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PAGAN PHILOSOPHERS IN LATE ANTIQUE SOCIETY:

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO IAMBLICHUS AND HIS FOLLOWERS

by

GARTH FOWDEN

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ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTES

C.A.G.	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca (Berlin,1883-)
C.I.G.	A. Boeckh et al. (edd.), Corpus inscriptionum graecarum (Berlin,1828-77)
C.I.L.	Corpus inscriptionum latinarum (Berlin,1863-)
Eunapius	Eunapius, Vitae sophistarum
H.A.	Historia Augusta
I.G.	Inscriptiones graecae (Berlin,1873-)
I.G.L.S.	L. Jalabert et al. (edd.), Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie (Paris,1929-)
I.G.R.	R. Cagnat et al. (edd.), Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes (Paris,1906-27)
I.L.S.	H. Dessau (ed.), Inscriptiones latinae selectae (Berlin,1892-1916)
M.A.M.A.	W.M. Calder et al. (edd.), Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua (Manchester,1928-62)
Nag Hamm. Cod.	M. Krause and P. Labib (edd.), Gnostische und Hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI (Glückstadt,1971)
O.G.I.S.	W. Dittenberger (ed.), Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae (Leipzig,1903-05)
P.G.	Migne, Patrologia Graeca
P. Herm. Rees	B.R. Rees (ed.), Papyri from Hermopolis and other documents of the Byzantine period (London,1964)
P.I.R.^{2}	E. Groag et al. (edd.), Prosopographia imperii romani saec. I.II.II. (Berlin,1933-)
P.L.	Migne, Patrologia Latina
P.Lips.	L. Mitteis (ed.), Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig I (Leipzig,1906)
P.L.R.E.	A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris, The prosopography of the later Roman empire I (Cambridge,1971)
P.Merton	H.I. Bell et al. (edd.), A descriptive catalogue of the Greek papyri in the collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A. (London-Dublin,1948-59)
P.Oxy.	B.P. Grenfell et al., (edd.), The Oxyrhyncus papyri (London,1898-)

P.S.I.	G. Vitelli et al. (edd.), Papiri greci e latini (Florence,1912-)
R.A.C.	T. Klauser et al. (edd.), Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum (Stuttgart,1950-)
R.E.	G. Wissowa et al. (edd.), Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart-Munich,1893-)
S.E.G.	J.J.E. Hondius et al. (edd.), Supplementum epigraphicum graecum (Leiden,1923-)
S.I.G.	W. Dittenberger (ed.), Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum (Leipzig,1915-24^3)

Full details of standard editions referred to in the notes by the name of their editor alone will be found in the Bibliography.

Reprints of articles are mentioned where known. In cases where the reprint expands or is more accessible than the original, reference is made to the reprint only.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine, from an historical point of view, the character of payan philosophical life in late antiquity (A.D.200-400). The primary vocation of the philosopher is in all ages the cultivation and propagation of wisdom; and in the eyes of contemporaries and posterity alike, his reputation rests upon his teaching, whether oral or committed to writing. His personal circumstances and actions are of secondary interest. Yet philosophers have been known to stir revolutions through their words; and any man who teaches plays a part, however minute, in the shaping of society. The study of the lives of philosophers, in other words, is a legitimate part of the historian's concern - and of the philosopher's too, in so far as a teacher illustrates his doctrines in the conduct of his own affairs.

In the ancient world there were many who longed for a higher wisdom than that imparted in the course of the conventional education. There were many too who claimed to supply this need - and did so with such success that they still find their audience in our own day. Such were the prophets of ancient Israel, the rabbis of later Judaism, the philosophers of classical Greece, the apostles of Christianity, and the Fathers of the Church. The pagan sages of late antiquity clearly stand within the same tradition of learnèd men who claimed a divine sanction for their teaching - and yet they, unlike the others, find few disciples in the modern world. As historical figures too, they are little known and much misunderstood. Over the last century scholars have lavished their attention on the varied intellectual currents of late antiquity, and in recent decades have even begun to rescue the Neoplatonists from the obscurity in which they have languished since the Renais-

sance - but the revival has been the work of philosophers and philologists, not of historians. There exists no account in any language of the way in which pagan philosophical life was articulated on the practical plane during late antiquity, either in terms of the self-organization of philosophèrs as groups within society, or of relations between philosophers and other social groups; nor has the political rôle of the pagan sages been properly investigated hitherto.

This lack of interest can be attributed in part to the character - though hardly to the quantity - of the available evidence. The only major source of reasonable trustworthiness is Porphyry's Vita Plotini. Almost exactly a century after its composition, Eunapius of Sardis produced his Vitae sophistarum, in which he continued the history of Neoplatonism from the death of Plotinus down to his own day. But unfortunately Eunapius was a gossip-columnist by vocation, combining uninterest in the teachings of the philosophers whose lives he describes with a vagueness of style and predilection for the barely-credible which has hitherto prevented his book from being taken seriously as an historical source. Yet it should be borne in mind that Eunapius was personally acquainted with many of those about whom he wrote, and often had access to unimpeachable sources of information about those whom he had not met. He is careful to mention his predecessors in the field[1]; he is appropriately tentative when not sure of a fact[2]; and at times he can be critical, even of Iamblichus[3]. He

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1. Eunapius I.1.5-II.1.9;III.1.2,4;V.2.8-9,3.5-9. Whether Eunapius read his sources carefully though is another question: compare for example Eunapius III.1.2,IV.1.7-8, and IV.2.1 with Porphyry, V.Plot. 5.1-5,11.11-9, and 3.24-7 respectively. On the other hand there are marked parallels between Eunapius VII. 1.13 and V.Plot. 1.1-2, Eunapius VII.2.12 and V.Plot. 3.12-3.

2. Eunapius I.1.3. Note the use of the verbs φαίνεται, λέγεται at III.1.4,IV.2.5-6; and cf. also V.2.3-9.

3. Ibid. V.1.2-4,3.5-9.

is an authority to be treated with caution, but never ignored.

The other primary sources are extremely disparate and widely scattered, and this has further discouraged scholarly activity in the field. Among literary sources, Marinus's Vita Procli and Damascius's Vita Isidori are of considerable indirect usefulness, though their main interest falls outside the period with which this study is concerned. Lay authors such as Libanius and Ammianus Marcellinus often supply important details, and naturally the philosophical writings of the period offer some sporadic help too. Most of the works of the third and fourth century philosophers discussed in this study have been read through thoroughly, but time has not permitted more than a superficial examination of the vast commentaries surviving from the fifth and sixth centuries. Christian sources can also be illuminating, though their testimony tends to be more stereotyped than that of pagan writers. Here it was found necessary to guess which of the thousands of surviving texts were likely to be the most rewarding, and concentrate on those. It seems unlikely though that any evidence has been omitted which would substantially alter the picture here presented.

Similar methodological problems attach to the use of the non-literary evidence, much of it discovered and published only during the last few decades. On the one hand, the non-literary evidence provides a valuable control on the respective prejudices of the pagan and Christian literary sources, and is a major source in its own right for matters such as the geographical distribution of philosophical activity, and the understanding that non-philosophers had of the philosopher and his teachings. Our image of the pagan intellectuals of late antiquity would lack a whole dimension were it not for inscriptions, mosaics, and the steadily growing number of portrait busts which appear to depict contemporary philo-

sophers, at times so vividly that we feel almost as if we are at last face to face with them. But on the other hand the sheer quantity of the non-literary material - and particularly of the inscriptions and papyri - and the problems attached to its dating, interpretation, and correlation with the literary evidence, considerably complicates an already delicate task. The present study aims to present the evidence as extensively as is possible without resorting to pure prosopography, and to suggest at least the initial lines along which a synthesis may be sought.

The problematical character of the sources makes a firm delimitation of the scope of this study absolutely essential. Two matters of definition need to be clarified from the outset. Firstly, the period covered is that between A.D.200 and 400. These chronological boundaries are in part natural, in part arbitrary. By A.D. 200 Ammonius, the teacher of Plotinus, was already active in Alexandria[1] - but he is of course philosophically incomprehensible except against the background of Middle Platonism. By A.D. 400 Eunapius had probably already embarked on his Vitae sophistarum[2]. At exactly this time Christian pressure was beginning to make organized pagan philosophical life impossible outside Athens and Alexandria; but, at least as far as those two cities are concerned, the story could be continued along similar lines into the sixth century. The third and fourth centuries form then a convenient unit, long enough to be interesting, short enough to be manageable, but isolated neither from what went before, nor from what came after.

Secondly, it is important to be as clear as possible about what we mean by the term 'philosopher'. This study is concerned

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1. Cf. below,150-51.
2. Cf. below,102,n.5.

with those who sought to conduct their lives according to principles derived from the great classical philosophers, or who at least studied the writings of these men and proclaimed an allegiance to them. This definition excludes several groups of people who were customarily referred to as 'philosophers' in late antiquity. For example, both alchemists and Christians frequently called themselves 'philosophers', and their beliefs and practices 'philosophy'[1]. In the Christian sense of the word, even an illiterate hermit might be regarded as a philosopher. In more general usage the word is very often used of any learned or skilled man, or writer, or teacher[2]. On honorific and funerary inscriptions we find many praised as 'philosophers' who can never possibly have had more than a nodding acquaintance with philosophical ideas, and here the epithet means quite simply that the person in question was good or wise[3].

The definition of the philosopher is not, though, purely a semantic problem. It is by no means always possible to distinguish the functions of the philosopher from those of the sophist and the doctor, or even, in late antiquity, from those of the priest and the magician. Of priesthood and magic more will be said in the course of this study, but some comment ought to be made here on the relationship of philosophy to rhetoric and medicine[4].

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1. Cf. M. Berthelot and C.-E. Ruelle, Collection des alchimistes grecs: texte grec (Paris,1888),27.18,35.17-36.18,etc.; and, on the Christian usage, A.-M. Malingrey, "Philosophia": étude d'un groupe de mots dans la litérature grecque, des Présocratiques au IVe siècle après J.-C. (Paris,1961).

2. Synesius, epp. 26,73,118(to the rhetor Troilus); cf. G. Lumbroso, 'Sulla fortuna della parola Filosofo', Atti della R. Acc. dei Linc., Mem. della Cl. di Sci. Mor., Stor. e Fil. 5 (1880),74-9.

3. For some examples, cf. below,69,n.2, and 186,nn.1-2.

4. On the inter-relations of these three disciplines in the second century, cf. G.W. Bowersock, Greek sophists in the Roman empire (Oxford,1969),66-9.

Philosophers and rhetors had disputed about the nature of true paideia ever since Plato and Isocrates[1]. Rhetoric, the art of persuading by public speech and the written word, provided a vocational, and philosophy a spritual approach to the problem how best to educate a young man. Ideally, the two approaches were complementary; but because of its great efflorescence in the second century A.D. - christened by Philostratus the 'Second Sophistic'[2] - the study of Greek rhetoric came to be regarded by the later Romans as the consummation of the educational process. By the fourth century, it is true, the triumph of rhetoric was no longer as fresh as it had been in the second. The bureaucratization and centralization of the imperial administration had led to a growth in the popularity of law, and therefore of Latin, in consequence of which Greek rhetors like Libanius had to watch their pupils deserting their lecture-halls in order to pursue their studies in Rome or Beirut[3]. Yet still the sophist played a far more active rôle than the philosopher in moulding the mentality of the age, especially in the fields of education and public life[4].

Philosophers were not though very easily impressed by the

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1. H. von Arnim, Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa (Berlin,1898), 4-114; A. Boulanger, Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au IIe siècle de notre ère (Paris,1923),210-39,249-65.

2. Philostratus, V.soph. 481. The titles ῥήτωρ and σοφιστής were virtually interchangeable, and are treated as such here: cf. Bowersock, op.cit. 12-4.

3. Gregory Thaumaturgus, In Orig. 5.56-64; P. Wolf, Vom Schulwesen der Spätantike: Studien zu Libanius (Baden-Baden,1952), 53-5.

4. On rhetoric's immense popular following, cf. e.g. Philostratus, V.soph. 571-4; Libanius, or. 1.37; Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 43.15 (σοφιστομανοῦσιν Ἀθήνησι); Eunapius X.3.11,6.10. It is worth noting, though, that Libanius, for one, frequently recognized the theoretical superiority of philosophy to rhetoric: orr. 1.131 (cf. Julian,ep.97),12.30,14.62,18.203; epp. 665.2, 667.

worldly success of the sophist[1]. Some, like Plotinus and Iamblichus, made a point of neglecting literary considerations in their writing[2], presumably in order to show that they valued the essence of philosophy higher than its literary form, and that they were not motivated by a desire for popularity or any material reward[3]. Even so, just as Philostratus had included in his Vitae sophistarum a number of philosophers who were regarded as sophists too on account of their eloquence[4], Eunapius likewise praises several of the Neoplatonists for their rhetorical accomplishment[5]. A number of late antique philosophers are known either to have taught rhetoric, or else to have written the occasional academic treatise on the subject[6], in just the same way as rhetors often

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1. The antipathy between philosophy and rhetoric was not as dead in late antiquity as B. Keil, 'Zwei Identificationen', Hermes 42(1907),561, and W. Kroll, R.E. Supp. 7.1089-90, imply. Criticism of rhetoric was not of course the prerogative either of philosophers (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus XXX.4.3-22 on forensic oratory) or of pagans (cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, ep. 11; Augustine, C.Acad. I.1.3, Conf. IX.2.2; and Isidore of Pelusium, ep. 5.458, who repeats the old antithesis of sophist and philosopher).

2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 13.2-5,14.1-4; Eunapius IV.1.10,V.1.2-4. According to Gregory Thaumaturgus, the same was the case in the school of another of Ammonius's pupils, Origen the Christian: In Orig. 1.3-5.

3. Porphyry, De abst. I.27.1; Ad Marc. 17; V.Plot. 7.46-9; (?)Porphyry ap. Olympiodorus, In Gorg. 38.4 (cf. C.A. Behr, 'Citations of Porphyry's Against Aristides preserved in Olympiodorus', Am.Jour.Phil. 89(1968),186-8,191-2); Eunapius V.3.4 (on Iamblichus); Synesius, De insomn. 155a-156c; Dion,passim, esp. 43ab;epp. 57.200b;103;148.284d; Macrobius, Sat. VII.1.2, 4 (Symmachus's comparison of philosophy's 'sacrarium quietis' with rhetoric, 'ars et professio popularis').

4. Philostratus, V.soph. 479,484-92.

5. Eunapius IV.1.10-11,2.2(Porphyry);V.1.5(Sopater; cf. Suda Σ845) VI.5(Eustathius);VII.2.6(Eusebius);VII.2.7(Maximus: but cf. VII 6.1),XXIII.1.8(Chrysanthius).

6. Ibid. VI.4.5(Aedesius); J. Bidez, Vie de Porphyre, le philosophe Néo-Platonicien, avec les fragments des traités Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων et De regressu animae (Gand,1913),71*-72*; B.D. Larsen, Jamblique de Chalcis, exégète et philosophe (Aarhus,1972), 59,no.12. Cf. also Porphyry, V.Plot. 7.46-9 (on Plotinus's pupil Serapion); Libanius, or. 12.92 (on Julian); Anth.Pal. 11. 305 (Palladas, on a γραμματικός and Platonist); W.M. Ramsay,

added a certain amount of philosophy to their courses[1]. There can have been no late antique philosopher who had not studied rhetoric at some point in his education, and it was generally recognized, even by those who most often criticized its failings, that rhetoric could be of great assistance to philosophy, helping it to express its teachings in an elegant and appealing manner[2]. The impossibility of separating the two disciplines becomes increasingly apparent once one tries to classify figures such as Marius Victorinus and Themistius. Both were practising rhetors, and yet both wrote philosophical works, and in Themistius's case taught philosophy as well.

The same tension between theory and practice that runs through philosophy's relations with rhetoric can be traced also in its relationship with medicine. In classical, Hellenistic, and Roman times philosophical theories about the macrocosm, and medical experience of the microcosm, were in constant interaction, but the interaction was not always harmonious[3]. Macrobius illustrates the problem when in the Saturnalia he has the doctor Disarius declare that Plato made a fool of himself when he discussed medical matters. The philosopher Eustathius retorts that medicine, which occupies itself with the dregs of matter, should not attack philosophy, which is concerned with reason and the incorporeal[4]. But

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'A noble Anatolian family of the fourth century', Cl.Rev. 33 (1919),1-9 (on a Christian rhetor and philosopher); and Bowersock, op.cit. 11-2.

1. H.-I. Marrou, Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique (Paris,1958[4]),115.

2. Julian, ep. 8.441c; Themistius, or. 24; Libanius, orr. 12.30, 13.13; Synesius, ep. 154, and Dion 43ab,58c-59c.

3. J. Longrigg, 'Philosophy and medicine: some early interactions', Harv.St.Cl.Phil. 67(1963),147-75; A.J. Festugière, L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Evangile (Paris,1932),74,nn.1-2.

4. Macrobius, Sat. VII.15.1,14-5.

most late antique philosophers would have agreed with Julian when he wrote that medicine is rightly said to come from heaven, because it bestows such signal benefits on humanity[1]. That philosophy is the medicine of souls, and medicine the philosophy of bodies, was a commonplace; and the Neoplatonists frequently used medical terminology when discussing the purification of the soul[2]. The two vocations were often united in the one individual, and Plotinus for example had at least three doctors in his circle[3].

Philosophy did not then exist in a vacuum, and the rôle of the philosopher can not be defined without reference to the representatives of related disciplines. If in the course of the third and fourth centuries pagan philosophy gradually became socially and politically isolated, that was a by-product of the much broader revolution which overtook the whole of classical Hellenism during late antiquity, as a result of the spread of Christianity. Indeed, the limitation of this study to pagan philosophers is in one respect misleading, for ultimately the values of the great classical sages proved to be convertible, and Christian philosophy emerged in the place of pagan philosophy. Already in the third and fourth centuries figures like Gregory Thaumaturgus, Gregory of Nazianzus, or Augustine seem, in their student years, when they are full of enthusiasm for philosophy, virtually indistinguishable from their pagan contemporaries, or at any rate from the more moderate among them. Yet their inclusion here would have raised issues impossible

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1. Julian, ep. 75b.
2. Apollonius of Tyana, ep. 23; Porphyry, Ad Marc. 31; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 70; Julian, ep. 89b.305b; Libanius, or. 12.34 (on Maximus of Ephesus, ὁ τῆς γνώμης ἰατρός),and ep. 1199.3(on the philosopher-doctor P.L.R.E. Olympius 4); Philostorgius, H.E. 3.15,p.47.10-11; Elias, In Porph.Isag. 4,p.9.6-9.
3. Paulinus, Eustochius, and Zethus: Porphyry, V.Plot. 7.5-12,17-9. Cf. also Athenaeus, Deip. 1.1e; I.G. 14.1424 (and P. Boyancé, Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs: études d'histoire et de psychologie religieuses (Paris,1937),284-91);

to deal with in the space available. To mention only the most obvious: for the pagan, sanctification came through learning, and the pagan holy man of late antiquity is almost invariably a philosopher. To many Christians, on the other hand, holiness seemed antithetical to learning, or at least to classical learning, and was very often found in the illiterate peasant. The present study can aspire to provide only a part of the foundations on which an investigation of these wider issues will have to be based.

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Libanius, loc.cit.; Eunapius XXIII.6.3 (on his own medical knowledge), and Hist. fr. 8, on Oribasius, ἀνήρ...ἐκ φυσικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἰατρικὴν ἐπιτάττειν ἄριστος καὶ δρᾶν ἔτι θειότερος, and who addressed a medical treatise Ad Eunapium; and L.G. Westerink, 'Philosophy and medicine in late antiquity', Janus 51 (1964),169-77.

Καί τε θεοί ξείνοισιν έοικότες άλλοδαποῖσι,
παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, έπιστρωφῶσι πόληας.

Homer, Odyssey 17.485-6

Τρίτον δέ γένος θείων άνθρώπων δυνάμει τε
κρείττονι καί όξύτητι όμμάτων εἶδέ τε ὥσπερ
ὑπό όξυδορκίας τήν ἄνω αἴγλην καί ἤρθη τε
ἐκεῖ οἷον ὑπέρ νεφῶν καί τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἀχλύος
καί ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ τά τῆδε ὑπεριδόν πάντα ἠσθέν
τῷ τόπῳ ἀληθινῷ καί οἰκείῳ ὄντι, ὥσπερ ἐκ
πολλῆς πλάνης εἰς πατρίδα εὔνομον ἀφικόμενος
ἄνθρωπος.

Plotinus V.9.1.16-21

CHAPTER I

PHILOSOPHY: ITS NATURE AND PRACTICE

In the closing years of the fourth century the rhetor and philosophaster Eunapius of Sardis set to work on a collection of lives of famous philosophers and sophists. Much of the book which resulted, the Vitae sophistarum, is implicitly autobiographical. It begins with a short notice on the life of Plotinus, the greatest exponent of the Neoplatonism to which Eunapius himself adhered, and is for the most part an encomium on the sophists of Athens, where Eunapius had studied, and the philosophers of Pergamon, one of whom, Chrysanthius, had been his best-loved teacher. Chrysanthius's Vita is accordingly placed at the end of the book, and happens to contain an extremely interesting account of the education he had received from the founder of the Pergamene circle, Aedesius. Chrysanthius had studied under Aedesius when the latter was at the height of his powers, and according to Eunapius his course had consisted of three main elements, which he lists in the following order: firstly, philosophy, starting with Plato and Aristotle and going on to all the other branches; secondly, rhetoric; and thirdly, 'the knowledge of the gods (θεῶν γνῶσις), and the wisdom that Pythagoras had cultivated'. As a result, says Eunapius, 'he was so much lightened and raised up by the plumage of his soul, as Plato says, that he arrived at perfection in every branch of every sort of paideia, and became an adept in all types of divination'[1].

Encapsulated in Chrysanthius's education are the two profoundest changes that came over the Greek intellectual world in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. These two changes may be expressed in

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1. Eunapius XXIII.1.6-10, recalling the Phaedrus.

terms of two processes of fusion, firstly within philosophy itself, and secondly between philosophy and religion. This is not to say that there was ever a time when individual philosophers, let alone philosophical Schools, existed in complete isolation from one another; or when philosophy and religion were regarded as mutually independent. What can be argued, though, is that as the Greek philosophical tradition developed, antitheses once sharp were blurred, while its three main branches, physics (τό φυσικόν), ethics (τό ήθικόν), and dialectic or logic (τό διαλεκτικόν/λογικόν), all gradually became subservient to that θεῶν γνῶσις into which Chrysanthius was initiated by Aedesius.

These three areas on which classical philosophers concentrated their interest, although first defined by Hellenistic scholars, were all thought to have originated in the pre-Platonic era[1]. The philosophers who flourished in this period were likewise divided up by Hellenistic historians into 'successions' (διαδοχαί) - Diogenes Laertius, for example, posited an Ionian and an Italian succession, and a group of 'sporadics' who fitted easily into neither[2]. To later generations many of these philosophical trends seemed to have converged on and been reconciled in the thought of one man, Plato[3], who was also the inventor of the word 'theology' (θεολογία)[4]. In

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1. Diogenes Laertius 1.18;2.16,45;9.7-11; [Galen], Hist.phil. 6; etc. Augustine though seems to have thought that it was Plato himself who originated the three branches of philosophy: De civ. Dei 8.4.

2. Diogenes Laertius 1.13-5, and 9 passim.

3. Numenius, fr. 24.57-79; Diogenes Laertius 3.8 (where Heraclitus represents the sporadics, Pythagoras the Italians, and Socrates the Ionians); Hippolytus, Ref. I.18.2; Augustine, loc.cit., and C.Acad. III.17.37.

4. Plato, Resp. 379a. Augustine for one understood perfectly the importance of Plato's innovation: De civ.Dei 8.1; cf. Themistius, or. 34.5; Proclus, Theol.Plat. 1.1,pp.5.16-6.10.

both intellectual and historical terms Plato was the dynamic centre of the Greek philosophical tradition, gathering together what had gone before, 'like the limbs of Pentheus', and fertilising what came after[1]. This is a claim that can be argued on behalf of no other philosopher, for even Socrates derives his importance, not from having created a systematic philosophy, but from the new significance he gave to ethics, which was but one aspect of the eventual Platonic synthesis[2].

The definition of the classical speculum mentis was then the work of Plato. The founder of the Academy was a profoundly spiritual thinker, fascinated by the capacity of the human soul for perfecting itself through the perception of the ideal world beyond our human sphere; but his greatest pupil, Aristotle, because he had a more empirical slant of mind, tended to shift the emphasis of his School away from the spiritual element in his master's teaching. Socrates himself had been condemned to death on a charge of impiety, and in the centuries that followed the criticisms that Epicureans and Stoics were inclined to make of conventional external religious practices were frequently, but quite unjustifiably, represented by their enemies as the product of atheism[3]. The growth of scepticism, though, undoubtedly did encourage some philosophers to dis-

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1. Atticus, fr. 1.19-23; Aristocles ap. Eusebius, P.E. XI.3; Apuleius, De Plat.dog. 1.4; Diogenes Laertius 2.47; Himerius, or. 48.21; Themistius, or. 26.318d-319a. The simile is Atticus's (with it, cp. Themistius, loc.cit.), possibly borrowed from Numenius, fr. 24.71-3, who uses it when lamenting the divergence of the later Academy from the teachings of its founder (cf. E. des Places, Atticus: fragments (Paris,1977),19;39,n.5).

2. Cf. Cicero, Acad. I.4.15-7; Themistius, or. 34.5. Socrates was not of course ignorant of physics (Plato, Phaedo 96a ff.; Diogenes Laertius 2.16,45), or of dialectic (Aristotle, Metaph. 1078b27); but the one was unimportant to him, and the other wholly subservient to his ethical purpose.

3. Cf. A.J. Festugière, Epicurus and his gods (Oxford,1955),60.

believe in the gods and religion[1] - until the inevitable reaction set in. The only answer to radical scepticism was revelation, and by the first century of the Christian era Greco-Roman philosophy was becoming an eclectic blend in which the dominant place was assigned to those elements in the tradition most favourable to a spiritual view of the world, in other words to Plato and the teachings of Pythagoras, which had been enjoying a revival since the first century B.C. Certain aspects of this eclectic process will be examined in detail later on; for the present it is sufficient to take note that it was into this environment that Neoplatonism, the last flowering of ancient philosophy, was born.

In allying itself with religion, philosophy perhaps became a little more accessible to ordinary men; but it is unlikely that the teachings of Plato and Aristotle entered the popular mentality at any level much above the sub-conscious, in the form of pious, often iconographic, cliché. Even among the educated, much of what passed for philosophical culture derived from the florilegium and the anthology[2]. In the classical and late antique as much as in the modern world, philosophy was the full-time pursuit only of a tiny, highly privileged minority[3]. These were the λόγιοι, the πεπαιδευμένοι, always to be distinguished from the common crowd[4]: the worst abuse one could find for a soi-disant philosopher was to call him ἀπαίδευτος, as Aristotle and Julian did the Cynics[5]. The purpose of this study

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1. C.J. de Vogel, Greek philosophy III (Leiden,1959), 208-15.
2. Cf. below,259.
3. Cf. below,200 -02 .
4. Cf. below,8,13,26,41.
5. Cf. below, 74,n.3.

is to ask: if one belonged to this narrow circle of initiates into philosophy, what difference did it make to one's relations with one's fellow men? - not just with fellow philosophers, though that is important, but with society at large.

The first step towards answering this question is to ask another: what did philosophers themselves see as their object in life, and what conclusions about personal conduct did they draw from the beliefs they professed? Our main source of information is bound to be the surviving writings of the great Neoplatonists, Plotinus, Porphyry, and Iamblichus, but as it happens we possess a number of more popular philosophical tracts, whose existence is well-attested from the first and second centuries of our era onwards[1], and which today go under the name of the Corpus Hermeticum. The Hermetic writings are often unoriginal in thought, obscure in expression, and at doctrinal variance with one another, so that generalizations can be perilous; but even so, these texts are invaluable to the historian who seeks to grasp, not perhaps the roots from which Neoplatonism grew - for, being a highly learned and literary movement, it loved to present itself as nothing more than an exegesis of the 'divine' Plato - but rather the background which predisposed men to become followers, and often almost worshippers, of the Neoplatonist sages.

The Corpus Hermeticum occupies a coastal plain between the deep seas of popular religious practice and the peaks of Plotinian mysticism. Its authors we may assume to have been priests or small-time Greek philosophers in Egypt[2], writing for circles which regarded themselves as an élite and kept certain of their beliefs secret[3],

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1. A.J. Festugière, La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste (Paris,1949-54),I,78-81.
2. Ibid. 81-7. Cp. the Hermetic circle revealed in P.Herm.Rees 2-6.
3. Corp.Herm. 9.4,16.1,exc.11.4; Ascl. 22.

but which made no original contribution to the philosophical culture of the age. Through the acquisition of divine γνῶσις[1], and through acquaintance with the νοῦς which is its concomitant[2], the Hermeticists aspired to cast off the chains of carnal desire that bound them to the body[3], to recognize and free the immortal nature that is hidden at the core of every man's being[4], and ultimately to unite that nature with its divine source (θεωθῆναι)[5]. Despite the élitist and secretive tone of their writings, some of the Hermeticists clearly saw themselves as having an evangelical obligation to unredeemed humanity[6]: in the Poimandres 'Hermes' relates how, 'having had power given me (δυναμωθείς), and having been taught the nature of all that is, and seen the supreme vision, I began to preach to men the beauty of piety and of the knowledge of God. And some of them mocked at my words, and stood aloof; for they had given themselves up to the way of death. But others besought me that they might be taught, and cast themselves down at my feet. And I bade them stand up; and I made myself a guide to mankind...and I sowed in them the teachings of wisdom.... And when evening was come, and the light of the sun was beginning to go down, I bade them all with one accord give thanks to God. And when they had accomplished their thanksgiving, they betook them every man to his own bed'[7].

The Hermeticists were not ascetics in a negative sense - they

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1. Corp.Herm. 10.9,13.8.
2. Ibid. 1.21-2,4.3-4.
3. Ibid. 1.19,4.3-7; Ascl. 10.
4. Corp.Herm. 1.18-9,10.24-5,12.1.
5. Ibid. 1.26.
6. Ibid. 1.26-9.
7. Ibid. 1.27,29;cf. 32. Corp.Herm. 7 seems to be a fragment of an Hermetic sermon.

fully accepted man's sexuality, and did not disdain marriage[1]. On the other hand their understanding of the nature of philosophy does seem to have been entirely religious - to their mind it was synonymous with piety and knowledge of the gods[2] - and the author of the Asclepius goes so far as to denounce as adulterations its traditional links with arithmetic, music, and geometry, which he dismisses as 'inoportunae curiositates'[3]. Whether or not the writer has in mind any particular group of contemporaries, as for example the Platonists or the Neopythagoreans[4], he makes sufficiently clear the gulf that has opened between his and the classical thought-world.

No Neoplatonist would have dissented from the Hermeticists' fundamental objectives, but there was about these people something not quite respectable - their writings, supposedly by Hermes himself, were after all strictly speaking forgeries[5] -, and so the Neoplatonic literature preserves, on the whole, a discreet silence about them[6]. Nonetheless Ammonius, whom Plotinus revered as his master and posterity hailed as the progenitor of Neoplatonism, lived, taught, and died (probably about 242/3[7]) in Alexandria, and the

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1. Ibid. 2.17; Ascl. 21.

2. Corp.Herm. exc. 2B.2 (ὁ δέ εὐσεβῶν ἄκρως φιλοσοφήσει), and cf. the identification of εὐσέβεια with θεοῦ γνῶσις at Corp.Herm. 9.4. On the earlier history of this idea, fundamental to the thought-world of late antiquity, and especially of Neoplatonism, cf. H. Dörrie, 'Die Religiosität des Platonismus im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert nach Christus', Ent.Hardt 21(1974),257,n.1.

3. Ascl. 13-4. Cf. Porphyry, De abst. I.29.1: οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ εὐδαιμονικὴ ἡμῖν θεωρία λόγων ἀθροισις καί μαθημάτων πλῆθος.

4. W. Scott, Hermetica (Oxford,1924-36), III,63-4.

5. Cf. Iamblichus, De myst. I.1.2: ὃ [τῷ Ἑρμῇ] καί οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τά αὐτῶν τῆς σοφίας ἀνετίθεσαν, Ἑρμοῦ πάντα τά οἰκεῖα συγγράμματα ἐπονομάζοντες; VIII.4.265: τά...φερόμενα ὡς Ἑρμοῦ.

6. Cf. Festugière, Révélation II,47-3.

7. Plotinus's failure to return to Ammonius after leaving him in 242/3 to join Gordian's abortive expedition to Persia (Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.17-24) was taken by E. Zeller, Die Philosophie der

select character of his circle[1], together with the vow taken by certain of his disciples to keep their master's teachings secret[2], cannot but remind us of the circles we glimpse dimly through the Hermetic literature. Unfortunately the only specific evidence we have about the character of Ammonius's philosophical teachings is that preserved in Photius's excerpts from the fifth century Alexandrian philosopher Hierocles's treatise De providentia et fato[3]. According to Hierocles, Ammonius was the founder of the 'purified philosophy of Plato (Πλάτωνος διακεκαθαρμένη φιλοσοφία)', or what we call Neoplatonism[4]. He was'taught by God (θεοδίδακτος)', and 'the first to be possessed by God (ἐνθουσιάσας) with longing for the true goal of philosophy, despising the opinions of the many, that inflict shame on philosophy'[5]. Most important of all, he put an end to the fashion for opposing Plato to Aristotle, and reconciled them and the other major philosophers 'into one and the same spirit'[6]. If we are to believe Hierocles - and what he says is corroborated by the behaviour of Ammonius's pupils, our evidence

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Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung (Hildesheim,1963[6]), III(2),501,n.3 (followed by J. Igal, La cronología de la 'Vida de Plotino' de Porfirio (Deusto,1972),124) to mean that Ammonius died about that time. On Plotinus's chronology, cf. most recently T.D. Barnes, 'The chronology of Plotinus's life', Gr.Rom.Byz. St. 17(1976),65-70; and H.-R. Schwyzer, R.E. Supp. 15.313-5.

1. Cf. below, 146 - 7 .
2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.24-7.
3. Photius, Bibl. 214,251. The authenticity of Hierocles's information is here assumed, though his source is disputed, the pagan Origen, Porphyry, and the 'collectio Ammonii scholarum' of Theodotus having been advanced as candidates by (respectively) H. Langerbeck, 'Die Verbindung aristotelischer und christlicher Elemente in der Philosophie des Ammonius Saccas', in id., Aufsätze zur Gnosis (Göttingen,1967),165; H. Dörrie, 'Ammonios, der Lehrer Plotins', Hermes 83(1955),439,459ff.; W. Theiler, 'Ammonios der Lehrer des Origenes', in id., Forschungen zum Neuplatonismus (Berlin,1966),37-9 (and cf. below,147,n.1).
4. Hierocles ap. Photius, Bibl. 214.173a.
5. Ibid. 214.172a,251.461a.
6. Locc.citt., and 214.173a; cf. I. Hadot, Le problème du néoplat-

for which will be considered in chapter V of this study - then this forefather of Neoplatonism was clearly a man who succeeded preeminently in combining philosophical erudition and insight with spiritual authority. He was no conventional School-philosopher, but an original genius who, like Socrates, saw his vocation as the education of others in wisdom and virtue.

Lines of thought which emerge fleetingly and indistinctly in the Hermetica, and which we can only guess to have formed part of the teachings of Ammonius, are clarified in the extensive and repetitive collection of his pupil Plotinus's lectures, preserved by Porphyry and called by him the Enneads[1]. Plotinus's teaching was a synthesis founded on a healthy eclecticism rather than on the syncretist's urge to reconcile opposites at any cost. He was averse neither to criticising Aristotle, nor even to pointing out the inconsistencies of Plato[2]. Nonetheless, following Ammonius's example, he explicitly stated his purpose to be the interpretation of Plato and the other ancients, and the harmonization of their opinion with his own[3]. One should not then be surprised to find that Plotinus's contemporaries regarded him, not as a startling genius who diverted philosophy into a wholly new direction, but as one who took the old truths and looked at them in a new way and, even more significantly, as a whole (even though he said little about, for example, Plato's political teachings). Nor were Plotinus's intellectual debts con-

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onisme alexandrin: Hiéroclès et Simplicius (Paris,1978),74-6, and, on the anti-Aristotelianism of the Middle Platonists, below, 61 .

1. On Neoplatonism generally, cf. R.T. Wallis, Neoplatonism (London,1972), esp. 1-15.
2. Plotinus II.4 (Aristotle), IV.8.1.27-8 (Plato). Cf. J.M. Rist, Plotinus: the road to reality (Cambridge,1967),178-9,186-7.
3. Plotinus III.7.7.10-17.

fined to the remote past. He built on the work of the Middle Platonists, particularly Severus, Gaius, and Atticus, and of other second century philosophers: Neopythagoreans like Cronius and Numenius, who are often grouped together with the Platonists in the ancient sources; and Peripatetics such as Aspasius, Alexander, and Adrastus[1]. But this is not to agree with those of his contemporaries who thought Plotinus was merely a plagiarizer[2]. Even for Longinus, who was far from being uncritical of Plotinus[3], he and his pupil Amelius were different from other contemporary philosophers, because they did not just work in depth on small points, but tackled a 'crowd of problems...from an original point of view'. Plotinus's real achievement, in Longinus's opinion, was to 'expound the principles of Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy more clearly than anyone before him'[4]. Similarly, Porphyry points out that Plotinus's writings are 'full of hidden Stoic and Peripatetic teaching', but that, far from slavishly copying the texts he read to his pupils, he used these as a spring-board for his own ideas - though these often owed something to Ammonius[5].

For Plotinus, philosophy was of divine origin, and the highest vocation to which a man might be called in this world[6]. There are

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 14.10-14. On Cronius and Numenius, cf. E.-A. Leemans, Studie over den wijsgeer Numenius van Apamea met uitgave der fragmenten = Acad.roy. de Belg., Mem. de la Cl. des Lett. 37 (2) (Brussels,1937),85-6,153. Numenius himself criticized the Academy for the impurity of its Platonism, and regarded Plato as at heart a Pythagorean: fr. 24.5-18,70. He was a particular favourite in Plotinus's circle: cf. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.44-5.
2. Ibid. 17.1-6, Cf. Proclus's caustic comment on Porphyry's use of Numenius, In Tim. 24d.
3. Cf. below, 111 - 13.
4. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.68-73. Cf. Augustine, C.Acad. III.18.41: Plotinus was Plato redivivus; and below, 78 - 81.
5. Porphyry, V.Plot. 14.4-7,10-16.
6. Plotinus I.3.1,3;I.3.5.1-2;I.6.7.35-9. Cf. the title of Porphyry's treatise De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda. (The following paragraphs seek only to stress certain points basic to the

three types of men: the unashamedly carnal and material; then those who lift themselves a little above the earth, but are too weak to behold the Highest; and lastly those 'divine men' (θεῖοι ἄνθρωποι) who have attained to a clear vision of the One[1]. Plotinus's preoccupation, and indeed that of all subsèquent Neoplatonists, was the struggle of the soul upwards away from matter - which by its very nature tends to engross the soul -, through the realm of Intellect towards knowledge of and union with the One[2]. 'Our concern is not merely to be sinless, but to be God'[3]. Plotinus expressed this ideal on his deathbed by saying that one should try to bring back the divine in man to the divine in the All[4]. Knowledge of the divine is to be acquired through the self-divorce of the sage from anything to do with the body, save its basic needs[5] - ἄφελε πάντα will be his motto[6] -; through his cultivation of the moral virtues; and through his withdrawal within himself, into deep noetic concentration[7]. 'The admonition to sever soul from body', Plotinus points

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present study. For an excellent account of the whole range of Plotinus's thought, cf. A.H. Armstrong (ed.), The Cambridge history of later Greek and early medieval philosophy (Cambridge, 1967),222-63. The Porphyrian parallels adduced in the notes are intended to obviate repetition of the same points in the subsequent section on Porphyry.)

1. Plotinus V.9.1. (Plotinus probably has in mind here the Epicureans, Stoics, and Platonists respectively.) Cf. Porphyry, Sent. 32,p.31.4-8.

2. Plotinus I.1.12;V.6.5.3-9. Cf. Porphyry, De abst. I.56; Sent. 9; 32,p.25.9.

3. Plotinus I.2.6.2-3.

4. Porphyry, V.Plot. 2.25-7; and cf. H.-R. Schwyzer, 'Plotins letztes Wort', Mus.Helv. 33(1976),85-97, on the correct interpretation of this remark.

5. Plotinus I.4.14 (cf. Porphyry, V.Plot. 1-2);I.4.16.17-20;II.9.18; V.1.10; De voluntaria morte, ap. Elias, In Porph. Isag. 6,pp.15.30-16.2 (=P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer, Plotini opera (Paris,1951-73),I,143). Cf. Porphyry, De abst. I.31,38.

6. Plotinus V.3.17.38.

7. Ibid. I.4.10-11,6.8;III.8.6.33-40;IV.7.10.42-7. Cf. Porphyry, V. Plot. 9.17-8,23.15-8; Ad Marc.10; Sent. 40,p.48.15-7.

out, 'is not of course to be understood spatially...but refers to an attitude of alienation from the body'[1]. His physical asceticism, and that of Neoplatonism in general[2], is moderate, an indifference to the body rather than the positive hostility that was to be shown by many Christian ascetics; but his inner discipline is one of iron. Through this discipline the higher phase of the soul, the δαίμων, is set free from the lower phase[3], and presides over the sage's ascent along the path mapped out by Plato in the Symposium[4]. The sage is now either himself a spirit (δαίμων αὐτός), or else he is on the level of a spirit (κατά δαίμονα), so that his own guardian spirit is God himself (δαίμων τούτῳ θεός)[5].

Mysticism permeates the whole of Plotinus's thought, but not to the exclusion of intellectual rigour. He considered that a philosophy worthy of the name should be bold in its procedures, striking directly at the truth, but also reasonable, clear, and carefully argued, without of course becoming bogged down in petty methodological issues[6]. The soul will never attain to union with the One by the laborious processes of human reasoning alone, essential preliminaries though they may be, but only through a direct intuition. 'What reasoners seek, the wise hold'[7]. But equally, 'to set oneself

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1. Plotinus V.1.10.24-7 (referring to Plato, Phaedo 67c); cf. Porphyry, V.Plot. 1.1-2.
2. Cf. Synesius, Dion 47a. There are occasional exceptions, e.g. Porphyry, De abst. I.36.1, Ad Marc. 34 (and cf. Eunapius IV.1.7). Julian, ep. 90, implies that a body wasted with disease would be interpreted by many as a 'philosophicae conversationis indicio', but he is referring here to Christians (cf. ep. 89b.288b) rather than pagans.
3. Plotinus VI.4.16.36-47.
4. Ibid. III.4.6.1-4; Porphyry, V.Plot. 23.7-10.
5. Plotinus, loc.cit.
6. Ibid. I.3.5;II.9.14.38-43. Cf. Porphyry, De abst. I.29.
7. Plotinus IV.4.12.9-10;VI.7.36,9.10.7-9. Cf. J. Trouillard, 'Raison et mystique chez Plotin', Rev.Et.Aug. 20 (1974),4 ('Ce qui fait pour Plotin l'imperfection congénitale de la pensée et de l'intelligible (qui sont strictement homogènes et corrélatifs),

above νοῦς is to fall away from it': the mystic must not try to run before he can walk[1]. Plotinus betrayed this balanced habit of thought even in the details of his exposition. He repeatedly emphasized his indebtedness to Plato, and when he attacked the Gnostics he did so, among other reasons, because they had failed to acknowledge their own debt to the same source, and had compounded their offence by failing to state their argument courteously or to argue straightforwardly, and by cheaply slandering the respected philosophers of the past[2]. Ultimately, though, these things are of little importance. When at last the soul wins its way to the repose it has so long sought, it will remember nothing of its former existence, not even its philosophizing[3].

Both Plotinus and his successors tended to think of the virtues that were the precondition of the divine vision more in terms of abstention from evil than of performing what is good[4]. Their preoccupation was the escape of the soul from the body, and its 'flight' (φυγή) or'return' (ἐπιστροφή) towards the One[5]. Plotinus took it for granted that the true philosopher would be completely uninterested in worldly affairs, authority, and possessions, and that this would mark him off from his fellow men[6]. 'When their power of contemplation weakens, men make action a shadow of contemplation

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c'est qu'ils s'écartent nécessairement de l'absolue simplicité'), 11-4; Plotinus V.6; Porphyry, Sent. 25, De abst. I.29.

1. Plotinus II.9.9.39-64, esp. 51-2.
2. Plotinus I.9.6;IV.8.1.
3. Ibid. IV.4.1.4-5;IV.4.2;VI.9.10.4-9. Cf. Porphyry, Sent. 40,p. 48.16-7.
4. Plotinus I.2.3,5. Cf. Porphyry, Sent. 32,p.24.1-2: αἱ δὲ [ἀρεταί] τοῦ πρὸς θεωρίαν προκόπτοντος θεωρητικοῦ ἐν ἀποστάσει κεῖνται τῶν ἐντεῦθεν.
5. On the necessary distinction between these two stages of spiritual ascent, cf. H.P. Esser, Untersuchungen zu Gebet und Gottesverehrung der Neuplatoniker (diss. Cologne,1967),17-3.
6. Plotinus II.9.9.1-11;III.2.9.10-19;III.2.15,esp.43-62; cf. Porphyry, V.Plot. 7.17-21,31-46; De abst. I.27,29.5,37,39.4-6,40.1.

and reasoning'[1]. Despite this, Plotinus recognized that the sage had a certain duty towards mankind[2]. He did not entirely disdain discussing the political virtues[3], nor did he think that the sage was absolved from being well-disposed towards what he at one point refers to as 'the spoiled souls of the great mass', or from attempting to lead them towards the light[4]. Plotinus himself was a dedicated and much-loved teacher, and made even the financial affairs of his wards the object of his personal attention[5]. He kept himself available to all his acquaintances, and helped them whenever he could, apparently even to the point of intervening with the administration[6]. These concessions may seem limited, but they were made.

From popular religion, though, Plotinus always kept his distance. Amelius once asked him to join in celebrating a particular feast, but Plotinus refused, adding: 'it is for the gods to come to me, not I to them'[7]. The true sage's yearning is not for the lesser divinities, but for the One[8]; yet even so, the gods who inhabit our own sphere (οἱ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ θεοί) should not be despised, for then 'the honour given to the intelligible gods (πρός τούς νοητούς θεούς)

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1. Plotinus III.8.4.31-2.
2. Cf. Rist's interesting discussion of this seeming paradox, Plotinus 163-8. He concludes, taking his cue from Porphyry, V.Plot. 9.16-8, that Plotinus recognized in practice, though not in theory, that 'concern for others does not entail the withdrawal of the mind from higher things' (168).
3. Plotinus I.2.1-3; cf. Porphyry, Sent. 32, De abst. I.28.3-4. (Porphyry does not despise the πολιτικός, pace Bidez, Porphyre 101,n.3,)
4. Plotinus I.4.15.21-5; IV.7.10.25. Cf. Porphyry, De abst. II.61 (though at Ad Marc. 15 he remarks: προηγείσθω οὖν τοῦ περί θεοῦ λόγου τά θεοφιλῆ ἔργα, καί σιγάσθω ὁ περί αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐπί πλήθους).
5. Porphyry, V.Plot. 9.12-8 (who clearly found Plotinus's behaviour commendable).
6. Ibid. 9.18-22.
7. Ibid. 10.33-8.
8. Plotinus V.3.17.33-5.

would be of a very unfeeling (ἀσυμπαθής) sort'[1]. Indeed, it would have been impossible for a philosopher as fascinated by the destiny of the soul as was Plotinus to have remained in complete isolation from the religious currents of his age, and if one looks closely enough at his writings it is possible to detect the seeds of the hieraticization of Platonism that was to be effected to some extent by his pupil Porphyry, and above all by Iamblichus. At the most superficial level, Plotinus often uses imagery derived from pagan religious life in order to elucidate his spiritual teaching: the sage, rapt up into the vision of the divine, 'is like one who, having penetrated the inner sanctuary, leaves the temple images behind him'[2]. More significantly, though, Plotinus's acceptance of the existence of inferior divinities cleared the way for his doctrine of συμπάθεια, the universal enlinkment of all phaenomena through an omnipresent soul, without which prayer would lose its efficacy and magical operations would be inconceivable[3]. The magician is the man who has understood how to assimilate himself to this pattern of powers, and to fall in with its working in such a way as to achieve his own particular ends, for any part of the All

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1. Ibid. II.9.16.1-7. Possibly Plotinus means 'inconsistent with the laws of συμπάθεια' (cf. below).

2. Plotinus VI.9.11.17-9;cf. I.6.8.2,IV.3.11.1-6,V.1.6.12-5. For images from the mystery cults, cf. I.6.6.3-6,7.6-7; VI.9.11.1-2; and Plato, Phaedo 69d. Pace J. Cochez, 'Plotin et les mystères d'Isis', Rev. Néo-scol. 18(1911),328, there is no need to assume Plotinus himself was an initiate in any of the mysteries. He mentions nothing that was not common knowledge.

3. Plotinus IV.4.26,32;IV.9.3.1-9. Plato himself had accepted the rôle of δαίμονες as intermediaries between gods and men (Symp. 202de), and Lucian, Philops. 29, makes clear that this doctrine was acknowledged to be the indispensable prerequisite for belief in magic. On the growth of this 'demonological speculation' within Platonism, cf. H. Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles and theurgy: mysticism, magic and Platonism in the later Roman empire (Cairo, 1956),436-7, and below,30,n.1.

(τοῦ παντός) may be affected by any other part[1]. The sage, since he has a body, is subject to magic just like anyone or anything else, but in his soul, his reasoning part, he cannot be perverted[2]. 'Everything that looks to another is under spell to that:...only the self-intent goes free from magic. Hence every action has magic as its source, and the entire life of the practical man is a bewitchment'[3]. Magic is 'to be led unknowing down paths unchosen'[4] - it is inseparable from materiality and desire, and so from the human condition.

Plotinus's attack on the magical practices of the Gnostics allows us a glimpse of the sort of techniques contemporary magicians used:

> 'When they write magic chants, claiming to address them to those powers, not only to the soul but to those above it as well,what are they doing if not saying spells to conjure and persuade them, as if these powers obey and are led by a mere word, by any one of us who is well skilled in the art of saying precisely the right things in the right way, songs and cries and aspirated and hissing sounds and everything else which their writings say has magic power in the higher world? But even if they do not want to say this, how are the incorporeal beings affected by sounds? So by the sort of statements with which they give an appearance of majesty to their own words they, without realizing it, take away the majesty of the higher powers.'[5]

An examination of the numerous magical papyri that have survived from late antiquity[6] suggests that what Plotinus says on the subject, though hostile, is fair. Popular magic was invariably aimed at gratifying the practical, selfish desires of the magician or his clients by invoking the power of the gods. Unlike the Her-

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1. Plotinus IV.4.40;IV.4.43.10-11.
2. Ibid. IV.4.43. Cf. IV.4.44.1: Μόνη δέ λείπεται ἡ θεωρία ἀγοήτευτος εἶναι, ὅτι μηδείς πρός αὐτόν γεγοήτευται.
3. Ibid. IV.4.43.16-9.
4. Ibid. IV.4.44.31-2.
5. Ibid. II.9.14.2-11.
6. Cf. the excellent discussion by Festugière, Idéal religieux 281-323, to which my remarks are much indebted.

meticists, the magicians were not interested in self-purification and union with God[1]. Indeed, the reverent monotheism of the Hermeticists was not to their taste at all. On the contrary, the more gods there were to flatter and exploit, the better were their hopes of success. Although there were many in late antiquity who regarded disbelief in magic as tantamount to atheism[2], few of the surviving magical texts have a clearly spiritual end in view - one of these few is in fact a translation from the Hermetic Asclepius - and although some seem to envisage a sort of union with the god called upon, the purpose is still not spiritual, but rather the acquisition of additional δύναμις to enable the magician to accomplish what he wishes[3].

Despite this difference in emphasis, religion and magic were inseparable in late antiquity[4], and to grasp this is to understand something of the extremely complex currents of thought which, moving as a ground-bass through all that Plotinus taught, came to be developed as a principal theme by Porphyry and Iamblichus. Porphyry followed faithfully in the footsteps of his teacher on most issues[5], but he differed significantly in his understanding of the rôle that

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1. Cf. J.C. Lawson, Modern Greek folklore and ancient Greek religion: a study in survivals (Cambridge,1910),49-50, for a modern Greek illustration of the magician's interest in knowledge rather than virtue.

2, Lucian, Philops. 10.

3. Cf. A.D. Nock, 'Greek magical papyri', Jour.Eg.Arch. 15(1929), 230-33=Essays on religion and the ancient world (Oxford,1972), 190-94. On δύναμις, cf. M.P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion II (Munich,1961²),534-9. It is an important concept in the Hermetica (cf. above,6), in theurgy (cf. Or.Chald., fr. 137), and in Neopythagoreanism (cf. below,24), as well as in magic (cf. A.D. Nock, 'Studies in the Graeco-Roman beliefs of the empire', Jour.Hell.St. 45(1925),87,n.25 = Essays 36,n.25; Synesius, Calv.enc. 68b).

4. Cp. the mixture of magic and Sufism on which the modern Egyptian writer Taha Hussein was brought up: An Egyptian childhood (trans. E.H. Paxton, London,1932),106-9.

5. Some references have been given in the notes to the foregoing discussion of Plotinus.

religion and cult could play in the purification of the soul. In particular, Porphyry was the first Neoplatonist seriously to entertain the claims of the sacred science of theurgy.

The principal source for theurgic doctrine was and remained the Oracula Chaldaica. These texts, collected by Julian the Chaldaean and his son Julian the Theurgist, the latter of whom flourished under Marcus Aurelius[1], taught the purification of the initiate's soul through magical ceremonies aimed at invoking and influencing the gods. The obscurity of the oracles leaves room for plenty of legitimate disagreement about their meaning, but the following example comes nearer than any other to being a lucid general statement:

> 'Inquire after the ray of the soul, wherefrom she (descended) in a certain order to serve the body (and how) thou, having combined the (ritual) act (ἔργον) with the holy word (ἱερῷ λόγῳ), shalt lead her again upwards to her ordered place'[2].

Through sacramental actions (ἔργα) and the use of 'the ineffable words by which a mortal charms the heart of the immortals'[3], the theurgist sought to connect himself to the universal grid of συμπάθεια, and thus to raise himself up to the level of the gods[4].

Such teachings were of course in marked contrast to Plotinus's essentially noetic understanding of the process by which the soul ascends to knowledge of and union with the One, a goal which he himself achieved, according to Porphyry, ἐνεργείᾳ ἀῤῥήτῳ καὶ οὐ δυνάμει[5]. Indeed, in his Epistola ad Anebonem, in reply to which

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1. Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles 3-6.
2. Or.Chald., fr. 110, trans. Lewy, op.cit. 188-9. Cf. Iamblichus, De myst. II.11.96-7, quoted below, 35.
3. Or.Chald., fr. 219.
4. Iamblichus, De myst. II.12.42; V.18.223-5; X.1.286, 4.289-5.290.
5. Porphyry, V.Plot. 23.17-8. T. Hopfner, R.E. 6A.260, takes the passage to refer to magical δύναμις, but probably Porphyry meant to include theurgical δύναμις, ignored by Hopfner because he

Iamblichus wrote his De mysteriis, Porphyry attacked theurgy precisely because he found it to be irreconcilable with the fundamentally intellectual character of Greek philosophy. Likewise, in the De abstinentia he sharply distinguished the θεῖος ἀνήρ, pure both within and without, from the unclean γόης[1]. In the De regressu animae, though, Porphyry took a less critical view of theurgy. He conceded that it was a possible means of purifying the spiritual soul ('spiritalis anima') and preparing it 'to receive spirits and angels and to see gods (ad videndos deos)', but denied that it had any effect on the higher, or intellectual soul ('intellectualis anima'), and hence that it was able to lead the soul 'to behold its God (ad videndum Deum) and to perceive the things that truly exist'. The intellectual soul could, according to Porphyry, attain this vision even without the prior operation of theurgy on the spiritual soul[2]. In other words, even in the De regressu Porphyry regarded theurgy as no more than a possible first step in the soul's return to its source. Indeed, he not only admitted that the science of the Chaldaeans involved undesirable commerce with spiritual powers fundamentally hostile to the soul's well-being, but even issued an express warning against 'daemonum societatem'[3]. Porphyry conceived of theurgy as merely a partial, inadequate alternative to virtue and philosophy, a scientific technique almost as independent of the moral qualities of its practitioner as was the magic of which Plotinus had spoken. Even if it involved commerce with wicked spirits, theurgy might still be effective - but only in purifying the lower

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thought Plotinus was a theurgist (ibid. 265, and cf. below,31, n.5).

1. Porphyry, De abst. II.45.
2. Porphyry, De reg. 2, and cf. 4: 'in anima spiritali theurgica arte purgati ad Patrem quidem non redeunt'.
3. Ibid. 2.

soul. Higher spiritual experience was open to the philosopher alone[1].

The surviving fragments of the De regressu, quite apart from the fact that they are mediated to us by the hostile Augustine, are bound to add a disconcerting note of ambiguity to any attempt to characterize Porphyry's teaching as a whole, for at the same time as he introduces theurgy into his system, he also makes it clear that it lacks any ultimate efficacy. Moreover, the problems of establishing a chronology for what we possess of Porphyry's writings[2] make it difficult to know whether the position stated in the De regressu was his final word on the subject. It also explains why Eusebius, discussing the De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda, could describe Porphyry as 'of all the philosophers of our time the most familiar with demons and those whom he calls gods', while Augustine could draw from his reading of the De regressu the opposite conclusion, that its author regarded the 'purifications of theurgic art' as beneath the dignity of a philosopher[3]. Porphyry's doubts, and his vain attempts to allay them through a consciously eclectic approach to the philosophical and religious traditions whose heir he was, are best illustrated in the passage from the De regressu which Augustine takes as the starting-point for the concluding section of De civitate Dei 10:

'Now Porphyry says...that no doctrine has yet been est-

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1. Cf. Augustine's criticism of this distinction, De civ. Dei 10.27.
2. Cf. Bidez, Porphyre passim; R. Beutler, R.E. 22.278-301.
3. Eusebius, P.E. IV.6.2; Augustine, De civ. Dei 10.27. That Eusebius and Augustine could come to such different conclusions about Porphyry's character is as good an argument as any against J.J. O'Meara's thesis that the De reg. and De phil. are parts of the same book: Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine (Paris,1959); 'Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Eusebius's Praeparatio Evangelica and Augustine's Dialogues of Cassiciacum', Rech.Aug. 6(1969),103-39. P. Hadot's criticism of O'Meara ('Citations de Porphyre chez Augustin', Rev.Et.Aug. 6(1960),205-44) neglects this point.

> ablished to form the teaching of a philosophical sect, which offers a universal way (universalem viam) for the liberation of the soul; no such way has been produced by any philosophy (in the truest sense of the word), or by the moral disciplines and teachings of the Indians, or by the magical spells of the Chaldaeans, or in any other way, and that this universal way had never been brought to his knowledge in his study of history. He admits without any doubt that such a way exists, but confesses that it had never come to his notice. Thus he was not satisfied with all that he had taken such pains to learn on the subject of the liberation of the soul, the knowledge and the beliefs which he convinced himself - or rather convinced others - that he possessed. For he felt that he had failed to obtain any supreme authority which he was bound to follow on such an important subject.'[1]

Porphyry's less than successful fusion of the eclectic Neoplatonism he had inherited from Plotinus with the esoteric teachings of the Oracula Chaldaica illustrates perfectly the irresistible attraction of late antique philosophy towards the cult and rituals of decadent paganism; but neither Porphyry himself nor Iamblichus, who was to assign an even more important place to cult than had Porphyry, are perfectly understood unless we take account of a third strand in their intellectual heritage - Neopythagoreanism.

Our knowledge of the life and teachings of Pythagoras himself is unreliable because mainly dependent on sources dating from the Pythagorean revival that began in the first century B.C. Pythagorean teachings derived their authority from association with the name of Pythagoras, not from rational demonstration as did those of the Platonists, and so Neopythagorean philosophers rarely claimed their ideas for themselves, but attributed them instead to the founder[2]. Fortunately this does not affect the present investiga-

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1. Porphyry, De reg. 12.

2. Hippolytus, Ref. I.2.1; Numenius, fr. 24.20-22; Iamblichus, V. Pyth. 158,198; Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 4.102. For recent general accounts of Neopythagoreanism, cf. F. Cumont, Lux perpetua (Paris,1949),149-56; H. Dörrie, R.E. 24.270-76; Wallis, Neoplatonism 32-6.

tion, for the purposes of which it is sufficient to know what late antiquity thought Pythagoras had said and done. In fact he is not represented by any Neopythagorean source as having constructed a philosophical system, at least not in the sense that Plato or even Plotinus may be said to have done so. Neopythagoreanism is rather a strain of thought that appears here and there, but is never easy to tie down and label. It is, as A.D. Nock put it, a commonplace[1], a spiritual view of life which is not necessarily distinguishable from Middle or Neo- Platonism, or from the widening frontier zone of philosophical mysticism that in the light of hindsight seems the most conspicuous feature of the late antique mentality. Plotinus occasionally quotes Pythagoras approvingly, and, as Longinus put it, 'expounded the principles of Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy more clearly than anyone before him'[2]; and Porphyry too held the Pythagorean and Platonic teachings to be closely akin[3].

The distinctive contribution made by Neopythagoreanism to the late antique philosophical climate was not then in the area of dogma, but in its emphasis on the desirability of an ascetic and religious life-style. It was natural that, when Porphyry and Iamblichus, both of whom made a far more extended use of the Neopythagorean tradition than had Plotinus, wished to distil for a popular readership what they believed to be the essence of Pythagoreanism, they should have sat down to write biographies of Pythagoras. Religion in general, and ascetic religion in particular, appealed to the age, and if, like the Corpus Hermeticum and the Oracula Chal-

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1. A.D. Nock, 'Sarcophagi and symbolism', Am.Jour.Arch. 50(1946), 154 = Essays 623.
2. Plotinus V.1.9.27-32; Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.71-3.
3. Porphyry, De abst. I.36.1; cf. Arnobius, Adv.nat. 2.13, and above,10. Late antique writers frequently emphasized the debt owed by Plato himself to Pythagoras: Porphyry, V.Pyth. 53,and cf. above,2,n.3.

daica, it carried with it the sanction of the remote past, so much the better. Porphyry called his book a Πυθαγόρου βίος, but the title given to Iamblichus's work was Βίος Πυθαγόρειος or Βίος Πυθαγορικός, and this is symptomatic of the emphasis he gives to Pythagoreanism as primarily a way of life. Taking the bare bones of Pythagoras's biography, as presented by Porphyry[1] and other writers before him, Iamblichus clothes them in a narrative that conveys his own understanding of how the Master faced the philosopher's vocation.

To take what he taught first, there is, as already suggested, remarkably little abstract doctrine in either of the two Vitae; Pythagoras confines his discourses for the most part to the question of how the sage should conduct himself during his life on earth. Because philosophy derives from the gods, and because it is only through the gods that we may share in it[2], the philosopher's guiding principle in life should be τό ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ θεῷ[3]. It was Pythagoras, whom many thought to be a god, or in some way of divine origin[4], who was the inventor of the terms φιλόσοφος and φιλοσοφία[5], which he himself defined as an ὄρεξις...καί...φιλία σοφίας, and as ἡ ζήλωσις τῆς...θεωρίας[6]. All Pythagoras's studies in the priestly lore and mysteries were intended, adds Iamblichus, to help him towards this one end, of the liberated soul's θεωρία[7], and to his

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1. Iamblichus's knowledge of Porphyry's Vita is argued for by J.A. Philip, 'The biographical tradition - Pythagoras', Trans.Am.Phil. Ass. 90(1959),135-94.
2. Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 1,253.
3. Ibid. 137.
4. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 2,20; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 10,30,91,140, etc. For further references cf. A.J. Festugière, 'Sur une nouvelle édition du "De Vita Pythagorica" de Jamblique', Rev.Et.Gr. 50 (1937),473,489-94.
5. Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 58,159. The other sources for this tradition are discussed by Malingrey, "Philosophia" 29-32.
6. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 46; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 159, and cf. 59,229.
7. Ibid. 14.

followers he taught a single-minded pursuit of philosophy, to the exclusion even of parents and the cultivation of the land for a living[1]. To the body he assigned a rôle of little importance, but his attitude to it was not negative, and he even spoke of the friendship which the soul has towards the body[2]. It is particularly important in the present context to note, firstly that Iamblichus specifically describes Pythagoras's φιλοσοφία καί θεραπεία (sic) as a 'compound' of elements drawn from the Orphic, Egyptian, Chaldaean, Eleusinian and other mysteries[3], and secondly that Pythagoras is represented as preaching the general principle of the 'friendship' (φιλία) of different doctrines towards each other[4].

If we now ask what, according to their Vitae of Pythagoras, Porphyry and Iamblichus thought to be the characteristics of the ideal Neopythagorean sage - and it is legitimate to assume that they fully intended their compositions to be read in this spirit[5] - then the evidence we dispose of is considerably more extensive. The fundamental quality of the true philosopher is his ἐξουσία or δύναμις, the force which endows him with the moral authority and the power to work wonders[6], and in consequence of which ordinary men may face him as a divine being. This power derives from several inter-related sources. Firstly, there is the sage's intercourse with the gods, in whose sacred rites he is versed from youth, as the pupil of eastern priests and holy men[7] - for the

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1. Ibid. 246.
2. Ibid. 42,106,229.
3. Ibid. 151.
4. Ibid. 229.
5. Cf. H. von Albrecht, 'Das Menschenbild in Iamblichs Darstellung der pythagoreischen Lebensform', Ant.u.Abend. 12(1966),esp. 58, on Iamblichus's Vita, 'keine Biographie sondern ein Erbauungsbuch'.
6. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 23-9; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 92 (δύναμις of Abaris),217 (ἐξουσία).
7. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 1,6-8,11-2; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 12-9.

wisdom of the east had always fascinated the Pythagoreans. From the same teachers he also learns an ascetic personal régime[1], in addition to which he must acquire certain specific virtues, chiefly piety (ὁσιότης)[2]; wisdom (σοφία)[3]; justice (δικαιοσύνη)[4]; temperance (σωφροσύνη)[5]; fortitude (ἀνδρεία) or perseverance (καρτερία), as much in the everyday incidents of life as in the maintenance of his philosophical ideals[6]; and, lastly, friendship (φιλία), which is conceived of as a ubiquitous bond rather like συμπάθεια, joining together gods, men, animals, and even, as has just been noticed, philosophical doctrines[7]. Iamblichus devotes a large section of his Vita to expounding each of these six virtues in turn, and clearly attaches considerable significance to them: they are of course the traditional cardinal virtues of the ethical writers - φρόνησις/σοφία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, and ἀνδρεία[8] - with in addition ὁσιότης and φιλία, both of which were also traditional virtues of respectable pedigree[9]. Porphyry and Iamblichus also imply that the sage will be possessed of sufficient insight into human character

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1. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 7,34-5; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 13.
2. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 38; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 134-56.
3. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 16; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 157-66.
4. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 38 (cf. De abst. II.36); Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 167-86.
5. Porphyry, De abst. loc.cit.; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 41,137-213.
6. Ibid. 214-28.
7. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 33; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 39,229-40, esp.229.
8. Diogenes Laertius 7.92; J. von Arnim, Stoicorum veterum fragmenta III (Leipzig,1903),nos.262-94; Seneca, ep. 113.1; Plotinus I.2.1,6,7;I.6.6;IV.7.8.27-8; Porphyry, Sent. 32. Cf. Iamblichus, Prot. 5,p.25.1-2 (quoting Plato, Euthyd. 279bc), and the letters preserved by Stobaeus, and conveniently listed by Larsen, Jamblique 43-7. On the four virtues in Neopythagoreanism, cf. Zeller, Philosophie der Griechen III(2),156,n.5.
9. On ὁσιότης, cf. Plato, Prot. 329c; on φιλία, Cicero, De leg.I. 18.49 (associated with 'societas...hominum et aequalitas et iustitia'), and Plotinus III.2.2.4.

to enable him to divine at a glance the disposition of anyone he may meet[1]; that he will conceal the profoundest truths of his wisdom from those not qualified to receive them[2]; and that, while recognizing his duty to prepare (προπαρασκευάζειν) the souls of those who love philosophy[3], and to be involved in the society in which he lives in order to improve it[4], he will at times distance himself, and give himself an opportunity for reflection, through the practice of a limited ἀναχώρησις, whether topographical (withdrawal into the wilderness) or internal (withdrawal into the self)[5]. As always in the Greco-Roman tradition, the sage is in the last analysis a figure who stands consciously apart from the great mass of his fellow men[6].

In short, Porphyry and Iamblichus convey in their Vitae of Pythagoras a portrait of the ideal philosopher that compels us to recognize him as a holy man, just as he himself recognizes that all human knowledge and thought is the gift of the gods, and incomprehensible without their help. This picture was intended to appeal to all manner of people - Iamblichus deliberately depicts Pythagoras addressing his exhortations to young people, boys, women, and the rulers of Crotona alike[7] -; and even for the unsophisticated it would have had its charm - one thinks of the delightful stories Porphyry and Iamblichus tell of Pythagoras's command over the animals[8]. It allowed for, but did not require, intellectual origin-

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1. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 13,54; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 71.
2. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 20,41,53; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 103-5,226-7.
3. Ibid. 76.
4. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 21-2,54; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 122-33.
5. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 9,32 (cf. De abst. I.36); Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 15,27.
6. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 42; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 200.
7. Ibid. 37,45,50.
8. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 23-5; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 60-2.

ality in those who sought to follow it. In fact it was the ideal counterblast to the Christian gospel, and it is not surprising that we find the Pythagorean ideal being put to precisely this use by Hierocles, a contemporary of Porphyry and Iamblichus who wrote a book in which he compared Christ to Apollonius of Tyana[1].

Apollonius himself is a figure of some importance in the present context, for he was a wonder-working philosopher of the first century who consciously modelled himself on Pythagoras[2], of whom he apparently composed a biography[3]. Although he attracted a certain amount of literary interest during the second century[4], he owed the wide repute which he enjoyed in late antiquity to the life written by Philostratus at the request of Septimius Severus's wife Julia Domna, and published, it seems, about 220-30[5]. Philostratus was a child of his age alike in his religiosity and his love of literary exhibitionism. The combination of the two makes for a book full of interminable romanticising, a 'geistreiche Spielerei', as E. Meyer called it[6], Despite this, something of Apollonius's true character can still be discerned: his biography, self-confessedly designed to absolve its subject from the charge of having been

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1. Eusebius, Adv.Hier. 1; cf. P. de Labriolle, La réaction païenne, étude sur la polémique antichrétienne du Ier au VIe siècle (Paris,1934),306-10; and Porphyry, C.Christ., fr.4.
2. Philostratus, V.Apol. 1.2,4.16. The parallels are drawn in detail by T. Hopfner, 'Apollonios von Tyana und Philostratus', Seminarium Kondakovianum 4(1931),149-52.
3. Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 254.
4. Philostratus, V.Apol. 1.3, mentions biographies, now lost, by Damis the Assyrian, Maximus of Aegae, and Moiragenes. Scholars differ on whether Damis and Maximus were not convenient inventions by Philostratus (cf. F. Solmsen, R.E. 20.149-52). The only surviving reference is by Lucian, Alex. 5. Philostratus claims to have drawn extensively on oral traditions.
5, Philostratus, loc.cit.; Bowersock, Greek sophists 5.
6. E. Meyer, 'Apollonius von Tyana und die Biographie des Philostratos', Hermes 52(1917),421-2 = Kleine Schriften II (Halle, 1924),188-9.

more a magician than a philosopher[1], still arouses in us the deepest incredulity. Clearly it was aimed at a wide audience, and its success may be gauged from the fact that Julia Domna's son, the emperor Caracalla, erected an heroon to Apollonius, while her great-nephew, and Caracalla's successor but one in the purple, Severus Alexander, was said to worship him alongside Christ, Abraham, and Orpheus[2]; and Apollonius continued to be honoured, and written about, throughout late antiquity[3]. How seriously he was taken by the Neoplatonists is difficult to say. Certainly they do not often mention him[4], but Iamblichus used his biography of Pythagoras when writing his own[5], Libanius thought Julian's way of life closely analogous to Apollonius's[6], and Eunapius refers to him in tones of exaggerated adulation[7]. Undoubtedly his reputation played a significant part in encouraging the gradual acceptance of the Pythagorean ideal in pagan Platonist circles during the third century.

The Neoplatonists' assimilation of this Pythagorean ideal

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1. Philostratus, V.Apol. 1.2. Passages such as ibid. 3.42 (οἱ μαντικῇ...χαίροντες...θεῖοί τε ὑπ'αὐτῆς γίγνονται) point forward to the theurgical doctrines of Porphyry and Iamblichus: cf. the remarks of Solmsen, art.cit. 143. If Origen (C.Cels. 6,41) thought Apollonius a regretable instance of how a philosopher might become a magician too, Plotinus would have agreed with Celsus (ibid.) that he then ceased to be a philosopher: cf. above,16.

2. Caracalla: Dio Cassius LXXVII.18.4; Severus Alexander: H.A.,Sev. Alex. 29.2. J. Geffcken's objections to the reliability of the H.A. on this point ('Religionsgeschichtliches in der Historia Augusta', Hermes 55(1920),282-3; cf. R. Syme, Emperors and biography: studies in the Historia Augusta (Oxford,1971),26,276) are weakened by Dio Cassius's evidence.

3. Cf. Hopfner, art.cit. 162-3; K. Gross, R.A.C. 1.531; W. Speyer, 'Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana bei Heiden und Christen', Jb. Ant.Chr. 17(1974),47-63; and below,277.

4. On Porphyry, cf. above,27,n.1, and De abst. II.34 (with Nauck's note ad loc.).

5. Iamblichus, loc.cit. Cf. E. Rohde, 'Die Quellen des Jamblichus in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras', Rh.Mus. 27(1872),60-61 = Kleine Schriften II (Tübingen,1901),171-2.

6. Libanius, or. 16.56.

7. Eunapius, II.1.1 [illegible] 1.6

was though a very gradual process, that only really came to fruition in the person of Iamblichus. But before turning to this central figure in the history of late antique Platonism, it is worth asking to what extent his predecessors attempted to put the Pythagorean ideal into practice in their own lives. In an important but frequently misleading article, H. Dörrie has argued that in Ammonius 'verbinden sich die Züge des pythagoreischen Wundermannes und des Ekstatikers'[1]. We need not doubt that Ammonius, like Plotinus and even Porphyry[2], was a spiritual master who attained to contemplation of the Divine, but the evidence Dörrie adduces in support of his contention that he was also a Pythagorean wonder-worker is highly suspect. If certain of Ammonius's pupils - Herennius, Origen, and Plotinus - made a pact to keep their master's teachings secret, the initiative was theirs, not his[3], the private expression of a shared but deeply personal enthusiasm aroused, either by a particular interpretation of what Ammonius had said, or by doctrines that the master did not reveal to all his followers. Dörrie argues that Ammonius was in the habit of imparting revelations, but nothing else we know of him suggests that such was his style - or if it was, it went hand in hand with a serious interest in traditional philosophy. The fact that for a brief space of time a magician called Olympius was his pupil[4] scarcely justifies Dörrie's conclusion that Ammonius too was a miracle-worker; we can deduce nothing about the teacher from the character of one of his lesser pupils. Again, the pagan Origen may have written a treatise περί δαιμόνων, but this is

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1. Dörrie, Hermes 83(1955),439,441-2,446-8; disputed by E.R. Dodds, 'Numenius and Ammonius', Ent.Hardt 5(1960),27-9, and K.-O. Weber, Origenes der Neuplatoniker: Versuch einer Interpretation (Munich, 1962),27.
2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 23.1-18.
3. Ibid. 3.24-7 (συνθηκῶν γεγονυιῶν).
4. Ibid. 10.1-2.

no more surprising in a Platonic than in a Pythagorean context - and it should not be forgotten that Longinus unequivocally describes both Ammonius and Origen as Platonists[1]. On the other hand, Platonism and Pythagoreanism are not easily distinguishable at this period[2], and an Ammonius innocent of Pythagoras would be as absurd an hypothesis as an Ammonius cast in the mould of Apollonius of Tyana. Porphyry, illustrating the catholic philosophical training with which the Christian Origen had been endowed by Ammonius, besides Plato mentions 'Numenius and Cronius, Apollophanes and Longinus and Moderatus, Nicomachus and the distinguished men among the Pythagoreans'[3]. Likewise Plotinus was inspired by Ammonius to an interest in Persian and Indian philosophy - a strong hint of Pythagorean ways of thought. In short, we need not doubt that Ammonius was as familiar with the commonplaces of Neopythagoreanism as were most of the other philosophers of his day - but nor need we take it further than that[4].

