

THE CONNECTED COSMOS: HARMONY, COSMOLOGY AND THEURGY IN NEOPLATONISM

Crystal Addey

HARMONY (ἁρμονία) WAS A CENTRAL AND IMPORTANT CONCEPT within Neoplatonism, underpinning Neoplatonic metaphysics, cosmology, ethics and psychology, as well as approaches towards ritual and soteriology (the salvation of the soul). ‘Neoplatonism’ is a modern term used to describe an ancient philosophical movement which flourished in the Graeco-Roman world in the period known as late antiquity (second to seventh centuries CE); the philosopher Plotinus (205-70 CE) is considered to be the founder of this movement.¹ The term ‘Neoplatonism’ (and its cognates) is a modern term which originated in eighteenth-century German scholarship, coined pejoratively to denote the philosophers and movement inspired by Plotinus, as distinguished from Plato’s own school and the so-called ‘Middle Platonists’. These modern classifications are unsatisfactory, in part because they break the strong continuity linking ‘Middle Platonists’ and ‘Neoplatonists’. Within this chapter, the terms ‘Neoplatonism’ and ‘Neoplatonists’ are used as purely chronological designations, without the pejorative and ideological assumptions which have often been attached to them.

Neoplatonist philosophers, including, most prominently, Plotinus, Porphyry (c.234-305 CE), Iamblichus (c.240-325 CE) and Proclus (c.410/12-485 CE), followed, endorsed and interpreted the philosophy of Plato, which included the philosophical doctrine that the human soul is immortal. Their notion of harmony, the ‘joining together’ of the parts of the universe and alignment of the parts with the whole, which formed a significant and central aspect of the Neoplatonic worldview, was influenced by the Pythagorean tradition as well as by Plato; Pythagoreans seemingly connected harmony with music and number as foundational principles in the cosmos.² Drawing on Plato’s comments on harmony as set out in many of his works, particularly the *Timaeus* (30b-31a) and the Palinode speech (myth) of the *Phaedrus* (244a-257b), Neoplatonist philosophers from Plotinus onwards followed Plato in maintaining that the cosmos is a single living being, complete with soul, reason and intelligence, an interconnected entity containing all other entities, and a harmonious whole. They further developed the notion that the human being is a microcosm reflecting, expressing and containing (on a smaller scale) the macrocosm, the universe, which they considered to be

both visible and non-visible or invisible.³ They argued for a series of hypostases (principles and levels of reality or existence) arranged hierarchically – the One, considered to be the supreme source of all and identified with the Good (but also considered to be beyond and causally prior to ‘being’ or ‘existence’), Intellect and Soul (as originally set out by Plotinus; later Neoplatonists elaborated further on this system).⁴ Within Neoplatonism, ‘the articulation of reality is the articulation of the relational patterns ordering being’.⁵ Creation is seen as an eternal and spontaneous process – its operations relate to causes and their effects, rather than to any kind of production in time: from the One proceeds or ‘emanates’ Intellect, from Intellect, Soul, and from Soul – in its lowest phase, or nature – the visible or perceptible (‘sensible’) universe. Each hypostasis is undiminished by the giving of its power and a trace of each is immanent in every subsequent level of creation.⁶ This cosmological and metaphysical structure reveals a worldview that is multi-layered and based on a web of connections: all things (posterior to the One) are ‘one’ – as a unified, individual entity – and ‘many’ since their causes are inherent within them, although Intellect is described as ‘one many’ since it was considered to contain multiple noetic ‘Forms’ in one unity. Neoplatonist philosophers often use the language of ‘participation’ to describe the way in which entities relate to their causes and to the prior hypostases (or levels of reality). Proclus uses a specific terminology of abiding, proceeding and reverting, stating that every effect remains in its cause, proceeds from it and reverts upon it.⁷ He also expresses the interconnected nature of everything by stating that all things are in all things, but in each thing according to its proper nature.⁸

Later Neoplatonist philosophers, particularly Iamblichus and Proclus, practised and endorsed theurgy, which literally means ‘divine work’: theurgy refers to a lifelong endeavour incorporating a set of ritual practices alongside the development of ethical and intellectual capacities which aimed to use symbols to reawaken the soul’s pre-ontological, causal connection with the gods.⁹ The goal of theurgy was the cumulative and progressive contact, assimilation and union with the divine and the consequent divinisation of the theurgist; that is to say, the ascent of the human soul to the divine, intelligible realm and the consequent manifestation of the divine in embodied, human life.¹⁰ Theurgic ritual practice was based on and used traditional polytheistic religious practices, including divination, sacrifice, invocations and prayer. In his work *On the Mysteries (De mysteriis)*, which sets out the philosophical and theological basis for theurgy, Iamblichus links theurgy with traditional Greek, Egyptian and Chaldaean (or Assyrian) religious practices.¹¹ Both Iamblichus and Proclus argued that theurgic ritual

operates through or by means of the harmonious connections inherent within the visible and, even more importantly and crucially, the non-visible cosmos. Iamblichus claims that the human soul is inverted or ‘upside down’ and must restore itself to a harmonious whole through the lifelong endeavour of philosophical and theurgic praxis. Since harmony played such a central role within Neoplatonism, the scope of this topic is vast. Therefore, this chapter will necessarily be extremely selective and partial, providing: (1) a brief and selective summary of the role of harmony in Neoplatonic cosmology and (2) an exploration of the importance of harmony for the practice of theurgic ritual among the late Neoplatonists, especially Iamblichus and Proclus.

