The life of Apollonius of Tyana

Philostratus (the Athenian), Eusebius (of ...
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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
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IN TWO VOLUMES
II

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CONTENTS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS (continued) ........................................ 1

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS ............................................. 407

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS ................................................ 483
PHILOSTRATUS

BOOK VI
ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΤΑ ΕΞ ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

Ζ'

I

CAP. 1 Αἰθιοπία δὲ τῆς μὲν ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ πάσης ἔπεχε τὸ ἐσπέριον κέρας, ὡσπερ Ἰνδοὶ τὸ πρὸς ἐσω, κατὰ Μερόνην δὲ Αἰγύπτων ξυνάπτουσα καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀμαρτήρων Λιβύης ἐπελθοῦσα τελευτᾶ ἐς θάλατταν, ἦν Ὄκεανον οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, τὸ περὶ γῆν ἄπαν ὡδὲ ἐπονομάζοντες. ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτων δίδωσιν, ὅς ἐκ Καταδούπων ἀρχόμενος, ἦν ἐπικλύζει πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτίων ἀπὶ Αἰθιόπων ἀγεῖ. μέγεθος μὲν οὐν οὐκ ἄξια παραβεβλησθαι πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ἦδεν ἡ χώρα, ὅτι μηδὲ ἄλλη μηθεμία, ὄποσι κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομασται ἦπειροι, εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτίων Ἀἰθιοπία ξυμβάλοιμεν, τοῦτο δὲ ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πράττειν, οὕτω ξύμμετροι πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἁμφὼ, τοσαύτη ξυντεθείσα, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἁμφοῖν οἱ τριῳ λογισμένῳ 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

3
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

Ινδοῦ τε καὶ Νείλου· ἐπιρραίνονσί τε γὰρ τὰς ἠπείρους ἐν ὠρα ἔτους, ὅποτε ἡ γῆ ἐρᾶ τούτου, ποταμῶν τε παρέχονται μόνοι τῶν κροκόδειλον καὶ τῶν ἵππων, λόγοι τε ὁργίων ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἵσοι, πολλαῖ γὰρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Νείλων ἐπιθειάζεται. τὴν δὲ ὀμοίότητα τῶν ἠπείρων πιστούσθων μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρώματα, πιστούσθων δὲ καὶ οἱ λεύνετε καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας ἐν ἐκατέρα ἄλμακομενὸς τε καὶ δουλεύων. βόσκουσι δὲ καὶ θηρία, οία οὐχ ἔτερωθι, καὶ ἀνθρώποις μέλανας, ὅ μὴ ἄλλαι ἠπειροι. Πυγμαίων τε ἐν αὐταῖς ἔθνη καὶ ἐλακτούντων ἄλλο ἄλλη καὶ ὅδε θαναμαστά. γρύπες δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ μύρμηκες Αἰθιόπων, εἰ καὶ ἀνόμοιοι τὴν ἰδέαν εἰσίν, ἄλλῳ ὀμοιά γε, ὡς φασί, βούλονται, χρυσοῦ γὰρ φύλακες ἐν ἐκατέρα ᾠδονται, τὸ χρυσόγεων τῶν ἠπείρων ἀσπαζόμενοι. ἄλλα μὴ πλεῖό ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὃ δὲ λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ ἕαυτον ὑτω καὶ ἐχώμεθα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς.

II

Ἀφικόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυ-πτίων ὄρια, Συκάμμινν δὲ αὐτὰ ὀνομάζουσι, χρυσῷ τε ἀσήμῳ ἐνέτυχε καὶ λίνῳ καὶ ἐλέφαντι καὶ ρίζαις καὶ μῦρῳ καὶ ἀρώμασιν ἔκειτο δὲ πάντα
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

Indus and the Nile, resemble one another, if we 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 correspond 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 pigmies 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 dissimilar 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 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. II ἀφύλακτα ἐν ὅδε ὁ ἱστήρ· καὶ ὁ τί βούλεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, νομίζεται γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐτι· ἄγορᾶν Αἰθίοπες ἀπάγουσιν, ὅν Αἰθιοπία δίδωσιν, οἱ δ' ἀνελόμενοι πᾶσαν ξυμφέρουσιν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον ἄγορᾶν Αἰγυπτίαν ἵσου ἄξιαν ὄνομένευοι τῶν αὐτοὶς ὄντων τὰ ὄνκ ὄντα. οἱ δὲ τὰ ὅρια τῶν ἥπειρων οἰκοῦντες οὕτω μέλανες, ἄλλα ὁμόφυλοι τὸ χρώμα, μελαίνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἦττον Αἰθιόπων, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον Αἰγυπτίων. Ξυνεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ τῆς ἄγορᾶς ἦθους, "οἱ δὲ χρηστοί," ἐφη, "’Ελληνες, ἢ μὴ ὄβολος ὄβολον τέκη καὶ τὰ ὠνία αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμήσωσι κατηλεύωντες ἢ καθειργύνυτες, οὐ φασί ξῆν, ὁ μὲν θυγατέρα σκηπτόμενος ἐν ὄρα γάμων, ὁ δὲ νῦν ἡδῆ τελοῦντα ἐς ἄνδρας, ὁ δ' ἐράνου πλήρωσιν, ὁ δ', ὡς οἰκοδομοῖτο οἰκίζων, ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἀισχύνοιτο χρηματιστῆς ἦττων τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαι. καλῶς δ' ἀρ' εἶχεν, ἵνα ὁ πλοῦτος ἀτίμως ἐπραττεν ἁίστης τε ἦνθει,

μέλας δ' ἀπέκειτο σίδηρος,
ὁμοουσίων τῶν ἄνθρωπων, καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐδόκει μία."
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

watch them at the crossways. I will explain the meaning of this, for the same custom still survives 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 subscription 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."

III

With such conversations, the occasions providing as usual the topics he talked about, he turned his
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

. CAP. III. ἔχωρει εὕτω Μέμνονος, ἦγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς μειράκιον Ἀἰγύπτιον, ύπερ οὗ τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμιος. Τιμασίων μὲν τῷ μειράκιφ τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν, ἐφήβου δὲ ἄρτι ὑπατήει καὶ τὴν ὄραν ἐτι ἔρρωτο. σωφρονοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ μητρικὰ ἐρώτε ἐνέκειτο καὶ χαλεπῶν τὸν πατέρα ἐποίει, ξυνιθείσα μὲν οὐδὲν ὠνπερ ἡ Φαίδρα, διαβάλλουσα δ' αὐτόν ὀς θηλυν καὶ ἔρασταις μᾶλλον ἡ γυναῖκος χαίροντα. ὁ δ' ἐκλεπτὼν Ναύκρατιν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταύτα ἐγγύνετο, περὶ Μέμφιν διητάτο, καὶ ναῦν δὲ ἱδιόστολον ἑκέκτητο καὶ ἐναυκλήρει ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ. ἰδὼν οὖν ἀναπλέοντα τὸν Ἄπολλώνιον, καταπλέων αὐτὸς ξυνιθείκε τε, ός ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα, ξυμβαλλόμενοι τοῖς τρίβωσι καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις, οἷς προσεσπούδαζον, καὶ ἴκετεν προσδούναί οἱ τῆς τοῦ πλοῦτος κοινωνίας ἐρώτει σοφίας, ὁ δ' Ἄπολλώνιος, "σώφρον", ἐφη, "ὁ νεανίσκος, ὧς ἀνδρες, καὶ ἄξιονθε ὅν δεῖται," καὶ διήθη τὸν περὶ τῆς μητρικᾶς λόγου πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγύς τῶν ἐταίρων ύφειμένω τῷ τόνῳ, προσπλέοντος τοῦ μειράκιον ἐτι. ὡς δὲ ξυνιθεῖσαν αἰ νῆς, μεταβὰς ὁ Τιμασίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην εἰπτὸν τὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φόρτου, προσείπε τοὺς ἀνδρας. κελεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄπολλώνιος καὶ ὀφθαλ- μοὺς αὐτοῦ ἵζησαι, "μειράκιον," ἐφη, "Ἀἰγύπτιον,
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 Naukratis, 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. III


10
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

seem to be one of the natives, tell me what you have done of evil or what of good; for in the one case you shall be forgiven by me, in consideration of your youth; but in the other you shall reap my commendation 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...
CÆP. III "Αφροδίτη δε θύεις, δω μειράκιον;" ἦρετο ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "νῦν Δέ," εἶπεν, "ὅσημέρα γε, πολλὴν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τὴν θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπειος τε καὶ θείος πράγμασιν." ὑπερηψθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ψηφισώμεθα," ἐφη, "ὁ ἄνδρες, ἐστεφανάσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ πρὸ Ἡπιολύτου τοῦ Θησέως, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὑβρίσε, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ἵς ὠδὲ ἀφροδισίων ἤηττο, ὠδὲ ἔρως ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ὠδεὶς ἐκώμαζεν, ἀλλή ἦν τῆς ἀγχορικότερας τε καὶ ἀτέγκτων μούρας, οὔτοι δὲ ἤττασθαι τῆς θεοῦ φάσκσων, ὠδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐρώσαν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθεν αὐτὴν δείσας τὴν θεὸν, εἰ τὸ κακὸς ἐράσθαι μη φυλάξοιτο, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ διαβεβλήσθαι πρὸς ὀντινάδὴ τῶν θεῶν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ἡπιολύτος, οὐκ ἄξιώσω σωφροσύνης, σωφρονέστερον γὰρ τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὐ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθηνησίν, οὐ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαμόνων βωμοὶ ἔδρυνατον." τοσάτα ἐς τὸν Τιμασίωνα αὐτῷ ἐσπουδάσθη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ Ἡπιολύτων γε ἕκαλεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, οἷς τὴν μητρινὰν εἶδεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἐπαφροδίτως ἀψασθαι.