Ammonius's most famous pupil was cast very much in the mould of his master. Plotinus was a dedicated teacher, and at the same time a holy man possessed of immense spiritual power. To a later commentator on Aristotle it seemed the most natural thing in the world to mention him in one breath with Pythagoras[5]. When the same Olympius who had been a pupil of Ammonius attempted to attack Plot-

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1. Longinus ap. ibid. 20.36. Daimons are frequently discussed by the Neoplatonists: e.g. Plotinus III.4; Porphyry, De abst. II. 37ff.; Julian, Ep.ad Them. 258b; Ammianus Marcellinus XXI.14.3-5.
2. Thus Dodds, art.cit. 28, goes too far when he asserts that Nemesius's reference to τά παρά Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ διδασκάλου Πλωτίνου καί Νουμηνίου τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ (De nat. hom. 537) 'surely implies that Ammonius was not a Pythagorean'.
3. Porphyry ap. Eusebius, H.E. VI.19.8.
4. Cf. V. Cilento, Ent.Hardt 5(1960),57: 'un "uomo maraviglioso", ma solo teoricamente tale'; and a slightly repentant Dörrie, ibid. 43.
5. Dexippus, In Cat. 65.13-5.

inus by magical incantations, he found his spells rebounding upon himself, so great was the δύναμις of Plotinus's soul[1]; and when an Egyptian priest offered to conjure forth the philosopher's presiding daimon, he found himself face to face, not with a daimon, but a god[2]. Plotinus himself though was no exhibitionist miracle-worker. It is true that the reputation of famous men is often cast in the image of their biographer, and certainly Porphyry tried hard to do without the 'fill' of miracles and adventures that was customary in this genre[3]. But the Plotinus we meet in his own writings (edited by Porphyry, it is true, but with a view to their style and arrangement, not their content[4]) does not differ from Porphyry's portrait: he accepts, for example, as we have seen, the existence of magic, but his account is sober and disapproving[5]. His understanding of the philosopher's vocation was too rational for him to fall victim to Neopythagorean fascination with cult.

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 10.1-13.
2. Ibid. 10.15-33; cf. 22.23-4,23.7. But if Plotinus did indeed think that his own daimon was God himself (cf. above,12), then, as A.H. Armstrong points out, 'Was Plotinus a magician?', Phronesis 1(1955-6),77, he can hardly himself have believed that it could be, or was, conjured up by a mere priest (pace E.R. Dodds, 'Theurgy and its relationship to Neoplatonism', in id., The Greeks and the irrational (Berkeley,1951),290).
3. R. Harder, 'Zur Biographie Plotins', in id., Kleine Schriften (Munich,1960),276, rightly emphasizes that Porphyry says virtually nothing about Plotinus's youth, about which he could of course have had no personal knowledge.
4. Porphyry, V.Plot. 7.49-51;8;13.1-5;24-6. Cf. the interesting comments of K. Wilkens, 'Zwei Anmerkungen zur Plotinausgabe des Porphyrios', Hermes 105(1977),234-9, on the way in which Porphyry arranged the Enneads.
5. I follow Dodds, art.cit. 285-6; Armstrong, art.cit.; H.-R. Schwyzer, R.E. 21.580; and C. Zintzen, 'Die Wertung von Mystik und Magie in der neuplatonischen Philosophie', Rh.Mus. 103(1965), 82-4, against T. Hopfner, R.E. 6A.265, and P. Merlan, 'Plotinus and magic', Isis 44(1953),341-8 (=Kleine philosophische Schriften (Hildesheim,1976),338-95), in doubting whether Plotinus himself ever took an active part in either magical or theurgical rites.

Of Porphyry we can fairly say that his writings display a strong interest in oracles and theurgy, as well as in Pythagorean teachings - Firmicus Maternus observes that he shared with Pythagoras a taste for 'religious silence'[1]. Of his personal conduct on the other hand, we are largely ignorant: Eunapius records that he once expelled a demon called Kausatha from a public bath[2], which is hardly the sort of thing one would have expected Plotinus to do, but even Eunapius's taste for the bizarre failed to unearth anything else along these lines. With his dry and academic mentality, so apparent when one reads his writings alongside those of his teacher, or compares his biography of Pythagoras with Iamblichus's, Porphyry combined a chronic indecisiveness and lack of self-confidence, which reached a crisis-point when during his stay with Plotinus he began to contemplate suicide[3]. He is an ambiguous figure, and his personality is still further obscured by the inadequacy of our sources. Throughout his biography of Plotinus he tries hard to show what an indispensable assistant he, Porphyry, had been, and one feels that he might have cut a more distinctive figure in the eyes of posterity had he not been so overshadowed by his great teacher.

Iamblichus, who may well have been Porphyry's pupil[4], was not so easily eclipsed, and it is in his life and writings that the fusion of the Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean ideals discussed in this chapter can best be understood. In Iamblichus the historian encounters the man who, far more directly than Plotinus or Porphyry,

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1. Firmicus Maternus, Math. VII.1.1.
2. Eunapius IV.1.12. On the predilection of jinns for public baths in near eastern folklore, cf. F.W. Hasluck, Christianity and Islam under the Sultans (Oxford,1929),I,110.
3. Cf. below, 202-03.
4. On this point, cf. most recently A. Smith, Porphyry's place in the Neoplatonic tradition: a study in post-Plotinian Neoplatonism (The Hague,1974),XVII.

was responsible for the ideal of the pagan holy man that was to gain such currency in the circles described by Eunapius, and it is in his writings that one is most likely to grasp what associations the word 'philosophy' stirred in the fourth century pagan mind. In the education of his disciples Iamblichus started, as we learn from his Protrepticus, ἀπό τῶν κοινῶν[1], and then proceeded by stages towards a complete initiation into the Pythagorean teachings, and the γνῶσις τῶν θεῶν that he identifies with perfect ἀρετή, εὐδαιμονία, and σοφία, and regards as alone enabling us to become like the gods[2]. What exactly τά κοινά were, Iamblichus nowhere says, but the structure of the Protrepticus makes it clear that he regarded Plato and Aristotle, both of whom he quotes at great length, as fully in accord with the spirit of Pythagoreanism. He wrote extensive commentaries on their works, and it is an appreciation of these commentaries (which survive only in fragments) that lies at the root of the present re-evaluation of Iamblichus's philosophical importance[3]. Plato and Aristotle are also the only philosophers mentioned by name in Eunapius's account of Chrysanthius's education under Iamblichus's pupil Aedesius[4]. It is true that, within this eclectic structure, Iamblichus makes an explicit distinction between πρακτική and θεωρητική φιλοσοφία, corresponding to the duality between our human, compounded natures and the divine element common to all[5], but he intended this distinction, not to divide philosophy,

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1. Iamblichus, Prot. 1, p.7.12.
2. Ibid. 3, p.11.14-6; cf. Eunapius XXIII.1.8 (θεῶν γνῶσις).
3. K. Praechter, 'Richtungen und Schulen im Neuplatonismus', Genethliakon: Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910 (Berlin, 1910), 121-44 = id., Kleine Schriften (Hildesheim, 1973, with original pagination); Larsen, Jamblique 18-32, 220-428; J.M. Dillon, Iamblichi Chalcidensis in Platonis dialogos commentariorum fragmenta (Leiden, 1973).
4. Cf. above, 1, and below, 130-31 (on Proclus's education by Plutarch and Syrianus).
5. Iamblichus, Prot. 4, pp.20.15-21.14.

but on the contrary to emphasize its relevance to all aspects of the human condition.

The Protrepticus - which Iamblichus may well have intended either as an elementary school text-book, or else as a manifesto of philosophy aimed at educated circles generally - seems to have belonged to the same large-scale work, probably to be identified with the Συναγωγή τῶν Πυθαγορείων Δογμάτων, as the De vita Pythagorica[1]; certainly it conveys a closely similar understanding of what philosophy should be. The tone of these treatises, though, is relatively popular, and one cannot be sure that Iamblichus always speaks his own mind in them. In the De mysteriis, on the other hand, although he disguises himself behind a pseudonym, he writes less formally and derivatively than in the Protrepticus, and without the constraints imposed by the biographical form of the De vita Pythagorica. Here we find philosophy presented in a strikingly different light. Explicitly distinguished from theurgy[2], it is treated as synonymous with mere logic; thus Porphyry is referred to as writing 'philosophically and logically (φιλοσόφως...καὶ λογικῶς), and not according to the operative art of the priests'[3]. With disarming candour, Iamblichus admits near the beginning of his book[4] that his ability to deal, in such a context, with problems that arise in the discussion of things divine is necessarily in inverse proportion to their subtlety. Accordingly, he undertakes to deal thoroughly with questions of a ra-

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1. Ibid. 1,p.6.12-4; cf. Larsen, op.cit. 43-7.
2. Iamblichus, De myst. I.2.5-7;II.11.96;IX.8.282 (Porphyry tends ἐπί...τὴν φιλόσοφον...δόξαν); and cf. the distinction made by the anonymous late Neoplatonist commentary on the Phaedo between φιλόσοφοι and ἱερατικοί (below, 80).
3. Iamblichus, De myst. II.11.96. But cf.III.25.161, where philosophy is contrasted favourably with τὸ ἐριστικόν.
4. Ibid. I.2.5-7.

tional nature; philosophers too he will meet on their own ground, providing they proceed 'according to generally-accepted ideas' (κατά τάς κοινάς ἐννοίας); but theurgical questions can only be discussed, because the theurgist, unlike the philosopher, depends not on thought (ἔννοια) alone, but on 'the perfective operation of the unspeakable acts (ἔργα) correctly performed, acts which are beyond all understanding (ὑπέρ πᾶσαν νόησιν); and on the power of the unutterable symbols (σύμβολα) which are intelligible only to the gods'[1]. In other words, Iamblichus makes it clear from the outset that, while his goal is the same as Plotinus's and Porphyry's, his means are different. Above all, he deprecates Porphyry's use of reason alone in order to arrive at the conviction that the gods exist, for this is an intuition that was planted within us before we ever learned to judge and choose[2]. 'Men are most seriously tripped up when, relying only on their human weakness, they draw conclusions about the power of the daimons, and judge what is mighty, exceptional, and perfect on the basis of the insignificant, the worthless, the divided'[3]. Here, in the primacy of the gods and religion, is the foundation of all Iamblichus's thought, as much in the Protrepticus and the De vita Pythagorica as in the De mysteriis.

Iamblichus held that theurgy was both derived from the gods and the only true means of union with them[4]. It offered a way that was neither entirely noetic nor exclusively cultic, the preserve as little of the philosopher as of the priest. Indeed, Iamblichus intended theurgy to provide precisely that 'via universalis' which Porphyry had defined as 'the way by which all souls are freed, and

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1. Ibid. II.11.96.
2. Ibid. I.3.7-10.
3. Ibid. IX.10.285;cf. III.18.144;IV.3.184-5;X.3.238.
4. Ibid. I.11.37-8,12.40-42;VI.6.246-7;X.4.289.

without which no soul is freed'[1], but which he had sought in vain. Iamblichus rejected Porphyry's philosophy because in the Epistola ad Anebonem it had been defined so rationally and intellectually that it excluded the doctrines of theurgy; but Iamblichus would have been horrified if this debating point had been interpreted as a general rejection of the Greek philosophical tradition, to which his debt was immense, not least in formulating the doctrines of theurgy itself. If Iamblichus's recognition of this debt is more explicit in the Protrepticus, the De vita Pythagorica, and the commentaries, than in the De mysteriis, this is because, being engaged in polemic with Porphyry, who did not accept the innovation, he was obliged to overstress the distinction between the two points of view.

Iamblichus's mingling of Neoplatonic philosophy with pagan cultus resulted in one fundamental shift of emphasis. Porphyry had indeed stressed more than Plotinus the philosopher's need of divine aid in his ascent to the One; but for Iamblichus ascent was inconceivable without the active assistance of the gods[2], and such assistance could be invoked only by the theurgist, whose field of activity was no longer, as in Porphyry's De regressu, confined to the lower soul, but was made to embrace the highest levels of mystical union. Plotinus and Porphyry insisted on the need for the philosopher to purify himself from all passion and other impurity, but Iamblichus saw this purification as the gift of the gods once they had been invoked by theurgical ritual[3]. The theurgist's union

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1. Porphyry, De reg. 12.
2. Cf. Smith, Porphyry's place 101-10.
3. Iamblichus, De myst. I.11.38,40;I.12.41;II.6.81;III.31.176;V.23.232. Cf. Psellus, Exp. in Or. Chald. 1132a: ὁ δέ Χαλδαῖος οὐκ ἄλλως φησίν ἡμᾶς ἀνάγεσθαι πρός θεόν εἰ μή δυναμώσομεν τό τῆς ψυχῆς ὄχημα διά τῶν ὑλικῶν τελετῶν. The two conflicting points of view are neatly illustrated by Eusebius of Myndus's comment

with these gods (θεουργική ἕνωσις πρός τούς θεούς) is likewise dependent on the correct performance of the theurgic actions[1], and the crown of the ἱερατική ἀναγωγή is the restoration of the soul to the δημιουργικός θεός, the source of all being[2]: in the concluding passage of the De mysteriis Iamblichus specifically repudiates Porphyry's assertion in the Epistola ad Anebonem that theurgy had nothing to do with this θεῖον ἀγαθόν, the προεννοούμενος θεός[3]. Nonetheless, Iamblichus often uses noetic vocabulary in connection with theurgic ascent[4], despite his rejection of any explanation of mystical union that places too much weight on the rôle of human reason, and it is notable that he emphasizes the rôle of ritual much less in describing the culmination of the soul's ascent than when discussing the earlier stages[5]. This equivocal mode of ex-

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on the theurgical activities of Maximus of Ephesus: σὺ δέ τούτων μηδέν θαυμάσῃς, ὥσπερ οὐδέ ἐγώ, τήν διά τοῦ λόγου κάθαρσιν μέγα τι χρῆμα ὑπολαμβάνων (Eunapius VII.2.11).

1. Iamblichus, De myst. II.11.96-7;V.20.228-21.229.

2. Ibid. X.6.292,5.291; and cf. I.12.41-2 (ἕνωσιν πρός τήν θείαν ἀρχήν ἡ διά τῶν κλήσεων ἄνοδος παρέχει τοῖς ἱερεῦσι), V.22.230. On ἱερατικός/ἀναγωγή as theurgical terms, cf. Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles 437-9, and F.W. Cremer, Die chaldäischen Orakel und Jamblich de mysteriis (Meisenheim am Glan,1969),24,148-50; and on the θεία ἀρχή, cf. De myst. I.5.15,V.9.210.

3. Ibid. X.7.293. On Porphyry's distinction between theurgy, that prepares one 'ad videndos deos', and philosophy, that leads one 'ad videndum Deum', cf. above,19.

4. E.g. Iamblichus, De myst. I.12.41 (theurgists led to the νοητή ἀρχή: on this passage, cf. Lewy, op.cit. 138);III.31.179;V.18. 225 (οἱ θεουργοί κατά νοῦν μόνον...τόν βίον διάγοντες);X.4.289, 8.293-4. The most strikingly 'Plotinian' of these passages is perhaps V.15.219: ὅλοι ψυχή γιγνόμεθα καί ἐσμεν ἔξω τοῦ σώματος μετέωροί τε τῷ νῷ.

5. Cf. ibid. Iamblichus's extended discussions of divination (Bk. III) and sacrifice (Bk. V) are designed to illustrate the basic, indispensable skills required of the theurgist; cf. Proclus's description of theurgy, Theol.Plat. 1.25,p.113.7-10, as: κρείττων...ἁπάσης ἀνθρωπίνης σωφροσύνης καί ἐπιστήμης, συλλαβοῦσα τά τε τῆς μαντικῆς ἀγαθά καί τάς τῆς τελεσιουργικῆς καθαρτικάς δυνάμεις καί πάντα ἁπλῶς τά τῆς ἐνθέου κατακωχῆς ἐνεργήματα. Nonetheless, Iamblichus thought that both divination and sacrifice could play a part in the higher stages of theurgical ascent as well: cf. De myst. III.31.178-9 on divination; V.15.219 (cf. Porphyry, De abst. II.34) on the purer, more intellectual sac-

pression characterizes the Oracula Chaldaica too[1], and may well, as H. Lewy shrewdly observed, have encouraged the Neoplatonists to interpret the theurgical ritual as 'figurative expressions of spiritual experiences; they could thus identify the Chaldaean mystery of the ascent of the soul towards the divine light with the Plotinian intellectual process of self-perfection which is independent of all external action'[2]. It would be wrong though to assume that the De mysteriis is merely an exoteric symbolic exposition of an esoteric spiritual teaching known only to the few, for the theurgists whose practices are there described were themselves, to Iamblichus's mind, the inner circle of initiates[3]. We must rather assume that Iamblichus realized the impossibility of ritualizing, or even describing, the ultimate union of the soul with God, and that when he was forced to refer to it, philosophical vocabulary came as naturally to his lips as theurgical. In other words, Iamblichus succeeded in describing a 'via universalis' for the ascent of the soul only in so far as he was able to ritualize the initial stages, and thus make them less apparently inaccessible than the stern and lonely way of the contemplative philosopher. The ultimate mystical union remained, as it had been for Plotinus, an intuitive leap that only a few would dare to make.

Unfortunately, the serious spiritual purpose of theurgy has more often than not been ignored, and the prevalent attitude has

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rifice expected of the philosopher; and V.18.225: [ὸ] νοερός καί ἀσώματος ἱερατικῆς θεσμός. On divination in Iamblichus, cf. most recently F. Pfeffer, Studien zur Mantik in der Philosophie der Antike (Meisenheim am Glan,1976),129-63.

1. Lewy, op.cit. 164-176; Smith, op.cit. 130-32.

2. Lewy, op.cit. 176.

3. Iamblichus, De myst. V.18.223-5,22.230-1. Cf. Julian's reference, or.8.172d-173a, to the ἄγνωστα τῷ συρφετῷ, θεουργοῖς δέ τοῖς μακαρίοις γνώριμα.

been that of Augustine, who dismissed it as magic[1] - and it went without saying that magic had no rightful place in philosophy. Porphyry is quoted, by both Iamblichus and Augustine, as conceding that theurgy might be put to unworthy uses[2], and many modern scholars have taken their cue from this, dismissing theurgy as 'nothing but magic or sorcery decked out in religion's robes', and assuming that its purpose amounted to no more than the evocation of apparitions of the gods[3]. It is true that theurgy, like magic, depended on the manipulation of a supposed universal συμπάθεια[4], but to identify the two would be to contradict flatly the De mysteriis, in which Iamblichus makes abundantly clear that 'it is not true that this sort of [theurgical] invocation draws the impassible and pure gods down towards what is subject to passions and impure, whether they like it or not; on the contrary it makes us, who through generation are born subject to passions, pure and unchangeable'[5]. Iamblichus conceded, it is true, both that the descent of gods might form a part of the theurgic process[6], and that from the operative's

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1. Augustine, De civ. Dei 10.9-11. J.J. O'Meara, St. Augustine, Against the Academics (Westminster,Maryland,1951),196, may well be right to assume that Augustine had Porphyry in mind when he remarked (ep. 118.33) that on Plotinus's death some of his followers became magicians.

2. Iamblichus, De myst. X.7.293; Augustine, De civ. Dei 10.11 (ad fin.).

3. M.P. Nilsson, Greek piety (Oxford,1948),146; likewise S. Eitrem, Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike (Zürich,1947),64,and J. Carlier, 'Science divine et raison humaine', in J.P. Vernant et al., Divination et rationalité (Paris,1974),257-60. Eitrem's 'La théurgie chez les Néo-Platoniciens et dans les papyrus magiques', Symb.Os. 22(1942),49-79, esp. 72, generally overstresses the magical element in theurgy. The correct emphasis is that of T. Hopfner, R.E. 14.379, and Cremer, Die chaldäischen Orakel 20: 'Auch ist eine Gleichsetzung von Theurgie und Magie nicht mehr möglich. Wohl kann von einer Magie der Theurgie gesprochen werden, wenn die praktisch-kultische Komponente isoliert betrachtet werden soll, da eine chaldäische Aneignung magischer Praktiken zu erkennen ist.'

4. Iamblichus, De myst. I.8.28-9;III.16.137-8,27.164;V.7.207,10.210; cf. Prot. 21, ιζ'. On Iamblichus's doctrine of φιλία, the transcendent cause of συμπάθεια, cf. Smith, Porphyry's place 93-4.
5. Iamblichus, De myst. I.12.42; cf. II.11.96-8.
6. Ibid. V.21.229; cf. Porphyry, De phil. 2.154-64

point of view the theurgical act might be performed more or less spiritually, depending in part at least on experience[1]; but the ultimate object still remained the purification and salvation of the soul through its separation from the body[2].

Sadly, Iamblichus lacked a biographer of Porphyry's meticulousness. He is one of those elusive characters whose true importance we divine only in the impression they leave on the minds of others. We know very little of the outward circumstances of his life, and yet the power of the spirit that lodged within him shines through the pages even of those who, like Julian and Eunapius, never knew the man himself. To Julian he was 'that truly godlike (θεῖος) man, who ranks next to Pythagoras and Plato'[3], and the ghost of Pythagoras haunts every line of Eunapius's short biography of Iamblichus. This text can neither be taken at face value, nor dismissed as entirely legendary[4], for it includes some interesting circumstantial details[5], and was after all written by a man who had access to a direct oral tradition passed down by one of Iamblichus's most distinguished pupils, Aedesius, to Eunapius's own teacher, Chrysanthius[6]. Eunapius clearly admired Iamblichus very much, but entirely fails to bring his hero to life, or to make us understand why he was so much revered by his disciples. Like most of the other philosopher-portraits in the Vitae sophistarum , that of Iamblichus adds up to little more than a type; in fact it is the type, the paradigm for all the philosopher - holy men who came after. Eunapius

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1. Iamblichus, De myst. V.20.228.
2. Ibid. X.7.293.
3. Julian, ep. 12; cf. orr. 7.217b;11.146a,157c.
4. Pace E. des Places, Jamblique: Les Mystères d'Egypte (Paris, 1966),5.
5. E.g. Iamblichus's birthplace (Eunapius V.1.1), education (V.1.2), pupils (V.1.5), suburban property (V.1.12), and visit to Gadara (V.2.2).
6. Ibid. V.1.11.

fills out his story with wonders, but implies at the same time that Iamblichus did them only to stop his disciples from pestering him[1], and himself attached no importance to them. His most striking miracle, the conjuring of two Erotes from the hot springs at Gadara in Syria, he first deprecated as an impiety - he would have been well aware of the tendency of hot springs in the near east to attract dubious religious associations - and then performed only for his followers' sake[2]. When an Egyptian tried to summon up Apollo in his presence, Iamblichus immediately saw through him and pronounced the spirit to be the soul of a dead gladiator[3]. In both these incidents Eunapius implies that Iamblichus moved on a more exalted spiritual plane than those around him - perhaps that was the impression Iamblichus himself sought to convey. He was enigmatic even to his closest disciples, for though he spent a good deal of time with them, and shared their mildly ascetic life, he would also at times retire to worship apart from them, and was said to soar aloft into the air and to be transfigured with light when he prayed to the gods[4]. These authentically Pythagorean details make clear what was going on in Eunapius's mind, consciously or unconsciously, as he wrote.

Iamblichus himself regarded experiences such as those just referred to (θεοφορίαι) as manifestations of ἐνθουσιασμός[5], an expe-

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1. Ibid. V.2.1. Eunapius also (V.2.7) emphasizes the unreliability of such stories.

2. Ibid. V.2.1-7, esp. 2. Cf. Hasluck, Christianity and Islam I, 105-111; and W. Speyer, 'Der Ursprung warmer Quellen nach heidnischer und christlicher Deutung', Jb.Ant.Chr. 20(1977),39-46. Arnobius, Adv.nat. 2.11, turns this lack of enthusiasm for miracles common to all the earlier Neoplatonists into an argument for the inferiority of their faith to Christianity, whose adepts, he claims, work abundant miracles.

3. Eunapius VI.11.11.

4. Ibid. V.1.6-8.

5. Iamblichus, De myst. III.7.114-5.

rience that late antiquity thaught of as the hall-mark of the true philosopher and holy man[1]. We have already seen Ammonius described by Hierocles as ἐνθουσιάσας for the true philosophy[2], and Eunapius makes a pointed distinction between Aedesius's ἀκρίβεια and his colleague Sosipatra's ἐνθουσιασμός[3]; but it is in the writings of Iamblichus ὁ ἔνθους[4], and particularly in the De mysteriis, that we really understand what ἐνθουσιασμός meant. It is a divine possession (τό κατέχεσθαι ὑπό τοῦ θείου), an inspired madness, an indwelling of divine power (πλήρωσις δυνάμεως) - a gift of the gods, and entirely independent of the human body and soul[5]. It is not just a separation from the body (ἔκστασις), but a positive advance into the spiritual realm[6]. The passivity of the Iamblichan enthusiast is eloquent of the reduced significance that Iamblichus assigned to the rôle of the individual in his view of spiritual experience; yet it should not be forgotten that most of what Iamblichus says about ἐνθουσιασμός comes in Book III of the De mysteriis, where he is primarily interested in divination rather than pure theurgic union, which he never envisaged as independent of human effort.

The extremes of enthusiasm (in the more vulgar sense) that Iamblichus himself inspired are suggested by the erotic imagery and quarryings from Sappho that litter the epistles adressed to him by

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1. Cf. Plutarch, Marcus Cato 22.3 (ἐνθουσιῶσι περί φιλοσοφίαν).
2. Above,8; cf. Julian, or. 11.136bc.
3. Eunapius VI.9.2.
4. Marinus, V.Proc. 26. David, In Porph. Isag. 4,p.92.2-7 (cf. Aeneas of Gaza, Theoph. 896b), quotes the Pythian oracle as saying: ἔνθους ὁ Σύρος (Iamblichus), πολυμαθής ὁ Φοίνιξ (Porphyry), adding: ἔνθουν δέ αὐτόν λέγει, ἐπειδή περί τά θεῖα ἐνησχολεῖτο.
5. Iamblichus, De myst. III.7.114,8.116-7,25.159. Cf. Julian,loc.cit.
6. Iamblichus, De myst. III.7.114.

one Julian, an otherwise unknown disciple[1]. Even the unphilosophical Libanius allowed himself to remark that Iamblichus resembled the gods[2], an idea that became pure cliché for the fifth century Athenian Neoplatonists, who like the emperor Julian always referred to Iamblichus as θεῖος[3]. Iamblichus was not just another link in the χρυσῆ σειρά of Neoplatonism, but became the inspiration and model for several generations of pagans who believed passionately in the inseparability of philosophy from the religious practices of paganism[4].

Of those who were stirred by his teachings, the emperor Julian was by far the most famous. Yet in some fields he went beyond Iamblichus, as for example in his interest in political philosophy, and in the systematization of pagan theology[5]. He was the eclectic

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1. Ps.-Julian, epp. 181,183-7, esp.446c,405b. This Julian was identified by F. Cumont, Sur l'authenticité de quelques lettres de Julien (Gand,1889),27-9, with the sophist Julian of Caesarea (in Cappadocia); but in fact Julian was a Syrian (cf. ep. 183. 448b), as is pointed out by T.D. Barnes, 'A correspondent of Iamblichus', Gr.Rom.Byz.St. 19(1978),99. The use made of the letters in this study assumes they were genuinely written by a pupil of Iamblichus, but the exact identity of the pupil is immaterial, and he will be referred to indifferently as Julian or ps.-Julian. The latter usage serves merely to distinguish him from Flavius Claudius Julianus, to whom the correspondence has in the past been mistakenly attributed, and does not prejudice the possibility that the writer actually did bear the name Julian.
2. Libanius, or. 52.21; ep. 1466.4 (where Iamblichus is also compared to Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle; cf. below,127,n.2).
3. Zeller, Philosophie der Griechen III(2),738,n.2. On Julian, cf. above,40,n.3.
4. German scholars of an earlier generation were fond of comparing Iamblichus's influence in the fourth century to that of Hegel in the nineteenth: e.g. K. Praechter, 'Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria(ed. E. Diehl)' (review), Gött.gel.Anz. (1905), 527; J. Geffcken, Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums (Heidelberg,1920),134. On the χρυσῆ σειρά, cf. below,80-1.
5. Cf. the recent discussions of Julian's philosophical originality by P. Athanassiadi, An emperor and Hellenism: studies in the thought and action of the emperor Julian (unpubl. diss., Oxford, 1976), and J.-C. Foussard, 'Julien philosophe', in R. Braun and J. Richer (edd.), L'empereur Julien, de l'histoire à la légende (331-1715) (Paris,1978),189-212.

par excellence, and refused to be tied down to any one definition of philosophy. 'It makes no difference', he wrote, 'whether one regards philosophy as the art of arts or the science of sciences, or the attempt either to become like god as far as possible, or, as the Pythian oracle said, to know oneself; for there is very little to choose between any of these definitions'[1]. Indeed, it was Julian who was responsible for the classic statement of the eclectic ideal, in his attack on the 'uneducated Cynics': 'Let no one divide philosophy into many kinds or cut it up into many parts, or rather let no one make it out to be plural instead of one. For just as truth is one, so too is philosophy one. Thus it is not surprising if we approach it now by one road, now by another'[2].

Like Iamblichus, Julian, whose full conversion, brought about by Maximus of Ephesus, had been as much religious as philosophical[3], held true philosophy to be of divine origin[4]: 'only philosophy is suitable for us (priests), and of philosophers only those who acknowledge the gods as the guides of their paideia, for example Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, and those who follow Chrysippus and Zeno. For we should not occupy ourselves with all philosophers, or with all doctrines, but only with those philosophies and philosophers that imbue us with piety and teach us about the gods...'[5] - not in other words with Epicurus or the Sceptics, most of whose works had anyway been lost by Julian's day[6]. Here again, as in the passage from Eunapius discussed at the beginning of this chap-

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1. Julian, or. 9.183a.
2. Ibid. 184c; cf. Libanius, or. 18.21.
3. Eunapius VII.2.
4. Julian, orr. 9.191b,11.152d.
5. Id., ep. 89b,300d-301a; cf. orr. 7.222b,8.162cd (Aristotle should be interpreted in the light of Plato and the oracles), 9.185a.
6. Id., ep. 89b.301c.

ter, we find the explicit conjunction of the two processes of fusion, on the one hand between the traditional philosophical Schools,and on the other between philosophy in general and religion, out of which grew the Neoplatonic synthesis. The end of all philosophies Julian held to be self-knowledge, and 'happiness, but happiness as a result of living according to nature, not according to the opinions of the multitude'[1]. The sage must first recognize his own divinity and the worthlessness of his body, whose needs he must satisfy with as little fuss and attention as possible, and then approach as near as he can to the condition of the gods. 'The beginning therefore is self-knowledge, and the end is likeness to the higher powers'[2]. Thus understood, the philosopher's vocation was, in Julian's eyes, higher by far than that of the king. 'For who was ever saved by the conquests of Alexander? What city was better governed, or individual man improved?'[3].

One might well ask. For this is the same Julian who, as emperor, sought to reverse the political and religious trends favoured by the house of Constantine, and divided his subjects in pursuit of a political restoration of paganism. In Julian's reign history, by a strange and unexpected about-turn, suddenly focusses all its attention on precisely the problem of the social rôle of the late antique philosopher with which this study is concerned. Julian's attempt to translate philosophical vocation into political practice will be touched on at many points in the following pages; but here is the place to emphasize that the principles on which he acted grew directly out of the common ground, and increasing identity of

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1. Julian, or. 9.185a,185d-186a,193d. Iamblichus too had connected εὐδαιμονία with the Stoic topos of living κατά φύσιν: Prot. 4, p.21.1-4.
2. Julian, or. 7.225d-226c, Ep. ad Them. 259ab.
3. Id., orr. 7.222bc,11.131b; Ep. ad Them. 264d,266a.

purpose, shared by philosophy and pagan religion in late antiquity[1]. Magic, divination, theurgy, and philosophy all drew, at different levels, on the sympathetic powers that bound the world together; and the unity of the world became the unity of faith, for all gods were conceived to be a manifestation of God. It no longer seemed reasonable for the expositors of human and divine knowledge to work in isolation, and the product of this merger of philosopher and priest was the Iamblichan sage and theurgist. To this typical product of late Hellenism Julian offered just the opportunity he wanted, the backing of the Roman autocracy for an attempt to win the world back to the old religion. In pursuance of this aim, and realizing perhaps that his cause lacked intrinsic appeal, Julian resorted to an extraordinary and desperate measure. Unilaterally annexing the whole of Hellenic culture to the pagan side, he declared in his edict on education that Christians, being by definition disbelievers in the gods, were thenceforth forbidden to teach the classical writers[2]. This was indeed the logical sequel to the alliance already contracted between eclectic philosophy and syncretic religion, but the pagan party never held enough of the political cards to have any hope of sustaining this sort of cultural totalitarianism. Had Julian lived, he might well have done far more damage to his cause than did the anonymous javelin that struck him down in the wastes of Mesopotamia.

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1. This development was clearly understood by Christian writers, e.g. Lactantius, Div.Inst. III.2.1-2.

2. Julian, ep. 61. Cf. Libanius, or. 62.8: οἰκεῖα γάρ...καί συγγενῆ ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, ἱερά καί λόγοι; and or. 18.157.

CHAPTER II

THE DEMISE OF THE CLASSICAL SCHOOLS

The extraordinary influence exercised by Plato over the philosophical life of late antiquity was the product of a long process of doctrinal evolution. Neoplatonism had come to occupy the dominant position in what was virtually a one-party state; but rather than abolishing the traditions that it superseded, it had subsumed and transformed them, allowing Aristotle and the Stoa in particular a place of honour beside its household gods, Plato and Pythagoras. This doctrinal evolution was accompanied by a parallel evolution of philosophical institutions. The effect of eclecticism had long been to reduce the room available for manoeuvre between the different classical Schools, and by the early third century they had lost nearly all their separate identity, in the institutional as well as in the intellectual sense. The central section of this study (chapters III to V) will be devoted to an investigation of what practical methods of organization late antiquity substituted for the classical Schools; but in order to appreciate the extent and originality of this evolution, it is essential to grasp first of all what exactly a classical philosophical School was, and secondly, what became of the Schools in the Roman empire.

The classical mentality, perfectly exemplified in Cicero's De finibus or in the polemical works of Sextus Empiricus, viewed the post-Platonic Greek philosophical tradition as divided into well-defined dogmatic αἱρέσεις ('sects' or 'Schools'), between which there was, in Cicero's words, 'non verborum parva, sed rerum permagna dissensio'[1]. However, when it came to defining an αἵρεσις,

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1. Cicero, De nat. deorum I.7.16. Cf. Arcesilaus's joke, when asked why members of other Schools went over to Epicurus, but

as opposed to a σχολή or διατριβή (the specific act or site of teaching)[1], classical writers were not keen to commit themselves. Galen, for example, was deliberately vague, describing a School as a πρόσκλισις δογμάτων πολλῶν πρός ἄλληλα συμφώνων ἢ πρός ἕν τέλος ἀναφερόντων[2], while Diogenes Laertius preferred the phrase πρόσκλισις δόγμασιν ἀκολουθίαν ἔχουσιν, but added that, if the Sceptics were to be included, then αἵρεσιν...λέγομεν τήν λόγῳ τινί κατά τό φαινόμενον ἀκολουθοῦσαν ἢ δοκοῦσαν ἀκολουθεῖν[3]. All that these definitions insist on is a consistency of teaching; they say nothing of the institutional framework, if any, within which the teaching is to take place.

This vagueness can be accounted for in part, at least, by the sheer diversity of types of philosophical School generated in the post-Socratic era and exemplified by the prologue to Diogenes Laertius's Vitae philosophorum. This work was probably written in the early third century A.D., and is the only complete surviving example of a popular literary genre, on which Diogenes himself draws freely and often indiscriminately[4]. In his prologue, as has already

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never vice versa: ἐκ μέν...ἀνδρῶν γάλλοι γίνονται, ἐκ δέ γάλλων ἄνδρες οὐ γίνονται (Diogenes Laertius 4.43).

1. Σχολή and διατριβή could be used interchangeably: cf. Acad.ind. Herc. 46,59. In English the word 'school' may mean either (1) a building or place where teaching is undertaken, or (2) a group or succession of men who teach the same thing and (usually) acknowledge the same master. Henceforth the former (σχολή/διατριβή) = 'school', the latter (αἵρεσις) = 'School'. It should be noted however that the word διατριβή might bear either meaning: H.G. Liddell, R. Scott et al., A Greek-English lexicon (Oxford, 1940[9]), s.v. διατριβή 2(d). For a fourth century example of usage (1), cf. Iamblichus V.Pyth. 26 (Pythagoras's first διατριβή the origin of the later Samian ἡμικύκλιον or place of assembly, its name graphically recalling Pythagoras's pupils sitting in a semi-circle round their master. Porphyry uses the word διδασκαλεῖον in the corresponding passage of his V.Pyth.,9.); of usage (2), Eunapius VIII.1.8.
2. [Galen], Hist.phil. 7.
3. Diogenes Laertius 1.20.
4. What survives of this genre is exhaustively catalogued by W. von

been mentioned, Diogenes posits two distinct sources or streams (ἀρχαί) within the Greek philosophical tradition, the Ionian and the Italian, and then goes on to point out that philosophers may also be classified on dogmatic or purely incidental criteria[1], and to suggest a general definition of an αἵρεσις in the terms quoted above. In effect we are given two different but complementary criteria for classifying philosophers, and both are employed in the main body of the book[2]. The Ionian and Italian ἀρχαί are διαδοχαί, or 'successions'[3], hence their heterogeneous doctrinal content, but within this framework Diogenes proceeds by Schools or sects, each of which exists in order to propagate certain specific dogmas; thus Book VII deals with Stoics, Book VIII with Pythagoreans, and so on. Naturally each School is itself a διαδοχή, for the most part, and the narrative consists of a series of biographies; but this is less important to Diogenes than the basic dogmatic unity of each School, the character of which is usually expounded at the end of the founder's biography.

Pythagoras is the earliest philosopher recorded by Diogenes Laertius as having a definite body of followers during his lifetime[4]. As well as the inner ring of disciples, there were other less comm-

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Kienle, Die Berichte über die Sukzessionen der Philosophen in den Hellenistischen und spätantiken Literatur (diss. Berlin,1961), 9-31; on Diogenes cf. esp. 27-31, and on his sources, 76-96.

1. Diogenes Laertius 1.13-7.

2. As also, most explicitly, in Acad.ind.Herc. 113, and Stoic.ind. Herc.79.5-7. On the arguments for identifying these works as parts of the first century B.C. Epicurean Philodemus's Σύνταξις τῶν φιλοσόφων, referred to by Diogenes Laertius 10.3, cf. D. Comparetti, 'Papiro ercolanese inedito', Riv. di fil. 3(1875); W. Scott, Fragmenta Herculanensia: a descriptive catalogue of the Oxford copies of the Herculanean rolls (Oxford,1885),11-12; and A. Traversa, Index Stoicorum Herculanensis (Genoa,1952),XV-XX.

3. The idea is already implicit in Theophrastus, Phys.op., frr.2,4.

4. Diogenes Laertius 2.5,8.3. Aristotle very frequently refers to οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι. For the Neoplatonists' view of the early Pythagorean community, cf. below, 165 - 67.

itted followers[1], and the whole circle had a strong religious colouring, worshipping the Muses and, after his death, Pythagoras himself[2]. The Pythagorean communities of Italy seem to have survived into the fourth century B.C.[3], and it is perhaps significant that Plato visited the Pythagorean Archytas of Tarentum shortly before founding his own philosophical community, the Academy, in 386/5[4].

Some of the most important features of the Academy represent, though, major divergences from the Pythagorean pattern[5]. In the first place the Academy was not a loose federation of communities, but a single centralized institution tied to a specific site, near the sacred Academy grove about a mile beyond the walls of Athens[6]. It therefore enjoyed at least a formal identity of its own, independent of the successive generations of teachers and pupils who belonged to it. In the second place, the Academy was presided over by a regular and elected διαδοχή of teachers[7], whose function was simultaneously to preserve the doctrine of Plato, and to undertake new work in an atmosphere of free intellectual enquiry[8]. Unlike

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1. Hippolytus, Ref. I.2.17: οἱ μέν οὖν ἐσωτερικοί ἐκαλοῦντο Πυθαγόρειοι, οἱ δέ ἕτεροι Πυθαγορισταί.
2. Boyancé, Culte des Muses 233.40.
3. K. von Fritz, R.E. 24.213-9.
4. H. Leisegang, R.E. 20.2350-2.
5. The most succinct definition of the classical philosophical School is von Arnim's, Dio von Prusa 23: 'ein zu dauerndem Bestande organisirtes und an eine bestimmte Örtlichkeit gebundenes Unterrichtsinstitut'.
6. This important feature is missed by H.-I. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité (Paris,1965^{6}),88, and cf. 285.
7. On the elections, cf. Acad.ind.Herc. 38,59,67, a more reliable source than Diogenes Laertius 4.3,60, who appears to imply that διάδοχοι were designated by their predecessor.
8. Cf. Acad.ind.Herc. 67-8: Crates sought to teach κατά τήν ἀπό Πλάτωνός τε καί Σπευσίππου διαμείνασαν ἕως Πολέμωνος αἵρεσιν, but then παρεξέβη τό τῆς Ἀκαδημεϊκῆς ἀγωγῆς ὑποδοθέν σχῆμα; and ibid. 69-70,76-7, on the confusion that could result if a teacher took an insufficiently definite line.

the Pythagoreans, it did not rely for its authority simply on the ipse dixit of a semi-divine master. On the other hand, the reverence felt by the members of the Academy for their founder was just as great as that accorded to Pythagoras by his followers. Indeed, the Academy had a formal religious side to its life, which consisted not just of the worship of the Muses in the Academy μουσεῖον, but also of the cult of Plato himself[1]. In short, the Academy was a real community, and when Diogenes Laertius tells us that Polemon 'would withdraw from society and confine himself to the garden of the Academy, while close by his scholars made themselves little huts and lived not far from the shrines of the Muses and the lecture hall'[2], we are left in no doubt about the intimacy of the bonds that the Academy fostered between master and disciple.

As a philosophical institution the Academy both broke new ground, and became the model for the other Athenian philosophical Schools which were founded subsequently. Both the Lyceum and the School of Epicurus, for example, had permanent buildings designed to make it possible for the philosophers who used them to lead a common life together[3]. They also had regular διάδοχοι, the Peripatetics, it seems, in part elected, in part designated, but the Epicureans always designated by their predecessor[4]. The Peripatetics are known to have worshipped the Muses[5], and both Schools commemorated their founder[6]. The Epicureans were particularly

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1. Pausanias, Gr.desc. I.30.2; Diogenes Laertius 4.1,19; Boyancé, op.cit. 250-61,277-97; O. Reverdin, La religion de la cité platonicienne (Paris,1945),139-46.
2. Diogenes Lertius 4.19.
3. Ibid. 5.51-3 (esp. 53: οὐ δυνατόν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀεί ἐπιδημεῖν) (Peripatetics), 10.17 (Epicureans).
4. Ibid. 5.62,70 (Peripatetics),10.17, and I.G. $2\text{-}3^2$.1099 (Epicureans).
5. Athenaeus, Deip. 12.547f.
6. Diogenes Laertius 5.71 (Peripatetics),10.18 (Epicureans).

reputed for the great honour in which they held the memory of Epicurus[1], and in general for the remarkable cohesiveness of their School[2].

These Schools were not of course monolithic. Students might circulate from one to another[3], or, like Aristotle, found their own. The nature of the School itself might change: the Academy, for example, altered direction fundamentally at several points in its history, and later writers acknowledged this by dividing it into an Old, a Middle, and a New Academy. Indeed, the trend towards diversification, and the fragmentation of the main Schools, ultimately proved irreversible. Σχολαί centred on individual teachers proliferated, and many of them never developed into anything so permanent as to deserve the title αἵρεσις, but merely disbanded on the death of their founder.

Stoicism, the fourth great philosophical School of ancient Greece, is a perfect illustration of the difficulty experienced by these institutions in maintaining their separate identity against the internal and external forces working for their dissolution. The original disciples of Zeno began by being called Ζηνώνειοι, and after his death were renamed Στωικοί[4]. Both names emphasized their unity, and their specific origin, but despite this the Stoa of Pisianax did not become a permanent centre for them - we hear of Chrysippus, for example, giving his last ever lecture in the Odeion[5]. Stoicism was never to be as firmly based in one place, whether Ath-

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1. Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Antigonos von Karystos (Berlin,1881),290.n.27; E. Williger, Hagios: Untersuchungen zur Terminologie des Heiligen in den hellenisch-hellenistischen Religionen (Giessen,1922),82-3; W. Liebich, Aufbau, Absicht und Form der Pragmateiai Philodems (diss. Berlin,1960),66-8.
2. Numenius, fr. 24.33-6.
3. E.g. Diogenes Laertius 4.42.
4. Ibid. 7.5.
5. Ibid. 7.184.

ens or Alexandria or Rome, as were its predecessors, and the growth of Roman power in the Mediterranean basin naturally uprooted and carried with it many philosophers, and especially Stoics, whose teachings had a particular appeal for the Romans. Stoicism preached after all the gospel of cosmopolitanism, and placed a strong emphasis on the moral qualities essential to an expanding imperial nation; but it also appealed to the Romans because of its eclecticism, already a characteristic of the thought of Zeno and Chrysippus, but more pronounced as time went by - Panaetius in particular was noted for his openness to traditions other than his own[1]. Naturally, though, eclecticism made it more difficult for a Stoic to define the difference between himself and, say, an Academic, and the fragmentation of the School was the inevitable outcome. This process is well illustrated by Numenius's explicit contrast between 'the διατριβή of Epicurus, like some true republic, perfectly free from sedition, with one mind in common and one purpose, so that they were, and are, and seemingly will be devoted disciples', and Stoicism, 'torn by factions, which began with their founders and have not ceased even now'[2].

By 260 B.C. Epicurus, Zeno, and the Sceptic Pyrrho too, had all followed Plato and Aristotle to the grave; the great creative period of classical Greek philosophy was over, and the scholars and commentators of Alexandria were already at work. The experience of the Stoics was repeated in the other Schools - as they began to spread their activities beyond Athens onto the wider stage provided

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1. Zeno and Chrysippus both studied for a time in the Academy: ibid. 7.25,183-4. On Panaetius, φιλοπλάτων καί φιλοαριστοτέλης, cf. Stoic.ind.Herc. 61.2-4; cf. Cicero, De fin. 4.79.
2. Numenius, fr. 24.33-8.

first by the Hellenistic kingdoms[1], and afterwards by the Roman empire, they lost their original sense of communal identity, and the importance of their Athenian headquarters declined. Gradually philosophers ceased to think of themselves as 'Academics' or 'Peripatetics', and became instead 'Platonists' and 'Aristotelians'. As Augustine was to put it much later: 'the best known philosophers of modern times who have chosen to follow Plato have refused to be spoken of as Peripatetics or Academics, but call themselves Platonists'[2].

Because of this shift of interest away from Athens, the condition of her philosophical Schools in the late Republican and early Imperial period is extremely obscure. Of the situation in the empire at large in the time of Nero, Seneca wrote:

> 'So many schools of philosophers are dying without a successor. The Academics, both the Old and the New, have left no professor. Who is there who teaches the precepts of Pyrrho? That famous school of Pythagoras, hated by the mob, has not found a teacher. The new sect of the Sextii, of truly Roman vigour, was extinct at the very beginning, although it started with great energy.'[3]

One would hardly expect a provincial backwater like Athens[4] to do better, despite its illustrious traditions. Yet it is worth glancing briefly at the fate of its Schools under Roman rule, because Athens is the only city where there is sufficient evidence for a continuous study of academic institutions from their classical origins into late antiquity.

The sack of Athens by Sulla seems to have dealt a death-blow

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1. Evidence in J.P. Lynch, Aristotle's School: a study of a Greek educational institution (Berkeley,1972),151, qualified by M. Avi-Yonah, Hellenism and the east: contacts and interrelations from Alexander to the Roman conquest (Jerusalem,1978),52-5.
2. Augustine, De civ. Dei 8.12.
3. Seneca, Nat.quaest. VII.32.2, and cf. 4.
4. Cf. Lucretius, De rerum nat. 6.2 ('quondam praeclaro nomine Athenae'); Horace, ep. II.2 81 ('vacuae...Athenae').

to both the Academy and the Peripatos as independent foundations[1]. When Paul visited Athens, only the Epicureans and Stoics turned out and argued with him in the agora[2], and in fact these two Schools managed to maintain a διαδοχή in Athens well into the second century[3]. Yet the significance of these survivals was little more than symbolic, and we hear nothing of them in the literary sources. A Platonic διαδοχή was to be resurrected by Plutarch of Athens and his successors in the fifth century, but there is no convincing evidence for the existence either of the Academy or of a formal succession of Platonist teachers during the intervening period of almost five centuries. An obscure passage of Damascius seems, it is true, to imply that the garden where Plato had founded his school was in the hands of the Athenian Platonists in the fifth century A.D.[4]; but this clearly cannot, in the face of the silence

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1. Cf. the excellent discussion by Lynch, op.cit. 177-89 (Academy), 192-207 (Peripatos), which neglects though important corroborating evidence on the decayed state of the Academy grove in the Imperial period: Aelian, Var.hist. 9.10; Porphyry, De abst. I. 36.1; Basil, Ad adol. 9.15; Jerome, Adv.Jov. 2.9; J. Schwartz, 'Le fantôme de l'Académie', Hommages à Marcel Renard I (Brussels, 1969),672. J. Dillon, The Middle Platonists: a study of Platonism 80 B.C. to A.D. 220 (London,1977),365, deduces from Numenius, fr. 24, that the Academy came to an end with Antiochus and his immediate successors. F. Grayeff, Aristotle and his school: an inquiry into the history of the Peripatos, with a commentary on Metaphysics Z,H,Λ and Θ (London,1974),55, places the demise of the Peripatos as early as c.200 B.C.

2. Acts 17.18.

3. Epicureans: I.G. 2-3^2.1099; cf. J.H. Oliver, 'An inscription concerning the Epicurean School at Athens', Trans. Am.Phil,Ass. 69(1938),494-9. Stoics: I.G. 2-3^2.3571 (cf. S. Follet, Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle: études chronologiques et prosopographiques (Paris,1976),171-2), 3801 (cf. ibid. 91), 11551. J.H. Oliver, 'The diadochê at Athens under the humanistic emperors', Trans.Am.Phil.Ass. 98(1977),171,n.23, rightly doubts the suggestion of A.W, Parsons, 'A family of philosophers at Athens and Alexandria', Hesperia Supp. 8(1949),268-72, that the Flavius Menander, διάδοχος, who appears on an inscription of c.98-102, may have been a Stoic; but is not justified in arguing e silentio that there were no διάδοχοι in Athens during the first centuries B.C. and A.D.

4. Damascius, V.Isid. 158 (Epit.Phot.) = fr. 265; cf. Lynch, op. cit. 185-7. According to Marinus, V.Proc. 36, Proclus regularly

of all the other sources, prove that the institution called the Academy had continued to exist all those centuries. The garden may well have been re-acquired during the fifth century, in order to give the newly-revived διαδοχή some tangible link with the past. Much more suggestive than Damascius's remark, at least at first sight, are references by Longinus to two Ἀθήνησι διάδοχοι in the early third century, Theodotus and Eubulus, and by Porphyry to Εὔβουλος Ἀθήνησιν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς διάδοχος[1]. In order to account for these two passages, it is necessary to enquire what precisely was the meaning of the word διάδοχος at this period.

In the philosophical context, the words διαδοχή/διάδοχος traditionally referred to the succession of scholarchs in the several Athenian Schools[2], but in Galen's De ordine librorum suorum ad Eugenianum we find the following observation:

> 'In the case of the philosophical Schools each person became, for a different reason, either a Platonist or a Peripatetic or a Stoic or an Epicurean. But now that there are διαδοχαί of the Schools, many use this as a pretext to give themselves the name of the School in which they have been educated, especially when they lack any other starting-point in life.'[3]

The De ordine is a retrospect over Galen's entire literary output, and dates from the end of his life, the closing decade of the second century. Now in the course of the second century the Roman emperors had taken a particularly strong interest in the intellectual life of the Greek cities. Hadrian had not only endowed Athens with a magnificent library[4], still impressive in its ruin, but intervened

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prayed in the Academy, but whether he did this specifically in his capacity as Platonic διάδοχος is not made clear.

1. Longinus, ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.39-40; Porphyry, V.Plot. 15. 18-21.
2. E.g. Epicurus, ap. Diogenes Laertius 10.17; Stoic.ind.Herc. 53. 1-2. Cf. J.H. Oliver, 'Philosophers and procurators, relatives of the Aemilius Juncus of Vita Commodi 4,11', Hesperia 36(1967), 42-4.
3. Galen, De ord. lib. 1.
4. Pausanias, Gr.desc. I.18.9.

too in the affairs of the School of Epicurus; Antoninus is credited with having given honours and salaries to both rhetoricians and philosophers throughout the provinces ('per omnes provincias')[1]; and, most important of all, Marcus Aurelius, returning to Rome from a tour of the east, visited Athens in September 176 and gave orders for the founding of salaried chairs of philosophy for the Platonists, Stoics, Peripatetics, and Epicureans[2]. Since, by the time Galen wrote the passage just quoted, even the Epicurean and Stoic successions at Athens had probably become extinct, it is tempting to assume that the new διαδοχαί ⟨τῶν⟩ αἱρέσεων referred to by Galen are the recently-established chairs of philosophy, either in Athens or elsewhere, and that during the second century the word διαδοχή had come to be applied generally to teachers of philosophy in established schools (σχολαί)[3]. This theory, apart from making sense of Galen's otherwise rather strange observation, is also supported by several other pieces of evidence. In his late treatise De exilio (c.120), Plutarch refers to the foundation of a Στωικὴ διαδοχή in Babylon in the second century B.C.[4]. We have an inscription from Didyma in honour of Plato set up by Φανίας ὁ διάδοχος about the time of Hadrian[5], while a recently-discovered

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1. H.A.,Ant.Pius 11.3. J.W.H. Walden, The universities of ancient Greece (London,1912),89,n.1, quoted Tatian, Ad Graec. 19, in support of the H.A., but it is impossible to demonstrate that Tatian here refers to Athens.

2. Dio Cassius LXXI.31.3; Lucian, Eun. 3; Philostratus, V.Soph. 566-7. For the date, cf. H. von Arnim, R.E. 1.2301.

3. This possibility is touched on briefly by Walden, op.cit. 102, n.1; Lynch, Aristotle's School 173-4.

4. Plutarch, Mor. 605b; cf. K. Ziegler, R.E. 21.714. A late and unreliable source (Suda Δ1173) describes the grammarian Dionysius of Alexandria, who died under Trajan, as the διάδοχος of the first century A.D. Stoic Chairemon. (On Schwartz's interpretation of this passage, R.E. 3.2026, cf. W. Otto, Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus (Leipzig,1905),199.)

5. A. Rehm, Didyma II: Die Inschriften (Berlin,1958),no.150; L. Robert, Hellenica 11-2 (Paris,1960), plate 27.1.

second or third century inscription from Apamea in Syria refers to Αὐρ(ήλιος) Βήλιος Φίλιππος ἱερεὺς καί διάδοχος ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων[1]. Again, an Aristotelian διαδοχή is attested in late third century Alexandria by Eusebius of Caesarea[2]. Conversely, Longinus makes a point of emphasizing that Theodotus and Eubulus were resident at Athens (Ἀθήνησι), rather than taking this as implicit in the word διάδοχος itself[3].

Theodotus and Eubulus were most probably then occupants of the chair of Platonic philosophy founded at Athens by Marcus Aurelius in order to replace the defunct Platonic succession[4]. It is possible that Porphyry's teacher Longinus, who dominated Athenian intellectual life in the middle years of the third century, was also a διάδοχος in this sense, though he is never described as such - that he was wont to give an annual party in honour of Plato's birthday proves nothing, since so too was Plotinus in Rome[5].

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1. J.-P. Rey-Coquais, 'Inscriptions grecques d'Apamée', Ann.arch. arab.syr.23(1973),67,84. The editor seems to favour a second century dating, despite the presence of the gentilicium Aurelius (on the significance of which cf. J. and L. Robert, Bull.Epig. (1950),204 (= Rev.Et.Gr. 63(1950),205), although the principle there formulated is not of universal application: cf. Follet, Athènes 92-5). J.C. Balty has suggested to the present writer that the letter-shapes make a date in the third century much more likely.

2. Eusebius, H.E. VII.32.6.

3. Longinus ap. Porphyry. V.Plot. 20.39-40.

4. On whether there were one or two chairs for each School, cf. Walden, op.cit. 92,n.2; Lynch, op.cit. 171. Oliver, Trans.Am. Phil.Ass. 98(1977),160-78, suggests that Theodotus and Eubulus, together with Flavius Menander and T. Varius Caelianus, both of whom are called simply διάδοχοι, without identification of the particular School to which they adhered, in Athenian inscriptions of the early second century (Flavius Menander: Parsons, Hesperia Supp. 8(1949),268-9; T. Varius Caelianus: Oliver, art.cit. 160, 177), should be assigned to a combined Platonic and Aristotelian διαδοχή which he supposes to have existed at Athens during the second, third, and fourth centuries. But (1) it cannot just be assumed that the word διάδοχος, used without qualification,'by itself suggests the head of the School which went back to Plato' (ibid. 171), since, if that were the case, Porphyry would not have made a point of describing Eubulus as a Πλατωνικός διάδοχος (V.Plot. 15.18-9); and (2) there is no evidence at all for διάδοχοι at Athens in the fourth century.

5. Porphyry ap. Eusebius, P.E. X.3.1; and V.Plot. 15.1.

But it would be idle to pretend that imperial attempts to revive the flagging fortunes of Athenian philosophy made any very great difference. This is not to say that there was a lack of distinguished philosophers in the city during the second century. Several important Middle Platonists, such as Nicostratus, Calvenus Taurus, and Atticus, taught in Athens[1], and it has recently been suggested that Atticus was the first occupant of Marcus's new chair of Platonic philosophy[2]. We know that both Atticus and Severus, who may also have functioned in Athens[3], were read in Plotinus's circle[4]. Yet there is absolutely no evidence that the Athenian Middle Platonists established anything like a School, or even succeeded in achieving a dogmatic unity[5]; while our knowledge of the occupants of Marcus's chairs is so sketchy that one can only assume the political upheavals of the time eventually led to a suspension of imperial patronage in that direction.

Nor is there any reason to suppose that the situation elsewhere in the empire was much different. Dio Cassius remarked that, as a result of Marcus Aurelius's passion for learning, 'great numbers pretended to pursue philosophy, hoping that they might be enriched by the emperor'[6]. The literature of the period is full of complaints about money-minded philosophers, from pagans and Christians alike[7]. Antoninus Pius himself saw fit to address the follow-

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1. Dillon, Middle Platonists 231-65.
2. Ibid. 248.
3. Ibid. 262.
4. Above,10.
5. Dillon, op.cit. 265.
6. Dio Cassius LXXI.35.2; cf. Herodian I.2.4.
7. Apollonius of Tyana, ep. 42 (rightly judged a forgery by Meyer, Hermes 52(1917),411 = Kleine Schriften II,176-7); Tatian, Ad Graecos 19; Justin, Dial. cum Tryph. 2; Lucian, Eun. 3;Herm. 9-10; Nig. 25; Pro merc. cond.,passim; Athenaeus, Deip. 11.509a; Philostratus, V.Apol. 2.29. Apollonius and Athenaeus specifically attack the Academics, Justin and Lucian (Eun.) the Peripatetics,

ing caustic warning to the philosophers in an edict concerned with exemptions from taxes and public duties:

> 'I feel sure that those who are wealthy will voluntarily provide financial assistance for their cities: if they quibble about the size of their estates, they will thus make it quite clear that they are not truly philosophers.'[1]

Nor was avarice their only failing: ignorance, vanity, hypocrisy, fraudulence, laziness and greed were familiar items in the catalogue of philosophical vices[2]. We should not of course take too seriously the barbs either of pagan satirists or of Christian polemicists; but still there seem to have been many in the second century who presumed too far on the name of philosopher; and in a period when the well-springs of inspiration had for the most part run dry, and any novelty was more attractive than the repetition of the old, well-worn clichés, the adulation accorded to charlatans like Lucian's Alexander of Abonoteichus was only natural.

The fragment of Longinus's De fine preserved by Porphyry in his Vita Plotini 20 further confirms the inglorious condition of Greek philosophy in the late second and early third centuries. In this passage Longinus mentions twenty philosophers who flourished during the first half of the third century. Hardly any of them are otherwise known to us, and Longinus himself expresses the opinion that, of those who wrote anything more than mere occasional works, rather than confining themselves to teaching, only Plotinus and Amelius are worth reading. Even Amelius is criticized for diffuseness, and the rest are dismissed as derivative transcribers or tri-

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Lucian (Herm. loc.cit., and cf. 11-2) a Stoic, Tatian a Cynic, inter alia (cf. Eusebius, H.E. IV.16.1).

1. Dig. XXVII.1.6.7. Cf. Lucian, Pro merc. cond. 19: ἄλλως τε καί πρέπον ἂν εἴη τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ὑμῖν κρείττοσιν εἶναι χρημάτων.
2. Lucian, Alex. and Pereg. passim; Herm. 86; Menip. 4-5; Nig. 24-5; Apuleius, Flor. 7; Athenaeus, Deip. 4.161d; Alciphron, ep. 3.19.

vializers. Porphyry himself records that when one of them, Eubulus, sent Plotinus some of his writings to read, the great man could not be bothered to look at them himself, but gave them to Porphyry to comment on[1]. Plotinus had already had plenty of experience of second-rate philosophers: when he had first begun to study philosophy, at the age of twenty-eight (232), 'he had been recommended to the teachers in Alexandria who had the best reputation, but was coming away from their lectures dejected and full of sadness'[2].

The dominant eclecticism of the period must undoubtedly bear much of the blame for the depressing condition of Greek philosophy at the beginning of late antiquity. Eclecticism both encouraged the fatal and enervating assumption that οἱ παλαιοί had already said everything that was worth saying, and at the same time deprived the traditional Schools of their impulse towards self-perpetuation, even in the vaguest non-institutional sense, by blurring the differences of teaching that had constituted their original raison d'être. The anti-Aristotelian writings of Platonists like Atticus and Nicostratus savour far more of the class-room than would have been the case had there been opponents of any philosophical importance to convince[3]; and even the advice given to Galen by his father, that he should not join any School too hastily, but take his time in weighing their merits[4], inevitably produced an eclectic rather than

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 15.18-21.
2. Ibid. 3.6-9. On Plotinus's chronology, cf. above,7,n.7.
3. Hierocles ap. Photius, Bibl. 251.461a; Atticus, fr. 2; Simplicius, In Cat. 1.19-22 (on Nicostratus). Cf. Lucian, Eun. 2 (on philosophers who περί τῶν λόγων διεφέροντο τά συνήθη ταῦτα, ἑτερόδοξα τυγχάνοντες); Athenaeus, Deip. 5.220a (πεφύκασι δ'οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν φιλοσόφων τῶν κωμικῶν κακήγοροι μᾶλλον εἶναι), 11. 504b-509e (strictures of the possibly imaginary philosopher Pontianus on Plato). Dillon, Middle Platonists 249-50, sees Atticus's treatise as a personal attack on a contemporary Peripatetic, Aristocles.
4. Galen, De an. morb. I.8.42. The Christian Origen offered his pupils similar advice: Gregory Thaumaturgus, In Orig. 13-4.

a confirmed adherent of any one dogma[1]. Of the traditional Schools, the only one that retained any real vitality and sense of dogmatic identity was Platonism, that had given birth to the Academy, and with it the whole tradition of the classical Schools, and was now to emerge once more as the most dynamic force in Greek philosophy. Yet not all late antique philosophical life was necessarily Platonist. To a very limited extent, some of the other classical Schools, although institutionally defunct, continued to attract adherents into the third and even fourth centuries, and it is desirable to take a brief look at these before turning, in the next chapter, to the development of the Platonist tradition.

In the shape of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Aristotelianism produced one major representative at the very beginning of the period with which this study is concerned - he flourished about A.D. 200. His writings and opinions were often quoted by the Neoplatonists, but it is not known where he taught, and K.G. Zumpt's attempt to connect him with Athens has no justification[2]. In fact, during the whole of the period now under consideration we know for sure of only one Athenian Peripatetic, the Prosenes mentioned by Porphyry in his account of the banquet given in honour of Plato's birthday by Longinus[3]. Apart from him, it is possible that the

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1. Cf. the titles of Galen's philosophical writings, mostly now lost: Mewaldt, R.E. 7.588-9; and Galen's sceptical remark, De ord. lib. 1, that many join a School 'when they lack any other starting-point in life'.

2. K.G. Zumpt, 'Über den Bestand der philosophischen Schulen in Athen u. die Succession der Scholarchen', Philolog. u. hist. Abh. der König. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berl. 1842 (1844),98. The supposed evidence for Zumpt's hypothesis is Alexander of Aphrodisias, De fato 1,p.164.3-6,13-5; In Metaph. Δ18,p.415.29-33. Zumpt was followed unquestioningly by virtually all subsequent authorities; but cf. Lynch, Aristotle's School 214.

3. Porphyry ap. Eusebius, P.E. X.3.1. O. Schissel, 'Die Familie des Minukianos. Ein Beitrag zur Personenkunde des neuplatonischen Athen', Klio 21(1927),368, argues that the banquet took place before 250.

Peripatetic Ammonius referred to by Longinus as being of unsurpassed learning may also have come from Athens, since as it happens Philostratus also mentions a Peripatetic called Ammonius as being more erudite than anyone else in his generation, and the context suggests that he was an Athenian[1]. In the same passage Longinus refers to another Peripatetic, Ptolemaeus, whom he describes as φιλολογώτατος, and who may be identical with the Peripatetic philosopher of the same name whose views on grammar are quoted by Sextus Empiricus[2]. Apart from Longinus's conjunction of his name with that of Ammonius, there is no reason to suppose that he taught in Athens. The impression we have of an almost total absence of Peripatetics from the Athenian philosophical scene in late antiquity is confirmed by the fourth century sophist Himerius, who draws in one of his orations a poignant contrast between the Lyceum in his own day and the time when it had been full of philosophers[3].

If Athens failed to provide fertile soil for the survival of independent Aristotelianism in late antiquity, Alexandria seems to have done rather better. Admittedly the third century opened inauspiciously, with a bitter attack on the Aristotelians of Alexandria by Caracalla, who abolished their common messes (συσσίτια),'and all the other privileges they enjoyed', and tried also, apparently unsuccessfully, to burn all their books[4]. They seem nonetheless to have recovered from this bout of unpopularity, since Longinus mentions an Alexandrian Peripatetic called Heliodorus as having flou-

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1. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.49-52; Philostratus, V.soph. 618; Zumpt, art.cit. 98-9.
2. Sextus Empiricus, Adv.math. 1.60-61; cf. A. Dihle, 'Der Platoniker Ptolemaios', Hermes 85(1957),314-5.
3. Himerius, or. 68.2. Synesius, ep. 136, says the same (and cf. ep. 54). Libanius, or. 14.38, refers to a reading of his rhetorical compositions in the Lyceum; cf. ep. 715.3.
4. Dio Cassius LXXVIII.7.3; cf. Philostratus, V.soph. 623.

rished c.230-40, and comments that he contributed nothing to philosophy other than 'what his elders had said in their lectures'[1]. If this is more than a conventional phrase, it shows that Longinus thought there was something of a Peripatetic teaching-tradition in Alexandria, and this possibility is further strengthened by Eusebius of Caesarea's remark that Anatolius of Alexandria (fl. c.275), a Christian and subsequently bishop of Laodicea, 'was deemed worthy to establish the school of the Aristotelian tradition at Alexandria' (τῆς ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀριστοτέλους διαδοχῆς τήν διατριβήν)[2]. Further evidence for the existence of some sort of Peripatetic school in Alexandria is to be found in the accounts by Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen of the life of the Arian Aetius, teacher of Eunomius. According to these hostile writers Aetius, having received some scanty education (μικρά παιδευθείς) in Alexandria at the hands of οἱ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους μαθημάτων διδάσκαλοι, became a deacon at Antioch, and gave sermons in which he made such use of Aristotle's Categories as to reveal his entire incompetence to deal with such matters[3]. If in addition to these points we take into account the interest in Aristotle shown by the Alexandrian Neoplatonists, such as Plotinus's teacher Ammonius[4], and his spiritual heirs in the fifth and sixth centuries, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that late antique Alexandria must have been a major centre of Aristotelianism, whether for its own sake or in association with Platonism.

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1. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.35-6,65-8.
2. Eusebius, H.E. VII.32.6. On the possibility that Anatolius studied in Athens, cf. below,302. Cf. also the remarks of S. Gersh, 'P.W. van der Horst and J. Mansfeld, An Alexandrian Platonist against dualism...' (review), Jour.Theol.St. 27(1976),212, on the Aristotelian elements in the writings of Alexander of Lycopolis.
3. Socrates, H.E. II.35; Sozomen, H.E. III.15.8. Gregory of Nyssa confirms Aetius's Aristotelian learning: C.Eun. 1.46,55.
4. Cf. above,8.

According to Augustine there were still some Peripatetici around even in the late fourth century, and possibly when he wrote this he had in mind Themistius, who, like his father Eugenius, taught in Constantinople[1]. Both Themistius and Eugenius were eclectics, but with a strong predilection for and sense of personal attachment to Aristotle[2]. According to Themistius, his father drew greatest inspiration from Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno, but felt nothing but contempt for Epicurus[3]. For his own part Themistius professed a general respect for τούς ἀρχαίους (again with the exception of Epicurus)[4], and wrote commentaries on Plato as well as Aristotle[5]. Both regarded the teaching of Plato and Aristotle as essentially a unity[6]. Yet, for all his interest in Plato, Themistius was no Neoplatonist: he distinguished between a θειοτέρα and a τοῖς κοινοῖς ὠφελιμωτέρα philosophy, and preferred the latter, taking as his preceptors the Seven Sages, Socrates, and Aristotle[7].

He was undoubtedly the most famous Aristotelian philosopher produced

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1. Augustine, C.Acad. III.19.42. This work was written in 386, some three years before Themistius died (M. Schanz, C. Hosius, and G. Krüger, Geschichte der römischen Literatur IV(2) (Munich,1920), 410-12; P.L.R.E. Themistius 1). On Eugenius, cf. P.L.R.E. Eugenius 2. Themistius's grandfather was also a philosopher who taught in Byzantium (Themistius, orr. 5.63d;11.145b), but of his views we know nothing.

2. Themistius, or. 20.234cd,235c (Eugenius); 2.26d,32.358d, and Julian, Ep. ad Them. 260d (Themistius).

3. Themistius, or. 20.234d-235c,236a. Pace P.L.R.E. loc.cit., there is no firm evidence that Eugenius wrote commentaries on Aristotle; in particular, Themistius, or. 23.294d, refers to paraphrases of Aristotle by Themistius, not Eugenius.

4. Themistius, orr. 23.298b.31.352b (cf. or.20.236ab; Dem Const. 20a). On Epicurus: orr. 26.324a,34.30; De virt. 12-6 (and cf.Jul., Ep.ad Them. 255b).

5. Listed by G. Dagron, 'L'Empire romain d'Orient au IVe siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme. Le témoignage de Thémistios', Trav.Mém.Byz. 3(1968),14-6.

6. Themistius, orr. 20.235d-236a (Eugenius); 34.4-5 (Themistius).

7. Id., orr. 8.104ab,31.352bc,34.3; cf. Julian, Ep. ad Them. 263c; Ammonius, In Anal. pr. 31.15-22; and below,120.

by late antiquity - his commentaries were widely circulated,one of them even being translated into Latin, and it is no doubt significant that of the four third and fourth century philosophers included by Stobaeus in his Anthologium, the only non-Platonist is Themistius[1]. But he made no original contribution of his own, as he himself was the first to admit[2], and the numerous commentaries on Aristotle that were produced in this period were all written by men who, like Porphyry or Iamblichus or Iamblichus's pupil Dexippus, thought of themselves as Platonists. Few now found that Aristotle's teaching could on its own satisfy their thirst for wisdom - but this may well explain why Platonists no longer, as they had in the second century, polemicized against Aristotle as if he were a threat to their own philosophical position. Now their whole desire was to reconcile him with Plato, following the example of Ammonius[3], for it was in nobody's interest to neglect so central a figure in the classical tradition.

Like Aristotelianism, Stoicism too made an important contribution to the foundations on which the Neoplatonists built, but although it retained some sort of corporate identity in Athens into the second century, it produced no distinguished representative after Marcus Aurelius. The names of a few late antique Stoics have though come down to us. In the fragment of his De fine preserved in the Vita Plotini Longinus mentions no less than eight. Of these, Annius and Medius are implied to have flourished a little before the time of writing, which was probably about 265[4], and judging by their names must have been of Roman origin. That Longinus

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1. Cf. below, 262-3.
2. Themistius, or. 23.294d-295a.
3. Above, 8; and cf. 44, esp. n.5 (Julian), and Augustine, C.Acad. III.19.42.
4. Cf. Theiler, Forschungen 38.

knew Medius is apparent from a reference in a fragment by Porphyry to a disputation they held on the parts of the soul[1]. Themistocles and Phoebion are implied to have flourished somewhat earlier, probably c.230-40[2]. These four are all credited with having committed their teachings to writing, and are distinguished from the other four Stoics in the list, namely Herminus, Lysimachus[3], Athenaeus, and Musonius, who preferred to concentrate on teaching. The last two are said to have lived ἐν ἄστει, which must mean Athens: it is very likely that Longinus was still teaching there when he wrote the De fine[4]. The name of another Athenian Stoic, Callietes, is vouchsafed us by Porphyry in his list of those present at Longinus's banquet in honour of Plato - the presence there of the Peripatetic Prosenes has already been noted[5].

In addition to these literary testimonies, we have a dedicatory inscription from Rome put up in 241 by Marcus Antonius Alcman, a Stoic philosopher[6], and a funerary inscription from Athens dateable only approximately to the second or third century, and commemorating the Stoic Theoxenus, son of Achilles of Patrae[7]. An inscription from the temple of Apollo at Didyma, referring to a Stoic called Aelius Aelianus, may also date from the third century[8]. Clearly then Stoicism did not quite die with Marcus Aurelius; but its third century representatives do not seem to have been of much distinction. The compositions of Annius and Medius are said by Longinus to have been entirely derivative, and Phoebion is dismissed

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1. Porphyry ap. Proclus, In Remp. I.233-4.
2. George Syncellus, Chron. 361b.
3. Presumably identical with Amelius's teacher: Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.42-3, and cf. E. Fischer, R.E. Supp. 15.127-9.
4. Cf. Aulitzky, R.E. 13.1402-3. Athenaeus, Deip. 5.186a, has a Greek use the expression ἐν ἄστει, clearly referring to Athens, at a dinner party in Rome.
5. Porphyry ap. Eusebius, P.E. X.3.1; cf. above,62,esp. n.3.
6. C.I.G. 6698.
7. I.G. 2-3^2.10046a.
8. Rehm, Didyma II, no.310.

as having been 'more distinguished for elegance of style than coherence of thought'[1]. According to Origen, Epictetus was still read by ordinary people in the third century, 'because they perceive the improvement which his words effect in their lives'[2]; while Julian took for granted that the true philosopher would read Chrysippus and Zeno[3]. The contribution made by Stoic doctrines to the development of Neoplatonic and Christian thought alike was considerable - but it was on the great names of the past that Stoicism's reputation now chiefly rested.

The Epicureans too maintained their Athenian διαδοχή into the second century, but their fate thereafter is even obscurer than that of the Stoics. Epicurus's teachings were shunned as irreligious not only by Christians, but by most pagan philosophers too; and according to Julian his books had almost entirely disappeared by the mid-fourth century[4]. Whereas Lucian, the Peripatetic Aristocles, Numenius, and Diogenes Laertius all speak of Epicureanism as in a flourishing condition[5], the last Epicurean about whom we know anything at all as an individual is Diogenes of Oenoanda, who is thought to have flourished about 200[6]. Though Christian writers in parti-

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1. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.60-65.

2. Origen, C.Cels. 6.2. On Epictetus's popularity among the fifth century Alexandrian Neoplatonists, cf. Damascius, V.Isid. 58 (Epit.Phot.), and Hadot, Néoplatonisme alexandrin 160-64. His Encheiridion was paraphrased for Christian use as late as the sixth century: cf. J. Stelzenberger, Die Beziehungen der frühchristlichen Sittenlehre zur Ethik der Stoa (Munich,1933),478-88.

3. Julian, ep. 89b.300d.

4. Ibid. 301c, confirmed (also with regard to the Stoics), by Augustine, ep. 118.12,21 (c.A.D. 410/11). But cf. Himerius, or.48.24.