HARMONY, COSMOLOGY AND METAPHYSICS

Before examining Neoplatonic cosmology, it is important to note that the ancient Greeks had long conceived of the universe as inherently ordered; the Greek term for the ‘universe’, ‘cosmos’ (κόσμος) meant ‘order’ and ‘good order’, as well as referring to the world or universe itself, because of the latter’s perfect arrangement. Following Plato’s *Timaeus*, Neoplatonist philosophers consistently endorsed the idea that the universe, or cosmos, is one single, living being, that is to say, a harmonious, interconnected whole, most succinctly expressed by Plotinus, ‘So the universe is one, single harmony’ (οὕτω γὰρ ἓν καὶ μία ἁρμονία).¹² Iamblichus also maintains that the universe is one, single living being.¹³ Plotinus quotes directly from Plato’s *Timaeus* to support this view of the cosmos:

First of all, we must posit that this All is a ‘single living being which encompasses all the living beings that are within it’: it has one soul which extends to all its parts, in so far as each individual thing is part of it; and each thing in the perceptible All is part of it, and completely a part of it as regards its body.¹⁴

Here, Plotinus follows Plato in seeing the universe (the ‘All’) as a single, living being, with a soul, the World Soul.¹⁵ According to Plotinus, ‘The universe lies in soul which bears it up, and nothing is without a share of soul’.¹⁶ Human souls are not parts or products of the World Soul; rather, the World Soul, human souls and all other souls are part of the hypostasis (the principle of reality) ‘Soul’.¹⁷ The World Soul, or ‘Soul of the All’ has created the universe (this refers to creation in a causal rather than a temporal sense since Plotinus and later Neoplatonist phi-

losophers held that the universe is everlasting) while individual souls each direct a part of the universe.¹⁸ However, Plotinus maintains that the World Soul and individual souls are linked by a certain kind of ‘sympathy’ (συμπαθεία) or ‘community of feeling’, which will be discussed further below.¹⁹ Both are related to the hypostasis or principle ‘Soul’ which has the rational formative principles (*logoi*) of the gods and of everything in existence – according to Plotinus, this is why the universe has everything.²⁰ Plotinus often uses the image of a pantomime dancer to illustrate the organic unity and harmony of the universe.²¹ Although in English ‘pantomime’ usually refers to a theatrical show performed by a whole troupe of performers, late antique pantomime dancing refers to a dramatic performance by a solitary dancer who acted out a story or myth with specific gestures and movements without speaking or singing, although accompanied by music and choral song.²² The Greek term *pantomimos* meant ‘imitator of everything’; thus, as Anne Sheppard points out, ‘For Plotinus the whole cosmos functions as a vast living organism in which all the parts ultimately cohere and serve the whole; the pantomime dancer too is a being of this kind, at a microcosmic level’.²³

Moreover, the concept of harmony is crucial to Neoplatonic metaphysics, as well as cosmology. ‘Metaphysics’ refers to the branch of philosophy that deals with the first principles of things, including concepts such as being, knowing, time and space. The universe was considered to be caused by and based on the ‘intelligible’ (non-visible) realm or cosmos, which was considered to comprise the causes of everything within the perceptible universe. According to Plotinus, not only is the visible universe a harmonious whole but it exists in harmony with invisible intelligible realities which are prior (in a causal sense) to the visible universe; he states that the nature of the All made all things in imitation of the intelligible realities (the prior hypostases).²⁴ Thus, the harmony of the intelligible (invisible) world is linked closely to the harmony of the sensible world, as Plotinus makes clear:

For how could there be a musician who sees the harmony in the intelligible world and will not be stirred when he hears the harmony in sensible sounds? Or how could there be anyone skilled in geometry and numbers who will not be pleased when he sees right relation, proportion and order with his eyes?²⁵

Plotinus maintains that if one can ‘see’ or understand the harmony, order and proportion of the intelligible (i.e., non-visible) world in any way, this implies that one should be able to appreciate the visible manifestations of harmony, right

relation, proportion and order in the sensible world, because the latter (the sensible realm) reflects and is intimately related to the intelligible world. Iamblichus defines the intelligible cosmos as real existence, the intelligible paradigms of the cosmos and as causes which pre-exist all things in nature; he further claims that the Demiurge god (identified with the Demiurge or 'craftsman' god of Plato's *Timaeus* who creates the sensible universe) gathers all of the intelligible paradigms into one and holds them within himself.²⁶ In doing so, he draws on Plato's *Timaeus*, where it is argued that the One Living Creature contains all of the intelligible living creatures and the cosmos resembles the One Living Creature because it contains all visible living creatures within itself.²⁷

Iamblichus also describes the way in which everything in the universe 'participates' in the gods; the divine light or illumination of the gods permeates everything within the universe because it causes all things:

The fact is that divinity illuminates everything from without, even as the sun lights everything from without with its rays. Even as the sunlight, then envelops what it illuminates, so also does the power of the gods embrace from outside that which participates in it ... so the light of the gods illuminates its subject transcendentally, and is fixed steadfastly in itself even as it proceeds throughout the totality of existence.²⁸

Iamblichus uses the terminology of divine light and illumination to describe how the gods permeate everything within the cosmos with no diminution of themselves, using the light of the Sun to explain this activity of the gods; the latter permeate everything and so are immanent throughout the universe while simultaneously remaining transcendent. He also maintains that it is in imitation of the light of the gods that the cosmos is harmonious and united:

It is, indeed, in imitation of it [i.e., the indivisible light of the gods] that the whole heaven and cosmos performs its circular revolution, is united with itself, and leads the elements round in their cyclic dance, holds together all things as they rest within each other or are borne towards each other, defines by equal measures even the most far-flung objects, causes lasts to be joined to firsts, as for example earth to heaven, and produces a single continuity and harmony of all with all.²⁹

