SOUL MATTERS



# WRITINGS FROM THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD SUPPLEMENT SERIES

Clare K. Rothschild, General Editor



# SOUL MATTERS

# Plato and Platonists on the Nature of the Soul

Edited by

Sara Ahbel-Rappe, Danielle A. Layne, and Crystal Addey





### Atlanta

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The present volume is the outcome of a conference organized by Sara Ahbel-Rappe at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) to celebrate the impending retirement of John Finamore as professor of classics and chair of the Department of Classics at the University of Iowa. Although the occasion was a very happy one for all concerned, a look of embarrassment could occasionally be caught on the face of the honorand. A modest man, more used to praising others than of being praised himself, he seemed at times to wonder what all this ado was about. If only for this reason, it seems appropriate here to recall some of the reasons that prompted his closest colleagues to organize a celebration of this particularly significant point of his career.

A pioneer of the study of Neoplatonism in the English-speaking world, Finamore came to his preferred author, Iamblichus, through a long, direct, and studious route. His undergraduate and graduate studies in both philosophy and classics, first at the University of Maryland (BA in philosophy, 1968–1972), then at Tufts (MA in philosophy, 1972–1975), then at Rutgers (MA and PhD in classics, 1975–1977 and 1977–1983, respectively), gave him a solid grounding in the techniques of analytical philosophy and developed his incipient interest in the history of philosophy. At the time, the two disciplines were not easily combined—indeed, they were not uncommonly perceived as antagonistic—and it is much to John's credit that he succeeded in combining them through his career. It was during those years of study on the East Coast that John met Susan McLean, who was to become his lifelong partner. Susan, a poet and a translator,<sup>1</sup> later joined him in the Midwest when she took up a post as professor of English at Southwest Minnesota State University.

<sup>1.</sup> Her publications include *The Best Disguise* (Evansville, IN: University of Evansville Press, 2009) and *The Whetstone Misses the Knife* (West Chester, PA: Story Line Press,

In a not uncharacteristic case of serendipity, in the course of his MA studies, it was suggested to John that he write an essay on Iamblichus, an author who at the time was but rarely thought to be a fit object of philosophical interest. The essay was the spark that determined the course of his professional life. As he would often say in later years, he decided that "this fascinating fellow" would be an excellent topic for his PhD. The serendipity was compounded by the fact that he soon discovered that, at the opposite end of the country, at Berkeley, a young Irish scholar, John Dillon, had recently published the results of his own doctoral research on the same author's commentaries on the Timaeus in a book titled Iamblichi Chalcidensis in Platonis dialogos commentariorum fragmenta (1973).<sup>2</sup> Finamore, thus encouraged to devote his doctoral energies to Iamblichus, embarked on a thesis that would, in turn, be published under the title of Iamblichus and the Theory of the Vehicle of the Soul (1985). The highly positive recommendation that Dillon had written to the publisher to whom Finamore had sent his manuscript soon made the two men collaborators as well as friends. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that, between them, the two Johns succeeded in raising the status of the Sage of Apamea to that of one of the main voices of pre-Procline Neoplatonism.

John's attitude to scholarship is one of sober detachment, grounded in the conviction that the belief system of the exegete should always be kept separate from that of his/her author. Accordingly, his main concern is to reconstruct the thought of his author, based on the writings that have come down to us, and, once that task is complete, to articulate its presuppositions and core values so as to make them understandable to modern audiences. It is neither to endorse his author's views nor to expand on them. The distinction between describing and endorsing is crucial in the study of the philosopher who introduced the practice of theurgy (divine working) as an aid to self-purification and ascent to the Neoplatonic higher principles. For Iamblichus, theurgy involved the use of nonrational ways to reach out to the transcendent and included such practices as the recitation of hymns to the sun as a symbol of the highest divine principle as well as sacrifices, rituals, and invocations to various deities. To be sure, John would not deny the relevance of theurgy to Iamblichus. What he

<sup>2014).</sup> For her translations, see *Martial, Selected Epigrams* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).

<sup>2.</sup> For the timing of John Dillon's Iamblichean studies in the United States, see "An Interview with Professor John Dillon," in *IJPT* 12 (2018): 197–202.

characteristically does is to highlight the difference between Iamblichus and his predecessors Plotinus and Porphyry, in whose systems theurgy plays no significant part, before explaining how and why it came to form an integral and valuable part of that of Iamblichus. And if, by chance, of an early morning on the days of the annual conference, some of his wilder and more doctrinally playful colleagues would sometime decide ritually to invoke the sun, John would always find some other tasks with which to occupy himself.

So much for John's intellectual virtues and achievements. But we must not leave the matter there. Adapting to modern times and circumstances Aristotle's distinction between intellectual and moral virtues, it is appropriate also to record the virtues that have enabled John to become the expert administrator and the skillful organizer that he is. The virtues in question are generosity and inclusiveness. His generosity manifests itself in a willingness to devote a great amount of his time to causes that serve the common good. The following episode is a case in point. Some twenty years ago, it had become clear that the International Society for Neoplatonic Studies, set up by R. Baine Harris in 1973, had become dormant and that its dedicated organ, The Journal of Neoplatonic Studies, attracted but few worthwhile submissions. Action was needed, and under John's leadership action was soon taken. At a meeting of a conference organized ad hoc by Jay Bregman at the University of Maine,<sup>3</sup> John convened a meeting in which he outlined his plans for revitalizing the moribund society and its journal. A committee of younger, energetic, and dedicated international scholars would be formed to oversee the development and the day-to-day business of a renamed International Society for the Study of Neoplatonism. A new journal, The International Journal of the Platonic Tradition, would be set up, for which the reputable auspices of Brill would be sought.

