Porphyry the Philosopher

To Marcella

by

Kathleen O'Brien Wicker

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To Marcella



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To Marcella

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Text and Translation
with Introduction and Notes
by
Kathleen O'Brien Wicker

Index Verborum
by
Lee E. Klosinski

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To Marcella

By
Kathleen O'Brien Wicker

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To
Allan W. Wicker

. . . πατρός τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὸς καὶ διδασκάλου καὶ συγγενῶν . . .
καὶ τῆς πατρίδος τὴν ἔυνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν συνῃρηκότος . . .
(Ad Marc..6.95-97)

and

Anna M. O'Brien

τὰ γὰρ ἔργα τῶν δογμάτων ἑκάστου φέρειν πέφυκε τὰς
ἀποδείξεις. (Ad Marc. 8.142-43)

PREFACE

I began the translation of Porphyry's Ad Marcellam at Cornell University during a sabbatical leave in the fall of 1981 and completed it at the University of Tübingen, Federal Republic of Germany, in the fall of 1986. My thanks to the staff of the Cornell University Library, the Evangelisch-theologische Fakultät of the University of Tübingen and its staff, and the staffs of the Akademisches Auslandsamt and the Internationales Dozentenwohnheim for their cordial hospitality.

As this project comes to a conclusion, it gives me great pleasure to remember the many people who have assisted me over the past six years: President John H. Chandler, Dean of the Faculty Paula L. Goldsmid, and my colleagues at Scripps College, who have approved funds annually for my research; Margery Suarez, Assistant Dean for Academic Administration, who has been a special source of support, personal as well as financial; and the John Anson Kittredge Educational Fund of Augusta, Maine, which awarded me a grant for my 1986 sabbatical leave.

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Colleagues have offered generous assistance in reading parts or all of the manuscript or in discussing

particular aspects of the text with me: Professors Sara Adler, David Claus, John Geerken, Harry Neumann, Michael Roth and Thomas K. Seung of Scripps College; Professors Daryl G. Smith, now of the Claremont Graduate School; Bernadette Brooten, Harvard University; Averil Cameron, King's College London; Ron Cameron, Wesleyan University; Carsten Colpe, the Free University of Berlin; John Dillon, Trinity College, Dublin; Thomas Gelzer, the University of Bern, Switzerland; Knut Wolfgang Nürr and Wilhelm Rütten, the University of Tübingen; Vernon K. Robbins, Emory University; Morton Smith, Columbia University. My special thanks to Professor Luise Abramowski of the University of Tübingen, who was a cordial and helpful host and a thoughtful critic of my work during my stay in Tübingen, and to my friend, Ms. Patricia A. Dyer, who has provided encouragement over the years and a critical proofreader's eye as well.

My Research Assistant, Lee E. Klosinski, has prepared the index verborum, performed many editorial tasks, and prepared the final copy of this manuscript. He has been a cooperative, careful and conscientious collaborator. I am most grateful for all of the effort he has expended on this project.

To the editors of the Texts and Translations Series of Scholars Press, Professors Hans Dieter Betz of the University of Chiacgo and Edward N. O'Neil of the University of Southern California, I express deep appreciation and thanks: to Ed for questioning almost every word I wrote covering many sheets of yellow paper; to Dieter for his relentlessly exacting standards of scholarship; to both for their friendship.

This volume is dedicated with love and gratitude to my husband, Allan W. Wicker, whose support and helpful criticism have been invaluable to me throughout this

project, and to my mother, Anna M. O'Brien, whose life has been an inspiration to me, on her eightieth birthday.

Kathleen O'Brien Wicker
Scripps College
January 30, 1987

Professor Edward N. O'Neil's generous assistance and patience helped me to complete the index verborum. The computer and software that made production of the manuscript of this monograph possible were provided by the Indiana Province of the Congregation of Holy Cross and Scripps College. Carl Forsander of Gamma Productions and Teresa Castelli assisted in the printing of this manuscript. The Greek and Greek-English portions of this manuscript were written with Multi-Lingual Scholar; the camera ready manuscript was printed on a Hewlett Packard Laserjet printer. William J. Barry, Angelina Passarelli and Anne Ashford were prodigal with their generosity. Elizabeth Castelli's alacrity, insight and love continue to give new meaning to the word friendship. Keith M. Coleman has been a unique and invaluable source of humor, support and love. My sincere thanks goes to each of these individuals.

Lee E. Klosinski

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME

BAG	Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. 2nd ed., revised and augmented by F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker from Walter Bauer's 5th ed., 1958. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979).
CH	Church History
CJ	Classical Journal
CQR	Church Quarterly Review
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
ExpTim	Expository Times
HibJ	Hibbert Journal
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon. (Oxford: CLarendon, 1968).
NGW	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies

PG	J. Migne, Patrologia graeca
PL	J. Migne, Patrologia latina
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumwissenschaft
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
SVF	Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Eds. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Trans. and ed. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-76).
TSK	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

The abbreviations of the works of classical authors follow the lists given in LSJ and The Oxford Classical Dictionary. When classical authors are cited the standard texts are used, with the following exceptions: Epicurus follows Usener; the Sentences of Sextus, the Greek Appendices to Sextus, and Clitarchus follow Chadwick; and Teles follows O'Neil.

That which is written should be studied with sympathetic mildness, and not tortured on the rack, like a helpless prisoner, until it renders what it never received. One who withdraws what he never deposited, and harvests what he never sows, is far too severe and harsh a master, as also is one who forces (poor) Porphyry to cough up the opinions of all philosophers, and will not rest content until the latter's short treatise teaches everything that has ever been written.

(John of Salisbury, The Metalogicon, trans. by Daniel D. McGarry, p. 148.)

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The Ad Marcellam is an epistle addressed by the third-century Neoplatonic philosopher, Porphyry, to his wife of ten months. He wrote the Ad Marcellam while he was away on a divinely sanctioned journey occasioned by "the needs of the Greeks" (4.58-59). The epistle, written to exhort Marcella to continue the practice of philosophy during his absence, has been described as "one of those domestic scraps of ancient writing that are so valuable in giving a glimpse of a small department of the actual life of the period."[1] It also contains a summary of important Neoplatonic doctrines which constitute the foundation for the practice of the philosophic life. Thus the epistle also provides us a valuable glimpse into the complex realm of Neoplatonic thought and piety around 300 C.E., when it was written.

I.

Porphyry has presented us with a partial self-portrait in the Ad Marcellam and in his biography of his teacher, Plotinus.[2] Other details of his life are preserved in the work of his fourth-century biographer, Eunapius.[3] From these sources we learn that Porphyry, originally called Malchus, was born in Tyre about 232/3 C.E.[4] He showed intellectual promise and ambitiom at an early age. As a young man he moved to Athens to become the pupil of the noted rhetorician, Longinus, whom Eunapius describes as "a living library and a walking museum."[5] Porphyry outgrew even Athens, however, and in 262/3 C.E. went to Rome, where, until 268 C.E., he was the disciple of the great Neoplatonic philosopher, Plotinus.

Porphyry reports in his Vita Plotini: "I myself, Porphyry of Tyre, was one of Plotinus' closest friends, and he entrusted to me the editing of his writings."[6] This task was made more difficult by the fact that, when he wrote, Plotinus "did not form the letters with any regard to appearance or divide his syllables correctly, and he paid no attention to spelling. He was wholly concerned with thought."[7] Plotinus' success in maintaining a continuous state of contemplation caused Porphyry to despair of being able to achieve that philosophic level, and, at one point, he became suicidal.[8] Eunapius tells us that Porphyry conceived such "a hatred of his own body and of being human" that he wanted to end his life. But Plotinus persuaded Porphyry that his depression was due to ill health and sent him to Sicily to recuperate.[9] Because of his sojourn in Sicily, Porphyry was not present at the death of Plotinus in 270 C.E. However, he returned to Rome subsequently and continued to work there. He had a number of students, and Iamblichus himself was perhaps one of his pupils.[10]

Porphyry describes himself as "declining into old age" at the time of his marriage to his friend's widow, Marcella (1.12). The ancient authorities tell us almost nothing about Marcella herself, except that she was the wife of Porphyry and the recipient of the Ad Marcellam. Cyril of Alexandria suggests that she was a Christian, and Aristocritus that she was Jewish, but there is no substantial evidence to support either of these views.[11] Eunapius says that Porphyry reportedly died in Rome, probably sometime in the first decade of the fourth century.[12] Nothing is known of the circumstances of Marcella's death, though she probably outlived Porphyry by some years.

Eunapius gives a glowing encomium of Porphyry's intellectual breadth and accomplishments:

> One may well be at a loss and wonder within oneself which branch he studied more than the other; whether it was that which concerns the subject matter of rhetoric, or that which depends on numbers, or inclines to geometry, or leans to music. As for philosophy, I cannot describe in words his genius for natural philosophy and the art of divination, let that be left to sacred rites and mysteries. So true is it that the man was a being who combined in himself all the talents for every sort of excellence.[13]

From the seventy-seven of Porphyry's writings on a variety of topics that have been catalogued by his modern biographer, Bidez,[14] it is clear that Eunapius was correct about the range of Porphyry's intellectual interests.[15] Eunapius also recognized that writings from different periods of Porphyry's life reflected varying views on the same topics. "We can only suppose," says Eunapius, "that he changed his opinions as he grew older."[16] Unfortunately, only a small portion of Porphyry's writings are still extant. Porphyry is best known for his editing of Plotinus' Enneads, and his Vita Plotini, which serves as an introduction to the corpus. Some fragments of his other major work, Adversus Christianos,[17] which was condemned to be burned in 448 C.E., can only be found in other authors.

In spite of the fact that Porphyry was regarded as one of the most effective critics of Christianity in antiquity,[18] attempts have been made to assess his possible connections with the Christian tradition. According to Eusebius of Caesarea, Porphyry claimed that he knew Origen in his youth,[19] and the later Church historian, Socrates, reports that Porphyry had been a Christian as a young man, but "was beaten by some of the Christians of Caesarea,

with the result that he renounced their religion."[20] Lactantius described a "self-styled high-priest of philosophy who, though preaching abstinence, was aflame with avarice and lust," and who wrote three books against Christianity.[21] Some have attempted to identify this unnamed person with Porphyry, but this identification seems unlikely.[22] The idealistic piety of the Ad Marcellam has led to the further assumption that Porphyry converted to Christianity in his old age, or that he was positively influenced by that tradition,[23] possibly through his wife.[24]

These attempts to explain away Porphyry's strong arguments against Christianity as the result simply of negative personal experience, or to christianize Porphyry, Marcella and the Ad Marcellam, fail to recognize and respect the compelling intellectual and moral option offered by Neoplatonism in the late third century. Festugière states that the Ad Marcellam gives us "the portrait of a man who was the last significant advocate of the highest vision of paganism, just before Christianity triumphed over it."[25] The epistle also provides us with a portrait of Marcella, the novice practitioner of philosophy, who is also a devotee of the traditional piety which Porphyry draws upon to illustrate both the principles and the practice of the philosophic life.[26]

II.

Eunapius, gives us this brief note on Porphyry's marriage to Marcella:

> It seems that he entered the married state, and a book of his is extant addressed to his wife Marcella; he says that he married her, although she was already the mother of five children, and this was not that he might have children by

> her, but that those she had might be educated; for the father of his wife's children had been a friend of his own.[27]

Though Eunapius seems to have missed the fact that Marcella had seven children, not five, he conveys the impression that Porphyry married Marcella to fulfill his officium[28] to his friend, Marcella's deceased husband, by assisting in the education of their children.

A closer look at the Ad Marcellam suggests that Porphyry's marriage to Marcella was more complex, both in its motivation and implementation, than Eunapius suggests. In the Ad Marcellam Porphyry states that his twofold motivations for the marriage are to prevent Marcella from being "abandoned without a partner and protector wise and suited to her character" (3.38-40) and to train her in philosophy (3.37-38). Though Plotinus had already provided a model for training widows in philosophy without marrying them,[29] Porphyry may have recognized that, unless he married Marcella, certain people would limit her freedom and curtail her pursuit of philosophy. In becoming her "partner and protector," Porphyry claims to have driven away "all those bent on mistreating [her] under false pretenses" (3.40-41) and to have freed her "from every master" (3.43-44).

Porphyry also states that both for him and for Marcella a second motivation for the marriage was to secure the best interests of others (2.33-35), most likely Marcella's children. For Porphyry, this meant assisting Marcella in caring for and educating her children (1.1-8). He describes himself in the Ad Marcellam as "cheerfully taking on [her] large family, [and] the attendant hardship over the necessities" (2.29-31). Indeed, he claims he ran the risk of death at the hands of Marcella's fellow-citizens because of her and her children (1.17-20).

And, later, when Marcella wants to accompany him on his trip, he discourages her because it would mean tossing her daughters out among scoundrels (4.59-62).

Porphyry has so carefully concealed the identity of the people who exerted pressure on Marcella, threatened his life and reputation, and appeared to be a danger to Marcella's children, that, in the final analysis, we cannot know for certain who they were. We can assume, however, that they did not have legal authority over Marcella. It is most probable that Marcella had been married to her first husband sine manu,[30] consistent with the practice of the period. That she was able to proceed with her marriage to Porphyry, despite opposition, suggests that she was at that time sui iuris.[31] As a mother of seven children, she was also exempt from tutela[32] by the ius liberorum.[33]

Upon the death of their father, Marcella's children would have come under her guardianship[34] unless he had designated another tutor in his will.[35] But her husband's agnate relatives may have been concerned about the estates of the children,[36] particularly in view of a remarriage[37] of which they did not approve, and also about the estate which Marcella herself may have inherited from her deceased husband.[38] They are probably the scoundrels who caused Porphyry and Marcella so much difficulty at the beginning of their marriage. Their jealous behavior, slanderous remarks, and attempts on Porphyry's life (1.18-20) imply that they had no legal basis to exert pressure on the couple.

Despite accusations to the contrary, however, altruism and a sense of duty seem to have been Porphyry's major motivations in marrying Marcella. He insists that he did not marry for any of the conventional reasons: children, economic security, companionship, personal care (1.5-17).

There is little or no evidence in the Ad Marcellam to support the claims of some scholars that Porphyry's marriage was "a concession to the world,"[39] a last desperate effort to overcome his despair at the triumph of Christianity over the culture he eloquently defended, or an attempt to give his existence more human warmth and responsibility.[40] He states quite specifically his intent in marrying Marcella: "I summoned you," he tells her, "to my own way of life, sharing philosophy and pointing out a doctrine consistent with that life" (3.44-46).

Porphyry summoned Marcella, first of all, to an ascetic way of life. Asceticism, grounded in the principle of ontological dualism, dichotomized the spiritual and material facets of human existence. It was an intrinsic aspect of Platonism from its inception and also characterized the Neoplatonic tradition under Ammonius Saccas and his disciples Origen[41] and Plotinus. Porphyry described vividly the ascetic life of his teacher, emphasizing his sparse vegetarian diet, limited sleep and sexual continence.[42]

But asceticism, as Plotinus and Porphyry practiced it, did not demand a total withdrawal from the world.[43] So, for example, Plotinus was often named guardian by

> many men and women of the highest rank, [who] on the approach of death, brought him their children, both boys and girls, and entrusted them to him along with all their property, considering that he would be a holy and god-like guardian . . . He patiently attended to the accounts of their property when their trustees submitted them, and took care that they should be accurate; he used them to say that as long as they did not take to philosophy their properties and incomes must be kept safe and untouched for them. Yet, though he shielded so many from the worries and cares of ordinary life, he never, while awake, relaxed his intent concentration upon the intellect.[44]

So Porphyry, in marrying Marcella to free her from unwanted domination and in assuming responsibility for her children's upbringing and education, appears to have acted consistently with the model of asceticism provided by Plotinus.[45] In his admonitions to Marcella during his absence, he does not advocate her withdrawal from the responsibility of children (4.59-62), slaves and household (35.525-28). But he does insist upon an asceticism which regulates the demands of the senses, which rejects excessive distress over the problems and difficulties of life, and which fosters a single-minded focus on the goal of union with the divine. He believes in satisfying the basic daily needs as simply as possible and in achieving self-sufficiency in all areas of life.[46]

Sexual asceticism also appears to characterize Porphyry and Marcella's marital relationship.[47] He addresses Marcella as σύνοικος, a term which can be applied to one who cohabits as well as to a marriage partner, instead of σύμβιος, the more usual term for one's spouse.[48] He also reminds her of the gods' prescription to remain pure by abstinence from food and sex (28.439-40). He stresses spiritual connectedness, rather than physical being and presence, as the significant aspect of their relationship (10.174-83). And he exhorts her not to "be overly concerned about whether your body is male or female; do not regard yourself as a woman, Marcella, for I did not devote myself to you as such" (33.511-13).

The argument has been made that Porphyry's advocacy of continence in the Ad Marcellam is an attempt to console Marcella for the loss of sexual intimacy during his absence.[49] But it seems more likely that a man of seventy who had never been married before and a sickly woman (1.12-14) with seven children might have found sexual

continence consistent both with their philosophical ideals and with their personal life situations.[50] In the third and fourth centuries, the choice of a sexually continent marriage would not have been unique to Porphyry and Marcella. From the writings of the ancient physicians we learn that men often followed an ascetic regimen for the sake of intellectual acuity, and that both men and women did so for improved physical health.[51] Early Christian texts also tell of married couples who made a commitment to celibacy in their marriages,[52] and of the practice of spiritual marriage in which a couple lived together in continence without being legally married.[53]

In addition to inviting Marcella to live an ascetic life with him, Porphyry also offered to share philosophy with her. At this period, sharing philosophy with a woman probably meant training her in a way of life that was directed toward personal piety and asceticism, and in the philosophical doctrines that were the basis for that life.[54] Plotinus similarly shared philosophy with several women who were part of his circle.

> There were women, too, who were greatly devoted to him: Gemina, in whose house he lived, and her daughter Gemina, who had the same name as her mother, and Amphiclea, who became the wife of Ariston son of Iamblichus, all of whom had a great devotion to philosophy.[55]

There was also "Chione, who lived with her children in his house in honorable widowhood."[56] According to Porphyry, these women, along with a number of male disciples, constituted a wider circle who heard Plotinus' lectures and followed his philosophical principles. But they were not part of the inner circle who had access to his writings and engaged with him in serious theoretical speculation.[57]

That two of the four women who studied philosophy with Plotinus were widows like Marcella, and the possibility that another was a virgin, indicate a changed attitude toward women and their participation in philosophy. Unlike earlier philosophical systems that reinforced women's traditional roles, Neoplatonism, as well as some Christian groups, supported women who wished to forgo traditional social roles for the sake of the spiritual life.[58] Widows who were no longer bound by a legal guardian and who could support themselves, and women who chose not to marry, could commit themselves instead to the philosophic or religious life.[59] Unlike those women, however, Marcella married Porphyry to be liberated from the domination of an undesirable master (3.43-44) and to pursue the philosophical life under Porphyry's guidance.

Rousselle has argued that the eagerness of some women to embrace the ascetic life, their repugnance for sexual relations in arranged marriages, and their interest in finding a way of life that would afford them equal status with men contributed to the emergence of women as an important force in the transformation of the ancient world.[60] Marcella's interest in the ascetic life and Porphyry's intent that she be independent and his equal, relying on her own inner resources rather than his external support for the pursuit of the philosophic life, suggest that Marcella, along with Porphyry,[61] must be counted among those who participated in the transformation of social relationships in the ancient world.

III.

Marcella's idealism and commitment to the practice of the philosophical life appear to have been dealt a

severe blow, however, when, ten months after their marriage, Porphyry departed on a trip of indefinite duration.[62] In the Ad Marcellam, Porphyry shows sensitivity to the impact his departure had on Marcella in the seriousness with which he responds to her question: why did you marry me and encourage me to practice philosophy and then leave me, so that, in effect, I have now lost both you and the path to salvation?[63] His response is a carefully constructed philosophical epistle devoted to exhorting Marcella to the practice of the philosophical life.[64]

The identification of the genre of the Ad Marcellam is of special importance for understanding Porphyry's response to Marcella. The text has been considered an apologia,[65] a consolatio,[66] a treatise on ontology,[67] and a philosophical epitome.[68] A study of ancient examples of each of these genres reveals their distinctive characteristics. An apologia specifically addresses the accusers and their accusations and argues against them throughout the text.[69] The consolatio systematically devises arguments to counter the loss experienced by the person to whom it is addressed.[70] The philosophical treatise provides an abstract analysis of theoretical problems without recourse to devices such as exempla and sententiae.[71] And the epitome presents a brief summary of the major doctrines in outline form only, with exhortations to their practice.[72] None of these genres fits the Ad Marcellam.

The Ad Marcellam is best described as a philosophical epistle. This genre is characterized by sustained direct address to the recipient, the development of a philosophical theme, and the use of rhetorical devices such as appeal to authority, exempla, and sententiae for its elaboration.[73] While philosophical epistles are

generally addressed to a specific individual but also anticipate a broader audience, the Ad Marcellam appears to have been addressed quite specifically to Marcella, with its reference to their personal situation and to her piety and ethical values, which become points of departure for the discussion of philosophical theory and practice. If Porphyry intended the Ad Marcellam for a broader audience in addition to Marcella, it is not evident from any statement made in the text.[74]

A large part of the effectiveness of Porphyry's exposition can be ascribed to his careful crafting of this composition.[75] His argument follows the rules of ancient rhetoric,[76] and, as Pötscher has shown,[77] he uses the device of ring composition, both in the smaller and the larger units of the text, to give it internal coherence and cohesiveness. Analysis of the structure of the Ad Marcellam also indicates how Porphyry moves between the dialogic level of the argument, which is aimed at persuading Marcella to continue in the practice of philosophy and demonstrating for her how this is to be done, and the warranting level, where Porphyry shows why it is important to live the philosophic life and why his instructions can be regarded as valid.[78]

Porphyry begins the Ad Marcellam with a legitimation of himself to Marcella as a trustworthy person.[79] As such, his decision to make the journey that was a source of difficulty for Marcella is also vindicated. In section two he uses his absence and Marcella's pain at their separation as a point of departure for a discussion of the fall of the soul and the process of philosophical separation and ascent. In sections three and four, he draws upon Marcella's traditional piety, which dictates the appropriate ways of worshipping the divine and the ethical behavior which corresponds to those beliefs, to

demonstrate for her the philosophic principles he wishes her to remember and practice. Porphyry should not be interpreted here as advocating the practice of traditional piety. He specifically claims to be training Marcella in philosophy (3.45). But he appears to regard traditional piety, properly understood and practiced, as the best preparation for the philosophic life.[80] Porphyry remains the philosopher as he integrates the search for personal salvation into the metaphysical structure of Neoplatonism.[81] In the fragmentary final paraenetic section of the epistle, he reassures her of his continuing concern for her welfare by giving her practical advice about dealing with her responsibilities.

A brief summary of the content of each of these sections will demonstrate more clearly how Porphyry has developed the argument of the Ad Marcellam. In Chapters 1-4, where Porphyry grounds the discourse in the experience of their marriage and subsequent separation, he reminds Marcella of his reasons for having married her, disclaiming self-serving motives. He also recounts the personal opposition he experienced because of his marriage to her. Next, he recalls that he was unwilling to have her accompany him on his journey because of his concern for the welfare of her daughters. He concludes this section with a promise to return home and resume her philosophic instruction as soon as possible. The argument of this section is almost exclusively at the warranting level, establishing for Marcella why his instructions are valid for her personally.

Chapters 5-10 begin the discussion of the theory and the practice of the philosophic life. In this section, Porphyry uses Marcella's sorrow over the loss of her mentor and the path to salvation to remind her that the ascent, the goal of the philosophic life, can be attained

only through suffering and struggle.[82] Further, he argues that their union, because of its spiritual nature, can be achieved without physical presence. By implication, Porphyry's argument suggests that his absence may be more conducive to their spiritual union and to Marcella's practice of the philosophical life than his presence would be. The argument of this section moves between the warranting level, where Porphyry argues for the importance of the philosophic life and the validity of his interpretation of it, and the dialogic level, where his aim is to persuade her to continue the practice of philosophy in her difficult circumstances.

Chapters 11-24 demonstrate how traditional piety and ethics, properly understood and practiced, embody the ideals of the philosophic life. Porphyry presents Marcella with the portrait of the wise man who recognizes the existence of the divine, who honors God with appropriate acts of piety, who demonstrates in his actions the truths he professes, and who ultimately achieves union with the divine, toward which his whole life and thought are directed. He employs the standard heuristic device of contrasting the wise man with the foolish man whose life exemplifies the opposite views and values. This is a negative example for Marcella to contemplate and avoid.

Chapters 25-34 discuss the tenets of divine and natural law, which are rooted in the religious tradition. From natural law, the soul learns its appropriate relationship to the body, and from divine law its relationship to the higher realm of Intelligence. At the end of this section, Porphyry once again refers to Marcella personally, exhorting her not to think of herself as a weak woman unable to live the philosophic life. He encourages her to continue to strive for the philosophic

ideal to which she has committed herself, the union of "virginal soul and unmated Intelligence" (34.515).

The argument of these two sections continues at both the dialogic and warranting levels, though the dialogic level predominates here.

In chapter 35, Porphyry admonishes Marcella on the proper treatment of her slaves and exhorts her to manual labor. The chapter concludes with the advice to "regard the foundation of piety as the love of mankind . . ." (35.541). Though the ending of the text is fragmentary, we can probably assume that it continued in the paraenetic vein with which this chapter began. Thus Porphyry again combines a dialogic level of argument, demonstrating practical applications of philosophical principles, with a warranting level, validating himself, despite his absence, through his very concrete concern for Marcella.

One of the ways in which Porphyry skillfully combines the dialogic and warranting levels of his argument in the Ad Marcellam is through the use of their marriage and his journey as a paradigm of the philosophic life. The following discussion illustrates the way in which this device gives his argument a particular persuasiveness.

Porphyry's divinely sanctioned journey (4.58-59), which necessitates his absence from home,[83] models the soul's descent into the body (5.74-76; 33.501-02). His subsequent efforts to return are like the effort the soul must make to return to its true home (7.127-28). In comparing Marcella to the wounded Philoctetes, abandoned by the Greeks, Porphyry states that Marcella's wound consists in the recognition of the nature and extent of the fall of the soul in the process of coming-to-be (5.72-75). But unlike Philoctetes, who cannot count on his gods to rescue him, Marcella has the hope of salvation from the gods (5.75-77).

Porphyry claims that he did not marry Marcella for wealth, comfort, or honor (1.8-17); subsequently he denounces wealth as detrimental to the ascent of the soul (14.245; 27.434-38), comfort and ease as antithetical to the philosophic life (5.85-86; 6.99-105), and he declares that honor is due to God, not man (23.364-67). The plots, hostilities and physical dangers he faces at the hands of Marcella's community (1.17-20) are paralleled by the coercive power of physical nature and the emotions upon the soul (30.466-70; 33.506-09). And his efforts to free Marcella from every attempt to dominate her (3.43-46)[84] mirror the effort the individual must make to free the soul from the captivity of the passions through the practice of philosophy (34.521-23).

Porphyry calls Marcella his σύνοικος (1.3). Later, he uses the same term to describe the relationship of God to the pure soul (20.326), and of the evil daimons to the wicked soul (21.335-36). He also parallels himself, as Marcella's father, husband, teacher, and kin (6.95-97) to the Νοῦς , her teacher and savior, nurse, guardian and leader in the spiritual realm (26.415-17). But he carefully admonishes her not to regard his presence as essential to her attempt to live the philosophical life, since the indwelling Νοῦς makes her self-sufficient and independent of all other external goods (9.166-72).

We do not know whether Porphyry succeeded in renewing Marcella's will to live the philosophic life in the difficult circumstances which his absence occasioned. But the combination of his rhetorical skill, the appeal to the personal circumstances of their life, the example of his own life, lived according to these same principles,[85] and the references to Marcella's own traditional piety and ethical values must have created an almost irresistible argument.

IV.

Porphyry's exposition undoubtedly served to remind Marcella of the "doctrine consistent with [the] life" of philosophical asceticism which he had shared with her prior to his departure (3.44-46; 4.52-57). The major doctrines of Neoplatonism[86] that form the basis for exhortations to her are the fall of the soul, the ontological order, the relationship of God and the daimons to human existence, and the process of salvation through philosophical separation and ascent.

Porphyry alludes to the doctrine of the fall of the soul in several places. He describes the soul as having been "sent away naked" by God (33.501-02) on a "sojourn abroad" (6.101). The soul has had perceptions implanted within it in the spiritual realm (10.183-85) which it must attempt to recollect if it is to reascend to that realm. The soul has, metaphorically, "only the pitch, as in a chorus, which leads [it] to remember what [it] had from the giver as [it] set out on [its] wandering" (8.152-53). Recollection of the perceptions and the pitch is difficult, however, because the state of embodiment "leads to forgetfulness and is conducive to estrangement and to sleep" (6.112-14).

Porphyry describes the body as joined to the soul in the way the membrane is to the embryo and the stalk is to the growing grain (32.485-88). This joining with the body makes it possible for the soul to come into being in this world (32.489-93). But the body is not one's real self. It is only its shadow and visible form (10.174).

The embodied soul, which has a recollection of its former existence, is also subject to the passions which create in it an "irrational confusion" (8.139). Porphyry

speaks in a traditional way of the passions as the disease of the soul (31.482-83). As such, they are opposed to λόγος , its rational capacity (6.99). Philosophy serves as the doctor who purges the passions so that the soul can live in accordance with reason (31.481-83). Porphyry contrasts the "effeminate element" (33.513-14) of the soul, which is drawn to the passions, to the rational soul, which he describes as "the body of the intellect" (26.412). Intelligence nourishes the rational soul "by bringing to recognition through the light from Itself the thoughts in the soul, which It has stamped and engraved with the truth of the divine law. And It becomes the very teacher and savior and nurse and guardian and guide to the ascent" (26.413-17).

In a succinct formulation which also serves as an exhortation, Porphyry summarizes the ontological order that is reflected in the preceding discussion: "let the intellect obey God since it is a mirror-image of God by its likeness to Him; let the soul obey the intellect; then, of course, let the body be subservient to the soul as far as is possible, pure body subservient to pure soul" (13.233-35).

Porphyry's discussion of God in the Ad Marcellam focuses on the nature of the relationship between God and the soul. God, with his foreknowledge, governs the universe (21.339-42). He is the beholder and overseer of all human acts (12.205-06), as are the divine justice which issues from the gods (22.359-60) and the angels and the good daimons, the "overseers of events, whom it is impossible to elude" (21.342-44). On the opposite side are the evil daimons who have, correspondingly, a negative influence upon the soul (16.270-71; 19.320-22; 21.331-32). The soul may be regarded as the dwelling place of God or

of the evil daimons, according to its disposition (11.201-02; 21.333).

The gods are saviors who do not disdain us, Porphyry assures Marcella (5.77). They are interested in our salvation and can be invoked for help through prayer for things worthy of God (12.209-12). They may also be asked for a safe deliverance from life, and for the rewards due at the end of our labors (12.212-14), for it is possible to attain the immortality (32.493-97) which they enjoy (18.305-07).

The embodied soul may either recognize its true nature and try to ascend to God through the practice of philosophy and piety, or it may choose to remain in ignorance, blinded (18.307-08), holding false opinions (17.291-92), forgetful of its past and desirous of a life of pleasure and ease (6.111-14). If the soul chooses the latter course, it is doomed to be tyrannized (34.525), enslaved (34.523), and bewitched (33.509) by the passions which are imagined as fetters and chains (7.115-20), as diseases (9.157-58), and as captors (33.506-09) of the soul.

The badly-ordered soul is prone to various undefined desires (27.434-38), fears (29.457-58), and attachments (32.496-97). Its love of the body, pleasure and wealth (14.243-45) lead it to become unjust, unholy, lawless, impious, ungodly, and sacrilegious (14.245-47). Thus, even when it attempts to worship God, it is doomed to dishonor him (23.360-64; 24.374-75).

The soul which aspires to union with God, on the other hand, chooses a life which involves toil, hardship, and many dangers and difficulties (7.122-26). Porphyry tells Marcella that the process of ascent is comparable to climbing a rugged mountain rather than journeying on a well-paved road (6.99-103). The ascent is an inner journey

which demands an effort "to ascend into yourself, gathering from the body all the parts of the soul which have been scattered and cut into many pieces from their former unity which had strength due to its size" (10.179-83). The ascent also requires reflection on the principles of philosophy and the practice of these principles in one's deeds (10.187-91).

Through the study of divine and natural law, the soul daily becomes more self-sufficient, but it must not disregard the legitimate cries of the flesh for satisfaction of its actual needs (30.465-70; 27.427-29; 28.447--50). Self-sufficiency makes the soul unperturbed in the face of whatever comes to it by chance, either good or evil (30.472-74). Its goal should be to "despise what [it] will not need once [it is] set free from the body" (12.214-15).

Thus purified, the wise man is able to worship God in an appropriate and acceptable manner. He "alone is a priest; he alone is god-beloved; he alone knows how to pray" (16.278-80). He turns to God in faith, truth, love and hope: "For it is necessary to have faith that conversion toward God is the only salvation; and for the faithful to be as eager as possible to know the truth about Him; and for the knower to love the one who is known; and for the lover to nourish his soul throughout his life on good hopes. For by good hopes the good prevail over the wicked" (24.377-84). Informed by these virtues, the thought of the wise man becomes like God (16.265-67), he is set free at last from the body (12.216-17), his god-filled intellect is united to God (19.314-15), he has the form of God (11.196-98), he becomes divine (17.286-87).

