PORPHYRY

ON THE LIFE OF PLOTINUS AND
THE ORDER OF HIS BOOKS

1. Plotinus, the philosopher of our times, seemed ashamed of being in the body. As a result of this state of mind he could never bear to talk about his race or his parents or his native country. And he objected so strongly to sitting to a painter or sculptor that he said to Amelius, who was urging him to allow a portrait of himself to be made, "Why really, is it not enough to have to carry the image in which nature has encased us, without your requesting me to agree to leave behind me a longer-lasting image of the image, as if it was something genuinely worth looking at?" In view of his denial and refusal for this reason to sit, Amelius, who had a friend, Carterius, the best painter of the time, brought him in to attend the meetings of the school—they were open to anyone who wished to come, and accustomed him by pro-
difficult to see what good source of information could have been open to Eunapius which was not available to Porphyry.

1 Eunapius (p. 6. Boissonade) says Plotinus came from Egypt and that his birthplace was Lyco. David, in his preface to his commentary on Porphyry's Eunapius (4. pp. 91. 23-92. 1), gives the name of Plotinus's birthplace as Lyceopolis, probably the town of that name in Upper Egypt (though the town of the same name in the Delta may be meant). But the reliability of this information must remain somewhat suspect. It is

2 For Amelius Gentilianus from Etruria cp. Life, ch. 3. 7. 10. 17 (his epistle dedicatory to Porphyry), 18, and 20. He was, as the Life makes clear, the leading member of the school in which he seems to have acted as Plotinus's chief assistant (cp. especially ch. 15). He was extremely pious (ch. 10) and a diffuse and voluminous writer. Nothing survives of the hundred volumes of the notes which he made at the meetings of the school.
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15 πληκτικότερας λαμβάνειν διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ πλέον προσ-
οχῆς συνέθεσαν. Ἡ ἐπιστολή γράφοντος ἐκ τοῦ τῆς
μνήμης ἐναποκειμένου ὑπάλληλος τὸ εἰκοσμα καὶ
συνδιορθώσεις εἰς ὁμοιότητα τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἀμε-
λίου εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ γενόσθαι ἡ εὐφοία τοῦ Καρτερίου
παράγειν ἀγαπητόν τῷ Πλωτίου ὁμοιότατον.

2. Κυληθεὶς δὲ νόμων πολλάκις κατασκοπούμενος
οὐδὲ κυληθεὶς ἔνδυσεν, οὐκ ἦν πρὸ τοῦ
προσφεύνειν πρὸς τοὺς ταύτας ἑπερρατίς,
οὕτως ὁ θηριακὸς ἀντιδίδοτος λαβεῖν ὑπηρέτευε,
µὴ τῶν ἦμερων ἔχων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ σῶματος
τροφάς προσεῖσθαι λέγων. Λουπρὸν δὲ ἀποθνῄσκον,
καὶ τρίφηκε καὶ έκάστην ἡμέραν χρόνον ἔποικα
τῆς οἰκίας, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ λοιμοῦ ἐπιφθαίνοντος συνέβη
tοῦς τρίβοντας αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, ἀμελήσας τῆς
tοιοῦτος ἑρατίς καὶ ἀλλὸν τῆς τοῦ κονάγχου
ἀγριότητα κατασκευαζόμενην ἔσχε. Κάλλῳ µὲν
παρόντος οὐδὲν πιεινόν ὑπεδύθηντο χαμηλοῦ τάφος,
ὡς ἔλεγεν ἐπανειλθόντος. Εὐστάχιος δὲ ἄταρος ὁ
καὶ παραμείνας αὐτῷ ἁρείθαντον, ὡς καὶ τής
φωνῆς περαιρεθήσαντο τὸ τοῦρ καὶ εὐρύχων

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gressive study to derive increasingly striking mental
pictures from what he saw. Then Carterius drew a
likeness of the impression which remained in his
memory. Amelius helped him to improve his sketch
to a closer resemblance, and so the talent of Car-
terius gave us an excellent portrait of Plotinus
without his knowledge.

2. He often suffered from a disease of the bowels,
but would not submit to an enema, saying that it was
unsuitable for an elderly man to undergo this sort of
treatment. He refused also to take medicines con-
taining the flesh of wild beasts, giving as his reason
that he did not approve of eating the flesh even
of domestic animals. He kept away from the bath
and had himself massaged every day at home.
When the plague broke out and his masseurs died he
gave up treatment of this kind, and soon contracted
acutediphtheria. While he was with him no symptoms
of this kind appeared, but after I left on my voyage
his disease increased so much in violence (as our friend
Eustochius, who stayed with him till his death, told
me when I returned) that his voice lost its clearness
and sonority as is comes grew worse, and his sight
became blurred and his hands and feet ulcerated.1
So, since his friends avoided meeting him because he
had the habit of greeting everyone by word of mouth,
he left the city and went to Campania, to a property
belonging to Zethus, an old friend of his who was

Eustochius prefixed to his edition of Plotinus's writings (cp.
Introduction, p. ix). Henry (Plotin et l'Occident, Louvain,
1938, ch. I) considers it, more probably, as a rhetorical
amplification of the account given here by Porphyry. Both
agree, however, that the disease described here of which
Plotinus died was in fact elephanthus Gracorum, i.e., a form
of leprosy.

1 A much more highly coloured account of Plotinus's last
illness appears in Firmicus Maternus, Mathesis 1. 7. 14 ff.
H. Oppermann (Plotina Leben, Heidelberg 1928, ch. I) regards
this as an independent account based on a lost biography by

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dead. His wants were provided for partly from the estate of Zethus and partly from that of Castricius at Minturnae; for Castricius had his property there. When he was on the point of death, Eustochius told us, as Eustochius had been staying at Puteoli and was late in coming to him he said, “I have been waiting a long time for you.” Then he said, “Try to bring back the god in us to the divine in the All!” and, as a snake crept under the bed on which he was lying and disappeared into a hole in the wall, he breathed his last. It was the end of the second year of the reign of Claudius, and according to Eustochius he was sixty-six years old. At the time of his death I, Porphyry, was staying at Lilybaeum, Amelius was at Apamea in Syria, and Castricius was in Rome: only Eustochius was with him. If we reckon sixty-six years back from the second year of the reign of Claudius the date of his birth falls in the thirteenth year of the reign of Severus; 1 but he never told anyone the month in which he was born or the day of his birth, because he did not want any sacrifice or feast on his birthday, though he sacrificed and entertained his friends on the traditional birthdays of Plato and Socrates; on these occasions those of his friends who were capable of it had to read a discourse before the assembled company.

3. All the same, he did often in the course of conversation spontaneously tell us something about his

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1 I.e. Plotinus was born in A.D. 205 and died in 270. For a discussion of the chronology of his life see Schwzyer, art. cit. (Introduction, p. xxxii), col. 472-4.
early life, to the following effect. Up to the age of eight, though he was already going to school, he used to keep going to his nurse and baring her breasts and wanting to suck; but when someone once told him that he was a little pest he was ashamed and stopped. In his twenty-eighth year he felt the impulse to study philosophy and was recommended to the teachers in Alexandria who then had the highest reputation; but he came away from their lectures so depressed and full of sadness that he told his trouble to one of his friends. The friend, understanding the desire of his heart, sent him to Ammonius, whom he had not so far tried. He went and heard him, and said to his friend, “This is the man I was looking for.” From that day he stayed continually with Ammonius and acquired so complete a training in philosophy that he became eager to make acquaintance with the Persian philosophical discipline and that prevailing among the Indians. As the Emperor Gordian was preparing to march against the Persians, he joined the army and went on the expedition; he was already in his thirty-ninth year, for he had stayed studying with Ammonius for eleven complete years. When Gordian was killed in Mesopotamia Plotinus escaped with difficulty and came safe to Antioch. After Philip art. cit. col. 477-81. (See also E. R. Dodds, Numenius and Ammonius in Entretiens Hardt V.) The nickname Saccas and the story that he once earned his living as a porter appears for the first time in Theodoret. Porphyry never mentions it. Porphyry (in Eusebius H.E. 16. 19. 7) says that he was brought up a Christian, but later became a pagan. This may be true, but cannot be taken as certain, any more than Eusebius’ denial (6. 19. 10). The name Ammonius was common in Egypt, and there may have been some confusion of persons.

1 Ammonius (c. 175-242) was a self-taught philosopher who wrote nothing. We know very little about his teaching: the scanty evidence is fully reported and discussed by Schwyzer.
had become Emperor he came to Rome, at the age of forty. Erennius, Origen, and Plotinus had made an agreement not to disclose any of the doctrines of Ammonius which he had revealed to them in his lectures. Plotinus kept the agreement, and, though he held conferences with people who came to him, maintained silence about the doctrines of Ammonius. Erennius was the first to break the agreement, and Origen followed his lead; but he wrote nothing except the treatise On the Spirits and, in the reign of Gallienus, That the King is the Only Maker.\(^1\) Plotinus for a long time continued to write nothing, but began to base his lectures on his studies with Ammonius. So he continued for ten complete years, admitting people to study with him, but writing nothing. Since he encouraged his students to ask questions, the course was lacking in order and there was a great deal of pointless chatter, as Amelius told us. Amelius came to him during his third year in Rome (the third year of the reign of Philip), and stayed with him till the first year of the reign of Claudius, twenty-four years in all. He came with a philosophical training from the school of Lystimachus, chs. 14 and 20 of the Life was quite a different person. Origen was not an uncommon name at Alexandria; there are chronological difficulties against identifying the two (for which see Schwyzer, art. cit., col. 480); there is no trace of the writings mentioned here among the known works of the Christian Origen; and, most important of all, the references in the Life clearly imply that the Origen mentioned here was a perfectly normal Platonist, enjoying the friendship and respect of other Platonists and of Plotinus himself. In the passage quoted by Eusebius, Porphyry speaks of the Christian Origen in a very different and thoroughly hostile tone, as one would expect the greatest anti-Christian writer of antiquity to speak of the great Christian apologist.

\(^1\) Or, possibly, "With reference to Gallienus, That the Emperor is the Only Poet." But it is very difficult to believe that a fellow-philosopher whom Plotinus respected could have perpetrated such a fulsome piece of court flattery as this suggests, and the context leads one to expect a treatise about the teaching of Ammonius. Origen the Christian writer also attended the lectures of Ammonius (Porphyry in Eusebius H.E. 6. 19. 6), but it seems clear to most of those who have studied the question that the Origen mentioned here and in
and was the most industrious of all Plotinus's associates; he wrote out and collected almost all the works of Numenius, and nearly knew the greater part of them by heart. He made notes of the meetings of Plotinus's school and put together about a hundred volumes of these notes, which he has presented to Hostilianus Hesychius of Apamea, his adopted son.