To outline a plan and to bring it to maturity are two different things. Not for John, it seems, for a year later, the new society had come into existence, due to meet annually, and Brill was looking favorably on the plan for a new journal. *The International Journal of the Platonic Tradition* duly came into existence in 2006 and, after somewhat hesitant beginnings, is now going from strength to strength, attracting sound

<sup>3.</sup> Those who are old enough to have attended that conference may remember that it featured the world premiere of one of Jay's jazz compositions, "I Dig the One."

individual submissions as well as welcoming single-themed issues, such as the latest to date, devoted to the scholarship of Werner Beierwaltes. To the organization of the yearly conference and the main editorship of the journal, John brought his demonic energy and capacity for selfless hard work. The organization of the yearly conference in particular is a mammoth task that involves negotiating with the host university, agreeing with it the details of financial planning, vetting the submissions, and securing all parties' agreement in the setting up of the day-to-day schedule of the conference. Of all these tasks, John takes the lion's share, while continuing to fulfill his own departmental responsibilities and honoring his research commitments.

If John can so successfully prepare our annual conferences, it is because he practices a virtue that is currently more praised than cultivated in academic contexts, namely, inclusiveness. To be inclusive, we are told, is to disregard as irrelevant such features in a candidate's background that do not pertain directly to the function one wishes to entrust them with. More practically, it is to resist discrimination on grounds of age, background, or prestige of affiliation. As the coeditor of the society's journal, I have seen John practice that virtue by not outright rejecting the submissions of young, inexperienced, or unaffiliated scholars without first helping them to improve their article or to suggest other possible outlets for it. Even more relevantly, I have seen him willingly enter into dialogue with young and seemingly inexperienced scholars hoping to persuade him to choose their university as a venue for the next conference. That some of the suggested venues proved to host our most successful conferences shows his shrewdness of judgment in the choice of his interlocutors.

Long may John continue to practice those virtues of generosity and inclusiveness for the benefit of us all.

Suzanne Stern-Gillet Manchester (UK) August 2022

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1 Succ.	Cyril, First Letter to Succensus
2 Succ.	Cyril, Second Letter to Succensus
Abst.	Porphyry, <i>De abstinentia</i>
AC	L'Antiquité Classique
ACO	Schwartz, Eduard, ed. Acta consiliorum oecunenico-
	<i>rum</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter. 1922.
Acut.	Hippocrates, De ratione victus in morbis acutis
Aff.	Hippocrates, De affectionibus
AGP	Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie
AJP	American Journal of Philology
[Alc. maj.]	Plato, Alcibiades major
Alex. fort.	Plutarch, De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute
An.	Tertullian, De anima
AN	Ancient Narrative
An. post.	Aristotle, Analytica posteriora
An. procr.	Plutarch, De animae procreatione in Timaeo
AncPhil	Ancient Philosophy
Aneb.	Porphyry, Epistula ad Anebonem
Anth.	Vettius Valens, Anthologia
Antr. nymph.	Porphyry, De antro nympharum
Ap. John	NHC II 1 Secret Book of John
Apoc. Adam	NHC V 5 Revelation of Adam
Apol.	Plato, Apologia; Pamphilus, Apologia pro Origene
Apot.	Hephaestio, Apotelesmatica
APR	Ancient Philosophy and Religion
Arith.	Nicomachus, Arithmetike eisagoge
Ars med.	Galen, Ars medica
Atr. bil.	Galen, <i>De atra bile</i>
AW	The Ancient World
Beat.	Gregory of Nyssa, De beatitudinibus

Bell. civ.	Lucan, De Bello Civili
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovanien-
	sium
BGU	Berliner Griechische Urkunden
BHM	Bulletin of the History of Medicine
Bibl.	Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i>
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
BLC	Bardaisan, The Book of the Laws of Countries
BMCR	Bryn Mawr Classical Review
ByzZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
Cael. hier.	Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, De caelesti hierar-
	chia
CAT	Companions to Ancient Thought
CC	Culture and Cosmos
CCAG	Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum
Cels.	Origen, Contra Celsum
Chald. Or.	Chaldean Oracles
Charm.	Plato, <i>Charmides</i>
Cher.	Philo, <i>De cherubim</i>
Civ.	Augustine, De civitate Dei
CJ	Classical Journal
ClO	Classical Outlook
ClQ	Classical Quarterly
ClRev	Classical Review
CLS	Comparative Literature Studies
C. Boeth.	Porphyry, Against Boethus on the Soul
Comm. cael.	Simplicius, In Aristotelis De Caelo commentaria
Comm. Cant.	Origen, Commentarius in Canticum
Comm. Crat.	Proclus, In Platonis Cratylum commentaria
Comm. harm.	Porphyry, Eis ta harmonika Ptolemaiou hypomnēma
Comm. in R.	Proclus, In Platonis rem publicam commentarii
Comm. Jo.	Origen, Commentarii in evangelium Joannis; Cyril,
	Commentariorum in Joannem
Comm. math. sc.	Iamblichus, De communi mathematica scientia liber
Comm. Matt.	Origen, Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei
Comm. Metaph.	Alexander of Aphrodisias, In Aristotelis Metaphysica
	commentaria
Comm. Rom.	Origen, Commentarii in Romanos
Comm. ser. Matt.	Origen, Commentarium series in evangelium Matthaei