Here, Iamblichus attests to the key Neoplatonic concept that there is no gap,

break or vacuum in the order of reality: the gods and intelligible realities permeate everything in the universe and produce a single continuity and harmony between all, including causing Earth to be joined to heaven.³⁰ It is in this sense that Iamblichus then calls the perceptible universe ‘the visible image (or statue) of the gods’ (Τὸ δὴ τῶν θεῶν ἐμφανές τις ἄγαλμα).³¹ Furthermore, the circular revolution of the heaven and cosmos alludes to several ideas: first, the idea that the planets and fixed stars, which were considered by Iamblichus and Proclus to be the visible bodies of the gods, move in a circular or spherical motion in harmony with one another, an idea related to the theory of the ‘Music of the Spheres’ (which will be examined further below).³² The idea that the planets are gods was widespread in ancient Greek culture; in their accounts of the divinity of the planets, later Platonist philosophers were influenced particularly by Plato’s *Timaeus*, where they were already described as ‘visible gods’ (τὰ περὶ θεῶν ὄρατῶν ... φύσεως).³³ It is also interesting that Iamblichus describes the heavens and cosmos leading the elements in a cyclic dance. Plotinus compares the circular movement of the heavenly bodies to a choral dance, an extremely common form of dance in antiquity performed by groups dancing and often singing rhythmically together in a circular space, accompanied by musicians.³⁴ One form of the choral dance involved the dancers singing and dancing around their lyre player, a point that may be significant in relation to Apollo’s role as the god of harmony (also discussed below), since he was also considered to be the god of music and the lyre in particular.³⁵ Plotinus appears to have this image in mind (dancing around a lyre-player) since he discusses the heavenly bodies moving around the same centre and given that he describes the direction of the souls of the heavenly bodies towards one object as ‘like strings on a lyre plucked harmoniously they sing a song which is naturally in tune’ (ὥσπερ χορδαὶ ἐν λύρᾳ συμπαθῶς κινηθεῖσαι μέλος ἂν ἕσειαν ἐν φυσικῇ τινὶ ἁρμονίᾳ).³⁶ As Stephen Clark notes, further support for the idea that we are to think of a choral dance around a lyre-player sitting in the centre, in place of Apollo, comes from Plato’s *Republic* which describes Apollo, as the god of the oracle at Delphi and thus, in his role as the god of oracles and divination, as sitting at the centre of the earth on his sacred stone (referring to the omphalos stone at Delphi which the Greeks considered to mark the navel and centre of the earth) and guiding human beings through his advice given in the form of oracles.³⁷

Furthermore, the circular revolution discussed by Iamblichus (in the passage above) alludes to the idea that the motion of the universe is carried around uniformly in the same place in imitation of the universal Soul which envelops heaven; the universal Soul imitates Intellect in this sense – by ‘participating’ in In-

tellect, the soul of the universe ascends to the intelligible.³⁸ Iamblichus relates that the Demiurge constructed the universe in the form of the sphere, to be an image of the Soul's self-motion, drawing on Plato's *Timaeus* which had asserted that the universe is constructed in the form of a sphere and revolves in a circular motion uniformly in the same spot.³⁹ Plotinus also discusses the way in which heaven moves in a circular fashion because it imitates Intellect.⁴⁰ Both philosophers draw on Plato's suggestion that human beings must correct the orbits in the head which were corrupted at birth and so bring ourselves into line with the heavens.⁴¹ This statement points towards the necessity of human beings aligning themselves with the harmony of the heavens.

HARMONY AND THE SOUL

Although the universe is harmonious, the human soul is generally seen as having forgotten or lost its essential harmonious state (through its disorientation in its descent into a mortal body), which it must restore by assimilating itself to the harmonious reality of the universe.⁴² Late Platonist philosophers draw on the account of the formation of the human soul set out in Plato's *Timaeus*, where the Demiurge makes human souls from the residue of the mixture used to make the World Soul (comprised of being, sameness and difference mixed by harmonic ratios divided into two parts which he then joined together and bent into a circular form comprised of two circles), although he mixes the mixture for human souls in a less uniform and more variable manner; the Demiurge then hands the mixture to the cosmic gods to make the human body and complete the soul; when the latter bind the human soul to the mortal body it disturbs the revolutions of the soul further and twists the harmonic ratios binding the mixture.⁴³ In Plato's *Timaeus*, we also see the idea that music was given to the universe for the sake of harmony; furthermore, the Muses give harmony to those who are inspired by creative pursuits in order to restore the soul to a harmonious order:

Music too, in so far as it uses audible sound, was bestowed for the sake of harmony. And harmony, which has motions akin to the revolutions of the Soul within us, was given by the Muses to him who makes intelligent use of the Muses, not as an aid to irrational pleasure, as is now supposed, but as an auxiliary to the inner revolution of the Soul, when it has lost its harmony, to assist in restoring it to order and concord with itself.⁴⁴

The Muses were seen in antiquity as semi-divine beings who cause and engender inspiration in human beings and were especially connected with music, poetry and dance. They were related to Apollo, who was considered to be the leader of the Muses. In Plato's *Republic*, musical education is seen as particularly important because rhythm and harmony find their way to the innermost depths of the soul and take the strongest hold upon it, leading one to detect beauty in other phenomena.⁴⁵ Music and beauty are characterised as leading to the philosophical path, based on love, set out in Plato's *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*.

Elaborating on Plato's point about the need for the soul to restore its inherent order, Proclus connects the perfection of the human soul with the need for the human soul to assimilate and align itself with the harmony of the universe:

Furthermore, the whole celestial order and its motion demonstrates the harmonic work of the god [i.e., Apollo]. This is why individual souls as well, once they have removed the disharmony that results from generation, are perfected in no other way than by harmonic assimilation to the universe. For then they achieve the best life that is offered by the god [i.e., Apollo].⁴⁶

Proclus links the harmony of the universe with the god Apollo, following Plato's *Cratylus* which states that Apollo directs the harmony of the heavens and the harmony inherent in music.⁴⁷ Proclus notes that human souls have to remove the disharmony which results from 'generation', which refers to the whole process of birth, life and death, 'coming-to-be' and 'passing away'; the descent of the soul into generation was thought to leave the soul disorientated and out of alignment with its true nature and purpose. After this purification from disharmony, Proclus claims that human souls are perfected by aligning and assimilating themselves with the harmony of the cosmos. Proclus explicitly relates Apollo's role as the cause of all harmony, both visible and invisible, with his role as the god of music; furthermore, according to Proclus, Apollo, together with Mnemosyne (the goddess of memory) and Zeus, engenders the Muses and co-operates in organising the perceptible universe. The musical functions of Apollo are intimately linked with Apollo's 'harmonising' of the whole universe into a single unity:

His [i.e., Apollo's] musical activity is more prevalent at the leading and principal order. For it is this god who harmonizes even the whole cosmos into a single unity, establishing the chorus of Muses around himself, 'Taking pride in the harmony of light', as one of the theurgists says (*Or. Chald.* 71).⁴⁸

Apollo's traditional role as *Mousêgetês*, the leader of the Muses, is related by Proclus to his role as the god who establishes the harmony of the universe. We are reminded of Plotinus' discussion of the movement of the heaven around a stable centre, which he compares to a circular choral dance with a lyre-player at the centre (discussed above), since Apollo and the Muses were seen as the original, 'divine' chorus who engender all *mousikê* (poetry, drama, dance and, according to Plato and the Neoplatonists, philosophy as well) through the giving of divine inspiration to mortals.