5. Lucian, Alex. 25; Aristocles ap. Eusebius, P.E. XIV.21.1; Numenius, fr. 24.22-36. Diogenes Laertius 10.9 claims that the Epicurean διαδοχή continues, πασῶν σχεδόν ἐκλιπουσῶν τῶν ἄλλων; even H. Diels, who suggested, 'Zwei Funde', Arch. für Gesch. der Phil. 4(1891),490-91, that this passage was extracted by Diogenes from an earlier source, would not push it back further than Hadrian's decree of 121 concerning the Epicurean διάδοχοι at Athens (I.G. 2-3^2.1099).

6. Cf. below, 269, n.1.

cular continued to attack Epicurus's teachings, and to attribute to his malign influence the slightest deviation in others from their own point of view[1], we have not even one certain reference to an Epicurean philosopher from the third or fourth centuries[2].

As for the Sceptics, the importance of Sextus Empiricus (fl. c. 200) derives more from our ignorance of his predecessors than from any originality of his own, and apart from his pupil Saturninus[3] we hear of no other Sceptic philosophers after him. Scepticism itself was not, it is true, entirely forgotten: Sextus is quoted extensively by Hippolytus, and Academic Scepticism, with which he had become acquainted in his reading of Cicero, did much to undermine Augustine's youthful Manichaeism[4]. Yet Julian refers to the greater part

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1. R.Jungkuntz, 'Fathers, heretics, and Epicureans', Jour.Ecc.Hist. 17(1966), 3-10.

2. A. Zingerle, 'Studien zu Hilarius' von Poitiers Psalmencommentar', Sb. der Phil.-Hist. Cl. der Kais. Akad. der Wiss., Wien 108 (1885),968-9; H. Usener, Epicurea (Leipzig,1887),lxxiv-lxxv; A. D. Nock, Sallustius, Concerning the gods and the universe (Cambridge,1926),lxix-lxx; H. Steckel, R.E. Supp. 11.647; and C.W. Chilton, Diogenes of Oenoanda: the fragments (London,1971),xxvi-xxvii, all quote the anti-Epicurean polemics of Christian writers as evidence that Epicureanism continued to flourish in the third and fourth centuries, but the criticism of Epicureanism does not necessarily imply the existence of Epicureans. Cf. however above,58, and the inscription from Rome, probably from the second half of the second or the first half of the third century, dedicated to an Epicurean philosopher called P. Octavius Secundus: E. Ghislanzoni, 'Roma: nuove scoperte nella città e nel suburbio', Not. degli Scavi di Ant.,R. Acc. dei Linc. (1909),303. B. Haussouiller, L'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion (Paris, 1902),xxx, suggested that the προφήτης Φιλίδας Ἡρακλέωνος φιλόσοφος ἐπικούρειος referred to in an inscription from Didyma (Rehm, Didyma II, no.285), was identical with the φιλόσοφος ὁμοῦ καὶ προφήτης from Miletus whose impostures Eusebius, P.E. IV.2. 11, describes as having been recently exposed. Rehm justifiably doubts this identification, for which the evidence is extremely superficial. The inscriptions on the tombs of M. Eustorgius Heraclamon Leonides and his wife Concordia Exuperantia at Hadrumetum describe the latter as 'unica filosofa', and include a number of Epicurean precepts - but the couple were apparently Christians: L. Foucher, 'Le tombeau d'un épicurien d'Hadrumète: Eustorgius', Bull. Arch. du Com. des Trav. Hist. et Sci.(1955-6),40-6.

3. Diogenes Laertius 9.116; cf. A. Goedeckemeyer, Die Geschichte des Griechischen Skeptizismus (Leipzig,1905),330-31.

4. Augustine, Conf. III.4.7;V.10.19,14.25.

of Sextus's writings as lost, and even if this may not have been literally true, clearly they were hard to find[1]. Scepticism was not, after all, very much in tune with an age in which on the whole men preferred to believe everything rather than nothing - though in those 'techniciens de la philosophie'[2] such as Trypho, described by Porphyry as Στωικός τε καί Πλατωνικός[3], or Macrobius's Eustathius, who represented in his own person the Academy, the Stoa, and the Peripatos[4], one might be forgiven for wondering whether Scepticism had not simply returned in another guise.

This decadent eclecticism, which represents a late stage in the ancient world's disenchantment with rationalism, was bound to lead eventually, either to a philosophy which required an act of religious faith, as Neoplatonism did, or conversely to a philosophy which started from the basic data of human existence, as Cynicism did. This is why the Cynics continued to attract adherents in late antiquity. Augustine might complain that 'the only reason we have the Cynics is that such people find their pleasure in a certain "freedom" and even licence in life'[5], but the whole point of Cynic teaching was that it is the conduct of the individual rather than the details of philosophical belief which really matters[6]. We know for certain of no Cynic philosopher between Commodus and Constantius[7], but a number are attested during the second half of the

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1. Julian, ep. 89b.301c; cf. Himerius, or. 48.24.
2. J. Flamant, Macrobe et le Néo-platonisme latin, à la fin du IVe siècle (Leiden,1977),67.
3. Porphyry, V.Plot. 17.3.
4. Macrobius, Sat. I.5.13-5.
5. Augustine, C.Acad. III.19.42; cf. Julian, orr. 7.210bc,9.197d-198a.
6. Cf. Julian, or. 9.187d (αὕτη...ἡ φιλοφοφία κοινή πως ἔοικεν εἶναι καί φυσικωτάτη καί δεῖσθαι οὐθ' ἠστινοσοῦν πραγματείας),189a.
7. For Cynics under Commodus, cf. Herodian I.9.3-5, Acta S. Apol. Rom. 33; and for an ambiguous case under Septimius Severus, cf. Dio Cassius LXXVII.19.1-2. It is unclear to what date we are

fourth century, many of them in the writings of Julian. Julian's fascination with the Cynics was founded on the deepest repugnance[1]. His oration To the Cynic Heracleius, one of two works he wrote against the Cynics of his own day, was provoked by a blasphemous lecture he had heard delivered in Constantinople by one Heracleius[2], a wandering Cynic with a penchant for attempting to ingratiate himself in high places - first with Constantius, then Julian, then the usurper Procopius[3]. Julian naturally suffered more than most emperors from the attentions of individuals of this type - as he himself pointed out to Heracleius, rather than going to visit Constantius in Italy it would have been cleverer to carry on to Gaul, where he would at least have found a ruler who could understand what he was talking about[4]. Other Cynics flocked to Julian as soon as he became emperor: he names some of them, in the same speech, as Asclepiades, Serenianus, Chytron, and another, 'a tall boy with fair hair'[5]. None of these are otherwise known: although it has often been assumed that the Cynic Asclepiades was identical with the philosopher of the same name who, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, accidentally set fire to the temple of Apollo at Daphne while lighting a candle before the statue, such devout behaviour is not what one would naturally expect from a Cynic[6], and in the absence of more persuasive reasons for the identification, it had better be abandon-

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to assign the Cynic Carneades, mentioned by Eunapius II.1.5 together with a number of other first and second century philosophers. If Lucian's Cynicus (a defence of Cynicism) is not genuine, it is presumably to be dated to the third or fourth century: cf. W. von Christ, W. Schmid, and O. Stählin, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur (Munich,1924[6]),730.

1. Cf. Eunapius, loc.cit.: εἴ τινα καί κυνισμοῦ χρή λόγον ποιεῖσθαι.
2. Julian, or. 7.204a-205a: Libanius, orr. 17.16;18.157; Eunapius, Hist. fr. 18.3.
3. Julian, or. 7.223d,224d; Eunapius, Hist. fr. 31.
4. Julian, or.7.223d.
5. Ibid. 224cd.
6. Id., or. 9.199b.

ed[1]. Apart from the five already mentioned, two more Cynics are known to have been associated with Julian; one was his fellow-student Iphicles[2], and the other, his name unknown, is mentioned by the later Neoplatonist writer David as having been worsted by Julian in an exchange of epigrams, and may be identical with any of those already mentioned[3].

Lest it be suspected that fourth century Cynicism was simply a figment of Julian's imagination, it is worth adding that the Cynic Cleomenes of Constantinople appears in three letters written by Libanius in 355[4], while in Macrobius's Saturnalia we encounter a remarkable Cynic by the name of Horus, a former boxer from Egypt and victor at the Antiochene Olympics in 364, who is known also from the correspondence of Libanius and Symmachus[5]. Undoubtedly the most interesting representative of the sect during this period, though, was Maximus, or Hero, an Alexandrian Christian who fought vigorously for the orthodox cause in both Alexandria and Constantinople, and in 380 was made bishop of Constantinople by an Egyptian-backed faction, though only to be rejected by the emperor and by the Council

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1. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.13.3. Both P.L.R.E.Asclepiades 4, and O. Seeck, R.E. 2.1625, state that these two Asclepiades are identical with their philosophical namesake referred to by Symmachus, ep. 5.31 (c.390). Other than the coincidence of what was anyway a very common name, there is little to recommend the idea. Pace P.L.R.E., loc.cit., Julian's speech cannot refer to Asclepiades's visit to the emperor at Antioch since it was composed in March 362 (G. Rochefort, L'empereur Julien: oeuvres complètes II(1), (Paris,1963),42), before the emperor left Constantinople for Antioch. Since Ammianus's Asclepiades is explicitly stated to have visited Julian at Antioch, the identification of the two philosophers would mean that this was a separate and distinct visit to the emperor, ignoring the rebuff administered in Constantinople.
2. Julian, or. 9.198a. There is no convincing evidence either for or against his identity with the Iphicles mentioned by Libanius, ep. 508, and Ammianus Marcellinus XXX.5.8-10.
3. David, Prol.phil. 11,pp.32.30-33.5.
4. Libanius, epp. 399,432,446.
5. Macrobius, Sat. I.7.3;VII.7.8; Libanius, epp. 1278-9; Symmachus, ep. II.39.

of Constantinople in 381[1]. No other Cynics are formally attested during the fourth century, though there is some evidence that there was a growing number of wandering, charlatan philosophers, who might quite easily have been mistaken for Cynics. Of these, something will be said in a later chapter[2].

With the Cynics we conclude our survey of non-Platonist philosophy in late antiquity. The evidence here assembled confirms exactly Augustine's observation in his Contra Academicos (386) that 'these days we hardly see philosophers, unless they be Cynics or Peripatetics or Platonists'[3], and of these three groups those who called themselves Platonists were undoubtedly the vast majority. A useful index of the process by which the non-Platonist dogmas became extinct, or merely constituent parts of the Neoplatonic syn-

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1. References collected by M.-M. Hauser-Meury, Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz (Bonn,1960),119-21,185. An analogy was often drawn between Cynicism and Christianity: cf. Lucian, Pereg. 15-6; Origen, C.Cels. 3.50; Julian, or. 7.224ac; also, on a passage in Aelius Aristides which has been variously argued to refer either to the Cynics or the Christians, Boulanger, Aelius Aristide et la sophistique 249-65; Labriolle, Réaction païenne 79-87. J.R. Asmus, 'Gregor von Nazianz und sein Verhältnis zum Kynismus: ein patristisch-philosophische Studie', Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 67(1894),314-39, places Gregory's admiration for the Cynic ideal in its contemporary context.

2. Cf. below,228.

3. Augustine, C.Acad. III.19.42; cf. De civ.Dei 10.1 ('Platonici omnium philosophorum merito nobilissimi'), 14.20 ('nunc videmus adhuc esse philosophos Cynicos'); and Julian, or. 9.197d-198b. The distribution of philosophical texts among the third and fourth century papyri found in Egypt confirms the argument advanced in the preceding pages: cf. R.A. Pack, The Greek and Latin literary texts from Greco-Roman Egypt (Ann Arbor,1965^2), esp. nos. 1400-01,1403,1406,1408,1411-3,1415,1418-20,1422-5,1427,1429 (Plato);1432(Ps.-Plutarch);159,164(Aristotle);1500-01(Theophrastus);247(?Chrysippus);1325(Musonius);536(Hierocles Stoicus). Curiously enough, of the many philosophers who visited the Valley of the Kings in Egypt during the Roman period, all those who seized the opportunity for self-immortalization by scratching or writing their name on the tomb-paintings were either Cynics, Peripatetics, or Platonists: J. Baillet, Inscriptions grecques et latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes (Cairo,1926),LVI-LX.

thesis, is the disappearance of polemical works directed against them. Such philosophical polemic as there was in the third and fourth centuries, apart from purely academic exercises, and quarrels within the Platonist tradition itself, tended to be directed against groups on the margins of traditional philosophy. Plotinus's Gnostics were 'sectarians (αἱρετικοί)...who had abandoned the old philosophy'[1]; Alexander of Lycopolis wrote against the Manichaeans; and the only polemical works by Porphyry were directed against the Christians and the Gnostic revelation of Zoroaster[2]; while the Cynics against whom Julian wrote were in his eyes hardly philosophers at all, but ἀπαίδευτοι who discredited the very name they claimed[3]. Occasionally a fourth century writer will refer to the traditional Schools as if they were still a live option, but such passages were intended merely exempli gratia, to display the classical erudition that was so much prized in late antiquity[4]. In the Schools' beginning was implicit also their end - the triumph of the late antique synthesis that looked to Plato as the divinely-inspired source of all truth.

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 16.1-2.
2. Ibid. 16.4-5. Porphyry's early essay against Plotinus, ὅτι ἔξω τοῦ νοῦ ὑφέστηκε τὸ νόημα (ibid. 18.11), and his refutation of the rhetorician Diophanes (ibid. 15.11ff.), are hardly relevant to the type of polemic discussed here.
3. Julian, Εἰς τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους κύνας. Cf. Aristotle, Metaph. 1043b24.
4. Cf. Eusebius, P.E. I.5.6; Themistius, De virt. 12-8,28.

CHAPTER III

THE SPREAD OF NEOPLATONISM I: APAMEA AND ASIA MINOR

If by the third century the classical Schools had as institutions been virtually extinguished, and as dogmas merged for the most part into an eclectic Platonism, then it follows that the character of late antique philosophical life, and its articulation on the practical plane, must have been very different from what classical philosophers had been familiar with. The purpose of the next three chapters is to convey something of the shape of the Platonic tradition in the third and fourth centuries, not as a body of abstract doctrine, but as a way of life led by men who called themselves philosophers.

One begins of course by asking what was the opinion of the Platonists themselves. Unfortunately, although late antiquity has bequeathed us numerous lives of Christian saints and compendia of ecclesiastical heresies, their pagan counterparts, the collections of opinions and biographies of philosophers that were still being produced in the period with which we are here concerned, have mostly disappeared. The quality of what has survived, chiefly Eunapius's Vitae sophistarum, has not encouraged scholars to devote energy to its elucidation; while the occasional comments let slip by Christian writers are usually suggestive more of the school-room than of personal acquaintance with the intellectual life of contemporary paganism. The little that we do know of the philosophical historiography of the third and fourth centuries anyway suggests - though whether purely by the accident of its survival we cannot know - that it was chiefly concerned with the classical Greek tradition rather than with the transformations that that tradition under-

went in the Roman empire[1]. Eunapius states emphatically that the written sources for the external history of third and fourth century Neoplatonism were ὀλίγοι τε ἢ παντελῶς ἐλάχιστοι[2]. Yet a careful reading of what survives - and apart from Eunapius this usually means just isolated comments made en passant while dealing with weightier matters - reveals on the one hand a full awareness of the demise of the classical αἵρεσις, and on the other hand a significant

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1. According to Eunapius II.1.1, Porphyry's Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία (of which the Vita Pythagorae was a part: cf. A. Nauck, Porphyrii philosophi Platonici opuscula selecta (Leipzig,1886²),7) ended with Plato. Iamblichus's main contribution to philosophical historiography was a biography of Pythagoras. Flavius Mallius Theodorus wrote books on the Greek philosophers which, judging from Claudian, De con. Man. Theod. 61-115,335, appear to have advanced no further than Cleanthes and Chrysippus; and probably the same was true of Theodorus's contemporary Virius Nicomachus Flavianus's De vestigiis sive de dogmate philosophorum(John of Salisbury, Pol. 2.26;8.11,12; cf. M. Schanz, Geschichte der römischen Literatur IV(1) (Munich,1914²),92), though Flavianus also transcribed, or possibly even translated, Philostratus's V.Apol. (Sidonius Apollinaris, ep. VIII.3.1; cf. A. Loyen, Sidoine Apollinaire: Lettres III (Paris,1970),196-7). If (as is argued by P. Courcelle, Les lettres grecques en occident, de Macrobe à Cassiodore (Paris,1948²),179-81, but doubted by A. Solignac in Oeuvres de Saint Augustin 14: Les Confessions, livres VIII-XIII (Paris,1962),535) Celsinus of Castabala, who according to Suda K1305 wrote a Σύναγωγή δογμάτων πάσης αἱρέσεως φιλοσόφου, is identical with the Celsinus referred to by Augustine, C.Acad. II.2.5, then his work must have included the Neoplatonists. (This assumption would render improbable Courcelle's theory, op.cit. 123-4;131,n.2, that Theodorus's chronologically much more limited treatise was a translation of Celsinus.) But in view of Eunapius I.1.6 (quoted below), Celsinus cannot have discussed the Neoplatonists at much length (if he had, then Eunapius, who is quite conscientious in acknowledging his predecessors (cf. his introduction; also III.1.4,V.3.5-6), would probably have mentioned him by name), and he is highly unlikely, pace Courcelle, op.cit. 179-81, to have been the main source for Augustine's knowledge of Neoplatonism, with whose doctrines the bishop of Hippo was anyway familiar at first hand: Conf. VII.9.13 etc. Nor, pace Courcelle 180-81, did Augustine follow Celsinus, or anyone else, in applying the concept of the αἵρεσις to Plotinus - at De civ. Dei 8.12 he pointedly refrains from calling the Neoplatonists an haeresis, though he has just applied the term to the Peripatos; and cf. ep. 118.33: 'Plotini schola'. Rather he emphasizes the unity of contemporary philosophy: cf. above, 73.

2. Eunapius I.1.6.

insistence on the rôle of the Platonic διαδοχή as the touchstone of true philosophy.

Julian, for example, clearly regarded Plotinus, Porphyry, and Iamblichus as representatives of a single Platonic διαδοχή[1], but he never addressed himself to the history of this succession as such. That job was left to Eunapius, who accordingly had to decide for himself on the most suitable approach. The Vitae sophistarum shows clearly, if inexplicitly, that in fact he well understood the changes that had come over the philosophical scene since the classical period. For him, the whole of Neoplatonism is in a sense one extended αἵρεσις, but this is left implicit, and in practice the successors of Plotinus are presented as a διαδοχή which extends in direct line by way of Porphyry, Iamblichus, and the Pergamene circle to Julian and Eunapius himself. Where Diogenes Laertius had in his prologue concentrated on the origins and early history of philosophy, and its subsequent division into Schools, with distinctive dogmas, and even locations, that gave them an identity transcending that of their individual members, Eunapius, in the introduction to his Vitae, says virtually nothing about Schools, and places all his emphasis on individuals. He quotes Xenophon as saying that 'we ought to record even the casual doings of distinguished men'[2], and throughout the book his concern is with personalities, and the example set by great men. Unlike Diogenes, Eunapius has little to say about the characteristic doctrines of the men he discusses; his object is rather to describe lives that are worthy of imitation.

Eunapius was, it is true, a pagan polemicist, bitterly hostile to Christianity. His contemporary Augustine, like many other Christian writers before him, was accustomed to contrast the dissensions

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1. Julian, or. 7.222b.
2. Eunapius I.1.2 (cf. VIII.2.3-4), referring to Symp. 1.1.

of the classical philosophical Schools with the harmony of the Scriptures[1]; but in fact both he and Eunapius were well aware that in the hour of its triumph Christianity had itself been infected by dogmatic sectionalism - the αἱρέσεις now were composed not of philosophers but of Christian theologians[2]. Here was a valuable debating point for pagan opponents of Christianity, and there are some signs that Eunapius did not pass it by. Perhaps at times he makes Neoplatonism seem more monolithic, and freer of controversy, than it really was: and when a Theodore of Asine or a Themistius proves impossible to fit into the framework of what Eunapius sees as Neoplatonic orthodoxy, then he is inclined just to be quietly forgotten. Yet there is no reason to suspect Eunapius of any large-scale falsification of the evidence - had this been his intention, then he need not, for example, have drawn attention to the differences between Eusebius of Myndus and Maximus of Ephesus[3].

Eunapius's essential reliability is further supported by the attempts of later pagan writers to organize their philosophical forebears of the third and fourth centuries into some sort of order. None of them talk about 'Schools'. Their interest is rather in the perpetuation of an eclectic but essentially Platonic philosophical tradition by notable teachers who had something of the divine about them - a διαδοχή in other words. Thus Hierocles of Alexandria, in his De providentia, represented Ammonius Saccas not just as the founder of the 'purified philosophy of Plato', but also as the

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1. Augustine, De civ. Dei 18.41; and cf. Justin, Dial. cum Tryph. 2; Clement of Alexandria, Strom. VI.5.1; and Lactantius, Div. Inst. III.15.2.
2. Alexander of Lycopolis, C.Man. 1,pp.3.19-4.2; Eusebius, V.Con. 2.71; Augustine, ep. 118.12,21. Some Christians were inclined to regard heresies as all the fault of the philosophers: e.g. Hippolytus, Ref. I,prol., and 26.4; Jerome, C.Lucif. 11.
3. Eunapius VII.2.3-12.

first in a succession of philosophers who perpetuated it, beginning with Plotinus and Origen, and continuing through Porphyry and Iamblichus and their successors, down to Plutarch of Athens and Hierocles himself, ὅσοι τῆς ἱερᾶς...γενεᾶς ἔτυχον φύντες[1]. The point of their teaching was that it subsumed all that had gone before, and abolished the tendency to see Plato as having said one thing, and Aristotle another. Philosophy was no longer fertilized by the polemic of the Schools, but by the example of men of outstanding holiness.

Similarly, Proclus begins his Theologia Platonica by recalling the restoration of the Platonic philosophy ὑπό...τινων ἱερέων ἀληθινῶν who were leading the life appropriate to such mysteries, and whom he then goes on to name as: (1) Plotinus; (2) Amelius and Porphyry; (3) Iamblichus and Theodore of Asine; and (4) Syrianus, not forgetting all those others who have been members of the 'divine choir' inspired by the philosophy of Plato[2]. Proclus's chief preoccupation here is naturally the Platonic philosophy itself, but it is important for our purposes to note that he regards its finest manifestation as being 'those perfect men who may be compared to statues' - τούς...ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντας ἡμῖν ἀποτελεσθέντας[3].

Again Isidore, Marinus's successor as Platonic διάδοχος at Athens, is said in the biography written by his pupil Damascius to have been so impressed by 'the greatness of the succession' (τῆς διαδοχῆς τό μέγεθος) that he felt himself unworthy to carry it on[4]. According to another passage in his biography, it seems that Isidore considered the principal modern successors of the θεῖοι Pythagoras

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1. Hierocles ap. Photius, Bibl. 214.173a. The idea of the purity of the succession was evidently thought important: cf. Marinus, V. Proc. 10 (ἵνα γάρ ἀνόθευτος ἔτι καί εἰλικρινής σώζηται ἡ Πλάτωνος διαδοχή...); also Augustine, C.Acad. III.18.41.
2. Proclus, Theol.Plat. 1.1,pp.6-7.
3. Cf. Damascius, V.Isid. 151 (Epit.Phot.).
4. Ibid. 150

and Plato to be Porphyry, Iamblichus, Syrianus, and Proclus[1]. It is worth recalling as well the often-quoted passage from the anonymous commentary In Phaedonem in which the Neoplatonists are divided into φιλόσοφοι (Plotinus and Porphyry) and ἱερατικοί (Iamblichus, Syrianus, and Proclus)[2]. Aware of a shift of emphasis towards the religious and the theurgical, the author finds it easiest to illustrate through the differing characters of individual philosophers. It is notable also that the sixth century author of the Prolegomena philosophiae Platonicae, surveying in a few lines the history of the Schools (which he begins with Orpheus!), brings them to an end with the New Academy; he argues the superiority of Plato to all of them, and seems to take for granted that the Neoplatonists, being heirs of Plato, participated in this superiority[3]. Apart from these explicit examples of the idea that the continuity of the Platonic tradition was best expressed in the persons of its individual exponents, it should be added that the Homeric image of the 'golden chain' (χρυσῆ σειρά) or 'chain of Hermes' (Ἑρμαϊκή σειρά) was also used for the same purpose by the later Neoplatonists[4]. Here again, though implicitly this time, the concept of the Platonist succession was linked with ideas of holiness and descent from the gods, for the χρυσῆ σειρά was more usually employed as a symbol

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1. Ibid. 36. Cf. fr. 77: Ἰσίδωρος...προσεῖχε δέ τόν νοῦν ἐς τά μάλιστα μετά Πλάτωνα τῷ Ἰαμβλίχῳ, καί τοῖς Ἰαμβλίχου φίλοις δή καί ὀπαδοῖς· ὧν ἄριστον εἶναι διϊσχυρίζετο τόν ἑαυτοῦ πολίτην Συριανόν.

2. [Olympiodorus], In Phaedonem p.123,3-6. The whole of the commentary was attributed to Olympiodorus by its editor, W. Norvin. L.G. Westerink, Damascius: Lectures on the Philebus wrongly attributed to Olympiodorus (Amsterdam,1959),XV-XX, argues the claim of Damascius to part of it.

3. Prol.phil.Plat. 7-12; on the date, cf. Westerink's edition,XLIX.

4. P. Lévêque, Aurea catena Homeri: une étude sur l'allégorie grecque (Paris,1959),7,34,41-3. Eunapius's use of the image (IV.1.11) is not, according to Lévêque,39-40, and pace Giangrande's note ad loc., to be taken in this sense. Proclus, In Tim.231c, referred to by Giangrande, loc.cit., is also otherwise interpreted by Lévêque,37-8.

of the affinity that exists between man and the divine[1].

If the late antique trend away from the αἱρέσεις is well-attested in the pagan writers, it is nonetheless surprising that even the Christian polemicists of the fourth and fifth centuries have nothing at all to say about dissensions in the Neoplatonic camp. In fact, the opposite is the case. Even when Augustine is most critical of the dissensions of the classical Schools, he has nothing to say about disagreements among the philosophers of his own day[2]. Sozomen goes so far as to describe Iamblichus's pupil Sopater as 'presiding over the διαδοχή of Plotinus'[3], while in Alexandria, according to Socrates Scholasticus, Hypatia succeeded to 'the Platonic school (διατριβή) derived from Plotinus'[4]. The unity of the Platonic tradition, flowing from Plotinus, appears here to be taken for granted.

This is not of course to say that a body of teachings as eclectic as third and fourth century Neoplatonism could possibly be entirely free from divisions, and Eunapius's tendency to sweep such divisions under the carpet has already been mentioned. Some of these differences, it is true, were not strictly philosophical, but arose from a discrepancy between the fundamental nature of philosophy and the pagan religious practices with which it had become so closely identified. The disagreements between Porphyry and Iamblichus dealt with in the latter's De mysteriis come under this heading, and so too does the apparent coolness between Eusebius of Myndus

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1. Ibid. 33-41.
2. Cf. above,76,n.1.
3. Sozomen, H.E. I.5.1.
4. Socrates, H.E. 7.15. Obviously Socrates is mistaken if he means that Plotinus taught in Alexandria: cf. rather E. Evrard, 'A quel titre Hypatie enseigna-t-elle la philosophie?', Rev.Et.Gr. 90(1977),74: 'Socrate affirme seulement qu'Hypatie adhérait à un platonisme dérivé de celui de Plotin'. But the link implied with Hypatia is nonetheless significant (though cf. J.M. Rist's reservations, 'Hypatia', Phoenix 19(1965),216).

and the more theurgically inclined of his colleagues in the Pergamene circle[1]. But there were serious philosophical differences as well. We know for example that Iamblichus differed from Porphyry about whether the κοσμός νοητός is created or not[2], as well as about the nature of theurgy; and Iamblichus also wrote a book against the teachings of Numenius and of Plotinus's pupil Amelius[3]. Indeed, Amelius had so great an admiration for Numenius that one scholar has recently called in question his loyalty to Plotinus[4]. Again, Iamblichus's pupil Dexippus, in his commentary on the Categories, differs frequently and explicitly from Plotinus's interpretation of Aristotle. Yet the fact remains that posterity, both pagan and Christian, saw these men as mutually compatible representatives of a single, albeit loosely-defined succession, a Broad Church founded on a tacitly accepted Platonic orthodoxy, that was yet flexible enough to do without any formal definition of heresy.

Modern scholars have unfortunately not usually appreciated this mixture of continuity and flexibility that characterized the Platonic succession in late antiquity, and unlike Eunapius have experienced great difficulty in breaking free from the stereotypes learnt in the study of classical philosophy. A good example of this approach is offered by K. Praechter's influential article 'Richtungen und Schulen im Neuplatonismus'[5], which proposed that the Neoplatonist philosophers of the third to the sixth centuries be classified into the following Schools[6]:

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1. Eunapius VII.2.
2. Proclus, In Tim. 94ab.
3. Ibid. 226b.
4. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.44-5, and cf. C. Elsas, Neuplatonische und gnostische Weltablehnung in der Schule Plotins (Berlin,1975), 17-9.
5. Genethliakon: Carl Robert 105-56 (also in Praechter, Kleine Schriften).
6. Ibid. 155; F. Ueberweg (ed. K. Praechter), Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie I (Basel,1953),591.

(1) Metaphysical - speculative 'Richtung':
    (a) School of Plotinus, Amelius, and Porphyry
    (b) Syrian School of Iamblichus, Theodore of Asine, and Dexippus
    (c) Athenian School of Plutarch, Syrianus, etc.

(2) Religious - theurgic 'Richtung':
    (a) Pergamene School of Aedesius, Chrysanthius, Eusebius, Maximus, Julian, and Eunapius

(3) Learnèd 'Richtung':
    (a) Alexandrian School of Hypatia, Synesius, Hierocles, etc.
    (b) Neoplatonists of the Latin West (Chalcidius, Marius Victorinus, Macrobius, Boethius, etc.)

This strictly classificatory approach seriously obscures the continuity of the Platonist διαδοχή as it is represented by the contemporary sources discussed above; and in the course of this chapter and the next it will be shown, by examining the development of the Platonist tradition in the third and fourth centuries, that such historical evidence as is available tends to support the analysis offered by the Neoplatonists themselves against that offered by Praechter and his followers. In particular, it will be argued that Praechter's separation of the 'Pergamene School' from the rest of fourth century Neoplatonism derives from a failure to grasp the close similarity between the philosophical ideals and activities of the circles of Iamblichus and Aedesius[1]; and that, pace the conventionally accepted view that Plutarch of Athens was solely responsible for transplanting Neoplatonism to Athens at the end of the fourth century, Iamblichus and his ideas were in fact known there several decades earlier.

The Platonism that indisputably dominated pagan intellectual

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1. Hadot, Néoplatonisme alexandrin, has recently advanced a closely parallel argument against Praechter's over-rigid distinction between the Athenian and Alexandrian Schools of the fifth century, though she dismisses too readily (143) the marked preference of Athens for Plato, and of Alexandria for Aristotle.

life at the beginning of the fourth century was the product of a long evolution which, during its last century, had been presided over by Ammonius, Plotinus, and Porphyry - a conscious διαδοχή if ever there was one, and rightly presented as such by Praechter. Subsequent generations were agreed in seeing Iamblichus as the διάδοχος of Porphyry, but it is on the one hand not certain that Iamblichus was ever actually a pupil of Porphyry[1], and on the other hand well known that the two disagreed on fundamental matters of doctrine. In fact, as was shown in the first chapter, Neoplatonism experiences important developments in the time of Iamblichus, and the most important factor in the subsequent general acceptance of Iamblichus's version of it was not so much his legitimacy as the successor of Porphyry, as the intrinsic attractiveness of his teachings, combined with the passionate dedication of his pupils. Before examining the careers of these pupils, it is worth taking a look at the environment in which their dedication to Iamblichus was bred.

Everything that we know of Iamblichus suggests that his background was overwhelmingly Syrian. His name is itself of Semitic origin, and is frequently found on inscriptions from Syria[2]. According to (?)Damascius, himself a native of Damascus, Iamblichus was descended from two prominent pagans called Sampsigeramus and Monimus[3]. As it happens, this is not the first time in history that we find the names Sampsigeramus and Iamblichus conjoined, for a father and son thus called reigned over Emesa and Arethusa in the first century B.C.[4]. The name Sampsigeramus remained in use among

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1. Cf. above,32.
2. H. Wuthnow, Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients (Leipzig,1930),56,s.v.
3. (?)Damascius ap. Photius, Bibl. 181.126a.
4. Strabo, Geog. XVI.2.10; cf. Stähelin, R.E. 1A.2226-7; Stein, R.E. 9.639-40.

the princes of Emesa during the first century A.D., and is attested in an inscription from Ma'lula, near Damascus, of 182/3 A.D.[1]. Even more interestingly, the Byzantine historian Malalas tells a story about an Emesene prince of Aphrodite called Sampsigeramus, who defended his city against Shapur I, presumably during the Persian invasion of Syria in 259/60[2]. The fantastic predominates in Malalas's narrative - according to which one of Sampsigeramus's followers slew Shapur on the spot - and yet it is tempting to wonder whether we may not have here a distant memory of the father of Iamblichus, who was born about a decade earlier[3] in Chalcis ad Belum (Qinnesrin), an important commercial centre astride both the main road that linked Damascus and Emesa to northern Syria, and the caravan route that connected Antioch with the east[4]. In any case it would seem likely that Iamblichus, who was of aristocratic birth[5], could claim as his ancestors the princes of Emesa[6].

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1. Stähelin, loc.cit.; I.G.L.S. 5, Index I, s.v. Σαμσιγέραμος.

2. John Malalas, Chron. 12.296-7; cf. A. Alföldi, 'Die Hauptereignisse der Jahre 253-261 n. Chr. im Orient im Spiegel der Münzprägung', Berytus 4(1937),63 (= id., Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus (Darmstadt,1967), 150), and P.I.R.^{2}, L258. A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas (Stuttgart,1931),372-3, prefers to date the incident to 255/6, during an earlier Persian invasion.

3. J. Bidez, 'Le philosophe Jamblique et son école', Rev.Et.Gr. 32 (1919),32.

4. Themistius, or. 23.295b; Eunapius V.1.1; Suda I27. On Chalcis, cf. R. Mouterde and A. Poidebarde, Le limes de Chalcis: organisation de la steppe en haute Syrie romaine (Paris,1945),4-23.

5. Eunapius, loc.cit.

6. J. Marquart, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran', Philologus Supp. 10(1905),222,n.5, advanced a similar theory concerning the novelist Iamblichus. The name of the philosopher Iamblichus's other ancestor, Monimus, was also common in the Emesa region - references are collected by H.J.W. Drijvers, 'The cult of Azizos and Monimos at Edessa', in Ex orbe religionum: studia Geo Widengren...oblata I (Leiden,1972),358,n.1. One of the princes of Emesa in the first century A.D. was called Azizus (Stähelin, loc.cit.), which was also the name of a god whose worship was linked by Iamblichus ap. Julian, or. 11.150c, with that of the god Monimus. It would be natural to find both names

We owe to Eunapius the information that Iamblichus, apart from being born in Syria, also taught there, and in later life performed a miracle while visiting the warm baths at Gadara, near Lake Tiberias, in the company of his disciples, among whom was Sopater, ὁ ἐκ Συρίας[1]. Unfortunately none of our sources mentions the name of the city where Iamblichus lived and taught; but Apamea, not far from Emesa, is now generally regarded as the strongest candidate[2]. Ps.-Julian's correspondence with Iamblichus makes quite clear that the addressee lived in Apamea[3], and it follows that when Libanius speaks of 'the band (χορός) of philosophers from Apamea, whose leader resembled the gods', it is Iamblichus and his disciples that he has in mind[4]. Ps.-Julian also informs us that Sopater was from Apamea[5], and this enables us to interpret a second and even more allusive passage in Libanius describing a dispute over precedence between two Syrian cities, one of which is described as situated inland and boasting an alien resident who chose the city as a suitable place to philosophize, and a citizen of its own who received him and his followers from every quarter. These must be Apamea, Iamblichus, and Sopater respectively[6]. Again, Libanius's letters

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in use in the same family. (The substitution, popular since Spanheim, of 'Emesa' for 'Edessa' in the passage from Julian is convincingly argued to be superfluous by Drijvers, art.cit. 355-62.)

1. Eunapius VI.1.4;V.2.2,1.5.

2. The view of Bidez, art.cit. 31-2, followed inter alios by J. Balty, 'Archéologie et témoignages littéraires', in J. and J.C. Balty (edd.), Apamée de Syrie: bilan des recherches archéologiques 1969-71 = Fouilles d'Apamée de Syrie. Miscellanea. Fasc. 7 (Brussels,1972),209-12. Praechter, Genethliakon: Carl Robert 108, assumes for no stated reason that Iamblichus taught at Chalcis.

3. Ps.-Julian, ep. 184.417ac.

4. Libanius, or.52.21. References to Iamblichus's divine nature were of course commonplace: cf. above,43. Larsen, Jamblique 40, puzzlingly takes the passage to refer to present time, and therefore to the younger Iamblichus(P.L.R.E. Iamblichus 2).

5. Ps.-Julian, ep. 184.417d-418a; cf. Suda Σ845.

6. Libanius, or. 18.187; with the reference to Iamblichus's disci-

1389-90 describe a visit to Apamea by Alexander, the consularis Syriae, in 363. We know that the addressee of letter 1390, Sopater's homonymous son, was like his father a resident of Apamea[1], and so we can be certain that the 'beloved of Iamblichus, and mother of Sopater' of letter 1389.3 is Apamea - the beloved for whose sake the philosopher deserted his own mother, Chalcis. The reliability of Malalas's assertion that Iamblichus lived and taught at Daphne near Antioch may be doubted[2].- it is hardly likely that Libanius, for example, would have given Apamea the credit for sheltering Iamblichus if Antioch had had even the shadow of a claim.

Iamblichus was not the first Platonist philosopher to dwell at Apamea. To name only the more recent, Numenius was born there, while his fervent admirer Amelius was living there at the time of Plotinus's death, and bequeathed his notes on his teacher's lectures to his adopted son, Hostilianus Hesychius of Apamea[3]. To argue, as has J. Balty, that Apamea was from the late second century onwards 'presque sans interruption un foyer de rayonnement de la philosophie néoplatonicienne' forces the evidence too far[4], but

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ples, cp. Eunapius V.1.5. P.L.R.E. Sopater 2 takes the passage to refer to Sopater's son, but he would have been rather young.

1. Libanius, epp. 663,668 (which show respectively that Sopater financed the Olympic games of 361, which he would only have done in his home town, and that the Olympics were held in Apamea); 1390.1.

2. John Malalas, Chron. 12.312; cf. P.L.R.E. Iamblichus 1, and Dillon, Iamblichi...fragmenta 12-3. Larsen, loc.cit., arguing from his misinterpretation of Libanius, or. 52.21, and ignoring all the other evidence, accepts Malalas's statement; as also, hesitatingly, did Schenk von Stauffenberg, op.cit. 407. Barnes, Gr.Rom.Byz.St. 19(1978),105, admits the possibility that Iamblichus may have taught in Antioch, and moved to Apamea later.

3. Numenius: Amelius ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 17.18; Suda N517. Amelius: Porphyry, V.Plot. 2.32-3,3.44-8, and cf. Syrianus's reference, In Metaph. M8,915a, to οἱ περὶ Ἀμέλιον τὸν Πλωτίνειον.

4. J. Balty, loc.cit., esp. 212; H.D. Saffrey and L.G. Westerink, Proclus: Théologie Platonicienne livre I (Paris,1968),XLIV.For a much more balanced account of intellectual life in Apamea, cf. G.M.A. Hanfmann,'Socrates and Christ', Harv.St.Cl.Phil. 60(1951), 220-21. Libanius's grandfather visited Apamea personally in

neither the strength of the city's intellectual tradition nor the stimulus afforded it by Iamblichus's circle can reasonably be doubted. How many Apameans would have associated themselves with the Iamblichan Neoplatonists we cannot know[1], but Syria was a land of boundless spiritual energy at this time. As well as the Christian majority at Antioch and the growing numbers of monks and ascetics in the countryside, the province supported enough pagans to produce a significant if impermanent reaction when Julian became emperor[2]. Writing in 363 Libanius described Apamea as 'beloved of the gods' - its citizens had continued to worship Zeus even when the cult was forbidden[3], and it is not surprising to find a representation of Zeus on a newly-discovered mosaic of the Seven Sages, dated to between 325 and 350[4]. That 'most flourishing Apamea', as Ammianus Marcellinus called the city[5], was an important pagan stronghold cannot be doubted, nor can its suitability as the home of the man who did more than any other to reinforce the bonds between Platonist philosophy and pagan cult. The existence of this firm base, in such an important and prosperous province of the Roman empire, at the crossing of many of the chief trade-routes of the near east, must have contributed a good deal to the dissemination of Iamblichan Neoplatonism.

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order to find a sufficiently able teacher for his sons, having apparently failed to find a satisfactory candidate in Antioch, despite its pretended cultural superiority to the other cities of Syria: Libanius, or.2.11, and cf. 33.21.

1. But cf. below, 274-77.

2. Julian, Misop. 357c; Sozomen, H.E. V.10.8-14; cf. ibid. VII.15.12-5 (murder of bishop Marcellus of Apamea while attempting to destroy a temple c.389); P. Petit, Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVe siècle après J.-C. (Paris, 1955), 199-202; D.R. Bowder, Paganism and pagan revival: Constantius II to Julian (unpubl. diss., Oxford, 1976), 517-651.

3. Libanius, epp. 1351.3, 1391.1; cf. or. 48.14, and ps.-Julian's similar remark about Damascus, ep. 180.392c. The temple of Zeus at Apamea was eventually demolished by bishop Marcellus in the mid-380s: Theodoret, H.E. V.21.5-15.

4-5. (On next page.)

Iamblichus died in the early 320s[1], we may imagine at Apamea, 'having put forth many roots and springs of philosophy'[2]. That his name was greatly venerated by the leaders of paganism in the immediately following generations is well-enough known, but the subsequent history of his teaching is still often presented as if, having subsided into a coma for three-quarters of a century, it was then suddenly, almost miraculously resuscitated by Plutarch of Athens[3]. For this improbable assumption there is, admittedly, some justification in the late antique sources discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Eunapius clearly depicts Aedesius as Iamblichus's legitimate successor, but no other source ever breathes a word of him. Proclus refers to Theodore of Asine, but Hierocles, Isidore, and the commentary on the Phaedo mention no outstanding figure between Iamblichus and the emergence of the Athenian School under Plutarch and Syrianus in the early fifth century. The best way of filling out this void is to ask what happened to each of Iamblichus's pupils on their master's decease[4].

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4. J. Balty, 'Une nouvelle mosaïque du IVe s. dans l'édifice dit "au triclinos" à Apamée', Ann.arch.arab.syr. 20(1970),82, and plates 1-2.

5. Ammianus Marcellinus XIV.8.8.

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1. Barnes, art.cit. 104.

2. Eunapius V.3.10.

3. Cf. A.C. Lloyd, 'The later Neoplatonists', in Armstrong (ed.), Cambridge history 302.

4. Reference is made in this chapter and the next to all those definitely or plausibly attested as pupils of Iamblichus. Stobaeus preserves fragments of writings addressed by Iamblichus to several otherwise unknown individuals who may have been pupils: Agrippa (IV.5.76-7), Asphalius (III.3.26), Dyscolius (IV.5.74-5; on the possibility that he held an administrative post in Syria, cf. P.L.R.E. Dyscolius 1-2); Macedonius and Poemenius (I.1.35,5.17;II.8.43-4,33.15), and Olympius (III.7.40-41). We do not know

Of Sopater, who appears to have been regarded as the most distinguished of Iamblichus's pupils[1], we are told little by Eunapius, and that little the sort of external information that could easily have been obtained by anyone who was interested. We learn that he removed to the imperial court very soon after his teacher's death because he despised the other sages of Apamea[2], and the rest of his life was dominated by a deep political involvement as one of Constantine's closer counsellors. But although the Suda implies that he became a leader of the pagan party in Constantinople[3], we have no evidence that he taught philosophy, far less that he fostered a circle of disciples. Constantinople was never to become a Neoplatonist centre, and Eunapius's description of Constantine's court as 'converted to the study of philosophy' is obviously a gross exaggeration[4]. But of this episode in the history of Neoplatonism more will be said in a later chapter.

The poverty of what Eunapius tells us about Sopater is in marked contrast with the wealth of information he gives us about

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whether Iamblichus's son, Aristo, was a philosopher - probably he was, since he married a pupil of Plotinus (Porphyry, V.Plot. 9.3-5) - nor is there evidence either for or against Zeller's suggestion, Philosophie der Griechen III(2),796,n.1, that the philosophers Aristoxenus (though cf. below,108), Diogenes, Eucleides, Eugenius, Eumenius, Helpidius, Lamprias, and Pharianus, all of whom make brief appearances in Julian's letters, were followers of Iamblichus. H.D. Saffrey has recently suggested, 'Abamon, pseudonyme de Jamblique', in R.B. Palmer and R. Hamerton-Kelly (edd.), Philomathes: Studies and essays in the humanities in memory of Philip Merlan (The Hague,1971),232, that Anebo, the pupil of Iamblichus to whom Porphyry addressed his attack on theurgy (De myst. I.1.2), but who has always been supposed to be fictional, was in fact a historical character.

1. Eunapius V.1.4-5,2.1. Sozomen describes Sopater as προεστὼς τῆς Πλωτίνου διαδοχῆς and ὁ ἐπισημότατος τότε παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἐπὶ παιδεύσει γεγενημένος (H.E. I.5.1,5).
2. Eunapius VI.2.1.
3. Suda Σ845.
4. Eunapius VI.2.3.

Aedesius and the Pergamene circle. There is naturally a danger that the freakishness of what is virtually our only source may encourage an unconscious overestimation of the importance of Pergamon, but in the absence of other contenders for the title, there is little to be done save to recognize Aedesius and his followers as the chief heirs of Iamblichus. Eunapius begins his life of Aedesius with the words: 'Aedesius the Cappadocian took over Iamblichus's teaching and his circle of disciples' (Ἐνδέχεται δέ τήν Ἰαμβλίχου διατριβήν καί ὁμιλίαν ές τούς ἑταίρους Αἰδέσιος ὁ ἐκ Καππαδοκίας)[1]. The words διατριβή and ὁμιλία may both carry the meaning 'lecture' or 'discourse', or, more generally, 'instruction' or 'study', and here seem to refer generally to Iamblichus's teaching activities[2]. As for the ἑτάῖροι, Eunapius states that on Iamblichus's death those that he has mentioned in his account were scattered all over the Roman empire, and that Aedesius settled at Pergamon in Mysia[3]. Two points should be made about this passage. Firstly it does not say that all Iamblichus's pupils were scattered, but only some of those Eunapius has already referred to - in other words the leading lights whom he lists at V.1.5. Secondly, Eunapius later tells us that after the death of Iamblichus, but before he began teaching at Pergamon, Aedesius spent some time, in obedience to an oracle, leading a simple rustic life on a small estate in Cappadocia, the province in which he had been born[4]. Eunapius also gives us some valuable indications of chronology. He first introduces Aedesius in his own right at V.3.10-VI.1.6, but then digresses (VI.2-3) to describe Sopater's success at Constantine's court, his downfall, and the death

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1. Ibid. VI.1.1.
2. Cf. below, 153.
3. Eunapius V.3.10, and cf. VI.2.1.
4. Ibid. VI.4.1ff.; cf. V.1.5.

of his persecutor Ablabius. Sopater's death cannot be dated precisely, but obviously occurred before the death of Ablabius himself in 337-8[1]. Having recounted the manner of Ablabius's death, Eunapius resumes his biography of Aedesius with the following words: 'When these events had happened in this way (τούτων δή οὕτω κεχωρηκότων), and Providence had shown that she had not deserted mankind, there remained Aedesius, the most renowned of those that survived'[2]. Τούτων...κεχωρηκότων establishes that Sopater and Ablabius have now left the stage; while the reference to Aedesius as the most renowned of the survivors recalls the way in which Sopater was earlier introduced as 'more eloquent than the rest, because of his lofty nature and greatness of soul'[3], and emphasizes Aedesius's position as the heir of Iamblichus after the death of Sopater. Then Eunapius proceeds immediately to the story of Aedesius's oracle. The implication seems to be that Aedesius's period of rustic retreat, ending with his removal to Pergamon, must be placed <u>after</u> 337-8. If then we assume that Iamblichus died in the early 320s, we are left with a period of between ten and fifteen years during which Aedesius's movements are unaccounted for.

At this point it is worth recalling to mind the ἑταῖροι of Iamblichus whom Aedesius is supposed to have taught after the master's death. Rather than assuming that they left Syria and followed Aedesius back to Cappadocia - an improbable idea, particularly in view of the fact that at this stage it was Sopater who was regarded as Iamblichus's true heir[4] - it is perhaps possible that for a time Aedesius filled the vacuum left at Apamea when Sopater left to seek

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1. <u>P.L.R.E.</u> Fl. Ablabius 4.
2. Eunapius VI.4.1.
3. <u>Ibid.</u> VI.2.1.
4. Cf. above,90,n.1.

his fortune at court. The hypothesis at least has the merit of not contradicting any of the known facts, while accounting for Eunapius's clear statement that Aedesius took over Iamblichus's διατριβήν καί ὁμιλίαν[1], and for the fate of Iamblichus's lesser pupils after his death. Aedesius's reputation in later life, to which Eunapius several times draws attention in the most emphatic terms[2], is more understandable if he had already acted as successor to the revered Iamblichus before he returned to Cappadocia. His own successor at Apamea may well have been the younger Sopater, who, whether or not he studied under Iamblichus, had certainly been acquainted with him[3]. Dexippus, whom we know to have been a pupil of Iamblichus[4], may also have remained in Apamea, for his Ἀπορίαι καί λύσεις on Aristotle's Categories were written in old age - therefore presumably after his teacher's death - and in the form of a dialogue with his pupil Seleucus, which as Praechter pointed out is a suggestively Syrian name[5]. If Dexippus did teach in Apamea, it is interesting to know, on his own testimony, that he had a number of pupils[6], but even so it must remain unlikely that this remnant of Iamblichus's circle in Apamea exercised more than a local philosophical influence. Dexippus probably died c.350[7], and with the

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1. Rather than vaguely slurring it over, as Praechter, Genethliakon: Carl Robert 109,n.3.
2. Eunapius VI.4.5,7;VI.9.1;VII.1.9.
3. Cf. Bidez, Rev.Et.Gr. 32(1919),31-2, and A. Cameron, 'Iamblichus at Athens', Athenaeum 45(1967),147, arguing from ps.-Julian, ep. 184.418a.
4. Simplicius, In Cat. 2.25: Δέξιππος...ὁ Ἰαμβλίχειος. He is therefore to be identified with the Dexippus to whom Iamblichus dedicated a work on dialectic: Stobaeus II.2.5.
5. Dexippus, In Cat. 4-5,64.4-5; cf. Praechter, art.cit. 109.
6. Dexippus, In Cat. 4.13-4.
7. A. Busse, 'Der Historiker und der Philosoph Dexippus', Hermes 23(1888),407-8.

death of Sopater, which occurred c.365[1], the circle probably ceased to exist, for the political climate was highly unfavourable to philosophers in the aftermath of Julian's reign.

Aedesius himself, once he had returned to Cappadocia, stayed there until he received the oracle that was to change the course of his life. Although well-born, he was not rich[2], and must have worked for his living. Since by the time he received his oracle he was a famous man, whose pupils ultimately did not allow him to fulfill the god's command, he was obviously already teaching before he went to Pergamon[3]. Nonetheless, the circle he gathered around himself in Pergamon was largely composed of men from the cities of western Asia Minor[4]. This may suggest that a circle of philosophers receptive to theurgic Neoplatonism already existed in Pergamon before the arrival of Aedesius, and was perhaps responsible for inviting Iamblichus's distinguished pupil to come and teach in the city. Priscus after all died in 396 aged over ninety[5], so assuming Aedesius moved from Cappadocia to Pergamon after 337-8, Priscus would have been well over thirty before becoming his pupil. Moreover, if the 'Maximus...the pupil (ἀκροατής)...of Hierius, the pupil of Iamblichus' mentioned by the fifth century Neoplatonist Ammonius is, as the context suggests, Maximus of Ephesus[6], then we perhaps have in Hierius the name of a pupil of Iamblichus who was already

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1. Libanius, ep. 1396.1.
2. Eunapius VI.1.1.
3. Presumably in Caesarea, as suggested by F. Schemmel, 'Die Hochschule von Konstantinopel im IV. Jahrh. p. Ch. n.', Neue Jb. für Pädagogik 11(1908), 150, whose chronology however is completely impossible.
4. Cf. below, 158-9.
5. Eunapius VIII.1.10. The reference is to Alaric's invasion of Greece; cf. W. Ensslin, R.E. 23.8.
6. Ammonius, In Anal. Pr. 31.16-7. The identification is accepted by K. Praechter, R.E. 14.2567, but not by P.L.R.E. Maximus 21 and 26.

teaching in western Asia Minor before the arrival of Aedesius[1]. This is speculation though, and it is only in the period after the arrival of Aedesius that it is possible to assess the extent to which Iamblichan Neoplatonism was accepted in western Asia Minor. Granted the dominant position of Aedesius within the Pergamene circle, one would naturally expect its philosophical and religious priorities to be much the same as Iamblichus's. Yet as has already been noticed, K. Praechter came to a different conclusion. He rightly rejected the traditional view, represented by E. Zeller, that Iamblichus was a credulous theurgist and impossible to take seriously as a philosopher[2]; but although he recognized that Pergamon derived philosophically from Iamblichus, he in fact approached Aedesius and his circle in exactly the same hostile spirit in which Zeller had confronted the Apameans[3]. It is hoped to show here that a less prejudiced examination of the evidence would have caused Praechter to take more literally his own derivation of the teachings of Aedesius from those of Iamblichus.

That Aedesius's philosophical teaching had a strong religious colouring goes virtually without saying. Apart from the evidence supplied by Eunapius, Libanius, who had a very different cast of mind, refers on several occasions to this characteristic[4]; nor is

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1. W. Vollgraff, 'Argos dans la dépendance de Corinthe au IVe siècle', Ant.Cl.14(1945),21-2 (cf. P.L.R.E.Hierius 1-2) argues that: (1) Hierius is identical with the Hierius of Libanius, or. 14.7,32; (2) Diogenes, the brother of Libanius's Hierius, is the same as the Argive philosopher Diogenes of Julian, ep. 98; and therefore (3) Hierius the pupil of Iamblichus was an Argive. The argument is, on Vollgraff's own confession, insecure, and takes for granted the disputed authenticity of Julian, ep. 198 (on which, cf. below,185,n.6).

2. Zeller, Philosophie der Griechen III(2),743-4,772-3.

3. Praechter, in Genethliakon: Carl Robert, esp.113-8; followed by Saffrey and Westerink, Proclus I,XXXVI; and Larsen, Jamblique 25, and 'La place de Jamblique dans la philosophie antique tardive', Ent. Hardt 21(1975),2 (with reservations).

4. Libanius, orr. 12.33-4,13.11-2,18.18. The first two passages may refer more specifically to Maximus of Ephesus; cf. or. 18.155.

it coincidental that Aedesius chose as his home a city so renowned for its devotion to the pagan gods as was Pergamon - even if by his time the famous shrine of Asclepius had already been abandoned[1]. The evidence we have does not though by any means bear out the notion that Aedesius's personal reputation was founded principally on theurgic practices. He was far from disapproving of the teaching of Maximus of Ephesus, for example[2], but it is noticeable that Eunapius never calls him a theurgist - on the contrary he characterizes him as 'little inferior to Iamblichus, except as regards the latter's divine inspiration (θειασμός)'[3], and even goes so far as to contrast his ἐν λόγοις ἀκρίβεια with Sosipatra's ἐνθουσιασμός[4]. It is true that Eunapius does not say that Aedesius lacked θειασμός, merely that if he had it nobody knew about it because he did not discuss such things, but it is perhaps significant that this silence is explained in the case of Aedesius as political tact, but in the case of his pupils as μυστηριώδης and ἱεροφαντική[5]. In one of the stories Eunapius retails in order to illustrate Iamblichus's prophetic powers we find Eunapius singled out as one of those 'who regarded the thing as a marvel (τερατεία), and looked around like tracker-dogs for some proof'[6] - this is typical of the markedly realistic yet also self-confident and even outspoken character of the Aedesius we meet in the pages of Eunapius[7].

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1. C. Habicht, Altertümer von Pergamon VIII(3): Die Inschriften des Asklepieions (Berlin,1969),19-20; C. Foss, 'Archaeology and the "Twenty cities" of Byzantine Asia', Am.Jour.Arch. 81(1977), 479-80.
2. Eunapius VII.1.13-4.
3. Ibid. VI.1.4.
4. Ibid. VI.9.2. On ἐνθουσιασμός as the authentic characteristic of the Iamblichan philosopher, cf. above,41-2.
5. Eunapius VI.1.5-6; and cf. below,199-200.
6. Eunapius V.1.14.
7. Ibid. V.1.7,11;VIII.1.5-7.

If Eunapius does not call Aedesius a theurgist, neither does he attribute to him any particular philosophical doctrines. Praechter concedes that Eunapius usually shows complete indifference to his subjects' actual beliefs[1], but then tries to tar Aedesius and his pupils with the same brush, just because Eunapius was a pupil of Chrysanthius. In fact, the defectiveness of Eunapius as an historical source should put us on our guard against making any generalizations at all about the Pergamene circle, rather than precipitating highly suspect argumenta e silentio. By the same token, it is not significant that Eunapius fails to attribute any writings to Aedesius - indeed it is doubtful whether he would have made a point of saying that Aedesius had not written about the revelation made to his disciples by Iamblichus, had he never written anything[2]. On the other hand we do know that when Chrysanthius became a pupil of Aedesius, the first part of his curriculum was the study of Plato and Aristotle, and then of all the other philosophers, including the Pythagoreans. If he then went on to assist Maximus in more recondite pursuits, it was not without a thorough grounding in the philosophical tradition[3]. It is equally clear that Julian went to Aedesius with the specific purpose of studying philosophy - he had already studied rhetoric in Constantinople and Nicomedia[4], and philosophy was the natural next stage in the curriculum. It was only after he had studied with Aedesius for a time, and when Eusebius began to inveigh in his lectures against 'witchcraft and magic that deceive the senses'[5], that Julian's curiosity was aroused, and he began to enquire after Maximus[6].

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1. Praechter, art.cit. 117-8.
2. Eunapius V.2.9.
3. Ibid. XXIII.1.8-2.2.
4. Cf. J. Bidez, La vie de l'empereur Julien (Paris,1930),50-56.
5. Eunapius VII.2.3.
6. Ibid. VII.2.4-13. Julian himself claimed that as a young man

According to Theodoret, Maximus was in the habit of calling himself a philosopher, and even if the Christian chronicler predictably added that he was more like a magician[1], he at least lived up to his name to the extent of writing a commentary on Aristotle's Categories, modelled, according to Simplicius,on that of Alexander of Aphrodisias[2]. Of Aedesius's other pupils, Eusebius was by inclination a logician[3], while Antoninus, the son of Eustathius and Sosipatra and educated by Aedesius, likewise devoted himself to Plato and logic, and had nothing to do with theurgy (though partly perhaps for political reasons)[4]. Priscus was later to write a treatise on Aristotelian logic that Julian read with admiration and profit[5], and may even have imitated[6]. Another straw in the wind is Eunapius's use of the expression ὑφεῖλκεν ἑαυτόν ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν[7] when speaking of Chrysanthius's interest in divination -

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he was ignorant of astrology: or. 11.131a. That he first met Maximus when he was studying in Nicomedia from 348/9 to 351 (Socrates, H.E. III.1.16-8; Sozomen, H.E. V.2.16; cf. N.H. Baynes, 'The early life of Julian the Apostate', Jour.Hell.St. 45(1925),251-4, and W. Koch, 'Comment l'empereur Julien tâcha de fonder une église païenne', Rev. Belge de Phil. et d'Hist. 6(1927),140-41) is possible; Eunapius may either have forgotten or never known about the earlier encounter. Cf. Libanius, or. 13.11 (ἦν γάρ τις σπινθὴρ μαντικῆς αὐτόθι (in Nicomedia in the time of Constantius) κρυπτόμενος μόλις διαφυγών τάς χεῖρας τῶν δυσσεβῶν.

1. Theodoret, H.E. III.28.2.

2. Simplicius, In Cat. 1.15-6. Larsen, Ent.Hardt 21 (1975),2,n.1, takes the derivation from Alexander of Aphrodisias as supporting his contention that Pergamene philosophy was un-Iamblichan, a particularly ironical misrepresentation in view of everything else we know about Maximus. Iamblichus himself, of course, was not uninterested in the exegesis of Aristotle. It is probably to be deduced from Ammonius, In Anal.Pr. 31.15-7, that Maximus also wrote a commentary on Aristotle's Anal.Pr. On Suda M174 cf. K. Praechter, R.E. 14.2568-9.

3. Eunapius VII.2.2.

4. Ibid. VI.9.1,10.7.

5. Julian, ep. 12.

6. J. Bidez and F. Cumont, Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Iuliani epistulae, leges, poematia, fragmenta varia (Paris,1922), no. 158.

7. Eunapius VII.2.1.

this might be taken to imply that Chrysanthius was doing something not part of the everyday activities of his colleagues. Julian made this distinction explicit when, according to Eunapius, he took leave of Eusebius and, by implication, Aedesius too, with the words: '"Farewell, and devote yourself to your books. You have shown me the man I was in search of'"[1].

Aedesius's circle did not, it is true, contribute anything new to the evolution of the philosophical doctrines it taught - Priscus indeed went so far as to accuse Aedesius of retailing mere λογάρια, of little practical value[2] - but nor, contrary to what Praechter supposed, did it provide an environment particularly suited to the single-minded pursuit of theurgy. Rather it preserved a balance between conventional philosophy and theurgy, a balance which was beautifully caught by Libanius when, in his funeral oration on Julian, he came to describe the young prince's studies in Pergamon and Ephesus:

> 'Finally, he met with people who were steeped in the teaching of Plato, and he learned of gods and spirits and the real creators and saviours of this whole universe; he gained knowledge of the nature of the soul, its origin and its destination, the causes of its glory and elevation, and of its ruin and debasement; he discovered its bondage and its freedom, and the means to avoid the one and attain the other, and he washed a sour story clean with sweet discourse, casting out all that earlier nonsense and in its place introducing into his soul the beauty of truth, no less than if he had brought into some mighty temple statues of gods that had been in times past befouled and besmirched.'[3]

In the circumstances it is difficult seriously to sustain the argument that Aedesius and his followers differed significantly in their priorities from Iamblichus and the Apamean circle. Aedesius was 'one of the leading disciples of Iamblichus', according to Eunapius[4],

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1. Ibid. VII.2.12.
2. Ibid. VIII.1.9.
3. Libanius, or. 18.18.
4. Eunapius V.1.11; cf. VI.4.1. Larsen, Ent.Hardt 21(1975),2,

who as a pupil of Chrysanthius was in a position to know a good deal about both the Apamean and the Pergamene circles. Eunapius himself clearly felt that there was a continuity both spiritual and personal mediated by Aedesius and Chrysanthius between Iamblichus and himself, and this is a consideration of the highest importance, which the modern scholar neglects at his peril. The education that Chrysanthius received from Aedesius[1] followed exactly the plan of studies which Iamblichus mapped out for his pupils in the Protrepticus, and which was passed on intact by Chrysanthius himself to Eunapius - such at least is the implication of Eunapius's remark that Chrysanthius only allowed him a share in the 'truer doctrines' (τῶν ἀληθεστέρων) of Iamblichus after he had been studying for twenty years[2].

The chief weakness of Praechter's artificially constructed Schools, each by its very nature somewhat isolated from the others, is that they fail to account for all the evidence. If his view of the internal character of the Pergamene circle had been more balanced, he would not have had to make an exception for the (to his mind) untypically rational Eusebius[3]. Likewise, if he had had a firmer grasp of the importance of continuity to the fourth century Platonists - the sort of continuity of which the passage from Hierocles's De providentia speaks so eloquently[4] - he would have been spared the difficulty he experienced in fitting men such as Theodore

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questions Eunapius's judgement on the doubtless purely fortuitous grounds that among the letters from Iamblichus preserved by Stobaeus there are none addressed to Aedesius.

1. Cf. above,1.

2. Eunapius VI.1.6 (completely misinterpreted by P.L.R.E. Eunapius 2. The passage refers to the twentieth year of Eunapius's studies, not his life; and it has nothing to do with his initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, the correct source for which is Eunapius VII (not VI).3.1-2). Cf. V.3.10,XXIII.3.15-6. Even Praechter admits, Genethliakon: Carl Robert 118, that what philosophyAedesius had he derived from Iamblichus.

3. Ibid. 118-9,155.

4. Cf. above,78-9.

of Asine, Sopater, and Dexippus into his preconceived framework[1]. This ideal of the unbroken chain of Platonic teaching was not just wishful thinking, though there was plenty of that too in fourth century pagan circles. At least in the case of Pergamon and its off-shoots, the ideal can be demonstrated to have become historical reality.

Aedesius's circle was already dissolving before his death in the early to mid-350s[2]. Probably this marked the end of Pergamon's brief philosophical pre-eminence, if such it was, for apart from Zeno of Pergamon, a pupil of Proclus[3], the city appears neither to have produced nor to have played host to philosophers thereafter. Pergamon's loss, though, was its neighbours' gain. The removal of Maximus and Chrysanthius to Ephesus must have turned that city into the chief stronghold of Iamblichanism in western Asia Minor - certainly it was there that Julian received his full initiation into theurgic Neoplatonism[4], and the Theodorus whom Julian later appointed high priest of Asia may also have been a pupil of Maximus at this time[5]. When in the winter of 361-2 Julian summoned Maximus and Chrysanthius to court, he sent them a joint letter, and there is a good deal of evidence which strongly indicates that this letter found its addressees still in Ephesus[6]. Maximus accepted the invi-

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1. Praechter, art.cit. 108-9,118-9.
2. Cf. below, 160-61.
3. Suda Z82.
4. Julian's reference, or. 7.235c, to the φιλοσοφωτάτῳ...τῷ τά πρόθυρα τῆς φιλοσοφίας δείξαντι is generally taken to recall his studies at Ephesus under Maximus; but our only explicit authority is Eunapius VII.2.12-3.
5. This depends on the assumption that the κοινός καθηγεμών to whom Julian refers in a letter to Theodorus (ep. 89.452a,298b) is Maximus. On the priesthood, cf. ibid. 452d.
6. Libanius, orr.15.50 (clearly a reference to Maximus),18.155; Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 5.20 (αἱ κατά τήν Ἀσίαν διατριβαί); Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.7.3; Eunapius VII.3.9-16, esp. 15 (the crowds of sycophants who besieged Maximus's house when it became known he was off to court).

tation immediately, but Chrysanthius hesitated, and Julian addressed a second summons to him at Sardis in Lydia[1], whose high priest he became after he had finally made up his mind not to follow the example of his more adventurous friend[2]. Because of his moderate behaviour towards the Christians while Julian was on the throne, Chrysanthius was left in peace after the emperor's death[3], and seems to have remained in Sardis, where Eunapius was among his pupils[4]. It is impossible to establish any chronology from Eunapius's vague account, but what emerges is that Sardis remained an intellectual centre throughout the reign of Theodosius, and apparently into the next century, since Chrysanthius's διάδοχοι, Epigonus of Lacedaemon and Beronicianus of Sardis, are referred to by Eunapius as still alive[5]. As for Maximus, he was made to suffer for his arrogance in Julian's service; he was heavily fined, and sent back to the province of Asia (εἰς τήν Ἀσίαν) in order to collect the money[6]. This clearly means that he returned once more to Ephesus. After a period of extreme personal suffering he was able to resume his philosophical lectures and regain his property for a while, until he went to Constantinople, was implicated in a conspiracy, and put to death[7].

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1. Ibid. VII.4.4.
2. Ibid. VII.4.9.
3. Ibid. XXIII.2.7-8.
4. Ibid. X.8.3;XXIII.1.1;4.4;6.3,8.
5. Ibid. XXIV.1-2; cf. XXIII.4.3: οἱ...ἐπί παιδείᾳ δόξαν ἔχοντες. The date of the visit of Justus, the Vicarius Asiae, to Sardis (XXIII.4.1-10), is unknown, but such a display of pagan feeling is improbably later than c.390 (cf. Cod.Theod. XVI.10.10-12). Because he refers to Alaric's invasion of Greece (VII.3.4-5;VIII.2.2), Eunapius must have written the V. soph. after 396, and possibly after 399, if ἐς τόν νεώτερον τουτονί θόρυβον (VII.5.6) refers to the rebellion of Gainas (cf. D. Wyttenbach, n. ad loc. in J.F. Boissonade, Eunapii Sardiani vitae sophistarum et fragmenta Historiarum (Amsterdam, 1822), II,217).
6. Eunapius VII.4.2,14.
7. Ibid. VII.6.1-7. The picture of intellectual life in fourth century Ephesus painted by J. Keil, 'Vertreter der zweiten

Our consideration of these Iamblichan circles of Asia Minor would be incomplete without some reference to the two women philosophers Arete and Sosipatra, and to the latter's husband, Eustathius of Cappadocia. In his letter to Themistius Julian mentions that he once made two journies to Phrygia to give help to a lady called Arete when her neighbours were trying to harm her and her property[1], and Bidez made the attractive suggestion that she is to be identified with the Arete to whom Iamblichus addressed a letter περί σωφροσύνης, a fragment of which is preserved by Stobaeus[2]. The date of 351-2 put forward by Bidez for Julian's two visits would fit well with someone who had probably been a pupil of Iamblichus, or at least an acquaintance, and was now an aging spinster or widow, unable to protect herself in a hostile Christian environment. About Sosipatra we fortunately know much more, though she is never referred to outside Eunapius, whose long account of her extraordinary childhood and education has about it the strange fascination of the myth[3]. She was born near Ephesus, of wealthy parents, and when she was five there appeared at one of the family's estates two old men, who first sought work there, and then produced so miraculous a harvest that Sosipatra's father suspected their divine powers and was persuaded to entrust his daughter's education to them. Af-

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Sophistik in Ephesos', Jh.Öst.Arch.Inst.,Wien 40(1953),26, is unnecessarily gloomy. Likewise, the conclusion of Dörrie, Ent. Hardt 21(1975),268, that 'keiner der Platoniker, die dem Kaiser Iulian nahe gestanden hatten, war nachmals in der Lage, eine Schule zu bilden, also die διαδοχή, die legitime Tradition, weiter zu führen', needs to be modified.

1. Julian, Ep. ad Them. 259d.
2. Bidez, Rev.Et.Gr. 32(1919),39; Stobaeus III.5.9.
3. Cf. R. Pack, 'A romantic narrative in Eunapius', Trans.Am.Phil. Ass. 83(1952),198-204.

ter five years he returned and found Sosipatra transformed; astonished by her prophetic powers, he wrung from the two old men the confession that they were Chaldaean initiates. Shortly afterwards they left as suddenly as they had come. Sosipatra remained with her parents, cultivating her by now prodigious learning, until she married Aedesius's kinsman Eustathius[1]. She is a figure difficult to classify, perhaps more prophetess than philosopher, but her Chaldaean learning, her marriage to a pupil of Iamblichus, and her subsequent association with Aedesius[2], entitle her to a place in the history of theurgic Neoplatonism in Asia Minor.

We may guess that Eustathius was a pupil of Iamblichus at much the same time as Aedesius[3]. He was a pagan, of course, and an orator of such distinction that the emperor, although 'wrapped up in the books of the Christians', chose him to lead an important embassy to the king of Persia, a task he acquitted with such aplomb that, we are told, Shapur almost renounced his crown for the philosopher's cloak[4]. Eunapius relates the tale with obvious delight and pride, and goes on to record firstly the enormous reputation Eustathius enjoyed in Greece, even though he never went there[5], and then his marriage to Sosipatra[6]. They presumably settled on Eustathius's estate in Cappadocia, because it was to him that Aedesius entrusted his property, and perhaps his pupils too, when he left Cappadocia for Pergamon[7]. Μετά τήν άποχώρησιν Εύσταθίου, Eunapius adds, Sosi-

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1. Eunapius VI.4.6,6.5-8.6.
2. Cf. below.
3. Eunapius VI.1.5.
4. Ibid. VI.5.
5. Ibid. VI.6.1-4.
6. Ibid. VI.6.5,8.3-6.
7. Ibid. VI.4.6.

patra returned to her own estate at Pergamon, and she and her children were there looked after by Aedesius, with whom she entered into friendly competition as a teacher of philosophy[1].

Our knowledge of Eustathius can be eked out from other sources. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the Persian embassy of 358, and the participation in it of Eustathius the 'philosophus'[2]. A letter written to Eustathius apparently in 358 by Basil of Caesarea describes how the philosopher's fame reached Basil in Athens, and compelled the younger man to set out in the hope of meeting his hero. He went first to Caesarea of Cappadocia, not just because it was his home town, but because he expected to find Eustathius there as well. He did not, and subsequently pursued him through Antioch to Egypt, but only to find him already on his way to Persia[3]. Some three years later, probably in late 361 or early 362, the aged Eustathius, λόγιος καί φιλόσοφος, was invited to court by Julian[4], who received in reply a charming description of the journey, along shady roads with springs and groves where the weary traveller might pause a while and perhaps browse in the Phaedrus or some other of Plato's dialogues[5]. Libanius too addressed a letter to Eustathius in 359/60[6], and elsewhere in the Antiochene rhetor's correspondence we learn that Eustathius was in Antioch in 355-6[7], a date which corresponds

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1. Ibid. VI.9.1-2.
2. Ammianus Marcellinus XVII.5.15,14.1-2; O. Seeck, R.E. 4.1083-4. Ammianus's wording suggests that Eustathius did not actually lead the embassy, as Eunapius implies.
3. Basil, ep. 1.
4. Julian, epp. 34-5.
5. Eustathius = Julian, ep. 36.
6. Libanius, ep. 123.
7. Libanius, ep. 463.2. Pace P.L.R.E. Eustathius 1, Eunapius VI.5.2 says nothing about Eustathius's going to Antioch. Constantius would probably have sent for him at Sirmium: cf. Seeck, loc.cit.

well with what we know of his travels from Basil's letter.

Each of these sources is not only perfectly consistent with what we know of Eustathius from the Vitae sophistarum, but actually throws additional light on the rhetor's career. Although none of them refer directly to Eustathius's connection with Iamblichus[1] and Aedesius, and his marriage with Sosipatra, which is what chiefly interests Eunapius, the evidence in favour of the identity of all the Eustathii is clearly overwhelming[2]. Nonetheless, one intriguing clue to Eustathius's activities in his later years has always hitherto been overlooked by scholars bemused, no doubt, by the colour and romance with which Eunapius invests his tale. The phrase μετά τήν άποχώρησιν Εὐσταθίου[3], purposely left untranslated above, has always been taken to mean 'after the death/passing away of Eustathius'[4]. Unfortunately, this would mean that Eustathius predeceased Aedesius, whom we know to have been dead by 355[5], three

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1. Though ὁ σός διδάσκαλος of Libanius, ep. 123.3, is presumably Iamblichus.

2. Cf. P.L.R.E. loc.cit. J. Gribomont, 'Eustathe le philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée', Rev.Hist.Ecc. 54(1959), 117, identifies the addressee of Basil, ep. 1, as Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, but perversely in view of the philosophical vocabulary Basil uses (explained away by Gribomont, 118-9), and the reference to Eustathius's visit to Persia. 'La route d'Antioche en Perse n'eût pas passé par l'Egypte' (118), but since we know so little of the chronology of either Eustathius's or Basil's movements, there are no grounds for assuming that Eustathius's presence in Antioch and Egypt had anything to do with his embassy to Persia.

3. Eunapius VI.9.1.

4. Cf. Boissonade's note ad loc., Eunapii Sardiani vitae I,256; W.C. Wright, Philostratus and Eunapius: the lives of the sophists (London,1921),411; Liddell and Scott, Greek-English lexicon, s.v. άποχώρησις; and J. Giangrande, Eunapii vitae sophistarum (Rome, 1956),105.