Comm. somn.	Macrobius, Commentarii in somnium Scipionis
Comm. Tim.	Proclus, In Platonis Timaeum commentaria
Conf.	Augustine, Confessionum libri XIII
CP	Classical Philology
CPS	Clarendon Plato Series
Crat.	Plato, <i>Cratylus</i>
CRLM	Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music
CW	Classical World
CZ	Collection Zêtêsis
De an.	Alexander of Aphrodisias, De anima; Aristotle, De
	anima; Gregory of Nyssa, De anima; Iamblichus, De
	anima
De arte	Hippocrates, De arte
De fat.	Pseudo-Plutarch, De fato
De in.	Alexander of Aphrodisias, De intellectu
De opif. hom.	Gregory of Nyssa, De opificio hominum
Diaet.	Hippocrates, De diaeta in morbis acutis
Dial.	Origen, Diologus cum Heraclide
Didasc.	Alcinous, Didascalicus
Diis mund.	Sallust, De diis et mundo
Diss.	Maximus of Tyre, <i>Dissertationes</i>
Div.	Cicero, <i>De divinatione</i>
Div. nom.	Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, De Divinis Nomi-
	nibus
DK	Diels, H., and W. Kranz, ed. Die Fragmente der Vor-
	sokratiker. 6th ed. Zürich: Weidmann, 1951–1952.
Dogm. Plat.	Apuleius, <i>De dogma Platonis</i>
Ecl.	Stobaeus, <i>Eclogae</i>
Elem. theol.	Proclus, Elementatio theologica
Enn.	Plotinus, Enneades
Ep.	Epistula(e); Seneca, Epistulae morales
Ep. Afr.	Origen, Epistula ad Africanum
Ep. Mel.	Evagrius, Epistula ad Melaniam
Epoché	Epoché: A Journal for the History of Philosophy
Eth. Eud.	Aristotle, <i>Ethica Eudemia</i>
Eth. Nic.	Aristotle, Ethica Nicomachea
Eun.	Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Eunomium
Euthyd.	Plato, Euthydemus
Euthyphr.	Plato, <i>Euthyphro</i>

Exc.Clement of Alexandria, Excerpta ex TheodotoFac.Plutarch, De facie in orbe lunaeFort.Plutarch, De fortunafrag(s).fragmentum, fragmentaFrag. Ep.Julian, Fragmentum EpistolaeGaur.Porphyry, Ad GaurumGCSDie griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten[drei] JahrhunderteGen. Socr.Plutarch, De genio SocratisGNOGregorii Nysseni OperaGorg.Plato, GorgiasGos. Eg.NHC III 2 Gospel of the EgyptiansGos. Jud.Tchacos 3 Gospel of JudasGRBSGreek, Roman, and Byzantine StudiesHaer.Irenaeus, Adversus haereses; Ephrem, Contra haeresesHDACHistoire des doctrines de l'Antiquité classiqueHel.Gorgias, HelenaHHHypomnemata HeftHist.Herodotus, HistoriaeHist. an.Aristotle, Historia animaliumHist. nov.Zosimus, Historia novaHom. Cant.Gregory of Nyssa, Homiliae in Canticum; Origen, Homiliae in ExadumHom. Exod.Origen, Homiliae in ExodumHom. Lev.Origen, Homiliae in PsalmosHSHellenic StudiesHTRHarvard Theological ReviewHymnEphrem, Hymns against HeresiesJPTInternational Journal of the Platonic TraditionII.Horne, IliasImmort. an.Augustine, De immortalitate animaeOlymptiodorus, In Platonis Alcibiadem; Proclus, Alcibiades CommentaryIn Platonis Parmenidem commentaria	Exc.	Clament of Alexandria Excerts an Theodote
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In Parm. In Platonis Parmenidem commentaria	-	
	In Parm.	In Platonis Parmenidem commentaria