4. In the tenth year of the reign of Gallienus, I, Porphyry, arrived from Greece with Antonius of Rhodes, and found that Amelius, though he had been with Plotinus for eighteen years, had not yet brought himself to write anything except the notebooks, which he had not yet brought up to their total of a hundred. In the tenth year of the reign of Gallienus Plotinus was about fifty-nine years old. I, Porphyry, when I first joined him was thirty. From the first year of Gallienus Plotinus had begun to write on the subjects that came up in the meetings of the school: in the tenth year of Gallienus, when I, Porphyry, first came to know him, I found that he had written twenty-one treatises, and I also discovered that few people had received copies of them. The issuing of copies was still a difficult and anxious business, not at all simple and easy; those who received them were most carefully scrutinised. These were the writings, to which, since he gave them no titles himself, each gave different titles for the several treatises. The following are the titles which finally prevailed. I add the first words of the treatises, to make it easy to recognise from them which treatise is indicated by each title.^[1]

^[1] As is customary in translations of the \textit{Life}, these first words have been omitted here and the \textit{Ennead} reference substituted.
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2. On the Immortality of the Soul (IV. 7).

3. On Destiny (III. 1).

4. On the Essence of the Soul (IV. 2).

5. On Intellect, the Forms, and Being (V. 9).

6. On the Descent of the Soul into Bodies (IV. 8).

7. How That which is after the First comes from the First; and about the One (V. 4).

8. If All Souls are One (IV. 9).

9. On the Good or the One (VI. 9).

10. On the Three Primary Hypostases (V. 1).

11. On the Origin and Order of the Beings which come after the First (V. 2).


13. Various Considerations (III. 9).
ΤΑΙΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΘΙ ΕΙΧΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΟΝΤΑ, ΩΤΕ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΗΒΛΟΝ Ο ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΣ, ΕΥΡΗΣΑΙ ΓΕΥΡΑΜΕΝΑ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΣΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΝΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΤΟΣ ΉΓΕ ΤΟΤΕ ὁ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΣ.

5. ΣΥΝΗΓΕΝΕΙΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΟΤΟ ΤΕ ΤΟ ΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΕΞΗ ΆΛΛΑ ΕΤΤ ΠΕΝΤΗ—ΘΛΙΓΟΥ ΥΓΡ ΕΤΙ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΚΑΕΙΑΤΕ ΕΡΓΟΝΟΙ Ο ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΡΩΜΗ, ΤΟΙ ΠΛΟΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΙ ΘΕΡΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΆΓΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΡΓΟΝΟΣ, ΕΝΝΑΝΤΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΑΛΛΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΙ—ΕΝ ΟΤΙ ΕΤΙΣ ΕΤΕΙ ΤΟΤΟ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΞΕΤΑΣΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΣΥΝΟΛΙΑΙΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙΣΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΦΕΝΕΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΞΙΟΣΤΩΝ ἈΜΕΛΙΟΥ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΜΟΥ, ΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΜΕΝ

14. On the Circular Motion (II. 2).
17. On Quality (II. 6).
18. Whether there are Ideas of Particulars (V. 7).
21. In What Way the Soul is Said to be a Mean between Undivided and Divided Being (IV. 1).

These treatises, twenty-one in all, I, Porphyry, found already written when I first came to him. Plotinus was then in his fifty-ninth year.

5. I, Porphyry, had in fact already been in Rome a little before the tenth year of Gallienus, while Plotinus was taking his summer holiday and only engaging in general conversation with his friends. While I was with him this year and for five years afterwards, in these six years many discussions took place in the meetings of the school and Amelius and I kept urging him to write, so he wrote:
22, 23. On the Reason why Being is everywhere all present. One and the Same (VI. 4-6).

Next he wrote another two of which the first is the treatise

24. On the Fact that That Which is beyond Being does not think, and on What is the Primary and What the Secondary Thinking Principle (V. 6).

and the other

25. On What Exists Potentially and What Actually (II. 5).

Then came


27. On the Soul I (IV. 3).


29. On the Soul III, or How we See (IV. 5).

30. On Contemplation (III. 8).

31. On the Intelligible Beauty (V. 8).

32. On Intellect, and That the Intelligibles are not outside the Intellect and On the Good (V. 5).
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35 ὅ τοις Γνωστικοῖς. [II. 9].
36 ὅ ἀρχή: ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἄρα.
37 ἂν ἔρθῃ τοῦ κόσμου: [VI. 6].
38 ὅ ἀρχή: ἔτι ἐστὶν κλίψις.
39 τὰ πόρρω ὀρισμένα μικρά φαίνεται; [II. 8].
40 ὅ ἀρχή: ἄρα γε τὰ πόρρω ὀρισμένα.
41 ἐν περιπάτει χρόνου τὸ εἰδαμονεῖν; [I. 5].
42 τὸ εἰδαμονεῖν.
43 ὅ τῷ δι' ᾧ λόγω κράσεως: [II. 7].
44 ὅ ἀρχή: περὶ τῆς δι' ᾧ λόγω λεγομένης.
45 καὶ πλήθος τῶν ἱδεῶν ὑπέστη καὶ περὶ τάγαθος: [VI. 7].
46 ὅ ἀρχή: εἰς γενέσεις πάσης ἡ θεὸς.
47 περὶ τοῦ ἐκουσίου: [VI. 8].
48 ὅ ἀρχή: ἄρ' ἐστὶ περὶ θεῶν.
49 περὶ τοῦ κόσμου: [II. 1].
50 ὅ ἀρχή: τὸν κόσμον ὅ καὶ λέγεται.
51 περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ μνήμης. [IV. 6].
52 ὅ ἀρχή: τὰς αἰσθήσεις οἱ τυπώσεις.
53 περὶ τῶν τοῦ ἄντων γενόμεν πρῶτον: [VI. 1].
54 ὅ ἀρχή: περὶ τῶν ἄντων τάσα καὶ τῶν.
55 περὶ τῶν τοῦ ἄντων γενόμεν δεύτερων: [VI. 2].
56 ὅ ἀρχή: ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων.
57 περὶ τῶν τοῦ ἄντων γενόμεν τρίτων: [VI. 3].
58 ὅ ἀρχή: περὶ μὲν τῆς οἰκίας διὰ δοκεῖ.
59 περὶ αἰώνος καὶ χρόνου: [III. 7].
60 ὅ ἀρχή: τῶν αἰώνων καὶ τῶν χρόνων.
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These twenty-four treatises are those which he wrote during the six-year period when I, Porphyry, was with him. He took their subjects from problems which came up from time to time in the meetings of the school, as I have shown in the summaries of the several treatises. With the twenty-one treatises written before I came to Rome the total comes to forty-five.

6. While I was living in Sicily—I went there about the fifteenth year of the reign of Gallienus—Plotinus wrote and sent me these five treatises:

46. On Well-Being (I. 4).
47. On Providence I (III. 2).
48. On Providence II (III. 3).
49. On the Knowing Hypostases and That Which is Beyond (V. 3).
50. On Love (III. 5).

He sent me these in the first year of the reign of Claudius. At the beginning of the second year, shortly before his death, he sent these:

51. On the Nature of Evils (I. 8).
52. Whether the Stars are Causes (II. 3).
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53. What is the Living Being? (I. 1).
54. On Well-Being (I. 7).

These, with the forty-five of the first and second sets that he wrote, amount to fifty-four. The power of the treatises varies according to the period in which he wrote them, in early life, in his prime, or in his illness. The first twenty-one show a slighter capacity, not yet attaining to the dimensions of his full vigour. Those produced in his middle period reveal his power at its height: these twenty-four, except for the short ones, are of the highest perfection. The last nine were written when his power was already failing, and this is more apparent in the last four than in the five which preceded them.

7. He had many hearers, and some who were brought together by a real enthusiasm for philosophy. Among these was Amelius of Tuscany, whose family name was Gentilianus; the master preferred to substitute R for L and call him Amerius, saying that it suited him better to take his name from amereia (indivisibility) than amelies (indifference). There was also a medical man, Paulinus of Scythopolis, whom Amelius used to call Mikkalo—he always got things wrong. There was another medical man, Eustochius of Alexandria, who came to know Plotinus towards the end of his life and stayed with him and tended him till his death. He devoted himself entirely to the thought of Plotinus and acquired the character of a genuine philosopher. 1 Zoticus the critic and poet was also one of the com-

1 For the edition which Eustochius made of the writings of Plotinus see Introduction (p. ix) and the references there given.
companions of Plotinus; he corrected the text of Antimachus and made the "Story of Atlantis" into a very good poem. He became blind and died a little before the death of Plotinus: Paulinus also predeceased him. Another of his companions was Zethus, an Arab by race, who married the daughter of Theodosius, a friend of Ammonius. He was another medical man and a close friend of Plotinus, who kept trying to divert him from the affairs of state in which he was active and influential. Plotinus was on terms of great intimacy with him and used to go and stay at his place in the country, six miles from Minturnae. This had formerly belonged to Castricius, surnamed Firmus, who was the greatest lover of beauty of all of us and venerated Plotinus. He was Amelius's faithful servant and helper in every need and as devoted to me, Porphyry, as if I was his own brother. He was again an admirer of Plotinus who had chosen a public career. A good many members of the Senate also attended his lectures, of whom Marcellus Orontius and Sabinillus worked hardest at philosophy. There was also Rogatianus, a senator, who advanced so far in renunciation of public life that he gave up all his property, dismissed all his servants, and resigned his rank. When he was on the point of appearing in public as praetor and the licitors were already there, he refused to appear or have anything to do with the office. He would not even keep his own house to live in, but went the round of his friends and acquaintances, dining at one house and sleeping at another (but he only ate every other day). As a
1 Presumably that in Plato's Critias.
2 Or, possibly, "for he was fond of them and had leanings towards a statesman's life."
result of this renunciation and indifference to the needs of life, though he had been so gouty that he had to be carried in a chair, he regained his health, and, though he had not been able to stretch out his hands, he became able to use them much more easily than professional handcraftsmen. Plotinus regarded him with great favour and praised him highly, and frequently held him up as an example to all who practised philosophy. Another companion was Serapion of Alexandria, who began as a rhetorician and afterwards took to the study of philosophy as well, but was unable to free himself from the degradation of finance and money-lending. I myself, Porphyry of Tyre, was one of Plotinus's closest friends, and he entrusted to me the editing of his writings.