5. Eunapius VII.3.6. Similarly inconvenient are the implications of the (anyway inaccurate) translation offered by Wright, op. cit. 409-11, of Sosipatra's prophecy to Eustathius just before their marriage: οὐκέτι λατρεύσεις καί φιλοσοφήσεις τό πέμπτον ('only five years longer will you devote your services to philosophy') (VI.8.4); cf. Giangrande's note ad loc. If, as Eunapius implies, the marriage took place before 320 (cf. below,107), Eustathius would have died about thirty-five years before the

years before Eustathius's embassy to Persia and six before the accession of Julian. Clearly it would be absurd to suppose that Eunapius, who through his teacher Chrysanthius knew a good deal about these circles, could possibly have conflated two Eustathii, and the only alternative is to translate ἀποχώρησις as 'departure'. Eustathius must have left Sosipatra, for a reason Eunapius is obviously not prepared to disclose, and then embarked on the extensive travels which form the link between nearly all the surviving letters addressed to him. The possibly embarassing nature of the incident would explain Eunapius's reticence on the subject, but we are at least given two clues to the date of Eustathius's departure. While she was living in Pergamon Sosipatra's kinsman Philometor fell in love with her. The prophetess besought Maximus of Ephesus to help her, and this enables us to date the incident to the period before the arrival of Julian in Pergamon late in 351, by which time we know Maximus had left for Ephesus[1]. Secondly, we hear nothing of Julian having met Sosipatra during his stay in Pergamon, although for her theurgical accomplishments alone she would surely have appealed very much to the young prince. Possibly she was already dead by then.

We may reconstruct the outline of Eustathius's career as follows. Born about 290, he must have married Sosipatra sometime after his return from Syria, but at any rate before 320, for their son Antoninus died c.390, 'in deep old age'[2]. He dwelt with his wife

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Persian embassy. Despite Giangrande's objection, it is clear from the context that Wyttenbach (note ad loc. in Boissonade, ed.cit. II,118-20) was right to take τό πέμπτον as referring to the aether round the moon, where the Pythagoreans believed the souls of the righteous to dwell: cf. F. Cumont, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains (Paris,1942),181-203,esp. 183;184,n.2;191,n.2;192,n.3;194,n.1 (Nicomachus of Gerasa).

1. Eunapius VI.9.2-14; cf. VII.1.14.

2. Ibid. VI.11.12; cf. O. Seeck, Die Briefe des Libanius (Leipzig, 1906),147.

in Cappadocia until the late 340s, when he appears to have broken away and embarked on a new and more active life, travelling extensively, leading an embassy to Persia on behalf of Constantius, and in old age visiting Julian's court and receiving the honours due to a former pupil of the great Iamblichus. He died probably in the mid-360s. With such a career, Eustathius was uniquely well-placed to disseminate Iamblichan ideas, and he may even, like Iamblichus himself, Dexippus, and Maximus, have written a commentary on Aristotle's Categories[1].

A neglected figure, Eustathius nonetheless fits neatly into the picture which has emerged of a vigorous Iamblichan Neoplatonism spreading outwards from Pergamon in the mid-fourth century, and retaining a foothold in the intellectual life of some of the cities of western Asia Minor at least until the end of the fourth, and possibly even into the fifth century. Indeed, Eustathius's native Cappadocia, a famous centre of Christian learning in the fourth century[2], seems also to have been a province rich in pagan, and especially Neoplatonist, sympathizers[3]. Apart from Eustathius and Aedesius, who both held estates there, we hear of the philosopher Aristoxenus, whom Julian invited to meet him at Tyana to assist in the revival of paganism[4], and who may well have been, if not a pupil, then at least a follower, of Iamblichus. Again Procopius, a close associate and relative of Julian who was responsible for

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1. Philoponus, In Cat. 9.1-2; Elias, In Cat. 129.10,156.34-5.
2. Cf. below,181,n.2, and, of course, the Cappadocian Fathers.
3. A perhaps fourth or fifth century unpublished life of Lucian of Antioch refers to the Cappadocians as πάνυ δεισιδαίμονας in the time of Diocletian: cf. S. Eyice and J. Noret, 'S. Lucien, disciple de S. Lucien d'Antioche. A propos d'une inscription de Kirşehir (Turquie)', Anal.Boll. 91(1973),373 (and cf. 376 on the text's date). But compare Julian, ep. 78 (δεῖξον ἡμῖν ἄνδρα ἐν Καππαδόκαις καθαρῶς Ἕλληνα),125.
4. Julian, ep. 78.

carrying out the emperor's wish that his remains be taken to Tarsus and buried there, owned property in Cappadocia to which he retired when, on the accession of Jovian, he began to fear for the safety of his life. He was said to have been promised the succession by Julian, and Jovian's suspicions of him were confirmed when in 365 he attempted to usurp the eastern empire, only to be defeated and executed by Valens the following year[1]. Although nowhere described as a philosopher, Procopius was certainly a man of letters[2], and may even have affected a philosophical style of life, for Ammianus describes him as 'rather strict in his life and character..., retiring and silent'[3], which may perhaps be thought reminiscent of the Pergamon circle. Unfortunately we do not know whether Aristoxenus or Procopius were in contact with Aedesius or Eustathius, though we may guess that Procopius knew Eustathius, even before Julian's accession, for both were involved in the diplomatic exchanges between Constantius and Shapur in the late 350s, though they went on separate embassies[4]. Julian of course was the link between all of them, working tirelessly as always to endow his fellow pagans with some sense of common purpose. Sadly, he was building on sand: even in Asia Minor, Iamblichan Neoplatonism was a movement of limited popular appeal. Dominated as it was by a small clique of inter-related leaders[5], it is sobering, but not surprising, to reflect that we would know virtually nothing about it were it not for the survival of Eunapius's Vitae sophistarum.

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1. Cf. W. Ensslin, R.E. 23.252-6; P.L.R.E. Procopius 4. Only Zosimus mentions the Cappadocian estate (IV.4.3), but though Ensslin 253 describes his narrative as a 'romanhaft ausgeschmückte Bericht', there is no reason to doubt this detail.
2. Themistius, or. 7.86bc. The secret message Procopius sent back from Persia while on an embassy is full of the conceits of the rhetor: Ammianus Marcellinus XVIII.6.18. Under Julian he was a notarius (ibid. XXVI.6.1).
3. Loc.cit.
4. Ibid. XVII.14.
5. Cf. below, 196-98.

CHAPTER IV

THE SPREAD OF NEOPLATONISM II: GREECE AND THE WEST

If Pergamon and the other cities of Asia Minor were the first to benefit from the Iamblichan diaspora, it was fifth century Athens that was destined to see the fullest development of theurgic Neoplatonism[1]. How this came about has always been something of a mystery, but one thing is certain: fifth century Iamblichanism did not, as is often assumed, spring fully armed from the head of Plutarch of Athens[2]. It was a seed that had been planted long before Plutarch began his career as a teacher.

There is no need to dwell on the symbolic significance for the late antique philosopher of Greece in general and Athens in particular[3]. Athens had been the home of Plato, and the traditional rites in his honour were still sedulously maintained in late antiquity[4]. The Academy itself had ceased to exist as a functioning institution about the time of Sulla's sack of the city[5], but there was no shortage of Platonists in Athens during the following centuries, and it would have been extraordinary indeed if Iamblichus and his followers had not aspired to propagate their doctrine there.

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1. Praechter, Genethliakon: Carl Robert 119-21.

2. E.g. L. Petit de Julleville, L'Ecole d'Athènes au quatrième siècle après J.-C. (Paris,1868),126: 'il n'y a pas de philosophes à Athènes au quatrième siècle: du moins nous n'avons pu trouver le nom d'un seul'; Dörrie, Hermes 83(1955),467-8; E. Evrard, 'Le maître de Plutarque d'Athènes et les origines du néoplatonisme Athénien', Ant.Cl. 29(1960),108: 'Le premier nëoplatonicien d'Athènes dont l'existence soit attestée est Plutarque'; Lynch, Aristotle's School 184,n.21.

3. Cf. below,177-78.

4. Porphyry ap. Eusebius, P.E. X.3.1 (cf. above,62, and n.3); Libanius, or. 18.306; Marinus, V.Proc. 23; and the ceremonies may have been maintained into the sixth century as well: cf. Prol.phil.Plat. 6 (cf. above,80,n.3).

5. Cf. above,54-5.

The first Platonists known to have lived in the city during the period with which this study is concerned are the διάδοχοι Theodotus and Eubulus, contemporaries of Longinus[1]. Of Theodotus we know nothing more, but the degree of Eubulus's originality is suggested by Plotinus's distinctly mild interest in the treatises on Platonic questions that the Athenian philosopher sent him to read[2]. Longinus himself had been a pupil of Ammonius[3], and the fragments of his writings preserved by Porphyry show that when he left Athens for Palmyra at the request of Queen Zenobia he already had a fairly extensive knowledge of the teachings of Plotinus, Amelius, and Porphyry[4]. Nonetheless, though he respected Plotinus he could never bring himself to accept this teaching[5], and Plotinus for his part regarded Longinus as no philosopher at all, but a mere philologist[6]. It was in Greece - though not in Longinus's circle - that originated the idea that Plotinus was no more than a plagiarizer of Numenius; Amelius undertook the job of replying to these detractors, and in his dedicatory letter to Porphyry referred scathingly to their εὐστομία and εὐγλωττία[7]. Although Longinus's learned and eclectic circle included philosophers like Prosenes the Peripatetic and the Stoic Callietes as well as sophists - Nicagoras and Maior are two of the names that have come

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1. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.39-43; Porphyry, V.Plot. 15. 18-21. Cf. above,56-8.
2. Porphyry, loc.cit. The fact that the unknown dedicatee of I.G. $2\text{-}3^2$.3694 (c.A.D. 230; cf. J.H. Oliver, The Athenian expounders of the sacred and ancestral law (Baltimore,1950),160) is described as Γα. Ἰου. Πλατ⟨ω⟩νικοῦ ἀπ[όγονος] may suggest that he too was connected with these Platonist circles.
3. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.37-8.
4. Ibid. 19-20; cf. Evrard, art.cit. 402,n.219.
5. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 19.32-41,20.68-81.
6. Porphyry, V.Plot. 14.19-20.
7. Ibid. 17.1-2,21 (cf. 18.5-6); 21.4-9.

down to us[1] - Athenian intellectual life was at this time overwhelmingly philological in emphasis. Longinus devoted his immense learning to the criticism of classical and modern writers, and the emphasis of Porphyry's curriculum when he was a pupil of this 'living library and walking museum' was undoubtedly on grammar and rhetoric. Although Eunapius claims that the curriculum embraced the whole of philosophy as well[2], Longinus's approach to teaching philosophy appears to have been that of the scholar who seeks to present a clear account of what the great thinkers of the past have taught, rather than that of the original philosopher who, like Plotinus, is interested in his predecessors writings in part at least as the starting-point for his own imaginative élan. As A.H. Armstrong has suggested, it may well be that Porphyry's initial opposition to Plotinus's idea that the Forms are an inseparable part of Noῦς was the instinctive reaction of one who had been taught to respect only the letter of what Plato had written - or at least of what Longinus thought he had written. Certainly we know that Longinus disagreed with Plotinus on this matter[3]. A quick glance at Porphyry's Quaestiones Homericae, probably written during his Athens period, and the apparently later De antro nympharum, which may well have been written after he came under Plotinus's influence, again illustrates the difference of approach between the two circles[4]. The Quaestiones are a serious and not very imaginative crit-

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1. Porphyry ap. Eusebius, P.E. X.3.1; Suda M46. Another pupil, Cleodamus (Porphyry, V.Plot. 17.11), seems to have been a philosopher; and it is conceivable that Anatolius, the friend of Porphyry who later taught Iamblichus, may also have been a pupil of Longinus: cf. below,

2. Eunapius IV.1.2-5; cf. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.1-4. On Longinus's philosophical writings, which included commentaries on Plato, cf. Aulitzky, R.E. 13.1403-5.

3. Porphyry, V.Plot. 18.8-19,20.89-95; A.H. Armstrong, 'The background of the doctrine "That the Intelligibles are not outside the Intellect"', Ent.Hardt. 5(1960),393-4.

4. Cf. F. Buffière, Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque (Par-

ical compilation; the De antro by contrast is a virtuoso demonstration of allegorical exegesis, deriving the whole character and history of the soul from twenty lines of the Odyssey.

If the evidence for the acceptance as opposed to the academic awareness of Neoplatonic teachings in third century Athens is extremely exiguous, still some have thought to detect the first stirrings of Athenian Neoplatonism in an epigram apparently of this period, and addressed to one Laetus by someone who obviously thought of him as more than just a φιλόλογος; it refers to Pythagoras, and ends:

ἐν σοί, Λαῖτε, Πλάτων ζῇ πάλι φαινόμενος[1].

Towards the end of the century Aedesius of Cappadocia came and studied philosophy in Athens[2], but like Porphyry he had yet to encounter the decisive influence on his intellectual outlook. It is only during the first half of the fourth century that we begin to find more plausible indications of the arrival of the new teachings in Athens.

In 326 the Eleusinian δαδοῦχος and Athenian citizen Nicagoras, son of Minucianus and grandson of the sophist Nicagoras whom we have just encountered in Longinus's circle, visited the Tombs of the Kings near Thebes in Egypt, and as was the immemorial custom of tourists in those parts, inscribed his name and some other pertinent observations on a blank space in the wall-paintings[3]. In one of the two inscriptions he left he refers to Plato having visited the Syringes (as the Greeks called the site) before him, and this together with his general background tempts one to wonder

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is,1956),420-21, and the discussion following J. Pépin, 'Porphyre, exégète d'Homère', Ent.Hardt 12(1965),268-72.

1. I.G. 2-3^2.3816.
2. Eunapius VI.1.1.
3. Baillet, Inscriptions...des Tombeaux des Rois nos. 1265,1889.

whether he was a philosopher of some sort. Near to one of Nicagoras's inscriptions are numerous others which it has been suggested may have been left by his companions - he was travelling, he tells us, with the help of the emperor Constantine himself, so perhaps he had an official entourage[1]. Some of these inscriptions were left by self-confessed philosophers - the φιλόσοφος...Ἰουλιανός, for example, and Lysimachus the πλατωνικός φιλόσοφος[2] - while several, like Nicagoras's, recall Plato's visit - Εὐδέμων ἐθαυμάσας σοφέ Πλάτων...,Ἴλεως ἡμῖν Πλάτων καί ἐνταῦθα, Βουρίχιος σχολαστικός διά Πλάτωνα ἐθαύμασα[3]. These are at least suggestive of the sort of people, probably also from Athens, who might have accompanied Nicagoras, and of the motives they had for doing so.

That in the reign of Constantine and his sons Athens did indeed harbour philosophers with religious and perhaps even theurgical interests is suggested by several passages in the writings of Syrianus, the fifth century Iamblichan Neoplatonist and pupil of Plutarch of Athens. Syrianus often refers to the two philosophers Evagoras and Aquila, apparently contemporaries of each other[4]; Evagoras definitely lived in Athens, and possibly Aquila did too[5]. Both philosophers, who as was common in late antiquity seem to have been rhetors as well[6], are described as adepts of 'the

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1. Cf. J. Baillet, 'Constantin et le dadouque d'Eleusis', Acad. des Insc. et Belles-Lett., Compt.-Rend. (1922),289ff, and his commentary on no.1889 = op.cit. 492. The terseness of the inscriptions makes most of Baillet's suggested identifications incapable either of proof or disproof.
2. Ibid. nos. 1255,1281.
3. Ibid. nos. 1255,1263,1279.
4. Syrianus, In Herm. II,55.6,56.20-21,128.23. Keil, Hermes 42 (1907),559, maintained that Evagoras flourished c.330 and Aquila c.360.
5. Syrianus, In Herm. II,3.23-5.
6. Ibid. 35.2-4.

knowledge of divine philosophy' (τῆς θείας φιλοσοφίας ἐπιστήμη)[1], which to Syrianus can hardly have meant anything other than theurgic Neoplatonism (though if it actually was that is another question). Unfortunately we know nothing more about either of these men, though Aquila may be identical with the Suda's Ἀκύλας φιλόσοφος σχόλια λογικά γεγραφώς περί συλλογισμῶν[2], and there is some evidence that Evagoras had pupils[3].

More or less coaeval with these two shadowy figures must have been Nestorius, the grandfather of Plutarch of Athens[4]. If Plutarch was born c.350[5], then the birth of Nestorius may be placed c.290-95 - a date which would also accord well if, as is very likely, this Nestorius is identical with the hierophant Nestorius who in 375, in extreme old age, had a dream in which he was told that if Achilles were publicly honoured then Athens would be saved from destruction by an earthquake. The magistrates would not listen to him, but being himself 'tutored in divine concepts' he made an image of Achilles which he placed just below the statue of Athena on the Parthenon, so that in performing the customary rites to the goddess, he honoured the hero too. Athens and all Attica too were duly saved, though much of the rest of Greece was violently shaken. This story we owe to Zosimus, who quotes as his source a hymn in honour of Achilles written, significantly enough, by Syrianus[6]. The identification of this Nestorius with Plutarch's grandfather is further strengthened by what Proclus tells us about the latter[7]. He is introduced into the commentary on the Republic

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1. Ibid. 128.24.
2. Suda A1041.
3. Rhetores Graeci VII,12.20-21.
4. Proclus, In Remp. II,64.6-7.
5. Cf. Evrard, Ant.Cl. 29(1960),108-9.
6. Zosimus IV.18.
7. Proclus, In Remp. II,64.5-66.21.

as the originator of certain secret astrological techniques, which Proclus implies were passed down to him through Plutarch and Syrianus. This is particularly interesting, because Marinus also makes a point of telling us that Proclus acquired his 'Chaldaean theology' and 'theurgic virtues' in the first place from Asclepigeneia, who passed on to her pupil the 'rites and the whole theurgic method' that she had inherited from Nestorius ὁ μέγας and her father Plutarch[1]. This Nestorius too is very probably Plutarch's grandfather, though he might conceivably be Plutarch's father, who was also called Nestorius[2]. Later on in the commentary on the Republic Proclus relates a story about one Nestorius, whom he does not distinguish from the Nestorius referred to earlier in the same work as the grandfather of Plutarch - they may therefore be identical[3]. Here he is described as ὁ μέγας ἀνήρ ἱερατικός - unfortunately the epithet μέγας is too common to ensure an identification with Marinus's Nestorius - and is alleged to have visited Rome and met an aristocratic lady who claimed to remember previous incarnations as a slave in Attica, then a dog, a snake, and a bear. These memories were a source of great unhappiness to her, but Nestorius was able to effect a cure, and give her better hopes for the future.

The source for each of these four testimonia is an Athenian Neoplatonist, and two of them specifically emphasize the continuity of teaching between Nestorius and Iamblichan circles in Athens in the fifth century. This is important, because the only major recent study of the state of philosophy in fourth century Athens, that of E. Evrard, has sought to support the general thesis that Iamblichan teaching was unknown in Greece before the time of Plutarch, or pos-

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1. Marinus, V.Proc. 26,28.
2. References to the younger Nestorius, about whom nothing save his relationship to Plutarch is known, are collected by Evrard, art.cit. 120,n.77.
3. Proclus, In Remp. II,324.11-325.10.

sibly even Syrianus[1], by undermining Nestorius's credentials as a theurgist, and hence as a medium for the transmission of Iamblichus's philosophy. According to Evrard, nothing we know about Nestorius positively proves him to have been a Iamblichan theurgist. His making and interceding with a statue of Achilles, and the astrological techniques attributed to him by Proclus, are paralleled in pre-theurgic sources, while the doctrine of metempsychosis between humans and animals, which the second passage from Proclus is specifically designed to illustrate, was rejected by the Oracula Chaldaica and Iamblichus alike[2]. Moreover Marinus, in describing the θεουργική ἀγωγή that Proclus inherited from Asclepigeneia, mentions nothing according to Evrard that transcends the realm of the magical, far less savours of speculative or philosophical investigation[3]. Evrard concludes that, since the influence of Iamblichus on Nestorius is formally excluded by the latter's belief in metempsychosis, and is incapable of positive proof on the basis of the other three testimonia, Proclus must have acquired his knowledge of theurgy from the books by Porphyry and Iamblichus that he is known to have read, and not from Nestorius, who is to be discounted as a source of theurgical and of Neoplatonic doctrine alike[4].

True enough, we have no evidence that Nestorius was in any

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1. The opposite case is argued by Saffrey and Westerink, Proclus I XXXV-XLVIII (followed by Hadot, Néoplatonisme alexandrin 74), with the essence of whose conclusions the following account is in agreement.

2. Evrard, art.cit. 121-8. Plotinus, like Plato, taught the transference of souls from humans to animals and vice versa (III.4.2.16-30;IV.3.12.32-9), but Porphyry and Iamblichus dissented (Augustine, De civ. Dei 10.30; Aeneas of Gaza, Theoph. 802-3). For a general survey of this issue in late Platonism, cf. H. Dörrie, 'Kontroversen um die Seelenwanderung im kaiserzeitlichen Platonismus', Hermes 85(1957),414-35.

3. Evrard, art.cit. 128-30.

4. Ibid. 130-1,132-3; Marinus, V.Proc. 26.

way interested in philosophy, or that he came into contact with any of Iamblichus's pupils[1]. On the other hand Plutarch and his successors indisputably regarded Nestorius as their forerunner, and Marinus at least regarded him as having been a theurgist[2]. This is testimony not lightly to be dismissed; but nor should too much be made of it. It would be going too far to suppose, on the basis of what is known of Evagoras, Aquila, and Nestorius, that Iamblichus himself had a following in the Athens of their day, though it would be surprising if his name had not been known. We can at least say that there was an atmosphere, if not conditioned by theurgic Neoplatonism, then at least receptive to it.

We encounter at this point two philosophers who had close links with Greece, and who were pupils of Iamblichus himself, but who appear to have repudiated his teachings publicly. In his list of Iamblichus's main pupils, Eunapius mentions two of Greek origin[3]. Euphrasius is otherwise unknown, but his compatriot Theodore, who is not mentioned again in the Vitae sophistarum, is clearly to be identified with the Theodore of Asine so frequently referred to by, for example, Proclus[4]. Indeed, Proclus's interest

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1. Pace Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles 69,n.9, and J. Daniélou, 'Eunome l'Arien et l'exégèse Néo-Platonicienne du Cratyle', Rev.Et.Gr. 69(1956),412-32, who, detecting some parallels between Iamblichus's theory of language and that of Proclus's commentary on the Cratylus, finds a precarious explanation of how the doctrine was transmitted from Iamblichus to Athens by suggesting some connection between Nestorius (he does not specify which one) and Iamblichus's pupils.

2. Though Evrard does not mention this point, there is a theoretical possibility that the Athenian Neoplatonists of the fifth century were trying to make their tradition look more indigenous than it was; but in that case one would have expected them to make some specific connection with Iamblichus. The evidence presented in the following pages shows that they would have had little difficulty supporting such a claim, had they wished to make it.

3. Eunapius V.1.5.

4. The testimonia for the life and teachings of Theodore are collected by W. Deuse, Theodoros von Asine: Sammlung der Testimonien und Kommentar (Wiesbaden,1973).

in him suggests that he was one of Iamblichus's principal followers - which makes Eunapius's silence rather surprising. That in fact Theodore was something of an heretic in the eyes of the Iamblichans of the Asia Minor tradition is made clear by a letter written by Julian while he was still in Gaul, and addressed to Aedesius's pupil Priscus. 'I entreat you', wrote the Caesar, 'not to let the Θεοδώρειοι deafen you too by their assertions that Iamblichus, that truly godlike man who ranks next to Pythagoras and Plato, was vainglorious (φιλότιμος)'[1]. Since Iamblichus several times in his own writings attacked Theodore of Asine's teachings, it is a reasonably safe assumption that the Θεοδώρειοι here referred to were his followers[2]. Priscus was in Greece when he received Julian's letter[3], and so too,we must presume, were these disciples of Theodore against whose malicious words Julian was so eager to forewarn his friend[4]. Possibly it follows from this that Theodore himself returned to settle in Greece after the death of Iamblichus[5], but the only pupil of Iamblichus we know for certain to have lived in Greece[6] is an anonymous philosopher mentioned by Themistius, who having been a'pupil....of the old man of Chalcis', settled and

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1. Julian, ep.12; on its date, cf. Deuse, op.cit. 64. Id. 101 suggests that Theodore was relatively neglected by posterity because he deviated too much from Plato's teachings; cf. esp. Proclus, In Tim. 314ef.
2. The references are conveniently collected by Deuse, op.cit. 62, n.53; cf. 1, and 95,n.149, where the antipathy of Theodore and Iamblichus is derived from that of Iamblichus and Porphyry, who had also taught Theodore at one stage - Damascius, V.Isid. 166(Epit.Phot.).
3. Cf. below, 121.
4. We may know the name of one of the Θεοδώρειοι - Pisitheus, ἑταῖρος of Theodore, referred to by Damascius, In Phil. 3.
5. Libanius, ep. 487 (A.D. 356) is addressed to one Theodore, a rhetor trained in Athens. Seeck, Briefe 308, thought he might be identified with the philosopher, but the tone suggests that the addressee was primarily a rhetor, which hardly fits with Theodore of Asine, especially so late in his life.
6. Cf. above,95,n.1.

taught in Sicyon, and then, learning of Themistius, sent his pupils to study under him in Constantinople[1]. It seems though that he was no more active than Theodore in propagating the Iamblichan view of philosophy in Greece, since Themistius, who had little time for theurgic Neoplatonism, speaks highly of him and describes him as 'cultivating...not the new song, but the ancestral and ancient one of the Academy and the Lyceum'. The context leaves no room for doubt that by the words νέα ᾠδή Themistius means the teachings of Iamblichus, and not Christianity, as some have supposed[2].

The fact that two of the three pupils of Iamblichus whom we know to have been either Greek or resident in Greece eventually became opponents of their master's teachings suggests that the province, habitually conservative in both philosophy and religion, may for a time have resisted Iamblichanism, just as earlier it had resisted the new doctrines of Plotinus. Like Themistius, the philosophy teachers of Athens relied for their daily bread on a continuing demand for the traditional doctrines of the Academy and the Lyceum. The mentality of these men cannot have changed much since the days of Longinus, and they will have faced the growth in popularity of the new Platonism with the deepest suspicion. From the point of view of the present discussion, the main interest of

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1. Themistius, or. 23.295b-296a. That the teacher did not accompany his pupils (though Themistius is perhaps trying to convey the impression that he did) is apparent: ταύτόν μικροῦ ὑπέμεινε πάθος (295c), αύτός μέν δή άνήρ έκεῖνος οὐκ έδεῖτο έπισιτεῖσθαι (296a). His identification by Downey and Norman, note ad loc., with P.L.R.E. Celsus 3, is out of the question. If the anonymous of Sicyon studied under Iamblichus, he must have been in his fifties by 359, when Celsus arrived in Constantinople to study under Themistius. Clearly Celsus was a much younger man - he had studied under Libanius c.350, and had an infant son in 364. But since he is known to have studied in Sicyon before removing to Constantinople, he may well have been one of those sent to Themistius by our anonymous.

2. E.g. Reiske (cf. Downey and Norman's note ad loc.), followed by Geffcken, Ausgang 168. Cf. below, 175, n.1.

Theodore and the anonymous of Sicyon is that they indisputably brought Iamblichan teachings to Greece by the mid-century; but it is worth bearing in mind also their later desertion of Iamblichus when examining the activities in Greece of another distinguished Iamblichan, Priscus, ὸ καλῶς...εἰδώς τόν Πλάτωνα[1].

Although Priscus had been a pupil of Aedesius, he was already living in Greece when Julian arrived at Pergamon in the winter of 351[2]. Priscus was in fact a native of Greece, but though he was born in Epirus[3], it is probable that when he returned from Pergamon he went to settle in Athens. The language of Julian's letters to Priscus makes clear that they became acquainted while Julian was a student in Greece[4]: the postscript to ep. 11, written by the Caesar's own hand, suggests intimate friendship, while ep. 13 closes with greetings to Priscus's wife Hippia and their children. Julian perhaps travelled a little during his months in Greece, since his panegyric on the empress Eusebia shows some familiarity with the philosophical life of towns like Sparta, Corinth, Argos, and Sicyon[5], but it is clear that he spent most of his time in Athens. Obviously this was the most natural place for a philosopher to settle, and we may take Julian's letters as confirming that Priscus had done likewise. As a former pupil of Aedesius Julian was doubtless made welcome in the older man's family circle, though it seems that he was never in any formal sense a pupil of Priscus[6].

When he became Caesar Julian invited Priscus to join him;

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1. Libanius, ep. 947.4.
2. Eunapius VII.1.14.
3. Libanius, orr. 1.123,14.32; Eunapius VII.1.10.
4. Pace Evrard, art.cit. 113,n.32.
5. Julian, or. 2.119bc.
6. Julian, ep. 12: πεποίηκάς με ψευδεπίγραφον εἶναί σου μαθητήν.

the philosopher accepted the invitation, and travelled from Athens to Gaul[1]. We do not know how long he stayed, but Libanius makes clear that he left Gaul before Julian did, taking with him a poem written in his honour by the Caesar himself. Later, when Julian had become sole emperor and established himself at Constantinople, Priscus was persuaded to return to court, and since Eunapius tells us that he was at this time in Greece again, it is natural to assume that he returned thither direct from Gaul[2]. Thereafter he seems to have remained with Julian until the disastrous end of the Persian campaign, and even then he was in no hurry to return to Athens, but stayed on at the relatively liberal court of Jovian, returning to Greece only when Valens began to move against the leading figures of the Julianic period[3]. He got off lightly compared to his friend Maximus, apparently because, like Chrysanthius, he had behaved with moderation towards the Christians[4]. He probably passed the remaining decades of his long life in Athens, where Christianity as yet had little hold, and died during Alaric's invasion of Greece in 396[5].

On the face of it, then, Priscus's qualifications as a pur-

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1. Julian, ep. 13; Libanius, orr. 12.55-6 (the φιλόσοφος Ἀθηναῖος being almost certainly Priscus), 18.74. R. Herzog, 'Zwei griechische Gedichte des 4. Jahrhunderts aus St. Maximin in Trier', Trierer Zeit. 12(1937),127-9, argued that it was not Priscus but the Eleusinian hierophant, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, who went to Gaul. The hierophant's visit to Julian in Gaul is attested by Eunapius VII.3.7, but there is no evidence either that he was identical with Praetextatus, or that Priscus did not go to Gaul as well: cf. J. Bidez, 'La découverte à Trèves d'une inscription en vers célébrant le dieu Hermès', Annales de l'Ec. des Hautes Et.,Gand 2 (1938),17-8.
2. Eunapius VII.4.1,4,7.
3. Ibid. VII.4.10-12,VII.4.13 suggests Eunapius, who studied in Athens 362-6 (X.8.1-3; cf. Keil, Hermes 42(1907),553,n.2) may have witnessed Priscus's return.
4. Eunapius VII.4.12;VIII.1.10.
5. Cf. above,94. Pace Evrard, art.cit. 115,n.45, Libanius, ep. 947 neither proves nor disproves Priscus's presence in Athens at this period.

veyor of Iamblichan Neoplatonism to the schools of Athens were impeccable: he was a pupil of Aedesius and the intimate friend and collaborator of Julian and Maximus. With the philosopher of Ephesus indeed he had much in common: both tended towards the Delphic in utterance, neither had much understanding of the ways of the world[1]. As it happens, they are also alike in that the only books we know either to have written were on Aristotelian logic[2]. In short, Priscus supplies an important link between Greece and the Iamblichans of Asia Minor. Yet not all the evidence points in the same direction. In a letter written from Gaul, Julian asks Priscus for a copy of all Iamblichus's writings εἰς τὸν ὁμώνυμον, which apparently means Julian the Chaldaean or Julian the Theurgist, but adds that not Priscus himself, but one of his sister's relations by marriage, has the corrected copies. It is not really cause for surprise if Priscus himself did not have copies[3] - much more to the point, indeed, is that this is our first irrefragable evidence for the presence of any Iamblichan writings in Greece - but when Julian goes on to warn his friend, in words already quoted, against the wiles of the followers of Theodore of Asine, and to reassert strongly both his own allegiance to the Oracula Chaldaica and to Iamblichus, one cannot help wondering whether perchance he had cause to doubt Priscus's steadfastness in the faith. Undeniably odd, moreover, is the complete failure of the fifth century Athenian Neoplatonists, to whom we are indebted for all we know about the unphilosophical Nestorius, to mention Priscus even once, despite the fact that Plutarch could easily have made his personal acquaintance.

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1. Cf. Eunapius VII.1.14, and below,200.
2. Cf. above,98.
3. Pace Evrard, art.cit. 405.

It would indeed be amazing if a man like Priscus had not made any impression at all on the city in which he lived for the better part of half a century. That he had disciples is explicitly stated by Eunapius, who describes them as κορυβαντιῶντας ἐπί σοφίᾳ[1], a phrase which cannot but remind us of the letters of ps.-Julian to Iamblichus, for example. In the same passage Eunapius describes Priscus as an 'innovator' (νεωτερισμούς ἐνεγκών), and this, together with Julian's warning about the Θεοδώρειοι, may just possibly be the clue to the silence of the later exponents of the Iamblichan tradition. Perhaps, like the anonymous of Sicyon, Priscus had undergone a change of heart in later life, and succumbed to the currents of hostility to contemporary interpretations of Plato that still ran strong in Greece. Certainly, if he had departed significantly from the teachings of the divine Iamblichus, then the fifth century Neoplatonists would not have regarded him as one of their forebears, or seen any reason to preserve his memory.

It is worth lingering a little longer at this point over the few happy months that the young Julian spent in Athens during the summer and autumn of 355[2]. His reasons for going were and are self-evident, and he makes little attempt to explain them in his writings, except to say that he had a taste for literary pursuits[3]. Eunapius implies that his strongest motivation was the hope of meeting the Eleusinian hierophant, of whose wisdom he had already heard tell at Ephesus[4], and indeed Julian's initiation in the mysteries and his close friendship with the hierophant, who sub-

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1. Eunapius VIII.1.10; cf. Julian, ep. 12, and Libanius, ep. 947. 4. Saffrey and Westerink, Proclus I XLIII, identify the Bithynian Hilarius mentioned by Eunapius VIII.2.1-2 with the Hilarius referred to by Libanius, epp. 947,950, and claim that he was a member of Priscus's circle. The first proposition is dubious, since Libanius's Hilarius was an Athenian (ep. 947.4); the second is conceivable in both cases, but not proven - Eunapius does not actually say that the Bithynian Hilarius was a philo-

sequently visited him in Gaul[1], were the natural sequence to his association with Maximus and Chrysanthius. Of conventional philosophical studies on the other hand Eunapius says nothing, evidently regarding these as having been completed at Pergamon, but Libanius speaks of Julian as surrounded by philosophers and rhetors during his months at Athens[2], and Zosimus says much the same[3]. That Priscus was one of these philosophers is virtually certain, and if Julian's letter to his fellow-students Eumenius and Pharianus is anything to go by, the interests he shared with them - and we assume he means at Athens - ranged through rhetoric and poetry to Aristotle and Plato, compared to the study of whom all other pursuits are mere πάρεργα[4]. Some Christian writers though were inclined to take a more sensationalist view of Julian's activities in Athens, playing up his association with 'diviners and oracle-mongers', and mentioning nothing about rhetors and philosophers[5]. Doubtless the truth lies somewhere in between - all classes had an interest in meeting Julian, and his own writings suggest a limitless concern for all aspects of Hellenic culture.

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sopher at all.

2. On the date, cf. E. von Borries, R.E. 10.31-2.
3. Julian, or. 2.119c; cf. Libanius, or. 12.36.
4. Eunapius VII.3.1. Eunapius makes no reference to Julian's visit to Italy in the meantime.

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1. Ibid. VII.3.6-9. Nilsson, Geschichte der Griechischen Religion II,351,n.3, thought that the hierophant may have been identical with Nestorius, a supposition doubted by Saffrey and Westerink, op.cit. XXIX,n.5. Cf. also above,122,n.1.
2. Libanius, or. 18.29.
3. Zosimus III.2.1; cf. Socrates, H.E. III.1.24.
4. Julian, ep. 8.
5. Theodoret, H.E. III.3.2; cf. Sozomen, H.E. V.2.19. Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 5.23, refers to both of these motives for Julian's visiting Athens.

In so short and busy a visit, and at so early an age, Julian can hardly have contributed much to the Athenian philosophical scene, though doubtless his presence did something to raise morale[1] and strengthen the link already established by Priscus between Athens and the Iamblichan circles of Asia Minor. In his panegyric on Eusebia Julian describes the philosophical life of Athens in these words:

> 'Athens has many pure streams which spring from its own soil, while many too flow from without the city, no less precious than those that are native. And her people love and cherish them, and desire to be rich in that which alone makes wealth enviable'.[2]

It is tempting to see in this passage a reference, at least in part, to the arrival of Iamblichan teachings in Athens; they are no inferior, he says, to what Athens herself produced in the past; and we are reminded of his description of Iamblichus, in a letter written soon after the panegyric on Eusebia, as 'that truly god-like man, who ranks next to Pythagoras and Plato'[3].

Apart from the possibility that Maximus of Ephesus may have visited Athens about the time that Julian became emperor[4], the next adherent of Iamblichan Neoplatonism who is known to have

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1. Cf. Libanius, or. 18.29; and, on Julian's popularity in Greece, 114-6.
2. Julian, or. 2.119cd.
3. Id., ep. 12.
4. Id., ep. 26, esp. 415a. The seventh century George of Alexandria, V.Chrys. 4, refers to a visit by John Chrysostom to Athens c.365 (since he is stated to have been under eighteen: ibid. 5), and to an encounter with a pagan philosopher called Anthemius. That the incident is an invention is shown by C. Baur, 'Georgius Alexandrinus', Byz.Zeit. 27(1927),2-3,7; for other Byzantine versions, cf. F. Halkin, Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome (Brussels,1977), index s.v. Ἀνθέμιος. Unfortunately we have no way of dating the mysterious Platonic philosopher Paterius, who wrote a commentary on the Phaedo and perhaps on the Republic too, and may have been a near-contemporary of Plutarch. Cf. R. Beutler, R.E. 18.2562-3, and 'Zu Paterios', Hermes 78(1943),106-8; P.L.R.E. Paterius 2. Proclus, In Remp. II,134.9-10, refers to the ἀμφὶ Πατέριον ἐξηγηταί, ἄνδρες ἡμῖν αἰδοῖοι.

spent any time in the city is the younger Iamblichus, grandson of the elder Sopater and nephew to the younger, and like them a native of Apamea[1]. If, as was suggested in the previous chapter, some sort of philosophical school survived at Apamea up to the reign of Julian, then it is very likely that Iamblichus was a member of it. Most of what we know about the rest of his career is to be found in the letters written to him by his teacher Libanius, according to which he travelled extensively, visiting Athens in 357,358, and 362/3, and devoting himself to the study of philosophy, including that of Iamblichus of Apamea[2]. The letter in which Libanius refers to the younger Iamblichus's interest in his namesake's teachings, dated by Foerster to 365, does not actually say that he pursued that interest in Athens - indeed, it refers to his 'love for the countryside' - but the discovery in the Athenian agora of an inscribed herm commemorating Iamblichus's generous contribution towards the cost of rebuilding the city-walls, possibly after the earthquake of 375, encourages the assumption that the Syrian philosopher settled there permanently sometime in the early 360s[3]. The last letter of Libanius in which he is mentioned is dated to 391[4],

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1. Cf. P.L.R.E. Iamblichus 2; and A.E. Raubitschek, 'Iamblichos at Athens', Hesperia 33(1964),63-8, criticized by Cameron, Athenaeum 45(1967),143-53, and J. and L. Robert, Bull.Epig.(1965), 155 (=Rev.Et.Gr. 78(1965),104-6). Cameron, art.cit. 146-8, rightly rejected the previously general assumption that Iamblichus was the grandson of the famous philosopher; as also (149, n.11) Raubitschek's notion, art.cit. 65,n.10, that the ὁμώνυμος of Julian, ep. 12, might be the younger Iamblichus.

2. Libanius, epp. 327,569-77 (A.D. 357); 360,385 (358); 1466 (quoted below, 172, and written 365: by inserting a comma, not in Foerster's text, between τόν ὁμώνυμον (Iamblichus the elder) and τόν θεῖον, Raubitschek, art.cit. 66, has deprived Iamblichus of his epithet (cf. above,43) and invented a reference to the younger Iamblichus's uncle (θεῖος) Sopater; cf. Cameron, art. cit. 148). For further references to Iamblichus's interest in philosophy, cf. Symmachus, ep. 9.2, and the second of the two epigrams published by Raubitschek, art.cit. 64 (σοφίη κόσμησεν ... Ἀθήνας).

3. Ibid. 66-7; Cameron, art.cit. 150.

4. Libanius, ep. 1007.3.

but he may have lived on some time after that. That Evrard should have omitted even to mention so important a figure in the history of Athenian Neoplatonism is sufficiently indicative of the presuppositions on which he bases his argument.

Theodore of Asine, the anonymous of Sicyon, Priscus, Julian, and the younger Iamblichus together provide ample proof that Athens was far from being hermetically sealed against the doctrines of theurgic Neoplatonism during the fourth century, even though there may have been strong currents of opposition. As Julian implied in his panegyric on Eusebia, Athens was still a cosmopolitan centre[1], and it would have been surprising indeed if any major intellectual current had failed to evoke some response there, even if only in a relatively narrow circle. We should guard against reading too much into the silence of Eunapius, who was denied the chance to study philosophy in Athens when his parents summoned him home in 366[2]. He tells us a great deal about the Athenian sophists who taught him rhetoric, and if he had acquired his philosophy in Greece rather than Asia Minor, the intellectual ancestry of Plutarch would today be much less obscure.

The only strict sense then in which Plutarch was, as Evrard claims, the first Athenian Neoplatonist is that he was the first to be born there[3]. It is true of course that he bulks larger than his predecessors in our sources. Probably his lifetime marked some sort of turning-point, and certainly he must have been a very

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1. Cf. below, 177.
2. Eunapius X.8.3. Cf. Marinus's cursory dismissal of the Athenian sophists in his account of the philosophical education of Proclus: V.Proc. 11.
3. Hierocles ap. Photius, Bibl. 214.173a; Suda Δ1355; Evrard, art. cit. 108. Plutarch could not have been born before c.350 (ibid. 108-9), so Bidez-Cumont's attempt to identify him with the addressee of Julian, ep. 153 (whose authenticity is anyway doubted by von Borries, R.E. 10.82) must be rejected.

good teacher: that would explain why his pupil Hierocles accorded him so honourable a place in the purified Platonic διαδοχή, as a true heir of Iamblichus[1], while another and greater pupil, Proclus, retained throughout his life the deepest respect for him[2]. But equally his successors never, as we have seen, lost sight of the fact that Plutarch was also the inheritor of a tradition already indigenous to Athens.

There is unfortunately a certain ambiguity about what we know of Plutarch, and this has encouraged speculation that he was not really a follower of Iamblichus at all, and that the source of his successors' Iamblichanism should be sought elsewhere. For all his admiration of Plutarch, Proclus does not include him in his list of prominent exponents of the restored Platonism at the beginning of the Theologia Platonica. Isidore likewise refused to rank him (or Plotinus!) alongside Porphyry, Iamblichus, Syrianus, and Proclus as a successor of Pythagoras and Plato; and the anonymous author of the In Phaedonem thought that Iamblichus, Syrianus, and Proclus were more notable ἱερατικοί than Plutarch[3]. In other words, though it would be most misleading to take at face value R. Beutler's assertion that 'Plutarch unterbricht bezeichnend die Linie Iamblich - Syrian - Proklos...'[4], he does seem to have been regarded by his successors as more the transition to Athenian Iam-

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1. Hierocles, loc.cit.
2. Marinus, V.Proc. 12; cf. Proclus, In Parm. 6,p.1058 (Πλούταρχος ὁ ἡμέτερος προπάτωρ), and Damascius, V.Isid. 150 (Epit.Phot.).
3. For all these references, cf. above,79-80. Syrianus, rather than Plutarch, is regularly implied to have been the principal Athenian heir of Iamblichus: Proclus, In Alc. I, 88.11-2; Damascius, In Phil. 5; id., De Princ. II.149.25-6. But cf. the linking of Iamblichus and Plutarch by [Olympiodorus], In Phaed. 124.17 (significance rightly questioned by Evrard, art.cit. 394) and Priscian Lydus, Metaph. in Theoph. 32.35.
4. R. Beutler, R.E. 21.963.

blichanism than its consummation.

What is more, we have no proof that Plutarch actually taught theurgical as distinct from conventional philosophical texts. The only pupil of Plutarch about whose education we have any details is Proclus, who was taken to the ageing philosopher by Syrianus when he arrived in Athens for the first time as a youth of nineteen. During the less than two years of life that remained to him Plutarch set Proclus to work on Aristotle's De anima and Plato's Phaedo[1] - which significantly enough was also among the first Platonic dialogues that Iamblichus was in the habit of reading with his pupils[2]. But Plutarch died before Proclus's education could be taken any further, and thereafter Syrianus took over responsibility, and began a systematic reading, first of Aristotle, then of Plato[3]; yet although Proclus began to study the Oracula Chaldaica during this period, it was only after Syrianus too had died that he found time to investigate thoroughly the theurgical writings of Porphyry and Iamblichus, and so to acquire gradually the θεουργικαὶ ἀρεταί, with the assistance, as we have seen, of Plutarch's daughter Asclepigeneia[4]. Obviously no firm inference can be drawn from Plutarch's failure to live long enough to conduct Proclus beyond the threshhold of Iamblichan wisdom; but an exam-

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1. Marinus, V.Proc. 12.
2. Prol.Phil.Plat. 26. Other evidence for the order in which Plato's dialogues were read by the Neoplatonists is gathered by A.J. Festugière, 'L'ordre de lecture des dialogues de Platon aux Ve/VIe siècles', Mus.Helv. 26(1969),281-96. Generally, Marinus's account of Proclus's education follows closely the model provided by Iamblichus in his Prot., and imitated in the schools of Pergamon and Sardis: cf. above,100. Even Marinus's emphasis, V.Proc. 28, on the way in which Proclus proceeded carefully, step by step through each stage of initiation is paralleled by Iamblichus, Prot. 1,p.7.5-12.
3. Marinus, V.Proc. 12-4.
4. Ibid. 26,28.

ination of what we know of his own teachings reveals a suspiciously sober metaphysic and an approach to exegetical problems more reminiscent of Porphyry than of Iamblichus[1]. Perhaps he really did attach less importance to the Oracula Chaldaica than did Proclus, or even Syrianus - but our evidence justifies no more than an open verdict.

A certain coolness towards the more innovatory aspects of Iamblichus's teaching might of course be thought to confirm the essential Greekness of Plutarch's philosophical education - and it is at least suggestive that the line of unquestioned Iamblichans who became his διάδοχοι during the fifth century were orientals to a man. Nonetheless, the fundamental qualities of the Iamblichan Neoplatonist were clearly latent in Plutarch and in the Athenian circles from which he sprang. If, like Evrard, we seek to call in external influences to redress the imagined deficiencies of the Athenian philosophical tradition, then we must explain what these influences were. Syrianus was born in Alexandria, and Proclus spent some time in the same city as a student[2]; from this Evrard deduces that they may have there encountered Iamblichan teachings that were not available to them in Athens[3]. There is very little

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1. Cf. Evrard, art.cit. 391-403, with copious references to earlier expressions of the same point of view. But Evrard's suggestion (395-6) that Plutarch's refusal to take the dietetic advice of Asclepius (Damascius, V.Isid. fr. 218), and his attempt to moderate Proclus's vegetarianism (Marinus, V.Proc. 12), indicates 'un esprit critique et une modération fort différents du fanatisme de Jamblique', apart from its naïveté, betrays a striking ignorance of Iamblichus's relatively moderate teaching on abstention from meat - cf. J. Haussleiter, Der Vegetarismus in der Antike (Berlin,1935),337-42.

2. Suda Σ1662; Marinus, V.Proc. 8-10.

3. Evrard, art.cit. 398. The idea has slightly more basis in fact than does Petit de Julleville's suggestion that Plutarch was educated in Alexandria and fled to Athens about the time of the destruction of the Serapaeum (391): L'Ecole d'Athènes 127-8. Larsen, Jamblique 41-2, unaccountably assumes that the testimonia and fragments of Iamblichus that are to be found chiefly (as he himself admits) in the writings of the fifth century Athenians were in fact transmitted via Alexandria.

to be said in favour of this thesis. About Syrianus's education we know nothing; since he eventually became Plutarch's successor[1] it can be assumed that Plutarch was his teacher inAthens, but about any philosophical education he may have had in Alexandria beforehand we are entirely in the dark. As for Proclus, it is known that he first began to study philosophy in Alexandria, where one Olympiodorus imbued him with the doctrines of Aristotle, but before long he became disillusioned with the quality of the teaching there, and moved on to Athens, where he became seriously involved with Platonism for the first time[2]. As A. Cameron has remarked: 'it would be a very strange coincidence if Plutarch's two most distinguished pupils had both independently undergone the same influence from someone quite other than Plutarch and yet settled down in Athens rather than Alexandria as members of Plutarch's school'[3]. We anyway have no firm evidence for the dissemination of Iamblichan teachings in Alexandria during the fourth century[4], and Proclus's experiences suggest that even if they were known, they remained inaccessible at least to him. This is on the face of it paradoxical, since a priori it is just as improbable that Alexandria, a cosmopolitan city with a high reputation for learning[5], should have remained so long innocent of Iamblichanism, as that Plutarch should have been its first purveyor in Athens. But when Iamblichan teachings first make an unmistakeable appearance in Alexandria, in the De providentia of Hierocles[6], their most obvious source is none other than Hierocles's teacher, Plu-

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1. Marinus, V.Proc. 12.
2. Ibid. 9-10.
3. Cameron, Athenaeum 45(1967),150,n.13.
4. Cf. below, 301-4.
5. Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 7.6; Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.16.17-8; and cf. below, 179, n.6.
6. Cf. Hadot, Néoplatonisme alexandrin, esp. 143,189-91.

tarch of Athens. Evrard's derivation of Athenian Iamblichanism from Alexandria is thus neatly reversed.

Such was the process by which Iamblichus's pupils and admirers spread their master's teachings through the lands of the eastern Mediterranean during the fourth century. The revival of philosophical life in Apamea, Asia Minor, and Athens marks successive but intimately interconnected stages in the extension of the Iamblichan διαδοχή. To treat each stage as a distinct School is to obscure the continuity, both intellectual and personal, that bound them together, and made them, viewed as a whole, the most influential philosophical trend within late antique paganism. Naturally the acceptance of Iamblichan Neoplatonism was slower in some places than in others. In Constantinople, the Christian capital, it seems to have failed to find an audience of any significance[1]; but in Alexandria too Iamblichus was slow to make an impression. And just as the Christians of Alexandria often found themselves closer to Rome than to Arian Constantinople during the theological controversies of the fourth century, so the intellectual development of Alexandria's pagans also finds its reflection on the banks of the Tiber. It is appropriate to conclude this investigation of the spread of the Platonist tradition in the fourth century by looking to developments in the west.

Philosophy did not thrive in the west in late antiquity. Such practitioners as it had were mostly to be found in Rome, and were almost invariably either themselves senators, or else connected in some way with the senatorial aristocracy[2]. The intellectual

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1. Cf. above, 90, and below, 184-85.
2. Cf. below, 181-84, 190-91. The following discussion of Roman philosophical life is largely in agreement with A. Cameron, 'Paganism and literature in late fourth century Rome', Ent. Hardt 23(1977), 16-26.

and religious proclivities of this circle, although strongly pagan until the very end of the fourth century, were also deeply traditional[1], and this predisposed them to ignore the teachings of Iamblichan theurgy. The only conceivable exception is Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, whom Julian made proconsul of Achaia, and who later became prefect of Rome and praetorian prefect of Italy[2].

Praetextatus's funerary inscription, erected by his wife, shows him to have been not only well-read in Greek as well as Latin literature, but also, like Julian, an enthusiastic pagan who was initiated in many mysteries and held numerous priesthoods[3]. Unusually for a Roman senator, he was a devotee just as much of the oriental cults as of the old gods of Rome. We know too that he was interested in philosophy, because he is represented as such in Macrobius's Saturnalia, and because he translated Themistius's commentary on the Analytica of Aristotle[4]. Doubtless it was for these reasons that Julian made him proconsul of Achaia, a province whose intellectual and religious traditions were close to the emperor's heart. With such a background one might have expected Praetextatus to have taken some interest in the teachings of Iamblichus. Yet the heliocentric doctrines which he expounds in the Saturnalia are very probably derived from Porphyry, not Iamblichus[5],

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1. J. Wytzes, Der letzte Kampf des Heidentums in Rom (Leiden,1977), 48-97.

2. P.L.R.E. Vettius Agorius Praetextatus 1. The most recent discussions are those of Flamant, Macrobe 26-36, and Wytzes, op. cit. 133-48.

3. I.L.S. 1259.

4. Boethius, Comm. in Ari. Περί ἑρμ., sec. ed. I,pp.3-4. The frequent assumption (cf. recently Dagron, Trav.Mém.Byz. 3(1968), 194,n.247) that the Categoriae decem ex Aristotele decerptae, once attributed to Augustine, was in fact written by Praetextatus, was persuasively rejected by L. Minio-Paluello, 'The text of the Categoriae: the Latin tradition',Cl.Quart.39(1945), 66-8.

5. Macrobius, Sat. I.17-24; cf. Courcelle, Lettres grecques 17-20, and Flamant, op.cit. 653-68. During his discourse Praetextatus

and anyway Macrobius makes clear in his preface that he regards the dialogue-form of the work merely as a convenient literary mould into which to pour a lifetime's partly digested reading. Clearly he felt under no obligation to make the views expressed by the historical characters whose identities he takes over correspond in every detail to what they believed in real life[1]. Nor, unfortunately, can anything much be deduced from Praetextatus's epitaph - it has a strongly religious tone, but nothing that comes anywhere near proving that its subject was familiar with Iamblichan theurgy[2]. The only other piece of evidence that might bethought to indicate that Praetextatus became involved with the Iamblichan Neoplatonists is John Lydus's observation that Praetextatus ὁ ἱεροφάντης was present, together with Iamblichus's pupil Sopater, at certain ceremonies commemorating the foundation of Constantinople[3]. Since Lydus must have in mind either the consecration of the city in 324, or its dedication in 330[4], it is improbable that we have here to do with the same man. But even if we do, the text still adds very little to our knowledge of Praetextatus, and it has to be admitted that there really is very little to be said for the idea that Iam-

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refers by name to both Plotinus (I.17.3) and Porphyry (I.17.70), but not to Iamblichus. He displays no knowledge of theurgy at all: Flamant, op.cit. 669.

1. Macrobius, Sat. I,praef.; and cf. A. Cameron, 'The date and identity of Macrobius', Jour.Rom.St. 56(1966),32, and n.56. Nonetheless, Macrobius is clearly accurate in emphasizing Praetextatus's knowledge of religious ceremonies: Sat. I.7.17,11.1, 17.1.

2. Pace P. Hadot, Marius Victorinus: recherches sur sa vie et ses oeuvres (Paris,1971),57. A.J. Festugière, Hermétisme et mystique païenne (Paris,1967),322, rightly points out that the gradations of spiritual ascent implicit in the epitaph go back at least as far as Porphyry.

3. John Lydus, De mens. 4.2; cf. W. Ensslin, R.E. 22.1579.

4. D. Lathoud, 'La consécration et la dédicace de Constantinople', Echos d'Or. 23(1924),289-94, and G. Dagron, Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451 (Paris,1974),32-3.

blichanism found an audience in fourth century Rome[1].

As far as the western intellectual tradition is concerned, Macrobius's interest in Porphyry is of far greater significance. It has already been suggested that the career of Iamblichus marks something of a caesura in the development of the Platonist διαδοχή, and this is nowhere more apparent than when we compare developments in the east with the situation in the west towards the end of the fourth century.

In the east the popularity of Iamblichus had largely occluded the reputation of Plotinus and Porphyry. Plotinus is never directly quoted by any pagan Greek writer between Porphyry and Synesius, not even by those, such as Iamblichus, Dexippus, and Julian, who do refer in general terms, either to Plotinus's reputation as a philosopher, or to particular doctrines they attribute to him[2]. What is more, there is plentiful evidence that the Iamblichans relied, for at least some of their knowledge of Plotinus, either on secondary sources such as Amelius or Porphyry, or on oral tradition[3]. And if Porphyry was more fortunate than his teacher, still it is remarkable that a man with Julian's resources, and extensive contacts in Neoplatonist circles, could confess in his Hymn to the Mother of the Gods that he had never been able to find Porphyry's treatise on the same subject[4] - unless a deliberate snub is here

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1. R. Turcan, 'Martianus Capella et Jamblique', Rev.Et.Lat. 36 (1958),235-54, argued that the Carthaginian writer Martianus Capella, whom present consensus assigns to the early fifth century, was familiar with Iamblichus's teachings; but his thesis has not gained general acceptance: cf. W.H. Stahl et al., Martianus Capella and the seven liberal arts I: The quadrivium of Martianus Capella: Latin traditions in the mathematical sciences 50 B.C. - A.D. 1250 (New York,1971),10,n.8, and 11-6 (on Martianus's origin and date).

2. Cf. H.-R. Schwyzer, R.E. 21.582-3, and Supp. 15.327-8.

3. Cf. P. Henry, 'Vers la reconstitution de l'enseignement oral de Plotin', Acad. roy. de Belg.,Bull. de la Cl. des Lett. 23(1937), 316-20; and Schwyzer, R.E. 21.510-12.

4. Julian, or. 8.161c.

intended. In the west, on the other hand, certain of Plotinus's writings were translated into Latin by the African rhetor and philosopher Marius Victorinus[1]. Macrobius was clearly familiar with him at first hand[2], while other non-philosophers such as the astrologer Firmicus Maternus, the Vergilian commentator Servius, and the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, refer to him without, Maternus perhaps excepted, having actually read him[3]. As for Porphyry, Marius Victorinus translated some of his works too, and drew on them extensively in his own writings[4], while Servius as well as Macrobius was familiar with him at first hand[5]. His Vita of Plotinus, a work of obvious popular appeal, we know to have been used by Firmicus Maternus[6], and perhaps at least looked at by Ammianus too[7].

Yet this marked preference of the west for Plotinus and Porphyry rather than Iamblichus marks a geographical rather than a doctrinal caesura. The διαδοχή does not split - it is merely more highly developed in some areas than in others. Such western philosophers as there are give the impression of being quite simply unaware of Iamblichanism, but as far as one can see this was for purely practical reasons. Plotinus and Porphyry had been ac-

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1. Cf. Hadot, Marius Victorinus 201-10.
2. Cf. P. Henry, Plotin et l'Occident: Firmicus Maternus, Marius Victorinus, Saint Augustin et Macrobe (Louvain,1934),146-92.
3. Cf. ibid. 25-43,193-9; Nock, Am.Jour.Arch. 50(1946),155,n.62= Essays 624,n.63.
4. F. Bömer, Der lateinische Neuplatonismus und Neupythagoreismus und Claudianus Mamertus in Sprache und Philosophie (Leipzig, 1936),81-3; Hadot, op.cit. 179-87,201-10, and Porphyre et Victorinus (Paris,1968),passim.
5. Courcelle, Lettres grecques 16-33.
6. Firmicus Maternus, Math. I.7.14-21 (cf. Henry, op.cit. 25-43, and K. Ziegler, Iuli Firmici Materni V.C. de errore profanarum religionum (Munich,1953),11).
7. Henry, op.cit. 196-9.

tive as teachers in Rome, they had both attracted a considerable personal following there[1], and some at least of their works were subsequently translated into Latin. Iamblichus enjoyed none of these advantages - and the practical circumstances of the fourth century were not such as to encourage even Roman senatorial aristocrats to adopt a more militant form of paganism than that to which they adhered already. Their instinct was to conserve.

To have traced the spread of Iamblichanism in the fourth century has not been an exercise of merely antiquarian interest; nor was it a process whose consequences were confined to the narrow circle of professional philosophers. Iamblichanism endowed philosophical life in the east with a certain élan which was lacking in the west, and by its emphasis on the preservation of the religious practices of paganism it impelled its adherents into political involvements of which Plotinus would undoubtedly never have approved. In the east, pagan resistance to the progress of Christianity was dominated by intellectuals, but in the west by great senatorial aristocrats; and though we have no reason to suppose that the belief of a Symmachus was less warm than that of a Iamblichus, still his motivation was bound to be complicated, and perhaps at times compromised, by the obligations of social and political eminence[2]. But before we turn to consider the more public face of philosophy, it is important to take a closer look at the practical articulation of Neoplatonist philosophical life, at the level of the everyday activities of the teacher and his circle. The διαδοχή had replaced the αἵρεσις as the long-term

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1. Cf. below, 152-56.
2. Cf. F. Paschoud, Roma aeterna: études sur le patriotisme romain dans l'occident latin à l'époque des grands invasions (Rome, 1967), 71-109, esp. 103; and Wytzes's criticism of his thesis, Der letzte Kampf 107-21.

historical framework within which philosophers thought of themselves as functioning; but what replacement did late antiquity find for the more concrete aspects of the classical School, such as its specific location and its stable institutions with their continuity from generation to generation?

CHAPTER V

THE NEOPLATONIST PHILOSOPHER AND HIS CIRCLE*

The rapid spread of Iamblichanism through the eastern Mediterranean world was due, not just to its attractiveness as a gospel for the embattled pagan, but also, more generally, to the cosmopolitanism that had characterized the whole of Hellenic culture from the time of Alexander's conquests onwards. 'It matters not where a man live, whether it be here or there, provided he live everywhere as a citizen of the World-City'[1]. It is true that the classical philosophical Schools had also been composed of people of extremely diverse origin[2], but it is equally apparent that Alexander's conquests created a vast increase in opportunities for Greek savants to see the world. The apostles and propagators of Hellenism were in demand everywhere - indeed their presence in the new cities that were being founded all over the near east was a political necessity. In the Roman world intellectual life remained thoroughly international, and the learned man was by nature a traveller, wandering from city to city to study under the masters he admired most. Longinus wrote in later life: 'When I was a boy, there were not a few masters of philosophical argument, all of whom I was enabled to see because from childhood I travelled to many places with my parents, and became acquainted with those who had lived on into my time in my intercourse with a great number of peoples and cities'[3]. Late antique philosophers

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* An earlier version of this chapter has been published as 'The Platonist philosopher and his circle in late antiquity', Φιλοσοφία 7(1977),359-83.

1. Marcus Aurelius, Med. X.15.2;cf. VI.44.6, and Seneca, De vita beata 20.5.
2. Cf. e.g. Plutarch, Mor. 605ab; Diogenes Laertius 3.46.
3. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.20-25.

were used to international audiences[1]; this was a world in which a Plotinus could throw up all and join an expedition bound for Persia, while a Prohaeresius might, despite his poverty, set out from his home in Armenia and embark on a career which would take him to Antioch, Athens, Rome, and even Gaul[2]. As Themistius pointed out, he himself had visited and delivered orations in numerous cities, including Rome, whereas Socrates had never got further than Potidaea, and that only on war-service[3].

If the disciples who surrounded the great teachers of the Roman world tended to be thoroughly international in origin, they were naturally also unstable and discontinuous as groups. There are obvious consequences for any notion that the everyday philosophical life of late antiquity can be described in the same terms as that of the classical Schools. The only way to understand the structure and character of early Neoplatonist philosophical life is to abandon all such preconceived ideas, and examine in detail the four circles about which we are tolerably well-informed. These four circles fall naturally into two pairs, those of Ammonius and his most famous pupil,Plotinus, in the third century, and those of Iamblichus and his successor Aedesius in the first half

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 7; Themistius, or. 23.294b; Eunapius V.1.5.

2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.17-9; Eunapius X.1.8;3.3;7.1,3. Cf. ibid. XXIII.4.12 on the travels of Hellespontius; and Athanasius, V. Ant. 20: Ἕλληνες...ἀποδημοῦσι καί θάλατταν περῶσι, ἵνα γράμματα μάθωσιν.... On the enthusiasm of philosophers and others of the Roman period for Herodotus, cf. J. Geffcken, Zwei Griechische Apologeten (Leipzig,1907),188,n.3, and K.-A. Riemann, Das Herodoteische Geschichtswerk in der Antike (diss. Munich, 1967),70-124 (I owe this reference to Dr Oswyn Murray), Without stories of travel, preferably in exotic lands, a philosopher's biography was thought incomplete: Bömer, Der lateinische Neuplatonismus 96-104, and H. Dörrie, 'Platons Reisen zu fernen Völkern: zur Geschichte eines Motivs der Platon-Legende und zu seiner Neuwendung durch Lactanz', in W. den Boer et al. (edd.), Romanitas et Christianitas: Studia Iano Henrico Waszink ...oblata (Amsterdam,1973),99-118.

3. Themistius, or. 23.298ab.

of the fourth century.

Relatively little information has survived about Ammonius, but even that little has been the subject of a lengthy controversy which has as yet lost none of its fatal attractiveness. Anything one says about Ammonius must of necessity be based on hypothetical connections made between disparate fragments of evidence, and for this reason the discussion that follows will aim, by touching on all the surviving historical testimonia, to set a context within which the narrower question of Ammonius's relations with his pupils can be examined. The conclusions here offered do not coincide exactly with the reult of any of the more recent investigations[1].

We possess four main testimonies to the life of Ammonius from writers who enjoyed some direct or indirect personal knowledge of him. Because our interest is in the evolution of the Platonist tradition, it is best to begin with the evidence supplied by Porphyry, though it is not the earliest. Porphyry was heir at only one remove to Ammonius's teaching through both Longinus and Plotinus[2], and his biography of the man whom later generations at least were to see as Ammonius's closest disciple is the earliest testimony that has survived in its own right. From it we learn that Plotinus, disillusioned with the conventionally approved philosophers (οἱ εὐδοκιμοῦντες) of Alexandria, was introduced by

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1. Bibliography: H. Crouzel, Bibliographie critique d'Origène (The Hague,1971), s.v. 'Ammonios Saccas', 615-6; R. Farina, Bibliografia Origeniana 1960-1970 (1971),I.196-200, to which add F.H. Kettler, 'War Origenes Schüler des Ammonios Sakkas?', in J. Fontaine and C. Kannengiesser (edd.), Epektasis: Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou (Paris,1972) 327-34; and Schwyzer, R.E. Supp. 15.316-9. The only thoroughly sound treatment of Ammonius and his connections (but excluding his philosophy) is that of L. Krüger, 'Ueber das Verhältnis des Origenes zu Ammonius Saccas: ein Versuch', Zeit. für die hist. Theol. 7(1843),46-62.

2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.10-13,20.36-8; Eunapius IV.1.2.

a friend to Ammonius, and immediately captivated by him. This was in 232/3, when Plotinus was twenty-eight, and he stayed with Ammonius continuously for eleven years, until he was thirty-nine (242/3), acquiring a sound grasp of philosophy and a desire to go on and explore the learning of Persia and India. Porphyry also tells us that Plotinus and his fellow-pupils Herennius and the pagan Origen agreed to keep secret the doctrines that Ammonius had taught them, but that subsequently all three broke their pact[1].

We have a second Porphyrian testimony, a fragment of the Contra Christianos preserved in Eusebius of Caesarea's Historia Ecclesiastica, VI.19.4-8. The object of this fragment is to defame the Christian Origen and his allegorical interpretation of Scripture, but we are told en passant that as a young man Porphyry had met Origen, and subsequently (it is implied) become familiar with his writings. Origen had been a pupil (ἀκροατής) of Ammonius, whom Porphyry describes as having an at that time pre-eminent devotion to philosophy. Porphyry goes on to complain that the Christian learned a great deal from his master but did not adopt the philosophical life, elaborating the point by contrasting Ammonius, 'a Christian, and given a Christian upbringing by his parents', who nonetheless went over 'to the way of life according to the laws' (πρός τήν κατά νόμους πολιτείαν) as soon as he began to think and to study philosophy; and Origen, 'a Greek, educated in Greek learning', who 'drifted into' (or 'was shipwrecked on': ἐξώκειλεν) the 'barbarian recklessness' (Christianity), and thence forth lived

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3, and cf. above,7,n.7. On the reasons for distinguishing a pagan and a Christian Origen, cf. Dörrie, Hermes 83(1955),471-2, and Weber, Origenes der Neuplatoniker 17-33. Origen was by no means an uncommon name in Egypt: cf. F. Preisigke, Namenbuch (Heidelberg,1922),496-7,s.v., and D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum (Milan,1967-),351,s.v.

'contrary to the law'.

To these we may add an earlier testimony by Longinus in the preface to his De providentia, dating from about 265[1]. Distinguishing philosophers who write for the benefit of posterity from those who see their duty as the imparting of wisdom to their own pupils, Longinus remarks that Ammonius and the pagan Origen[2], with both of whom he studied for a long time, and who were egregious on account of their wisdom, belonged to the latter group. He then adds: 'And if some of these did write something, as for example Origen, Περί δαιμόνων..., these are not enough to justify us in counting them among those who have written extensively on philosophy; they are occasional works of men whose interest was in teaching, not writing, and who did not make authorship their main concern'[3].

Fourthly, we may note that the Christian Origen refers in a letter, again preserved by Eusebius[4], to the 'teacher of philosophy' (διδάσκαλος τῶν φιλοσόφων μαθημάτων) under whom he studied, in the company of another Christian called Heraclas, who adopted 'philosophic garb' on account of his master. Since the letter refers to Heraclas as 'now having a seat in the presbytery of the Alexandrians', it seems to have been written before he became bishop of Alexandria in 232[5], and is therefore our only testimony that

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1. Cf. above,66. On the date of the C.Christ. cf. T.D. Barnes, 'Porphyry Against the Christians: date and the attribution of fragments', Jour.Theol.St. 24(1973),433-42; of the V.Plot., Porphyry's own statement, ibid. 23.12-4.

2. The fact that Ammonius is here mentioned in the same breath as Origen strengthens the assumption that he is identical with the teacher of Plotinus.

3. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.40-41,44-7. That Longinus does in fact have the contrast between teaching and writing in mind (though the Greek is not wholly explicit) is confirmed by lines 25-9.

4. Eusebius, H.E. VI.19.12-4.

5. Ibid. VI.26; cf. H. Koch, 'Zum Lebensgange des Origenes und des Heraklas', Zeit. für die Neutest. Wiss. 25(1926),280.

is actually contemporary with Ammonius.

The failure of scholars to agree on what we can legitimately say about Ammonius is the best excuse for rehearsing these well-known passages once again. Longinus and Origen, both pupils of Ammonius himself, and Porphyry, the intimate of Ammonius's spiritual and intellectual heir, furnish us with evidence about the Alexandrian teacher's life which, if sparse, is both consistent and credible. The only necessary assumption that has been made in setting the evidence out in this way has been that the Ammonius who appears in the Contra Christianos fragment, and therefore by implication the teacher of philosophy to whom Origen refers, is identical with the Ammonius whom we encounter in the Vita Plotini. The way in which Porphyry describes Ammonius in the former passage ('the man who had the greatest devotion to philosophy in our day'), and the fact that both Ammonii taught in Alexandria, seems to make this assumption overwhelmingly probable.

On the basis of this evidence we can hardly claim to say very much about Ammonius, but we are at least now in a position to avoid the more dangerous misapprehensions apparent in recent discussions. Looking again at the four testimonies just examined, the following points arise:

Firstly, Ammonius was not in 232/3 one of the εὐδοκιμοῦντες as far as the Alexandrian philosophical establishment was concerned, though he must by that time have been teaching for many years. Origen took over the catechetical school at the age of eighteen (c.203), and, as his fame spread abroad, philosophers and heretics came and disputed with him[1]. Feeling his inadequacies, he betook himself to Ammonius, where he met Heraclas, who had already been a

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1. Eusebius, H.E. VI.3.3,19.12; cf. 8.6.

disciple of Ammonius for five years[1]. The implication is that Ammonius was already teaching in the first decade of the third century. This is not, pace Dörrie[2], a reason why the same man cannot have taught Plotinus and Origen - a teaching career of forty years is nothing extraordinary, and indeed Origen's lasted about fifty. Nonetheless, we must somehow account for Ammonius's lack of public reputation in Plotinus's day,and the obvious explanation is that he did not run a conventional philosophical school open to all comers. It is clear from the way in which Plotinus met him that he made little effort to publicize himself, and what information we have about the origin of his pupils[3] suggests that his reputation had not spread much beyond Alexandria. Ammonius himself was an Alexandrian[4]; the magician Olympius was too[5]; and the Christian Origen was probably born and certainly brought up in the city[6]; while Plotinus was also an Egyptian, born according to Eunapius (but no earlier authority) in Lyco (Lycopolis) - probably the town of that name in Upper Egypt rather than the one in the Delta[7]. The exception is Longinus, who was of Syrian origin[8], but

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1. Ibid. VI.19.12-3.
2. Dörrie, Hermes 83(1955),468.
3. Ammonius's known pupils are: Heraclas (Origen ap. Eusebius, H.E. VI.19.13); the Christian Origen (Porphyry ap. ibid. VI.19.6); Herennius, the pagan Origen, and Plotinus (Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.24-5); (?)Theodosius (ibid. 7.18); Olympius (ibid. 10.1-2); Longinus (Longinus ap. ibid. 20.37-8); Antoninus (Proclus, In Tim. 187b); (?)Theodotus (cf. below,147,n.1).
4. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.16.15-6.
5. Cf. above, n.3.
6. Eusebius, H.E. VI.1.1-3.3.
7. Eunapius III.1.1. Cf. F. Zucker, Plotin und Lykopolis (Berlin, 1950) (=Sb. Deut. Akad. Wiss.,Berl.,Kl. für Spr. Lit. u. Kunst 1950),4-7; H.-R. Schwyzer, R.E. 21.476-7.
8. Suda Φ735.

visited Alexandria for a time in his youth in order to study under Ammonius. In other words, Ammonius was unusual among late antique philosophers in that he did not surround himself with an international following.

On the other hand it does seem that at one period in his life Ammonius was in the habit of lecturing publicly, for Origen went to him, as we have seen, as an ἀκροατής, the term used to describe a pupil who was formally registered with a public teacher[1]. We may guess that, as Ammonius's own teaching evolved and became less conventional, he gradually withdrew from the public eye, and concentrated on a few chosen pupils - though even then we cannot necessarily assume[2], just because three of Ammonius's pupils agreed to keep his teachings secret, that they must have been his only pupils. Who, for example, was the friend who introduced Plotinus to Ammonius in the first place? As has already been suggested[3], the pact may have referred, either to doctrines that Ammonius did not reveal to all his followers, or to a particular interpretation put on Ammonius's teachings by Herennius, Origen, and Plotinus.

Something of the character of Ammonius's circle in its ear-

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1. Eusebius, H.E. VI.19.6; cf. Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 25 (ἀκροατής τε καί μαθητής); Libanius, or. 1.16 (ἠκροώμην...ἐν τάξει μαθητοῦ). The reference in Priscian Lydus, Sol. ad Chos. 42.15-6 to a 'collectio Ammonii scholarum', written down by a certain Theodotus, would support this point of view, could it be proved that they refer to Ammonius (as Theiler, Forschungen 37-9) rather than to the fifth century Alexandrian philosopher Ammonius Hermeiu (as Dörrie, art.cit. 467-8 and R.E. Supp. 8.853, and Dodds, Ent.Hardt 5(1960),25). In addition to the arguments put forward by Theiler, it should be noted that no Neoplatonist philosopher called Theodotus and contemporary with Ammonius Hermeiu is attested independently of Priscian.
2. Pace Dörrie, art.cit. 446-7.
3. Cf. above,29.

lier days may be deduced from what we are told about Ammonius's contacts with Christianity. There is nothing inherently implausible in Porphyry's account of the relationship between the Christian Origen and Ammonius[1]. Porphyry lived in Tyre, and as a boy may well have met Origen, who after 232 taught in nearby Caesarea. It is quite possible that Ammonius was born a Christian, and then drifted away from the faith as he grew up, perhaps encouraged a little, as H. Langerbeck suggested, by the Severan persecution of 202-3, in which Origen's father was martyred[2]. The character of the Christian community in Alexandria at this period was highly ambiguous - there was no norm of orthodoxy, no sure criterion for defining who was a heretic, and no sign even of a desire for one until the episcopate of Demetrius (189-231)[3]. Among philosophers too there was little distinction of creed. The Platonist Alexander of Lycopolis (fl.c.290) showed such a command of Christian teachings in writing against the Manichaeans that he was until recently assumed to have been a Christian himself; while the Aristotelian professor Anatolius, who probably taught Iamblichus, later became bishop of Laodicea[4]. In this he anticipated Synesius, who, having studied Neoplatonist philosophy under Hypatia, converted to Christianity and became bishop of Cyrene. As we have seen, both pagans and heretics came to Origen's catechetical school, and Christians sat at the feet of Ammonius the Platonist. With his Christian background Ammonius would, especially in the early years of his career, have found nothing strange in Heraclas and Origen coming to his lectures. Later, though, he may have identified him-

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1. Pace Dörrie, art.cit. 468-71.
2. Langerbeck, Aufsätze zur Gnosis 151; Eusebius, H.E. VI.2.2-3.
3. W. Bauer, Orthodoxy and heresy in earliest Christianity (Eng. trans. London,1972),44-60.
4. Cf. above,64.

self more closely with the pagan cause, perhaps as a result of Demetrius's attempts to draw the bonds of the Christian community more tightly together. In this context it is easily understandable that Origen may have chosen not to refer to his teacher by name when defending his philosophical studies in the letter quoted by Eusebius.

