

Proclus'
On the Hieratic Art
according to the Greeks

*Critical Edition with
Translation and Commentary*

ELENI PACHOUMI

BRILL

Proclus' On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks

Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism, and the Platonic Tradition

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Eleni Pachoumi



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*To my parents,
George and Agoroula Pachoumi*



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Preface

The book is a critical edition of the text with an English translation and commentary on Proclus' treatise *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks*. This treatise is a very important fragmentary work on theurgy. The *Hieratic Art* is the *Theurgic Art*, theurgy, the theurgic union with the divine. Proclus describes the theurgic union, putting an emphasis on a conceptual blending of ritual actions (*teletai*, e.g. the role of statues, incense, *synthēmata*, symbols, purifications, invocations and epiphanies) and concepts (e.g. union of many powers, 'one and many,' sympathy, natural sympathies, attraction, mixing and division).

The study offers a systematic investigation and presentation of Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks* in a single monograph. It examines the characteristics of the hieratic-theurgic union and its important stages with references to the ritualistic role of *synthēmata*, symbols, statues and fire. It also discusses philosophical issues that theurgy is engaged with, such as: the notion of mixing based on the concept of unity and diversity and the relationship between one and many; and the various aspects of the powers of nature and the role of the natural sympathies in the relationship between individual entities and the divine.

The Introduction contains sections on Proclus' life and on the Orphic and Chaldaean theologies, Proclus' works, a detailed description of the parts of the ancient manuscripts that include Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks*, text description and transmission, and a book description. There follows a Critical Edition of the Greek text with Translation and Commentary. The Appendix is a description of the *Ms Vallicellianus F 20*.

Thanks are due to North-West University for the research fellowship from 2014 to the end of 2017, and to the University of Oxford for the visiting fellowships during the years 2015–2020 and 2022–2023. On a personal note, I would like to thank Robert Parker who acted as my mentor in Oxford. Many thanks are also due to Neil McLynn. I would like to thank Mark Edwards who has read and commented on the whole book, and for his mentorship over the years. I am grateful to Nigel Wilson for his comments and kind advice on the manuscripts. I would like to thank Dominic O'Meara for our discussions. Thanks are due to the librarians of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome, the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence and the Bodleian Library in Oxford. I would also like to thank the editors John Finamore and Robert Berchman of Brill series *Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism and the Platonic Tradition* for their wonderful collaboration.

I am deeply thankful to John Dillon for reading the whole book and for his valuable comments. I am most grateful for all his insight and wisdom.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, George and Agoroula Pachoumi for all their love and support.

Eleni Pachoumi

Oxford, October 2023

Abbreviations

1 Abbreviations of Proclus' Works used in this Study

- Hier.Ar.* Pachoumi, Eleni. *Πρόκλου Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἑλλήνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης. Proclus' On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks: Critical Edition with Translation and Commentary*, 2024.
- In R.* Kroll, Guilelmus. (ed.). *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*. Vols. I–II. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1899–1901. (Reprint Amsterdam: Hakker, 1965).
- In Ti.* Diehl, Ernestus. (ed.). *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–1906. (Reprint Amsterdam: Hakker, 1965).
- In Prm.* Cousin, Victor. (ed.). *Procli philosophi Platonici opera inedita* pt. III: *Procli commentarius in Platonis Parmenidem*. Paris: Durand, 1864.
Steel, Carlos. (ed.). *Procli in Platonis Parmenidem Commentaria*. Tomus I, libros I–III continens, recognoverunt brevique adnotatione critica instruxerunt C. Steel, C. Macé, P. d'Hoine. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford: Clarendon, 2007.
Steel, Carlos. (ed.). *Procli in Platonis Parmenidem Commentaria*. Tomus II, libros IV–V continens, recognoverunt brevique adnotatione critica instruxerunt C. Steel, A. Gribomont, P. d'Hoine. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford: Clarendon, 2009.
Steel, Carlos. (ed.). *Procli in Platonis Parmenidem Commentaria*. Tomus III, Libros VI–VII et indices continens, textum graecum recognoverunt brevique adnotatione critica instruxerunt L. Van Campe et C. Steel, ultimam partem ex latino in graecum vertit C. Steel. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford: Clarendon, 2009.
- In Alc. I* Westerink, Leendert Gerrit. (ed.). *Proclus Diadochus. Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1954.
Segonds, Alain-Philippe. (ed. / transl.). *Proclus: Sur le premier Alcibiade de Platon*. Vols. I–II. Collection des universités de France. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985–1986.
- In Cra.* Pasquali, Georgius. (ed.). *Proclus Diadochus in Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1908. (Reprint Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994).
- Inst.* Dodds, Eric Robertson. (ed. / transl.). *The Elements of Theology*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1933 (1st ed.; 1963 2nd ed.).

- Inst.Phys.* Ritzfeld, Albertus. (ed. / transl.). *Procli Diadochi Lycii Institutio Physica*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912.
- Plat.Theol.* Saffrey, Henri-Dominique and Leendert Gerrit Westerink (eds. / transl.). *Proclus: Théologie Platonicienne*. Vols. I–VI. Collection des universités de France. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968–1997. (Vol. I: 1968; Vol. II: 1974; Vol. III: 1978; Vol. IV: 1981; Vol. V: 1987; Vol. VI: 1997).
- In Euc.* Friedlein, Godofredus. (ed.). *Procli Diadochi in Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1873. (Reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1967).
- Hyp.* Manitius, Carolus. (ed. / transl.). *Procli Diadochi hypotyposis astronomicarum positionum*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909. (Reprint Stuttgart: Teubner 1974).
- H.* Vogt, Ernestus. (ed.). *Procli Hymni accedunt Hymnorum Fragmenta; Epigrammata, Scholia, Fontium et Locorum Similium Apparatus, Indices*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1957.
- De Mal.* Boese, Helmut. (ed.). “*Incipit Liber Eiusdem Procli De Malorum Subsistentia*.” Pages 172–265 in *Procli Diadochi Tria Opuscula (De providentia, libertate, malo)*. *Latine Guilelmo de Moerbeka vertente et graece ex Isaacii Sebastocratoris aliorumque scriptis collecta*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960. Opsomer, Jan and Carlos Steel. (transl.). *Proclus On the Existence of Evils*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Dec. Dub.* Boese, Helmut. (ed.). “*De Decem Dubitationibus Circa Providentiam*.” Pages 3–108 in *Procli Diadochi Tria Opuscula (De providentia, libertate, malo)*. *Latine Guilelmo de Moerbeka vertente et graece ex Isaacii Sebastocratoris aliorumque scriptis collecta*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960. Opsomer, Jan and Carlos Steel. (transl.). *Proclus: Ten Problems Concerning Providence*. Ancient Commentators on Aristotle. London: Bloomsbury, 2012.
- Prov.* Boese, Helmut. (ed.). “*De Providentia et Fato eo quod in nobis ad Theodorum Mechanicum*.” Pages 109–171 in *Procli Diadochi Tria Opuscula (De providentia, libertate, malo)*. *Latine Guilelmo de Moerbeka vertente et graece ex Isaacii Sebastocratoris aliorumque scriptis collecta*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960. Steel, Carlos. (transl.). *Proclus on Providence*. London: Bloomsbury, 2007.
- Phil. Chald.* Pitra, Joannes B. “*Excerpta Chaldaica Vaticana*.” Pages 192–195 in Vol. 5 of *Analecta Sacra et Classica*. Edited by Joannes B. Pitra (ed.) Rome and Paris: Cuggiani and Roter et Chernowitz, 1888. (repr. Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1967). Later included as “Extraits du Commentaire de Pro-

clus sur la Philosophie Chaldaïque (*Πρόκλου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς χαλδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας*).” Pages 206–212 in *Oracles Chaldaïques: Avec un choix de commentaires anciens. Texte établi et traduit*. Edited by Édouard des Places. Collection Budé. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971.

2 Abbreviations of the Orphica and the Chaldean Oracles

- Orac. Chald.* Places, Édouard des. (ed.). *Oracles Chaldaïques: Avec un choix de commentaires anciens. Texte établi et traduit*. Collection Budé. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971.
Kroll, Guilelmus. *De Oraculis Chaldaicis*. Bratislava: Koebner, 1894. (1st ed.; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962).
Majercik, Ruth. (transl.). *The Chaldean Oracles: Text, Translation and Commentary*. Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 5. Leiden: Brill, 1989.
- Orph. Fr.* Kern, Otto. *Orphicorum Fragmenta*. 3rd repr. Zurich: Weidmann, 1972. (1st ed. Berlin: Weidmann, 1922).
- OF Bern.* Bernabé, Alberto. (ed.). *Poetae Epici Graeci: Testimonia et Fragmenta*. Pars II. Fasc. 1: *Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta*. *Poetae Epici Graeci. Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. München and Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2004.

3 Other Abbreviations

- ANRW* Haase, Wolfgang and Hildegard Temporini. (eds.). *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1979–1984.
- CHPLA* Gerson, Lloyd P. (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Philosophy in Late Antiquity*. Vols. I–II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- CT* *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1896–.
- DK* Diels, Hermann. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. Ed. Walther Kranz. Vols. I–III. 6th ed. Berlin: Weidmann, 1951–1952.
- DPhA* Goulet, Richard. (éd.). *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*. Vols. I–VII. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1989–2018.
- EPRO* *Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain*
- KP* Ziegler, Konrat and Walther Sontheimer. (eds.). *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller Verlag, 1964–1975.

- LSJ* Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott and Henry Stuart Jones. (eds.). *A Greek-English Lexicon with revised Supplement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- NP* Cancik, Hubert, Helmuth Schneider and Manfred Landfester. (eds.). *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike. Das klassische Altertum und seine Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1996–2012.
- OCD* Hornblower, Simon and Antony Spawforth. (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- PDM* *Papyri Demoticae Magicae*. In Hans D. Betz. (ed.). *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- PG* *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*. Accurante Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris: Migne, 1857–1866.
- PGM* Preisendanz, Karl and Albert Henrichs. (eds.). *Papyri Graecae Magicae in Papyri Graecae Magicae*. Vols. 1–11. 2nd revised ed. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973–1974.
- PLRE* Arnold H.M. Jones, John R. Martindale and John Morris. (eds.). *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. Vols. 1–111. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–1992.
- RAC* Theodor Klauser, Ernst Dassmann and Georg Schöllgen. (eds.). *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–2013.
- RE* Pauly, August, Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Kurt Witte, Karl Mittelhaus and Konrat Ziegler. (eds.). *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1894–1980.
- Roscher* Roscher, Wilhelm H. (ed.). *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1909–1915.
- Souda* Adler, Ada Sara. (ed.). *Suidae Lexicon*. Vols. 1–v. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–1938.
- TH* The Sumerian Temple Hymns, see TCS 3
- TCS 3* Sjöberg, Åke W., Eugen Bergmann and Gene B. Gragg. *The Collecton of the Sumerian Temple Hymns and The Kesh Temple Hymn*. Texts from Cuneiform Sources 3 (TCS 3). Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin, 1969. Individual lines are cited as TH followed by line number.

Introduction

1 Proclus' Life and on the Orphic and Chaldaean Theologies

According to Marinus of Neapolis' eulogy *Proclus or On Happiness*,¹ Proclus (412–485 CE) was born in Constantinople/Byzantium of a rich Lycian family from Xanthos and returned to Xanthos shortly afterwards, where he began his education (Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 6). He continued his education in Alexandria, studying rhetoric in order to pursue a career as a lawyer, like his father. In Alexandria he stayed with the sophist Leonas and studied with the grammarian Orion, who was descended from a priestly caste in Egypt (8). After a short visit to Constantinople at around 430, Proclus decided that he wanted to study philosophy rather than law. Returning to Alexandria, he studied Aristotle with the philosopher Olympiodorus and mathematics with Hero (9).

In 430–431, when he was 18 years old, Proclus went in Athens to study in the Platonic Academy (Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 10). He stayed with Plutarch and studied Plato's *Phaedo* and Aristotle's *De anima* under Plutarch's guidance for two years (12). After Plutarch's death in 432, Proclus moved in with Syrianus, the successor of the Platonic Academy. Proclus studied the entire works of Aristotle and the science of theology with Syrianus, who also “directed him to the mystagogy of Plato” (13.318–323). Syrianus also introduced him to the *Orphic Theology* and the *Chaldaean Oracles*. After Syrianus' death (around 437), Proclus succeeded to the headship of the Platonic Academy in Athens for almost fifty years until his death in 485.²

Marinus in *Proclus* points out that Proclus had a good understanding of “the whole theology of both Greeks and the barbarians” (πάσαν μὲν θεολογίαν Ἑλληνικὴν τε καὶ βαρβαρικὴν Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 22.538–540).³ Marinus also refers to the virtues that marked Proclus' life, “while he was still a student with the philosopher Syrianus” (ἔτι συσχολάζων τῷ φιλοσόφῳ Συριανῷ 26.609–610) and was going through the older treatises; and that “he ascended rapidly to the highest of the virtues in relation to the human soul, which the divinely inspired Iamblichus in an excellent way called theurgic” (ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκροτάτας τῶν ἀρετῶν, ὡς πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν, ἀνέδραμεν, ἃς ὁ ἑνθους Ἰάμβλιχος ὑπερφυῶς θεουργικὰς ἀπεκάλεσεν 26.624–626).⁴

1 Masullo (1985).

2 The emperor Justinian ended the funding and closed the Academy in 529 CE. The last scholar of the Academy was Damascius (458–540 CE).

3 All translations from the Greek are my own.

4 See also Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28.672: ἀρετὴν ἔτι μείζονα καὶ τελεωτέραν ἐπορίσατο τὴν θεουργικὴν.

Regarding the Orphic and Chaldaean theology (τῆς δὲ Ὀρφικῆς καὶ Χαλδαϊκῆς θεολογίας Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 26.611),⁵ he was influenced by his teacher. While at the Academy in Athens, Syrianus asked his disciples Proclus and the Syrian philosopher Domninus to expound “either the works of Orpheus or the *Chaldaean Oracles*” (ἥτοι τὰ Ὀρφέως ἢ τὰ λόγια 26.615–616), and Domninus chose the works of Orpheus, while Proclus the *Chaldaean Oracles*. The *Chaldaean Oracles* is preserved today as a compilation of fragments consisting of quotes and comments by Neoplatonist philosophers from the third to the sixth centuries CE of a lost original collection of hexametrical verses, which allegedly was composed or compiled by Julian the Chaldaean, or his son Julian the Theurgist in the second century CE. Most of the fragments of the *Chaldaean Oracles* are Proclus’ quotations and comments.⁶

Proclus worked on the *Chaldaean Oracles* project, “bringing together the interpretations, *exegeses* of the previous philosophers” (καὶ τὰς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ φιλοσόφων ἐξηγήσεις συνελών Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 26.626–627). Also “he collated the other Chaldaean treatises and the greatest commentaries with the god-given *Chaldaean Oracles*” (τὰς τε ἄλλας Χαλδαϊκὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὑπομνημάτων εἰς τὰ θεοπαράδοτα λόγια κατεβάλετο 26.626–630). This task took Proclus five years to get completed (26.630), following Syrianus’ advices, “so he received the first instructions, as there has been said, from his teacher, and along with him [Syrianus], carefully studied the voluminous commentaries of Porphyry and Iamblichus on the *Chaldaean Oracles*, as well as the *Chaldaean Oracles* themselves and other Chaldaean treatises and commentaries ...” (λαβὼν δ’ οὖν, ὡς εἴρηται, παρὰ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος τὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνων τοῖς τε εἰς Ὀρφέα αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήμασιν ἐπιμελῶς ἐντυγχάνων καὶ τοῖς Πορφυρίου καὶ Ἰαμβλίχου μυρίοις ὅσοις εἰς τὰ λόγια καὶ τὰ σύστοιχα τῶν Χαλδαίων συγγράμματα ...

Furthermore, the whole account is structured on the Neoplatonic scale of virtues; see discussion in Saffrey and Second (2002) intro. IX–C, esp. LXIX–XCVIII.

- 5 Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus* claims that “among all nations those being distinguished on wisdom are particularly concerned with prayers” (ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οἱ σοφία διενεγκόντες περὶ εὐχὰς ἐσπούδασαν), the Brahmins among the Indians, the Magoi among the Persians, “and among the Greeks the best of the theologians, who established both *teletai* [initiatory rites] and mysteries; and the Chaldaeans worshipped the divine too, and having also named virtue itself of the gods as a goddess, honoured it [virtue], ensuring that they did not neglect the holy cult through [their] virtue.” (Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ θεολογικώτατοι, οἱ καὶ τελετὰς κατεστήσαντο καὶ μυστήρια· Χαλδαῖοι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο θεῖον ἐθεράπευσαν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν θεῶν θεὸν εἰπόντες ἐσέφεθσαν, πολλοὶ δέοντες διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπερφρονεῖν τῆς ἱερᾶς θρησκείας· Procl. *In Ti.* 1.208.19–22).
- 6 More than half of the fragments of the *Chaldaean Oracles* collection (about 115 out of 226) are Proclus’ quotations and comments; Des Places (1971). See also Lewy (1978) 72; and Majercik (1989).

26.620–624). Proclus characteristically used to say that if he could choose of all the ancient books which he could have kept, these would have been only the *Chaldaean Oracles* and *Timaeus* (τὰ λόγια καὶ τὸν Τίμαιον 38.916–917).

Marinus in *Proclus* also reports Proclus' experience of Hecate's self-revelations after performing certain Chaldaean purification rituals, "But before these, the philosopher after being purified in due order by the Chaldaean purifications, invoked flame-like revelations for direct vision of Hecate, as he himself has recorded in one of his own treatises." (Πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἐν τάξει ὁ φιλόσοφος τοῖς Χαλδαϊκοῖς καθαρμοῖς καθαιρόμενος, φάσμασι μὲν Ἑκατικαῖς⁷ φωτοειδέσιν αὐτοπτοῦμενοις ὠμίλησεν, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς που μέμνηται ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι. 28.683–686). Porphyry also in *De Philosophia ex Oraculis* refers to the *synthēmata* (συνθήματα) of Hecate's revelations and the "fiery images" (πυρόεσσιν εἰδώλοις) of her revelations.⁸

Proclus himself, according to Marinus' *Proclus*, at the beginning of his forty-second year had uttered in a loud voice about fire and the immortality of his soul: "My soul has come breathing the spirit of fire,/ And writhing in fire having thrown the mind to the aether,/ It rises up and clamours the rich in stars orbits of the immortal [soul]"⁹ (Ψυχὴ μοι πνεῖουσα πυρὸς μένος εἰλήλουθεν,/ Καὶ νόον ἀμπετάσασα πρὸς αἰθέρα πυρσοέλικτος/ Ὀρνυται, ἀθανάτης δὲ βρέμει πολυτερεὰ κύκλα 28.696–698).¹⁰

Proclus "had been using the Chaldaean (magico-theurgic) *systaseis*, '[invocations for] conjunctions' (συστάσεις) and *entychiae*, 'meetings/prayers' (ἐντυχίαις) and divine and ineffable magic wheels (στροφάλις)" (Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28.676–679); Marinus also informs us about Proclus' source of knowledge of the theurgic rites and the transmission process of esoteric knowledge, "he had learned the invocations and the rest of their usage from Plutarch's daughter Asclepigeneia, who was a philosopher and mystic (430–485AD). For the

7 Procl. *In Cra.* 179.105.26–27: ... εἴτε Ἑκατική προσαγορευομένη θεότης, ὥς οἱ θεουργοὶ φασιν, ... (frg 201).

8 Porph. *De Phil. Or.* 11.151.165–173: "Ἐν χρηστήριον ἔτι παραθεῖς, ὅπερ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἑκάτη πεποιήται, καταπαύσω τὸν περὶ ταύτης λόγον· Ἡδ' ἐγὼ εἰμι κόρη πολυφάσματος, οὐρανόφοιτος, / ταυράπις, τρικάρηνος, ἀπηνής, χρυσοβέλεμνος, / Φοῖβη ἀπειρ(ολεχίς), φαεσίμβροτος, Εἰλείθυια, / τριστοίχου φύσεως συνθήματα τρισσὰ φέρουσα· / αἰ(θέρα) μὲν πυρόεσσιν ἐειδομένη εἰδώλοις, / ἡέρα δ' ἀργενοῖσι τροχάσμασιν ἀμφικάθημαι· / γα(ίαν) ἐμῶν σκυλάκων δνοφερῷ γέ(νει) ἡνιοχε(ύω)."

9 See also Procl. *In R.* 11. 220.7–15: καίτοι γε οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι καὶ τοῖς μέσον τῶν ἐπτά τὸν ἥλιον εἰποῦσιν ἀστρονόμοις οὐ πάνυ δι' ἀναγκαίων τοῦτο δέδεικται λημμάτων· ὅπως δὲ ὅλως ἐπεχείρησαν, εἴπομεν ἐν <τοῖς εἰς Τίμαιον> [p. 257 f. sqq.] ἱκανῶς· ἀλλὰ <τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις θεουργῶν> ἀκούσας, ὥς ἄρα ὁ <θεὸς ἐμεσεμβόλησεν τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τοῖς ἐπτά καὶ ἀνεκρέμασεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἕξ ἄλλας ζώνας>, καὶ τῶν <θεῶν> αὐτῶν, ὅτι τὸ ἡλιακὸν πῦρ <κραδῆις τόπῳ ἐστήριξεν> ...

10 Masullo (1985) 85; Boissonade (1814) 23.

orgia/rituals and the whole *Theurgic Agôgê*, which was transmitted to her by the great Nestorius through her father, were preserved by her only.” (καὶ τὰς ἐκφωνήσεις καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χρῆσιν αὐτῶν μεμαθήκει παρὰ Ἀσκληπιγενείας τῆς Πλουτάρχου θυγατρὸς. παρ’ αὐτῇ γὰρ καὶ μόνῃ ἐσώζετο ἀπὸ Νεστορίου τοῦ μεγάλου ὄργια καὶ ἡ σύμπασα θεουργικὴ ἀγωγὴ διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῇ παραδοθεῖσα Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28.679–683). Here Marinus informs us not only about Proclus’ source of knowledge of the theurgic rites and the whole *Theurgic Agôgê*, but also about the process of transmission of esoteric knowledge from Plutarch to his daughter Asclepigeneia.

Regarding the transmission of knowledge from father to daughter, in the prologue of the first book called *Kyranis* of the medico-magical text of the *Kyranides* (first compiled in IV CE), there is a similar example of knowledge transmission. It is reported that the book was compiled from two other books, one of which was written “by Harpokration from Alexandria to his own daughter” (καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρποκρατίωνος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν θυγατέρα *Kyran.* 4–5); and “Therapeutic book from Syria, Harpokration has written to his own daughter the following:” (Βίβλος ἀπὸ Συρίας θεραπευτικὴ, τῇ οἰκείᾳ θυγατρὶ Ἀρποκρατίων γέγραφε τάδε: *Kyran.* 30–31).¹¹

Moreover, Asclepigeneia’s grandfather, Nestorius was an *Eleusinian hierophant*.¹² Burkert commenting Proclus’ knowledge of the sacred and his relationship to Asclepigeneia, points out that, although “Eleusis had been destroyed some fifteen years before he was born, and pagan sacrifice was forbidden by law in his time,” “what he writes about *mysteries* should be taken seriously as containing authentic tradition.”¹³

Marinus refers to a familiar practice that used to take place in the philosophic school in Athens of “reading himself the works of Orpheus in Proclus’ presence, and hearing in Proclus’ exegeses not only the interpretations of Iamblichus and Syrianus [on these works], but also at the same time many more and more akin to theology.” (Ἀναγινώσκων δὲ ἐγὼ ποτε παρ’ αὐτῷ τὰ Ὀρφείως καὶ

11 On the transmission of the tradition within the family: Betz (2003) 96–97, nn. 42, 44. Dieterich (1891) 160–163. Festugière (1944) Vol. I: 332–336. On the transmission of esoteric knowledge from father to daughter in Egyptian culture and its continuation in Greco-Egyptian and hermetic traditions: Betz (2003) 96–97, nn. 42, 44. Borghouts (1982) 39, n. 123. Klasens (1952) 15, 76. On the Egyptian temples in Late Antiquity see, Frankfurter (2004) 159–164; Bagnall (1993); Fowden (1993); Frankfurter (1998); Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002). Kaimakis (1976) 14, 15. On the transmission of the tradition *within the family*: Betz (2003) 96–97, nn. 42, 44. Dieterich (1891) 160–163. Festugière (1944) Vol. I: 332–336.

12 On the Eleusinian mysteries see Burkert (1983) 248–297, Riedweg (1987) 1–69, Clinton (2003) 50–78, Parker (2005) 342–360.

13 Burkert (1987) 113–114; Cole (1980) 223–238; see also Procl. *In R.* II.108.17–32.

οὐ μόνον τὰ παρὰ τῷ Ἰαμβλίχῳ καὶ Συριανῷ ἀκούων ἐν ταῖς ἐξηγήσεσιν, ἀλλὰ πλείω τε ἅμα καὶ προσφύεστερα τῇ θεολογίᾳ Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 27.656–659); Marinus also mentions that he had tried to persuade Proclus to “write marginal notes of his opinions on his teacher’s [Syrianus’] books” (παραγράφειν αὐτὸν τὰ ἀρέσκοντα τοῖς τοῦ διδασκάλου βιβλίοις· 27.664–665); and “when Proclus wrote notes in the margins of the commentaries, we collated them all into a single” (καὶ παραγράφαντος τοῖς μετώποις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ἔσχομεν συναγωγὴν εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀπάντων· 27.665–668). As a result, “there were [written] comments and notes on many lines of Orpheus by him [Proclus], even if he did not in fact do this on the whole divine myth, or all the *Rhapsodies* (of the *Rhapsodic Theogony*)” (καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς Ὀρφέα αὐτοῦ σχόλια καὶ ὑπομνήματα στίχων οὐκ ὀλίγων, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν θεομυθίαν ἢ πάσας τὰς ῥαψωδίας ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. 27.668–670). The *Rhapsodic Theogony*, also known as the canonical Orphic theogony, was the most influential theogony of the Imperial period,¹⁴ and the one most frequently referred to, quoted and commented by the Neoplatonist philosophers and, especially, by Proclus and Damascius. Brisson in his study on Proclus and the *Orphica* points out that in Proclus’ works there are 248 references to the *Orphica*.¹⁵ The second most important source of the Orphic fragments after Proclus is Damascius, who provides 56 references to the *Orphica*.

Proclus, finally, in his *Platonic Theology* writes about Plato, Greek theology and their agreement with the Orphic and Pythagorean writings: “Then, it must be shown that each of the doctrines is in agreement with the first principles of Plato and with the mystic traditions of the theologians; for the whole theology of the Greeks is the offspring of the mystagogy of Orpheus; Pythagoras first had learned from Aglaophamos the initiation rites of the gods, Plato then received from the Pythagorean and Orphic writings the complete science that concerns them.” (Δεῖ δὲ ἕκαστα τῶν δογμάτων ταῖς Πλατωνικαῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀποφαίνειν σύμφωνα καὶ ταῖς τῶν θεολόγων μυστικαῖς παραδόσεσιν·¹⁶ ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ παρ’ Ἑλληνισι θεολογία τῆς Ὀρφικῆς¹⁷ ἐστὶ μυσταγωγίας ἔκγονος, πρῶτου μὲν Πυθαγόρου¹⁸ παρὰ Ἀγλαοφήμου τὰ περὶ θεῶν ὄργια διδασθέντος, δευτέρου δὲ Πλάτωνος ὑποδεξαμένου

14 E.g.: Rufin. *Recognit.* 10, 30 (346, 17 Rehm) = OF Bern. 669 VII.

15 Brisson (1995) 43–103.

16 See also the reference to the books of the theologians and the theurgists in Procl. *In Ti.* III.132.1–2: ὧν αἱ βιβλίοι πλήρεις εἰσὶ τῶν θεολόγων καὶ τῶν θεωργῶν·

17 Procl. *In Prm.* 647.9–13: ἡ δὲ τῶν Ὀρφικῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς οὐσα θεολογίας ἰδίᾳ, Κρόνον καὶ Δία καὶ Οὐρανὸν καὶ Νύκτα καὶ Κύκλωπας καὶ Ἑκατόγχειρας ἐπιφημιζούσα ταῖς ἀκροτάταις τῶν πάντων ἀρχαῖς.

18 Procl. *In Prm.* 647.1–4: ... καθάπερ ἐκείνων ἡ μὲν ἐξαιρέτος ἐστὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων, ὡς ὁ Φιλόλαος δηλοῖ, τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς τὰς τῶν θεῶν ὑπάρξεις καὶ προόδους ἀφηγησάμενος·

τὴν παντελὴ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστήμην ἔκ τε τῶν Πυθαγορείων καὶ τῶν Ὀρφικῶν γραμμάτων. *Procl. Plat. Theol.* 1.25.24–26.4).¹⁹

2 Proclus' Works

2.1 Proclus' Complete Works

Proclus' complete surviving works include among others commentaries on Plato's *Timaeus*, *Alcibiades I*, *Parmenides*, *Cratylus* and *Republic*. His commentaries on Plato's *Timaeus*, *Alcibiades I* and *Parmenides* are running prose commentaries. Marinus in *Proclus* mentions that Proclus finished his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* by the age of twenty-eight (Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 13.329–330). His *Commentary on Plato's Alcibiades I* may have been one of his early works.²⁰ Unlike the above commentaries, his *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* is a collection of excerpts, which could derive either from Proclus' lectures or from the lecture notes of a student.²¹ His *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* must have been composed at a later stage of his life, since it refers to his *Timaeus Commentary*.²² His *Commentary on Plato's Republic* is a collection of seventeen essays written at different times and addressing various issues of *Plato's Republic*.²³

Proclus also wrote an astronomical work, *Exposition of Astronomical Hypotheses* (*Hypotypôsis Astronomicarum Positionum*). His systematic manuals, *Elements of Physics* (*Στοιχείωσις Φυσική*) and *Elements of Theology* (*Στοιχείωσις Θεολογική*), may have been early works, although the last one was probably revised

19 Similarly, Iamblichus in *De Vita Pythagorica* asserts that Pythagoras' 'composite' (σύνθετον) philosophy has influences from Orphic, Egyptian, Chaldaean and mystic doctrines and rituals; Iamb. *VP* 28.151.9–13. Damascius in *Philosophos Historia* points out the Egyptian influence on Pythagorean philosophy: Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτά εἰσιν οἱ πρῶτοι φιλοσοφούντες· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔκαστα τούτων οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἐξήνεγκαν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. (Dam. *Phil. Hist.* 4a.15–17 / Dam. *Vit. Isid. Fr.* 3.17–19). Damascius elsewhere praises the Egyptian and Chaldaean higher wisdom, "which exceeds the philosophical common understanding" (πρὸς δὲ τὴν Ὀρφικὴν τε καὶ Χαλδαϊκὴν τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν σοφίαν, καὶ τὸν κοινὸν φιλοσοφίας νοῦν ὑπεράρουνσαν) Dam. *Phil. Hist.* 85.5–7 / Dam. *Vit. Isid. Fr.* 126.4–6.

20 Westerink (1954) vii–x; O'Neil (1965) vii–viii.

21 Pasquali (1908) v–vii; Duvick and Tarrant (2007) vii–viii, 1–7.

22 Morrow and Dillon (1987) xxxiv–xxxviii.

23 Kroll (1899) v–vii; (1901) iii–ix; Sheppard (1980) 16 ff. According to the *Souda* lexicon, the *Εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν Πλάτωνος βιβλία δ'* is ascribed both to Proclus and Syrianus (*Souda* Lexicon on Proclus, p. 210 and *Souda* Lexicon on Syrianus, p. 478). Adler (1928–1938) Vol. iv. See also discussion on Syrianus in *DPhA* (2016) vi: 678–707. Also, Baltzly, Finamore, Miles (2018) intro. 1–33.

at later stages of his life.²⁴ His *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements* (*In Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*) has probably been written in the year after his exile in Lydia (his exile in Lydia is mentioned in *Marin. Vit. Procl.* 15.382). The *Tria Opuscula* is a collection of three monographs on providence, fate and the origin of evil: *Ten Doubts Concerning Providence* (*De Decem Dubitationibus circa Providentiam*), *On Providence and Fate* (*De Providentia et Fato eo quod in nobis ad Theodorum Mechanicum*), and *On the Existence of Evils* (*De Malorum Subsistentia*), which probably have been written at different times.²⁵ The *Platonic Theology* is considered to be one of his last works, which cites his commentaries on *Plato's Timaeus* and *Parmenides*.²⁶ It has also been saved a collection of seven theological Hymns²⁷ (and two Epigrams) composed by Proclus.

2.2 Proclus' Lost Works or Preserved in Fragments on Theological Tradition, Orphic Theology and Theurgy

The Souda lexicon attributes two treatises, *On Orphic Theology* (*Εἰς τὴν Ὀρφέως Θεολογίαν*) and *On the Harmony of Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato with the Oracles* 10 Books (*Συμφωνίαν Ὀρφέως, Πυθαγόρου, Πλάτωνος περὶ τὰ Λόγια βιβλία ι'*)²⁸ to the works of both Syrianus and Proclus.²⁹ That double attribution could mean that Proclus might have added comments to these treatises of Syrianus. Proclus has been very much influenced by his teacher Syrianus, working with him for about six years.³⁰

Regarding the *Orphic Theology*, as examined in the first section, Marinus in *Proclus* mentions that he had tried to make Proclus “write marginal notes (*παρὰγράφειν*) of what pleased him in his teacher's [Syrianus'] books” (*Marin. Vit. Procl.* 27.664–665); and “when he [Proclus] wrote notes in the margins of the commentaries, we collated them all into a single volume” (*καὶ παρὰγράψαντος τοῖς μετώποις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ἔσχομεν συναγωγὴν εἰς ταῦτόν ἀπάν-*

24 Dodds (1933) xiv–xviii; Ritzenfeld (1912) v–viii; Boese (1958) 5 ff.

25 Boese (1960) ix–xxxi.

26 Saffrey and Westerink (1968) cl–clx.

27 Berg (2001).

28 See also Praechter (1926) 253.

29 Souda Lexicon on Syrianus, pp. 478–479: *Εἰς τὴν Ὀρφέως Θεολογίαν βιβλία δύο, Συμφωνίαν Ὀρφέως, Πυθαγόρου, Πλάτωνος περὶ τὰ λόγια βιβλία δέκα*. Souda Lexicon on Proclus, p. 210: *Εἰς τὴν Ὀρφέως Θεολογίαν, Συμφωνίαν Ὀρφέως, Πυθαγόρου, Πλάτωνος περὶ τὰ Λόγια βιβλία ι'*. See also discussion on Syrianus in *DPhA* (2016) vi: 678–707, and on Proclus in *DPhA* (2012) Vb: 1546–1674.

30 Dodds (1933) xiv: “Of the Orphic Theology and the Harmony of Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato (both now lost) Proclus seems to have been editor rather than author.”

των· 27.665–668). Consequently, “there were [written] comments and notes on many lines of Orpheus by Proclus (καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς Ὀρφέα αὐτοῦ σχόλια καὶ ὑπομνήματα στίχων οὐκ ὀλίγων), even if he did not do this on the whole divine myth, or all the *Rhapsodies* [of the *Rhapsodic Theogony*]” (27.668–670).

Similarly, the Souda lexicon attributes the works *A Commentary on the whole of Homer in seven books* (Εἰς Ὅμηρον ὅλον ὑπόμνημα ἐν βιβλίοις ἑπτὰ) and *On the Gods of Homer* (Περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ θεῶν) to both Proclus and Syrianus.³¹ The double attribution of these works to Proclus and Syrianus probably has a similar explanation, which is that Proclus may have added comments to Syrianus’ works.³²

The Souda lexicon also ascribes to Proclus a fragmentary *Commentary on Hesiod’s Works and Days*.³³ Another fragmentary work of Proclus, *On the Chaldaean Philosophy* is a collection of five excerpts.³⁴

3 Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks* and His Lost Works

The fragmentary work of Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks*³⁵ could be part of Proclus’ lost work *Peri Agôgês*, Περὶ ἀγωγῆς β’, *On the Evoking Procedure* [of deities/spirits by means of theurgy], completed in two volumes, which is mentioned in the Souda lexicon;³⁶ or even part of another lost work of Proclus, *On Mythical Symbols*, Περὶ τῶν μυθικῶν συμβόλων. Proclus refers to the title Περὶ τῶν μυθικῶν συμβόλων in his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic* (Ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν μύθων τὰς αἰτίας καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν μυθικῶν συμβόλων ἐξειργάσμεθα. τούτων δὲ ἡμῖν τέλος ἐχόντων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν Πλατωνικὸν μῦθον χωρεῖν ἀναγκαῖον Procl. *In R.* II.108.30–109.3).³⁷

Ficino translated the Greek text of Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art* into Latin, giving it the title *Opus Procli de Sacrificio et Magia*, and published it in

31 Souda Lexicon on Syrianus, p. 478: Εἰς Ὅμηρον ὅλον ὑπόμνημα ἐν βιβλίοις ἑπτὰ ... [Εἰς τὰ Πρόκλου] Περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ θεῶν. Souda Lexicon on Proclus, p. 210: Ὑπόμνημα εἰς ὅλον τὸν Ὅμηρον ... Περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ θεῶν. Praechter excludes the marginal note [Εἰς τὰ Πρόκλου] from the Souda’ text. Praechter (1926) 253–264.

32 On *A Commentary on the whole of Homer in seven books* and *On the Gods of Homer* (Περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ θεῶν) in relation to Proclus’ references to Syrianus in the 6th essay of his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic* see discussion by Sheppard (1980) 46 ff.

33 Marzillo (2010).

34 Pitra (1967) 192–195; Des Places (1971) 206–212; Majercik (1989).

35 On the title see discussion in Intro.: Sect. VI.

36 Souda Lexicon on Proclus, p. 210: ... Περὶ ἀγωγῆς β’ ...

37 Kroll (1899) Vol. I and (1901) Vol. II.

1497.³⁸ Kroll reedited the Latin translation and retranslated the Latin text into Greek in his *Analecta Graeca* in 1901,³⁹ in which he notes that the excerpt of Proclus' *On Sacrifices* (περί θυσίων) possibly derives from his books *Peri Agôgês* or *On Mythical Symbols*: "*Sequitur fol. h 7 'Opus Procli de sacrificio' tres complens paginas (des. fol. h 8 v), quod in indice apellatur 'de sacrificio et magia'. Quod quamquam graece quod sciam nusquam extat, tamen non dubito, quin Ficinus in codice aliquo invenerit excerptum Πρόκλου περί θυσίων, desumptum fortasse ex eius libris περί ἀγωγῆς vel περί μυθικῶν συμβόλων;*"⁴⁰ At the same time Kroll edited Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, the first volume in 1899 and the second one in 1901.

Bidez (1928) states about the possible relation of Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art* to his lost books *Peri Agôgês* or *On Mythical Symbols*: "Ficin ayant fait que ces quelques pages de Proclus étaient intitulées *Περὶ θυσίων*, Kroll les avait données pour extraites du traité du même auteur *Περὶ ἀγωγῆς* ou *Περὶ τῶν μυθικῶν συμβόλων* dont nous ne connaissons que le titre."⁴¹ Dodds (1933) also, following Kroll, notes that this work of Proclus belongs to "A group of lost works on religious symbolism (*Περὶ τῶν μυθικῶν συμβόλων*), on theurgy (*περί ἀγωγῆς*), against the Christians, on Hecate and on the myth of Cybele. These are represented for us only by the fragment *περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης* (de sacrificio et magia)."⁴²

38 According to the title and Index of Ficino's 1497 edition: Ficinus, Marsilius. (ed. and transl.). *Index eorum quae hoc in libro habentur. Iamblichus de Mysteriis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum. Proclus in Platonicum Alcibiadem de anima, atq(ue) daemone. Proclus de Sacrificio et Magia. Porphyrius de divinis atq(ue) daemonibus. Synesius Platonicus de somniis. Psellus de daemonibus. Expositio Prisciani et Marsilii in Theophrastu(m) De sensu, phantasia et intellectu. Alcinoi Platonici philosophi Liber de doctri(n)a Platonis. Speusippi Platonis discipuli Liber de Platonis difinitionibus. Pythagorae philosophi Aurea verba. Symbola Pythagorae philosophi. Xenocratis philosophi platonici Liber de morte. Marsilii Ficini liber de voluptate.* (Venice, 1497).

39 Kroll (1901).

40 Kroll (1901) 6. See also "similiter etiam ex commentariis ad oracula frustula quaedam in codice Vatic. 1026 servata sunt (ed. A. Jahn. Halis 1891. Pitra anal. V 2. 192). Quod cum Ficinus admodum fideliter interpretatus sit, rursus in Graecam linguam verti, cum in nonnullis saltem Procli verba recuperari posse et non sine utilitate recuperari existimarem. Ficini additamenta cancellis inclusi." Kroll (1901) 6; Jahn (1891); Bidez (1928) 137–151. On cod. Vatic. 1026 see comment by Pitra (1888) Vol. v: 192–195 at 192, n. 2: "Ex cod. Vatic. 1026, f. 281 v. Post nota Pselli scholia de Chaldaeorum oraculis, accedunt Procli fragmenta, quae videntur ex iisdem oraculis excerpta, vel libero exposita commentario. Quae quum Holstenius, ut inedita, praecedentibus libellis addidit, in promptu nobis fuit eadem viri docti legere vestigia. In codice Vaticano haec fragmenta inscribuntur: Πρόκλου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας."

41 Bidez (1928) Vol. vi: 137–151, at 141.

42 Dodds (1933) xiv.

Regarding the ancient reference to these works, Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Republic* refers to “all the hieratic (systematic) treatises” (ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς ἀπάσαις πραγματείαις Procl. *In R.* 1.110.22–23).⁴³ In *De Providentia* Proclus also mentions “the whole hieratic treatise” (τὴν ἱερατικὴν πραγματείαν ἅσασαν Procl. *Prov.* 38.2).⁴⁴ However, the term πραγματεία/-αι in both cases may have a double meaning describing also the hieratic practices/rituals.⁴⁵

Marinus in *Proclus* 28 reports, “For the *orgia* [rituals] and the whole *theurgic agôgê* (ἡ σύμπασα θεουργικὴ ἀγωγή), which was transmitted to her [Asclepiogeneia] by the great Nestorius through her father [Plutarch], were preserved by her only.” (παρ’ αὐτῇ γὰρ καὶ μόνη ἐσώζετο ἀπὸ Νεστορίου τοῦ μεγάλου ὄργια καὶ ἡ σύμπασα θεουργικὴ ἀγωγή διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῇ παραδοθεῖσα 28.679–683). Here ἡ σύμπασα *Θεουργικὴ Ἀγωγή* may also allude to Proclus’ lost work *Peri Agôgês* completed in two volumes, but it must initially refer to the “whole evoking process of theurgy” and the process of transmission of esoteric knowledge from Plutarch to his daughter Asclepiogeneia. Marinus also mentions Proclus’ Chaldaean purification rituals and his invocations of Hecate’s fiery epiphanies that “he himself has recorded in one of his own treatises.” (ὥς καὶ αὐτός που μέμνηται ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι. Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28.683–686). Here, ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι may refer to *Θεουργικὴ Ἀγωγή*.⁴⁶

The epithet σύμπασα may also allude, as mentioned above, to all (two) volumes of *Peri Agôgês*. In *Proclus* 27 Marinus uses the same adjective πάσας τὰς ῥαψωδίας, “all the *Rhapsodies*” [of the *Rhapsodic Theogony*], when he refers to the written comments and notes on many lines (σχόλια καὶ ὑπομνήματα στίχων) of Orpheus by Proclus (27.668–670). The epithet θεουργικὴν is used elsewhere in *Proclus* 28 for ἀρετήν, “theurgic virtue” (ἀρετήν ἔτι μείζονα καὶ τελεωτέραν ἐπορίσατο τὴν θεουργικὴν 28.672). Similarly, Marinus describes the theurgic virtue as

43 Procl. *In R.* 1.110.21–26: εἰ δ’ οὖν καὶ ταῦτά τις εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου διάνοιαν ἀναπέμπειν ἐθέλοι, πάντως οὐκ ἀπορήσει λόγων συμφώνων μὲν ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς ἀπάσαις πραγματείαις, συμφώνων δὲ ταῖς τελεταῖς καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείαις, ἃς ὄναρ τε καὶ ὕπαρ γινομένης ἄνωθεν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φήμη παρεδέξατο.

44 Isaac (1979).

45 See also Baltzly, Finamore, Miles (2018) 223, n. 175.

46 Praechter also (1926) relates Proclus’ lost work *Peri Agôgês* with Marinus’ reference to Proclus’ experience of Hecate’s epiphanies after performing certain Chaldaean purification rituals, and to his reference to “θεουργικὴ ἀγωγή” in Marinus’ *Proclus* 28: “Die Schrift *Περὶ ἀγωγῆς* wird das ἴδιον σύγγραμμα sein, in welchem nach Marinos 28 Proklos über die von ihm vorgenommenen Χαλδαῖκοι καθαρμοὶ und die selbstgeschauten lichtartigen Hekategesichte berichtete, wahrscheinlich im Zusammenhange mit der von Marinos wenige Zeilen vorher erwähnten θεουργικὴ ἀγωγή.” Praechter (1926) 253–264, at 259, n. 4. See also Lewy (1978) 71, n. 15.

“[to] the highest of the virtues in relation to the human soul” (ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκροτάτας τῶν ἀρετῶν, ὡς πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν 26.624–625).

The term ἀγωγή is used by Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* in a theurgical context meaning “the procedure of evoking the spirits/gods” (e.g. Iamb. *Myst.* III.6.113.1–2: ἀφανῶς ποιούμενοι τὰς ἀγωγὰς τῶν πνευμάτων; III.14.134.8: τρόποι τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς ἀγωγῆς; V.26.240.9: τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀγωγῆς; also on “the procedure of evoking gods,” II.10.92.7: τῇ θεαγωγίᾳ; VI.1.5: αἱ θεαγωγίαι). In his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic*, Proclus refers to “... the hieratic/theurgic mode of the *agôge* [/evoking procedure], accomplished by sacrifices, divine names and prayers” (... <ὁ> ἱερατικὸς τρόπος τῆς ἀγωγῆς, διὰ θυσιῶν, δι’ ὀνομάτων θείων, δι’ εὐχῶν συμπληρωμένος Procl. *In R.* II.66.13–15). The term ἀγωγή in the Greek magical papyri describes “the spell/procedure of evoking/leading a spirit(/-s) or daimon(/-s) of the dead or a deity(/-ies).” The term is mainly used in the Greek magical papyri in an erotic context and is commonly translated as “erotic spell that leads.” But it actually describes “the procedure of evoking mostly a spirit of the dead in order to lead, or bring” a person [eros-victim] by means of a spell and/or a ritual to be spoken or practiced by the user of the spell to the victim of his/her erotic passion.

4 Manuscripts

The Greek text of Πρόκλου *Περὶ τῆς καθ’ Ἑλλήνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης* is preserved in the MS Vallicellianus F 20, fols. 138^r–140^v (= V, 138^r–140^v) and the MS Laurentianus Plut. 10.32, fols. 119^r–121^v (= L, 119^r–121^v).⁴⁷ The MS Laurentianus Plut. 10.32, fols. 119^r–121^v is a copy of V, 138^r–140^v.⁴⁸ The codices for the Latin text are: MS Laurentianus Plut. 82.15, fols. 126^v–128^v; and MS Laurentianus Stroz. 97, fols. 147^v–151^v.⁴⁹

4.1 *MS Vallicellianus F 20, Fols. 138^r–140^v*

The author examined the manuscript by autopsy and in photographs.⁵⁰ The MS Vallicellianus F 20 was owned and annotated by Marsilio Ficino (Martini 1902, Slicherl 1957, Kristeller 1937, 1967 and 1986).⁵¹

47 Slicherl (1957) 22–27, 36, 184–188, 119–220; see also Copenhaver (1988) 97, nn. 36, 40.

48 Slicherl (1957) 79–83.

49 Copenhaver (1988) 85 and 97, n. 40.

50 For a detailed description of MS Vallicellianus F 20 see Appendix 1.

51 Martini in *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane* (1902) 147–148. Slicherl (1957) 22–37. Kristeller (1937) Vol. I: xlvii, Lxix, Cxxxv. Kristeller in *Iter Italicum* (1967) Vol. II: 132–133. Kristeller (1986) 15–196, at 116–117.

The MS Vallicellianus F 20 is one of the oldest manuscripts of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana. The library was established in 1565 by the priest and Saint Filippo Neri—born in Florence in 1515 and died in Rome in 1595—and it is located in the building of the Oratory of Saint Filippo Neri, which was erected between 1637 and 1650. The codex belonged to the Portuguese humanist and writer Aquiles Estaço (1524–1581) who lived in Rome as a secretary of the Pope since 1555. When Aquiles Estaço died in 1581, he donated the MS VF 20 and his whole book and manuscript collection comprising 1700 printed volumes and 300 manuscripts to Filippo Neri and the Congregation of Oratory (founded by Filippo Neri in 1575).⁵² Then Filippo Neri must have included it in the collections of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana.

The MS Vallicellianus F 20 was restored in the monastery at the Badia di Grottaferrata in 1960. It is a composite manuscript in three parts: A) Part 1: Folios i–172; B) Part 2: Folios 173–318^v; C) Part 3: Folios 319^v–357^v. [height 210 (204) × width 140 (135)/150 mm.].

4.1.1 Contents of Part 1 of MS Vallicellianus F 20, Fols. i–172

1. Fols. 1–136^v: Tit.: no title (Iamblichus *De Mysteriis*). Scholion: Inc.: Ἰστέον ... Inc.: ἱστορήσαντα. Inc.: Ἀβάμωνος διδασκάλου. Des.: ἀπορημάτων λύσεις.⁵³
Fol. 137: blank
2. Fols. 138^r–140^v include: Tit.: Πρόκλου Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἑλλήνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης. Inc.: Ὡσπερ οἱ ἐρωτικοί. Des.: καὶ θεαίαις ἐχρήσαντο δυνάμεσι.⁵⁴

Fols. 138^r–144^r include a Greek text written by a single scribe identified as Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499)⁵⁵ with Latin marginal notes also by Ficino.⁵⁶ Kristeller (1986) points out: “The Iamblichus text has Latin notes in the hand of

52 Finocchiario (2011) 138; see also the Index of the Manuscripts in Vallicelliana: Finocchiario (2011) 185–186.

53 Fols. 1–136^v include a Greek text written by a single scribe identified as Ioannis Skoutariōtis, with Latin marginal notes based on Ficino's translation and written by Ficino and Luca Fabiani. Martini (1902) 147–148. See also Saffrey and Stefani (2018).

54 Bidez (1928) 137–151.

55 Gamillscheg, Harlfinger and Hunger in *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*. Facsim. 30 cm. Band III.2A (1989); and Band III.3A (1997) 165.

56 MS Riccardianus 76 was annotated and owned by Ficino. See for example the marginal notes in MS Riccardianus 76, Fols. 116–129. Kristeller (1937) includes MS Riccardianus 76 in the copies possessed or transcribed by Ficino, “*Codices a Ficino possessi seu transcripti*”: Kristeller (1937) Vol. 1: liv. Later, Kristeller (1986) also includes it in the “Census of manuscripts containing original works and letters of Marsilio Ficino or copied, annotated or owned by him.”: Kristeller (1986) 15–196, at 97–98.

Ficino and Luca Fabiani. The Proclus text is preserved only in this manuscript. The manuscript is the source of Ficino's translations of both Iamblichus and Proclus."⁵⁷

Fols. 141–144 are excerpts from Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*.⁵⁸

3. Fol. 141^{r-v}: Tit.: *Porphyrii testus (sic) quod anima non sit actus corporis, sed quod immortalis*. Inc.: αὐτίκα λόγον ἰσχυρόν. Des.: ψυχρὸν ὃν καθ' ἑαυτό. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 28.1–5 and XV 11.1–2).
4. Fol. 142^{r-v}: Tit.: *Numenius De Secunda Causa*. Inc.: τὸν μέλλοντα δε. Des.: πρεσβύτερος καὶ θειότερος. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 18.1–3, 6–9, 22–23).
5. Fols. 142^v–143^r: Tit.: *Amelius De Johannis Theologia*. Inc.: καὶ οὗτος ἄρα. Des.: τὸν ἀνθρώπον καταχθῆναι. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 19.1).
6. Fol. 143^{r-v}: *Numenius Pythagoreus de Ente*. Inc.: φέρ' οὖν ὅση. Des.: προσαναγκάζεσθαι. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 10.1–7).
7. Fols. 144^r: Tit.: *Philon De Secunda Causa*. Inc.: εὐπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς. Des.: πρωτογόνον αὐτοῦ λόγον. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 15.1–2).

Fols. 144^r–172^r: Latin Text written by another single (unidentified) scribe.

8. Fols. 144^r–148^r: Tit.: *Porphyrius de occasionibus sive causis ad intelligibilia nos ducentibus*. Interpretate Marsilio Ficino. (= Marsillii Ficini *Opera*. Basileae, 1561, II 1929–1932).
Fol. 148: blank
9. Fols. 149–161^v: Tit.: *Ex Porphyrio de abstinence animalium*. Interpretate Marsilio Ficino.
(= Marsillii Ficini *Opera*. Basileae, 1561, II 1932–1939).
10. Fols. 162–171^r: Tit.: *Ex Michaelis Psello de demonibus* (excerpts)
(= Marsillii Ficini *Opera*. Basileae, 1561, II 1939–1945).
11. Fols. 171^r–172^r: Tit.: *Hactenus Psellus. Deinceps ex Tomistis*. Inc.: Quanta sit potestas daemonum super naturalia. Des.: (Fol. 172^r): tu de his lege Tommam contra gentiles de operibus magicis.

4.1.2 The Dating of MS Vallicellianus F 20, Fols. 138^r–140^v from Watermarks and other Sources

The watermarks of V F 20, Fols. 138^r–140^v of Πρόκλου *Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἑλλήνας ἱερᾶ-τικῆς τέχνης* are:

⁵⁷ Kristeller (1986) 15–196, at 116–117.

⁵⁸ Monfasani in "Marsilio Ficino and Eusebius of Caesarea's *Praeparatio Evangelica*" (2009) 3–13.

Fol. 137 (: blank), 138, 139, 140 (: not very clear): hat (upper part):

The watermark is similar to Briquet⁵⁹ n. 3373 (Florence, Italian paper, 1474–1483); similar also to Briquet n. 3370 (Florence, Italian paper, 1465–1467);⁶⁰ also to Briquet n. 3373 (Palermo, Italian paper, 1473).

It is similar also to Piccard⁶¹ n. 31958 (Monteoliveto, StA Mantova, Italian paper, 1462); similar also to Piccard n. 31960 (Rome, StA Mantova, 1461); also to Piccard n. 31961 (Monteoliveto, StA Mantova, Italian paper, 1469); also to Piccard n. 31962 (Firenze, StA Mantova, Italian paper, 1459–1460).

Some important dates of Ficino's life should be taken into account, when dating the codex. For example, Ficino learned Greek late. He first studied Plato in Latin translations. His first book, the *Platonic Institutions* (1456, now lost) relied on Latin authors and translations of the Platonic dialogues. In 1462 Ficino produced his first Latin translation of Greek texts including the first dialogues of Plato, the *Hymns* of Orpheus, and Zoroaster's sayings. In 1463 he produced a Latin translation of the *Hermetic Texts*. After that he had been translating Plato's dialogues until 1469. From 1484 to 1492 he had been translating and commenting Plotinus, Porphyry and Proclus. In 1489 he wrote his work *The Three Books of Life*. Ficino's *Letters* were published in 1495. His commentaries of Plato and his translations and commentaries of Dionysius were published in 1496. In 1497 his translation of Iamblichus and of Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art* was published. Ficino died in 1499.

So, Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks* V F 20, 138^r–140^v was written/copied by Ficino between the 1460s—when Ficino produced his first Latin translation of Greek texts in 1462—and 1488–1489—when Ficino translated into Latin Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art* V, 138^r–140^v and probably wrote the marginal (some/most of them) notes of Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art*.

The date that the marginal notes were written does not necessarily have to be the same as the V, Fols. 138^r–140^v were written/copied. Ficino made Latin marginal notes in the manuscript related to his work *The Book of Life*, or *The Three Books of Life* (*Liber de Vita* or *De Vita Triplici*) (especially Book 3), which was written in 1489. Consequently, the marginal (some/most of them) notes in Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art* must be written probably shortly before and during 1489 (perhaps around 1488–1489). Kristeller (1937) also asserts that

59 Briquet (1907).

60 Sicherl (1957) 23. Clarke, Dillon and Hershbell follow Sicherl; Clarke, Dillon and Hershbell (2003) xiii.

61 Piccard (1961–1997).

Ficino translated into Latin *De Sacrificio et Magia* in 1488–1489 (Ficino *Opera*, pp. 1928–1929).⁶²

4.1.3 Ficino's Life and Works

Cosimo de' Medici was interested in Plato and in establishing the Platonic Academy in Florence since 1439, when Gemistos Plethon (1355/1360–1452/1454) and Ioannis Argyropoulos (1415–1487) arrived in Florence with the Greek Emperor and Patriarch to discuss a possible union between the Greek and Roman Churches.

Ficino (1433–1499) learned Greek at a later stage of his life. He first studied Plato in Latin translations. His first book, the *Platonic Institutions* (1456, now lost) relied on Latin authors and translations of the Platonic dialogues. When Cosimo read it, he advised Ficino to start learning Greek before publishing anything else (*Letters* 10, 12). In his *Letter* 7 on “Divine Frenzy” written the following year (1457) Ficino refers to Plato's *Phaedrus*, probably relying on Leonardo Bruni's translation of this Platonic dialogue (1424).⁶³ However, Ficino writes in his *Letter* 86 to Lorenzo de' Medici, who became the ruler of Florence in 1469, that he had been discussing philosophy with Cosimo for more than twelve years.⁶⁴ Ficino was the mentor to Lorenzo de' Medici, who was the grandson of Cosimo de' Medici. So, he must have been engaged and discussed philosophy with Cosimo, who died in 1464, since 1452.

In 1462 Ficino produced his first Latin translation of Greek texts including the first dialogues of Plato, the *Hymns* of Orpheus, and Zoroaster's sayings. In his *Letter* 25 (dated on 9 June 1492), Ficino refers to the *Orphic Hymns*: “I had translated word for word just for myself in my youth.” The *Orphic Hymns* were published in a printed edition in Italy in 1500.⁶⁵

In 1463 Cosimo gave Ficino a villa at Careggi to accommodate the Academy.⁶⁶ (The activities of the Academy were reduced after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492 and the expulsion of the Medici family from Florence in 1494. Ficino himself retired to the country). In 1463 he finished the Latin translation of the *Hermetic Texts*. After that he translated Plato's dialogues until 1469. In 1468 he suffered from melancholy and his friend Giovanni Cavalcanti

62 Kristeller (1937) vol. 1: cxxxiv–cxxxv; Allen (2014) 358. Megna identified Ficino's exemplar as the Vatican library's Palatinus codex gr. 63; Megna (2004) 313–362. Kristeller (1937) cxxxiv–cxxxv. Megna (2004) 313–362. Allen (2014) 353–379.

63 Kristeller et al. (1975) Vol. 1: 14, 176.

64 Kristeller et al. (1975) Vol. 1.

65 Kristeller et al. (2015) Vol. x: 75.

66 For the date 1463 see Kristeller et al. (1975) Vol. 1: xxvii. For the date 1462 see Kristeller (1943) 16.

advised him to write a dialogue about love (this is his commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, *De Amore*).⁶⁷ In 1469 Ficino finished the commentaries on Plato's *Symposium* and *Philebus*. From 1470–1475 Ficino was writing his major work, the *Platonic Theology* (18 books). In 1473 he became a priest and started writing the Christian Religion. In 1487 he became a canon of Florence Cathedral.

From 1484–1492 he was translating and commenting Plotinus, Porphyry and Proclus. In 1489 he wrote his work *The Three Books of Life*. In his *Letter* 29 (dated on 3 August 1492), Ficino mentions that Janus Lascaris selected and brought books from Greece, including commentaries of Proclus on six books of Plato's *Republic*, “Janus Lascaris made two journeys to Greece for Lorenzo in search for manuscripts in monastic and other libraries, one in autumn 1490 in Thessaloniki, Macedonia and Mount Athos, the second from spring to 1491 to the summer 1492, reaching Constantinople before returning via Mount Athos again and Crete. He returned in 1492 with 200 manuscripts”.⁶⁸

Corsi in the *Life of Marsilio Ficino* XI mentions, “Being then fifty-one years old (1484), he undertook the translation of Plotinus ... In the next five years he presented the whole of Plotinus in Latin and produced annotated commentaries on each of the fifty-four books”.⁶⁹ In the *Life of Marsilio Ficino* XII Corsi continues saying, “After these works, he translated Synesius' *On Dreams*, Pselus' *On Daemons*, Iamblichus' *On the Eleusinian [Mysteries] of the Egyptians*, Priscian of Lydia *On Theophrastus Concerning the Soul* ... At the same time, he translated Porphyry's *On Fasting and Means for Reaching the Divine*, also much from Hermias *On Phaedrus*, from Iamblichus *On the Pythagorean School* and from Theon of Smyrna *On Mathematics*. He also translated Alcinous's *Summary* of Plato, together with the *Definitions* of Speusippus, the *Sayings* of Pythagoras, and Xenocrates' *On Consolation*, as well as the extracts from Athenagoras' *On Resurrection*. Furthermore, he translated from Greek into Latin several works of Proclus, namely, *On Alcibiades*, *On the Republic* and *On Priesthood*. He was then in his fifty-eighth year (1491).”⁷⁰

In his *Letter* 30 also on *De Daemonibus*, Ficino mentions: “While I was translating the commentary of Proclus the Platonist on Plato's Alcibiades from Greek to Latin not word for word but according to the meaning ...” Ficino translated an extract from Proclus' Alcibiades commentary in 1488.⁷¹ Ficino's *Letters* were published in 1495. His commentaries on Plato and his translations and

67 Corsi *Life of Marsilio Ficino* VIII; *Letter* 3.

68 Kristeller et al. (2015) Vol. x: 79.

69 Kristeller et al. (1981) Vol. III: 141.

70 Kristeller et al. (1981) Vol. III: 142, 151.

71 Kristeller et al. 2015 (Vol. x) 82.

commentaries on Dionysius were published in 1496. Also, his translation of Iamblichus and of Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art* was published in 1497.