8. When Plotinus had written anything he could never bear to go over it twice; even to read it through once was too much for him, as his eyesight did not serve him well for reading. In writing he did not form the letters with any regard to appearance or divide his syllables correctly, and he paid no attention to spelling. He was wholly concerned with thought; and, which surprised us all, he went on in this way right up to the end. He worked out his train of thought from beginning to end in his own mind, and then, when he wrote it down, since he had set it all in order in his mind, he wrote as continuously as if he was copying from a book. Even if he was talking to someone, engaged in continuous conversation, he kept to his train of thought. He could take his necessary part in the conversation to the full, and at the same time keep his mind fixed without a break on what he was considering. When the person he had been talking to was gone he did not go over
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ἐπαναλαβόν τὰ γεγραμμένα, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπαρκεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀνάληψιν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, τὴν ὥραν, τὰ ἑξῆς ἀν ἐπισυνήθειν, ὡς μηδένα διαστήματα χρίναν μεταξὺ στὶ τὴν ὁμάλαν ἐποίητο. Συνήθη οὖν ἔστα τοῖς ἁρμα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ τὴν γε πρὸς ἑαυτόν προσοχὴν οὐκ ἂν ποτέ ἐξῆλθαν, ἤ μονὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστάσις, ἢ ἄν ἀπέκρουν ἢ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ὁλογνώς—οὔτε γὰρ ἄρτου πολλάκις ἢ ἐσήματο—καὶ ἤ πρὸς τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ διαρκῆς ἐπιστροφή.

9. Ἐσχε δὲ καὶ γυναικίς σφόδρα φιλοσοφία προσ-
κειμένας, Γεμίσαν τε, ἢ καὶ εἰ ὤκεία κατάρκη,
καὶ τὴν ταύτης θυγατέρα Γεμίσα, ὁµοίως τῇ μητρὶ
caloμενήν, Αμφικλείαν τε τὴν Ἄριστον τοῦ
5 Ἱαμβλίχου νῦν γεγονοῦσι γυναικα[ι, σφόδρα φιλο-
σοφία προσκειμένες]. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ
gυναίκες ἀποθησίσκεις μέλλοντες τῶν εἰγενε-
στάτων φέροντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν τέκνα, ἄρειάκες τε
ὡµοῦ καὶ θηλείας, ἐκείνων παρείδδοναν μετὰ τῆς
ἀλῆς οὐσίας ὡς ἰερὸ τιν καὶ θεϊο φύλακι. Διὸ
10 καὶ ἐπεπλήρωσε αὐτῷ ἢ οἰκία παῖδων καὶ παρθέ-
νον. Ἐν τούτοις δὲ ἢ καὶ Ποτάμων, οὗ τῆς
παιδείας φροντίδων πολλάκις ἐν καὶ μεταποιοῦν-
τος ἡκροαστῆ. Ἡνήκετο δὲ καὶ τοῖς λογισµοῖς,
ἀναφερόντως τοὺς ἐν οἰκείοις παραµενόντως, καὶ
tῆς ἀκριβείας ἐπιμελεία χρείαν, ἦν δὲ μὴ
15 φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς κτήσεως καὶ
tὰς προσόδους ἐπετάφιοι τε καὶ σωζόμενα. Καὶ
ὁµοίως τοσοῦτοι ἐπαρκῶς τὰς εἰς τῶν βίων φροντίδας
tε καὶ ἐπιμελεία τῆς πρὸς τὸν νοῦν ὁµιλεῖτο,
ἀν ἐγγυρισμώς ἐξῆλθαν. Ἡν δὲ καὶ πρόσω καὶ

1 Or, possibly, "repeating the multiplication table." This meaning for ἀκεφάλως ἦν, though it does not seem to occur ele-

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what he had written, because his sight, as I have said, did not suffice for revision. He went straight on with what came next, keeping the connection, just as if there had been no interval of conversation be-
tween. In this way he was present at once to himself and to others, and he never relaxed his self-turned attention except in sleep: even sleep he reduced by taking very little food, often not even a piece of bread, and by his continuous turning in contempl-
ation to his intellect.

2. There were women, too, who were greatly de-
voted to philosophy: Gemina, in whose house he lived, and her daughter Gemia, who had the same name as her mother, and Amphiclea, who became the wife of Ariston, son of Iamblichus. Many men and women of the highest rank, on the approach of death, brought him their children, both boys and girls, and entrusted them to him along with all their property, considering that he would be a holy and god-like guardian. So his house was full of young lads and maidsens, including Potamon, to whose education he gave serious thought, and would even listen to him revising the same lesson again and again. He patiently attended to the accounts of their property when their trustees submitted them, and took care that they should be accurate; he used to say that as long as they did not take to philosophy their properties and incomes must be kept safe and untouched for them. Yet, though he shielded so many from the worries and cares of ordinary life, he never, while awake, relaxed his intent concentration upon the intellect. He was gentle, too, and at the

where, would give a better sense than any rendering or emenda-
tion so far put forward.

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disposal of all who had any sort of acquaintance with him. Though he spent twenty-six whole years in Rome and acted as arbitrator in very many people's disputes, he never made an enemy of any of the officials.

10. One of those claiming to be philosophers, Olympius of Alexandria, who had been for a short time a pupil of Ammonius, adopted a superior attitude towards Plotinus out of rivalry. This man's attacks on him went to the point of trying to bring a star-stroke upon him by magic. But when he found his attempt recoiling upon himself, he told his intimates that the soul of Plotinus had such great power as to be able to throw back attacks on him on to those who were seeking to do him harm. Plotinus was aware of the attempt and said that his limbs on that occasion were squeezed together and his body contracted "like a money-bag pulled tight." Olympius, since he was often rather in danger of suffering something himself than likely to injure Plotinus, ceased his attacks. Plotinus certainly possessed by birth something more than other men. An Egyptian priest who came to Rome and made his acquaintance through a friend wanted to give a display of his occult wisdom and asked Plotinus to come and see a visible manifestation of his own companion spirit evoked. Plotinus readily consented, and the evocation took place in the temple of Isis: 1 the Egyptian

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On the details of Porphyry's account of this curious episode see E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational. Appendix II, iii, A Stance in the Isen. Since Porphyry connects the writing of the treatise On Our Allotted Guardian Spirit (III. 4) with the affair, it must have taken place before

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said it was the only pure spot he could find in Rome. When the spirit was summoned to appear a god came and not a being of the spirit order, and the Egyptian said, "Blessed are you, who have a god for your spirit and not a companion of the subordinate order." It was not however possible to ask any questions of the god or even to see him present for longer, as the friend who was taking part in the manifestation strangled the birds which he was holding as a protection, either out of jealousy or because he was afraid of something. So the companion of Plotinus was a spirit of the more god-like kind, and he continually kept the divine eye of his soul fixed on this companion. It was a reason of this kind that led him to write the treatise "On Our Allotted Guardian Spirit," in which he sets out to explain the differences between spirit-companions. When Amelius grew ritualistic and took to going round visiting the temples at the New Moon and the feasts of the gods and once asked if he could take Plotinus along, Plotinus said, "They ought to come to me, not I to them." What he meant by this exalted utterance we could not understand and did not dare to ask.

attend sacrifices which is to be found in Porphyry's De Abstinentia II. 37-43: i.e., that they are δαιμονες, sublunary spirits of the lowest rank, and those of them who delight in blood-sacrifices are thoroughly evil δαιμονες. This crowd of lower spirits the philosopher, who lives on the level of Intellect and has the One for his guardian spirit (III. 4. 6), naturally regards as his inferiors, so that it is their duty to attend on him, not his on them. But there are higher ranks of divinities in the Platonic universe, and there is no suggestion, here or in the Enneads, that Plotinus thought himself superior to them.
PORPHYRY


12. Evtimaan de ton Ploutinov malista kai enexfithan Galygios te o autokratov kai h tovov suni Platonina. O de tis filia tis tovewn kataxromenos filosofhov tivn polivn kata 5 thn Kukampovia xegenhveta legomenv, allas de xagogmpemv, 7elous anegerein kai thn perex chran xaripousai oikohioj tis polis, nymois de xhrosa tois katakunei mellosatos tois Platwnovos

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11. He had a surpassing degree of penetration into character. Once a valuable necklace was stolen, belonging to Chione, who lived with her children in his house in honourable widowhood. The slaves of the house were assembled before the eyes of Plotinus, and he looked carefully at them all; then, pointing to one man he said, "This is the thief." The man was flogged, and persisted at first in denial, but finally confessed and gave back what he had stolen. He was, too, in the habit of foretelling how each of the children who lived with him would turn out; that Poltem, for instance, would be amorous and short-lived, as he actually was. He once noticed that I, Porphyry, was thinking of removing myself from this life. He came to me unexpectedly while I was staying indoors in my house and told me that this lust for death did not come from a settled rational decision but from a bilious indisposition, and urged me to go away for a holiday. I obeyed him and went to Sicily, since I had heard that a distinguished man called Probus was living near Lily- baenum. So I was brought to abandon my longing for death and prevented from staying with Plotinus to the end.

12. The Emperor Gallienus1 and his wife Salonina greatly honoured and venerated Plotinus. He tried to make full use of their friendship: there was said to have been in Campania a city of philosophers which had fallen into ruin; this he asked them to revive, and to present the surrounding territory to the city when they had founded it. Those who settled there were to live according to

1Joint emperor with Valerian 253-60, sole emperor 260-68.
Porphry

1. *Though laws with a small I seems to be required in the translation, there can be little doubt that the constitution of Platonopolis was to be that of the "second-best state".*

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the laws of Plato, and it was to be called Platonopolis; and he undertook to move there with his companions. The philosopher would easily have gained his wish if some of the courtiers, moved by jealousy, spite, or some such mean motive, had not prevented it.

13. In the meetings of the school he showed an adequate command of language and the greatest power of discovering and considering what was relevant to the subject in hand, but he made mistakes in certain words: he did not say *anammeiskeTai* but *anammemisketatai* and made other slips which he also constantly committed in his writing. When he was speaking his intellect visibly lit up his face: there was always a charm about his appearance, but at these times he was still more attractive 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. Once I, Porphyry, went on asking him for three days about the soul’s connection with the body, and he kept on explaining to me. A man called Thaumasius came in who was interested in general statements and said that he wanted to hear Plotinus speaking in the manner of a set treatise, but could not stand Porphyry’s questions and answers. Plotinus said, “But if when Porphyry asks questions we do not solve his difficulties we shall not be able to say anything at all to put into the treatise”.

