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The life of Apollonius of Tyana

Philostratus (the
Athenian),
Eusebius (of ...

888.9
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PHILOSTRATUS
II

PHILOSTRATUS THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS AND THE
TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
F. C. CONYBEARE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW AND PRELECTOR OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

II



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PHILOSTRATUS
BOOK VI

VOL. II.

B

ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

Z'

I

CAP.
1 Αἰθιοπία δὲ τῆς μὲν ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ πάσης ἐπέχει τὸ
έσπεριν κέρας, ὥσπερ Ἰνδοὶ τὸ πρὸς ἔω, κατὰ
Μερόην δ' Αἰγύπτῳ ξυνάπτουσα καὶ τι τῆς ἀμαρ-
τύρου Λιβύης ἐπελθοῦσα τελευτᾷ ἐς θάλατταν,
ἢν Ὡκεανὸν οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, τὸ περὶ γῆν ἅπαν
ῶδε ἐπονομάζοντες. ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτῳ
δίδωσιν, ὃς ἐκ Καταδούπων ἀρχόμενος, ἢν ἐπι-
κλύζει πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον ἀπ' Αἰθιόπων ἄγει. μέγε-
θος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀξία παραβεβλήσθαι πρὸς
Ἰνδοὺς ἦδε ἡ χώρα, ὅτι μηδ' ἀλλη μηδεμίᾳ, ὅπό-
σαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὄνομασται ἡπειροι, εἰ δὲ καὶ
πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον Αἰθιοπίᾳ ξυμβάλοιμεν, τουτὶ δὲ
ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πράττειν, οὕπω ξύμ-
μετροι πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἀμφω, τοσαύτῃ ξυντε-
θεῖσα, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἀμφοῦ ὅμοιοι λογισαμένῳ τὰ

PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

BOOK VI

I

ETHIOPIA covers the western wing of the entire earth under the sun, just as India does the eastern wing; and at Meroe it adjoins Egypt, and, after skirting a part of Libya Incognita, it ends at the sea which the poets call by the name of the Ocean, that being the name they applied to the mass of water which surrounds the earth. This country supplies Egypt with the river Nile, which takes its rise at the cataracts (*Catadupi*), and brings down from Ethiopia all Egypt, the soil of which in flood-time it inundates. Now in size this country is not worthy of comparison with India, nor for that matter is any other one of the continents that are famous among men; and even if you put together all Egypt with Ethiopia, and we may regard the river as so combining the two, we could not compare the two together with India, so vast is the standard of comparison. However their respective rivers, the

CHAP.
I

Comparison
of the rivers
Indus and
Nile

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. I Ινδοῦ τε καὶ Νείλου· ἐπιρράινουσί τε γὰρ τὰς ἡπείρους ἐν ὥρᾳ ἔτους, όπότε ἡ γῆ ἐρᾷ τούτου, ποταμῶν τε παρέχονται μόνοι τὸν κροκόδειλον καὶ τὸν ἵππον, λόγοι τε ὁργίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἴσοι, πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Νείλῳ ἐπιθειάζεται. τὴν δὲ ὄμοιότητα τῶν ἡπείρων πιστούσθων μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρώματα, πιστούσθων δὲ καὶ οἱ λεόντες καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἀλισκόμενός τε καὶ δουλεύων. βόσκουσι δὲ καὶ θηρία, οἷα οὐχ ἐτέρωθι, καὶ ἀνθρώπους μέλανας, ὃ μὴ ἄλλαι ἡπειροι, Πυγμάιων τε ἐν αὐταῖς ἔθνη καὶ ὑλακτούντων ἄλλο ἄλλῃ καὶ ὡδε θαυμαστά. γρῦπτες δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ μύρμηκες Αἰθιόπων, εἰ καὶ ἀνόμοιοι τὴν ἴδεαν εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὅμοιά γε, ὡς φασι, βούλονται, χρυσοῦ γὰρ φύλακες ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἁδονται, τὸ χρυσόγεων τῶν ἡπείρων ἀσπαζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐσ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἵτω καὶ ἔχώμεθα τοῦ ἀνδρός.

II

CAP. II Ἀφικόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἴγυπτίων ὅρια, Συκάμινον δὲ αὐτὰ ὀνομάζουσι, χρυσῷ τε ἀσήμῳ ἐνέτυχε καὶ λίνῳ καὶ ἐλέφαντι καὶ ρίξαις καὶ μύρῳ καὶ ἀρώμασιν ἕκειτο δὲ πάντα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

Indus and the Nile, resemble one another, if we CHAP.
consider their natures. For they both spread their
moisture over the land in the summer season, when
the earth most wants it, and unlike all other rivers
they produce the crocodile and the river-horse ;
and the religious rites celebrated over them corres-
pond with one another, for many of the religious
invocations of the Indians are repeated in the case
of the Nile. We have a proof of the similarity of
the two countries in the spices which are found in
them, also in the fact that the lion and the elephant
are captured and confined in both the one and the
other. They are also the haunts of animals not
found elsewhere, and of black men—a feature not
found in other continents—and we meet in them
with races of pygmies and of people who bark in
various ways instead of talking, and other wonders
of the kind. And the gryphons of the Indians and
the ants of the Ethiopians, though they are dis-
similar in form, yet, from what we hear, play similar
parts ; for in each country they are, according to the
tales of poets, the guardians of gold, and devoted to
the gold reefs of the two countries. But we will
not pursue this subject ; for we must resume the
course of our history and follow in the sage's
footsteps.

II

FOR when he arrived at the confines of Ethiopia CHAP.
and Egypt, and the name of the place is Sycaminus,
he came across a quantity of uncoined gold and
linen and an elephant and various roots and myrrh
and spices, which were all lying without anyone to
Bartering
between
Egyptians
and
Ethiopians

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. άφύλακτα ἐν ὁδῷ σιστῆ· καὶ δὲ τι βούλεται
II ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, νομίζεται γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς
ἔτι· ἀγορὰν Αἰθιόπες ἀπάγουσιν, ὡν Αἰθιοπία
δίδωσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνελόμενοι πᾶσαν ξυμφέρουσιν ἐς
τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον ἀγορὰν Αἰγυπτίαν ἵσου ἀξίαν
ῳούμενοι τῶν αὐτοῖς ὅντων τὰ οὐκ ὅντα. οἱ δὲ
τὰ δρια τῶν ἡπείρων οἰκοῦντες οὕπω μέλαινες,
ἀλλὰ ὄμόφυλοι τὸ χρῶμα, μελαίνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν
ἡττον Αἰθιόπων, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον Αἰγυπτίων. ξυνεῖς
οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἥθους, “οἱ δὲ
χρηστοί,” ἔφη, “Ἐλληνες, ἦν μὴ ὄβολὸς ὄβολὸν
τέκη καὶ τὰ ὕνια αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμήσωσι καπηλεύ-
οντες ἡ καθειργυνύντες, οὐ φασι ζῆν, ὁ μὲν θυγατέρα
σκηπτόμενος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμων, ὁ δὲ υἱὸν ἥδη τελοῦντα
ἐς ἄνδρας, ὁ δὲ ἐράνου πλήρωσιν, ὁ δὲ, ως οἰκοδο-
μοῦτο οἰκίαν, ὁ δέ, ως αἰσχύνοιτο χρηματιστὴς
ἥττων τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαι. καλῶς δὲ ἄρ' εἶχεν, ἵνα
ὁ πλοῦτος ἀτίμως ἐπραττεν ἴσοτης τε ἥνθει,
μέλας δὲ ἀπέκειτο σίδηρος,
όμονοούντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐδό-
κει μία.”

III

CAP. Τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενος καὶ ξυμβούλους τῶν δια-
III λέξεων, ὡσπερ εἰώθει, ποιούμενος τοὺς καιρούς,
6

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

watch them at the crossways. I will explain the CHAP.
meaning of this, for the same custom still survives II
among ourselves. It was a market place to which
the Ethiopians bring all the products of their
country ; and the Egyptians in their turn take them
all away and bring to the same spot their own
wares of equal value, so bartering what they have
got for what they have not. Now the inhabitants
of the marches are not yet fully black but are half-
breeds in matter of colour, for they are partly not so
black as the Ethiopians, yet partly more so than the
Egyptians. Apollonius, accordingly, when he realised
the character of the market, remarked. " Contrast
our good Hellenes : they pretend they cannot live
unless one penny begets another, and unless they
can force up the price of their goods by chaffering
or holding them back ; and one pretends that he
has got a daughter whom it is time to marry, and
another that he has got a son who has just reached
manhood, and a third that he has to pay his sub-
scription to his club, and a fourth that he is having
a house built for him, and a fifth that he would
be ashamed of being a worse man of business than
his father was before him. What a splendid thing
then it would be, if wealth were held in less honour
and equality flourished a little more, and 'if the
black iron were left to rust in the ground,' for
then all men would agree with one another, and the
whole earth would be like one brotherhood."

Compared
with Greek
trading

III

WITH such conversations, the occasions providing CHAP.
as usual the topics he talked about, he turned his III

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἐχώρει ^{III} ἐπὶ Μέμνονος, ἡγεῦτο δ' αὐτοῖς μειράκιον

Αἰγύπτιον, ὑπὲρ οὖ τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμις· Τιμασίων μὲν τῷ μειρακίῳ τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν, ἐφήβου δὲ ἄρτι ὑπαπήει καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἔτι ἔρρωτο. σωφρονοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ μητριὰ ἐρῶσα ἐνέκειτο καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐποίει, ξυντιθεῖσα μὲν οὐδὲν ὅνπερ ἡ Φαιόδρα, διαβάλλουσα δ' αὐτὸν ὡς θῆλυν καὶ ἐρασταῖς μᾶλλον ἡ γυναῖοις χαίροντα. ὁ δὲ ἐκλιπὼν Ναύκρατιν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, περὶ Μέμφιν διητάτο, καὶ ναῦν δὲ ἴδιόστολον ἐκέκτητο καὶ ἐναυκλήρει ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ. ἴδων οὖν ἀναπλέοντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καταπλέων αὐτὸς ξυνῆκε τε, ὡς ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν εἴη τὸ πλήρωμα, ξυμβαλλόμενος τοῖς τρίβωσι καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις, οἷς προσεσπούδαζον, καὶ ἵκέτευε προσδοῦναί οἱ τῆς τοῦ πλοῦ κοινωνίας ἐρῶντι σοφίας, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “σώφρων,” ἔφη, “ὅ νεανίσκος, ὡς ἀνδρες, καὶ ἀξιούσθω ὡν δεῖται,” καὶ διῆλθε τὸν περὶ τῆς μητριὰς λόγον πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῶν ἑταίρων ὑφειμένῳ τῷ τόνῳ, προσπλέοντος τοῦ μειρακίου ἔτι. ὡς δὲ ξυνήεσαν αἱ νῆες, μεταβὰς ὁ Τιμασίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην εἰπών τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ φόρτου, προσεῖπε τοὺς ἀνδρας. κελεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατ’ ὄφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἵζῆσαι, “μειράκιον,” ἔφη, “Αἰγύπτιον,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

steps towards Memnon ; an Egyptian boy showed them the way, of whom Damis gives the following account : Timasion was the name of this stripling, who was just emerging from boyhood, and was now in the prime of life and strength. He had a step-mother who had fallen in love with him ; and when he rejected her overtures, she set upon him and by way of spiting him had poisoned his father's mind against him, condescending to a lower intrigue than ever Phaedra had done, for she accused him of being effeminate, and of finding his pleasure in favourites rather than in women. He had accordingly abandoned Naucratis, for it was there that all this happened, and was living in the neighbourhood of Memphis ; and he had acquired and manned a boat of his own and was plying as a waterman on the Nile. He then, was going down the river when he saw Apollonius sailing up it ; and he concluded that the crew consisted of wise men, because he judged them by the cloaks they wore and the books they were hard at work studying. So he asked them whether they would allow one who was so passionately fond of wisdom as himself to share their voyage ; and Apollonius said : " This youth is wise, my friends, so let him be granted his request." And he further related the story about the step-mother to those of his companions who were nearest to him, in a low tone while the stripling was still sailing towards them. But when the ships were alongside of one another, Timasion stepped out of his boat, and after addressing a word or two to his pilot, about the cargo in his own boat, he greeted the company. Apollonius then ordered him to sit down under his eyes, and said : " You stripling of Egypt, for you

They meet
Timasion
who tells
his story

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ^{III} ἔσικας γὰρ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἶναι τις, τί σοι φαῦλον
ἡ τί χρηστὸν εἴργασται, λέξον, ώς τῶν μὲν λύσις
παρ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτό σοι δι' ἡλικίαν, τῶν δ' αὐ
ἐπαινεθεὶς ἐμοί τε ξυμφιλοσοφοίης καὶ τοῖσδε.”
όρῶν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ἐρυθριώντα καὶ μετα-
βάλλοντα τὴν ὄρμὴν τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ λέξαι τι
ἡ μή, θαμὰ ἥρειδε τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ὥσπερ οὐδεμιᾶ
προγνώσει ἐς αὐτὸν κεχρημένος, ἀναθαρσήσας δὲ
ὁ Τιμασίων, “ὦ θεοί,” ἔφη, “τίνα ἐμαυτὸν εἴπω;
κακὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰμί, ἀγαθὸν δὲ εἰ χρὴ νομί-
ζεσθαί με, οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν οὕπω ἐπαι-
νος.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “βαβαί,” ἔφη, “μειρά-
κιον, ώς ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν μοι διαλέγῃ, ταυτὶ γὰρ καὶ
Ἰάρχα δοκεῖ τῷ θείῳ. ἀλλ’ εἰπὲ ὅπως ταῦτα δοξά-
ζεις, κάξ ὅτου; φυλαξαμένῳ γάρ τι ἀμαρτεῖν ἔοι-
κας.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρξαμένου λέγειν, ώς ἡ μητριὰ μὲν
ἐπ' αὐτὸν φέροιτο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐρώσῃ ἐκσταίη, βοὴ
ἐγένετο, ώς δαιμονίως αὐτὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου προ-
ειπόντος, ὑπολαβὼν δὲ Τιμασίων, “ὦ λῶστοι,” ἔφη,
“τί πεπόνθατε; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχει τὰ εἰρημένα
θαύματος, ὅσον, οἷμαι, γέλωτος.” καὶ ὁ Δάμις,
“ἔτερόν τι,” ἔφη, “ἐθαυμάσαμεν, δομήπω γιγνώσκεις.
καὶ σὲ δέ, μειράκιον, ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι μηδὲν οἴει

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

seem to be one of the natives, tell me what you have CHAP.
done of evil or what of good ; for in the one case III
you shall be forgiven by me, in consideration of
your youth ; but in the other you shall reap my com-
mendation and become a fellow-student of philosophy
with me and with these gentlemen." Then noticing
that Timasion blushed and checked his impulse
to speak, and hesitated whether to say or not what
he had been going to say, he pressed his question
and repeated it, just as if he had no fore-knowledge
of the youth at his command. Then Timasion
plucked up courage and said : " O Heavens, how
shall I describe myself ? for I am not a bad boy, and
yet I do not know whether I ought to be considered
a good one, for there is no particular merit in having
abstained from wrong." But Apollonius cried :
" Bravo, my boy, you answer me just as if you were
a sage from India ; for this was just the sentiment
of the divine Iarchas. But tell me how you came to
form these opinions, and how long ago ; for it strikes
me that you have been on your guard against some
sin." The youth then began to tell them of his
step-mother's infatuation for himself, and of how he
had rejected her advances ; and when he did so,
there was a shout in recognition of the divine
inspiration under which Apollonius had foretold
these details. Timasion, however, caught them
up and said : " Most excellent people, what is
the matter with you ? for my story is one which
calls as little for your admiration, I think, as for
your ridicule." But Damis said : " It was not that we were admiring, but something else which you don't know about yet. As for you, my boy, we praise you because you think that you did nothing

Apollonius commends his continence

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. λαμπρὸν εἰργάσθαι.” “’Αφροδίτη ὁ τόπος θύεις, ὡς μειράκιον;” ἥρετο ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων,
^{III} “νὴ Δῆ,” εἶπεν, “ὅσημέραι γε, πολλὴν γὰρ ἥγουμαι τὴν θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπείοις τε καὶ θείοις πράγμασιν.” ὑπερησθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ψηφισώμεθα,” ἔφη, “ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐστεφανῶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ πρὸ Ἰππολύτου τοῦ Θησέως, ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὕβρισε, καὶ διὰ τουτὶ ἵσως οὐδὲ ἀφροδισίων ἥττητο, οὐδὲ ἔρως ἐπ’ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐκώμαζεν, ἀλλ’ ἦν τῆς ἀγροικοτέρας τε καὶ ἀτέγκτου μοίρας, οὗτοσὶ δὲ ἥττᾶσθαι τῆς θεοῦ φάσκων, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐρῶσαν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀπῆλθεν αὐτὴν δείσας τὴν θεόν, εἰς τὸ κακῶς ἐρᾶσθαι μὴ φυλάξοιτο, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸ διαβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς οὐτιναδὴ τῶν θεῶν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ἰππόλυτος, οὐκ ἀξιῶ σωφροσύνης, σωφρονέστερον γὰρ τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὖ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνσιν, οὐ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἴδρυνται.” τοσαῦτα ἐστὸν Τιμασίωνα αὐτῷ ἐσπουδάσθη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ Ἰππόλυτόν γε ἐκάλει αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς ὄφθαλμούς, οὓς τὴν μητριαὶν εἶδεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἐπαφροδίτως ἄψασθαι.

IV

CAP. ^{IV} ‘Τπὸ τούτῳ ἥγεμόνι παρελθεῖν φασιν ἐστὸ τέμενος τοῦ Μέμνονος. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Μέμνονος τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμις· ’Ηοὺς μὲν παῖδα γενέσθαι αὐτόν,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

very remarkable." And Apollonius asked : " Do you sacrifice to Aphrodite, my boy ? " And Timasion answered : " Yes, by Zeus, every day ; for I consider that this goddess has great influence in human and divine affairs." Thereat Apollonius was delighted beyond measure, and cried : " Let us, gentlemen, vote a crown to him for his continence rather than to Hippolytus the son of Theseus, for the latter insulted Aphrodite ; and that perhaps is why he never fell a victim to the tender passion, and why love never ran riot in his soul ; but he was allotted an austere and unbending nature. But our friend here admits that he is devoted to the goddess, and yet did not respond to his step-mother's guilty overtures, but went away in terror of the goddess herself, in case he were not on his guard against another's evil passions ; and the mere aversion to any one of the gods, such as Hippolytus entertained in regard to Aphrodite, I do not class as a form of sobriety ; for it is a much greater proof of wisdom and sobriety to speak well of all the gods, especially at Athens, where altars are set up in honour even of unknown gods." So great was the interest which he took in Timasion. Nevertheless he called him Hippolytus for the eyes with which he looked at his step-mother. It seemed also that he was a young man who was particular about his person and enhanced its charms by attention to athletic exercises.

IV

UNDER his guidance, they say, they went on to the sacred inclosure of Memnon, of whom Damis gives the following account. He says that he was

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀφικέσθαι ἐς
IV Τροίαν, ἀλλ’ ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ τελευτῆσαι βασιλεύσαντα
Αἰθιόπων γενεὰς πέντε. οἱ δ’, ἐπειδὴ μακροβιώτατοι
ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν, ὀλοφύρονται τὸν Μέμνονα ὡς κο-
μιδῆ μέον καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ἀώρῳ κλαίουσι, τὸ δὲ χωρίον,
ἐν φῖδρυται, φασὶ μὲν προσεοικέναι ἀγορᾶ ἀρχαία,
οἷαι τῶν ἀγορῶν ἐν πόλεσι ποτε οἰκηθείσαις λείπον-
ται, στηλῶν παρεχόμεναι τρύφη καὶ τειχῶν ἔχνη
καὶ θάκους καὶ φλιὰς ἔρμῶν τε ἀγάλματα, τὰ μὲν
ὑπὸ χειρῶν διεφθορότα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ χρόνου. τὸ δὲ
ἄγαλμα τετράφθαι πρὸς ἀκτῖνα μήπω γενειάσκον,
λίθου δὲ εἶναι μέλανος, ξυμβεβηκέναι δὲ τὸ πόδε
ἄμφω κατὰ τὴν ἀγαλμοτοποιίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαιδάλου,
καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπερείδειν ὄρθας ἐς τὸν θάκον,
καθῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν ὄρμῇ τοῦ ὑπανίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ
σχῆμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν τῶν ὁφθαλμῶν νοῦν καὶ
ὅπόσα τοῦ στόματος ὡς φθεγξομένου ἄδουσι, τὸν
μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἥττον θαυμάσαι φασίν, οὕπω
γὰρ ἐνεργὰ φαίνεσθαι, προσβαλούσης δὲ τὸ
ἄγαλμα τῆς ἀκτῖνος, τουτὶ δὲ γίγνεσθαι περὶ
ἥλιον ἐπιτολάς, μὴ κατασχεῖν τὸ θαῦμα, φθέγξα-
σθαι μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμα τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἐλθούσης
αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στόμα, φαιδροὺς δὲ ιστάναι τοὺς
ὁφθαλμοὺς δόξαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς, οἷα τῶν ἀνθρώπων
οἱ εὐήλιοι. τότε ξυνεῖναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the son of the Dawn, and that he did not meet his death in Troy, where indeed he never went; but that he died in Ethiopia after ruling the land for five generations. But his countrymen being the longest lived of men, still mourn him as a mere youth and deplore his untimely death. But the place in which his statue is set up resembles, they tell us, an ancient market-place, such as remain in cities that were long ago inhabited, and where we come on the remains of columns delicately worked, and find traces of walls and of seats and of the jambs of doors, and images of Hermes, some destroyed by the hand of man, others by that of time. Now this statue, says Damis, was turned towards the sunrise, and was that of a youth still unbearded; and it was made of a black stone, and the two feet were joined together after the style in which statues were made in the time of Daedalus; and the hands were thrust down supporting the body upright upon its seat, for though the figure was still sitting it was represented in the very act and impulse of rising up. We hear much of this attitude of the statue, and of the expression of its eyes, and of how the lips seem about to speak; but they say that they had no opportunity of admiring these effects until they saw them realised; for when the sun's rays fell upon the statue, and this happened exactly at dawn, they could not restrain their admiration; for the lips spoke immediately the sun's ray touched them, and the eyes seemed to stand out and gleam against the light as do those of men who love to bask in the sun. Then they say they understood that the figure was of one in the act of rising and making obeisance to the sun, in the way those do who worship the

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. δοκεῖ ὑπανίστασθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τὸ κρεῖττον ὄρθοὶ
IV θεραπεύουστες. Θύσαντες οὖν Ἡλίῳ τε Αἰθίοπι καὶ
Ἡώῳ Μέμνονι, τουτὶ γὰρ ἔφραζον οἱ Ἱερεῖς, τὸν
μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴθειν τε καὶ θάλπειν, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς
μητρὸς ἐπονομάζοντες, ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ καμῆλων ἐς
τὰ τῶν Γυμνῶν ἥθη.

V

CAP. V Ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐντυχόντες ἐσταλμένῳ τρόπον, ὅνπερ
οἱ Μεμφῖται, καὶ ἀλύσοντι μᾶλλον ἡ ἔυντείνοντι
ἥροντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν, ὅστις εἴη καὶ δι' ὅ τι
πλανῶτο, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, “ἔμοῦ,” ἔφη, “πυν-
θάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτου, οὗτος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀν
εἴποι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος αἰδοῖ τῆς ἔυμ-
φορᾶς, ἡ κέχρηται, ἐγὼ δέ, γυγνώσκω γὰρ τὸν
ἄνδρα καὶ ἐλεῶ, λέξω τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν πάντα·
ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ Μεμφίτην τινὰ ἄκων, κελεύοντι δ'
οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν νόμοι τὸν φεύγοντα ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ,
δεῦ δὲ φεύγειν, ἐπὶ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς εἶναι, καὶν ἐκνίψη-
ται τοῦ φόνου, χωρεῖν ἐς ἥθη καθαρὸν ἥδη, βαδι-
σαντα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πεφονευμένου σῆμα
καὶ σφάξαντά τι ἐκεῖ οὐ μέγα. τὸν δὲ χρόνον, διν
οὕπω τοῖς Γυμνοῖς ἐνέτυχεν, ἀλάσθαι χρὴ περὶ¹
ταυτὶ τὰ ὅρια, ἔστ' ἀν αἰδέσωνται αὐτόν, ὥσπερ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

powers above standing erect. They accordingly CHAP.
offered a sacrifice to the Sun of Ethiopia and to IV
Memnon of the Dawn, for this the priests recom-
mended them to do, explaining that the one name
was derived from the words signifying "to burn and
be warm,"¹ and the other from his mother. Having
done this they set out upon camels for the home of
the naked philosophers.

V

ON the way they met a man wearing the garb of CHAP.
the inhabitants of Memphis, but who was wandering V
about rather than wending his steps to a fixed point ; so Damis asked him who he was and why he was roving about like that. But Timasion said : " You had better ask me, and not him ; for he will never tell you what is the matter with him, because he is ashamed of the plight in which he finds himself ; but as for me, I know the poor man and pity him, and I will tell you all about him. For he has slain unwittingly a certain inhabitant of Memphis, and the laws of Memphis prescribe that a person exiled for an involuntary offence of this kind,—and the penalty is exile,—should remain with the naked philosophers until he has washed away the guilt of bloodshed, and then he may return home as soon as he is pure, though he must first go to the tomb of the slain man and sacrifice there some trifling victim. Now until he has been received by the naked philosophers, so long he must roam about these marches, until they take pity

The slayer
of Philiscus
is purified
of blood-
guilt by
the Sage

¹ *Aithō* = I burn : *Aithiōps* = an Aethiop.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ικέτην.” ἥρετο οὖν τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος,
πῶς οἱ Γυμνοὶ περὶ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἐκείνου φρονοῦ-
σιν, ὁ δέ, “οὐκ οἶδα,” εἶπε, “μῆνα γὰρ τουτονὶ^v
ἔβδομον ἱκετεύει δεῦρο καὶ οὕπω λύσις.” “οὐ
σοφοὺς λέγεις ἄνδρας,” ἔφη, “εἰ μὴ καθαίρουσιν
αὐτόν, μηδὲ γιγνώσκουσιν, ὅτι Φιλίσκος, διν ἀπέ-
κτεινεν οὗτος, ἀνέφερεν ἐς Θαμοῦν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον,
ὅς ἐδήωσε ποτε τὴν τῶν Γυμνῶν χώραν.” Θαυμάσας
οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων, “πῶς,” ἔφη, “λέγεις ;” “ὦ γε,”
εἶπεν, “ὦ μειράκιον, καὶ πέπρακται· Θαμοῦν γάρ
ποτε νεώτερα ἐπὶ Μεμφίτας πράττοντα ἥλεγξαν
οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ ἔσχον, ὁ δὲ ὄρμῆς ἀμαρτὼν ἐκειρε
πᾶσαν, ἦν οὗτοι νέμονται, ληστρικῶς γὰρ περὶ^v
Μέμφιν ἔρρωτο· τούτου Φιλίσκου, διν οὗτος ἀπέκ-
τεινεν, ὥρῳ ἔκγονον τρίτον ἀπὸ δεκάτου, κατάρατον
δηλαδὴ τούτοις, ὧν ὁ Θαμοῦς τότε διεπόρθει τὴν
χώραν· καὶ ποῦ σοφόν, διν στεφανοῦν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ
προνοήσας ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον ἀκουσίου φόνου μέν,
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δ’ εἰργασμένου μὴ καθῆραι ;” ἐκ-
πλαγὲν οὖν τὸ μειράκιον, “ξένε,” εἶπε, “τίς εἰ ;”
καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “διν ἄν,” ἔφη, “παρὰ τοῖς
Γυμνοῖς εὔροις. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕπω μοι ὅσιον προσ-
φθέγξασθαι τὸν ἐν τῷ αἴματι, κέλευσον αὐτόν, ὡ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

upon him as if he were a suppliant." Apollonius CHAP.
therefore put the question to Timasion : " What do ^V the naked philosophers think of this particular exile ? " And he answered : " I do not know anything more than that this is the seventh month that he has remained here as a suppliant, and that he has not yet obtained redemption." Said Apollonius : " You don't call men wise, who refuse to purify him, and are not aware that Philiscus whom he slew was a descendant of Thamus the Egyptian, who long ago laid waste the country of these naked philosophers." Thereat Timasion said in surprise : " What do you mean ? " " I mean," said the other, " my good youth, what was actually the fact ; for this Thamus once on a time was intriguing against the inhabitants of Memphis, and these philosophers detected his plot and prevented him ; and he having failed in his enterprise retaliated by laying waste all the land upon which they live, for by his brigandage he tyrannised the country round Memphis. I perceive that Philiscus whom this man slew was the thirteenth in descent from this Thamus, and was obviously an object of execration to those whose country the latter so thoroughly ravaged at the time in question. Where then is their wisdom ? Here is a man that they ought to crown, even if he had slain the other intentionally ; and yet they refuse to purge him of a murder which he committed involuntarily on their behalf." The youth then was astounded and said : " Stranger, who are you ? " And Apollonius replied : " He whom you shall find among these naked philosophers. But as it is not allowed me by my religion to address one who

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ^V μειράκιον, θαρρεῖν, ώς αὐτίκα δὴ καθαρεύσοντα,
εἰ βαδίσειεν οὖ καταλύω.” ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐπιδράσας
δσα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὑπὲρ καθαρ-
σίων νομίζουσιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς ἡθη στείχειν ώς
καθαρὸν ἥδη τῆς αἰτίας.

VI

CAP. ^{VI} Ἐντεῦθεν ἔξελάσαντες ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντος, ἀφί-
κοντο πρὸ μεσημβρίας ἐς τὸ τῶν Γυμνῶν φροντι-
στήριον. τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς τούτους οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐπί^τ
τινος λόφου, φασί, ξυμμέτρου μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
δύχθης τοῦ Νεῖλου, σοφίᾳ δὲ Ἰνδῶν λείπεσθαι
πλέον ἢ προῦχειν Αἰγυπτίων, γυμνοὺς δὲ ἐστάλθαι
κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖς εἰληθεροῦσιν Ἀθήνησι. δένδρα
δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὄλιγα καὶ τι ἄλσος οὐ μέγα, ἐς δὲ
ξυνίασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, ἵερα δὲ οὐκ ἐς ταῦτον,
ῶσπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν, ἄλλο δὲ ἄλλη τοῦ γηλόφου
ἴδρυται σπουδῆς ἀξιούμενα, ώς Αἰγυπτίων λόγοι.
Θεραπεύουσι δὲ Νεῖλον μάλιστα, τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν
τοῦτον ἥγοῦνται γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ. καλύβης μὲν οὖν
ἡ οἰκίας οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ δέονται, ζῶντες ὑπαίθριοι καὶ
ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ, καταγωγὴν δὲ ἀποχρώσαν
τοῖς ξένοις ἐδείμαντο, στοὰν οὐ μεγάλην, ἴσομήκη
ταῖς Ἡλείων, ὑφ' αἷς ὁ ἀθλητὴς περιμένει τὸ
μεσημβριὸν κήρυγμα.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

is stained with blood, I would ask you, my good boy, CHAP.
to encourage him, and tell him that he will at once ^V be purged of guilt, if he will come to the place where I am lodging." And when the man in question came, Apollonius went through the rites over him which Empedocles and Pythagoras prescribe for the purification of such offences, and told him to return home, for that he was now pure of guilt.

VI

THENCE they rode out at sunrise, and arrived before CHAP.
midday at the academy of the naked sages, who VI
dwell, they relate, upon a moderate-sized hill a little way from the bank of the Nile ; and in point of wisdom they fall short of the Indians rather more than they excel the Egyptians. And they wear next to no clothes in the same way as people do at Athens in the heat of summer. And in their district there are few trees, and a certain grove of no great size to which they resort when they meet for the transaction of common affairs ; but they do not build their shrines in one and the same place, as Indian shrines are built, but one is in one part of the hill and another in another, all worthy of observation, according to the accounts of the Egyptians. The Nile is the chief object of their worship, for they regard this river as land and water at once. They have no need, however, of hut or dwelling, because they live in the open air directly under the heaven itself, but they have built an hospice to accommodate strangers, and it is a portico of no great size, about equal in length to those of Elis, beneath which the athletes await the sound of the midday trumpet.

The haunts
of the naked
sages

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

VII

CAP.
VII 'Ενταῦθά τι ἀναγράφει Δάμις Εὐφράτου ἔργον,
ἡγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ μειρακιώδες, ἀλλ' ἀφιλοτιμό-
τερον τοῦ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσήκουντος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ
Ἀπολλωνίου θαμὰ ἥκουε βουλομένου σοφίαν
Ίνδικὴν ἀντικρῖναι Αἴγυπτίᾳ, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς
Γυμνοὺς Θρασύβουλον τὸν ἐκ Ναυκράτιδος ὑπὲρ
διαβολῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὁ δὲ ἥκειν μὲν ὑπὲρ ξυνου-
σίας, ἔφη, τῆς πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν
Τυανέα, τοντὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις ἀγῶνα ἔχειν οὐ σμικρόν,
φρονεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ίνδῶν σοφούς,
οὓς ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ αἱρει, μυρίας δὲ ἐλέγχεις ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς συνεσκευάσθαι, ξυγχωρεῖν τε οὕτε ἡλίῳ
οὐδὲν οὕτε οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ, κινεῖν γὰρ καὶ ὄχεῖν
αὐτὸς ταῦτα καὶ μετατάπτειν οἱ βούλεται.

VIII

CAP.
VIII Τοιαῦτα ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ξυνθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν, οἱ δ'
ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἡγούμενοι τὴν μὲν ξυνουσίαν οὐ
παρητοῦντο ἥκουντος, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ σπουδά-
ζειν ἐπλάττοντο καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνοις εἶναι, ἀφίξ-
εσθαι δὲ κάκείνῳ ἐς λόγους, ἣν σχολὴν ἄγωσι
μάθωσί τε, ὅ τι βούλεται καὶ ὅτου ἐρῶν ἥκεν. ἐκέ-
22

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

VII

AT this place Damis records an action of Euphrates, CHAP.
which if we do not regard it as juvenile, was anyhow VII
unworthy of the dignity of a philosopher. Euphrates
had heard Apollonius often say that he wished to
compare the wisdom of India with that of Egypt,
so he sent up to the naked sages one Thrasybulus, a
native of Naucratis, to take away our sage's character.
Euphrates' intrigues with them against Apollonius
Thrasybulus at the same time that he pretended to
have come there in order to enjoy their society, told
them that the sage of Tyana also would presently
arrive, and that they would have no little trouble
with him, because he esteemed himself more highly
than the sages of India did themselves, though he
extolled the latter whenever he opened his mouth ;
and he added that Apollonius had contrived a thou-
sand pitfalls for them, and that he would not allow
any sort of influence either to the sun, or to the sky,
or to the earth, but pretended to move and juggle
and rearrange these forces for whatever end he
chose.

VIII

HAVING concocted these stories the man of Nau- CHAP.
cratis went away; and they, imagining they were true, VIII
did not indeed decline to meet Apollonius when he
arrived, but pretended that they were occupied with
important business and were so intent upon it, that
they could only arrange an interview with him if
they had time, and if they were informed first of
what he wanted and of what attracted him thither.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
VIII λευε δὲ ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἡκων καὶ καταλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑπὲρ μὲν στέγης,” ἔφη, “μηδὲν διαλέγουν, ξυγχωρεῖ γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ἐνταῦθα γυμνοῖς ζῆν,” διαβάλλων αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ καρτερίᾳ γυμνούς, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη, “ὅτι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἡκω τοὺς μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω οὕπω γιγνώσκοντας, Ἰνδοὶ δέ με οὐκ ἤροντο ταῦτα.”

IX

CAP.
IX ‘Ο μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐνὶ τῶν δένδρων ὑποκλιθεὶς ξυνῆν τοῖς ἑταίροις ὄπόσα ἥρωτων, ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Δάμις ἥρετο ἵδιᾳ· “οἱ Γυμνοὶ οὗτοι, βέλτιστε, ξυγγέγονας γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τί σοφοί εἰσι;” “πολλά,” ἔφη, “καὶ μεγάλα.” “καὶ μὴν οὐ σοφά,” εἶπεν, “αὐτῶν, ὡς γενναῖε, τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ξυμβῆναι τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ ὑπὲρ σοφίας, ὅγκῳ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν χρήσασθαι τί φῶ οὐκ οἶδα ἢ τῦφον,” ἔφη, “ὦ ἑταῖρε.” “τῦφον; δὲν οὕπω πρότερον περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶδον δὲς ἥδη ἀφικόμενος, ἀεὶ γὰρ μέτριοί τε καὶ χρηστοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμυγνύντας ἥσαν. πρώην γοῦν, πεντήκοντα δὲ τοῦτ' ἵσως ἡμέραι, Θρασύβουλος μὲν ἐπεχωρίαζεν ἐνταῦθα, χαμπρὸν οὐδὲν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

And a messenger from them bade them stay and lodge CHAP.
VIII in the portico, but Apollonius remarked: "We do not want to hear about a house for ourselves, for the climate here is such that anyone can live naked,"— an unkind reference this to them, as it implied that they went without clothes not to show their endurance, but because it was too hot to wear any. And he added: "I am not surprised indeed at their not yet knowing what I want, and what I am come here for, though the Indians never asked me these questions."

IX

ACCORDINGLY Apollonius lay down under one of CHAP.
IX the trees, and let his companions who were there with him ask whatever question they pleased. But Damis took Timasion apart and asked him the question in private: "About these naked sages, my good fellow, as you have lived with them, and in all probability know, tell me what their wisdom comes to?" "It is," answered the other, "manifold and profound." "And yet," said Damis, "their demeanour towards us does not evince any wisdom, my fine fellow; for when they refuse to converse about wisdom with so great a man as our master, and assume all sorts of airs against him, what can I say of them except that they are too vain and proud." "Pride and vanity!" said the other, "I have already come among them twice, and I never saw any such thing about them; for they were always very modest and courteous towards those who came to visit them. At any rate a little time ago, perhaps a matter of fifty days, one Thrasybulus was staying here who

Timasion
reveals
these
intrigues

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CHAP. πράττων, οἱ δ' ἄσμενοι αὐτὸν ἀπεδέξαντο, ἐπειδὴ^{IX}
προσέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ.” καὶ ὁ Δάμις,
“τί λέγεις, ὡς μειράκιον; ἔώρακας σὺ Θρασύ-
βουλον τὸν Ναυκρατίτην ἐν τῷ φροντιστηρίῳ
τούτῳ;” “καὶ πρός γε,” εἶπε, “διήγαγον αὐτὸν τῇ
ἔμαυτοῦ νηὶ κατιόντα ἐνθένδε.” “τὸ πᾶν ἔχω, νὴ
τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν,” ἔφη ὁ Δάμις ἀναβοήσας τε καὶ
σχετλιάσας, “ἴσικε γὰρ πεπανουργῆσθαι τι.”
ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων, “οὐ μὲν ἀνήρ,” ἔφη,
“ώς ἡρόμην αὐτὸν χθές, ὅστις εἴη, οὕπω με ἡξίου
τοῦ ἀπορρήτου, σὺ δ’, εἰ μὴ μυστήρια ταῦτα, λέγε
ὅστις οὗτος, ἵσως γὰρ ἀν κάγω τι ξυμβαλοίμην
τῇ τοῦ ζητουμένου θήρᾳ.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥκουσε τοῦ
Δάμιδος καὶ ὅτι ὁ Τυανεὺς εἴη, “ξυνεῖληφας,” ἔφη,
“τὸ πρᾶγμα· Θρασύβουλος γὰρ καταπλέων μετ’
ἔμοι τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐρομένῳ μοι ἐφ’ ὃ τι ἀναβαίη
ἐνταῦθα, σοφίαν οὐ χρηστὴν ἑαυτοῦ διηγεῖτο, τοὺς
Γυμνοὺς τούτους ὑποψίας ἐμπεπληκέναι φάσκων
πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς ὑπεροφθείη, ὅπότε
ἔλθοι, καξὶ ὅτου μὲν διαφέρεται πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ
οἶδα, τὸ δὲ ἐς διαβολὰς καθίστασθαι γυναικεῖον
τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀπαίδευτον, ἐγὼ δ’ ἄν, ὡς διά-
κεινται, μάθοιμι προσειπῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας, φίλοις
γάρ.” καὶ ἐπανῆλθε περὶ δείλην ὁ Τιμασίων,
πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οὐδὲν φράζων πλὴν
τοῦ προσειρηκέναι σφᾶς, ἴδιᾳ δ’ ἀπαγγέλλων
πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, ὡς ἀφίξοιντο αὔριον μεστοὶ ὡν
τοῦ Θρασυβούλου ἥκουσαν.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

achieved nothing remarkable in philosophy, and they CHAP.
received him with open arms merely because he said ^{IX}
he was a disciple of Euphrates." Then Damis cried :
" What's that you say, my boy ? Then you saw
Thrasybulus of Naucratis in this academy of theirs ? "
" Yes, and what's more," answered the other, " I
conveyed him hence, when he went down the river,
in my own boat." " Now I have it, by Athene,"
cried Damis, in a loud tone of indignation. " I
warrant he has played us some dirty trick." Timasion
then replied : " Your master, when I asked him
yesterday who he was, would not answer me at once,
but kept his name a secret ; but do you, unless this
is a mystery, tell me who he is, for then I could
probably help you to find what you seek." And
when he heard from Damis, that it was the sage
of Tyana, " You have put the matter," he said,
" in a nutshell. For Thrasybulus, as he descended
the Nile with me, in answer to my question, what he
had gone up there for, explained to me that his love
of wisdom was not genuine, and said that he had
filled these naked sages here with suspicion of
Apollonius, to the end that whenever he came here
they might flout him ; and what his quarrel is with
him I know not, but anyhow, it is, I think, worthy
of a woman or of a vulgar person to backbite
him as he has done. But I will address myself to
these people and ascertain their real disposition ; for
they are friendly to me." And about eventide
Timasion returned, though without telling Apollonius
any more than that he had interchanged words
with them ; however he told Damis in private that
they meant to come the next morning primed with
all that they had heard from Thrasybulus.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

X

CAP.
_X Τὴν μὲν δὴ ἐσπέραν ἐκείνην μέτριά τε καὶ οὐκ
ἄξια τοῦ ἀναγράψαι σπουδάσαντες, ἐκοιμήθησαν
οὖ ἐδείπνησαν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος,
ῶσπερ εἰώθει, θεραπεύσας τὸν "Ἡλιον ἐφειστήκει
τινὶ γνώμῃ, προσδραμὼν δὲ αὐτῷ Νεῖλος, ὥσπερ
ἥν νεώτατος τῶν Γυμνῶν, "ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, "παρὰ σὲ
ῆκομεν." "εἰκότως," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ
γὰρ ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττης
ἐνταῦθα." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα εἶπετο τῷ Νεῖλῳ.
προσειπὼν οὖν καὶ προσρηθείς, ξυνέτυχον δὲ
ἀλλήλοις περὶ τὴν στοάν, "ποῖ," ἔφη, "ξυνε-
σόμεθα;" "ἐνταῦθα," ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίων ὁ δεῖξας
τὸ ἄλσος. ὁ δὲ Θεσπεσίων πρεσβύτατος ἦν τῶν
Γυμνῶν, καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν αὐτὸς πᾶσιν, οἱ δέ, ὥσπερ
Ἐλλανοδίκαι τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ, εἴποντο κοσμίφ
ἄμα καὶ σχολαίφ βαδίσματι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκάθισαν,
ώς ἔτυχε, τουτὶ γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν κόσμῳ ἔδρων, ἐς τὸν
Θεσπεσίωνα εἶδον πάντες οἷον ἐστιάτορα τοῦ
λόγου, ὁ δὲ ἥρξατο ἐνθένδε· "τὴν Πυθὰ καὶ τὴν
Ολυμπίαν ἐπεσκέφθαι σέ φασιν, Ἀπολλώνιε,
τουτὶ γὰρ ἀπήγγειλεν ἐνταῦθα καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ
Φάριος, ἐντευχηκέναι σοι φάσκων ἐκεῖ, καὶ τὴν
μὲν Πυθὰ τοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἥκουντας αὐλῷ τε παρα-
πέμπειν καὶ ωδαῖς καὶ ψάλσει, κωμῳδίας τε καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

X

THEY spent that evening conversing about trifles CHAP.
which are not worth recording, and then they lay ^X
down to sleep on the spot where they had supped ;
but at day-break Apollonius, after adoring the sun
according to his custom, had set himself to meditate
upon some problem, when Nilus, who was the
youngest of the naked philosophers, running up to
him, exclaimed : "We are coming to you." "Quite
right," said Apollonius, "for to get to you I have
made this long journey from the sea all the way
here." And with these words he followed Nilus.
So after exchanging greetings with the sages,
and they met him close to the portico, "Where,"
said Apollonius, "shall we hold our interview ?"
"Here," said Thespesion, pointing to the grove.
Now Thespesion was the eldest of the sect, and
presided over them all ; and they followed him with
an orderly and leisurely step, just as the jury of the
athletic sports at Olympia follow the eldest of their
number. And when they had sat down, which they
did anyhow, and without observing their previous
order, they all fixed their eyes on Thespesion as the
one who should regale them with a discourse, which
he proceeded to do as follows : "They say, Apollonius,
that you have visited the Pythian and Olympic
festivals ; for this was reported of you here by
Stratocles of Pharos, who says that he met you
there. Now those who come to the Pythian festival
are, they say, escorted with sound of pipe and song
and lyre, and are honoured with shows of comedies
and tragedies ; and then last of all they are presented

Thespesion's
harangue
against
Apollonius

He attacks
the sages
of India

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τραγῳδίας ἀξιοῦν, εἴτα τὴν ἀγωνίαν παρέχειν τὴν
χ γυμνὴν ὁψὲ τούτων, τὴν δὲ Ὁλυμπίαν τὰ μὲν
τοιαῦτα ἔξελεῖν ώς ἀνάρμοστα καὶ οὐ χρηστὰ
ἐκεῖ, παρέχεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ιοῦσιν ἀθλητὰς
γυμνούς, Ἡρακλέους ταῦτα ξυνθέντος· τοῦτο ἡγοῦ
παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ μὲν γάρ,
ῶσπερ ἐς τὴν Πυθὼν καλοῦντες, ποικίλαις δημαγω-
γοῦσιν ἴνγξιν, ἡμεῖς δέ, ὕσπερ ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ,
γυμνοί. οὐχ ὑποστρώννυσιν ἡ γῆ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα,
οὐδὲ γάλα ὕσπερ βάκχαις ἡ οἰνον δίδωσιν, οὐδὲ
μετεώρους ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀὴρ φέρει, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ὑπε-
στορεσμένοι τὴν γῆν, ζῷμεν μετέχοντες αὐτῆς τὰ
κατὰ φύσιν, ώς χαίρουσα διδοίη αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ
βασανίζοιτο ἄκουσα. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀδυνατοῦμεν
σοφίζεσθαι, τὸ δεῖνα,” ἔφη, “δένδρον,” πτελέα
δὲ ἥν, τρίτον ἀπ’ ἐκείνουν, ὑφ’ ω̄ διελέγοντο, “πρόσ-
ειπε τὸν σοφὸν Ἀπολλώνιον,” καὶ προσεῖπε μὲν
αὐτόν, ώς ἐκελεύσθη, τὸ δένδρον, ἡ φωνὴ δὲ ἥν
ἔναρθρός τε καὶ θῆλυς. ἀπεσήμαινε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
Ἰνδοὺς ταῦτα, μεταστήσειν ἡγούμενος τὸν Ἀπολλώ-
νιον τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δόξης, ἐπειδὴ διῃέι ἐς πάντας
λόγους τε Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἔργα.

Προσετίθει δὲ κάκεῖνα, ώς ἀπόχρη τῷ σοφῷ
βρώσεώς τε καθαρῷ εἶναι, ὃπόση ἔμπνους, ἴμέρους
τε, δις φοιτᾶ δι’ ὄμμάτων, φθόνου τε, δις διδύσκαλος

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

with an exhibition of games and races run by naked CHAP.
athletes. At the Olympic festival; however, these ^X superfluities are omitted as inappropriate and unworthy of the place; and those who go to the festival are only provided with the show of naked athletes originally instituted by Heracles. You may see the same contrast between the wisdom of the Indians and our own. For they, like those who invite others to the Pythian festival, appeal to the crowd with all sorts of charms and wizardry; but we, like the athletes of Olympia, go naked. Here earth strews for us no couches, nor does it yield us milk or wine as if we were bacchants, nor does the air uplift us and sustain us aloft. But the earth beneath us is our only couch, and we live by partaking of its natural fruits, which we would have it yield to us gladly and without being tortured against its will. But you shall see that we are not unable to work tricks if we like. Heigh! you tree yonder," he cried, pointing to an elm tree, the third in the row from that under which they were talking, "just salute the wise Apollonius, will you?" And forthwith the tree saluted him, as it was bidden to do, in accents which were articulate and like those of a woman. Now he wrought this sign to discredit the Indians, and in the belief that by doing so he would wean Apollonius of his excessive estimate of their powers; for he was always recounting to everybody what the Indians said and did.

Then the Egyptian added these precepts: he said that it is sufficient for the sage to abstain from eating all flesh of living animals, and from the roving desires which mount up into the soul through the eyes, and from envy which ends by teaching injustice to

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἀδίκων ἐπὶ χεῖρα καὶ γυνώμην ἥκει, θαυμασιουργίας τε καὶ βιαίου τέχνης μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀλήθειαν.
“σκέψαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλω,” εἶπε, “τὸν Δελφικόν,
δος τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ προρρήσει λογίων
ἔχει· ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν, ὡς που καὶ αὐτὸς γιγνώσκεις, ὁ μὲν τῆς ὁμοῖης δεόμενος ἔρωτῷ βραχὺ^x ἔρωτημα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὐδὲν τερατευσάμενος
λέγει, ὅπόσα οἰδε. καίτοι ῥάδιόν γε ἦν αὐτῷ σεῖσαι
μὲν τὸν Παρνασὸν πάντα, τὴν Κασταλίαν δὲ
οἰνοχοῆσαι μεταβαλόντι τὰς πηγάς, Κηφισῷ δὲ
μὴ ξυγχωρῆσαι ποταμῷ εἰναι, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων
ἐπικομπάσας ἀναφαίνει τάληθὲς αὐτό. ἡγώμεθα
δὲ μηδὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντα λαμπρὰ τῶν
ἀναθημάτων ἑκόντι αὐτῷ φοιτᾶν, μηδὲ τῷ νεφὶ τὸν
Ἀπόλλω χαίρειν, εἰ καὶ διπλάσιος ἀποφανθείη
τοῦ νῦν ὄντος· φέκησε γάρ ποτε καὶ λιτὴν στέγην
ό θεὸς οὗτος, καὶ καλύβη αὐτῷ ξυνεπλάσθη μικρά,
ἐις ἦν ξυμβαλέσθαι λέγονται μέλιτται μὲν κηρόν,
πτερὰ δὲ ὅρνιθες. εὐτέλεια γάρ διδάσκαλος μὲν
σοφίας, διδάσκαλος δὲ ἀληθείας, ἦν ἐπαινῶν
σοφὸς ἀτεχνῶς δόξεις ἐκλαθόμενος τῶν παρ’
Ινδοῖς μύθων. τὸ γὰρ πρᾶττε ἢ μὴ πρᾶττε, ἢ
οἴδα ἢ οὐκ οἴδα, ἢ τὸ δεῖνα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα,
τί δεῖται κτύπου; τί δὲ τοῦ βροντᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ
τοῦ ἐμβεβροντῆσθαι;

Εἰδες ἐν ζωγραφίας λόγοις καὶ τὸν τοῦ
Προδίκου Ἡρακλέα, ὡς ἔφηβος μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς,
οὕπω δὲ ἐν αἵρεσει τοῦ βίου, κακία δ’ αὐτὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

hand and will, and that truth stands not in need CHAP.
of miracle-mongering and sinister arts. "For look,"^X

he said, "at the Apollo of Delphi, who keeps the centre of Hellas for the utterance of his oracles.

There then, as you probably know yourself, a person who desires a response, puts his question briefly, and

Apollo tells what he knows without any miraculous display.

And yet it would be just as easy for him to convulse the whole mountain of Parnassus, and to alter the springs of the Castalian fountain so that it should run with wine, and to check the river Cephisus and stay its stream; but he reveals the bare truth without any of this show or ostentation.

Nor must we suppose that it is by his will, that so much gold and showy offerings enter his treasury, nor that he would care for his temple even if it were made twice as large as it already is. For once on a time this god Apollo dwelt in quite a humble habitation;

and a little hut was constructed for him to which the bees are said to have contributed their honeycomb and wax, and the birds their feathers. For simplicity is the teacher of wisdom and the teacher of truth; and you must embrace it, if you would have men think you really wise, and forget all your legendary tales that you acquired among the Indians.

For what need is there to beat the drum over such simple matters as: 'Do this, or do not do it,' or 'I know it, or I do not know it,' or 'It is this and not that'? What do you want with thunder, nay, I would say, What do you want to be thunder-struck for?

You have seen in picture-books the representation of Hercules by Prodicus; in it Hercules is represented as a youth, who has not yet chosen the life he

And contrasts the Delphic oracle in its simplicity with their pomp

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. καὶ ἀρετὴ διαλαβοῦσαι παρὰ σφᾶς ἄγουσιν,
ἡ μὲν χρυσῷ τε κατεσκευασμένη καὶ ὅρμοις,
ἐσθῆτί τε ἀλιπορφύρῳ καὶ παρειᾶς ἄνθει καὶ
χαίτης ἀναπλοκαῖς καὶ γραφαῖς ὄμμάτων, ἔστι
δ' αὐτῇ καὶ χρυσοῦν πέδιλον, γέγραπται γὰρ
καὶ τούτῳ ἐνσοβοῦσα. ή δ' αὖ πεποιηκυίᾳ
μὲν προσφερής, τραχὺ δὲ ὄρῶσα, τὸν δὲ αὐχμὸν
πεποιημένη κόσμημα καὶ ἀνυπόδετος ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ
λιτὴ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ γυμνὴ δ' ἀν ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μὴ
ἐγίγνωσκε τὸ ἐν θηλείαις εὔσχημον. ἡγοῦ δὴ καὶ
σεαυτόν, Ἀπολλώνιε, μέσον τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τε καὶ
τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας ἔστάναι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀκούειν
λεγούσης, ὡς ὑποστορέσει σοι ἄνθη καθεύδοντι,
καί, νὴ Δῆ, ὡς ποτιεῖ γάλακτι καὶ ὡς κηρίοις
θρέψει, καὶ ὡς νέκταρ σοί τι παρ' αὐτῆς ἔσται
καὶ πτερά, ὅπότε βούλοιο, τρίποδάς τε ἐσκυκλήσει
πινόντι καὶ χρυσοῦς θρόνους, καὶ πονήσεις οὐδέν,
ἄλλ' αὐτόματά σοι βαδιεῖται πάντα, τῆς δέ γε
έτερας, ὡς χαμενεῖν μὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ προσήκει, γυμ-
νὸν δέ, ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς, μοχθοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, δὲ μὴ
πονήσαντί σοι ἀφίκετο, μήτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε
ἡδύ, μηδὲ ἀλαζόνα εἴναι μηδὲ τύφου θηρατήν,
ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὀνειράτων δψεις, ὅπόσαι ἀπὸ
τῆς γῆς αὔρουσιν. εἰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα
αἴροιο, καὶ δόξῃ ἀδαμαντίνη χρῶφι μὴ ἀτιμάζων
ἀλήθειαν, μηδὲ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν εὐτέλειαν παραι-
τούμενος, πολλαὸς μὲν ἥρηκέναι φῆσεις λέοντας,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

will lead ; and vice and virtue stand on each side of CHAP.
him plucking his garments and trying to draw him to themselves. Vice is adorned with gold and necklaces and with purple raiment, and her cheeks are painted and her hair delicately plaited and her eyes underlined with henna ; and she also wears golden slippers, for she is pictured strutting about in these ; but virtue in the picture resembles a woman worn out with toil, with a pinched look ; and she has chosen for her adornment rough squalor, and she goes without shoes and in the plainest of raiment, and she would have appeared naked if she had not too much regard for feminine decency. Now figure yourself, Apollonius, as standing between Indian wisdom on one side, and our own humble wisdom on the other ; imagine that you hear the one telling you how she will strew flowers under you when you lie down to sleep, yes, and by Heaven, how she will regale you upon milk and nourish you on honey-comb, and how she will supply you with nectar and wings, whenever you want them ; and how she will wheel in tripods, whenever you drink, and golden thrones ; and you shall have no hard work to do, but everything will be flung unsought into your lap. But the other discipline insists that you must lie on the bare ground in squalor, and be seen to toil naked like ourselves ; and that you must not find dear or sweet anything which you have not won by hard work ; and that you must not be boastful, nor hunt after vanities and pursue pride ; and that you must be on your guard against all dreams and visions which lift you off the earth. If then you really make the choice of Hercules, and steel your will resolutely neither to dishonour truth, nor to decline the simplicity of nature, then you may say

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
^X πολλὰς δὲ ὕδρας ἐκτετμῆσθαι σοι Γηρυόνας τε
καὶ Νέσσους καὶ ὅποσοι ἐκείνου ἀθλοι, εἰ δὲ τὸ
τῶν ἀγειρόντων ἀσπάση, κολακεύσεις ὁφθαλμούς
τε καὶ ώτα, καὶ οὕτε σοφώτερος ἔτέρου δόξεις
γενήση τε ἀθλος ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου Γυμνοῦ."

XI

CHAP.
^{XI} Ταῦτα εἰπόντος ἐστράφησαν ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον
πάντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἀντιλέξοι γιγνώ-
σκοντες, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Θεοπεσίωνα θαυμάζοντες,
ὅ τι ἀντερεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν τῆς εὐροίας
καὶ τοῦ τόνου, "μή τι," ἔφη, "προστίθης;" "μὰ
Δλ'," εἶπεν, "εἴρηκα γάρ." τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ ἐρομένου, "μὴ
τῶν ἄλλων τις Αἰγυπτίων;" "πάντων," ἔφη,
"δι' ἐμοῦ ἥκουσας." ἐπισχὼν οὖν ὀλίγον καὶ
τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας ἐς τὰ εἴρημένα οὔτωσὶ¹
ἔλεξεν· "ἡ μὲν Ἡρακλέους αἴρεσις, ἣν φησι
Πρόδικος ἐν ἐφήβῳ ἐλέσθαι αὐτόν, ὑγιῶς τε ὑμῖν
λέλεκται καὶ κατὰ τὸν φιλοσοφίας νοῦν, ὡς σοφοὶ
Αἰγυπτίων, προσήκει δέ μοι οὐδέν· οὕτε γάρ
ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς βίου ποιησόμενος ἥκω, πάλαι γε
ἡρημένος τὸν ἐμαυτῷ δόξαντα, πρεσβύτατός τε
ὑμῶν πλὴν Θεοπεσίωνος ἀφιγμένος αὐτὸς ἀν
μᾶλλον εἰκότως ξυνεβούλευον ὑμῖν σοφίας αἴρεσιν,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

that you have overcome many lions and have cut off CHAP.
the heads of many hydras and of monsters like Geryon X
and Nessus, and have accomplished all his other
labours, but if you embrace the life of a strolling
juggler, you will flatter men's eyes and ears, but they
will think you no wiser than anybody else, and you
will become the vanquished of any naked philosopher
of Egypt."

XI

WHEN he ended, all turned their eyes upon Apol- CHAP.
lonius ; his own followers knowing well that he would XI
reply, while Thespéion's friends wondered what he Apollonius
could say in answer. But he, after praising the replies
fluency and vigour of the Egyptian, merely said :
"Have you anything more to say?" "No, by Zeus,"
said the other, "for I have said all I have to say."
Then he asked afresh : "And has not any one of the
rest of the Egyptians anything to say?" "I am their
spokesman," answered his antagonist, "and you have
heard them all." Apollonius accordingly paused for
a minute and then, fixing his eyes, as it were, on the
discourse he had heard, he spoke as follows : "You
have very well described and in a sound philosophic
spirit the choice which Prodicus declares Hercules to
have made as a young man ; but, ye wise men of
the Egyptians, it does not apply in the least to
myself. For I am not come here to ask your advice
about how to live, insomuch as I long ago made
choice of the life which seemed best to myself ; and
as I am older than any of you, except Thespéion,
I myself am better qualified, now I have got here,
to advise you how to choose wisdom, if I did
Defends
his life

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. εὶ μήπω γῆρημένοις ἐνέτυχον. ὃν δὲ ὅμως τηλικόσδε
καὶ σοφίας ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἀφιγμένος, οὐκ ὁκνήσω
λογισταῖς ὑμῖν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ βουλῆς χρήσασθαι
διδάσκων, ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰλόμην ταῦτα, ὃν μήπω
βελτίω ἐπὶ νοῦν ἡλθέ μοι. κατιδὼν γάρ τι ἐν Πυθα-
γόρου μέγα καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀρρήτου μὴ μόνον
γιγνώσκοι ἔαυτόν, ὅστις εἴη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις γένοιτο,
βωμῶν τε ὡς καθαρὸς ἄψαιτο καὶ ὡς ἀχράντῳ μὲν
ἐμψύχου βρώσεως γαστρὶ χρήσαιτο, καθαρῷ δὲ
σώματι πάντων ἐσθημάτων, ὅπόσα θυησειδίων
ξύγκειται, γλῶττάν τε ὡς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων
ξυνέσχε βοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῇ σιωπῆς εύρων δόγμα, καὶ
τὴν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ὡς χρησμώδη καὶ ἀληθῆ
κατεστήσατο, ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνους δόξας, οὐ
μίαν σοφίαν ἐκ δυοῖν ἐλόμενος, ὡς σύ, βέλτιστε
Θεοπεσίων, ξυμβουλεύεις. παραστήσασα γάρ μοι
φιλοσοφία τὰς ἔαυτῆς δόξας, ὅπόσαι εἰσί, περι-
βαλοῦσά τε αὐταῖς κόσμον, δις ἐκάστη οἰκεῖος,
ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτὰς βλέπειν καὶ ὑγιῶς αἱρεῖσθαι·
ῶρα μὲν οὖν σεμνή τε ἀπασῶν ἦν καὶ θεία, καὶ
κατέμυσεν ἄν τις πρὸς ἐνίας αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως,
ἔμοὶ δὲ εἰστήκει τὸ ὅμμα ἐς πάσας, καὶ γάρ με
καὶ παρεθάρρυνον αὐταὶ προσαγόμεναι τε καὶ
προκηρύττουσαι, ὅπόσα δώσουσιν ἐπεὶ δὲ ή μέν
τις αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μοχθήσαντι πολὺν ἐπαντλήσειν
ἔφασκεν ἥδονῶν ἐσμόν, ή δὲ αὖ μοχθήσαντα ἀνα-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

not find that you had already made the choice. CHAP.
Being, however, as old as I am, and so far advanced ^{XI} in wisdom as I am, I shall not hesitate as it were to make you the auditors of my life and motives, and teach you that I rightly chose this life of mine, than which no better one has ever suggested itself to me. For I discerned a certain sublimity in the discipline of Pythagoras, and how a certain secret wisdom enabled him to know, not only who he was himself, but also who he had been; and I saw that he approached the altars in purity, and suffered not his belly to be polluted by partaking of the flesh of animals; and that he kept his body pure of all garments woven of dead animal refuse; and that he was the first of mankind to restrain his tongue, inventing a discipline of silence described in the proverbial phrase, "An ox sits upon it." I also saw that his philosophical system was in other respects oracular and true. So I ran to embrace his teachings, not choosing one form of wisdom rather than another of two presented me, as you, my excellent Thespis, advise me to do. For philosophy marshalled before me her various points of view, investing them with the adornment proper to each, and she commanded me to look upon them and make a sound choice. Now they were all possessed of an august and divine beauty; and some of them were of such dazzling brightness that you might well have closed your eyes. However I fixed my eyes firmly upon all of them, for they themselves encouraged me to do so by moving towards me, and telling me beforehand how much they would give me. Well, one of them professed that she would shower upon me a swarm of pleasures without any toil on my part; and another

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. παύσειν, ἡ δὲ ἐγκαταμίξειν εὐφροσύνας τῷ μόχθῳ,
XI πανταχοῦ δὲ ἥδοναὶ διεφαίνοντο, καὶ ἄνετοι μὲν
ἡνίαι γαστρός, ἔτοιμη δὲ χεὶρ ἐς πλούτον, χαλινὸς
δὲ οὐδεὶς ὁμμάτων, ἀλλ’ ἔρωτές τε καὶ ἴμεροι καὶ
τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη ξυνεχωρεῖτο, μία δὲ αὐτῶν
ἴσχειν μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκόμπαζε, θρασεῖα δὲ ἦν
καὶ φιλολοίδορος καὶ ἀπηγκωνισμένη πάντα· εἶδον
σοφίας εἶδος ἄρρητον, οὐ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ποτὲ
ἡττήθη, καὶ εἰστήκει δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς,
ἀλλ’ ἀπετέτακτο αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσιώπα, ξυνεῖσα δέ, ὡς
ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις οὐ ξυντίθεμαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνης οὕπω
οἶδα, “μειράκιον,” εἶπεν, “ἀηδὴς ἐγὼ καὶ μεστὴ
πόνων· εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό τις ἐς ἥθη τὰ ἐμά, τρά-
πεζαν μέν, ὅπόσῃ ἐμψύχων, ἀνηρῆσθαι πᾶσαν
ἀν ἔλοιτο, οἴνου δὲ ἐκλελῆσθαι καὶ τὸν σοφίας
μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν κρατῆρα, δις ἐν ταῖς ἀοίνοις ψυχαῖς
ἔστηκεν, οὐδὲ χλαῖνα θάλψει αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἔριον,
διὰπ’ ἐμψύχου ἐπέχθη, ὑπόδημα δὲ αὐτοῖς βύθλου
δίδωμι καὶ καθεύδειν ως ἔτυχε, κανὶ ἀφροδισίων
ἡττηθέντας αἰσθωμαῖ, βάραθρά ἐστί μοι, καθ’ ων
σοφίας ὀπαδὸς δίκη φέρει τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὧθεῖ,
χαλεπὴ δὲ οὔτως ἐγὼ τοῖς τάμα αἱρουμένοις, ως
καὶ δεσμὰ γλώττης ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. ἀ δὲ ἐστί[·]
σοι καρτερήσαντι ταῦτα, ἐμοῦ μάθε· σωφροσύνη
μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνη αὐτόθεν, ζηλωτὸν δὲ ἥγεῖσθαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

that she would give me rest after toil ; and a third CHAP.
that she would mingle mirth and merriment in my ^{XI} toil ; and everywhere I had glimpses of pleasures and of unrestrained indulgence in the pleasures of the table ; and it seemed that I had only to stretch out my hand to be rich, and that I needed not to set any bridle upon my eyes, but love and loose desire and such-like feelings were freely allowed me. One of them, however, boasted that she would restrain me from such things, but she was bold and abusive and in an unabashed manner elbowed all others aside ; and I beheld the ineffable form of wisdom which long ago conquered the soul of Pythagoras ; and she stood, I may tell you, not among the many, but kept herself apart and in silence ; and when she saw that I ranged not myself with the rest, though as yet I knew not what were her wares, she said : ‘Young man, I am unpleasing and a lady full of sorrows ; for, if anyone betakes himself to my abode, he must of his own choice put away all dishes which contain the flesh of living animals, and he must forget wine, nor make muddy therewith the cup of wisdom which is set in the souls of those that drink no wine ; nor shall blanket keep him warm, nor wool shorn from a living animal. But I allow him shoes of bark, and he must sleep anywhere and anyhow, and if I find my votaries yielding to sensual pleasures, I have precipices to which justice that waits upon wisdom carries them and pushes them over ; and I am so harsh to those who make choice of my discipline that I have bits ready to restrain their tongues. But learn from me what rewards you shall reap by enduring all this : Temperance and justice unsought and

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΣΑΡ. μηδένα, τυράννοις τε φοβερὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἡ ὑπ'
^{ΧΙ} αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι, θεοῖς τε ἡδίω φαίνεσθαι μικρὰ
θύσαντα ἡ οἱ προχέοντες αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν ταύρων
αἷμα, καθαρῷ δὲ ὅντι σοι καὶ προγιγνώσκειν
δώσω, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς σῦτω τι ἐμπλήσω
ἀκτῖνος, ὡς διαγιγνώσκειν μὲν θεόν, γιγνώσκειν δὲ
ἡρωα, σκιοειδῆ δὲ ἐλέγχειν φαντάσματα, ὅτε
ψεύδοιντο εἴδη ἀνθρώπων.” ἦδε μοι βίου αἴρεσις,
ὡς σοφοὶ Αἰγυπτίων, ήν ὑγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν
Πισθαγόραν ἐλόμενος οὕτε ἐψευσάμην οὕτε ἐψεύσ-
θην, ἐγενόμην μὲν γάρ ἄ χρὴ τὸν φιλοσοφήσαντα,
φιλοσοφοῦντι δὲ ὁπόσα δώσειν ἔφη, πάντ’ ἔχω.
ἔφιλοσόφησα γάρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως τῆς τέχνης καὶ
ὁπόθεν αὐτῆς αἱ ἀρχαί, καὶ μοι ἔδοξεν ἀνδρῶν
εἶναι περιττῶν τὰ θεῖα ψυχήν τε ἄριστα ἐσκεμ-
μένων, ἃς τὸ ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ ἀγέννητον πηγαὶ
γενέσεως.

Αθηναίοις μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ προσήκων ἐφαίνετό¹
μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος, τὸν γὰρ Πλάτωνος λόγον,
ὅν θεσπεσίως ἔκει καὶ πανσόφως ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς
ἀνεφθέγξατο, αὐτοὶ διέβαλλον ἐναντίας ταύτη
καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεῖς δόξας ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς προσέμενοι,
ἔδει δὲ σκοπεῖν, τίς μὲν εἴη πόλις, ποίων δὲ
ἀνδρῶν ἔθνος, παρ' οἷς οὐχ ὁ μέν τις, ὁ δὲ οὐ, πᾶ-
σα δὲ ἡλικία ταύτων ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς φθέγγοιτο· κάγῳ
μὲν νεότητός τε οὕτως ἀγούσης καὶ τοῦ μήπω
ξυνιέναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔβλεψα, ἐπειδὴ πλεῖστα ἐλέ-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

at once, and the faculty to regard no man with CHAP.
envy, and to be dreaded by tyrants rather than XI
cringe to them, and to have your humble offerings appear sweeter to the gods than the offerings of those who pour out before them the blood of bulls. And when you are pure I will grant you the faculty of foreknowledge, and I will so fill your eyes with light, that you shall distinguish a god, and recognise a hero, and detect and put to shame the shadowy phantoms which disguise themselves in the form of men.' This was the life I chose, ye wise of the Egyptians; it was a sound choice and in the spirit of Pythagoras, and in making it I neither deceived myself, nor was deceived; for I have become all that a philosopher should become, and all that she promised to bestow upon the philosopher, that is mine. For I have studied profoundly the problem of the rise of the art and whence it draws its first principles; and I have realised that it belongs to men of transcendent religious gifts, who have thoroughly investigated the nature of the soul, the well-springs of whose existence lie back in the immortal and in the unbegotten.

Now I agree that this doctrine was wholly alien to the Athenians; for when Plato in their city lifted up his voice and discoursed upon the soul, full of inspiration and wisdom, they cavilled against him and adopted opinions of the soul opposed thereto and altogether false. And one may well ask whether there is any city, or any race of men, where not one more and another less, but wherein men of all ages alike, will enunciate the same doctrine of the soul. And I myself, because my youth and inexperience so inclined me, began by looking up to

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XI γεσθε ὑπερφυῶς εἰδέναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον
τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ διήειν ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ ἐφιστάς με, “εἰ
τῶν ἐρώντων,” εἶπεν, “ἐτύγχανες ὡν ἡ τὴν ἡλικίαν
ἔχόντων τοῦ ἐρᾶν, εἴτα μειρακίῳ καλῷ ἐντυχών
καὶ ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸ τῆς ὥρας, σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅτου εἴη
παῖς ἔζήτεις, ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἵπποτρόφου καὶ στρατη-
γοῦ πατρὸς καὶ χορηγοὺς οἱ πάπποι, σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν
τριηράρχου τινὸς ἡ φυλάρχου ἐκάλεις, ἀρά γ' ἀν
οἵει προσάγεσθαι τὰ παιδικὰ τούτοις, ἢ κἄν ἀηδῆς
δόξαι μὴ πατρόθεν ὄνομάζων τὸ μειράκιον, ἀλλ'
ἀπ' ἐκφύλου σπορᾶς καὶ νόθου; σοφίας οὖν ἐρῶν,
ἦν Ἰνδοὶ εὔροι, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πατέρων
ὄνομάζεις αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν θέσει, καὶ δίδως τι
μεῖζον Αἰγυπτίοις, ἡ εἰ πάλιν αὐτοῖς, ὡς αὐτοὶ¹
ἀδουσι, μέλιτι ξυγκεκραμένος ἀναβαίη ὁ Νεῖλος;”
ταῦτα με πρὸ ὑμῶν ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς ἔτρεψεν ἐνθυμη-
θέντα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς λεπτότεροι μὲν τὴν ξύνεσιν
οἱ τοιοίδε ἄνθρωποι καθαρωτέραις ὄμιλοῦντες
ἀκτῖσιν, ἀληθέστεροι δὲ τὰς περὶ φύσεώς τε καὶ
θεῶν δόξας, ἄτε ἀγχίθεοι καὶ πρὸς ἀρχαῖς τῆς
ξωφρογόνου καὶ θερμῆς οὐσίας οἰκοῦντες· ἐντυχών
τε αὐτοῖς ἔπαθόν τι πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

yourselves, because you had the reputation of an extraordinary knowledge of most things; but when I explained my views to my own teacher, he interrupted me, and said as follows: 'Supposing you were in a passionate mood and being of an impressionable age were inclined to form a friendship; and suppose you met a handsome youth and admired his looks, and you asked whose son he was, and suppose he were the son of a knight or a general, and that his grand-parents had been furnishers of a chorus,—if then you dubbed him the child of some skipper or policeman, do you suppose that you would thereby be the more likely to captivate his affections, and that you would not rather make yourself odious to him by refusing to call him by his father's name, and giving him instead that of some ignoble and spurious parent? If then you were enamoured of the wisdom which the Indians discovered, would you call it not by the name which its natural parents bore, but by the name of its adoptive sires; and so confer upon the Egyptians a greater boon, than if that were to happen over again which their own poets relate, namely if the Nile on reaching its full were found to be with honey blent?' It was this which turned my steps to the Indians rather than to yourselves; for I reflected that they were more subtle in their understanding, because such men as they live in contact with a purer daylight, and entertain truer opinions of nature and of the gods, because they are near unto the latter, and live on the edge and confines of that thermal essence which quickens all unto life. And when I came among them, their message made the same im-

XI
Defends the originality and wisdom of the Brahmans

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΟΑΡ. ἀνδρῶν, ὁποῖον λέγονται πρὸς τὴν Αἰσχύλου σο-
^{ΧΙ} φίαν παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι· ποιητὴς μὲν γὰρ οὗτος τραγῳδίας ἐγένετο, τὴν τέχνην δὲ ὄρων ἀκατά- σκευόν τε καὶ μήπω κεκοσμημένην, εἰ μὲν ξυνέστειλε τοὺς χοροὺς ἀποτάδην ὄντας, ἢ τὰς τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἀντιλέξεις εὑρε, παριστησάμενος τὸ τῶν μωρῳδιῶν μῆκος, ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἀποθυήσκειν ἐπενόησεν, ώς μὴ ἐν φανερῷ σφάττοι, σοφίας μὲν μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀπηλλάχθω, δοκείτω δὲ κανέναν ἐτέρῳ παρασχεῖν ἔννοιαν ἡττον δεξιῷ τὴν ποίησιν ὃ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν ἔαυτόν, ώς ἐπάξιον τοῦ τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν φθέγγοιτο, ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ώς προσ- φυῖ τῷ μεγαλείφι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ καταβεβλημένῳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ πόδα, σκευοποιίας μὲν ἦφατο εἰκασ- μένης τοῖς τῶν ἡρώων εἴδεσιν, ὀκρίβαντος δὲ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἐνεβίβασεν, ώς ἵσα ἐκείνοις βαίνοιεν, ἐσθήμασί τε πρῶτος ἐκόσμησεν. ἀ πρόσφορον ἡρωσί τε καὶ ἡρωίσιν ἥσθησθαι· ὅθεν Ἀθηναῖοι πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ἡγοῦντο, ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεώτα ἐς Διονύσια, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ψηφισαμένων ἀνεδιδάσκετο καὶ ἐνίκα ἐκ καινῆς· καίτοι τραγῳδίας μὲν εὖ κεκοσμημένης ὀλίγη χάρις, εὐφραίνει γὰρ ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Διανυσίων ὥρα, φελοσοφίας δὲ ξυγκειμένης

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

pression upon me as the talent of Aeschylus is said CHAP.
to have made upon the Athenians. For he was XI
a poet of tragedy, and finding the art to be rude and
inchoate and as yet not in the least elaborated, he
went to work, and curtailed the prolixity of the
chorus,¹ and invented dialogues for the actors,
discarding the long monodies of the earlier time ;
and he hit upon a plan of killing people behind the
stage instead of their being slain before the eyes of
the audience. Well, if we cannot deny his talent in
making all these improvements, we must nevertheless
admit that they might have suggested themselves
equally well to an inferior dramatist. But his talent
was twofold. On the one hand as a poet he set
himself to make his diction worthy of tragedy, on
the other hand as a manager, to adapt his stage
to sublime, rather than to humble and grovelling,
themes. Accordingly he devised masks which
represented the forms of the heroes, and he mounted
his actors on buskins so that their gait might
correspond to the characters they played ; and he
was the first to devise stage dresses, which might
convey an adequate impression to the audience of
the heroes and heroines they saw. For all these
reasons the Athenians accounted him to be the
father of tragedy ; and even after his death they
continued to invite him to represent his plays
at the Dionysiac festival, for in accordance with
public decree the plays of Aeschylus continued
to be put upon the stage and win the prize anew.
And yet the gratification of a well-staged tragedy is
insignificant, for its pleasures last a brief day, as
brief as is the season of the Dionysiac festival ; but

Comparing
them with
Aeschylus

¹ or "reduced in size the unduly large choruses."

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. μέν, ώς Πυθαγόρας ἐδικαίωσεν, ὑποθειαζούσης δέ,
^{XI} ώς πρὸ Πυθαγόρου Ἰνδοί, οὐκ ἐς βραχὺν χρόνον ἡ
χάρις, ἀλλ' ἐς ἅπειρόν τε καὶ ἀριθμοῦ πλείω. οὐ
δὴ ἀπεικός τι παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἡττηθεὶς
εὖ κεκοσμημένης, ἦν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἰνδοὶ στεί-
λαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκκυκλοῦ-
σιν· ώς δὲ ἐν δίκῃ μὲν ἡγάσθην αὐτούς, ἐν δίκῃ
δὲ ἡγούμαι σοφούς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὥρα μανθά-
νειν· εἰδον ἄνδρας οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ
ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν
κεκτημένους ἡ τὰ πάντων. εἰ δ' αἰνιγμάτων ἄπτο-
μαι, σοφία Πυθαγόρου ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα, παρέδωκε
γὰρ καὶ τὸ αἰνίττειν, διδάσκαλον εύρων σιωπῆς λό-
γου· σοφίας δὲ ταύτης ἐγένεσθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πυ-
θαγόρᾳ ξύμβουλοι χρόνον, δὲν τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἐπηνεῖτε,
Ἰνδοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πάλαι ὄντες· ἐπεὶ δ' αἰδοὶ τοῦ
λόγου, δι' δὲν ἐκ μηνιμάτων τῆς γῆς ἀφίκεσθε δεῦρο,
ἔτεροι μᾶλλον ἐβούλεσθε δοκεῖν ἡ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἀπὸ
Ἰνδῶν ἥκοντες, πάντα ὑμῖν ἐς τοῦτο ἐδράτο. ὅθεν
ἐγυμνώθητε μὲν σκευῆς, ὁπόσῃ ἐκεῖθεν, ὕσπερ ξυ-
αποδυόμενοι τὸ Αἰθίοπες εἴναι, θεοὺς δὲ θεραπεύειν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the gratification of a philosophic system devised to meet the requirements of a Pythagoras, and also breathing the inspiration in which Pythagoras was anticipated by the Indians, lasts not for a brief time, but for an endless and incalculable period. It is then not unreasonable on my part, I think, to have devoted myself to a philosophy so highly elaborated, and to one which, to use a metaphor from the stage, the Indians mount, as it deserves to be mounted, upon a lofty and divine mechanism, and then wheel it forth upon the stage. And that I was right to admire them, and that I am right in considering them to be wise and blessed, it is now time to convince you. I beheld men dwelling upon the earth, and yet not upon it, I beheld them fortified without fortifications, I beheld them possessed of nothing, and yet possessed of all things. You will say that I have taken to riddles, but the wisdom of Pythagoras allows of this ; for he taught us to speak in riddles, when he discovered that the word is the teacher of silence. And there was a time when you yourselves took counsel with Pythagoras, and were advocates of this same wisdom ; that was in the time when you could say nothing too good of the Indian philosophy, for to begin with and of old you were Indians. Subsequently because your soil was writh with you, you came hither ; and then ashamed of the reasons owing to which you quitted it, you tried to get men to regard you as anything rather than Ethiopians who had come from India hither, and you took every pains to efface your past. This is why you stripped yourselves of the apparel in which you came thence, as if you were anxious to doff along with it your Ethiopian nationality. This is why you

Describes
the
Brahmans
who were
teachers of
the naked
sages

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. έψηφίσασθε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑμέτερον τρόπουν, ἐς λόγους τε οὐκ ἐπιτηδείους ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν κατέστητε, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ διαβεβλημένοι τῷ ἀφ' οἶων διαβεβλῆσθαι ἦκειν· καὶ οὐδὲ μετερρύθμισθε πώ γε τοῦτο, οὐ καὶ τήμερον ἐπίδειξιν αὐτοῦ πεποίησθε φιλολοίδορόν τε καὶ ἴαμβώδη, χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδεύειν Ἰνδοὺς φάσκοντες, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκπλήξεις καὶ ἀγωγάς, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὄφθαλμῶν, τὰς δὲ ὕτων, σοφίαν δὲ οὕπω ἐμὴν εἰδότες ἀναίσθητοι φαίνεσθε τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ δόξης, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μὲν λέξω οὐδέν, εἴην γάρ, ὅ με Ἰνδοὶ ἡγοῦνται, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρῶ ἅπτεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ μέν τις ὑγιῶς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔχει σοφία Ἰμεραίου ἀνδρός,¹ δις ἄδων ἐς τὴν Ἐλένην ἐναντίον τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ παλινῳδίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτυμος ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἥδη καὶ αὐτοὺς ὥρα λέγειν, ἀμείνω τῆς νῦν παρεστηκυίας μεταλαβόντας περὶ αὐτῶν δόξαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀμουσοὶ πρὸς παλινῳδίαν ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαι γε χρὴ ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἀξιοῦντες θεοὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς δυτῶν οὐδὲ ἔαυτοὺς ἀπαξιοῦσιν ὃν ἔκεῖνοι πέπανται. διῆλθές τινα, Θεοπεσίων, καὶ περὶ τῆς Πυθοῦς λόγον ὡς ἀπλῶς τε καὶ ἀκατασκεύως χρώσης, καὶ παράδειγμα ἐγένετό σοι τοῦ λόγου νεώς κηροῦ καὶ πτε-

¹ The reference is to Stesichorus.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

have resolved to worship the gods in the Egyptian CHAP.
rather than in your own fashion, and why you have set yourselves to disseminate unflattering stories of the Indians, as if in maligning them you did not foul your own nest. And in this respect you have not yet altered your tone for the better; for only to-day you have given here an exhibition of your propensities for abuse and satire, pretending that the Indians are no better employed than in startling people and in pandering to their eyes and ears. And because as yet you are ignorant of my wisdom, you show yourself indifferent to the fame which crowns it. Well, in defence of myself I do not mean to say anything, for I am content to be what the Indians think me; but I will not allow them to be attacked. And if you are so sound and sane as to possess any tincture of the wisdom of the man of Himera, who composed in honour of Helen a poem which contradicted a former one and called it a palinode, it is high time for you also to use the words he used and say: 'This discourse of ours is not true,' so changing your opinion and adopting one better than you at present entertain about these people. But if you have not the wit to recant, you must at least spare men to whom the gods vouchsafe, as worthy of them, their own prerogatives, and whose possessions they do not disdain for themselves.

" You have also, Thespion, made some remarks about the simplicity and freedom from pomp which characterises the Pythian oracle; and by way of example you instanced the temple composed of wax and feathers; but I do not myself find that

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
xi ρῶν ξυντεθείς· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀκατάσκευα μὲν δοκεῖ οὐδὲ ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ

ξυμφέρετε πτερά τ' οἰωνοὶ κηρόν τε μέλιτται κατασκευαζομένου ἦν οἰκον καὶ οἴκου σχῆμα, ὁ δ', οἷμαι, μικρὰ ταῦτα ἡγούμενος καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἥπτω, καὶ ἄλλου ἐδείθη νεὼ καὶ ἄλλου καὶ μεγάλων ἥδη καὶ ἐκατομπέδων, ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσᾶς ἔνγγας ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχούσας πειθώ, ξυνελέξατό τε τὰ εὐδοκιμώτατα τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐς τὴν Πυθὼ κόσμου ἔνεκα, καὶ οὕτ' ἀγαλματοποιίαν ἀπῆλασεν ἀπάγουσαν αὐτῷ κολοσσοὺς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοὺς μὲν θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ ἵππων τε καὶ ταύρων καὶ ἐτέρων ζώων, οὕτε Γλαῦκον μετὰ τοῦ ὑποκρατηριδίου ἥκοντα, οὕτε τὴν ἀλισκομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν, ἦν Πολύγνωτος ἐκεῖ γράφει. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν χρυσόν γε τὸν Λύδιον καλλώπισμα τῆς Πυθοῦς ἥγειτο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐσήγετο, ἐνδεικνύμενος, οἷμαι, αὐτοῖς τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πλοῦτον, ἵνα γλίχοιντο ἐκείνους μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ διαπορθεῖν τὰ ἀλλήλων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἐλληνά τε καὶ προσφυῖ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ τρόπον κατεσκευάζετο καὶ ἥγλαίζε τούτῳ τὴν Πυθώ. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ αὐτὸν κόσμους ἔνεκα καὶ ἐς μέτρα ἐμβιβάζειν τοὺς χρησμούς. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο ἐπεδείκνυτο, τοιάσδε ἀν τὰς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

even this was devoid of pomp, for we have the CHAP.
line : XI

'Oh birds bring hither your wings, and bees your
wax.'

Such language betokens a carefully prepared home and the form of house. And the god I believe regarded even this as too humble and below the dignity of his wisdom, and therefore desired to have another and yet another temple, big ones these and a hundred feet in breadth ; and from one of them it is said that golden figures of the wryneck were hung up which possessed in a manner the charm of the Sirens ; and the god collected the most precious of the offerings into the Pythian temple for ornament ; nor did he reject works of statuary, when their authors brought him to his temple colossal figures both of gods and men, and also of horses, oxen and other animals ; nor did he refuse the gift which Glaucus brought thither of a stand for a goblet, nor the picture of the taking of the citadel of Ilium which Polygnotus painted there. For I imagine he did not consider that the gold of Lydia really beautified the Pythian fane, but he admitted it on behalf of the Hellenes themselves, by way of pointing out to them, I believe, the immense riches of the barbarians, and inducing them to covet that rather than continue to ravage one another's lands. And he accordingly adopted the Greek fashion of art which suited his peculiar wisdom, and adorned his shrine therewith. And I believe that it was by way of adornment that he also puts his oracles in metrical form. For if he did not wish to make a show in this matter, he would surely

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. άποκρίσεις ἐποιεῖτο. δρᾶ τὸ δεῖνα ἡ μὴ δρᾶ, καὶ
^{XI} ἵθι ἡ μὴ ἵθι, καὶ ποιοῦ ἔνυμάχους ἡ μὴ ποιοῦ,
βραχέα γάρ που ταῦτα, ἥ, ὡς φατε ὑμεῖς, γυμνά,
ό δὲ ἵνα μεγαλορρήμων τε φαίνοιτο καὶ ἡδίων τοῖς
ἔρωτῶσι, ποιητικὴν ἡρμόσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ
εἶναι, ὅ τι μὴ οἰδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ψάμμον εἰδέναι¹
φησίν, ὄπόση, ἀριθμήσας αὐτήν, καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάτ-
της μέτρα ἔνυειληφέναι πάντα.

* Ή καὶ ταῦτα τερατολογίᾳ προσγράφεις, ἐπειδὴ
σοβαρῶς αὐτὰ ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ ἔνν φρονήματι
ὁρθῷ φράζει; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀχθέσῃ, Θεοπεσίων, τῷ
λόγῳ, γρᾶες ἀνημμέναι κόσκινα φοιτῶσιν ἐπὶ²
ποιμένας, ὅτε δὲ καὶ βουκόλους, ἵώμεναι τὰ
νοσοῦντα τῶν θρεμμάτων μαντικῆ, ὡς φασιν,
ἀξιοῦσι δὲ σοφαὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ σοφώτεραι
ἡ οἱ ἀτεχνῶς μάντεις· τοῦτό μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς
παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν φαίνεσθε, οἱ μὲν γὰρ
θεῖοι· τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν,
ὑμεῖς δέ—ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν εἰρήσεται περαιτέρω, εὐφη-
μία γὰρ φίλη μὲν ἐμοί, φίλη δὲ Ἰνδοῖς, ἦν ἀσπα-
ζούμην ὡς ὀπαδὸν ἄμα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς γλώττης,
τὰ μὲν ἐμαυτῷ δυνατὰ θηρεύων ἔνν ἐπαίνῳ τε
αὐτῶν καὶ ἔρωτι, ὅ τι δὲ μὴ ἐφικτὸν εἴη μοι, κατα-
λείπων αὐτὸ ἄχραντον ψόγου. σὺ δὲ Ὁμέρου μὲν

¹ The reference is to Herodotus, Book I. p. 11.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

make his responses in such forms as the following : CHAP.
‘Do this, or do not do that’ ; and ‘go, or do not go,’ or ‘choose allies, or do not choose them.’
^{XI} For here are short formulas, or as you call it naked ones. But in order to display his mastery of the grand style, and in order to please those who came to consult his oracle, he adopted the poetical form ; and he does not allow that anything exists which he does not know, but claims to have counted the sands of the sea and to know their number, and also to have fathomed the depths of the sea.

“ But I suppose you will call it miracle-mongering, that Apollo dictates his oracles with such proud dignity and elation of spirit ? But if you will not be annoyed, Thespersion, at what I say, there are certain old women who go about with sieves in their hands to shepherds, sometimes to cow-herds, pretending to heal their flocks, when they are sick, by divination, as they call it, and they claim to be called wise women, yea wiser than those who are unfeignedly prophets. It seems to me that you are in the same case, when I contrast your wisdom with that of the Indians ; for they are divine, and have trimmed and adorned their science after the manner of the Pythian oracle ; but you—however I will say no more, for modesty in speech is as dear to me as it is dear to the Indians, and I would be glad to have it at once to attend upon and to guide my tongue, seeking to compass what is in my power when I am praising those to whom I am so devoted, but leaving alone what is too high for me to attain unto, without bespattering it with petty disapproval. But you no doubt delight in the story which you have read in Odysseus.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἐν Κυκλωπίᾳ ἀκούων, ώς ἡ γῆ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους
^{XI} καὶ ἀνομωτάτους ἀσπορος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἔστιᾳ,
χαίρεις τῷ λόγῳ, κανὸν Ἡδωνοί τινες ἡ Λυδοὶ βακ-
χεύωσιν, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖς, ώς γάλακτος αὐτοῖς καὶ
οἴνου πηγὰς δώσει καὶ ποτιεῖ τούτους, τοὺς δὲ
σοφίας ἀπάσης βάκχους ἀφαιρήσῃ δῶρα αὐτό-
ματα παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἥκοντα; τρίποδες δὲ αὐτό-
ματοι καὶ ἐς τὰ ξυμπόσια τῶν θεῶν φοιτῶσι, καὶ
ὁ "Ἄρης ἀμαθής περ ὄν καὶ ἔχθρὸς οὕπω τὸν
"Ηφαιστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, οὐδὲ ἔστιν, ώς
ἥκουσάν ποτε οἱ θεοὶ τοιαύτης γραφῆς· ἀδικεῖς,
"Ηφαιστε, κοσμῶν τὸ ξυμπόσιον τῶν θεῶν καὶ
περιιστὰς αὐτῷ θαύματα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δμωαῖς
αἰτίαν ποτὲ ἔσχε ταῖς χρυσαῖς, ώς παραφθείρων
τὰς ὕλας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν χρυσὸν ἔμπινουν ἐποίει,
κόσμου γὰρ ἐπιμελήσεται τέχνη πᾶσα, ὅτι καὶ
αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι τέχνας ὑπὲρ κόσμου εὔρηται. ἀνυ-
ποδησία δὲ καὶ τρίβων καὶ πήραν ἀνήφθαι κόσμου
εὔρημα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς,
ἔοικε μὲν ἀκατασκεύφ τε καὶ λιτῷ σχήματι, ἐπιτε-
τήδευται δὲ ὑπὲρ κόσμου καὶ οὐδὲ ἄπεστιν αὐτοῦ τὸ
ἐτέρῳ φασὶ τύφῳ. τὰ δὲ Ἡλίου τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν
πάτρια καὶ ὅπῃ χαίρει θεραπευόμενος ἔχέτω τὸν
αὐτῶν νόμον, θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ χθόνιοι βόθρους ἀσπά-
σονται καὶ τὰ ἐν κοίλῃ τῇ γῆ δρώμενα, Ἡλίου δὲ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

Homer about the Cyclopes, how their land, all unsown CHAP
and unploughed, nourished the most fearless and XI
most lawless of beings; and if it is some Edoni or
Lydians who are conducting their bacchic revels,
you are quite ready to believe that the earth will
supply them with fountains of milk and wine, and
give them to drink thereof; but you would deny to
these Indians, lovers of all wisdom as enthusiastic as
ever bacchants were, the unsought bounties which
earth offers them. Moreover tripods, gifted with wills
of their own, attend the banquets of the gods also; and
Ares, ignorant and hostile as he was to Hephaestus,
yet never accused him merely for making them;
nor is it conceivable that the gods ever listened to
such an indictment as this: 'You commit an injustice,
O Hephaestus, in adorning the banquet of the gods,
and encompassing it with miracles.' Nor was
Hephaestus ever sued for constructing hand-
maids of gold, nor accused of debasing the metals
because he made the gold to breathe. For every art
is interested to adorn, and the very existence of the
arts was a discovery made in behalf of ornament.
Moreover a man who goes without shoes and wears
a philosopher's cloak and hangs a wallet on his back
is a creature of ornament; nay, more even the
nakedness which you affect, in spite of its rough and
plain appearance, has for its object ornament and
decoration, though here too there is not absent a
certain element of what they call empty pride. We
must judge by the same standard the religion of the
Sun and the national rites of the Indians and any
cult in which that god delights; for the subterranean
gods will always prefer deep trenches and ceremonies
conducted in the hollows of the earth, but the air is



FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. άηρ δχημα, καὶ δεῖ τοὺς προσφόρως ἀσομένους
^{XI} αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς αἴρεσθαι καὶ ξυμμετεωροπολεῖν
τῷ θεῷ· τοῦτο δὲ βούλονται μὲν πάντες, δύνανται
δὲ Ἰνδοὶ μόνοι.”

XII

CAP. ^{XII} 'Αναπνεῦσαι ὁ Δάμις ἑαυτόν φησιν, ἐπειδὴ
ταῦτα ἡκουσεν ύπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
λόγων οὕτω διατεθῆναι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὡς τὸν
Θεοπεσίωνα μὲν καίτοι μέλανα ὄντα κατάδηλον
εἶναι, ὅτι ἐρυθριώη, φαίνεσθαι δέ τινα καὶ περὶ¹
τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔκπληξιν ἐφ' οἷς ἐρρωμένως τε καὶ
ξὺν εὔροιᾳ διαλεγομένου ἡκουσαν, τὸν νεώτατον
δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, φῶνομα ἦν Νεῖλος, καὶ ἀνα-
πηδῆσαί φησιν ύπὸ θαύματος, μεταστάντα τε πρὸς
τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμβαλεῖν τε αὐτῷ τὴν χείρα
καὶ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰς ξυνουσίας, αἱ ἐγένοντο
αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνδούς, φράζειν. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολ-
λώνιον, “σοὶ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄν,” φάναι, “βασκήναιμι
ἐγὼ λόγου, φιληκόῳ τε, ὡς ὄρῳ, τυγχάνοντι καὶ
σοφίᾳν ἀσπαζομένῳ πᾶσαν,” Θεοπεσίωνι δὲ καὶ
εἴ τις ἔτερος λῆρον τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἠγεῖται, μὴ ἀν ἐπαν-
τλῆσαι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν λόγους. ὅθεν ὁ Θεοπεσίων,
“εἰ δὲ ἔμπορος,” εἶπεν, “ἡ ναύκληρος ἥσθα καὶ²
τινα ἡμῶν ἀπῆγες ἐκεῖθεν φόρτον, ἀρά ἀν ἡξίους,
ἐπειδὴ ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν οὗτος, ἀδοκίμαστον αὐτὸν διατί-
θεσθαι καὶ μήτε γεῦμα παρέχειν αὐτοῦ μήτε
δεῦγμα;” ύπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “παρει-
χόμην ἄν,” εἶπε, “τοῖς γε χρῆζουσιν, εἰ δ' ἡκων τις

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the chariot of the sun ; and those who would sing CHAP.
his praise in a fitting manner must rise from the ^{XI} earth and soar aloft with the god ; and this everyone
would like to do, but the Indians alone are able to
do it."

XII

DAMIS says that he breathed afresh when he CHAP.
heard this address ; for that the Egyptians were so XII
impressed by Apollonius' words, that Thespasion, in
spite of the blackness of his complexion, visibly
blushed, while the rest of them seemed in some way
stunned by the vigorous and fluent discourse which
they listened to ; but the youngest of them, whose
name was Nilus, leapt up from the ground, he says,
in admiration, and passing over to Apollonius shook
hands with him, and besought him to tell him about
the interviews which he had had with the Indians.
And Apollonius, he says, replied : " I should not
grudge you anything, for you are ready to listen, as
I see, and are ready to welcome wisdom of every
kind ; but I should not care to pour out the teachings
I gathered there upon Thespasion or on anyone else
who regards the lore of the Indians as so much
nonsense." Whereupon Thespasion said : " But if
you were a merchant or a seafarer, and you brought
to us some cargo or other from over there, would
you claim, merely because it came from India, to
dispose of it untested and unexamined, refusing us
either the liberty of looking at it or tasting it ? " But
Apollonius replied as follows : " I should furnish
it to those who asked for it ; but if the moment
my ship had reached the harbour, some one came

Nilus, the
youngest of
the Naked
Sages, goes
over to
Apollonius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. έπι τὴν θάλατταν καταπεπλευκυίας ἄρτι τῆς νεώς,
XII ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῷ φόρτῳ καὶ διέβαλλε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς
ἥκουντα ἐκ γῆς, ἢ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φέρει, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπέ-
πληττεν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων ἀγωγίμων πλεύ-
σαντι, τούς τε ἄλλους ἔπειθεν οὕτω φρονεῖν, ἀρ’
ἄν σοι δοκεῖ τις καταπλεύσας ἐς τοιόνδε λιμένα
βαλέσθαι τινὰ ἄγκυραν ἢ πεῖσμα, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ
μᾶλλον ἀνασείσας τὰ ἴστια μετεωρίσαι ἀν τὴν
ναῦν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνέμοις ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
ἥδιόν γε ἢ ἀκρίτοις τε καὶ ἀξένοις ἥθεσιν; ” “ἀλλ’
έγω,” ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος, “λαμβάνομαι τῶν πεισμάτων
καὶ ἀντιβολῶ σε, ναύκληρε, κοινωνήσαι μοι τῆς
ἐμπορίας, ἦν ἄγεις, καὶ ξυνεμβαίνην ἄν σοι τὴν
ναῦν περίνεώς τε καὶ μνήμων τοῦ σοῦ φόρτου.”

XIII

CAP. Διαπαῦσαι δὲ ὁ Θεσπεσίων ζητῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα,
XIII χαίρω, ” ἔφη, “Απολλώνιε, δtti ἄχθη ὑπὲρ ὧν
ἥκουσας· καὶ γὰρ ἀν καὶ ἡμῖν ξυγγυγνώσκοις
ἀχθομένοις ὑπὲρ ὧν διέβαλες τὴν δεῦρο σοφίαν,
οὐδὲ ἐς πεῖράν πω αὐτῆς ἀφιγμένος.” ὁ δὲ ἐκ-
πλαγεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς βραχὺ τῷ μηδὲ
ἀκηκοέναι πω τὰ περὶ τὸν Θρασύβουλόν τε καὶ
τὸν Εὐφράτην, ξυμβαλὼν δέ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὸ
γεγονός, “Ινδοὶ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Θεσπεσίων, οὐκ ἀν
τοῦτο ἔπαθον, οὐδὲ ἀν προσέσχον Εὐφράτη κα-
θιέντι ταῦτα, σοφοὶ γὰρ προγιγνώσκειν. ἔγὼ δὲ
ἴδιον μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ πρὸς Εὐφράτην διηνέχθην οὐδέν,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

down to the beach and began to run down my cargo CHAP.
and abuse myself, and say that I came from a XII
country which produces nothing worth having, and if he reproached me for sailing with a cargo of shoddy goods, and tried to persuade the rest to think like himself, do you suppose that one would, after entering such a harbour, cast anchor or make his cables fast, and not rather hoist his sails and put out to sea afresh, entrusting his goods more gladly to the winds than to such undiscerning and inhospitable people?" "Well, I anyhow," said Nilus, "lay hold on your cables, and entreat you, my skipper, to let me share your goods that you bring hither; and I would gladly embark with you in your ship as a super-cargo and a clerk to check your merchandise."

XIII

THESPESION, however, was anxious to put a stop to CHAP.
such propositions, so he said: "I am glad, Apollonius, XIII
that you are annoyed at what we said to you; for you can the more readily condone our annoyance at the misrepresentation you made of our local wisdom, long before you had gained any experience of its quality." Apollonius was for a moment astonished at these words, for he had heard nothing as yet of the intrigues of Thrasybulus and Euphrates: but as was his wont, he guessed the truth and said: "The Indians, O Thespesion, would never have behaved as you have, nor have given ear to these insinuations dropped by Euphrates, for they have a gift of prescience. Now I never had any quarrel of my own with Euphrates; I only tried to wean him of his

Apollonius
rebuts the
calumnies
of
Euphrates

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIII. χρημάτων δὲ ἀπάγων αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπαινεῖν τὸ ἔξι ἄπαντος κέρδος, οὗτ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔνυμβουλεύειν ἔδοξα οὕτε ἐκείνῳ δυνατά, καὶ ἔλεγχον δὲ ἥγεῖται ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσιν ἀεί τι κατ' ἐμοῦ ἔνυντιθείς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πιθανὸς ὑμῶν ἔδοξε τούμὸν διαβάλλειν ἥθος, ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὡς προτέρους ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ διέβαλεν· ἐμοὶ γὰρ κίνδυνοι μὲν καὶ περὶ τὸν διαβεβλησόμενον οὐ σμικροὶ φαίνονται, μασήσεται γάρ που ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ κινδύνων οὐδ' οἱ τῶν διαβολῶν ἀκροασόμενοι δοκοῦσιν, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀλώσονται φευδολογίαν τιμῶντες καὶ ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὴν ὅνπερ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἴτα κουφότητα καὶ εὐαγωγίαν — ἥπτάσθαι δὲ τούτων καὶ μειρακίῳ αἰσχρόν — φθονεροί τε δόξουσι διδάσκαλον ἀκοῆς ἀδίκου ποιούμενοι τὸν φθόνον, αὐτοί τε μᾶλλον ἔνοχοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ἀς ἐφ' ἑτέρων ἀληθεῖς ἥγοῦνται, αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις ἐτοιμότεραι δρᾶν, ἀ μὴ ἀπιστοῦσι. μὴ τυραννεύσειεν ἀνὴρ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα, μηδὲ προσταίη δήμου, τυραννὶς γὰρ καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔσται, μηδὲ δικάσειεν, ὑπὲρ μηδενὸς γὰρ γνώσεται, μηδὲ ναυκληρήσειεν, ἡ γὰρ ναῦς στασιάσει, μηδὲ ἄρξειε στρατοῦ, τὸ γὰρ ἀντίξοον εὐ πράξει, μηδὲ φιλοσοφήσειεν οὕτως ἔχων, οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τάληθες δοξάσει. ὑμᾶς δὲ Εὐφράτης

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

passion for money and cure his propensity to value CHAP.
everything by what he could make out of it ; but I ^{XIII} found that my advice was not congenial to him, nor in his case practicable ; nay he merely takes it as a tacit reproach, and never loses any opportunity of intriguing against me. But since you have found his attacks upon my character so plausible, I may as well tell you that it is you, rather than myself, that he has calumniated. For though, as is clear to me, the victims of calumny incur considerable dangers, since they are, I suppose, sure to be disliked without having done any wrong, yet neither are those who incline to listen to the calumnies free from danger ; for in the first place they will be convicted of paying respect to lies and giving them as much attention as they would to the truth, and secondly they are convicted of levity and credulity, faults which it is disgraceful even for a stripling to fall into. And they will be thought envious, because they allow envy to teach them to listen to unjust tittle-tattle ; and they expose themselves all the more to calumny, because they think it true of others. For man is by nature inclined to commit a fault which he does not discredit when he hears it related of others. Heaven forbid that a man of these inclinations should become a tyrant, or even president of a popular state ; for in his hands even a democracy would become a tyranny ; nor let him be made a judge, for surely he will not ever discern the truth. Nor let him be captain of a ship, for the crew would mutiny, nor general of an army, for that would bring luck to the adversary ; nor let one of his disposition attempt philosophy, for he would not consider the truth in forming his opinions. But Euphrates has deprived you of even

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIII ἀφήρηται καὶ τὸ σοφοὺς εἶναι, οὓς γὰρ ψεύδει ὑπηγάγετο, πῶς ἀν οὐτοι σοφίας αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσειαν, ἡς ἀπέστησαν τῷ τὰ μὴ πιθανὰ πείσαντι;” διαπραῦνων δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “ἄλις Εὐφράτου,” ἔφη, “καὶ μικροψύχων λόγων, καὶ γὰρ ἀν καὶ διαλλακταὶ γενοίμεθά σοι τε κάκείνῳ, σοφὸν ἥγούμενοι καὶ τὸ διαιτᾶν σοφοῖς. πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς,” εἰπε, “τίς διαλλάξει με; χρὴ γάρ που καταψευσθέντα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους.” * * *¹ “ἔχέτω οὕτως,” ἡ δ’ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “καὶ σπουδῆς ἀπτώμεθα, τουτὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς διαλλάξει μᾶλλον.”

XIV

CAP. XIV ‘Ερῶν δὲ ὁ Νεῦλος τῆς ἀκροάσεως τοῦ ἀνδρός, “καὶ μὴν σέ,” ἔφη, “προσήκει ἄρξαι τοῦ σπουδάσαι, διελθόντα ἡμῖν τήν τε ἀποδημίαν τὴν γενομένην σοι ἐς τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος τάς τε ἐκεῖ σπουδάς, ἀς ὑπὲρ λαμπρῶν δήπου ἐποιεῖσθε.” “ἐγὼ δέ,” ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “καὶ περὶ τῆς Φραώτου σοφίας ἀκοῦσαι ποθῶ, λέγεσθε γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἀγάλματα ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἄγειν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ποιησάμενος διήσει πάντα, οἱ δὲ ἀσμενοὶ ἡκροῶντο ὑποκείμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. μεσημβρίᾳ δ’ ὡς ἐγένετο, διέλυσαν τὴν σπουδήν, τὸν γὰρ καιρὸν τούτον καὶ οἱ Γυμνοὶ πρὸς ἵεροῖς γύγνουται.

¹ There seems a lacuna here in the text.

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the quality of wisdom ; for how can those on whom CHAP.
he has imposed with his falsehoods claim wisdom for XIII
themselves ? have they not deserted from it to take sides with one who has persuaded them of improbabilities ? ” Here Thespersion tried to calm him, and remarked : “ Enough of Euphrates and of his small-minded affairs ; for we are quite ready even to reconcile you with him, since we consider it the proper work of a sage to be umpire in the disputes of other sages.” “ But,” said Apollonius, “ who shall reconcile me with you ? For the victim of lies must surely be driven into hostility by the falsehood.” . . . “ Be it so,” said Apollonius, “ and let us hold a conversation, for that will be the best way of reconciling us.”

XIV

AND Nilus, as he was passionately anxious to listen CHAP.
to Apollonius, said : “ And what’s more, it behoves you XIV
to begin the conversation, and to tell us all about the journey which you made to the people of India, and about the conversations which you held there, I Nilus
persuades
Apollonius
to relate
his Indian
experiences
have no doubt on the most brilliant topics.” “ And I too,” said Thespersion, “ long to hear about the wisdom of Phraotes, for you are said to have brought from India some examples of his arguments.” Apollonius accordingly began by telling them about the events which occurred in Babylon, and told them everything, and they gladly listened to him, spell-bound by his words. But when it was mid-day, they broke off the conversation, for at this time of day the naked sages, like others attend to the ceremonies of religion.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XV

CAP.
XV Δειπνοῦντι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐφίσταται λαχάνοις ἄμα καὶ ἄρτοις καὶ τραγήμασι, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς φέρων, τὰ δὲ ἔτεροι, καὶ μάλα ἀστείως, “οἱ σοφοί,” ἔφη, “ξένια πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν τε κάμοι ταῦτα, κἀγὼ γὰρ ξυσσιτήσω ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἄκλητος, ὡς φασιν, ἀλλ' ἐμαυτὸν καλῶν.” “ἡδύ,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἀπάγεις, ὡς νεανίᾳ, ξένιον, σεαυτόν τε καὶ τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἥθος, δις ἀδόλως μὲν φιλοσοφοῦντι ἕοικας, ἀσπαζομένῳ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Πυθαγόρου. κατακλίνου δὴ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ξυσπίτει.” “κατάκειμαι,” ἔφη, “σιτία δὲ οὐκ ἔσται σοι τοσαῦτα, ὡς ἐμπλῆσαι με.” “ἕοικας,” εἶπεν, “εὔσιτος εἰναι καὶ δεινὸς φαγεῖν.” “δεινότατος μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “δις γὰρ τοσαύτην καὶ οὕτω λαμπρὰν δαῖτά σου παραθέντος οὕπω ἐμπέπλησμαι, διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον πάλιν ἐπισιτιούμενος ἦκω, τί φήσεις ἀλλ' ἡ ἀκόρεστόν τε εἰναί με καὶ δεινῶς γάστριν;” “ἐμπίπλασο,” εἶπεν, “ἀφορμαὶ δ', ὅπόσαι λόγων, τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς παραδίδου, τὰς δὲ ἐγὼ δώσω.”

XVI

CAP.
XVI Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν, “ἐγώ,” ἡ δ' ὁ Νεῖλος, “τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐστρατευόμην ὁμοῦ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς, οἷον ψιλοῖς τισιν ἡ σφενδονίταις ἐκείνοις ἐμαυτὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XV

APOLLONIUS and his comrades were about to dine, CHAP.
when Nilus presented himself with vegetables and
bread and dried fruits, some of which he carried
himself, while his friends carried the rest; and very
politely he said: "The sages send these gifts of
hospitality, not only to yourselves but to me;
for I mean to share in your repast, not uninvited,
as they say, but inviting myself." "It is a delightful
gift of hospitality," said Apollonius, "which
you bring to us, O youth, in the shape of
yourself and of your disposition, for you are evidently
a philosopher without guile, and an enthusiastic lover
of the doctrines of the Indians and of Pythagoras.
So lie down here and eat with us." "I will do so,"
said the other, "but your dishes will not be ample
enough to satisfy me." "It seems to me," said the
other, "that you are a gourmand and an appalling
eater." "None like me," said the other, "for
although you have set before me so ample and so
brilliant a repast, I am not sated; and after a little
time I am come back again to eat afresh. What
then can you call me but an insatiable cormorant?"
"Eat your fill," said Apollonius, "and as for topics
of conversation, some you must yourself supply, and I
will give you others."

Nilus
defends his
adhesion to
Apollonius

XVI

So when they had dined, "I," said Nilus, CHAP.
"until now have been camping together with the
naked sages, and joined my forces with them as
XVI

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ξυντάττων, νυνὶ δὲ ὄπλιτεύσω καὶ κοσμήσει με ἡ
XVI ἀσπὶς ἡ σή.” “ἀλλ’ οἴμαι σε,” εἶπεν, “Αἰγύπτιε,
παρὰ Θεσπεσίωνί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξειν αἰτίαν,
ἔφ’ οἷς οὐδὲ ἐς ἔλεγχον ἡμῶν καταστὰς πλείω, σὺ
δ’ ἐτοιμότερον ἡ ξυγχωρεῖ βίου αἴρεσις, ἐς τὰ
ἡμέτερα ἥθη ἀφήσεις.” “οἴμαι,” ἔφη, “εἰ δ’
αἰτία ἐλομένου ἔσται τις, τάχα καὶ μὴ ἐλομένου
αἰτία καὶ ἀλώσονται μᾶλλον ἅπερ ἐγὼ ἐλόμενοι·
τὸ γὰρ πρεσβυτέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ σοφωτέρους ὄντας
μὴ πάλαι ἥρησθαι, ἅπερ ἐγὼ νῦν, δικαίαν αἰτίαν
κατ’ ἐκείνων ἔχοι ἀν μᾶλλον οὕτω πλεονεκτοῦντας
μὴ ἐς τὸ βέλτιον ἐλέσθαι, ὅ τι χρήσονται.” “οὐκ
ἀγεννῆ μέν, ω̄ νεανίσκε, λόγον εἴρηκας· ὅρα δέ, μὴ
αὐτῷ τῷ οὕτω μὲν σοφίας, οὕτω δὲ ἡλικίας ἔχειν
ἐκείνα γε ὁρθῶς ἥρημένοι φαίνωνται¹ ταῦτά τε ξὺν
εἰκότι λόγῳ παραιτούμενοι, σύ τε θρασυτέρου
λόγου δοκῆς ἅπτεσθαι καθιστὰς μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἡ
ἐκείνοις ἐπόμενος.” ὑποστρέψας δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος
παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δόξαν, “ἄ μὲν εἰκὸς
ἥν,” ἔφη, “πρεσβυτέροις ὁμαρτεῖν νέον, οὐ παρεῖ-
ται μοι, σοφίαν γὰρ ὅπότ’ φμην εἶναι περὶ τοὺς

¹ Kayser reads φαίνονται, yet retains δοκῆς just below.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

with certain light armed troops or slingers. But CHAP.
now I intend to put on my heavy armour, and XVI
it is your shield that shall adorn me." "But,"
said Apollonius, "I think, my good Egyptian, that
you will incur the censure of Thespesion and
his society for two reasons; firstly, that after no
further examination and testing of ourselves you
have left them, and secondly that you give the
preference to our manners and discipline with more
precipitancy than is admissible where a man is
making choice of how he shall live." "I agree
with you," said the young man, "but if I am to
blame for making this choice, I might also be to
blame if I did not make it; and anyhow they will be
most open to rebuke, if they make the same choice
as myself. For it will be more justly reprehensible
in them, as they are both older and wiser than
myself, not to have made the choice long ago which
I make now; for with all their advantages they will
have failed to choose what in practice would so much
redound to their advantage." "A very generous
sentiment indeed, my good youth, is this which
you have expressed," said Apollonius; "but beware
lest the mere fact of their being so wise and aged
should give them an appearance, at any rate, of
being right in choosing as they have done, and of
having good reason for rejecting my doctrine; and
lest you should seem to take up a very bold position
in setting them to rights rather than in following
them." But the Egyptian turned short round upon
Apollonius and countering his opinion said: "So far
as it was right for a young man to agree with his
elders, I have been careful to do so; for so long as I
thought that these gentlemen were possessed of a

Nilus quits
the naked
Sages to join
Apollonius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἄνδρας, ήν οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν,
XVI προσεποίησα ἐμαυτὸν τούτοις, πρόφασις δέ μοι
τῆς ὄρμῆς ηδε ἐγένετο· ἔπλευσέ ποτε ὁ πατὴρ ἐς
τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐκών, ἥρχε δὲ ἄρα τῆς νεός, ήν
Αἰγύπτιοι στέλλουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, ἐπι-
μίξας δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Ἰνδοῖς διεκόμισε
λόγους περὶ τῶν ἐκείνη σοφῶν ἀγχοῦ τούτων, οὓς
πρὸς ἡμᾶς διηλθεῖ ἀκούων δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοιουτονί-
τινα λόγον, ὡς σοφώτατοι μὲν ἀνθρώπων Ἰνδοί,
ἄποικοι δὲ Ἰνδῶν Αἰθίοπες, πατρώζουσι δὲ οὗτοι
τὴν σοφίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι βλέπουσι, μειράκιον
γενόμενος τὰ μὲν πατρῷα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀφῆκα,
γυμνὸς δὲ Γυμνοῖς ἐπεφοίτησα τούτοις, ὡς μαθη-
σόμενος τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἦ ἀδελφά γε ἐκείνων, καὶ μοι
ἔφαινοντο σοφοὶ μέν, οὐ μὴν ἐκεῖνα, ἐμοῦ δ'
αὐτοὺς ἐρομένου, τοῦ χάριν οὐ τὰ Ἰνδῶν φιλοσο-
φοῦσιν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἐς διαβολὰς κατέστησαν
παραπλησίως ταῖς πρὸς σὲ εἰρημέναις τήμερον,
ἐμὲ δὲ νέον ἔτι, ὡς ὄρᾶς, δοντα κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ
αὐτῶν κοινόν, δείσαντες, οἷμαι, μὴ ἀποπηδήσας
αὐτῶν πλεύσαιμι ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθράν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ὁ
πατὴρ, διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀν παρῆκα· προῆλθον
γὰρ ἀν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ὅχθου τῶν σοφῶν, εἰ μή σέ
τις ἐνταῦθα θεῶν ἔστειλεν ἐμοὶ ἀρωγόν, ὡς μήτε

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

wisdom which belonged to no other set of men, I attached myself to them ; and the motive which actuated me to do so was the following : My father once made a voyage on his own initiative to the Red Sea, for he was, I may tell you, captain of the ship which the Egyptians send to the Indies. And after he had had intercourse with the Indians of the seaboard, he brought home stories of the wise men of that region, closely similar to those which you have told us. And his account which I heard was somewhat as follows, namely that the Indians are the wisest of mankind, but that the Ethiopians are colonists sent from India, who follow their forefathers in matters of wisdom, and fix their eyes on the institutions of their home. Well, I, having reached my teens, surrendered my patrimony to those who wanted it more than myself, and frequented the society of these naked sages, naked myself as they, in the hope of picking up the teaching of the Indians, or at any rate teaching allied to theirs. And they certainly appeared to me to be wise, though not after the manner of India ; but when I asked them point blank why they did not teach the philosophy of India, they plunged into abuse of the natives of that country very much as you have heard them do in their speeches this very day. Now I was still young, as you see, so they made me a member of their society, because I imagine they were afraid I might hastily quit them and undertake a voyage to the Red Sea, as my father did before me. And I should certainly have done so, yes, by Heaven, I would have pushed on until I reached the hill of the sages, unless some one of the gods had sent you hither to help me and enabled me without either

CHAP.
XVI

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. **XVI** τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν πλεύσας μήτε πρὸς τοὺς Κολπίτας παραβαλόμενος σοφίας Ἰνδικῆς γευσαίμην, οὐ τήμερον βίου ποιησόμενος αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν ἡρημένος, ἀ δὲ φῶμην ἔξειν, οὐκ ἔχων. τί γὰρ δεινόν, εἰ ὁτουδὴ ἀμαρτών τις ἐπάνεισιν ἐφ' ὃ ἐθήρευεν; εἰ δὲ κάκείνους ἐς τουτὶ μεταβιβάζοιμι καὶ γνηγοίμην αὐτοῖς ξύμβουλος ὡν ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα, τί ἄν, εἰπέ μοι, θρασὺν πράττοιμι; οὗτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης ἀπελατέα τοῦ τι καὶ αὐτὴ βέλτιον ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἀν τοῦ γήρως, σοφίας τε ὅστις ἐτέρῳ γίγνεται ξύμβουλος, ἦν αὐτὸς ἥρηται, διαφεύγει δήπου τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἀ πέπεισται πείθειν, τοῖς τε ἥκουσιν ἀγαθοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὅστις ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὰ χρῆται μόνος, ἀδικεῖ τὰ γαθά, ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ πλείοσιν ἡδίω φαίνεσθαι.”