IV CÆP. IV 'Τπὸ τούτῳ ήγεμόνι παρελθεῖν φασίν ἐς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Μέμνονος, περὶ δὲ τοῦ Μέμνονος τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμρις. 'Ἡοὺς μὲν παιδα γενέσθαι αὐτὸν, 12
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." Threat 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
ΦΛΑΥΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΓΑΡ ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀφικέσθαι ἐστὶ Τροιαν, ἀλλὰ ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ τελευτῆσαι βασιλεύσαντα Αἰθιόπων γενεὰς πέντε. οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ μακροβιώτατοι ἄνθρωπων εἰσίν, ὁλοφύρονται τῶν Μέμνων ὡς κομιδὴ νέον καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ἀώρφη κλαίουσι, τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἐν δὲ ἔδρυται, φασὶ μὲν προσευκέναι ἄγορὰ ἀρχαία, οἷς τῶν ἀγωρῶν ἐν πόλεσὶ ποτὲ οἰκηθέεσσας λείπουν ταῖς, στηλῶν παρεμένειν τρίφη καὶ τειχῶν θυρη καὶ θάκους καὶ φλιάς ἐγρωμῶν τὸ ἀγάλματα, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χειρῶν διεφθορότα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ χρόνου. τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα τετράφθαι πρὸς ἀκτίνα μήπω γενειάσκον, λίθον δὲ εἶναι μέλανος, ἔμψημηκέναι δὲ τῷ πόδε ἀμφῶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγαλματοποιῶν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαιδάλου, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπερείδειν ὀρθὰς ἐς τῶν θάκου, καθῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν ὀρμή ὑπὸ ἐπανίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τούτῳ καὶ τῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ στόματος ὡς φθεγχόμενον ἄδοσάς, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων χρῶν ἤττον θαυμάσας φασίν, οὕτω γὰρ ἐνεργὰ φαίνεσθαι, προσβαλούσης δὲ τὸ ἀγαλμα τῆς ἀκτίνος, τολμῆσθαι γένεσθαι περὶ ἡλίου ἐπιτολάς, μὴ κατασχεῖν τὸ θαύμα, φθεγχάσθαι μὲν γὰρ παραχρήμα τῆς ἀκτίνος ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στόμα, φαίδρους δὲ ἑστάναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δόξας πρὸς τὸ φῶς, ὀλὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ εὐκλείου. τὸτε ξυνεῖναι λέγοντιν, ὅτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ

14
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. IV. δοκεῖ υπανίστασθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τὸ κρείττον ὀρθοὶ θεραπεύοντες. θύσαντες οὖν Ἡλίῳ τε Αἰθίοπι καὶ Ἡρῴω Μέμνου, τοιτί γὰρ ἐφραζόν οἱ ἱερεῖς, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθέων τε καὶ θάλπεων, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπονομάζοντες, ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ καμήλων ἐς τὰ τῶν Υμνῶν ἡθη.

V

CAP. V. Ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐνυχώντες ἐσταλμένῳ τρόπῳ, ὁπερ οἱ Μεμφῖται, καὶ ἀλύσιν μᾶλλον ἢ ξυντείνοντι ἰχρόνον οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμνων, ὅστις εἶη καὶ δὴ ὁ τι πλανῶτο, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ἐμοῦ," ἐφη, "πυνθάνεσθε, ἂλλὰ μὴ τοῦτον, οὔτος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν εἶποι πρὸς ύμᾶς τὸ ἐαυτοῦ πάθος αἰδοῖ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ἢ κέχρηται, ἐγὼ δὲ, γυνώσκω γὰρ τὸν ἀνδρὰ καὶ ἔλεῳ, λέξω τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν πάντα· ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ Μεμφίτην τινὰ ἄκων, κελεύσοι δ' οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν νόμοι τὸν φεύγοντα ἐπὶ ἀκουσίῳ, δεὶ δὲ φεύγειν, ἐπὶ τοὺς Γυμνοῖς εἶναι, κἀν ἐκνήσηται τοῦ φόνου, χωρεῖν ἐς ἡθη καθαρὸν ἡθη, βαδίσαντα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πεφονεμένου σήμα καὶ σφάξαντά τι ἐκεῖ οὐ μέγα. τὸν δὲ χρόνον, δὴ οὔτω τοὺς Γυμνοῖς ἐνέτυχεν, ἀλάσθαι χρῆ περὶ ταύτα τὰ ὀρία, ἐστ' ἄν αἰδεσώνται αὐτῶν, ὅσπερ
powers above standing erect. They accordingly offered a sacrifice to the Sun of Ethiopia and to Memnon of the Dawn, for this the priests recommended 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.

On the way they met a man wearing the garb of the inhabitants of Memphis, but who was wandering 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

¹ Ἐἰθὸς = I burn; Ἐἰθίόπα = an Aethiop.
upon him as if he were a suppliant." Apollonius therefore put the question to Timasion: "What do 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
μειράκιον, θαρρείν, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ καθαρεύσοντα, εἰ βαδίσειν οὗ καταλύω." ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐπιδράσας ὃσα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὑπὲρ καθαρ-σίων νομίζουσιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς ἥθη στείχειν ὡς καθαρὸν ἥθη τῆς αἰτίας.

VI

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελάσαντες ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος, ἀφίκοντο πρὸ μεσημβρίας ἐς τὸ τῶν Γυμνῶν φροντιστήριον. τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς τούτους οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐπὶ τινος λόφου, φασί, ξυμμέτρου μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁχῆς τοῦ Νείλου, σοφία δὲ Ἰνδῶν λείπεσθαι πλέον ἣ προύχειν Αἰγυπτίων, γυμνοὺς δὲ ἑστάλθαι κατὰ ταύτα τοῖς εἰληθεροῦσιν Ἀθῆναι. δένδρα δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ ἐλιγα καὶ τι ἄλογος οὗ μέγα, ἢς ἢ ξυνίασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, ἱερὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ταύτων, ὡσπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν, ἀλλο δὲ ἄλλη τοῦ γηλόφου ἰδρυται σπουδῆς ἡξούσια, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων λόγοι. θεραπεύουσι δὲ Νείλον μάλιστα, τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν τούτον ἡγουνται γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ. καλύβησι μὲν οὖν ἢ οἰκίας οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ δέονται, ξώντες ὑπαίθριοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ, καταγωγὴ δὲ ἀποχρῶσαν τοῖς ξένοις ἐδείμαντο, στοὰν οὗ μεγάλην, ἱσομήκη ταῖς Ἡλείων, ὧφ' αἰς ὁ ἄθλητης περιμένει τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κήρυγμα.

20
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

is stained with blood, I would ask you, my good boy, CHAP. V to encourage him, and tell him that he will at once 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 midday at the academy of the naked sages, who 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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

VII

CAP. VII Ἐνταῦθα τί ἀναγράφει Δάμις Εὐφράτου ἔργου, ἴγωμεθα δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ μειρακιώδες, ἀλλ’ ἀφιλοτιμοτερον τοῦ φιλοσοφία προσήκοντος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου θαμὰ ἦκουε βουλομένου σοφίαν Ἰνδικὴν ἀντικρῖναι Ἀγνυπτία, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Ὑρασύβουλον τὸν ἑκ Ναυκράτιδος ὑπὲρ διαβολῆς τοῦ ἄνδρος, ὦ δὲ ἥκειν μὲν ὑπὸ ἐσποννοσίας, ἤφη, τῆς πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀφίξασθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν Τυανέα, τοῦτ’ ἐκείνων ἀγώνα ἔχειν οὐ σμικρόν, φρονεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἰνδῶν σοφοὺς, οὕς ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ αἰρεῖ, μυρίας δὲ ἐλέγχεις ἐπ’ αὐτούς συνεσκευάσθαι, ξυγχωρεῖν τε οὕτε ἥλιῳ οὐδὲν οὕτε οὐρανῷ καὶ γῆ, κινεῖν γὰρ καὶ ὄχειν αὐτὸς ταῦτα καὶ μετατάττειν οἱ βούλεται.