HARMONY, THEURGY AND COSMOLOGY

Proclus' linking of Apollo with the harmony underlying the universe is also relevant to the later Neoplatonist approval and use of theurgy, a kind of ritual which included as a central element the use of divination; Apollo was traditionally the god of divination in the ancient Greek world. In this sense, harmony is particularly important for understanding why late Platonist philosophers (such as Iamblichus and Proclus) used theurgy since they considered that the harmony of the universe and the sympathy of its parts for one another are both causal explanatory factors that partially explain the workings of theurgy. As we have seen, Neoplatonist cosmology and metaphysics is rooted in the notion that the universe is a harmonious, multi-layered whole and an interconnected entity containing all other entities, which is partially explained by the idea of cosmic sympathy (*συμπαθεία*), according to which all things within the universe are connected by a certain affinity, sympathy and likeness.⁴⁹ Thus, sympathy was considered to work on a 'horizontal' level – connecting things in the sensible universe which are spatially distant but similar in some way with one another. For theurgists, sympathy was also held to work on a 'vertical' level – connecting things in the sensible universe with the gods, their divine causes. For example, Proclus explains that theurgy aims to link the theurgic practitioner to the gods on the basis of this sympathy: 'For the powers of the gods descend from above all the way down to the lowest realm, being appropriately manifested at each level, all of which, indeed, theurgy undertakes to link to the gods by way of a sympathetic relationship'.⁵⁰ Since everything in the universe was considered to be permeated by divine light and thus connected with the gods, theurgist practitioners held that every natural entity and object in the cosmos was a 'symbol' (*σύμβολον*) or 'token' (*συνθήμα*) of the god or goddess to which it was intrinsically connected and thus harmoniously aligned with. The theurgic practitioner seeks to develop right relationship and

alignment with the gods by using symbols in an efficacious manner. It is crucial to understand that theurgic symbols were considered to have an ontological link with the deity from which they were derived. Within a theurgic context, a symbol could be a physical object such as a plant, gemstone, herb or type of incense – the theurgist assembled the specific symbols adapted to and harmoniously aligned with each deity as a way of creating a pure and integrated receptacle for the manifestation of that deity, and for the consequent contact with and assimilation to that deity.⁵¹ For example, Proclus tells us that the lion, cockerel, sunflower (heliotrope) and the lotus are all symbols of the Sun god.⁵² Significantly, for theurgists, the gods work *through* nature and *through* human souls.⁵³ Iamblichus explains that the theurgist used the symbols found in nature within their ritual practices and by virtue of these symbols was able to contact the gods and to direct him or herself harmoniously in accordance with the gods' disposition, thereby assuming the sacred role of the gods.⁵⁴

Iamblichus claims that an even greater cause than sympathy (συμπαθεία) underlies theurgy: theurgic practices have the potential to connect the human soul with the gods by virtue of divine love or friendship (θεία φιλία), which causes cosmic sympathy to arise and from which sympathy is derived.⁵⁵ A fragment from the *Chaldean Oracles* (a mystical collection of oracles in hexameter verse which set out ethical and ritual instructions for the ascent of the soul in relation to a complex cosmological and metaphysical background and which were used by theurgists and attained the status of a sacred text within Neoplatonism) also refers to the bond of love which the Paternal Intellect sowed into all things in the cosmos, so that the 'All' might continue to love for an infinite time and that things woven by the intellectual light of the Intellect might not collapse; it also adds that the elements of the cosmos remain on course because of this love.⁵⁶ The role of divine love and friendship in theurgy is critical since it linked theurgic practice to the divine providence and goodness of the gods and the One. Furthermore, the role of divine love within theurgy is used by Iamblichus to argue against the idea that theurgy is just a manipulation of horizontal cosmic sympathy and thus an automatic or 'mechanical' process unrelated to the ethical or intellectual condition of the theurgic practitioner. On the contrary, theurgy was considered to involve the practitioner assimilating herself or himself to the harmonious nature of the cosmos and thus to the divine harmony from which the cosmos derives its unity.⁵⁷

For Iamblichus, harmony with divine, oracular power is a key feature of divine possession or inspiration, the foundation of oracles and other forms of in-

spired divination.⁵⁸ Harmony is a particularly important feature in his account of the operations of the rituals associated with the cults of the Korybantes, Sabazios (sometimes identified with Dionysos) and the Great Mother, Cybele.⁵⁹ A significant feature of these cults was divine possession or inspiration, whereby the human initiate was considered to become possessed by the relevant god or goddess; music, including listening to pipes, cymbals or tambourines was used within these cults to engender or trigger the possessed or inspired state of consciousness.⁶⁰ In explaining the phenomenon of divine possession within these cults, Iamblichus dismisses as irrelevant the possible explanations raised by his fellow-philosopher Porphyry, such as the fact that the music displaces the temperaments or dispositions of the body and that irregular tunes are appropriate for ecstatic trance; according to Iamblichus, these features of the cult are physical and human, accomplishments of human skill.⁶¹ Therefore, Iamblichus argues that they do not explain or account for the ultimate origins, or causes, of divine possession, which must be divine:

What we would rather say, then, is this: that those things such as sounds and tunes are properly consecrated to each of the gods, and kinship is probably assigned to them in accord with their proper orders and powers, the motions in the universe itself and the harmonious sounds rushing from its motions. It is then, in virtue of such connections of the tunes with the gods that their presence occurs (for nothing intervenes to stop them) so that whatever has a fortuitous likeness with them, immediately participates in them, and a total possession and filling with superior being and power takes place at once. It is not that the body and soul interact with one another or with the tones, but since the inspiration of the gods is not separated from the divine harmony, having been allied with it from the beginning, it is shared by it in suitable measures.⁶²