One might add that it would have been no odder for Origen to have been born a pagan, as Porphyry clearly says he was[1], than for Ammonius to have been born a Christian. However, his parents do seem to have given him a Christian education from an early age[2], though they themselves may well have been converts from paganism. On this point, then, one may legitimately suspect Porphyry, either of having been misled by Origen's remarkable philosophical erudition into assuming that he came from a pagan background[3], or else of having stretched the truth to serve his polemical purpose. The antithesis between Ammonius and Origen is perhaps a little too rhetorically neat to be fully credible[4] - but this is an issue of no great importance here.

Finally, we may note that Longinus does not, as is often assumed in the literature on the subject, state that Ammonius did not write anything, but that he wrote nothing of great significance[5].

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1. The antithesis intended by Porphyry ap. Eusebius, H.E. VI.19.7 between Ἕλλην and Χριστιανός is unmistakeable, and was taken for granted by Eusebius, H.E. VI.19.9 (and by the Suda, A1640). Ἕλλην was by this time anyway a terminus technicus for 'pagan': cf. I. Opelt, 'Griechische und Lateinische Bezeichnungen der Nichtchristen: ein terminologischer Versuch', Vig.Christ. 19 (1965),5-10.

2. Eusebius, H.E. VI.2.7.

3. Thus Dodds, art.cit. 31,n.1.

4. Thus Dörrie, art.cit. 470-71. Either way, the Christians had their own back, for according to some late sources, Porphyry himself was born a Christian: cf. Bidez, Porphyre 7,n.2 (the text here quoted from the Theosoph.Tüb. (a Christian polemical compilation of c.474-501) = Χρησμοὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Θεῶν 85).

5. This has occasionally been recognized, as by H. von Arnim,

In the light of what we have learned from our four early testimonies, it is now possible to turn briefly to the later sources, and ask whether they have anything to add. Eusebius is less reliable than Porphyry, because he seems to have known none of Ammonius's pupils personally, although he does claim to have spoken to friends of Origen[1]. Eusebius disputes what Porphyry says about Origen's pagan background, and, as we have seen, probably quite rightly; but about Ammonius, who according to Eusebius remained a Christian to the end of his life, there is no good reason for disbelieving Porphyry. Eusebius seems unsure of his ground here - the only evidence he can quote is a number of Christian theological works he attributes to Ammonius, though he can remember the name of only one of them[2].

Apart from a brief and disputed reference in Ammianus Marcellinus[3], Ammonius disappears from view for the rest of the fourth century, but reappears in two fifth century sources[4]. Theodoret, apart from being the first explicitly to make the connection between Ammonius the teacher of the Christian Origen and Ammonius the teacher of Plotinus, adds two new facts in his brief notice: firstly that Ammonius was called Σακκᾶς, because he used to carry sacks of wheat; and secondly that he deserted his sacks for philosophy in the time of Commodus (180-192)[5]. This date, though surprisingly

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'Quelle der Uberlieferung über Ammonius Sakkas', Rh.Mus. 42 (1887),283-4; Langerbeck, art.cit. 165. Dodds, art.cit. 24-5 persists in the old error.

1. Eusebius, H.E. VI.2.1.
2. Ibid. VI.19.10.
3. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.16.16; cf. Dörrie, art.cit. 467.
4. The two references to Ammonius in Nemesius, De nat. hom. 537ff., 593ff., which probably dates from the last decade of the fourth century (cf. E. Skard, R.E. Supp. 7.562), are concerned purely with his philosophical doctrine, and will not be further discussed here.
5. Theodoret, Gr.aff.cur. 6.60.

early, does not necessarily contradict the other testimonies; presumably Theodoret is referring to the date when Ammonius first began to study philosophy, but even if his teaching career stretched from c.190 to 242, it was still no longer than Origen's. As for Σακκᾶς, the name, admittedly unusual[1], need not be rejected, though the interpretation may be Theodoret's invention. One is tempted to follow Langerbeck in assuming a reference to the simple ascetic garb affected by philosophers, and favoured, according to the letter of Origen, in Ammonius's circle too[2].

Our other fifth century source, the Alexandrian philosopher Hierocles's De providentia, has already been discussed in chapter I[3]. Its assertion that Ammonius despised 'the opinions of the many...that inflict shame on philosophy' is quite in character with the man whose teaching inspired his closest disciples to a pact of secrecy. On the other hand, Ammonius must have had an instinctive understanding and sympathy for other mens' characters, evidenced in the diversity of his pupils - the magician Olympius, the philologists Longinus and Heraclas, and the philosopher Plotinus[4]. It is equally clear that he was a master of Greek philosophy, particularly of Plato, Aristotle, and probably Pythagoras. Porphyry attributes Plotinus's knowledge of philosophy to the time he spent with Ammonius, and emphasizes how Ammonius's influence continued to be a source of inspiration to his famous pupil's teaching[5]. We

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1. Cf. however the Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καί πανευφήμου ἀποστόλου Ἀπολλώ, τοῦ καί Σακκέα (Acta S. Apol. Rom.), who dwelt in Alexandria under Commodus.

2. Langerbeck, art.cit. 150, who errs, however, in suggesting that the practice was specifically Cynic: cf. below,286-8.

3. Cf. above,8.

4. With Plotinus's dismissal of Longinus as a mere φιλόλογος (Porphyry, V.Plot. 14.19-20; cf. Eunapius IV.1.3), cp. Origen ap. Eusebius, H.E. VI.19.14 on Heraclas (οὐ παύεται φιλολογῶν). Dörrie, art.cit. 441,468, finds it difficult, for this reason, to believe that Ammonius may have taught either Heraclas or Longinus (neither was as profound a philosopher as Plotinus!).

5. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.33-4,14.15-6.

may, following Porphyry[1], assume that Origen too owed his sound grasp of Greek philosophy to Ammonius. The extent to which Ammonius's teaching was of an overtly religious character may, as was suggested in chapter I[2], be disputed, but the profundity of his philosophical thought may not - if indeed anyone should be so unwise as to try to separate the two in late antiquity.

Ammonius's truest disciple was Plotinus, and indeed to later generations the Alexandrian master was known for little else. According to Porphyry, Plotinus lived in the house of the Roman lady Gemina. Presumably Gemina was wealthy, and her house large, for Plotinus's friends, 'men and women of the highest rank', often when dying entrusted him with the guardianship of their children, who would then go and live with him[3]. We also learn from Porphyry that Plotinus would entertain his friends on the traditional birthdays of Plato and Socrates[4]; and he presumably gave his lectures at Gemina's house too. It is improbable that Plotinus kept a house of his own, since his disciple Rogatianus gave up his when he converted to the philosophical life[5]. When he went to the country, he would stay with his friend Zethus near Minturnae[6].

We need not suppose that Plotinus's disciples lived with him too; some of them were senators or doctors, and most seem to have been established in their own right in one walk of life or another[7]. They give the impression of a close-knit group of men who shared

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1. Porphyry ap. Eusebius, H.E. VI.19.8.
2. Cf. above,29-30.
3. Porphyry, V.Plot. 9.
4. Ibid. 2.40-43.
5. Ibid. 7.37-8.
6. Ibid. 7.17-23; cf. 2.18-20.
7. Ibid. 7; Porphyry refers to his own house (not, pace Harder and Marg, note ad loc., Plotinus's) at 11.13. On Plotinus's abortive plan to found a city ruled by philosophers, cf. below, 170.

a passion for philosophy and the ascetic life, and a deep admiration and awe of Plotinus himself[1] - and yet there was more to the circle than just that. Plotinus's wards, for example, were all the time being trained in philosophy, though their properties and incomes were kept intact in case they should decide not to take up the philosophic life[2]. Even if there is no positive evidence that Plotinus had a large public following, his circle was by no means a closed one. Longinus refers to him and Amelius as 'still teaching publicly at Rome' (μέχρι νῦν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δημοσιεύοντες)[3], while the same Amelius got round Plotinus's refusal to be painted by bringing the artist Carterius into the meetings of the circle (εἰς τάς συνουσίας), in order to familiarize himself with the master's features and then paint him from memory[4]. Recounting the story, Porphyry makes a point of explaining that these συνουσίαι, or διατριβαί, as he sometimes calls them, were open to anyone who wished to attend[5]. Later in the Vita we find the pagan Origen taking advantage of this privilege and arriving unannounced, much to the embarassment of his old friend and fellow-student[6]. It is true that there were two Alexandrians, Eustochius and Serapion, among Plotinus's pupils[7], as one might expect, and other Egyptians, like Origen, paid him occasional visits[8]; but in general the circle has a much more international hue than Ammonius's. There is one group of eastern origin: Paulinus from Scythopolis, Zethus from

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 10.38.
2. Ibid. 9.14.
3. Ibid. 20.32.
4. Ibid. 1.4-19.
5. Ibid. 1.13-4 (ἐξῆν...τῷ βουλομένῳ φοιτᾶν εἰς τάς συνουσίας);cf. 3.36,46;5.6;13.1;14.10,21;16.10;18.6-7,19.
6. Ibid. 14.20-25 (and cf. 13.12: θαυμασίου τινός τοῦνομα ἐπεισελθόντος).
7. Ibid. 7.8,46-7.
8. Ibid. 10.1-13 (Olympius),15-28 (Egyptian priest).

Arabia, and Porphyry from Tyre[1]. Another group is made up of senators and aristocratic women from Rome[2], while Amelius was of Etrurian origin, and Castricius Firmus possibly from Nicaea[3].

Plotinus himself acknowledges in his Πρός τούς Γνωστικούς that there are Gnostics in his circle; he describes them as φίλοι, but distinguishes them from his γνώριμοι. It is to the latter that the treatise is addressed, 'for we could make no further progress towards convincing them' (the Gnostics)[4]. Porphyry too distinguishes between the ἀκροαταί, who were many, and the ζηλωταί, who he implies were fewer[5]. Chapter seven of the Vita is clearly intended as a list of this inner circle, the ἑταῖροι[6], who would naturally be present at the general meetings, but also enjoyed a more sustained contact with the master, through ὁμιλίαι, or private conversations, in which Plotinus would relax somewhat, tell his friends something of his own life, and give them some more personal philosophical instruction, helping them over their particular difficulties[7]. It was to these companions also that Plo-

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1. Ibid. 7.6,17,50. Rist, Plotinus 7, suggests Zethus too was a resident of Alexandria, since he married a daughter of a friend of Ammonius: Porphyry, V.Plot. 7.17-9.
2. Ibid. 7.29-30,9.1-5.
3. Ibid. 7.2 (Amelius); P.L.R.E. Castricius Firmus 6.
4. Plotinus II.9.10.3-9. Aquilinus (Porphyry, V.Plot. 16.3) was perhaps, pace P.L.R.E. Aquilinus 1, among the Gnostics in Plotinus's circle, since Eunapius IV.2.1 describes him as Porphyry's συμφοιτητής. But the pagan Origen, mentioned in the same passage, was not, as far as we know, a pupil of Plotinus - Eunapius is probably here misremembering Porphyry, V.Plot. 3. 24-7.
5. Ibid. 7.1; cf. Stoic.ind.Herc. 41.4-5, and Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 29-30 (cf. below, 165) for the same distinction.
6. Porphyry, V.Plot. 2.42. Porphyry, naturally, was ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἑταῖρος (7.50). Pace Wallis, Neoplatonism 41, the reference at 7.29-31 to attendance at Plotinus's lectures by τῆς συγκλήτου οὐκ ὀλίγοι cannot refer exclusively to the outer circle, since Porphyry goes on to quote as an example Rogatianus, who was very close to Plotinus. The context suggests that the same may have been true of Porphyry's other examples, Marcellus Orrontius and Sabinillus.
7. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.1;5.4-5;18 (an account of a series(?) of

tinus habitually delegated the job of replying to treatises addressed to him, to attacks on his teachings, and in general to points of view he disapproved of[1]. Porphyry's remark that copies of Plotinus's writings were only issued after careful scrutiny of the recipients[2] is additional evidence for the existence of this small inner circle of trusted friends and disciples, which cannot have numbered more than a dozen at any time[3]. However, Plotinus does not seem to have imparted secret teachings even to these intimates - his public teaching was difficult enough, and was clearly intended as a sincere statement of his beliefs[4].

From these practical details it is natural to draw the conclusion that Plotinus could never have founded a School in the classical sense; he could never have drawn up a will of the sort which Diogenes Laertius attributes to Epicurus[5], appointing trustees charged with maintaining his school on its traditional premises after his death. Neither Plotinus himself, nor any of his followers, ever held official teaching posts as far as we know. What was more, only one of Plotinus's disciples, Eustochius, was still with him at his death[6]. Porphyry was in Sicily, and Amelius in Syria[7]; others had predeceased their master[8], and the rest deserted him because of the nauseating character of his illness[9].

ὁμιλίαι, in which a doubting Porphyry is gradually convinced of Plotinus's teaching that the object of thought exists outside the intellect, and ultimately recants publicly, ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ). Ibid. 13.10-17 shows that the problems of individuals might also be dealt with at considerable length in the συνουσίαι, presumably if Plotinus thought them to be of general interest.

1. Ibid. 15.6-12,18-21;18.10-19.
2. Ibid. 4.14-6.
3. Ibid. 7 refers to eleven; we may perhaps add Antonius of Rhodes (4.2).
4. Ibid. 14.1-4,17.25-8; Eunapius IV.1.10. Eunapius says Porphyry eschewed ἀσάφεια (IV.1.9), but he had his lapses - cf. e.g. V.Plot. 15.1-4.
5. Diogenes Laertius 10.16-22.

6-9.(On next page.)

We know that Porphyry returned to Rome after Plotinus's death, and that he gave public lectures and probably died there, but Bidez's idea that he became head of Plotinus's school is pure speculation[1]- Plotinus's desertion by his friends and his retirement to Campania suggest that his circle, which as we have seen had no home of its own, and therefore no existence apart from its members, had already disintegrated, and this impression is strengthened by Augustine's assertion, possibly not purely polemical, that of Plotinus's followers some became Christians and others magicians, but none remained philosophers[2]. That Plotinus himself was opposed to the foundation of a 'Plotinian' School on his death is implicit in his refusal to disclose the date of his birth, lest it be celebrated by sacrifices and feasting[3]. In short, Plotinus's reputation and influence survived through his disciples and his writings, but not because of any School.

Of Iamblichus's circle of disciples we know nothing save what Eunapius tells us, and most of that is anecdotal. It seems that he owned several houses, and it may be that some of his disciples lived with him, or that they had some formal meeting-place and lecture theatre[4]. Eunapius strongly emphasizes how numerous were

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6. Porphyry, V.Plot. 2.34;7.8-10.
7. Ibid. 11.18-9;2.32-3.
8. E.g. Zethus (ibid. 2.17-20), Zoticus and Paulinus (7.15-7).
9. Ibid. 2.16-7.

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1. Ibid. 2.12; Eunapius IV.1.10,2.6; Bidez, Porphyre 103. That Porphyry had a number of pupils is nonetheless well-attested: ibid. 104; R. Beutler, R.E. 22.312; Smith, Porphyry's place XVIII,n.19.
2. Augustine, ep. 118.33.
3. Porphyry, V.Plot. 2.37-40. Eunapius's reference, III.1.3, to τοῦτου Πλωτίνου θερμοί βωμοί νῦν, if not purely metaphorical, probably refers to individual rather than corporate devotions.
4. Eunapius V.1.12. The reference is probably to Apamea.

his students: 'he had a multitude of disciples, and those who desired learning flocked to him from all parts'[1]; and indeed, though Sopater was a native Syrian, from Apamea, Aedesius and Eustathius were from Cappadocia, while Euphrasius and Theodore of Asine were of Greek origin[2]. But Eunapius then goes on to say that 'for the most part he Iamblichus conversed with his ἑταῖροι and was easy-going and old-fashioned in his way of life'[3]. This is suggestive rather of a small and informal community practising a modest asceticism; we gather also that they were occasionally the recipients of his 'more perfect wisdom' (τελεωτέρα σοφία), which was presumably denied to his less intimate followers[4]. To assume that the ἑταῖροι were really a multitude would make nonsense both of the sentence just quoted and of the anecdotes Eunapius goes on to tell about Iamblichus's informal strolls and conversations with his followers, indiscriminately referred to as ἑταῖροι or ὁμιληταί[5]. We should not then take Eunapius too literally, for it would be characteristic of him to exaggerate Iamblichus's following, although we may assume a rather wider circle than the few intimate disciples he specifically mentions[6]. Nonetheless, just as Plotinus's pupils were scattered at his death, so too were Iamblichus's, or at least the more important of them[7].

Among these pupils a primacy of honour seems to have been

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1. Eunapius V.1.4; the word πλῆθος is repeated at V.1.5.
2. Ibid. On Sopater, cf. Suda Σ845; and on Theodore, above,118-9.
3. Eunapius V.1.6: τὴν μέν δίαιταν ὢν εὔκολος καί ἀρχαῖος.
4. Ibid. V.1.7-11; cf. VI.1.5-6.
5. Ibid. V.1.6,2.7.
6. Ibid. V.1.5. Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 104,uses πλῆθος to refer to Pythagoras's followers, of whom he names sixteen and says that there were more.
7. Eunapius V.3.10,VI.2.1 (ἄλλοι...ἀλλαχῆ διεσπάρησαν).

accorded to Sopater, but his departure to the imperial court meant that in practice Iamblichus's mantle descended to Aedesius the Cappadocian. The circumstances surrounding these events have been discussed in an earlier chapter[1]; suffice it here to say that Aedesius eventually established himself in Pergamon. Eunapius's description of Julian's arrival at Pergamon[2] shows that by then (late 351) Aedesius's circle was functioning much as those of Plotinus and Iamblichus had done - the ailing philosopher could depute his teaching to his disciples when it became too much for him, while the disciples themselves attended and criticized each other's lectures, indulged in disputations, and took walks together with Aedesius in the streets of the city[3]. The most distinguished of these disciples were Maximus, Chrysanthius, Priscus, and Eusebius, but there were others too, of lesser note: Eunapius divides them into the Ἕλληνες on the one hand, and the πρόσχωροι on the other, drawn from Pergamon itself and the other cities of western Asia Minor[4]. The distinction corresponds exactly with the rest of what we know about the origin of Aedesius's pupils. Greece was represented by Priscus, a native of Thesprotia or Mólossia; Maximus came from Ephesus, Chrysanthius from Sardis, and Eusebius from Myndus in Caria, while Julian had been studying in Nicomedia before he removed to Pergamon[5]. Antoninus, who had

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1. Cf. above,90-94.

2. Eunapius VII.1.9ff. For the date, cf. E. von Borries, R.E. 10.30.

3. Eunapius VII.1.14,2.2-13;VIII.1.5.

4. Ibid. VI.4.7. It may have been in Pergamon that Julian met Oribasius, who was born there (ibid. VII.3.8; id., Hist. fr. 8; more reliable than Philostorgius, H.E. VII.15, and Suda O543, who say Sardis). Certainly they knew each other before Julian became Caesar: Julian, Ep. ad Ath. 277bc, Eunapius XXI. 1.4.

5. The main source is ibid. VII.1.10. On Maximus, cf. also Ammianus Marcellinus XXIX.1.42; Socrates, H.E. III.1.16. K. Praechter, R.E. 14.2563-4, suggests he may actually have been born in Smyrna. On Julian, cf. Bidez, Julien 54-6.

probably been brought up in Cappadocia[1], came to Pergamon because of the personal link between Aedesius and his mother, Sosipatra.

Despite the diverse origins of his pupils, it would be unwise to take literally all that Eunapius says about Aedesius's reputation. For example, Julian may have been drawn to Pergamon 'by the fame of Aedesius's wisdom', but the reality behind this vague expression is as likely to have been a word passed along the grape-vine of pagan intellectuals - perhaps those whom Julian met in Nicomedia - as any wider public acclaim[2]. Aedesius's following was not as genuinely international as that of Plotinus or Iamblichus, though it was more so than Ammonius's circle in Alexandria. Unfortunately, Eunapius is too keen to glorify the men he writes about to allow us any precise estimation of the extent of their influence; indeed, if it were not for him we would know nothing of Aedesius at all.

The atmosphere of Aedesius's circle seems to have been at least as public as that of Plotinus's, and it is particularly interesting to compare it from this point of view with the select group which gathered around Sosipatra. When her husband Eustathius died, Sosipatra went to live at Pergamon, and was looked after by Aedesius, who also took upon himself the education of her three sons (one of whom, Antoninus, subsequently acquired a considerable reputation in his own right)[3]. It is worth quoting Eunapius's com-

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1. Cf. above,104.

2. Eunapius VII.1.9; cf. VI.4.5;VI.4.7: ἡ δόξα τῶν ἄστρων ἔψαυεν; VI.9.1; Libanius, or. 13.12. If, following Keil, Jh.Öst.Arch. Inst.,Wien 40(1953),24-5, the Aedesius honoured by a statue at Ephesus was indeed the philosopher of that name, here is material evidence of his repute - but J. and L. Robert, Bull.Epig. (1955),194 (=Rev.Et.Gr. 68(1955),259) doubt the identification. On Nicomedia, cf. above,97,n.6.

3. Eunapius VI.9.1 (πρός τά αὐτῆς ἐπανελθοῦσα κτήματα must refer to a house in the town - the ἑαυτῆς οἰκία of VI.9.2, which is contrasted with the ἀγρός at VI.9.11),14-5.

parison of the two teachers:

> 'Sosipatra taught philosophy in her own home in rivalry with Aedesius, and after Aedesius's meeting the students would go to her, and though there was nobody who did not greatly love and admire the accurate learning (τήν...ἐν λόγοις ἀκρίβειαν) of Aedesius, they worshipped and revered the inspired teaching (ἐνθουσιασμός) of Sosipatra.'[1]

It would be wrong to deduce from this passage that those who went to Aedesius's lectures necessarily attended on Sosipatra too (though Maximus did[2]). Unlike Aedesius, who made a point of behaving with openness and friendliness to all whom he met[3], and was doubtless a well-known figure in Pergamene society, Sosipatra, who appears as a withdrawn and silent figure in Eunapius's account of her youth[4], seems to have remained a very private teacher. Moreover, she was a Chaldaean adept[5], whereas Aedesius seems to have avoided identifying himself with the thorough-going theurgists in his own circle[6]. Eunapius emphasizes that Sosipatra lectured in her own house, and in describing a meeting of her philosophical circle gives the impression that it was a group of intimate equals rather than of pupils in the formal sense: a number of different speakers discuss a fixed theme (πρόθεσις/ζήτημα), concerning the soul, before Sosipatra herself begins, dealing first with the previous addresses, and then going on to develop, in an inspired style, her own ideas[7].

Even before Aedesius's death, which occurred between 352 and 355[8], his circle had begun to split up, as Plotinus's had done.

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1. Ibid. VI.9.2.
2. Ibid. VI.9.3-10.
3. Cf. below, 199.
4. Eunapius VI.8.1-2.
5. Ibid. VI.7.5,8.
6. Cf. above, 95-9.
7. Eunapius VI.9.11-12.
8. Ibid. VII.1.10,3.6.

According to Eunapius, Priscus had already returned to Greece and Maximus to Ephesus when Julian arrived at Pergamon. Eusebius and Chrysanthius were still with Aedesius, but at Julian's request Chrysanthius joined Maximus at Ephesus shortly afterwards, and seems to have stayed there for some time[1]. What became of Eusebius we do not know, but it is clear that Aedesius's circle died to all intents and purposes with its founder, even though individual members kept in touch at least until Julian's death - indeed Maximus and Priscus were there, discoursing 'super animorum sublimitate' and keeping watch over the emperor as he expired in his tent on the banks of the Tigris[2].

To resume, we have so far, within the limits of our fragmentary evidence, established four features shared by the circles of Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Aedesius, and to some extent foreshadowed in that of Ammonius. Firstly, and of fundamental importance, their raison d'être was not the preservation of an inherited dogma within the formal structure of a School, but the desire to associate with and learn from a specific individual teacher, whose disciples tended not to maintain a group identity when he died. It was not unknown for a school founded by a famous philosopher to be maintained by his διάδοχοι for one or two generations after his death[3], but this was the exception rather than the rule. Secondly, none of these philosophers held chairs of philosophy or other public teaching posts. Theirs was, as E. Evrard has remarked[4], a

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1. Ibid. VII.1.14,2.13. It is difficult to tell whether the philosophical circle referred to by Julian, or. 7.235c, is that of Pergamon or Ephesus, though probably the latter, since the καθηγεμών is Maximus.
2. Ammianus Marcellinus XXV.3.23. Cf. Libanius, or. 14.32.
3. Cf. above,92-4 (school of Iamblichus),102 (school of Chrysanthius).
4. Evrard, Rev.Et.Gr. 90(1977),74.

personal initiative, sanctioned not by any institutional structure, but by the quality of their teaching alone. Thirdly, the disciples themselves tended to be divided between an inner group of close associates and a larger body of pupils, the instruction of whom was as likely to be the responsibility of the inner group of disciples as of the master himself. Fourthly, parts at least of the circles of Plotinus and perhaps Iamblichus and Aedesius too seem to have enjoyed a common life, their sense of community fostered by a shared but not rigorous asceticism. Save in the exceptional case of Plotinus's wards, we need not go so far as to assume a shared dwelling-place, but clearly a good deal of time was passed in common activities. For Ammonius and his disciples there is no evidence on this point.

It should by now be apparent that these early Neoplatonist circles were ideally suited to philosophical teaching of a personal and spiritual kind, where the teacher was concerned not to impart philosophical erudition for its own sake, but to instruct his disciples in the acquisition of virtue and the purification of the soul. The relation of master to individual pupil will be discussed in the next chapter; here we are concerned primarily with the articulation of the philosophical group, and fortunately it is possible to form a fairly clear picture of the way in which teaching was carried on in this context.

According to Iamblichus's Vita Pythagorica, the inventor of philosophy himself was accustomed to present his teachings in three different ways: as διαλέξεις καί πρός ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίαι, as ὑπομνήματισμοί καί ὑποσημειώσεις, and as συγγράμματα καί ἐκδόσεις[1]. In other words, what began as conversations or lectures might in due course be written down in note-form, and eventually obtain a wider

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1. Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 104.

circulation through publication. Consciously or not, Iamblichus is here describing the conventions of his own day, which undoubtedly had their origins in the classical period[1], but improbably as early as Pythagoras. Not all late antique philosophers, of course, published their lectures, even if notes had been made of them: either they or their pupils might wish to preserve secrecy, as seems to have been the case in Ammonius's circle, or else they regarded publication as an unjustifiable distraction from the teacher's main task[2]. But as A.J. Festugière has brilliantly demonstrated, the full process can be seen at work in the Corpus Hermeticum[3]; and he might have added[4] that it is responsible also for the Enneads in the form in which they have come down to us. Porphyry tells us that for ten years after his arrival in Rome Plotinus wrote nothing, confining himself to oral teaching; but from the third year onwards Amelius began to take notes, which ended up filling a hundred volumes; and finally Plotinus himself began to compose treatises based on the discussions that took place in his circle, although to begin with, as we have seen, they had a very limited circulation[5]. Then Porphyry joined the circle, and was entrusted with the formal arrangement and editing (διάταξις καὶ διόρθωσις) of Plotinus's writings[6]. It is clear that the master preserved throughout his life the distinction between oral and written teaching, resisting any pressure that was brought on him to deliver formal lectures. 'In his teaching he always preserved

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1. W.W. Jaeger, Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Metaphysik des Aristoteles (Berlin,1912),143-8.
2. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.25-9; Eunapius V.3.3.
3. Festugière, Révélation II,34-47.
4. The idea is implied, but not developed, ibid. 32-3.
5. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.32-48;4.9-16.
6. Ibid. 4.1-3;24-6.

the conversational style'[1]. Even in the Enneads in their final form, it is possible to detect their origin as responses to particular questions raised in the course of the συνουσία[2].

So far as we can tell, though unfortunately our information leaves much to be desired, this informal, conversational manner of teaching was the norm in late antiquity[3] - this was one of the most conspicuous differences between the philosopher and the professional sophist. The teacher would begin by reading a particular text, either from Plato or Aristotle or one of the other classical philosophers, or from some more recent writer, as we know was the case in Plotinus's circle[4]. Then he would develop (or refute) the argument of the passage, using it as a spring-board from which to develop his own teaching - this is what we see Plotinus doing in many of the Enneads[5]. Afterwards, there would be discussion, in which pupils would raise their own problems and receive more individual attention from the teacher. Thus Julian, during his stay in Pergamon,, was often puzzled to hear Eusebius of Myndus close his exposition (ἐξήγησις) with an epilogue (ἐπίλογος) in the shape of a condemnation of magic and witchcraft, so one day he waited for these closing words, and then asked what they meant; and Eusebius replied with a lengthy criticism of Maximus of Ephesus[6]. Likewise, Porphyry tells us how for three days he mono-

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1. Ibid. 13.10-17,18.5-8.
2. Ibid. 4.10-11,5.59-61; Plotinus IV.3.1.1-6.
3. Cf. Eunapius V.1.6 on Iamblichus, though this passage is not good evidence for his public teaching style.
4. Cf. Porphyry, V.Plot. 14.10-14; also, on the texts used by Iamblichus and his followers, above,1,33,130. Himerius, or. 48,23-4, is also instructive on the contents of an early fourth century philosophical education.
5. Cf. also Porphyry, V.Plot. 14.14-6.
6. Eunapius VII.2.3-11.

polized the meetings of Plotinus's circle by questioning the master about the relationship of soul and body[1]. As Porphyry himself points out, this freedom that Plotinus gave his pupils to ask questions tended, especially during his earlier years of teaching, to encourage disorderliness and aimless chattering[2].

It can hardly be coincidental that both Porphyry and Iamblichus wrote lives of Pythagoras that show parallels with the organization and atmosphere of these early Neoplatonic circles that go far beyond the similarity of teaching-techniques already noted. Pythagoras, seen through the eyes of these two Neoplatonist philosophers, was a semi-divine or even divine figure[3]. His followers were numerous - several thousand flocked to him as soon as he arrived at Crotona[4] - and they were divided between the κοινόβιοι (or μαθηματικοί or ζηλωταί), who as their name suggests led a communal life while being instructed by Pythagoras, and the ἀκουσματικοί (or ἀκροαταί), who merely followed the essentials of his teachings[5]. With some at least of his disciples Pythagoras seems to have been on intimate terms, walking and disputing with them in groves and holy places, and spending much of the day and night in their company[6]. He taught them an ascetic way of life which seems, along with his command of secrecy and his insistence that his close followers should hold all their goods in common, to have encouraged a sense of community[7]. Nonetheless, the separate identity of the

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 13.10-17.
2. Ibid. 3.35-8.
3. Cf. above,23,n.4.
4. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 20; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 29.
5. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 37; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 29-30.
6. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 9 (συνόντα ὀλίγοις τῶν ἑταίρων), 32; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 96.
7. Asceticism: Porphyry, V.Pyth. 34; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 106ff.

(cont.)

original Pythagoreans as a community did not long survive the master's death[1]; nor in their subsequent revival under the empire did they ever have a recognized succession of heads, like other Schools[2].

It was pointed out in chapter I that Pythagoreanism was of great interest to the Neoplatonists because it provided a paradigm for the philosophical life. We can now go further, and say that Pythagoreanism was regarded as most characteristically a way of communal life. As B.D. Larsen has put it: 'L'aspect social en est mis en relief par le fait que la philosophie pythagoricienne est vécue dans une communauté où les jeunes s'assimilent cette forme de vie et cette philosophie par un enseignement organisé d'une manière pédagogique, progressive et continue, unie à la discipline et à l'ascèse'[3]. It would be idle though to speculate whether the Neoplatonist biographies of Pythagoras were consciously programmatic, or were intended simply to reflect contemporary realities. Indeed, the question itself would be misconceived. The early Neoplatonists lived and breathed Pythagoras and the mystical, ascetic philosophy associated with him. His was not just a life dimly recorded in the pages of the philosophical historians, but a spirit

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Secrecy: Porphyry, V.Pyth. 20; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 103. Κοινά τά φίλων: Porphyry, V.Pyth. 20,33; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 30,32. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus's description of the Druids of Gaul as 'ut auctoritas Pythagorae decrevit, sodaliciis astricti consortiis' (XV.9.8).

1. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 58 (διεσπάρησαν ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ; cf. above, 157,n.7); Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 248ff.(esp. 253). There were still of course Pythagorean communities in the fourth century B.C. (cf. above,50) - our concern here is only with the immediate effect of Pythagoras's death on his closest disciples, as understood by Porphyry and Iamblichus.

2. Cf. Seneca, Nat.Quaest. VII.32.2 (quoted above,54). Pace Meyer, Hermes 52(1917),386 (=Kleine Schriften II,149) there is no convincing evidence for the persistence of a community of followers after the death of Apollonius of Tyana.

3. Larsen, Jamblique 84.

vividly present to those who followed in his footsteps. We may be sure that the Neoplatonists added not a little of themselves to this inherited ideal, and neither they, nor the way in which they behaved and organized themselves as philosophers, will be comprehensible to us unless we keep in mind the image of Pythagoras conjured up by Porphyry and Iamblichus.

The flexibility of this Pythagorean ideal contrasts sharply with the stable institutions of the classical School. Yet, as was shown in chapters III and IV, it would be quite wrong to depict the philosophical life of late antiquity as if it was carried on by isolated groups having no connection with each other. Just as the classical School was perpetuated and presided over by a διαδοχή of distinguished teachers, so in late antiquity the great sages were still regarded as διάδοχοι the one of the other, even though the Schools were no more. In a sense, philosophical life had reverted to its pre-Socratic shape.

CHAPTER VI

THE PHILOSOPHER IN SOCIETY

If the emphasis of this study has so far been on the internal structure of philosophical life in late antiquity, it is because, unless we grasp the change that overcame the ideals and habits of the narrow circle of 'professional' philosophers, it is impossible to understand the way in which they related to society at large. This is not an easy area for the historian. As Hobbes remarked: 'Where first were great and flourishing Cities, there was first the study of philosophy'; the classical philosopher was inconceivable outside the context of the polis, and the bond remained intimate even when the polis lost its political independence, and philosophers began to roam at will across the vastly extended stage of the Hellenistic and Roman world. Diogenes might be

> ἄπολις, ἄοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος,
> πτωχός, πλανήτης, βίον ἔχων τούφ' ἡμέραν[1],

but he always remained a city-dweller. Yet the philosopher kept his distance from conventional social life: by the nature of his calling he could never be a conformist. Many classical philosophers could at least be labelled according to the School to which they adhered; but as the barriers that parted the Schools slowly crumbled, these labels became less and less significant. With the rise of Christianity to a position of power in the state, the philosopher began to seem too elusive, too subversive of the categories according to which conventional society articulates itself; and so our period closes with the unedifying spectacle of the persecution of philosophers by the successors of Julian. Yet Julian himself had shown that the philosopher could still make a useful

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1. Diogenes Laertius 6.38; cf. Julian, Ep. ad Them. 256d, or. 9. 195b.

contribution to the life of society, even at its highest levels, providing the political atmosphere was right; and it is with this contribution that the following two chapters are concerned.

That late antique philosophers accepted in principle the need for a limited involvement with lay society has already been shown in chapter I. The practical application of this principle was reasonably consistent. Even the urban decay of late antiquity did not shake the pagan philosopher's faith in the possibility of leading the good life while remaining in the city. As Libanius put it: 'To be withdrawn from affairs and keep the laws of Plato is one thing; to remain unmoved when you are hard-pressed is quite another'[1]. The Hellenes were not to be so easily induced to follow their Christian fellow-philosophers[2] out into the desert, which consequently came to stand in their eyes for hatred of culture and of mankind generally: it was the sphere par excellence of the evil daimons[3]. One should not though make too sharp a distinction here: cultured Christians were less likely to exile themselves to the desert than were the often illiterate peasants of Egypt and Syria, while certain of the Neoplatonist philosophers had a vivid sense of the value of retirement from the world (ἀναχώρησις) for the man who genuinely thirsts after the liberation of the soul from its bodily prison[4]. It is worth looking in more

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1. Libanius, ep. 793.3 (to Themistius).
2. On Christian usage of the terms φιλοσοφία/φιλόσοφος, in particular to denote the monastic life, cf. Malingrey, "Philosophia".
3. Cf. Julian, ep. 89b.288b; Libanius, or. 45.26; Rutilius Namatianus, De red. 439-52 (on which cf. P. de Labriolle, 'Rutilius Namatianus et les moines', Rev.Et.Lat. 6(1928),30-41).
4. There is no systematic study of the significance of ἀναχώρησις in pagan thought; for some general remarks, cf. A.J. Festugière, Personal religion among the Greeks (Berkeley,1954),53-65. The chief sources (of varying authenticity) for the actual practice of eremitism by pagans in the Roman period, until the emergence of Neoplatonism, are: Chaeremon ap. Porphyry, De abst. IV.6

detail at this often neglected feature of the late pagan mentality, for it tells us much about the way in which philosophers behaved in the context of lay society.

Plotinus begged the emperor Gallienus to grant him a ruined city in the Campania, which he wanted to revive as a community to be called Platonopolis and ruled by philosophers according to the laws laid down by Plato - but his scheme was thwarted by jealous courtiers[1]. Still, he himself retired at the end of his life to an estate in the Campania, specifically, if we are to believe Firmicus Maternus, 'so that he would be apart from all the bustle of human intercourse'[2]. His pupil Porphyry recognized at least in theory the dangers of city life and the value of ἀναχώρησις, pointing out in the De abstinentia that the Pythagoreans and Plato alike had lived apart from society[3]. Synesius too praised the

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(Egyptian priests dwelling apart in temples); Plutarch, Mor. 419e (British hermits),420f-421e (a hermit near the Red Sea); Lucian, Dem. 1, and Philostratus, V.soph. 552-4 (Sostratus/Heracles, a wild man with philosophical inclinations; cf. P. Graindor, Un milliardaire antique: Hérode Atticus et sa famille (Cairo,1930),158-60); the hymn of Maximus the decurion, inscribed at Talmis in Egypt (Μακάριον ὅτ' ἔβην ἠρεμίας τόπον ἐσαθρῆσαι...: G. Manteuffel, De opusculis Graecis Aegypti e papyris, ostracis lapidibusque collectis (Warsaw,1930),198). Delphi was important throughout antiquity as a centre for philosophers who wished to reflect apart from the pressures of society: cf. Heliodorus, Aeth. 2.26, and those of Plutarch's Mor. set at Delphi. For copious references to the purely literary side of this tradition, cf. F. Wilhelm, 'Plutarchos ΠΕΡΙ ΗΣΥΧΙΑΣ (Stob. IV 16,18 p.398f.H.)', Rh.Mus. 73(1920),466-82.

1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 12.3-12, esp. 8-9: ἐκεῖ τε αὐτός μετά τῶν ἑταίρων ἀναχωρήσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο. J.M. Rist, Eros and psyche: studies in Plato, Plotinus and Origen (Toronto,1964),171-3, seeks to reconcile this project with Plotinus's more usual insistence on the philosopher's self-divorce from the world. On the curious phrase φιλοσόφων τινά πόλιν, cf. Harder and Marg, note ad loc. Both Harder and Marg, and A.H. Armstrong, Plotinus (London,1966-),I, note ad loc., agree that the νόμοι...Πλάτωνος should not be taken to refer exclusively to the Laws.
2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 2.17-20; Firmicus Maternus, Math. I.7.15.
3. Porphyry, De abst. I.28.3-4;I.28.35-7; cf. Jerome, Adv.Jov. 2.9.

purity of the Libyan desert, and was happy to find 'leisure to philosophize' in Cyrenaica, with its countryside 'far from the city and the highways and commerce and all sorts of fashions'[1]. Yet none of these philosophers ever sought to exile himself completely from human society. Nor were the Iamblichan Neoplatonists much different. There is, it is true, a remarkable passage in Eunapius according to which Aedesius, some time after the death of Iamblichus, was granted an oracle in which he was given the choice between dwelling 'in the cities and towns of men' or becoming a shepherd of sheep and bulls. The one way would bring him eternal fame, the other the company of the blessed immortals. Aedesius chose 'the better way', and settled in the country among his flocks. But his admirers pursued him, threatening to tear him in pieces if he should devote wisdom so great and so rare to the mountains and precipices and trees, as if he were neither a man, nor familiar with what is human'. This is a perfect expression of that ancient and characteristically Greek hostility to the wilderness which Aristotle had expressed in his Politics, and before him Homer, when he had Hermes ask Calypso:

> τίς δ'ἄν ἐκών τοσσόνδε διαδράμοι ἀλμυρόν ὕδωρ
> ἄσπετον; οὐδέ τις ἄγχι βροτῶν πόλις, οἵ τε θεοῖσιν
> ἱερά τε ῥέζουσι καί ἐξαίτους ἑκατόμβας[2];

and thus it was that Aedesius was turned 'to the worse of the two ways', and became once more a teacher of men[3]. Eunapius here leaves his reader in no doubt that he regarded solitary contemplation

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1. Synesius, Hymni 1.51-71; epp. 101,148.
2. Homer, Odyssey 5.100-102. The passage from Eunapius finds a close parallel in Julian's comment on his brother Gallus: εἴ τι περί τόν τρόπον ἄγριον καί τραχύ τόν ἐκείνου κατεφάνη, τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ὀρείου τροφῆς (at Macellum in Cappadocia) συνηυξήθη (Ep. ad Ath. 271d).
3. Eunapius VI.4.

as a highly desirable pursuit for a philosopher, and that Aedesius was of the same persuasion. We must assume therefore that it was at Aedesius's suggestion that his pupil Antoninus, the son of Eustathius and Sosipatra, settled by the mouth of the Nile at Canobus near Alexandria and gathered around himself a group of young enthusiasts for philosophy and the worship of the gods[1]. It is interesting too that we find Libanius writing to the younger Iamblichus:

> 'Your love for the country (περί τόν άγρόν) I deplore because I do not see you; but I also applaud it, because it gets you away from the tumult. For it is right that a devotee of the Muses should imitate them, since it was the custom of the Muses to cultivate their art in the solitude of their mountain.... But though they were in the mountains, they were by no means alone (έν έρημίᾳ), and nor are you. For just as they had each other, you have those whom they themselves touched, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and your own divine namesake.'[2]

Yet despite these irregularities, the Iamblichans continued to draw their main strength from the cities; and whatever their devotion to Pythagoras, who was generally assumed to have taught, and exemplified, the usefulness of solitary reflection[3], we have no convincing evidence that they regarded solitude as a sine qua non of the philosophical life[4]. According to Eunapius, Iamblichus's own disciples were unable to grasp the point of their teacher's solitary communings: even in these exalted circles, it seems, the Oriental's love of company was difficult to overcome[5]. For such men the desert might provide an occasional solace, but never a

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1. Ibid. VI.9.1,15-6;VI.10.6-10.
2. Libanius, ep. 1466.2-4. This passage is paralleled in Progym. X.5.22 - but we can more plausibly convict Libanius of affectation in his letters than of sincerity in his school-exercises.
3. Cf. above, 26.
4. The fallaciousness of this notion is eloquently expounded by Philostratus, V.Apol. 2.5.
5. Eunapius V.1.6-7.

substitute, for the hectic life of the cities where they pursued their careers.

The ambiguity of the Neoplatonists' attitude to society was by no means unique in the fourth century. Although an event such as the sack of Rome in 410 could come as a genuine surprise to many, none can have failed to sense the fundamental shift in religious and cultural values that reached its crisis point between the reigns of Constantine and Theodosius I. While the opportunist and the novus homo hastened to court, to make what profit they could of the insecurity of the times, others, more thoughtful perhaps, shifted quietly and inconspicuously towards the peripheries. Decurions made off to become philosophers, or monks, and so escape the burdens of office[1], yet it was rarely that even a monk retired to a position of total, inaccessible isolation: one of the greatest concentrations of monks in Syria was on Mount Silpius, looking down on Antioch itself[2]. Likewise, the Neoplatonists chose to be in but not of society, and if this seems a difficult position for the historian to define, it can be more clearly understood by comparison with a philosopher who adhered to an entirely different tradition - Themistius.

Themistius believed passionately in the need for philosophy to have a practical application, and not concentrate solely on the realm of the divine[3]. His orations recur constantly to the contrast between λόγοι or θεωρία on the one hand, and ἔργα or πράξις on the other. Philosophy will never prosper if confined to the former - it must descend into the arena of everyday life as well[4].

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1. Cf. below, 228.
2. Cf. P. Canivet, Le monachisme syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr (Paris, 1977), 157-9.
3. Cf. above, 65.
4. Themistius, orr. 10.130ab, 17.213c-214a; cf. Julian, Ep. ad Them. 255bc, 262d, 263c.

Consequently the polis stands at the centre of Themistius's conception of the philosopher's life[1] - just as Constantinople was the chief object of his own affections. He wrote an oration called the Φιλόπολις, in which he argued that the object of the πολιτικός φιλόσοφος must be to bring together what is profitable for the polis with what is good[2], and elsewhere he expressed a fear that, unless action was quickly taken - and none tried harder than Themistius - polis and philosophy would soon find themselves cut off from each other, no longer able to offer mutual assistance[3]. By natural extension, Themistius emphasized the rôle of the philosopher as educator of the people in general[4], and, as we shall see in the next chapter, of the prince in particular. Only if circumstances become too unfavourable to the philosopher's involvement will he withdraw of necessity from affairs, and bide his time until recalled to his duty[5]. Themistius occasionally implies that the sage is not necessarily dependent on society for the fulfillment of his vocation[6]; but the general drift of his writings suggests that in practice he found it difficult to conceive of him outside the context of the polis.

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1. Themistius, orr. 31.352c,34.12.
2. Only the Θεωρία survives, printed by Downey and Norman III,1. Cf. Libanius, ep. 664 (to Themistius).2: τάς...πόλεις οὐχ οἱ πλουτοῦντες μόνοι ποιοῦσι λαμπράς, ἀλλά καί ὅσοι πόνους ὑπέρ παιδείας ὑπήνεγκαν....
3. Themistius, or. 26.313bc. On Themistius's deep involvement in politics, cf. below,
4. Themistius, orr. 6.72ab,8.104b,26.323ab; cf. Dem.Const. 20c.
5. Themistius, or. 8.104bd.
6. Id., orr. 21.246a: φιλοσόφου...οὐδέν τι μεῖον ὁ λόγος εὖ ἔχει, κἄν ὑπό πλατάνῳ λέγηται μόνῃ, κἄν τεττίγων ἀκροωμένων; 27.334c: οἱ λόγοι δέ οὐ δέονται πατρίδος ἐνδόξου, ἀλλά ἰσότιμοι, τυχόν δέ καί τιμιώτεροι τῶν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις πόλεσιν οἱ κατ' ἐρημίαν φυέντες (and cf. F. Wilhelm, 'Zu Themistios Or. 27 (p.400 Dindorf)', Byz.-Neugr.Jb. 6(1929),461).

Although Themistius never openly attacks the Neoplatonists - for in doing so he would have undermined the unity of pagan intellectuals in the face of Christian hostility - his fundamental objection to their understanding of philosophy is easily read between the lines, especially in the brief and little known Oration 28. Here he laments that Socrates, who took philosophy into the market-place, apparently has no successors, for nowadays philosophers 'do not deign to emerge from their couches and secluded spots'[1]. Their nature is

> 'harsh, blunt, and stubborn. They cannot bear to give freely of their words, but, boors that they are, grudge them more than gold, and investigate and study carefully ways of giving neither more nor less to anyone than he deserves. As a result of this pettiness, very few of them are agreeable or pleasant. But their stubbornness is so great that they themselves believe, and firmly maintain to others, that whomever they praise is deserving of praise, while the praise given by those elegant and extravagant men [the rhetors] is undeserved and unseemly.'[2]

That Themistius does indeed have the Neoplatonists in mind here is confirmed, ironically enough, by Eunapius, who dwells, in a different spirit of course from Themistius, on the secrecy and mysteriousness surrounding the Pergamene circle[3], and, more critically, on the haughty air combined with ineptitude in practical matters that was the hallmark of Maximus of Ephesus and Priscus[4]. Again, we may suspect a reference to Neoplatonism in Constantius's

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1. Themistius, orr. 28.341d (οὐκ ἀνέχονται παρακύπτειν ἔξω τοῦ σκίμποδος καὶ τῆς γωνίας); 34.12 (οὐδέ...τὴν ἐν ταῖς γωνίαις φιλοσοφίαν εἰλόμην...ἀλλ' ἀρχαίαν μελέτην: cf. above,120). Cf. Dagron, Trav.Mém.Byz. 3(1968),43-4.
2. Themistius, or. 28.342bc.
3. Cf. above,96.
4. Cf. esp. Eunapius VIII.1.2, on Priscus: ἀπαίδευτος ἂν ἔδοξεν εἶναι διά τό μόλις χωρεῖν ἐς διάλεξιν, ἀλλ' ὡς θησαυρόν γέ τινα ἐφύλαττε τά δόγματα, καί τούς εὐκόλως περί αὐτῶν προϊεμένους φωνήν ἀσώτους ἔφασκεν; and cf. below,200.

congratulation of Themistius, in his Demegoria, for having nothing to do with the 'unsocial philosophy' (φιλοσοφία ἀκοινώνητος)[1]. In practice this habitual secretiveness of the Neoplatonists[2] had much the same effect, in terms of self-isolation from society, as the Christians' predilection for the desert.

The contrast between the social attitudes of Themistius and the Neoplatonists is perhaps best caught if we compare Themistius as a citizen of Constantinople to, say, Plotinus as a citizen of Rome. The one is impelled towards the centre of affairs, the New Rome, by the very nature of his philosophy, and by his self-imposed destiny as paedagogue of princes. The other settles apparently at random, having no ambition realizable in time or space, and if we find him befriended by emperor or senators, that is to him a matter of indifference. He would be just as much Plotinus wherever he lived. Themistius maintained that it is not where one studies that counts, but with which teacher[3]; yet in the last analysis the Neoplatonists were much less attached to place than either Themistius or, indeed, the philosophers of classical antiquity. Nonetheless, without some idea of where one was most likely to find philosophers in the third and fourth centuries, it will be difficult to reach more general conclusions about the social milieux in which they moved[4].

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1. Dem.Const. 20a.
2. Apart from the references in the preceding notes, cf. above,26, 29,100 - but also 155.
3. Themistius, or. 27 (Περί τοῦ μή δεῖν τοῖς τόποις ἀλλά τοῖς ἀνδράσι προσέχειν); cf. H.A.,Div.Aur. 3.4 ('an Platonem magis commendat quod Atheniensis fuerit quam quod unicum sapientiae munus inluxerit?'); and Wilhelm, Rh.Mus. 73(1920),456-8.
4. In the following pages only those philosophers will be discussed who can with reasonable certainty be said to have studied, taught, lived in, or at least made an extended visit to, a particular place. The literary texts often attest philosophers

Certain cities naturally enjoyed a greater reputation for learning than others, and among these Athens and Alexandria were pre-eminent. Young men still came from all over the world to study at Athens, and among their teachers there were numerous orientals as well as native Greeks[1]. The Athenian schools continued to some extent to be a stepping-stone on the way to preferment and power, and Themistius was doubtless quite right when he alleged that many of those who went to Athens were more interested in saying they had studied there than in getting a serious education[2]. It is true that Athens was not in the third and fourth centuries quite what it had once been or, for pagan philosophers at least, was to become again in the fifth century. Libanius, though he studied there, refused to stay on and teach, not wishing, as Eunapius put it, 'to bury himself in a small town, and sink in the esteem of the world to the level of Athens'. Constantinople, as he rightly judged, had far more to offer a young man on the make[3]. Synesius was convinced that Athenian learning was much over-rated[4]. Admittedly there were various Platonist, Aristotelian, and Stoic philosophers active in the city during the third and fourth centuries[5], but none of them were of much distinction, and to most of

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as natives of a certain city or province, e.g. Προτέριος...ἐκ Κεφαληνίας (Eunapius VIII.1.11), Μάξιμος ὁ Νικαεύς (Proclus, In Remp. 2.96), and ὁ ἐκ Φρυγίας Ἰλάριος (Zosimus IV.15.1), but such expressions are no proof that a man was ever active as a philosopher in those places: Plotinus, for example, was active in Alexandria and Rome, but not Lycopolis. An epigraphical reference usually indicates that the philosopher in question was active in the place where the inscription was found (though cf. J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien (Vienna,1911),107-8, and below,186,n.2).

1. Cf. F. Millar, 'P. Herennius Dexippus: the Greek world and the third-century invasions', Jour.Rom.St. 59(1969),16, and, for the fourth century, Eunapius's biographies of the Athenian sophists.
2. Themistius, or. 27.336cd,337b; cf. Libanius, ep. 742.1.
3. Eunapius XVI.1.6.
4. Synesius, epp. 54,135.
5. Cf. above,62-3,66-7,110-33.

its students Athens must have seemed intellectually conventional compared with other cities in the eastern Mediterranean. The traditional, mainstream philosophers had degenerated into mere philologists, of whom the learnèd, magisterial, but as far as we can tell quite unoriginal Longinus was the best known[1]. The majority - and perhaps Maximus of Lycia, whom Libanius several times refers to as the teacher of the sophist Severus[2], was typical of them - must have made their living by retailing the same old commonplaces of classical philosophy to successive generations of students[3], and probably had little or no contact with the Neoplatonic teachings which were beginning by then to attract a small following in the city. Yet there were throughout this period some, like Philostratus's teacher Proclus of Naucratis, or the young Julian, who saw behind the crumbling façade, and loved Athens for the associations of its ancient past, and for its atmosphere of calm learning and sanctity[4]. Its links with the great age of Greek philosophy, and especially with Plato, were Athens's unique possession, and in the fine scorn of a Themistius or a Synesius we cannot help but detect a hint of jealousy.

Synesius's own loyalty, as he freely admitted, was to Alexandria, which had been Athens's chief rival ever since the third

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1. Cf. above,111-13. Doubtless of much the same ilk were the two late second or early third century philosophers, Sospis and Callaeschrus the Athenian, both pupils of the sophist Chrestus of Byzantium, himself a pupil of Herodes Atticus: Philostratus, V.soph. 591; I.G. 2-3^2.3709,3763.
2. Cf. P.L.R.E. Maximus 10.
3. Cf. Libanius's acid comments on his teachers of rhetoric at Athens: or. 1.17,23.
4. Philostratus, V.soph. 603: τήν Ἀθήνησιν ἡσυχίαν ἠσπάσατο; Julian, or. 2.118d-119a (cf. Libanius, or. 14.27), Ep ad Ath. 275a (cf. Libanius, orr. 12.38,15.36); and cf. H.A.,Sev. 3.7: 'post hoc [Severus] Athenas petiit studiorum sacrorumque causa et operum et vetustatum'; also 18.5, and T.D. Barnes, 'The family and career of Septimius Severus', Historia 16(1967), 92-3.

century B.C. The evidence for Alexandrian Platonism and Aristotelianism has been discussed elsewhere[1]; but if Athens showed a strong philological bias at this time, Alexandria seems to have preferred to emphasize the importance of τό φυσικόν as a branch of philosophy. We have, it is true, no evidence for the third century, though Porphyry's reference to Plotinus's comprehensive knowledge of the sciences is so worded as to suggest that he gained it earlier in life - presumably while a pupil of Ammonius in Alexandria - rather than later[2]. In the fourth century though we hear of a number of philosopher-scientists; the most famous were Theon (c. 330/40-400) and his daughter Hypatia (d.415)[3], but something of the work of at least two others, Pappus[4] and Paulus[5] has come down to us. There are indeed a number of hints in contemporary sources that suggest that philosophers were numerous in fourth century Alexandria[6], perhaps more so than in Athens - and yet Alexandria no more than Athens made a significant contribution to the development of the central areas of philosophy during this period. The only truly great thinker that either city produced was Ammonius,

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1. Cf. above,63-4,142-52; and below, 301-4.
2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 14.7-10.
3. Theon: Suda Θ205,Y166; cf. K. Ziegler, R.E. 5A.2075-80. That by φιλόσοφος the Suda means 'scientist' is clear from Y166, where Hypatia's interest in philosophy is contrasted τοῖς διά τῶν μαθημάτων παιδεύμασιν ὑπό τῷ πατρί. Hypatia: K. Praechter, R.E. 9.242-9; Rist, Phoenix 19(1965),214-25.
4. Suda Π265 (cf. Θ205); K. Ziegler, R.E. 18.1084-1106.
5. Suda Π810; W. Gundel, R.E. 18.2376-86.
6. Cf the references in Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.7-8, to philosophers τότε κατά τήν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εὐδοκιμοῦντες; Gregory of Nyssa, V. Greg. Thaum. 901d, to the many students of philosophy and medicine who visited third century Alexandria; Eunapius VI.10.8 to οἱ κατά τήν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τότε σχολάζοντες visiting the philosopher Antoninus at Canobus; and Hist.mon. 20.15 to Evagrius Ponticus,who κατελθών είς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τούς φιλοσόφους ἀπεστόμιζεν. Doubtless the philosophers who visited St Antony in the desert (Athanasius, V.Ant. 72-4) also came from Alexandria. The philosopher Demetrius Cythras is clearly stated by Ammianus Marcellinus XIX.12.12 to have been a resident of Alexandria.

and the Neoplatonic philosophy that claimed him as its progenitor was destined to flourish apart from these traditional centres until the emergence of the Athenian and Alexandrian Schools around the beginning of the fifth century. Damascius, who made his mark in both of them, pronounced a fitting epitaph on the earlier period when he observed that the difference between Hypatia and his own teacher Isidore was not just that between a woman and a man, but that between a geometer and a real philosopher[1].

The crucial rôle played meantime by Apamea and Pergamon, and to a lesser extent by Ephesus and Sardis, in the development of this Neoplatonist philosophy, has already been amply illustrated in chapter III in the course of describing the spread of Iamblichan teachings through the eastern Mediterranean world. If it be asked why these particular cities, and not others, the answer is to be found in the emphasis we have placed on the outstanding individual philosopher, rather than the School, as the focus of philosophical life at this period[2]. Iamblichus lived in Apamea, Aedesius in Pergamon, Maximus in Ephesus, and Chrysanthius in Sardis, and so it was inevitable that students should congregate in these places. Nor did their teachers choose by mere caprice where they wished to settle down once they had completed their own studies. Personal motives naturally played their part: Maximus was a native of Ephesus, and Chrysanthius of Sardis[3], but Ephesus, and Sardis to a lesser extent, were important centres anyway, with a local tradition of higher education[4]. Others, less fortunate in

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1. Damascius, V.Isid. 164(Epit.Phot.).
2. The settlement-patterns of Neoplatonist philosophers in late antiquity have much in common with those of rhetors in the Second Sophistic: cf. Bowersock, Greek sophists 17-9.
3. Cf. above,158.
4. On the (at present rather uneven) evidence for intellectual life in the cities of western Asia Minor, cf. Habicht, Alter-

their place of birth, tended to be drawn towards such centres: thus Iamblichus, born in Chalcis, moved to nearby Apamea, which already had an established Platonist tradition and was renowned for its devotion to the pagan gods[1]; while Aedesius was attracted to Pergamon from his native Cappadocia which, although it produced a number of Neoplatonists during the third and fourth centuries, was never able to support a centre of pagan culture comparable to the city of the Attalids[2].

Apart from the ancient seats of learning, and the homes of the new Platonism, it was natural that other great cities, like Rome and Constantinople and Antioch, should also attract philosophers, not because they were particularly renowned for any indigenous intellectual tradition, but simply because in any great concourse of people there were bound to be those who longed for wisdom. Ammianus's condemnation of the neglect of philosophy at

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tümer von Pergamon VIII(3),150-51; and V. Nutton, 'L. Gellius Maximus, physician and procurator', Cl.Quart. 21(1971),263-4.

1. Cf. above,87-8.

2. On Cappadocia, cf. above,108-9. Aedesius had already left Cappadocia once to pursue his education, when his father had sent him to Athens (Eunapius VI.1.1). On the cultural shortcomings of the Cappadocians, cf. Lucian, Epigrammata 43; Philostratus, V.Apol. 1.7, V.soph. 594. Eusebius, V.Con. IV.43.4, and Basil, epp. 74.3,76, are more generous, the former with reference though to Christian learning, and the latter involved in special pleading. On Pergamon, cf. Habicht, loc.cit., and 15-20; and above,94. Unfortunately we know nothing of philosophical life at Pergamon in the third century, though it is probable that an Alexandrian philosopher called L. Septimius Tryphon spent some time there during its early decades: cf. I.G.R. 4.468; H. von Prott, 'Dionysos Kathegemon', Mitt.Deut.Arch.Inst.,Ath.27(1902), 182. An inscription from Pergamon referring to a philosopher called L. Flavius Hermocrates is dated by Habicht, op.cit. 76-9, to the early third century, but his case depends on the identification of Hermocrates with the sophist of that name known from Philostratus, V.soph. 608-12. This identification is questioned by J. and L. Robert, Bull.Epig. (1973),375 (=Rev.Et.Gr. 86(1973),141-2), because 'il nous semble difficile d'identifier un rhéteur et un "philosophe"' - certainly the word φιλόσοφος is here used in a more than merely complimentary sense.

Rome is notorious - 'in place of the philosopher the singer is called in' -[1], and after the death of Porphyry the city plays a far less important part in the history of late antique philosophy than do the main centres in the east[2]. Curiously enough, virtually all the philosophers we know to have been active in Rome during the fourth century either belonged to or were supported by the senatorial aristocracy whose more delinquent members Ammianus so scathingly attacked[3] - just as senators had figured prominently in Plotinus's circle[4]. Notable among these senatorial philosophers were Ceionius Rufius Albinus, Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus[5]: to the last Macrobius assigned a leading rôle in his Saturnalia. The otherwise unknown philosophers Sebasmius and Evagrius, judging by the company they keep in a Roman inscription to be dated about 320, were also of aristocratic origin[6]. Naturally these wealthy scholars could afford to cast a wide net of patronage - indeed, as pagans in an increasingly hos-

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1. Ammianus Marcellinus XIV.6.18,XXVIII.4.14-5; cf. Themistius, or. 23.298cd.
2. On the supposed 'School' of Plotinus, presided over by Porphyry, cf. above,156.
3. Ammianus did praise those of the nobility who deserved it (cf. P.-M. Camus, Ammien Marcellin: témoin des courants culturels et religieux à la fin du IVe siècle (Paris,1967),56-8), but cf. the warning of A. Cameron, 'The Roman friends of Ammianus', Jour.Rom.St. 54(1964)23, on the extent to which such passages reflect the historian's own point of view. On the scholarly interests of the Roman aristocracy, cf. H. Bloch, 'The pagan revival in the west at the end of the fourth century', in A. Momigliano(ed.), The conflict between paganism and Christianity in the fourth century (Oxford,1963),207-17; and the more sceptical approach of Cameron, Ent.Hardt 23(1977),1-30.
4. Cf. above, 154.
5. For references, cf. P.L.R.E. s.vv.
6. C.I.L. 6.2153; cf. P.L.R.E. Fl. Atticus 2. P.L.R.E. C. Annius Tiberianus 4, Praetorian Prefect of Gaul 336-7, is another candidate for inclusion in these circles, if he is correctly identified with P.L.R.E. Tiberianus 1, the author of four poems of markedly Platonic tone in the Anth.Lat.: cf. F. Lenz, R.E. 6A.766-77, and H. Lewy, 'A Latin hymn to the Creator ascribed to Plato', Harv.Theol.Rev. 39(1946),243-58.

tile Christian environment, it was very much in their interest to do so -[1], and in the surviving papers of Symmachus we encounter a number of philosophers whose careers the great senator attempts to advance by writing letters of introduction on their behalf to his friends in high places. Such are Barachus, Priscianus, Maximus, Horus, and Serapammon[2]; and to them should be added Celsus, the Athenian who was invited to teach the youth of Rome, and on whose behalf Symmachus wrote a Relatio recommending his adlection to the Senate[3]. Marius Victorinus, the African rhetor who translated Augustine's 'libri Platonicorum' into Latin, numbered numerous senators among his pupils[4], and may indeed have become one himself[5]; while the Greek philosopher Eustathius was, according to Macrobius, an intimate friend of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus[6].

Yet despite this prominence of aristocrats in Roman philosophical life, we have no justification for speaking of a Roman 'circle', far less a 'School', in the sense of a group of men with a definite philosophical identity; and nor of course should it be forgotten that philosophy had its appeal for ordinary people too. Although unfortunately we can point to no individual popular philosophers in late antique Rome, their existence, and that of groups ready to listen to them, is strongly indicated by the discovery at Ostia of a third century room in a building adjacent to a small temple, and within the room of two portrait-heads of a man whom it

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1. Cf. P. Brown, Augustine of Hippo: a biography (London,1967), 66-72.
2. Symmachus, epp. 1.29,79;2.29,39,61; and cf. also 5.31, on behalf of a female relative of the philosopher Asclepiades.
3. Symmachus, Rel. 5 (A.D. 384).
4. Augustine, Conf. VIII.2.3.
5. Cf. Hadot, Marius Victorinus 31-2.
6. Macrobius, Sat. I.6.4. Flamant, Macrobe 69, rightly suggests that Eustathius was 'un Grec très cultivé' rather than a philosopher. The Cynic Horus, also known from the Sat., may likewise have resided for a time in Rome: cf. above,72.

has been proposed to identify as a Neoplatonist philosopher[1]. If the room was indeed, as R. Calza has suggested, the meeting-place of a cultural or philosophical group, then it may even have been presided over by one of Plotinus's lesser pupils, or at least an admirer.

The governing class of Constantinople, by contrast with that of Rome, was mainly Christian, and not disposed to patronize philosophers. Despite this, several eminently well-informed sources assure us that the capital of the eastern empire was full of students of philosophy during the fourth century[2]. Doubtless many of these came to sit at the feet of Themistius, who prided himself on being the city's biggest cultural attraction; but it is typical of our ignorance of Constantinopolitan philosophy that we can name with certainty only three of Themistius's pupils[3]. We may suppose that most of these philosophers were of the politically conformist sort, like Themistius himself, rather than Neoplatonists committed, as many were, to the idea of a pagan restoration - the hostile reception Sopater received from Constantine's courtiers seems to have discouraged any other such initiatives[4]. Nonetheless, Them-

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1. R. Calza, 'Sui ritratti ostiensi del supposto Plotino', Boll. d'arte del Min. della Pubb. Ist. 38(1953),203-10, esp. 203-5; and below,293-5.

2. Themistius, orr. 6.84a,23.294bc,26.326a. Cf. Dem.Const. 20d-21a; Libanius, epp. 406 and 1198 (referring to an active circle of grammarians, rhetors, and philosophers, the last including Themistius and a certain Themistocles), 793.4; Himerius, or. 41.12; Gregory of Nazianzus, orr. 7.8,43.14.

3. P.L.R.E. Andronicus 5, Celsus 3, and Harpocration: the last seems to have studied only rhetoric (Libanius, ep. 368). P.L.R.E. Olympius 4 was perhaps a friend rather than a pupil: Libanius, ep. 1198.3. Julian too seems to have studied under, or at least been in personal contact with Themistius (Ep. ad Them. 257d,259b), presumably during his stay at Constantinople in 348/9, when ἐν...ἰδιώτου...σχήματι τάς προόδους ποιούμενος πολλοῖς συνεγίνετο (Sozomen, H.E. V.2.15; on the date cf. Baynes, Jour.Hell.St. 45(1925),251-4).

4. Eunapius VI.2.3,10. Cf. below,224-5,for the doubtful case of Canonaris.

istius did not, as far as we know, manage to ensure that the tradition of pagan philosophical teaching established in Byzantium/Constantinople by his grandfather and father[1] would be perpetuated after his death, and it may well be that his jealousy of Athens arose in part from a consciousness of this failure.

It is to Themistius that we owe the information that the Antiochenes had a particular taste for philosophy[2], which comes as something of a surprise to the reader of Julian's Misopogon[3]. Indeed we know the names of but two fourth century Antiochene philosophers, Andragathius and Eusebius, and then only because they are mentioned in passing as teachers of John Chrysostom[4]. Unfortunately this is only too typical of the extremely fragmentary character of our evidence about the extent of philosophical life outside the principal centres so far discussed; but even so it is worth taking a glance at the little information that has come down to us, in the hope that some pattern, however vague, may emerge.

As far as Greece is concerned, we have Julian's word for it that, apart from Athens, philosophical studies were in his day still alive in Sparta, Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, and in the port of Mases, near Argos[5]; and indeed Themistius refers to the presence of a disciple of Iamblichus in Sicyon[6], while several other philo-

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1. Cf. above,65,n.1.
2. Themistius, or. 23.299ab. John Chrysostom refers to Antiochene philosophers, Ad pop. Ant. 17.2,cols. 173-4.
3. Esp. 359a. Cf. also Libanius, or. 16.47.
4. Andragathius: Socrates, H.E. VI.3.1; Sozomen, H.E. VIII.2.5; George of Alexandria, V.Chrys. 3 (and for other Byzantine references, cf. Halkin, Douze récits, index s.v. Ἀνδραγάθιος). Eusebius: Suda I463. Socrates, H.E. IV.26, and Sozomen, H.E. VI.17.1-2, claim that Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus also studied philosophy at Antioch; but R.R. Ruether, Gregory of Nazianzus: rhetor and philosopher (Oxford,1969),19,n.7, points out that this statement is uncorroborated elsewhere, and probably imaginary.
5. Julian, or. 2.119bc.
6. Cf. above,119-20. B. Keil, 'Ein ΛΟΓΟΣ ΣΥΣΤΑΤΙΚΟΣ', Nachr.

sophers are named in third century inscriptions from Sparta[1]. Outside these centres we hear of philosophers in Chaeronea (descendants of Plutarch), Epirus, Lemnos, Marathon, Nikopolis, Paros, and Thessalonica[2], at different dates during the period here under discussion. In what was to remain for some time one of the least Christianized provinces of the empire, this wealth of philosophers is not particularly surprising, but it is interesting to note a similar situation in the cities of the Asia Minor coast and its hinterland. Again, this is not just a question of great centres like Pergamon, Ephesus, Sardis, and Constantinople - pagan philosophers are attested as active in Panamara and Aphrodisias in Caria, in Cilicia, Nicomedia - mainly because it was for a time an imperial capital -, Smyrna, and the Troad[3]. But as one penetrates the inner parts of Asia Minor, the philosopher becomes an

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von der Kön. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Gött.,Phil.-hist. Kl.(1913), 11-7, convincingly demonstrated that Julian, ep. 198, and hence also the two Argive philosophers, Diogenes and Lamprias, therein mentioned, belong to the early empire rather than to the fourth century.

1. I.G. 5(1).563,598 (cf. S.E.G. 11.814),599;S.E.G. 11.807. Cf. however the warning by A.M. Woodward, 'Excavations at Sparta, 1924-28: the inscriptions', Ann.Brit.Sch.Ath. 29(1927-8),34, on the significance to be attached to the words φιλόσοφος, φιλοσοφώτατος, etc., in these inscriptions. I am grateful to Mr Antony Spawforth, of the British School at Athens, for his advice on dating.

2. Chaeronea: S.I.G. 844ab. Epirus: Ammianus Marcellinus XXX.5.8. Lemnos: I.G. 12(8).39. Marathon: I.G, 2-3^2.3704. Nikopolis: O. Riemann,'Inscriptions grecques provenant du recueil de Cyriaque d'Ancone', Bull.Corr.Hell. 1(1877),294,no.89 (an inscription found at Ioannina, but referring to a philosopher probably from Nikopolis, since he is described as ἀγωνοθέτης of the Actian Games). Paros: I.G. 12(5).292 (though φιλόσοφος is doubtless here intended purely as a compliment). Thessalonica: I.G. 10(2).145.

3. Panamara: S.I.G. 900. Aphrodisias: M.A.M.A. 8.499b (cf. T. Reinach, 'Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias', Rev.Et.Gr. 19(1906), 137-9). Cilicia: Ammianus Marcellinus XIV.7.18. Nicomedia: Passio S. Lucill. 3; Lactantius, Div.Inst. V.2.1-11; below, on the presence of Iamblichus's pupils Julian and Sopater in the city; above,97,n.6, and Libanius, or.18.21, on the future emperor Julian's philosophical studies at Nicomedia, 352-4 (Bidez, Julien 93-4; Borries, R.E. 10.30). Smyrna: I.G.R. 4. 1403. Troad, Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.31. Cf. also Themistius, or.

extreme rarity, like the Iamblichan Arete whom Julian twice journeyed to visit in Phrygia[1]. Themistius implies that lovers of philosophy were to be found among the Galatians[2], but otherwise we have only the Neoplatonists of Cappadocia, only one of whom, Aedesius, can actually be shown to have taught there[3].

In Syria, again, one stood a much better chance of meeting a philosopher in some places than in others. As in Asia Minor, one's best hopes were in the Hellenized coastal regions, possibly in Antioch, but certainly in Apamea. Unfortunately, we have no other reliable evidence for philosophical teaching in this area: the Historia Augusta refers to, or perhaps invents, a philosopher called Stilio, who taught the future emperor Severus Alexander at Arca Caesarea, on the coast north of Tripoli[4]; and otherwise we have little more than a mosaic inscription from a house at Suwediye near Baalbek, proclaiming that it belonged to an enthusiast for Plato[5]- virtually valueless as evidence for active philosophical intercourse. Further inland, Libanius tells us a good deal about Macedonius, a philosopher very active in the affairs of Cyrrhus[6], while Julian was entertained on his way to

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23.294b, on the διδασκαλεῖα μέγιστα φιλοσοφίας to be found in Ionia.

1. Cf. above,103. For another Phrygian philosopher, from Dorylaeum, cf. I.G.R. 4.527 (and cf. 526).

2. Themistius, or. 23.299ab. One of them may have been the Agathius of Ancyra mentioned by Libanius, ep. 728. Eunapius XXIII.4.11-2 refers to Hellespontius of Galatia, a pupil of Chrysanthius, but there is no evidence that he practised philosophy in his native land. On Ancyra's high reputation for learning, cf. C. Foss, 'Late antique and Byzantine Ankara', Dumb. Oaks Pap.31(1977),42-9.

3. Cf. above,94,108-9.

4. H.A.,Sev.Alex. 3.3; cf. J. Straub, 'Severus Alexander und die Mathematici', Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1968/1969 (Bonn,1970),247,esp. n.2 (=id., Regeneratio imperii: Aufsätze über Roms Kaisertum und Reich im Spiegel der heidnischen und christlichen Publizistik (Darmstadt,1972),383,esp. n.2).

5. I.G.L.S. 2886.

6. Libanius, epp. 873,1071-4.

Persia at Hierapolis, a city not far from the Euphrates, by a philosopher who, although we do not know his name, was related by marriage to Iamblichus's pupil Sopater[1]. As for the denizens of the desert, they had no use for philosophy, and today the visitor to Palmyra cannot fail to be struck by the overwhelming materialism of a city where a statue and an honorific inscription in one of its great colonnaded streets was invariably the reward, not for bringing Demosthenes or Plato alive to the ears of the young, but for conducting a camel-train safely home across the endless Arabian desert. It is difficult to imagine that this is where Longinus of Athens settled in the service of Queen Zenobia[2], and one wonders what company he could have kept in this city of merchants and warriors. In a letter written thence to Porphyry he does not disguise his irritation at the difficulty of finding copyists for his philosophical library[3].

Further south, in Palestine and Arabia, there is no sign at all of the presence of philosophers in the third and fourth centuries; but in Egypt, although once more the evidence for philosophical life outside the main centre, Alexandria, is thin, still we find the occasional hint of what we have lost. Apart from the Hermeticists, and Antoninus in his temple at Canobus[4], and a philosopher of Panopolis mentioned in the Vita of Pachomius[5], there are

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1. Julian, ep.98. Pace P.L.R.E. Sopater 2, the philosopher of Hierapolis (of whom Julian remarks that Ἰαμβλίχου τοῦ θειοτάτου τὸ θρέμμα Σώπατρος ἐγένετο τούτου κηδεστής) cannot be identified with the younger Sopater, who was an Apamean curialis (cf. below,212,n.2) and the παῖς (ps.-Julian, ep. 184.418a), not the κηδεστής, of the elder Sopater. Cf. Bidez, Rev.Et.Gr. 32(1919),30-31.

2. Cf. P.L.R.E. Cassius Longinus 2.

3. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 19.7-41. That the reference to 'Phoenicia' in line 5 in fact means Palmyra is confirmed by the Dig., L.15.1.5.

4. Cf. above,5,172.

5. V.Pach. 82. On the resolute paganism of late antique Panopolis,

a number of references to philosophers in the papyri[1], while the discovery at sites in provincial Egypt of numerous philosophical texts copied in late antiquity proves that the classical philosophers continued to be read and, we may assume, taught[2]. To the west, in Libya, we hear only of Synesius, who spent most of his life in the cities of the province's Hellenized coastal belt; though judging by his correspondence he found little philosophical companionship there, even though John Moschus tells a story according to which, soon after becoming a bishop, Synesius succeeded in converting to Christianity a pagan philosopher and one-time fellow-student called Evagrius, who was at that time living in Cyrene[3].