The Ad Marcellam presents basic doctrines of Porphyry's philosophical system in a simplified form, illustrated through the use of sententiae and exempla to

make them readily understood and remembered by a novice philosopher. One result of the need for simplification is that many complex philosophical concepts are not elaborated; they are merely alluded to in brief formulae, the significance of which will be apparent only to those well-versed in Neoplatonic philosophy.[87] The systematic analysis of philosophic issues which is characteristic of Porphyry's other philosophic writings is necessarily absent in the Ad Marcellam.[88] Another consequence of the need for simplification is that not all the metaphysical and ontological doctrines of his system are presented. One significant omission is a discussion of the nature of the first principles of being, which occupied such an important place in the thought and work of both Plotinus and Porphyry.[89]

The use of material from traditional piety is also part of the simplification process, as Porphyry draws upon ideas and practices familiar to Marcella in order to teach her the principles of his philosophical system. From the point of view of its philosophical content, the Ad Marcellam, in spite of the cryptic references to advanced Neoplatonic concepts, is best understood as an elementary exposition of Neoplatonism which is neither fully representative of the complexity of Porphyry's mature thought nor of Neoplatonism as a philosophical system.

V.

The only known extant manuscript of the Ad Marcellam is in a codex of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, Ambrosianus Q. 13 sup. fol. 214vo - 222ro.[90] The manuscript, which has been dated to about 1500 C.E., is written in a

variant form of minuscule and contains lacunae and a fragmentary ending which probably existed in the manuscript from which it was copied.[91] The text bears the title ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΑΝ. It is traditionally divided into thirty-five chapters. In this edition it consists of 541 Greek lines.

The Ambrosian manuscript of the Ad Marcellam was discovered by Cardinal Angelo Mai, who recognized the significance of his find and promptly published the text in 1816 and again in 1831 with a Latin translation.[92] Between Mai's two editions, Johann C. von Orelli, with the assistance of J. Caspar von Orelli, published another edition of the text in 1819. These editions incorporated textual emendations of the manuscript and provided interpretive references to other ancient texts.

Scholarship on the Ad Marcellam in the decades following the discovery of the text focused on two themes. One was the relationship of the text to the Greek philosophical tradition, and in particular to that form of the tradition embodied in the sententiae ascribed to certain Pythagorean and Epicurean philosophers. Thomas Taylor in 1820 claimed that the Ad Marcellam contained a previously unknown non-Christian version of some of the sententiae of the Pythagorean philosophers Sextus and Demophilus.[93] The other theme in the early scholarship on the Ad Marcellam arose from the text's emphasis on piety, ethics and the pursuit of the philosophic life. The possible relationship between the Ad Marcellam and the Christian tradition was examined. C. Ullmann identified what he considered to be parallels between the Ad Marcellam and the New Testament.[94]

Augustus Nauck's 1860 edition of the Ad Marcellam marked the beginning of a second period of scholarship on this text. In the preface to this edition, Nauck claimed

to have made significant improvements in his text over the readings in the codex and in Mai.[95] He continued his editorial work on the Ad Marcellam, benefitting from the suggestions of Volkmann and the work of other scholars on various collections of the sententiae which Porphyry used,[96] and in 1886 he published a second edition of the text.

Nauck's editions of the Ad Marcellam led to a series of translations of the text: into French by M.-N. Bouillet in 1864; into English by Alice Zimmern in 1896 and 1910; Zimmern refers also to a translation by Chinazzi into Italian.[97]

During this second period, scholars continued to emphasize the philosophic and religious aspects of the text. The great scholars of the early twentieth century, Richard Reitzenstein, Adolf von Harnack, and Peter Corssen, debated whether certain passages in the Ad Marcellam were indebted to the Chaldaean Oracles or to 1 Cor. 13:13 and 2 Cor. 3:18. Franz Dornseiff continued the discussion in an afterword to Walter Kröhling's 1935 study of the use of exempla in Greco-Roman poetry, suggesting that both Paul and the Ad Marcellam may have a common oriental source.[98]

Joseph Bidez's 1913 Vie de Porphyre, still the only extensive biography of Porphyry, placed the Ad Marcellam within the context of Porphyry's life and work as a Neoplatonic philosopher. Kurt Gass's Bonn dissertation in 1927 reflected the continuing discussion over the identification of the sources Porphyry utilized in the Ad Marcellam, particularly the sententiae.

Phase three of scholarship on the Ad Marcellam, which began with A.-J. Festugière's 1944 French translation of the Ad Marcellam, as part of his three-volume Trois Dévots Païens series, continued to find the

philosophical and religious aspects of the text of interest. Both Festugière and Giuseppe Faggin, in his 1954 translation of the text into Italian, compare pagan and Christian piety in late antiquity.

Interest in the Ad Marcellam as an expression of Porphyry's philosophical perspective characterized the 1982 French translation of Edouard des Places. His edition contained the first comprehensive index verborum to the Ad Marcellam. The 1986 reprint of Zimmern's English translation, and the introduction by David Fideler, appear to have been motivated by philosophical interests also. Andrew Smith, in his study of Porphyry's Place in the Neoplatonic Tradition[99] drew upon the Ad Marcellam to compare the relationship of Porphyry's philosophical and religious thought with that of his predecessor, Plotinus, and his successor, Iamblichus. Smith's work, unfortunately, did not discuss the results of Pierre Hadot's research, which has radically changed the image of Porphyry from a faithful follower of Plotinus to a creative and independent mind within the Neoplatonic tradition.[100]

A fourth phase of Ad Marcellam scholarship, which overlaps with the third phase, commenced in 1969 with the publication of Walter Pötscher's text with German translation, notes and commentary. His commentary is particularly valuable for its careful literary analysis of the text, which conclusively disposes of the argument that the Ad Marcellam is simply a pastiche of sententiae having no literary merit.[101] Pötscher has also suggested several new textual emendations, based on a study of the original manuscript.

My work on the Ad Marcellam continues the analysis of the literary dimensions of the text. I have added to the argument for its literary integrity by illustrating in the Introduction and notes how Porphyry uses the

marriage and his subsequent absence as paradigmatic of the philosophic life, by pointing to Porphyry's use of the ancient rules of argumentation in constructing his composition, and by identifying through structural analysis the dialogic and warranting level of his argument. My investigation of the genre of the Ad Marcellam indicates that it is a philosophical epistle intended to persuade Marcella to continue in the practice of philosophy. Porphyry used Marcella's traditional piety and ethics and demonstrated for her how they were grounded in the philosophic principles he had taught her. These conclusions, which no longer permit the assumption that the Ad Marcellam is primarily an expression of Porphyry's own piety, also help to explain why the Ad Marcellam is different from Porphyry's other known writings.

Another aspect of my work on the Ad Marcellam has been to interpret the text as a reflection of the social history of its period. I have attempted to establish the legal and personal situation behind the allusions Porphyry makes to difficulties he and Marcella had because of their marriage. I have examined the evidence in the text for the ascetic character of their marriage in light of what we know about the sexual arrangements of late antiquity. I have utilized the information which the Ad Marcellam provides about the role of women in the Neoplatonic tradition to reconstruct further the history of women's involvement in the philosophic and religious communities of late antiquity.[102]

My study of the Ad Marcellam has produced no compelling evidence to regard the text as having been significantly influenced by Christian or gnostic ideas. Rather, in at least one specific case, the reverse appears to be true.[103] On the other hand, the links to Plotinus and the Platonic tradition are clear and compelling. The

brief articulation of philosophic principles in the Ad Marcellam also contributes to the reconstruction of Porphyry's thought.

In establishing the text to be used for this translation, I have followed Nauck's edition of 1886 for the most part. However, whenever possible, I have utilized the readings of the original codex, as reflected in Mai's 1831 edition. I have selected among variant readings, and I have found some, but not all, of Pötscher's and des Places' suggested emendations to be useful. The opportunity I had to consult a microfiche of the original manuscript clarified several points of interpretation.[104] I have also suggested some textual emendations, which to my knowledge have not been proposed before.

The translation of the Ad Marcellam was a challenging task because of Porphyry's elaborate literary style and syntax and the complexities of the Neoplatonic thought system, with its technical vocabulary. In accordance with the purpose of the Texts and Translations series, I have attempted to provide English readers with a readable translation on the basis of a reliable Greek text. This introductory essay is intended to give the reader a broader perspective for appreciating the text, while the notes attempt to clarify in more detail specific issues raised by individual passages. The comprehensive index verborum, carefully prepared by Lee E. Klosinski, makes the technical terminology of the Ad Marcellam readily available to scholars.

NOTES

Full bibliographic information on the works cited in the notes can be found in the bibliographies in the back of this volume.

1.Ferrar (1922:88).

2.Quotations of the Plot. are from Armstrong's translation (1966:1-85).

3.Eunapius 455-57. Modern discussions of Porphyry's life and work are found in Bidez (1913), Beutler (1953:cols. 275-313), Dodds (1977:864-65), Armstrong (1967:272-325), Pötscher (1972: cols. 1064-69).

4.So Bidez (1913:5) and Dodds (1949:719). Beutler (1953: col. 276) dates his birth to 234 C.E.

5.Eunapius 456.

6.Plot. 7.

7.Plot. 8.

8.Plot. 8, 11.

9.Plot. 11. As Porphyry reports this event, Plotinus recommended he leave Rome. Eunapius 456 reports a different version.

10.See the list of Porphyry's students in Bidez (1913:104ff.). See also the discussion in Smith (1974:-xvii-xviii and n. 18) about the possibility that Iamblichus was one of Porphyry's students.

11.Eunapius 457; Cyril of Alexandria, Adv. Iul. VI.209B; Aristocritus (Erbse, Frag. gr. Theos. 201,9.85).

12.The date of Porphyry's death is uncertain. Neither Beutler (1953: col. 278) nor Bidez (1913:127) gives a definite date. Pötscher (1972: col. 1064) says it was between 301 and 304-05 C.E.; Dodds (1949:719) ca. 305; Rist (1981:151) suggests a date as late as 310 C.E.

13.Eunapius 457.

14.Bidez (1913:165-66 and Appendix IV).

15.Some modern commentators have followed the lead of Bidez (1913:133) in stating that, despite the range of his interests, there are no original ideas in Porphyry (Dodds 1949:720; Hulen 1933:11). But see the discussion of recent developments in Porphyrian scholarship in Smith (1974:xi-xviii), who offers the following evaluation of Porphyry and his work: "Fortunately the last of the Greek philosophers who is extensively known in the west was a great polymath and an excellent exponent of the complex doctrines of Neoplatonism" (p. xi). More recent efforts by Hadot, Dörrie and others to retrieve the writing of Porphyry which is embedded in other ancient authors and to identify as the work of Porphyry previously unascribed writings suggest a different, more positive conclusion about his contribution to the development of Neoplatonic philosophy.

16.Eunapius 457.

17.For a discussion of this work, see Barnes (1973:424--42), Rist (1981:137-79), and Hulen (1933). The text has been reconstructed by Harnack (1916). See also Anastos (1966) and Meredith (1980).

18.Wilken (1984:126-63).

19.Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. 6.19.

20.Socrates, Hist. Eccl. VII.2.27-28.

21.Lactantius, Div. Inst. V, 2, 3ff. See the discussion of this text in Bidez (1913:112, n. 2) and Chadwick (1959:142, 143, n. 1).

22.Porphyry wrote fifteen, not three, books against the Christians, and he described his marriage to Marcella in terms that suggest that he was not motivated by avarice and lust.

23.See Harnack (1911:65-82), Moffatt (1931:215-17), Ferrar (1922:97). Parallels in language and thought between the Ad Marc. and the NT were proposed by Ullmann (1832:376-94). Harnack (1911:80) states, apropos of them: "In some places we can hardly suppress the suspicion that Porphyry knows the biblical form of the thought, but intentionally chooses another" or "that Christian reminiscences, derived from his youth and his studies have influenced him without his knowledge."

Hulen (1933:23-24) is more inclined to find the Jewish and Christian traditions channeled into the philosophical tradition through Numenius of Apamea. Two particular NT texts, 1 Cor 13:13 and 2 Cor 3:18, have been examined carefully to determine their relationship to Ad Marc. 24.376-78. See the note to that passage for the details of that discussion. Porphyry's frequent use of the sententiae of Sextus have also been considered a source of Christian influence upon the Ad Marc. Sextus' identity has been problematic, one tradition holding that he was a Pythagorean philosopher of the first century and another that he was a later Christian philosopher. Chadwick (1959:148-49) concluded that the Christian Sextus and Porphyry both drew upon an earlier collection or collections of sayings of Pythagorean origin. None of the material in the sententiae which Chadwick identifies as unmistakably Christian in orientation or which uses Christian terminology occur in the Ad Marc. See also the article by Taylor (1820:266-70) in which he identifies certain sententiae in the Ad Marc. as coming from Sextus Pythagoricus and Demophilus, another Pythagorean philosopher.

24.Hulen (1933:6-7, n. 8).

25.Festugière (1944:16) states: "Et tel est bien, précisément, le mérite de l'ouvrage. A l'heure où le christianisme va triompher, peu d'années avant que la législation impériale n'instaure un ordre nouveau (311-313), voici qu'un païen exprime la moelle de la piété antique en un langage si noble que les lecteurs modernes ont pu s'y tromper." Unlike Festugière, however, I believe that Porphyry's "highest vision of paganism" was philosophical, not religious. The differences in the thought worlds of Neoplatonism and Christianity make it almost impossible to conceive of Porphyry moving from one to the other without some dramatic conversion experience, which is never ascribed to him. For a discussion of the differences between Christianity and Neoplatonism, see Armstrong (1979) and the bibliography of H. Dörrie in Blume and Mann (1983:viii-xv).

26.The Ad Marc. should not be interpreted as reflecting Porphyry's greater interest in piety and ethics in his old age. See the discussion of the rhetorical strategy of the Ad Marc. in Introduction III.

27.Eunapius 457.

28.Crook (1967:116) indicates that undertaking guardianship was considered part of one's officium to one's friends.

29.Plot. 9.

30.Buckland (1932:101) states: "If, as was usual from the beginning of the Empire, and universal in the later law, the marriage was not with manus, the wife was not a member of the familia, but remained in that to which she had belonged. Conversely, a daughter who married without manus, was still in the family, but her children never were. If her marriage was a fully valid civil marriage they were in her husband's family." See also Gratwick (1984:30).

31.Gratwick (1984:41) states: "A citizeness could only be `of her own right' if she was not in someone's manus, `control'; and that could happen if all the relevant males who might exercise that control were dead."

32.Tutela was the practice of establishing a guardian to manage the estates of minors, women and other incompetent persons. According to Ulpian, Rules 11.1 (Lefkowitz and Fant, 1982:193): "Guardians are appointed for males as well as for females, but only for males under puberty, on account of their infirmity of age; for females, however, both under and over puberty, on account of the weakness of their sex as well as their ignorance of business matters." However, Buckland (1932:166) suggests that "the unreality of the tutela of adult women is shewn [sic] by the number of devices for change of tutor." Further, Marcella's husband's agnate relatives should not have been able to exercise tutela over her, since agnatic guardianship had been abolished since Claudius (Schultz, 1956:209).

33.Buckland (1932:167) states: "A woman with the ius liberorum (three children, or four if a liberta in the patron's tutela) was free of tutela, a right sometimes given without actual satisfaction of the requirement."

34.See Sachers (1948: cols. 1529-30); Taubenschlag (1922-24:160-67). Seneca, Ad Helviam XIV,2-3, praises his mother for the care with which she administered her sons' estates.

35.There is no evidence that he named another guardian for the children in his will.

36. In an earlier period, it would have been the agnate relatives who exercised guardianship over the children. Crook (1967:113-14) states: "The fact that infants might often, by the death of their paterfamilias, be sui iuris threw considerable weight on the Roman institution of guardianship, tutela. Like adoption, this had originally nothing to do with the welfare of orphans . . .It originated as a right of agnate relatives to keep hold over property which, if the infant did not grow up and have heirs, was due to come to them--to see that the infant was not cozened into squandering it . . ."

37.The legal concerns over the rights of children of a first marriage when a parent remarried are discussed by Humbert (1972:181-245).

38.For the inheritance of the widow, see Humbert (1972) and the note to 1.9-10. Apuleius' Apologia indicates the concern of sons over the remarriage of their mother who had inherited the estate that would consequently come to them.

39.Smith (1974:xvii).

40.Faggin (1954:30).

41.There appears to be an unresolved dilemma about whether the Christian or the Neoplatonist Origen is meant here. See Weber (1962:15-16).

42.Plot. 2, 8, 9, 15.

43.This development did occur among the Essenes within Judaism (see Porphyry, De abstin. 4.11), among the followers of Epicurus (D.L. X.119), and in later Christianity (Lea, 1966) however.

44.Plot. 9.

45.Similar models for Porphyry's action are also found among the Essenes, who, as Porphyry reports (De abstin. 4.11), raised other people's children, and in Epictetus, who married late in life in order to provide a home for a child who would have been exposed otherwise (Oldfather, 1929:I, x).

46.In addition to the Ad Marc., see the arguments that Porphyry advances in favor of vegetarianism in the De abstin.

47.This view is also held by Bidez (1913:111), Geffcken (1978:71), and Rader (1983:64). But for Porphyry, continence or virginity, though an important aspect of asceticism, was not the primary or all-encompassing ascetic practice that it was for some Christians, including his contemporary, Methodius. See his Symp., especially 11.278-82. See also the discussion of the Thecla legend in MacDonald (1983). Porphyry sums up the ideal of the spiritual life in a statement which emphasizes the complementarity of soul and Intelligence, based on an analogy with the continent couple: "For the most blessed offspring come from virginal soul and unmated Intelligence" (33.515-16). For Methodius, the complementarity is between the virgin and Christ (Symp. 7.152).

Interestingly, one of the women who contributes to the discussion in Methodius' Symp. is also named Marcella. There is no reason to assume any relationship between this Marcella and the Marcella to whom Porphyry's Ad Marc. is addressed. But there are some parallels between the two texts which I have indicated in the appropriate places in the notes to the text.

48.See the note to 1.3. Further evidence for the significance of this term and its cognates is its use in Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. 1. VI, 3) and John Chrysostom (Contra eos qui apud se habent Subintroductas virgines IV) for those unmarried couples in the Christian tradition who lived together continently in a form of spiritual marriage. John Chrysostum (Quod regulares feminae viris cohabitare non debeant III) says he finds the term revolting (προσιστασταί μοι καὶ ἡ ἐπωνυμία τῆς συνοικήσεως). Achelis (1902) discusses the patristic evidence for this phenomenon, which he identifies in Paul (1 Cor. 7:36-38) and suggests it came into Christianity from ascetic forms of Judaism. de Labriolle (1921) argues against dating the practice as early as Paul (he prefers a date in the third century) and regarding spiritual marriage as an acceptable ascetic practice within orthodox Christianity. Lea (1966) assumes the existence of the practice, but he accepts without question the view of the church fathers that it was a corrupt practice.

The social arrangement of spiritual marriage is of interest. Did the women in these relationships gain personal independence or did they simply transfer their dependent status from fathers, males relatives and husbands, to another male authority figure? Or, as John Chrysostom has suggested (Contra eos IX), were men finding another way to gain the services of women who no longer wished to follow the traditional form of marriage? Or did these relationships foster equality among the

sexes (Chrysostom, Quod regulares VI-VIII)? Clark (1979:159) suggests that this practice "solved a practical problem: how and where could female ascetics of the early Christian era live if they did not remain in their parental homes or take to the desert?" For an English translation of the two treatises of John Chrysostom on syneisaktism, see Clark (1979:158-248) and also her interpretative essay (1977:171-85).

Rader (1983:62-71) believes women did achieve personal independence through these relationships, though she acknowledges that there is no direct evidence that the practice allowed women many social advantages. She further suggests that the practice may have been resisted because local bishops may have felt that their authority over virgins was being usurped by the males with whom they lived. Possibly there is a parallel between the distress of Marcella's relatives over the marriage and that of the bishops who would have liked more authority over the Christian virgins, or that of the husbands in the apocryphal acts toward the apostles who converted their wives to Christianity and the ascetic life (Davies, 1980; Burrus, 1986), or Perpetua's father in the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas (Musurillo, 1972:108-09), who tried to dissuade his newly married daughter, who was nursing an infant son, from becoming a martyr.

Rousselle (1983:170) argues that non-Christian women who exercised continence provided a model for the Christian women who chose to live celibately with a man or in small communities with other Christians. Marcella, as well as the women who practiced philosophy under the guidance of Plotinus (Plot. 9, 11), should then be included among those non-Christian women who modelled a life of continence for their Christian sisters.

49.So Rousselle (1983:228). It is interesting that Rousselle would interpret the Ad Marc. as advocating sexual continence only during Porphyry's absence. She has, I believe, put too much weight on the few indications in the text that Porphyry is responding to a letter from Marcella. This may be the case, but if so, both used literary topoi common to the consolation literature.

50.Early and excessive pregnancies were a major source of medical difficulties among women in antiquity. See Rousselle's discussion of women's health issues in the medical writings of antiquity (1983:37-63). Porphyry, we can assume, had followed an ascetic regimen throughout his life.

51.See Rousselle (1983:13-36). See also Porphyry's report about Rogatianus, a pupil of Plotinus, whose health improved dramatically when he gave up public life in favor of the pursuit of philosophy (Plot. 7).

52.See Acts of Peter 9:34; Acts of Thomas I.9-16.

53.See the discussion in n. 47.

54.I observe three major kinds of involvement in philosophy by women in antiquity: 1) study of the theoretical, speculative questions of philosophy; 2) practice of the social and ethical aspects of philosophy; 3) commitment to philosophy as a personal, spiritual way of life, grounded in specific metaphysical principles.

In the first category, I place women like Lastheneia of Mantinea and Axiothea of Phlius, who, we are told, wore men's clothes (D.L. III.46). They were pupils of Plato and continued in the Academy after Plato's death as the pupils of Speusippus (D.L. IV.2). Arete of Cyrene belongs in this category too. She was the disciple of Socrates' companion Aristippus, and she trained her son, Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaic school, in philosophy (D.L. II.86). These women pursued the speculative and theoretical questions of philosophy as the equals of the men in these schools.

The competence of women in the philosophical schools led to the concern that the study of philosophy might change women's willingness to continue in their traditional roles. So philosophy itself, along with law and traditional piety, was used to keep women in a subordinate position. Aristotle argued that women were biologically, intellectually and morally inferior to men (N.E. 8.7.1-2; Pol. 1.2.12; 1.5.1-9), while Theophrastus sarcastically cautioned that education would turn women into lazy dilettantes (Stob. 4, 193, n. 31, Meineke). Lucian, De merced. cond. 36, criticizes the superficiality of the interest of rich women in philosophy. And Seneca, Ad Helviam XVII.4-5, regrets that his father did not allow his mother to study philosophy because some women ostentatiously displayed their philosophic learning.

A number of Hellenistic and Roman philosophers developed the strategy of encouraging women to study and practice the social and ethical aspects of their philosophical systems, our second category of participation, rather than the theoretical aspects. These philosophical systems generally supported rather than disrupted the traditional roles of women, offering them a new rationale for their behavior. Many men are reported to have

sent their wives to study with Pythagoras, because that school was known to encourage women to practice traditional domestic virtues (D.L. VIII.41-42; Porphyry Pyth. 19; Thesleff, 1965:51, 115-16, 123-24, 142-46, 188-89, 193-201; Meunier, 1932; Städele, 1980). Even later Pythagorean writings attributed to women named Theo and Myia do the same (Thesleff, 1961:113-14). Plutarch's coniug. praec., addressed to a young couple on the occasion of their marriage, holds the Aristotelian view that the husband-wife relationship is one of superior to subordinate. He attempts to ameliorate this position, however, by limiting men's sexual and social freedom and by insisting that each spouse show appropriate respect, consideration and love for the other (Wicker, 1975:141--53). And the Stoics, who supported equal training and education for men and women (Musonius Rufus, frags. 3-4 [Lutz, 1947:38-49]), did not thereby suggest that the sexes were equal either in nature or in opportunity (Manning, 1973:170-77; Balch, 1981:143-49; Balch, 1983:437, n. 31). Thus Musonius Rufus can state that "the teachings of philosophy exhort the woman to be content with her lot and to work with her own hands" (Frag. 3 [Lutz, 1947:43]). In general, participation by women in philosophy in this period was of greater service for the preservation of tradition than it was for their intellectual and personal development. Epicurus' Garden may have been an exception (D.L. X.4-7; Festugière, 1955:43, n. 18).

The third category, women's commitment to philosophy as a personal, spiritual way of life, grounded in a metaphorical system, is well illustrated by Marcella and the women disciples of Plotinus. The financial and legal independence enjoyed by some women in this period made it possible for them to choose a lifestyle different from the traditional one. Within the Neoplatonic school they found a spiritual ideal toward which they could direct their lives. They were, apparently, accepted as equals in the pursuit of the philosophical life, though, like many of their male colleagues, they were not part of the inner philosophical circles. Later, however, some women did become part of the inner philosophical circles of Neoplatonism. Among the most famous were Sosipatra (Eunapius 466-71) and Hypatia, the teacher of Synesius (von Campenhausen, 1932:1362).

55.Plot. 9.

56.Plot. 11. Armstrong's translation suggests that Chione and her children lived in Plotinus's house. But see Brisson et al. (1982:76) where it is suggested that

Chione made her resources available to Porphyry. Apart from the references to them in the Plot., these women are otherwise unknown. See Brisson et al. (1982:71, 76, 113) and Bidez (1913:40).

57.Plot., 4, 7.

58.As Rousselle (1983:121-37) has observed, a number of Roman married women and concubines appear to have been unsatisfied with their lot. While many stayed in their traditional roles despite their dissatisfaction, we know that some of them found a way of escape through commitment to philosophic and religious systems which advocated ascetic practices. (See Acts of Peter 9.33-34 where both concubines and a married woman convert to Christianity and refuse further sexual relations.) Was the sublimation of their sexuality too high a price to pay for their liberation? Some contemporary feminists think so (Cameron, 1980:60-68). Ruether (1979:73) argues, however, that the opportunity to take charge of their lives rather than being defined by others could and did make asceticism a liberating option for some women. Another way in which women expressed their unhappiness with traditional social expectations was through homoerotic relationships (Brooten, 1985:61-87).

59.For widows as a special group within the Christian community, see 1 Tim. 5:3-16; Acts of Peter 7.19-22, Tertullian Ad Uxorem 4; [Clement], De Virg. I and II. According to Davies (1980:70-94), however, not all the Christian widows and virgins were financially independent. Their economic welfare was such a source of concern to the Christian community that it became the regular task of the bishops to care for the widows. For a discussion of the apocryphal acts see Semeia 38:1986.

60.Rousselle (1983:244) states: "L'empressement qu'elles mirent à suivre la voie ascétique, leur répugnance aux relations sexuelles dans le mariage qu'on leur imposait, la possibilité de se voir reconnues dans une profession où elles égalaient l'homme ont fait des femmes de l'Empire un des principaux acteurs de la transformation du monde antique." I doubt that asceticism can be attributed exclusively to social causes, but the effect of ascetic behavior in antiquity, whatever its causes, was to transform the social system.

61.Porphyry cannot be considered an advocate of women's liberation in the modern sense of the term. The language of the first section of the Ad Marc. (Ch. 1-4) sounds

condescending to modern ears, though this may be due primarily to the nature of his argument and his attempt to establish his own credibility. He holds up for her imitation the wise man of the philosophic tradition. He makes no effort to provide generic language, as I recognized when my attempts to translate this section using generic language proved impossible. But the fact that he was willing to support a woman who wanted freedom from male domination for the pursuit of philosophy by marrying her and taking on the responsibility for her family is notable.

62.See the note to 4.58-59 for a discussion of Porphyry's absence.

63.This, at least, appears to be the question which Porphyry responds to in the Ad Marc. See 1.1, 3.37-40, 8.135-37. Whether or not Marcella formulated this question in a prior letter to Porphyry is not clear. See Rousselle (1983:227); Bidez (1913:112-13).

64.Here I refer only to the literary situation of the Ad Marc. In their real lives, Marcella was probably well aware of the reasons for Porphyry's absence, though his departure still may have been difficult and disappointing for her.

65.Chadwick (1959:143).

66.Beutler (1953:292); Zimmern (1910:12, 22); Lloyd (1967:284); des Places (1982:89).

67.Pötscher (1969:105, 50).

68.This was my initial assessment of the genre of the Ad Marc., which I have now revised.

69.Apuleius' Apologia is an example of this genre. See Butler (1909); Butler and Owen (1914). In contrast to Apuleius, who specifically names his accusers and defends himself against their specific charges, Porphyry carefully avoids naming the people who opposed him and specifying the reasons for their opposition. See Introduction II.

70.Examples of this genre are found in the writings of Seneca (1965; 1961; 1962). Cicero, Tusc. III.34.81, indicates that there are specific forms of discourse suited to all the difficulties humans endure. But the consolatio as a genre requires that both the addressee

and the difficult circumstance be continually discussed throughout the treatise. This is not the style of discourse which Porphyry employs in the Ad Marc.

71.The Enneads of Plotinus, which Porphyry edited, are illustrative of this genre (Armstrong, 1966-84).

72.Epicurus' letters to Herodotus, Pythocles and Menoeceus are examples of the epistolary epitome. See D.L. X.35-83; 84-116; 122-35 and DeWitt (1954:111). In this genre, the doctrines are present with a minimum of narrative and illustrative material. See Opelt (1962:945) and Betz (1985).

73.Cicero's Off. is a model of this genre.

74.The suggestion has been made by Hulen (1933:23), Chadwick (1959:143) and Pötscher (1969:50) that the Ad Marc. was intended for a wider audience. The structural analysis of the text makes clear that the argument was constructed quite specifically for Marcella. However, the care with which the epistle was composed may be an argument in support of the view that it was intended for wider circulation.

75.This view is in direct opposition to the earlier description of the Ad Marc. as simply a string of aphorisms drawn from various sources (Beutler 1953:col. 293). That Porphyry frequently used sententiae, which were recommended in the ancient rules of rhetoric for the adornment of the argument, cannot be denied. But I believe he uses them effectively within the argumentative structure of his work. And, given their character as pithy sayings of philosophical wisdom, he may have intended them as heuristic devices to assist Marcella in recalling the philosophic principles embodied in them with ease. Citations of the sententiae used in the Ad Marc. are found in the notes to the text. They are drawn primarily from Epicurean and Pythagorean sources, most of which have been identified by Gass (1927). See also Chadwick (1959).

76.The ancient rules for the development of an argument, which are found in Cicero, Ad Herennium II.18.28ff., require the use of all or most of the following elements: propositio, ratio, rationis confirmatio, exornatio, and complexio. I am indebted to Professor Vernon K. Robbins for pointing out these rhetorical elements in the Ad Marc.

77.Pötscher (1969:103-40).

78.My analysis of the structure of the argument in the Ad Marc. benefitted from the discussion by Patte (1976; 1978; 1983).

79.Here Porphyry follows the recommendation of Cicero, Top. XVIII.67-71 to use the introduction to ground the discussion in a definite person or persons established as reputable. This device, which occurs also in apologetic and other material (see Acts 23:1), does not constitute sufficient evidence to identify a text as an apologia. But see Chadwick (1959:143), who regards the Ad Marcellam as an apologia.

80.We know Porphyry was interested in the problem of salvation for all, not just for the philosopher. This concern is reflected in his examination of Egyptian religions (Ad Aneb.), of theurgy (De regres. anim.), of gnosticism (Plot. 16) and of Christianity (Adv. Chr.). But none of these traditions proved to be a satisfactory alternative to the practice of philosophy. What is of interest in the Ad Marc. is Porphyry's implicit acceptance of traditional piety and ethics as embodying philosophic principles.

81.Perhaps traditional piety comes closest to being a valid alternative for those not capable of the practice of philosophy. Smith (1974:145) is correct in his observation that Porphyry integrates the search for personal salvation into the metaphysical structure of Neoplatonism.

82.This section is reminiscent literarily of the "letter of reconcilliation" which Paul says that he wrote to the Corinthians (2 Cor 2:4) not to cause them pain but to remind them of the love he had for them. See Betz (1986b:44-45).

83.It would be interesting to know more about the reasons for Porphyry's abrupt departure, but unfortunately we do not have that information. See the note to 4.58-59.

84.See 2 Cor 1:24 in the context of the "letter of reconciliation."

85.Porphyry's injunction that "whoever has acquired certainty must live in such a way that he himself can be a certain witness to the beliefs which he speaks about to his disciples" (8.143-45) must have been fulfilled in his own case.

86.Good readable introductions to the philosophy of Plotinus can be found in Armstrong's edition of the Enneads in the LCL (1966:I, vii-xxxiii) and in Rist (1967). For a general introduction to Neoplatonism with a good bibliography, see Wallis (1972).

87.I have attempted to identify and elucidate some of these formulae in notes to the text.

88.See the De Regres. Anim. (Bidez, 1913: Appendix II, 44) for Porphyry's views on the fall of the soul; the Sententiae (Lamberz, 1975) for the nature of the soul, the metaphysical relationship of soul and body, and the soul's ascent to Νοῦς ; the Symmikta Zetemata (Dörrie, 1959) for the nature and process of philosophical separation and ascent; the In Platonis Parmenidem (Hadot, 1968:II, 64-113) for the relationship of the Νοῦς to the One; and the De Abst. (Nauck, 1963) and Ad Anebo (Faggin, 1954) for his demonology.

89.See the discussion in Hadot (1968:I, 247-344). See also Hadot (1961, 1966, 1968, I); Smith (1974); Lloyd (1967:283-95). My primary argument against Pötscher's identification of the Ad Marc. as a treatise on ontology is that it is incomplete without a discussion of the One and the triple hypostases.

90.Ae. Martini and D. Bassi (1906:747-51) provide a detailed description of the manuscript.

91.Pötscher (1969:1-3).

92.The bibliographical information on the text and translations referred to in this discussion appears in the list of texts and translations of the Ad Marc.

93.Taylor (1820:266-70).

94.Ullmann (1832:376-94).

95.Nauck (1860:xl).

96.Volkmann (1873). See also des Places (1982:102, n. 3).

97.I was not able to locate the translation of Chinazzi to which Zimmern (1910:23) refers.

98.Reitzenstein (1916:189-208, 242-55, 367-416; 1917:130--51); Harnack (1911:65-82; 1916:3-18); Corssen (1919--20:2-10); Windisch (1922:182, 190-91); Dornseiff in

Kröhling (1935:88).

99.Smith (1974).

100.Hadot (1961, 1966, 1968).