VIII

CAP. VIII Τοιαύτα ὁ Ναυκράτιτης ἐξυπνεῖς ἀπῆλθεν, οὐ δ’ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἴγωμενοι τὴν μὲν ἐσποννοσίαν οὐ παρηγοροῦντο ἢκοντος, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ σπουδάζειν ἐπιλάττοντο καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνως εἶναι, ἀφίξισθαι δὲ κάκειν ἐς λόγους, ἢν σχολὴν ἀγωσί μάθωσί τε, ὁ τι βούλεται καὶ οὗτον ἐρῶν ἥκεν. ἐκε-
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

VII

At this place Damis records an action of Euphrates, which if we do not regard it as juvenile, was anyhow 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 Naukratis, to take away our sage's character. 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 thousand 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 Naukratis went away; and they, imagining they were true, 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 δ' ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἦκων καὶ καταλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὑπὲρ μὲν στέγης," ἔφη, "μηδὲν διαλέγου, ἐξυγχωρεῖ γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ἐνταῦθα γυμνοῖς ζῆν," διαβάλλων αὐτοὺς ὡς σὲ καρτερία γυμνοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, "οἱ τι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἦκω τοὺς μὲν οὐ βαγμάξω ὁὐπω γυμνώσκοντας, Ἰνδοὶ δὲ μὲ οὐκ ἶροντο ταῦτα."

IX

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

And a messenger from them bade them stay and lodge 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 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS


26
achieved nothing remarkable in philosophy, and they received him with open arms merely because he said 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.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

X

They spent that evening conversing about trifles which are not worth recording, and then they lay 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 Thespeson, pointing to the grove. Now Thespeson 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 Thespeson 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

29
CAP. 

τραγωδίας ἄξιον, ἐίτα τὴν ἀγωνίαν παρέχειν τὴν 
γυμνὴν ὡς τούτων, τὴν δὲ Ὁλυμπίαν τὰ μὲν 
τοιαῦτα ἐξελείν ὡς ἀνάρμοστα καὶ οὐ χρηστὰν ἐκεῖ, παρέχεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐστὶν Ἰουσίων ἄθλητῶν 
γυμνός, Ἡρακλέους ταύτα ξυνθέντος· τούτο ἤγοι 
παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ μὲν γάρ, 
ἄσπερ ἐς τὴν Πυθῶν καλοῦντες, ποικίλαις δημαγω-
γοῦσιν ἱσχύσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἄσπερ ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ, 
γυμνοί, οὐχ ὑποστρώνυσιν ἡ γῆ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα, 
οὐδὲ γάλα ἄσπερ βάκχαις ἡ οἶνον δίδωσιν, οὐδὲ 
μετεώρους ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀήρ φέρει, ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν ὑπε-
stορεσμένοι τὴν γῆν, ἡμέν μετέχοντες αὐτῆς τὰ 
kατὰ φύσιν, ὡς χαῖρονσα δίδοι σαυτὰ καὶ μὴ 
βασανίζοντο ἄκουσαν. ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἀδυνατοῦμεν 
σοφίζεσθαι, τὸ δεῖνα,” ἔφη, “δένδρον,” πτελέα 
dὲ ἦν, τρίτον ἀπ’ ἐκείνου, ὃς δ’ ἔλεγοντο, “πρὸς-
dειπτε τὸν σοφὸν Ἁπολλώνιον,” καὶ προσεῖπε μὲν 
αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐκελεύσθη, τὸ δένδρον, ἡ φωνὴ δὲ ἦν 
ἐναρθρὸς τε καὶ θῆλυς. ἀπεσήμαινε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς 
Ἰνδῶν ταῦτα, μεταστήσειν ἠγουμένος τὸν Ἁπολλῶ-
νιον τῆς υπὲρ αὐτῶν δόξης, ἐπειδὴ διήξει ἐς πάντας 
λόγους τε Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἔργα.

Προσετίθει δὲ κάκεινα, ὡς ἀπόχρη τῷ σοφῷ 
βρώσεως τε καθαρῷ εἶναι, ὀπόση ἐμπνεύου, ἰμέρον 
tε, δι’ φοιτᾷ δι’ ὀμμάτων, φθόνου τε, δι’ ἰδιάσκαλος

30
with an exhibition of games and races run by naked athletes. At the Olympic festival; however, these superfluitities 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 ἢπι χεῖρα καὶ γνώμην ἦκει, θαυμασιουργίας τε καὶ βιαίον τέχνης μὴ δεῖσθαι ἁλθείαν. "σκέψαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλων, εἴπε, "τὸν Δελφικόν, ὅς τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢπι προρρήσει λογίων ἔχει· ἐνταῦθα τοῖνυν, ὡς ποιν καὶ αὐτὸς γυνώσκεις, ὁ μὲν τῆς ὁμφῆς δεόμενος ἐρωτὰ βραχὺ ἐρώτημα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὐδὲν τερατευσάμενος λέγει, ὅπως οἶδεν. καίτοι ράδιον γε ἂν αὐτῷ σεῖσαι μὲν τὸν Παρνασσὸν πάντα, τὴν Κασταλίαν δὲ οἴνοχοσαι μεταβαλῶντι τὰς πηγάς, Κηφισίος δὲ μὴ ξυγχωρῆσαι ποταμῷ εἶναι, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπικομπάσας ἀναφαίνει τάληθες αὐτῷ. ἡγομεθα δὲ μηδὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ἢ τὰ δοκοῖτα λαμπρὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐκόντι αὐτῷ φοιτάν, μηδὲ τῷ νεῖ τὸν Ἀπόλλων χαίρειν, εἰ καὶ διπλάσιος ἀποφανθείη τοῦ νῦν ὅτος· ἄκησε γὰρ ποτε καὶ λιτὴν στέγην ὁ θέας οὕτως, καὶ καλύβη αὐτῷ ξυνεπλάσθη μικρά, ἐς ἂν ξυμβαλέσθαι λέγονται μέλιται μὲν κηρόν, πτερὰ δὲ ὀρμῆσε. εὐτέλεια γὰρ διδάσκαλος μὲν σοφίας, διδάσκαλος δὲ ἀληθείας, ἢν ἐπαύων σοφὸς ἀτεχνῶς δόξεις ἐκλαθόμενος τῶν παρ᾽ Ἰνδοῖς μῦθων. τὸ γὰρ πρῶτε ἡ μὴ πρῶτε, ἢ οἶδα ἢ οὐκ οἶδα, ἢ τὸ δείνα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δείνα, τί δεῖται κτύπῳ; τί δὲ τοῦ βροντᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ἐμβεβροτήσθαι;

Εἰδές ἐν ζωγραφίας λόγοι καὶ τὸν τοῦ Προδίκου Ἡρακλέα, ὡς ἐφηβος μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὔπω δὲ ἐν αἰρέσει τοῦ βίον, κακία δὲ αὐτῶν

32
hand and will, and that truth stands not in need of miracle-mongering and sinister arts. "For look," 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
ὁ αὐτῇ διαλαβοῦσαι παρὰ σφάς ἄγουσιν, ἢ μὲν χρυσῷ τε κατεσκευασμένη καὶ δρμοῖς, ἐσθήτῳ τε ἀλυπορφύρῳ καὶ παρεῖᾳ καὶ χαίτης ἀκαπλοκαίς καὶ γραφαῖς ὀμμάτων, ἐστὶ δ’ αὐτῇ καὶ χρυσοῦν πέδιλον, γέγραπται γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ ἐνσοβοῦσα. ἢ δ’ αὖ πεπονηκυίᾳ μὲν προσβερῆς, τραχὺ δὲ ὅρῶσα, τῶν δὲ αὐχμον πεπονημένη κόσμημα καὶ ἀνυπόδετος ἡ ἄρετή καὶ λυτή τὴν ἐσθήτα, καὶ γυμνή δ’ ἀν ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μὴ ἐγλύγυσακε τὸ ἐν θηλείας εὐσχήμων. ἤγοι δὴ καὶ σεαυτῶν, Ἀπολλώνιε, μέσον τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας ἐστάναι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀκούειν λεγούσης, ὡς ὑποστορέσει σοι ἀνθή καθεύδοντι, καί, νη Δή, ὡς ποτεῖ γαλακτὶ καὶ ὡς κηρίως θρέψει, καὶ ὡς νέκταρ σοι τι παρ’ αὐτῆς ἔσται καὶ πτερά, ὅταν ὑπὸ βοῦλοι, τρίποδάς τε ἐσκυκλήσει πινόντι καὶ χρυσοῦς θρόνους, καὶ ποιῆσεις οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ αὐτόματά σοι βαδιεῖται πάντα, τῆς δὲ γε ἑτέρας, ὡς χαμευνεῖ μὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ προσήκει, γυμνῶν δὲ, ὁσπερ ἢμεῖς, μοχθοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, δ’ δὲ μὴ ποιήσαντι σοι ἁφίκετο, μήτε φίλον ἄρθεσθαι μὴτε ἢδυ, μηδὲ ἀλαζόνα εἶναι μηδὲ τύφου θηρατίν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἀνειράτων ὡσεῖς, ὡπόσαι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς οὐρασίων. εἰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα αἰροῖο, καὶ δόξη ἀδαμαντίνη χρύσῳ μὴ ἀτιμάξων ἀλήθειαν, μηδὲ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν εὐτέλειαν παφα- τούμενος, πολλαῖς μὲν ἑρηκέναι φήσεις λέοντας,
will lead; and vice and virtue stand on each side of 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 Hércules, and steel your will resolutely neither to dishonour truth, nor to decline the simplicity of nature, then you may say
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATATUS

ΧΑΡ. ΠΟΛΛÀΣ ΔÈ ÚDRAS ÈKETEMÌΣTHAI SÔI ΓΗΡΥΟΝΑΣ ΤΕ KAI ΝÈΣΣΟΥΣ KAI ÏPÔSOU ÈKEÌNÔU ÂTHLOÙ, EÌ ÏDÈ TO TÔN ÂGEIRÔΝTOU ÂSPÁSÈH, KOLAKÉÛSEIS ÔFÔALMÔUS TE KAI ÔTA, KAI ÔUTE SÔFÔTEROS ÈTERÔU DÔXEIS GEHÎSÈH TE ÂTHLOΣ ÂNDRÔS ÔÎNUPTÎON ÔYMÔU."
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

that you have overcome many lions and have cut off CHAP. X
the heads of many hydrafis and of monsters like Geryon
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-
lonius; his own followers knowing well that he would
reply, while Thespesion's friends wondered what he
could say in answer. But he, after praising the
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 Thespesion,
I myself am better qualified, now I have got here,
to advise you how to choose wisdom, if I did
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

Cap. εἰ μῆπω ἢρμημέοις ἐνέτυχον. ὥν δ' ὡμος τηλικόσδε καὶ σοφίας ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἀφιγμένος, ὅπως ὁκνήσω λογισταις ύμιν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ βουλής χρήσασθαι διδάσκων, ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰλόμην ταῦτα, ὥν μῆπω βελτίω ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤλθέ μοι. κατιδὼν γὰρ τι ἐν Πυθαγόρου μέγα καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀρρήτου μὴ μόνον γυμνώσκοι ἐαυτῶν, ὅστις εἰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις γένουτο, βωμῶν τε ὡς καθαρὸς ἄψαυτο καὶ ὡς ἀχράντῳ μὲν ἐμψύχου ὑφώσεως γαστρι χρήσατο, καθαρῷ δὲ σώματι πάντων ἑσθημάτων, ὅποσα θυσιεῖσιν ξύγκειται, γλώτταν τε ὡς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ξυνέσχε ὑμών ἐπ' αὐτῇ συωτῆς εὐρών δόγμα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ὡς χρησμόδη καὶ ἄληθῆ κατεστήσατο, ἐδραμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου δόξας, οὐ μᾶν σοφίαν ἐκ δυοῖν ἐλόμενος, ὡς σύ, βέλτιστε Θεσπεσίων, ἐμβουλεύεις, παραστήσασα γὰρ μοι φιλοσοφία τὰς ἑαυτῆς δόξας, ὅποσα εἰς ἵ, περιβαλοῦσα τε αὐταῖς κόσμουν, ὃς ἐκάστης οἰκεῖος, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτᾶς βλέπειν καὶ ὑγίῶς αἵρεισθαι· ὥρα μὲν οὖν σεμνή τε ἁπάσων ἢ καὶ θεία, καὶ κατέμυσεν ἃν τις πρὸς ἐνίας αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἐκπλήξεως, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰστήκει τὸ ὅμα ἐς πάσας, καὶ γὰρ μὲ καὶ παρεθάρρυνον αὐτῷ προσαγόμεναι τε καὶ προκηρύττουσαι, ὅποσα δύσουσιν ἐπεί δ' ἡ μὲν τις αὐτῶν ὅπως μοχθῆσαντε πολύν ἐπαντλήσειν ἐφασκεν ἡδονῶν ἐσμόν, ἡ δ' αὐ μοχθῆσαντα ἀνα.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

not find that you had already made the choice. CHAP. X1

Being, however, as old as I am, and so far advanced 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 Thespersion, 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. XI

παύσεων, ἡ δ' ἐγκαταμέξεσθαι εὐφροσύναι τῷ μόχθῳ, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἢδοναλ διεφαίνοντο, καὶ ἀνετοὶ μὲν ἦνιαί γαστρός, ἐτοίμη δὲ χείρ ἐς πλούτων, χαλινώδες δὲ οὐδεὶς ὁμμάτων, ἀλλ’ ἔρωτες τε καὶ ἱμεροί καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη ξυνεχωρεῖτο, μᾶ ὅτι αὐτῶν ἵσχειν μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκόμπαξε, θρασεία δὲ ἦν καὶ φιλολογόδορος καὶ ἀπηγκωνισμένη πάντα: εἰδον σοφίας εἶδος ἄρρητων, οὐ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ποτὲ ἤττήθη, καὶ εἰστήκει δὲ ἁρα οὔκ ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀπετέκτοιτο αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσιώπη, ξυνεῖσα δὲ, ὡς ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις οὐ ξυντίθεμαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνα ὦτῳ ὁδὰ, "μειράκιον," ἐπιεῦ, "ἀηδὴς ἐγὼ καὶ μεστὴ πόνων εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό τις ἐς ἡθα τὰ εἵμα, τράπεζαν μὲν, ὅποις ἐμψύχων, ἀνηρίζεται πᾶσαν ἄν ἔλοιπον, οἴνου δὲ ἐκκλησθαι καὶ τὸν σοφίας μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν κρατήρα, δε ἐν ταῖς ἀοίνοις ψυχαῖς ἐστηκεν, οὐδὲ χλαῖνα θάλψει αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ἔρμον, δὲν ἐμψύχων ἐπέχθη, ὑπόδημα δὲ αὐτοῖς βύβλου δίδωμι καὶ καθεύδων ὡς ἔτυχε, καὶ ἀφροδισιών ἡττηθέντας αἰσθῶμαι, βάραθρά ἐστί μοι, καθ’ δὲν σοφίας ὁπαῖς δίκη φέρει τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅθεν, χαλεπὴ δ’ οὕτως ἐγὼ τοῖς τὰ μᾶ καθομένοις, ὡς καὶ δεσμὰ γλώττης ἐπ’ αὐτούς ἔχειν. ἄ δ’ ἐστὶ σοι καρτερήσαστι ταῦτα, ἐμοῦ μάθε: σωφροσύνη μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνη αὐτόθεν, ξηλωτῶν δὲ ἡγείσθαι

40
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
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 Pytha-
goras; 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 there-
with 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 preci-
pices 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
ΦΛΑΥΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

Χ. μηδένα, τυράννοις τε φοβερῶν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς κείσθαι, θεοῖς τε ἤδη φαίνεσθαι μικρὰ θύσαντα ἢ οἱ προχέοντες αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν ταύρων αἷμα, καθαρῷ δὲ οὐτὶ σοι καὶ προγνώσκειν δόσω, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐτῶ τι ἐμπλήσω ἀκτίνος, ὡς διαγνώσκειν μὲν θεόν, γυγνώσκειν δὲ ἦρωα, σκιοειδῆ δ’ ἐλέγχειν φαντάσματα, ὅτε ψεύδοιτο εἰδὴ ἀνθρώπων.” ἦδε μοι βίου αἰρεσίς, ὡ σοφοὶ Αἰγυπτίων, ἥν ύγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἐλόμενος οὔτε ἐφευσάμην οὔτε ἐφεύσαθην, ἐγενόμην μὲν γὰρ ἀ χρῆ τὸν φιλοσοφήσαντα, φιλοσοφοῦντι δὲ ὀπόσα δόσειν ἔφη, πάντ’ ἔχω. ἐφιλοσόφησα γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως τῆς τέχνης καὶ ὀπόθεν αὐτῆς αἱ ἄρχαι, καὶ μοι ἐδοξεῖν ἄνδρῶν εἶναι περιττῶν τὰ θεία ψυχῆν τε ἀριστα ἐσκεμ-μένων, ἢ τὸ ἀθανάτον τε καὶ ἀγέννητον πηγαὶ γενέσεως.