XVII

CAP. **XVII** Τοιαῦτα εἴραντος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ οὕτω νεανικὰ ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ δέ,” εἶπεν, “οὐ διαλέξῃ μοι πρότερον σοφίας γε ἐρῶν τῆς ἐμῆς;” “διαλεγώμεθα,” ἢ δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, “καὶ ὅ τι βούλει, αἴτει.” “αἰτῶ σε,” εἶπεν, “ἀ μὲν αὐτὸς εἶλου, ἥρησθαι, τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς μὴ ἐνοχλεῦν ξυμβουλεύοντα ἀ μὴ πείσεις.” “πείσομαι,” ἔφη,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

making any voyage over the Red Sea or adventuring CHAP.
to the inhabitants of the Gulf, to taste the wisdom XVI
of India. It is not to-day therefore for the first
time that I shall make my choice, but I made it
long ago, though I did not obtain what I hoped to
obtain. For what is there to wonder at if a man
who has missed what he was looking for, returns
to the search? And if I should convert my friends
yonder to this point of view, and persuade them to
adopt the convictions which I have adopted myself,
should I, tell me, be guilty of any hardihood? For you
must not reject the claim that youth makes, that in
some way it assimilates an idea more easily than old
age; and anyone who counsels another to adopt the
wisdom and teaching which he himself has chosen,
anyhow escapes the imputation of trying to persuade
others of things he does not believe himself. And
anyone who takes the blessings bestowed upon him
by fortune into a corner and there enjoys them by
himself, violates their character as blessings, for he
prevents their sweetness from being enjoyed by as
many as possible."

XVII

WHEN Nilus had finished these arguments, and CHAP.
juvenile enough they were, Apollonius took him XVII
up and said: "If you are in love with my
wisdom, had you not better, before I begin, discuss
with me the question of my reward?" "Let us
discuss it," answered Nilus, "and do you ask what-
ever you like." "I ask you," he said, "to be content
with the choice you have made, and not to annoy
the naked sages by giving them advice which they

Apollonius
prepares to
visit the
sources of
the Nile

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVII “καὶ ὁμολογείσθω ὁ μισθός.” ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὗτως ἐσπούδασαν, ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Νείλου, πόσου χρόνου διατρίψοι περὶ τοὺς Γυμνούς, “ὅπόσου,” ἔφη, “χρόνου ἀξία ἡ τῶνδε σοφία τῷ ξυνεσομένῳ σφίσιν, εἴτα ἐπὶ Καταδούπων τὴν ὄδὸν ποιησόμεθα τῶν πηγῶν ἔνεκα, χαρίεν γὰρ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἴδειν τὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κελαδοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι.”

XVIII

CAP. XVIII “Ωδε διαλεχθέντες καὶ τινῶν Ἰνδικῶν μυημονεύσαντες ἐκάθευδον ἐν τῇ πόᾳ, ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσευξάμενοι τὰ εἰώθότα εἴποντο τῷ Νείλῳ παρὰ τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα αὐτοὺς ἄγοντι προσεπόντες οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ ξυνιζήσαντες ἐν τῷ ἀλσει διαλέξεως ἥπτοντο, ἥρχε δὲ αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος “ώς μὲν γὰρ πολλοῦ,” ἔφη, “ἄξιον τὸ μὴ κρύπτειν σοφίαν, δηλούσιν οἱ χθὲς λόγοι διδαξαμένων γάρ με Ἰνδῶν, ὅπόσα τῆς ἐκείνων σοφίας φῶμην προσήκειν ἐμοί, μέμνημαί τε τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ διδασκάλων καὶ περίειμι διδάσκων, ἀ ἐκείνων ἥκουσα, καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ ἀν ἐν κέρδει γενοίμην, εἴ με καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν σοφίαν εἰδότα πέμποιτε, οὐ γὰρ ἀν πανσαΐμην “Ἐλλησί τε διιών τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ Ἰνδοῖς γράφων.”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

will not take." "I consent," he said, "and let this be agreed upon as your reward." This then was the substance of their conversation, and when Nilus at its close asked him how long a time he would stay among the naked sages he replied : "So long as the quality of their wisdom justifies anyone in remaining in their company ; and after that I shall take my way to the cataracts, in order to see the springs of the Nile, for it will be delightful not only to behold the sources of the Nile, but also to listen to the roar of its waterfalls."

CHAP.
XVII

XVIII

AFTER they had held this discussion and listened to some recollections of India, they lay down to sleep upon the grass ; but at daybreak, having offered their accustomed prayers, they followed Nilus, who led them into the presence of Thespesion. They accordingly greeted one another, and sitting down together in the grove they began a conversation in which Apollonius led as follows : "How important it is," said he, "not to conceal wisdom, is proved by our conversation of yesterday ; for because the Indians taught me as much of their wisdom as I thought it proper for me to know, I, not only remember my teachers, but I go about instilling into others what I heard from them. And you too will be richly rewarded by me, if you send me away with a knowledge of your wisdom as well ; for I shall not cease to go about and repeat your teachings to the Greeks, while to the Indians I shall write them."

CHAP.
XVIII
But first
discusses
with the
naked sages
the animal
gods of
Egypt.

XIX

CAP.
XIX "Ἐρώτα," ἔφασαν, "ἔπεται γάρ που ἐρωτήσει λόγος." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "περὶ θεῶν," εἶπεν, "ὑμᾶς ἐρήσομαι πρῶτον, τί μαθόντες ἄτοπα καὶ γελοῖα θεῶν εἴδη παραδεδώκατε τοῖς δεῦρο ἀνθρώποις, πλὴν ὀλίγων ὀλίγων γάρ; πάνυ μέντοι ὀλίγων, ἂ σοφῶς καὶ θεοειδῶς ἴδρυται, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ὑμῶν ἱερὰ ζώων ἀλόγων καὶ ἀδόξων τιμαὶ μᾶλλον ἡ θεῶν φαίνονται." δυσχεράνας δὲ ὁ Θεοπεσίων, "τὰ δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν," εἶπεν, "ἀγάλματα πῶς ἴδρυσθαι φήσεις;" "ὦ γε," ἔφη, "κάλλιστόν τε καὶ θεοφιλέστατον δημιουργεῶν θεούς." "τὸν Δία που λέγεις," εἶπε, "τὸν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδστι καὶ τὸ τῆς Κνιδίας τε καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ ὅπόσα ὡδε καλὰ καὶ μεστὰ ὥρας." "οὐ μόνον," ἔφη, "ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπαξ τὴν μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαλματοπούμαν ἀπτεσθαί φημι τοῦ προσήκοντος, ὑμᾶς δὲ καταγελάν τοῦ θείου μᾶλλον ἡ νομίζειν αὐτό." "οἱ Φειδίαι δέ," εἶπε, "καὶ οἱ Πραξιτέλεις μῶν ἀνελθόντες ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀπομαξάμενοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἴδη τέχνην αὐτὰ ἐποιοῦντο, ἡ ἔτερόν τι ἦν, δέ ἐφίστη αὐτοὺς τῷ πλάττειν;" "ἔτερον," ἔφη,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XIX

“Ask,” they said, “for you know question comes first and argument follows on it.” And Apollonius said: “It is about the gods that I would like to ask you a question first, namely, what induced you to impart, as your tradition, to the people of this country forms of the gods that are absurd and grotesque in all but a few cases? In a few cases, do I say? I would rather say that in very few are the gods’ images fashioned in a wise and god-like manner, for the mass of your shrines seem to have been erected in honour rather of irrational and ignoble animals than of gods.” Thespesion, resenting these remarks, said: “And your own images in Greece, how are they fashioned?” “In the way,” he replied, “in which it is best and most reverent to construct images of the gods.” “I suppose you allude,” said the other, “to the statue of Zeus in Olympia, and to the image of Athena and to that of the Cnidian goddess and to that of the Argive goddess and to other images equally beautiful and full of charm.” “Not only to these,” replied Apollonius, “but without exception I maintain, that whereas in other lands statuary has scrupulously observed decency and fitness, you rather make ridicule of the gods than really believe in them.” “Your artists, then, like Phidias,” said the other, “and like Praxiteles, went up, I suppose, to heaven and took a copy of the forms of the gods, and then reproduced these by their art, or was there any other influence which presided over and guided their moulding?” “There was,” said Apollonius, “and

CHAP.
XIX
Apollonius
attacks the
brutish gods
of Egypt

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ΧΙΧ “καὶ μεστόν γε σοφίας πρᾶγμα.” “ποῖον;” εἶπεν,
“οὐ γὰρ ἀν τι παρὰ τὴν μίμησιν εἴποις.” “φαντα-
σία,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, σοφωτέρα μιμήσεως
δημιουργός μίμησις μὲν γὰρ δημιουργήσει, δὲ εἶδεν,
φαντασία δὲ καὶ δὲ μὴ εἶδεν, ὑποθήσεται γὰρ αὐτὸ^ν
πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ ὄντος, καὶ μίμησιν μὲν
πολλάκις ἐκκρούει ἔκπληξις, φαντασίαν δὲ οὐδέν,
χωρεῖ γὰρ ἀνέκπληκτος πρὸς δὲ αὐτὴν ὑπέθετο. δεῖ
δέ που Διὸς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντα εἰδος ὄραν αὐτὸν ξὺν
οὐρανῷ καὶ ὥραις καὶ ἄστροις, ὥσπερ ὁ Φειδίας
τότε ὥρμησεν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ δημιουργήσειν μέλλοντα
στρατόπεδα ἐννοεῖν καὶ μῆτιν καὶ τέχνας καὶ ὡς
Διὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέθορεν. εἰ δὲ ἱέρακα ἢ γλαῦκα ἢ
λύκον ἢ κύνα ἐργασάμενος ἐσ τὰ ἱερὰ φέροις ἀντὶ^ν
Ἐρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὰ μὲν
θηρία καὶ τὰ ὅρνεα ζηλωτὰ δόξει τῶν εἰκόνων, οἱ
δὲ θεοὶ παραπολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν δόξης ἐστήξουσιν.”
“ἔσικας,” εἶπεν, “ἀβασανίστως ἔξετάζειν τὰ
ἡμέτερα· σοφὸν γάρ, εἴπερ τι Αἴγυπτίων, καὶ τὸ
μὴ θρασύνεσθαι ἐσ τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἴδη, ξυμβολικὰ
δὲ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπονοούμενα, καὶ γὰρ ἀν
καὶ σεμνότερα οὔτω φαίνοιτο.” γελάσας οὖν ὁ
Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὦ ἄνθρωποι,” ἔφη, “μεγάλα ὑμῖν
ἀπολέλαυται τῆς Αἴγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιόπων
σοφίας, εἰ σεμνότερον ὑμῶν καὶ θεοειδέστερον
κύων δόξει καὶ ἴβις καὶ τράγος, ταῦτα γὰρ Θεοπε-
σίωνος ἀκούω τοῦ σοφοῦ. σεμνὸν δὲ δὴ ἡ ἐμφοβον

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

an influence pregnant with wisdom and genius." CHAP.
"What was that?" said the other, "for I do not XIX
think you can adduce any except imitation." "Imag-
ination," said Apollonius, "wrought these works, a
wiser and subtler artist by far than imitation; for
imitation can only create as its handiwork what it
has seen, but imagination equally what it has not
seen; for it will conceive of its ideal with reference
to the reality, and imitation is often baffled by
terror, but imagination by nothing; for it marches
undismayed to the goal which it has itself laid down.
When you entertain a notion of Zeus you must, I sup-
pose, envisage him along with heaven and seasons and
stars, as Phidias in his day endeavoured to do, and
if you would fashion an image of Athene you must
image in your mind armies and cunning, and handi-
crafts, and how she leapt out of Zeus himself. But if
you make a hawk or an owl or a wolf or a dog,
and put it in your temples instead of Hermes or
Athene or Apollo, your animals and your birds may
be esteemed and of much price as likenesses, but the
gods will be very much lowered in their dignity."
"I think," said the other, "that you criticise our
religion very superficially; for if the Egyptians have
any wisdom, they show it by their deep respect and
reverence in the representation of the gods, and by
the circumstance that they fashion their forms as
symbols of a profound inner meaning, so as to enhance
their solemnity and august character." Apollonius
thereon merely laughed and said: "My good friends,
you have indeed greatly profited by the wisdom of
Egypt and Ethiopia, if your dog and your ibis and
your goat seem particularly august and god-like,
for this is what I learn from Thespesion the sage."

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τί ἐν τούτοις; τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιόρκους καὶ τοὺς ἱεροσύ-
XIX λους καὶ τὰ βωμολόχα ἔθνη καταφρονεῖν τῶν τοι-
ούτων ιερῶν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἡ δεδιέναι αὐτά, εἰ δὲ
σεμνότερα ταῦτα ὑπονοούμενα, πολλῷ σεμνότερον
ἀν ἐπραττον οἱ θεοὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, εἰ μὴ ἕδρυτό τε
αὐτῶν ἄγαλμα, ἀλλ' ἔτερον τρόπον σοφώτερόν τε
καὶ ἀπορρητότερον τῇ θεολογίᾳ ἐχρῆσθε· ἦν γάρ
που νεώς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔξοικοδομῆσαι καὶ βωμοὺς
ὅρίζειν καὶ ἀ χρὴ θύειν καὶ ἀ μὴ χρὴ καὶ ὀπηνίκα
καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ὅ τι λέγοντας ἡ δρῶντας, ἄγαλμα
δὲ μὴ ἐσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ εἰδη τῶν θεῶν καταλείπειν
τοῖς τὰ ιερὰ ἐσφοιτῶσιν, ἀναγράφει γάρ τι ἡ
γνώμη καὶ ἀνατυποῦται δημουργίας κρείττον,
ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀφήρησθε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὸ ὄρασθαι
καλῶς καὶ τὸ ὑπονοεῖσθαι.” πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπε-
σίων, “ἐγένετό τις,” ἔφη, “Σωκράτης Ἀθηναῖος
ἀνόητος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, γέρων, δις τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν
χῆνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον θεούς τε ἤγειτο καὶ ὥμνυν.”
“οὐκ ἀνόητος,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ θεῖος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς
σοφός, ὥμνυ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς θεούς, ἀλλ’ ἵνα
μὴ θεοὺς ὀμνύοι.”

XX

CAP. **XX** Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπεσίων ὥσπερ μεθιστάμενος
τουτού τοῦ λόγου, ἤρετο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον περὶ
80

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

But what is there that is august or awe-inspiring in CHAP.
these images? Is it not likely that perjurors and XIX
temple-thieves and all the rabble of low jesters will
despise such holy objects rather than dread them;
and if they are to be held august for the hidden
meanings which they convey, surely the gods in
Egypt would have met with much greater reverence,
if no images of them had ever been set up at all,
and if you had planned your theology along other
lines wiser and more mysterious. For I imagine
you might have built temples for them, and have
fixed the altars and laid down rules about what to
sacrifice and what not, and when and on what
scale, and with what liturgies and rites, without
introducing any image at all, but leaving it to
those who frequented the temples to imagine the
images of the gods; for the mind can more or less
delineate and figure them to itself better than can any
artist; but you have denied to the gods the privilege
of beauty both of the outer eye and of inner sug-
gestion." Thespesion replied and said: "There
was a certain Athenian, called Socrates, a foolish old
man like ourselves, who thought that the dog and
the goose and the plane tree were gods and used to
swear by them." "He was not foolish," said Apol-
lonius, "but a divine and unfeignedly wise man;
for he did not swear by these objects on the under-
standing that they were gods, but to save himself
from swearing by the gods."

XX

THEREUPON Thespesion as if anxious to drop this CHAP.
subject, put some questions to Apollonius, about the XX

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XX τῆς Λακωνικῆς μάστιγος καὶ εἰ δημοσίᾳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάιονται “τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Θεσπεσίων, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐλευθέριοι τε καὶ εὐδόκιμοι.” “τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας ἀδικοῦντας τί,” ἔφη, “ἐργάζονται;” “οὐκέτ’ ἀποκτείνουσιν,” εἶπεν, “ὦς ξυνεχώρει ποτὲ ὁ Λυκούργος, ἀλλ’ ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνους μάστιξ.” “ἡ δὲ Ἑλλὰς πῶς,” ἔφη, “περὶ αὐτῶν γιγνώσκει;” “ξυνίασιν,” εἶπεν, “ὦσπερ ἐς τὰ Τακίνθια καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδιάς, θεασόμενοι ξὺν ἥδονῇ τε ὄρμῇ πάσῃ.” “εἰτ’ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται,” ἔφη, “οἱ χρηστοὶ Ἑλληνες ἡ τοὺς αὐτῶν ποτε ἄρξαντας ὄρῶντες μαστιγουμένους ἐς τὸ κοινόν, ἡ ἀρχθέντες ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων, οὐ μαστιγοῦνται δημοσίᾳ; σὺ δὲ πῶς οὐ διωρθώσω ταῦτα; φασὶ γάρ σε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιμεληθῆναι.” “ἄ γε,” εἶπε, “δυνατὸν διορθοῦσθαι ξυνεβούλευον μὲν ἐγώ, προθύμως δ’ ἐκεῖνοι ἔπραττον, ἐλευθεριώτατοι μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰσί, μόνου¹ δ’ ὑπήκοοι τοῦ εὐ ξύμβουλεύοντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν μαστίγων ἔθος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν δρᾶται, χρησμῶν, φασιν, ἐξηγουμένων ταῦτα θεοῖς δ’ ἀντινομεῖν μανία, οἷμαι.” “οὐ σοφούς, Ἀπολλώνιε,” ἔφη, “τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς εἴρηκας, εἰ μαστίγων ἐγίγνουντο ξύμβουλοι τοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀσκοῦσιν.” “οὐ μαστίγων,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τὸν βωμὸν ῥαίνειν, ἐπειδὴ

¹ I conjecture μόνου for μόνοι.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

scourging in Sparta, and asked if the Lacedaemonians were smitten with rods in public. "Yes," answered the other, "as hard, O Thespersion, as men can smite them; and it is especially men of noble and distinguished birth among them that are so treated." "Then what do they do to menials," he asked, "when they do wrong?" "They do not kill them nowadays," said Apollonius, "as Lycurgus formerly allowed, but the same whip is used to them too." "And what judgment does Hellas pass upon the matter?" "They flock," he answered, "to see the spectacle with pleasure and utmost enthusiasm, as if to the festival of Hyacinthus, or to that of the naked boys." "Then these excellent Hellenes are not ashamed, either to behold those publicly whipped who erewhile governed them or to reflect that they were governed by men who are whipped before the eyes of all? And how is it that you did not reform this abuse? For they say that you interested yourself in the affairs of the Lacedaemonians, as of other people." "So far as anything could be reformed, I gave them my advice, and they readily adopted it; for they are the freest of the Hellenes; but at the same time they will only listen to one who gives them good advice. Now the custom of scourging is a ceremony in honour of the Scythian Artemis, so they say, and was prescribed by oracles, and to oppose the regulations of the gods is in my opinion utter madness." "'Tis a poor wisdom, Apollonius," he replied, "which you attribute to the gods of the Hellenes, if they countenance scourging as a part of the discipline of freedom." "It's not the scourging," he said, "but the sprinkling of the altar with human blood that is important, for the Scythians too held

The ritual
scourging
of Spartan
boys

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. καὶ παρὰ Σκύθαις τούτων ἡξιοῦτο, σοφισάμενοι
XX δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς θυσίας
ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς καρτερίας ἀγῶνα ἤκουσιν, ἀφ' ἡς ἐστι
μήτε ἀποθιήσκειν καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ τοῦ
σφῶν αἴματος.” “διὰ τί οὖν,” ἔφη, “τοὺς ξένους
οὐ καταθύουσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, καθάπερ ἐδικαίουν
ποτὲ οἱ Σκύθαι;” “ὅτι,” εἶπεν, “οὐδεὶν Ἑλλήνων
πρὸς τρόπου βάρβαρα ἔξασκεν ἥθη.” “καὶ μὴν καὶ
φιλανθρωπότεροι ἐδόκουν ἀν ἔνα που καὶ δύο
θύουντες ἡ ξενηλασίᾳ χρώμενοι ἐς πάντας.”

“Μὴ καθαπτώμεθα,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Θεσπεσίων, τοῦ
Δυκούργου, χρὴ γὰρ ξυνιέναι τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι τὸ
μὴ ἐνδιαιτρίζειν ἔân τοὺς ξένους οὐκ ἀμιξίας αὐτῷ
νοῦν εἰχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις
μὴ ἐνομιλούντων τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῶν ἔξωθεν.” “ἔγὼ
δὲ ἄνδρας,” ἔφη, “Σπαρτιάτας ἡγούμην ἄν, οἷοι
δοκεῖν ἀξιοῦσιν, εἰ συνδιαιτώμενοι τοῖς ξένοις μὴ
μεθίσταντο τῶν οἰκοι, οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀπόντων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῷ παρόντων ὁμοίους ὄρâσθαι ἔδει, οἵμαι, τὰς
ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι. οἱ δὲ καίτοι ξενηλασίαις χρώ-
μενοι, διεφθάρησαν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις, καὶ οἷς μά-
λιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπήχθοντο, τούτοις ὅμοια
πράττειν ἔδοξαν. τὰ γαῦν περὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the altar to be worthy thereof; but the Lacedae- CHAP.
monians modified the ceremony of sacrifice because
of its implacable cruelty, and turned it into a contest
of endurance, undergone without any loss of life, and
yet securing to the goddess as first fruits an offering of
their own blood." "Why then," said the other, "do
they not sacrifice strangers right out to Artemis, as
the Scythians formerly considered it right to do?"
"Because," he answered, "it is not congenial to any
of the Greeks to adopt in their full rigour the
manners and customs of barbarians." "And yet,"
said the other, "it seems to me that it would be
more humane to sacrifice one or two of them than to
enforce as they do a policy of exclusion against all
foreigners."

"Let us not assail," said the other, "O Thes-
pesion, the law-giver Lycurgus; but we must under-
stand him, and then we shall see that his prohibition
to strangers to settle in Sparta and live there was
not inspired on his part by mere boorish exclusive-
ness, but by a desire to keep the institutions of
Sparta in their original purity by preventing out-
siders from mingling in her life." "Well," said
the other, "I should allow the men of Sparta
to be what they claim to be, if they had ever lived
with strangers, and yet had faithfully adhered
to their home principles; for it was not by keeping
true to themselves in the absence of strangers,
but by doing so in spite of their presence, that
they needed to show their superiority. But they,
although they enforced this policy of excluding
strangers, corrupted their institutions, and were
found doing exactly the same as did those of the
Greeks whom they most detested. Anyhow, their

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτάξεις τῶν φόρων ἀττικώτερον
XX αὐτοῖς ἐβουλεύθη, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν πολεμητέα πρὸς -
'Αθηναίους φοντο αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ταῦτ' ἐσ τὸ καὶ
αὐτοὶ δρᾶν κατέστησαν, τὰ μὲν πολέμα τοὺς
'Αθηναίους νικῶντες, ὧν δὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεύειν
ἔδοξεν ἡττώμενοι. καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν ἐκ Ταύρων τε
καὶ Σκυθῶν ἐσάγεσθαι δαίμονα, ξένα ἦν νομι-
ζόντων. εἰ δὲ χρησμῶν ταῦτα, τί ἔδει μάστιγος;
τί δὲ καρτερίαν ἀνδραποδόδη πλάττεσθαι; λακω-
νικώτερον πρὸς θανάτου ῥώμην ἐκεῖνο ἦν, οἷμαι,
Σπαρτιάτην ἔφηβον ἐκόντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ θύεσ-
θαι. τουτὶ γὰρ ἀν τὴν μὲν Σπάρτην εὐψυχοτέ-
ρους ἔδείκνυε, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα ἀπῆγε τοῦ μὴ ἐσ
ἀντίπαλα αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθίστασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἐσ τὰ
πολέμια φείδεσθαι τῶν νέων εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὁ γε
νόμος ὁ παρὰ Σκύθαις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξηκοντούταις
κείμενος οἰκειότερος ἦν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδεύειν
ἡ Σκύθαις, εἰ τὸν θάνατον ἀτεχνῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ
κόμπου ἔνεκα ἐπαινοῦσι. ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς Λακε-
δαιμονίους εἴρηταί μοι, πρὸς δὲ σέ, Ἀπολλώνιε· εἰ
γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ νόμιμα καὶ πολιώτερα ἡ γυγνώ-
σκειν αὐτὰ πικρῶς ἐξετάζοιμεν ἐσ ἔλεγχον καθ-
ιστάμενοι τοῦ θείου, διότι αὐτοῖς χαίρουσι, πολλοὶ
καὶ ἄτοποι λόγοι τῆς τοιᾶσδε φιλοσοφίας ἀναφύ-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

subsequent naval programme and policy of im-
posing tribute was modelled entirely upon that of
Athens, and they themselves ended by committing
acts which they had themselves regarded as a
just *casus belli* against the Athenians, whom they
had no sooner beaten in the field than they humbly
adopted, as if they were the beaten party, their
pet institution. And the very fact that the goddess
was introduced from Taurus and Scythia was the
action of men who embraced alien customs. But
if an oracle prescribed this, what want was there of
a scourge? What need to feign an endurance only
fit for slaves? Had they wanted to prove the disdain
that Lacedaemonians felt for death, they had I think
done better to sacrifice a youth of Sparta with his
own consent upon the altar. For this would have been
a real proof of the superior courage of the Spartans,
and would have disinclined Hellas from ranging her-
self in the opposite camp to them. But you will say
that they had to save their young men for the
battlefield; well, in that case the law which pre-
vails among the Scythians, and sentences all men
of sixty years of age to death, would have been
more suitably introduced and followed among the
Lacedaemonians than among the Scythians, sup-
posing that they embrace death in its grim reality and
not as a mere parade. These remarks of mine are
directed not so much against the Lacedaemonians,
as against yourself, O Apollonius. For if ancient
institutions, whose hoary age defies our understanding
of their origins, are to be examined in an unsympa-
thetic spirit, and the reason why they are pleasing
to heaven subjected to cold criticism, such a line of
speculation will produce a crop of odd conclusions;

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. σονται, καὶ γὰρ ἀν καὶ τῆς Ἐλευσῖνι τελετῆς ἐπι-
XX λαβοίμεθα, διότι τό, ἀλλὰ μὴ τό, καὶ ὡν Σαμό-
θρακες τελοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα, τὸ δεῖνα δὲ αὐτοῖς
δρᾶται, καὶ Διονυσίων καὶ φαλλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐν
Κυλλήνῃ εἴδους, καὶ οὐκ ἀν φθάνοιμεν συκοφα-
τοῦντες πάντα. Ἰωμεν οὖν ἐφ' ὅ τι βούλει ἔτερον,
τιμῶντες καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγου νημεδαπὸν
δοντα· καλὸν γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ περὶ πάντων, ἀλλ'
ὑπέρ γε τῶν τοιούτων σιωπᾶν." ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ
Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ σπουδάσαι," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσ-
πεσίων, ἐβούλου τὸν λόγον, πολλὰ ἄν σοι καὶ
γενναῖα ἔδοξεν ἡ Λακεδαίμων λέγειν ὑπέρ ὡν ὑγιῶς
τε καὶ παρὰ πάντας ἐπιτηδεύει τοὺς Ἐλληνας,
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀποσπουδάζεις αὐτόν, ως μηδὲ ὅσιον
ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ὑπέρ τοιούτων λέγειν, Ἰωμεν ἐφ'
ἔτερον λόγον πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ως ἐμαυτὸν πείθω·
περὶ δικαιοσύνης γάρ τι ἐρήσομαι."

XXI

CAP. "Απτώμεθα," ὁ Θεσπεσίων ἔφη, "τοῦ λόγου,
XXI προσήκων γὰρ σοφοῖς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοῖς. ἀλλ' ἵνα
μὴ τὰς Ἰνδῶν δόξας ἐνείρουτες ξυγχέωμεν αὐτὸν
καὶ ἀπέλθωμεν ἄπρακτοι τοῦ λόγου, πρῶτον εἰπὲ
τὰ περὶ δικαιοσύνης Ἰνδοῖς δόξαντα, εἰκὸς γὰρ
88

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

for we could attack the mystery rite of Eleusis in CHAP.
the same way and ask, why it is this and not that ;
^{XX} and the same with the rites of the Samothracians,
for in their ritual they avoid one thing and insist on
another ; and the same with the Dionysiac ceremonies
and the phallic symbol, and the figure erected in
Cyllene, and before we know where we are we shall
be picking holes in everything. Let us choose, there-
fore, any other topic you like, but respect the
sentiment of Pythagoras, which is also our own ; for
it is better, if we can't hold our tongues about every-
thing, at any rate to preserve silence about such
matters as these." Apollonius replied and said, " If,
O Thespersion, you had wished to discuss the topic
seriously, you would have found that the Lacedae-
monians have many excellent arguments to advance
in favour of their institutions, proving that they are
sound and superior to those of other Hellenes ; but
since you are so averse to continue the discussion,
and even regard it as impious to talk about such
things, let us proceed to another subject, of great
importance, as I am convinced, for it is about justice
that I shall now put a question."

XXI

" LET us," said Thespersion, " tackle the subject ; CHAP.
for it is one very suitable to men, whether they are
^{XXI} wise or not wise. But lest we should drag in the
opinions of Indians, and so confuse our discussion,
and go off without having formed any conclusions,
do you first impart to us the views held by the In-
dians concerning justice, for you probably examined
And the
problem of
the nature
of justice
in general

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. βεβασανίσθαι σοι ἐκεῖ ταῦτα, καν μὲν ἡ δόξα
^{XXI} ὁρθῶς ἔχῃ, ξυνθησόμεθα, εἰ δὲ αὐτοί τι σοφώτερον
εἴποιμεν, ξυντίθεσθε, δικαιοσύνης γάρ καὶ τοῦτο.”
“ἄριστα,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Θεοπεσίων, καὶ ως ἐμοὶ
ἥδιστα εἴρηκας· ἄκουε δὴ τῶν ἐκεῖ σπουδασθέν-
των. διήσιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγώ, κυβερνήτης ως
γενοίμην μεγάλης νεώς, ὅπόθ’ ἡ ψυχὴ σώματος
ἔτερου ἐπεμέλετο, καὶ δικαιότατου ἥγοιμην ἐμαυ-
τόν, ἐπειδὴ ληστὰὶ μὲν ἐμισθοῦντό με προδοῦναι
τὴν ναῦν καθορμισάμενον οἱ λοχήσειν αὐτὴν ἔμελ-
λον, δι’ ἀ ἥγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαγγειλαίμην μὲν ταῦτα,
ὡς μὴ ἐπίθουντο ἡμῖν, παραπλεύσαιμι δὲ αὐτοὺς
καὶ ὑπεράραιμι τοῦ χωρίου.” “ξυνέθεντο δέ,” ἡ
δὲ ὁ Θεοπεσίων, “δικαιοσύνην εἶναι Ἰνδοὶ¹ ταῦτα ;” “κατεγέλασαν μὲν οὖν,” εἶπε, “μὴ γάρ
εἶναι δικαιοσύνην τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν.” “ὑγιῶς,” ἔφη,
“ἀπέδοξε τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, οὕτε γάρ φρόνησις τὸ μὴ
ἀνοήτως τι ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, οὕτε ἀνδρεία τὸ μὴ
λείπειν τὴν τάξιν, οὕτε σωφροσύνη τὸ μὴ ἐσ τὰ
τῶν μοιχῶν ἐκπίπτειν, οὕτε ἄξιον ἐπαίνου τὸ μὴ
κακὸν φαίνεσθαι πᾶν γάρ, δὲ τιμῆς τε καὶ
τιμωρίας ἵσον ἀφέστηκεν, οὕτω ἀρετή.” “πῶς
οὖν, ὦ Θεοπεσίων,” εἶπε, “στεφανώσομεν τὸν
δίκαιον, ἡ τί πράττοντα ;” “ἀνελλιπέστερον,”
ἔφη, “καὶ προσφορώτερον ἀν ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης
ἐσπουδάσατε, ἡ ὅπότε βασιλεὺς τοσῆσδέ τε καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

their views on the spot ; and if their opinion is proved to be correct we will adopt it ; but if we have something wiser to put in its place, you must adopt our view, for that too is plain justice." Said Apollonius : " Your plan is excellent and most satisfactory to me ; so do you listen to the conversation which I held there. For I related to them how I had once been the captain of a large ship, in the period when my soul was in command of another body, and how I thought myself extremely just because, when robbers offered me a reward, if I would betray my ship by running it into roads where they were going to lie in wait for it, in order to seize the cargo, I agreed and made the promise, just to save them from attacking us, but intending to slip by them and get beyond the place agreed upon." " And," said Thespesion, " did the Indians agree that this was justice ? " " No, they laughed at the idea," he replied, " for they said that justice was something more than not being unjust." " It was very sensible," said the other, " of the Indians to reject such a view ; for good sense is something more than not entertaining nonsense, just as courage is something more than not running away from the ranks ; and so temperance is something more than the avoidance of adultery, and no one reserves his praise for a man who has simply shown himself to be not bad. For because a thing, no matter what, is equi-distant between praise and punishment, it is not on that account to be reckoned off-hand to be virtue." " How then, O Thespesion," said Apollonius, " are we to crown the just man and for what actions ? " " Could you have discussed justice more completely and more opportunely," said the other, " than when

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXI οὗτως εὐδαιμονος χώρας ἄρχων ἐπέστη φιλοσοφούσιν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλεύειν, δικαιοτάτου κτήματος ; ” “ εἰ ὁ Φραώτης, ” εἶπεν, “ ὁ ἀφικόμενος ἦν, ὁρθῶς ἀν ἐμέμφου τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν οἷς χθὲς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διῆειν μεθύοντα καὶ ἀχθόμενον φιλοσοφίᾳ πάσῃ, τί ἔδει παρέχειν ὅχλου ; τί δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν φιλοτιμουμένους ἐπ’ ἄνθρωπου σύβαριν ἥγουμένου πάντα ; ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὡσπερ ἡμῖν, ἰχνευτέα ἡ δικαιοσύνη μᾶλλον ἡ βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, ἵωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀτεχνῶς δίκαιον. ὃ γὰρ ἐμαυτόν τε ἥγούμην, ὅπότε ἡ ναῦς, ἐτέρους τε, οἱ μὴ ἀδίκων ἀπτονται, οὕπω δικαίους φατέ, οὐδὲ ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι.” “ καὶ εἰκότως, ” εἶπεν, “ οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀν Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγράφη γυνώμη τὸν δεῖνα στεφανοῦν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν ἡταιρηκότων ἐστίν, ἡ τὸν δεῖνα ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συλάται. τίς οὖν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ὁ τί πράττων ; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τινὰ στεφανωθέντα οἴδα, οὐδὲ γυνώμην ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ γραφεῖσαν, ὡς τὸν δεῖνα χρὴ στεφανοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεῖνα πράττων δίκαιος φαίνεται, τὰ μὲν γὰρ Παλαμήδους ἐνθυμηθέντι τὰ ἐν Τροίᾳ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους τὰ Ἀθήνησιν οὐδὲ εὔτυχεῖν ἡ δικαιοσύνη δόξει παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀδικώτατα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the sovereign of so large and so flourishing a country CHAP.
intervened in your philosophic discussion of the art of
^{XXI} kingship, a thing intimately connected with justice?"

"If it had been Phraotes," said Apollonius, "who turned up on that occasion, you might rightly blame me for not gravely discussing the subject of justice in his presence. But you know from the account which I gave of him yesterday that the man is a drunkard and an enemy of all philosophy. What need therefore was there to inflict on him the trouble? Why should we try to win credit for ourselves in the presence of a sybarite who thinks of nothing but his own pleasures? But inasmuch as it is incumbent upon wise men like ourselves to explore and trace out justice, more so than on kings and generals, let us proceed to examine the absolutely just man. For though I thought myself just in the affair of the ship, and thought others just too, because they do not practise injustice, you deny that this in itself constitutes them just or worthy of honour." "And rightly so," said the other, "for whoever heard of a decree being drafted by Athenians or Lacedaemonians in favour of crowning so and so, because he is not a libertine, or of granting the freedom of the city to so and so, because the temples have not been robbed by him? Who then is the just man and what are his actions? For neither did I ever hear of anyone being crowned merely for his justice, nor of a decree being proposed over a just man to the effect that so and so shall be crowned, because such and such actions of his show him to be just. For anyone who considers the fate of Palamedes in Troy or of Socrates in Athens, will discover that even justice is not sure of success

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXI γάρ δὴ οὗδε ἔπαθον, δικαιότατοι ὅντες. πλὴν ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ δόξῃ ἀδικημάτων ἀπώλουντο, ψήφου παρὰ τὸ εὐθὺν ἐνεχθείσης, Ἐριστείδην δὲ τὸν Λυσιμάχου καὶ αὐτῇ ποτε ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀπώλλυ, καὶ ἀνὴρ τοιόσδε ἐπὶ τοιᾶδε ἀρετῆ φεύγων φέχετο. καὶ ὡς μὲν γελοία ἡ δικαιοσύνη δόξει, γιγνώσκω, τεταγμένη γάρ ὑπὸ Διός τε καὶ Μοιρῶν ἐς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐδαμοῦ ἐαυτὴν ἐς τὸ μὴ αὐτὴν ἀδικεῖσθαι τάττει.

'Εμοὶ δὲ ἀπόχρη τὰ τοῦ Ἐριστείδου ἐς τὸ δηλῶσαι, τίς μὲν ὁ μὴ ἀδικος, τίς δὲ ὁ δίκαιος· εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, οὐχ οὗτος, Ἐριστείδης ἐκεῖνος, ὃν φατε ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἥκουντες πλεύσαντα ἐς τὰς νήσους ὑπὲρ τῶν φόρων, ξυμμέτρους τε αὐτοὺς τάξαι καὶ ξὺν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπανελθεῖν τρίβωνι;" "οὗτος," εἶπε, "δι' ὃν καὶ πενίας ἔρως ποτὲ ἥνθησεν." "εἰ οὖν," ἔφη, "δύο Ἀθήνησι δημαργαγοὶ γενοίσθην ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Ἐριστείδην ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος ἥκουντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν γράφοι στεφανοῦν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πλουτῶν ἀφίκται μηδὲ βίον ἐαυτῷ ξυνειλοχώς μηδένα, ἀλλὰ πενέστατος μὲν Ἀθηναίων, πενέστερος δὲ ἐαυτοῦ, ὁ δ' αὖ τοιουτονί τι γράφοι ψήφισμα· ἐπειδὴ Ἐριστείδης οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸ δυνατὸν τῶν ξυμμάχων τάξας

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

among men, for assuredly these men suffered most unjustly being themselves most just. Still they at least were put to death on the score of acts of injustice imputed to them, and the verdict was a distortion of the truth; whereas in the case of Aristides the son of Lysimachus, it was very justice that was the undoing of him, for he in spite of his integrity was banished merely because of his reputation for this very virtue. And I am sure that justice will appear in a very ridiculous light; for having been appointed by Zeus and by the Fates to prevent men being unjust to one another, she has never been able to defend herself against injustice.

And the history of Aristides is sufficient to me to show the difference between one who is not unjust and one who is really just. For, tell me, is not this the same Aristides of whom your Hellenic compatriots when they come here tell us that he undertook a voyage to the islands to fix the tribute of the allies, and after settling it on a fair basis, returned again to his country still wearing the same cloak in which he left it?" "It is he," answered Apollonius, "who made the love of poverty once to flourish." "Now," said the other, "let us suppose that there were at Athens two public orators passing an encomium upon Aristides, just after he had returned from the allies; one of them proposes that he shall be crowned, because he has come back again without enriching himself or amassing any fortune, but the poorest of the Athenians, poorer than he was before; and the other orator, we will suppose, drafts his motion somewhat as follows: 'Whereas Aristides has fixed the tribute of the allies according

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΣΑΡ. τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔκαστοι γῆς ἔχουσι, τῆς τε
XXII ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν ἐπεμελήθη τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους
καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀχθομένους δοκεῖν φέρειν ταῦτα,
δεδόχθω στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη, ἀρ' οὐκ
ἄν σοι δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ κάνειν ἀντειπεῖν
αὐτός, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίᾳ τῶν ἑαυτῷ βεβιωμένων, εἰ ἐφ'
οἷς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ τιμῆτο, τὴν δὲ ἵσως ἄν καὶ αὐτὸς
ἐπαινέσαι, στοχαζομένην ων διενοήθη; βλέψας
γάρ που ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπη-
κόων ξυμφέρον ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ξυμμετρίας τῶν
φόρων, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τὸν Ἀριστεΐδην ἐδείχθη
μᾶλλον· ἐπειδὴ γάρ παραβάντες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς
ἐκείνῳ δόξαντας, βαρυτέρους ἐπέγραψαν ταῖς
νήσοις, διεσπάσθη μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ναυτικὴ δύναμις,
ἡ μάλιστα φοβερὸν ἥσαν, παρῆλθε δὲ ἡ Λακε-
δαιμονίων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ξυνέμεινε δὲ τῆς
δυνάμεως οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄπαν τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐς νεώτερα
ῶρμησε καὶ ἀποστροφῆς ἤψατο. δίκαιος οὖν, ὡς
Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ τὸν εὐθὺν λόγον οὐχ ὁ μὴ
ἀδίκος, ἀλλ' ὁ δίκαια μὲν αὐτὸς πράττων, καθι-
στὰς δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους ἐς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, καὶ φύσονται
τῆς τοιαύτης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἄλλαι μὲν ἀρεταί,
μάλιστα δὲ ἡ δικαστική τε καὶ ἡ νομοθετική.
δικάσει μὲν γάρ τοιόσδε πολλῷ δικαιότερον ἡ οἵ
κατὰ τῶν τομίων ὁμοία, νομοθετήσει δέ, ὥσπερ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

to their ability to pay, and not in excess of the resources of their respective countries ; and whereas he has endeavoured to keep them loyal to the Athenians, and to see that they shall feel it no grievance to pay upon this scale, it is hereby resolved to crown him for justice.' Do you not suppose that Aristides would himself have opposed the first of these resolutions, as an indignity to his entire life, seeing that it only honoured him for not doing injustice ; whereas, he might perhaps have supported the other resolution as a fair attempt to express his intentions and policy ? For I imagine it was with an eye to the interest of Athenians and subject states alike, that he took care to fix the tribute on a fair and moderate basis, and in fact his wisdom in this matter was conclusively proved after his death. For when the Athenians exceeded his valuations and imposed heavier tributes upon the islands, their naval supremacy at once went to pieces, though it more than anything else had made them formidable ; on the other hand the prowess of the Lacedaemonians passed on to the sea itself ; and nothing was left of Athenian supremacy, for the whole of the subject states rushed into revolution and made good their escape. It follows then, O Apollonius, that rightly judged, it is not the man who abstains from injustice that is just, but the man who himself does what is just, and also influences others not to be unjust ; and from such justice as this there will spring up a crop of other virtues, especially those of the law-court and of the legislative chamber. For such a man as he will make a much fairer judge than people who take their oaths upon the dissected parts of victims, and his

PLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. οἱ Σόλωνές τε καὶ οἱ Λυκοῦργοι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κάκεί-
XXI νοις τοῦ γράψαι νόμους δικαιοσύνη ἡρξεν.”

XXII

CAP. Τοσαῦτα ὁ Δάμις διαλεχθῆναι φησιν αὐτοὺς
ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμφῆ-
σαι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς γὰρ ὑγιῶς λεγομένοις ξυμβαί-
νειν. φιλοσοφήσαντες δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς, ὡς
ἀθάνατος εἴη, καὶ περὶ φύσεως παραπλήσια ταῖς
Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαίῳ δόξαις, περὶ τε τῶν παρ'
“Ελλησι νόμων πλείω διαλεχθέντες, “ἐμοί,” εἶπεν
ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἡ δεῦρο ὄδὸς ὑμῶν τε ἔνεκα καὶ
τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγῶν ἐγένετο, ἃς μέχρι μὲν
Αἰγύπτου προελθόντι ξυγγνώμη ἀγνοήσαι, προ-
χωρήσαντι δὲ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίαν, ὃν ἐγὼ τρόπον, καν
ὄνειδος φέροι τὸ παρελθεῖν αὐτὰς καὶ μὴ ἀρύ-
σασθαι τινας αὐτῶν λόγους.” “ἴθι χαίρων,” ἔφη,
“καὶ ὅ τι σοι φίλον, εύχου ταῖς πηγαῖς, θεῖαι γάρ.
ἡγεμόνα δὲ οἷμαι ποιήσῃ τὸν πάλαι Ναυκρατίην,
νῦν δὲ Μεμφίτην, Τιμασίωνα, τῶν τε γὰρ πηγῶν
ἔθας οὗτος καὶ οὕτω τι καθαρός, ὡς μὴ δεῖσθαι
τοῦ ῥαίνεσθαι. σοὶ δέ, ὡ Νεῖλε, βουλόμεθα ἐφ'
ἔαντῶν διαλεχθῆναι τι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τῶν λόγων
οὐκ ἀφανῆς ἦν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, ξυνίει γὰρ αὐτῶν
δυσχερῶς διακειμένων, ἐπειδὴ ἡρα αὐτοῦ ὁ Νεῖλος,

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legislation will be similar to that of Solon and of CHAP.
Lycurgus; for assuredly these great legislators were ^{XXI} inspired by justice to undertake their work."

XXII

SUCH, according to Damis, was the discussion held CHAP.
by them with regard to the just man, and Apollonius,
he says, assented to their argument, for he always
agreed with what was reasonably put. They also
had a philosophic talk about the soul, proving its
immortality, and about nature, along much the same
lines which Plato follows in his Timaeus; and after
some further remarks and discussions of the laws of
the Hellenes, Apollonius said: "For myself I have
come all this way to see yourselves and visit the
springs of the Nile; for a person who only comes as
far as Egypt may be excused if he ignores the latter,
but if he advances as far as Ethiopia, as I have done,
he will be rightly reproached if he neglects to visit
them, and to draw as it were from their well-springs
some arguments of his own." "Farewell then,"
said the other, "and pray to the springs for what-
ever you desire, for they are divine. But I imagine
you will take as your guide Timasion, who formerly
lived at Naucratis, but is now of Memphis; for he is
well acquainted with the springs of the Nile and he
is not so impure as to stand in need of further
lustrations. But as for you, O Nilus, we would
like to have a talk to you by ourselves." The
meaning of this sally was clear enough to Apol-
lonius, for he well understood their annoyance at
Nilus' preference for himself; but to give them an
Apollonius departs with Timasion and Nilus in his train

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXII ἔξιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς διαλέξεως ἀνήει συ-
σκευασόμενος, ὡς ἔξελῶν ἄμα τῇ ἔῳ, μετ' οὐ πολὺ
δὲ ἥκων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἀπήγγειλε μὲν οὐδὲν ὡν
ἥκουσεν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θαμὰ ἐγέλα· ἥρώτα δ'
οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀλλ' ἐφείδοντο τοῦ
ἀπορρήτου.

XXIII

CAP.
XXIII Τότε μὲν δὴ δειπνήσαντες καὶ διαλεχθέντες οὐχ
ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αὐτοῦ ἔκοιμήθησαν, ἄμα δὲ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς προσειπόντες ἐπορεύοντο τὴν
ἐσ τὰ ὅρη τείνουσαν ἀριστερὸν τοῦ Νείλου, τάδε
όρωντες λόγου ἄξια· οἱ Κατάδουποι γεώδη ὅρη
καὶ παραπλήσια τῷ Λυδῶν Τμώλῳ, κατάρρους δὲ
ἀπ' αὐτῶν φέρεται Νεῖλος, ἦν ἐπισπᾶται γῆν
ποιῶν Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ ἥχῳ τοῦ ῥεύματος καταρ-
ρηγνυμένου τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ ψόφῳ ἄμα ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον
ἐκπίπτοντος χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὴ ἀκοῦσαι,
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πρόσω τοῦ μετρίου προελθόντες
ἀνέζευξαν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ ἀκούειν.

XXIV

CAP.
XXIV Προϊόντι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
μαστοὶ ὁρῶν ἐφαίνοντο παρεχόμενοι δένδρα, ὡν
Αἰθίοπες τὰ φύλλα καὶ τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ τὸ δά-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS; BOOK VI

opportunity of speaking to him apart; he left them to CHAP.
prepare and pack up for his journey, for he meant XXII
to start at daybreak. And after a little time Nilus
returned, but did not tell them anything of what
they had said to him, though he laughed a good deal
to himself. And no one asked him what he was
laughing about, but they respected his secret.

XXIII

THEY then took their supper and after a discussion CHAP.
of certain trifles they laid them down to sleep where XXIII
they were; but at daybreak they said goodbye to Description
the naked sages, and started off along the road which of the
leads to the mountains, keeping the Nile on their cataracts
right hand, and they saw the following spectacles of the Nile
deserving of notice. The Catadupi are mountains formed
of good soil, about the same size as the hill of the Lydians called Tmolus; and from them the Nile flows rapidly down, washing with it the soil of which it creates Egypt; but the roar of the stream, as it breaks down in a cataract from the mountains and hurls itself noisily into the Nile, is terrible and intolerable to the ears, and many of those who have approached it too close have returned with the loss of their hearing.

XXIV

APOLLONIUS, however, and his party pushed on till CHAP.
they saw some round-shaped hills covered with trees, XXIV
the leaves and bark and gum of which the Ethiopians

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. κρυον καρπὸν ἥγοῦνται, ἐώρων δὲ καὶ λέοντας
XXIV ἀγχοῦ τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τοιαῦτα θηρία
ἔτερα, καὶ ἐπήσει οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀπεπήδα
σφῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκπεπληγμένα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
ἐλαφοὶ δὲ· καὶ δορκάδες καὶ στρουθοὶ καὶ δνοι,
πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἐωράτο, πλεῦστα δὲ οἱ
βόαγροι τε καὶ οἱ βούτραγοι· ξύγκειται δὲ τὰ
θηρία ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ταύρου, τὸ δὲ
ἀφ’ ὧνπερ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἥρηκε. καὶ ὅστοις δὲ
τούτων ἐνετύγχανον καὶ ἡμιβρώτοις σώμασιν, οἱ
γάρ· λέοντες, ἐπειδὰν θερμῆς τῆς θήρας ἐμφορ-
ηθῶσιν, ἀτιμάζουσιν αὐτῆς τὰ περιττά, πιστεύ-
οντες, οἷμαι, τῷ καὶ αὐθις θηράσειν.

XXV

CAP. 'Ενταῦθα νομάδες οἰκοῦσιν Αἰθίοπες ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν
XXV πεπολισμένοι, καὶ πλησίον τούτων οἱ τοὺς ἐλέ-
φαντας θηρῶντες, κατακόπτοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς
ποιοῦνται ἀγοράν, ὅθεν ἐπώνυμοι εἰσι τῆς τῶν
ἐλεφάντων πράσεως. Νασαμῶνες δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρο-
φάγοι καὶ Πυγμαῖοι καὶ Σκιάποδες ἔθνη μὲν
Αἰθιόπων καὶ οἵδε, καθήκουσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Αἰθίοπα
'Ωκεανόν, δν μόνον ἐσπλέουσιν οἱ ἀπενεχθέντες
ἄκοντες.

XXVI

CAP. Διαλεγομένους δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς ἄνδρας
XXVI καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἄλλο ἄλλως

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

regard as of great value; and they also saw lions close to the path, and leopards and other such wild animals; but they were not attacked by any of them, for they fled from them in haste as if they were scared at the sight of men. And they also saw stags and gazelles, and ostriches and asses, the latter in great numbers, and also many wild bulls and ox-goats, so-called, the former of these two animals being a mixture of the stag and the ox, that latter of the creatures from which its name is taken. They found moreover on the road the bones and half-eaten carcases of these; for the lions, when they have gorged themselves with fresh prey, care little for what is left over of it, because, I think, they feel sure of catching fresh quarry whenever they want it.

XXV

It is here that the nomad Ethiopians live in a sort of colony upon waggons, and not far from them the elephant-hunters, who cut up these animals and sell the flesh, and are accordingly called by a name which signifies the selling of elephants. And the Nasamones and the man-eaters and the pygmies and the shadow-footed people are also tribes of Ethiopia, and they extend as far as the Ethiopian ocean, which no mariners ever enter except castaways who do so against their will.

CHAP.
XXV
Nomad
tribes of
Ethiopia

XXVI

As our company were discussing these animals and talking learnedly about the food which nature

CHAP.
XXVI

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXVI βοσκούσης, ἡχὸν προσέβαλεν οἷον βροντῆς οὔπω σκληρᾶς, ἀλλὰ κοίλης ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῷ νέφει. καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, “ἐγγύς,” ἔφη, “ὁ καταρράκτης, ὁ ἄνδρες, ὁ κατιόντων μὲν ὕστατος, ἀνιόντων δὲ πρώτος.” καὶ στάδια δέκα ἵσως προελθόντες ἵδεν φασι ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόμενον τοῦ ὄρους μείω οὐδὲν ἥτις ἐν πρώταις ξυμβολαῖς ὁ Μαρσύας καὶ ὁ Μαίανδρος, προσευξάμενοι δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ χωρεῖν πρόσω καὶ θηρία μὲν οὐκέτι ὄραν, ψιφοδεῖα γάρ φύσει ὅντα προσοικεῖν τοῖς γαληνοῖς μᾶλλον ἥτις ῥαγδαίοις τε καὶ ἐνήχοις, ἐτέρου δὲ καταρράκτου ἀκοῦσαι μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκά που στάδια χαλεποῦ ἥδη καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτοῦ αἰσθέσθαι, διπλασίω μὲν γάρ εἰναι αὐτὸν τοῦ προτέρου, ὄρῶν δὲ ὑψηλοτέρων ἐκπίπτειν. ἐαυτοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ τινος τῶν ἔταιρων οὕτω τι κτυπηθῆναι τὰ ὡτα ὁ Δάμις φησίν, ὡς αὐτός τε ἀναζεῦξαι τοῦ τε Ἀπολλωνίου δεῖσθαι μὴ χωρεῖν πρόσω, τὸν δὲ ἐρρωμένως ξύν τε τῷ Τιμασίωνι καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ τοῦ τρίτου καταρράκτου ἔχεσθαι, περὶ οὐν τάδε ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἥκοντα ἐπικρέμασθαι μὲν τῷ Νείλῳ κορυφὰς ἐκεῖ σταδίων μάλιστα ὀκτὼ ὕψος, τὴν δὲ ὅχθην τὴν ἀντικειμένην τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὀφρὺν εἶναι λιθοτομίας ἀρρήτου, τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἀποκρεμαννυμένας τῶν ὄρῶν ὑπερπίπτειν ἐσ τὴν πετρώδη ὅχθην, ἀναχεῖσθαι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐσ τὸν Νείλον κυμαινούσας τε καὶ λευκάς. τὰ δὲ πάθη τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμβαίνοντα πολλαπλασίας ἥτις πρότεραι οὔσας καὶ τὴν πηδῶσαν ἐκ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

supplies in their different cases, they heard a sound CHAP.
as of thunder : not a crashing sound, but of thunder XXVI
as it is when it is still hollow and concealed in the The
cloud. And Timasion said : "A cataract is at hand,
gentlemen, the last for those who are descending
the river, but the first to meet you on your way
up." And after they had advanced about ten stades,
he says that they saw a river discharging itself from
the hill-side quite as big as the Marsyas and the
Maeander at their first confluence ; and he says
that after they had put up a prayer to the Nile, they
went on till they no longer saw any animals at all ;
for the latter are naturally afraid of noise, and therefore
live by calm waters rather than by those which
rush headlong with a noise. And after fifteen stades
they heard another cataract which this time was
horrible and unbearable to the senses, for it was twice
as loud as the first one and it fell from much higher
mountains. And Damis relates that his own ears
and those of one of his companions were so stunned
by the noise, that he himself turned back and be-
sought Apollonius not to go any further ; however he,
along with Timasion and Nilus, boldly pressed on to
the third cataract, of which he made the following
report on their return. Peaks there overhang the
Nile, at the most eight stades in height ; but the
eminence faces the mountains, namely a beetling
brow of rocks mysteriously cut away, as if in a quarry,
and the fountains of the Nile cling to the edge of
the mountain, till they overbalance and fall on to the
rocky eminence, from which they pour into the
Nile as an expanse of whitening billows. But the
effect produced upon the senses by this cataract,
which is many times greater than the earlier ones,

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXVI τούτων ἡχώ ἐστι τὰ ὅρη, δυσήκουον ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν
ἱστορίαν τοῦ ρεύματος. τὴν δὲ πρόσω οὖδὲν τὴν
ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας πηγὰς ἄγουσαν ἀπορον μὲν ἐλθεῖν
φασιν, ἀπορον δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ
περὶ δαιμόνων φέρουσιν, οἷα καὶ Πινδάρῳ κατὰ
σοφίαν ὑμνηται περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὃν ταῖς πηγαῖς
ταύταις ἐφίστησιν ὑπὲρ ξυμμετρίας τοῦ Νείλου.

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII Καταλύσαντες δὲ μετὰ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἐν
κώμῃ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας οὐ μεγάλῃ ἐδείπνουν μὲν περὶ
ἔσπέραν, ἐγκαταμιγνύντες σπουδὴν παιδιᾶ, βοῆς δὲ
ἀθρόας τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ γυναικῶν ἥκουσαν ἐπικε-
λευομένων ἀλλήλαις ἐλεῖν, καὶ διώξαι, παρεκάλουν
δὲ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἐστοιχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου,
οἵ δέ ἀρπασάμενοι ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ ὅ τι ἐστι
χεῖρας ἐκάστῳ ἐλθοι, ξυνεκάλουν ὥσπερ ἀδικού-
μενοι τοὺς γάμους. ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ἄρα τῇ κώμῃ
δέκατον ἥδη μῆνα σατύρου φάσμα λυττῶν ἐπὶ τὰ
γύναια, καὶ δύο ἀπεκτονέναι σφῶν ἐλέγετο, ὡν
μᾶλιστα ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν. ἐκπλαγέντων οὖν τῶν ἐταί-
ρων, “μὴ δέδιτε,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑβρίζει
γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα σάτυρος.” “νὴ Δὲ,” ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

and the echo which leaps up therefrom against the CHAP.
mountains render it impossible to hear what your XXVI
companion tells you about the river.¹ But the
further road which leads up to the first springs of
the river was impracticable, they tell us, and impos-
sible to think of ; for they tell many stories of the
demons which haunt it, stories similar to those which
Pindar in his wisdom puts into verse about the
demon whom he sets over these springs to preserve
the due proportions of the Nile.

XXVII

AFTER passing the cataracts they halted in a CHAP.
village of the Ethiopians of no great size, and they XXVII
were dining, towards the evening, mingling in their
conversation the grave with the gay, when all on
a sudden they heard the women of the village screaming and calling to one another to join in Story of
the satyr
to whom
Apollonius
gave wine
the pursuit and catch the thing ; and they also summoned their husbands to help them in the matter. And the latter caught up sticks and stones and anything which came handy, and called upon one another to avenge the insult to their wives. And it appears that for ten months the ghost of a satyr had been haunting the village, who was mad after the women and was said to have killed two of them to whom he was supposed to be specially attached. The companions, then, of Apollonius were frightened out of their wits till Apollonius said : " You need not be afraid, for it's only a satyr that is

¹ Or "render investigation of the stream a trial to the ears."

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXVII “δν γε ήμεις οι Γυμνοὶ χρόνῳ ἡδη ὑβρίζοντα
μήπω μετεστήσαμεν τοῦ σκιρτᾶν.” “ἀλλ’ ἔστιν,”
εἶπεν, “ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑβριστὰς τούτους φάρμακον, φ
λέγεται Μίδας ποτὲ χρήσασθαι μετεῖχε μὲν γὰρ
τοῦ τῶν σατύρων γένους ὁ Μίδας οὗτος, ὡς ἐδῆλου
τὰ ὡτα, σάτυρος δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν εἰς κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς
ἐκώμαξε τὰ τοῦ Μίδου διαβάλλων ὡτα, καὶ οὐ
μόνον ἄδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλῶν τούτω, ὁ δ’, οἷμαι,
τῆς μητρὸς ἀκηκοώς, ὅτι σάτυρος οὖν φ θηρευθείς,
ἐπειδὴν ἐς ὕπνον καταπέση, σωφρονεῖ καὶ διαλ-
λάττεται, κρήνην τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰ βασίλεια
κεράσας οὖν φ ἐπαφῆκεν αὐτῇ τὸν σάτυρον, ὁ δὲ
ἔπιέ τε καὶ ἥλω. καὶ ὅτι μὴ ψεύδεται ὁ λόγος,
ἴωμεν παρὰ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ ἦν ἔχωσιν οἱ
κωμῆται οἶνον, κεράσωμεν αὐτὸν τῷ σατύρῳ, καὶ
ταῦτὰ τῷ Μίδου πείσεται.” ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ
ἀμφορέας Αἰγυπτίους τέτταρας οἰνοχοήσας ἐς
ληνόν, ἀφ’ ἣς ἔπινε τὰ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πρόβατα, ἐκάλει
τὸν σάτυρον ἀφανῶς τι ἐπιπλήττων, ὁ δὲ οὕπω
μὲν ἐωράτο, ὑπεδίδου δὲ ὁ οἶνος, ὥσπερ πινόμενος
ἔπει δὲ ἐξεπόθη, “σπεισώμεθα, ἔφη, “τῷ σατύρῳ,
καθεύδει γάρ.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤγειτο τοῖς
κωμῆταις ἐς Νυμφῶν ἄντρον, πλέθρον οὕπω ἀπέχον
τῆς κώμης, ἐν φ καθεύδοντα δείξας αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι
εἶπε τοῦ παίειν ἡ λοιδορεῖσθαι οἱ, “πέπαυται γὰρ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

running amuck here." "Yes, by Zeus," said Nilus, CHAP.
"it's the one that we naked sages have found XXVII
insulting us for a long time past and we could never
stop his jumps and leaps." "But," said Apollonius,
"I have a remedy against these hell-hounds, which
Midas is said once to have employed; for Midas
himself had some of the blood of satyrs in his veins,
as was clear from the shape of his ears; and a satyr
once, trespassing on his kinship with Midas, made
merry at the expense of his ears, not only singing
about them, but piping about them. Well, Midas, I
understand, had heard from his mother that when
satyr is overcome by wine he falls asleep, and at such
times comes to his senses and will make friends with
you; so he mixed wine which he had in his palace
in a fountain and let the satyr get at it, and
the latter drank it up and was overcome. And to
show that the story is true, let us go to the head
man of the village, and if the villagers have any
wine, we will mix it with water for the satyr and he
will share the fate of Midas' satyr." They thought
it a good plan, so he poured four Egyptian jars
of wine into the trough out of which the village
cattle drank, and then called the satyr by means of
some secret rebuke or threat; and though as yet the
latter was not visible, the wine sensibly diminished
as if it was being drunk up. And when it was quite
finished, Apollonius said: "Let us drink the satyr's
health, for he is fast asleep." And with these words
he led the villagers to the cave of the nymphs, which
was not quite a furlong away from the village; and
he showed them the satyr lying fast asleep in it, but
told them not to hit him or abuse him, "For," he
said, "his nonsense is stopped for ever." Such was

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVII τῶν ἀνοίγτων.” τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον Ἀπολλωνίου, μὰ Δὲ, οὐχὶ ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, ἀλλὰ παρόδου ἔργον, κανὸν ἐντύχη τις ἐπιστολῆ τοῦ ἀνδρος, ἦν πρὸς μειράκιον ὑβρίζον γράφων καὶ σάτυρον δαίμονα σωφρονίσαι φησὶν ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, μεμνήσθαι χρῆ τοῦ λόγου τούτου. σατύρους δέ εἴναι τε καὶ ἐρωτικῶν ἀπτεσθαι μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν οἶδα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Λῆμνον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τινα ἵσηλίκων, οὐ τῇ μητρὶ ἐλέγετο τις ἐπιφοιτᾶν σάτυρος, ως εἰκὸς ἦν τῇ ἴστορίᾳ ταύτη, νεβρίδα γὰρ ξυμφυῖ ἐφίκει ἐνημμένῳ κατὰ τὸν υῶτον, ἡς οἱ ποδεῶνες οἱ πρῶτοι ξυνειληφότες τὴν δέρην περὶ τὸ στέρνον αὐτῷ ἀφήπτοντο. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τούτων, οὔτε γὰρ ἡ πεῖρα ἀπιστητέα οὔτε ἐγώ.

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην διαφορὰ τότε μάλιστα ἐπέδωκε ἐκ τῶν ὄσημέραι διαλέξεων, ἐπέτρεπε δὲ αὐτὰς Μενίππῳ τε καὶ Νείλῳ, σμικρὰ ἐπιτιμῶν αὐτὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, τοῦ δὲ Νείλου σφόδρα ἐπεμελεῖτο.

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίτος ἥρήκει τὰ Σόλυμα καὶ νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν πάντα, τὰ ὅμορά τε ἔθνη ἐστεφάνουν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἡξίου ἑαυτὸν τούτου, μὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

this exploit of Apollonius, and, by heavens, we may call it not an incidental work in passing, but a master-work of his passing by¹; and if you read the sage's epistle, in which he wrote to an insolent young man that he had sobered even a satyr demon in Ethiopia, you will perforce call to mind the above story. But we must not disbelieve that satyrs both exist and are susceptible to the passion of love; for I knew a youth of my own age in Lemnos whose mother was said to be visited by a satyr, as he well might to judge by this story; for he was represented as wearing on his back a fawn-skin that exactly fitted him, the front paws of which were drawn around his neck and fastened over his chest. But I must not go further into this subject; but, anyhow, credit is due as much to experience of facts as it is to myself.

XXVIII

WHEN he had come down from Ethiopia the breach with Euphrates grew wider and wider, especially on account of daily disputes and discussions; though he left them to Menippus and Nilus to conduct, and seldom himself attacked Euphrates, being much too busy with the training of Nilus.

CHAP.
XXVIII
Breach with
Euphrates

XXIX

AFTER Titus had taken Jerusalem, and when the country all round was filled with corpses, the neighbouring races offered him a crown; but he disclaimed any such honour to himself, saying that it

CHAP.
XXIX
Correspon-
dence with
Titus

¹ I try to render the pun of the original.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι, θεῷ δὲ ὄργὴν φήναντι ἐπιδεδω-
XXIX κέναι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας, ἐπήνει ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος
ταῦτα, γνώμη τε γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἔφαίνετο καὶ
ξύνεσις ἀνθρωπείων τε καὶ θείων, καὶ σωφροσύνης
μεστὸν τὸ μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐφ' αἷματι. ξυντάττει
δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ἡς διάκονου ποιεῖται
τὸν Δάμνιν, καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ὡδε·

“Ἀπολλώνιος Τίτῳ στρατηγῷ Ρωμαίων χαίρειν.

Μὴ βουληθέντι σοι ἐπ' αἷχμῇ κηρύττεσθαι, μηδ'
ἐπὶ δηίῳ αἷματι, δίδωμι ἐγὼ τὸν σωφροσύνης στέ-
φανον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ στεφανοῦσθαι, γιγνώσκεις.
ἔρρωσο.”

Τπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ Τίτος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, “καὶ ὑπὲρ
ἐμαυτοῦ,” ἔφη, “χάριν οἰδά σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
πατρός, καὶ μεμνήσομαι τούτων, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
Σόλυμα ἥρηκα, σὺ δὲ ἐμέ.”

XXX

CAP. ’Αναρρηθεὶς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ καὶ
XXX ἀριστείων ἀξιωθεὶς τούτων, ἀπήει μὲν ἴσομοιρήσων
τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρί, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνθυμη-
θείς, ως πολλοῦ ἀξιος αὐτῷ ἔσται καν πρὸς βραχὺ^ν
ξυγγενόμενος, ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ ἐς Ταρσοὺς ἥκειν, καὶ
περιβαλῶν ἐλθόντα, “πάντα μοι ὁ πατήρ,” ἔφη,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

was not he himself that had accomplished this CHAP
exploit, but that he had merely lent his arms to God,^{XXIX} who had so manifested his wrath; and Apollonius praised his action, for therein he displayed a great deal of judgment and understanding of things human and divine, and it showed great moderation on his part that he refused to be crowned because he had shed blood. Accordingly Apollonius indited to him a letter which he sent by the hand of Damis and of which the text was as follows:

“Apollonius sends greetings to Titus the Roman General. Whereas you have refused to be proclaimed for success in war and for shedding the blood of your enemies, I myself assign to you the crown of temperance and moderation, because you thoroughly understand what deeds really merit a crown. Farewell.”

Now Titus was overjoyed with this epistle, and replied: “In my own behalf I thank you, no less than in behalf of my father, and I will not forget your kindness; for although I have captured Jerusalem, you have captured me.”

XXX

AND after Titus had been proclaimed autocrat in CHAP
Rome and rewarded with the meed of his valour, he ^{XXX}
went away to become the colleague in Empire of Visits Titus at Antioch his father; but he did not forget Apollonius, and thinking that even a short interview with him would be precious to himself, he besought him to come to Tarsus; and when he arrived he embraced him, saying: “My father has told me by letter every-

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXX “ἐπέστειλεν, ὃν ξύμβουλον ἐποιεῖτό σε, καὶ ἵδοὺ
 ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὡς εὐεργέτης τε αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ γέγρα-
 φαι καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ἐσμέν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔτη μὲν τριάκοντα
 ταυτὶ γέγονα, ἀξιούμενος δὲ ὃν ὁ πατὴρ ἔξηκον-
 τούτης ὁν, καὶ καλούμενος ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν πρὸν οὐκ οἶδ’
 εἰ ἀρχθῆναι εἰδέναι, δέδια μὴ μειζόνων, ή ἐμὲ χρή,
 ἄπτωμαι.” ἐπιψηλαφήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐχένα
 ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔρρωτο αὐτὸν ἵσα τοῖς
 ἀσκοῦσι τὸ σῶμα, “καὶ τίς,” εἶπε, “βιάσεται
 ταῦρον αὐχένα οὕτω κρατερὸν ὑποσχεῖν ζυγῷ;”
 “ό ἐκ νέου,” ἔφη, “μοσχεύσας με,” τὸν πατέρα
 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λέγων ὁ Τίτος καὶ τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου ἀν
 μόνου ἀρχθῆναι, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
 ἀκροάσει ξυνείθιζε. “χαίρω,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώ-
 νιος, “πρῶτον μὲν παρεσκευασμένον σε ὄρῶν
 ἔπεσθαι τῷ πατρί, ὑφ’ οὐ χαίρουσιν ἀρχόμενοι
 καὶ οἱ μὴ φύσει παῖδες, θεραπεύσοντά τε τὰς
 ἐκείνου θύρας, φ ξυνθεραπευθήσῃ. νεότητος δὲ
 γῆρᾳ ἅμα ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ιούσης τίς μὲν λύρα, τίς δὲ
 αὐλὸς ἡδεῖαν ὡδε ἀρμονίαν καὶ ξυγκεκραμένην
 ἀστεται; πρεσβύτερα γὰρ ξυμβήσεται νέοις, ἐξ ὃν
 καὶ γῆρας ἴσχύσει καὶ νεότης οὐκ ἀτακτήσει.”

XXXI

CAP. XXXI “Ἐμοὶ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Τυανεῦ, περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ
 βασιλείας τί ὑποθήσῃ;” “ἄ γε,” ἔφη, “σεαυτὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

thing in respect of which he consulted you ; and CHAP.
lo, here is his letter, in which you are described as XXX
his benefactor and the being to whom we owe all
that we are. Now though I am only just thirty years
of age, I am held worthy of the same privileges to
which my father only attained at the age of sixty. I
am called to the throne and to rule, perhaps before I
have learnt myself to obey, and I therefore dread
lest I am undertaking a task beyond my powers." Thereupon Apollonius, after stroking his neck, said (for he had as stout a neck as any athlete in training): "And who will force so sturdy a bull-neck as yours under the yoke?" "He that from my youth up reared me as a calf," answered Titus, meaning his own father, and implying that he could only be controlled by the latter, who had accustomed him from childhood to obey himself. "I am delighted then," said Apollonius, "in the first place to see you prepared to subordinate yourself to your father, whom without being his natural children so many are delighted to obey, and next to see you rendering to his court a homage in which others will associate yourself. When youth and age are paired in authority, is there any lyre or any flute that will produce so sweet a harmony and so nicely blended? For the qualities of old age will be associated with those of youth, with the result that old age will gain in strength and youth in discipline."

XXXI

"AND for myself, O man of Tyana," answered CHAP.
Titus, "can you give me any precepts as to how XXXI

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. πέπεικας, ὑποκείμενος γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ δῆλά που,
XXXI ὡς ὁμοιώσῃ αὐτῷ· καὶ τὸν Ἀρχύτου δὲ ἀν εἴποιμ
νυν λόγον, γενναῖος γὰρ καὶ μαθεῖν ἔξιος· ἐγένετο
ὁ Ἀρχύτας ἀνὴρ Ταραντῖνος τὰ Πυθαγόρου συφός·
οὗτος ὑπὲρ παίδων ἀγωγῆς γράφων, “ἔστω,” φησίν,
“οὐ πατὴρ παράδειγμα ἀρετῆς τοῖς παισίν, ὡς καὶ
τῶν πατέρων ξυντονώτερον βαδιουμένων ἐπὶ τὰς
ἀρετάς, ἦν ὁμοιώνταί σφισιν οἱ παιᾶντες.” ἐγὼ δέ
σοι καὶ Δημήτριον ξυστήσω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ ἑταῖρον,
ὅς ξυνέσται σοι ὄπόσα βούλει διδάσκων, τί δεῖ
πράττειν τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα.” “τίς δέ,” ἔφη,
“Ἀπολλώνιε, ἡ σοφία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου;”
“παρρησία,” εἶπε, “καὶ τὸ ἀληθεύειν ἐκπλήττεσ-
θαί τε ὑπὸ μηδενός, ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Κυνικοῦ κράτους.”
δυσχερῶς δὲ τοῦ Τίτου τὸν κύνα ἀκούσαντος,
“Ομήρῳ μέντοι,” ἔφη, “νέος ὅν ὁ Τηλέμαχος καὶ
δυοῖν ἐδόκει κυνῶν δεῖσθαι, καὶ ξυμπέμπει αὐτοὺς
ὁπαδοὺς τῷ μειρακίῳ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἰθακησίων
ἀγορὰν καίτοι ἀλόγους ὅντας, σοὶ δὲ ξυνέσται
κύων, ὃς ὑπὲρ σοῦ τε πρὸς ἑτέρους καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν
σε, εἴ τι ἀμαρτάνοις, σοφῶς ἄμα καὶ οὐδὲ ἀλόγως
ὑλακτήσει.” “δίδου,” εἶπε, “τὸν ὄπαδὸν κύνα,
ξυγχωρῷ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δακεῖν, εἴ τί με ἀδικοῦντα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

to rule and exercise the authority of a sovereign?" CHAP.

"Only such rules," replied the other, "as you

XXXI

have laid upon yourself; for in so submitting

Assigns to

yourself to your father's will, it is, I think, certain

Titus

that you will grow like him. And I would like to

Demetrius

repeat to you on this occasion a saying of Archytas,

the Cynic

which is a noble one and worth committing to

to teach

memory. Archytas was a man of Tarentum who

him how

was learned in the lore of Pythagoras, and he wrote

a treatise on the education of children, in which he

says: 'Let the father be an example of virtue to his

children, for fathers also will the more resolutely walk

in the path of virtue because their children are coming

to resemble them.' But for myself, I propose to

associate with you my own companion Demetrius,

who will attend you as much as you like and instruct

you in the whole duty of a good ruler." "And

what sort of wisdom, O Apollonius, does this person

possess?" "Courage," he replied, "to speak the

truth unabashed by anyone, for he possesses the

constancy and strength of character of a cynic."

And as Titus did not seem very pleased to hear the

name of dog,¹ he continued: "And yet in Homer,

Telemachus, when he was young, required, it appears,

two dogs, and the poet sends these to accompany

the youth to the market-place of Ithaca, in spite

of their being irrational animals; but you will

have a dog to accompany you who will bark in

your behalf not only at other people, but at your-

self in case you go wrong, and he will bark withal

wisely, and never irrationally." "Well," said

the other, "give me your dog to accompany me,

and I will even let him bite me, in case he

¹ A cynic means literally a canine philosopher.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXI *αῖσθοιτο.” “γεγράψεται,”* ἔφη, *“πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολή,* φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ρώμης.” *“γεγράφθω,”* εἶπεν, *“ἐβουλόμην δ’ ἀν καὶ πρὸς σὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τινα γράφειν, ώς ἂμα τῆς ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ὁδοῦ κοινωνὸς ἡμῶν γένοιο.” “ἀφίξομαι,”* ἔφη, *“ὅπότε ἀμφοῖν λῦσον.”*

XXXII

CAP.
XXXII *Μεταστησάμενος δὲ ὁ Τίτος τοὺς παρόντας,*
“αὐτοί,” εἶπεν, *“ὦ Τυανεῦ, γεγόναμεν, ξυγχωρεῖς*
γάρ που ἐρωτᾶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμοὶ σπουδαιοτάτων;”
“ἐρώτα,” ἔφη, *“καὶ τοσόντῳ προθυμότερον, ὅσῳ*
ὑπὲρ μειζόνων.” “περὶ ψυχῆς,” εἶπε, *“τῆς ἐμαυ-*
τοῦ, καὶ οὓς μάλιστα φυλαττοίμην ἄν, ἔσται μοι
ἡ ἐρώτησις, εἰ μὴ δόξω δειλὸς δεδιώς ἥδη ταῦτα.”
“ἀσφαλῆς μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, *“καὶ ἐφεστηκώς, προ-*
ορᾶν γὰρ τούτου χρὴ μάλιστα.” καὶ ἐς τὸν ἥλιον
ἀναβλέψας ὥμνυ αὐτόν, ἡ μὴν αὐτὸς μέλλειν ὑπὲρ
τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξειν μηδὲ ἐρωτῶντα, τοὺς
γὰρ θεοὺς φῆναι οἱ προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ζῶντος μὲν
τοῦ πατρὸς δεδιέναι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ πολεμωτά-
τους, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῷ οἰκειοτάτους.
“ἀποθανοῦμαι δέ,” εἶπε, *“τίνα τρόπον;” “ὄν*
γε,” ἔφη, *“Οδυσσεὺς λέγεται, φασὶ γὰρ κάκείνῳ*

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

feels I am committing injustice." "I will write CHAP.
XXXI to him a letter, for he teaches philosophy in Rome." "Pray do so," said Titus, "and I wish I could get some one to write to you in my behalf, and induce you to share with me my journey to Rome." "I will come there," said the other, "whenever it is best for both of us."

XXXII

THEN Titus dismissed the company, and said : CHAP.
XXXII "Now that we are alone, O man of Tyana, you will allow me perhaps to ask you a question upon matters of grave importance to myself." "Pray do so," said the other, "and do so all the more readily because the matter is so important." "It is about my own life," said the other, "and I would feign know whom I ought most to be on my guard against. That is my question, and I hope you will not think me cowardly for already being anxious about it." "Nay, you are only cautious," said the other, "and circumspect; for a man ought to be more careful about this than about anything else." And glancing at the Sun he swore by that god that he had himself intended to address Titus about this matter even if he had not asked him. "For," he said, "the gods have told me to warn you, so long as your father is alive, to be on your guard against his bitterest enemies, but after his death against your own kith and kin." "And," said Titus, "in what way am I to die?" "In the same way," said the other, "as Odysseus is said to have died, for Foretells to
Titus the
manner of
his death

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τὸν θάνατον ἐκ θαλάττης ἐλθεῖν.” ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις
XXXII ὡδε ἔρμηνεύει · φυλάττεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν αἰχμὴν
τῆς τρυγόνος, ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα βεβλῆσθαι φασι,
δυοῖν δὲ ἑτοῖν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν κατα-
σχόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου λαγὼ ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ
ἰχθὺν τοῦτον παρέχεσθαι χυμοὺς ἀπορρήτους ὑπὲρ
—πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ γῆ ἀνδροφόνα, καὶ
Νέρωνα μὲν ἐσποιῆσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δψοις τὸν
λαγῶν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους, Δομετια-
νὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τίτον, οὐ τὸ ξὺν ἀδελφῷ
ἀρχειν δεινὸν ἥγονύμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ξὺν πράφω τε
καὶ χρηστῷ. τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες ἵδιᾳ περιέ-
βαλον ἀλλήλους ἐν φανερῷ, ἀπιόντα δὲ προσειπών,
“νίκα, ὡ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους
ὅπλοις, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἀρεταῖς.”

XXXIII

CAP. ‘Η δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπιστολὴ ὡδε εἰχεν ·
XXXIII Ἀπολλώνιος φιλόσοφος Δημητρίῳ κυνὶ χαίρειν.
Δίδωμί σε βασιλεῖ Τίτῳ διδάσκαλον τοῦ τῆς
βασιλείας ἥθους, σὺ δ’ ἀληθεῦσαί τέ μοι πρὸς αὐ-
τὸν δίδου καὶ γίγνου αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὄργης, πάντα.
ἔρρωσο.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

they say that he too met with his death by the sea." Damis interprets the above utterance as follows : Namely, that he was to be on his guard against the cusp of the fish called the trygon, with which they say Odysseus was wounded. Anyhow, after he had occupied the throne for two years, in succession to his father, he died through eating the fish called the sea-hare ; and this fish, according to Damis, causes secret humours in the body worse and more fatal than anything else either in the sea or on land. And Nero, he says, introduced this sea-hare in his dishes to poison his worst enemies ; and so did Domitian in order to remove his brother Titus, not because he objected to sharing his throne with his brother, but to sharing it with one who was both gentle and good. Such was their conversation in private, after which they embraced one another in public, and as Titus departed Apollonius greeted him with these last words : "Pray you, my King, overcome your enemies by your arms, but your father by your virtues."

XXXIII

BUT the letter to Demetrius ran as follows : "Apollonius, the Philosopher, sends greetings to Demetrius the cynic.

"I have made a present of you to the Emperor Titus, that you may instruct him how to behave as a sovereign, and take care that you confirm the truth of my words to him, and make yourself, anger apart, everything to him. Farewell."

CHAP.
XXXIII
Letter to
Demetrius

XXXIV

CAP.
XXXIV

Οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ταρσοῦντος οἰκοῦντες τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἥχθοντο τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διά τε τὰς ἐπιπλήξεις, ἐπειδὴ ξυντόνους αὐτὰς ἐποιεῖτο, διά τε τὸ ἀνειμένοι καὶ τρυφῶντες μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ λόγου ἀνέχεσθαι ῥώμην, τότε δὲ οὕτω τι ἡττήθησαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὃς οἰκιστήν τε αὐτὸν ἥγεισθαι καὶ στήριγμα τοῦ ἄστεος. ἔθυε μὲν γάρ δημοσίᾳ ὁ βασιλεύς, ξυνελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἵκετενεν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων, ὁ δὲ μεμνήσεσθαι τούτων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔφη καὶ πρεσβεύσειν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν δέονται παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “εἰ δὲ ἐνίους,” ἔφη, “τούτων ἐλέγξαιμι σοὶ μὲν καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ πολεμίους, πεπρεβευμένους δὲ ὑπὲρ νεωτέρων ἐς τὰ Σόλυμα, ξυμμάχους δὲ ἀφανεῖς τῶν σοι φανερωτάτων ἔχθρῶν, τί πείσονται;” “τί δὲ ἄλλο γε,” εἶπεν, “ἢ ἀπολοῦνται;” “εἴτα οὐκ αἰσχρόν,” ἔφη, “τὰς μὲν τιμωρίας αὐτίκα ἀπαιτεῖν, τὰς δὲ εὐεργεσίας ὄψὲ διδόναι, καὶ τὰς μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐς κοινωνίαν γνώμης ἀνατίθεσθαι;” ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, “δίδωμι τὰς δωρεάς,” εἶπεν, “οὐ γάρ μοι ἀχθέσεται ὁ πατὴρ ἀληθείας ἡττωμένῳ καὶ σοῦ.”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXIV

Now the inhabitants of Tarsus had previously detested Apollonius, because of the violent reproaches which he addressed to them, owing to the fact that through their languid indifference and sensual indolence they could not put up with the vigour of his remarks. But on this occasion they became such devoted admirers of our hero as to regard him as their second founder and the mainstay of their city. For on one occasion the Emperor was offering a sacrifice in public, when the whole body of citizens met and presented a petition to him asking for certain great favours ; and he replied that he would mention the matter to his father, and be himself their ambassador to procure them what they wanted ; whereupon Apollonius stepped forward and said : "Supposing I convicted some who are standing here of being your own and your father's enemies, and of having sent legates to Jerusalem to excite a rebellion, and of being the secret allies of your most open enemies, what would happen to them ?" "Why, what else," said the Emperor, "than instant death?" "Then is it not disgraceful," replied Apollonius, "that you should be instant in demanding their punishment, and yet dilatory in conferring a boon ; and be ready yourself to undertake the punishment, but reserve the benefaction until you can see and consult your father ?" But the king, over-delighted with this remark, said : "I grant the favours they ask for, for my father will not be annoyed at my yielding to truth and to yourself."

CHAP.
XXXIV
His
benevolence
to the
people of
Antioch

XXXV

CAP.
XXXV Τοσαῦτα ἔθνη φασὶν ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον σπουδάζοντά τε καὶ σπουδᾶζόμενον. αἱ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἀποδημίαι πολλαὶ μὲν ἐγένουντο τῷ ἀνδρί, οὐ μὴν τοσαῦται γε ἔτι, οὐδὲ ἐς ἔτερα ἔθνη πλὴν ἀ ἔγνω, περὶ τε γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Αἴγυπτου καταβάντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας διατριβὴ πλείων ἐγένετο, περὶ τε Φοίνικας καὶ Κίλικας Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἰταλοὺς πάλιν, οὐδαμοῦ ἐλλείποντι τὸ μὴ οὐχ ὁμοίῳ φαίνεσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γνῶναι ἑαυτὸν δοκοῦντος, χαλεπώτερον ἔγωγε ἡγούμαι τὸ μεῖναι τὸν σοφὸν ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς πονηρῶς φύντας ἐς τὸ λόφον μεταστήσει, μὴ πρότερον ἐξασκήσας τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς μεθίστασθαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις ἰκανῶς εἰρηκα, διδάσκων τοὺς μὴ μαλακῶς αὐτοῖς ὄμιλοῦντας, ὅτι τὸν ἀτεχνῶς ἄνδρα μήτε μεταστήσει τι μήτε δουλάσεται. ὡς δὲ μήτε ἐς λόγων ἵσιμεν μῆκος, ἀκριβῶς ἀναδιδάσκοντες τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις αὐτῷ φιλοσοφηθέντα, μήτ' αὖ διαπηδῶντες φαινούμεθα λόγουν, δινούντες τὰ σπουδαιότερα ἐπελθεῖν τούτων καὶ ὀπόσα μνήμης ἀξιώσεται. ἡγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὰ παραπλήσια ταῖς τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν ἐπιδημίαις.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXV

So many were the races which they say Apollonius CHAP.
had visited until then, eager and zealous for others XXXV
as they for him. But his subsequent journeys abroad, Further
though they were numerous, were yet not so many journeys of
as before, nor did he go to fresh districts which Apollonius
he was not already acquainted with ; for when he
came down from Ethiopia he made a long stay on
the sea-board of Egypt, and then he returned to
Phoenicia and Cilicia, and to Ionia and Achaea,
and Italy, never failing anywhere to shew himself
the same as ever. For, hard as it is to know
oneself, I myself consider it still harder for the sage
to remain always himself ; for he cannot ever reform
evil natures and improve them, unless he has first
trained himself never to alter in his own person.
Now about these matters I have discoursed at length
in other treatises, and shewn those of my readers
who were careful and hard students, that a man who
is really a man will never alter his nature nor
become a slave. But lest I should unduly prolong
this work by giving a minute account of the several
teachings which he addressed to individuals, and lest
on the other hand I should skip over any important
chapter of a life, which I am taking so much pains to
transmit to those who never knew Apollonius, I
think it time to record more important incidents
and matters which will repay the remembering ; for
we must consider that such episodes are com-
parable to the visits to mankind paid by the sons of
Aesclepius.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXXVI

CAP.
XXXVI Μειράκιον ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀπαιδεύτως εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ὅρνις ἐπαίδευε, καὶ ξυνοίκους ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο· ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτοὺς λαλεῖν τε ὅσα οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τερετίζειν ὅσα αὐλοί. τούτῳ περιτυχών, “τί,” ἔφη, “ἐπιτηδεύεις;” ἐπει δὲ τάς τε ἀηδόνας αὐτῷ διήει καὶ τοὺς κοψίχους καὶ ὄπόσα εὐγλωττίζοι τοὺς χαραδρίους, τὴν φωνὴν δὲ ἀπαίδευτον ἐφαίνετο, “δοκεῖς μοι,” ἔφη, “διαφθείρειν τοὺς ὅρνις, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἑαυτῶν φθέγμα, οὕτως ἡδὺ ὅν, ώς μηδὲ ἀν τὰ μουσικὰ τῶν ὄργανων ἐς μέμησιν αὐτοῦ καταστῆναι, εἴτα καὶ τῷ κάκιστα ‘Ελλήνων αὐτὸς διαλεγόμενος, μαθητὰς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ἀφωνίας. ἐπιτρίβεις δ', ὡ μειράκιον, καὶ τὸν σεαυτοῦ οἰκον· βλέψαντι γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ἀκολούθους καὶ ως κατεσκεύασαι, τῶν ἀβρῶν ἔμοιγε καὶ οὐκ ἀπλούτων φαίνη, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ὑποβλίττουσιν οἱ συκοφάνται, κέντρα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥρμένοι τὴν γλῶτταν. καὶ τί χρήσῃ τῇ φιλορινθίᾳ τότε; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πασῶν ἀηδόνων μέλη ξυμφέρων ἀποσοβήσεις αὐτοὺς ἐγκειμένους τε καὶ ἐρείδοντας, ἀλλ' ἐπαντλεῖν χρὴ τῶν ὅντων, καὶ προβάλλειν αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ τὰ μειλίγματα τοῖς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXVI

THERE was a youth who, without having any CHAP.
education of his own, undertook to educate birds,
which he kept in his home to make them clever ;
and he taught them to talk like human beings and to
whistle tunes like flute-players. Apollonius met him
and asked : " How are you occupying yourself ? "
And when he replied, and told him all about his
nightingales and his blackbirds, and how he trained
the tongues of stone curlews—as he had himself
a very uneducated accent—Apollonius said : " I
think you are spoiling the accents of the birds, in
the first place because you don't let them utter their
own notes, which are so sweet that not even the
best musical instruments could rival or imitate
them, and in the second place because you yourself
talk the vilest Greek dialects and are only
teaching them to stutter like yourself. And what
is more, my good youth, you are also wasting your
own substance ; for when I look at all your
hangars-on, and at your get-up, I should say that
you were a delicately bred and somewhat wealthy
man ; but sycophants squeeze people like yourself,
at the same time that they shoot out their tongues
at them like so many goads. And what will be
the use to you of all this bird-fancying when the
time comes ? For if you collected all the song-
birds in the world, it would not help you to
shake off these parasites that cling to you and
oppress you ; nay you are forced to shower your
wealth upon them and cast your gold before them,
as you scatter tit-bits before dogs ; and to stop their

Story of the
youth who
trained
birds to
talk

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CHAP. ΧΧΧVI κυσί, κανύλακτωσιν, αὐθις διδόναι καὶ αὐθις,
εἴτα αὐτὸν πεινῆν ὕστερον καὶ ἀπορεῖν.

Δεῖ δέ σοι ἐκτροπῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἥδη τινὸς τῶν τρόπων, ὡς μὴ λάθης πτερορρυήσας τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ ἀξίως πράττων τοῦ θρηνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπ' ὄρνιθων ἢ ἀδεσθαι. τὸ δὲ φάρμακον τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐ μέγα, ἐστὶ γάρ τι ἐν ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, ὃ σὺ οὕπω μὲν γιγνώσκεις, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν διδασκάλους· τούτοις ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας μικρὰ δοὺς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτήσῃ τὰ πλείω, ῥήτορικὴν γάρ σε παιδεύσουσι τὴν τῶν ἀγοραίων, ῥᾳδία δὲ ἡ τέχνη. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παῖδα σε ἐώρων ἔτι, ξυνεβούλευον ἀν φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ φιλοσόφων τε καὶ σοφιστῶν θύρας, καὶ σοφίᾳ πάσῃ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ φράττειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξωρος τούτων τυγχάνεις ὅν, τὸ γοῦν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ λέγειν ἔκμαθε, νομίσας, εἰ μὲν τὰ τελεώτερα ἔμαθες, καὶ ὅμοιος ἀνδρὶ ὅπλιτεύοντί τε καὶ φοβερῷ δόξαι, ταυτὶ δὲ ἔκμαθὼν τὴν τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ σφενδονητῶν σκευὴν ἔξεις· βάλλοις γὰρ ἀν τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὕσπερ τοὺς κύνας.” ξυνῆκε τὸ μειράκιον τούτων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὄρνιθων διατριβὰς ἐκλιπὸν ἐς διδασκάλων ἐβάδισεν, ὑφῶν καὶ ἡ γυνώμη αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα ἴσχυσεν.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

barking you must give again and again, until at last CHAP.
you will find yourself reduced to hunger and to ^{XXXVI} poverty.

"What you want is some splendid diversion which will instantly make some alteration in your character, otherwise you will wake up one day and find that you have been plucked of your wealth as if it were plumage, and that you are a fitter subject to excite the birds to lament than to sing. The remedy you need to effect such a change is not a very great one ; for there is in all cities a class of men, whose acquaintance you have never made, but who are called schoolmasters. You give them a little of your substance with the certainty of getting it back with interest ; for they will teach you the rhetoric of the Forum, and it is not a difficult art to acquire. I may add that, if I had known you as a child and come across you then, I should have advised you assiduously to attend at the doors of the philosophers and sophists, so as to be able to hedge round your habitation with a wider learning ; but, since it is too late for you to manage that, at any rate learn to plead for yourself ; for remember, if you had acquired a more complete training and education, you would have resembled a man who is heavy-armed and therefore formidable ; yet, if you thoroughly learn this branch, you will at any rate be equipped like a light-armed soldier or a slinger, for you will be able to fling words at your sycophants, as you would stones at dogs." The young man took to heart this advice, and he gave up wasting his time over birds and betook himself to school, much to the improvement both of his judgment and of his tongue.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXXVII

CAP.
XXXVII Δυοῖν δὲ λόγοιν ἐν Σάρδεσι λεγομένοιν, τοῦ μέν, ως ὁ Πακτωλός ποτε τῷ Κροίσῳ ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ ἄγοι, τοῦ δέ, ως πρεσβύτερα τῆς γῆς εἴη τὰ δένδρα, τὸν μὲν πιθανῶς ἔφη πεπιστεύσθαι, χρυσία γὰρ εἶναι ποτε τῷ Τμώλῳ ψαμμώδῃ καὶ τοὺς ὅμβρους αὐτὰ φέρειν ἐς τὸν Πακτωλὸν κατασύροντας, χρόνῳ δέ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπειλιπεῖν αὐτὰ ἀποκλυσθέντα. τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου λόγου καταγελάστας, “ὑμεῖς μέν,” ἔφη, “προγενέστερα τῆς γῆς φατε εἶναι τὰ δένδρα, ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺν οὗτῳ χρόνον φιλοσοφήσας οὖπω ἔγνων οὐρανοῦ προγενεστέρους ἀστέρας,” διδάσκων ὅτι μηδὲ ἀνγένοιτό τι τοῦ ἐν φῷ φύεται μὴ ὄντος.

XXXVIII

CAP.
XXXVIII Στασιάζοντος δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος καὶ καθιέντος ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, ὑφ' ὧν διειστήκεσαν ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλις, σεισμοῦ δὲ γενναίου προσπεσόντος, ἔπτηξαν καὶ ὅπερ ἐν διοσημάις εἴωθεν, ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ηὔξαντο. παρελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “οἱ μὲν θεός,” ἔφη, “διαλλακτὴς ὑμῶν σαφῆς γέγονεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ἀνθιστασαιτε, τὰ αὐτὰ φοβούμενοι.” καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔννοιαν ὧν πείσονται, καὶ ώς ταύτῳ τοῖς ἑτέροις φοβήσονται.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXVII

Two stories are told in Sardis, one that the River Pactolus used to bring down gold-dust to Croesus, and the other that trees are older than earth. The former story Apollonius said he accepted because it was probable, for that there had once been a sand of gold on mount Tmolus, and that the showers of rain had swept it down into the river Pactolus ; although subsequently, as is generally the case in such matters, it had given out, being all washed away. But the second story he ridiculed and said : " You pretend that trees were created before the earth ; well, I have been studying philosophy all this time, yet never heard of the stars being created before the heaven." The inference he wished to convey was that nothing could be created as long as that in which it grows does not exist.

CHAP.
XXXVII
Gold-dust
of the
Pactolus

XXXVIII

THE ruler of Syria had plunged Antioch into a feud, by disseminating among the citizens suspicions such that when they met in assembly they all quarrelled with one another. But a violent earthquake happening to occur, they were all cowering, and as is usual in the case of heavenly portents, praying for one another. Apollonius accordingly stepped forward and remarked : " It is God who is clearly anxious to reconcile you to one another, and you will not revive these feuds since you cherish the same fears." And so he implanted in them a sense of what was to happen to them, and made each faction entertain the same fears as the other.

CHAP.
XXXVIII
Homily
on the
earthquake
of Antioch

XXXIX

CAP. **XXXIX** "Αξιον δὲ καὶ τούτου ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἔθυέ τις
 ὑπὲρ θησαυροῦ τῆς Γῆς καὶ οὐδὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ
 προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τούτου ὥκνει, ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμηθείς,
 οἶων ἐρᾶ, "δεινόν γε," ἔφη, "χρηματιστὴν ὄρῶ."
 "κακοδαίμονα μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ῳγέ ἐστιν οὐδὲν
 πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἂ μὴ ἀπόχρη βόσκειν τὸν οἰκον."
 "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "πολλοὺς τρέφειν καὶ ἀργοὺς
 οἰκέτας, οὐδὲ γάρ αὐτός γε τῶν ἀσόφων φαίνη."
 ὁ δὲ ἡρέμα ἐπιδακρύσας, "θυγάτριά μοι," εἶπεν,
 "ἐστὶ τέτταρα καὶ φερνῶν δεῖ τεττάρων. ἐμοὶ δέ
 εἰσι δισμύριαὶ που δραχμαὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῖς
 θυγατράσι κατανεμθῶσιν, ἐκεῖναι τε σμικρὰ
 εἰληφέναι δόξουσιν, ἐγώ τε ἀπολοῦμαι ἔχων
 οὐδέν." παθὼν οὖν τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος,
 "ἐπιμελησόμεθά σου," ἔφη, "κάγὼ καὶ ἡ Γῆ,
 φασὶ γάρ σε θύειν αὐτῇ." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα προήει
 τὰ προάστεια, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς καρποὺς ὠνούμενοι,
 ἵδων δέ τι χωρίον ἐλαῦν πλῆρες καὶ ἡσθεὶς τοῖς
 δένδρεσιν, ως εὐφυῖ τε ἦν καὶ μεγάλα, καὶ τινος
 κηπίου ἐν αὐτῷ δυτος, ἐν τῷ σμήνῃ τε καὶ ἄνθη
 ἐωράτο, παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ κηπίον ὡς τι ἐπισκεψόμενος
 μεῖζον, καὶ προσευξάμενος τῇ Πανδώρᾳ ἔχώρει ἐς
 τὸ ἄστυ. βαδίσας δὲ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀγροῦ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXIX

HERE is another incident worth recording. A CHAP. XXXIX Story of the man who, guided by Apollonius, found a treasure certain man was sacrificing to mother Earth in hope of finding a treasure, and he did not hesitate to offer a prayer to Apollonius with that intent. He, perceiving what he was after, said : " I see that you are terribly fond of filthy lucre." " Nay, I am a poor devil," remarked the other, " that have nothing except a few pence, and not enough to feed my family." " You seem," said the other, " to keep a large household of idle servants, nor do you yourself appear to be wanting in wits." But the man shed a quiet tear and answered : " I have four daughters, who want four dowries, and, when my daughters have had their dowries assigned to them, my capital, which is now only 20,000 drachmas, will have vanished ; and they will think that they have got all too little, while I shall perish because I shall have nothing at all." Therefore Apollonius took compassion on him and said : " We will provide for you, myself and mother Earth, for I hear that you are sacrificing to her." With these words he conducted the man into the suburbs, as if he were going to buy some fruit, and there he saw an estate planted with olive-trees ; and being delighted with the trees, for they were very good ones and well grown, and there was also a little garden in the place, in which he saw bee-hives and flowers, he went on into the garden as if he had some important business to examine into, and then, having put up a prayer to Pandora, he returned to the city. Then he proceeded to the owner of the field, who had

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXIX δεσπότην, φὶ πλοῦτος ἐκ τῶν παρανομωτάτων πεπόριστο, τὰς Φοινίκων οὐσίας ἐνδεικνύντι, “χωρίον,” ἔφη, “τὸ δεῖνα πόσου ἐπρίω καὶ τί πεπόνηται σοι ἐς αὐτό;” τοῦ δὲ πέρυσι μὲν ἐωνῆσθαι τὸν ἀγρόν, πεντακισιχιλίων δὲ καὶ μυρίων φήσαντος, οὕπω δὲ ἐκπεποιηκέναι τι, πείθει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποδόσθαι οἱ δισμυρίων αὐτόν, εὔρημα ποιησάμενον τὰς πεντακισιχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔρων οὕπω ξυνίει τοῦ δώρου, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ φέτο ἵσα ἔχειν, τοσούτῳ δὲ ἐλάττῳ, ὅσῳ τὰς μὲν δισμυρίας ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν οὕσας ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ εἴναι ἄν, τὸν δὲ ἀντ’ αὐτῶν ἀγρὸν ἐπὶ πάχναις κείσεσθαι καὶ χαλάζαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἢ τοὺς καρποὺς φθείρει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμφορέα μὲν τρισχιλίων δαρεικῶν αὐτίκα εὑρε περὶ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ κηπίῳ σμῆνος, εὐφόρου δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἑλαίας καρποῦ ἔτυχεν, οὐκ εὐφορούσης τότε τῆς ἄλλης γῆς, ὕμνοι αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἥδοντο καὶ μητστήρων θεραπευόντων αὐτὸν πλέα ἦν πάντα.

XL

CAP.
XL Κάκεῖνα ἀξιομνημόνευτα εὑρον τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἔρâν τις ἐδόκει τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδους ὃ ἐν Κνίδῳ γυμνὸν ἴδρυται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνετίθει, τὰ δὲ
134

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

amassed a fortune in the most unrighteous manner, CHAP.
by informing against the estates of Phoenicians, and
said: "For how much did you purchase such and
such an estate, and how much labour have you spent
upon it?" The other replied that he had bought
the estate a year before for the sum of 15,000
drachmas, but that as yet he had spent no labour
upon it, whereupon Apollonius persuaded him to
sell it to him for 20,000 drachmas, which he did,
esteeming the 5,000 to be a great windfall. Now
the man who wanted to find the treasure did not in
the least understand the gift that was made him,
indeed he hardly considered it a fair bargain for
himself, and all the worse a bargain, because, whereas
he might have kept the 20,000 drachmas that he had
in hand, he now reflected that the estate which he
purchased for the sum might suffer from frost and hail-
storms and from other influences ruinous to the
crops. But when he found a jar almost at once in
the field containing 3,000 darics, close by the bee-
hive in the little garden, and when he got a very
large yield from the olive-trees, when everywhere
else the crops had failed, he began to hymn the
praises of the sage, and his house was crowded with
suitors for the hands of his daughters urging their
suits upon him.

XL

HERE is another story which I came upon about CHAP.
Apollonius, and which deserves to be put upon record: There was a man who was in love with a
nude statue of Aphrodite which is erected in the
XL

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἀναθήσειν ἔφασκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, Ἀπολλωνίῳ
XL

δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ἄτοπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ παρηγένετο ἡ Κνίδος, ἀλλ’ ἐναργεστέραν ἔφασαν τὴν θεὸν δόξειν, εἰ ἐρῶτο, ἔδοξε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καθῆραι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἀνοίας ταύτης, καὶ ἐρομένων τῶν Κυνδίων αὐτόν, εἴ τι βούλοιτο τῶν θυτικῶν ἡ εὐκτικῶν διορθοῦσθαι, “οὐφθαλμούς,” ἔφη, “διορθώσομαι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάτρια ἔχέτω, ώς ἔχει.” καλέσας οὖν τὸν θρυπτόμενον ἥρετο αὐτόν, εἰ θεοὺς νενόμικε, τοῦ δὲ οὗτον νομίζειν θεοὺς φήσαντος, ώς καὶ ἐρᾶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν γάμων μνημονεύσαντος, οὓς θύσειν ἤγειτο, “σὲ μὲν ποιηταί,” ἔφη, “ἐπαίρουσι τοὺς Ἀγχίσας τε καὶ τοὺς Πηλέας θεαῖς ξυζυγῆναι εἰπόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἐρᾶσθαι τόδε γιγνώσκω· θεοὶ θεῶν, ἀνθρωποι ἀνθρώπων, θηρία θηρίων, καὶ καθάπαξ ὅμοια ὁμοίων ἐρᾶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτυμα καὶ ξυγγενῆ τίκτειν, τὸ δὲ ἐτερογενὲς τῷ μὴ ὁμοίῳ ξυνελθὸν οὔτε ζυγὸς οὔτε ἔρως. εἰ δὲ ἐνεθυμοῦ τὰ Ἰξίονος, οὐδὲ ἀν ἐννοιαν καθίστασο τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίων ἐρᾶν. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τροχῷ εἰκασμένος δι’ οὐρανοῦ κνάμπτεται, σὺ δέ, εἰ μὴ ἄπει τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀπολεῖ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῇ, οὐδὲ ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων τὸ μὴ οὐ δίκαια τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ σοὶ γυῶναι.” ὡδεὶς ἡ παροινία

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

island of Cnidus; and he was making offerings to it, CHAP.
XL
Of the youth who wished to marry a statue of Aphrodite
and said that he would make yet others with a view to marrying the statue. But Apollonius, though on other grounds he thought his conduct absurd, yet as the islanders were not averse to the idea, but said that the fame of the goddess would be greatly enhanced if she had a lover, determined to purge the temple of all this nonsense ; and when the Cnidians asked him if he would reform their system of sacrifice or their litanies in any way, he replied : " I will reform your eyes, but let the ancestral service of your temple continue as it is." Accordingly he called to him the languishing lover and asked him if he believed in the existence of gods : and when he replied that he believed in their existence so firmly that he was actually in love with them, and mentioned a marriage with one of them which he hoped to celebrate shortly, Apollonius replied : " The poets have turned your poor head by their talk of unions of Anchises and Peleus and other heroes with goddesses ; but I know this much about loving and being loved : gods fall in love with gods, and human beings with human beings, and animals with animals, and in a word like with like, and they have true issue of their own kind ; but when two beings of different kinds contract a union, there is no true marriage or love. And if you only would bear in mind the fate of Ixion, you would never have dreamed of falling in love with beings so much above you. For he, you remember, is bent and stretched across the heaven like a wheel ; and you, unless you get out of this shrine, will perish wherever you are upon earth, nor will you be able to say that the gods have been unjust in their sentence upon

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἀναθήσειν ἔφασκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, Ἀπολλωνίῳ
XL.

δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ἄτοπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ παρητεῖτο ἡ Κυίδος, ἀλλ' ἐναργεστέραν ἔφασαν τὴν θεὸν δόξειν, εἰ ἐρῶτο, ἔδοξε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καθῆραι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἀνοίας ταύτης, καὶ ἐρομένων τῶν Κυιδίων αὐτόν, εἴ τι βούλοιτο τῶν θυτικῶν ἡ εὐκτικῶν διορθοῦσθαι, “όφθαλμούς,” ἔφη, “διορθώσομαι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάτρια ἔχέτω, ὡς ἔχει.” καλέστας οὖν τὸν θρυπτόμενον ἥρετο αὐτόν, εἰ θεοὺς νενόμικε, τοῦ δὲ οὗτον νομίζειν θεοὺς φήσαντος, οὓς θύσειν ἤγειτο, “σὲ μὲν ποιηταί,” ἔφη, “ἐπαιρυνοῦ τοὺς Ἀγχίσας τε καὶ τοὺς Πηλέας Ήεπίες ξυζυγῆμαι εἰπόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἐριποῦθαι τόδε γιγνώσκω· θεοὶ θεῶν, ἄνθρωποι μηδεπτών, Ηηρία θηρίων, καὶ καθάπαξ ὅμοια ὄμοιοιν ἐρχομένη τῷ μὴ ὄμοιῷ ξυνελθόν οὔτε ζυγὸς οὔτε ἕρκης. εἰ δὲ ἐκεθυμοῦ τὰ Ἰξίονος, οὐδὲ ἐς ἔγγυην καθίστασσο τοῦ μὴ ὄμοιῶν ἐρᾶν. ἀλλ' ἐπείπει μὲν τριχῆρος εἰκασμένος δι' οὐρανοῦ κυάμπιται. οὐδὲ δέ, εἰ μὴ ἀπει τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀπολεῖ ἐν ἀποιηγιῇ γῇ, οὐδὲ ἀπειπεῖν ἔχων τὸ μὴ οὐ δίκαια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ σὺν γράψαι.” ὁδεὶς ἡ παροιμία

LIEUTENANT'S BK

island of Guernsey as it is in almost a tropical
and sun-drenched climate. It is a quiet place
to visit, and the people are very kind.
The islanders are a mixture of French and
English blood, and they speak both languages
fluently. The food is excellent, and the
water clear and pure. There are many
fine restaurants where you can get
delicious meals at reasonable prices.
There are also many small inns where
you can have a simple meal and a
drink. The people are friendly and
welcoming. You will find that
there are many different
languages spoken here,
but English is
the most common.
There are
also many
French
people
here.
The
climate
is
very
pleasant,
and
the
people
are
very
kind.
You
will
find
that
there
are
many
different
languages
spoken
here,
but
English
is
the
most
common.
The
climate
is
very
pleasant,
and
the
people
are
very
kind.
You
will
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that
there
are
many
different
languages
spoken
here,
but
English
is
the
most
common.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. έσβέσθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ φάσκων ἐρᾶν, ὑπὲρ
XL ξυγγνώμης θύσας.

XLI

CAP. Σεισμῶν δὲ κατασχόντων ποτὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ ἀρι-
στερῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν καὶ
Χαλδαῖοι περὶ αὐτὰς ἡγείροντο ὑπὲρ ξυλλογῆς
χρημάτων, ώς δεκαταλάντους θυσίας Γῆ καὶ
Ποσειδῶνι θύσοντες, ξυνέφερον δὲ αἱ πόλεις τὰ
μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκων, ὑποκεί-
μενοι τῷ φόβῳ, οἱ δέ, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ἐκτεθείη
τὸ ἀργύριον, οὐκ ἀν ἔφασαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θῦσαι·
δοκεῖ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μὴ περιδεῦν τοὺς Ἑλλησ-
ποντίους. καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τοὺς μὲν
ἀπήλασεν ώς θησαυρὸν πεποιημένους τὰ ἔτέρων
κακά, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τῶν μηνιμάτων ξυλλαβὼν καὶ
ώς ἐκάστη πρόσφορον θύσας, ἀπεύξατο τὴν προσ-
βολὴν δαπάνῃ σμικρῷ, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἔστη.

XLII

CAP. Δομετιανοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον
XLII εὔνούχους τε μὴ ποιεῖν νομοθετήσαντος, ἀμπέλους
τε μὴ φυτεύειν ἔτι καὶ τὰς πεφυτευμένας δὲ αὐτῶν
138

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

you." Thus he put a stop to this mad freak, and CHAP.
the man went away who said he was in love, after XL
sacrificing in order to gain forgiveness.

XLI

AT one time the cities on the left side of the CHAP.
Hellespont were visited by earthquakes, and XLI
Egyptians and Chaldeans went begging about Egyptian
through them to collect money, pretending that and
they wanted ten talents with which to offer Chaldean
sacrifices to earth and to Poseidon. And the cities quacks
began to contribute under the stress of fear, partly rebuked
out of their common funds and partly out of private.
But the impostors refused to offer the sacrifices
in behalf of their dupes unless the money was
deposited in the banks. Now the sage determined
not to allow the peoples of the Hellespont to be
imposed upon; so he visited their cities, and drove
out the quacks who were making money out of the
misfortunes of others, and then he divined the causes
of the supernatural wrath, and by making such
offerings as suited each case averted the visitation
at small cost, and the land was at rest.

XLII

THE Emperor Domitian about the same time CHAP.
passed a law against making men eunuchs, and XLII
against planting fresh vineyards, and also in favour
of cutting down vineyards already planted, whereon

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XLII ἐκκόπτειν, παρελθὼν ἐς τοὺς Ἱωνας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “τὰ μὲν προστάγματα οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα, μόνος γὰρ ἵσως ἀνθρώπων οὔτε αἰδοῖων δέομαι οὔτε οἶνου, λέληθε δὲ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων φειδόμενος, τὴν δὲ γῆν εὐνουχίζων.” ὅθεν ἐς θάρσος ἡ Ἱωνία ἥλθε πρεσβεύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὲρ ἀμπέλων καὶ παραιτήσασθαι νόμον, δις ἐκέλευε καὶ δηοῦσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ μὴ φυτεύεσθαι.

XLIII

CAP. XLIII Κάκενα ἐν Ταρσοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄδουσι· κύων ἐνεπεπτώκει ἐφήβῳ λυττῶν, καὶ ἀπῆργε τὸν ἐφῆβον τὸ δῆγμα ἐς τὰ τῶν κυνῶν πάντα, ὑλάκτει τε γὰρ καὶ ὡρύετο καὶ τετράπους ἔθει τῷ χεῖρε ὑπέχων τῷ δρόμῳ. νοσοῦντι δ' αὐτῷ τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν ἐφίσταται μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἄρτι ἐς τοὺς Ταρσοὺς ἥκων, κελεύει δὲ ἀνιχνευθῆναι οἱ τὸν κύνα, δις ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, οἱ δ' οὔτε ἐντευχηκέναι τῷ κυνὶ ἔφασαν, ἔξω γὰρ τείχους εἰλῆφθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐφῆβου πρὸς ἀκοντίοις ὅντος, οὔτ' ἀν τοῦ νοσοῦντος μαθεῖν, ἥτις ἡ ἴδεα τοῦ κυνός, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἔτι οἶδεν. ἐπισχὼν οὖν, “ὦ Δάμι,” ἔφη, “λευκὸς ὁ κύων λάσιος προβατευτικὸς Ἀμφιλοχικῷ ἵσος, προσέστηκε δὲ τῇ δεῖνι κρήνῃ τρέμων, τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ καὶ ποθεῖ καὶ δέδοικεν ἄγε μοι τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅχθην, ἐφ' ἣς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

Apollonius, who was visiting the Ionians, remarked : CHAP.
“These rescripts do not concern me, for I, alone XLII
perhaps of mankind, require neither to beget my
kind nor to drink wine; but our egregious sovereign
seems not aware that he is sparing mankind, while
he eunuchises the earth.” This witticism em-
boldened the Ionians to send a deputation to the
emperor in behalf of their vines, and ask for a repeal
of the law which ordered the earth to be laid waste
and not planted.

Domitian's
rescript
against
eunuchs
and vine-
yards

XLIII

HERE too is a story which they tell of him in CHAP.
Tarsus. A mad dog had attacked a lad, and as a XLIII
result of the bite the lad behaved exactly like a dog, Apollonius
for he barked and howled and went on all four feet
using his hands as such, and ran about in that heals a
manner. And he had been ill in this way for youth bitten
thirty days, when Apollonius, who had recently by a mad
come to Tarsus, met him and ordered him to look
for the dog which had done the harm. But they
said that the dog had not been found, because the
youth had been attacked outside the wall when he
was practising with javelins, nor could they learn
from the patient what the dog was like, for he did
not even know himself any more. Then Apollonius
reflected a moment and said : “O Damis, the dog is
a white shaggy sheep-dog, as big as an Amphilochian
hound, and he is standing at a certain fountain
trembling all over, for he is longing to drink the
water, but at the same time is afraid of it. Bring
him to me to the bank of the river, where there are

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. **XLIII** αἱ παλαιῖστραι, μόνον εἰπών, ὅτι ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ καλοῦτο.” ἐλχθεὶς δ’ ὁ κύων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος, ὑπεκλίθη τοῖς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ποσίν, ὥσπερ οἱ βώμιοι τῶν ἱκετῶν κλαίων, ὁ δ’ ἡμέρου τε αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπράσυε, τὸν ἔφηβόν τε ἵστη ἐγγὺς ξυνέχων αὐτός, ὡς δὲ μὴ λάθοι τοὺς πολλοὺς μέγα ἀπόρρητον, “μεθέστηκε μέν,” ἔφη, “ἔς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἡ Τηλέφου ψυχὴ τοῦ Μυσοῦ, Μοῖραι δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ταῦτὰ βούλονται,” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε τὸν κύνα περιλιχμήσασθαι τὸ δῆγμα, ὡς ἰατρὸς αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ τρώσας γένοιτο. ἐπεστράφη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἔς τὸν πατέρα ὁ παῖς καὶ ξυνῆκε τῆς μητρός, προσεῦπέ τε τοὺς ἥλικας καὶ ἔπιε τοῦ Κύδνου, περιώφθη δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ κύων, ἀλλὰ κάκεινον εὐξάμενος τῷ ποταμῷ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἤκεν. ὁ δ’ ἐπεὶ διέβη τὸν Κύδνον, ἐπιστὰς τῇ ὅχθῃ φωνήν τε ἀφῆκεν, ὅπερ ἦκιστα περὶ τοὺς λυττῶντας τῶν κυνῶν ξυμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ ὡτα ἀνακλάσας ἔσεισε τὴν οὐράν, ξυνιεὶς τοῦ ἐρρῶσθαι, φαρμακοποσίᾳ γὰρ λύττης ὕδωρ, ἦν θαρσήση αὐτὸν ὁ λυττῶν.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἴερῶν τε καὶ πόλεων καὶ τὰ πρὸς δήμους καὶ ὑπὲρ δήμων, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τεθνεώτων ἡ νοσούντων, καὶ τὰ πρὸς σοφούς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέας, οἱ ξύμβουλον αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς ἐποιοῦντο.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the wrestling grounds, merely telling him that it is I ^{CHAP.} who call him." So Damis dragged the dog along, ^{XLIII} and it crouched at the feet of Apollonius, crying out as a suppliant might do before an altar. But he quite tamed it by stroking it with his hand, and then he stood the lad close by, holding him with his hand ; and in order that the multitude might be cognisant of so great a mystery, he said : " The soul of Telephus of Mysia has been transferred into this boy, and the Fates impose the same things upon him as upon Telephus." And with these words he bade the dog lick the wound all round where he had bitten the boy, so that the agent of the wound might in turn be its physician and healer. After that the boy returned to his father and recognised his mother, and saluted his comrades as before, and drank of the waters of the Cydnus. Nor did the sage neglect the dog either, but after offering a prayer to the river he sent the dog across it ; and when the dog had crossed the river, he took his stand on the opposite bank, and began to bark, a thing which mad dogs rarely do, and he folded back his ears and wagged his tail, because he knew that he was all right again, for a draught of water cures a mad dog, if he has only the courage to take it.