4.2 *MS Laurentianus Plut. 10.32, Fols. 119^r–121^v*

The author examined the manuscript by autopsy and in photographs. The MS Laurentianus Plut. 10.32 is in the Laurenziana library, Florence; and it was copied by Petrus Candidus (15/16th c.).⁷² It is a copy (ἀπόγραφον) of MS Vallicellianus F 20, Fols. 138^r–140^v.⁷³

The emendations, variations or similarities in the Greek text of Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art* between MS Vallicellianus F 20, Fols. 138^r–140^v and MS Laurentianus Plut. 10.32, Fols. 119^r–121^v are:

- Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 1.11 συγκαλινείται codd. V L
- 2.5 ἐφελκύσαντο codd. V L
- 2.10 νοείσθω cod. V νοείσθη cod. L
- 3.6 συναπτύσσοντα codd. V L
- 3.9 ἐνπνέοντας cod. V ἐμπνέοντας corr. cod. L
- 3.10 ἡλιτίμ cod. V ἡλιτίμ cod. L
- 3.13 ἀφιέντα cod. V ἀφιόντι cod. L
- 3.14 σεληνίτιν codd. V L
- 3.15 ἡλιοσέλληνον codd. V L
- 4.15 ὄφθησαν codd. V L
- 4.17 τι τῶν ἡλικῶν codd. V L
- 4.18 γενέσεως codd. V L
- 5.4 ιδιότητας cod. V ιδιότητας corr. cod. L
- 5.16 ἐπηνήγαγεν cod. V ἐπανήγαγεν corr. cod. L
- 6.2 ἀπόκρη codd. V L
- 7.4 ἐνεργίας codd. V L; but 7.9 ἐνεργείας codd. V L

4.2.1 Contents of MS Laurentianus Plut. 10.32, Fols. 1^r–174^v

MS Laurentianus Plut. 10.32 was copied by Petrus Candidus (1455/1460–1513).

1. Fols. 1^r–118^v: Tit.: no title (*Iamblichus De Mysteriis*)

Scholion: Ἰστέον—ἱστορήσαντα. Inc.: Ἀβάμωνος διδασκάλου. Des.: ἀπορημάτων λύσεις.

⁷² Sicherl (1957) 22–27, 79–83, 220; Copenhaver (1988) 84, 103.

⁷³ Kristeller (1986) writes: “Iamblichus and Proclus are copied from Vallicellianus F 20, the Proclus probably for Ficino.” Kristeller (1986) 15–196, at 85.

Fols: 118^r–121^r (and 124^r, 146^r and 172^r) have wrong numbering written on the top right:

Existing foliation	Reconstructed foliation
(: wrong folio numbering)	(: correct folio numbering)
118 ^r	119 ^r
119 ^r	120 ^r
120 ^r	121 ^r
121 ^r	122 ^r
124 ^r	125 ^r
146 ^r	147 ^r
172 ^r	173 ^r

However, the above folios are indicated with the existing foliation and not with the reconstructed one.

2. Fol. 118^r: Tit.: *Amelius de Johannis theologia*. Inc.: καὶ οὗτος ἄρα. Des.: τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταχθῆναι. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 19.1).
3. Fols. 118^{r-v}: Tit.: *Numenius Pythagoreus de Ente*. Inc.: φέρ' οὖν ὅση. Des.: προσαναγκάζεσθαι. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 10.1–7).
4. Fol. 119^r: Tit.: *Philon de secunda causa*. Inc.: εὐπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς. Des.: πρωτογόνον αὐτοῦ λόγον. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 15.1–2).
5. Fols. 119^r–121^v: *Πρόκλου Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἑλλήνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης*. Inc.: Ὡσπερ οἱ ἐρωτικοὶ. Des.: καὶ θεῖαις ἐχρήσαντο δυνάμεσι.
6. Fols. 121^v–122^v: Tit.: *Porphirii testus (sic) quod anima non sit actus corporis, sed quod immortalis*. Inc.: αὐτίκα λόγον ἰσχυρόν. Des.: ψυχρὸν ὃν καθ' ἑαυτό. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 28.1–5 and XV 11.1–2).
7. Fols. 123^v–124^r: Tit.: *Numenius de secunda causa*. Inc.: τὸν μέλλοντα δέ. Des.: πρεσβύτερος καὶ θειότερος. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 18.1–3, 6–9, 22–23).
Fol. 124^v: Blank
8. Fol. 124^r–145^v: Tit.: *Ἀθηναγόρου ἀθηναίου φιλοσόφου χριστιανοῦ περὶ ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν*.
9. Fol. 145^v–172^v: Tit.: *Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου καὶ μάρτυρος λόγος παραινετικός πρὸς Ἑλλήνας*. = Migne PG 6, 242–311.
Fol. 174^{r-v}: Blank

4.2.2 The Dating of MS Laurentianus Plut. 10.32, Fols. 119^r–121^v from Watermarks and other Sources

The watermarks of L (Plut. 10.32), Fols. 119^r–121^v of *Πρόκλου Περι τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνικὰς ἱερατικῆς τέχνης* are: Fols. 3^v, 169^v: the watermark of two pointed arrows and a star (upper part): The watermark is similar to Briquet n. 6298 (Pistoie, Italian paper, 1511); and Briquet n. 6298 (Florence, Italian paper, 1511–1519). These watermarks are dated before Petrus Candidus' death (1513).⁷⁴ Petrus Candidus was skilled in Greek, staying in Crete for about five years (around 1491–1496).

4.2.3 Petrus Candidus' Life and Works

Petrus Candidus (1455/1460 ca–1513), monk Pietro from Portici (Pietro da Portici), a monk of Santa Maria degli Angeli of Florence, known as Pietro Candido from the colour of his monastic dress.⁷⁵ He should not to be confused with Pietro Candido Decembrio (in Latin Petrus Candidus Decembrius) (1399–1477).⁷⁶ Petrus Candidus was born in Portico in Romagna in the first decades of the second half of the 15th century (1455–1460 ca). He was ordained a monk in the hermitage of Camaldoli in Casentino (Arezzo) in 1481; the following year, 1482, he was appointed Chancellor of the general of the Order of Florence Pietro Delfino.

He was trained in Greek language and the correction of Greek texts. In order to improve his knowledge of the Greek language, he obtained permission from Delfino to travel to Crete, where he remained for five years (around 1491–1496), in order to become a skilled scholar in Greek language and an expert in rhetoric and philosophy. He returned to Italy with a precious collection of Greek books and codices which became part of his rich personal library collection.

In 1498 his personal library collection passed to the monastery of the Angels in Florence, where it remained after his death. Between 1500 and 1506 he was a prior of Castrocaro; in 1507 he stayed for a short period in Bologna and he also spent some time in Rome. In the second half of 1508 he became the director of the abbey of S. Stefano Cintorio in Pisa. He died in 1513 in the monastery of the Angels in Florence. He printed the *Souda Lexicon* in Milan (1499) and published a Greek-Latin lexicon from the library of Fulvio Orsini and two other lexicons, one from the monastery of the Angels in Florence and other from the

74 Sicherl (1957) and Copenhaver (1988) support that MS L Plut. 10.31 was copied after 1461. Sicherl (1957) 22–27, 79–83, 220; Copenhaver (1988) 84, 103.

75 See the entry on *Candido, Pietro* in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 17: 785–786. <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-candido>.

76 See also Sicherl (1957) 81–82.

hermitage of Camaldoli. However, his most famous work was the Giuntina edition of Lucretius (Lucretii *Cari De rerum natura* libri VI, Florentiae, 1512). He was in contact with famous humanists of his time, such as Carteromaco, with whom he prepared the Aldine edition of Demosthenes; he collaborated with Marullo, publishing amendments to Lucretius; he was a friend to Poliziano; he also collaborated with Aldo Manuzio.

4.3 *Comparison between MS V, Fols. i–144^r and MS L, Fols. 1^r–124^r*

The comparison between the contents of MS V, folios v 138^r–144^r (of Part 1: Fols. i–172) and MS L, folios 119^r–124^r show that their contents are the same, but in a different order.

Another very important point is that MSS V, 141–144 and L, 119^r–124^r use a collection of extracts from Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*.

Eusebius' fourth (310s and 329s AD) century work of *Praeparatio Evangelica* was one of the bestsellers of the Renaissance, and it was translated into Latin by the Greek philosopher and humanist George of Trebizond (Georgios Trapezountios, 1395–1486) in Rome in 1448 for Pope Nicholas V.⁷⁷ It was in fact the first book to be printed by the press of Nicholas Jenson in Venice in 1470.⁷⁸ Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* was also very influential for the Italian Renaissance philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's (1463–1494) oration *A Speech by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Price of Concord* (composed in 1486).

Eusebius used in *Praeparatio Evangelica* a methodology of extensive quotations either from the writings of the ancient pagan philosophers or from authors who quoted them. The technique of collecting extracts in the form of short separate essays (from Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*) followed in MS V, Fols. 141–144 and MS L, 119^r–124^r may suggest that *Πρόκλου Περι τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνικὰς ἱερατικῆς τέχνης* is similarly an extract with the title *Proclus' On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks*, deriving from a bigger treatise of Proclus. It could possibly be part of his lost two volume treatise *Περὶ ἀγωγῆς* or even his work on *Περὶ μυθικῶν συμβόλων*.

4.4 *Ficino's Edited Translations of Proclus' de Sacrificio et Magia*

In 1497 Ficino's translation of Iamblichus, Proclus and other authors was published in Venice. This edition contains:⁷⁹

77 Monfasani (1984) 721–722 and (2009) 3–13. See also Wilson (1992).

78 Lowry (1991).

79 Venice 1497 edition and Index: Ficinus, Marsilius (ed. and transl.). *Index eorum quae hoc in libro habentur. Iamblichus de Mysteriis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum. Proclus in Platonicum Alcibiadem de Anima, atq(ue) Daemone. Proclus de Sacrificio et Magia. Porphyrius de Divinis atq(ue) Daemonibus. Synesius Platonicus de Somniis. Psellus de Dae-*

Index eorum quae hoc in libro habentur.

1. *Iamblichus de Mysteriis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum.*
2. *Proclus in Platicum Alcibiadem de Anima, atq(ue) Daemone.*
3. *Proclus de Sacrificio et Magia.*
4. *Porphyrus de Divinis atq(ue) Daemonibus.*
5. *Synesius Platonicus de Somniis.*
6. *Psellus de Daemonibus.*⁸⁰
7. *Expositio Prisciani et Marsilii in Theophrastu(m) De Sensu, Phantasia et Intellectu.*
8. *Alcinoi Platonici Philosophi Liber de doctri(n)a Platonis.*
9. *Speusippi Platonis Discipuli Liber de Platonis Difinitionibus.*
10. *Pythagorae Philosophi Aurea Verba.*
11. *Symbola Pithagorae Philosophi.*
12. *Xenocratis Philosophi Platonici Liber de Morte.*
13. *Marsilii Ficini Liber de Voluptate.*

The reedition of this volume in 1516 (Venice) also contains the following additional translations:⁸¹

14. *Mercurii Trismegisti Pimander.*
15. *Eiusdem Asclepius.*
16. *Marsilii Ficini De Triplici Vita Libri II.*
17. *Eiusdem Liber de Voluptate.*

monibus. Expositio Prisciani et Marsilii in Theophrastu(m) De Sensu, Phantasia et Intellectu. Alcinoi Platonici Philosophi Liber de doctri(n)a Platonis. Speusippi Platonis Discipuli Liber de Platonis Difinitionibus. Pythagorae Philosophi Aurea Verba. Symbola Pithagorae Philosophi. Xenocratis Philosophi Platonici Liber de Morte. Marsilii Ficini Liber de Voluptate. Venetiis: In aedibus Aldi, Mense Septembri, M. MDI 1497.

⁸⁰ See Gautier (1980) 127–128.

⁸¹ Venice 1516 edition and Index: Ficinus, Marsilius (ed. and transl.). *Index eorum quae hoc in libro habentur. Iamblichus de Mysteriis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum. Proclus in Platicum Alcibiadem de Anima, atq(ue) Daemone. 'Proclus de Sacrificio et Magia.' Porphyrus de Divinis atq(ue) Daemonibus. Synesius Platonicus de Somniis. Psellus de Daemonibus. Expositio Prisciani et Marsilii in Theophrastu(m) De Sensu, Phantasia et Intellectu. Alcinoi Platonici Philosophi Liber de doctri(n)a Platonis. Speusippi Platonis Discipuli Liber de Platonis Difinitionibus. Pythagorae Philosophi Aurea Verba. Symbola Pithagorae Philosophi. Xenocratis Philosophi Platonici Liber de Morte. 'Mercurii Trismegisti Pimander. Eiusdem Asclepius. Marsilii Ficini De Triplici Vita Libri II. Eiusdem Liber de Voluptate. Eiusdem de Sole et Lumine Libri II. Apologia eiusdem in Librum suum de Lumine. Eiusdem Libellus de Magis. Quod Necessaria sit Securitas et Tranquillitas Animi. Praeclarissimarum Sententiarum huius Operis brevis Annotario.* (Venice, 1516).

18. *Eiusdem de Sole et Lumine Libri II.*
19. *Apologia eiusdem in Librum suum de Lumine.*
20. *Eiusdem Libellus de Magis.*
21. *Quod Necessaria sit Securitas et Tranquillitas Animi.*
22. *Praeclarissimarum Sententiarum huius Operis brevis Annotatio.*

In the 2nd volume of Ficino's *Opera* (1576), Proclus' *de Sacrificio et Magia* is included:

...

7. *Iamblichus de Mysteriis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum.*
8. *Proclus in Alcibiadem Platicum de Anima, atq(ue) Daemonem.*
9. *Proclus de Sacrificio et Magia.*
10. *Porphyrius de Occasionibus ...*
11. *Porphyrius de Animi ascensu et descensu.*
12. *Psellus de Daemonibus.*⁸²
13. *Alcinous de Doctrina Platonis.*
14. *Speusippus de Definitionibus Platonis.*
15. *Xenocratis de Morte Liber.*
16. *Pythagorae Philosophi Aurea Verba.*

Accesserunt et alia plurima ...

5 Text, Transmission, Modern Studies

As mentioned above, the Greek text of Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks* was translated in Latin by Ficino and published in 1497 with the title *Opus Procli de Sacrificio et Magia*.⁸³ The *de Sacrificio et Magia* since then thought to be the Latin translation of the 'lost' Greek original text. The Latin translation was reedited by Kroll in his *Analecta Graeca* in 1901, who also attempted to retranslate the Latin text into Greek.⁸⁴ Thomas Taylor translated the Latin *de sacrificio et magia* into English.⁸⁵

82 See Gautier (1980) 127–128.

83 For the contents of the 1497 Venice edition see Intro.: Sect. IV.4 and n. 75 above.

84 Kroll (1901). Kristeller (1986) also notes: "The Greek text of *De Sacrificio et Magia* was long believed lost, and Kroll retranslated Ficino's Latin version into Greek (1901). The Greek text was rediscovered by Bidez in V F 20 and L 10.32, both of them used by Ficino." Kristeller (1986) 15–196, at 144.

85 It is included in: Raine and Mills (1969) 194–197.

The original Greek text preserved in Ms Vallicellianus F 20, fols. 138^r–140^v was discovered and edited by Bidez in 1928 in Appendices of volume six on *Michel Psellus* of *Catalogue des Manuscrits Alchimiques Grecs* (pp. 137–151).⁸⁶ Festugière included a French translation of the text in the first volume on *L'Astrologie et les Sciences Occultes* of *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* in 1944.⁸⁷ Brian Copenhaver also has a translation in English in the appendix of his chapter “Hermes Trismegistus, Proclus and the Question of a Philosophy of Magic in the Renaissance” (1988).⁸⁸

6 The Title *Πρόκλου Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνικὰς ἱερατικῆς τέχνης*, “Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks*”

Bidez (1928a) notes a close connection of Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art* with various passages of Psellus’ comments on the *Chaldaean Oracles*,⁸⁹ and he further proposes that the title was not written by Proclus, but it was later added by the compiler of the extract, Michael Psellus (a “*fidèle écho de Proclus*,” as described by Bidez): “Le titre de notre inédit parle d’une liturgie hellénique (καθ’ Ἑλληνικὰς). Mais ce titre n’est assurément pas de Proclus: il ne remonte pas plus haut que le compilateur à qui nous devons notre extrait.”⁹⁰

Bidez (1936) also asserts about the extract, its title and its relation to Psellus, “Vraisemblablement, cet opuscule n’est qu’un centon d’extraits tirés—par Psellus sans doute—d’une œuvre de Proclus, sous le nom duquel le morceau fut laissé”;⁹¹ and “Si le titre *Περὶ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τέχνης*—donné par notre manuscrit

86 Bidez (1928) Vol. VI: 137–151. See also Bidez (1936) 85–100.

87 Festugière (1944) Vol. I: 134–136.

88 Copenhaver (1988) 79–110.

89 “Quoi qu’il en soit, nous constatons qu’il provient d’un ouvrage adressé, comme une sorte d’épître, à un correspondant. D’autre part, comme on le verra bientôt, notre inédit *Περὶ τῆς καθ’ Ἑλληνικὰς ἱερατικῆς τέχνης* se rattache, parfois de fort près, aux nombreux passages où Psellus—*fidèle écho de Proclus*—caractérise ‘l’art hiératique’ ou ‘la science télélique’ des théurges chaldéens.” Bidez (1928a) Vol. VI: 137–151, at 141–142.

90 Bidez (1928a) Vol. VI: 137–151, at 142.

91 Also: “Composé de la même manière qu’une ‘psychogonie’ empruntée par le polygraphe byzantin au commentaire du même néoplatonicien sur le *Timée*, notre centon est fort intelligemment conçu. On y trouve une série de phrases choisies dans l’exposé de Proclus afin d’en dégager certains traits caractéristiques.” Bidez (1936) 85–100, at 86. Lewy (1978) notes that the treatise *περὶ τῆς καθ’ Ἑλληνικὰς ἱερατικῆς τέχνης* “is, as Bidez, *Melanges Cumont*, 86, suggests, an excerpt made by Psellus from another part of Proclus’ commentary on the *Chaldaean Oracles*.” Lewy (1978) 477.

au morceau de Proclus—ne provient pas de l’auteur, ce titre répond en tous cas au contenu de l’extrait.”⁹²

Lewy (1978) refers to the two volumes of Proclus’ *Περὶ ἀγωγῆς* and notes that “There is no evidence that Psellus knew this work of Proclus.”⁹³ However, Psellus’ question ‘διὰ τί, γὰρ φησιν ὁ Πρόκλος, ὁ λέων τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα ὑπέσταλται;’ (*Theologica* I, *Opusculum* 51.38 Gautier 1989) shows that Psellus must have been aware of Proclus’ fragmentary treatise *On the Hieratic Art* and its reference to the lion and cock: ὑποστέλλεται γὰρ ὁ λέων, φασί, τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα, “for, they say, the lion shrinks back before the cock.” (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 4.9).⁹⁴

Nevertheless, Bidez does not provide any evidence for his supposition that the title was added later by Michael Psellus who, according to Bidez, compiled the extract from the works of Proclus. Also, Psellus’ work “*Exegesis of the Chaldaean Oracles*” on its own does not justify Bidez’s suggestion. Moreover, the authorship of *De Operatione Daemonum* (*/De Daemonibus*)⁹⁵ and *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus* (“*Περὶ Δαιμόνων Δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες*”)⁹⁶—passages of which may allude to Iamblichus and Proclus—by Psel-

92 Also: “C’est bien de la science et de l’art hiératique que Proclus traite dans cette élucubration, le mot *ἱερατικός*, qui proprement veut dire ‘sacerdotal.’ Prenant ici une signification particulière à cause des fonctions d’initiateur que la théurgie attribue au prêtre. Quant à la détermination *καθ’ Ἑλληνας*—et non *κατὰ τοὺς Χαλδαίους*—due manifestement à quelque lecteur byzantin, elle répond au caractère foncièrement païen de la doctrine de Proclus.” Bidez (1936): 85–100, at 89.

93 Lewy (1978) 71, n. 15: “According to Suidas (Souda), s. v. Πρόκλος, Proclus composed two volumes *περὶ ἀγωγῆς* (i.e. on methods of magical conjuration), while Marinus, *Vit. Procl.* 28 (quoted ch. iv, n. 64) states that one of his writings (title not mentioned) treated of the manifestations of Hecate. Praechter, *Byzant. Zeitschrift* xxvi (1926), p. 259, n. 4 suggests that this work may be identical with the one referred to by Souda: cf. Excursus x as well as ch. v, n. 109. Concerning the ἀγωγὴ Ἑκάτης of the Theurgists see ch. 1, n. 152. Procl. *In Tl.* 111. 131. 26 calls Hecate, as her initiate, “mistress” (δέσποινα). There is no evidence that Psellus (see notes 22–23) knew this work of Proclus.”

94 See discussion on Psellus in Comm.: Sect. 4.5–6, 9, 12, 17–18 on Λέοντες καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνες, “lions and cocks.”

95 Boissonade (1838) 1–36; PG 122, 819–874; Bidez (1928b) vi: 119–131; Gautier (1980) 133–194.

96 The treatise was first published with the title *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus* (“*Περὶ Δαιμόνων Δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες*” pp. 36–43) included in Boissonade’s edition *Michael Psellus’ De Operatione Daemonum* (Boissonade 1838, 36–43). Later Bidez published “La Démonologie de Psellus et le Traité De operatione daemonum” (1928b, 119–131, esp. 128–129) included in volume vi on *Michel Psellus of Catalogue des Manuscrits alchimiques Grecs*; Bidez (1928b) Vol. vi: 128–129. However, the authorship of the *De Operatione Daemonum* (*/De Daemonibus*) and *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus*—passages of which may allude to Iamblichus and Proclus—by Psellus has been questioned by modern authors, suggesting possible authorship by Nicholas of Methone. Gautier (1980) 105–194 and (1988) 85–107.

lus has been questioned by modern scholars.⁹⁷ Gautier in his articles, “Le de daemonibus du Pseudo-Psellos” (1980) and “Pseudo-Psellos: Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus” (1988) very persuasively argues that the above treatises were not written by Psellus, focusing on codicological arguments and other important issues of content.⁹⁸ Duffy and O’Meara also did not include them in their edition of *Michaelis Pselli Philosophica Minora* vol. II (O’Meara 1989) in the belief that they were not written by Psellus, referring to Gautier’s article (1980).⁹⁹

Furthermore, as argued in previous sections,¹⁰⁰ the Greek text of Πρόκλου *Περὶ τῆς καθ’ Ἑλληνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης* is preserved in the codex Vallicellianus F 20, folios 138^r–140^v, included in the folios 138^r–144^r, which are a compilation of Greek texts selected and copied by Ficino with Latin marginal notes also by Ficino. Accordingly, the folios v 141–144 are all excerpts from Eusebius’ *Praeparatio Evangelica*.¹⁰¹

Fol. v 141^{r-v}: Tit.: *Porphyrii testus (sic) quod anima non sit actus corporis, sed quod immortalis.* (= Eus. *PE* XI.28.1–5 and XV.11.1–2);

Fol. v 142^{r-v}: Tit.: *Numenius De Secunda Causa.* (= Eus. *PE* XI.18.1–3, 6–9, 22–23);

Fols. v 142^v–143^r: Tit.: *Amelius De Johannis Theologia.* (= Eus. *PE* XI.19.1);

Fol. v 143^{r-v}: *Numenius Pythagoreus de Ente.* (= Eus. *PE* XI.10.1–7);

Fols. v 144^r: Tit.: *Philon De Secunda Causa.* (= Eus. *PE* XI.15.1–2).

Thus, in the compilation of Greek texts included in the folios v 138^r–144^r, the folios v 141–144 are all excerpts from Eusebius’ *Praeparatio Evangelica*. However, the folios v 138^r–140^v are not of course an excerpt from Eusebius’ *Praeparatio Evangelica*.

So, the technique of collecting extracts in the form of short separate essays (from Eusebius’ *Praeparatio Evangelica*) followed in MS V, Fols. 141^r–144^r (and MS L, Fols. 119^r–124^r which is a copy of V) may suggest that the Πρόκλου *Περὶ τῆς καθ’ Ἑλληνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης* is similarly an extract with the title *Proclus’ On the*

97 Gautier (1980) 105–194 and (1988) 85–107. Greenfield (1988) 155–156 and n. 486; O’Meara (1989) Vol. II: vii and n. 3 on Gautier’s article (1980). Also, O’Meara (2014) 165–181. See discussion in Comm.: Sect. 1.2.b and n. 22; and Comm.: Sect. 2.2–3 and n. 80 below.

98 On (Pseudo-)Psellus’ *De Daemonibus* and possible authorship by Nicholas of Methone see Gautier (1980) 105–194 and (1988) 85–107.

99 Gautier (1980) 105–194 and (1988) 85–107. O’Meara (1989) Vol. II: vii and n. 3 on Gautier’s article (1980). Also, O’Meara (2014) 165–181.

100 See Intro.: Sect. IV.1.a–d above.

101 On Ficino and Eusebius’ *Praeparatio Evangelica* see Monfasani (2009) 3–13.

Hieratic Art according to the Greeks, deriving from a larger treatise of Proclus. It could be part of his lost two volume treatise *Περὶ ἀγωγῆς*, or even his work *Περὶ μυθικῶν συμβόλων*. But there still remains an unanswered question: Did Ficino himself compile the extract, which derives from a larger treatise of Proclus that we have lost since Ficino's time? Or did Ficino only give a title to an excerpt that has already been compiled by another author (e.g. Psellus)? For there is obviously a difference between giving a title to an excerpt that has already been compiled by another author, and compiling an excerpt of one's own. Thus, the phrase καθ' Ἑλλήνας from the title might have been a later addition by Ficino, or someone between him and Proclus, or even, though less probable, by Proclus to specify and highlight that they were dealing with theurgy, neither 'according to the Chaldaeans', nor 'according to the Egyptians', but 'according to the Greeks.'

Nevertheless, many lines in *Proclus' On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks* are clarified by the numerous similar references, expressions, repetitions or even quotations in other works of Proclus.¹⁰² The methodology of comparing similar passages in detail in all the works of Proclus has been followed in this commentary. Hence, that comparison process itself has been illuminating the extract of *Proclus' On the Hieratic Art*, and proving that it could be by itself a self-contained and concentrated treatise.

7 Book Description

The Introduction includes sections on Proclus' life and on the Orphic and Chaldaean Theologies; Proclus' complete works; Proclus' lost works or those preserved in fragments on theological tradition, Orphic theology and theurgy; *Proclus' On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks and his lost works*, *Περὶ Ἀγωγῆς* and *Περὶ Μυθικῶν Συμβόλων*; a detailed description, dates and comparison of the Ancient Manuscripts: *MS Vallicellianus F 20, Fols. 138^r–140^v* and *MS Laurentianus Plut. 10.32, Fols. 119^r–121^v*; text description, transmission and modern studies; and a book description. There follows a list of Abbreviations of Proclus' works used in this study, Abbreviations of the works of Orpheus and the *Chaldean Oracles*, a list of other Abbreviations, and a Critical Apparatus.

¹⁰² For example, compare: Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 6.1: Ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ μία πόα καὶ λίθος εἰς ἀρκεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον· with Procl. *In Ti.* 1.111.10–12 ὅπου καὶ μέχρι πόας καὶ λίθων ἡ τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἐφόρων ιδιότης καθήκει, καὶ ἔστι λίθος καὶ πόα τῆς Ἡλιακῆς ἐξηρητημέναι δυνάμεως, εἴτε ἡλιοτρόπιον εἴτε ἄλλως ὁπωσὺν καλεῖν ἐθέλοις; Also, Procl. *In Ti.* 1.124.16–29 = The exact passage is quoted in Procl. *In R.* 1.124.17–30 etc.

There follows a Critical Edition of the Greek text with Translation and Commentary.

The Appendix is a description of the whole contents of the *MS Vallicellianus F 20*.

The study offers a systematic investigation and presentation of Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks*, examining the characteristics and the four important stages of the hieratic-theurgic union, and comparing them with other references in philosophical and magico-religious texts (e.g. the extracts from Proclus' *Chaldaean Philosophy*, Plotinus' *Enneads*, Iamblichus' *De Mysteriis*, the fragments of the *Chaldaean Oracles* and the Greek magical papyri). The first stage, "the preparatory heating," according to Proclus' treatise, is based on "sympathy"; the second, "the approach and the good positioning" on "the use of the materials of the hieratic art at the due time and in the familiar procedure"; the third, "the transmission of the fire" on "the presence of the divine light"; and the fourth, "the kindling/lightning" on "the divinisation of mortals" and "the illumination of things enmattered."

It discusses philosophical issues that theurgy is engaged with, such as: the notion of mixing based on the concept of unity and diversity and the relationship between one and many; the various aspects of the powers of nature, and the role of the natural sympathies in the relationship between individual entities and the divine. It also examines the function of initiatory rites (*tele-tai*) in theurgy, such as the role of *synthêmata*, symbols, statues, purifications, invocations and epiphanies. It illustrates the above issues with examples from philosophy, mysteries and magic, paying particular attention to the interactions between philosophy, mysteries and magic regarding the hieratic-theurgic unions. Particularly, the philosophical and medical notion of mixing based on the relationship between one and many is illustrated by the example of the various attributes of the god Helios in different entities, as emphasised in Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art*, Iamblichus' *De Mysteriis* and the Greek magical papyri. The focus is also put on the role of sympathy in the various stages of the theurgic union. Plotinus' parallel references to the sympathetic powers of Eros inside different entities is also analysed. Finally, attention is paid to the importance of *synthêmata*, symbols and statues in the theurgic union.

Critical Apparatus

V, L the signs (sigla) of the MSS identified.

V MS Vallicellianus F 20

L MS Laurentianus Plut. 10.32

MS(s). (= manuscript/-s) = cod(d). = *codex* (/codices)

V^{mg.} = schol. in mg. = scholium in margine (= scholium written in the margin of the manuscript V)

mg. = *margo* (= margin)

schol(l). = scholium (/scholia)

V^{s.l.} = schol. s.l. (= scholium written above the line of the manuscript V)

s.l. = *supra lineam* (= above the line)

add. = *addidit* (= added)

an, anne ...? (= perhaps)

cf. = *confer* (= compare)

corr. = *correctio* (= correction)

del. = *delevit* (= deleted) / *delevi* (= I have deleted)

emend. = *emendavit* (= emended)

fr. = *fragmentum* (= fragment)

recte (= rightly)

sim. = *similia* (= similar words)

sup. = *supra* (= above, superior)

suppl. = *supplevit* (= completed)

vel (= or)

vel sim. = *vel simile* (/ *uel similia/-es*) (= or some similar word/-s; or some similar conjecture/-s)

vd. = *vide* (= see)

Text and Translation



Πρόκλου

Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης

1 "Ὡσπερ οἱ ἐρωτικοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει καλῶν ὁδῶ προϊόντες
 ἐπ' αὐτὴν καταντῶσι τὴν μίαν τῶν καλῶν πάντων καὶ νοητῶν ἀρχήν,
 5 οὕτως καὶ οἱ ἱερατικοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς φαινομένοις ἅπασι συμπα-
 θείας πρὸς τε ἄλληλα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀφανεῖς δυνάμεις, πάντα ἐν πᾶσι
 κατανοήσαντες, τὴν ἐπιστήμην τὴν ἱερατικὴν συνεστήσαντο, θαυ-
 μάσαντες τῷ βλέπειν ἔν τε τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 10 ἐσχάτοις τὰ πρώτιστα, ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν τὰ χθόνια κατ' αἰτίαν καὶ
 οὐρανίως, ἐν τε γῇ τὰ οὐράνια γηϊνῶς. Ἡ πόθεν ἡλιοτρόπια μὲν
 ἡλίῳ, σεληνοτρόπια δὲ σελήνῃ συγκινεῖται συμπεριπολοῦντα ἐς
 δύναμιν τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου φωστήρσιν; Εὐχεται γὰρ πάντα κατὰ τὴν
 οἰκειάν τάξιν καὶ ὕμνῃ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν σειρῶν ὅλων ἢ νοερῶς ἢ
 λογικῶς ἢ φυσικῶς ἢ αἰσθητῶς· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἡλιοτρόπιον ᾧ ἔστιν
 15 εὐλυτον, τούτῳ κινεῖται καί, εἰ δὴ τις αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν περιστροφὴν
 ἀκούειν τὸν ἀέρα πλήσσοντος οἷός τε ἦν, ὕμνον ἂν τινα διὰ τοῦ
 ἤχου τούτου συνήσθετο τῷ Βασιλεῖ προσάγοντος, ὃν δύναται
 φυτὸν ὕμνεῖν.

2 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ γῇ χθονίως ἔστιν ἡλίους καὶ σελήνας ὁρᾶν, ἐν
 οὐρανῷ δὲ οὐρανίως τὰ τε φυτὰ πάντα καὶ λίθους καὶ ζῶα, ζῶντα
 νοερῶς. Ἄ δὴ κατιδόντες οἱ πάλαι σοφοί, τὰ μὲν ἄλλοις, τὰ δὲ
 5 ἄλλοις προσάγοντες τῶν οὐρανίων, ἐπήγοντο θείας δυνάμεις εἰς τὸν
 θνητὸν τόπον καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἐφειλκύσαντο· ἱκανὴ γάρ ἢ
 ὁμοιότης συνάπτειν τὰ ὄντα ἀλλήλοις· ἐπεὶ καί, εἴ τις θρυαλλίδα
 προθερμῆνας ὑπόσχοι τῷ λυχναίῳ φωτὶ μὴ πόρρω τοῦ πυρός,
 ἴδοι ἂν αὐτὴν ἐξαπτομένην μὴ ψαύουσιν τοῦ πυρός, καὶ τὴν ἔξαψιν
 10 ἄνωθεν τοῦ κατωτέρω γινομένην. Ἀναλόγως οὖν ἢ μὲν προθέρμαν-
 σις νοεῖσθω σοὶ τῇ συμπαθείᾳ τῶν τῆδε πρὸς ἐκεῖνα, ἢ δὲ προσα-
 γωγὴ καὶ ἐν καλῷ θέσις τῇ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τέχνης κατὰ τε καιρὸν τὸν

1: 2–9 *Eadem dixit Porphyrius in propositionibus. Vide Mercurium et Plotinum et Iamblichum et Alchindum et tua scripta* V^{mss}. 8 τῷ βλέπειν cf. Procl. *In Alc.* I.120.1–2, 6 τὸ 'οἶμαι σε θαυμάζειν', τὸ 'εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι θαυμάζεις', τῷ 'οἶμαι' 11 συγκινεῖται corr. Bid. συγκλινεῖται V cf. κινεῖται I.15 συγκινεῖται 5.1 cf. Procl. *In R.* II.161.21, 26–27 συγκινούμενα, συμπεριπολεῖν

2: 5 ἐφειλκύσαντο corr. Bid. ἐφελκύσαντο V 6 sup. θρυαλλίδα *herbam ex qua papyri lucernarum et ipse papyrus* V^{s.l.} 8 sup. ἐξαπτομένην *accensam* V^{s.l.} sup. ψαύουσιν *tangentem* V^{s.l.}

*Proclus**On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks*

1 Just as lovers proceed methodically from the beautiful things perceived through the senses and attain the one principle of all good and intelligible things, in the same way the leaders of the hieratic art [proceeding] from the *sympathy* [which exists] in all apparent things to one another and to the invisible powers, having understood that all things are included in all things, established the hieratic science, because they were amazed to see the last in the first, and the first in the last; in heaven the earthly in a causal and heavenly manner; and in the earth heavenly things in an earthly manner. Otherwise, how do the *heliotropes* move together with the sun, and the *selenotropes* with the moon, going around as far as possible with the [heavenly] luminaries [i.e. sun and the moon] of the cosmos? Hence all things pray according to their own order, and recite hymns to the leaders of all the chains either intellectually, or logically, or naturally, or sensibly. For indeed the *heliotrope* is also moving toward that to which it easily opens and, if anyone was able to hear it striking the air during its turning around, he would have been aware of it presenting to the king through this sound the hymn that a plant can sing.

2 Thus, in the earth it is possible to see suns and moons terrestrially, and in the heaven [it is possible to see] celestially all the plants and stones and animals being present intellectually. So, the ancient wise men by understanding these well, attributing some of the heavenly things to one set of objects and some to another, brought divine powers into the region of mortals, and they attracted them through resemblance. For resemblance is able to join together the beings between each other; for if someone first heats up a wick and then puts it under the light of a lamp not far from the fire, he/she will see that the wick is inflamed, although it does not touch the fire, and that the lighting proceeds from above to the lower. Thus, you should understand the preparatory warming to be analogous to the *sympathy* of things here to things there, the approach

πρέποντα καὶ τρόπον τὸν οἰκεῖον προσχρήσει τῶν ὑλῶν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ
 πυρὸς διάδοσις τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ θείου φωτὸς εἰς τὸ δυνάμενον
 μετέχειν, ἡ δὲ ἑξαψὶς τῇ θειώσει τῶν θνητῶν καὶ τῇ περιλάμψει τῶν
 15 ἐνύλων, ἃ δὴ κινεῖται πρὸς τὸ ἄνω λοιπὸν κατὰ τὸ μετασχεθὲν ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν σπέρμα θεῖον, ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς ἑξαφθείσης θρυαλλίδος φῶς.

3 Καὶ ὁ λωτὸς δὲ παρίστησι τὴν συμπάθειαν, μεμικρῶς μὲν πρὸ τῶν
 ἡλιακῶν αὐγῶν, διαπτυσσόμενος δὲ πῶς ἡρέμα τοῦ ἡλίου πρῶτον
 φανέντος, καὶ ὅσον ὑψοῦται τὸ φῶς, ἐξαπλούμενος, καὶ αὐθις συνα-
 γόμενος, ἐπὶ δύοσιν ἰόντος. Τί δὴ οὖν διαφέρει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἴρων-
 5 τας ἢ τιθέντας γένους ἢ τὰ χεῖλη ὑμνεῖν τὸν ἥλιον, ἢ τὸν λωτὸν
 τὰ φύλλα συμπτύσσοντα καὶ ἀναπλοῦντα; Γίγνεται γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν
 γενύων ταῦτα τῷ λωτῷ, καὶ ὁ ὕμνος φυσικός. Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ
 φυτῶν οἷς ὑπάρχει ζωῆς ἵχνος τι γεννητικῆς; Ἀλλὰ καὶ λίθους ἔστιν
 ἰδεῖν ταῖς τῶν φωστήρων ἀπορροαῖς ἐμπνέοντας, ὡς τὸν μὲν
 10 ἡλίτην ταῖς χρυσοειδέσιν ἀκτίσιν ὀρώμεν τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας
 μιμούμενον, τὸν δὲ Βήλου προσαγορευόμενον ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ σχῆμα
 παραπλήσιον ἔχοντα κόραις ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ἐκ μέσης τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ
 κόρης στιλπνὸν ἀφιέντα φῶς, ὃν φασιν ἡλίου χρήναι καλεῖν ὀφθαλ-
 μόν, τὸν δὲ σεληνίτην τύπῳ τε καὶ κινήσει σὺν τῇ σελήνῃ τρεπόμε-
 15 νον, τὸν δὲ ἡλιοσέληνον τῆς συνόδου τῶν φωστήρων τούτων οἶον
 ἄγαλμα ταῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν συνόδοις τε καὶ διαστάσεσιν ἀφομοιωθέν.

4 Οὕτω μεστὰ πάντα θεῶν, τὰ μὲν ἐν γῇ τῶν οὐρανίων, τὰ δὲ ἐν
 οὐρανῷ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ πρόεισιν ἐκάστη πληθυομένη
 σειρά μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πρὸ τῶν πάντων, ταῦτα ἐν
 5 πᾶσιν ἐξεφάνη, ἐν οἷς καὶ ψυχῶν συστάσεις ἄλλων ὑπ' ἄλλοις
 ταττομένων θεοῖς, ἔπειτα ζῶων ἡλιακῶν εἰ τύχοι πλήθος, οἶον λέον-

3: 1 Sic si apponis pedi cerebralia, trahit vim a cerebro; si cordialia a corde si epatica ab epate etc. Similiter si natura propria in homine deficiat, trahes vim ab hac stella vel illa appropinquando huic quae conveniat cum stella, maxime stella vigente/ingente. V^{ms} 5 τιθέντας γένους cf. E. Supp. 1153 παρὰ γένυν τιθέντα σοί, Psel. Theol. Opusc. 1.26.19 γένους τε καὶ χεῖλη 6 συμπτύσσοντα corr. Bid. συναπτύσσοντα V 9 ἐμπνέοντας corr. L ἐπνέοντας V Ego vidi lapillum rotundum et punctis quasi stellis insignitum qui aceto perfusus movebatur primo in rectum al(i)quatenus, mox in girum oberabat, quem credo firmamento esse accomodatum, maxime aceto perfusum. Oportet enim ibi quod natura incohavit arte compleri. Quid quod magnes convenit cum ursa et polo et illuc convertit ferum, quod apparet in instrumento nautarum id polum explorandum? Unde imago ursae impressa magneti [...] suspensa collo cum ferreo monili trah(eret) vim illius ad nos tangendo carnem? V^{ms} 10 ἡλίτην corr. Bid. ἡλιτὶ V et sup. ἡλιτὶ add. μ V^{s.l.} 14 σεληνίτην corr. Bid. σεληνίτιν V 15 ἡλιοσέληνον corr. Bid. ἡλιοσέλληνον V

[attraction] and the good positioning [to be analogous] to the use of the materials of the hieratic art at the proper time and in the right way, the transmission of the fire [to be analogous] to the presence of the divine light to that which is able to receive it, the lighting [to be analogous] to the divinisation of mortals and the illumination of things enmattered, which are subsequently moved to the higher place according to the divine seed in which they participate, just as it is with the light of the kindled wick.

3 The lotus also shows that there is *sympathy*, being closed before the sun's rays, and being unfolded slowly, as the sun first arises; and as long as the light is raised up, being spread out, and being contracted back, when the sun sets. So, how does it differ when people open or close mouths and lips to hymn the sun, from when the lotus folds and unfolds its petals? For the lotus has these [petals] instead of the mouth, and its hymn is a natural one. But why should we talk about plants, which have some trace of generative life? But really, it is possible to see the stones breathing in under the influences of the luminaries, as we see the sunstone with its golden rays imitating the sun rays; and the stone named *Belos'* eye which also resembles in form the pupil of the eye and emits from the centre of its pupil a glittering light, which, they say, should be called sun's eye; and the moonstone changing in form and motion along with the moon; and the sun-moonstone as a kind of image of the conjunction of these luminaries, portraying the conjunctions and separations in heaven.

4 Thus, all things are full of gods, these on earth are full of heavenly gods, and these in heaven are full of supercelestial gods; and each chain proceeds being increased in number to the end of the line; for those which are in 'one before all,' these have been revealed in all, in which there are conjunctions (*systaseis*) of souls set in order under one god or another. Thereafter, it may be a multitude of

10 τες καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνες, μετέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν
 ἐαυτῶν τάξιν. Καὶ τὸ θαυμαστόν, ὅπως ἐν τούτοις τὰ ἐλάττωνα
 δυνάμει τε καὶ μεγέθει τοῖς κατ' ἄμφω κρείττοσιν ἐστί φοβερά·
 ὑποστέλλεται γὰρ ὁ λέων, φασί, τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα. Τὸ δὲ αἷτιον ἀπὸ
 15 μὲν τῆς αἰσθήσεως οὐκ ἔστι λαβεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς νοερᾶς ἐπιβλέψεως
 καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς αἰτίοις διαφορᾶς. Ἐνεργεστέρα γοῦν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν
 ἡλιακῶν συμβόλων εἰς τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα παρουσία· δηλοῖ δὲ τῶν
 ἡλιακῶν περιόδων συναισθανόμενος καὶ ἄδων ὕμνον τῷ φωστῆρι
 20 προσίοντι τε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κέντρα τρεπομένῳ· διὸ καὶ ἄγγελοι
 τινες ἡλιακοὶ ὥφθησαν τοιαύτας ἔχοντες μορφάς, καὶ ὄντες ἀμόρ-
 φωτοι, φαίνονται τοῖς ἐν μορφῇ κατεχομένοις ἡμῖν μεμορφωμένοι.
 Ἦδη δὲ τίνα τῶν ἡλιακῶν δαιμόνων λεοντοπρόσωπον φαίνόμενον,
 ἀλεκτρυόνος δειχθέντος, ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι φασὶν ὑποστελλόμενον τὰ
 τῶν κρειττόνων συνθήματα· ἐπεὶ καὶ θεῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰκόνας ὁρών-
 25 τες πολλοὶ ἀνεστάλησαν ὑπ' αὐταῖς τι τῶν μιαρῶν ἐνεργεῖν.

5 Ἀπλῶς δὲ τὰ μὲν ταῖς περιόδοις τοῦ φωστήρος συγκινεῖται, ὡς
 τὰ εἰρημένα φυτά, τὰ δὲ τὸ σχῆμα μιμεῖται τῶν ἀκτίνων, ὥσπερ ὁ
 φοῖνιξ, τὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμπύριον οὐσίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ δάφνη, τὰ δὲ ἄλλο τι.
 Ἴδιοις ἂν οὖν τὰς συνεσπειραμένας ιδιότητας ἐν ἡλίῳ μεριζομένας
 5 ἐν τοῖς μετέχουσιν ἀγγέλοις, δαίμοσι, ψυχαῖς, ζώοις, φυτοῖς, λίθοις.
 Ὅθεν οἱ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἡγεμόνες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κειμένων τὴν
 τῶν ἀνωτέρω δυνάμεων θεραπείαν εὐρήκασιν, τὰ μὲν μίξαντες, τὰ δὲ
 οἰκείως ἀναιρούμενοι· ἡ δὲ μίξις διὰ τὸ βλέπειν τῶν ἀμίκτων ἔκα-
 10 στὸν τίνα ἔχον ιδιότητα τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ μὴν ἐξαρκοῦν πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖνου
 πρόκλησιν· διὸ τῇ μίξει τῶν πολλῶν ἐνίζουσι τὰς προειρημένας
 ἀπορροίας καὶ ἐξομοιοῦσι τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἐν γενόμενον πρὸς ἐκεῖνο
 τὸ πρὸ τῶν πάντων ὅλον· καὶ ἀγάλματα πολλάκις κατασκευάζουσι
 σύμμικτα καὶ θυμιάματα, φυράσαντες εἰς ἐν τὰ μερισθέντα συνθή-
 15 ματα καὶ ποιήσαντες τέχνη ὅποιον κατ' οὐσίαν τὸ θεῖον περιληπτικὸν
 καθ' ἑνῶσιν τῶν πλείονων δυνάμεων, ὧν ὁ μὲν μερισμὸς ἡμύδρω-
 σεν ἐκάστην, ἡ δὲ μίξις ἐπανήγαγεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ παραδείγματος
 ιδέαν.

4: 13 συναισθανόμενος corr. Bid. συναισθόμενος V 15 ὥφθησαν corr. Bid. ὀφθησαν V 17 τίνα τῶν
 ἡλιακῶν corr. Bid. τι τῶν ἡλικῶν V 18 sup. γενέσεως corr. -θαί V^{s.l.}

5: 3 sup. φοῖνιξ *palma dactylus* V^{s.l.} 4 ιδιότητας corr. L ιδιότητις V 11 sup. ἐξομοιοῦσι corr. οἱ V^{s.l.}
 ἐξομοιοῦσι corr. L 16 ἐπανήγαγεν corr. L ἐπηγήγαγεν V

solar animals, such as lions and cocks, which themselves also participate in the divine according to their own order. And the remarkable thing is how the lesser in might and size among these animals are regarded with fear by the stronger in both aspects [might and size]; for, they say, the lion shrinks back before the cock. The cause for this cannot be understood by the visible appearance, but by the intellectual vision and the difference within the causes. Hence, the presence of solar symbols is more effective in the cock; and he shows this by perceiving the solar orbits and singing a hymn to the luminary, while it approaches and is directed to the other celestial centres; therefore, some solar angels have appeared in vision having such forms, and although they are formless, they appear having been formed to us who are bound in form. Actually, they say that, when a cock has been shown forth to one of the solar daemons revealed as lion-faced, he [the solar daemon] becomes invisible, shrinking back before the *synthêmata* of the higher [beings]; even as many have been restrained from committing a defiled action, when they saw the images of divine men.

5 Generally, some, as for example the aforementioned plants, move in accordance to the orbits of the luminary; others, just as the palm, imitate the shape of its rays; and others [imitate] the empyrean substance, just as the laurel; and others [imitate] something else. Thus, you could see the particular characteristics that are coiled up in Helios [the Sun] to be distributed to those who participate in his nature, [as to] angels, daemons, souls, animals, plants, stones. Whence from what is laid down in front of their eyes the leaders of the hieratic art found how to serve the higher powers, by mixing some together and by taking others up in the appropriate way; and the mixing takes place, because they see that each one of the unmixed entities has a property of the god, but without being sufficient on its own to call that [god] forth; so, by mixing together many [powers], they unify the aforementioned effluences and assimilate that which is one from all, to that whole which is before all; and they often produce combinatory statues and incenses, having mixed into one [mixture] the distributed *synthêmata* and making the divine, as it were, comprehensible in its essence by art through the union with many powers, the dividing of which on the one hand made each one [power] indistinct, while the mixing on the other hand raised it up to the form of its archetype.

6 Ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ μία πόα καὶ λίθος εἷς ἀρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον·
 ἀπόχρη γὰρ πρὸς μὲν αὐτοφάνειαν τὸ κνέωρον, πρὸς δὲ φυλακὴν
 δάφνη, ῥάμνος, σκύλλα, κουράλιον, ἀδάμας καὶ ἱάσπισ, πρὸς δὲ
 πρόγνωσιν ἢ τοῦ ἀσπάλακος καρδία, πρὸς δὲ καθάρσεις τὸ θεῖον
 5 καὶ τὸ θαλάττιον ὕδωρ. Διὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς συμπαθείας προσήγοντο,
 διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀντιπαθείας ἀπήλαυνον, καθαίροντες εἰ τύχοι θείῳ
 καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ καὶ περιρραίνοντες θαλάττῃ· καθαίρει γὰρ τὸ μὲν θεῖον
 διὰ τὸ δριμύ τῆς ὁσμῆς, ἢ δὲ θάλαττα διὰ τὸ μετέχειν ἐμπυρίου δυνάμεως.

7 Καὶ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπείαις
 ζῶά τε προσήκοντα ἐξελέγοντο καὶ ἕτερ' ἄττα. Ἀπὸ δὴ τούτων καὶ
 τῶν τοιούτων ὀρμηθέντες, τὰς δαιμονίους δυνάμεις ἔγνωσαν, ὥς
 προσεχεῖς εἰσιν οὐσίαι τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνεργείας,
 5 καὶ ἐπηγάγοντο δι' αὐτῶν τούτων εἰς συνουσίαν· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων
 ἐπ' αὐτάς ἤδη τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀνέδραμον ποιήσεις, τὰ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν
 διδασκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κινούμενοι παρ' ἑαυτῶν εὐστόχως εἰς
 τὴν τῶν οἰκείων συμβόλων ἐπίνοιαν· καὶ οὕτω λοιπόν, τὴν φύσιν
 καὶ τὰς φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας κάτω καταλιπόντες, ταῖς πρωτουργοῖς
 10 καὶ θείαις ἐχρήσαντο δυνάμεσι.

6: 2 ἀπόχρη corr. Bid. ἀπόχρη V ad κνέωρον *forsan carduus* V^{ms}. 3 ad ῥάμνος *raccinum id est genus virgulli spinosum quo facta est corona Christi* V^{ms}. sup. σκύλλα *cepa squilla* V^{s.l}. 4 sup. ἀσπάλακος *talpe* V^{s.l}. 6–7 sup. θείῳ et ἀσφάλτῳ *sulphure et bitumine* V^{s.l}. ad περιρραίνοντες *circumspargentes* V^{ms}.

7: 4 ἐνεργείας corr. Bid. ἐνεργίας V cf. 9 ἐνεργείας recte V

6 But there are times when one plant or a stone suffices for the ritual act. For flax-leaved daphne is sufficient for direct revelation of the divine; for protection, [there suffices] laurel, box-thorn, squill, coral, diamond, or jasper; for foreknowledge, the heart of a mole; and for purifications, sulphur and sea water. So, through *sympathy* they used to attract them, and through opposition [*anti-pathy*] they were driving them away, maybe purifying with sulphur and bitumen, and cleansing with sea water; for sulphur purifies by the sharpness of its scent, and sea water because of its participation in the empyrean power.

7 Also, in the initiation rituals and other services related to the gods they used to pick out the appropriate animals and others of that sort. Beginning with these and suchlike things, they understood that the daemonic powers are substances closely connected to the natural and bodily activities, and they brought themselves into union through these very powers. And from these they already returned to the actual works of the gods, learning some from them [the gods] themselves, and as for other things, being moved by themselves accurately towards the discovery of the appropriate symbols. Hence, leaving behind nature and natural activities, they used the primary and divine powers.

Commentary

1. Hieratic Art-Theurgy, *Teletai* and Invocations, Sympathy, Heliotropes and Luminaries

1.2, 5, 7 (cf. also 2.11 and 5.6). Ἡ Ἱερατική Τέχνη, “The Hieratic Art” / Ἡ Ἱερατική Ἐπιστήμη, “The Hieratic Science”. Οἱ Ἱερατικοί, “The Hieratics” / Οἱ τῆς Ἱερατικῆς Ἡγεμόνες, “The Leaders of the Hieratic Art”¹

1.2.a. The Term Hieratic

Proclus’ references to the hieratic art/science and the hieratic leaders in his *On Hieratic Art* can be illuminated by the parallel references in his other works, mainly in his commentaries on Plato’s *Republic* and *Timaeus*, but also in his commentaries on Plato’s *Parmenides* and *Cratylus*.

In his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic*, Proclus includes the “hieratic science” (ἱερατικὴν ἐπιστήμην) among the “divine prophetic” (μαντικὴν τὴν θεῖαν) and “medical” (ιατρικὴν) sciences (Procl. *In R.* 11.118.9–11).² Proclus also uses the term hieratic for the treatises, “all the hieratic (systematic) treatises” (ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς ἀπάσαις πραγματεαῖς Procl. *In R.* 1.110.22–23).³ In *De Providentia* Proclus refers to “the whole hieratic treatise” (τὴν ἱερατικὴν πραγματείαν ἅπασαν Procl. *Prov.* 38.2).⁴ However, πραγματεία (/αι) in both cases may have a double meaning describing also the hieratic operation-s /practise-s /ritual-s.

Olympiodorus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Alcibiades*, refers to the Egyptian⁵ origins of hieratic art and the hieratic way of life.⁶ In his *Commentary*

1 All translations from the Greek are my own.

2 See Procl. *In R.* 11.118.8–15.

3 Procl. *In R.* 1.110.21–26: εἰ δ’ οὖν καὶ ταῦτά τις εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου διάνοιαν ἀναπέμπειν ἐθέλοι, πάντως οὐκ ἀπορήσει λόγων συμφώνων μὲν ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς ἀπάσαις πραγματεαῖς, συμφώνων δὲ ταῖς τελεταῖς καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείαις, ἃς ὄναρ τε καὶ ὕπαρ γινομένης ἄνωθεν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φήμη παρεδέξατο.

4 Isaac (1979).

5 On the Egyptian temples in Late Antiquity see, Frankfurter (2004) 159–164. Bagnall (1993). Fowden (1993). Frankfurter (1998). Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002).

6 Olymp. *In Alc.* 2.134–135: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἱερατικούς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔμαθεν παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἱερατικὴν. Olymp. *In Alc.* 21.11–14: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ νῦν ὀρώμεν ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ τοὺς ἱερατικῶς ζῶντας εὐώδους ὀσφραϊνομένους ἄφρω καὶ λέγοντας ἀγγέλου παρουσίαν εἶναι, ἅτε ἐλλάμψεως καὶ αὐτοῖς γινομένης περὶ τὰ ὀσφραντικά ὄργανα. On the Egyptian Isis and Osiris and hieratic myths, as well as Helios, the moon and all stars see Eus. *PE* 111.4.2.1–6: ἑώρα γὰρ τοὺς τὸν ἥλιον δημιουργὸν φαμένους καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ὅσιριν καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἱερατικούς μύθους ἢ εἰς τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὰς τούτων φάνσεις καὶ κρύψεις καὶ ἐπιτολάς ἐλιττομένους ἢ

on Plato's *Timaeus* Proclus writes that “the Athenians have been helped by the Egyptians through their hieratic treatises,” (καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων διὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν λόγων· Procl. *In Ti.* 1.192.12–13).⁷ Proclus also mentions that according to “the story of the Egyptians” (ὁ λόγος ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Procl. *In Ti.* 1.124.20), “their hieratic class that has got a memory of ancient actions (ἔργων) keeps an image of the permanent divine order that preserves the Whole and guards all within the divine memory” (τὸ ἱερατικὸν γένος τὸ μεμνημένον τῶν παλαιῶν εἰκόνα φέρει τάξεως θείας συνεκτικῆς τῶν ὅλων καὶ μονίμου καὶ τῇ θείᾳ μνήμῃ τὰ πάντα φρουρούσης Procl. *In Ti.* 1.124.24–27).⁸

Regarding the hieratic class, Proclus writes that there are “three classes there, the guardian, the auxiliary and the serving—for the triad belongs closely to the creative monad—while here there are double that number, the *hieratic*, the military, the manufacturing, the agricultural, the pastoral and the hunting.” (ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ τρία γένη, τὸ φυλακικὸν τὸ ἐπικουρητικὸν τὸ θητικὸν—οἰκεία γὰρ ἡ τριάς τῇ μονάδι τῇ δημιουργικῇ—ἐνταῦθα δὲ διπλάσια τούτων, τὸ ἱερατικὸν τὸ μάχιμον τὸ δημιουργικὸν τὸ γεωργικὸν τὸ νομευτικὸν τὸ θηρατικόν· Procl. *In Ti.* 1.150.25–28). Among these classes, “the *hieratic* is inferior to the guardian class, which reaches up to the primal cause, just as [Plato] himself in the *Statesman* subordinated the priests to the statesman and did not give them any political power” (τὸ τε γὰρ ἱερατικὸν γένος ὑφείται τοῦ φυλακικοῦ τοῦ μέχρι τῆς πρωτίστης αἰτίας ἀνιόντος, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Πολιτικῷ [290 D E] τοὺς ἱερέας ὑπέταξε τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ οὐ μετέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τῆς πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως· Procl. *In Ti.* 1.151.20–24); and “considering the hieratic and military classes as one dyad” (μίαν μὲν δυάδα θεμένους τὸ ἱερατικὸν καὶ μάχιμον Procl. *In Ti.* 1.153.29–30). Also, “for the *hieratic* is present among the elevating gods” (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἱερατικὸν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἀναγωγοῖς Procl. *In Ti.* 1.154.1).

Damascius asserts that “hieratic [art] and philosophy are not ruled by the same principles” (ἱερατικὴ καὶ φιλοσοφία οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἄρχονται ἀρχῶν);⁹

εἰς τὰς τῆς σελήνης αὐξήσεις καὶ μειώσεις ἢ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου πορείαν ἢ τὸ γε νυκτερινὸν ἡμισφαίριον ἢ τὸ ἡμερινὸν ἢ τὸν γε ποταμόν, καὶ ὅλως πάντα εἰς τὰ φυσικὰ καὶ οὐδὲν εἰς ἀσώματους καὶ ζώσας οὐσίας ἐρμηνεύοντας.

7 Also “the Egyptians have been benefited by the Athenians through their acts of war,” Αἰγύπτιοι τε γὰρ εἰς πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων διὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων (Procl. *In Ti.* 1.192.10–12).

8 Diehl (1903–1906). On the exposition through dialectical names (ἢ διὰ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν ἐφερμήνευσις Procl. *In Prm.* 647.1–2), and the hieratic style and its Assyrian influences (e.g. the *Chaldaean Oracles*) on it see Procl. *In Prm.* 647.4–7: ἢ δὲ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν μυστικὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἐκδεδωκότων, οἷα τὰ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις ὑμνημένα, Ζῶναι καὶ Ἀζῶνοι, καὶ Πηγαὶ καὶ Ἀμείλικτοι καὶ Συνοχεῖς, δι’ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι τὰς τάξεις ἐρμηνεύουσι τῶν θεῶν· Steel (2007, 2009). See Dillon and Morrow (1992) 39, n. 33.

9 For parallels between the *hieratic* (art) and philosophy and the Egyptian ‘twofold’ initiation in the *Book of Amduat* and the *Book of Gates* see Wente (1982), Lesko (1977).

