, it will not be the composite body but one of these constituents which will

¹ The true sense of this difficult passage was seen and clearly explained by Dr. H-R. Schwyzer in his review of Harder, *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 34-5.

² After a very summary dismissal of the Epicurean position in the first six lines of the chapter, Plotinus returns here to his main corporealist opponents, the Stoics.

οὐκέτ' αν σωμα· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὕλης καὶ τοῦτο, ἢ πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀναλύσομεν. εἰ δὲ πάθημα τῆς ὕλης, ἀλλ' οὐκ οὐσίαν φήσουσιν εἶναι, ἀφ' οῦ τὸ πάθημα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἐλήλυθε, λεκτέον 15 αὐτοῖς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἡ ὕλη αύτὴν μορφοῖ οὐδὲ αύτῆ ψυχὴν ἐντίθησι. δεῖ ἄρα τι εἶναι τὸ χορηγὸν τῆς ζωής, εἴτε τῆ ὕλη ἡ χορηγία, εἴθ' ότωοῦν τῶν σωμάτων, έξω ὂν καὶ ἐπέκεινα σωματικῆς φύσεως άπάσης. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἂν εἴη σῶμα οὐδὲν ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ οὔσης. ρεῖ γάρ, καὶ ἐν φορᾳ αὐτοῦ 20 ή φύσις, καὶ ἀπόλοιτο ἂν ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ πάντα σώματα είη, κἂν εἰ ὄνομα ένὶ αὐτῶν ψυχήν τις θεῖτο. ταὐτὰ γὰρ ἄν πάθοι τοῖς ἄλλοις σώμασιν ύλης μιᾶς οὔσης αὐτοῖς. μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἂν γένοιτο, άλλὰ στήσεται ἐν ὕλη τὰ πάντα, μὴ ὄντος τοῦ μορφούντος αὐτήν. τάχα δ' αν οὐδ' αν ή ὕλη τὸ 25 παράπαν είη. λυθήσεταί τε καὶ τόδε τὸ ξύμπαν, εἴ τις αὐτὸ πιστεύσειε σώματος συνέρξει, διδούς αὐτῷ ψυχης τάξιν μέχρι των δνομάτων, άέρι καὶ πνεύματι σκεδαστοτάτω καὶ τὸ ένὶ είναι ἔχοντι οὐ παρ' αύτοῦ. πῶς γὰρ τεμνομένων τῶν πάντων σωμάτων 30 ώτινιοῦν τις ἀναθεὶς τόδε τὸ πᾶν οὐκ ἀνόητόν τε καὶ φερόμενον εἰκῆ ποιήσει; τίς γὰρ τάξις ἐν πνεύματι δεομένω παρά ψυχης τάξεως η λόγος η νοῦς; άλλὰ ψυχής μὲν οὔσης ὑπουργὰ ταῦτα πάντα αὐτῆ εἰς σύστασιν κόσμου καὶ ζώου ἐκάστου,

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be the soul, and this one would no longer be body: for this cannot also be made of matter, or we shall separate it again [into matter and form] in the same way; but if they are going to assert that it is an affection of matter, but not a substance, they must say where the affection and the life came from into matter. For certainly matter does not shape itself or implant soul in itself. There must, then, be something which supplies life, whether it is to matter that it supplies it or to any one of the bodies, and it must be outside and transcend all bodily nature. For there would not even be any body if the power of soul did not exist. For it flows away, and its nature is transitory, and it would perish very quickly if all things were bodies, even if somebody gave one of them the name of soul. For [the body called soul would be affected in the same way as the other bodies if they had one and the same matter. Or rather it would not even come into existence, but all things would stick [undeveloped] in matter, if there was nothing to shape it. But perhaps there would not even be any matter at all. And this universe of ours would be dissolved if one entrusted it to the conjoining power of a body, giving the rank of soul as far as names go to this body, to air and breath which is extremely liable to dispersion and does not have its unity of itself. For how, since all bodies are in process of division, if one attributed the origin of this universe to any one of them, would one not make it a mindless thing, moving at random? For what order could there be in a breath, which needs order from soul, or what reason or intelligence? But, if soul exists, all these bodies serve it for the maintenance of the world and of each individual

ἄλλης παρ' ἄλλου δυνάμεως εἰς τὸ ὅλον συντε35 λούσης· ταύτης δὲ μὴ παρούσης ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη ταῦτα, οὐχ ὅτι ἐν τάξει.

4. Μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας αγόμενοι, ώς δεί τι πρό τῶν σωμάτων είναι κρείττον αὐτῶν ψυχῆς εἶδος, ἔννουν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ πῦρ νοερον τιθέμενοι, ώσπερ άνευ πυρος καὶ πνεύματος 5 οὐ δυναμένης τῆς κρείττονος μοίρας ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν είναι, τόπον δὲ ζητούσης εἰς τὸ ίδρυθῆναι, δέον ζητείν, ὅπου τὰ σώματα ίδρύσουσιν, ώς ἄρα δεί ταιντα έν ψυχής δυνάμεσιν ίδρυσθαι. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν παρά τὸ πνευμα τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τίθενται, τί τὸ πολυθρύλλητον αὐτοῖς "πως έχου" εἰς δ 10 καταφεύγουσιν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τίθεσθαι ἄλλην παρὰ τὰ σώματα φύσιν δραστήριον; εἰ υὖν οὐ πᾶν μèν πνεῦμα ψυχή, ὅτι μυρία πνεύματα ἄψυχα, τὸ δέ πως έχον πνεθμα φήσουσι, τό πως έχον τοθτο καὶ ταύτην τὴν σχέσιν ἢ τῶν ὄντων τι φήσουσιν ἢ 15 μηδέν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν μηδέν, πνεῦμα ἃν εἴη μόνον, τὸ δέ πως έχον ὄνομα. καὶ ούτω συμβήσεται αὐτοῖς υὐδὲ άλλο οὐδὲν είναι λέγειν ἢ τὴν ὕλην καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ θεόν, καὶ δυόματα πάντα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ μόνον. εἰ δὲ τῶν ὅντων ἡ σχέσις καὶ ἄλλο παρὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον καὶ τὴν ὕλην, ἐν ὕλη μέν, ἄυλον δὲ αὐτὸ τῷ 20 μὴ πάλιν αὖ συγκεῖσθαι ἐξ ὕλης, λόγος ἄν εἴη τις

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living thing, with different powers from different bodies contributing to the whole; but if soul was not present in the Whole these bodies would be

nothing, and certainly not in order.

4. But they themselves are driven by the truth to bear witness that there must be a form of soul prior to bodies and stronger than they are, when they state that the breath has a mind in it and the fire is intelligent, as if without fire and breath the higher part of reality could not be in existence, and as if this higher part was looking for a place to establish itself in; when what they ought to be looking for is a place where they will establish body, as bodies must be established in the powers of soul. But if they hold that life and soul are nothing but the breath, what is this "character" which they are always talking about, in which they take refuge when they are compelled to posit another working principle besides bodies? If, then, not every breath is soul, because there are innumerable soulless breaths, but they are going to assert that the breath "with a certain character" is soul, they will either say that this character and this condition belongs to the class of real beings or that it does not. But if it does not, then soul would be only breath and the character would be a mere word. And so it will happen to them that they will not be saying that soul and God are anything but matter, and these will all be mere names—only that [material breath] will exist. But if the condition belongs to the class of real beings and is something else over and above the substrate and the matter, in matter but immaterial itselfbecause it is not again composed of matter and form —then it would be a rational principle, and not a

καὶ οὐ σῶμα καὶ φύσις ἐτέρα. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε ούχ ήττον φαίνεται άδύνατον ον την ψυχήν είναι σῶμα ότιοῦν. ἢ γὰρ θερμόν ἐστιν ἢ ψυχρόν, ἢ σκληρον η μαλακόν, ύγρόν τε η πεπηγός, μέλαν τε 25 ή λευκόν, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ποιότητες σωμάτων ἄλλαι έν άλλοις. καὶ εἰ μὲν θερμόν μόνον, θερμαίνει, ψυχρον δε μόνον, ψύξει καὶ κοῦφα ποιήσει το κοῦφον προσγενόμενον καὶ παρόν, καὶ βαρυνεῖ τὸ βαρύ καὶ μελανεί τὸ μέλαν, καὶ τὸ λευκὸν λευκὸν ποιήσει. οὐ γὰρ πυρὸς τὸ ψύχειν, οὐδὲ τοῦ ψυχροῦ θερμὰ 30 ποιείν. ἀλλ' ή γε ψυχὴ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν ζώοις ἄλλα, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ποιεῖ, καὶ ἐν τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ έναντία, τὰ μέν πηγνῦσα, τὰ δὲ χέουσα, καὶ τὰ μὲν πυκνά, τὰ δὲ ἀραιά, μέλανα λευκά, κοῦφα βαρέα. καίτοι εν δεί ποιείν κατά την τοῦ σώματος ποιότητά τε τὴν ἄλλην καὶ δὴ καὶ χρόαν· νῦν δὲ πολλά.

5. Τὰς δὲ δὴ κινήσεις πῶς διαφόρους, ἀλλ' οὐ μίαν, μιᾶς οὔσης παντὸς σώματος κινήσεως; εἰ δὲ τῶν μὲν προαιρέσεις, τῶν δὲ λόγους αἰτιάσονται, ὀρθῶς μὲν τοῦτο· ἀλλ' οὐ σώματος ἡ προαίρεσις τοὐδὲ οἱ λόγοι διάφοροὶ γε ὄντες, ἐνὸς ὄντος καὶ ἀπλοῦ τοῦ σώματος καὶ οὐ μετὸν αὐτῷ τοιούτου γε λόγου, ἢ ὅσος δέδοται αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος θερμὸν αὐτὸ ἢ ψυχρὸν εἶναι. τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν χρόνοις αὔξειν, καὶ μέχρι τοσούτου μέτρου, πόθεν ἄν τῷ σώματι αὐτῷ γένοιτο, ῷ προσήκει ἐναύξεσ-10 θαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀμοίρῳ τοῦ αὔξειν εἶναι, ἢ ὅσον παραληφθείη ἄν ἐν ὕλης ὄγκῳ ὑπηρετοῦν τῷ δι' αὐτοῦ

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body, and so a different kind of nature. And besides, it is equally obvious for the following reasons that it is impossible for soul to be any kind of body. For [if it is], it is hot or cold, hard or soft, fluid or solid, black or white, and [one could mention] all the other qualities of bodies which are different in different ones. And if it is only hot, it heats, but if it is only cold, it will cool, and the light when it is present makes things light and the heavy makes them heavy; and the black will blacken, and the white will make things white. For it does not belong to fire to cool things, nor to the cold to make them hot. But the soul does different things in different living beings, and even opposite things in the same onc, solidifying some and liquefying others, and making some things dense and others rarefied, making things black and white, light and heavy. But [if it was a body] it ought to produce one effect according to the body's qualities, all of them including its colour: but as it is it produces many effects.

5. But why, I ask, are the movements different, and not one, when every body has one movement? If they make choices responsible for some and rational principles for others, that is correct; but choice does not belong to body and neither do rational principles which are various, while body is one and simple and has no share in rational principle of this kind, but only as much rational principle as is given to it by what made it hot or cold. But from where could the body get the power to cause growth in season and up to a certain measure? It is proper to body to grow, but to be without the power of causing growth except as much as may be received in the mass of matter for the service of that which

την αξήην έργαζομένω; και γάρ εί ή ψυχή σωμα οῦσα αὔξοι, ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὴν αὔξεσθαι, προσθήκη δηλονότι όμοίου σώματος, εὶ μέλλει εἰς ἴσον ἰέναι 15 τω αὐξομένω ὑπ' αὐτης. καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἔσται τὸ προστιθέμενον η άψυχον σώμα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ψυχή, πόθεν και πως είσιούσης, και πως προστιθεμένης; εὶ δὲ ἄψυχον τὸ προστιθέμενον, πῶς τοῦτο ψυχώσεται καὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ὁμογνωμονήσει καὶ εν ἔσται καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δοξῶν τῆ πρόσθεν μεταλήψεται, 20 άλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ξένη ψυχὴ αὕτη ἐν ἀγνοία ἔσται ὧν ή έτέρα; εὶ δὲ καί, ὥσπερ ὁ ἄλλος ὄγκος ἡμῶν, τὸ μέν τι ἀπορρεύσεται αὐτοῦ, τὸ δέ τι προσελεύσεται, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔσται τὸ αὐτό, πῶς οὖν ἡμῖν αί μνημαι, πως δε ή γνώρισις οἰκείων οὐδέποτε τη αὐτῆ ψυχῆ χρωμένων; καὶ μὴν εἰ σῶμά ἐστι, 25 φύσις δὲ σώματος μεριζόμενον εἰς πλείω ἔκαστον μη τὸ αὐτὸ είναι τῶν μερῶν τῷ ὅλω, εἰ τὸ τοσόνδε μέγεθος ψυχή, δ έὰν ἔλαττον ή ψυχή οὐκ ἔσται, ωσπερ πῶν ποσὸν ἀφαιρέσει τὸ είναι τὸ πρόσθεν ηλλάξατο-εί δέ τι των μέγεθος έχόντων τον όγκον έλαττωθέν τῆ ποιότητι ταὐτὸν μένοι, ἡ μέν 30 σώμα έτερόν έστι, καὶ ἡ ποσόν, τῆ δὲ ποιότητι έτέρα της ποσότητος ούση τὸ ταὐτὸν ἀποσώζειν δύναται τί τοίνυν φήσουσιν οί τὴν ψυχὴν σῶμα είναι λέγοντες; πρώτον μεν περί εκάστου μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι πότερον ἔκαστον ψυχήν, οία έστὶ καὶ ή ὅλη; καὶ πάλιν τοῦ 35 μέρους τὸ μέρος; οὐδὲν ἄρα τὸ μέγεθος συνε-

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brings about growth by means of it. For if soul, being a body, was to cause growth, it would have to grow itself, obviously by the addition of similar body, if it was going to keep pace with the body it was causing to grow. And what is added will be either soul or soulless body. And if it is soul, where will it come from, and how will it get in and how is it added? But if what is added is soulless, how will this become soul and how will it come to agreement with what was there before, and be one with it and share the same thoughts with the soul which was there before, but not be like a strange soul which will be ignorant of what the other soul knows? But if, just like the rest of our [bodily] mass, some of its substance will flow away, and some of it will come from outside, and nothing will be the same, how then do we have memories, and how do friends and relations recognise each other when they never have the same souls? Then again, if soul is a body, and when the nature of body is divided into several parts each part is not the same as the whole, if soul is a particular definite size of body, which is not soul if it is smaller, as every quantity changes from its former existence by subtraction—but if one of the things which have size remains the same in quality when its mass is diminished, it is different in so far as it is body, and in so far as it is a particular size, but can retain its identity by its quality which is different from its quantity—what then are the people who assert that soul is a body going to say about this? First of all about each individual part of the soul which is in the same body: is each of them a soul in the same way as the whole is? And again, is the part of the part? If this is so, the size contri-

βάλλετο τῆ οὐσία αὐτῆς καίτοι ἔδει γε ποσοῦ τινος οντος καὶ όλον πολλαχή όπερ σώματι παρείναι άδύνατον ἐν πλείοσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλον εἶναι καὶ τὸ μέρος ὅπερ τὸ ὅλον ὑπάρχειν. εἰ δὲ ἔκαστον τῶν μερών ου ψυχήν φήσουσιν, έξ άψύχων ψυχή αὐτοις 40 ύπάρξει. καὶ προσέτι ψυχῆς έκάστης τὸ μέγεθος ώρισμένον ἔσται [οὐδὲ] 1 ἐφ' ἐκάτερα, ἡ 2 ἐπὶ τὸ έλαττόν γε [η ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον] ³ ψυχη οὐκ ἔσται. όταν τοίνυν έκ συνόδου μιᾶς καὶ ένὸς σπέρματος δίδυμα γένηται γεννήματα, η καί, ώσπερ καὶ έν τοις 45 ἄλλοις ζώοις, πλείστα τοῦ σπέρματος εἰς πολλούς τόπους μεριζομένου, οδ δη εκαστον όλον έστί, πως οὐ διδάσκει τοῦτο τοὺς βουλομένους μανθάνειν, ώς, ὅπου τὸ μέρος τὸ αὐτό ἐστι τῷ ὅλῳ, τοῦτο ἐν τῆ αύτοῦ οὐσία τὸ ποσὸν είναι ὑπερβέβηκεν, ἄποσον δὲ αὐτὸ είναι δεί εξ ἀνάγκης; οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μένοι τὸ 50 αὐτο τοῦ ποσοῦ κλεπτομένου, ἄτε μὴ μέλον αὐτῷ ποσότητος καὶ όγκου, ώς αν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ έτερόν τι ούσης. ἄποσον άρα ή ψυχή καὶ οί λόγοι.

6. "Οτι δέ, εἰ σῶμα εἴη ἡ ψυχή, οὕτε τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι οὕτε τὸ νοεῖν οὕτε τὸ ἐπίστασθαι οὕτε ἀρετὴ οὕτε τι τῶν καλῶν ἔσται, ἐκ τῶνδε δῆλον. εἴ τι μέλλει αἰσθάνεσθαί τινος, ἕν αὐτὸ δεῖ εἶναι καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ 5 παντὸς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ εἰ διὰ πολλῶν αἰσθητηρίων πλείω τὰ εἰσιόντα εἴη ἢ πολλαὶ περὶ ἕν ποιότητες, κἂν δι' ἐνὸς ποικίλον οἷον πρόσωπον. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν ρινός, ἄλλο δὲ ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀλλὰ

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butes nothing to its essential being; and yet it ought to, if the soul is a particular size, and it is as a whole in many places; this is something of which a body cannot possibly be capable, for the same body to be as a whole in more than one place and for the part to be what the whole is. But if they are going to say that each of the parts is not a soul, their soul will consist of soulless parts. And besides, if the size of each soul is limited in both directions, that at any rate which is less [than the minimum size] will not be soul; when, therefore, from one act of intercourse and one seed twin offspring are produced or, as in other living things a great many, the seed being distributed to many parts [of the womb], and each is a complete whole, why does this not teach those who are willing to learn that, where the part is the same as the whole, this thing transcends quantity in its own essential being, and must necessarily itself be non-quantitative? For thus it would remain the same when robbed of quantity since it would not care about quantity and mass, because its own nature would be something else. The soul and rational principles, then, are without quantity.

6. But it is clear from the following arguments that if soul is a body, neither perception nor thinking nor knowing nor virtue nor anything of value will exist. If anything is going to perceive anything, it must itself be one and perceive every object by one and the same means, both if a number of impressions are received through many sense-organs, or many qualities are perceived in one thing, or if through one sense-organ a complex thing, for example a face, is perceived. For there is not one perception of the nose and another of the eves, but one and the

¹ om. Eusebius*.

² Eus.: η Enn.

³ om. Eus.

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same perception of all together. And if one perception comes through the eyes and another through hearing, there must be some one thing to which both come. Or how could one say that these senseperceptions are different, if they did not all come together to one and the same [recipient]? This then must be like a centre, and the sense-perceptions from every quarter, lines coming together from the circumference of the circle, must reach it, and that which apprehends them must be of this kind, really one.1 But if this were extended, and the senseperceptions arrived at something like the terminal points at both ends of a line, either they will run together again at one and the same point, like the middle of the line, or the two different terminal points will each have a perception of something different (as if I perceived one thing and you another).2 And if the object of perception was one, a face for instance, either it will be gathered together into a unity-which is what does obviously happen; for it is gathered together in the pupils of the eyes themselves: or how could the largest things be seen through the pupil of our eye? So still more when they reach the ruling principle they will become like partless thoughts-and this ruling principle will be partless; or if this is a size the sense-objects would be divided up along with it, so that each part would perceive a different part of the object and none of us would apprehend the perceptible thing as a whole. But the whole is one: for how could it be divided?