Such were the exploits of our sage in behalf of both temples and cities ; such were the discourses he delivered to the public or in behalf of different communities, and in behalf of those who were dead or who were sick ; and such were the harangues he delivered to wise and unwise alike, and to the sovereigns who consulted him about moral virtue.

BOOK VII

VOL. II.

L

H'

I

CAP. I Οίδα καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας, ὡς ἔστιν ἀρίστη βάσανος ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφούντων, καὶ ξυγχωρῷ σκοπεῖν, ὅ τι ἔκαστος ἐτέρου ἡττον ἢ μᾶλλον ἀνήρ ἔδοξεν, ὁ λόγος δέ μοι ξυντείνει ἐς τόδε κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς Δομετιανὸς ἐτυράννευσε, περιέστησαν τὸν ἄνδρα κατηγορίαι καὶ γραφαί, ὅπως μὲν ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ὑπόθεν καὶ ὅ τι ἐκάστη ὅνομα, δηλώσω αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη λέξαι, τί μὲν εἰπών, τίς δὲ εἶναι δόξας ἀπῆλθε τῆς κρίσεως, ἐλὼν μᾶλλον τὸν τύραννον ἢ ἀλούς αὐτός, δοκεῖ μοι διελθεῖν πρὸ τούτων, ὅπόσα εὑρον ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τυράννους ἔργα, παραδεικνύειν τε αὐτὰ τοὺς Ἀπολλωνίου χρὴ γάρ που τάληθες οὕτω μαστεύειν.

II

CAP. II Ζήνων μὲν τοίνυν ὁ Ἐλεάτης, διαλεκτικῆς δὲ οὗτος δοκεῖ ἄρξαι, τὴν Νεάρχου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καταλύων τυραννίδα ἦλω, καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς τοὺς μὲν 146

BOOK VII

I

I AM aware that the conduct of philosophers under CHAP.
despotism is the truest touchstone of their character,
and am in favour of inquiring in what way one man
displays more courage than another. And my argu-
ment also urges me to consider the point ; for during
the reign of Domitian Apollonius was beset by accu-
sations and writs of information, the several origins,
sources and counts of which I shall presently enlarge
upon ; and as I shall be under the necessity of speci-
fying the language which he used and the rôle which
he assumed, when he left the court after convicting
the tyrant rather than being himself convicted, so I
must first of all enumerate all the feats of wise men
in the presence of tyrants which I have found
worthy of commemoration, and contrast them with
the conduct of Apollonius. For this I think is the
best way of finding out the truth.

I
Superiority
of
Apollonius
to other
champions
of liberty

II

ZENO then of Elea, who was the father of dialectic, CHAP.
was convicted of an attempt to overthrow the tyranny
of Nearchus the Mysian ; and being put to the rack Zeno the
he refused to divulge the names of his accomplices,

II
Elean

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. έαυτοῦ ξυνωμότας ἀπεσιώπησεν, οὐ δ' ἡσαν τῷ
II τυράννῳ βέβαιοι, διαβαλὼν τούτους ως οὐ βε-
βαίους, οἱ μὲν ως ἐπ' ἀληθέσι ταῖς αἰτίαις ἀπέ-
θανον, ὁ δ' ἐλεύθερα τὰ Μυσῶν ἤγαγε τὴν
τυραννίδα περὶ έαυτῇ σφήλας. Πλάτων δὲ ὑπὲρ
τῆς Σικελιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα φησιν ἄρασθαι,
συλλαβὼν τῆς διανοίας ταύτης Δίωνι. Φύτων
δὲ Ῥηγίου ἐκπεσὼν κατέφυγε μὲν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον
τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον, μειζόνων δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἢ τὸν
φεύγοντα εἰκός, ξυνῆκε μὲν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ ὅτι
τοῦ Ῥηγίου ἐρώη, Ῥηγίνοις δ' ἐπιστέλλων ταῦτα
ἥλω, καὶ ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἐνὸς τῶν μηχανημάτων
ἀνάψας αὐτὸν ζῶντα προσήγαγε τοὺς τείχεις, ως
μὴ βάλοιεν οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι τὸ μηχάνημα φειδοῦ τοῦ
Φύτωνος, ὁ δὲ ἐβόα βάλλειν, σκοπὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς
ἐλευθερίας εἶναι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Πύθων οἱ
Κότυν ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Θράκα νεανίᾳ μὲν ἥστην
ἄμφω, τὰς δὲ Ἀκαδημίους διατριβὰς ἐπαινοῦντες
σοφώ τε ἐγενέσθην καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθέρω. τὰ δὲ
Καλλισθένους τοῦ Ὀλυνθίου τίς οὐκ οἰδεν; δις
ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ διαβαλὼν
Μακεδόνας, ὅτε μέγιστοι δυνάμει ἡσαν, ἀπέθανεν
ἀηδὴς δόξας. Διογένης δὲ ὁ Σιωπεὺς καὶ Κράτης
ὁ Θηβαῖος, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺν Χαιρωνείας ἥκων ἐπέπληξεν
ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων Φιλίππῳ περὶ ὃν, Ἡρακλείδης
εἶναι φάσκων, ἀπώλλυν ὅπλοις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

though he accused of disloyalty those who were CHAP.
loyal to the tyrant, with the result that, wheras they ^{II}
were put to death on the assumption that his accu-
sations were true, he effected the liberation of the Mysians, by tripping despotism up over itself. And
Plato also declares that he took up the cause of the Plato
liberation of the people of Sicily, and associated him-
self in this enterprise with Dion. And Phyton, when ^{Phyton of}
he was banished from Rhegium, fled to Dionysius ^{Rhegium}
the tyrant of Sicily ; but being treated with more
honour than an exile might expect, he realized that
the tyrant had designs also upon Rhegium ; and he
informed the people there of this by letter. But he
was caught doing so by the tyrant, who forthwith
fastened him to one of his siege engines alive, and
then pushed it forward against the walls, imagining
that the inhabitants of Rhegium would not shoot at
the machine in order to spare Phyton. He, how-
ever, cried out to them to shoot, for, said he : " I
am the target of your liberty." And Heraclides and ^{Heraclides}
Python who slew Cotys the Thracian were both of ^{and Python}
them young men, and they embraced the discipline
and life of the Academy, and made themselves wise
and so free men. And who does not know the story
of Callisthenes of Olynthus ? He on one and the ^{Callisthenes}
same day delivered himself of a panegyric and of an ^{of Olynthus}
attack upon the Macedonians, just at the time when
they were at the acme of their power ; and they put
him to death for exciting their displeasure. Then
there were Diogenes of Synope and Crates of Thebes, ^{Diogenes}
of whom the former went direct to Chaeronea, ^{and Crates}
and rebuked Philip for his treatment of the Athe-
nians, on the ground that, though asserting himself
to be a descendant of Hercules he yet was destroying

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ^{II} ὅπλα ἡρμένους, ὁ δ' ἀνοικιεῖν Θήβας Ἀλεξάνδρου
δι' αὐτὸν φήσαντος οὐκ ἀν ἔφη δεηθῆναι πατρίδος,
ἢν κατασκάψει τις ὅπλοις ἵσχύσας. καὶ λέγοιτο
μὲν ἀν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὁ λόγος δὲ οὐ κατασκάψει
μῆκος, τῷ γε ἀνάγκην ἔχοντι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα
ἀντειπεῖν, οὐχ ὡς οὐ καλὰ ἢ οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ πᾶσιν,
ἀλλ' ὡς ἥττω τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου, κὰν ἄριστα
ἔτερων φαίνηται.

III

CAP. ^{III} Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ἔργον καὶ οἱ τὸν
Κότυν ἀπεκτονότες οὕπω ἀξιόλογα, Θρᾷκας γὰρ
καὶ Γέτας δουλοῦσθαι μὲν ῥάδιον, ἐλευθερὸν δὲ
εὑνθεῖς, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ χαίρουσιν, ἅτε,
οἴμαι, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸ δουλεύειν. Πλά-
των δὲ ὡς μὲν οὐ σοφόν τι ἔπαθε τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ
διορθούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Ἀθήνησιν, ἢ ὡς
εἰκότως ἐπράθη σφαλείς τε καὶ σφῆλας, οὐ λέγω
διὰ τοὺς δυσχερῶς ἀκροωμένους. τὰ δὲ τοῦ
Ρηγίνου πρὸς Διονύσιον μὲν ἐτολμάτο τυραν-
νεύοντα οὐ βεβαίως Σικελίας, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου
πάντως ἀποθανὼν ἄν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ Ρηγίνων
ἐβλήθη, θαυμαστόν, οἴμαι, οὐδὲν ἐπραττε, τὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

by force of arms those who had taken up arms in CHAP.
defence of the descendants of Hercules. The other
Crates, when Alexander had declared that he would
rebuild Thebes for his sake, replied that he would
never stand in need of a country or of a city,
which anyone could raze to the ground by mere
force of arms. Many more examples of this kind
could be adduced, but my treatise does not allow me
to prolong them. It is indeed incumbent upon me
to criticise these examples, not in order to show that
they were not as remarkable as they are universally
famous, but only to show that they fall short of the
exploits of Apollonius, in spite of their being the
best of their kind.

III

ABOUT the conduct of Zeno of Elea then, and CHAP.
about the murder of Cotys there is nothing very
remarkable; for as it is easy to enslave Thracians
and Getae, so it is an act of folly to liberate them;
for indeed they do not appreciate freedom, because,
I imagine, they do not esteem slavery to be base. I
will not say that Plato somewhat lacked wisdom of Plato,
when he set himself to reform the affairs of Sicily
rather than those of Athens, or that he was sold
in all fairness when, after deceiving others, he
found himself deceived, for I fear to offend my
readers. But the despotic sway of Dionysius over
Sicily was already tottering when Phyton of Rhegium of Phyton,
made his attempt against him, and in any case he
would have been put to death by him, even if the
people of that city had not shot their bolts at him;
his achievement, then, I think, was by no means

III
Criticism
of Zeno,

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. οὐπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρων ἐλευθερίας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν
III οὐπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ δουλείας αἰρούμενος. Καλλι-
σθένης δὲ τὸ δόξαι κακὸς οὐδ' ἀν νῦν διαφύγοι,
τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας καὶ διαβαλών, ἢ
διέβαλεν, οὓς ἐνόμισεν ἐπαίνων ἀξίους, ἢ ἐπή-
νεσεν, οὓς ἔχρη διαβάλλοντα φαίνεσθαι, καὶ
ἄλλως ὁ μὲν καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς
ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἔχει ἀποδρᾶναι τὸ μὴ οὐ
δόξαι βάσκανος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς κολακεύων
ἐπαίνοις αὐτὸς ἀποίσεται τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἀμαρτη-
θέντων σφίσιν, οἱ γὰρ κακοὶ κακίους ἐπαινούμενοι.
Διογένης δὲ πρὸς Χαιρωνείας μὲν εἰπὼν ταῦτα
πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον καν ἐφύλαξε τὸν ἄνδρα
καθαρὸν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ὅπλων, εἰργασμένοις
δὲ ἐπιστὰς ὠνείδιζε μέν, οὐ μὴν διωρθοῦτο.
Κράτης δὲ καὶ αἰτίαν ἀν λάβοι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς
φιλοπόλιδος μὴ ξυναράμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς
Βουλῆς, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀνοικίσαι τὰς Θήβας ἔχρητο.
Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ οὕθ' οὐπὲρ πατρίδος κινδυνευούσης
δείσας, οὔτε τοῦ σώματος ἀπογνούς, οὔτ' ἐς
ἀνοήτους οὐπαχθεὶς λόγους, οὕθ' οὐπὲρ Μυσῶν ἢ
Γετῶν, οὔτε πρὸς ἄνδρα, δις ἥρχε νήσου μᾶς ἢ
χώρας οὐ μεγάλης, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ϕθάλαττά τε ἥν καὶ
γῆ πᾶσα, πρὸς τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ πικρῶς ἐτυράννευε,
παρέττατεν ἑαυτὸν οὐπὲρ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων
κέρδους, χρησάμενος μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ ταύτη καὶ
πρὸς Νέρωνα.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

wonderful : he only preferred to die in behalf of CHAP.
the liberty of others rather than to endure the death ^{III} penalty of being himself a slave. And as for Callis-^{of Callis-}thenes, even to-day he cannot acquit himself of baseness; for in first commanding and then attacking one and the same set of people, he either attacked those whom he felt to be worthy of praise, or he praised those whom he ought to have been openly attacking. Moreover a person who sets himself to abuse good men cannot escape the charge of being envious, while he who flatters the wicked by his very praises of them draws down upon his own head the guilt of their misdeeds, for evil men are only rendered more evil when you praise them. And Diogenes, if he had addressed Philip in the way he ^{of Diogenes,} did before the battle of Chaeronea instead of after it, might have preserved him from the guilt of taking up arms against Athens ; but instead of doing so he waited till the harm was done, when he could only reproach him, but not reform him. As for Crates, he ^{of Crates} must needs incur the censure of every patriot for not seconding Alexander in his design of recolonising Thebes. But Apollonius had not to fear for any country that was endangered, nor was he in despair of his own life, nor was he reduced to silly and idle speeches, nor was he championing the cause of Mysians or Getae, nor was he face to face with one who was only sovereign of a single island or of an inconsiderable country, but he confronted one who was master both of sea and land, at a time when his tyranny was harsh and bitter ; and he took his stand against the tyrant in behalf of the welfare of the subjects, with the same spirit and purpose as he had taken his stand against Nero.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

IV

CAP. IV. ‘Ηγείσθω δ’ οὖν τις ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἐκεῖνα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὁμόσε χωρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Βίνδικα ἐπιρρωνὺς καὶ τὸν Τυγελλῖνον ἐκπλήττων σαθροτέραν τὴν τυραννίδα ἐποίει, καὶ τις ἀναφύεται λόγος ἀλαζῶν ἐνταῦθα, ώς οὐδὲν γενναῖον ἐπιθέσθαι Νέρωνι ψαλτρίας τινὸς ἡ αὐλητρίδος βίον ζῶντι· ἀλλὰ περὶ γε Δομετιανοῦ τί φήσουσιν; διὸ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔρρωτο, ἥδονάς δὲ τὰς μὲν ἔξι ὄργανων τε καὶ κτύπων τὰς τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἀπομαραινούσας παρηγτεῖτο, τὰ δὲ ἑτέρων ἄχη καὶ ὅ τι ὀλοφύραιτό τις, ἐς τὸ εὐφραινον εἶλκε, τὴν δὲ ἀπιστίαν δήμων μὲν ἐκάλει πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους φυλακτήριον, τυράννων δὲ πρὸς πάντας, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πάντων μὲν ἔργων ἡξίου παύειν βασιλέα, φόνων δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅθεν ἡ κρωτηριάσθη μὲν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς εὔδοκιμωτάτους, φιλοσοφία δὲ οὕτω τι ἔπτηξεν, ώς ἀποβαλόντες τὸ σχῆμα οἱ μὲν ἀποδρᾶναι σφῶν ἐς τὴν Κελτῶν ἐσπέραν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα Λιβύης τε καὶ Σκυθίας, ἔνιοι δὲ ἐς λόγους ἀπενεχθῆναι ξυμβούλους τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ὁ δὲ, ὥσπερ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ πεποίηται πρὸς τὸν Οἰδίπουν ὁ Τειρεσίας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λέγων οὐ γάρ τι σοὶ ζῷ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ Λοξίᾳ,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

IV

SOME may think that his attitude towards Nero CHAP.
IV was a mere bit of skirmishing, because he did not come to close quarters with him, but merely undermined his despotism by his encouragement of Vindex, and the terror with which he inspired Tigellinus. And there are certain braggarts here who foster the tale that it required no great courage to assail a man like Nero who led the life of a female harpist or flautist. But what, I would ask, have they to say about Domitian? For he was vigorous in body, and he abjured all those pleasures of music and song which wear away and soften down ferocity; and he took pleasure in the sufferings of others and in any lamentations they uttered. And he was in the habit of saying that distrust is the best safeguard of the people against their tyrants and of the tyrant against the multitude; and though he thought that a sovereign ought to rest from all hard work during the night, yet he deemed it the right season to begin murdering people in. And the result was that while the Senate had all its most distinguished members cut off, philosophy was reduced to cowering in a corner, to such an extent that some of its votaries disguised themselves by changing their dress and ran away to take refuge among the western Celts, while others fled to the deserts of Libya and Scythia, and others again stooped to compose orations in which his crimes were palliated. But Apollonius, like Tiresias, who is represented by Sophocles as addressing to Oedipus the words:

‘For ‘tis not in your slavery that I live, but in that Oedip. Tyr.
410 of Loxias,’

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. οὗτω τὴν σοφίαν δέσποιναν πεποιημένος ἐλεύθερος
IV

ἥν τῆς Δομετιανοῦ φορᾶς, τὰ Τειρεσίου τε καὶ Σο-
φοκλέους ἑαυτῷ ἐπιθεσπίσας καὶ δεδιὼς μὲν οὐδὲν
ἴδιον, ἀ δὲ ἔτερους ἀπώλλυ, ἐλεῶν, ὅθεν ξυνίστη
ἐπ' αὐτὸν νεότητά τε, ὁπόσην ἡ βουλὴ εἶχε, καὶ
ξύνεσιν, ὁπόση περὶ ἐνίους αὐτῶν ἐωράτο, φοιτῶν
ἐς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ φιλοσοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ώς
οὗτε ἀθάνατος ἡ τῶν τυράννων ἴσχύς, αὐτῷ τε τῷ
φοιβεροὶ δοκεῖν ἀλίσκονται μᾶλλον. διήσει δὲ αὐτοῖς
καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ Ἀττικά, ἐφ' οἷς Ἀρμόδιός
τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἄδονται, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς
ἔργον, δ καὶ τριάκοντα ὁμοῦ τυράννους εἶλε, καὶ
τὰ Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτῶν διήσει πάτρια, ώς κάκεῖνοι
δῆμος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὅντες τὰς τυραννίδας ἐώθουν
ὅπλοις.

V

CAP. Τραγῳδίας δὲ ὑποκριτοῦ παρελθόντος ἐς τὴν
V "Εφεσον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰνοῖ τῷ δράματι, καὶ ἀκροωμένου
τοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχοντος, δις καίτοι νέος ὁν
φανερὸς ἐν ὑπάτοις ἀτολμότερον ὑπὲρ τούτων
διενοεῖτο, ὁ μὲν ὑποκριτὴς ἐπέραινεν ἥδη τὰ
ἰαμβεῖα, ἐν οἷς ὁ Εύριπίδης διὰ μακρῶν αὐξηθέντας
τοὺς τυράννους ἀλίσκεσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ μικρῶν,
ἀναπηδήσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀλλ' ὁ δειλός,"
ἔφη, "οὗτος οὕτε Εύριπίδου ξυνίησιν οὗτε ἐμοῦ."

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

chose wisdom as his mistress, and escaped scot free CHAP.
from paying tribute to Domitian. Applying to himself^{IV}, as if it were an oracle, the verse of Tiresias and of Sophocles, and fearing nothing for himself, but only pitying the fate of others, he set himself to rally round him all the younger men of the Senate, and husband such intelligence as he saw discerned in many of them ; and he visited the provinces and in the name of philosophy he appealed to the governors, pointing out to them that the strength of tyrants is not immortal, and that the very fact of their being dreaded exposes them to defeat. And he also reminded them of the Panathenaic festival in Attica, at which hymns are sung in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and of the sally that was made from Phyle, when thirty tyrants at once were overthrown ; and he also reminded them of the ancient history of the Romans, and of how they too had originally been a democracy, after driving out despotism, arms in hand.

V

AND on an occasion when a tragic actor visited CHAP.
Ephesus and came forward in the play called the ^V Ino, and when the governor of Asia was one of the audience, a man who though still young and of distinguished rank among the consuls, was nevertheless very nervous about such matters, just as the actor finished the speech in which Euripides describes in his Iambics how tyrants after long growth of their power are destroyed by little causes, Apollonius leapt up and said : "But yonder coward understands neither Euripides nor myself."

Applauds
the Ino at
Ephesus

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

VI

CAP. VI Καὶ μὴν καὶ λόγου ἀφικομένου, ὡς λαμπρὰν καθαρσιν εἴη Δομετιανὸς πεποιημένος τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἐστίας, ἐπειδὴ τρεῖς τῶν Ἐστιάδων ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπ' αὐτίᾳ τῆς ζώνης καὶ τῷ μὴ καθαρεῦσαι γάμων, ἃς ἀγνῶς τὴν Ἰλιάδα Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ πῦρ θεραπεύειν ἔδει, “εἰ γὰρ καὶ σύ,” ἔφη, “καθαρθείης, Ἡλιε, τῶν ἀδίκων φόνων, ὡν πᾶσα η οἰκουμένη μεστὴ νῦν.” καὶ οὐδὲ ἴδιᾳ ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοί, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ ὄμιλῳ καὶ ἐς πάντας ἐκήρυττέ τε καὶ ηὔχετο.

VII

CAP. VII Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σαβίνον ἀπεκτονώσ, ἔνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ξεγγενῶν, Ἰουλίαν ἤγετο, ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία γυνὴ μὲν ἦν τοῦ πεφονευμένου, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ ἀδελφιδῆ, μία τῶν Τίτου θυγατέρων, ἔθυε μὲν ἡ Ἐφεσος ταὺς γάμους, ἐπιστὰς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὡ νύξ,” ἔφη, “τῶν πάλαι Δαναΐδων, ὡς μία ἡσθα.”

VIII

CAP. VIII Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὡδε αὐτῷ ἐπράττετο· ἀρχῇ πρέπειν ἐδόκει Νερούας, ἡς μετὰ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

VI

WHEN moreover the news was brought how CHAP.
notable a purification of the goddess Vesta of the VI
Romans Domitian had carried out, by putting to death three of the vestal virgins who had broken their vows and incurred the pollution of marriage, when it was their duty to minister in purity to the Athene of Ilium and to the fire which was worshipped in Rome, he exclaimed: "O Sun, would that thou too couldst be purified of the unjust murders with which the whole world is just now filled." Nor did he do all this in private, as a coward might, but proclaimed his sentiments and aspirations amidst the crowd and before all.

Demonstrates in public against Domitian

VII

ON another occasion when after the murder CHAP.
of Sabinus, one of his own relations, Domitian VII
was about to marry Julia, who was herself the wife of the murdered man, and Domitian's own niece, being one of the daughters of Titus, Ephesus was about to celebrate the marriage with sacrifice, only Apollonius interrupted the rites, by exclaiming: "O thou night of the Danaids of yore, how unique thou wast!"

Domitian's marriage with Julia

VIII

THE following then is the history of his acts in CHAP.
Rome. Nerva was regarded as a proper candidate VIII

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. Δομετιανὸν σωφρόνως ἤψατο, ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ
VIII Ὀρφιτόν τε καὶ Ῥοῦφον ἡ αὐτὴ δόξα. τούτους
Δομετιανὸς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἑαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν ἐς
νήσους καθείρχθησαν, Νερούᾳ δὲ προσέταξεν
οἰκεῖν Τάραντα· ὃν δὲ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀπολ-
λώνιος τὸν μὲν χρόνον, δν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ¹
καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἥρχεν, ἀεὶ τι ὑπὲρ σωφρο-
σύνης ἐπέστελλε τοῖς ἀνδράσι, προσποιῶν αὐτοὺς
τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὡς χρηστοῖς, Δομετιανοῦ δέ,
ἐπεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, ἀφίστη τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας ἔρρωννυ. τὰς μὲν δὴ
ἐπιστολιμαίους ξυμβουλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς
ῳετο, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ δούλοι
προῦδοσαν καὶ φίλοι καὶ γυναικες, καὶ οὐδὲν
ἀπόρρητον ἔχωρησε τότε οἰκία, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ
ἔταιρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπο-
λαμβάνων, “διάκονον,” εἰπεν ἄν, “ποιοῦμαι σε
ὑπορρήτου λαμπροῦ· βαδίσαι δὲ χρὴ ἐς τὴν
Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναι οἱ καὶ
γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πᾶν ὅ τι
ἐγώ.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὄρμῆς μὲν
ἐνδειξάμενοί τι ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον, ὅκνῳ δὲ ἐκπε-
σόντες ὃν διενοήθησαν, διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν
καὶ ἀνάγκης περὶ τὸ νέμος τῆς Σμύρνης, ἐν φόρῳ
Μέλης.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

for the throne which after Domitian's death he CHAP.
occupied with so much wisdom, and the same VIII
opinion was entertained of Orphitus and of Rufus. Domitian accused the two latter of intriguing against himself, and they were confined in islands, while Nerva was commanded to live in Tarentum. Now Apollonius had been intimate with them all the time that Titus shared the throne with his father, and also reigned after his father's death; and he was in constant correspondence with them on the subject of self-control, being anxious to enlist them on the side of the sovereigns whose excellence of character he esteemed. But he did his best to alienate them from Domitian, on account of his cruelty, and encouraged them to espouse the cause of the freedom of all. Now it occurred to him that his epistles conveying advice to them were fraught with danger to them, for many of those who were in power were betrayed by their own slaves and friends and womenkind, and there was not at the time any house that could keep a secret; accordingly he would take now one and now another of the discreetest of his own companions, and say to them: "I have a brilliant secret to entrust to you; for you must be take yourself as my agent to Rome to so and so," mentioning the party, "and you must hold converse with him and do the utmost I could do to win him over." But when he heard that they were banished for having displayed a tendency to revolt against the tyrant, and yet had from timidity abandoned their plans, he delivered a discourse on the subject of the Fates and of Destiny in the grove of Smyrna in which stands the statue of the river Meles.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

IX

CAP.
^{IX} Εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν Νερούαν ώς αὐτίκα δὴ ἄρξοι,
διήσει τὸν λόγον καὶ δῖτι μηδ' οἱ τύραννοι τὰ ἐκ
Μοιρῶν οἱοι βιάζεσθαι, χαλκῆς τε εἰκόνος ἰδρυ-
μένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας
ἐς ἀντὴν τοὺς παρόντας, “ἀνόητε,” εἶπεν, “ώς
πολὺ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· φὰ γὰρ
μετὰ σὲ τυραννεῦσαι πέπρωται, τοῦτον κανὸν ἀπο-
κτείνης, ἀναβιώσεται.” ταῦτα ἐς Δομετιανὸν
ἀφίκετο ἐκ διαβολῶν Εὐφράτου, καὶ ὑπὲρ δῖτου
μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐχρησμῷδει αὐτά, οὐδεὶς ξυνίει,
τιθέμενος δὲ ὁ τύραννος εὖ τὸν ἔαυτοῦ φόβον
ῶρμησεν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ώς δὲ μὴ ἔξω
λόγου πράττων αὐτὸν φαίνοιτο, ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀπολ-
λώνιον ἀπολογησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
ἀπορρήτων. ἡ γὰρ ἀφικομένου κατεψηφισάμενος
οὐδὲ ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτονέναι δόξειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἐκείνῳ
έαλωκότας, ἡ εἰ σοφίᾳ τινὶ τοῦ φανεροῦ ὑπεξέλθοι,
μᾶλλον ἥδη ἀπολεῖσθαι σφᾶς ώς κατεψηφισ-
μένους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινωνοῦ τῆς αἰτίας.

X

CAP.
^X Διανοουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα καὶ γράφοντος
ἥδη πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, ώς ξυλληφείη
162

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

IX

AND being aware that Nerva would before long be- CHAP.
come sovereign, he went on to explain in his oration ^{IX} His
that not even tyrants are able to force the hand of discourse
destiny, and directing the attention of his audience at Smyrna
to the brazen statue of Domitian which had been on the
erected close by that of Meles, he said : "Thou Fates
fool, how much art thou mistaken in thy views of
Destiny and Fate. For even if thou shouldst slay
the man who is fated to be despot after thyself, he
shall come to life again." This saying was reported
to Domitian by the malevolence of Euphrates, and
though no one knew to which of the personages
above mentioned this oracle applied, yet the despot
in order to allay his fears determined to put them
to death. But in order that he might seem to have
an excuse for doing so, he summoned Apollonius Domitian
before him to defend himself on the charge of requires
holding secret relations with them. For he con- Apollonius
sidered that if he came, he could get a sentence pro- to clear
nounced against him, and so avoid the imputation of himself of
having put people to death without trial, seeing that charge of
they would have been convicted through Apollonius, rebellion
or in the alternative case, if the latter by some ruse avoided an open trial, then the fate of the others would all the more certainly be sealed, because sentence would have been passed on them by their own accomplice.

X

MOVED by these considerations Domitian had CHAP.
already written to the governor of Asia, directing ^X

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τε καὶ ἀναχθείη, προεῖδε μὲν ὁ Τυανεὺς πάντα δαι-
^X μονίως τε καὶ ὕσπερ εἰώθει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑταίρους
εἰπὼν δεῖσθαι ἀποδημίας ἀπορρήτου, τοὺς μὲν
ἐσῆλθεν Ἀβύριδος τοῦ ἀρχαίου δόξα, καὶ ὅτι ἐς
τοιόνδε τι ὡρμήκοι, ὃ δὲ οὐδὲ τῷ Δάμιδι τὸν
έαυτοῦ νοῦν ἐκφήνας, ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔπλει,
Κορίνθου δὲ ἐπιβὰς καὶ τῷ Ἡλίῳ περὶ μεσημ-
βρίαν ὄπόσα εἰώθει δράσας, ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὸ Σικελῶν
καὶ Ἰταλῶν ἔθνος ἄμα ἐσπέρᾳ. τυχὼν δὲ οὐρίου
πνεύματος καὶ τινος εὐροίας ὑποδραμούσης τὸ
πέλαγος ἀφίκετο ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν πεμπταῖος. Δη-
μητρίῳ δὲ ἐντυχών, δις ἐδόκει θαρσαλεώτατος τῶν
φιλοσόφων, ἐπεὶ μὴ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης διη-
τάτο, ξυνίει μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐξεστηκότος τῷ τυράννῳ,
διατριβῆς δὲ ἔνεκα, “εἴληφά σε,” εἶπε, “τρυ-
φῶντα καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἰταλίας, εἰ δὴ εὐδαίμων,
τὸ μακαριώτατον οἰκοῦντα, ἐν τῷ λέγεται καὶ
‘Οδυσσεὺς Καλυψοῦ ξυνὼν ἐκλαθέσθαι καπνοῦ
‘Ιθακησίου καὶ οἴκου.’” περιβαλὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ
Δημήτριος, καί τι καὶ ἐπευφημήσας, “ὦ θεοί,”
ἔφη, “τί πείσεται φιλοσοφία κινδυνεύουσα περὶ
ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ;” “κινδυνεύει δέ,” εἶπε, “τί;” “ἄ-
γε,” ἔφη, “προειδὼς ἥκεις· εἰ γὰρ τὸν σὸν ἀγνοῶ
νοῦν, οὐδὲ τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ οἶδα. διαλεγώμεθα δὲ μὴ
ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ’ ἵωμεν οὐ μόνων ἡμῶν ἡ ξυνουσία
ἔσται, παρατυγχανέτω δὲ καὶ ὁ Δάμις, διν ἐγώ,
νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Ἰόλεων ἡγοῦμαι τῶν σῶν
ἄθλων.”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

the man of Tyana to be arrested and brought to CHAP.
Rome, when the latter foreseeing in his usual way X
through a divine instinct what was coming, told his
companions that he needed to depart on a mys-
terious voyage ; and they were reminded of the
opinion enunciated by Abaris of old, and felt that
he was intent upon some such scheme. Apollonius
however, without revealing his intention even to
Damis, set sail in his company for Achaea, and
having landed at Corinth and worshipped the Sun
about midday, with his usual rites, embarked in
the evening for Sicily and Italy. And falling in
with a favourable wind and a good current that ran
in his direction, he reached Dicaearchia on the fifth
day. There he met Demetrius who passed for being Meets with
Demetrius
the boldest of the philosophers, simply because he
did not live far away from Rome, and knowing that
he was really to get out of the way of the tyrant, he
said by way of amusing himself : " I have caught
you in your luxury, dwelling here in the most
blessed part of happy Italy, if indeed she be happy,
here where Odysseus is said to have forgotten in the
company of Calypso the smoke of his Ithacan home."
Thereupon Demetrius embraced him and after sundry
pious ejaculations said : " O ye gods, what will come
upon philosophy, if she risks the loss of such a man
as yourself ? " " And what risks does she run ? " asked
he. " Those surely, a foreknowledge of which brought
you here," said the other ; " for if I do not know
what is in your mind, then I do not know what is in
my own. But let us not conduct our conversation here,
but let us retire where we can talk together alone,
and let only Damis be present whom, by Hercules,
I am inclined to consider an Iolaus of your labours."

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XI

CAP.
XI "Αγει δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐς τὸ Κικέρωνος
τοῦ παλαιοῦ χωρίου, ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τῷ ἄστει.
ἰζησάντων δὲ ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ οἱ μὲν τέττυγες ὑπο-
φαλλούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς αὔρας ἐν φόδαις ἥσαν, ἀνα-
βλέψας δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος, "ὦ μακάριοι,"
ἔφη, "καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοί, ὡς ἐδίδαξάν τε ὑμᾶς
φόδην ἅρα Μοῦσαι μήπω ἐς δίκας ἢ διαβολὰς
ὑπαχθεῖσαν, γαστρός τε κρείττους ἐποίησαν καὶ
ἀνώκισαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου φθόνου ἐς ταυτὶ τὰ
δένδρα, ἐφ' ὧν ὅλβιοι τὴν ἐφ' ὑμῶν τε καὶ Μουσῶν
εὐδαιμονίαν ἣδετε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνίει μὲν
οἱ τείνει ταῦτα, διαβαλὼν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἀργότερα
τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, "εἴτα," εἶπε, "τεττίγων βου-
ληθεὶς διελθεῖν ἐπαινον, οὐκ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν διήγεις
αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα πτήξας, ὕσπερ δημοσίᾳ
κειμένου νόμου μηδένα ἐπαινεῖν τέττυγας;" "οὐχ
ὑπὲρ ἐπαίνου," ἔφη, "ταῦτα εἴπον, ἀλλ' ἐνδει-
κνύμενος, ὅτι τούτοις μὲν ἀνεῖται τὰ αὐτῶν
μουσεῖα, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲ γρύξαι συγγνώμη, ἀλλ'
ἐγκλημα ἢ σοφία εὑρηται, καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἀνύτου καὶ
Μελήτου γραφὴ "Σωκράτης," φησίν, "ἀδικεῖ
διαφθείρων τοὺς νέους καὶ δαιμόνια καινὰ ἐπεσά-
γων, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐτωσὶ γράφονται· ἀδικεῖ ὁ δεῖνα
σοφὸς ὃν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ξυνιεὶς μὲν θεῶν, ξυνιεὶς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XI

WITH these words, Demetrius led them to the CHAP.
villa in which Cicero lived of old, and it is close by the ^{XI}
city. There they sat down under a plane tree where
the grasshoppers were chirping to the soft music
of the summer's breeze, when Demetrius glancing
up at them, remarked : "O ye blessed insects and
unfeignedly wise, it would seem then that the Muses
have taught you a song which is neither actionable,
nor likely to be informed against ; and they made
you superior to all wants of the belly, and settled
you far above all human envy to live in these trees,
on which you sit and sing in your blessedness about
your own and the Muses' prerogative of happiness." Now Apollonius understood the drift of this apostrophe, but it jarred upon him as inconsistent with the strenuous professions of his friend, "It seems then," he said, "that, though you only wanted to sing the praises of the grasshoppers, you could not do it openly, but come cowering hither, as if there were a public law against anyone praising the grasshoppers." "I said what I did," he replied, "not by way of praising them, but of signifying that while ^{Domitian's} ^{persecution} ^{of} ^{philoso-}
they are left unmolested in their concert halls, ^{phers}
we are not allowed even to mutter; for wisdom has been rendered a penal offence. And whereas the indictment of Anytus and Meletus ran : Socrates commits wrong in corrupting youth and introducing a new religion, we are indicted in such terms as these : So and so commits wrong by being wise and just and gifted with understanding of the gods no less than of men, and with a wide

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP XI δὲ ἀνθρώπων, νόμων τε πέρι πολλὰ εἰδώς. σὺ δ', ὅσῳ περ ἡμῶν σοφώτατος, τοσούτῳ, σοφωτέρα κατηγορία ἐπὶ σὲ εῦρηται· βούλεται γάρ σε Δομετιανὸς μετέχειν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐφ' οὓς Νερούας τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ φεύγουσι." "φεύγουσι δ'," ἦ δ' ὁς, "ἐπὶ τῷ;" "ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ γε," ἔφη, "τῶν νῦν αἰτιῶν, ώς δοκεῖ τῷ διώκοντι· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ πηδῶντας ἥρηκέναι, σὲ δὲ ἐξορμῆσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς ταῦτα παῖδα, οἷμαι, τεμόντα." "μῶν," ἔφη, "ώς ὑπ' εὐνούχου ἡ ἀρχὴ καταλυθείη;" "οὐ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "συκοφαντούμεθα, φασὶ δ', ώς παῖδα θύσαις ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς, ἦν τὰ νεαρὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων φαίνει, πρόσκειται δὲ τῇ γραφῇ καὶ περὶ ἀμπεχόντης καὶ διαιτης καὶ τὸ ἔστιν ὑφ' ὧν προσκυνεῖσθαι σε. ταυτὶ γὰρ Τελεσίνου ἥκουνον ἄνδρὸς ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ ἐπιτηδείου." "ἔρμαιον," εἶπεν, "εἰ Τελεσίνῳ ἐντευξόμεθα, λέγεις γάρ που τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὃς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ἐν ὑπάτοις ἥρξεν." "ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "λέγω, ξυγγένοιο δ' ἀν αὐτῷ τίνα τρόπου; αἱ γάρ τυραννίδες ὑποπτότεραι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξίᾳ πάντας, ἦν ἐς κοινὸν ἵωσι λόγουν τοὺς ἐν οἴᾳ σὺ νῦν αἰτίᾳ, Τελεσίνος δὲ καὶ τῷ κηρύγματι ὑπεξῆλθεν, δικεκήρυκται νῦν ἐς φιλοσοφίαν πᾶσαν, ἀσπασάμενος μᾶλλον τὸ φεύγειν ώς φιλόσοφος ἢ τὸ ώς ὑπατος μένειν." "μὴ κιν-

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knowledge of the laws. And as for yourself, so CHAP.
far forth as you are cleverer and wiser than ^{XI} the rest of us, so much the more cleverly is the indictment against you drawn up: for Domitian intends to implicate you in the charges for which Nerva and his associates are banished." "But for what crime," said Apollonius, "are they banished?" "For what is reckoned by the persecutor to be the greatest of latter-day crimes. He says that he has caught these persons in the act of trying to usurp his throne, and accuses you of instigating their attempt by mutilating, I think, a boy." "What, as if it were by an eunuch that I want his empire overthrown?" "It is not that," he replied, "of which we are falsely accused; but they declare that you sacrificed a boy to divine the secrets of futurity which are to be learned from an inspection of youthful entrails; and in the indictment your dress and manner of life are also impugned, and the fact of your being an object of worship to some. This then is what I have heard from our Telesinus, no less your intimate than mine." "What luck," exclaimed Apollonius, "if we could meet Telesinus: for I suppose you mean the philosopher who held consular rank in the reign of Nero." "The same," he said, "but how are you to come across him? For despots are doubly suspicious of any man of rank, should they find him holding communication with people who lie under such an accusation as you do. And Telesinus, moreover, gave way quietly before the edict which has lately been issued against philosophers of every kind, because he preferred to be in exile as a philosopher, to remaining in Rome as a consul." "I would not have him run any risks

The charges
against
Apollonius

Telesinus
the Consul
friendly
to philoso-
phers

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. δυνευέτω,” εἶπεν, “ό ἀνὴρ ἐμοῦγε ἔνεκα, ικανῶς
^{XII} γὰρ ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας κινδυνεύει.

XII

CAP. “Αλλ’ ἐκεῖνό μοι εἰπέ, Δημήτριε, τί δοκῶ σοι
^{XII} λέγων ἡ τί πράττων εὐθήσεσθαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ
φόβον;” “μὴ παίξων,” ἔφη, “μηδέ, ἂ δέδιας,
φοβεῖσθαι λέγων, εἰ γὰρ φοβερὰ ἥγον ταῦτα,
κἄν φχου ἀποδρᾶς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον.”
“σὺ δ’ ἂν ἀπέδρας,” εἶπεν, “εἰ περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ
ἐκινδύνευες;” “οὐκ ἄν,” ἔφη, “μὰ τὴν Ἀθη-
νᾶν, εἴ τις ἐδίκαζε, τὸ δ’ ἄνευ δίκης καὶ δι μηδ’,
εἰ ἀπολογοίμην, ἀκροασόμενος ἡ ἀκροασόμενος
μέν, ἀποκτενῶν δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα. οὐκ ἄν
ἔμοιγ’ οὖν ξυνεχώρησας ἐλέσθαι ποτὲ ψυχρὸν
οὕτω καὶ ἀνδραποδώδη θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλο-
σοφίᾳ προσήκουτος· φιλοσοφίᾳ δέ, οἷμαι, προσ-
ήκει ἡ πόλιν ἐλευθεροῦντα ἀποθανεῖν ἡ γονεῦσι
τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τῇ
ἄλλῃ ξυγγενείᾳ ἀμύνοντα ἡ ὑπὲρ φίλων ἀγω-
νιζόμενον, οἱ ξυγγενείας αἵρετώτεροι σοφοῖς
ἀνδράσιν ἡ οἱ ἡμπολημένοι ἔξ ἔρωτος. τὸ δὲ μὴ
ἐπ’ ἀληθέσι κεκομψευμένοις δ’ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ
παρασχεῖν τῷ τυράννῳ σοφῷ δόξαι, πολλῷ βαρύ-
τερον ἡ εἴ τις, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα, μετέωρος
ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κινάμπτοιτο. σοὶ δὲ ἀγῶνος οἷμαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

on my account anyhow," said Apollonius, "for the CHAP.
risks he runs in behalf of philosophy are serious
enough. XI

XII

"BUT tell me this, Demetrius, what do you think CHAP.
I had better say or do in order to allay my own XII
fears?" "You had better not trifle," said the other,
"nor pretend to be afraid of what you do not dread;
for if you really thought these accusations dangerous,
you would have been away by now and evaded the
necessity of defending yourself from them." "And
would you run away," said Apollonius, "if you were
placed in the same danger as myself?" "I would not,"
he replied, "I swear by Athene, if there were some one
to judge me; but in fact there is no fair trial, and if I
did offer a defence, no one would even listen to me; or
if I were listened to, I should be slain all the more
certainly because I was known to be innocent. You
would not, I suppose, care to see me choose so cold-
blooded and slavish a death as that, rather than one
which befits a philosopher. And I imagine it behoves
a philosopher to die in the attempt either to liberate
his city or to protect his parents and children and
brothers and other kinsfolk, or to die struggling for
his friends, who in the eyes of the wise are more
precious than mere kinsfolk or for favourites that
have been purchased by love. But to be put to death
not for true reasons, but for fancy ones, and to furnish
the tyrant with a pretext for being considered wise, is
much worse and more grievous than to be bowed and
bent high in the sky on a wheel, as they say Ixion
was. But it seems to me the very fact of your coming

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XII ἥρξειν αὐτὸ τὸ ἥκειν ἐνταῦθα, σὺ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τῆς γνώμης ὑγιαιίνοντι προστίθης τοῦτο καὶ τῷ μὴ ἀν θαρρῆσαι τὴν δεῦρο ὁδόν, εἴ τι ἥδικεις, Δομετιανῷ δὲ οὐ δόξεις, ἀλλ’ ἀπόρρητόν τινα ἴσχὺν ἔχων θρασέως ἐρρώσθαι. τὸ γὰρ καλοῦντος μέν, οὕπω δ’ ἡμέραι δέκα, ὡς φασι, σὲ δ’ ἀφίχθαι πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν οὐδὲ ἀκηκοότα πω, ὡς κριθήσῃ, νοῦν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ δώσει, προγιγνώσκων γὰρ ἀν φαίνοιο καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἴσχύσει. καὶ ὅρα, μὴ τὰ περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ διειλέχθαι σέ φασιν, ἐπὶ σὲ ἥκῃ, καὶ βουλομένης τι τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἄτοπον, σὺ δ’ ἡναγκασμένος χωρῆς ἐπ’ αὐτό, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὡς σοφώτερον ἀεὶ τὸ φυλάττεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκλέλησαι τῶν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, οἰσθά που τούμὸν καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἀνελεύθερος ἔγω πρὸς θάνατον. ἀλλ’ εἰχέ τι ῥᾳστώνης ἐκεῖνα· Νέρωνα γὰρ ἡ κιθάρα τοῦ μὲν προσφόρου βασιλείᾳ σχήματος ἐδόκει ἐκκρούειν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἥρμοττεν, ἥγε γάρ τινας πολλάκις δι’ αὐτὴν ἐκεχειρίας, καὶ ἀπέίχετο τῶν φόνων· ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε καίτοι τὸ ξίφος ἐπ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἔλκοντα διὰ τοὺς σούς τε κάμοῦ λόγους, οὓς ἐπὶ τῷ βαλανείῳ διῆλθον, αἴτιον δ’ ἦν τοῦ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ τὴν εὐφωνίαν αὐτῷ ἐπιδοῦναι τότε καὶ τό, ὡς φέτο, μελῳδίας λαμπρᾶς ἄψασθαι. νυνὶ δὲ τίνι μὲν εὐφωνίᾳ, τίνι δὲ κιθάρᾳ θύσομεν;

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here will be the beginning of your trial ; for though CHAP.
you may attribute your journey hither to your quiet XII
conscience, and to the fact that you would have never
ventured upon it if you were guilty, Domitian will
credit you with nothing of the kind ; but will merely
believe that you ventured on so hardy a course
because you possess some mysterious power. For think,
ten days, they say, have not elapsed since you were
cited to appear, and you turn up at the court, without
even having heard as yet that you were to undergo a
trial. Will not that be tantamount to justifying the
accusation, for everyone will think that you foreknew
the event, and the story about the boy will gain
credit therefrom ? And take care that the discourse
which they say you delivered about the Fates and
Necessity in Ionia does not come true of yourself ;
and that, in case destiny has some cruelty in store,
you are not marching straight to meet it with your
hands tied, just because you won't see that discre-
tion is the better part of valour. And if you have not
forgotten the affairs of Nero's reign, you will remember
my own case, and that I showed no coward's dread
of death. But then one gained some respite : for
although Nero's harp was ill attuned to the dignity
that befits a king, and clashed therewith, yet in other
ways its music harmonised his mood not unpleasantly
with ours, for he was often induced thereby to grant
a truce to his victims, and stay his murderous hand.
At any rate he did not slay me, although I attracted
his sword to myself as much by your discourses as by
my own, which were delivered against the bath ; and
the reason why he did not slay me was that just then
his voice improved, and he achieved, as he thought,
a very brilliant melody. But where's the royal

Demetrius
predicts
danger for
Apollonius
and exhorts
him to flee

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XII. ἅμουσα γὰρ καὶ μεστὰ χολῆς πάντα, καὶ οὕτ’ ἀν
ύφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ὅδε οὕτ’ ἀν ύφ’ ἐτέρων θελχθείη.
καίτοι Πίνδαρος ἐπαινῶν τὴν λύραν φησίν, ὡς καὶ
τὸν τοῦ Ἀρεος θυμὸν θέλγει καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν
ἴσχει αὐτόν, οὗτοσὶ δέ, καίτοι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν
καταστησάμενος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ στεφανῶν δημοσίᾳ
τοὺς νικῶντας, ἔστιν οὖς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν,
ὅστατά φασι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν αὐλήσαντάς τε
καὶ ἄσαντας. βουλευτέα δέ σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν, προσαπολεῖς γὰρ κάκείνους ἡ θρασὺς
δόξας ἡ εἰπών, ἢ μὴ πείσεις. ἡ σωτηρία δέ σοι
παρὰ πόδα τῶν γὰρ νεῶν τούτων, πολλαὶ δ’, ὡς
ὅρᾶς, εἰσίν, αἱ μὲν ἐς Λιβύην ἀφήσουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς
Αἴγυπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον, αἱ δὲ
εὐθὺς Σαρδοῦς, αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ Σαρδώ μᾶς ἐπιβάντι
σοι κομίζεσθαι κράτιστον ἐς διτρὶς τῶν ἐθνῶν
τούτων, αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ἡττον χαλεπαὶ τοῖς
φανεροῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἣν ἐπαινοῦντας αἰσθῶνται
τὸ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ ζῆν.”

XIIJ

CAP. XIII. ‘Ηττηθεὶς δὲ ὁ Δάμις τῶν τοῦ Δημητρίου λόγων,
“ἀλλὰ σύ γε,” ἔφη, “φίλος ἀνδρὶ παρὼν γένοιο
ἀν ἀγαθόν τι τούτῳ μέγα, ἐμοῦ γὰρ σμικρὸς λόγος,
εἰ ξυμβουλεύοιμι αὐτῷ μὴ κυβιστᾶν ἐς ὀρθὰ ξίφη,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

nightingale, and where the harp to which we can CHAP.
to-day make our peace offerings? For the outlook XII
of to-day is unredeemed by music, and full of spleen,
and this tyrant is as little likely to be charmed by him-
self, as by other people. It is true that Pindar says
in praise of the lyre, that it charms the savage breast
of Ares, and stays his hand from war; but this ruler,
although he has established a musical contest in Rome,
and offers a public crown for those who win therein,
nevertheless slew several of the people who, so I hear,
piped and sang in his last musical contest. And you
should also consider our friends and their safety, for
you will certainly ruin them as well as yourself, if you
make a show of being brave, or use arguments which
will not be listened to. But your life lies within
your reach; for here are ships, you see how many
there are, some about to sail for Libya, others for
Egypt, others for Phoenicia and Cyprus, others direct
to Sardinia, others still for places beyond Sardinia.
It were best for you to embark on one of these, and
betake yourself to one or another of these provinces;
for the hand of tyranny is less heavy upon dis-
tinguished men, if it perceives that they only desire
to live quietly and not put themselves forward."

XIII

DAMIS was so impressed by the arguments of CHAP.
Demetrius that he exclaimed: "Well, you anyhow XIII
are a friend and by your presence you can do a very great service to my master here. As for me, I am of little account, and if I advised him not to throw somersaults upon naked swords, nor expose himself to
The apprehensions of Damis

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. μηδ' ἀναρριπτεῖν πρὸς τυραννίδα, ἃς οὐ χαλεπω-
XIII τέρα ἐνομίσθη. τῆς γοῦν ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐνταῦθα, εἰ μή
σοι ξυνέτυχον, οὐδὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐγίγνωσκον, ἔπομαι
μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ θâττον ἡ ἑαυτῷ τις, εἰ δὲ ἔροιό με,
ποῖ πλέω ἡ ἐφ' ὅ τι, καταγέλαστος ἐγὼ τοῦ πλοῦ
Σικελικὰ μὲν πελάγη καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς κόλπους ἀνα-
μετρῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς δέ, ὑπὲρ ὅτου. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ
προρρήσεως ἐκινδύνευον, εἶχον ἀν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρω-
τῶντας λέγειν, ώς Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν θανάτου ἐρᾶ,
ἐγὼ δ' ἀντεραστὴς ξυμπλέω. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν οἴδα,
ἔμὸν ἥδη λέγειν, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἴδα, λέξω δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ
τοῦ ἀνδρός· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι, οὕπω δεινὰ
φιλοσοφία πείσεται, σκευοφόρῳ γὰρ εἴκασμαι
στρατιώτου γενναίου, λόγου ἀξιούμενος, ὅτι τοιῷδε
ἔπομαι, εἰ δὲ ἔσται τις, ὃς ἀποκτενεῖ τοῦτον,
εὗποροι δ' αἱ τυραννίδες τὰ μὲν ξυνθεῖναι, τὰ δὲ
ἔξαραι, τρόπαιον μὲν οἷμαι κατὰ φιλοσοφίας
ἔστήξει σφαλείσης περὶ τῷ ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων
φιλοσοφήσαντι, πολλοὶ δὲ Ἀνυτοι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ
Μέλητοι, γραφαὶ δ' αἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, αἱ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ¹⁷⁶
τοὺς Ἀπολλωνίψ ξυγγενομένους, ώς ὁ μέν τις
ἐγέλασε καθαπτομένου τῆς τυραννίδος, ὁ δὲ ἐπέρ-
ρωσε λέγοντα, ὁ δὲ ἐνέδωκε λέξαι τι, ὁ δὲ ἀπῆλθε

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

risks with tyrants, than whom none were ever yet CHAP.
deemed harsher, he would not listen to me. As a XIII
matter of fact I should never have known, if I had
not met you, what he meant by his journey hither;
for I follow him more readily, more blindly, than
another man would follow himself; and if you asked
me where I am bound or for what, I should merely
excite your laughter by telling you that I was
traversing the seas of Sicily and the bays of Etruria,
without knowing in the least why I took ship. And
if only I were courting these dangers after I had
received open warning, I could then say to those who
asked me the question, that Apollonius was court-
ing death, and that I was accompanying him on
board ship because I was his rival in his passion.
But as I know nothing of this matter, it's time for
me to speak of what I do know; and I will say it
in the interests of my master. For if I were put to
death, it would not do much harm to philosophy,
for I am like the esquire of some distinguished
soldier, and am only entitled to consideration
because I am of his suite. But if someone is going
to be set on to slay him, and tyrants find it easy to
contrive plots and to remove obstacles from their
path, then I think a regular trophy will have been
raised over the defeat of philosophy in the person of the
noblest of her human representatives; and as there are
many people lurking in our path, such as were Anytus
and Meletus, writs of information will be scattered
from all quarters at once against the companions of
Apollonius; one will be accused of having laughed
when his master attacked tyranny, another of having encouraged
him to talk, a third of having suggested
to him a topic to talk about, a fourth of having left

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIII ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ὡν ἥκουσεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀποθνήσκειν μὲν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας οὗτω φημὶ δεῖν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ τειχῶν καὶ τάφων, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας γὰρ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν ἥσπάζοντο, ὡς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι φιλοσοφίαν μήτε ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι μήτε ὅστις ἐκείνης τε καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐρᾶ.

XIV

CAP. XIV Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “Δάμιδι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων εὐλαβῶς διειλεγμένῳ ξυγγνώμην,” ἔφη, “προσήκει ἔχειν, Ἀσσύριος γὰρ ὧν καὶ Μήδοις προσοικήσας, οὐ τὰς τυραννίδας προσκυνοῦσιν, οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐνθυμεῖται μέγα, σὺ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἀπολογήσῃ, φόβους ὑποτιθείς, ὡν, εἴ τι καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐφαίνετο, ἀπάγειν ἔχρην μᾶλλον ἡ ἔσω καθιστάναι τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν μηδὲ παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν δεδιότα. σοφὸς δ' ἀνὴρ ἀποθνήσκετω μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰπας, ἀποθάνοι δ' ἂν τις ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ μὴ σοφός, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν νόμῳ προστέτακται, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ ξυγγενείας ἡ φίλων ἡ παιδικῶν φύσις ὕρισε. δουλοῦται δὲ ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους φύσις καὶ νόμος, φύσις μὲν καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

his lecture-room with praise on his lips for what he CHAP.
had heard. I admit that one ought to die in the XIII
cause of philosophy in the sense of dying for one's temples, one's own walls, and one's sepulchres ; for there are many famous heroes who have embraced death in order to save and protect such interests as those ; but I pray that neither I myself may die in order to bring about the ruin of philosophy, and that no one else either may die for such an object who loves philosophy and loves Apollonius."

XIV

APOLLONIUS answered thus : " We must make CHAP.
allowance for the very timid remarks which Damis XIV
has made about the situation ; for he is a Syrian and lives on the border of Media, where tyrants are worshipped, and where no one entertains a lofty ideal of freedom ; but as for yourself, I do not see how you can defend yourself at the bar of philosophy from the charge of trumping up fears, from which, even if there were really any reason for them, you ought to try to wean him ; instead of doing so you try to plunge into terror a man who is only too inclined to tremble at imaginary dangers. I would indeed have a wise man sacrifice his life for the objects you have mentioned, but any man without being wise would equally die for them ; for it is an obligation of law that we should die in behalf of our freedom, and an injunction of nature that we should die in behalf of our kinsfolk or of our friends or darlings. Now all men are the slaves of nature and of law ; the willing slaves of nature, as the unwilling

Apollonius
expostu-
lates with
Demetrius
for his
cowardice

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. έκόντας, νύμος δὲ ἄκοντας· σοφοῖς δὲ οἰκειότερον
XIV τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ ὡν ἐπετήδευσαν· ἂν γὰρ μὴ νόμου
ἐπιτάξαντος, μηδὲ φύσεως ξυντεκούσης, αὐτὸν ὑπὸ¹
ρώμης τε καὶ θράσους ἐμελέτησαν, ὑπὲρ τούτων,
εἰς καταλύοι τις αὐτά, ἵτω μὲν πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν σοφόν,
ἵτω δὲ πέλεκυς, ως νικήσει αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τούτων,
οὐδὲ ἐστιοῦν περιελάψευδος, καθέξει δέ, ὅπόσα
οἶδε, μεῖνον οὐδὲν ἥτις ἐμνήθη. ἐγὼ δὲ γιγνώσκω μὲν
πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων, ἃτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἴδα δὲ ὡν
οἴδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίοις, τὰ δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ
ἐμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς, τυράννοις δὲ οὐδέν. ως δὲ
οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀνοήτων ἥκω, σκοπεῦν ἔξεστιν· ἐγὼ γὰρ
περὶ μὲν τῷ ἐμαυτοῦ σώματι κινδυνεύω οὐδέν, οὐδὲ
ἀποθάνοιμ' ἀν ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐδὲ εἰς αὐτὸς
βουλοίμην, ξυνίημι δὲ κινδυνεύων περὶ τοῖς
ἀνδράσιν, ὡν εἴτε ἀρχὴν εἴτε προσθήκην ποιεῖται
με ὁ τύραννος, εἰμὶ πᾶν δὲ τι βούλεται. εἰ δὲ
προύδιδουν σφᾶς ἥτις βραδύνων ἥτις βλακεύων πρὸς
τὴν αἰτίαν, τίς ἀν τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἔδοξα; τίς δὲ
οὐκ ἀν ἀπέκτεινέ με εἰκότως, ως παίζοντα ἐστι
ἄνδρας, οἰς, ἂν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἥτουν, ἀνετέθη; δὲ
δὲ οὐκ ἥν μοι διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ οὐ προδότης δόξαι,
δηλῶσαι βούλομαι.

Τυραννίδων ἥθη διττά, αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκρίτους
ἀποκτείνουσιν, αἱ δὲ ὑπαχθέντας δικαστηρίοις,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

ones of law. But it is the duty of the wise in a still higher degree to lay down their lives for tenets they have embraced. Here are interests which neither law has laid upon us, nor nature planted in us from birth, but to which we have devoted ourselves out of mere strength of character and courage. In behalf therefore of these, should anyone try to violate them, let the wise man pass through fire, let him bare his neck to the axe, for he will not be overcome by any such threats, nor driven to any sort of subterfuge; but he will cleave to all he knows as firmly as if it were a religion in which he had been initiated. As for myself, I am acquainted with more than other human beings, for I know all things, and what I know, I know partly for good men, partly for wise ones, partly for myself, partly for the gods, but for tyrants nothing. But that I am not come on any fool's errand, you can see if you will; for I run no risk of my life myself, nor shall I die at the hands of a despot, however much I might wish to do so; but I am aware that I am running a risk in connection with persons of whom the tyrant may accuse me of being either the leader or the accomplice; let me be whatever he likes, I am content. But if I were to betray them by holding back or by cowardly refusal to face the accusation, what would good men think of me? Who would not justly slay me, for playing with the lives of men to whom was entrusted everything I had besought of heaven? And I would like to point out to you, that I could not possibly escape the reputation of being a traitor.

“ For there are two kinds of tyrants ; the one kind put their victims to death without trial, the other after they have been brought before a court of law.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. έοίκασι δ' αἱ μὲν τοῖς θερμοῖς τε καὶ ἔτοίμοις
XIV τῶν θηρίων, αἱ δὲ τοῖς μαλακωτέροις τε καὶ λη-
θάργοις. ως μὲν δὴ χαλεπαλ ἄμφω, δῆλον πᾶσι
παράδειγμα ποιουμένοις τῆς μὲν ὄρμώσης καὶ
ἀκρίτου Νέρωνα, τῆς δὲ ὑποκαθημένης Τιβέ-
ριον, ἀπώλλυσαν γὰρ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲ οἰηθέντας, ὁ
δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ δείσαντας. ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι χαλεπω-
τέρας τὰς δικάζειν προσποιουμένας καὶ ψηφίζε-
σθαί τι ως ἐκ τῶν νόμων, πράττουσι μὲν γὰρ κατ'
αὐτοὺς οὐδέν, ψηφίζονται δ', ἀπερ οἱ μηδὲν κρί-
ναντες, δινομα τῷ διατρίβοντι τῆς ὄργῆς θέμενοι
νόμον, τὸ δ' ἀποθυήσκειν κατεψηφισμένους ἀφαι-
ρεῖται τοὺς ἀθλίους καὶ τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν
ἔλεον, ὃν ὥσπερ ἐντάφιον χρὴ ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς
ἀδίκως ἀπελθοῦσι. δικαστικὸν μὲν δὴ τὸ τῆς
τυραννίδος ταύτης ὄρῳ σχῆμα, τελευτᾶν δέ μοι
δοκεῖ ἐς ἄκριτον, ὃν γὰρ πρὶν ἡ δικάσαι κατεψη-
φίσατο, τούτους ως μήπω δεδικασμένους ὑπάγει τῇ
κρίσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ψήφῳ ἀλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ δῆλον ως
ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ νόμους κρίναντος ἀπολωλέναι
φησίν, ὁ δὲ ἐκλιπὼν τὸ δικάσασθαι πῶς ἀν
διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐψηφίσθαι; τὸ δὲ
καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν κειμένων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἀπο-
δρᾶναι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ τε κάκείνων ἀγῶνα, ποῖ με τῆς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

The former kind resemble the more passionate and prompt of wild beasts, the other kind resemble the gentler and more lethargic ones. That both kinds are cruel is clear to everybody who takes Nero as an example of the impetuous disposition which does not trouble about legal forms, Tiberius, on the other hand, of the tardy and sluggish nature ; for the former destroyed his victims before they had any suspicion of what was coming, and the other after he had tortured them with long drawn out terror. For myself I consider those the crueler who make a pretence of legal trial, and of getting a verdict pronounced in accordance with the law ; for in reality they set them at defiance, and bring in the same verdict as they would have done without any real trial, giving the name of law to that which merely ekes out their own spleen. The very fact of their being put to death in legal form does but deprive the wretches so condemned to death of that compassion on the part of the crowd, which should be tendered like a winding sheet to the victims of injustice. Well, I perceive that the present ruler cloaks his tyranny under legal forms. But it seems to me that he ends by condemning without trial ; for he really sentences men before they enter the court, and then brings them before it as if they had not yet been tried. Now one who is formally condemned by a verdict in court, can obviously say he perished owing to an illegal sentence, but how can he that evades his trial escape condemnation by his own conscience ? And supposing, now that the fate of such distinguished persons also rests on me, I do manage to run away from the crisis which equally impends over them and myself, what can save me no matter where I go on all the earth from the

XIV

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XIV γῆς ἔάσει καθαρὸν δόξαι; ἔστω γὰρ σὲ μὲν εἰρηκέναι ταῦτα, ἐμὲ δὲ ὡς ὁρθῶς εἰρημένοις πείθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσφάχθαι, τίς μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐπλοίας εὐχὴ τῷ τοιῷδε; ποῖ δὲ ὄρμιεῖται; πορεύσεται δὲ παρὰ τίνα; ἔξαλλάττειν γὰρ χρὴ οἷμαι πάσης, ὅπόσης Ῥωμαῖοι ἄρχουσι, παρ' ἄνδρας δὲ ἥκειν ἐπιτηδείους τε καὶ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ οἴκουντας, τουτὶ δ' ἀν Φραώτης τε εἴη καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ιάρχας ὁ θεῖος καὶ Θεσπεσίων ὁ γενναῖος. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Αἰθιόπων στελλοίμην, τί ἄν, ὡς λῷστε, πρὸς Θεσπεσίωνα εἴποιμ; εἴτε γὰρ κρύπτοιμ ταῦτα, ψευδολογίας ἐραστὴς δόξω, μᾶλλον δὲ δοῦλος, εἴτε ἐσ ἀπαγγελίαν αὐτῶν ἰοιμι, τοιῶνδέ που δεήσει·λόγων· ἐμέ, ὡς Θεσπεσίων, Εὐφράτης πρὸς ὑμᾶς διέβαλεν, ἂ μὴ ἐμαυτῷ ξύνοιδα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κομπαστὴν ἔφη καὶ τερατώδη με εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστὴν σοφίας, ὅπόση Ινδῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ ταυτὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰμί, προδότης δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φύλων καὶ σφαγεὺς καὶ οὐδὲν πιστὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά εἰμι, στέφανόν τε ἀρετῆς, εἴ τις, στέφανωσόμενος ἥκω τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην οἴκων οὔτως ἀνεῖλον, ὡς μηδὲ οἰκήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔτι. ἐρυθριᾶς, Δημήτριε, τούτων ἀκούων, ὁρῶ γάρ. τί οὖν, εἰ καὶ Φραώτην ἐνθυμηθείης κάμε παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐσ Ινδοὺς φεύγοντα, πῶς μὲν ἀν ἐσ αὐτὸν βλέψαιμι; τί δ' ἀν εἴποιμι ὑπὲρ ὧν φεύγω; μῶν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

brand of infamy? For let us suppose that you have delivered yourself of all these sentiments, and that I have admitted their correctness and acted on them, and that in consequence our friends have been murdered, what prayers could I offer in such a case for a favourable voyage? What haven could I cast anchor in? To whom could I set out on any voyage? For methinks I should have to steer clear of any land over which the Romans rule, and should have to seek men who are my friends and yet do not live in sight of the tyrant, and that would be Phraotes, and the Babylonian, and the divine Iarchas, and the noble Thespeson. Now supposing I set out for Ethiopia, what, my excellent friend, could I tell Thespeson? For if I concealed this episode, I should prove myself a lover of falsehood, nay worse, a slave; while if I frankly confessed all to him, I could only use such words as these: O Thespeson, Euphrates slandered me to you and accused me of things that are not on my conscience; for he said that I was a boaster and a miracle-monger, and one that violated wisdom, especially that of the Indians; but while I am none of these things, I am nevertheless a betrayer of my own friends, and their murderer, and utterly unreliable and so forth; and if there is any wreath for virtue, I come to wear it, because I have ruined the greatest of the Roman houses so utterly, that henceforth they are left desolate. You blush, Demetrius, to hear such words; I see that you do so. What, then, if you turn from Thespeson to Phraotes and imagine me fleeing to India to take refuge with such a man as he? How should I look him in the face? how should I explain the motive of my flight? Should I not have to say that when I visited

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ὡς ἀφικόμην μὲν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς πρότερον καὶ τὸν
XIV θάνατον τὸν ὑπὲρ φίλων οὐκ ἄθυμος, ἐπεὶ δὲ
ξυνεγενόμην αὐτῷ, τὸ θειότατον τουτὶ τῶν κατὰ
ἀνθρώπους ἄτιμον ἔρριψά σοι; ὁ δὲ Ἱάρχας οὐδὲ
ἔρήσεται οὐδὲν ἥκοντα, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ὁ Αἰολός ποτε
τὸν Ὀδυσσέα κακῶς χρησάμενον τῷ τῆς εὐπλοίας
δώρῳ ἄτιμον ἐκέλευσε χωρεῦν τῆς νήσου, κἀμὲ
δήπου ἀπελᾷ τοῦ δχθου, κακὸν εἰπὼν ἐς τὸ
Ταντάλειον γεγονέναι πῶμα, βούλονται γὰρ τὸν ἐς
αὐτὸ κύψαντα καὶ κινδύνων κοινωνεῖν τοῖς φίλοις.
οἶδα, ὡς δεινὸς εἴλι, Δημήτριε, λόγους ξυντεμεῖν
πάντας, ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ τοιοῦτό τι ἐρεῦν πρός
με· ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τούτους ἴθι, παρ’ ἄνδρας δέ, οἷς
μήπω ἐπέμιξας, καὶ εὖ κείσεται σοι τὸ ἀποδρᾶναι,
ῥάον γὰρ ἐν οὐκ εἰδόσι λήσῃ. βασανιζέσθω δὲ
καὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ὅπη τοῦ πιθανοῦ ἔχει· δοκεῖ γάρ
μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε· ἐγὼ ἡγούμαι τὸν σοφὸν
μηδὲν ἵδια μηδὲ ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν, μηδὲ ἀν
ἐνθυμηθῆναι τι οὕτως ἀμάρτυρον, ὡς μὴ αὐτὸν
γοῦν ἑαυτῷ παρεῖναι, καὶ εἴτε Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὸν
τὸ Πυθοῖ γράμμα, εἴτε ἀνδρὸς ὑγιῶς ἑαυτὸν γνόν-
τος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γνώμην αὐτὸ ποιουμένου ἐς πάν-
τας, δοκεῖ μοι ὁ σοφὸς ἑαυτὸν γιγνώσκων καὶ
παραστάτην ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν μήτ’ ἀν πτῆξαι
τι ὡν οἱ πολλοί, μήτ’ ἀν θαρσῆσαι τι ὡν ἔτεροι μὴ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

him before, I was a gentleman not too faint-hearted CHAP.
to lay down my life for my friends ; but that after XIV
enjoying his society, I had at your bidding thrown away
with scorn this divinest of human privileges. And as
for Iarchas, he surely would not ask me any question
at all when I arrived, but just as Aeolus once bade
Odysseus quit his island with ignominy, because he
had made a bad use of the gift of a good wind which
he had bestowed on him, so Iarchas, I imagine,
would drive me from his eminence, and tell me that
I had disgraced the draught I there had from the
cup of Tantalus. For they require a man who
stoops and drinks of that goblet, to share the
dangers of his friends. I know, Demetrius, how
clever you are at chopping logic, and this, I believe,
is why you will tender me some further advice, such
as this : But you must not resort to those you have
named, but to men with whom you have never had
anything to do, and then your flight will be alright ;
for you will find it easier to lie hidden among people
who do not know you. Well, let me examine this
argument too, and see whether there is anything in
it. For this is how I regard it : I consider that a
wise man does nothing in private nor by himself
alone ; I hold that not even his inmost thoughts can
be so devoid of witness, that he himself at least is not
present with himself ; and whether the Pythian
inscription was suggested by Apollo himself, or by
some man who had a healthy conscience, and was
therefore minded to publish it as an aphorism for all,
I hold that the sage who 'knows himself,' and has his
own conscience as his perpetual companion, will
never cower before things that scare the many, nor
venture upon courses which others would engage

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ξὺν αἰσχύνῃ ἅπτονται· δοῦλοι γὰρ τῶν τυραννίδων
XIV ὄντες καὶ προδοῦναι αὐταῖς ποτε τοὺς φιλτάτους
ῷρμησαν, τὰ μὲν μὴ φοβερὰ δείσαντες, ἀ δὲ χρὴ
δεῖσαι μὴ φοβηθέντες.

Σοφία δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ
Πυθικῷ ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου
ἐπαινεῖ, ξύνεσιν ἡγουμένου περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
εἶναι τὴν ἀπολλύσαν αὐτοὺς νόσον, ἐπειδὰν
ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ώς κακὰ εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. ἦδε
γάρ που καὶ τῷ Ὁρέστη τὰ τῶν Εὔμενίδων
εἴδη ἀνέγραφεν, ὅτε δὴ ἐμαίνετο ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί,
νοῦς μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρακτέων κύριος, σύνεσις δὲ
τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοξάντων. ἦν μὲν δὴ χρηστὰ ἔληται
ὅ νοῦς, πέμπει ἦδη τὸν ἄνδρα ἡ ξύνεσις ἐς πάντα
μὲν Ἱερά, πάσας δὲ ἀγυιάς, πάντα δὲ τεμένη,
πάντα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἥθη κροτοῦσά τε καὶ ἁδουσα,
ἔφυμνήσει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ καθεύδοντι, παριστᾶσα
χορὸν εὑφῆμον ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὄνείρων δήμου, ἦν δ' ἐς
φαῦλα δλίσθη ἡ τοῦ νοῦ στάσις, οὐκ ἐἷ τοῦτον ἡ
ξύνεσις οὕτε ὅμμα ὄρθδον ἐς ἀνθρώπων τινὰ ἀφεῖναι
οὕτε τὸ ἀπ' ἐλευθέρας γλώττης φθέγγμα, Ἱερῶν τε
ἀπελαύνει καὶ τοῦ εὔχεσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ χεῖρα αἱρειν
ξυγχωρεῖ ἐς τὰ ἀγύλματα, ἀλλ' ἐπικόπτει αἱρον-
τας, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐπανατεινομένους οἱ νόμοι,
ἔξιστησι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὄμιλου παντὸς καὶ δει-
ματοῦ καθεύδοντας, καὶ ἀ μὲν ὄρωσι μεθ' ἡμέραν
καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα ἀκούειν ἡ λέγειν οἴονται, ὄνειρώδη

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

upon without shame. For being the slaves of CHAP.
despots, they have been ready at times to betray XIV
to them even their dearest; because just as they
trembled at imaginary terrors, so they felt no fear
where they should have trembled.

“ But Wisdom allows of none of these things. For beside the Pythian epigram, she also praises Euripides Eurip. Or. 396 who regarded ‘ conscience in the case of human beings as a disease which works their ruin, whenever they realise that they have done wrong.’ For it was such conscience that brought up before Orestes and depicted in his imagination the shapes of the Eumenides, when he had gone mad with wrath against his mother; for whereas reason decides what should be done, conscience revises the resolutions taken by reason. If then reason chooses the better part, conscience forthwith escorts a man to all the temples, into all the by-streets, into all groves of the gods, and into all haunts of mankind, applauding him and singing his praises. She will even hymn his merits as he sleeps, and will weave around him a chorus of angels from the world of dreams; but if the determination of reason trip and fall into evil courses, conscience permits not the sinner to look others in the face, nor to address them freely and boldly with his lips; and she drives him away from temples and from prayer. For she suffers him not even to uplift his hands in prayer to the images, but strikes them down as he lifts them, as the law strikes down those who rebel against it; and she drives such men from every social meeting, and terrifies them in their sleep; and while she turns into dreams and windy forms all that they see by day, and any things they think they hear or say, she lends to their empty

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. καὶ ἀνεμιαῖα ποιεῖ τούτοις, τὰς δὲ ἀμυδρὰς καὶ
XIV φαντασιώδεις πτοίας ἀληθεῖς ἥδη καὶ πιθανὰς τῷ
φόβῳ. ὡς μὲν δὴ ἐλέγξει με ἡ σύνεσις ἐς εἰδότας
τε καὶ μὴ εἰδότας ἥκουντα, προδότης εἰ γενοίμην
τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδεῖχθαί μοι σαφῶς οἴμαι καὶ ὡς
φαίνει ἀλήθεια, προδώσω δὲ οὐδὲ ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλ’
ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, τὸ τοῦ γενναίου
‘Ομῆρον ἐπειπών· ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος.’”

XV

CAP. ‘Τπὸ τούτων ὁ Δαμίς τῶν λόγων αὐτὸς μὲν
XV οὗτος διατεθῆναι φησιν, ὡς ὅρμήν τε ἀναλαβεῖν
καὶ θάρσος, τὸν Δημήτριον δὲ μὴ ἀπωγυῶνται τοῦ
ἀνδρός, ἀλλ’ ἐπαινέσαντα καὶ ξυνθέμενον οὶς εἰπεν
ἐπιθειάσαι οἱ ὑπὲρ οὐ κινδυνεύει καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ
αὐτῇ, ὑπὲρ ἡς καρτερεῖ ταῦτα, ἡγεῖσθαι τε αὐτοῖς
οὐ καταλύων ἐτύγχανε, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον
παραιτούμενον τοῦτο, “δείλη ἥδη,” φάναι, “καὶ
χρὴ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα
ἀφεῖναι, τουτὶ γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις νόμιμον,
ξυσσιτήσομεν δέ, ἐπειδὰν εὖ τάμα ἔχῃ, νυνὶ γὰρ
ἄν καὶ κατασκευασθείη τις αἰτία ἐπὶ σὲ ὡς ξυσ-
σιτήσαντα τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχθρῷ, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν
ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἴθι, μὴ καὶ τὸ λόγου
κεκοινωνηκέναι μοι διαβάλῃ σε ἐς ἀπορρήτους
βουλάς.” ξυνεχώρησε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ
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and fantastic flutterings of heart truth and substantial reality of well-founded terror. I think then that I have clearly shown you, and that truth itself will convince you, that my conscience will convict me wherever I go, whether to people that know me, or to people that do not, supposing I were to betray my friends; but I will not betray even myself, but I will boldly wrestle with the tyrant, hailing him with the words of the noble Homer: Mars is as much my friend as thine." Iliad 18. 802

XV

DAMIS was so impressed by this address, he tells us, that he took fresh resolution and courage, and Demetrius no longer despaired of Apollonius, but rather praising and agreeing with his appeal, wished godspeed to him in his perilous enterprise and to his mistress Philosophy for whose sake he braved so much. And he led them, Damis says, to where he was lodging; but Apollonius declined and said: "It is now eventide, and about the time of the lighting up of the lamps and I must set out for the port of Rome, for this is the usual hour at which these ships sail. However we will dine together another time, when my affairs are on a better footing; for just now some charge would be trumped up against yourself of having dined with an enemy of the Emperor. Nor must you come down to the harbour with us, lest you should be accused, merely for having conversed with me, of harbouring criminal designs." Demetrius accordingly consented, and after embracing them he quitted them,

XV
Damis is re-assured and departs for Rome with Apollonius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. περιβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπήγει, μεταστρεφόμενός τε καὶ
XV τὰ δάκρυα ἀποψῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἵδων ἐς τὸν
Δάμιν, “εἰ μὲν ἔρρωσαι,” ἔφη, “καὶ θαρσεῖς ἅπερ
ἐγώ, βαδίσωμεν ἄμφω ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, εἰ δὲ ἀθύμως
ἔχεις, ὡρα σοι καταμένειν ἐνταῦθα, Δημητρίφ γὰρ
ξυνέσῃ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀνδρὶ σοί τε κάμοὶ¹
ἐπιτηδείῳ.” ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Δάμις, “καὶ τίνα,”
ἔφη, “νομιῷ ἐμαυτόν, εἰ τοιαῦτά σου διειλεγμένου
σήμερον ὑπὲρ φίλων καὶ κοινωνίας κινδύνων, οἱ ἐπ’
αὐτοὺς ἥκουσιν, ἐγὼ δ’ ἀνήκοος τοῦ λόγου φεύ-
γοιμί σε καὶ ἀποκινδυνεύοιμί σου, μήπω πρότερον
κακὸς ὑπὲρ σοῦ δόξας;” “ὅρθῶς,” ἔφη, “λέγεις
καὶ ἰωμεν, ἐγὼ μέν, ὡς ἔχω, σὲ δὲ χρὴ μετα-
σκευάζειν σαυτὸν ἐς τὸ δημοτικώτερον καὶ μήτε
κομᾶν, ὡς γοῦν ἔχεις, τρίβωνά τε ἀνταλλάττεσθαι
τουτοὺν τοῦ λίνου καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα παραιτεῖσθαι
τοῦτο· τί δὲ βούλεται μοι τὰῦτα, χρὴ διαλε-
χθῆναι. λῶν γὰρ καὶ πλείω καρτερῆσαι πρὸ
τῆς δίκης· οὐ δὴ βούλομαι κοινωνῆσαι σέ μοι
τούτων ξυλληφθέντα, ξυλληφθείης γὰρ ἀν δια-
βεβλημένου τοῦ σχῆματος, ἀλλ’ ὡς μὴ φιλοσο-
φοῦντα μέν, ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ἄλλως ὅντα μοι ξυνέ-
πεσθαί τε καὶ παρατυγχάνειν οἷς πράττω.” αἵτια
μὲν ἥδε τοῦ μεταβάλειν τὸν Δάμιν τὸ τῶν Πυθα-
γορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ ὡς κακίων γε αὐτὸ μεθεῖναί

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

though he often turned back to look towards them CHAP.
and wiped tears from his eyes. But Apollonius XV
looked at Damis and said : " If you are firmly
resolved, and are as courageous as myself, let us
both embark upon the ship ; but if you are dis-
pirited, it is better for you to remain here, for you
can live with Demetrius during the interval, since
he is as much your friend as mine." But Damis
took him up and said : " What could I think of
myself, if after you have so nobly discoursed to-day
about the duty of sharing the dangers of one's
friends, when they fall upon them, I let your
words fall on deaf ears, and abandoned you in
the hour of danger, and this although until now I
have never shewn cowardice where you were con-
cerned ? " " You speak rightly," said Apollonius,
" so let us depart ; I will go as I am, but you must
needs disguise yourself as a man of the people, nor
must you wear your hair long as you do now, and
you must exchange your philosopher's cloak for
this linen garment, and you must put away the
shoes you wear. But I must tell you what my
intention is in this ; for it were best to hold
out as long as we can before the trial : then I
do not wish that you should be a sharer of my
fate through being detected by your dress, which
will certainly betray you and lead to your arrest ;
but I would rather that you followed me in the
guise of one not sworn to my philosophy, but
just attached to me for other reasons, and so ac-
companying me in all I do." This is the reason
why Damis put off his Pythagorean garb ; for
he says he did not do it through cowardice, nor
through any regret at having worn it, but merely

Damis doffs
his philoso-
pher's garb

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. φησιν, οὐδὲ μεταγνούσ, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἦν
XV ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ.

XVI

CAP. 'Αποπλεύσαντες δὲ τῆς Δικαιαρχίας τριταῖοι
XVI κατήραν ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Θύμβριδος, ἀφ' ὧν
ξύμμετρος ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἀνάπλους. τὸ μὲν δὴ
βασίλειον ξίφος ἦν ἐπ' Αἰλιανῷ τότε. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ
οὗτος πάλαι τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου ἦρα, ξυγγεγονώς
ποτε αὐτῷ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ φανερὸν μὲν οὐδὲν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δομετιανὸν ἔλεγεν, οὐ γὰρ
ξυνεχώρει ἡ ἀρχή, τὸν γὰρ δοκοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ
ἀπηχθῆσθαι πῶς μὲν ἀν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπήνεσε, πῶς
δ' ἀν ὡς ἐπιτήδειον ἔαυτῷ παρηγήσατο; τέχναι
μὴν ὄπόσαι εἰσὶν ἀφανῶς ἀμύνουσαι, πάσαις ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ ἔχρητο, ὃς γε καὶ τὸν χρόνον, δι, πρὶν ἥκειν,
διεβάλλετο, "ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "κουφολόγον οἱ
σοφισταὶ χρῆμα καὶ ἀλαζὼν ἡ τέχνη, καὶ ἐπεὶ
μηδὲν χρηστὸν τοῦ εἶναι ἀπολαύουσι, θανάτου
γλίχονται, καὶ οὐ περιμένουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτό-
ματον, ἀλλ' ἐπισπῶνται τὸν θάνατον ἐκκαλού-
μενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας ξίφη. ταῦθ' ἡγοῦμαι καὶ
Νέρωνα ἐνθυμηθέντα μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Δημη-
τρίου ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ γὰρ θανατῶντα
ἥσθετο, οὐ κατὰ ξυγγνώμην ἐπαινῆκεν αὐτῷ τὸν
θάνατον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ κτεῖναι. καὶ

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because he approved of a device to which he accommodated himself to suit the expedience of the moment.

CHAP.
XV.

XVI

THEY sailed from Dikaearchia, and on the third day they put in to the mouth of the Tiber from which it is a fairly short sail up to Rome. Now the Emperor's sword was at time in the keeping of Aelian, a person who long ago had been attached to Apollonius, because he once met him in Egypt. And although he said nothing openly in his favour to Domitian, for that his office did not allow of his doing,—for how could he have praised to his sovereign's face one who was supposed to be an object of his detestation any more than he could intercede in his behalf as for a friend of his own?— Nevertheless whatever means there were of helping him in an unobtrusive way, he resorted to in his behalf; and accordingly at the time when, before he arrived, Apollonius was being calumniated to Domitian, he would say: “My sovereign, sophists are all prattle and flippancy; and their art is all for show, and they are so eager to die because they get no good out of life; and therefore they don't wait for death to come of itself, but try to anticipate and draw it on themselves by provoking those who hold the sword. This I think was the reason which weighed with Nero and prevented his being drawn on by Demetrius into slaying him. For as he saw that he was anxious for death, he let him off not because he wished to pardon him, but because he disdained to put him to death.”

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FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. μὴν καὶ Μουσώνιον τὸν Τυρρηνὸν πολλὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ
XVI ἐναντιωθέντα τῇ νήσῳ ξυνέσχεν, ἥ δνομα Γύαρα,
καὶ οὕτω τι τῶν σοφιστῶν τούτων ἡττους "Ελ-
ληνες, ώς τότε μὲν κατὰ ξυνουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσπλεῖν
πάντας, νυνὶ δὲ κατὰ ἴστορίαν τῆς κρήνης· ἐν γὰρ
τῇ νήσῳ ἀνύδρῳ οὗσῃ πρότερον εὔρημα Μου-
σώνιον κρήνη ἐγένετο, ἦν ἄδουσιν "Ελληνες, δσα
'Ελικῶνι τὴν τοῦ ἵππου."

XVII

CAP. Τούτοις μὲν δὴ διῆγεν ὁ Αἰλιανὸς τὸν βασιλέα,
XVII πρὶν ἥκειν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἀφικομένου δὲ σοφω-
τέρων ἥπτετο, κελεύει μὲν γὰρ ξυλληφθέντα αὐτὸν
ἀναχθῆναι οἱ, λοιδορουμένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ τὴν
κατηγορίαν ξυνθέντος, ώς γόντι καὶ ίκανῷ τὴν
τέχνην, ὁ μὲν Αἰλιανός, "τῷ βασιλείῳ δικασ-
τηρίῳ," ἔφη, "σαυτόν τε καὶ τὰ τούτου φύλαττε,"
ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εὶ μὲν γόνης," ἔφη, "ἐγώ, πῶς
κρίνομαι; εἰ δὲ κρίνομαι, πῶς γόνης εἰμί; εἰ μὴ
ἄρα τὸ συκοφαντεῖν ἴσχυρὸν οὕτως εἰναί φησιν,
ώς μηδὲ τῶν γοητευόντων ἡττᾶσθαι αὐτό." Βου-
λομένου δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου λέγειν τι ἀμαθέστερον,
ἐκκρούων αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰλιανός, "έμοί," εἶπεν, "ἄφες
τὸν καιρὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ἔλεγχον γὰρ ποιή-
σομαι τῆς τοῦ σοφιστοῦ γνώμης ἴδιᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν
ύμῖν, καν μὲν ὄμολογῇ ἀδικεῖν, ξυντετμήσονται οἱ
ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λόγοι καὶ σὺ ἄπει εἰρηνικῶς, εἰ
δὲ ἀντιλέγει, δικάσει ὁ βασιλεύς." παρελθὼν οὖν
ἐις τὸ ἀπόρρητον δικαστήριον, ἐν φ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

Moreover in the case of Musonius the Tyrrhenian, CHAP.
who opposed his rule in many ways, he only kept
^{XVI} him in the island called Gyara; and Hellenes are
so fond of these sophists, that at that time they
were all making voyages by ship to visit him, as
they now do to visit the spring; for until Musonius
went there, there was no water in the island, but he
discovered a spring, which the Greeks celebrate
as loudly as they do the horse's spring at Helicon."

XVII

IN this way Aelian tried to put off the king until CHAP.
Apollonius arrived, and then he began to use more
^{XVII} address; for he ordered Apollonius to be arrested
and brought into his presence. And when the
counsel for the prosecution began to abuse him as a
wizard and an adept at magic, Aelian remarked,
"Keep yourself and your charges against him for the
Royal Court." But Apollonius remarked: "If I am
a wizard, how is it I am brought to trial? And if I
am brought to trial, how can I be a wizard? Unless
indeed the power of slander is so great that even
wizards cannot get the better of it." Then when the
accuser was about to say something still more foolish,
Aelian cut him short and said: "Leave me the time
that will elapse until his trial begins; for I intend
to examine the sophist's character privately, and not
before yourselves; and if he admits his guilt, then
the pleadings in the court can be cut short, and you
can depart in peace, but if he denies his guilt, the
emperor will try him." He accordingly passed into
his secret court where the most important accusations

Aelian seeks
a secret
interview
with the
Sage

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVII ἐλέγχεται καὶ σιωπᾶται, “χωρεῦτε,” ἔφη, “ἐνθένδε καὶ μηδεὶς ἐπακροάσθω, δοκεῖ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο.”

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ως δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοί, “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, μειράκιον ἦν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὗτος ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἤλθε, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς θύσων, χρησόμενος δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σού, καὶ χιλίαρχον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦγεν ἥδη τῶν πολεμικῶν εἰδότα, σὺ δὲ οὕτω τί μοι ἐπιτηδείως εἶχες, ώς χρηματίζοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀπολαβών μὲν ἵδιᾳ, ποδαπός τε εἴην λέγειν καὶ ὅτι μοι τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ως ἔχω τοῦ πατρός, προῦλεγες δέ μοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, ἣ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς μεγίστη δοκεῖ καὶ μείζων ἡ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ ἀνθρώπων, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅχλος καὶ κακοδαιμονία φαίνεται· τυραννίδος γὰρ φύλαξ χαλεπῆς είμι, κανὸν μὲν σφήλω αὐτήν, δέδοικα τὰ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν. σοὶ δὲ ὅπως εὔνους είμι, δεδήλωκα, ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀφ' ὧν εἱρηκά που τὸ μηδὲν παύσασθαι σε ἀγαπῶν, ἔστ' ἀνὴρ τὸ ἐκείνων μεμνῆσθαι¹ * * τὸ δὲ ἵδιᾳ ἐθελῆσαι ἐρέσθαι σε, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατήγορος ξυντέθεικε, σόφισμα οὐ φαῦλον ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας ἐμοὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ γέγονεν, ὅπως θαρροίης μὲν τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ὄντα, προγνοίης δὲ

¹ There appears to be a lacuna in the text at this point.

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and causes were tried in strict privacy and said to the CHAP.
company : " Do you depart hence, and let no one XVII
remain to listen, for such is the will of the Emperor."

XVIII

AND when they were alone, he said : " I, O CHAP.
Apollonius, was a stripling at the time when the XVIII
father of the present sovereign came to Egypt to Aelian's
sacrifice to the gods, and to consult you about his address
own affairs. I was a tribune only then, but the Emperor took me with him because I was already versed in war; while you were so friendly with myself, that when the Emperor was receiving deputations from the cities, you took me aside and told me of what country I was and what was my name and parentage; and you foretold to me that I should hold this office which is accounted by the multitude the highest of all, and superior to all other human positions at once, although to myself it means much trouble and much unhappiness. For I am the sentinel of the harshest of tyrants, whom if I betray, I am afraid of the wrath of heaven. But I have shown you how friendly I am towards yourself, for in reminding you how our friendship began, I have surely made it clear to you that it can never cease, as long as we can remember those beginnings If I have said I would question you in private about the charges which your accuser has drawn up against you, it was only a good-natured pretext on my part for obtaining an interview with you, in order to assure you of my own good will, and to warn

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVIII τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ· ὅ τι μὲν γὰρ ψηφιεῖται ἐπὶ σοί, οὐκ οἶδα, διάκειται δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ καταψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐπ’ ἀληθέσι, καὶ πρόφασιν ἀπωλείας ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων ποιεῖται σε· Βούλεται μὲν γάρ, ἂ μὴ δεῖ, πράττει δ’ αὐτὰ καταρρυθμίζων ἐς τὴν τοῦ δικαίου δόξαν. δεῖ δὴ κάμοὶ πλάσματος καὶ ὄρμῆς ἐπὶ σέ, εἰ γὰρ ὑπόψεται με ώς ἀνιέντα, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπότερος ἡμῶν ἀπολεῖται θᾶττον.”

XIX

CAP. XIX Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἐπεὶ ὑγιῶς,” ἔφη, “διαλεγόμεθα, καὶ ὅπόσα καρδία ἵσχει σύ τε εἴρηκας ἐμοί τε εἰπεῖν δίκαιου, φιλοσοφεῖς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ πραγμάτων ώς οἱ σφόδρα μοι ξυνδιατρίψαντες, καί, νὴ Δία, οὕτω φιλανθρώπως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχεις, ώς ξυγκινδυνεύειν ἡγεῖσθαι μοι, λέξω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ νοῦν· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀποδρᾶναι μὲν ἦν ὑμᾶς ἐς πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς, ἂ μὴ ὑμῶν ἀκροάται, παρ’ ἄνδρας τε ἀφικέσθαι σοφοὺς καὶ σοφωτέρους ἡ ἐγώ, θεούς τε θεραπεύειν ξὺν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, βαδίσαντι ἐς ἥθη ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλεστέρων ἡ οἱ ἐνταῦθα, παρ’ οἷς οὔτε ἔνδειξις οὔτε γραφὴ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

you of the Emperor's designs. Now what his verdict ^{CHAP.} XVIII will be in your case I do not know ; but his temper is that of people who are anxious to condemn a person, but are ashamed to do so except upon some real evidence, and he wishes to make you an excuse for destroying these men of consular rank. So his wishes you see are criminal, but he observes a certain formality in his actions in order to preserve a semblance of justice. And I, too, in my turn, must pretend to be exasperated with you ; for if he suspects me of any leniency, I do not know which of us will be the first to perish."

XIX

APOLLONIUS replied : " Since we are talking without any restraint and you have told me all that is in your heart, I in turn am bound to tell you no less ; and since you also take a philosopher's view of your own position, as one might do who has most thoroughly studied philosophy in my society, and, by Heaven, inasmuch as you are so kindly disposed towards us as to imagine you run a common risk with myself, I will tell you exactly what I think. It was in my power to run away from you to many parts of the earth, where your authority is not recognised, and where I should have found myself among wise men, men much wiser than myself, and where I might have worshipped the gods in accordance with the principles of sound reason. I had only to go to the haunts of men who are more beloved of the gods than are the people of this city, men among whom such things as informers and writs

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XIX οὐδεμία, δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε
ἀδικεῖσθαι δικαστηρίων οὐ δέονται, δείσας δὲ
προδότου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, εἰ φύγοιμι μὲν αὐτὸς
τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀπόλοιντο δὲ οἱ δι' ἐμοῦ κινδυ-
νεύοντες, ἥκω ἀπολογησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ ὡν
ἀπολογεῖσθαι με δεῖ, φράξε.”

XX

CAP.
XX “Αἱ μὲν ἰδέαι τῆς γραφῆς ποικίλαι τε,” ἔφη,
“καὶ πλείους, καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσθῆτα διαβάλλουσι
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν, καὶ τό ἐστιν ὑφ’ ὡν
προσκυνεῖσθαι σε καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ
λοιμοῦ χρῆσαι, διειλέχθαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
βασιλέως τὰ μὲν ἀφανῶς, τὰ δὲ ἐκφάνδην, τὰ δὲ
ὡς θεῶν ἀκούσαντα. τὸ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανώτατον,
γιγνώσκω γάρ, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ιερῶν αἷμα ἀνέχῃ,
τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανώτατον διαβάλλεται φασὶν
ἐσ ἀγρὸν βαδίσαντά σε παρὰ Νερούαν τεμεῖν
αὐτῷ παῖδα Ἀρκάδα θυομένῳ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα,
καὶ ἐπάραι αὐτὸν τοὺς ιεροὺς τούτοις, πεπρᾶχθαι
δὲ ταῦτα νύκτωρ φθίνοντος ἥδη τοῦ μηνός. τοῦτο
δὲ τὸ κατηγόρημα, ἐπειδὴ πολλῷ μεῖζον, μὴ
ἔτερόν τι παρ' ἐκεῖνο ἥγωμεθα, ὁ γὰρ λαμβανό-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

of accusation are unknown, because, since they CHAP.
neither wrong one another nor are wronged, they XIX
stand in no need of law-courts. But I am come to
offer my defence, because I fear to be branded as a
traitor; for, if I ran away instead of staying and
defending myself, those who are running risks on my
account would be brought to ruin. But I would have
you tell me what are the accusations against which I
have to defend myself."

XX

"THE counts of the indictment," replied the CHAP.
other, "are as varied as they are numerous; for XX
your style of dress is assailed in them and your way Aelian
of living in general, and your having been worshipped reveals to
by certain people, and the fact that in Ephesus once Apollonius
you delivered an oracle about the famine; and also the accusations
that you have uttered certain sentiments to the detriment made
against him
of the sovereign, some of them openly, some of
them obscurely and privately, and some of them on
the pretence that you learned them from heaven.
But the charge which most appeals to the credulity
of the Emperor, although I cannot credit it in the
least, for I know that you are opposed even to shedding
the blood of victims, is the following: they say
that you visited Nerva in the country, and that you
cut up an Arcadian boy for him when he was con-
sulting the auspices against the Emperor; and that
by such rites as these you roused his ambitions; and
that all this was done by night when the moon was
already on the wane. This is the accusation as com-
pared with which we need not consider any other,

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XX
μενος τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς διαιτης καὶ τοῦ προ-
γιγνώσκειν ἐς τοῦτο δήπου ξυντείνει, καὶ ταῦτά γε
καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν δοῦναι σοὶ φησι
καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν θάρσος. χρὴ οὖν παρεσκευά-
σθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολογίαν, ἔστω δέ σοι ὁ
λόγος μὴ ὑπερορῶν τοῦ βασιλέως.” καὶ ὁ
Ἀπολλώνιος, “τοῦ μὲν μὴ ὑπερορᾶν ἔστω τεκμή-
ριόν σοι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀπολογίας ἀφῆθαι με, εἰ δὲ καὶ
θρασέως οὕτω τάμα ἔχειν, ώς ὑπὲρ τυραννίδας
αἴρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σοί γε ὑπέσχον ἐμαυτὸν τοιῷδε
ὄντι καὶ ἀγαπῶντί με. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐχθρῷ πονηρὸν
δόξαι δεινὸν οὕπω, οἱ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ μισοῦσιν οὐκ
ἀφ' ὧν δημοσίᾳ διαβέβληται τις, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν
ἰδίᾳ προσκέκρουκε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἄνδρὸς φίλου
λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, ώς κακὸς φαίνοιτο, βαρύτερον
τοῦτο ἡ τὰ ἐχθρῶν ὅμοι πάντα, οὐ γὰρ ἀν
διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐ κάκείνοις, δι' ἂν κακὸς ἦν,
ἀπηχθῆσθαι.”

XXI

CAP.
XXI
Ἐδόκει τῷ Αἰλιανῷ εὖ λέγειν, καὶ παρακελευ-
σάμενος αὐτῷ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτοῦ ἐλάβετο ώς μὴ ἀν
ἐκπλαγέντος τοῦ ἀνδρός, μηδὲ ἀν εἰ Γοργείη
κεφαλὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἴροιτο. καλέσας οὖν τοὺς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

because it far outweighs them all. For if the accuser CHAP.
attacks your dress and your mode of life and your
gift of foreknowledge, it is only by way, I assure
you, of leading up to this charge; and it was more-
over these peculiarities which prompted you to
commit the crime of conspiring against the Emperor,
so he says, and emboldened you to offer such a
sacrifice. You must then be prepared to defend
yourself upon these counts, and I would only ask
you in what you say to show great respect for the
sovereign." And Apollonius replied: "That I shall
show no disrespect, you may clearly gather from the
fact that I am come here to justify myself; and even
if my circumstances were such as to embolden me to
treat a despot in a haughty manner, I should anyhow
submit myself to a man like yourself who also loves
me. For though it does not so much matter if you
merely fall into the bad graces of an enemy,—for
your enemies will hate you not for reasons which
make you an object of public suspicion, but for
private causes of offence which you have given them,
—nothing is graver than to give a friend reason to
think ill of you: this is worse than all your enemies
put together can effect, for no man can avoid being
disliked even by his enemies for his bad qualities."

XXI

THESE words impressed Aelian as very sensible; CHAP.
and he bade him be of good courage, while he him-
self formed the conviction that here was a man
whom nothing could terrify or startle, and who
would not flinch, even if the head of the Gorgon were
brandished over him. He accordingly summoned the

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. προστεταγμένους τὰ τοιαῦτα, “κελεύω,” ἔφη,
XXI “ξυνέχειν τοῦτον, ἔστ’ ἀν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥκοντά τε
αὐτὸν μάθῃ καὶ λέγοντα ὅπόσα εἴρηκε,” καὶ
ἔφκει τοῖς μάλα ωργισμένοις. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ
βασίλεια τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπραττεν.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δάμις ἀπομνημονεύει ἔργου ὁμοίου
τε καὶ ἀνομοίου τῷ ἐπ’ Ἀριστείδου ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν·
ὅστράκῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύνειν ἐπ’
ἀρετῇ, ἔξω δὲ τείχους ἥδη ὅντι προσελθόντα τῶν
ἀγροίκων τινὰ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ γράφειν τι αὐτῷ ἐπ’
Ἀριστείδην ὅστρακον· ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὔτε τὸν ἄνδρα
εἰδὼς οὔτ’ αὐτὸν τὸ γράφειν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν ὑπὲρ
τοῦ δικαίου φθόνον, χιλίαρχος δὲ τῶν σφόδρα
γιγνωσκόντων τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον προσειπὼν αὐτὸν
ἥρετο κατὰ ὕβριν, ὑπὲρ ὅτου κινδυνεύοι, τοῦ δὲ
οὐκ εἰδέναι φήσαντος, “ἀλλ’ ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “οἶδα· τὸ
γὰρ προσκυνεῖσθαι σε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δια-
βέβληκεν ώς ἵσων ἀξιούμενον τοῖς θεοῖς.” “καὶ
τίς,” εἶπεν, “ὁ προσκυνήσας ἐμέ;” “ἐγώ,” ἔφη,
“ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παῖς ἔτι ὡν, ὅπότε ἡμᾶς ἴάσω τοῦ
λοιμοῦ.” “καλῶς ποιῶν,” εἶπεν, “αὐτός τε σὺ
καὶ ἡ σωθεῖσα Ἐφεσίων πόλις.” “διὰ ταῦτ
οὖν,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρεσκεύακα,
ἡ σε ἀπαλλάξει τῆς αἰτίας· ἰωμεν γὰρ ἔξω τείχους,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

jailors who had charge of such cases and said : " My CHAP.
orders are to detain this man, until the Emperor be ^{XXI}
informed of his arrival and learn from his lips all he
has said to me." And he said this with the air of a
man very much enraged ; and then he went into the
palace and began to attend to the duties of his
office.

At this point Damis records an incident which in a way resembles and in a way is unlike the episode related of Aristides long ago at Athens. For they were ostracising Aristides because of his virtue, and he had no sooner passed the gates of the city than a rustic came up to him and begged him to fill up his voting sherd against Aristides. This rustic knew no more to whom he was speaking than he knew how to write ; he only knew that Aristides was detested because he was so just. Now on this occasion a tribune who knew Apollonius perfectly well, addressed him and asked him in an insolent manner, what had brought him to such a pass. Apollonius replied that he did not know. " Well," said the other, " I can tell you : for it is allowing yourself to be worshipped by your fellow-men that has led you to be accused of setting yourself on a level with the gods." " And who is it," asked the other, " that has paid me this worship ? " " I myself," said the other, " when I was still a boy in Ephesus, at a time when you stayed our epidemic." " Lucky it was both for you," said Apollonius, " and for the city of Ephesus that was saved." " Well this is a reason," said the other, " why I have prepared a method of defence for yourself, which will rid you of the charge against you. For let us go outside

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀποκόψω σου τὸν αὐχένα τῷ ξίφει,
XXI διαβέθληται ἡ αἰτία καὶ ἀφεῖσαι, ἦν δὲ ἐκπλήξης
με καὶ μεθῶ τὸ ξίφος, θεῖόν τε ἀνάγκη νομίζεσθαι
σε καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθέσι κρίνεσθαι.” τοσῷδε μὲν
δὴ ἀγροικότερος οὗτος τοῦ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύ-
νοντος, ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα μασώμενός τε καὶ ξὺν
γέλωτι, ό δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοότι ὅμοιος διελέγετο πρὸς
τὸν Δάμιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δέλτα, περὶ φασι τὸν
Νεῖλον σχίζεσθαι.

XXII

CAP. ’Επεὶ δὲ καλέσας αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰλιανὸς ἐκέλευσε τὸ
XXII ἐλευθέριον οἰκεῖν δεσμωτήριον, “ἔστ’ ἀν γένηται
σχολή,” ἔφη, “τῷ βασιλεῖ, ξυγγενέσθαι γάρ
σοι ἴδιᾳ πρότερον βούλεται,” ἀπῆλθε μὲν τοῦ
δικαστηρίου, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
“διαλεγώμεθα,” ἔφη, “Δάμι, τοῖς ἐνταῦθα· τί γὰρ
ἀν ἄλλο πράττοι τις ἐς τὸν χρόνον τούτου, διν
διαλέξεται μοι ὁ τύραννος ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖται; ”
“ἀδολέσχας,” εἶπεν, “ἡγήσονται ἡμᾶς, ἦν ἐκ-
κρούωμεν αὐτοὺς ὧν ἀπολογήσονται, καὶ ἄλλως
ἄτοπον περιπατεῖν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀθύμως
ἔχοντας.” “καὶ μὴν τούτοις μάλιστα δεῖ,” ἔφη,
“τοῦ διαλεξομένου τε καὶ θεραπεύσοντος εἰ γάρ
ἐνθυμηθείης τὰ τοῦ Ὁμηρου ἐπη, ἐν οἷς” Ὁμηρος τὴν
Ἐλένην φησὶ τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου φάρμακα οἰνοχοεῖν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

the gates, and if I cut your head off with my sword, CHAP.
the accusation will have defeated itself and you will XXI
go scot free; but if you terrify me to such an extent that I drop my sword, you must needs be thought a divine being, and then it will be seen that there is a basis of truth in the charges made against you." So much coarser and ruder was this fellow than the man who wished to banish Aristides, and he uttered his words with grimace and mocking laughter; but Apollonius affected not to have heard him, and went on with his conversation with Damis about the delta, about which they say the Nile is divided into two branches.

XXII

AELIAN next summoned him and ordered him into CHAP.
the prison, where the captives were not bound, XXII
"until," he said, "the Emperor shall have leisure, for he desires to talk with you privately before taking any further steps." Apollonius accordingly left the law-court and passed into the prison, where he said: "Let us talk, Damis, with the people here. For what else is there for us to do until the time comes when the despot will give me such audience as he desires?" "Will they not think us babblers," said Damis, "and bores, if we interrupt them in the preparation of their defence, and moreover, it is a mistake to talk philosophy with men so broken in spirit as they." "Nay," said Apollonius, "they are just the people who most want someone to talk to them and comfort them. For you may remember the verses of Homer in which he relates how Helen Odyss. 4.
219

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἐς τὸν κρατῆρα, ὡς τὰ ἄχη τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβρέ-
XXII χοιτο, δοκῶ μοι τὴν Ἐλένην λόγους Αἰγυπτίους
ἐκμαθοῦσαν ἐπάδειν τοῖς ἀθύμοις ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι,
ἴωμένην αὐτοὺς λόγῳ τε ἀναμίξ καὶ οἰνῳ.” “καὶ
εἰκὸς μέν,” εἶπεν, “εἴπερ ἐς Αἰγυπτόν τε ἥλθε
καὶ ώμάλησε τῷ Πρωτεῖ, ἢ ὡς Ὁμήρῳ δοκεῖ,
Πολυδάμνῃ ἔνυεγένετο τῇ τοῦ Θῶνος· νυνὶ δὲ
ἀναβεβλήσθων οὖτοι, δέομαι γάρ τι ἐρέσθαι σε.”
“οἶδα,” ἔφη, “ὅ με ἐρήσῃ, τοὺς γάρ τοι λόγους,
οὓς γεγόνασί μοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἄττα εἶπε, καὶ
εἰ φοβερὸς ἦν ἢ πρᾶος, βούλει ἀκοῦσαι μου.”
καὶ διῆλθε πάντας προσκυνήσας οὖν ὁ Δάμις,
“οὐκ ἀπιστῶ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τὴν Λευκοθέαν ποτὲ
κρήδεμνον τῷ Ὁδυσσεῖ δοῦναι μετὰ τὴν ναῦν, ἣς
ἐκπεσὼν ἀνεμέτρει ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ τὸ πέλαγος·
καὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐς ἀμήχανά τε καὶ φοβερὰ ἐμβεβη-
κότων, θεῶν τις ὑπερέχει, οἷμαι, χεῖρα, ὡς μὴ
ἐκπέσοιμεν σωτηρίας πάσης.” ἐπιπλήττων δ' ὁ
Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ λόγῳ, “ποὶ παρατενεῖς,” ἔφη,
“δεδιὼς ταῦτα καὶ μήπω γιγνώσκων, δτὶ σοφίᾳ
μὲν τὰ ξυνιέντα ἑαυτῆς ἐκπλήττει πάντα, αὐτὴ δ'
ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐκπλήττεται;” “ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς,” εἶπε,
“παρὰ ἀξύνετον ἡκομεν, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ
ἐκπληττόμενον ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀξιοῦντα εἶναι τι,
δ ἐκπλήξει αὐτόν.” “ξυνίης οὖν,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι,

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mingled in the bowl of wine certain drugs from CHAP.
Egypt in order to drown the heart-ache of the ^{XXII} heroes ; well, I think that Helen must have picked up the lore of the Egyptians, and have sung spells over the dejected heroes through their bowl of wine, so healing them by a blending of words and wine."

"And that is likely enough," said Damis, "seeing that she came to Egypt and consorted with Proteus ; or, if we prefer Homer's account, was well acquainted with Polydamna, the daughter of Thon. However let us dismiss these topics for the moment, for I want to ask you something."

"I know," said Apollonius, "what you are going to ask me, for I am sure you wish me to tell you what my conversation

was about with the consul, and what he said, and whether he was formidable and severe or gentle to me."

And forthwith he told Damis all that had passed. Thereupon Damis prostrated himself before him and said :

"Now I am ready to believe that Leucothea did really once give her veil to Odysseus, after he had fallen out of his ship and was paddling

himself over the sea with his hands.

For we are reduced to just as awful and impossible a plight, when some god, as it seems to me, stretches out his hand over us, that we fall not away from all hope of salvation."

But Apollonius disapproved of the way he spoke, and said : "How long will you continue to cherish these fears, as if you could never understand that wisdom amazes all that is sensible of her, but is herself not amazed by anything."

"But we," said Damis, "are brought here before one who is quite insensible, and who not only cannot be amazed by us, but would not allow anything in the world to amaze him."

"Seest thou not," said Apollonius, "O

but first
reassures
Damis

Odyss. 5.
333

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CAP. δῖτι τετύφωται καὶ ἀνοήτως ἔχει; ” “ξυνίημι, τί δ'
XXII οὐ μέλλω; ” εἰπε. “καὶ σοὶ δέ,” ἔφη, “κατα-
φρονητέα τοῦ τυράννου τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ
γυγνώσκεις αὐτόν.”

XXIII

CAP.
XXIII Διαλεγομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς ταῦτα προσελθών τις,
οἶμαι, Κίλιξ, “έγώ,” ἔφη, “ἀνδρες, ὑπὲρ πλούτου
κινδυνεύω.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “εἰ μὲν ἀφ' ὅν
οὐ θεμιτόν,” ἔφη, “πλουτῶν, οίον ληστείας ἡ
φαρμάκων, ἂ δὴ ἀνδροφόνα, ἡ τάφους κινήσας,
ὅσοι τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων εἰσίν, οἱ πολύχρυσοι τε
καὶ θησαυρώδεις, οὐ κρίνεσθαι σε χρὴ μόνον,
ἄλλὰ καὶ ἀπολωλέναι, ταυτὶ γὰρ πλοῦτος μέν,
ἄλλ' ἐπίρρητός τε καὶ ωμός. εἰ δὲ κληρονομήσας
ἡ διδούσης ἐμπορίας ἐλευθερίου τε καὶ μὴ
καπήλου, τίς οὕτω βαρύς, ὡς ἀφελέσθαι σε νόμου
σχήματι τὰ κτηθέντα σοι κατὰ νόμους; ” “τὰ
μὲν ὅντα μοι παρὰ πλειόνων,” ἔφη, “ξυγγενῶν
ἐστιν, ἐς μίαν δὲ οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἥκει, χρῶμαι δὲ
αὐτοῖς οὕθ' ὡς ἑτέρων, ἐμὰ γάρ, οὕθ' ὡς ἐμοῖς,
κοινὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθούς ἐστί μοι· δια-
βάλλουσι δὲ ἡμᾶς οἱ συκοφάνται μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ
τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκτῆσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐμοῦ τε
γὰρ νεώτερα πειρωμένου πράττειν ἐφόδιον ἀν-
γενέσθαι αὐτόν, ἑτέρῳ τε, ὅτῳ προσθείμην, ροπὴν
ἀν οὐ σμικρὰν τάμα εἴναι. μεμαντευμέναι δὲ ἡδη

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Damis, that he is maddened with pride and vanity?" CHAP.
"I see it, how can I not?" said the other. "Well," XXII
said Apollonius, "you have got to despise the
despot just in proportion as you get to know him."

XXIII

THEY were talking like this, when someone, a CHAP.
Cilician I think, came up and said : "I; gentlemen,
am brought to this pass by my wealth." And XXIII
Apollonius replied : "If your wealth was acquired by
other than holy methods, for example by piracy and
administration of deadly drugs, or by disturbing the
tombs of ancient kings which are full of gold and
treasure, you deserve not only to be put on your
trial, but also to forfeit your life; for these things
are wealth no doubt, but of an infamous and
inhuman kind. But if you acquired your wealth by
inheritance or by trade dealings of a fair description
and not by usury, who would be so cruel as to
deprive you under colour of law of what you have
acquired with its venerable sanction?" "My
property," said the other, "has accrued to me from
several of my relations, and has centred itself in
my single household; and I use it, not as if it
belonged to other people, for it is my own: yet not
as my own, for I share it freely with all good men.
But the informers accused me of having acquired my
wealth to the prejudice of the despot; for they say
that, if I attempted a revolution, it would supply me
with resources; while if I attached myself to
another as his accomplice, my wealth would weigh
heavily in his favour. And there is actually an
Story of
the rich
Cilician

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CAP.
XXIII καθ' ἡμῶν αἰτίαι, ὡς ὕβριν μὲν τίκτει πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ
τὸ μέτρον πλούτος, ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν
αὐχένα ἴστησι, καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἐγείρει, νόμοις τε
οὐκ ἐῷ πείθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἱ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη
φοιτῶσι, μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ κόρρης παίει δουλουμένους
τοῖς χρήμασιν ἢ ὑπερορῶντας αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν
ἰσχὺν τοῦ πλούτου.

'Εγὼ δὲ μειράκιον μὲν ὥν, πρὶν οὐσίαν ἐκατὸν
ταλάντων ἐκτῆσθαι, κατάγελων ἡγούμην πάντα,
καὶ σμικρὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅντων ἐδεδίειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ
τάλαντά μοι πεντακόσια ἐπὶ μᾶς ἡμέρας ἐγέ-
νετο τελευτήσαντος ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς
θείου, τοσοῦτον ἡ γνώμη μετέβαλεν, ὅσον οἱ
καταρτύοντες τῶν ἵππων καὶ μεταβάλλοντες τοῦ
ἀπαιδεύτου τε καὶ ἀκολάστου ἥθους. ἐπιδιδόντος
δέ μοι τοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐκ
θαλάττης φέροντος, οὕτω τι ἐδουλώθην ὑπὸ τοῦ
περὶ αὐτὸν δέους, ὡς ἀπαντλεῖν τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μὲν
ἐς τοὺς συκοφάντας, οὓς ἔδει μειλίττεσθαι τῇ
ἀπομαγδαλιᾷ ταύτῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὡς
ἰσχὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας εἴη μοι, τὸ δὲ ἐς
τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς, ὡς μὴ φθονοῖεν τῷ πλούτῳ, τὸ
δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους, ὡς μὴ κακίους γίγνοιντο
ἀμελεῖσθαι φάσκοντες, ἐβουκολεῖτο δέ μοι καὶ
ἀγέλη φίλων λαμπρά προορῶντες γὰρ οὗτοί
μου τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ ἔδρων, τὰ δέ μοι προῦλεγον.

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oracular air about the charges made against us, such CHAP.
as that all excess of wealth engenders insolence, or ^{XXIII}
that more than ordinary wealth makes its owner
carry his head too high and rouses in him a spirit of
pride ; and that it prevents him from being a good
subject and obeying the laws and rulers who are
sent to the provinces ; they say indeed that it is very
nearly tantamount to giving them a box on the ears,
because they grovel to wealthy men or connive
at their crime, on account of the influence which
wealth gives.

“ Now when I was a stripling, before I had as
much as a hundred talents to call my own, I
used to think such apprehensions as these ridiculous
and I had small anxiety on the score of my property ;
but when my paternal uncle died and in a single
day I came in for a reversion of five hundred
talents, my mind underwent such a change as
those who break horses effect, when they cure
them of being unruly and intractable. And as my
riches increased and flowed in to me by land and by
sea, I became so much the slave of anxiety about
them, that I poured out my substance, partly upon
sycophants whom I had to flatter in order to stop
their mouths by means of such blackmail, and partly
upon governors whose influence I wished to enlist
on my side against those who plotted against me,
and partly on my kinsmen, to prevent them being
jealous of my wealth, and partly on my slaves
for fear they should become worse than they were
and complain of being neglected. And I also had
to support a magnificent flock of friends, for the
latter were full of solicitude for me ; and some
insisted on helping me with their own hands, and

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXIII ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω μὲν χαρακώσαντες τὸν πλοῦτον, οὕτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς τειχισάμενοι, κινδυνεύομεν περὶ αὐτῷ νῦν, καὶ οὕπω δῆλον οὐδέ εἰ τὸ σῶμα ἀθῷοι μενοῦμεν.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “θάρρει,” ἔφη, τὸν γὰρ πλοῦτον τοῦ σώματος ἐγγυητὴν ἔχεις· δέδεσαι μὲν γὰρ δι’ αὐτόν, ἀνήσει δέ σε ἀπολυόμενον οὐ μόνον τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τοῦδε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεραπεύειν τοὺς συκοφάντας τε καὶ τοὺς δούλους, οἷς δι’ αὐτὸν ὑπέκεισο.”