101.Beutler (1953: col. 293).

102.See Introduction II, n. 54.

103.See the note to 9.166-73.

104.I owe this courtesy to the staff of the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

Text and Translation

ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΑΝ

N 273] 1. Ἐγὼ σέ, Μαρκέλλα, θυγατέρων μὲν πέντε, δυοῖν δὲ ἀρρένων οὔσαν μητέρα, τῶν μὲν καὶ ἔτι νηπίων, τῶν δὲ ἤδη εἰς γάμου ἡλικίαν ἡβᾶν ἐφορμούντων, εἰλόμην ἔχειν σύνοικον, μὴ καταδείσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰς τὰς χρείας αὐτοῖς ἐσομένων ἀναγκαίων· οὔτε παιδοποιίας χάριν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἔχειν κεκρικὼς παῖδας τοὺς τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας ἐραστάς, τά τε σὰ τέκνα, εἰ φιλοσοφίας τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀντιλάβοιτό ποτε ὑφ' ἡμῖν ἀνατρεφόμενα· οὔτε μὴν διὰ χρημάτων περιουσίαν ἢ ὑμῖν ἢ ἐμοὶ προσοῦσαν, ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὸ τυχὸν οὖσιν ἀκτήμοσιν· οὔτε ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης διακονίας ῥαστώνην τινά μοι προσδοκήσας εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀποκλίνοντι ἔσεσθαι, ἐπίνοσον γάρ σοι τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἰατρείας μᾶλλον τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων δεόμενον ἢ ἄλλοις ἐπικουρεῖν τι ἢ προστατεῖν ἐπιτήδειον, οὔτε δι' ἄλλην οἰκονομίαν ἢ θήραν δόξης καὶ ἐπαίνων παρὰ τῶν ἀνυποστάτων ἐθελοντὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον βαστάσαι ψιλῆς ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν προθυμίας, τοὐναντίον γὰρ ὑπ'
274] ἀβελτερίας τῶν πολιτῶν | σου καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φθόνῳ βλασφημίαις τε πολλαῖς περιπέπτωκα καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν προσδοκίαν εἰς θανάτου κίνδυνον ὑπ' αὐτῶν δι' ὑμᾶς περιέστην. 2. τούτων οὖν χάριν οὐδενὸς κοινωνὸν σε τοῦ ἡμετέρου βίου πεποίημαι, διττῆς δὲ μᾶλλον ἕνεκα εὐλόγου αἰτίας· μιᾶς μέν, καθ' ἣν ἀπομειλίξασθαι κρίνας τοὺς γενεθλίους θεοὺς κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ Σωκράτην δημώδη μουσικὴν πρὸ τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ συνήθους ἐνεργείας διαθεῖναι ἑλόμενον, ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀπαλλαγῆς. οὐτωσὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπομειλιττόμενος τοὺς ἐν τῇ κωμῳδοτραγῳδίᾳ προστάτας δαίμονας τὸν γαμικὸν ὕμνον ἀγωνίσασθαι οὐκ ὤκνησα ἀσμενέστατα καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν σῶν τέκνων συντυχὼν καὶ τῇ προσούσῃ περισκελείᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ τε πονηρίᾳ

2 καὶ ἔτι cod.] εἰσέτι N. ‖ 3 ἡλικίαν ἡβᾶν cod.] ἡλικίαν N., ἡλικίαν τῷ ἡβᾶν Vo. | ἐφορμούντων cod.] ἐφορμώντων Vo. ‖ 6 τοὺς τῆς Creu.] τῆς cod. ‖ 12 ἀποκλίνοντι Mai] ἀποκλίνοντα cod., ἀποκλίναντι N. ‖ 14 προστατεῖν cod.] παραστατεῖν N. ‖ 18 ἀβελτερίας N.] ἀβελτηρίας cod. | ἡμᾶς cod.] ὑμᾶς Vo. ‖ 21 τούτων οὖν χάριν οὐδενὸς N.] τούτων οὖν χάριν οὐδένα cod., τούτων οὖν οὐδενὸς χάριν Pö. | κοινωνόν σε τοῦ ἡμετέρου βίου Vo.] κοινωνὸν ἕτερον τοῦ βίου cod. ‖ 22 πεποίημαι cod.] πεποίηκα Mai ‖ 24 δημώδη cod.] τὴν δημώδη Vo. ‖ 27 ἀπομειλιττόμενος N.] ἀπεμειλιττόμενος cod. | κωμῳδοτραγῳδίᾳ N.] κωμωδοτραγωδίας cod. ‖ 29 τῷ πλήθει Vo.] πλήθει cod.

PORPHYRY THE PHILOSOPHER TO MARCELLA

1. I chose to take you, Marcella, as my wedded wife, you who are mother of five daughters and two sons, some of them still young children, some now waiting to attain puberty, without being unduly concerned about the number of necessities that would be required for their needs. I chose to wed you not in order to produce bodily offspring, for I had decided to have as children those who are lovers of the true wisdom, along with your own children, should they someday embrace the correct philosophy as they are brought up under our guidance. Nor, of course, did I choose to wed you because of an abundance of money which either you and your children or I possessed, for even the basic necessities content those who are poor. I chose to wed you not in the expectation of receiving some comfort for myself from the service of another as I decline into old age, for you are in bad health and are more likely to require medical attention from others than to assist or take charge of them. Nor did I choose to wed you for any other practical purpose or in the pursuit of a good reputation and words of praise from insignificant people. I wanted to bear such a burden voluntarily, out of the simple desire to do good. For, far from being praised, because of the foolishness of your fellow-citizens and in their jealousy of us, I have encountered many slanderous remarks, and, contrary to every expectation, I ran the risk of death at their hands because of you and your children. 2. It was for none of these motives, therefore, that I have made you a partner of our life, but rather for two laudable reasons. The first was that I decided to appease the guardian deities, following the precedent of the imprisoned Socrates who chose to compose music in the common sense of the term in preference to his customary philosophic activity for the sake of his safe departure from life. For in the same way also I myself, in an attempt to appease the daimons in charge of comitragedy, did not hesitate to contend for the prize in the marriage hymn, cheerfully taking on your large family, the attendant hardship over the necessities, and the wicked-

τῶν ἐνυβρισάντων. οὐδὲν γὰρ παρεῖται τῶν εἰς τὸ δρᾶμα συμβαίνειν εἰωθότων, οὐ ζηλοτυπία, οὐ μῖσος, οὐ γέλως, οὐ διαπληκτισμός τε καὶ ὀργαί· πλήν γε ὅτι οὐ περὶ ἡμᾶς, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπουργοῦντες τοῖς δαίμοσι τουτὶ τὸ θέατρον ἡμεῖς ὑπεκρίθημεν. 3. ἑτέρας δὲ θειοτέρας καὶ οὐδὲν τῇ δημώδει ταύτῃ ἐοικυίας, καθ' ἣν ἀγασθείς σου τὴν πρὸς τὴν ὀρθὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιτηδειότητα τῆς φύσεως, οὐκ ᾠήθην προσήκειν ἀνδρὸς φίλου μοι στερηθεῖσαν συλλήπτορος ἔρημόν σε καταλιπεῖν καὶ προστάτου σώφρονος καὶ τῷ σῷ τρόπῳ ἐπιτηδείου. ἀποσοβήσας δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐπηρεάζειν | μέλλοντας ἐν προσποιήσει, ἧνεγκα μὲν τὰς παραλόγους ὕβρεις, ἐβάστασα δὲ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς εὐσχημόνως· ἐλευθερῶν δὲ τὸ εἰς ἐμὲ περιῆκον παντὸς τοῦ δεσπόζειν ἐπιχειροῦντος ἀνεκαλεσάμην εἰς τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ τρόπον, μεταδιδοὺς φιλοσοφίας, ἀκόλουθόν τε τῷ βίῳ λόγον ἐπιδεικνύμενος. καὶ τίς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλος μοι πρό γε σοῦ μάρτυς ἂν εἴη ἀκριβέστερος, ἢν αἰσχυνοίμην ἀφοσιούμενος ἢ τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀποκρύπτων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος τῇ μάλιστα τὴν ἀλήθειαν προτιμώσῃ καὶ διὰ ταύτην ἔρμαιον ἡγησαμένῃ τὴν συνοίκησιν, πάντα τὰ εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ δι' αὐτῆς πραχθέντα ὑπομιμνήσκων.

4. συγχωρούτων οὖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτόθι διατρίβειν, ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἐνῆν σοι ὥσπερ ἐκ παρακειμένων πηγαίων ναμάτων τὸ ποτὸν ἀπαρύεσθαι δαψιλέστερόν τε καὶ πρόσφατον, καὶ μὴ ἀγαπᾶν ὅσον ἂν τῆς δόσεως συντείνοι πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον, θαρρεῖν δὲ καὶ διαναπαυσαμένῃ παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ῥᾴστου δι' ἐξουσίας τὴν ἀνάκτησιν.

καλούσης δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων χρείας καὶ τῶν θεῶν συνεπειγόντων αὐτοῖς ὑπακούειν μὲν σὲ καίπερ οὖσαν προθυμοτάτην μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀκολουθίας θυγατέρων ἀδύνατον ἦν· ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ ταύτας ῥίπτειν οὕτως ἐν σκαιοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀβουλίας εἶναι ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀδικίας ἔργον ὑπείληφα. μένειν δὲ ἐνταυθοῖ βιαζόμενος τήν τε τοῦ αὖθις ἐντυχεῖν ἐλπίδα προϊσχόμενος εἰκότως σοι παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ἀντεχομένῃ τῶν δοθέντων ἐν τοῖς δέκα μησὶν οἷς μοι συνώκησας μὴ πόθῳ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ πλείονος καὶ τὸ ὂν ἤδη

34 ἄλλους N.] ἄλλως cod. | ὑπουργοῦντες Vo.] ὑπουργοῦντας cod. ‖ 36 δημώδει N.] δημώδη cod. ‖ 41 προσποιήσει cod.] προσποιήσει φιλίας Vo. ‖ 44 ἐμαυτοῦ Pö] ε. . . τῆς cod., ἑαυτῆς N. ‖ 45 ἀκόλουθόν τε N.] ἀκόλουθον cod. ‖ 53 ἐνῆν cod.] ἂν ἦν N. ‖ 54 ἀπαρύεσθαι N.] ἀπαρρύεσθαι cod. ‖ 59 ὑπακούειν μὲν cod.] ὑπακούειν, συνεξάγειν μὲν Vo. ‖ 61 ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ N.] ἄνευ δέ σου cod.

ness of those who insulted me. For none of the themes which usually combine in a drama is missing -- not jealousy, not hatred, not derisive laughter, not angry altercations -- except of course that it was not for ourselves but for others that we rendered service to the daimons and played out this drama. 3. The second reason was more divinely inspired and not at all like this common one: in my admiration of your natural aptitude for the right philosophy, I did not think it fitting, after you were bereft of your husband, who was a friend of mine, to leave you abandoned without a partner and protector wise and suited to your character. After driving away all those bent on mistreating you under false pretenses, I endured their unreasonable outrages and I bore their acts of treachery with composure. In freeing you, as it fell my lot to do, from every master, I summoned you to my own way of life, sharing philosophy and pointing out a doctrine consistent with that life. And, indeed, who else could be a more reliable witness for me than you? I should dishonor you shamefully if I treated you in a perfunctory manner or concealed my concerns, but not if I reminded you truthfully from beginning to end--since you esteem truth above all and therefore consider our wedding a godsend--of everything done in and on account of it. 4. So, when circumstances permitted me a longer stay on the spot, you could draw on my resources like a deep fresh drink from flowing streams close at hand. And not needing to be content with only so large a draft as satisfied your immediate need, then you could also feel confident about obtaining renewed refreshment through my resources after a respite. But when the needs of the Greeks summoned me and the gods joined in their request, it was impossible for you, however eager you were, to obey the call as well, because of your many dependent daughters. Yet, to toss them out without you among scoundrels like these, I considered an act of insensitivity and injustice. But since I am compelled to remain here, holding on to the hope of our reunion, the best I can do is to urge you to adhere to the precepts imparted in the ten months you have been wed to me and not to throw away, out of a yearning and a desire for more, what you already have as well.

ἐκβαλεῖν. σπεύδω μὲν γὰρ, ὃν ἂν δύνωμαι τρόπον, τὴν ταχίστην πάλιν ἀναλαβεῖν. 5. ἀδήλου δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀποδημίαις τοῦ μέλλοντος ὄντος ἀναγκαῖόν σοι παραμυθούμενον τῷ λόγῳ ἅμα ἐπισκήπτειν. οἰκειότερον δ' εἴποιμ' ἂν τοῦ σαυτῆς καὶ ἐν σεαυτῇ "οἴκου κήδεσθαι" "καὶ ἔμπεδα πάντα φυλάσσειν", καταλειπομένῃ οὐδὲν ἀπεοικότως τοῦ ἐν τραγῳδίαις Φιλοκτήτου "ἕλκει μοχθίζοντος" πλὴν ὅτι τῷ μὲν τὸ ἕλκος ὑπὸ "ὀλοόφρονος ὕδρου", σοὶ δὲ ἐπιγνούσῃ τὸ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν πτῶμα ὅσον καὶ οἷον ἡμῖν τῆς ψυχῆς περιέστη, οὐ τῶν θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὑπεριδόντων, ὡς ἐκεῖνον οἱ Ἀτρεῖδαι, ἀλλὰ σωτήρων γενομένων καὶ οὐκ ἐπιλαθομένων. πολλοῖς δή σε παλαίσμασι καὶ ἐπωδύνοις εἰς ἀγῶνα ἐμπεσοῦσαν νῦν μάλιστα φιλοσοφίας, τοῦ μόνου ἀσφαλοῦς πείσματος, ἀντεχομένην παρακαλῶ. μὴ ταῖς ἀμηχανίαις ταῖς ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπουσίας πλέον ἐνδοῦναι τοῦ προσήκοντος, μηδὲ πόθῳ τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν διδασκαλίας καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ἤδη ἐκκροῦσαι, μηδὲ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν περιεστώτων ἀλλοτρίων ἀπαυδήσασαν ἔκδοτον σεαυτὴν τῷ σύροντι ποταμῷ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐᾶσαι, ἀλλὰ λογισαμένην ὡς "οὐ διὰ ῥᾳστώνης ἡ τῶν ὄντων ἀγαθῶν
277] κτῆσις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περιγίνεται", | αὐτοῖς τούτοις τοῖς συγκυρήσασιν εἰς ἄσκησιν τοῦ προσδοκωμένου χρήσασθαι βίου, ὅσα καὶ μόνα τῶν ἄλλων ἀντίπαλα τῆς σῆς καρτερίας εἰς τὸ παρατρέψαι σε καὶ βιάσαι εἶναι δύναται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν εὐκαταφρόνητα πάντῃ τοῖς, ὧν οὐχ ἡμεῖς κύριοι, ἐθίσασιν ἀτιμάζειν καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς ἐκείνους κεκρικόσι τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀναστρέφειν ἢ βλάπτειν γε τούτους, οἷς τῶν μάλιστα παρ' ἑαυτοῖς δρωμένων ἐναντίων οὐ μεγάλη τῆς ζημίας ἡ ἐλάττωσις εἶναι ὑπελήφθη. 6. τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐπωφελοῦντος τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπουσίαν, πατρός τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὸς καὶ διδασκάλου καὶ συγγενῶν, εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ τῆς πατρίδος τὴν εὔνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν συνῃρηκότος, δοκοῦσαν περιέχειν εὔλογον τῆς δυσχερείας τὴν αἰτίαν, παρηγορίης ἂν θεωρὸν προστησαμένη τὸν λόγον οὐ τὸ πάθος. πρῶτον μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἄλλως, ὅπερ ἔφην, πρὸς τῶν μελλόντων "νόστου" δὴ μιμνήσκεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐνταυθοῖ ξένης καταγωγῆς

67 δύνωμαι N.] δύναμαι cod. || 70 ἐπισκήπτειν Jacobs in Philostr. p. 675] ἐπισκέπτειν cod. || 72 καταλειπομένῃ Mai] καταλειπόμενος cod. | ἀπεοικότως cod.] ἀπεικότως Mai || 81 μηδὲ N.] μήτε cod. || 82 ἐκκροῦσαι Mai] ἐκκροῦσα cod. || 84 ἐᾶσαι N.] ἐάσαι cod. || 85 τῶν ὄντων ἀγαθῶν cod.] τῶν ὄντως ἀγαθῶν N., sed ἡ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων κτῆσις dubitans attulit N., τῶν ὄντως ὄντων ἀγαθῶν Pö. || 87 συγκυρήσασιν cod.] συγκυρήμασιν N. || 99 οὐ C. Orelli] οὗ cod.

For I am eager, in whatever way I can, to resume your instruction again as soon as possible. 5. But since the future is uncertain in travels abroad, I must, while I console you with this saying, at the same time exhort you. And I can say to you something more appropriate than "keep house" both in your house and in yourself "and keep everything safe." For you are left behind in a way no different from the Philoctetes of tragedy who is "suffering from a festering wound", except that in his case the festering wound comes from a "baneful snake" while in your case it comes as you recognize the nature and extent of the soul's fall which happens to us in the process of coming-to-be. But the gods have not neglected us as the sons of Atreus did that man; rather they have been our saviors and have not forgotten us. So then, I urge you, who have encountered many painful struggles in the contest, now above all hold fast to philosophy, your only unfailing life-line. Do not give in more than is proper to the hardships caused by our absence, or, out of longing for our instruction, do not at the same time reject what has already been imparted. Do not be fainthearted in the face of the many external cares that surround you and surrender yourself to the sweeping stream of affairs. But considering that "it is not through leisure that humans attain possession of the true goods," I urge you to practice the kind of life you expect to lead by making use of these very adverse circumstances which are the only rivals to your patient endurance, so as to divert and overpower you. In fact, acts of treachery are completely insignificant to those accustomed to ignoring what we have no control over and who think that injustice reverts to the perpetrators rather than harming the victims for whom the loss from injury is not considered great, even though what is done is, in their own view, hostile. 6. As for the absence of your soul's solacer, who has combined in himself the love of father as well as husband and teacher and family, and, if you will, even country, though it seems to constitute a reasonable cause of distress, you can console yourself, since you have chosen as your guardian reason, not passion. In the first place, indeed, as I have said, know that it would not be at all possible for those still intending to remember "the return journey" from their sojourn abroad to make the ascent pleasurably,

τὸ δι' ἡδονῆς καθάπερ ἱππήλατόν τι χωρίον καὶ ῥᾳστώνης ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπάνοδον, αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἄλλῳ ἀντίκειται πράγματι, ἡδονή τε καὶ ῥᾳθυμία τῇ πρὸς θεοὺς ἀνόδῳ. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὰ ὑψηλότερα τῶν ὀρῶν ἀκινδύνως καὶ πόνων ἄνευ ἦν ἀναβαίνειν, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν μυχῶν τοῦ σώματος διὰ τῶν εἰς τὸ σῶμα καταγωγῶν, ἡδονῆς τε καὶ ῥᾳθυμίας, ἀνακύπτειν. διὰ γὰρ μερίμνης ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ τῆς ἀναμνήσεως τοῦ πτώματος. κἂν ἢ τὰ συμβαίνοντα δυσχερῆ, τὸ δύσκολον πρὸς ἀνάβασιν
278] οἰκεῖον. ὅτι καὶ τὸ "ῥεῖα | ζώειν" παρὰ θεοῖς, πεπτωκόσι δὲ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ἐναντιώτατον ὡς ἂν εἰς λήθην ἄγον τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ καὶ τῷ ὕπνῳ συντελοῦν, ἂν καθεύδωμεν ὑπὸ τῶν ψυχαγωγούντων ἡμᾶς ἐνυπνίων βουκολούμενοι. 7. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν πεδῶν αἱ μὲν ἐκ χρυσοῦ βαρυτάτου ὄντος διὰ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν εἰς κόσμον μᾶλλον συντελεῖν καὶ φέρειν τὸν δεσμὸν δι' αὐτῶν ἐνήγαγον τῷ κούφῳ τὰς δι' ἀφροσύνην τοῦ βάρους ἀνεπαισθήτους γυναῖκας. αἱ δὲ τοῦ σιδήρου συνιέναι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἠνάγκασαν καὶ λυπήσασαι μετα-
γινώσκειν καὶ ζητεῖν τοῦ βάρους ἀπαλλαγὴν πορίσασθαι· τοῦ χρυσοῦ δὲ διὰ τὴν τέρψιν εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν πολλάκις συντελούσης τῆς λύσεως. ὅθεν καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖς σώφροσι "τὰ ἐπίπονα τῶν ἡδέων μᾶλλον συντελεῖν εἰς ἀρετήν", καὶ τὸ μοχθεῖν ἄριστον εἶναι ἀνδρί τε
ὁμοίως καὶ γυναικὶ ἢ ἐξοιδαίνειν τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς χαλωμένην. "παντὸς γὰρ καλοῦ κτήματος πόνους δεῖ προηγεῖσθαι", καὶ πονεῖν ἀνάγκη τὸν τυχεῖν ἀρετῆς σπουδάζοντα. ἀκούεις δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τούς τε Διοσκούρους καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν τούς τε ἄλλους, ὅσοι θεῶν παῖδες
ἐγένοντο, ὡς διὰ τῶν πόνων καὶ τῆς καρτερίας τὴν μακαρίαν εἰς θεοὺς ὁδὸν ἐξετέλεσαν. "οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν δι' ἡδονῆς βεβιωκότων ἀνθρώπων αἱ εἰς θεὸν ἀναδρομαί ἀλλ'
279] ἐκ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν συμβαινόντων γενναίως | διενεγκεῖν μεμαθηκότων". 8. μέγιστος δὲ ἆθλος τοῦ νῦν σοι προκειμένου εὖ οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἄλλος, ἡγου-

102 καθάπερ ἱππήλατόν τι cod.] καθάπερ περὶ ἱππήλατόν τι Pö. || 103 ἐπάνοδον N.] επάνωδον cod. || 111 καὶ τὸ Mai] καὶ τὰ cod. || 112 γένεσιν N.] ἔγερσιν cod. || 114 ἐπεὶ coni. Mai] ἐπὶ cod. || 116 συντελεῖν cod.] συνετέλεσαν coni. N. || 116–17 τὸν δεσμὸν δι' αὐτῶν cod.] τὸν δι' αὐτῶν δεσμὸν coni. N. || 118 ἀνεπαισθήτους cod. ut Kinkel et Pötscher legunt] ἀναισθήτους Mai || 120 ἀπαλλαγὴν N.] ἀπαλαγὴν cod. || 126 χαλωμένην cod.] χαλώμενον N. | παντὸς γὰρ καλοῦ Mai] παντὸς τὰ καλοῦ cod.

as though it were some smooth surface, and in leisurely fashion. For no state is more diametrically opposed to another than pleasure and indolence are to the ascent to the gods. So then, it would be impossible either to ascend the mountain peaks without danger and hard work, or to ascend from the inmost parts of the body through what drags it down into the body, namely, pleasure and indolence. For the road lies through careful concern for duty and the remembrance of the fall, and even though it is difficult to endure the consequences, difficulty is proper to the ascent. And, whereas that "life of ease" exists among the gods, for those who have fallen into the process of coming-to-be it is quite the opposite, since a life of ease leads to forgetfulness and is conducive to estrangement and to sleep, should we slumber, beguiled by dreams which lead our souls astray. 7. Moreover, some shackles made of gold, though a very heavy metal, have by their attractiveness persuaded women, ignorantly unaware of their weight, to consider them more as ornamentation and to wear fetters lightly because of them. Other shackles made of iron force the women to be aware of their mistakes and, in their distress, to repent and seek to find relief from the weight. But release from the bondage of the gold, because of the pleasure it provides, often contributes to an extraordinary distress. Consequently, prudent men have thought that "painful experiences contribute to virtue more than pleasures do," and that hard work is best for man and woman alike, rather than for the soul to become soft and swollen from pleasure. "For hard work must precede every noble attainment," and hard work is a necessity for the person aspiring to virtue. And you hear how even Heracles, the Dioscouri, Asclepius and all the others who were children of the gods, traversed the blessed road to the gods through hard work and steadfastness. "For it is not by men who have lived for pleasure that ascents to God are made, but rather by those who have learned to bear nobly the greatest difficulties." 8. But the greatest temptation arising from the situation which confronts you -- and well do I myself know as no other man

μένῃ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τὸν ταύτης καθηγεμόνα καταλείψειν. ἔχει δὲ οὐχ οὕτω παντάπασι δυσκαρτερήτως σοι τὰ παρόντα, εἰ παρεῖσα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους ἀλόγιστον ταραχὴν μὴ περὶ φαύλων ἡγήσῃ μεμνῆσθαι ὧν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν τὴν ὀρθὴν παρὰ τῶν θείων ἐτελέσθης λόγων· ὧν τὴν βεβαίαν ἀκρόασιν αἱ πράξεις ἐλέγχειν εἰώθασι. "τὰ γὰρ ἔργα τῶν δογμάτων ἑκάστου φέρειν πέφυκε τὰς ἀποδείξεις" καὶ "δεῖ οὕτως βιοῦν, ὅστις ἐπίστευσεν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς πιστὸς ᾖ μάρτυς, περὶ ὧν λέγει τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις." τίνα οὖν ἦν ἄρα, ἃ παρὰ τῶν σαφέστατ' εἰδότων τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους μεμαθήκαμεν; ἆρ' οὐχ, ὅτι μὲν σοὶ "ἐγὼ οὐχ ὁ ἁπτὸς οὗτος καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει ὑπόπτωτος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφεστηκὼς τοῦ σώματος, ὁ ἀχρώματος καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος, καὶ χερσὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐπ-αφητός, διανοίᾳ δὲ μόνῃ κρατητός;" λαμβάνομεν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν τὰ εἰς τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐντεθειμένα· τοὐνδόσιμον δὲ μόνον ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἡμᾶς ἄγον ὧν ἔχοντες παρὰ τοῦ δεδωκότος ἐπλανήθημεν. 9. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐχ ὅτι "πᾶν πάθος ψυχῆς εἰς σωτηρίαν αὐτῆς πολεμιώτατον, καὶ ἀπαιδευσία μὲν τῶν παθῶν πάντων μήτηρ, τὸ δὲ πεπαιδεῦσθαι οὐκ ἐν πολυμαθείας ἀναλήψει, ἐν ἀπαλλάξει δὲ τῶν ψυχικῶν παθῶν ἐθεωρεῖτο"; "πάθη δὲ | νοσημάτων ἀρχαί· ψυχῆς δὲ νόσημα κακία· κακία δὲ πᾶσα αἰσχρόν;" τὸ δὲ αἰσχρὸν τῷ καλῷ ἐναντίον· καλοῦ δὲ ὄντος τοῦ θείου ἀμήχανον αὐτῷ σὺν κακίᾳ πελάζειν· "καθαροῦ γὰρ μὴ καθαρὸν ἐφάπτεσθαι οὐδὲν" ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ "θεμιτὸν εἶναι." διὸ καὶ "μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καθαρεύειν δεῖ τῶν παθῶν τε καὶ τῶν διὰ τὸ πάθος ἁμαρτημάτων." ἆρ' οὖν οὐ τοιαῦτα ἦν, οἷς μάλιστα συνῄνεις, ὡς γράμματα θεῖα ἐνόντα παρὰ σαυτῇ διὰ τῆς τῶν λόγων ἐνδείξεως ἀναγινώσκουσα; πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον τὴν πεπεισμένην ἐν σοὶ εἶναι καὶ τὸ σῷζον καὶ τὸ σῳζόμενον καὶ τό γε ἀπολλύον καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον τόν τε πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν πενίαν τόν τε πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν τῶν ὄντως ἀγαθῶν καθηγεμόνα, κεχηνέναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑφηγητοῦ σκιάν, ὡς δὴ τὸν ὄντως ὑφηγητὴν μὴ ἐντὸς ἔχουσαν μηδὲ παρὰ σαυτῇ πάντα τὸν

148 ὑπόπτωτος Schaefer] ὑποπτατός cod., ὑποπτωτός N. ‖ 153 ἄγον Jacobs] ἄγοντα cod. ‖ 154 αὐτῆς Stob. Flor. I,28] αὐτοῖς cod. ‖ 157 ἐν ἀπαλλάξει Stob.] . . . παλάξει cod. ‖ 161 οὐδὲν N.] οὐδὲ cod. ‖ 162 νῦν cod.] νοῦ Elter ‖ 165 ἐνδείξεως Mai] ἐνδίξεως cod. ‖ 167–68 καὶ τὸ ἀπολλύμενον N.] καὶ ἀπολλύμενον cod. ‖ 169 καὶ τὸν τῶν ὄντως cod.] καὶ τῶν ὄντως Mai

could -- is to think that along with me you will also be bereft of the path to salvation and its master. Yet the present situation is not so utterly unendurable for you if you disregard the irrational confusion caused by passion and consider it no small thing to remember the divine doctrine by which you were initiated into the right philosophy, and your actions have usually proved your steadfast obedience to them. "For deeds provide the positive demonstrations of each person's beliefs" and "whoever has acquired certainty must live in such a way that he himself can be a certain witness to the beliefs which he speaks about to his disciples." So, then, what were the beliefs which we have learned from those who most clearly understand the human condition? Was it not that for you "I am not this person who is tangible and susceptible to visible appearance, but rather a being completely separate from the body, without color and without form, totally incapable of being touched by hand but rather comprehended by thought alone?" We do not receive from the externals what has been implanted in them for us. Rather we receive only the pitch, as in a chorus, which leads us to remember what we had from the giver as we set out on our wandering. 9. Furthermore, have we not learned that "every passion of the soul is extremely hostile to its salvation, and, indeed, lack of education is the mother of all the passions, but being educated should not be considered a matter of acquiring vast learning but of discarding the soul's passions?" Have we not learned that "passions are the sources of diseases; evil is a disease of the soul; every evil is shameful?" The shameful is the opposite of the good. Since the divine is good, it is impossible for it to come into contact with evil; for Plato says that "it is not at all lawful for the impure to partake of the pure." And consequently, "even now it is necessary to be free both of the passions and of the sins that result from pas-sion." Was it not, then, these very teachings which you particularly joined in praising, recognizing them as divine writings implanted within you through the elucida-tion of the doctrines? Is it not, then, out of place for you, who are confident that there exists in you both the savior and that which is saved and the destroyer and that which is destroyed, wealth and poverty, father and husband and master of all true goods, to yearn for the shadow of a leader as though you do not have the true leader within yourself and all wealth in your possession?

πλοῦτον; ὃν ἀνάγκη ἀπολλύναι καὶ διαφεύγειν πρὸς τὴν σάρκα καταβαίνουσαν ἀντὶ τοῦ σῴζοντος καὶ σῳζομένου. 10. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐμῆς σκιᾶς καὶ τοῦ φαινομένου εἰδώλου οὔτε παρόντων ὠνήσω τι οὔτ' ἀπόντων· ἐπώδυνος ἡ ἀπουσία τῇ μελετώσῃ φεύγειν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος. ἐμοῦ δὲ καθαρῶς τύχοις ἂν μάλιστα καὶ παρόντος καὶ συνόντος νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν σὺν καθαρῷ τε καὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ μηδὲ χωρισθῆναι οἵου τε ὄντος, εἰ μελετῷης εἰς σεαυτὴν | ἀναβαίνειν συλλέγουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος πάντα τὰ διασκεδασθέντα σου μέλη καὶ εἰς πλῆθος κατακερματισθέντα ἀπὸ τῆς τέως ἐν μεγέθει δυνάμεως ἰσχυούσης ἑνώσεως. συνάγοις δ' ἂν καὶ ἑνίζοις τὰς ἐμφύτους ἐννοίας καὶ διαρθροῦν συγκεχυμένας καὶ εἰς φῶς ἕλκειν ἐσκοτισμένας πειρωμένη· ἀφ' ὧν ὁρμώμενος καὶ ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ τὰς ἀνακλήσεις πεποίηται. ἔτι εἰ μνημονεύοις, διαρθροίης δ' ἄν, ἅ γε ἀκήκοας διὰ τῆς μνήμης ἀναπεμπαζομένη τοῖς τε τοιούτοις τῶν λόγων ὡς ἀγαθοῖς συμβούλοις ἀξιοῦσα προσέχειν καὶ λοιπὸν τὰ γνωσθέντα διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀσκοῦσα, διὰ δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πονεῖν συντηροῦσα. 11. λέγει δὲ ὁ λόγος πάντῃ μὲν καὶ πάντως παρεῖναι τὸ θεῖον, νεὼν δὲ τούτῳ παρ' ἀνθρώποις καθιερῶσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν μάλιστα τοῦ σοφοῦ μόνην, τιμήν τε προσήκουσαν ἀπονέμεσθαι τῷ θεῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν ἐγνωκότος, τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι εἰκότως μόνον τὸν σοφόν, ᾧ τιμητέον διὰ σοφίας τὸ θεῖον καὶ κατακοσμητέον αὐτῷ διὰ σοφίας ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐμψύχῳ ἀγάλματι τῷ νῷ ἐνεικονισαμένου τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάλλοντα. "θεὸς μὲν γὰρ δεῖται οὐδενός, σοφὸς δὲ μόνου θεοῦ." οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως καλὸς κἀγαθὸς γένοιτο ἢ νοῶν τό τε ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλόν, ὅπερ ἐξέχει τοῦ θείου· οὐδ' αὖ ἄλλως κακοδαίμων ἄνθρωπος | ἢ πονηρῶν δαιμόνων ἐνδιαίτημα τὴν ψυχὴν κατασκευάσας.