Ἀθηναίων μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνω προσήκων ἐφαίνετο μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος, τὸν γὰρ Πλάτωνος λόγον, ὃν θεσπεσίως ἔκει καὶ πανσόφως ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀνεφθέγξατο, αὐτοῦ διέβαλλον ἐναντίας ταύτη καὶ οὐκ ἀλθεῖς δόξας ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς προσέμενοι, ἔδει δὲ σκοπεῖν, τὶς μὲν εἰς πόλεις, ποίων δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἔθνος, παρ’ οίς οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις, ὁ δὲ οὐ, πᾶ- σα δὲ ἡλικία ταύτων ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς φθέγγοιτο· κἂν ἦν μὲν νεότητος τε οὕτως ἀγούσης καὶ τοῦ μῆτας ἐξωνεῖν αὐτὸς ἔβλεψα, ἐπειδὴ πλεῖστα ἐλέ-
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

at once, and the faculty to regard no man with envy, and to be dreaded by tyrants rather than 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
CAP. XI

γεσθε ύπερφυώς εἰδέναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ διήεν ταῦτα, ὡ ἐφιστάς με, "εἰ τῶν ἐρώτων," εἶπεν, "ἐτύχχαις ὡς ἡ τὴν ἡλικίαι ἐχόντων τοῦ ἐράν, εἶτα μειρακία καὶ ἐνυχων καὶ ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸ τῆς ὁδρὰς, σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅτου εἶ ἑαι ἐξῆτες, ἡν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἰπποτρόφος καὶ στρατηγὸς πατρὸς καὶ χορηγὸς οἱ πάπποι, σὺ δ' αὐτὸν τριηράρχου τινὸς ἢ φυλάρχου ἐκάλεις, ἀρά γ' ἂν οἴει προσάγεσθαι τὰ παιδικὰ τούτως, ἡ κἂν ἄγηδης δόξαι μὴ πατρόθεν ὀνομάξων τὸ μειράκιον, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐκφύλου σπορᾶς καὶ νόθου; σοφίας οὐν ἔρων, ἢν Ἰνδοὶ εὐροῦν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πατέρων ὀνομάζεις αὐτὴν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν θέσει, καὶ δίδωσι τι μείζον Διγνπτίοις, ἢ εἰ πάλιν αὐτοῖς, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἁδουσὶ, μέλτητι ξυγκεκραμένος ἀναβαίη ὃ Νεῖλος;" ταῦτα με πρὸ ὕμων ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς ἐτρεφεν ἐνθυμηθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς λεπτότεροι μὲν τὴν ἔννεσιν οἱ τοιοίδε ανθρωποὶ καθαρωτέραις ὀμιλοῦντες ἀκτίσιν, ἀληθέστεροι δὲ τὰς περὶ φύσεως τε καὶ θεῶν δόξας, ἀτε ἀγχίθεω καὶ πρὸς ἄρχαῖς τῆς ζωγόνου καὶ θερμῆς οὐσίας οἰκοῦντες ἐνυχων τε αὐτοῖς ἐπαθόν τι πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν

44
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-

45
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

OAP. άνδρῶν, ὅποιον λέγονται πρὸς τὴν Αἰσχύλου σοφίαν παθεῖν Ἀθηναίοι· ποιητής μὲν γὰρ οὗτος τραγῳδίας ἐγένετο, τὴν τέχνην δὲ ὄρων ἀκατάσκευον τε καὶ μῆτω κεκοσμημένην, εἰ μὲν ξυνέστειλε τοὺς χοροὺς ἀποσάδην ὅντας, ἢ τὰς τῶν ὕποκριτῶν ἀντιλέξεις εὑρε, παραστησάμενος τὸ τῶν μονοφιδίων μῆκος, ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἀποθυνόσκειν ἐπενόησεν, ὡς μὴ ἐν φανερῷ σφάττοι, σοφίας μὲν μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀπηλλάχθω, δοκεῖτω δὲ καὶ ἐτέρῳ παρασχεῖν ἐννοιαν ἕττον δεξὶ τὴν ποίησιν, ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ἐπάξιον τοῦ τραγῳδίων ποιεῖν φθέγγοιτο, ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὡς προσφυνὲ τῷ μεγαλείφῳ μᾶλλον ἦ τῷ καταβεβλημένῳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ πόδα, σκευοποιίας μὲν ἰδῖοτο εἰκασμένης τοῖς τῶν ἡρώων εἴδεσιν, ὁκρίβαντος δὲ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἐνεβίβασεν, ὡς ἵσα ἐκείνους βαίνοιεν, ἐσθήμασί τε πρῶτος ἐκόσμησεν, ἄ προσφορὸν ἤρωσί τε καὶ ἥρωις ἤσθησαν· ὅθεν Ἀθηναίοι πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ἠγούντο, ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνέωτα ἐς Διονύσια, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ψηφισμένων ἀνεδιάσκετο καὶ ἐνίκα ἐκ καίνης· κατοί τραγῳδίας μὲν εὗ κεκοσμημένης ὀλίγη χάρις, εὐφραίνει γὰρ ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας, ὡσπερ ἢ τῶν Διονυσίων ὁρᾶ, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἐνυγκειμένης 46.
pression upon me as the talent of Aeschylus is said to have made upon the Athenians. For he was 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

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

ΚΑΠ. ΧΙ

μέν, ὡς Πυθαγόρας ἐδικαίωσεν, ὑποθειαξούσης δὲ, ὡς πρὸ Πυθαγόρου Ἰνδοῦ, οὐκ ἐσ βραχὺν χρόνον ἡ χάρις, ἀλλ’ ἐσ ἀπειρόν τε καὶ ἀριθμοῦ πλεῖον. οὐ δὴ ἀπεικός τι παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἠττηθεὶς εἰ κεκοσμημένης, ἢν ἐσ τὸ πρόσφορον Ἰνδοῦ στειλαντες ἐφ’ ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκκυκλοῦσιν. ὡς δὲ ἐν δίκη μὲν ἡγάσθην αὐτοῦ, ἐν δίκη δὲ ἡγοῦμαι σοφοῦς τε καὶ μακάριος, ὥρα μανθάνειν· εἶδον ἀνδρᾶς οἰκούντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀτείχιστος τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων. εἰ δ’ αἰνηματῶν ἀπτομαί, σοφία Πυθαγόρου ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα, παρέδωκε γὰρ καὶ τὸ αἰνίττειν, διδάσκαλον εὐρωπηνής λόγου· σοφίας δὲ ταύτης ἐγένεσθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πυθαγόρα ἐξύμβουλοι χρόνον, ὅπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἐπηνεῖτε, Ἰνδοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πάλαι οὖντες· ἔπει δ’ αἴδοι τοῦ λόγου, διʼ ὅν ἐκ μηνυμάτων τῆς γῆς ἀφίκεσθε δεύρο, ἔτεροι μᾶλλον ἐβούλεσθε δοκεῖν ἢ Λιθίοπες οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἠκοντες, πάντα ὑμῖν ἐς τοῦτο ἔδρατο. ὅθεν ἐγυμνώθητε μὲν σκέυης, ὅποιη ἐκεῖθεν, ὡσπερ ξυναποδούμενοι τὸ Λιθίοπες εἶναι, θεοὺς δὲ θεραπεύειν 48
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 wrath 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI ἐψηφίσασθε τὸν Ἀιγύπτιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ύμέτερον τρόπον, ἐς λόγους τε οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύους ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν κατέστησε, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ διαβεβλημένοι τῷ ἅφε οὕς διαβεβληθῆσαι ἦκειν καὶ οὗτε μετερρύθμισθέ πώ γε τοῦτο, οὐ καὶ τῆμερον ἐπιδείξειν αὐτοῦ πεποίησθε φιλολογὸδον τε καὶ ἰαμβώδης, χρηστὸν οὕδεν ἐπιτηδεύειν Ἰνδῶνς φάσκοντες, ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐκπλήξεις καὶ ἀγωγάς, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς, τὰς δὲ ὠτοὺς, σοφίαν δὲ οὖτως ἐμὴν εἰδότες ἀναίσθητοι φαίνεσθε τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτή δόξης, ἐγώ δ’ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μὲν λέξω οὐδέν, εἰγν γὰρ, ὃ με Ἰνδωλ ἠγούνται, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οὐ ξυνχωρῶ ἀπεσθαί. ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν τις ὑγιῶς καὶ ύμᾶς ἔχει σοφία Ἰμεραίου ἄνδρος,1 δὲ ἄδων ἐς τὴν Ἐλένην ἐναυτίον τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ παλινφράνεα αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκ ἐστιν ἐτυμὸς ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἡδὴ καὶ αὐτοῦς ὡρα λέγειν, ἀμείνω τῆς φῶν παραστηκυιάς μεταλαβόντας περὶ αὐτῶν δόξαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀμοσύνη πρὸς παλινφράνεα ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαι γε χρὴ ἄνδρῶν, οὐδὲ ἄξιοντες θεὸς τῶν αὐτοὺς ὄντων οὐδὲ ἐαυτοὺς ἀπαξιοῦσιν διὸ ἐκεῖνοι πέπανται. διηλθές τίνα, Θεσπεσίων, καὶ περὶ τῆς Πυθοῦς λόγου ὡς ἀπλῶς τε καὶ ἀκατασκεύως χρώσης, καὶ παράδειγμα ἐγένετο σοι τοῦ λόγου νεώς κηρού καὶ ττε-