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Ἐτέρου δ' αὖ φήσαντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ θύων ἐν Τάραντι, οὖ ἡρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δουμετιανὸς Ἀθηνᾶς εἴη παῖς, “σὺ μὲν φήθης,” ἔφη, “μὴ ἀν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκεῖν, παρθένον οὐσαν τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἡγνόεις δ', οἶμαι, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ δράκοντα ἔτεκε.”

XXV

CAP. XXV Καθεῖρκτό τις καὶ ἐπὶ τοιᾶδε αἰτίᾳ χωρίον ἐν 'Ακαρνανίᾳ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελῷου ἔχων περιέπλει τὰς Ἐχινάδας ἐν ἀκατίῳ μικρῷ, διασκεψαμενος δε αὐτῶν μίαν, ἡ ξυνῆπτεν ἥδη τῇ 216

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

others with their warnings and advice. But al-
though I thus fenced my wealth about, and surrounded
myself so securely with fortifications, I now am
imperilled by it, and I am not yet sure that I shall
escape with my life." And Apollonius answered :
" Take heart, for you have your wealth to go surely
for your life ; for if it is your wealth which has led
to your being confined in bonds, it is your wealth also
which, when it is dissipated, will not only release you
from this prison, but from the necessity of cherishing
and flattering those sycophants and slaves whose
yoke it has imposed upon your neck."

CHAP.
XXIII

XXIV

ANOTHER man came and said that he was being
prosecuted, because at a public sacrifice in Tarentum,
where he held office, he had omitted to mention
in the public prayers that Domitian was the son of Athene.
Said Apollonius : " You imagined that Athene could not possibly have a son, because she is a virgin for ever and ever ; but you forgot, methinks, that this goddess once on a time bore a dragon to the Athenians."

CHAP.
XXIV

Domitian
the son
of Athene

XXV

ANOTHER man was confined in the prison on the following charge : He had a property in Acarnania near the mouth of the Achelous ; and he had been in the habit of sailing about the islands called the Echinades in a small boat, and he noticed that one of them was already joined to the mainland ;

CHAP.
XXV

Story of
the man
from the
Achelous

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXV ἡπείρῳ, δένδρεσι τε ὠραίοις διεφύτευσε καὶ ἀμπέλοις ἡδυοίνοις, δίαιτάν τε ἵκανὴν τῷ σώματι κατεσκευάσατο ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ὅδωρ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐσήγετο ἀποχρῶν τῇ νήσῳ· ἐκ τούτου ἀνέφυ γραφή, μὴ καθαρὸς εἶναι ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν οὗτος, ἔργα δὲ αὐτῷ ξυνειδῶς οὐ φορητά, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης γῆς ἐξίσταθαι τε καὶ ἀποφοιτᾶν ώς μεμιασμένης ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω λύσιν, δι’ ἣν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελώου μετὰ τὴν μητέρα φόκησεν, γρῆσθαι αὐτον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφ’ ὁμοίοις, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ σχετλίοις ἵσως καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἐκείνων· ὁ δὲ οὐ τοῦτ’ ἔφασκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπραγμοσύνης ἔρων ἐκεῖ οἰκῆσαι, τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐς δίκας αὐτῷ περιστῆναι, δι’ ἃς καὶ εἰρχθαι αὐτόν.

XXVI

CAP.
XXVI Προσιόντων δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πλειόνων ἔνδον καὶ ὀλοφυρομένων τοιαῦτα, πεντήκοντα γάρ που εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν νοσεῦν αὐτῶν, σὶ δὲ ἀθύμως παρεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρτερεῦν τὸν θάνατον, οἱ δὲ ἐπιβοᾶσθαι τέκνα καὶ γονέας τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ γάμους, “ὦ Δάμι,” ἔφη, “δοκοῦσί

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

and he planted it all over with pleasant trees and CHAP.
vines, producing sweet wine. So he made in it a convenient habitation for himself, for he also brought in water in sufficient quantities for the island from the mainland. In consequence, an accusation was trumped up against him, that he had a guilty conscience, and that it was because he was conscious of having committed crimes of an intolerable description, that he transported himself and quitted his own land, feeling that he polluted it, and at the same time had chosen for himself the same form of release as Alcmaeon the son of Amphiareus had done, when after his mother's murder he went and lived on the delta of the Achelous. Even if he had not committed the same crime as Alcmaeon, he must yet, they said, have on his conscience horrible deeds, not falling far short of his. Although he denied these insinuations, and declared that he only went to live there for the sake of peace and quiet, he had nevertheless, he said, been accused and brought to justice, and for this reason he was now cast into prison.

XXVI

SEVERAL prisoners, for there were about fifty of them in this prison, approached Apollonius inside it, and uttered such lamentations as the above. Some of them were sick, some of them had given way to dejection, some of them expected death with certainty and with resignation, some of them bewailed and called upon their children and their parents and their wives. Whereupon, "O Damis," said Apol-

CHAP.
XXVI
Apollonius
consoles the
prisoners

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVI μοι τοῦ φαρμάκου δεῖσθαι οἱ ἄνδρες, οὐ καταρχὰς ἐπεμνήσθην, εἴτ' οὖν Αἰγύπτιον τοῦτο, εἴτ' ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ φύεται, ρίζοτομούσης αὐτὸς σοφίας ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς κήπων, προσδῶμεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀθλίοις τούτοις, μὴ προανέλη σφᾶς ἡ γνώμη." "προσδῶμεν," ἡ δ' δις ὁ Δάμις, "ἐοίκασι γάρ δεομένοις." ξυγκαλέσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἄνδρες," εἶπεν, "οἱ κοινωνοῦντες ἐμοὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς στέγης, ἐλεῶ ὑμᾶς, ὡς ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσθε, οὕτω εἰδότες, εἰ κατηγορία ἀπολεῖ ὑμᾶς· δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι προαποκτινύντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ καταψηφισθέντος ἀν ὑμῶν, ὡς οἴεσθε, θανάτου, καὶ θαρρεῖν μὲν ἀδέδιτε, δεδιέναι δ' ἀ θαρρεῖτε. οὐ μὴν προσήκει γε, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμηθέντας τὸν Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ Παρίου λόγον, δις τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λυπηροῖς καρτερίαν τλημοσύνην καλῶν, θεῶν αὐτήν φησιν εἶναι εὔρημα ἀναφέρειν τῶν σχετλίων τούτων, ὥσπερ οἱ τέχνη τοῦ ῥοθίου ὑπεραίροντες, ἐπειδὰν τὸ κῦμα ὑπὲρ τὴν ναῦν ἴστηται, μηδ' ἡγεῖσθαι χαλεπὰ ταῦτα, ἐφ' ἀ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἄκοντες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκὼν ἥκω.

Εἰ μὲν γάρ ξυντίθεσθε ταῖς αἰτίαις, ὀλοφυρτέα ἡ ἡμέρα μᾶλλον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ λογισμὸς ἐς ἄδικά τε καὶ ὡμὰ ὄρμήσας ὑμᾶς ἔσφηλεν, εἰ δ' οὕτε σὺ τὴν ἐν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

lonius, affected by the spectacle, "it seems to me CHAP.
that these people need the drug which I alluded to XXVI
when I first entered. Whether it be an Egyptian
remedy, or whether it grows in every land and only
needs wisdom enough to cut it from its root out of
her own gardens, let us administer some of it to these
poor people, lest their own feelings destroy them
before Domitian can do it." "Let us do so," said
Damis, "for they seem in need of it." Accordingly
Apollonius called them all together and said :
" Gentlemen, who are sharing with me the hospital-
ity of this poor roof, I am wrung with pity for you,
because I feel that you are undoing yourselves, before
you know in the least whether the accuser will undo
you. For it seems to me that you are ready to put
yourselves to death and anticipate the death sentence
which you expect will be pronounced against you ;
and so you show actual courage where you should
feel fear, and fear where you should be courageous.
This should not be ; but you should bear in mind
the words of Archilochus of Paros who says that the
patience under adversity which he called endurance
was a veritable discovery of the gods ; for it will
bear you up in your misery, just as a skilful pilot
carries the bow of his ship above the wash of the sea,
whenever the billows are raised higher than his bark.
Nor should you consider as desperate this situation into
which you have been brought against your wills, but I
myself of my own accord.

For if you admit the charges brought against
you, you ought rather to deplore the day, when
your judgment and impulses betrayed you into un-
just and cruel courses of action. But if you, my
friend yonder, deny that you took up your residence

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXVI τῷ Ἀχελώφῳ νῆσον ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατίγορός φησιν
ἔρεντις ὡκηκέναι, οὔτε σὺ τὸν σεαυτοῦ πλοῦτον
ἔφεδρόν ποτε τῇ βασιλείᾳ στήσασθαι, οὕθ' ἐκῶν
σὺ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶς δοκεῖν ἀφηρῆσθαι τὸν
ἀρχοντα, οὕθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀφίχθει κινδυνεύων ἔκαστος,
ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἶναι φήσει, τί βούλεται,” φησιν,
“ὅς ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐκ διτῶν θρῆνος οὐτος; δσῳ γάρ,
τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπιβοᾶσθε, τοσῳδε χρὴ ἐρρῶσ-
θαι μᾶλλον, ἀθλα γάρ που τῆς τλημοσύνης ταύτης
ἐκεῖνα. ἡ τὸ καθεῖρχθαι δεῦρο δεινὸν εἶναι φατε
καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ζῆν; ἡ ἀρχὴν ὧν
πείσεσθαι ἥγεῖσθε; ἡ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ τιμωρίαν, εἰ
καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάθοιτε; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν
ἀνθρωπείαν εἰδὼς φύσιν, ἀναδιδάξω λόγον ὑμᾶς
οὐδὲν ἔοικότα τοῖς τῶν ἰατρῶν σιτίοις, καὶ γὰρ
ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἔάσει· οἱ
ἀνθρωποι ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐσμὲν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον,
δις δὴ ὡνόμασται βίος· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σώματι
φθαρτῷ ἐνδεθεῖσα πολλὰ μὲν καρτερεῖ, δουλεύει
δὲ πᾶσιν, ὁπόσα ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον φοιτᾷ, οἰκία τε οἷς
ἐπενοήθη πρῶτον, ἀγνοήσαι μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄλλο
δεσμωτήριον αὐτοῖς περιβάλλοντες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ
καὶ ὁπόσοι τὰ βασίλεια οἰκοῦσιν, ἀσφαλῶς ἐν
αὐτοῖς κατεσκευασμένοι, δεδέσθαι μᾶλλον τούτους
ἥγωμεθα ἡ οὖς αὐτοὶ δήσουσι.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

in the island of the Achelous, for the reason which CHAP.
your accuser alleges ; and you there, that you ever XXVI
raised your wealth to the peril and endangering of
the sovereignty ; and you again that you of set pur-
pose deprived the sovereign of his pretension to be
called the son of Athene,—if, I say, you can prove
that the several reasons alleged for your being, each
of you, here in such parlous plights, are unfounded,
what then is the meaning of all this lamentation about
things which have no existence or reality ? For
instead of crying after your friends and relatives,
you ought rather to feel just as much courage as you
now feel despair ; for such I imagine are the rewards
of the endurance I have described. But perhaps
you would argue that confinement here and life in a
prison are hard to bear in themselves ? Or do you
look upon them as the mere beginning of what you
expect to suffer ? Or do you think that they are
punishment sufficient in themselves, even if you are
exposed to nothing else in the way of penalty ? Well,
I understand human nature, and I will preach you a
sermon which is very unlike the prescriptions of
physicians, for it shall implant strength in you and
will avert death from you. We men are in a prison
all that time which we choose to call life. For this
soul of ours, being bound and fettered in a perishable
body, has to endure many things, and be the slave of
all the affections which visit humanity ; and the men
who first invented a dwelling seem to me not to
have known that they were only surrounding their
kind in a fresh prison ; for, to tell you the truth, all
those who inhabit palaces and have established them-
selves securely in them, are, I consider, in closer bonds
in them than any whom they may throw into bonds.

FLAVIUS·PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXV^r Πόλεις δ' ἐνθυμουμένῳ μοι καὶ τείχη δοκεῖ ταῦτα δεσμωτήρια εἶναι κοινά, ὡς δεδέσθαι μὲν ἀγοράζοντας, δεδέσθαι δὲ ἐκκλησιάζοντας καὶ θεωμένους αὖ καὶ πομπὰς πέμποντας. καὶ Σκυθῶν ὅποσοι ἀμαξεύουσιν, οὐ μεῖον ἡμῶν δέδενται, "Ιστροι τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁρίζουσι καὶ Θερμώδοντες καὶ Τανάϊδες οὐ ράδιοι ποταμοὶ ὑπερβῆναι, ἢν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ στῶσιν, οἰκίας τε ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν πέπανται καὶ φέρονται μέν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἐπτηχότες. εἰ δὲ μὴ μειρακιώδης ὁ λόγος, φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν δεσμοῦ ἔνεκα τῇ γῇ περιβεβλῆσθαι. ἵτε, ὡς ποιηταί, ταυτὶ γὰρ ὑμέτερα, καὶ ράψῳδεῖτε πρὸς τούτους τοὺς ἀθύμους, ὡς Κρόνος μέν ποτε ἐδέθη βουλαῖς τοῦ Διός, "Αρης δὲ ὁ πολεμικώτατος ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου πρότερον, ἐν γῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλωέως. ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς δῆμοι ἀσελγεῖς ἔδησαν, τυραννίδες δὲ προύπηλάκισαν, δεχώμεθα καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ τῶν δεξαμένων αὐτὰ λειπούμεθα." οὕτω τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ῥῆθέντα μετέβαλεν, ὡς σίτου τε οἱ πολλοὶ ἄψασθαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τῶν δακρύων, βῆναι τε ἐπ' ἐλπίδος μηδὲ ἀν παθεῖν μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ ξυνόντες.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

"And when I think of cities and walls, it seems CHAP.
to me that these are common prisons, so that the ^{XXVI} merchants are in chains, in chains no less the members of the Assembly, and the frequenters also of spectacles, as well as those who organise public processions. Then there are the Scythians who go about upon waggons ; they are just as much in chains as ourselves ; for rivers like the Ister and the Thermelon and the Tanais, hem them in, and they are very difficult to cross, except when they are hard frozen ; and they fix up their houses on their waggons, and they imagine they are driving about, when they are merely cowering in them. And if you don't think it too silly a thing to say, there are those who teach that the ocean also encompasses the earth in order to chain it in. Come, O ye poets, for this is your domain. Recite your rhapsodies to this despondent crowd, and tell them how Kronos was once put in bonds by the wiles of Zeus ; and Ares, the most warlike of the gods, was first enchain'd in heaven by Hephaestus, and later upon earth by the sons of Alois. When we think of these things, and reflect on the many wise and blessed men who have been thrown into prison by wanton mobs, or insulted by despots, let us accept our fate with resignation, that we may not be found inferior to those who have accepted the same before us." Such were the words which he addressed to his companions in the prison, and they had such an effect upon them that most of them took their food and wiped away their tears, and walked in hope, believing that they could never come to harm as long as they were in his company.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII Τῆς δ' ὑστεραίας διελέγετο μὲν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν ξυντείνων, ἐσπέμπεται δέ τις ἀκροατὴς τῶν διαλέξεων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ καθειμένος· τὸ μὲν δὴ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ κατηφής ἐδόκει, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τι, ώς ἔφασκε, μέγα, γλώττης τε οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδεύτως εἶχεν, οἷοι τῶν συκοφαντικῶν οἱ συνειλοχότες ὀκτὼ ρήματα ἢ δέκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνιεὶς τῆς τέχνης διελέγετο, ἀ μὴ ἐκείνῳ προύβαινε, ποταμῶν τε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐμέμυητο καὶ ὄρῶν, καὶ θηρία διῆι καὶ δένδρα, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ μὲν διήγοντο, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν. ώς δὲ καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν ἐς λοιδορίας τοῦ τυράννου ἐπειράτο, “ὦ τᾶν,” ἔφη, “σὺ μέν, ὅτι βούλει, λέγε, οὐ γὰρ διαβεβλήσῃ γε ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὀπόσα μέμφομαι τὸν βασιλέα, πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξω.”

XXVIII

CAP.
XXVIII Ἐγένετο καὶ ἔτερα ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ ἐπεισόδια, τὰ μὲν ἐπιβεβουλευμένα, τὰ δέ, ώς ξυνέπεσεν, οὕπω μεγάλα, οὐδ' ἄξια ἐμοὶ σπουδάσαι, Δάμις δέ, οἷμαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραλελοιπέναι τι αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθη, τὰ δὲ λόγου ἔχόμενα· ἐσπέρα μὲν ἦν, καθεῖρκτο δὲ ἡμέραν ἥδη πέμπτην, παρελ-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XXVII

ON the next day he was haranguing them in a CHAP.
discourse of the same tenor, when a man was sent XXVII
into the prison privately by Domitian to listen His
to what he said. In his deportment this person repartee
had a downcast air, and, as he himself admitted, to an
looked as if he ran a great risk. He had great informer
volubility of speech, as is usually the case with
sycophants who have been chosen to draw up eight
or ten informations. Apollonius saw through the
trick and talked about themes which could in no way
serve his purpose; for he told his audience about
rivers and mountains, and he described wild animals
and trees to them, so that they were amused, while
the informer gained nothing to his purpose. And
when he tried to draw him away from these subjects
and get him to abuse the tyrant, "My good friend,"
said Apollonius, "you say what you like, for I am
the last man in the world to inform against you;
but if I find anything to blame in the Emperor, I'll
say it to his face."

XXVIII

THERE followed other episodes in this prison, CHAP.
some of them insidiously contrived, and others of XXVIII
mere chance, and not of sufficient importance to An emissary
merit my notice. But Damis, I believe, has of Aelian
recorded them in his anxiety to omit nothing; I only describes
give what is to the point. It was evening, and it the emperor's
was already the fifth day of his imprisonment, when appearance
a certain person entered the prison, who spoke the

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXVIII

θῶν δέ τις ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, Ἐλληνικὸς τὴν φωνὴν, “ποῦ,” ἔφη, “ό Τυανεύς;” καὶ ἀπολαβὼν αὐτόν, “αὔριον,” ἔφη, “διαλέξεται σοι ὁ βασιλεύς.” Αἰλιανοῦ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι ἐδόκει.¹ “ξυνίημι,” ἡ δ' ὅς, “τοῦ ἀπορρήτου, μόνου γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνου εἰδέναι αὐτό.” “καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου προείρηται,” ἔφη, “πᾶν, εἴ τι βούλοιο, ἐπιτηδείῳ σοι εἶναι.” “καλῶς μὲν ποιοῦντες ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐνταῦθα βίον καὶ τὸν ἔξω ταύτὸν πράττω, διαλέγομαι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν παραπιπτόντων, δέομαι δὲ οὐδενός.” “οὐδὲ τοῦ ξυμβουλεύσοντος,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, ώς διαλέξῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ;” “νὴ Δῆ,” εἶπεν, “εἴ μὴ κολακεύειν πείθοι.” “τί δ', εἴ μὴ ὑπερορᾶν,” ἔφη, “μηδὲ ὑπερφρονεῖν αὐτοῦ;” “ἄριστα,” εἶπε, “ξυμβουλεύσει καὶ ώς ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα.” “ὑπὲρ τούτων μὲν ἥκω,” ἔφη, “καὶ χαίρω παρεσκευασμένον σε ὄρων ξυμμέτρως, δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθέγμα τοῦ βασιλέως παρεσκευάσθαι σε καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύστροπον τοῦ προσώπου, φθέγγεται μὲν γὰρ βαρύ, καν πράως διαλέγηται, ἡ δὲ ὁφρὺς ἐπίκειται τῷ τοῦ ὁφθαλμοῦ ἥθει, μεστὴ δὲ ἡ παρειὰ χολῆς, τουτὶ γὰρ μάλιστα ἐπιφαίνει. ταῦτα, ω Τυανεῦ, μὴ ἐκπληρώμεθα, ἔστι γὰρ φύσεως μᾶλλον καὶ ἀεὶ ὅμοια.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολ-

¹ Kayser reads δοκεῖ, and makes the spy's words extend so far.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

Hellenic tongue, and said : "Where is the man of CHAP.
Tyana?" And taking Apollonius aside he said :
^{XXVIII}
"It is to-morrow that the Emperor will give you an audience." And this he appeared to have heard direct from Aelian. "I will keep your secret," said Apollonius, "for it is only Aelian, I think, who can know so much." "Moreover," said the other, "word has been given to the chief jailor to supply you with everything which you may want." "You are very kind," said Apollonius, "but I lead exactly the same life here as I would outside; for I converse about casual topics, and I do not need anything." "And do you not, O Apollonius, need someone to advise you how to converse with the Emperor?" "Yes, by heaven," he replied, "if only he will not try to get me to flatter him." "And what if he merely advised you not to slight him nor flout him?" "He could give no better advice," said Apollonius, "and it is what I have made up my own mind to do." "Well, it was about this that I am come," said the other, "and I am delighted to find you so sensibly disposed; but you ought to be prepared for the way in which the Emperor speaks, and also for the disagreeable quality of his face; for he talks in a deep voice, even if he is merely engaged in a gentle conversation, and his eyebrows overhang the sockets of his eyes and his cheeks are so bloated with bile, that this distinguishes him more than anything else. We must not be frightened, O man of Tyana, by these characteristics, for they rather belong to nature than to anything else, and they always are the same." And Apollonius replied :

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXVIII λώνιος, “Οδυσσεὺς μέντοι,” ἔφη, “παριὼν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πολυφήμου ἄντρον, καὶ μήτε ὅπόσος ἐστὶ προακηκοῶς πρότερον, μηδὲ οὐα σιτεῖται, μηδὲ ὡς βροντᾶς ἡ φωνή, ἐθάρρηστέ τε αὐτὸν καίτοι ἐν ἀρχῇ δείσας, καὶ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ ἄντρου ἀνὴρ δόξας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐξελθεῖν αὐταρκες ἐμαυτόν τε σώσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους, ὑπὲρ ὧν κινδυνεύω.” τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἥκοντα καὶ ἀπαγγείλας αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ἐκάθευδεν.

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX Περὶ δὲ ὅρθρον γραμματεύς τις ἥκων τῶν βασι-
λείων δικῶν, “κελεύει σε ὁ βασιλεύς,” ἔφη, “ὦ
Ἀπολλώνιε, περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν
ἥκειν, οὕπω ἀπολογησόμενον, ἀλλ’ ἵδεῖν τέ σε,
ὅστις ὡν τυγχάνεις, βούλεται καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι
μόνῳ.” “τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐμοὶ¹
διαλέγη;” “οὐ γάρ σύ,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιος;”
“νὴ Δὲ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Τυανεύς γε.” “πρὸς τίνα
οὖν,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα εἴπω;” “πρὸς τὸν ἄξοντάς
με,” εἶπε, “χρὴ γάρ που ὡς ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου
φοιτᾶν.” “προστέτακται,” ἔφη, “προτέροις γε
ἐκείνοις ταῦτα, κάγὼ δὲ ἀφίξομαι τοῦ καιροῦ, νυνὶ
δὲ παραγγελῶν ἥλθον, ταυτὶ γάρ μάλα ἐσπέρας
προστέτακται.”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

“ If Odysseus could go into the cave of Polyphemus, CHAP.
without having been informed beforehand either of XXXVIII
the giant’s size, or what he ate, or of how he thundered with his voice, and yet did not lose his presence of mind, though he was in some trepidation to begin with ; and if he left his cave after acquitting himself like a man, I too shall be quite satisfied if I get off with my own life and with that of my companions, in whose behalf I incur this risk.” Such were the words that passed between him and his visitor, and after reporting them to Damis he went to sleep.

XXIX

AND about dawn a notary came from the Royal CHAP.
court, and said : “ It is the Emperor’s orders, O XXIX
Apollonius, that you should repair to his court at the The emperor summons Apollonius into his presence
time when the market-place is full ; not indeed as yet to make your defence, for he wants to see you and find out who you are, and to talk with you alone.” “ And why,” said Apollonius, “ do you trouble me with these details ? ” “ Are you not then Apollonius ? ” said the other. “ Yes, by Heaven,” he said, “ and of Tyana too.” “ To whom then,” said the other, “ should I give this message ? ” “ To those who will take me thither,” he replied, “ for I suppose that I shall have to get out of this prison somehow.” “ Orders have already been given,” replied the other, “ to them, and I will come here in good time, and I only came to give you the message now, because the orders were issued late last night.”

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXX

CAP.
XXX 'Ο μὲν δὴ ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἀναπαύσας
έαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, "ῦπνου," ἔφη, "δέομαι,
Δάμι, χαλεπὴ γάρ μοι ἡ μὲν γέγονεν ἀναμνησθῆναι
βουλομένῳ ὡν Φραώτου ποτὲ ἥκουσα." "καὶ μὴν
ἐγρηγορέναι τε," εἶπεν, "ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον καὶ ξυντάτ-
τειν έαυτὸν ἐς τὸ παρηγγελμένον μέγα οὗτος ὅν."
"καὶ πῶς ἀν ξυντατοίμην," ἔφη, "μηδέ, τί¹
ἐρήσεται, εἰδώς;" "αὐτοσχεδιάσεις οὖν," εἶπεν,
"ὑπὲρ τοῦ βίου;" "νὴ Δὲ," ἔφη "ὦ Δάμι, αὐτο-
σχεδίῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ χρῶμαι. ἀλλ' ὅ γε ἀνεμνήσθην
τοῦ Φραώτου βούλομαι διελθεῖν πρὸς σέ, χρηστὸν
γὰρ ἐς τὰ παρόντα καὶ σοὶ δόξει τοὺς λέοντας,
οὓς τιθασεύουσιν ἄνθρωποι, κελεύει Φραώτης
μήτε παίειν, μνησικακεῦν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἰ παίοιντο,
μήτε θεραπεύειν, ἀγερώχους γὰρ ἐκ τούτου γίγνε-
σθαι, ξὺν ἀπειλῇ δὲ μᾶλλον καταψῶντας ἐς
εὐάγωγα ἥθη ἄγειν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν
λεόντων εἶπεν, οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ θηρίων ἀγωγῆς
ἐσπουδάζομεν, ἀλλ' ἡνίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους
διδούς, ἡ χρωμένους οὐκ ἀν ἐκπεσεῖν ἥγειτο τοῦ
ξυμμέτρου." "ἄριστα μέν," ἔφη, "ὁ λόγος οὗτος
ἐς τὰ τυράννων ἥθη εἴρηται, ἀλλ' ἔστι τις καὶ
παρὰ τῷ Αἰσώπῳ λέων ὁ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, φησὶ δ'

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XXX

HE accordingly went away : but Apollonius after resting himself a little while on his bed said, " Damis, I need sleep, for I have had a bad night trying to remember what Phraotes once told me." " Well," said the other, " if you had to keep awake, you had much better have occupied yourself in preparing for so great an occasion as now is announced to you." " And how could I prepare myself," said Apollonius, " when I do not even know what questions he will ask of me ? " " Then are you going to defend your life extempore ? " said Damis. " Yes, by Heaven," he replied, " for it is an extempore life that I have always led. But I want to tell you what I could remember of the conversation of Phraotes, for I think you will find it very profitable under the circumstances. Phraotes enjoined the tamers of lions not to strike them, for he said that they bear you a grudge if they are struck ; but also not to flatter them, because that tends to make them proud and fierce ; but he advised them rather to stroke them with the hand at the same time that they threatened them, as the best way of reducing them to obedience and docility. Well, he made these remarks not really about lions,—for we were not interested about how to keep lions and wild beasts,—but he was really supplying a curb and rein for tyrants of such a kind as he thought would in practice keep them within the lines of good sense and moderation." " This story," said Damis, " is indeed most apposite to the manners of tyrants ; but there is also a story in Aesop about a certain lion

CHAP.
XXX
The advice
of Phraotes
to lion-
tamers

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. αύτὸν ὁ Αἰσωπος οὐ νοσεῖν μέν, δοκεῖν δέ, καὶ τῶν
XXX

θηρίων, ἂν ἐφοίτα παρ' αὐτόν, ἅπτεσθαι, τὴν δὲ
ἀλώπεκα, τί τούτῳ χρησόμεθα, εἰπεῖν, παρ' οὐ
μηδὲ ἀναλύει τις, μηδὲ δείκνυται τι τῶν ἔξιόντων
· ἵχνος ;” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἀλλ' ἐγώ,” ἔφη,
“σοφωτέραν τὴν ἀλώπεκα ἡγούμην ἄν, εἰ παρ-
ελθοῦσα ἔσω μὴ ἥλω, ἀλλ' ἐξῆλθε τοῦ σπηλαίου
τὰ ἵχνη τὰ ἑαυτῆς δεικνῦσσα.”

XXXI

CAP.
XXXI Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑπνου ἔσπασε κομιδῇ βραχὺ καὶ
ὅσον ἐπ' ὄφθαλμοὺς ἥλθεν, ἡμέρα δ' ὡς ἐγένετο,
προσευξάμενος τῷ Ἡλίῳ, ὡς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ
εἰκός, διελέγετο τοῖς προσιοῦσιν, ὃπόσα ἡρώτων,
καὶ οὕτως ἀγορᾶς πληθούσης ἀφικνεῖται γραμ-
ματεύς, κελεύων ἐπὶ θύρας ἥδη εἶναι, “μὴ καὶ
θᾶττον,” ἔφη, “ἐσκληθῶμεν.” ὁ δὲ εἰπών, “ἴω-
μεν,” ξὺν ὄρμῇ προῆλθε. πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ
δορυφόροι ἐπηκολούθουν τέτταρες, πλέον ἀπέχον-
τες ἢ οἱ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα διαρτοῦντες, ἐφείπετο δὲ
καὶ ὁ Δάμις δεδιὼς μέν, ξυννοοῦντι δ' διοιος.
έώρων μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἅπαντες, αὐτοῦ
τε γὰρ τοῦ σχήματος ἀπεβλέπετο, καὶ θείᾳ ἐδόκει
ἡ περὶ τῷ εἴδει ἔκπληξις, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἥκειν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

who lived in a cave, and Aesop says that he was not sick, but only pretended to be so, and that he seized on other wild animals who went to visit him ; and accordingly the fox made the remark : ‘ What are we to do with him, for no one ever quits his residence, nor are any tracks to be seen of his visitors going out again ? ’ ” And Apollonius remarked : “ Well, as for myself I should have regarded your fox as a cleverer animal, if he had gone in to see the lion, and instead of being caught had issued from the cave safely and left clear tracks behind him.”

XXXI

AFTER making this remark he took a short nap, just enough to close his eyes, and when day came he offered his prayers to the Sun, as best he could in prison, and then he conversed with all who came up and asked him questions ; and so about the time when the market fills a notary came and ordered him to repair at once to the court, adding : “ Lest we should not get there in time for the summons into his presence.” And Apollonius said : “ Let us go,” and eagerly went forth. And on the way four body-guards followed him, keeping at a greater distance from him than would an escort appointed merely to guard him. And Damis also followed in his train, in some trepidation indeed, but apparently plunged in thought. Now the eyes of all were turned upon Apollonius, for not only were they attracted by his dress and bearing, but there was a godlike look in his eyes, which struck them with astonishment ; and moreover the fact

CHAP.
XXXI

Apollonius
is escorted
to the
palace

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ίνπερ ἀνδρῶν κινδυνεύσοντα καὶ τοὺς βασκαίνοντας
XXXI αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτηδείους ἐποίει τότε. προσεστὼς
δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεραπευομένους
όρῶν, τοὺς δὲ θεραπεύοντας, ἐσιόντων τε καὶ
ἐξιόντων κτύπον, “δοκεῖ μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι,
βαλανείφ ταῦτα εἰκάσθαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔξω ἐσω
όρῶ σπεύδοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐσω ἔξω, παραπλήσιοι
δέ εἰσιν οἱ μὲν ἐκλελουμένοις, οἱ δ' ἀλούτοις.” τὸν
λόγον τοῦτον ἀσυλον κελεύω φυλάττειν καὶ μὴ τῷ
δεῖνι ἡ τῷ δεῖνι προσγράφειν αὐτόν, οὕτω τι Ἀπολ-
λωνίου ὅντα, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ ἀναγε-
γράφθαι. ἵδων δέ τινα μάλα πρεσβύτην ἐπι-
θυμοῦντα μὲν ἀρχειν, δι’ αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτο ἀρχόμενον
καὶ θεραπεύοντα τὸν βασιλέα, “τοῦτον,” ἔφη, “ὦ
Δάμι, οὐδὲ Σοφοκλῆς πω πέπεικε τὸν λυττῶντά
τε καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγεῖν.” “ὸν ἡμεῖς,”
εἶπεν, “Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ αὐτὸὶ ἥρήμεθα· ταῦτά
τοι καὶ προσεστήκαμεν θύραις τοιαύταις.” “δοκεῖς
μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, καὶ τὸν Αἰακόν, ὅσπερ ἐν
Αἴδου λέγεται, φρουρὸν ἥγεῖσθαι τουτωνὶ τῶν
πυλῶν εἶναι, τεθνεῶτι γὰρ δὴ ἔοικας.” “οὐ
τεθνεῶτι,” ἔφη, “τεθνηξομένῳ δέ.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολ-
λώνιος, “ἀφυής,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Δάμι, πρὸς τὸν
θάνατον εἶναι μοι φαίνη, καίτοι ξυνών μοι χρόνον,
ἐκ μειρακίου φιλοσοφῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὥμην παρεσκευά-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

that he had come to Rome to risk his life for his friends conciliated the good wishes even of those who were evilly disposed to him before. When he halted at the Palace and beheld the throng of those who were either being courted or were courting their superiors, and heard the din of those who were passing in and out, he remarked : " It seems to me, O Damis, that this place resembles a bath ; for I see people outside hastening in, and those within, hastening out ; and some of them resemble people who have been thoroughly well washed, and others those who have not been washed at all." This saying is the inviolable property of Apollonius, and I wish it to be reserved to him and not ascribed to this man and that, for it is so thoroughly and genuinely his, that he has repeated it in one of his letters. There he saw a very old man who was trying to get an appointment, and in order to do so was grovelling before the Emperor and fawning upon him. " Here is one," he said, " O Damis, whom not even Sophocles so far has been able to persuade to run away from a master who is raging mad." " Yes, a master," said Damis, " that we ourselves, Apollonius, have chosen for our own ; for that is why we are standing here at such gates as these." " It seems to me, O Damis," said the other, " that you imagine Aeacus to be warden of these gates, as he is said to be of the gates of Hades ; for verily you look like a dead man." " Not dead yet," said Damis, " but shortly to be so." And Apollonius answered : " O Damis, you do not seem to me to take very kindly to death, although you have been with me some time, and have studied philosophy from your first youth. But I had imagined that you were prepared

Discourse
on a place-
seeker

Plato Rep.
329

Apollonius
expostu-
lates with
Damis for
his
cowardice

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. σθαι τέ σε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐμοὶ τακτικὴν
XXXI εἰδέναι πᾶσαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῖς μαχομένοις καὶ
όπλιτεύουσιν οὐκ εὐψυχίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τάξεως ἔρμηνευούσης τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς μάχης,
οὗτῳ καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἐπιμελητέα τῶν
καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἀποθανοῦνται, ως μὴ ἄτακτοι,
μηδὲ θανατῶντες, ξὺν ἀρίστῃ δ' αἴρεσει ἐς αὐτοὺς
φέροιντο. ὅτι δὲ ἄριστά τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν προσ-
ήκοντα φιλοσοφίᾳ καιρὸν εἰλόμην ἀποθνήσκειν,
εἴ τις ἀποκτείνειν βούλοιτο, ἔτεροις τε ἀπολελό-
γημαι σοῦ παρόντος, αὐτόν τε σὲ διδάσκων
ἀπείρηκα.”

XXXII

CAP. Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ σχολὴ τῷ
XXXII βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διωσαμένῳ πάντα, ἐς
λόγους ἀφικέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρί, παρῆγον μὲν αὐτὸν
ἐς τὰ βασιλεῖα οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ
ξυγχωρήσαντες τῷ Δάμιδι ἐπισπέσθαι οἱ. θαλλοῦ
δὲ στέφανον ἔχων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρτι μὲν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ
τεθυκὼς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν αὐλῇ Ἀδώνιδος, ή δὲ αὐλῇ
ἀνθέων ἐτεθήλει κήποις, οὓς Ἀδώνιδι Ἀσσύριοι
ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ ὀργίων, ὁμωροφίους αὐτοὺς φυτεύ-
οντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὧν μετεστράφη, καὶ
ἐκπλαγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰδους τοῦ ἀνδρός, “Αἰλιανέ,”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

for it, and had also acquainted yourself with all the CHAP.
strategy and tactical resources that I have at my ^{XXXI} command ; for just as men in battle, no matter how heavily armoured they be, require not merely pluck, but also a knowledge of tactics to interpret to them the right opportunities of battle, so also philosophers must wait for the right opportunities when to die ; so that they be not taken off their guard, nor like suicides rush into death, but may meet their enemies upon ground of their own good choosing. But that I made my choice well of a moment to die in and found an occasion worthy of a philosopher, supposing anyone wants to kill him, I have both proved to others before whom I defended myself in your presence, and am tired of teaching yourself the same."

XXXII

So far these matters then ; but when the CHAP.
Emperor had leisure, having got rid of all his ^{XXXII} urgent affairs, to give an audience to our sage, the attendants whose office it was conducted him into the palace, without allowing Damis to follow him. And the Emperor was wearing a wreath of green leaves, for he had just been offering a sacrifice to Athene in the hall of Adonis and this hall was bright with baskets of flowers, such as the Syrians at the time of the festival of Adonis make up in his honour, growing them under their very roofs. Though the Emperor was engaged with his religious rites, he turned round, and was so much struck by Apollonius' appearance, that he said : "O Aelian, it

His interview with Domitian

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXII εἰπε, “δαίμονά μοι ἐπεσήγαγες.” ἀλλ’ οὕτε ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καθαπτόμενός τε ὡν ἥκουσεν, “ἐγὼ δέ,” ἔφη, “τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φῶμην ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι σου, βασιλεῦ, τρόπου, δν καὶ τοῦ Διομήδους ποτὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ, τὴν γάρ τοι ἀχλύν, ὑφ’ ἦς οἱ ἄνθρωποι χεῖρον βλέπουσιν, ἀφελοῦσα τῶν τοῦ Διομήδους ὁφθαλμῶν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ θεούς τε διαγιγνώσκειν καὶ ἄνδρας, σὲ δὲ οὕπω ἡ θεὸς ἐκάθηρεν, ὡς βασιλεῦ, τὴν κάθαρσιν ταύτην ἡ μὴν ἔδει γε, ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ὄρφης ἀμεινον τούς τε ἄνδρας μὴ ἐς τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων εἴδη τάττοις.” “σὺ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ φιλόσοφε, πότε τὴν ἀχλύν ἐκαθήρω ταύτην;” “πάλαι,” ἔφη, “καξῶς τούς φιλοσοφῶ.” “πῶς οὖν,” εἶπε, “τοὺς ἐμοὶ πολεμιωτάτους ἄνδρας θεοὺς ἐνόμισας;” “καὶ τίς,” ἔφη, “πρὸς Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἡ πρὸς Φραώτην τοὺς Ἰνδούς, οὓς ἐγὼ μόνους ἀνθρώπων θεούς τε ἥγοῦμαι καὶ ἀξίους τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης;” “μὴ ἅπαγε ἐς Ἰνδούς,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φιλτάτου σοι Νερούα καὶ τῶν κοινωνούντων αὐτῷ τῆς αἰτίας λέγε.” “ἀπολογῶμαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ,” ἔφη, “τι ἡ—” “μὴ ἀπολογοῦ,” εἶπεν, ἀδικῶν γὰρ εἴληπται, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὡς αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖς ξυνειδῶς ἐκείνῳ τοιαῦτα, τούτο με ἀναδίδασκε.” “εἰ, ἀξύνοιδα,” ἔφη, “ἀκοῦσαι βούλει, ἄκουε, τί γὰρ ἀν τάληθῇ κρύπτοιμι;” ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

is a demon that you have introduced to me." But CHAP.
Apollonius, without losing his composure, made XXXII
free to comment upon the Emperor's words, and
said : " As for myself, I imagined that Athene was
your tutelary goddess, O sovereign, in the same
way as she was Diomede's long ago in Troy ; for
she removed the mist which dulls the eyes of men
from those of Diomede, and endowed him with the
faculty of distinguishing gods from men. But the
goddess has not yet purged your eyes as she did his,
my sovereign ; yet it were well, if Athene did so,
that you might behold her more clearly and not con-
fuse mere men with the forms of demons." " And
you," said the Emperor, " O philosopher, when did
you have this mist cleared away from your eyes ?"
" Long ago," said he, " and ever since I have been
a philosopher." " How comes it then," said the
Emperor, " that you have come to regard as gods
persons who are most hostile to myself ? " " And
what hostility," said Apollonius, " is there between
yourself and Iarchas or Phraotes, both of them
Indians and the only human beings that I regard
as gods and meriting such a title ? " " Don't try
to put me off with Indians," said the Emperor, " but
just tell me about your darling Nerva and his
accomplices." " Am I to plead his cause," said
Apollonius, " or— ? " " No, you shall not plead it,"
said the Emperor, " for he has been taken red-
handed in guilt ; but just prove to me, if you can,
that you are not yourself equally guilty as being
privy to his designs." " If," said Apollonius, " you
would hear how far I am in his counsel, and privy to
his designs, please hear me, for why should I conceal
the truth ? " Now the Emperor imagined that he

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R

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXII ἀπορρίγτων τε λαμπρῶν ἀκροάσασθαι ᾖτο, καὶ ἐς
τὸ ξυντεῦνον τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἥκειν
πάντα.

XXXIII

CAP.
XXXIII Ὁ δ' ὡς μετέωρον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης ταύτης
εἶδεν. “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “Νερούαν σωφρονέστατον ἀνθ-
ρώπων οἶδα καὶ πραότατον καὶ σοὶ ἐπιτηδειότατον,
καὶ ἄρχοντα μὲν ἀγαθόν, εὐλαβῆ δ' οὕτω πρὸς
ὅγκον πραγμάτων, ὡς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς δεδιέναι. οἱ δὲ
ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ‘Ροῦφον γάρ που λέγεις καὶ Ὄρφιτον,
σώφρονες μὲν καὶ οἴδε οἱ ἄνδρες, ὅπόσα οἶδα, καὶ
διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς πλοῦτον, νωθροὶ δὲ πράττειν
ὅπόσα ἔξεστι, νεώτερα δὲ οὗτ' ἀν αὐτοὶ ἐνθυμη-
θεῖεν οὗτ' ἀν ἑτέρῳ ἐνθυμηθέντι ξυνάραιντο.”
ἀνοιδήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, “συκο-
φάντην με οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰληφας, ἵν
οὖς ἐγὼ μαρωτάτους ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς ἐμοῖς
ἐπιπηδῶντας εὑρον, σὺ δ', ὡς χρηστοί τέ εἰσι
λέγεις, καὶ νωθροί; καὶ γὰρ ἀν κάκείνους ἥγονμαι,
ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐρωτωμένους, μήθ' ὡς γόης εἰ φάναι,
μήθ' ὡς ἵτης, μήθ' ὡς ἀλαζών, μήθ' ὡς φιλοχρή-
ματος, μήθ' ὡς φρονῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς νόμους. οὕτως,
ὡς μιαρὰ κεφαλαί, κακῶς ξυντέταχθε. ἐλέγξει δ' ἡ
κατηγορία πάντα· καὶ γὰρ ὅπόσα ὀμώμοται ὑμᾶν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

was going to hear Apollonius confess very important CHAP.
secrets, and that whatever transpired would conduce XXXII
to the destruction of the persons in question.

XXXIII

But Apollonius seeing him on tip-toe with expectation, merely said : " For myself, I know Nerva to be the most moderate of men and the gentlest and the most devoted to yourself, as well as a good ruler ; though he is so averse to meddling in high matters of State, that he shrinks from office. And as for his friends, for I suppose you refer to Rufus and Orphitus,—these men also are discreet, so far as I know, and averse from wealth, somewhat sluggish to do all they lawfully may ; while as for revolution, they are the last people in the world either to plan it or to take part with another who should do so." But the Emperor was inflamed with anger at what he heard and said : " Then you mean to say that I am guilty of slander in their cases, since you assert that they are good men, only sluggish, whom I have ascertained to be the vilest of mankind and usurpers of my throne. For I can imagine that they too, if I put the question to them about you, would in their turn deny that you were a wizard and a hot-head and a braggart and a miser, and that you looked down on the laws. And so it is, you accursed rascals, that you all hold together like thieves. But the accusation shall unmask everything ; for I know, as well as if I hd been present and taken part in everything, all the oaths which you took, and the objects for

CHAP.
XXXIII
He defends
Nerva to the
Emperor

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXIII καὶ ὑπὲρ ὡν καὶ ὅπότε καὶ τί θύσασιν, οὐδὲν μεῖον οἶδα, ἢ εἰ παρετύγχανόν τε καὶ ἐκοινώνουν.” ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκπλαγεῖς, “αὐσχρόν,” ἔφη, “βασιλεῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἢ δικάζειν ὑπὲρ ὡν πέπεισαι ἢ πεπεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ ὡν μὴ ἐδίκασας. εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει, ξυγχώρησον ἐνθένδε μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας ἄρξασθαι· κακῶς; ὡ βασιλεῦ, περὶ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖς, καὶ πλείω με ἀδικεῖς ἢ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἢ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος διδάξειν ἔφη, σὺ πρὸν ἀκοῦσαι πέπεισαι.” “τῆς μὲν ἀπολογίας,” εἶπεν, “ὅπόθεν βούλει, ἄρχου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὅ τι παύσομαι οἶδα, καὶ ὅπόθεν ἥδη προσήκει ἄρξασθαι.”

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV Ἀρχεται τὸ ἐνθένδε τῆς ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ὕβρεως, γενείων τε ἀποκείρας αὐτὸν καὶ χαίτης, ἐν τε τοῖς κακουργοτάτοις δῆσας. ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς κουρᾶς, “ἐλελήθειν, ὡ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “περὶ ταῖς θριξὶ κινδυνεύων.” ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν δεσμῶν, “εἰ μὲν γόητά με ἥγῃ,” ἔφη, “πῶς δῆσεις; εἰ δὲ δῆσεις, πῶς γόητα εἴναι φήσεις;” “καὶ ἀνήσω γε οὐ πρότερον,” εἶπεν, “ἡ ὕδωρ γενέσθαι σε ἢ τι θηρίον ἢ δένδρον.” “ταυτὶ μέν,” ἔφη, “οὐδὲ εἰ δυναίμην, γενοίμην ἄν,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII.

which you took them, and when you did it, and what was your preliminary sacrifice." At all this Apollonius did not even blench, but merely remarked: "It is not creditable to you, O sovereign, nor is it congruous with the law, that you should either pretend to try a case affecting persons about whom you have already made up your mind, or should have made it up before ever you have tried them. But if you will have it so, permit me at once to begin and plead my defence. You are prejudiced against me, my sovereign, and you do me a greater wrong than could any false informer, for you take for granted, before you hear them, accusations which he only offers to prove." "Begin your defence," said the Emperor, "at any point you like, but I know very well where to draw the line, and with what it is best to begin."

XXXIV

FROM that moment he began to insult the sage, by cutting off his beard, and hair, and confining him among the vilest felons; and as regards his hair being shaved, Apollonins remarked: "I had forgotten, O sovereign, that it was treasonable to wear long hair." And as regards his imprisonment in bonds, he remarked: "If you think me a wizard, how will you ever fetter me? And if you fetter me, how can you say that I am a wizard?" "Yes," replied the Emperor, "for I will not release you until you have turned into water, or into some wild animal, or into a tree." "I will not turn into these things," said Apollonius, "even if I could, for I will

CHAP.
XXXIV

The
Emperor
persecutes
the Sage

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXIV ώς μὴ προδοίην ποτὲ τοὺς οὐδεμιὰ δίκη κινδυνεύουντας, ὡν δ', ὅσπερ εἰμί, πᾶσιν ὑποθήσω ἐμαυτὸν οἶς ἀν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τουτὶ πράττης, ἔστ' ἀν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολογήσωμαι." ὑπὲρ δὲ σοῦ," εἶπε, "τίς ὁ ἀπολογησόμενος ἔσται;" "χρόνος," ἔφη, "καὶ θεῶν πνεῦμα καὶ σοφίας ἔρως, ή̄ ξύνειμι."

XXXV

CAP.
XXXV Τὸν μὲν δὴ προάγωνα τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὃς ἐγένετο αὐτῷ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἴδιᾳ, τοιόνδε διαγράφει ὁ Δάμις, οἱ δὲ βασκάνως ταῦτα ξυνθέντες ἀπολελογῆσθαι μὲν αὐτόν φασι πρότερον, δεδέσθαι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτε δὴ κείρασθαι, καί τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέπλασαν, ξυγκειμένην μὲν ἰωνικῶς, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἄχαρι, ἐν η̄ βούλονται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἵκέτην τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ γίγνεσθαι, παραιτούμενον ἑαυτὸν τῶν δεσμῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰώνιον ἐρμηνεύει τρόπον, ἐπιστολῇ δὲ ἵαστὶ ξυγκειμένῃ οὕπῳ Ἀπολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καίτοι ξυνειλοχῶς αὐτοῦ πλείστας, οὐδὲ μακρηγορίαν πω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εὑρον, βραχέαι γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ σκυτάλης πᾶσαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ νικῶν τὴν αἵτίαν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ πῶς ἂν ποτε ἐδέθη μετὰ τὴν ἀφεῖσαν ψῆφον; ἀλλὰ μήπω τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ κουρᾷ καὶ ἄττα διελέχθη, λεγέσθω πρότερον, ἄξια γὰρ σπουδάσαι.

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not ever betray men who, in violation of all justice, stand in peril; and what I am, that I will remain; but I am ready to endure all you can inflict upon my vile body, until I have finished pleading the cause of these persons." "And who," asked the Emperor, "is going to plead your cause?" "Time," replied Apollonius, "and the spirit of the gods, and the passion for wisdom which animates me."

CHAP.
XXXIV

XXXV

SUCH was the prelude of his defence, which he made in private to Domitian, as Damis outlines it. But some have, out of malignity, perverted the facts, and say that he first made his defence, and only then was imprisoned, at the same time that he was also shorn; and they have forged a certain letter in the Ionic dialect, of tedious prolixity, in which they pretend that Apollonius went down on his knees to Domitian and besought him to release him of his bonds. Now Apollonius, it is true, wrote his testament in the Ionian style of language; but I never met with any letter of his composed in that dialect, although I have come across a great many of them; nor did I ever find any verbosity in any letter of the sage's, for they are laconically brief as if they had been unwound from the ferule of a herald. Moreover, he won his cause and quitted the court, so how could he ever have been imprisoned after the verdict was given? But I must defer to relate what happened in the law court. I had best narrate first what ensued after he was shaved and what he said in his discourses, for it is worthy of notice.

CHAP.
XXXV
*Perversions
of the Sage's
history
by his
enemies*

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXXVI

CAP.
XXXVI Δυοῖν γὰρ ἡμέραιν δεδεμένου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀφικ-
νεῖται τις ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, τὸ προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ
ἐωνῆσθαι φάσκων, ξύμβουλος δὲ σωτηρίας ἥκειν·
ἥν μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος οὗτος, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ νοῦς
τε καὶ γλῶττα, καθεῦτο δ', ὕσπερ ὁ πρότερος,
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πιθανωτέρων οὗτος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
πόρρωθεν, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐλών, “ὦ θεοί,”
ἔφη, “τίς ἀν φήθη δεθῆναι Ἀπολλώνιον;” “ὁ
δῆσας,” εἶπεν, “οὐ γὰρ ἄν, εἰ μὴ φήθη, ἔδησε.”
“τίς δ' ἀν τὰς ἀμβροσίας ποτὲ ἀποτμηθῆναι
χαίτας;” “ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ κομῶν.” “φέρεις δὲ
πῶς ταῦτα;” “ὦς γε εἰκός,” εἶπε, “τὸν μήθ
ἔκουσίως μήτ' ἀκουσίως ἐς αὐτὰ ἥκοντα.” “τὸ
δὲ σκέλος πῶς,” ᔁφη, “καρτερεῖ;” “οὐκ οἶδα,”
εἶπεν, “ὁ γὰρ νοῦς πρὸς ἑτέροις ἔστι.” “καὶ μὴν
πρὸς τῷ ἀλγοῦντι,” ᔁφη, “ὁ νοῦς.” “οὐ μὲν οὖν,”
εἶπε, “νοῦς μὲν γὰρ ὅ γ' ἐν ἀνδρὶ τοιῷδε ἡ οὐκ
ἀλγήσει ἡ τὸ ἀλγοῦν παύσει.” “τί δὲ δὴ
ἐνθυμεῖται ὁ νοῦς;” “αὐτό,” εἶπε, “τὸ μὴ ἐννοεῖν
ταῦτα.” πάλιν δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς χαίτας ἀνακαλοῦντος
καὶ περιάγοντος ἐς αὐτὰς τὸν λόγον, “ῶνησαι,”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XXXVI

FOR after the sage had been confined for two days in prison, some one came to the prison, and said that he had purchased the right to visit him, and that he was come to advise him how to save his life. This person then was a native of Syracuse, and was mind and mouthpiece of Domitian; and he had been suborned, like the earlier one, by him. But he had a more plausible mission; for whereas the first one beat about the bush, this one took up his parable straight from what he saw before him, and said: "Heavens, who would ever have thought of Apollonius being thrown into chains?" "The person who threw him," said Apollonius, "for surely he would not have done so, if he had not thought of it." "And who ever thought that his ambrosial locks could be cut off?" "I myself," said Apollonius, "who wore them." "And how can you endure it?" said the other. "As a man well may bear it who is brought to this pass neither with nor without his will." "And how can your leg endure the weight of the fetters?" "I don't know," said Apollonius, "for my mind is intent upon other matters." "And yet the mind," said the other, "must attend to what causes pain." "Not necessarily," said Apollonius, "for if you are a man like myself, your mind will either not feel the pain or will order it to cease." "And what is it that occupies your mind?" "The necessity," answered Apollonius, "of not noticing such things." Then the other reverted to the matter of his locks and led the conversation round to them again, wherepon Apollonius remarked:

CHAP.
XXXVI
The
Emperor
sends a spy
into the
prison

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXVI ἔφη, “νεανίσκε, μὴ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Ἀχαιῶν εἰς γενόμενος, ώς σφόδρα ἄν μοι δοκεῖς τὰς Ἀχιλλείους κόμας ὀλοφύρασθαι Πατρόκλῳ τμηθείσας, εἰ δὴ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ λειποθυμῆσαι δ’ ἀν ἐπ’ αὐταῖς. δις γάρ τὰς ἐμάς, ἐν αἷς πολιαί τε ἥσταν καὶ αὐχμός, ἐλεεῦν φάσκεις, τί οὐκ ἀν πρὸς ἐκείνας ἔπαθες τὰς ἥσκημένας τε καὶ ξανθάς;”

Τῷ δὲ ἄρα ξὺν ἐπιβουλῇ ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, ἵν’ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀλγεῖ μάθοι, καὶ νὴ Δία, εἰ λοιδορεῖται τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ ὧν πέπονθεν ἀνακοπεῖς δ’ ὑφ’ ὧν ἥκουσε, “διαβέβλησαι,” ἔφη, “πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ πλειόνων, μάλιστα δ’ ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ περὶ Νερούαν ώς ἀδικοῦντες φεύγουσιν. ἀφίκοντο μὲν γάρ τινες ἐς αὐτὸν διαβολαὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ιωνίᾳ λόγων, οὓς ἀντιξόως τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηχθημένως εἶπας, καταφρονεῖ δὲ τούτων, ὡς φασιν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὰ μείζω παρώξυνται, καίτοι τοῦ κάκεῖνα διαβάλλοντος ἀνδρὸς ὑψοῦ προήκοντος τῆς δόξης.” “οἰον,” ἔφη, “Ολυμπιονίκην εἴρηκας, εἰ δόξης φησὶν ἅπτεσθαι διαβολαῖς ἴσχύων. ξυνίημι δ’, ώς ἔστιν Εὐφράτης, διν ἐγὼ οίδα πάντ’ ἐπ’ ἐμὲ πράττοντα, ἥδικημαι δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ μείζω ἔτερα· αἰσθόμενος γάρ ποτε φοιτήσειν μέλλοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ Γυμνούς, ἐς

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“ It is lucky for you, young man, that you were not one of the Achaeans long ago in Troy; for it seems to me that you would have raised a terrible hullabaloo over the locks of Achilles, when he cut them off in honour of Patroclus, supposing he really did so, and you would at least have swooned at such a spectacle. For if as you say, you are full of pity for my locks which were all grey and frowzy, what would you not have felt over those of Achilles which were nicely curled and auburn? ”

The other of course had only made his remarks out of malice, in order to see what would make Apollonius wince, and, by Heaven, to see whether he would reproach his sovereign on account of his sufferings. But he was so shut up by the answers he got that he said: “ You have incurred the royal displeasure on several grounds, but in particular on those for which Nerva and his friends are being prosecuted, namely of injuring the government. For certain informations have been conveyed to him about your words in Ionia, when you spoke of him in hostile and embittered tones. But they say that he attaches little importance to that matter, because his anger is whetted by the graver charges, and this although the informer from whom he learnt those first charges is a very distinguished person of great reputation.” “ A new sort of Olympic winner is this you tell me of,” said Apollonius, “ that pretends to win distinction by the weightiness of his slanders. But I quite realise that he is Euphrates, who, I know, does everything against me which he can; and these are far from being the worst injuries which he has done me. For hearing once on a time that I was about to visit the naked sages of Ethiopia, he set himself to poison



FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXVI διαβολάς μου πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατέστη, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ξυνῆκα, τάχ’ ἀν ἀπῆλθον μηδ’ ἵδων τοὺς ἄνδρας.” θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Συρακούσιος τὸν λόγον, “εἰτ,” ἔφη, “τοῦ διαβληθῆναι βασιλεῖ μεῖζον ἡγῆ τὸ τοῦ Γυμνοῖς μὴ χρηστὸς ἀν ἐξ ὧν Εὐφράτης καθίει δόξαι;” “νὴ Δῖ,” εἶπεν, “ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ μαθησόμενος ἡα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπὲρ διδασκαλίας ἥκω.” “τῆς τί,” ἔφη, “διδασκούσης;” “τὸ εἰναί με,” εἶπε, “καλὸν κάγαθόν, τουτὶ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὕπω οἰδεν.” “ἀλλ’ ἔστιν,” ἔφη, “τὰ σεαυτοῦ εὑθέσθαι διδαξαμένῳ αὐτόν, δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἐνταῦθα ἥκειν λέξας οὐδ’ ἀν ἐδέθης.” ξυνιεὶς οὖν τοῦ Συρακουσίου ξυνελαύνοντος αὐτὸν ἐις τὸν ὅμοιον τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγον, οἰομένου τε, ὡς ἀπογρεύων πρὸς τὰ δεσμὰ ψεύσεται τι κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, “ὦ βέλτιστε,” εἶπεν, “εἰ τὰληθῆ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἰπὼν ἐδέθην, τί πείσομαι μὴ ἀληθεύσας; ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰληθὲς δοκεῖ δεσμῶν ἄξιον, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ ψεῦδος.”

XXXVII

CAP.
XXXVII ‘Ο μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπερφιλοσοφοῦντα, ταυτὶ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀπῆλθεν, ἔχώρει
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their minds against me, and if I had not seen through his malignant designs, I should probably have gone away without even seeing their company." CHAP. XXXVI
The Syracusan then, much astonished at this remark, said : " Then you think it a much lesser thing to be traduced to the Emperor than to forfeit your good repute in the eyes of the naked sages owing to the insinuations dropped against you by Euphrates ? " " Yes, by Heaven," he said, " for I was going there as a learner, whereas I am come here with a mission to teach." " And what are you going to teach ? " said the other. " That I am," said Apollonius, " a good and honourable man,—a circumstance this of which the Emperor is not yet aware." " But you can," said the other, " get out of your scrape if you only will teach him things, which if you had told him before you came here, you would never have been cast into prison." Now Apollonius understood that the Syracusan was trying to drive him into some such admission as the Emperor had tried to get out of him, and that he imagined that out of sheer weariness of his imprisonment he would tell some falsehood to the detriment of his friends, and accordingly he answered : " My excellent friend, if I have been cast into prison for telling Domitian the truth, what would happen to me if I refrained from telling it ? For he apparently regards truth as something to be punished with imprisonment, just as I regard falsehood."

XXXVII

THE Syracusan accordingly was so much struck with the superiority of his philosophical talent (for after CHAP. XXXVII

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXVII ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἵδων ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, “ξυνίης,” ἔφη, “τοῦ Πύθωνος τούτου;” “ξυνίημι μέν,” εἶπε “ὑποκαθημένου τε καὶ ὑπαγομένου σε, τί δὲ ὁ Πύθων βούλεται σοι καὶ τίς ὁ τοῦ ὄνόματος νοῦς, οὐκ οἰδα.” “ἐγένετο,” ἔφη, “Πύθων ὁ Βυζάντιος ἀγαθός, φασί, ρήτωρ τὰ κακὰ πείθειν· οὗτος ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου πρεσβεύων παρὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑπὲρ τῆς δουλείας αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἴᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν Ἀθηναίοις γε αὐτοῖς, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστά γε ρήτορικῇ ἔρρωντο, ἀδικεῖσθαι τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἔφασκε τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ δεινὰ πράττειν Ἀθηναίους τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλευθεροῦντας. ὁ Πύθων ταῦτα πολὺς ρέων, ὡς φασιν, ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἀντειπὼν θρασυνομένῳ μόνος, τὸ ἀνασχέν αὐτὸν τάττει ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῷ ἄθλοις. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ἐς ἀ ἐδόκει τούτῳ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἄθλον ἐμαυτοῦ φαίην, Πύθωνι δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτὸν πράττειν ἔφην, ἐπειδὴ τυράννου τε μισθωτὸς ἀφίκετο καὶ ἀτόπων ξύμβουλος.”

XXXVIII

CAP.
XXXVIII Διαλέγεσθαι μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πλείω τοιαῦτα, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἀπορεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων φησί, λύσιν δὲ αὐτῶν ὄρāν οὐδεμίαν πλὴν ὅσαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐξαμένοις τισὶ κάκ
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saying this he went away), that he promptly left the prison ; but Apollonius glancing at Damis said : “ Do you understand this Python ? ” “ I understand,” said he, “ that he has been suborned to trip you up ; but what you mean by Python, and what is the sense of such a name, I do not know.” “ Python,” replied Apollonius, “ of Byzantium, was, they say, a rhetor skilful to persuade men to evil courses. He was sent in the interests of Philip, son of Amyntas, on an embassy to the Hellenes to urge their enslavement, and though he passed by other states, he was careful to go to Athens, just at a time when rhetoric most flourished there. And he told them that they did a great injury to Philip, and made a great mistake in trying to liberate the Hellenic nation. Python delivered these sentiments, as they say, with a flood of words, but no one save Demosthenes of the Paeanian deme spoke to the contrary and checked his presumption; and he reckons it amongst his achievements that he bore the brunt of his attack unaided. Now I would never call it an achievement that I refused to be drawn into the avowals which he wanted. Nevertheless I said that he was employed on the same job as Python, because he has come here as a despot’s hireling to tender me monstrous advice.”

CHAP.
XXXVII
Apollonius
compares
the spy to
Python

XXXVIII

DAMIS says then that though Apollonius uttered many more discourses of the same kind, he was himself in despair of the situation, because he saw no way out of it except such as the gods have vouchsafed to some in answer to prayer, when they were in even

CHAP.
XXXVIII

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXVIII πολλῷ χαλεπωτέρων ἥλθον, ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ μεσημ-
βρίας, “ὦ Τυανεῦ,” φάναι, σφόδρα γὰρ δὴ χαίρειν
αὐτὸν τῇ προσρήσει, “τί πεισόμεθα;” “ὅ γε ἐπά-
θομεν,” ἔφη, “πέρα δ’ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀποκτενεῖ ἡμᾶς
οὐδείς.” “καὶ τίς,” εἶπεν, “οὗτως ἄτρωτος;
λυθήσῃ δὲ πότε;” “τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δικάσαντι,”
ἔφη, “τήμερον, τὸ δὲ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ ἄρτι.” καὶ εἰπὼν
ταῦτα ἐξήγαγε τὸ σκέλος τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ πρὸς
τὸν Δάμιν ἔφη, “ἐπίδειξιν πεποίημαί σοι τῆς
ἔλευθερίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ θάρρει.” τότε πρῶτον
ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου
φύσεως, δτι θεία τε εἴη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου,
μὴ γὰρ θύσαντα, πῶς γὰρ ἐν δεσμωτηρίφ; μηδ’
εὐξάμενόν τι, μηδὲ εἰπόντα καταγελάσαι τοῦ
δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἐναρμόσαντα αὖ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ
δεδεμένου πράττειν.

XXXIX

CAP.
XXXIX Οἱ δὲ εὐηθέστεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τοὺς γόητας
ἀναφέρουσι ταῦτα, πεπόνθασι δ’ αὐτὸ δὲς πολλὰ
τῶν ἀνθρωπείων δέονται μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς
τέχνης ἀθληταί, δέονται δὲ ἀγωνισταὶ πάντες διὰ
τὸ νικᾶν γλίχεσθαι, καὶ ξυλλαμβάνει μὲν αὐτοῖς
ἐς τὴν νίκην οὐδέν, ἀ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης νικῶσι, ταῦθ’
οἱ κακοδαίμονες αὐτοὺς ἀφελόμενοι, λογίζονται τῇ

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worse straits. But a little before mid-day, he tells us that he said : "O man of Tyana,"—for he took a special pleasure, it appears, in being called by that name,—"what is to become of us?" "Why what has become of us already," said Apollonius, "and nothing more, for no one is going to kill us." "And who," said Damis, "is so invulnerable as that? But will you ever be liberated?" "So far as it rests with the verdict of the court," said Apollonius, "I shall be set at liberty this day, but so far as depends upon my own will, now and here." And with these words he took his leg out of the fetters and remarked to Damis: "Here is proof positive to you of my freedom, so cheer up." Damis says that it was then for the first time that he really and truly understood the nature of Apollonius, to wit that it was divine and superhuman, for without any sacrifice,—and how in prison could he have offered any?—and without a single prayer, without even a word, he quietly laughed at the fetters, and then inserted his leg in them afresh, and behaved like a prisoner once more.

CHAP.
XXXVIII
Apollonius miraculously strikes the fetter off his leg

XXXIX

Now simple-minded people attribute such acts as this to wizardry, and they make the same mistake in respect of many purely human actions. For athletes resort to this art, just as do all who have to undergo a contest in their eagerness to win; and although it contributes nothing to their success, nevertheless these unfortunate people, after winning by mere chance as they generally do, rob themselves of the credit and attribute it to this art of wizardry. Nor

CHAP.
XXXIX
A discourse on Magic and Magicians

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXIX τέχνη ταύτη, ἀπιστοῦσι δ' αὐτῇ οὐδ' οἱ ἡττώμενοι σφῶν, “εἰ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα ἔθυσα καὶ τὸ δεῖνα ἔθυμίασα, οὐκ ἀν διέφυγέ με ἡ νίκη,” τοιαῦτα λέγουσι, καὶ τοιαῦτα οἴονται. φοιτᾶ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θύρας ἐμπόρων κατὰ ταύτα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κάκείνους εὔροιμεν ἀν τὰ μὲν εὐτυχήματα τῆς ἐμπορίας λογιζομένους τῷ γόητι, τὰ δὲ ἄτοπα τῇ αὐτῶν φειδοῖ καὶ τῷ μὴ ὅπόσα ἔδει θῦσαι. ἀνήπται δὲ ἡ τέχνη τοὺς ἐρῶντας μάλιστα, νοσοῦντες γὰρ εὐπαράγωγον οὕτω νόσον, ώς καὶ γραιδίοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς διαλέγεσθαι, θαυμαστόν, οὖμαι, οὐδὲν πράττουσι προσιόντες τοῖς σοφισταῖς τούτοις καὶ ἀκροώμενοι σφῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἱ κεστόν τε αὐτοῦς φέρειν διδοῦσι καὶ λίθους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς γῆς ἀπορρήτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ σελήνης τε καὶ ἀστέρων, ἀρώματά τε ὁπόσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ κηπεύει, καὶ χρήματα μὲν αὐτοὺς λαμπρὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων πράττονται, ξυνδρῶσι δὲ οὐδέν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ παθόντων τι τῶν παιδικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρῶντας ἡ δώροις ὑπαχθέντων προβαίνῃ τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὑμνεῖται ἡ τέχνη ως ἴκανὴ πάντα, εἰ δ' ἀποτυγχάνοις ἡ πεῖρα, ἐς τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν ἡ ἀναφορά, μὴ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα θυμιᾶσαι, μηδὲ θῦσαι ἡ τῆξαι, τουτὶ δὲ μέγα εἶναι καὶ ἀπορον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι, καθ' οὓς καὶ

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does any amount of failure in their enterprises shake ^{CHAP.} XXXIX their faith in it, they merely say such things as this : " If I had only offered this sacrifice or that, if I had only burnt that perfume in place of another, I should not have failed to win." And they really believe what they say. Magic also besieges the doors of merchants no less, for we shall find them too attributing their successes in trade to the wizard or magician, no less than they ascribe their losses to their own parsimony and to their failure to sacrifice as often as they should have done. But it is especially lovers who are addicted to this art ; for as the disease which they suffer from in any case renders them liable to be deluded, so much so that they go to old hags to talk about it, it is no wonder, I think, that they resort to these impostors and give ear to their quackeries. They will accept from them a box with stones in it which they are to wear, some of the bits of stone having come from the depths of the earth and others from the moon and the stars ; and then they are given all the spices which the gardens of India yield ; and the cheats exact vast sums of money from them for all this, and yet do nothing to help them at all. For let their favourites only give them the least encouragement, or let the attractions of the lover's presents advance his suit in the very least, and he at once sets out to laud the art as able to achieve everything ; while if the experiment does not come off, he is as ready as ever to lay the blame on some omission, for he will say that he forgot to burn this spice, or to sacrifice or melt up that, and that everything turned upon that and it was impossible to do without it. Now the various devices and artifices by which they work signs from heaven

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXIX διοσημίας καὶ ἔτερα πλείω τερατεύονται, καὶ
άναγεγράφαται τισιν, οἱ ἐγέλασαν πλατὺ ἐς τὴν
τέχνην, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀποπεφάιθω μηδὲ ἐκείνοις ὄμιλεῖν
τοὺς νέους, ἵνα μηδὲ παίζειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐθίζουντο.
ἀποχρῶσα ἡ ἐκτροπὴ τοῦ λόγου· τί γὰρ ἀν πλείω
καθαπτοίμην τοῦ πράγματος, δὲ καὶ φύσει δια-
βέβληται καὶ νόμῳ;

XL

CAP.
XL Ἐνδειξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τῷ Δάμῳ
έαυτὸν καὶ πλείω διαλεχθέντος, ἐπέστη τις περὶ
μεσημβρίαν σημαίνων ἀπὸ γλώττης τοσαῦτα·
“ἀφίσι σε ὁ βασιλεύς, Ἀπολλώνιε, τούτων
τῶν δεσμῶν Αἰλιανοῦ ξυμβουλεύσαντος, τὸ δὲ
ἐλευθέριον δεσμωτήριον ξυγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν, ἔστ’ ἀν
ἡ ἡ ἀπολογία, ἐς ἡμέραν δὲ ἵσως ἀπολογήσῃ
πέμπτην.” “τίς οὖν,” ἔφη, “ὁ μετασκευάσων με
ἐνθένδε;” “ἐγώ,” εἶπε, “καὶ ἔπου.” καὶ ἴδοντες
αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ δεσμωτήριῳ, περιέβαλ-
λον πάντες, ὡς οὐδὲ οἰηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπανήκοντα.
δὸν γὰρ δὴ πόθον ἴσχουσι πατρὸς παῖδες, ἐς νου-
θετήσεις καθισταμένου σφίσιν ἥδείας τε καὶ
ξυμμέτρους ἡ τὰ ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἀφερμηνεύοντος, τὸν
αὐτὸν κάκεῖνοι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου εἶχον, καὶ ὠμο-
λόγουν ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπάνετο ἀεὶ τι ξυ-
μβουλεύων.

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and all sorts of other miracles on a wide scale, CHAP.
have been actually recorded by certain authors,
who laugh outright at the art in question. But for
myself I would only denounce such arts in order to
prevent young men from resorting to its professors,
lest they become accustomed to such things even
in fun. This digression has led me far enough from
my subject ; for why should I attack any further a
thing which is equally condemned by nature and
by law ?

XL

After Apollonius had thus revealed himself to CHAP.
Damis, and held some further conversation, about XL
mid-day some one presented himself to them and
made the following intimation verbally : "The
Emperor, Apollonius, releases you from these fetters
by the advice of Aelian ; and he permits you to take
up your quarters in the prison where criminals are
not bound, until the time comes for you to make
your defence, but you will probably be called upon
to plead your cause five days from now." "Who
then," said Apollonius, "is to get me out of this
place ?" "I," said the messenger, "so follow me." And when the prisoners in the free prison saw him again, they all flocked round him, as around one restored to them against all expectations ; for they entertained the same affectionate longing for Apollonius as children do for a parent who devotes himself to giving them good advice in an agreeable and modest manner, or who tells them stories of his own youth ; nor did they try to hide their feelings ; and Apollonius continued incessantly to give them advice.

Apollonius
is restored
to the free
prison

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XLI

CAP.
XLI Καλέσας δὲ τῆς ὑστεραίας τὸν Δάμιν, “ἔμοὶ μέν,” ἔφη, “τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δικαιαρχίας βάδιζε, λόγον γὰρ πεζῇ ἱέναι, κανὸν προσείπης Δημήτριον, στρέφου περὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν δὲ ἔστιν ἡ Καλυψοῦς νῆσος, ἐπιφανέντα γάρ με ἐκεῖ ὅψει.” “ζῶντα,” ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, “ἡ τι;” γελάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ώς μὲν ἐγὼ οἴμαι, ζῶντα,” εἶπεν, “ώς δὲ σὺ οἴει, ἀναβεβιωκότα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθεῖν φησιν ἄκων, καὶ μήτ’ ἀπογιγνώσκων ώς ἀπολουμένου μήτ’ εὔελπις ώς οὐκ ἀπολεῖται. καὶ τριταῖος μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος, δις περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐγένετο, ὅτι πνεῦμα ὑπομβρον καταρράγεν τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε τῶν νεῶν, αἱ ἐκείνεσε ἐπλεον, τὰς δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπεώσατο, καὶ ξυνεῖναι τότε ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἐκέλευστεν αὐτὸν πεζῇ κομίζεσθαι.

XLII

CAP.
XLII Τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναγράφει Δάμις ἐξ ὧν Ἀπολλωνίου φησὶν ἀκηκοέναι πρὸς Δημήτριόν τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος. μειράκιον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Μεσσήνης τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ περίβλεπτον ὥραφ ἀφικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ρώμην, ἐρᾶν δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν, Δομετιανὸν δὲ παρα πάντας, τοὺς δὲ οὗτοις ἐρᾶν,

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XLI

AND on the next day he called Damis and said : CHAP.
" My defence has to be pleaded by me on the day XLI
appointed, so do you betake yourself in the direction He sends
of Dicaearchia, for it is better to go by land ; and Damis on
when you have saluted Demetrius, turn aside to the to Dicaear-
sea-shore where the island of Calypso lies ; for there chia
you shall see me appear to you." " Alive," asked Damis, " or how ? " Apollonius with a smile replied : " As I myself believe, alive, but as you will believe, risen from the dead." Accordingly he says that he went away with much regret, for although he did not quite despair of his master's life, yet he hardly expected him to escape death. And on the third day he arrived at Dicaearchia, where he at once heard news of the great storm which had raged during those days ; for a gale with rain had burst over the sea, sinking some of the ships that were sailing thither, and driving out of their course those which were tending to Sicily and the straits of Messina. And then he understood why it was that Apollonius had bidden him go by land.

XLII

THE events which followed are related by Damis, CHAP.
he says, from accounts given by Apollonius, both to XLII
himself and Demetrius. For he relates that there An heroic
came to Rome from Messene in Arcadia a youth youth
remarkable for his beauty, and found there many admirers, and above all Domitian, whose rivals even

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XLII ως μηδὲ τὸ ἀντερᾶν ἐκείνῳ δεδιέναι. ἀλλ' ἐσωφρόνει τὸ μειράκιον καὶ ἐφείδετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὥρας. εἰ μὲν δὴ χρυσοῦ κατεφρόνησεν ἡ χρημάτων ἡ ἵππων ἡ τοιώνδε δελεασμάτων, οἷς ὑπάγονται τὰ παιδικά ἔνιοι, μὴ ἐπαινῶμεν, χρὴ γάρ οὕτω παρεσκευάσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, οὐ δὲ μειζόνων ἀξιωθεὶς ἀν ἡ ὄμοι πάντες, οὓς ὁφθαλμοὶ βασιλέων ἐσπάσαντο, οὐκ ἡξίου ἑαυτὸν ὡν ἡξιοῦτο. ἐδέθη τοίνυν, τουτὶ γάρ τῷ ἐραστῇ ἐδοξεῖ. καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, βουλομένῳ μὲν τι λέγειν ἐώκετ, αἰδὼ δὲ ξύμβουλον σιωπῆς ἔχων οὕπω ἐθάρρει· ξυνεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “σὺ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡλικίαν πω τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἄγων καθεῖρξαι,” ἔφη, “καθάπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ δεινοί.” “καὶ ἀποθανοῦμαί γε,” εἶπε, “τὸ γάρ σωφρονεῖν θανάτου τιμῶνται οἱ ἐφ' ἡμῶν νόμοι.” “καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θησέως,” εἶπε, “τὸν γάρ Ἰππόλυτον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ ἀπώλλυ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτός.” “κάμε,” εἶπεν, “ὁ πατὴρ ἀπολώλεκεν. ὅντα γάρ με Ἀρκάδα ἐκ Μεσσήνης οὐ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπαίδευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἐστειλε μαθησόμενον ἡθη νομικά, καὶ με ὑπὲρ τούτων ἥκουντα ὁ βασιλεὺς κακῶς εἶδεν.” ὁ δὲ ὕσπερ οὐ ξυνιείς, δὲ λέγει, “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη, “μειράκιον, μὴ γλαυκὸν ἥγεῖται σε ὁ βασιλεὺς καίτοι μελανόφθαλμον, ως ὄρῳ, ὅντα, ἡ στρεβλὸν τὴν ῥῖνα καίτοι τετραγώνως ἔχοντα, καθάπερ τῶν ἐρμῶν οἱ γεγυμνασμένοι, ἡ

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the former did not scruple to declare themselves, so CHAP.
strong was their attachment. The youth however
was too high-principled and respected his honour.
Now had it been gold that he scorned or possessions
or horses, or such other attractions and lures as
sundry persons seek to corrupt young people with, we
had no call to praise him, for the seducer can hardly
dispense with such preparations. But he was tempted
with larger honours than all those put together
who ever attracted the glances of sovereigns, yet
disdained them all for himself. In consequence he
was cast into prison, by his own admirer's orders.
He came up to Apollonius, and made as if he would
speak to him, but, being counselled by his modesty
to keep silent, did not venture to. Apollonius
noticed this and said : " You are confined here, and
yet are not of an age to be a malefactor, like our-
selves who are hardened sinners." " Yes, and I
shall be put to death," said the other ; " for by our
latter-day laws self-respect is honoured with capital
punishment." " So it was in the time of Theseus,"
answered Apollonius, " for Hippolytus was murdered
by his own sire for the same reason." " And I too,"
said the other, " am my own father's victim. For
though I am an Arcadian from Messene, he did not
give me an Hellenic education, but sent me here to
study law ; and when I had come here for that
purpose the Emperor cast an evil eye on me." But
Apollonius feigned not to understand what he meant
and said : " Tell me, my boy, surely the Emperor does
not imagine you have blue eyes, when you have,
as I see, black ones ? Or that you have a crooked
nose, whereas it is square and regular, like that of
a well executed Hermes ? or has he not made some

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XLII τὴν κόμην ἔτερόν τι παρ' ὁ ἐστιν; ἐστι δ', οἶμαι,
 ἥλιωσά τε καὶ ὑποφαίνουσα, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ
 στόμα οὕτω ξύμμετρον, ώς καὶ σιωπῆ πρέπειν
 καὶ λόγῳ, δέρη τε οὕτως ἐλευθέρα καὶ φρονοῦσα.
 τί οὖν ἔτερον τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡγήσεται σε,
 ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγεις ὀφθῆναι;” “αὐτό^ν
 με τοῦτο ἀπολώλεκεν, ὑπαχθεὶς γάρ μου ἐρᾶν οὐ
 φείδεται ὡν ἐπαινεῖ, ἀλλ' αἰσχύνειν διανοεῖται με,
 ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐρῶντες.” ἀγασθεὶς δ'
 αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸ μὲν ξυγκαθεύδειν ὅ τι
 ἥγοιτο καὶ εἰ αἰσχρὸν τοῦτο ἦ μή, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
 τῶν ἐρωτημάτων παρῆκεν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐρύθριῶντα
 ἔωρα τὸν Ἀρκάδα καὶ κεκοσμημένως φθεγγόμενον,
 ἤρετο δ' αὐτὸν ὡδε· “κέκτησάι τινας ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ
 δούλους;” “νή Δέ,” ἔφη, “πολλούς γε.” “τούτων
 οὖν,” εἶπε, “τίνα ἡγῆ σεαυτόν;” “δηγε,” ἔφη,
 “οἱ νόμοι, δεσπότης γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰμι.” “δεσποτῶν
 δ,” εἶπεν, “ὑπηκόους είναι δούλους χρὴ ἢ ἀπαξι-
 οῦν, ἂ δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ σώματος κυρίοις;” δ' ὁ δ'
 ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἐς οὖλαν ἀπόκρισιν περιάγοιτο, “ἡ μὲν
 τῶν τυράννων ἴσχύς,” ἔφη, “ώς ἄμαχός τε καὶ
 χαλεπή, οἴδα, δι' αὐτὸν γάρ που καὶ δεσπόζειν τῶν
 ἐλευθέρων βούλονται, τοῦ δ' ἐμοῦ σώματος ἐγὼ
 δεσπότης καὶ φυλάξω αὐτὸν ἀσυλον.” “πῶς;” εἶπε,
 “πρὸς ἐραστὴν γὰρ ὁ λόγος κωμάζοντα μετὰ
 ξίφους ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν ὕραν.” “τὸν τράχηλον,” ἔφη,
 “ὑποσχῶν μᾶλλον, ἐκείνου γὰρ δεῖ τῷ ξίφει.”
 ἐπαινέσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “Ἀρκάδα σε,”
 ἔφη, “όρω.” καὶ μὴν τοῦ μειρακίου τούτου καὶ ἐν
 ἐπιστολῇ μέμνηται, καὶ διαγράφει αὐτὸν πολλῷ
 ἥδιον ἢ ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα, σωφροσύνης τε ἐπαινῶν πρὸς

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mistake about your hair? For, methinks, it is sunny CHAP.
and gleaming, and your mouth too is so regular, that XLII
whether you are silent or talking, it is equally
comely, and you carry your head freely and proudly.
Surely the Emperor must be mistaking all these
traits for others, or you would not tell me he cast an
evil eye on you." "That is just what has ruined
me," said the other, "for he has condescended to
favour me and instead of sparing what he praises
is prepared to insult me as a woman's lovers might."
Apollonius admired the Arcadian too much to ply
him with any further questions, as he noticed that
he blushed and was most decorous in his language;
so he only put to him the question: "Have you any
slaves in Arcadia?" "Why yes, many," replied the
lad. "What relation to them," said Apollonius, "do
you consider yourself as holding?" "That," he
replied, "which the laws assign to me, for I am
their master." "And must slaves obey their masters
or disdain the wishes of those who are masters of
their persons?" The other discerned the drift of
his question and answered: "I know indeed how
irresistible and harsh is the power of tyrants, for
they are inclined to use it to overpower even free
men, but I am master of my person and shall guard it
inviolate." "How can you do that," said Apollonius,
"for you have to do with an admirer who is prepared
to run amuck of your youth, sword in hand?" "I
shall simply hold out my neck, which is all his sword
requires." Whereon Apollonius commended him,
and said: "I perceive you are an Arcadian." Moreover
he mentions this youth in one of his letters,
and gives a much more attractive account of him
than I have done in the above, and while praising

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. δν γράφει φησδ τὸ μειράκιον τοῦτο μηδ' ἀποθα-
XLII νεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, θαυμασθὲν δὲ τῆς ρώμης
ἐπὶ Μαλέαν πλεῦσαι, ζηλωτὸν τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ
μᾶλλον ἡ οἱ τὰς τῶν μαστίγων καρτερήσεις παρὰ
Λακεδαιμονίοις νικῶντες.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

him for his high principles to his correspondent, CHAP.
adds that he was not put to death by the tyrant. ^{XLI}
On the contrary, after exciting admiration by his
firmness, he returned by ship to Malea, and was held
in more honour by the inhabitants of Arcadia than
the youths who among the Lacedemonians surpass
their fellows in their endurance of the scourge.

BOOK VIII

Θ'

I

CAP. "Ιωμεν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀκροασόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογουμένου ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἡλίου γὰρ ἐπιτολαὶ ἥδη καὶ ἀνεῖται τοῖς ἐλλογίμοις η ἐς αὐτὸ πάροδος, τὸν βασιλέα τε οἱ ξυνδιαιτώμενοι φασι μηδὲ σίτου ἄψασθαι, διορῶντα, οἷμαι, τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ βιβλίον πρόχειρον ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ξὺν ὁργῇ, τὰ δὲ ἥττον. ἀνατυποῦσθαι δὲ χρὴ οἶον ἀχθόμενον τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ εὑρον δικαστήρια.

II

CAP. 'Εντευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διαλέξεσθαι ηγουμένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δραμεῖσθαι τινα ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα, τουτὶ δ' ἀν τεκμηραίμεθα τοῖς γε πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου προϊὼν γὰρ ἤρετο τὸν γραμματέα, ὑφ' οὐδὲ τῆγετο, οἱ βαδίζοιεν, τοῦ δὲ ἐς τὸ

BOOK VIII

I

LET us now repair to the law-court to listen to CHAP.
the sage pleading his cause ; for it is already sun-
rise and the doors are thrown open to admit the
celebrities. And the companions of the Emperor say
that he had taken no food that day, because, I
imagine, he was so absorbed in examining the docu-
ments of the case. For they say he was holding in
his hands a roll of writing of some sort, sometimes
reading it with anger, and sometimes more calmly.
And we must needs figure him as one who was angry
with the law for having invented such things as
courts of justice.

Conver-
sation with
the secre-
tary of the
tribunal

II

BUT Apollonius, as we meet him in this conjuncture CHAP.
seems to regard the trial as a dialectical discussion,
rather than as a race to be run for his life ; and
this we may infer from the way he behaved
before he entered the court. For on his way
thither he asked the secretary who was con-
ducting him, where they were going ; and when the
latter answered that he was leading him to the

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T

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ ήγεισθαι αὐτῷ φήσαντος, “δικάσομαι,” ἔφη, “πρὸς τίνα;” “πρός γε τὸν σεαυτοῦ,” εἶπε, “κατήγορον, δικάσει δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς.” “έμοὶ δέ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τίς ὁ δικάσων; δείξω γὰρ αὐτὸν φιλοσοφίαν ἀδικοῦντα.” “καὶ τίς,” εἶπε, “βασιλεῖ φιλοσοφίας λόγος, κανὸν ἀδικῶν ταύτην τύχῃ;” “ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφίᾳ πολύς,” ἔφη, “βασιλέως, ἵν’ ἐπιτηδείως ἄρχῃ.” ἐπαινέσας δὲ ὁ γραμματεύς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετρίως διέκειτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς καὶ καταρχὰς ἐδείκνυ, “πόσῳ δέ,” εἶπε, “τὸν λόγον διαμετρήσεις ὅδατι; τουτὶ γάρ με χρὴ πρὸ τῆς δίκης εἰδέναι.” “εἰ μὲν ὄπόσαι,” ἔφη, “ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ δίκη, ξυγχωρεῖ μοι λέγειν, οὐκ ἀν φθάνοι διαμετρηθεὶς οὐδὲ ὁ Θύμβρις, εἰ δὲ ὄπόσα ἐρήσεται, μέτρου τοῦ ἀποκρινομένου ὁ ἐρωτῶν.” “ἐναντίας,” εἶπεν, “ἀρετὰς ἐπήσκησας βραχυλογεῖν τε καὶ μακρηγορεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν φάσκων.” “οὐκ ἐναντίας,” ἔφη, “ἀλλ’ ὁμοίας ὁ γὰρ θάτερον ἴκανὸς οὐδὲν ἀν θατέρου λείποιτο. καὶ ξυμμετρία δὲ ἀμφοῖν ξυγκειμένη τρίτη μέν, οὐκ ἀν φαίην, πρώτη δ’ ἀν εἴη ἀρετὴ λόγου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τετάρτην ἀρετὴν οἶδα.” “ἀνόνητόν γε,” εἶπε,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

court, he said: "Whom am I going to plead CHAP. ^{II} against?" "Why," said the other, "against your accuser, of course, and the Emperor will be judge." "And," said Apollonius, "who is going to be judge between myself and the Emperor? For I shall prove that he is wronging philosophy." "And what concern," said the other, "has the Emperor for philosophy, even if he does happen to do her wrong?" "Nay, but philosophy," said Apollonius, "is much concerned about the Emperor, that he should govern as he should." The secretary commended this sentiment, for indeed he was already favourably disposed to Apollonius, as he proved from the very beginning. "And how long will your pleading last by the water-clock's reckoning? For I must know this before the trial begins." "If," said Apollonius, "I am allowed to plead as long as the necessities of the suit require me to, the whole of the Tiber might run through the meter before I should have done; but if I am only to answer all the questions put to me, then it depends on the cross-examiner how long I shall be making my answers." "You have cultivated," remarked the other, "contrary talents when you thus engage to talk about one and the same matter both with brevity and with prolixity." "They are not contrary talents," said Apollonius, "but resemble one another; for an expert in the one would never be far to seek in the other. And moreover there is a mean composed of the two, which I should not myself allege to be a third, but a first requisite of a pleader; and for my own part I am sure that silence constitutes a fourth excellence much required in a law-court." "Anyhow," said the other, "it will do you no good

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. II “σεαυτῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ κινδυνεύειν μέλλοντι.”
“καὶ μὴν καὶ Σωκράτην,” ἔφη, “τὸν Ἀθηναῖον
μέγα ὕνησεν, ὅτε ἔφυγε τὴν γραφήν.” “καὶ πῶς
ὕνησεν,” εἶπε, “τόν, ἐπειδὴ ἐσιώπα, ἀποθανόντα;”
“οὐκ ἀπέθανεν,” ἔφη, “Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὤντο.”

III

CAP. III “Ωδε μὲν παρεσκεύαστο πρὸς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ τυράν-
νου πάντα, προεστῶτι δ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου
προσελθὼν, ἔτερος γραμματεύς, “ὦ Τυανεῦ,” ἔφη,
“γυμνὸς ἔσελθε.” “λουσόμεθα οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἡ
δικασόμεθα;” “οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐσθῆτος,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα
προείρηται, ἀλλ’ ἀπαγορεύει σοι ὁ βασιλεὺς μήτε
περίαπτον μήτε βιβλίον μήτ’ ἄλλο γραμματείον
ὅλως μηδὲν ἐσφέρειν ἐνταῦθα.” “μηδὲ νάρθηκα,”
εἶπεν, “ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτως αὐτὸν ταῦτα πείθοντας;”
ἀναβοήσας δὲ ὁ κατήγορος, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,
πληγάς,” ἔφη, “ἀπειλεῖ μοι ὁ γόης, ἐγὼ γάρ σε
ταυτὶ πέπεικα.” “οὐκοῦν,” εἶπε, “σὺ μᾶλλον γόης,
ἄ γὰρ μὴ ἐγὼ πέπεικά πω τὸν Βασιλέα, ὡς οὐκ
εἰμί, σὺ φῆς αὐτὸν ὡς εἴην πεπεικέναι.” παρῆν
δὲ τῷ κατηγόρῳ λοιδορουμένῳ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
Εὐφράτου τις ἀπελευθέρων, δν ἐλέγετο Εὐφράτης
ἄγγελον τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαλέ-
ξεων στεῖλαι ὁμοῦ χρήμασιν, ἀ τῷ κατηγόρῳ
ἐπεδόθη.

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nor anyone else who stands in great peril." "And CHAP.
yet," said Apollonius, "it was of great service to
Socrates of Athens, when he was prosecuted." "And
what good did it do him," said the other, "seeing
that he died just because he would say nothing?"
"He did not die," said Apollonius, "though the
Athenians thought he did."

II

III

THIS was how he prepared himself to confront the CHAP.
despot's manœuvres; and as he waited before the
court another secretary came up and said: "Man of III
Tyana, you must enter the court with nothing on
you." "Are we then to take a bath," said Apollonius,
"or to plead?" "The rule," said the other, "does
not apply to dress, but the Emperor only forbids you
to bring in here either amulet, or book, or any
papers of any kind." "And not even a cane," said
Apollonius, "for the back of the idiots who gave him
such advice as this?" Whereat his accuser burst
into shouts: "O my Emperor," he said, "this wizard
threatens to beat me, for it was I who gave you this
advice." "Then," said Apollonius, "it is you who
are a wizard rather than myself; for you say that
you have persuaded the Emperor of my being that
which so far I have failed to persuade him that I
am not." While the accuser was indulging in this
abuse, one of the freedmen of Euphrates was at his
side, whom the latter was said to have sent from
Ionia with news of what Apollonius had there said in
his conversations, and also with a sum of money
which was presented to the accuser.

Apollonius
is brought
into court

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IV

CAP.
IV Τοιαῦτα ἡκροβολίσαντο πρὸ τῆς δίκης, τὰ δὲ
ἐν αὐτῇ κεκόσμητο μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον ὥσπερ
ἐπὶ ξυνουσίᾳ πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου, μετεῖχον δὲ
αὐτῆς οἱ ἐπίδηλοι πάντες, ἀγῶνα ποιουμένου τοῦ
βασιλέως ὅτι ἐν πλείστοις ἐλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν αἰτίᾳ. ὁ δ' οὗτος τι ὑπερεώρα τοῦ βασιλ-
έως, ὡς μηδὲ ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἐπηρεάσαντος δὲ
τοῦ κατηγόρου τὴν ὑπεροψίαν, καὶ κελεύσαντος
ὅρᾶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων θεόν,
ἀνέσχεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὸν
ὄροφον, ἐνδεικνύμενος μὲν τὸ ἐς τὸν Δία ὄρᾶν, τὸν
δὲ ἀσεβῶς κολακευθέντα κακίω τοῦ κολακεύ-
σαντος ἡγούμενος. ἐβόα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὁ κατή-
γορος, “ἢδη μέτρει, βασιλεῦ, ὕδωρ, εἰ γὰρ
ξυγχωρήσεις αὐτῷ μῆκος λόγων, ἀπάγξει ἡμᾶς:
ἔστι δέ μοι καὶ βιβλίον τοῦτο ξυγγεγραμμένον τὰς
αἰτίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν χρὴ λέγειν αὐτόν, ἀπολογείσθω
δὲ κατὰ μιαν.”

V

CAP.
V ‘Ο δ’, ὡς ἄριστα ξυμβουλεύσαντος ἐπαινέσας,
ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ συκοφάντου
ξυμβουλίαν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας παρελ-
θῶν αἰτίας, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίας καταστῆσαι τινα ἐς
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IV

SUCH were the preliminary skirmishes which preceded the trial, but the conduct of the trial itself was as follows: The court was fitted up as if for an audience listening to a panegyrical discourse; and all the illustrious men of the city were present at the trial, because the Emperor was intent upon proving before as many people as possible that Apollonius was an accomplice of Nerva and his friends. Apollonius, however, ignored the Emperor's presence so completely as not even to glance at him; and when his accuser upbraided him for want of respect, and bade him turn his eyes upon the god of all mankind, Apollonius raised his eyes to the ceiling, by way of giving a hint that he was looking up to Zeus, and that he regarded the recipient of such profane flattery as worse than he who administered it. Whereupon the accuser began to bellow and spoke somewhat as follows: "'Tis time, my sovereign, to apportion the water, for if you allow him to talk as long as he chooses, he will choke us. Moreover I have a roll here which contains the heads of the charges against him, and to these he must answer, so let him defend himself against them one by one."

CHAP.
IV
The counts
of the in-
dictment
reduced to
four

V

THE Emperor approved this plan of procedure and ordered Apollonius to make his defence according to the informer's advice; however, he dropped out other accusations, as not worth discussion, and confined himself to four questions which he thought were

CHAP.
V

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. λόγον, ὑπὲρ τεττάρων δέ, ἃς ἀπόρους τε καὶ
^V δυσαποκρίτους ὠέτο, ὡδε ἐρωτήσας· “τί γὰρ
 μαθών,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχεις
 ἄπασι στολὴν, ἀλλ’ ἴδιαν τε καὶ ἔξαιρετον;” “ὅτι
 με,” εἶπεν, “ἡ τρέφουσα γῆ καὶ ἀμφιέννυσι, ζῶα
 δὲ ἄθλια οὐκ ἐνοχλῶ.” πάλιν ἦρετο, “τοῦ χάριν
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεόν σε ὀνομάζουσιν;” “ὅτι πᾶς,”
 εἶπεν, “ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς νομιζόμενος θεοῦ ἐπω-
 νυμίᾳ τιμᾶται.” ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὅποθεν ἐφιλο-
 σοφήθη τῷ ἀνδρί, δεδήλωκα ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδῶν λόγοις.
 τρίτουν ἦρετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ λοιμοῦ, “πόθεν
 γάρ,” ἔφη, “ὄρμώμενος ἡ τῷ ξυμβαλλόμενος
 προεῖπας τῇ Ἐφέσῳ νοσήσειν αὐτούς;” “λεπ-
 τοτέρᾳ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαίτῃ χρώμενος
 πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἥσθόμην· εἰ δὲ βούλει, λέγω
 καὶ λοιμῶν αἰτίας.” ὁ δ’, οἷμαι, δείσας μὴ τὴν
 ἀδικίαν καὶ τοὺς μὴ καθαροὺς γάμους καὶ ὅποια
 οὐκ εὐλόγως ἔπραττεν, ἐπιγράψῃ ταῖς τοιαύταις
 νόσοις, “οὐ δέομαι,” ἔφη, “τοιᾶσδε ἀποκρίσεως.”
 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τετάρτην ἐρώτησιν ἐπέφερεν ἐς τοὺς
 ἀνδρας, οὐκ εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν
 χρόνον διαλιπών, πολλὰ δὲ ἐνθυμηθείς, ἀλιγηιῶντι
 δὲ ὅμοιος ἥρώτησεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν-
 οι μὲν γὰρ φοντο αὐτὸν ἐκπηδήσαντα τοῦ πλά-
 σματος μήτε τῆς προσηγορίας ἀφέξεσθαι τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν, σχέτλιά τε ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας βοήσεσθαι,
 ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὡδε, ἀλλ’ ὑφέρπων τὴν ἐρώτησιν,
 “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη, “προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας τῇ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

embarrassing and difficult to answer. "What induces CHAP
you," he said, "Apollonius, to dress yourself differently VI
from everybody else, and to wear this peculiar and singular garb?" "Because," said Apollonius, "the earth which feeds me also clothes me, and I do not like to bother the poor animals." The Emperor next asked the question : "Why is it that men call you a god?" "Because," answered Apollonius, "every man that is thought to be good, is honoured by the title of god." I have shown in my narrative of India how this tenet passed into our hero's philosophy. The third question related to the plague in Ephesus ; "What motived," he said, "or suggested your prediction to the Ephesians that they would suffer from a plague?" "I used," he said, "O my sovereign, a lighter diet than others, and so I was the first to be sensible of the danger; and, if you like, I will enumerate the causes of pestilences." But the Emperor, fearful, I imagine, lest Apollonius should reckon among the causes of such epidemics his own wrong-doing, and his incestuous marriage, and his other misdemeanours, replied : "Oh, I do not want any such answer as that." And when he came to the fourth question which related to Nerva and his friends, instead of hurrying straight on to it, he allowed a certain interval to elapse, and after long reflection, and with the air of one who felt dizzy, he put his question in a way which surprised them all ; for they expected him to throw off all disguise and blurt out the names of the persons in question without any reserve, complaining loudly and bitterly of the sacrifice ; but instead of putting the question in this way, he beat about the bush, and said : "Tell me, you went out of your house on a certain day,

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CAP. δεῖνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐς ἀγρὸν πορευθεὶς τίνι ἔθύσω τὸν
παῖδα; ” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὥσπερ μειρακίῳ ἐπι-
πλήττων, “ εὐφήμει, ” ἔφη, “ εἰ μὲν γὰρ προῆλθον
τῆς οἰκίας, ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀγρῷ, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ
ἔθυσα, εἴ δὲ ἔθυσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. λεγόντων δὲ
αὐτὰ οἱ πίστεως ἄξιοι.” τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
εἰπόντος καὶ ἐπαίνου ἀρθέντος μείζονος ἦ βασίλειον
ξυγχωρεῖ δικαστήριον, ξυμμαρτυρεῖν αὐτῷ νομίσας
ὅ βασιλεὺς τοὺς παρόντας καὶ παθών τι πρὸς τὰς
ἀποκρίσεις, ἐπειδὴ ἔρρωντό τε καὶ νοῦν εἶχον,
“ ἀφίημί σε, ” εἶπε, “ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, περιμενεῖς
δέ, ἔστ’ ἀν ἰδίᾳ ξυγγενώμεθα.” ὁ δὲ ἐπιρρώσας
έαυτόν, “ σοὶ μὲν χάρις, ὡ βασιλεῦ, ” ἔφη, “ διὰ δὲ
τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους τούτους ἀπολώλασι μὲν αἱ πόλεις,
πλήρεις δ’ αἱ νῆσοι φυγάδων, ἡ δὲ ἡπειρος
οἰμωγῆς, τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα δειλίας, ἡ δὲ ξύγ-
κλητος ὑπονοίας. δός, εἰ βούλοιο, κάμοι τόπουν, εἰ
δὲ μή, πέμπε τὸν ληψόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν
γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ’ ἀν τὸ σῶμα
τούμὸν λάβοις,

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὕτοι μόρσιμός είμι.

καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἡφανίσθη τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τόν
τε παρόντα καιρὸν εὺ τιθέμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδ’
ἀπλῶς ὁ τύραννος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας ἐρωτή-
σων δῆλος ἦν—ἐμεγαλοφρονεῦτο γάρ που τῷ μὴ

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and you travelled into the country, and sacrificed the CHAP.
boy—I would like to know for whom?" And ^V Apollonius as if he were rebuking a child replied : ^{The sacrifice of a boy} "Good words, I beseech you; for if I did leave my house, I was in the country; and if this was so, then I offered the sacrifice: and if I offered it, then I ate of it. But let these assertions be proved by trustworthy witnesses." Such a reply on the part of the sage aroused louder applause than beseemed the court of an Emperor; and the latter deeming the audience to have borne witness in favour of the accused, and also not a little impressed himself by the answers he had received, for they were both firm and sensible, said: "I acquit you of the charges; but you must remain here until we have had a private interview." Thereat Apollonius was much encouraged and said: "I thank you indeed, my sovereign, but I would fain tell you that by reason of these miscreants your cities are in ruin, and the islands full of exiles, and the mainland of lamentations, and your armies of cowardice, and the senate of suspicion. Accord me also, if you will, opportunity to speak; but if not, then send some one to take my body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay, you cannot take even my body,

"For thou shalt not slay me, since I tell thee I am ^{Iliad 22. 13} not mortal."

And with these words he vanished from the court, which was the best thing he could do under the circumstances, for the Emperor clearly intended not to question him sincerely about the case, but about all sorts of irrelevant matters. For he took great credit to himself for not having put Apollonius to

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. V ἀπεκτονέναι αὐτόν—τοῦ τε μὴ ἐσ τὰ τουαῦτα
ὑπαχθῆναι προορῶν. τυχεῖν δ' αὖ τούτου ἄριστα
ἡγεῖτο, εἰ μὴ ἀγνοοῦτο τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ γιγνώ-
σκοιτο, ώς ἔχοι τοῦ μὴ ἄν ποτε ἀλῶναι ἄκων. καὶ
γὰρ τὸ δέος τὸ περὶ τοῦ ἀνδράσιν εὐ ηδη αὐτῷ
εἶχεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν γὰρ μηδὲ ἐρέσθαι τι ὁ τύραννος
ῶρμησε, πῶς ἄν τούτους ἐσ τὸ πιθανὸν ἀπέκτεινεν
ἐπὶ ταῖς οὐκ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πεπιστευμέναις
αιτίαις; τοιάδε εὔρον τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ.

VI

CAP. VI Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος μὲν αὐτῷ ξυνεγράφη τις ώς
πρὸς ὕδωρ ἐσ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀφήσοντι, ξυνεῖλε δὲ
αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐσ ἀς εἱρηκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγε-
γράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν γάρ, ὅτι
διαβαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰς βωμολόχους ἵδεας
ἐπαινοῦντες, ώς ἡττον μέν, ἡ αὐτοὶ φασι δεῖν,
κεκολασμένον, ὑπεραίροντα δὲ τοῦς τε ὀνόμασι καὶ
ταῖς γνώμαις. τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕ μοι
δοκεῖ ὁ σοφὸς ὑγιῶς ἄν ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
ἡθος πάρισα ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ ἀντίθετα, καὶ κροτά-
λου δίκην κτυπῶν τῇ γλώττῃ, ρήτορικοῖς μὲν γὰρ
πρὸς τρόπου ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις δεῖν δεινότης
γὰρ ἐν δικαστηρίοις, ἡ μὲν φανερὰ καὶ διαβάλοι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

death, nor was the latter anxious to be drawn into CHAP.
such discussions. And he thought that he would best
effect his end if he left no one in ignorance of his
true nature, but allowed it to be known to all to be
such that he had it in him never to be taken prisoner
against his own will. Moreover he had no longer
any cause for anxiety about his friends ; for as the
despot had not the courage to ask any questions
about them, how could he possibly put them to
death with any colour of justice upon charges to
which, in court, he had accorded no credence
whatever ? Such was the account of the proceedings
of the trial which I found.

VI

BUT inasmuch as he had composed an oration CHAP.
which he would have delivered by the clock in VI
defence of himself, only the tyrant confined him to Apollonius
the questions which I have enumerated, I have apologia
determined to publish this oration also. For I am pro rata
well aware, indeed, that those who highly esteem
the style of buffoons will find fault with it, as
being less chaste and severe in its style than they
consider it should be, and as too bombastic in
language and tone. However, when I consider that
Apollonius was a sage, it seems to me that he would
have unworthily concealed his true character, if he
had merely studied symmetry of endings, and
antithesis, clicking his tongue as if it had been a
castanet. For these tricks suit the genius of
rhetoricians, though they are not necessary even to
them. For forensic art, if it be too obvious, is apt to

FLAVIUS·PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τινὰ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς ψηφιουμένοις, ἡ δ'
^{VI} ἀφανῆς κανὸν ἀπέλθοι κρατοῦσα, τὸ γὰρ λαθεῖν
τοὺς δικάζοντας, ὡς δεινός ἔστιν, ἀληθεστέρα
δεινότης. σοφῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀπολογουμένῳ, οὐ γὰρ
κατηγορήσει γε ὁ σοφός, ἢ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἔρρωται,
ἥθους τε δεῖ ἑτέρου παρὰ τοὺς δικανικοὺς ἄνδρας,
λόγου τε κατεσκευασμένου μέν, μὴ δοκοῦντος δέ,
καὶ ὑπόσεμνος ἔστω καὶ μὴ πολὺ ἀποδέων τοῦ
ὑπερόπτης εἶναι, ἔλεός τε ἀπέστω λέγοντος· ὁ γὰρ
μὴ ἀντιβολῆσαι ξυγχωρῶν τί ἀν οὗτος ἐπὶ ἐλέφ
εἴποι; τοιόσδε ὁ λόγος δόξει τοῖς γε μὴ μαλακῶς
ἀκροασομένοις ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ξυνετέθη
γὰρ αὐτῷ ὥδε.

VII

CAP. “Ο μὲν ἀγῶν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων σοί τε, ὡ βασιλεῦ,
^{VII} κάμοι· σύ τε γὰρ κινδυνεύεις ὑπὲρ ὅν μήποτε
αὐτοκράτωρ, εἰ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν οὐδεμιᾷ δίκη
διαβεβλῆσθαι δόξεις, ἐγώ τε ὑπὲρ ὅν μηδὲ
Σωκράτης ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν, δν οἱ γραψάμενοι τὴν
γραφὴν καινὸν μὲν τὰ δαιμόνια ἠγοῦντο, δαιμόνα
δὲ οὕτε ἐκάλουν οὕτε φῶντο. κινδύνου δὲ ἐφ'
ἐκάτερον ἡμῶν οὕτω χαλεποῦ ἥκοντος, οὐκ ὀκνήσω
886

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

betray him who resorts to it as anxious to impose CHAP.
upon the judges ; whereas if it is well concealed, it VI
is likely to carry off a favourable verdict ; for true
cleverness consists in concealing from the judges
the very cleverness of the pleader. But when
a wise man is defending his cause,—and I need
not say that a wise man will not arraign another
for faults which he has the will and strength to
rebuke,—he requires quite another style than that of
the hacks of the law-court ; and though his oration
must be well-prepared, it must not seem to be so,
and it should possess a certain elevation almost
amounting to scorn, and he must take care in
speaking not to throw himself on the pity of his
judges. For how can he appeal to the pity of others
who would not condescend to solicit anything ? Such
an oration will my hero's seem to those who shall
diligently study both myself and him ; for it was
composed by him in the following manner :

VII

(i) " My prince, we are at issue with one another CHAP.
concerning matters of grave moment ; for you run VII
such a risk as never autocrat did before you, that
namely of being thought to be animated by a wholly
unjust hatred of philosophy ; while I am exposed
to a worse peril than was ever Socrates at Athens,
for though his accusers taxed him in their indictment
with introducing new beliefs about demons, they
never went so far as to call him or think him a
demon. Since, however, so grave a peril besets us
both, I will not hesitate to tender you the advice of
Exhorts
Domitian
to be fair

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. καὶ σοὶ ξυμβουλεύειν, ὅπόσα ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα.
VII ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατέστησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ κατήγορος ἐς
τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἐσῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ
ἀληθῆς περὶ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ σοῦ δόξα· σὲ μὲν γὰρ
ῳοντο ξυμβούλῳ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὄργῃ χρήσεσθαι,
δι’ ἣν κανὸν ἀποκτεῖναί με, ὃ τι ποτέ ἔστι τὸ ἀπο-
κτεῖναι, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐκποιήσειν ἐμαυτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου
τρόποις, ὅπόσοι τοῦ ἀποδρᾶναι εἰσιν, ἥσαν δὲ,
ὡ βασιλεῦ, μυρίοι· καὶ τούτων ἀκούων οὐκ ἐς τὸ
προκαταγιγνώσκειν ἥλθον, οὐδὲ κατεψηφισάμην
τῆς σῆς ἀκροάσεως ώς μὴ τὸ εὐθὺ ἔχούσης, ἀλλὰ
ξυνθέμενος τοῖς νόμοις ἔστηκα ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ
τούτου ξύμβολος καὶ σοὶ γύγνομαι. δίκαιον γὰρ
τὸ μὴ προκαταγιγνώσκειν, μηδὲ καθῆσθαι πεπει-
σμένον, ώς ἐγώ τί σε κακὸν εἴργασμα, μηδὲ ὑπὲρ
μὲν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίου καὶ δοσοι
τῶν ἐκείνη ἄρχουσιν, οἷς ἵππος τε παμπόλλη ἔστι
καὶ τοξεία πᾶσα καὶ χρυσῆ γῆ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὅχλος,
δν ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἀκούειν ξὺν γέλωτι τὸ πείσεσθαι τι
ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ὃ σε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἀφαιρή-
σεται, κατ’ ἀνδρὸς δὲ σοφοῦ καὶ γυμνοῦ πιστεύειν,
ώς ἔστι τούτῳ ὅπλον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτο-
κράτορα, καὶ προσδέχεσθαι ταῦτα Αἰγυπτίου
συκοφάντου λέγοντος, ἢ μηδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ποτε
ἥκουσας, ἣν σεαυτοῦ προορᾶν φήσ, εἰ μή, νὴ
Δία, ἡ κολακευτικὴ καὶ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν οὕτω

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII .

whose excellence I am myself convinced. For since CHAP.
the accuser has plunged us into this struggle, the VII
many have been led to form a false opinion of both
myself and of you. They have come to imagine that
in this audience you will listen only to the counsels
of anger, with the result that you will even put
me to death, whatever death means, and that I in
turn shall try to evade this tribunal in some of the
many ways there are,—and they were, my prince,
myriad,—of escaping from it. Though these rumours
have reached my ears, I have not contracted any
prejudice against you, nor have I done you the injury
of supposing you will hear my cause otherwise than
in accordance with the strictest principles of equity ;
for in conformity with the laws I submit myself to
their pronouncement. And I would advise you
also to do the same ; for justice demands that you
should neither prejudge the case, nor take your seat
on the bench with your mind made up to the belief
that I have done you any wrong. If you were told
that the Armenian, the Babylonian and other foreign
potentates were about to inflict some disaster on you,
which must lead to the loss of your empire, you
would, I am sure, laugh outright ; although they
have hosts of cavalry, all kinds of archers, a gold-
bearing soil and, as I know full well, a teeming
population. And yet you distrust a philosopher,
naked of means of offence, and are ready to believe
he is a menace to the autocrat of the Romans,—all
this on the mere word of an Egyptian sycophant.
Never did you hear such tales from Athene, whom
you allege to be your guardian spirit, unless indeed,
great Heavens ! their faculty of flattering and falsely
accusing others has so increased the influence of

Pleads his
humble
position as
a mere
sage

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τι νῦν τοῖς ἀλιτηρίοις τούτοις ἐπιδέδωκεν, ὡς τοὺς
VII θεοὺς ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὁπόσα ὄφθαλμάι
τέ εἰσι καὶ τὸ μὴ πυρέξαι, μηδὲ ἀνοιδῆσαι τι τῶν
σπλάγχνων, ἐπιτηδείους εἶναί σοι ξυμβούλους
φάσκειν, ἵατρῶν δίκην ἐφαπτομένους καὶ θερα-
πεύοντας, ὅτου αὐτῶν πονήρως ἔχοις, περὶ δὲ τῇ
ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι κινδυνεύοντί σοι μηθ' οὖς
φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ ξυμβουλεύειν μήθ' ὅ τι ἔσται
σοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅπλον διδάσκειν ἥκουντας, ἀλλ'
εἶναί σοι τοὺς συκοφάντας αἰγίδα Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ
Διὸς χεῖρα, εἰδέναι μὲν ὑπὲρ σοῦ φάσκοντας, ἀ
μηδ' οἱ θεοί, προεγρηγορότας δέ σου καὶ προκαθεύ-
δοντας, εἰ δὴ καθεύδουσιν οὗτοι, κακοῖς, φασιν,
ἐπαντλοῦντες κακὰ καὶ τὰς Ἰλιάδας ταύτας ἀεὶ
ξυντιθέντες.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἵπποτροφεῖν αὐτοὺς κάπι λευγῶν
ἔσ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκκυκλεῖσθαι λευκῶν, καὶ ἡ ἐν
ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ ὀψοφαγία καὶ μυριάδων
δύο καὶ τριῶν ἐωνημένα παιδικά, καὶ τὸ μοιχεύειν
μέν, ὃν λανθάνουσι χρόνον, γαμεῖν δέ, ἀς
ἐμοίχευσαν, ὅταν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ληφθῶσι, καὶ
οἱ κροτοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς νίκαις,
ἐπειδὴν φιλόσοφός τις ἦ ὑπατος, ἀδικῶν οὐδέν,
ἄλῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀπόληται δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

these miscreants, that you would pretend that whereas in insignificant matters, such as sore-eyes, and avoidance of fevers and inflammation of the bowels, the Gods are your apt advisers, manipulating and healing you after the manner of physicians of any one of these maladies you may be suffering from, they, nevertheless, in matters which imperil your throne and your life, give you no counsel either as to the persons you should guard against or as to the weapons you should employ against them, but, instead of coming to your aid, leave you to the tender mercies of false accusers, whom you regard as the Aegis of Athene or the hand of Zeus, just because they assert that they understand your welfare better even than do the gods, and that they ever watch over you in the hours of their waking and sleeping, if indeed these wretches can sleep after pouring out such wicked lies and compiling ever and anon whole Iliads such as this one.

That they should keep horses and roll theatrically into the forum in chariots drawn by snowy teams, that they should gorge themselves off dishes of silver and gold, parade favourites that cost them two or three myriad sesterces, that they should go on committing adultery as long as they are not found out and then, and not before, marry the victims of their lusts when they are caught red-handed, that their splendid successes should be hailed with applause, as often as some philosopher or consul, absolutely innocent, falls into their toils, and is put to death by yourself—all this I am willing to concede to the licence of these accursed wretches and to their brazen indifference to the

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. δεδόσθω τῇ τῶν καταράτων τρυφῇ καὶ τῷ μήτε
νόμων αὐτοῖς ἔτι μήτ' ὀφθαλμῶν εἶναι φόβον, τὸ
δ' οὗτω τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φρονεῖν, ὡς
προγιγνώσκειν βούλεσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτ'
ἐπαινῶ καὶ ἀκούων δέδια, σὺ δὲ εἰ προσδέξοιο,
γράψονται καὶ σὲ ἵσως ώς διαβάλλοντα τὴν περὶ
τοῦ θείου δόξαν, ἐλπὶς γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ ξυγκεί-
σεσθαι τοιαύτας γραφάς, ἐπειδὰν μηδεὶς τοῖς
συκοφάνταις λοιπὸς ἦ· καὶ ξυνίημι μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν
μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολογούμενος, εἰρήσθω δέ μοι ταῦθ'
ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, οὓς εἰ μὴ ἀρχοντας ἥγοιο, οὐκ
ἀρξεις.