173 σῴζοντος N.] σόζοντος cod. || 175 ὠνήσω N.] ὀνήσω cod. || 177 παρόντος cod.] ἀπόντος coni. N. || 178 καθαρῷ τε καὶ cod.] καθαρῷ καὶ ed. Mai || 179–80 σεαυτὴν Pö] ἑαυτὴν cod. || 181 σου μέλη cod.] μέλη ed. Mai || 184 διαρθροῦν Orelli] δι' ἀρθροῦν cod. || 187 μνημονεύοις Jacobs in Philostr. p. 581] μνημονεύεις cod. || 190 διὰ δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Pö] διὰ δ' αὐτῶν cod., διὰ δ' αὖ τοῦ N. || 198 ἐκεικονισαμένου τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάλλοντα coni. Jacobs Lect. Stob., p. 88] ἀγάλλοντα . . . cod., ἀγάλλοντος θεοῦ Pö. cf. Wr. Stud. 79, p. 237 ff. || 199 ἄλλως cod.] ἄλλος N. || 200 ἢ νοῶν cod.] ἢ ὁ νοῶν N. | καλόν N. corr.] κακόν (λ super κ) cod. || 201 ἄλλως cod.] ἄλλος N. || 202 ἢ πονηρῶν cod.] ἢ ὁ πονηρῶν Jacobs, Lect. Stob. p. 88

This wealth you must lose and forget if you descend into the flesh at the expense of the savior and that which is saved. 10. So then, you have not benefitted at all from the presence of my shadow and visible form nor from its absence. The absence is painful to you as you train yourself to flee from the body. But you could encounter me in complete purity as one both present and united to you night and day in a pure and most beautiful form of union and not as one likely to be separated from you, if you would train yourself to ascend into yourself, gathering from the body all the parts of your soul which have been scattered and cut into many pieces from their former unity which had strength due to its size. You could collect and unite the perceptions implanted within you by attempting to perceive clearly those which are confused and by drawing into the light those which are obscured. Even the divine Plato started from these thoughts and recollected the intelligible from the perceptible. Further, if you could remember, you would perceive clearly the things you have heard. Ponder them in your memory, think it right to pay attention to doctrines such as these as to good counsellors and, finally, practice in your own deeds the things you have learned, preserving them through the toil itself. 11. Reason says: the divine is entirely present everywhere; Its temple among men has been firmly established only in the thought of the wise man; appropriate honor has been rendered to God by the one who has firm knowledge of God; this person by whom the divine must be honored because of wisdom is reasonably the wise man alone, and a shrine must be adorned for him because of wisdom in his heart, a shrine with a living statue, the intellect, for God imparts His form to the one who honors Him. Indeed, "God needs no one; the wise man needs only God," for he could in no other way become noble and good than by thinking the good and noble thought which emanated from the divine. Nor indeed can a man become evil-spirited in any other way than by making his soul the dwelling place of

"ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ σοφῷ θεὸς θεοῦ δίδωσιν ἐξουσίαν." καὶ "καθαίρεται μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἐννοίᾳ θεοῦ," δικαιοπραγίαν δὲ ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὁρμώμενος διώκει. 12. πάσης πράξεως καὶ παντὸς ἔργου καὶ λόγου θεὸς ἐπόπτης παρέστω καὶ ἔφορος. "καὶ πάντων, ὧν πράττομεν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν θεὸν αἴτιον ἡγώμεθα·" "τῶν δὲ κακῶν αἴτιοι ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν οἱ ἑλόμενοι· θεὸς δὲ ἀναίτιος." ὅθεν καὶ "εὐκτέον θεῷ τὰ ἄξια θεοῦ·" καὶ "αἰτώμεθα ἃ μὴ λάβοιμεν ἂν παρ' ἑτέρου·" καὶ "ὧν ἡγεμόνες οἱ μετ' ἀρετῆς πόνοι, ταῦτα εὐχώμεθα γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πόνους·" "εὐχὴ γὰρ ῥαθύμου μάταιος λόγος." "ἃ δὲ κτησαμένη οὐ καθέξεις, μὴ αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ· δῶρον γὰρ θεοῦ πᾶν ἀναφαίρετον· ὥστε οὐ δώσει, ὃ μὴ καθέξεις." "ὧν δὴ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγεῖσα οὐ δεηθήσῃ, ἐκείνων καταφρόνει· καὶ ὧν ἂν ἀπαλλαγεῖσα δεηθῇς, ταῦτά σὺ ἀσκουμένη τὸν θεὸν παρακάλει γενέσθαι συλλήπτορα." "οὔκουν δεήσῃ οὐδενός ὢν καὶ ἡ τύχη δοῦσα πολλάκις πάλιν ἀφαιρεῖται." οὐδὲ δεῖ πρὸ καιροῦ τινὸς τὴν αἴτησιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅταν σοι ὁ θεὸς ἐν σοὶ οὖσαν φύσει τὴν ὀρθὴν αἴτησιν ἐκφήνῃ· 13. δι' ὧν μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι πέφυκεν, οὔτε διὰ σώματος ὁρατὸς ὢν οὔτε διὰ ψυχῆς αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας ἐσκοτισμένης. κάλλος γὰρ
283] ἐκείνου τὸ ἀκήρατον καὶ φῶς τὸ ζωτικὸν ἀληθείᾳ | διαλάμπον· κακία δὲ πᾶσα ὑπ' ἀγνοίας διέψευσται καὶ ὑπὸ αἴσχους διέστραπται. "ταῦτ' οὖν θέλε καὶ αἰτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἃ θέλει τε καὶ ἔστιν αὐτός," εὖ ἐκεῖνο γινώσκουσα ὡς "ἐφ' ὅσον τις τὸ σῶμα ποθεῖ καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος σύμφυλα, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀγνοεῖ τὸν θεὸν" καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἐνοράσεως ἑαυτὸν ἀπεσκότισε, καὶ ἂν παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς θεὸς δοξάζηται. "σοφὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὀλίγοις γινωσκόμενος, εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνοούμενος, γινώσκεται ὑπὸ θεοῦ." ἐπέσθω τοίνυν ὁ μὲν νοῦς τῷ θεῷ ἐνοπτριζόμενος τῇ ὁμοιώσει θεόν· τῷ δὲ νῷ ἡ ψυχή· τῇ δ' αὖ ψυχῇ

209 εὐκτέον Schaefer] εὐεκταῖον cod. || 212–13 κτησαμένη Orelli] κτησάμενος cod. || 215 δεηθήσῃ Mai] δεηθείσῃ cod. || 216 δεηθῇς ταῦτά N.] δέῃ εἰς ταῦτα cod., δεηθῃς εἰς ταῦτα Vo. p. 10 (cf. Stob. Flor. 5,30) | σὺ ἀσκουμένη cod.] σοι ἀσκουμένῃ N. || 218 ὢν καὶ ἡ τύχη cod.] ὢν ἡ τύχη coni. N. (cf. Stob. Flor. 5,29) || 219 οὐδὲ δεῖ N.] οὐδὲ cod. || 221 ἐκφήνῃ N.] ἐκφήνειε cod., ἐκφαίνῃ Jacobs || 225 διέψευσται Orelli] διέψευσθαι cod. || 227 ἔστιν cod.] αἰτεῖ coni. N. || 230 καὶ ἂν cod.] κἂν N. || 231 δοξάζηται Boissonade, Not et Extr. X,2, p. 284] δοξάζεται cod. || 234 θεόν cod.] θεοῦ Mai, vide Pö (cf. Wr. Stud. 79, p. 237ff.), cf.adn. 13.233-34

wicked spirits. "God gives the power of God to a wise man." And "man is cleansed by the perception of God;" inspired by God, he pursues righteous action. 12. Let God be present as overseer and guardian of every deed and word. "And let us consider God responsible for all the good that we do;" "but as for the evils, we who have chosen them are responsible; God is not responsible." Therefore, "it is necessary to pray to God for things worthy of God," and "we should ask Him for what we cannot get from anyone else." And "let us pray that after hard work will come the rewards for which virtuous hard work prepares the way;" "for the prayer of the indolent is vain talk." "Do not ask God for things you will not retain once you have acquired them, for every gift of God is irrevocable; consequently He will not give you what you will not retain." "Despise what you will not need once you are set free from the body. And ask God to become your partner as you practice what you will need once you are set free." "In any case, you will not need anything which chance often gives and then takes away again." Nor should you make a request for anything before the proper time. Rather do so when God reveals to you the right request which is within you by nature. 13. And it is through wise men particularly that He is best reflected, but He is not visible through a body nor through a soul dishonored and darkened by evil. For purity is His beauty and the illumination alive with truth is His light. Everything evil is deceived by ignorance and distorted by disgrace. "Therefore, desire and ask God for what He both desires and is Himself," being well assured of this: that "to the extent anyone longs for the body and the things related to the body, to that extent is he ignorant of God" and darkens God's vision of him, even if in the eyes of all men he may be honored as a god. "The wise man, though recognized by a few or, if you will, even unknown to all, is known by God." Accordingly, let the intellect obey God since it is a mirror image of God by its likeness to Him; let the soul obey the intellect; then, of course, let the body

ὑπηρετείτω τὸ σχῆμα, εἰς ὅσον οἷόν τε, καθαρᾷ καθαρόν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν παθῶν ταύτης μιαινόμενον εἰς αὐτὴν πάλιν ἐπαναστρέφεται τὰ μιάσματα. 14. τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τῇ θεοφιλεῖ καὶ τῷ θεοφιλεῖ νῷ ἐν τῷ καθαρῷ σώματι ἔστωσαν καὶ πρᾶξις ἀκόλουθος καὶ λόγος, "αἱρετωτέρου σοι ὄντος λίθον εἰκῇ βαλεῖν ἢ λόγον," καὶ "τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι τἀληθῆ λέγοντα ἢ νικᾶν ἀπατῶντα." "τὸ γὰρ νικῆσαν ἀπάτῃ ἐν τῷ ἤθει ἥττηται." "μάρτυρες δὲ κακῶν ψευδεῖς λόγων." "ἀδύνατον τὸν αὐτὸν φιλόθεόν τε εἶναι καὶ φιλήδονον· ὁ γὰρ φιλήδονος καὶ φιλοσώματος, ὁ δὲ φιλοσώματος πάντως καὶ φιλοχρήματος, ὁ δὲ φιλοχρήματος ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄδικος, ὁ δὲ ἄδικος καὶ εἰς θεὸν καὶ εἰς πατέρας ἀνόσιος καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους παράνομος. ὥστε κἂν ἑκατόμβας θύῃ καὶ μυρίοις ἀναθήμασι τοὺς νεὼς ἀγάλλῃ, ἀσεβής ἐστι καὶ ἄθεος καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει ἱερόσυλος· διὸ καὶ πάντα φιλοσώματον ὡς ἄθεον καὶ μιαρὸν ἐκτρέπεσθαι χρή." 15. καὶ "οὗ ταῖς δόξαις οὐκ ἂν χρήσαιο, τούτῳ μήτε βίου μήτε λόγου τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ κοινώνει·" "λόγον γὰρ περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις λέγειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τἀληθῆ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτων περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ κίνδυνον ἴσον φέρει." "οὔτε αὐτῶν τινα προσῆκεν ἀνοσίων ἔργων μὴ καθαρεύοντα φθέγγεσθαι περὶ θεοῦ," οὔτε εἰς τοιούτων ἀκοὰς ἐμβάλλοντα τὸν περὶ θεοῦ λόγον οἴεσθαι μὴ μιαίνειν. ἀλλ' "ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ λέγειν τὸν περὶ θεοῦ λόγον ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ." "προηγείσθω οὖν τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ λόγου τὰ θεοφιλῆ ἔργα," καὶ "σιγάσθω ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐπὶ πλήθους·" ἀνοικειοτάτη γὰρ θεολογία κενδοξίᾳ ψυχῆς. "νόμιζε αἱρετώτερον εἶναι σιγᾶν ἢ λόγον εἰκῇ προέσθαι περὶ θεοῦ." "ἀξίαν σε ποιήσει θεοῦ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον θεοῦ μήτε λέγειν μήτε πράττειν μήτε πάντως εἰδέναι ἀξιοῦν." "ὁ δὲ ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ θεὸς ἂν εἴη." 16. καὶ "τιμήσεις μὲν ἄριστα τὸν θεόν, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ τὴν σαυτῆς διάνοιαν

235 σχῆμα cod.] σῶμα N. || 237 τῇ θεοφιλεῖ Mai] τῇ θεοφιλῇ cod. || 239 πρᾶξις Mai] πράξεις cod. | λίθον Orelli, lacuna in cod. || 240 εἰκῇ W.] εἰκῆ Mai, Pö. | τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι cod.] ἡττᾶσθαι N. || 241 ἐν τῷ ἤθει cod.] τῷ ἤθει Vo. || 242 κακῶν cod.] κακίας N. | λόγων cod,] λόγοι Jacobs || 243 καὶ φιλοσώματον delevit N. || 244 ὁ δὲ φιλοσώματος addidit N. || 252 θεοῦ N.] θεὸν cod. | γὰρ περὶ θεοῦ N.] γὰρ θεοῦ cod. || 254 τάληθῆ ed. Orelli] τ' ἀληθῆ cod. || 255 οὔτε αὐτων τινα Pö.] αὖτέ τινα cod., αὐτόν τινα Jacobs | προσῆκεν cod.] προσήκει coni. N. || 262 εἰκῇ W.] εἰκῆ Mai, Pö. || 264 πάντως Jacobs] πάντα cod., πάντη Mai || 265 θεὸς cod.] θεῖος Pö.

be subservient to the soul, as far as is possible, pure body subservient to pure soul. For if the body is defiled by the passions of the soul, the defilement in turn attacks the soul. 14. Let both deed and word be in harmony in the god-beloved soul and intellect in a pure body. "It is preferable for you to hurl a rock at random rather than a word" and "to be defeated while speaking the truth is preferable to winning by being deceitful," "for victory won by deceit becomes a defect in character." "False words testify to evil deeds." "It is impossible for the same person to love God and to love pleasure as well, for the lover of pleasure is also a lover of the body; the lover of the body is always a lover of wealth; the lover of wealth is necessarily unjust; the unjust person is both irreverent toward God and parents and immoral toward everyone else. Consequently, even if he sacrifices hecatombs and adorns shrines with countless votive offerings, he is impious and ungodly and in his basic disposition sacrilegious. Therefore one must totally avoid the lover of the body as ungodly and defiled." 15. And "share neither life nor word about God with the person whose opinions you cannot profit from." "For it is not safe to speak a word about God to those who have been defiled by opinion. For, indeed, to speak either truly or falsely about God with such persons carries with it equal danger." "Neither is it fitting for anyone of these people to converse about God if he has not been cleansed from unholy deeds," nor for anyone who happens to hear such people to regard the word about God as untainted. But it is fitting "to hear and speak the word about God as though in the presence of God." "Therefore, let god-beloved deeds precede speech about God," and "let speech about him be silenced in the presence of the multitude." For discourse about God is most unsuited to the vainglory of the soul. "Consider silence to be preferable to proffering a word about God at random." "Neither to speak nor to do nor to ask to know anything at all unworthy of God will make you worthy of God." "And the man worthy of God would be a God." 16. And "you will honor God best whenever you make your thought like God. This likeness will be

ὁμοιώσῃς. ἡ δὲ ὁμοίωσις ἔσται διὰ μόνης ἀρεστῆς· μόνη
γὰρ ἀρετὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω | ἕλκει καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγγενές."
καὶ μέγα οὐδὲν ἄλλο μετὰ θεὸν ἢ ἀρετή. μείζον ἀρετῆς
θεός. "θεὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπον βεβαιοῖ πράσσοντα καλά." "κακῶν
δὲ πράξεων κακὸς δαίμων ἡγεμών." "ψυχὴ οὖν πονηρὰ φεύγει
μὲν θεόν, πρόνοιαν δὲ θεοῦ εἶναι οὐ βούλεται," νόμου τε
θείου τοῦ πᾶν τὸ φαῦλον κολάζοντος ἀποστατοῖ πάντως.
"ψυχὴ δὲ σοφοῦ ἁρμόζεται πρὸς θεόν, ἀεὶ θεὸν ὁρᾷ, σύν-
εστιν ἀεὶ θεῷ." "εἰ δὲ χαίρει τῷ ἀρχομένῳ τὸ ἄρχον, καὶ
θεὸς σοφοῦ κήδεται καὶ προνοεῖ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μακάριος
ὁ σοφός, ὅτι ἐπιτροπεύεται ὑπὸ θεοῦ." "οὐχ ἡ γλῶττα τοῦ
σοφοῦ τίμιον παρὰ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα. σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ
καὶ σιγῶν τὸν θεὸν τιμᾷ·" "ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἀμαθὴς καὶ εὐ-
χόμενος καὶ θύων μιαίνει τὸ θεῖον. μόνος οὖν ἱερεὺς
ὁ σοφός, μόνος θεοφιλής, μόνος εἰδὼς εὔξασθαι." 17. καὶ "ὁ
σοφίαν ἀσκῶν ἐπιστήμην ἀσκεῖ τὴν περὶ θεοῦ," οὐ λιτα-
νεύων ἀεὶ καὶ θύων, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἔργων τὴν πρὸς θεὸν
ἀσκῶν εὐσέβειαν. θεῷ γὰρ εὐάρεστος οὔτε δόξαις ἀν-
θρώπων οὔτε σοφιστῶν κεναῖς φωναῖς γένοιτ' ἄν τις.
αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον ποιεῖ θεῷ καὶ ἐκθεοῖ τῇ
τῆς ἰδίας διαθέσεως ὁμοιότητι τῷ μετὰ ἀφθαρσίας
μακαρίῳ· καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀσεβῆ καὶ δυσάρεστον ποιεῖ
τῷ θεῷ, οὐχ ὑπὸ θεοῦ πάσχων κακῶς, ἀγαθοποιὸν γὰρ μόνον
τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ διά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν περὶ θεοῦ
κακὴν δόξαν. ἀσεβὴς οὐχ οὕτως ὁ τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν
μὴ περιέπων ὡς ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας τῷ θεῷ | συνάπτων.
σὺ δὲ μηδὲν ἀνάξιόν ποτε ὑπολάβῃς περὶ θεοῦ μήτε τῆς
μακαριότητος αὐτοῦ μήτε τῆς ἀφθαρσίας. 18. οὗτος γὰρ
μέγιστος καρπὸς εὐσεβείας· τιμᾶν τὸ θεῖον κατὰ τὰ
πάτρια, οὐχ ὡς ἐκείνου προσδεομένου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐκείνου εὐλαβεστάτης καὶ μακαρίας σεμνότητος εἰς τὸ
σέβας αὐτοῦ ἐκκαλουμένου. βωμοὶ δὲ θεοῦ ἱερουργούμενοι
μὲν οὐδὲν βλάπτουσι, ἀμελούμενοι δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦσι.

285] 286]

297 εὐλαβεστάτης cod.] εὐαγεστάτης coni. N. || 298 ἐκκαλουμένου cod.] ἐκκαλούμενον Vo., p. 11 || 299 Βλάπτουσι cod.] βλάπτουσιν N. | ὠφελοῦσι cod.] ὠφελοῦσιν N. || 267 ὁμοιώσῃς Hierocles p. 24 (ed. Gaisf.)] ὁμοιω (σι super ω) cod. || 269 μείζον cod.] μείζων ed. Mai || 273 θείου τοῦ N.] τοῦ θείου cod. | πᾶν τὸ φαῦλον A. Ceriani] παντὸς φαῦλον cod. | πάντως N.] παντός cod. || 286–87 τῇ τῆς N.] τῇ τε cod. || 292 συνάπτων cod.] προσάπτων N. ex. Diog. Laert. 10,123. || 293 ἀνάξιόν ποτε Orelli] ἀξιόν ποτε cod. || 295 τιμᾶν cod.] ἢ τιμᾶν coni. N. || 295–96 κατὰ τὰ πάτρια Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 625] καὶ τὰ πάτρια cod.

achieved through virtue alone, for virtue alone draws the soul upward and toward what is kindred." After God, nothing is great except virtue. God is greater than virtue. "God strengthens a man who does good deeds," "while a wicked daimon prepares the way for evil deeds." "Therefore a wicked soul flees from God and does not want the providence of God to exist;" it completely rejects the whole divine law which punishes anything that is base. "But the soul of the wise man is in accord with God; it always beholds God; it is always with God." "And if the ruling principle delights in the ruled, God, too, cares for the wise man and provides for him. And for this reason the wise man is blessed, because he is under the guardianship of God." "It is not the tongue of the wise man that is worthy of honor in God's eyes, but rather his deeds. For a wise man in his silence honors God," "but the foolish man, even when he is praying and offering sacrifice, defiles the divine. Therefore the wise man alone is a priest; he alone is god-beloved; he alone knows how to pray." 17. And "the man who practices wisdom practices the knowledge of God," not by continually praying and offering sacrifice, but by practicing piety toward God through his deeds. For one can become acceptable to God neither through the opinions of men nor through the empty talk of the rhetoricians. Rather, the wise man both makes himself acceptable to God and becomes divine by the similarity of his own disposition to the immortal blessedness, while the foolish man makes himself impious and unacceptable to God, not by suffering evil at the hands of God - since the divine can do only good - but at his own hands in many things, especially in the evil opinion he has about God. The impious man is not so much the one who does not treat the statues of the gods with respect as the one who is united to the opinions of the masses regarding God. May you never adopt any thought that is unworthy of God or of His blessedness and immortality. 18. For this is the principal fruit of piety: to honor the divine in the traditional ways, not because He needs it but because He summons us by his venerable and blessed dignity to worship him. God's altars, if they are consecrated, do not harm us; if they are neglected, they do not help us.

"ὅστις δὲ τιμᾷ τὸν θεὸν ὡς προσδεόμενον, οὗτος λέληθεν ἑαυτὸν δοξάζων τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττον εἶναι." "οὐ χολωθέντες οὖν οἱ θεοὶ βλάπτουσι, ἀλλ' ἀγνοηθέντες· ὀργὴ γὰρ θεῶν ἀλλοτρία, ὅτι ἐπ' ἀβουλήτοις μὲν ἡ ὀργή, θεῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀβούλητον." μὴ τοίνυν μίαινε τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρωπίναις ψευδοδοξίαις· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο βλάψεις τό γε μακάριον διὰ παντὸς καὶ οὗ πᾶσα βλάβη τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἐξελήλαται, σαυτὴν δὲ τυφλώσεις πρὸς τὴν τῶν μεγίστων καὶ κυριωτάτων διάγνωσιν. 19. σὺ δὲ ταῦτα λέγειν με ἡγοῦ οὐ παραγγέλλοντα σέβειν θεόν· γελοῖος γὰρ ὁ τοῦτο παραγγέλλων ὡς ἐπιδιστάζειν ἐνόντος περὶ τούτου. καὶ οὐχ ὅτι τινὰ ποιοῦντες ἢ δοξάζοντες περὶ θεοῦ καλῶς τοῦτον σέβομεν· οὔτε δάκρυα καὶ ἱκετεῖαι θεὸν ἐπιστρέφουσιν "οὔτε θυηπολίαι θεὸν τιμῶσιν οὔτε ἀναθημάτων πλῆθος κοσμοῦσι
287] θεόν. | ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔνθεον φρόνημα καλῶς ἡδρασμένον συνάπτεται θεῷ· χωρεῖν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸ ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον." "θυηπολία δὲ ἀφρόνων πυρὸς τροφὴ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτων ἀναθήματα ἱεροσύλοις χορηγία" τῶν ἀκολασιῶν. σοὶ δέ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, "νεὼς μὲν ἔστω τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν σοὶ νοῦς· παρασκευαστέον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ κοσμητέον εἰς καταδοχὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτήδειον." μηδὲ ἐφήμερος ὁ κόσμος ἔστω καὶ τὰ τῆς παραδοχῆς καὶ πάλιν γέλωτες καὶ ἀφροσύναι καὶ τὸ χώρημα τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος. 20. "ἐὰν οὖν ἀεὶ μνημονεύῃς, ὅτι ὅπου ἂν ἡ ψυχή σου περιπατῇ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐνεργὸν ἀποτελῇ, θεὸς παρέστηκεν ἔφορος ἐν πάσαις σου ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν, αἰδεσθήσῃ μὲν τοῦ θεωροῦ τὸ ἄληστον, ἕξεις δὲ τὸν θεὸν σύνοικον." κἂν τὸ στόμα οὖν σου πρόφασίν τινα πράγματος ἄλλου του διαλέγηται, μετὰ τῆς γνώμης τὸ φρόνημα τετράφθω πρὸς τὸν θεόν. οὕτως γάρ σοι καὶ ὁ λόγος ἔνθεος ἔσται διὰ φωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας λαμπρυνόμενος καὶ ῥᾷον προχωρῶν. "θεοῦ γὰρ γνῶσις ποιεῖ βραχὺν λόγον." 21. ὅπου δ' ἂν λήθη παρεισέλθῃ θεοῦ, τὸν κακὸν δαίμονα ἀνάγκη ἐνοικεῖν·

301 κρείττον cod.] κρείττον' Elter, κρείττων N. || 302 βλάπτουσι ed. Mai] βάπτουσι cod., βλάπτουσιν N. || 306 πᾶσα βλάβη τῆς ἀφθαρσίας cod.] τῆς ἀφθαρσίας πᾶσα βλάβη coni. N. || 308 σὺ δὲ N.] οὐδὲ cod. | ἡγοῦ οὐ N.] ἡγοῦ cod. || 311 τοῦτον Mai] τούτους cod. || 314–15 συνάπτεται cod.] συνάπτει Hierocles p. 25 (ed. Gaisf.) || 316 θυηπολία cod.] θυηπολίαι Hierocles p. 24 || 317 ἀκολασιῶν N.] εἰκόλασιν cod. || 323 ὅπου ἂν ἡ ψυχή σου cod.] N. dubitat, cf. 2nd ed. N., p. 287. || 326 ἄληστον Mai] ἄλεστον Pö || 327–28 διαλέγηται Boissonade, X,2 p. 284] διαλέγεται cod.

"But whatever man honors god as though He needs it, this man has failed to recognize he has formed the false opinion that he is better than god." "It is not when they are angered that the gods do us harm, but when they are ignored. For anger is foreign to gods since it belongs to involuntary emotions, but with god nothing is involuntary." Do not, therefore, defile the divine with human delusions for you will not harm It, since It is eternally blessed and every harm has been expelled from Its immortality, but you will blind yourself to the discernment of the most important and essential matters. 19. Understand that I am saying these things not as encouragement for you to worship God, for anyone encouraging such a thing, as though it were possible to have doubts about it, is a fool. And it is not by doing certain things or forming certain opinions about God that we worship Him properly. Tears and supplications do not move God; "sacrifices do not honor God; numerous votive offerings do not adorn God. Rather the god-filled intellect, firmly established, is united to God, for like must gravitate to like." "The sacrifice of the ignorant is fuel for fire, and their votive offerings are public contributions of the intemperate to temple-robbers." But for yourself, as has already been said, "let the intellect within you be a temple of God. It must be prepared and adorned for a worthy reception of God." But do not let the adornment and the preparations for the acceptance be short-lived and once again be derisive laughter and ignorance and the dwelling place of the wicked daimon. 20. "So if you always remember that wherever your soul lives and gives vitality to the body, God stands by as the overseer of all your plans and actions, you will be in awe of the unforgetting nature of your guardian and you will have God as your partner." Therefore, even if your lips utter some statement about another topic, let your intellect and heart be turned toward God. For in this way even your speech will be god-filled, illumined by the light of God's truth, and easily expressed. "For knowledge of God makes discourse brief." 21. But the evil daimon must necessarily dwell wherever forgetfulness of God sneaks in, for, as you have learned, the soul

χώρημα γὰρ ἡ ψυχή, ὥσπερ μεμάθηκας, ἢ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων. καὶ θεῶν μὲν συνόντων πράξει τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων καὶ διὰ τῶν | ἔργων· ὑποδεξαμένη δὲ ψυχὴ τὸν κακὸν σύν- 288] οικον διὰ πονηρίας πάντα ἐνεργεῖ· ὅταν οὖν ἴδῃς ἄνθρωπον τοῖς κακοῖς χαίροντα καὶ δρῶντα γίνωσκε τοῦτον ἠρνῆσθαι μὲν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, πονηροῦ δὲ δαίμονος ὄντα ἐνδιαίτημα. θεὸν οἱ μὲν εἶναι νομίζοντες καὶ διοικεῖν ἅπαντα τοῦτο γέρας ἐκτήσαντο διὰ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς βεβαίας πίστεως τὸ μεμαθηκέναι ὅτι ὑπὸ θεοῦ προνοεῖται πάντα καὶ εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι θεῖοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες ἐπόπται τῶν πραττομένων, οὓς καὶ λαθεῖν ἀμήχανον. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχειν πεπεισμένοι φυλάττονται μὲν μὴ διαπίπτειν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον, πρὸ ὄψεως ἔχοντες τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀναπόδραστον ἐφόρασιν. εὐγνώμονα δὲ βίον κτησάμενοι μανθάνουσι θεοὺς γινώσκονταί τε γινωσκομένοις θεῖος. 22. οἱ δὲ μήτε εἶναι θεοὺς πιστεύσαντες μήτε προνοίᾳ θεοῦ διοικεῖσθαι τὰ ὅλα, δίκης κόλασιν πεπόνθασι τὸ μήτε ἑαυτοῖς πιστεύειν μήθ' ἑτέροις ὅτι θεοί εἰσι καὶ οὐκ ἀλόγῳ φορᾷ διοικεῖται τὰ πάντα. εἰς κίνδυνον οὖν ἄφατον ἑαυτοὺς ἐμβαλόντες ἀλόγῳ ὁρμῇ καὶ εὐδιαπτώτῳ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτίθενται καὶ πάντα δρῶσιν ἃ μὴ θέμις, ἀναιρεῖν πειρώμενοι τὴν περὶ θεοὺς ὑπόληψιν. καὶ δὴ τούτους μὲν ἀγνοίας ἕνεκα καὶ ἀπιστίας θεοὶ διαφεύγουσιν· αὐτοὶ δὲ θεοὺς καὶ τὴν ὀπαδὸν τῶν θεῶν δίκην οὔτε φυγεῖν οὔτε λαθεῖν δύνανται. βίον δὲ κακοδαίμονα καὶ πλανήτην ἑλόμενοι ἀγνοοῦντες θεοὺς γινώσκονται θεοῖς καὶ τῇ δίκῃ τῇ παρὰ θεῶν. 23. κἂν θεοὺς τιμᾶν οἴωνται καὶ πεπεῖσθαι εἶναι 289] θεούς, ἀρετῆς δὲ ἀμελῶσι καὶ σοφίας, | ἤρνηνται θεοὺς καὶ ἀτιμάζουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλογος πίστις δίχα τοῦ ὀρθῶς ζῆν ἐπιτυχὴς θεοῦ, οὔτε μὴν τὸ τιμᾶν θεοσεβὲς ἄνευ τοῦ μεμαθηκέναι ὅτῳ τρόπῳ χαίρει τὸ θεῖον τιμώμενον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ προχοαῖς ἢ θυηλαῖς τερπόμενον πείθεται, οὐκ ἂν εἴη δίκαιον τῷ τὴν ἴσην πάντας ἀμοιβὴν αἰτεῖν μὴ τὴν ἴσην λαχόντας τύχην. εἰ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἧττον, μόνῳ δὲ ἥδεται τῷ καθαρεύειν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὃ δὴ δυνατὸν ἐκ προαιρέσεως παντί τῳ προσεῖναι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη δίκαιον;

334 πράξει 2nd ed. Mai] πράξη cod. || 335 ψυχὴ τὸν cod.] τὸν N., qui ψυχὴ del. || 338 ἠρνῆσθαι Boissonade] ἠρνεῖσθαι cod. || 345 τοῖς cod.] ἐν τοῖς coni. N. || 351 θεοὶ εἰσὶ N.] θεοὶ καὶ εἰσὶ cod. || 356 αὐτοὶ δὲ N.] αὐτοὺς δὲ cod. || 357 φυγεῖν N.] φεύγειν cod. || 362 ζῆν addidit Orelli || 368 τῷ καθαρεύειν ed. Mai] τὸ καθαρεύειν cod.

is a dwelling place either of gods or daimons. Accordingly, when gods are present it will do good in both words and deeds, but if it receives the evil partner, the soul does everything in a state of wickedness. So whenever you see a man delighting in and doing evil deeds, understand that this man has denied God in his heart and is the residence of a wicked daimon. As far as God is concerned, those people who think that He exists and manages everything have acquired this reward through their knowledge and strong faith: the realization that everything is known in advance by God, and that divine angels and good daimons are overseers of events, and it is impossible to elude them. And as a result, since they have been persuaded that this is so, they are on guard to keep from stumbling in the events of life and always have in view the gods' inescapable scrutiny. And having acquired a prudent way of life, they understand gods and they are known to gods who are known to them. 22. On the other hand, those people who believe neither that the gods nor that the universe is managed by the foreknowledge of God have suffered the punishment of justice: failure to believe either themselves or others that the gods exist and that everything is not governed by mindless motion. Thus, having cast themselves headlong into unspeakable danger by mindless and clearly erroneous impulse, they engage in the events of life and commit unlawful acts as they attempt to abolish the commonly held assumption about gods. And assuredly, gods avoid these people because of their ignorance and lack of faith, though they themselves cannot escape or elude gods and justice, the attendant of the gods. And having chosen an evil-spirited and misguided life by not knowing gods, they are known to gods and to the justice which issues from gods. 23. Even if they think they honor gods and are persuaded that gods exist, but neglect virtue and wisdom, they have denied gods and dishonored them. For neither does mindless faith, apart from righteous living, win god, nor indeed is it godfearing to do honor without the realization of how the divine delights to be honored. For if It is won over by Its enjoyment of libations and sacrifices, It would not be just in asking everyone for equal recompense if each did not obtain equal success. But if It is not at all swayed by these things and takes pleasure only in the thought being pure -- which can in fact be possible for every single person by an act of choice -- how can It not be

εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τὸ θεῖον θεραπευόμενον ἥδεται, ἱερείοις μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν, διανοίᾳ δὲ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν αὐτὸ τιμητέον. εὔχεσθαι θεῷ οὐ κακόν, ὡς τὸ ἀχαριστεῖν πονηρότατον. 24. κακῶν ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδεὶς θεὸς αἴτιος, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ὁ ἑλόμενος· εὐχὴ ἡ μὲν μετὰ φαύλων ἔργων ἀκάθαρτος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπρόσδεκτος ὑπὸ θεοῦ· ἡ δὲ μετὰ καλῶν ἔργων καθαρά τε ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτος. τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα μάλιστα κεκρατύνθω περὶ θεοῦ· πίστις, ἀλήθεια, ἔρως, ἐλπίς. πιστεῦσαι γὰρ δεῖ ὅτι μόνη σωτηρία ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐπιστροφή, καὶ πιστεύσαντα ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα σπουδάσαι τάληθῆ γνῶναι περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ γνόντα ἐρασθῆναι τοῦ γνωσθέντος, ἐρασθέντα δὲ ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς τρέφειν τὴν ψυκὴν περὶ τοῦ βίου. ἐλπίσι γὰρ ἀγαθαῖς οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν φαύλων ὑπερέχουσι. στοιχεῖα μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα κεκρατύνθω. 25. τρεῖς δὲ νόμοι διακεκρίσθωσαν. οἵδε· εἷς μὲν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἕτερος δὲ ὁ τῆς θνητῆς φύσεως, τρίτος δὲ ὁ θετὸς κατ' ἔθνη καὶ | πόλεις. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς φύσεως ἀφορίζων τὰ μέτρα τῶν χρειῶν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸ ἐν ταύταις δεικνὺς ἀναγκαῖον τὸ μάτην κἀκ περιττοῦ σπουδαζόμενον ἐλέγχει. ὁ δὲ θετός τε καὶ κατ' ἔθνη διατεταγμένος κατὰ συνθήκην τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κρατύνει κοινωνίαν διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὰ τεθέντα ὁμολογίας. ὁ δ' αὖ θεῖος ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ νοῦ σωτηρίας ἕνεκα ταῖς λογικαῖς ψυχαῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐννοίας διετάχθη· δι' ἀληθείας δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς πεπερασμένος εὑρίσκεται. παραβαίνεται δὲ ὁ μὲν τῆς φύσεως κεναῖς δόξαις ἀγνοηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τῇ ἄγαν φιλοσωματίᾳ προσκειμένων τῷ σώματι· ὑπερβαίνεται δὲ καταφρονούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπεράνω γινομένων τοῦ σώματος καὶ διὰ τὸ σῶμα. ὁ δὲ θετὸς καιρῷ μὲν ὑποτάττεται ἄλλοτε ἀλλοῖος γραφόμενος κατὰ τὸ βίαιον τῆς τοῦ κρατοῦντος δυναστείας· εἰς κόλασιν δὲ ἀπάγει τὸν ἁλόντα, οὔτε τοῦ λαθόντος οὔτε τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐφικέσθαι δυνάμενος ἑκάστου. 26. ὁ δέ γε θεῖος ἀγνοεῖται μὲν ψυκῇ δι' ἀφροσύνην καὶ ἀκολασίαν ἀκαθάρτῳ, ἐκλάμπει δὲ δι' ἀπαθείας καὶ φρονήσεως. καὶ οὔτε ὑπερβῆναι τοῦτον

373 ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ed. Mai] ἀλλὰ νοῦς cod., ἀλλὰ μόνος coni. N. || 379 πιστεύσαντα N.] σπουδάσαντα cod. || 382 περὶ cod.] διὰ N. || 389 ἐλέγχει ed. Mai] ἐλέγχειν cod. || 394 πεπερασμένος W. vide adn. 25.392–94] πεπραμμένος cod., πεπραγμένων Mai, πεφασμένων Pö., cf. p. 44 || 396 ἄγαν C. Orelli] ἄγα cod. | ὑπερβαίνεται ed. Mai] ὑπερβαίνετο cod. || 398–99 ὑποτάττεται cod.] ὑποτέτακται coni. N. || 399 ἀλλοῖος N.] ἀλλοίως cod. || 403 ἐκλάμπει ed. Mai] ἐκκλάμπει cod.

just? And if the divine takes pleasure in being worshipped both ways, It should be honored by sacrificial rites as far as lies in one's power and by thought beyond one's power. To pray to god is not evil, but failure to give thanks is most wicked. 24. No God causes evils for a man; rather he himself causes them by the choices he makes for himself. The prayer accompanying shameful deeds is impure and thus unacceptable to God; that accompanying good deeds is pure as well as quite acceptable. Let four principles in particular be firmly held with regard to God: faith, truth, love, hope. For it is necessary to have faith that conversion toward God is the only salvation; and for the faithful to be as eager as possible to know the truth about Him; and for the knower to love the one who is known; and for the lover to nourish his soul throughout life on good hopes. For by good hopes the good prevail over the wicked. So then, let such principles as these be firmly held. 25. Three laws must be distinguished. They are: one, the law of God; second, the law of mortal nature; third, the law established in nations and states. So then, the natural law, by determining the extent of the body's needs and by showing what is necessary for them, condemns what is pursued vainly or in excess. And the law established and promulgated in nations by compact strengthens social interaction through mutual agreement about the laws that have been established. The divine law, for its part, has been ordained by the mind, for the salvation of rational souls in accordance with their perceptions; having penetrated into their souls, it is discovered through the truth of their thoughts. The natural law is transgressed by empty false opinions because it goes unrecognized by those who are devoted to the body with an excessive bodily love; it is despised because it is held in contempt by those who gain control over the body, even for the body's sake. The established law, which is written in different ways at different times, is laid down for a particular situation, depending on the strength of the ruler's power; it leads the apprehended criminal away for punishment, but it is unable to affect the unapprehended criminal or the intention of the individual. 26. Divine law, of course, is unknown to the impure soul because of its ignorance and intemperance, but it shines forth in the pure soul because of its freedom from passion and prudence. And it is impossible

δυνατόν, οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτου ὑπεράνω ἀνθρώπῳ, οὔτ' αὐτοῦ καταφρονῆσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐκλάμψαι αὐτὸν οἷόν τε ἐν τῷ καταφρονεῖν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντι· οὔτε τύχαις καιρῶν τρέπεται, ὅτι κρείττων ἦν τῆς τύχης καὶ πάσης βίας πολυτρόπου ἰσχυρότερος. νοῦς δὲ αὐτὸν μόνος γινώσκει μεταλ-
λεύων | αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔρευναν καὶ τετυπωμένον ἐν αὐτῷ
291] ἐξευρίσκει· τροφήν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πορίζει τῇ ὥσπερ σώματι αὐτοῦ ψυχῇ· νοῦ γὰρ σῶμα ψυχὴν λογικὴν θετέον, ἣν τρέφει ὁ νοῦς τᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐννοίας, ἃς ἐνετύπωσε καὶ ἐνεχάραξεν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θείου νόμου ἀληθείας, εἰς ἀναγνώρισιν ἄγων διὰ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ φωτός. καὶ διδάσκαλος αὐτὸς γινόμενος καὶ σωτὴρ καὶ τροφεὺς καὶ φύλαξ καὶ ἀναγωγός· μετὰ σιγῆς μὲν φθεγγόμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν δὲ θεῖον αὐτῆς ἐξελίττειν νόμον διδοὺς διὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐμβλέψεως, ἐν ταῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιβολαῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τετυπωμένον ἐξ ἀϊδίου ἐπιγινώσκει. 27. κατανοητέον οὖν πρῶτόν σοι τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου ἀναβατέον ἐπὶ τὸν θεῖον, ὃς καὶ τὸν τῆς φύσεως διέταξε νόμον. ἀφ' ὧν ὡρμημένη οὐδαμοῦ εὐλαβήσῃ τὸν ἔγγραφον. "οἱ γὰρ ἔγγραφοι νόμοι χάριν τῶν μετρίων κεῖνται, οὐχ ὅπως μὴ ἀδικῶσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ἀδικῶνται." ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος ἀληθῶς φιλόσοφος ὥρισται καὶ ἔστιν εὐπόριστος, ὁ δὲ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν ἀόριστός τε καὶ δυσπόριστος. "ὁ οὖν τῇ φύσει κατακολουθῶν καὶ μὴ ταῖς κεναῖς δόξαις ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης. πρὸς γὰρ τὸ τῇ φύσει ἀρκοῦν πᾶσα κτῆσίς ἐστι πλοῦτος, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀορίστους ὀρέξεις καὶ ὁ μέγιστος πλοῦτός ἐστιν οὐδέν." "σπάνιόν γε εὑρεῖν ἄνθρωπον πρὸς
292] τὸ τῆς φύσεως τέλος πένητα | καὶ πλούσιον πρὸς τὰς κενὰς δόξας. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀφρόνων οἷς ἔχει ἀρκεῖται, μᾶλλον δὲ οἷς οὐκ ἔχει ὀδυνᾶται. ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ πυρέσσοντες διὰ κακοήθειαν τῆς νόσου ἀεὶ διψῶσι καὶ τῶν

405 ὑπεράνω ἀνθρώπῳ Gass] ὑπεράνω ἀνθρώπω cod., ὑπεράνω N. || 408 κρείττων ed. Orelli] κρείττον cod. || 410 τετυπωμένον Mai] τετυμένον cod. || 412 νοῦ N.] οὐ cod. || 417 μετὰ σιγῆς cod.] κατὰ σιγῆς ed. Mai || 418 αὐτῆς cod.] αὐτῇ Jacobs | ἐξελίττειν Jacobs] ἐξελίττων cod. || 423 ὡρμημένη W., vide adn. 27.423] ὡρμουμένη cod., ὁρμωμένη N. || 430 πλοῦτος C. Orelli] πλούτου cod. || 431 πλοῦτός ἐστιν οὐδέν dubitans coni. N.] πλοῦτος ἐστίν. οὐ cod., πλοῦτος σπάνις. οὐ coni. Jacobs Lect. Stob. p. 126, πλοῦτός ἐστι πενία Usener in Epic. fr. 202, πλοῦτός ἐστιν (eiecto οὐ) Gass. || 432 πένητα addidit Usener in Epic. fr. 471 || 434–35 πυρέσσοντες cod.] πυρέττοντες Usener || 435 τῆς νόσου ἀεὶ Mai] post τῆς cod. spatium quinque fere litterarum.

either to despise this law--for there is nothing in it for man to gain control of--or to hold it in contempt, for it cannot shine forth in the man who is apt to hold it in contempt. Nor is it altered by the fortunes of particular situations, since it is stronger than fortune and more powerful than any fickle force. Intellect alone knows it, digging deep in the search for it and finding it stamped upon itself. And intellect provides nourishment from it for the soul as if it were its own body. For it must be established that the body of intellect is the rational soul, which the Intelligence nourishes by bringing to recognition through the light from Itself the thoughts in the soul, which It has stamped and engraved with the truth of the divine law. And It becomes the very teacher and savior and nurse and guardian and guide to the ascent. By speaking in silence, and by allowing truth to unfold its divine law through its insight into it, the intellect comes to recognize in its investigations into it that the divine law has been stamped upon the soul from eternity. 27. So then, first you must grasp the law of Nature and from it ascend to the divine law which also established the law of Nature. With these laws as your point of reference, you need never be concerned about the written law. "For the written laws are laid down for the sake of temperate men, not to keep them from doing wrong but from being wronged." The wealth of Nature, being truly philosophic, is well-defined and easily obtained, but the wealth of empty false opinions is ill-defined and hard to obtain. "So then, the person who follows Nature and not empty false opinions is self-sufficient in everything. For satisfying Nature any possession is wealth, but for satisfying unlimited yearnings even the greatest wealth is nothing." "It is rare to find a man poor in the attainment of Nature but rich in empty false opinions. For no ignorant man is satisfied with what he has; instead he pines for what he does not have. So then, just as those who have a fever are always thirsty because of the serious nature of

ἐναντιωτάτων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τὴν ψυχὴν κακῶς ἔχοντες διῳκημένην πένονται πάντων ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς πολυτρόπους ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ λαιμαργίας ἐμπίπτουσιν."
28. ἁγνεύειν οὖν καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δι' ἀποχῆς βρωμάτων καὶ ἀφροδισίων προσέταξαν, εἰς τὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἣν αὐτοὶ συνέστησαν, ἐπάγοντες βούλημα τοὺς εὐσέβειαν μετιόντας, ὡσὰν παντὸς τοῦ παρὰ τὸ βούλημα πλεονάζοντος μιαροῦ καὶ θανασίμου. "φοβούμενος γὰρ ὁ πολὺς τὸ λιτὸν τῆς διαίτης, διὰ τὸν φόβον ἐπὶ πράξεις πορεύεται τὰς μάλιστ' ἂν τοῦτον παρασκευαζούσας." καὶ "πολλοὶ τοῦ πλούτου τυχόντες οὐ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν εὗρον, ἀλλὰ μεταβολὴν μειζόνων." διό φασὶν οἱ φιλόσοφοι οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον ὡς τὸ γινώσκειν καλῶς τὸ μὴ ἀναγκαῖον, πλουσιωτάτην δὲ εἶναι πάντων τὴν αὐτάρκειαν καὶ σεμνὸν τὸ μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι λαμβάνονται. "διὸ καὶ μελετᾶν παρακελεύονται οὐχ ὅπως τι ποριστέον ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλ' ὅπως μᾶλλον θαρρήσομεν μὴ πορισθέντος." 29. "μηδὲ αἰτιώμεθα τὴν σάρκα ὡς τῶν μεγάλων κακῶν αἰτίαν μηδ'
293] εἰς τὰ πράγματα τρέπωμεν | τὰς δυσφορίας," ἐν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τὰς τούτων αἰτίας μᾶλλον ζητῶμεν καὶ ἀπορρήξαντες πᾶσαν ματαίαν τῶν ἐφημέρων ὄρεξιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ὅλοι γενώμεθα ἑαυτῶν. "ἢ γὰρ διὰ φόβον τις κακοδαιμονεῖ ἢ δι' ἀόριστον καὶ κενὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. ἅ τις χαλινῶν δύναται τὸν μακάριον ἑαυτῷ περιποιῆσαι λογισμόν." "ἐφ' ὅσον δ' ἂν ἀμηχανῇς, λήθῃ τῆς φύσεως ἀμηχανεῖς· σαυτῷ γὰρ ἀορίστους φόβους καὶ ἐπιθυμίας προσβάλλεις·" "κρεῖσσον δέ σοι θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ στιβάδος κατακειμένῃ ἢ ταράττεσθαι χρυσῆν ἐχούσῃ κλίνην καὶ πολυτελῆ τράπεζαν." "ἐξ ἐργασίας

437 διῳκημένην W., vide adn. 27.437] διωκειμένην cod., διακειμένην Mai ‖ 442 ὡσὰν παντὸς cod.] ὡς ἅπαντος coni. N. ‖ 443 πολὺς cod.] πολυτελὴς Jacobs Lect. Stob. p. 125sq. ‖ 444 τὸν φόβον Jacobs] τὸν θεὸν cod., τὸ δέος Jacobs, cf. p. 46 ‖ 445 μάλιστ' ἂν Usener in Epic. fr. 478] μάλιστα cod. ‖ 446 οὐ τὴν cod.] οὔ τιν' Usener in Epic. fr. 479 ‖ 449 πλουσιωτάτην cod.] πλουσιώτατον Usener in Epic. fr. 476. ap. Clem. Alex., Strom. VI, p. 751 ‖ 450 λαμβάνονται cod.] λαμβάνοντας Vo., διαβεβαιοῦνται N. ‖ 451 ποριστέον cod.] πορισύμεθα coni. Usener in Epic. fr. 481 ‖ 452 ἀλλ' ὅπως N.] ἀλλὰ πῶς cod. ‖ 455 ἀπορρήξαντες cod.] ἀπορρίψαντες coni. N. ‖ 459 περιποιῆσαι cod.] περιποιεῖσθαι N. ‖ 460 σαυτῷ Bailey in Epic. fr. 46] αὐτὸν cod., αὐτῇ Mai, αὐτῇ Orelli, σαυτῇ N. ‖ 462 χρυσῆν N. in Stob. Flor. 5,28] χρησὴν cod.

their disease and eagerly desire what is most detrimental, so also those who have the soul which manages it in distress are always in need of everything and fall prey to fickle desires under the influence of their excessive greed." 28. Consequently, even the gods have prescribed remaining pure by abstinence from food and sex. This leads those who are pursuing piety toward Nature's intent, which the gods themselves constituted, as though any excess, by being contrary to Nature's intent, is defiled and deadly. "For the ordinary man who fears the simple way of life is driven by fear into actions which are most likely to produce it." And "many who have become wealthy have not found relief from evils but rather an exchange for greater ones." Therefore, the philosophers say that nothing is as necessary as perceiving clearly what is not necessary, and that the greatest wealth of all is self-sufficiency, and they take the need of nothing as worthy of respect. "Therefore they exhort us to practice not how we must provide for some necessity but how we will remain confident when it is not provided." 29. "Let us neither censure the flesh as cause of great evils nor attribute our distress to external circumstances." Rather let us seek their causes in the soul, and, by breaking away from every vain yearning and hope for fleeting fancies, let us become totally in control of ourselves. "For it is either through fear that a person becomes unhappy or through unlimited and empty desire. By bridling these feelings a person can gain possession of blessed reason for himself." "To the extent that you are troubled, it is because you forget Nature, for you inflict upon yourself unlimited fears and desires." "But it is better for you to have confidence as you lie on a bed of straw than to be in turmoil while you possess a gold couch and a costly table." "As a

θηριώδους οὐσίας μὲν πλῆθος σωρεύεται, βίος δὲ
ταλαίπωρος συνίσταται." 30. "ἀφυσιολόγητον μηδὲν ἡγοῦ
βοώσης τῆς σαρκὸς βοᾶν τὴν ψυχήν· σαρκὸς δὲ φωνὴ μὴ
πεινῆν, μὴ διψῆν, μὴ ῥιγοῦν. καὶ ταῦτα τὴν ψυχὴν
χαλεπὸν μὲν κωλῦσαι, ἐπισφαλὲς δὲ παρακοῦσαι τῆς παραγ-
γειλάσης φύσεως αὐτῇ διὰ τῆς προσφυοῦς αὐτῇ αὐταρκείας
καθ' ἡμέραν." "καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης μικρότερα διδάσκει
νομίζειν, καὶ εὐτυχοῦντας μὲν γινώσκειν ἀτυχεῖν, δυσ-
τυχοῦντας δὲ μὴ παρὰ μέγα τίθεσθαι τὸ εὐτυχεῖν· καὶ
294] δέχεσθαι μὲν ἀθορύβως τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης | ἀγαθά, παρατε-
τάχθαι δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς δοκοῦντα εἶναι κακά. ὡς
ἐφήμερον μὲν πᾶν τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγαθόν ἐστι, σοφία δὲ
καὶ ἐπιστήμη οὐδαμῶς τύχης κοινωνεῖ." 31. "οὐκ ἀπορεῖν τού-
των πόνος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ φέρειν μᾶλλον τὸν ἀνόνητον ἐκ τῶν
κενοδόξων πόνον." "ἔρωτι γὰρ φιλοσοφίας ἀληθινῆς πᾶσα
ταραχώδης καὶ ἐπίπονος ἐπιθυμία ἐκλύεται." "κενὸς ἐκεί-
νου φιλοσόφου λόγος, ὑφ' οὗ μηδὲν πάθος ἀνθρώπου θερα-
πεύεται· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἰατρικῆς οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ τὰς
νόσους τῶν σωμάτων θεραπεύει, οὕτως οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίας,
εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβάλλει πάθος." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ
τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ὁ τῆς φύσεως παραγγέλλει νόμος. 32. ὁ δὲ
θεῖος ἐκβοᾷ ἐν καθαρῷ διανοίας τόμῳ· εἰ μὴ τὸ σῶμα
οὕτω σοι συνηρτῆσθαι φυλάξεις ὡς τοῖς ἐμβρύοις κυο-
φορουμένοις τὸ χόριον καὶ τῷ σίτῳ βλαστάνοντι τὴν
καλάμην, οὐ γνώσῃ σεαυτήν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλος ὅστις μὴ
οὕτω δοξάζει ἔγνω ἑαυτόν. ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ χόριον συγγενόμενον
καὶ ἡ καλάμη τοῦ σίτου, τελεωθέντα δὲ ῥίπτεται ἑκάτερα,
295] οὕτω καὶ τὸ συναρτώμενον τῇ ψυχῇ σπαρείσῃ σῶμα οὐ μέρος

464 θηριώδους N.] θρηνωδῶν cod., θρηνώδους ed. Mai ‖ 467 πεινῆν N. in Stob. Flor. 101,13] πινῆν cod. | τὴν ψυχὴν cod.] τῇ ψυχῇ Usener in Epic. fr. 200. ‖ 468 κωλῦσαι N.] κωλύσαι cod. | παρακοῦσαι N.] παρακούσαι cod. ‖ 468–69 παραγγειλάσης cod.] παραγγελούσης coni. Usener ‖ 470 παρὰ Usener in Epic. fr. 489] περὶ cod. | τύχης Vo.] ψυχῆς cod. | διδάσκει cod.] διδάσκειν ed. Mai ‖ 471 εὐτυχοῦντας μὲν Jacobs] εὐτυχοῦντας δὲ cod. ‖ 472 τὸ Usener] τῶν τὸ cod., ὧν τὸ ed. Mai ‖ 474 ὡς N.] καὶ ὡς cod. ‖ 477 πόνος cod.] κακόν coni. Usener in Epic. fr. 486 ‖ 478 κενοδόξων cod.] κενῶν δοξῶν N. ‖ 479 ἐκλύεται cod.] ἐκκρούεται coni. N. ‖ 481 εἰ μὴ N.] μὴ cod. ‖ 482 θεραπεύει Mai] θεραπεύειν cod. ‖ 484 τὰ τούτοις cod.] τὰ πρὸς τούτοις ed. Mai ‖ 486 φυλάξεις N.] φυλάσης cod. ‖ 486–87 κυοφορουμένοις cod.] κυοφορουμένων ed. Mai ‖ 487 χόριον cod.] χορίον ed. Mai ‖ 489 οὕτω δοξάζει cod.] οὕτως ἐδόξασεν malit N.

result of lamentable labor, property is amassed but life becomes bestial." 30. "Consider it in no way contrary to Nature for the soul to cry out when the flesh cries out. The flesh cries not to be hungry, not to be thirsty, not to be cold. And so it is difficult for the soul to repress these cries, but it is dangerous for it to disregard nature's exhortations to it because of the self-sufficiency which grows in it from day to day." "Nature also teaches us to regard the outcomes of fortune of little account and to know how to be unfortunate when we are favored by fortune, but not to consider the favors of fortune important when we experience misfortune. And Nature teaches us to accept unperturbed the good outcomes of fortune, but to stand prepared in the face of the seeming evils which come from it. For all that the masses regard as good is a fleeting fancy, but wisdom and knowledge have nothing in common with fortune." 31. "Pain does not consist in lacking the goods of the masses but rather in enduring the unprofitable suffering that comes from empty false opinions." "For the love of true philosophy causes every disturbing and painful desire to subside." "Empty is the discourse of that philosopher by which no human passion is healed. For just as there is no benefit from medicine if it does not heal the bodies' diseases, neither is there from philosophy if it does not purge the passion of the soul." So then, the law of Nature prescribes these things and others like them. 32. The divine law cries out in the pure primer of thought: unless you maintain that the body is joined to you in the same way as the membrane is joined to embryos growing in the womb, and as the stalk is joined to the growing grain, you will not know yourself. Nor, indeed, does anyone else who does not think like this know himself. So then, just as the membrane and the stalk of the grain grow concurrently, and once they mature each is shucked off, likewise also the body, which has been joined to the sown soul, is not part of a man but exists in order for

ἀνθρώπου ἀλλ' ἵνα μὲν ἐν γαστρὶ γένηται, προσυφάνθη τὸ χόριον ἵνα δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς γένηται συνεζύγη τὸ σῶμα. ὅσῳ τις τέτραπται πρὸς τὸ θνητόν, τοσούτῳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀσύμμετρον παρασκευάζει πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας μέγεθος· καὶ ὅσῳ τῆς τοῦ σώματος προσπαθείας ἀφίσταται, τοσούτῳ μέτρῳ τῷ θείῳ πελάζει. "ὁ συνετὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ θεοφιλὴς ὅσα οἱ ἄλλοι μοχθοῦσι τοῦ σώματος ἕνεκα, τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σπουδάσεται πονῆσαι," οὐ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι ὧν ἤκουσεν αὔταρκες εἶναι νομίζων, τὸ δὲ ἀνατρέχειν εἰς ἃ δεῖ δι' ὧν ἤκουσεν μελετῶν. 33. "γυμνὸς δὲ ἀποσταλεὶς γυμνητεύων καλέσει τὸν πέμψαντα· μόνου γὰρ τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις πεφορτισμένου ἐπήκοος ὁ θεός," καὶ τῶν καθαρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς ὑπερκείμενος. μέγα ἡγοῦ σοι ἐφόδιον εἰς βίον μακάριον τὸ δεδεμένον ἐν φύσει δῆσαι τὸν δήσαντα. ἐδέθημεν γὰρ φύσεως δεσμοῖς οἷς ἡμᾶς περιέβαλε, κοιλίᾳ, μορίοις, λαιμῷ, τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσι τοῦ σώματος καὶ ταῖς δι' αὐτῶν χρήσεσι καὶ ἡδυπαθείαις καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων φόβοις. ἐὰν οὖν τούτων τῆς γοητείας ὑπεράνω γενώμεθα καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φυλαξώμεθα τὴν παγίδα, ἐδήσαμεν τὸν δήσαντα. μήτε οὖν εἰ ἄρρην εἶ μήτε εἰ θήλεια τὸ σῶμα
296] πολυπραγμόνει, μηδὲ γυναῖκα ἴδῃς σαυτήν, ὅτι μηδ' ἐγώ σοι ὡς τοιαύτῃ προσέσχον. φεῦγε τῆς ψυχῆς πᾶν τὸ θηλυνόμενον, ὡς εἰ καὶ ἄρρενος εἶχες τὸ σῶμα περικείμενον. ἐκ παρθένου γὰρ ψυχῆς καὶ ἠθέου νοῦ τὰ τικτόμενα μακαριώτατα. ἐξ ἀδιαφθόρων γὰρ τὰ ἄφθορα· ἃ δὲ τίκτει τὸ σῶμα, μιαρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐνομίσθη. 34. "μεγάλη οὖν παιδεία ἄρχειν τοῦ σώματος." πολλάκις κόπτουσί τινα μέρη ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ· τῆς δὲ ψυκῆς ἕνεκα ἕτοιμος ἔσο τὸ ὅλον σῶμα ἀποκόπτειν. "ὧν γὰρ ἕνεκα ζῆν ἐθέλεις, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μὴ κατόκνει." ἡγείσθω τοίνυν πάσης ὁρμῆς ὁ λόγος ἐξορίζων τοὺς δεινοὺς δεσπότας καὶ ἀθέους ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὅτι "καὶ χαλεπώτερον δουλεύειν πάθεσιν ἢ τυράννοις." "ἀδύνατον δ' εἶναι ἐλεύθερον τὸν ὑπὸ παθῶν κρατούμενον," "ὅσα γὰρ πάθη ψυχῆς τοσοῦτοι καὶ ὠμοὶ δεσπόται." 35. οἰκέτας πειρῶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ ὀργιζομένη κολάζειν. κολάζειν δὲ

499 σπουδάσεται cod.] σπουδάζεται ed. Mai | πονῆσαι N.] πονή (s super ν) cod., in fine lineae, πονήσας ed. Mai || 505 δεδεμένον cod.] δεδεμένην coni. N. || 508 χρήσεσι ed. Orelli] χρήσαισι cod. || 511 εἰ ἄρρην N.] εἴτε ἄρρεν cod. | εἰ θήλεια ed. Mai] εἴτε θήλεια cod. || 517 μιαρὰ N.] μιαρὸν cod. || 519 τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἕνεκα ἕτοιμος Pö] τῆς ψυκῆς ἕτοιμος cod., τῶν λοιπῶν· σὺ δ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἕτοιμος N. || 526 κολάζειν W., vide adn, 35.526] κολάζῃς cod., κολάσῃς N.

him to be born in the womb, just as the entwined membrane is yoked to the body in order for him to be born on earth. The more an individual has turned toward the mortal element, the more he makes his heart unsuitable for the sublimity of immortality. But the more he holds aloof from passionate attachment to the body, the more he draws near to the divine. "The man who is wise and god-beloved will be as eager to endure pain on behalf of the soul as others struggle on behalf of the body;" he does not think remembering what he has heard is sufficient in itself, but he practices running toward the goals he wants to attain through what he has heard. 33. "Sent away naked, in his nakedness he will call on the one who sent him, for God listens only to the one not encumbered with extraneous burdens" and he protects only the pure from destruction. Consider it a great boon to you on the journey to the blessed life that one who has been enchained in nature enchains what has enchained him. For we have been enchained by nature's chains with which she has surrounded us: the belly, the genitals, the throat, the other bodily members, both in respect to our use and passionate pleasure in them and our fears about them. So then, if we should rise above their witchcraft and guard against their seductive snare, we have enchained what has enchained us. Therefore, do not be overly concerned about whether your body is male or female; do not regard yourself as a woman, Marcella, for I did not devote myself to you as such. Flee from every effeminate element of the soul as if you are clothed in a male body. For the most blessed offspring come from virginal soul and unmated Intelligence. For the incorrupt come from the incorruptible, while what the body begets is considered contaminated by all the gods. 34. "So then, it takes great education to be in control of the body." Often people amputate some limb to save their lives; you should be prepared to amputate the whole body to save your soul. "In fact, you should not even be reluctant to die for the sake of the things you want to live for." Therefore, let reason guide every impulse as it banishes those dread and ungodly despots from us, because "it causes even more difficulty to be a slave to one's passions than to tyrants." "But it is impossible for the person governed by the passions to be free," "for all the passions of the soul are just so many cruel despots." 35. Try not to be unjust to servants nor to punish them in anger, Marcella. And when you intend to

μέλλουσα πεῖθε πρότερον, ὅτι ἐπὶ συμφέροντι κολάζεις, διδοῦσα αὐτοῖς καιρὸν ἀπολογίας. παραιτοῦ εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν τοὺς αὐθάδεις. τὰ πολλὰ ἄσκει αὐτουργεῖν· λιτὸν γὰρ καὶ εὔπορον τὸ τῆς αὐτουργίας. καὶ δεῖ
297] ἑκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν πρὸς ὃ ἡ φύσις κατεκέρασε χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τῆς φύσεως ἄλλου μὴ δεόμενον. τοῖς γὰρ μὴ χρωμένοις τοῖς ἰδίοις καταχρωμένοις δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις διπλοῦν τὸ φορτίον καὶ πρὸς τὴν δεδωκυῖαν τὰ μέρη φύσιν ἀχάριστον. ψιλῆς δὲ ἕνεκα ἡδονῆς μηδέποτε χρήσῃ τοῖς μέρεσι· πολλῷ γὰρ κρεῖττον τεθνάναι ἢ δι' ἀκρασίαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι . . . . . κακίαν ἐνδιορθουμένη τῆς φύσεως . . . . . οἷα δὲ οἰκέταις κοινωνοῦσα τιμῆς μεταδίδου τοῖς βελτίοσιν. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως γὰρ οὖν ἄνθρωπον ἀδικοῦντα σέβειν θεόν· ἀλλὰ "κρηπὶς εὐσεβείας σοι νομιζέσθω ἡ φιλανθρωπία" καὶ . . .

529 χρῆσιν W., vide adn. 35.528–29] κτῆσιν cod. | τὰ πολλὰ N.] τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ cod. || 530 τὸ τῆς αὐτουργίας N.] αὐτουργίας cod., αὐτουργία Mai || 531 κατεκέρασε cod.] κατεσκεύασε N. || 532 δεόμενον cod.] δεομενής Boissonade Anecd. V. p. 407 || 533 τοῖς ἄλλοις cod.] τοῖς ἄλλων coni. N. || 534 δεδωκυῖαν cod.] δεδομένην ed. Mai || 536 ἀκρασίαν cod.] ἀκρασίας cf. Gnom. Byz. 22 || 537 post ἀμαυρῶσαι lacuna unius lineae (id est, post ἀμαυρῶσαι reliqua pars lineae vacua et prima pars sequentis lineae vacua, vide Pö, p. 38. || 538 ἐνδιορθουμένη cod.] ἐπανορθουμένη coni. N. | post φύσεως lacuna sex fere litterarum, vide Pö., p. 38 || 541 καὶ ultimum verbum huius paginae; post καὶ quaedam exciderunt, vide Pö, p. 38, ἐγκράτεια coni. N.

punish them, first try to convince them that you are punishing them for their own good, giving them an opportunity for defense. Appeal to the surly for useful service. Make it a practice to do many things yourself, since doing things for yourself is simple and expedient. And men should use each of their limbs for what Nature fashioned it; Nature asks for nothing else. For those who do not use their own limbs but abuse those of others it is a double burden and ungrateful to Nature which has given them their limbs. Never use the bodily members simply for pleasure, for it is much better to die than to dull the soul through lack of self-control .....
.....correcting the evil of Nature.....but if you are one to share with your slaves, give honor to the better ones. For there is certainly no way that an unjust man can be pious toward god. But as far as you are concern-ed, "regard the foundation of piety as love of mankind" and.....

Notes to Text

Full bibliographic information on the works cited in the notes can be found in the bibliographies at the back of the volume.

1.1-4.68 In this first section of the Ad Marc., Porphyry grounds his discourse to Marcella on perseverance in the pursuit of philosophy in her experience of him as a trustworthy person. See the discussion in Introduction III.