1 The reference is to Stesichorus.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

have resolved to worship the gods in the Egyptian 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, Theopompus, 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

Refutes the argument derived from the Pythian oracle.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI. ῥῶν ξυντεθείς: ἔμοι δὲ ἀκατάσκευα μὲν δοκεῖ οὐδὲ ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ

ξυμφέρετε πτερά τ’ οἴωνοι κηρὸν τε μέλλεται κατασκευαζομένου ἢν οἰκον καὶ οἶκον σχῆμα, ὁ δὲ, οἶμαι, μικρὰ τάτα ήγούμενος καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἔττω, καὶ ἄλλου ἐδεήθη νεώ καὶ ἄλλου καὶ μεγάλων ἦδη καὶ ἑκατομπέδων, ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσῶς ἴννας ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἔπεχούσας πειθό, ξυνελέξατο τε τὰ εὐδοκιμῶτα τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐς τὴν Πυθώ κόσμου ἑνεκα, καὶ οὔτ’ ἀγαλματοποιών ἀπῆλασεν ἀπάγουσαν αὐτῷ κολοσσοὺς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοὺς μὲν θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ ἱππῶν τε καὶ ταύρων καὶ ἑτέρων ξώνων, οὔτε Πλαῦκον μετὰ τοῦ ὑποκρατηρίδου ἦκοντα, οὔτε τὴν ἁλισκομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρότοιν, ἂν Πολύγνωτος ἐκεῖ γράφει. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν χρυσὸν γε τὸν Λύδιον καλλώπισμα τῆς Πυθοῦς ἤγειτο, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνων μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐσῆγετο, ἐνδεικτομένοις, οἶμαι, αὐτοῖς τῶν τῶν βαρβάρων πλούτων, ἦν γλύχωντο ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ διαπορθεῖν τὰ ἀλλήλων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἑλληνά τε καὶ προσφυα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ τρόπον κατεσκευάζετο καὶ ἤγιλαίζε τούτῳ τὴν Πυθώ. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ αὐτῶν κόσμου ἑνεκα καὶ ἐς μέτρα ἐμβιβάζειν τοὺς χρησμοὺς. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τούτῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο, τοιάσθε ἀν τὰς
even this was devoid of pomp, for we have the \textit{CHAP. XI} line:

'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. XI ἀποκρίσεις ἐποιεῖτο· δρᾶ τὸ δεῖνα ἢ μὴ δρᾶ, καὶ ἢ ἢ μὴ ἢ ἢ, καὶ ποιοῦ ξυμμάχουσ ἢ μὴ ποιοῦ, βραχέα γάρ που ταῦτα, ἢ, ὥς φατε ύμεῖς, γυμνά, ὁ δ' ἦν μεγαλορρήμων τε φαίνοιτο καὶ ἡδίων τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι, ποιητικὴν ἡρμόσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιοι εἶναι, ὅ τι μὴ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ψάμμον εἰδέναι φησίν, ὀπόση, ἄριθμῆς αὐτήν, καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάτ-

τής μέτρα ξυνειληφέναι πάντα.

"Ἡ καὶ ταῦτα τερατολογία προσγράφεις, ἐπειδὴ σοβαρῶς αὐτὰ ὁ ᾿Απόλλων καὶ ξυν λειμαται ὀρθῶς φράζει; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄχθεσθη, Θεσπεσίων, τῷ λόγῳ, γράφης ἀνημένη κόσκινα φοιτῶσιν ἐπὶ ποιμένας, ὅτε δὲ καὶ βουκόλους, ἱώμενα τὰ νοσοῦντα τῶν θρεμμάτων μαντικῆ, δς φασίν, ἀξιόνισι δὲ σοφάλ ὄνομάξεσθαι καὶ σοφώτεραι ἢ οἱ ἀτεχνῶς μάντεις· τούτῳ μοι καὶ ύμεῖς παρὰ τὴν ᾿Ινδῶν σοφίαν φαίνεσθε, οἱ μὲν γὰρ θειοί· τέ έίσι καὶ κεκόσμηται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν, ύμεῖς δὲ—ἀλλ’ οίδεν εἰρήσεται περαιτέρω, εὐφη-

μία γάρ φίλη μὲν ἐμοί, φίλη δὲ ᾿Ινδοῖς, ἂν ἀσπα-

ζοίμην ὡς ὀπαδῶν ἀμα καὶ ἥγεμόνα τῆς γλώττης, τὰ μὲν ἐμαυτῷ δυνατὰ θηρεύων ξῖν ἐπαίνερ τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐρωτε, ὅ τι δὲ μὴ ἐφικτὸν εἰη μοι, κατα-

λείπουν αὐτὸ ἄχραντον ψόγου. σὺ δὲ Ὄμηρον μὲν

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

54
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

make his responses in such forms as the following: 'Do this, or do not do that'; and 'go, or do not go,' or 'choose allies, or do not choose them.' 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, Thespasion, 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

55
CAP. ΧI  ἐν Κυκλωτίᾳ ἀκούων, ὡς ἡ γῆ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους ἀσπόροις καὶ ἀνήρωτος ἐστιά, χαίρεις τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ Ἡδωνοὶ τινες ἡ Διοδίς βακχεύωσι, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖς, ὡς γάλακτος αὐτοῖς καὶ οἶνον πηγὰς δῶσει καὶ ποτεὶ τούτους, τοὺς δὲ σοφίας ἀπάσης βάκχους ἀφαιρήσῃ δῶρα αὐτοματα παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἥκοντα; τρίποδες δὲ αὐτοματοὶ καὶ ἐσ τὰ ξυμπόσια τῶν θεῶν φοιτᾶς, καὶ ὁ Ἀρης ἀμαθὴς περ ὁν καὶ ἔχθρος οὕπω τὸν Ἡφαιστον ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, οὐδὲ ἔστιν, ὡς ἥκουσάν ποτε οἱ θεοὶ τοιαύτης γραφῆς. ἀδικεῖς, Ἡφαιστε, κοσμῶν τὸ ξυμπόσιον τῶν θεῶν καὶ περιστὰς αὐτῷ θαύματα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δμωαῖς αἰτιῶν ποτὲ ἔσχε ταῖς χρυσαῖς, ὡς παραφθείρων τὰς ὤλας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν χρυσὸν ἐμπυσοῦν ἐποίει, κόσμου γὰρ ἐπιμελήσεσαι τέχνη πάσα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἰναι τέχνας ὑπὲρ κόσμου εὑρηται. ἀνυποδησίᾳ δὲ καὶ τρίβων καὶ πήραν ἀνήφθαι κόσμου εὐρήμα: καὶ γὰρ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι, καθάπερ ύμεῖς, ἔσταν χαίρει ἁκατασκευής τε καὶ λιτὴ σχῆματι, ἐπιτετήδευται δὲ ὑπὲρ κόσμου καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπεστιν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐτέρφος φασὶ τύφφ. τὰ δὲ Ἡλίου τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν πάτρια καὶ ὅτη χαίρει θεραπευόμενος ἐχέτω τῶν αὐτῶν νόμων, θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ χθόνιου βόθρους ἀσπάσονται καὶ τὰ ἐν κοιλῃ τῇ γῆς δρόμενα, Ἡλίου δὲ 56
Homer about the Cyclopes, how their land, all unsown and unploughed, nourished the most fearless and 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 handmaids 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. XI

ἄρη δόχημα, καὶ δεῖ τοὺς προσφόρως ἀσομένους αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς αἴρεσθαι καὶ ξυμμετεωροπολεῖν τῷ θεῷ· τοῦτο δὲ βούλονται μὲν πάντες, δύνανται δὲ Ἰνδοὶ μόνοι.