Τίς οὖν ξυνήγορος ἔσται μοι ἀπολογουμένῳ;
εἰ γὰρ καλέσαιμι τὸν Δία, ὑφ' ὃ βεβιωκὼς οἴδα,
γοητεύειν με φήσουσι καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐς τὴν
γῆν ἄγειν. διαλεγώμεθα οὖν περὶ τούτου ἀνδρί,
ὅν τεθνάναι μὲν οἱ πολλοί φασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ φημι·
ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σός, ὃ ἐγὼ τοσούτου
ἄξιος, ὅσου περ ἐκεῖνος σοί· σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐποίησεν,
νπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο. οὗτος, ὡς βασιλεῦ, ξυλλήπτωρ
ἔσται μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας, πολλῷ τάμα βέλτιον ἢ
σὺ γιγνώσκων· ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὕπω
αὐτοκράτωρ, θεοῖς τε τοῖς ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ θύσων κά-
μοὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς διαλεξόμενος. ἐντυχὼν δέ μοι
κομῶντί τε καὶ ὡδε ἔσταλμένω οὐδὲ ἥρετο οὐδὲ ἐν
περὶ τοῦ σχῆματος, ἥγούμενος τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶν εὐ
ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δὲ ἔνεχ' ἥκειν ὁμολογήσας, ἀπῆλθεν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

public eye and to law : but that they should give CHAP.
themselves the airs of superhuman beings and
presume to know better than the gods, I cannot
approve or allow ; and the mere rumour of it fills me
with horror. And if you allow such things to be,
they will perhaps accuse even yourself of offending
against established religion. For we may expect
the sycophants to concoct such accusations against
yourself, so soon as they have exhausted the list of
their other victims. I know that my tone is rather
that of a censor than that of a defendant ; if
so, you must pardon me for thus speaking up in
behalf of the laws, with the recognition of whose
**authority by yourself stands and falls that of your
own.**

(ii) Who then will be my advocate while I am Repels the
defending myself? For if I called upon Zeus to charge of
help me, under whom I am conscious of having wizardry
passed my life, they will accuse me of being a wizard
and of bringing heaven down to earth. Let us then
appeal in this matter to one whom I deny to be
dead, although the many assert it, I mean your own
father, who held me in the same esteem in which
you hold him ; for he made you, and was in turn made
by me. He, my prince, shall assist me in my defence,
because he knows my character much better than
yourself ; for he came to Egypt before he was raised
to the throne, as much to converse with me about
the Empire as to sacrifice to the gods of Egypt.
And when he found me with my long hair and
dressed as I am at this moment, he did not ask me a
single question about my costume, because he
considered that everything about me was well ; but
he admitted that he had come thither on my account,

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἐπαινέσας καὶ εἰπὼν μὲν ἀ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον,
VII ἀκούσας δ' ἀ μὴ παρ' ἄλλου· η τε διάνοια, η ἐς τὸ
ἀρχειν ἔχρητο, ἐρρώσθη αὐτῷ παρ' ἐμοῦ μάλιστα,
μεθεστηκῦνα ἥδη ὑφ' ἐτέρων, οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδείων
μέν, οὐ μὴν σοί γε δόξαι, οἱ γὰρ μὴ ἀρχειν αὐτὸν
πείθοντες καὶ σὲ δήπου αὐτὸν ἀφηροῦντο τὸ μετ'
ἐκεῖνον ταῦτ' ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δὲ ξυμβουλεύοντος
ἔαυτόν τε μὴ ἀπαξιοῦν ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτῷ
φοιτώσης, ὑμᾶς τε κληρονόμους αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι,
εὐ ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην φήσας, αὐτός τε μέγας ἡρθη
καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡρεν· εἰ δὲ γόντα με φέτο, οὐδὲ ἀν
ξυνῆψε μοι κοινωνίαν φροντίδων, οὐδὲ γὰρ
τοιαῦτα ἥκων διελέγετο, οἷον ἀνάγκασον τὰς
Μοίρας ἡ τὸν Δία, τύραννον ἀποφῆναι με ἡ
τεράτευσαι διοσημίας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δείξας τὸν ἥλιον
ἀνίσχυντα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, δυόμενον δέ, ὅθεν
ἀρχεται. οὐ γὰρ ἀν μοι ἐπιτήδειος ἀρχειν ἔδοξεν, η
ἐμὲ ἡγούμενος ἴκανὸν ταῦτα, η σοφίσμασι θηρεύων
ἀρχήν, ην ἀρεταῖς ἔδει κατακτᾶσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ
δημοσίᾳ διελέχθην ἐν ιερῷ, γοήτων δὲ ξυνουσίαι
φεύγουσι μὲν ιερὰ θεῶν, ἔχθρὰ γὰρ τοῖς περὶ τὴν
τέχνην, νύκτα δὲ καὶ πᾶν, ὅ τι ἀφεγγές, αὐτῶν
προβαλλόμενοι, οὐ ξυγχωροῦσι τοῖς ἀνοήτοις οὐδὲ
ὁφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν οὔτε ὡτα. διελέχθη μοι καὶ ἵδια

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

and after commanding me and saying to me things CHAP.
which he would have said to no one else, and having VII
heard from me what he would have heard from no one
else, he departed. I most confirmed him in his aspira-
tions for the throne, when others already sought to
dissuade him,—in no unfriendly spirit, I admit, though
you anyhow cannot agree with them; for those who
tried to persuade him not to assume the reins of
Empire were assuredly on their way to deprive you
also of the succession to him which you now hold.
But by my advice he did not hold himself unworthy,
he said, of the kingdom which lay within his grasp
and of making you the heirs thereto; and he fully
acknowledged the entire wisdom of my advice, and
he was raised himself to the pinnacle of greatness, as
in turn he raised yourselves. Now if he had looked
upon me as a wizard, he would never have taken me
into his confidence, for he did not come and say
such things as this to me: Compel the Fates or
compel Zeus to appoint me tyrant, or to work
miracles and portents in my behalf, and show me the
sun rising in the west and setting at the point where
he rises. For I should not have thought him a fit
person for empire if he had either considered me
as an adept in such art, or resorted to such tricks
in pursuit of a crown which it behoved him to win
by his virtues alone. More than this my conversation
with him was held publicly in a temple, and wizards
do not affect temples of the gods as their places of
reunion; for such places are inimical to those who
deal in magic, and they cloak their art under the
cover of night and of every sort of darkness, so as to
preclude their dupes from the use of their eyes and
ears. It is true that he also had a private conver-

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP
VII μέν, παρετύγχανον δὲ ὅμως Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων,
ό μὲν πολεμιώτατά μοι ἔχων, ὁ δὲ οἰκειότατα,
Δίωνα γὰρ μὴ παυσαίμην γράφων ἐν φίλοις. τίς
ἄν οὖν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἡ μεταποιουμένων γε
σοφίας ἐς γόητας ἔλθοι λόγους; τίς δὲ οὐκ ἄν
παραπλησίως φυλάξαιτο καὶ ἐν φίλοις καὶ ἐν
ἔχθροῖς κακὸς φαίνεσθαι; καὶ οἱ λόγοι ἡσαν
ἐναντιούμενοι τοῖς γόησι· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἵσως τὸν
πατέρα ἥγη τὸν σεαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἐρῶντα γόησι
μᾶλλον ἡ ἑαυτῷ πιστεῦσαι, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπὶ τοὺς
θεούς, ἵνα τούτου τύχοι, παρ' ἐμοῦ εύρεσθαι, ὁ δὲ
τοῦτο μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἤκειν ἔχειν φέτο,
μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὑπὲρ μειζόνων ἐμοὶ διελέγετο, ὑπὲρ
νόμων καὶ ὑπὲρ πλούτου δικαίου, θεοί τε ὡς θερα-
πευτέοι, καὶ ὅπόσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς κατὰ
τοὺς νόμους ἄρχουσι, μαθεῖν ἡρα· οἵς πᾶσιν ἐναν-
τίον χρῆμα οἱ γόητες, εἰ γὰρ ἴσχύοι ταῦτα, οὐκ
ἔσται ἡ τέχνη.

Προσήκει δὲ, ὡς βασιλεῦ, κάκεῖνα ἐπεσκέφθαι·
τέχναι ὅπόσαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἰσί, πράττουσι
μὲν ἄλλο ἄλλη, πᾶσαι δὲ ὑπὲρ χρημάτων,
αἱ μὲν σμικρῶν, αἱ δὲ αὖ μεγάλων, αἱ δὲ ἀφ' ὧν
θρέψονται· καὶ οὐχ αἱ βάναυσοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν σοφαί τε ὁμοίως καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

sation with me, but there were present at it beside ^{CHAP.} ^{VII} myself Euphrates and Dion, one of them my bitter enemy, but the other my firmest friend; for may there never come a time when I shall not reckon Dion among my friends. Now I ask you, who would begin to talk wizardry in the presence of wise men or of men anyhow laying claim to wisdom? And who would not be equally on his guard both among friends and among enemies of betraying his villainy? And moreover our conversation on that occasion was directed against wizards; for you surely will not suppose that your own father when he was aspiring to the throne set more confidence in wizards than in himself, or that he got me to put pressure upon heaven, that he might obtain his object, when, on the contrary, he was confident of winning the crown before ever he came to Egypt; and subsequently he had more important matters to talk over with me, namely the laws and the just acquisition of wealth, and how the gods ought to be worshipped, and what blessings they have in store for those monarchs who govern their people in accordance with the laws. These are the subjects which he desired to learn about, and they are all the direct opposite of wizardry; for if they count for anything at all, there will be an end of the black art.

(iii) And there is another point, my prince, which <sup>Liberal
and il.
liberal arts</sup> merits your attention. The various arts known to mankind, in spite of the difference of their functions and achievements, are yet all concerned to make money, some earning less, some earning more, and some just enough to live upon; and not only the base mechanic arts, but of the rest those which

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. οὐπόσοφοι, πλὴν ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας. καλῶ δὲ
VII σοφὰς μὲν ποιητικὴν μουσικὴν ἀστρονομίαν,
σοφιστὰς καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς μὴ ἀγοραίους,
οὐποσόφους δὲ ζωγραφίαν πλαστικὴν ἀγαλματο-
ποιοὺς κυβερνήτας γεωργούς, ἦν ταῖς ὥραις
ἔπωνται, καὶ γὰρ αὖδε αἱ τέχναι σοφίας οὐ πολὺ^ν
λείπονται. ἔστι δέ τι, ὡς βασιλεῦ, ψευδόσοφοί
τε καὶ ἀγείροντες, ὃ μὴ μαντικὴν οὐπολάβης,
πολλοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀξία, ἦν ἀληθεύη, εἰ δὲ ἔστι τέχνη,
οὕπω οἶδα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόντας ψευδοσόφους φημί.
τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστεῖσθαι,
πάντα ταῦτα προστίθημι τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων
δόξῃ, τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν
ἐξαπατωμένων τε καὶ [θυομένων ἀνοίᾳ κεῖται,
ἡ δὲ τέχνη φιλοχρήματοι πάντες, ἀ τὸ γὰρ
κομψεύονται, ταῦθ' οὐπέρ βολὰς χρημάτων, οὐπαγόμενοι
τοὺς ὅτουδὴ ἐρῶντας ὡς ἴκανοὶ πάντα. τίνα οὖν,
ὡς βασιλεῦ, πλοῦτον περὶ ἡμᾶς ἴδων ψευδοσοφίαν
ἐπιτηδεύειν με οἴει, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς
κρείττω με ἡγουμένου χρημάτων; ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

are esteemed liberal¹ arts as well as those which only border upon being liberal, and true philosophy is the only exception. And by liberal arts I mean poetry, music, astronomy, the art of the sophist and of the orator, the merely forensic kinds excepted; and by the arts which border upon liberal I mean those of the painter, modeller, sculptor, navigator, agriculturist, in case the latter waits upon the seasons; for these arts are not very inferior to the liberal professions. And on the other hand, my prince, there are the pseudo-liberal arts of jugglers, which I would not have you confuse with divination, for this is highly esteemed, if it be genuine and tell the truth, though whether it is an art, I am not yet sure. But I anyhow affirm wizards to be professors of a pseudo-liberal art, for they get men to believe that the unreal is real, and to distrust the real as unreal, and I attribute all such effects to the imaginative fancy of the dupes; for the cleverness of this art is relative to the folly of the persons who are deceived by them, and who offer the sacrifices they prescribe; and its professors are given up wholly to filthy lucre, for all their parade of skill is devised by them in hope of gain, and they are always on the look out for big fortunes, and they try to persuade people who are passionately attached to something or another that they are capable of getting everything for them. Do you then find me so opulent as to warrant me in supposing that I cultivate this sort of false and illiberal wisdom, the more so as your own father considered me to be above all pecuniary considerations? And to show you that

¹ I translate the same word *σοφός* in this passage by *liberal*, *wise*, and *clever* according to the context.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. λέγω, ποῦ μοι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ γενναίου τε καὶ
VII θείου ἀνδρός; ὅς με ἐν αὐτῇ ἔδει τά τε ἄλλα καὶ
τὸ πένεσθαι.”

αὐτοκράτωρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

“Εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταῦτά σοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἥθελον, σφόδρα δὲ εὐδαιμόνως ἐπραττε φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία· φιλοσοφία μὲν ἀδεκάστως ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαιρέτως. ἔρρωσο.”

“Ταῦθ’ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀπολογείσθω, φιλοσοφίας μὲν τὸ ἀδέκαστον, πενίας δὲ τὸ αὐθαίρετον ἐμοὶ ὄριζόμενος, ἐμέμνητο γάρ που καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὅτ’ Εὐφράτης μὲν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν προσποιουμένων φιλοσοφεῖν προσιόντες αὐτῷ χρήματα οὐδὲ ἀφανῶς ἤτον, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐ προσήγειν ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ κὰκείνους ἐώθουν ώς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντας, διεβεβλήμην δὲ πρὸς χρήματα μειράκιον ὃν ἔτι· τὰ γοῦν πατρῷα, λαμπρὰ δὲ ἦν οὐσία ταῦτα, μιᾶς μόνης ἴδων ἡμέρας, ἀδελφοῖς τε τοῦς ἐμαυτοῦ ἀφῆκα καὶ φίλοις, καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν τοῦς πένησι, μελετῶν που ἀφ’ Ἐστίας τὸ μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι· ἐάσθω δὲ Βαβυλῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ Καύκασόν τε καὶ ποταμὸν “Τφασιν, δι’ ὃν ἐπορευόμην ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος· ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον βλέπειν ποιοῦμαι μάρτυρα τὸν Αἴγυπτιον τοῦτον· δεινὰ γὰρ πεπρᾶχθαι τέ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

I speak the truth, here is a letter to me from that CHAP.
noble and divine man, who in it praises me more ^{VII}
especially for my poverty. It runs thus :

“ The autocrat Vespasian to Apollonius the philo- Vespaſian's
sopher sends greetings. testimony
in favour of Apollonius

“ If all men, Apollonius, were disposed to be philosophers in the same spirit as yourself, then the lot no less of philosophy than of poverty would be an extremely happy one ; for your philosophy is pure and disinterested, and your poverty is voluntary. Farewell.”

Let this be your sire's pleading in my behalf, when he thus lays stress upon the disinterestedness of my philosophy, and the voluntariness of my poverty. For I have no doubt he had in mind the episode in Egypt, when Euphrates and several of those who pretended to be philosophers approached him, and in no obscure language begged for money ; whereas I myself not only did not solicit him for money, but repudiated them as impostors for doing so. And I also showed an aversion from money from my first youth ; for realising that my patrimony, and it was a considerable property, was at best but a transitory toy, I gave it up to my brothers and to my friends and to the poorer of my relatives, so disciplining myself from my very home and hearth to want nothing. I will not dwell upon Babylon and the parts of India beyond the Caucasus and the river Hyphasis, through which I journeyed ever true to myself. But in favour of my life here and no less of the fact that I have never coveted money, I will invoke the testimony of this Egyptian here ; for he accuses me of every sort of evil deed

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ^{VII} μοι καὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι φῆσας, οὐθ' ὅπόσων χρημάτων ἐπανούργουν ταῦτα, εἴρηκεν, οὐθ' ὃ τι ἐνθυμηθεὶς κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνόητος αὐτῷ δοκῶ τις, ὡς γοητεύειν μέν, ἀ δ' ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἔτεροι χρημάτων, αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖν οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀγοράν, οἷμαι, προκηρύττων τοιαύτην· ἵτε, ὡς ἀνόητοι, γοητεύω γάρ, καὶ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ προίκα, κερδανεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸ ἀπελθεῖν ἔκαστος ἔχων, δτου ἐρᾶ, ἐγὼ δὲ κινδύνους καὶ γραφάς.

'Αλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐσ ἀνοήτους ἴωμεν λόγους, ἐρώμεθα τὸν κατήγορον, ὑπὲρ ὅτου χρὴ λέγειν πρώτου. καίτοι τί χρὴ. ἐρωτᾶν; διῆλθε γάρ ὑπὲρ τῆς στολῆς τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου, καί, τὴν Δί', ὡν σιτοῦμαι τε καὶ οὐ σιτοῦμαι. ἀπολογοῦ δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτων, θεῖε Πυθαγόρα, κρινόμεθα γάρ ὑπὲρ ὡν σὺ μὲν εὑρεις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινῶ. ἀνθρώποις ἡ γῆ φύει, βασιλεῦ, πάντα, καὶ σπουδὰς ἄγειν πρὸς τὰ ζῷα βουλομένοις δεῖ οὐδενός, τὰ μὲν γάρ δρέπονται αὐτῆς, τὰ δ' ἀροῦνται κουροτροφούσης, ὡς ταῖς ὕραις ἔοικεν, οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἀνήκοοι τῆς γῆς μάχαιραν ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἔθηξαν ὑπὲρ ἐσθῆτός τε καὶ βρώσεως. 'Ινδοὶ τοίνυν Βραχμᾶνες αὐτοί τε οὐκ ἐπήνουν ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Αἰγυπτίων ἐδίδασκον μὴ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτά· ἔνθεν Πυθαγόρας ἐλών, 'Ελλήνων δὲ πρῶτος ἐπέμειν Αἰγυπτίοις, τὰ μὲν ἔμψυχα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

and design, yet we hear nothing from him of how CHAP.
much money I made by these villainies, nor of how ^{VII}
much gain I had in view; indeed he thinks me such
a simpleton as to practise my wizardry for nothing,
and whereas others only commit its crimes for much
money, he thinks that I commit them for none at
all. It is as if I cried my wares to the public in such
terms as the following: Come, O ye Dupes, for I
am a wizard; and I practise my art not for money,
but free, gratis, and for nothing; and so you shall
earn a great reward, for each of you will go off with
his heart's desire, while I shall get away with
nothing but dangers and writs of accusation.

(iv) But without descending to such silly arguments, I would like to ask the accuser which of his ^{Avoidance of animal food} counts I ought to take first. And yet why need I ask him? for at the beginning of his speech he dwelt upon my dress, and by Zeus, upon what I eat and what I do not eat. O divine Pythagoras, do thou defend me upon these counts; for we are put upon our trial for a rule of life of which thou wast the discoverer, and of which I am the humble partisan. For the earth, my prince, grows everything for mankind; and those who are pleased to live at peace with the brute creation want nothing, for some fruits they can cull from earth, others they win from her furrows, for she is the nurse of men, as suits the seasons; but these men, as it were deaf to the cries of mother-earth, whet their knife against her children in order to get themselves dress and food. Here then is something which the Brahmans of India themselves condemned, and which they taught the naked sages of Egypt also to condemn; and from them Pythagoras ^{Rule of Pythagoras} took his rule of life, and he was the first of Hellenes

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ^{VII} τῇ γῇ ἀνήκεν, ἀ δ' αὐτὴ φύει, ἀκήρατα εἶναι φάσκων ἐσιτεῖτο, ἐπιτήδεια γὰρ σῶμα καὶ νοῦν τρέφειν· ἐσθῆτά τε, ἦν ἀπὸ θητειδίων οἱ πολλοὶ φοροῦσιν, οὐ καθαρὰν εἶναι φήσας λίνον ἡμπίσχετο, καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον βύβλου ἐπλέξατο. ἀπέλαυσέ τε τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι πολλὰ μέν, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς αἰσθέσθαι· γενόμενος γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλένης ἢ Τροία ἐμάχετο, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάνθου παίδων κάλλιστος ὁν καὶ κάλλιστα ἔσταλμένος, ἀπέθανε μὲν οὕτω νέος, ώς καὶ Ὁμήρῳ παρασχεῖν θρῆνον, παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς πλείω σώματα κατὰ τὸν Ἀδραστείας θεσμόν, δν ψυχὴ ἐναλλάττει, πάλιν ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς ἀνθρώπου εἶδος καὶ Μηνσαρχίδῃ ἐτέχθη τῷ Σαμίῳ, σοφὸς ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Ἰων ἐκ Τρωός, καὶ οὕτω τι ἀθάνατος, ώς μηδ' ὅτι Εὔφορβος ἦν ἐκλελῆσθαι. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρόγονον τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σοφίας εἴρηκα καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς εύρων, κληρονομήσας δὲ ἐτέρου ταῦτ' ἔχειν. κάγῳ μὲν οὐ κρίνω τοὺς τρυφῶντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φοινικίου ὄρνιθος, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐκ Φάσιδος ἢ Παιόνων, οὓς πιαίνουσιν ἐς τὰς αὐτῶν δαῖτας οἱ τῇ γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι πάντα, οὐδὲ ἐγραψάμην πω οὐδένα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

who had intercourse with the Egyptians. And it was his rule to give up and leave her animals to the earth ; but all things which she grows, he declared, were pure and undefiled, and ate of them accordingly, because they were best adapted to nourish both body and soul. But the garments which most men wear made of the hides of dead animals, he declared to be impure ; and accordingly clad himself in linen, and on the same principles had his shoes woven of byblus. And what were the advantages which he derived from such purity ? Many, and before all the privilege of recognising his own soul. For he had existed in the age when Troy was fighting about Helen, and he had been the fairest of the sons of Panthus, and the best equipped of them all, yet he died at so young an age as to excite the lamentations even of Homer. Well after that he passed into several bodies according to the decree of Adrastea, which transfers the soul from body to body, and then he again resumed the form of man, and was born to Mnesarchides of Samos, this time a sage instead of a barbarian, and an Ionian instead of a Trojan, and so immune from death that he did not even forget that he was Euphorbus. I have then told you who was the begetter of my own wisdom, and I have shown that it is no discovery of my own, but an inheritance come to me from another. And as for myself though I do not condemn or judge those who make it part of their luxury to consume the red-plumaged bird, or the fowls from Phasis or the land of the Paeones, which are fattened up for their banquets by those who can deny nothing to their bellies, and though I have never yet brought an accusation

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. έπερ τῶν ἰχθύων, οὓς ὠνοῦνται πλείονος ἢ τοὺς
VII κοππατίας ποτὲ οἱ λαμπροί, οὐδέ ἀλουργίδος
ἐβάσκηνα οὐδενί, οὐδὲ Παμφύλου τινὸς ἢ μαλακῆς
ἔσθῆτος, ἀσφοδέλου δέ, ὡς θεοί, καὶ τραγημάτων
καὶ καθαρᾶς ὄψιοφαγίας γραφήν φεύγω.

Καὶ οὐδὲ ἡ ἔσθης ἄσυλος, ἀλλὰ κάκείνην
λωποδυτεῖ με ὁ κατήγορος ως πολλοῦ ἀξίαν
τοῖς γόησι. καίτοι ἀφελόντι τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμψύχων
τε καὶ ἀψύχων λόγου, δι' ὃν καθαρός τις ἡ
μὴ δοκεῖ, τί βελτίων ἡ ὅθόνη τοῦ ἐρίου; τὸ
μέν γε πρᾳοτάτου ζῷου ἐπέχθη καὶ σπουδαζο-
μένου θεοῖς, οἱ μὴ ἀπαξιούσι τὸ ποιμαίνειν καί,
νὴ Δὲ, ἡξίωσάν ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσοῦ εἴδους ἡ
θεοὶ ἡ λόγοι. λίνον δὲ σπείρεται μέν, ως ἔτυχε,
χρυσοῦ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὅμως,
ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀπ' ἐμψύχου ἐδρέφθη, καθαρὸν μὲν
Ἰνδοῖς δοκεῖ, καθαρὸν δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐμοὶ δὲ
καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ διὰ τοῦτο σχῆμα γέγονε διαλεγο-
μένοις εὐχομένοις θύουσι. καθαρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ
ἐνυυχεύειν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὄνειρα τοῖς,
ώς ἐγώ, διαιτωμένοις ἐτυμωτέρας τὰς αὐτῶν
φήμας ἄγει.

Απολογώμεθα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οὔσης ποτὲ ἡμῶν
κόμης, ἐπειδή τις γραφὴ καὶ αὐχμοῦ εὕρηται.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

against anyone, because they buy fish for their CHAP.
tables at greater prices than grand seigneurs ever VII
gave for their Corinthian chargers, and though I
have never grudged anyone his purple garment nor
his soft raiment and Pamphylian tissues—yet I am
accused and put upon my trial, O ye gods, because I
indulge in asphodel and dessert of dried fruits and
pure delicacies of that kind.

(v) Nor even is my mode of dress protected from The charge
their calumnies, for the accuser is ready to steal of wearing
even that off my back, because it has such vast value
linen only
for wizards. And yet apart from my contention about
the use of living animals and lifeless things,
according as he uses one or the other of which
I regard a man as impure or pure, in what way is
linen better than wool? Was not the latter taken
from the back of the gentlest of animals, of a
creature beloved of the gods, who do not disdain
themselves to be shepherds, and, by Zeus, once held
the fleece to be worthy of a golden form, if it
was really a god that did so, and if it be not a mere
story? On the other hand linen is grown and sown
anywhere, and there is no talk of gold in connection
with it. Nevertheless, because it is not plucked
from the back of a living animal, the Indians regard
it as pure, and so do the Egyptians, and I myself
and Pythagoras on this account have adopted it as
our garb when we are discoursing or praying or
offering sacrifice. And it is a pure substance under
which to sleep of a night, for to those who live as I
do dreams bring the truest of their revelations.

(vi) Let us next defend ourselves from the attack The charge
occasioned by the hair which we formerly wore, of wearing
long hair
for one of the counts of the accusation turns upon

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. κρίνετω δὲ μὴ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ξανθὰ καὶ
^{VII} διεκτενισμένα μειράκια, τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἔξαφάμενα
καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας, ἐφ' ἣς κωμάζει· καὶ ἔαυτὰ μὲν
εὐδαιμονα ἡγείσθω καὶ ζηλωτὰ τῆς κόμης καὶ τοῦ
λειβομένου ἀπ' αὐτῆς μύρου, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀναφροδισίαν
πᾶσαν καὶ ἐραστὴν τοῦ μὴ ἐρᾶν. εἰρήσεται γὰρ
πρὸς αὐτά· ὡς κακοδαιμονες, μὴ συκοφαντεῖτε τὸ
Δωριέων εὔρεμα, τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων
ἡκει, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπιτηδευθὲν αὐτοῖς, ἐς
οὓς μαχιμώτατα αὐτῶν εἶχον, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῆς
Σπάρτης Λεωνίδας ἐγένετο κομῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρείας,
καὶ τοῦ σεμνὸς μὲν φίλοις, φοβερὸς δὲ ἔχθροῖς
φαίνεσθαι· ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ἐπ' αὐτῷ
κομᾶ μεῖον οὐδὲν ἡ ἐπὶ Λυκούργῳ τε καὶ Ἰφίτῳ.
σοφοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς κόμης φειδέσθω σίδηρος, οὐ γὰρ
θεμιτὸν ἐπάγειν αὐτόν, οὐ πᾶσαι μὲν αἰσθητηρίων
πηγαί, πᾶσαι δ' ὄμφαί, ὅθεν εὐχαί τε ἀναφαί-
νονται καὶ σοφίας ἐρμηνεὺς λόγος. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς
μὲν γὰρ καὶ στρόφιον τῶν ἀλουργοτάτων περὶ
αὐτὴν ἀρμόσας ἐσόβει περὶ τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἀγυιάς, ὅμνους ξυντιθείς, ὡς θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου
ἔσοιτο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡμελημένη κόμη χρώμενος, καὶ
οὕπω τοιωνδε ὅμνων ἐπ' αὐτῇ δεηθείς, ἐς γραφὰς
ἄγομαι καὶ δικαστήρια. καὶ τί φῶ τὸν Ἐμπε-
δοκλέα; πότερ' ἔαυτὸν ἡ τὴν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

the squalor thereof. But surely the Egyptian is not CHAP.
entitled to judge me for this, but rather the dandies VII
with their yellow and well-combed locks, who seek
by means of them to inflame the hearts of their
lovers and the mistresses of their revels. Let them
congratulate and compliment themselves upon their
locks and on the myrrh which drips from them; but
think me everything that is unattractive, and if a
lover of anything, of abstention from love. For I am
inclined to address them thus : O ye poor wretches,
do not falsely accuse an institution of the Dorians;
for the wearing of your hair long has come down
from the Lacaedemonians who affected it in the
period when they reached the height of their
military fame; and a king of Sparta, Leonidas,
wore his hair long in token of his bravery, and in
order to appear dignified to his friends, yet terrible
to his enemies. For these reasons Sparta wears her
hair long no less in his honour than in that of
Lycurgus and of Iphitus. And let every sage be
careful that the iron knife does not touch his hair,
for it is impious to apply it thereto; so far forth as
in his head are all the springs of his senses, and
all his intuitions, and it is the source from which his
prayers issue forth and also his speech, the inter-
preter of his wisdom. And whereas Empedocles
fastened a fillet of deep purple around his hair, and
walked proudly about the streets of the Hellenes,
composing hymns to prove that he had passed from
humanity and was become a god; I only wear my
hair dishevelled, and I have never needed to sing
such hymns about it, yet am hailed before the law-
courts as a criminal. And what shall I say of
Empedocles? Which had he most reason to praise,

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίαν ἔδειν, πάρ' οἷς οὐκ ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο ταῦτα;

Μὴ πλείω διαλεγώμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης, ἐτυήθη γὰρ καὶ προῦλαβε τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ φθόνος, δι' ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρας αἰτίας χρὴ ἀπολογεῖσθαι χαλεπῆς οὕσης, καὶ οἵας, ὡς βασιλεῦ, μὴ σοὶ μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Διὶ παρασχεῖν φόβον· φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαι με, καὶ δημοσίᾳ τοῦτ' ἐκφέρειν ἐμβεβροντημένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· καίτοι καὶ πρὸ τῆς αἰτίας ἐκεῖνα διδάσκειν ἔδει, τί διαλεχθεὶς ἔγω, τί δ' οὗτω θαυμάσιον εἰπὼν ἡ πράξας ὑπηγαγόμην τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσεύχεσθαι μοι· οὔτε γάρ, ἐσ δὲ τι ἡ ἔξ οτου μετέβαλον ἡ μεταβαλεῖ μοι ἡ ψυχή, διελέχθην ἐν "Ελλησι, καίτοι γυνώσκων, οὔτε δόξας περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τοιαύτας ἀπέστειλα, οὔτ' ἐσ λόγια καὶ χρησμῶν ωδὰς ἔξηλθον, οἴα τῶν θεοκλυτούντων φορά, οὐδὲ οίδα πόλιν οὐδεμίαν, ἐν ἡ ἔδοξε ἔνυιόντας Ἀπολλωνίῳ θύειν. καίτοι πολλοῦ ἄξιος ἐκάστοις ἐγενόμην, ὅπόσα ἔδεοντό μου, ἔδεοντο δὲ τοιαῦτα· μὴ νοσεῖν οἱ νοσοῦντες, ὀσιώτεροι μύειν, ὀσιώτεροι θύειν, ὕβριν ἐκτετμῆσθαι, νόμους ἐρρῶσθαι. μισθὸς δ' ἐμοὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπῆρχε τὸ βελτίους αὐτοὺς αὐτῶν φαί-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

the man himself or his contemporaries for their happiness, seeing that they never levelled false accusation against him for such a reason ?

(vii) But let us say no more about my hair, for it has been cut off, and the accusation has been fore-stalled by the same hatred which inspires the next count, a much more serious one from which I must now defend myself. For it is one calculated to fill not only you, my prince, but Zeus himself with apprehension. For he declares that men regard me as a god, and that those who have been thunderstruck and rendered stark-mad by myself proclaim this tenet in public. And yet before accusing me there are things which they should have informed us of, to wit, by what discourses, or by what miracles of word or deed I induced men to pray to me ; for I never talked among Hellenes of the goal and origin of my soul's past and future transformations, although I knew full well what they were ; nor did I ever disseminate such opinions about myself ; nor go about in search of presages and oracular strains, as is the instinct of candidates for divine honours. Nor do I know of a single city in which a decree was passed that the citizens should assemble and sacrifice in honour of Apollonius. And yet I have been much esteemed in the several cities which asked for my aid, whatever the objects were for which they asked it, and they were such as these : that their sick might be healed of their diseases, that both their initiations and their sacrifices might be rendered more holy, that insolence and pride might be extirpated, and the laws strengthened. And whereas the only reward which I obtained in all this was that men were made much better than they were

The charge
of Deifi-
cation of
Apollonius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ^{VII} νεσθαι, σοὶ δὲ ἔχαριζόμην ταῦτα· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ
τῶν βοῶν ἐπιστάται τὸ μὴ ἀτακτεῖν αὐτὰς χαρί-
ζουται τοῖς κεκτημένοις τὰς βοῦς, καὶ οἱ τῶν
ποιμνίων ἐπιμεληταὶ πιαίνουσιν αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ τῶν
πεπαμένων κέρδος, νόσους τε ἀφαιροῦσι μελιττῶν
οἱ νομεῖς αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο τῷ δεσπότῃ
τὸ σμῆνος, οὗτῳ που καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ πολιτικὰ παύων
ἔλαττώματα σοὶ διωρθούμην τὰς πόλεις, ὥστ' εἰ
καὶ θεὸν ἡγοῦντό με, σοὶ κέρδος ἡ ἀπάτη εἰχε,
ξὺν προθυμίᾳ γάρ που ἡκροῶντό μου, δεδιότες
πράττειν, ἢ μὴ δοκεῖ θεῷ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτο φῶντο,
ὅτι δ' ἐστί τις ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς θεὸν ξυγγένεια, δι'
ἥν μόνον ζώων θεοὺς οἶδε, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὅπῃ μετέχει τοῦ θείου.
φησὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἰδός αὐτὸς θεῷ ἐοικέναι, ὡς
ἀγαλματοποιία ἐρμηνεύει καὶ χρώματα, τάς τε
ἀρετὰς θεόθεν ἥκειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν πέπεισται, καὶ τοὺς
μετέχοντας αὐτῶν ἀγχιθέους τε εἶναι καὶ θείους.

Διδασκάλους δὲ τῆς διαινοίας ταύτης μὴ
'Αθηναίους καλῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ
τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους καὶ τὰς τοιάσδε ἐπωνυμίας
πρῶτοι ἔθεντο, θειοτέρας, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, οὕσας
ἡ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ κεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν
ἐν τῇ Πυθοῖ ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν
αὐτοῦ Λυκοῦργος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἄρτι γεγραμ-
μένων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων, οἷς ἡ Λακεδαίμων τέ-
τακται, προσειπὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπόλλων βασα-
νίζει τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ χρησμοῦ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

before, they were all so many boons bestowed upon CHAP.
yourself by me. For as cow-herds, if they get the ^{VII} cows into good order earn the gratitude of their owners, and as shepherds fatten the sheep for the owner's profit, and as bee-keepers remove diseases from the hive, so that the owner may not lose his swarm, so also I myself, I think, by correcting the defects of their polities, improved the cities for your benefit. Consequently if they did regard me as a god, the deception brought profit to yourself; for I am sure they were the more ready to listen to me, because they feared to do that which a god disapproved of. But in fact they entertained no such illusion, though they were aware that there is between man and God a certain kinship which enables him alone of the animal creation to recognise the Gods, and to speculate both about his own nature and the manner in which it participates in the divine substance. Accordingly man declares that his very form resembles God, as it is interpreted by sculptors and painters; and he is persuaded that his virtues come to him from God, and that those who are endowed with such virtues are near to God and divine.

But we need not hail the Athenians as the teachers of this opinion, because they were the first to apply to men the titles of just and Olympic beings and the like, though they are too divine, in all probability, to be applicable to man, but we must mention the Apollo in the Pythian temple as their author. For when Lycurgus from Sparta came to his temple, having just penned his code for the regulation of the affairs of Lacedaemon, Apollo addressed him, and weighed and examined the repu-

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. φάσκων ἀπορεῖν, πότερα χρὴ θεὸν ἢ ἀνθρωπὸν
VII καλεῖν, προϊὼν δὲ ἀποφαίνεται καὶ ψηφίζεται τὴν
ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ. καὶ οὐδεὶς
ἐπὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἀγὸν ἤκεν, ἢ κίνδυνος ἐκ
τούτων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς ἀθανατίζοντα,
ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπέπληξε τῷ Πυθίῳ προσρηθεὶς τούτοις,
ἀλλὰ ξυνετίθεντο τῷ μαντείῳ, πεπεισμένοι δήπου
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ ταῦτα.

Τὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ταῦτα· Ἰνδοὺς
Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συκοφαντοῦσι καὶ δια-
βάλλουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δόξας,
τὸν δὲ λόγον, δῆς ἐς τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων
εἴρηται, οὕτω τι ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ἔτερους
διδάξασθαι Ἰνδῶν ὅντα. ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς μὲν
τῶν ὅλων γενέσεώς τε καὶ οὐσίας θεὸν δημιουρ-
γὸν αἰδε, τοῦ δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ταῦτα αἴτιον τὸ
ἀγαθὸν εἶναι αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ξυγγενῆ ταῦτα,
ἔχομαι τοῦ λόγου καὶ φημὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν
ἀνθρώπων θεοῦ τι ἔχειν. κόσμος δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ θεῷ
δημιουργῷ κείμενος τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ νομιζέσθω καὶ
τὰ ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ γῇ πάντα, ὃν μετουσίᾳ ἵση
ἀνθρώποις, πλὴν τύχης. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ ἐπ'
ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κόσμος οὐχ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ σοφίας
μέτρα, ὃν που καὶ αὐτός, ὃ βασιλεῦ, φήσεις ἀνδρὸς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

tation he enjoyed ; and at the commencement of his CHAP.
oracle the god declares that he is puzzled whether VII
to call him a god or a man, but as he advances he
decides in favour of the former appellation and assigns
it to him as being a good man. And yet the
Lacedaemonians never forced a lawsuit on this ac-
count upon Lycurgus, nor threatened him on the
ground that he claimed to be immortal ; for he never
rebuked the Pythian god for so addressing him, but
on the contrary the citizens agreed with the oracle,
for I believe they were already persuaded of the
fact before ever it was delivered.

And the truth about the Indians and the Egyptians
is the following : The Egyptians falsely accuse
the Indians of several things and in particular find
fault with their ideas of conduct ; but though
they do so, they yet approve of the account which
they have given of the creator of the Universe,
and even have taught it to others, though origi-
nally it belonged to the Indians. Now this ac-
count recognises God as the creator of all things,
who brought them into being and sustains them ;
and it declares further that his motive in design-
ing was his goodness. Since then these notions
are kindred to one another, I carry the argument
further and declare that good men have in their com-
position something of God. And by the universe
which depends upon God the creator we must under-
stand things in heaven and all things in the sea and on
earth, which are equally open to all men to partake
of, though their fortunes are not equal. But there
is also a universe dependent on the good man which
does not transcend the limits of wisdom, which I
imagine you yourself, my prince, will allow stands

Theology of
Apollonius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. δεῖσθαι θεῷ εἰκασμένου· καὶ τί τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ
VII κόσμου τοῦδε; αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀτακτοῦσαι μανικώτερον
ἀπτονται παντὸς σχήματος, καὶ ἔωλοι μὲν αὐταῖς
νόμοι, σωφροσύνη δ' οὐδαμοῦ, θεῶν δὲ τιμαὶ ἄτιμοι,
λαλιᾶς δ' ἐρώσι καὶ τρυφῆς, ἐξ ὧν ἀργία φύεται
πονηρὰ ξύμβουλος ἔργου παντός. αἱ δὲ μεθύοῦσαι
ψυχαὶ πηδῶσι μὲν ἐπὶ πολλά, τὸ δὲ σκίρτημα
τοῦτο ἵσχει οὐδέν, οὐδ' εἰ πάντα πίνοιεν, ὅπόσα,
ῶσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας, ὑπνηλὰ ἐνομίσθη. ἀλλὰ
δεῖ ἀνδρός, ὃς ἐπιμελήσεται τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰς κόσμου,
θεὸς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἥκων. οὗτοσὶ γὰρ ἀπόχρη αὐτὰς
ἐρώτων τε ἀπάγειν, ἐφ' οὓς ἀγριώτερον τῆς ξυνή-
θους ὁμιλίας ἐκφέρονται, καὶ φιλοχρηματίας, δι'
ἥν οὕπω πᾶν ἔχειν φασίν, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ τὸ στόμα
ὑπέχουσιν ἐπιρρέοντι τῷ πλούτῳ. φόνων γὰρ
ἀνασχεῖν μὲν αὐτὰς μὴ προσάπτεσθαι οὐκ ἀδύνα-
τον ἵσως ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ, ἀπονῆψαι δὲ οὔτε ἐμοὶ
δυνατὸν οὔτε τῷ πάντων δημιουργῷ θεῷ.

"Εστω, βασιλεῦ, κατηγορία καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς
'Εφέσου, ἐπειδὴ ἐσώθη, καὶ κρινέτω με ὁ Αἰγύπτιος,
ώς ἔστι πρόσφορον τῇ γραφῇ. ἔστι γὰρ δήπου ἡ
κατηγορία τοιαύτῃ περὶ Σκύθας ἢ Κελτούς, οἱ
ποταμὸν "Ιστρον ἢ 'Ρήνον οἰκοῦσι, πόλις φύκισται
μείων οὐδὲν 'Εφέσου τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ· ταύτην ὄρμη-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

in need of a man fashioned in the image of God. CHAP.
And what is the fashion of this universe? There are VII
undisciplined souls which in their madness clutch at
every fashion, and they have laws which are out-of-
date and vain; and there is no good sense among
them, but the honours which they pay to the gods
really dishonour them; and they are in love with
idle chatter and luxury which breed idleness and
sloth, the worst of all practical advisers. And there
are other souls which are drunken and rush in all
directions at once, though their antics lead to
nothing, nor could do so, even if they drank all the
drugs accounted, as the Mandragoras is, to be
soporific. Now you need a man to administer and A human
care for the universe of such souls, a god sent down by Saviour
wisdom. For he is able to wean them from the lusts
and passions, which they rush to satisfy with instincts
too fierce for ordinary society, and from their avarice,
which is such that they deny they have anything at
all unless they can hold their mouths open and have
the stream of wealth flow into it. For perhaps such
a man as I speak of could even restrain them from
committing murder; however, neither I myself nor
even the God who created all things, can wash off
them the guilt of that.

(viii) Let me now, my prince, take the accusation The de-
which concerns Ephesus, since the salvation of that liverly of
city was gained; and let the Egyptian be my judge, Ephesus
according as it bests suits his accusation. For this from plague
is the sort of thing the accusation is. Let us suppose that among the Scythians or Celts, who live along the rivers Ister and Rhine, a city has been founded every whit as important as Ephesus in Ionia. Here you have a sally-port of barbarians, who refuse

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τήριον βαρβάρων οὖσαν, οὐ μὴ ἀκροῶνται σου,
 VII λοιμὸς μέν τις ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλεν, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ
 ιάσατο. ἔστι μὲν γάρ τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογία
 σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ, ἦν δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἀντίξοον ὅπλοις,
 ἀλλὰ μὴ νόσοις αἱρεῖν βούληται· μὴ γὰρ ἐξαλει-
 φθείη πόλις μηδεμίᾳ, μήτε σοί, βασιλεῦ, μήτε
 ἐμοί, μήτε ἴδοιμι πρὸς ἵεροῖς νόσου, δι' ἦν οἱ
 νοσοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς κείσονται. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔστω
 ἐν σπουδῇ τὰ βαρβάρων, μηδὲ τάττωμεν αὐτοὺς
 ἐς τὸ ὑγιαῖνον, πολεμιωτάτους δύντας καὶ οὐκ
 ἐνσπόνδους τῷ περὶ ἡμᾶς γένει, τὴν δὲ Ἐφεσον
 τίς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ σώζεσθαι, βεβλημένην μὲν
 τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης
 Ἀτθίδος, ἐπιδεδωκυῖαν δὲ παρὰ πάσας, ὁπόσαι
 Ἰωνικαί τε καὶ Λύδιοι, προβεβηκυῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν
 θάλατταν διὰ τὸ ὑπερήκειν τῆς γῆς, ἐφ' ἣς
 ὥκισθη, μεστὴν δὲ φροντισμάτων οὖσαν φιλο-
 σόφων τε καὶ ῥητορικῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις οὐχ
 ὑππῷ, μυριάσι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχύει, σοφίαν ἐπαι-
 νοῦσα; τίς δὲ ἀν σοφὸς ἐκλιπεῖν σοι δοκεῖ τὸν
 ὑπὲρ πόλεως τοιαύτης ἀγῶνα, ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν
 Δημόκριτον ἐλευθερώσαντα λοιμοῦ ποτε Ἀβδη-
 ρίτας, ἐννοήσας δὲ Σοφοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, δις
 λέγεται καὶ ἀνέμους θέλξαι τῆς ὥρας πέρα
 πνεύσαντας, ἀκηκοώς δὲ τὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, δις
 νεφέλης ἀνέσχε φορὰν ἐπ' Ἀκραγαντίνους
 ῥαγείσης;

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

to be subject to yourself; let us then suppose that it was about to be destroyed by a pestilence, and that Apollonius found a remedy and averted it. I imagine that a wise man would be able to defend himself even against such a charge as that, unless indeed the sovereign desires to get rid of his adversaries, not by use of arms, but by plague; for I pray, my prince, that no city may ever be wholly wiped out, either to please yourself or to please me, nor may I ever behold in temples a disease to which those who lie sick should succumb in them. But granted that we are not interested in the affairs of barbarians, and need not restore them to health, since they are our bitter enemies, and not at peace with our race; yet who would desire to deprive Ephesus of her salvation, a city which took its beginnings from that purest of beings Atthis, and which grew in size beyond all other cities of Ionia and Lydia, and stretched herself out to the sea, on the promontory over which she is built, and is filled with studious people, both philosophers and rhetoricians, thanks to whom the city owes her strength, not to her cavalry, but to the tens of thousands of her inhabitants in whom she encourages wisdom? And do you think that there is any wise man who would decline to do his best in behalf of such a city, when he reflects that Democritus once liberated the people of Abdera from pestilence, and when he bears in mind the story of Sophocles of Athens, who is said to have charmed the winds when they were blowing unseasonably, and who has heard how Empedocles stayed a cloud in its course when it would have burst over the heads of the people of Acragas?

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. Ἐπικόπτει με ὁ κατήγορος ἀκούεις γάρ που καὶ σύ, ὡ βασιλεῦ, καὶ φησιν, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σωτηρίας αἴτιος Ἐφεσίοις ἐγενόμην, γράφεσθαι με, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ προεῦπον ἐμπεσεῖσθαι σφισι τὴν νόσον, τουτὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ σοφίαν εἶναι καὶ τερατῶδες, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἀληθείας οὐκ ἀν ἐφικέσθαι με, εἰ μὴ γόης τε ἦν καὶ ἀπόρρητος. τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐρεῖ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔφασκε τοῦ δαιμονίου μανθάνειν; τί δὲ Θαλῆς τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, τῷ Ἰωνε, ὁ μὲν τὴν εὐφορίαν τὴν τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν οὐρανίων παθῶν προειπόντε; ἥγοητεύοντε προειπεῖν ταῦτα; καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπήχθησαν οὗτοι δικαστηρίοις ἐφ' ἐτέραις αἰτίαις, καὶ οὐδαμοὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν εἱρηται γόητας εἶναι σφᾶς, ἐπειδὴ προγιγνώσκουσι. καταγέλαστον γὰρ τοῦτο ἐδόκει, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πιθανὸν κατ' ἀνδρῶν λέγεσθαι σοφῶν, οὐ τὰ γύναια κακῶς ἤκουεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἔλξει.

Πόθεν οὖν τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον πάθους ἥσθόμην; ἤκουσας μὲν καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου εἰπόντος, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διαιτῶμαι, κάμοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ σιτίων, ὡς λεπτὰ καὶ ἥδια τῆς ἐτέρων συβάριδος, ἐν ἀρχῇ εἱρηται· τοῦτό μοι, ὡ βασιλεῦ, τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐν αἰθρίᾳ τινὶ ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάττει, κούκ ἐᾳ θολερὸν περὶ αὐτὰς οὐδὲν εἶναι, διορᾶν τε, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρου αὐγῇ, πάντα γιγνόμενά τε καὶ ἐσό-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

(ix) The accuser here interrupts me, you hear him CHAP.
yourself do so, my prince, and he remarks that I am VII
not accused for having brought about the salvation The charge
of the Ephesians, but for having foretold that the of wizardry
plague would fall upon them; for this, he says, transcends the power of wisdom and is miraculous, so that I could never have reached such a pitch of truth if I were not a wizard and an unspeakable wretch. What then will Socrates say here of the lore which he declared he learned from his demonic genius? Or what would Thales and Anaxagoras, both Ionians, say, of whom one foretold a plenteous crop of olives, and the other not a few meteorological disturbances? That they foretold these things by dint of being wizards? Why, is it not a fact that they were brought before the law-courts upon other charges, but that no one ever heard among their accusations that of their being wizards, because they had the gift of foreknowledge? For that would have been thought ridiculous, and it would not have been a plausible charge to bring against men of wisdom even in Thessaly, where the women had a bad reputation for drawing the moon down to earth.

How then did I get my sense of the coming disaster at Ephesus? You have listened to the statement made even by my accuser, that instead of living like other people, I keep to a light diet of my own, and prefer it to the luxury of others, and I began by saying so myself. This diet, my king, guards my senses in a kind of indescribable ether or clear air, and forbids them to contract any foul or turbid matter, and allows me to discern, as in the sheen of a looking-glass, everything that is happen-

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. μενα. οὐ γὰρ περιμενεῖ γε ὁ σοφὸς γῆν τὴν
VII ἀναθυμιῶσαν ἡ τὸν ἀέρα διεφθορότα, ἥν τὸ δεινὸν
ἄνωθεν ῥέη, ἀλλὰ ξυνήσει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις
δύντων, ὕστερον μὲν ἡ οἱ θεοί, θᾶττον δὲ ἡ οἱ πολ-
λοί· θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ μελλόντων, ἄνθρωποι δὲ γυγνο-
μένων, σοφοὶ δὲ προσιόντων αἰσθάνονται. λοιμῶν
δ' αἰτίας ἴδιᾳ, βασιλεῦ, ἐρώτα, σοφώτεραι γὰρ ἡ ἐς
τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγεσθαι· ἀρ' οὖν τὸ οὔτως διαιτᾶ-
σθαι λεπτότητα μόνον ἔργαζεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἡ
ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστά τε καὶ θαυμασιώτατα; θεωρεῖν
δ' ἔξεστιν, ὃ λέγω, καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλων μέν, οὐχ ἦκιστα
δὲ κάκ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περὶ τὴν νόσου ἐκείνην
πραχθέντων· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῷ δὲ
γέροντι εἴκαστο, καὶ εἰδον καὶ ἴδων εἰλον, οὐ παύ-
σας νόσουν, ἀλλ' ἔξελών· ὅτῳ δ' εὐξάμενος, δηλοῖ
τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ὑπὲρ τούτου ἰδρυσάμην,
Ἡρακλέους μὲν γὰρ Ἀποτροπαίου ἐστί, ξυνεργὸν δ'
αὐτὸν εἰλόμην, ἐπειδὴ σοφός τε καὶ ἀνδρεῖος ὁν
ἐκάθηρέ ποτε λοιμοῦ τὴν Ἡλιν, τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις
ἀποκλύσας, ἃς παρεῖχεν ἡ γῆ κατ' Αὐγέαν τυρα-
νεύοντα.

Τίς ἀν οὖν σοι, βασιλεῦ, δοκεῖ φιλοτιμού-
μενος γόνης φαίνεσθαι θεῷ ἀναθεῖναι, ὃ αὐτὸς
εἴργαστο; τίνας δ' ἀν κτήσασθαι θαυμαστὰς τῆς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

ing or is to be. For the sage will not wait for the CHAP.
earth to send up its exhalations, or for the atmosphere to be corrupted, in case the evil is shed from above ; but he will notice these things when they are impending, not so soon indeed as the gods, yet sooner than the many. For the gods perceive what lies in the future, and men what is going on before them, and wise men what is approaching. But I would have you, my prince, ask of me in private about the causes of pestilence ; for they are secrets of a wisdom which should not be divulged to the many. Was it then my mode of living which alone develops such a subtlety and keenness of perception as can apprehend the most important and wonderful phenomena ? You can ascertain the point in question, not only from other considerations, but in particular from what took place in Ephesus in connection with that plague. For the genius of the pestilence,—and it took the form of a poor old man,—I both detected, and having detected took it captive : and I did not so much stay the disease as pluck it out. And who the god was to whom I had offered my prayers is shown in the statue which I set up in Ephesus to commemorate the event ; and it is a temple of the Hercules who averts disease, for I chose him to help me, because he is the wise and courageous god, who once purged of the plague the city of Elis, by washing away with the river-tide the foul exhalations which the land sent up under the tyranny of Augeas.

Who then do you think, my prince, being ambitious to be considered a wizard, would dedicate his personal achievement to a god ? And whom would he get to admire his art, if he gave the credit of the miracle

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τέχνης, θεῷ παρεὶς τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι; τίς δ' ἀν
VII Ἡρακλεῖ εὔξασθαι γόης ὡν; τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οἱ
κακοδαίμονες βόθροις ἀνατιθέασι καὶ χθυνίοις
θεοῖς, ὃν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀποτακτέον, καθαρὸς γὰρ
καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὔνους. ηὐξάμην αὐτῷ καὶ
ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτέ, λαμίας γάρ τι φάσμα
κάκεῖ περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον ἥλυε, σιτούμενον τῶν
νέων τοὺς καλούς· καὶ ξυνήρατό μοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος
οὐθαυμασίων δεηθεὶς δώρων, ἀλλὰ μελιττούτης
καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τι ἀν-
θρώπων ἐργάσασθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν
Εὔρυσθέα μισθὸν τῶν ἄθλων ἥγεῖτο. μὴ ἄχθου,
βασιλεῦ, τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἀκούων· ἔμελε γὰρ
αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐπειδὴ χρηστὸς καὶ σωτῆριος
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

'Αλλ' ἐπεὶ κελεύεις με ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἀπολο-
γεῖσθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐνδείκνυσαι,
ἄκουε ἀπολογίας ἀληθοῦς· ἐγὼ γὰρ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ
σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράττων, οὕπω ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν ἔθυσα, οὐδ' ἀν θύσαιμι οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἀν
θύγοιμι ἱερῶν, ἐν οἷς αἷμα, οὐδ' ἀν εὐξαίμην
ἔς μάχαιραν βλέπων ἢ θυσίαν, ἦν φησιν. οὐ
Σκύθην με, ὡς βασιλεῦ, ἥρηκας, οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς
ἀμίκτου ποθέν, οὐδ' ἐπέμιξά πω Μασσαγέταις ἢ
Ταύροις, ὡς κάκείνους ἀν τοῦ τῆς θυσίας ἔθους
μετέβαλον· ἀνοίας δ' ἀν ποι ἥλαυνον, ἵνα πλεῖστα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

to God? And who would offer his prayers to CHAP.
Hercules, if he were a wizard? For in fact these ^{VII} wretches attribute such feats to the trenches they
dig and to the gods of the under-earth, among whom
we must not class Heracles, for he is a pure deity
and kindly to men. I offered my prayer to him once
on a time also in the Peloponnese, for there was an
apparition of a lamia there too; and it infested the
neighbourhood of Corinth and devoured good-looking
young men. And Hercules lent me his aid in my
contest with her, without asking of me any wonderful
gifts,—nothing more than honey-cake and frankin-
cense, and the chance to do a salutary turn to
mankind; for in the case of Eurystheus also this was
the only guerdon which he thought of for his
labours. I would ask you, my prince, not to be
displeased at my mention of Hercules; for Athene
had him under her care because he was good and
kind and a Saviour of man.

(x) But inasmuch as you bid me vindicate myself in the matter of the sacrifice, for I observe you beckoning with your hand for me to do so, hear my defence. It shall set the truth before you. In all my actions I have at heart the salvation of mankind, yet I have never offered a sacrifice in their behalf, nor will I ever sacrifice anything, nor touch sacraments in which there is blood, nor offer any prayer with my eyes fixed upon a knife or a sacrifice as he understands it. It is no Scythian, my prince, that you have got before you, nor a native of some savage and inhospitable land; nor did I ever mingle with Massagetae or Taurians, for in that case I should have reformed even them and altered their sacrificial custom. But to what a depth of folly and incon-

The charge
of human
sacrifice
conducted
with Nerva

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. μὲν ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς διαλεγόμενος καὶ ὅπη ἔρρωται
VII ή μή, ἄριστα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἡσθημένος, ὅτι τὰς
αὐτῶν βουλὰς οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς
ἀνδράσι καὶ μὴ μαντευομένοις φαίνουσι, μιαι-
φονίας ἅπτωμαι καὶ σπλάγχνων ἀθύτων ἐμοὶ καὶ
ἀκαλλιερήτων; ἐφ' οἷς ἀπέλιπεν ἄν με καὶ ἡ τοῦ
δαιμονίου ὄμφὴ μὴ καθαρὸν ὄντα.

Καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ἀφελὼν τὸ τῆς θυσίας μῦσος
ἔξετάζοι τὸν κατήγορον πρὸς ἄ μικρῷ πρόσθεν
εἴρηκεν, ἀπαλλάττει με τῆς αἰτίας αὐτός· δν γάρ
φησι προειπεῖν Ἐφεσίοις τὴν νόσον θυσίας οὐδε-
μιᾶς δεηθέντα, τί σφαγίων ἐδεήθην ἐφ' ἄ καὶ μὴ
θυσαμένῳ παρῆν εἰδέναι; μαντικῆς δὲ τί ἐδεόμην
ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτός τε ἐπεπείσμην καὶ ἔτερος; εἰ γὰρ
ὑπὲρ Νερούα καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κρίνομαι, λέξω
πάλιν, ἄ καὶ πρώην εἰπον, ἡνίκα ἥτιῷ ταῦτα.
Νερούαν γὰρ ἄξιον μὲν ἀρχῆς ἡγοῦμαι πάσης
καὶ λόγου παντὸς ἐπ' εὐφημίαν ἥκουντος, ἀγω-
νιστὴν δὲ φροντίδων οὐ χρηστόν· καταλέλυται
γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου, δι' ἣν καὶ ἡ γνώμη
μεστὴ ἄσης καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ οἶκοι ἰκανή· σὲ γοῦν
ἐπαινεῖ μὲν σώματος, ἐπαινεῖ δὲ γνώμης, εἰκὸς
μὲν οἵμαί τι πράττων, προθυμοτέρα γὰρ ὄντως
ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐπαινεῖν, ἄ μὴ αὐτὴ ἔρρωται.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

sequence should I have descended if, after talking CHAP
so much about divination and about the conditions VII
under which it flourishes or does not flourish, I, who
understand better than anyone that the gods reveal
their intentions to holy and wise men even without
their possessing prophetic gifts, made myself guilty of
bloodshed, by meddling with the entrails of victims,
as unacceptable to myself as they are ill-omened ?
In that case the revelation of heaven would surely
have abandoned me as impure.

However, if we drop the fact that I have a horror
of any such sacrifice, and just examine the accuser in
respect to the statements which he made a little
earlier, he himself acquits me of this charge. For if,
as he says, I could foretell to the Ephesians the
impending pestilence without use of any sacrifice
whatever, what need had I of slaying victims in
order to discover what lay within my cognizance
without offering any sacrifice at all ? And what
need had I of divination in order to find out things
of which I myself was already assured as well as
another ? For if I am to be put upon my trial on ac-
count of Nerva and his companions, I shall repeat
what I said to you the day before yesterday when you
accused me about these matters. For I regard Nerva
as a man worthy of the highest office and of all the
consideration that belongs to a good name and fame,
but as one ill-calculated to carry through any difficult
plan ; for his frame is undermined by a disease which
fills his soul with bitterness, and incapacitates him
even for his home affairs. As to yourself, certainly
he admires your vigour of body no less than he
admires your judgment ; and in doing so I think he
is not singular, because men are by nature more

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. πέπονθε δέ τι καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ χρηστὸν Νερούας,
VII καὶ οὕτε γελάσαντά πω αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ οἶδα οὕτε
εὐηθισάμενόν τι τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν φίλοις, ἀλλ'
ῶσπερ τὰ μειράκια πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας τε καὶ
διδασκάλους τοὺς αὐτῶν, εὐλαβῶς μὲν φθέγγεται
τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πᾶν, ἐρυθριὰ δὲ ἔτι, εἰδὼς δὲ τὸ
ἐπιεικὲς ἐπαινοῦντά με οὕτω τι ἄγαν ἐπιτηδεύει
αὐτό, ὡς κάμοὶ ταπεινότερος τοῦ μετρίου φαί-
νεσθαι. πῶς οὖν πιθανὸν ἡγήσαιτο ἂν τις
ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι Νερούαν, ἀγαπῶντα, εἰ τῆς
έαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἄρξοι, ἢ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων διαλέγεσθαι
μοι τὸν μηδ' ὑπὲρ μικρῶν τεθαρρηκότα, ἢ ξυνάπ-
τειν ἐμοὶ γυνώμην ὑπὲρ ὃν μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλον, εἰ
τούμὸν ἐνεθυμήθη, ξυνῆψεν; ἢ πῶς ἔτ' ἐγὼ σοφὸς
γυνώμην ἔρμηνεύειν ἀνδρός, μαντικὴ μὲν πιστεύων,
ἀπιστῶν δὲ σοφίᾳ; τὸν δὲ Ὀρφίτον καὶ τὸν
Ῥοῦφον, τοὺς δικαίους μὲν καὶ σώφρονας, νω-
θροὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, ὡς εὖ οἶδα, εἰ μὲν ὡς τυραννη-
σείοντας διαβεβλῆσθαι φασιν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴτε
τούτων πλέον διαμαρτάνουσιν, εἴτε Νερούα, εἰ
δ' ὡς ξυμβούλω γεγονότε, πιθανώτερος ἀρχῆ ἐπι-
θέσθαι Νερούας, ἢ οἶδε ξυμβουλεῦσαι;

'Αλλὰ μὴν τόν γε ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίνοντα κάκεῖνα
εἰκὸς ἦν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, τί ἐβούλετό μοι τὸ ξυλλαμ-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

prone to admire what they themselves lack the CHAP.
strength to do. But Nerva is also animated towards
myself by feelings of respect ; and I never saw him
in my presence laughing or joking as he is
accustomed to do among his friends ; but like young
men towards their fathers and teachers, he observes
a reverence in every thing that he says in my
presence, nay he even blushes ; and because he knows
that I appreciate and set so high a value upon
modesty, he therefore so sedulously cultivates that
quality, as sometimes to appear even to me humbler
than beseems him. Who then can regard it as probable
that Nerva is ambitious of Empire, when he is only
too glad if he can govern his own household ; or that
a man who has not the nerve to discuss with me
minor issues, would discuss with me the greatest of
all, or would concert with me plans which, if he
thought like myself, he would not even concert with
others ? How again could I retain my reputation for
wisdom and interpreting a man's judgment, if I
believed over-much in divination, yet wholly dis-
trusted wisdom ? As for Orphitus and Rufus, who
are just and sensible men though somewhat sluggish,
as I well know to be the case, if they say that they
are under suspicion of aspiring to become despots, I
hardly know over which they make the greater
mistake, over them or over Nerva ; if however they
are accused of being his accomplices, then I ask,
which you would most readily believe, that Nerva
was usurping the throne, or that they had conspired
with him.

(xi) I must confess that there are also other points
which the accuser who brings me to the bar on these
accounts should have entertained and considered :

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. βάνειν τοῦς ἐπὶ νεώτερα ἥκουσι· χρήματα μὲν γὰρ
VII οὗ φησι παρ' αὐτῶν γεγενῆσθαι μοι, οὐδὲ δώροις
ἐπαρθέντα με ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι· σκεψώμεθα δέ, μὴ
μεγαλων δεόμενος, ἀνεβαλόμην τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν
εὐεργεσίας ἐσ δὸν φοντο ἄρξειν χρόνον, ἐν φε μεγάλα
μὲν ἀν αἰτεῖν ὑπῆρξε, μειζόνων δ' ἀξιοῦσθαι· πῶς
οὖν ταῦτα ἔσται δῆλα; ἐνθυμήθητι, βασιλεῦ,
σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πρὸ σοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἀδελφὸν
δήπου τὸν σεαυτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, Νέρωνά τε, ἐφ'
ῶν ἥρξαν, κατὰ τούτους γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς
βασιλέας βεβίωταί μοι ἐσ τὸ φανερόν, τὸν ἄλλον
χρόνον Ἰνδοῖς φοιτῶντι. τούτων δὴ τῶν ὀκτὼ
καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἐσ σὲ μῆκος,
οὕτε ἐπὶ θύρας βασιλείους ἐφοίτησα πλὴν ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός, ἐπεὶ μήτε βασιλεύς πω
ἐτύγχανεν ὡν ὀμολόγει τε δι' ἐμὲ ἥκειν, οὕτε
ἀνελεύθερόν τι διελέχθην βασιλεύσιν ἦ· ὑπὲρ
βασιλέων δήμοις, οὕτ' ἐπιστολαῖς ἐλαμπρυνάμην
ἥ γραφόντων ἐμοὶ βασιλέων ἥ αὐτὸς ἐνδεικνύ-
μενος γράφειν, οὕθ' ὑπὲρ δωρεῶν κολακεύων
βασιλέας ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπηνέχθην. εἰ γοῦν ἔροιό
με πλουσίους ἐνθυμηθεὶς καὶ πένητας, ποτέρου
τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων ἐμαυτὸν γράφω, τῶν πλου-
σιωτάτων φήσω, τὸ γὰρ δεῖσθαι μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ
Λυδία καὶ τὸ Πακτωλοῦ πᾶν. πῶς οὖν ἥ τὰς
παρὰ τῶν οὕπω βασιλέων δωρεὰς ἀνεβαλλόμην

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

What sense was there in my aiding these revolutionists? For he does not say that I received any money from them, nor that I was tempted by presents to commit these crimes. But let us consider the point whether I might not have advanced great claims, but have deferred their recognition of them until the time came at which they expected to win the throne, when I might have demanded much and have obtained still more as my due. But how can you prove all this? Call to mind, my prince, your own reign and the reigns of your predecessors, I mean of your own brother, and of your father, and of Nero under whom they held office; for it was under these princes chiefly that I passed my life before the eyes of all, the rest of my time being spent on my visit to India. Well, of these thirty-eight years, for such is the period which has elapsed since then up to your own day, I have never come near the courts of princes, except that once in Egypt, and then it was your father's, though he was not at that time actually Emperor; and he admitted that he came there on my account. Nor have I ever uttered anything base or humiliating either to emperors, or in behalf of emperors to peoples; nor have I sought distinction through letters which princes might either write to myself or I myself ostentatiously address to them; nor have I ever demeaned myself by flattery of princes in order to win their largess. If then after due consideration of rich and poor, you should ask me in which class I register myself, I should say among the very rich, for the fact that I want nothing is worth to me all the wealth of Lydia and of Pactolus. Is it likely then that I who never would take presents from yourself whose

CHAP.
VII

Apollonius'
retrospect
of his life

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ές ὃν ἄρξειν αὐτοὺς φόμην χρόνου ὁ μηδὲ τὰς παρ'
VII οὐμῶν ἐλόμενος, οἰς βέβαιον ἡγούμην τὸ ἄρχειν, ἦ
βασιλειῶν μεταβολὰς ἐπενόουν μηδὲ ταῖς καθε-
στηκυίαις ἔς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι χρώμενος; καὶ μὴν
όπόσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς
δυνατούς, δηλοὶ τὰ Εὐφράτου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦ-
θεν τί λέγω χρήματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι
πλούτου, κάπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἥδη διαλέγεται
κάπηλος, ὑποκάπηλος, τελώνης, ὅβιολοστάτης,
πάντα γιγνόμενος τὰ πωλούμενά τε καὶ πω-
λοῦντα, ἐντετύπωται δ' ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν
θύραις καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλείω καιρὸν
ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ θυρωρῶν
πολλάκις, ὥσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχνοι, δραχμὴν
δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ προέμενός ποτε, ἐπιτει-
χίζει τὸν έαυτοῦ πλοῦτον, ἔτέροις τὸν Αἴγυπτιον
τουτοὺς βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὀξύνων ἐπ' ἐμὲ
γλωτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμῆσθαι.

Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλείπω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἷν
μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινῆς, εὐρήσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακίω
ῶν ἔρμηνεύω, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἀπολογίας ἀκροῶ-
τίς οὖν αὕτη καὶ ὑπὲρ τίνων; ἥδετό τις, ὡ
βασιλεῦ, παιδὸς Ἀρκάδος ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ θρῆνος,
τετμῆσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νύκτωρ, εἰ δὲ ὅναρ
φησίν, οὕπω οἶδα, εἰναι δὲ πατέρων τε ἀγαθῶν ὁ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

throne I regarded as perfectly secure, should either CHAP.
have gone cadging to mere pretenders, and have deferred the receipt of my recompense from them until such time as I thought would find them emperors; or that I should plan a change of dynasty, who never once, for purposes of my advancement, resorted to that which was already established? And yet if you want to know how much a philosopher may obtain by flattery of the mighty, you have only got to look at the case of Euphrates. For why do I speak of his having got mere money out of them? Why, he has perfect fountains of wealth, and already at the banks he discusses prices as a merchant might, or a huckster, a tax-gatherer, a low money-changer, for all these rôles are his if there is anything to buy or sell; and he clings like a limpet to the doors of the mighty, and you see him standing at them more regularly than any doorkeeper, indeed he often outstays the doorkeepers, just as greedy dogs would do; but he never yet bestowed a farthing upon any philosopher, but he walls up all his wealth within his own house, only supporting this Egyptian out of the money of others, and whetting against me a tongue which ought to have been cut out.

Greed of
Euphrates

(xii) However I will leave Euphrates to yourself; for unless you approve of flatterers you will find the fellow worse than I depict him; and I only ask you to listen to the rest of my apology. What then is it to be, and from what counts is it to defend me? In the act of accusation, my prince, a regular dirge is chanted over an Arcadian boy, whom I am accused of having cut up by night, perhaps in a dream, for I am sure I do not know. This child is said to be of respectable parentage and to have possessed all the

The sacri-
fice of an
Arcadian
boy

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. παῖς οὗτος καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἷοι Ἀρκάδων οἱ ἐν αὐχμῷ
VII καλοί. τοῦτόν φασιν ἰκετεύοντά τε καὶ ὀλοφυρό-
μενον ἀπεσφάχθαι, καμὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸ τοῦ
παιδὸς αἷμα βάψαντα θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας εὔχε-
σθαι. μέχρι τούτων ἐμὲ κρίνουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἐφεξῆς
λόγος τῶν θεῶν ἄπτεται, φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς
ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ὡδέ μου εὐξαμένου, δοῦναι δὲ ἵερὰ
εὔσημα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀσεβοῦντα. τὴν μὲν
οὖν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς οὐ καθαρά, τί ἄν, ὡς βασιλεῦ,
λέγοιμι;

Ἄλλ’ ὑπὲρ ὧν γέ μοι ἀπολογητέα, τίς ὁ
Ἀρκᾶς οὗτος; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀνώνυμος τὰ πατέρων,
μηδ’ ἀνδραποδός τὸ εἶδος, ὥρα σοι ἐρωτᾶν, τί
μὲν ὄνομα τοῖς γειναμένοις αὐτόν, τίνος δὲ οἰκίας
οὗτος, τίς δ’ ἐθρέψατο αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλις,
τίνων δὲ βωμῶν ἀπαχθεὶς ἐνταῦθα ἐθύετο. οὐ
λέγει ταῦτα καίτοι δεινὸς ὡν μὴ ἀληθεύειν. οὐκ-
οῦν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδου κρίνει με. φὰ γὰρ μήτ’ αὐτῷ
ὄνομα μήθ’ ὡν ἔφυ, μὴ πόλις μὴ κλῆρος ἐστιν,
οὐχί, ὡς θεοί, τοῦτον ἐν ἀνδραπόδοις χρὴ τάττειν;
ἀνώνυμα γὰρ πάντα. τίς οὖν ὁ κάπηλος τοῦ
ἀνδραπόδου; τίς ὁ πριάμενος αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀρκάδων;
εἰ γὰρ τὸ γένος τούτων ἐπιτήδειον τῇ σφαττούσῃ
μαντικῇ, πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων εἰκὸς ἐωνῆσθαι
τὸν παιδα, πεπλευκέναι δέ τινα ἐς Πελοπόννησον,
ἴν’ ἐνθένδε ἡμῖν ἀναχθείη ὁ Ἀρκάς· ἀνδράποδα μὲν



LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

good-looks which Arcadians wear even in the midst of CHAP.
squalor. They pretend that I massacred him in spite ^{VII} of his entreaties and lamentations, and that after thus imbuing my hands in the blood of this child I prayed the gods to reveal the truth to me. So far they only attack myself in their charges, but what follows is a direct assault upon the gods ; for they assert that the gods heard my prayers under such circumstances, and vouchsafed to me victims of good omen, instead of slaying me for my impiety. Need I say, O my prince, it is defiling even to listen to such stuff?

But to confine my pleadings to the counts which affect myself, I would ask who is this Arcadian ? For since he was not of nameless parentage, and by no means slave-like in appearance, it is time for you to ask what was the name of those who begot him and of what family he was, and what city in Arcadia had the honour of rearing him, and from what altars he was dragged away in order to be sacrificed here. My accuser does not supply this information, in spite of his ingenuity in the art of lying. Let us then suppose it was only a slave in whose behalf he accuses me. For by heaven, we surely must class among slaves one who had neither name of his own, nor parentage, nor city, nor inheritance ? For slaves have no proper names of their own. In that case who was the slave-merchant who sold him ? Who was it that bought him from Arcadians ? For if this breed is specially suitable for the butchering kind of diviners, he must surely have purchased the boy for much money. And some messenger must have sailed straight to the Peloponnese in order to fetch this Arcadian and conduct him to us. For though one can buy here on the spot slaves from Pontus or

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. γὰρ Ποντικὰ ἡ Λύδια ἡ ἐκ Φρυγῶν πρίαιτ' ἀν κάν-
VII ταῦθά τις, ὃν γε καὶ ἀγέλαις ἐντυχεῖν ἔστιν ἅμα
φοιτώσαις δεῦρο, ταυτὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ὅπόσα
βαρβάρων, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐτέρων ἀκροώμενοι
οὕπω τὸ δουλεύειν αἰσχρὸν ἥγονται· Φρυξὶ γοῦν
ἐπιχώριον καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀνδραποδισθέντων μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, "Ελληνες
δὲ ἐλευθερίας ἔρασται ἔτι, καὶ οὐδὲ δούλον
ἀνὴρ "Ελλην πέρα ὅρων ἀποδώσεται, ὅθεν οὐδὲ
ἀνδραποδισταῖς οὕτε ἀνδραπόδων καπήλοις ἐς
αὐτοὺς παριτητέα, ἐς δὲ Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ μᾶλλον,
πρὸς γὰρ τῷ παρὰ πάντας ἐλευθεριάζειν "Ελ-
ληνας δέονται καὶ ὅχλου δούλων. ἔστι δὲ
πολυλήιος καὶ ποώδης ἡ Ἀρκαδία καὶ ὑλώδης
οὐ τὰ μετέωρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν
πάντα. δεῖ δὴ αὐτοῖς πολλῶν μὲν γεωργῶν,
πολλῶν δὲ αἰπόλων συφορβῶν τε καὶ ποιμένων
καὶ βουκόλων, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ βουσί, τῶν δ' ἐφ'
ἴπποις, δρυτόμων τε δεῖται πολλῶν ἡ χώρα καὶ
τοῦτο ἐκ παιδῶν γυμνάζονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ
τοιάδε ἦν τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἀλλ' εἰχον, ὥσπερ
ἔτεροι, προσαποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν δούλους, τι τῇ
θρυλουμένῃ σοφίᾳ ἔννεβάλλετο τὸ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας
εἶναι τὸν σφαττόμενον; οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφώτατοι τῶν
Ἐλλήνων Ἀρκάδες, ἵν' ἐτέρους τι ἀνθρώπου πλέον
περὶ τὰ λογικὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων φαίνωσιν, ἀλλὰ
ἀγροικότατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ συώδεις τά
τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ γαστρίζεθαι τῶν δρυῶν.

'Ρητορικώτερον ἵσως ἀπολελόγημαι τούμοι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Lydia or Phrygia,—for indeed you can meet whole CHAP.
droves of them being conducted hither, since these VII
like other barbarous races have always been subject
to foreign masters, and as yet see nothing disgraceful
in servitude ; anyhow with the Phrygians it is a
fashion even to sell their children, and once they are
enslaved, they never think any more about them,—yet
the Hellenes retain their love of liberty, and no man
of Hellas will ever sell a slave out of his country ;
for which reason kidnappers and slave-dealers never
resort thither, least of all to Arcadia ; for in addition
to the fact that they are beyond all other Hellenes
jealous of liberty, they also require a great number
of slaves themselves. For Arcadia contains a vast
expanse of grass land and of timber, which covers
not only the highlands, but all the plains as well.
Consequently they require a great many labourers,
many goat-herds and swine-herds, and shepherds
and drivers either for the oxen or for the horses ;
and there is much need in the land of wood-cutters,
a craft to which they are trained from boyhood.
And even if the land of Arcadia were not such as I
have described, so that they could in addition afford
like other nations to sell their own slaves abroad, what
advantage could the wisdom the accuser babbles of
derive by getting a child from Arcadia to murder and
cut up ? For the Arcadians are not so much wiser
than other Hellenes, that their entrails should convey
more information than those of other people. On
the contrary they are the most boorish of men, and
resemble hogs in other ways and especially in this
that they can stomach acorns.

It is possible that I have conducted my defence on
more rhetorical lines than is my custom, in thus

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τρόπου, τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀφερμηνεύων ἥθη καὶ
VII παριὰν ἐσ Πελοπόννησον τῷ λόγῳ. ἡ γὰρ ἐμοὶ
προσήκουσα ἀπολογία τίς; οὐκ ἔθυσα, οὐ θύω,
οὐ θιγγάνω αἴματος, οὐδέ εἰ βώμιον αὐτὸν εἴη,
Πυθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὅδε ἐγίγνωσκεν οὖτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
παραπλησίως, καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ
Ἰνδῶν οἱ σοφοί, παρ' ὧν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν αἱ
τῆς σοφίας ἀρχαὶ ἐφοίτησαν. κατὰ ταῦτα θύοντες
οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ γηράσκειν τε
αὐτοῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν ἀρτίοις τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀνό-
σοις, καὶ σοφωτέροις ἀεὶ δοκεῖν, μὴ τυραννεύεσθαι,
μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός, οἷμαι, ἀγαθῶν
δεῖσθαι σφᾶς ὑπὲρ καθαρῶν θυμάτων. δοκῶ γάρ
μοι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ νοῦν ὑπὲρ
θυσιῶν ἔχοντας, τὰ λιβανοφόρα τῆς γῆς ἐν καθαρῷ
τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκφυτεύειν, ἵν' ἀπ' αὐτῶν θύοιμεν,
μὴ σιδηροφοροῦντες ἐν ἱεροῖς, μηδ' αἷμα ἐσ βωμοὺς
ῥάινοντες. ἐγὼ δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν
ἐκλαθόμενος ἔθυον τρόπον, δν μήτ' αὐτὸς εἴωθα
μήτε τις ἀνθρώπων θύοι.

'Απαλλαττέτω με τῆς αἰτίας καὶ ὁ καιρός, δν
εἴρηκεν ὁ κατήγορος· τὴν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐκείνην,
ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι μοί φησιν, εἰ μὲν ἐγενόμην
ἐν ἀγρῷ, ἔθυσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. εἰτά
με, ὡς βασιλεῦ, θαμινὰ ἐρωτᾶς, εἰ μὴ ἐπεχω-
ρίαζον τῇ 'Ρώμῃ τότε; καὶ σύ, βέλτιστε βασι-
λέων, ἐπεχωρίαζες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀν εἴποις θῦσαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

characterising the habits of the Arcadians and CHAP.
digressing into the Peloponnese. What however is VII
my right line of defence? This I think: I never Condemna-
sacrificed blood, I do not sacrifice it now, I never tion of
touch it, not even if it be shed upon an altar; for blood
offerings this was the rule of Pythagoras and likewise of his
disciples, and in Egypt also of the Naked sages, and of the sages of India, from whom these principles of wisdom were derived by Pythagoras and his school. In adhering to this way of sacrifice they do not seem to the gods to be criminal; for the latter suffer them to grow old, sound in body and free from disease, and to increase in wisdom daily, to be free from tyranny of others, to be wanting in nothing. Nor do I think it is unlikely that the gods have need of good men in order to offer them pure sacrifices. For I believe that the gods have the same mind as myself in the matter of sacrifice, and that they therefore place those parts of the earth which grow frankincense in the purest region of the world, in order that we may use their resources for purposes of sacrifice without drawing the knife in their temples or shedding blood upon altars. And yet, it appears, I so far forgot myself and the gods as to sacrifice with rites which are not only unusual with myself, but which no human being would employ.

(xiii) Let me add that the very hour which my accuser alleges acquits me of this charge. For on that day, the day on which he says I committed this crime, I allow that, if I was in the country, I offered sacrifice, and that if I sacrificed, then I ate of the victim. And yet, my prince, you repeatedly ask me if I was not staying at Rome at that time? And you too, O best of princes, were staying there; and Apollonius pleads an alibi

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ΤΟΙΑῦΤΑ· καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμολογήσει
VII τὰ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων πράττειν, εἰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀράμην
διητάτο, καὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων, ἃς βέλτιουν
ξενηλατεῖν ἡ ὑπάγειν γραφαῖς, ἐν αἷς τεκμήριον
ἀδικημάτων ἔσται τὸ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. καίτοι τὸ ἐς
τὴν Ἀράμην ἥκειν καὶ παραιτεῖται τάχα τῆς τοῦ
νεώτερα πράττειν δοκεῖν αἰτίας· τὸ γὰρ ἐν πόλει
ζῆν, ἐν ᾧ πάντες μὲν ὀφθαλμοί, πᾶσα δὲ ἀκρόασις
ὄντων τε καὶ οὐκ ὄντων, οὐξιγχωρεῖ νεωτέρων
ἄπτεσθαι τοῖς γε μὴ λίαν θανατῶσι, τοὺς δ'
εὐλαβεστέρους τε καὶ σώφρονας βραδέως ἄγει καὶ
ἔφ' ἀ ἔξεστι.

Τί οὖν, ὡς συκοφάντα, κατὰ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην
ἐπραττον; εἰ μὲν ὡς σεαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶς, ἐπειδὴ
καὶ σὺ ἐρωτᾶν ἥκεις, ἀγῶνας ἥτοίμαζον καὶ
κατηγορίας ἐπ' ἄνδρας χρηστούς, καὶ ἀπολέσαι
τοὺς οὐκ ἀδικοῦντας καὶ πεῖσαι τὸν βασιλέα
μὴ ἀληθῆ λέγων, ἵν' ἐγὼ μὲν εὐδοκιμοίην, μιαί-
νοιτο δὲ οὗτος, εἰ δ' ὡς φιλοσόφου πυνθάνη, τὸν
Δημοκρίτου ἐπήνουν γέλωτα, ὃν ἐς πάντα τὰ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων γελᾷ, εἰ δ' ὡς ἐμοῦ, Φιλίσκος ὁ
Μηλιεὺς ἐτῶν ξυμφιλοσοφήσας ἐμοὶ τεττάρων,
ἐνόσει τότε, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀπεκάθευδον οὕτω

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

yet you would not on that account admit you offered such a sacrifice ; and my false accuser was there like-
wise, but he will not own on that account that he committed murder, just because he was living in Rome. And the same is the case of thousands of people, whom you would do better to expel as strangers, than expose to acts of accusation, if in these the mere fact of their having been in Rome is to be held to be a proof of their guilt. On the other hand, the fact of my coming to Rome is in itself a disproof of the charge of revolutionary plotting ; for to live in a city, where there are so many eyes to see and so many ears to hear things which are and which are not, is a serious handicap for anyone who desires to play at revolution, unless he be wholly intent upon his own death. On the contrary it prompts prudent and sensible people to walk slowly even when engaged in wholly permissible pursuits.

(xiv) What then, O sycophant, was I really doing on that night ? Suppose I were yourself and was being asked this question, inasmuch as you are come to ask questions, why then the answer would be this : I was trumping up actions and accusations against decent and respectable people, and I was trying to ruin the innocent, and to persuade the Emperor by dint of hard lying, in order that while I myself climbed to fame, I might soil him with the blood of my victims. If again you ask me as a philosopher, I was praising the laughter with which Democritus laughed at all human affairs. But if you ask me as being myself, here is my answer : Philiscus of Melos, who was my fellow-pupil in philosophy for four years, was ill at the time ; and

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII διακειμένῳ χαλεπώς, ὡς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου. καίτοι πολλὰς ἀν ηὐξάμην ἔνγας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς γενέσθαι μοι, καί, νὴ Δῖ, εἰ τινες Ὁρφέως εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων μελῳδίαι, μηδ' ἐκείνας ἀγνοήσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν πορευθῆναι δι' αὐτόν, εἰ ἐφικτὰ ἦν ταῦτα· οὕτω με ἀνήρτητο πᾶσιν οἷς φιλοσόφως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν ἔπραττε.

Ταῦτ' ἔστι μέν σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ Τελεσίνου ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ ὑπάτου, παρὴν γὰρ κάκεῦνος τῷ Μηλιεῖ, θεραπεύων αὐτὸν νύκτωρ, ὅπόσα ἔγω. εἰ δὲ Τελεσίνῳ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἔστι, καλῶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μάρτυρας, εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι, Σέλευκός τε ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Σιδώνιος· τούτους ἐρώτα, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω· καὶ μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριάκοντα εἴποντο, τῶν αὐτῶν δήπου μάρτυρες· τὸ γὰρ προκαλεῖσθαι δεῦρο τοὺς τῷ Φιλίσκῳ προσήκοντας ἀναβολὰς ἵσως ἥγινη τῆς δίκης, ἐπειδὴ αὐτίκα τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆραν ἐς τὰ Μηλιέων ἥθη κατὰ ὄσιαν τοῦ νεκροῦ. ἵτε, ὡ μάρτυρες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρήγγελται ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τούτου· ΜΑΡΤΤΡΕΣ. παρ' ὅσον μὲν τοίνυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ γραφὴ ξυνετέθη, δηλοῦ σαφῶς ἡ μαρτυρία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἐν προαστείοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει, οὐκ ἔξω

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

I was sleeping out at his house, because he was CHAP.
suffering so terribly that he died of his disease. ^{VII}
Ah, many are the charms I would have prayed
to obtain, if they could have saved his life. Fain
would I have known of any melodies of Orpheus, if
any there are, to bring back the dead to us. Nay I
verily think I would have made a pilgrimage even to
the nether world for his sake, if such things were
feasible; so deeply attached was I to him by all his
conduct, so worthy of a philosopher and so much in
accord with my own ideals.

He was
present at
Philiscus'
deathbed

Here are facts, my prince, which you may learn
also from Telesinus the consul; for he too was at
the bedside of the man of Melos, and nursed him
by night like myself. But if you do not believe
Telesinus, because he is of the number of philoso-
phers, I call upon the physicians to bear me witness,
and they were the following: Seleucus of Cyzicus
and Stratocles of Sidon. Ask them whether I tell
the truth. And what is more, they had with them
over thirty of their disciples, who are ready, I be-
lieve, to witness to the same fact; for if I were
to summon hither the relatives of Philiscus, you
might probably think that I was trying to interpose
delays in the case; for they have lately sailed from
Rome to the Melian country in order to pay their
last sad respects to the dead. Come forward, O ye
witnesses, for you have been expressly summoned
to give your testimony upon this point."

(The witnesses give their evidence.)

"With how little regard then for the truth this
accusation has been drawn up, is clearly proved by
the testimony of these gentlemen; for it appears
that it was not in the suburbs, but in the city, not

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τείχους, ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἰκίας, οὐδὲ παρὰ Νερούᾳ, παρὰ
VII Φιλίσκῳ δέ, οὐδὲ ἀποσφάττων ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς
εὐχόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ φιλο-
σοφίας, οὐδ' ἀντὶ σοῦ χειροτονῶν νεώτερον, ἀλλ'
ἄνδρα σώζων ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιον.

Τί οὖν ὁ Ἀρκᾶς ἐνταῦθα; τί δ' οἱ τῶν σφα-
γίων μῦθοι; τί δὲ τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα πείθειν; ἔσται
γάρ ποτε καὶ ὁ μὴ γέγονεν, ἀν ώς γεγονὸς
κριθῆ· τὸ δ' ἀπίθανον τῆς θυσίας, ὡς βασιλεῦ,
ποι τάξεις; ἐγένοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον
σφαγίων μάντεις ἀγαθοὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ οἱοι
ὄνομάσαι, Μεγιστίας ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, Ἀρίσταν-
δρος ἐκ Λυκίας, Ἀμπρακία δὲ Σιλανὸν ἡνεγκε, καὶ
ἐθύοντο ὁ μὲν Ἀκαρνὰν Λεωνίδᾳ βασιλεῖ Σπάρτης,
ὁ δὲ Λύκιος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, Σιλανὸς
δὲ Κύρῳ βασιλείας ἐρώντι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐν ἀνθρώπου
σπλάγχνοις ἡ σαφέστερον ἡ σοφώτερον ἡ ἐτυ-
μώτερον ἀπέκειτο, οὐκ ἄπορος ἦν ἡ θυσία, βασιλέων
γε προϊσταμένων αὐτῆς, οἱς πολλοὶ μὲν ἥσαν
οἰνοχόοι, πολλὰ δ' αἰχμάλωτα, παρανομίαι δ'
ἀκίνδυνοι καὶ φόβος οὐδεὶς κατηγορίας, εἴ τι
ἔσφαττον ἀλλ', οἷμαι, παρίστατο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν,
ὅτι κάμοι νῦν κινδυνεύοντι ὑπὲρ τοιούτων, ὅτι τὰ
μὲν ἄλογα τῶν ζῷων εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ
θανάτου σφάττεται, μὴ θολοῦσθαι τι τῶν σπλάγ-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

outside the wall, but inside a house, not with Nerva, CHAP.
but with Philiscus, not slaying another, but praying ^{VII} for a man's life, not thinking of matters of State, but of philosophy, not choosing a revolutionist to supplant yourself, but trying to save a man like myself.

(xv) What then is the Arcadian doing in this case? What becomes of the absurd stories of victims slain? What is the use of urging you to believe such lies? For what never took place will be real, if you decide that it did take place. And how, my prince, are you to rate the improbability of the sacrifice? For of course there have been long ago soothsayers skilled in the art of examining slain victims, for example I can name Megistias of Acarnania, Aristandrus of Lycia, and Silanus who was a native of Ambracia, and of these the Acarnanian was sacrificer to Leonidas the king of Sparta, and the Lycian to Alexander of Macedon, and Silanus to Cyrus the Pretender; and supposing there had been found stored in the entrails of a human being some information truer or more profound or surer than usual, such a sacrifice was not difficult to effect; inasmuch as there were kings to preside over it, who had plenty of cup-bearers at their disposal, besides plenty of prisoners of war as victims; and moreover these monarchs could violate the law with impunity, and they had no fear of being accused, in case they committed so small a murder. But I believe, these persons had the same conviction which I also entertain, who am now in risk of my life because of such accusation, namely that the entrails of animals which we slay while they are ignorant of death, are for that reason, and just because the animals lack all understanding of

Human
sacrifices
and victims

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. χνων ὑπὸ ἀξυνεσίας ὡν πείσονται· ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἀεί τι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντα θανάτου καὶ μήπω ἐφεστηκότος δεῖμα, πῶς εἰκὸς παρόντος ἥδη καὶ ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς ὅντος, δεῖξαι τι ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων μαντικὸν ἡ ὅλως εὔθυτον;

"Οτι δὲ ὄρθως τε καὶ κατὰ φύσιν στοχάζομαι τούτων, σκόπει, βασιλεῦ, ὡδε· τὸ ἥπαρ, ἐν ᾧ φασι τὸν τῆς αὐτῶν μαντικῆς εἶναι τρίποδα οἱ δεινοὶ ταῦτα, ξύγκειται μὲν οὖ καθαροῦ αἴματος, πᾶν γάρ, ὃ τι ἀκραιφνές, καρδία ἵσχει, δι' αἵματηρῶν φλεβῶν ἀποχετεύουσα ἐς πᾶν τὸ σῶμα, χολὴν δ' ἐπὶ ἥπατι κειμένην ὄργη μὲν ἀνίστησι, φόβοι δὲ ὑπάγουσιν ἐς τὰ κοῖλα τοῦ ἥπατος. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν παροξυνόντων ζέουσα, καὶ μηδὲ τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἀγγείῳ φορητὸς οὖσα, ὑπτίῳ ἐπιχεῖται τῷ ἥπατι, καθ' ὃ ἐπέχει χολὴ πᾶσα τὰ λεῖά τε καὶ μαντικὰ τοῦ σπλάγχνου, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν δειματούντων ξυνιζάνουσα ξυνεπισπάται καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς λείοις φῶς, ὑπονοστεῖ γὰρ τότε καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ αἵματος, ὑφ' οὓ σπληνοῦται τὸ ἥπαρ, ὑποτρέχοντος φύσει τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν ὑμένα καὶ τῷ πηλώδει ἐπιπολάζοντος. τί οὖν, ὡ βασιλεῦ, τῆς μιαιφονίας

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

what they are about to suffer, free from disturbance. CHAP.
A human being however has constantly in his soul the ^{VII} apprehension of death, even when it does not as yet impend ; how therefore is it likely that when death is already present and stares him in the face, he should be able to give any intimation of the future through his entrails, or be a proper subject for sacrifice at all ?

In proof that my conjecture is right and consonant with nature, I would ask you, my prince, to consider the following points. The liver, in which adepts at this art declare the tripod of their divination to reside, is on the one hand not composed of pure blood, for all unmixed blood is retained by the heart which through the blood-vessels sends it flowing as if through canals over the entire body ; the bile on the other hand lies over the liver, and whereas it is excited by anger, it is on the other hand driven back by fear into the cavities of the liver. Accordingly if, on the one hand, it is caused to effervesce by irritants, and ceases to be able to contain itself in its own receptacle, it overflows the liver which underlies it, in which case the mass of bile occupies the smooth and prophetic parts of the bowels ; on the other hand, under the influence of fear and panic it subsides, and draws together into itself all the light which resides in the smooth parts ; for in such cases even that pure element in the blood recedes to which the liver owes its spleen-like look and distension, because the blood in question by its nature drains away under the membrane which encloses the entrails and floats upon the muddy surface. Of what use then, my

Why use-
less for
purposes of
divination

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἔργον, εἰ ἄσημα τὰ ιερὰ ἔσται; ἄσημα δ' αὐτὰ ἡ
VII ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐργάζεται ξυνιεῖσα τοῦ θανάτου,
καὶ αὐτὸλ οἱ ἀποθυήσκοντες, οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὔψυχοι
ξὺν ὄργῃ τελευτῶσιν, οἱ δ' ἀθυμότεροι ξὺν δέει.
ἔνθεν ἡ τέχνη παρὰ τοῖς οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσι
βαρβάροις χιμαίρας μὲν καὶ ἄρνας ἐπαινεῖ
σφάττειν, ἐπειδὴ εὐήθη τὰ ζῷα καὶ οὐ πόρρω
ἀναισθήτων, ἀλεκτρυόνας δὲ καὶ σῦν καὶ ταύρους,
ἐπειδὴ θυμοειδῆ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τῶν ἑαυτῆς
ἀπορρήτων. ξυνίημι, ὡ βασιλεῦ, παροξύνων τὸν
κατήγορον, ἐπειδὴ σοφώτερόν σε ἀκροατὴν εἴρ-
γασμαί, καί μοι δοκεῖς καὶ προσέχειν τῷ λόγῳ εἰ
δὲ μὴ σαφῶς τι αὐτοῦ φράζοιμ, ξυγχωρῶ σοι
ἐρωτᾶν με.

εἴρηταί μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου
γραφήν ἐπεὶ δ', οἷμαι, χρὴ μηδὲ τὰς Εὐφρά-
του διαβολὰς ὑπερορᾶσθαι, σύ, ὡ βασιλεῦ,
δικάζοις, ὅπότερος ήμῶν φιλοσοφεῖ μᾶλλον
οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀγωνίζεται μὴ τάληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ
λέγειν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ, καὶ ὁ μέν σε ἥγεῖται
δεσπότην, ἐγὼ δ' ἄρχοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔιφος ἐπ'
ἐμέ σοι δίδωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον.

'Αλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν γε διαβέβληκεν, οἱ λόγοι εἰσίν,
οὓς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ εἶπον, φησὶ δ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐσ τὸ
σοὶ ξυμφέρον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρῆσθαι. καίτοι τὰ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

prince, is it to slay a human victim, if the sacrifice is CHAP.
going to furnish no presage? And human nature does VII
render such rites useless for purposes of divination,
because it has a sense of impending death; and
dying men themselves meet their end, if with
courage, then also, with anger, and, if with despon-
dency, then also with fear. And for this reason the
art of divination, except in the case of the most
ignorant savages, while recommending the slaying of
kids and lambs, because these animals are silly and
not far removed from being insensible, does not con-
sider cocks and pigs and bulls worthy vehicles of its
mysteries, because these creatures have too much
spirit. I realise, my prince, that my accuser chafes
at my discourse, because I find so intelligent a
listener in yourself, for indeed you seem to me to
give your attention to my discourse; and if I have
not clearly enough explained any point in it, I will
allow you to ask me any questions about it.

(xvi) I have then answered this Egyptian's act of ^{Against} Euphrates
accusation; but since I do not think I ought
altogether to pass by the slanders of Euphrates,
I would ask you, my prince, to be judge between us,
and decide which of us is more of a philosopher.
Well then, whereas he strains every nerve to tell lies
about myself, I disdain to do the like about him;
and whereas he looks upon you as a despot, I regard
you as a constitutional ruler; and while he puts the
sword into your hand for use against me, I merely
supply you with argument.

But he makes the basis of his accusation the ^{The charge} _{of disloyal}
discourses which I delivered in Ionia, and he says ^{of disloyal}
that they contain matter much to your disadvantage. _{in Ionia}
And yet what I said concerned the topic of the

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CAP. μὲν λεχθέντα ἡν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης,
 VII παράδειγμα δ' ἐγίγνετό μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ
 τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα, ἐπειδὴ μέγιστα τῶν
 ἀνθρωπείων δοκεῖ τὰ ὑμέτερα, Μοιρῶν τε ἵσχὺν
 ἐφιλοσόφουν καὶ τὸ οὕτως ἄτρεπτα εἶναι, ἂ
 κλώθουσιν, ως, εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαιντο
 ἔτέρῳ δὴ ὑπάρχουσαν, ὁ δ' ἀποκτείνει τοῦτον, ως
 μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, καν
 ἀναβιοίη ὁ ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς
 Μούραις. τὰς γὰρ ὑπερβολὰς τῶν λόγων ἐσαγό-
 μεθα διὰ τοὺς τοῖς πιθανοῖς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὥσπερ
 ἀν εἰ καὶ τοιόνδε ἔλεγον· ὅτῳ πέπρωται γενέσθαι
 τεκτονικῷ, οὗτος, καν ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χεῖρε, τεκτο-
 νικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτῳ νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου
 ἄρασθαι, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ πηρωθείη τὸ σκέλος,
 ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτῳ ἔνευσαν Μούραι
 τὸ ἐν τοξείᾳ κράτος, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ ἀποβάλοι τὰς
 ὅψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ σκοποῦ. τὰ δὲ τῶν
 βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δῆπου ὅρῶν
 καὶ τοὺς Λαΐους Ἀστυάγη τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ
 πολλοὺς ἔτέρους, εὐ τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ἄρχῃ
 δόξαντας, ων οἱ μὲν παιᾶς, οἱ δὲ ἐκγόνους
 ἀποκτείνειν οἰηθέντες, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ
 βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύντων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ξὺν τῷ πεπρω-
 μένῳ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάπων κολακευτικήν, εἰπον ἀν
 καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ

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Fates and of Necessity, and I only used as an example of my argument the affairs of kings, because your rank is thought to be the highest of human ranks; and I dwelled upon the influence of the Fates, and argued that the threads which they spin are so unchangeable, that, even if they decreed to someone a kingdom which at the moment belonged to another, and even if that other slew the man of destiny, to save himself from ever being deprived by him of his throne, nevertheless the dead man would come to life again in order to fulfil the decree of the Fates. For we employ hyperbole in our arguments in order to convince those who will not believe in what is probable, and it is just as if I had used such an example as this: He who is destined to become a carpenter, will become one even if his hands have been cut off: and he who has been destined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will not fail to win even if he broke his leg: and a man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lost his eyesight. And in drawing my examples from Royalty I had reference I believe to the Acrisii and to the house of Laëus, and to Astyages the Mede, and to many other monarchs who thought that they were well-established in their kingdoms, and of whom some slew their own children as they imagined and others their descendants, and yet were subsequently deprived by them of their thrones when they issued forth from obscurity in accordance with the decrees of fate. Well, if I were inclined to flattery, I should have said that I had your own history in my mind, when you were

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CAP VII Βιτελίου ἐνταῦθα, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ νεώς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὄφρυς τοῦ ἄστεος, ὁ δὲ εὐ κείσεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτόν—καίτοι μειράκιον ἵκανῶς ἥσθα καὶ οὕπω οὔτος—ἀλλ’ ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ Μοίραις ἐδόκει ἔτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τάκείνου νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρμονίᾳ κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγων εἶναι, τεμνέσθω μοι ἥδε ἡ νευρά, καὶ μηδὲν ἥγον τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυμῆσθαι με, ἀλλὰ διειλέχθαι μόνα τὰ ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ταυτὶ γάρ φησιν εἰρῆσθαι μοι ἐπὶ σέ. καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέχονται μὲν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὐκ ἄχθεται δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀκούων καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν τοῖς Λυκίοις λόγοις

φόμοι ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα¹

καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐσ αὐτὸν ἀδόντων, ἐν οἷς τοῦ νιέος ἐξίστασθαι φησι ταῖς Μοίραις, λεγόντων τε αὖ ἐν ψυχοστασίᾳ, ὅτι Μίνω τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Σαρπηδόνος ἀποθανόντα χρυσῷ μὲν σκήπτρῳ ἐτίμησε καὶ δικάζειν ἔταξεν ἐρ τῇ τοῦ Αἴδωνέως ἀγορᾷ, Μοιρῶν δὲ οὐ παρητήσατο. σὺ δέ, ὡ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ χάριν ἄχθῃ τῷ λόγῳ, θεῶν καρτερούντων αὐτόν,

¹ Iliad xvi. 433: ‘Alas for myself, for that Destiny decrees that Sarpedon dearest of men shall be overcome by Patroclus son of Menoetius.’

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blockaded in this city by Vitellius, and the temple of CHAP.
Jupiter was burnt on the brow of the hill over-
looking the city, and Vitellius declared that his own
fortune was assured, so long as you did not escape
him, this although you were at the time quite a
stripling and not the man you are now ; and yet,
because the Fates had decreed otherwise, he was
undone with all his counsels, while you are now
in possession of his throne. However, since I abhor
the concords of flattery, for it seems to me that
they are everything that is out of time and out
of tune, let me cut the string out of my lyre, and
request you to consider that on that occasion I had
not your fortunes in my mind, but was talking
exclusively of questions of the Fates and of Necessity
for it was in speaking of them that they accused me
of having assailed yourself. And yet such an argu-
ment as mine is tolerated by most of the gods ; and
even Zeus himself is not angry when he hears from
the poet in "the story of Lycia" this language :—

'Alas for myself, when Sarpedon . . . ,'

And there are other such strains referring to
himself, such as those in which he accuses the Fates
of having deprived him of his son ; and in the weigh-
ing of souls again the poets tell you that, although
after her death he presented Minos the brother of Odyss. 11.
Sarpedon with a golden sceptre, and appointed him
judge in the court of Aidoneus, yet he could not
exempt him from the decree of the Fates. And
you, my prince, why should you resent my argument
when the gods put up with it, whose fortunes are for

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CAP. οῖς πέπηγεν ἀεὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεινόντων τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ; προσήκει γὰρ ταῖς Μοίραις ἔπεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ χαλεποὺς εἶναι, Σοφοκλεῖ τε μὴ ἀπιστεῖν

μόνοις οὖ γίγνεται
θεοῖσι γῆρας, οὐδὲ μὴν θανεῦν ποτε,
τὰ δ' ἄλλα συγχεῖ πάνθ' ὁ παγκρατὴς χρόνος,

ἄριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων λέγοντι. ἐγκύκλιοι γὰρ αἱ κατ' ἀνθρώπους εὐπραγίαι καὶ ἐφήμεροι, ὡς βασιλεῦν, τὸ τοῦ δλβου μῆκος· τάμα οὗτος καὶ τὰ τούτου ἔτερος καὶ ὁ δεῦνα τὰ τοῦ δεῦνος, ἔχων οὐκ ἔχει. ταῦτ' ἐννοῶν, ὡς βασιλεῦν, παῦε μὲν φυγάς, παῦε δ' αἷμα, καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ μὲν ὅ τι βούλει χρῶ, ἀπαθῆς γὰρ ἦ γε ἀληθής, δάκρυα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀφαίρει, ως νῦν γε ἡχὸν μυρία μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης, πολλῷ δὲ πλείων ἐξ ἡπείρων φοιτᾶ θρημούντων, ὅ τι ἔκάστῳ θρήνου ἄξιον. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν φυόμενα πλείω ὄντα ἥ ἀριθμεῖσθαι ταῖς τῶν συκοφαντῶν γλώτταις ἀνήπται, διαβαλλόντων σοί τε πάντας καὶ σέ, ὡς βασιλεῦν, πᾶσιν."

VIII

CAP. Ωδε μὲν δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐκ παρασκευῆς εἶχεν, VIII ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δ' εὑρον τοῦ λόγου τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ προτέρου τὸ

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὕτοι μόρσιμός είμι,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

ever fixed and assured, and who never slew poets on CHAP.
that account? For it is our duty to follow the Fates ^{VII} and obey them, and not take offence with the changes of fortune, and to believe in Sophocles when he says:—

‘For the gods alone there comes no old age, nay, ^{Oed. Col.} _{807 sqq.} nor ever death; but all other things are confounded by all-mastering time . . .’

No man ever put the truth so well. For the prosperity of men runs in a circle, and the span of happiness, my prince, lasts for a single day. My property belongs to another and his to another, and his again to a third; and each in having hath not. Think of this, my prince, and put a stop to your decrees of exile, stay the shedding of blood, and have recourse to philosophy in your wishes and plans; for true philosophy feels no pangs. And in doing so wipe away men’s tears; for at present echoes reach us from the sea of a thousand sighs, and they are redoubled from the continents, where each laments over his peculiar sorrows. Thence is bred an incalculable crop of evils, all of them due directly to the slanderous tongues of informers, who render all men objects of hatred to yourself, and yourself, O prince, to all.’

VIII

SUCH then was the oration which the sage had CHAP.
prepared beforehand, at the end whereof I found the ^{VIII} last words of the earlier speech, namely : Effect on
Domitian
of the Sage's
sudden dis-
appearance.

“For thou shalt not kill me, since I tell thee I am not mortal,”

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου ἔτι, ἀφ' ὧν τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ
VIII ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου δαιμόνιόν τε καὶ οὐ
ράδιον εἰπεῖν τρόπον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν ὁ τύραννος, ὅπερ
οἱ πολλοὶ φῶντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ φῶντο αὐτὸν σχέτλια
ὑπὲρ τούτου βοήσεσθαι καὶ διώξειν ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ
ἀνδρός, κηρύξειν τε ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν, μηδαμοῦ
παριτητέα εἶναι οἱ, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν τούτων, ἀλλ'
ῶσπερ ἀγωνιζόμενος πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν
ἢ ξυνιεὶς λοιπόν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ
αὗταρκες. εἰ δ' ὑπερεώρα, ξυμβαλώμεθα τοῖς ἐφ-
εξῆς, φανείη γὰρ ἀν ξυνταραχθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ κατα-
φρονήσας.

IX

CAP.
IX 'Ηκροῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἑτέρας ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ δίκης, πόλις
δ' ἦν ἀγωνιζομένη πρὸς ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ διαθηκῶν,
οἷμαι, διέφευγον δ' αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν δικαζο-
μένων ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς δίκης,
ἄνόητοι μὲν γὰρ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις ἦσαν, αἱ δ' ἀπο-
κρίσεις οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ κρίσις· ἀ σφόδρα ἥλεγχε
τὸν τύραννον, ώς ἔξεπέληκτό τε καὶ ἡπόρει, δι'
αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ πεπεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν κολα-
κευόντων, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀν διαφύγοι αὐτόν.

X

CAP.
X Οὕτω τὸν τύραννον διαθεὶς καὶ παίγνιον τῆς
έαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἀποφήνας τὸν "Ἐλλησί τε καὶ
356

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together with the words which preceded and led up CHAP.
to this quotation. But the effect upon the despot of
^{VIII} his quitting the court in a manner so godlike and
inexplicable was quite other than that which the
many expected ; for they expected him to make a
terrific uproar and institute a hunt for the man, and
to send forth proclamations over his empire to arrest
him wherever they should find him. But he did
nothing of the kind, as if he set himself to defeat
men's expectations ; or because he now at last
realised that as against the sage he had no resources
of his own. But whether he acted from contempt,
let us conjecture from what ensued, for he will be
seen to have been confounded with astonishment
rather than filled with contempt.

IX

FOR he had to hear another case after that of CHAP.
Apollonius, an action brought, I think, in connexion
^{IX} with a will by some city against a private individual ;
and he had forgotten not only the names of the
parties, but also the matter at issue in the suit ; for
his questions were without meaning and his answers
were not even relevant to the cause,—all which
argued the degree of astonishment and perplexity
under which the despot laboured, the more so
because his flatterers had persuaded him that nothing
could escape his memory.

X

SUCH was the condition to which Apollonius CHAP
reduced the despot, making him a plaything of his
^X

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. βαρβάροις φοβερὸν πᾶσι, πρὸ μεσημβρίας μὲν
X ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, περὶ δείλην δ' ἐν
Δικαιαρχίᾳ ἐφάνη Δημητρίῳ τε καὶ Δάμιδι, καὶ
τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν τὸ παρακελεύσασθαι αὐτὸν τῷ
Δάμιδι μὴ περιμείναντι τὴν ἀπολογίαν πεξεύσαι
ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ βεβουλευμένα οὐ
προῦλεγε, τὸν δ' ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐκέλευε
πράττειν, ἢ τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις εἴπετο.

XI

CAP. Ετύγχανε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δάμις τῆς προτεραίας
xi ἀφιγμένος καὶ τῷ Δημητρίῳ ξυγγεγονὼς ὑπὲρ
τῶν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, δ' δὲ εὐλαβέστερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ
Ἀπολλωνίου ἀκροώμενον εἰκὸς διατεθεὶς ἦν ὑφ'
ῶν ἥκουσε, καὶ πάλιν τῆς ὑστεραίας ὑπὲρ τῶν
αὐτῶν ἡρώτα, ξυναλύων αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν,
ἐν ἣ τὰ περὶ τὴν Καλυψώ μυθεύματα· ἀπεγίγνω-
σκον μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐχ ἥξοντος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς
τυραννίδος χαλεπὰ ἦν πᾶσι, τὰ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
προσταττόμενα ἐτίμων διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός.
ἀπειπόντες οὖν ἐκάθηντο ἐς τὸ νύμφαιον, ἐν φόρῳ
πίθοις, λευκοῦ δὲ οὐτός ἐστι λίθου ξυνέχων πηγὴν
ὑδατος οὕθ' ὑπερβάλλουσαν τοῦ στομάου οὗτ', εἰ
τις ἀπαντλοίη, ὑποδιδοῦσαν. διαλεχθέντες δ' ὑπὲρ
τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ μάλα ἐσπουδακότως,
διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀθυμίαν, ἐπανῆγον τὸν λόγον
ἐς τὰ πρὸ τῆς δίκης.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

philosophy who had been the terror of Hellenes and CHAP.
barbarians ; and before midday he left the court, and
at dusk appeared to Demetrius and Damis at
Dicaearchia. And this accounts for his having
instructed Damis to go by land to Dicaearchia,
without waiting to hear his defence. For he had
given no previous notice of his intentions, but had
merely told the man who was mostly in his
intimacy to do what best accorded with his plans.

X
The Sage is
translated
miracu-
lously to
Dicaearchia.

XI

Now Damis had arrived the day before and had CHAP.
talked with Demetrius about the preliminaries of XI
the trial ; and the account filled the latter, when he
listened to it, with more apprehension than you
might expect of a listener when Apollonius was in
question. The next day also he asked him afresh
about the same particulars, as he wandered with
him along the edge of the sea, which figures in
the fables told about Calypso ; for they were almost
in despair of their master coming to them, because
the tyrant's hand was hard upon all ; yet out of
respect for Apollonius' character they obeyed his
instructions. Discouraged, then, they sat down in
the chamber of the nymphs, where there is the cistern
of white marble, which contains a spring of water
which neither overflows its edges, nor recedes, even
if water be drawn from it. They were talking about
the quality of the water in no very serious manner ;
and presently, owing to the anxiety they felt about
the sage, brought back their conversation to the
circumstances which preceded the trial.

Appears to
Damis and
Demetrius
in the cave
of the
Nymphs.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XII

CAP.
XII 'Ανολοφυραμένου δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδος, καὶ τε καὶ τοιοῦτον εἰπόντος, “ἀρ' ὀψόμεθά ποτε, ὡ θεοί, τὸν καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἔταιρον;” ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφεστὼς ἥδη τῷ νυμφαίῳ ἐτύγχανεν, “ὄψεσθε,” εἶπε, “μᾶλλον δὲ ἑωράκατε.” “ζῶντα;” ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, “εἰ δὲ τεθνεῶτα, οὐπω πεπαύμεθα ἐπὶ σοὶ κλάοντες,” προτείνας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὴν χεῖρα, “λαβοῦ μου,” ἔφη, “κὰν μὲν διαφύγω σε, εἴδωλόν εἰμί σοι ἐκ Φερσεφάττης ἥκον, οὐλα φαίνουσιν οἱ χθόνιοι θεοὶ τοῖς ἀθυμοτέροις τὰ πένθη, εἰ δὲ ὑπομείναιμι ἀπτόμενον, πεθῆτε καὶ Δάμιν ζῆν τέ με καὶ μὴ ἀποβεθληκέναι τὸ σῶμα.” οὐκέθ’ οἷοι ἀπιστεῖν ἥσαν, ἀλλ’ ἀναστάντες ἔξεκρέμαντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο, ὑπέρ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας ἡρώτων ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημήτριος οὐδὲ ἀπολελογῆσθαι αὐτόν, ἀπολέσθαι γὰρ ἀν καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα, Δάμις δὲ ἀπολελογῆσθαι μέν, θάττον δ’ ἵσως, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνης τε τῆς ἡμέρας φέτο. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἀπολελόγημαι,” ἔφη, “ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ νικῶμεν, γέγονε δέ μοι τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας τήμερον οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας, προήγει γὰρ ἥδη ἐς μεσημβρίαν.” “πῶς οὖν,” ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, “τοσήνδε ὄδὸν ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤνυστας;” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “πλὴν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XII

DAMIS' grief had just broken out afresh, and he CHAP.
had made some such exclamation as the following : XII
“ Shall we ever behold, O ye gods, our noble and good companion ? ” when Apollonius, who had heard him,—for as a matter of fact he was already present in the chamber of the nymphs,—answered : “ Ye shall see him, nay, ye have already seen him.”
“ Alive ? ” said Demetrius, “ For if you are dead, we have anyhow never ceased to lament you.” Whereupon Apollonius stretched out his hand and said : “ Take hold of me, and if I evade you, then I am indeed a ghost come to you from the realm of Persephone, such as the gods of the under-world reveal to those who are dejected with much mourning. But if I resist your touch, then you shall persuade Damis also that I am both alive and that I have not abandoned my body.” They were no longer able to disbelieve, but rose up and threw themselves on his neck and kissed him, and asked him about his defence. For while Demetrius was of opinion that he had not even made his defence,—for he expected him to be destroyed without any wrong being proved against him,—Damis thought that he had made his defence, but perhaps more quickly than was expected; for he never dreamed that he had made it only that day. But Apollonius said : “ I have made my defence, gentlemen, and have gained my cause ; and my defence took place this very day not so long ago, for it lasted on even to midday.” “ How then,” said Demetrius, “ have you accomplished so long a journey in so small a fraction of the day ? ” And

They mistake Apollonius at first for his ghost

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. κριοῦ,” ἔφη, “καὶ πτερῶν κηροῦ ξυγκειμένων
XII πάντα οἶου, θεὸν ἐπιγράφων τῇ πομπῇ ταύτῃ.”

“Πανταχοῦ μέν,” ἦ δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος, “τῶν σῶν
ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων θεὸν ἀεί τινα προορᾶν
ἡγούμαι, παρ' οὐ τὰ σὰ οὔτως ἔχει, τὴν δὲ ἀπο-
λογίαν, ἡ τις γέγονε, καὶ ἄττα ἡ κατηγορία εἰχε,
καὶ τὸ τοῦ δικάζοντος ἥθος, καὶ δὲ τι ἥρετο καὶ ὅτῳ
ξυγκατέθετο ἡ ὅτῳ μή, λέγε ὄμοῦ πάντα, ἵνα καὶ
Τελεσίνῳ ἔκαστα φράζοιμι, οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσει ἐρωτῶν
τὰ σά, ὃς γε καὶ πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα ἵσως ἡμερῶν
ἐμοὶ ξυμπίνων ἐν Ἀνθίφ, κατέδαρθε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς
τραπέζης, μεσούσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς κύλικος ἔδοξεν
δναρ πῦρ ἐν τῇ γῇ πελαγίσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολαμ-
βάνειν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ φθάνειν ὑπο-
φεύγοντας, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ῥεῖν αὐτὸ παραπλησίως
τῷ ὅδατι, σὲ δὲ οὐχ ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ
διανεῦσαι αὐτοῦ σχισθέντος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ
τούτῳ θεοῖς εὐξυμβόλοις ἔσπεισεν, ἐμοί τε παρεκε-
λεύσατο ὑπὲρ σοῦ θαρρεῖν.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος,
“οὐ θαυμάζω Τελεσῖνον,” εἶπεν, “ὑπερκαθεύ-
δοντα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπερεγρήγορέ μου πάλαι,
τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης πεύσεσθε μέν, οὐ μὴν
ἐνταῦθα, δείλη τε γὰρ ἴκανῶς ἥδη καὶ βαδίζειν
ῶρα ἐς ἀστυ, ἥδίους δὲ οἱ καθ' ὁδὸν λόγοι παρ-
πέμψαι βαδίζοντας. ἵωμεν δῆν διαλαλοῦντες

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Apollonius replied : “Imagine what you will, flying CHAP.
goat or wings of wax excepted, so long as you ascribe XII
it to the intervention of a divine escort.”