“philosophy on the one hand descends from the cause of all things to the sediment of the beings through all the intermediate classes, the divine, and the higher ones after the gods, and those that appear on the so-called third level” (ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν φιλοσοφία ἀπὸ τῆς μιᾶς τῶν πάντων αἰτίας, εἰς τὴν ὑποστάθμην τῶν ὄντων καθήκουσα διὰ μέσων τῶν ὄλων γενῶν, θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετὰ θεοῦς κρείττονων καὶ ἐν τρίτῳ, φασί, βήματι φαινομένων). While, as stated by Damascius, “Regarding hieratic on the other hand, which is the worship of gods (ἡ ἐστὶ θεῶν θεραπεία), it is ruled by the causes that embrace the cosmos and it is engaged with these things, namely the immortality of the soul, and according to the same philosophical speculations with the Egyptians” (τὴν δὲ ἱερατικὴν, ἡ ἐστὶ θεῶν θεραπεία, ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν ἀπὸ τῶν περικοσμίων αἰτιῶν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ περὶ ταῦτα πραγματεύεσθαι, ψυχῶν περὶ ἀθανασίας, ὅτι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις φιλοσοφεῖται Dam. *Phil. Hist.* 4a.1–17).¹⁰ In his *Commentary on Plato’s Phaedo*, Damascius includes “Iamblichus, Syrianus and Proclus and all the hieratics (οἱ ἱερατικοὶ πάντες) among those who prefer the hieratic [art] (τὴν ἱερατικὴν)” (Dam. *In Phd.* 1.172.1–3).¹¹

1.2.b. The Hieratic Art-Theurgy: Definition

Proclus uses the terms hieratic art or science, hieratics, or hieratic leaders as synonyms to theurgy and theurgists in his treatise *On the Hieratic Art*, although he does not explicitly use the terms θεουργία or θεουργοί at all in this treatise. It is noteworthy to point out that the examination of all the references to hieratic art/science, hieratics, theurgy and theurgists in all the works of Proclus has shown that, whenever Proclus uses the term hieratic(-s), he does not use the term theurgy(-ist) in the same passage, with only one exception in his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic*, in which he refers to both “the whole hieratic [art]” and “the ritual acts of the theurgists” (τὴν ἱερατικὴν ὅλην ... καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν θεουργῶν Procl. *In R.* 1.37.11–12).

However, his definition of hieratic art/science and the hieratics, as it shall be examined in section five, is a definition of theurgy, which is similar to his definition in his other works and to that of Iamblichus.¹² The *Hieratic Art* is the *Theurgic Art*, theurgy, the art of the theurgic union with the divine. Proclus

10 Dam. *Phil. Hist.* 4a.1–17, Athanassiadi (1999) 78–79; Dam. *Vit. Isid. Fr.* 3.1–19, Zintzen (1967) 5. Also, Krulak (2017a) 454–481.

11 For hieratics and philosophers see Dam. *In Phd.* 1.172.1–3: “Ὅτι οἱ μὲν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν προτιμῶσιν, ὡς Πορφύριος καὶ Πλωτῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ φιλόσοφοι· οἱ δὲ τὴν ἱερατικὴν, ὡς Ἰάμβλιχος καὶ Συριανὸς καὶ Πρόκλος καὶ οἱ ἱερατικοὶ πάντες. See also Olymp. *In Phd.* 123.4. Also, Lewy (1978) 464.

12 See Comm.: Sect. 5 below.

describes the theurgic union, putting an emphasis on a conceptual blending of ritual actions (e.g. the role of statues, incense, symbols and *synthēmata*, invocations and epiphanies) and concepts (e.g. sympathy, union with many powers, division and mixing): “and they often produce combinatory statues and incenses, having mixed into one [mixture] the distributed *synthēmata* and making the divine, as it were, comprehensible in its essence by art through the union with many powers, the dividing of which on the one hand made each one [power] indistinct, while the mixing on the other hand raised it up to the form of its archetype.” (καὶ ἀγάλματα πολλάκις κατασκευάζουσι σύμμικτα καὶ θυμιάματα, φεράσαντες εἰς ἓν τὰ μερισθέντα συνθήματα καὶ ποιήσαντες τέχνη ὅποιον κατ’ οὐσίαν τὸ θεῖον περιληπτικὸν καθ’ ἑνωσιν τῶν πλειόνων δυνάμεων, ὧν ὁ μὲν μερισμὸς ἡμύδρωσεν ἐκάστην, ἡ δὲ μίξις ἐπανήγαγεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ παραδείγματος ἰδέαν. Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 5.12–17).

Similarly, Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* II asserts that the theurgic union is established by secret acts and unspeakable symbols. In the question: “for what then would hinder the theoretical philosophers from establishing the theurgic union with the gods?” (ἐπεὶ τί ἐκώλυε τοὺς θεωρητικῶς φιλοσοφούντας ἔχειν τὴν θεωρητικὴν ἑνωσιν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς;) Iamblichus replies: “the accomplishment of ritual acts not to be spoken and which are executed divinely beyond all conception and the power of unspeakable symbols conceived only by the gods establish the theurgic union” (ἡ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀρρήτων καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσαν νόησιν θεοπρεπῶς ἐνεργουμένων τελεσιουργία ἢ τε τῶν νοουμένων τοῖς θεοῖς μόνον συμβόλων ἀφθέγκτων δύνამεις ἐντίθησι τὴν θεωρητικὴν ἑνωσιν; Iamb. *Myst.* II.11.96.13–97.2).¹³

Proclus in his *Platonic Theology* describes the “theurgic power” (τῆς θεωρητικῆς δυνάμεως) as “higher than all human wisdom and science, since it combines the blessings of divination and the purifying powers of the *teletic* [initiatory] rite, and without exception all the operations of divine possession” (ἡ κρείττων ἐστὶν ἀπάσης ἀνθρωπίνης σωφροσύνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης, συλλαβοῦσα τὰ τε τῆς μαντικῆς ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰς τῆς τελεσιουργικῆς καθαρτικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τῆς ἐνθέου κατακωχῆς ἐνεργήματα. Procl. *Plat.Theol.* I.113.6–10).¹⁴

13 Also, Iamb. *Myst.* IX.1, 5, 9. On the distinction between the Plotinian mystical union and the union with the divine in magic and theurgy see Dodds (1951) 286, 302; see also Dodds (1928) 141 ff. For Plotinus the divine union with the god in philosophy is accomplished by the contemplation of god and beauty; Plot. *Enn.* I.6.9.33–35: Γενέσθω δὴ πρῶτον θεοειδὴς πᾶς καὶ καλὸς πᾶς, εἰ μέλλει θεάσασθαι θεὸν τε καὶ καλόν; also Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.34. On theurgy see Shaw (1995) and (1999); on theurgy and Christianity in Dionysius the Areopagite see E.H. I.1; PG 3: 372a: Ἱησοῦς, ... καὶ θεωρητικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ οὐσίας; see Shaw (1999) 573–599; Pavlos (2019) 161–180.

14 On the hieratic *teletai* see Comm.: Sect. 1.2.c; on the *teletic* art see Comm.: Sect. 5.12.a and b; on the purification rituals see Comm.: Sect. 6.6–8.a, b, c and d below.

Proclus also refers to “the intellectual science of the divine” (ἡ νοερὰ τῶν θείων ἐπιστήμη Procl. *Plat. Theol.* 1.124.26) as revealing “the hidden essence of gods” (τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην οὐσίαν τῶν θεῶν 1.125.1–2), using a simile which defines theurgy: “(and just as) *theurgy* through some symbols invokes the bounteous goodness of the gods in order to obtain the illumination of the artificial statues” (καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ θεουργία διὰ δὴ τινων συμβόλων εἰς τὴν τῶν τεχνητῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἔλλαμψιν προκαλεῖται τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἄφθονον ἀγαθότητα Procl. *Plat. Theol.* 1.124.23–25).

Proclus in his *Chaldaean Philosophy* (Πρόκλου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς χαλδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας, “Extraits du Commentaire de Proclus sur la Philosophie Chaldaïque”) asserts: “for the soul is composed by sacred words and divine symbols; ... and we are images of intellectual essences and statues of unknown *synthēmata* ... in that way the soul participates in all the *synthēmata*, with which it is united with the god” (συνέστηκε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν θείων συμβόλων ... καὶ ἐσμέν εἰκόνες μὲν τῶν νοερῶν οὐσιῶν, ἀγάλματα [τὰ] δὲ τῶν ἀγνώστων συνθημάτων. ... οὕτω καὶ πάντων μὲν μετέχει τῶν συνθημάτων, δι’ ὧν συνάπτεται τῷ θεῷ, Procl. *Phil. Chald. Fr.* 5.211.4–11).¹⁵

Furthermore, in *Alcibiades I* Proclus writes that getting united with the divine in theurgy (ἐαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ συνάπτειν) is accomplished through the triad [faith, truth and love] that oversees everything, “‘for everything is governed and exists in these three,’ says the oracle, and for this reason the gods advise the theurgists to unite themselves to the god through this triad.” (‘πάντα γὰρ ἐν τρισὶ τοῖσδε’, φησὶ τὸ λόγιον, ‘κυβερνᾶται τε καὶ ἔστι’ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς θεουργοῖς οἱ θεοὶ παρακελεύονται διὰ τῆς τριάδος ταύτης ἐαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ συνάπτειν. Procl. *In Alc.* 1.52.13–53.2).

The ritualistic role of the theurgist is emphasized by Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Cratylus* as following, “For this reason *the theurgist* too, who is the leader of this ritual, starts with the purifications and the lustral besprinklings; let he himself as *a priest* among the first governing the rituals of fire, be sprinkled with a frosty wave of the deep-voiced brine” (διὸ καὶ ὁ θεουργὸς ὁ τῆς τελετῆς τούτου προκαθηγούμενος ἀπὸ τῶν καθάρσεων ἄρχεται καὶ τῶν περιράνσεων· αὐτὸς δ’ ἐν πρώτοις ἱερεὺς πυρὸς ἔργα κυβερνῶν κύματι ραίνεσθω παγερῷ βαρυχέος ἄλμης Procl. *In Cra.* 176.101.3–7).¹⁶

15 Des Places (1971) 211. See also *Fr.* 1.20617–24: ‘Ὑμνωδὸς δὲ ἀποτελεῖται τῶν θείων ἡ ψυχὴ, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ Πατρὸς τὰ ἄρρητα προβαλλομένη καὶ προσφέρουσα αὐτὰ τῷ Πατρί, ἃ ἐνέθετο ὁ Πατὴρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παρόδῳ τῆς οὐσίας. Τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ νοεροὶ καὶ ἀφανεῖς ὕμνοι τῆς ἀναγομένης ψυχῆς, ἀνακινοῦντες τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἀρμονικῶν λόγων οἱ φέρουσιν ἀπορρήτους εἰκόνας τῶν θείων ἐν αὐτῇ δυνάμεων. See Pitra (1888) Vol. v: 192–195; and Des Places (1971) 206–212.

16 Pasquali (1908) 101. Also, Αὐτὸς δ’ ἐν πρώτοις ἱερεὺς πυρὸς ἔργα κυβερνῶν κύματι ραίνε-

Regarding the role of rituals in the hieratic art, Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, discussing the “obscenity” of Homer’s myths (Procl. *In R.* 1.76.17–79.18) and in an attempt to draw parallels between the leaders of the hieratic art and the myth-makers, writes about the establishment of the mystery rituals of laughter and lamentation for the classes of daemons in the hieratic art,¹⁷ “At this point the leaders of the hieratic rites, having observed these things, ordered that [the rituals of] laughter and lamentation should get performed in defined periods, establishing rituals for these classes [of daemons] and allotting to them their fair share of the general ritualistic worship of the divine.” (ἃ δὴ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν θεσμῶν ἡγεμόνες κατανοήσαντες περιόδοις ὠρισμέναις ἔταξαν γέλωτά τε καὶ θρήνους ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γένεσιν ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ τῆς ὅλης περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀγιστείας τὴν προσήκουσαν μοῖραν ἀποκληρώσαντες, Procl. *In R.* 1.78.14–18).

Furthermore, Proclus attempts to interpret the myths from the theurgists’ point of view and experiences, highlighting the use of mystery language and rituals both in myths and theurgy. He describes, for example, the “manifested experiences” (τοῖς φαινόμενοις παθήμασιν) established for the class of the gods’ attendants, referring to the practitioners of theurgy and their epiphanic experiences [the divine epiphanies/manifestations].¹⁸ “So, just as the hieratic art, distributing, as it ought, the whole of religious rites to the gods and the gods’ attendants, so that none of those who eternally follow the gods may be

σθω παγερῶ βαρυηχέος ἄλμης = *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 133; Des Places (1971) 99. See also the reference to the *Chaldaean theurgists* in Procl. *In R.* 11.220.11: τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις θεουργῶν.

17 See discussion on solar daemons in Comm.: Sect. 4.18–19 below.

18 Regarding the “manifested experiences” (τοῖς φαινόμενοις παθήμασιν), Aristotle also states that the initiates should *be liable to experiences* (παθεῖν); Arist. *Fr.* 15 (ed. Rose = Synesius *Dio* 10): καθάπερ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀξιοῖ τοὺς τελουμένους οὐ μαθεῖν τί δεῖν, ἀλλὰ παθεῖν καὶ διατεθῆναι, δηλονότι γενομένους ἐπιτηδεύουσ· On the mystical allusions of the “manifested experiences” see also the vision of the soul and the references to the mystical initiation in Pl. *Phdr.* 250bc: κάλλος δὲ τότε ἦν ἰδεῖν λαμπρόν, ὅτε σὺν εὐδαίμονι χορῶ μακαρίαν ὄψιν τε καὶ θεάν, ἐπόμενοι μετὰ μὲν Διὸς ἡμεῖς, ἄλλοι δὲ μετ’ ἄλλου θεῶν, εἰδόν τε καὶ ἐτελοῦντο τῶν τελετῶν ἦν θέμις λέγειν μακαριωτάτην, ἣν ὠργιζόμεν ὁλόκληροι μὲν αὐτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ὅσα ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ὑπέμενεν, ὁλόκληρα δὲ καὶ ἀπλὰ καὶ ἀτρεμῇ καὶ εὐδαίμονα φάσματα μνούμενοί τε καὶ ἐποπτεύοντες ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ, καθαροὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀσήμαντοι· τοῦτο δ’ νῦν δὴ σῶμα περιφέροντες ὀνομάζομεν, ὅστρεόν τινος τρόπον δεδασμευμένοι. See also Comm.: Sect. 1.2.c on the *hieratic teletai*, epiphanies and direct revelations of the Gods below; also 2.13.b on the “Transmission of Fire” and fire and fiery apparitions in the Chaldaean Oracles and Proclus; and 6.2.b on Αὐτοφάνεια / Αὐτόματος Ἐπιφάνεια below.

left [out] without a share of the appropriate ritual, approaches on the one hand the gods with the holiest initiations and mystical symbols, while on the other hand it calls forth the gifts of the other class [of the gods' attendants] by means of [their] manifested experiences¹⁹ through some ineffable sympathy," (ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ τῶν ἱερῶν τέχνη καταναίμασα δεόντως τὴν σύμπασαν θρησκείαν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὁπαδοῖς, ἵνα μὴδὲν ἄμοιρον τῆς ἐπιβαλλούσης θεραπείας ἀπολείπεται τῶν αἰδιδῶς ἐπομένων τοῖς θεοῖς, τοὺς μὲν ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις τελεταῖς καὶ τοῖς μυστικοῖς συμβόλοις προσάγεται, τῶν δὲ τοῖς φαινομένοις παθήμασιν προκαλεῖται τὰς δόσεις διὰ δὴ τίνος ἀρρήτου συμπαθείας, Procl. *In R.* 1.78.18–24).

Damascius asserts that *hieratic* (τὴν δὲ ἱερατικὴν) is *the worship of gods* (ἐστὶ θεῶν θεραπεία), engaged with *the immortality of the soul* (ψυχῶν περὶ ἀθανασίας) and in accordance with the same philosophical speculations with the Egyptians (ὅτι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις φιλοσοφεῖται) (Dam. *Phil. Hist.* 4a.1–17).²⁰ For Damascius the hieratic union “would be *mingling with the divine*, or rather *the perfect union*, the ascent of our souls back to god, as they return and assemble themselves from the multiple division” (καὶ τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴη θεοκρασία, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔνσως παντελῆς, ἐπάνοδος τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐπιστρεφόμενων καὶ συναθροιζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ μερισμοῦ ... Dam. *Phil. Hist.* 4b.1–3).²¹

Psellus in his *Encomium in Matrem* states that he understands what sort of art is the hieratic (Ἱερατικὴν δὲ τέχνην οἶδα μὲν ἥτις ἐστὶν Psel. *Enc. Matr.* 1785), and the role of stones and plants and unspoken [secret/sacred] powers (λίθοις δὲ καὶ πόαις δυνάμεις μὲν ἀρρήτους 1786); however, he actually “laughs at the statues fallen from Zeus” (καὶ καταγελῶ τῶν ‘διοπετῶν ἀγαλμάτων’ 1769); and he “rails furiously at the propitiation and purification rituals, the characters, the names, the so-called god-possessed actions, the ethereal one that holds together, the one belonging to the empyrean, the source that holds a lion, the First Father, the Second Father, the Iungges, the guides of the universe, Hecate, the festivals of Hecate, the one that has undergirded, the rambling even as to names” (διαλοιδοροῦμαι ταῖς ἐξευμενίσεσι, ταῖς καθάρσεσι, τοῖς χαρακτήρησι, τοῖς ὀνόμασι, ταῖς λεγομέναις θεοφορήτοις κινήσεσι, τῷ αἰθερίῳ συνοχεῖ, τῷ ἐμπυρίῳ, τῇ λεοντούχῃ πηγῇ, τῷ πρώτῳ πατρί, τῷ δευτέρῳ, ταῖς Ἰϋγί, τοῖς κοσμοαγοῖς, τῇ Ἐκάτῃ, τοῖς Ἐκατησίοις, τῷ ὑπεζωκότι, τοῖς λήροις καὶ μέχρις ὀνόματος. 1792–1797). In addition, Psellus refers to further characteristics of the hieratic /theurgic art, confirming his knowledge “about the notions of aion and time and nature and the theory of the one, and about perception and the mixing and union of the

19 It is translated as “shows of passion” by Lambertson (2012); and Baltzly, Finamore and Miles (2018) 188 and n. 65.

20 Dam. *Vit. Isid. Fr.* 3.1–19, Zintzen (1967).

21 Dam. *Vit. Isid. Fr.* 5.1–3, Zintzen (1967).

opposites" (αἰώνος δὲ πέρι καὶ χρόνου καὶ φύσεως καὶ θεωρίας καὶ τοῦ ἑνός, αἰσθησεώς τε καὶ μνήμης καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων μίξεώς τε καὶ κράσεως, 1797–1799).²²

Furthermore, Psellus in his "Interpretation/*Exegesis* of the *Chaldaean Oracles*," explaining the *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 110,²³ "by uniting ritual act with sacred word" (ἱερῷ λόγῳ ἔργον ἐνώσας' 110.3), states, "However this sacred word is unable to lead to the highest ascending and receiving of the divine. Hence, the sacred word leads this one to the god through illuminations from there [divine world], the Chaldaean on the other hand [leads to the god] through the *telestic* science. Thus, the *telestic* [ritualistic] science is that which accomplishes the soul through the power of the materials here [the material world]." (ἀλλ' οὗτος ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἀδυνατεῖ ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν ἀναγωγὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παράληψιν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγος χειραγωγεῖ τοῦτον πρὸς θεὸν διὰ τῶν ἐκείθεν ἐλλάμψεων, ὁ δὲ Χαλδαῖος διὰ τῆς τελεστικῆς ἐπιστήμης. τελεστική δὲ ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἡ οἷον τελοῦσα τὴν ψυχὴν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνταῦθ' ὑλῶν δυνάμεως. *Opusc.* 38. pp. 131.24–132.5 / PG 122. 1129 D 12, 1132 A 9).²⁴

Similarly, in magical literature the theurgic union is justified by the magician's knowledge of the forms, the symbols and the secret names of the god invoked. For example in "The erotic binding spell of Astrapsoukos" (*PGM* VIII.1–63) addressed to Hermes the theurgic union is justified by the magician's knowledge of the god Hermes, his signs and symbols: (the magician knows) "the names for you [Hermes] in heaven"; "I know also your forms," οἶδά σου καὶ τὰς μορφάς, "I know (οἶδά σου) also your wood" and "I know (οἶδά σου) also your barbarian names" (*PGM* VIII.6–15 and 20–21).²⁵

1.2.c. *Hieratic Teletai, Epiphanies and Direct Revelations of the Gods*

Proclus discusses "all the hieratic treatises" (ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς ἀπάσαις πραγματείαις) in relation to "the *teletai* [initiatory rites] and mysteries and the epiphanies of the gods" (ταῖς τελεταῖς καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείαις Procl. *In R.* I.110.22–24).

22 On Psellus (1017–1096) and the Hellenic philosophy and Proclus in Byzantium see, Wilson (1983) 156–166; Duffy (2002) 139–156; Ierodiakonou (2002); Gersh (2014) 1–29, at 27–28; Trizio (2014) 182–215; O'Meara (2014) 165–181, at 177; Lauritzen (2020): 69–80. On (Pseudo-)Psellus' *De Operatione Daemonum* (/ *De Daemonibus*) and *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus* see Gautier (1980) 105–194 and (1988) 85–107. O'Meara (1989) Vol. 11: vii and n. 3. And O'Meara (2014) 165–181. Also see Kristeller (1943) 15 (on Plethon Gemistos), 26 (on Ficino, Proclus, Psellos and Nicholas of Methone); also, Kaske and Clark (1989).

23 Des Places (1971); Lewy (1978); Majercik (1989). See also Kroll (1894).

24 O'Meara (1989) 131–132.

25 E.g. also *PGM* III.612–631 and VII.478–490. See Pachoumi (2018).

Proclus writing about the “unchanging divine” (ἀμετάβλητον τὸ θεῖον Procl. *In R.* 1.36.30) refers to the whole hieratic art and the actions of the theurgists, and “the direct revelations [visions] of gods” (αἱ αὐτοφάνειαι τῶν θεῶν Procl. *In R.* 1.37.9),²⁶ who “sometimes are revealed as luminous visions without form and sometimes as having taken a form; for if we were not believing in these [visions], we would overthrow *the whole* hieratic [art] and *the ritual acts of the theurgists*, and without these, [we would overthrow] the direct epiphanies of the gods, when sometimes they reveal themselves in other forms” (φαινομένων τότε μὲν ἀτυπώτων φώτων, τότε δὲ τετυπωμένων· μὴ γὰρ προσέμενοι ταῦτα τὴν ἱερατικὴν ὅλην ἀνατρέπομεν καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν θεουργῶν, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων τὰς αὐτομάτους ἐπιφανείας τῶν θεῶν ἐν σχήμασιν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις φανταζομένων 1.37.9–14). It is noteworthy that this is the only case in Proclus’ works that both the *hieratic* and *theurgists* appear in the same passage.

Elsewhere, Proclus refers to the role of hieratic rites (τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἔργων Procl. *In R.* 1.83.17) and hieratic precepts (τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς θεσμοῖς Procl. *In R.* 1.83.28), the mythical symbols (ἀπὸ τῶν μυθικῶν συμβόλων Procl. *In R.* 1.83.9) and the myths of the Greek theologians (οἱ τοιοῖδε μῦθοι τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν θεολόγων Procl. *In R.* 1.83.27–28),²⁷ and asserts that “indeed the gods are pleased, listening to such symbols” (καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε συμβόλων ἀκούοντες χαίρουσιν Procl. *In R.* 1.83.17–18), and that “mysteries and *teletai* [initiatory rites] are effective in these, and they make the initiates see complete, stable and simple visions” (καὶ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ αἱ τελεταὶ [καὶ] τὸ δραστήριον ἐν τούτοις ἔχουσιν καὶ ὁλόκληρα καὶ ἀτρεμῆ καὶ ἀπλᾶ θεάματα διὰ τούτων προξενούσιν τοῖς μύσταις καθορᾶν Procl. *In R.* 1.83.22–25).²⁸

26 On αὐτοφάνειαι see also Procl. *In R.* 11.154.1–3: καὶ αὗται ποτὲ μὲν αὐτοφανῶς ἰδοῦσαι τὰς ἐν τῷ παντὶ τούτῳ κόσμῳ τάξεις αὐτῶν διαγγέλλουσιν κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ παντὶ προϋπάρχουσαν ἱερατικὴν. Also, Procl. *In R.* 11.344.27–345.1: καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν καὶ μαρτυροῦσαν ἔχομεν τὴν ἱερατικὴν παραδούσαν καὶ αὐτοπτικὴν κλήσιν τῆς μεγίστης θεοῦ ταύτης καὶ διδάξασαν πῶς ὀφείσῃ προσεῖναι <δεῖ>.

27 On the Homeric myths in Procl. *In R.* 1.79.12–23: καὶ τοὺς μὲν φιλοσοφώτερους τίθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς θεσμοῖς προσήκοντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νέους ἀκούειν πρέποντας, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς διὰ πάσης ὥς εἰπεῖν τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας ὀρθῶς ἡγμένους καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν τοιῶνδε μύθων ἀκρόασιν ὥσπερ ὄργανόν τι μυστικὸν ἰδρύσαι τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς νοῦν ἐφιεμένους. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ ταῦτα ἱκανῶς ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς συνορᾶν δυναμένοις, καὶ ὅτι τῆς Ὀμήρου μυθοποιίας ὥς μήτε παιδευτικῆς μήτε τοῖς τῶν νέων ἀπλάστοις καὶ ἀβάτοις ἦθεσιν συναρμοζομένης ἐπιλαμβάνεται, καὶ ὥς τὸ ἀπόρητον αὐτῆς καὶ κρύφιον ἀγαθὸν μυστικῆς τινος δεῖται καὶ ἐνθεαστικῆς νοήσεως.

28 Also, Procl. *In R.* 1.83.26–32: μὴ τὸν λεγόμενον ὡς οὐ παιδευτικοὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν εἰσιν οἱ τοιοῖδε μῦθοι τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν θεολόγων, ἀλλ’ ὡς οὐχὶ τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς θεσμοῖς συμφωνότατοι δεικνύωμεν, μηδὲ ὡς ἀνομοίως μιμοῦνται τὰ θεῖα διὰ τῶν ἀπεμφαινόντων συμβόλων, ἀλλ’ ὡς οὐχὶ συμπάθειαν ἡμῖν ἄρρητον προπαρασκευάζουσιν εἰς τὴν μετουσίαν τῶν θεῶν.

Regarding *teletai* [initiatorial rites], Proclus explains, “the *teletai* show that the myths affect many; indeed, these *teletai*, using the myths in order to enclose the truth about gods, are the reason of sympathy to the souls concerning the rites in a way unknown to us but also divine;” (“Οτι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς δρώσιν οἱ μῦθοι, δηλοῦσιν αἱ τελεταί. καὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ χρώμεναι τοῖς μύθοις, ἵνα τὴν περὶ θεῶν ἀλήθειαν ἄρρητον κατακλείωσιν, συμπαθείας εἰσὶν αἵτιαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς περὶ τὰ δρώμενα τρόπον ἄγνωστον ἡμῖν καὶ θεῖον· Procl. *In R.* 11.108.17–21).²⁹ Olympiodorus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Phaedo*—also quoted in *Orph. Fr.* 235—emphasises the bacchic aspect of *telete*, τελετὴ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ἀρετῶν βακχεία, “for initiation is the bacchic frenzy [orgy] of the virtues” (*Olymp. In Phd.* 1.8.7.2–3) integrating it with Plato’s saying, “and he [Plato] says ‘many are the bearers of Dionysus’ banner, but few inspired by him’” (καὶ φησιν ‘πολλοὶ μὲν ναρθηκοφόροι, παῦροι δὲ τε Βάκχοι’ 1.8.7.3–4).³⁰

Damascius in his *Commentary on Plato’s Phaedo* states that “the *teletai* [initiatorial rites] are twofold, those here [below] which are a kind of preparation [for the mysteries], and those in the hereafter; and I think those [in the hereafter] are twofold as well, those about the pneumatic tunic, as the initiatorial rites here [below] about the shell-like body, and those about the luminous [vehicle].” (διτταὶ δὲ αἱ τελεταί, αἱ μὲν ἐνθάδε, προπαρασκευαί τινες οὔσαι, αἱ δὲ ἐκεῖ· διτταὶ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ αὐταί, αἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν πνευματικὸν χιτῶνα, ὡς αἱ ἐνθάδε περὶ τὸν ὀστρεῖον, αἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν αὐγοειδῆ. Dam. *In Phd.* 1.168.5–7). Damascius also points out “that the aim of the *teletai* [initiatorial rites] is to lift the souls up in that accomplishment from where they made their first descent from the very beginning, in which Dionysus also set them under, being seated on his related father’s throne, which is there for the whole life of Zeus. Thus, it must be so that the initiated ‘lives among the gods’ in accordance with the intention of the accomplishing gods” (“Οτι σκοπὸς τῶν τελετῶν ἐστὶν εἰς τέλος ἀναγαγεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκεῖνο ἀφ’ οὗ

29 See also Procl. *In R.* 11.108.21–32: ὡς τοὺς μὲν τῶν τελουμένων καταπλήττεσθαι δειμάτων θείων πλήρεις γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ συνδιατίθεσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς συμβόλοις καὶ ἐαυτῶν ἐκστάντας ὅλους ἐνιδρῦσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐνθεάζειν· πάντως που καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτοῖς κρειττόνων ἡμῶν γενῶν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα συνθήματα φιλίαν ἀνεγειρόντων ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δι’ αὐτῶν συμπάθειαν. ἢ πῶς μετ’ ἐκείνων μὲν πᾶς ὁ περὶ γῆν τόπος μεστός ἦν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν, ὧν θεοὶ προξενοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἄνευ δὲ ἐκείνων ἄπνοα πάντα καὶ ἄμοιρα τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶν ἐπιλάμψεως; Ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν μύθων τὰς αἰτίας καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν μυθικῶν συμβόλων ἐξεργάσμεθα.

30 *Olymp. In Phd.* 1.8.7.1–9: Διὸ καὶ παρωδεῖ ἔπος Ὀρφικόν [*Fr.* 235] τὸ λέγον ὅτι ‘ὅστις δ’ ἡμῶν ἀτέλεστος, ὥσπερ ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται ἐν Ἰδίου’, τελετὴ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ἀρετῶν βακχεία· καὶ φησιν ‘πολλοὶ μὲν ναρθηκοφόροι, παῦροι δὲ τε Βάκχοι’, ναρθηκοφόρους οὐ μὴν Βάκχους τοὺς πολιτικούς καλῶν, ναρθηκοφόρους δὲ καὶ Βάκχους τοὺς καθαρτικούς. καὶ γὰρ ἐνδοῦμεθα μὲν τῇ ὕλῃ ὡς Τίτᾶνες διὰ τὸν πολλὸν μερισμὸν—πολὺ γὰρ τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ σόν—ἀνεγειρόμεθα δὲ ὡς Βάκχοι· διὸ καὶ περὶ τὸν θάνατον μαντικώτεροι γινόμεθα, καὶ ἔφορος δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁ Διόνυσος, διότι καὶ πάσης βακχείας. See also *Orph. Fr.* 235; Kern (1972) 248.

τὴν πρώτην ἐποιήσαντο κάθοδον ὡς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος αὐτὰς ὑπέστησεν ἰδρυμένος ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ οἰκείου πατρὸς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ὅλῃ ζωῇ τῇ Δίῳ. ἀναγκαίως ἄρα ὁ τετελεσμένος 'οἰκεῖ μετὰ θεῶν', κατὰ τὸν σκοπὸν τῶν τελούντων θεῶν. Dam. *In Phd.* 1.168.1–5).³¹

1.2.d. Hieratic Invocations, Words and Treatises, and the Separation of the Soul from the Body

In his *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, Proclus refers to “the hieratic mode of invocations, accomplished through sacrifices, divine names and prayers” (〈ὁ〉 ἱερατικὸς τρόπος τῆς ἀγωγῆς, διὰ θυσιῶν, δι' ὀνομάτων θεῶν, δι' εὐχῶν συμπεπληρωμένος Procl. *In R.* 11.66.13–15).³² Proclus also points out the aim of the hieratic words, “for the hieratic words/teachings accomplish this, separating the souls from the bodies” (καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱερατικοὶ λόγοι τοῦτο δρῶσιν, χωρίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς ψυχὰς Procl. *In R.* 11.119.5–6); “producing to the souls the activity that is freed from bodies and the release of the natural bonds” (ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς τὴν ἀπόλυτον τῶν σωμάτων προξενούντες ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν φυσικῶν δεσμῶν 11.119.7–9); Proclus then emphasises the theurgists' ability, “for if that is possible to the hieratics, namely to keep the bodies unchangeable, when the souls are separated” (εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς τοῦτο δυνατόν, φυλάττειν ἄτρεπτα τὰ σώματα χωριζομένων τῶν ψυχῶν 11.119.13–14).

Moreover, Proclus explains that these hieratic/theurgic doctrines about the separation of the soul from the body before death—“to be able to take out the soul from the body and again to get it back and make it alive that which it had left” (τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξιέναι τε δύνασθαι τοῦ σώματος καὶ αὖθις εἰσεῖναι καὶ ἔμπνουν ποιεῖν ὅπερ ἀπελελοίπει Procl. *In R.* 11.123.9–11)—were published by the theurgists who lived at the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (121–180 AD), “and as many (doctrines) were put out by the theurgists at the time of the emperor Marcus provide manifest assurance of the teaching” (καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἐπὶ Μάρκου θεουργοῖς ἐκδέδοται πίστιν ἐναργῆ πορίζει τοῦ λόγου Procl. *In R.* 11.123.12–13).³³ The

31 Damascius says that there are three degrees of ascent through initiation, as there is through philosophy; Dam. *In Phd.* 1.168.7–16: τρεῖς γὰρ οἱ βαθμοὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς τελεστικῆς, ὡς καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας· τρισηχίλιστον γὰρ ἔτι οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἀνάγονται, ὡς ἐν Φαίδρῳ εἴρηται [249a3–5], βίος γὰρ τέλειος καὶ περιοδικὸς ἡ χηλιάς. ὁ ἄρα 'ἀτέλεστος' ἄτε πορρωτάτω μένων τοῦ οἰκείου τέλους 'ἐν βορβόρῳ κείται' καὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πλέον ἐκεῖ, ἐν γὰρ τῇ τρυγί τῆς γενέσεως, αὐτῷ τῷ Ταρτάρῳ. καὶ δὴλον ὅτι τὰ ἄκρα ὁ λόγος παρείληφεν, πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ πλάτος. ἀνάλογον δέ μοι σκόπει καὶ τὰς διὰ φιλοσοφίας ἀνόδους, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀκριβῆ μὴδὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἔνωσιν ποιοῦνται τὴν συνάφην. εἰ δὲ μετὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν μαλακώτερον οὐ καρποῦται τὸ τέλος αὐτῆς, δὴλον ὡς καὶ τελεστικῇ ἐνδιατρίβων ἰδιωτικῶς οὐκ ἀμήσει τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς οὐδὲ οὗτος.

32 See also Iamb. *Myist.* v.26.240.9: τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀγωγῆς.

33 Procl. *In R.* 11.123.8–13; on Proclus' references to the theurgists during the reign of the

reference here to the theurgists must be to Julian the Chaldaean and his son Julian the Theurgist³⁴ who, according to Proclus, “accomplish through some *telete* [initiatory rite] the same thing in regard to the initiated” (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι διὰ δὴ τινος τελετῆς τὸ αὐτὸ δρῶσιν εἰς τὸν τελούμενον· Procl. *In R.* 11.123.13–14).³⁵

1.3–5. The Erotic-Theurgic Simile: “Ὡσπερ οἱ ἐρωτικοί ... οὕτως καὶ οἱ ἱερατικοί

The erotic-hieratic simile alludes to a similar theurgic-erotic simile used in one of the early works of Proclus, his *Commentary on Plato's Alcibiades* I, “It could also be said that Socrates approaches visible beauty as an image of intelligible beauty; for he is a worshipper of the whole series of beauty, and just as those who are experts in theurgy respect the visible images of the gods, so the perfect lover pursues also the image of divine beauty that has proceeded to the lowest levels, just as having been dependent on that. Hence, he approaches him [Alcibiades], because he holds the position of an image, for it is said that we approach images.” (λέγοιτο δ’ ἂν ὅτι καὶ οἷον ἀγάλλματι τοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους πρόσσεισιν ὁ Σωκράτης τῷ ἐμφανεῖ κάλλει· θεραπευτῆς γάρ ἐστι πάσης τῆς τοῦ κάλλους σειρᾶς, καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ περὶ θεουργίαν δεινοὶ καὶ τὰς φαινομένας εἰκόνας τῶν θεῶν σέβουσιν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ τελέως ἐρωτικὸς καὶ τὸ προελθὼν ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἵνδαλμα τοῦ θείου κάλλους ὡς ἐξηρτημένον ἐκείνου μέτεισι. πρόσσεισιν οὖν αὐτῷ διότι τὴν ἀγάλλματος ἐπέχει τάξιν, καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀγάλλμασι προσιέναι λεγόμεθα. Procl. *In Alc.* 1.92.8–15).

Similarly, in Proclus’ *Commentary on Plato's Republic* 6.1.7 with the title ‘What is the judgement of the goddesses [Athena, Hera and Aphrodite] in the myth of the poet and what differences between ways of life does it allegorically convey?’ (Procl. *In R.* 1.108.3–109.7), Paris’ choice of Aphrodite is interpreted as a choice of kinds of life, pointing out that the life governed by desire belongs to Aphrodite, and “so then the one who is perfectly erotic and cares for Aph-

emperor Marcus Aurelius see also Procl. *In Cra.* 122.72.8–15: “Ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες ἐκφῆναι τὴν τῶν θεῶν φύσιν ἀξιώσαντες καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα παρέδοσαν· οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Μάρκου γενομένοις θεουργοῖς οἱ θεοὶ καὶ νοητὰς καὶ νοερὰς τάξεις ἐκφαίνοντες, ὀνόματα τῶν θείων διακόσμων ἐξαγγελτικὰ τῆς ιδιότητος αὐτῶν παραδεδώκασιν, οἷς καλοῦντες ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν ταῖς προσηκούσαις θεραπαίαις τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐηχοῖας ἐτύγχανον.

34 See Intro.: Sect. 1 and n. 5 on Proclus’ life and Orphic and Chaldaean theologies.

35 Procl. *In R.* 11.123.13–16: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι διὰ δὴ τινος τελετῆς τὸ αὐτὸ δρῶσιν εἰς τὸν τελούμενον· καὶ ἔστι πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον, ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον τὸ μηχανήμα καὶ θεῖον. On separation of the theurgists’ soul from the body and the theurgic union see also Iamb. *Myst.* 1.12.41.9–16: Διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης οὖν βουλήσεως ἀφθόνως οἱ θεοὶ τὸ φῶς ἐπιλάμπουσιν εὐμενεῖς ὄντες καὶ ἵλεω τοῖς θεουργοῖς, τὰς τε ψυχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακαλούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν αὐταῖς τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς χορηγοῦντες, ἐθίζοντές τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἔτι ἐν σώματι οὕσας ἀφίστασθαι τῶν σωμάτων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν αἰδίων καὶ νοητὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν περιάγεσθαι.

rodite is led upwards to the divine beauty itself, looking down upon the things which are beautiful in sense-perception.” (ὁ γὰρ δὴ τελέως ἐρωτικός καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ μέλων ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον κάλλος ἀνάγεται τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει καλῶν ὑπερορῶν Procl. *In R.* 1.109.1–3).

However, the idea of comparison between philosopher and lover goes back to Plato’s *Symposium* and the simile between philosopher and lover. The initiation to philosophy is presented as an initiation to eros, and so eros as a way leading to philosophy. Eros first seizes the body and then the soul. The lover understands ἐξαίφνης (Pl. *Smp.* 210e.4) that the idea of beautiful determines his/her erotic behaviour. “For whoever has been educated up to this point in erotics, observing continuously and rightly the beautiful things, going to the perfect end of erotics, shall *suddenly* behold something wonderfully beautiful in its nature;³⁶ that thing itself, Socrates, for which all the previous hard work was done; first something that is always being and neither becoming, nor perishing, nor increasing, nor passing away; and secondly, not beautiful on the one hand and ugly on the other, nor at one time so, and at another time not; neither with respect to the beautiful nor the ugly; nor here beautiful and there ugly, as being beautiful to some and ugly to others;” (ὅς γὰρ ἂν μέχρι ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά παιδαγωγῆθῃ, θεώμενος ἐφεξῆς τε καὶ ὀρθῶς τὰ καλὰ, πρὸς τέλος ἤδη ἰὼν τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐξαίφνης κατόψεται τι θαυμαστὸν τὴν φύσιν καλόν, τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὗ δὴ ἔνεκεν καὶ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν πάντες πόνοι ἦσαν, πρῶτον μὲν αἰεὶ ὄν καὶ οὔτε γιγνόμενον οὔτε ἀπολλύμενον, οὔτε αὐξανόμενον οὔτε φθίνον, ἔπειτα οὐ τῇ μὲν καλόν, τῇ δ’ αἰσχρόν, οὐδὲ τοτὲ μὲν, τοτὲ δὲ οὐ, οὐδὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸ καλόν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ αἰσχρόν, οὐδ’ ἔνθα μὲν καλόν, ἔνθα δὲ αἰσχρόν, ὡς τισὶ μὲν ὄν καλόν, τισὶ δὲ αἰσχρόν Pl. *Smp.* 210e.2–211a5).

Hermias in his *Scholia on Plato’s Phaedrus*, refers to “the erotic art,” as described the *Symposium* (τὴν ἐρωτικὴν τέχνην Herm. *In Phdr.* 21.10),³⁷ and asserts that “the elevation of all to the One and the Good is achieved through the beautiful and wise, that is to say through the erotic [art] and philosophy” (πάντων δὲ ἡ ἀναγωγή ἐπὶ τὸ ἓν καὶ τἀγαθὸν γίνεται διὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ, τουτέστι δι’ ἐρωτικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας Herm. *In Phdr.* 42.29–31). Elsewhere, Hermias mentions “the erotic enthusiasm, *mania*” as one of the four divisions [i.e. prophetic, musical and *telestic*] of the divine enthusiasm, *mania* (καὶ διελὼν αὐτὴν τὴν μανίαν εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη, μαντικὴν, τελεστικὴν, ποιητικὴν, ἐρωτικὴν Herm. *In Phdr.* 4.27–29),³⁸ describing it as the most divine among the four (θειοτέρα ἡ ἐρωτικὴ 174.18).

36 Cf. the Homeric erotic union between Zeus and Hera and the reference to nature and beauty in Hom. *Il.* 14.292–351, esp. 346–351.

37 Couvreur (1901); Lucarini and Moreschini (2012).

38 Also repeated: Herm. *In Phdr.* 173.9–10: Καὶ διεῖλε ταύτην τὴν μανίαν εἰς τέσσαρα· εἰς μαντικὴν

Hermias also uses another simile between the worshiper and the erotic, saying that, “for just as the religious and discreet man falls down and worships the images/statues, as if they have a resemblance to the divine, so does the lover seeing that the beauty here has a resemblance to the divine beauty, worships it as the image/statue” (“Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν ὁ εὐσεβὴς καὶ σώφρων ἀνὴρ προσκυνεῖ, ὡς ὁμοιότητά τινα ἔχοντα πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἐρωτικός τὸ ἐνταῦθα κάλλος ὁρῶν ὡς ὁμοιότητα ἔχον πρὸς τὸ θεῖον κάλλος, σέβεται ὡς ἄγαλμα Herm. *In Phdr.* 180.28–31).

1.5–6 (cf. also 2.9–10 and 6.5–6). Συμπάθεια, Sympathy

Proclus in the simile between lovers and the hieratic experts mentions the role of the sympathetic invisible powers inside different entities in the hieratic art/science.³⁹ He also associates *sympathy* with the first stage of “the preparatory warming” in his description of the four important stages in hieratic/theurgic union: first, “the preparatory heating” (ἡ μὲν προθέρμανσις) based on “sympathy” (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 2.9–16, esp. 9–10).

The simile between lovers and theurgists refers to sympathetic powers inside different entities and alludes to a similar simile in Plotinus’ *Ennead* IV to the birth of “power of the erotic art by magic” (ἀλκή ἐρωτικής διὰ γοητείας τέχνης Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.40.10–11).⁴⁰ Plotinus explains eros’ connecting and sympathetic power inside different entities that contain it as: “indeed by sympathy and by the fact that there is by nature a concord of the things alike and opposition of the different things, and by the diversity of the many powers that contribute to

καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν καὶ ἐρωτικὴν ...; also 173.16–19: μέλλων περὶ τῆς τετάρτης μανίας εἰπεῖν περὶ ἧς καὶ ὁ πᾶς αὐτῷ λόγος, πρὶν εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς εἰπὼν περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς, περὶ ιδέας αὐτῆς, περὶ τῶν βίων, περὶ καθόδου καὶ ἀνόδου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀνωτέρω ὀλίγον εἰρημένων, οὕτως λέγει περὶ τῆς ἐρωτικῆς μανίας πόσα ἀγαθὰ παρέχει.

39 On the hieratic art and the sympathy in all apparent things to the ἀφανεῖς δυνάμεις, “invisible powers,” and the theurgy imitating τὰς ἀφανεῖς περιόδους τῶν ψυχῶν, “the invisible revolutions of souls” see also Procl. *Plat.Theol.* V.30.3–6: “Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἡ θεουργία μιμουμένη τὰς ἀφανεῖς περιόδους τῶν ψυχῶν, τὰς πρὸς τοὺς δευτέρους θεοὺς τέλετάς προὔποτιθησι ταῖς ὑψηλοτέραις καὶ διὰ τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν διαβαίνειν ποιεῖ τὴν νοητὴν περιωπὴν. On Ammonius’ division of the powers of the soul into gnostic and appetitive in *In Aristotelis De Interpretatione Commentarius*, see Ammon. *In Int.* 5.1–16.

40 Note also Plotinus’ idealising definition of magic: καὶ ἡ ἀληθινὴ μαγεία ἡ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φιλία καὶ τὸ νεῖκος αὐτῷ, “and the true magic is the love and the strife again in the all” (Plot. *Enn.* IV.40.6–7); and its allusions to the Pre-Socratic Empedocles’ concept of “Love,” Φιλότητι, and “enmity of Strife,” Νείκεος ἔχθει. Emp. DK Fr. 17.16–17; Diels and Kranz (1951); Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983) 287 ff.; see also Guthrie (1978) 152 ff. On ‘Love’ and ‘Strife’ see also Iamb. *Myst.* IV.9: “Ἐτι δὲ ἡ τῶν πολλῶν σύνοδος εἰς ἓν τὸ τοῦ παντός ζῶον ... οἶον ἡ φιλία τοῦ παντός καὶ ὁ ἔρως καὶ τὸ νεῖκος, κατ’ ἐνέργειαν μὲν ὄντα ἐν τῷ παντί.

the one living being” (ἡ τῇ συμπαθείᾳ, καὶ τῷ πεφυκέναι συμφωνίαν εἶναι ὁμοίων καὶ ἐναντίωσιν ἀνομοίων, καὶ τῇ τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν ποικιλίᾳ εἰς ἓν ζῶον συντελούντων Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.40.1–4).⁴¹

Plotinus in this passage of *Ennead* IV justifies these powers (δυνάμεις) and their uses by the magicians in erotic magic: “and the true magic is the love and the strife again in the all. ... For, because men love by nature and the things that cause loving attract each other,⁴² it has arisen by the power of the erotic art by means of magic, of those [magicians] who add [apply] by means of contacts to different people different substances which bring them together and which have eros inside them; and they [magicians] join one soul to the other, as if they were fastening to each other plants which are separate. They also use figures which have powers in them, and working themselves into certain figures, they silently bring powers upon themselves, being within the one [all] and towards the one.” (... καὶ ἡ ἀληθινὴ μαγεία ἡ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φιλία καὶ τὸ νεῖκος αὖ. ... Καὶ γάρ, ὅτι ἐρᾶν πεφύκασιν καὶ τὰ ἐρᾶν ποιοῦντα ἔλκει πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἀλκῇ ἐρωτικῆς διὰ γοητείας τέχνης γεγένηται, προστιθέντων ἐπαφαῖς φύσεις ἄλλας ἄλλοις συναγωγούς⁴³ καὶ ἐγκείμενον ἔχουσας ἔρωτα· καὶ συνάπτουσι δὲ ἄλλην ψυχὴν ἄλλῃ, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ φυτὰ διεστηκότα ἐξαψάμενοι πρὸς ἄλληλα. Καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι δὲ προσχρῶνται δυνάμεις ἔχουσι, καὶ αὐτοὺς σχηματίζοντες ὥδι ἐπάγουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀψοφητὶ δυνάμεις ἐν ἐνὶ ὄντες εἰς ἓν. Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.40.4–17).⁴⁴

That erotic “bringing together” of the magic art is also a union of souls, since the magicians, according to Plotinus, “join one soul to another,” συνάπτουσι δὲ ἄλλην ψυχὴν ἄλλῃ (Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.40.13). Plotinus’ reference to συναγω-

41 See also Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 7.2–5: Ἀπὸ δὴ τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὁρμηθέντες, τὰς δαιμονίους δυνάμεις ἔγνωσαν, ὡς προσεχεῖς εἰσιν οὐσίαι τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνεργείας, καὶ ἐπηγάγοντο δι’ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰς συνουσίαν. On the (theurgic) prayers in magic and the role of theurgy see also: Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.26.1–4: Γίνονται δὲ εὐχῶν γνώσεις κατὰ οἶον σύναψιν καὶ κατὰ τοιάνδε σχέσιν ἐναρμοζομένων, καὶ αἱ ποιήσεις οὕτως· καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάγων τέχναις εἰς τὸ συναφὲς πᾶν· ταῦτα δὲ δυνάμεσιν ἐπομέναις συμπαθῶς; also, particularly on prayers to the Sun and other stars: Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.30.1–16, esp. 3–4: ... καὶ εὐχῶν δὴ κλύοντας ἔφαμεν, ἃς πρὸς ἥλιον ποιούμεθα καὶ διὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄστρα ἄλλοι τινὲς ἄνθρωποι ...; and *Enn.* IV.4.41.1–15: Ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἡ ἄλλο ἄστρον οὐκ ἐπαίει. Καὶ γίνεται τὸ κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν συμπαθοὺς μέρους μέρει γενομένου; Henry and Schwyzler (1959) 11.

42 See also Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 6.1–2: διὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς συμπαθείας προσήγοντο, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἀντιπαθείας ἀπήλανον.

43 See Iamb. *Myst.* IV.12.195.12; Pl. *Smp.* 191d1–3; Plot. *Enn.* VI.9.9.24–25.

44 On συνάπτειν either through the erotic *mania*, or the divine philosophy, or even the theurgic power see Procl. *Plat.Theol.* 1.113.4–10: Σφίζεται δὲ πάντα διὰ τούτων καὶ συνάπτεται ταῖς πρωτουργοῖς αἰτίαις, τὰ μὲν διὰ τῆς ἐρωτικῆς μανίας, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς θείας φιλοσοφίας, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς θεουργικῆς δυνάμεως, ἡ κρείττων ἐστὶν ἀπάσης ἀνθρωπίνης σωφροσύνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης, συλλαβοῦσα τὰ τε τῆς μαντικῆς ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰς τῆς τελεσιουργικῆς καθαρτικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τῆς ἐνθέου κατακαυχῆς ἐνεργήματα.

γούς, “bringing together” also used by Iamblichus (συναγωγὸν ὄλον, *Iamb. Myst.* IV.12.195.12) alludes to Plato’s description of Eros in the *Symposium* as ἔμφυτος in human beings and συναγωγεύς with their original nature.⁴⁵ Iamblichus also uses the term συναγωγόν to describe the first degree of theurgic prayer (*Iamb. Myst.* V.26.10).

Proclus in his *Chaldaean Philosophy* (*Πρόκλου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς χαλδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας*, “Extraits du Commentaire de Proclus sur la Philosophie Chaldaïque”) refers to the role of sympathy using a simile of the eye “becoming like the sun” (γενόμενος ἡλιοειδής), when looking at the sun (Procl. *Phil. Chald. Fr.* 4.209.25–29).⁴⁶

Similarly, Plutarch associates love with the eyes, emphasising the eyes’ ability to affect change to the other eyes and inflict eros (Plu. *Quaest. Conv.* 681.B–D).⁴⁷ Furthermore, the transmission and ‘lighting up’ of love through the eyes of the lovers is compared with fire (Plu. *Quaest. Conv.* 681.C.1–6).⁴⁸

45 Pl. *Smp.* 191d1–3: ἔστι δὴ οὖν ἐκ τόσου ὁ ἔρως ἔμφυτος ἀλλήλων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας φύσεως συναγωγεύς. Plotinus “On the Good, or the One” refers to eros as σύμφυτος with psyche (καὶ ὁ ἔρως ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ σύμφυτος, Plot. *Enn.* VI.9.9.24–25). On eros and psyche see also Plot. *Enn.* III.5.4.

46 Procl. *Phil. Chald. Fr.* 4.209.25–29: Ὡς γὰρ νοοειδεῖς γιγνόμενοι τῷ νῷ πρόσμιεν, οὕτως ἐνοειδεῖς πρὸς τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀνατρέχουμεν, ἐπ’ ἅκρῳ τῷ οἰκείῳ στάντες νῷ· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ὀρεῖ τὸν ἥλιον ἢ γενόμενος ἡλιοειδής, ἀλλ’ οὐ τῷ ἐκ πυρὸς φωτί· ὃ καὶ δῆλον ἐστὶ τὸ νοεῖν ἐκεῖνο μὴ νοεῖν ἐστίν. Des Places (1971) 206–212; Pitra (1888) Vol. V: 192–195. Note also the idea of the ‘easily-moved’ eye that becomes like what it sees in Pseudo-Aristotle *Problemata*; Pseud.-Arist. *Probl.* 887a.24–27: ἢ ἡ μὲν ὀφθαλμία, ὅτι εὐκίνητότατον ὁ ὀφθαλμός, καὶ μάλιστα ὁμοιοῦται τῷ ὀρωμένῳ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷον κινεῖται ἀπὸ κινουμένου ὥστε καὶ ἀντιβλέπων τεταραγμένῳ ταράττεται μάλιστα;

47 E.g. Plu. *Quaest. Conv.* 681.A.10–681.B.1–3: καὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν, ἃ δὴ μέγιστα καὶ σφοδρότατα παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστίν, ἀρχὴν ἢ ὅψις ἐνδίδωσιν, ὥστε ρεῖν καὶ λείβεσθαι τὸν ἐρωτικόν, ὅταν ἐμβλέῃ τοῖς καλοῖς, οἷον ἐκχεόμενον εἰς αὐτούς. Also, 681.B.5–9: αἱ γὰρ ἀντιβλέψεις τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ καὶ τὸ διὰ τῶν ὁμμάτων ἐκπίπτον, εἴτ’ ἄρα φῶς εἴτε ρεῦμα, τοὺς ἐρώντας ἐκτῆχει καὶ ἀπόλλυσι μεθ’ ἡδονῆς ἀλγιδόνη μεμιγμένης, ἣν αὐτοὶ γλυκύπικρον ὀνομάζουσιν. And 681.D.5–6: οὕτω δύναμιν ἔχει ὁξεῖαν ἢ ὅψις ἐνδοῦναι καὶ προσβαλεῖν ἐτέρῳ πάθους ἀρχήν. See also pseud-Arist. *Probl.* 887a.24–27 on the previous footnote. Moreover, the association of love and the eyes is also common outside of a philosophical context, for instance in the ancient novels; e.g. Heliod. *Aeth.* I.2.3.6–8: Ὁφθαλμοὺς δὲ ἐκείνου οἱ μὲν πόνοι κατέσπων, ἡ δὲ ὅψις τῆς κόρης ἐφ’ ἐαυτὴν ἀνείλκε καὶ τοῦτο ὁρᾶν αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκαζεν, ὅτι ἐκείνην ἐώρων.; I.2.8.1–9.5, II.25.2.6–8, IV.1.2.1–8, IV.7.7.4–8: οὐχ ὀρεῖς ὡς κυλοιδιᾷ μὲν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὸ βλέμμα διέρριπται καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὠχρίᾷ, σπλάγχνον οὐκ αἰτιωμένη, τὴν διάνοιαν δὲ ἀλύει καὶ τὸ ἐπελθὼν ἀναφθέγγεται καὶ ἀπροφάσιστον ἀγρυπνίαν ὑφίσταται καὶ τὸν ὄγκον ἀθρόον καθήρηται; VI.4.1.2–4, etc.

48 Plu. *Quaest. Conv.* 681.C.1–6: τοιαύτῃ γὰρ γίνεται διάδοσις καὶ ἀνάφλεξις ἀπὸ τῆς ὕψεως, ὥστε παντελῶς ἀπειράτους ἔρωτος ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς τὸν Μηδικὸν νάφθαν θαυμάζοντας ἐκ διαστήματος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναφλεγόμενον· αἱ γὰρ τῶν καλῶν ὅψεις, καὶ πάνυ πόρρωθεν ἀντιβλέπωσι, πῦρ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ψυχαῖς ἀνάπτουσιν.

Hermias in his *Scholia on Plato's Phaedrus*, discussing the erotic art/science asserts, "And regarding the erotic eye, that is to say the soul of the beloved one; then someone becomes fully erotic, when he returns to himself; and this happens through the eyes" (Τὸ δὲ ἐρωτικὸν ὄμμα, τουτέστι τὴν τοῦ ἐρωμένου ψυχὴν· τότε δὲ κυρίως γίνεται τις ἐρωτικός, ὅταν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέψῃ· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων *In Phdr.* 196.23–25). Also, "and that happens through *sympathy*; that is to say eye to eye is joined together somehow through the air. Just as in the mirror; the familiar example of the erotic science is the eye, since 'to love' (*erân*) is achieved through seeing (*horân*), and the illuminations of soul are reflected through the eyes. Thus, just as the lover is elevated up there seen as a mirror through the eye of the beloved, so does the beloved one through the eye of the lover" (συμβαίνει δὲ διὰ τὴν συμπάθειαν· ἡγουν διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος συνάπτεται πως ἡ ὀφθαλμία.—"Ὡσπερ δὲ ἐν κατόπτρῳ· τὸ οἰκεῖον παράδειγμα τῆς ἐρωτικῆς ἐπιστήμης ὀφθαλμός ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν γίνεται τὸ ἐρᾶν, καὶ αἱ ἐλλάμψεις τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐμφαίνονται. "Ὡσπερ οὖν διὰ τοῦ ὀμματος τοῦ ἐρωμένου ὁ ἐραστής ἀνάγεται ἐκεῖ ἐνοπτριζόμενος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐρώμενος διὰ τοῦ ὀμματος τοῦ ἐρώντος 202.3–9).

In the prologue of the first book called *Kyranis* of the medico-magical text of the *Kyranides* (first compiled in IV CE), there is a reference to the natural powers of *sympathy* and *antipathy*: Βίβλος αὕτη Κυρανοῦ <καὶ> Ἑρμεία ἐπικλητὴ "τὰ τρία", ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων βίβλος φυσικῶν δυνάμεων συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν, συνταχθεῖσα {ἐκ δύο βιβλίων} (*Kyran.* 1–3).⁴⁹

1.10. *Ἡλιοτρόπια, Heliotropes, "Sunflowers"*

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, when explaining the role of planetary gods as leaders of the souls, outspreading their power as far as plants and stones, refers to the example of *heliotrope* and its dependence on the power of Helios, "and what is there to be amazed at, when *the individual nature of the guardian gods* has reached down even as far as plant and stone, and there is a plant and stone *dependent on the power of Helios*, whether you would like to call them *heliotrope* or in any other way whatever?" (καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, ὅπου καὶ μέχρι πόας καὶ λίθων ἢ τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἐφόρων ἰδιότης καθήκει, καὶ ἔστι λίθος καὶ πόα τῆς Ἡλιακῆς ἐξηρτημέναι δυνάμεως, εἴτε ἡλιοτρόπιον εἴτε ἄλλως ὅπως οὖν καλεῖν ἐθέλοις; Procl. *In Ti.* I.III.10–13).

Olympiodorus in his *Commentary on Plato's Alcibiades*, discussing the hieratic mode of life (τοὺς ιερατικῶς ζώντας), refers to the connection between celes-

49 Kaimakis (1976) 14.

tials and humans, providing the examples of “the *heliotropes* and the moon-stones” (τὰ ἡλιοτρόπια φυτὰ καὶ οἱ σεληνῖται λίθοι) (Olymp. *In Alc.* 18.11–18).⁵⁰

1.11. συγκλινεῖται

Both codices (codd. V L) read συγκλινεῖται; Bidez corrects it to συγκινεῖται. The verb συγκλινεῖται is not wrong: (fut.) “will lean/incline to the sun”; cf. *PGM* IV 1718: κλίνει γὰρ καὶ ἄγει ψυχὴν; IV.2069: ἄγει δὲ καὶ κατακλίνει; IV.2435–2438: <Ἀγωγὴ> σκευὴ ἐπιθύματος σεληνιακοῦ ἄγουσα ἀσχέτους καὶ ἀνουσιάστους μονομήρους, κατακλίνει γενναίως; IV.2618–2620: <Διαβολὴ πρὸς Σελήνην> ποιοῦσα πρὸς πάντα καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν πρᾶξιν· ἄγει γὰρ μονώρους, ὄνειροπομπεῖ, κατακλίνει ...; also Procl. *In Cra.* 107.57.14–16: οὐ γὰρ ἐς ὕλην πῦρ ἐπέκεινα τὸ πρῶτον ἐὴν δύναμιν κατακλίνει, φησὶ τὸ λόγιον (or chald p 13);⁵¹ and *Plat.Theol.* v.145.12: Οὐ γὰρ εἰς ὕλην ἐὴν δύναμιν κατακλίνει, φησὶ τις θεῶν.