1.3 Porphyry uses σύνοικος, συνοίκησις (3.50) and συνοικέω (4.65-66), rather than σύμβιος and its cognates, to describe his relationship with Marcella. LSJ indicates that σύμβιος designates a wedded pair, while those who simply cohabit are σύνοικοι. I believe that Porphyry's use of σύνοικος indicates that he has entered into a legal marriage with Marcella, but by his use of σύνοικος rather than σύμβιος he alerts us to the distinctiveness of this marriage, its philosophic and celibate character. See Plutarch, coni. praec. 142F. Porphyry also uses σύνοικος in 20.326 to refer to the relationship of God to the pure soul and in 21.335-36 to that of the daimons to the impure soul. In using σύνοικος in these contexts as well, Porphyry may wish to suggest that his relationship to Marcella imitates the relationship between God and the soul. He is the εἴκων of the divine νοῦς while she is ψυχή. See 33.515. See also Introduction II and n. 47.

1.6-7 The "true wisdom" and the "correct philosophy" to which Porphyry refers is Neoplatonism, in contrast primarily with Christianity and gnosticism which Plotinus and Porphyry both attacked. See Plot. 16 and Lewy (1978:452-53).

1.9 When the text uses the plural ὑμῖν or ὑμᾶς with reference to Marcella, I translate "you and your children," rather than the ambiguous English "you." See also 1.20.

1.9-10 ἀγαπητὸν . . . ἀκτήμοσιν. This phrase may be a maxim. It expresses Cynic thought which may reflect Socratic influence. For similar ideas, see Teles (O'Neil) VI.1-35 and notes. Porphyry's claim in 1.4-5 that he is not overly concerned about providing for Marcella and her large family may well be linked to this Cynic idea that the basic human needs are few and easily supplied. Bidez (1913:111, n.2) argues correctly that this line cannot be used to prove that Marcella was poor. Philosophical detachment is a primary theme of the Ad Marc., not radical poverty. See, for instance, the reference to the servants in Marcella's household (35:525-29).

1.12 Mai's reading ἀποκλίνοντι, the present participle, is preferable to Nauck's reading ἀπολκίναντι, the aorist participle, because Porphyry was already an old man at the time of his marriage to Marcella. He was not simply anticipating a future decline of his powers.

1.16 τὸ τοιοῦτον. The reference is most likely to the responsibility of providing for a widow with seven children.

1.18-20 The people whom Porphyry refers to here as οἱ πολῖται are difficult to identify. πολίτης ordinarily refers to people in their status as citizens of a specific community. Normally, the reference is to members of a civic community (see LSJ, s.v. πολιτηίη; Lampe, 1961: s.v. πολίτης). In using the term οἱ πολῖται, Porphyry may be deliberately obscuring the identities of people whose behavior he nonetheless finds objectionable. They may have been relatives or friends of Marcella or relatives of her deceased husband. Porphyry's major reason for referring to them in the Ad Marc. is not to repudiate them, but to demonstrate his own trustworthiness to Marcella. See Introduction II, III.

2.21 κοινωνόν σε τοῦ ἡμετέρου βίου may refer to Marcella both as spouse and as member of a philosophic community. ἡμέτερος and ἡμεῖς in 2.34-35 and 5.80, 82 are also translated with the plural pronoun, although the term could also be interpreted as singular.

2.23 The γενεθλίοι θεοί whom Porphyry wishes to placate are the gods in charge of the tragicomedy (see 2.27) of life. As the gods of sex and the theatre, they have set the script of life, which includes marriage. By going through the formal act of marriage, Porphyry suggests he will placate these deities and not leave them enemies. But, as a celibate marriage is not what the script calls for, Porphyry's language gives the clear impression that this first reason is not the primary motivation for his marriage.

2.24 The account of Socrates' composition of popular music while in prison is found in Plato, Phd. 60D-61B. According to this account, Socrates had a recurring dream which said: "Socrates . . . make music and work at it." (ὦ Σώκρατες . . . μουσικὴν ποίει καὶ ἐργάζου) Initially he thought he was fulfilling this injunction by working at philosophy. But in prison it occurred to him to compose popular music. So he first wrote a hymn in honor of Apollo (Phd. 58BC, 61A) and then turned the fables of Aesop into verse. This exemplum, in additon to supporting Porphyry's first justification for marrying Marcella, also reminds the reader of the discussion of philosophical separation and ascent and the immortality of the soul which Socrates and his friends had prior to Socrates' death, according to Plato's Phaedo. The process of attaining philosophical separation and ascent is a primary theme of the Ad Marc.

2.27 Porphyry uses κωμῳδοτραγῳδία as a metaphor for life. That life is a drama is a topos found both in Cynic and Stoic literature. See Teles II.1-8, 158-65; IV.A.146-52; V.1-39 (and notes, p. 91); VI.1-35, esp. 1-6; Epictetus, Ench. 17, Marcus Aurelius, Meditations X.27; XI.6; XII.36, and Methodius, Symp. VIII.171. According to LSJ, the term was used as the title of plays by Alcaeus Comicus and Anaxandrides in addition to its occurrence in our text. Otherwise it is not attested. Plato, Phlb. 50B expresses a similar metaphorical idea linking the nouns tragedy and comedy (καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ξυμπάσῃ τραγῳδίᾳ καὶ κωμῳδίᾳ). Possibly both the dramatic and the Platonic occurrences may have influenced Porphyry's use of the term here.

2.28 Porphyry's metaphor of entering his composition in a contest is probably suggested by the term κωμῳδοτραγῳδία. Dramatic competitions were well known in antiquity. See Aristophanes, Ach. 140, 410-420. Like Plato, who composed both popular and philosophic hymns, Porphyry's Ad Marc. contains both popular and philosophic material, the popular consisting of the account of their marriage, and the philosophic of the instructions he provides for her during his absence. See also the references in Porphyry Plot. 15 to the poem, "The Sacred Marriage," which Porphyry says he composed for Plato's feast. Plotinus praised him, saying: "You have shown yourself at once poet, philosopher, and expounder of sacred mysteries." (Armstrong, 1966:43)

2.29 Porphyry "takes on" family, necessities, and maliciousness both in the "hymn," which is the epistle, and in real life.

2.32-33 The locus classicus for the discussion of the role of the passions in ancient drama is found in Aristotle, Po. 1449b(VI.2), where he refers to the incidents in drama which are intended to arouse pity and fear, thus providing an emotional catharsis.

2.33-35 The "others" for whom Porphyry and Marcella went through the marriage ritual are probably Marcella's children. See Introduction II.

2.35 Porphyry continues the dramatic analogy in his use of ὑποκρίνομαι, "to play a part on the stage." In the fifth century B.C.E. the term τὸ θέατρον referred to the seats in the theater but later, as in Pseudo-Plato, Ax. 371D1 and Paul, 1 Cor 4:9, it came to mean what is seen in the theater. LSJ suggests that τὸ θέατρον in this passage is metaphorical for "life."

3.35-36 The contrast here is between the first reason for the marriage, conforming to custom, the "popular reason," and the second, "more divinely inspired," Poprhyry's willingness to train Marcella in the philosophic life. There may also be an implicit

contrast between the popular conception of marriage detailed in Chapter 1, and the philosophic conception of marriage which motivates him to marry Marcella.

3.39 For the use of συλλήπτωρ as a partner or ally in the pursuit of philosophy, see Plato, Sym. 218D.

3.41 For this meaning of προσποίησις, see Aristotle, EN IX, 1165b11 and Plutarch, amat. 771A.

3.44 δεσπόζειν should not be taken in its legal sense here, since the evidence indicates that no one would have had legal power over Marcella in this period. See the discussion in Introduction II.

3.44-46 Philosophic marriages were known in antiquity, that of Crates and Hipparchia being perhaps the most famous. See Malherbe (1977:54-55. 78-83), Plutarch, coniug. praec. (see Wicker, 1975), and Periktione, "De Mulierum Harmonia" (in Thesleff, 1965:142-45). Celibate marriages, like Porphyry's, as well as spiritual marriages, occur less frequently. The practice is attested in early Christianity (Achelis, 1902; Davies, 1980; Burrus, 1986).

3.46-51 Porphyry apologizes to Marcella for his rhetorical strategy of presenting himself as a reliable person since he knows that she is the best witness to his trustworthiness.

3.51 εἰς plus the accusative here indicates purpose; διὰ plus the genitive indicates cause.

4.53-57 It is helpful to read this passage in light of Porphyry's earlier work, Antr., where he interprets the cave of Homer (Od. 13.102-112), with the Naiad nymphs who preside over its flowing streams (Antr. 6), as "a symbol of the generated and perceptible cosmos" (κόσμου σύμβολον ἤτοι γεννητοῦ αἰσθητοῦ τὸ ἄντρον ἐποιοῦντο, Antr. 7; Lamberton, 1983:25). In this text, the cave which symbolizes the cosmos "is both holy and pleasing, though by nature it is shadowy and 'murky'" (Antr. 12; Lamberton, 1983:28). But Porphyry regards the cave not as "a symbol of noetic hypostasis, but rather of material existence" (Antr. 10; Lamberton, 1983:27), because "its 'water flows incessantly'." (Ibid.) He also discusses the relationship between the water and souls coming into γένεσις (Antr. 10). In the Ad Marc. the drink from flowing streams, the ἐξουσία (4.53, 57), which Porphyry provides Marcella is like the water

provided by the nymphs. Compare ἐκ παρακειμένων πηγαίων ναμάτων τὸ πότον (4.53-54) with ἐκ πηγῶν ἢ ναμάτων ἢ κρηνῶν ἀενάων (Antr. 10). Yet since it is related to γένεσις, which Porphyry discusses in Chapter 6, it is not sufficient for Marcella's real needs which are in the noetic, rather than in the material sphere. Thus, Porphyry's trip is actually a benefit rather than a hindrance to her practice of the philosophical life.

Comparison may also be made with Methodius, Symp. I.11 where chastity (ἁγνεία) is described as a divine gift. "Such a draught cannot be produced on earth; it can issue only from the fountains of heaven" (Musurillo, 1958:42).

4.58-59 Porphyry says elliptically that the needs of the Greeks summoned him and the gods joined in their request. Chadwick (1959:142) suggests that this statement "may mean he had been invited to attend the confidential deliberations which preceded the launching of the persecutions of the Church under Diocletian in 303. (Porphyry would be a natural person to consult about such a project, as the author of several formidable books against the Christians.)" Zimmern (1896:36) thinks there may be some justification for this view, but Bidez (1913:112 n. 2, 116) and Festugière (1944:8) are sceptical of this interpretation. I share their scepticism. The arguments for a later dating of the Adv. Ch. by Barnes (1973) and Rist (1981) also make the Chadwick hypothesis unlikely. The real reasons for Porphyry's absence are unknown.

4.61-62 Apparently Porphyry is worried that the scoundrels who tried to exert power over Marcella (3.43-44) will attempt to manipulate her daughters in her absence.

4.65-66 Porphyry's use of the aorist, συνώκησας, suggests that the ten-month period extends from the day of their marriage to the date of Porphyry's departure on the present journey, not from the marriage to the moment of the epistle.

4.67-68 I follow Pötscher (1969:11, n.1) in assuming that philosophic instruction is the implied object of ἀναλαβεῖν.

5.68-10.191 This section begins the development of the major theme of the epistle, the practice of the philosophical life. It deals primarily with ontological concerns. It begins with an invocation of ὁ λόγος, a saying from Homer, which Porphyry interprets first in light of Marcella's present experience and then with reference to the human condition in which she participates. This λόγος becomes the point of departure for his discussion of philosophical separation and the ascent of the soul. The section concludes with a formula for the practice of the philosophical life. See the note to 10.187-91. See also Introduction III, IV.

5.69 τῷ λόγῳ. Porphyry offers to console Marcella with a saying or quotation while also exhorting her in the epistle. The saying to which he refers is "ἔλκει

μοχθίζοντος" in 5.73 rather than the Homeric paraphrase in 5.71-72, which he regards as not appropriate to the situation, though most people would consider it apt under the circumstances. For the many connotations of the term λόγος in the Neoplatonic tradition, see Wallis (1972:68).

5.70-72 This passage has challenged its translators. The text appears to contain two Homeric quotations, "οἴκου κήδεσθαι" and "καὶ ἔμπεδα πάντα φυλάσσειν." See Homer, Od. XIX.23 and II.227. Porphyry has added σαυτῆς καὶ ἐν σεαυτῇ, which is here translated as part of the first quotation. The MS copyist was apparently aware that these were two separate Homeric texts since he placed a half-stop between them.

5.72 καταλειπομένῃ. Sophocles uses καταλείπω only once in his extant plays: at Ph. 809, where Philoctetes begs Neoptolemus: ἀλλ' ἀντιάζω, μή με καταλίπῃς μόνον.

5.72-75 It is interesting for the Christian reader to find a snake appearing in the context of a discussion of the fall of the soul. The images which Porphyry uses are, of course, derived from the Homeric and Platonic traditions.

5.73 Why Porphyry refers to Philoctetes ἐν τραγῳδίαις is not clear, since he then proceeds to quote almost exactly a passage regarding Philoctetes from Homer, Il. II.723 (ἕλκει μοχθίζοντα κακῷ ὀλοόφρονος ὕδρου). Philoctetes, deserted by the Greeks, was a regular theme of tragedy, occuring in the extent plays of Sophocles and in lost plays by Aeschylus and Euripides, about which see the discussion in Dio Chrysostom, Discourse LII, and Apollodorus, II.194, 197. See Frazer (1967:II, 194-97, n. 2) for other references to Philoctetes in tragedy. Porphyry's use of τραγῳδία may also be intended to remind us of κωμῳδοτραγῳδία in 2.27, where Porphyry describes his marriage to Marcella as comitragedy. Note should also be made here of how Porphyry interprets texts from Homer as allegories of non-material and unchanging reality. See Lamberton (1983:3-18) for an illuminating discussion of this topic.

5.74-75 The fall of the soul is a central doctrine in Neoplatonic philosophy. It occurs in Ad Marc. in Chaps. 5, 6, 8, 10, 33. See also Porphyry, Abst. I.30-32, Plato, Ap. 41D and Plotinus, Enn. I.1.12. The problem of an adequate translation for γένεσις is addressed by Lamberton (1983:41, n. 7). I have followed Armstrong (1966:I, 119) in translating it "the process of coming-to-be." The doctrine of the fall of the soul in the Ad Marc. is not inconsistent with Porphyry's view in the De Regr. Anim. (see Augustine, De civ. D. X.30) that the first fall of the soul is necessary and natural. But Porphyry's speculations in the De Regr. Anim. and in the Abst. that God sends the soul into the world to learn evil so that it may turn from it and achieve a complete escape from the cycle of reincarnation is not reported in the Ad Marc. Nor does this text mention directly Porphyry's notion of a second "fall," one willed by the soul as it turns down toward its physical being rather than upward toward the noetic sphere. This notion may be implicit, however, in the vivid picture Porphyry creates in the Ad Marc.

of a soul dominated by the passions, and in his observations on the impossibility of salvation for a soul in this state, even though it performs acts of piety (16.278-80). See Smith (1974:1-19). See also Introduction IV.

5.78 With εἰς ἀγῶνα Porphyry changes the contest metaphor from that of a dramatic contest (see 2.28) to that of a contest of physical strength.

5.79 The image Porphyry employs here is that of a ship's cable which anchors the ship safely to the shore. For the metaphorical use of this idea, see Plato, Lg. 893B.

5.82–84 Porphyry again describes Marcella's experience, using a water image this time in a negative context in contrast to the positive image developed in 4.52-57.

5.85 Porphyry now introduces the theme of the two following chapters, the difficulty inherent in the philosophic life.

5.85-86 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 31: ἡ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων κτῆσις διὰ ῥαστώνης οὐ παραγίνεται.

5.87 εἰς ἄσκησιν. This is the first occurrence of one of a pair of technical terms referring to training in and practice of philosophical principles. ἄσκησις and its cognate ἀσκέω appear here and at 10.190; 12.216; 17.282 (bis), 284; 35.529. The other term is μελετάω. It occurs at 10.176, 179; 28. 451; 32.501. See the discussion of the practice (ἄσκησις) of wisdom (σοφία) in Plato, Grg. 487C, of temperance (σωφροσύνη) 507D, and of the practice (ἀσκέω) of virtue in R. 407A. See also Augustine, De civ. D. X.29. Plato, Phd. 67E says that true philosophers practice dying (οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀποθνήσκειν μετελῶσι) because they are hostile to the body during life. Phd. 80E-81A contains another statement of this idea. For a discussion of the use of these terms in Epictetus' diatribes and Plutarch's ethical writings, see Betz (1985: 7-10).

5.89-90 Is Porphyry here making an allusion to the problems with Marcella's relatives or fellow-citizens mentioned earlier at 1.19-20, 3.44. 4.61-62? Or is this a more general philosophical statement?

5.90 τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν is perhaps an echo of 2.42.

6.95-97 Porphyry once again engages in an allegorical interpretation of Homer.

Bidez (1913:112-13) suggests that he quotes from a letter he received from Marcella in which she quoted or alluded to Andromache's farewell speech to Hector in Il. 6.429. (See also Rousselle, 1983:227.) If this suggestion is correct, then the context in which the saying appears in the Il. makes Marcella's reference to this text all the more poignant, for Andromache assumes that she will never see Hector return alive from battle. However, Bidez's assumption is impossible to prove. This text is also a familiar topos in philosophic and amatory literature. See Plutarch, coniug. praec. 145C.

6.98 εὔλογον . . . αἰτίαν. Note the echo here of the terms used in 2.22.

6.99 Here θεωρός is equated with λόγος, while in 20.326 the term appears to refer to God. The term is used of an "envoy" or "observer." The translation "guardian" tries to encompass both senses of the term.

6.99-111 Pötscher (1969: 76) sees the influence of Plotinus on Porphyry in the latter's use of terms such as ἄνοδος, ἀναβαίνειν, ἀνάβασις, καταβαίνουσαν. See Plotinus, Enn. IV.8: Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ σώματα καθόδου τῆς ψυχῆς. Plato, R. 517B also speaks of the ἀνάβασις and ἄνοδος of the soul.

6.101 For νόστος, see Homer, Od. 3.142.

6.102 The codex reading καθάπερ ἱππήλατόν τι seems preferable, but see Pötscher (1969: 41) for a discussion of the manuscript problems here.

6.109 The Platonic doctrine of remembrance (ἀνάμνησις) is alluded to here and at 8.152. For the idea of the fall (πτῶμα) see 5.74-75 and note.

6.111 τὸ ῥεῖα ζώειν παρὰ θεοῖς is probably an allusion to the Homeric phrase θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζώοντες which occurs in Il. VI.138; Od. IV.805 and V.122. τὸ seems to indicate a virtual quotation as well as making ζώειν an articular infinitive. Thus quotations marks appear around the phrase "life of ease" in the translation. See also Plotinus, Enn. V.8.4.1.

6.111-14 For the somniferous nature of human existence, see Porphyry, Abst. I.28. Plato, R. 571C-572B, discusses the immoral type of desire that manifests itself particularly in dreams if a person does not calm desires and awaken reason upon going to sleep. Porphyry in Antr. 75 cites Pythagoras' references to souls as "people of dreams," with reference to Homer, Od. XXIV.12. This Platonic-Pythagorean tradition probably lies behind this passage.

Sleep and awakening are also themes within Christian and gnostic literature. Methodius, Symp. II.31, credits the pleasures of procreation with lulling the soul to sleep. For the literature on the gnostic use of these images, see Jonas (1963:68-91) and MacRae (1967:496-507). Indeed, much of the language of 6.111-14 and of 5.73-74 would resonate positively to a gnostic: πίπτω, γένεσις, λήθη, ἀλλότριος, ἕλκος, ὕδρος. See Zandee (1961). MacRae (1967:498) argues that exegesis of the Genesis creation accounts is usually directly or indirectly behind this material in the gnostic literature.

6.112 Nauck's reading of γένεσιν and not the codex reading ἔγερσιν is preferable because of the parallels between this section and 5.75 and the importance of this term in Neoplatonic vocabulary.

7.114-22 There is undoubtedly a literary reference behind this exemplum of the gold and iron shackles. The speech of the Aetolians in Plutarch, Flam. 10.2, which asks the Greeks whether they preferred to exchange smoother but heavier fetters for the ones there were wearing, and warns them about exchanging shackles on the wrists for shackles on the ankles, contains a similar sentiment. PGM XII.171 should also be noted. There a god who loosens the iron fetter is invoked (διαλύων τὸν περικείμενον [σίδηρον] τῷ δεῖνα). Possibly the reference to shackles was suggested by Plato, Phd. 59E-60A, where the removal of Socrates' chains in prison also marks the moment of his death and ultimate liberation from the body, or by the simile of the cave in Plato, R. 514A-517C where the prisoners are fettered and thus prevented from perceiving the true reality. Ultimately, of course, the imagery of the chains is connected with the Orphic notion of the body as the prison of the soul. See Plato, Cra. 400C and Phd. 62B. See also Courcelle (1976:294-318; 1983: 455-67) and the discussion in Alderink (1981:55-85) of anthropological motifs in the Orphic mysteries.

7.117 δεσμός can refer to chains or to the state of being imprisoned. The literal meaning seems preferable though Porphyry may also intend an implicit reference to the imprisonment of the soul in the body. See Dio Chrysostom XXX.11-24, especially 22, for parallels to these ideas. See also Plutarch, prof. virt. 77E.

7.123-24 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 101: τὰ ἐπίπονα τῶν ἡδέων ἡγοῦ μᾶλλον συντελεῖν εἰς ἀρετήν.

7.124-26 See Hesiod, Op. 286-92; 303-309 for work as preferable to illness. This line from Hesiod seems to have become a literary topos. For citation in later authors, see Aristeides Colonna, Hesiod Op. ad loc. Does Porphyry's use of the singular ἀνήρ and γυνή imply a specific reference to himself and Marcella as well as the statement of a general principle?

7.126-27 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 78: παντὸς καλοῦ κτήματος πόνος προηγεῖται ὁ κατ' ἐγκράτειαν.

7.128-29 Porphyry's grouping of Heracles, the Dioscouri and Asclepius is particularly approriate as they all are "figures who cross the chthonic-Olympian boundary" (Burkert, 1985:208). Of Heracles, Burkert says: "he is a model for the common man who may hope that after a life of drudgery, and through that very life, he too may enter into the company of the gods" (1985:211). "The Dioskouroi, like Heracles, . . . were seen as guiding lights for those hoping to break out of the moral sphere into the realm of the gods" (1985:213). "Asklepius also points beyond the chthonic realm in which he is nevertheless rooted. Insofar as he was born the son of Apollo by a mortal woman, sired children, and died, he belongs among the heroes . . . But his grave plays no role in the cult, and he is eventually worshipped throughout the whole of Greece as a god, closely associated with his luminous father" (1985:214).

7.131-34 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 72: οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δι' ἡδονῆς βεβιωκότων αἱ εἰς θεοὺς ἀναδρομαί, ἀλλ ἐκ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα πεπονηκότων ἐγκρατῶς καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐνεγκεῖν μεμαθηκότων.

7.132 "God" is capitalized in this translation when θεός occurs in the singular, either with or without the article. The entry θεός in the Index Verborum indicates that θεός occurs as often without the article as with it. Is this due to the sources from which Porphyry drew? There does not seem to be any difference in meaning whether or not the article is used. For a summary of the use of θεός in antiquity, see Betz (1981:346-52). See also the notes to 11.192 and 23.364-74.

8.134 The use of ἄθλος continues the contest metaphor that occurs in earlier chapters, but the contest is waged within Marcella herself, whether to despair of Porphyry's return and her pursuit of the path of salvation or to have confidence in both, in spite of the difficulties she experiences. Thus ἄθλος is translated here as "temptation."

8.136 For the philosophic and religious uses of σῴζω and σωτηρία, see Foerster (1971:966-69, esp. section 5).

8.137 The term καθηγεμών is used of philosophers in ancient literature. See

Plutarch, Dio 2 for references to Plato; Philodemus, Rh. col. XXIII (Sudhaus I:49) for the founders of the Epicurean school; Julian, Or. 6, 202d for Crates. On the use of καθηγεμών among the Neoplatonists, see Glucker (1978:132, n. 40). I have followed him in translating καθηγεμών as master. See also the use of this term in 9.169. The master as leader and tutor plays a significant role in the philosophic development of the pupil, but, as Porphyry emphatically asserts, does not replace the νοῦς as the primary "teacher and savior and nurse and guardian and guide to the ascent." (26.415-17) In the Christian tradition Jesus is referred to twice as καθηγητής in Matt. 23:10 For a discussion of this text see Glucker (1978:424-48).

8.137 καταλείπω occurred earlier at 3.39 of the loss of Marcella's first husband through death, and at 5.72 to describe the plight of Philoctetes.

8.137-41 This advice was given earlier at 6.94-99.

8.140 τελέω has the technical meaning of an initiation into the mysteries. This passage is reminiscent of Plato, Phdr. 249C. See also the use of terminology from the mystery cults in Methodius, Symp. VI.145, VIII.173

8.142-45 For parallels to these passages, see the Greek Appendices to Sextus 547: τῶν δογμάτων σου τὰ ἔργα ἀπόδειξις ἔστω and Clitarchus 48, 49; Sent. Sext. 177: τοὺς λόγους σου ὁ βίος βεβαιούτω παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. These topoi, that one's deeds must be consistent with one's beliefs and that the good teacher demonstrates to his pupils the doctrine he preaches by the life he lives, occur regularly in the philosophical literature. The primary model is, of course, Socrates. See Plato, Ap. 32D and passim. See also Quintillian, Inst. 2.2-8; Sententiae Aesopi-Achiqari 109 (Betz 1979:305, n. 128); Epictetus, Ench. XXIV.110-14.

8.144 ἐπίστευσεν, which is used in a philosophical sense here, is translated "to acquire certainty." See Plotinus, Enn. III.8.6 and also Rist (1967:231-46).

8.147-50 This passage raises the question of Porphyry's view of the soul. Is it the intermediary between the intelligible and sensible world? Or is it part of the intelligible order? This passage suggests the latter perspective, which is also found in Porphyry's Sententiae and Symmikta Zetemata. See Wallis (1972:111-13). See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 74: ὁ ὡς ἀληθῶς [-ὴς MS.] ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν οὐχ ὁ ἁπτὸς καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει ὑποπτωτός, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφεστηκὼς τοῦ σώματος, ὁ

ἀχρώματος καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος καὶ χερσὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἁπτός, διανοίᾳ δὲ κρατητός.

8.148 Neither the MS reading ὑποπτατὸς nor Nauck's ὑποπτωτός is listed in LSJ. Schaefer's emendation seems to yield appropriate sense in the context. For ὑπόπτωτος, see Porphyry, Sent. 44 and Diogenes ofOenoanda 7.

8.149 Compare ἀχρώματος καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος with Porphyry, Abst. I.30: πρὸς τὸ ἀχρώματον καὶ ἄποιον. In the latter text Porphyry uses these adjectives to describe the nature to which we should aspire to return.

8.152 For ἐνδόσιμον, the pitch given to a chorus, see Plutarch, adul. et am. 73B and Lucian, Alex. 19 (τὸ ἐνδόσιμον λαβών). For ἀνάμνησις see 6.109 above.

8.153 ἐπλανήθημεν. This concept has occurred earlier in the Ad Marc. 6.100-101 refers to the return journey of the soul without discussing its fall. Remembrance of the fall is regarded in 6.108-109 as a help to the ascent, while forgetfulness and slumber are detrimental to the goal in 6.111-12. Here the idea is expressed that the soul leaves the world of the ideas with some small recollection of its earlier existence. It is interesting that a sound rather than a sight metaphor is used here to help the soul remember its past. Plato, Phdr. 250D refers to the sense of sight as the sharpest of all the senses and the one most capable of arousing the memory of the ideal world. See also Cicero, De sen. XXI.

9.153-63 πρὸς . . . ἁμαρτημάτων is part of the question which begins in 8.145. The main verb is still μεμαθήκαμεν (8.146).

9.154-57 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 2 (and 116): ἀπαιδευσία πάντων τῶν παθῶν μήτηρ· πᾶν δὲ πάθος ψυχῆς εἰς σωτηρίαν πολεμιώτατον· τὸ δὲ πεπαιδεῦσθαι οὐκ ἐν πολυμαθείας ἀναλήψει, ἐν ἀπαλλάξει δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν παθῶν θεωρεῖται.

9.157-59 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 207: πάθη νοσημάτων ἀρχαί; 208a: κακία νόσος ψυχῆς ; 202: μηδὲν ἡγοῦ κακόν, ὃ μή ἐστιν αἰσχρόν. For ignorance as a disease of the soul, see Plato, R. 609C-611A.

9.161-62 See Plato, Phd. 67 AB. This is the locus classicus for the idea that the soul needs to be purified of its lower passions in order to approach the divine. Pötscher (1969:75-76) notes reminiscences of these ideas in Theophrastus. For a similar use of θεμιτόν, see Pindar, P. IX.42 (τὸν οὐ θεμιτόν ψεύδει θιγεῖν).

9.162-63 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 181: μέχρι καὶ τοῦ νοῦ καθάρευε τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων. Chadwick gives several variant MS readings for τοῦ νοῦ. In the Porphyry passage the codex reading νῦν has been retained, and μέχρι τοῦ νῦν translated as "even now," that is, Plato's dictum is a universal truth and therefore continues to be applicable.

9.164 τοιαῦτα may refer to all the wisdom learned from those who most clearly understand thε human condition (8.145-46). τῶν λόγων in 9.165 appears to be a reference to the specific γνῶμαι just cited, though it may also include all the divine doctrines by which Marcella was initiated into the right philosophy (8.140-41).

9.164 The γράμματα θεῖα appear to be analogous to the pitch (τοὐνδοσιμον, 8.152) implanted in the soul before the fall and which the soul, according to Platonic doctrine, can recollect through contemplation and the practice of philosophy. See Plato, Phd. 72E, 92D.

9.166-73 Porphyry summarizes much of the content of his philosophic instruction to Marcella in this table of hierarchical relationships. The first member of each pair is consistently the more desirable or higher level of reality and the second is the lesser. On the basis of the context of 9.166-73 and of the work as a whole, I propose the following equivalencies for each of the following terms: τὸ σῷζον (the savior) for Noῦs (Intelligence) (26.413) and τὸ σῳζόμενον (that which is saved) for ψυχή (soul) (13.234, 26.411-20); τὸ ἀπολλύον (the destroyer) for λόγος (reason) (6.99) or παιδεία (education) (9.154-57) and τὸ ἀπολλύμενον (that which is destroyed) for πάθος (passion) (6.99, 9.157); τὸν πλοῦτον (wealth) for αὐτάρκεια (self-sufficiency) (27.427-29) and τὴν πενίαν (poverty) for ἐπιθυμία (desire) (27.434-38); τόν τε πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν τῶν ὄντως ἀγαθῶν καθηγεμόνα (father and husband and guide to all true goods) for the spiritual Porphyry (8.148-50) or Intelligence (26.413) and τὴν τοῦ ὑφηγητοῦ σκίαν (the shadow of a leader) for the physical Porphyry (8.147-48).

Here, consistent with the structure of Neoplatonic ontology (the One, the

Intellect, Soul and Matter), the rational soul is either drawn up to the Intelligence and then by the Intelligence to the One (though the latter stage is not mentioned in this passage) or drawn down by the body into the realms of passion and desire. Neoplatonic piety requires moral and intellectual effort to achieve the philosophical separation and ascent which Porphyry exhorts Marcella to strive for in this passage.

This text recalls the discussions about the origin of the "redeemed redeemer" figure in gnosticism. Colpe, in his work on this topic, could not find this formula in the gnostic sources (1961:171-93). Hadot, however, pointed to a description of God as σωτήριος ἁπλότης in the Commentary on the Parmenides which he attributes to Porphyry (1968:II, 78). He also identified a second text in Marius Victorinus, attributed to Porphyry, which speaks of the Son as Life, "salvans et salvata a semet ipse." (1968:II, 33) The complementarity between God as savior and the Son as saving and saved prompted Abramowski (1983:111, n. 20) to suggest that a third element is required to complete this threefold ontology, namely, that which is in need of salvation. An expression of this ontology at the individual level is found in the Ad Marc. 9.173, where Porphyry tells Marcella she has within her both "the savior and that which is saved."

Since Colpe discussed the problem of the "redeemed redeemer," the gnostic tractate Allogenes has also become available. It contains the wish "that you might escape in safety to the One who is yours, who was first to save and who does not need to be saved." (XI 3, 50:34-35). Abramowski (1983) argues that Allogenes is dependent upon Porphyry for this formula, against Wire (1977:443) and Turner (1980:336ff.) who think that the Allogenes demonstrates the influence of gnostic traditions upon Neoplatonism. In fact, Porphyry mentions that a revelation of Allogenes was read in the Plotinian circle (Plot. 16). One wonders if that could possibly have been the version known to us, with passages which look like quotations from Porphyry which are given only a superficial gnostic treatment (Abramowski 1983:113, 115f., 124).

For a comparative analysis of Neoplatonic and gnostic worldviews, see Armstrong (1984) and Bos (1984).

9.170-72 Seneca, Moral Epistles 41.2 says God dwells in each good man, and in Vit. Beat. 3.3 he observes that following nature and being formed by its law and pattern is true wisdom. For Porphyry, the indwelling leader is Νοῦς. But in 28.449 Porphyry discusses the importance of the law of Nature which leads to αὐτάρκεια, the true wealth. In our passage, Porphyry warns Marcella that she will lose the true wealth (αὐτάρκεια) which comes from the savior (Νοῦς) and the saved (ψυχή) if she descends once again into the flesh (σχῆμα/σῶμα).