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In Phaed.	Damascius, In Platonis Phaedum commentarii
In Phileb.	Damascius, In Platonis Philebum commentarius
In. Phys.	Simplicius, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor
111. 1 1195.	priores/posteriores
In Tim.	Proclus, In Platonis Timaeum commentaria
Int.	Hippocrates, De affectionibus internis
III. IPQ	International Philosophical Quarterly
Is. Os.	Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion
JCoptS	Journal of Coptic Studies
JECS	
JECS JFSR	Journal of Early Christian Studies
-	Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion
JGRChJ	Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences
JHMAS	• • •
JHP	Journal of the History of Philosophy
JNS	Journal of Neoplatonic Studies
JP	Journal of Philosophy
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
JVI	Journal of Value Inquiry
KJV	King James Version
Lach.	Plato, <i>Laches</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Leg.	Plato, Leges
LM	Laks, André, and Glenn W. Most. Early Greek Phi-
	losophy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.
Loc. hom.	Hippocrates, <i>De locis in homine</i>
LXX	Septuagint
Mal. sub.	Proclus, De malorum subsistentia
Marsanes	NHC X Marsanes
Math.	Sextus Empiricus, Adversus mathematicos
Mens.	John Lydus, <i>De mensibus</i>
Metam.	Apuleius, Metamorphoses
Metaph.	Aristotle, Metaphysica; Theophrastus, Metaphysica
Metaphr.	Priscianus, Metaphrasis
МНСР	Medicine, Health Care and Philosophy
MHNH	MHNH: revista internacional de investigación sobre
	magia y astrología antiguas
Mnemosyne	Mnemosyne: A Journal of Classical Studies
MnemSup	Mnemosyne Supplements
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Mor.	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>
Mos.	Philo, De vita Mosis
MP	Mediterranean Perspectives
Myst.	Iamblichus, <i>De mysteriis</i>
Nat. d.	Cicero, <i>De natura deorum</i>
Nat. hom.	Hippocrates, <i>De natura hominis</i>
NDPR	Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
Nicom. arithm.	Iamblichus, In Nicomachi arithmeticum introductio-
	nem
NIV	New International Version
NTS	New Testament Studies
Numen	Numen: International Review for the History of Reli-
	gions
OCD	Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth, eds.
	Oxford Classical Dictionary. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford
	University Press, 2012.
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
Od.	Homer, Odyssea
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
Op.	Hesiod, Opera et dies
Or.	Julian, Orationes
OrChrAn	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OSAP	Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy
Parm.	Plato, <i>Parmenides</i>
PAS	Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society
PBCAP	Proceedings of the Boston Area Colloquium on Ancient
	Philosophy
PDM	Papyri Demoticae Magicae. Demotic texts in PGM
	corpus as collated in Betz, Hans Dieter, ed. The Greek
	Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic
	Spells. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996
Periph.	Eriugena, Periphyseon
PG	Patrologia Graeca [= Patrologiae Cursus Completus:
	Series Graeca]. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 162
	vols. Paris, 1857–1886.
PGM	Preisendanz, Karl, ed. Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die
	., 0

	griechischen Zauberpapyri. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Teub-
	ner, 1973–1974.
PhA	Philosophia Antiqua
Phaed.	Plato, <i>Phaedo</i>
Phaedr.	Plato, <i>Phaedrus</i>
Phil	Philologus
Phileb.	Plato, Philebus
Philoc.	Origen, Philocalia
PhilRev	Philosophical Review
PHP	Galen, De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis
Phys.	Aristotle, <i>Physica</i>
PLATO	PLATO, The Electronic Journal of the International
	Plato Society
Pol.	Plato, Politicus: Aristotle, Politica
PQ	The Philosophical Quarterly
PR	Ephrem, Prose Refutations
Princ.	Damscius, De principiis: Origen, De principiis (Peri
	archōn)
Probl. gnos.	Evagrius of Pontus, Problemata gnostica
Procl.	Marinus, Proclus, or On Happiness
Prot.	Plato, Protagoras
PT	Political Theory
PTSPP	Proceedings of the Tenth Symposium Platonicum
	Pragense, Prague, 12–14 November 2015
Pyth.	Pindar, <i>Pythionikai</i>
QAM	Galen, Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta
	sequantur
QSI	Quaderni di Studi Indomediterranei
Quaest. Thal.	Quaestiones ad Thalassium
RAC	Klauser, Theodor, et al., eds. Reallexikon für Antike
	und Christentum. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950
RBPH	Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire
Res.	Origen, De resurrectione libri ii
Res gest.	Ammianus Marcellinus, Res gestae
ResOr	Res Orientales
Resp.	Plato, Respublica
RevMet	Review of Metaphysics
RevPhilos	Revue Philosophique
	* *

RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RhM	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RPL	Recherches de philologie et de linguistique
SAP	Studies in Ancient Philosophy
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SC ScEs	
Sent.	<i>Science et esprit</i> Porphyry, <i>Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes</i>
SGA	
	Studia graeco-arabica
Soph. elench.	Aristotle, Sophistici elenchi (Top. 9) Studia Philonica Annual
SPhiloA	
SPNPT	Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism, and the Platonic Tradition
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPatr	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judan Studia Patristica
Strom.	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Stromateis</i>
SyllC	Syllecta Classica
Symp.	Plato, Symposium
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TSBPCP	Theandrites: Studies in Byzantine Platonism and
150101	Christian Philosophy
Tetr.	Ptolemy, <i>Tetrabiblos</i>
Theaet.	Plato, Theaetetus
Theog.	Hesiod, Theognia
Thras.	Galen, Thrasybulus
Tim.	Plato, <i>Timaeus</i>
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VCS	Variorum Collected Studies
VCSup	Vigiliae Christianae Supplements
Vet. med.	Hippocrates, <i>De vetere medicina</i>
Vict.	Hippocrates, <i>De victu</i>
Vit. phil.	Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum
Vit. Plot.	Porphyry, Vita Plotini
Vit. Pyth.	Porphyry, De vita pythagorica
Vit. soph.	Eunapius, Vitae sophistarum
WCR	Women: A Cultural Review
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Tes-
	tament