However, συγκινεῖται is more precise to the meaning: cf. Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 1.15: κινεῖται in the same section; and *Hier.Ar.* 4.1: συγκινεῖται.⁵² Also, συγκινεῖται συμπεριπολοῦντα is in accordance to the use of συγκινούμενα and συμπεριπολεῖν in relation to the sun and the moon in Proclus’ *Commentary on Plato’s Republic* (Procl. *In R.* 11.161.18–27).⁵³

1.12 (cf. also 4.13 and 5.1). Φωστῆρες, “Heavenly Lights /Luminaries”

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic* refers to “the two luminaries,” the sun and the moon (ἀπὸ τῶν δύο φωστήρων *In R.* 11.43.25). Furthermore, in his *Exposition of Astronomical Hypotheses* (*Hypotyposis Astronomicarum Positionum*), Proclus reports that the Greek astronomer and mathematician Hipparchus of Nicaea (c. 190–120 BCE) has constructed an optical instrument (διὰ διόπτρας) in certain shape and dimension “through which he watches accur-

50 Olymp. *In Alc.* 18.11–18: ὅτι γὰρ συνήπται τοῖς τῶν οὐρανίων εἶδεσιν τὰ ἡμέτερα εἶδη, δηλον ἐκ τοῦ συναύξεσθαι αὐτὰ καὶ συμμειοῦσθαι τοῖς οὐρανίοις, καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ χυμοὶ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην καὶ αὖξονται καὶ μειοῦνται καὶ αἱ τρίχες, διὸ τοὺς ἱερατικῶς ζώντας ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μὴ ἀποκειρομένους αὐξοῦσης τῆς σελήνης· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ σεληνιακὸν πάθος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἡλιοτρόπια φυτὰ καὶ οἱ σεληνῖται λίθοι συναύξοντες καὶ συμμειούμενοι πρὸς τὴν σελήνην· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὄστρεα, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντα, διὸ καλῶς εἴρηται·

51 Pasquali (1908) 57.

52 See also Procl. *Inst.* 209.10 συγκινεῖται.

53 Procl. *In R.* 11.161.18–27: καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ψυχὰς <καὶ> ὀχήματα ψυχῶν συγγενῇ τοῖς οὐρανίοις τοῦτο δρᾶν, ὅπου καὶ τῶν ἐν γῇ κατερριζωμένων ἔστιν ὁρᾶν τὰ μὲν ἡλίῳ συγκινούμενα, τὰ δὲ σελήνῃ συντρέχοντα ...80... ἐκείνοις δηλον. ὅτι <γὰρ> διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν φύσιν οἰκειότητος [ἐνέσπαρ]ται τὰ μὲν εἰς ἥλιον, τὰ δὲ εἰς σελήνην, ὡς ὁ Τίμαιος [41a ss.] ἐδίδαξεν, ἔστιν τὰ μὲν ἡλιακὰ ὀχήματα, τὰ δὲ σεληνιακά. καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ἀληθές, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν τὰ μὲν ἡλίῳ τὰ δὲ σελήνῃ συμπεριπολεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἄτακτα φέροιτο.

ately the magnitude of the diameters of the luminaries" (δι' ὧν διοπτρεύει τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἐν τοῖς φωστήρσι διαμέτρων Procl. *Hyp.* IV.72.120.15–18).⁵⁴

In his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* Proclus, interpreting the meaning of the planets, describes the Moon as a monad and "the cause of every generation and destruction" (μονὰς μὲν ἡ σελήνη, πάσης αἰτία γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς Procl. *In Ti.* III.69.9) and "the source of nature to the mortals, being the self-revealing image of the creative nature" (σελήνη μὲν αἰτία τοῖς θνητοῖς τῆς φύσεως, τὸ αὐτοπτον ἄγαλμα οὖσα τῆς πηγαίας φύσεως *In Ti.* III.69.15–16). Below the Moon there are the elements of generation, which constitute a triad (τριάς δὲ τὰ ἐν γενέσει στοιχεῖα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτήν *In Ti.* III.69.9); and among these there are the ones who proceed at an equal rate (μέσοι δὲ τούτων οἱ ἰσόδρομοι *In Ti.* III.69.10–11), naming the Sun, Venus and Mercury.⁵⁵ This triadic relationship between the Sun, Venus and Mercury is due to the solar and collaborative character (ἡλιακοὺς ὄντας καὶ συνδημιουργοῦντας) of Venus and Mercury (*In Ti.* III.65.22–26).⁵⁶ The Sun also is interpreted as "the one revealing the truth" (καὶ ὁ μὲν ἥλιος τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκφαντικός *In Ti.* III.69.11) and "the creator of all sense-perceptions, since it is the reason of seeing and being seen" (ἥλιος δὲ δημιουργὸς τῶν αἰσθήσεων πασῶν, διότι καὶ τοῦ ὁρᾶν καὶ τοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι αἴτιος *In Ti.* III.69.16–18).

Proclus also discussing the myth of Phaethon, the son of Helios, and Helios' chariot (from *Pl. Ti.* 22c3–7)⁵⁷ presents the planets as gods and leaders of the souls, arguing that the divine and daemonic souls (αἱ θεαὶ τε καὶ δαιμόνιαι ψυχαί) were placed under secondary leaders (ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνας δευτέρους), "some were under the divinity of Earth, others under the divinity of Helios, others under the divinity of Zeus and others under the leadership of Ares" (αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν θεότητα τῆς Γῆς, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Σελήνην, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἥλιον, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν Διός, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἄρεος ἡγεμονίαν. Procl. *In Ti.* I.110.27–30). Proclus also associates the individual existence of the souls with the *planetary divinities* who act as their leaders, "for this,

54 Manitius (1909).

55 On the ἰσόδρομοι the Sun, Venus and Mercury see Procl. *In Ti.* II.264.28–30, III.63.31–32; and Procl. *Hyp.* I.25 and v.62. This arrangement of planets goes back to *Pl. Ti.* 38d1–4: σελήνην μὲν εἰς τὸν περὶ γῆν πρῶτον, ἥλιον δὲ εἰς τὸν δεύτερον ὑπὲρ γῆς, ἑωσφόρον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Ἑρμοῦ λεγόμενον εἰς [τὸν] τάχει μὲν ἰσόδρομον ἡλίῳ κύκλον ἰόντας, τὴν δὲ ἐναντίαν εἰληχότας αὐτῷ δύναμιν.

56 Procl. *In Ti.* III.65.22–26: ὑπὲρ δὲ ἥλιον Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἑρμῆν, ἡλιακοὺς ὄντας καὶ συνδημιουργοῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τελεσιουργίαν τῶν ὅλων αὐτῷ συντελοῦντας· διὸ καὶ ἰσόδρομοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες ἡλίῳ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσιν ὡς συγκοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ τῆς ποιήσεως ...

57 *Pl. Ti.* 22c3–7: ὥς ποτε Φαέθων Ἥλιου παῖς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄρμα ζεύξας διὰ τὸ μὴ δυνατὸς εἶναι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ὁδὸν ἐλαύνειν τὰ τ' ἐπὶ γῆς συνέκαυσεν καὶ αὐτὸς κεραυνωθείς διεφθάρη, τοῦτο μῦθου μὲν σχῆμα ἔχον λέγεται ...

souls also, when they are sown round their associated stars, receive a particular existence from their leaders themselves, so that each one is not just a soul, but such a kind, as for example Areic, Jovian, or Lunar.” (διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ σπειρόμεναι περὶ τὰ σύννομα ἄστρα δέχονται τινα καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ιδιότητα ζωῆς, ὥστε μὴ μόνον εἶναι ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιάνδε ψυχὴν ἐκάστην, οἷον Ἀρεϊκὴν ἢ Δίον ἢ Σεληνιακὴν· Procl. *In Ti.* I.III.2–7).

Eusebius (c. 260/265–339/340 CE) in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* (PE III.6.2.1–4.1), discussing the theology and its relation to the allegorical physiology (ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀλληγορουμένων φυσιολογίᾳ) of the Egyptian and Greek gods, refers to the assimilation of Greek and Egyptian deities to the heavenly luminaries (τῶν ἐπουρανίων φωστήρων), as for example, of Apollon, Horus and Osiris with the Sun, and Isis or Artemis with the Moon; and concludes, “hence, they thought they should worship the Sun and the Moon and the stars and the other parts of the cosmos as gods” (τὸν ἥλιον ἄρα καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη ὡς θεοὺς προσκυνητέον. Eus. PE III.6.3.2–4.1).⁵⁸ That is an interesting passage from Eusebius, because, although he discusses the assimilation of Greek and Egyptian deities to the heavenly luminaries, he attempts to reduce all ‘pagan’ religion (Greek and Egyptian) to the merely physical. Eusebius also writes that “Plato said that the celestial luminaries have been named god and gods from θέειν, which means to run” (ὁ δὲ Πλάτων θεὸν καὶ θεοὺς παρὰ τὸ θέειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τρέχειν, τοὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ φωστήρας ἐπικεκλήσθαι φησι. Eus. PE XI.6.20.7–9).⁵⁹

Furthermore, Porphyry in his treatise *On Statues* associates dress codes at the Eleusinian mysteries with the two luminaries, the sun and the moon, reporting that the torch-bearer was dressed up as Helios, and the one at the altar as Selene, “In the Eleusinian mysteries also the hierophant is dressed up according to the image of the Creator, the torch-bearer (*dadouchos*) according

58 Also, according to the Hebrew theology, Eus. PE VII.9.2.1–5: ἄρχεται τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ θεοῦ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῆς τῶν προγόνων Ἑβραίων θεολογίας, οὐχ ἥπερ Αἰγυπτίοις φίλον ἦν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ Φοίνιξιν ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσι παραπλησίως εἰς πλῆθος καταβάλλουσι τὴν σεβάσμιον προσηγορίαν θεοῦς τε ὀρωμένους μὲν τοὺς κατ’ οὐρανὸν φωστήρας νομίζουσιν. And, according to Origen, Eus. PE VI.II.1.1: Περὶ τοῦ εἰς σημεία γεγονέναι τοὺς φωστήρας, οὐκ ἄλλους ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄστρον τυγχάνοντας ...

59 Eus. PE III.2.4.1–5.2.5: ὁμολογεῖ γοῦν διαρρήδην ἐν Κρατύλῳ μὴδὲν πλέον τῶν ὀρωμένων τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀνθρώπων ἐγνωκέναι, μόνους δὲ θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ φωστήρας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν φαινομένων νομίσαι. Eus. PE III.6.4.1–5.1: καὶ ταύτη τοιγαροῦν ἡ γενναία τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφία ὥσπερ διὰ μηχανῆς πέφηνεν εἰς ὕψος μὲν ἀνάγουσα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ λόγου, κάτω δὲ περιστρέφουσα ἀμφὶ τὴν αἰσθητὴν καὶ φαινομένην τοῦ θεοῦ δημιουργίαν τὴν τῶν σοφῶν διάνοιαν καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ πῦρ καὶ τὴν θερμὴν οὐσίαν τὰ τε μέρη τοῦ κόσμου διὰ τῶν οὐρανίων φωστήρων, ἔστω δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑγρὰν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν καὶ τὴν σύγκρασιν τῶν σωμάτων θειάζουσα.

to the image of the sun [Helios] and the one at the altar according to the image of the moon [Selene], and the attendant [herald] at the sacrifice according to the image of Hermes.” (Ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ’ Ἑλευσῖνα μυστηρίοις ὁ μὲν ἱεροφάντης εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐνσκευάζεται, δαδοῦχος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡλίου, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ βωμῷ εἰς τὴν σελήνης, ὁ δὲ ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἑρμοῦ. Porph. *On Stat.* 10.4–7).⁶⁰

1.13–14. “Ἡ νοερῶς ἢ λογικῶς ἢ φυσικῶς ἢ αἰσθητῶς, “Either intellectually, or logically, or naturally, or sensibly”

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic* writes about the different ways [intellectual, logical and sensitive] that angels, daimons and souls are listening to gods and intellectual things, “but this is manifest, as we said, from the hieratic art among us; and there should be added that in other way the angels are listening to gods, in other the daimons, and in other the souls of mortals; the angels are listening to intellectual things intellectually (νοερῶς), the daimones logically (λογικῶς), and the souls sensitively (αἰσθητικῶς), and each of them according to the limits of their liability, accepting the knowledge and the activity (*energeia*) of the gods proceeding towards themselves.” (ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν φανερόν, ὅπερ εἵπομεν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παρ’ ἡμῖν ἱερατικῆς· καὶ προσθετέον ὡς ἄλλον μὲν τρόπον ἄγγελοι θεῶν ἐπήκοοι γίνονται, δαίμονες δὲ ἄλλον, ψυχαὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἄλλον· οἱ μὲν νοερῶς τῶν νοερῶν, οἱ δὲ λογικῶς, οἱ δὲ καὶ αἰσθητικῶς, ἕκαστοι δὲ κατὰ τὰ μέτρα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιτηδείτοτος ὑποδεχόμενοι τὴν τῶν θεῶν γνῶσιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς προϊούσαν. Procl. *In R.* 11.243.16–22).

In his *Commentary on Plato’s Parmenides* Proclus, discussing “the whole chain of ideas” (πάσαν τὴν τῶν ἰδεῶν σειρὰν Procl. *In Prm.* 969.10–11), describes the primal Forms as intelligible, the secondary as intelligible in an intellectual mode, the fourth ones as the accomplishees of all intellectual and supracosmic, and the fifth ones as intellectual: “for the primal Forms are the *intelligible ones* (τὰ νοητά), and the secondary Forms are intelligible, but in an *intellectual mode* (ἐν νοεροῖς), the third Forms are cohesive of all things, and fourth Forms are those which accomplish all *intellectual* (τῶν νοερῶν) and supracosmic, and after these are the *intellectual* forms (τὰ νοερά), which have this characteristic in its proper form; the assimilative Forms are in the sixth rank, through which all the secondaries are assimilated to the *intellectual forms* (τοῖς νοεροῖς εἴδεσιν); and in the seventh rank, the superior and supracelestial Forms, which have a *unifying power* (συναγωγὸν δύναμιν) of the divided Forms in the cosmos; and in the last rank, the cosmic Forms;” (πρώτιστα γὰρ ἐστὶν εἶδη τὰ νοητά, δεύτερα δὲ τὰ νοητά μὲν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐν νοεροῖς, τρίτα δὲ τὰ συνεκτικὰ τῶν ὅλων, τέταρτα δὲ τὰ τελε-

60 Bidez (1913) 22 in Appendices; Smith and Wasserstein (1993).

σιουργὰ πάντων τῶν νοερῶν καὶ ὑπερκοσμίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὰ νοερά καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν ιδιότητα καθ' αὐτήν ἔκτην δὲ ἔλαχε τάξιν τὰ ἀφομοιωτικὰ δι' ὧν πάντα τὰ δεύτερα τοῖς νοεροῖς εἶδεσιν ἐξομοιοῦται, ἐβδόμην δὲ τὰ ἀπόλυτα καὶ ὑπερουράνια συναγωγὸν δύναμιν ἔχοντα τῶν περὶ τὸν κόσμον διηρημένων εἰδῶν, ἐσχάτην δὲ τὰ ἐγκόσμια: Procl. *In Prm.* 969.16–26).⁶¹

*Marginal Notes by Ficino (Marginalia Ficini) of MS V
(Vallicellianus) F 20, Fol. 138^r (lines 2–9)*

As examined in the Introduction, the fols. 138^r–144^r of the Greek text of Πρόκλου *Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης* are written by a single scribe identified as Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) with Latin marginal notes also by Ficino.⁶² The date that the marginal notes were written does not necessarily have to be the same as that on which the MS V 138^r–140^v were copied. Ficino made Latin marginal notes in the manuscript related to his work *The Book of Life* (especially Book III “*On Obtaining Life from the Heavens*”), which was written in 1489. Consequently, the marginal notes in Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks* must be written probably shortly before and during 1489 (perhaps around 1488–1489).⁶³

In the margins of MS V, fol. 138^r (lines 2–9), there is the following marginal note written by Ficino:

Eadem dixit Porphyrius in propositionibus. Vide Mercurium et Plotinum et Iamblichum et Alchindum et tua scripta.

Porphyry said the same thing in his *Sententiae* [*ad intelligibilia ducentes*]. See Mercurius [Hermes Trismegistus], Plotinus, Iamblichus, Alchindus [Al-Kindi], and your own writings.

Ficino in the above marginal note points out that Proclus’ lines are related to the works of Porphyry, Mercurius, Plotinus, Iamblichus and Alchindus (Al-Kindi). All these authors are mentioned in Ficino’s *The Book of Life*, or *The*

61 On nature’s creation of “icons of forms that are immaterial and intelligible” see reference in Procl. *In R.* I.77.13–17: κατιδόντες γὰρ οἱ τῆς μυθοποιίας πατέρες, ὅτι καὶ ἡ φύσις εἰκόνας δημιουργοῦσα τῶν αὐλῶν καὶ νοητῶν εἰδῶν καὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον ποικίλλουσα τοῖς τούτων μιμήμασιν τὰ μὲν ἀμέριστα μεριστῶς ἀπεικονίζεται, τὰ δὲ αἰώνια διὰ τῶν κατὰ χρόνον προϊόντων, τὰ δὲ νοητὰ διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν.

62 MS Riccardianus 76 was annotated and owned by Ficino. See for example the marginal notes in MS Riccardianus 76, Fols. 116–129. Kristeller (1937) Vol. I: liv. Also, Kristeller (1986) 15–196, at 97–98.

63 See Intro.: Sect. 4 above.

Three Books of Life (*Liber de Vita* or *De Vita Triplici*).⁶⁴ Mercurius is Hermes Trismegistus who is mentioned along with Pythagoras and Plato in Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book I (*Fic. De Vit.* 1.10.50–51).⁶⁵ Alchindus [Al-Kindi] is referred to Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III "On Obtaining Life from the Heavens," chapter XXI on the power of words and songs (*Fic. De Vit.* III.21.15).⁶⁶ Alchindus was an Arab philosopher, astronomer, physician, mathematician from Baghdad (died around 850 or 873), who wrote among many works *The Theory of the Magic Art* or *On Stellar Rays* (found in a Latin version), and translated the works of Aristotle and other Greek philosophers into Arabic.⁶⁷

Certain passages from Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* book 3 show influences from Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art*, such as Ficino's discussion on the powers of all the celestials and the sun in *De Vita Triplici* Book III.6.47–49, on images in III.13.26–32, on the sun, lions and cocks, and plants and gems in III.14.11–14, on lions and cocks in III.14.27–29, on moonstone in III.15.4–6 and the sun-moonstone in III.15.10–12.⁶⁸

The following passage, for example, from Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III.6.47–49 illustrates influences from Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art*:

In Sole certe omnes coelestium esse virtutes, non solum Iamblichus Iulianusque, sed omnes affirmant. Et Proculus ait ad Solis aspectum omnes omnium coelestium virtutes congregari in unum atque colligi.

That all the powers of the heavens are assuredly in the Sun, not only Iamblichus and Julian but all men affirm. And Proclus says that all the powers of all the celestials are gathered and collected into one in the presence of the visible Sun. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 266–267).

64 Kaske and Clark (1989); and Boer (1980).

65 *Fic. De Vit.* 1.10.50–51: *Mercurius, Pythagoras, Plato iubent dissonantem animum vel maerentem cithara cantuque tam constanti quam concinno componere simul atque erigere*, "Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras and Plato tell us to calm and cheer the dissonant and the sorrowful mind with constant and harmonious lyre and song." Kaske and Clark (1989) 134–135.

66 Copenhaver (1988) 88–90. Kaske and Clark (2002) 45–55. Robichaud (2017) 44–87. On Ficino's marginal annotation to Alchindus (Al-Kindi) in Ficino's manuscript of Synesius see Toussaint (2000) 19–31, at 22, n. 16. Also, Gentile and Gilly (1999) 95–98; Weill-Parot (2002a) 647–708; Weill-Parot, (2002b) 74, 84, 88.

67 Thorndike (1929) 642–648.

68 On magic and Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* book 3 see Kaske and Clark (1989) 45–55 and 426–460, esp. 441–443 on lotus and stones. Boer (1980) 181, also 137 and 96. Copenhaver (1988) 79–110.

Also, Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III.14.11–14:

Sub stella Solari, id est Sirio, Solem primo, deinde daemonas quoque Phoebeos, quos aliquando sub leonum vel gallorum forma hominibus occurrisset testis est Proculus, homines subinde persimiles bestiasque Solares, Phoebeas inde plantas, metalla similiter et lapillos et vaporem aeremque ferventem.

Under the Solar star, that is Sirius, they set the Sun first of all, and then Phoebean daemons, which sometimes have encountered people under the form of lions or cocks, as Proclus testifies, then similar men and Solar beasts, Phoebean plants then, similarly metals and gems and vapour and hot air. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 310–311).

Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III.14.27–29:

Eadem ratione inquit Proculus Apollineum daemonem, qui nonnunquam apparuit sub figura leonis, statim obiecto gallo disparuisse. Maxime vero in his animalibus cor est Solare.

For the same reason, says Proclus, the Apollonian daemon who often appeared under the shape of a lion disappeared as soon as a cock was put in his way. In these animals, the heart is especially Solar. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 310–311).

2. The Stages of the Hieratic/Theurgic Art

2.1–3. *Χθονίως*, “terrestrially,” *οὐρανίως*, “celestially,” and *νοερώς*, “intellectually”

Regarding the presence of suns and moons in the earth terrestrially, and of all the plants, stones and animals in the heaven celestially in lines 2.1–3, Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* states, “for there is also heaven in earth and earth in heaven, but in the former case the heaven is present terrestrially, while in the latter the earth is present celestially. For Orpheus called the moon a celestial earth,⁶⁹ and one should not be surprised at these, and how there could be a heaven on earth;” ... (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἐν γῇ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ γῆ, καὶ

69 *Orph. Fr.* 93; Kern (1972) 162.

ένταῦθα μὲν ὁ οὐρανὸς χθονίως, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐρανίως ἡ γῆ καὶ γὰρ οὐρανίαν [[καὶ]] <γῆν> τὴν σελήνην Ὀρφεὺς [frg. 81] προσηγόρευσε, καὶ οὐ δεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα θαυμάζειν, καὶ πῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐν γῇ· Procl. *Ti.* III.172.18–23).

Proclus then gives Iamblichus' interpretation on earth and heaven, writing, "I know indeed that the divine Iamblichus also understands 'earth' as that which embraces all that is permanent and fixed according to the substance and activity (*energeia*) of the encosmic gods, to the eternal rotation, and to which encompasses the higher powers and the universal life-principles; while [he understands] 'heaven' as the creative activity (*energeia*)⁷⁰ that proceeds from the Demiurge as being entire, perfect and full of its own power and as being initiated by the Demiurge, as the boundary for itself and for the Universe" (οἰδᾶ γε μήν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰάμβλιχος γῆν μὲν ἀκούει τὴν τὸ μόνιμον πᾶν καὶ σταθερὸν κατὰ τε οὐσίαν τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θεῶν καὶ κατ' ἐνέργειαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν αἰδίον περιφορὰν καὶ δυνάμεις κρείττονας καὶ ζωὰς ὅλας περιέχουσιν, οὐρανὸν δὲ τὴν προῖοῦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δημιουργικὴν ἐνέργειαν ὅλην καὶ τελείαν καὶ πλήρη τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως καὶ περὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ὑπάρχουσαν, ὡς ὅρον ἑαυτῆς οὖσαν καὶ τῶν ὅλων. Procl. *Ti.* III.173.16–24).⁷¹

Proclus also explains the intellectual presence of all the plants and stones and animals in the heaven, mentioning the *intellective order* of the forms reflected in the whole cosmos with its two extremes, Earth and Heaven, "Just as this whole cosmos, being extensive and varied, since it reflects the *intellective order* of the forms, has these two extremes within itself, Earth and Heaven, the latter playing the role of the father by destiny, and the former the role of the mother" ("Ὡσπερ ὁ σύμπας οὗτος κόσμος πολὺς καὶ ποικίλος ὢν, ἅτε δὴ τὴν νοερὰν τάξιν τῶν εἰδῶν ἀπεικονισάμενος, ἔχει δύο ταύτας <τάς> ἀκρότητας ἐν ἑαυτῷ, γῆν καὶ οὐρανόν, τὸν μὲν ἐν πατρὸς ὄντα μοῖρα, τὴν δὲ ἐν μητρὸς ... Procl. *Ti.* III. 171.21–24).

2.2–3 (cf. also 5.4–5). *Φυτὰ πάντα καὶ λίθους καὶ ζῶα, "All the plants and stones and animals"*

Iamblichus in *De Mysteriorum* VII, discussing "the manifold powers" (τῶν πολλῶν δυνάμεων), "the various forms and transformations" (τάς δὲ διαμείψεις

70 See also the passage on *energeia* of the god in the *Corpus Hermeticum* XI "A discourse of Nous to Hermes," in which it is stated that the mixture of the opposites becomes light by the activity (*energeia*) of the god: "the friendship and mixture of opposites and dissimilar elements has become light, which is illuminated over all by the activity (*energeia*) of the god, the begetter of everything good and ruler of every order and leader of the seven worlds" (ἡ γὰρ φιλία καὶ ἡ σύγκρασις τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τῶν ἀνομοίων φῶς γέγονε, καταλαμπόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ γεννήτορος καὶ πάσης τάξεως ἀρχοντος καὶ ἡγεμόνος τῶν ἑπτὰ κόσμων *Corp. Herm.* XI.7).

71 Iamb. *Fr.* 75; Dillon (1973) 188–189.

τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοὺς μετασχηματισμοὺς) of the one god Helios (Iamb. *Myst.* VII.3.253.12–254.2),⁷² asserts that: “the theurgic art ... many times combines stones, plants, animals, aromatic substances (herbs) and other such things (that are) holy and perfect and godlike” (ἡ θεουργικὴ τέχνη ... συμπλέκει πολλάκις λίθους βοτάνας ζῶα ἀρώματα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἱερὰ καὶ τέλεια καὶ θεοειδῆ. Iamb. *Myst.* V.23.233.9–12).

Similar references and instructions for the use of plants, birds, fish and stones for magico-theurgical practices are illustrated in Book 1, called *Kyranis* of the medico-magical text of the *Kyranides* (first compiled in IV CE), which displays Syrian and Babylonian influences.⁷³ At the beginning of each chapter of *Kyranis* the names of a plant, a bird, a fish and a stone are listed.⁷⁴ All these names start with the same letter as that of the chapter, and in some cases they can even be homonymous. For example, in chapter Gamma, there is γλυκισίδη βοτάνη, “peony [herb],” γλαῦκος πτηνόν, “owl [bird],” γνάθιος λίθος, “*gnathios* [stone]” and γλαῦκος ἰχθύς, “*glaucus* [fish].” Likewise, in chapter Kappa there is κιναίδιος βοτάνη, “*kinaidios/cinaedus* [herb],” κιναίδιος πτηνόν, ὃ καλεῖται ἰυνξ “*cinaedus* [bird], which is called *Iynx*,” κιναίδιος λίθος ... ὃς καλεῖται ὀψιανός, “*cinaedus* [stone] ... which is called *obsidian*” and κιναίδιος ἰχθύς, “*cinaedus* [fish].” This *cinaedus* stone is the property of Kronus (ἔστι δὲ Κρόνου).⁷⁵

The four represents the four elements of nature.⁷⁶ The combination of the power of these natural elements evokes the sympathetic forces of the universe and can be used for magico-theurgic practices. At the end of each chapter of *Kyranis* there are instructions for medico-magico-theurgic remedies and for making magic amulets/gems, depending each time on the various combinations of some, or all of the four elements. Proclus and Iamblichus would have worked with similar correspondences to the ones in the *Kyranis*.

72 Iamb. *Myst.* VII.3.253.12–254.2: διὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δοθέντων τὸν ἕνα θεὸν ἐμφαίνειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολυτρόπων δυνάμεων τὴν μίαν αὐτοῦ παριστάναι δύναμιν· διὸ καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν ἕνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, τὰς δὲ διαμείψει τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοὺς μετασχηματισμοὺς ἐν τοῖς δεχομένοις ὑποτίθεται.

73 E.g. *Kyran.* pp. 14–15: Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος Συριακοῖς ἐγκεχαραγμένη γράμμασιν ἐν στήλῃ σιδηρᾷ ἐν <λίμνῃ τῆς Συρίας κατεχώσθη ... Βίβλος ἀπὸ Συρίας θεραπευτικὴ ... ὁδοιπορίας μοί τινος γενομένης περὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν χώραν, πόλιν ἐστὶν τις ἐκεῖσε Σελεύκεια καλουμένη. Kaimakis (1976) 14–15. On Babylonian influences in *Kyranides* see Wellmann (1934) 5, n. 17; Alpers (1984) 13–88; Weidner (1967) 30.

74 Kaimakis (1976). On magical amulets and the alphabet in the first book of the *Kyranides* see Waegeman (1987).

75 Kaimakis (1976) 63.

76 In *PGM* III.494–611 Helios is addressed as κοῖρανε (χύραννε MS., emended by Preisendanz, III.551) and associated with the four elements as the god “who created all: abyss, earth, fire, water, air” (III.554–555). Preisendanz (1973) Vol. I: 54–55.

At the end of chapter Kappa of *Kyranis*, for example, there are instructions for making a magic gem, according to which “Further, you should engrave on an obsidian stone a man castrated, having his genitals lying at his feet, his hands turned downward, and he himself looking down towards his genitals. Back again behind him, Aphrodite [should be engraved], having her back to his back, and making her turn her face and look at him.” (“Ἐτι δὲ τὸν ὀψιανὸν λίθον γλύψον ἄνθρωπον ἀπόκοπον, ἔχοντα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τὰ αἰδοῖα κείμενα, τὰς δὲ χεῖρας κάτω ἐσταλμένας, αὐτὸν δὲ κάτω βλέποντα τοῖς αἰδοῖοις· ὀπίσω δὲ πρὸς νῶτον Ἀφροδίτην, νῶτα πρὸς νῶτον ἔχουσαν, αὐτὴν δὲ ἑαυτὴν στρέφουσαν τὴν ὄψιν καὶ βλέπουσαν αὐτόν. *Kyran.* p. 65).⁷⁷ This engraved gem should be placed at the centre “of the great goddess Aphrodite’s first *kestos Himas*, which transforms the nature [/sex] of humans and all animals, and similarly the opinions [minds] especially of male humans, in order that the one who fastens it on him or wears it becomes softened and effeminate.” (Τῆς οὖν μεγάλης θεᾶς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὁ πρῶτος κεστός ὁ δεινότατος καὶ μεταλλάσσων τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάντων ζῴων, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς γνώμας ἀρρενικῶν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὥστε μαλθακίζεσθαι καὶ ἀπογυναικοῦσθαι τὸν ἀψάμενον ἢ φορέσαντα. *Kyran.* p. 64).⁷⁸

In *Theologica* 1 (Gautier 1989), Psellus asserts in *Opusculum* 72, “thus God exists in plants and stones and unreasoning animals and in symbolical [phantasmal] natures and souls, in concepts and unions and units;” (ἔστιν οὖν καὶ ἐν φυτοῖς καὶ ἐν λίθοις καὶ ἐν ἀλόγοις ζωαῖς καὶ ἐν εἰδωλικάις φύσεσι καὶ ἐν ψυχαῖς, ἐν τε νοήσεσι καὶ ἐνώσεσι καὶ ἐνάσιν· *Psel. Theol. Opusc.* 1.72.72–73).⁷⁹

Similarly, in (Pseudo-)Psellus’ disputed treatise *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus* (“Περὶ Δαιμόνων Δοξάζουσιν Ἑλλήνες”)⁸⁰ it is stated in a passage probably influenced by Proclus’ text, “It seems that magic is a thing [property] with many powers for Greeks. And they say that it is the highest part of the hieratic [theurgic] science ... such a power that traces out the substance, nature and power and quality of each birth under the moon, that is to

77 Kaimakis (1976) 65. Also, on a gem in the Civic Museum of Bologna depicting Kronos holding a sword-sickle in his left hand and his genitalia in his right, and its similarities with Kronos depiction in *Kyranides* see Mastrocinque (2011) chpt. 1. Also, Kotansky (1980) 29–32.

78 Kaimakis (1976) 64.

79 Gautier (1989) 283.

80 Boissonade (1838) 36–43, esp. 40–41; PG 122, 875–882, esp. 880b; Bidez (1928b) Vol. VI: 119–131, esp. 128–129. However, the authorship of the *De Operatione Daemonum* (*De Daemonibus*) and *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus* by Psellus has been questioned by modern authors: Gautier (1980) 105–194 and (1988) 85–107. O’Meara (1989) Vol. II: vii and n. 3, and (2014) 165–181. Greenfield (1988) 149–150 and n. 486. See Intro.: Sect. VI and nn. 95–99; also, Comm.: Sect. 1.2.b and n. 22 above.

say, of elements and their parts, all kinds of animals and plants and fruits deriving from them, stones, herbs, and to put it simply, the substance and power of everything, henceforth, it works about her own things.” (‘Ἡ δὲ γε μαγεία πολυδύναμόν τι χρῆμα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔδοξε. Μερίδα γούν εἶναι ταύτην φασὶν ἐσχάτην τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπιστήμης ... ἀνιχνεύουσα γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη δύναμις τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην γενέσεων ἐκάστης οὐσίαν καὶ φύσιν καὶ δύνάμιν καὶ ποιότητα, λέγω δὲ στοιχείων καὶ τῶν τούτων μερῶν, ζώων παντοδαπῶν, φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν καρπῶν, λίθων, βοτανῶν, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, παντὸς πράγματος ὑπόστασιν τε καὶ δύνάμιν, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρα τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἐνεργάζεται. Boissonade 1838, 40 = 128.23–129.5; Bidez 1928b, VI: 128–129 = PG 122, 880b; Gautier 1988, 101–103).

2.5–6. *Ἡ ὁμοιότης, “Resemblance”*

Proclus in his *Elements of Theology* points out that “resemblance binds together all things, just as unlikeness separates one from another and distinguishes them” (συνδεδεῖ δὲ πάντα ἡ ὁμοιότης, ὥσπερ διακρίνει ἡ ἀνομοιότης καὶ δίστησιν. Procl. *Inst.* 32.6–7).⁸¹ Similarly, in Procl. *In Ti.* 11.78.13–15 “for resemblance is uniting, but unlikeness is able to divide” (ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁμοιότης ἐνοποιός ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ ἀνομοιότης διαιρετική).

Furthermore, in his *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, Proclus presents resemblance as a condition of knowledge, “for every higher knowledge is accomplished through resemblance of the one who perceives towards the object of knowledge, and resemblance is fulfilled according to the communion to one form” (πάσα γὰρ γνῶσις δι’ ὁμοιότητος ἐπιτελεῖται τοῦ γινώσκοντος πρὸς τὸ γνωστόν, ἡ δὲ ὁμοιότης καθ’ ἑνὸς εἴδους ἐπιτελεῖται κοινωνίαν. Procl. *In Ti.* 11.298.27–29). Also, in Plotinus each one’s knowledge is fulfilled *through resemblance* (τῆς γνώσεως ἐκάστων δι’ ὁμοιότητος γιγνομένης Plot. *Enn.* 1.8.1.8).

2.9–16. *The Four Stages of the Hieratic /Theurgic Union*

Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art* describes hieratic/theurgy as an art combining Neoplatonic notions of mystic divine union with magic ideas of divine identification and Chaldaean influences (e.g. the role of fire in the theurgic union); and analyses the stages of the hieratic/theurgic union.

Proclus provides the example of the kindling of the wick (θρυαλλίδα) to explain the four stages of the theurgic union with the divine and especially the final ones (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 2.5–9). These four important stages in the theurgic union of the individual with the divine are: First, “the preparatory warming” (ἡ μὲν προθέρμανσις) based on “sympathy” (τῇ συμπαθείᾳ). Second, “the approach

81 Dodds (1933) 36.

and the good positioning” (ἡ δὲ προσαγωγή καὶ ἐν καλῷ θέσει) based on “the use of the materials of the hieratic art at the proper time and in the right way” (κατὰ τε καιρὸν τὸν πρέποντα καὶ τρόπον τὸν οἰκείον προσχρήσει τῶν ὑλῶν).⁸² Third, “the transmission of the fire” (ἡ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς διάδοσις) based on “the presence of the divine light” (τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ θείου φωτός). Fourth, “the lighting/ kindling” (ἡ δὲ ἔξαψις) based on “the divinisation of mortals” (τῇ θειώσει τῶν θνητῶν) and “the illumination of things enmattered” (τῇ περιλάμψει τῶν ἐνύλων).

Iamblichus refers to the theurgic prayers (τὰ τῶν εὐχῶν) as an important part of the sacrifices, because through the prayers the whole process of sacrifice is reinforced and accomplished, and a common contribution is made to the cult. The prayers also contribute to “the indissoluble hieratic community with the gods” (τὴν κοινωनीαν ἀδιάλυτον ... τὴν ἱερατικὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς). These prayers may precede the sacrifices, or may come in the middle of the theurgic operation, or even they may “bring the sacrifices into completion” (τὸ τέλος τῶν θυσιῶν ἀποπληροῖ) (Iamb. *Myst.* v.26.237.9–12 and 238.11 and 239.5–6).

The first stage/degree of the theurgic prayer, as stated by Iamblichus, is “the one which brings together [attracts]” (τὸ συναγωγόν), the second is “the conjunctive one” (τὸ συνδετικόν), and the third one is “the ineffable union” (ἡ ἄρρητος ἔνωσις), which is associated with fire and described as “the perfect accomplishment of [the soul through] the fire.” (Iamb. *Myst.* v.26.237.12–238.5). Iamblichus relates the fire in theurgy with the direct vision of divinity, “wherefore they show to the theurgists the fire for the direct vision of divinity” (διόπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ αὐτοπτικὸν πῦρ τοῖς θεουργοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσιν. Iamb. *Myst.* II.10.93.1–2).

According to Iamblichus’ *De Mysteriis* V, “So, I say that the first stage/degree of prayer is the one which brings together [attracts], which leads to contact and acquaintance with the divine; the second [stage] is the conjunctive, producing a community of [union with] one mind, calling forth contributions sent down by the gods before the request and having accomplished all ritual acts before their conceiving; and the most perfect [stage] is marked as the ineffable union, which establishes all authority in the gods and provides that the soul rests perfectly in them. In these three levels/stages in which all divine things are measured out, the prayer establishing our friendship with the gods, provides the triple hieratic benefit from the gods, the first leading to illumination, the second to the common achievement, and the third to the perfect accomplishment of [the soul through] the fire.” (Φημί δὴ οὖν ὥς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῆς εὐχῆς εἶδος ἐστὶ συναγωγόν, συναφῆς τε τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον καὶ γνωρίσεως ἐξηγουμένον· τὸ

82 On the importance of practicing magic rituals in the right place and time see Pachoumi (2013) 46–69, at 49–50.

δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ κοινωνίας ὁμονοητικῆς συνδετικόν, δόσεις τε προκαλούμενον τὰς ἐκ θεῶν καταπεμπομένας πρὸ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νοῆσαι τὰ ὅλα ἔργα ἐπιτελούσας· τὸ δὲ τελεώτατον αὐτῆς ἡ ἄρρητος ἔνωσις ἐπισφραγίζεται, τὸ πᾶν κύρος ἐνιδρύουσα τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τελέως ἐν αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν παρέχουσα. Ἐν τρισὶ δὲ τούτοις ὅροις, ἐν οἷς τὰ θεῖα πάντα μετρεῖται, τὴν πρὸς θεοὺς ἡμῶν φιλίαν συναρμόσασα καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἱερατικὸν ὄφελος τριπλοῦν ἐνδίδωσι, τὸ μὲν εἰς ἐπίλαμψιν τείνον, τὸ δὲ εἰς κοινὴν ἀπεργασίαν, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὴν τελείαν ἀποπλήρωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός· Iamb. *Myst.* v.26.237.12–238.5).

Similarly, Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, refers to the five stages/degrees of prayer (Procl. *In Ti.* 1.211.8–28): first there is the “knowledge of all the divine ranks” (ἡ γνώσις τῶν θείων τάξεων πασῶν 1.211.9–10);⁸³ second “the familiarization [attraction] in relation to our resemblance to divine regarding complete purity, chastity, education and order” (ἡ οἰκείωσις κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν τῆς συμπάσης καθαρότητος, ἀγνείας, παιδείας, τάξεως 1.211.14–15);⁸⁴ third there is “the touching [connection], through which we touch the divine substance with the uppermost part of our soul and we incline towards it” (ἡ συναφή, καθ' ἣν ἐφαπτόμεθα τῆς θείας οὐσίας τῷ ἀκροτάτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ συννεύομεν πρὸς αὐτήν. 1.211.18–19); fourth “the approaching” (ἡ ἐμπέλαισις), “—for the oracle (*Orac. Chald. Fr.* 121) calls it thus; ‘for the mortal who approached the fire will receive the light from the gods’—” (—οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὴν καλεῖ τὸ λόγιον· ‘τῷ πυρὶ γὰρ βροτὸς ἐμπελάσας θεόθεν φῶς ἔξει’—1.211.20–22);⁸⁵ and fifth there is “the unification establishing the unity of the soul in the unity itself of the gods, and causing a unified activity of us and the gods, according to which we do not belong to ourselves but to gods, staying in the divine light and being embraced by it round about” (ἡ ἔνωσις) (αὐτῷ τῷ ἐνὶ τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἐν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνιδρύουσα καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῶν τε ποιοῦσα καὶ τῶν θεῶν, καθ' ἣν οὐδὲ ἑαυτῶν ἐσμεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἐν τῷ θεῷ φωτὶ μένοντες καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ περιεχόμενοι. 1.211.24–28).

2.9–10. *Ἡ Προθέρμανσις, “The Preparatory Warming”*

Proclus associates the first stage of the “preparatory warming” (ἡ μὲν προθέρμανσις) with sympathy (τῇ συμπαθείᾳ) (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 2.9–10). In the beginning

83 Procl. *In Ti.* 1.211.8–13: Ὑγεῖται δὲ τῆς τελείας καὶ ὄντως οὐσης εὐχῆς πρῶτον ἡ γνώσις τῶν θείων τάξεων πασῶν, αἷς πρόσσειν ὁ εὐχόμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἰκείως προσέλθοι μὴ τὰς ιδιότητας αὐτῶν ἐγνωκώς. διὸ καὶ τὸ λόγιον τὴν πυριθαλήν ἔνοιαν πρωτίστην ἔχειν τάξιν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ θρησκείᾳ παρεκελεύσατο.

84 Also, on οἰκείωσις see Procl. *In Ti.* 1.211.15–17: δι' ἧς τὰ ἡμέτερα προσάγομεν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἔλκοντες τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐμένειαν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ὑποκατακλίνοντες αὐτοῖς.

85 Also, on ἐμπέλαισις see Procl. *In Ti.* 1.211.23–24: μεῖζω τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῖν παρεχομένη καὶ τρανεστέραν τὴν μετουσίαν τοῦ τῶν θεῶν φωτός.

of his treatise, as examined in section one, Proclus emphasises the role of sympathy in the hieratic art/science: “Just as lovers proceed methodically from the beautiful things perceived through the senses, arrive at the one principle of all good and conceivable things, in the same way the leaders of the hieratic art [proceeding] from the sympathy (συμπαθείας) [which exists] in all apparent things to one another and [to] the invisible powers, having understood that all things are included in all things, established the hieratic art ...” (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 1.3–7).⁸⁶

Proclus’ simile between the erotic and the hieratic people and the sympathetic powers inside different entities seems to be influenced by Plotinus’ description of the birth of “power of the erotic art by magic” (ἀλλοτῇ ἐρωτικῆς διὰ γοητείας τέχνης Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.40.10–11) based on sympathetic power inside different things, the natural concord and opposition and the variety of many powers contributing to the living one: “indeed, by sympathy (τῇ συμπαθείᾳ) and by the fact that there is by nature a concord of the things alike and opposition of the different things (συμφωνίαν εἶναι ὁμοίων καὶ ἐναντίωσιν ἀνομοίων), and by the diversity of the many powers (τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν) that contribute to the one living being.” (Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.40.1–4).⁸⁷

Plotinus’ reference to συναγωγός, “bringing together” also used by Iamblichus (συναγωγὸν ὄλον, Iamb. *Myst.* IV.12.195.12) alludes to Plato’s description of Eros in the *Symposium* as ἔμφυτος in human beings and συναγωγεὺς with their original nature.

2.10–12. The Concepts of “Approach/Attraction,” the Right Place and Time (“the good positioning” and “the proper time”), and “the Use of Materials”

The second stage of Proclus’ theurgic union involves “the approach/attraction and the right placing” (ἡ δὲ προσαγωγή καὶ ἐν καλῷ θέσις) based on “the use of the materials of the hieratic art at the proper time and in the right way/procedure” (κατὰ τε καιρὸν τὸν πρέποντα καὶ τρόπον τὸν οἰκεῖον προσχρήσει τῶν ὑλῶν).

2.10–11. Προσαγωγή, “Approach /Attraction”

Iamblichus similarly applies the term, τὸ συναγωγόν, “the one which brings together [attracts]” for the first degree/stage of the theurgic prayer (Iamb. *Myst.* v.26.10). Both προσαγωγή and συναγωγόν are the nouns of προσάγω and συνάγω,

86 On the concept of *sympathy* in Proclus and the Neoplatonists see discussion in Comm.: Sect. 1.5–6 on *sympathy* above.

87 Also, Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.40.6–17; see Comm.: Sect. 1.5–6 on *sympathy* above. See also Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 7.2–5.

which are compounds of ἄγω. The term ἀγωγή is used by Iamblichus in *De Mystериis* in a theurgical context, meaning “the procedure of evoking the spirits” (Iamb. *Myst.* III.6.113.1–2).⁸⁸

Ἀγωγή is used in the Greek magical papyri *PGM* (*Papyri Graecae Magicae*) to describe the “spell that leads.” The term most often applies to the erotic spells, referring precisely to “the procedure of evoking mostly a spirit of the dead in order to lead, or bring” a person [the eros-victim] by means of a spell and/or a ritual to be spoken or practiced by the user of the spell to the victim of his/her erotic passion. However, ἀγωγή is not restricted to erotic spells, either in the Greek magical papyri, or elsewhere. For example, in the spells entitled as “Ἀγωγή Πίτυος βασιλέως ἐπὶ παντὸς σκύφου” (*PGM* IV.1928–2005) and “Πίτυος ἀγωγή” (*PGM* IV.2006–2125) it is used for a “spell that leads” a spirit(/-s) or daimon(/-s) of the dead from the underworld—even though in the second Pitys’ spell there are traces of erotic formularies.

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic* characteristically refers to “the hieratic [theurgic] mode of the *agôgê* [evoking procedure], accomplished through sacrifices, divine names and prayers” (ὁ ἱερατικὸς τρόπος τῆς ἀγωγῆς, διὰ θυσιῶν, δι’ ὀνομάτων θείων, δι’ εὐχῶν συμπληρωμένος Procl. *In R.* II.66.13–15).⁸⁹

In his *Platonic Theology* Proclus claims about ἀναγωγή, “ascent /elevation,” “Thus, the way itself of ascent (τῆς ἀναγωγῆς) is also available to us and for this reason the more trustworthy way of theurgic elevation” (Ὁ αὐτὸς ἄρα τρόπος τῆς ἀναγωγῆς καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐστι, καὶ διὰ τοῦδε πιστότερος ὁ τῆς θεουργικῆς ἀνόδου τρόπος. Procl. *Plat. Theol.* IV.29.3–5).⁹⁰

Regarding now the connection between theurgic unification and the unifying action of the One, Proclus in his *Elements of Theology* comments on τὸ ἐν συναγωγόν, which is a different sense—albeit ultimately related—of συναγωγόν: “then if the one is uniting and holding all beings together, each one

88 Iamb. *Myst.* III.6.110–11: Οἱ δ’ ἄνευ τῶν μακαρίων τούτων θεαμάτων ἀφανῶς ποιοῦμενοι τὰς ἀγωγὰς τῶν πνευμάτων ... See also Iamb. *Myst.* III.14.134.8: τρόποι τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς ἀγωγῆς, “ways for evoking/conducting the light”; and V.26.240.9: τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀγωγῆς, “of the hieratic /theurgic evocation.”

89 Procl. *In Ti.* III.20.22–28: ἀλλ’ οὐχ οἱ θεουργοὶ ταῦτα φαίεν ἄν, οἳ γε καὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι φασὶ καὶ ἀγωγὴν αὐτοῦ παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν, δι’ ἧς εἰς αὐτοφάνειαν κινεῖν αὐτὸν δυνατόν, καὶ ὑμνοῦσι πρεσβύτερον καὶ νεώτερον καὶ κυκλοέλικτον <τοῦτον> τὸν θεὸν καὶ αἰώνιον, οὐ μόνον ὡς αἰῶνος εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν αἰωνίως προειληφότα καὶ νοοῦντα τὸν σύμπαντα τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κινουμένων ἀπάντων ἀριθμόν ...

90 On ἀναγωγή as “ascent/elevation” in Procl. *In R.* see Procl. *In R.* I.81.5–6: ἀλλὰ τῷ τε Σωκράτει πειθομένους καὶ τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀναγωγῆς ...

is accomplished by its own presence; hence in that way unification is good for all.” (καὶ εἰ τὸ ἐν συναγωγὸν ἐστὶ καὶ συνεκτικὸν τῶν ὄντων, ἕκαστον τελειοῖ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρουσίαν. καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄρα ταύτῃ ἐστὶ τὸ ἡνωθῆαι πᾶσιν. Procl. *Inst.*13.9).

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* presents the συναγωγὸν as one of the causes of resemblance on the higher level, “therefore, the causes of resemblance are three, one on the lower level, as a foundation, another on the higher level, *bringing together/uniting* the perfecting forces and the things to be perfected, and another in the middle of these two, binding the extremities together.” (ὥστε τρία τὰ αἷτια τοῦ ὁμοιοῦσθαι, τὸ μὲν κάτωθεν ὡς ὑποκείμενον, τὸ δὲ ἄνωθεν ὡς συναγωγὸν τῶν τελειούντων καὶ τελειουμένων, τὸ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ὡς συνδετικὸν τῶν ἄκρων. Procl. *In Prm.* 918.20–24).

Proclus also discussing “the whole chain of ideas” (πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ἰδεῶν σειρὰν *In Prm.* 969.10–11) and “that which is above Form” (ὑπὲρ εἶδος 969.13), states about the Forms in the seventh rank, “the superior and supracaelestial Forms, which have a *unifying power* (συναγωγὸν δύναμιν) of the divided Forms in the cosmos;” (ἐβδόμῃ δὲ τὰ ἀπόλυτα καὶ ὑπερουράνια συναγωγὸν δύναμιν ἔχοντα τῶν περὶ τὸν κόσμον διηρημένων εἰδῶν, ... Procl. *In Prm.* 969.16–26).

Furthermore, Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, discussing the fourth stage/degree of prayer, refers to the notion of “approaching,” using another term with similar meaning, that of ἐμπέλασις, and quoting the *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 121, in which the aorist participle ἐμπελάσας is used, “Besides these things there is the approaching—for the oracle calls it thus; ‘for the mortal who has approached the fire will possess light from the gods’—” (ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις ἡ ἐμπέλασις—οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὴν καλεῖ τὸ λόγιον· ‘τῷ πυρὶ γὰρ βροτὸς ἐμπελάσας θεόθεν φῶς ἔξει’—Procl. *In Ti.* 1.211.19–22). Proclus further explains the notion of ἐμπέλασις in the quoted *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 121, “offering us a greater communion (with the gods) and a more transparent participation in the light of the gods.” (μείζων τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῖν παρεχόμενη καὶ τρανεστέραν τὴν μετουσίαν τοῦ τῶν θεῶν φωτός. Procl. *In Ti.* 1.211.23–24).

2.11–12. *The Right Place and Time: Ἐν καλῷ θέσει, “the good positioning” and κατὰ τε καιρὸν τὸν πρόποντα, “at the proper time”*

The right place and hour are important for the theurgic and magical operations in general, and this reference to the importance of “the good positioning” [pure place/-s] and “the proper time” (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 2.11–12) in the hieratic/theurgic art may be the only passage in Proclus, in which it is clearly and directly expressed. Porphyry also in *Vita Plotini* describes the theurgic operation in which an Egyptian priest conjured up Plotinus’ personal daimon (οἰκεῖος δαίμων) for “direct vision” (αὐτοψίαν) in the temple of Isis (ἐν τῷ Ἰσίῳ),

“for the Egyptian priest said that that was the only pure place that he found in Rome;”⁹¹ (μόνον γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον καθαρὸν φῆσαι εὐρεῖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον. Porph. *V. Plot.* 10.19–22). The operation also involved a sacrifice, the strangling of birds that were held for protection [as protective *synthēmata*] by a friend that was present (Porph. *V. Plot.* 10.25–28).⁹²

The specification of the place, day and hour is important in the magical spells and rituals. The magician invokes the deity to be revealed in a specific day, hour and place;⁹³ and practices the rituals in certain, usually purified, places.⁹⁴ For example, in the magico-theurgic spell “*Systasis* [connection] with your own daimon” (Σύστασις ἰδίου δαίμονος, *PGM* VII.505–528), “the daimon of this place,” the *genius loci*, (δαίμων τοῦ τόπου τούτου), “the present hour” (ἐνεστῶσα ὥρα), “the present day” (ἐνεστῶσα ἡμέρα), and “every day” (πάσα ἡμέρα) are invoked (VII.506–507).

In the untitled spell *PGM* III.1–164, the “daimon of the place” is invoked (III.34). In the erotic spell *PGM* IV.1390–1495 also the dead unlucky heroes and heroines are called up, “these of this place, of this day and of this hour” (IV.1420–1423). In another spell there is even a reference to “(on) the land of the whole cosmic place,” κατὰ γαίαν τόπου ὅλου κοσμικοῦ (VII.837–838).

In the instructions for the spells that restrain included in the spell “Divine assistance from three Homeric verses” (*PGM* IV.2145–2240) there is stated “and you will bury the seashell in the tomb of someone who died untimely, when the moon is in opposition to the sun” (καὶ καταχώσεις εἰς ἄωρου μνήμα σελήνης οὔσης διαμέτρου ἡλίου. IV.2220–2221). Here the practitioner is instructed to perform the ritual at the right astrological time, “when the moon is opposite to the sun,” at the full moon.

91 See also Porph. *V. Plot.* 10.25–28.

92 Porph. *V. Plot.* 10.25–28: Μῆτε δὲ ἐρέσθαι τι ἐκγενέσθαι μῆτε ἐπιπλέον ἰδεῖν παρόντα τοῦ συνθεωροῦντος φίλου τὰς ὄρνεις, ἃς κατεῖχε φυλακῆς ἕνεκα, πνίξαντος εἴτε διὰ φθόνον εἴτε καὶ διὰ φόβον τινά. “It was not allowed to ask a question or to see the direct vision any longer, for the friend who was a fellow-observer strangled the birds, which he was holding for protection either out of jealousy or indeed out of some fear.” The strangling of birds must have been part of the ritual, although Porphyry uses a conventional formula of motivations (Porph. *V. Plot.* 10. 27–28: εἴτε διὰ φθόνον εἴτε καὶ διὰ φόβον τινά), which is repeated in chapter 12 (Porph. *V. Plot.* 12.11–12: φθονοῦντες ἢ νεμεσῶντες ἢ δι’ ἄλλην μοχθηρὰν αἰτίαν) and reveals his lack of explanation. On the strangling of birds for protection as part of the ritual see Eitrem (1942) 62 ff.; Dodds (1951) 289–291; Betz (1981) 161–162; Brisson (1992) 471–472; Edwards (2000) 20, n. 111 and 23, n. 128.

93 E.g. *PGM* III.37–38, 77–78, IV.544–545, 686–687, 1699–1700, V.194–195; VII.155–167 called “Days and Hours for divination”; for the role of astronomy in Egyptian rituals see Morenz (1973) 7–9.

94 E.g. *PGM* II.148, IV.1926, VII.844 and XIII.6 ff.

In the introductory letter of Thessalos of Tralles' astrological work *De Virtutibus Herbarum* (dated to the first or second century CE) god said to king Necepso that he failed to obtain a prophecy from the gods about what he wanted to learn, because he did not know the correct "times and places," τοὺς δὲ καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς τόπους, he should pick the plants.⁹⁵

Iamblichus in *De Mystериis* VIII discusses the Hermaic and Egyptian influences on the celestial planets and deities, zodiac and astrology, noticing that the Egyptian priest and philosopher Chaeremon and other such authorities have dealt with the Hermetic treatises and doctrines,⁹⁶ "for they were translated from the Egyptian tongue by men not unexperienced in philosophy" (μεταγέγραπται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰγυπτίας γλώττης ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπείρως ἐχόντων Iamb. *Myst.* VIII.4.265.12–266.1); "and these who teach about the planets, the zodiac and the decans and horoscopes and the so-called mighty ones and the leaders show forth the particular divisions of the principles" (ὅσοι τε τοὺς πλανήτας καὶ τὸν ζωδιακὸν τοὺς τε δεκανοὺς καὶ ὠροσκοποὺς καὶ τοὺς λεγόμενους κραταιοὺς καὶ ἡγεμόνας παραδιδόασι, τὰς μεριστὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν διανομὰς ἀναφαίνουσιν. Iamb. *Myst.* VIII.4.266.1–5).⁹⁷ "Also, what is included in the almanac astrological calendars comprises a very small part of the Hermaic constitution; and the doctrines on the risings and settings of the stars, or the waxings and wanings of the moon hold the lowest level in the Egyptian [explanation of the] causes of things." (Τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς σαλμεσχινιακοῖς μέρος τι βραχύτατον περιέχει τῶν ἐρμαϊκῶν διατάξεων· καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀστέρων ἢ φάσεων ἢ κρύψεων ἢ σελήνης αὐξήσεων ἢ μειώσεων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις εἶχε τὴν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις αἰτιολογίαν. Iamb. *Myst.* VIII.4.266.5–8).⁹⁸

95 Thess. *Tral. Virt. Herb.* 27; see also Zos. *Alch. Com.* Ω. 3.

96 Iamb. *Myst.* VIII.4.265.10–12: τὰ μὲν γὰρ φερόμενα ὡς Ἑρμοῦ ἐρμαϊκὰς περιέχει δόξας, εἰ καὶ τῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων γλώττῃ πολλάκις χρῆται·

97 On divine planets in Iamblichus see also Iamb. *Myst.* I.17, 18, 19. On astrology as divination in Iamblichus see Shaw (2007a) 89–102.

98 On the role of time and the ὠροσκοποὶ see also Procl. *In R.* II.56.15–57.2: δεῖ τοίνυν τοὺς τῶν γάμων κυρίους τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν θηρὰν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἀπλανῆ διὰ τε τῶν ὠροσκοπῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦτοῦ παρανατελλόντων ἀστέρων τε καὶ δεκανῶν—καὶ γὰρ μοῖραι ὠροσκοποῦσαι τὴν ὅλην ἔχουσι τῆς γενέσεως δύναμιν, ὡς τὰς μὲν ἱερατικὰς ποιεῖν, τὰς δὲ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν ἐπιρρητοῦ ζωῆς γεννήσεις (καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς Χαλδαϊκαῖς σφαίραις [καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι] καὶ Αἰγυπτιαῖς), ἀφ' ὧν καὶ κρίνουσιν οἱ παλαιοί, τίς ὁ βίος ἔσται τῶν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν παριουσῶν ψυχῶν ἐκείνων ὠροσκοπουσῶν, ὥσπερ <τὸ> τοῦ βίου ποιὸν ἐκ τῶν σχημάτων καὶ τῶν παρανατολῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων ιδιότητος τῶν πρὸς τὴν ὠροσκοποῦσαν μοῖραν συσχηματιζομένων· καὶ αἱ τῶν παρανατελλόντων δυνάμεις παμπόλλην παρέχονται δύναμιν εἰς τε εὐγονίαν καὶ δυσγονίαν· also on time see Procl. *In R.* II.66.1–8: Τοιαύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀγωγὴν παραδέδωκεν ἐνιαυτοκράτορος λήψεως ὀνόματος· ἦν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς σπορίμους ὥρας μετηγάγομεν ὡς χρησίμους τοῖς γεννήσεως ἐπιμεληταῖς ἐσομένοις, ἵνα μὴ μόνον παρατηρῶσιν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ παντὸς κατὰ τὰς συνέξεις καὶ οὕτως ἐνεργὸν ποιῶσι τὸν γεωμετρικὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἱερατικὸν τρόπον παρέχῃσι τοῖς καιροῖς, οὓς ἐκλέγονται, δὲ δραστήριον.

The notion of ‘pure place’ was important in the mystic initiation rituals and their similarities to the Platonic doctrine of the post-mortem condition of the soul (ψυχή).