14. In writing he is concise and full of thought. He puts things shortly and abounds more in ideas described in Plato’s *Laws*, rather than the ideal, but in Plato’s own opinion unrealisable, constitution of the Republic.
than in words; he generally expresses himself in a tone of rapt inspiration, and states what he himself really feels about the matter and not what has been handed down by tradition. His writings, however, are full of concealed Stoic and Peripatetic doctrines. Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, in particular, is concentrated in them. He had a complete knowledge of geometry, arithmetic, mechanics, optics and music, but was not disposed to apply himself to detailed research in these subjects. In the meetings of the school he used to have the commentaries read, perhaps of Severus, perhaps of Cronius or Numenius or Gaius or Atticus, and among the Peripatetics of Aspasia, Alexander, Adriatus, and others that were available. But he did not just speak straight out of these books but took a distinctive personal line in his consideration, and brought the mind of Ammonius to bear on the investigations in hand. He quickly absorbed what was read, and would give the sense of some profound subject of study in a few words and pass on. When Longinus’s work *On Principles* and his *Lover of Antiquity* were read to him, he said, “Longinus is a scholar, but certainly not a philosopher.” When Origen once came to a meeting of the school he was filled with embarrassment and one of the most important philosophers of the generation before Plotinus, who was sometimes accused of plagiarising his thought (see below, ch. 17). Alexander of Aphrodisias (head of the Peripatetic school at Athens at the beginning of the 3rd century) was the greatest of the ancient commentators on Aristotle. Aspasia and Adriatus were Aristotelian commentators of the 2nd century. This passage shows clearly how scholarly and professional a philosopher Plotinus was and how he worked, though with great originality, on the basis of an extensive school tradition.

1 On Severus, Cronius, Numenius, Gaius and Atticus, see John Dillon *The Middle Platonists* (Duckworth, London 1977). Atticus was the chief representative of the anti-Aristotelian group among the Middle Platonists. Cronius and Numenius are usually mentioned together and classed as Pythagoreans, though the boundary between Platonists and Pythagoreans was ill-defined, and Porphyry here quite naturally groups them with the Platonists. Numenius (late 2nd century) was

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λέγειν δὲ ὑπὸ Ὀμηγένους ἀξιόμενος ἔφη ἀνίλασθαι τὰς προθυμίας, ὅταν ἦδη ὁ λέγων, ὅτι πρὸς ἐκτόσον ἐρεί ὁ αὐτὸς λέγειν μέλλειν: καὶ
5 ὑστός ὁ λόγος διαλέγεται ἐξανάθη.

15. Ἔμοι δὲ ἐν Πλατωνικῷ ποίμνῳ ἀναγνώστος "Τὸν ἱερὸν γάμον", καὶ τινὸς διὰ τὸ μυστικός πολλὰ μετ’ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ ἐπικεκριμένως εἰρήθη αὐτὸς Μαυρέβριον, ἔκεινος εἰς
5 ἐπίκοινον ἐφὶ πάντως "ἔδειξας ὁμόω καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ τὸν Φιλόσοφον καὶ τὸν Ἱεροφάντην." Ὅσε δὲ ὁ ρήτωρ Διοφάνης ἀνέγνω ὑπὲρ Ἀλκι-
βαδάου τοῦ ἐν τῷ "Συμποσίῳ" τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀπολογίαν δοματίων χρήσαι ἁρετής ἕνεκα μαθή-
σεως εἰς συνοικίαν αὐτῶν παρέχειν ἐφῶστο ἅφο-
10 ὅσιον μέτεως τῷ καθέγημιν, ἢ ἐπὶ μὲν πολλακις ἀνάστασις ἀπαλαγήναι τῷ συνωθή, ἐπιστῆσις δὲ ἰατρὸν μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν τοῦ ἀκούστριαν ἐμοὶ
Πορφύρῳ ἀντιγράψῃ προσέταξε. Μη τέλοντος
de τοῦ Διοφάνους τὸ βιβλίον δούναι διὰ τῆς
μνήμης ἀναληθεύτων τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἀντι-
15 γράφας ἑώς καὶ ἑπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν άκροατῶν συνή-
μενῶν ἀναγνόσις τοσοῦτον τῷ Πλατώνιον ἑφήβεθα, ὡς καὶ ταῖς συνοικίαις συνεχῶς επιλέγειν.

1 Βάλλ' ὑστός, ακεῖν τι φοίνοις ἀνδρέσας γένειν.

Γράφοντος δὲ Εὐθύδου "Αθηνήθην τοῦ Πλατω-
10 νικοῦ διαδόχου καὶ πέμπτονος συγγραμματα ὑπὲρ τῶν Πλατωνικῶν ἔγχρωμάτων ἐμοὶ Πορφύρῳ
tάστα διδόσθη ἐποίηκας καὶ ακοτεῖν καὶ ἀναφέρειν
ἀυτῶ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἰένου. Προσέχει δὲ τοὺς
μὲν πέρι τῶν ἀστέρων κανόνας οὗ πάντοι τι μαθημα-

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wanted to stop lecturing, and when Origen urged him to continue he said, "It damps one's enthusiasm for speaking when one sees that one's audience knows already what one is going to say"; and after talking for a little while he brought the session to an end.

15. At Plato's feast I read a poem, "The Sacred Marriage"; and because much in it was expressed in the mysterious and veiled language of inspiration someone said, "Porphyry is mad." But Plotinus said, so as to be heard by all, "You have shown yourself at once poet, philosopher, and expounder of sacred mysteries." The rhetorician Diophanes read a defense of Alcibiades in Plato's "Banquet" in which he asserted that a pupil for the sake of advancing in the study of virtue should submit himself to carnal intercourse with his master if the master desired it. Plotinus repeatedly started up to leave the meeting, but restrained himself, and after the end of the lecture gave me, Porphyry, the task of writing a refutation. Diophanes refused to lend me his manuscript, and I depended in writing my refutation on my memory of his arguments. When I read it before the same assembled hearers I pleased Plotinus so much that he kept on quoting during the meeting, "So strike and be a light to men.""1

Eubulus the Platonic Successor wrote to him from Athens and sent treatises on some Platonic questions. Plotinus had them given to me, Porphyry, with instructions to consider them and submit my notes on them to him.

He studied the rules of astronomy, without going very far into the mathematical side, but went more

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1 Iliad 8.282 (with ἀνδρέσαι for Δαναοίαι).
PORPHYRY
tikós, tois dé tón gnenvhlalógoivn aptolésma-
tikóis ákribóteron. Kai fwmássas tís épagge-
25 lýas to ánkeýgyon elégchié pollá tón é tois
syngýmmasai oik ókynhse.
16. Gegovnais de kai autón tón Xristianoun
polloi mn kai álloi, aírretikoi de eì eis tís pálaia
philosophías aírxhmenoi ois peri 'Adélfhion kai
'Alkálémon ois tà 'Alexándrou toî Líbous kai
Philokón kai Dímoustrátou kai Lídou syg-
5 grámmata pléista kektímenos apokalýfeis te
prophérontes Zwroástron kai Zwostrianou kai
Nikótheou kai 'Allogeuyns kai Mésou kai álloi
toioúth pollous elégxhous kai autói èpahmenoi,
ois dé toù Plátonos eis tó básos tís nósthis
ósiás ois pelássastos. Othen autós mn pollous
10 elégxous poioúmenos en tais synumías, grábas dé
kai biblón uper "Pros touis 'Gnostikous"
epgráfamien, hémis tás lómpa kúria, katalólupien.
'Améllos dé ákrh, teusaróktona biblón prokex-
20 xoríkhe prós tó Zwostrianou biblión antígráphon.
15 Porphórios de égô prós tó Zwoástron sunghous
peproimai elégxous. 'Ollos vódon te kai neón to
biblión paradéikín biblíaesemó tón upo tón tis
aireus svsthmámenos éis bòsan tó éinai tó
palaio Zwroástron tía doýmata, a autói évloio
presbétein.
17. Táv 8' atop tís 'Elládos tó Namericanov
autón upobálleiai legóntes kai toúto prós

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carefully into the methods of the casters of horo-
scopes. When he had detected the unreliability of
their alleged results he did not hesitate to
attack many of the statements made in their
writings.1
16. There were in his time many Christians and
others, and sectarians who had abandoned the old
philosophy, men of the schools of Adelphius and
Aculinus, who possessed a great many treatises of
Alexander the Libyan and Philocomus and Demo-
stratus and Lydos, and produced revelations
by Zoroaster and Zostrianus and Nicotheus and
Allogenes and Messus and other people of the kind,2
deceived themselves and deceiving many, alleging
that Plato had not penetrated to the depths of
intelligible reality. Plotinus hence often attacked
their position in his lectures, and wrote the treatise
to which we have given the title "Against the
Gnostics";3 he left it to us to assess what he
passed over. Amelius went to forty volumes in
writing against the book of Zostrianus. I, Porphyry,
considerable number of refutations of the
book of Zoroaster, which I showed to be entirely
spurious and modern, made up by the sectarians
to convey the impression that the doctrines which
they had chosen to hold in honour were those of the
ancient Zoroaster.

17. When the people from Greece began to say
that Plotinus was appropriating the ideas of

The collection of Gnostic books found at Nag Hammadi in
Upper Egypt in 1945 includes "Revelations" attributed to
Allogenes (the Foreigner, a Gnostic name for Seth), Zostrianus,
Messus, and possibly Zoroaster.