Iamblichus argues that the sounds and tunes involved in the music used in these rituals already have an intrinsic and inherent connection with the gods, which means that they also have an inherent connection with the motions of the cosmos and with what Iamblichus refers to as ‘the harmonious sounds rushing from these motions’, a reference to the ‘harmony’ or ‘music of the spheres’. Iamblichus’ use of the term *ῥοιζος* here points in this direction since this was a Chaldean and Pythagorean term for the sound caused by the planetary revolutions, the so-called ‘Harmony’ or ‘Music of the Spheres’.⁶³ This doctrine, which unites

music and astronomy, is based on the idea of cosmic sounds made by the circular movements of the planets, is attested by Aristotle and indirectly by Plato as being Pythagorean.⁶⁴ The Pythagorean ‘music of the spheres’ is based on Pythagorean musical theory, with its coherence of number and sound. Harmonic intervals correspond to harmonic relationships of distance and velocity, and since a musical tone implies a uniform motion, a Pythagorean system of astronomy, in which the seven planets circle about the earth in uniform movements, at various distances from one another, can be inferred.⁶⁵ In Plato’s *Laws*, it is stated that of all types of movement, a uniform, circular movement is most closely related to mind or intellect (*nous*) – this movement is perfect and the heavenly bodies move in conformity with it; therefore, soul, as the principle of self-movement, reveals itself in celestial movements; moreover, since these movements are perfect and regular they show that the soul of the universe is intelligent and good.⁶⁶ In his work focusing on the Pythagorean way of life, Iamblichus states that Pythagoras purified his followers and made their sleep prophetic through his musical renditions of the harmony of the spheres.⁶⁷ According to Iamblichus, Pythagoras’ own abilities included hearing the ‘harmony of the spheres’ directly because of his status as a ‘divine’ wise sage who had developed his intellectual powers and was close to the gods:

But employing some ineffable and abstruse divine power, he extended his hearing and fixed his intellect in the heavenly harmonious sounds of the cosmos. He alone could hear and understand, so he indicated, the universal harmony and concord of the spheres, and the stars moving through them, which sound a tune fuller and more intense than any mortal ones. (This harmony) is caused by a movement and most graceful revolution, very beautiful in its simultaneous variety...⁶⁸

Iamblichus says that Pythagoras held that the cosmic sounds, the ‘music of the spheres’, were audible and comprehensible, but only to himself because of his divine status, the latter of which seems to have been related to Apollo, as the god of harmony and music, given that Iamblichus interprets the story that Pythagoras was son of Apollo as meaning that Pythagoras’ soul was sent down to humans under Apollo’s leadership and that Pythagoras was therefore closely connected with Apollo.⁶⁹ Returning to Iamblichus’ explanation of the use of music in possession rituals, it is precisely the divine harmony which permeates the cosmos and which is exhibited on the cosmic level through the harmony of the spheres which

underlies divine possession. Iamblichus denies that the body and soul interact with one another or with the music; rather, divine inspiration is aligned with and connected to the divine harmony that pervades every part of the cosmos. However, Iamblichus maintains that this process is not primarily or ultimately dependent on the soul itself:

But one should not even claim this: that the soul primarily consists of harmony and rhythm; for in that case divine possession would belong to the soul alone. It is better, then, to bring our discourse back to this assertion: before it gave itself to the body, the soul heard the divine harmony. And accordingly even when it entered the body, such tunes as it hears which especially preserve the divine trace of harmony, to these it clings fondly and is reminded by them of the divine harmony; it is also borne along with and closely allied to this harmony, and shares as much as can be shared of it.⁷⁰

Iamblichus does not wish to deny that the soul is somehow connected with the divine harmony, but it is primarily the soul's *memory* of the divine harmony, which it heard before entering the body, that facilitates the experience of possession in these rituals. This is a clear reference to the soul's recollection of the good and the divine realities which Neoplatonist philosophers derived from Plato's *Phaedo* and the myth in the *Phaedrus*.⁷¹ In the latter work, Socrates, in his Palinode speech, recounts a myth about the procession of Zeus and the other gods around the revolution of the heavens and the 'outer' regions of the heaven where the divine realities exist. He recounts how human souls try to follow the procession of the gods through the heavens: the soul who follows the divine can raise the head of the charioteer into the outer region, while less perfect souls see some of the divine realities but not others (because they are disturbed by the unruliness of the horses, representing the faculties of spirit and desire in the soul) and some cannot reach the upper region at all.⁷² The human soul needs to recollect those realities which it once 'saw' when journeying with the gods.⁷³ Proclus reports that both Plotinus and Iamblichus (the latter in his *Commentary on the Phaedrus*) interpreted the 'heaven' towards which Zeus leads the way and all the gods follow is an intelligible entity; that is to say, the 'heaven' referred to in the myth describes the intelligible, invisible realm.⁷⁴

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the concept of harmony played a central role in Neoplatonic cosmology and metaphysics, as well as in theurgy and soteriology (the salvation and perfection of the human soul). Following Plato's *Timaeus*, these philosophers saw the cosmos as one single living being and harmonious whole, underpinned by order, harmonic ratios, symmetry and proportion. The cosmos is a manifestation or copy of the intelligible, invisible realities and so there is a harmony between the perceptible, visible universe and the invisible 'intelligible' universe; the visible universe is caused by and derived from the intelligible realities. Harmony was intimately linked with music and dance in antiquity; this connection is reflected in the illustrative examples used by Plotinus to demonstrate the organic unity of the cosmos and the harmonious movements of the heaven and the planets in imitation of Intellect. Following Plato's *Cratylus*, late Platonist philosophers considered Apollo to be the god of harmony since within ancient Greek culture one of his traditional roles was as *Mousêgetês*, the leader of the Muses, the latter of whom were considered to inspire and engender poetry, music and dance. Apollo was also traditionally the god of divination, especially oracles (an inspired form of divination) and, consequently, harmony was also an important factor which was considered by Iamblichus and Proclus to enable and facilitate the efficacy of theurgic ritual, which included divination as one of its central ritual practices: they explained the workings of theurgy partially through the concept of cosmic sympathy and partially through divine love or friendship, from which sympathy derived, in their view. Both cosmic sympathy and divine love are intimately connected with the inherent harmony of the cosmos in this worldview. Crucially, theurgy was held to work *through* human souls and *through* nature: the tunes and sounds of music bear a trace of divine harmony, while the gods could be accessed through symbols found in nature. Therefore, the theurgist had to align her or himself with the harmonic nature of the universe in order to attain contact, assimilation and union with the gods. According to Iamblichus, music made by humans contains traces of the original music caused by the harmonious movements of the planets and fixed stars, and of divine harmony itself. Within Neoplatonism, the concept of harmony relates to the providential, relational and connected nature of the cosmos. According to theurgic iterations of this worldview, traces of the divine – and divine 'illumination' itself – surround us everywhere in nature, in the sensible cosmos, and the task of the human being is to establish right relationship, alignment and assimilation to the harmony of the world and the gods.