For example, in Plato’s *Phaedo* Socrates in his discussion with Cebes and Simmias refers to the pure region of Hades that the soul departs to after death, “So, will the soul, the invisible part, which has departed to this kind of region, the noble and *pure* and invisible one, to Hades indeed, to the good and wise god, if god willing my soul must immediately be going—will the soul, being of this kind and nature, when leaving the body, at once be dispersed and destroyed as many men say?” (Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἄρα, τὸ αἰδέες, τὸ εἰς τοιοῦτον τόπον ἕτερον οἰχόμενον γενναῖον καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ αἰδέη, εἰς Ἄιδου ὡς ἀληθῶς, παρὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον θεόν, οἱ, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, αὐτίκα καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ ἰτέον, αὕτη δὲ δὴ ἡμῖν ἢ τοιαύτη καὶ οὕτω πεφυκυῖα ἀπαλλαττομένη τοῦ σώματος εὐθὺς διαπεφύσεται καὶ ἀπόλῳεν, ὥς φασιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι; Pl. *Phd.* 80.d.5–80.e.1).⁹⁹

Moreover, “Those who seem to have lived a particularly pious life are freed and released from the region of the earth as from a prison, having arrived upwards at a *pure place* and living on earth.” (οἱ δὲ δὴ ἂν δόξωσι διαφερόντως πρὸς τὸ ὁσίως βιώναι, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τῶνδε μὲν τῶν τόπων τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐλευθερούμενοί τε καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενοι ὥσπερ δεσμοτηρίων, ἄνω δὲ εἰς τὴν καθαρὰν οἴκησιν ἀφικνούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκίζόμενοι. Pl. *Phd.* 114.b.6–c.2). Then there follows a reference to those purified by philosophy, “and those *who have purified themselves* satisfactorily by philosophy live altogether in the future without a body, and they arrive at even more beautiful dwelling places ...” (τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ φιλοσοφία ἱκανῶς καθηράμενοι ἄνευ τε σωμάτων ζῶσι τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον, καὶ εἰς οἰκήσεις ἔτι τούτων καλλίους ἀφικνοῦνται ... Pl. *Phd.* 114.c.1–5).

Similarly, Plutarch in a passage quoted in Stobaeus’ *Anthology* (Plut. *Fr.* 178.1–21 = Stobaeus *Anthology* IV.52.49) relates the notion of purity of men and places with the final stages of the initiation to the mysteries, “first there are wanderings [illusions], and wearisome runnings around, and fearful and endless travellings through darkness, then before the very accomplishment there is every kind of suffering, shuddering and trembling, and sweat and terror; but after that a marvelous light appears, and *pure places* and meadows come next, having voices and dances and the solemnities of sacred utterances and holy visions; in which places the one who has been already perfect and initiated and free, walking around free and wearing a crown, celebrates religious rites (*orgiazēi*),

99 Also, Pl. *Phd.* 80e.2–81a.2: ἐὰν μὲν καθαρὰ ἀπαλλάττηται, μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος συνεφέλκουσα, ἅτε οὐδὲν κοινωνοῦσα αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐκοῦσα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσα αὐτὸ καὶ συνηθροισμένη αὐτῇ εἰς ἑαυτήν, ἅτε μελετώσα αἰεὶ τοῦτο—τὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ὁρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦσα καὶ τῷ ὄντι τεθνάναι μελετώσα ῥαδίως· ἢ οὐ τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴη μελέτη θανάτου;

and joins with pious and pure people” (πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπῶδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὲς ὑποπτοὶ πορεῖαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι εἶτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἰδρῶς καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπήντησεν καὶ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωνὰς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότητος ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φασμάτων ἀγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν αἷς ὁ παντελὴς ἦδη καὶ μεμνημένος ἐλεύθερος γεγονῶς καὶ ἄφετος περιῶν ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει καὶ σύνεστιν ὁσίους καὶ καθαροὺς ἀνδράσι).¹⁰⁰

2.12. *Πρόσχησις τῶν ὑλῶν, “The use of materials”; and the Concepts and Ritual Actions of Mixing and the Union of Powers*

The “use of materials” (προσχρήσει τῶν ὑλῶν Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 2.12) in the second stage of Proclus’ theurgic union is based on the concept of mixing and the union of powers, as well as on the concept of one and many, as examined above: e.g. “Thus, in the earth it is possible to see *suns and moons* terrestrially, and in the heaven celestially *all the plants and stones and animals* living intellectually. So, the ancient wise men by understanding these well, attaching (προσάγοντες) some of the heavenly things to the one set of objects and some to another, they brought divine powers into the region of mortals, and they attracted them through resemblance.” (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 2.1–5).¹⁰¹

The ritual actions also involve the use of *agalmata* (statues), incenses, *synthēmata* and symbols, and the concept of mixing: “so, by mixing (τῇ μίξει) together many things [powers], they unify the aforementioned effluences and assimilate that which is one from all, to that whole which is before all; and they often produce combinatory *statues* and *incenses*, having mixed into one [mixture] the distributed *synthēmata* and making the divine, as it were, comprehensible in its essence by art *through the union with many powers* (καθ’ ἑνωσιν

100 Plut. *Fr.* 178.1–21 = Stobaeus *Anthology* IV.52.49 (V. p. 1089 H.): ἐν ταύτῳ. ‘Οὕτω κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ ὅλον μεταβολὴν καὶ μετακόσμησιν ὁλωλέναι τὴν ψυχὴν λέγομεν ἐκεῖ γενομένην· ἐνταῦθα δ’ ἀγνοεῖ, πλὴν ὅταν ἐν τῷ τελευτᾷ ἦδη γένηται· τότε δὲ πάσχει πάθος οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλαις κατοργιαζόμενοι. διὸ καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τῷ ῥήματι καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ τελευτᾷ καὶ τελείσθαι προσέειπε. πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπῶδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὲς ὑποπτοὶ πορεῖαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι, εἶτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἰδρῶς καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπήντησεν καὶ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωνὰς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότητος ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φασμάτων ἀγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν αἷς ὁ παντελὴς ἦδη καὶ μεμνημένος ἐλεύθερος γεγονῶς καὶ ἄφετος περιῶν ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει καὶ σύνεστιν ὁσίους καὶ καθαροὺς ἀνδράσι, τὸν ἀμύητον ἐνταῦθα τῶν ζώντων <καὶ> ἀκάθαρτον ἐφορῶν ὄχλον ἐν βορβόρῳ πολλῷ καὶ ὁμίχλῃ πατούμενον ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συνελανόμενον, φόβῳ δὲ θανάτου τοῖς κακοῖς ἀπιστίᾳ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀγαθῶν ἐμμένοντα. ἐπεὶ τὸ γε παρὰ φύσιν τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τῇ ψυχῇ συμπλοκὴν εἶναι καὶ σύνερξιν ἐκείθεν ἀν συνίδοις.’

101 On Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 2.1–5 see discussion in Comm.: Sect. 2.2–3 on plants, stones and animals above.

τῶν πλειόνων δυνάμεων), the dividing of which on the one hand made each one [power] indistinct, while the mixing on the other hand (ἡ δὲ μίξις) raised it up to the form of its archetype.” (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 5.10–17).¹⁰²

Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* VII writes that ἡ θεουργικὴ τέχνη ... συμπλέκει πολ- λάκις λίθους βοτάνας ζῶα ἀρώματα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἱερὰ καὶ τέλεια καὶ θεοειδῆ. “the theurgic art ... many times joins together [combines] stones, plants, animals, aromatic substances [/herbs] and other such things [that are] holy and perfect and godlike” (Iamb. *Myst.* v.23.233.9–12).¹⁰³

Iamblichus also explains the concept of manifold powers and transformations of the one by providing the example of the one god Helios: “for this reason the symbolic teaching wishes to indicate the one god [τὸν ἕνα θεόν] *through the multitude of offerings* (διὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δοθέντων), and to represent his one power *through the manifold powers* (διὰ τῶν πολυτρόπων δυνάμεων); wherefore it [the symbolic teaching] indicates that he [Helios] is one and the same (αὐτὸν ἕνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτόν), but assigns the changes of form and of configuration to the recipients. Therefore it [the symbolic teaching] indicates that he [Helios] is changed according to the Zodiac and every hour, just as these are variegated/changeable around the god according to his many receptions.” (Iamb. *Myst.* VII.3.253.12–254.2).

2.13.a. Πυρὸς διάδοσις, “The Transmission of Fire”

The third stage of the theurgic union is “the transmission of the fire” (ἡ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς διάδοσις) based on “the presence of the divine light” (τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ θείου φωτός). And the fourth stage involves “the lighting/kindling” (ἡ δὲ ἔξαψις) based on “the divinisation of mortals” (τῇ θειώσει τῶν θνητῶν) and “the illumination of things enmattered” (τῇ περιλάμψει τῶν ἐνύλων).

Proclus in his *Chaldaean Philosophy* (Πρόκλου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς χαλδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας, *Extraits du Commentaire de Proclus sur la Philosophie Chaldaïque*) extracts

102 See also Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 7.1–10. On Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 5.10–17 see discussion in Comm.: Sect. 5 below. See also Pachoumi (2018) 23–37.

103 Iamb. *Myst.* VII.3.12–16: διὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δοθέντων τὸν ἕνα θεὸν ἐμφαίνειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολυτρόπων δυνάμεων τὴν μίαν αὐτοῦ παριστάναι δύναμιν· διὸ καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν ἕνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, τὰς δὲ διαμείψεις τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοὺς μετασχηματισμοὺς ἐν τοῖς δεχομένοις ὑποτίθεται. Note also a similar reference by (Pseudo-)Psellus' *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus* (4.75–5.82), Gautier (1988) 85–107 (Boissonade 1838, 40): Ἡ δὲ γε μαγεία πολυδύναμόν τι χρῆμα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔδοξε. Μερῖδα γοῦν εἶναι ταύτην φασὶν ἐσχάτην τῆς ἱεραικῆς ἐπιστήμης ... ἀνιχνεύουσα γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη δύναμις τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην γενέσεων ἐκάστης οὐσίας καὶ φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ποιότητα, λέγω δὲ στοιχείων καὶ τῶν τούτων μερῶν, ζώων παντοδαπῶν, φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν καρπῶν, λίθων, βοτανῶν, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, παντὸς πράγματος ὑπόστασιν τε καὶ δύναμιν, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρα τὰ αὐτῆς ἐνεργάζεται. Gautier (1988) 103.

1 and 2 refers to the Chaldaean notion of immaterial divine fire and its connection to the divine union of the soul.¹⁰⁴

How does the class of angels lead the soul upwards? By making the soul shining by fire, it is said, that means illuminating it all around and making it [the soul] to be full of immaculate fire, which gives it undeviating order and power, through which it is not rushed forth into the material disorder, but it is united with the divine light; ... The highest point of [the various stages of] the ascent is participation in the divine fruits and *self-illuminating fulfilment of the fire*, which is the vision [image] of god, since it sets the soul under the eyes of the Father. The soul is made to sing hymns to divine beings, according to the Oracle, setting forth the ineffable *synthêmata* of the Father and offering these [*synthêmata*] to the Father, those which the Father has put into it [the soul] in its first passage [appearance] into substance. For such are the intellectual and invisible hymns of the ascending soul, stirring up the memory of harmonic verbal formulas [formative forces], which carry ineffable images of divine powers which are in it [the soul].¹⁰⁵

ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων μερίς πῶς ἀνάγει ψυχὴν; φέγγουσα, φησί, πυρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, τοῦτ' ἔστι περιλάμπουσα αὐτὴν πανταχόθεν, καὶ πλήρη ποιοῦσα τοῦ ἀχράντου πυρὸς ὃ ἐνδίδωσιν αὐτῇ τάξιν ἀκλιτον καὶ δύναμιν δι' ἣν οὐκ ἐκροίζεται εἰς τὴν ὑλικὴν ἀταξίαν ἀλλὰ συνάπτεται τῷ φωτὶ τῶν θείων. ... Τέλος δὲ τῶν ἀνόδων ἡ μετουσία τῶν θείων καρπῶν καὶ ἡ αὐτοφαῆς τοῦ πυρὸς ἀποπλήρωσις, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ θεοῦ ὄψις, ὡς ὑπ' ὀμμασιν αὐτὴν τιθεῖσα τοῦ Πατρὸς. Ὑμνωδὸς δὲ ἀποτελεῖται τῶν θείων ἡ ψυχὴ, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ Πατρὸς τὰ ἄρρητα προβαλλομένη καὶ προσφέρονσα αὐτὰ τῷ Πατρὶ, ἃ ἐνέθετο ὁ Πατὴρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παρόδῳ τῆς οὐσίας. Τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ νοεροὶ καὶ ἀφανεῖς ὕμνοι τῆς ἀναγομένης ψυχῆς, ἀνακινούντες τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἀρμονικῶν λόγων οἱ φέρου-

104 Des Places (1971) 206–212; Pitra (1888) Vol. v: 192–195. On the theurgic union and the concept of fire in Proclus see Pachoumi (2022) 251–268.

105 On the theurgic *enthusiasmos* of the soul and statues see Hermias *In Phdr.* 87.4–32: Πῶς μὲν οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐνθουσιᾷ, εἴρηται. Πῶς δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα λέγεται ἐνθουσιᾶν; Ἡ αὐτὸ μὲν οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ περὶ τὸ θεῖον, ὃ γε ἄψυχόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὕλην ἢ τελεστικὴ διακαθήρασα καὶ τινας χαρακτήρας καὶ σύμβολα περιθεῖσα τῷ ἀγάλματι πρῶτον μὲν ἐμψυχον αὐτὸ διὰ τούτων ἐποίησε καὶ <οἶόν τε> ζῶντιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου καταδέξασθαι, ἔπειτα μετὰ τοῦτο ἐλλαμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτὸ παρεσκεύασεν. ... τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὡς ἂν πάθῃ οὕτω μένει ἐλλαμπόμενον, διὸ καὶ ἡ ἀνεπιτηδεϊότης αὐτοῦ εἰς στέρησιν παντελὴ χωρεῖ, ἐὰν μὴ πάλιν ἐκ νέας ὑπὸ τοῦ τελεστοῦ τελεσθῇ καὶ ἐμψυχωθῇ. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸ ἐν τῆς ψυχῆς γίνεται ὁ κυρίως ἐνθουσιασμός καὶ ὅτι ἐπίπνοια καὶ ἐλλαμψίς ἐστι τῶν θεῶν, ἱκανῶς εἴρηται; also, Herm. *In Phdr.* 88.1–34.

στιν ἀπορρήτους εἰκόνας τῶν θείων ἐν αὐτῇ δυνάμει. Procl. *Phil. Chald. Fr.* 1.206.6–11 and 206.17–208.2.¹⁰⁶

In Proclus' *Chaldaean Philosophy* extract 2, lines 207.22–208.4, also known as Proclus' *Hymn to the God* or the *Fire-song*:¹⁰⁷ “so, let us dedicate to God this hymn; let us leave behind the flowing substance; let us come to our true aim, *the assimilation with Him* (τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξομοίωσιν); let us come to know/understand the Master, *let us love the Father*; let us get persuaded by Him who calls us; let us run towards the heat, fleeing from the cold; *let us become fire, let us walk through the fire*; we have a free way for ascending; The Father guide us, unfolding ways of fire ...”¹⁰⁸ (“Ὑμνον οὖν τῷ θεῷ τοῦτον ἀναθώμεν· καταλίπωμεν τὴν ρέουσαν οὐσίαν· ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀληθὴ σκοπόν, τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξομοίωσιν· γνωρίζωμεν τὸν δεσπότην, ἀγαπήσωμεν¹⁰⁹ τὸν Πατέρα· καλοῦντι πεισθώμεν· τῷ θερμῷ

106 Des Places (1971) 206–207.

107 Lewy (1978) 114–115, Excursus IX. See also Proclus' Hymn 4. 1–7, “Ὑμνος κοινὸς εἰς θεούς; also, Hymn 1.1, Εἰς Ἡλίον. On Proclus' *Hymns* 1–7, Vogt 1957; and Berg (2001).

108 Plot. *Enn.* IV.4.41.11–15: οἷον εἰ πῦρ τις ἐκ πυρὸς λαβὼν ἔβλαψεν ἄλλον ὁ μηχανησάμενος † ἢ ἐλθεῖν † ἢ ὁ λαβὼν ἐκείνος ποιεῖ τῷ δεδωκέναι γοῦν τι οἷον μετατιθέν τι ἐξ ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλο· καὶ τὸ ἐληλυθὸς δέ, εἰ μὴ οἷός τε ἐγένετο δέξασθαι εἰς ὃν μετηγέχθη. Also, Iamb. *Myst.* II.10.44: Εἰ γάρ τὰ ἀποπίπτοντα ἔργα τῆς αὐτοφανούς δεΐξεως τοιαυτὰ ἐστὶν οἷα σὺ λέγεις ἀλαζονικά καὶ ψευδή, τὰ τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἀθλητῶν περὶ τὸ πῦρ γνήσιά τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀληθινά.

109 This is the only case in Proclus that ἀγαπῶ is used in relation to the Father. It could be redolent of Christian usage, where ἀγάπη is preferred to eros and thus the verb ἀγαπῶ acquires an intensity that is lacking in pre-Christian pagan usage. On the use of the verb ἀγαπῶ in relation to ἔρως (“love”) in Proclus see Procl. *In Alc.* 1.65.20–66.1: τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀμεθέκτω νῷ τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν ἐν θεοῖς ἀνάλογον ληπτέον and 66.9–12, καί μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων εὐρῶν παρ' Ὀρφεὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεὸν καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ δαίμονα μέγαν ἀποκαλοῦμενον ἀγαπήσαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος τὸν τοιοῦτον ὕμνον (“Plato loved himself such a praise of love”). Also, Procl. *In Alc.* 1.133.14–16: Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, εἰ μὲν σε ἐώρων ἂ νῦν δὴ διήλθον ἀγαπῶντα καὶ οἰόμενον δεῖν ἐν τοῦτοις καταβιβᾶναι, πάλαι ἂν ἀπηλλάγημην τοῦ ἔρωτος, ὥς γε δὴ ἔμαυτὸν πείθω. 104 E. Also, Procl. *Cra.* 70.5–6: (ὁ Πλάτων) ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸ ἐνθουσιάζειν αὐτῶν ἀγαπᾷ καὶ ἀσπάζεται (“Plato) loves and welcomes the inspiration of these (poets).” In Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, the phrase ἀγαπῶμεν ἂν ἐμφορῶς γινώσκοντες is used in a passage containing an attack on the Christians, Procl. *In Ti.* 1.369.20–370.2: οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ ἐπιτυχὼν εἴπειεν (ἄν) τι περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς τελικῆς αἰτίας; τί δέ; οὐ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν πολλῶν ἔστιν ἀκούειν λεγόντων· ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθός; ἀλλὰ τὸ θεὸς ὀνομά ἐστι χωρὶς ἀρετῆς, ὥς φησι Πλωτῖνος [enn. 1, 2, 1 s], καὶ οὐ κατὰ φρόνησιν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιτυχίαν λέγεται παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν. τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ δαίμονες γινώσκουσι τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ πατρὸς οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν χορεύοντες, καὶ ἄγγελοι δημιουργικοὶ προπομπεύοντες τῆς πατρικῆς ποιήσεως, καὶ θεοὶ παραδεχόμενοι τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς αἰτίου δημιουργικὰς δυνάμεις; ἀλλὰ θεοὶ μὲν ἐνοειδῶς, ἄγγελοι δὲ νοερώς, δαίμονες δὲ ἀχράντως καὶ αἰδίως καὶ συγγενῶς τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν ἂν ἐμφορῶς γινώσκοντες, μέσοι πως ὄντες τῶν τε θειοτέρων καὶ τῶν πολλῶν, τῶν τε νοερῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων. On “God is good ... every day” and the lines 369.19–25 Runia and Share comments: “I suspect that these remarks (369.19–25) constitute another of the veiled attacks on the Christians identified in Saffrey (1975)”; Runia and Share (2008) Vol. 11: 232 n. 117.

προσδράμωμεν, τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐκφυγόντες· πῦρ γενώμεθα, διὰ πυρὸς ὁδεύσωμεν. "Ἐχομεν εὐλυτον ὁδὸν εἰς ἀνέλευσιν· Πατὴρ ὁδηγεῖ, πυρὸς ὁδοὺς ἀναπτύξας ... Procl. *Phil. Chald. Fr.* 2.207.22–208.4).¹¹⁰

Marinus also mentions that Proclus at the beginning of his forty-second year had said: "My soul has come breathing the spirit of fire,/ And writhing in fire having thrown the mind to the aether,/ It rises up and clamours the star-rich orbits of the immortal [soul]"¹¹¹ (Ψυχὴ μοι πνέιουσα πυρὸς μένος εἰλήλουθεν,/ Καὶ νόον ἀμπετάσασα πρὸς αἰθέρα πυρσοέλικτος/ "Ὀρνυται, ἀθανάτης δὲ βρέμει πολυτερέα κύκλα, Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28.696–698).¹¹²

Regarding the concept of assimilation with the divine (c.f. ἐξομοίωσις in Procl. *Phil. Chald. Fr.* 2), in the final stages of the theurgic union of the magico-theurgic "Erotic binding spell of Astrapsoukos" (PGM VIII.1–63), the magician's secret knowledge of the god Hermes reaches the level of assimilation with the divine at the end of the invocation, when the magician asserts: "for you are I and I am you, your name is mine and mine is yours," σὺ γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐγὼ σύ, τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν σὸν (VIII.36–37), and then again: "I know you, Hermes, and you me. I am you and you are I," οἶδα σε, Ἑρμῆ, καὶ σὺ ἐμέ. ἐγὼ εἰμι σὺ καὶ σὺ ἐγὼ (VIII.49–50).¹¹³ That formula reflects influences from the Egyptian identification with the divine. For example, the Eighteenth

110 Des Places (1971) 207–208.

111 See also Procl. *In R.* II.220.7–15: καίτοι γε οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι καὶ τοῖς μέσον τῶν ἐπτά τὸν ἥλιον εἰποῦσιν ἀστρονόμοις οὐ πάνυ δι' ἀναγκαίων τοῦτο δέδευκται λημμάτων ὅπως δὲ ὅλως ἐπεχείρησαν, εἵπομεν ἐν τοῖς εἰς Τίμαιον [p. 257 f. sqq.] ἰκανῶς· ἀλλὰ τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίους θεουργῶν ἀκούσας, ὡς ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἐμεσεμβόλησεν τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τοῖς ἐπτά καὶ ἀνεκρέμασεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἑξ ἄλλας ζώνας, καὶ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ὅτι τὸ ἡλιακὸν πῦρ κραδῆς τόπῳ ἐστήριξεν ...

112 Masullo (1985) 85; Boissonade (1814) 23.

113 The reciprocal knowledge of the individual and the god and its mystical associations is paralleled with Pentheus and Dionysus in Euripides' *Bacchae*, when Dionysus says to Pentheus: "you don't know what your life is, nor what you are doing, nor who you are," οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῆς, οὐδ' ὅ δρᾶς, οὐδ' ὅστις εἶ (E. *Ba.* 506), or to Cadmus at the end of the tragedy: "you understood us too late. When you should have, you did not know" (ὅψ' ἐμάθεθ' ἡμᾶς, ὅτε δὲ χρῆν, οὐκ ᾔδετε), and Cadmus realises: "we have understood these things" (ἐγνωκάμεν ταῦτ' E. *Ba.* 1345–1346). On knowledge see also the "Gospel of Thomas 11.2.91" of the *Nag Hammadi* Library. Also, in the "[Σύστασις πρὸς] ὁς "Ἥλιον" (PGM III.494–611) the magician associates Helios with the 'womb of knowledge': "We understood, O womb of all Knowledge, we understood, O womb pregnant through the father's begetting, we understood, O eternal permanence of the pregnant father" (ἐγνωρίσαμεν, μήτρα πάσης γνώσεως, ἐγνωρίσαμεν, ὦ μήτρα κυηφόρε ἐν πατρὸς φυτεΐᾳ, ἐγνωρίσαμεν, ὦ πατρὸς κυηφοροῦντος αἰώνιος διαμονή III.603–606). Note also the association of the wombs with the world-forming ideas in the *Chaldaean Oracles* (*Orac. Chald. Fr.* 36 / Procl. *Cra.* 107.58.14–15). Knowledge is also associated with the Womb in the "Interpretation of Knowledge XI.1.3" of the *Nag Hammadi* Library.

Dynasty noble Paheri at el-Kab writes in his tomb: “I know the god who is in (*imy*) mankind, since I perceive him”.¹¹⁴

Furthermore, in the “Erotic binding spell of Astrapsoukos” (VIII.1–63) the theurgic union and identification between the magician and the god is justified further: “for you are I and I am you, your name is mine and mine is yours; for I am your image (ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι τὸ εἶδωλόν σου)” (VIII.36–38).¹¹⁵ The magician’s concept of himself as the εἶδωλον of Hermes alludes to Dionysiac mystical ideas and the mirror image of the “souls of men” (ἀνθρώπων δὲ ψυχαί) who see their “images,” εἶδωλα “as if in the mirror of Dionysus,” οἷον Διονύσου ἐν κατόπτρῳ, as expressed by Plotinus (Plot. *Enn.* IV.3.12).¹¹⁶ Furthermore, regarding the mirror and the Athenaic souls, Proclus includes “the construction of the mirror” (ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ἐσόπτρου κατασκευή) among Hephaestus’ symbols of sensible

114 Sethe (1907) 119/15. In the earliest religious literature of Egypt, the Pyramid Texts, deities who would assist the king’s ascent to heaven were threatened by priests and practitioners. For example, in the ‘slandorous’ formula of the Pyramid Text spell 539 “It is she who said ... She, NN, said, not I,” a technique of “ritual blame shifting,” as described by Ritner, the ritualist is careful to shift any blame by employing the principle of divine identification. Faulkner (1969) 208; Ritner (1995) 3333–3379, esp. 3368–3373. Also, in *PGM* XIII.734–1077: “you may enter my *nous* and my *phrenes* for all the time of my life and you may accomplish for me all the wishes of my soul,” εἰσέλθοις τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς ἐμάς φρένας εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου καὶ ποιήσεις μοι πάντα τὰ θελήματα τῆς ψυχῆς μου (XIII.791–794), “for you are I and I am you,” σὺ γὰρ εἰ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐγὼ σὺ (XIII.795). See also similar identifications in the *Corpus Hermeticum* V, “A discourse of Hermes to his son Tat” 11: σὺ γὰρ εἰ δ’ [ε]ἴαν ὦ, σὺ εἰ δ’ ἂν ποιῶ, σὺ εἰ δ’ ἂν λέγω, “for you are whatsoever I am, you are whatsoever I do, you are whatsoever I say.” *Corp. Herm.* v.11. Also, in *Nag Hammadi Library*, “Gospel of Thomas 11.2. 108”; In *Cologne Mani Codex* 2.4.11–16: ἐπέγνω μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ συνῆκα ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐγὼ εἰμι ἐξ οὗ διεκρίθην. ἐπεμαρτύρησα δὲ ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ [i]νος αὐτός εἰμι ἀλλ’[η]τος ὑπάρχων ... “I recognized him and I understood that I am he, whom I was separated from. I testified that I myself am he and that I am unshaken”; Henrichs and Koenen (1975) 27 and 80, n. 59 and Henrichs (1979) 340.

115 See also *Genesis* 1:24; *Corp. Herm. Excerpt.* VIII *A Discourse of Hermes to His Son* (3); also *Corp. Herm. Excerpt.* xv *From the teachings of Hermes to Ammon* (2–7); see Betz (1981) 166–167; also *Corp. Herm.* V.6; also *Act. Joan.* 95:16 ff.; see also “The Prayer of Deliverance” (1.195–222) at 1.211–212. Also, Paul’s second Letter to the Corinthians (2 Cor 4:4).

116 On the souls of men who see their εἶδωλα as if in the mirror of Dionysus see Plot. *Enn.* IV.3.12.1–5: Ἀνθρώπων δὲ ψυχὰς εἶδωλα αὐτῶν ἰδοῦσαι οἷον Διονύσου ἐν κατόπτρῳ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο ἄνωθεν ὀρμηθεῖσαι, οὐκ ἀποτμηθεῖσαι οὐδ’ αὐταὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρχῆς τε καὶ νοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ νοῦ ἦλθον, ἀλλ’ ἐφθασαν μὲν μέχρι γῆς, κάρα δὲ αὐταῖς ἐστήρικται ὑπεράνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. See also Nonn. *D.* 6.169–206; *Orph. Fr.* 209; Kern (1972) 227; Vernant (1990) 468 ff. See also Procl. *Inst.* 185 and 195. Also, Hom. *Il.* 4.443. See also the reference to the εἶδωλον of Heracles (ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ εἶδωλον) and the separation of the soul from its εἶδωλον in Plot. *Enn.* I.1.12.31–39: Χωρίζειν δὲ ἔοικεν ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ εἶδωλον αὐτοῦ διδούς ἐν Ἄιδου, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν θεοῖς εἶναι ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν λόγων κατεχόμενος, καὶ ὅτι ἐν θεοῖς καὶ ὅτι ἐν Ἄιδου· ἐμέρισε δ’ οὖν. Τάχα δ’ ἂν οὕτω πιθανὸς ὁ λόγος εἴη· ὅτι δὴ πρακτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχων Ἡρακλῆς καὶ ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ καλοκαγαθίαν θεὸς εἶναι, ὅτι πρακτικός, ἀλλ’ οὐ θεωρητικός ἦν, ἵνα ἂν ὁλος ἦν ἐκεῖ, ἄνω τέ ἐστί καὶ ἔτι ἐστί τι αὐτοῦ καὶ κάτω.

productivity (Procl. *Ti.* 1.142.26–28),¹¹⁷ and ascribes to Hephaestus the receipt of “the vehicles” (τὰ ὀχήματα) of the Athenaic souls (αἱ δὲ Ἀθηναϊκαὶ ψυχαί),¹¹⁸ which “are housed in bodies created by the principles of Hephaestus and earth” (εἰσοικίζονται ἐν σώμασιν ἐκ τῶν Ἡφαίστου λόγων καὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστάσι Procl. *Ti.* 1.144.12–18).

2.13.b. “The Transmission of Fire”: Fire and Fiery Apparitions in the Chaldaean Oracles and Proclus

The Chaldaean concept of primordial divine fire and light and its association with the soul in the theurgic union is illustrated in various fragments of the *Chaldaean Oracles*. The following fragments illustrate the concept of fire and its association with the soul: “making the soul shining with fire” (τὴν ψυχὴν φέγουσα πυρί, the *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 122.1 / Procl. *Phil.Chald.* 1.206.7),¹¹⁹ “because the soul, being a shining fire by the power of the father, remains immortal and master of life and it possesses the fulness of many wombs of the cosmos” (“Ὅτι ψυχὴ, πῦρ δυνάμει πατρός οὖσα φαινόν, ἀθάνατός τε μένει καὶ ζωῆς δεσπότις ἐστὶν καὶ ἴσχει [κόσμου] πολλῶν πληρώματα κόλπων, *Fr.* 96.1–3 / *Psel. PG* 122.1141c 7–9), “all have been generated from one fire” (εἰσὶν πάντα ἐνὸς πυρὸς ἐκγεγάωτα, *Fr.* 10.1 / *Psel. PG* 122.1145a 4), and “for the mortal who has approached the fire will hold the light from the god” (τῷ πυρὶ γὰρ βρότος ἐμπελάσας θεόθεν φάος ἔξει, *Fr.* 121.1 / Procl. *In Ti.* 1.211.21).¹²⁰

117 Procl. *Ti.* 1.142.26–28: “for the construction of the mirror, smith’s work, lameness, and all such things are symbols of his [Hephaestus] productivity in the sensible realm.” (ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ἐσώπτρου κατασκευὴ καὶ ἡ χαλκεία καὶ ἡ χλωεία καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμβολα τῆς περὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν αὐτοῦ ποιήσεως ἐστί).

118 ‘Souls in the procession, or under the influence of Athena’; souls of this divine procession are also mentioned in Procl. *In R.* 1.108.3–109.7, a passage in which Paris is appointed judge of the goddesses Athena, Hera and Aphrodite, interpreted as a choice of three different kinds of life; Procl. *In R.* 1.108.22–25: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὄντως ἐρωτικός νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν προστησάμενος καὶ μετὰ τούτων τό τε ἀληθινὸν κάλλος καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον θεωρῶν οὐχ ἡσόν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναϊκὸς ἢ Ἀφροδισιακός.

119 Des Places (1971); Lewy (1978); Majercik (1989). See also Kroll (1894). Also Pitra (1888) 192.14–15.

120 *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 2.1–4; *Fr.* 3.1–2: ... ὁ πατὴρ ἤρπασσεν ἑαυτὸν, οὐδ’ ἐν ἡ δυνάμει νοεῖ κλείσας ἴδιον πῦρ; *Fr.* 5.1–4: ... οὐ γὰρ ἐς ὕλην πῦρ ἐπέκεινα τὸ πρῶτον ἐὼν δύναιμι κατακλείει ἔργοις ἀλλὰ νόῳ· νοῦ γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμου τεχνίτης πυρίου; *Fr.* 6.1–2: ὡς γὰρ ὑπεζωκῶς τίς ὑμῖν νοερός διακρίνει, πῦρ πρῶτον καὶ πῦρ ἕτερον σπεύδοντα μιγῆναι. *Fr.* 32.1–4; *Fr.* 33.1–2; *Fr.* 34.1–4: οἱ πυρὸς ἄνθος; *Fr.* 35.1–4: οἱ πυρὸς ἄνθος; *Fr.* 36.1–2; *Fr.* 37.1–16: οἱ πυρὸς ἄνθος; *Fr.* 38.1; *Fr.* 39.1–5; *Fr.* 42.1–3: οἱ πυρὸς ἄνθος; *Fr.* 47.1; 51.1–3; 58.1; 60.1–2; 65.1–2; 66.1; 67.1; 68.1–3; 73.1–3; 76.1–3; 81.1; 85.1; 126.1; 128.1–2; 133.1–2; 48.1–3; 130.1–4; and *Fr.* 223.1–5: Τοὺς μὲν ἀπορρήτοις ἐρώων ἱυγξιν ἀπ’ αἰθρῆς ῥήϊδιως ἀέκοντας ἐπὶ χθόνα τήνδε κατήγες, τοὺς δὲ μέσους μεσάτοισιν ἐπεμβεβαῶτας ἀήταις νόσφι πυρὸς θείοιο πανομφέας ὥσπερ ὀνείρους εἰσκρίνεις μερόπεσσι, αἰεκέα δαίμονας ἔρδων.

In *Fragment 146* of the *Chaldaean Oracles*, also included in Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, the theurgist when invoking the deity has fiery apparitions similar to a rich light, or the image of a child riding a horse, or a horse itself:

[for it is said] after having invoked these, you will either see a fire similar to a child, stretching by leaps over the swelling of air; or you will see a formless fire from which a voice is sent forth; or you will see an abundant light rushing like a spiral around the field; but you may even see a horse more lightening than light, or even a child riding upon the quick back of a horse, [a child] *fiery or covered with gold or again naked*, or even shooting and standing on the back [of a horse].

... ταῦτ' (γάρ φησιν) ἐπιφωνήσας ἢ παιδί κατόψῃ πῦρ ἵκελον σκιρτηδὸν ἐπ' ἡέρος οἶδμα τιταῖνον· ἢ καὶ πῦρ ἀτύπωτον, ὅθεν φωνὴν προθέουσαν· ἢ φῶς πλούσιον ἀμφὶ γύρην ῥοιζαῖον ἐλιχθέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππον ἰδεῖν φωτὸς πλέον ἀστράπτοντα ἢ καὶ παῖδα θεοῖς νώτοις ἐποχούμενον ἵππου, ἔμπυρον ἢ χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένον ἢ πάλι γυμνόν, ἢ καὶ τοξεύοντα καὶ ἐστηῶτ' ἐπὶ νώτοις. *Orac. Chald. Fr. 146.2–8/Procl. In R. I.111.2–12.*¹²¹

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, which actually precedes the above mentioned passage, refers to all the hieratic treatises (ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς ἀπάσαις πραγματείαις) and *teletai* [initiatory rites] and the mysteries and the epiphanies of the gods (ταῖς τελεταῖς καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείαις), stating that, “For in all these, the gods set forth many forms of themselves, and they appear to change into many shapes; sometimes there appears their formless light, sometimes [there appears] to have been shaped into a human form, and other times having advanced a different form. The god-given mystical doctrine hands down these [teachings] too.” (ἐν ᾗπασι γὰρ τούτοις οἱ θεοὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἑαυτῶν προτείνουσι μορφάς, πολλὰ δὲ σχήματα ἐξαλλάττοντες φαίνονται· καὶ τότε μὲν ἀτύπωτον αὐτῶν προβέβληται φῶς, τότε δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπου μορφήν ἐσχηματισμένον, τότε δὲ εἰς ἄλλοιον τύπον προεληλυθός. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ θεοπαράδοτος μυσταγωγία παραδίδωσιν· *Procl. In R. I.110.21–111.2*).

Fiery apparitions are generally associated with divine revelations and epiphanies in magic literature. For example, in the “Lunar spell of Klaudianus and ritual of heaven and the Bear constellation over lunar offerings” (*PGM VII.862–918*), the epiphany of the goddess Selene is associated with a fiery vision of the goddess. The magician summons “Mistress Selene the Egyptian” (*VII.871*)

121 See also Lewy (1978) 240 and n. 52; and Baltzly, Finamore and Miles (2018) 224, n. 179.

to send her “sacred angel or assistant” (ἱερὸν ἄγγελον ἢ πάρεδρον, VII.883) to become the magician’s assistant. The moment of Selene’s epiphany in which the goddess is magically efficient is associated with an allusion to the visual image of a physical phenomenon, that of fire: “but when you see the goddess becoming fiery red (πυρράν), know that she is, already, attracting (ἄγει ἥδη)” (VII.889–890).¹²²

In *Fr.* 146 of the *Chaldaean Oracles* (/Procl. *In R.* I.111.2–12) the visions of fire and light or boys, or archers and horses are associated with the epiphanies of Hecate.¹²³ Boys, or archers are invoked as *biaiothanatoi* or *aoroi*—the spirits of the dead who suffered a violent death, or died before their time—in the Greek magical papyri and the theurgical rites to assist the magicians/theurgists in their rituals.¹²⁴ Furthermore, Hecate is associated with horse images in the Greek magical papyri, as revealed in her epithets as “horse-faced goddess” (ἵπποπρόσωπε θεά, *PGM* IV.2549), “half-mare half-bitch” (ἵπποκύων, *PGM* IV.2614) and “earth mare” (ἵπποχθων, *PGM* IV.2755). Generally, horse images are used in magic rituals, such as “earth mare” (ἵππόχθων, *PGM* III.548–549 in the *maskelli maskello* formula; also, in same formula in IV.3177, IX.10, XII.291–292, XXXVI.344, LXXVIII.10, XIXa.10–11).¹²⁵

Marinus in *Proclus* reports Proclus’ experience of Hecate’s self-revelations after performing certain Chaldaean purification rituals, “But before these, the philosopher after being purified in due order by the Chaldaean purifications, invoked flame-like [fiery] revelations for direct revelation [vision] of Hecate, as he himself has recorded in one of his own treatises.” (Πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἐν τάξει ὁ φιλόσοφος τοῖς Χαλδαϊκοῖς καθαρμοῖς καθαιρόμενος, φάσμασι μὲν Ἑκατικαῖς φωτοειδέσιν αὐτοπτοούμενοις ὠμίλησεν, ὥς καὶ αὐτός που μέμνηται ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι. *Marin. Vit. Procl.* 28.683–686).

Porphry also in *De philosophia ex oraculis* refers to the *synthēmata* (συνθήματα) and the fiery images (πυρόεσσιν εἰδώλοις) of Hecate’s revelations.¹²⁶

122 On the association of angels and fire, as from where they emerged, see the Jewish Book of Mysteries *Sepher Ha-Razim*; Morgan (1983) 21. On divine epiphanies and their signs see Pachoumi (2011a) 155–165.

123 On *Fr.* 146 see also discussion by Lewy (1978) 240–241; and Majercik (1989) 195–196.

124 On *aoroi* and *biaiothanatoi* see Pachoumi (2017) 41, 119–121.

125 Also, “driver of horses” (ἵπποκελεφοκλῶψ, XII.300), “stallion” (ἵππου ἄρσενος, IV.65), “horses” (ἵππους, IV.472, 822, 2140), “horse” (ἵππος, VII.781), “hippopotamus” (ἵπποπό[τα]μον, III.524 and XIII.309, 318), and “horses” ([ἵπ]ποι, XX.18–19).

126 Porph. *De Phil. Or.* II.151.165–173: “Ἐν χρηστήριον ἔτι παραθεῖς, ὅπερ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἑκάτη πεποιήται, καταπαύσω τὸν περὶ ταύτης λόγον· Ἡδ’ ἐγὼ εἰμι κόρη πολυφάσματος, οὐρανόφοιτος, / ταυρώπις, τρικάρηνος, ἀπηνῆς, χρυσοβέλεμνος, / Φοῖβη ἀπειρ(ολεχής), φαεσίμβροτος, Εἰλείθυια, / τριστοίχου φύσεως συνθήματα τρισσὰ φέρουσα· / αἰ(θέρα) μὲν πυρόεσσιν ἐειδομένη εἰδώλοις, / ἡέρα δ’ ἀργεννοῖσι τροχάσμασιν ἀμφικάθημαι· / γα(ίαν) ἐμῶν σκυλάκων δοφερῶ γέ(νει) ἡνιοχε(ύω).”

In addition to the Chaldaean rituals of fire, Eusebius in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* also offers an Egyptian aspect of worshiping fire, reporting his contemporary Egyptian cult of ‘water and fire’ in the worship of Sarapis (ὥς που ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἀνοίξει τοῦ ἁγίου Σαράπιδος ἡ θεραπεία διὰ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος γίνεται, Eus. *PE* III.4.9.3–4).¹²⁷

2.13.c. “The Transmission of Fire”: Fire and the Immortalisation Ritual in Proclus

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic* points out that according to his teacher Syrianus the fire ritual and the libations that the Achilles offered at Patroclus’ funeral imitated the *immortalisation ritual of the soul by the theurgist*, “Then if it is necessary even to remember the most secret of the contemplations by our teacher [Syrianus], it must be said that the whole ritual about that fire of Achilles *imitates the immortalisation ritual (apathanatismos) of the soul by the theurgist*, elevating the soul of Patroclus into the supreme life.” (εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρητότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἡμῶν¹²⁸ τεθεωρημένων κἀν τούτοις ποιήσασθαι μνήμην, ῥητέον ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν πυρὰν ἐκείνην τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως πραγματεία μιμεῖται τὸν παρὰ τοῖς θεουργοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαθανατισμὸν εἰς τὴν χωριστὴν ζωὴν ἀνάγουσα τὴν τοῦ Πατρόκλου ψυχὴν. Procl. *In R.* I.152.7–12).¹²⁹

Proclus then describes the manifestation of the vehicle and the return of the divine soul to its own sphere, “Thus, standing before the fire, he [Achilles] summons the winds, Boreas and Zephyrus, (*Il.* 23.194–195), so that the manifested vehicle (τὸ φαινόμενον ὄχημα)¹³⁰ might acquire the appropriate care (θεραπείας)

127 Eus. *PE* III.4.9.1–6 and 10.1: τῶν θεῶν παρέσχεν ἐθρήσκευσαν. ὕδωρ δὲ καὶ πῦρ σέβονται, τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν στοιχείων, ὥς ταῦτα αἰτιώτατα τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, καὶ ταῦτα δεικνύντες ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὥς που ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἀνοίξει τοῦ ἁγίου Σαράπιδος ἡ θεραπεία διὰ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος γίνεται, λείβοντος τοῦ ὑμνωδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ πῦρ φαίνοντος, ὁπνίκα ἐστὼς ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐδοῦ τῇ πατρίῳ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φωνῇ ἐγείρει τὸν θεόν.

128 Procl. *In R.* I.152.7: ὑπὸ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἡμῶν: this is a common reference to Proclus’ teacher Syrianus; for other references to Syrianus as καθηγεμῶν in Procl. *In R.* see e.g. I.115.27–29: προσκείσθω δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἡμῶν ἐπιβολή, τῆς τε Ὀμηρικῆς διανοίας στοχαζομένη καὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀληθείας; I.133.5–7: ὁ μὲν οὖν ἡμέτερος καθηγεμῶν προηγουμένην καταβαλλόμενος πραγματεῖαν εἰς τοῦτον ἅπαντα τὸν μῦθον ἐνθεαστικώτατα τὴν ἀπόρρητον αὐτοῦ θεωρίαν ἐξέφηνεν; I.153.2–3: καὶ ὅλως πολλὰ τῆς ὑπονοίας ταύτης λάβοι τις ἂν τεκμήρια τοῖς τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἡμῶν ἐντυχάν; I.205.21–22: ταῦτα, ὦ φίλοι ἐταῖροι, μνήμη κεχαρίσθω τῆς τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἡμῶν συνουσίας.

129 On *apathanatismos* see Lewy (1978) 184–211, Sheppard (1980) 76–77, Liefferinge (2000b) 99–119, Finamore (2004) 123–137, Majercik (1989) 38 ff., Pachoumi (2017) 60, 77, 82, 94.

130 On ὄχημα of the soul and the purification ritual see Orac. *Chald. Fr.* 120: ψυχῆς λεπτὸν ὄχημα, “delicate vehicle of the soul”; also *Fr.* 119 and *Fr.* 129: Σώζετε καὶ τὸ πικρὰς ὕλης περίβλημα

through their manifest movement, and the more divine than this [vehicle] might invisibly be purified and return to its own sphere (λήξιν¹³¹), drawn up by the aerial and lunar and solar rays;¹³² and, as one of the gods says, it is said that during the whole night he [Achilles] was pouring libations on fire.”¹³³ (διὸ καὶ στάς πρὸ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι λέγεται τοὺς ἀνέμους, Βορρᾶν καὶ Ζέφυρον [*Il.* Ψ 194], ἵνα καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον ὄχημα διὰ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς αὐτῶν κινήσεως τύχη τῆς πρεπούσης θεραπείας, καὶ τὸ τούτου θειότερον ἀφανῶς καθαρῇ καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποκαταστή λήξιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀερίων καὶ τῶν σεληναίων καὶ τῶν ἡλιακῶν αὐγῶν ἀνελκόμενον, ὥς πού φησὶν τις τῶν θεῶν, καὶ πάννυχος ἐπισπένδειν παραδέδοται τῇ πυρᾷ· *Procl. In R.* 1.152.12–19).

Proclus also analyses the symbolism of the manifestation of the vehicle, the golden crater, the libation offerings and the fire, “when the poet all but

βρότειον, “Save also the mortal covering of the bitter matter”; and *Fr.* 158: Οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς ὕλης σκύβαλον κρημνῷ καταλείψεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδῶλῳ μερὶς εἰς τόπον ἀμφιφάοντα. “You will not leave behind the dung of matter on a cliff, but there is also a place for the image in a region visible in light all round.” On mortal and immortal elements of the soul see *Procl. Ti.* 111.234.32–235.9: τρίτοι δὲ αὐ εἰσιν οἱ πάσαν φθορὰν ἀνελόντες ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ὀχήματος καὶ τῆς ἀλογίας καὶ εἰς ταῦτὸν ἄγοντες τὴν τε τοῦ ὀχήματος διαμονὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀλόγου καὶ τὸ θνητὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ σωματοειδὲς καὶ περὶ τὴν ὕλην ἐπτοημένον καὶ ἐπιμελούμενον τῶν θνητῶν ἐξηγούμενοι, ὡς Ἰάμβλιχος οἶεται καὶ ὅσοι τούτῳ συνάδδιν ἀξιούσι, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀπὸ τῶν σωματῶν τῶν θείων αὐτῷ διδόντες τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἵνα δὴ γενόμενον ἐκ κινουμένων αἰτίων καὶ μεταβλητὸν ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν τῶν τὸν κόσμον κατευθυνόντων καὶ πάντα διαιωνίως ποιούντων. On τὸ φαινόμενον ὄχημα and the disputed phrase τὸ τούτου θειότερον ἀφανῶς καθαρῇ see also discussion in Lewy (1978) 184–185, Sheppard (1980) 76–77, and Baltzly, Finamore and Miles (2018) 266, n. 290. Also, Dodds (1933) 319–320. On Achilles’ ritual activities and the theurgical practises see also Miles (2022) 877–888.

131 On λήξιν as the “assigned sphere” see *LSJ*, e.g. *Jul. Or.* 6.8.9–10: Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θείαν λήξιν πορευθέντων εὐφημεῖν ἐθέλων πείθομαι ...; *Lib. Or.* 12.36: τούτῳ γὰρ δὴ τιμᾷ τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λήξιν ...

132 See also similar invocation to “Ether, Sun, pneuma of the moon, leaders of the air /winds” (*Procl. In Ti.* 111.61.16) and “streams of the air /winds” (111.61.19) in the Chaldaean fragment *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 61 of a hymn/invocation quoted in *Procl. In Ti.* 111.61.12–25: αἰθέριός τε δρόμος καὶ μήνης ἀπλετος ὁρμή, φησὶν, ἡέριοι τε ῥοαί. καὶ πάλιν· αἰθήρ ἦλιν πνεῦμα σελήνης ἡέρος ἄγροι. καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις· ἡλιακῶν τε κύκλων καὶ μηναίων καναχισμῶν κόλπων τ’ ἡέριων. καὶ ἐξ ἧς· αἰθήρης μέρος ἡελίου τε καὶ μήνης ὀχετῶν ἡδ’ ἡέρος. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· καὶ πλατὺς ἄρ’ μηναιὸς τε δρόμος καὶ ἀείπολος ἡελίοιο.

133 On the theurgical ascending of the separated soul see *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 110: “Δίξο <καὶ> ψυχῆς ὀχετόν, ὅθεν ἔν τιτι τάξει σώματι θητεύσας’ <ὑπέβη καὶ πῶς> ἐπὶ τάξιν αὐθις ἀναστήσεις, ἱερῷ λόγῳ ἔργον ἐνώσας.” In relation to the assistance of the angels and role of the fire in the soul’s ascending see *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 122: ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων μερὶς πῶς ἀνάγει ψυχὴν; “τὴν ψυχὴν φέγγουσα πυρὶ ...”, “how does the class of angels make the soul to ascend? ‘by making the soul shining with fire’” and *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 123: ... πνεύματι θερμῷ κουφίζουσα ... “lightening [the soul] with warm pneuma”; on hymns and prayers for the ascending of the soul see *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 131 and 140.

proclaims to us that Achilles' ritual was about the soul of his friend and not only about the manifested vehicle (*ochêma*), and that all [the rituals] have been undertaken symbolically by him [Achilles]. The golden crater¹³⁴ is also a symbol of the spring of the souls, and the libation is the symbol of influence from there conducting a better life for the divided soul, and the fire is the symbol of the immaculate purity¹³⁵ which can lead away from the bodies to the unseen." (μονονουχὶ κηρύττοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ ποιητοῦ, καὶ ὅτι περὶ τὴν τοῦ φίλου ψυχὴν ἢ πραγματεία τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ τὸ φαινόμενον μόνον, καὶ ὅτι πάντα συμβολικῶς αὐτῷ παρείληπται, καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς κρατὴρ τῆς πηγῆς τῶν ψυχῶν, καὶ ἡ σπονδὴ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπορροίας κρεῖττονα ζωὴν ἐποχετευσούσης τῇ μερικῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ ἡ πυρὰ τῆς ἀχράντου καθαρότητος τῆς εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς περιάγειν ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων δυναμένης· Procl. *In R.* 1.152.23–153.2).

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* mentions that the Athenaic souls receive "their vehicles" (τὰ ὀχήματα) by Hephaestus, "But the Athenaic souls actually, according to this activity of Hephaestus, receive their vehicles from him, and are housed in bodies created by the principles of Hephaestus and earth, principles that have received Athenaic *synthêmata*. For this is the initiator god who gives bodies their pre-natural perfection, imposing on different bodies different symbols of the divine." (αἱ δὲ Ἀθηναϊκαὶ ψυχαὶ μάλιστα κατὰ ταύτην τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὴν ἐνέργειαν δέχονται τὰ ὀχήματα παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσοικίζονται ἐν σώμασιν ἐκ τῶν Ἡφαίστου λόγων καὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστάσιν, τῶν λόγων Ἀθηναϊκὰ συνθήματα λαβόντων· οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πρὸ τῆς φύσεως τελεστής τῶν σωμάτων ἄλλοις ἄλλα σύμβολα τῶν θεῶν ἐπιτιθεῖς. Procl. *Ti.* 1.144.12–18).

Proclus also quoting the *Chaldaean Oracle* 130¹³⁶ writes about strong fires coming down from the father and nourishing the soul, "Thus, wherefore also the souls by perceiving the works of the father, 'flee the ruthless wing of allotted fate,' as the oracle says; 'and remain in god, drawing on the strong fires coming down from the father; from these [fires], the soul harvests the soul-nourished flower of the fiery fruits as they are descending.'" (διὸ καὶ νοήσασαι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς μοίρης †εἰμαρμένης¹³⁷ τὸ πτερὸν φεύγουσιν ἀναιδές, ὥς φησι τὸ λόγιον [*Orac.*

134 Hom. *Il.* 23.218–221: δὲ δὲ πάννηχος ὥκὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς χρυσέου ἐκ κρητῆρος, ἐλὼν δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον οἶνον ἀφυσσόμενος χαμάδις χέει, δεῦε δὲ γαίαν, ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο. See also Procl. *In R.* 1.152.20–21.

135 On purity and the purification ritual see Comm.: Sect. 6.6–8.a on purification rituals below.

136 Des Places (1971).

137 †εἰμαρμένης Kroll (1906) 111: 266; †εἰμαρμένης *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 54 Kroll (1894) 54, c.f. esp. n. 1 on εἰμαρτόν; cod. εἰμαρτόν πτερὸν ἐκφεύγουσιν; but εἰμαρτῆς *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 130 Des Places (1971) 98, which reads better for metrical reasons.

Chald. Fr. 54]· ἐν δὲ θεῷ κεῖνται πυρσοὺς ἔλκουσαι ἀκμαίους ἐκ πατρόθεν κατιόντας, ἀφ' ὧν ψυχὴ κατιόντων ἐμπυρίων δρέπεται καρπῶν ψυχοτρόφον ἄνθος. *Procl. Ti.* III.266.18–23/ *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 130. 1–6¹³⁸).

The emperor Julian also in his fifth Oration “On the Mother of Gods” mentions the Chaldaean ascent of the soul through its initiation to the theurgic mystery related to the seven-rayed god, “If I was to engage in the secret mystery in which the Chaldaean was initiated in bacchic frenzy concerning the seven-rayed god, causing the ascent of the souls though his agency [the Chaldaean’s], I should say unknown things, unknown especially to the mob, but known to the blessed theurgists.” (Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρρήτου μυσταγωγίας ἀψαίμην, ἣν ὁ Χαλδαῖος περὶ τὸν ἐπτάκτινα θεὸν ἐβάκχευσεν ἀνάγων δι’ αὐτοῦ τὰς ψυχάς, ἄγνωστα ἐρῶ, καὶ μάλα γε ἄγνωστα τῷ συρφετῷ, θεουργοῖς δὲ τοῖς μακαρίοις γνώριμα· διόπερ αὐτὰ σιωπήσω τανῦν. *Jul. Or.* 5.12.28–33).

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic* refers to the hieratic words,¹³⁹ which aim at separating the soul from the body in the theurgic ritual of the ascent of the soul, “for the hieratic words/teachings accomplish this, separating the souls from the bodies, ... producing to the souls the absolute activity of the bodies and the release of the natural bonds” (καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱερατικοὶ λόγοι τοῦτο δρῶσιν, χωρίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς ψυχάς, ... ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς τὴν ἀπόλυτον τῶν σωμάτων προξενούντες ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν φυσικῶν δεσμῶν *Procl. In R.* II.119.5–9).¹⁴⁰

Moreover, Plato earlier in *Phaedo* presents the separation of the soul from the bonds of the body as part of the purification ritual, “Is this not purification consequently, exactly as was said in our discourse some time ago, namely, to separate the soul from the body as far as possible and to accustom it to assemble and gather itself together out of every part of the body, and to dwell by itself as much as possible both now and hereafter, released, just as from the bonds of the body?” (Κάθαρσις δὲ εἶναι ἄρα οὐ τοῦτο συμβαίνει, ὅπερ πάλαι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λέγεται, τὸ χωρίζειν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἐθίσαι αὐτὴν καθ’ αὐτὴν πανταχόθεν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος συναγείρεσθαι τε καὶ ἀθροίζεσθαι, καὶ οἰκεῖν κατὰ τὸ

138 Des Places (1971) 98; Majercik (1989) 98.

139 See also *Procl. In R.* II.66.13–14: “the hieratic way of invocations,” <ὁ> ἱερατικὸς τρόπος τῆς ἀγωγῆς.

140 Regarding the ascent of the soul and the role of the vehicle see also *Procl. In R.* II.154.17–26: καὶ γὰρ οἱ τῇδε τελεστικοὶ τάξεώς εἰσι τοιαύτης· θέει ἄγγελος ἐν δυνάμει ζῶν, φησὶν τὸ λόγιον, ὅστις ἐστὶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἱερατικὸς· γίνεται οὖν ἐπόπτης μὲν τῶν ἀφανῶν, ἄγγελος δὲ τοῖς ἐμφανέσιν ὁ αὐτός· διόπερ αὐτὸν οἱ δικασταὶ κελεύουσιν ὁρᾶν τὰ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ πάντα καὶ ἀκούειν, τόπον μὲν δῆπου τοῦ μύθου λέγοντος τὸν παρὰ τοῖς δικασταῖς· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ὡς ἐκ περιωπῆς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καθορᾶν, τὰ μὲν ἀσώματα τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις ὁμασιν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ δὲ σωματικά τοῖς τοῦ αὐγοειδοῦς ὀρήματός.

δυνατὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔπειτα μόνῃ καθ' αὐτήν, ἐκλυομένην ὥσπερ [ἐκ] δεσμῶν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος; Pl. *Phd.* 67c.5–67d.2).

**2.13.d. “The Transmission of Fire”: Fire and the Immortalisation
Ritual in Magic Rituals and the Chaldaean Oracles**

In the invocation (*PGM* IV.485–537) which contains an immortalisation ritual (*apathanatismos*) and is part of the so-called “Mithras Liturgy” (*PGM* IV.475–829, IV CE)—c.f. ἀθανασίαν ἀξιῶ IV.477, ὁ ἀπαθανατισμὸς οὗτος IV.748—the magician prays to the origin (γένεσις and ἀρχή)¹⁴¹ and to the four elements (πνεῦμα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ and οὐσία γεώδης, IV.485–494), with fire, πῦρ described as “the sacred fire” (τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ, IV.512) and “fire, given by god to my mixture of the mixtures in me” (πῦρ, τὸ εἰς ἐμὴν κράσιν τῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ κράσεων θεοδωρητον, IV.490–491).¹⁴² The aim of the immortalisation ritual is: “in order that I may oversee the immortal principle (τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχήν) with the immortal spirit ... with the immortal water ... with the firmest air ... in order that I may be born again in thought ... and the sacred spirit may breathe in me ... in order that I may marvel at the sacred fire (τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ) ... in order that I may gaze upon the unfathomable, frightful water of the dawn ... and the life-giving and encompassing ether may hear me” (ἵνα ... ἐποπτεύσω τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀρχήν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ πνεύματι ... τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ὕδατι ... τῷ στερεωτάτῳ ἀέρι ... ἵνα νοήματι μεταγεν(ν)ηθῶ ... καὶ πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πνεῦμα ... ἵνα θαυμάσω τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ ... ἵνα θεάσωμαι τὸ ἄβυσσον τῆς ἀνατολῆς φορικτὸν ὕδωρ¹⁴³ ... καὶ ἀκούσῃ μου ὁ ζωογόνος καὶ περιεχόμενος αἰθήρ, IV.502–515).¹⁴⁴

In the “Mithras Liturgy” (*PGM* IV.474–829) also the initiated magician tutors his fellow initiate about the elevation of his soul and the moment his soul is in the air and the divine order of the heaven is revealed, “Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up three times as much as you can, and you will see yourself

141 *PGM* IV.485 ff.: [Γ]ένεσις πρώτη τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως ... ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς(ς) πρώτη.

142 Betz supports the notion that the reference to the four elements here implies influences from the Pre-Socratics and, particularly, Empedocles, and from Stoic cosmology. On the four elements and κράσις see the discussion in Betz (2003) 105 and 107–108. Also, Dieterich (1891) 57–60 and 83 ff.; Dieterich (1966) 55, 58 ff., 78 ff.; Merkelbach and Totti (1992) Vol. III: 234; Kingsley (1996) 374–375.

143 The reference to φορικτὸν ὕδωρ, “frightful water” may allude to the phrase of the Orphic gold tablets ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, “frigid water”, as for example: ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ (*l.* -ωρ) (12) in the Orphic gold tablet from Hipponion (400 BCE), ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ (9) in the Orphic gold tablet from Petelia (4th c. BCE), [ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ] (14) in the Orphic gold tablet from Entella (3rd c. BCE); and ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ (5) in the Orphic gold tablet from Pharsalos (350–300 BCE). Graf and Johnston (2007).