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WWBJ	<i>Walking the Worlds: A Biannual Journal of Polytheism and Spiritwork</i>
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
Zost.	NHC VII 1 Zostrianos
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZPF	Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung



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# Introduction

#### Sara Ahbel-Rappe

The legacy of John F. Finamore, professor emeritus of classics at the University of Iowa and president of the International Society for Neoplatonic Studies, precedes him. Over the course of decades, Finamore has organized international conferences, edited or coedited twelve volumes of collected essays as well as the International Journal of the Platonic Tradition, authored four volumes (three translations and an original monograph), served as the chief editor for the Brill Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism and the Platonic Tradition Series, personally authored dozens of essays, supervised graduate dissertations, and above all inspired, mentored, and rallied scholars of Platonism literally all over the globe. The proliferation of scholarship on Neoplatonism witnessed in recent years, together with the publication of significant scholarly works and translations of ancient texts never before translated into English, owes no small credit to Finamore's consistent nurturing of this field, disseminating texts, and presiding over the International Society for Neoplatonic Studies, its meetings, publications, and membership. To celebrate Finamore's retirement and seventieth birthday, the following hopes to collect essays that reflect both his long-time research interests and the diversity of inspiration he fostered, gathering together work of senior and junior scholars on issues of Platonic psychology, epistemology, spirituality, and so on.

The essays in this volume range in subject matter over the many centuries of speculation on the nature of the soul within the Platonic tradition, from Plato's dialogues composed in the fourth century BCE to the early Academy and the late Neoplatonic period alongside even his reception in the Renaissance. Perhaps there is no other topic more central to this tradition and yet more variegated in its ramifications than the psyche, an entity that proves both elusive and ubiquitous in the texts of Platonism. The psyche does duty for what today we would call the mind as the seat

#### Sara Ahbel-Rappe

of intelligence, knowledge, and sentience in the individual person, but it also is conceived as an immortal substance, source of life, and intelligence for a living cosmos. Thus in the texts of Plato we encounter the soul as both macrocosmic and microcosmic: as the animating force of the universe as a whole as well as the source of competing drives within humans beings who transmigrate over the course of innumerable possible embodiments. Although Plato defines the soul in the *Phaedrus*, calling it the *arche* (the beginning, the principle) of motion (246a3), in fact in various other texts he uses a series of contradictory terms to unpack its nature. From the Phaedo to the Republic new images emerge, demanding that we ask, Is the soul tripartite or simple, winged or mired in the dirt, cosmic or terrestrial, unchanging and akin to the Forms or driven by sensibility markedly witnessed in our sexual and corporeal appetites? and so on. Some ancient Platonists asked questions about the soul that still might resonate today: What are the parameters of knowledge, of healing, of performing gender? Others concerned themselves with issues that are very difficult for contemporary academics to approach, as the concerns reach past our own accepted worldviews: What is the so-called (ethereal) vehicle of the soul; when is the best time to reincarnate; how does the soul relate to other ontological principles such as the so-called indefinite dyad; how does one effect the elevation of the soul in ritual practices? Further complicating the question of the soul are the Platonic tradition's competing exegeses of Plato's dialogues, which were the subject of specific commentaries made in late antiquity, or of topical treatises that embraced doctrinal and interpretive questions. The consensus over what exactly constitutes Platonism seems wanting.

As we saw above, Platonism extends from the dialogues of Plato through to the Renaissance. Given this expanse of time, it can be helpful to recognize distinct periods of development within which the interpretation and application of Plato's views about the soul evolved, sometimes beyond recognition. Thus we can delineate the period right after Plato's death, the early Academy under the direction of Speusippus and then Xenocrates, as well as the Hellenistic Academy of Polemon. Although the doctrines formulated under the early scholarchs offer radical interpretations of the original dialogues, most of this work is unfortunately lost and survives only in the form of fragments. Imperial Platonism, roughly spanning the first to second centuries CE (usually referred to as Middle Platonism and represented in this volume by the Chaldean Oracles, Apuleius, and Moderatus), often fuses indigenous religious traditions with Platonist

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mysticism, allegory, and/or doctrine. Neoplatonism, often thought to begin with the writings of Plotinus (d. 270 CE) and ending in the late antique Academies of Proclus (ca. 540 CE) and of Damascius (fl. 525 CE) represents the highwater mark of Platonist speculative metaphysics and results in a proliferation of commentarial works. We can also recognize various representatives of Christian Platonism whose thought developed right alongside polytheist Platonists. In this volume, the earliest such theologian is Bardaisan (d. 220 CE).