² Again Peripatetic language: cp. Aristotle De Anima 2, 426b19 and Alexander De Anima p. 61, 1-3 Bruns.

¹ This is a Peripatetic comparison: cp. Alexander of Aphrodisias De Anima p. 63, 8-13 Bruns.

διαιροίτο; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἴσον τῷ ἴσῳ ἐφαρμόσει, ότι οὐκ ἴσον τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν παντὶ αἰσθητῷ. κατὰ 30 πηλίκα οὖν ή διαίρεσις; η εἰς τοσαῦτα διαιρεθήσεται, καθόσον αν αριθμοῦ έχοι είς ποικιλίαν τὸ είσιον αἴσθημα; καὶ ἔκαστον δη ἐκείνων τῶν μερών της ψυχης άρα καὶ τοῖς μορίοις αὐτοῦ αἰσθήσεται. ἢ ἀναίσθητα τὰ μέρη τῶν μορίων έσται; άλλά άδύνατον. εί δὲ ότιοῦν παντός 35 αἰσθήσεται, εἰς ἄπειρα διαιρεῖσθαι τοῦ μεγέθους πεφυκότος ἀπείρους καὶ αἰσθήσεις καθ' ἔκαστον αίσθητὸν συμβήσεται γίγνεσθαι έκάστω οἷον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπείρους ἐν τῷ ἡγεμονοῦντι ἡμῶν εἰκόνας. καὶ μὴν σώματος ὄντος τοῦ αἰσθανομένου οὐκ ἂν άλλον τρόπον γένοιτο τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἡ οἶον ἐν 40 κηρώ ἐνσημανθεῖσαι ἀπὸ δακτυλίων σφραγίδες, εἴτ' οὖν εἰς αἷμα, εἴτ' οὖν εἰς ἀέρα τῶν αἰσθητῶν ένσημαινομένων, καὶ εἰ μὲν ώς ἐν σώμασιν ύγροις, όπερ και εύλογον, ώσπερ είς ύδωρ συγχυθήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται μνήμη· εἰ δὲ μένουσιν οί τύποι, η οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλους ἐνσημαίνεσθαι ἐκείνων 45 κατεχόντων, ωστε άλλαι αἰσθήσεις οὐκ έσονται, ή γινομένων ἄλλων ἐκείνοι οἱ πρότεροι ἀπολοῦνται. ωστε οὐδεν εσται μνημονεύειν. εὶ δε εστι το μνημονεύειν και άλλων αισθάνεσθαι έπ' άλλοις ούκ έμποδιζόντων των πρόσθεν, άδύνατον την վոιχήν σώμα είναι.

7. "Ίδοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀλγεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀλγεῖν αἰσθήσεως τὸ αἰτὸ τοῦτο. ὅταν δάκτυλον λέγηται ἀλγεῖν ἄνθρωπος, ἡ μὲν ὀδύνη περὶ τὸν δάκτυλον δήπουθεν, ἡ δ' αἴσθησις τοῦ

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So equal will certainly not fit equal, because the ruling principle is not equal to every perceptible object. Into how many parts, then, will its division be? Will it be divided into a number of parts corresponding to the varied complexity of the entering sense-object? And of course each of those parts of the soul will perceive with its own subdivisions. Or will the parts of the parts be without perception? But this is impossible. But if any and every part perceives the whole, since a size is naturally capable of division to infinity, there will come to be an infinity of perceptions for each observer regarding the senseobject, like an infinite number of images of the same thing in our ruling principle. Again, since the object being perceived is a body, perception could not occur in any other way than that in which seal-impressions are imprinted in wax from seal-rings, whether the sense-objects are imprinted on blood or on air. And if this happens as it does in fluid bodies, which is probable, the impression will be obliterated as if it was on water, and there will be no memory. But if the impressions persist, either it will not be possible for others to be imprinted because the first will prevent them, so that there will be no other senseimpressions, or if others are made, those former impressions will be destroyed: so that there will be no possibility of remembering. But if it is possible to remember and to perceive one set of things after another without the previous ones hindering, it is impossible for the soul to be a body.

7. One might see this very same thing also from pain and from the perception of pain. When a man is said to have a pain in his toe, the pain is presumably in the region of the toe, but they will obviously

5 άλγεῖν δηλον ὅτι ὁμολογήσουσιν, ὡς περὶ τὸ ήγεμονοῦν γίγνεται. ἄλλου δὴ ὄντος τοῦ πονοῦντος μέρους του παθήματος 1 το ήγεμονούν αἰσθάνεται, καὶ ὅλη ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει. πῶς οὖν τοῦτο συμβαίνει; διαδόσει, φήσουσι, παθόντος μέν πρώτως τοῦ περὶ τὸν δάκτυλον ψυχικοῦ πνεύματος, 10 μεταδόντος δὲ τῶ ἐφεξῆς καὶ τούτου ἄλλω, ἕως πρός τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν ἀφίκοιτο. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν, εἰ τὸ πρώτον πονούν ήσθετο, άλλην την αἴσθησιν τοῦ δευτέρου είναι, εί κατὰ διάδοσιν ή αἴσθησις, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου ἄλλην, καὶ πολλὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ ἀπείρους περὶ ένὸς ἀλγήματος γίγνεσθαι, καὶ 15 τοῦτων άπασῶν ἴστερον τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν αἴσθεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ παρὰ ταύτας. τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς έκάστην έκείνων μη τοῦ έν τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀλγήματος, άλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἐφεξῆς τῷ δακτύλῳ, ὅτι ὁ ταρσὸς άλγεῖ, τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὅτι ἄλλο τὸ πρὸς τῷ ἄνωθεν, καὶ πολλὰς εἶναι ἀλγηδόνας, τό τε ἡγεμονοῦν μὴ 20 τοῦ πρὸς τῷ δακτύλω ἀλγήματος αἰσθάνεσθαι, άλλὰ τοῦ πρὸς αύτῷ, καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκειν μόνον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαίρειν ἐᾶν μὴ ἐπιστάμενου, ὅτι ἀλγεῖ ὁ δάκτυλος. εὶ τοίνυν κατὰ διάδοσιν οὐχ οδόν τε την αἴσθησιν τοῦ τοιούτου γίγνεσθαι μηδὲ σώματος, 25 ὄγκου ὄντος, ἄλλου παθόντος ἄλλου γνῶσιν είναι παντὸς γὰρ μεγέθους τὸ μὲν ἄλλο, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἐστί δεί τοιούτον τίθεσθαι τὸ αἰσθανόμενον, οἶον

1 Vitringa: πνεύματος Enn., Eus., H-S.

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agree that the perception of pain is in the region of the ruling principle.1 Well then, though the breath or life is different from the suffering part, the ruling principle perceives that it is affected, and the whole soul is affected in the same way. How then does this happen? They will assert that it is by transmission 2: first of all the soul-breath in the region of the toe is affected, and passes the affection to the part situated next to it, and this to another, until it arrives at the ruling principle. It is necessary then, if the first part when it suffered perceived the suffering, that the second part's perception should be different, if the perception is by transmission, and the third part's different again, and there would be many perceptions, even an infinite number, of one pain, and the ruling principle would perceive after all these and have its own perception over and above all these. But the truth would be that each of those perceptions would not be of the pain in the toe, but the perception next to the toe would be that the sole of the foot was suffering, and the third perception that another part higher up was, and there would be many feelings of pain, and the ruling principle would not perceive the pain in the toe but the pain in the part next to itself, and would know this alone and let the other pains go, and not understand that the toc had a pain. If, then, it is not possible for the perception of this kind of thing to come about by transmission, nor for one body to have knowledge when another is affected, since body is mass-for every size has one part different from another-one must suppose that the perceiving principle is of such

¹ Co. SVF II 854.

² This Stoic doctrine is attacked again at IV. 2. 2. 13.

πανταγοῦ αὐτὸ έαυτῷ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ άλλω τινὶ τῶν ὄντων ἢ σώματι ποιεῖν προσήκει.

8. "Οτι δέ οὐδέ νοεῖν οδόν τε, εἰ σῶμα ἡ ψυχὴ ότιοῦν εἴη, δεικτέον ἐκ τῶνδε. εἰ γὰρ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαί ἐστι τὸ σώματι προσχρωμένην τὴν ψυχὴν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν, οὐκ ἃν εἴη καὶ τὸ 5 νοείν τὲ διὰ σώματος καταλαμβάνειν, ἢ ταὐτὸν έσται τῷ αἰσθάνεσθαι. εἰ οὖν τὸ νοεῖν ἐστι τὸ άνευ σώματος άντιλαμβάνεσθαι, πολύ πρότερον δεῖ μη σώμα αὐτὸ τὸ νοῆσον είναι. ἔτι εἰ αἰσθητών μέν ή αἴσθησις, νοητών δὲ ή νόησις—εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται, άλλ' οὖν ἔσονταί γε καὶ νοητῶν τινων 10 νοήσεις καὶ ἀμεγέθων ἀντιλήψεις—πῶς οὖν μέγεθος ον το μη μέγεθος νοήσει και τῷ μεριστῷ τὸ μὴ μεριστὸν νοήσει; ἢ μέρει τινὶ ἀμερεῖ αύτοῦ. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐ σῶμα ἔσται τὸ νοήσον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ ὅλου χρεία πρὸς τὸ θίγειν· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ καθ' ἕν τι. εἰ μὲν οὖν συγχωρήσονται 15 τὰς πρώτας νοήσεις, ὅπερ ἀληθές ἐστιν, εἶναι των πάντη σώματος καθαρωτάτων αὐτοεκάστου, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ νοοῦν σώματος καθαρὸν ὂν η γιγνόμενον γινώσκειν. εὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν ὕλη εἰδῶν τὰς νοήσεις φήσουσιν είναι, ἀλλὰ χωριζομένων γε των σωμάτων γίγνονται τοῦ νοῦ χωρίζοντος. οὐ

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a kind that it is everywhere identical with itself. But this action is characteristic of some other kind

of reality than body.

8. It can be shown by the following arguments that it would not even be possible to think if soul was any kind of body. For if sense-perception is the soul's apprehension of the objects of sense by making use of the body, thinking cannot be comprehension through the body, or it will be the same as sense-perception. If then thinking is apprehension without the body, it is much more necessary that what is going to do the thinking should not be body. Again, if sense-perception is of sense-objects, and thinking is of objects of thought-even if they do not like it, yet all the same there will be thoughts at least of some objects of thought and apprehensions of things without size—how then will something which is a size think what is not a size and think what is partless with something which has parts? Perhaps [it will do so] with a partless part of itself. But if what is going to do the thinking is this, it will not be a body; for there is no need of the whole for touching: contact at one point is enough. If then they are going to agree that the primary thoughts, as is true, are of the objects most completely free from body, of absolute individual reality, then what thinks must know these objects by being or becoming free of body. But if they are going to say that thoughts are of the forms in matter, yet these thoughts come to be by the separation from them of the bodies,

¹ This is again an argument of Aristotle: cp. De Anima A 407a15-22. Plotinus does not appear to have noticed that it is directed against Plato (against a literal interpretation of the "soul-circles" of Timaeus 35A-37C).

20 γὰρ δὴ μετὰ σαρκῶν ἢ ὅλως ὕλης ὁ χωρισμὸς κύκλου καὶ τριγώνου καὶ γραμμῆς καὶ σημείου. δεῖ ἄρα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σώματος αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χωρίσαι. δεῖ ἄρα μηδὲ αὐτὴν σῶμα εἶναι. ᾿Αμέγεθες δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ

25 δίκαιον· καὶ ἡ τούτων ἄρα νόησις. ὥστε καὶ προσιόντα ἀμερεῖ αὐτῆς ὑποδέξεται καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ ἐν ἀμερεῖ κείσεται. πῶς δ' ἂν καὶ σώματος ὅντος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρεταὶ αὐτῆς, σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἀνδρία τε καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι; πνεῦμά τι γὰρ ἢ αἷμά τι ἂν τὸ σωφρονεῖν εἴη ἢ δικαιότης ἢ ἀνδρία,

30 εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἡ ἀνδρία τὸ δυσπαθὲς τοῦ πνεύματος εἴη, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη ἡ εὐκρασία, τὸ δὲ κάλλος εὐμορφία τις ἐν τύποις, καθ ἡν λέγομεν ἰδόντες ώραίους καὶ καλοὺς τὰ σώματα. ἰσχυρῷ μὲν οὖν καὶ καλῷ ἐν τύποις πνεύματι εἶναι προσήκοι ἄνο σωφρονεῖν δὲ τί δεῖ πνεύματι; ἀλλ' οὐ τοὐναντίον

35 εν περιπτύξεσι καὶ άφαῖς εὐπαθεῖν, ὅπου ἢ θερμανθήσεται ἢ συμμέτρως ψύχεος ἱμείροι ἢ μαλακοῖς τισι καὶ άπαλοῖς καὶ λείοις πελάσει; τὸ δὲ κατ' ἀξίαν νεῖμαι τί ἂν αὐτῷ μέλοι; πότερον δὲ ἀιδίων ὅντων τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς θεωρημάτων καὶ

40 τῶν ἄλλων νοητῶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐφάπτεται, ἢ γίνεταί τω ἡ ἀρετή, ἀφελεῖ καὶ πάλιν φθείρεται; ἀλλὰ τίς ὁ ποιῶν καὶ πόθεν; οὔτω γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνο πάλιν

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and it is mind which separates them. For the separation of "circle" and "triangle" and "line" and "point" is certainly not carried out with the help of flesh, or in general of matter. The soul, then, must separate itself from body in this kind of

[abstractive] thinking.

But nobility and justice are also, I think, without size; so, then, is thinking about them. So that when they come to it, our thought will receive them in its partlessness and they will remain in it as partless. But how, if the soul is a body, could its virtues exist, self-control and justice and courage and the rest? For self-control or justice or courage would be a kind of breath or blood, unless courage was the breath's lack of susceptibility to affection, and self-control the well-balanced mixture of its elements, and beauty a kind of shapeliness in impressions, by which we say when we see them that people are fresh and young and beautiful in body. Now it might be appropriate to strength and beauty to consist in impressions on the breath: but what does breath need self-control for? Would it not rather find its comfort in embracing and touching, where it will be warmed or have a moderated desire to be cool, or come close to soft, delicate, smooth things? But what would it care about distribution according to worth? But does the soul attain the objects of its contemplation of the virtues and other intelligible things as eternal, or does virtue just happen to someone, benefit them and perish again? But who is it who makes it happen, and where does it come from? For if there is something which

An allusion to Odyssey 10, 555.

μένοι. δεῖ ἄρα ἀιδίων εἶναι καὶ μενόντων, οῖα καὶ τὰ ἐν γεωμετρίφ. εἰ δὲ ἀιδίων καὶ μενόντων, οὐ σωμάτων. δεῖ ἄρα καὶ ἐν ῷ ἔσται τοιοῦτον εἶναι. 45 δεῖ ἄρα μὴ σῶμα εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ μένει, ἀλλὰ ῥεῖ ἡ σώματος φύσις πᾶσα.

81. Εἰ δὲ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ποιήσεις δρῶντες θερμαινούσας καὶ ψυχούσας καὶ ώθούσας καὶ βαρυνούσας ένταθθα τάττουσι την ψυχην οίον έν δραστηρίω τόπω ίδρύοντες αὐτήν, πρώτον μέν 5 άγνοοῦσιν, ώς καὶ αὐτὰ 1 τὰ σώματα δυνάμεσι ταῖς έν αὐτοῖς ἀσωμάτοις ταῦτα ἐργάζεται ἔπειτα, ὅτι οὐ ταύτας τὰς δυνάμεις περὶ ψυχὴν είναι ἀξιοῦμεν, άλλὰ τὸ νοεῖν, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, λογίζεσθαι, ἐπιθυμεῖν, έπιμελείσθαι έμφρόνως καλώς,² α πάντα ἄλλην οὐσίαν ζητεῖ. τὰς οὖν δυνάμεις τῶν ἀσωμάτων 10 μεταβιβάσαντες είς τὰ σώματα οὐδεμίαν ἐκείνοις καταλείπουσιν, ότι δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσι δύναται α δύναται, έκ τωνδε δηλον. δμολογήσουσι γὰρ ἔτερον ποιότητα καὶ ποσότητα είναι, καὶ πᾶν σῶμα ποσὸν είναι, καὶ ἔτι οὐ πᾶν 15 σώμα ποιὸν 3 είναι, ὥσπερ τὴν ὕλην. ταῦτα δὲ δμολογοῦντες την ποιότητα δμολογήσουσιν έτερον οδσαν ποσού έτερον σώματος είναι. πως γάρ μή

¹ Kirchhoff*: ταῦτα Eus., H-S¹.

s'suspic. Vigier, scr. Volkmann*, Gifford: ποσὸν Eus., Stephanus, Gaisford, Creuzer, Kirchhoff, Cilento. ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL
makes it happen, that again would abide. The

wirtues, then, are required to be eternal and abiding, like the objects of geometry. But if they are eternal and abiding they are not bodies. That, therefore, in which they are must be of the same kind: therefore it cannot be a body. For the whole nature of

body does not abide, but flows away.

81. But if when they see the actions of bodies heating and cooling and pushing and weighing down they rank the soul with them and in a kind of way establish it in a field of action, first of all they are ignorant that bodies themselves do these things by the bodiless powers in them; and then that these are not the powers which we consider to belong to the soul, but thinking, perceiving, reasoning, desiring, supervising, intelligently and well, which all require another kind of being. By transferring, therefore, the powers of bodiless realities to bodies, they leave nothing for the bodiless. But that bodies are able to do what they can do by bodiless powers is obvious for the following reasons. They will agree that quality is different from quantity, and that every body is of a certain quantity, and also that not every body is of a certain quality, as matter is not. But in admitting this they will also admit that quality in being different from quantity is different from body. For how without being of a

² Eus., Schwyzer (Mus. Helv. 26, 1969, 254): ἐμφρόνως καl καλῶς Vigier*, Creuzer*: ἐμφρόνως κακώς H-S¹: an coniciendum [ἐμφρόνως] καλῶς (cf. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καλῶς Plat. Leg. 766Α7)?

¹ This list of powers of soul may be influenced by the list of soul-movements in Plato Laws X 897A1-4, but the resemblance is not very close. Plato's list is neutral and comprehensive: bad as well as good soul-movements are included. In Plotinus's more conventional list there are only good powers, if the reading of the MSS of Eusebius $\kappa \alpha \lambda \hat{\omega}$ s in line 8 is accepted, as it is now by Henry and Schwyzer, and has generally been by editors of Eusebius and Plotinus.