Looking at the eastern empire as a whole, it seems that, if one lived in one of the more Hellenized provinces, and in or near a fair-sized city, one probably did not have too much difficulty in finding a teacher of philosophy. Such a teacher was though of necessity a private individual: we hear almost nothing of official professors of philosophy in Athens[4], Alexandria[5], Rome[6], or Cons-

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cf. A. Cameron, 'Wandering poets: a literary movement in Byzantine Egypt', Historia 14(1965),472.

1. E.g. P.Lips. 47; P.Merton 40; P.Oxy. 3069; P.S.I. 1337; C. Wessely(ed.), Textus graeci papyrorum, qui in libro "Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer - Führer durch die Ausstellung Wien 1894" descripti sunt = Catalogus papyrorum Raineri. Series graeca. Pars I (Leipzig,1921),no.122.

2. Pace Nock, Sallustius xx. Cf. above,73,n.3, for references to attributed texts; and for adespota, Pack, Greek and Latin literary texts nos 2562,2564,2566-7,2573,2581,2588,2590-2,2595, 2599,2602,2604,2607-8,2612.

3. John Moschus, Prat.sp. 195. The story is suspicious. Synesius was bishop of Ptolemais, not of Cyrene; and Evagrius's philosophical objections to the doctrine of bodily resurrection, rejected with such self-assurance by Synesius, are precisely those that the philosopher-bishop himself had expressed in ep. 105.

4. Cf. above,59. Although Alexander of Aphrodisias cannot be shown to have taught in Athens (cf. above,62), his De fato 1, p.164.13-5 (Ἀριστοτέλης...οὗ τῆς φιλοσοφίας προΐσταμαι ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας (sc. Septimius Severus and Caracalla) μαρτυρίας διδάσκαλος αὐτῆς κεκηρυγμένος) does suggest that he held an official post somewhere. In the fifth century, Proclus appar-

tantinople[1] during the third and fourth centuries, and if major cities such as these were unable or unwilling to support the teaching of philosophy, it is unlikely that lesser centres did[2] - even though grammar and rhetoric continued to be widely subsidized[3]. Indeed, one was unlikely to find philosophers at all where the indigenous language was other than Greek[4], while the western pro-

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ently secured official σιτηρέσια for students of philosophy: Marinus, V.Proc. 16.

5. There were though philosophers among the members of the Museum - e.g. Dionysodorus (below,303), and Theon (above,179) - and they may have been appointed by the emperor (cf. F. Millar, The emperor in the Roman world (31BC-AD337) (London,1977),492-3,504-6). Hadot, Néoplatonisme alexandrin 11, concludes that it is unclear whether Alexandrian philosophers received official salaries in the fifth century.

6. Symmachus refers, ep. 1.79, to one philosopher, Priscianus, who was paid a salary by the Roman senate. (Pace Marrou, Augustin 113,n.9, there is no reason to assume he was a grammarian or rhetor rather than a philosopher.) Celsus (cf. above,183) was invited to Rome officially (Symmachus,Rel. 5.1), but he seems to have been a well-born amateur (in the best sense) rather than a professional in search of employment. Symmachus makes no reference to his occupying a public chair.

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1. Until 425: cf. below,201,n.1. Pace W. Stegemann, R.E. 5A.1650, and Dagron, Trav.Mém.Byz. 3(1968),7, there is no evidence that Themistius held a chair of philosophy at Constantinople. The remuneration he mentions at or. 23.292b is explicitly there stated to be at least partly (cf. Dagron, art.cit. 46,n.68) for his duties as a sophist.

2. The conclusion of A. Cameron, 'The end of the ancient universities', Cah. d'hist. mon. 10(1967),658.

3. Cf. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation 439-42, and A.H.M. Jones, The later Roman empire 284-602: a social, economic, and administrative survey (Oxford,1964),III,333,n.30; to which add Libanius, ep. 1230, referring to Maximus, (?)Praeses of Galatia 362-4 (=P.L.R.E. Maximus 19). According to H.A.,Sev.Alex. 44.4, Severus Alexander paid salaries to grammarians, rhetors, and others, but not apparently to philosophers, even though Alexander himself took a strong interest in philosopny.

4. On this parallelism of cultures in the eastern provinces, cf. G. Dagron, 'Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine: langue de culture et langue d'Etat', Rev. Hist. 241(1969),35-6.

vinces of the empire were an almost total philosophical wilderness - outside Rome, we hear of no pagan philosophers active anywhere except Sicily, where Porphyry dwelt for a time after leaving Plotinus's circle, and found a fellow-spirit in Lilybaeum called Probus[1]. As Julian observed, 'with very few exceptions you will not find that the men of the western nations have any great inclination for philosophy or geometry or studies of that sort, although the Romans have now so long ruled over them'[2]; and although the pagan emperor himself induced a number of sages to join him in Gaul[3], and was visited there by at least one Cynic acquaintance[4], we have no evidence that any of these were active outside the narrow circle of the court. A law of 376 providing for the appointment of salaried professors in the cities of Gaul takes for granted that grammarians and rhetors are all that will be required[5].

If the late antique philosopher was normally to be found in the Greek-speaking cities of the east, he was also often of a certain social class. Here again we find him very much the product of the cultural prejudices (or economic realities?) of the ancient

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 11.16-9; Eunapius IV.1.7. Augustine, ep. 118.9, insists that philosophers are to be found neither in Rome and Carthage, nor even in the east(!), but this sort of tendentiousness is a topos of Christian polemic: cf.e.g. John Chrysostom, Ad pop. Ant. 19.1;Hom. in Matt. 33.4. Porphyry appears to have lived at some point in his life at Carthage: De abst. III.4. On Milan as a centre of predominantly Christian Platonism, cf. Solignac's note in Oeuvres de Saint Augustin 14,529-36; and J.H. Waszink, 'Calcidius', Jb.Ant.Chr. 15 (1972),238-9 (though Dillon, Middle Platonists 401-8, doubts Waszink's suggestion that Calcidius may have belonged to this circle).

2. Julian, C.Gal. 131c; cf. epp. 8(ἐσμὲν ἐκβεβαρβαρωμένοι διὰ τὰ χωρία), 13(ἡ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀμουσία).

3. Libanius, or. 18.74; and cf. above,121-2,124-5.

4. Julian, ep. 26.414d. The Cynics referred to at or. 7.224cd seem to have visited Julian, either in Gaul, or while he was en route to Constantinople.

5. Cod.Theod. XIII.3.11.

world. Of course it was accepted that virtue alone makes the true philosopher - indeed Julian went so far as to insist that only the virtuous man is truly entitled to call himself well-born and wealthy[1]. Yet in practice the philosopher was required to be more than merely a man of natural wisdom: there was an acquired wisdom too that was expected of him, a wisdom to be possessed only through the long and careful cultivation of the Muses[2]. The very first sentence of the Neoplatonist Salutius's little treatise De diis et mundo, which was apparently composed as a sort of catechism of pagan belief in the time of Julian, runs as follows:

> 'Those who would learn about the gods need to have been well educated from childhood and must not be bred up among foolish ideas; they must also be good and intelligent by nature, in order that they may have something in common with the subject.'

This cultivation of the Muses presupposed of course not only the facilities - such as libraries and gymnasia - of the city, but also the leisure that only a well-born man could afford[3]. Even Themistius, although he wanted to bring philosophy to the people, insisted that his ideal philosopher, modelled on Plato's, should be ἐκ γάμων...ἱερῶν - born, that is to say, from the union of the

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1. Julian, or.3.81a,82b,83b.

2. The distinction is investigated by A.D. Nock, 'Orphism or popular philosophy?', Harv.Theol.Rev. 33(1940),301-15 = Essays 503-15. Julian captures it perfectly when he describes the ancients as οὐκ ἐπίκτητον ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχοντες τό φρονεῖν, οὔτι πλαστῶς, ἀλλ' αὐτοφυῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες (or. 3.82b), but the most extended discussion is that in Synesius's Dion, esp. 48c-50a (with the passage just quoted from Julian, cp. 49c: μάτην ἄν οὗτοι πονοῖεν καί ἀποτρύχοιντο, οἷς οὔτε αὐτοφυής ἐστι νοῦς οὔτε ἐπίκτητος). Sostratus/Heracles is the best-known example of a 'natural' philosopher (cf. above,169,n.4); and the idea is also implicit in various inscriptions (cf. above,viii), and explicit in a decree of c.A.D. 200 in honour of a citizen of Olbia, who αὐτοφυῆ φιλοσοφίαν ἀσύνκριτον ἐκτήσατο (B. Latyschev, Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et Latinae I (Petersburg,1916^{2}),no.42).

3. Cf. Origen, C.Cels. 6.1-2; Lactantius, Div.Inst. III.25; Symmachus, Rel. 5.1; and below,272, esp. n.5.

best man with the best woman[1] -, for if he were of humble birth he would be attracted despite himself towards the ignoble and the too human[2].

The sage of lowly birth is indeed a rarity in late antiquity. At least one fourth century Cynic began life as a boxer[3], but Cynics were inclined anyway to behave in such a way as to exclude themselves from the learned and socially select circles in which other philosophers moved. This did not endear them to the conventional philosopher, whose snobbery is typified by Julian's two orations against the Cynics, in which the emperor praises Antisthenes and Diogenes, figures safely enshrined in the temple of classical culture, but denounces bitterly those of his contemporaries who claimed to put the Cynic ideal into practice. Among Platonists, only Ammonius, if we believe the stories that later gathered around him, was of genuinely humble origins - and Porphyry expressly states that he was not regarded as a member of the Alexandrian philosophical establishment[4].

In fact, philosophers were not only regarded as ex officio part of the pagan establishment[5], but more often than not were born into it anyway. Thus R. Harder has deduced from the circumstances of Plotinus's involvement in Gordian's expedition to Persia that he may have been from a family well-connected, perhaps through commercial dealings, with senatorial circles in Rome[6].

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1. Themistius, or. 21.248a; cf. 250a: πάντας...τούς κορυφαίους ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λάβοιτε ἄν, τούς προγόνους ἀνερευνῶντες, διοτρεφεῖς τε καί διογενεῖς.
2. Ibid. 248d-249c.
3. Cf. above,72.
4. Cf. above,142,150-51.
5. Cf. I.G. $2\text{-}3^2$.3704.9-10 (and the comment of J.H. Oliver, 'Two Athenian poets', Hesperia Supp. 8(1949),247); Eusebius, P.E. I.2.3 (classified by Harnack as Porphyry, C.Christ. fr.1).
6. Harder, Kleine Schriften 280-82.

Certainly once he had settled in Rome he became deeply involved with the senatorial aristocracy[1], and it may well be that the jealousy he encountered in certain circles at Gallienus's court, and which led to the abandonment of the Platonopolis project, was an expression of the governing clique's pronounced anti-senatorialism, though Gallienus himself appears to have been well-disposed towards Plotinus[2]. As for Porphyry and Iamblichus, Eunapius tells us they were of distinguished family, and some such statement becomes almost a necessary part of the formula with which he introduces the more eminent of his heros - it is doubtful whether one should attach any particular significance to his precise choice of words on each occasion[3]. In the case of his own teacher, though, he does go into more circumstantial detail, and gives us a clear impression of the importance of his family in local Sardian society:

> 'Chrysanthius was of curial rank, and among the most nobly born. His grandfather, one Innocentius, a man of considerable wealth, had acquired greater renown than most private citizens, and the then emperors had conferred on him the power of making laws.'[4]

Wealth was of course the inevitable concomitant of distinguished birth. Synesius of Cyrene, scion of an ancient and aristocratic family, and enjoying throughout his life the leisure - and the duties - of a wealthy provincial landowner[5], is the very image

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1. Cf. above,152,154.
2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 12.1-2,9-12. Cf. Wickert, R.E. 13.363-4.
3. Eunapius IV.1.1 (Πορφυρίῳ...πατέρες οὐκ ἄσημοι),V.1.1('Ιάμβλιχος...ἦν καί κατά γένος μέν ἐπιφανής καί τῶν ἀβρῶν καί τῶν εὐδαιμόνων; and cf. above,84-5),VI.1.1(Αἰδέσιος...ἦν δέ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων εἰς ἄκρον),VI.6.6(Sosipatra πατέρων δέ ἦν καί γένους εὐδαίμονός τε κἀί ὀλβίου),VII.1.4(Maximus ἦν...τῶν εὖ γεγονότων). By contrast Ablabius, who engineered Sopater's death, was of γένος...ἀδοξότατον, καί τά ἐκ πατέρων τοῦ μετρίου καί φαύλου ταπεινοτέρα(VI.3.1).
4. Ibid. XXIII.1.3.
5. Cf. C. Lacombrade, Synésios de Cyrène, hellène et chrétien (Paris,1951),14-6.

of the late antique scholar-gentleman; and although Plotinus seems to have given up any property he may ever have had[1], many of the Iamblichan Neoplatonists are known to have come from a background similar to Synesius's, and to have continued, like Synesius, to enjoy its privileges despite their commitment to the philosophical life. Iamblichus himself owned a number of suburban houses or estates (προάστεια), and was apparently on one occasion attacked to his face by the philosopher Alypius because he enjoyed wealth unbecoming one of his vocation[2]. Likewise the Iamblichans of Asia Minor seem to have been drawn predominantly from the landed classes. Even Aedesius, whose family was not rich, possessed some property in Cappadocia which he entrusted to the care of Eustathius when he removed to Pergamon[3]. Eunapius too must have come from a prosperous family, because of his connection by marriage with Chrysanthius, and his prolonged study of rhetoric and philosophy[4]. Other philosophers we find involved in public works and religious benefactions, and this is additional evidence of their material prosperity[5].

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1. Cf. above,152. Harder and Marg, in their note on Porphyry, V. Plot. 11.3, produce no serious evidence for their assertion that Plotinus was personally wealthy.

2. Eunapius V.1.12,3.4-5.

3. Ibid. VI.1.1,4.6(Aedesius),VI.6.7,9.1(Sosipatra),VII.1.4(Maximus). Cf. also Lactantius's reference, Div.Inst. V.2.3, to a rich and avaricious - but unfortunately also anonymous - philosopher of Nicomedia.

4. Eunapius VII.4.5; cf. C. Foss, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis (Cambridge,Mass.,1976),154,n.68 (though the ἄλλοι κατά γένος γε αὐτῷ προσήκοντες of Eunapius X.1.4 are compatriots (cf. X.1.9: ὁμοεθνεῖς), not relatives). D.F. Buck, Eunapius of Sardis (unpubl. diss.,Oxford,1977),15, takes Oribasius, Ad Eun. prol. 1 (δῆλος γέγονας ἰάσεις βουλόμενος ἐκμαθεῖν...αἷς χρήσαιο ἄν ἔν τε ὁδοιπορίαις καί κατ' ἀγρούς), to imply that Eunapius owned landed estates.

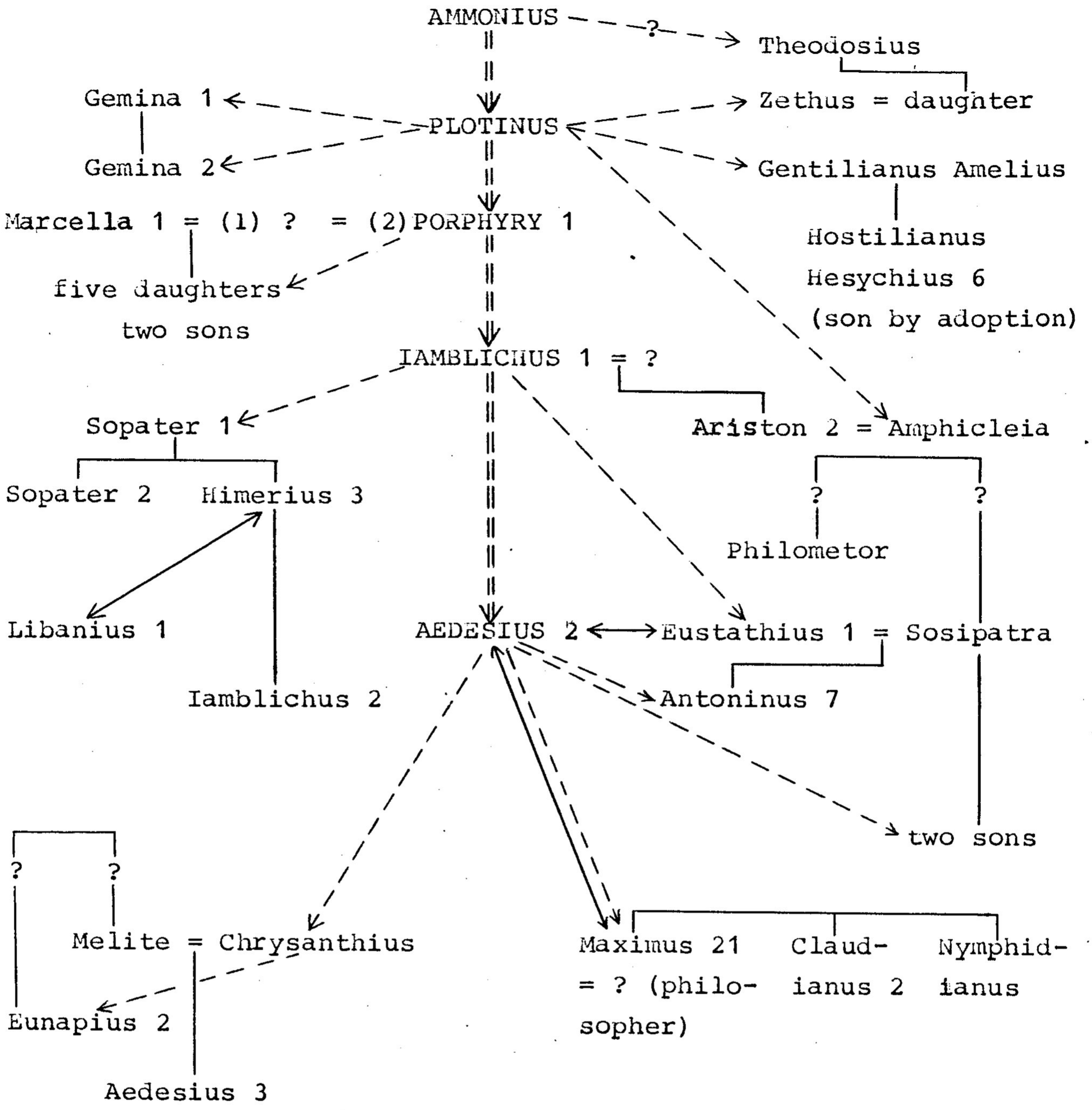
5. Cf. below,212,248-9.On the financial and other privileges accorded to philosophers, cf. below,226-7.

The tendency noticeable in late antiquity for philosophical interests to run in the family was almost enough to turn this social exclusiveness into incestuousness. Examples are too numerous to mention them all here[1], and a few sample cases must suffice.

Although one branch of Plutarch's philosophical dynasty persisted at Chaeronea into the third century[2], another branch established itself at Athens - the so-called 'family of Minucianus'- and produced a number of philosophers during late antiquity[3]; while Plutarch of Athens was the descendant of a line of sages and priests of which we first find traces in the early fourth century[4]. Unfortunately, we cannot know whether Plutarch of Athens was descended from his namesake of Chaeronea, and the two lines therefore related; but certainly Platonist philosophy was a common interest. Constantinople likewise harboured a line of philosophers whose best-known product was Themistius[5]; but undoubtedly the most interesting catena of personal and philosophical interrelationships is to be found if we look at the main line of the Neoplatonist διαδοχή, from Plotinus down to the Iamblichans of the later fourth century. This intricate interaction of blood and learning is best visualized if set out in the form of a diagram (see next page), by means of which it is possible to see how the central trunk of the Neoplatonic διαδοχή is clustered about with

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1. Cf. inter alia P.L.R.E. Archetimus/Celsus 4, Eucleides/Maximus 22, Theon 3; I.G. 5(1).598,10(2).145; S.E.G. 11.807; P.Lips.47.
2. S.I.G. 844ab. The family had been addicted to philosophy from the time of Plutarch's grandfather: cf. M. Schuster, Untersuchungen zu Plutarchs Dialog De sollertia animalium mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Lehrtätigkeit Plutarchs (Augsburg, 1917),12-5.
3. Cf. Schissel, Klio 21(1927),361-73; Millar, Jour.Rom.St. 59 (1969),16-7.
4. Cf. above,115-6.
5. Cf. above,65,n.1. Themistius's father-in-law was also a philosopher: Themistius, or. 21.244b.



Numbers refer to relevant entries in P.L.R.E. Hypothetical relationships have been excluded (cf. e.g. above,95,n.1).

⟹ main Platonic διαδοχή

⇢ relationship of teaching or close friendship

—— blood relationship

⟷ unspecified kinship

branches consisting of those pupils of Ammonius, Plotinus, Porphyry, and Aedesius who were related by blood or marriage either to their teachers or to each other[1]. These relationships are neither numerous nor important in the first three generations, from Ammonius to Porphyry, but thereafter, in the circles of Iamblichus and Aedesius, they become profuse, reflecting the increasing isolation and cliquishness of pagan philosophers in a society that was by now rapidly deserting temple for church.

To the historian this isolation naturally seems a symptom of decadence. It is true that most late antique philosophers thought it inevitable, even desirable, that the sage should be a figure remote from the great mass of his fellow men[2], yet the assumption of moral superiority that came naturally to a Plotinus or even a Porphyry appears ridiculous when affected by lesser mortals. A recently published papyrus letter conveys perfectly the self-conscious asceticism of a group of amateur holy men from Oxyrhyncus:

> 'Aquila to Sarapion, greetings. I was overjoyed to receive your letter. Our friend Callinicus was testifying to the utmost about the way of life you follow even under such conditions (καί ἐν τοιούτοις ὢν πράγμασιν) - especially in your not abandoning your austerities. Yes, we may deservedly congratulate ourselves, not because we do these things, but because we are not diverted from them by ourselves. Courage! carry through what remains like a man! Let not wealth distract you, nor beauty, nor anything else of the same kind: for there is no good in them, if virtue does not join her presence, no, they are vanishing and worthless...'[3].

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1. Women played a notable (though, pace Lactantius, Div.Inst. III. 25.15, not unprecedented: cf. C. Schneider, Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus I (Munich,1967),94) rôle in Neoplatonist philosophical life: e.g. the two Geminae, Chione, Amphicleia, Marcella, Arete, Sosipatra, the wife of Maximus of Ephesus (for all these, cf. P.L.R.E. s.vv.), and Hypatia. Eunapius indeed emphasizes the philosophical superiority of Sosipatra and Maximus's wife to their husbands (VI.8.4,VII.3.16).

2. Cf. above,8,13,21,41; and Synesius, ep. 105.

3. P.Oxy. 3069 (dated by its editor, P.J. Parsons, to the third or fourth century: cf. below,246,n.1). The address (verso) describes Sarapion as φιλόσοφος.

Such sentiments at least had the virtue of being harmless. Unfortunately, philosophical élitism could degenerate all too easily into mere boorish arrogance. Men as different as Plotinus and Themistius perceived and warned against this danger[1], but we can best trace its emergence in the Vitae sophistarum. Eunapius depicts Iamblichus for example as an obliging and easy-going teacher, and one can well understand how he inspired the sort of enthusiastic devotion we find in the letters of ps.-Julian; and yet Eunapius was as prejudiced in Iamblichus's favour as it was possible to be, and since Julian reports the followers of Theodore of Asine as saying that the sage of Apamea was φιλότιμος ('vainglorious')[2], it may be that there was another side to the story. There is though no reason to doubt Eunapius when he describes Aedesius's manner as sociable (κοινός) and popular (δημοτικός), and continues:

> 'The teacher used to implant in his pupils a sense of harmony and of responsibility towards mankind when he noticed that they were headstrong and arrogant because of their pride in their own opinions.... While instructing them in this way he himself, if he met a woman selling vegetables, would be pleased to see her, and would stop in his way to speak to her and discuss the price she charged, and say that her shop was making a good profit; and at the same time he would talk to her about the cultivation of vegetables. He would behave in the same way to a weaver, or a smith, or a carpenter.'[3]

The example thus set by Aedesius was followed, so Eunapius informs us, by Chrysanthius and 'the more moderate of the disciples'[4], and we may perhaps detect traits of this school in the at times startlingly democratic behaviour of the emperor Julian[5]. But

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1. Plotinus II.9.9.52-60, and above,175.
2. Julian, ep. 12.
3. Eunapius VIII.1.5-7. Evrard, Ant.Cl. 29(1960),404, rightly suggests that Aedesius was imitating Iamblichus.
4. Eunapius VIII.1.8,XXIII.3.12.
5. Cf. below,204, esp. n.5. Aedesius was not though very δημοτικός in his behaviour to Julian (Eunapius VII.1.12-4), who never

unfortunately it was not the moderates who rushed to support Julian's pagan revival, but the 'headstrong and arrogant', those who were prepared to ignore the forbidding omens[1]. In the passage just quoted Eunapius clearly has in mind Maximus of Ephesus and Priscus, in whom we see clearly that inflated self-esteem and lack of the common touch which had already been a flaw in Sopater's character[2]. Priscus indeed made a point of denouncing Aedesius to his face as a 'betrayer of the dignity of philosophy', and for his own part was, as Eunapius tells us, not only haughty in his manner, but κρυψίνους...ἄγαν καί βαθυγνώμων, extremely secretive and deeply pensive[3]. Both Maximus and Priscus, as the same writer remarks in his Historia, 'were learnèd, but they had virtually no experience of ordinary public affairs'[4]. Even Eunapius clearly regarded Maximus as monstrously conceited - far more so than Priscus - and his pompous behaviour and sartorial promiscuity at Julian's court must have estranged many, though the emperor's admiration for him seems to have remained undiluted[5]. With such leadership[6], it is not difficult to see why paganism lost so much ground during the crucial decades after the death of Julian.

One more factor which added to the exclusiveness of late antique philosophical circles should be mentioned here, though it was by no means a new one. Philosophy had always been the last

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refers to him in his surviving writings, and seems to have owed most in this particular respect to his παιδαγωγός Mardonius: cf. Athanassiadi, An emperor 37-9.

1. Cf. below,242, and, from the Christian point of view, Augustine, Conf. VII.9.13, and Macarius Magnes's description of the grim and overbearing behaviour of an anonymous Greek philosopher engaged in polemic with a Christian: Apoc., esp. 2.12;3.proem., 30;4.19,25.
2. Eunapius VI.2.1.
3. Ibid. VIII.1.1-10,esp. 1,9; and cf. above,175,n.4.
4. Eunapius, Hist. fr. 19.
5. Eunapius VI.9.5,8;VII.4.2,7.
6. Cf. ibid. VII.4.9.

and most difficult stage in a young man's education, and naturally the most rarely undertaken[1] - 'philosophiae virtus...ardua nimis atque paucorum'[2]. The conventionally-educated man went through the hands of the primary-school teacher, the grammarian (γραμματικός), and the rhetor, and then, between the ages of eighteen and twenty, left school to pursue his career[3]. Even of those few who went on to make a systematic study of philosophy, most were destined for careers far from the groves of the Academy[4]; only in a tiny handful did it provoke a lifetime's devotion[5]. We need not necessarily disbelieve Eunapius when he tells us what crowds of pupils flocked to hear Iamblichus or Aedesius, but to hear is one thing, to follow another. The Neoplatonist sage's inner circle of disciples was usually but a handful of men, who naturally tended to be older than those who studied philosophy merely as the completion of their educational curriculum. Plotinus came to Ammonius when he was twenty-eight, and Priscus may not have become a pupil

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1. Diogenes Laertius 2.79-80; Apuleius, Flor. 20; Diodorus Siculus II.29.5; Philostratus, V.Apol. 6.36. Cod.Theod. XIV.9.3 (A.D. 425) provided for the establishment of the University of Constantinople, with a staff consisting of only one professor of philosophy and two of law, as against twenty grammatici and eight oratores/sofistae. The main stages of a late antique education are succinctly described by Iamblichus ap. Stobaeus II.31.122: cf. the commentary by F. Wilhelm, 'Zu Iamblichs Brief an Sopatros Περί παίδων ἀγωγῆς (Stob. II.31,122 p.233.17 ff.W.)', Phil.Woch. 50(1930),427-31.

2. Augustine, De civ. Dei 10.27. Cf. Marrou, Augustin 211-35, on the content of the traditional ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία that preceded study of philosophy, and its increasing superficiality as the bounds of knowledge widened in the aftermath of Aristotle (230-33; and cf. 273-5, on the absence of 'culture scientifique' in Augustine's overwhelmingly literary education).

3. Apuleius, loc.cit.; Lucian, Philops. 14; Cod.Theod. XIV.9.1; Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation 389-418. Cf. Wolf, Schulwesen 75-92, and P. Petit, Les étudiants de Libanius (Paris,1957), 165-88.

4. Among administrators known to have retained an interest in philosophy, cf. P.L.R.E. Fortunatianus 1, Hermogenes 3, Hierius 4, Secundus 3.

5. This distinction, between what one might call academic and contemplative philosophy, is discussed with reference to Augustine by Marrou, Augustin 193-4 (cf.189).

of Aedesius until even later[1].

It is in the act of teaching, master and pupil face to face, that we reach the very heart of the question with which this study began: what, in social terms, did it mean to be a philosopher in late antiquity? For just as the rarity of true disciples illustrates the isolation of the late pagan sage - though an isolation that differed only in degree from that of his classical forebear - so, on the other hand, the existence of pupils of any description necessarily involved the philosopher in the broader life of the society in which he lived. To have taught a man who later became Praetorian Prefect of the East, for example, gave one, whether one wanted it or not, political influence; to have taught anyone implied a certain obligation to support him in the furtherance of his career. The specific issue of the philosopher in politics will be the theme of the next chapter; but it is as well to try to understand first what was this relationship of teacher and pupil, which in its broader lines has already been touched on in the previous chapter.

We see it at its most intimate in the story of Porphyry's attempted suicide[2]. Not an emotionally well-balanced person, Porphyry was perhaps, as Eunapius suggests, affected too deeply by Plotinus's unbending, insistent denial of the value of this world in which we live. Perhaps too his admiration of his teacher was mixed with unconscious jealousy: in later life his renown was to be credited by many to Plotinus's influence, and he himself was to note that, though he had enjoyed the supreme mystical union once, Plotinus had known it four times even during the period that

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.6-9, and above,94.
2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 11.11-9; Eunapius IV.1.7-8.

Porphyry was with him[1]. Porphyry surrendered completely to Plotinus - indeed there was no other way to behave towards a man who saw so clearly into the hidden corners of the soul - yet he did not surrender without a struggle[2]; and because the relationship remained one of unequals, he was never fully content in it. This was the pupil's failing rather than the teacher's, for Plotinus made few ordinary demands on his followers, and was himself benevolent and generous by nature. Yet the one demand he did make was the greatest and most difficult: to be like him. Porphyry probably recognized that that could never be; but we may doubt whether he ever came fully to terms with that recognition. At one point he thought of solving the problem of his own inadequacy by killing himself, but over this crisis Plotinus, recognizing immediately the μελαγχολική νόσος, sent his pupil away for a change of air and scenery, and a break from the intensity and self-searching of the philosophical circle.

We find the same self-surrender and intense devotion of disciple to master in the letters of ps.-Julian to Iamblichus[3], while another of Iamblichus's followers, Aedesius, was later to inspire similar feelings in Chrysanthius, who, 'athirst for knowledge, submitted himself, open-mouthed, taking his fill of Aedesius's great and singular wisdom'[4]. Again, Chrysanthius's pupil Eunapius assures his readers that his teacher 'never wearied of being with his devoted admirer (ἐρῶντι), while to him who received

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1. Ibid. IV.1.10; Porphyry, V.Plot. 23.12-8; and cf. W. Theiler, 'Ammonios und Porphyrios', in Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur (Berlin,1970),539-40.
2. Porphyry refers both to the struggle and the surrender at V. Plot. 18.8-23; cf. Eunapius IV.1.6.
3. Cf. above,42-3; also Eunapius V.1.6-7, and Bidez, Rev.Et.Gr. 32(1919),33-5.
4. Eunapius XXIII.1.6.

the lessons the job was like a festival'[1]; indeed, their devotion was both mutual and life-long, ending only with the death of Chrysanthius after a brief illness through which he had been nursed by his pupil[2]. Julian too became for a time a pupil of Chrysanthius, but he reserved his fondest feelings for Maximus, whom he thought 'the most remarkable man I have ever met', and to whom he felt he owed what moral and spiritual progress he had made[3]. As Caesar in Gaul, Julian felt all the lover's longing and anguish at separation from his teacher[4], and when at last Maximus came to join the emperor in Constantinople, and his arrival was announced as Julian was sitting in judgement in the senate, the pupil 'sprang up in an undignified manner and, forgetting who he was, ran at full speed a long way from the vestibule, and kissing his teacher he received him with reverence, and brought him in with him'[5]. Ammianus, relating this incident, is shocked by what he sees as an inexcusable breach of imperial etiquette; Libanius, more sensitively, recalls the μανικός Chaerephon, who at the beginning of the Charmides dashes to embrace Socrates on his return from Potidaea[6].

Doubtless this deep emotional involvement of teacher and pupil was attained only by the rarer spirits, but it is characteristic of the eastern Mediterranean mentality, and in particular of

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1. Ibid. XXIII.3.16. Hellespontius of Galatia had the same reaction to Chrysanthius: ἐπεί δέ εἰς ταὐτόν συνήντησαν, τοσοῦτον Ἑλλησπόντιος ἐαλώκει, ὥστε, πάντα μεθέμενος, ἕτοιμος ἦν σκηνοῦσθαι παρά Χρυσάνθιον, καί νεάζειν ἐν τῷ μανθάνειν (XXIII. 6.2).
2. Ibid. XXIII.6.8-10.
3. Julian, or. 7.235ac.
4. Id., ep. 26. Cf. ep. 11(to Priscus): νῦν γάρ σου τοὔνομα καθάπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες φιλῶ.
5. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.7.3-4. Mamertinus was similarly received on the day he became consul (Grat.act. 28), and Libanius exactly a year later, on the delivery of or. 12 (or. 1.129).
6. Libanius, or. 18.155 (cf. Plato, Charm. 153b).

these intimate Neoplatonic circles of late antiquity[1]. We cannot know whether there was, as there had so often been in classical Greece, an overtly sexual element in these relationships; some of the language used comes near to suggesting it[2], and we do learn from Porphyry that a rhetorician once read in Plotinus's presence a defence of Alcibiades in Plato's Symposium, in which he pronounced that a pupil should, for the sake of learning virtue, submit to sexual intercourse with his teacher (εἰς συνουσίαν αὐτόν παρέχειν ἐρῶντι ἀφροδισίου μίξεως τῷ καθηγεμόνι). But Plotinus was not amused, and restrained himself with difficulty from walking out[3].

The Neoplatonist masters did though act as directeurs de conscience, almost as fathers[4], to a much wider circle of pupils - this emerges clearly from the Vita Plotini, and from the letters of Iamblichus preserved by Stobaeus. Moreover, the foundation of all these teacher-pupil relationships, however close, was the

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1. Cf. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation 68-70,329. One of the most moving descriptions of such a relationship is contained in Gregory Thaumaturgus's speech of thanks to his teacher Origen, in a passage that invokes too the love of David and Jonathan: In Orig. 6.81-92.

2. But cf. R.W. Southern, Saint Anselm and his biographer: a study of monastic life and thought 1059-c.1130 (Cambridge, 1963),67-76 (on Anselm's letters),esp. 74: 'The peculiar ardour of Anselm's imaginative projection of his personal ties no doubt bred misunderstandings in those who did not understand that the fire was primarily intellectual and that it fed on an incorporeal ideal. It was a product of philosophy rather than of feeling: the unity of souls in friendship was a dramatic realization of that unity in which all men are one. Anselm spoke with contempt of those philosophers who were so tied to the data of their physical senses that they could not rise to the intellectual comprehension of this unity.'

3. Porphyry, V.Plot. 15.6-17. A charge of pederasty was brought against Libanius in Constantinople: Libanius, or. 1.79 (and cf. Norman's note ad loc.); Eunapius XVI.1.7. Elagabalus was said to have amused himself by asking philosophers whether they had ever indulged in unnatural vice(H.A.,Ant.Heliog. 10.6,11.7); cf. also Lucian, Dial.mer. 10; ps.-Lucian, Amores 23; and below,278,n.1.

4. Cf. Libanius, ep. 806.1: Οὐδέν θαυμαστόν μαθητάς ὑπό διδασκάλων φιλεῖσθαι ὥσπερ οὐδ' υἱεῖς ὑπό πατέρων.

reading and exegesis of the philosophers, and this was a task most usually and, we may suspect, most congenially undertaken in the context of the small circle of the sort already described in chapter V. We know on the other hand that philosophical teaching was quite often done on a one to one basis. According to a letter supposedly written by Apollonius of Tyana: 'No discourse can be profitable which, being itself single, is not delivered to a single individual. Therefore, anyone who discourses otherwise must be discoursing because he desires glory'[1]. Indeed, it was only natural that an arcane doctrine such as Pythagoreanism should be thought deserving of an arcane paedagogy. Such thoughts were certainly not far from the minds of Ammonius's pupils when they made their vow of secrecy, and we have only to turn to the Corpus Hermeticum[2], or to Dexippus's commentary (or διαλογικόν σύγγραμα) on the Categories, to find excellent examples of sage and disciple in solitary philosophical conversation.

The attempt made in the present chapter to locate the philosopher's social context, beginning at the geographical level and proceeding by way of province and city to questions of social and economic class, and the bonds formed by blood and marriage, has brought us back once more to the intense personal relationship of teacher and pupil, which was the implicit focus of the first part of this study. Upon this relationship depended, without exaggeration, the very survival of philosophy, for extended laterally it became the philosophical circle, the projection of the teacher's persona in present time; while extended vertically it became the διαδοχή, the projection of the teacher's persona in future time. Yet the significance of the teacher-pupil relationship was, as has

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1. Apollonius of Tyana, ep. 10.
2. Festugière, Révélation II,29,36-7.

already been suggested, more than purely philosophical or paeda-gogic. It was the seed from which many of the philosopher's other social connections derived, and it is to these, and especially to the philosopher as a political figure, that we must now turn our attention.

CHAPTER VII

THE PHILOSOPHER IN POLITICS

The twin luminaries of the late antique philosophical firmament were Pythagoras and Plato. Both were revered because they had taught men to look to the gods and the purification of their souls; but it was not forgotten that both too had been deeply involved in the political life of their time. Pythagoras had introduced an aristocratic form of government into the city of Crotona in Magna Graecia[1]; Plato had twice sailed to Sicily in the hope that in Dionysius of Syracuse he might realize his ideal of the philosopher-king[2]. Nor had the decline of the polis undermined the philosopher's desire to imbue princes with virtue, any more than his conviction that the city was the wise man's natural milieu. In the Roman empire too, philosophers were known to have admonished, and at times even to have gained intimacy with, the ruler of the world[3]. Indeed, with the accession of Marcus Aurelius in 161, Plato's dearest aspiration could at last be said to have been fulfilled[4]. No reader of Herodian, the emperor Julian, or the Historia Augusta, can long remain in ignorance of the impact that event made on mens' imagination[5].

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1. Diogenes Laertius 8.3; cf. W.K.C. Guthrie, A history of Greek philosophy (Cambridge,1962-),I,174-9.
2. Plato, ep. 7; cf. Guthrie, History IV,24-30. For other examples of classical Greek philosophers in politics, cf. Philostratus, V.Apol. 7.1-3, and below,209,n.1.
3. Cf. R. Macmullen, Enemies of the Roman order: treason, unrest, and alienation in the empire (Cambridge,Mass.,1967),46-94. Seneca and Nero experienced both intimacy and alienation: cf. most recently M.T. Griffin, Seneca: a philosopher in politics (Oxford,1976).
4. That this was Marcus's conscious purpose is implicit in his Med. IX.29.5.
5. Cf. (e.g.) Herodian II.4.2,V.2.3-4; Julian, Ep. ad Them. 253ab, Symp. 335c, and C. Lacombrade, 'L'empereur Julien émule de Marc-Aurèle', Pallas 14(1967),9-22; H.A.,Marc.Ant. 1.1 and passim, Ant. Heliog. 1.2,Div.Aur. 42.4; also Themistius, or. 34.7-8.

Late antique philosophers, however unworldly their teachings, had not forgotten the example set by their forebears[1]. Up to a point, of course, their detachment from society was reflected in a detachment from politics. In the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris could still accuse his friend Eutropius of preferring the writings of Plotinus and the 'profundum intempestivae quietis otium' of the Platonists to the Praetorian Prefecture of Gaul[2], and it is true that the more mystical Neoplatonists, with the natural exception of Julian, were nothing like as interested in political theory as Plato had been[3]; but this omission was compensated for by men like Themistius and Synesius, who had practical political involvements and ambitions to justify. A detailed examination of their ideas would be out of place here, but it must at least be said that Plato's notion of the philosopher-king plays, as onewould expect, a central part. It was, Julian pointed out in his Epistola ad Themistium, an extremely daunting ideal. No mere man, as Aristotle and even Plato himself had acknowledged, is likely to be able to master both Fate and his own human nature sufficiently to measure up to it[4], but if one had to choose between the benefits brought to mankind by an Alexander and a Socrates,

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1. In fact it became a literary topos: e.g. Themistius, orr. 5. 63d;8.105ab;11.145b;17.215ac;34,passim; Julian, Ep.ad Them. 265b-266a; Synesius, Ad Paeon. 308c-309c.
2. Sidonius Apollinaris, ep. 3.6.
3. Although F. Taeger, Charisma: Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes I (Stuttgart,1957),398, proposed a date in the mid-third century A.D. for the Neopythagorean treatises on kingship preserved by Stobaeus under the names of Ecphantus, Diotogenes, and Sthenidas, the balance of scholarly opinion, recently surveyed by O. Murray, Περί βασιλείας: studies in the justification of monarchic power in the Hellenistic world (unpubl. diss.,Oxford,1970),245-8, assigns their composition to the late Hellenistic period - though the fact that they are preserved by Stobaeus proves that they circulated, probably widely, in late antiquity.
4. Julian, Ep. ad Them. 253a-254c,257d-258d(Plato),260d-261d (Aristotle).

the philosopher would win[1]. Julian's own preference was clearly for the socially involved philosopher such as Socrates rather than what he saw as the pure contemplative such as Pythagoras (sic)[2]; but he lived to see his scepticism about the practicability of Plato's ideal justified by his own experiences.

Themistius continued nonetheless to preach in the same terms to Julian's successors as he had to Constantius. Kings and philosophers, he maintained, are alike sent by God to teach mankind[3]. In practice they usually work side by side[4], though in exceptional circumstances the two vocations may be found united in one person - and Themistius was not above suggesting that Constantius and Theodosius were cases in point[5]. The philosopher is duty-bound to instruct and exhort the prince[6] - as Themistius set out to do in the letter, unfortunately lost, to which Julian's Epistola ad Themistium is a reply[7] -, and yet the prince, because of the power he exercises, may well be better able actually to realize the philosophical ideal[8]. He is certainly capable of being the wise man's truest ally, and the philosopher who refuses a political appointment from a philosopher-king is unworthy of the name[9]; but Themistius agrees with Julian that the philosopher's achievement, albeit less immediately spectacular, is likely to endure longer than the prince's[10]. Themistius's successful career

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1. Ibid. 264bd.
2. Cf. esp. ibid. 264d: ὅσοι δέ σώζονται νῦν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, διά τόν Σωκράτη σώζονται.
3. Themistius, or. 6.72a.
4. Id., orr. 5.64a,7.99b,17.214ab.
5. Id., orr. 2.29c-30a,34.7-9.
6. Id., orr. 5.64a.8.104b.
7. Cf. also Themistius's De re publica gerenda, preserved in Arabic.
8. Id., or. 1.9ab.
9. Id., or. 17.214c-215a.
10. Id., or. 31.354ab.

at court is sufficient proof that fourth century emperors liked hearing this sort of thing, but it is more difficult to tell whether Themistius - or for that matter his imperial audience - really believed in it as a practical recipe for ruling Rome. Since Julian was the only emperor who actually tried it, his scepticism about Themistius's point of view is highly significant; and Themistius himself, in a moment of (deceptive) candour, was prepared to admit that it is not everyday one meets Plato's philosopher-king, and that the most one can realistically expect is, with Aristotle, that the king will pay heed to the advice of philosophers[1]. His candour is deceptive because it was precisely the impracticability of Plato's ideal that justified the existence of a court philosopher like himself. Doubtless Themistius got a shock when Julian became emperor; Julian not only did not employ him[2], but made a point, in replying to his letter, of beating him at his own game by proving that he had misunderstood his Aristotle[3]. In later life Themistius was to admit that it was only with reluctance (βιασθείς) that Julian had described him as the first among philosophers[4].

Synesius's position on these matters was much the same as Themistius's[5], though perhaps less self-interested in its motivation. But the social historian is bound to be concerned less with these repetitions of conventional classical ideas than with the fact that pagan philosophers continued to play a <u>practical</u> politica rôle in late antiquity which, by arousing Christian resentment, contributed indirectly to the sharp decline of philosophical life

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1. <u>Id</u>., <u>or</u>. 8.107c-108b.
2. Cf. Dagron, <u>Trav.Mém.Byz</u>. 3(1968),232-4.
3. Julian, <u>Ep. ad Them</u>. 263cd.
4. Themistius, <u>or</u>. 31.354d.
5. E.g. Synesius, <u>Ad Paeon</u>. 308b-310c; <u>De regno</u> 6cd,31c-32a; <u>Const</u>. 305ab; <u>ep</u>. 103.

in the last decades of the fourth century.

In the later Roman empire - and the following paragraphs are concerned especially with the period up to the accession of Julian- philosophers might still involve themselves in political life at any level from provincial town to imperial court[1]. Because many were well-born and wealthy, they belonged of course to the municipal curiae[2] - or else might be adlected if thought sufficiently distinguished, though we have evidence for this only from Rome and Constantinople[3]. Cities were proud simply to be able to associate themselves with men of learning and fame[4], but they might also profit in more practical ways. Several inscriptions from the third century commemorate the general benevolence or the specific benefactions of men whom, at least in the first flush of gratitude, it was thought fitting to call φιλόσοφος[5]. Even more important, a philosopher's learning (and perhaps reputation), the rhetorical training he had to undergo before he embarked on the study of philosophy, and the possibility that he had former pupils

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1. Although some Cynics appear to have been involved in popular protest movements during the second century (B. Baldwin, 'Lucian as social satirist', Cl.Quart. 11(1961),203-5), we have no evidence that this continued to be the case in late antiquity. Maximus the Cynic (above,72-3) is no exception - his involvement was in Chritian doctrinal disputes.

2. Cf. above,191-5, and below,247,303. Libanius's letters, an important source for the condition of the curiae, reveal that the younger Sopater (ep. 627) and Macedonius of Cyrrhus (ep. 1071; cf. above,137, and below,213,n.4) were also curiales. On the qualifications required for curial status, cf. Jones, Later Roman empire II,737-40.

3. Celsus to the Roman senate (cf. above,183), and Themistius to the Constantinopolitan (Dem.Const. 19ab).

4. Ibid. 19b; Libanius, ep. 664.2 (quoted above,174,n.2); and the Athenian inscription commemorating the younger Iamblichus quoted above,127,n.2.

5. E.g. I.G. 2-3^2.3810 (Titus Pompeius Dionysios, Athens, τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἕνεκα); S.E.G. 11.807 (Q. Aufidenus, Sparta, διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν μεγαλοφροσύνην); I.G.R. 4.468 (L. Septimius Tryphon, Pergamon(?), τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνακοσμήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πρῶτος), 1403 Papinius, Smyrna, who τὸν παρατεύεντα οἶκον ταῖς Νεμέσεσιν ἀνιέρωσεν).

now influentially placed made of him an ideal ambassador when a city, afflicted perhaps by natural disaster or maladministration, wished to appeal for help to the emperor or some high officer of state. The evidence for such missions, scanty in the third century[1], is fortunately more plentiful for the fourth. Themistius, never reticent about his public services, boasted of the numerous embassies which from the beginning of his career he had performed on behalf of the city of Constantinople[2], and on one occasion had the effrontery to point out to Constantius that the capital of the east had done the emperor particular honour by choosing as its ambassador not a rhetor, who would merely retail servile praise, but a philosopher, who would tell the unvarnished truth[3]. Libanius mentions the involvement of the philosopher Macedonius in embassies on behalf of the city of Cyrrhus[4]; and we have also a letter from Julian to the philosopher-priest Theodore congratulating him on defending his city, whose name is not known, from some outrage with which it had been threatened, apparently by the proconsul of Achaia[5]. In provincial communities remote from the centres of power, yet incapable perhaps of helping themselves, the outcome of such embassies must have been awaited with considerable anxiety, and the returning ambassador questioned eagerly, not just about his official business, but also about the gossip of the metropolis, the political, social, religious, and cultural news that otherwise

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1. Cf. M.A.M.A. 8.499b (M. Aur. Diodoros Kallimedes, Aphrodisias, γενόμενος ἐν λειτουργίαις καί ἀρχαῖς καί πρεσβείαις).
2. Themistius. orr. 17.214b,31.352c,34.29; and cf. Dagron, art. cit. 205-12.
3. Themistius, or. 3.44cd.
4. Cf. P.L.R.E. Macedonius 4, and esp. Libanius, ep. 873: φιλεῖ μέν τήν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα, κακῶς δέ πράττουσαν ὁρῶν, εἶτ' ἀπό χρημάτων αὐτῇ βοηθεῖν οὐκ ἔχων, ζῇ γάρ ἐν πενίᾳ, οὐκ ἄχθεται πρεσβείαις πολλαῖς καί τοῖς ἐν ἑκάστῃ λόγοις....
5. Julian, ep. 30. On the two Argive philosopher-ambassadors referred to in the inauthentic ep. 193 of Julian, cf. above,135,n.6.

would remain inaccessible, or else garbled at fourth hand. For a time,at least, the ambassador was a person everybody wanted to see - and oblige[1].

If an embassy successfully completed increased the prestige of the ambassador among his fellow-citizens, its actual execution opened up to him opportunities for self-advancement at the very apex of the Roman power-pyramid. Such opportunities were not neglected. Indeed, the prestige enjoyed by the representatives of Greek culture was such that they hardly needed the excuse of an embassy in order to appear at court - they just turned up, like the Cynic Heracleius, who pestered Constantius, Julian, and Procopius, one after the other[2]. As F. Millar has recently remarked, 'it was the rhetoricians, the poets, grammarians, and philosophers of the provincial cities who, after his senatorial 'friends', had the easiest access to the emperor - far quicker and easier than that eventually afforded by military service or the long climb up the equestrian career'[3]. Proficiency in Greek letters was a ready passport to secretarial and administrative jobs close to the emperor[4] - but the philosopher could offer intellectual and even spiritual guidance as well. In other words, if an emperor, or his wife, happened to have a taste for philosophy, then the sage who wished to do so might well progress from employee to personal intimate. There were philosophers, perhaps of a Neopythagorean tinge, in the circle of learned men that gathered around Julia Domna[5] - and perhaps also at the court of her great-nephew, Severus

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1. Cf. Eunapius VII.3.15, on Maximus of Ephesus's sudden popularity on the eve of his departure to Julian's court.
2. Cf. above,71.
3. Millar, Emperor 9.
4. Ibid. 83-101; Ammianus Marcellinus XV.13.1-2;XVII.5.15.
5. Dio Cassius LXXVII.18.3; Philostratus, V.soph. 622(οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν γεωμέτραι τε καὶ φιλόσοφοι); above,27-8; and Bowersock, Greek sophists 101-9.

Alexander, if he was half as much a philosopher as the Historia Augusta pretends. As for Themistius, he never met an emperor whom he was not prepared to assume shared the same cultural interests as himself[1]. Greek paideia, which included the teachings of the great classical philosophers, was not so easily disowned - and nor, in consequence, was Themistius himself. Transparent as Themistius's self-interest may seem to the modern reader, the immediate effect of his speeches, to judge by the honours with which they were repaid, was all that their author could have wished.

From enjoying the emperor's patronage it was but a short step to active involvement in the implementation of his policies. For example, a number of philosophers are known to have participated in special missions or embassies, in just the same way as others were employed by cities to negotiate with central government. In a speech delivered in 383 Themistius was to complain that in fact embassies were the only form of involvement in public life that had been permitted to philosophers by earlier emperors[2]; but if factually Themistius is correct - though one should of course except Julian, who appointed philosophers to administrative posts as well -, nonetheless his implied denigration of the importance of missions and embassies is hardly fair. After all, he had himself been employed by Constantius as a recruiting agent for the Constantinopolitan senate[3], and it was perhaps as a reward for this

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1. E.g. Themistius, orr. 3.46c,4.60bc(Constantius);5.63c(Jovian); 8.105bc(Valens);34.16(Theodosius). Ammianus Marcellinus thought Valens 'subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus', 'inconsummatus et rudis' (XXXI.14.5,8). The most favourable construction that can be put on Themistius's behaviour is Dagron's, art.cit. 84,n.2: 'Thémistios félicite de préférence les empereurs pour les qualités qui leur manquent manifestement le plus, ce qui est une manière de leur en recommander l'usage: pour Constance la douceur, pour Valens l'amour des lettres et le pardon des offenses.'
2. Themistius, or. 17.213cd.
3. Id., or. 34.13.

that, among other honours[1], he was offered (though he declined) the proconsulate (or prefecture) of Constantinople[2]. Nor was Themistius the only philosopher to act as an imperial agent in the period before Julian. J. Baillet suggested that the reason for the philosopher(?) Nicagoras's visit to Egypt was that he had been sent there by Constantine to investigate the condition of the pagan temples and cults[3]; and if this interpretation is rather more specific than our evidence warrants, nonetheless Constantine clearly did try to facilitate Nicagoras's expedition, perhaps, as already suggested, because he wished to oblige a prominent pagan intellectual over a critical stage in the development of his religious policy[4]. A much more clear-cut case is provided by Constantius's employment of the philosopher and rhetor Eustathius on the important embassy sent to the Persian court in 358[5]. Eunapius emphasizes that Constantius decided to make use of Eustathius's services despite the fact that he was a pagan, and had no military or administrative experience, because he was so obviously the best man for the job; while Eustathius for his part took advantage of the opportunity thus presented him to win the King of Kings over to the philosophical life. The embassy failed - but its history illustrates perfectly how even in the middle of the fourth century there was still profit to be had for both sides in the co-operation of philosophers and princes[6].

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1. Cf. e.g. Cod.Theod. VI.4.12.
2. Themistius, or. 34.13-4; cf. Dagron, art.cit. 45-8,54-60,213-7.
3. Baillet, Acad. des Insc. et Belles-Lett.,Compt.-Rend.(1922), 286-9; cf. above,113-4, and below,223.
4. Cf. the criticisms of Baillet by P. Graindor, 'Constantin et le dadouque Nicagoras', Byzantion 3(1926),209-14, and A. Bataille, Les Memnonia: recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecques sur la nécropole de la Thèbes d'Egypte aux époques hellénistique et romaine (Cairo,1952),172-3.
5. Cf, above,104-5.
6. Libanius oversimplifies when he states baldly, or. 62.9, that Constantius had no time for philosophers and sophists.

Perhaps the most important single area in which emperors made use of philosophers - and philosophers sought to influence emperors - was that of imperial policy towards Christianity. A. Alföldi suggested fifty years ago that Gallienus attempted to use the Eleusinian mysteries and Neoplatonic philosophy in order to stimulate a revival of paganism[1]. This thesis has been strongly, and rightly, criticized[2], although as far as the philosophers are concerned it does contain at least an element of truth. Gallienus's friendship with Plotinus is well-attested[3], and it may not be coincidental that Plotinus first started writing in the year that Gallienus came to power[4]. Likewise it is at least conceivable that the treatise against the Gnostics was written at the emperor's bidding[5] (though far more likely, in the present writer's opinion, that it was provoked, as Plotinus said it was, by the presence of Gnostics in his own circle[6]). Certainly the Neoplatonist Origen addressed a treatise to the emperor[7]; and according to the Historia Augusta Gallienus visited Athens, and took an interest

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1. A. Alföldi, 'Die Vorherrschaft der Pannonier im Römerreiche und die Reaktion des Hellenentums unter Gallienus', in id., Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus (Darmstadt,1967),228-84, esp. 241-63. This essay owes much to M. Wundt, Plotin: Studien zur Geschichte des Neuplatonismus (Leipzig,1919),36-57.
2. E.g. by M. Rosenbach, Galliena Augusta: Einzelgötter und Allgott im gallienischen Pantheon (Tübingen,1958),passim, esp. 26-7,36; Harder and Marg, in their edition of Porphyry's V. Plot., 102-3; L. de Blois, The policy of the emperor Gallienus (Leiden,1976),185-93.
3. Porphyry, V.Plot. 12.1-2.
4. Ibid. 4.9-11.
5. That it was composed in the reign of Gallienus is clearly stated, ibid. 5.
6. Cf. above,154.
7. Porphyry, V.Plot. 3.29-32. G. Wolff, Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda (Berlin,1856), 21-2, suggested that Porphyry did too, while Rosenbach, op.cit. 53-62, argued that it was Porphyry who stimulated Gallienus's interest in the cult of Sol.

in its mysteries[1]. He was almost certainly initiated at Eleusis[2], and it can scarcely be imagined that an emperor with so great a pretention to learning[3] failed to make contact with Longinus and his friends. Yet none of this quite adds up to the concerted policy that Alföldi claimed. Nor is it possible, as Alföldi imagined, to take for granted that Plotinus and Longinus were prepared to work together for the restoration of paganism: if anything, the evidence points to a certain coolness between the philosophers of Rome and Athens[4]. Not only did they disapprove of each other on doctrinal grounds, but Plotinus was uninterested both in religious cult[5] and politics[6].

Plotinus's purist attitude was not though destined to find favour with the generation of pagan intellectuals that lived through the dramatic upheavals that occurred in the religious life of the empire under Diocletian and Constantine. Millar has observed that 'it is perhaps not an accident that the 'great' persecution of Diocletian took place a few years after the imperial court first

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1. H.A.,Gall. 11.3-5.
2. Rosenbach, op.cit. 28-9.
3. H.A.,Gall. 11.6.
4. Alföldi, art.cit. 255. Alföldi misunderstands the character of Longinus's philosophy, and omits to mention Plotinus's low opinion of it: cf. above,111-13.
5. Cf. above,14.
6. This is most explicitly stated by Porphyry, V.Plot. 7.17-21, and Firmicus Maternus, Math. I.7.17. For further references, cf. above,13,n.6. It is this point which makes so implausible the thesis (Wundt, op.cit.32-5; Alföldi, art,cit. 259-60) that the break-up of Plotinus's circle was caused by the fall of Gallienus's régime. It is unreasonable to suppose that senatorial circles were hostile to Plotinus (rather,cf. above,193-4), since (a) many senators counted themselves among his disciples (Porphyry, V.Plot. 7.29-31), and (b) it is unproven that Plotinus's circle 'so eng in die Bestrebungen des Kaisers verflochten war' (Wundt, op.cit. 45): cf. the failure of the Platonopolis project. If Plotinus, Amelius, and Porphyry did leave Rome for political reasons, it is difficult to see why Porphyry should so elaborately have disguised the fact - the parallel with the demise of Pythagoras's circle would have been too good to miss.

became firmly established in a Greek city, and was more than ever before exposed to the influence of pagan Greek intellectuals'[1]. Perhaps, indeed, it was not an accident, but we cannot prove that pressure from pagan intellectuals hastened the persecution. What is undeniable though is that pagan intèllectuals became involved once it started. The proof of this is the well-known passage in which Lactantius cryptically describes two prominent enemies of the Christians who had been active in Nicomedia when the Diocletianic persecution began there in 303[2]. The first, according to Lactantius, styled himself 'antistitem philosophiae'; he preached virtue and poverty, yet was himself rich and well-connected, and used these advantages to interfere with justice and increase his own wealth. At the time of the persecution he 'spewed forth' three books against Christianity, in which he maintained that the duty of the philosopher is to recall men to the old religion, not just for the sake of the gods, but also in order that the 'ignorant' (the Christians, in other words) might not suffer the unpleasant punishments that would otherwise surely come their way.

The fact that Lactantius omits the name of this polemicist, and yet devotes so much space to him, suggests that to guess his identity would not have been beyond the average reader's wit. The Divinae Institutiones were addressed to a Latin-speaking audience to whom the names of very few contemporary Greek philosophers would have been familiar[3]. That Lactantius's philosopher was in fact Porphyry is an old idea[4], but one that does not always find

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1. Millar, Emperor 9.
2. Lactantius, Div.Inst. V.2.
3. That the anonymous wrote in Greek is suggested by ibid. V.4.2.
4. E.g. P.L. 6.553; Bidez, Porphyre 112,n.2.

favour[1]. Yet as far as we know Porphyry was still alive in 303[2]; he had probably spent the greater part of the last four decades in Rome, the capital of the Latin west, where he was destined also to die[3]; and we know from his Epistola ad Marcellam that towards the end of his life, 'because of the affairs of the Hellenes (i.e. the pagans), and urged by the gods', he set forth on a long journey - one assumes from Rome[4]. If Porphyry had indeed been invited 'to attend the confidential deliberations which preceded the launching of the persecution of the Church under Diocletian in 303'[5], and which were held in Nicomedia[6], then it is at least likely that he was Lactantius's anonymous; and if T.D. Barnes is right to date Porphyry's Contra Christianos to the end of his life, then it should be identified with the work 'spewed forth' in 303[7].

The second of the two pagan writers against whom Lactantius fulminates, usually identified with Hierocles, the praeses of Bithynia, need not detain our attention here: he made no claim to

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1. Barnes, Jour.Theol.St. 24(1973),438-9; P. Monat, Lactance: Institutions Divines,livre V II (Paris,1973),37-8. Contra Barnes, Lactantius does not compel us to suppose that the anonymous's property lay in Bithynia rather than (as would be more likely if he were Porphyry) in Syria or Italy. Nor is it surprising (rather the reverse) that Lactantius should abuse his opponent's ineptitude in polemic. Monat rightly points out that Augustine gave Porphyry his academic due - but at a safer distance in time. Pace Schemmel, Neue Jb.Päd. 11(1908),153, there is no persuasive reason to identify Themistius's grandfather (cf. above,65,n.1) with Lactantius's anonymous. He was favoured by Diocletian, but of his religious involvements we are totally ignorant.
2. Barnes, art.cit. 431-2.
3. Cf. above,156.
4. Porphyry, Ad Marc.1(his age),4(his journey). W. Pötscher, Porphyrios Πρός Μαρκέλλαν (Leiden,1969),2-3, dates the text to 300/01.
5. H. Chadwick, The Sentences of Sextus: a contribution to the history of early Christian ethics (Cambridge,1959),142.
6. Lactantius, De mort. pers. 10.6-11.8.
7. Barnes, art.cit. 431-42. Two possible explanations are offered by Chadwick, op.cit. 143,n.1, for the fact that the anonymous wrote in three books, and Porphyry in fifteen.

be a philosopher, though he did write a book in which he compared Christ with Apollonius of Tyana[1]. What emerges clearly from the passages of the Divinae Institutiones and the Epistola ad Marcellam here examined is that,whether or not we identify Lactantius's anonymous with Porphyry, pagan philosopher's were undoubtedly involved in the Great Persecution and the wave of pagan propaganda that accompanied it. Nor did their involvement cease with the demise of the persecution. Licinius is known to have punished philosophers who had assisted Maximin Daia in his anti-Christian policies[2], but before long he himself began to favour the pagans again[3]. If we accept T.D. Barnes's recent re-dating of the correspondence of ps.-Julian, then two pupils of Iamblichus are attested at the court of Licinius - ps.-Julian himself, who seems to have spent much of the second decade of the century there, and Sopater, who visited Licinius in Thrace sometime before 316, and at Nicomedia in about 318[4]. We do not know exactly what either of them was doing there. Julian refers to certain speeches that he had delivered in the presence of the emperor, 'on the occasion of the famous bridging of the strait'[5], but it is unlikely that he was employed full-time as a rhetor. Sopater's second visit to the court was on an embassy, and Julian makes clear that he had come

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1. Lactantius, Div.Inst. V.2.12-7; and cf. above,27,esp. n.1.
2. Eusebius, P.E. IV.2.10-11, and cf. H.E. IX.11.5-6.
3. E. Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire I (Paris,1959),103-4.
4. Barnes, Gr.Rom.Byz.St. 19(1978),99-106. Barnes plausibly argues (100-01) that ep. 181.449a refers to the first war between Licinius and Constantine, in 316-7. The only inconsistency (not noted by Barnes) is that Cibalae, where Licinius suffered his first defeat of the war, was in Pannonia Inferior (cf. A. Mőcsy, R.E. Supp. 9.607-8), whereas Julian states that he began his journey from Pannonia Superior. But this may be a slip, or an exaggeration.
5. Ps.-Julian, ep. 186.421b.

from Apamea[1]. He does not say what was the purpose of the mission, and it may of course have been on behalf of the city of Apamea; but it is also possible that Iamblichus, whom ps.-Julian calls 'the saviour of the whole Hellenic world'[2], was trying through his disciples to encourage Licinius to take a more independent line towards the religious policies of Constantine[3]. Such an attempt would have been entirely consistent with the attachment that philosophers, especially those of Iamblichus's outlook, increasingly felt to the religious aspect of Hellenism. Indeed, it is the religious tensions of the age that seem to catalyze among pagan intellectuals that sense of political purpose that was so lacking in the earlier Neoplatonists. Almost immediately after Constantine defeats Licinius, and becomes the ruler of the east as well as the west, we find the first clear and (relatively) well-documented case of direct intervention by a late antique philosopher in imperial politics.

It was noticed in an earlier chapter that Sopater left Apamea again soon after Iamblichus's death and, prompted no doubt by his earlier contact with imperial circles in the reign of Licinius, spent the remainder of his life at the court of Constantine[4]. According to Eunapius, Sopater went to court 'hoping to dominate and convert by his arguments the purpose and policy of Constantine'[5], words which can only refer to Constantine's religious policy. That the Christian emperor was indeed prepared to mollify a little the apprehensions felt in pagan religious and

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1. Id., ep. 184.417d-418a.
2. Ibid. 419a.
3. Bidez first broached this idea, Rev.Et.Gr. 32(1919),35. It is not clear why he thought that Euclid, the addressee of Julian, ep. 192, was involved in the same campaign.
4. Cf. above,90.
5. Eunapius VI.2.1.

philosophical circles is suggested by the assurances of toleration he gave soon after the defeat of Licinius[1], and by the graffito that the Eleusinian hierophant Nicagoras left when he visited the Valley of the Kings near Thebes in 326, rendering thanks'to the gods and to the most pious emperor Constantine, who has granted me this'[2]. Yet we may doubt whether Sopater ever enjoyed quite as much power at court as Eunapius implies in his extremely over-blown account. Clearly he was not given any official position - not even Eunapius claims that -, although he may, at least for a time, have gained some personal influence over the emperor. Constantine made him his σύνεδρος, or adviser, and the philosopher's enemies murmured (or so at least Eunapius would have us believe) that ἔτι τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγκάθηται θρόνοις[3]. Sozomen relates a story that throws some light on Sopater's ambiguous position. Constantine is said to have sought his advice about how to purify himself after the murder of Crispus and other members of his family - which, if true, means that Sopater reached court in 326 at the latest[4]. Sopater replied that the crime was too great to be washed away, and Constantine then turned to the Christian bishops, who immediately reassured him that his sins were redeemable through repentance and

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1. Eusebius, V.Con. 2.56, possibly the outcome of pressure by Neoplatonist philosophers in the east, according to A. Alföldi, 'On the foundation of Constantinople: a few notes', Jour.Rom. St. 37(1947),14. Cf. Cod.Theod. IX.16.1-2 (A.D. 319).

2. Baillet, Inscriptions...des Tombeaux des Rois no. 1265, and cf. above,113-4. On Constantine's generous policy towards the city of Athens, cf. Julian, or. 1.8cd; according to Photius, Bibl. 62, it was rewarded by a laudatory biography from the pen of Praxagoras, a pagan Athenian of the mid-fourth century. Cf. also Dagron, Rev.Hist.241(1969),38-9, on the linguistic aspect of this tension.

3. Eunapius VI.2.2-3,10.

4. O. Seeck, R.E. 4.1723. John Lydus's statement, De mens. 4.2, that Sopater was present in Constantinople at the ceremonies ἐπὶ τῷ πολισμῷ may refer either to the consecration of the city in 324 or its dedication in 330: cf. above,135.

baptism. This story is a particularly ingenious piece of pagan propaganda[1], simultaneously to the credit of Sopater as father-confessor, and to the discredit both of Constantine as guilt-haunted murderer, and of the Christian bishops as encouragers of religious opportunism. Sozomen himself is of the opinion that Constantine never even met Sopater![2] - but that is perhaps to take scepticism too far. Whatever the truth of the matter, it became clear by the 330s that Constantine had turned his face irrevocably against the old gods, and Sopater's enemies began to cast about for a means of destroying him. Ultimately, towards the end of the reign the Praetorian Prefect Ablabius was able to secure his execution by accusing him before the emperor of preventing the grain ships from reaching Constantinople by arousing an adverse wind[3]. This was the period when the abuse of magic was beginning to obsess those in positions of power, and it was all too easy to make such a charge stick to a man who was almost certainly well-known for his theurgical skills.

These attempts by the Neoplatonists of Apamea to draw Constantine back into the pagan orbit may just possibly be echoed in a number of passages in later Christian writers. George Cedrenus refers to Constantine as 'reproached by pagan philosophers as making innovations in religion'[4], while another Byzantine source describes how the philosopher Canonaris, not otherwise known, publicly denounced Constantine in the midst of his own capital as 'the des-

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1. Sozomen, H.E. I.5.1 (ὡς Ἕλληνες λέγουσι...).
2. Ibid. I.5.2.
3. Eunapius VI.2.12-3.13. P.L.R.E. Fl. Ablabius 4 was Praetorian Prefect of the East 329-37. A. Piganiol, L'empire chrétien (325-395) (Paris,1972^2),57, places the death of Sopater in 331 for no better reason than that Ablabius was consul that year.
4. George Cedrenus, Comp.hist. 544.

troyer of his ancestors'. Warned to abjure his faith, he refused and was beheaded[1]. What reliance can be placed on these writers is rather doubtful. The story about Canonaris has enough circumstantial detail to suggest there may be some residuum of truth in it, though the name is unusual for the fourth century; but Cedrenus's naive account of a philosopher who is put down in heavy-handed fashion by a certain bishop Alexander while discussing the nature of faith is suspiciously reminiscent of stories related by Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Gelasius of Cyzicus, and George the Monk about the intervention of philosophers and sophists in the Council of Nicaea, which opened on May 20,325[2]. M. Jugie has argued that these are later inventions serving purely propagandistic ends, but it is conceivable that they preserve the memory of a visit to the Council by one of Iamblichus's followers. The philosopher on whom Rufinus's story centres is described as being 'distinguished in dialectic', invincible in fact within the conventions of his own art[3], and subsequent writers simply elaborated on this model. Sopater of course was 'a man most eloquent both as speaker and as writer'[4], and Julian seems to have been of similar ilk. Nor is there any reason why Sopater should not have arrived at court by 325 - but beyond these possibly fortuitous parallels we can only speculate.

Sopater was the last philosopher who managed to combine a deep commitment to pagan religion with influence over a Roman emperor. Yet philosophers had begun to fall from favour long be-

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1. Παραστ.σύν.χρον. 55.
2. These stories are conveniently collected by M. Jugie, 'La dispute des philosophes païens avec les Pères de Nicée', Echos d'Or. 24(1925),403-10, who omits however to mention the version by George the Monk (Chron. 505-7).
3. Rufinus, H.E. 1.3.
4. Eunapius V.1.5.

fore. The reasons for this were many, but important among them was the fact that philosophers could no longer fairly claim to play an important part in the intellectual life of the empire. Something has already been said of the generally low quality of philosophical life in the later second century, and the situation does not seem to have improved with time. In the third century as sympathetic an observer as Longinus had to confess himself unimpressed by the vast majority of the philosophers with whom he had come into contact - and his was a wide experience[1]. The number of those who wished to study philosophy was anyway small[2], and probably dwindling - and so too, we may suspect, were the ranks of the philosophers themselves. Antoninus Pius's law regulating the numbers of grammarians (γραμματικοί), sophists, rhetors, and doctors entitled to exemption from various taxes and public duties set no quota for philosophers because they were anyway so few[3]; and Longinus, writing towards the end of his life, observed that philosophers were far rarer than they had been in his youth[4]. It is hardly likely that their numbers grew much in the later third and fourth centuries.

At least a hundred years before Constantine began to lead the empire towards full acceptance of Christianity, we find evidence of a general scepticism in administrative circles, not only about the value of the contribution philosophers made to the life of the community, but also about their personal integrity. From the early second century onwards municipal curiae had been accustomed to exempt philosophers, sophists, and other teachers, from the perform-

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1. Cf. above, 59-62.
2. Cf. above, 200-02.
3. Dig. XXVII.1.6.7.
4. Longinus ap. Porphyry, V.Plot. 20.17-20. Longinus was born c.213 (Aulitzky, R.E. 13.1401).

ance of certain burdensome civic duties, provided they occupied themselves conscientiously with the public instruction of the young[1]. But during the third and fourth centuries, at the same time as state subsidies for the teaching of philosophy were gradually being withdrawn[2], it seems also to have been made increasingly difficult for philosophers to claim their immunities. Caracalla, because he took exception to the behaviour of the sophist Philiscus when he was on trial for avoiding his civic liturgies, deprived all teachers of their exemptions, at least for a time, and is said to have shouted at Philiscus: 'I would never for the sake of a few wretched speeches rob the cities of men who ought to perform public services'[3]. The same emperor also made a violent attack on the Aristotelians of Alexandria, abolishing their privileges and attempting to burn their books[4]. The jurist Papinian, a contemporary of Caracalla, agreed that genuine philosophers should be exempt from 'tutelas, item munera sordida corporalia', but added that they should be compelled to pay taxes, for 'true philosophers despise money, and if they desire to keep it, they reveal the falsity of their claim'[5]. Diocletian and Maximian went further, for to one Polymnestus, who attempted to avoid his hereditary obligations, they bluntly replied: 'Your

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1. Dig. XXVII.1.6.1-12;L.4.18.30,5.8.4; Philostratus, V.soph. 490; and Dio Cassius LXIX.3.6 (on Hadrian's refusal of the sophist Favorinus's plea for a philosopher's immunities). On the date at which these immunities were introduced, cf. Bowersock, Greek sophists 32-3, qualified by M. Griffin's review, Jour. Rom.St. 61(1971),279-80; and on the criteria on which the curiae granted them, cf. V. Nutton, 'Two notes on immunities: Digest 27,1,6,10 and 11', Jour.Rom.St. 61(1971),54-6.
2. Cf. above,189-90.
3. Philostratus, V.soph. 621-3.
4. Cf. above, 63.
5. Dig. L.5.8.4; cf. ibid. L.13.1.4 (Ulpian), and Frag.Iur.Rom.Vat. 149.

avowed profession and your wishes are at variance with each other; for although you claim to be a philosopher, you are overwhelmed by blind avarice'[1]. In similar vein Valentinian, in an edict of the year 369, required that those who donned the philosopher's cloak and deserted their towns in order to escape their duties should, if detected, be sent home at once, and added: 'It is disgraceful that a man who professes to endure the violence of fortune cannot bear to perform the compulsory public duties of his municipality'[2]. The heavy irony that runs through all these comments is worth noting - it goes back at least as far as Antoninus Pius's law on exemptions[3], and speaks eloquently of the attitudes of Roman officialdom to philosophers and their like.

The particular problem which provoked Valentinian's edict seems indeed to have reached serious proportions by the fourth century. Julian, Themistius, Eunapius, and Synesius all lament the disrepute that was being brought on philosophy by men who sought to avoid their obligations by simply dropping out of society and becoming charlatan-philosophers, living on their wits and the gullibility of the general public[4]. Significantly, though, the same edict of Valentinian made an exception for 'those who have been endorsed by the most approved persons (a probatissimis)', in other words by the curiae[5]. That it was still possible at this

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1. Cod.Just. X.42.6.
2. Cod.Theod. XIII.3.7.
3. The relevant passage is quoted above,60.
4. Julian, in the two orations against the Cynics, passim; Themistius, or. 21.246c-247a; Eunapius VI.10.1-5; Synesius, Ad Paeon. 307b. Symmachus, Rel. 5.2, is obliged to emphasize that Celsus has come to teach philosophy in Rome 'nullum quaestum professionis adfectans'. Cf. also Lactantius, Div.Inst. V.2.3; and Cod.Theod. XII.1.63 (A.D. 370) on the parallel problem of false monks.
5. Cf. Lucian, Eun. 3: Marcus Aurelius's professors of philosophy at Athens were to be elected ψήφῳ τῶν ἀρίστων.

date for a philosopher to claim official privileges is explicitly confirmed by a law of 414[1]; and an interesting papyrus, dated 372, allows us a glimpse of a woman called Asaite setting out for Alexandria to testify that her foster-father Silvanus was a philosopher - almost certainly in order that he might qualify for an immunity[2]. Twelve years later Symmachus requested that the philosopher Celsus be exempted from the consequences of his adlection to the Roman Senate[3] - though as far as we know he held no official position, being simply a private teacher of philosophy to the nobility. So although most of the legislation on academic privileges from this period concerns grammarians and rhetors[4], one must speak of a probable decline, rather than a disappearance, of the material benefits that accrued to the professional philosopher.