144 Betz following Dieterich argues for Stoic influences on the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829). Betz (2003) 89–90, 114 ff., 118; Dieterich (1966).

being lifted up and ascending in regard to the height, so that you seem to be in the middle of the air. You will hear of neither a man, nor any other living thing, nor will you see anything of mortals on earth in that hour, but you will see all immortal things. For you will see the divine position [setting] of that day and hour, the presiding [planetary] gods ascending to heaven, and others descending. Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk, my father, god; and similarly, the so-called pipe, the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see it hanging from the sun's disk like a pipe." (ἔλκε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων πνεῦμα γ' ἀνασπῶν, ὃ δύνει[σ]ται, καὶ ὄψῃ σεαυτὸν ἀνακουφίζόμενον [κ]αὶ ὑπερβαίνοντα εἰς ὕψος, ὥστε σε δοκεῖ[ν μ]έσον τοῦ ἀέρος εἶναι. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἀκούσει [ο]ὔτε ἀνθρώπου οὔτε ζώου ἄλλ<ου>, οὐδὲ ὄψῃ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς θνητῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, πάντα δὲ ὄψῃ ἀθάνατα· ὄψῃ γάρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς ὥρας θείαν θέσιν, τοὺς πολεύοντας ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεοὺς, ἄλλους δὲ καταβαίνοντας. ἡ δὲ πορεία τῶν ὀρωμένων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρός μου, θεοῦ, φανήσεται, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργούντος ἀνέμου· ὄψῃ γάρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ὡς αὐλὸν κρεμάμενον. *PGM IV.538–551*).

At that moment the fellow initiate is instructed in the following words, "and do you put immediately your right finger on your mouth and say: 'silence, silence, silence, symbol of living, incorruptible god; silence, guard me ...'" (σιγή, σιγή, σιγή, σύμβολον θεοῦ ζώντος ἀφθάρτου· φύλαξόν με, σιγὴ νεχθεῖρ θανμελου' *PGM IV.558–561*).¹⁴⁵

Thus, the concepts of "sacred fire," "immortal principle" and "principle of fire" in the "Mithras Liturgy" (*PGM IV.475–829*) reflect Chaldaean influences. In regard to the concept of fire, the cosmos in the Chaldaean system is divided into three world-circles, "the empyrean, the ethereal and the hylic" (<πυρὴ γ' ἡδ' αἰθερίη καὶ ὑλώδης>), *Orac. Chald. Fr. 76.3 / Dam. In Prm. 11.59.23–25, 88.3–5*).¹⁴⁶ The "paternal Nous," Νοὺς πατρός in the doctrine of the *Chaldaean Oracles* created the "many-formed ideas" (παμμόρφους ἰδέας, *Fr. 37.1–2 / Procl. In Prm. 800.20–801.5*), or the "primordial ideas" (ἀρχεγόνους ἰδέας, *Fr. 37.15 / Procl. In Prm. 800.20–801.5*). These primordial ideas, identified with the triadic principles,¹⁴⁷ were separated into "other noetic" ideas (εἰς ἄλλας νοεράς)¹⁴⁸ after

145 On silence as the symbol of the god see Betz (2003) 147–148; on secrecy in the Greek magical papyri see Betz (1995) 153–175.

146 *Orac. Chald. Fr. 76.1–3 / Dam. In Prm. 11.59.23–25, 88.3–5*; Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ αἶδε ἐπεμβαίνουσι φαινοῖς κόσμοις ἐνθρῶσκουσαι· ἐν αἷς ἀκρότητες ἔασιν τρεῖς· <πυρὴ γ' ἡδ' αἰθερίη καὶ ὑλώδης>; on the three worlds see also Lewy (1978) 137–157 and n. 270.

147 See *Orac. Chald. Fr. 40.1 / Dam. In Prm. 11.200.23–24*: ἀρχάς, αἱ πατρός ἔργα ...; and *Orac. Chald. Fr. 49.3 / Procl. In Ti. 111.14.3–10*: πάσαις πηγαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς.

148 See also ἔννοιαι νοεραῖ, "noetic thoughts" (*Orac. Chald. Fr. 37.13 / Procl. In Prm. 800.20–801.5*).

having been divided “by noetic fire” (νοερῶ πυρί, *Fr.* 37.4–5 / Procl. *In Prm.* 800.20–801.5).¹⁴⁹ Elsewhere in the *Chaldaean Oracles* there is a similar reference to the “fiery nous” (πύριον νοῦν, *Fr.* 128.1 / Psel. PG 122.1140b1–2), the “flower of fire” (πυρὸς ἄνθος, *Fr.* 37.14 / Procl. *In Prm.* 800.20–801.5).¹⁵⁰

Moreover, the concept of ἀρχή, addressed in the “Mithras Liturgy” (*PGM* IV.475–829), is also attested in the *Chaldaean Oracles* as “of the paternal principle” (πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς, *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 13.1 / Psel. PG 122.1145d7), “from Zeus’ principle” (ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχῆς, *Fr.* 215.3 / Lyd. *De Mens.* IV.101, 141.2–11), “principal source” (κρηνῆϊος ἀρχῆς, *Fr.* 74.1 / Dam. *In Prm.* II.206.11), or “the three-winged principle” (as τὴν τρίπτερον ἀρχήν, *Fr.* 168.1 / Procl. *In Crat.* 96.18–19). This three-winged principle evidently refers to the triadic Monad of the Chaldaean system (Μουνάδα γὰρ σε τριούχον ἰδὼν ἐσεβάσασατο κόσμος, *Fr.* 26.1 / Lyd. *De Mens.* II.6, 23.12), according to which, “for the Triad shines in every world, which the Monad rules,” Παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριάς, ἥς μονὰς ἄρχει (*Fr.* 27.1 / Dam. *De Pr.* I.87.3, II.87.14).¹⁵¹

Πῦρ (fire) and ἀρχή (principle) are also important in the hymn “To Helios” (*PGM* IV.939–948) included in the “*Systasis*-prayer that produces direct vision (of the divinity invoked)” (“Αὐτοπτος σύστασις” *PGM* IV.930–1114, IV CE). In this hymn, Helios is invoked as φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή, “nature and principle of fire” (IV.939).¹⁵² In a fragment of the *Chaldaean Oracles* fire is also associated to the sun as “fire of the sun,” τὸ ἡλιακὸν πῦρ (*Fr.* 58 / Procl. *In R.* II.220.14–15).

Furthermore, fire is associated to Helios in another spell, *PGM* IV.959–973, also included in the “*Systasis*-prayer that produces direct vision [of the divinity invoked]” (*PGM* IV.930–1114). Helios here is described as πυριφεγγή, “fire-

149 For comments on *Fr.* 37 see Lewy (1978) 109–117.

150 Also, in *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 34.2, *Fr.* 35.3, *Fr.* 42.3. Also, the “flower of nous” (νόου ἄνθος, *Fr.* 49.2 / Procl. *In Ti.* III.14.3–10). The second Nous is described as the “artificer of the fiery world,” ὁ κόσμου τεχνίτης πυρίου; *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 5.1–4: οὐ γὰρ ἐς ὕλην πῦρ ἐπέκεινα τὸ πρῶτον ἐὼν δύναμιν κατακλείει ἔργοις ἀλλὰ νόῳ· νοῦ γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμου τεχνίτης πυρίου.

151 See also *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 73.1–3 / Dam. *In Prm.* II.217.8–10: Ἐν τούτοις ἱερὸς πρῶτος δρόμος, ἐν δ’ ἄρα μέσσω ἡέριος, τρίτος ἄλλος δὲ ἐν πυρὶ τὴν χθόνα θάλλει. Ἀρχαίς γὰρ τρισὶ ταῖσδε λάβροις δουλεύει ἅπαντα; Des Places (1971). See also discussion on the ideas in Lewy (1978) 105–117 and n. 164.

152 The papyrus actually reads φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή. Herwerden (1888) retains φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή of the papyrus. But, Dieterich (1891) emends it to φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί, “die Zauberzeichen des Feuers,” having ἀρχαί in plural and taking φυσικαί as an adjective, thus giving a later interpretation to it as meaning magical. Preisendanz (1928) I: 104–105; Preisendanz (1973) vol. I: 104–105. Herwerden (1888) 316–347, at 322–323. Dieterich, (1891) 51, n. 2 and 97, n. 1. I have argued that the poetic invocation to φύσι καὶ πυρὸς ἀρχή (IV.939) of the papyrus should not be emended to φυσικαὶ πυρὸς ἀρχαί, as Dieterich suggests and as Preisendanz adopts in his edition. Pachoumi (2014).

blazing” and ἀόρατον φωτὸς γεννήτορα, “invisible begetter of light” (IV.960).¹⁵³ The adjective πυριφεγγής is also used in the *Orphica* as an adjective to Helios (e.g. πυριφεγγέος Ἡελίοιο, *Orph. A.* 214).¹⁵⁴ It is also used by Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus* (e.g. σῶμα δέ οἱ πυριφεγγές ἀπείριτον ἀστυφέλικτον ... Procl. *In Ti.* II.45-7), and in feminine plural in Proclus’ *Hymn* “To Aphrodite” (e.g. πυριφεγγέας αὐλάς, 2.6).

Fire’s assimilation to Helios is established by the ritual of “light bringing” (φωταγωγία, IV.955) included in the spell “*Systasis*-prayer that produces direct vision,” which involves the instilling of the god as part of the ritual of “filling with divine spirit,” ἐνπνευμάτωσις of the lamp. Helios, the fire-blazing, invisible, begetter of light is invoked to, “rouse your daemon and enter into this fire and fill it (the daemon) with divine spirit” (διέγειρόν σου τὸν δαίμονα καὶ εἴσέλθε ἐν τῷ πυρὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐνπνευμάτωσον αὐτὸν θείου πνεύματος, IV.964–966).¹⁵⁵ The divine spirit of Helios may also reflect influences from Zoroastrian religion, since according to Zarathustra, God, Ahura Mazda, and his Holy Spirit, Spenta Mainyu, are one factor of the Zoroastrian Heptad.¹⁵⁶ Fire was also an important element in the Zoroastrian cults.¹⁵⁷ The ritual of fire in the ritual of *phōtagōgia*, “light bringing,” may also allude to the Zoroastrian fire-cult.¹⁵⁸

3. The Lotus, the Sun, and the Stones

3.1. Ὁ Λωτός, “The Lotus,” and ὁ Ἥλιος, “the Sun”

The Greek magical papyri illustrate the association between the lotus and the Egyptian young Sun god Harpocrates. For example, in the “Spell to bring the

153 In the spell IV.587–616 included in the “Mithras Liturgy” (IV.475–829) Aion is invoked and described with many πυρι- composite epithets, e.g. πυρίπολε, πυρίπνοε, πυρίθυμε, πυριχαρῆ, πυρισώματε, πυρισπόρε, πυρικλόνε, πυριδίνα, πυρισχησίφως (IV.591–602); see also IV.520–522: τὸν ἀθάνατον Αἰῶνα καὶ δεσπότην τῶν πυρίνων διαδημάτων. Similarly, Marinus in *Proclus* uses the epithets πυρισμαράγου (for θιασεῖης), Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28.693 (also in Theoc. *Syrinx* 8); and πυρσοέλικτος, Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28.697.

154 Abel (1885). In relation to Helios see Nonn. *D.* 38.85–86: καὶ πάλιν ἀντέλλων πυριφεγγέος ὑψόθι δίφρου/Ἡέλιος ζοφόρσεσαν ἀπηκόντιζεν ὁμίχλην. See also *Hymn. Orph.* 52.9: πυριφεγγές; and *Orph. L.* 173: πυριφεγγέος ἀμβρότου αἴγλης.

155 On ἐνπνευμάτωσις see Pachoumi (2017) 20, n. 57, 45 with n. 65, 58, 84 with 110, 128 with n. 336. Also, cf. Pachoumi (2011b) 729–740, at 736, n. 25.

156 Cf. Boyce (1984) 12–15, 37, 40.

157 Boyce (1984) 10, 48–50, 61–63; and Boyce (1979) 3–6, 12.

158 Kroll followed by Bidez and Cumont supports the view that the Chaldaean theurgists were influenced by the Zoroastrian fire-cult; see Kroll (1894) 68; Bidez (1930) 75; Bidez

god" ("θεαγωγὸς λόγος" *PGM* IV.985–1035), included in the "Spell that produces direct vision [of the divinity invoked]" (Αὐτοπτος *PGM* IV.930–1114), the magician assimilates Helios with "the greatest god (τὸν μέγιστον θεόν), lord Horus Harpocrates," "god of gods (θεὸ θεῶν)," whom he invokes.¹⁵⁹ Helios is described as "the one who enlightens everything and illuminates by his own power the whole cosmos" (IV.989–991).¹⁶⁰ In the hymn "To Helios" (*PGM* IV.939–948) Helios is described as "gathering up the clover of the golden bean" (IV.941) and identified with Harpocrates, "the god seated on a lotus, decorated with rays," as he is described at the moment of his expected revelation to the magician (IV.1107–1108).¹⁶¹ Harpocrates, the Egyptian young Sun god, is often depicted in the magical papyri and in magical amulets of the late Hellenistic and Roman period as a naked child seated on a lotus flower or in a boat, representing the rising sun. The rise of the sun was also represented with the young child Harpocrates seated on the lotus cup.¹⁶²

Porphry in *Epistula ad Anebonem* describes the two images of the sun, as "the one sitting on the lotus, and sailing in the ships," as discussed above by Iamblichus and illustrated in the magical papyri examples. (λέγουσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λωτῷ καθήμενον καὶ ἐπὶ πλοίου ναυτιλλόμενον. Porph. *Aneb.* 2.9a.2).

Iamblichus in *De Mysteries* VII, referring to the "intellectual interpretation of the symbols according to the Egyptian thought" (*Iamb. Myst.* VII.2.250.10–11), explains the symbolism of sitting on a lotus: "For sitting on a lotus implies pre-eminence over the mud, without ever touching the mud, and also displays intellectual and empyrean leadership" (Τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθέζεσθαι ὑπεροχὴν τε ὑπὲρ τὴν ἰλὺν αἰνίττεται μὴ ψάουσιν μηδαμῶς τῆς ἰλῦος, καὶ ἡγεμονίαν νοερὰν καὶ ἐμπύριον ἐπιδείκνυται *Iamb. Myst.* VII.2.251.14–252.2).

Furthermore, Iamblichus explicates the parallelism between the sun's power over the cosmos and the symbolism of sailing in a ship: "The one who sails in the ship represents the rule that governs the world. Just as the steersman mounts on the ship, being separate from its rudders, so the sun, separately from the tillers, mounts upon the whole world" ('Ο δ' ἐπὶ πλοίου ναυτιλλόμενος τὴν διακυβερνῶσαν τὸν κόσμον ἐπικράτειαν παρίστησιν. "Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ κυβερνήτης χωριστὸς

and Cumont (1938) I: 161. For the plausibility of that supposition and on possible Stoic influences see discussion in Lewy (1978) 429, n. 104 and 430, n. 105.

159 E.g. *PGM* IV.987–988, 999–1000, 1048–1049.

160 For this cosmic depiction of Harpocrates in the Greco-Roman period see El-Kachab (1971) 132–145; also Bonner (1950) plates IX–X.

161 See also *PGM* II.102–103: ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθήμενος καὶ λαμπυρίζων τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην.

162 See also *PGM* II.106–107: ὥς[περ ἔ]χεις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρεσι μορφὴν νηπίου παιδὸς ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθημένου. See Plu. *De Is. et Os.* 355B; Bonner (1950) 140–147, pls. IX–X; El-Kachab (1971) 132–145; Betz (1986) 68; cf. also *PDM* XIV.45.

ὡν τῆς νεῶς τῶν πηδαλίων αὐτῆς ἐπιβέβηκεν, οὕτω χωριστῶς ὁ ἥλιος τῶν οἰάκων τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἐπιβέβηκεν Iamb. *Myst.* VII.2.252.8–10).¹⁶³

In the spell *PGM* III.98–124, included in *PGM* III.1–164, “the greatest Mithras” (III.100–101) is associated with Helios, addressed as “the holy king, the sailor, who controls the tiller of the great god” (III.102–103 and 81–82). This description must refer to the daily solar sea journey on the boat of the Egyptian sun god Re.¹⁶⁴

Psellus in *Philosophica Minora* I (Duffy 1992) *Opusculum* 16.30 uses a simile of lotus, “just as the lotus during the turning of the sun” (ὥσπερ ὁ λωτὸς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φωστήρος περιστροφὴν 16.30),¹⁶⁵ and “just as the plant lotus is a solar one, thus when the sun rises, the lotus opens its petals, and when it sets, it closes” (ὥσπερ ὁ λωτὸς τὸ φυτὸν ἡλιακὸς ἐστὶ, ὅθεν ἀνατέλλοντι μὲν τῷ φωστῆρι ἐξαπλοῖ τὰ φύλλα, δύνοντι δὲ συστέλλει, 16.228–230).

3.8–16. *The Stones Ἡλίτης, Hêlîtês, “Sunstone,” Σεληνίτης, Selênîtês, “Moonstone,” and Ἡλιοσέληνος, Hêlioselênos “Sun-moonstone”*

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus* discusses the dependence of particular stones and plants on the power of Helios, “For whether the god is unmoved, or a demiurge or a life-generator, some reflection of the special character of the one that has obtained it is conveyed to all the souls assigned beneath it. What is there to be amazed at, when the individual nature of the guardian gods has reached down even as far as plant and stone, and there is a plant and stone *dependent on the power of Helios*, whether you would like to call them *heliotrope* or in any other way whatever?” (εἴτε γὰρ ἄτρεπτος ὁ θεὸς εἴτε δημιουργὸς εἴτε ζωογονικὸς, ἥκει τις ἔμφασις τῆς ιδιότητος τοῦ λαχόντος ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς ὑποτεταγμένας αὐτῷ ψυχάς. καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, ὅπου καὶ μέχρι πῶς καὶ λίθων ἢ τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἐφόρων ιδιότης καθήκει, καὶ ἔστι λίθος καὶ πῶς τῆς Ἡλιακῆς ἐξηρηγμένη δυνάμεως, εἴτε ἡλιοτρόπιον εἴτε ἄλλως ὅπως οὖν καλεῖν ἐθέλοις; Procl. *In Ti.* I.111.7–13).

In the *Elements of Theology* Proclus associates souls, animals, plants and stones with purifying deities and powers and explains that the stone shares in purifying power only corporeally, “So I say that if, for example, there is a purify-

163 On a similar parallelism of Helios see also Porph. *On Stat.* 10.7–10: “Ἡλιον δὲ σημαίνουνσι ποτὲ μὲν δι’ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιβεβηκότος πλοῖον, τοῦ πλοίου ἐπὶ κροκοδείλου κειμένου. Δηλοὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν πλοῖον τὴν ἐν ὑγρῷ κίνησιν· ὁ δὲ κροκόδειλος πότιμον ὕδωρ, ἐν ᾧ φέρεται ὁ ἥλιος. Ἐσημαίνετο τοίνυν ὁ ἥλιος δι’ ἄερος ὑγροῦ καὶ γλυκέος τὴν περιπόλησιν ποιεῖσθαι. Bidez (1913) 19 in Appendices.

164 See Betz (1986) 21.

165 Duffy (1992) Vol. I: 48.

ing deity, then there will be purification in souls, animals, plants and stones" (... λέγω δὲ οἷον εἴ τις ἔστι θεότης καθαρτική, καὶ ἐν ψυχαῖς ἔστι κάθαρσις καὶ ἐν ζώοις καὶ ἐν φυτοῖς καὶ ἐν λίθοις: Procl. *Inst.* 145.7–9).¹⁶⁶ Also, "The stone participates in the purifying power only corporeally, the plant in an even clearer way, vitally, the animal possesses this form in appetite too, the rational soul, rationally, the intelligence, intellectually, the gods supra-existentially and in unity" (καὶ ὁ μὲν λίθος μετέχει τῆς καθαρτικῆς δυνάμεως σωματικῶς μόνον, τὸ δὲ φυτὸν ἔτι τρανέστερον κατὰ τὴν ζωὴν, τὸ δὲ ζῶον ἔχει καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο, ψυχὴ δὲ λογικὴ λογικῶς, νοῦς δὲ νοερῶς, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ὑπερουσίως καὶ ἐνιαίως: Procl. *Inst.* 145.11–15).¹⁶⁷

Earlier, Plato in *Phaedo* refers to the beauty and purity of stones, "also these precious stones here are [our] loved pieces, such as cornelians and jaspers and emeralds and all of that kind. And there is nothing of that kind and even more beautiful than these stones. The reason is *that there they are pure*, not eaten up or destroyed like these here by decay and brine by those things which have flowed together in here, which bring ugliness and disease upon stones and earth and other animals and plants." (ὦν καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε λιθίδια εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαπώμενα μόρια, σάρδιὰ τε καὶ ἰάσπιδας καὶ σμαράγδους καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ τοιοῦτον εἶναι καὶ ἔτι τούτων καλλίω. τὸ δ' αἴτιον τούτου εἶναι ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι οἱ λίθοι εἰσὶ καθαροὶ καὶ οὐ κατεδηδεσμένοι οὐδὲ διεφθαρμένοι ὥσπερ οἱ ἐνθάδε ὑπὸ σηπεδόνος καὶ ἄλμης ὑπὸ τῶν δεῦρο συνερρυηκότων, ἃ καὶ λίθοις καὶ γῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις τε καὶ φυτοῖς αἴσχη τε καὶ νόσους παρέχει. Pl. *Phd* 110.d.7–e.6). Plato's observation here about pure stones cannot, of course, reflect the extent of Proclus' theurgic notion of the purifying power of stones in theurgic rituals.

Psellus in *Philosophica Minora* I (Duffy 1992)¹⁶⁸ *Opusculum* 16 uses a simile of the luminaries as images of the cosmos and their secret *synthēmata*, "Just as the sun and the moon and all the stars in heaven are images of the first cosmos and keep secret *synthēmata* of that [cosmos]" ("Ὡσπερ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστρα εἰκόνες εἰσὶ τοῦ πρώτου κόσμου καὶ ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖνου συνθήματα

166 Dodds (1933) 128. On animals which imitate the heavenly form of the moon, such as the Egyptian Apis-bull and the moon-fish, see Procl. *In Prm.* 903.27–31: καὶ πολλὰ τῶν σεληνιακῶν ἡγεῖ σοι ζῶων θεωρία περὶ τὸν Ἄπιν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ τὸν σεληνίτην ἰχθύν, καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ζῶα τὰ μὲν ἄλλως, τὰ δὲ ἄλλως μιμούμενα τὸ οὐράνιον τῆς σελήνης εἶδος·

167 Dodds (1933) 128. See also Procl. *In R.* 1.183.11–22: ἐφεξῆς ὁ Σωκράτης ἀναδιδάσκει, τῇ λίθῳ χρώμενος ἐναργεστάτῳ παραδείγματι τῆς τελεωτάτης ἐκ τῶν Μουσῶν κατοκωχῆς, ἣν Ἡρακλείαν οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν. τί οὖν αὕτη ἡ λίθος ἀπεργάζεται; οὐ μόνον δὴ φησιν αὐτοὺς ἄγει πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τοὺς σιθηροὺς δακτυλίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ὅλκων τῶν ὁμοίων ἐντίθησιν, ὥστε ἄλλους ἄγειν δακτυλίους· καὶ πολλάκις φησιν ὁρμαθὸς δακτυλίων ἢ σιθηρίων ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἡρτῆται· πᾶσι δὲ ἄρα τούτοις ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς λίθου ἢ δύναμης ἐξήρτῆται. τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον τὰ τοσαῦτα πάθη περὶ τοὺς δακτυλίους συμβαίνει καὶ τίς ἡ τῆς λίθου δύναμις, οὐ πρόκειται λέγειν ἐν τούτοις·

168 Duffy (1992) Vol. I: 48.

κρύφια, 16.223–224). The other simile used by Psellus is between the solar plant lotus and the moonstone, “just as the plant lotus is solar, whence when the sun rises, the lotus opens its petals, and when it sets, it closes; so the moonstone keeps the *synthēmata* of the moon” (ὥσπερ ὁ λωτὸς τὸ φυτὸν ἡλιακός ἐστι, ὅθεν ἀνατέλλοντι μὲν τῷ φωστῆρι ἐξαπλοῖ τὰ φύλλα, δύνοντι δὲ συστέλλει, καὶ ὁ σεληνίτης δὲ λίθος σελήνης ἔχει συνθήματα *Opusc.* 16.228–231).

Psellus in his *Encomium in Matrem*, discussing the characteristics of the hieratic art (Ἱερατικὴν δὲ τέχνην οἶδα μὲν ἥτις ἐστὶν Psel. *Enc. Matr.* 1785), points out the role of stones and plants and unspoken [secret-sacred] powers (λίθοις δὲ καὶ πόαις δυνάμεις μὲν ἀρρήτους 1786). In *Philosophica Minora* I (Duffy 1992)¹⁶⁹ *Opusculum* 34 Psellus refers to the “powers of stones” (τῶν παρὰ τοῖς λίθοις δυνάμεων 34.105) and the “power and energy of each stone” (ἡ ἐκάστου τῶν λίθων δύναμις καὶ ἐνέργεια: *Opusc.* 34.109–110).

Moreover, in *Philosophica Minora* II (O’Meara 1989)¹⁷⁰ *Opusculum* 38 Psellus writes about the Chaldaean rituals of purification and ascension of the soul and the use of materials, such as stones and plants, and magic spells: “The Chaldaean also says no otherwise that we are elevated towards God, by empowering the vehicle of the soul through rituals that use materials; for he thinks that the soul is purified by stones, plants and spells, in order to run easily toward ascension” (ὁ δὲ Χαλδαῖος οὐκ ἄλλως φησὶν ἡμᾶς ἀνάγεσθαι πρὸς θεόν, εἰ μὴ δυναμώσομεν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄχημα διὰ τῶν ὑλικῶν τελετῶν· οἶεται γὰρ καθαίρεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν λίθοις καὶ πόαις καὶ ἐπωδαῖς, ὥς εὐτροχον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν. *Phil. Opusc.* II.38.10–14).

The following passages from Ficino’s *De Vita Triplici* book 3 on the moonstone, *selenite* and the sun-moonstone show influences from Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art* 1.10–12:

Ficino’s *De Vita Triplici* Book III.15.4–6:

Multo vero potentiores in serie Lunae lapillos narrat Proculus: primum quidem selinitim, qui non modo figura Lunam imitetur, sed et motu, circumbeatque cum Luna.

But Proclus recounts that in their series *the gems* of the Moon are much more powerful. The first of these is selenite, which imitates the Moon not only in shape but even in motion, for it turns with the Moon. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 314–315).

¹⁶⁹ Duffy (1992) Vol. I: 119.

¹⁷⁰ O’Meara (1989) Vol. II: 132.

Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III.15.10–12:

Alterum vero recenset lapillum helioselinon cognomento, qui Solis Lunaeque coniunctae Soli naturaliter habet imaginem.

But he lists another *gem*, helioselinon by name, which has on it by nature the image of the Sun and Moon in conjunction. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 314–315).

Marginal Notes by Ficino (Marginalia Ficini) of MS V (Vallicellianus) F 20, Fol. 138^v

In the margins of the bottom of MS V F 20, fol. 138^v, there is the following marginal note written by Ficino:

Sic si apponis pedi cerebralialia, trahit vim a cerebro; si cordialia a corde si epatica ab epate etc. Similiter si natura propria in homine deficiat, trahes vim ab hac stella vel illa appropinquando huic qua conveniat cum stella, maxime stella ingente.

Thus, if you apply cerebral objects to the foot, it draws/attracts power only from the brain; if [you apply] cardiac objects, [it draws power] from the heart; if hepatic objects, from the liver etc. Similarly, if a specific nature is deficient in a person, you draw/attract power from this star or another by bringing close to it that which fits the star, especially a star with enormous influence.

Ficino here accepts the theory of attraction between the heavenly (e.g. sun, moon and the stars) and earthly entities (e.g. plants, stones, animals etc.), as explored by Proclus, and uses an organic and medical analogy to explain it.

Marginal Notes by Ficino (*Marginalia Ficini*) of MS V (Vallicellianus) F 20, Fol. 139^r

In the margins of MS V F 20, fol. 139^r (lines 11–23 and the bottom of the folio), there is another marginal note written by Ficino:

Ego vidi lapillum rotundum et punctis quasi stellis insignitum qui aceto perfusus movebatur primo in rectum ali(qua)tenus, mox in girum oberrabat, quem credo firmamento esse accomodatum, maxime aceto perfusum. Oportet enim ibi quod natura incohavit arte compleri. Quid quod magnes convenit cum ursa et polo et illuc convertit ferrum, quod apparet in instrumento nautarum id polum explorandum? Unde imago ursae impressa

magneti [...] suspensa collo cum ferreo monili trah(eret) vim illius ad nos tangendo carnem?

I have seen a round stone marked with starlike dots, which, when soaked in vinegar, first moved in a straight line for a while, and soon wandered off in circle, which I believe was accommodated to the firmament, especially having been soaked in vinegar. For here it is necessary that art should complete that which nature has begun. Why does the magnet fit the Bear and the Pole? And why does it incline iron towards them, as in the sailors' instrument it appears to seek out the pole? Whence does an image of the Bear impressed on a magnet [...] hung about the neck on an iron necklace, draw/attract power from it [the constellation] to us, while touching the flesh?

Certain passages from Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* book 3 show influences from Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art*, such as Ficino's discussion on the powers of all the celestials and the sun, on images, on the sun, plants and gems, on lions and cocks, and on sunstone, moonstone and the sun-moonstone.¹⁷¹ The following passages from Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* book 3 illustrate such influences from Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art* to Ficino's treatise:

Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III.6.47–49:

In Sole certe omnes coelestium esse virtutes, non solum Iamblichus Iulianusque, sed omnes affirmant. Et Proculus ait ad Solis aspectum omnes omnium coelestium virtutes congregari in unum atque colligi.

That all the powers of the heavens are assuredly in the Sun, not only Iamblichus and Julian but all authorities affirm. And Proclus says that all the powers of all the celestials are gathered and collected into one in the presence of the visible Sun. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 266–267).

Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III.13.26–32:

Porphyrius quoque in epistola ad Anebonem imagines efficaces esse testatur, additque certis quibusdam vaporibus qui a propriis suffumigationibus

¹⁷¹ On magic and Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* book 3 see Kaske and Clark (1989) 45–55 and 426–460, esp. 441–443 on lotus and stones. Boer (1980) 181, also 137 and 96. Copenhaver (1988) 79–110.

exhalabant, aërios daemones insinuari statim consuevisse. Iamblichus in materiis quae naturaliter superis consentaneae sint et opportune riteque collectae undique conflataeque fuerint, vires effectusque non solum coelestes, sed etiam daemónicos et divinos suscipi posse confirmat. Idem omnino Proculus atque Synesius.

Porphry also in his *Letter to Anebo* testifies that images are efficacious; and he adds that by certain vapours arising from fumigations proper to them, aerial daemons would instantly be insinuated into them. Iamblichus confirms that in materials which are naturally akin to the things above and have been both collected from their various places and compounded at the right time in the proper manner, you can receive forces and effect which are not only celestial, but even daemonic and divine. Proclus and Synesius absolutely agree. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 306–307).

Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III.14.11–14:

Sub stella Solari, id est Sirio, Solem primo, deinde daemones quoque Phoebeos, quos aliquando sub leonum vel gallorum forma hominibus occurrisset testis est Proculus, homines subinde persimiles bestiasque Solares, Phoebeas inde plantas, metalla similiter et lapillos et vaporem aëremque ferventem.

Under the Solar star, that is Sirius, they set the Sun first of all, and then Phoebean daemons, which sometimes have encountered people under the form of lions or cocks, as Proclus testifies, then similar men and Solar beasts, Phoebean plants then, similarly metals and gems and vapour and hot air. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 310–311).

Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III.14.27–29:

Eadem ratione inquit Proculus Apollineum daemonem, qui nonnunquam apparuit sub figura leonis, statim obiecto gallo disparuisse. Maxime vero in his animalibus cor est Solare.

For the same reason, says Proclus, the Apollonian daemon who often appeared under the shape of a lion disappeared as soon as a cock was put in his way. In these animals, the heart is especially Solar. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 310–311).

Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III.15.4–6:

Multo vero potentiores in serie Lunae lapillos narrat Proculus: primum quidem selinitim, qui non modo figura Lunam imitetur, sed et motu, circumeatque cum Luna.

But Proclus recounts that in their series the Moon gems are much more powerful. The first of these is selenite, which imitates the Moon not only in shape but even in motion, for it turns with the Moon. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 314–315).

Ficino's *De Vita Triplici* Book III.15.10–12:

Alterum vero recenset lapillum helioselinon cognomento, qui Solis Lunaeque coniunctae Soli naturaliter habet imaginem.

But he lists another gem, *helioselinon* by name, which has on it by nature the image of the Sun and Moon in conjunction. (Kaske and Clark 1989, 314–315).

4. Lions and Cocks, *Systaseis* and Symbols

4.4. Σύστασις/-εις, *Systasis/-eis*, “Conjunction-s / Connection-s”

Marinus in *Proclus* reports that Proclus “had been using the Chaldaean [magico-theurgic] *systaseis*, [‘invocations for] conjunctions,’ and *entychiai*,¹⁷² ‘meetings /prayers,’ and divine and unspeakable magic wheels” (ταῖς γὰρ τῶν Χαλδαίων συστάσεσι καὶ ἐντυχίαις καὶ τοῖς θείοις καὶ ἀφθέγκτοις στροφάλοις ἐκέχρητο Marin. Vit. Procl. 28.676–679). Proclus “had learned the invocations and the rest of the practice [i.e. of theurgy] from Plutarch’s daughter Asclepigeneia, who was a philosopher and mystic (430–485 AD).” (καὶ τὰς ἐκφωνήσεις καὶ τὴν ἄλλην

¹⁷² Compare the use and meaning of ἐντυχία in the spell *PGM* XIII.1–343. The term is used in XIII.1–343 in the sense of “prayer” or “petition” (XIII.135: ἐπερεῖς τὴν ἐντυχίαν ταύτην, also in XIII.695 and IV.1930); Preisendanz (1974) II: 93 translates it as “Gebet,” and Betz (1986) 175 as “petition”. But ἐντυχία can also mean “meeting.” This double connotation of ἐντυχία as “prayer” and “meeting” alludes to a similar double meaning of the term σύστασις as “connection” or “meeting” (e.g. IV.930–931: σύστασις, ἣν πρῶτον λέγεις πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἡλίου and I.57: λέγ]ε τὴν πρῶτην σύστασιν). Hence ἐντυχία could possibly be used as an alternative term for σύστασις in this spell. On ἐντυχία see also in P. Duk. inv. 729.28: ἐ]ντυχίας πρὸς (“Ἡλίου”). Jordan (2006) 159–173, at 161, 163, 171.

χρήσιν αὐτῶν μεμαθήκει παρὰ Ἀσκληπιγενείας τῆς Πλουτάρχου θυγατρὸς. Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28.679–681).¹⁷³

In his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* Proclus claims about the role of *systasis* in the unification of the cosmos, when discussing “bond” (δεσμός) “as an image of divine unification and the mutual sharing of powers” (ὡς εἰκόνα ... τῆς ἐνώσεως τῆς θείας ... καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν δυνάμεων Procl. *In Ti.* 11.13.19–21), “but if something happens, besides what already has happened, this thing that happens will be the bond between them; for this would be the thing that brings them together (*synagogon*) into the *systasis* [conjunction] with the one.” (εἰ δέ τι προσέγονε, παρὰ τὰ ἤδη ὄντα γέγονε τοῦτο προσγενόμενον αὐτῶν δεσμός· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸ συναγωγὸν αὐτῶν εἰς ἐνὸς σύστασιν Procl. *In Ti.* 11.15.10–12).¹⁷⁴ “However, the bond is spoken of in a threefold manner; one kind is the *pre-existing* (προϋπάρχων) bond; another is the *immanent* (ἐνυπάρχων) bond; and the third bond is *intermediate* between these (ἐν μέσῳ τούτων)” Procl. *In Ti.* 11.15.12–17).¹⁷⁵

Σύστασις is a term applied in theurgy.¹⁷⁶ Lewy in his *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy* translates this as “conjunction.”¹⁷⁷ The term σύστασις applies to the

173 On knowledge transmission from father to daughter see *Kyran.* 4–5; καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρποκρατίωνος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν θυγατέρα; and 30–31: (Βίβλος ἀπὸ Συρίας θεραπευτική, τῇ οἰκείᾳ θυγατρὶ Ἀρποκρατίων γέγραφε τάδε); Kaimakis (1976) 14, 15. See Intro.: Sect. 1 above.

174 See also Eusebius on *systasis*: Eus. *PE* VII.22.56.3–7: εἰ γὰρ ἀπλὴ τις ἐτύγχανεν ἡ ὕλη καὶ μονοειδής, σύνθετος δὲ ὁ κόσμος καὶ ἐκ διαφορῶν οὐσιῶν τε καὶ κράσεων τὴν σύστασιν ἔχει, <ἀδύνατον τοῦτον ἐξ ὕλης γεγονέναι λέγειν τῷ τὰ σύνθετα μὴ οἶόν τε ἐξ ἐνὸς ἀπλοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ἔχειν>, τὸ γὰρ σύνθετον ἀπλῶν τιῶν μίξιν μὴνύει. Eus. *PE* VII.22.58.2–3: εἰ γὰρ σύνθετος ἡ ὕλη, τὰ δὲ σύνθετα ἐξ ἀπλῶν τὴν σύστασιν ἔχει, ἦν ποτε καιρὸς ὅτε ὕλη οὐκ ἦν, τουτέστι πρὶν τὰ ἀπλά συνελθεῖν. Eus. *PE* VII.22.23.4: δοκεῖ σοι τὴν οὐσίαν σωματικὴν τινα σύστασιν εἶναι; Eus. *PE* VII.22.24.1–2: Ἡ δὲ σωματικὴ σύστασις αὕτη ἐφ’ ἑαυτῆς ὑπάρχει οὐ δεομένη τινός, οὐ γενομένου τὸ εἶναι λήψεται; Eusebius on magic: Eus. *PE* VI.4. Eusebius on *systasis* and magic: Eus. *PE* V.14.

175 Procl. *In Ti.* 11.15.10–17: ἀλλὰ ὁ δεσμός λέγεται τριχῶς· ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ δεσμός <ὁ> ἐν τῇ αἰτίᾳ τῶν συνελθόντων προϋπάρχων, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεδεμένοις ἐνυπάρχων ὁμόστοιχος αὐτοῖς καὶ συμφυής, τρίτος δὲ ἄλλος ἐν μέσῳ τούτων, προϊὼν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτίας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς συνδεομένοις ἐμφαινόμενος.

176 E.g. Iamb. *Myst.* III.14.132.6; and III.14.133.14; Porph. *Aneb.* 13.2.1–5; Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28; on theurgy and magic see Dodds (1951) 291 ff. and Lewy (1978) 461–466; on theurgy and philosophy see Iamb. *Myst.* II.11.96.11 ff. and IX.1; see also Dickie (2001) 208 ff.

177 Lewy comments: “The term [i.e. σύστασις] derives from the current vocabulary of the magical science and applies to the ‘conjunction’ of a magician with a god or with one of his ministering spirits, called the ‘assistant [*sic*] demon’ (δαίμων πάρεδρος), who aids the theurgist by granting him the superhuman powers required for the accomplishment of the magical act” and “The papyri frequently mention magical practices destined to bring about ‘conjunction’ (σύστασις) with a ministering spirit”; Lewy (1978) 228–229 and n. 3. The term applies to gods and the paredros in the *PGM* spells (e.g. I.58). However, Lewy’s definition of σύστασις fails to refer to the notion of the personal daimon in relation to sys-

theurgic ritual and/or prayer for establishing a “connection” between a man and the divine. In the Greek magical papyri, this “connection” is established between a man and a god, or the personal daimon, or even a divine “assistant,” *πάρεδρος*.¹⁷⁸ Betz also translates this term as “meeting.”¹⁷⁹ Although the interpretation of *systasis* as “meeting” should not be rejected, the translation of the term as “conjunction” or “connection” seems to be etymologically precise¹⁸⁰ and fits in with the theurgical use of the term.

In the magico-theurgic spell “*Systasis* with your own daimon” (“*Σύστασις ἰδίου δαίμονος*” *PGM* VII.505–528), the magician greets Tyche, the *genius loci*, the Hour, Day, the abstract “encompassing” and Helios, followed by an invocation to the god (VII.508–521), in which the Egyptian influences of the cosmic portrayal of Helios predominate. Here, the magico-theurgic ritual of *σύστασις* is based on the notion of the symbolic connection of two entities (the individual and the personal daimon), which is established gradually through a series of transitional astrologically correct ‘connections,’ or ‘meetings’: e.g. the individual and: a) the *genius loci*, b) the deities of Hour and Day, c) the abstract “encompassing” and d) the great cosmic god Helios.¹⁸¹

tasis. In the spell VII.505–528, for example, the term is used for the connection with the personal daimon, which should not be confused with the concept of the divine assistant, *paredros*; See Pachoumi (2017) Chpt. 2. On *systasis* see also Johnston (1997) 165–194.

178 See also LSJ; e.g. *PGM* II.43: συσταθῆς αὐτῷ; II.73: συνίστα δὲ σεαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ οὕτως; III.197: ἡ σύστασις τῆς πράξεως ἥδε πρὸς Ἥλιον γιν[ομένη; III.438–439: πᾶσα σύστασις τῆς ἱερᾶς συνθέσεως; III.494: [Σύστασις πρ]ὸς Ἥλιον; III.695: αἰτῶν σύστασ[ιν τή]ν τοῦ θεοῦ; III.698–699: ὅταν οὖν συσταθῆς τῷ θεῷ; IV.168–169: πρῶτα μὲν συσταθῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἥλιον τρόπῳ τούτῳ; IV.209: σημείον ἔσται τῆς συστάσεως τότε; IV.215–216: συνεστᾶθην σου τῇ ἱερᾷ μορφῇ; IV.220–221: ἰσοθέου φύσεως κυριεύσας τῆς διὰ ταύτης τῆς συστάσεως (see below, pp. 101ff.); IV.261: σύστασις τῆς πράξεως; IV.778–779: ἡ δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σύστασις ἔστιν ἥδε; IV.930–931: σύστασις, ἣν πρῶτον λέγεις πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἡλίου; Va.1–2: Ἥλιε ... Ζαγροῦήλ, ἔχε με συνιστάμενον; VI.1: <Γίνεται ἡ μὲν σ>ύστασις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἥλιον β'; VI.39: ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς Σελήνην ἔστιν αὐτοῦ σύστασις ἥδε; and XIII.29: συνιστάνου; XIII.38: τῇ καθολικῇ συστάσει; XIII.346: ἔχει δὲ σύστασιν; XIII.378–379: ἐπικαλῶ τὸν τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας θεόν, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν συσταθῆς; XIII.611: σύστησόν με; XIII.927–931: διὸ συνίσταμαί σοι διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιστρατηγοῦ Μιχαήλ ... διὸ συνίσταμαι. In relation to *πάρεδρος* I.57: λέγ[ε] τὴν πρῶτην σύστασιν and I.179–180: ἀέριον πνεῦμα συσταθὲν κραταιῷ παρῑδρῳ; note also the use of *προσύστασις* in III.587–588: τὴν προσύσ[τ]ασιν.

179 Betz (1981) 160–161. The same translation is followed by Martin in Betz's *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*. Betz (1986) 131; but in the Glossary Betz uses a broader definition characterising it as a technical term for: “a rite, or a prayer to establish association between a god and a person” (here he provides the example of *PGM* VII.505ff.), “a meeting ... to receive a revelation,” “a blessing,” “a union.” Betz (1986) 339.

180 From the verb *συνίστημι*; see LSJ.

181 See Pachoumi (2013): 46–69.

The concept of connection (*systasis*) with the god's form is also illustrated in the bowl divination spell (*PGM* IV.154–285), in which the magician refers to his union with the god Typhon as, “I was connected [/united] with your holy form” (συνεστάθην σου τῇ ἱερᾷ μορφῇ IV.215–216) and later, “having taken possession of a nature equal to god” (ἰσοθέου φύσεως κυριεύσας) “by this connection” (διὰ ταύτης τῆς συστάσεως IV.220–221). A similar idea of union with the god in a mystic ritual context may also be implied in the disputed phrase of Euripides’ *Bacchae*: “for when the god enters into the body mighty [mightily], he makes the maddened speak the future” (ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐς τὸ σῶμ’ ἔλθῃ πολὺς, λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμνηνότες ποιεῖ 300–301).¹⁸²

Similarly, Iamblichus in *De Mysteriorum* III, examining θεοφορία, “divine possession” and divination, asserts: “for neither the work of being possessed is human, nor does the whole [activity] base its power on human parts and actions; but these are otherwise subordinate, and the god uses them as instruments; the whole activity of divination is accomplished by him [the god], and he acts by himself without being mixed, detached from the others, without the soul or anything or the body being moved.” (οὔτε γὰρ ἀνθρωπινόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς θεοφορίας ἔργον, οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνους μορίους ἢ ἐνεργήμασι τὸ πᾶν ἔχει κύριος· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλως ὑπόκειται, καὶ χρῆται αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ὡς ὀργάνοις· τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς μαντείας δι’ αὐτοῦ πληροῖ, καὶ ἀμικρῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφειμένος οὔτε ψυχῆς κινουμένης οὐδ’ ὅτι οὖν οὔτε σώματος ἐνεργεῖ καθ’ αὐτόν. *Iamb. Myst.* III.7.115.2–7).

The ritual of *systasis*, connection with Helios is also illustrated in the spell “[Σύστασις πρ]ὸς “Ἥλιον” (*PGM* III.494–611); this spell together with two other spells may be parts, as Dillon rightly observes,¹⁸³ of a broader “*Systasis* with Helios” spell (III.494–731). The two other spells are the untitled spell concerning your own shadow (*PGM* III.612–632) that precedes it, and the third spell (*PGM* III.633–731) with a Coptic section at the end that follows it. The ritual of *systasis* is mentioned both in the first (e.g. τὴν προσύσ[τ]ασιν, III.587–588) and the third spell (e.g. αἰτῶν σύστασ[ιν τῇ]ν τοῦ θεοῦ, III.695 and ὅταν οὖν συσταθῇς τῷ θεῷ, III.698–699). Furthermore, the “signs and symbols,” τὰ σημεῖα καὶ

182 For Plutarch ‘the god’ in this case is used metonymically for the wine: ὡς οἶνος ἀναθυμιαθεὶς ἕτερα πολλὰ κινήματα καὶ λόγους ἀποκειμένους καὶ λανθάνοντας ἀποκαλύπτει· ‘τό γὰρ βακχεύσιμον καὶ μανιώδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει’ κατ’ Εὐριπίδην (*Plu. Def. Orac.* 40.432E); also in *Anth. Pal.* VII.105.3: Διόνυσος δὲ τ’ ἄν πολὺς ἐς δέμας ἔλθῃ. In this case the author agrees with Dodds’ comment: “I do not think that l. 300 means merely ‘when a man has drunk a great deal of wine’ though Plutarch perhaps understood it so,” and he would further add that the phrase also alludes to the idea of divine possession or mystic union of the prophet with the god, in order to deliver a prophecy; Dodds (1960) 109.

183 Betz (1986) 34.

τὰ παράσημα, are mentioned in the first and second spell.¹⁸⁴ In the third spell there is also a reference to the “symbols” (σύμβολα III.701).

In the spell *PGM* XIII.1–343 “A sacred book named Monad, or the Eighth Book of Moses about the holy name,” which is the first of the three different versions of the “Eighth Book of Moses” included in XIII.1–734, the magician according to the ritual of “the universal *systasis*/connection” (τῇ καθολικῇ συστάσει XIII.38) is instructed: “get connected earlier” (πρότερον συνιστάνου) “with the gods who beget the hours” (τοῖς ὠρογενέσιν θεοῖς XIII.29–31), and “you will be initiated to (by) them” (τελεσθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῖς XIII.31–32). The magician should also chant “the spell of the gods who beget the hours” (τὸν λόγον τῶν ὠρογενῶν), and invoke their compulsive spell and the names of “the gods set over the week” (τοὺς ἐφεβδοματικούς τεταγμένους).¹⁸⁵ As a result, “you [the magician] will have been initiated to [by] them” (καὶ ἔσῃ <τε>τελεσμένος αὐτοῖς XIII.35–37). Therefore, the *systasis* is presented in this case as a mystic ritual and the magician an initiate to the gods who beget the hours.

The second version *PGM* XIII.343–645 included in *PGM* XIII.1–734 with the title “The holy, hidden book of Moses called Eighth or Holy” also refers to the ritual *systasis* (e.g. σύστασιν, XIII.346), according to which the magician should “invoke the god of the hour and the day, so that you may be connected through them” (ἐπικαλοῦ τὸν τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας θεόν, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν συσταθῇς XIII.378–379).¹⁸⁶ The language alludes to the mysteries. In addition, the ritual

184 E.g. Part A, *PGM* III.494–611: ὅτι οἰδὰ σου τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ π[α]ράσ[η]μα (III.499–500) and εἰρηκά σου τὰ σ[η]μ[ε]ῖα καὶ τὰ παράσημα (III.536). Part B, *PGM* III.612–631: ὅτι οἰδὰ σου τὰ ἄγ[ι]α ὀνόμ[α]τα καὶ τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ παράσημα (III.623–625) and εἰρηκά σου τὰ ἄγια ὀνόμ[α]τα καὶ τὰ [σημεῖα σου] καὶ τὰ παράσημα (III.627–628). Also the reference to “the spell above,” τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐπάνω (III.626), as Preisendanz and Dillon note. Preisendanz (1973) Vol. 1: 59; Betz (1986) 34.

185 See also *PGM* XIII.53–58: ὦν πρόλεγε τοὺς ὠρογενεῖς σὺν τῇ στήλῃ καὶ τοὺς ἡμερεσίους <καὶ> τοὺς ἐφεβδοματικούς τεταγ[μ]ένους ... εἰ μὴ τὸν κύριον τῆς ἡμέρας προείπης καὶ τῆς ὥρας πυκνότερον; repeated in *PGM* XIII.118–120, XIII.378–381 and XIII.424–429.

186 On the deification of Time by the theurgist in Proclus see Procl. *In Ti.* III.43.10–12: ἀλλ’ οὐχ οἳ γε θεουργοὶ ταῦτα πεπόνθασιν· οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτοῖς· ἀλλὰ τὸν χρόνον αὐτὸν ὑμνήκασιν ὡς θεόν ...; also Procl. *In Ti.* III.80.12–21: καὶ μήποτε καὶ ὁ θεουργὸς [or chald 46] ἐλικοειδῇ τὸν χρόνον ὑμνήσας ὡς νέον ἅμα καὶ πρεσβύτην καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀπέβλεπε τὸ μάλιστα διὰ τῆς τῶν πλανήτων κινήσεως τῆς καθ’ ἑλικά γιγνομένης ἡμῖν ἐμφανῇ γίγνεσθαι τὰ μέτρα τῶν χρονικῶν παντοίων περιόδων, καὶ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ πᾶσαν αὐτὸν κίνησιν ἀριθμεῖν εὐθείαν καὶ κυκλικήν, ὦν ἡ ἑλιξ ἐστὶν ἐνοειδὴς περιληπτική, καὶ συνᾶδοι ἂν καὶ ταῦτη τῷ Πλάτῳ, διὰ τῆς τῶν πλανήτων κινήσεως οἰόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς γνωρίζεσθαι τὰς χρονικὰς περιόδους. Similarly, in Procl. *In Ti.* III.40.19–24: τοῦτοις δὲ οὐ μόνον, ὃ καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν [pp. 20, 22 ss], Πλάτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ θεουργοὶ συνᾶδουσι, θεὸν ἐγκόσμιον τὸν χρόνον ὑμνοῦντες, <ὡς> αἰώνιον, ἀπέραντον, νέον καὶ πρεσβύτην, ἐλικοειδῇ, πρὸς τοῦτοις ὡς ἔχοντα τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν αἰῶνι καὶ μένοντα αἰεὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς ἀπειροδύναμον.

of *systasis* is described as a mystical initiation of the magician with the personified and deified hours and days (e.g. τέλεσόν με ... σύστησόν με XIII.610–611).¹⁸⁷ In the “[Σύστασις πρ]ὸς “Ἡλιον” (PGM III.494–611) also the twelve different animal “forms,” “images” and magical names of Helios correspond to the twelve hours of the day respectively (III.501–536).

4.5–6, 9, 12, 17–18. Λέοντες καὶ Ἀλεκτρυόνες, “Lions” and “Cocks”

The reference to the ‘solar animals’ and particularly to lions and cocks could be an influence from Iamblichus. In his *De vita Pythagorica*, Iamblichus discusses Pythagoras’ concept of divine being as defined by number, and reports that Pythagoras “achieved through these same numbers an admirable prediction and worship of gods according the numbers, as it was most closely related to them” (ἐποιεῖτο δὲ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀριθμῶν καὶ θαυμαστὴν πρόγνωσιν καὶ θεραπείαν τῶν θεῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα συγγενεστάτην. Iamb. VP 28.147.5–7).¹⁸⁸ Iamblichus reports as an illustration of Pythagoras’ theory on numbers his reaction to Abaris the Hyperborean—a legendary healer and priest of Apollo—who used to make predictions, sacrificing birds, “for they think that bird entrails are accurate for examination” (τὰ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων σπλάγχχνα ἀκριβῆ πρός διάσκεψιν ἡγούνται Iamb. VP 28.147.12–13).¹⁸⁹ Hence, “Pythagoras [who] wished not to diminish his zeal for truth, but to provide him a more reliable method without bloodshed, especially as he believed that the cock was sacred to Helios” (βουλόμενος ὁ Πυθαγόρας μὴ ἀφαιρεῖν μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς τάληθές σπουδὴν, παρασχεῖν δὲ διὰ τινος ἀσφαλεστέρου καὶ χωρὶς αἵματος καὶ σφαγῆς, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἱερὸν ἡγεῖτο εἶναι τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα ἡλίῳ Iamb. VP 28.147.13–16).¹⁹⁰

Iamblichus also in *Protrepticus* advises that “you should rear a cock, but you should not sacrifice it; for it is dedicated to the moon and the sun” (Ἀλεκτρυόνα τρέφε μὲν μὴ θύε δέ· μήνη γὰρ καὶ ἡλίῳ καθιέρωται. Iamb. Protr. 107.18–19).¹⁹¹

187 Also see PGM XIII.927–931: διὸ συνίσταμαί σοι διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιστρατηγοῦ Μιχαήλ ... διὸ συνίσταμαι.

188 Deubner (1975) 83.

189 Deubner (1975) 83. Iamblichus in *Vita Pythagorica* writes that Abaris is said to have purified Sparta and Knossos from plagues (Iamb. VP 92–93). Abaris and Pythagoras also appear at the court of the Sicilian tyrant Phalaris, discussing about the divine (Iamb. VP 215–221). The Souda Lexicon attributes to Abaris a volume of *Scythian Oracles* among his other books (6).

190 Deubner (1975) 83.

191 The same advice is also repeated in Iamb. *Protr.* 116.11–16: Τὸ δὲ ἀλεκτρυόνα τρέφε μὲν, μὴ θύε δέ· μήνη γὰρ καὶ ἡλίῳ καθιέρωται συμβουλεύει ἡμῖν ὑποτρέφειν καὶ σωματοποιεῖν καὶ μὴ παρορᾶν ἀπολλύμενα καὶ διαφθειρόμενα τὰ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἐνώσεως καὶ ἀλληλουχίας συμπαθείας τε καὶ συμπνοίας μεγάλη τεκμήρια. Pistelli (1888).

4.18–19: Ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι φασὶν ὑποστελλόμενον τὰ τῶν κρειττόνων
συνθήματα

The solar lion-faced daemons' transformation into invisible beings and their shrinking back before the *synthēmata* of the higher beings may allude to some form of ritual performed in theurgy. Proclus, for example, in his *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, discussing Homer's myths (Procl. *In R.* 1.76.17–79.18) and drawing parallels between the leaders of the hieratic art and the myth-makers (e.g. Homer and Hesiod), points out that the leaders of the hieratic rites established the rituals of "laughter and lamentation" (γέλωτά τε καὶ θρήνους 1.78.15–16) for the classes of daemons in the hieratic art (Procl. *In R.* 1.78.14–18).¹⁹²

Psellus' question in *Theologica* I (Gautier 1989) *Theol. Opusc.* 1.51.38, διὰ τί, γάρ φησιν ὁ Πρόκλος, ὁ λέων τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα ὑπέσταλται; alludes to the phrase and discussion of Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks*, ὑποστέλλεται γὰρ ὁ λέων, φασί, τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα, "for, they say, the lion shrinks back before the cock." (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 4.9); and it shows that Psellus must have been aware of Proclus' fragmentary treatise.

Psellus' explanation is similar to that of Proclus,¹⁹³ "then he adds that the *synthēmata* are more powerful in him [the cock] than in the lion, for the cock is solar, but the lion belongs to the moon" (εἶτα ἐπάγει, ὅτι κρείττονα ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὰ συνθήματα ἢ ἐν τῷ λέοντι, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡλιακός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ σεληνιακός. *Theol. Opusc.* 1.51.38–40).¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, in *Philosophica Minora* I (Duffy 1992)¹⁹⁵ *Opusculum* 16, Psellus repeats that notion, "the lion is under the series of the moon, while the cock is under the series of the sun" (ὁ μὲν λέων ὑπὸ τὴν σειρὰν τῆς σελήνης ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ γε ἀλεκτρυὼν ὑπὸ τὴν ἡλιακὴν τάξιν. *Phil. Opusc.* 1.16.232–233). Likewise, "whenever the lion-faced daemons often appeared and saw a cock, they cowered beneath" (καὶ δαίμονες δὲ λεοντοπρόσωποι πολλάκις φανέντες, ἀλεκτρυόνα ἰδόντες ὑπέπτηξαν. *Phil. Opusc.* 1.16.239–240).¹⁹⁶

4.12.a (cf. also 7.8). Σύμβολα, "Symbols"

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* describes the process of reciting the symbols of the gods and highlights the ritualistic role of the theurgist, "such are the so-called *symbols* of gods; being uniform in the superior class,

192 See also Comm.: Sect. 1.2.b on the definition of the *hieratic art-theurgy* above.

193 Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 4.11–12: Ἐνεργεστέρα γοῦν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν ἡλιακῶν συμβόλων εἰς τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα παρουσία.

194 Also, Psel. *Theol. Opusc.* 1.51.40–42: ἀλλὰ καὶ δαίμονες, φησί, μετασχηματισθέντες εἰς λέοντα καὶ ἐν μέσαις νυξὶ φανέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἀλεκτρυόνος ᾄδοντος ἤκουσαν, ἠφανίσθησαν.

195 Duffy (1992) Vol. I: 54.

196 Also, Psel. *Phil. Opusc.* 1.16.236–239: δέδοικεν τοῦτον ὁ λέων ἰδὼν, ὅτι οὗτος μὲν τῆς σεληνιακῆς ἐστὶ τάξεως, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τῆς ἡλιακῆς, καὶ ὥς τοῦ ἐλάττονος φωστήρος ζῶον τὸ τοῦ μείζονος πέφρικε.

but multiformed in the inferior; theurgy also, imitating these [symbols], recites them through pronounced but inarticulate expressions.” (... τοιαῦτα δ' ἐστὶν τὰ καλούμενα σύμβολα τῶν θεῶν· μονοειδῆ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις ὄντα διακόσμοις, πολυειδῆ δ' ἐν τοῖς καταδεεστέροις· ἃ καὶ ἡ θεουργία μιμουμένη δι' ἐκφωνήσεων μὲν, ἀδιαθρῶτων δέ, αὐτὰ προφέρειται Procl. *In Cra.* 71.31.24–28).¹⁹⁷ Also, “... so for this reason the theurgist, who is the leader of this ritual, starts with the purifications and the lustral besprinklings.” (... διὸ καὶ ὁ θεουργὸς ὁ τῆς τελετῆς τούτου προκαθηγούμενος ἀπὸ τῶν καθάρσεων ἄρχεται καὶ τῶν περιρράνσεων· Procl. *In Cra.* 176.101.3–5).¹⁹⁸

In his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* Proclus also discusses the divine names handed down to the theurgists—probably referring to Julian the Chaldaean and his son Julian the Theurgist who composed or compiled the *Chaldaean Oracles*¹⁹⁹—noticing, “for this reason the divine cosmic names have been transmitted to the theurgists as well, some termed unutterable, but others uttered by them, the former expressing the invisible powers within it, the latter expressing the visible elements from which they have been completed.” (διὸ καὶ τοῖς θεουργοῖς ὀνόματα θεῖα κοσμικὰ παραδέδοται, τὰ μὲν ἄρρητα καλούμενα, τὰ δὲ ῥητὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς, τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐν αὐτῷ δυνάμεων ὄντα, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμφανῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν συμπληρῶνται. Procl. *In Ti.* 1.274.16–20). Proclus also in his *Commentary on Plato's Republic* mentions “... the hieratic/theurgic mode of the *agôge* [evoking procedure], accomplished by sacrifices, divine names and prayers,” ... <ὁ> ἱερατικὸς τρόπος τῆς ἀγωγῆς, διὰ θυσιῶν, δι' ὀνομάτων θεῶν, δι' εὐχῶν συμπληρωμένους (Procl. *In R.* 11.66.13–15).