Late Platonist philosophy – and especially theurgy – is based on the idea that we are all connected – to each other, to every part of the cosmos and to the gods, just as the cosmos itself is connected – so that if we develop our full potential, we can remember the divine harmony and ‘hear’ the music of the spheres, ‘dancing’ with the cosmos itself and thereby with the gods.

NOTES

1. See Dominic J. O’Meara, *Platonopolis. Platonic Political Philosophy in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), p.3, n.1; Crystal Addey, *Divination and Theurgy in Neoplatonism. Oracles of the Gods* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 1, n.2.
2. See Walter Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972) for a useful introduction to Pythagoreanism, and Dominic O’Meara, *Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) on the reception of Pythagoreanism in Neoplatonism.
3. See Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.3.10.10-13. All translations of this work are those of A.H. Armstrong, *Plotinus: Enneads*, Loeb Classical Library Vols. I-VII (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966-1988), with my own modifications. Cf. also Iamblichus, *In Philebum*, Fragment 6 (= Damascius, *In Philebum* 227), ed. and trans. John M. Dillon, *Iamblichi Chalcidensis. In Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta* (1973; repr. Westbury, Wiltshire: Prometheus Trust, 2009).
4. Cf. for example, Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.3.10.13-14; V.1.
5. Dominic O’Meara, ‘The Hierarchical Ordering of Reality in Plotinus’, in Lloyd Gerson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Plotinus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 66-81; Paulina Remes, *Neoplatonism* (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008), p.42.
6. For useful introductions to Neoplatonic metaphysics and ‘first principles’, see John Gregory, *The Neoplatonists: A Reader* (1991; repr. London and New York: Routledge 1999), pp. 12-15; Remes, *Neoplatonism*, pp. 42-59.
7. Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, trans. E.R. Dodds (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), Proposition 35.
8. Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, Proposition 103.
9. Addey, *Divination and Theurgy*, p. 25.
10. Addey, *Divination and Theurgy*, p. 25.
11. Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries (De mysteriis)*, ed. and trans. E.C. Clarke, J.M. Dillon and J.P. Hershbell (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003). All translations of this work are taken from this edition.
12. Plotinus, *Ennead* II.3.12.32; IV.4.32.4-7 citing Plato, *Timaeus* 30d3-31a1. Cf. also *Timaeus* 33a-b, trans. R.G. Bury, *Plato. Timaeus. Critias. Cleitophon. Menexenus. Epistles* (1929; repr. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).
13. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 4.9 (192.11-13).
14. Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.4.32.4-7 citing Plato, *Timaeus* 30d3-31a1: Πρῶτον τοίνυν θετέον ζῶον ἐν πάντα τὰ ζῷα τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ περιέχον τόδε τὸ πᾶν εἶναι, ψυχὴν μίαν ἔχον εἰς πάντα αὐτοῦ μέρη, καθόσον ἐστὶν ἕκαστον αὐτοῦ μέρος· μέρος δὲ ἕκαστόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν τῷ παντὶ αἰσθητῷ, κατὰ μὲν τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάντα ...
15. Cf. also Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.3.7.7-8; IV.3.9.46-48.
16. Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.3.9.36-37. Cf. Plato, *Laws* 896d-897b, for the idea that ‘soul’

moves and controls heaven.

17. Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.3.3.
18. Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.3.6.7-8, 20-25. Cf. also IV.3.9.16-18.
19. Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.3.8.1-4.
20. Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.3.10.10-13, 38-43.
21. Plotinus, *Ennead*, III.2.16.23-27; III.2.17.8-11; IV.4.33. See Anne Sheppard, 'Drama, Dance and Divine Providence in Plotinus, *Ennead* 3.2 (47).15-18', in E. Volonaki and V. Konstantinopoulos, eds., *ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, ΤΟΜΟΣ 60, 2015: ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΩΝ* (Athens: Papazisis Publishers, 2016), pp.287-95; 'Neoplatonists and Pantomime Dancers', in R.L. Cardullo and F. Coiglione, eds., *Reason and No-Reason from Ancient Philosophy to Neurosciences: Old Parameters, New Perspectives* (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 2017), pp. 65-78, for detailed examinations of the ways in which Plotinus uses imagery from dancing and drama in order to convey his philosophy.
22. Sheppard, 'Neoplatonists and Pantomime Dancers', p. 66.
23. Sheppard, 'Neoplatonists and Pantomime Dancers', p. 68.
24. Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.3.11.8-12.
25. Plotinus, *Ennead* II.9.16.39-44: Τίς γάρ ἄν μουσικὸς ἀνὴρ εἶη, ὃς τὴν ἐν νοητῷ ἁρμονίαν ἰδὼν οὐ κινήσεται τῆς ἐν φθόγγοις αἰσθητοῖς ἀκούων; Ἡ τίς γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἔμπειρος, ὃς τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ ἀνάλογον καὶ τεταγμένον ἰδὼν δι' ὀμμάτων οὐχ ἡσθήσεται; trs. Armstrong with my own modifications (substituting 'harmony' for 'melody'). Cf. Stephen R.L. Clark, *Plotinus: Myth, Metaphor and Philosophical Practice* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), p.108 n. 17, who notes that Armstrong's translation of *harmonia* as 'melody' here is misleading.
26. Iamblichus, *In Timaeum* II, Fragment 34.
27. Plato, *Timaeus* 30c-d; 37d.
28. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* I.9 (30.13-15; 31.3-5): ... πάντα ἐξῶθεν ἐπλάμπει, καθάπερ ὁ ἥλιος ἐξῶθεν φωτίζει πάντα ταῖς ἀκτίσιν. Ὡσπερ οὖν τὸ φῶς περιέχει τὰ φωτιζόμενα, οὕτωςι καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἡ δύναμις τὰ μεταλαμβάνοντα αὐτῆς ἐξῶθεν περιεῖληφεν ... οὕτω καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὸ φῶς ἐλλάμπει χωριστῶς ἐν αὐτῷ τε μονίμως ἰδρυμένον προχωρεῖ διὰ τῶν ὄντων ὅλων.
29. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* I.9 (31.14-32.6): ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ὁ σύμπας μιμούμενος οὐρανὸς καὶ κόσμος τὴν ἐγκύκλιον περιφορὰν περιπολεῖ, συνήνωταί τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα κατὰ κύκλον περιδινούμενα ποδηγεῖ, πάντα τε ἐν ἀλλήλοις ὄντα καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα φερόμενα συνέχει, μέτροις τε τοῖς ἴσοις ἀφορίζει καὶ τὰ πορρωτάτω διφικισμένα, καὶ τὰς τελευτὰς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς οἷον γῆν οὐρανῷ συγκεῖσθαι ποιεῖ, μίαν τε συνέχειαν καὶ ὁμολογίαν τῶν ὅλων πρὸς ὅλα ἀπεργάζεται.
30. See also Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 4.7 (191.4-5) on the harmonious nature and quality of the gods.
31. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* I.9 (32.7).
32. For a detailed examination of the 'Music of the Spheres' in Neoplatonism, see Christine Harris, 'How did philosophers of the Late Antique period consider the concept of the Music of the Spheres, its roles and effects, in relation to ascension to the divine?' (MA dissertation, University of Wales Trinity St David, forthcoming 2019).
33. Plato, *Timaeus* 40b-d.
34. Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.4.8.46-62; Clark, *Plotinus*, pp. 106-107; 117-19.
35. Cf. Clark, *Plotinus*, p. 106.
36. Plotinus, *Ennead* IV.4.8.56-58.
37. Plato, *Republic*, ed. and trans. Paul Shorey, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963-1982), 4.427c; Clark, *Plotinus*, 119.
38. Iamblichus, *In Timaeum* III, Fragment 55.