It was perhaps only natural that hard-pressed curiales should have drawn the line at subsidizing teachers who were often anyway among the most wealthy citizens[5], and should have tried to exploit, if not their philosophical indifference to wealth, then at least their public-spiritedness[6]. In the third century philosophers could still claim to be in the habit of serving their cities, whether by benefaction or by participating in its political life[7], but in the fourth century the inscriptions that record these services peter out[8]. Although we must allow for a general decline in the prosperity of the curial classes in the fourth century, the

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1. Cod.Theod. XIII.3.16.
2. P.Lips. 47.
3. Symmachus, Rel. 5.3.
4. Cod.Theod. XI.16.15,18; and cf. XIII.3.1,3,5,10,17,18.
5. Cf. above,194-5.
6. An analogy may be drawn with the relationship between second century sophists and their cities: cf. Bowersock, op.cit. 33-42.
7. Cf. above,212-4.
8. Cf. below,269-270.

fact that many philosophers came from wealthy families suggests that their withdrawal from public life was a matter of choice as much as of necessity. In an increasingly Christianized society it was natural that they should begin to lose interest in politics, both local and imperial, and to feel alienated from their traditional social rôle - just as in Rome, where paganism remained strong during the fourth century, philosophers retained their links with the ruling élite[1].

Despite this cooling of relations between philosophers and the political establishment, the state never at any point in the fourth century interfered directly in their teaching activities - there was no Christian equivalent of Julian's law on education. A man like Themistius, who confined himself to teaching the classical philosophers, was perfectly acceptable in the eyes of the Christian state[2], which fully recognized the need for philosophy to remain in the educational curriculum. Theurgic Neoplatonists, it is true, had to tread more warily, for they were closely involved with the pagan cults, and were particularly easily tainted with the charge of practising magic, as Augustine pointed out à propos of Porphyry[3]. Eunapius attributes Aedesius's secretiveness to fear inspired by Constantine's hostility to paganism[4], and one philosopher, Demetrius Cythras, was actually tortured during the Scythopolis magic trials under Constantius, because he had been accused of offering sacrifices. But after pleading that he did so

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1. Cf. above,181-3.

2. Cf. Dem.Const.

3. Augustine, De civ. Dei 10.9. Cod.Theod. IX.16.4 (A.D. 357) specifically attacks Chaldaean magic.

4. Eunapius VI.1.5.(Bidez, Rev.Et.Gr. 32(1919),39, suggests that it was because he feared Constantius's displeasure that Aedesius refused to teach Julian.) Cf. Julian, ep. 61.423c: ἕως... τούτου...ὸ πανταχόθεν ἐπικρεμάμενος φόβος ἐδίδου συγγνώμην ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τάς ἀληθέστατας ὑπέρ τῶν θεῶν δόξας.

out of piety, not ambition, he was allowed to go home[1]; and since we have no other evidence from the reigns of Constantine and Constantius for the persecution of philosophers because of their involvement in pagan cult[2], it is probably safe to assume that, provided they were tactful, even the Iamblichan Neoplatonists were normally left in peace. Certainly there is no need to assume that active efforts were made at this date to prevent the circulation of Neoplatonic or theurgic texts[3], though to possess such a book might have been dangerous if one was already suspect for other reasons. Hence Julian, compelled while Caesar to dissimulate his attachment to Iamblichan Neoplatonism, took the precaution of addressing himself only to a known sympathizer, the philosopher Priscus, when he wanted a copy of Iamblichus's Chaldaean writings[4], and made a point while in Gaul of entrusting the care of his books to Oribasius, the only one among his companions who was party to his secret paganism[5].

This ambiguity in the state's policy towards pagan intellectuals during the first half of the fourth century, combined with the new Chritian establishment's obvious desire to extinguish the

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1. Ammianus Marcellinus XIX.12.12.
2. According to Eunapius V.3.9, Iamblichus in his Vita Alypii τό μέν μέγεθος ἐμφαίνει τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν (sc. Ἀλύπιον) ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις κολάσεων καί ἀτυχημάτων, αἰτίας δέ ἐπί τούτοις ἤ προφάσεις οὔτε πεφυκώς ἐξηγεῖσθαι πολιτικῶς, οὔτε προελόμενος; in consequence of which we remain in ignorance both of the date of these sufferings, and of any connection they may have had with the religious struggles of the age.
3. Piganiol's assertion, L'empire chrétien 57, (following Harnack's introduction to his edition of Porphyry's C.Christ.,5, 31), that 'la chute de Sôpatros fut sans doute suivie de la persécution des porphyriens, c'est à dire des néoplatoniciens. Les livres de Porphyre et des porphyriens furent condamnés à être brûlés', reads too much into the possibly spurious letter of Constantine preserved by Socrates, H.E. I.9.31 (cf. Gelasius, H.E. II.36.1). The phrase πρός δέ τούτοις shows that by burning his books Constantine intended to ensure for Arius an infamy even greater than Porphyry's. The letter's assertion that ἀφανισθῆναι δέ τά ἀσεβῆ αὐτοῦ (sc. Porphyry's) συγγράμματα is obviously not to be taken literally:cf. Cod.Just.I.1.3.1.
4. Julian, ep. 12.
5. Id., Ep. ad Ath. 277bc.

temple cults, must have made a deep and gloomy impression on the mind of many philosophers - and some resolved not to compromise. Libanius describes in these terms the pressures to which Julian was exposed during the early 350s:

> 'On the lips of every man of sense was the prayer that the lad should become the ruler of the empire, that an end be put to the ruin of civilization, and that there be put in charge of the troubled world one who knew how to cure such ills.... I feel that this was his desire too, but that it arose from a longing not for luxury, power, or the imperial purple, but for the restoration by his own efforts of the worship of the gods in particular to the empire whence it had been expelled. It was this that shook him to the core, as he saw their temples in ruins, their ritual banned, their altars overturned, their sacrifices suppressed, their priests sent packing, and their property divided up between a crew of rascals.'[1]

It was with this longed-for accession of Julian to sole authority over the Roman world in 361 that late antique philosophy reached the brief and dramatic crisis-point of its political fortunes. At a time when an anyway secretive philosophy was being forced to dissemble more and more of its activities in order not to attract the attention of the Church and its political allies - and in Julian's own early career we have the best-documented example of this dangerous tight-rope performance[2] -, suddenly there appeared on the scene an ascetic philosopher-emperor soaked in the doctrines and ritual practices of Iamblichan Neoplatonism, who declared almost immediately upon his arrival in his capital that he intended to reverse the religious policies of the previous half-century, and restore paganism to its historic position as the state-religion of the Roman empire[3]. There is a compelling sincerity in Julian's repeated affirmation that he did not seek political power - in his early career he gives very much the impression of

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1. Libanius, or. 18.21-3; cf. 14.41-2.
2. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.5.1; Libanius, or. 18.19.
3. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.5.2.

the retiring philosopher, never happier that when dwelling at peace amidst the shrines and schools of Athens -; and yet once it became clear that it was his destiny to rule, Julian shouldered his duties with his characteristic dedication[1]. He was vividly aware of his personal inadequacy to the task that had been set him, and it was natural that his first reaction should have been to seek the assistance of his fellow-philosophers, and especially of those who had been close to him during the decade that had elapsed since his first arrival in Pergamon.

It was perhaps during his stay in Nicomedia (352-4) that philosophers first began to gather around Constantius's young nephew[2]; but the earliest certain evidence for the emergence of a circle of intellectuals around Julian comes from the six years he spent as Caesar in Gaul (355-61). Among the prince's closest associates at this period were the iatrosophist Oribasius[3] and the philosopher-administrator Salutius[4], while Priscus, the Eleusinian hierophant, and an anonymous Cynic friend were among those who came for shorter visits[5]. We may well imagine these friends whiling

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1. Julian, ep. 8.441b; Ep. ad Them. passim, esp. 260b,262d-263b, 266c-267b; Ep. ad Ath. passim, esp. 275a,283a,286d-287c;or. 7. 232cd; Misop. 352d. G.W. Bowersock, Julian the Apostate (London,1978),46-52, argues that Julian's rôle in the events at Paris in 360 was more active than his own account of them suggests..

2. This point depends on how one interprets Libanius's rather vague remarks at or. 18.21. Certainly, after his experiences at Pergamon and Ephesus, Julian was well-known in philosophical circles: cf. his reference (Ep. ad Ath. 277c) to the πολλοὶ ἑταῖροι καὶ φίλοι πιστοὶ who were unable to accompany him to or visit him in Gaul.

3. Ibid. 277bc; Eunapius XXI.1.4; and cf. above,158,n.4.

4. P.L.R.E. Saturninius Secundus Salutius 3. On his philosophical interests, cf. esp. Julian, orr. 4.252ab,11.157bd. That it was he, rather than P.L.R.E. Flavius Sallustius 5 (to whom no source attributes an interest in philosophy), who composed the treatise De diis, is convincingly argued by G. Rochefort, Saloustios: Des dieux et du monde (Paris,1960),x-xxv. On the dissenting opinion of R. Etienne, 'Flavius Sallustius et Secundus Salutius' Rev.Et.Anc. 65(1963),104-13 (followed by P.L.R.E. Sallustius 1), cf. Bowersock, op.cit. 125.

5. Cf. above,121-2,124-5,191.

away the long winter nights at Paris in philosophical conversation[1], and laying plans no doubt for the pagan restoration, in which Julian intended them to play an active rôle. Only Oribasius was almost[2] constantly at the young Caesar's side in these years, but once the decision to move against Constantius had been taken - and even more so once Constantius was dead -, it was safe for Julian to invite all his old associates to rejoin him, without fear any longer of compromising them in the eyes of the authorities[3]. Here we have additional proof of the constraints, albeit indirect, that had been placed on prominent pagans, and especially philosophers, by Julian's Christian predecessors.

In his Epistola ad Themistium Julian calls on all philosophers to come and assist him, 'since I have proved myself your leader and champion in danger'[4]. Some Cynics came uninvited, but Julian gave them a frosty reception, and in the oration he addressed to one of them, Heraclius, confessed himself very suspicious of their motives. Of those who received a personal summons, and free use of the public post in order to hasten their journey, Maximus of Ephesus and Chrysanthius were among the first. They sacrificed and examined the omens, but received no encouragement. Maximus went just the same, and, like Salutius, was reunited with Julian at Constantinople, but Chrysanthius heeded the gods's warning, and stayed at home[5]. Julian and Maximus together then sent for Priscus, who accepted the invitation, and reached court either before, or soon after, Julian's arrival at Antioch[6]. Likewise,

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1. Julian, or. 4.248d, Ammianus Marcellinus XVI.5.6.
2. Julian's only letter to Oribasius (ep. 14) dates from the end of his time in Gaul.
3. Cf. id., epp. 26.415ab (and Libanius, or. 15.50), 33.
4. Id., Ep. ad Them. 266d-267a.
5. Eunapius VII.3.9-4.1,XXIII.2.3-7; Julian, ep.26. On Salutius, cf. P.L.R.E. Saturninius Secundus Salutius 3.
6. Julian, epp. 11-3; Eunapius VII.4.4,7; Libanius, or. 14.32.

(cont.)

while passing through Asia Minor the emperor summoned the philosopher Aristoxenus to meet him at Tyana and assist in the pagan restoration[1]. We do not know whether Aristoxenus responded or not; but Chrysanthius's behaviour, coupled with the fact that the philosopher Eustathius, although he came to court, soon left again[2], suggests that Julian's call to the pagan sages fell on ears markedly less responsive than he had expected. This was partly because the philosophers he summoned to assist him were Neoplatonists who knew nothing of public life, while he rebuffed Themistius, the only philosopher of the day who had any substantial political experience behind him[3]; and of course it is quite possible that the prospects for a pagan restoration really did look too grim to justify risking the consequences of failure. Nonetheless, some philosophers took the risk, and if they did so, it was either because they were intimate with Julian anyway, or, as the Church historian Socrates pointed out, because of their intense hostility to Christianity[4].

In the Misopogon, composed at Antioch, Julian observes that he and the intimates who accompany him number just seven - and to these he adds Libanius[5]. Of the other six, Julian himself tells us that one was Anatolius, his magister officiorum[6], and it is not difficult to guess who were the other five. Maximus,

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Julian's observation that ὁ φιλόσοφος Πρίσκος αὐτός οὐκ ἦκεν in his ep. 96, written at Antioch, probably refers to a temporary absence rather than to Priscus's actual arrival at court.

1. Id., ep. 78.
2. Id., epp. 34-6.
3. Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 5.20, implies that the Cynics and Themistius were not the only philosophers who got less from Julian than they had expected.
4. Socrates, H.E. III.1.56; cf. John Chrysostom, De S. Bab. 14.
5. Julian, Misop. 354c; cf. 365c.
6. Ibid., 365bc; cf. Lacombrade's n. ad loc., and P.L.R.E. Anatolius 5.

Priscus, Salutius and Oribasius are all obvious candidates, and the last was perhaps the Athenian rhetor Himerius, who is known to have joined Julian in Constantinople, though his activities during the rest of the reign are a mystery[1]. The emperor was deeply devoted to this inner circle, as we can see from the Consolatio that he addressed to himself when his 'faithful friend and devoted brother-in-arms'[2] Salutius was obliged by Constantius to leave Gaul[3]. Julian did not even resent Chrysanthius's refusal to join him; and indeed his devotion to his masters in theurgic Neoplatonism could at times blind him, or at least render him indifferent, to their short-comings, as when he failed to curb the exhibitionism and arrogance that Maximus began to display as soon as he arrived at court[4]. These were the men, the 'royal philosophers' as Gregory of Nazianzus called them[5], in whose company Julian passed his few more private hours, seeking solace and enlightenment in philosophical discussion[6].

Yet this is the only respect in which Julian's circle resembled those that gathered around the great Neoplatonist sages. The differences are far more striking. Philosophers did not come to learn from Julian - indeed, they were mostly his elders, if not his teachers[7]. Instead they came, as just now remarked, to assist

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1. Cf. H. Schenkl, R.E. 8.1624. The identification was suggested by J. Bidez, 'L'évolution de la politique de l'empereur Julien en matière religieuse', Acad. roy. de Belg.,Bull. de la Cl. des Lett. 7(1914),449.
2. Julian, or. 4.242a.
3. Cf. also id., ep. 13(to Priscus).
4. Eunapius VII.4.2 (ὁ δέ βασιλεύς ἠγνόει τά πραττόμενα). Cf. Mamertinus, Grat.act. 26.4-5 (Julian 'in recipiendis amicis optimus iudex est; si aliqui sunt improbi, tolerandis familiarum vitiis immutabilis est amicus'); Julian, or. 7.233c; Libanius, or. 18.202.
5. Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 4.86.
6. Ammianus Marcellinus XVI.5.6,XXV.3.23; Libanius, orr. 13.44, 17.26.
7. Cf. the gentle rebuke administered to Julian by Priscus at Antioch: Libanius, or. 1.123.

him in a joint effort to arrest the decay of paganism that had so markedly accelerated in the course of their lifetime. To the more practical of these philosophical companions Julian entrusted straightforward administrative tasks - Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, for example, he made proconsul of Achaia[1], and another, unfortunately anonymous, we find holding a military command in Alexandria and involved in anti-Christian atrocities (or so Gregory of Nazianzus claims)[2]. But the philosopher's main rôle Julian envisaged on a more exalted plane. They were to be the standard-bearers and exemplars of the pagan restoration, supplying intellectual and theoretical backbone to a religion that was too amorphous to compete with Christianity on the institutional level. Since Julian was determined to exclude Christian teachers from higher education - and although the edict on education does not mention them, philosophers must have been included -[3], he was naturally concerned to found pagan schools, and undoubtedly intended his philosophers to have a large hand in organizing them[4]. Such schools would of course have required text-books comprehensible to non-specialists, and it was with this purpose in mind that Salutius wrote his short pagan catechism, the De diis et mundo[5]. Julian's own dogmatic works were also composed with the needs of

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1. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.7.6.
2. Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 4.86; cf. Hauser-Meury, Prosopographie 181-2.
3. Julian, ep. 61; cf. Theodoret, H.E. III.8.1, and Bidez, art. cit. 429,n.3.
4. Gregory of Nazianzus, or. 4.111, Sozomen, H.E. V.16.2 claims that Julian intended to found φροντιστήρια...ἀνδρῶν καί γυναικῶν φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνωκότων, but the prime purpose of these was probably ascetic rather than academic: cf. above,viii.
5. Salutius clearly states that he intends to write a brief summary (De diis 5) 'for those who neither can be steeped in philosophy nor are incurably diseased in soul' (ibid. 13). His Greek is, by the standard of the Neoplatonists, remarkably easy, no doubt intentionally.

the pagan restoration in mind[1], and it is not surprising that Salutius's book shows striking parallels with the writings of the friend with whom he had spent so much time in philosophical conversation[2].

It is difficult to understand quite what Julian had in mind for his philosophers without some grasp of an idea that he himself worked very hard to propagate - that of the philosophical priesthood. The broad syncretism of philosophical and religious ideas during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and the increasing interest of philosophers in the whole question of the cult of the gods, had naturally suggested analogies between philosopher and priest, and, eventually, the assumption that these vocations were, or ought to be, interchangeable. In the early Roman period figures as different as Apollonius of Tyana, Plutarch of Chaeronea, Apuleius, and Alexander of Abonoteichus, may legitimately be described as philosopher-priests, and several contemporary Greek authors emphasized the philosophical interests of the Egyptian priesthood[3]. The third century Neoplatonists took the idea up with renewed intensity, which doubtless owed not a little to their admiration for Pythagoras. Plotinus might repudiate explicitly any formal involvement with the worship of the gods[4], but his pupil Porphyry not

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1. Libanius, or. 18.157.

2. Julian, or. 4.245b,247d-248a. Cf. G. Rochefort, 'Le ΠΕΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ de Saloustios et l'influence de l'empereur Julien', Rev.Et.Gr. 69(1956),50-66, and id., Saloustios XXVI-XXVIII. But Nock's assertion, Sallustius xcvi-ci, that Salutius was a Iamblichan is qualified by Athanassiadi, An emperor 203-4.

3. Cf. Strabo, Geog. 17,29,46; Chaeremon ap. Porphyry, De abst. IV.6,8; Clement of Alexandria, Strom. I.15.71.3-4,VI.4.37.3; Iamblichus, De myst. 8.4-5. Otto, Priester und Tempel II, 223-4, and E. Fascher, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ: eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung (Giessen,1927),92-3, argue that such passages reflect Greek romanticism better than Egyptian reality - but it is with what the Greeks thought they knew that we are here concerned. Cf. also above,5-6, on the Hermeticists.

4. Cf. above,14.

only wrote extensively on cultic matters, but also recurred frequently to the similarity between the priest and the sage - μόνος ἱερεύς ὁ σοφός. Wisdom is the knowledge of God; and conversely, the worship of God is meaningless unless it be informed by understanding[1]. This line of thought achieves its fullest expression in Iamblichus, whose De mysteriis presupposes the existence of a caste of philosopher-priests fully trained in the arcane lore of theurgy[2]; and indeed, literary and epigraphical evidence for the existence of philosophers who, like Iamblichus's own pupil Sopater, also performed priestly functions is plentiful throughout the third and most of the fourth century[3]. In short, when Julian decided to entrust the implementation of his religious reforms to a small group of hand-picked philosopher-priests, he was adopting a formula that was already well-tried.

Although Julian was ready to accept the assumption, popular-

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1. Porphyry, Ad Marc. 16-7; De abst. II.3,34-5,49 (the φιλόσοφος is the θεοῦ τοῦ ἐπί πᾶσιν ἱερεύς).

2. Cremer, Die chaldäischen Orakel 25,n.53, explains the notable fact that Iamblichus himself is never called a θεουργός in the ancient sources as an acknowledgement that he was 'der philosophische Protagonist der Theurgie, aber im strengen Sinn kein Theurge, ein Ausdruck, der auch bei den späten Neuplatonikern nur die beiden Juliani bezeichnet'. According to J. Bidez, 'Note sur les mystères néoplatoniciens', Rev. belge de phil. et d'hist. 7(1928),1479,n.5, the ἀνήρ σοφός καί ἱεροφάντης of ps.-Julian, ep. 180.391c, is Iamblichus; and cf. also above,79-80, and Suda E1007,I437: ἱεροφάντωρ Ἰάμβλιχος.

3. On Sopater, ὁ τελεστής, cf. John Lydus, De mens. 4.2. Cp. also I.G.R. 4.468 (L. Septimius Tryphon, philosopher holding a variety of priesthoods); S.I.G. 900 (Marcus Aurelius Diophantus (S.I.G. punctuates wrongly), a philosopher ἀπό Μουσείου, and ἱερεύς τῶν θεῶν); Eusebius, P.E. IV.2.10-11 (anonymous, φιλόσοφος ὁμοῦ καί προφήτης); Libanius, ep. 720 (Diophantus, philosopher and priest of the mysteries); Eunapius VI.9.15-6, 10.6-10 (Antoninus and his comrades, philosopher-priests at Canobus). Synesius, once he had become a bishop, characteristically continued to call himself a φιλόσοφος ἱερεύς (cf. ep. 62, and Lacombrade, Synésios 174-5), and with a certain literal justification; but one should beware of the hieratic clichés that some people, conditioned no doubt by the Neoplatonists, lapsed into automatically when talking about philosophy: e.g. Constantius's reference, Dem.Const. 20a, to Themistius as ἱεροφάντης δέ τῶν ἀδύτων τε καί ἀνακτόρων φιλοσοφίας.

ized by the Christians, that priests ought to occupy a distinct place in society, his motive for doing so was to strengthen paganism against Christian opposition. He wanted an independent and philosophically educated priesthood both as a firm base on which to build a revived pagan Church, and also in order to assert and symbolize his absolutist concept of Hellenic culture as an indissoluble unity of faith and letters - Libanius's ἱερά and λόγοι[1]. Julian himself became the philosopher-priest par excellence, Pontifex Maximus by virtue of the purple, and prophet of Apollo at Didyma[2]. We may assume that his closest adviser on religious policy was Maximus of Ephesus, who stayed constantly beside him and was, in Julian's eyes, the incarnation of the philosopher-priest ideal[3]. Naturally the emperor prayed and sacrificed publicly as often as possible[4], partly to set an example to others, partly to satisfy his own strong affection for religious ritual. Likewise he would go out of his way in order to visit a particularly renowned holy place[5]. Yet equally important, and far more interesting, because innovatory, are the encyclical letters which Julian sent out to his principal lieutenants, setting forth the principles which were to be followed in implementing the pagan restoration[6]. In these documents we find a vivid picture of Julian the reformer at work. He denounces the moral laxness of the pagan clergy[7], its neglect of the temple cults[8], and its subserv-

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1. Cf. above,46,n.2.
2. Julian, ep. 88.451b.
3. Eunapius VII.2.6-12.
4. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.12.6-7,XXV.4.17; Libanius, or. 12. 80-82,90.
5. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.9.5; Libanius, orr. 12.87,18.161.
6. Julian, epp. 84-9.
7. Id., ep. 84.430ab.
8. Ibid., and ep. 89b.297b.

ience to the lay authorities[1]; and he lays down guide-lines for its behaviour in the future, emphasizing in particular the duty incumbent on every priest to lead a life of abstinence[2], to study - especially those philosophers whose teachings induce piety-[3], and to care for the indigent[4]. Not all the new priests Julian appointed were philosophers, of course, but two of the most important were. Chrysanthius and his wife became joint high-priests of Lydia, with authority to appoint other priests[5], while Theodorus, probably a pupil of Maximus of Ephesus, became high priest of Asia, again with wide powers over his subordinates[6]. Julian insisted that these powers be used[7] - the new hierarchy must be seen to function.

These were among the first steps that Julian took in the restoration of paganism - but Fate allowed him to go no further. In the aftermath of his death those fared best who, like Priscus and Chrysanthius, had been most tactful in the implementation of his reforms[8]. There can be no doubt of Julian's desire to help philosophy, 'paulo ante suspectam'[9], but he and his friends had aroused considerable antipathy, among the Christians of course,

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1. Id., ep. 84.431cd.
2. Id., ep. 89b.300c,302d.
3. Ibid. 300d-301a.
4. Id., epp. 84.430b-431b,89b.289a-292d (on φιλανθρωπία). Several of these points are resumed by Libanius, or. 14.62 (addressed to Julian), who shows that he has well understood the emperor's ideal of the philosopher-priest.
5. Eunapius VII.4.9,XXIII.2.7.
6. Julian, epp. 89a.452ad,89b.298b; on his philosophical interests cf. also ep. 30. On the history of the high priesthood of Asia, cf. Koch, Rev. belge de phil. et d'hist. 7(1928),56-9; J. Deininger, Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.(Munich,1965),37-41.
7. Julian, ep. 84.430ab; cf. 88.451bc.
8. Eunapius VII.4.12,XXIII.2.7-8.
9. Mamertinus, Grat.act. 23.4.

but also in sympathetic pagans such as Ammianus Marcellinus, who ill conceals his exasperation with the arrogant manner in which Julian's philosophical retinue behaved during the march into Persia. The Etruscan soothsayers, he writes, 'were spurned by the opposition of the philosophers, whose authority was then highly valued, but who were sometimes in error and very persistent in matters with which they had little acquaintance'[1]. Their refusal to acknowledge adverse omens suggests that they had seen the writing on the wall for their own careers, and for the religious policy to which they had tied their fortunes, if the invasion of Persia failed. Even Eunapius criticizes their self-satisfaction and pride[2]. Philosophers had proved a false hope for Julian, and the reason is to be sought, partly in their inflexible dogmatism born of inexperience of practical politics, and partly in the remarkable fluidity of late antique philosophical groupings. Philosophers had lost that feeling for the strength and continuity of institutions that they had once possessed, and the Church was by now acquiring. They had not only isolated themselves from the main stream of late antique social life, but had deprived themselves of the institutional base that they needed if they were to combat Christianity with any weapon more effective than the pin-pricks of individual polemic. Julian had, it seems, failed to perceive this inadequacy in the men he chose to be his allies. He was forced to learn the hard way.

Probably the revival of enthusiasm for philosophy was never

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1. Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII.5.10-11, and cf. 14. Dagron, Trav, Mém.Byz. 3(1968),167,n.102, suggests that Themistius, or. 5.64c, implies a similar criticism, but the point is probably meant to be more general. Cf. also above,236,n.4. Among the Christians, cf. esp. Ephraem Syrus, C.Jul. 2.15-6.
2. Eunapius VII.4.9, and Hist. fr. 19 (quoted above,200).

as deep-rooted as Julian had hoped it would be, or indeed as Libanius was later to maintain it had been[1]. It is surprising how rarely Julian is praised on the inscriptions as a lover of philosophy[2] - clearly this was not the aspect of him that interested most people. During the decades that elapsed between his death and the end of the century philosophy was to be constantly on the retreat, and sporadically persecuted. Jovian's attitude to Julian's closer companions is difficult to divine: Eunapius says he continued to honour them, while Socrates suggests that philosophers were obliged to abandon their pallia in a hurry[3]. Eunapius, who had no reason to praise a Christian emperor, is perhaps to be preferred. There was no immediate backlash against pagans as such - indeed, the first man to be offered the succession to Julian was a pagan, and philosopher, Salutius[4], and a number of Julian's pagan appointees survived even into the reign of Valens[5].

Even so, the members of Julian's inner circle were probably right to adopt a low profile immediately after his death, especially since some of them were clearly not prepared to accept that the pagan restoration was over. Thus Procopius hid himself first of all in Cappadocia to escape the attentions of Jovian, and then attempted to stage a pagan come-back[6]. That other intellectuals, even philosophers, supported him is suggested by the invol-

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1. Libanius, or. 18.160.
2. Cf. O.G.I.S. 520; M. Fränkel, Altertümer von Pergamon VIII(2): Die Inschriften von Pergamon (Berlin,1895),no.633.
3. Eunapius VII.4.10; Socrates, H.E. III.24.6 (οἱ...τριβωνοφόροι τούς τρίβωνας ἀπέθεντο). Themistius, or. 5.63c (to Jovian), describes philosophy as οὐ πάνυ παρά τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐπραγοῦσα κατά τόν παρόντα χρόνον, but much favoured by the emperor.
4. Ammianus Marcellinus XXV.5.3.
5. Pace John Malalas, Chron. 13.337. J. Matthews, Western aristocracies and imperial court A.D. 364-425 (Oxford,1975),37, gives some examples.
6. Cf. above,108-9.

vement of the Cynic Heracleius[1]. This incident can only have served to push the Christian establishment further over onto the offensive. In his funeral oration on Julian, written in 365, Libanius already speaks of philosophers being visited with physical violence[2]. Oribasius was fined and sent into exile[3]; Priscus was arrested, but then released again[4]; and from the very beginning of Valens's reign there were attempts to implicate Julian's friends in plots to harm the emperor by magic, so that many, seized with terror, burned their whole libraries, lest they should be found in possession of incriminating literature[5]. Needless to say, the works of the Iamblichan Neoplatonists must have been scarce by the end of the reign.

The series of sorcery trials that casts so lurid a light over Ammianus's account of Valens's reign was not aimed solely, or even principally, at philosophers. Zosimus claimed that Valens picked on the well-educated[6], but neither Ammianus nor Eunapius gives the impression that the philosophers who were executed were either numerous, or of much importance[7], with the single exception of Maximus of Ephesus[8]. Eunapius makes clear that, just as many had sought Maximus's favour at the beginning of the reign, so on

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1. Eunapius, Hist. fr. 31.
2. Libanius, or. 18.287. (On the date of composition, cf. A.F. Norman, Libanius: selected works (London,1969-), I,xxxiv,n.a.)
3. Eunapius XXI.1.5-6.
4. Ibid. VII.4.11-2.
5. Ammianus Marcellinus XXVI.4.4,10.8;XXIX.1.41,2.4.
6. Zosimus 4.14; cf. Sozomen, H.E. VI.35. It is doubtful whether all those Zosimus mentions by name were really philosophers (4.15). The trials appear to have been concentrated in the east, though according to Ammianus Valentinian too 'oderat... eruditos' (XXX.8.10).
7. Ibid. XXIX.1.36-9 (Pasiphilus and Simonides); cf. XXIX.2.25 (Coeranius, an Egyptian: cf. Suda Φ279), and Suda E3448 (with P.L.R.E. Eueterius).
8. Ammianus Marcellinus XXIX.1.42.

Julian's death there were many who clamoured for his downfall[1]. He was heavily fined, and sent home to Ephesus to raise the money - the pre-eminent position he occupied in Julian's circle is confirmed by the fact that his prosecutors thought he possessed the property of all the others[2]. While in Ephesus, he was tortured by soldiers on the orders of Valens[3], apparently because a mere fine was thought insufficient retribution for his association with Julian. Luckily for Maximus, he eventually found a protector in Clearchus, the Proconsul of Asia, who interceded for him with Valens, and secured the restoration of his property[4]. But Julian's old mentor, clearly still an innocent in politics, was before long in trouble again. He seems to have returned to his old passion for theurgy; and then, while in Constantinople, he allowed himself to be implicated in a plot against Valens and Valentinian. The conspiracy involved an oracle, which Maximus was tricked into explaining; and when news of this reached Valens, Maximus was of course hauled off to Antioch along with the others, and eventually executed[5].

Maximus's experiences well illustrate the ambiguous position of philosophy during these years. For a while he had actually been able to resume his philosophical lectures again at Ephesus[6], but his association with Julian and his reputation for skill in divination made him an all too obvious accomplice in any conspiracy, and of course a prime suspect once any such conspiracy was uncov-

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1. Eunapius VII.3.14-5,4.13.
2. Ibid. VII.4.13-4; cf. Themistius, or. 7.99d-100a. Libanius, or. 18.202, may perhaps suggest that Maximus, among others, was thought to have profiteered from Julian's reign.
3. Eunapius VII.4.14-5,5.7-8.
4. Ibid. VII.5.1-6.1.
5. Ibid. VII.6.2-7.
6. Ibid. VII.6.1.

ered. Yet in view of the untroubled old age enjoyed by Chrysanthius and Priscus, and the careful restraint shown by Antoninus in his refusal to dis_cuss theurgy with those who came to see him in his retreat at Canobus[1], we can only conclude that Maximus's own pig-headedness was chiefly to blame for his misfortunes. Eunapius cannot disguise the fact that, as Themistius pointed out[2], Maximus was in the first place fined and tortured by Valens, but not executed (though the example Julian himself had set at the Chalcedon trials[3] could well have been followed); that in the second place he was pardoned, and set free to return to his old profession; and that in the third place, even after his second trial at Antioch Valens did not kill him there and then, but put him instead in the hands of Festus, the Proconsul of Asia, who thus became ultimately responsible for the philosopher's death. For a man of Valens's primitive instincts[4], this all seems like admirable self-restraint.

It need hardly be added that the career of Themistius under Julian's successors proves conclusively that merely to be a philosopher was even at this date thought no offence. Somebody had to teach the subject, and it was after all a Christian emperor, Theodosius II, who founded one of the few public chairs of philosophy attested in late antiquity, at the new 'university' of Constantinople in 425[5]. Indeed, Themistius, whose political loyalty was

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1. Ibid. VI.10.10. Cf. also Synesius, ep. 143 (and Lacombrade's comments, Synésios 62), De insomn. 145cd. If the phrase καί ἐν τοιούτοις ὧν πράγμασιν in P.Oxy. 3069 (quoted above,198) refers to Christian pressures, perhaps the letter should be dated to this period.
2. Themistius, loc.cit.
3. Ammianus Marcellinus XXII.3.
4. Cf. above,215,n.1.
5. Cod.Theod. XIII.3.16,XIV.9.3. XIII.3.7 (A.D.369), although hostile to charlatans, concedes that bona fide philosophers should be granted official recognition by the curiae.

above suspicion, felt free to press his point of view in spheres far removed from the school room. He tried hard to moderate Valens's resentment against his fellow pagans in the aftermath of Procopius's revolt[1], and according to Socrates and Sozomen was successful in persuading him to be less intolerant of orthodox Christians[2]. He continued to play the part of spokesman and ambassador for Constantinople[3], and Theodosius even made him Prefect of the City[4]. This collaboration of a pagan philosopher with a Christian emperor aroused the ire of the pagan poet Palladas, who in a famous epigram accused Themistius of betraying his vocation[5]; and many others saw in his behaviour proof of the philosophers' old suspicion that rhetoric was really no more than opportunism graced by art. There survive no less than four orations in which Themistius rebuts the charge that he is a sophist, not a philosopher[6] - but there was more than a grain of truth in the assertion. Themistius was not though alone in his adherence to the old tradition that sages should play their part in the life of the community in which they lived. At the turn of the century (399-402) we find Synesius undertaking an important embassy to Arcadius, in an attempt to secure a tax-reduction for his native Cyrene[7], of which he was a curialis[8] - and he too, significantly enough, was attacked for

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1. Themistius, or. 7.
2. Socrates, H.E. IV.32; Sozomen, H.E. VI.36.6-37.1. Cf. Dagron, Trav.Mém.Byz. 3(1968),186-91.
3. Themistius, or. 14.
4. Id., orr. 17,31,34.14; cf. Dagron, art.cit. 49-60.
5. Anth.Pal. 11.292 (probably replied to by Themistius, or. 34; cf. A. Cameron, 'Notes on Palladas', Cl.Quart. 15(1965),220-23).
6. Themistius, orr. 21,23,26,29. Constantius clearly regarded him as a philosopher rather than a sophist: Dem.Const. 19a; Cod. Theod. VI.4.12.
7. Synesius, De prov. 113ab. For a full account, cf. Lacombrade, op.cit. 84-130. Pace Buck, Eunapius 46-8, there is no serious evidence that Eunapius was involved in the local politics of Sardis.
8. Cf. Synesius, epp. 95.235b,100; De prov. loc.cit.

being too much of a sophist, probably by Neoplatonists of the Iamblichan tradition[1]. Yet in the troubled last decades of the fourth century, adaptation, or complete withdrawal from public life, were the only alternatives if a philosopher wished to survive. Those who preferred resistance, and the defence of the old religion, often found themselves involved in the violence that was endemic to the great cities of the east at this period[2]. The philosopher Olympius, for example, led the pagan resistance to the Christian attack on the Serapeion in Alexandria in 391, and had to flee the city in the aftermath of the temple's destruction[3]; while Hypatia met her end during another outbreak of hostility between Alexandrian pagans and Christians in 415[4]. Philosophers were probably also involved in the riot of the statues at Antioch in 387, for John Chrysostom accused them of deserting the city afterwards, fearing lest they be punished by the emperor[5].

Perhaps it was only in Athens that the old assumptions about the civic responsibilities of the philosopher still found any consistent application[6]. An inscribed herm, erected there probably in the later 370s, commemorates the younger Iamblichus's contribution towards the reconstruction of the city's defences[7], and

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1. Id., ep. 154.290bc; Dion 43b. Cf. Lacombrade, op.cit. 140, and K. Treu, Synesios von Kyrene: ein Kommentar zu seinem "Dion" (Berlin,1958),57. Treu 3-4 emphasizes that both the Dion and ep. 154 were written soon after the embassy to Constantinople, when Synesius's career was at its height.
2. Cf. R. Browning, 'The riot of A.D. 387 in Antioch: the role of the theatrical claques in the later empire', Jour.Rom.St. 42 (1952),13.
3. Sozomen, H.E. VII.15.6,9; cf. Suda O218, and below,303,esp.n.4.
4. The sources for Hypatia's death are discussed by Rist, Phoenix 19(1965),221-4, who concludes though that ' it seems most unlikely that she was murdered because she was a philosopher.... There is no evidence whatever to show that she exploited her power to forward the political position of Neoplatonism.'
5. John Chrysostom, Ad pop. Ant. 17.2 (P.G. 49.173-4).
6. Cf. the more general remarks of Millar, Jour.Rom.St. 59(1969), 12-29, esp.16-21,29.
7. Cf. above,127.

another and somewhat later stone records the Athenians' gratitude to Plutarch - very probably the Neoplatonist - for having three times defrayed the cost of the Panathenaic festival[1]. Even Proclus was still able to play a part in the political life of the city, though in so doing he exposed himself to considerable personal danger, and was at one point obliged to go into temporary exile[2]. On his death he bequeathed part of his estate to Athens, and part to his native city (πατρίδα) - by which Marinus, our source for this information, probably means his ancestral home, Xanthos in Lycia, rather than Constantinople where he was born[3].

The philosopher's beard was destined though to appear once more on the coinage of Rome, as it had in the time of Julian. Between 392 and 394, the rhetor Eugenius, a mere puppet in the hands of the Frankish magister militum Arbogastes, attempted to usurp the imperial power in the west, and presented himself as a (somewhat reluctant) defender of paganism[4]. Members of the pagan wing of the Roman senatorial aristocracy, led by Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, were closely involved in this attack on Theodosius, under whom Christian orthodoxy appeared to be advancing towards a position of impregnable influence over the affairs of the empire. But philosophers had never been a conspicuous feature in the western social landscape during late antiquity, and in late fourth

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1. I.G. $2\text{-}3^2$.3818. Cf. G. Rodenwaldt, Griechische Porträts aus dem Ausgang der Antike (Berlin,1919),13,n.18; E. Groag, Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätrömischer Zeit (Budapest,1946), 60,73-4; and L. Robert, Hellenica 4(1948),147 (and cf.94-102), misinterpreted by Millar, art.cit. 17, and Saffrey and Westerink, Proclus I, XXX,n.2.

2. Marinus, V.Proc. 15.

3. Ibid. 14, and cf. 6. Doubtless these bequests were commemorated by inscriptions, but they have not come to light.

4. The most recent accounts are those of J. Straub, R.A.C. 6.860-77, and Matthews, Western aristocracies 238-47. On Eugenius's beard, cf. H. Bloch, 'A new document of the last pagan revival in the west,393-394 A.D.', Harv.Theol.Rev. 38(1945),226, and Straub, art.cit. 860-61.

century Rome there was no influential figure for whom philosophy was a life's consuming passion, as it still was for the sages of the east. Among the supporters of the ill-fated Eugenius we find only amateur philosophers like Flavianus[1], aristocrats who dabbled in philosophy but were primarily interested in the maintenance of their own position, and in the restoration of the old religion. Their hopes died on the banks of the Frigidus, on the sixth of September, 394.

Soon after this date, far away in Sardis, Eunapius set to work on his Vitae sophistarum. Perhaps he felt, though he did not admit, that he was writing an epitaph on the sort of philosophical life he himself had known. He wrote of times in which philosophers were free to move and teach where they liked, and when a figure such as Julian could still sit upon the throne of the Roman world and aspire to push back the incoming tide of Christianity. Yet there is an apocalyptic streak in his portrayal of the fourth century pagan intelligentsia, despite his insistence that the old way of life is still followed in certain places, such as his native Sardis. Roman society as seen through Eunapius's eyes is one whose commanding heights, in administration, religion, learning, and medicine, are still open to pagan intellectuals, but without any of the certainties that a man like Herodes Atticus enjoyed two hundred years before. Eunapius had been a student when Julian reigned, and he grew to maturity in the years when disillusion was settling heavily around the survivors of those heady months. As he wrote the book that is the unique source for our knowledge of so much of the pagan revival, he could see that the way of life that the early Neoplatonists had known was in full retreat. Read-

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1. On Nicomachus Flavianus's philosophical interests, cf. above, 76,n.1, and Symmachus, ep. 2.61.

ing his pages, we see how the virtuosi of the spiritual life, the Neopythagorean sages whose followers worshipped them as semi-divine beings, seem to fall on hard times after the death of Julian. Under his successors there was a steady increase in legal pressure on paganism, pressure which could easily eliminate small groups of disciples centred on a single teacher - just as political pressures had succeeded in breaking up Pythagoras's circle - but which was less effective where there was strength in numbers, especially in a traditionally pagan centre such as Athens. Indeed, it was only in Athens and Alexandria that pagan philosophy was destined to enjoy an active existence during the fifth century; but in these two cities it becomes possible, for the first time since the demise of the Epicurean and Stoic successions in the second century, to speak of philosophical 'Schools' in something approaching the classical sense, their doctrinal continuity reflected, especially in Athens, in an institutional stability which was none the less real for its reduced material circumstances[1]. At the last, then, retreat into the old mould was unavoidable: hence the paradox that the teachings of Iamblichus, the archetypal Neopythagorean sage, reached their fullest flowering in the writings of Syrianus, Proclus, and Damascius, the διάδοχοι of a School that in its outward circumstances was closer to Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum than anything else in late antiquity.

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1. The character of the fifth century Athenian School does not fall within the scope of this study; but for some indications of its institutional stability, cf. above,55-6,110, and below, 271,n.7.

CHAPTER VIII

PHILOSOPHY AND THE PHILOSOPHER:

THE LATE ANTIQUE IMAGE

If the last two chapters have shown that late antique philosophers had not ceased to take a part, however ambiguous or even dangerous, in the life of society at large, still the nature of our sources, usually written either by philosophers or by those close to them, has ensured that we see events largely through philosophical eyes. It is time now to change once more the focus of this study, and see what can be made of the extremely diverse and scattered evidence for what philosophy and the philosopher looked like through the eyes of the layman.

Lay attitudes to pagan philosophy and its exponents were varied, and not necessarily favourable, even among co-religionists. It was argued in the previous chapter that during the third and fourth centuries emperors and city councils gradually pruned away the material privileges customarily accorded to philosophers; and it was pointed out that, in part at least, philosophers had their own shortcomings to blame for this. Consequently it is not surprising to find that the hostility, or at least suspicion, that motivated this policy was reflected at lower levels of society too. The 'habitual ingratitude' with which, according to Themistius, most people faced the learnèd[1] was probably due in large part to ignorance, but the philosophers themselves, as Themistius never tired of pointing out, were largely responsible for this state of affairs. Indeed, the circles in which many of the Neoplatonists moved were so narrow and addicted to secretiveness that one won-

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1. Themistius, or. 7.100a; cf. or. 5.63c (quoted above,243,n.3).

ders whether any late antique philosopher, other than the emperor Julian and perhaps Themistius, can have become a household name, even among the educated.

Like Themistius, Julian was well aware that philosophy was unpopular with his contemporaries:

> 'Do you not know', he asked, 'how people lure away the young from philosophy by continually uttering now one slander and then another against all the philosophers in turn? The genuine disciples of Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle are called sorcerers and sophists and conceited and quacks. If here and there among the Cynics one is really virtuous he is regarded with pity.'[1]

Ever sinc̆e Thales fell into a well, the sage had been easy to make fun of, and a feeling, widespread among vulgar and educated alike, that philosophy was a fatuous pursuit, favoured by layabouts and parasites, lent at times a tone of righteous indignation, even of resentment, to what began as innocent jest[2]. When Aedesius returned, full of philosophy, from his education in Greece, whither he had been sent to get the practical qualification (presumably in rhetoric) that would lift his family out of its genteel poverty, his father was furious, and chased him out of the house as a good-for-nothing[3]. Aedesius's father had been deceived by a stereotype which the behaviour of his son soon taught him to reject; but not all philosophers were like Aedesius. And as in all ages, the morally superior attracted the barbs and the snares of the jealous. Porphyry remarks with surprise that Plotinus managed to spend twenty-six years in Rome without ever falling

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1. Julian, or. 9.197d-198a; cf. Ep. ad Them. 266cd, Misop. 359a; and Porphyry, De abst. I.39.
2. On the plentiful evidence to be found in Latin literature, especially the comedy, cf. J.-P. Cèbe, La caricature et la parodie dans le monde romain antique des origines à Juvénal (Paris,1966),115-6,169-71,251-67,370-71. Cf. also below,278.
3. Eunapius VI.1.1-3.

foul of an official[1], but even he had his detractors, who accused him, for example, of being no more than a plagiarizer of Numenius[2]. Gregory of Nyssa preserves a story, perhaps apocryphal, according to which Gregory Thaumaturgus's spotless virtue so irritated his fellow students of philosophy in Alexandria that they induced a prostitute to accost him during a public disputation and claim arrears of wages[3]. But the greatest of all obstacles to a sympathetic hearing for philosophy was the sheer apathy which, in all ages, greets the demand that men should think, or abandon their old way of life for a better. Libanius speaks with some passion of the Antiochenes' preference for their mothers, wives, housekeepers, and cooks, to Plato and Pythagoras[4].

Yet in the east - for in the west philosophy did not thrive - there was an important compensation for all this hostility or indifference. The oriental, bred in an outdoor and communal way of life, has a natural love of conversation, which may turn as often and as naturally towards the abstract as towards politics or the prices in the market. Gregory of Nyssa's often-quoted remarks about his fellow-Christians' mania for theological debate[5] held true, we may imagine, for pagans too, and the better-known teachings of the philosophers must have been turned over in discussion on many a hot summer day in the shady gymnasia and stoas of the Greek cities around the eastern Mediterranean. Sadly, though, the echoes of these conversations have not come down to us, and all that is left now to illuminate the interaction between

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1. Porphyry, V.Plot. 9.20-22.
2. Ibid. 17.1-2,16-24.
3. Gregory of Nyssa, V.Greg. Thaum. 901-4.
4. Libanius, or. 16.47.
5. Gregory of Nyssa, De deit. fil. 557b.

philosophy and the everyday life of the ordinary educated late Roman are a few sparse narratives of the most dramatic and least frequent feature of this fluid, elusive 'Grenzsituation' - philosophical conversion[1].

In the individual's conversion to philosophy are revealed, as in a microcosm, the highest expectations that a non-philosopher could entertain of this love of wisdom whose praises he had so often heard, perhaps in a Neoplatonist conventicle or from a way-side Cynic. To convert to philosophy was to accept a whole new way of life, and to reject in its entirety the old, and if there were late antique men still prepared to make this choice, then we can be sure that philosophy, whatever its failings, still offered a unique and valuable perspective on life and its divine context. Naturally conversion did not have to be dramatic, at least not in the sense of being sudden: Synesius may stand for the many who were initiated into philosophy slowly and unselfconsciously, and to whom - in this case under the guidance of Hypatia - illumination came gradually, though none the less completely for that[2]. Yet such men, by the very ease of the transition they made, allow us little direct insight into philosophy's appeal for the ordinary layman. The classic late antique conversions to philosophy <u>are</u> sudden, because they are the product of a personal encounter. When Plotinus entered for the first time the room where Ammonius was teaching, and when he had listened to what the master was saying, he turned to the friend who had brought him there and exclaimed simply: 'this is the man I was searching for' (τοῦτον ἐζήτουν)[3].

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1. Cf. O. Gigon, 'Antike Erzählungen über die Berufung zur Philosophie', <u>Mus.Helv</u>. 3(1946),2; A.D. Nock, <u>Conversion: the old and the new in religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo</u> (Oxford,1933),164-86, and 'Conversion and Adolescence', in <u>Essays</u> 470-75.
2. Cf. J. Bregman, 'Synesius of Cyrene: early life and conversion to philosophy', <u>Calif. St. in Cl. Ant</u>. 7(1974), esp. 84.
3. Porphyry, <u>V.Plot</u>. 3.12-3.

Julian, before he had even met Maximus, was so overwhelmed by Eusebius of Myndus's account of his miracles that he blurted out: 'you have revealed to me the man I was searching for' (ἐμοί δέ ἐμήνυσας ὃν ἐζήτουν), though Eusebius had intended his words to have the opposite effect[1]. The distinguished Roman senator Rogatianus's decision to imitate Plotinus's complete abnegation of worldly ties was so abrupt that he simply decided one day to have nothing more to do with the praetorship he held, and to entrust himself to the charity of his friends[2].

Common to all three of these conversion-experiences is the complete self-surrender of the convert to a commanding spiritual master. Plotinus remained with Ammonius continuously for eleven years after their first meeting[3]; Julian 'clung' to Maximus as long as he could, and treated him as his closest intimate for the rest of his life[4]; while Rogatianus, after his conversion, was held up to all by Plotinus as an example of the philosophical life[5].. Whether such self-surrender was in itself the motivation for these mens' conversion we cannot know, but all three incidents convey well the attractiveness of the complete change of life that philosophy offered. It is not of course coincidental that these conversions are Neoplatonist. Apart from the virtual disappearance of other dogmas, at least in a form one could personally adhere to, and the unique attractiveness of a philosophy that claimed to be a religion as well, the intimate atmosphere of the Neoplatonic philosophical circle offered the pagan intellectual a personal

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1. Eunapius VII.2.12. The reminiscence, if conscious, is probably Eunapius's rather than Julian's.
2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 7.31-46.
3. Ibid. 2.13-21.
4. Eunapius VII.2.12-3.
5. Porphyry, V.Plot. 7.44-6.

context for his life that was difficult to find elsewhere, except perhaps in some of the mystery religions - and their appeal was more emotional than rational.

Yet this was a solution only for the educated and dedicated few. The sort of sage who could inspire a life's devotion to philosophy, rather than simply guiding the pupil's halting steps through a text of Plato or Aristotle, was a rarity, as Plotinus quickly learned when he began to study in Alexandria[1]. Nor was it as much the custom among pagans as it later became among Christians to pay a brief visit to a philosopher or holy man for the sake of seeing him and asking his advice. Plotinus's circle was open, but within certain limits, dictated for example by the fact that its meetings were held in a private home[2]; and among the Neoplatonists only Antoninus, dwelling at Canobus, was in the habit of keeping open house for the crowds of students who came down from Alexandria to discuss points of philosophy with him - and even he would avoid discussing anything that touched on the sensitive subject of religion[3].

Fortunately, though, personal contact with a teacher was not the only way in which late antique man could discover the doctrines of the philosophers. Julian's interest was originally kindled by the philosophical books he found, during his years of enforced leisure and isolation at Macellum, in the library of George of Cappadocia[4], later to be bishop of Alexandria. Julian

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1. Ibid. 3.6-9.
2. Cf. above,152.
3. Eunapius VI.10.8-10. This must have been in the time of Valens and Theodosius, when the Christian ascetics of the desert had already made their mark on the religious attitudes and expectations of Egyptians, though cf. Philostratus, V.Apol. 1.8, and Apollonius of Tyana, ep. 69.
4. Julian, epp. 106-7, and Misop. 359c; and cf. Libanius, or. 12.32-3.

had an odd youth, though, and most young men would first have come into contact with philosophical ideas in the course of a conventional rhetorical education. Thus it was that Augustine, at the age of eighteen, was given to read the Hortensius of Cicero, not for its content, but in order that he might learn to imitate its style. But the young man was deeply moved by Cicero's exhortation to philosophy, and from then onwards his thoughts were turned more to God than to rhetoric or a worldly career[1]. Subsequently he was to pass by way of Manichaeism and Neoplatonism - his interest in which was fired, again, by reading[2] rather than by personal encounter with a teacher - to Christianity, but the essence of the conversion wrought by the Hortensius - the desire for God - was to remain always with him. Even an original philosopher of Plotinus's stature used the writings of his predecessors as a medium through which to teach, and Julian's re-iterated emphasis in his letters on the importance of philosophical reading[3] provides further confirmation, if it is needed, of the central rôle that books were expected to play in the life of the late antique sage.

Unfortunately it is difficult to reach any firm conclusion about the extent to which late antique laymen read philosophy. Porphyry's list of what was read in Plotinus's circle[4] shows that the 'professionals' could be highly eclectic in their coverage of earlier writers, and of course they read each other's books as well. The range of books available, though of course in varying degrees of accessibility, was quite wide: Plotinus's latest editors include twenty-four of Plato's works, excluding letters and

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1. Augustine, Conf. III.4.7-8.
2. Cf. below,266,n.9.
3. Julian, epp. 8.89b.300c-301a; and cf. 80.
4. Cf. above,10.

fragments, in their extensive 'index fontium', and twenty-three of Aristotle's[1], while the rhetor Himerius has been shown to have had some acquaintance with no less than twenty-nine of Plato's writings[2]. Plotinus, moreover, had clearly read his Plato and Aristotle with care[3], while Alexander of Aphrodisias and the Stoics are also well-covered[4]. Yet it is unlikely that non-philosophers were often as philosophically informed as was Himerius: one's suspicions are especially aroused by certain Christian writers, particularly in the Latin west, whose knowledge of pagan philosophy tended, at least in certain areas, to be shallow, fragmentary, and heavily dependent on manuals and on doxographies drawn up by earlier writers, especially Cicero[5]. The existence of an anthology such as that of Stobaeus, probably compiled in the early fifth century, indicates another likely type of source for second-hand philosophical erudition[6], all too necessary in an age when few made any special study of philosophy once they had finished their rhetorical education. Lucian's stereotype summaries of the teachings of the major classical Schools - for example in the Vitarum auctio -, and Ammianus's brief and casual references to the more obvious topoi of the classical philosophical tradition[7], probably

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1. Henry and Schwyzer, Plotini opera III,438-43,448-57.
2. E. Richtsteig, 'Himerios und Platon', Byz.-Neugr.Jb. 2(1921), 1-32,esp.2-3,30.
3. Cf. though the qualifying remarks of Schwyzer, R.E. Supp. 15. 323-4.
4. Henry and Schwyzer, Plotini opera III,436-7,460-61.
5. Cf. Courcelle, Lettres grecques 53-66 (Jerome),155-81 (Augustine); A. Solignac, 'Doxographies et manuels dans la formation philosophique de saint Augustin', Rech.Aug. 1(1958),113-48; G. Madec, Saint Ambroise et la philosophie (Paris,1974),99-175, esp. 174-5; R.M. Ogilvie, The library of Lactantius (Oxford, 1978),78-87,109-10.
6. Chadwick, R.A.C. 7.1136-43.Cf. the sayings of Diogenes preserved on a fourth or fifth century Egyptian ostracon: F. Preisigke, Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten (Strassburg and Berlin,1915-26),I,5730.
7. E.g. Ammianus Marcellinus XIX.4.2;XXI.14.5;XXII.16.21-2;

reflect fairly accurately the state of most educated laymens' knowledge of these matters in the late antique world. Jerome felt able to enquire, albeit rhetorically: 'Who ever reads Aristotle these days? Who knows either Plato's books, or his name? Hardly even the idle in their deserted schools occupy themselves with those old men.'[1]

Luckily, there is one province of the Roman empire - Egypt - about which it is possible to be more specific. The discovery there of considerable numbers of late antique (mostly third century) philosophical papyri enables us to be certain that particular texts were both available at a particular location and, since somebody took the trouble to copy them out, presumably read. The texts contained in these papyri[2] reveal a balance of interests much the same as Plotinus's (himself an Egyptian), though philosophers who lived after the early second century A.D. are not represented. The intended readership is difficult to define. We can at least be sure that its average cultural level was higher than that of the readers of the many magical, astrological, Gnostic, and Hermetic papyri that have been discovered in Egypt[3]; and although we have to take account of the possibility that, like the young Augustine, Egyptians read the philosophers, and especially of course Plato, for their style rather than their doctrine[4], the preservation of a third century library catalogue from

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XXIII.6.32;XXV.3.15 (Julian's deathbed speech, but clearly written by Ammianus); XXV.4.1,2;XXVII.7.4;XXX.4.3. Cf. Camus, Ammien Marcellin 41-6.

1. Jerome, In Ep. ad Galat. 3.401b; and cf. Courcelle, op.cit. 56,n.2, to whom I owe the reference.

2. Cf. above,73,n.3, and 189,n.2.

3. The fact that Stobaeus preserves extracts from both the Neoplatonists and the Hermetica is a warning though, against any too rigid distinction between their respective readerships.

4. Nock, Conversion 179.

Memphis, composed almost exclusively of classical philosophical books[1], reassures us that there were some too who pursued philosophy for its own sake. Even more interestingly, the presence of a bad third or fourth century Coptic translation of part of Plato's Republic (588b-589b) in one of the Gnostic codices discovered recently at Nag Hammadi[2] proves that it was not only Greek speakers who occupied themselves (for whatever reason) with the classical philosophers.

The absence of third and fourth century philosophical texts from the Egyptian papyri tells us something, of course, about their circulation. Direct evidence from elsewhere is unfortunately scanty. We know from Porphyry's Vita that Plotinus's writings were circulated only to the select few[3], and although copies are known to have reached Syria during his lifetime[4], it is surprising how few people, even among the Neoplatonists themselves, can be proved to have had any direct acquaintance with Plotinus's writings after his death[5]. Consequently, it is very difficult to take seriously Eunapius's assertion that Plotinus was being read avidly by ordinary people in the late fourth century - even if they did not understand him very well[6]. It is significant that even a literary figure like Libanius, who knew as much as he needed to of classical philosophy, never betrays any personal interest in Neoplatonism, while his references to its representatives are (though perhaps for reasons of prudence), both few and extremely vague[7]. Even in

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1. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde I(2) (Hildesheim,1963),182-4.
2. Nag Hamm. Cod. VI.48-51. Cf. H.-M. Schenke, 'Zur Faksimile-Ausgabe der Nag-Hammadi-Schriften: Nag-Hammadi-Codex VI', Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 69(1974),236-41.
3. Porphyry, V.Plot. 4.14-6.
4. Ibid. 19, and cf. 3.46-8.
5. Cf. above,136.
6. Eunapius III.1.3.
7. Cf. e.g. above,86.

a speech addressed to Julian at a time when it was no longer necessary to dissemble the emperor's devotion to Iamblichus, Libanius was content to evoke his subject's interest in philosophy by referring to Socrates, Pythagoras, and Plato[1]; while that other compulsive epistolographer, Libanius's western contemporary Symmachus, appears to have possessed a philosophical culture equally classical, and considerably more superficial[2]. In short, it was perfectly possible to pass for a man of education and culture without being au fait with contemporary philosophy, though to this general rule a limited number of exceptions have to be admitted:

First of all, we have in John Stobaeus's Anthologium a remarkable statement, probably drawn up during the first half of the fifth century, of the sort of literature with which a compendiously learned and apparently pagan father thought his son should have some familiarity[3]. The list made by Photius (who had access to a more complete manuscript than we do) of the authors drawn on in the Anthologium indicates at a glance Stobaeus's predilection for philosophy, but a more careful perusal reveals that this was a predilection by no means confined to the classics (among whom Stobaeus had an overwhelming interest in Plato). The Pythagorean writers, including Apollonius of Tyana, are well represented, and a number of extracts from the Hermetica are also included. But most interesting for present purposes is Stobaeus's inclusion of important extracts from Porphyry and Iamblichus, derived in the case of Porphyry from no less than six different works, including the De imaginibus and the Sententiae, and in that of Iamblichus mainly from the letters (not preserved elsewhere), but also from

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1. Libanius, or. 15.28.
2. Courcelle, Lettres grecques 5.
3. Cf. Photius, Bibl. 167; O. Hense, R.E. 9.2549-86.

the Protrepticus and the De anima. The only other late antique philosopher represented, very exiguously, is Themistius[1].

The sheer size and range of Stobaeus's Anthologium would be sufficient to preclude over-hasty dismissal of its testimony, but fortunately it is not the only evidence we have for the Neoplatonists' pagan readership in late antiquity. It was noticed earlier that Plotinus and Porphyry, although relatively neglected in the east, retained quite an important posthumous following in the west, especially at Rome[2]. It is tempting though to go beyond the little direct evidence we have for the east, which anyway tends to concern the reading-habits of philosophers rather than of laymen[3], and to speculate that what remains to us of the writings of Porphyry and Iamblichus, being mostly works of a popular sort, survived precisely because they were read; while conversely their abstruse commentaries on Plato and Aristotle and the Oracula Chaldaica were bound to disappear because they only ever appealed to the narrow circle of pagan enthusiasts for philosophy. Yet the only Neoplatonist who openly proclaimed that he was writing for the ordinary non-philosopher was Salutius[4], and this was for political reasons connected with the Julianic revival, Salutius himself having little

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1. Cf. the indices to the edition of Wachsmuth and Hense. Photius also includes Amelius, Longinus, and Plotinus in his list of philosophers used by Stobaeus, but no direct quotations survive.
2. Cf. above,137.
3. For example, the only Greek writer we know to have read Porphyry's V.Plot.is Eunapius (III.1.4), who had professional reasons for doing so. His remark that τόν βίον αὐτοῦ [sc. Πλωτίνου] πάντα Πορφύριος ἐξήνεγκεν...ἀλλά καί πολλά τῶν βιβλίων ἑρμηνεύσας αὐτοῦ φαίνεται may imply that he had seen the Vita but not the Enneads (to which the Vita was normally attached), since we know from V.Plot. 26.21-4 that Porphyry included (κατα-βεβλήμεθα) commentaries of his own in his edition of the Enneads. On the Vita's readership among Latin writers, cf. above, 137.
4. Cf. above,237,n.5.

claim to be an original thinker. Julian was widely read - but then he had been a dominating figure on the historical stage, and very quickly passed into the realm of legend, both learned and popular[1]. Furthermore, those who read him tended to be friends or memorialists like Libanius, or historians like Ammianus and Eunapius[2]; and we have no evidence that Julian's religious and philosophical writings - except the Contra Galilaeos - were generally read in antiquity, even by those who, like the Athenian Neoplatonists, remained faithful to his memory as a symbol of their allegiance to the old religion[3]. Indeed, it is by no means improbable, since most people were interested in philosophy only at the level of wanting a nodding acquaintance with Plato and Aristotle, that the best-selling philosophical publications in the fourth century were Themistius's largely unoriginal paraphrase commentaries on those two writers - indeed, his Paraphrase of Aristotle's Analytics was translated into Latin within his own lifetime by Vettius Agorius Praetextatus[4].

Yet not all the Neoplatonists' readers were pagans. We know far more about the reading of contemporary pagan philosophers (in effect, Neoplatonists) by Christian scholars than by pagan laymen, and the patristic evidence is impossible to omit in any estimate of the circulation of these writings. Christians, it is true, had their own reasons for reading contemporary pagan philosophers.

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1. Cf. P. Athanassiadi, ''Ο 'Ιουλιανός τοῦ θρύλου', 'Αθηνᾶ 76 (1977),105-13; also the collection of essays edited by Braun and Richer, L'empereur Julien.

2. For a selection of references, cf. Bidez and Cumont, Iuliani... epistulae 1-3, to which add Libanius, or.18.74, and Eunapius, Hist. fr. 9.

3. Cf. Marinus, V.Proc. 36. Proclus, whose knowledge of the earlier Neoplatonists was compendious, never quotes Julian.

4. Cf. Dagron, Trav.Mém.Byz. 3(1968),14-6; Boethius, Comm. in Ari. Περί ἑρμ., sec.ed. I,pp.3-4. Themistius comments with his usual conspicuous modesty on the circulation of the Aristotelian paraphrases at or. 23.295a.

Augustine may have thought Plotinus was Plato redivivus[1], yet no sensitive Christian would ever have judged Plato by the same criteria that he applied to the great Neoplatonist. Plato had lived before Christ, and, as many Christian intellectuals believed, had anticipated Christian truth[2]. The Neoplatonists, by contrast, had articulated their philosophical and religious teachings in full knowledge of the claims of Christianity, and this challenge, whether implicit as in the case of Plotinus or Iamblichus, or explicit as in the writings of polemicists like Porphyry and Julian, the Christians could not shirk. Porphyry's Contra Christianos provoked a rapid response from a whole succession of Christian apologists[3], with the result that by the time of Constantine the word Πορφυριανός had become an acceptable term of abuse for anybody whose opinions one did not agree with[4]. Likewise the De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda, the De imaginibus, the Epistola ad Anebonem, and the De regressu animae were read carefully by men like Eusebius of Caesarea, Firmicus Maternus, and Augustine[5], be-

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1. Augustine, C.Acad. III.18.41.

2. E.g. Eusebius, P.E. XI; Arnobius, Adv.nat. 2.14. The Theosoph. Tüb., taking the idea to its logical extreme, contains a number of prophecies of Christ's coming attributed to Plato, including one foretelling the virgin birth: Διήγησίς τινος φιλοσόφου 5 (and cf. Index I to Erbse's edition, s.v.'Πλάτων').

3. Notably Methodius of Olympus, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Apollonius of Laodicea: cf. the introduction to Harnack's ed.,6-7.

4. Athanasius, Hist.Arian. 51.1; Cod.Theod. XVI.5.66. A letter of Constantine concerning the Arians, quoted by Socrates, H.E.I.9. 31 (cf. above,231,n.3), refers to Porphyry as ὁ τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐχθρός, who ἄξιον εὕρετο μισθόν, καί τοιοῦτον ὥστε ἐπονείδιστον μέν αὐτόν πρός τόν ἐξῆς γενέσθαι χρόνον καί πλείστης ἀναπλησθῆναι κακοδοξίας. If this is the text Athanasius has in mind, it must, albeit possibly a forgery, have been in existence by c.358, when the Hist.Arian. was written: O. Seeck, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Nicänischen Konzils', Zeit. für Kirchengesch. 17(1897),49, and Opitz's ed. of the Hist.Arian.,183.

5. Cf. e.g. the indices to Mras's edition of Eusebius's P.E., II, 459-61; Firmicus Maternus, De err.prof.rel. 13.4-5 (contrasting poignantly with the 'noster Porphyrius' of Math. VII.1.1); and on Augustine, Courcelle, Lettres grecques 170-76.

cause they were such obvious targets for the Christian polemicist. Julian's Contra Galilaeos was also refuted by several Christian writers in the late fourth and early fifth centuries[1], though it seems to have caused less concern than Porphyry's work (despite Libanius's pious assertion that it was of superior quality[2]). By that time it was becoming clear that paganism had had its day.

Despite their theological differences, though, pagan and Christian thinkers had much the same philosophical preoccupations. A Christian philosopher like Mallius Theodorus[3], and theologians like Eusebius[4], Basil[5], Gregory of Nyssa[6], Ambrose[7], Jerome[8], and Augustine[9], each drew on the Neoplatonists in his own way. If Basil merely plagiarized from Plotinus, and Jerome from Porphyry, without acknowledgement, Augustine openly admitted that he had read the books of the 'Platonists' (probably Plotinus and Porphyry) over a crucial period of his intellectual development, and the mature Augustine is incomprehensible unless we bear this debt in mind. This is not of course the place to discuss the philosophical debt of patristic Christianity to Neoplatonism, but simply to make the point that, in contracting the debt, the Church ensured an audience for Neoplatonist teachings that their authors could never

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1. Cf. the introduction to Neumann's edition, 3-95.
2. Libanius, or.18.178.
3. Courcelle, op.cit. 122-8.
4. P. Henry, Les états du texte de Plotin (Brussels,1938),68-71, 76-124.
5. Ibid. 159-96 (though the argument for Basil's indebtedness to Plotinus depends on a treatise of questionable authenticity).
6. Cf. P. Aubineau, Grégoire de Nysse, Traité de la virginité (Paris,1966),116-8.
7. Cf. Madec, Saint Ambroise 61-71,166-9.
8. Courcelle, op.cit. 61-3.
9. Augustine, Conf. VII.9. On the much-disputed identity of the 'Platonicorum libri', cf. most recently Hadot, Marius Victorinus 206-10.

have dreamed of. Whether or not Ambrose, for example, knew the Enneads at first or second hand - and scholarly opinions differ[1] - the sermons he preached in which he drew on Plotinus's doctrines brought Neoplatonist ideas to an audience which included the humble, everyday Christians of Milan as well as the young Augustine. In other words, just as we would know little of the views of Celsus or Julian on Christianity, were it not for the pains taken by Origen and Cyril of Alexandria to discredit them, likewise the influence in real terms of the Neoplatonists on their contemporaries would have been much less had Christians neither refuted them, nor plagiarized them, nor invoked their aid in answering the great problems of human existence[2]. The faith of the Greek Church was given its final shape in the mould of Platonism, and in this way the thought-world of Plotinus and his successors was saved from the oblivion that overcame the religion they espoused.

To return though to the educated pagan layman. It has to be admitted that if his school-teachers did not stir his interest in philosophy, and if his father lacked the industry - and interest - of John Stobaeus, and if no mysterious stranger arrived to hand him the 'Platonicorum libri', then he was unlikely to become a philosopher; and if he did not take the first steps himself, and search with conviction for the teacher at whose feet he wished to sit, then he was unlikely to experience the sort of conversion that transformed the life of a Plotinus or a Julian. To possess a general philosophical culture was almost as rare as actual participation in one of the Neoplatonist circles. Yet this is not to say that everybody else remained wholly ignorant of philosophical

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1. Cf. Madec, locc.citt.
2. John Chrysostom makes this point explicitly, De S. Bab. 2.

values, or of what it meant to lead the philosophical life. At the lower levels of society awareness of philosophical ideas had probably never risen very much above the subconscious plane of the proverb thoughtlessly repeated, but philosophy was still sufficiently a part of the cultural substructure of late antique society for its symbols or physical manifestations to be comprehensible at least to those with a basic education in grammar and rhetoric[1].

It is never easy to guage the degree of response evoked by such symbols. A church, for example, is a common enough sight in modern Europe, but while the Englishman passes by without another thought, in Greece many will still make the sign of the cross. It was because Libanius was so deeply aware of the value of these symbols for giving a society a sense of its own identity, and of hope for the future founded on an awareness of continuity with the past, that he begged Theodosius to preserve the temples, rather than allow them to be demolished by the Christians[2]. The effect of the physical symbols of philosophical belief was in late antiquity closely analogous to that of religious symbols[3], except that they did not penetrate the lower educational and cultural strata.

On the public level, it is true, the symbols of philosophy were less frequently encountered in late antiquity than in earlier times. Nobody else, as far as we know, had the self-confidence,

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1. Cf. G. Downey, 'Personifications of abstract ideas in the Antioch mosaics', Trans.Am.Phil.Ass. 69(1938),350: ' A great part of the peculiar importance of the personifications at Antioch is that they represent the ideas of wider circles of society than do the literary expressions of the same period, and that they speak in a more direct and essential vocabulary, representing, as they do, the reduction to the simplest possible terms of ideas and concepts which, if expressed through literary media, might be clothed in elaborate and possibly deceptive forms.'

2. Libanius, or.30 (Pro templis).

3. Cf. the comments of D. Levi, 'Aion', Hesperia 13(1944),313-4.

or the optimism, of one Diogenes, who in the early decades of the third century erected an enormous inscription covering the wall of a stoa near the centre of the city of Oenoanda in Lycia[1]. The inscription set forth the teachings of Diogenes's mentor Epicurus, and its author appears to have had a genuine and altruistic desire to improve in this way the lives of his fellow-citizens: 'I wished by making use of this stoa to set forth in public (ἐν κοινῷ) the remedies which bring salvation'[2]. Yet Diogenes is among the last Epicureans we hear of in antiquity, while his inscription appears to have been dismantled to make way for a city wall round about A.D. 260[3].

Inscriptions, and the honorific statues which were often associated with them, are of course one of the most useful indices of the extent to which philosophers remained in the public eye[4]. During the third century dedications to philosophers, usually commemorating some service to the community, remain relatively common[5]; and the title φιλόσοφος and its associated adjectives, often in the superlative, are applied broadcast, as a compliment very often without specific meaning. Yet after the second decade of the fourth century[6] public epigraphical references to philo-

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1. Cf. Chilton, Diogenes of Oenoanda xv-xlvi, who suggests a date c.200. Mr Alan Hall has kindly allowed me to read a preliminary draft of an article in which he proposes, on the basis of prosopographical data, that Diogenes may have died as late as 230, and that the inscription, since it refers to Diogenes as an old and sick man (frs.50,55), may therefore be dated c. 220. Chilton's estimates of the size of the inscription are constantly being revised as new fragments come to light.
2. Diogenes of Oenoanda, fr. 2, V-VI.
3. Cf. A. Hall, 'The Oenoanda survey: 1974-6', Anat.St. 26(1976), 196.
4. For useful, though not exhaustive, lists of inscriptions mentioning philosophers, cf. M.N. Tod, 'Sidelights on Greek philosophers', Jour.Hell.St. 77(1957),132-41; J. and L. Robert, Bull.Epig. (1958),84 (=Rev.Et.Gr.71(1958),197-200); Habicht, Altertümer von Pergamon VIII(3),162.
5. Cf. above,212.
6. From the first two decades of the century, cf. above,182(Rome),

sophers disappear completely, with only a very few exceptions confined to those two great strongholds of conservative paganism, Rome and Athens[1] - and even the Iamblichus and Plutarch inscriptions at Athens do not actually refer to their subject as a φιλόσοφος. Likewise, Julian's inscriptions hardly ever mention his love of philosophy[2]. Public statues of philosophers also disappear from the urban landscape in the fourth century. Admittedly the Roman senate voted in the 330s that Ceionius Rufius Albinus should be honoured with a statue, and an inscription describing him as a 'philosophus'[3], while Themistius informs us that he was decreed a bronze statue by two different emperors, presumably Constantius and Theodosius[4]. Again, the emperor Julian's statues, and his coins, frequently depict him wearing the philosopher's pallium and beard[5]. Yet each of these eminent figures was being honoured primarily as a man of affairs; that they happened to be philosophers too was coincidental. In short, tangible public recognition of philosophy's contribution to the life of society was as conspicuously absent from the great cities of the later

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186,n.2 (Nikopolis and Paros, though the dating of the latter is doubtful),186,n.3 (Panamara). I.G.L.S. 2886, although fourth century, is from a private house.

1. Rome: C.I.L. 6.1708=31906(Ceionius Rufius Albinus). (Cf. also the statue of Marius Victorinus erected in 354, for his services as a rhetor: Hadot, Marius Victorinus 32-3.) Athens: cf. above,248-9.

2. Cf. above,243.

3. Cf. above,n.1.

4. Themistius, or. 34.13.

5. Cf. below,292. Several of the surviving late antique portrait heads of (supposed) philosophers appear to have belonged originally to statues, which may have been displayed in public: cf. e.g. G.M.A. Hanfmann and N.H. Ramage, Sculpture from Sardis: the finds through 1975 (Cambridge,Mass.,1978),100,no. 92, and attached bibliography; H. von Heintze, 'Vir sanctus et gravis: Bildniskopf eines spätantiken Philosophen', Jb.Ant. Chr. 6(1963),51. The rather more numerous busts of this type were usually intended for lecture rooms or private houses.

Roman empire as the salaries that had once been paid to its professors.

To this bleak picture the only exception - and that partial - is Athens. Cicero has left a touching record of his and his friends' emotions on visiting the Academy of Plato, the Garden of Epicurus, and other hallowed spots[1], and Julian was not the only young man to echo these sentiments in late antiquity[2]. In Athens one still felt the physical presence of the great philosophers of the past as one visited the sites of their schools; and their latter-day successors were far more involved in the life of their community than their colleagues elsewhere[3]. Yet even here, philosophy was on the retreat. Synesius's remarks about the dilapidated state of the Stoa Poikile[4] indicate one aspect of the decline of public and official interest in philosophy during the later fourth century; and it is not surprising to find that the Athenian Neoplatonists of the fifth, like the sophists of the fourth century[5] - and their Neoplatonist predecessors in other cities of the empire[6] - preferred the privacy of the home to the exposure of the agora and the gymnasia for the instruction of their pupils[7].