μεριζόμενον καὶ ὄγκος πῶς ἀφαιρεῖται ὅπερ ἡν, 20 κερματιζομένου δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ μέρει ἡ αὐτὴ ὅλη ποιότης μένει, οἶον γλυκύτης ἡ τοῦ μέλιτος οὐδὲν ἔλαττον γλυκύτης ἐστὶν ἡ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ, οὐκ ἄν εἴη σῶμα ἡ γλυκύτης. ὁμοίως καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι. ἔπειτα, εἰ σώματα ἦσαν αἱ δυνάμεις, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὰς μὲν ἰσχυρὰς τῶν δυνάμεων 25 μεγάλους ὄγκους, τὰς δὲ ὀλίγον δρᾶν δυναμένας ὅγκους μικροὺς εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μεγάλων μὲν ὅγκων μικοαί, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ μικρότατοι τῶν ὅγκων

μεγίστας έχουσι τὰς δυνάμεις, ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἢ μεγέθει τὸ ποιεῖν ἀναθετέον· ἀμεγέθει ἄρα. τὸ δὲ ὕλην μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι σῶμα, ὥς φασιν, οὖσαν, 30 διάφορα δὲ ποιεῖν ποιότητας προσλαβοῦσαν, πῶς οὐ δῆλον ποιεῖ τὰ προσγενόμενα λόγους ἀύλους ¹ καὶ ἀσωμάτους εἶναι; μή, διότι πνεύματος ἢ

αἵματος ἀποστάντων ἀποθνήσκει τὰ ζῷα, λεγόντων.
οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄνευ τούτων εἶναι, οὐδ᾽ ἄνευ πολλῶν
35 ἄλλων, ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν ἡ ψυχὴ εἴη. καὶ μὴν οὔτε
πνεῦμα διὰ πάντων οὔτε αἷμα, ψυχὴ δέ.

82. "Ετι εὶ σῶμα οὖσα ἡ ψυχή διῆλθε διὰ παντός, κἂν κραθεῖσα εἴη, δν τρόπον τοῖς ἄλλοις σώμασιν ἡ κρᾶσις. εἰ δὲ ἡ τῶν σωμάτων κρᾶσις οὐδὲν ἐνεργεία ἐᾱ εἶναι τῶν κραθέντων, οὐδ' ἄν ἡ ψυχὴ 5 ἔτι ἐνεργεία ἐνείη τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει μόνον ἀπολέσασα τὸ εἶναι ψυχή. ὥσπερ, εἰ γλυκὺ καὶ πικρὸν κραθείη, τὸ γλυκὸ οὐκ ἔστιν. οὐκ ἄρα

certain quantity could it be a body, if every body is of a certain quantity? And further, as I think was said above, if every body and every mass ceases to be what it was before when divided, but when a body is broken up the same quality remains complete in every piece, as for instance the sweetness of the honey is no less sweetness in every fragment, sweetness could not be a body, and the same is true of the other qualities. Then again, if the powers were bodies, it would be necessary for the strong powers to be large masses, and the ones which could do little, small masses. But if the powers of large masses are small, but even the smallest masses have great powers, action must be attributed to something other than size: to something sizeless, therefore. And the fact that matter remains the same, being, as they say, a body, but does different things when it acquires qualities, surely makes clear that what it acquires are immaterial and bodiless rational principles. And they must not say that [soul is a body because] living things die when breath or blood leaves them. For it is not possible for living things to exist without them, or without a great many other things, none of which is soul. And further, neither does breath pervade the whole body nor does blood, but soul does.

82. Again, if soul was a body and permeated the whole body, it would be mixed with it in the way in which other bodies are intermixed. But if the mixture of bodies allows none of the bodies which are mixed to exist in actuality, the soul would not be actually present in bodies either, but only potentially, and would lose its existence as soul, just as, if sweet and bitter are mixed, the sweet does not

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¹ Arnim (SVF 11. 375), Theologia III. 14: αὐτοὺς Eus., Stephanus*.

τος τοῦ ἐτέρου, οὐδὲν ἀπολείψει ὅ μὴ τέμῃ. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη παραλλάξ ἡ κρᾶσις—οὕτω γάρ φησι παράθεσιν ἔσεσθαι—διεληλυθὸς δὲ διὰ παντὸς τὸ ἐπεμβληθέν, ἔτι εἰ² σμικρότερον—ὅπερ ἀδύνατον, τὸ ἔλαττον ἴσον γενέσθαι τῷ

15 μείζονι—ἀλλ' οὖν διεληλυθὸς πῶν τέμοι ³ κατὰ πῶν ἀνάγκη τοίνυν, εἰ καθ' ότιοῦν σημεῖον καὶ μὴ μεταξὺ σῶμα ἔσται ὅ μὴ τέτμηται, εἰς σημεῖα τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ σώματος γεγονέναι, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον. εἰ δέ, ἀπείρου τῆς τομῆς οὔσης—ὅ γὰρ ἄν λάβης

20 σῶμα, διαιρετόν ἐστιν—οὐ δυνάμει μόνον, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ τὰ ἄπειρα ἔσται. οὐ τοίνυν ὅλον δι' ὅλου χωρεῖν δυνατὸν τὸ σῶμα· ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ δι' ὅλων ἀσώματος ἄρα.

83. Τὸ δέ καὶ φύσιν μὲν προτέραν το αὐτὸ πνεθμα λέγειν, ἐν δὲ ψυχρῷ γενομένην καὶ στομωθεῖσαν ψυχὴν γίνεσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἐν ψυχρῷ γιγνομένην—ὅ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ ἄτοπον πολλὰ γὰρ τς ξῷα ἐν θερμῷ γίγνεται καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχει οὐ ψυχθεῖσαν —ἀλλ' οὖν φασί γε προτέραν φύσιν ψυχῆς εἶναι

Schwyzer (Gnomon 15, 1939, 10): τὸ πῶν Eus.
 ἔτι εἰ (είαm si) Schwyzer (Rh. Mus. 88, 1939, 377 §16):
 ἐπεὶ ΤJMV: ἐπὶ ONDPQ, Stephanus*, Creuzer*: εἰ καὶ Harder:

del. Arnim (SVF II. 799).

3 Henry (Etats 13), Mras: τέμη ΟΝΡΤΙΜ: τέμει DQV: τεμεῖ Harder: τέμνει Stephanus-Gifford, Creuzer*.

exist; we shall not then have a soul. But if it is a body and is mixed with the body "whole through whole " so that wherever the one is, the other is also, with both bodily masses also occupying an equal amount of space, and if no increase takes place when the other one is inserted, this will leave nothing undivided. For mixture is not by large parts placed side by side—for in this way [the Stoic] says it will be juxtaposition [not mixture]—but what is inserted penetrates through every part, even if it is smallerthis is impossible, for the less to be equal to the greater-but, anyhow, in penetrating it all it divides it everywhere; it is necessary therefore, if it divides it at every geometrical point, and there is no body in between which is not divided, that the division of the body must be into geometrical points, which is impossible. But if this is so, since the division is infinite—for whatever body you take is divisible the infinity of parts will exist not only potentially but actually. It is impossible therefore for one body to penetrate another "whole through whole": but soul penetrates through whole bodies, therefore it is immaterial.

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83. But as for saying that the same breath was growth-principle before, but when it got into the cold and was tempered became soul, since it becomes rarefied in the cold—this is absurd to start with; for many animals come into existence in heat and have a soul which has not been cooled—but anyhow

¹ For the curious Stoic doctrine of "complete transfusion" see e.g. SVF I. 102, II. 467 and 471. For a fuller refutation of it by Plotinus, based on Peripatetic arguments from Alexander of Aphrodisias critically used, see Enneads II. 7.

κατὰ συντυχίας τὰς ἔξω γιγνομένης. Τουμβαίνει οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ χεῖρον πρώτον ποιεῖν καὶ πρὸ τούτου άλλο έλαττον, ην λέγουσιν έξιν, δ δὲ νοῦς ὕστατος ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς δηλονότι γενόμενος. ἢ εἰ πρὸ 10 πάντων νοῦς, ἐφεξῆς ἔδει ψυχὴν ποιεῖν, εἶτα φύσιν, καὶ αἰεὶ τὸ ὕστερον χεῖρον, ἦπερ πέφυκεν. εἰ οὖν καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν νοῦν ὕστερος καὶ γεννητός καὶ ἐπακτὸν τὸ νοεῖν ἔχων, ἐνδέχοιτο ἂν μηδέ ψυχὴν μηδέ νοῦν μηδέ θεόν είναι. εί τὸ δυνάμει, μη όντος πρότερον τοῦ ἐνεργεία καὶ νοῦ, 15 γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ήξει εἰς ἐνέργειαν. τί γὰρ ἔσται τὸ άγον μη όντος έτέρου παρ' αὐτὸ προτέρου; εἰ δ' αύτὸ ἄξει εἰς ἐνέργειαν, ὅπερ ἄτοπον, ἀλλὰ βλέπον γε πρός τι ἄξει, δ οὐ δυνάμει, ἐνεργεία δὲ έσται. καίτοι τὸ ἀεὶ μένειν τὸ αὐτὸ εἴπερ τὸ δυνάμει έξει, καθ' έαυτὸ είς ενέργειαν άξει, καὶ 20 τοῦτο κρεῖττον ἔσται τοῦ δυναμένου οἶον ὀρεκτὸν ου έκείνου, πρότερον άρα τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ έτέραν φύσιν έγον σώματος καὶ ένεργεία ον ἀεί πρότερον άρα καὶ νοῦς καὶ ψυχὴ φύσεως. οὐκ άρα οὕτως ψυχή ώς πνεθμα οδδ' ώς σώμα. άλλ' ὅτι μὲν μή σῶμα λέγοιτ' ἄν, καὶ εἴρηται καὶ ἄλλοις ἔτερα, 25 ίκανὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα.

84. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλης φύσεως, δεῖ ζητεῖν, τίς αὔτη.

1 Kirchhoff*, cf. Theol. III. 37: γι(γ) νομένην Eus.

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they assert that growth-principle is prior to soul which comes into existence because of external happenings. So they find themselves making the worse first, and before this another of less good quality, which they call "character", and intellect last, obviously originating from the soul. Now if Intellect is before all things, then they ought to have made soul come next to it, then growthprinciple, and have made what comes after always worse, as is the natural state of affairs. If then God (conceived as Intellect) is for them posterior and generated and has his intelligence as something brought in from outside, it would be possible for ncither soul nor intellect nor God to exist. If the potential, without the prior existence of what is actual and of Intellect, were to come into existence it could not attain to actuality. For what will be the principle which will bring it there if there is not one different from and prior to itself? But if it is going to bring itself to actuality, which is absurd, all the same it will bring itself by looking to something, which will exist not potentially, but actually; though, if the potential is to have the property of always remaining the same, it will bring itself to an actuality corresponding to itself, and this will be better than that which is potential, as it is the potential's desired objective. The better, which has a nature different from body, and always exists in actuality, is therefore prior: so intellect and soul are prior to growthprinciple. Soul, then, is not like breath or like body. But that soul should not be called a body has been proved by others with different arguments, but these too are sufficient.

84. But since it is of another nature, we must

άρ' οὖν ἔτερον μὲν σώματος, σώματος δε τι, οἷον άρμονία; τοῦτο γὰρ άρμονίαν τῶν ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν λεγόντων έτερον τρόπον ώήθησαν αὐτὸ τοιοῦτόν τι 5 είναι οίον καὶ ή περὶ χορδάς άρμονία. ώς γάρ ένταθθα έντεταμένων των χορδών έπιγίνεταί τι οδον πάθημα ἐπ' αὐταῖς, ὁ λέγεται άρμονία, τὸν αὐτὸν πρόπον καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου σώματος ἐν κράσει άνομοίων γινομένου την ποιάν κράσιν ζωήν τε εργάζεσθαι καὶ ψυχὴν οὖσαν τὸ ἐπὶ τῆ κράσει 10 πάθημα. ὅτι δὲ ἀδύνατον, πολλὰ ἤδη πρὸς ταύτην τὴν δόζαν εἴρηται· καὶ γάρ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἡ ψυχή, ή δ' άρμονία ὕστερον, καὶ ώς τὸ μὲν ἄρχει τε καὶ ἐπιστατεῖ τῷ σώματι καὶ μάχεται πολλαχῆ, άρμονία δὲ οὐκ ἂν οὖσα ταῦτα ποιοῖ, καὶ ώς τὸ μέν οὐσία, ή δ' άρμονία οὐκ οὐσία, καὶ ὅτι ἡ 15 κρᾶσις τῶν σωμάτων, ἐξ ὧν συνέσταμεν, ἐν λόγω οὖσα ύγεία ἂν εἴη, καὶ ὅτι καθ' ἔκαστον μέρος άλλως κραθέν είη αν ψυχή έτέρα, ώστε πολλάς είναι, καὶ τὸ δὴ μέγιστον, ώς ἀνάγκη πρὸ τῆς ψυχης ταύτης άλλην ψυχην είναι την ποιούσαν την άρμονίαν ταύτην, οξον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀργάνων τὸν 20 μουσικόν τον έντιθέντα ταῖς χορδαῖς τὴν άρμονίαν λόγον ἔχοντα παρ' αύτῶ, καθ' ὃν άρμόσει. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖ αί χορδαὶ παρ' αύτῶν οὕτ' ἐνταῦθα τὰ σώματα έαυτὰ είς άρμονίαν ἄγειν δυνήσεται. όλως δε καὶ οὖτοι εξ ἀψύχου ἔμψυχα ποιοῦσι καὶ 25 [τὰ] 1 ἐξ ἀτάκτων κατὰ συντυχίαν τεταγμένα, καὶ την τάξιν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτην ἐκ τῆς

¹ del. Stephanus, Creuzer*.

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enquire what this nature is. Is it, then, something different from body, but belonging to body, like its tuning? For, though the Pythagoreans meant this term, tuning, in another sense, people thought it was something like the tuning of strings. For just as here, when the strings are stretched, they come to be affected in a kind of way, and this being affected is called being in tune, in the same way, since our body also consists of a mixture of dissimilar parts, the mixture of a particular kind produces life and soul, which is the way of being affected which comes upon the mixture. But many arguments have already been brought against this view to show that it is impossible: they are, that the soul is the prior and the tuning subsequent to it; and that this prior reality rules and directs the body and fights it in many ways, but the soul would not do this if it was a being in tune; and that the prior reality is a substance, but being in tune is not a substance, and that the mixture of bodies of which we consist, when it was in proportion, would be health [not soul]; and that in each part, which is mixed in a different way, there would be a different soul, so that there would be many; and what is certainly the greatest difficulty of all, that it is necessary that there should be another soul before this soul producing this being in tune, as with musical instruments there is the player who brings the strings into tune and has a proportion in himself according to which he will tune them. For neither can the strings nor the bodies here bring themselves into tune by themselves. And in general these people also make ensouled things out of soulless, and things casually arranged out of things in disorder, and do not make order arise from

αὐτομάτου τάξεως τὴν ὑπόστασιν εἰληφέναι. τοῦτο δὲ οὕτε ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος οὕτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις δυνατὸν γενέσθαι. οὐκ ἄρα ἡ ψυχὴ άρμονία.

85. Τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐντελεχείας ὧδ' ἄν τις ἐπισκέψαιτο, πῶς περὶ ψυχῆς λέγεται τὴν ψυχήν φασιν ἐν τῷ συνθέτω είδους τάξω ώς πρός ύλην το σώμα ἔμψυχον ζου \ 1 ἔχειν, σώματος δὲ οὐ παντὸς είδος 5 οὐδ $\hat{\epsilon}$ $\hat{\eta}$ σ $\hat{\omega}$ μα, ἀλλ $\hat{\alpha}$ φυσικο \hat{v}^2 ὀργανικο \hat{v} δυνάμει ζωήν έχοντος. εί μεν οὖν ή παραβέβληται ώμοίωται, ώς μορφή ἀνδριάντος πρός χαλκόν, καὶ διαιρουμένου τοῦ σώματος συμμερίζεσθαι τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ ἀποκοπτομένου τινὸς μέρους μετά τοῦ ἀποκοπέντος ψυχής μόριον είναι, 10 τήν τε έν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἀναχώρησιν μὴ γίνεσθαι, είπερ δεί προσφυά την έντελέχειαν οῦ έστιν είναι, τὸ δ' ἀληθές, μηδὲ ΰπνον γίνεσθαι καὶ μήν έντελεχείας ούσης ούδε εναντίωσιν λόγου πρός έπιθυμίας, εν δε καὶ ταὐτὸν δι' ὅλου πεπονθέναι τὸ παν ου διαφωνούν έαιτώ. αισθήσεις δε μόνον 15 δυνατόν ἴσως γίνεσθαι, τὰς δὲ νοήσεις ἀδύνατον. διὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄλλην ψυχήν ἢ νοῦν εἰσάγουσιν, ὃν άθάνατον τίθενται. την οὖν λογιζομένην ψυχήν άλλως εντελέχειαν η τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀνάγκη είναι, εί δεί τω ονόματι τούτω χρησθαι. οὐδ' ή αἰσθητική, εἴπερ καὶ αὕτη τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπόντων

1 Dodda

² Stephanus, Creuzer*: ψυχικοῦ Eus.

the soul, but say that the soul has received its existence from a chance arrangement. But this cannot happen either in parts or wholes. The soul, then, is not being in tune.

85. One might investigate the question of how the term "entelechy" could be applied to the soul in the following way: [the Peripatetics] assert that the soul in the composite being holds the rank of form in relation to the ensouled body as matter, but is not the form of every kind of body, and not of body simply as body, but of a "natural organic body which has life potentially." If then it is assimilated to the body by being applied to it, as the form of the statue is to the bronze, then when the body was divided the soul would be separated into parts along with it, and when a part was cut off there would be a bit of soul with the cut-off piece of body, and the withdrawal in sleep would not take place, if the entelechy must be firmly fixed where it is—but in fact there could not even be sleep; further, if the soul was an entelechy there could be no opposition of reason to desire, but the whole would be affected throughout in one and the same way without disagreeing with itself. But perhaps it would only be possible for sense-perceptions to occur, but thoughts would be impossible. For this reason [the Peripatetics] themselves introduce another soul or intelligence, which they assume to be immortal. The reasoning soul, therefore, must be an entelective in some sense other than this, if one really ought to use the name. And the perceiving soul, if this also possesses the impressions of absent sense-objects,

keep the MSS text, rather illogically qualified the body, which is matter to the soul as form, as $\xi\mu\psi\nu\chi\rho\nu$ in line 3).