Similarly in the mystic rites, according to Proclus, the initiates “are disposed to the sacred symbols and, standing all of them outside themselves, are established in the gods and are possessed by them.” (τοὺς δὲ συνδιατίθεσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς συμβόλοις καὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐκστάντας ὅλους ἐνιδρῦσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐνθεάζειν· Procl. *In R.* 11.108.22–24).²⁰⁰

197 Pasquali (1908) 31.

198 Pasquali (1908) 101.

199 See Intro.: Sect. I above.

200 Procl. *In R.* 11.108.17–30: “Ὅτι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς δρώσιν οἱ μῦθοι, δηλοῦσιν αἱ τελεταί. καὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ χρώμεναι τοῖς μύθοις, ἵνα τὴν περὶ θεῶν ἀλήθειαν ἄρρητον κατακλείωσιν, συμπαθείας εἰσὶν αἵτιαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς περὶ τὰ δρώμενα τρόπον ἄγνωστον ἡμῖν καὶ θεῶν· ὥς τοὺς μὲν τῶν τελουμένων καταπλήττεσθαι δειμάτων θείων πλήρεις γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ συνδιατίθεσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς συμβόλοις καὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐκστάντας ὅλους ἐνιδρῦσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐνθεάζειν· πάντως που καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτοῖς κριττόνων ἡμῶν γενῶν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα συνθήματα φιλίαν ἀνεγειρόντων ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δι' αὐτῶν συμπάθειαν. ἢ πῶς μετ' ἐκείνων μὲν πᾶς ὁ περὶ γῆν τόπος μεστός ἦν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν, ὧν θεοὶ προξενοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἅντα δὲ ἐκείνων ἄπνοα πάντα καὶ ἄμοιρα τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶν ἐπιλάμψεως;

Proclus in his *Platonic Theology* highlights the use of symbols in theurgy for the illumination of the statues, stating, “and just as *theurgy* through some symbols invokes the bounteous goodness of the gods in order to obtain the illumination of the artificial statues” (καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ θεουργία διὰ δὴ τινων συμβόλων εἰς τὴν τῶν τεχνητῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἔλλαμψιν προκαλεῖται τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀφθονον ἀγαθότητα Procl. *Plat. Theol.* 1.124.23–25).

Furthermore, in his *Chaldaean Philosophy* (Πρόκλου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς χαλδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας, *Extraits du Commentaire de Proclus sur la Philosophie Chaldaïque*) extract 5, Proclus asserts, “for the soul is composed by sacred words and divine symbols; ... and we are images of intellectual essences and statues of unknown *synthēmata* ... in that way the soul participates in *synthēmata*, through which it is united with the god” (συνέστηκε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν θείων συμβόλων ... καὶ ἐσμέν εἰκόνες μὲν τῶν νοερῶν οὐσιῶν, ἀγάλματα [τά] δὲ τῶν ἀγνώστων συνθημάτων. ... οὕτω καὶ πάντων μὲν μετέχει τῶν συνθημάτων, δι’ ὧν συνάπτεται τῷ θεῷ, Procl. *Phil. Chald. Fr.* 5.211.4–212.2).²⁰¹

Iamblichus in *De Mysteries* VII, referring to the “intellectual interpretation of the symbols according to the Egyptian thought” (Iamb. *Myst.* VII.2.250.10–11), explicates the symbolism of sailing in a ship: “The one who sails in the ship represents the rule that governs the world. Just as the steersman mounts on the ship, being separate from its rudders, so the sun, separately from the tillers, mounts upon the whole world” (Ὁ δ’ ἐπὶ πλοίου ναυτιλλόμενος τὴν διακυβερνῶσαν τὸν κόσμον ἐπικράτειαν παρίστησιν. Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ κυβερνήτης χωριστὸς ὦν τῆς νεῶς τῶν πηδαλίων αὐτῆς ἐπιβέβηκεν, οὕτω χωριστῶς ὁ ἥλιος τῶν οἰάκων τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἐπιβέβηκεν Iamb. *Myst.* VII.2.252.8–10).

Iamblichus also in *De Mysteries* II emphasises the role of secret acts and unspeakable symbols in the theurgic union: “the accomplishment of ritual acts not to be spoken and which are executed divinely beyond all conception and the power of unspeakable symbols conceived only by the gods establish the theurgic union,” ἡ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀρρήτων καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσαν νόησιν θεοπρεπῶς ἐνεργουμένων τελεσιουργία ἢ τε τῶν νοουμένων τοῖς θεοῖς μόνον συμβόλων ἀφθέγκτων δύναμις ἐντίθησι τὴν θεουργικὴν ἔνωσιν (Iamb. *Myst.* II.11.96.13–97.2).²⁰²

201 See also *Fr.* 1.17–24: Ὑμνωδὸς δὲ ἀποτελεῖται τῶν θείων ἡ ψυχὴ, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ Πατρὸς τὰ ἄρρητα προβαλλομένη καὶ προσφέρουσα αὐτὰ τῷ Πατρί, ἃ ἐνέθετο ὁ Πατὴρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παρόδῳ τῆς οὐσίας. Τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ νοεροὶ καὶ ἀφανεῖς ὕμνοι τῆς ἀναγομένης ψυχῆς, ἀνακινούντες τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἀρμονικῶν λόγων οἱ φέρουσιν ἀπορρήτους εἰκόνας τῶν θείων ἐν αὐτῇ δυνάμεων. See Pitra (1888) Vol. v: 192–195; and Des Places (1971) 206–212.

202 Also, Iamb. *Myst.* IX.1, 5, 9. On the distinction between the Plotinian mystical union and the union with the divine in magic and theurgy see Dodds (1928) 141 ff., and (1951) 286, 302; Armstrong (1955); Shaw (1995); Rappe (2000); Mazur (2003) and (2004). For Plotinus the divine union with the god in philosophy is accomplished by the contemplation of god

4.12.b. *Symbols in Magic*

Similarly in magic in three spells that are probably parts, as Dillon rightly observes, of a broader “*Systasis* with Helios” spell (*PGM* III.494–731)²⁰³—the “*Systasis* to Helios” ([Σύστασις πρὸς Ἡλίον *PGM* III.494–611), the untitled spell concerning your own shadow (*PGM* III.612–631), and *PGM* III.633–731—the magician mentions the “signs and symbols” (τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ παράσημα) of Helios in order to get connected with him: Part A: III.494–611: ὅτι οἶδά σου τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ π[α]ράσ[η]μα (III.499–500) and εἶρηκά σου τὰ σ[ημ]εῖα καὶ τὰ παράσημα (III.536). Part B: III.612–631: ὅτι οἶδά σου τὰ ἄγ[ια] ὀνόμ[ατα καὶ] τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ παράσημα (III.623–625) and εἶρηκά σου τὰ ἄγια ὀνόμ[ατα καὶ] αὐτὰ τὰ [σημεῖα σου] καὶ τὰ παράσημα (III.627–628). Part C: III.633–731: the “symbols,” σύμβολα (III.701).

The spell called “This is the (consecration) ritual for all purposes. Spell to Helios” (“Ἔστιν δὲ ἡ κατὰ πάντων τελετὴ ἥδε. Πρὸς Ἡλίον λόγος” *PGM* IV.1596–1715) aims at consecrating a phylactery, stone, or a ring by reciting to Helios a spell with ritual *symbols*, which apply to the various stages of its preparation. The portrait of Helios is based on the synthesis of natural, divine and cosmic powers, which at the same time are necessary for the consecration of the phylactery. The spell lists the twelve different animal forms and magical names of Helios, which correspond to the twelve hours of the day. The twelve animal forms and creative powers of Helios are associated with the twelve stages of consecration of the phylactery. For example, “in the first hour you (Helios) have the form of a cat, your name (is) *PHARAKOUNETH*. Give glory and favour to this phylactery, this stone and to NN,” δὸς δόξαν καὶ χάριν τῷ φυλακτηρίῳ τούτῳ, τῷ λίθῳ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ δεῖνῳ (IV.1647–1650).²⁰⁴

In the “Erotic binding spell of Astrapsoukos” (*PGM* VIII.1–63), in which the union is justified by the emphasis of the magician’s knowledge of the god, his forms, signs and *symbols* throughout the invocation.²⁰⁵ The magician defines himself as one who knows “the names for you [Hermes] in heaven”; “I know also your forms,” οἶδά σου καὶ τὰς μορφάς, “I know (οἶδά σου) also your wood” and “I know (οἶδά σου) also your barbarian names” (VIII.6–15 and 20–21).²⁰⁶ Then the

and beauty; Plot. *Enn.* I.6.9.33–35: Γενέσθω δὴ πρῶτον θεοειδὴς πᾶς καὶ καλὸς πᾶς, εἰ μέλλει θεάσασθαι θεόν τε καὶ καλόν; also Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.34.

203 Betz (1986) 34; see also Preisendanz (1973) Vol. I: 59.

204 See the discussion on possible influence of the Egyptian *dodekaoros* in III.494–611; see Boll (1903) 295–346; see Comm.: Sect. 5.4–12, 15.b on the concepts of “mixing” and “one” and “many” in the Helios examples from magic above.

205 The knowledge of the signs and symbols of the adjured god is a common characteristic of the invocation spell to the personal daimon (also III.612–631 and VII.478–490). See VII.478–479 and III.624–627, 629–630.

206 There are interesting parallels at Rev 3:1, Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐκκλησίας γράψον

magician, personally, refers to Hermes saying: “I know you (οἶδά σε), Hermes, who you are and where you come from and which your city is; Hermoupolis,” “come to me (ἐλθέ μοι), lord Hermes, many-named,²⁰⁷ who knows (εἰδώς) the things hidden beneath heaven and earth” (VIII.13–15).²⁰⁸

5. Mixing, One and Many, Helios, Statues and *Synthēmata*

5.4–12, 15 (cf. also 2.1–3).a. *The Concepts of Μίξις, “Mixing,” Many Powers, and “One” and “Many” in the Helios Example from Philosophy: Angels, Daemons, Souls, Animals, Plants and Stones Participating in Helios’ Nature*

The Helios examples from Neoplatonic philosophy illustrate the notion of mixing based on the concept of unity and diversity and the relationship between one and many. Proclus’ *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks* refers to the various attributes of Helios in different entities, such as angels, daemons, souls, animals, plants, stones (5.4–5).

This concept of one and many is explored by the theurgists, “the leaders of the hieratic art,” οἱ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἡγεμόνες (5.6), by using “the procedure of mixing the many,” διὸ τῇ μίξει τῶν πολλῶν (5.10; also μίξαντες and μίξις, 5.7, 8), in order to establish unity with the one, “through the process of union with many powers,” καθ’ ἑνωσιν τῶν πλειόνων δυνάμεων (5.15).²⁰⁹ Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus* similarly refers to the division of the World Soul into universal genera and “the mixture (σύγκρασις) from all [universals] towards the implied [universal] creation, which exists in a holistic mode,” ἡ ἐκ τῶν ὅλων σύγκρασις πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην δημιουργίαν ὁλικὴν ὑπάρχουσαν (Procl. *In Ti.* II. 268.1–3).²¹⁰

Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἐπτά πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐπτά ἀστέρας· Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, ὅτι ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ζῆς, καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ. Also, Rev 3:8, Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα—ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἡνεωγμένην, ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλειῖσαι αὐτήν—ὅτι μικράν ἔχεις δύναμιν, καὶ ἐτήρησάς μου τὸν λόγον, καὶ οὐκ ἡρνήσω τὸ ὄνομά μου.

207 On “many-named,” πολυνύμμος see Pachoumi (2011b) 155–165, at 161.

208 The reference is, actually, to Hermes-Thoth. Hermes in Greek religion is the interpreter of the divine associated with the founding of civilisation; Burkert (1996) 157–159. The Egyptian god Thoth is similarly associated with sacred writings, wisdom and knowledge of magic and medicine; Morenz (1992) 270; Wiedemann (2003) 225 ff. Due to their common characteristics, Hermes and Thoth were systematically identified with each other in the Hellenistic and Roman period; Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002) 140–147.

209 Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 5.4–17.

210 Procl. *In Ti.* II.297.15; also Procl. *In Prm.* 777.5–9: Ἡ δὲ σύγκρασις τῶν εἰδῶν ἐμφαίνει τὴν κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀδιάζευκτον καὶ τὴν ἑνωσιν τὴν αἰὼν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγαίαν αὐτῶν καὶ

Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* VII discusses the manifold powers, τῶν πολυτρόπων δυνάμεων, the various forms and transformations, τὰς δὲ διαμείψεις τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοὺς μετασχηματισμούς of the one god Helios (Iamb. *Myst.* VII.3.12–16),²¹¹ claiming about theurgic art that: “the theurgic art ... many times combines stones, plants, animals, aromatic substances [herbs] and other such things [that are] holy and perfect and godlike” (ἡ θεουργικὴ τέχνη ... συμπλέκει πολλάκις λίθους βοτάνας ζῶα ἀρώματα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἱερὰ καὶ τέλεια καὶ θεοειδῆ. Iamb. *Myst.* v.23.233.9–12).²¹²

In the third Helios example Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* VII, attempting “to interpret the mode of the Egyptian theology” (Iamb. *Myst.* VII.1.249.10–11), explains the notion of the manifold powers and transformations of the one god Helios: “for this reason the symbolic teaching wishes to indicate the one god through the multitude of offerings, and to represent his one power through the manifold powers; wherefore it [the symbolic teaching] indicates that he [Helios] is one and the same, but assigns the changes of form and of configuration to the [his] recipients. Therefore it [the symbolic teaching] indicates that he [Helios] is changed according to the Zodiac and every hour, just as these are changeable around the god according to his many receptions.” (διὰ τοῦτο βούλεται μὲν ἡ συμβολικὴ διδασχὴ διὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δοθέντων τὸν ἕνα θεὸν ἐμφαίνειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολυτρόπων δυνάμεων τὴν μίαν αὐτοῦ παριστάναι δύναμιν· διὸ καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν ἕνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, τὰς δὲ διαμείψεις τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοὺς μετασχηματισμούς ἐν τοῖς δεχομένοις ὑποτίθεται. Διόπερ κατὰ ζῳδίων καὶ καθ’ ὥραν μεταβάλλεσθαι αὐτόν φησιν, ὥς ἐκείνων διαποικιλλομένων περὶ τὸν θεὸν κατὰ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ὑποδοχάς. Iamb. *Myst.* VII.3.253.12–254.2).²¹³

Furthermore, according to the Egyptian religion, humans, animals, plants and inanimate objects can all be associated with the divine power and considered attributes of a deity. An example is the Egyptian depiction of gods in

πρωτουργὸν ἐνδείκνυται φύσιν; Procl. *In Prm.* 723.29, 1051.22–23; Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 5.10–12: διὸ τῇ μίξει τῶν πολλῶν ἐνίζουσι τὰς προειρημένas ἀπορροίας καὶ ἐξομοιοῦσι τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἐν γενόμενον πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ πρὸ τῶν πάντων ὅλον.

211 Iamb. *Myst.* VII.3.12–16: διὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δοθέντων τὸν ἕνα θεὸν ἐμφαίνειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολυτρόπων δυνάμεων τὴν μίαν αὐτοῦ παριστάναι δύναμιν· διὸ καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν ἕνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, τὰς δὲ διαμείψεις τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοὺς μετασχηματισμούς ἐν τοῖς δεχομένοις ὑποτίθεται.

212 Note also a similar reference by (Pseudo-)Psellus’ *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus*, Gautier (1988) 85–107 (Boissonade 1838, 40): ‘Ἡ δὲ γε μαγεία πολυδύναμόν τι χρῆμα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἔδοξε. Μερῖδα γοῦν εἶναι ταύτην φασὶν ἐσχάτην τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπιστήμης ... ἀνιχνεύουσα γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη δύναμις τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην γενέσεων ἐκάστης οὐσίαν καὶ φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ποιότητα, λέγει δὲ στοιχείων καὶ τῶν τούτων μερῶν, ζῶων παντοδαπῶν, φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν καρπῶν, λίθων, βοτανῶν, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, παντὸς πράγματος ὑπόστασιν τε καὶ δύναμιν, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρα τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἐνεργάζεται.

213 See also discussion in Comm.: Sect. 2.12 above.

animal form or in human form with animal heads. Regarding the concept of divine power and its association with cultic visual images of humans, animals and objects, Morenz observes that, “we proceed from ‘power’ as primary cause, which can elevate to the rank of deity man and animal, even plant and object, so that neither animal nor plant, still less inorganic matter, ever ceases to be God *in potentia*.”²¹⁴

The various attributes, powers, forms and transformations of the one god Helios, as described by Proclus and Iamblichus, seem remotely parallel to Plotinus’ doctrine of the “generically” (τῷ γένει) and “manifold” One which “at the same time” is “also many” (ἐν ἅμα καὶ πολλά) and that “anything manifold (ποικίλον) has the many in one” (Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.2 ff.). Plotinus also discussing the *genera* (γένη) identified with *principles* (ἀρχάς), in *Ennead VI* says: ἀρα τὰ μὲν γένη, ἕκαστον μετὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτά, ὁμοῦ μιγνύντες ἀλλήλοις τὰ πάντα, τὸ ὅλον ἀποτελοῦμεν καὶ σύγκρασιν ποιοῦμεν ἀπάντων; “so, by mixing the *genera*, all of them together with each other, each with those under these, do we accomplish *the whole* and make *a mixture of everything?*” (Plot. *Enn.* VI.2.2.20–22).²¹⁵

5.4–12, 15 (cf. also 2.1–3).b. The Concepts of *Mīxīs*, “Mixing,” and “One” and “Many,” in the Helios Examples from Magic

The examples and references to Helios from the magico-theurgic ritual-prayers of systasis further demonstrate influences and interactions with the magical papyri on the notions of mixing and one and many. In the magico-theurgic systasis spell with your personal daimon, “Σύστασις ἰδίου δαίμονος” (*PGM* VII.505–528), which aims at connecting the individual with his personal daimon, Helios is assimilated with abstract deified concepts and addressed as: σὺ εἶ ὁ ἔχων ἐν σεαυτῷ τὴν τῆς κοσμικῆς φύσεως σύγκρασιν, “you are the one who have in yourself the mixture of the cosmic nature” (VII.511).²¹⁶

In the other magico-theurgic systasis spell to Helios, “[Σύστασις πρ]ὸς Ἥλιον” (*PGM* III.494–611), Helios is presented as the creator of the four elements, “who created all: abyss, earth, fire, water, air” (III.554–555). In the formula *PGM* III.499–536, included in the above systasis spell (also in *PGM* IV.1596–1715),

214 Morenz (1992) 20, 17–18, 19–21, 139–142; Hornung (1982); Stroumsa (1981) 412–435; Quack (2006) 175–190. Also see Pachoumi (2011a) 39–49, at 40, n. 6.

215 Cf. Plot. *Enn.* VI.3.25.9 ff.: Εἰ δὲ σύγκρασιν τινα καὶ μίξιν σημαίνουν καὶ κράσιν καὶ εἰς ἓν ἐξ ἑνὸς σύστασιν τὴν κατὰ τὸ συνίστασθαι γινομένην, οὐ κατὰ τὸ συνεστάναι; Plot. *Enn.* III.3.4.49; Porph. *V. Plot.* 31.50.23–51.3: τὴν δὲ πασῶν ἅμα σύγκρασιν καὶ συμφωνίαν καὶ ὡσανεὶ σύνδεσμον, ἥσπερ ὡς αἰδίου τε καὶ ἀγενήτου μέρος ἐκάστη καὶ ἀπόρροια, Μνημοσύνην ὠνόμαζεν. Des Places and Segonds (1982) 50–51; Iamb. *Comm. Math.* p. 29.1; Iamb. *Theol. Ar.* v.18. See Pachoumi (2013) 46–69, at 51.

216 On the systasis in VII.505–528 see Pachoumi (2013) 46–69, at 47–55.

Helios is identified with twelve different animal “forms” and magical names, which correspond to the twelve hours of the day, and are associated with the production of a different tree, stone and bird (111.501–536): “in the first hour you [Helios] have the form (μορφήν) and image (τύπον) of a child monkey; you produce a silver fir tree, an *aphanos* stone, a ... bird ..., your name (is) *PHROUER*;²¹⁷ in the second hour you have the form of a unicorn, you produce a *persea* tree, a pottery stone, a *halouchakon* bird, on land an ichneumon, your name (is) *BAZ-ETOPHOTH*” (111.501–506). The Hour or Hours are personified and deified in the Greek magical papyri. For example, in *PGM* XIII.1–343 “A sacred book called Monad or Eighth Book of Moses about the holy name” the magician according to the *systasis* ritual should be connected τοῖς ὥρογενέσιν θεοῖς, “with the gods who beget the hours” (XIII.29–31) and ἐπικαλοῦ τὸν τῆς ὥρας καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας θεόν, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν συσταθῇς, “invoke the god of the hour and the day, so that you may be connected through them” (XIII.378–379).²¹⁸ Proclus mentions the Chaldaean invocations to “the divine names of day and night,” ὀνόματά τε θεῖα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας (Procl. *In Ti.* 111.89.18), and to the personified “goddesses of Time, god Month,” τὰς Ὁρας θεὰς καὶ τὸν Μῆνα θεόν (Procl. *In Ti.* 111.32.16–17).²¹⁹

The twelvefold division of Helios’ forms and names and its correspondence to the twelve hours of the day allude to the sun cult and the ritual of hours in the Egyptian religion, and more specifically to the hymns of Hours of the day in the cult of Ra.²²⁰ That association also finds parallels in the zodiac signs and their associated animals in the Egyptian dodekaoros.²²¹

Furthermore, in the beginning and the end of the formula *PGM* 111.499–536 the magician emphasises to Helios his personal knowledge of Helios’ signs, symbols and forms: οἶδά σου τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ π[α]ράσ[η]μα καὶ μ[ο]ρφάς “I know your signs and symbols and forms” (111.499–500); and εἴρηκά σου τὰ σ[η]μ[ε]ῖα

217 I.e. Pre the great, see Ritner in Betz (1986) 31, n. 97.

218 Similarly, in the *systasis* spell VII.505–528 the magician greets “the present hour,” “the present day,” and “every day” (VII.506–507). Similarly, in the *defixio* from Carthage there is an invocation to “the god of this day,” “the god who has the power of this hour.” Audollent (1904) 325 ff.; also see Kotansky (1994) 118–120. See Pachoumi (2013) 46–69, at 49–50.

219 Procl. *In Ti.* 111.89.17–19: ὀνόματά τε θεῖα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκδιδοῦσα καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ συστατικά καὶ κλήσεις καὶ αὐτοφανεῖας; also Procl. *In Ti.* 111.32.16–21: δεῦτερον δὲ κοινῆς οὔσης ἐννοίας εἶναι τὰς Ὁρας θεὰς καὶ τὸν Μῆνα θεόν, ὧν καὶ ἱερὰ παρειλήφαμεν, καὶ Ἡμέραν καὶ Νύκτα θεὰς εἶναι φαμεν, ὧν καὶ κλήσεις ἔχομεν ἐκδεδομένας παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀνάγκη τὸν χρόνον αὐτὸν εἶναι θεὸν καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ὥρων καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὄντα περιληπτικόν. For the invocation of the gods of time in the Chaldaean theurgical rituals see Psel. *Daim.* c.7; Lewy (1978) 229–230, esp. n. 9.

220 See Quirke (2001) 54–58.

221 On the dodekaoros see Boll (1903) 295–346.

καὶ τὰ παράσημα, “I have told your signs and symbols” (III.536).²²² These various forms of Helios represent different attributes of the god. Proclus, as we have seen, *On the Hieratic Art*, discussing the association of one and many in the natural cosmos, refers to the various attributes of Helios in different entities (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 5.4–17). Iamblichus also in *De Mysterioriis* used the example of the manifold powers, forms and transformations of the one god Helios, referring to the practices of the hieratic-theurgic art and attempting “to interpret the mode of the Egyptian theology” (Iamb. *Myst.* VII.1.249.10–11 and VII.3.253.12–254.2).

The mixing of the four elements for hieratic-theurgic purposes also alludes to the medico-magical text of the *Kyranides*.²²³ In the beginning of each chapter of Book 1, called *Kyranis*, of the *Kyranides* the names of a plant, a bird, a fish and a stone are recorded, which all start with the same letter as that of the chapter.²²⁴ The various combinations of some, or all of the four elements, which represent the four elements of nature, can be used for hieratic-theurgic practices, medico-magico-theurgic remedies and for making magic amulets-gems.²²⁵

5.12 (cf. also 3.16). Ἀγάλματα, “Statues”

5.12.a. Statues of Gods as Receptacles of Divine Illuminations in Theurgy and the Telestic Art

Proclus in his *Platonic Theology* explains the role of statues and symbols in theurgy, “(and just as) *theurgy* through some symbols invokes the bounteous goodness of the gods in order to obtain the illumination of the artificial statues” (καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ θεωουργία διὰ δὴ τινων συμβόλων εἰς τὴν τῶν τεχνητῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἑλλαμψιν προκαλεῖται τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἄφθονον ἀγαθότητα Procl. *Plat.Theol.* 1.124.23–25).

Proclus also discusses the personification and divinisation of Day and Night, and Month and Year through invocations and by means of statues and sacrifices, “just as the sacred tradition worships both the latter invisible [numbers] and the causes of these [the visible ones], by naming Night and Day divine [as gods], as well as by delivering connecting [rituals] to Month and Year and *supplications and invocations* for direct revelation [vision of the god invoked]; as if these things are not considered to be summed up on one’s fingers,²²⁶ but

²²² On the signs and symbols in theurgy see Pachoumi (2013) 46–69, at 60–64.

²²³ Helios is addressed κοίρανε (III.551): emended by Preisendanz; κύραννε MS; Preisendanz (1973) I: 54–55.

²²⁴ Kaimakis (1976).

²²⁵ See discussion in Comm.: Sect. 2.2–3 on plants, stones and animals above.

²²⁶ See also Procl. *In Ti.* III.41.5: καὶ δεῖ μὴ ἐπὶ δακτύλων πάντα ταῦτα μόνον σκοπεῖν, ...; and

rather as among the things that have divine subsistence, which the sacred laws commanded to worship and honour by means of statues and sacrifices.” (ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀφανεῖς ἐκείνους καὶ τούτων αἰτίους ἢ ἱερά φήμη θεραπεύει, ὀνόματά τε θεῖα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκδιδοῦσα καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ συστατικὰ καὶ κλήσεις καὶ αὐτοφανείας, ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ δακτύλων θεωρουμένων, ἀλλ’ ἐν ὑπάρξεσι θεαίαις, ἃς καὶ θρησκευεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν ἀγάλασσι τε καὶ θυσίαις οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν παρεκελεύσαντο θεσμοί, ... Procl. *In Ti.* 111.89.16–22).²²⁷

In his *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements* there is pointed out theurgy's function as forming and appropriating the shapes of gods by means of their statues. Proclus refers to the “perfect and unitary and unknown and unutterable shapes of gods being mounted on the intelligible figures” (τὰ τέλεια καὶ ἐνοσιδῆ καὶ ἄγνωστα καὶ ἄφραστα σχήματα τῶν θεῶν, ἐποχούμενα²²⁸ μὲν τοῖς νοεροῖς σχήμασι), “the properties of which the theurgic art also represents in its statues of the gods, and it clothes them in the most varied figures.” (ὦν καὶ ἡ θεωργία τὰς ιδιότητας ἀποτυπουμένη τοῖς θεῶν ἀγάλασιν ἄλλα ἄλλοις περιβάλλει σχήματα. Procl. *In Euc.* 138.5–12).²²⁹

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* writes about the soul's assimilation to the superior divine beings as well to the posterior beings, and the reflection of that process to the statues, “Moreover, by the same power the soul can assimilate itself to its superiors, gods, angels and daemons; but through the same power it assimilates even the posterior beings (*ta deuthera*) from itself to itself and, further, to those superior to itself. Wherefore, it creates images/statues of both gods and daemons;” (καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἡ ψυχὴ δύναται ἑαυτὴν ἐξομοιοῦν τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἑαυτῆς θεοῖς ἀγγέλοις δαίμοσιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ἀφ’ ἑαυτῆς ἐξομοιοῖ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τὰ κρείττω ἑαυτῆς, διὸ θεῶν τε ἀγάλατα καὶ δαιμόνων δημιουργεῖ. Procl. *In Cra.* 19.51.4–8).

Procl. *In R.* 1.16.3–8: Τὸν <τέλειον ἀριθμὸν> οὐ μόνον χρῆ νοεῖν ἐπὶ δακτ[ύλων τι]θέντας (οὗτος γὰρ ἐστίν) ἀριθμητὸν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀριθμὸς καὶ τελειούμενος καὶ οὐδέποτε τέλειος, αἰεὶ γιγνόμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τούτου νοεράν μὲν οὖσαν, περιέχουσαν δὲ τὸν πεπερασμένον ὅρον τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πάσης περιόδου.

227 Also, Procl. *In R.* 11.133.15–20: εἰ δὲ καὶ προσεχῶς εἰς τὴν σεληνιακὴν ἀνήρτηται σφαῖραν, ἐν ἣ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτία πάσης καί, ὡς φησὶν τις ἱερὸς λόγος, τὸ αὐτοπτον ἄγαλμα τῆς φύσεως προσλάμπει, δῆλον δῆπουθεν, ὅτι καὶ ταύτῃ λειμῶν εἰκότως ὀνομάζεται, δεξάμενος ἐκεῖθεν πρῶτος τὰς προόδους τῶν τὴν γένεσιν συγκροτούντων πνευμάτων.

228 On ἐποχούμενον referring to ὄχημα, the vehicle of the soul, see also Procl. *In Euc.* 90.11–14: ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπορρητότεροι λόγοι καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ἐφεστάναι τῷ κόσμῳ λέγουσιν τοῖς πόλοις ἐποχούμενον καὶ δι’ ἔρωτος θείου τοῦ πᾶν ἐπιστρέφοντα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. Friedlein (1873) 90. Procl. *Inst.* 205. Also, Dodds (1933) Appendix 11, pp. 313–323. See also discussion in Comm.: Sect. 2.13 on the “Transmission of Fire” and n. 124.

229 Friedlein (1873) 138.

Regarding the *telestic* art [the art of mystic initiatory rites] and the role of statues of gods as receptacles of divine illuminations, Proclus claims, “thus, just as the *telestic* art²³⁰ through some symbols and secret *synthēmata* conforms the statues in this way to the gods, and makes these statues suitable for the reception of divine illuminations, so too the legislative art by the same power of assimilation substitutes names as statues of their objects, representing through such echoes the nature of real beings; and having substituted them it handed them on to men for use.” (καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ τελεστική διὰ δὴ τινων συμβόλων καὶ ἀπορρήτων συνθημάτων τὰ τῇδε ἀγάλματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεικάζει καὶ ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν θείων ἐλλάμψεων, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ νομοθετικὴ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀφομοιωτικὴν δύναμιν ἀγάλματα τῶν πραγμάτων ὑφίστησι τὰ ὀνόματα διὰ τοίων καὶ τοίων ἡχων ἀπεικονιζομένη τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν, καὶ ὑποστήσασα παρέδωκεν εἰς χρῆσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Procl. *In Cra.* 51.19.12–19).²³¹

Furthermore, in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* Proclus uses a similar simile of the *telestic* art [of mystic initiatory rites] and the role of statues and symbols to explain the role of images/statues of the intelligible in the cosmos, “But just as in regard to the sacred statues (*agalmata*) established by the *telestic* art some of them are visible, while others have been hidden away inside as *symbols* of the presence of the gods, which are known to the initiates only, in the same way the cosmos, as sacred image/statue (*agalma*) of the intelligible and initiated by the Father, has some as visible tokens (*gnôrismata*) of its own divinity, while others as invisible *synthēmata* of its participation in Being, which it received from the Father who initiated it, so that because of him it would be eternally rooted in Being.” (ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τελεστικής ἰδρυμένων ἀγαλμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐμφανῆ, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἀποκέκρυπται σύμβολα τῆς τῶν θεῶν παρουσίας, ἃ καὶ μόνοις ἐστὶ γνῶριμα τοῖς τελεσταῖς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁ κόσμος ἀγαλμα ὢν τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τελεσθεῖς τὰ μὲν ἔχει φανερά τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θεϊότητος γνωρίσματα, τὰ δὲ ἀφανῆ συνθήματα τῆς τοῦ ὄντος μετοχής, ἃ παρὰ τοῦ τελέσαντος αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο πατρός, ἵνα δὴ δι’ αὐτὸν ἐρριζωμένος ᾗ διαιωνίως ἐν τῷ ὄντι. Procl. *In Ti.* 1.273.10–18).

In his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* Proclus writes that Plato portrays the *demiurge* among the foremost of the initiates (*telestai*) (κατὰ τοὺς ἄκρους τῶν τελεστών) as statue-maker of the cosmos (ἀγαλματοποιὸν τοῦ κόσμου Procl. *In Ti.* 111.6.9–10), while earlier Plato had established him as “the author of divine names and one who reveals the divine characters, through which he initiated

230 See also Procl. *In Ti.* 111.155.18–22: ἔτι δὲ κάκεινο ἄτοπον, τὸ τὴν μὲν τελεστικὴν καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ ἀγάλματα θεῶν ἰδρῦσθαι ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ διὰ τινων συμβόλων ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ μερικῆς ὕλης γενόμενα καὶ φθαρτῆς εἰς τὸ μετέχειν θεοῦ καὶ κινεῖσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ προλέγειν τὸ μέλλον, ...

231 Pasquali (1908) 19.

[consecrated] the soul [of the universe].” (ὀνομάτων ποιητὴν θεῶν καὶ χαρακτήρων θεῶν ἐκφαντικόν, δι’ ὧν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐτέλεσε Procl. *In Ti.* III.6.11–12). “For these are what the true initiates to the Mysteries do, producing statues [of gods] through characters and names that have the power to bring them to life, and making them living and moving.” (ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ οἱ τῷ ὄντι τελεσται δρώσι, διὰ χαρακτήρων καὶ ὀνομάτων ζωτικῶν τελούντες τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ζῶντα καὶ κινούμενα ἀποτελοῦντες, Procl. *In Ti.* III.6.12–15).

Then, Proclus illustrates the relationship between the demiurge, father of all, and his creatures, referring to the relationship between *agalma* and *agallesthai*, “Just as knowing himself, he knows the cosmos, so too in being amazed at his own creative power, he makes his creature admirable and a truthful image (*agalma*) of the eternal gods; for in a sense, it has been said that the [term] image (*agalma*) derives from the fact that the god is delighted (*agallesthai*) in it.” (καὶ ὥσπερ ἑαυτὸν γινώσκων οἶδε τὸν κόσμον, οὕτω τὴν δημιουργικὴν ἑαυτοῦ θαυμάζων δύναμιν ἀγαστὸν ποιεῖ τὸ δημιούργημα καὶ ἀληθινὸν ἄγαλμα τῶν αἰδίων θεῶν.²³² καὶ γὰρ πῶς τὸ ἄγαλμα παρὰ τὸ ἀγάλλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λέλεκται. Procl. *In Ti.* III.6.23–25).²³³

Furthermore, in his *Commentary on Plato’s Cratylus* Proclus expresses an intriguing notion of the intellect as *agalma* [image] of Dionysus, “The intellect in us is Dionysian and truly an image of Dionysus.” (“Ὅτι ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς Διονυσιακὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ἄγαλμα ὄντως τοῦ Διονύσου. Procl. *In Cra.* 77.133.24–25). However, Proclus points out the truthful association of the intellect with the concept of Dionysus itself rather than his *agalma*, stating that anyone who offends against it [the intellect], this person clearly sins against Dionysus himself, even more than those who offend “against the external *agalmata* [images] of the god” (εἰς τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάλματα 78.133.1), since the intellect is more than other things related to the god.²³⁴ Thus, as examined in this section, the production of *agal-*

232 The phrase ἄγαλμα τῶν αἰδίων is quoted and discussed in Procl. *In R.* II.212.20–213.2: Εἰ δὴ ταῦτα διηρθρωμένως νοήσαιμεν, ἔξομεν καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀπορρητότερα νοεῖν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν Τίμαιον [p. 37c] ἄγαλμα τῶν αἰδίων ἐστὶν θεῶν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, τελεστήν μὲν εἶναι τοῦ ἀγάλματος τούτου τὸν δημιουργόν, δὲ ἔπνευσεν εἰς αὐτὸν ζωὴν ἀμήχανον δσση καὶ ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα ἔννοον χρηματίζον διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ κινήσεως τοῖς ὁρᾶν δυναμένοις καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ σημείων τὰ ἐσόμενα λέγον· τῷ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρακτήρι καὶ ταῖς περιφοραῖς, αἷς ὀνόματα αὐτοῦς ἔθηκεν, περιέλαβεν αὐτὸ καὶ συνέδησεν· φυλακτήρια δὲ αὐτῷ περιήψεν καὶ ἐν μέσοις ἤδρασεν τοῖς κόλποις τοὺς εἰρημένους νόας, ὅσον αὐτῶν, εἰ βούλει, τῶν ἰσχυρῶν συνθήματα τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ ἐνοειδῶν.

233 See also Procl. *In Ti.* III.6.32–69.4: ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν αἰδίων θεῶν ὑψίσταμένων πάντων εἴρηται τῷ ἰδρύσαντο, μεθ’ ὧν ὁ δημιουργὸς ἕκαστα ἀπεργάζεται καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ἄγαλμα ποιών καὶ τὰ τῶν μερικῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδρυόμενος.

234 The passage Procl. *In Cra.* 77.133.24–25 continues as follows, Procl. *In Cra.* 77.133.25–78.3: ὅστις οὖν εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖ καὶ τὴν ἀμερῇ αὐτοῦ φύσιν διασπᾷ Τιτανικῶς διὰ τοῦ πολυσχιδοῦς ψεύδους, οὗτος δηλονότι εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον ἀμαρτάνει, καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν εἰς τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ

mata keeps the theurgist in a creative cosmic process, which is an intrinsic feature of the cosmos.

5.12.b. The Animation of Statues in Theurgy, *Telestic* Art and Magic
 Porphyry in his *Adversus Christianos*²³⁵ refers to the belief that gods live in the statues (ὥς ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἔνδον οἰκεῖν νομίζειν τοὺς θεοὺς Porph. *Chr. Fr.* 77.1–2).²³⁶ Furthermore, Porphyry in *De Philosophia ex Oraculis* 1.129–130 Cap.11—a passage also quoted by Eusebius in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* v.11.1.1–6—discusses the shape of statues (τό τε σχῆμα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων) and the right time and place of the sacrifices.²³⁷

Plotinus earlier in *Ennead* IV refers to the practice of the ancient wise men of animating statues through rituals, probably alluding to the Egyptian practice. These rituals were used by theurgists in Late Antiquity. In the magical papyri also there are frequent mentions of the magic ritual of ἐνπνευμάτωσις, “filling with divine spirit,” of statues, as will be discussed at the end of the section below.²³⁸ Thus, Plotinus writes about statues, “It seems to me that among the wise men of old those who wanted the gods to be present to them, having built temples and *statues*, looking to the nature of all [the universe], had in mind that the nature of the soul is in general easy to attract; but the easiest

ἀγάλματα πλημμελούντων, ὅσον ὁ νοὺς μάλλον τῶν ἄλλων συγγενής ἐστὶ τῷ θεῷ. Pasquali (1908) 77–78. Also, on the definition of man truthfully identified with the concept of Socrates rather than his statue (ἀνδριάς) see Ammon. In *Int.* 21.10–33, esp. 18–21: καὶ γὰρ λέγειν εἰσθαμεν ἀληθῶς μὲν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν Σωκράτην, ψευδῶς δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Σωκράτους, οὐδὲν ἕτερον διὰ τοῦτου σημαίνοντες ἢ ὅτι τῆς μὲν τοῦ Σωκράτους ἐννοίας ὁ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λόγος ἀληθῶς κατηγορεῖται, τοῦ δὲ ἀνδριάντος οὐκέτι; see also Duvick and Tarrant (2007) 122.

235 Harnack (1916).

236 Porph. *Chr. Fr.* 77.1–5: Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὕτω κοῦφος τὴν γνώμην, ὥς ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἔνδον οἰκεῖν νομίζειν τοὺς θεοὺς, πολλῶ καθάρωτερον εἶχε τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ πιστεύοντος ὅτι εἰς τὴν γαστέρα Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου εἰσέδω τὸ θεῖον, ἔμβρυόν τε ἐγένετο καὶ τεχθὲν ἐσπαργανώθη, μεστὸν αἵματος χορίου καὶ χολῆς καὶ τῶν ἔτι πολλῶ τούτων ἀτοπωτέρων.

237 Porph. *De Phil. Or.* 1.129–130 Cap.11 = Eus. *PE* v.11.1.1–6: Οὐ μόνον δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν αὐτοὶ μεμνηνύκασιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρημμένα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τίσι χαίρουσι καὶ κρατοῦνται ὑπηγόρευσαν, καὶ μὴν καὶ τίσιν ἀναγκάζονται τίνα τε δεῖ θύειν καὶ ἐκ ποίας ἡμέρας ἐκτρέπεσθαι τό τε σχῆμα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ποταπὸν δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτοὶ τε ποίοις σχήμασιν φαίνονται ἔν τε ποίοις διατρέβουσιν τόποις· καὶ ὅλως ἔν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὃ μὴ παρ’ αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἄνθρωποι οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐτίμησαν. See also Eus. *PE* v.12.1.1–2: “Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτοὶ ὑπέθεντο πῶς χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐκ ποίας ὕλης, δηλώσει τὰ τῆς Ἑκάτης ἔχοντα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.” On Porphyry see Wolff (1856) 129; Smith and Wasserstein (1993); on Eusebius see Mras (1954) Vol. 1: 232; Sirinelli and Places des (1974); Places des (1982), (1983) and (1987); Places, des and Schroeder (1991). See also Hopfner (1974) 211. On Porphyry see also Berchman (2005); and on the Fragments of Porphyry in Eusebius see Magny (2014).

238 See examples at the end of Comm.: Sect. 5.12.b below.

way of all to receive it would be, if one were to craft something *sympathetic*, which was able to receive some share of it. And that is *sympathetic* which is in any way imitative of it, like a mirror able to capture some image of it.” (Καί μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλαι σοφοί, ὅσοι ἐβουλήθησαν θεοὺς αὐτοῖς παρεῖναι ἱερά καὶ ἀγάλματα ποιησάμενοι, εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ἀπιδόντες, ἐν νῶ λαβεῖν ὡς πανταχοῦ μὲν εὐάγωγον ψυχῆς φύσιν, δέξασθαι γε μὴν ῥᾶστον ἂν εἴη ἀπάντων, εἴ τις προσπαθῆς τι τεκτῆναιτο ὑποδέξασθαι δυνάμενον μοῖραν τινα αὐτῆς. Προσπαθῆς δὲ τὸ ὅπως οὖν μιμηθέν, ὥσπερ κάτοπτρον ἀρπάσαι εἰδὸς τι δυνάμενον. Plot. *Enn.* IV.3.11.1–8).

Hermias in his *Commentary on Plato's Phaedrus* writes about the theurgic *enthusiasmos*, and how the ‘divine possession’ and animation of statues is achieved through the *telestic* art, emphasising the role of purification rituals, characters and symbols. He also describes the processes of consecration and illumination²³⁹ of the statues. Accordingly: “It has been discussed how the soul is possessed by god. But how is the statue said to be possessed by god? Indeed, it does not operate by itself in regard to the divine, which is inanimate; but the *telestic* art having purified the material thoroughly and having bestowed some characters and symbols on the statue, first animated it through these, and enabled it to receive life from the cosmos; then along with this it contrived that it would be illuminated by the divine; therefore, the statue always gives oracular responses, until the conformable ones are able to accept; for the statue, until it would get consecrated, stays in order, until it would become in any way unfit to the gods’ illumination; ... hence the statue stays illuminated as long as it gets affected; thus, its unfitness leaves room for complete deprivation, if it is not again anew consecrated and animated by the initiated.”²⁴⁰ (Πῶς μὲν οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐνθουσιᾷ, εἴρηται. Πῶς δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα λέγεται ἐνθουσιᾶν; Ἡ αὐτὸ μὲν οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ περὶ τὸ θεῖον, ὃ γε ἄψυχόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὕλην ἢ τελεστικὴ διακαθάρσασα καὶ τινὰς χαρακτήρας καὶ σύμβολα περιθείσα τῷ ἀγάλματι πρῶτον μὲν ἔμψυχον αὐτὸ διὰ τούτων ἐποίησε καὶ οἷόν τε ζωὴν τινα ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου καταδέξασθαι, ἔπειτα μετὰ τοῦτο ἐλλαμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτὸ παρεσκεύασεν· ὅπερ ἄγαλμα αἰεὶ χρηματίζει ἕως δύνανται δέχασθαι οἱ ἐπιτήδαιοι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄγαλμα ὡς ἂν τελεσθῇ μένει ἐφεξῆς ἕως ἂν πάντῃ ἀνεπιτήδειον γένηται πρὸς τὴν θεῶν ἔλλαμψιν· ... τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὡς ἂν πάθῃ οὕτω μένει ἐλλαμπόμενον, διὸ καὶ ἡ ἀνεπιτηδείότης αὐτοῦ εἰς στέρησιν παντελεῖ χωρεῖ, ἐὰν μὴ πάλιν ἐκ νέας ὑπὸ τοῦ τελεστοῦ τελεσθῇ καὶ ἐμψυχωθῇ. Herm. *In Phdr.* 87.4–18).²⁴¹

239 On the statues's illumination see also Procl. *In Cra.* 51.19.12–15: καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ τελεστικὴ διὰ δὴ τινων συμβόλων καὶ ἀπορρήτων συνθημάτων τὰ τῆδε ἀγάλματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεικάζει καὶ ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν θείων ἐλλάμψεων ...

240 See examples at the end of Comm.: Sect. 5.12.b below.

241 Couvreur (1901); Lucarini and Moreschini (2012). See also Dam. *Vit. Isid. Fr.* 174.1–8 (Souda

The examples from the Greek magical papyri are related to the use of statues and the ritual of ἐνπνευμάτωσις, “filling with divine spirit,” which is mentioned, frequently, in the magical papyri. The process is based on the general belief that in Greek, Egyptian and Mesopotamian religions gods are residing in their statues.²⁴² According to the process of *enpneumatōsis*, they prepared hollow figures of the gods, and placed inside them the magical spell, in order for the figure to be filled with the spirit of the god.²⁴³

In the ritual of Eros’ consecration (*PGM* XII.15 ff.) included in the spell “Eros as an assistant” (*PGM* XII.14–95) the magician is instructed to take seven living animals, two of which should be nestlings and, “holding them in your hand, you will choke them, at the same time offering them to Eros, until each animal has been choked and its spirit has gone into him [the cult statue of Eros]” (XII.32–34). In the same spell, the magician is instructed, “place another chicklet on the altar; while practising the ritual eat the chicklet by yourself and let no one else be present” (XII.36–37). Just as the offering of the animals and chicklets functions as a way of instilling their spirit into the statue of Eros, eating the chicklet in this manner helps to instil its spirit into the magician.

In the “Sword of Dardanos” (*PGM* IV.1716–1870) the magician is also instructed to inscribe the magical formula on a golden leaf and “give the leaf to a partridge to swallow down and then kill it” (IV.1811–1823). Thereafter, he should pick up the slain bird and wear it around his neck as a way of preserving the potency of the magical formula. In the “Holy book of Hermes Trismegistus addressed to Asclepius” in the *Hermetica*, Trismegistus refers to “living statues filled with sense and spirit” (*Herm. Asclep.* III.24a). Furthermore, as is asserted in the same work, this invention of making gods out of material substance is ascribed to the Egyptians, “who invoked the souls of daimons or angels and implanted them by means of holy and sacred rites” (*Herm. Asclep.* III.37.23–25). The concept of eating living creatures as a way of acquiring their spirit and power is made dramatically explicit in the spells of the *Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (*Eg. Pyr. T.* 273–274), “The king is one who eats men and lives on the gods ... The king eats their magic, swallows their spirits ... He has seized the hearts of the

II 579, 7; II 52, 23 s. vv. Ἡραΐσκος et διαγνώμων): ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἡραΐσκος αὐτοφυῆς ἐγένετο διαγνώμων τῶν τε ζώντων καὶ τῶν μὴ ζώντων ἱερῶν ἀγαλμάτων. εὐθύς γὰρ ἐμβλέπων ἐπιτρῶσκετο τὴν καρδίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ θειασμοῦ καὶ ἀνεπήδα τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ-σχετος. εἰ δὲ μὴ κινοῖτο τοιοῦτον, ἄψυχον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀγαλμα καὶ ἄμοιρον θείας ἐπιπνοίας. οὕτω διέγνω τὸ ἄρρητον ἀγαλμα τοῦ Αἰῶνος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατεχόμενον, ὃν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐτίμησαν, Ὅσιριν ὄντα καὶ Ἀδωνιν ὁμοῦ κατὰ μυστικὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς φάναι θεοκρασίαν. Zintzen (1967) 147–148.

242 Burkert (1996) 84 ff. and Schnapp (1994) 40–44.

243 See e.g. *PGM* III.282–409, 296 ff.; IV.964–966, 2359–2372; also V.381–385; on this practice see Poulsen (1945) 178–195.

gods ... The king feeds on the lungs of the wise and is satisfied with living on hearts and their magic.”²⁴⁴

5.13–14 (cf. also 4.19). *Συνθήματα, Synthēmata*

5.13–14.a. Instilled *Synthēmata* as a Way of Returning to Themselves or to the Gods, and as a Way of Uniting the Soul with the Divine

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* discusses the Ἡλιακά and Σεληνιακά *synthēmata*: “for Nature being dependent from above and from the gods themselves, and being distributed through the ranks of the gods, she also instils in the bodies the *synthēmata* of their affinity to the gods; in one case solar *synthēmata*, in another lunar, in others those of other gods, and she causes also these things to return to the gods, some to the gods in general, others to specific gods, bringing her works to completion, according to the various characteristics of the gods.” (ἄνωθεν γὰρ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐξηρητημένη τῶν θεῶν ἢ φύσις καὶ διανεμεμένη περὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τάξεις ἐντίθησι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τῆς πρὸς θεοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκειότητος συνθήματα, τοῖς μὲν Ἡλιακά, τοῖς δὲ Σεληνιακά, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλου τινὸς θεῶν, καὶ ἐπιστρέφει καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς θεοὺς, τὰ μὲν ὡς πρὸς θεοὺς ἀπλῶς, τὰ δὲ ὡς πρὸς τούτῳ τοὺς θεοὺς, τελεώσασα τὰ ἑαυτῆς γεννήματα κατ’ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην ιδιότητα θεῶν. Procl. *In Ti.* 1.210.19–30).²⁴⁵

In his *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* Proclus relates *synthēmata* to the notion of return, “thus, just as Nature, the demiurgic Monad and the Father himself who transcends all things sowed *synthēmata* of their own identity in beings subsequent to them, and through these *synthēmata* they make *everything return* to themselves, so too all the gods instil in the entities produced from themselves *symbols* of their causality, and through these they establish all creatures in themselves. Therefore, the *synthēmata* of the existence of the higher beings which are sown into subsequent ones are unspeakable and unknowable, and their active and movable force surpasses all intellection.” (ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ μονὰς ἢ δημιουργικὴ καὶ αὐτὸς <ὁ> πάντων ἐξηρημένος πατήρ ἐνέσπειραν τοῖς δευτέροις τῆς οἰκείας ιδιότητος συνθήματα, καὶ δι’ ἐκείνων ἐπιστρέφουσι πάντα πρὸς ἑαυτούς, οὕτως δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν παραγομένοις ἐνδιδόασιν τῆς σφετέρως αἰτίας σύμβολα, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐδράζουσι πάντα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τῶν ὑπερτέρων ἐνσπειρόμενα τοῖς δευτέροις συνθήματα ἄρρητά ἐστιν καὶ ἄγνωστα, καὶ τὸ δραστήριον αὐτῶν καὶ κινητικὸν ὑπεραίρει πᾶσαν νόησιν. Procl. *In Cra.* 71.30.29–31.8).²⁴⁶

244 Faulkner (1969); on the Egyptian ritual of swallowing see Ritner (1993) chpt. 3.

245 On Proclus on *synthēmata* and ἐπιστροφή see Dodds (1933) 222–223.

246 Pasquali (1908) 30–31. See also on *synthēmata* and the notion of return in Procl. *In Ti.*

In his *Chaldaean Philosophy*, extract 5, Proclus asserts that *synthēmata* unite the soul with the divine, “in that way the soul participates in *synthēmata*, through which it is united with the god” (οὕτω καὶ πάντων μὲν μετέχει τῶν συνθημάτων, δι’ ὧν συνάπτεται τῷ θεῷ, Procl. *Phil. Chald. Fr.* 5.212.1–2).²⁴⁷

Proclus, discussing the role of symbols and *synthēmata* in the hieratic rites (τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἔργων Procl. *In R.* 1.83.17) and hieratic precepts (τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς θεσμοῖς 1.83.28) in his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic*, relates them to the experience of the initiated in the mystery rites, “indeed the gods are pleased, listening to such symbols, and they are readily prevailed upon those who invoke them and show forth the distinctive nature of (the gods) themselves through those familiar to them and very well-known *synthēmata*; mysteries and *teletai* [initiatory rites] have their efficacy in these [*synthēmata*], and they make the initiates see complete, stable and simple visions” (καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε συμβόλων ἀκούοντες χαίρουσιν καὶ τοῖς καλοῦσιν ἐτοιμῶς πείθονται καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ιδιότητα προφαίνουσιν διὰ τούτων ὡς οἰκείων αὐτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα γνωρίμων συνθημάτων· καὶ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ αἱ τελεταὶ [καὶ] τὸ δραστήριον ἐν τούτοις ἔχουσιν καὶ ὁλόκληρα καὶ ἀτρεμῆ καὶ ἀπλᾶ θεάματα διὰ τούτων προξενοῦσιν τοῖς μύσταις καθορᾶν ... Procl. *In R.* 1.83.17–25).

Furthermore, in his *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus* the Dionysiac aspects of *synthēmata* are discussed. Proclus refers to the Dionysiac activity of the Demiurge and the role of “the number seven, since the theologians say that Dionysus was divided into seven parts” (ἡ ἑβδομάς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον οἱ θεολόγοι μεριζόμενον εἰς ἑπτὰ μερισθῆναι λέγουσιν *In Ti.* 11.197.24–26); and points out that “this number comes to the soul from higher causes” (ἥκει μὲν οὖν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερτέρων αἰτίων οὗτος ὁ ἀριθμός), “in order that it may have its division into seven parts as a *synthēma* of the Dionysiac series and of the legendary tearing apart” (ἵνα τὸν μὲν εἰς ἑπτὰ μοίρας μερισμὸν ἔχη σύνθημα τῆς Διονυσιακῆς σειρᾶς καὶ τοῦ μυθευομένου σπαραγμοῦ Procl. *In Ti.* 11.198.2–7).²⁴⁸ That notion of

1.273.18–24: τὸ μὲν οὖν οὐρανὸς καὶ τὸ κόσμος ὄνομα τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ δυνάμειω σημαντικὰ, τὸ μὲν καθὼ πρόεισιν ἐκείθεν, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς· δεῖ δὲ εἶναι καὶ τῆς μενούσης αὐτοῦ δυνάμειος ὄνομα θεῖον τοῦ συνθήματος ὃν τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ σύμβολον, καθὼ καὶ ἀνεκφοιτητός ἐστι τοῦ ὄντος, ἄρρητον ὃν καὶ ἀφθεγχτον καὶ αὐτοῖς γνῶριμον τοῖς θεοῖς.

247 Des Places (1971) 212. Procl. *In R.* 1.84.26–31: καὶ ἡ μὲν δι’ εἰκόνων μέθοδος τοῖς γνησίως φιλοσοφοῦσιν προσήκει, ἡ δὲ δι’ ἀπορρήτων συνθημάτων τῆς θείας οὐσίας ἐνδειξίς τοῖς τῆς μυστικῆς τέρας ἡγεμόσιν τελεσιουργίας, ἀφ’ ἧς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων πολλὰ τῶν οἰκείων δογμάτων ἀξιόπιστότερα καὶ ἐναργέστερα δεικνύει.

248 See also Procl. *In Ti.* 11.198.7–14: (καὶ γὰρ ἔδει νοῦ μετέχουσιν αὐτὴν Διονυσιακοῦ καί, ὡς Ὀρφεύς [frg. 207. 203] φησιν, ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρουσιν τὸν θεὸν διηρῆσθαι κατ’ ἐκείνον), τὴν δὲ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς μοίραις ἀρμονίαν ἔχει τῆς Ἀπολλωνιακῆς τάξεως σύμβολον· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις ὁ συνάγων καὶ ἐνίζων τὰ μερισθέντα τοῦ Διονύσου μέλη κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν τοῦ πατρὸς οὗτός

the Dionysiac dismemberment as a *synthêma* is also repeated in Procl. *In R.* 1.175.2–3: “for dismemberment is one of the Dionysiac *synthêmata*” (καὶ γὰρ ὁ σπαραγμὸς τῶν Διονυσιακῶν ἓν ἐστὶν συνθημάτων).

5.13–14.b. The Mentality, Suitability, Visibility, Form and Shape of the *Synthêmata*

Proclus deals with issues of visibility, form and shape of the *synthêmata* and their relation to the concept of powers, “for the visible things are the *synthêmata* of the invisible powers, the ones seen in extended shape of the shapeless powers.” (συνθήματα γὰρ τὰ ἐμφανῆ τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐστὶν δυνάμεων, τῶν ἀμορφῶτων τὰ ἐν μορφαῖς ὁρώμενα διασταταῖς. Procl. *In R.* 11.242.24–26).

Furthermore, in the *Platonic Theology* Proclus points out that Plato said that the divinity (τὴν θεότητα) is “colourless, shapeless and tasteless” (Ἀχρώματον γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἀναφῆ Procl. *Plat. Theol.* 1v.35.13–14).²⁴⁹ Proclus then explains that the gods belong to the intellectual order, and they are known through mental *synthêmata*, “thus, I say that also this order, being the highest of the intellectual gods, is unknowable and incomprehensible according to its own character, and it is perceived through intelligible *synthêmata*.” (Λέγω τοίνυν ὅτι καὶ ἡ τάξις αὕτη, τῶν νοερῶν οὖσα θεῶν ἀκρότης, ἄγνωστός ἐστι καὶ ἄφραστος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ιδιότητα καὶ διὰ συνθημάτων γινώσκειται νοητῶν. Procl. *Plat. Theol.* 1v.35.17–20).

Proclus also in his *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* discusses the role of symbols and *synthêmata* in the *telestic* art, “thus, just as the *telestic* art through some symbols and secret *synthêmata* conforms the statues (*agalmata*) down here to the gods, and makes these statues suitable (ἐπιτήδεια) for the reception of divine illuminations, so too the legislative art by the same power of assimilation produces names as statues of their objects, representing through such echoes the nature of real beings; and having produced them it handed them on to men for use.” (καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ τελεστική διὰ δὴ τινων συμβόλων καὶ ἀπορρήτων συνθημάτων τὰ τῆδε ἀγάλματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεικάζει καὶ ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν θείων

ἐστὶν ὁ θεός. On Dionysiac *synthêmata* see also Procl. *In R.* 1.85.2–12: ... τό τε ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λεγόμενον, ὡς ἐν τινι φρουρᾷ ἔσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, σιγῇ τῇ πρεπούσῃ σέβων, καὶ τὰς τελετὰς μαρτυρόμενος τῶν διαφόρων λήξεων τῆς ψυχῆς κεκαθαρμένης τε καὶ ἀκαθάρτου εἰς Ἄιδου ἀπιούσης, καὶ τὰς τε σχῖσεις αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς τριόδους ἀπὸ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν τεκμαιρόμενος, αἱ δὲ τῆς συμβολικῆς ἅπαντα θεωρίας ἐστὶ μεστά, καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς θρυλουμένων ἀνόδων τε καὶ καθόδων, τῶν τε Διονυσιακῶν συνθημάτων καὶ τῶν Τιτανικῶν ἀμαρτημάτων λεγομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου τριόδων καὶ τῆς πλάνης καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀπάντων.

249 Also, in the *Corpus Hermeticum* V, “A discourse of Hermes to his son Tat,” god is described as ὁ ἀφανής and ὁ φανερώτατος, and ὁ ἀσώματος, ὁ πολυσώματος, μᾶλλον δὲ παντοσώματος (*Corp. Herm.* v.10).

ἐλλάμψεων, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ νομοθετικὴ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀφομοιωτικὴν δύναμιν ἀγάλματα τῶν πραγμάτων ὑφίστησι τὰ ὀνόματα διὰ τοίων καὶ τοίων ἤχων ἀπεικονιζομένη τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν, καὶ ὑποστήσασα παρέδωκεν εἰς χρῆσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Procl. *In Cra.* 51.19.12–19).²⁵⁰

6. Direct Revelations/Epiphanies of the Gods, Purification Rituals and the *Empyrean* Power

6.2.a. *Αὐτοφάνεια/Αὐτόματος Ἐπιφάνεια, “Direct Revelation/Epiphany of the God/-s”*

Marinus in *Proclus* reports Proclus’ experience of Hecate’s self-revelations after performing certain Chaldaean purification rituals, “But before these, the philosopher after being purified in due order by the Chaldaean purifications, invoked flame-like [fiery] *revelations for direct vision* of Hecate, as he himself has recorded in one of his own treatises.” (Πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἐν τάξει ὁ φιλόσοφος τοῖς Χαλδαίκοις καθαρμοῖς καθαίρομενος, φάσμασι μὲν Ἑκατικαῖς φωτοειδέσιν αὐτοπτουμένοις ὠμίλησεν, ὥς καὶ αὐτός που μέμνηται ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι. Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28.683–686). Porphyry also in *De Philosophia ex Oraculis* refers to the *synthēmata* (συνθήματα) of Hecate’s revelations and the fiery images (πυρόεσσιν εἰδώλοις) of her revelations (Porph. *De Phil. Or.* 11.151.165–173).²⁵¹

In his *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus* Proclus also describes the theurgic “connecting rituals, calls and invocations for direct revelations (visions) of the gods” (συστατικά καὶ κλήσεις καὶ αὐτοφανείας Procl. *In Ti.* 111.89.19) according to the sacred tradition (ἡ ἱερὰ φήμη) of the theurgists,²⁵² “Just as the sacred tradition worships both the latter invisible [numbers] and the causes of these [the visible ones], by naming Night and Day divine [as gods], as well as by delivering connecting [rituals] to Month and Year and *supplications and invocations for direct revelation* [/vision of the god invoked]; ...” (ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀφανεῖς ἐκείνους καὶ τούτων αἰτίους ἡ ἱερὰ φήμη θεραπεύει, ὀνόματά τε θεῖα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκδιδοῦσα καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ συστατικά καὶ κλήσεις καὶ αὐτοφανείας, ... Procl. *In Ti.* 111.89.16–19).