1 Cp. Enn. II. 3. Whether the Stars are Causes.
2 These sectaries were Gnostics. It is very likely that we now
have some of the works to which Porphyry here refers.
3 II. 9.
PORPHYRY

'Ἀμέλιον ἀγγέλλωτος Ἰδρύος τοῦ Ἱδρύου τῇ καὶ Πλατανικῷ γέγραφεν ὁ 'Ἀμέλιος βιβλίον ὁ 5 ἐπιγράφαμεν ὁ "Περί τῆς κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τοῦ Πλατανικοῦ πρὸς τὸν Νομοθέτην διαβοραίς", προσθέασο δὲ αὐτῶ Βασιλεῖ ἔμοι Ὁμολογεῖν ἐκ τὸν Πορφύριον ἐμὸι προσήγη, κατὰ μὲν πάροικον διάλεγον Μάλκων κεκλημένων, ὅπερ μὲν καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῶ κεκλητοῦ, τοῦ ὥς Μάλκων 10 ἐρυθρέας ἔχοντος βασιλεύς, εἰς τὸς εἰς Ἑλληνικά διάλεγον μεταβάλλειν ἐθέλει. Ἰθανὲν ὁ Λουκίας ὅμως προσφέρατον τὰ "Περί ὁμής", Ἐκθέσια τίς καὶ Πορφύριος "Κλεοδάμε τέ καὶ Μάλκε" προσθέλεται ὁ δ' Ἰομέλιος ἔμπειρόος τοῦμα, ὧς ὁ Νομοθέτης τῶν Μάζων εἰς τὸν Μεγάλων, 15 αὐτῶ τοῦ Μάλκων ἐντός εἰς τὸν Βασιλέα, γραφέων έντω Ἰομέλιος Βασιλεῖ εἰς πράστει. Αὐτῶ μὲν ένεκα τῶν παρευθήματα ἀνδρῶν, ὁς διατεθηραληκέναι εἰς ἑαυτῶν φήμα, τῶν τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἡμῶν δόγματα εἰς τὸν Ἁπαθέα Νομοθέτην ἀναγόμενων, οὐκ ἄν προηγήθην φῶμεν, σφάλλει ἐπίστασο. 20 Ἐμπρόος γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τούτο ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν ἀγαλλημένος προκελήθην εὐστομίας τέ καὶ εὐλογη- τίας, νῦν μὲν ὅτι πλατὺς φλόγωσο, αὕτη δὲ ὅτι ὑποπαλάμος, ἐκ τρίτων δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὰ φαύλητα τῶν δικτῶν ὑποπαλάμους, τῷ δικαλλαίνειν αὐτῶν

1 In fact, the system of Numenius, as far as we know it from scattered quotations and references in later authors, shows some resemblances to that of Plotinus, notably in its descending hierarchy of the three gods, the Supreme Good or Mind, the Second Mind, and the cosmos conceived as an ensouled divine being. But there are also most important differences in the way Plotinus conceives his Three Hypostases and their relation to each other, and as far as we can tell from the evidence available, Amelius and Porphyry seem to be amply justified in claiming originality for their master.

2 Possibly this is the result of a misunderstanding (which can be paralleled among modern interpreters of Plotinus) of the extreme negativity of the language which he sometimes uses about the One or Good.
PORPHYRY

25 δηλαδή κατά αυτοῦ λεγόντων. Σοῦ δὲ τῇ προφάσει ταύτης οἰκείου δείν ἀποχρησθῇ πρὸς τὸ καὶ τὰ ἡμῶν ἀρέσκοντα ἔχειν προχειριστῆρα εἰς ἀνάμνησιν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ἄφοροι ἑπαρχοῦν ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πλαταῖος μεγάλου ἐκ καὶ πάλαι διαβεβαιμένα ἀλογουχότερον γίναται ὑπόκουσα, καὶ οὐν ἦκον ἀποδείκτης σοι τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὀδηγήσα, πεπονημένα. Χρὴ δὲ αὐτὰ ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐκ τῆς τῶν συνταγμάτων ἐκείνων παραβέσεως οὔτ᾽ οὖν συνεπαγμένα οὔτε ἐξευθευμένα, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐντεύξεως ἀνασπολήμενα καὶ ὡς πρώτα προφέρασα ἐκαστά οὕτως ταχθέτων εἴνα αὐτός ὑπογράφω συγχρόνως δικαίας παρὰ σοι τεχεῖν, ἀλλοι τε καὶ τοῦ βουλήματος τοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμοιβαίαν ὑπογραφήν πρὸς τινῶν ἀνδρὸς οὐ μόνον προχειρών ἐείκοσι ὑπάρχοντος διὰ τὴν ἄλλοτε ἄλλων περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὡς ἂν δόξει φοράν. "Ὅτι δὲ, εἰ τί τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰκείας ἐστί τὰ παραχρῆστάτοιο, διορθώσει εἰμινών, εἰς ὑμᾶς. Ἡνάγκασαί δέ ὡς ἐσείκε, ὡς ποῦ φθονοῦ τῆς τραγῳδίας, ἐν ψυχράγοιμοι τῇ ὑπὸ τῶν καθηγοῦσαν ἡμῶν δογμάτων διαστάσει εἰθήνει τε καὶ ἀποσπείραθαι. Τοιούτων ἄρα ἦ τὸ σοὶ ἀρείζεσθαι ξέ ἀπαντος βούλεσθαι. "Εὐρως."

18. Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολήν ἰδίᾳ προκήρυξαν οὐ μόνον πίστεως χάριν τοῦ τούτος τότε καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας τὸ Νομιμόν οἴκεθαν ὑποβαλλόμενον κομπάξει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλάστιν αὐτῶν φίλοις εἶναι ἱγανόν τῷ μὴ ἤθελεν ἐν τῇ κατέχουσαν τῷ μὴ 1

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way just for the sake of mocking and jeering at him. But I have conformed to your idea that we should use the occasion to provide ourselves with a statement of the doctrines which we accept in a form easier to remember, and—even though they have long been famous—to make them more widely known, so as to increase the reputation of a friend as eminent as Plotinus is. So here is the work I promised you, written, as you know yourself, in three days. You must treat it with justified indulgence, as there has been no selection or arrangement corresponding to the order of the original attack; I have simply put down my recollections of our former discussions in the order in which they occurred to me; and besides, the intention of our friend, who is being put on trial for the opinions which he shares with us, is not very easy to grasp, because he treats the same subjects in different ways in different places. I am sure, however, that if I have misrepresented any of the doctrines of our spiritual home, you will have the kindness to correct me. As it says in the tragedy,1 I must correct and reject, since I am a busy man and far from the teachings of our master. So you can see what a business it was to gratify your request as completely as you wished. Farewell."

18. I thought this letter worth inserting, to demonstrate not only that people in his own time thought that he was making a show on a basis of plagiarism from Numenius, but also that they considered he was a big driveller and despised him because they did not understand what he meant

1Amelius seems to be referring to his use of the word εἰθήνει which occurs in the tragedians (though not ex-

clusively in them). It is the only trace of tragic diction in the works which follow. Amelius's style throughout this letter is excessively pompous and high-flown.
and because he was so completely free from the staginess and windy rant of the professional speechifier: his lectures were like conversations, and he was not quick to make clear to anybody the compelling logical coherence of his discourse. I, Porphyry, experienced something of the sort when I first heard him. The result was that I wrote against him in an attempt to show that the object of thought existed outside the intellect. He made Amelius read this essay to him, and when the reading was finished smiled and said, "You shall have the task of solving these difficulties, Amelius. He has fallen into them because he does not know what we hold." Amelius wrote a lengthy treatise "In Answer to Porphyry's Difficulties"; I replied to what he had written; Amelius answered my reply; and the third time I with difficulty understood the doctrine, changed my mind and wrote a recantation which I read in the meeting of the school. After this I believed in Plotinus's writings, and tried to rouse in the master himself the ambition to organise his doctrine and write it down more at length; and Amelius also stimulated his desire to write books.

19. The opinion which Longinus, 1 too, had of Plotinus, derived mainly from what I had told him in my letters, will appear from part of a letter written to me, as follows. He is asking me to come from Ideas, which he thought of as external to the Divine Mind (cp. chs. 18, 20). Plotinus called him "a scholar, not a philosopher" (ch. 14), which may mean that he stuck closer to the text in his interpretation of Plato and objected to Plotinus's speculative flights on the basis of a small number of passages. It is generally agreed by modern scholars, perhaps for not quite conclusive reasons, that he was not the author of the famous extant critical treatise On the Sublime.

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1 Longinus (c. 213-272), scholar, rhetorician, and chief minister of Zenobia of Palmyra till her defeat and his execution by Aurelian, had been a pupil of Ammonius, and maintained a philosophical position opposed to that of Plotinus, especially disagreeing with him about the Platonic Forms or
Sicily to join him in Phoenicia and bring Plotinus's works with me. He says:

"Send them when you like, or, better, bring them: for I shall never stop asking you to give the journey to us the preference over any other, if for no other reason—for surely there is no wisdom which you could expect to learn from us as a result of your visit—for the sake of our old friendship and of the climate, which is particularly good for the ill-health of which you speak. Whatever else you think you may find, do not expect anything new from me, or even the old works which you say you have lost. There is such a shortage of copyists here that really all this time I have been trying to complete my set of Plotinus, and have only just managed it by taking my manuscript-writer away from his usual tasks and setting him to this one only. I have everything, as far as I know, including what you have just sent me; but I have it only half complete, because the manuscripts are extremely full of faults. I thought our friend Amelius would have corrected the mistakes of the copyists, but he had other more urgent duties than this sort of supervision. So I do not see how I am to get acquainted with them, though I am extremely anxious to examine On The Soul and On Being: for it is just these that are the most faulty. I should be very glad if you could send me the accurately written copies, simply to read for the purpose of comparison and then return; though I again repeat my request to you not to send, but to come yourself.

1 Probably the treatise which now appears as Enneads IV. 3-5.
2 Probably Enneads VI. 1-3, another single treatise split up by Porphyry.
and bring better copies of these and of any others which Amelius may have overlooked. I eagerly acquired all he brought; of course I should want to possess works of Plotinus, who deserves every possible honour and respect. It is true of course that I have given you word, when you were here, when you were far away, and especially at the time when you were staying in Tyre, that I cannot go very far in agreeing with most of his theories; but I feel the utmost admiration and affection for the general character of his writing, the closeness of his thinking, and the philosophical way in which he deals with his enquiries; and I think that seekers after truth must rank his works among the most important."