“ Well,” said Demetrius, “ I have always thought The dream
that your actions and words were providentially cared of Telesinus
for by some god, to whom you owe your present preservation, nevertheless pray tell us about the defence you made, what it consisted of and what the accusation had to say against you, and about the temper of the judge, and what questions he put, and what he allowed to pass of your pleas and what not,—tell us all at once in order that I may tell everything in turn to Telesinus, for he will never leave off asking me about your affairs ; for about fifteen days back he was drinking with me in Antium, when he fell asleep at table, and just as the middle cup in honour of the good genius was being passed round he dreamed a dream ; and he saw a fire spreading like a sea over the land, and it enveloped some men, and caught up others as they fled ; for it flowed along, he said, exactly like water, but you alone suffered not the fate of the rest, but swam clean through it as it divided to let you through. And in honour of the gods who inspire such happy presages he poured out a libation in consequence of this dream, and he bade me be of good cheer on your account.” And Apollonius said : “ I am not surprised at Telesinus dreaming about me, for in his vigils, I assure you, he long ago occupied his mind about me ; but as regards the trial, you shall learn everything, but not in this place ; for it is already growing late in the evening, and it is time for us to proceed to the town ; and it is pleasant too to talk as you go along the road, for conversation assists you on your way like an escort.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. Υπὲρ ὧν ἐρωτᾶτε, λέξω δὲ τὰ τήμερον δήπου ἐν τῷ
XII δικαστηρίῳ πραχθέντα. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως
ἄμφω ἵστε, σὺ μὲν παρατυχών, σὺ δ' ἡκροαμένος,
οἶμαι, τούτου, μὰ Δία, οὐχ ἄπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν,
εἰ μὴ ἐκλέλησμαι Δημητρίου, ἀ δ' οὕπω ἵστε,
δίειμι, διείρων ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως καὶ τοῦ
γυμνὸς ἐσελθεῖν.” διήσει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
λόγους καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ “οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις,” καὶ
τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τῆς κρίσεως, ὡς ἀπῆλθε.

XIII

CAP. Τότε ἀναβοήσας Δημήτριος, “ἐγὼ μὲν φίμην
XIII σεσωσμένον ἀφίχθαι σε, σοὶ δ' ἀρχὴ κινδύνων
ταῦτα, ἔνλλήψεται γάρ σε καταγγελλόμενον καὶ
πάσης ἀποστροφῆς εἰργόμενον.” ὁ δ' ἐρρώσθαι τῷ
Δημητρίου δέει φράζων, “εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν,
“ὦδε αὐτῷ εὐάλωτοι ἡτε· ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν τάκείνου
νῦν ἔχει, ἐγὼ οἶδα· κολακευόντων γὰρ ἀεὶ λόγων
ἀκροατὴς γιγνόμενος, νῦν ἐπιπληττόντων ἡκρόαται,
ῥήγνυνται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων αἱ τύραννοι φύσεις
καὶ περὶ ταῦτα χολῶσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀναπαύλης δεῖ
γόνυ οὕπω κάμψαντι ἐκ τοῦ ἄθλου.” καὶ ὁ Δάμις,
“ἐγώ, Δημήτριε, διεκείμην μὲν οὕτως,” ἔφη,
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LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Let us then start and discuss your questions as we CHAP.
go along, and I will certainly tell you of to-day's ^{XII} events in the court. For you both of you know the circumstances which preceded the trial, the one of you because he was present, and the other because I am sure, by Zeus, he has not heard it once only, but again and again, if I know you well, my Demetrius. But I will relate to you what you do not know as yet, beginning with my being summoned into the Emperor's presence, into which I was ushered naked." And he proceeded to detail to them his own words, and above all at the end of them the citation : "For thou shalt not kill me," and he told them exactly how he vanished from the seat of judgment.

XIII

WHEREUPON Demetrius cried out : "I thought you CHAP.
had come hither because you were saved ; but this is ^{XIII} only the beginning of your dangers, for he will proscribe you, seize your person, and cut off all means of escape." Apollonius, however, told Demetrius not to be afraid and encouraged him by saying ; "I only wish that you were both no more easy for him to catch than I am. But I know exactly in what condition of mind the tyrant is at this moment ; hitherto he has never heard anything except the utterances of flatterers, and now he has had to listen to the language of rebuke ; such language breaks despotic natures down and enrages them. But I require some rest, for I have not bent the knee since I had this struggle." And Damis said : "Demetrius, my own attitude towards our friend's affairs was such

Damis stills
the ap-
prehen-
sions of
Demetrius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIII. “πρὸς τὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πράγματα, ώς καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπάγειν αὐτόν, ἐφ' ἡς ἥκει, ξυνεβούλευες δέ που καὶ σὺ ταῦτα, ώς μὴ ἐς κινδύνους ἔκουσίους τε καὶ χαλεποὺς ἵοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν δεδεμένος, ώς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, ἅπορα δὲ ἡγουμένῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐφη τὸ λελύσθαι εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σκέλος ἐλευθερώσας τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἔδειξε τοτε πρώτον κατενόησα τοῦ ἀνδρός, θεσπέσιον τε εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ κρείσσω τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας ὅθεν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπωτέροις τούτων ἐντύχοιμι, οὐδὲν ἀν δείσαιμι ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ κινδυνεύων. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐσπέρα, βαδίζωμεν ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὕπνου,” ἐφη, “δέομαι μόνου, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐν ἵσῳ τίθεμαι λόγῳ, καν παρῇ τι αὐτῶν, καν ἀπῇ.” μετὰ ταῦτα εὐξάμενος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἔτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἦν ὡκει ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ τῷ πόδε ἀπονιψάμενος παρακελευσάμενός τε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν δειπνεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἄσιτοι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, ἔρριψεν ἐς τὴν κλίνην ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐφυμνήσας τῷ ὕπνῳ τὸ ‘Ομήρου ἔπος ἐκάθευδεν, ώς οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀξίοις φροντίσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν.

XIV

CAP. XIV. Περὶ δὲ ὅρθρον ἐρομένου αὐτὸν τοῦ Δημητρίου, ποι τῆς γῆς τρέψοιτο, καὶ κτυπεῖσθαι δοκοῦντος τὰ ωτα ὑπὸ ἐννοίας ἵππέων, οὓς ὤπετο ἐπικεῖσθαι
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LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

that I tried to dissuade him from taking the journey CHAP.
which he has taken, and I believe you too gave him ^{XIII}
the same advice, namely that he should not rush of
his own accord into dangers and difficulties ; but
when he was thrown into fetters, as I saw with my
own eyes, and I was perplexed and in despair of his
case, he told me that it rested with himself to release
himself and he freed his leg from the fetters and
showed it to me. Well, it was then for the first time
that I understood our master to be a divine being,
transcending all our poor wisdom and knowledge.
Consequently, even if I were called upon to expose
myself to still greater risks than these, I should not
fear anything, as long as I was under his protection.
But since the evening is at hand, let us go into the
inn to minister to and take care of him." And
Apollonius said : " Sleep is all I want, and every-
thing else is a matter of indifference to me, whether
I get it or whether I do not." And after that,
having offered a prayer to Apollo and also to the Sun,
he passed into the house in which Demetrius lived,
and having washed his feet, and instructed Damis
and his friend to take their supper, for he saw that
they were fasting, he threw himself upon the bed,
and having intoned some verses of Homer as a hymn Iliad 14. 233
to sleep, he took his repose, as if his circumstances
gave him no just cause whatever for anxiety.

XIV

ABOUT dawn Demetrius asked him where on CHAP.
earth he would turn his steps, for there resounded ^{XIV}
in his ears the clatter of imaginary horsemen
who he thought were already in hot pursuit of

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ήδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διὰ τὴν ὄργὴν τοῦ τυράννου,
XIV “διώξεται μέν,” ἔφη, “με οὐδὲ αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ ἔτερος,
έμοι δὲ ἐσ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ πλοῦς ἔσται.” “σφα-
λερός γε,” εἶπε, “τὸ γὰρ χωρίον φανερώτατον
δν δὲ μηδ’ ἀν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ διαφύγοις, πῶς ἀν ἐν
τῷ φανερῷ λάθοις;” “οὐ δέομαι,” ἔφη, “λαν-
θάνειν, εἰ γάρ, ὡς σὺ οἴει, τοῦ τυράννου ἡ γῆ πᾶσα,
βελτίους οἱ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀποθνήσκοντες τῶν ἐν
τῷ ἀφανεῖ ζώντων.” καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν,
“αἰσθάνῃ,” ἔφη, “νεὼς ἀφιείσης ἐσ Σικελίαν;
“αἰσθάνομαι,” εἶπε, “καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ θαλάττη κατα-
λύομεν καὶ ὁ κηρύττων ἀγχοῦ θυρῶν, στέλλεται
τε ἡ ναῦς ἡδη̄ ἔνυμβάλλομαι δ’ αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν
ἐμπλεόντων βοῆ καὶ οἷς περὶ τὴν ἀιαίρεσιν τῶν
ἀγκυρῶν πράττουσιν.” “ἐπιβῶμεν,” εἶπε, “τῆς
νεὼς ταύτης, ὡ Δάμι, πλευσούμενοι νῦν μὲν ἐσ
Σικελίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δ’ ἐσ Πελοπόννησον.” “ξυνδοκεῖ
μοι,” ἔφη, “καὶ πλέωμεν.”

XV

CAP. Καὶ προσειπόντες τὸν Δημήτριον ἀθύμως ἐπ’
XV αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα, θαρρεῖν τε παραινέσαντες ὡς ἄνδρα
ὑπὲρ ἄνδρῶν, ἐπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἀνέμῳ
ἐπιτηδείῳ, Μεσσήνην τε παραπλεύσαντες ἐγένοντο
ἐν Ταυρομενίῳ τριταῖοι. μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἐπὶ Συρακου-
σῶν κομισθέντες ἀνήγοντο ἐσ Πελοπόννησον περὶ¹
μετοπώρου ἀρχάς, ὑπεράραντες δὲ τοῦ πελάγους

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Apollonius on account of the rage of the tyrant, but CHAP.
Apollonius merely replied : " Neither he nor anyone XIV
else is going to pursue me, but as for myself I shall
take sail for Hellas." " That is anyhow a dangerous
voyage," said the other, " for the region is most
exposed and open ; and how are you going to be
hid out in the open from one whom you cannot
escape in the dark ? " " I do not need to lie hid,"
said Apollonius ; " for if, as you imagine, the entire
earth belongs to the tyrant, it is better to die out in
the open than to live in the dark and in hiding."
And turning to Damis he said : " Do you know of a
ship that is starting for Sicily ? " " I do," he replied,
" for we are staying on the edge of the sea, and the
crier is at our doors, and a ship is just being got
ready to start, as I gather from the shouts of the
crew, and from the exertions they are making over
weighing the anchor." " Let us embark," said
Apollonius, " upon this ship, O Damis, for we will
now sail to Sicily, and thence on to the Pelopon-
nese." " I am agreeable," said the other ; " so let
us sail."

XV

THEY then said farewell to Demetrius, who was CHAP.
despondent about them, but they bade him hope for XV
the best, as one brave man should for others as brave
as himself, and then they sailed for Sicily with a
favourable wind, and having passed Messina they
reached Tauromenium on the third day. After that
they arrived at Syracuse, and put out for the
Peloponnese about the beginning of the autumn ;

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B B

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἀφίκοντο δι' ἡμέρας ἔκτης ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ
^{XV} ἐκβολάς, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Ἀδρία καὶ Σικε-
 λικῷ πελάγει ἐπιχεῖται πότιμος. ἀποβάντες οὖν
 τῆς νεώς, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἥγούμενοι τὸ ἐς Ὀλυμ-
 πίαν ἥκειν, διητῶντο ἐν τῷ ἵερῳ τοῦ Διός, οὐδαμοῦ
 ὑπὲρ Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποφοιτῶντες. φήμης δ' ἀθρόας
 τε καὶ ξυντόνου κατασχούστης τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ξῆν
 τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀφῆχθαι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, καταρχὰς
 μὲν ἐδόκει μὴ ἐρρώσθαι ὁ λόγος, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ
 ἐλπίδος τι ἀνθρωπείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ
 δεδέσθαι αὐτὸν ἥκουσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἀνήκοοι
 ἥσαν ἀποθανεῖν καταφλεχθέντα, οἱ δ' ἐλχθῆνται
 ξῶντα καταπαγέντων ἐς τὰς κλεῖδας αὐτοῦ ἀγκί-
 στρων, οἱ δ' ἐῶσθαι ἐς βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς βυθόν·
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἥκειν ἐπιστεύθη, οὐδὲ ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδα
 οὐδεμίαν μετέωρος οὕτω ξυνήει ἡ Ἑλλάς, ως ἐπ'
 ἐκεῖνον τότε, Ἡλις μὲν καὶ Σπάρτη αὐτόθεν,
 Κόρινθος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὄρίων, Ἀθηναῖοι
 δέ, εἰ καὶ Πελοποννήσου ἔξω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλείποντο
 τῶν πόλεων, αἱ ἐπὶ θύραις εἰσὶ τῆς Πίστης, αὐτοὶ
 μάλιστα οἱ ἐπικυδέστατοι Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν
 στείχοντες καὶ νεότης ἡ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς
 Ἀθήναζε φοιτώσα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Μεγαρόθεν τινὲς
 ἐπεχωρίασαν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ τότε, κάκ Βοιωτῶν
 πολλοί, κάργοθεν, Φωκέων τε καὶ Θετταλῶν ὅ τι
 εὐδόκιμον, οἱ μὲν ξυγγεγούότες ἥδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ,
 ἀνακτησόμενοι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ πλειόνων τε καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

and having traversed the gulf they arrived after six CHAP.
days at the mouth of the Alpheus, where that river XV
pours its waters, still sweet, into the Adriatic and
Sicilian Sea. Here then they disembarked, and
thinking it well worth their while to go to Olympia,
they went and stayed there in the temple of Zeus,
though without ever going further away than Scillous.
A rumour as sudden as insistent now ran through
the Hellenic world that the sage was alive, and had
arrived at Olympia. At first the rumour seemed un-
reliable ; for besides that they were humanly speaking
unable to entertain any hope for him inasmuch as they
heard that he was cast into prison, they had also
heard such rumours as that he had been burnt alive,
or dragged about alive with grapnels fixed in his
neck, or cast into a deep pit, or into a well. But
when the rumour of his arrival was confirmed, they
all flocked to see him from the whole of Greece, and
never did any such crowd flock to any Olympic Whither
festival as then, all full of enthusiasm and
expectation. People came straight from Elis and
Sparta, and from Corinth away at the limits of the
Isthmus ; and the Athenians too, although they are
outside the Peloponnese ; nor were they behind the
cities which are at the gates of Pisa, for it was
especially the most celebrated of the Athenians that
hurried to the temple, together with the young men
who flocked to Athens from all over the earth.
Moreover there were people from Megara just then
staying in Olympia, as well as many from Boeotia,
and from Argos, and all the leading people of Phocis
and Thessaly. Some of them had already made
Apollonius' acquaintance, anxious to pick up his
wisdom afresh, for they were convinced that there

all Greece
flocks to
see him

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΙΑΡ. Θαυμασιωτέρων ἀκροάσασθαι φόντο, οἱ δὲ ἄπειροι
^{XIV} αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἀνήκοοι
φαίνεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας, ὅτῳ
τρόπῳ διαφύγοι τὸν τύραννον, οὐδὲν φέτο δεῖν
φορτικὸν φράζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολελογῆσθαι τε ἔφασκε
καὶ σεσῶσθαι· πολλῶν δὲ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἡκόντων, οἵ
ἐκήρυττον τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, διέκειτο μὲν ἡ
Ἐλλὰς οὐ πόρρω τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν, θεῖον
ἡγούμενοι ἄνδρα δι' αὐτὸν μάλιστα τὸ μηδὲ ἐς
κόμπον μηδένα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καθίστασθαι.

XVI

ΟΛΙ. Νεανίσκου δὲ τῶν ἡκόντων Ἀθήνηθεν μάλα
^{XVII} εἴνουν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ φήσαντος,
“πέπαυσο,” εἶπεν, “Ολυμπίασιν ὑπὲρ τούτων
κροτῶν καὶ διαβάλλων τὴν θεὸν τῷ πατρί. ἐπιδι-
δύντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τῇ ἀχθηδόνι καὶ δίκαια
πράττειν τὴν θεὸν φήσαντός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ βασι-
λεὺς τὴν ἐπώνυμον Ἀθηναίοις ἡρξεν, “εἴθε,” ἔφη,
“καὶ ἐν Παναθηναίοις,” ἐπιστομίζων αὐτὸν τῇ
μὲν προτέρᾳ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων, ὡς κακῶς εἰδότα
περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ τυράννοις αὐτοὺς εἴνουσιν ἡγοῦντο,
τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς, ὡς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἐφ' Ἀρμοδίῳ
καὶ Ἀριστογείτοις ψηφιζομένων Ἀθηναίων, εἰ
τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους τιμᾶν ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς νομίζοντες

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

remained much to learn, more striking than what they CHAP.
had so far heard ; but those who were not acquainted XV
with him thought it a shame that they should seem never to have heard so great a man discourse. In answer to their questions then, of how he had escaped the clutches of the tyrant, he did not deem it right to say anything boastful ; but he merely told them that he had made his defence and got away safely. However when several people arrived from Italy, who bruted abroad the episode of the law-court, the attitude of Hellas towards him came near to that of actual worship ; the main reason why they thought him divine being this, that he never made the least parade about the matter.

XVI

AMONG the arrivals from Athens there was a youth who asserted that the goddess Athene was very well disposed to the Emperor, whereupon Apollonius said to him : "In Olympia please to stop your chatter of such things, for you will prejudice the goddess in the eyes of her father." But as the youth increased their annoyance by declaring that the goddess was quite right, because the Emperor was Archon Eponym of the city of Athene, he said : "Would that he also presided at the Panathenaic festival." By the first of his answers he silenced him, for he showed that he held a poor opinion of the gods, if he considered them to be well disposed to tyrants : by his second he showed that the Athenians would stultify the decree which they passed in honour of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, if after seeing fit to honour these

CHAP.
XVI

Rebukes a
partisan of
Domitian

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XVI ὑπὲρ ὡν ἐν Παναθηναίοις ἔδρασαν, τυράννοις λοιπὸν χαρίζονται τὸ κεχειροτονημένους αὐτῶν ἄρχειν.

XVII

CAP.
XVII Ξυμβουλεύοντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Δάμδος ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐφοδίων σφίσι πάνυ σμικρὰ ἐλείπετο, “αὔριον,” ἔφη, “τούτου ἐπιμελήσομαι.” καὶ παρελθὼν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, “δός,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ἱερεῦ, χιλίας μοι δραχμὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Διὸς χρημάτων, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα οἴει χαλεπανεῖν αὐτόν.” καὶ ὁ ἱερεύς, “οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτων,” ἔφη, “χαλεπανεῖ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, εἰ μὴ πλείω λήψῃ.”

XVIII

CAP.
XVIII Θετταλοῦ δὲ ἀνδρός, φῶνομα Ἰσαγόρας, ξυνόντος αὐτῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἰσαγόρα, ἔστι τι πανήγυρις;” “νῆ Δῖ,” εἶπε, “τό γε ἡδιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους.” “τίς δὲ δὴ ὅλη τούτου; ὥσπερ ἀν εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν ἡρόμην ὑπὲρ ὅλης τοῦδε τοῦ ἀγάλματος, σὺ δ' ἀπεκρίνου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος ξυντεθῆναι αὐτό.” “καὶ τίς,” ἔφη, “ὅλη, Ἀπολλώνιε, τοῦ γε ἀσωμάτου;” “μεγίστη,” εἶπε, “καὶ ποικιλω-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

two citizens with statues in the market place, for the CHAP.
deed they committed at the Panathenaic festival,^{XVI}
they ended by conferring on tyrants the privilege
of being elected to govern them.

XVII

DAMIS approached him at this time to ask him CHAP.
about money, because they had so very little left to XVII
defray the expense of their journey. "To-morrow,"
said Apollonius, "I will attend to this." And on
the next day he went into the temple and said to
the priest: "Give me a thousand drachmas out of the
treasury of Zeus, if you think he will not be too
much annoyed." And the priest answered: "Not
at that; what will annoy him will be if you do not
take more."

Zeus gives
him money

XVIII

THERE was a man of Thessaly, named Isagoras, CHAP.
whom he met in Olympia and said: "Tell, me Isagoras, XVIII
is there such a thing as a religious fair or
festival?" "Why yes," he replied, "and by heaven
there is nothing in the world of men, so agreeable
and so dear to the gods." "And what is the ma-
terial of which it is composed?" asked Apollonius;
"It is as if I asked you about the material of
which this image is made, and you answered me
that it was composed of gold and ivory." "But,"
said the other, "what material, Apollonius, can a
thing which is incorporeal be composed of?" "A
most important material," replied Apollonius, "and

Discussions
of what
makes a
festival

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XVIII τάτη, τεμένη τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ιερὰ καὶ δρόμοι
καὶ σκηνὴ δήπου, ἔθνη τε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς
ὅμορου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερορίων τε καὶ ὑπέρ
θάλατταν.” καὶ μὴν καὶ τεχνῶν πλείστων αὐτὴν
ξυγκεῖσθαι καὶ σοφισμάτων, σοφίας τε ἀληθινῆς
καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ ξυμβουλιῶν καὶ διαλέξεων
γυμνῆς τε ἀγωνίας καὶ μουσικῆς, ως Πυθοῖ πά-
τριον. “ἔοικεν,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ μόνον
σωματοειδὲς εἶναι ἡ πανήγυρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμα-
σιωτέρας ὅλης ἡ αἱ πόλεις, τὰ γὰρ τῶν σπουδαίων
σπουδαίότατα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἐλλογιμώτατα
ξυγκαλεῖ καὶ ξυνοικίζει.”

“Αρ’ οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Ἰσαγόρα, καθάπερ ἔνιοι
τείχη καὶ ναῦς ἥγοῦνται, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἥγησόμεθα,
ἡ ἑτέρας ἐπ’ αὐτῆς δέη δόξης;” “τελεία,” ἔφη,
“ὦ Τυανεῦ, ἥδε ἡ δόξα. καὶ δίκαιον ἐπεσθαι
αὐτῇ.” “καὶ μὴν ἀτελής,” εἶπεν, “ἐνθυμουμένῳ
περὶ αὐτῆς δὲν ἐγὼ τρόπον δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ
νῆες ἀνδρῶν δεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄνδρες νηῶν, καὶ μηδ’
ἄν ἐνθυμηθῆναι ποτε ἀνθρώπους τὴν θάλατταν,
εἰ μὴ ναῦς ἦν, σώζειν τε ἄνδρας μὲν τείχη,
τείχη δὲ ἄνδρας, πανήγυρις δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν
λόγον εἶναι μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ξύνοδος, εἶναι
δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ἐσ δ χρὴ ξυνιέναι, καὶ
τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ τείχη μὲν καὶ νῆες οὐδ’

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

most varied in character ; for there are sacred groves CHAP. XVIII
in it, and shrines, and race-courses and, of course, a theatre, and tribes of men, some of them from the neighbouring countries, and others from over the borders, and even from across the sea. Moreover," he added, "many arts go to make up such a festival, and many designs, and much true genius, both of poets, and of civil counsellors, and of those who deliver harangues on philosophic topics, and contests between naked athletes, and contests of musicians, as is the custom in the Pythian festival." "It seems to me," said the other, "O Apollonius, that the festival is not only something corporeal, but is made up of more wonderful material than are cities ; for there is summoned together into one community on such occasions the best of the best, and the most celebrated of the celebrated."

"Then," said Apollonius, "O Isagoras, are we to consider the people we meet there in the same light as some people regard walls and ships, or do you need some other opinion of the festival?" "The opinion," answered the other, "which we have formulated, is quite adequate and complete, O man of Tyana, and we had better adhere to it." "And yet," said the other, "it is neither adequate nor complete to one who considers about it as I do ; for it appears to me that ships are in need of men and men of ships, and that men would never have thought about the sea at all if they had not had a ship ; and men are kept safe by walls and walls by men ; and in the same way I consider a festival to be not only the meeting of human beings, but also the place itself in which they have to meet, and the more so, because walls and ships would never have

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVIII. ἀν ἐγένοντο, εἰ μὴ δι' ἀνθρώπων χεῖρας, τὰ δὲ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπὸ χειρῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπείων ἐφθάρη τὸ αὐτοσχέδια μὴ εἶναι ἀφαιρεθέντα, φύσεως δὲ εὑ̄ η̄κοντα ἐπάξια τοῦ ξυμφοιτᾶν ἐς αὐτὰ ἐνομίσθη, γυμνάσια μὲν γάρ καὶ στοὰὶ καὶ κρήναι καὶ οἰκοι, τέχνῃ ταῦτα ἀνθρωπείᾳ εἰργάσθη, καθάπερ τὰ τείχη καὶ αἱ υῆρες, Ἀλφειὸς δὲ οὔτος καὶ ἵπποδρομος καὶ στάδιον καὶ ἄλση πρὸ ἀνθρώπων δήπου ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν ἀποχρῶν ποτὸν εἶναι καὶ λουτρόν, ὁ δὲ εὐρὺ πεδίον ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς ἵπποις, τὸ δὲ ἐγκονίσασθαι καὶ διαδραμεῖν ἀθληταῖς διὰ τὸ παρέχεσθαι τινα ὅρον, αὐλῶνα σταδίου μῆκος, τὰ δὲ ἄλση στεφανῶσαι τοὺς νικῶντας καὶ τοὺς δρομικοὺς τῶν ἀθλητῶν γυμνάσαι. ταῦτα γάρ που καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐνθυμηθέντι, καὶ τὸ αὐτοφυὲς τῆς Ὁλυμπίας ἀγασθέντι ἐπάξιος ἐφάνη ὁ χῶρος τῶν ἔτι νῦν σπουδαζομένων ἐνταῦθα.”

XIX

CAP. XIX. ‘Ημερῶν δὲ τετταράκοντα διαλεχθεὶς ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ καὶ πλεῖστα σπουδάσας, “καὶ κατὰ πόλεις μέν,” ἔφη, “διαλέξομαι ύμῖν, ἀνδρες Ἑλληνες, ἐν πανηγύρεσιν, ἐν πομπαῖς, ἐν μυστηρίοις, ἐν θυσίαις, ἐν σπουδαῖς—ἀστείου δὲ ἀνδρὸς δέονται—νῦν δὲ ἐς Λεβάδειαν χρὴ καταβῆναι με, ἐπεὶ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

come into being, unless there had been men's hands CHAP.
to build them, while these places, so far forth as they XVIII
are deprived of their natural and original character-
istics, are by the hands of men spoiled ; for it was
owing to their natural advantages that they were
held worthy of being made their meeting-places ; for
though the gymnasiums and porticoes and fountains
and houses have been all created by human art, just
like the walls and the ships, yet this river Alpheus
with the hippodrome and the stadium and the groves,
existed, I suppose, before men came here, the one
providing water for drinking and for the bath, and
the second a broad plain for the horses to race in,
and the third provided just the space required for
the athletes to raise the dust in as they run along in
their races, namely a valley a stadium in length, and
the groves around supplied wreaths for the winners
and served the athletes who were runners as a place
to practise in. For I imagine that Hercules con-
sidered these facts, and because he admired the
natural advantages of Olympia, he found the place
worthy of the festival and games which are still held
here."

XIX

AFTER forty days, given up to discussions in CHAP.
Olympia, in which many topics were handled, XIX
Apollonius said : " I will also, O men of Hellas, dis-
course to you in your several cities, at your festivals,
at your religious processions, at your mysteries, your
sacrifices, at your public libations, and they require
the services of a clever man ; but for the present I
must go down to Lebadea, for I have never yet had

Visits the
shrine of
Trophonius
at Lebadea

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. μήπω ξυγγέγονα, καίτοι ἐπιφοιτήσας ποτὲ τῷ
XIX ἵερῳ.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἔχώρει δὴ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας,
οὐδενὸς λειπομένου τῶν θαυμαζόντων αὐτόν: τὸ
δὲ ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ στόμιον ἀνάκειται μὲν Τροφωνίῳ τῷ
Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐσβατὸν μόνον τοῦς ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν
φοιτῶσιν, ὁρᾶται δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἵερῳ, μικρὸν δὲ ἄνω
τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν γηλόφῳ, ξυγκλείουσι δὲ αὐτὸς σιδήρεοι
ὁβελίσκοι κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες, ἡ δὲ κάθοδος
οὖα ἵζησαντα ἐπισπάσασθαι. λευκῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι
ἐσταλμένοι πέμπονται, μελιτούττας ἀπάγοντες ἐν
ταῖν χεροῖν, μειλίγματα ἐρπετῶν, ἀ τοὺς κατιοῦσιν
ἐγχρίπτει. ἀναδίδωσι δὲ ἡ γῆ τοὺς μὲν οὐ πόρρω,
τοὺς δὲ πορρωτάτω, καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Λοκροὺς ἀνα-
πέμπονται καὶ ὑπὲρ Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι περὶ
τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια. παρελθὼν οὖν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν,
“βούλομαι,” ἔφη, “καταβῆναι ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας.”

Αντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς
πολλοὺς λεγόντων, μὴ ἀν ποτε γόητι ἀνθρώπῳ
παρασχεῖν ἔλεγχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα
πλαττομένων ἀποφράδας καὶ οὐ καθαρὰς χρῆσαι,
τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διελέχθη περὶ τὰς πηγὰς
τῆς Ἐρκύνης ὑπὲρ αἰτίας τοῦ μαυτείου καὶ τρόπου,
μόνον γὰρ ἐκεῦνο δι’ αὐτοῦ χρᾶ τοῦ χρωμένου
ἐσπέρα δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον μετὰ
τῶν ξυνακολουθούντων νέων, καὶ τέτταρας τῶν
ὁβελίσκων ἀνασπάσας, οἱ ξυνέχουσι τὰς τῆς
παρόδου κλεῖδας, ἔχώρει ὑποχθόνιος αὐτῷ τρίβωνι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

an interview with Trophonius, although I once CHAP.
visited his shrine." And with these words he at once XIX
started for Boeotia attended by every one of his
admirers. Now the cavern in Lebadea is dedicated
to Trophonius, the son of Apollo, and it can only be
entered by those who resort thither in order to get
an oracle, and it is not visible in the temple, but
lies a little above it on a mound; and it is shut in
by iron spits which surround it, and you descend
into it as it were sitting down and being drawn
down. Those who enter it are clad in white
rainment, and are escorted thither with honey-cakes
in their hands to appease the reptiles which assail
them as they descend. But the earth brings them
to the surface again, in some cases close by, but
in other cases a long way off; for they are sent up
to the surface beyond Locri and beyond Phocis, but
most of them about the borders of Boeotia.
Accordingly Apollonius entered the shrine and said:
"I wish to descend into the cave in the interests of
philosophy."

But the priests opposed him and though they told
the multitude that they would never allow a wizard
like him to examine and test the shrine, they pre-
tended to the sage himself that only nefarious and
impure women ever gave the oracles. So on that
day he delivered a discourse at the springs of
Hercyne, about the origin and conduct of the shrine;
for it is the only oracle which gives responses through
the person himself who consults it. And when the
evening approached, he went to the mouth of
the cave with his train of youthful followers, and
having pulled up four of the obelisks, which con-
stitute a bar to the passage, he went down below

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΟΔΡ. καθάπερ ἐς διάλεξιν ἔαυτὸν στείλας, οὕτω τι τῷ
χικῇ φίλα πράττων, ώς ἐπιστάντα τοῖς ἵερεῦσι τὸν
Τροφώνιον, ἐς ἐπίπληξίν τε αὐτοῖς καταστῆναι
ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐς Αὐλίδα τε ἐπεσθαι πάντας,
ώς ἐκεῖ ἀναδυσομένου θαυμασιώτατα ἀνθρώπων.
ἀνέσχε γὰρ δι' ἡμερῶν ἐπτά, ὅσων μήπω τις τῶν
ὑπελθόντων τὸ μαντεῖον, φέρων βιβλίον προσ-
φορώτατον τῇ ἐρωτήσει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατῆλθεν
εἰπών, “τίνα, ὡς Τροφώνιε, καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρτιωτάτην
καὶ καθαρωτάτην φιλοσοφίαν ἡγῇ;” τὸ δὲ βιβλίον
τὰς Πυθαγόρου εἶχε δόξας, ώς καὶ τοῦ μαντείου
τῇ σοφίᾳ ταύτῃ ξυντιθεμένου.

XX

CAP. 'Ανάκειται τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ἐν Ἀνθίῳ, καὶ
χικῇ σπουδάζεται διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ "Ανθιον Ἰταλῶν
τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν Λεβά-
δειαν οἰκούντων ξυγχωρῶ ἀκροάσθαι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ
βιβλίου τούτου γνώμη ἀποπεφάνθω μοι, διακομι-
σθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸς βασιλεῖ Ἀδριανῷ ὕστερον, ὅτε
δὴ καὶ τίνας τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιστολῶν, οὐ
γὰρ δὴ πάσας γε, καταμεῖναι δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια
τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν
Ἰταλίαν βασιλείων ἔχαιρεν.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

ground wearing his philosopher's mantle, having CHAP.
dressed himself as if he were going to deliver an XIX
address upon philosophy,—a step which the god Tro-
phonius so thoroughly approved of, that he appeared
to the priests and not only rebuked them for the
reception they had given Apollonius, but enjoined
them all to follow him to Aulis, for he said it was
there that he would come to the surface in such
a marvellous fashion as no man before. And in fact
he emerged after seven days, a longer period than it
had taken anyone of those who until then had
entered the oracle, and he had with him a volume
thoroughly in keeping with the questions he had
asked: for he had gone down saying: “What, O
Trophonius, do you consider the most complete and
purest philosophy?” And the volume contained the
tenets of Pythagoras, a good proof this, that the
oracle was in agreement with this form of wisdom.

Emerges
from the
cave of
Trophonius
with a
volume of
Pythagoras

XX

THIS book is preserved in Antium, and the village CHAP.
in question, which is on the Italian seaboard, is much XX
visited for the purpose of seeing it. I must which
acknowledge that I only heard these details from the volume is
inhabitants of Lebadea; but in regard to the volume now in
in question I must set on record my conviction, that
it was subsequently conveyed to the Emperor Hadrian
at the same time as certain letters of Apollonius,
though by no means all of them; and it remained in
the palace at Antium, which was that one of his
Italian palaces in which this Emperor took most
pleasure.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXI

CAP.
XXI Άφικοντο δ' αὐτῷ καξίας οἱ ὄμιληται πάντες, οὓς ὠνόμαζεν Ἀπολλωνιείους ἡ Ἑλλάς, καὶ ξυμμιχθέντες τοῖς αὐτόθεν νεότης ἐγένοντο θαυμάσαι ἄξιοι τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ὄρμῆς. ῥητορικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέκειτο ἀμελουμένη, καὶ σμικρὰ προσεῖχον τοῖς τὴν τέχνην ξυγκροτοῦσιν, ὡς μόνης διδασκάλου τῆς γλώττης, ὡθίζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν πάντες. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ τοὺς Γύγας φασὶ καὶ τοὺς Κροίσους ἀκλείστους παρέχειν τὰς τῶν θησαυρῶν θύρας, ἵν' ἀπαντλεῖν εἴη τοῖς δεομένοις, οὕτω παρεῖχε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν τοῖς ἔρωσι, περὶ παντὸς ἔρωτᾶν ξυγχωρῶν.

XXII

CAP.
XXII Διαβαλλόντων δ' αὐτὸν ἐνίων, ὅτι τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιδημίας ἐκτρέποιτο καὶ ἀπάγοι τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐς τὰς ἡσυχίας μᾶλλον, καὶ τινος ἀποσκώψαντος μετελαύνειν αὐτὸν τὰ πρόβατα, ἐπειδὰν τοὺς ἀγοραίους προσιόντας μάθῃ, “νὴ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ἴνα μὴ ἐμπίπτωσι τῇ ποίμνῃ οἱ λύκοι.” τί δ' ἐβούλετο αὐτῷ τοῦτο; τοὺς ἀγοραίους ὄρων ἀποβλεπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ προϊόντας ἐκ πενίας ἐς πλοῦτον, ἀπεχθείας τε οὕτως ἀσπαζομένους, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸ ἀπέχθεσθαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXI

FROM Ionia also there came to see him the band of CHAP.
companions who were named in Hellas the company of XXI
Apollonius ; and mixing with the people of the place
they formed a band of youths, remarkable for their
number and for their philosophic enthusiasm. For
the science of rhetoric had been left neglected and
little attention was paid to the professors of the art,
on the ground that the tongue was their only
teacher ; but now they were all impelled to study
his philosophy. But he, like Gyges and Croesus, who
they say left the door of their treasures unlocked, in
order that all who needed might fill their pockets
from them, threw open the treasures of his wisdom
to those who loved it, and allowed them to ask him
questions upon every subject.

The Band of
Apollonius
accompany
him

XXII

BUT certain persons accused him of dissuading his CHAP.
pupils from visiting the governors, and of influencing XXII
them to lead lives of quiet and retirement instead ;
and one of them uttered the jest that he drove
away his sheep as soon as he found any forensic
orator approaching. "Yes, by Zeus," said Apol-
lonius, "lest these wolves should fall upon my
flock." What was the meaning of this sally? He
saw these forensic orators looked up to by the mul-
titude as they made their way up from poverty
to great riches ; and he saw that they so wel-
comed the feuds of others, that they actually

He warns
them
against
forensic
orators

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. πωλεῖν, ἀπῆγε τοὺς νέους τοῦ ξυνεῖναι σφισι καὶ τοὺς ξυγγενομένους αὐτοῖς ἐνουθέτει πικρότερον, οἷον ἀποπλύνων βαφῆς ἀτόπου· διεβέβλητο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνου, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεσμωτηρίων καὶ τῶν δεδεμένων τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω διετέθη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην, ὡς πάντα ταῦτα τῶν συκοφαντούντων καὶ τῶν δεινότητι ἐπηρμένων ἥγεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ τυράννου.

XXIII

CAP. Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνεσπούδαζεν, ἐπεῖχε τὸν οὐρανὸν διοσημία τοιαύτη· τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον περιελθὼν στέφανος ἐοικὼς ἵριδι τὴν ἀκτῖνα ἡμαύρου. ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐς νεώτερα ἡ διοσημία ἔφερε, δῆλα ἦν πᾶσιν, ὁ δ' ἀρχων τῆς Ἑλλάδος καλέσας αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Βοιωτίαν, “ἀκούω σε,” εἶπεν, “Ἀπολλώνιε, σοφὸν εἶναι τὰ δαιμόνια.” “εἴ γε,” ἔφη, “ἀκούεις, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια.” “ἀκούω,” εἶπε, “καὶ ξύμφημι.” “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ξυνομολογεῖς, μὴ πολυπραγμόνει θεῶν βουλάς, τουτὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σοφία ἐπαινεῖ.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλιπάρει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰπεῖν, ὅπῃ διανοεῖται, δεδιέναι γὰρ μὴ ἐς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

conducted a traffic in hatred and feud ; accordingly he tried to dissuade these young men from associating with them, and those that did so associate with them he sharply reproved, as if to wash off them a monstrous stain. For he had been long before on bad terms with them ; and his experience of the prisons in Rome, and of the persons who were confined and perishing in them, so prejudiced him against the forensic art, as that he believed all these evils were due to sycophants and lawyers puffed up by their own cleverness, rather than to the despot himself.

XXIII

JUST at the time when he was holding these conversations with the people of Hellas, the following remarkable portent overspread the heavens. The orb of the sun was surrounded by a wreath which resembled a rainbow, but dimmed the sunlight. That the heavenly sign portended a revolution was of course clear to all. However, when the governor of Hellas summoned Apollonius from Athens to Boeotia, and said : " I hear that you have a talent for understanding things divine," he replied : " Yes, and perhaps you have heard that I have some understanding of human affairs." " I have heard it," he replied, " and I quite agree." " Since then," said Apollonius, " you are of one opinion with me, I would advise you not to pry into the intentions of the gods ; for this is what human wisdom recommends you to do." And when he besought Apollonius to tell him what he thought, for he said he was afraid lest night should ensue and swallow up

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ΞΙΙΙ νύκτα μεταστή πάντα, “θάρρει,” ἔφη, “ἔσται γάρ τι ἐκ τῆς νυκτὸς ταῦτης φῶς.”

XXIV

CAP. ΞΙΒ Μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μέν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἵκανῶς εἶχε, δυοῖν ἐνδιατρίψας ἐτοῖν, ἔπλει ἐς Ἰωνίαν ξυνεπομένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἑταιρείας, καὶ τὸν μὲν πλείω χρόνον ἐφιλοσόφει περὶ τὴν Σμύρναν τε καὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἐπιὼν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας καὶ ἐν οὐδεμῷ τῶν πόλεων ἀηδῆς εἶναι δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεῖσθαι ἄξιος καὶ κέρδος μέγα τοῖς δεξιοῖς.

XXV

CAP. ΞΙV Ἐάθουν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ Δομετιανὸν ἥδη τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων προεδρίας. ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλήμεντα ἀπεκτονῶς ἄνδρα ὕπατον, φῶς τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔδεδώκει, πρόσταγμα δὲ ἐπεποίητο περὶ τὴν τρίτην ἡ τετάρτην ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου κάκείνην ἐς ἄνδρὸς φοιτᾶν. Στέφανος τοίνυν ἀπελεύθερος τῆς γυναικός, ὃν ἔδήλου τὸ τῆς διοσημίας σχῆμα, εἴτε τὸν τεθνεῶτα ἐνθυμηθείς, εἴτε πάντας, ὥρμησε μὲν ἵσα τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον· ξίφος δὲ ὑφείρας

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

everything. "Be of good cheer," said Apollonius, CHAP.
"for there will be some light following such a night" XXIII
as this."

XXIV

AFTER this, seeing that he had had enough of the people of Hellas, after living for two years among them, he set sail for Ionia, accompanied by his society ; and the greater part of his time he spent teaching philosophy at Smyrna and Ephesus, though he also visited the rest of the cities ; and in none of them was he found to be an unwelcome guest, indeed they all considered him to be worth their regret when he left them, and to the better class of people he was a great boon.

CHAP.
XXIV
Quits Hellas
for
Ionia

XXV

AND now the gods were about to cast down CHAP.
Domitian from his presidency of mankind. For it happened that he had just slain Clemens, a man of consular rank, to whom he had lately given his own sister in marriage ; and he issued a command about the third or fourth day after the murder, that she also should follow her husband and join him. Thereupon Stephanus, a freed man of the lady, he who was signified by the form of the late portent, whether because the latest victim's fate rankled in his mind, or the fate of all others, made an attempt upon the tyrant's life worthy of comparison with the feats of the champions of Athenian liberty. For he concealed a dagger

XXV
Stephanus
assassinate
Domitian

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τῷ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πήχει, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιδέσμοις ἀναλαβὼν οἷον κατεαγυῖαν, ἀπιόντι τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθών, “δέομαι σου,” ἔφη, “βασιλεῦ, μόνου, μεγάλα γάρ, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀκούσῃ. οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος δὲ τοῦ τυράννου τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα, οὐ τὰ βασίλεια, “οὐ τέθνηκεν,” εἶπεν, “ὅ πολεμιώτατός σοι Κλήμης, ὡς σὺ οἴει, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν οὖν ἐγὼ οἰδα, καὶ ξυντάττει ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ σέ.” μέγα δὲ αὐτοῦ βοήσαντος περὶ ὧν ἥκουσε, τεταραγμένῳ προσπεσὼν ὁ Στέφανος, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τῆς ἐσκευασμένης χειρὸς ἀνασπάσας, διῆκε τοῦ μηροῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸν αὐτίκα θάνατον οὐ καιρίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄκαιρον. ὁ δὲ ἐρρωμένος μὲν καὶ ἄλλως τὸ σῶμα, γεγονὼς δὲ περὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ξυνεπλάκη τρωθείς, καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Στέφανον ἐπέκειτο, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀρύττων καὶ τὰς παρειὰς ξυντρίβων πυθμένι χρυσῆς κύλικος αὐτοῦ κειμένης περὶ τὰ ἱερά, ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀρωγόν. συνέντες οὖν οἱ δορυφόροι κακῶς πράττοντος ἐσῆλθον ἀθρόοι, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν λιποθυμοῦντα ἥδη.

XXVI

CAP. Ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐωράτο δὲ Ἀπολλωνίῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον. διαλεγόμενος

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

against his left fore-arm, and carrying his hand in ^{CHAP.} XXV
a bandage, as if it were broken, he approached the Emperor as he left the law-court, and said : " I would have a private interview with you, my prince, for I have important news to communicate to you." The latter did not refuse him the audience, but took him apart into the men's apartment where he transacted business of state. Whereupon the assassin said ; " Your bitter enemy, Clement, is not dead, as you imagine, but he lives and I know where he is ; and he is making ready to attack you." When the Emperor uttered a loud cry over this information, before he could recover his composure, Stephanus threw himself upon him and drawing the dagger from the hand which he had trussed up, he stabbed him in the thigh, inflicting a wound which was not immediately mortal, though it was well timed in view of the struggle which followed. The Emperor was still strong and full of bodily vigour, although he was about five and forty years of age ; and in spite of the wound he closed with his assailant, and throwing him down, kneeled upon him and dug out his eyes and crushed his cheeks with the stand of a gold cup which lay thereby for use in sacred ceremonies, at the same time calling upon Athene to assist him. Thereupon his body-guard, realising that he was in distress, rushed into the room pell-mell, and despatched the tyrant, who had already swooned.

XXVI

ALTHOUGH this deed was done in Rome, Apollonius ^{CHAP.} XXVI
was a spectator of it in Ephesus. For about midday

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXVI γάρ περὶ τὰ τῶν ξυστῶν ἄλση κατὰ μεσημβρίαν,
ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγίγνετο, πρῶτου
μὲν ὑφῆκε τῆς φωνῆς, οἷον δείσας, εἰτ' ἐλλιπέσ-
τερον ἦ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἡρμήνευσεν ἵστα-
τοῖς μεταξὺ λόγων διορῶσί τι ἔτερον, εἴτα ἐσιώπη-
σεν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν λόγων ἐκπεσόντες, βλέψας τε
δεινὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ προβὰς τρία ἦ τέτταρα τῶν
βημάτων, “παῖε τὸν τύραννον, παῖε,” ἐβόα, οὐχ
ώσπερ ἐκ κατόπτρου τινὸς εἴδωλου ἀληθείας ἔλκων,
ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ ὁρῶν καὶ ξυλλαμβάνειν δοκῶν τὰ
δρώμενα. ἐκπεπληγμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου, παρῆν
γάρ διαλεγομένῳ πᾶσα, ἐπισχὼν ὅσον οἱ διορῶντες,
ἔστ’ ἀν γένηται τι τῶν ἀμφιβόλων τέλος, “θαρ-
ρεῖτε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ γάρ τύραννος ἀπέ-
σφακται τήμερον. τί λέγω τήμερον; ἄρτι, νὴ τὴν
Ἀθηνᾶν, ἄρτι, περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ῥημάτων, οἷς
ἐπεσιώπησα.” μανίαν δὲ ταῦθ’ ἡγουμένων τῶν
κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον, καὶ βουλομένων μὲν ἀληθεύειν
αὐτόν, δεδιότων δὲ τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κίνδυνον,
“οὐ θαυμάζω” ἔφη, “τῶν μήπω προσδεχομένων
τὸν λόγον, δν μηδὲ ἡ Ῥώμη γιγνώσκει πᾶσα· ἀλλ’
ἰδοὺ γιγνάσκει, διαφοιτᾷ γάρ, καὶ πιστεύουσι μὲν
ἡδη μύριοι, πηδῶσι δ’ ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς δὶς τόσοι καὶ
διπλάσιοι τούτων καὶ τετραπλάσιοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

he was delivering an address in the groves of the colonnade, just at the moment when it all happened in the palace at Rome; and first he dropped his voice, as if he were terrified, and then, though with less vigour than was usual with him, he continued his exposition, like one who between his words caught glimpses of something foreign to his subject, and at last he lapsed into silence, like one who has been interrupted in his discourse. And with an awful glance at the ground, and stepping forward three or four paces from his pulpit, he cried: "Smite the tyrant, smite him,"—not like one who derives from some looking-glass a faint image of the truth, but as one who sees things with his own eyes, and is taking part in a tragedy. All Ephesus, for all Ephesus was at his lecture, was struck dumb with astonishment; but he, pausing like those who are trying to see and wait until their doubts are ended, said: "Take heart, gentlemen, for the tyrant has been slain this day; and why do I say to-day? Now it is, by Athene, even now at the moment I uttered my words, and then lapsed into silence." The inhabitants of Ephesus thought that this was a fit of madness on his part; and although they were anxious that it should be true, yet they were anxious about the risk they ran in giving ear to his words, whereupon he added: "I am not surprised at those who do not yet accept my story, for not even all Rome as yet is cognizant of it. But behold, Rome begins to know it: for the rumour runs this way and that, and, thousands now are convinced of it; and they begin to leap for joy, twice as many as before, and twice as many as they, and four times as many, yea the whole of the populace there. And this

CHAP.
XXVI
Apollonius
witnesses
the deed
though in
Ephesus

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. έκείνη δῆμοι. ἀφίξεται τουτὶ τὸ ρῆμα καὶ δεῦρο,
XXVI καὶ τὸ μὲν θύειν ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβλήσθω ἐς
καιρόν, δὸν ἀπαγγελθήσεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι
προσευξόμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶδον."

XXVII

CAP. "Ετ' ἀπιστουμένων τούτων, ἥλθον οἱ τῶν εὐαγ-
γελίων δρόμοι, μάρτυρες τῆς σοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρός,
καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τυράννου σφαγή, καὶ ἡ τοῦτο ἐνεγ-
κοῦσα ἡμέρα, καὶ ἡ μεσημβρία, καὶ οἱ κτείνοντες,
πρὸς οὓς ἡ παρακέλευσις, οὕτως εἶχει, ώς οἱ θεοὶ¹
τούτων ἔκαστα διαλεγομένῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνέφαινον.

Τριάκοντα δ' ἡμέραις μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπιστείλαντος
αὐτῷ τοῦ Νερούα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἥδη τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων ἔχειν θεῶν τε βουλαῖς κάκείνου, κατασχεῖν
δ' ἀν αὐτὴν ρᾶσιν, εἰς ξύμβουλος αὐτῷ ἔλθοι, τὸ
μὲν αὐτίκα ἔκεινο γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν αἴνιγμα·
“ξυνεσόμεθα, ὡς βασιλεῦ, χρόνον ἀλλήλοις πλεῖσ-
τον, δὸν μήτε ἡμέ Eis ἐτέρου, μήτ' ἄλλος ἡμῶν ἄρξει,”
συνιεὶς ἵσως ἔαυτοῦ τε, ώς μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεταστη-
σομένου ἀνθρώπων, Νερούα τε, ώς χρόνον βραχὺν
ἄρξοντος, ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ καὶ μῆνας τέτταρας
τὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προῦβη σωφρονεστάτῳ
δόξαντι.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

news will travel hither also ; and although I would have you defer your sacrifices in honour thereof to the fitting season, when you will receive this news, I shall proceed at once to pray to the gods for what I have seen."

XXVII

THEY were still sceptical, when swift runners arrived with the good news, and bore testimony to the sage's wisdom ; for the tyrant's murder, and the day which brought the event to birth, the hour of mid-day and the murderers to whom he addressed his exhortation, everything agreed with the revelation which the gods had made to Apollonius in the midst of his harangue.

And thirty days later Nerva sent a letter to him to say that he was already in possession of the Empire of the Romans, thanks to the good-will of the gods and to his good counsels ; and he added that he would more easily retain it, if Apollonius would come to advise him. Whereupon at the moment the latter wrote to him the following enigmatical sentence : "We will, my prince, enjoy one another's company for a very long time during which neither shall we govern others, nor others us." Perhaps he realised, when he wrote thus, that it was not to be long before he himself should quit this human world, and that Nerva was only to retain the throne for a short time ; for his reign lasted but one year and four months, when he left behind him the reputation of having been a sober and serious ruler.

Nerva
accedes and
invites the
sage to
Rome

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXVIII

^{CAP.}
XXVIII "Ινα δὲ μὴ ἀμελῶν φαίνοιτο φίλου τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος, ξυνέθηκε μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν, ξύμβουλον τῶν ἀρχικῶν, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν, "σοῦ" ἔφη, "δεῖται ταῦτα, τὰ γὰρ ἀπόρρητα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς γέγραπται μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἔστι δὲ οἰα ἡ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λέγεσθαι ἡ διὰ σοῦ." καὶ ὁψὲ ὁ Δάμις ξυνεῖναι φησι τῆς τέχνης, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστολὴν ἄριστά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ξυγγεγράφθαι, πεμφθῆναι δὲ ἀν καὶ δι' ἑτέρου. τίς οὖν ἡ τέχνη τοῦ ἀνδρός; πάντα τὸν χρόνον, διν ἐβίω, λέγεται θαμὰ ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι, "λάθε βιώσας, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιο, λάθε ἀποβιώσας." ἀπάγων οὖν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Δάμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ μάρτυσι καταλύοι, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐσκήψατο καὶ τὸ ἀναφοιτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ παθεῖν τι ἀπιών αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὐδὲ εἰδὼς τὰ μέλλοντα, τὸν δὲ εὐ εἰδότα μηδὲν μέν οἱ εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ μηκέτ' ἀλλήλους ὀψόμενοι, τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιεῖναι τοῦ πεπεῖσθαι, ὅτι ἀεὶ ἔσται, παρεγγυησται δὲ ὡδε· "ὦ Δάμι, καν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ φιλοσοφῆς, ἐμὲ ὅρα."

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXVIII

BUT as he did not wish to seem to neglect so good a friend and ruler, he composed later on for him a letter giving him advice about matters of state ; and calling Damis to him, he said : " You are wanted here, for this letter which I have written to the king contains secrets, and though it is written, they are of such a kind that they must be communicated orally either by myself or through you." And Damis declares that he only understood his master's device much later ; for that the letter was composed in admirable style, and though it treated of important subjects, yet it might equally well have been sent through anyone else. What then was the sage's device ? All through his life, he is said often to have exclaimed : " Live unobserved, and if that cannot be, slip unobserved from life." His letter, then, and Damis' visit to Rome were of the nature of an excuse for getting the latter out of the way, in order that he might have no witnesses of his dissolution. Damis accordingly says that, though he was much affected at leaving him, in spite of his having no knowledge of what was coming, yet Apollonius, who knew full well, said nothing of it to him, and far from addressing him after the manner of those who are never to see one another again, so abundant was his conviction that he would exist for ever, merely pledged him in these words : " O Damis, even if you have to philosophise by yourself, keep your eyes upon me."

CHAP.
XXVIII
Apollonius
refuses,
but sends
him a letter
by Damis

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τυανέα Δάμιδι τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὑναγεγραμμένα ἐς τόνδε τὸν λόγον τελευτᾶ, περὶ γὰρ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα, εἴγε ἐτελεύτα, πλείους μὲν λόγοι, Δάμιδι δὲ οὐδεὶς εἴρηται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο χρὴ παραλελεῖθαι, δεῖ γάρ που τὸν λόγον ἔχειν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πέρας. οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ἡλικίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηται οὐδὲν τῷ Δάμιδι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὅγδοήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνεγκοντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πρόσω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἀκέραιος ὡν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄρτιος, νεότητος δὲ ἡδίων. ἔστι γάρ τις ὥρα καὶ περὶ ῥυτίσιν, ἢ μάλιστα περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἥνθησεν, ώς εἰκόνες τε δηλοῦσι τάνδρὸς ἐν τῷ Τυανάδε οἱρῷ καὶ λόγοι μᾶλλον ὑμνοῦντες τὸ Ἀπολλωνίου γῆρας ἢ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ποτὲ νεότητα.

XXX

CAP.
XXX Τελευτῆσαι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ δυοῖν δμωαῖν, τεθνάναι γὰρ ἥδη οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι, περὶ ὧν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἶπον, ἐλευθερώσαντα δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν, αἰτίαν πρὸς τῆς ἐτέρας ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἤξιώτο, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον, “καὶ δουλεῦσαι,” φάναι, “προσήκει σὲ αὐτῇ, τουτὶ γάρ σοι ἀγαθοῦ ἄρξει.” τελευτῆσαντος οὖν ἡ μὲν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXIX

THE memoirs then of Apollonius of Tyana which Damis the Assyrian composed, end with the above story; for with regard to the manner in which he died, if he did actually die, there are many stories, though Damis has repeated none. But as for myself I ought not to omit even this, for my story should, I think, have its natural ending. Neither has Damis told us anything about the age of our hero; but there are some who say that he was eighty, others that he was over ninety, others again who say that his age far exceeded a hundred. He was fresh in all his body and upright, when he died, and more agreeable to look at than in his youth. For there is a certain beauty even in wrinkles, which was especially conspicuous in his case, as is clear from the likenesses of him which are preserved in the temple at Tyana, and from accounts which praise the old age of Apollonius more than was once praised the youth of Alcibiades.

CHAP.
XXIX

Age reached
by Apol-
lonius

XXX

Now there are some who relate that he died in Ephesus, tended by two maid servants; for the freed-men of whom I spoke at the beginning of my story were already dead. One of these maids he emancipated, and was blamed by the other one for not conferring the same privilege upon her, but Apollonius told her that it was better for her to remain the other's slave, for that that would be the beginning of her well-being. Accordingly after his death

CHAP.
XXX

Tales of his
death, in
Ephesus

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXX δουλεύειν ἐκείνη, ἡ δ' ἐκ μικρᾶς αἰτίας ἀποδόσθαι αὐτὴν καπήλω, παρ' οὐ πρίασθαι τις οὐδ' εὐπρεπῆ οὖσαν, ἀλλ' ἔρων οὗτος καὶ χρηματιστὴς ἴκανὸς ὢν, γυναῖκά τε ἀνειπεῖν καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγγράψαι.

Οἱ δ' ἐν Λίνδῳ τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἕσω ἀφανισθέντα· οἱ δ' ἐν Κρήτῃ φασὶ θαυμασιώτερον ἢ οἱ ἐν Λίνδῳ· διατρίβειν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τούτου θαυμαζόμενον, ἀφικέσθαι δ' ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δικτύννης ἀωρί. φυλακὴ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ κυνῶν ἐπιτέτακται, φρουροὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ πλούτου, καὶ ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Κρήτες μήτε τῶν ἄρκτων μήτε τῶν ὥδε ἀγρίων λείπεσθαι, οἱ δ' οὕθ' ὑλάκτειν ἥκουντα σαίνεν τε αὐτὸν προσιόντες, ως μηδὲ τοὺς ἄγαν ἐθάδας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προϊστάμενοι ξυλλαβόντες αὐτὸν ως γόητα καὶ ληστὴν δῆσαι, μείλιγμα τοῦς κυσὶ προβεβλῆσθαι τι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φάσκοντες· ὁ δ' ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἑαυτὸν λῦσαι, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς δήσαντας, ως μὴ λάθοι, δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύρας, αἱ δὲ ἀνεπετάσθησαν, παρελθόντος δὲ ἕσω τὰς μὲν θύρας ξυνελθεῖν, ὕσπερ ἐκέκλειντο, βοήν δὲ ἀδουσῶν παρθένων ἐκπεσεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἀσμα ἦν· “στεῖχε γᾶς, στεῖχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῖχε.” οἷον· οὐδὲ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἄνω.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

this one continued to be the slave of the other, who CHAP.
for some insignificant reason sold her to a merchant,
from whom she was purchased. Her new master,
although she was not good-looking, nevertheless fell
in love with her; and being a fairly rich man, made
her his legal wife and had legitimate children by her.

Others again say that he died in Lindus, where he or in
entered the temple of Athene and disappeared Lindus
within it. Others again say that he died in Crete or Crete
in a much more remarkable manner than the people
of Lindus relate. For they say that he continued
to live in Crete, where he became a greater centre
of admiration than ever before, and that he came to
the temple of Dictynna late at night. Now this Story of his
temple is guarded by dogs, whose duty it is to watch assumption
over the wealth deposited in it, and the Cretans into heaven
claim that they are as good as bears or any other
animals equally fierce. None the less, when he came,
instead of barking, they approached him and fawned
upon him, as they would not have done even with
people they knew familiarly. The guardians of the
shrine arrested him in consequence, and threw him
in bonds as a wizard and a robber, accusing him of
having thrown to the dogs some charmed morsel.
But about midnight he loosened his bonds, and
after calling those who had bound him, in order
that they might witness the spectacle, he ran to the
doors of the temple, which opened wide to receive
him; and when he had passed within they closed
afresh, as if they had been shut, and there was
heard a chorus of maidens singing from within the
temple, and their song was this. "Hasten thou from
earth, hasten thou to Heaven, hasten." In other
words: "Do thou go upwards from earth."

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXXI

CAP. Περὶ ψυχῆς δέ, ὡς ἀθάνατος εἴη, ἐφιλοσόφει
XXXI ἔτι, διδάσκων μέν, ὅτι ἀληθὴς ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λόγος,
 πολυπραγμονεῦν δὲ μὴ ξυγχωρῶν τὰ ὧδε μεγάλα·
 ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰ Τύανα μειράκιον θρασὺ^ν
 περὶ τὰς ἔριδας καὶ μὴ ξυντιθέμενον ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ.
 τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἥδη ὄντος,
 θαυμαζομένου δ' ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ μηδ' ἀντι-
 λέξαι θαρροῦντος μηδενός, ὡς οὐκ ἀθάνατος εἴη,
 λόγοι μὲν οἱ πλείους ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ
 γὰρ νεότης τις ἦν αὐτόθι σοφίας ἐρώντες, τὸ δὲ
 μειράκιον οὐδαμῶς τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίᾳ ξυντι-
 θέμενον, “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ὦ παρόντες, τουτονὶ μῆνα
 δέκατον Ἀπολλωνίῳ διατελῶ εὐχόμενος ἀναφῆναι
 μοι τὸν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς λόγον, ὃ δ' οὗτοι τέθηκεν,
 ὡς μηδ' ἐφίστασθαι δεομένῳ, μηδ', ὡς ἀθάνατος
 εἴη, πείθειν.” τοιαῦτα μὲν τὸ μειράκιον τότε,
 πέμπτη δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
 σπουδάσαν, κατέδαρθε μὲν οὖν διελέγετο, τῶν δὲ
 ξυσπουδαζόντων νέων οἱ μὲν πρὸς βιβλίοις ἥσαν,
 οἱ δὲ ἐσπούδαζον γεωμετρικοὺς ἐπιχαράττοντες
 τύπους τῇ γῇ, τὸ δ', ὕσπερ ἐμμανές, ἀναπηδῆσαν
 ὡμόυπνου, ἰδρωτί τε πολλῷ ἐρρεῖτο καὶ ἐβόα,
 “πείθομαί σοι.” ἐρομένων δ' αὐτὸι τῶν παρόντων,
 ὅ τι πέπονθεν, “οὐχ ὄρατε,” ἔφη, “ὑμεῖς Ἀπολ-
 λώνιον τὸν σοφόν, ὡς παρατυγχάνει τε ἡμῖν,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXXI

AND even after his death he continued to preach CHAP.
that the soul is immortal; but although he taught XXXI

this account of it to be correct, yet he discouraged men from meddling in such high subjects. For there came to Tyana a youth who did not shrink from acrimonious discussions, and would not accept truth in argument. Now Apollonius had already passed away from among men, but people still wondered at his passing, and no one ventured to dispute that he was immortal. This being so, the discussions were mainly about the soul, for a band of youths were there passionately addicted to wisdom. The young man in question, however, would on no account allow the tenet of the immortality of the soul, and said: "I myself, gentlemen, have done nothing now for over nine months but pray to Apollonius that he would reveal to me the truth about the soul; but he is so utterly dead that he will not appear to me in response to my entreaties, nor give me any reason to consider him immortal." Such were the young man's words on that occasion, but on the fifth day following, after discussing the same subject, he fell asleep where he was talking with them, and of the young men who were studying with him, some were reading books, and others were industriously drawing geometrical figures on the ground, when on a sudden, like one possessed, he leapt up from an uneasy sleep, streaming with perspiration, and cried out: "I believe thee." And, when those who were present asked him what was the matter; "Do you not see," said he, "Apollonius the sage, how that he is present

The Sage
after death
convinces a
doubting
apostle of
his own
immortality
and of that
of other
souls

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CAP. XXXI ἐπακροώμενος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ῥαψῳδεῖ θαυμάσια ; ” “ ποῦ δὲ οὗτος ; ” ἔφασαν, “ ὡς ἡμῖν γε οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται, καίτοι βουλομένοις ἀν τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν.” καὶ τὸ μειράκιον, “ ἕοικεν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ διαλεξόμενος ἦκειν ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ ἐπίστευον· ἀκούετ’ οὖν, οἷα τῷ λόγῳ ἐπιθειάζει.

ἀθάνατος ψυχὴ κού χρῆμα σόν, ἀλλὰ προνοίας,
ἢ μετὰ σῶμα μαρανθέν, ἄτ’ ἐκ δεσμῶν θοὸς
ἴππος,

ρήιδίως προθοροῦσα κεράννυται ἡέρι κούφῳ,
δεινὴν καὶ πολύτλητον ἀποστέρξασα λατρείην.
σοὶ δὲ τί τῶνδ’ ὅφελος, ὃ ποτ’ οὐκέτ’ ἐὼν τότε
δόξεις ;

ἢ τί μετὰ ζωοῖσιν ἐὼν περὶ τῶνδε ματεύεις ; ”

καὶ σαφῆς οὗτος Ἐπολλωνίου τρίπους ἔστηκεν
ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπορρήτων, ἵν’ εὕθυμοί τε
καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν εἰδότες, οἱ τάττουσι Μοῖραι,
πορευοίμεθα. τάφῳ μὲν οὖν ἢ ψευδοταφίῳ τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμοῦ προστυχὼν οἰδα, καίτοι τῆς γῆς,
ὅπόση ἔστιν, ἐπελθὼν πλείστην, λόγοις δὲ παν-
ταχοῦ δαιμονίοις, καὶ ἱερὰ Τύανάδε βασιλείοις
ἐκπεποιημένα τέλεσιν οὐδὲ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἀπηξίουν
αὐτὸν ὧν αὐτοὶ ἡξιοῦντο.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

with us and is listening to our discussion, and is reciting wondrous verses about the soul? "But where is he?" they asked, "For we cannot see him anywhere, although we would rather do so than possess all the blessings of mankind." And the youth replied: "It would seem that he is come to converse with myself alone concerning the tenets which I would not believe. Listen therefore to the inspired argument which he is delivering:

"The soul is immortal, and 'tis no possession of thine own, but of Providence,

"And after the body is wasted away, like a swift horse freed from its traces,

"It lightly leaps forward and mingles itself with the light air,

"Loathing the spell of harsh and painful servitude which it has endured.

"But for thee, what use is there in this? Some day when thou art no more thou shalt believe it.

"So why, as long as thou art among living beings, dost thou explore these mysteries?"

Here we have a clear utterance of Apollonius, established like an oracular tripod, to convince us of the mysteries of the soul, to the end that cheerfully, and with due knowledge of our own true nature, we may pursue our way to the goal appointed by the Fates. With any tomb, however, or cenotaph of the sage I never met, that I know of, although I have traversed most of the earth, and have listened everywhere to stories of his divine quality. And his shrine at Tyana is singled out and honoured with royal officers: for neither have the Emperors denied to him the honours of which they themselves were held worthy.

**THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS
OF TYANA**

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΤ ΤΤΑΝΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

a'.—Ε ὑ φράτη.

Ἐμοὶ πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἐστὶ φιλία, πρὸς μέντοι σοφιστὰς ἡ γραμματιστὰς ἡ τι τοιοῦτο γένος ἔτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων, οὔτε νῦν ἐστὶ φιλία, μήτε ὑστερόν ποτε γένοιτο. τάδε μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς σέ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων εἶς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς σέ· θεράπευέ σου τὰ πάθη, καὶ πειρῶ φιλόσοφος εἶναι, καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τοῖς ὅντως φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ σοι καὶ γῆρας ἥδη πλησίον καὶ θάνατος.

β'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡ ἀρετὴ φύσει κτήσει χρήσει, δι' ἣν ἔκαστον ἀν εἴη τῶν προειρημένων ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον. σκεπτέον, εἴ τι σοι τούτων ἐστίν, ἡ σοφιστείας παυστέον λοιπόν, ἡ προῦκά γε χρηστέον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἐπείπερ ἥδη σοι καὶ τὰ Μεγαβύζου.

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

I.—To EUPHRATES.

As for myself I am on friendly terms with philosophers; with sophists however or low clerks or any such other kind of wretches, I am neither on friendly terms now, and Heaven forbid I should ever be so at any later time. Although this does not apply to you, unless indeed you chance to be one of them, the following words do very much apply to you: heal and remedy your passions, and try to be a philosopher, and not to be jealous of those who really are such, for in your case old age is already at hand and death.

II.—To THE SAME.

FORASMUCH as virtue cometh by nature, by acquirement, by use, each of these may be held to be worthy of acceptance. See then whether you have any one of them, and either give up the teaching of wisdom for the future or at least communicate it freely and for nothing to those who associate with you, for you already have the riches of Megabyzes.

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γ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐπῆλθες ἔθνη τὰ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Συρίας ἀρξάμενος, ἐπιδεικνὺς σεαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λεγομέναις. διπλῆ δέ σοι τότε καὶ πώγων λευκὸς καὶ μέγας, πλέον δὲ οὐδέν. εἴτα πῶς διὰ θαλάττης νῦν ὑποστρέφεις ἄγων φορτίδα μεστὴν ἀργυρίου, χρυσίου, σκευῶν παντοδαπῶν, ἐσθήτων ποικίλων, κόσμου τοῦ λοιποῦ, τύφου καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ κακοδαιμονίας; τίς ὁ φόρτος καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς καινῆς ἐμπορίας; Ζήνων τραγημάτων ἦν ἔμπορος.

δ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ολίγων δεῦ σοῦ τοῖς παισίν, εἰ φιλοσόφου παῖδες εἴησαν. ἔδει μὲν οὖν μηδὲ φροντίσαι πλείω σοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἴκανῶν, ἀλλως τε καὶ μετὰ ἀδοξίας τινός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐγένετο, δεύτερον ἀν εἴη μεγάλη σπουδῇ νεῦμαί σε τισὶ ἔνια τῶν ὄντων ἔχεις δὲ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους.

ε'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων ὁ περὶ ἡδονῆς οὐδενὸς ἔτι συνηγόρου δεῖται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς, πέφηνε γὰρ ὃν καὶ κατὰ τὴν στοὰν ἀληθέστατος. εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγων προκομιεῖς

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

III.—TO THE SAME.

You have visited the countries that lie between me and Italy, beginning from Syria, parading yourself in the so-called royal cities. And you had a philosopher's doublet all the time, and a long white beard, but besides that nothing. And now how comes it that you are returning by sea with a full cargo of silver, of gold, of vases of all sorts, of embroidered raiment, of every other sort of ornament, not to mention overweening pride, and boasting and unhappiness? What cargo is this, and what the purport of these strange purchases? Zeno never purchased but dried fruits.

IV.—TO THE SAME

You would need little for your servants, if only they were servants of a philosopher. Nay, you should not even think of purchasing more than you really want, especially as you incur some ill-fame thereby. But since you have once made the mistake, the next best thing would be if you made as much haste as possible to give away some of what you have to others. You will still retain both your fatherland and your friends.

V.—TO THE SAME.

THERE is no need henceforth for any inmate of his garden, or follower of his school to plead the merit of one of the discourses of Epicurus which is entitled: "About Pleasure." For a genuine advocate thereof has turned up in the Porch itself. But if by way of

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τὰς Χρυσίππου σχολὰς καὶ δόγματα, γέγραπται τι καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασιν. Εὐφράτης ἔλαβε καὶ πάλιν ἔλαβεν. Ἐπίκουρος δὲ οὐκ ἀν ἔλαβεν.

ζ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡρόμην πλουσίους τινάς, εἰ πικραίνονται. τί δ' οὐ μέλλομεν; ἔφασαν, ἡρόμην οὖν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν πλοῦτον. σὺ δ', ὁ τάλαν, νεόπλουστος.

ζ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐὰν δτι τάχος εἰς Αἴγας ἀφίκη καὶ κενώσῃς ἐκεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ἵτεον ἐστί σοι πάλιν δτι τάχος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ κολακευτέον ὁμοίως νοσοῦντας, γέροντας, γραῦς, ὄρφανούς, πλουσίους, θρυπτομένους, Μίδας, Γέτας. πάντα φασὶ δεῖν τὸν ἔμπορον κάλων σείειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἴη τὴν ἀλιὰν τρυπᾶν ἐν Θέμιδος οἴκῳ.

η'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἄρα τι καὶ σὺ γράψαιο ἀν; εἰ γὰρ οὕτω γένοιο γενναῖος. καὶ ἔχοις δ' ἀν εἰπεῖν τὰ συνήθη ταῦτα καὶ πρόχειρα· “λουτρὸν ἅπαν Ἀπολλώνιος παραιτεῖται.” καὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὐδέποτε

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contradiction you should bring out the lectures and tenets of Chrysippus, let me point out to you a certain passage in the Emperor's correspondence, namely this: "Euphrates has taken money of me and has taken it a second time. Now Epicurus would never have taken it."

VI.—TO THE SAME.

I LATELY asked some rich men, if they foster such bitter feelings. And they answered: "How can we do otherwise?" So I asked them what was the reason of their duress, and they blamed their wealth. But you, my poor wretch, only acquired your wealth yesterday.

VII.—TO THE SAME.

As soon as you have reached Aegae in your hurry, and discharged your ship there, you have to return again post-haste to Italy, where you must fawn as usual upon the sick, the old men, old women, orphans, rich men, dandies, Midas, Getae. For they say that a merchant must let out every reef. For myself, I would rather clear out the salt-cellar in the house of Themis.

VIII.—TO THE SAME.

PERHAPS then you would like to draw up a little indictment of me? I only wish you had the pluck to do so. And you would be able to repeat these hackneyed and obvious accusations: "Apollonius utterly declines to take a bath." Yes, and what's

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πρόεισι καὶ σωζομένους ἔχει τοὺς πόδας. “οὐδὲν ὄρᾶται τῶν τοῦ σώματος κινῶν.” δι᾽ ὅλου γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν κινεῖ. “κομῷ τὴν κεφαλήν.” καὶ γὰρ ὁ “Ελλην, ὅτι” Ελλην καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος. “ἐσθῆτα φορεῖ λινῆν.” καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τὰ καθαρώτατα. “μαντικῇ χρῆται.” πλείω γὰρ τὰ ἄδηλα, καὶ ἄλλως ἀμήχανον προαισθέσθαι τι τῶν ἐσομένων. “ἄλλ’ οὐ πρέπον φιλοσόφῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον.” ὃ πρέπει καὶ θεῷ. “καὶ σωμάτων δὲ ὀδύνας ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ πάθη παύει.” τοῦτό που καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν κοινὸν τὸ ἔγκλημα. “σιτεῖται μόνος.” οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐσθίουσι. “βραχέα λέγει καὶ ἐπὶ βραχύ.” σιγῆσαι γάρ ἐστιν οὐκ ἀδύνατος. “σαρκῶν ἀπέχεται πασῶν καὶ θηρίων πάντων,” διὰ τοῦτο ἀνθρωπός ἐστι. εἰ ταῦτα ἐρεῖς, Εὐφράτα, γεγράφθαι, ἵσως ἐκεῖνο προσθήσεις, “εἴ τι ἦν, ἔλαβεν ἀν ἀργύριον, ὡς ἐγώ, δωρεάς, πολιτείας.” εἴ τι ἦν, οὐκ ἀν ἔλαβεν. “ἄλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι μὲν ἔλαβεν ἄν.” οὐ πατρὶς δέ, ἢ μὴ οἰδεν, ὃ ἔχει.

θ'.—Διώνι.

Αὐλοῖς καὶ λύρᾳ κρείττον ἐστι πέρπειν ἡ λόγῳ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδουνῆς ὅργανα καὶ μουσικὴ τοῦνομα τῇ τέχνῃ, λόγος δὲ τὰληθὲς εὑρίσκει. τοῦτό σοι

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more, he never quits his house and takes care never to soil his feet. " You never see him moving any part of his person." Yes, for he never moves anything except his soul. " He wears his hair long on his head." Well, and so does the Hellene, because he is a Hellene and not a barbarian. " He wears linen raiment." Yes, for this purest garb is that of priests. " He practises divination." Yes, for many are the things we know not, and there is no other way of foreseeing anything that is going to happen. " But such practices are not consonant with philosophy." Nevertheless they befit the deity. " And moreover he eases the flesh of its agonies and allays suffering." You might equally bring this charge against Asclepius. " He eats alone." Yes, and the rest of the world feed. " He uses few words and on few occasions." Yes, for he has a faculty of holding his tongue altogether. " He abstains from all flesh and from eating any animal food." That is surely a proof of his humanity. If you tell me, Euphrates, that you have put these counts into your indictment, you will probably add the following as well : " If there had been any going, he would have taken money as I have, and presents, and civil promotions." If there had been money going, he would not have taken it. " Nay, but he would have taken it for his country." Yes, but that is not one's country which knows not what it hath.

IX.—To Dion.

If your object is to please, you had better employ flute and lyre than argument; for they are the instruments which are made to minister to pleasure, and the art of doing so is named music. But

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πρακτέον, τοῦτό σοι ῥητέον, ἦν καὶ περὶ τούτου φιλοσοφῆς.

i'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ζητοῦσί τινες τὴν αὐτίαν, δι’ ἣν πέπαυμαι διαλεγόμενος ἐν πολλοῖς. εἰδέτωσαν οὖν, οἷς ἀν εἰδέναι μέλη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀδύνατος ὡφελῆσαι λόγος ἄπας, ὃς ἀν εἰς ὅν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἔνα λέγηται. ὁ τοίνυν ἄλλως διαλεγόμενος δόξης ἡττων ὅν διαλέγοιτ’ ἄν.

ia'.—Καὶ σαρέων προβούλοις.

Πρῶτον εἰς πάντα θεῶν ἄνθρωποι δέονται καὶ περὶ παντός, ἔπειτα πόλεων, τιμητέον γὰρ δεύτερον πόλεις μετὰ θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πόλεως προκριτέον παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· εἰ δὲ μὴ πόλις μόνον εἴη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστη τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἀρίστη τε τῶν αὐτόθι μεγέθει καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ προγόνων κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρετᾶς, ἔτι τε ἡθεσὶ κατ’ εἰρήνην, καθάπερ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις, μάλιστα πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐμοί τε θαυμάστεά τιμητέα τε καὶ ἄλλῳ δὲ ὁμοίως παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐκ λόγου κοινοῦ¹ τὸ προκριτικὸν ἀν εἴη τὸ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν πολλῶν.² ὅταν δὲ καὶ

¹ Or perhaps we should render “by ordinary reasoning.”

² Perhaps we should read in the Greek προκριτικόν, ἀν γ with Olearius and render “for preferring your city, if the object under comparison were an ordinary city.”

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argument finds out the truth ; and at this you should aim in your actions, at this in your words, at least if you are really making a philosophic study of it.

X.—TO THE SAME.

SOME people ask the reason why I have left off giving lectures to large audiences. Let all know then, who may be interested to understand such matters : No discourse can be really useful, unless, if it be single, it be also delivered to a single individual. Anyone then who discourses in any other manner is motived by vain glory to discourse.

XI.—TO THE CHIEF COUNCILLORS OF CAESAREA.

MEN'S first need is of gods for everything and above everything ; their second of cities, for next after the gods we must honour our cities ; and if we are men of sense we prefer our cities' welfare. Now if yours were only one city of many, instead of being, as it is, the greatest in Palestine, excelling all others there in size and in laws, and in institutions and in the warlike virtues of ancestors, and still more in the arts and manners of peace, I should still see reason to admire and honour your city more than all others, and so would every man who has any sense. By common report this would be the reason for preferring your city on a comparison of it with the run of cities. But whenever a city

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ἀρχη πόλις ποτὲ τῆς πρὸς ἔνα τιμῆς ἄνδρα, πόλις οὖσα, καὶ τούτου ἑαυτῆς ξένον καὶ ἀποθεν, τί ἡ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἢ ὑμῶν ἀν πρὸς τίσιν ἀξιον εἴη; τοῦτο μόνον ἵσως, εἰ θεοφιλής τις ὁν τύχοι διά τινα φύσεως ἐπιτηδειότητα, τὸ εὔχεσθαι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἀγαθὰ τυγχάνειν τε τῆς εὐχῆς, δπερ ἀν διατελέσαιμι κάγὼ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἐπείπερ ἡσθην ἡθεσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς φαίνουσι τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κοινῶν. Ἀπολλωνίδην δὲ τὸν Ἀφροδισίου νεανίαν ἐρρωμενεστάτης φύσεως ἀξίας τε τοῦ ὑμετέρου ὀνόματος, πειράσομαι χρήσιμον ὑμῖν παρασκευάζειν εἰς ἔκαστα μετὰ καὶ τύχης τινὸς ἀγαθῆς.

ιβ'.—Σελευκέων τοῖς προβούλοις.

Πόλις, ἥτις ἀν οὗτῳ πρός τε θεοὺς ἔχη καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους ἀποδοχῆς, αὐτή τε εὐδαιμῶν καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν ὠφέλησε τοὺς μαρτυρθέντας. ἄρξασθαι μὲν οὖν χάριτος οὐ δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀμοιβὴν δ' οὐ ράδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ὅμοιαν εύρειν ἀδύνατον, τὸ γάρ που τῇ τάξει δεύτερον οὐδέποτε τῇ φύσει πρῶτον. ὥστε θεὸν ἀνάγκη παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς οὐ τῇ δυνάμει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις κρείττους γενομένους, ἀνθρώπων γὰρ οὐδεὶς τά γε τηλικαῦτα δυνατός· καὶ τὸ ἐθελῆσαι δ' ἀν με παρ' ὑμῖν

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leads the way in paying honour to a single individual, and that one who is a stranger, and comes from afar off, seeing that it is a city which honours him, what can the individual do by way of return, and what worthy repayment of yourselves is possible? This perhaps and none other: That if he is a man beloved of the gods by reason of some natural endowment, he should pray that that city may obtain all blessings, and that his prayer may be granted. This I shall never cease to do in your behalf, for I am pleased to see the manners of Hellenism revealing their own excellence, and doing it by means of public inscriptions. But as Apollonides the son of Aphrodisius is a young man of firm and constant character, and worthy to bear your name, I shall endeavour to render him of use to you in every particular, with the help of some good fortune.

XII.—TO THE CHIEF COUNCILLORS OF SELEUCIA.

WHATEVER city is so well affected as yours both towards the gods and towards such men as are worthy of acceptation, is both blessed in itself, and contributes to the excellence of those in whose favour it bears witness. Now though it is not difficult to lead the way in displaying graceful good-will, indeed it is the noblest of human acts, it is yet not easy to requite it; nay it is altogether impossible to find a true equivalent, for I imagine that what in time sequence is second, can never in nature be first. Consequently I am obliged to ask heaven to reward you who have shewn yourselves not only my superiors in ability, but also in deeds. For no man could possibly rise to such achievements as yours. It is a further proof of

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γενέσθαι τῆς ὑμῶν ἀν εἴη χάριτος καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς
ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἀν εὐξαίμην παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ γε-
γεννήσθαι. οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν τιμιώτεροι, διότι
καὶ φίλοι, Ἱερώνυμος καὶ Ζήνων.

ιγ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Στράτων μὲν ἔξι ἀνθρώπων οἶχεται, πᾶν ὅσον
ἥν αὐτῷ θυητὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπών. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς
ἔτι κολαζομένους ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε, ζῆν ἄλλως λεγο-
μένους, ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἐπιμέ-
λειαν. ἄλλοις μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔργον δικαίως
γένοιτο νῦν ἢ καὶ ὕστερον, οἷς μὲν ὡς οἰκείοις, οἷς
δ' ὡς αὐτὸς μόνον ἀνδράσι φίλοις οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ
γνωσθησομένοις χρόνῳ, τούτων εἰπερ ἦν τῶν
ὄνομάτων ἀληθέες τι καὶ πρόσθεν. ἐγὼ μέντοι
καὶ ταύτη βουλόμενος ἔξαιρέτως ὑμέτερος εἶναι,
τὸν ἐκ Σελευκίδος υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενόμενον Ἀλέξαν-
δρον αὐτὸς ἀναθρέψω, καὶ μεταδώσω παιδείας τῆς
ἐμῆς. πάντως δ' ἀν μετέδωκα καὶ χρημάτων ὁ
τὰ μείζονα δούς, εἰπερ ἔχειν ἦν ἄξιον.

ιδ'.—Εὐφράτη.

Πυνθάνονται μου πολλοὶ πολλάκις, τίνος ἔνε-
κεν οὐ μετεπέμφθην εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἢ οὐ μεταπεμφ-
θεὶς ἀφικόμην, ὥσπερ σὺ καὶ εἴ τις ἔτερος. ἐγὼ
δὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρινοῦμαι, μὴ

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your gracious good-will towards me that you also wish me to visit you, as I would pray to have visited you already. Your envoys are the more precious to me, because they are already my friends, I mean Hieronymus and Zenón.

XIII.—TO THE SAME PERSONS.

STRATON has indeed passed away from among men, and has left upon earth all that he had of mortality ; but we who are here, still undergoing punishment, in other words still living, ought to have some concern for his affairs. One of us then must do one thing, another another, and it is our duty to do it now rather than later ; for if in the past we were some of us known as his relations, and some of us merely as his friends, now is the time to show with all sincerity that we are really such, nor must we delay doing our duty to an indefinite future, supposing these names meant anything. I myself, however, am desirous in this matter to be especially your friend, and therefore I undertake to bring up myself Alexander who was his son by Seleucis, and to impart to him my own education. And I should certainly have given him money also, who am bestowing what is so much more important, if it were right that he should receive it.

XIV.—TO EUPHRATES.

I HAVE been asked by many people on many occasions, why it is that I have never been sent for to Italy ; or if I was sent for, why I did not come thither, like yourself and sundry other people. Now to the first question I shall give no answer, lest some

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καὶ δόξω τισὶν εἰδέναι τὴν αὐτίαν, οὐδὲ εἰδέναι μοι
μέλοι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τί ἀν καὶ δεοίμην
ἔτερον λέγειν, ἡ δτι μᾶλλον ἀν μετεπέμφθην ἡ
ἀφικόμην; ἔρωσο.

ιε'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀδέσποτον εἶναι Πλάτων ἔφησεν.
εὶ δὲ μὴ τιμᾶ τοῦτό τις καὶ γέγηθεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄνιος γίνεται χρημάτων, πολλοὺς δεσ-
πότας ἔαυτοῦ ποιεῖ.

ις'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Μάγους οἱει δεῦν ὄνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπὸ Πυθαγό-
ρου φιλοσόφους, ὡδέ που καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως.
ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῦνος οἵμαι δεῦν ὄνομά-
ζεσθαι μάγους, εἰ μέλλουσιν εἶναι θεῖοι τε καὶ
δίκαιοι.

ιζ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Μάγους ὄνομάζουσι τοὺς θείους οἱ Πέρσαι.
μάγος οὖν ὁ θεραπευτὴς τῶν θεῶν ἡ ὁ τὴν φύσιν
θεῖος, σὺ δ' οὐ μάγος, ἀλλ' ἄθεος.

ιη'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡράκλειτος ὁ φυσικὸς ἄλογον εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν
ἔφησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές, ὥσπερ
ἔστιν ἀληθές, ἐγκαλυπτέος ἔκαστος ὁ ματαίως ἐν
δόξῃ γενόμενος.

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should think that I knew the reason, whereas I am not interested to know it; but as regards the second question why need I say more than that I would rather have been sent for than go? Farewell.

XV.—TO THE SAME.

PLATO has said that true virtue recognises no master. And supposing anyone fails to honour this answer and delight therein, and instead of doing so sells himself for filthy lucre, I say that he but gives himself many masters.

XVI.—TO THE SAME.

You think it your duty to call philosophers who follow Pythagoras magicians, and likewise also those who follow Orpheus. For my own part I think that those who follow no matter whom, ought to be called magicians, if only they are determined to be divine and just men.

XVII.—TO THE SAME.

THE Persians give the name of magi to divine beings. A magus then is either a worshipper of the gods or one who is by nature divine. Well, you are no magus, but a man without god.

XVIII.—TO THE SAME.

HERACLITUS the natural philosopher used to say that man is by nature irrational. Well, if this be true, as it is true, then let everyone hide his face who vainly and idly is held in repute.

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ιθ'.—Σ κοπελιανῷ σοφιστῇ.

Πέντε εἰσὶ σύμπαντες οἱ τοῦ λόγου χαρακτῆρες, ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ ἱστορικός, ὁ δικαιικός, ὁ ἐπιστολικός, ὁ ὑπομνηματικός. ἐγκειμένων δὴ τῶν γενικῶν χαρακτήρων, τῇ τάξει πάλιν γίνεται πρώτος μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἔκάστου δύναμιν ἡ φύσιν ἴδιος ὡν, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ ἐν μιμήσει τοῦ ἀρίστου, τῶν ἐκ φύσεως εἴ τις ἐνδεής εἴη. τὸ δὲ ἄριστον δυσεύρετόν τε καὶ δυσεπίκριτον, ὥστε οἰκειότερος ἔκάστῳ χαρακτὴρ ὁ ἴδιος, ἐπείπερ καὶ βεβαιότερος.

κ'.—Δομετιανῷ.

Εἴ σοι δύναμίς ἔστιν, ὥσπερ ἔστιν, καὶ φρόνησιν ἀν εἴη σοι κτητέον καὶ γὰρ εἰ φρόνησις ἦν, δύναμις δὲ ἀπῆν, ὁμοίως ἔδει σοι δυνάμεως. δεῖται γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸ ἔτερον τοῦ ἔτερου, ὥσπερ ὅψις φωτὸς καὶ φῶς ὅψεως.

κα'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Βαρβάρων ἀφεκτέον καὶ οὐκ ἀρκτέον αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους ὄντας εὖ πάσχειν.

κβ'.—Λεσβών ακτι.

Δεῖ πένεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἄνδρα, πλουτεῖν δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπον.

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XIX.—To SCOPELIANUS, THE SOPHIST.

IN all there are five characters in rational discourse : the philosopher, the historian, the advocate, the writer of epistles, the commentator. And when these general characters have been settled, there emerges afresh in sequence of dignity, first he who is peculiar by reason of his own faculties or nature, and there comes second he who is an imitator of the best, supposing he be one of those who lack natural endowment. But the best is both difficult to find and difficult to appraise; consequently his own character is more fitting for each man to assume, so far forth as it is also more lasting.

XX.—To DOMITIAN.

IF you have power, and you have it, then it would be well if you also acquired prudence. For supposing you to have prudence, but to lack power, you would have been equally in need of power ; for the one of these ever stands in need of the other, just as the eye needs light and light the eye.

XXI.—To THE SAME.

IT were best you should hold aloof from barbarians, and not aspire to rule them ; for it is not right that they being barbarians should find in you a benefactor.

XXII.—To LESBONAX.

YOU should try to be poor as an individual, but to be rich as a member of humanity.

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κγ'.—Κρίτωνι.

Τὸ θειότατον Πυθαγόρας ἰατρικὴν ἔφασκεν. εἰ δὲ ἰατρικὴ τὸ θειότατον, καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιμελητέον μετὰ σώματος, ἢ τὸ ζῷον οὐκ ἀν ὑγιαιίνοι τῷ κρείττονι νοσοῦν.

κδ'.—Ἐλλανοδίκαιοις καὶ Ἡλείοις.

Αξιοῦτέ με τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων παραγενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέμψατε πρέσβεις. ἐγὼ δὲ παρεγενόμην ἀν ἐπὶ σωμάτων θέαν καὶ ἄμιλλαν, εἰ μὴ τὸν μείζονα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγῶνα καταλείψειν ἔμελλον.

κε'.—Πελοποννησίοις.

Ολύμπια τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐγένεσθε πολέμιοι, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ οὐ φίλοι.

κζ'.—τοῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεηκόροις.

Θεοὶ θυσιῶν οὐ δέονται. τί οὖν ἂν τις πράττων χαρίζοιτο αὐτοῖς; φρόνησιν, ώς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κτώμενος, ἀνθρώπων τε τοὺς ἀξίους εἰς δύναμιν εὐποιῶν. ταῦτα φίλα θεοῖς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀθέων.

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XXII.—To CRITO.

PYTHAGORAS has declared that the divinest thing we have is the healing art. But if the divinest thing is the healing art, then we must take care of the soul as well as of the body; for surely a living creature cannot be in sound health, if in respect of its highest element it be diseased.

XXIV.—To THE PRESIDENTS OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES AND TO THE ELIANS.

You invite me to attend the games of Olympia, and have sent me envoys to that effect. And I would come to be a spectator of your physical rivalries, if it did not involve my abandoning the greater arena of moral struggle.

XXV.—To THE PELOPONNESIANS.

THE second phase of your relations with one another were the Olympic Games, and though in the first phase you were frankly enemies, in this second you still were not friends.

XXVI.—To THE PRIESTS IN OLYMPIA.

THE gods are in no need of sacrifices. What then can one do in order to win their favour? One can, in my opinion, acquire wisdom, and, so far as one can, do good to such men as deserve it. This pleases the gods; atheists however can offer sacrifice.

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κζ'.—τοῖς ἐν Δελφοῖς ιερεῦσιν.

Αἴματι βωμοὺς μιαίνουσιν ιερεῖς. εἰτα θαυμάζουσί τινες, πόθεν αἱ πόλεις ἀτυχοῦσιν, ὅταν μεγάλα δυσθετήσωσιν. ὡς τῆς ἀμαθίας. Ἡράκλειτος ἦν σοφός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος Ἐφεσίους ἔπεισε μὴ πηλῷ πηλὸν καθαίρεσθαι.

κη'.—Βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν.

Ζάμολξις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, εἰ γε μαθητὴς Πυθαγόρου ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ἐρωμαῖος, ἐκῶν ἀνὴγένετο φίλος. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οἰει δεῦν ἀγῶνα καὶ πόνου ἔχειν, ἄκουε φιλόσοφος, τουτέστιν ἐλεύθερος.

κθ'.—νομοθέτη.

Αἱ ἑορταὶ νόσων αἰτίαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πόνους ἀνιᾶσι, τὸ ἐμπίπλασθαι δὲ αὔξουσιν.

λ'.—ταμίαις Ἐρωμαῖων.

Ἄρχὴν ἄρχετε πρώτην. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄρχειν ἐπίστασθε, διὰ τί τὸ παρὸν ὑμᾶς χεῖρον ἔσυτῶν αἱ πόλεις ἔχουσιν; εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθε, μαθεῖν ἔδει πρώτον, εἰτα ἄρχειν.

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XXVII.—TO THE PRIESTS IN DELPHI.

THE priests defile the altar with blood, and then some people ask in amazement why our cities are visited with calamities, when they have courted displeasure on the largest scale. O what folly and dulness ! Heraclitus was wise, but not even he could persuade the Ephesians not to purge away mud with mud.

XXVIII.—TO THE KING OF THE SCYTHIANS.

ZAMOLXIS was a good man, and inasmuch as he was a disciple of Pythagoras, a philosopher. And if in his time the Roman had been such as he is now, he would have been glad to be friends with him. But if it is for freedom that you think you ought to struggle and make endeavour, make yourself known as a philosopher, that is to say as a free man.

XXIX.—TO A LEGISLATOR.

FESTIVALS lead to epidemics ; for although they refresh men after their toil, they promote gluttony.

XXX.—TO THE ROMAN QUAESTORS.

You hold the highest office of the realm. If then you understand how to govern, why are the cities incessantly declining under your régime ? But if you do not understand, you ought first to learn, and then to govern.

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λα'.—διοικηταῖς Ἀσίας.

Τί δῆφελος ἀγρίων δένδρων φυομένων ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοὺς κλάδους κόπτειν, ἔân δὲ τὰς ρίζας;

λβ'.—Ἐ φεσίων γραμματεῦσιν.

Λίθων ἐν πόλει καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων καὶ περιπάτων καὶ θεάτρων οὐδὲν δῆφελος, εἰ μὴ νοῦς ἐνείη καὶ νόμος. νοῦς δὲ καὶ νόμος περὶ τούτων ἐστίν, οὐ ταῦτα.

λγ'.—Μιλησίοις.

Οἱ παιδεῖς ὑμῶν πατέρων δέονται, οἱ νέοι γερόντων, αἱ γυναικεῖς ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἄνδρες ἀρχόντων, οἱ ἄρχοντες νόμων, οἱ νόμοι φιλοσόφων, οἱ φιλόσοφοι θεῶν, οἱ θεοὶ πίστεως· προγόνων ἀγαθῶν ἐστε, τὰ παρόντα μισεῖτε.

λδ'.—τοῖς ἐν Μουσείῳ σοφοῖς.

Ἐγενόμην ἐν Ἀργεί καὶ Φωκίδι καὶ Λοκρίδι καὶ ἐν Σικυώνι καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις, καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐπαυσάμην ἐκεῖ. τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροιτο, τὸ αἴτιον; ἐγὼ φράσαιμ' ἀν ὑμῖν τε καὶ Μούσαις· ἐβαρβαρώθην οὐ χρόνιος ὧν ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ χρόνιος ὧν ἐν Ἑλλάδι.

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XXXI.—TO THE PROCURATORS OF ASIA.

WHAT is the use of cutting off branches of wild trees whose growth does harm, when you leave the roots alone?

XXXII.—TO THE SCRIBES OF THE EPHESIANS.

IT is no use decorating your city with statues and elaborate pictures and promenades and theatres, unless there is good sense there as well and law. For although good sense and law may accompany these, they are not the same thing.

XXXIII.—TO THE MILESIANS.

YOUR children lack fathers, your youth lack old men, your wives husbands, your husbands rulers, your rulers laws, your laws philosophers, your philosophers gods, your gods faith. Your ancestors were good men; your present estate you may well loathe.

XXXIV.—TO THE WISE MEN IN THE MUSEUM.

I HAVE been in Argos and Phocis and Locris and in Sicyon and in Megara, and after holding public lectures in the past in those places, I have ceased to do so any more. Why so? If anyone asks me the reason, I must reply to you and to the Muses in the words of the poet: "I have been turned into a barbarian," not "by long sojourning outside Hellas," but by long sojourning in her midst.

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λε'.—Ἐστιαίφ.

Ἄρετὴ καὶ χρήματα παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιώτατα, μειούμενον γὰρ τὸ ἔτερον αὐξεῖ τὸ ἔτερον, αὐξανόμενον δὲ μειοῦ. πῶς οὖν δυνατὸν ἀμφότερα περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι; πλὴν εἰ μὴ τῷ τῶν ἀνοήτων λόγῳ, παρ' οἷς καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀρετή. μὴ δὴ τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν ἀναισθητεῖν ἐπίτρεπε τοῖς αὐτόθι, μηδὲ ἕα πλουσίους ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφους. καὶ γὰρ αἴσχιστον ἀποδημεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ χρήματα δοκεῖν, ἐνίων, ἵνα μνήμην ἑαυτῶν καταλείπωσι, μηδὲ ἀρετὴν ἀσπασιαμένων.

λε'.—Κορινθίφ Βάσσω.

Ἡν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ἡλθέ ποτε ξιφήρης ἐπὶ θύρας τὰς ἐμάς, ὑπὸ σοῦ σταλεὶς τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀγωνιθέτου τῶν Ἰσθμίων. τοῦ φόνου δ' ἦν μισθὸς δεδομένος ἡ τῆς γυναικός σου κοινωνία, καί, μιαρὲ Βάσσε, πολλάκις εὐεργέτης ἐγενόμην σου.

λζ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ πυνθάνοιτο Κορινθίων τις, πῶς ὁ Βάσσον πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἐροῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ ἀστικοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι φαρμάκῳ. τίνος δόντος; ἐροῦσι καὶ οἱ δημοροὶ τοῦ φιλοσόφου. καὶ ὁ μιαρὸς τῷ πτώματι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπόμενος ἔκλαιεν.

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XXXV.—To HESTIAEUS.

VIRTUE and wealth are with us most opposed to one another ; for a diminution of the one leads to an increase of the other, and an increase to a diminution. How then can both at once be united in the same man, except in the imagination of fools, who take wealth even for virtue ? Do not then allow men here to misunderstand me so profoundly, nor permit them to consider me rich rather than a philosopher. For I account it most disgraceful that I should be held to travel abroad in search of money, when there are some who, in order to leave a monument of themselves, have not even embraced virtue.

XXXVI.—To BASSUS OF CORINTH.

PRAXITELES of Calchis was a madman. On one occasion he came with a drawn sword to my door ; and it was yourself who sent him, you a philosopher and president of the Isthmian games. But the reward you were to give him for murdering me was access to your own wife. And, you foul wretch, Bassus, I had on many occasions been your benefactor.

XXXVII.—TO THE SAME.

IF any Corinthian asks, what did the father of Bassus die of, everyone, citizen and sojourner in the land alike, will answer : By poison. And who administered it ? Even the neighbours will tell you : The philosopher. And this wretch wept as he followed his father's bier.

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λη'.—τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

Ἄρετῆς μὲν ὑμῖν πρωτεῖον οὐκ ἔστι, ποίας γὰρ ἀρετῆς; εἰ δὲ κακίας φέρεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, πάντες ὑφ' ἐν φέρεσθε. τίνες τοῦτο φήσουσι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν; οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδεὶν τῶν αὐτόθι φίλος, ὥστ' ἀρνεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὔνοιαν.

λθ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Αἰσχρὰ καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα τῶν ταγμάτων ὑμῶν· Κόδδαροι, Ξυρισίταυροι. ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις τίθεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε γίνεσθαι τούτων ἄξιοι.

μ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Κόδδαροι, καὶ Ξυρισίταυροι. Τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναικας πῶς ἀν προσαγορεύοιτε; τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ταγμάτων εἰσὶν καὶ αὗται, καὶ θρασύτεραι.

μα'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Οὐδὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑμῖν εὐνοεῖν εἰκός, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οἰκέται, εἴθ', ὅτι τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων οἱ πλεῖστοι. κάκεῖνοι γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἀπὸ γένους.

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XXXVIII.—TO THE PEOPLE OF SARDIS.

You award no prizes for good qualities, for what good qualities have you? But if you were inclined to compete for the first prize in vice, you would all win it at once. Who is it that says such things about the people of Sardis? The people of Sardis themselves. For of the people there, no one is the friend of another, to the extent of denying out of good-will the most monstrous charges.

XXXIX.—TO THE SAME PEOPLE.

THE very names of your social orders are disgusting, witness the Coddari and the Xurisitauri. These are the first names you give your children, and you are lucky to be worthy of them.

XL.—TO THE SAME PEOPLE.

CODDARI, and Xurisitauri. And how are you going to call your daughters and your wives? For they too belong to the same castes, and are more froward than yourselves.

XLI.—TO THE SAME PEOPLE.

You cannot expect even your servants to be well-wishers of yourselves, firstly because they are servants, and secondly because most of them belong to castes opposed to your own. For they too, like yourselves, have their pedigrees.

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μβ'.—Πλατωνικοῖς.

Ἐάν τις Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρήματα διδῷ, καὶ ὁ διδοὺς ἄξιος νομίζηται, λήψεται δεόμενος. φιλοσοφίας δὲ μισθὸν οὐ λήψεται, καν δέηται.

μγ'.—τοῖς οἰησισόφοις.

Εἰ λέγει τις εἶναι γνώριμος ἐμός, λεγέτω καὶ μένειν ἔνδον, ἀπέχεσθαι λουτροῦ παντός, ζῶα μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἔδειν σάρκας, ἀπαθῆς εἶναι φθόνου κακοηθείας μίσους διαβολῆς ἔχθρας, τοῦ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὄνομάζεσθαι γένους, ἡ φυλακτέος πλάσματα φέρων τρόπου τε καὶ ἥθους καὶ λόγων ψευδῶν ἀλλοτρίου βίου πίστιν. ἔρρωσθε.

μδ'.—Ἐστιαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

Τί θαυμαστόν, εἴ με τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἵσθεον ἡγουμένων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θεόν, μόνη μέχρι νῦν ἡ πατρὶς ἀγνοεῖ, δι' ἣν ἔξαιρέτως ἐσπούδασα λαμπρὸς εἶναι; τουτὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὑμᾶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ὡς ὁρῶ, γέγονε φανερόν, ὡς εἴμι ἀμείνων πολλῶν λόγους τε καὶ ἥθος. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν μου κατεγινώσκετε χαλεπὴν κατάγνωσιν ὡς ὑπομνήσεως τὴν

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XLII.—To THE PLATONIC THINKERS.

If anyone offers money to Apollonius, and he considers the donor to be worthy, he will accept it, if he is in need; but for his philosophy he will take no reward, even though he be in want.

XLIII.—To THOSE WHO ARE PUFFED UP WITH WISDOM.

If anyone professes to be my disciple, let his profession be that he remains within his house, that he abstains from all bathing, that he kills no living creature, nor eats flesh; that he is exempt from feelings of jealousy, of spite, of hatred, of slander, of enmity, in order to bear the name of a free man and belong to their class. For surely he must beware of carrying about a pretence of manners and character and of language which he merely feigns, in order to make others believe that he leads the life which he does not. Farewell.

XLIV.—To HESTIAEUS, HIS BROTHER.

OTHER men regard me as the equal of the gods, and some of them even as a god, but until now my own country alone ignores me, my country for which in particular I have striven to be distinguished. What wonder is there in this? For not even on you my brothers, as I perceive, has it clearly dawned that I am superior to most men, both in my language and in my character. For otherwise how could you judge me so harshly as to need to be reminded at all of matters about which, as about no others, even

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ἀρχὴν δεομένων, περὶ ὧν μόνων οὐδὲ τῶν ἀμαθε-
στάτων ἄν τις περιμείνειε διδαχθῆναι; λέγω δὲ
πατρίδος τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν. καίτοι οὐ λέληθεν
ὑμᾶς, ως καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ πᾶσάν τε γῆν πατρίδα
νομίζειν, καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ
φίλους, ως ἀν γένος μὲν ὅντας θεοῦ, μᾶς δὲ
φύσεως, κοινωνίας δ' οὖσης λόγου τε παντὸν καὶ
πᾶσι καὶ παθῶν τῆς αὐτῆς, ὅπῃ γε καὶ ὅπως ἄν
τις τύχῃ γενόμενος, εἴτε βάρβαρος, εἴτε καὶ
“Ελλην”, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ
πως τὸ συγγενὲς ἀκατασόφιστον καὶ πᾶν ἀνα-
κλητικὸν αὗτοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον. οὕτως δὲ Ομηρικὸς
Οδυσσεύς, ως φασιν, οὐδὲ ἀθανασίαν ὑπὸ θεᾶς
διδομένην Ιθάκης προύτιμησεν. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε τὸν
νόμον τόνδε καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων πεφοιτη-
κότα. οὐ γάρ, ὅπόσον πτηνόν, καλιῶν ἀπόκοιτον
ἰδίων, πᾶν τε βύθιον παρασύρεται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ
φέροντος, ἐπάνεισι δὲ μὴ νικηθέν, θηρία μὲν γὰρ
οὔτε λιμὸς οὔτε κόρος ἐπεισεν ἔξω φωλεῶν μεῖναι,
ἔνα τούτων ἡ φύσις ἥνεγκεν ἀνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα
σοφὸν λεγόμενον, ως κἄν πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ γῆ πᾶσα
παρέχῃ, μνήματα οὐκ ἔχει δεῖξαι τὰ πατέρων.

με'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ τῶν ὅντων τὸ τιμιώτατον φιλοσοφία, πεπι-
στεύμεθα δὲ ἡμεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἀν ὁρθῶς ὑπο-
λαμβανούμεθα μισάδελφοι, καὶ ταῦτα δι' αἰτίαν
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the dullest persons are likely to resent instruction, to wit about country and brethren? Nevertheless you must be aware that it is a noble thing to regard the whole earth as your country and all men as your brethren and friends, seeing that they are the family of one God, that they are of one nature, and that there is a communion of each and all in speech, and likewise in feelings, which is the same, no matter how or where a man has been born, whether he is barbarian or whether he is Hellene, so long only as he is a man. But there is, it must be admitted, a kinship which over-rides philosophical theory, and a familiarity which attracts to itself everything that shares it. So the Odysseus of Homer, as they relate, did not prefer even immortality, when a goddess offered it, to Ithaca. And for my own part I notice that this law pervades even the animal kingdom; for there is not a single bird that will sleep away from its own nest, and though the fishermen may drag the tenants of the deep from their lair, yet they will return unless they are overcome. As for wild beasts neither hunger nor satiety induces them to remain outside their holes. And man is one of these creatures that nature hath so produced, even though he bear the name of sage, for whom all the earth may supply everything else, but can never call up before his eyes the sepulchres of his fathers.

XLV.—TO THE SAME.

IF philosophy be the most precious thing in existence, and if we are convinced that we are philosophers, we cannot rightly be supposed to hate our brethren, and that for a mean and illiberal

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ἀγεινή τε ἄμα καὶ ἀνελεύθερον. χρημάτων γὰρ δήπου χάριν ἡ ὑποψία, τούτων δὲ καὶ πρὸν ἡ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπειρώμεθα καταφρονεῖν, ὥστε τοῦ μὴ γράφειν εὐλογώτερον ἀν εἴη πρόφασιν ἐτέραν ὑπονοεῖν. ἐφυλαττόμην γὰρ ἀληθῆ μὲν γράφων ἀλαζὼν δοκεῖν, ψευδῆ δὲ ταπεινός, ὃν ἐκάτερον ἐπίσης ἀνιαρὸν ἀδελφοῖς τε καὶ φίλοις ἀν εἴη· νυνὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο δηλῶ—συγχωροί γὰρ ἀν ἵσως τὸ δαιμόνιον—ὅτι συμβάλλων τοῖς ἐν Ἱόνῳ φίλοις, μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκεῦθεν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λιγούντος ἕαρος.

μι'.—Γορδίω.

'Ηδικῆσθαι φασιν Ἐστιαῖον ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ταῦτα φίλου γεγονότος, εἴ γε σύ τινος φίλος. ὅρα δή, Γόρδιε, μὴ πεῖραν λάβῃς ἀνδρὸς οὐ δοκοῦντος, ἀλλὰ ὄντος. ἀσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστοκλείδην, δν εὔχομαι μὴ παραπλησίον σοι γενέσθαι. καὶ σὺ δ' ἡσθα νέος ἄμεμπτος.

μξ'.—Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ.

Προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπανιέναι πείθομαι. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ἓνα πόλει πρεπωδέστερον ἀν εἴη, εἰ ἔνεκα τιμῆς μεταπέμποιτο πολίτην ἔαυτῆς. καὶ δὲ

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reason. For it appears our misunderstanding is on the point of money; and that is something which we tried to despise, even before we became philosophers; and therefore it is more likely and reasonable that you should suspect me of having neglected to write to you for some other reason than that. For in fact I was as much afraid to write you the truth, because you might think me boastful, as to write you less than the truth, for fear you might think me over-humble; and both of these things are equally annoying no less to brethren than to friends. Now however I have this information to give you. If heaven should perhaps consent, I will, after meeting my friends in Rhodes, shortly depart thence, and return to you towards the end of spring.

XLVI.—To GORDIUS.

THEY tell me that Hestiaeus has been wronged by yourself in spite of your having been his friend, if indeed you are the friend of anyone. Beware then, my Gordius, lest you find yourself in conflict not with the semblance of a man, but with the reality. My greetings to your son, Aristocleides, who may, I pray, never resemble yourself. And yet you, as a young man, were beyond reproach.

XLVII.—To THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF TYANA.

You command me to return to you, and I obey. For the greatest compliment a city can pay to one of its own citizens is to recall him in order to do him honour. And during the whole time that I have

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ἀπεδήμησα δὲ χρόνον, ἀπεδήμησα περιποιῶν ὑμᾶν,
εἰ καὶ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπεῖν, εὔκλειάν τε καὶ ὄνομα καὶ
εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν πόλεων ἐπιφανῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ
καὶ ἀνδρῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μείζονος ἔτι καὶ κρείττονος
ὑμεῖς ὑπολήψεως ἄξιοι, τό γε ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ παρὰ
τῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔξηρκει μόνον
δυνάμεώς τε καὶ σπουδῆς. ἔρρωσθε.

μη'.—Διοτί μω.

Ἐπλανήθης οἰηθεὶς δεῖσθαι μέ τινος ἢ παρ'
αὐτοῦ σοῦ, πρὸς δν οὐδὲν ἦν μοί ποτε κοινόν τι
γεγονός, ἢ παρ' ἄλλου τινὸς ὁμοίου τε καὶ ὁμοίως.
ἥν δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀναλωθὲν εἴς τι τῶν σοι σωτηρίων
πολύ τι. χαριεὶ δή μοι παθὼν εὐ δίχ' ἀναλώματος,
τηρήσω γάρ μου τὸ ἔθος μόνως οὗτως. ὅτι δὲ
τοῦτον ἔχω τὸν τρόπον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν
πρὸς ἄπαντάς μου τοὺς πολίτας, ἐώ γάρ λέγειν
ώς καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἔξεστι μαθεῖν
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, εὐ παθόντων μέν,
ὅσάκις ἐδεήθησάν τινος, ἀμοιβὴν δὲ αἰτηθέντων
μηδεμίαν. μὴ δὴ δυσχεράνης, εἰ δεόντως ἐπιτιμη-
θεὶς ὁ ἐμὸς οἰκέτης ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσέσθαι τι τὴν
ἀρχήν, ἀπέδωκεν εὐθὺς δ ἔλαβε Λυσίᾳ τῷ φίλῳ
σου, φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐπεὶ μηδένα ἡπίστατο τῶν

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been away from your city, I have, although it may be presumptuous to say so, striven to win for you, by my sojourning abroad, good fame and name and good-will and the friendship of distinguished cities, and equally of distinguished men. And if you merit a still wider and higher consideration, it is only myself and my own natural gifts which are capable of an effort involving so much ability and seriousness. Farewell.

XLVIII.—To DIOTIMUS.

You make a mistake in supposing that I want anything either from yourself, with whom I have never had anything in common, or from any body else like you, or under like circumstances. But in fact, even what I have expended on any object conducive to your welfare has been inconsiderable. I shall be best pleased, therefore, if you accept my kindness without incurring any expense yourself. For in no other way but this shall I retain my principles intact. And that this is my way, and this my attitude towards all my fellow-citizens, I might almost say towards all men, you can learn from the rest of the citizens who have accepted my kindness, as often as they stood in need thereof, but who have never been asked to make any return. Do not then take it amiss, if I have rebuked my servant as he deserved, for having in the first instance accepted anything, and if he at once handed back to Lysias your friend, and also a friend of my own, what he received, because he did not know personally any of your servants whom

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καταλελειμμένων σου παιδων. εἰ δὲ δύο λόγοι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγονται, λεχθήσονται δὲ καὶ ἐσύστερον, τί θαυμαστόν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ περὶ παντὸς ἄκρου δοκοῦντος καθ' ὅτιοῦν ἐναντίους λέγεσθαι λόγους. οὕτως περὶ Πυθαγόρου, περὶ Ὀρφέως, περὶ Πλάτωνος, περὶ Σωκράτους οὐκ ἐλέχθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφη τὰ ἐναντία, ὅπου γε μὴ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ δέχονται τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ώς ἀν ἔχοντές τι συγγενές, οἱ δὲ φαῦλοι τὸν ἐναντίον, καὶ ἔστι τοῦ τοιούτου γένους καταγελᾶν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ χείρονος. τοσοῦτο μόνον δίκαιον ὑπομνῆσαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὸ νῦν, ὅτι περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ θεοῖς εἴρηται ως περὶ θείου ἀνδρός, οὐ μόνον ἴδιᾳ τισὶ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. ἐπαχθὲς λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πλεῖον η μεῖζον. ὑγιαίνειν εὔχομαι.

μθ'.—Φερούκιανῳ.

Πάνυ τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασιν ἥσθην, πολλὴν γὰρ οἰκειότητα καὶ γένους ἀνάμνησιν εἶχε, καὶ πέπεισμαι δι' ἐπιθυμίας εἶναι σοι θεάσασθαι με καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ θεαθῆναι. αὐτὸς οὖν ἀφίξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, ὅθεν ἔχου τῶν αὐτόθι. συμμίξεις δέ μοι πλησίον γενομένῳ πρὸ πῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ προσήκει σοι τοῦτο.

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you had left behind. But that there are two accounts of me current, and that they will continue to circulate even in the future, need I be surprised? For it is inevitable in the case of everyone at all prominent in any way, that there should be contradictory accounts of him in circulation. It was so with Pythagoras, with Orpheus, with Plato, and with Socrates; not only were contrary statements made about them, but they were embodied in writing as well, and we need not be surprised seeing that even concerning God himself men's accounts differ from one another. However, good men by a sort of natural affinity will accept the truth, just as bad men will accept the opposite, and we can afford to laugh at such people, I mean the worst sort. This much only it is right for the moment to impress upon you about myself, that even the gods have spoken of me as of a divine man, not only on many occasions to private individuals, but also in public. I shall shock you if I speak more or more highly of myself. I pray for your good health.

XLIX.—To PHERUCIANUS.

I AM very delighted with the letters which you have sent me, for they reveal much intimacy and reminiscence of my family; and I am sure that you are most anxious to see me, and to be seen by me. I shall therefore visit you as soon as possible; wherefore please remain at home. And you shall converse with me, when I have arrived at your residence, in preference to any of your other friends and intimates; since it is right that you should do so.

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ν'.—Ε ὑ φ ρ á τ γ.

Ἐν γένει δαιμόνων καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Πυθαγόρας ἦν. σὺ δ' ἔτι μοι δοκεῖς πορρωτάτω φιλοσοφίας εἶναι καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἢ οὐκ ἀν οὔτε κάκεῖνον κακῶς ἔλεγες, οὔτε τινὰς τῶν ζηλούντων αὐτὸν διετέλεις μισῶν. ἄλλο τί σοι νῦν πρακτέον ἀν εἴη· φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ἡμβροτες, οὐδ' ἔτυχες οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ Μενελάου Πάνδαρος ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅρκων συγχύσει.

να'.—τ φ α ὑ τ φ.

Ἐπιτιμῶσί σοί τινες, ὡς εἰληφότι χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄτιπον, εἰ μὴ φαίνοιο φιλοσοφίας εἰληφέναι μισθὸν καὶ τοσαυτάκις καὶ ἐπὶ τοσούτον καὶ παρὰ τοσούτων καὶ περὶ σοῦ πεπιστευκότων εἶναι σε φιλόσοφον.

νβ'.—τ φ α ὑ τ φ.

Ἐάν τις ἀνδρὶ Πυθαγορείῳ συγγένηται, τίνα παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεται καὶ ὅπόσα, φαίην ἀν ἔγωγε νομοθετικὴν γεωμετρίαν ἀστρονομίαν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀρμονικὴν μουσικὴν ἰατρικὴν, πᾶσαν θείαν μαντικὴν, τὰ δὲ καλλίω μεγαλοφροσύνην μεγαλοψυχίαν μεγαλοπρέπειαν εὐστάθειαν εὐφημίαν γνῶσιν θεῶν, οὐ δόξαν, εἴδησιν δαιμόνων, οὐχὶ

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L.—TO EUPHRATES.

EVEN the most wise Pythagoras belonged to the class of demons; but you still seem to me to be utterly remote from philosophy, and from true science, or you would neither abuse that great man, nor persist in hating certain of those who follow him. You should turn to something else now. For “you have missed your cue” in philosophy, “nor have you hit it off” better than Pandarus, when he *Iliad* iv. 140 aimed at Menelaus, in the episode of the violation of oaths.

LI.—TO THE SAME PERSON.