¹ This is a slightly paraphrased version of Aristotle De Anima B 1, 412a27-b1. The MSS of Eusebius here read ψυχικοῦ for Aristotle's ψυσικοῦ and Schwyzer suggests that this could just possibly be a slip of Plotinus himself (who, if we

20 τοὺς τύπους ἔχει, αὐτοὺς οὐ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος ἄρα έξει εί δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ἐνέσονται ώς μορφαί καὶ εἰκόνες ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον ἄλλους δέχεσθαι, εἰ οὕτως ένειεν. οὐκ ἄρα ώς ἀχώριστος ἐντελέχεια. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν, μὴ σιτίων μηδὲ ποτῶν 25 ἀλλ' ἄλλων παρὰ τὰ τοῦ σώματος, οὐδ' αὐτὸ άχώριστος έντελέχεια. λοιπόν δέ τὸ φυτικόν αν είη, δ άμφισβήτησιν αν δόξειεν έχειν, μη τοῦτον τον τρόπον ἐντελέχεια ἀχώριστος ἢ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο φαίνεται οὕτως ἔχον. εἰ γὰρ ἡ άρχὴ παντὸς φυτοῦ περὶ τὴν ρίζαν καὶ αὐαινομένου τοῦ ἄλλου 30 σώματος περὶ τὴν ρίζαν καὶ τὰ κάτω ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν φυτῶν ἡ ψυχή, δῆλον ὅτι ¹ ἀπολιποῦσα τὰ άλλα μέρη εἰς ἕν τι συνεστάλη· οὐκ ἄρα ἦν ἐν τῶ όλω ώς άχωριστος έντελέχεια. καὶ γὰρ αὖ έστι πρίν αὐξηθηναι τὸ φυτὸν ἐν τῷ ὀλίγω ὄγκω. εἰ οὖν καὶ εἰς ὀλίγον ἔρχεται ἐκ μείζονος φυτοῦ καὶ 35 έξ ολίγου έπὶ πῶν, τί κωλύει καὶ ὅλως χωρίζεσθαι; πως δ' αν και άμερης ούσα μεριστού του σώματος έντελέχεια γένοιτο; ή τε αὐτή ψυχή έξ άλλου ζώου ἄλλον γίνεται· πως οὖν ή τοῦ προτέρου τοῦ έφεξης αν γένοιτο, εί ην έντελέχεια ένός; φαίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν μεταβαλλόντων ζώων εἰς ἄλλα 40 ζώα, οὐκ ἄρα τῷ εἶδος εἶναί τινος τὸ εἶναι ἔχει, άλλ' ἔστιν οὐσία οὐ παρὰ τὸ ἐν σώματι ίδρῦσθαι τὸ είναι λαμβάνουσα, άλλ' οὖσα πρὶν καὶ τοῦδε γενέσθαι [οἶον ζώου οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν

1 Gifford, Mras, Harder: ψυνῶν, ή ψυχὴ δηλονότι Η-S1.

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will therefore hold them without the assistance of the body; but if this is not so, they will be present in it as shapes and images; but it would be impossible for it to receive other impressions if they were in it in this way. It is therefore not [in the body] as an inseparable entelectly. Furthermore, not even that which desires, not food and drink but other things besides those of body, can be an inseparable entelechy. There would remain the growth-principle, and there might seem to be some possibility of questioning whether this might not be an inseparable entelechy in this sense. But even this is clearly not so. For if the principle of every plant is in the region of the root, and when the rest of the body of the plant withers up, in many plants the soul [remains] in the region of the root and the lower parts, it is obvious that it has left the other parts and gathered itself together into one: it was not, then, in the whole as an inseparable entelectly. And again, before the plant grows, the soul is in the small bulk [of the root]. If then the soul passes into a small root from a larger plant and from a small root to the whole plant, what prevents it from being completely separated? But also, how when it is without parts could it become the entelechy of a body with parts? And the same soul belongs to one living thing after another: how then could the soul of the first become the soul of that which comes next, if it was the entelechy of one? (This is obvious from the change of living things into other living things.) The soul, therefore, does not have its existence by being the form of something, but it is a substance which does not derive its existence from its foundation in body, but exists before belonging to this particular body. What then is its

50 σωζόμενον, καθόσον ἂν αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνη. 9. 'Η δὲ ἐτέρα φύσις, ἡ παρ' αὐτῆς ἔχουσα τὸ ϵ lival, π av τ o ov τ ws ov, o ov τ e γ i ν e τ al ov τ e ἀπόλλυται· ἢ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οἰχήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ὰν ὕστερον γένοιτο τοῦτου ἀπολωλότος, ὁ παρέχει 5 αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷδε τῷ παντί δια ψυχής σωζομένω και κεκοσμημένω. άρχη γάρ κινήσεως ήδε χορηγούσα τοίς άλλοις κίνησιν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς κινουμένη, καὶ ζωὴν τῷ ἐμψύχῳ σώματι διδοῦσα, αὐτὴ δὲ παρ' έαυτης έχουσα, ην ούποτε απόλλυσιν, ατε παρ 10 έαυτης έχουσα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντα ἐπακτῷ ζωῆ χρηται ή είς ἄπειρον είσιν άλλα δεί τινα φύσιν πρώτως ζώσαν είναι, ήν ἀνώλεθρον καὶ ἀθάνατον είναι δει έξ ἀνάγκης, ἄτε ἀρχὴν ζωῆς καὶ τοις άλλοις οδσαν. ένθα δή καὶ τὸ θείον άπαν καὶ τὸ μακάριον ίδρυσθαι δεί ζών παρ' αύτου καὶ ὂν παρ' 15 αύτοῦ, πρώτως ὂν καὶ ζῶν πρώτως, μεταβολῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἄμοιρον, οὕτε γινόμενον οὕτε ἀπολλύμενον. πόθεν γάρ ἄν καὶ γένοιτο, ἢ είς τί ἀπόλοιτο: καὶ εἰ δεῖ ἐπαληθεύειν τὴν τοῦ ὅντος

¹ del. Page, ut glossam.

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substance? If it is not a body or an affection of body, but action and making and many things are in it and come from it, then since it is a substance distinct from bodies, of what kind is it? It is obviously what we call real substance. For everything bodily should be called becoming, not substance; it "comes to be and passes away, but never really is ", but is preserved by participation in being, in so far as it does participate in it.

9. But the other nature, which has being of itself, is all that really exists, which does not come into being or perish: or everything else will pass away, and could not come into being afterwards if this real existence had perished which preserves all other things and especially this All, which is preserved and given its universal order and beauty by soul. For soul is the "origin of motion" and is responsible for the motion of other things, and it is moved by itself, and gives life to the ensouled body, but has it of itself, and never loses it because it has it of itself. For certainly all things cannot have a borrowed life: or it will go on to infinity; but there must be some nature which is primarily alive, which must be indestructible and immortal of necessity since it is also the origin of life to the others. Here, assuredly, all that is divine and blessed must be situated, living of itself and existing of itself, existing primarily and living primarily, without any part in essential change, neither coming to be nor perishing. For where could it come into being from, or into what could it change when it perished? And if we are to apply the name "being" to it truly, then being itself ought not to

Plato Phaedrus 245C9.

προσηγορίαν, αὐτὸ οὐ ποτὲ μὲν εἶναι, ποτὲ δὲ οὐκ εἶναι δεήσει. ὡς καὶ τὸ λευκόν, αὐτὸ τὸ χρῶμα, 20 οὐ ποτὲ μὲν λευκόν, ποτὲ δὲ οὐ λευκόν εἶ δὲ καὶ ὅν ἦν τὸ λευκόν μετὰ τοῦ λευκόν εἶναι, ἦν ἄν ἀεί· ἀλλὰ μόνον ἔχει τὸ λευκόν. ῷ δ᾽ ἄν τὸ ὄν ἢ παρὸν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρώτως, ὄν ἀεὶ ἔσται. τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ ὄν πρώτως καὶ ἀεὶ ὅν οὐχὶ νεκρόν, 25 ὤσπερ λίθον ἢ ξύλον, ἀλλὰ ζῶν εἶναι δεῖ, καὶ ζωῆ καθαρᾳ κεχρῆσθαι, ὅσον ἄν αὐτοῦ μένῃ μόνον· δ δ᾽ ἄν συμμιχθἢ χείρονι, ἐμπόδιον μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς τὰ ἄριστα—οὕτι γε μὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀπολωλέναι— ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἀρχαίαν κατάστασιν ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀναδραμόν.

10. "Οτι δὲ τῆ θειοτέρα φύσει συγγενής ή ψυχή καὶ τῆ ἀιδίω, δῆλον μὲν ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ μὴ σῶμα αὐτὴν δεδεῖχθαι. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ σχῆμα ἔχει οὐδὲ χρώμα ἀναφής τε. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε 5 έστι δεικνύναι. δμολογουμένου δή ήμιν παντός τοῦ θείου καὶ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ζωῆ ἀγαθῆ κεχρῆσθαι καὶ έμφρονι, σκοπείν δεί τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς ήμετέρας ψυχής, οδόν έστι την φύσιν. λάβωμεν δέ ψυχήν μή την έν σώματι επιθυμίας άλόγους καὶ θυμούς προσλαβούσαν καὶ πάθη ἄλλα ἀναδεξαμένην, 10 άλλά την ταθτα αποτριψαμένην και καθόσον οδόν τε μη κοινωνούσαν τῷ σώματι. ήτις καὶ δηλον ποιεί, ώς προσθηκαι τὰ κακὰ τῆ ψυχη καὶ ἄλλοθεν, καθηραμένη δὲ αὐτῆ ἐνυπάρχει τὰ ἄριστα, φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ἀρετή, οἰκεῖα ὄντα. εἰ οὖν τοιοῦτον ἡ 15 ψυχή, όταν ἐφ' ἐαυτὴν ἀνέλθη, πῶς οὐ τῆς φύσεως

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exist at one time, but not at another; as for instance white, the colour itself, is not white at one time and not-white another; but if white was being as well as being white, it would exist for ever; but [as it is] it only has the white [not being]. But that with which being is from itself, and primarily, will always be existent. This, then, which is primarily and always existent cannot be dead, like a stone or wood, but must be alive, and have a pure life, as much of it as remains alone; but whatever is mixed with what is worse has an impeded relationship to the best—yet it certainly cannot lose its own nature—but recovers its "ancient state" when it runs up to its own.

10. Our demonstration that the soul is not a body makes it clear that it is akin to the diviner and to the eternal nature. It certainly does not have a shape or a colour, and it is intangible. But we can also demonstrate its kinship in the following way. We agree of course that all the divine and really existent has a good, intelligent life; now we must investigate what comes next, starting from our own soul and finding out what sort of nature it has. Let us take soul, not the soul in body which has acquired irrational desires and passions and admitted other affection, but the soul which has wiped these away and which, as far as possible, has no communion with the body. This soul does make it clear that its evils are external accretions to the soul and come from elsewhere, but that when it is purified the best things are present in it, wisdom and all the rest of virtue, and are its own. If, then, the soul is something of this kind when it goes up again to itself,

Plato Republic 547B6-7.

έκείνης, οιαν φαμέν την τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀιδίου παντός είναι; φρόνησις γάρ καὶ ἀρετὴ ἀληθής θεῖα ὄντα οὐκ ἂν ἐγγένοιτο φαύλω τινὶ καὶ θνητῷ πράγματι, άλλ' ἀνάγκη θεῖον τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι, άτε θείων μετὸν αὐτῷ διὰ συγγένειαν καὶ τὸ 20 δμοούσιον. διὸ καὶ ὅστις τοιοῦτος ἡμῶν ὀλίγον αν παραλλάττοι των άνω τη ψυχη αὐτη μόνον τοῦτο, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι, ἐλαττούμενος. διὸ καί, εἰ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τοιοῦτος ἦν, ἢ πλῆθός τι τοιαύταις ψυχαῖς κεχρημένον, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἦν άπιστος, ώς μη πιστεύειν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς 25 πάντη ἀθάνατον είναι. νῦν δὲ πολλαχοῦ λελωβημένην την έν τοις πλείστοις ψυχην δρώντες ούτε ώς περὶ θείου οὔτε ώς περὶ ἀθανάτου χρήματος διανοούνται. δεῖ δὲ τὴν φύσιν ἐκάστου σκοπεῖσθαι είς τὸ καθαρὸν αὐτοῦ ἀφορῶντα, ἐπείπερ τὸ προυτεθέν έμπόδιον ἀεὶ πρὸς γνωσιν τοῦ ὧ 30 προσετέθη γίγνεται. σκόπει δη ἀφελών, μᾶλλον δε ό άφελων εαυτόν ίδετω και πιστεύσει άθάνατος είναι, όταν έαυτον θεάσηται έν τῷ νοητῷ καὶ έν τῷ. καθαρώ γεγενημένον. ὄψεται γὰρ νοῦν δρώντα οὐκ αἰσθητόν τι οὐδὲ τῶν θνητῶν τούτων, ἀλλὰ ἀιδίω 35 τὸ ἀίδιον κατανοοῦντα, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ, κόσμον καὶ αὐτὸν νοητὸν καὶ φωτεινὸν γεγενημένον, άληθεία καταλαμπόμενον τῆ παοὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, δ πᾶσιν ἐπιλάμπει τοῖς νοητοῖς ἀλήθειαν· ώς πολλάκις αὐτῷ δόξαι τοῦτο δὴ καλῶς εἰρῆσθαι. χαίρετ', έγω δ' δμιν θεός άμβρυτυς πρός το 40 θείον ἀναβὰς καὶ ¹ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ ὁμοιότητα

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it must surely belong to that nature which we assert is that of all the divine and eternal. For wisdom and true virtue are divine things, and could not occur in some trivial mortal being, but something of such a kind [as to possess them] must be divine, since it has a share in divine things through its kinship and consubstantiality. For this reason any one of us who is like this would deviate very little from the beings above as far as his soul itself was concerned and would only be inferior by that part which is in body. For this reason, if every man was like this, or there were a great number who had souls like this, no one would be so unbelieving as not to believe that what is soul in men is altogether immortal. But, as it is, they see the soul in the great majority of people damaged in many ways, and do not think of it as if it was divine or immortal. But when one considers the nature of any particular thing one must concentrate on its pure form, since what is added is always a hindrance to the knowledge of that to which it has been added. Consider it by stripping, or rather let the man who has stripped look at himself and believe himself to be immortal, when he looks at himself as he has come to be in the intelligible and the pure. For he will see an intellect which sees nothing perceived by the senses, none of these mortal things, but apprehends the eternal by its eternity, and all the things in the intelligible world, having become itself an intelligible universe full of light, illuminated by the truth from the Good, which radiates truth over all the intelligibles; so he will often think that this was very well said: "Greetings, I am for you an immortal god "1 having ascended

¹ Enn., defendit Seidel: καὶ ⟨εἰς⟩ Kirchhoff*: εἰς H-S¹.

¹ Empedocles fr. B 112 Diels-Kranz 4.

45 εν τῆ κατανοήσει έαυτῆς καὶ τοῦ δ πρότερον ἦν ὥσπερ ἀγάλματα ἐν αὐτῆ ἱδρυμένα ὁρῶσα οἶα ὑπὸ χρόνου ἰοῦ πεπληρωμένα καθαρὰ ποιησαμένη οἶον εἰ χρυσὸς ἔμψυχος εἴη, εἶτα ἀποκρουσάμενος ὅσον γεηρὸν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐν ἀγνοία πρότερον ἑαυτοῦ ἄν, ὅτι μὴ χρυσὸν ἑώρα, τότε δὴ αὐτὸν ἤδη τοῦ ὅν, ὅτι μὴ χρυσὸν ἑώρα, τότε δὴ αὐτὸν ἤδη τοῦ

50 χρήματος θανμάσειεν όρων μεμονωμένον, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρα ἔδει αὐτῷ κάλλους ἐπακτοῦ ἐνθυμοῖτο, αὐτὸς κρατιστεύων, εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐψη εἶναι.

11. Περὶ τοιούτου χρήματος τίς ἂν ἀμφισβητοίη νοῦν ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ ἀθάνατον; ῷ πάρεστι μὲν ἐξ έαυτοῦ ζωή, ἢν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀπολέσθαι· πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίκτητόν γε οὖσαν οὐδ' αὖ οὕτως ἔχουσαν, 5 ὡς τῷ πυρὶ ἡ θερμότης πάρεστι; λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἐπακτὸν ἡ θερμότης τῷ πυρί, ἀλλ' ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ πυρὶ, ἀλλὰ τἢ ὑποκειμένη τῷ πυρὶ ὕλη. ταύτη γὰρ καὶ διαλύεται τὸ πῦρ. ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ οὐχ οὕτω τὴν ζωὴν ἔχει, ὡς ὕλην μὲν οὖσαν ὑποκεῖσθαι, ζωὴν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῆ γενομένην τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποδεῖξαι. 10 ἢ γὰρ οὐσία ἐστὶν ἡ ζωή, καὶ ἔστιν οὐσία ἡ τοιαύτη παρ' αὐτῆς ζῶσα, ὅπερ ἐστὶν δ ζητοῦμεν,

to the divine and concentrating totally on likeness to it. But if purification causes us to be in a state of knowledge of the best, then the sciences which lie within become apparent, the ones which really are sciences. For it is certainly not by running around outside that the soul "sees self-control and justice", but itself by itself in its understanding of itself and what it formerly was, seeing them standing in itself like splendid statues all rusted with time which it has cleaned 1: as if gold had a soul, and knocked off all that was earthy in it; it was before in ignorance of itself, because it did not see the gold, but then, seeing itself isolated, it wondered at its worth, and thought that it needed no beauty brought in from outside, being supreme itself, if only one would leave it alone by itself.

of this kind is immortal? It has life of itself, which cannot perish: for how could it, since it is not brought in from outside, nor again does soul have it in the way in which heat is present to fire. I do not mean, of course, that heat in relation to fire is something brought in from outside, but that, even if it is not so for fire, it is for the matter which underlies fire; for it is by this that fire comes to an end. But soul does not have life in this way, as if it was underlying matter and life came upon it and made it soul. For life is rather a substance, and soul is a substance of this kind, living of itself—which is the thing we are looking for—and they will admit that this is

purification "cleansed the rust of time" off them and returned to a true self-understanding. The image of the "living gold" hammering away its own dross which follows is one of Plotinus's most original dynamic images.

¹ Again the *Phaedrus* myth (247D5 ff.), but remarkably transformed. The moral forms stand, not as in Plato in the "place above the Leavens", but within the soul itself, and the soul sees them not as transcendent realities, but as included in its self-vision when it has in the course of its self-

ή ψυχή, καὶ τοῦτο ἀθάνατον ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἢ ἀναλύσουσιν ὡς σύνθετον καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν, ἔως ἂν εἰς ἀθάνατον ἔλθωσι παρ' αὐτοῦ κινούμενον, ῷ μὴ θέμις θανάτου μοῖραν δέχεσθαι. ἢ πάθος ἐπακτὸν 15 τῆ ὕλη λέγοντες τὴν ζωήν, παρ' ὅτου τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὴν ὕλην, αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο ἀναγκασθήσονται ὁμολογεῖν ἀθάνατον εἶναι, ἄδεκτον ὃν τοῦ ἐναντίου ῷ ἐπιφέρει. ἀλλὰ γάρ ἐστι μία φύσις ἐνεργείᾳ ζῶσα.

12. "Ετι εὶ πᾶσαν φήσουσι φθαρτήν, πάλαι ἂν έδει πάντα ἀπολωλέναι· εἰ δὲ τὴν μέν, τὴν δ' οὔ, οδον την τοῦ παντὸς ἀθάνατον είναι, την δ' ήμετέραν μή, λεκτέον αὐτοῖς τὴν αἰτίαν. ἀρχή τε γὰρ 5 κινήσεως έκατέρα, καὶ ζῆ παρ' αὐτῆς έκατέρα, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐφάπτεται νοοῦσα τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τά τε οὐρανοῦ ἐπέκεινα καὶ πᾶν ὅ ἐστι κατ' οὐσίαν ζητοῦσα καὶ μέχρι τῆς πρώτης ἀρχῆς ἀναβαίνουσα. ἥ τε δὲ παρ' αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτῆ θεαμάτων κατανόησις αὐτοεκάστου καὶ έξ ἀναμνή-10 σεως γιγνομένη πρό σώματός τε αὐτῆ δίδωσι τὸ είναι καὶ ἀιδίοις ἐπιστήμαις κεχρημένην ἀίδιον καὶ αὐτὴν είναι. πῶν τε τὸ λυόμενον σύνθεσιν εἰς τὸ είναι είληφὸς ταύτη διαλύεσθαι πέφυκεν, ή συνετέθη, ψυχή δὲ μία καὶ ἀπλή ἐνεργεία οὖσα ἐν τῷ 15 ζην φύσις οὐ τοίνυν ταύτη φθαρήσεται. άλλ' άρα μερισθείσα κερματιζομένη ἀπόλοιτο ἄν. ἀλλ' οὐκ όγκος τις οὐδὲ ποσόν, ώς ἐδείχθη, ή ψηιχή. ἀλλ'

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immortal, or they will treat it also as a composite and separate its parts until they come to an immortal thing moved by itself; it is against the divine law for this to accept the fate of death. Or if they say that life is an external affection of matter, they will be compelled to admit that the very thing from which this affection came into matter is immortal, unable to receive the opposite of the life it brings. But there really is one single nature which is actually alive.