Owing to the variegated nature of the texts, authors, and questions pursued, and stemming directly from the complexity of the soul as it appears in Plato's original texts, the essays in this volume reflect the depth of the controversies and debates within the tradition. We have grouped them thematically with the understanding that the emergent differences of perspective will allow the reader to come to a multidimensional and multifaceted appreciation of the topics. Accordingly, to bring out the richness and polymorphism of Platonist work on the soul, the author's voices encountered in this volume have not been limited by editorial directions and represent the views of the individual authors of these essays. Necessarily, then, within each subsection, the reader will encounter perspectives that challenge, complement, respond to, but ultimately coexist within a pluralistic interpretive enterprise. There are five parts: (1) "Madness, Irrationality, and Healing"; (2) "Ontologies and Epistemologies"; (3) "Hermeneutics and Methodologies"; (4) "Ritual Contexts, Inspiration, and Embodied Practices"; and (5) "Christian and Pagan Perspectives." In what follows, we adumbrate the themes developed as well as the rationale for each section.

Part 1, "Madness, Irrationality, and Healing," treats a fundamental dichotomy deployed within Plato's psychic taxonomies, the question of what belongs to the rational soul and what belongs to the irrational soul. Not wholly distinctive to Platonism but certainly highly characteristic of Platonic psychology is the thesis that this dichotomy inheres within different parts of the mind and that both are connate. At the same time, Plato's own texts together with the tradition affirm that rationality per se can confine the soul to narrower channels of experience. In addition to the valorization of rationality, Plato and his successors celebrate moments of heightened awareness as *mania*, as hyperrationality or suprarationality, even as ecstasy. Lloyd P. Gerson's "Irrationality in the Platonic Tradition" begins this segment with a discussion of the paradox inherent in Plato's positing irrationality of beings (i.e., human beings) who at the same time,

Plato affirms, are intrinsically rational and whose rationality affords them a unique nisus toward their own good. In attributing the thesis of fungible subjectivity to Plato's psychology, Gerson points the way forward to issues involving embodiment and the true identity of the person that will challenge subsequent thinkers. We might then view Suzanne Stern-Gillet's essay, "Plato on the Manic Soul," as the complement to Gerson's opening bid. Stern-Gillet also explores the paradoxes associated with irrationality and uses the generic term *mania* as a catch-all device that signals, paradoxically, both mental illness and vice. In pursuing the competing threads of culpability versus disease for one's vicious states, Stern-Gillet hits on the example of Oedipus's overweening anger in the murder of his own father, nicely dovetailing with Gerson's own discussion of Oedipus's selfcontradictory intellectual responses to the Delphic Oracle's warning of the impending patricide. Together, these essays demonstrate the complexities of Plato's moral psychology in ways that are rarely explored in contemporary analytic literature. Svetla Slaveva-Griffin's "Plato and Plotinus on Healing: Why Does the Art of Medicine Matter?" in turn responds to Stern-Gillet's discussion of mental illness to focus on mental healing. Her approach resonates with the previous essays as it negotiates the implications of Platonist dualism on models of medicine. Does philosophy alone suffice to restore the patient's health? Slaveva-Griffin's novel approach involves reading Plato's Charmides alongside the last chapters of Plotinus's treatise "Problems concerning the Soul" (Enn. 4.4), where Plotinus discusses the susceptibility of souls to harm from external factors. The subtle interaction between psychic and physiological changes, the normative health of the cosmos as a whole, and the entangled skein of causal direction all are enlisted to explore the art of medicine as an auxiliary to philosophy proper. The final essay, John Dillon's "Intellect Sober and Intellect Drunk: Some Reflections on the Plotinian Ascent Narrative," also studies Plotinus (Enn. 6.7, "On the One and on the Good") in light of the implications of mind-body dualism. Dillon facilitates this discussion by placing the visionary or mystical experiences described by Plotinus alongside contemporary narratives offered by those who have had near-death experiences or otherwise, in the words of Slaveva-Griffin, undergone liminal states that border between life and death.

Taken together, the first section allows us to glimpse Platonists' subtle inquiries into the relationship between mind and body (or embodiment, in the words of Gerson). Part 2, "Ontologies and Epistemologies," then surveys aspirational ways of knowing and being, highlighting the psyche's

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negotiations with affiliated realities, that is, objects of knowledge, Forms, other minds, or even stations of being. We begin with two essays that set forth the parameters of what constitutes the soul in Plato's dialogues, Luc Brisson's "Soul in Plato" and Van Tu's "Is the Soul a Form? The Status of the Soul in the Final Argument of the Phaedo, Again." Brisson offers a reading of Plato's psyche in toto by relying on the mythical passages of Phaedr. 245-248 and of the Timaeus, an approach he defends by arguing that only myth is capable of conveying the soul's nature, which is neither a Form nor a material object but an intermediary between the two kinds of reality. Agreeing with Tu, Brisson asserts that only Soul as a whole is immortal, while individual souls must be recycled every ten thousand years, a process that allows Soul to function as the repository of individual karma and thus belong to a moral vision of the universe as a whole. Brisson's essay, which details the processes of transmigration and birth, operates as a touchstone for other essays in the volume that allude to the ontological status of the soul and its cosmic and temporal journeying. Tu's essay belongs to the analytic camp of Plato scholarship, yet it agrees remarkably with many of Brisson's major conclusions, as we saw: that the individual soul is not necessarily immortal and that the soul is something other than a Form. Tu and Brisson leave us with the question of what Plato means when he theorizes soul as "something else" ( $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda \sigma\tau$ ), but both remind us that modern two-substance dualisms do not easily map onto the Platonic construction of the soul. The next two essays, those of Kevin Corrigan, "Against the Stereotype of Abstract Knowledge in Plato: Scientific Perception or Sharp Seeing in the Middle and Late Dialogues," and of Robert Berchman, "Of Orioles, Owls, and Aviaries: Rethinking the Problem of Other Minds," delineate some of the same questions raised by Brisson and Tu: whereas those essays ask about the murky status of the soul as an ontological entity, Corrigan and Berchman ask about the soul's knowledge. Corrigan's essay joins a chorus of contemporary Plato scholars (Mary-Louise Gill, Gail Fine, and Charles Kahn) who emphasize the model of scientific, or at least natural, philosophy in examining the epistemology of even so-called Middle dialogues such as the Republic and Phaedo. Berchman surveys the Platonic tradition as a whole but starts with Plato's Theaetetus and asks whether Platonic epistemology can solve the problem of knowing other minds. Both Corrigan and Berchman thus try to bring ancient epistemology into dialogue with contemporary issues in epistemology, such as knowledge of the natural world (Corrigan) or the problems of solipsism that might be entailed by forms of idealism