10.174-76 Mai, Zimmern, Festugière, Faggin and Pötscher consider the text from τῆς μὲν . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος to be one sentence. ἐπώδυνος is best interpreted as the beginning of a new sentence, despite the lack of the particle δὲ. The text has been

punctuated with a half-stop, however, to reflect Porphyry's word play in this section. The sense which the text provides when read as two sentences is also compatible with this interpretation of Porphyry's message to Marcella. He acknowledges that his absence is painful for her but that there is a more spiritual presence that she can enjoy with him, despite their physical separation.

10.174 On σκία and εἴδωλον, see Plato, R. 532C. Porphyry also described his physical being as "the shadow of a leader" in 9.170.

10.176 On μελετάω see 5.87.

10.179-83 This passage should be read in light of Plato, Phd. 67CD: κάθαρσις δὲ εἶναι ἆρα οὐ τοῦτο ξυμβαίνει, ὅσπερ πάλαι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λέγεται, τὸ χωρίζειν ὅ τι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἐθίσαι αὐτὴν καθ' αὑτὴν πανταχόθεν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος συναγείρεσθαί τε καὶ ἀθροίζεσθαι, καὶ οἰκεῖν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔπειτα μόνην καθ' αὑτήν, ἐκλυομένην ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμῶν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος; "And does not the purification consist in this which has been mentioned long ago in our discourse, in separating, so far as possible, the soul from the body and teaching the soul the habit of collecting and bringing itself together from all parts of the body, and living, so far as it can, both now and hereafter, alone by itself, freed from the body as from fetters?" Plato suggests that the soul can be separated from the body by a process of gathering all the elements of soul which are dispersed through the body into a single whole which presumably was the state of the soul before its embodiment. This process is called purification (κάθαρσις). Note Porphyry's use of καθαρός in 9.161; 10.176, 178. σου in 10.181 refers to ψυχή and thus is translated as "your soul." Plato argues that the unified soul can live both here and hereafter as an entity separate from the body. Porphyry does not make this argument here, but it is implicit in his thought. See Smith (1974:107-108, n. 12) and Wallis (1972:61-72).

The scattering and gathering image is also employed in other ancient philosophical and religious texts. The Isis-Osiris myth, interpreted by Plutarch, Is. et Os., emphasizes this theme as does the gnostic literature. See the discussion in Jonas (1963:58-62), and in particular: "Dispersal and gathering, ontological categories of total reality, are at the same time action-patterns of each soul's potential experience, and unification within is union with the One. Thus emerges the Neoplatonic scheme of the inner ascent from the Many to the One that is ethical on the first rungs of the ladder, then theoretical, and at the culminating stage mystical." (61)

10.183 For τὰς ἐμφύτους ἐννοίας, see Plato, Phlb. 59D. For ἐννοία as the opposite of φαντασία and αἴσθησις, see Aristotle MA 701b17. See also Ad Marc. 8.150-51.

10.184-85 The light-darkness imagery which Porphyry uses here occurs regularly in the ancient philosophic and religious literature. The locus classicus for this image is Plato's analogy of the cave, see R. 514A-519B, 532B, 539E. See also Pötscher (1969:76-77) and Wallis (1972: 61 and n. 1).

10.185-86 ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων is a title expressing Porphyry's respect for Plato (Pötscher, 1969:77-78). It may also express Porphyry's judgment about the level of philosophical unity that Plato had achieved. Plato's analogy of the divided line in R. 509D-511E and the simile of the cave in R. 514A-517C most clearly illustrate the process of recollecting the intelligible from the perceptible.

10.187-91 This is Porphyry's formula for the practice of the philosophic life: recollection (μνημονεύω), perception (διαρθρόω), reflection (ἀναπεμπάζομαι), attention (ἀξιόω), practice (ἀσκέω), preservation (συντηρέω). The formula summarizes the philosophic theory and practice about which Porphyry has been exhorting Marcella since he offered her a λόγος for her consolation and exhortation at 5.69.

11.191-24.384 The third section of the epistle (11.191-24.384) begins, as did the preceding section (5.68-10.191), with an invocation of ὁ λόγος. Here, however, λόγος is not one saying but reason itself as it is embodied in a series of sententiae. See 6.99 and Plato, Phlb. 60Af. In Lg. IV.716D, however, λόγος means "reason." This section contrasts the wise man, whose intellect is a temple of God, whose words and deeds reflect the divine, whose acts of piety are acceptable to God because his life is acceptable and lived in the presence of God, with the wicked, foolish and impious man, who is the abode of wicked spirits, who does not really understand or honor the divine, and who is in fact rejected by God, even when performing acts of piety. In this section, Porphyry demonstrates how traditional piety, properly understood and practiced, embodies philosophic principles. As in the preceding section, the final sentence in the chapter summarizes the content of the whole section. Here the practice of the four virtues of faith (πίστις), truth (ἀλήθεια), love (ἔρως) and hope (ἐλπίς) are recommended to the person who would become a wise man.

11.191-98 The idea that the wise man is dedicated to God as a temple is found in the religious literature of antiquity. See Plato, Phdr. 252DE; Plutarch Is. et Os. 352A;

Pythag. Sent. 66; Sent. Sext. 35, 46a, 144; Paul, 1 Cor 6:19. For a comparison of the pure soul in which the divine creator dwells in a statue in a temple, see Methodius, Symp. VI.135-36. Another interesting passage is Porphyry, Abst. IV.6 where Chaeremon the Stoic is cited as the source of the report that some Egyptian priests chose temples as the places where they philosophized. As a result of this, these priests themselves received divine veneration. On the "divinization" of the wise man see the note to 15.265.

11.192 "It" and "Its" are capitalized when the pronouns, usually αὐτός and ἐκεῖνος, refer to θεός or ὁ θεός or when God is the implied referent.

11.197 The term νοῦς occurs here for the first time in this text. νοῦς as the state of soul deriving from Intelligence should be distinguished from Noûs as Intelligence itself, one of the triple hypostases (see Enn. I.1.8.1ff.). The former is translated as "intellect" and the latter as "Intelligence." "It" is capitalized when Intelligence is meant. As with other technical terms of Neoplatonism, it is often difficult to determine with certainty which sense is meant. The ambiguity adds to the richness of the text. For various uses of νοῦς in Plotinus, see Sleeman and Pollet (1980: cols. 695-715).

The soul which is directed toward the intellect instead of toward the body is identified as the rational soul. When the rational soul transcends even the intellect through contemplation, it becomes united with the divine Intelligence, one of the hypostases of the One. This state of union with the Intelligence is what Porphyry implies by stating: "God imparts His form to the One who honors him." Alternatively, it may mean that the intellect in humans is modeled on the divine Intelligence.

11.198 The MS contains a lacuna after ἀγάλλοντα. Pötscher (1966:237-40) argues for supplying θεοῦ in the lacuna and changing ἀγάλλοντα to ἀγάλλοντος. While I agree that ἐνεικονισαμένον . . . θεοῦ constitutes a genitive absolute, the use of ἐνεικονίζω in Plutarch, aud. 40D with an accusative object suggests that ἀγάλλοντα must be retained. Further, the lacuna in the MS is larger than the space needed for θεοῦ alone. Therefore Jacobs' emendation is preferable.

11.198-99 A topos. See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 39a: θεὸς δεῖται οὐδενός· σοφὸς δὲ μόνου δεῖται θεοῦ· See also Sent. Sext. 49; Clitarch. 4.

11.199-201 See Plato, Smp. 211D-212A.

11.199-202 This contrast between the two kinds of men is another topos. See Plato, Lg. 716CDE.

11.202 Porphyry refers to the daimons earlier in 2.28, 34, here, and in 16.271, 19.322, 20.333, 21.339, 343. Porphyry's demonology is spelled out more specifically in Abst. II.37-43. Porphyry also raises questions about demonology in his Ad Aneb. which are responded to in Iamblichus, De Mysteriis (des Places, 1966). See also the discussion in O'Meara (1959:97-115). Porphyry contrasts the good angels and the evil daimons. The former are oriented toward the divine and virtue while the latter are oriented to themselves and desire to obtain the souls of men. On the theurgy of Porphyry and the Neoplatonists, see Dodds (1947:55-69), Smith (1974:96) and Lewy (1978:461-66).

11.203 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 36a: ἐξουσίαν πιστῷ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι τὴν κατὰ θεόν.

11.203-205 See Smith (1974:103-105) for a discussion of the divine aid needed to reach the νοητά.

11.204 See the parallel in Clitarch. 17: ψυχὴ καθαίρεται ἐννοίᾳ θεοῦ. See also Sent. Sext. 24, 97.

12.205-206 For god as ἐπόπτης, see the references in BAG, s.v. ἐπόπτης, 1. Note in particular 1 Clement 59:3: τὸν ἐπόπτην ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων. For God as ἔφορος, see Pythag. Sent. 26. See also Sent. Sext. 303 for a similar idea.

12.206-207 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 113: παντὸς οὗ καλῶς πράττεις αἴτιον ἡγοῦ τὸν θεόν. See also 104. Here and elsewhere in the Ad Marc. Porphyry expresses the view that God aids man in his efforts to reach the noetic world. See also De Regr. Anim. (Augustine, De civ. D. X.29). Smith (1974:145) has observed that there are two major "spheres of interest" in Porphyry's thought: "the ontological, concerned with the metaphysical framework of salvation , and the spiritual, which concerns itself more with the actual search for personal salvation, and its integration into the metaphysical structure." See also Introduction III.

12.208-209 See the parallels in Plato, R. X.617E: αἰτία ἑλομένου· θεὸς ἀναίτιος. Sent. Sext. 114: κακῶν θεὸς ἀναίτιος. Clitarch. 19 is identical. Betz (1983:588, n. 88) suggests that this saying is probably Orphic in origin. See also James 1:13-15; [Clem.] Hom. 15:8; 19:6; Rec. 3.15ff.

12.209 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 122: εὔχου τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἄξια τοῦ θεοῦ.

12.209-10 Porphyry in Abst. II.24 says there are three reasons to sacrifice to the gods: to honor them, to thank them, to ask them for our needs. The Ad Marc. recognizes these as legitimate reasons as well. The third reason appears here. Honoring the gods is recognized as an obligation in 18.294-98 and giving thanks is required at 23.372. For a discussion of prayer and sacrifice in Porphyry, see Esser (1967:35-54). The Ad Marc. deals only with the prayer and sacrifice of the wise man, not with theurgy, which is used for the salvation of the lower soul.

12.210 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 124: αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ ἃ μὴ λάβοις ἂν παρὰ ἀνθρώπου.

12.210-12 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 125: ὧν ἡγεμόνες οἱ πόνοι, ταῦτά σοι εὔχου γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πόνους. See also Clitarch. 21.

12.212 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 126: εὐχὴ ῥαθύμου μάταιος λόγος.

12.212-14 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 3: ἃ κτησάμενος οὐ καθέξεις, μὴ αἰτοῦ παρὰ θεοῦ· δῶρον γὰρ θεοῦ πᾶν ἀναφαίρετον· ὥστε οὐ δώσει ὃ μὴ καθέξεις. See also Sent. Sext. 128. 92.

12.214-17 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 121: ὧν τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγεὶς οὐ δεήσῃ, ἐκείνων καταφρόνει πάντων· καὶ ὧν ἀπαλλαγεὶς δεήσῃ, πρὸς ταῦτά σοι ἀσκουμένῳ τοὺς θεοὺς παρακάλει γενέσθαι συλλήπτορας. See also Sent. Sext. 127. Porphyry uses the term συλλήπτωρ to describe the role he plays in Marcella's life as well. See 3.39.

12.217-18 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 120: ὧν ἡ τύχη κυρία καὶ δοῦναι καὶ ἀφελέσθαι οὐ δεήσῃ οὐδενός.

13.221 From the context δι' ὧν appears to refer to wise men who live according to the principles discussed in Chapters 11 and 12. They are contrasted here with the body and soul dishonored and darkened by evil.

13.221-23 This passage continues the light, darkness, image, shadow vocabulary used earlier. See 10.174, 184-85. ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι (13.221) and ἐνοπτριζόμενος (13.233-34) have been discussed by Reitzenstein (1916:242-55) and Corssen (1920:2-10) in the context of interpreting 2 Cor 3:18. See also the comment of Windisch (1922:191). ἐσκοτισαμένης (13.223) echoes σκία (10.170, 174) and ἐσκοτισμένας (10.184-85) and anticipates ἀπεσκότισε (13.230).

13.226-27 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 134: ταῦτα θέλε ἃ θέλοι ἂν καὶ ὁ θεός.

13.227-29 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 136: ἐφ' ὅσον ποθεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν θεὸν ἀγνοεῖ. For σύμφυλα, see Plutarch, sanit. praec. 137B.

13.231-33 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 145: σοφὸς ὀλίγοις γινώσκεται, and Pythag. Sent. 92: σοφὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεὸν σεβόμενος γινώσκεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· διὸ οὐδὲ ἐπιστρέφεται κἂν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοῆται. See also Gal 4:9; 2 Tim 2:19.

13.233-34 Against Pötscher (1966:238-40) and LSJ, ἐνοπτριζόμενος should be taken as a middle, not a passive participle. Therefore the substitution of θεοῦ for the codex reading θεόν is inappropriate. See also 11.197-98 and 13.221-23.

13.233-35 This passage and 26.402-420 sum up the ontological order of being: θεός, νοῦς, ψυχή, σχῆμα/σῶμα. In the Sententiae Porphyry taught that each level of being acts as a substrate to a higher level. θεός and νοῦς are totally in the intelligible world. σῶμα is in the material world. ψυχή performs a bridge function between the two worlds. In both Ad Marc. and Sent., Porphyry distinguishes between Soul itself and

soul, the immanent power which is related to the body, without at the same time postulating the ideal of a double soul. Porphyry sometimes expresses this distinction in Ad Marc. by using ψυχὴ λογικὴ (25.392-93; 26.412) of Soul and ψυχή of soul related to body. See Smith (1974:40-55). See also the notes to 9.166-73 and 26.402-20.

13.235 For σχῆμα as σῶμα, see LSJ, s.v. σχῆμα, 1.

13.236-37 For μίασμα and its cognates used of religious pollution, see Hauck (1968:646-47).

14.239-40 It has not been possible to preserve in English the play on λίθος and λόγος in the text. A similar contrast is made in Matt 7:9 and Luke 4:3. See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 7: αἱρετώτερόν σοι ἔστω λίθον εἰκῇ βάλλειν ἢ λόγον ἀργόν. See also Sent. Sext. 152. Both of these texts read εἰκῇ instead of εἰκῆ which occurs in the codex. The text has thus been emended to read εἰκῇ. The context requires the adverbial form.

14.240-42 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 165a: ἄμεινον ἡττᾶσθαι τἀληθῆ λέγοντα τοῦ περιγενέσθαι μετὰ ἀπάτης. 165b: ὁ νικῶν τῷ ἀπατᾶν νικᾶται ἐν ἤθει. 165c: μάρτυρες κακῶν γίνονται λόγοι ψευδεῖς. See also Plato, Lg. 904C where character is said to be formed by desires and the nature of the soul.

14.242-50 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 110: φιλήδονον καὶ φιλοσώματον καὶ φιλόθεον τὸν αὐτὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι· ὁ γὰρ φιλήδονος καὶ φιλοσώματος· ὁ δὲ φιλοσώματος καὶ φιλοχρήματος· ὁ δὲ φιλοχρήματος ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἄδικος· ὁ δὲ ἄδικος εἰς μὲν θεὸν ἀνόσιος, εἰς δὲ ἀνθρώπους παράνομος· ὥστε κἂν ἑκατόμβας θύῃ ὁ τοιοῦτος, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀνοσιώτερός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἄθεος καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει ἱερόσυλος· διὸ καὶ πάντα φιλήδονον ὡς ἄθεον καὶ μιαρὸν ἐκτρέπεσθαι χρή. See also Sent. Sext. 76. As Nauck has correctly observed, the parallelisms in this passage require the deletion of καὶ φιλοσώματον in 14.243 and the addition of ὁ δὲ φιλοσώματος in 14.244. See Plato, Phd. 68BC where the φιλόσοφος is contrasted with the φιλοσώματος, φιλοχρήματος and φιλότιμος.

14.247-49 See Pötscher (1969:82-83).

15.251-52 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 350: λόγου περὶ θεοῦ μὴ παντὶ κοινώνει. In Ad Marc. 15.251, 253 δόξα means "opinion" in contrast to ἐπιστήμη = "knowledge." See 17.281-84. Porphyry occasionally uses κενός as a modifier of δόξα, see 25.395; 27.427-28. See also ψευδοδοξία, 18.305. It occurs without this modifier meaning "opinion" at 17.284, 292. κακὴν δόξαν occurs in 17.291.

15.252-55 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 55: λόγον περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρμένοις λέγειν οὐκ ἀσφαλές· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτων καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ κίνδυνον φέρει. See also Sent. Sext. 351, 352 and the note on 15.260-61 below. The injunction to be silent about the truth of the teaching with non-initiates is more closely paralleled by the practice of the mystery religions than by proselytizing cults such as Christianity. But see a similar warning to women in Methodius, Symp. I.15.

15.255-56 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 356: μὴ καθαρεύων ἀνοσίων ἔργων μὴ φθέγξῃ περὶ θεοῦ λόγον.

15.258-59 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 112: χρὴ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι τὸν περὶ θεῶν λόγον ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ.

15.259-60 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 56: λόγου τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ προηγείσθω τὰ θεοφιλῆ ἔργα. See also Sent. Sext. 359.

15.260-61 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 360: ἐπὶ πλήθους λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ μὴ ἐπιτήδευε.

15.261 The discussion of θεός and λόγος in this section culminates in the term θεολογία which is translated "discourse about God." θεολογία appears to include for Porphyry the ideas presented in Chapters 11-15. See also Plato's use of the word θεολογία in R. 379A.

15.262-63 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 115: ψυχὴν νόμιζε αἱρετώτερον εἶναι προέσθαι ἢ λόγον βλάσφημον περὶ θεοῦ. See also Sent. Sext. 362.

15.263-64 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 40: θεοῦ ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεοῦ ἄξια πράττων. See also Sent. Sext. 4, 5.

15.265 The discussion of the wise man in this section, culminating in the claim that he is divine or indistinguishable from God, is consistent with the general Stoic position. See von Arnim (1912:III, n. 526).

See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 4: ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ θεὸς ἂν εἴη ἐν ἀνθρώποις. See also Sent. Sext. 376a, 3. I retain the codex reading θεός instead of accepting Pötscher's emendation θεῖος (Pötscher, 1969:43). Despite his citation of other material from the Ad Marc. which would seem to make the reading θεός impossible, the Ad Marc. can also be cited in support of θεός. See 13.230-31 and 17.286-88.

There is further support for the reading θεός, based on Porphyry's description of four stages of ascent in Porphyry's Sent.: 1) σῶμα, directed toward sense perception (αἴσθησις); 2) ψυχή, gaining knowledge by representation (φαντασία); 3) ψυχὴ λογική, receiving images of the νοητά; 4) individual νοῦς united to Noῦς or θεός. The person who attained the third stage was said to have divine power and to be divine and was called θεός. The person achieiving the fourth stage was known as θεῶν πατήρ. Porphyry envisioned this process of philosophical separation from the lower to the higher levels of existence as one which could occur even while the soul was embodied. But it was also possible that this separation might not even occur at death if the ascent to the Noῦς had not been made by the soul during its embodiment. See Smith (1974:20-39) and the discussion by Betz (1982:234-312).

16.265-68 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 102: τιμήσεις τὸν θεὸν ἄριστα, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁμοιώσῃς· ἡ δὲ ὁμοίωσίς ἐστι διὰ μόνης ἀρετῆς· μόνη γὰρ ἀρετὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω ἕλκει πρὸς τὸ συγγενές. See also Sent. Sext. 381. This mode of honoring god is characteristically philosophical. See Merki (1952:passim) and Pötscher (1969:83) on 16.2ff. Additional studies on this topic can be found in the bibliographies of Betz (1967:197-219; 1975:36-37).

16.270 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 304: ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων βεβαιοῖ καλὰς πράξεις.

16.270-71 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 49: κακῶν πράξεων κακὸς δαίμων ἡγεμών. See also Sent. Sext. 305, and the discussion in the note to 11.202.

16.271-72 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 313: ψυχὴ κακὴ θεὸν φεύγει. 312: κακὸς ἀνὴρ πρόνοιαν θεοῦ εἶναι οὐ θέλει.

16.272-73 Several emendations have been suggested for the passage νόμου τε . . . πάντως. The text of the codex can be translated, but I have accepted the emendations which provide a clearer sense in context.

16.274-75 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 416: σοφοῦ ψυχὴ ἁρμόζεται πρὸς θεὸν ὑπὸ θεοῦ. 417: σοφοῦ ψυχὴ ἀεὶ θεὸν ὁρᾷ. 418: ψυχὴ σοφοῦ σύνεστιν ἀεὶ θεῷ. See also Matt 5:8.

16.275-77 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 422: χαίρει τῷ ἀρχομένῳ τὸ ἄρχον, καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὖν σοφῷ χαίρει. 423: ἀχώριστόν ἐστιν τοῦ ἀρχομένου τὸ ἄρχον, καὶ θεὸς οὖν τοῦ σοφοῦ προνοεῖ καὶ κήδεται. 424: ἐπιτροπεύεται σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μακάριος.

16.277-78 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 14: γλῶττα σοφοῦ οὐ προηγουμένως τίμιον παρὰ θεῷ. ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα· σοφὸς γὰρ καὶ σιγῶν τὸν θεὸν τιμᾷ. See also Sent. Sext. 426, 427. The tongue is a frequent topos in ancient philosophical, religious and ethical literature. See Hock and O'Neil (1986:2, 63); Plutarch, sept. sap. conv. 146F, aud. 38B, garrul. 506C, in Hes. 71. In ECL, see James 1:19; 3:3-12 and Dibelius (1975:184-206). See also Ingenkamp (1978: 829-37).

16.277-80 Esser (1967:50 and n. 1) observes that silent philosophic prayer is to be contrasted with the vocal prayer required in magic. See Betz (1986a). Porphyry, Abst. II.34, in discussing fitting sacrifices to the God above all things, says: "Hence, neither is vocal language, nor internal speech, adapted to the highest God, when it is defiled by any passion of the soul; but we should venerate him in profound silence with a pure soul, and with pure conceptions about him. It is necessary, therefore, that being conjoined with and assimilated to him, we should offer to him, as a sacred sacrifice, the elevation of our intellect, which offering will be both a hymn and our salvation. In an impassive contemplation, therefore, of this divinity by the soul, the sacrifice to him is effected in perfection." (Trans. by Taylor, 1965:87) The Greek text is: διὸ οὐδὲ λόγος τούτῳ ὁ κατὰ φωνὴν οἰκεῖος, οὐδ' ὁ ἔνδον, ὅταν πάθει ψυχῆς ᾖ μεμολυσμένος, διὰ δὲ σιγῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ καθαρῶν ἐννοιῶν θρησκεύομεν αὐτόν. δεῖ ἄρα συναφθέντας καὶ ὁμοιωθέντας αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀναγωγὴν θυσίαν ἱερὰν προσάγειν τῷ θεῷ, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ ὕμνον οὖσαν

καὶ ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν. ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ ἄρα τῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ θεωρίᾳ ἡ θυσία αὕτη τελεῖται.

16.279-81 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 15: γλώτταλγος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀμαθὴς εὐχόμενος καὶ θύων τὸν θεὸν μιαίνει· μόνος οὖν ἱερεὺς ὁ σοφός, μόνος θεοφιλής, μόνος εἰδὼς εὔξασθαι. See also Sent. Sext. 426; Plato, Lg. 716E-717A; Diogenes Laertius VII.119.

17.281-82 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 94: σοφίαν ἀσκῶν ἐπιστήμην τὴν περὶ θεὸν ἀσκεῖ. See also Sent. Sext. 406.

17.281-83 Pötscher (1969:84-85) notes the important identification which Porphyry makes in this passage between ἐπιστήμη and εὐσέβεια. He indicates the Stoic background of this idea. See Diogenes Laertius VII, 119: εἶναι τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιστήμην θεῶν θεραπείας.

17.284 For εὐάρεστος . . . θεῷ, see Rom 12:1. Note the contrast between εὐάρεστος in 17.284 and δυσάρεστον in 17.288.

17.284-94 The same contrast between the pious wise man and the impious foolish man is made in Diogenes Laertius X.123.

17.287-88 Note that the terms μακάριος and ἀφθαρσία occur again in 17.294.

17.288-92 See Plato, Lg. 907B, where ἀσέβεια is connected not only with observance of the national cult but also with holding unworthy ideas about the gods. See also Epictetus, Ench. 31:1: τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας ἴσθι ὅτι τὸ κυριώτατον ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, ὀρθὰς ὑπολήψεις περὶ αὐτῶν . . . Also See Diogenes Laertius X, 123: ἀσεβὴς δὲ οὐχ ὁ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θεοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεοῖς προσάπτων. Nauck emended συνάπτων in the codex, 17.292, to προσάπτων on the basis of the Diogenes Laertius passage. This does not seem necessary, however, because Porphyry consistently adapts the language of the sententiae that he cites. However note the contrast between ὁ . . . συνάπτων in 17.292 and ἀλλὰ . . . θεῷ in 19.314-15.

17.291-94 A similar critique is offered by Porphyry in Abst. II.19.

17.293-94 See Diogenes Laertius X,123: μηθὲν μήτε τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότριον μήτε τῆς μακαριότητος ἀνοίκειον αὐτῷ πρόσαπτε· πᾶν δὲ τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτοῦ δυνάμενον τὴν μετ' ἀφθαρσίας μακαριότητα περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαζε.

18.294-98 Porphyry regards traditional piety (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια) not simply as outward ritualistic observance, but external observance plus the appropriate internal attitude of recognizing God's sovereignty. The idea that the gods do not need human worship was recognized in antiquity. See Theophrastus, Περὶ εὐσεβείας, Fr. 8, 17; Acts 17:25. But a recognition of the divine nature demands worship. For a discussion of appropriate sacrificial offering, see Porphyry, Abst. II. In this work Porphyry is primarily concerned with arguing against animal sacrifice. In II.54ff. he provides a history of sacrifices offered by humans to the divine.

18.298-99 For a similar idea, see 1 Cor 8:8.

18.300-301 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 25: εἴ τις τὸν θεὸν τιμᾷ ὡς προσδεόμενον, λέληθεν ἑαυτὸν δοξάζων τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι κρείττονα. οὗτος λέληθεν ἑαυτόν.

18.301-304 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 8: βλάπτει θεὸς οὐ χολωθείς, ἀλλ' ἀγνοηθείς· ὀργὴ γὰρ θεοῦ ἀλλότριον· ἐπ' ἀβουλήτῳ γὰρ ἡ ὀργή, θεῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀβούλητον. Porphyry, Abst. II.37 elaborates further on the theme of neglect of the gods. "The general persuasion, however, respecting all these invisible beings, is this, that if they become angry through being neglected, and deprived of the religious reverence which is due to them, they are noxious to those by whom they are thus neglected, and that they again become beneficient, if they are appeased by prayers, supplications, and sacrifices, and other similar rites." (Trans. by Taylor, 1965:91) The Greek text is: πεῖσμα δὲ περὶ πάντων τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἄρα καὶ βλάπτοιεν <ἂν> εἰ χολωθεῖεν ἐπὶ τῷ παροραᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ τυγχάνειν τῆς νενομισμένης θεραπείας, καὶ πάλιν εὐεργετοῖεν ἂν τοὺς εὐχαῖς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ λιτανείαις θυσίαις τε καὶ τοῖς ἀκολούθοις ἐξευμενιζομένους. While the theme of the wrath of the gods is common in ancient literature (Kleinknecht, 1968:382-92), the philosophers consider that ὀργή, as one of the παθήματα, is not appropriately ascribed to god. Porphyry agrees with this view. See also Sextus Empiricus, P. I, 162; Cicero, Off. III, 102; Diogenes Laertius X, 139: τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει, ὥστε οὔτε ὀργαῖς οὔτε χάρισι συνέχεται· ἐν

ἀσθενεῖ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον. "A blessed and eternal being has no trouble himself and brings no trouble upon any other being; hence he is exempt from movements of anger and partiality, for every such movement implies weakness."

18.305 ψευδοδοξίαις means "false opinions" literally, but here it is translated as "delusions" to distinguish this term from κενός δόξα. See note to 15.251-52.

18.305-308 See Plato, Lg. 731E: τυφλοῦται γὰρ περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον ὁ φιλῶν, ὥστε τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ καθῶς κρίνει. Imagery based on sight occurs earlier in the text. See 8.145-50; 10.183-186.

19.308-310 Porphyry does not encourage Marcella to worship God as though it were an option that she might choose to exercise or not. Humans must worship God. Porphyry's concern is about the proper way to worship.

19.312-16 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 20: δῶρα καὶ θυηπολίαι θεὸν οὐ τιμῶσιν, ἀναθήματα θεὸν οὐ κοσμεῖ· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔνθεον φρόνημα διαρκῶς ἡδρασμένον συνάπτει θεῷ· χωρεῖν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸ ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον. On 19.315-16, χωρεῖν . . . ὅμοιον, see Sent. Sext. 443 and Plato, Lg. 716C. A similar thought occurs above at 16.265-68.

19.316-17 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 41: θυηπολίαι ἀφρόνων πυρὸς τροφή· τὰ δ' ἀναθήματα ἱεροσύλοις χορηγία.

19.318-19 ὥσπερ εἴρηται. This is not what was said earlier at 11.197. In that passage the intellect is the living statue in the heart of the wise man, which is its shrine. Here the intellect itself is the temple of God.

19.318-20 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 66: νεὼς θεοῦ σοφὸς νοῦς, ὃν οὐκ ἐφειμένως ἀλλ' ἀεὶ χρὴ παρασκευάζειν καὶ κατακοσμεῖν εἰς παραδοχὴν θεοῦ. See also Sent. Sext. 46a.

19.320-21 Porphyry plays on the words καταδοχή and παραδοχή but it is difficult to reflect this nuance in English.

19.321-22 The meaning here appears to be that the soul, by being given to derisive laughter and ignorance, proves itself to be the dwelling of the wicked daimon. See the note to 11.202.

20.322-26 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 26: ἐὰν ἀεὶ μνημονεύῃς ὅτι, ὅπου δ' ἂν ἡ ψυχή σου καὶ τὸ σῶμά σου ἔργον ἐπιτελῇ, θεὸς παρέστηκεν ἔφορος, ἐν πάσαις σου ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αἰδεσθήσῃ μὲν τοῦ θεωροῦ τὸ ἀδιάληστον, ἕξεις δὲ τὸν θεὸν σύνοικον. The Orphic tradition also regards the gods as our guardians, as Plato informs us in Phd 62B. See Alderink (1981:62-65).

20.326 As the apparatus indicates, there is a problematic reading in this passage. Mai reads τὸ ἄληστον, the articular neuter adjective used as a noun. Pötscher, without comment, changes ἄληστον to ἄλεστον. Is this an error in spelling? In Pythag. Sent. 26 τὸ ἀδιάληστον occurs instead of τὸ ἄληστον. Mai's reading τὸ ἄληστον, translated here as "the unforgetting nature," has been retained, though τὸ ἀδιάληστον, "the unchanging nature," would also be suitable in context. For θεωρός, see 6.99 and note.

20.326 For σύνοικος here and at 21.335-36, see 1.3 and note.

20.328-29 See Sent. Sext. 55b; Clitarch. 7.

20.331 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 16: γνῶσις θεοῦ ποιεῖ βραχύλογον. See also Sent. Sext. 430.

21.332-39, 343 For a discussion of Porphyry's demonology, see the note to 11.202.

21.333 See 19.322 and Sent. Sext. 61-62.

21.334-35 See Sent. Sext. 304.

21.337-39 In an unusual construction, γίνωσκε here governs both an accusative and infinitive (τοῦτον ἠρνῆσθαι) and an accusative with a participle (ὄντα ἐνδιαίτημα).

21.339-41 The argument for the existence of the gods, their involvement in human affairs and their incorruptibility is made by Plato, Lg. 885D-907B.

21.341 The parallelism between γνῶσις and πίστις here is illustrative of the religious character of Porphyry's philosophy. Compare this passage with 22.355-56 where ἀγνοία and ἀπιστία occur.

21.342-43 See Hesiod, Op. 110-25, especially 122-24, and 248-64.

22.350-52 The reference to ἀλόγῳ φορᾷ suggests that Porphyry may have the Epicurean doctrine on the nature of the gods and the universe in mind here. See Diogenes Laertius X.35-83 for a discussion of the physical principles of Epicurean philosophy.

23.360-64 Unlike the people described above who deny the existence of the gods and divine governance of the universe, these people believe in the gods and engage in ritual activity. However, because they do not lead virtuous lives, they do not honor the gods appropriately. See 8.142-45 and 16.277-80.

23.364-74 The implied subject of this section is ὁ θεός. See 23.363. See also the notes to 7.132 and 11.192. Pötscher (1969:88-89) notes the parallels between our text and that of Theophrastus, Περὶ εὐσεβείας, on the topic of the appropriate ways to honor god.

23.367 τούτων equals the προχοή and θυηλή of 23.365.

23.368-69 For the expression ἐκ προαιρέσεως, see Demosthenes 44 (Against Leochares) 57: ἐκ προαιρέσεως καὶ βουλήσεως.

23.371 κατὰ δύναμιν . . . ὑπὲρ δύναμιν. Compare the use of κατὰ δύναμιν and παρὰ δύναμιν in 2 Cor 8:3.

24.373-74 See 12.208-209 and note.

24.374-75 See 14.242-50.

24.376-78 This passage has generated much scholarly discussion, due to its close parallelism in language and thought to 1 Cor 13:13. Harnack (1916:3-18) argues for direct Christian influence upon Porphyry, but is opposed by Reitzenstein (1916a:189-208; 1916b:367-416; 1916c; 1917:130-51) who claimed that Paul's triad was a polemic against a tetrad like Porphyry's held by certain Corinthians, and by Corssen (1919:18-30) who finds these virtues rooted in Porphyry's philosophy itself. See the summary discussion of these viewpoints in Windisch (1922:182, 190-91) and Geffcken (1978:105-106, n. 158).