12. Besides, if they are going to assert that every soul is destructible, everything ought to have perished long ago; but if they say that one soul is destructible and another is not, for instance that the soul of the All is immortal, but ours is not, they must explain why. For each of them is a principle of movement, and each of them lives of itself, and each of them apprehends the same things by the same means, thinking the things in heaven and the things beyond heaven and searching out everything which has substantial existence, and ascending to the first principle. And the intellection of the authentic reality of each thing which the soul derives from itself, from the contemplations within it, and from recollection, gives it an existence prior to body and makes it everlasting because it has everlasting knowledge. Again, everything which is dissoluble has come into existence by being put together and is naturally liable to be disintegrated in the same way in which it was put together. But the soul is a single and simple nature which has actual existence in its living; it cannot, then, be destroyed in this way. "But then if it was divided into parts it would be chopped up and so perish." But the soul, as has been demonstrated, is not a mass or a quantity.

ἀλλοιωθεῖσα ἥξει εἰς φθοράν. ἀλλ' ἡ ἀλλοίωσις φθείρουσα τὸ εἶδος ἀφαιρεῖ, τὴν δὲ ὕλην ἐᾱͅ· τοῦτο δὲ συνθέτου πάθος. εἰ οὖν κατὰ μηδὲν τούτων 20 οἶόν τε φθείρεσθαι, ἄφθαρτον εἶναι ἀνάγκη.

13. Πως οὖν τοῦ νοητοῦ χωριστοῦ ὄντος ήδε εἰς σῶμα ἔρχεται; ὅτι, ὅσος μὲν νοῦς μόνος, ἀπαθὴς έν τοις νοητοις ζωήν μόνον νοεράν έχων έκει άει μένει—οὐ γὰρ ἔνι ὁρμὴ οὐδ' ὄρεξις—ὁ δ' αν ὅρεξιν 5 προσλάβη ἐφεξῆς ἐκείνω τῷ νῷ ὄν, τῆ προσθήκη της δρέξεως οίον πρόεισιν ήδη έπὶ πλέον καὶ κοσμεῖν ὀρεγόμενον καθὰ ἐν νῷ είδεν, ὥσπερ κυοῦν άπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ώδινον γεννησαι, ποιείν σπεύδει καὶ δημιουργεί. καὶ τῆ σπουδή ταύτη περὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν τεταμένη, μετὰ μὲν πάσης τῆς τῶν ὅλων 10 ψυχης ύπερέχουσα τοῦ διοικουμένου εἰς τὸ έξω καὶ τοῦ παντός συνεπιμελουμένη, μέρος δὲ διοικείν βουληθείσα μονουμένη καὶ ἐν ἐκείνω γιγνομένη, ἐν ὧ έστιν, οὐχ ὅλη οὐδὰ πᾶσα τοῦ σώματος γενομένη, άλλά τι καὶ ἔξω σώματος ἔχουσα. οὔκουν οὐδὲ ὁ 15 ταύτης νους έμπαθής αύτη δε ότε μεν έν σώματι, ότε δε σώματος έξω, δρμηθείσα μεν άπο των πρώτων, είς δὲ τὰ τρίτα προελθοῦσα είς τὰ ἐπὶ τάδε, νοῦ ἐνεργεία τοῦ 1 μένοντος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ δὶα ψυχης πάντα καλών πληροῦντος καὶ διακοσμοῦντος, άθανάτου δι' άθανάτου, είπερ ἀεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὧν 20 έσται δι' ένεργείας άπαύστου.

 1 Harder: ἐνεργεία νοῦ ${\rm A}^{\rm pc}$: ἐνέργεια νοῦ ${\rm A}^{\rm uc}{\rm EUCD}$: ἐνέργειαν οὖ x.

"But it will come to destruction by qualitative change." But a qualitative change which destroys anything takes away its form, but leaves its matter; but this is something which happens to a compound. If then soul cannot be destroyed in any of these ways, it must be indestructible.

13. How then, since the intelligible is separate, does soul come into body? It is in this way: as much of it as is only intellect has a purely intellectual life in the intelligible and stays there for ever without being affected; but that which acquires desire, which follows immediately on that intellect, goes out further in a way by its acquisition of desire, and, desiring to impart order and beauty according to the pattern which it sees in Intellect, is as if pregnant by the intelligibles and labouring to give birth, and so is eager to make, and constructs the world. And, straining towards the sense-world by its eagerness, along with the whole of the soul of the universe it transcends what it directs and shares in the care of the All, but when it wants to direct a part it is isolated and comes to be in that part in which it is; it does not come to belong wholly and altogether to the body, but has some part as well outside the body. And not even the intellect of this [individual] soul is subject to affection; but this soul is sometimes in the body and sometimes out of the body; it starts from the first realities and goes out to the third, the things down here, by the activity of the Intellect which remains the same and fills all things through soul with beauties and sets them in order, immortal through immortal, since Intellect will be existent for ever through its inexhaustible activity.

14. Περί δὲ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ψυχῆς, ὅσαι μὲν αὐτῶν σφαλεῖσαι καὶ μέχρι θηρίων ήκον σωμάτων, άνάγκη καὶ ταύτας άθανάτους είναι. εί δὲ ἔστιν άλλο τι είδος ψυχής, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ζώσης 5 φύσεως δεί καὶ ταύτην είναι καὶ αὐτὴν οὖσαν ζωῆς τοις ζώοις αιτίαν, και δή και την έν τοις φυτοις. απασαι γὰρ ώρμήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ζωὴν έγουσαι οἰκείαν ἀσώματοί τε καὶ αδται καὶ ἀμερείς και οὐσίαι. εί δὲ τὴν ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν τριμερή ούσαν τῷ συνθέτω λυθήσεσθαι 1 (λέγεται),2 10 καὶ ἡμεῖς φήσομεν τὰς μὲν καθαρὰς ἀπαλλαττομένας τὸ προσπλασθέν έν τῆ γενέσει ἀφήσειν, τας δε τούτω συνέσεσθαι επί πλείστον άφειμένον δὲ τὸ χεῖρον οὐδὲ αὐτὸ ἀπολεῖσθαι, ἔως ἃν ἢ, ὅθεν έγει την άρχην. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ἀπολεῖται.

15. "Α μεν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποδείξεως δεομένους έγρην λέγεσθαι, είρηται. α δε καὶ προς δεομένους πίστεως αἰσθήσει κεκρατημένης, ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας της περί τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλης ούσης ἐκλεκτέον, ἔκ 5 τε ὧν θεοὶ ἀνεῖλον κελεύοντες μῆνιν ψυχῶν ήδικημένων ίλάσκεσθαι τιμάς τε νέμειν τεθνηκόσιν ώς έν αἰσθήσει οὖσι, καθὰ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ποιοῦσιν είς τοὺς ἀπεληλυθότας. πολλαὶ δὲ ψυχαὶ πρότερον εν ανθρώποις οδσαι σωμάτων έξω γενόμεναι οδκ απέστησαν τοῦ εὐεργετεῖν ἀνθρώπους· αι δή καὶ 10 μαντεῖα ἀποδειξάμεναι εἴς τε τὰ ἄλλα χρῶσαι ωφελούσι καὶ δεικνύουσι δι' αύτων καὶ περὶ των άλλων ψυχῶν, ὅτι μή εἰσιν ἀπολωλυῖαι.

1 wD: λυθήσεται xUC.

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14. As for the souls of other living things, those of them which have been failures and come into animal bodies must also be immortal. But if there is another [non-human] kind of soul, it cannot come from anywhere else than from the nature which lives, and this too must really exist and be the cause of life in living things, and the same is certainly true of the soul in plants: for they all started from the same origin and have their own life and they too are bodiless and without parts and substances. But if it is said that the human soul, since it is tripartite, will be dissolved because of its composition, we too shall say that pure souls when they are set free abandon what was plastered on to them at their birth, but the others remain with it for a very long time; but when the worse part is abandoned, even it does not perish, as long as that from which it has its origin exists. For nothing of real being perishes.

15. Well, then, we have said what needed to be said to those who require proof. But what needs to be said to those who require confidence supported by the evidence of the senses is to be selected from the body of information about such things, which is extensive; from the oracles of the gods commanding appeasement of the wrath of souls which have been wronged, and the giving of honours to the dead (which supposes that they are conscious of them), just as all men do to those who have passed away. And many souls which were formerly in human beings did not cease to benefit mankind when they were out of the body: they have established oracular shrines and give help by their prophecies in other ways and demonstrate through themselves that the other souls have also not perished.

² coniccimus: (λεχθήσεται) Igal.

IV. 8. ON THE DESCENT OF THE SOUL INTO BODIES

Introductory Note

This early treatise, written in a style which suggests that it was intended for a comparatively wide circle of readers, is particularly interesting in a number of ways. It shows more clearly than any other work of Plotinus how conscious he was of the tension between the two sides of Plato's thought about the material world and the human body, the pessimistic dualism most strikingly apparent in the *Phaedo* and the optimistic view of the physical universe as the good product of ungrudging divine goodness which all later Platonists found in the Timaeus; and it shows how hard (even if never entirely successfully) he tried to reconcile them. The movement of his thought in the treatise is worth noticing, from the pessimistic and dualistic beginning to a view (in chapters 6 and 7) of the material world and of soul's descent into body as positive and optimistic as anything in the Enneads. Read as a whole, the treatise is strong evidence against the view that there is a development in the thought of Plotinus from a pessimism about the material world with Gnostic affinities to a sane positive Hellenic view. The tension, and some never fully reconciled inconsistency, between the two sides of Platonism appears in his latest works as it does in this early one. The extremely positive attitude to matter in chapter 6 should be noted. Whether it is to be regarded as an independent reality or as derived from higher principles is a question he here leaves open (in fact he adopted the second alternative; cp. III. 4. [15] 1; II. 3. [52] 17; I. 8. [51] 7). But in either case he sees it

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here as a capacity for good rather than, as he does in later treatises, as the principle of evil (see II. 4 [12]; I. 8 [51]). The passage points forward to the abandonment of the doctrine of matter as the principle of evil and its positive valuation as an expression of the infinity immediately derived from the Good by the later Neoplatonists. The ten lines of spiritual autobiography at the beginning of chapter 1 say more about the personal experience of Plotinus than any other passage in the *Enneads*, and justify the belief generally held by his readers that very much of what he says in the *Enneads* about divine reality is in some way based on his own religious experience.

Synopsis

The experience of "waking up from the body"; how is the fact that we are in the body to be explained? What Heraclitus, Empedoeles, Pythagoras and Plato have to say about Universal Soul in the physical universe (chs. 1–2); and about the human soul and its descent to and life in the body (chs. 3–4). Reconciliation of the apparent contradiction in Plato's thought between the idea of a "fall" and the idea of a "mission" of the soul (ch. 5). The necessity of the material world as the term of the divine outgoing, and its closeness to the intelligible of which it is an image (ch. 6). Our souls need not be harmed, and may even be benefited by their necessary descent into this lower world (ch. 7). And we do not altogether descend. Our highest part remains in the intelligible, though we are not always conscious of it (ch. 8).

ΙΥ. 8. (6) ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΣΩΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΘΟΔΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΨΥΧΙΙΣ

1. Πολλάκις έγειρόμενος είς έμαυτον έκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ γινόμενος τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἔξω, ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ εἴσω, θουμαστὸν ἡλίκον ὁρῶν κάλλος, καὶ της κρείττονος μοίρας πιστεύσας τότε μάλιστα 5 είναι, ζωήν τε άρίστην ένεργήσας καὶ τῷ θείω είς ταυτον γεγενημένος και έν αυτώ ίδρυθείς είς ενέργειαν ελθών εκείνην ύπερ παν το άλλο νοητόν έμαυτὸν ίδρύσας, μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐν τῷ θείω στάσιν είς λογισμον έκ νοῦ καταβάς ἀπορῶ, πῶς ποτε καὶ νῦν καταβαίνω, καὶ ὅπως ποτέ μοι ἔνδον ἡ ψυχὴ 10 γεγένηται τοῦ σώματος τοῦτο οὖσα, οἷον ἐφάνη καθ' έαυτήν, καίπερ οὖσα ἐν σώματι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ 'Ηράκλειτος, δς ήμιν παρακελεύεται ζητείν τοῦτο, άμοιβάς τε άν αγκαίας τιθέμενος έκ των έναντίων, δδόν τε ἄνω κάτω εἰπὼν καὶ μεταβάλλον 15 ἀναπαύεται καὶ κάματός ἐστι τοῖς αὐτοῖς μοχθείν και ἄρχεσθαι εἰκάζειν ἔδωκεν ἀμελήσας σαφη ήμιν ποιησαι τὸν λόγον, ώς δέον ισως παρ' αὐτῷ ζητεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ζητήσας εδρεν. 'Εμπεδοκλής τε είπων άμαρτανούσαις νόμον είναι ταις ψυχαις πεσείν ένταθθα καὶ αὐτὸς φυγάς 20 θεόθεν γενόμενος ήκειν πίσυνος μαινομένω νείκει τοσούτον παρεγύμνου, όσον καὶ Πυθαγόρας,

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1. Often I have woken up out of the body to my self and have entered into myself, going out from all other things: I have seen a beauty wonderfully great and felt assurance that then most of all I belonged to the better part; I have actually lived the best life and come to identity with the divine; and set firm in it I have come to that supreme actuality, setting myself above all else in the realm of Intellect. Then after that rest in the divine, when I have come down from Intellect to discursive reasoning, I am puzzled how I ever came down, and how my soul has come to be in the body when it is what it has shown itself to be by itself, even when it is in the body. Heraclitus, who urges us to investigate this, positing "necessary changes" from opposite to opposite, and saying "way up and down" and "changing it is at rest", and "weariness to toil at and be subjected to the same things", has left us guessing, since he has neglected to make clear to us what he is saying, perhaps because we ought to seek by ourselves, as he himself sought and found. And Empedocles, when he said that it is a law that sinful souls should fall into this world, and that he himself has come here as "an exile from the country of the gods" who "put his trust in raving strife", revealed just as much as the riddling statements of Pythagoras

οξμαι, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἢνίττοντο περί τε τούτου περί τε πολλών ἄλλων. τῷ δὲ παρῆν καὶ διὰ ποίησιν οὐ σαφεῖ εἶναι. λείπεται δὴ ἡμῖν ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων, δς πολλά τε καὶ καλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς εἶπε 25 περί τε ἀφίξεως αὐτῆς πολλαχῆ εἴρηκεν ἐν τοῖς αύτοῦ λόγοις, ώστε έλπίδα ήμιν είναι λαβείν παρ' αὐτοῦ σαφές τι. τί οὖν λέγει ὁ φιλόσοφος οὖτος; οὐ ταὐτὸν λέγων πανταχή φανεῖται, ἵνα ἄν τις ἐκ ραδίας τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς βούλημα εἶδεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ αίσθητὸν πῶν πανταχοῦ ἀτιμάσας καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ 30 σώμα κοινωνίαν τῆς ψυχῆς μεμψάμενος ἐν δεσμῶ τε είναι καὶ τεθάφθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει, καὶ τον έν απορρήτοις λεγόμενον λόγον μέγαν είναι, δε εν φρουρά την ψυχήν φησιν είναι καὶ τὸ σπήλαιον αὐτῶ, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ τὸ 35 ἄντρον, τόδε τὸ πᾶν-δοκῶ μοι-λέγειν, ὅπου γέ λύσιν των δεσμών καὶ ἄνοδον ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου τη ψωχή φησιν είναι την πρός το νοητόν πορείαν. έν δὲ Φαίδρω πτερορρύησιν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνταῦθα άφίξεως καὶ περίοδοι αὐτῷ ἀνελθοῦσαν πάλιν φέρουσι τῆδε, καὶ κρίσεις δὲ καταπέμπουσιν ἄλλας 40 ἐνταῦθα καὶ κλῆροι καὶ τύχαι καὶ ἀνάγκαι. καὶ έν τούτοις ἄπασι μεμψάμενος τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς άφιξιν πρὸς σῶμα, ἐν Τιμαίω περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ

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and his followers about this, and many other matters (and, besides, he is unclear because he writes poetry). We are left with the godlike Plato, who said many fine things about the soul and about its coming [into this world] in his writings, so that we hope we can get something clear from him. What, then, does this philosopher say? He is obviously not saving the same thing everywhere, so that one can easily know what his intention is; but he everywhere speaks with contempt of the whole world of sense and disapproves of the soul's fellowship with body and says that soul is fettered and buried in it, and that "the esoteric saying is a great one", which asserts that the soul is "in custody"; and his cave, like the den of Empedocles, means, I think, this universe, where he says that the soul's journey to the intelligible world is a "release from fetters" and an " ascent from the cave". And in the Phaedrus he makes "moulting" the cause of coming here; and he has cycles which bring here again the soul which has ascended, and judgments send others down here, and lots and chances and necessities. And, though in all these passages he disapproves of the soul's coming to body, in the *Timaeus* when speaking about

Anth. I 49 p. 378, 21-5) and Stobaeus; the other Heraclitus quotations are fr. B 60, B 84a, and B 84b DK (the last two known from Plotinus alone). The Empedoeles quotation is from B 115 DK, lines 13-14. The impatience with which Pythagoras and his followers are dismissed is noteworthy: for Numenius and other Neopythagoreans before Plotinus, and for the later Neoplatonists after him, Pythagoras was a traditional authority if anything more venerable than Plato. The attitude of Plotinus to Pythagoras is here closer to that of Aristotle than to that which was normal in his own school-tradition.

¹ Plotinus here starts from an account of his own personal experience unique in the *Enneads*, and then turns to tradition to help him to explain that experience. As always, he spends little time in considering the Pre-Socratics and does not seem to find them very helpful. "Necessary changes" is a phrase attributed to Heraclitus by both Iamblichus (cp. Stobaeus

παντὸς λέγων τόν τε κόσμον ἐπαινεῖ καὶ θεὸν λέγει εἶναι εὐδαίμονα τήν τε ψυχὴν παρὰ ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἔννουν τόδε τὸ πᾶν εἶναι 45 δεδόσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἔννουν μὲν αὐτὸ ἔδει εἶναι, ἄνευ δὲ ψυχῆς οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν τοῦτο γενέπθαι. ἤ τε οὖν ψυχὴ ἡ τοῦ παντὸς τούτου χάριν εἰς αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπέμφθη, ἤ τε ἑκάστου ἡμῶν, πρὸς τὸ τέλεον αὐτὸ εἶναι· ἐπειδὴ ἔδει, ὅσα ἐν νοητῷ κόσμῳ, τὰ 50 αὐτὰ ταῦτα γένη ζῷων καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰσθητῷ ὑπάρ-

2. "Ωστε ήμιν συμβαίνει περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν ζητήσασιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ὅλως ζητῆσαι, πῶς ποτε κοινωνεῖν σώματι πέφυκε, καὶ περὶ κόσμου φύσεως τοιόν τινα δεῖ αὐτὸν τίθεσθαι, ἐν ῷ ψυχὴ ἐνδιαιταται ἐκοῦσα εἴτε ἀναγκασθεῖσα εἴτε τις ἄλλος τρόπος καὶ περὶ ποιητοῦ δέ, εἴτε ὀρθῶς εἴτε ὡς ἡμέτεραι, ψυχαὶ ἴσως, ας ἔδει σώματα διοικούσας χείρω δι' αὐτῶν εἴσω πολὺ δῦναι, εἴπερ ἔμελλον κρατήσειν, 10 σκεδασθέντος μὲν ἀν ἐκάστου καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον τόπον φερομένου—ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ πάντα ἐν οἰκείω κατὰ φύσιν κεῖται—πολλῆς δὲ καὶ ὀχλώδους προνοίας δεομένων, ἄτε πολλῶν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων αὐτοῖς προσπιπτόντων ἀεί τε ἐνδεία συνεχομένων καὶ

this All he praises the universe and calls it a blessed god, and says that the soul was given by the goodness of the Craftsman, so that this All might be intelligent, because it had to be intelligent, and this could not be without soul. The Soul of the All, then, was sent into it for this reason by the god, and the soul of each one of us was sent that the All might be perfect: since it was necessary that all the very same kinds of living things which were in the intelligible world should also exist in the world perceived by the senses.¹

2. So that what happens to us when we seek to learn from Plato about our own soul is that we have also to undertake a general enquiry about soul, about how it has ever become naturally adapted to fellowship with body, and about what kind of a universe we ought to suppose that it is in which soul dwells, willingly or under compulsion or in any other way; and about its maker, whether [he has done his work] rightly, or whether perhaps [the Soul of the All] is in the same state as our souls, which, since they direct worse bodies, had to sink deep into the world because of them, if they were going to control them, as otherwise each [element of the individual bodies] would be dispersed and carried to its appropriate place—but in the All all parts are naturally set in their appropriate place-and our individual bodies need a great deal of troublesome thought, since many alien forces assail them and they are continually in the grip of poverty, and require every

principal Platonic authorities for the negative view of the soul's descent into the world, the *Timaeus* the principal authority for the positive view.