(Berchman). The late John D. Turner wished his essay, perhaps the last piece written by this prolific scholar of Gnosticism and Platonism, to be included in this volume in honor of Professor Finamore. "Initial Stages on the Ladder of Ascent to the Intelligible World: The Metempsychotic Aeons in Zostrianos and Related Sethian Literature" fathoms the unfathomable realms traversed by one "Zostrianos," a psychonaut whose experiences of the stations of the real, revealed in a mystical ascent, once more complicate the dichotomies that are often reduced to rigid taxonomies between the material and spiritual worlds. Zostrianos, Allogenes, and Marsanes, known as the Sethian Platonizing Treatises, together add an enriched vision of dimensions of human consciousness and experience that even the great visionary Plotinus has trouble countenancing, as Turner shows.

Altogether the essays in the section on ontology and epistemology run the gamut from the mythical to the natural but everywhere show that the realm of the soul is distinctive, irreducible, even sui generis, and thus essential to the complex legacy of Platonism. In part 3, "Hermeneutics and Methodologies," we enter into the sphere of what it means to read Plato. Central to the project of late antique Platonism, Platonists over the centuries devised sometimes elaborate ways of entering into Plato's dialogues not only in terms of their linguistic or even argumentative structure but rather in the terms of a reification wherein the remarkable literary devices of the dialogues are conceived as coming alive in the world as such and effecting the profound transformations that Platonists undertake as students of the tradition. Danielle A. Layne's "The Indefinite Dyad and The Platonic Equality of the Male and Female Ruling Principles" reveals this seamless dynamism between the world of the dialogues and the world of the individual, resonating as it does within the multiple registers of gender, metaphysics, and feminism. Layne invokes the metaphysical principle of the earliest Academy, the Dyad, and shows how this structure informs and skews the metaphysics of essence as revealed in individuals, in philosophical discourse, and in philosophical method. The soul emerges as the human equivalent of the Dyad, with the implication that every soul partakes of both members of any potentially opposing or dualistic distinctions. Harold Tarrant's "Soul in the Earliest Multilevel Interpretations of the Parmenides" is a detective story, among other things. It also provides a statistical stylistic analysis of Porphyry's paraphrases of first-century philosopher Moderatus of Gades, whose Pythagorean-influenced interpretation of Plato's Parmenides initiates the major interpretive development for all subsequent Platonist readings

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of the dialogue. In particular, Tarrant shows how competing interpretations of the Parmenidean hypotheses resulted in distinctive views about the soul's status as a metaphysical principle. Sara Ahbel-Rappe's piece, "Apuleius's Platonic Laboratory," discusses another second-century philosopher, Apuleius of Madaurus. His novel, The Golden Ass, offers a reading of Plato's Phaedrus that translates the famous myth of the soul into a vivid narrative and in this way offers the reader insight into how to engage the myth. John F. Finamore's "Proclus Interprets Hesiod: The Procline Philosophy of the Soul" derives from his studies on Proclus's Commentary on the Republic, specifically the thirteenth essay of this commentary, where Proclus embarks on an eighty-page discussion of the discourse of the Muses in book 8 of the Republic. Finamore's aim is to illustrate a principle of Neoplatonic interpretation, wherein disparate texts (in this case, Orphic texts and Hesiod's Works and Days) are recruited into a Platonizing allegory. His article concentrates on Proclus's contemplative reading of Plato's myth of the metals. Each of these essays is concerned with Platonist hermeneutics, which, to the outsider, might threaten a vicious circle, since Platonists assume the truth of Platonic doctrine and then seek to discover realities (the Dyad, the incarnation of the soul, the third hypothesis of the Parmenides, the composition of the soul based on its metallic rank) that correspond to the texts, often mythical, often only mentioned in passing. Yet what appears to be a closed hermeneutic process breaks open in the contemplative praxes also integrated into the exegetical productions of Platonism.