20. I have inserted at length this judgement by the most discerning critic of our times, a man who subjected practically all the works of his other contemporaries to drastic investigation, to show what conclusion he came to about Plotinus—though at first, as a result of the stupidity of others, he persisted in despising him. He seems to have misjudged the manuscripts which he received from Amelius because he did not understand Plotinus's usual manner of expressing himself; for if there ever were any carefully corrected copies they were those of Amelius, which were transcribed from the author's own originals. I must also insert what Longinus wrote in a book about Plotinus, Amelius, and the philosophers of his time, to give a complete account of the judgement passed on them by this most outstanding man and extremely severe critic. The title of the book is On The End: by Longinus in answer to Plotinus and Gentilianus Amelius. This is its preface:
"There have been in our time, Marcellus, many philosophers, especially in the early part of our life; I say this because at the present moment there is an indescribable shortage of philosophy. 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 in the same way with those who had lived on later in my intercourse with a great number of peoples and cities. Some of them undertook to set down their doctrines in writing, so as to give posterity the chance of deriving some benefit from them; others thought that all that was required of them was to lead the members of their school to an understanding of what they held. Of the first kind were the Platonists Eudoxes and Democritus, and Proclus, who lived in the Troad, and Plotinus and his friend Gentilianus Amelius, who are still teaching publicly at Rome, and the Stoics Themistocles and Phoebion and the two who were in their prime a little while ago, Annius and Medius, and the Peripatetic Hellodorus, the Alexandrian. Of the second were the Platonists Ammonius and Origen, with whom I studied regularly for a very long time, men who much surpassed their contemporaries in wisdom, and the Successors at Athens, Theodotus and Eubulus. Some of these did write something, for instance Origen, On The Spirits and Eubulus, On the Philebus and the Gorgias and Aristotle's objections to Plato's 'Republic'; but these are not enough to

1 The philosophers contemporary with Plotinus mentioned in this preface are only names to us.
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. Of Stoics in this group there are Hermimus and Lysimachus and the two who lived in town, Athenaeus and Musonius, and among Peripatetics Ammonius and Ptolemaeus, both the greatest scholars of their time, especially Ammonius; there has been no one who has come near him in learning; but they did not write any work of professional philosophy, only poems and show-speeches which I believe to have been preserved without their consent; they would not have wanted to be known in later times by works of this kind when they had neglected to store up their thought in more serious treatises. Of those who wrote, some produced nothing except compilations and transcriptions of what their predecessors had composed, like Euclides and Democritus and Proclus; others recalled to mind quite small points of the investigations of the ancients and set to work to compose treatises on the same subjects as they, like Annius and Medius and Pneobion; this last chose to be distinguished for elegance of style rather than coherence of thought. One might class Heliodorus with these, for he too contributed nothing to the ordered exposition of philosophical thought beyond what his elders had said in their lectures. Those who have shown the seriousness with which they took their writing by the multitude of problems which
they treated and have had an original way of thinking are Plotinus and Gentianus Amelius. Plotinus, it would seem, has expounded the principles of Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy more clearly than anyone before him. The works of Numenius and Cronius and Moderatus and Thrasyllus come nowhere near the accuracy of Plotinus's treatises on the same subjects. Amelius chooses to walk in his footsteps, and mostly holds the same doctrines, but is diffuse in exposition, and in his roundabout method of explanation is led by an inclination opposed to that of Plotinus. Their treatises are the only ones which I consider worth attention. Why should anyone think he ought to turn over the works of the rest and neglect the authors from whom they derived what they wrote, when they did not add anything of their own, even in the arguments, to say nothing of the chief points, and did not try to do anything but collect the opinions of the majority or select the best?

"I have already expressed my own opinions elsewhere, for instance in my reply to Gentianus about righteousness in Plato, and my examination of Plotinus, On The Ideas: for my friend and theirs, Basilides of Tyre, who has himself written a good deal in the manner of Plotinus, whose direction he has preferred to my own, tried to demonstrate in a treatise that the doctrine of Plotinus about the Ideas was better than that which I approve. I think I showed fairly thoroughly in my reply that his change of mind was a mistake; and I dealt with a con-

1 Possibly Enneads VI. 7.
2 i.e., Porphyry, cp. Life, ch. 17.
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siderable number of the opinions of these philosophers in this and in my letter to Amelius, which is as long as a book, and answers a number of the points in the letter which he addressed to me from Rome, which he entitled *On The Method of the Philosophy of Plotinus*. I was satisfied to give my treatise the ordinary title, calling it *In Answer to the Letter of Amelius*.

21. Longinus, then, admitted at that time in this preface "that among all his contemporaries Plotinus and Amelius were outstanding in the number of problems which they treated and had a particularly original way of thinking, and were so far from plagiarising from Numenius and giving his views the first place in their system that Plotinus deliberately propounded Pythagorean views, and the works of Numenius and Cronius and Moderatus and Thrasyllus came nowhere near the accuracy of Plotinus's treatises on the same subjects." He said of Amelius that "he walked in Plotinus's footsteps, but was diffuse in exposition and in his roundabout method of exposition was led by an inclination opposed to that of Plotinus"; and at the same time, in referring to me, Porphyry, when I was still at the beginning of my association with Plotinus, he says, "my friend and theirs, Basileus of Tyre, who has himself written a good deal in the manner of Plotinus." He put it in this way because he really recognised that I altogether avoided the unphilosophical circuitousness of Amelius and looked to the manner of Plotinus as my standard in writing. The opinion which so great a man, who is, and is recognised as the foremost critic of our time, expressed in writing like this about
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γράφων περὶ Πλωτίνου, ὡς, εἰ καὶ καλοῦντι μὲ τὸν Πορφύριον αὐτῆς δυσθῆναι συμμεῖται αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ ἂν ἀντέγραφε, ὃ πρὶν ακριβεῖσαι τὸ δόγμα γράφαι ἐπεγείρθησεν.

22. Ἀλλὰ τὴν μια ταῦτα περὶ δρόν ἢ περὶ πέτραν—φοβοῦ ὁ Ἡσίοδος—λέγει; Ἐπεὶ γὰρ δεῖ ταῖς μαρτυρίαις χρησθαι ταῖς παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν γεγονημέναις, τὰ ἐν ἑκατέρους θεοῖς, καὶ 5 θεοῦ τοῦ ἅλκιδής εἰρηκότος:

Όθον ὅ ἐγὼ φύσσω περὶ ἁρμῶν καὶ μέτρα
καὶ κωφοῦ ξυνήμα καὶ αὐτοῦ λόγων ἄκοινα;

'Ὁ γὰρ δὴ Ἀπόλλων ἐρωμένου τοῦ Ἀμελλίων, 10 ποῦ ἡ Πλωτίνου ψυχὴ κεφαλήθηκεν, ὁ τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν περὶ Σωκράτους:

'Ἀνδρῶν ἀρχαῖων Σωκράτης οὐφότατος,
ἐπάκουσον, ὥστι καὶ οἱ περὶ Πλωτίνου ἔθεσισαν:

'Ἀμπτοτα φορμηθείς ἀναβάλλομαι ἕμους ἀοιδῆς ἀμφ' ἄγανιος φίλοιο μεληστάτους ὑφαίνων φωναῖς εὐφήμου κυθῆρις χρυσῷ ὕπό πλήκτρων. 15 Κλήσιο καὶ Μοῦσαι ξυνὴν ὅποια γηρῶσαθαι ποιμάκα τούς ἐπ' ἐρωτικῆς ἀλκάδοις παραμονικαίς τ' ἑρωαῖς, ὅπως ἀκουσάς ἄθροισάς φοινίκης ἐκλήσσομαι ἀληθινὰς μανίασιν Ὀμφροσίας τ' ἀοιδῶς.

20 Ἀλλ' ἔχει Μοῦσας ἀράχνης, ἀπόφοιτον ἐς ἐπισκευάστης ἀοιδῆς πέρματα πάσης' ὑμμί καὶ ἐν μέσσαις ἐγὼ Φοίβος βαθυ-χαίτης:

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Plotinus is enough to indicate that if I, Porphyry, had been able to converse with him, as he invited me to, he would not have written in opposition things which he took it upon himself to write before arriving at a sufficiently accurate understanding of the doctrine of Plotinus.

22. But "Why should I talk of oak and rock?" as Hesiod says; for if one wants to appeal to the evidence of the wise, who could be wiser than a god, and that god who truly said,

"I know the number of the sand, the measure of the sea.
I understand the dumb, and hear him who does not speak." 2

For when Amelius asked where the soul of Plotinus had gone, Apollo, who said of Socrates,

"Socrates is the wisest of men" 3

—hear what a great and noble oracle he uttered about Plotinus: "I begin to strike upon my lyre an immortal song, in honour of a gentle friend, weaving it of the sweetest notes of the tuneful harp struck by the golden plectrum. And I call the Muses to raise their voices with me in a full-noted crying of triumph, a sweep of universal melody, as when they were summoned to set the dance going for Aeacides with divine inspiration in the verses of Homer. Come, sacred company of Muses, let us unite our voices to accomplish the fullness of all song. I, Phoebus of the thick hair, singing in the midst of you.


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"Spirit, man once, but now nearing the diviner lot of a spirit, as the bond of human necessity has been loosed for you, and strong in heart, you swim swiftly from the roaring surge of the body to that coast where the stream flows strong, far apart from the crowd of the wicked, there to set your steps firm in the easy path of the pure soul, where the splendour of God shines round you and the divine law abides in purity far from lawless wickedness."

"Then too, when you were struggling to escape from the bitter wave of this blood-drinking life, from its sickness wheelpools, in the midst of its billows and sudden surges, often the Blessed Ones showed you the goal ever near. Often when your mind was thrusting out by its own impulse along crooked paths the Immortals raised you by a straight path to the heavenly circuits, the divine way, sending down a solid shaft of light so that your eyes could see out of the mournful darkness. Sweet sleep never held your eyes, but scattering the heavy cloud that would have kept them closed, borne in the whirl you saw many fair sights which are hard for human seekers after wisdom to see.

"But now that you have been freed from this tabernacle and have left the tomb which held your heavenly soul, you come at once to the company of voyages of Odysseus as a symbol of the journey of the soul cp. Enneas A 6. 8.

1 The oracle is full of Homeric tags: here we have a reminiscence of Odysseus's swim ashore after the wreck of his raft. For the interpretation (common in late antiquity and adopted by the Christians) of the voyages of Odysseus as a symbol of the journey of the soul cp. Enneas A 6. 8.

2 The word πτερευς is used of the body in a highly pessimistic and dualistic passage of the pseudo-Platonic Azteuchus 366 A1.

A reference to the τῶν τῶν πτερευς play on words of Orphic origin in Plato Gorgias 493 A3, where again it is said that life in the body is really death, and separation from it true life for the soul.
pany of heaven, where winds of delight blow, where is affection and desire that charms the sight, full of pure joy, brimming with streams of immortality from the gods which carry the allurements of the Loves, and sweet breeze and the windless brightness of high heaven. There dwell Minos and Rhadamantus, brethren of the golden race of great Zeus, there righteous Aeacus and Plato, the sacred power, and noble Pythagoras and all who have set the dance of immortal love and won kinship with spirits most blessed, there where the heart keeps festival in everlasting joy. O blessed one, you have borne so many contests, and now move among holy spirits, crowned with mighty life.

"Muses, let us set going our song and the gracefully winding circle of our dance in honour of Plotinus the happy. My golden lyre has this much to tell of his good fortune."