¹ As always, Plotinus thinks that Plato will be our best guide to the truth if we take the trouble to interpret him rightly and to reconcile his apparent contradictions. The passages in Plato's dialogues quoted or alluded to here are Phaedo 67D1; Cratylus 400C2; Phaedo 62B2-5; Republic 514A5; 515C4; 517B4-5; Phaedrus 246C2; 247D4-5; 249A6; Republic 619D7; Timaeus 34B8. The Phaedo, the image of the cave in the Republic, and the Phaedrus myth are for Plotinus the

πάσης βοηθείας ώς έν πολλή δυσχερεία δεομένων. 15 τὸ δὲ τέλεόν τε ὂν καὶ ίκανὸν καὶ αὔταρκες καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχον αὐτῷ παρὰ φύσιν βραχέος οἶον κελεύσματος δείται και ώς πέφυκε ψυχή εθέλειν, ταύτη καὶ ἀεὶ ἔχει οὖτ' ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσα οὔτε πάσχουσα· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄπεισιν οὐδὲ πρόσεισι. διό καί φησι καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, εἰ μετ' ἐκείνης 20 γένοιτο τελέας, τελεωθείσαν καὶ αὐτὴν μετεωροπορείν και πάντα τὸν κόσμον διοικείν, ότε ἀφίσταται εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐντὸς εἶναι τῶν σωμάτων μηδέ τινος είναι, τότε καὶ αὐτὴν ὥσπερ τὴν τοῦ παντός συνδιοικήσειν ραδίως το παν, ώς οὐ κακὸν ὂν ψυχη όπωσοῦν σώματι παρέχειν την 25 τοῦ εὖ δύναμιν καὶ τοῦ εἶναι, ὅτι μὴ πᾶσα πρόνοια τοῦ χείρονος ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀρίστῳ τὸ προνοοῦν μένειν. διττή γαρ επιμέλεια παντός, τὸ 1 μεν καθόλου κελεύσει κοσμοῦντος ἀπράγμονι ἐπιστασία βασιλική, τὸ δὲ καθέκαστα ήδη αὐτουργῷ τινι 30 ποιήσει συναφή τη πρός τὸ πραττόμενον τὸ πραττον τοῦ πραττομένου τῆς φύσεως ἀναπιμπλασα. της δε θείας ψυχης τούτον τον τρόπον τον ούρανον ἄπαντα διοικεῖν ἀεὶ λεγομένης, ὑπερεχούσης μὲν τῶ κρείττονι, δύναμιν δὲ τὴν ἐσχάτην εἰς τὸ εἴσω πεμπούσης, αἰτίαν μεν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ αν ἔτι λέγοιτο 35 έχειν την του την ψυχην του παντός έν χείρονι πεποιηκέναι, ή τε ψυχή οὐκ ἀπεστέρηται τοῦ κατά φύσιν εξ αιδίου τοῦτ΄ έχουσα καὶ έξουσα ἀεί, ο μή οίόν τε παρά φύσιν αὐτῆ είναι, ὅπερ διηνεκῶς αὐτῆ άεὶ ὑπάρχει οὔποτε ἀρξάμενον. τάς τε τῶν ἀστέ-

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sort of help as being in great trouble. But since [the body of the universe] is perfect and adequate and self-sufficient and there is nothing in it contrary to its nature it needs only a kind of brief command; and its soul is always as it naturally wants to be; it has no desires and is not affected: for [the world's body] "loses nothing and gains nothing". For this reason Plato says that our soul as well, if it comes to be with that perfect soul, is perfected itself and "walks on high and directs the whole universe"; when it departs to be no longer within bodies and not to belong to any of them, then it also like the Soul of the All will share with ease in the direction of the All, since it is not evil in every way for soul to give body the ability to flourish and to exist, because not every kind of provident care for the inferior deprives the being exercising it of its ability to remain in the highest. For there are two kinds of care of everything, the general, by the inactive command of one setting it in order with royal authority, and the particular, which involves actually doing something oneself and by contact with what is being done infects the doer with the nature of what is being done. Now, since the divine soul is always said to direct the whole heaven in the first way, transcendent in its higher part but sending its last and lowest power into the interior of the world, God could not still be blamed for making the soul of the All exist in something worse, and the soul would not be deprived of its natural due, which it has from eternity and will have for ever, which cannot be against its nature in that it belongs to it continually and without beginning.

¹ Timaeus 33C6-7.

² Phaedrus 246C1-2.

3. Περί δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ψυχῆς, ἡ ἐν σώματι πάντα λέγεται κακοπαθεῦν καὶ ταλαιπωρεῦν ἐν ἀνοίαις καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ φόβοις καὶ τοῦς ἄλλοις κακοῦς γιγνομένη, ἡ καὶ δεσμὸς τὸ σῶμα 5 καὶ τάφος, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτῆ σπήλαιον καὶ ἄντρον, ἥντινα γνώμην οὐ διάφωνον ἔχει ἐκ τῶν αἰτιῶν οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν τῆς καθόδου, νῦν λέγωμεν. ὅντος τοίνιν παντὸς νοῦ ἐν τῷ τῆς νοήσεως τόπω ὅλου τε καὶ παντός, ὃν δὴ κόσμον νοητὸν τιθέμεθα, ὅντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτω περιεχομένων νοερῶν

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And when Plato says that the souls of the stars are related to their bodies in the same way as the Allfor he inserts their bodies also into the circles of the soul 1—he keeps safe for them also their appropriate state of well-being. For, as there are two reasons why the soul's fellowship with body is displeasing, that body becomes a hindrance to thought and that it fills the soul with pleasures, desires and griefs,2 neither of these things could happen to a soul which has not sunk into the interior of its body, and is not anyone's property, and does not belong to the body, but the body belongs to it, and is of such a kind as to want nothing and be defective in nothing; so that the soul will not be filled with desires or fears; for it will never have any frightening expectations about a body of this kind, nor does any business make it turn to what is below and take it away from the better, blessed vision, but it is always directed to those higher realities and sets this world in order with a power which requires no active effort.

3. As for what Plato says about the human soul, which is said to suffer all kinds of evils and to be in misery because it comes to exist among stupidities and desires and fears and all other evils, in that the body is its chain and tomb and the universe its cave and den, let us now state his thought about it, not inconsistent because the reasons [which he gives] for its descent are different. Now since universal Intellect exists in the realm of thought as a universal whole, which we call the intelligible universe, and since there also exist the intellectual powers con-

¹ Timaeus 38C7-8.

² Phaedo 65A10 and 66C2-3.

10 δυνάμεων καὶ νόων τῶν καθέκαστα—οὐ γὰρ εἶς μόνος, άλλ' είς καὶ πολλοί—πολλὰς έδει καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ μίαν εἶναι, καὶ ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς τὰς πολλὰς διαφόρους, ώσπερ έκ γένους ένὸς εἴδη τὰ μὲν ἀμείνω, τὰ δὲ χείρω, νοερώτερα, τὰ δ' ἦττον ἐνεργεία τοιαῦτα. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἐν τῶ νῶ τὸ μὲν νοῦς περιέχων δυνά-15 μει τάλλα οἷον ζώον μέγα, τὰ δὲ ἐνεργεία ἔκαστον, α δυνάμει περιείχε θάτερον οδον εί πόλις έμψυχος ην περιεκτική εμψύχων ἄλλων, τελειοτέρα μεν ζή >1 πόλεως καὶ δυνατωτέρα, οὐδὸν μὴν ἐκώλυε τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως είναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας. ἢ ώς ἐκ τοῦ 20 παντός πυρός τὸ μὲν μέγα, τὸ δὲ μικρὰ πυρὰ εἴη· ἔστι δὲ ἡ πᾶσα οὐσία ἡ τοῦ παντὸς πυρός, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀφ' ής καὶ τοῦ παντός. ψυχης δὲ ἔργον της λογικωτέρας νοείν μέν, οὐ τὸ νοείν δὲ μόνον· τί γὰρ αν καὶ νοῦ διαφέροι; προσλαβοῦσα γὰρ τῷ νοερά είναι καὶ ἄλλο, καθὸ νοῦς οὐκ ἔμεινεν· ἔχει τε 25 ἔργον καὶ αὐτή, εἴπερ πᾶν, ὁ ἐὰν ἢ τῶν νοητῶν. βλέπουσα δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸ πρὸ ἐαυτῆς νοεῖ, εἰς δὲ έαυτην το μετ' αὐτην [ο] 2 κοσμεῖ τε καὶ διοικεῖ καὶ ἄρχει αὐτοῦ· ὅτι μηδὲ οἶόν τε ἦν στῆναι τὰ

4. Τὰς δὴ καθέκαστα ψυχὰς ὀρέξει μὲν νοερῆ

πάντα έν τῷ νοητῷ, δυναμένου ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἄλλου

γενέπθαι έλάττονος μέν, αναγκαίου δε είναι, είπερ

1 Kirchhoff*.

2 del. Kirchhoff*.

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tained in this and the individual intellects-for Intellect is not only one, but one and many—there had to be many souls and one soul, and the many different souls springing from the one, like the species of one genus, some better and others worse, some more intelligent, and some whose intelligence is less actualized. For There, in Intellect, we have on the one hand Intellect potentially including the others like a great living creature, and on the other the individual intellects, each of which actualizes a potentiality which the other [universal] intellect includes; as if. supposing that a city had a soul and included other beings with souls, the soul of the city would be more complete and more powerful, but there would certainly be nothing to prevent the others from being the same kind of thing. Or it is like universal fire. from which comes the great fire and the little ones: but the universal substance is that of the universal fire, or rather that from which the substance of the universal fire comes. The work, then, of the more rational kind of soul is intellection, but not only intellection; for [if it was] why would it be different from Intellect? For by adding to its being intelligent something else, according to which it did not remain intelligence, it itself also has a work to do, like any other intelligible reality which exists. But when it looks to what comes before it it exercises its intelligence, when it looks to itself it sets in order what comes after it and directs and rules it; because everything could not be stationary in the intelligible. when it was possible for something else as well to exist next in order to it, something less, but something which must exist if that before it exists.

4. The individual souls, certainly, have an intelli-

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30 καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

χρωμένας ἐν τῆ ἐξ οῦ ἐγένοντο πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπιστροφη, δύναμιν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπίταδε ἐχούσας, οἶά περ φως έξηρτημένον μέν κατά τὰ ἄνω ήλίου, τῷ δὲ 5 μετ' αὐτὸ οὐ φθονοῦν τῆς χορηγίας, ἀπήμονας μέν είναι μετὰ τῆς ὄλης μενούσας ἐν τῷ νοητῷ, ἐν ούρανω δε μετά της όλης συνδιοικείν έκείνη, οία οί βασιλεί τῶν πάντων κρατοῦντι συνόντες συνδιοικοῦσιν ἐκείνω οὐ καταβαίνοντες οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων τόπων καὶ γάρ εἰσιν όμοῦ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ 10 τότε. μεταβάλλουσαι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου εἰς τὸ μέρος τε είναι καὶ έαυτῶν καὶ οίον κάμνουσαι τὸ σύν αλλω είναι αναχωρούσιν είς τὸ έαυτων έκάστη. όταν δή τοῦτο διὰ χρόνων ποιῆ φεύγουσα τὸ πᾶν καὶ τῆ διακρίσει ἀποστᾶσα καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν 15 βλέπη, μέρος γενομένη μονοθταί τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖ καὶ πολυπραγμονεί καὶ πρὸς μέρος βλέπει καὶ τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου χωρισμῷ ἐνός τινος ἐπιβᾶσα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν φυγοῦσα, ἐλθοῦσα καὶ στραφεῖσα εἰς τὸ ε̈ν έκεῖνο πληττόμενον ύπο των όλων κατά παν, τοῦ τε δλου ἀπέστη καὶ τὸ καθέκαστον μετὰ περιστά-20 σεως διοικεῖ ἐφαπτομένη ήδη καὶ θεραπεύουσα τὰ έξωθεν καὶ παρούσα καὶ δύσα αὐτοῦ πολὺ εἰς τὸ είσω. ἔνθα και συμβαίνει αὐτῆ τὸ λεγόμενον πτερορρυήσαι καὶ ἐν δεσμοῖς τοῖς τοῦ σώματος γενέσθαι άμαρτούση τοῦ άβλαβοῦς τοῦ ἐν τῆ διοικήσει

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gent desire consisting in the impulse to return to itself springing from the principle from which they came into being, but they also possess a power directed to the world here below, like a light which depends from the sun in the upper world but does not grudge of its abundance to what comes after it. and they are free from sorrow if they remain with universal soul in the intelligible, but in heaven with the universal soul they can share in its government. like those who live with a universal monarch and share in the government of his empire; these also do not come down from the abode of royalty: for they are then all together in the same [place]. But they change from the whole to being a part and belonging to themselves, and, as if they were tired of being together, they each go to their own. Now when a soul does this for a long time, flying from the All and standing apart in distinctness, and does not look towards the intelligible, it has become a part and is isolated and weak and fusses and looks towards a part and in its separation from the whole it embarks on one single thing and flies from everything else; it comes to and turns to that one thing battered by the totality of things in every way, and has left the whole and directs the individual part with great difficulty; it is by now applying itself to and caring for things outside and is present and sinks deep into the individual part. Here the "moulting", as it is called, happens to it, and the being in the fetters of the body, since it has missed the immunity which it had when it was with the universal soul directing

the free universality of its higher state to bind itself to the particular. This for him provides the key to the understanding of the Platonic passages referred to in ch. 1.

¹ This is a particularly clear expression of Plotinus's constant conviction that the sin of the soul is self-isolation, individualism, a turning away (never quite complete) from

- 30 τε ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν, ὅταν ἀρχὴν λάβῃ ἐξ ἀναμνήσεως θε ᾶσθαι τὰ ὅντα· ἔχει γάρ τι ἀεὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑπερέχον τι. γίγνονται οὖν οἶον ἀμφίβιοι ἐξ ἀνάγκης τόν τε ἐκεῖ βίον τόν τε ἐνταῦθα παρὰ μέρος βιοῦσαι, πλεῖον μὲν τὸν ἐκεῖ, αἷ δύνανται πλεῖον τῶ νῶ συνεῖναι, τὸν δὲ ἐνθάδε
- 35 πλείον, αις τὸ ἐναντίον ἢ φύσει ἢ τύχαις ὑπῆρξεν. α δὴ ὑποδεικνὺς ὁ Πλάτων ἠρέμα, ὅτε διαιρεῖ αιν τὰ ¹ ἐκ τοῦ ὑστέρου κρατῆρος καὶ μέρη ποιεῖ, τότε καί φησιν ἀναγκαῖον είναι εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθεῖν, ἐπείπερ ἐγένοντο μέρη τοιαῦτα. εἰ δὲ λέγει σπεῖραι τὸν θεὸν αὐτάς, οὕτως ἀκουστέον, ὥσπερ ὅταν καὶ
- 40 λέγοντα καὶ οἰον δημηγοροῦντα ποιῆ· ἃ γὰρ ἐν φύσει ἐστὶ τῶν ὅλων, ταῦτα ἡ ὑπόθεσις γεννῷ τε καὶ ποιεῖ εἰς δεῖξιν προάγουσα ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἀεὶ οὕτω γιγνόμενά τε καὶ ὄντα.
 - Οὐ τοίνυν διαφωνεῖ ἀλλήλοις ἥ τε εἰς γένεσιν
 Igal: αὐτὰ Enn.: αὐτὰς Kirchhoff.

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the better part [of the universe]; it was altogether better for it before when it was running upwards: it is fallen, therefore, and is caught, and is engaged with its fetter, and acts by sense because its new beginning prevents it from acting by intellect, and it is said to be buried and in a cave, but, when it turns to intelligence, to be freed from its fetters and to ascend, when it is started on the contemplation of reality by recollection: for, in spite of everything, it always possesses something transcendent in some way. Souls, then, become, one might say, amphibious, compelled to live by turns the life There, and the life here: those which are able to be more in the company of Intellect live the life There more, but those whose normal condition is, by nature or chance, the opposite, live more the life here below. Plato indicates this unobtrusively when he distinguishes again the products of the second mixing-bowl and makes parts of them; then he says also that they must enter into becoming, since they became parts of this kind. But if he says that God "sowed" them, this must be understood in the same way as when he makes God talk, and even deliver a kind of public speech; for the plan of his exposition generates and makes the things which exist in the nature of the Whole, bringing out in succession for purposes of demonstration what are always coming into being and always existing there.

5. There is then no contradiction between the

¹ Cp. Plato *Timaeus* 41D5-8. There is in fact only one "mixing-bowl" in Plato, though there are two mixtures. But Atticus before Plotinus and Theodore of Asine after him read two mixing-bowls into the Platonic text, as Proclus notes with disapproval (*In Tim.* III 248-7 Diehl).