39. Plato, *Timaeus* 33b; 34a.
40. Plotinus, *Ennead* II.2.1.1; Clark, *Plotinus*, p. 136.
41. Plato, *Timaeus* 90d; Clark, *Plotinus*, p. 136.
42. It should be noted that this is a simplification of a complex set of issues, given that Neoplatonic writings on the nature of the soul and its 'spiritual' or 'ontological' journey are copious and that Neoplatonist philosophers often differ in how they understand and describe the essential nature and 'location' of the human soul.
43. Plato, *Timaeus* 34c-36d (on the formation of Soul); 41d-44d (the formation of the human soul).
44. Plato, *Timaeus* 47d: ὄσον τ' αὖ μουσικῆς φωνῆ χρηστικὸν πρὸς ἀκοῆν Δένεκα ἄρμονίας ἐστὶ δοθέν· ἡ δὲ ἄρμονία, ζυγγενεῖς ἔχουσα φορὰς ταῖς ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδοις, τῷ μετὰ νοῦ προσχωμένῳ Μούσαις οὐκ ἐφ' ἡδονὴν ἄλογον, καθάπερ νῦν, εἶναι δοκεῖ χρήσιμος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν γενοῦσαν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνάρμοστον ψυχῆς περίοδον εἰς κατακόσμησιν καὶ συμφωνίαν ἑαυτῇ ζύμαχος ὑπὸ Μουσῶν δέδοται.
45. Plato, *Republic* 401d-402a.
46. Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus (In Crat.)* 176 (= 102, 4-9) ed. G. Pasquali, *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Cratylum commentaria* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1908): ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ οὐρανια πᾶσα τάξις καὶ κίνησις τὸ ἐναρμόνιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργον ἐνδείκνυται· διὸ καὶ αἱ μερισταὶ ψυχαὶ οὐκ ἄλλως τελειοῦνται ἢ διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἐναρμονίου ὁμοιότητος τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀνάρμοστον ἀποσκευασάμεναι· τότε γὰρ τυγχάνουσιν τοῦ προτεθέντος αὐταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρίστου βίου. Trans. Brian Duvick, Proclus, *On Plato Cratylus* (London: Duckworth, 2007).
47. Plato, *Cratylus* 405d, ed. and trans. H.N. Fowler, *Plato. Cratylus, Parmenides. Greater Hippias. Lesser Hippias* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926).
48. Proclus, *In Crat.* 174 (= 98, 10-15), citing Chaldean Oracles Fragment 71: ἡ δὲ μουσικὴ τὸν ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ ἀρχικὸν μᾶλλον ἔχει διάκοσμον· ἐκεῖνος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον ἀρμόζων κατὰ μίαν ἔνωσιν, τὸν τῶν Μουσῶν χορὸν περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποστησάμενος, ἄρμονία φωτὸς γαυρούμενος, ὡς φησὶ τις τῶν θεουργῶν.
49. See Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 5.7 (207.8-12).
50. Proclus, *In Crat.* 174 (= 99, 4-7): καθήκουσι γὰρ αἱ τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεις ἄνωθεν ἄκρι τῶν ἐσχάτων, οἰκείως ἐν ἐκάστοις φανταζόμεναι, ἃ καὶ ἡ τελεστικὴ διὰ τῆς συμπαθείας συνάπτειν ἐπιχειρεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς.
51. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 5.23 (233.9-13). See Peter Struck, *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers at the Limits of their Texts* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 204-26.
52. Proclus, *On the Hieratic Art*, 7-13, 32-37, ed. and trans. Brian Copenhaver, 'Hermes Trismegistus, Proclus and the Question of a Philosophy of Magic in the Renaissance', in I. Merkel and A.G. Debus, eds., *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Modern Europe* (London: Associated University Presses, 1988), pp. 79-112; Struck, *Birth of the Symbol*, pp. 231-32.
53. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 10.6 (292.4-14), maintains that theurgy conjoins the human soul individually to all the parts of the cosmos and to all the divine powers pervading them, which leads and entrusts the soul to the universal demiurgic god.
54. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 4.2 (184.1-10).
55. On the crucial role of divine love or friendship (φιλία) within theurgy, see Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 1.12 (42.5-7); 4.3 (184.14-185.2); 5.7; 5.9 (209.9-11); 5.26 (238.6-8). Cosmic sympathy as an auxiliary or subordinate cause of theurgy: *De mysteriis* 5.8. Cf. also 2.11 (97.13-15); 5.5 (206.8-10). On the importance of 'friendship of all with all' (φιλίας δὲ πάντων πρὸς ἅπαντας) (between gods, spirits (*daimones*), humans and animals) in the

Pythagorean tradition, the latter of which influenced Iamblichus' conceptions of theurgy, see Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 16.69.6-7; 33.229-230. Iamblichus closes the *De mysteriis* by speaking of the 'harmonious friendship' between himself and Porphyry: *De mysteriis* 10.8 (294.4).