250 Pasquali (1908) 19.

251 Porph. *De Phil. Or.* 11.151.165–173: “Ἐν χρηστήριον ἔτι παραθεῖς, ὅπερ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἑκάτη πεποιήται, καταπαύσω τὸν περὶ ταύτης λόγον· “Ἡδ’ ἐγὼ εἰμι κόρη πολυφάσματος, οὐρανόφοιτος, /ταυρώπις, τρικάρηνος, ἀπηνῆς, χρυσοβέλεμνος, /Φοῖβη ἀπειρ<ολεχῆς>, φαεσίμβροτος, Εἰλείθυια, /τριστοίχου φύσεως *συνθήματα* τρισσὰ φέρουσα· /αἰ<θέρα> μὲν πυρόεσσιν ἐειδομένη εἰδώλοις, /ἥερα δ’ ἀργεννοῖσι τροχάσμασιν ἀμφικάθημαι· /γα<ῖαν> ἐμῶν σκυλάκων δοφερῶ γέ<νει> ἡνιοχε<ύω>.”

252 On ἡ ἱερὰ φήμη as a term used by the Neoplatonists when referring to the *Chaldaean Oracles* see Lewy (1978) 445.

Regarding the experiences of the initiates and their “suitability” (ἐπιτηδεύουσι) to receive epiphanies, it is stated: Arist. *Fr.* 15 (ed. Rose = Synesius *Dio* 10): “just as Aristotle esteems that the initiates (τοὺς τελουμένους) should not learn (οὐ μαθεῖν) anything, but *be liable to experiences* (παθεῖν) and be in such a condition, so that they have become suitable (ἐπιτηδεῖους) <for the revelation>” (καθάπερ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀξιοῖ τοὺς τελουμένους οὐ μαθεῖν τί δεῖν, ἀλλὰ παθεῖν καὶ διατεθῆναι, δηλονότι γενομένους ἐπιτηδεῖους).²⁵³

Concerning the *PGM* examples of αὐτοφάνεια, in the “Spell to bring the god” (“θεαγωγὸς λόγος” IV.985–1035), included in the “Spell that produces direct vision [of the divinity invoked]” (Αὐτοπτος IV.930–1114), the magician assimilates Helios with “the greatest god (τὸν μέγιστον θεόν), lord Horus Harpocrates,” “god of gods (θεῖ θεῶν),” whom he invokes (IV.987–988, 999–1000, 1048–1049). Helios is described as “the one who enlightens everything and illuminates by his own power the whole cosmos” (IV.989–991).²⁵⁴

Another “Prayer that produces direct vision (of the divinity invoked)” (Αὐτοπτος σύστασις, IV.930–1114) includes a hymn “To Helios” (IV.939–948), in which Helios is invoked. In another spell, IV.959–973, also included in the “Spell that produces direct vision” (IV.930–1114), Helios is also invoked addressed as “the living god,” τὸν θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα (IV.959). In the “Spell for direct vision” (VII.319–334) Osiris’ revelation to the magician in order to prophesy is described through ritualistic language, which emphasises Osiris’ cosmic establishment and is allusive to the mysteries.²⁵⁵

6.2.b. Αὐτοφάνεια/Αὐτόματος Ἐπιφάνεια: *Shape and Form*

In his *Commentary on Plato’s Republic* Proclus discusses the shapes and forms of the theurgic “direct revelation of the gods” (αἱ αὐτοφάνειαι τῶν θεῶν Procl. *In R.* I.37.9),²⁵⁶ who “sometimes are revealed as luminous visions without form and sometimes as having taken a form; for if we were not believing in these [visions], we would overthrow *the whole* hieratic [art] and *the ritual acts of the*

253 See Burkert (1987) 69, 89–90; Bremmer (2014) 13–14.

254 For this cosmic depiction of Harpocrates in the Greco-Roman period see El-Kachab (1971) 132–145; also Bonner (1950) plates IX–X.

255 E.g. VII.326 and 329: ἀνοιγε τὸν [ναὸν, τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδρυμένον] κόσμον, καὶ δέξαι τὸν Ὅσιριν καὶ ἀνοιξόν μου τὰ ὅλα, ἵνα μοι χρηματίσῃς; see also the spell “Hermes’ Ring” (V.213–303): ἐπαφήσω ἀνοιξίν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς (V.285); also Plu. *Quaest. Conv.* 738.C.3: τῇ τῶν χειρῶν ἀνοίξει.

256 On αὐτοφάνειαι see also Procl. *In R.* II.154.1–3: καὶ αὗται ποτὲ μὲν αὐτοφανῶς ἰδοῦσαι τὰς ἐν τῷ παντὶ τούτῳ κόσμῳ τάξεις αὐτῶν διαγγέλλουσιν κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ παντὶ προϋπάρχουσαν ἱερατικὴν. Procl. *In R.* II.344.27–345.1: καὶ πρότερον εἵπομεν καὶ μαρτυροῦσαν ἔχουσαν τὴν ἱερατικὴν παραδοῦσαν καὶ αὐτοπτικὴν κλήσιν τῆς μεγίστης θεοῦ ταύτης καὶ διδάξασαν πῶς ὀφθεῖσθαι προσιέναι <δεῖ>.

theurgists, and without these, [we would overthrow] the direct epiphanies of the gods, which sometimes manifest themselves in one form, sometimes in another" (φαινομένων τότε μὲν ἀτυπώτων φώτων, τότε δὲ τετυπωμένων· μὴ γὰρ προσέμενοι ταῦτα τὴν ἱερατικὴν ὄλην ἀνατρέπομεν καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν θεουργῶν, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων τὰς αὐτομάτους ἐπιφανείας τῶν θεῶν ἐν σχήμασιν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις φανταζομένων Procl. *In R.* I.37.9–14).

Furthermore, Proclus discussing all the hieratic treatises (ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς ἀπάσαις πραγματείαις) and *teletai* [initiatory rites] and mysteries and the epiphanies of the gods (ταῖς τελεταῖς καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείαις), writes about the manifold forms and transformation of shapes of gods in the theurgic epiphanies (ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείαις), "for in all these, the gods set forth many forms of themselves, and they appear to change into many shapes; sometimes their light appears formless, sometimes (it appears) having been shaped into a human form, and other times having advanced a different form. The god-given mystical doctrine hands down these (teachings) too." (ἐν ἅπασιν γὰρ τούτοις οἱ θεοὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἑαυτῶν προτείνουσι μορφάς, πολλὰ δὲ σχήματα ἐξαλλάττοντες φαίνονται· καὶ τότε μὲν ἀτύπωτον αὐτῶν προβέβληται φῶς, τότε δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπου μορφήν ἐσχηματισμένον, τότε δὲ εἰς ἄλλοιον τύπον προεληλυθός· καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ θεοπαράδοτος μυσταγωγία παραδίδωσιν· Procl. *In R.* I.110.21–111.2).

Moreover, in his *Commentary on Plato's Republic* Proclus reports, "long ago when the theurgists taught us that the direct revelations of the gods without form were necessarily endowed with form and those of the gods without figures were necessarily endowed with figures." (πάλαι καὶ τῶν θεουργῶν ἡμᾶς διδάξαντων, ὅτι τὰς αὐτοφανείας τῶν θεῶν μεμορφωμένας τῶν ἀμορφώτων καὶ ἐσχηματισμένας τῶν ἀσχηματίστων ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι Procl. *In R.* II.241.22–24).

Proclus also describes the theurgic apparition(-s) as "the flame-like, the immaculate, the timelessly present, the vital, anything of that kind, and the dimensionally one of those who participate, the one that has been formed and shaped; when gods also said these to the theurgists" (τὸ φωτοειδὲς τὸ ἄχραντον τὸ ἀχρόνως παρὸν τὸ ζωτικόν, πᾶν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον, τῶν δὲ μετεχόντων τὸ διαστατὸν τὸ μεμορφωμένον τὸ ἐσχηματισμένον· ταῦτα καὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰπόντων πρὸς τοὺς θεουργούς· Procl. *In R.* II.242.5–9).²⁵⁷

For Proclus, when the soul descends from the immaterial into the enmattered domain, it becomes passive, liable to experiences and emotions (Procl. *In Ti.* III.330.8–331.2). Proclus explains that these emotional souls of the embodied state are also formative "... since souls have become emotional (παθητικαῖς) instead of impassive and inclined to give shape (μορφωτικαῖς)

257 Procl. *In R.* II.242.15–16: εἰ οὖν τοῖς θεουργοῖς τοῦτον αὐτοπτεῖται τὸν τρόπον τὰ θεῖα.

instead of having no shape, it is sensible to say that teaching through this kind of myths is the proper way of teaching them" (... γενομέναις ἀπαθέσι παθητικαῖς, ἀμορφώτοις μορφωτικαῖς, πρέπων ἐστὶν τρόπος διδασκαλίας εἰκότως ὁ διὰ τῶν τοιῶνδε μύθων) (Procl. *In R.* 11.107.21–23).

Similarly, the symbols and *synthēmata* in the *telestic* art [theurgy] make the statues suitable to receive divine illuminations, as Proclus explains in his *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus*, "thus, just as the *telestic* art through some symbols and secret *synthēmata* conforms the statues in this way to the gods, and makes these statues suitable (ἐπιτήδεια) for the reception of divine illuminations ..." (καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ τελεστική διὰ δὴ τινων συμβόλων καὶ ἀπορρήτων συνθημάτων τὰ τῆδε ἀγάλματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεικάζει καὶ ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν θείων ἐλλάμψεων ... Procl. *In Cra.* 51.19.12–15).²⁵⁸

6.4–8.a. Καθάρσεις /Καθαρμοί, "Purification Rituals"

Proclus in his *Platonic Theology* asserts that the theurgic power (τῆς θεουργικῆς δυνάμεως) combines the purifying powers of the *telestic* [initiatory] rite (τὰς τῆς τελεσιουργικῆς καθαρτικὰς δυνάμεις) with the operations of divination and divine possession (Procl. *Plat. Theol.* 1.113.6–10).

In his *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* Proclus also points out that "purification is a characteristic not only of medicine but also of divination" (<τὸ> τὴν καθαρσιν μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ὁρᾶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μαντικῆς Procl. *In Cra.* 176.100.11–12), "and, as Timaeus says (22c), gods purify the universe either with fire or water, acts which the seers also imitate; and for these reasons the theurgic rites instruct that they should purify first the summoners and the receptors according to these ways. ... For Apollo is everywhere the one who unites the many and brings them together to one, and he uniformly anticipated all the ways of purification, cleansing the whole heaven and creation and all encosmic lives, and separating individual souls from the thickening of matter. So for this reason *the theurgist*, who is the leader of this rite, starts with the purifications and the lustral besprinklings; let he himself as *a priest* among the first governing the rituals of fire, be sprinkled with a frosty wave of the deep-voiced brine, as the Chaldaean oracle²⁵⁹ says about him." (καὶ γάρ, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος (p 22c), καὶ τὸ πᾶν οἱ θεοὶ καθαίρουσιν ἢ πυρὶ ἢ ὕδατι, ἃ καὶ οἱ μάντεϊς μιμοῦνται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ αἱ θεουργίαι τοὺς μὲν κλήτορας καὶ τοὺς δοχέας τούτοις τοῖς τρόποις προκαθαίρειν παρακελεύονται, καὶ οὐ τοῖς μάντεσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τελεσταῖς οἱ καθαρμοὶ πρὸ τῶν τελετῶν παραλαμβάνονται, πᾶν τὸ ἄλλότριον τῆς προκειμένης τελετῆς ἀποσκευ-

²⁵⁸ Pasquali (1908) 19.

²⁵⁹ *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 133; Majercik (1989).

αζόμενοι. ..., καὶ πάντας τοὺς τρόπους τῆς καθάρσεως ἐνοειδῶς προεἶληφεν, ὅλον τε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὰς ζωὰς ἀπάσας καθαίρων τὰς ἐγκοσμίους καὶ τὰς μερικὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν παχυσμάτων χωρίζων τῆς ὕλης. διὸ καὶ ὁ θεουργὸς ὁ τῆς τελότης τοῦτου προκαθηγούμενος ἀπὸ τῶν καθάρσεων ἄρχεται καὶ τῶν περιρράνσεων· αὐτὸς δ' ἐν πρώτοις ἱερεὺς πυρὸς ἔργα κυβερνῶν κύματι ῥαίνέσθω παγερῶ βαρυχηέος ἄλμης ὥς φησι τὸ λόγιον (or chald p 55) περὶ αὐτοῦ. Procl. *In Cra.* 176.100.19–101.8).²⁶⁰

Marinus in his *Proclus* mentions that Proclus used to practice Orphic and Chaldaean purification rituals from the prime to the end of his life, “... at night and also during the day he used apotropaic (rituals), sprinklings with lustral water and other purifications, sometimes Orphic, other times Chaldaean, going down to the sea without fear every month, and sometimes ‘twice’ or ‘thrice’ in the same month;” (... νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀποτροπαῖς καὶ περιρραντηρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαρμοῖς χρώμενος, ὅτε μὲν Ὀρφικοῖς ὅτε δὲ Χαλδαϊκοῖς, ἐπὶ θάλατταν τε ἀόκνως ἐκάστου μηνὸς κατιῶν, ἔσθ’ ὅτε δὲ ‘δὶς’ ἢ ‘καὶ τρίς’ τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 18.455–459).

Marinus also particularly refers to certain Chaldaean purification rituals associated with Hecate’s epiphanies, which Proclus used to practice, “But before these, the philosopher, *after being purified in due order by the Chaldaean purifications*, invoked flame-like [/fiery] revelations for direct vision of Hecate, as he himself has recorded in one of his own treatises.” (Πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἐν τάξει ὁ φιλόσοφος τοῖς Χαλδαϊκοῖς καθαρμοῖς καθαιρόμενος, φάσμασι μὲν Ἑκατικοῖς φωτοειδέσιν αὐτοπτοῦμένοις ὠμίλησεν, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς που μέμνηται ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι. Marin. *Vit. Procl.* 28.683–686).

Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato’s Alcibiades I* refers to the purification rituals, using a simile between theurgic rituals and philosophical accomplishment, “Thus, just as in the [theurgic] rituals there precede cleansings and sprinklings with lustral water and purifications, which are practice for secret rites and participation in the divine, so also I think the philosophical procedure purifies beforehand and prepares those who are on the way to it for the self-knowledge and the self-revealing contemplation [/vision] of our essence.” (ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς καθάρσεις ἡγούνται καὶ περιρραντήρια καὶ ἀγνισμοί, αὐτῶν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις δρωμένων καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μετουσίας γυμνάσματ’ εἰσιν, οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος τελεσιουργία προκαθαίρειν καὶ προπαρασκευάζειν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν γνῶσιν καὶ τὴν αὐτοφανή τῆς οὐσίας ἡμῶν θεωρίαν τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν στελλομένους. Procl. *In Alc.* 1.9.2–7).

²⁶⁰ Pasquali (1908) 101.

Furthermore, Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* discusses the divine purifications, referring to the act of “gods purifying the earth with water” (“Όταν δὲ αὖ οἱ θεοὶ τὴν γῆν ὕδασι καθαίροντες Procl. *In Ti.* 1.118.14), and explaining it as follows, “for the one type of purification is made through water and the other through fire, and everywhere there is purity to the seconds coming from the firsts” (καὶ γὰρ καθαρμὸς ὁ μὲν γίνεται δι’ ὕδατος, ὁ δὲ διὰ πυρός, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἡ καθαρότης τοῖς δευτέροις ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων 1.118.21–23).

Proclus also relates these purifications with the ones on a universal scale, “And if there are certain purifications in the universe too, there are certainly those who stand before these purifications, acting as purifiers in the universe before the partial purifiers ... And the priest having understood this has also called the destructions by water or fire according to the hieratic way purifications, but not destructions, as he would have said if he was explaining it only from natural principles.” (εἰ δὲ δὴ καθαρμοὶ τινές εἰσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις, εἰσὶ δὴπου καὶ τῶν καθαρμῶν προστάται τούτων πρὸ τῶν μερικῶν καθαρτῆρες εἰς τὰ ὅλα δρώντες, ... ὁ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰδὼς τὰς δι’ ὕδατος καὶ πυρός φθοράς ὀνόματι κέκληκεν ἱερατικῶ καθαρμούς, ἀλλ’ οὐ φθοράς, ὡς ἂν εἶπε φυσιολογῶν μόνον. Procl. *In Ti.* 1.118.30–119.6).

6.6–8.b. Καθάρσεις /Καθαρμοί: Plato on Purification Rituals

In Plato’s *Cratylus* Socrates states about purification and the cleansing rituals, “first, the purification and the cleansing rituals both in medicine and divination, the fumigations with medical drugs and divination and the bathings and lustral besprinklings [included] in these [rituals], all these could have the same effect, namely to purify a person in body and soul” (πρώτον μὲν γὰρ ἡ κάθαρσις καὶ οἱ καθαρμοὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν καὶ κατὰ τὴν μαντικὴν καὶ αἱ τοῖς ἰατρικοῖς φαρμάκοις καὶ αἱ τοῖς μαντικοῖς περιθειώσεις τε καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καὶ αἱ περιρράνσεις, πάντα ἐν τι ταῦτα δύναιτ’ ἂν, καθαρὸν παρέχειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν· Pl. *Cra.* 405.a.7–b.4). Furthermore, “the *teletic* rites, Socrates says in Plato’s *Phaedrus* (244d–e), can purify, releasing from the present bad things through the worship of the divine” (φησὶν ὁ ἐν Φαίδρῳ Σωκράτης, ἡ τελεστική δύναται καθαίρειν λύουσα τῶν παρόντων κακῶν διὰ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον λατρείας. Procl. *In Cra.* 93. 46.21–23).²⁶¹

Socrates in Plato’s *Phaedrus* also describes the mystic initiation rites of the pure souls, alluding to images and visual experiences of the initiated to the Eleusinian mysteries, “... but beauty was bright to see at the time when the souls, together with the blessed chorus—with us following Zeus, while others followed other gods—saw *that blessed appearance and vision* and were prac-

261 Pasquali (1908) 46.

tising the *rite*,²⁶² which according to the custom is the most blessed of all; this rite which we celebrated being ourselves perfect and without experience of the troubles that awaited us in after time, being initiated and viewing as *epoptai*²⁶³ perfect, and simple, and unshakeable and blissful apparitions²⁶⁴ *in pure light because we were pure ourselves* and unmarked by this thing which we are carrying around now and we call a body, bound to it like an oyster in its shell." (... κάλλος δὲ τότε ἦν ἰδεῖν λαμπρόν, ὅτε σὺν εὐδαίμονι χορῶ μακαρίαν ὕψιν τε καὶ θέαν, ἐπόμενοι μετὰ μὲν Διὸς ἡμεῖς, ἄλλοι δὲ μετ' ἄλλου θεῶν, εἰδόν τε καὶ ἐτελοῦντο τῶν τελετῶν ἣν θέμις λέγειν μακαριωτάτην, ἣν ὠργιάζομεν ὁλόκληροι μὲν αὐτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ὅσα ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ὑπέμενεν, ὁλόκληρα δὲ καὶ ἀπλᾶ καὶ ἀτρεμῆ καὶ εὐδαίμονα φάσματα μυούμενοί τε καὶ ἐποπτεύοντες ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ, καθαροὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀσήμαντοι τούτου ὃ νῦν δὴ σῶμα περιφέροντες ὀνομάζομεν, ὅστρεόν τῳ τρόπῳ δεδεσμευμένοι. Pl. *Phdr.* 250.b.5–c.6).

Plato also in *Phaedrus* associates madness with purification rites, saying that madness [*mania*] found relief from trouble and hardship, "... taking refuge in prayers to the gods and in worship, and, as a result, being engaged in *mystic rites and purifications* ..." (... καταφυγούσα πρὸς θεῶν εὐχὰς τε καὶ λατρείας, ὅθεν δὴ καθαρμῶν τε καὶ τελετῶν τυχούσα ἐξάντη ... Pl. *Phdr.* 244 e.2–4).²⁶⁵

In *Phaedo* Plato relates purification with the separation of the soul from the body, "Is this, then, not purification, exactly as was said in our discourse some time ago, namely, to separate the soul from the body as far as possible and to accustom it to assemble and gather itself together out of every part of the body, and to dwell by itself as much as possible both now and then, released, just as from the bonds of the body?" (Κάθαρσις δὲ εἶναι ἄρα οὐ τοῦτο συμβαίνει, ὅπερ πάλαι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λέγεται, τὸ χωρίζειν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἐθίσαι αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν πανταχόθεν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος συναγείρεσθαι τε καὶ ἀθροίζε-

262 On the secret Eleusinian rites and the laments of Kore and Demeter included in these rites Proclus says: Procl. *In R.* 1.125.20–22: ἐπεὶ καὶ Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς ἱεροῦς τινὰς ἐν ἀπορρήτοις θρήνοις αἱ τελεταὶ παραδεδώκασιν. See also Isocr. *Paneg.* 28. 4–12: Δήμητρος γὰρ ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὅτ' ἐπλανήθη τῆς Κόρης ἀρπασθείσης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς μεμνημένοις ἀκούειν, καὶ δούσης θωρεὰς διττάς, αἵπερ μέγισται τυγχάνουσιν οὐσαι, τοὺς τε καρπούς, οἱ τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἵτιοι γεγόνασιν, καὶ τὴν τελετὴν, ἣς οἱ μετασχόντες περὶ τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίου τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν; and Christian sources: Greg. Naz. *Or.* 39.4; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.12.2; Lact. *Inst. Div.* 18.7.

263 *Epoptai*: the highest grade of initiation at the Eleusinian mysteries; *LSJ*.

264 On the apparitions /visual experiences of the initiated to the Eleusenian mysteries see Burkert (1983) 265–293, Riedweg (1987) 30–69, Clinton (2003) 50–78, Parker (2005) 342–360.

265 Plato *Phd.* 69c; cf. Plu. *De Rect. Rat. Aud.* 2.47A: hence in pl., as title of poem by Empedocles, Ath. *Deipn.* 14.620d.

σθαι, καὶ οἰκεῖν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔπειτα μόνην καθ' αὐτήν, ἐκλυομένην ὥσπερ [ἐκ] δεσμῶν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος; Pl. *Phd.* 67c.5–67d.2).

Plato also refers to a certain way of life that should lead to knowledge, and says that “we should not be infected with the nature of the body, but we should *purify ourselves* from it until the god himself sets us free; ... for it is not righteous *to the impure to touch/attain the pure*.” (μηδὲ ἀναπιμπλώμεθα τῆς τούτου φύσεως, ἀλλὰ καθαρεύωμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἄν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀπολύσῃ ἡμᾶς ... μὴ καθαρῶ γὰρ καθαρὸν ἐφάπτεσθαι μὴ οὐ θεμιτὸν ᾗ. Pl. *Phd.* 67.a.2–b.2).

Furthermore, Plato turns the discussion to precious stones (λιθίδια), such as cornelians, jaspers, emeralds, describing them as “the loved pieces” (τὰ ἀγαπώμενα μόρια), and all stones as “even more beautiful” (καὶ ἔτι τούτων καλλίω). And “the reason is that there they are pure” (τὸ δ' αἴτιον τούτου εἶναι ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι οἱ λίθοι εἰσὶ καθαροί Pl. *Phd.* 110.d.7–e.3). Regarding the ‘purity’ and purifying power of stones in theurgical rituals, Proclus in the *Elements of Theology* asserts that, “So I say that if, for example, there is a purifying deity, then there will be purification in souls, animals and stones” (... λέγω δὲ οἷον εἴ τις ἔστι θεότης καθαρτική, καὶ ἐν ψυχαῖς ἔστι καθαρισὶς καὶ ἐν ζώοις καὶ ἐν φυτοῖς καὶ ἐν λίθοις Procl. *Inst.* 145.7–10). Proclus also clarifies that the purifying power of stones is only corporeal, “the stone participates in purifying power only corporeally” (καὶ ὁ μὲν λίθος μετέχει τῆς καθαρτικῆς δυνάμεως σωματικῶς μόνον Procl. *Inst.* 145.11–12).²⁶⁶

6.6–8.c. Καθάρσεις /Καθαρμοί: Water Purification Rituals in Egyptian Religion

According to Porphyry's treatise *De Abstinencia* IV.7, Chaeremon, the Egyptian priest [sacred scribe] and Stoic philosopher of the first century CE, reports about the priests during the period of their priestly office, “Thrice a day they used to wash themselves in cold water, when they got up, before the midday meal and before they went to bed. If they happen to have an emission of semen during sleep, they immediately used to purify the body by washing.” (τρίς δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπελούοντο ψυχρῶ, ἀπὸ τε κοίτης καὶ πρὸ ἀρίστου καὶ πρὸ ὕπνου. εἰ δέ ποτε συμβαίῃ καὶ ὀνειρώττειν, παραχρῆμα ἀπεκάθαιρον λουτρῶ τὸ σῶμα. *Abst.* 4.7.32–35).²⁶⁷ Chaeremon's report recorded by Porphyry about the importance of purification rituals practiced by the Egyptian priests may suggest possible influences from the Egyptian practice into theurgy. However, the Christian theologian and philosopher Augustine (354–430 CE) in *The City of God, De Civitate Dei* X.9, discussing Porphyry's view on the role of purification in the theurgic

²⁶⁶ See also Procl. *In R.* I.183.11–22.

²⁶⁷ Horst (1987); Patillon, Segonds and Brisson (1995).

teletai, writes that for Porphyry the theurgic purification rituals are useful not for the intellectual part, but only for the spiritual part of the soul, which is related to “the images of material things” and “visions of the gods.”²⁶⁸

Purification rituals were an essential part of the religiosity of the Egyptian priests. In the temple of Edfu in Upper Egypt there is a reference to the purification rituals that the Egyptian priests had undertaken before entering the temple: “Door-keepers, great Gods, masters of the flame, with long rays, who open the door-wings of heaven and illuminate the two countries, Guardians [...] Upper and Lower Egypt, who stand and sit at the right and at the left, Kings of Upper and lower Egypt of the south and the north, Venerable ones of the gods! I have come to you, great gods, *after Horus has purified me, after Thot has perfumed me with incense*. Make way for me so that I can pass! I have come on the way of the god, I have entered praised and have emerged loved, there are no male and female adversaries on my path ... I do not diminish the offering bread, I do not do painful things. I have not made any dirt. *Horus is my purity*. My hands are Horus, my arms are Thot, I have brought the Udjat-eye to his master, I have put Maat in her place. I am a prophet; it is the king who has sent me to see the god. A king’s offering, *I am pure*.” (Edfou III 83, 2–11).²⁶⁹

The purification rituals that the Egyptian priests practiced involve the use of water, as they are well documented in temple reliefs.²⁷⁰ Water in these

268 Aug. *De Civ. Dei* x.9: “Even Porphyry promises a kind of *purification* of the soul by means of *theurgy*, though he does so reluctantly, ... at another, he seems to yield to the advocates of magic and claims that it is useful for the purification of a part of the soul—not, of course, the intellectual part which conceives the truth of intelligible realities that have no sensible images, but the spiritual part which perceives the images of material things. He [Porphyry] explains that by means of certain *theurgic consecrations*, which are called *teletai* [initiat-ory rites] or mysteries, *this spiritual part* becomes suitably prepared for the friendship of spirits and angels and fit *for visions of the gods*. Nevertheless, he is disposed to confess that these theurgic mysteries do not operate any purification in the intellectual soul which would prepare it to behold its God and to perceive the realities that truly exist—an admission, surely, that helps us to understand the kind of gods involved in theurgic consecrations, and the value of a vision in which true realities remain unseen.” Transl. Walsh and Monahan (1952). Furthermore, Augustine points out that according to Porphyry theurgy is associated with envious powers, and he refers to a story about a certain Chaldaean, which has been reported by Porphyry: “A good man in Chaldaea complains his great efforts to purify his soul were frustrated because *an expert in theurgy* who was envious of his purity had bound and conjured the powers by magical prayers not to grant his request—with the result that what one bound the other could not loose.” (Aug. *De Civ. Dei* x.9). Transl. Walsh and Monahan (1952).

269 Alliot (1949–1954) 144–145.

270 E.g. the reliefs of the ‘Red Chapel of Hatshepsut’ (/ ‘La Chapelle Rouge’) from the Eighteenth Dynasty; see Burgos and Larché (2006) 212 and 216.

rituals was a symbol of life and all things emerged from it.²⁷¹ An initiated priest reveals about the various stages of the ‘induction ritual’ in the temple, such as presentation before the god, purification and beholding the deity: “I was presented before the god, being an excellent young man, while I was introduced into the horizon of heaven ... I was emerged from Nun (the primordial waters), and I was purified of what ill had been in me; I removed my clothing and ointments, as Horus and Seth were purified. I advanced before the god in the holy of holies, filled with fear before his power.” (Cairo Catalogue général 42230).²⁷²

Herodotus in *Histories* II.37 describes the water purification rituals of the Egyptian priests as follows: “They wash themselves in cold water twice a day and twice every night;” (Λοῦνται δὲ δις τε τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχρῶ καὶ δις ἐκάστης νυκτός ... Hdt. II.37.14–16).²⁷³

Apuleius (c. 124–170 AD) in *Metamorphoses* Book XI describes the water purification rituals that Lucius underwent in his initiation into the mysteries of Isis at Rome, according to which Lucius was purified by the high-priest in “the nearest public baths” and “sprinkled” “with holy water.” At the final stage of his initiation Lucius experienced a divine epiphany, “Then he [the high-priest] ordered all uninitiated to depart, invested me in a new linen garment and led me by the hand into the inner recesses of the sanctuary itself. ... I approached the very gates of death and set one foot on Persephone’s threshold, yet was permitted to return, rapt through all the elements. At midnight I saw the sun shining as if it were noon; I entered the presence of the gods of the Underworld and the gods of the Upper- world, stood near and worshipped them.” (Apul. *Met.* XI.20–23).²⁷⁴

271 On the symbolism of the water purification rituals of the priests see Sauneron (2000) 36–42; On priests and temples in Ptolemaic Egypt see Otto (1905–1908).

272 Transl. Jansen-Winkel (1985).

273 Hdt. II.37.1–17: Θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμοισι τοιοισίδε χρέωνται. Ἐκ χαλκῶν ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμώντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὁ μὲν, ὁ δ’ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. Ἐῖματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα. Τὰ τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαριότητος εἵνεκεν, προτιμώντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. Οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ξυροῦνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μῆτε φθεῖρ μῆτε ἄλλο μυσσάρὸν μηδὲν ἐγγίνηταί σφι θεραπέουσι τοὺς θεοὺς. Ἑσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱερεῖς λινέην μούνην καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα, ἄλλην δὲ σφι ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. Λοῦνται δὲ δις τε τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχρῶ καὶ δις ἐκάστης νυκτός, ἄλλας τε θρησκείας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα. See Lloyd (1994) 164–171.

274 Transl. Graves (1951) 279–280.

6.6–8.d. *Καθάρσεις /Καθαρμοί: Water Purification Rituals in Sumerian Religion*

Purification rituals with sacred water are also attested in Sumerian texts, such as hymns to gods, the Gudea cylinders which deal with the myth of the “Building of Ningirsu’s Temple,” incantations, or economic texts. One major god associated with water purification rituals is Enki,²⁷⁵ the Sumerian god of water, wisdom and magic, later known as Ea or Ae in Akkadian religion. Another deity associated with the consecration of the water is the Mesopotamian goddess Ningirima, who is addressed in a Sumerian temple hymn as “mistress of shining sacred water” (TCS 3, TH 19, line 237).²⁷⁶ “Apollo’s purifying power” (ἡ καθαρτικὴ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δύναμις Procl. *In Cra.* 176.100.12–13) is discussed in a passage in Proclus’ *Commentary on Plato’s Cratylus*, in which Apollo is described as “the one who unites the many and brings them together to one” (πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἐνωτικός ἐστὶν τοῦ πλήθους ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ συναγωγὸς εἰς ἓν 176.100.27–28), “*cleansing* the whole heaven and creation and all encosmic lives” (ὅλον τε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὰς ζῶας ἀπάσας καθαίρων τὰς ἐγκοσμίους 176.101.1–2). These purifying activities of the gods are imitated, according to Proclus, by seers and theurgists (176.100. 20 and 101.3–8).

In the Sumerian tale of “Inanna’s Descent to the Netherworld,” Inanna goes to the Underworld to conquer the realm of her sister, Ereshkigal. She asks her servant to call upon Enki to help her, when she dies. According to Inanna’s words: “Father Enki, lord of great wisdom, he knows the herb of life, he knows the potion [literally: water] of life. He will bring me back to life.” (ETCSL 1.4.1.65–67).²⁷⁷

Enki advises his son Asalluhi to practice a water purification ritual to purify the town from the pollution caused by an incantation priest: “Take seven šaḥarratu-vessels brought from a large kiln *at the mouths of the two rivers draw water*. Tamarisk, soapwort(?), young date palm, šalālu-reed, ‘horned’ alkali, salt which washes/opens the mouths of the gods, cedar, cypress, supālu-juniper, box-wood, aromatics, burāšu-juniper, terebinth(?), white cedar, red [...], cedar-oil, pure oil, excellent oil, oil of a nikiptu plant, white syrup brought from its mountain/country of origin, pure cow-fat, cow fat produced in a pure stall, gold, silver, šārīru-gold, rock-crystal, serpentine, ḫulālu-stone, carnelian, (and) lapis lazuli throw into the holy-water-basin. *Set in place the pure holy-water-basin of Eridu*, perform the rites of the Apsû, recite your propitious incantation, *make that water fully perfect by the craft of the āšīpu/exorcist, purify (it) by your pure*

275 Kramer and Maier (1989) 2.

276 Sjöberg, Bergmann and Gragg (1969).

277 Black et al. (1998–2006).

incantation. Take a bucket, a dipper with a ring handle, pour that water into it. The holy-water-basin which purifies the temple of the gods, *the holy-water-basin* which cleanses the temple of the gods, *the holy-water-basin* which makes bright the temple of the gods, *the holy-water-basin* which washes the mouth of the gods, *the holy-water-basin* which purifies the city, *the holy-water-basin* which cleanses the city, *the holy-water-basin* which makes the city shine, take it and make it pass through the city, make it pass through the city-square, make it pass through street and alley, make it pass through the city ... Shout ..., 'Let the city (?) become pure, let [...] become bright, let [...] become pure, let [...] become bright.' The [...] of the gods [...] may it be pure, [...] may it be clean, [...] may it be bright." (CT XVII. 31–65).²⁷⁸

Regarding the reference to the sacred-pure place to collect water, "Take seven šaḥarratu-vessels brought from a large kiln at the mouths of the two rivers draw water." (CT XVII. 31–32), as examined above, there are more topographical details provided in a spell against *Utukki lemnuti*-daemons: "In Eredū the mulberry on a *pure place* has grown; its light of fresh lazurite above Abzu over-stretched, a place of the basis of it is the Underground world! In the dark house, in a wood rejecting a shadow under which any person will not enter, inside Utu and Amaushumgalanna, *between mouths of two rivers* Kahegal, Igihegal, Lahama from Eredū have made the following spell ..." (CT XVI. 46, 183–202).²⁷⁹

6.8. Ἐμπύριος Δύναμις, "Empyrean Power"

Proclus points out that a natural element, sea water purifies because of its participation in the "empyrean power." (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 6.7–8). In Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* 'fire and water' are associated with the purifying activities of the gods in the universe and the purifications and the lustral besprinklings practiced by the theurgists, "as Timaeus says (22c), gods purify the universe either with fire or water (ἢ πυρὶ ἢ ὕδατι), acts which the seers also imitate;" (Procl. *In Cra.* 176.100.19–20); and "above all, let the priest himself, governing the rituals of fire, be sprinkled with a frosty wave of the deep-voiced brine, as the Chaldaean oracle²⁸⁰ says about him" (Procl. *In Cra.* 176.101.6–7).²⁸¹

278 Walker and Dick (2001) 224. On temple purifications with lustral water see Bottéro (2001) 161.

279 Lambert (2000) 75–77. On Enki's ejaculation in the waters of Tigris note the following passage from the so-called story of "Enki and the World Order": "After he looked away, after Father Enki looked at the Euphrates, he stood ready like a rampant wild bull, he raises his penis and ejaculates, he filled the Tigris with flowing water." (ETCSL 1.1.3. 250–254) Black et al (1998–2006); Kramer and Maier (1989) 38–56.

280 *Orac. Chald. Fr.* 133; Majercik (1989).

281 See also Comm.: Sect. 6.4–8.a on the purification rituals above.

The “power of fire” has been identified with the divine in Porphyry. For example, *On Statues* Porphyry says that “the power of fire has been called Dionysus” (ἡ πυρὸς δύναμις Διόνυσος κέκληται Porph. *On Stat.* 8.19–20).²⁸² And in the *De Antro Nympharum* he refers to the symbols of Dionysus, namely clay kraters and amphoras, and explains that “for these [symbols] are dear to the gift of the god of the vine, since its fruit is ripened by the fire of heaven” (ταῦτα γὰρ φίλα τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεᾷ τῆς ἀμπέλου, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ πυρὸς οὐρανίου πεπαίνεται ταύτης ὁ καρπός. Porph. *Ant.* 13.8–9). Elsewhere *On Statues* Porphyry associates the “power of fire” with Hephaestus, “Then they addressed the power of fire as Hephaestus and they have made his statue in human shape” (Τοῦ δ’ αὖ πυρὸς τὴν δύναμιν προσειπόντες Ἥφαιστον, ἀνθρωποειδὲς μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα πεποιήκασιν Porph. *On Stat.* 8.5–6).²⁸³

*Marginal Notes by Ficino (Marginalia Ficini) of MS V
(Valllicellianus) F 20, Fol. 140^v (lines 3 and 6–8)*

6.2 ad χνέωρον *forsan carduus* V^{mg}.

Similarly, in Ficino’s translation of Proclus’ *De Sacrificio et Magia* (1497) it is written:

cnabison id est carduus

6.3 ad ῥάμνος *raccinum id est genus virgulli spinosum quo facta est corona Christi* V^{mg}.

Similarly, in Ficino’s translation of Proclus’ *De Sacrificio et Magia* (1497) it is written:

raccinum id est genus virgulli spinosum

Scholium written above the line of MS VF 20, Fol. 140^v (line 10)

6.6–7 sup. θείῳ et ἀσφάλτῳ *sulphure et bitumine* V^{s.1}.

²⁸² Bidez (1913) 13 in Appendices.

²⁸³ Bidez (1913) 12 in Appendices. See Procl. *In Ti.* 1.147.6–9: ὁ δέ γε φιλόσοφος Πορφύριος ταῦτα ἐξηγούμενος τὸν μὲν Ἥφαιστον <τὸν> τεχνικὸν ὑποτίθεται νοῦν, γῆν δὲ τὴν σεληνιακὴν σφαῖραν ταύτην γὰρ αἰθερίαν γῆν καλεῖσθαι παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις.

The following scholium is written above the line (*supra lineam*) of the manuscript V F 20, Fol. 140^v (line 10)

Similarly, in Ficino's translation of Proclus' *De Sacrificio et Magia* (1497) it is written:

asphalto id est bitumine

7. *Energeia*, "Activity"

7.4, 9. *Ἐνέργεια*, *Energeia*, "Activity"

In Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks* it is stated that the theurgists in the initiation rituals understood that "the daemonic powers" (τὰς δαιμονίους δυνάμεις) are substances closely associated to "the natural and bodily activities" (τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐνεργείας) and "they brought themselves into union through these very powers." (Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 7.3–5). Then, they left behind these natural activities (τὰς φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας), and used "the primary and divine powers" (ταῖς πρωτουργοῖς καὶ θείαις ἐχρήσαντο δυνάμεσι Procl. *Hier.Ar.* 7.8–10).

Regarding the natural *activity*, Proclus in his *Platonic Theology* states that "the activity (*energeia*) of nature is twofold,²⁸⁴ the one which stays inside itself, according to which it keeps together itself and the reason-principles inside it; and the one that derives from it, through which the bodies also are filled full of these natural powers (τῶν φυσικῶν τούτων δυνάμεων), which are moved by the nature and act to one another and are affected by one another naturally." (... διττὴ μὲν ἔστιν ἐνέργεια τῆς φύσεως, ἥ τε ἐν αὐτῇ μένουσα, καθ' ἣν ἑαυτὴν συνέχει καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ λόγους, καὶ ἡ ἀπ' αὐτῆς, δι' ἣν καὶ τὰ σώματα πεπλήρωται τῶν φυσικῶν τούτων δυνάμεων, αἱ κινούμεναι παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εἰς ἀλλήλας δρῶσι καὶ πάσχουσιν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φυσικῶς. Procl. *Plat.Theol.* v.64.15–20).²⁸⁵

284 On the "twofold are the activities (*energeiai*) and powers (*dunameis*) of gods" see Procl. *Plat.Theol.* v.64.3–9: Διτταὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰσιν ἐνέργειαι καὶ δυνάμεις. Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν αὐτοῖς μένουσι καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνεργοῦσι καὶ τέλος ἔχουσι τὴν μίαν καὶ ἡνωμένην πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν ὑπόστασιν· αἱ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν προϊοῦσαι καὶ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα τὴν δραστήριον ἐπιδεικνύμεναι δύναμιν, αἱ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὑποδεχομένων καὶ τῇ τῆς οὐσίας ιδιότητι συνυπάρχουσι. On the *energeia* of gods see Comm.: Sect. 2.1–3; also 2.9–16 and 1.13–14.

285 The word ἐνέργεια is rarely used in the New Testament, but the term δύναμις is mostly used to describe the human participation in the divine dynamic. In Paul's epistle to the Ephesians there is a rare example of the "activity of the god's power," in which both terms are used. Eph 3:6–7: εἶναι τὰ ἔθνη συγκληρονόμα καὶ σύσσωμα καὶ συμμέτοχα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐν

In relation to the bodily *activity*, Proclus in his *Commentary on Plato's Republic* writes that in the theurgic ritual of the ascent of the soul the hieratic words (οἱ ἱερατικοὶ λόγοι) focus on separating the souls from the bodies, "by producing to the souls the activity (*energeia*) freed from bodies and the release of the natural bonds" (ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς τὴν ἀπόλυτον τῶν σωμάτων προξενούντες ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν φυσικῶν δεσμῶν Procl. *In R.* II.119.5–9).

In the *Elements of Theology*, also, Proclus, discussing the characteristics of activity (*energeia*) and its relation to existence (οὐσία) and the body (σῶμα), states, "Everything that is capable of returning to itself has an existence (*ousia*) separable from the body. For if it were inseparable from whatsoever body, it could not have any activity (*energeia*) separable from the body; for it is impossible that, if the existence is inseparable from bodies, the activity (*energeia*) should be separable from the existence: if so, the activity would be superior to the existence, if the latter needed a body, while the former was self-sufficient, being dependent not on bodies but on itself. Therefore, if anything is inseparable in its existence, it is in the same way or even more inseparable in its *activity*. But if so, it cannot return to itself; for that which returns to itself, being other than body, has an activity separate from the body and not conducted through the body or with the body, if neither the activity itself nor that to which it is directed requires the body. Thus, that which returns to itself is entirely separable from bodies." (Πάν τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ ἐπιστρεπτικὸν χωριστὴν οὐσίαν ἔχει παντὸς σώματος. εἰ γὰρ ἀχώριστον εἴη σώματος οὐτινοσοῦν, οὐχ ἔξει τινὰ ἐνέργειαν σώματος χωριστὴν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ, ἀχωρίστου τῆς οὐσίας σωμάτων οὔσης, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας ἐνέργειαν εἶναι χωριστὴν· ἔσται γὰρ οὕτως ἡ ἐνέργεια τῆς οὐσίας κρείττων, εἴπερ ἢ μὲν ἐπιδεής ἐστι σωμάτων, ἢ δὲ αὐτάρκης, ἑαυτῆς οὖσα καὶ οὐ σωμάτων. εἰ οὖν τι κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστὶν ἀχώριστον, καὶ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ὁμοίως ἢ καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀχώριστον. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἑαυτό. τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ ἐπιστρέφον, ἄλλο ὄν σώματος, ἐνέργειαν ἔχει χωριζομένην σώματος καὶ οὐ διὰ σώματος οὐδὲ μετὰ σώματος, εἴπερ ἢ τε ἐνέργεια καὶ τὸ πρὸς ὃ ἡ ἐνέργεια οὐδὲν δεῖται τοῦ σώματος. χωριστὸν ἄρα πάντῃ σωμάτων ἐστὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ ἐπιστρέφον. Procl. *Inst.* 16.7–20).²⁸⁶

Iamblichus in *De Mysteriis* discusses the notion of practicing the *human activity* in common with the god and the human participation in god's powers,

Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὗ ἐγενήθη διάκονος κατὰ τὴν δωρεάν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δοθείσης μοι κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. See also (Pseudo-)Psellus' *Περὶ Ἐνεργείας Δαιμόνων* (*De Operatione Daemonum* / *De Daemonibus*) and *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus*; Gautier (1980) 105–194 and (1988) 85–107.

286 Dodds (1933) 18. On *energeia* and *epistrophe* in Proclus' *Institutio Theologica* see Dodds (1933) 193–194 and 222–223.

distinguishing at the same time the notions of participation, communion and union, “For either god holds us, or we are wholly possessed by god, or we practice our *activity* in common with him; and sometimes we participate in the god’s *lowest power* (*dunamis*), sometimes in his *intermediate* [*dunamis*], and other times in his *primary power* (*dunamis*); and sometimes there is a simple participation, sometimes a communion, and other times even a union from these inspirations [/divine possessions].” (“Ἡ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχει, ἢ ἡμεῖς ὅλοι τοῦ θεοῦ γιγνόμεθα, ἢ κοινὴν ποιούμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ἐνέργειαν· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τῆς ἐσχάτης δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχομεν, ποτὲ δ’ αὖ τῆς μέσης, ἐνίοτε δὲ τῆς πρώτης· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν μετουσία ψιλὴ γίγνεται, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ κοινωνία, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἔνωσις τούτων τῶν ἐνθουσιάσεων· Iamb. *Myst.* III.5.111.7–12).

MS Vallicellianus F 20

Contents:

Fols. II–III: index

Fol. IV: blank

1. Fols. 1–136^v: Tit.: no title (Iamblichus *De Mysteriis*). Scholion: Inc.: Ἰστέον ... Inc.: ἱστορήσαντα. Inc.: Ἀβάμωνος διδασκάλου. Des.: ἀπορημάτων λύσεις.

Fols. 1–136^v contain a Greek text written by a single scribe identified as Ioannis Skoutariōtis, with Latin marginal notes based on Ficino's translation and written by Ficino and Luca Fabiani.¹

Fol. 137: blank

2. Fols. 138^r–140^v include: Tit.: *Πρόκλου Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἑλλήνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης*. Inc.: Ὡσπερ οἱ ἐρωτικοί. Des.: καὶ θεαίαις ἐχρήσαντο δυνάμεσι.²

Fols. 138^r–144^r include a Greek text written by a single scribe identified as Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499)³ with Latin marginal notes also by Ficino.⁴ Kristeller (1986) points out: “The Iamblichus text has Latin notes in the hand of Ficino and Luca Fabiani. The Proclus text is preserved only in this manuscript. The manuscript is the source of Ficino's translations of both Iamblichus and Proclus.”⁵

1 Martini (1902) 147–148. See also Saffrey and Stefani (2018).

2 Bidez (1928) 137–151.

3 Gamillscheg, Harlfinger and Hunger in *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600*. Facsimis. 30 cm. Band III.2A (1989); and Band III.3A (1997) 165.

4 MS Riccardianus 76 was annotated and owned by Ficino. See for example the marginal notes in MS Riccardianus 76, Fols. 116–129. Kristeller (1937) includes MS Riccardianus 76 in the copies possessed or transcribed by Ficino, “*Codices a Ficino possessi seu transcripti*”: Kristeller (1937) Vol. I: liv. Later, Kristeller (1986) also includes it in the “Census of manuscripts containing original works and letters of Marsilio Ficino or copied, annotated or owned by him.”: Kristeller (1986) 15–196, at 97–98.

5 Kristeller (1986) 15–196, at 116–117.

Fols. 141–144 are excerpts from Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*.⁶

3. Fol. 141^{r-v}: Tit.: *Porphyrii testus (sic) quod anima non sit actus corporis, sed quod immortalis*. Inc.: αὐτίκα λόγον ἰσχυρόν. Des.: ψυχρὸν ὃν καθ' ἑαυτό. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 28.1–5 and XV 11.1–2).
4. Fol. 142^{r-v}: Tit.: *Numenius De Secunda Causa*. Inc.: τὸν μέλλοντα δέ. Des.: πρεσβύτερος καὶ θειότερος. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 18.1–3, 6–9, 22–23).
5. Fols. 142^v–143^r: Tit.: *Amelius De Johannis Theologia*. Inc.: καὶ οὗτος ἄρα. Des.: τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταχθῆναι. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 19.1).
6. Fol. 143^{r-v}: *Numenius Pythagoreus de Ente*. Inc.: φέρ' οὖν ὅση. Des.: προσαναγκάζεσθαι. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 10.1–7).
7. Fols. 144^r: Tit.: *Philon De Secunda Causa*. Inc.: εὐπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς. Des.: πρωτοτόγονον αὐτοῦ λόγον. (= Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* XI 15.1–2).

Fols. 144^r–172^r: Latin Text written by another single (unidentified) scribe.

8. Fols. 144^r–148^r: Tit.: *Porphyrius de occasionibus sive causis ad intelligibilia nos ducentibus*. Interprete Marsilio Ficino. (= Marsillii Ficini *Opera*. Basileae, 1561, II 1929–1932).

Fol. 148: blank

9. Fols. 149–161^v: Tit.: *Ex Porphyrio de abstinentia animalium*. Interprete Marsilio Ficino. (= Marsillii Ficini *Opera*. Basileae, 1561, II 1932–1939).
10. Fols. 162–171^r: Tit.: *Ex Michaelis Psello de demonibus* (excerpts) (= Marsillii Ficini *Opera*. Basileae, 1561, II 1939–1945).
11. Fols. 171^r–172^r: Tit.: *Hactenus Psellus. Deinceps ex Tomistis*. Inc.: Quanta sit potestas daemonum super naturalia. Des.: (Fol. 172^r): tu de his lege Tommam contra gentiles de operibus magicis.

Fols. 173–246^r: Latin Text written by another single (unidentified) scribe

12. Fols. 173^r–190^r: Tit.: *Accursius Pistoriensis* (i.e. Bonaccursius de Monte Magno), *de Nobilitate*.

6 Monfasani in “Marsilio Ficino and Eusebius of Caesarea's *Praeparatio Evangelica*” (2009) 3–13.

13. Fols. 190^r–192^v: Tit.: *Franc de Roma* (i.e. de Fiano?), *ad laudem Ciceronis oratio*.
14. Fols. 193^r–201^v: Guarinus, orations and letters (followed by some anon. pieces).
15. Fols. 201^v–210^v: Inc.: Maximum et amplissimum munus (table says: Guarinus, oration on Carolus Zenus, probably leon. Justinianus).
16. Fols. 211^r–^v: *Franc. Philelphus, oratio in principio studii* 1430.
17. Fols. 212^r–213^v: Tit.: *Franc. Philelphus, oratio in principio extraordinarie lectionis Sallustii de bello Jugurtino Flo(rentiae)* 1431.
18. Fols. 213^v–224^v. Id., *Oratio de laudibus historiae poetice philosophie atque hasce complectitur eloquentie* (given at Florence).
19. Fols. 224^v–229^r: Lucian, *comparatio* (tr. Aurispa).
20. Fols. 229^r–231^v: *Franc. De Coppulis Perusinus* (oration held in Florence).
21. Fols. 231^v–240^r: Tit.: *Anastasius Burgensis, oration* (then anon. orations in Latin and volg).
22. Fols. 240^v–242^v: *Matth. De Interane* (oration).
23. Fols. 243^r–246^r: Tit.: *M. de Ursinis Archiepiscopus Tarentinus* (letter).

Fols. 246^v–252^v: blank

Fols. 253^r–292^r: Greek Text written by another single (unidentified) scribe

24. Fols. 253^r–276^v: no title. Inc.: Ἐδεξάμην σοῦ γεώργιε καὶ ταύτην τὴν μακρὰν ἀδολεσχίαν. Des.: ὡς ἂν ἐντεῦθεν εἰδέναι ἔχοιεν ...
25. Fols. 277^r–292^r: Tit.: Ἰωάννης τῷ ἀκολάστῳ πριάπῳ τῷ σκαταβλατᾷ, χαίρειν.

Fols. 293^r–315^v: Greek Text written by another single (unidentified) scribe

26. Fols. 293^r–312^v: Tit.: συμβουλευτικός περὶ ὁμονοίας πρὸς ῥωμαίους καὶ λατίνους, βαρλαάμ μοναχῷ.

(Fols. 307^v–312^v: Eiusdem πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον περὶ τῆς πρὸς λατίνους ἐνώσεως.)

27. Fols. 313^r–315^v: no title, Libanii Fragment.

Fols. 316^r–319^v: blank

Fols. 320^r–355^r: Latin Text written by another single (unidentified) scribe

28. Fols. 320^r–355^r: Tit.: *Opus Jo. Sulpitii iuvenile*. Inc.: Fervidus aestiferi (poem). (Other poems by the same, one addressed to Petr. Riarius card., one to Gryphus. Then anon. poems, perhaps by the same). Des.: Fol. 355.

Fols. 355^v–356^v: Blank

29. Fols. 357^{r-v}: Greek text, restored folio

Parchment and Paper:

Parchment and paper of good quality; it was restored in the monastery Badia di Grottaferrata in 1960.

MS V F 20 is one of the oldest manuscripts of the Vallicelliana Biblioteca. The library was established in 1565 by the priest and Saint Filippo Neri. The codex belonged to the Portuguese humanist and writer Aquiles Estaço (1524–1581) who lived in Rome as a secretary of the Pope since 1555. When Aquiles Estaço died in 1581, he donated F 20 and his whole book and manuscript collection comprising of 1700 printed volumes and 300 manuscripts to Filippo Neri and the Congregation of Oratory (founded by F. Neri in 1575).⁷ Then Filippo Neri must have included it in the collections of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana.

MS V F 20 was owned and annotated by Marsilio Ficino.⁸

Proclus *Hier.Ar.* MS V, 138^r–140^v: height 210 × width 150 mm. (Procl. *Hier.Ar.*: Fol. 138 = width 142 mm.; Fol. 139 = width 143 mm.; Fol. 140 = width 142 mm.).

Fols. 138^r–140^r = 22–23 lines; Fol. 140^v = 25 lines.

Fol. 138: the right upper side of the paper is restored (in the margins of lines 2–8).

Fol. 139: the right upper side of the paper is restored (in the margins of line 7).

Fol. 140: the right upper side of the paper is restored (in the margins of lines 4 and 6).

Collation:

It is a composite manuscript in three parts:

A) Part 1: Folios i–172

B) Part 2: Folios 173–318^v

C) Part 3: Folios 319^v–357^v.

[height 210 (204) × width 140 (135)–150 mm.]

⁷ Finocchiaro (2011) 138 and 185–186.

⁸ Martini in *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane* (1902) 147–148. Sicherl (1957) 22–37. Kristeller (1937) Vol. 1: xlvii, Lxix, Cxxxv. Kristeller in *Iter Italicum* (1967) Vol. 11: 132–133. Kristeller (1986) 15–196, at 116–117.

Quires:

Quires of Part 1:

(Fol. 1) I–XIV x 10:

I¹⁰: Fols. 1–10II¹⁰: Fols. 11–19; Fol. 14 is double, incl. 14 + 14a (/or Fols. 11–14, 14a–19).III¹⁰: Fols. 20–29IV¹⁰: Fols. 30–39V¹⁰: Fols. 40–49VI¹⁰: Fols. 50–57; Fols. 53 and 56 are double, incl. 53 + 53a, 56 + 56a.VII¹⁰: Fols. 58–67VIII¹⁰: Fols. 68–77IX¹⁰: Fols. 78–87X¹⁰: Fols. 88–97XI¹⁰: Fols. 98–107XII¹⁰: Fols. 108–117XIII¹⁰: Fols. 118–127XIV¹⁰: Fols. 128–137 (137^{r-v} = blank)

(Fol. 138) XV–XVII x 12:

XV¹²: Fols. 138–149Fols. 138^r–144^r: written by a single scribeFols. 144^r–149^v: written by another single scribe (148^v = blank)XVI¹²: Fols. 150–161XVII¹²⁻¹: Fols. 162–173 (172^r = text; 173^v = blank)

Quires of Part 2:

(Fol. 173) XVIII–XXV x 10:

XVIII¹⁰: Fols. 173–182IX¹⁰: Fols. 183–192XX¹⁰: Fols. 193–202XXI¹⁰: Fols. 203–212XXII¹⁰: Fols. 213–222XXIII¹⁰: Fols. 223–232XXIV¹⁰: Fols. 233–242XXV¹⁰: Fols. 243 (246^v = blank, 242^{r-v} = blank)–252 (248–252 = blank)

(Fol. 253) XXVI–XXX x 8:

XXVI⁸: Fols. 253–260XXVII⁸: Fols. 261–268XXVIII⁸: Fols. 269–276XXIX⁸: Fols. 277–284

xxx⁸: Fols. 285–292 (292^r = text)

(Fol. 293) xxxi–xxxii x 10:

xxxi¹⁰: Fols. 293–302

xxxii¹⁰: Fols. 303–312

(Fol. 313) xxxiii x 6:

xxxiii⁶: Fols. 313–318 (316–318 = blank)

Quires of Part 3:

(Fol. 319) xxxiv x 10:

xxxiv¹⁰ Fols. 319^r–328^v (5 + 5) (319 = blank)

(Fol. 329) xxxv x 16 (10 + 6):

xxxv²⁰⁻⁴: Fols. 329–344, 332^{r-v} = restored; (folios are missing after fol. 334)

(Fol. 345) xxxvi x 13 (6 + 7):

xxxvi¹⁴⁻¹: Fols. 345–357, 355^v (= blank), 356^{r-v} (= blank), 357^{r-v} (= restored); (one folio is missing after fol. 345)

Watermarks Part 1: Fols. i–172

Fols. 31, 45, 48, 53, 56, 59, 60, 71, 72, 78, 83, 88, 90, 99, 101, 102, 112, 118, 123, 143, 154, 158, 161, 169, 171, 172 (: hat—upper part); and Fols. 34, 38, 44, 46, 52, 65, 67, 73, 74, 75, 82, 87, 94, 98, 103, 104, 106, 116, 127, 128, 136, 144, 148, 149, 150, 153, 157, 163, 164, 166 (: hat—lower part): similar to Briquet⁹ 3370 (Florence, Italian paper, 1465–1467).

Fols. 138^r–140^v of *Πρόκλου Περι τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης*:

Fol. 137: blank, 138, 139, 140: not very clear (: hat—upper part):

The watermark is similar to Briquet n. 3373 (Florence, Italian paper, 1474–1483); similar also to Briquet n. 3370 (Florence, Italian paper, 1465–1467);¹⁰ also to Briquet n. 3373 (Palermo, Italian paper, 1473).

It is similar also to Piccard¹¹ n. 31958 (Monteoliveto, StA Mantova, Italian paper, 1462); similar also to Piccard n. 31960 (Rome, StA Mantova, 1461); also to Piccard n. 31961 (Monteolivero, StA Mantova, Italian paper, 1469); also to Piccard n. 31962 (Firenze, StA Mantova, Italian paper, 1459–1460).

9 Briquet (1907).

10 Sicherl (1957) 23. Clarke, Dillon and Hershbell follow Sicherl; Clarke, Dillon and Hershbell (2003) xiii.

11 Piccard (1961–1997).

Watermarks Part 2: Fols. 173^r–318

Fols. 244, 247 (: hat—upper part); fols. 252 (: hat—lower part): Briquet 3370 (Florence, Italian paper, 1465–1467).

Watermarks Part 3: Fols. 319^v–357^v

Fols. 334, 336, 338 (: bird—upper part); fol. 339, 343 (: bird—lower part): similar to Briquet 12202 (Rome, Italian paper, 1479–1480).

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The book is a critical edition of the text with an English translation and commentary of Proclus' *On the Hieratic Art according to the Greeks*. The Hieratic Art is the Theurgic Art, theurgy, the theurgic union with the divine. Proclus describes the theurgic union, putting an emphasis on a conceptual blending of ritual actions (teletai, e.g. the role of statues, incenses, synthêmata, symbols, purifications, invocations and epiphanies) and philosophical concepts (e.g. union of many powers, 'one and many', symphathy, natural sympathies, attraction, mixing and division).

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