XII

CAP. XII

Ἀναπνεύσαι ὁ Δάμης ἑαυτόν φησιν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἦκουσεν ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγων οὕτω διατεθῆναι τοὺς Ἀἰγυπτίους, ὡς τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα μὲν καίτοι μέλαινα ὄντα κατάδηλου εἶναι, ὡς ἐρυθρίωη, φαῖνεσθαι δὲ τινα καὶ περὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἑκπληκτικοὶ ἐφ’ ὀσίους ἔρρωμένωσι τε καὶ ξυν εὐροῖα διαλεγομένου ἦκουσαν, τὸν νεότατον δὲ τῶν Ἀἰγυπτίων, ὃ ὄνομα ἦν Νέιλος, καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι φησίν ὑπὸ θαύματος, μεταστάντα τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξύμβαλείν τε αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δείσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰς ξυνούσιας, αἱ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, φράζειν. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον, "σοὶ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄν," φάναι, "βασκήναιμι ἐγὼ λόγον, φιληκόρω τε, ὡς ὅρῳ, τυγχάνοντι καὶ σοφίαν ἄσπαζομένῳ πάσαν," Θεσπεσίωνι δὲ καὶ εἰ τις ἔτερος λήγων τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἤγείται, μή ἂν ἐπαντλήσαι τοὺς ἐκείθεν λόγους ὃθεν ὁ Θεοπεσίων, "εἰ δὲ ἔμπορος," εἶπεν, "ἡ ναῦκληρος ἡσθα καὶ τῶν ἡμῶν ἀπήγεις ἐκείθεν φόρτων, ἄρα ἂν ἥξιον, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ’ Ἰνδῶν οὕτως, ἀδοκίμαστον αὐτὸν διατηθεσθαι καὶ μὴ γεύμα παρέχειν αὐτῷ μήτε δεῖγμα;" ὑπολαβῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "παρειχόμην ἄν," εἶπε, "τοῖς γε χρήζουσιν, εἰ δ’ ἦκον τις 58.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the chariot of the sun; and those who would sing his praise in a fitting manner must rise from the 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 heard this address; for that the Egyptians were so impressed by Apollonius’ words, that Thespeson, 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 Thespeson or on anyone else who regards the lore of the Indians as so much nonsense.” Whereupon Thespeson 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

59
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATIUS

CAP. XII  ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καταπεπλευκύιας ἄρτι τῆς νεώς, ἐλοιδωρεῖτο τῷ φόρτῳ καὶ διέβαλλε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς ἡκουτὰ ἐκ γῆς, ἢ μηδὲν ύγιὲς φέρει, ἠμὸι δὲ ἐπέπληττεν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων ἀγωγίμων πλεύ- σαντι, τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐπείθεν οὕτω φρονεῖν, ἀρ' ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τις καταπλεύσας ἐς τοιόνδε λιμένα βαλέσθαι τινὰ ἀγκυραν ἡ πείσμα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀνασείσας τὰ ἱστία μετεφράσαι ἀν τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνέμους ἐπιτρέψας τὰ έαυτοῦ ἡδίον γε ἢ ἀκρίτους τε καὶ ἄξενοις ἢθεσιν; "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἐφη ὁ Νείλος, "λαμβάνομαι τῶν πεισμάτων καὶ ἀντιβολῶ σε, ναῦ克莱ρ, κοινωνήσαι μοι τῆς ἐμπορίας, ἢν ἀγεις, καὶ ξυνεμβαίνην ἀν σοι τὴν ναῦν περινεὼς τε καὶ μνήμιων τοῦ σοῦ φόρτου."

XIII

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

down to the beach and began to run down my cargo CHAP. xii
and abuse myself, and say that I came from a 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

Thespesium, however, was anxious to put a stop to CHAP. xiii
such propositions, so he said: "I am glad, Apollonius, 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 Thespesium, 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

61
FLAVIUS PHilostratus

Ckap. xiii

χρημάτων δὲ ἀπάγων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπαινεῖν
tὸ ἔξ ἀπαντος κέρδος, οὕτε ἑπιτήδεια ξυμβουλεύειν ἐδοξα ὡστε ἐκεῖνῳ δυνατά, καὶ ἔλεγχον δὲ ἤγείται
tαῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσιν αἰεὶ τι κατ' ἐμοῦ ἔννοιείς.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πιθανὸς ὡμῖν ἐδοξα τοῦμον διαβάλλειν ἡθος, ἐνθυμείσθη, ὃς προτέρους ὡμᾶς ἐμοί διέ-
βαλεν· ἐμοὶ γὰρ κίνδυνοι μὲν καὶ περὶ τὸν δια-
βεβλησόμενον οὗ σμικροὶ φαινονται, μυσήεται
gὰρ ποὺ ἄδικῶν οὐδέν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ κινδύνων
οὐδ’ οἰ τῶν διαβολῶν ἀκροασόμενοι δοκοῦσιν,
εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀλάσωνται ψευδολογίαι τιμῶν-
tεσ καὶ ἡξιώντες αὐτὴν ὑπερ τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
eῖτα κουφότητα καὶ εὐαγωγίαν—ἡττάσθαι δὲ
tούτων καὶ μειρακίως αἰσχρῶν—φθονεροὶ τε
dόξουσι διδάσκαλον ἄκοι ἄδικων ποιούμενοι τὸν
φθόνον, αὐτοὶ τε μᾶλλον ἐνοχοῖ ταῖς διαβολαῖς,
δι ἐφ’ ἐτέρων ἀληθείας ἤγοινται, αἱ γὰρ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων φύσεις ἐτοιμότεραι δρᾶν, δ’ μὴ ἀπι-
στοῦσιν. μὴ τυραννεύσειν ἀνὴρ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα,
μηδὲ προσταίη δῆμου, τυραννὶς γὰρ καὶ ἡ δημο-
κρατία ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔσται, μηδὲ δικάσειν, ὑπὲρ
μηδενὸς γὰρ γνώσεται, μηδὲ ναυκληρήσειν, ἢ γὰρ
ναῦς στασᾶσει, μηδὲ ἀρξεῖς στρατοῦ, το γὰρ ἀν-
τίξουν εὖ πράξει, μηδὲ φιλοσοφήσειν οὔτως ἔχων,
οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τάληθες δοξάσει. ὡμᾶς δὲ Εὐφράτης
62
passion for money and cure his propensity to value everything by what he could make out of it; but I 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

XIV

CAP. XIV

1 There seems a lacuna here in the text.
the quality of wisdom; for how can those on whom he has imposed with his falsehoods claim wisdom for themselves? have they not deserted from it to take sides with one who has persuaded them of improbabilities?" Here Thespesion 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 to Apollonius, said: "And what’s more, it behoves you 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 have no doubt on the most brilliant topics." "And I too," said Thespeson, "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.

'Εστεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν, "ἐγώ," ἦ δ' ὁ Νείλος, "τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐστρατευόμεθα ὁμοῦ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς, οἶνον ψιλοῖς τισιν ἡ σφενδονήταις ἐκείνοις ἐμαυτὸν 66
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XV

Apollonius and his comrades were about to dine, 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."

XVI

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

1 Kayser reads φαίνονται, yet retains δοκήσ just below.
with certain light armed troops or slingers. But now I intend to put on my heavy armour, and 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVI

άνδρας, ἂν οἵκ άλλοις τις ἄνθρωπων ὑπάρχειν,
προσεποίησα ἐμαυτὸν τούτοις, πρόφασις δὲ μοι
τὴς ὀρμῆς ἦδε ἐγένετο· ἐπλευσέ ποτε ὁ πατήρ ἐσ-
tὴν Ἑρυθράν ἑκὼν, ἣρχε δὲ ἄρα τῆς νεώς, ἦν
Ἀιγύπτιοι στέλλοντι ἐς τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἑθνὸς, ἐπι-
μέξας δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Ἰνδοῖς διεκόμησε
λόγοις περὶ τῶν ἐκείνης σοφῶν ἀγχοῦ τούτων, οὓς
πρὸς ἡμᾶς δοθῆς· ἀκούσών δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοιούτων
των λόγων, ώς σοφώτατοι μὲν ἄνθρωπων Ἰνδοῖ,
ἀποκοι δὲ Ἰνδῶν Αἰθλόπες, πατρῴζοντι δὲ οὗτοι
τὴν σοφίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἶκοι βλέπουσι, μειράκιοι
γενόμενος τὰ μὲν πατρῴα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀφῆκα,
γυμνῶς δὲ Γυμνοῖς ἐπεφοίτησα τούτοις, ώς μαθη-
σόμενος τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἡ ἀδελφὰ γε ἐκείνων, καὶ μοι
ἐφαίνοντο σοφοὶ μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐκείνα, ἐμοὶ δ' αὐτοὺς ἔρωμένου, τοῦ χάριν ὁτὰ Ἰνδῶν φιλοσο-
φοῦσιν, ἐκείνων μὲν ὡς διαβολὰς κατέστησαν
παραπλησίως ταῖς πρὸς σὲ εἰρημέναις τήμερον,
ἐμε δὲ νέου ἔτι, ώς ὀρᾶς, οὕτα κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ
αὐτῶν κοινὸν, δείκνυτε, οἴμαι, μὴ ἀποπηδήσας
αὐτῶν πλεύσασιμι ἐς τὴν Ἑρυθράν, ὡσπερ ποτὲ ὁ
πατήρ, ὁ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὕκ ἂν παρῆκα· προῆλθον
γὰρ ἂν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ὀχθοῦ τῶν σοφῶν, εἰ μὴ σὲ
τις ἐνταῦθα θεῶν ἔστειλεν ἐμοὶ ἀρωγόν, ὡς μήτε
70
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

CHAP. XVI

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVI
τὴν Ἑρυθρὰν πλεύσας μήτε πρὸς τοὺς Κολπίτας παραβαλόμενος σοφίας Ἰνδικῆς γευσάμην, οὐ τῆμερον βίον ποιησόμενος αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν ἤρημένος, ἃ δὲ φύμην ἐξειν, οὐκ ἐχων. τί γὰρ δεινόν, εἰ ὀτουδή ἀμαρτῶν τις ἐπάνεισιν ἐφ’ ὧν ἔθηρενε; εἰ δὲ κάκεινος ἐς τοῦτο μεταβιβάζομι καὶ γνωσίμην αὐτοῖς ξύμβουλος ὃν ἔμαυτὸν πέπεικα, τί ἄν, εἰπέ μοι, θρασύ πράττοιμι; οὔτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης ἀπελατέα τοῦ τι καὶ αὐτή βέλτιον ἐνθυμηθήναι ἀν τοῦ γήρως, σοφίας τε ὅστις ἐτέρῳ γέγονει ξύμβουλος, ἢν αὐτὸς ἤρηται, διαφεύγει δήπου τὸ μὴ οὖχ ἃ πέπεισται πείθειν, τοῖς τε ἢκουσίν ἀγαθοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὅστις ἀπολαβῶν αὐτὰ χρῆται μόνος, ἀδικεῖ τάγαθά, ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ πλεῖστων ἡδίω φαίνεσθαι.”