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1. Cicero, De fin. V.1.1-2.5.
2. Cf. above, 178 ; Himerius, or. 59; Synesius, ep. 54.
3. Cf. above, 248-9.
4. Synesius, epp. 54, 135. Polygnotus's paintings, which Synesius says had been removed, were still there in the time of Himerius: or. 59.2-3.
5. Eunapius IX.1.5-6.
6. Cf. above, 152, 156, 160.
7. The evidence for this is indirect. Apart from its inherent likeliness, it is significant that the Neoplatonic sages. like the fourth century sophists (Eunapius IX.1.4), customarily bequeathed their house to their διάδοχος (Marinus, V.Proc. 29). The rediscovery of such houses has recently become fashionable among Athenian archaeologists: cf. e.g. A. Frantz, 'Pagan philosophers in Christian Athens', Proc. Am. Phil. Soc. 119 (1975), 31-2, 34-8.

This domestication of philosophy, satirized already in the second century by Lucian[1], and vigorously condemned by Themistius[2], goes far towards explaining how its pursuit became the preserve of the wealthy. Even Plotinus spent the whole of his teaching life residing in the palaces and villas of the senatorial aristocracy[3], so it comes as little surprise to find that amateur interest in philosophy in this period is largely comprehensible in terms of the long Roman tradition of the learned otium of the rich, which Cicero's philosophical works both depicted[4], and helped to sustain into late antiquity. At Oued Atmenia in Algeria, in a vast private bath complex of the late fourth or early fifth century belonging to a wealthy landowner called Pompeianus, there was found a mosaic which made this point with unusual clarity. In a rural setting, rich with trees and vines, sat a lady, her favouritedog held on its leash by a slave, who at the same time shaded his mistress from the sun with a parasol. The delightful tableau was labelled, not so enigmatically, 'filosofi locus'[5], and if we would find its equivalent in words we need look no further than the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, with their tantalizing glimpses of the literary and philosophical culture of the Gallic rural aristocracy

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1. Lucian, De merc.cond.
2. Cf. above, 175.
3. Cf. above, 152.
4. E.g. Cicero, De fin. III.2.7.
5. F.G. de Pachtere, Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique III (Paris, 1911), no.262; cf. CIL 8.10890. On the date, cf. I. Lavin, 'The hunting mosaics of Antioch and their sources: a study of compositional principles in the development of early mediaeval style', Dumb.Oaks Pap. 17 (1963), 240, n.254 (I owe this reference to Dr Margaret A. Alexander, University of Iowa). G.B. de Rossi, 'I Santi Quattro Coronati e la loro chiesa sul Celio', Bull. di arch.crist. 4 (1879), 58-9, points out that the 'filosofi locus' is juxtaposed in the mosaic with the 'pecdari locus' - the distinction is one, not just of occupation, but of social class.

in the last years before it was submerged by the barbarian kingdoms[1].

If then to the world at large the late antique pagan gradually ceased to reveal his philosophical attachments, in private he continued to surround himself with the comforting symbols to which his ancestors had been accustomed. Nor of course should the line between public and private be drawn too rigidly, for while the decorations of one's house may be kept private if one wishes, they may also be used to advertize one's cultural pretensions to those one invites into the house; while the inscription on one's tomb, or the figures curved on one's sarcophagus, will not easily escape the eyes even of the uninvited curious. Here we are dealing with an at last semi-public form of philosophical symbolism.

To begin, though, with the house. Unfortunately, none of those in which the early Neoplatonists lived and taught can be identified today. In fact, in the whole of the Roman empire there has been discovered only one private building which, thanks to an inscription, can be identified indisputably as belonging to a man who called himself a philosopher. In a villa at Suwediye, near Baalbek-Heliopolis in the Lebanon, a late fourth century mosaic depicting the birth of Alexander, and an adjacent representation of his preceptor Aristotle, are accompanied by four lines of verse identifying the founder of the villa as Patricius, an admirer of 'the wise disciple of Plato' Eudoxius (presumably Eudoxus of Cnidus) and a defender of the ancestral piety. An earlier mosaic on the same site, probably to be dated to the second half of the third century, consists of medallions of Socrates and the Seven

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1. Cf. C.E. Stevens, Sidonius Apollinaris and his age (Oxford, 1933), 72-3.

Sages grouped around the muse Calliope[1]. The persistent strength of paganism at Heliopolis, and the proximity of Apamea, has naturally encouraged the assumption that Patricius was a Neoplatonist.

At Apamea itself, the Belgian archaeological mission has in recent decades made various discoveries, which reflect with equal clarity the permeation of philosophy into the everyday lives of wealthy and cultivated Syrians. In one building, subsequently obliterated by the so-called 'east cathedral', was found a fourth century mosaic floor in the shape of a long, thin rectangle, containing three panels with figures separated by other panels with geometrical designs. The figured panels represent, from west to east, the Θεραπενίδες, Socrates with six other philosophers, and (?) Χάρις with Κάλλος[2]. The six philosophers have been variously interpreted as Socrates's pupils or, by analogy with the Suwediye mosaic, six of the Seven Sages, who were certainly the subject of another but fragmentary fourth century mosaic discovered recently at Apamea, in a building very close to the 'east cathedral' complex[3]. The attractions of the Seven Sages as an artistic subject are obvious enough, and the number of surviving examples demonstrates its perennial popularity in the Greco-Roman artistic repertory[4], but the similarities we have noticed between the philosopher-saints of late antiquity and the wise men of the pre-Socratic era, especially Pythagoras, may suggest another reason why the

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1. M.H. Chéhab, Mosaiques du Liban (Paris,1957),29-50; cf.IGLS 2886.
2. The best account of these mosaics so far is that of J.C. Balty, 'Nouvelles mosaïques du IVe siècle sous la "Cathédrale de l'est"', in Balty and Balty (edd.), Apamée de Syrie 163-85, esp. 163-74 and 181-2, with photographs and a full bibliography of earlier discussions, among which cf. esp. Hanfmann, Harv.St.Cl. Phil. 60(1951), 205-33.
3. J.C. Balty, art.cit. 166-70; and J. Balty, Ann.arch.arab.syr. 20(1970),81-92.
4. G.M.A. Richter, The portraits of the Greeks (London,1965),I,81-2; Hanfmann, art.cit. 209-11.

wealthy pagans of late antique Syria should have had such a weakness for this theme.

Whatever the exact interpretation of the Socrates mosaic, it gives a clue to the spirit in which we should approach the other two. The Θεραπενίδες panel depicts six dancing girls and an armed man, apparently a traveller, embracing a young woman in front of a portico with a colonnade beyond it, while another woman looks on. J.C. Balty, who has contributed most to the discussion of these mosaics in recent years, has argued convicingly that what we see here is the return of Odysseus to his long-suffering wife Penelope and his old nurse Euryclea; the Θεραπενίδες are Homer's καλλίζωνοι γυναῖκες[1]. Balty has rightly drawn attention to the symbolic significance of Odysseus as the type of the Platonic sage[2]: Porphyry's treatise De antro nympharum is an obvious example of this idea, especially since it attributes its use to the followers of Numenius of Apamea[3], but equally interesting from the Apamean point of view is the use made of this image by ps.-Julian in his letters to Iamblichus[4]. In this philosophical, and doubtless Neoplatonic, context the damaged third panel, depicting Χάρις and Κάλλος, falls naturally into place --doubtless these two were originally accompanied by others in a celestial banquet symbolizing the ultimate aspirations of the patron who commissioned the composition[5].

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1. J.C. Balty, art.cit. 165-6.
2. Ibid.171; cf. also Plotinus I.6.8.16-20, Eunapius VI.7.7 (quoting Homer Odyssey 17.485-6). For a parallel Neoplatonic interpretation of late Roman sarcophagus-sculptures depicting Odysseus and the Sirens, cf. below,283.
3. Porphyry, De ant.nymph.34.
4. Ps.-Julian, epp. 183.448b,185.439b (not mentioned by J.C. Balty, loc.cit.). Cf. Julian, or. 4.250a-c.
5. J.C. Balty, art.cit. 171-3.

Following a suggestion made by V. Verhoogen, Balty has put forward the bold idea that the unusually large building where these mosaics were found may have been part of the Neoplatonic school of Apamea. The panels already examined are suggestive enough, and three more have been found, a little to the south but apparently part of the same structure, and featuring such figures as Γαλήνη and Βυθός. These could quite plausibly be integrated into an overall design including not only the three panels to the north but perhaps others yet undiscovered, and because of this apparently programmatic approach Balty has argued that the fourth century building concealed beneath the 'east cathedral' was more probably a public or semi-public edifice than just a private house[1]. Comparison with the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii or the House of the Mysteries of Isis at Antioch[2] suggests though that private individuals were not at all unlikely to commission sequences of frescoes or mosaics on abstract or religious themes which particularly appealed to them, while the fact that the Apamea mosaics are generally dated to the reign of Julian or later[3] places them anyway dangerously near the end of the period during which it is likely that a Neoplatonist circle continued to exist in Apamea[4]. As yet we do not know enough about the building at Apamea to come

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1. Ibid. 170,174-81; cf. V. Verhoogen, Apamée de Syrie aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels,1964),[9].
2. Cf. A. Maiuri, La Villa dei Misteri (Rome,1967[4]); D. Levi, Antioch mosaic pavements I (Princeton,1947),163-6.
3. J.C. Balty, art.cit. 181-2; Hanfmann, art.cit. 208-9. In a subsequent article, Balty has further developed this interpretation, and suggested that Julian may have been personally responsible for the programme of the mosaics: 'Julien et Apamée: aspects de la restauration de l'hellénisme et de la politique antichrétienne de l'empereur', Dialog.hist.anc. 1(1974) (=Ann. litt.Univ. de Besançon 166),267-304.
4. Cf. above,93-4.

to any firm conclusion about its original purpose, but indisputably its remains evoke the desire of some at least in fourth century Apamea to create an environment that would at once reflect and strengthen their faith in the intellectual and spiritual values of Greek philosophy.

The Apamea mosaics are particularly interesting, not just because they come from the city which Iamblichus adopted as his home, but also because they typify the two main categories into which late Roman philosophical mosaics and frescoes may be divided, namely straightforward depictions of philosophers, and either personifications or allegories of abstract ideas and doctrines. The depiction of philosophers[1] was in effect confined to the pre-Socratics - especially the Seven Sages - and the main representatives of the classical Schools[2], though by way of exception a Constantinian building in Rome, possibly a library of some sort, was decorated with a series of ten medallions, one of which bore the label 'Apolonius Thyaneus'[3]. One also occasionally finds representations of philosophers or wise men, where the artist clearly has the type rather than a particular individual in mind[4]. A

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1. For the wide popularity of this theme in antique art in general, cf. Richter, Portraits passim.

2. E.g. the Cologne philosopher-mosaic, which includes both pre- and post-Socratics: K. Parlasca, Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland (Berlin,1959),80-82; and J. Bracker, 'Auffindung und Bewahrung einer Antike um 1840', Wallraf-Richartz-Jb. 28(1966), 333-41. The Seven Sages: apart from those at Apamea and Suwediye (above,273-4), cf. also the recently discovered example at Ephesus (c.200-220, Chilon and Socrates only remaining): V.M. Strocka, Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser in Ephesos (=Forschungen in Ephesos VIII/1) (Vienna,1977),115-7.

3. R. Lanciani, 'Supplementi ai Volume VI del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum', Bull. della Comm. Arch.Com. di Roma 12(1884),48-9.

4. E.g. at Brading (Morton), in the Isle of Wight: J.M.C. Toynbee, Art in Britain under the Romans (Oxford,1964),257; photograph in O.J. Brendel, Symbolism of the sphere: a contribution to the history of earlier Greek philosophy (Leiden,1977), plate X.

curious example has recently come to light in the villa of a wealthy citizen of Ephesus. On three of the four walls of a latrine, decorated about the first decade of the fifth century, have been discovered virtually identical pictures of a brown-skinned, hooked-nosed figure in a white mantle, gesturing with outstretched arm towards a sundial on a pillar. On two of the walls are preserved inscriptions: τήν ὥραν ἤ τόν θάνατον, and τρεῖς ἐξ ἐννεῖα. If, as V.M. Strocka has suggested, the figure is a philosopher, and the captions refer respectively to the desirability of regular excretion and the impossibility of seating more than three of the traditional maximum number of guests at a dinner party in the latrine at the same time, then we have here an extremely feeble attempt to mock philosophy, reminiscent of a cruder, and slightly more successful example of the same genre discovered on the walls of a second century tavern in Ostia[1].

The philosopher's natural consort is of course the Muse[2], who appears in both sigle and plural form in the decorative scheme of public buildings and private houses throughout the empire[3]. Yet any man of letters might invoke the Muse, and it is only when we find ourselves in the presence of more abstract personifications

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1. Strocka, op.cit. 87-90. There is considerable similarity in basic iconography between this and the Brading mosaic (previous note). For the maxim that dinner guests should be no fewer than the Graces, but no more than the Muses, cf. Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. XIII.11.2. Another particularly salacious example of the mockery of philosophers in the visual arts is provided by the Herstal vase, of the late first or early second century, which contrasts conventionally grave sages on its lower part with the same, naked and locked in the embraces of their young male lovers, on the upper part: cf. F. Cumont, 'A propos du vase de Herstal', Annales de la Soc. d'Arch. de Brux. 14(1900),401-12.

2. R. Hanoune, 'Une Muse et un philosophe sur une mosaïque de Bulla Regia', Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé (Rome,1974),387-94 (third century floor mosaic from Bulla Regia, Tunisia, showing a Muse and an unidentified philosopher or writer).

3. Cf. Parlasca, op.cit. 141-3.

that we may begin to suspect the philosopher's hand at work. In this field Antioch has proved strikingly rich: several of its many luxurious villas have yielded mosaics which, as their publisher, D. Levi, has remarked, might easily serve as illustrations to a treatise by Plotinus or Proclus[1]. Particularly notable are the 'House of Aion', with its mid-third century mosaic of Aion and the Chronoi[2], and the 'Constantinian Villa', where fourth century mosaics have been found depicting ideas such as Δύναμις, Εὐανδρία, Κτίσις, and Ἀνανέωσις[3]. Nor was this a purely metropolitan affectation: a fine mosaic from Philippopolis (Shahba, in the Jebel Druse) shows Εὐτεκνεία seated, and beside her Φιλοσοφία and Δικαιοσύνη[4].

Mosaics and frescoes were not of course the only media in which the private individual displayed his attachment to philosophy. A whole range of movable objects, from finger-rings[5] to tapestries[6], was also pressed into service, but the commonest of all these genres was the portrait bust. Unfortunately there is no late antique

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1. Levi, Antioch mosaic pavements I,197. But cf. also above,268,n.1.
2. Levi, op.cit. 197-8, and Hesperia 13(1944),271.
3. Id., op.cit. 226,248-50,253-6. Cf. also the mosaics of Χρῆσις in the 'House of the Triumph of Dionysus' (278-9), Ἀνανέωσις (320-21), Μεγαλοψυχία in the Yakto complex (337-45), and Κτίσις in the 'House of Ktisis' (357-8).
4. R. Dussaud, 'L'archéologie syrienne au printemps de 1925', Acad. des Insc. et Belles-Lett., Compt.-Rend. (1925),195: photograph (poor) in H. Klengel, Syria antiqua (Leipzig,1971),94. A. Al-Ush et al., Catalogue du Musée National de Damas (Damascus,1976), 81, date the mosaic to the mid-third century; J.C. Balty has suggested to the present writer that it may be as late as the end of the fourth century.
5. Cf. Richter, Portraits I,82, and plate 317.
6. Cf. P.Friendländer, Documents of dying paganism: textiles of late antiquity in Washington, New York, and Leningrad (Berkeley, 1945),1-26, on the Neoplatonist symbolism of the late fifth or early sixth century (W.R. Tyler, 'Fragments of an early Christian tapestry', Bull. William Hayes Fogg Art Mus. 9(1939), 9-12) Hestia tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, though this may well have been intended for specifically religious use (14).

parallel to the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum, where a rich collection of sculpture can be combined with the discovery of a whole philosophical library on papyrus to illuminate the domestic environment self-consciously created for himself by a wealthy érudit of the late first century B.C.[1]. Nevertheless, considerable numbers of portrait sculptures of philosophers have survived from the third and fourth centuries. A few depict, in all probability, sages who lived during that period, but most are the traditional images of the classical philosophers, mass-produced according to an immediately recognizable stereotype. The continuity of this artistic tradition depended, naturally, on the continuity of the philosophical tradition which such portraits symbolized, and the considerable number of heads of Socrates and Plato that have survived from the third and the early fourth century - but not later than the reign of Constantine - tells its own story, closely analogous to that we have learnt from the incidence of public inscriptions commemorating philosophers. Most of the specimens discovered so far come either from Greece or from Asia Minor, which again is what one would expect granted the distribution of philosophical activity at this period[2]. Only the scarcity of such heads from Syria is a little surprising, but may reflect simply the vagaries of archaeological research.

Since, unlike statues, portrait busts were apparently not normally set up in public places, it is a safe assumption that most were intended, either for libraries (which might of course be either civic or domestic), or for private homes. So far, only

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1. Cf. D. Pandermalis, 'Zum Programm der Statuenausstattung in der Villa dei Papiri', Mitt.Deut.Arch.Inst.,Athen 86(1971), 173-209.

2. Cf. H. von Heintze, 'Studien zur griechischen Porträtkunst', Mitt.Deut.Arch.Inst.,Rom 71(1964),78-81,93-101.

one late antique literary'gallery' has been discovered, a group of five third century busts from Athens[1], but they were undoubtedly a common sight. Philosophers, especially famous figures like Socrates, might also crop up in quite unlikely contexts, such as a late fourth century balustrade of herms around a fountain in the grounds of a villa at Welschbillig near Trier[2] - and this is a salutary warning that one should neither underestimate the degree to which philosophical symbols were still a part of everyday life in late antiquity, nor on the other hand overestimate the significance that was attached to them when they occured in a setting that cannot otherwise be proved to have had some philosophical significance.

But late antique man never felt his need for belief, whether religious or philosophical or both, more acutely than when he was in the presence of death; nor did he usually express his beliefs more explicitly, or more permanently, than in the place where he was buried. Unfortunately, funerary inscriptions recording philosophers are not common, and those we have normally content themselves with a bare reference to the fact that the deceased was a philosopher, or of philosophical disposition[3] (which of course is not the same thing) - and one decides for oneself whether to take such statements at face value. On the other hand, funerary

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1. T. Lorenz, Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern (Mainz,1965),31-2. Two of the busts are plausibly identified as Socrates and Plato, and a third is perhaps a contemporary philosopher: cf. G. Dontas, ''Αθηναϊκαί εἰκονιστικαί προτομαί', Ἀρχ. Ἀνάλ. Ἀθην. 2(1969),73-4. Lorenz's catalogue of galleries is expanded in J. Frel's review, Eirene 7(1968),153; by G. Dontas, 'Εἰκονιστικά Β'', Ἀρχ.Δελτ. 26(1971) 16-33; and by H. Wrede, Die spätantike Hermengalerie von Welschbillig: Untersuchung zur Kunsttradition im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. und zur allgemeinen Bedeutung des antiken Hermenmals (Berlin,1972),87,n.325.

2. Ibid. 46-7,96-7.

3. E.g. I.G. 2-3^2.10046a, SIG. 844b, M.A.M.A. 8.499b.

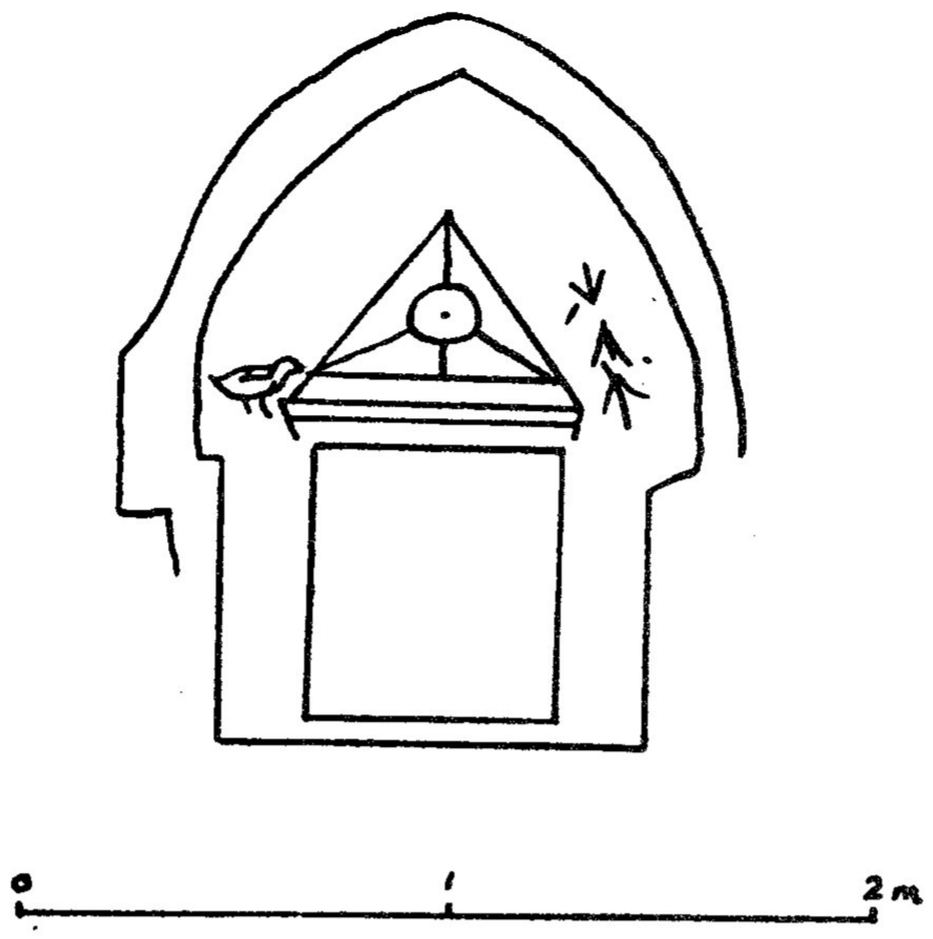
inscriptions whose general tone might be taken as philosophical, if only in the broadest sense of the word, occur much more frequently. Here we face in a particularly acute form the problem of deciding what significance would have been attached by the dead man, or was attached by his relatives or friends, to words which could well have been purely commonplace. Nor can it be taken for granted that what seemed appropriate to those who commissioned the tomb would necessarily have been viewed in the same light by him whom the tomb commemorated[1]. There is no easy answer to any of these questions, and as with several other areas of evidence discussed in this chapter, the more general the conclusion one reaches, the more likely it is to be correct. Many funerary inscriptions refer generally to notions such as the flux of mortal existence, or the ascent of the soul after death[2], but it is unrealistic to deduce from such phrases that the man commemorated was a 'Pythagorean', or even consciously aware of Pythagorean ideas[3].

The same principle applies to the decoration of the tomb or the sarcophagus. As in the area of funerary inscriptions, so too in that of funerary decoration, only the exceptional and the odd has positive value as evidence, for one knows that it was thought about, not chosen simply because it was conventional. On this criterion one may suspect that whoever it was who had the unusual

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1. For a flagrant modern example, cf. D. Stewart, T.E. Lawrence (London,1977),306.
2. Cf. M. Guarducci, 'Tracce di pitagoreismo nell'iscrizioni ostiensi', Pont.Acc.Rom. di Arch.:Rend. 23-4(1947-9),209-15;and P. Courcelle, 'Quelques symboles funéraires du néo-platonisme latin', Rev.Et.Anc.46(1944),65-73, on later Latin epitaphs.
3. Cf. Nock, Am.Jour.Arch. 50(1946),158-61=Essays 627-31.

design here illustrated painted over the entrance to his tomb



at Kamed in the Bekaa valley of the Lebanon was conscious of its Pythagorean significance, the triangle standing for the heavens, the circle with its central point for the perfected soul[1]; and likewise the depictions of Odysseus and the Sirens that are found on a number of late Roman sarcophagi must, as P. Courcelle has suggested, imply some knowledge of contemporary Neoplatonist interpretations of the Odyssey as an allegory of the soul's journey through life to beatitude - the Sirens representing temptations overcome[2]. Yet the much larger number of people who had, for example, lunar or stellar symbols carved on their sarcophagi were merely making a conventionally pious affirmation about some form of life after death - an affirmation which, whatever it tells us about the general intellectual climate of the age, can hardly be taken to prove that the particular deceased was aware of specific Pythagorean teachings on the stages of the soul's ascent through the heavens[3].

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1. R. Mouterde, 'Antiquités de l'Hermon et de la Beqâ', Mél. de l'Univ.S.Jos.29(1951-2),39-44 (whence the illustration).
2. Courcelle, art.cit.73-86.
3. Cf. the extremely important comments of Nock, art.cit. passim., esp. 152-6,169=Essays 620-26,641 ('In spite of local variations

Like funerary inscriptions, Roman sarcophagi looked backwards as well as forwards, telling something of what the deceased had been as well as of what he hoped to become. This is particularly true of the numerous Roman sarcophagi that are decorated with scenes representing or symbolic of the intellectual life. A Roman did not cultivate the Muses simply in order to be forgotten when he died; he expected to remain under their patronage in the after-life, and to benefit from their protection and benevolence. Long before Julian asserted the indissociability of pagan religion from classical literary culture, men believed that the study of letters had its own spiritual value; and the Muses that crowded their sarcophagi were there to make sure that all went well for their faithful devotee in the uncharted regions of the dead[1]. But they were also there to remind posterity of what their client had been in life. Here, once again, we face the difficulty of distinguishing reality from the cliché and idealization that proliferates in the aftermath of death. Must we deduce from the Muses, or the philosophers, or from the grave teacher and admiring pupils or relatives who stand upon the sarcophagus[2] that the deceased was a literary man by profession, and if so, was he a philosopher, or a rhetor, or a poet?[3] Usually it is impossible to say, and indeed on occasion an inscription, or some other tell-tale feature, makes clear that the deceased, though in death he chose to appear in the

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there is a massive unity in this sepulchral art; but is it not a unity of cultural inheritance and to some extent of feeling rather than a unity of belief?'), on Cumont, Recherches, esp. 177-252.

1. On the sarcophagi themselves, cf. M. Wegner, Die Musensarkophage (Berlin,1966). The interpretation here offered follows that of H.-I. Marrou, ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ: étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains (Rome,1964²), esp. 231-57, expanded by Cumont, op.cit. 253-350.
2. For examples, cf. Marrou, op.cit. 27-171.
3. On this whole problem, cf. Marrou's wise remarks, ibid. 209-30.

garb of a philosopher, had in life practised the vita activa[1]; but in the absence of such additional evidence, the most that can legitimately be deduced from a sarcophagus of this type is that its owner either thought of himself as a man of some sort of literary culture, or else at least acknowledged certain cultural and intellectual values in the broadest sense - though without necessarily being himself a practitioner.

The image of the philosopher, and of the homo intellectualis generally, that we encounter on the sarcophagi is of course a stereotype: a mature, balding figure, wrapped in a mantle that leaves the upper part of his torso exposed, seated usually, grave of mien, and intent upon expounding the learning of the ancients from the book that he holds in his hands[2]. This was an image that had remained constant from classical times, and derived its sanctity from precisely that. The importance of such images for us is best understood if we recall that in antiquity it was taken for granted that a man's character could be read in his physical features[3]. The sage in his own person was therefore the most potent physical symbol of the philosophy he professed, and was looked at as such by his contemporaries. Descriptions and portraits of philosophers tell us what late antique men thought they saw.

The grave sarcophagus érudit is only one of an enormous variety of philosopher-stereotypes, reflecting varying degrees of contemporary reality, that we find in the plastic arts and literature of the Roman world. As was observed at the beginning

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1. Cf. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, 'Sarkophag eines gallienischen Konsuls', Festschrift für Friedrich Matz (Mainz,1962),123.
2. Cf. von Heintze, Jb.Ant.Chr. 6(1963),49-50.
3. Cf. above, 25-6; also Porphyry, V.Plot. 11, and Ammianus Marcellinus XV.8.16. For a subtler point of view, cf. Apuleius, Flor. 2.

of this chapter, philosophers were not always treated with the formal reverence of the sarcophagus-sculptor. One of Alciphron's Epistulae allows us to drop in on a dinner party attended by philosophers of various Schools:

> 'Among the foremost present was Eteocles, that Stoic, the old man with the beard that needs trimming, the filthy creature with his unkempt head, the old character whose brow has more wrinkles than his purse. Also there was Themistagoras of the Peripatos, not an unpleasant man to look at, and priding himself on his curly whiskers. The Epicurean Zenocrates was also present, himself too not indifferent to his ringlets, and puffed up with pride at his long beard; and Archibios the Pythagorean, 'the famous in song' (for so everybody called him), his face overcast with a deep pallor, shaking his locks from the top of his head clear down to his chest, with his long pointed beard, his hooked nose, and his lips drawn in and by their very compression and firm closure hinting at the Pythagorean silence. All of a sudden Pancrates too, the Cynic, pushing the crowd aside, burst in with a rush; he was supporting his steps with a club of holm-oak - the cane was studded with some brass nails where the thick knots were, and his wallet was empty and hung ready for the scraps.'[1]

The Cynic, with his long hair, his tattered cloak, his staff, and his scrip, is by far the commonest philosopher-stereotype in the literature of antiquity[2]. He was a striking figure, and one

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1. Alciphron, ep. III.19.2-5.

2. Cf. D.R. Dudley, A history of Cynicism from Diogenes to the 6th century A.D. (London,1937), esp.143-85; MacMullen, Enemies of the Roman order, 308,n.16. The literary sources here discussed are perfectly illustrated* by H. Fuhrmann, 'Gespräche über Liebe und Ehe auf Bildern des Altertums', Mitt.Deut.Arch. Inst.,Rom 55(1940),86-90, to represent Crates. For possible third century representations of Cynics, cf. P. Graindor, 'Les cosmètes du Musée d'Athènes', Bull.Corr.Hell.39(1915),363-7, on a bust in the National Museum, Athens; and Marrou, ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ 144-5 (=Wegner, Musensarkophage 50-52,no.128) on a sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome. Pace W. Amelung, 'Notes on representations of Socrates and of Diogenes and other Cynics', Am.Journ.Arch. 31(1927),294,n.1, the six philosophers on the third century sarcophagus of L.Pullius Peregrinus in the Museo Torlonia, Rome (=Wegner, op.cit. 53-5, no.133), are more likely to represent the Seven Sages (Peregrinus being the seventh) than simply a group of Cynics and other contemporary philosophers, since his wife is portrayed as the Muse Polyhymnia, and is accompanied by her eight sisters. On Amelung's interpretation (art.cit. 294-6) of a late fourth century sarcophagus in Palermo Cathedral as illustrating the contempt of Cynics for conventional society, cf. the comments

* by a Roman wall-painting from the garden of the Farnesina, argued

could hardly help noticing him standing at the street corner, ranting away at the passers-by. Indeed, his conspicuousness seems to have ensured that his physical type came in the course of time to stand for the philosopher in general, whether Cynic or not. Describing a man who stood up in a theàtre and warned Commodus to his face of a plot that threatened his life, Herodian observes that he was'dressed like a philosopher (ἀνήρ φιλοσόφου φέρων σχῆμα)- that is he carried a staff in his hand and had a wallet hanging round his half-bared shoulders'[1]. The stereotype seems even to have infected philosophers who adhered to other Schools: Philostratus describes the Peripatetic Aristocles of Pergamon as 'rough in appearance, unkempt and squalid in his dress'[2]. There were limits of a sort: most people thought the hirsute and untidy Marcus of Byzantium 'too boorish to be a learnèd man'[3] - but then he was a sophist, and people expected a higher standard of present-ability from a sophist than they did from a philosopher[4]. Indeed the Cynic stereotype maintained both its literary and its actual popularity at least until the end of the fourth century[5]. It was a favourite with Christian writers, both those who sought paradigms for the simple way of life[6] and those who hoped to discredit or make fun of pagan philosophers[7] - and pagan writers themselves continued to exploit the almost proverbial disrepute of the Cynic

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of Marrou, op.cit.167-8 (whose dating, though, is to be rejected), and Wegner, op.cit.34-5,no.69.

1. Herodian I.9.3.
2. Philostratus, V.soph. 567.
3. Ibid. 529.
4. Ibid. 567.
5. Cf.below,291-2.
6. E.g. Basil, ep.2; and cf. above,73,n.1.
7. E.g. Tatian, Ad Graecos 25; John Chrysostom, De S. Bab. 8-9, De verb. apost. 3, Hom. in Gen. 20.5, Hom. in Matt. 10.4, Ad pop. Ant.19.1; Augustine, ep.1.1.

in order to stigmatize those of whom they disapproved[1]. Julian, in his two orations against the Cynics, leaves us in no doubt that there were still in his day those who affected the traditional Cynic way of life - indeed his fundamental objection to the modern Cynics is that they have preserved the externals of Cynicism without its essence, to the point that they are even prepared to attack publicly the teachings of Diogenes (for whom Julian had the deepest respect)[2].

Yet the Cynics themselves were only a small minority among late antique philosophers - albeit a sufficiently conspicuous minority for Julian to fear that they might do serious damage to the reputation of the pagan cause. They were also exceptionally conservative in their personal habits, because their philosophy was largely concerned with the conduct of the individual. The outlook and practical circumstances of most other philosophers had changed a great deal since the classical period, and it is hardly surprising to find that their appearance had as well. The triumph of Platonism and Pythagoreanism brought with it a new philosopher-stereotype.

When the young Eunapius encountered Maximus of Ephesus, by that time an old man, he was particularly struck by the famous philosopher's voice , and by his eyes:

> His voice was such as one might have heard from Homer's Athene or Apollo. The very pupils of his eyes were, so to speak, winged; he had a grey beard, and his glance revealed the agile impulses of his soul. There was somehow a harmony in him, understood both by those who heard him, and those who saw him. All who met him were amazed by these faculties, for one could hardly endure the swift movements of his eyes, or the rapid flow of his words. In discussion, not even the most experienced

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1. E.g. Libanius, ep.665.4; Eunapius VI.10.1-3; and probably Synesius, Ad Paeon. 310b.

2. Julian, orr. 7.209a-210c, 223a-226c; 9. 130d-181b,190d,198a, 201a,202cd.

> and most eloquent dared to contradict him, but they yielded to him in silence, and acquiesced in what he said as though it came from the tripod of an oracle, such enchantment sat on his lips.[1]

Even if Eunapius had not told us he had met Maximus, we would have guessed it; and we can only regret that he did not think of describing the appearance of his own teacher, and Maximus' close friend, Chrysanthius. Only once does he come near to doing so, and what he says makes it easy to understand why Julian, the ardent devotee of Maximus, loved to sit at the feet of Chrysanthius too; for though by nature more cautious than his colleague[2], Chrysanthius became so transformed in debate that 'his hair bristled, and his eyes showed that his soul was dancing within him around the doctrines that he expressed'[3]. Julian himself is described by Ammianus as having 'eyes fine and full of fire, an indication of the acuteness of his mind'[4]. Intense concentration and excitement run as a leitmotiv through these descriptions of Neoplatonist philosophers: when Plotinus spoke, 'his intellect visibly lit up his face. There was always a charm about his appearance, but at these times he was still more attractive (καλλίων) to look at: he sweated gently, and kindliness shone out from him, and in answering questions he made clear both his benevolence to the questioner and his intellectual vigour.'[5].

It is this κάλλος, spiritual energy visibly transforming the flesh, that is the most striking feature of the true sage.

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1. Eunapius VII.1.1-3.
2. Cf. above,101-2, and Eunapius XXIII.3.8.
3. Ibid. XXIII.3.9. Cf. also VI.5.6, on Eustathius.
4. Ammianus Marcellinus XXV.4.22; and cf. id. XV.8.16; Mamertinus, Grat.act. 6.4 ('micantia sidereis ignibus lumina'); Gregory of Nazianzus, or.5.23(ὀφθαλμός σοβούμενος καί περιφερόμενος, καί μανικόν βλέπων).
5. Porphyry, V.Plot. 13.5-10.

Eunapius returns to it over and over again in describing the Neoplatonists[1]; but it is in Porphyry's description of the death of Plotinus[2] that we understand its fully transcendent nature. As Plotinus's last illness takes hold of him, both his eyes and his voice, the two faculties by means of which his soul manifested itself to men[3], are gradually enfeebled; sores spread over his hands and his feet. Stage by stage his body disintegrates - but only to reveal more clearly the sublimity of the god within him. The soul, breaking out at last from the tomb of the body, reveals its true κάλλος in Plotinus's last words: 'Try to bring back the divine in man to the divine in the All'.

One aspect of Plotinus's κάλλος was the simplicity and openness which is the hall-mark of the true holy man[4]. It was a trait not always shared by his successors, some of whom give the impression at times of being remote, self-absorbed, or just acutely over-conscious of their own dignity[5]. One suspects that this sort of behaviour was much encouraged by the Pythagoreans' preoccupation with secrecy - a trait that Alciphron particularly emphasizes in his parody. Pythagoras himself, and Apollonius of Tyana, are depicted in their Lives as extremely impressive, commanding figures, full of mysterious energies and learning[6] - and these were the models whom late antique philosophers most admired. Yet if there was a strong Pythagorean element in the average late antique

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1. Eunapius VI.5.1 (Eustathius); VI.6.6,7.2,9.3 (Sosipatra); VIII. 1.2 (Priscus).
2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 2.
3. Cf. Firmicus Maternus's reference to Plotinus (Math. I.7.14), 'cuius ex ore tamquam ex adyto quodam divinae sententiae proferebantur'.
4. Porphyry, V.Plot. 9.16-22;13.9-17.
5. Cf. above,199-200.
6. Porphyry, V.Pyth. 18; Iamblichus, V.Pyth. 20,36; Philostratus, V.Apol. 1.1,17;5.37 etc. Cf. also Plutarch, Numa 8.4-5; Lucian, Philops. 29,32.

Platonist, there was also something of the Cynic[1]. One sees this clearly in matters of dress: Julian, encountering a Cynic somewhere near Besançon, saw his mantle and his staff, and took him for Maximus[2] - indeed, the simple, ascetic τρίβων seems to have remained in late antiquity, as earlier, the basic garment of all types of philosopher[3] -; but when Maximus finally arrived at Julian's court, he was quick to adopt a robe 'more luxurious than befitted a philosopher'[4]. Julian's Misopogon is even more instructive. Although written in a peculiar mood of anger transmuted into sarcastic self-depreciation, it is the only self-description we possess by a Neoplatonist philosopher, and is particularly valuable for the attempt Julian makes to depict himself as others (admittedly his enemies) see him. His hair is long and dishevelled, his beard full of lice, his hands black with ink, and his nails uncut. His body already bears the marks of an austere diet and sleepless nights on a hard pallet[5]. He is

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1. Unfortunately we do not know whether the Neopythagoreans of the earlier Roman period had affected Cynic habits. We have no contemporary description of Apollonius: although, according to Apollonius of Tyana, ep. 8, he was accused of never taking a bath and not cutting his hair, this may be just the romancing of a later forger. Certainly secrecy was not unique to Pythagoreans, nor filth to Cynics, nor the combination of the two to late antiquity: cf. Philostratus, V.soph. 528-9, on the sophist Marcus of Byzantium, a contemporary of Hadrian.

2. Julian, ep.26. Cf. the emperor's comments on the correct clothing for priests, which might have been aimed at Maximus personally: Πρέπει δέ, οἶμαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔνδον μέν, ὅτε λειτουργοῦσιν, ἐσθῆτι χρῆσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῃ, τῶν ἱερῶν δέ ἔξω τῇ συνήθει δίχα πολυτελείας· οὐδέ γάρ εὔλογον τοῖς δεδομένοις ἡμῖν ἐπί τιμῇ θεῶν εἰς κενοδοξίαν καταχρῆσθαι καί τύφον μάταιον. Ὅθεν ἀφεκτέον ἡμῖν ἐσθῆτος πολυτελεστέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ καί κόμπου ἤ καί πάσης ἁπλῶς ἀλαζονείας (ep.89b.303bc).

3. Cf. Liddell and Scott, Greek-English lexicon, s.v. τρίβων, to which add Libanius, or. 13.21 (Julian), and Eunapius VI.5.8,103 (Eustathius).

4. Ibid. VII.4.2.

5. Julian, Misop.338bc,339b,340bc,349c.

the typical Cynic, advertising his asceticism to condemn the luxuriousness and corruption of the Antiochenes[1]; and at the same time he is the quintessential Neopythagorean, in his ceaseless progress from temple to temple and sacrifice to sacrifice[2].

Julian, because he became emperor, is the only late antique philosopher of whom we have portraits that can be identified with certainty. One of the most striking - and certainly the one that corresponds closest to the self-description in the Misopogon - is to be found on a bronze exagium from Geneva. It is a full frontal portrait, in which Julian's eyes stare out with severe and piercing gaze from a face enveloped in thick hair, beard, and moustache[3]: we are reminded of the Syrian monks, and of Ephrem Syrus's apt comparison of Julian to a Nazirite[4]. But this is an exception among Julian's portraits; more often he appears as the serene, otherworldly philosopher, his face suffused with an air of deep calm rather than intense concentration. The best-known examples of this Julian are the Louvre and Cluny statues, where the heavily-bearded emperor is wrapped in the philosopher's pallium[5] - probably the last time that a pagan philosopher was represented as such in an image designed to be displayed publicly.

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1. Cf. id., or.9.202bc.
2. Id., Misop.346bc.
3. R. Calza, Iconografia Romana imperiale da Carausio a Giuliano (287-363d.C.) (Rome,1972),382-3.
4. Ephraem Syrus, C.Jul.2.5.
5. Calza, op.cit. 368-74. Compare also the exquisite chalcedony bust in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad: ibid. 380-81, and, for a better photograph, R. Browning, The emperor Julian (London,1975), plate 1. (It should be noted that the common assumption (e.g. F.D. Gilliard, 'Notes on the coinage of Julian the Apostate' Journ.Rom.St.54(1964),135-6) that Julian was beardless between late 355 and late 361 is falsified by Mamertinus, Grat.Act.6.4, and Ammianus Marcellinus XVII.11.1).

Apart from Julian's portraits, there have survived from late antiquity a number of sculptured heads of bearded and pensive intellectuals, which look as if they depict philosophers[1]. There is much of general value to be learned from these heads about the sage's appearance, and the impression he made on non-philosophers; but of late it has become fashionable to propose more specific identifications, which on close inspection rarely justify the degree of confidence with which they are announced. Two groups of heads have attracted particular attention. A group of four third century sculptures, three found at Ostia, and one preserved in the Vatican, have been argued by H.P. L'Orange to depict Plotinus[2]; while a group of five, four from Greece and one of unknown provenance, though probably Greek, have been assigned by the same writer to an Attic workshop of the first half of the fourth century, and identified as Iamblichus[3]. Both heads undeniably depict a homo spiritualis; and the physical characteristics of both suggest an easterner. In addition, the fact that the 'Plotinus' heads were found so near Rome[4], and two of the 'Iamblichus' heads on the Acropolis of Athens and in the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, is certainly suggestive. But

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1. The most recent discussion is von Heintze, Jb.Ant.Chr.6(1963), 35-53, esp. 37-43. I am much indebted to this article in what follows.

2. H.P. L'Orange, 'The portrait of Plotinus', Cah.Arch.5(1951),15-30; id., 'Plotinus-Paul', Byzantion 25-7(1955-7),473-85 (resumed in 'I ritratti di Plotino ed il tipo di San Paolo nell'arte tardo-antica', Atti del settimo Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica II (Rome,1961),475-82; and reprinted, unaltered, in id.,Likeness and icon: selected studies in classical and early mediaeval art(Odense,1973),32-42), Cf. above,183-4.

3. H.P. L'Orange, 'Some remarks on late Greek portraiture, especially regarding the "Jamblichos" type', Acta ad arch. et art. hist. pert. (Inst.Rom.Norv.) 6(1975), 59-63.

4. Von Heintze, art.cit. 52,n.133, rightly points out that Plotinus had no known connection with Ostia - but a pupil or admirer may well have done.

none of this comes anywhere near clinching a specific identification; and on the other side of the account there are a number of weighty objections to be made. Since Plotinus first arrived in Rome in 244[1], L'Orange's dating of the 'Plotinus' head, at least in its original version, to the 240s or 250s would seem too early for it to have gained the wide circulation implied by the survival of four copies (all of which L'Orange dates within the philosopher's lifetime). Plotinus was anyway resolutely opposed to being portrayed in any way, and although Amelius managed to ensure that he was painted surreptitiously at least once, by Carterius[2], it is most unlikely that a portrait so obtained would have been circulated much in its subject's lifetime. Likewise, the dating of the 'Iamblichus' head to the first half of the fourth century suggests a wide popularity of Iamblichus in Greece at this early period which does not at all correspond to the evidence of the literary texts[3] - a factor which L'Orange and his critics alike have failed to take into account. Dating is anyway a highly subjective business in this field: von Heintze places two of the 'Plotinus' heads in the Severan period![4] Nor is it even certain that the heads of either group actually represent the same person: von Heintze detects three different individuals in the four 'Plotinus' heads[5], while among the'Iamblichus' heads

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1. Cf. above, 7, n.7.
2. Porphyry, V.Plot. 1.4-19.
3. Cf. above, 118. If one were to insist on the identification with Iamblichus, then the later fourth century dating proposed by Rodenwaldt, Griechische Porträts 11, would be more attractive, at least on historical grounds - but Rodenwaldt sensibly confined himself to the opinion that the heads represent unidentifiable Neoplatonic philosophers (11-5).
4. Von Heintze, loc.cit., who identifies the two heads found together in Ostia as 'ein in Ostia wirkender Schulleiter'.
5. Ibid.

L'Orange's specimen I (the one of unknown provenance)[1] differs substantially from the other four.

It is best then to avoid excessive precision in the discussion of these two groups of sculptures, and a fortiori of the other portraits which at various times have been 'identified', either as Plotinus or as one of his successors[2]. Their real interest is more general than the question of whom precisely they represent. They constitute a priceless record of impressions made on non-philosophers (and probably, indeed, non-intellectuals) by the great thinkers of late antiquity - and a record completer, and infinitely more subtle, than any portrait in words. The profound impression made by the sage's eyes, deeply drilled in these third and fourth century heads, is here confirmed - the 'Iamblichus' group supplies some particularly striking examples[3].

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1. L'Orange's plate VI,c-d; not discussed by Rodenwaldt.

2. F. Poulsen, 'Portrait d'un philosophe néoplatonicien trouvé à Delphes', Bull.Corr.Hell.52(1928),245-55, proposed (albeit with many reservations) to recognize as Plotinus a bust from Delphi which he thought to be Gallienic, but was obliged subsequently ('A philosopher head in the Museum of the American University, Beirut', Berytus 4(1937),114) to accept L'Orange's re-dating of the head to the Antonine period. The tentative identification by Rodenwaldt, 'Zur Kunstgeschichte der Jahre 220 bis 270', Jb.Deut.Arch.Inst.51(1936), 102-5, of the central figure in a partially-preserved sarcophagus in the Museo Profano Lateranense (=Wegner, Musensarkophage 47, no.116) as Plotinus has received a deservedly cool reception from, inter alios, Marrou, ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ, 47-50; L'Orange, Cah.Arch. 5(1951),28-30; von Heintze, JbAnt.Chr.6(1963),53; Wegner, loc. cit. It appears that portrait heads of contemporary philosophers continued to be produced well into the fifth century: cf. G. Dontas, 'Kopf eines Neuplatonikers', Mitt.Deut.Arch. Inst.,Ath. 69-70(1954-5),147-52 (Athens); and perhaps the fine head from Sardis, at present variously dated to the third or the fifth century: cf. most recently Hanfmann, Sculpture from Sardis 100, no.92.

3. The plastic indication of iris and pupil becomes increasingly common in Roman sculpture from c. A.D. 130 onward: cf. M. Wegner, Das römische Herrscherbild II(3): Hadrian, Plotina, Marciana, Matidia, Sabina (Berlin,1956),61,72; also W.B. Yeats, A vision (London,1937²): 'The Roman was the first to drill a round hole to represent the pupil, and because, as I think, of a preoccupation with the glance characteristic of a civilization in its final phase'. (I must thank Mr John Kerrigan for

One cannot avoid the impression that the artist is often consciously striving after a 'soul-portrait'. Plotinus himself observed that 'even here below, it has to be said that beauty consists less in symmetry itself than in that which shines through symmetry; and it is this light that entrains our love'[1]. The prominent eyes with their distant gaze, and the distorted asymmetrical features reflect the sage's struggle to subdue the body, to live only the life of the spirit[2]. L'Orange brings this out well in his description of the 'Plotinus' portraits:

> A certain air of passivity...harmonises well with the meditative, absent-minded look. The ascetic leanness, especially noticeable in the drawn cheeckbones and the sunken hollows of the eyes, gives the person represented a disembodied air. A long beard, a bold crown, and straggling locks at the temples, enhance this impression of a man detached from the realities of life...[3]

We are far here from the classical image of a serene Plato[4], or indeed from the stereotype of the sarcophagus-teacher described earlier in this chapter[5]. Such images were slow to be abandoned altogether[6], but long before that happened even Socrates and Plato had taken on a distinctly late antique air, like Pythagoras in his Neoplatonic Lives. Many of the surviving post-Severan portraits of classical philosophers show the same obsession with the eyes

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this reference). The eyes impress in the mosaics too, e.g. the Socrates mosaic at Apamea, above, 274.

1. Plotinus VI.7.22.24-6.
2. Cf. H.P. L'Orange, Apotheosis in ancient portraiture (Oslo, 1947),95-110; G.M.A. Hanfmann, Observations on Roman portraiture (Brussels,1953),49; von Heintze,art.cit. 48-9.
3. L'Orange, Byzantion 25-7(1955-7),476.
4. Cf. the illustrations to R. Boehringer, Das Antlitz des Genius: Platon (Breslau,1935); the chronology is discussed by von Heintze, Mitt.Deut.Arch.Inst.,Rom 71(1964),85-9,93-7.
5. Cf. above,285.
6. E.g. the Welschbillig Socrates: cf. above,281.

as do portraits of contemporaries[1]: they are the visual counterpart of the transformation that Plato's writings undergo in the Enneads.

We see this same recasting of the past in the image of the present in Julian's idealized description of Marcus Aurelius in the Caesars:

> Marcus was extremely dignified, and bore the marks of his labours in the worn expression of his eyes and his face. His inexpressible beauty he showed in the very carelessness of his appearance and his lack of adornment; for he wore a very long beard, his dress was plain and sober, and from lack of nourishment his body was remarkably translucent and transparent, just like light most pure and unalloyed.[2]

Perhaps Julian was thinking of Maximus of Ephesus or Priscus as he penned this portrait of the emperor whom he admired more than any other, and who in the eyes of late antiquity symbolized the perfect reconciliation of the βίος θεωρητικός with the βίος πρακτικός, of the philosopher with the society in which he lived.

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1. Cf. von Heintze, art.cit. 78-81; and the comments of T. Dohrn, 'Ein spätantikes Platonporträt', Mitt.Deut.Arch.Inst.,Ath. 63-4(1938-9),163-70, and von Heintze, art.cit. 87,96, on a Tetrarchic portrait of Plato from Athens (no.XVII in von Heintze's numbering).
2. Julian, Symp.317cd.

CONCLUSION

The third and the fourth centuries were an age of uncertainty that deepened periodically into crisis. When the philosopher lowered his distant gaze to contemplate the world around him, he beheld all too often 'wars and battles..., murders and deaths, the capture and pillage of cities'[1]. Some of these events have appeared fleetingly in the pages of this study, where they have impinged on the lives of individual sages - Gordian's expedition against Persia, Diocletian's persecution of the Christians, Constantine's war against Licinius, the growing hostility of the Christian emperors to their pagan subjects, Julian's wars in Gaul and his struggle to restore the old religion, the apostate emperor's death during another campaign on the eastern frontier, the usurpation of Procopius, the magic trials under Valens. The philosopher's place in late antique society is only fully understood if we set him against the broad historical trends of the age.

Many historians trace the deep religious emotions which are so characteristic of late antiquity to a psychological dislocation bred at least in part of personal and social insecurity[2]. The sense of crisis was real enough, and is attested in numerous texts of the period[3]. What is less easy to judge is the extent to which mens' reactions were calculated or instinctive. Julian's pagan reaction was meditated long in advance[4]; but the rise of the Neoplatonist philosopher and holy man perhaps betrays a recognition,

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1. Plotinus III.2.15.37-8,44-6.
2. E.g. E.R. Dodds, Pagan and Christian in an age of anxiety: some aspects of religious experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine (Cambridge,1965).
3. G. Alföldy, 'The crisis of the third century as seen by contemporaries', Gr.Rom.Byz.St. 15(1974),89-111.
4. Cf. above,231-2.

at a profounder and less conscious level, that the time of the gods was past, and that henceforth their home was to be in the heart of the individual believer rather than in the temples that had dominated the cities of the civilized world ever since their foundation[1]. The individualism and fluidity of late àntique philosophical life were a reaction to the decline of the religious institutions as well as the traditional School-structures of the classical world. If it be objected that this was also the golden age of the Christian holy man, there need be no necessary contradiction, for in a period of transition the institutions of the new order often take as long to be built up as do those of the old to crumble away. Holy men provided immediate access to God - and were to continue to do so, often to the chagrin of bishops, long after the Church had monopolized the other channels through which Christian spirituality is expressed.

Yet the pagan sage and holy man was no mere reclusive scholar or pietist. He was a teacher too; and late antiquity was an age as fascinated as our own by education and the power it bestows. No teacher could avoid involvement with the burning religious and cultural issues of the day; and so the philosopher came, at times despite himself, to play a part on a wider stage than that offered by the class-room. Just as politics impinged on him, so from time to time he impinged on politics. Greek philosophers had a long tradition of involvement in public life; and if to some, like Plotinus, the spiritual goals of the Platonist philosopher seemed by nature irreconcilable with a rôle on the political stage, his successors thought otherwise. Iamblichus expounded a theosophy which presupposed the indivisibility of Hellenism, at a time when Christians

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1. P. Brown, 'The rise and function of the holy man in late antiquity', Jour.Rom.St. 61(1971),99-100.

were attempting to isolate Hellenic culture from its religious context; and Iamblichus's disciples, men such as Sopater, Maximus, and Julian, drew the obvious political conclusions. The sequel was not as catastrophic as it might have been, partly because there were also moderating forces such as Aedesius, Chrysanthius, and Priscus at work within the pagan camp. But even so, the fortunes of the pagan philosopher went into permanent decline after 363. The 'conflict' between paganism and Christianity was, it is true, a much more subtle, many-faceted inter-action than was generally recognized until quite recently; but without the intellectual and personal leadership, however flawed it may have been, that was offered by the Platonist philosophers of the third and fourth centuries, and especially by Iamblichus and his followers, the pagans of the Roman empire would have made a much weaker showing than they did, and bequeathed far less to posterity.

APPENDIX

THE EVIDENCE FOR IAMBLICHANISM IN FOURTH CENTURY ALEXANDRIA

According to Eunapius V.1.2, Iamblichus studied under Anatolius and Porphyry, and it is reasonable to assume that it was to this Anatolius that: (1) Iamblichus dedicated his De iustitia, preserved by Stobaeus III.9.35-6; and (2) Porphyry dedicated his Quaestiones Homericae[1]. Furthermore, the treatise entitled Theologumena Arithmeticae, which is generally considered to have been written by or at least derived from Iamblichus[2], contains a number of mathematical fragments by one Anatolius, whom we have no good reason to distinguish from any of the other Anatolii; and the same figure is doubtless to be recognized in Eusebius of Caesarea's account of the career of the Christian Peripatetic Anatolius of Alexandria, the author of ἀριθμητικαὶ εἰσαγωγαί and a master not only of arithmetic and geometry but of astronomy, logic, physics, and rhetoric as well[3].

If this sequence of identifications be accepted[4] - and there is no sound reason why it should not - then Anatolius's

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1. Porphyry, Quaest.Hom. 1.1. Wolff, Porphyrii de philosophia 18 (followed by Zeller, Philosophie der Griechen III(2),736, n.1) considered Porphyry's tone to be that of master to pupil, but added: 'Simul modestissima illa praefationis verba non seniorem, sed iuniorem produnt'. Bidez, Porphyre 32, preferred to see Anatolius as Porphyry's 'condisciple'. Porphyry's tone is certainly ambiguous, but might quite plausibly be interpreted as that of a master who was also a friend or close contemporary. Pace Zeller, loc.cit., Eunapius's description of Anatolius as κατὰ Πορφύριον τὰ δεύτερα φερόμενος need not necessarily imply a teacher-pupil relationship, but simply inferiority (cf. Philostorgius, H.E. 3.15,p.47.11-3: Σώπολις δ'ἦν αὐτῷ [Ἀετίῳ] τοῦ μαθήματος ὁ διδάσκαλος, ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ μηδενὸς ἔχων τὰ δεύτερα).
2. Cf. Larsen, Jamblique 44,n.54.
3. Eusebius, H.E. VII.32.6,20.
4. Cf. T. Gomperz, 'Ein neues Bruchstück Heraklits', Anz. der

career may be outlined as follows. He was born in Alexandria[1], and was probably a fellow-student of Porphyry in Athens (assuming that Porphyry wrote the Quaest.Hom. while a pupil of Longinus)[2]; but it was in his home-city that he settled and made his name as a philosopher - according to Eusebius; he took over the Aristotelian διαδοχή there. Later he became bishop of Laodicea[3]. We have no clue as to where he taught Iamblichus; some have suggested that they met in Rome, after Anatolius had left Athens[4], but others have advanced the view that Iamblichus studied under Anatolius in Alexandria[5]. The most recent and enthusiastic exponent of this idea has been Larsen, who adduces in support of it numerous considerations such as Iamblichus's strong interest in Egypt, and, like Ammonius, in the reconciliation of Plato with Aristotle; but he never shows any compelling reason why Iamblichus must have studied at Alexandria rather than anywhere else[6]. Eunapius's account of Iamblichus's close relationship with the Alexandrian philosopher Alypius is the closest we come to positive evidence of a connection with the city, but we are never specifically told where Alypius taught - only that he was born in Alexandria and died there, and visited Rome several times[7]. In the present state

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kais. Akad. der Wiss.,Wien, phil.-hist. Cl. 38(1901),26-8; Ueberweg-Praechter, Grundriss 656; Larsen, op.cit. 37-8; Dillon, Iamblichi...fragmenta 8-9. The last two refute convincingly the objections raised by Zeller, loc.cit., who accepted the identity of Iamblichus's teacher with the dedicatee of the Quaest.Hom., but distinguished him from the Alexandrian Peripatetic.

1. Eusebius, H.E. VII.32.6.
2. Cf. above,112-3; Dillon, op.cit. 9.
3. Eusebius, loc.cit.
4. Wolff, loc.cit.; Zeller, op.cit. III(2),736,n.3.
5. Id., op.cit. III(1),830,n.2 (wrongly attributing the same view to Gomperz, loc.cit.); Larsen, op.cit. 37-9.
6. Ibid. 39,41-2; and cf. G.J.P. O'Daly's review in Cl.Rev. 26 (1976),76. Dillon's suggestion, loc.cit., followed by O'Daly, that Iamblichus studied under Anatolius in Caesarea, seems even more remote from the evidence.
7. Eunapius V.3.

of knowledge it is impossible to do more than return an open verdict.

If Iamblichus himself cannot be proved either to have visited Alexandria or to have made any personal impression on its intellectual life, perhaps nonetheless his teachings may be shown to have reached Alexandria later in the fourth century. Unfortunately, though the presence of Egyptians in Plotinus's circle may have led to an early dissemination of his teachings in Egypt, only a few Egyptian philosophers between the mid-third and late fourth centuries can be shown to have been Platonists[1]. Ammonius Saccas's pupil Origen seems still to have been active, certainly as a writer and possibly as teacher too, in the late 260s, probably in Alexandria, while the anti-Manichaean polemicist Alexander of Lycopolis is now thought to have been a Neoplatonist who flourished at the end of the century[2]. Flavius Maecius Se[cundus?] Dionysodorus, a town-councillor from Antinoe, is described as τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ σιτουμένων καί ἀτελῶν Πλατωνικός φιλόσοφος in an inscription probably of the third century[3], while the philosopher Olympius who led the defence of the Serapeion when it was attacked by bishop Theophilus in 391 reminds us more readily of the sages who surrounded Julian than of the relatively pro-Christian exegetes of fifth century Alexandria[4]. Iamblichan teachings may have reached

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1. Evrard, Ant.Cl.29(1960),116, denies there were any Platonists in Alexandria between Ammonius and Hypatia. On the composition of Plotinus's circle, cf. above,153-4.

2. The evidence for these points is most recently discussed by P.W. van der Horst and J. Mansfeld, An Alexandrian Platonist against dualism: Alexander of Lycopolis's treatise 'Critique of the doctrines of Manichaeus' (Leiden,1974),4,n.8;7-9.

3. Preisigke, Sammelbuch III,6012.

4. Cf. W. Ensslin, R.E. 18.245 (Olympios 19). On the Neoplatonic resonances of the characterization of Olympius by Damascius, V.Isid. 48-9(Epit.Phot.) and Suda O218, cf. Zintzen's edition of the V.Isid., note to fr. 97. According to J. Schwartz, 'La fin du Sérapéum d'Alexandrie', in Essays in honor of C. Bradford

Alexandria through Maximus of Ephesus's brother Claudianus, who taught there[1], or even through Antoninus, the pupil of Aedesius who settled at Canobus and discoursed of Plato and logic to the crowds that came down from Alexandria to visit him - though apparently he made a point of avoiding any involvement with theurgy and 'that which is at variance with sensible appearances', perhaps because of the animosity of the Christians[2]. W. Theiler has shown that Synesius's Hymns owe something to the Chaldaean Oracles, but he was prepared to do no more than hint at the possibility that Synesius was familiar with Iamblichus's Chaldaean commentaries[3] - elsewhere, Synesius shows himself markedly hostile to Iamblichan theurgy[4].

The evidence in favour of Iamblichan teachings having reached Alexandria before Hierocles[5] consists therefore largely of possibilities - nothing can be proved conclusively. Although it is unlikely that so famous a philosopher remained for long unknown in so important an intellectual centre, it would be hazardous in the extreme to attempt to explain the presence of Iamblichanism elsewhere, for example in Athens[6], by positing a connection with Alexandria.

Welles (New Haven,1966),102,n.26, the φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι of Socrates, H.E. V.16.4, were the philosophers attached to the Museum. On the date, cf. Schwartz, art.cit. 110.

1. Eunapius VII.1.4.
2. Ibid. VI.9.15-6,10.6-10, and Rufinus's description of Canobus, H.E. 11.26, as a place 'ubi praetextu sacerdotalium litterarum ...magicae artis erat paene publica schola'.
3. W. Theiler, 'Die chaldäischen Orakel und die Hymnen des Synesios', in Forschungen 252-301, esp. 256.
4. Cf. Lacombrade, Synésios 140,148,165-6.
5. Cf. above,132-3.
6. Cf. above,131.

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ABSTRACT

Pagan philosophers in late antique society: with special reference to Iamblichus and his followers

Garth Fowden (Merton College) D.Phil. (Hilary 1979)

The pagan philosophers of the third and fourth centuries A.D. played a part hitherto little appreciated in the social and political life of their time. To grasp the significance of these involvements, it is desirable first of all to form some idea of what philosophers thought was the nature of their vocation, and to ask what conclusions about personal conduct they drew from the beliefs they professed. Late antique philosophy was an eclectic blend of the teachings of the classical Schools with other elements, many of them, like the Oracula Chaldaica, of Oriental origin; but its tone was essentially that of a spiritualized Platonism. At the relatively popular level, the Corpus Hermeticum reveals an overwhelming preoccupation with the release of the soul from its imprisonment in the body, and with its ascent towards its divine source; and this is likewise the leitmotif of the teachings of Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Julian. In particular, a growing interest in Pythagoreanism and theurgy caused Plotinus's successors to attach more importance to personal asceticism and the worship of the gods than had previously been the wont of the Platonist philosopher: the most vivid word-pictures of what the late antique sage was expected to be like are to be found in Philostratus's biography of Apollonius of Tyana, and in the Vitae of Pythagoras by Porphyry and Iamblichus. Yet despite the pronounced otherworldliness of this dominant stream within late antique philosophy, most of the great sages acknowledged some res-

ponsibility for the spiritual education of their fellow men. Iamblichus in particular inspired passionate devotion in those he taught, and in the emperor Julian he found a posthumous admirer who did not fear to draw the logical conclusion from the alliance that had been contracted between philosophy and pagan religion. As a philosopher, who was also an emperor, he undertook to win the Roman world back to its allegiance to the old gods. The failure of his attempt was the failure also of late pagan Hellenism to find a practical expression for the cultural totalitarianism it had espoused. (Ch. I.)

The eclecticism of late antique philosophy had its institutional as well as its doctrinal consequences, for during the Roman period the various Schools gradually lost the separate physical identity they had possessed in classical Greece. The classical Athenian αἵρεσις, such as the Academy, the Lyceum, or the School of Epicurus, was marked off from its competitors, not just by distinctive teachings, but also by the possession of an institutional headquarters with property and buildings of its own, a communal life for its members, and a recognized succession of teachers (διάδοχοι) who ensured the continuous existence of the School from generation to generation. With the expansion of the Greek world in the aftermath of the conquests of Alexander, Athens began to lose its central importance - already the Stoa has a far more nebulous institutional identity than its predecessors. This trend continued when the Greek world was absorbed into the Roman empire: intellectual life became at once more eclectic doctrinally, and more fragmented institutionally, as the leading philosophers set up their schools all over the civilized world. The formal Athenian διαδοχαί were slowly extinguished, the last attested be-

ing that of the Stoics in the second century A.D. It is true that, despite the overwhelming influence of Plato on late antique philosophy, there were still in the third and fourth centuries some who preferred to call themselves Aristotelians, Stoics, or Cynics - but they were neither numerous nor particularly influential. Of Aristotelianism, the fourth century rhetor and philosopher Themistius was the only prominent exponent after Alexander of Aphrodisias (fl.c.200). The Stoics dwindled away ingloriously during the third century, and if the Cynics appear to have been relatively numerous as late as the reign of Julian, the Epicureans and the Sceptics on the other hand seem to have been quite extinct by the beginning of the third century. (Ch. II.)

Late antique philosophers were well aware that a change had come over the way in which philosophical life was articulated on the practical plane. When the Neoplatonists attempt to describe their own tradition, it is always in terms of a διαδοχή of great sages, beginning with Ammonius or Plotinus and leading by way of Porphyry and Iamblichus to the Athenians of the fifth century, rather than in terms of αἱρέσεις along classical lines. Even Christian writers show some awareness of this altered character of the pagan philosophical tradition - in contrast with modern scholarship, which has tended to adopt a more classificatory approach, dividing for example the Pergamene 'School' from the Syrian 'School' of Iamblichus, and from the Athenian 'School' of the fifth century, rather than emphasizing their fundamental unity.

That the contemporary interpretation was the correct one is best shown by analyzing in detail the dissemination of Iamblichus's teachings after his death. For most of his life Iamblichus taught in Apamea, but when he died most of his pupils scattered, the mas-

ter's mantle passing to Aedesius. Although a reduced school may have survived at Apamea for a few decades, Aedesius passed his most influential years at Pergamon in Asia Minor. There he purveyed to his pupils a version of Neoplatonism that was in all essentials that of Iamblichus - in other words, traditional philosophical teaching and the practice of theurgy co-existed side by side. On Aedesius's death the Pergamene circle, like its Apamean forerunner, dissolved, though the Iamblichan tradition survived elsewhere in western Asia Minor, notably in Ephesus and Sardis, until the end of the fourth century. Cappadocia also appears to have been a centre of Neoplatonist sympathizers at this period. (Ch. III.)

The Iamblichan tradition was destined to attain its fullest expression in fifth century Athens, under Plutarch of Athens and his successors. Yet Plutarch was not, as is often asserted, the first Athenian Iamblichan, for the origins of the Apamean philosopher's influence in Greece go back at least to the middle of the fourth century. During the third century, Athenian Platonism had been conservative, philological, and anti-Plotinian. Under Constantine and his sons, there is some evidence for the presence at Athens of philosophers with religious and perhaps even theurgical interests, but the only pupils of Iamblichus, namely Theodore of Asine and an anonymous philosopher who lived at Sicyon, who are known to have played an influential part in the philosophical life of the province both seem to have opposed their master's teachings. The loyalty to Iamblichus of Aedesius's pupil Priscus, who had settled at Athens by c.350, is also suspect - and the possibility arises that Iamblichus, like Plotinus before him, was meeting concerted opposition among the predominantly conservative philosophers

of Greece. Nonetheless, Iamblichus was clearly far from unknown in the province, and Priscus, together with Julian, who spent a few months in Athens as a student, represents a strong personal link with the Iamblichan circles of Asia Minor. Subsequently, in the shape of the younger Iamblichus, Athens acquired a direct link with Apamea. Consequently, although even Plutarch's allegiance to Iamblichus may have been flawed, its source is certainly to be found in Athens rather than elsewhere. With Plutarch the history of the expansion of the Iamblichan διαδοχή during the fourth century comes to an end, for in the west Plotinus and Porphyry were the preferred exponents of Neoplatonism, and there is no evidence even for awareness, far less acceptance, of Iamblichus's teachings. (Ch. IV.)

Another aspect of the changed practical articulation of philosophical life in late antiquity is revealed by an examination of the circles that gathered round the great Neoplatonist sages. The circles of Ammonius, Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Aedesius, about which we are best informed, lacked the organization and continuity of the classical Schools. Their sole raison d'être was the desire to share in the teaching of a particular master, and when the master died the circle dissolved. There was no formal institutional structure, though it is usually possible to distinguish an inner circle of intimate disciples from a larger group of more casual followers. The members of the circle enjoyed many common activities and practised an ascetic life-style, without actually sharing a common dwelling or owning any corporate buildings which would have encouraged the circle to become institutionalized. Teaching was informal and conversational in style, directed towards the particular spiritual and intellectual needs of the pupils. The

Vitae of Pythagoras by Porphyry and Iamblichus present many specific parallels between these late antique circles and the circle of Pythagoras, for the Neoplatonists esteemed very highly the Pythagoreans' insistence that philosophy is primarily a way of life, and in particular of communal life. (Ch. V.)

Turning from the internal circumstances of philosophical life to the philosopher's relationship with the rest of society, it is notable that, although the sage could hardly avoid being involved with his fellow men, if only as teacher, there is a marked reclusive strain in the social attitudes of the Neoplatonists, which was strongly criticized by Themistius. Nonetheless, like their classical forebears, late antique philosophers were essentially city-dwellers. Most of them were to be found, either in the traditional intellectual capitals of the Mediterranean world, such as Athens and Alexandria, or else in the centres of the new Platonism - Apamea, Pergamon, Ephesus, and Sardis. Other great cities, like Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch, also attracted philosophers, and in general the more Hellenized areas of the eastern Mediterranean. Outside Rome, the west remained largely unreceptive to anything more rarified than rhetoric.

The philosopher was usually well-born and wealthy, for nobody else could afford the lengthy education required. Philosophy also tended to run in families - the Iamblichan Neoplatonists in particular exhibited a high degree of incestuousness. These characteristics naturally encouraged a social isolation that sometimes manifested itself in a marked arrogance and lack of the common touch. The rarity of the student of philosophy in late antiquity only serves though to emphasize once again the extreme importance of the relationship of master and pupil, which could reach

an emotional intensity much greater than the everyday intimacy of the philosophical circle. Yet the philosopher's rôle as teacher also opened up possibilities for social, and especially political involvement that went far beyond the limited horizons of the classroom. (Ch. VI.)

The Neoplatonists, with the exception of Julian, were far less interested in political theory than their classical predecessors had been, and once again Themistius was the only late antique writer who had a coherent view of the philosopher's political obligations. Yet in practice philosophers were involved in the public life of the empire at many different levels. They might serve their cities, by benefaction or by going on embassies, and that might in turn lead to involvement in imperial politics. Philosophers might be employed on imperial embassies or other missions, and some were even able to influence imperial policy. There is evidence for the involvement of philosophers in the Diocletianic persecution of the Christians, and in particular for attempts made by Iamblichus and his followers to influence the religious policies of Licinius and Constantine. Yet against this must be set a growing alienation between philosophers and the political establishment, one of the few quantifiable indexes of which was the increasing difficulty faced by philosophers in claiming the various exemptions and privileges to which they were traditionally entitled. Among the reasons for this alienation were the relatively insignificant contribution made by philosophers to the intellectual life of the empire, the growing number of charlatan philosophers, and the increasing influence of Christianity on the state.

It was in reaction to the last of these factors that Julian

undertook his pagan restoration, which marks the crisis-point of the social and political fortunes of late antique philosophy. Julian was himself a philosopher, and chose as companions and advisers other philosophers who shared his allegiance to Iamblichan Neoplatonism. He envisaged a restoration of Hellenic culture and religion led by a band of philosopher-priests, and his characterization of the philosopher-priest in his various encyclical letters owes much to the inspiration of Iamblichus. Yet on the emperor's death the philosophers who had risen to power so dramatically were forced into retirement, and sporadically persecuted. In the ensuing decades theurgic Neoplatonists in particular were always in danger, though more conventional philosophers like Themistius and Synesius continued to play a part in public life. Pagan philosophy was on its last retreat, and by the early fifth century was effectively confined to Athens and Alexandria. (Ch. VII.)

Since the ambiguity of late antique philosophers' attitudes to society did not in effect preclude them from playing a part in public life, it is natural to ask what idea laymen formed of philosophy and its exponents. Philosophers were regarded with suspicion by many ordinary people, but from the surviving accounts of conversion to philosophy it is possible to grasp something of the attractiveness of the complete change of life that the pursuit of wisdom offered. Conversion usually came about through the influence of a teacher, or through reading, though what little evidence we have suggests that even educated laymen acquired most of their knowledge of philosophy at second hand, through anthologies and florilegia - and even then the standard classical writers were much preferred to contemporary thinkers, whose writings were probably very little read outside their own circles.

Reading was not though the only way in which philosophical ideas reached the layman. Inscriptions, public statues of philosophers, and more private works of art such as mosaics, frescoes, portrait sculptures, sarcophagi, and so on, could all be used to convey philosophical ideas, however tangentially, or at least to symbolize an allegiance to philosophy. The stereotyped images of philosophers, especially the Pythagorean and the Cynic, that we meet in the literature of the period are all paralleled in the plastic arts, and we notice particularly the simple clothing, the ascetic appearance, and the piercing but otherworldly glance of the eyes that reflects the impulses of the soul dwelling within. Of all the philosophers of this period, it is Julian to whom we can come physically closest, through descriptions written by others, through his own self-parody in the Misopogon, and through numerous surviving coins and other portraits. But there are many other portrait heads that convey a similar image, and through them it is possible at last to enter into a more immediate contact with the philosophers and men of the spirit who represented the highest aspirations of the last years of Greco-Roman paganism. (Ch. VIII.)

ABSTRACT

Pagan philosophers in late antique society: with special reference to Iamblichus and his followers

Garth Fowden (Merton College) D.Phil. (Hilary 1979)

In the third and fourth centuries A.D. philosophy was dominated by an eclectic Platonism heavily influenced by Pythagoreanism and other religious teachings. Its exponents were preoccupied with the purification of the soul, and combined the rôle of spiritual father with the more conventional interests of the classical philosopher. The practical, everyday articulation of philosophical life had also been transformed by the eclectic climate of the age. Since very few philosophers now proclaimed publicly an allegiance to any doctrines other than those ascribed to Plato, the stable institutions of the classical Schools had given way to a broad 'succession' (διαδοχή) of Platonist sages who gathered around themselves small, flexible circles which tended to dissolve when the sage died. The extension of the 'succession' of the disciples of Iamblichus outwards from Apamea and across Asia Minor to Greece is typical of this process, whose character is betrayed if described in terms of separate 'Schools' in the classical sense.

Although most late antique philosophers acknowledged an educative duty towards their fellow men, their spiritual preoccupations inclined them to avoid deep involvement in worldly affairs, even if, unlike most Christian holy men, they were virtually without exception city-dwellers. Philosophy tended though to be the preserve of the socially privileged, and this, together with their vocation as teachers, made it difficult for philosophers to avoid some involvement in public life, whether local or imperial. But the Christianization of the empire gradually alienated pagan intellectuals from the political establishment, especially in the aftermath of Julian's attempt to restore the old religion. There is evidence too for a general ignorance of contemporary philosophy and suspicion of its practitioners among ordinary people; but fortunately there survive from late antiquity numerous inscriptions and artistic representations which give us some idea of the impact that the last pagan sages, and their teachings, made on society at large.