23. The oracle says that he was mild and kind, most gentle and attractive, and we knew ourselves that he was like this. It says too that he sleeplessly kept his soul pure and ever strove towards the divine which he loved with all his soul, and did everything to be delivered and "escape from the bitter wave of blood-drinking life here." So to this god-like man above all, who often raised himself in thought, according to the ways Plato teaches in the Banquet, to the First and Transcendent God, that God appeared who has neither shape nor any intelligible form, but is throne above intellect and all the intelligible. I, Porphyry, who am now in my sixty-

1 210–11: the second part of Diotima’s speech, the "Greater Mysteries," which describes the ascent of the mind to the Absolute Beauty, identical with the Good.
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πλησάσαι καὶ ἐνωθήναι ἔτος ἄγων ἐξηκοστὸν τε καὶ ὄγδουν. Ἐσθάνη γοῦν τῷ Πλωτίνῳ σκοπὸς
15 ἐγγέθι ναιων. Τέλος γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ σκοπὸς ἦν
tὸ ἐνωθῆναι καὶ συλλάβει τῷ ἐπὶ πάσας θεοὺς.
Ἔτις ὁ δὲ τετράκις ποὺ, ὅτι αὐτῷ συνήκρινον, τὸν
σκοπὸν τοῦτον ἐνεργητὶ ἀρρήτω καὶ οὐ δυνάμει.
Καὶ ὥστε λοξὸς φερόμενον πολλάκις οἱ θεοὶ κατα-
εύθυναν θαμηνήν φαέων ἀκτίνα πορώτες, ὡς
20 ἔπισκεφθεῖ τῇ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων καὶ ἐπιβλέψει γραφῆναι
τὰ γραφέντα, εἴρηται. Ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀγρίπτουν ἐσωθὲν τε καὶ ἐξωθὲν θεῖα ὑδρακη, φησίν, ὡς εἰσεῖ
πολλά τε καὶ χαριστὰ, τὰ κεν ῥέα οὕτως ἑος
ἀνθρώπων τῶν θεολογίας προσεχόντων. Ἡ γὰρ
25 δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεωρία ἀνθρωπίνης μὲν 
ἂν γέναιο ἁμείνων ὡς δὲ πρὸς τὴν θείαν γνώσιν
χαρέσσα μὲν ἄν εἰ, οὐ μὴν ἔστε τὸ βάθος ἔλει
ἀν δυνηθῆναι, ὡσπερ αἰροῦσαν οἱ θεοὶ.
Ταύτα μὲν
30 ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐλθεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν φήμα εἰς τὴν
δαιμονίαν ἀμήγμων, πολιτεύεσθαι δ᾽ ἐκείς φιλότητα,
ἠμέρον, εὐφροσύνη, ἑρωταὶ ἐξημένουν τοὺς θεοὺς,
tεταχθεῖ σὺ καὶ τῶν λεγομένων δικαστὰς τῶν
ψυχῶν, παῖδα τοῦ θεοῦ, Μίνω καὶ Παράδαματιν,
καὶ Αἰακόν, πρὸς οὓς οὐ δικασθήσατον οἴγεσθαι,
35 συνεσάμενον δὲ τοῦτο, οὗ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὡς 
ἀράτος. Τὰ μὲν τοιούτα Πλάτων, Πωσιδώνας
ἐποίει τὰ ἄλλα χρόνα στήριξαν ἑρωταὶ ἀκόντων,
ἐκεῖ τῷ γένεσι τοῦ ἀλβίατος δαίμονας ἔχειν.

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eight year, declare that once I drew near and was
united to him. To Plotinus "the goal ever near was
shown:" for his end and goal was to be united to,
approach the god who is over all things. Four
times while I was with him he attained that goal,
in an unspeakable actuality and not in potency
only. Also it is said that the gods often set him
straight when he was going on a crooked course
"sending down a solid shaft of light," which means
that he wrote what he wrote under their inspection
and supervision. Through inward and outward
wakfulness, the god says, "you saw many fair
sights, hard to see" for men who study
philosophy. The contemplation of men may certainly
become better than human, but as compared with
the divine knowledge it may be fair and fine, but not
enough to be able to grasp the depths as the gods
grasp them. Thus much the oracle has told about
Plotinus's activity and fortunes while he was still in
the body. After his deliverance from the body the
god says that he came to "the company of heaven,"
and that there affectation rules and desire and joy
and love kindled by God, and the sons of God hold their
stations, who are judges of the souls, as we are told,
Minos and Rhadamantus and Asius; to them,
the god says, he went not to be judged but to be
their companion, as are the other noblest
of mankind. Such are their companions, Plato,
Pythagoras, and all who "set the dance of
immortal love." There, he says, the most blessed

1 Note that Porphyry attributes his master's achievement
predominantly to divine inspiration and guidance. This has
little support from the Enneads. Plotinus normally thinks
that the philosopher can attain to the divine level without this
sort of special assistance.
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bion te metiéntai tón en thaleiaí kai eiφhouínaí
catapeitukwoménon kai toúton diateleí' kai upo
40 theón mukariódémenon.

24. Τουοῦτος μέν οὖν ὁ Πλωτίνος ἵσιν ἱστορήθαι
blás. ἔστει δὲ αὐτὸς τῇ διαταξῇ καὶ τῇ
diárbwheis tón biblían ποιεῖσθαι ἵσιν ἐπέτρεψεν,
egov de kýkewi lýnomi úpeagwmen kai tois állois
5 étairoies epargyealúmen poiēsai toúto, πρῶτον μὲν
ta biblia ón kata χρόνουs éasos phírōn ekdewdéna
édikaíswa, mikhaímenos 8' 'Apolloódorov tón
'Athetaíou kai 'Andrónikou tón Peripatetikón,
6 ón μέν ἔπεξωρμον τὸν κομομοδιογράφον εἰς
déka tómos pherów suñýaghe, ó de tā 'Aristote-
10 lous kai Θεοφράστου εἰς πραγματείας diēle tás
oikeías ὑποθέσεις εἰς ταύτων suñgyagwv: óστο
b kai éwos ἃτα ἐκλεκτά tò pot Plōtíņou biblia
diēlemon μέν εἰς ἐξ ἑνεκάδας τῇ tēleistē tòv ἐξ
άρχwv kai τῶν ἑνεκάδων ἀρμενῶν epístihwv,
15 ἐκαύshθη δὲ ἑνεκάδα tó oīkeías fèromow suñýrhisma
dów kai tāw πρῶτη tòv elaphroterwv problh-
maswv. Ἡ μέν γάρ πρῶτη ἑνεκά ἔχει tά
νηλικwtera tάδε:

I. 1. α' Τί τó ẓwν kai tίs ò ἄνθρωπος:
30 ὁ δ' ἄρχη ἴσων kai λόγω.
I. 2. β' Περί Ἀρεών:
οἱ δ' ἄρχη ἐνηα τά κακά ἐνταῦθα.

1 Born c. 180 B.C.: chronologist and scholar; a pupil of the
great Aristarchus.
2 Of Rhodes; 1st century B.C. It was his edition (c. 40 B.C.)
that brought the mature philosophical works of Aristotle
back into general circulation.

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spirits have their birth and live a life filled full of
festivity and joy; and this life lasts for ever, made
blessed by the gods.

24. This, then, is my account of the life of Plotinus.
He himself entrusted me with the arrangement and
editing of his books, and I promised him in his life-
time and gave undertakings to our other friends that
I would carry out this task. So first of all I did not
think it right to leave the books in confusion in order
of time as they were issued. I followed the example
of Apollodorus of Athens, who collected the works
of Epicharmus the comedian into ten volumes, and
Andronicus the Peripatetic, who classified the works
of Aristotle and Theophrastus according to subject,
bringing together the discussions of related topics.
So I, as I had fifty-four treatises of Plotinus, divided
them into six sets of nine (Enneads)—it gave me
pleasure to find the perfection of the number six
along with the nines. I put related treatises to-
gether in each Ennead, giving the first place to the
less difficult questions.

The First Ennead contains the treatises mainly
concerned with morals, as follows:

I. 1. What is the Living Being, and what is

Man?
I. 2. On Virtues.

3 On Porphyry's editorial methods see Introduction (pp. ix-

xi).
4 Again, as in the chronological list, the first words of the
treatise have been omitted in the translation. For the vari-
tions of the titles in Porphyry's two lists, in the MSS of the
Enneads themselves, and in references to the treatises by other
authors, see the complete table (with commentary) in P. Henry,
Etudes du Texte de Plotin, ch. 1.
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I. 3. γ' Περὶ διαλεκτικῆς:
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή τῆς τέχνης ἢ μέθοδος.
I. 4. δ' Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας:
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή τὰ ἐν ἔξω καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν.
I. 5. ε' Εἶ ἐν παρατάσει χρόνω τὸ εὐδαι-
μονεῖν:
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή εἰ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἔποιε.
I. 6. χ' Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ:
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή τὰ καλὰ ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν ὅθει.
I. 7. ζ' Περὶ τοῦ πρῶτου ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τῶν
ἀλλῶν ἀγαθῶν:
οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ δὴ ἀν τις ἔτερος εἶποι ἀγαθὸν
ἐκανόν.
I. 8. η' Πόθεν τὰ κακά:
οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ οἱ ζητοῦσκε πόθεν τὰ κακά.
I. 9. θ' Περὶ τῆς ἕκ τοῦ βίου εὐλόγου
ἐξαγωγῆς:
οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ οὐκ ἐξεύθεν αἱ μὴ ἔξη.

'Η μὲν οὖν πρώτη ἐννέας τάδε περιέχει Ὑβικώτε-
ρας ὑποθέσεις περιλαμβάνει. 'Η δὲ δευτέρα τῶν
φυσικῶν συναγωγήν ἐγγονατά τὰ περὶ κόσμου καὶ
τά τῷ κόσμῳ ἐνήκοιτα περιέχει. 'Εστι δὲ
tαῦτα:

II. 1. α' Περὶ τοῦ κόσμου:
οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν κόσμων ἢς λέγονται καὶ πρόσθεν
ἐδοι.
II. 2. β' Περὶ τῆς κυκλοφορίας:
οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ διὰ τὴν κύκλον κυκλέτου.
II. 3. γ' Εἴ τοι τὰ ἀστρα:
οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ὅτι τὰς ἀστράς φορά σημαίνει.

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I. 5. Whether Well-Being depends on Extension of Time.
I. 7. On the First Good and the other goods.

These are the treatises contained in the First Ennead, which includes mainly ethical subject-
matter. The Second contains a collection of the treatises on natural philosophy, including those on
the physical universe and subjects connected with it. They are:

II. 1. On the Universe.
II. 2. On the Circular Motion.
II. 3. Whether the Stars are Causes.

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II. 4. δ’ Περὶ τῶν δύο ἐλέους
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή τὴν λεγόμενον ἐλέους.
II. 5. ε’ Περὶ τοῦ δυνάμει καὶ ἐνεργεῖας
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή λέγεται tὸ μὲν δυνάμει, τὸ δὲ ἐνεργεῖα.
50 II. 6. ζ’ Περὶ ποιότητος καὶ έδους
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή ἀρα τὸ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύστα ἐκεῖνον.
II. 7. η’ Περὶ τῆς δι’ ἀληθείας θάνατος
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή περὶ τῆς δι’ ἀληθείας.
II. 8. θ’ Περὶ τὰ πάροικα ἀρώμενα μικρὰ φαίνεται
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή ἀρα τὸ πάροικο ἐλένθω φαίνεται.
55 II. 9. ι’ Πρὸς τούτων κακὸν τὸ δημιουργοῦν τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὸν κόσμον κακὸν εἶναι λέγονται
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή ἐπειδή τούτων ἐφόντο ήμι.

Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ἐννεάς ἐτι τὰ περὶ κόσμου ἐκουσά 60 περείληφε τὰ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον θεωρουμένων ταῦτα.

III. 1. α’ Περὶ εἰμαρμένης
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή ἀσκετά τὰ γυγγόμενα.
III. 2. β’ Περὶ πρωνοίας πρῶτον
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή τὸ μὲν τῷ αὐτομάνθων.
65 III. 3. γ’ Περὶ πρωνοίας δεύτερον
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή τὸ τῶν διδόνα περὶ τῶν τῶν.
III. 4. δ’ Περὶ τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ ήμᾶς διαμονοῦν
οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν μὲν αἱ ὑποστάσεις.
III. 5. ε’ Περὶ ἔρωτος
70 αἱ ἡ ἀρχὴ περὶ ἔρωτος πάντες θέος τοις.
III. 6. ζ’ Περὶ τῆς ἀπαθείας τῶν θεομάτων
οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ τὰς αἰσθήσεις αὐτὶ λέγοντες πάθη.
III. 7. ζ᾽ Περὶ αἰώνος καὶ χρόνου.
οδ ἡ ἀρχή τῶν αἰώνων καὶ τῶν χρόνων.

III. 8. η᾽ Περὶ φύσεως καὶ θεωρίας καὶ τοῦ ἐνόσ.
οδ ἡ ἀρχή παύεται δὴ τὴν πρώτην.

III. 9. θ᾽ Ἐπισκέψεις διάφοροι.
οδ ἡ ἀρχή νοῦς φύσιν ὧδε ἐνόσις.

25. Ταῦτας τὰς τρεῖς ἐννέας ἡμείς ἐν ἑνὶ σωμαιρὰς τάξαντες κατασκευάσαμεν. Ἡν δὲ τῆς τρίτης ἐννέας ἐπέλεμψεν καὶ τὸ “Περὶ τοῦ εἰληχό-
τος ἡμᾶς δαίμονος”, ὅτι καθόλου θεωρεῖται τὰ 5 περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ έστι τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ἄνθρωπον σκέπτο-
μένος. Ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ οὗ “Περὶ έρωτος” τόπος. Τὸ δὲ “Περὶ αἰώνος καὶ χρόνου” διὰ τὸ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου ἐνταῦθα ἐτάξαμεν. Τὸ δὲ “Περὶ φύσεως καὶ θεωρίας καὶ τοῦ ἐνόσ.” διὰ τὸ περὶ 10 φύσεως κεφάλαιον ἐνταῦθα τέτακται. Ἡ δὲ τετάρτη ἐννέας μετὰ τὰ περὶ κόσμου τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς εἰληχε συγγράμματα. Ἐχει δὲ τάδε:

IV. 1. α’ Περὶ οὐσίας ψυχῆς πρῶτον.
οδ ἡ ἀρχή τῆς ζωῆς ὑποῖπται τὸ ποιητὴν.

IV. 2. β’ Περὶ οὐσίας ψυχῆς δεύτερον.
οδ ἡ ἀρχή ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ νασηφ.

IV. 3. γ’ Περὶ ψυχῆς ἀπορίαν πρῶτον.
οδ ἡ ἀρχή περὶ ψυχῆς διὰ ἀπορίας δεῖ τί φανερώσατο θεῖ έκ τοῦ τόπων καταστάματα.

IV. 4. δ’ Περὶ ψυχῆς ἀπορίαν δεύτερον.
οδ ἡ ἀρχή τί ἄκιν ἐμε.
IV. 5. ἐ' Περὶ ψυχῆς ἀποριῶν τρίτον ἢ περὶ ὀφειῶν:
οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπειδὴ ὑπερθύμβησε σκέφθοντα.
IV. 6. σ' Περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ μνήμης:
οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ τὰς αἰσθήσεις οὐ τυπώσασαι.
25 IV. 7. ζ' Περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς:
οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἂν ἦν αὐτὸς ἔκαστος.
IV. 8. η' Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ σώματα καθάδου τῆς
ψυχῆς:
οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ πολλάκις ἐγερθομένη.
IV. 9. θ' Εἰ αἱ πάσαι ψυχαὶ μία:
οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἂν ὥσπερ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκάστων φιλέων.
30 Ἡ μὲν οὖν τετάρτῃ ἔνεια τὰς περὶ ψυχῆς
αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεις πάσαις. Ἡ δὲ πέμπτῃ ἕχει μὲν
τὰς περὶ νοῦ, περιέχει δὲ ἐκάστοι τῶν βιβλίων ἐν
τοῖς περὶ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐν ψυχῆ
νοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν. Ἡ ἑστι δὲ τάδε.

V. 1. α' Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων:
οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ τί ποτὲ ἐστὶ ἢ ὡς πεποιηκός.
V. 2. β' Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ τάξεως τῶν μετὰ
τὸ πρῶτον:
οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἐν πάντα.
40 V. 3. γ' Περὶ τῶν γεννηματικῶν ὑποστάσεων καὶ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα:
οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἄρα τὸ νῦν ἤτα σοῦκα χείλεν δεῖ
ἐστι.
V. 4. δ' Πιὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου τὸ μετὰ τὸ
πρῶτον καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐνός:
οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ τί ἐστι μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον, ἀνάγκη ἢ
ἐκείνου ἐστὶ.
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V. 5. That the Intelligibles are not outside the Intellect and on the Good.

V. 6. On the Fact that That Which is beyond Being does not think, and on What is the Primary and What the Secondary Thinking Principle.

V. 7. On whether there are Forms of Particulars.


V. 9. On Intellect, the Forms, and Being.

26. So we arranged the Fourth and Fifth Enneads to form one volume. The remaining, Sixth, Ennead we made into another volume, so that all of Plotinus's writings were distributed in three volumes, of which the first contains three Enneads, the second two, and the third one. The contents of the third volume, the Sixth Ennead, are these:

VI. 1. On the Kinds of Being I.

VI. 2. On the Kinds of Being II.

VI. 3. On the Kinds of Being III.

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VI. 4.  δ’ Περὶ τοῦ τὸν ἐν καὶ τοιτὸ ὃν ἀμα
πανταχοῦ εἶναι ἐδοὺ πρῶτον·
oh ἄρχῃ ὅρᾳ γε ὃς ἀρχὴ πανταχοῦ τῷ παντὶ
πάντως.

VI. 5.  ε’ Περὶ τοῦ τὸν ἐν καὶ τοιτὸ ὃν ἀμα
πανταχοῦ εἶναι ἐδοὺ δεύτερον·
oh ἄρχη τὸ ἐν καὶ τοιτὸν ἀριθμῷ πανταχοῦ ἀμα
ἐδοὺ ἐδοὺ.

VI. 6.  ς’ Περὶ ἀρίθμων·
oh ἄρχῃ ἁμα ἡτὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπόστασις τοῦ
ἴνα.

VI. 7.  ζ’ Ποὺς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἰδεῶν ὑπέστη
cαὶ περὶ τάγαθοῦ
ohe ἄρχῃ εἰς γένους τέμενος ὁ θεός.

VI. 8.  η’ Περὶ τοῦ ἐκουσίου καὶ θελήματος
toυ ἑνός·
oh ἄρχῃ ἁμα ἡτὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὸ ἑνός ἑνῷ
ἀυτῶν ἔτεοι.

VI. 9.  θ’ Περὶ τάγαθοῦ ἢ τοῦ ἑνός·
oh ἄρχῃ ἁμα ἡτὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸ ἑνὸς ἑνός.

Τά μὲν οὖν βιβλία εἰς εἰς ἐνεάδας τούτων τῶν
τρόπων κατεσάμενα τέσσαρα καὶ πεντήκοντα
οὖν καταβεβλήμεθα δὲ καὶ εἰς τινα αὐτῶν
ὑπομνήματα ἀτάκτους διὰ τοὺς ἑπετέλεσας ἡμᾶς
ἐταίρους γράσως εἰς ἀπερ αὐτοὶ τὴν σαφήνειαν
αὐτοῖς γινόμεθα ἥξιοι. "Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ
κεφάλαια τῶν πάντων πλήν τῶν "Περὶ τοῦ
καλοῦ", διὰ τὸ λάβαμεν ἡμῖν πεποίημεθα κατὰ τὴν
χρονικὴν ἐκδοσίαν τῶν βιβλίων· ἀλλ’ ἐν τούτῳ οὐ
τὰ κεφάλαια μόνον καθ’ ἑκατον ἐκκείται τῶν
βιβλίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιχειρήματα, α ὡς κεφάλαια
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VI. 4. On the Presence of Being, One and the
Same, Everywhere as a Whole I.

VI. 5. On the Presence of Being, One and the
Same, Everywhere as a Whole II.

VI. 6. On Numbers.

VI. 7. How the Multitude of the Forms came
into being and On the Good

VI. 8. On Free Will and the Will of the One.

VI. 9. On the Good or the One.

So we arranged the fifty-four books in this way in
six Enneads; and we have included commentaries
on some of them, irregularly, because friends
pressed us to write on points they wanted cleared
up for them. We also composed headings for all
of them except On Beauty, because it was not
available to us, following the chronological order
in which the books were issued; and we have pro-
duced not only the headings for each book but also
summaries of the argumenta, which are numbered
in the same way as the headings.\(^1\) Now we shall try to revise all the books and put in the punctuation and correct any verbal errors: anything else that may occur to us the work itself will make clear.

\(^1\) On the attempts of modern scholars to discover traces of the commentaries, headings, and summaries which Porphyry mentions here in the text of the Enneads see Schweizer, art. cit., col. 495-499. The marginal numbers which appear in some MSS may be references to Porphyry’s lost commentaries: cp. Henry, Étude du Texte de Plotin, pp. 312-333 and Henry-Schwizer I, Preface, p. xxxvii. The curious ”table of contents” which forms the second part of the Arabic Theology of Aristotle may be a translation of Porphyry’s ”headings” for the first 34 chapters of IV 4: cp. Henry-Schwizer II, Preface pp. xxvii-xxviii. The English translation of these ”headings” is printed under the text of IV 4, 1-34.