THERE are those who rebuke you for having taken money from the Emperor. There would be nothing absurd in your doing so, were it not clear that you have taken money rewards for your philosophy on so many occasions and on such a large scale, and from so many persons, and from people whom you had got to believe that you were a philosopher.

LII.—TO THE SAME PERSON.

IF anyone converses with a Pythagorean, and asks what boons and how many he shall derive from him, I should myself answer as follows: he will acquire legislative science, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, knowledge of harmony and of music, and of the physician’s art, god-like divination in all its branches, and the still better qualities of magnanimity, greatness of soul, magnificence, constancy, reverence, knowledge and not mere opinion

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πίστιν, φιλίαν ἐκατέρων, αὐτάρκειαν ἐκτένειαν λιτότητα βραχύτητα τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐαισθησίαν εύκινησίαν εὔπνοιαν εὔχροιαν ὑγείαν εὺψυχίαν ἀθανασίαν, παρὰ σοῦ δέ, Εὐφράτα, τί λαβόντες ἔχουσιν οἱ συνόντες; ἢ δηλονότι τὴν ἀρετήν, ἢν ἔχεις;

νγ'.—Κλαύδιος Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ.

Απολλώνιον τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην Πυθαγόρειον φιλόσοφον, καλῶς ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ὥφελήσαντα τιμήσαντες ἀξίας τιμαῖς, αἷς πρέπει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἀληθῶς προϊσταμένους φιλοσοφίας, τὴν εὔνοιαν ἡμῶν ἡθελήσαμεν ὑμῖν δι' ἐπιστολῆς φανερὰν γενέσθαι. ἔρρωσθε.

νδ'.—Απολλώνιος δικαιωταῖς Ρωμαίων.

Λιμένων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ περιβόλων καὶ περιπάτων ἐνίοις ὑμῶν πρόνοια, παίδων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ νέων ἢ γυναικῶν οὕθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε τοῖς νόμοις φρουτίς. ἢ καλὸν ἀν εἴη τὸ ἄρχεσθαι;

νε'.—τῷ ἀδελφῷ Απολλώνιος.

Φύσιν ἔχει τῶν τελειωθέντων ἔκαστον ἀπιέναι, καὶ τοῦτο παντὶ γῆράς ἐστι, μεθ' δὲ μηκέτι μένει.

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of the gods, direct cognisance of demons and not mere faith, friendship with both, independence of spirit, assiduity, frugality, limitation of his needs, quickness of perception, quickness of movement, quickness in breathing, excellence of colour, health, courage, immortality. And from you, Euphrates, what have your companions obtained that they can keep? Surely no more than the excellence which you possess yourself.

LIII.—CLAUDIUS, TO THE SENATE OF TYANA.

APOLLONIUS your citizen, a Pythagorean philosopher, has made a brilliant sojourn in Hellas, and has done much good to our young men. Having conferred upon him the honours he deserved, and which are proper to good men who are so truly eminent in philosophy, we have desired to manifest to you by letter our good-will. Fare ye well.

LIV.—APOLLONIUS, TO THE CENSORS OF ROME.

SOME of you have taken trouble to provide harbours and public buildings and enclosures and promenades; but neither you yourselves nor your laws evince any solicitude for the children in your cities, or for the young, or for women. Were it not so it would be a fine thing to be one of your subjects.

LV.—APOLLONIUS TO HIS BROTHER.

EVERYTHING when it hath reached maturity hath a natural tendency to vanish away, and this is

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μὴ διγενεῖτω τῆς γυναικὸς ἡ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς
ἡλικίας ἀποβολή, μηδέ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός τι λέγεται,
κρείττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῆν ὑπολάμβανε, χείρον δὲν τῷ
παντὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι. γενούν δὴ ἀδελφὸς τὸ
μὲν κοινότατον φιλοσόφου, τὸ δὲ ἔξαιρετον Πυθα-
γορείου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ σου τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν
αὐτὴν ποίησον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκαλοῦμέν τι τῇ
προτέρᾳ, κὰν εἰκότως ἐδοκοῦμεν ἀποδειλιᾶν, εἰ δὲ
ἡ μὲν σεμνή τε διετέλεσεν οὖσα καὶ φίλανδρος
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιζητήσεως ἡξία, τί καὶ διανοη-
θέντες οὐκ ἀν ὅμοια καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης
προσδοκοίημεν; ἦν εἰκὸς ἀν ἐθελῆσαι καὶ ἀμεί-
νονα γενέσθαι μηδαμοῦ τῆς προτέρας ἀμελείᾳ
κακωθείσης. δυσωπείτω δέ σε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελ-
φῶν οὕτω μέχρι νῦν ἔχοντα· τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ μὲν
γὰρ σοὶ οὐδὲ γόνος οὐδέπω, τῷ νεωτάτῳ δὲ
ἔλπις μὲν ἔτι παιδοποίας, ἐν προκοπῇ δέ γε τοῦ
χρόνου, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐνὶ τρεῖς γεγόναμεν, τρισὶ
δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδὲ εἰς. ἵσος δὲ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος τῇ
πατρίδι καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ μεθ' ἡμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς
ἀμείνοντες τοῦ πατρός—ἄλλως δέ, καθ' ὁ πατήρ,
χείρους—πῶς οὐκ ἀν βελτίους ἐξ ἡμῶν εἰκὸς
ἀν ὑπάρξαι; γενέσθωσαν οὖν τινες, οὓς παρ-
θησόμεθα γοῦν ὀνόματα, ως ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι

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old age for every man, after which he remaineth no more. Let not therefore the loss of thy wife in the flower of her age grieve thee beyond measure, nor, because such a thing as death is spoken of, imagine that life is superior thereto, when it is altogether inferior in the eyes of one who reflects. Make thyself then the brother of one that is a philosopher, in the common acceptation of the word, and in particular is a Pythagorean and Apollonius, and restore the former estate of thy household. For if we had found anything to blame in thy former wife, we might reasonably expect thee to shrink from another union ; but inasmuch as she was consistently holy and pure and attached to her husband and therefore worthy of your regrets, what should lead us to expect that a second wife should not resemble her ? Nay she would in all probability be encouraged to improve in virtue by the fact that her predecessor was not forgotten nor wronged by neglect of her memory. And I would pray thee seriously to concern thyself about the condition of thy brethren as up to the present it is. For thy elder brother has never yet had offspring ; and though thy younger brother may still look forward to having a child, yet it is only in the far future ; and so here are we three sons, the children of a single father, and we three between us have not a single son. Wherefore there is great risk no less for our country than for the life of our posterity. For if we are better than our father,—though of course, so far forth as he was our father, we are worse,—how can we not reasonably expect our descendants to be still better ? I trust then that there may be some to whom we may at least hand on our names, as our ancestors devised

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συνύφηναν. ὑπὸ δακρύων οὐχ οἰός τε ἐγενόμην πλείονα γράψαι, καὶ οὐδὲ εἶχον ἀναγκαιότερα τούτων.

ντ'.—Σ αρδιανοῖς.

Κροῖσος ἀπέβαλε τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχὴν "Αλυν διαβάς, ἐλήφθη ζῶν, ἐδέθη πέδαις, ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἀνεβιβάσθη, τὸ πῦρ εἶδεν ἡμερένον αἰρόμενον εἰς ὕψος· ἔξησεν, ἐδόκει γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τετιμημένος. τί οὖν ὕστερον; οὗτος ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν ἄμα καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ τοσαῦτα παθὼν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, τραπέζης ἐκοινώνησε τῷ πολεμώ, σύμβουλος ἦν εὔνους, πιστὸς φίλος. ὑμῖν δὲ ἄσπονδα καὶ ἀκήρυκτα καὶ ἀμείλικτα, ἔτι τε ἀνίερα καὶ ἄθεα τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς πρὸς τέκνα, τὰ πρὸς φίλους συγγενεῖς φυλέτας. ἔχθροὶ γεγόνατε μήτε "Αλυν διαβάντες, μήτε δεξάμενοί τινα ἄνθρωπον ἔξωθεν, καὶ ἡ γῆ φέρει καρπὸν ὑμῖν. ἄδικος ἡ γῆ.

νξ'.—συγγράφεισι λογίοις.

Φῶς παρουσία πυρός, ἢ οὐκ ἀν ἄλλως γένοιτο, πῦρ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος, καὶ φύνεται, καίεται γοῦν, φῶς δὲ ταῖς ὅψεσι μόνον αὐγὴν ἔαυτοῦ παρέχεται μὴ βιαζόμενον αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ πεῖθον. τοίνυν καὶ λόγος ὁ μὲν ὥσπερ πῦρ καὶ πάθος, ὁ

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these for us. For my tears I am not able to write thee more, but I have nothing more important than this to write.

LVI.—TO THE PEOPLE OF SARDIS.

CROESUS lost the empire of the Lydians by crossing the river Halys. He was taken alive, he was bound in chains, he was set upon the high raised pyre, he saw the fire lit and the flames rising aloft. He was saved, for it appeared that he was honoured and valued by the god. What then ensued? This man, your progenitor, and also your king, who had suffered so much that he deserved not to suffer, was invited to the table of his enemy, and became his adviser and well-wisher, his faithful friend. But you, in your relations with your parents, your children, your friends, kinsmen and tribesmen, evince nothing but truceless, implacable, irreconcilable hatred, and worse than this, unholy and godless frenzy. Ye have made yourselves hateful, by neither crossing the Halys, nor receiving among yourselves anyone from outside. And yet earth bears you her fruit. The earth is unjust.

LVII.—TO CERTAIN LEARNED PUBLICISTS.

LIGHT is the presence of fire, without which it could not be. Now fire is itself an affection, and that whereunto it comes, is of course burnt up. But light can only supply its own radiance to our eyes, on condition of using not force to them, but persuasion. Speech therefore in its turn, resembles in its one aspect, fire which is the affection, and in its other,

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δὲ ὥσπερ αὐγὴ καὶ φῶς ἐστιν· ὁ κρείττον ὅν, εἰ μὴ μεῖζον εὐχῆς τὸ ρηθησόμενον, εἴη μοι.

νη'.—Οὐαλερίῳ.

Θάνατος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἡ μόνον ἐμφάσει, καθάπερ οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδενὸς ἡ μόνον ἐμφάσει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔξ ούσιας τραπὲν εἰς φύσιν ἔδοξε γένεσις, τὸ δὲ ἐκ φύσεως εἰς ούσιαν κατὰ ταύτα θάνατος, οὔτε γιγνομένου κατ' ἀλήθειάν τινος, οὔτε φθειρομένου ποτέ, μόνον δὲ ἐμφανοῦς ὅντος ἀοράτου τε ὑστερον, τοῦ μὲν διὰ παχύτητα τῆς ὕλης, τοῦ δὲ διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς ούσιας, οὕσης μὲν αἱὲ τῆς αὐτῆς, κινήσει δὲ διαφερούσης καὶ στάσει. τοῦτο γάρ που τὸ ἴδιον ἀνάγκη τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐκ ἔξωθεν γινομένης ποθέν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὅλου μεταβάλλοντος εἰς τὰ μέρη, τῶν μερῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὅλον τρεπομένων ἐνότητι τοῦ παντός. εἰ δὲ ἐρήσεται τις· τί τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ποτὲ μὲν ὄρατόν, ποτὲ δὲ ἀόρατον, ἡ τοῖς αὐτοῖς γινόμενον ἡ ἄλλοις; φαίη τις ἄν, ως ἔθος ἐκάστου ἐστὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γενῶν, ὁ πληρωθὲν μὲν ἐφάνη διὰ τὴν τῆς παχύτητος ἀντιτυπίαν, ἀόρατον δέ ἐστιν, εἰ κενωθείη διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς ὕλης, βίᾳ περιχυθείσης ἐκρυείσης τε τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὴν αἰωνίου μέτρου, γεννητοῦ δ' οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φθαρτοῦ.

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the radiance which is light. And I pray that the latter which is better may be mine, unless indeed that which I speak of is beyond the reach of my prayer.

LVIII.—To VALERIUS.

THERE is no death of anyone save in appearance only, even as there is no birth of anyone or becoming, except only in appearance. For when a thing passes from essence into nature we consider that there is a birth or becoming, and in the same way that there is death when it passes from nature into essence ; though in truth a thing neither comes into being at any time nor is destroyed. But it is only apparent at one time and later on invisible, the former owing to the density of its material, and the latter by the reason of the lightness or tenuity of the essence, which however remains always the same, and is only subject to differences of movement and state. For this is necessarily the characteristic of change caused not by anything outside, but by a conversion of the whole into the parts, and by a return of the parts into the whole, due to the oneness of the universe. But if someone asks : What is this, which is at one time visible, and at another invisible, as it presents itself in the same or in different objects ? It may be answered, that it is characteristic of each of the several genera of things here, when it is full, to be apparent to us because of the resistance of its density to our senses, but to be unseen in case it is emptied of its matter by reason of its tenuity, the latter being perforce shed abroad, and flowing away from the eternal measure which confined it ; albeit the measure itself is never created nor destroyed.

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Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνέλεγκτον; οἰονται γάρ τινες, δὲ πεπόνθασιν, αὐτοὶ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, μὴ εἰδότες, ώς ὁ γεννηθεὶς διὰ γονέων γεγέννηται, οὐχ ὑπὸ γονέων, καθάπερ τὸ διὰ γῆς φυὲν οὐκ ἐκ γῆς φύεται, πάθος τε οὐδὲν τῶν φαινομένων περὶ ἔκαστον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον περὶ ἐν ἔκαστον. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἀν ἄλλο τις εἰπὼν ἡ τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν ὀρθῶς ἀν ὀνομάσειεν; ἡ δὴ μόνη ποιεῖ τε καὶ πάσχει, πᾶσι γινομένῃ πάντα διὰ πάντων, θεὸς ἀΐδιος, ὀνόμασι καὶ προσώποις ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ἴδιον ἀδικουμένη τε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔλαττον. τὸ δὲ μεῖζον· κλαίεται τις, ὅταν θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γένηται τόπου μεταβάσει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσεως. ώς δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, οὐ πενθητέον σοι θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον καὶ σεβαστέον. τιμὴ δὲ ἡ ἀρίστη τε καὶ πρέπουσα, εἰ ἀφεὶς θεῷ τὸν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἀνθρώπων τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰ νῦν ἄρχοις, ἡ πρότερον ἥρχει. αἰσχρόν, εἰ χρόνῳ, μὴ λογισμῷ γένοιο βελτίων, εἰ χρόνος καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς λύπης ἔπαυσε. μέγιστον ἀρχὴ ἰκανή, καὶ μεγίστων

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Why is it then that error has passed unrefuted on such a scale? The reason is that some imagine that they have themselves actively brought about what they have merely suffered and experienced; because they do not understand that a child brought into the world by parents, is not begotten by its parents, any more than what grows by means of the earth grows out of the earth; nor are phenomenal modifications or affections of matter properties of the individual thing, but it is rather the case that each individual thing's affections are properties of a single phenomenon. And this single phenomenon cannot be rightly spoken of or characterised, except we name it the first essence. For this alone is agent and patient, making itself all things unto all and through all, God eternal, which in so far as it takes on the names and person of individuals, forfeits its peculiar character to its prejudice. Now this is of lesser importance; what is of greater is this, that some are apt to weep so soon as ever God arises out of mankind,¹ by mere change of place and not of nature. But in very truth of things, you should not lament another's death, but prize and reverence it. And the highest and only befitting honour you can pay to death, is to resign unto God him that was here, and continue to rule as before over the human beings entrusted to your care. You dis honour yourself if you improve less through your judgment than by lapse of time, seeing that time alleviates the sorrows even of the wicked. High

¹ The idea is that by death the divine substance which was confined in a personality or name (which was the same thing) is released, so that where there was only a human being, there is now God.

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ἄρχων ἄριστος, δις ἀν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἄρχη. ποῦ δὲ καὶ ὅσιον ἀπεύχεσθαι τὸ βουλήσει θεοῦ γενόμενον; εἰ τάξις ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων, ἔστι δέ, καὶ θεὸς ἐπιστατεῖ ταύτης, ὁ δίκαιος οὐ βουλήσεται ἀπεύχεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθά, πλεονεκτικὸν γάρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἡγήσεται δὲ τὰ γινόμενα συμφέρειν. πρόελθε καὶ θεράπευσαι, δίκασον καὶ παρηγόρησον τοὺς ἀθλίους, τῶν δὲ δακρύων οὕτως ἀποτρέψεις. οὐ τὰ ἴδια τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἴδιων προτιμητέον. οἶον δέ σοι καὶ τὸ τῆς παραμυθίας εἶδος· σὺν ὅλῳ τὸν υἱὸν ἔθνει πεπένθηκας. ἅμειψαι τοὺς μετὰ σοῦ λελυπημένους, ἀμείψῃ δέ, ἐὰν λυπούμενος παύσῃ, τάχιον ἦ ἐὰν μὴ προέλθῃς. φίλους οὐκ ἔχεις; υἱὸν δὲ ἔχεις. καὶ νῦν τὸν τεθνηκότα; φήσει τις τῶν νοῦν ἔχόντων. τὸ γάρ ὃν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, διὰ τοῦτο δν, δτι ἔσται διὰ παντός, ἦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὃν γίνεται, πῶς δ' ἀν γένοιτο μὴ ἀπολλυμένου τοῦ ὄντος; εἴποι ἀν ἔτερός τις, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς τε καὶ ἀδικεῖς. ἀσεβεῖς μὲν τὸν θεόν, ἀδικεῖς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, μᾶλλον δὲ κάκεινον ἀσεβεῖς· βούλει δὲ μαθεῖν οἰόν ἐστι θάνατος; ἄνελέ με πέμψας μετὰ ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, ἦν ἐὰν μὴ μεταφίεσῃ, παραχρῆμα κρείττονά με σεαυτοῦ πεποίηκας.

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command is the most important of things ; and he will best succeed in the most important office, who has first learnt to govern himself. And what piety moreover is there in deprecating that which has happened by the will of God ? If there is an order of reality, and there is, and if God presides over it, the just man will not desire to deprecate his blessings ; for such conduct savours of avarice and violates that order ; but he will consider that what happens is for the best. Go forward then and heal yourself, dispense justice and console the wretched ; so will you wipe away men's tears. You must not prefer your private welfare to the public, but the public to your private. And think what manner of consolation is offered you : the entire province has mourned with you for the loss of your son. Reward those who have grieved with you, and you will far sooner reward them by ceasing to mourn than by confining yourself in your house. " You have no friends ? " But you have a son. " What, the one who is just dead (you will ask) ? " " Yes," will be the reply of all who reflect ; " for that which exists is not lost, but exists by the very fact that it will be for ever. Or would you argue that that which has no existence comes into being ? But how can that be without the destruction of that which is ? " Another might say, that you are impious and unjust. Impious towards God, and unjust towards your son, nay impious towards him rather than towards God. Would you then learn what death is ? Send and slay me the moment I have uttered these words, and unless you can clothe them afresh with flesh, you have there and then made me superior to yourself.

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"Εχεις χρόνον, ἔχεις γυναῖκα ἔμφρονα φίλανδρον, ὀλόκληρος εἰ, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λαβὲ τὸ λεῖπον. 'Ρωμαῖός τις¹ τῶν πάλαι γεγονότων, ἵνα σώσῃ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς υόμον τε καὶ κόσμον, νιὸν ἴδιου ἀπέκτεινε καὶ στεφανώσας ἀπέκτεινε. πόλεων ἄρχεις πεντακοσίων 'Ρωμαίων ὁ εὐγενέστατος. ταῦτα σαυτὸν διατίθης, ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲ οἰκίας τις εὐσταθῶς ἄρξει, μήτι γε πόλεών τε καὶ ἔθνων. 'Απολλώνιος εἴ παρην, Φαβοῦλλαν ἀν μὴ πενθεῖν ἔπεισεν.

νθ'.—Βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων Γάρμος
Νεογύνδη Ινδῶν βασιλεῖ.

Εἰ μὴ περίεργος ἡς, οὐκ ἀν ἡς ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις πράγμασι δίκαιος, οὐδὲ ἀν ἄρχων ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐδίκαζες Βαβυλωνίοις. πόθεν γάρ σοι γνώριμος ἡν ὁ ἡμέτερος δῆμος; νῦν δὲ ἐπείρασας ἄρχην τὴν ἐμήν, ὑποκοριζόμενος ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τοιαύτας ἄρχας καθιείς, καὶ πρόσχημα ποιούμενος τῆς πλεονεξίας τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. περανεῖς δὲ οὐδέν, οὔτε γὰρ λαθεῖν ἀν δύναιο.

ξ'.—Ἐν φράτῃ.

'Ην Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ὥφθη παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς ἐμαῖς, ξίφος ἔχων ἐν Κορίνθῳ μετὰ σοῦ γνωρίμουν.

¹ Titus Manlius. See Livy, VIII. 7.

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You have abundant time, you have a wife who is sensible, devoted to her husband; you are yourself sound in body, take from yourself whatever lacks. One of the ancient Romans, in order to uphold the law and order of his state, slew his own son, and indeed slew him after crowning him. You are a governor of fifty cities, and noblest of the Romans; yet this present humour of yours is such as to prevent you from affording a stable government even to your household, not to speak of cities and provinces. If Apollonius were with you, he would have persuaded Fabulla not to mourn.

LIX.—THE KING OF THE BABYLONIANS, GARMOS, TO NEOGYNDÈS, THE KING OF THE INDIANS.

If you were not of a prying disposition, you would not be laying down the law in other people's affairs; nor as sovereign in India would you be playing the judge for Babylonians. For how came you to know anything about my people? But just recently you have made an attempt upon my kingdom, by trying to cajole me with your letters and by insinuating into my realm such magistrates as these, and you try to cloak under the veil of philanthropy your own aggressive designs. But you will not succeed at all, for you cannot deceive me or take me in.

LX.—To EUPHRATES.

PRAXITELES of Calchis was a madman. He appeared at my door in Corinth, together with your friend with a sword in his hand. What then is

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τίς οὖν ἡ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αἰτία; οὐ γὰρ πώποτε
σὰς βοῦς ἥλασα,

· ἐπειὴ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ[·]
οὕρεά τε σκιύεντα θάλασσά τε ἡχήεσσα
τῆς τε ἐμῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς σῆς.

ξα'.—Λεπτών ακτι.

Ανάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης ἦν σοφός, εἰ δὲ Σκύθης,
ὅτι καὶ Σκύθης.

ξβ'.—Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀπολλωνίφ.

Τῶν δεδομενῶν τιμᾶν σοι ἀπεστάλκαμεν τόδε
ἀντίγραφον σαμανάμενοι τὰ δαμοσίᾳ σφραγῖδι
ἴνα ἔδης.

Ψήφισμα Λακεδαιμονίων, καθὼς οἱ γέροντες
ἐπέκριναν Τυνδάρεω εἰσηγησαμένω ταῖν ἀρχαῖν
ἔδοξε τέλεσί τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀπολλώνιον Πυθα-
γόρειον ἦμεν πολύταν, ἔχειν τε καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἴκων
ἔγκτασιν. ἐστάκαμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπίσαμον εἰκόνα
γραπτὰν καὶ χαλκᾶν ἀρετῆς χάριν. ὡδε γὰρ οἱ
πατέρες ἀμῶν ἐτίμων ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς. ἐνόμιζον
γὰρ ἦμεν Λυκούργω παῖδας, ὅσοι σύμφωνοι θεοῖς
τὸν βίον αίρεοντο.

ξγ'.—Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις καὶ
Δακεδαιμονίοις.

Ἄνδρας ὑμῶν ἐθεασάμην ὑπήνην μὴ ἔχοντας,
τοὺς μηροὺς καὶ τὰ σκέλη λείους τε καὶ λευκούς,

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the reason of his attempting my life? For I have never driven off your oxen, seeing that between your philosophy and mine "there intervene ^{Iliad l.} _{154 sq.} very many shadowy mountains and an echoing sea."

LXI.—TO LESBONAX.

ANACHARSIS the Scythian was a sage, but, if he was a Scythian, then it was because he was a Scythian.

LXII.—THE LACEDAEMONIANS TO APOLLONIUS.

WE send you this copy of a decree conferring honour upon yourself, which we have sealed with the public seal, for your recognition thereof.

"The decree of the Lacedaemonians, according to the resolution taken by their senate on the motion of Tindarus.

"It was resolved by the government and people to make Apollonius the Pythagorean a citizen, and to bestow upon him the right to possess land and houses. And we have also set up an inscribed image, painted and made of bronze, to commemorate his virtues. For this is the way in which our fathers did honour to good men; for they regarded as sons of Lycurgus all who have chosen a way of life in accordance with the will of the gods."

LXIII.—APOLLONIUS TO THE EPHORS AND TO THE LACEDAEMONIANS.

I HAVE seen your men without any beards, with their thighs and legs smooth and white, clad in soft

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μαλακὰς χλαινίδας ἡμφιεσμένους καὶ λεπτάς,
δακτυλίους πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς περικεψμένους,
ὑποδεδεμένους ὑπόδημα τὸ Ἰωνικόν. οὐκ ἐπέγνων
οὖν τοὺς λεγομένους πρέσβεις, ἢ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ¹
Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασκεν.

ξδ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Καλεῖτέ με πολλάκις βοηθὸν ὑμῖν τῶν νόμων
καὶ τῶν νέων ἐσόμενον. ἡ Σόλωνος δὲ πόλις οὐ
καλεῖ με. Λυκοῦργον αἰδεῖσθε.

ξε'.—Ἐφεσίων τοῖς ἐν Ἀρτέμιδι.

Ἐθος ὑμῖν ἄπαν ἀγιστείας, ἔθος δὲ βασιλικῆς
τιμῆς. τᾶλλ' ὑμεῖς ἐστιάτορες μὲν καὶ δαιτυμόνες
οὐ μεμπτοί, μεμπτοί δὲ σύνοικοι τῇ θεῷ νύκτας τε
καὶ ἡμέρας, ἢ οὐκ ἀν ὁ κλέπτης τε καὶ ληστὴς καὶ
ἀνδραποδιστὴς καὶ πᾶς, εἴ τις ἄδικος ἢ ἴερόσυλος,
ἢν ὄρμώμενος αὐτόθεν τὸ γάρ ιερὸν τῶν ἀπο-
στερούντων μυχός ἐστιν.

ξζ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἡλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνὴρ "Ἑλλην τὴν
φύσιν, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐδὲ Μεγαρεύς γε, λῶον δ'
ὄνομα¹ παροικήσων ὑμῶν τῇ θεῷ. δότε μοι τόπον,
ἔνθα μὴ καθαρσίων δεήσει μοι, καίπερ ἔνδον ἀεὶ²
μένοντι.

¹ Or perhaps *ὄνομα* signifies "a person."

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tunics and light, their fingers covered with rings, and their necks bedizened with necklaces, and shod with shoes of Ionic style. I did not therefore recognize your so-called envoys, though your epistle spoke of them as Lacedaemonians.

LXIV.—TO THE SAME.

You invite me again and again to reform your laws and your youth. Now the city of Solon does not invite me. Reverence Lycurgus.

LXV.—TO THOSE OF THE EPHESIANS WHO FREQUENTED THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS.

You are devoted to holy ceremonies no less than to honouring the Emperor. In general I cannot condemn your custom of inviting and being invited to feasts; but I do condemn the people who by night and by day share the home of the goddess, otherwise I should not see issuing thence thieves and robbers and kidnappers and every sort of wretch or sacrilegious rascal; for your temple is just a den of robbers.

LXVI.—TO THE SAME PERSONS.

THERE is come from Hellas a man who was a Hellene by race; and though he was not an Athenian or indeed a native of Megara, yet he had a better name, and was intent upon making his home together with your goddess. So I would have you assign me some place, where I can stay without contracting a need of purificatory rites, though I always remain inside.

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ξξ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ανεῖται θύουσι τὸ ἱερόν, εὐχομένοις ὑμνοῦσιν
ικέταις "Ελλησι βαρβάροις ἐλευθέροις δούλοις,
ὑπερφυῶς θεῖος ὁ νόμος. ἐπιγινώσκω τὰ σύμβολα
τὰ Διός τε καὶ Λητοῦς, ἐὰν ἡ μόνα ταῦτα.

ξη'.—Μιλησίοις.

Σεισμὸς ὑμῶν τὴν γῆν ἔσεισεν, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλων
πολλῶν πολλάκις. ἀλλ' ἐπασχον μὲν ἢ ητύχουν
ἔξ ἀνάγκης, ἐλεοῦντες δέ, οὐ μισοῦντες ἄλλήλους
ἔφαινοντο. μόνοι δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ θεοῖς ὅπλα καὶ πῦρ
ἐπηνέγκατε, καὶ θεοῖς τοιούτοις, ὡν καὶ οἱ ἐτέρωθεν
δέονται καὶ μετὰ κινδύνους καὶ πρὸ κινδύνων.
ἄλλα καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα πρόκριτον ὑμεῖς
Ἐλλήνων δημοσίᾳ τὸ πάθημα φήναντα πολ-
λάκις, καὶ προαγορεύσαντα γενομένους τοὺς
σεισμούς, αὐτόν, ὅτε ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός, παιεῖν ἐλέγετε
καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. ὡς τῆς δημοσίας ἀμαθίας.
καὶ πατήρ ὑμῶν λέγεται Θαλῆς.

ξθ'.—Τραλλιανοῖς.

Πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας,
νεώτεροί τε καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, φοιτῶσι παρ' ἐμέ.
τὰς φύσεις οὖν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου σκέπτομαι καὶ τοὺς
τρόπους, ως ἔνι μάλιστα συνετώτατα, τό τε
πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκάστου δίκαιου ἥθος ἡ

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LXVII.—TO THE SAME PERSONS.

YOUR temple is thrown open to all who would sacrifice, or offer prayers, or sing hymns, to suppliants, to Hellenes, barbarians, free men, to slaves. Your law is transcendently divine. I could recognise the tokens of Zeus and of Leto, if these were alone.

LXVIII.—TO THE MILESIANS.

AN earthquake has shaken your land, as has often happened with the countries of many other people. But as the misfortunes which they suffered were unavoidable, so they exhibited towards one another feelings of pity and not of hatred. You alone have hurled against the gods both missiles and fire, and against such gods as people in either case must have, both after danger and before it. Nay more, when a distinguished philosopher of Hellenic race had often warned you publicly of the disaster in store for you, and had foretold the earthquakes that have happened, him, when the god actually shook your land, you began to accuse daily of having brought it about. Alas, for your public folly ; and yet your forefather's name was Thales.

LXIX.—TO THE TRALLIANS.

MANY from all parts, some for one reason and some for another, flock to me both young and old. I then scan the nature of each individual and his manners, as closely as I can, and I mark his disposition towards his own city, to see whether it is just or the reverse ;

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τούναντίον. εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἀν ἔχοιμι προκρῖναι Τραλλιανῶν ὑμῶν οὐ Λυδούς, οὐκ Ἀχαιούς, οὐκ Ἰωνας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος Θουρίους Κροτωνιάτας Ταραντίνους, ἢ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων εὐδαιμόνων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἢ ἐτέρων τινῶν. τίς οὖν ἡ αἴτια, δι' ἣν ἀποδέχομαι μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ γίνομαι δὲ τοιούτοις ἀνδράσι σύνοικος, καίπερ ὥν γένος ὑμέτερον; ἄλλοτέ ποτ' ἀν εἴποιμι. νῦν δὲ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν καιρὸς ἄνδρας τε τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν, ὡς πολὺ κρέπτους τῶν παρ' ἐτέροις ἀρετῇ καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν παρ' οἷς γεγένηται.

ο'.—Σαίταις.

Αθηγαίων ἀπόγονοί ἐστε, καθάπερ ἐν Τιμαίῳ Πλάτων φησίν, οἱ δὲ τὴν κοινὴν ὑμῶν θεὸν ἔξοριζουσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Νηὶθ μὲν τὴν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομαζομένην, οὐ μένοντες Ἔλληνες. ὅπως δ' οὐ μένοντες, ἐγὼ φράσω· γέρων σοφὸς οὐδεὶς Ἀθηναῖος, οὐ γὰρ ἐφύγενυς πᾶσα παντός, ὅτι μηδεμίᾳ μηδενός. ὁ κόλαξ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις, ὁ συκοφάντης πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ὁ μαστροπός καὶ πρὸ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ὁ παράσιτος πρὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἡ θεὸς δὲ οὐδὲ Σούνιον ἔχει.

οα'.—Ἴωσιν.

Ἐλληνες οἵεσθε δεῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι διὰ τὰ γένη καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἀποικίαν, "Ἐλλησι δ' ὕσπερ

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but until this day, I do not find that I could prefer to you Trallians either Lydians, or Achaeans or Ionians, or even the people of ancient Hellas, the natives of Thurii, or Crotona, or Tarentum or any others of the peoples of Italy yonder who are called happy, or of any other races. What then is the reason, why, so much approving of yourselves, I yet do not take up my residence among so excellent a people, although I am of your own race? I will tell you on some other occasion; but at present I have only time to praise you, and say how much superior are your leading citizens in virtue and in speech to those of other cities, and still more to those among whom they have been.

LXX.—TO THE PEOPLE OF SAIS.

As Plato says in his Timaeus, you are the descendants of Athenians, though they have expelled from Attica the goddess you have in common with them, who is called Neith by you, but Athene by them. They have ceased to be Hellenes, and why they have ceased to be, I will tell you. No wise and aged man is an Athenian; for no Athenian ever grew a full beard, since you never saw one of them with any at all. The flatterer is at their doors, the sycophant stands before their gates, the pimp even before their long walls, the parasite in front of Munychia and in front of the Piraeus; as for the goddess she has not even Sunium left to her.

LXXI.—TO THE IONIANS.

You think that you ought to be called Hellenes because of your pedigrees, and because you were

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ἔθη καὶ νόμοι καὶ γλώττα καὶ βίος ἴδιος, οὗτοι καὶ σχῆμα καὶ εἶδος ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' ὑμῶν γε οὐδὲ τὰ ὄνόματα μένει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς νέας ταύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολωλέκατε τὰ τῶν προγόνων σύμβολα. καλῶς οὐδὲ τοῖς τάφοις ἐκεῖνοι δέχοιντ' ἀν ἄτε ἀγνώτας αὐτοῖς γενομένους, εἴ γε πρότερον ἡρώων ἦν ὄνόματα καὶ ναυμάχων καὶ νομοθετῶν, νυνὶ δὲ Λουκούλλων τε καὶ Φαβρικίων καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων. ἔμοὶ μὲν εἴη μᾶλλον ὄνομα Μίμνερμος.

οβ'.—Ἐ στι αἱ φ.

Ο πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀπολλώνιος ἦν τρὶς τοῦ Μηνοδότου, σὺ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐθέλεις ὄνομάζεσθαι Λουκρίτιος ἢ Λουπερκός. τίνος σὺ τούτων ἀπόγονος; αἰσχρόν, εἰ δυνομα μὲν ἔχοις τιός, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔχοις.

ογ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Πατρίδος ἐσμὲν πορρωτέρω σὺν δαίμονι, ἥδη δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐν υψῷ ἐβαλόμαν. ὁδεύει μοῦρα πρὸς τέλος ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τὰν πρώταν λελόγχασι τιμάν. ἄρξει δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν παιδάρια καὶ μικρὸν ἐπάνω τούτων μείρακες. ἐνταῦθά που δέος, μὴ σφαλῇ τὰ ὑπὸ νέων κυβερνώμενα. σοὶ δ' οὐ δέος, ἐπεὶ βεβιώκαμεν.

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once on a time a colony of them ; but just as the Hellenes are characterised by their customs and laws and language and private life so are men in general by their deportment and appearance. But as for you, most of you have abandoned even your names ; nay, owing to this recent prosperity of yours, you have forfeited all tokens of your ancestors. It is quite right therefore that the latter should refuse to welcome you even in their tombs, on the ground that you are no longer recognizable by them. For whereas formerly they bore the names of heroes and sea-captains and legislators, they now bear names such as Lucullus and Fabricius and names of other blessed Lucanians. For myself I would rather be called Mimnermus.

LXXII.—TO HESTIAEUS.

OUR father Apollonius had the name of Menodotus thrice over in his pedigree, but you wish to style yourself once for all Lucretius or Lupercus. Of which of these are you the descendant ? It is a disgrace to have a person's name without also having his countenance.

LXXIII.—TO THE SAME.

I AM far away by God's will from my country, but I always ponder in my mind my city's affairs. The generation of those who won the first honour hastens to its end, and in future it will be a reign of children, and a little later on of babes. Here then is what we have to fear, lest the state governed by youth should go wrong ; but you need not fear, for our lives are over.

οδ'.—τοῖς Στωικοῖς.

"Ωρα καὶ λιμὸς ἦν Βάσσω, καίπερ ὅντων τῷ πατρὶ συχνῶν χρημάτων. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔφυγε Μέγαράδε σὺν ἐνὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἑραστῶν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ μαστροπῶν—τροφῆς γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις ἔδει καὶ ἐφοδίων—ἔπειτα ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Συρίαν. ὑπεδέχετο δὲ τὸν ὥραιον Εὐφράτης, καὶ εἴ τις ὁμοίως ἔδειτο τοῦ τότε καλοῦ, ὥστε ἀν αἱρεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὔνοιαν.

οε'.—τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

'Ο παῖς Ἀλυάττεω σῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἀδύνατος ἐγένετο καὶ ἀμήχανος, καίπερ ὡν βασιλεύς τε καὶ Κροῖσος, ὑμεῖς δὲ ποίῳ πεποιθότες ἄρα λέοντι πόλεμον ἀσπονδον ἥρασθε, παῖδες, νέοι πάντες, ἄνδρες, γέροντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθένοι καὶ γυναῖκες; 'Ερινύων νομίσαι ἄν τις τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ οὐχὶ Δήμητρος. ἡ δὲ θεὰ φιλάνθρωπος· ὑμῖν δὲ τίς οὐτος ὁ χόλος;

ος'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Εἰκὸς εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ μεγάλην ἔθελῆσαι φιλόσοφον ἀρχαῖον παραγενέσθαι, καὶ πάρεγενόμην ἀν αὐτὸς ἐκών, κληθῆναι μὴ περι-

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LXXIV.—To THE STOICS.

BASSUS was beautiful, but starving ; although his sire had plenty of money. Accordingly he began by fleeing to Megara with one of his lovers so-called, and who was one of his pimps as well ; for both the one lot and the other were in need of food and money for the journey. Then he fled thence and turned up in Syria. There the pretty youth met with a warm welcome from Euphrates, and from anyone else who like Euphrates was in need of the latest beauty, and was ready out of mere regard for that sage to choose for himself so odd an ideal.

LXXV.—To THE PEOPLE OF SARDIS.

THE son of Alyattes was unable to save his own city and had no resources left, though he was a king, and his name Croesus. Well, I would like to know what sort of lion you have put your trust in, that you should have embraced this truceless war among yourselves, children and youths all alike, full-grown men and aged, nay even maidens and women ? One would suppose that yours was a city of the Erinyes rather than of Demeter. For this goddess is a lover of mankind, and I would know what all this spleen of yours is about.

LXXVI.—To THE SAME PERSONS.

IT is quite right that an old-fashioned philosopher like myself should be anxious to visit a city so old and considerable as your own ; and I would willingly have visited it, without waiting for the invitation

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μείνας, ώς ὑφ' ἐτέρων πολλῶν, εἰ ποιήσειν μίαν
ύμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔμελλον ἥθει καὶ φύσει καὶ νόμῳ
καὶ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πάντως ἀν ἐποίησα,
στάσις δέ, ώς ἔφη τις, πολέμου χαλεπώτερον.

οξ'.—Φοιτηταῖς.

Διὰ φιλοσοφίαν εἱρηται τῶν εὐρημένων ἔκαστον,
οὐ δι' Εὐφράτην. μὴ τὸ Πραξιτέλους ξίφος ἢ τὸ
Λυσίου φάρμακον πεφοβῆσθαί μέ τις δόξῃ. καὶ
τοῦτο γάρ ἔστιν Εὐφράτου.

οη'.—Ιάρχᾳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν σοφοῖς.

—οὐ μὰ τὸ Ταντάλιον ὕδωρ, οὐ με ἐμυήσατε.

οθ'.—Ἐν φράτῃ.

Οὐκ ἐπιλογιζομένη ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ τοῦ σώματος
αὔταρκες οὐ δύναται ἔαυτὴν αὐτάρκη ποιῆσαι.

π'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχυλογώτατοι.
οἱ οὖν ἀδολέσχαι εἰ ἡνιῶντο, ώς ἀνιῶσι, οὐκ ἀν
ἐμακρηγόρουν.

πα'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε μηδέποτε αὐτῷ μεταμελῆσαι
σιγήσαντι, φθεγξαμένῳ δὲ πολλάκις.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

which so many other cities have sent me, if I had any hopes of reconciling your city with morality, or with nature or with law or with God. And I would have done in any case so much as in me lies; only faction, as some one has remarked, is crueler than war.

LXXVII.—TO HIS DISCIPLES.

EVERYTHING that I have ever said, I have said out of consideration for philosophy, and not to please Euphrates. Let no one suppose that I have been afraid of the sword of Praxiteles, or of the poison of Lysias. For this too is the weapon of Euphrates.

LXXVIII.—TO IARCHAS AND HIS SAGES.

. . . No, by the water of Tantalus in which you initiated me. (Cited by Porphyry, *De Styge*, sub fin.)

LXXIX.—TO EUPHRATES.

THE soul which does not take trouble to train the body to be self-sufficing, is not able to make itself content with little. (From the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus, 10, 64.)

LXXX.—TO THE SAME PERSON.

MEN of light and leading use fewest words; for if babblers felt as much annoyance as they inflict, they would not be so long-winded. (36, 29.)

LXXXI.—TO HIS DISCIPLES.

SIMONIDES used to say that he had never had cause to repent of being silent, though he had often repented of having spoken. (33, 12.)

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πβ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Πολυλογία πολλὰ σφάλματα ᔁχει, τὸ δὲ σιγᾶν
ἀσφαλέσ.

πγ'.—Δηλιφ.

Ψεύδεσθαι ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλήθεια γενναῖον.

πδ'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Μηδέν με δόξητε ῥᾳδίως ἄλλοις παραινεῖν, αὐτὸς
γάρ ἐπὶ τῆς μάζης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀκολούθου
ταύτη διαιτης ὅν, τοιαῦτα ὑμῖν παρεγγυῶ.

πε'.—Εἰδομένη.

Ἐξηλώσαμεν τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς
εὔτελέσι καὶ λιτοῖς πάντως χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως
θαρρῶμεν πρὸς αὐτά.

πτ'.—Μακεδόνι.

Τῆς ὀξυθυμίας τὸ ἄνθος μανία.

πζ'.—Αριστοκλεῖ.

Τὸ τῆς ὄργῆς πάθος μὴ καθομιλούμενον, μηδὲ
θεραπευόμενον, φυσικὴ νόσος γίνεται.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

LXXXII.—To THE SAME PERSONS.

Loquacity has many pit-falls, but silence none.
(36, 28.)

LXXXIII.—To DELIUS.

To tell a lie is base, to tell the truth is noble.
(11, 20.)

LXXXIV.—To HIS DISCIPLES.

BELIEVE not that I lightly recommend to others anything. For I myself live upon maize, and I suit the rest of my diet to this dish, and I recommend a similar diet to yourselves. (17, 15.)

LXXXV.—To IDOMENA.

We have carefully trained ourselves to be content with little, not in order exclusively to use a cheap and common fare, but in order that we may not shrink therefrom. (17, 14.)

LXXXVI.—To MACEDON.

QUICKNESS of temper blossoms into madness.
(20, 49.)

LXXXVII.—To ARISTOKLES.

THE passion of anger, unless it is restrained by social intercourse and so cured, becomes a physical disease. (20, 50.)

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πη'.—Σ α τ ú ο φ.

Οι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν ἴδιων ἀμαρτημάτων συνήγοροι γίνονται, τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων κατήγοροι.

πθ'.—Δ α ν α ω.

Οὐ κάμνει τὰ πράγματα πρασσόμενα.

ς'.—Δ í ω ν i.

Τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ γενέσθαι πόνος.

ςα'—τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

Οὐδενὶ φθονητέον ἀγαθοὶ μὲν γάρ ἄξιοι, κακοὶ δ' ἀν εύτυχῶσι, κακῶς ζῶσι.

ςβ'.—Δ i o ν u σ í ω.

Καλόν, πρὶν παθεῖν, διδαχθῆναι, πηλίκον ἔστιν ιησυχία.

ςγ'.—Ν ο υ μ η ν í ω.

Οὐ θρηνητέον οἶων φίλων ἔστερήθημεν, ἀλλὰ μνημονευτέον, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὴν καλλίστην βιοτὴν ἐβιοτεύσαμεν.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

LXXXVIII.—To SATYRUS.

Most men are as apt to palliate their own offences, as they are to condemn them in other people. (23, 15.)

LXXXIX.—To DANAUS.

A task once begun never wearies. (29, 83.)

XC.—To DION.

Not to exist at all is nothing, but to exist is pain and weariness. (18, 82.)

XCI.—To HIS BROTHERS.

You must not feel envious of anyone; for while good men deserve what they have, the bad live badly even if they are prosperous. (38, 58.)

XCII.—To DIONYSIUS.

It is a good thing, before you suffer, to have learnt how great a blessing is tranquillity. (58, 12.)

XCIII.—To NUMENIUS.

We must not mourn the loss of such good friends, but we must remember that the best part of our life was that which we lived in the society of our friends. (124, 35.)

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ςδ'.—Θεατή τῷ.

Τὸ λυπούμενον ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς παραμυθοῦ.

ςέ'.—Κορυνηλιανῷ.

Βραχὺς ὁ βίος ἀνθρώπῳ εὐ πράττοντι, δυστυχοῦντι δὲ μακρός.

ςε'.—Δημοκράτει.

Οὐ πέρ μικρῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνυπερβλήτως ὀργιζόμενος οὐκ ἐὰν διαγνῶναι τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα, πότε ἔλαττον καὶ πότε μεῖζον ἡδίκησεν.

ςζ'.—Λύκῳ.

Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δὶ' αἰσχρὰν αἰτίαν πένεσθαι ὄνειδος.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

XCIV.—To THEAETETUS.

CONSOLE a mourner by representing to him the ills of other people. (124, 37.)

XCV.—To CORNELIANUS.

LIFE is short for the man who does well, but for him that is unlucky it is long. (121, 34.)

XCVI.—To DEMOCRATES.

ONE who shows excessive anger over small offences prevents the offender from distinguishing, when he has offended in lesser things, and when in greater. (20, 51.)

XCVII.—To LYCUS.

IT is not poverty that is disgraceful by nature, but poverty due to a disgraceful reason is a reproach. (95, 9.)

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ
ΤΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΤ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ
ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ
ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΤΤΟΤ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΤ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΤ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΝ

I

CAP. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν, ὡς φιλότης, κάκεινά σε τοῦ συγγραφέως ἄξιον ἀποθαυμάζειν, ἢ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σωτῆρί τε καὶ διδασκάλῳ τὸν Τυανέα συγκρίνων παρεδοξολόγει; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ Φιλαλήθει, οὕτω γὰρ εὐ ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιγράφειν ἐδόκει λόγον, οὐδὲν ἀν εἴη σπουδαῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἵστασθαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἴδια τυγχάνοντα, σφόδρα δὲ ἀναιδῶς ἐξ ἑτέρων οὐκ αὐτοῖς μονονουχὶ νοήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρήμασι καὶ συλλαβαῖς ἀποσεσυλημένα· ἢ τύχοι μὲν ἀν καὶ αὐτὰ τῆς προσηκούσης κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπελέγξεως, δυνάμει δὲ ἥδη, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἴδιας κατ' αὐτῶν γραφῆς, ἀνατέτραπται καὶ προαπελήλεγκται ἐν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS,
THE SON OF PAMPHILUS, AGAINST THE
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA WRITTEN
BY PHILOSTRATUS, OCCASIONED BY THE
PARALLEL DRAWN BY HIEROCLES BE-
TWEEN HIM AND CHRIST

I

So then, my dear friend, you find worthy of no CHAP.
little admiration the parallel¹ which, embellished with
many marvels, this author has drawn between the man of Tyana and our own Saviour and teacher. For against the rest of the contents of the "Lover of Truth" (Philalethes), for so he has thought fit to entitle his work against us, it would be useless to take my stand at present; because they are not his own, but have been pilfered in the most shameless manner, not only I may say in respect of their ideas, but even of their words and syllables, from other authorities. Not but what these parts also of his treatise call for their refutation in due season; but to all intents and purposes they have, even in advance of any special work that might be written in answer to them, been upset and exposed beforehand in a work which in

Most of the
Philalethes
already
answered
by Origen

¹ Or perhaps we should render "the parallel this writer has paradoxically drawn," etc.

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CAP. ὅλοις ὀκτὼ συγγράμμασι τοῖς Ὁριγένει γραφεῖσι πρὸς τὸν ἀλαζονικώτερον τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἐπιγεγραμμένον Κέλσου Ἀληθῆ λόγον, φ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαραλείπτως, ἐν ὅσοις εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ δεδηλωμένος παραγαγὼν συλλήβδην ὅσα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν παντὶ τῷ εἴρηται τε καὶ εἰρήσεται, προλαβὼν διελύσατο, ἐφ' ἂ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαγνῶναι ἔχοντας φιλαλήθως ἀναπέμψαντες, φέρε μόνην ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὴν κατὰ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους τουτού λόγου παράθεσιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα, μηδέν τι σπουδαῖον ἡγούμενοι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐτέρωθεν ὑποσεσυλημένων αὐτῷ διαμάχεσθαι. μόνα δὲ εἰκότως νυνὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐποψόμεθα, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνῳ παρὰ τοὺς πώποτε καθ' ἡμῶν γεγραφότας ἔξαιρετος νῦν τούτῳ γέγονεν ἡ τοῦδε πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον σωτῆρα παράθεσίς τε καὶ σύγκρισις.

II

CAP. ^{II} Θαυμάζει γοῦν καὶ ἀποδέχεται θείᾳ τινὶ καὶ ἀρρήτῳ σοφίᾳ, οὐχὶ δὲ γοητείας σοφίσμασι τεθαυματουργηκέναι φάσκων αὐτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀληθῶς οὕτως ἔχειν ώς ἔτυχε πιστεύων, καὶ ἀναποδείκτως ἀπισχυριζόμενος. ἄκουε δὲ οὖν, ἃ φησιν αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς “ἄνω δὲ καὶ κάτω θρυλοῦσι, σεμνύνοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ώς τυφλοῖς

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as many as eight books Origen composed against CHAP.
the book which Celsus wrote and—even more boast-^I
fully than the “Lover of Truth,”—entitled “True
Reason.” The work of Celsus is there subjected to
an examination in an exhaustive manner and on the
scale above mentioned by the author in question,
who in his comprehensive survey of all that anyone
has said or will ever say on the same topic, has fore-
stalled any solution of your difficulties which I could
offer. To this work of Origen I must refer those
who in good faith and with genuine “love of truth”
desire accurately to understand my own position. I
will therefore ask you for the present to confine
your attention to the comparison of Jesus Christ
with Apollonius which is found in this treatise called
the “Lover of Truth,” without insisting on the
necessity of our meeting the rest of his arguments,
for these are pilfered from other people. We may
reasonably confine our attention for the present to
the history of Apollonius, because Hierocles, of all
the writers who have ever attacked us, stands alone
in selecting Apollonius, as he has recently done, for
the purposes of comparison and contrast with our
Saviour.

II

I NEED not say with what admiring approval he at- CHAP
tributes his thaumaturgic feats not to the tricks of ^{II}
wizardry, but to a divine and mysterious wisdom; and
he believes they were truly what he supposes them
to have been, though he advances no proof of this
contention. Listen then to his very words: “In
their anxiety to exalt Jesus, they run up and down
prating of how he made the blind to see and worked

Hierocles
blames the
deifying of
Jesus

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CAP. ἀναβλέψαι παρασχόντα καὶ τινα τοιαῦτα δρά-
II σαντα θαυμάσια.” εἰτά τινα μεταξὺ εἰπὼν ἐπι-
λέγει· “ἐπισκεψώμεθά γε μήν, ὅσφ βέλτιον καὶ
συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἦν
περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἄνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην.” καὶ
ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Προκονυήσιον Ἀριστέαν καὶ
Πυθαγόραν ὡς ἀν ἀρχαιοτέρους παρελθὼν ἐπιφέρει
λέγων “ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν
Νέρωνος βασιλείαν Ἀπολλώνιος ἤκμασεν ὁ
Τυανεύς, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς κομιδῇ νέου καὶ ἀφ’ οὐπέρ
ἐν Αἴγαῖς τῆς Κιλικίας ἱεράσατο τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ
Ἀσκληπιῷ, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ διεπράξατο, ὡς
τὰ πλείω παρεὶς ὀλίγων ποιήσομαι μνήμην.”
εἶτα καταλέγει ἀπὸ πρώτου ἀρξάμενος τὰ παρά-
δοξα, μεθ’ ἀ καὶ ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν
“τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα τούτων ἐμνήσθην; ἵν’ ἐξῆ
συγκρῖναι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ’
ἐκάστῳ κρίσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν κουφό-
τητα, εἴπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα
οὐ θεόν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγούμεθα,
οἵ δὲ δι’ ὀλίγας τερατείας τινὰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν
ἀναγορεύουσι.” τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μεθ’ ἔτερα φά-
σκων· “κάκενο λογίσασθαι ἀξιον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν
τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος καὶ τινες τούτοις
παραπλήσιοι κεκομπάκασιν, ἀνθρωποι ψεῦσται
καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ γόητες, τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου
Μάξιμος ὁ Αἴγιεὺς καὶ Δάμις ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ
συνδιατρίψας αὐτῷ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,
παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦστον ἥκουτες, τὸ δ’
ἀληθὲς τιμῶντες διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἄνδρὸς γεν-
ναίου καὶ θεοῖς φίλου πράξεις μὴ βουλόμενοι

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certain other miracles of the kind." Then after an interval he adds as follows : " Let us note however how much better and more sensible is the view which we take of such matters, and explain the conception which we entertain of men gifted with remarkable powers." And thereupon after passing heedlessly by Aristeas of Proconnesus and Pythagoras as somewhat too old, he continues thus : " But in the time of our own ancestors, during the reign of Nero, there flourished Apollonius of Tyana, who from mere boyhood when he became the priest in Aegae of Cilicia of Asclepius, the lover of mankind, worked any number of miracles, of which I will omit the greater number, and only mention a few." Then he begins at the beginning and enumerates the wonders worked by Apollonius, after which he continues in the following words : " What then is my reason for mentioning these facts? It was in order that you may be able to contrast our own accurate and well-established judgment on each point, with the easy credulity of the Christians. For whereas we reckon him who wrought such feats not a god, but only a man pleasing to the gods, they on the strength of a few miracles proclaim their Jesus a god." To this he adds after a little more the following remark : " And this point is also worth noticing, that whereas the tales of Jesus have been vamped up by Peter and Paul and a few others of the kind,—men who were liars and devoid of education and wizards,—the history of Apollonius was written by Maximus of Aegae, and by Damis the philosopher who lived constantly with him, and by Philostratus of Athens, men of the highest education, who out of respect for the truth and their love of mankind determined to give the publicity

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CAP. λαθεῖν.”
II τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιγεγραφότι Φιλαλήθη λόγον
εἴρηται.

III

CAP. Δάμις μὲν οὖν ὁ τὰ πολλὰ ξυνδιατρίψας τῷ
Απολλωνίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων γῆς ὄρμώμενος,
αὐτόθι τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς ιδίας χώρας αὐτῷ
συμμίξας, τὴν ἐξ ἑκείνου μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῷ
γενομένην συνουσίαν ἴστορησεν, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος
κομιδῇ βραχέα τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πεπραγ-
μένων ἀνεγράψατο, ὃ γε μὴν Ἀθηναῖος Φιλό-
στρατος τὰ φερόμενα πάντα ὁμοῦ, ἀπό τε τῶν
Μαξίμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ἄλλων, συνα-
γαγεῖν ἔαυτὸν φήσας, πάντων μάλιστα ἐντελῆ
τὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἴστορίαν
τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα βίου πεποίηται.

IV

CAP. Εἰ δὴ οὖν ἐξὸν τὴν ἐπικατηγορουμένην ἡμῶν
εὐχέρειάν τε καὶ κουφότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φιλαλ-
ήθους ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ παραθεῖναι
κρίσιν, φέρε διαπυθώμεθα, οὐχ ὅστις θειότερος
γεγόνει, οὐδὲ ὅποιος θαυμασιώτερά τε καὶ πλείω
διεπράξατο παράδοξα, οὐδὲ ὡς μόνος παρὰ τοῖς

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they deserved to the actions of a man at once noble CHAP.
and a friend of the gods." These are the very words ^{II} used by Hierocles in his treatise against us which he has entitled " Lover of Truth."

III

Now Damis who spent so much of his time with CHAP.
Apollonius was a native of Assyria, where for the ^{III} Sources of
first time, on his own soil, he came into contact with Life of
him; and he wrote an account of his intercourse Apollonius
with the person in question from that time onwards. Maximus however wrote quite a short account of a portion only of his career. Philostratus, however, the Athenian, tells us that he collected all the accounts that he found in circulation, using both the book of Maximus and that of Damis himself and of other authors; so he compiled the most complete history of any of this person's life, beginning with his birth and ending with his death.

IV

If then we may be permitted to contrast the CHAP.
reckless and easy credulity which he goes out of his IV
way to accuse us of, with the accurate and well-founded judgment on particular points of the Inferior rôle
" Lover of Truth," let us ask at once, not which of accomplished by
them was the more divine nor in what capacity one Apollonius
worked more wondrous and numerous miracles than the other; nor let us lay stress on the point that our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was the only man of

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἀνέκαθεν πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἐτῶν γενομένοις
^{IV} Ἐβραίων σοφοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς
Χριστὸς ἥξειν εἰς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ θείαν ἐπί-
πνοιαν προπεφήτευτο, οὐδὲ ὡς πλείους ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς
θείας διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ λόγον προύτρέψατο,
οὐδὲ ὡς γνησίους καὶ ὄντως ἀληθεῖς ἐκτήσατο
φοιτητάς, μονονουχὶ καὶ ὑπεραποθυήσκειν ἔτοίμως
τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένους, οὐδὲ ὡς
μόνος σώφρονος βίου διδασκαλεῖον καὶ ἐς τὸν
μετέπειτα χρόνον συνεστήσατο, οὐδὲ ὡς τῇ ἰδίᾳ
θεότητί τε καὶ ἀρετῇ πᾶσαν ἔσωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην,
καὶ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν μυρία πλήθη πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ¹
τὴν θείαν ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδὲ
ὡς τῶν πώποτε μόνος πρὸς ἀπάντων σχεδὸν
εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχομένων,
πλείστοις ἔτεσιν ἥδη πολεμούμενος, κρείττων καὶ
πολὺ δυνατώτερος τῶν πικρῶν ἐλαυνόντων ἀπί-
στων ἀποδέεικται θείᾳ καὶ ἀρρήτῳ δυνάμει,
τοὺς μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπανισταμένους αὐτοῦ τῇ
θείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ ῥᾳδίως μετιών, τὸν δὲ παγέντα
πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδοθέντα θείου λόγου εἰς
ἄπειρον αἰῶνα καθ' ὅλης κρατύνων τῆς οἰκουμένης,
οὐδὲ ὡς εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐνθέου δυνάμεως τὴν
ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυται, μοχθηρούς τινας καὶ φαύλους
δαιμονας, ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ σώμασιν ἐφε-
δρεύοντας, ἀπελαύνων διὰ μόνης τῆς ἀρρήτου
προσηγορίας αὐτοῦ, ὡς αὐτῇ πείρᾳ κατειληφαμεν,
ταῦτα γάρ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ζητεῦν, μὴ καὶ
τὸ ἔρωτάν, ἀνόητον μόνην δὲ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὴν
τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφήν, δι' ἣς εὐθυνοῦμεν,

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whom it was prophesied, thanks to their divine CHAP.
inspiration, by Hebrew sages who lived far back IV
thousands of years ago, that he should once come
among mankind ; nor on the fact that he converted
to his own scheme of divine teaching so many
people ; nor that he formed a group of genuine and
really sincere disciples, of whom almost without
exaggeration it can be said that they were prepared
to lay down their lives for his teaching at a moment's
call ; nor that he alone established a school of sober
and chaste living which has survived him all along ;
nor that by his peculiar divinity and virtue he saved
the whole inhabited world, and still rallies to his
divine teaching races from all sides by tens of
thousands ; nor that he is the only example of a
teacher who, after being treated as an enemy for so
many years, I might almost say, by all men, subjects
and rulers alike, has at last triumphed and shown
himself far mightier, thanks to his divine and
mysterious power, than the infidels who persecuted
him so bitterly, those who in their time rebelled
against his divine teaching being now easily won
over by him, while the divine doctrine which he
firmly laid down and handed on has come to
prevail for ages without end all over the inhabited
world ; nor that even now he displays the virtue
of his godlike might in the expulsion, by the mere
invocation of his mysterious name, of sundry
troublesome and evil demons which beset men's
bodies and souls, as from our own experience we
know to be the case. To look for such results in
the case of Apollonius, or even to ask about them, is
absurd. So we will merely examine the work of
Philostratus, and by close scrutiny of it show that

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CAP. ὡς οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν φιλοσόφοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν
IV ἐπιεικέσι καὶ μετρίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν,
οὐχ ὅπως τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ παρατιθέναι
τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὃσον ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ
Φιλαλήθει παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκουντος,
τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μὴ τιμῶντος συγγραφέως. τοιοῦτος
γάρ ἦν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος
Φιλόστρατος, ἐξ οὐ ρᾳδίως ἀν καταμάθοιμεν καὶ
τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ¹
πλεῖστον ἥκόντων, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἔξητασμένως μὴ
ἀπηκριβωμένων τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον
ἱστορίας. τούτων γάρ ἡμῖν διευκρινηθέντων ὁμοῦ,
τοῦ τε Φιλαλήθους τὰ ἀνωτάτω τε καὶ καθ' ὅλων
δικαστήρια διειληφότος, ἡ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν
βεβαία καί, ὡς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δοκεῖ, ἀκριβὴς ἐφ'
ἐκάστῳ κρίσις φανερὰ καταστήσεται, ἡμῶν τε αὖ,
οὐ μωροὶ καὶ βεβουκολημένοι νενομίσμεθα παρ'
αὐτοῖς, ἡ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένη εὐχέρειά τε
καὶ κουφότης.

V

CAP. "Αλλος μὲν οὖν ὁμόσε χωρῶν αὐτόθεν διέβαλλεν
V ἄν, βλασφημῶν ὡς ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμιον τὸν
καθ' οὐ τὸν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, ἐγὼ δέ, ἐταῖρε, σοφόν
τινα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τὸν Τυανέα γεγονέναι ἡγούμην,
καὶ ἔτι γε τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεσθαι διανοίας ἐκὼν εἶναι

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Apollonius was not fit to be classed, I will not say CHAP.
among philosophers, but even among men of integrity IV
and good sense, much less to be compared with our
Saviour Christ, so far as we can depend on the work
of a writer who, though according to the "Lover of
Truth," he was highly educated, was in any case no
respecter of truth. For such is his description of
Philostratus the Athenian among others. In this
way we shall easily appreciate the value of the rest
of the authorities, who though, according to him,
they were most highly educated, yet never by actual
sifting of the facts, established them with any
accuracy in the case of Apollonius. For when we
have thoroughly examined these facts, we shall no
doubt obtain a clear demonstration of the solidity
and, as he imagines to himself, of the accuracy in
detail of the condemnation which the "Lover of
Truth," who has at the same time taken possession
of the supreme courts all over the province, passes
on Christians, and at the same time of what they are
pleased to call our reckless and facile credulity, for
we are accounted by them to be mere foolish and
deluded mortals.

V

ANOTHER controversialist, by way of begining CHAP.
the affray, would without demur abuse and malign V
the man against whom he directed his arguments,
on the ground that he was his enemy and adversary;
The laws of Nature
I, however, my friend, used to regard the man of
Tyana as having been, humanly speaking, a kind of
sage, and I am still freely disposed to adhere to this

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CAP. ^V Βουλοίμην, καὶ σοι τὴν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ
δόξαν ἐκθείην ἀν ἐρωτῶντι· φιλοσόφων μὲν ὅτῳ
τις βούλοιτο συγκαταλέγειν τὸν ἄνδρα, πέρα
μηδὲν διενοχλῶν ταῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογίαις, μὴ
φθονεῖν, εἰ δ' ὑπερπηδᾶν τοὺς ὅρους καὶ φιλο-
σοφίας ὑπέρτερα φρονεῖν εἴτε τις Δάμις Ἀσσύριος,
εἴτε Φιλόστρατος, εἴτε τις συγγραφεὺς ἢ λογογρά-
φος θρασύνοιτο, λόγῳ μὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος γοητείαν,
ἔργοις δὲ πλέον ἢ ρήμασιν ἐπιφορτίζων τὸν ἄνδρα,
προσωπείου δίκην τὴν Πυθαγόρειον ἐπιμορφαζό-
μενος ἀγωγήν, οἰχήσεται μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος,
ὅνος δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπικρυπτόμενος δέρρει,
σοφιστής τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγείρων κατὰ τὰς πόλεις,
αὐτό τε τοῦτο γόνης ἀτεχνῶς ἀντὶ φιλοσόφου
φωραθήσεται.

VI

CAP. ^{VI} Πῶς δὲ τοῦτο φημι καὶ πόθεν ὄρμώμενος,
ἐρωτᾶς; μάνθανε· ὅροι φύσεως ἀρχὰς καὶ μέσα
καὶ τέλη τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας περιειληφότες,
μέτρα καὶ θεσμοὶ ἀπασι, δι’ ὧν τόδε τὸ πᾶν
μηχάνημά τε καὶ ἀρχιτεκτόνημα τοῦ παντὸς
κόσμου τελεσιουργεῖται, διατέθεινται νόμοις ἀλύ-
τοις καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις, τῆς τὰ πάντα οἰκονο-
μούσης προνοίας τὸ πάνσοφον βούλημα διαφυλάτ-
τοντες. οὕκουν κινήσειέ τι καὶ μεταθείη τις ἀν

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opinion ; and I would like to set before you, if you CHAP.
ask it, my own personal opinion of him. If anyone ^V
wishes to class him with any philosopher you like,
and to forget all the legends about him and not bore
me with them, I am quite agreeable. Not so if
anyone ventures, whether he be Damis the Assyrian,
or Philostratus, or any other compiler or chronicler,
to overleap the bounds of humanity and transcend
philosophy, and while repelling the charge of
wizardry in word, yet to bind it in act rather than in
name upon the man, using the mask of Pythagorean
discipline to disguise what he really was. For in that
case his reputation for us as a philosopher will be
gone, and we shall have an ass instead concealed in a
lion's skin ; and we shall detect in him a sophist in
the truest sense, cadging for alms among the cities,
and a wizard, if there ever was one, instead of a
philosopher.

VI

Do you ask me what I mean and what are my CHAP.
reasons for speaking thus ? I will tell you. There ^{VI}
are bounds of nature which prescribe and circum-
scribe the existence of the universe in respect of its
beginnings and of its continuance and of its end,
being limits and rules imposed on everything. By
these this entire mechanism and edifice of the whole
universe is constantly being brought to perfection ;
and they are arranged by unbreakable laws and
indissoluble bonds, and they guard and observe the
all-wise will of a Providence which dispenses and
disposes all things. Now no one can change or alter
the place and order of anything that has been once

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CAP. τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἄπαξ διατεθειμένων. κεκράτηται
^{VI} δ' οὖν θεσμῷ φύσεως τὸν θεῖον ὑπεραναβαίνειν
νόμον πᾶς, ὅτῳ τις θρασύτερος τῶν ἐπέκεινα ἐπι-
βαίνειν ἔνεστι πόθος. οὗτ' οὖν παρὰ φύσιν ὁ
ἔνυδρος ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον μεταβὰς βιῶναι δυνήσεται
ἰχθύς, οὕτε τὸ ἐν χέρσῳ τραφὲν τοῖς ὕδασιν
ἐγκαταδύσεται, τὴν ἐκεῖσε διημεκῆ μονὴν ἀσπαζό-
μενον, οὕτε μέγα πηδήσας μετέωρός τις τῶν ἐπὶ¹
γῆς ἀρθήσεται πρὸς ἀέρα, συμπεριπολεῖν ἀετοῖς
ἐπιθυμῶν· καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνοί γε κάν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔλθοιεν
βρίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῦ
πτεροῦ χαλάσαντες καὶ ἀνέντες τὴν φύσιν, ἐπεὶ
καὶ τοῦτο θείοις ὥρισται νόμοις, ἐκ τοῦ ὕψους τὸ
μετέωρον ὑποκαταβαίνειν δύνασθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ
ἔμπαλιν τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ γεῶδες ἐπὶ τὸ μετέωρον
αἴρεσθαι. ταύτη δὴ καὶ τὸ θυητὸν ἀνθρώπων γένος,
ψυχῆς μετέχον καὶ σώματος, ὅροις περιγέγραπται
θείοις. οὗτ' οὖν τῷ σώματι δὶς ἀέρος ἔλθοι ποτὲ
τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τις καταφρονήσας διατριβῶν, μὴ οὐχὶ²
τούπιτίμιον αὐτίκα τῆς ἀνοίας παρασχών, οὕτε
τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρθεὶς φρουρῆματι καθίξεται τῶν ἀνε-
φίκτων, ἡ μελαγχολίας νοσήματι ἀν περιπέσοι.

Σωφρονοῦ δ' ἀν ἀρτίοις μὲν τὸ σῶμα ποσὶν ἐπὶ³
γῆς φερόμενος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλο-
σοφίᾳ σκηρίπτων· εὔξαιτο δὲ καὶ τινα συνεργὸν
ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἐκ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν διατριβῶν ἔλθεῖν,
καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ φανῆναι σωτηρίας.

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arranged; and if anyone is so venturesome as to CHAP.
VI
wish to transcend his limits, he is restrained from transgressing divine law by the rule and decree of nature. So it is that the fish that lives in the waters is unable in defiance of nature to change on to dry land and live there; and on the other hand the creature bred on dry land will not plunge into the waters, and embrace there any permanent repose or abode; nor by any huge leap can any tenant of earth raise himself aloft into the air, from a desire to soar about with the eagles; and in turn, although of course the latter can alight upon the earth, by depressing and lowering their faculty of flight, and by relaxing the working of their wings, and renouncing the privilege of nature,—for this too is determined by the divine laws, namely that beings able to soar aloft are able to descend from on high,—yet the converse is not possible, so that the lowly habitant of earth should ever raise himself into the welkin. In this way then the mortal race of men, while provided with soul and body, is yet circumscribed by divine bounds. Consequently he can never traverse the air with his body, however much he scorns to linger upon the paths of earth, without instantly paying the penalty of his folly; nor by spiritual exaltation can he in his thinking attain to the unattainable, without falling back into the disease of melancholy.

It is wisest then for him, on the one hand to transport his body along the ground with the feet given him for the purpose, and on the other hand to sustain his soul with education and philosophy. But he may well pray that some one may come to help him from aloft from the paths of heaven, and reveal Possibility of a Saviour descending to earth himself to him as a teacher of the salvation that is

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CAP. ἐρρωμένῳ γάρ τοι παραδείγματι, νοσοῦντι μὲν τὸν
VI ἰατρὸν ἐπιφοιτᾶν θέμις, καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον εἰσα-
γομένῳ τοῖς μαθήμασι συμφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἄνω
που καὶ ἐν ὕψει συγκατιέναι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς, οὐ
μὴν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν. ὅθεν δὴ θείαν μὲν φύσιν,
εὐεργέτιν οὖσαν καὶ σώτειραν καὶ προνοητικὴν
τῶν ἐπιόντων ἀνθρώπους ποτὲ εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν
οὐδεὶς ἀν ἀπείργοι λόγος ὅρῳ θείας προνοίας καὶ
τούτου συγκεχωρημένου, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τὸν
Πλάτωνα, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἐγγίνεται
φθόνος· οὔκουν σωμάτων μόνων, ἀγαθὸς ὁν, ὁ τόδε
τὸ πᾶν διακυβερνῶν ἐπιμελήσεται, πολὺ πλέον δὲ
ψυχῶν, αἷς τὸ ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ αὐτοκρατορικὸν
κεχάρισται γέρας. ταύταις δῆτα οὐα τῆς οἰκονο-
μίας ἀπάσης κύριος ὁν, καὶ χαρίτων, ὁν ἄν,
δωρούμενος αὐτάς, εὐεργετῇ τὴν φύσιν, οὖσαις
ἀντιληπτικαῖς, ἀκτῖνας ὥσπερ τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ
φωτὸς δωρήσεται ἀφθόνως, τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ἔστιν
ὅτε, τοὺς μάλιστα προσεχεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπίταδε
σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἐκπέμπων, ὁν εἴ τω
εὐτυχῆσαι γένοιτο, τὴν διάνοιαν οὗτος ἀποκαθ-
αρθεὶς καὶ τὴν τῆς θυητότητος ἀποσκεδάσας
ἀχλύν, θεῖος ἀληθῶς ἀναγραφήσεται, μέγαν τινὰ
θεον ἀγαλματοφορῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. κινήσεις δῆτ'
ἀν οὐα τηλικοῦτος τὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ
μᾶλλον ἡλίου τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλάμψειε, τούρ-
γον τῆς αἰδίου θεότητος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα συν-
ορᾶσθαι καταλείπων χρόνον, οὐ μεῖον τῶν ἔξ
ἀψύχου ὕλης δημιουργημάτων τὸ τῆς ἐνθέου
παράδειγμα φύσεως παρεσχημένος. καὶ ταύτῃ

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there. For the following is a valid example to use : CHAP.
as it is right for the physician to visit the sick,
and for the teacher to accommodate himself to the
pupil who is entering upon his studies, and for a
superior to quit his heights and condescend to the
lowly, yet the converse is not right or possible. It
follows then that there is no reason to prevent a
divine nature, being beneficent and inclined to save
and take providential care of things to come, from
associating itself with men, for this is allowed also by
the rule of divine providence ; for according to Plato
God was good, and no good being can ever feel any
jealousy of any thing. It follows that the controller
of this universe, being good, will not care for our
bodies alone, but much more for our souls, upon
which he has conferred the privilege of immortality
and free-will. On these then, as lord of the entire
economy and of gifts of grace his bestowal of which
will benefit our nature, he will, they being able
to appreciate his bounty, bestow plenteously an
illumination as it were of the light which streams
from him, and will despatch the most intimate of his
own messengers from time to time, for the salvation
and succour of men here below. Of these messengers
anyone so favoured by fortune, having cleansed his
understanding and dissipated the mist of mortality,
may well be described as truly divine, and as
carrying in his soul the image of some great god.
Surely so great a personality will stir up the entire
human race, and illuminate the world of mankind
more brightly than the sun, and will leave the effects
of his eternal divinity for the contemplation of future
ages, in no less a degree affording an example of the
divine and inspired nature than creations of artists

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CAP. μὲν ἀνθρωπεία φύσις τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον κοινων-
VI ἥσαι ἄν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ θέμις τοὺς ὅρους ὑπερβαίνειν,
οὐδὲ ἄπτερον ἔχοντα τὸ σῶμα τὰ τῶν πτηνῶν
ἐπιτηδεύειν, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπον ὄντα τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων
πολυπραγμονεῖν.

VII

CAP. Τίνα δῆτα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον
VII εἰσάγεις, ὡς συγγραφεῦ; εἰ μὲν δὴ θεῖον καὶ φιλο-
σόφου κρείττονα, τήν τε φύσιν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ
ἀνθρωπον, τήρει μοι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἴστορίας τὴν
ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τούργον εἰσέτι νῦν ἐπιδείκνυθι τῆς
θειότητος. ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἀτοπώτατον τεκτόνων μὲν
καὶ οἰκοδόμων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν δημιουργῶν
τελευτὴν ἐπὶ μῆκιστον τούργον διαρκεῖν, ἀθάνατόν
που σχεδὸν τῶν συστησαμένων τὴν μνήμην στη-
λιτεῦον, θείαν δὲ ἄρα φύσιν, ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλάμψα-
σαν, σκότιόν που καὶ μινυνθάδιον ἀποτελεῖν, οὐχὶ
δὲ εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μὴ εἰς
ἔνα τινὰ Δάμιν ἡ καὶ ἄλλους βραχεῖς πτωχεύου-
σαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' εἰς μυρίων ὅσων
ώφελείας οὐ τῶν καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐγνωρίζετο
μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων
τὴν πάροδον ποιουμένην; ταύτη τοι καὶ τοὺς
πάλαι σοφοὺς ζηλωτάς τε καὶ διαδόχους ποιή-
σασθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον ως ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώ-
ποις παρεσχημένους τὸ κατόρθωμα. εἰ δὲ

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made of lifeless matter. To this extent then human CHAP.
nature can participate in the super-human; but VI
otherwise it cannot lawfully transcend its bounds,
nor with its wingless body emulate the bird, nor
being a man must one meddle with what appertains
to demons.

VII

IN what light then, this being so, do you envisage CHAP.
for us Apollonius, my good compiler? If as a divine VII
being and superior to a philosopher, in a word as one
superhuman in his nature, I would ask you to keep
to this point of view throughout your history, and to
point me out effects wrought by his divinity enduring
to this day. For surely it is an absurdity that
the works of carpenters and builders should last on
ever so long after the craftsmen are dead, and raise
as it were an immortal monument to the memory of
their constructive ability; and yet that a human
character claimed to be divine should, after shedding
its glory upon mankind, finish in darkness its short-
lived career, instead of displaying for ever its power
and excellence. Instead of being so niggardly
liberal to some one individual like Damis and to a
few other short-lived men, it should surely make its
coming among us the occasion of blessings, con-
ferred on myriads not only of his contemporaries, but
also of his posterity. This I ween is how the sages
of old raised up earnest bands of disciples, who con-
tinued their tradition of moral excellence, sowing in
men's hearts a spirit truly immortal of progress and
reform. If on the other hand you attribute to this

Was Apol-
lonius a
divine
being?

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. Θυητήν ὑπογράφεις τάνδρὸς τὴν φύσιν, ὅρα μὴ
VII πλέον, ἡ προσῆκε, ταύτη χαριζόμενος δίκην
• ἀποίσεις παραλογίας.

VIII

CAP. 'Αλλὰ μὴν εἰσῆκται αὐτῷ θεῖος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ
VIII θαλαττίου δαίμονος σχῆμά τε καὶ προσωπεῖνον ἀπὸ¹
γενέσεως ἀναλαμβάνων. κυούσῃ γάρ, ὡς φησι, τῇ
αὐτοῦ μητρὶ φάσμα ἥλθε θαλαττίου δαίμονος,
Πρωτεὺς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἔξαλλάττων. ἡ δὲ
οὐδὲν δείσασα ἥρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκυήσαι, ὁ δέ,
“ἐμέ,” εἶπε· “σὺ δὲ τίς;” εἰπούσης, “Πρωτεύς,”
ἔφη, “ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.” εἴτα δὲ λειμῶνά τινα, καὶ
κύκνους τὴν γυναικα μαιεύεσθαι γράφει, ὅπόθεν
αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἴη ληφθέν, μὴ εἰπών· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τού-
του ὑφηγητὴν Δάμιν τὸν Ἀσσύριον ὑπογράψεται.
ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῷ
Δάμιδι, οἷα δὴ θείας ὅντα φύσεως, τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον
εἰσάγει αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα λέγοντα· “ἐγώ, ὡς ἔταιρε,
πασῶν τῶν φωνῶν ξυνίημι, μαθὼν οὐδεμίαν.” καί,
“μὴ θαυμάσῃς, οἶδα γὰρ καὶ ἡ σιωπῶσιν οἱ
ἄνθρωποι.” καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τιμώμενον
πρὸς τοῦ δαίμονος, καὶ πρόγνωσιν φυσικήν τινα
καὶ ἀδίδακτον ἔχειν ἐκ παιδός, κρείττονά τε
ἀτεχνῶς ἀνθρώπου φύναι αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γενέσεως

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man a mortal nature, take care lest by endowing him CHAP.
with gifts which transcend mortality, you convict ^{VII} yourself
of fallacy and miscalculation.

VIII

BUT enough of this. His hero is introduced to us CHAP.
as a divine man, who assumes from birth the guise ^{VIII}
and personality of a demon of the sea. For he says
that to his mother when she was about to bear her
child, there appeared the figure of a demon of the
sea, namely Proteus, who in the story of Homer ever
changes his form. But she, in no way frightened,
asked him what she would bring to birth ; and he
replied : " Myself." Then she asked : " And who
are you ? " " Proteus," he replied, " of Egypt." And
then he writes about a certain meadow and about
swans, that assisted the lady to bear her child,
though without telling us whence he derived this
particular ; for assuredly he does not attribute this
story to Damis the Assyrian writer. But a little
further on in the same history he represents Apol-
lonius as using, in token of his being of a divine
nature these very words to Damis himself : " I my-
self, my companion, understand all languages though
I have learned none." And again he says to him :
" Do not be surprised, for I know what men are
thinking about, even when they are silent." And
again in the temple of Asclepius he was much
honoured by the god, and is said to have possessed
a certain natural gift of prescience, which he did not
acquire by learning, from very childhood. We learn,
in a word, that he was born superior to mankind in

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. καὶ δι' δλης ἡμῖν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπογράφει. λύσαντος γοῦν ἑαυτόν ποτε ἀπὸ δεσμῶν ἐπιφέρει λέγων “τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἴη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου. μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς γὰρ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ εἰπόντα τι καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ.” ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ τάφου μὲν αὐτοῦ μηδόλως ποι γῆς εὐρίσκεσθαι, χωρῆσαι δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι μεθ' ὅμινων καὶ χορείας λέγει. εἰκότως δὴ οὖν οἷα δύντα τοσοῦτον “θειότερον ἡ Πυθαγόρας Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πλάτων φιλοσοφίᾳ” τὸν ἄνδρα προσεληλυθέναι φησίν. οὐκοῦν ἐν θεοῖς ἡμῖν διὰ τούτων ἀναγεγράφθω ὁ ἀνθρωπός.

IX

CAP. Καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἀπέστω τῆς τῶν φωνῶν ἀπασῶν
IX. αὐτοφυοῦντος καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου συνέσεως. τί δῆτα οὖν ἐσ διδασκάλου ἄγει αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν μεμαθηκότα διαβάλλει ως ἀν ἔξ ἀσκήσεως καὶ μελέτης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως Ἀττικὸν γενόμενον τὴν γλῶτταν; φησὶ γάρ τοι, ως “προϊὼν ἐσ δηλικίαν γράμματά τε καὶ μυημῆς ἴσχὺν ἐδήλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος καὶ ἡ γλῶττα αὐτῷ ἀττικῶς εἰχε.” καὶ “γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαῦδεκα ἄγει ἐσ Ταρσοὺς ὁ πατὴρ παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης, ὃς ῥήτωρ

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general, and so he is described from the first moment CHAP.
of his birth throughout his history. Anyhow on one ^{VIII} occasion after he had loosed himself from his bonds, his historian adds the remark : "Then Damis declares he for the first time clearly understood the nature of Apollonius, that it was divine and superior to humanity. For without offering any sacrifice,—for how could he offer one in the prison?—and without offering any prayer, without a single word, he just laughed at his fetters." And at the end of the book¹ we learn that his grave was nowhere to be found on earth; but that he went to heaven in his physical body accompanied by hymns and dances. Naturally if he was so great as he is described in the above, he may be said "to have wooed philosophy in a more divine manner than Pythagoras, or Empedocles, or Plato." For these reasons we must surely class the man among the gods.

IX

WELL, we will not grudge him his natural and self- CHAP.
taught gift of understanding all languages. But if ^{IX}
he possessed it, why was he taken to a school-master, and if he had never learnt any language whatever, why does his historian malign him and declare that, not by nature, but by dint of close study and application, he acquired the Attic dialect? For he tells us outright "that as he advanced in youth he displayed a knowledge of letters and great power of memory, and force of application, and that he spoke the Attic dialect." We also learn that "when he reached his fourteenth year his father took him to Tarsus, to Euthydemus of Phoenicia, who was a good

If Apol-
lonius was
divine, why
did he need
schooling?

¹ Or render : "And at death we," etc.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τε ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ ἐπαίδευε τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ
^{IX} διδασκάλου εἴχετο.” εἶτα “ξυνεφιλοσόφουν αὐτῷ
Πλατώνειοί τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ
περιπάτου. διήκουε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων,
οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δὲ Πυθαγο-
ρείους ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ σοφίᾳ ξυνελάμβανε.” τοσαῦτα
ὅ μηδεμίαν μαθὼν φωνὴν θείᾳ τε δυνάμει “ἄ καὶ
σιωπῶσιν ἄνθρωποι” προλαβὼν ἔξεπαιδεύετο.

X

CAP. ^X ‘Ο δὲ διαλιπὼν αὐθις αὐτὸν θαυμάζει, ἐς ὅσον
συνέσεως τῆς τῶν ζώων φωνῆς ἥλθε, καὶ ἐπιφέρει
λέγων, “καὶ ἐς ξύνεσιν δὲ τῆς τῶν ζώων φωνῆς
ἥλθε, καὶ ἔμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τῶν Ἀραβίων
πορευόμενος, ἄριστα γιγνωσκόντων τε καὶ πρατ-
τόντων αὐτό. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων κύκνων
ἡδη καὶ ὄρνιθων μαντευομένων ἀκούειν, ὅπόσα οἱ
χρησμοί. ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτού-
μενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ
ἡπαρ.” ἐνταῦθα πάντως που δρακόντων καρδίας
δήπου καὶ ἡπατος τὸν Πυθαγόρειον ἐμψύχων
τε τροφῆς ἀπεχόμενον καὶ μηδὲ θύειν δαίμοσιν
ἐπιτολμῶντα, εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπογεύσασθαι, ὡς ἀν καὶ
τῆς παρὰ τούτοις κοινωνήσοι σοφίας. πρὸς γὰρ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

rhetor, and gave him his education, while Apollonius CHAP.
clung to his teacher." We further learn that " he ^{IX}
had as fellow-students members of the school of
Plato and of Chrysippus and members of the Peri-
patetic set. That he also diligently listened to the
doctrines of Epicurus, because he did not despise
even them, though he grasped the teachings of
Pythagoras with a certain indescribable wisdom." So varied was the education of one who had never learnt any language, and who by his divine power anticipated "the thoughts of men even when they are silent."

X

AND after an interval our author again expresses CHAP.
his admiration at the ease with which Apollonius ^X
understood the language of animals, and he goes on to tell us the following: " And moreover he acquired He knew the language of animals
an understanding of the language of animals; and he learnt this, too, in the course of his travels through Arabia, where the inhabitants best know this language and practise it. For the Arabians have a way of understanding without difficulty swans and other birds when they presage the future in the same way as oracles. And they get to understand the dumb animals by eating, so they say, some of them the heart and others the liver of dragons." In this instance, then, it seems anyhow to have been the case that the Pythagorean who abstained from animal food and could not even bring himself to sacrifice to the gods, devoured the heart and liver of dragons, in order to participate in a form of wisdom that was in vogue among the Arabs. After learning

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τοιώνδε διδασκομένῳ, πῶς ἀν ἄλλως μὴ οὐχὶ τὰ
^X ὅμοια τοῖς διδασκάλοις ζηλώσαντι κατωρθοῦτο τὸ
ἐπιτήδευμα; ἔχομεν δὴ οὖν πρὸς τοὺς καταλελεγ-
μένους καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίων σοφούς, διδασκάλους τῆς
κατὰ τὴν οἰωνιστικὴν τάνδρος ἐπιστήμης, ἀφ' ἣς
εἰκότως ὄρμώμενος ὕστερόν ποτε τὸν στρουθόν, ὃ τι
καὶ βούλοιτο συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τροφήν,
προειπών, θαῦμα μέγιστον παρέχειν ἔδοξε τοῖς
παροῦσι. ταύτη δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀπεσφαγμένην ὅσον
οὕπω λέαιναν ἄμα τοῖς ὀκτὼ σκύμνοις κατὰ τὴν
εἰς Ἀσσυρίους ὁδὸν θεασάμενος, αὐτίκα τῷ θεάματι
συμβαλῶν τῆς ἐσομένης αὐτῷ παρὰ Πέρσαις
διατριβῆς τὸν χρόνον ἐμαντεύσατο.

XI

CAP. 'Ακόλουθα δὲ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραβίοις φοιτήσει
^{XI} ἐγχειρεῦν αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ὁ αὐτὸς
συγγραφεὺς ἴστορεū· τῷ γάρ τοι Δάμιδι, ὃς
μόνος φοιτητὴς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐταῖρος, ἀπαγορεύσας
παρὰ τοὺς μάγους ἰέναι, μόνος αὐτός, ὡς ἀν μὴ
μετ' ἀγνώμονος δηλαδὴ τὰ τῆς μαγείας μανθάνοι,
μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὰς
μετ' αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο σχολάς. ἔτι δὲ Οὐαρδάνη
Βαβυλωνίῳ εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντα, βασιλεῖ ὥδε
πως λέγειν αὐτὸν παρατίθεται· “σοφίᾳ δέ μοι
Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, ὃς θεούς τε θερα-
πεύειν ὥδε με ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν
ὄρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὄρωμένων, φοιτᾶν τε ἐς
διαλέξεις θεῶν.” τίς δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα συγχωρή-

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under such masters, how could he attain to their CHAP.
accomplishments otherwise than by imitating their X
example? We must therefore add to the teachers whom we have already enumerated the sages of Arabia who taught him his knowledge of augury; and this no doubt inspired him subsequently to foretell what the sparrow meant when he called his fellows to a meal, and so to impress the bystanders with the idea that he had worked a mighty miracle. And in the same way when he saw the freshly-slain lioness with her eight whelps by the side of the road which led into Assyria, he immediately conjectured from what he saw the length of their future stay in Persia, and made a prophecy thereof.

XI

AND in just keeping with his visits to the Arabians CHAP.
were the studies he undertook among the Persians XI
also, according to the account given by the same His visits
author. For after forbidding Damis, so we are told, to the Magi
to go to the magi, though Damis was his only pupil and companion, he went alone to school with them at midday and about midnight; alone in order not to have as his companion in the study of magic one who was clearly without a taste for such things. And again when he came to converse with Vardan the Babylonian king, it is related that he addressed him as follows: "My system of wisdom is that of Pythagoras, a man of Samos, who taught me to worship the gods in this way and to recognize them, whether they are seen or unseen, and to be regular in converse with the gods." Who can possibly allow

He pro-
fessed the
wisdom of
Pythagoras

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. σειεν, ὅτε Πυθαγόρα μὲν οὐδεμία τις τοιαύτη
καταλέλειπται γραφή, οὐδ' ἀπόρρητά τινα συγ-
γράμματα, ώς καν ὑπονοῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἔκείνων
όρμᾶσθαι, ὁ δέ γε διδάσκαλος αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ
Πυθαγόραν φιλοσοφίας, οὐδέν τι διαφέρειν τῶν
Ἐπικουρείων πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηται τοῦ Φιλο-
στράτου, ὡδέ πως εἰρηκότος, “διδάσκαλος μὲν ἦν
αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρου λόγων οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖος,
οὐδ' ἐνεργῷ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρώμενος, γαστρός τε
ῆττων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον
ἐσχημάτιστο. ἦν δὲ οὗτος Εὔξενος ὁ ἐξ Ἡρα-
κλείας τοῦ Πόντου. τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου γνώμας
ἐγίγνωσκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄρυσθες ἢ μανθάνοντι παρὰ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων.” φεῦ τῆς ἀτοπίας, εἰ παρὰ τούτου
λέγοι τις τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς διαλέξεως τὴν
σύνεσιν αὐτὸν εἶληφέναι. ἀλλὰ δὴ συγκεχωρήσθω
καὶ ἔτέρων ὑφηγητῶν αὐτὸν ἀκηκοέναι, καίτοι γε
τοῦ συγγραφέως τούτο μηδαμῶς ἐπισημηναμένου·
τίς δὴ οὖν τούτων σύνεσίν τε καὶ φοίτησιν εἰς
διαλέξεις θεῶν ὄρωμένων καὶ οὐχ ὄρωμένων αὐτός
τε ὡς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου μαθὼν είδέναι, διδάσκεσθαι
τε ἔτέρους ἐπηγγέλλετο; καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ περιβό-
ητος Πλάτων, πάντων γε μᾶλλον τῆς Πυθαγόρου
κεκοινωνηκὼς φιλοσοφίας, οὕτ' Ἀρχύτας, οὕτ'
αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὰς Πυθαγόρου γραφῆ παραδοὺς
όμιλίας Φιλόλαος, οὐδὲ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι γνώριμοι
τάνδρὸς γεγονότες, οἱ δόξας τε αὐτοῦ καὶ γνώμας
γραφῆ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν παραδεδώκασιν, ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ
τινὶ ἐσεμνύναντο σοφίᾳ. οὐκοῦν ἔτέρωθεν, ἀλλ'

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this to be true of him, seeing that Pythagoras CHAP.
XI himself has left no scripture of the kind, nor any

secret writings, such that we can even suspect him to have had such resources at his disposal? As for his teacher of the Pythagorean philosophy, it is testified that he was in no way better than the Epicureans by Philostratus himself, who speaks of him as follows:

"He had as a teacher of the system of Pythagoras not a very good man, nor one who put his philosophy into practice; for he was the slave of his belly and his desires and modelled his life on that of Epicurus. And this man was Euxenus of Heraclea in Pontus. But he had a good acquaintance with the tenets of Pythagoras, just as birds have of what they learn to say from men."

What ridiculous nonsense to pretend that Apollonius can have derived from this man, his gift of conversing with the gods. But let us for the moment admit that there were other expounders of the system from whom he may have learned, although the author anyhow gives no hint of any such thing. Still we must ask: was there then ever any one of these teachers that professed either to know himself, by having learnt from Pythagoras personally, or to teach others, how to recognize and frequent in their conversations gods, whether seen or unseen? Why, even the famous Plato, although more than anyone else he shared in the philosophy of Pythagoras, and Archytas too, and Philolaus the one man who has handed down to us in writing the conversations of Pythagoras, and any others who were disciples of the philosopher and have handed down to his posterity his opinions and tenets in writing,—none of these ever boasted of any such form of wisdom. It follows then that he learnt

He learned
from no
follower of
Pythagoras

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. οὐκ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου τὰ τοιαδὶ μαθῶν, προσχήματι
^{XI} σεμνολογῶν ἐπιγράφεται τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου
πρόσρησιν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ παραλογώτατα τὸ ψεῦδος
ώς ἀληθές τις γεγονέναι συγχωρήσειεν, οὐκ οἶδ',
ὅπως ἔξ αὐτοῦ λέγων ἐκείνου τοῦ Σαμίου, πρὸ^τ
μυρίων ὅσων ἐτῶν ἔξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένου, τὰ
περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν μεμαθηκέναι. οὐκοῦν πρὸς τοὺς
'Αραβίοις καὶ τοῦτον διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ τῆς δὴ
νομιζομένης ἀπορρήτου περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήμης ἐπι-
γραπτέον. εἰ δὴ οὖν θείας ἡν φύσεως, κατέψευσται
αὐτοῦ τοὺς διδασκάλους ὁ λόγος, εἰ δ' ἀληθῆς ἡν
οὗτος, ψευδῆς ἡν ὁ μῦθος, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆς ἡ περὶ^τ
τοῦ θεῖου γεγονέναι αὐτὸν γραφή.

XII

CAP. Οὕπω μοι τοῦ Πρωτέως τὸ φάσμα πολυπραγ-
^{XII} μονεῦν ἔπεισι καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου πίστιν
αἴτειν, οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ κύκνων τὰς ἀπο-
δείξεις, οὓς γελοίως τὴν μητέρα τίκτουσαν αὐτὸν
μαιούσθαι ἴστορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τοῦ
σκηνπτοῦ μυθολογίας τὸν μάρτυρα παρέχειν
ἀξιῶ, οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων, ώς ἔφην, Δάμις
ἡμῖν συνίστωρ ἀφίξεται, μακρῷ ὕστερον ἐν Νίνῳ
τῆς Ἀσσυρίας τάνδρὶ συνάψας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν
εὑ μάλα προθύμως τοῖς εἰκύσι τε καὶ ἀληθείας
ἔχομένοις πειθόμενος, εἰ καὶ μείζονά τινα καθ'

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these things not from Pythagoras, but from other sources ; and with a wilful affectation of solemnity he only labels himself with the philosopher's name. But admitting, though it is against all probability, that he is not lying, but telling the truth, we are still at a loss to know, how he can pretend to have acquired this lore from the Samian himself above mentioned, inasmuch as the latter deceased some thousand years before him. Therefore we must reckon among the Arabians this teacher also who communicated to him a knowledge of the gods of so mysterious character as he imagines this to be. If then he was of a divine nature, it follows that the story of his teachers is a pure fiction. On the other hand if the story was true, then the legend was false, and the allegation in the book that he was divine is devoid of all truth.

XII

I HAVE no wish to enquire curiously about the ghost of Proteus, or to ask for confirmation of it, nor to demand proof of his ridiculous story that swans surrounded his mother and assisted her to bring him into the world ; equally little do I ask him to produce evidence of his fairy-tale about the thunder-bolt ; for as I said before he cannot anyhow claim the authority of Damis for these particulars, inasmuch as the latter joined him much later on in the city of Nineveh of Assyria. I am however quite ready to accept all that is probable and has an air of truth about it, even though such details may be somewhat exaggerated and highly-coloured out of

CHAP.
XII
Eusebius
will accept
all that is
probable

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ίπερβολὴν ἐς ἔπαινον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ λέγοιτ' ἄν,
.XII πιστὰ καὶ παραδεκτέα είναι μοι δοκῶ, ὅτι μὴ
μόνα τὰ τερατώδη καὶ λήρου πλέα. οὕκουν
φθονοίην, εἴ φησιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς γένος τε ἀρχαῖον
καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνημμένον τῷ ἀνδρὶ γεγονέ-
ναι, καὶ πλουτῶν, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχεν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς
ἐγχωρίους ἄπαντας, διδασκάλων τε οὐεν δυτα οὐ
μόνον τῶν δεδηλωμένων τυχεῖν, ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ
τούτων αὐτὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ καθηγητὴν γεγονέ-
ναι. ἔστω δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐντρεχῆς καὶ τὰ κοινά,
ώς τὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεραπείας χάριν ἀφιγμένον
διὰ γνώμης ἀρίστης ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς ἀρρωστίας·
νοσοῦντι γὰρ δὴ ὑδέρου πάθει κατάλληλον ἐγκρα-
τείας ὑποθέσθαι δίαιταν τῷ κάμνοντι, καὶ ταύτη
αὐτὸν ὑγιᾶ καταστῆσαι, καὶ τούτῳ γε τῆς φρονή-
σεως ἀποδεκτὸν τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ ώς τὸν πολυτε-
λῶς θύειν παρεσκευασμένον εἰρξεν, οὐα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ
κακίᾳ διαβεβοημένον, καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐγχωρίων
ἀπάντων πλουσιώτατόν τε καὶ περιφανέστατον
αὐτὸν ὑποτίθεται. καὶ ἐν σώφροσι δ' αὐτὸν
φθόνος οὐδεὶς ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι τε πρὸς τὸν ἔραστὴν
πειρώμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ὥρας διελοιδορήσατο, καὶ
γυναικείας ὅτι καθαρὸν ἑαυτὸν μίξεως διὰ τέλους,
ώς ὁ λόγος φησίν, ἥγαγε.

Πιστὰ δ' ἔστω καὶ τὰ τῆς πενταετοῦς κατὰ
Πυθαγόραν σιωπῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τά, ὅπως ταύτην
διήνυσσεν, ἐπαίνου ἄξια. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ὅσα
516

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

compliment to a good man ; for I could still bring CHAP.
myself to accept them, as long as they are not be- XII
wilderingly wonderful and full of nonsense. I do not therefore mind the author telling us that Apollonius was of an ancient family and lineally descended from the first settlers, and was rich, if it were so, beyond all other people of that region ; and that when he was young he not only had the distinguished teachers mentioned, but, if he likes, I will allow that he became himself their teacher and master in learning. I grant too, in addition, that he was skilful in ordinary matters, and so was able by giving the best of advice to rid of his malady one who had come to the temple of Asclepius in order to be healed. For we read that he suggested to a man afflicted with dropsy a régime of abstinence well suited to cure his disease, and in that way restored him to health : and so far we must needs commend the youthful Apollonius for his good sense. On another occasion he very properly excluded from the temple a man who was notorious for his wickedness, although he was prepared to offer the most expensive sacrifices, for he represents the man in question as the richest and most distinguished of all the people of his region. Nor would anyone object to his being classed among the temperate, inasmuch as he repelled with insults a lover who designed to corrupt his youth, and also, as the narrative informs us, kept himself throughout pure of intercourse with women.

We can also believe the story of his keeping silence for five years in the spirit of Pythagoras ; and the way moreover in which he accomplished this vow of silence was praiseworthy. All this and the like

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τοιαῦτα ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφίας
XII καὶ ἀληθείας οὐ πόρρω δεχοίμην ἄν, περὶ πολλοῦ
τὸ εὑγνωμόν τε καὶ φιλάληθες τιμώμενος· τό γέ
τοι κρείττον ἀνθρώπου τὴν φύσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι,
καὶ παρὰ πόδας ἐναντιολογεῖν τῆς τε δοθείσης
ἀμυημονεῖν ὑποθέσεως, ἔχειν ψόγον ἀν καὶ δια-
βολὴν αὐτῷ τε τῷ γράφοντι καὶ πολὺ πρότερον
τῷ γραφομένῳ περιάψειν ἥγοῦμαι.

XIII

CAP. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος.
XIII ἐπίωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου. τὴν ἀπὸ Περ-
σίδος ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς πορείαν ἄγει παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν
ὁ λόγος. εἰτά τι πεπονθὼς ἀπειρόκαλον, ὥσπερ
τι παράδοξον, δαιμόνιόν τι, δὲ καὶ ἔμπουσαν ὀνο-
μάζει, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἰδόντα λοιδορίαις ἅμα τοῖς
ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἀπελάσαι φησί, καὶ ζφων δὲ εἰς
τροφὴν αὐτοῖς προσαχθέντων, εἰρηκέναι αὐτὸν
τῷ Δάμιδι, ὡς ἄρα συγχωροίη αὐτῷ τε καὶ
τοῖς ἔταιροις σιτεῖσθαι τῶν κρεῶν, τὸ γὰρ
ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῶν, αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ὄρâν προ-
βαῖνον, ἔαυτῷ δὲ εἰς ἣ ὠμολόγηται πρὸς φιλοσο-
φίαν ἐκ παιδός. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἀν ἀπορήσειεν, ὅτι
μηδ’ αὐτόν, δν μόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ βίου ζηλωτὴν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

is merely human, and in no way incongruous with CHAP.
philosophy or with truth, and I can therefore accept XII
it, because I set a very high value upon candour and
love of truth. Nevertheless to suppose that he was
a being of superhuman nature, and then to
contradict this supposition at a moment's warning,
and to forget it almost as soon as it is made—this I
regard as reprehensible and calculated to fasten a
suspicion not only on the author, but yet more on
the subject of his memoir.

XIII

THESE particulars we have taken from the first CHAP.
book of Philostratus; and let us now go on to XIII
consider the contents of the second. The story
takes him on his travels and brings him from Persia
to India. He next shows a want of good taste by
relating, as if it were a miracle, how Apollonius
and his companions saw some sort of demon, to
which he gives the name of Empusa, along the
road, and of how they drove it away by dint of
abuse and bad words. And we learn that when
some animals were offered them for food, he told
Damis that he was quite willing to allow him and
his companions to eat the flesh, for as far as he could
see their abstinence from meat had in no way
advanced their moral development, though in
his own case it was imposed by the philosophic
profession he had made in childhood. And yet is it
not incredible to anyone that he should not have
hindered Damis, as his best friend, and as the only
disciple and follower of his life that he had, and the

Criticisms
of the
second book
of Philo-
stratus

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIII κεκτῆσθαι καὶ προῦτρεπεν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, εἰργεν
οὐα φίλτατον τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων, ώς ἀν οὐχ
όσιας κατὰ Πυθαγόραν τροφῆς, ὁ δ' οὐκ' οἰδ
ὅποιφ λόγῳ λέγων μὲν οὐ συνοίσειν ἔαυτῷ,
κείνοις δ' οὐδὲν ὄρâν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποχῆς προβαῖνον
ώμολόγει;

XIV

CAP. XIV 'Επὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος ὁ τάληθὲς τιμᾶν πρὸς
τοῦ Φιλαλήθους μεμαρτυρημένος, ὅρα τῆς ἀληθείας
ὅποια δείγματα παρίστησι· γενόμενον παρ' Ἰνδοῖς
τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον παραστήσασθαι φησιν ἐρμηνέα,
καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προσδιαλέγεσθαι Φραώτη, τοῦτο δ'
εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ μικρῷ
πρόσθεν κατ' αὐτὸν πασῶν γλωσσῶν συνεὶς νῦν
αὖ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐρμηνέως δεῖται. καὶ πάλιν ὁ
τὰ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων εἰδὼς καὶ μόνον
οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεὸν

κωφοῦ τε ξυνιεὶς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων
δι' ἐρμηνέως ἀνερωτᾶ, ὅποια τις εἴη τῷ βασιλεῖ
δίαιτα, ἡγεμόνα τε ἀξιοῦ τῆς ἐς Βραχμᾶνας πορείας
γενέσθαι τινὰ αὐτῷ. καὶ μεταξὺ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν
βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα βάρβαρος ὥν τὴν φύσιν, τὸν
ἐρμηνέα ἐκποδῶν μεταστησάμενος, Ἐλλάδι χρῆται
πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ὄμιλίᾳ, παιδείαν καὶ πολυμάθειαν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

only one whom he was trying to convert to his philosophy, that he should not, I repeat, have tried to hinder him from consuming the flesh of living animals, that being an unholy food according to Pythagoras, and that instead of doing so, he should tell him for reasons inexplicable to me that it will do no good to himself, and admit that he saw no moral advantage in them produced by such abstinence ?

CHAP.
XIII

XIV

IN the next place I would have you notice what sort of samples of truth are set before us by this Philostratus to whose truthfulness Hierocles the self-styled Lover of Truth bears witness. For we are told that when Apollonius was among the Indians, he employed an interpreter, and through him held the conversation with Phraotes, for that was the name of the king of the Indians. Thus he, who just before, according to Philostratus, had an understanding of all languages, now on the contrary, according to the same witness, is in need of an interpreter. And again, he who read the thoughts of men, and almost like their god Apollo.

CHAP.
XIV

“Understood the dumb and heard him who spake not”

has to ask, by means of an interpreter, what was the king’s way of life, and he asks him to supply him with a guide on his journey to the Brahmans. And after an interval the other, who is king of the Indians, and a barbarian to boot, gets rid of the interpreter, and addresses Apollonius in Greek ; and speaking in that language details to him his education and

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ᾖς, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς
XIV. παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀμαθῶς ἔχοι φωνῆς, δέον ἐπεφιλο-
τιμήσατο.

XV

CAP. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λαλοῦντος Ἐλλάδι γλώσσῃ τοῦ
XV. Ἰνδοῦ ἐκπλήττεται, ἡ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος
ἀκόλουθα, ώς ἔοικεν, ἑαυτῷ γράφων. πῶς γὰρ ἀν
ἔξεπλάγη μὴ οὐχὶ βάρβαρον οἰηθείς; καὶ τὸν
τοιοῦτον θαυμάσας οὕποτ' ἀν ἐλληνίσαι προσε-
δόκησεν· εἰθ', ὥσπερ τι παραδόξοντα παράδοξον
καταπλαγείς, καὶ τὸ τούτου ἔτ' ἀγνοῶν αἴτιον,
“εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,
πόθεν οὗτος ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἐλλάδος; φιλοσοφία
τε ἡ περὶ σὲ πόθεν ἐνταῦθα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς διδα-
σκάλους γε, οἵμαι, ἀναφέρεις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναι
Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους τούτου.” αὗται αἱ
παράδοξοι τοῦ πάντα προγνώσει διειληφότος
φωναί, ἂς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀμειβόμενος, ὅτι τε σχοίη
διδασκάλους καὶ οἵτινες οὗτοι, ἔκαστά τε πατρόθεν
τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμβεβηκότων φράζει.

Εἶτα καί τισι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δικάζοντος περὶ θησαυ-
ροῦ φωραθέντος ἐν ἀγρῷ, πότερα τῷ πριαμένῳ
ἢ τῷ τὸ χωρίον ἀποδομένῳ δέοι νεῖμαι τοῦτον,
ὁ πάντα φιλόσοφος καὶ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος ἐρωτη-
θεὶς ἐπικρίνει τῷ πριαμένῳ, λογισμὸν δὴ αὐτοῖς

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

his wealth of learning. But Apollonius none the less neglected on this occasion to display, as he should have done, his own perfect acquaintance with their tongue.

CHAP.
XIV

XV

ON the contrary he is astonished to find the Indian talking Greek, as Philostratus consistently, it would seem, with himself, tells us in his book. For how could he be astonished thereat, unless he had regarded him as a barbarian? And in spite of his having admired him for what he was, he could never have expected him to talk Greek. In the sequel, as if he were astonished at some exhibition of the miraculous and were still unable to explain it, Apollonius says: "Tell me, O king, how you came to have such facility in the Greek tongue? And where did you get hereabouts the philosophy you possess? For I do not think that you can say you owe it to teachers anyhow, for it is not likely that the Indians have any teachers of this." Such are the wonderful utterances to which one, whose prescience included everything, gives vent; and the king answers them by saying that he had had teachers, and he tells him who they were, and relates all the particulars of his own history on his father's side.

CHAP.
XV
Eusebius
ridicules
the pre-
science of
Apollonius

Next we are told that the Indian had to judge between certain parties about a treasure which had been hunted up in a field, the question at issue being whether this field ought to be assigned to the seller or buyer of the place. Our supreme philosopher and darling of heaven is asked his opinion, and awards it to the purchaser, assigning his reason in these words:

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XV ῥήμασιν ἐπειπών, “ώς οὐκ ἀν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν
ἀφείλοντο καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαῦλος ἦν, τῷ δ' αὖ
καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων τὴν τοῦ
ἀποδομένου.” ώς κατ' αὐτὸν δὴ συνάγεσθαι, τοὺς
μὲν εὔπόρους καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέροντας, καν
αἰσχρότατοι καὶ πανωλέστατοι τυγχάνοιεν, τρισ-
ευδαίμονας καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι, μόνους δὲ
ἄρα κακοδαίμονάς τε καὶ ἀθλίους τοὺς πενεστά-
τους, καν Σωκράτης, καν Διογένης, καν αὐτὸς
ἐκεῖνος Πυθαγόρας τυγχάνη, καν ἄλλος, οἱ πάντων
ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατοι τε καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι.
εἴποι γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ, μὴ ἀν κατ'
αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς μὲν πένητας, τούτους δὴ
αὐτούς, οἱ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν διήνεγκαν, ἀφελέσθαι
καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν, μὴ οὐχὶ
πάντως φαύλους ὅντας τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ τὸ
ἡθος ἀκολαστοτέροις ἀφθονα καὶ τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖα
παρασχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βελτίους ἐτύγχανον τῶν πρό-
τερων, ἐξ ὧν παντί τῷ καταφανῆς ἡ τοῦ συμ-
περάσματος ἀτοπία.

XVI

CAP.
XVI Ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου παραθέμενοι, ἵωμεν
ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βεβοημένους ἐποψό-
μενοι Βραχμᾶνας· ἔνθα δὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα
καὶ εἴ τι περ ἄλλο τερατῶδές ποτε μυθολόγοις

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

“ That the gods would never have deprived the one of CHAP.
the land, if he had not been a bad man ; nor would XV
ever have given the other riches under the soil,
unless he had been better than the seller.” We
must conclude then, if we are to believe him, that
men who are comfortably off and richer than their
neighbours, are to be esteemed thrice happy and
beloved of the gods, even though they should be the
most shameless and abandoned of mankind ; on the
other hand only the poorest, say, even a Socrates, or
a Diogenes, or the famous Pythagoras himself, or
any other of the most temperate and fairest-minded
of men, are to be esteemed ill-starred wretches. For
if one follows the reasoning here used, one must
allow that on its showing the gods would never have
deprived the poor, that is to say, the very men who
excel others, if judged by the standard of philosophy,
even of a bare living and of the necessities of life,
unless they had been utterly vile in character, and at
the same time they have endowed those who are
abandoned in their character with a plenty even of
things that were not necessary to them, unless they
proved themselves better than the others just
mentioned ; from which the absurdity of the con-
clusion is manifest to everyone.

XVI

AFTER setting before you these incidents out of CHAP.
the second book, let us pass on to the third, and XVI
consider the stories told of the far-famed Brahmans. Absurdities
in the third
book
For here we shall have to admit that the tales of book
Thule, and any other miraculous legends ever in-

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XVI τισὶν ἀναπέπλασται, εὖ μάλα πιστὰ καὶ ἀληθεῖα στατα, ώς ἐν παραβέσει τούτῳ, ἀναφανήσεται οἷς καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον, τῆς τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἔνεκεν αὐθαδείας ἡμῖν μὲν εὐχέρειαν καὶ κουφότητα τρόπου περιάπτοντος, αὗτῷ δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ παραπλησίοις τὴν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαιανή μετὰ συνέσεως κρίσιν. ὅρα γοῦν, ἐφ' οὓς σεμνύνεται παραδόξοις, τῶν ἡμετέρων θείων εὐαγγελιστῶν προκρίνων τὸν Φιλόστρατον, ώς μὴ μόνον παιδείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθείας ἐπιμεμελημένου.

XVII

CAP.
XVII Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας πορείᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γυνή τις αὐτῷ τὴν χροιὰν εἰσάγεται ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐς ὁσφὺν λευκοτάτη, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον μέρος τοῦ σώματος μέλαινα. τὰ δέ, προϊόντων τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας ὄδοῦ, ὅρη καταπεφυτευμένα τὸ πέπερι, καὶ τούτου πίθηκοι γεωργοί, καὶ παράδοξοί τινες τὸ μέγεθος δράκοντες, ὡν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς λαμπάδες ἀπορριπτοῦνται πυρός, οὓς εἴ τις ἀνέλοι, εὔροι ἄῃ, φησι, παραδόξους λίθους ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῷ τοῦ Γύγου τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι παραπλησίους. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τῶν Βραχμάνων λόφουν. ώς δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, σανδαράκινον ἐνταῦθα φρέαρ ὕδατος ἴδειν παραδόξου, καὶ κρατῆρα πλησίον πυρός, οὐ φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολιβδώδη,

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

vented by any story-tellers, turn out to be by comparison with these quite reliable and perfectly true. It is anyhow worth our while to examine these, because this self-styled lover of truth has not scrupled to fasten on ourselves a charge of reckless credulity and levity of character, while claiming for himself and for those like him an accurate judgment, well based on an understanding of the fact. Note then the sort of miracles on which he prides himself, when he prefers Philostratus to our own divine evangelists, on the ground that he was not only a most highly educated man, but most attentive to the truth.

CHAP.
XVI

XVII

To begin with then, on the way to the Brahmans, Philostratus introduces us to a lady who met Apollonius, and who, from her head down to her loins, was wholly white in colour, while the rest of her person was black. The mountains again, as they went forward on the road to the Brahmans, were planted with pepper trees, and the apes cultivated the same; and then there were certain dragons of extraordinary size, from whose heads were thrown off sparks of fire, and if you slew one of them, he says that you found marvellous stones upon the head rivalling the gem of Gyges, as mentioned in Plato. And all this was before they reached the hill on which the Brahmans lived. And when they reached this, we read that they saw there a well of sandarac, full of wonderful water, and hard by a crater of fire, from which there arose a lead-coloured flame; and

CHAP.
XVII

Ridicules
the tales
of the
Brahmans

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. δύο τε πίθους λίθου μέλανος, τὸν μὲν ὅμβρων, τὸν
XVII δὲ ἀνέμων, ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, οἵς ἀν εἰς
τῆς χώρας ἔλεφ, χορηγεῖν. ἀλλά γε καὶ ἀγάλματα
παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα
Πυθίου καὶ Διονύσου Λιμναίου, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν
Ἐλληνικῶν θεῶν, Ἰάρχαν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων δι-
δάσκαλον καλεῖσθαι, δν καὶ ἵδεν καθεξόμενον
πολλοῦ γε δεῖ φιλοσοφικῷ, σατραπικῷ δ' ἀν
μᾶλλον σχήματι ἐφ' ὑψηλοτάτου δίφρου. χαλκοῦ
δὲ μέλανος οὗτος ἦν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσέοις
ἀγάλμασιν, οἷα δὴ εἰκὼς τεχνουργῶν βαναύσων
τρόπον πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ μοχθοῦντας τοὺς φιλο-
σόφους τεχνουργεῖν, ἥ καὶ θαυματοποιῶν δίκην
αὐτόματον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ δημιούργημα, οἱ δὲ τῶν
ἄλλων τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν διδασκάλων δίφροι χαλκοὶ
μέν, φησιν, ἀσημοὶ δ' ἡσαν καὶ ἡττον ὑψηλοί.
ἔδει γάρ που πάντως τυράννου σχήματι προνομίας
τῆς ἐν ἀγάλμασι καὶ χρυσῷ τὸν τῆς θείας φιλο-
σοφίας ἀξιοῦσθαι διδάσκαλον.

XVIII

CAP. Πρῶτον δὲ τὸν Ἰάρχαν ἰδόντα φησὶ τὸν
XVIII Ἀπολλώνιον ἐξ ὀνόματός τε προσειπεῖν Ἐλλάδαν
τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ παρὰ Φραώτου κομίζοι,
ἐπιστολὴν αἴτησαι, κατὰ πρόγνωσιν ἥδη τοῦτο
προειληφότα· ἐνδείξασθαι τε τὸ ἔνθεον τῆς
προγνώσεως προειρηκότα, ὡς ἄρα ἐνὶ γράμματι
τῷ δέλτα λείποι ἥ ἐπιστολή· ἄρξασθαι τε



THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

there were two jars there of black stone, the one of CHAP.
which contained rain, and the other winds, from XVII
which the Brahmans supply such people of the
country as they are pleased to favour. Besides this
they found among them images of Athene Polias and
of Apollo Pythius, and of Dionysus of the Lake and
of certain other Hellenic gods. And the master of
them all was named Iarchas, and they saw him sitting
on a very lofty throne in a state of pomp that was
far from philosophic, but rather appropriate to a
satrap. And this throne was made of black bronze
and was decorated with golden images, such as we
might of course expect philosophers to fabricate
when they take to working like base mechanics at
forge and steel, even if they do not like conjurers
make their handiwork to move by itself. But the
thrones upon which the rest of them, who were
inferior teachers to him, were sitting, were, he says,
of bronze, but not incised and not so high. For I
suppose they could not help bestowing upon the
teacher of so divine a philosophy the privilege of
having images and gold on his throne, just as if he
were a tyrant.