σπορά ή τε είς τελείωσιν κάθοδος τοῦ παντός, ή τε δίκη τό τε σπήλαιον, ή τε ανάγκη τό τε έκούσιον, ἐπείπερ ἔχει τὸ ἐκούσιον ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ το ἐν κακῶ 5 τω σώματι είναι· οὐδ' ή Ἐμπεδοκλέους φυγή ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πλάνη οὐδ' ἡ άμαρτία, ἐφ' ἡ ἡ δίκη, οὐδ' ή Ἡρακλείτου ἀνάπαυλα ἐν τῆ φυγῆ, οὐδ' όλως τὸ έκούσιον τῆς καθόδου καὶ τὸ ἀκούσιον αὖ. πῶν μὲν γὰρ ἰὸν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀκούσιον, φορᾶ γε μὴν οἰκεία ἰὸν πάσχον τὰ χείρω ἔχειν λέγεται 10 την έφ' οδς ἔπραξε δύκην. ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα πάσγειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἢ ἀναγκαῖον ἀιδίως φύσεως νόμω, τὸ δὲ συμβαίνον είς ἄλλου του χρείαν έν τῆ προσόδω άπαντα καταβαίνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτόν, θεὸν εἴ τις λέγοι καταπέμψαι, οὐκ ἂν ἀσύμφωνος οὖτε τῆ 15 άληθεία οὖτε έαυτῷ ἂν εἴη. καὶ γὰρ ἀφ' ἦς ἀρχῆς έκαστα, εί καὶ τὰ μεταξύ πολλά, καὶ τὰ έσχατα είς αὐτὴν ἀναφέρεται. διττής δὲ τής άμαρτίας ούσης, της μεν έπὶ τη τοῦ κατελθείν αἰτία, της δέ έπὶ τῷ ἐνθάδε γενομένην κακὰ δρᾶσαι, ⟨δίκη⟩ ή μέν έστιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὁ πέπονθε κατελθοῦσα, τῆς 20 δὲ τὸ ἔλαττον εἰς σώματα ἄλλα δῦναι καὶ θᾶττον έκ κρίσεως της κατ' άξίαν-δ δη θεσμώ θείω γιγνόμενον διὰ τοῦ τῆς κρίσεως ὀνόματος δηλοῦται -τὸ δὲ τῆς κακίας ἄμετρον εἶδος μείζονος καὶ τῆς δίκης ηξίωται ἐπιστασία τινυμένων δαιμόνων. 25 οὖτω τοι καίπερ οὖσα θεῖον καὶ ἐκ τῶν τόπων τῶν άνω έντὸς γίνεται τοῦ σώματος καὶ θεὸς οὖσα δ υστερος ροπή αὐτεξουσίω καὶ αἰτία δυνάμεως καὶ

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sowing to birth and the descent for the perfection of the All, and the judgment and the cave, and necessity and free-will (since necessity contains the freewill) and the being in the body as an evil; nor [is there anything inconsistent about | Empedocles' flight from God and wandering nor the sin upon which judgment comes, nor Heraclitus' rest on the flight, nor in general the willingness and also the unwillingness of the descent. For everything which goes to the worse does so unwillingly, but, since it goes by its own motion, when it experiences the worse it is said to be punished for what it did. But when it is eternally necessary by the law of nature that it should do and experience these things, and, descending from that which is above it, it meets the need of something else in its encounter with it, if anyone said that a god sent it down he would not be out of accord with the truth or with himself. For final results are referred to the principle from which they spring, even if there are many intervening stages. And since the sin of the soul can refer to two things, either to the course of the descent or to doing evil when the soul has arrived here below, the punishment of the first is the very experience of descent. and of the lesser degree of the second the entrance, and a very quick one, into other bodies according to the judgment passed on its deserts-the word "judgment" indicates what happens by divine decree—but the boundless kind of wickedness is judged to deserve greater punishment in charge of chastising spirits. So then the soul, though it is divine and comes from above, enters into the body and, though it is a god of the lowest rank, comes to this world by a spontaneous inclination, its own power and the

τοῦ μετ' αὐτὴν κοσμήσει ὡδὶ ἔρχεται· κὰν μὲν θᾶττον φύγῃ, οὐδὲν βέβλαπται γνῶσιν κακοῦ προσλαβοῦσα καὶ φύσιν κακίας γνοῦσα τάς τε 30 δυνάμεις ἄγουσα αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ φανερὸν καὶ δείξασα ἔργα τε καὶ ποιήσεις, ἃ ἐν τῷ ἀσωμάτῳ ἠρεμοῦντα μάτην τε ὰν ἡν εἰς τὸ ἐνεργεῦν ἀεὶ οὐκ ἰόντα, τήν τε ψυχὴν αὐτὴν ἔλαθεν ἃν ἃ εἶχεν οὐκ ἐκφανέντα οὐδὲ πρόοδον λαβόντα· εἴπερ πανταχοῦ ἡ ἐνέργεια τὴν δύναμιν ἔδειξε κρυφθεῖσαν ἂν ἁπάντη καὶ 5 οἷον ἀφανισθεῖσαν καὶ οὐκ οὖσαν μηδέποτε ὅντως οὖσαν. νῦν μὲν γὰρ θαῦμα ἔχει τῶν ἔνδον ἕκαστος διὰ τῆς ποικιλίας τῶν ἔξω, οἷον ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ τὰ γλαφυρὰ ταῦτα δρᾶσαι.

6. Εἴπερ οὖν δεῖ μὴ εν μόνον εἶναι—ἐκέκρυπτο γὰρ ἂν πάντα μορφὴν ἐν ἐκείνω οὐκ ἔχοντα, οὐδ' ἂν ὑπῆρχέ τι τῶν ὅντων στάντος ἐν αὑτῷ ἐκείνου, οὐδ' ἂν τὸ πλῆθος ἡν ἂν τῶν ὅντων τούτων τῶν ἀπὸ ὅτοῦ ἐνὸς γενιηθέντων μὴ τῶν μετ' αὐτὰ τὴν πρόοδον λαβόντων, ἃ ψυχῶν εἴληχε τάξιν—τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδὲ ψυχὰς ἔδει μόνον εἶναι μὴ τῶν δι' αὐτὰς γενομένων ψανέντων, εἴπερ ἑκάστῃ ψύσει τοῦτο ἔνεστι τὸ μετ' αὐτὴν ποιεῖν καὶ ἐξελίττεσθαι οἷον σπέρματος ἔκ τινος ἀμεροῦς ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος 10 τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἰούσης, μένοντος μὲν ἀεὶ τοῦ προτέρου

setting in order of what comes after it being the cause of its descent. If it escapes quickly it takes no harm by acquiring a knowledge of evil and coming to know the nature of wickedness, and manifesting its powers, making apparent works and activities which if they had remained quiescent in the spiritual world would have been of no use because they would never have come into actuality; and the soul itself would not have known the powers it had if they had not come out and been revealed. Actuality everywhere reveals completely hidden potency, in a way obliterated and non-existent because it does not yet truly exist. As things are, everyone wonders at what is within because of the varied splendour of the outside and admires what the doer is because it does these fine things.

6. If, then, there must not be just one alone—for then all things would have been hidden, shapeless within that one, and not a single real being would have existed if that one had stayed still in itself, nor would there have been the multiplicity of these real beings which are generated from the One, if the things after them had not taken their way out which have received the rank of souls—in the same way there must not be just souls alone either, without the manifestation of the things produced through them, if this is in every nature, to produce what comes after it and to unfold itself as a seed does, from a partless beginning which proceeds to

communication of the One, there on the degeneration and weakening which is the inevitable result of the passage from unity to multiplicity.

the final stage perceived by the senses, with what comes before abiding for ever in its own proper

¹ The same image of the seed is used in III. 7. 11. 23-7, but with a significant difference of tone: here the emphasis is on the both necessary and generous self-expansion and self-

έν τῆ οἰκεία ἔδρα, τοῦ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸ οໂον γεννωμένου έκ δυνάμεως άφάτου, οση έν έκείνοις, ην οὐκ ἔδει στήσαι οἷον περιγράψαντα φθόνω, χωρείν δὲ ἀεί, έως είς έσχατον μέχρι τοῦ δυνατοῦ τὰ πάντα ήκη 15 αλτία δυνάμεως απλέτου έπὶ πάντα παρ' αύτης πεμπούσης καὶ οὐδὲν περαδεῖν ἄμοιρον αύτῆς δυναμένης. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἦν δ ἐκώλυεν ότιοῦν ἄμοιρον είναι φύσεως ἀγαθοῦ, καθόσον ἕκαστον οἱόν τ' ἦν μεταλαμβάνειν. είτ' οὖν ἦν ἀεὶ ἡ τῆς ὕλης φύσις, ούχ οδόν τε ην αὐτην μη μετασχείν οὖσαν τοῦ πᾶσι 20 τὸ ἀναθὸν καθόσον δύναται ἕκαστον χορηγοῦντος; είτ' ηκολούθησεν έξ ανάγκης ή γένεσις αὐτῆς τοις πρό αὐτης αἰτίοις, οὐδ' ὧς ἔδει χωρίς είναι, άδυναμία πρίν είς αὐτὴν έλθεῖν στάντος τοῦ καὶ τὸ είναι οίον εν χάριτι δόντος. δείζις οὖν τῶν ἀρίστων έν νοητοίς το έν αἰσθητῷ κάλλιστον, τῆς τε 25 δυνάμεως της τε άγαθότητος αὐτῶν, καὶ συνέχεται πάντα είσαεὶ τά τε νοητῶς τά τε αἰσθητῶς ὄντα, τὰ μὲν παρ' αὐτῶν ὄντα, τὰ δὲ μετοχῆ τούτων τὸ είναι είσαεὶ λαβόντα, μιμούμενα τὴν νοητὴν καθόσον δύναται ψύσιν.

7. Διττής δὲ φύσεως ταύτης οὔσης, νυητής, τής δὲ αἰσθητής, ἄμεινον μὲν ψυχή ἐν τῷ νοητῷ εἶναι, ἀνάγκη γε μὴν ἔχειν καὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν τοιαύτην φύσιν ἔχούση, καὶ οὐκ ἀγανακτη-

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dwelling-place, but, in a way, bringing to birth what comes after it from a power unspeakably great, all the power which was in those higher beings, which could not stand still as if it had drawn a line round itself in selfish jealousy, but had to go on for ever, until all things have reached the ultimate possible limit [impelled] by the power itself, which sends them out and cannot leave anything without a share of itself. For there was certainly nothing which hindered anything whatever from having a share in the nature of good, as far as each thing was able to participate in it. The nature of matter, then, either existed for ever, and it was impossible for it, since it existed, not to participate in that which grants all things as much good as each one of them can take; or else its coming into being was a necessary consequence of the causes before it, and not even so was it required to be separate because that which gave it existence as a kind of gracious gift became stationary through lack of power before it came to it. The greatest beauty in the world of sense, therefore, is a manifestation of the noblest among the intelligibles, of their power and of their goodness, and all things are held together for ever, those which exist intelligibly and those which exist perceptibly, the intelligibles existing of themselves and the things perceived by the senses receiving their existence for ever by participation in them, imitating the intelligible nature as far as they can.

7. Since this nature is twofold, partly intelligible and partly perceptible, it is better for the soul to be in the intelligible, but all the same, since it has this kind of nature, it is necessarily bound to be able to participate in the perceptible, and it should not

5 τέον αὐτὴν ἐαυτῆ, εἰ μὴ πάντα ἐστὶ τὸ κρεῖττον, μέσην τάξιν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐπισχοῦσαν, θείας μὲν μοίρας οὖσαν, ἐν ἐσχάτω δὲ τοῦ νοητοῦ οὖσαν, ώς ὅμορον οὖσαν τῆ αἰσθητῆ φύσει διδόναι μέν τι τούτω τῶν παρ' ούτῆς, ἀντιλαμβάνειν δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τοῦ αύτῆς ἀσφαλοῦς διακοσμοῖ, 10 προθυμία δὲ πλείονι εἰς τὸ εἴσω δύοιτο μὴ μείνασα όλη μεθ' όλης, άλλως τε καὶ δυνατόν αὐτῆ πάλιν έξαναδύναι, ίστορίαν ών ένταθθα είδέ τε καὶ έπαθε προσλαβούση καὶ μαθούση, οδον ἄρα ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ είναι, και τη παραθέσει των οίον εναντίων οίον 15 σαφέστερον τὰ ἀμείνω μαθούση. γνῶσις γὰρ έναργεστέρα τάγαθοῦ ή τοῦ κακοῦ πεῖρα οἷς ή δύναμις ἀσθενεστέρα, ἢ ἄστε ἐπιστήμη τὸ κακὸν πρό πείρας γνώναι. ώσπερ δε ή νοερά διέξοδος κατάβασίς έστιν είς έσχατον τὸ χειρον—οὐ γὰρ ἔνι είς τὸ ἐπέκεινα ἀναβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἐνεργήσασαν 20 έξ έαυτης καὶ μη δυνηθείσαν μείναι έφ' έαυτης φύσεως δε 1 ανάγκη και νόμω μέχρι ψυχης έλθειν: τέλος γὰρ αὐτῆ τοῦτο: ταύτη δὲ τὸ ἐφεξῆς παραδοῦναι αὐτὴν πάλιν ἀναδραμοῦσαν—οὕτως καὶ ψηιχης ενέργεια τὸ μεν μετ' αὐτην τὰ τῆδε, τὸ δέ πρό αὐτῆς ἡ θέα τῶν ὄντων, ταῖς μὲν παρὰ μέρος 25 καὶ χρόνω γιγνομένου τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ ἐν τώ χείρονι γιγνομένης έπιστροφής πρός τὰ ἀμείνω, τή δε λεγομένη τοῦ παντός είναι τὸ μηδ' ἐν τῷ χείρονι έργω γεγονέναι, ἀπαθεί δε κακῶν οὖση θεωρία τε περινοείν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἐξηρτῆσθαί τε τῶν πρὸ

1 Enn., defendit Igal (Helmantica 28, 1977, 252): δή Creuzer.

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be annoyed with itself because, granted that all things are not the best, it occupies a middle rank among realities, belonging to that divine part but being on the lowest edge of the intelligible, and, having a common boundary with the perceptible nature, gives something to it of what it has in itself and receives something from it in return, if it does not use only its safe part in governing the universe, but with greater eagerness plunges into the interior and does not stay whole with whole; especially as it is possible for it to emerge again having acquired the whole story of what it saw and experienced here and learnt what it is like to be There, and, by the comparison of things which are, in a way, opposite, learning, in a way more clearly, the better things. For the experience of evil is a clearer knowledge of the Good for those whose power is too weak to know evil with clear intellectual certainty before experiencing it. And just as the intellectual way of outgoing is a descent to the lower limit of that which is worse [than Intellect]-for it is not possible for it to go up to that which transcends it; but it must, acting outwards from itself and unable to remain on its own, by the necessity and law of nature arrive at soul; for this is its goal, and it must hand over what comes after to soul and run up again itself-so is the activity of soul; what comes after it is this world and what is before it is the contemplation of real being; this kind of experience comes slowly to partial souls, when they are in the worse and a turn takes place to the better, but that which is called the Soul of the All has not become engaged in the worse kind of work and, having no experience of evils, considers what lies below it contemplatively

30 αὐτῆς ἀεί· ἢ ἄμα δυνατὸν καὶ ἄμφω, λαμβανούση μὲν ἐκεῖθεν, χορηγούση δὲ ἄμα ἐνταῦθα, ἐπείπερ ἀμήχανον ἦν μὴ καὶ τούτων ἐφάπτεσθαι ψυχῆ οὖση.

8. Καὶ εἰ χρή παρὰ δόξαν τῶν ἄλλων τολμῆσαι το φαινόμενον λέγειν σαφέστερον, οὐ πᾶσα οὐδ' ή ήμετέρα ψυχή έδυ, άλλ' έστι τι αὐτῆς έν τῶ νοητῶ αεί το δε εν τω αισθητώ εί κρατοί, μαλλον δε εί 5 κρατοῖτο καὶ θορυβοῖτο, οὐκ ἐᾳ αἴσθησιν ἡμῖν εἶναι ών θεαται τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄνω. τότε γὰρ ἔρχεται εἰς ήμας τὸ νοηθέν, ὅταν εἰς αἴσθησιν ήκη καταβαῖνον. οὐ γὰρ πᾶν, ὁ γίγνεται περὶ ὁτιοῦν μέρος ψυχης, γινώσκομεν, πρίν αν είς όλην την ψυχην ήκη οίον 10 καὶ ἐπιθυμία ἐν τῷ ἐπιθυμητικῷ μένουσα γιγνώσκεται ήμιν, άλλ' όταν τη αίσθητική τη ένδον δυνάμει η και διανοητική ἀντιλαβώμεθα η ἄμφω. πᾶσα γὰρ ψυγή ἔγει τι καὶ τοῦ κάτω πρὸς σώμα καὶ τοῦ άνω πρός νοῦν. καὶ ἡ μέν ὅλη καὶ ὅλου τῷ αὐτῆς μέρει τῶ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὅλον κοσμεῖ ὑπερέχου-15 σα ἀπόνως, ὅτι μηδ' ἐκ λογισμοῦ, ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ νώ ώς ή τέχνη οὐ βουλεύεται, τό κάτω

1 R2mg (consultare Ficinus): βούλεται Enn.

¹ For this doctrine, that our consciousness of what goes on in the soul is limited and dependent on our bodily condition, cp. IV. 3. (27) 30 and I. 4. (46) 10.

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and remains attached to the realities before it for ever; both are certainly possible; it can receive from There and at the same time distribute here, since it was impracticable for it as soul not to be in contact with this world.

8. And, if one ought to dare to express one's own view more clearly, contradicting the opinion of others, even our soul does not altogether come down. but there is always something of it in the intelligible; but if the part which is in the world of sense-perception gets control, or rather if it is itself brought under control, and thrown into confusion [by the body], it prevents us from perceiving the things which the upper part of the soul contemplates.1 For what is grasped by the intellect reaches us when it arrives at perception in its descent, for we do not know everything which happens in any part of the soul before it reaches the whole soul; for instance desire which remains in the desiring part is known by us, but [only] when we apprehend it by the power of inner sense or discursive reason, or both. For every soul has something of what is below, in the direction of the body, and of what is above, in the direction of Intellect. And the soul which is a whole and is the soul of the whole, by its part which is directed to body, maintains the beauty and order of the whole in effortless transcendence because it does not do so by calculating and considering, as we do, but by intellect, as art does not deliberate. . . . 2 But the

directing the physical world is non-deliberative, on which Plotinus always insists strongly. It seems impossible to make any tolerable sense of the words which follow, and no convincing emendations have been suggested; so I follow Harder in leaving them untranslated.

^{2 &}quot;Art does not deliberate" is a quotation from Aristotle Physics B 199b28-9: "Art in fact does not deliberate either, and if the ship building art were incorporate in the timber, it would proceed by nature in the same way in which it now proceeds by art" (tr. Wicksteed-Cornford). This passage seems to be the starting-point for the development of the doctrine that the activity of Soul and Nature in forming and

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αὐτῆς κοσμοῦντος ὅ τι ὅλου †. αἱ δ' ἐν μέρει γινόμεναι καὶ μέρους ἔχουσι μὲν καὶ αὖται τὸ ὑπερέχον, ἄσχολοι δὲ τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ ἀντιλήψει πολλῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμεναι τῶν παρὰ ψύσιν καὶ 20 λυπούντων καὶ ταραττόντων, ὅτε οῦ ἐπιμέλονται μέρους καὶ ἐλλειποῦς καὶ πολλὰ ἔχοντος τὰ ἀλλότρια κύκλῳ, πολλὰ δὲ ὧν ἐφίεται καὶ ἤδεται δὲ καὶ ἡδονὴ ἤπάτησε. τὸ δὲ ἐστι καὶ ἀνήδονον ὂν τὰς προσκαίρους ἡδονάς, ἡ δὲ διαγωγὴ ὁμοία.

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souls which are partial and of a part have also the transcendent element, but they are occupied with sense-perception, and by their [lower] faculty of conscious apprehension they apprehend many things which are contrary to their nature and grieve and trouble them, since what they care for is a part, and defective, and has a great many alien and hostile things around it, and a great many which it desires; and it has pleasures, and pleasure deceives it; but there is a higher part which the transitory pleasures do not please, and its life is conformable [to its nature].

IV. 9. IF ALL SOULS ARE ONE

Introductory Note

This short early treatise takes up and carries forward the discussion of the same subject in the shorter and earlier IV. 2 (4) and anticipates the much more careful and elaborate discussions of the unity-in-multiplicity of Intellect and of Soul in VI. 4–5 (22–3) and of the relationship of our souls to the Soul of the Universe in IV. 3. (27) 1–8. The subject was one of much concern to Plotinus, to which he often returns in his writings; and he shows clearly by his defensive and argumentative tone in this treatise that he is aware that his characteristic doctrine of the unity-in-diversity of immaterial beings would seem paradoxical and objectionable to some Platonists.

Synopsis

Are all souls one? Objections from differences of perception, virtue, desire, experience and rationality between souls (ch. 1). Answers to these objections; bodily differences affect our perceptions etc. and the unity of soul does not completely exclude diversity (ch. 2). The argument for unity of souls from universal sympathy; and soul is no less a unity because it has many powers, of reason, perception, growth etc. (ch. 3). The one immanent soul in the many bodies derives from a prior, transcendent one which is not many (ch. 4). Soul both gives itself and does not give itself to the multiplicity of individuals; the analogy (often tacit and unnoticed) of the whole of a body of knowledge in each of its parts (ch. 5).