Pötscher (1969:89) suggests three possibilities for the similarities between 1 Cor 13:13 and Ad Marc. 24.376-78.: 1) Ad Marc. is dependent upon 1 Cor 13:13; 2) the two texts are independent but draw upon a similar concept; 3) both Paul and Porphyry use a common source for this formula. (See Dornseiff in Kröhling [1935:86-88].) Pötscher (1969:89-95) discusses the problem and concludes that Porphyry knew Paul's triad and critically corrected it in Ad Marc. Secondly, he thinks Porphyry's use of four στοιχεῖα may have been influenced by Numenius' references to four στοιχεῖα in nature. While he admits that Porphyry may have known a Chaldaic-Neopythagorean triad of faith, truth and love, completed by hope, he does not believe this can be demonstrated to have been Porphyry's tetrad.

On the other side of the debate, Lewy (1978:137-57, esp. 144-48 and n. 291) makes a strong case that Porphyry's source for the four virtues is the Chaldaean Oracles, though he acknowledges that Porphyry's interpretation of the oracle is not Chaldaean. Two other translators and interpreters of the Ad Marc., Festugière (1944:14) and Faggin (1954:26-27) also do not believe it is necessary to argue that Porphyry's tetrad reflects the influence of Christianity on his thought.

I agree with the position that the tetrad is not derived from or a critical correction of Paul. The terminology is closer to that of the Chaldaean oracle cited by Lewy than to the Pauline text. We know from Augustine that Porphyry used the Chaldaean oracles in the De Regr. Anim. While he criticized the Chaldaean ideas on the descent and ascent of the soul (see Lewy, 1978:449-56), his objections did not prevent him from borrowing formulaic expressions and reinterpreting them for his own purposes. For a similar borrowing by Porphyry from gnostic sources, see Abramowski (1983).

24.378-79 See Plotinus, Enn. IV, 8, 4, 28ff.

24.382-83 See Isocrates, Ad Demonicum 39: οἱ γὰρ δίκαιοι τῶν ἀδίκων εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐλπίσι γε σπουδαίαις ὑπερέχουσιν.

25.384-34.525 This is the fourth section of the epistle and contains a discussion of the grounding of the philosophic life in divine and natural law. Porphyry recognizes three types of law: divine, natural and positive. He dismisses positive law early in this discussion, viewing it as an arbitrary agreement governing social interaction with the goal of protecting the temperate. Absent is any sense that positive law is an expression of divine law. For a discussion of the critique of positive law in antiquity, see Nörr (1974). The remainder of the discussion focuses on the law of God and the law of mortal nature. Divine law differs from the law of mortal nature in that it cannot be violated by excess and deficiency, and from positive law because it is not alterable in particular situations. Divine law is stamped on the intellect at the beginning of time. Its basic function is to reveal the correct relationship between soul and body. Reason must guide every impulse of the soul so that it rules the body rather than being tyrannized by it. Divine law also establishes the law of nature. In Chap. 25, the law of mortal nature is said to determine the extent of the body's needs and to show what is necessary for them and what is pursued vainly or in excess. In Chap. 27 nature is contrasted to empty false opinions. Nature strives to satisfy the passions. Evil is caused by the unbridled passions and pain by empty false opinions, not by the flesh or by external circumstances. The role of philosophy is to purge the soul of its passions, so that the soul can be united to intellect and through intellect to Intelligence which is "the teacher and savior and nurse and guardian and guide to the ascent" (26.415-17).

Porphyry's definition of positive law as contract is consistent with the sophistic critique on the arbitrariness of political law. His view that divine and natural law are rooted in religion is characteristic of the ancient Greek views of law as reflected in Socrates and Plato and thus establishes the connection between law and piety (See Xenophon, Mem. IV.6.2). This is most likely the reason for the inclusion of this discussion of law in Ad Marc. Porphyry's view of the divine law as the law of the cosmos is Stoic in origin. In this discussion the law of the cosmos is restricted to a discussion of that law as applicable to human existence, which in fact is the law of nature. When the wise man follows this inner law which is stamped upon the intellect he becomes "worthy of God." (15.263) In fact, "the soul of the wise man is in accord with God; it always beholds God; it is always with God." (16.280-81) For a discussion of the history of the idea of νόμος, see Kleinknecht (1968:1022-35).

25.385-86 ὁ τῆς θνητῆς φύσεως. This is the only place in the discussion on law that Porphyry uses the expression ἡ θνητὴ φύσις which here equals ἡ ἀνθρώπινη φύσις. θνητός occurs in only one other place (32.494) and refers to mortal human

nature. For the rest of the discussion on natural law, Porphyry uses the expression ὁ . . . τῆς φύσεως as at 25.386-87 or τὸν τῆς φύσεως . . . νόμον at 27.422. φύσις in Chap. 25 appears to refer to man's nature and character as an embodied being and grants the legitimacy of the body's real needs. Here Porphyry's use of φύσις seems to be exclusively for the true nature of things rather than connoting the sense of the origin of being or the highest principle of the visible world, which the word also has in Greek. In 27.425ff. φύσις is contrasted with empty false opinions (κεναὶ δόξαι). φύσις leads to self-sufficiency (αὐτάρκεια) while κεναὶ δόξαι lead to insatiable greed (εἰς πολυτρόπους ἐπιθυμίας). This usage appears to reflect the notion that φύσις is the basis of ethical action. φύσις in this sense contrasts with positive law (νόμος), which is arbitrarily determined. For a discussion of the development of the concept of φύσις in antiquity, see Koester (1974:251-77). And for a discussion of the history of natural law theory in antiquity, see Crowe (1977:1-71).

25.391 κρατύνει echoes 24.377, 384 above.

25.392-94 This passage has occasioned much scholarly debate which has focused primarily on the reading of the participle in 25.394. The codex reading πεπραμμένος has been rejected on the basis of its meaning, as have those of Mai, πεπραγμένων, which des Places also adopts (1982:160, n.4), and the πεφασμένων of Pötscher (1969:44-45) on the basis of form. A nominative singular masculine participle is required, referring to ὁ θεῖος [νόμος] of 25.392, not a genitive plural form with τῶν of 25.394. Thus, this text reads πεπερασμένος. LSJ, s.v. περαίνω, III. lists the meaning "reach, penetrate." Based on 10.183-85 and 24.412-15 it appears that a meaning such as "penetrate" is required for the sense of this sentence. τῶν in 25.394 is a reference back to κατὰ τὰς ἐννοίας in 25.393, and ἐν αὐταῖς in 25.394 to refer to ταῖς λογικαῖς φυχαῖς in 25.392-93.

25.394-98 Porphyry appears to be making the natural law (ὁ . . . τῆς φύσεως) a mean between bodily excess and bodily mortification.

25.398-99 The distinction between natural and positive law appears to have a long tradition. Crowe (1977:6) suggests that at the end of the Th. Aeschylus "makes what looks like a distinction between positive laws (ta dikaia) which vary in different states and at different times and a natural law (to dikaion) which does not." See Aeschylus, Th. 1075-79: καὶ γὰρ γενεᾷ κοινὸν τόδ' ἄχος, καὶ πόλις ἄλλως ἄλλοτ' ἐπαινεῖ τὰ δίκαια. ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα τῷδ', ὥσπερ τε πόλις καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ξυνεπαινεῖ. "For all our race hath portion in this sorrow; and what a State approves as just changes with changing times. And we will go with this other corpse even as the State, and justice, too, approves.

25.400-402 For a discussion of man's moral purpose affecting the nature of a deed, see Aristotle, Rh. 1374a9-10. For secret evildoers remaining unpunished by law, and fear of the gods being invented as a deterrent, see Diels and Kranz (1959:II, 386-89) and Burkert (1985:314-15, 467, n. 22).

26.402-20 This chapter again presupposes familiarity with the Neoplatonic doctrine of the One, Soul and Intelligence, which exist not only in the world of the forms but also in the human intellect. Here, as in the Ad Marc. generally, the discussion focuses on the role of Intelligence and the way it can be experienced by the individual. This passage recalls Enn. V.3.4.1ff. where Plotinus discusses the two ways in which we are moulded to the Intelligence: through laws of conduct engraved upon our souls as tablets, as in this passage, or by being filled with the divine Intelligence. The latter mode, the ultimate ideal in Neoplatonism, is found in the Ad Marc. 19.314-16 and 33.515. See Wallis (1972:84-86).

26.403 ἀφροσύνη and ἀκολασία or their cognates also occur together in 19.316, 317, 322.

26.403, 406 Divine law is associated with God as light. See 13.223-25: "For purity is his beauty and the illumination alive with truth is his light." In 26.411-15 it is the light of Intelligence, the hypostasis of the One, which illumines the thoughts of the soul. See also 10.183-85. And in 26.417-20, it is truth which unfolds the divine law for the soul.

26.404 This is the only occurrence in this text of the familiar Stoic term ἀπάθεια, though πάθος is a frequent subject of discussion.

26.404-409 See Porphyry, Sent. 40. Compare Porphyry's discussion of divine law with the following passage on natural law from the lost third book of Cicero's Rep. (III.22) preserved by Lactantius, Div. Inst., VI, 8 (PL 6; 660-661): "Est quidam vera lex recta ratio naturae congruens, diffusa in omnes constans, sempeterna, quae vocet ad officium jubendo; vetando a fraude deterreat . . . Huic legi nec abrogari fas est nec derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest, nec vero aut per senatum aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus . . ." "I quote the translation of Crowe (1977:37): "There is a true law, right reason, agreeable to nature, known to all men, constant and eternal, which calls to duty by its precepts, deters from evil by its prohibitions . . . This

law cannot be departed from without guilt; it is not allowable to abolish any part of it, nor is it possible entirely to abrogate it. Neither can the Senate or the people loose us from this law . . ."

26.409, 413, 414, 419-20 Porphyry here uses images of mining, engraving, and minting coinage to describe the manner in which the soul receives and discovers the existence of the divine law. See also Plato, Plt. 288D; Aristotle, Metaph. 378A28, Pol. 1258B32 for μεταλλεύω. For τυπόω and its cognates, see Plotinus Enn. 4.6.3, Plato, Prt. 320D, Methodius, Symp. VIII.192. Pötscher (1969:96) notes that τύπωσις is a Stoic technical term. See also Plotinus, Enn. IV.3.26.

26.412-18 See Pythag. Sent. 67. See also Porphyry, Abst. IV.20; Hadot (1968:I, 193); Smith (1974:15-16).

26.415 Porphyry imitates the divine Intelligence in serving as διδάσκαλος to Marcella. See 6.96.

26.417 On the importance of silence, see 16.277-80.

27.421 See the discussion in the note to 25.385-86.

27.423 The emendation of the codex reading ὁρμωμένη (present participle) to ὡρμημένη (perfect participle) is preferable to Nauck's emendation. The perfect participle, which expresses prior action with a present intent, fits the sense of the sentence more adequately than the present participle does.

27.423-25 For οἱ . . . ἔγγραφοι νόμοι, see 25.398-400. See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 530: οἱ νόμοι χάριν τῶν σοφῶν κεῖνται, οὐχ ὅπως μὴ ἀδικῶσιν ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ ἀδικῶνται. See also Lysias 30 (Against Nicomachus), 2.

27.425 ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος introduces an idea of nature in the Stoic-Cynic and apparently Epicurean sense of the term, in contrast to the use of φύσις for the law of mortal nature above. On this whole section, compare Plutarch, cup. divit. 523C-525A for similar ideas and imagery.

27.425-27 A similar statement occurs in Abst. I.49: ὥρισται γάρ, φησίν, ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος καὶ ἔστιν εὐπόριστος, ὁ δὲ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν ἀόριστός τε ἦν καὶ δυσπόριστος. The source of this material is Epicurus. See Diogenes Laertius, X.144 and Epicurus, Fr. 469.

27.426 The phrase ἀληθῶς φιλόσοφος is problematic. Instead of deleting it or inserting it after οὖν in 27.427, as Nauck suggests, the codex reading has been retained. The phrase stands in opposition to ὁ . . . πλοῦτος and is used in its adjectival sense, see LSJ s.v. II. See also Plutarch, cup. divit. 524F: ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος ὥρισται καὶ τὸ τέρμα πάρεστι.

27.427-31 See Epicurus, Fr. 202. The ending of this section both in Porphyry and in Epicurus is problematic. Both clearly require some completion of the thought of the sentence. Since the Porphyry text continues with οὐ, Nauck's conjecture of οὐδέν, while not completely satisfactory, is probably the best compromise, and the one I have adopted. Bignone (1920) suggests οὐ πλοῦτος ἀλλὰ πενία and Usener ἐστι πενία for the Epicurus text. Surely these emendations reflect the sense of what is called for here and in Porphyry.

27.431-38 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 471: σπάνιόν γε εὑρεῖν ἄνθρωπον <πένητα> πρὸς τὸ τῆς φύσεως τέλος καὶ πλούσιον πρὸς τὰς κενὰς δόξας. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀφρόνων οἷς ἔχει ἀρκεῖται, μᾶλλον δὲ οἷς οὐκ ἔχει ὀδυνᾶται. ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ πυρέττοντες διὰ κακοήθειαν τῆς νόσου ἀεὶ διψῶσι καὶ ἐναντιωτάτων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τὴν ψυχὴν κακῶς ἔχοντες διακειμένην πένονται πάντων ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς πολυτρόπους ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ λαιμαργίας ἐμπίπτουσιν. According to the Stoics and the Cynics, it is virtually impossible for a person who lives κατὰ φύσιν to be poor. See Musonius Rufus XXXIV (Lutz, 1947:134-35); Teles 38H (O'Neil, 1977:39). Correspondingly, it is equally impossible for a man to be wealthy, no matter how much wealth he possesses, if he does not live κατὰ φύσιν. Plutarch, cup. divit. 524F expresses a similar sentiment: ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἴδιον· ἐπιθυμία γάρ ἐστι μαχομένη πρὸς τὴν αὑτῆς πλήρωσιν.

27.434-36 For the use of the disease imagery, see 9.157-59 and note. See also Plutarch, cup. divit. 524CDE; Teles IV.A.87-95.

27.437 The codex reading διωκειμένην is certainly wrong. Mai's emendation, διακειμένην, which is based on Epicurus, Fr. 471, is redundant with the idea expressed in κακῶς ἔχοντες. διωκημένην, the past participle middle of διοικέω, modifying τὴν ψυχὴν is a preferable reading. This verb appears earlier at 22.349.

28.439 The theme of asceticism, ἀποχή, which is introduced here, is also discussed extensively by Porphyry in Abst. There, total abstinence from food is not required. But moderation and the abstinence from animal food are advocated. However, Porphyry appears to have taken a more radical position regarding abstinence from sex. See the note to 1.3 and 3.44-46, 33.511-17 and note. See also Introuction II. For a discussion of abstinence, sexual and otherwise, among the ancients in the early Christian centuries, see Rousselle (1983).

28.441-42 The use of terms such as συνέστησαν and βούλημα continue the legal language used in the discussion of the three types of law in the preceding chapters.

28.443-45 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 478: φοβούμενος ὁ πολὺς τὸ λιτὸν τῆς διαίτης διὰ τὸν φόβον ἐπὶ πράξεις πορεύεται τὰς μάλιστ' ἂν τοῦτον παρασκευαζούσας.

28.445-47 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 479: πολλοὶ τοῦ πλούτου τυχόντες οὐ τιν' ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν εὗρον ἀλλὰ μεταβολὴν μειζόνων. See also Plutarch, cup. div. 526E-F.

28.447 οἱ φιλόσοφοι. The philosophers to whom Porphyry refers may well be the Stoics or Cynics, though Porphyry may have thought he was presenting the views of the Epicureans, given his use of Epicurus in this section. Pötscher (1969:98) regards Porphyry's use of Epicurus in this section as superficial, however, and does not believe Epicurus and Porphyry would have agreed on the interpretation of these sayings.

28.449 See Epicurus, Fr. 476: πλουσιώτατον αὐτάρκεια πάντων.

28.450-52 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 481: διὸ καὶ μελετᾶν (οἱ φιλόσοφοι) παρακελεύονται οὐχ ὅπως τι περιστέον ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλ' ὅπως

μᾶλλον θαρρήσομεν μὴ πορισθέντος. See Abst. I.50 where Porphyry claims the Epicureans hold this view. However, see also Diogenes Laertius VII.189 where Chrysippus is quoted to the same effect. Note especially καίτοι τίνος χάριν ποριστέον αὐτῷ;

29.452-54 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 445: μηδὲ αἰτιώμεθα τὴν σάρκα ὡς τῶν μεγάλων κακῶν αἰτίαν μηδ' εἰς τὰ πράγματα τρέπωμεν τὰς δυσφορίας.

29.457-59 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 485: ἢ γὰρ διὰ φόβον τις κακοδαιμονεῖ ἢ δι' ἀόριστον καὶ κενὴν ἐπιθυμίαν· ἃ τις χαλινῶν δύναται τὸν μακάριον ἑαυτῷ περιποιῆσαι λογισμόν.

29.459-61 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 203: ἐφ' ὅσον δ' ἂν ἀμηχανῇς, λήθῃ τῆς φύσεως ἀμηχανεῖς· σαυτῷ γὰρ ἀορίστους φόβους καὶ ἐπιθυμίας προσβάλλεις. Several emendations have been suggested for the codex reading αὐτὸν. Since a dative form is necessary with προσβάλλεις, either a masculine or feminine form of the pronoun would have been grammatically acceptable. I decided in favor of the masculine of the reflexive, σαυτῷ, following Bailey's emendation of Epicurus (Fr. 46), rather than the feminine σαυτῇ with Nauck.

29.461-63 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 207: κρεῖττον δὲ σοι θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ στιβάδος κατακειμένῳ ἢ ταράττεσθαι χρυσῆν ἔχοντι κλίνην καὶ πολυτελῆ τράπεζαν. See Lucretius II.34-36 and also 28.450-52.

29.463-65 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 480: ἐξ ἐργασίας θηριώδους οὐσίας μὲν πλῆθος σωρεύεται, βίος δὲ ταλαίπωρος συνίσταται. The θηριώδους of Nauck is preferable to θρηνώδους, the reading of Mai. For θηριώδης, used of a type of avarice, see Plutarch, cup. divit. 525E-526A.

30.465-70 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 200: ἀφυσιολόγητον μηδὲν ἡγοῦ βοώσης τῆς σαρκὸς βοᾶν τὴν ψυχήν. σαρκὸς δὲ φωνή· μὴ πεινῆν, μὴ διψῆν, μὴ ῥιγοῦν. καὶ ταῦτα τῇ ψυχῇ χαλεπὸν μὲν κωλῦσαι, ἐπισφαλὲς δὲ παρακοῦσαι τῆς παραγγειλάσης φύσεως αὐτῇ διὰ τῆς προσφυοῦς αὐτῇ αὐτάρκειας καθ' ἡμέραν.

30.465-476 This section resembles in some aspects a mini-diatribe on τύχη vs. φύσις and is Stoic in its perspective as well as Epicurean.

30.466-67 The reference to enduring hunger, thirst and cold is a common topos in Greek and Latin literature. See Plutarch, cup. div. 523E-F and Seneca, Ad Helviam X.2. Heat may also be found as part of this topos.

30.470-76 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 489: καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης μικρότερα (ἡ φύσις) διδάσκει νομίζειν, καὶ εὐτυχοῦντας μὲν γινώσκειν ἀτυχεῖν, δυστυχοῦντας δὲ μὴ παρὰ μέγα τίθεσθαι ὃν τὸ εὐτυχεῖν, καὶ δέχεσθαι μὲν ἀθορύβως τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθά, παρατετάχθαι δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς δοκοῦντα εἶναι κακά· καὶ ὡς ἐφήμερον μὲν πᾶν τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγαθόν ἐστι καὶ κακόν, σοφία δὲ οὐδαμῶς τύχῃ κοινωνεῖ.

30.473 The term ἀθορύβως is related both to the ideal of ἀταραξία in Epicurean thought and of ἀπάθεια in Stoic thought. See Lucretius II.1ff.; Seneca, Prov., Constant. See also 12.217-218.

30.475-76 For σοφία . . . κοινωνεῖ, see Euripides, Med. 302.

31.476-78 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 486: οὐκ ἀπορεῖν τούτων πόνος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ φέρειν μᾶλλον τὸν ἀνόνητον ἐκ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν πόνον.

31.476–84 Note Porphyry's use of medical terminology in this section. Previous uses of medical terminology occur at 9.153-59; 27.434-38. See notes to 9.157-59 and to 27.434-36.

31.478-79 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 457: ἔρωτι φιλοσοφίας ἀληθινῆς πάσα ταραχώδης καὶ ἐπίπονος ἐπιθυμία ἐκλύεται. ἐκείνος is a general rather than a specific reference and thus no attempt has been made to speculate on which philosopher Poprhyry may have had in mind here. Porphyry also makes allusions to the work of others at 17.284-85.

31.479-83 See the parallel in Epicurus, Fr. 221: κενὸς ἐκείνου φιλοσόφου λόγος, ὑφ' οὗ μηδὲν πάθος ἀνθρώπου θεραπεύεται· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἰατρικῆς οὐδὲν ὄφελος μὴ τὰς νόσους τῶν σωμάτων ἐκβαλλούσης, οὕτως οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίας, εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβάλλει πάθος.

32.485-93 The relationship of soul to body is one of the critical problems of ancient philosophy. Porphyry tries to find a way to explain embodiment without detriment to the nature of soul. Some of his views are found in the Sent. See also Smith (1974:1-19). Porphyry does not elaborate the philosophical problems for Marcella, but uses images from the Pythagorean tradition to illustrate this relationship. See Pythag. Sent. 106a. Henrichs (1967:45-53) discusses the use of agricultural imagery for the inculcation of παιδεία. Similar use of agricultural imagery occurs in Mark 4 and Gos. Thom. 9. For perceptions about conception and embryology in antiquity, see Lesky and Waszink, (1959:IV, cols. 1228-44, 1245-55).

32.485 ἐν καθαρῷ διανοίας τόμῳ. See 9.163-66 for a similar image. See also des Places (1982:124, n. 3).

32.488 The expressions γνώσῃ σεαυτήν and ἔγνω ἑαυτόν appear to be references to the Delphic maxim. See Betz (1981b:156-71).

32.489-91 Various emendations have been proposed for this section. See Pötscher on 32.18-19 (1969:34). After considering the proposed emendations, the codex readings have been retained.

32.491 The reference to the "sown soul," τῇ ψυχῇ σπαρείσῃ, is probably an allusion to Plato, Tim. 41C. See also Plotinus, Enn. IV,8,4,36ff.

32.495 Pötscher (1969:99) suggests that τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας refers to the ecstatic state which is the goal of the practice of philosophy. μέγεθος occurred earlier at 10.182 where the term is translated as "sizeable."

32.496-97 See Porphyry, Abst. III.26.

32.497-99 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 95: συνετὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοφιλής, ὅσα οἱ ἄλλοι μοχθοῦσι τοῦ σώματος ἕνεκα, τοσαῦτα σπουδάσει αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς πονῆσαι. See also Sent. Sext. 301: ὅσα πονεῖς διὰ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν πονέσας σοφὸς ἂν εἴης. The language of this section is reminiscent of 7.122-28.

32.499-501 See Pythag. Sent. 75. The language of this section is reminiscent of 10.179-83, 186-91.

33.501-503 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 17: γυμνὸς ἀποσταλεὶς σοφὸς γυμνητεύων καλέσει τὸν πέμψαντα· μόνου γὰρ τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις πεφορτισμένου ἐπήκοος ὁ θεός. Taylor (1965:99, n. 16) attributes this saying to Demophilus. For a discussion of the philosophical ideal of nakedness see Porphyry, Abst. I.29-30. See also the note to 5.74-75 for references in this text to the fall or banishment of the soul, an idea implied in the use of ἀποστέλλω in 33.501.

33.504-505 The idea of the ascent or journey of the soul is an important concept in this text as well as in Neoplatonism generally. See the notes to 5.74-75; 6.99-111.

33.506-509 For the chains of nature see the notes to 7.114-22 and 7.117. In the old Orphic myth the soul was surrounded by the boundaries established by the Titans, from whom it was liberated by Dionysos. Alderink (1981:65-74) suggests that humans do not have a Titan nature, but they are capable of acting as the Titans did. In the Ad Marc., bodily human nature itself is regarded as the prison of the soul, or rather as the chains which keep it imprisoned.

33.509 γοητεία is the only occurrence of magical terminlogoy in Ad Marc. Porphyry in the De Regr. An. distinguished between witchcraft, of which he disapproved, and theurgy, which he advocated for a time as a way those incapable of philosophy might achieve a certain level of ascent. He derived the practice of theurgy from the Chaldaean Oracles, which he critically reinterpreted and harmonized with Neoplatonic doctrine. See des Places (1971:7-24) and Lewy (1978:456). For τὸ γοήτευμα τῆς φύσεως, see Porphyry, Abst. 1.43 and Plotinus, Enn. IV,4,44. See also Plato, Phlb. 44C and Methodius, Symp. VI.147. See also the note to 11.202.

33.509-11 The construction of this section is problematic. ἐὰν with γενώμεθα and φυλαξώμεθα constitutes the protasis of a future more vivid construction which should

then be followed by δήσομεν in the apodosis rather than by ἐδήσαμεν, the codex reading. If ἐδήσαμεν is correct and if Porphyry intended to express a past contrary to fact condition, then perhaps ἄν has fallen out of the text.

33.511-17 Porphyry addresses a personal note to Marcella in the midst of this extended exhortation. He reminds her, first, that her sex does not prevent her from living the philosophic life. He uses their relationship as proof of this assertion, since he married her because of his belief in her capacity for philosophy (3.36-40), and not for the usual reasons that men marry women (1.1-15). Secondly, he suggests that, just as he does not regard her as a woman per se, she need not view herself that way either. If it helps her to overcome the attraction of her lower soul to the passions, "the effeminate element of the soul," and to choose the rational level, she should pretend that she is a man. (See Plato, Tim. 42AB.) Unlike the gnostics, however, he does not tell her that her salvation consists in becoming male. (See the discussion and the literature cited by Fiorenza, 1983:205-41; Meyer, 1985:554-70). Rather, the ideal he holds up for her is the productive union of "virginal soul and unmated Intelligence."

νοῦς here could be translated either as human intellect or divine Intelligence. The latter translation appears preferable because Porphyry seems to summon Marcella in this third injunction to the highest level, contemplation and union with the Intelligible World, after urging her first to transcend her female body, and, secondly, to live on the rational, male level. See Wallis (1972:72-82).

This final summons to the union of "virginal soul with unmated Intelligence" may also reflect the ideal Porphyry has envisioned for their marriage. Since only spiritually pure relationships are productive, Marcella must transcend her passions, including her sense of loss at Porphyry's absence (5.80-84), if they are to achieve the philosophical ideal which their individual lives and their marriage are dedicated.

33.513-14 For θηλύνω in reference to the soul, see the citations in Herter, (1959:IV, cols. 636-38).

34.517-18 See the parallel in Sent. Sext. 274a: μεγάλην νόμιζε παιδείαν τὸ ἄρχειν σώματος· See also Pythag. Sent. 100: τὸ ἄρχειν ἑαυτοῦ κάλλιστον ἐφόδιον πρὸς ἀρχήν. Note the definition of παιδεία at 9.154-57.

34.518-20 See Sent. Sext. 13: πᾶν μέλος τοῦ σώματος ἀναπεῖθόν σε μὴ σωφρονεῖν ῥῖψον· ἄμεινον γὰρ χωρὶς τοῦ μέλους ζῆν σωφρόνως ἢ μετὰ τοῦ μέλους ὀλεθρίως. "Cast away any part of the body which leads you to intemperance; for it is better to live temperately without it than to perish whole." (Trans. Edwards

and Wild, 1981:17). See also Sent. Sext. 273: ἀνθρώπους ἴδοις ἂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν ἐρρωμένον ἀποκόπτοντας ἑαυτῶν καὶ ῥίπτοντας μέλη· πόσῳ βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν; "You may see men who, in order to keep the rest of their bodies healthy, cut off their own limbs and throw them away. Is it not much better to do that for the sake of self-control?" (Trans. Edwards and Wild, 1981:47) For previous occurrences of the use of medical terminology in association with the practice of philosophy, see the note to 31.476-84.

34.520-21 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 123: ὧν ἕνεκα ζῆν ἐθέλεις τούτων χάριν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μὴ κατόκνει. See also Greek Appendices to Sextus 472: ὑπὲρ ὧν θέλεις ζῆν, ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ ἀπόθανε.

34.521-23 See Sent. Sext. 74: ὁ λόγος σου τῶν ὁρμῶν σου προηγείσθω.

34.523 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 21: δουλεύειν πάθεσι χαλεπώτερον ἢ τυράννοις. See also Sent. Sext. 75a: δεινότατόν ἐστιν πάθεσι δουλεύειν.

34.524 See the parallel in Clitar. 86: οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι κρατούμενον ὑπὸ παθῶν. See also Pythag. Sent. 23: ἐλεύθερον ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὸν πάθεσι δουλεύοντα καὶ ὑπὸ παθῶν κρατούμενον. ἐλευθερία, a term which began as a political concept, was appropriated by Socrates to describe the internal freedom of the philosopher within a corrupt state. The concept was then extended to include the freedom of the soul from the passions through the achievement of self-sufficiency. Porphyry reflects this view of ἐλευθερία here. See Betz (1977:1-51).

34.525 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 71: ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι καὶ ὠμοὶ δεσπόται. See Sent. Sext. 75b: ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι δεσπόται. and also Clitarch. 85: ὅσα πάθη ψυχῆς, τοσοῦτοι δεσπόται.

35.525-41 Chapter 35 and the remainder of the original epistle constitute a paraenetic conclusion to the Ad Marc., possibly about equal in length to the opening section of the epistle. The text in its present fragmentary state contains only an admonition to Marcella on how to deal with her slaves and an exhortation to manual labor. Additional injunctions on the care of her children, dealings with her relatives, and remaining faithful to the philosophic life may also have been part of the original conclusion. For Nauck's proposed reconstruction, see the note to 35.541.

35.526 The codex reading κολάζης could be emended to read κολάζῃς, the present subjunctive, which is required gramatically here. But Pötscher (1969:48) detects the reading κολάζει in erasure in the original manuscript. This suggests two other possible emendations: κόλαζε, an imperative parallel to πειρῶ, and κολᾶζειν, an infinitive parallel to ἀδικεῖν and dependent upon πειρῶ. The latter emendation appears to be the best compromise in light of the textual reading and Greek prose structrue.

35.526 The control of the passion of anger is a topos in ancient philosophical literature. See, for example, Plutarch, cohib. ira 452F-464D. Seneca, De ira III.12, 5-7 contains an exemplum about Plato who was tempted to flog a slave but gained control of his anger.

35.526-28 For a general discussion of the treatment of slaves in antiquity, see Vogt (1975) and Bartchy (1973).

35.528-29 The codex reading εἰς τὴν κτῆσιν is translatable. But an admonition not to bury slaves following a discussion of the proper treatment of the slaves Marcella owns and preceding a discussion of αὐτουργία seems strange. Reading χρῆσις instead of κτῆσις makes sense in the context, permits a more suitable translation of παραιτέομαι and leads logically to the discussion of ἔργον (i.e., αὐτουργεῖν) in 35.530.

35.531 For a discussion of the concept of φύσις, see the note to 25.385-86.

35.531, 534, 536 μέρη occurs three times in this section. The context of its first two occurrences suggest the translation "limbs," as it also did in 34.519. However, the third occurrence suggests the more general idea of all the bodily parts which can be used for pleasure. Thus μέρη here is translated as "bodily members". This broader use of μέρη also occurs at 35.507. See Sent. Sext. 232: μηδὲν ἕνεκα ψιλῆς ἡδονῆς ποίει. See also Plotinus, Enn. I.1,3,3f.: χρωμένη μὲν οὖν σώματι οἷα ὀργάνῳ οὐκ ἀναγκάζεται δέξασθαι τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος παθήματα.

35.532-35 See Sent. Sext. 335: τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος τοῖς οὐ χρωμένοις φορτία. See also 1 Cor 7:31: καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι.

35.536-37 See Sent. Sext. 345: κρεῖττον ἀποθανεῖν λιμῷ ἢ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀκρασίαν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι. Clitarch. 114: κρεῖττον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀκρασίαν ψυχὴν ἀμαυρῶσαι. ἀμαυρῶσαι continues the light imagery which occurred earlier at 10.183-85; 13.222-23; 26.403-407.

35.541 See the parallel in Pythag. Sent. 51: κρηπὶς εὐσεβείας ἡ φιλανθρωπία σοι νομιζέσθω. See also Clitarch. 13: ἐγκράτεια δὲ κρηπὶς εὐσεβείας and Sent. Sext. 371: κρηπὶς θεοσεβείας φιλανθρωπία. Nauck conjectures that the lacuna following καὶ at the end of the manuscipt should be emended to read ἐγκράτεια on the basis of Sent. Sext. 86a and Pythagoras 44, and that Sent. Sext. 86b: τέλος εὐσεβείας φιλία πρὸς θεόν may also have been part of this sentence. A half-stop which appears in the MS after ἡ φιλανθρωπία argues against Nauck's conjecture. Thus καὶ is translated as a conjunction introducing further discussion which is no longer extant.

35.541 Nauck (1860:xliiif.) proposes that a set of apophthegms in Stobaeus ascribed to Pythagoras are actually the conclusion of Ad Marc. They have been translated by Harnack (1911:78, n. 1):

We should strive to have such a spouse and such children and
friends as may remain to us even after death.
Rather seek to be strong in soul than in body.
Know that nothing is in thy possession unless it belongs to thine
inner self.
Seek to be the parent of such children as shall - not cherish the
body in old age, but - nourish the soul with food eternal.
Do not attempt to hide thy sins behind words, but by full exposure
to heal them.

Texts and Translations

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