XVIII

AND we are told that Iarchas, the moment he saw CHAP.
Apollonius, addressed him by name in the Greek XVIII
tongue, and asked him for the letter which he Prescience
brought from Phraotes, for he had already received and pride
this by dint of his foreknowledge; and by way of of Iarchas
parading the inspired character of his prescience, he
told him before he set eyes on the epistle, that it
was one letter short, namely of a *delta*; and he began

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CAP. XVIII ἀπειροκάλως εὐθὺς ἀπὸ πρώτης ὄμιλίας, ἀπειροπλούτου δίκην, ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ τῆς προγνώσεως πλεονέκτημα, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καταλέγοντα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γένος τε καὶ τροφὴν καὶ παιδείαν, καὶ τὰς κατὰ χρόνους ἀποδημίας καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν πορείαν, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν πεπραγμένα τε αὐτῷ καὶ ώμλημένα. εἴτα δέ φησιν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ θαυμάσιος συγγραφεὺς τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας ἅμα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρισαμένους ἡλεκτρίνῳ φαρμάκῳ λούσασθαι, καὶ περιστάντας ώς ἐν χορῷ τὴν γῆν τύψαι ταῖς ράβδοις, τὴν δὲ κυρτωθεῖσαν ἀναπέμψαι αὐτοὺς εἰς δίπηχυ τοῦ ἀέρος, ἐστάναι τε αὐτοὺς μετεώρους ἐν αὐτῷ ἀέρι ἐπί τι χρόνου διάστημα· ἔλκειν δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου, δτε βούλοιντο, αὐτομάτως. τούτοις δ' ἐπιφέρει παράδοξον ὁ θαυματολόγος, ώς ἄρα τρίποδες Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες ἔξεκκλήθησαν αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ εἰκάζει δὴ οὖν αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ὁμηρίοις, οἰνοχόους τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ χαλκοῦ διακόνους τὴν ὑλην ἵστησι τέτταρας· ἐπιλέγει δέ, ώς ἄρα καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτομάτως ὑπεστόρνυτο αὐτοῖς πόας. τῶν δὲ τριπόδων οἱ μέν δύο, φησίν, οἴνου ἀπέρρεον, οἱ δὲ ἔτεροι δύο, ὁ μὲν ὕδατος θερμοῦ κράσιν παρεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ αὖ ψυχροῦ. τοὺς δὲ οἰνοχόους τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἀρύεσθαι εὐμέτρως τοῦ τε οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, περιελαύνειν τε κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πότοις.

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at once in a vulgar manner in that very first interview, like a man who has got wealth for the first time and does not know how to use it, to show off his superiority as a seer, by running off the names of Apollonius' father and mother, and telling him all about his family and upbringing and education, and about his periodical voyages abroad, and about his journey thither to himself, and about what he had done himself or said to his companions on the road. And next this wonderful author tells us that the Brahmans, after anointing themselves together with Apollonius with an amber-like drug, took a bath, and then standing round as if in chorus, struck the earth with their staves, and the earth arched itself up and elevated them some two cubits into the air, so that they stood there levitated up in the air itself for some considerable length of time. And he relates that they drew down fire from the sun without any effort on their part and whenever they chose. And the miracle-monger adds another marvel to these, when he tells that there were four tripods like those of Pytho which wheeled themselves forth, moving of their own accord; and he goes so far as to compare these to the tripods in Homer, and he says that there were set upon them cup-bearers to serve in the banquet, four in number and made of bronze. And in addition he tells us that the earth too strewed grass beneath them of her own accord and unasked. And of these tripods two, he says, ran with wine, and of the other two, the one supplied hot water and the other cold. And the cup-bearers of bronze drew for the guests in due mixture both the wine and the water, and pushed round the cups in a circle, just as they are handed round in a symposium.

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XIX

CAP.
XIX Ταῦτα Ἱεροκλεῖ τὰ ἀνωτάτω καὶ καθόλου δικαστήρια πεπιστευμένῳ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνετάσεως ἀληθῆ καὶ πιστὰ εἰναι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν εὐχέρεια καὶ κουφότης πλείστη ὅση κατέγνωσται παρ' αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ τοιαῦτα Φιλοστράτῳ πιστεύων, αὐτοῖς δὴ ρήμασι σεμνύνεται λέγων, “ἐπισκεψώμεθά γε μήν, ὅσφι βέλτιον καὶ συντάτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἡ περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην.”

XX

CAP.
XX Ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ δὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Φιλόστρατον βασιλεὺς ἐγχωριάζων Ἰνδοῖς εἰσάγεται συμπίνων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τοῦτον δὲ ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἐμπαροινεῖν φιλοσοφίᾳ, μεθύσκεσθαι τε παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀντιπαρεξάγειν Ἡλίῳ καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ἴστορει· καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον δι' ἐρμηνέως τὰ παρὰ τούτου μανθάνειν, καὶ αὖ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσθαι, ὑφερμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα· καὶ πῶς οὐ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅπως τὸν οὗτος ὑβριστὴν καὶ ἀτοπώτατον παροινεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι παρὰ τηλικούτοις εἰκὸς ἦν, διὸ οὐδὲ παρεῖναι ἄξιον ἐν φιλοσόφων, μή τί γε καὶ ἰσοθέων ἔστια; τί δέ μοι ἰσοθέους τούτους καλεῖν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XIX

SUCH are the stories which Hierocles, who has CHAP.
been entrusted to administer the supreme courts of XIX
justice all over the province, finds true and reliable Credulity of
after due enquiry, at the same time that he Hierocles
condemns us for our excessive credulity and frivolity ;
and after himself believing such things when he finds them in Philostratus, he proceeds to brag about himself and says (I quote his very words) : " Let us anyhow observe how much better and more cautiously we accept such things, and what opinion we hold of men gifted with such powers and virtues."

XX

IT was after such a symposium, according to the CHAP.
same Philostratus, that a king who was sojourning XX
in India is introduced to drink with the philosophers ; Drinking
and we hear that he took occasion to insult bouts of the
philosophy with drunken jests, and that he got so tipsy in Brahmans
their presence as to hurl defiance at the Sun and brag about himself. All this we learn, and that Apollonius once more, by means of an interpreter, learned his history from him and conversed in turn with him, Iarchas interpreting between them. Surely it may well excite our wonder that so insolent a fellow and so great a buffoon was allowed to get drunk and show off his tipsy wit among such great philosophers, when he was unworthy even to be present at a meeting of philosophers, much less at the hearth of men who were equal to gods ? But what possesses me to call them the peers of gods and

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐνυβρίζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας; ὁπότε
XX πυθομένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, τίνας ἑαυτοὺς ἥγονται,
θεοὺς ἔφη ὁ Ἰάρχας, δις καὶ τοῖς συμπόταις,
οἷα δὴ θεός, φιλοσόφου μὲν ἦκιστα τρόπῳ, πολλοῦ
γε δεῖ, μή τί γε μᾶλλον, οὐδὲ ἔφησε, θεοῦ ἀξίως,
ἐς τὴν φιάλην ἐπικύπτων ἐξῆρχεν, ἡ δέ, φησιν ὁ
συγγραφεύς, ως ἄρα ἐπότιζεν ἰκανῶς πάντας,
καὶ ἐπεδίδου, καθάπερ αἱ ἀπόρρητοι πηγαὶ τοῖς
ἀνιμωμένοις.

XXI

CAP. Μετὰ ταῦτα κοιναὶ λόγων ὁμιλίαι καὶ σπου-
XXI δαιολογίαι τῶν φιλοσόφων, τοῦ μὲν Ἰάρχα
διδάσκοντος, ως ἄρα ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν
ἔτερῳ ἀνθρώπου βασιλέως γένοιτο σώματι, καὶ
τοιαδί τινα αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα εἴη, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολ-
λωνίου, ως νηὸς Αἰγυπτίας ποτὲ γένοιτο κυβερ-
νήτης, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπράξαιτο, πεύσεις τε
καὶ ἀποκρίσεις ἐκάστου, ὃν καὶ τῆς σοφίας
ἀξιον μηδαμῶς παρεκθέσθαι τὴν μνήμην. ἐρέσθαι
δέ φησι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς
χρύσεον ὕδωρ — ὡς τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ παραδόξου
πύσματος — καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν οἰ-
κούντων καὶ Πυγμαίων ἄλλων καὶ σκιαπόδων
ἀνερωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ γίγνοιτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ζῷον τετρά-
πουν, δὲ λέγεται μαρτιχόρα, δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώ-

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chaff them about their dignity? Why, when Apol- CHAP.
lonius asked them whom they considered themselves XX
to be, "Gods," answered Iarchas; who, I suppose in his quality as god, as little as could be in the style of philosopher, save the mark, nay, surely betraying an equally scant respect for the dignity of the god whom he professed himself to be, set the example of drinking to his fellow-banqueters by stooping down over the bowl, which, as our author is careful to tell us, supplied plenty of drink for all of them, and refreshed itself, as do holy and mysterious wells for those who fill their pitchers from them.

The peers
the gods.

XXI

AFTER this there was general conversation and CHAP.
some serious discussion among the philosophers, in XXI
the course of which Iarchas explained that his own soul had once been in the body of another man who was a king, and that in that state he had performed this and that exploit; while Apollonius told them that he had once been the pilot of a ship in Egypt, and had accomplished all sorts of exploits which he enumerated to them. Then they put questions to each other, and received answers, which in the name of wisdom have scant title to be recorded at all. Thus we learn that Apollonius asked if they had any golden water among them. What a clever and marvellous question! And he also asked about men who live underground, and about others called pygmies, and shadow-footed men, and he asked if they had among them a four-footed animal called a martichora, which has a head like that of a man, but

Folly of
questions
asked in
India by
Apollonius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. πω εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ώμοιωσθαι τὸ μέγεθος,
XXI τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἐκφέρειν πηχυαίας καὶ ἀκανθώδεις
τὰς τρίχας, ἃς βάλλειν ὥσπερ τοξεύματα ἐς
τοὺς θηρῶντας· καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον
ἀνερωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰάρχαν διδάσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ¹
μὲν τῶν Πυγμαίων, ως ἄρα εἰεν οἰκοῦντες μὲν
ὑπόγειοι, διατρίβοντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην ποτ-
αμὸν ζῶντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ως ἀνύπαρκτα
εἴη.

XXII

CAP. "Εριον ἐπὶ τούτοις φυόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς
XXII ἐς ἐσθῆτος ὕλην ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀναγράφει, πάν-
τως δήπου τῶν φιλοσόφων ἵστον ἐποιχομένων καὶ
ταλασιουργίαις ἐς ἐσθῆτος κατεργασίαν ἐκπονου-
μένων—οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσῆκται παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναικεῖον
φῦλον—εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο φήσειεν αὐτόματον αὐτοῖς
παραδόξως δὴ ιερὰν ἐς ἐσθῆτα μεταφύεσθαι.
φέρειν δὲ ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ῥάβδον καὶ δακτύλιον
ἀπόρρητον ἔχοντα ἵσχύν. είτα παραδοξοποιάτο τοῦ
Βραχμᾶνος, ως δαιμονῶντα δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀνακα-
λέσαιτο, ως χωλεύοντα καταψήσας τὸν γλουτὸν
θεραπεύσειεν, ως τυφλῷ τὸ βλέπειν καὶ ἀδρανεῖ
τινι τὴν χεῖρα σώαν χαρίζοιτο. πολλὰ κάγαθὰ
γένοιτο πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπολύσαντι τῷ συγγρα-
φεῖ· δῆλα γάρ, ως ἀληθῆ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτε βροῦτας

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

rivals a lion in size, while from its tail projects hairs like thorns a cubit long, which it is accustomed to shoot out like arrows at those who hunt it. Such then were the questions which Apollonius put to the sages, and Iarchas instructed him about the pygmies, and told him that they were indeed people dwelling underground, but spent their lives on the other side of the river Ganges; but as to the other things which he asked about, Iarchas said that they never had existed at all.

CHAP.
XXI

XXII

AFTER that Philostratus described a wool which the earth grew for them to supply material for their dress, from which we must infer that these philosophers plied the loom and occupied themselves with spinning wool in order to make their raiment, for we do not hear of any woman being smuggled into their community; but perhaps he means that by a miracle the wool grew of its own initiative into their sacred garments. And we hear that each of them carried a staff and a ring which was imbued with mysterious power. There follow a series of miraculous performances on the part of the Brahman,—how for example he recalled to his senses by means of a letter one who was possessed with a demon, how by stroking a man who was lame he healed his dislocated hip, how he vouchsafed to restore a man's hand that was withered, and to a blind man gave sight. Our blessings on an author who saves us so much trouble. Can we doubt that these stories are true, when his very insistence on

CHAP.
XXII
Silly tales
of the
Brahmans

Eusebius
doubts the
miracles of
healing
wrought by
Iarchas

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πίθοις τρίποδάς τε ἐκ λίθου φοιτ-
XXII ὠντας αὐτομάτως καὶ οἰνοχόους ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ περι-
ελαύνειν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας προιστορήσας, διὰ
τῆς περὶ τούτων ὡς ἀληθῶν ἀφηγήσεως καὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν ἀπάντων ἐξέφηνέ τε καὶ διήλεγξε τὴν
μυθολογίαν. εἰρηκέναι δέ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος
τὸν Δάμιν δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας καὶ τῷ
'Ιάρχᾳ συμφιλοσοφῆσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰλη-
φέναι τε παρ' αὐτοῦ δακτυλίους ἐπτὰ ἐπωνύμους
ἀστέρων, οὓς καὶ φορεῖν αὐτὸν καθ' ἔνα πρὸς τὰ
ὄνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν.

Ταῦτα δὲ νῦν εἰπὼν ὁ τάληθὲς τιμᾶν παρὰ
τῷ Φιλαλήθει νενομισμένος μεθ' ἔτερα τῆς
γραφῆς, ὡς ἀν δὴ γοητείαν τῶν Βραχμάνων
καταγνούντις, καὶ ταύτης ἐλεύθερον καταστῆσαι
τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον φροντίσας, ἐπιφέρει φάσκων
κατὰ λέξιν· “ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς
τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτό-
ματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὐθ', ὅπως σοφίζοιντο αὐτά,
ἥρετο, οὗτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπήνει μέν,
ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἡξίου.” καὶ πῶς, ὡς οὗτος, οὐκ
ἡξίου; ὁ δίχα τοῦ Δάμιδος σπουδὴν ποιούμενος
συμφιλοσοφεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν μόνον ἑταῖρον, ὁ
τι καὶ πράττοι, λανθάνειν δέον ἡγούμενος; πῶς
δὲ οὐκ ἡξίου ζηλοῦν ὁ τοὺς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπωνύ-
μους καταδεχόμενος δακτυλίους, καὶ τούτους ἀναγ-
καῖον τιθέμενος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου φέρειν πρὸς

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

the truth of his earlier tales, I refer to those of CHAP. lightning and wind kept in jars, and of tripods of ^{XXII} stone walking about of their own accord and of cup-bearers of bronze passing round the cups in a circle, fully betrays and exposes the mythical character of everything else which he has to tell us. Philostratus moreover declares that Damis related how carefully Apollonius excluded himself from being present at the philosophical sessions which he held with Iarchas ; and he says that Apollonius was given by the latter seven rings which were called after the stars, and that he wore these one by one upon the days respectively called by their names.

Though we learn this much on this occasion from a gentleman who is esteemed by the Lover of Truth to have had a respect for facts, further on in his book, as if by way of condemning the wizardry of the Brahmans, and as if he was anxious to acquit Apollonius of the charge of having dabbled therein, he adds the following remark, which I repeat textually : " But when he saw among the Indians the tripods and the cup-bearers and the other figures which I have said entered of their own accord, he did not either ask how they were contrived, or desire to learn ; but although he praised them, he disclaimed any wish to imitate them." And how, my good fellow, did he disclaim any wish of the kind ? Is this the man who was careful to exclude Damis from the philosophical seances he held with them, and who thought it his duty to conceal from his only companion all that he had done in those seances ? And how could he have disclaimed any wish to imitate them when he accepted the seven rings named after the stars, and held it needful to wear these all through the

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τὰ ὄνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν, καίτοι γε ἀπόρρητον, ώς
XXII φῆς αὐτός, ἔχοντας ἴσχύν; εἰ δὲ καὶ δοθείη τὸ μὴ
ζηλοῦν ἡξιωκέναι αὐτόν, ώς μὴ εὐ πράττοντα,
οὐκ ἐξήλου δηλονότι. πῶς οὖν ἐπήνει, ἐφ' οἷς
μὴ ἡξίουν ζηλοῦν; εἰ δ' ως θείας ἐνεργοῦντας
ἐπήνει, πῶς οὐκ ἐξήλου τὰ ἐπαίνων ἄξια; ἀλλὰ
γὰρ μετὰ τὴν παρὰ τούτοις διατριβὴν παλινο-
στοῦντα αὐτὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἑταίροις ἐληλυθέναι
φησὶν ἐς τὴν τῶν Ὀρειτῶν χώραν, ἔνθα χαλκαὶ
μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι, χαλκῆ δὲ ἡ ψάμμος, χαλκοῦ
δὲ ψῆγμα οἱ ποταμοὶ ἄγουσι.

XXIII

CAP. Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τρίτον σύγγραμμα,
XXIII ἐπίωμεν δ' ἥδη καὶ τὰ ἔξῆς. ἐπανελθόντα φησὶν
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κοινωνὸν
τῶν θεῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἀνακεκηρύχθαι,
οἱ καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ώς αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὑγείᾳ παρέ-
πεμπον, καὶ δῆτα ώς ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ μάγων καὶ
Ἰνδῶν παράδοξόν τινα καὶ θείους ἡμῖν αὐτὸν
ἀγαγών, παραδόξων ἐντεῦθεν ἀφηγημάτων κατάρ-
χεται. καίτοι ἂν τις εἴποι εὐλόγως, δτι δὴ εἰ
θειοτέρας ἡ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φύσεως ἦν, πάλαι,
ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν ἔδει, πρὸ τῆς δὲ ἐτέρων μεταλήψεως
τῶν θαυμασίων κατάρχεσθαι, περιττὴ δ' ἀν καὶ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

rest of his life upon the days severally named after them, and that although, as you say yourself, they had a secret power in them. Even if we grant that he did not aspire to imitate these inventions, it is clear that his disclaimer was not due to their being uncanny. How then could he praise things which he disdained to imitate? If he praised them, as being divinely operated, why did he not imitate things so praiseworthy? To crown all, on his return after he had stayed with them, we learn that he arrived with his companions at the country of the Oritae, where he found the rocks and the sand and the dust which the rivers bring down to the sea, all alike made of bronze.

XXIII

ALL this is contained in the third book of Philostratus, and let us now pass on to those which follow. We learn that when he had returned from the country of the Indians to the land of Hellas, the gods themselves proclaimed him to be the companion of the gods, inasmuch as they sent on to him the sick to be healed. And, indeed, as if his visit to the Arabs and to the Magi and to the Indians had turned him into some miraculous and divine being, our author, now that he has got him home again, plunges straight into a lengthy description of his miracles. And yet one might fairly argue that if he had been of a diviner than merely human nature, then he ought long before, and not only now, after entering into relation with other teachers, to have begun his career of wonder-working; and it was

CHAP.
XXIII

The pre-
dictions of
Apollonius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ή ἐξ Ἀράβων αὐτῷ μάγων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν δι-
XXIII σπουδῆς ἐπεχειρεῖτο πολυμάθεια, εἰ δι γ τις κατ-
τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑπῆρξεν ὑπόθεσιν ἀλλ' οὗτός τι
κατὰ τὸν φιλαλήθη συγγραφέα νῦν δὴ πάρεστι.
μετὰ τοσούτους διδασκάλους τὴν σοφίαν ἐνεπιδει-
κνύμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μέν, οἷα ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ τῇ
παρ' αὐτοῖς οἰωνιστικῆς ὁρμώμενος τὸν στρουθόν.
ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τροφὴν παρ-
καλῶν ἐφερμηνεύει τοῖς παροῦσιν, εἴτα δὲ λοιμοῖ
ἐν Ἐφέσῳ προαισθόμενος προμαντεύεται τοὺς
πολίταις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν καὶ τούτου ἐν τῷ πρὸς
Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογίᾳ αὐτὸς παρατίθεται. ἐρο-
μένου γάρ τοι αὐτόν, ὅπόθεν ὁρμώμενος τοῦτο
προείποι, “λεπτοτέρᾳ,” ἔφη, “χρώμενος, ὡς
βασιλεῦ, διαίτῃ πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἥσθόμην.”

Καὶ τρίτον δ' αὐτοῦ θαῦμα γεγονὸς ἴστορεῖ, ὡς
δὴ ἀλεξήσαντος τὸν λοιμόν, ὅπερ εἰ καὶ τὰ
μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαις
οὐ τέθεικεν ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὅτι μὴ παρῆν, ὡς εἰκός,
αὐτῷ δι' ἀπολογίας ἀπολύσασθαι τὸ ἔγκλημα,
φέρε δ' οὖν ὅμως αὐτοὶ τὴν ἴστορίαν ἐς φανερὸν
ὑποθώμεθα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ταύτην εὐθύνοντες. εἰ
τινι γὰρ οὐκ εἴη σαφές, ὅτι δὴ πολὺ τὸ πλάσμα
καὶ ἀπατηλὸν γοητείας τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐμπλεων,



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superfluous for him to take so much trouble to CHAP
acquire the multifarious lore of Arabs and of Magi ^{XXIII}
and of Indians, if he was really what the initial
assumption made by Philostratus assumes him to
have been. But anyhow, according to this truth-
loving author, we have now got him back again,
ready to show off the wisdom which he has acquired
from so great masters ; and as one fresh from Arabia
and equipped with the science of augury in vogue
among the inhabitants of that country, he begins by
interpreting to the bystanders what the sparrow
wanted and intended when it summoned its fellows
to their dinner. Next he has a presentiment of the
plague in Ephesus, and warns the citizens of what is
coming. And he himself sets before us in his
Apology to Domitian the explanation of this pre-
sentiment. For when the latter asked him what
was his prediction, he answered : "Because, my
prince, I use a very light diet, I was the first to
scent the danger."

And then he relates a third miracle of him, Story of the
Ephesian plague which was nothing less than that of his averting the plague. Although the author has been care-
ful not to include this story in the final counts retained against Apollonius, probably because it was impossible for him to rebut a charge founded upon it by any defence which he could offer, we nevertheless will, if you will allow us, publish the story and give it full publicity, because our doing so will render needless any further criticism of it. For if anybody feels the shadow of doubt about the matter, the very manner in which the story is told will convince him that fraud and make-believe was in this case everything, and that if

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. αύτὸς ὁ τρόπος ἀπελέγχει τῆς ἱστορίας. τὸν γάρ
XXIII τοι λοιμὸν ὑποτίθεται ἐν εἴδει πτωχεύοντος καὶ
ράκεσιν ἡμφιεσμένου πρεσβύτου ἀνδρὸς ἐωρᾶσθαι,
διν καταλεύειν ἐπικελευσαμένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
πρότερον μὲν πῦρ βάλλειν τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν, εἰθ'
ὑστερον βληθέντα λίθοις, κύνα συντετριμμένον καὶ
παραπτύοντα ἀφρόν, ώς οἱ λυττῶντες, φανῆναι,
εἰρηκέναι δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς
τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογίᾳ ταῦτα
γράφει· “τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῷ δὲ
γέροντι εἴκαστο, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἴδων εἰλού, οὐ
παύσας νόσου, ἀλλ' ἔξελών.” τίς δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ
τούτοις οὐ μέγα τὴν τοῦ θαυματοποιοῦ γελάσεται
παραδοξοποιίαν, ζῷον ὄφθαλμοῖς καὶ λίθων ὑπο-
πῖπτον βολαῖς, συντριβόμενόν τε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων
καὶ ἀφρὸν παραπτύον τὴν τοῦ λοιμοῦ φύσιν
ἀκούων, δις οὐδ' ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν τυγχάνει ἡ φθορὰ
καὶ κάκωσις ἀέρος, ἐπὶ τὸ νοσῶδες τρεπομένου τοῦ
περιέχοντος ἐκ πονηρῶν τε καὶ φαύλων ἀναθυμιά-
σεων, ἡ λόγος ἵατρικὸς παραδίδωσι, συνισταμένου;
καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἀν τὸ φάσμα διευθυνθείη, ἐπείπερ
μόνη τῇ τῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλει, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς
ὅμοροις τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπισκῆψαι φησιν ὁ λόγος,
ὅπερ πῶς οὐκ ἀν γεγόνει κάκωσιν τοῦ περιέχοντος
πεπονθότος; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατακλεισθὲν μόνῳ ἀν
ἐφήδρευσε τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἀέρι τὸ νόσημα.

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ever anything reeked of wizardry this did. For he CHAP.
pretends that the plague was seen in the form of ^{XXIII} an aged man, a beggar and dressed in rags ; who, when Apollonius ordered the mob to stone him, began by shooting fire from his eyes, but afterwards, when he had been overwhelmed by the stones thrown at him, he appeared as a dog all crushed and vomiting foam, as mad dogs do. And he writes that Apollonius mentioned this episode also in the defence he addressed to the autocrat Domitian, as follows : " For the form of the plague—and it resembled an aged beggar—was both seen by me, and when I saw it I overcame it, not by staying the course of the disease, but by utterly destroying it." Who, I would ask, after reading this would not laugh heartily at the miracle-mongering of this thaumaturge ? For we learn that the nature of the plague was a living creature and as such exposed at once to the eyes of the bystanders and to the showers of stones they hurled at it, and that it was crushed by men, and vomited foam, when all the time a plague is nothing in the world but a corruption and vitiation of the atmosphere, the circumambient air being changed into a morbid condition composed of noxious and evil exhalations, as medical theory teaches us. And on other grounds, too, this story of the phantom plague can be exploded ; for the story tells us that it only afflicted the city of Ephesus, and did not visit the neighbouring populations ; and how could this not have been the case, if the surrounding atmosphere had undergone vitiation ? for the infection could not have been confined to one spot, nor have beset the air of Ephesus alone.

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xxiv

Τέταρτον αὐτῷ παράδοξον Ἀχιλλέως ἦν ψυχὴ πρότερον μὲν ἐν χλαμύδι πεντάπηχυς, εἴτε δωδεκάπηχυς τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ τῷ ἴδιῳ αὐτοὶ μνήματι φαινομένη, Θετταλούς τε καταιτιωμένη ὅτι δὴ τὰ ἐναγίσματα αὐτῷ, ὡς ἔθος ἦν, οὐκ ἐπετέλουν, μηνιῶσύ τε εἰσέτι Τρωσὶ τῶν ἐς αὐτὸς πεπλημμελημένων, καὶ προστάττουσα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πέντε λόγους, οὓς ἀν αὐτός τε βούλοιτο καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι συγχωροῖεν, ἀνερέσθαι. εἰθ' οἱ πάντα εἰδὼς καὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν αὐχῶς ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, εἰ τάφου τύχοι Ἀχιλλεύς, καὶ εἱ Μουσῶν θρῆνοι καὶ Νηρηίδων ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγόνασι, καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν ἀνερωτᾶς καὶ διαπυνθάνεται εἰ Πολυξένη ἐπισφαγείη αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ Ἐλένη ἢ Τροίαν ἐληλύθαι, ὡς σεμνά γε καὶ κατεπείγοντε εἰς τὸν φιλόσοφον βίον τοῦ ἥρωος· καὶ σπουδῇ ἄξια ἐρωτήματα. θαυμάζει δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἰ τοσοῦτοι ἥρωες παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἐνὶ χρόνῳ γεγόνασι, καὶ εἰ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τροίαν Παλαμήδης τὸν δὴ θεῶν ὄρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὄρωμένω ὄμιλητὴν τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ περὶ τοιούτων ἀνερωτᾶν, ποίας οὐχὶ γένοιτο ἀν αἰσχύνης; εἰ μὲν ἄρα, ἐπειδὴ νεκροῖς ὄμιλῶν εἰσῆκται, ἐπὶ τῷ

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XXIV

THE fourth wonder which he relates is how the soul of Achilles appeared close by his own sepulchre, dressed the first time in a tunic, and five cubits high, and subsequently growing till it was twelve cubits in stature, and accusing the Thessalians for not continuing according to custom to offer him the due funeral rites, and furthermore still nursing wrath against the Trojans for the wrongs which they had committed against him, and bidding Apollonius ask him questions on five topics, such as he himself might desire to learn about, and the Fates permit him to know of. We next learn that the omniscient one, who boasted of his prescience of future events, was still ignorant of whether Achilles had been buried, and of whether the Muses and Nereids had bestowed their dirges upon him. And accordingly he asked Achilles about these matters, and enquires most earnestly whether Polyxena had been slain over his tomb, and whether Helen had really come to Troy, —questions surely of a most solemn kind, and such as to stimulate others to lead the philosophical life of the hero, besides being in themselves of much importance. Thereupon he falls to wondering if there had ever been among the Hellenes so many heroes all at one time, and whether Palamedes had ever reached Troy. Surely it was disgraceful in the extreme that one who was the companion of gods, whether seen or unseen, should know so little of such matters as to need to ask questions again and again about them? Unless, indeed, because in this scene he is introduced as associating with the dead, the

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ψυχρότερον μεταποιεῖ τὰς πεύσεις ὁ συγγραφεύς.
XXIV ὡς ἀν ὑπεκλύσει τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτὸν περιειργάσθαι δοκεῖν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπολογούμενον αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ νεκρομαντείαν ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς φανείσης ὅψεως γένοιτο, “οὔτε γὰρ βόθρον,” εἰπεν. “Οδυσσέως ὄρυξάμενος, οὐδ’ ἀρνῶν αἴμασι ψυχαγωγήσας, ἐς διάλεξιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἥλθον. ἀλλ’ εὐξάμενος ὅπόσα τοῖς ἥρωσιν Ἰνδοί φασι δεῖν εὐξασθαι.” καὶ ταῦτα νῦν πρὸς τὸν ἔταῖρον ἀποσεμνύνεται ὁ μηδὲν μαθεῖν παρ’ Ἰνδῶν, μηδὲ ζηλῶσαι τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῖς σοφίαν πρὸς τοῦ συγγραφέως μεμαρτυρημένος.

XXV

CAP. Τί δῆτα οὖν, ὡ οὗτος, εἰ μή τις ἦν κακοήθης περιεργία, μηδὲ τὸν ἕνα σοι καὶ γνήσιον καὶ μόνον ἔταῖρον Δάμιν κεινωνὸν ἐποιοῦ τῆς θαυμαστῆς ταύτης ὅψεώς τε καὶ ὄμιλίας; τί δούχι καὶ δι’ ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔξην, ἀλλὰ τῶν νυκτῶν ἀωρὶ καὶ μόνον; τί δὲ καὶ ἥλαινον τὴν τοῦ ἥρωος ψυχὴν ἀλεκτρυόνων βοαί; “ἀπῆλθε γάρ,” φησι, “ἔνν ἀστραπῇ μετρίᾳ, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνες ἥδη φόδης ἥπποντο.” δαίμοσι μὲν οὖν πονηροῖς γένοιτ’ ἀν ἵσως ὁ τῆς ὥρας ἐπιτήδειος εἰς περιέργους ὄμιλίας καιρός, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ ἥρωίδι ψυχῇ, ἢν τῆς παχείας τοῦ

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author intentionally gives a frigid turn to his questions, in order to avert the suspicion of his having irreligiously pried into the secrets of magic. For we may notice he represents him as arguing in his *Apology* that there was no colour of necromancy in the manner in which the spectre appeared to him, and says : "For without digging any trench like Odysseus, and without tempting the souls of the dead with the blood of lambs, I managed to converse with Achilles, merely by using the prayers which the Indians declare we ought to make use of in addressing heroes." This is how Apollonius now brags to his companion, although our author testifies that he had learned nothing from the Indians nor felt attracted by their wisdom.

CHAP.
XXIV

XXV

WHAT then is the reason, my good fellow, supposing that there was no devilish curiosity here at work, why he would not allow Damis, whom you admit to have been his sole and genuine and single companion, to share with him in this marvellous vision and interview? And why, too, was he not able to do all this by daytime, instead of doing it in the dead of night and alone? Why, too, did the mere cry of the cocks drive away the soul of the hero? For he says, "It vanished with a mild flash of lightning, for indeed the cocks were already beginning to crow." I cannot but think that evil demons would have found such an hour seasonable and appropriate for their devilish interviews, rather than the soul of a hero which, having been freed from the

CHAP.
XXV

Eusebius
suggests
that an
evil spirit
appeared to
Apollonius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. σώματος ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν ὅλης ἀγαθὴν καὶ πανά-
XXV ρετον εἶναι χρεών. ὃ γε μὴν εἰσηγμένος ἐνταῦθα
δαίμων βάσκανος καὶ φθονερὸς τὸν τρόπου, ὄργιλος
τε καὶ ταπεινὸς τὴν διάθεσιν ὑποτετύπωται. ἡ
οὐχὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ τὸν Ἀντισθένην μειράκιον τι
σπουδαῖον ώς ἀν δὴ φιλοσόφῳ συνέπεσθαι τῷ
Ἀπολλωνίῳ πειρώμενον ἀπέιργων; προστάττει
γὰρ τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν συνέμπορον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
φιλοσοφίας, ἐπιλέγων τὴν αἴτιαν “Πριαμίδης τε
γάρ,” φησιν, “ἴκανῶς ἔστι καὶ τὸν Ἐκτορα ὑμῶν
οὐ παύεται.” πῶς δὲ οὐκ ὄργιλος καὶ ταπεινὸς ὁ
Θετταλοῖς, ὅτι μὴ θύοιεν αὐτῷ, θυμούμενος, καὶ
Τρωσίν, ὅτι δὴ πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἐτῶν εἰς αὐτὸν
διημαρτήκασι, μὴ καταλλασσόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα
θύουσι καὶ συνεχῶς σπενδομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν
Παλαμήδους τάφον αὐτῷ ἀγάλματι φαύλως ἐρριμ-
μένῳ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐγκελευόμενος;

XXVI

CAP. Τὸ μέντοι πέμπτον καὶ ἕκτον θαῦμα οὐ
XXVI πολλῆς ἀν δέοιτο τοῦ λόγου διατριβῆς εἰς
ἐνδειξιν τῆς τοῦ γράφοντος εὐχερείας· δαίμονας
γὰρ ἀπελαύνει ἄλλῳ ἄλλον, ἡ φασι, δαίμονι,
τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔξ ἀκολάστου μειρακίου, τὸν δὲ ἐπι-
πλάστως εἰς γυναικείαν μορφὴν σχηματιζόμενον,

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gross matter of the body, must necessarily be good CHAP.
and unsullied. In any case the demon conjured up XXV
on this occasion is represented as of a malignant
and envious disposition, both rancorous and mean in
humour. For how else can we characterise one who
drove away Antisthenes, a poor youth so serious that
he was endeavouring to become a follower of the
philosopher Apollonius? For Achilles insists that
he shall not initiate him in his philosophy, and he
adds the reason: "For," says he, "he is too much of
a descendant of Priam, and the praise of Hector is
never out of his mouth." And how could he be
other than rancorous and mean, if he was wrath with
the Thessalians for not sacrificing to him, and still
refused to be reconciled to the Trojans, because
thousands of years before they had sinned against
him, and that although the latter were continually
sacrificing and pouring out libations to him? The
only exception is that he ordered Apollonius to
restore the tomb of Palamedes, which together with
his statue had fallen into decay.

XXVI

THE fifth and sixth miracles however in this book CHAP.
do not stand in need of much argument and XXVI
discussion, so thoroughly do they prove our writer's
easy credulity. For Apollonius, as they say, drives
out one demon with the help of another. The first
of the demons is expelled from an incorrigible youth,
while the second disguises itself by assuming the
form of a woman: and the latter our clever author

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τουτονὶ δὲ τὸν δάιμονα ἔμπουσαν καὶ λάμπαν
XXVI αὐτοῦ ὀνόμασιν ὁ σοφώτατος ἀποκαλεῖ. τό γε
μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως μετὰ ταῦτα κόριον,
ὅ τι δὴ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπὶ δευτέρᾳ ζωὴν ἤγαγεν,
ἀπιστότατου καὶ αὐτῷ δόξαν τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ
παραιτητέον. ἐν δισταγμῷ μέντοι ἀμφιβάλλει,
μὴ ἄρα σπιθήρ τις ψυχῆς ἐνυπάρχων τῇ παιδὶ¹
τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἐλελήθει. λέγεσθαι γάρ
φησιν, “ώς φακάζοι μὲν ὁ Ζεύς, ἡ δὲ ἀτμίζοι
ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου.” καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ ἀληθῶς αὐτῷ
τοιόνδε ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης ἐπέπρακτο, οὐκ ἀν
ἐλελήθει βασιλέα τε πρώτον καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτὸν
ὑπάρχους ἅπαντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν φιλόσοφον
Εὐφράτην ἐγχωριάζοντα κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ καὶ
ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης διατρίβοντα, δις δὴ εἰς ὕστερον
τὴν κατ’ αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν, ὡς δὴ κατὰ γόητος,
ὑποβάλλειν ἴστόρηται. πάντως γὰρ ἀν καὶ τοῦτο,
εἰ δὴ τοῦτο γεγονὸς ἦν, ταῖς ἄλλαις κατ’ αὐτοῦ
διαβολαῖς πρὸς τοῦ κατηγόρου συγκατεῖλεκτο.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ’ εἶδος αὐτῷ πεπραγ-
μένα τοσαῦτα, μυρία δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν
αὐτὸν λέγων προμαντεύσασθαί τε καὶ προειρη-
κέναι γράφει, καὶ ως Ἀθήνησι βουληθέντα μυηθῆ-
ναι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ὁ τῆδε εἰρξεν ἱερεύς, μὴ ἀν ποτε
φήσας μυήσεσθαι γόητα, μηδὲ τὰ Ἐλευσίνια
ἀνοίξαι ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαιμόνια. ἄλλὰ
καὶ τῷ ἀσελγῷς ἀγείροντι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ
τὰς Νέρωνος μετὰ κιθάρας ἐπὶ μισθῷ διεξιόντι

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calls by no other names than those of Empusa and Lamia. As for the damsel whom he is said subsequently to have brought back again to life in Rome after she had died, the story clearly impressed Philostratus himself as being extremely incredible, and we may safely reject it. Anyhow he hesitates and doubts, whether after all a spark of life might have not lingered on in the girl unnoticed by her attendants. For he says that according to report "it was raining at the time, and a vapour exhaled from the face of the girl." Anyhow if such a miracle had really been wrought in Rome itself, it could not have escaped the notice first of the emperor and after him of his subordinate magistrates, and least of all of the philosopher Euphrates who at the time was in the country and was staying in Rome, who indeed, as we learn later on, is related to have launched against Apollonius the accusation of being no other than a wizard. It would certainly too, had it actually occurred, have been included by the accuser among the other charges levelled against him. Well, just these and no more are the more particular and special achievements of Apollonius, although there are a myriad other cases in the book in which his sooth-sayings and prophecies are set down to his gift of foreknowledge; and we learn that at Athens, when he desired to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, the priest there would not admit him, and declared that he would never initiate a wizard nor throw open the Eleusinian mysteries to a man who was addicted to impure rites. We also hear about a lewd fellow who went begging about Rome, rehearsing the songs of Nero on his lyre for pay; and we are told that

CHAP.
XXVI

The girl
raised from
the dead
in Rome

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. φῶδας, μισθὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς ἑταίροις τῆς σοφῆς
XXVI ταύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος διὰ τὸ
Νέρωνος φόβον προστάττει.

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII 'Εν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου περιγραφέντος, ἐν
τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς εἰπών τινα
περὶ προγνώσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθαυμάσας ὁ
συγγραφεύς, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν “ὅτι μὲν
δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιμονίᾳ κινήσει προέλεγε καὶ ὅτι
τοῖς γόητα ἡγουμένοις τὸν ἄνδρα οὐχ ὑγιαίνει ὁ
λόγος, δηλοῦ μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, σκεψώμεθα δὲ
κἀκεῖνα· οἱ γόητες, ἡγοῦμαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ
κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους
εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἱ δὲ ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ
δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπᾶσαι τι ἡ ἀλεῖψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασι τὰ
είμαρμένα, ὁ δὲ εἴπετο μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, καὶ
προέλεγεν, ώς ἀνάγκη ἔσεσθαι αὐτά, προέλεγε δὲ
οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἔφαινον· ἵδων δὲ
παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνο-
χόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόμata ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὕθ
ὅπως σοφίζοιντο αὐτὰ ἥρετο, οὕτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν,
ἀλλ’ ἐπήγνει μέν, ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἥξίουν.” ταῦτα δὲ
λέγων δῆλός ἐστι τὸν περιβοήτους Ἰνδῶν φιλο-

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this most philosophic of teachers out of fear of Nero CHAP.
ordered his companions to bestow alms on him in ^{XXVI} recognition of his clever accomplishments.

XXVII

SUCH are the contents of the fourth book, and in CHAP.
the fifth book of his history, after a few remarks XXVII
about his gift of prescience, our author is so lost in admiration as to add the following remark, which I repeat textually. "That then he was enabled to make such forecasts by some divine impulse, and that it is no sound inference to suppose, as some people do, that Apollonius was a wizard, is clear from what I have said. But let us consider the following facts : wizards, whom for my part I reckon to be the most unfortunate of mankind, claim to alter the course of destiny, either by tormenting the ghosts whom they encounter, or by means of barbaric sacrifices, or by means of certain incantations or anointings. But Apollonius himself submitted to the decrees of the Fates, and foretold that they must needs come to pass ; and his foreknowledge was not due to wizardry, but derived from what the gods revealed to him. And when among the Indians he beheld their tripods, and their dumb waiters and other automata which I described as entering the room of their own accord, he neither asked how they were contrived, nor wished to learn. He only praised them, but did not aspire to imitate them." Such a passage as the above clearly exhibits in the light of wizards the famous philosophers of India.

The charge
of wizardry
true

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. Σόφους γόητας ἀποφαίνων. περὶ γάρ τοι γοήτων
ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον μνημονεύει καὶ τούτων, σοφί-
ζεσθαι δὴ τὰ παράδοξα λέγων αὐτοὺς καὶ τόν,
περὶ οὐ ὁ λόγος, τῆς τοιασδή αὐτῶν σοφιστείας
ώς ἂν μὴ ἀστείας ἀλλότριον ὑποτιθέμενος. οὐκοῦν
εἰ φαίνοιτο τούτους θεοὺς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ διδασκά-
λους ἐπιγραφόμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὅρα
ταῖς κατὰ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγειν
διαβολαῖς. εἰσῆκται δὴ οὖν παρ' οἷς φησι γυμνοῖς
Αἴγυπτίων, ρήμασιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα φάσκων· “οὐκ
ἀπεικός τε παθεῖν” μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἡττηθεὶς
εὐ κεκοσμημένης, ἦν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἰνδὸς στεί-
λαντες ἐφ’ ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκ-
κυκλοῦσιν. ὡς δὴ ἐν δίκῃ μὲν ἥγασθην, ἐν δίκῃ
δὲ ἥγοῦμαι σοφούς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὅρα μανθά-
νειν.” καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν “οὗτοι μὲν γάρ
θεοί τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηνται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν.”
καὶ Δομετιανῷ δὲ εἰσῆκται λέγων “καὶ τίς πρὸς
Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἢ πρὸς Φραώτην τοὺς Ἰνδούς;
οὗτοι ἔγὼ μόνους ἀνθρώπων θεούς τε ἥγοῦμαι καὶ
ἀξίους τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης;” καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις
δὲ ὁμοίως θεούς τε καὶ διδασκάλους τάνδρὸς ἐπι-
γράψας ὁ λόγος τοὺς δεδηλωμένους, δακτυλίους τε
παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι ὁμολογήσας αὐτόν, ἐπιλέ-
λησται νῦν, καὶ συνδιαβάλλων τοῖς διδασκάλοις
τὸν μαθητὴν οὐκ ἐπαίει.

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

For notice that when he is arguing about wizards, he CHAP.
mentions them too and says that their marvels were XXVII
cleverly contrived indeed, but that his hero held
himself carefully aloof from such their contrivances,
on the ground that they were not moral. If there-
fore we find Apollonius calling these Indians gods,
and enrolling himself as their disciple, we have no
alternative but to bring him also under the imputa-
tion under which his teachers lay. And accordingly
he is introduced as saying among the so-called Naked
sages of the Egyptians, the following,—I quote his
very words: “It is then not unreasonable on my
part, I think, to have yielded myself to a philosophy
so highly elaborated, to a philosophy which, if I
may use a metaphor from the stage, the Indians
mount, as it deserved to be mounted, upon a lofty
and divine mechanism before they wheel it out upon
the stage. And that I was right to admire them, and
that I am right in considering them wise and blessed,
it is now time to learn.” And after a little he says :
“For they are not only gods, but are adorned with
all the gifts of the Pythian prophetess.” And he is
introduced to Domitian with these words on his lips :
“What war have you with Iarchas or with Phraotes,
both of them Indians, whom I consider to be the
only men that are really gods and that deserve this
appellation ?” And there are other passages also in
which this history of Philostratus recognises the
persons above mentioned as gods and teachers of
the sage, and admits him to have accepted rings
from them, but now he forgets all about it, and
does not see that in maligning the teachers, he
maligns the disciple.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXVIII

CAP. Τποθὰς δ' ἐν τῇ γραφῇ αὐλητὴν ὑποτίθεται,
XXVIII καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὁσπερ τινὸς οὗσης μεγίστης
καὶ σοφωτάτης ἐπιστήμης, τρόπους αὐλῆσεως
μάλα σπουδαίως μακροῖς τοῖς διεξηγήμασιν
εἴροντα διεξέρχεται· καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Οὐεσπα-
σιανὸν οὐα δὴ θεῷ προσεύξασθαι αὐτῷ ίστορεῖ,
καὶ τὸν μὲν ὡς εὐχῆ εἰρηκέναι τὸν Οὐεσπα-
σιανόν· “ποίησόν με βασιλέα,” τὸν δὲ ἀπο-
κρίνασθαι· “ἐποίησα.” καὶ τίς οὐκ ἀν μοσήσειεν
εὐλόγως τῆς ἀλαζονείας τὴν φωνήν, μανίας τὸ
μηθὲν ἀποδέουσαν, ὅτε γε ἥδη αὐτὸς θεὸς καὶ
βασιλέων ποιητὴς εἶναι φρυάττεται ὁ τῆς Αἰγυπ-
τίας κυβερνήτης νεώς; τοῦτο γάρ αὐτὸς ἔαυτὸν
ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος γεγονέναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς
τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὄμιλίαις μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δεδήλωκε.

XXIX

CAP. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ οὖς ἀν αὐτὸς δοκιμάζοι
XXIX τῶν φιλοσόφων συμβούλους τῶν πρακτέων,
γνωρίσαι αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντι, κατὰ λέξιν φησίν·
“ἀγαθὸι δὲ τούτων σύμβουλοι καὶ οἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες,
τὸν Δίωνα δείξας καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μήπω αὐτῷ
ἔσ διαφορὰν ἥκουντα.” καὶ αὐθις, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,”
εἶπεν, “Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων πάλαι σοι γνώριμοι

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XXVIII

AND a little lower down in the book he brings a flute-player upon the stage, and he relates at length how Apollonius delivered himself with great gravity of long essays upon the different modes of playing the flute, as if it were the most important and clever of the sciences. And he relates how the Emperor Vespasian offered him prayers just as if he were a god, for we learn that Vespasian said in a tone of prayer: "Do thou make me Emperor," whereupon Apollonius answered: "I have made you so." What else can anyone do but loathe this utterance for its boastfulness, so nearly does it approach downright madness, for one who was the pilot of a ship in Egypt to boast of being himself a god already and a maker of kings? For Apollonius himself has informed us a little before in the course of his conversation with the Indian that his soul had previously been that of a pilot.

XXIX

AND to the same Emperor, when the latter asks him to notify to him those whom he most approved of among philosophers as advisers and counsellors of his policy, Apollonius replies in these words: "These gentlemen here are also good advisers in such matters," and he pointed to Dion and to Euphrates, because he had not yet quarrelled with the latter." And again, he said, "My sovereign, Euphrates and Dion have long been known to you

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. οὗτες πρὸς θύραις εἰσὶν οὐκ ἀφρόντιδες τὰ
σῶν. κάλει δὴ κάκείνους ἐς κοινὸν λόγον, σοφίαν
γὰρ τὸ ἄνδρε.” πρὸς ἄνθρωπον Οὐεσπασιανός, “ἄκλετοι
τους,” ἔφη, “θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι.
εὐγενεῖς τῆς προγυνώσεως τοῦ ἥρωος· Εὐφράτης γένει
ἀγαθός τε καὶ σοφός, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐστὶ διαφοράν περ
αὐτῷ ἐληλύθει· εἰ δὲ ἐλθοι—ὅσον οὕπω δὲ τοῦτο
ἔσται—ὅρα οὐλα περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς Δομετίαν
γράφει· “καὶ μὴν ὅπόσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς δηλοῖ ταῦτα
Εὐφράτου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν, τί λέγω χρήματα·
πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ πλούτου, κάπι τῶν τραπέζων
ἡδη διαλέγεται κάπηλος ὑποκύπηλος τελώνη
ὁβολοστάτης, πάντα γιγνόμενος τὰ πωλούμενά τι
καὶ πωλούντα, ἐντεῦπωται δὲ ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν
θύραις, καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλείω καιροῖς
ἥτις οἱ θυρωροί, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν
πολλάκις, ὥσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχνοι· δραχμὴν
δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρέᾳ ποτε προέμενος, ἐπιτειχίζει
νῦν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον, ἐτέροις τὸν Αἰγύπτιον
τουτονὶ βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ δέξινων ἐπ’ ἐμὲ
γλωτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμῆσθαι. Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ
καταλείπω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἦν μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινῆσαι
εὑρήσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακίων ἢ ἔρμηνεύω.” ὁ
δὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν σοφὸν
καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην μαρτυρόμενος, πρὸς δὲ
τὸν οὐίον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ διεξιὼν, δῆλος ἀν εἴη

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

and they are at your door, and are much concerned CHAP. XXIX for your welfare. Summon them also therefore to your conference, for they are both of them wise." Whereupon Vespasian answered: "I throw my doors open wide to wise men." What can we think of the prescience of our hero? On this occasion Euphrates is both good and wise, because he has not yet quarrelled with him; but when he has,—and before long he is going to,—then see how the same person writes to the Emperor Domitian: "And yet if you want to know how much a philosopher may attain by flattery of the mighty you have only to look at the case of Euphrates. For in his case why do I speak of wealth from that source? Why, he has perfect fountains of wealth, and already at the banks he discusses prices as a merchant might or a huckster, or a tax-gatherer or a low money-changer; for all these rôles are his if there is anything to buy or sell. And he clings like a limpet to the doors of the mighty, and you see him standing at them more regularly than any doorkeeper would do; indeed he is often caught by the doorkeepers, just as greedy dogs might be. But he never yet bestowed a farthing on a philosopher, but he walls up all his wealth within his house; only supporting this Egyptian out of other people's money, and sharpening his tongue against me, when it ought to be cut out. However I will leave Euphrates to yourself: for unless you approve of flatterers, you will find the fellow worse than I represent him." Surely one who first bears witness to Vespasian the father that Euphrates is a wise and good man, and then inveighs against him in this style to his son, is openly convicted of praising

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ ψέγων. ἀρ' οὖν ὁ τὴν
XXIX τῶν μελλόντων προειληφὼς γνῶσιν ἡγνόει, δις ἡν
 τε καὶ ἔσται τὸν τρόπον ὁ Εὐφράτης; καὶ γὰρ οὐ
 νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Οὔεσπασιανοῦ
 διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡς δὴ τοῦ θήσος μοχθηρότατον
 βούλεται. πῶς δὴ οὖν τὸν τοιόνδε συνίστη
 βασιλεῖν, ὡς καὶ ἀκλείστους αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς παρ'
 αὐτοῦ συστάσεις τῶν βασιλέων ἀναπεπετάσθαι
 τὰς πύλας; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τυφλῷ, φασί, δῆλον
 ὡς ἄρα πρόγνωσιν μὲν συκοφαντεῖται πρὸς τοῦ
 συγγραφέως ὁ ἄνθρωπος, εἴη δ' ἀν ἄλλως γενναῖος,
 πάλαι μὲν πρὸ πείρας ἀφθόνως ἑταίροις, ἀτὰρ καὶ
 τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τῆς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια παρόδου κοινωνῶν,
 ὕστερον δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἔνεκα τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ
 λέγων. οὕπω μοι διαβάλλειν ὁ λόγος βούλεται
 τὸν ἄνδρα, ὡς ἀν τὸν Εὐφράτην συκοφαντοῦντα,
 φιλοσόφων γενόμενον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδεξότα-
 τον, ὡς καὶ ἐς δεῦρ', οἵς μέτεστι φιλοσοφίας,
 ἃδεσθαι, δ καὶ μέγιστον λάβοι ἄν τις, εἰ βούλοιτο,
 παράδειγμα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαβολῆς.
 εἰ γὰρ οὖν ὁ Εὐφράτης παρ' αὐτοῖς πάσῃ φιλο-
 σοφίᾳ διαπρέψαι ὁμολογηθείη, ὥρα μισοπονηρίαν
 μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγορεῦν, ἐπεξιόντος τοῦς ἀτόπως
 ὑπὸ τοῦδε δρωμένοις, τουτοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνους
 κατηγορούμενον φαύλην περιβάλλεσθαι δόξαν,
 δτι δὴ μὴ τὸν ἀρέσκοντα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ μετήει
 βίον.

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

and blaming the same person. Was it then the case CHAP.
that this man, who was endowed with knowledge of ^{XXIX}
the future, did not know what the character of
Euphrates was, nor what it was going to be? For
it is not now the first time, but already in the case
of Vespasian himself he is inclined to accuse him
of being the worst of characters. How then is it
that he recommended such a person to the sovereign
so warmly, that in consequence of his recommenda-
tion the latter threw open wide the doors of his palace
to him? Why, is it not clear to a blind man, as
they say, that in the matter of foreknowledge
the fellow is traduced by his own historian; though
on other ground he might be regarded as an honest
man, if we could suppose that originally, and before
he learned by experience, he wished to gain access
to the palace as freely for his friends, Euphrates
included, as for himself, but was afterwards moved
by his quarrel to use such language of him. I have
no wish in thus arguing to accuse Apollonius of
having falsely blamed Euphrates, who was the most
distinguished philosopher of all the men of his age,
so much so that his praises are still on the lips of
students of philosophy. Not but what anyone who
was minded to do so could take this as a palmary
example of slander and back-biting and use it
against Apollonius. For if Euphrates be really by
their admission a leader in all philosophy, it is open
to us to accuse his rival of censoriousness, when he
attacks him for his monstrous conduct; and to sup-
pose that the latter contracted his evil reputation
because he was thus attacked by him for pursuing,—
that was the accusation,—a life so little satisfactory
to a philosopher.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXX

CAP.
XXXI Πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ παραδοξολογῶν ὁ μυθολόγος
ἄγει μὲν αὐτὸν, ἀμα τοῖς ἑταίροις καμήλῳ ὄχοι-
μενον, ἐφ' οὓς φησιν Ἀἰγυπτίων γυμνοὺς φιλο-
σόφους, ἐνθα δὴ προστάξαντος τοῦ γυμνοῦ
πτελέᾳ, φησί, τὸ δένδρον προσαγορεύει τὸν
Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θήλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ
τούτοις γε ἡμᾶς ὁ Φιλαλήθης πιστεύειν ἀξιοῖ.
εἴτα Πυγμαίους ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τούτων ἴστορει
χώραν καὶ Ἀνθρωποφάγους καὶ Σκιάποδας,
σάτυρόν τε πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μεθυσκόμενον.
ἔξι ἐκείνων δ' αὐθις ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
όμιλίαι τε πάλιν αὐτῷ καὶ προγνώσεις ἀνακοι-
νοῦνται πρὸς Τίτον, καὶ δηχθέντα ἔφηβον ὑπὸ^τ
λυττώντος κυνός, δὺν δὴ καὶ ἐμαυτεύσατο, ὃς τις
εἴη τὴν ψυχήν, ὅτι ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ποτὲ βασιλεὺς
Ἀμασις, τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάττει, μέχρι καὶ
τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτείνας τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.

XXXI

CAP.
XXXII Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸ τῆς κατηγορίας αὐτῷ
πεπραγμένα, ἐπιστῆσαι δ' ἀξιοῖ δι' ὅλης τῆς
πραγματείας, ὡς ὅτι κὰν ἀληθεύειν δοθῆ τῷ
συγγραφεῖ τὰ παράδοξα, συνεργείᾳ δαίμονος
ἔκαστον αὐτῷ διαπεπράχθαι τούτων σαφῶς

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XXX

IN the sixth book our story-teller resumes his tale of miracles ; for he brings his hero, together with his companions, on camel-back to see those whom he calls the Naked philosophers of Egypt. Here then at the bidding of one of these sages an elm-tree, we are told, spoke to Apollonius in an articulate but feminine voice, and this is the sort of thing which the Lover of Truth expects us to believe. Then he has a story of pygmies who live on the other side of their country and of man-eaters and of shadow-footed men and of a satyr whom Apollonius made drunk. From these sages Apollonius is brought back again to Hellas, where he renews his interviews and his prophesies to Titus. Then we hear about a youth who was bitten by a mad dog. He is rescued from his distress by Apollonius, who forthwith proceeds to divine whose soul it was that the dog had inside him ; and we learn that it was that of Amasis, a former king of Egypt, for the sage's humanity extended to dogs.¹

CHAP.

XXX

The visit to
the Naked
Sages of
Ethiopia

XXXI

THESE then are the achievements which preceded his accusation, and it behoves us to notice throughout the treatise that, even if we admit the author to tell the truth in his stories of miracles, he yet clearly shows that they were severally performed by Apollonius with the co-operation of a demon. For his

CHAP.

XXXI

Apollonius'
miracles
due to the
co-opera-
tions of
evil demons

¹ Eusebius confuses the mad dog of VI 43 with the tame lion of V 42.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. δείκνυται. τό τε γάρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ προαισθέσθαι
XXXI ἵσως μὲν οὐδὲ περίεργον ἀν δόξειεν, εἰ ἀπὸ¹
λεπτοτάτης καὶ καθαρᾶς διαίτης κατείληπτο,
ώς αὐτὸς ἔφησεν, ἵσως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ὄμλιας
δαίμονος αὐτῷ προμεμήνυτο. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰ
λοιπά, ὅσα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν διειληφώς τε καὶ
προειρηκὼς εἰσῆκται, εἰ καὶ μυρίοις ἐλέγχοις ἐξ
αὐτῆς πάρεστι τῆς τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφῆς
εὐθύνειν, ὅμως ἵνα συγχωρηθείη καὶ τοῦτ' είναι
ἀληθές, κατὰ περίεργον μηχανὴν εἴποιμ' ἀν πρὸς
δαίμονος αὐτῷ παρέδρου τινὰ τῶν μελλόντων,
οὐδὲ γάρ πάντα, κατειλῆφθαι. τοῦτο δὲ παρί-
στησι σαφὲς τὸ μὴ δι' ὅλου καὶ περὶ πάντων
τὴν πρόγνωσιν αὐτὸν ἀποσάζειν, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ἐν
πλείστοις καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι δι' ἄγνοιαν, ὅπερ
οὐκ ἄν, εἰ θείας ἀρετῆς μετῆν αὐτῷ, πεπόνθει.
καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ παῦσαι τὸν λοιμόν, ὅποιον εἱληχε
τὸ δράμα, ὅτι φάσμα καὶ οὐδέν τι πλέον ἦν,
προδεδήλωται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ Ἀχιλλέως
παρὰ τῷ αὐτοῦ μνήματι τί ἀν διατρίβοι, τὰς ἐν
μακάρων νήσοις, ὡς ἀν φήσειέ τις, ἀπολείπουσα
διαγωγάς, εἴ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο δαίμονος ἦν ἐπιφανείας
παρουσία; καὶ τοῦ ἀσελγοῦς δὲ μειρακίου σαφῶς
ἔνοικον δαίμονα, καὶ πάλιν, ἦν ἔφησεν ἔμπουσάν
τε καὶ λάμαν ἐμπεπαρφωνηκέναι τῷ Μενίππῳ,
μείζονι τάχ' ἵσως ἐξελήλακε δαίμονι, ὁμοίως τε

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

presentiment of the plague, though it might not seem to be magical and uncanny, if he owed it, as he himself said, to the lightness and purity of his diet, yet might quite as well have been a premonition imparted to him in intercourse with a demon. For though the other stories of his having grasped and foretold the future by virtue of his prescience can be refuted by a thousand arguments which Philostratus' own text supplies, nevertheless, if we allow this particular story to be true, I should certainly say that his apprehension of futurity was anyhow in some cases, though it was not so in all, due to some uncanny contrivance of a demon that was his familiar. This is clearly proved by the fact that he did not retain his gift of foreknowledge uniformly and in all cases; but was at fault in most cases, and had through ignorance to make enquiries, as he would not have needed to do, if he had been endowed with divine power and virtue. And the very cessation of the plague, according to the particular turn which was given to the drama, has already been shown to have been a delusion and nothing more. Moreover, the soul of Achilles should not have been lingering about his own monument, quitting the Islands of the Blest and the places of repose, as people would probably say. In this case too it was surely a demon that appeared to Apollonius and in whose presence he found himself? Then again the licentious youth was clearly the victim of an indwelling demon; and both it and the Empusa and the Lamia which is said to have played off its mad pranks on Menippus, were probably driven out by him with the help of a more important demon; the same is

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. **XXXI** αὐτὸν τὰς φρένας παρατραπέντα νεανίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λυττῶντος κυνός, αὐτόν τε τὸν δαιμονῶντα κύνα τῇ αὐτῇ μετήλλαξε μεθόδῳ. ὅρα δὴ οὖν, ἔφην, τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῷ παραδοξοποιίαν, ώς διὰ δαιμονικῆς ἀπετελεῖτο ὑπουργίας. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀναβιωσάσης κόρης, εἴγ' ἔμπνους ὑπῆρχε, σπινθῆρα ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ ἵκμάδα ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου φέρουσα, περιαιρετέον τῆς θαυματοποιίας· οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ώς καὶ πρόσθεν ἔφην, σιωπῇ τὸ τηλικούτο παρεδόθη ἐπ' αὐτῆς 'Ρώμης βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος γεγενημένον.

XXXII

CAP. **XXXII** Μυρία μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα πάρεστιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναλέξασθαι συγγραμμάτων, τό τε ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐέλεγκτον καὶ ἀσύστατον μυθῶδές τε καὶ τερατῶδες ἀπευθύνειν. ὅμως, ἐπεί γε οὐδὲ πολλῆς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖται σπουδαιολογίας, οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν θείοις καὶ παροδόξοις καὶ θαυμασίοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν φιλοσόφοις παρά τισι τῶν νῦν μνήμης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῦ, τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀρκεσθέντες μετίωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔβδομον περὶ αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα.

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true also of the youth who had been driven out of CHAP.
his mind by the mad dog ; and the frenzied dog ^{XXXI} itself was restored to its senses by the same method.
You must then, as I said, regard the whole series of
miracles wrought by him, as having been accom-
plished through a ministry of demons ; for the re-
suscitation of the girl must be divested of any
miraculous character, if she was really alive all the
time and still bore in herself a vital spark, as the
author says, and if a vapour rose over her face. Ch. 29
For it is impossible, as I said before, that such a
miracle should have been passed over in silence in
Rome itself, if it happened when the sovereign was
close by.

XXXII

THERE are a thousand other examples then which CHAP.
we may select from the same books, where the ^{XXXII} narrative refutes itself by its very incongruities, so
enabling us to detect its mythical and miracle-
mongering character. At the same time we need
not devote too much attention and study to the
gentleman's career, seeing that those of our con-
temporaries among whom his memory survives at all,
are so far from classing him among divine and
extraordinary and wonderful beings, that they do not
even rank him among philosophers. This being so,
let us be content with the remarks we have made,
and proceed to consider the seventh book of his
history.

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XXXIII

CAP.
XXXIII Κατηγορεῖται δῆτα γοητείαν ὁ ἀνήρ. εἴτα Δημητρίφιλοσόφῳ ἀποτρέποντι αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην παρόδου, μὴ πειθόμενος, ἐπαχθῆ τινα καὶ φορτικὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὡδέ πως λέγει· “ἐγὼ δὲ γιγνώσκω μὲν πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων, ἅτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὧν οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίοις, τὰ δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς.” καὶ δὴ ὁ ἐν τούτοις πάντ’ εἰδέναι μεγαλαυχούμενος, προϊὼν ἄγνοιάν τινων πρὸς τοῦ λόγου κατηγορεῖται. εἴτα Δάμις αὐτῷ μεταπλάττεται, διὰ θανάτου φόβον τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπικρυπτόμενος. ἄκουε δ’ οὖν τοῦ συγγραφέως, ἢ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀπολογούμενος· “αἵτία μὲν ἦδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμνην τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ κακίᾳ γε αὐτὸν μεθεῖναί φησιν, οὐδὲ μεταγνούς, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἦν ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ.”

XXXIV

CAP.
XXXIV Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος τέσσαρας αἵτίας, τὰς δὴ εὐχερεῖς αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν νομισθείσας, ἐκτίθησιν, ἀπὸ πλείστων καὶ ἄλλων αὐτὰς ὅμολογῶν ἀνειλέχθαι, ὧν ἡ μέν τις ἦν, τί δῆτα

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XXXIII

HERE then we find him categorically accused of being a wizard. Next we find Demetrius the philosopher trying to dissuade him from going on to Rome, and Apollonius rejects his advice in words which are full of vulgar effrontery and fulsome praise of himself. They are as follows: "But I know most human affairs, seeing that I know everything; at the same time I reserve my knowledge partly for good men, partly for the wise, partly for myself, partly for the gods." And yet the man who in these words brags about his omniscience, before he goes much further is accused by the text itself of an ignorance in certain matters. Next Apollonius disguises Damis, for the latter conceals the fact of his being a philosopher because he is afraid of death. Listen then to the words in which our author apologises for him: "This was the reason then of Damis' putting off his Pythagorean dress. For he says that it was not cowardice that led him to make the change, nor regret at having worn it; but he did it because the device recommended itself as suggested by the expedience of the moment."

XXXIV

After this Philostratus sets forth four counts of the indictment which he imagines it will be easy for his hero to defend himself from, and he admits that he has collected these out of a great many others. Of these the first was: What induced him

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CAP.
XXXIV

μαθὼν οὐ τὴν αὐτῆν ἄπασιν ἔχοι στολήν, ἡ δέ,
τοῦ χάριν οἱ ἀνθρωποι θεὸν αὐτὸν νενομίκασι.
τρίτην, πόθεν προείποι Ἐφεσίοις τὸν λοιμόν.
ἐπὶ ταύταις, τίνι βαδίσας εἰς ἀγρὸν ἀνατέμοι
τὸν παῖδα τὸν Ἀρκάδα. πρὸς ταύτας δέ φησι
καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν αὐτὸν γεγραφέναι. πρότερον δὲ
ἰστορεῖ δεσμοῦς αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι καὶ τι θαυ-
μαστὸν ἐνταῦθα κατεργάσασθαι. τῷ γάρ τοι
Δάμιδι μάλα λυπηρῶς, ὡς ἀν ἐπὶ συμφορᾶ τοῦ
διδασκάλου, διακειμένῳ αὐτόματον ἐπιδεῖξαι
λελυμένον τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ σκέλος, εἴτα πάλι
ἀναλαβόντ' αὐτὸν τῆς λύπης ἐνθεῖναι εἰς τὸ
πρότερον σχῆμα τὸν πόδα. μετὰ τοῦτο κρινό-
μενον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλέως Δομετιανοῦ γράφει
δὴ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολυθῆναι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν
τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λύσιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀκαίρως,
μοι δοκεῖν, ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα
ἀναφωνῆσαι, “δόσ, εἰ βούλει, κάμοὶ τόπον, εἰ
δὲ μή, πέμπε τὸν ληφόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν
γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον. μᾶλλον δὲ οὖδ' ἀν τὸ
σῶμα τούμὸν λάβοις.”

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός είμι.”
καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ περιβοήτῳ ρήματι ἀφανισθῆ-
ναι τοῦ δικαστηρίου φησὶν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις
τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ καταστρέφει δρᾶμα.

XXXV

CAP.
XXXV ‘Ο μὲν οὖν συγγραφεὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεσμω-
τήριον θαύματος, κατὰ φαντασίαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ^{τοῦ παρέδρου δαίμονος τῷ Δάμιδι ἐωραμένου, ἐπι-}

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to wear a different robe from everybody else? and the CHAP.
second: Why was it that men esteemed him to be a ^{XXXIV} god? the third, How had he managed to predict the plague to the Ephesians? and last of all: In whose behoof had he gone to a certain field and cut up the Arcadian boy? To meet these then he alleges Apollonius to have written an apology. But first of all he relates how he was cast into prison, and the miracle which he wrought there. For we hear that Damis was extremely downcast at the misfortunes which he imagined had befallen his teacher; whereupon Apollonius showed him his leg released without effort from the chain. Then having thus alleviated his follower's grief, he put his foot back again into its former condition and habit. After that he was brought to trial before the Emperor Domitian, and we read that he was acquitted on the charges, and that after being so acquitted he, with curious inopportuneness, as it seems to me, cried out in the court exactly as follows: "Accord me too, if you will, an opportunity to speak; but if not, then send someone to take my body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay you cannot even take my body, 'for thou shalt not slay me, since I tell thee I am not mortal.'" And then after this famous utterance, we are told that he vanished from the court, and this is the conclusion of the whole drama.

XXXV

Now in regard to the miracle in the prison, which CHAP.
it seems was an illusion, imposed on the eyes of ^{XXXV} Damis by the familiar demon, our author adds the

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CAP.
XXXV φέρει λέγων, “τότε πρώτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶ
ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἴ
καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πᾶ
γὰρ ἀν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ
εἰπόντα τι, καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἐναρ
μόσαντα αὐτῷ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένοι
πράττειν.” ἐγὼ δὲ οὕποτ’ ἀν καταγνοίην βραδύ^{τητα}
τῆτα τοῦ φοιτητοῦ, εἰ τὸν πάντα βίου συνώ^{ντο}
αὐτῷ, καὶ διά τινων περιέργων ὄρῶν αὐτὸν ἀποτε^{λοῦντα}
τὰ παράδοξα, οὐδέν τι διαφέρειν αὐτὸν
ήγειτο τῆς θυητῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετὰ
τοσαύτην θαυματουργίαν τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀγνοεῖ^{ντος}
εἰκότως δ’ ἀγωνιᾶ καὶ δέδιε ως ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου,
μή τι πάθοι παρὰ προαιρεσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ πρώτον
ἄρτι μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διατριβήν, ὅτι δὴ θεῖος
εἴη καὶ κρείττονος ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, συνίησι,
τὴν τούτου συνιδεῖν ἄξιον αἰτίαν, ήν αὐτὸς ὁ συγ^{γραφεὺς} δηλοῖ λέγων, “μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, μηδὲ
ἐπευξάμενον, μηδέ τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰρηκότα”
τὸ παράδοξον ἵδεῖν αὐτὸν πεποιηκότα. οὐκοῦν τὰ
πρότερον διὰ περιέργου μηχανῆς ἐτελεῖτο τῷ
ἀνδρὶ, διὸ μηδὲ καταπλήττεσθαι αὐτά, μηδὲ
θαυμάζειν τὸν Δάμιν· εἰκότως δὲ νῦν τοῦτο
πρώτον πέποιθεν, ως ξένου τινὸς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παρὰ

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following remark ; “ Damis says that it was then for CHAP.
the first time that he truly understood the nature of XXXV
Apollonius, to wit that it was divine and super-
human ; for without offering any sacrifice,—and how
indeed in prison could he have offered one?—and
without a single prayer, without even a word, he
quietly laughed at the fetters, and then inserting his
leg in them afresh, he comported himself like any
other prisoner.” I should be the last to accuse his
pupil of being a dull-witted man, because, after
being with him all his life, and witnessing him work
miracles by means of certain uncanny agencies, he
failed to regard him as in any way superior to the
rest of mortal men ; but now after such a display of
thaumaturgic energy as the above, he is still igno-
rant of his true character ; and taking him to be a
mere man he is full of anxiety (as in that case he
might well be), and full of apprehension in his
behalf, lest any affliction should come upon him
against his own wish and will. But if indeed it was
now for the first time, after having passed so long a
time with him, that he realised that he was indeed
divine, and superior to the rest of the human race,
then it behoves us to scrutinize the reason which our
author alleges for his doing so, in these words : “ For
without any sacrifice, and without a single prayer,
and without uttering a single mysterious word ” he
saw that he had wrought this miracle. It follows
that the fellow’s earlier feats were accomplished by
the help of some uncanny trick, and that is why, as
he says, Damis was not astounded at these things,
nor filled with wonder by them. Naturally, then he
now for the first time experienced these feelings,
because he felt that his master had accomplished

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CAP. τὰ συνήθη διαπεπραγμένου. πρὸς τὸ δειχθὲν δὲ
XXXV τοῦ δεσμοῦ φάσμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου
ἀναχώρησιν, τὰς πρός Δομετιανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ
Ἀπολλωνίου φωνὰς παραθείμην ἃν δεσμοῖς γάρ
τοι αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι προστάξαντος βασιλέως,
πάνυ γε ἀκολούθως ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος συνελογίσατο
ώδι πως· “εἰ μὲν γόητά με ἦγῆ, πῶς δήσεις; εἰ
δὲ δήσεις, πῶς γόητα εἶναι φήσεις;” ἀντικρούσει
γοῦν αὐτῷ τις ώδί πως ἐκ τούτων ὄρμώμενος· εἰ
μὲν οὐ γόης, πῶς λέλυται σου τὸ σκέλος; εἰ δὲ
λέλυται, πῶς οὐ γόης; καὶ εἰ τῷ ὑπομεῖναι τὸν
δεσμὸν οὐ γόης, τῷ μὴ ὑπομεῖναι καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸν
ώμολόγηται γόης. καὶ αὖ πάλιν, εἰ ὑπομείνας τὸ
δικαστήριον οὐ γόης, τῷ δὲ διαδρᾶντι τοῦτο καὶ
τοὺς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν βασιλέα, λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ
δορυφόρους, σαφῶς ἀναπέφανται γόης. δὴ μοι
δοκῶ, συνησθημένος ὁ λόγος θεραπεύει τὸ
γεγονός, ὡς δὴ ἄνευ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐπωδῶν ἀρρήτῳ
τινὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον δυνάμει τοῦ παραδόξου
πεφηνότος.

XXXVI

CAP. 'Αλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσ μακρὰν αὐθις ὁ τῆς φύσεως
XXXVI παραστήσεται ἔλεγχος· αὐτίκα γάρ τινος ἐπι-
στάντος αὐτῷ καὶ φίσαντος, “ἀφίησί σε, ὡ
Ἀπολλώνιε, τουτωνὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ

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something which was quite unusual and contrary to CHAP.
his habitual performances. In reference however to XXXV
the phantom chains shown to Damis and to his
departure from the law-courts, I will quote the words
which Apollonius himself addresses to Domitian.
For when the monarch ordered him to be thrown
into chains, Apollonius, with perfect consistency,
argued as follows: "If you think me a wizard, how
will you bind me? And if you bind me, how can
you say that I am a wizard." Surely one may invert
this argument and use it against him somewhat as
follows, keeping to his own premisses: If you are not
a wizard, then how was your leg liberated from the
chains? and if it was liberated, then how are you
not a wizard? And if, because he submits to the
chains, he is not a wizard, then if he does not sub-
mit to them, he is a wizard by his own admission.
And again if, because he submitted to be brought
to trial, he was not a wizard, he was yet clearly re-
vealed as such when he ran off and eluded the court
and retinue of the Emperor, I mean of course the
bodyguard that stood round him. Now I believe that
our author is aware of this, and endeavours to glaze
over the fact, when he pretends that this miracle was
exhibited without sacrifice or any sort of incantation
by some ineffable and superhuman power.

XXXVI

MOREOVER we have not got to go far, before a CHAP.
fresh test of his character is supplied to us; for XXXVI
presently a messenger presents himself and says:
"O Apollonius, the Emperor releases you from these
chains, and permits you to reside in the jail where

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CAP. XXXVI ἐλευθέριον δεσμωτήριον συγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν,” ὁ κρείτ-
των ἡ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῶν μελλόντων προγνώστης,

κωφοῦ τε ξυνιεὶς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων,

ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν, ως εἰκός, περιχαρείας ἀποπεσὼν
τῆς προγνώσεως πυνθάνεται, λέγων, “τίς οὖν ὁ
μετασκευάσων με ἔντεῦθεν;” ὁ δέ, “ἔγω,” ἔφη,
“καὶ ἔπου.”

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII Εἶτα καὶ λόγον ἀπολογίας ὁ θειότατος μάλα γε
πεφροντισμένως συντάττει, ἀγνοῶν, δτι δῆτα εἰς
μάτην αὐτῷ σπουδασθήσεται ἡ γραφή. οἴεται
μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἀπολογουμένου
βασιλέα, καὶ ως ἀκουσομένου γε σφόδρα πιθανῶς
παρασκευάζεται τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὴ
ἀναμείνας εἰς οὐ δέον αὐτοῦ τὴν σπουδὴν κατε-
στήσατο. ἄκουε δὴ οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων, οἵα φησιν
ὁ ἔλεγχος. “ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος αὐτῷ συνεγράφῃ
τις ως πρὸς ὕδωρ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀφήσοντι, ξυνεῖλε
δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐς ἄς εἱρηκα ἐρωτήσεις,
ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος.” ὅρα δή, πῶς τοῦ μέλ-
λοντος πορρωτάτῳ τυγχάνων ὁ πάντα θειότατος,
μετὰ πλείστης ὁσης φροντίδος ως πρὸς ὕδωρ τὴν
ἀπολογίαν ποιησόμενος ἐσπούδαζεν.

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prisoners are not bound"; whereupon Apollonius, ^{CHAP.} who is superior to mankind and has foreknowledge ^{XXXVI} of what is coming, and according to the poet

"Hath understanding of the dumb and heareth him
who speaks not"

is so overjoyed, as well he might be, at the news, that he suddenly drops out of his gift of foreknowledge, and asks outright: "Who then will get me out of this place?" and the messenger replied: "I myself, so follow me."

XXXVII

NEXT this most divine of men composes in the ^{CHAP.} most careful of manners an harangue in defence of ^{XXXVII} himself, quite unaware that after all his composition would prove a mere waste of effort. For he imagines that the Emperor will listen to his defence of his case, and on that assumption he arranges his apology along extremely plausible lines; but the latter by refusing to wait, renders all his trouble useless and unnecessary. I would ask you then to listen to the following, for what he says is a refutation of himself: "But inasmuch as he had composed an oration which he meant to deliver in defence of himself by the clock, only the tyrant confined him to the questions which I have enumerated, I have determined to publish this oration also." Note then how utterly at fault this entirely divinest of beings was about the future, if he took so much trouble and care to proportion the length of his apology to the time allowed him by the water-clock.

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XXXVIII

CAP.
XXXVIII Ἀλλὰ γὰρ διεξιτητέον καὶ τὴν εἰς μάτην αὐτῷ πεποιημένην ἀπολογίαν, ᾧ, ώς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ταύτῃ, Δομετιανῷ προσφωνῶν ἀπαυθαδίζεται λέγων, ώς ἄρα Οὐεσπασιανὸς “σὲ μὲν βασιλέα ἐποίησεν, ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο.” βαβαὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας, ἦν οὕτι γε ὁ τυχών, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ εἰ φιλόσοφός τις ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπεραίρων ἐγεγόνει φύσιν, ἐτερατεύσατο ἀν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκην ἀνοίας παρὰ τοῖς ἔμφροσιν ὑποσχών. εἴτα δὲ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ἑαυτὸν ἀπολυόμενος ταῦτα περὶ γοήτων φησίν. “ἄλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδοσόφους φημί, τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστα εἶναι.” καταμάθοι δ’ οὖν τις ἔκ τε τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας καὶ τῶν ἐν μέρει δεδηλωμένων, πότερα ἐν θείοις καὶ φιλοσόφοις ἢ ἐν γόησιν αὐτὸν κατατακτέον, ἐπιστήσας οἷς τε αὐτὸς περὶ γοήτων καὶ ψευδοσόφων εἴρηκε καὶ οἷς δεδήλωκεν ἡ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἴστορία· δρύες τε γὰρ καὶ πτελέαι ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θήλει φωνῇ λαλοῦσαι, καὶ τρίποδες αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ χάλκεοι θεράποντες διακονούμενοι, πίθοι τε ὅμβρων καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ σανδαράκινον ὕδωρ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα εἰσήκται, παρ’ οὓς ἡγεῖτο θεόīς, οὓς καὶ οὐκ ὕκνει διδασκάλους ἐπινγράφεσθαι, τίνος ἀν εἰεν παραστατικὰ ἡ τῶν “τὰ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XXXVIII

BUT we must not omit to pass in review the defence which he so vainly composed, for it contains among many examples of the arrogance with which he addressed Domitian, the following utterance, to wit, when he says "as Vespasian made you Emperor, so I made him." Heavens, what braggadocio! No ordinary person anyhow, nor any real philosopher either, transcending the rest of mankind, could indulge in such high-faluting bombast without exposing himself in the eyes of sensible men to a charge of being mad. Next in trying to rid himself of the suspicion which weighed upon him, he holds the following language concerning magicians and wizards; "But I call wizards men of false wisdom, for with them the unreal is made real, and the real becomes incredible." One may learn then from the whole treatise and from the particular episodes set forth therein, whether we ought to rank him among divine and philosophic men or among wizards. We have only to observe what he himself has said about wizards and falsely wise men together with what is published in his own history. For when oak trees and elms talk in articulate and feminine tones, and tripods move of their own accord, and waiters of copper serve at table, and jars are filled with showers and with winds, and water of sandarac and all the other things of the kind are introduced among those whom he accounted gods and also did not hesitate to entitle his teachers, of whom else are all these things characteristic, except of people who can exhibit "the unreal as real and the real as

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXVIII ἄπιστα εἶναι” παραδεικνύντων; οὓς αὐτὸς γόητας
ονομάζων, φευδοσόφους ὑπάρχειν ἀποφαίνεται.
ἥτοι οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἐνάρετος καὶ
θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος τὸ σοφίας ἀναδησάμενος
βραβεῦον, αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν, ὅσοι μετ'
ἐκεῖνον, θειότερος ἀληθῶς καὶ μακρῷ εὔδαιμονέ-
στερος ἀν κριθέη, ἡ ἔμπαλιν φευδοσοφίας ἀλοὺς
κακοδαιμόνων ἀποίσεται τὰ πρωτεῖα.

XXXIX

CAP.
XXXIX Πάλιν δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ περὶ Μοιρῶν ἵσχυος
φιλοσοφῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ φησί, διδάσκοντα
οὗτως ἄτρεπτα εἶναι, ἢ κλώθουσιν, ώς εἰ καὶ
βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαιντο ἐτέρῳ ἥδη ὑπάρχουσαν,
οὐδὲ ἀν ἀποκτείνειέ τις τοῦτον, ώς μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη
ποτὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἀν ἀναβιώῃ ἀποθανὼν
ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς Μοίραις. καὶ τούτοις
ἐπιλέγει αὐταῖς συλλαβᾶις: “ὅτῳ πέπρωται γενέ-
σθαι τεκτονικῷ, οὗτος, καὶ ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χεῖρε,
τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτῳ νίκην ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ
δρόμου ἄρασθαι, οὗτος δέ, οὐδὲ εἰ πηρωθείη τὸ
σκέλος, ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτῳ ἔνευσαν
Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξικῇ κράτος, οὗτος οὐδὲ εἰ ἀποβάλλοι
τὰς ὄψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ εὐσκόπου.” τούτοις τὸν
ἄρχοντα κολακεύων ἐπιφέρει λέγων, “τὰ δὲ τῶν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

incredible"? In himself calling the latter wizards, CHAP.
XXXVIII he shows that they are people whose wisdom is false. Is it then on the strength of these things that this divine man, endowed with all virtue and the darling of the gods, is to bind on his brow the prize of wisdom, and to be accounted truly more divine than Pythagoras and his successors, and to be considered far more blessed than he; is he not rather to be found guilty of false wisdom and carry off the first prize for wretches?

XXXIX

In the same book we are told that he had reasoned CHAP.
XXXIX in Ionia about the power of the Fates, and had taught that the threads they spin are so immutable that, if they decree a kingdom to another which already belongs to some one, then, even if that other were slain by the possessor for fear lest he should ever have it taken away by him, the latter would yet be raised from the dead and live again in fulfilment of the decrees of the Fates; and he continues in these very words: "He who is destined to become a carpenter, will become one, even though his hands have been cut off; and he who has been predestined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will never fail to win, even though he break his leg; and the man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lose his eyesight." And then by way of flattering the sovereign he adds the following: "And in drawing

The dis-course
about the
Fates in
Ionia

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
 XXXIX βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τὸν Ἀκρισίου δῆπου ὄρῶν
 καὶ τὸν Λαΐους Ἀστυάγην τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ
 πολλοὺς ἑτέρους εὐ τίθεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα δόξαντας,
 ὃν οἱ μὲν παιδας, οἱ δὲ ἐγγόνους ἀποκτείνειν
 οἰηθέντες, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν,
 ἀναφύντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ξὺν τῷ πεπρω-
 μένῳ· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάπων κολακευτικήν, εἰπον ἀν
 καὶ τάδε ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ¹
 Βιτελλίου, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ²
 τὰς ὄφρυς τοῦ ἄστεος, ὁ δὲ εὐ κείσεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
 ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγους αὐτόν—καίτοι μειράκιον
 ἵκανῶς ἦσθα, καὶ οὕπω οὗτος—ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπεὶ
 Μοίραις ἐδόκει ἔτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς
 βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰ ἐκείνου νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἀρμονίᾳ κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν
 ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγων εἶναι, τετμήσθω
 μοι ἢδε ἡ νευρὰ καὶ μηδὲν ἥγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυμ-
 ἰσθαί με.” διὰ τούτων δὲ ὁμοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα κόλακα
 καὶ ψεύστην καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ φιλόσοφον ὁ
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίστησι λόγος, τυσαῦτα
 γὰρ πρότερον εἰπὼν κατὰ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ κολα-
 κεύει νῦν ὁ γεννάδας, καὶ καθυποκρίνεται ὡς οὐδέν
 τι κατ' αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ³
 Μοιρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ κεκινημένων.

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

my examples from royalty, I had reference, I admit, to CHAP.
the Acrisii and to the house of Laius, and to Astyages,^{XXXIX}
the Mede, and to many other monarchs who thought
that their power was well established, and of whom
some were supposed to have slain their own children
and others their descendants, yet were deprived by
them of their thrones, when they grew up and
issued forth against them out of obscurity in ac-
cordance with destiny. Well, if I were inclined to
flattery I should have said that I had your own
history in my mind, when you were blockaded by
Vitellius, and the temple of Jupiter was burnt on
the brow of the hill overlooking the city. And
Vitellius declared that his own fortune was assured,
so long as you did not escape him, although you
were at the time quite a stripling, and not the man
you are now. And yet because the Fates had de-
creed otherwise, he perished with all his counsels,
while you are now in possession of his throne.
However, since I abhor the forced concords of
flattery, for it seems to me that they are every-
thing that is out of time and out of tune, let me
at once cut this string out of my lyre, and re-
quest you to consider that on that occasion I had
not your fortunes in my mind." In this passage, a
treatise written ostensibly in the interest of truth
draws a picture of a man who was at once a flatterer
and a liar, and anything rather than a philosopher;
for after inveighing so bitterly on the earlier occasion
against Domitian, he now flatters him, generous
fellow that he is, and pretends that the doctrines he
mooted in Ionia about the Fates and Necessity, so
far from being directed against him rather told in
his favour.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXIX

Ανάλαβε δῆτα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὡς συγγραφεῦ, καὶ τῆς μέθης διανήψας τὰ πρότερόν σοι γραφέντα λαμπρᾶ καὶ φιλαλήθει δίελθε τῇ φωνῇ, μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, ώς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβων “ἀφίστη Δομετιανοῦ τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐρρώνυνε σωτηρίας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίους ὁμιλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς φέτο, τῶν δὲ ἔταιρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπολαμβάνων, “διάκονον,” ἔλεγε, “ποιοῦμαί σε ἀπορρήτου λαμπροῦ, βαδίσαι δέ σε χρὴ ἐσ Ρώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναι οἱ,” καὶ ώς “διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸν λόγον διήσι, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ Μοιρῶν οἷοι βιάζεσθαι,” καὶ ώς “χαλκῆς εἰκόνος ἴδρυμένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐσ αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, “ἀνόητε,” εἰπεν, “ώς πολὺ διαμάρτανεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης φέγαρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεῦσαι πέπρωται, τοῦτον καὶ εἰ ἀποκτείνεις, ἀναβιώσεται.” ὁ δὴ μετὰ τοὺς τοιουσδὶ λόγους κολακεύων τὸν τύραννον, καὶ μηδέν τι τούτων ώς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρῆσθαι αὐτῷ κατειρωνευόμενος, πῶς οὐ μοχθηρίας ἀπάσης ἀν καὶ ἀνελευθερίας κριθείη, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ψευδηγόρους τινὰς καὶ κατηγόρους τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀληθεῖς συγγραφέας θείη τις τοὺς ταῦτα μνήμῃ παραδεδωκότας; καὶ ποῦ τοῦ Φιλαλήθους “οἱ παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντες, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς τιμῶντες

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

Take then your history, my author, and regaining CHAP.
your sobriety after your fit of drunkenness,^{XXXIX}
read out loud and in a truth-loving tone the
passages you wrote on a former occasion, without
concealing anything ; read how when he was staying
in Ephesus he did his best “to alienate his friends
from Domitian, and encouraged them to espouse the
cause of the safety of all, and as it occurred to him
that intercourse with them by letter was dangerous
to them, he would take now one and now another of
the most discreet of his own companions aside and
say to them : ‘I have a most important secret
business to entrust to yourselves, so you must betake
yourself to Rome to such and such persons, and
converse with them ! ’ ” And of how “he delivered
a discourse on the subject of the Fates and Necessity,
and argued that not even tyrants can overpower the
decrees of the Fates.” And how “directing the
attention of his audience to a brazen statue of
Domitian which stood close by that of the Meles, he
said : ‘Thou fool, how much art thou mistaken in
thy views of Necessity and of the Fates. For even
if thou shouldst slay the man who is fated to be
despot after thyself, he shall come to life again.’ ”
The man then who, after holding such language as
this, proceeds to flatter the tyrant, and cynically
pretends that none of this language was directed
against him, how can we judge him other than
capable of all villainy and meanness ; unless indeed
you assume that the authors who have handed down
to us these details of him were lying fellows who
meant to accuse their hero and not true historians ?
But in that case what becomes, to use the language
of the Lover of Truth, of those who “were historians

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXIX συγγραφεῖς, Δάμις τε ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ καὶ συνδιατρίψας τῷ δηλουμένῳ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,” ἀφ’ ὧν ταῦτα παρατίθεται, οὓς σαφῶς οὕτως ἐναποιογούντας, κομπάζοντάς τε ἀληθῶς, καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις παρισταμένους ψεύστας ἐναργῶς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ γόητας, τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ φέγγος διήλεγξεν;

XL

CAP.
XL Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπαλλαγέντα τοῦ δικαστηρίου, ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ἵστορει βουλόμενον εἰς Τροφωνίου κατελθεῖν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, γόητα καὶ τούτων ἡγουμένων αὐτόν. καίτοι ἄξιον ἀπορῆσαι παραθέμενον τὰς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Φιλοστράτου λέξεις, ἐν αἷς ἀπορῶν, ὅτι δὴ γόητα αὐτὸν ὑπειλήφασιν, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα θαυμάζει, λέγων “Ἐμπεδοκλέα μὲν καὶ Πιθαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς αὐτοῖς μάγοις ώμιληκότας οὕπω ὑπῆχθαι τέχνη, Πλάτωνά τε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων τε καὶ προφητῶν πολλὰ παρειληφότα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἴδιοις ἀναμίξαντα λόγοις, οὐδαμῶς δόξαι τισὶ μαγεύειν, τουτοὶ δὲ οὕπω γιγνώσκεσθαι παρ’ ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ὄρμφτο σοφίας, μάγον δὲ αὐτὸν πάλαι τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νενομίσθαι, τῷ μάγοις

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

at once most highly educated and respectful of the CHAP.
truth, namely Damis the philosopher who even lived XXXIX
with the man in question and Philostratus the
Athenian?" For these are the authors who lay these
facts before us, and they are clearly convicted by the
light of truth, since they thus contradict themselves,
of being vapouring braggarts and nothing else, con-
victed by their inconsistencies of being downright
liars, men devoid of education and charlatans.

XL

THE story proceeds to tell us that after all this, CHAP.
Apollonius, liberated from the court, made up his XL
mind to descend into the cave of Trophonius in
Lebadea; but the people there would not allow him
to do so, because they too regarded him as a wizard.
Surely it is legitimate in us to be puzzled, when one
compares what one reads at the beginning of the
book of Philostratus, I mean the passage where he
owns that he is puzzled at people having regarded
his hero as a wizard, and expresses his surprise at
the circumstance, remarking withal, that "although
Empedocles and Pythagoras and Democritus had
consorted with the same Magi without ever stooping
to the magic art, and Plato had derived much from
the priests and prophets in Egypt, and had mingled
their ideas with his own discourses, without ever
being held by anyone to be a magician, yet men so
far had failed to recognise his hero as one inspired
by the purest wisdom, but had long since accounted
him a magician and still did so, because he had

Apollonius
refused at
Lebadea

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. Βαβυλωνίων Ἰνδῶν τε Βραχμᾶσι καὶ τοῖς
XL Αἰγυπτίων Γυμνοῖς ὡμιληκέναι." τί δῆτα οἵ
εἰρήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν; ὡς οὗτος, τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ¹
τί τοιοῦτο ἐπεχειρεῖτο, ως μόνον γόητα πάλα-
τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νενομίσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τηλικού-
τους ἄνδρας, οὓς τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῷ, ως φῆς, διδα-
σκάλων πεπειραμένοι, διέπρεψαν μὲν καὶ καθ'
οὓς ἐγνωρίζοντο χρόνους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετέπειτα
δὲ τῆς σφῶν φιλοσοφίας ἀοίδιμον καταλελοίπασι
τὴν ἀρετήν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων
ἐγχειρῶν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι φανερὸς καθειστήκει;
αὐτίκα τῶν νῦν εἰσιν, οὓς περιέργους μηχανὰς τῇ
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀνακειμένας προστηγορίᾳ κατειληφέναι
λέγουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμοιγε τούτοις φίλοιν προσ-
έχειν τὸν νοῦν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς
τάνδρὸς ἀκόλουθα τοῖς προτέροις συντάττων, οὐδὲν
ἀληθὲς ἔξεφηνεν εἰδέναι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ
τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἴστορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Λίνδῳ
παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄλλους δὲ
ἐν Κρήτῃ, καὶ τοσαύτην ἄγνοιαν τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν
τέλους κατασκεδάσας βούλεται αὐτὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν
αὐτῷ σώματι χωρῆσαι. ἐσδραμόντος γὰρ ἐς ἱερόν
φῆσι κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας καὶ τινὰ ὠδὴν
ἀδόκητον παρθένων ἐκπεσεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀσμα εἶναι
"στεῦχε, στεῦχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῦχε." λέγει δέ, ως
μήτε τάφῳ μήτε κενοταφίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρός πω περιτύ-
χοι, καίτοι τῆς γῆς, δόποση ἐστίν, φήσας ἐπελθεῖν
πλείστην, καὶ βούλεται αὐτῷ ἡ διάνοια μηδὲ
ὅλως θανάτου τὸν ἄνδρα θιγεῖν, πρότερον μὲν γὰρ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

consorted with the Magi of Babylon and the Brah- CHAP.
mans of India, and the Naked sages of Egypt." ^{XL}
What answer then can we make to him, except this?—

My good fellow, what was your hero up to in this line, for him alone to have been regarded both long ago and now as a wizard in contrast with these great men; who though, as you admit, they had made trial of the same teachers as he, yet were eminent both in the age in which they flourished, and also bequeathed to posterity in their philosophy a gift of such excellence that its praises are still sung. Is such a contrast possible, unless he was caught by men of good sense meddling with things that were unlawful? There are still among our contemporaries those who say that they have found superstitious devices dedicated in the name of this man; though I admit I have no wish to pay attention to them. However as regards his death, although Philostratus follows in his book the accounts of earlier writers, he declares that he knows nothing of the truth; for he says that people in Ephesus related that Apollonius died there, while others said that he died in Lindus after entering the temple of Athene, and others in Crete; and after shedding so much doubt on the manner of his end, he yet inclines to believe that he went to heaven body and all. For he says that after he had run into the temple, the gates were closed and a strange hymn of maidens was heard to issue from the building, and the words of their song were: "Come, come, to heaven, come." But he says that he had never come across any sepulchre or cenotaph of his hero, although he had visited the greater part of the whole earth; but what he would like us to believe is that his hero never encountered

Death of
Apollonius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XL ἀμφιβάλλων περὶ τοῦ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα.
φησὶν “εἴγε ἐτελεύτα,” ὕστερον δὲ διαρρήδην καὶ
ἐς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν χωρῆσαι φάσκει. ὅθεν ὡς δι-
τοιοῦτον ὄντα, καὶ κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς
γραφῆς καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν γραφήν, Πυθαγόρου καὶ
Ἐμπεδοκλέους θειότερόν φησι προσεληλυθέναι
φιλοσοφίᾳ.

XLI

CAP.
XLI Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιγραφομένου τοῦ
λόγου, βραχές ἄττα περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ εἰμαρμένης
φέρε διαλάβωμεν, ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο δι' ὅλης αὐτῷ
τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὁ λόγος, τὸ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιρῶν,
ἀνάγκην δὲ εἰσάγων καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Μοίρας,
διαθροῦντες, ταύτη γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐντελῶς καὶ η ἐν
δόγμασι ψευδοδοξίᾳ τάνδρὸς διευθυνθήσεται.
εἰ δὴ οὖν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας λόγον
ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος, τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἀθάνατον,
τὸ δ' ἄλλο κινοῦν καὶ ὑφ' ἐτέρου κινούμενον,
παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει ζωῆς, καὶ
αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος, τίς αἱρεῖ λόγος,
ἄκουσταν, οὐχὶ δὲ κατὰ προαιρεσιν, ἀψύχου δίκην
σώματος ἔξωθέν ποθεν κινουμένην, καὶ ὡσπερεὶ^ν
νευροσπαστούμενην ὡδε κάκεῖσε, τὴν ἀεικίνητον

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death at all, for on a former occasion when he is CHAP.
canvassing the manner in which he died, he adds ^{XL} the proviso : " If he did die." But in a later passage he declares in so many words that he went to heaven. This is why he avows, no less in the exordium of his book than throughout it, that it was by reason of his being such as he was that he wooed philosophy in a diviner manner than Pythagoras and Empedocles.

XLI

ALTHOUGH then the limits of our discourse are reached in the above, I would yet, if you will allow me, raise a few points in connexion with the Fates and with destiny, in order to ascertain what aim his work has in view, when throughout its argument it sets itself to demolish our responsibility, and to substitute for it necessity, and destiny and the Fates. For in this way we shall finally and completely refute the tenets professed by the author and prove their falsity. If then, according to the views of true philosophy, every soul is immortal, for that which is perpetually moving is immortal, whereas that which moves another, and is itself moved by others, in admitting a cessation of its own movement, admits a cessation of life ; and if responsibility depends on personal choice, and God is not responsible, then what reason is there for concluding that the nature, which is ever in movement, is actuated against its will, and not rather in accordance with its own choice and decision ; for otherwise it would resemble a lifeless body in being moved by some outside agency, and would be as it were a puppet pulled by strings hither

CHAP.
XLI

Condemns
Apollonius'
doctrine of
Fate as
destructive
of responsi-
bility

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἄγεσθαι φύσιν μηδὲν μηδαμῶς ἐξ ἴδιας ὄρμῆς καὶ
XLI κινήσεως ἐνεργοῦσαν, μηδὲ εἰς ἑαυτὴν τὴν τῶν
δρωμένων ἀναφέρουσαν αἰτίαν ταύτη τε μήτε
φιλοσοφοῦσαν ἐπαινετέαν τυγχάνειν, μήτ' αὐ
ψεκτήν, κακίας ἔμπλεων καὶ πονηρίας; τί δῆτα
οὖν Εὐφράτη λοιδορούμενος καταμέμφη, ὡς τὰν, εἰ
μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ εἵμαρμένης ἐπὶ τὸ κέρδος
ἐκδούς, ως αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖς, ὡλιγώρει φιλοσοφίας; τί
δὲ καὶ γόησιν ἐνυβρίζεις, ψευδοσόφους ἀποκαλῶν,
ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν, ως ἡγῆ, καθελκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν
κακοδαίμονα βίον; τί δὲ κακίαν ἀπλῶς ὀνομάζεις,
καὶ πονηρός τις ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ κρίνεται
παρὰ σοί, τὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἵμαρμένον ἀποπληρῶν
ὅρον; καὶ ἔμπαλιν τίνι λόγῳ Πυθαγόραν σεμνολο-
γῶν θαυμαστὸν ἐπιγράφη διδάσκαλον, καὶ Μοιρῶν
παίγνιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐραστὴν ὅντα φιλοσοφίας οὐκ
ἀπολείπεις ἐπαινῶν; Φραώτης δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχας οἱ
Ἰνδῶν φιλόσοφοι, τί μᾶλλον παρὰ σοὶ θεῶν
ἀπηνέγκαντο δόξαν, μηδέν τι παιδείας ἴδιον μηδ'
ἀρετῆς ἀπεινεγκάμενοι κλέος; Νέρωνος δὲ ὡσαύτως
καὶ Δομετιανοῦ τί οὐχὶ Μοίραις καὶ ἀνάγκη τὴν
ἀκόλαστον περιάπτεις ἀγερωχίαν, πάσης αἰτίας
καὶ παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἐλευθέρων τοὺς ἄνδρας;
ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τῷ πέπρωται, ως φῆς, δρομικῷ καὶ
τοξικῷ καὶ τεκτονικῷ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ εἰ γόητι τὸν
τρόπον ὅντι μάγῳ ἀναφανῆναι μαιφόνῳ τε καὶ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

and thither. The nature which ever moves itself CHAP would, on such an hypothesis, effect nothing of its own initiative and movement, nor could it refer to itself the responsibility of its actions. In such a case, when it reasoned of truth it would surely not be worthy of praise ; nor on the other hand be blame-worthy, because it was filled with vice and wickedness ? Why then, I would ask you, my good fellow, do you revile Euphrates and find fault with him, if it is not of his own initiative, but by the force of destiny, that he devoted himself to gain, as you pretend, and neglected the philosophical ideal ? And why do you insult wizards, by calling them false sophists, if they are dragged down by the Fates, as you believe, to their miserable life ? And why do you keep in your vocabulary at all such a word as vice, when any evil man is unjustly condemned by you, since it is by necessity that he fulfils his destined term ? And again on what principle do you solemnly enroll yourself a disciple of the wonderful teacher Pythagoras, and insist on praising one who, instead of being a lover of philosophy, was a mere toy in the hands of the Fates ? And as for Phraotes and Iarchas, the philosophers of the Indians, what have they done to win from you the reputation of being gods, unless the glory they acquired by their culture and virtue was their own ? And in the same way with regard to Nero and Domitian, why do you not saddle upon the Fates and on Necessity the responsibility for their unbridled insolence, and acquit them of all responsibility and blame ? But if as you say a man who is destined to be a runner, or an archer or a carpenter, cannot avoid being so, surely also if it has been destined that a man should be a wizard, and,

FI.AVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. πονηρῷ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ, πάντως που ἔξ ἀνάγκης
XII. τοιόσδε τις ἀποβήσεται. τί δῆτα οὖν περινοστῶν
τοῖς μὴ οἷοις τε τυχεῖν διορθώσεως ἀρετὴν προ-
κηρύττεις; ἢ τί καταμέμφη τοῖς τὴν μοῖραν, ἀλλ’
οὐ τὴν προαιρεσιν ἀτοπωτάτοις; τί δὲ καί, εἰ
αὐτῷ σοι πέπρωτο θείφ ὅντι τὴν φύσιν ὑπεράραι
βασιλέων δόξης, εἰς διδασκάλων ἐφοίτας καὶ
φιλοσόφων, Ἀραβίους τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίων μάγους
καὶ σοφοὺς Ἰνδῶν ἐπολυπραγμόνεις; πάντως γάρ
που, καὶ τῆς τούτων δίχα κοινωνίας, τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν
ἐτελεῖτο σοι.

Τί δὲ καὶ οἷς νομίζεις θεοῖς τὰ μελιττοῦτα καὶ
τὸν λιβανωτὸν εἰς μάτην ῥιπτεῖς, εὐσέβειάν τε
ἐπιμορφαζόμενος ἐπ’ εὐχὰς τρέπεσθαι τοὺς
ἔταιρους παρορμᾶς; αὐτός τε εὐχόμενος τί παρὰ
θεῶν αἴτεῖς, ὅπότε καὶ τούτων ὁμολογεῖς τὴν
εἰμαρμένην κρατεῖν; καὶ μὴν ἔδει τοὺς ἄλλους
θεοὺς παραμειψάμενον, Ἀνάγκη μόνον καὶ Μοίραις
θύειν, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὴν εἰμαρμένην
προτιμᾶν. οὕτω δ’ ἂν σοι θεοὶ μὲν οὐκέτ’ ἄν
ἥσαν, καὶ εἰκότως, ἀτε μηδὲ ἀνθρώπους οἱοί τε
ώφελεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ πέπρωτο τοὺς Ἐφεσίους
ἄλωναι λοιμῷ πολίτας, τί τάναντία νομοθετῶν
παρακρούῃ τὴν εἰμαρμένην; μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς
ὑπερῆρας τὴν Μοῖραν, τρόπαιον ὥσπερ κατ’
αὐτῆς ἀράμενος; εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κλωθοῦς ἐπὶ τῇ

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that being his character, a magician or a murderer CHAP.
and a wicked man and a reprobate, come what will,
^{XLI} he must of necessity end by being such a person.
Why then do you go wandering about, preaching the
virtues to those who are incapable of reform? Why
do you blame those who are the monsters they are,
not of their own choice, but by predestination?
And why too, if it was decreed by fate that you
yourself being of a divine nature should transcend
the glory of kings, did you visit schools of teachers
and philosophers, and trouble yourself about Arabians
and about the Magi of Babylon, and the wise men of
India? For in any case surely, even without your
holding communications with them, the decrees of
the Fates were bound to be fulfilled in your case.

And why do you vainly cast before those whom
you consider to be gods, your honey-cake and your
frankincense, and putting on the cloak of religion
encourage your companions to be diligent at their
prayers? And what do you yourself in your prayers
ask of the gods, inasmuch as you admit that they too
are subject to Destiny? Nay you ought to make a
clean sweep of all the other gods, and sacrifice to
Necessity alone and to the Fates, and pay your
respects rather to Destiny than to Zeus himself. In
that case no doubt you would have no gods left;
and rightly too, seeing that they are not even able
to help mankind. And again, if it were decreed by
fate that the citizens of Ephesus should be afflicted
with pestilence, why did you sanction the opposite and
so try to thwart destiny? Nay, why did you dare to
transcend destiny, and as it were raise a trophy
over her? And again in the case of the maiden
raised to life, the thread of Clotho had reached its

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XLI. κόρη τὸ νῆμα πέρας εἰλήχει, πόθεν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς
μετὰ θάνατον ἀναδησάμενος τῷ μίτῳ τὸν ἄτρακτον,
ξωποιὸς αὐτῇ παραπέφηνας;

Ἄλλ’ ἵσως Μοῖραι καὶ σὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτ’
ἡγον. οὕτι πω φήσεις κατ’ ἀξίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ
δεῦ, δις πρὸ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα παρύδου τῶν
ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ κύμασι διατριβόντων γεγονέναι
σεαυτὸν λέγεις, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ώς εἰκὸς καὶ
τοῦτο. οὕκουν θαυμάσιος οὔτε τῆς πρώτης γε-
νέσεως καὶ τροφῆς, οὔτε τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας, ·
οὔτε τῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ σώφρονος ἀγωγῆς, οὔτ’ ἀσκή-
σεως τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἢν δ’ ἄρα τις Μοιρῶν
ἀνάγκη καὶ εἰς Βαβυλωνίους ἐλαύνουσα, ὡθού-
μενος δ’ ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδῶν ὡμίλεις σοφοῖς,
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίων δὲ Γυμνοὺς οὐχ ἡ
προαίρεσις, οὐδ’ ὁ φιλοσοφίας πόθος, Μοῖρα δὲ
ἡγεν ἄγχουσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰς Ἡρα-
κλείους στήλας, ἔφον τε καὶ ἐσπέριον Ὁκεανὸν
ἀλάσθαι καὶ αὐταῖς ἄτρακτοις εἰς μάτην ἐξε-
βιάζετο περιστρέφεσθαι. εἰ δὲ δὴ μετειληφέ-
ναι τι σοφίας αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτων εἴποι τις, Μοῖρα
καὶ τούτων αἰτία, καὶ οὐκέτ’ ἀν ἐν φιλομαθέσιν ὁ
ἀνὴρ καταλεχθείη, οὐδ’ ἀν εὐλόγως θαυμασθείη
τῆς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ
πορισθείσης φιλοσοφίας. ἐν ἵσῳ δ’ ἀν συγκρινό-
μενος εἴη κατ’ αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καὶ τι

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limit, and that being so why did you, when she was dead, bind a fresh thread on the spindle, by coming forward yourself in the rôle of the saviour of her life ?

CHAP.
XLII

But perhaps you will say the Fates drove you also on to these courses. Yet you cannot say that they did so out of respect to your merits ; far from it, seeing that before you passed into this body of yours, you were yourself, by your own account, a sea-faring man who spent his life upon the waves, and that of necessity, for even this could not have been otherwise. There is therefore nothing remarkable about your earliest birth, or your upbringing, or your education in the circle of arts, or in your wise self-discipline in the prime of your life, or of your training in philosophy ; for it was after all some necessity of the Fates that led you to Babylon, and you were as it were driven on to associate with the sages of India ; and it was not your own will and choice, nor a love of philosophy either, but Fate that led you in her noose to the Naked sages of the Egyptians, and to Gadeira and to the pillars of Hercules ; and it was she who forced you to wander about the eastern and western oceans, and along with her spindles whirled you idly around. But if anyone admits, as they must, that his endowment with wisdom was due to these causes, then it was destiny that was responsible for them ; and we must no longer reckon your hero among those who are fond of learning, nor can we with any pretence of reason admire a philosophy which was provided, not intentionally, but by necessity, for him. And we shall have to class on one and the same level, according to him, Pythagoras himself with any pretentious and abject slave, and

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS.

CAP. τερατῶδες καὶ ἀπερριμμένον ἀνδράποδον, Σωκρά-
της αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας ὑπεραποθνήσκων καὶ οἱ
τοῦτον θανάτου ἄξιον γραψάμενοι, Διογένης τε
καὶ τὰ Ἀθηναίων μειράκια, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν
ὅ σοφώτατος οὐκ ἀν διαφέροι τοῦ ἀφρονεστά-
του, καὶ ὁ ἀδικώτατος τοῦ δικαιοτάτου, ὃ τε
ἀκολαστότατος τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ
δειλότατος τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου, είμαρμένης καὶ
Μοιρῶν παιγνίων τούτων ἀπάντων ἀποδεδειγμέ-
νων.

XLII

CAP. 'Αλλὰ γάρ πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ
κῆρυξ ἀναβοήσεται λέγων· ω ἄνθρωποι, θνητὸν
καὶ ἐπίκηρον γένος, ποῖ δὴ φέρεσθε τὸν τῆς
ἀγνωσίας ἄκρατον ἐμπιόντες; λήξατε ποτὲ καὶ
διανήψατε τῆς μέθης, καὶ διανοίας ὄρθοῖς ὅμμασι
τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνοπτρίσασθε πρόσωπον.
οὐ θέμις ἀλήθειαν πολεμεῦν ἔαυτῇ καὶ μάχεσθαι,
οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐναντιωτάτοιν μίαν ὑφεστάναι καὶ
τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας τὰ
πάντα κρατούσης θείοις νόμοις διατέτακται τὸ
πᾶν, ἀνθρώπων τε ψυχῆς ὄρος αὐτοκράτορά τε
καὶ κριτήν, ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν ἔαυτοῦ
καθίστησι, φυσικοῖς νόμοις καὶ φιλόσοφων δόγ-
μασιν ἐκδιδάσκων, ως ἄρα τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν
ἐστιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν
μέν, ὅσα γένοιτ' ἀν κατὰ προαιρεσίν τε καὶ πρᾶξιν,
α καὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀκώλυτα ἀπαρεμπόδιστα

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Socrates himself, who died in behalf of philosophy CHAP.
with those who accused him and clamoured for his
^{XLII} death, Diogenes, too, with the golden youth of
Athens ; and, to sum up, the wisest man will not
differ from the most imprudent, nor the unjustest
from the justest, nor the most abandoned from the
most temperate, nor the worst of cowards from the
greatest of heroes ; for they have all been demon-
strated to be playthings of destiny and of the
Fates.

XLII

HOWEVER, the herald of truth will raise his voice CHAP.
against such arguments, and say : O ye men, mortal
^{XLII} and perishable race, whither are you drifting, after
drinking the unmixed cup of ignorance ? Be done
with it at last, wake up and be sober ; and, raising
the eyes of your intelligence, gaze upon the august
countenance of truth. It is not lawful for truth to be
in conflict and contradiction with herself; nor that of
two pronounced opposites there should exist but one
and the same ground and cause. The universe is
ordered by the divine laws of the providence of God
that controls all things, and the peculiar nature of
man's soul renders him master of himself and judge,
ruler and lord of himself ; and it teaches him through
the laws of nature, and the tenets of philosophy, that
of things which exist some are within our own
control, but others not ; and within our control is
everything which comes into being in accordance
with our will and choice and action, and these are
naturally free, unhindered and unimpeded. But such



FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XLII. τυγχάνει· τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀσθενῆ δοῦλα κωλυτὰ ἀλλότρια, ἀ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἔκτός, ἄψυχά τε ὅντα καὶ ἄλογα, καὶ πάντη τῆς ἴδιας τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῷου φύσεως ἀλλοτρίαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τῶν δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα ὄρμὴν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας ἔκαστος ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται προαιρέσει, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ὅλων δεσπόζον τε καὶ ἡγεμονοῦν εὐθέως περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενον, τῷ δ' αἰεὶ συνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός, τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ὄρμῶν οὐ Μοίρας, οὐδὲ είμαρμένης, οὐδ' ἀνάγκης αἰτίᾳ· αἰτίᾳ ἐλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος. εἰ δὴ θρασύνοιτό τις τῷ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀντιπολεμῶν, μὴ παρακαλυπτέσθω οὗτος· ἀθεότητα ἀναφανδὸν διεξαγορευέτω, μὴ πρόνοιαν, μὴ θεόν, μηδέ τι ἄλλο πλὴν Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης ὄμολογῶν, καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτοις γυμνῇ προσκαταλεγέτω κεφαλῆ, μὴ σοφόν, μὴ ἄφρονα, μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ ἄδικον, μὴ ἐνάρετον, μὴ φαῦλον, μὴ γόητα, μὴ θεῖον ἐν ἀνθρώπων γίνεσθαι φύσει, μὴ φιλοσοφίαν είναι, μὴ παιδείαν, μηδὲ ὅλως τέχνην τινά, μηδὲ ἐπιστήμην, μή τινα ἄλλον τὴν φύσιν ἀγαθὸν ἢ πονηρὸν ἀποκαλείτω, πάντα δὲ συλλήβδην ἀνάγκη καὶ Μοιρῶν ἀτράκτοις περιδινεῖσθαι. ἀθεος δῆτα καὶ δυσσεβὴς οὗτος ἐν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ἐν φιλοσόφων ἀπογεγράφθω κριτηρίῳ. εἰ δ', ἐπικαλυπτόμενος ἔτερα, δοξάζειν ἐπιχείροι πρόνοιαν

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things as are not in our control are weak and CHAP.
servile, restrained and alien to ourselves ; for
^{XLII} example, our bodily processes and external objects
which are both lifeless and destitute of reason,
and in their manner of existence wholly foreign to
the proper nature of a reasonable living creature.
As for things which are in our control, each one of
us possesses in the will itself alternative impulses of
virtue and vice ; and while the principle which con-
trols the universe and governs it executes its rounds
in direct accordance with nature, it is at the same
time always accompanied by a justice which punishes
infractions of the divine law ; but for the motives on
which we act the responsibility lies not with destiny
nor fate, nor with necessity. It lies with him who
makes the choice, and God is not to be blamed.
If therefore anyone is so foolhardy as to controvert
the fact of our responsibility, let him be duly
exposed ; and let him openly proclaim that he is an
atheist, seeing that he does not recognise either
providence or God or anything else except the Fates
and necessity. And let him bare-headed enumerate
the consequences of these doctrines, let him cease to
call anyone wise or foolish, just or unjust, virtuous or
vicious, or charlatan ; let him deny that anyone is
divine in our humanity, that there is any philosophy,
any education, in a word any art of any kind, or
science, let him not call anyone else by nature good
or evil, but admit that everything whatever is
whirled round in an eddy of necessity by the
spindles of the Fates. Let such a person then be
registered as an atheist and impious man in the
tribunal of the pious and of philosophers. And if
anyone under the cloak of other opinions undertakes

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. καὶ θεούς, Μοῖραν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εἰμαρμέ-
XLII νην τις ἀνακηρύττοι, μαχομένοις καὶ ἐναντίοις
παριστάμενος δόγμασιν, ἐν ἄφροσι δίκην
ἀνοίας παρασχὼν καταγεγράφθω. ταυτὶ μὲν
οὖν ταύτῃ. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν φιλοσόφων δια-
τριβαῖς ἀξιοῖν ἔτι καταλέγειν τινὲς τὸν ἄνδρα,
λελέξεται, ώς ἄρα εἰ ἀποκαθήρειαν τῆς ἔξωθεν
λύμης, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς γραφῆς ἐπεισ-
κυκλουμένης αὐτῷ σκευῆς, φθόνος πᾶς αὐτοῖς
ἐκποδῶν ἀν εἴη ὅρους δ' εἰ ἀληθείας προϊών τις
ὑπὲρ φιλοσόφους ἐκθειάζειν αὐτὸν πειρῶτο, λάθοι
ἀν αὐτῷ γόητος ἀτεχνῶς διαβολὴν ἐπεντρίβων,
ώς ταυτὶ τὰ συγγράμματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναπε-
πλασμένα οὐδὲν πλὴν ἐλέγχου καὶ δεινῆς τάνδρὸς
διαβολῆς παρὰ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ
περιέχειν.

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

to entertain ideas of Providence and of the gods, yet CHAP.
in addition to these champions the cause of Destiny ^{XLII} and Fate, so upholding conflicting and opposed opinions, let him be classed among the senseless and condemned to pay the penalty of his folly. This then is so. But if after this there still remain those who are disposed to register this man's name in the schools of philosophers, it shall be said that, even if they succeed in clearing him from the filth thrown by others, nay in disentangling him from the pinchbeck properties in which the author of this book has wheeled him in upon the stage, we shall raise no objection to their doing so. At the same time if anyone ventures to overpass the limits of truth and tries to deify him as no other philosopher has been deified, he will at the best, though unawares, be rubbing into him the accusation of wizardry ; for this work of pretentious sophistry can only serve, in my opinion, to convict him, and lay him open in the eyes of all men of sense to this terrible accusation.

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