56. *Chaldean Oracles* Fragment 39 (= Proclus, *In Tim.* II.54.5-16), ed. and trans. R. Majercik (1989; repr. Westbury, Wiltshire: Prometheus Trust, 2013).

57. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 5.20-21; 5.23 (233.1-234.11); 5.25 (257.1-5); 5.26 (240.9-14); 10.5; 10.6 (292.4-14).

58. Cf. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 3.11 (126.10-13); 3.12 (129.1-11).

59. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 3.9.

60. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 3.9 (117.10-118.2).

61. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 3.9 (118.3-12).

62. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 3.9 (118.13-119.11): Μᾶλλον οὖν ἐκεῖνα λέγομεν, ὡς ἦχοί τε καὶ μέλη καθιέρωνται τοῖς θεοῖς οικειῶς ἐκάστοις, συγγενεῖα τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδεδόται προσφόρων κατὰ τὰς οικειᾶς ἐκάστων τάξεις καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ <τῷ> παντὶ κινήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κινήσεων ροιζουμένας ἐναρμονίους φωνάς· κατὰ δὴ τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν μελῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οικειότητος παρουσία τε αὐτῶν γίγνεται (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστὶ τι τὸ διεῖργον), ὥστε μετέχειν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς τὸ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἔχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμοιότητα, κατοχὴ τε συνίσταται εὐθὺς τελεία καὶ πλήρωσις τῆς κρείττονος οὐσίας καὶ δυνάμεως. Οὐχ ὅτι τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀλλήλους ἐστὶ συμπαθῆ καὶ συμπάσχει τοῖς μέλεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῆς θείας ἁρμονίας ἢ τῶν θεῶν ἐπίπνοια οὐκ ἀφέστηκεν, οικειωθεῖσα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν κατ' ἀρχὰς μετέχεται ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐν μέτροις τοῖς προσήκουσιν·

63. *Chaldean Oracles* Fragments 37, 107, 146. On harmony in the *Chaldean Oracles*, see Fragments 71, 97.

64. Aristotle, *On the Heavens* II.9, 290b12-291a28; Plato, *Republic* VII, 530d; X, 617b (the myth of Er); *Cratylus* 405c; Burkert, *Lore and Science*, pp. 322 and 350-51, argues that the idea is based on the association of the ancient 'seven-stringed' lyre with the idea that the planets are seven in number.

65. Burkert, *Lore and Science*, pp. 351-52.

66. Plato, *Laws* 897c-d, 898a-c. Cf. Burkert, *Lore and Science*, pp. 326, 366.

67. Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* (*De Vita Pythagorica*) 15.65.1-5.

68. Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 15.65.11-19: ἀλλὰ ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ καὶ δυσεπινοήτῳ θεϊότητι χρώμενος ἐνητένιζε τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐνήρειδε ταῖς μεταρσιαῖς τοῦ κόσμου συμφωνίαις, ἐνακούων, ὡς ἐνέφαινε, μόνος αὐτὸς καὶ συνιεις τῆς καθολικῆς τῶν σφαιρῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς κινουμένων ἀστέρων ἁρμονίας τε καὶ συνφθίας, πληρέστερόν τι τῶν θνητῶν καὶ κατακορστερον μέλος φθεγγομένης διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνομοίων μὲν καὶ ποικίλως διαφερόντων ροιζημάτων ταχῶν τε καὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ ἐποχήσεων, ἐν λόγῳ δὲ τινὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλα μουσικωτάτῳ διατεταγμένων, κίνησιν καὶ περιπόλησιν εὐμελεστάτην ἅμα καὶ ποικίλως περικαλλεστάτην ἀποτελουμένην.

69. Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 2.5-8; 15.66.4-6; O'Meara, *Pythagoras Revived*, pp. 36-39; Burkert, *Lore and science*, p. 357, notes that Pythagoras was often portrayed as a 'shaman'; thus, the tradition that he heard the heavenly music is related to the idea that the shaman, in ecstatic trance, can 'travel' to heaven and hear the heavenly music.

70. Iamblichus, *De mysteriis* 3.9 (120.3-10): Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο δεῖ λέγειν, ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ πρῶτως ὑφέστηκεν ἐξ ἁρμονίας καὶ ρυθμοῦ· ἔστι γὰρ οὕτω ψυχῆς μόνης οικειὸς ὁ ἐνθουσιασμός· βέλτιον οὖν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπόφασιν ἐκείσε μετὰγειν, ὅτι δὴ ἡ ψυχὴ, πρὶν καὶ τῷ σώματι δοῦναι ἑαυτήν, τῆς θείας ἁρμονίας κατήκουεν· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς σῶμα ἀφίκεται, ὅσα ἂν μέλη τοιαῦτα ἀκοῦσθαι οἶα μάλιστα διασώζει τὸ θεῖον ἵχνος τῆς ἁρμονίας, ἀσπάζεται ταῦτα καὶ ἀναμνησκέται ἅπ' αὐτῶν τῆς θείας ἁρμονίας, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν φέρεται καὶ οικειοῦται, μεταλαμβάνει τε αὐτῆς ὅσον οἶόν τε αὐτῆς μετέχειν.

71. Plato, *Phaedo* 72e-78b. Cf. also Plato, *Meno* on the argument for learning as recollection.
72. Plato, *Phaedrus* 246e-248b. Cf. Burkert, *Lore and Science*, p. 365.
73. Plato, *Phaedrus* 249b-c; 250b-251a. Cf. *Republic*. 402a.
74. Iamblichus, *In Phaedrum*, Fragment 3 (= Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* IV, 188, 15ff Portus).