IV. 9. (8) MEPI TOY EI MASAI AI Ψ YXAI MIA

1. 'Αρ' ὥσπερ ψυχὴν ἐκάστου μίαν φαμὲν εἶναι, ότι πανταχού τού σώματος όλη πάρεστι, καὶ έστιν όντως τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον μία, οὐκ ἄλλο μέν τι αὐτῆς ώδί, ἄλλο δὲ ώδὶ τοῦ σώματος ἔχουσα, ἔν τε 5 τοις αἰσθητικοις ούτως ή αἰσθητική, καὶ ἐν τοις φυτοῖς δὲ ὅλη πανταχοῦ ἐν ἐκάστω μέρει, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ σὴ μία καὶ πᾶσαι μία; καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἡ ἐν πᾶσι μία οὐχ ὡς ἔγκῳ μεμερισμένη, άλλά πανταχοῦ ταὐτόν; διὰ τί γὰρ ἡ ἐν ἐμοὶ μία, 10 ή δ' ἐν τῷ παντὶ οὐ μία; οὐ γὰρ ὄγκος οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ οὐδὲ σῶμα. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ἡ έμη καὶ ή σή, μία δὲ ἐκείνη, καὶ ταύτας δεῖ εἶναι μίαν. εί δε και ή του παντός και ή έμη έκ ψυχής μιᾶς, πάλω αὖ πᾶσαι μία. αὕτη τοίνων τίς ἡ μία; άλλά πρότερον λεκτέον, εὶ ὀρθῶς λέγεται τὸ μίαν 15 τὰς πάσας, ὥσπερ ἡ ένὸς ἐκάστου. ἄτοπον γάρ, εἰ μία ή έμη καὶ ή ότουοῦν ἄλλου έχρην γὰρ έμοῦ αἰσθανομένου καὶ ἄλλον αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ ἀγαθοῦ όντος άγαθον έκεινον είναι και έπιθυμούντος έπιθυμεῖν, καὶ ὅλως ὁμοπαθεῖν ἡμᾶς τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους 428

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1. Is it true that, just as we maintain that the soul of each individual is one because it is present as a whole at every point of the body, and is really one in this way, not having one part of it here and another there in the body, and in beings which have sense-perception the perceptive soul is there in this way, and in plants [the growth-soul] is present as a whole everywhere in each part; so in the same way my soul and your soul are one, and all the souls are one? And in the All is the soul in all things one, not as divided into parts by its mass, but one and the same thing everywhere? For why should my soul be one, but the soul in the universe not one? For there is no mass or body there either. Now if my soul and your soul come from the soul of the All, and that soul is one, these souls also must be one. But if the soul of the All and my soul come from one soul, again all souls are one. Well, then, what is this one soul? But, before this, we must discuss whether it is correct to say that all the souls are one soul, like the soul of each individual. For it would be absurd if my soul and anyone else's were one soul: for if I perceived anything another would have to perceive it too, and if I was good he would have to be good, and if I desired anything he would have to desire it, and in general we should have to have the same experiences as each other and as the All, so

καὶ πρὸς τὸ πᾶν, ὤστε ἐμοῦ παθόντος συναισθάνεσ20 θαι τὸ πὰν. πῶς δὲ καὶ μιᾶς οὔσης ἡ μὲν λογική, ἡ δὲ ἄλογος, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐν ζώοις, ἡ δὲ ἐν φυτοῖς ἄλλη; πάλιν δὲ εἰ μὴ θησόμεθα ἐκείνως, τό τε πᾶν ἕν οὐκ ἔσται, μία τε ἀρχὴ ψυχῶν οὐχ εῦρεθήσεται.

2. Πρώτον μέν οδν οδκ, εί ή ψυχή μία ή έμη καί ή ἄλλου, ήδη καὶ τὸ συναμφότερον τῶ συναμφοτέρω ταὐτόν. ἐν ἄλλω γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἄλλω ταὐτὸν ὂν οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ πάθη ἔξει ἐν ἐκατέρω, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ 5 κινουμένω. Εν εμοί γαρ κινουμένω καὶ εν σοὶ μή κινουμένω εν εμοί μεν κινούμενος, εν σοί δε εστώς έσται· καὶ οὐκ ἄτοπον οὐδὲ παραδοξότερον τὸ ἐν έμοι και σοι ταὐτὸν είναι οὐ δὴ ἀνάγκη αἰσθανομένου έμοῦ καὶ ἄλλον πάντη τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος ἔχειν. οὐδε γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ένὸς σώματος τὸ τῆς έτέρας χειρὸς 10 πάθημα ή έτέρα ἤσθετο, ἀλλ' ή ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ. εἰ δὴ έδει τὸ ἐμὸν γινώσκειν καϊ σέ, ἕν τι ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὄν, συνημμένον σώμα έχρην είναι ούτω γάρ συναφθείσαι έκατέρα ήσθετο ταὐτόν. ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ προσήκει τὸ καὶ πολλά λανθάνειν τὸ ὅλον καὶ τῶν ἐν 15 ένὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι γιγνομένων, καὶ τοσούτω, οσω αν μέγεθος έχη το σώμα πολύ, ώσπερ έπὶ κητῶν λέγεται μεγάλων, ἐφ' ὧν παθήματός τινος περί τὸ μέρος ὄντος τῶ ὅλω αἴσθησις διὰ

μικρότητα τοῦ κινήματος οὐδεμία προσέρχεται.

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that if I had an experience the All would share in the perception of it. And how, if there is [only] one soul, is one soul rational and another irrational, and one in animals but a different one in plants? But on the other hand, if we are not going to make that assumption, the All will not be one, and we shall not

discover one principle of souls.

2. First of all, then, it is not true that, if my soul and someone else's arc one soul, just for that reason my composite [of body and soul] is the same as his composite. For when something which is the same is both in one thing and in another it will not have the same experiences in each of them, as for instance the [form of] the human being in me when I am in motion: the form in me in motion and in you not in motion will be in motion in me and stationary in you; and there is nothing absurd, nothing really disconcerting about the same thing being in me and in you: it is certainly not necessary that when I have a perception the other also should have exactly the same experience. For even in one body one hand does not perceive what happens to the other. but the soul in the whole body. If you really had to know what happened to me because there was some one thing composed of both of us, it would have to be a joint body; for if they were joined together in this way each soul would have the same perceptions. But one ought to consider also that there are a great many things which the whole being does not notice, even among those which happen in one and the same body, and this is all the more so when the body is of great size, as they say happens with great sca-beasts, with whom, when a part is affected. no perception of it reaches the whole because of the

3. Καὶ μὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων φησὶν ὁ λόγος καὶ συμπαθεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἡμᾶς καὶ συναλγοῦντας ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν καὶ διαχεομένους καὶ εἰς τὸ φιλεῖν

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smallness of the disturbance; so that it is not necessary, when one part is affected, for a clearly impressed perception to reach the total whole. But it is not absurd, and we do not have to abandon the idea, that the whole is jointly affected, but there is no need for there to be a perceptible impression. And it is not absurd that [the one soul] should possess virtue in me, but vice in another man, since it is not impossible for the same thing to be in motion in one and at rest in another. For we do not say, either, that it is one in such a way as to be altogether without a share in multiplicity—this must be attributed to a higher nature—but we say that it is one and a multiplicity, and participates in "that nature which is divisible in the sphere of bodies ", and also in the "indivisible nature", so that again it is one. But just as in me the experience of a part need not dominate the whole, but what happens to what is more essential has an influence on the part, in the same way the influences which come from the All to the individual are more obvious, and we are often affected in the same way as the whole, but it is not clear whether what comes from us contributes anything to the whole.

3. Indeed, the argument deriving from facts opposed [to the assumption of complete separation of souls] asserts that we do share each other's experiences when we suffer with others from seeing their pain and feel happy and relaxed [in their company] and

¹ The phrases from Plato's *Tinaeus* 35Al-3 which provide the starting-point for the earlier discussion in IV. 2 (4), the much more careful and thorough discussion of the unity of souls in IV. 3. (27) 1-8, and for many later Neoplatonic discussions of the same subject.

10 Πῶς οὖν, εἰ ψυχὴ μία, ἡ μὲν λογική, ἡ δὲ ἄλογος, καί τις καὶ φυτική; ἡ ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀμέριστον αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸ λογικὸν τακτέον οὐ μεριζόμενον ἐν τοῖς σώμασι, τὸ δὲ μεριζόμενον περὶ σώματα εν μὲν ὂν καὶ αὐτό, περὶ δὲ τὰ σώματα μεριζόμενον παρεχόμενον τὴν αἴσθησιν πανταχοῦ

15 ἄλλην δύναμιν αὐτῆς θετέον, τό τε πλαστικόν αὐτῆς καὶ ποιητικόν σωμάτων δύναμιν ἄλλην. οὐχ ὅτι δὲ πλείους αἱ δυνάμεις, οὐ μία· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ σπέρματι πλείους αἱ δυνάμεις καὶ ἔν· καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς τούτου πολλὰ ἕν. διὰ τί οὖν οὐ πανταχοῦ

20 πάσαι; καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μιᾶς ψηχῆς πανταχοῦ λεγομένης εἶναι ἡ αἴσθησις οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὁμοία, ὅ τε λόγος οὐκ ἐν ὅλιρ, τό τε φυτικὸν καὶ ἐν οἷς μὴ αἴσθησις καὶ ὅμως εἰς ἕν ἀνατρέχει ἀποστάντα τοῦ σώματος. τὸ δὲ θρεπτικόν, εἰ ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου, ἔχει καὶ ἐκείνης. διὰ τί οὖν οὐ καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ

25 θρεπτικόν; ὅτι τὸ τρεφόμενον μέρος τοῦ ὅλου, ὅ καὶ παθητικῶς αἰσθητικόν, ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις ἡ

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are naturally drawn to love them: for without a sharing of experience there could not be love for this reason. And if spells and magical acts in general draw men together and make them share experiences at a distance, this must be altogether due to the one soul. And a word spoken quietly acts on what is far off, and makes something separated by an enormous distance listen; from this one can learn the unity of all because their soul is one.

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How then, if the soul is one, is one soul rational and another irrational, and one a mere principle of growth? It is because the indivisible part of it must be put on the rational level, and is not divided in bodies, but the part which is divided in the sphere of bodies is also itself one, but since it is divided in the sphere of bodies, when it supplies sense-perception in every part of the body this is to be counted as one of its powers, and its ability to shape and make bodies as another. Not because it has many powers is it not one: for in the seed there are many powers and it is one; and from this one come many units. Why then are not all souls everywhere? Well, in the case of the one soul which is said to be everywhere in the body, the sense-perception is not alike in all the parts, and the reason is not in the whole, and the growth-principle is also in the parts where there is no perception; and all the same it runs up into one when it leaves the body. But the nutritive power, if it comes from the whole, has also something from that [universal] soul. But why does not the nutritive power also come from our soul? Because what is nourished is a part of the whole, that which also is passively perceptive, but the perception which judges with intelligence belongs to the

4. Ταθτα μέν οδν εἴρηται ώς μὴ θαυμάζειν τὴν είς εν αναγωγήν. αλλά γάρ ζητεί ο λόγος, πως μία; ἄρα γὰρ ώς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἢ μία αἱ πᾶσαι; καὶ εἰ άπὸ μιᾶς, μεριζομένης ταύτης ἢ μενούσης μέν 5 όλης, ποιούσης δὲ παρ' αύτης οὐδὲν ήττον πολλάς: καὶ πῶς ἄν μένουσα οὐσία πολλὰς ποιοῖ ἐξ αύτῆς; λέγωμεν οὖν θεὸν συλλήπτορα ἡμῖν γενέσθαι παρακαλέσαντες, ώς δει μέν είναι μίαν πρότερον, εἴπερ πολλαί, καὶ ἐκ ταύτης τὰς πολλὰς εἶναι. εἰ μέν οὖν σῶμα εἴη, ἀνάγκη μεριζομένου τούτου τὰς 10 πολλάς γίγνεσθαι, ἄλλην πάντη οὐσίαν, τὴν δὲ άλλην γινομένην καὶ δμοιομεροῦς οὔσης δμοειδεῖς πάσας γενέσθαι είδος εν ταὐτὸν φερούσας όλον, τοις δε όγκοις έτέρας και εί μεν κατά τους όγκους είχον τούς ύποκειμένους τὸ ψυχαὶ είναι, ἄλλας 15 ἀλλήλων είναι, εί δὲ κατὰ τὸ είδος, μίαν τῷ εἴδει ψυχάς είναι. τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν έν πολλοῖς σώμασι ψυχὴν ὑπάρχειν καὶ πρὸ ταύτης της μιας της έν πολλοίς άλλην αδ είναι μη έν πολλοις, ἀφ' ής ή ἐν πολλοις μία, ὥσπερ εἴδωλον οὖσα πολλαχοῦ φερόμενον τῆς ἐν ένὶ μιᾶς, οἷον εἰ 20 ἐκ δακτυλίου ένὸς πολλοὶ κηροὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τύπον άπομαξάμενοι φέροιεν. ἐκείνως μὲν οὖν ἀνηλίσκετο αν είς πολλας ή μία, ώς δε το δεύτερον ασώματον

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individual, and there was no need for this to shape that which had its shaping from the All. It would also have made this shaping, if it had not been necessary for it to be in this All.

4. We have said this, then, to prevent astonishment at the bringing back of all souls to one. But our discussion still wants to find out how they are one. Is it because they all come from one or because they all are one? And if they all come from one, is this one divided or does it remain whole, but none the less make many from itself? And how could it continue to exist as a substance and make many souls out of itself? Let us then call upon God to be our helper and say that there must be one which is prior, if there are many, and the many must come from this. If then it was a body, it would be necessary for the many to come into existence by the division of this, each one becoming an entirely different substance; and if the one soul was uniform in all its parts, all the souls would be formally the same, bearing one and the same complete form, but would differ in their [corporcal] masses; and if their soulness was due to their underlying masses, they would be different from each other, but if it was due to the form, the souls would be formally the same. But this means that there is one and the same soul in many bodies, and, before this one in the many bodies, another again exists which is not in many bodies, from which derives the one in the many, which is like an image of the one in one projected in many places, as if many pieces of wax took and bore the impression of one seal-ring. Now in the former way the one soul would be used up in making the many, but in the second way the soul would be

μεν ή ψυχη εγίνετο. καὶ πάθημα μεν ον θαυμαστόν οὐδεν είχε μίαν ποιότητα γενομένην εξ ενός τινος 25 εν πολλοις είναι καὶ εἰ κατὰ τὸ συναμφότερον δε ή ψυχή, θαυμαστόν οὐδέν. νῦν δὲ ἀσώματόν τε αὐτὸ τιθέμεθα καὶ οὐσίαν.

5. Πως οὖν οὐσία μία ἐν πολλαῖς; ἢ γὰρ ἡ μία έν πασιν όλη, η ἀπὸ όλης καὶ μιας αἱ πολλαὶ έκείνης μενούσης. έκείνη μέν οὖν μία, αἱ δὲ πολλαί είς ταύτην ώς μίαν δοῦσαν έαυτην είς 5 πλήθος καὶ οὐ δοῦσαν· ἱκανή γὰρ πᾶσι παρασχεῖν έαυτην καὶ μένειν μία: δύναται γὰρ εἰς πάντα αμα καὶ έκάστου οὐκ ἀποτέτμηται πάντη· τὸ αὐτὸ οὖν ἐν πολλοῖς. μὴ δή τις ἀπιστείτω· καὶ γὰρ ἡ έπιστήμη όλη, καὶ τὰ μέρη αὐτῆς ώς μένειν τὴν όλην καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τὰ μέρη. καὶ τὸ σπέρμα ὅλον 10 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ μέρη, ἐν οἷς πέφυκε μερίζεσθαι, καὶ ἔκαστον ὅλον καὶ μένει ὅλον οὐκ ἢλαττωμένον τὸ ὅλον-ἡ δ' ὕλη ἐμέρισε-καὶ πάντα ἕν. ἀλλ' έν τη έπιστήμη, είποι τις άν, το μέρος ούχ όλον. ἢ κἀκεῖ ἐνεργεία μὲν μέρος τὸ προχειρισθὲν οδ χρεία, καὶ τοῦτο προτέτακται, ἔπεται μέντοι καὶ 15 τὰ ἄλλα δυνάμει λανθάνοντα καὶ ἔστι πάντα ἐν τῷ μέρει. καὶ ἴσως ταύτη ἡ ὅλη λέγεται, τὸ δὲ μέρος εκεί μεν οίον ενεργεία άμα πάντα ετοιμον οὖν ἕκαστον, ὁ προχειρίσασθαι θέλεις • ἐν δὲ τῷ

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incorporeal. And, even if it was an affection, there would be nothing surprising in one quality being produced in many things from some one thing; and if the soul existed as a composition [of affection and substance] there would be nothing surprising. But as it is we suppose it to be incorporeal and a substance.

5. How, then, is there one substance in many souls? Either the one is present as a whole in them all, or the many come from the whole and one while it abides [unchanged]. That soul, then, is one, but the many [go back] to it as one which gives itself to multiplicity and does not give itself; for it is adequate to supply itself to all and to remain one; for it has power extending to all things, and is not at all cut off from each individual thing; it is the same, therefore, in all. Certainly, no one should disbelieve this; for knowledge is a whole, and its parts are such that the whole remains and the parts derive from it. And the seed is a whole and the parts into which it naturally divides derive from it, and each part is a whole and the whole remains an undiminished whole-but matter divides it and all the parts are one. But someone might say that in knowledge the part is not a whole. Now there too that which has been brought into readiness because it is needed is an actualised part, and this part is put in front, but the other parts follow as unnoticed possibilities, and all are in the part [which is brought forward]. And perhaps this is the meaning of "whole" and "part" here: there [in the whole body of knowledge] all the parts are in a way actual at once; so each one which you wish to bring forward for use is ready; but in the part only that which is

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μέρει τὸ ἔτοιμον, ἐνδυναμοῦται δὲ οἶον πλησιάσαν 20 τῷ ὅλῳ. ἔρημον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεωρημάτων οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔσται οὐκέτι τεχνικὸν οὐδὲ ἐπιστημονικόν, ἀλλὶ ὤσπερ ἂν καὶ εἰ παῖς λέγοι. εἰ οὖν ἐπιστημονικόν, ἔχει δυνάμει καὶ τὰ πάντα. ἐπιστήσας γοῦν ὁ ἐπιστήμων ἐπάγει τὰ ἄλλα οἷον ἀκολουθίᾳ· καὶ ὁ γεωμέτρης δὲ ἐν τῆ ἀναλύσει 25 δηλοῖ, ὡς τὸ εν ἔχει τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντα, διὶ ὧν ἡ ἀνάλυσις, καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς δέ, ἃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννᾶται. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστεῖται, καὶ διὰ τὸ σῶμα ἐπισκοτεῖται· ἐκεῖ δὲ φανὰ πάντα καὶ ἕκαστον.

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ready for use is actual; but it is given power by a kind of approach to the whole. But one must not think of it as isolated from all other rational speculations; if one does, it will no longer be according to art or knowledge, but just as if a child was talking. If then it is according to knowledge, it contains also all the other parts potentially. So then the knower in knowing [one part] brings in all the others by a kind of sequence; and the geometer in his analysis makes clear that the one proposition contains all the prior propositions by means of which the analysis is made and the subsequent propositions which are generated from it. But we do not believe all this because of our weakness, and it is obscured by the body; but There [in the intelligible world] all and each shine out.