Part 4, "Ritual Contexts, Inspiration, and Embodied Practices," indeed offers such a complement to purely textual methodologies, exemplifying just how imbricated theory is with practice in the Platonic traditions of what we might call soul work. The first essay in the section is by Crystal Addey and Jay Bregman: "Julian and Sallust on the Ascent of the Soul and Theurgy," where we see the fusion between ritual and text realized in the theurgic hymns of the Emperor Julian and of Sallust. Theurgy, in the works of Julian and of Sallust, is at once rooted in Platonic conceptions of the soul's ascent to the divine and incorporates traditional Mediterranean religions and myth. Addey and Bregman read Julian and Sallust as esoteric ritualists who, perhaps paradoxically, invent systems of mythic interpretation that are ideologically poised to find popular appeal. Dirk Baltzly and Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum's essay, "The Optimal Times for Incarnation: Let Me Count the Ways," treats, as does Finamore's, Proclus's *Commentary on the Republic* (book 2). They demonstrate the intricate relationship between exegesis and practice by showing how the failure of the Guardians to calculate the nuptial number at R.546d2 is related by late antique Platonists to astrological calculations, in particular, the katarchic time, or astrological configuration at a child's conception. Yet at the same time, the astrological figurations are shown by Proclus to adhere to Pythagorean cosmological number systems, so that Proclus's reading of the nuptial number relies both on astrological practice and on ancient interpretive traditions that focus on Platonic numerology. The upshot is that Proclus is able to explain what goes wrong in the Guardians' calculations such that Kallipolis is destined (it is in the stars) to come to an end. Elizabeth Hill's "Prophets and Poets: Plato and the Daimonic Nature of Poetry" begins with intuitions that might seem more familiar to students of Neoplatonism concerning Plato's possible critique of the limits of discursive reason but returns the reader to an early context, Plato's *Ion* and its treatment of poetry. For Hill, the Ion's theory of rhapsodic possession shares much in common with the Symposium: just as Eros is a daimon, mediating between humans and gods, so poetry itself reveals a daimonic influence and must be understood as a gift of the gods, facilitating human assimilation to the divine. Therefore, Hill's essay once more illustrates the links between exegesis and ritual, here highlighting the ritual aspect of poetic techne in the Ion and showing its implications for the overall status of poetry in Plato's corpus as a whole. In all of this ritual—in theurgic rites of elevation, in astrological observations, in visionary exercises, or in inspired poetry-exegesis of Plato's texts is married with techniques that extend human seeing beyond the immediacy of submersion in the physical-temporal stretch that seems to confine the soul.

If in the last section of the volume, part 5, "Christian and Pagan Perspectives," we consider polytheist religiosity and set Platonism within that framework, it is equally true that the first centuries of Christianity were also profoundly shaped by Platonist doctrines of the soul. The first two essays in this section discuss the soul's identity and its relationship to the divine, understood in Christian Platonism as Logos or Nous, the eternal wisdom in which even human souls have a share. Ilaria L. E. Ramelli's "The Soul in Bardaisan, Origen, and Evagrius: Between Unfolding and Subsumption" surveys the origin and destiny of the soul in three Christian Platonists: Bardaisan of Edessa, Origen of Alexandria, and Evagrius. In a development that might be considered an application of the *Phaedrus*'s myth of the soul, these theologians understand soul to be a manifestation or unfolding of intellect on descent into the body. The reverse is also to be

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expected, namely that the soul's destiny is ultimately subsumption into a truer and more divine identity. In Sarah Klitenic Wear's essay, titled "Proclus, Hermias, and Cyril of Alexandria on the Embodied Soul," the soul's irrational dimensions, its emotions and desires, are shown to belong to the complex essence of the soul. In Cyril's Scholia on the Incarnation, we find that these same irrational elements, the emotions and passions, belong intrinsically to Christ as the incarnation of the Logos, such that they aid, rather than counter, the deification not just of this one particular entity but all of human beings. The final essay in this section, Gregory Shaw's "Christian and Pagan Neoplatonism," challenges the fundamental claim that Christian Platonists can truly be Platonists. Despite the evidence that both Ramelli and Wear present, that at least some Christian Platonists fully affirm the possibility that the human being is divinized, not ultimately separate from God, not a mere creature who must somehow call on divine grace, Shaw points to the Augustinian version of Platonism. Here, according to Shaw, we see a dogmatic formulation of a truth that must conform to orthodoxy, a way of thinking that is totally inimical to the Platonic practices of aporia. Further, as Shaw so vividly states, in Augustine's Christian Platonism, we find a God whose grace redeems us from the sin of being human, embodied and fallen. But the genuinely Platonic orientation to the human condition, the human soul, sees this state as a gift, an opening onto divinity, an expression of creative intelligence that never, even in the midst of embodiment, loses its true identity.

Throughout the course of centuries, Platonist discourses about the soul are not merely doctrinal deliverances or abstract arguments. Instead, the essays in this volume trace the Platonic legacy of the soul as a deliverance about the true purpose of human life. Not all Platonists would confine themselves to Plotinus's succinct but eloquent exhortation that "our concern is not merely to be sinless, but to be God" (*Enn.* 1.2), but all Platonists agree that the human soul—as it journeys within birth and death, in knowing and in all forms of experience, in its ultimate identity as no other than divine intelligence—matters profoundly.