XVII

CAP. XVII
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

making any voyage over the Red Sea or adventuring to the inhabitants of the Gulf, to taste the wisdom 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 juvenile enough they were, Apollonius took him 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 whatever 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

73
"καὶ ὁμολογεῖσθω ὦ μισθός." ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔσπούδασαν, ἐρωμένον δ’ αὐτὸν μετὰ ταύτα τοῦ Νείλου, πόσον χρόνου διατρίψατο περὶ τοῦ Γυμνοῦς, "ὄποσον," ἔφη, "χρόνον ἄξια ἡ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ξυνεσομένων σφίσιν, εἶτα ἐπὶ Καταδούπων τῆς ἀδών ποιησόμεθα τῶν πηγῶν ἐνεκα, χαρίειν γὰρ τὸ μή μόνον ἰδεῖν τὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κελαδούντος αὐτοῦ ἀκούσαμεν."
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.”

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.”
“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
"καὶ μεστὸν γε σοφίας πρᾶγμα." "ποῖον;" εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ ἂν τι παρὰ τὴν μέμησιν εἶποις." "φαντασία," ἔφη, "ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, σοφωτέρα μμῆσεως δημιουργός· μέμησις μὲν γὰρ δημιουργήσει, ὦ εἰδὲν, φαντασία δὲ καὶ ὃ μὴ εἰδὲν, ὑποθήκεται γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ οὕτως, καὶ μέμησιν μὲν πολλάκις ἐκκρούει ἐκπληξίς, φαντασίαιν δὲ οὐδὲν, χωρεῖ γὰρ ἀνέκπληκτος πρὸς ὃ αὐτῇ ὑπέθετο. δεῖ δὲ ποιοὶ Ἰδίως μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντα εἰδὸς ὅργαν αὐτὸν ἔξον οὐρανῷ καὶ ὤρας καὶ ἀσπρος, ὡσπερ ὁ Φειδίας τὸτε ὄρμησεν, Ἀθηναῖος δὲ δημιουργήσειν μέλλοντα στρατόπεδα ἐννοεῖν καὶ μῆτιν καὶ τέχνας καὶ ὁς Ἰδίως αὐτοῦ ἀνέθορεν. εἰ δὲ ἰέρακα ἡ γλαύκα ἡ λύκον ἡ κύνα ἐργασάμενος ἐστὶ τὰ ἱερὰ φέροις ἀντὶ Ἐρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὰ μὲν θηρία καὶ τὰ ὅρμα ζηλωτὰ δόξει τῶν εἰκόνων, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παραπολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν δόξης ἐστίησον."

"ἐςωσάντως," εἶπεν, "ἀβασανίστως ἐξετάξειν τὰ ἡμέτερα· σοφὸν γὰρ, εἴπερ τι Ἀιγυπτίως, καὶ τὸ μὴ θρασύνεσθαι ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἰδῆ, ξυμβολικὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἱππονόμενα, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ σεμνότερα οὕτω φαίνοιτο." γελᾶσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπόλλωνος, "ὁ ἄνθρωπος," ἔφη, "μεγάλα ὑμῖν ἀπολέλαυται τῆς Ἀιγυπτίων τε καὶ Ἀιδιόπων σοφίας, εἰ σεμνότερον ὑμῶν καὶ θεοειδέστερον κύων δόξει καὶ ἱβες καὶ τράγος, ταῦτα γὰρ Θεσπεσίων ἀκούώ τοῦ σοφοῦ. σεμνὸν δὲ δὴ ἡ ἐμφοβουχον
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

an influence pregnant with wisdom and genius." CHAP. XIX

"What was that?" said the other, "for I do not think you can adduce any except imitation." "Imagination," 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 suppose, 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 handicrafts, 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.

79
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS


XX

CAP. Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπεσίων ὡσπερ μεθυστάμενος τοινυτὶ τοῦ λόγου, ἦρετο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον περὶ 80
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

But what is there that is august or awe-inspiring in these images? Is it not likely that perjurers and 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 suggestion.” 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 Apollonius, “but a divine and unfeignedly wise man; for he did not swear by these objects on the understanding that they were gods, but to save himself from swearing by the gods.”

XX

Thereupon Thespesion as if anxious to drop this subject, put some questions to Apollonius, about the...
Τῆς Δακωνικῆς μάστιγος καὶ εἰ δημοσία οἱ Δακε- 
δαμόνιοι παίουνται. “τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε,” εἶπεν, 
“ὁ Θεοπεσίων, αὐτὸς μάλιστα οἱ ἕλευθεροι τέ 
καὶ εὐδόκιμοι.” “τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας ἄδικούντας τί,” 
ἔφη, “ἐργάζονται;” “οὐκέτ’ ἀποκτείνουσι,” εἶπεν, 
“ὡς ἠμελεῖτε ποτὲ ὁ Δικαύριος, ἀλλ’ ἡ αὐτῆ καὶ 
ἐπ’ ἑκεῖνους μάστιξ.” “ἡ δὲ Ἑλλᾶς πῶς,” ἔφη, 
“περὶ αὐτῶν γιγνώσκει;” “ξύνιασιν,” εἶπεν, 
“ἀστερὲ ἐς τὰ Ἱσαίησιν καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδιάς, 
θεαισάμενοι ξύν ἡδονὴ τε ἡμῖν πᾶσῃ.” “εἰτ’ οὖν 
ἀποκτείνουται.” ἔφη, “οἱ χρηστοὶ Ἑλληνες ἢ τοὺς 
αὐτῶν ποτὲ ἀφθαρπαὶς ἰδόντες ἀμφιγεμένους ἐσ 
τὸ κοινὸν, ἢ ἀρχέσθεντες ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μαστι- 
γοῦνται δημοσία; σὺ δὲ πῶς οὐ διωρθώσω ταύτα; 
φασὶ γὰρ σὲ καὶ Δακεδαμονίων ἐπιμεληθήναι.” 
“ἀ γε,” εἶπε, “δυνατὸν διορθωθῇ ξυνεβοῦ- 
λευνὸς μὲν ἐγώ, προθύμως δ’ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπραττοῦν, 
ἐλευθεριώταιτοι μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰςι, 
μόνου’ δ’ ὑπήκοοι τοῦ εὐ ξυμβουλεύοντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν 
μαστίγων ἢθος τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι. ἢ ἂν ὁ Σκυθῶν δῆται, 
χρησμῶν, φασιν, ἔχοντος μαστίγων, ταύτα. θεοῖς δ’ 
ἀντινομένα μανία, οἶμαι.” “οὐ σοφοῦς, Ἀπολ- 
λώνε,” ἔφη, “τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς εἰρηκας, 
eἰ μαστίγων ἐγίγνοντο ξύμβουλοι τοῖς τὴν ἑλεν- 
θερίαν ἀσκοῦσιν.” “οὐ μαστίγων,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ 
τοῦ αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τῶν βωμῶν ράινειν, ἐπειδὴ 

1 I conjecture μόνου for μόνοι.
scourging in Sparta, and asked if the Lacedaemonians were smitten with rods in public. "Yes," answered the other, "as hard, O Thespesion, 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
καὶ παρὰ Σκύθαις τούτων ἥσιόντο, σοφισάμενοι
dὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς θυσίας
ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς καρτερίας ἁγώνα ἤκουσιν, ἀφ’ ἣς ἐστὶ
μῆτε ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ τοῦ
σφῶν αἶματος." "διὰ τὶ οὖν," ἔφη, "τοὺς ξένους
οὓς καταθύνοσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, καθάπερ ἑδικαίον
ποτὲ οἱ Σκύθαι;" "οὐτὶ," εἶπεν, "οὐδεὶ Ἑλλήνων
πρὸς τρόπου βάρβαρα ἔξασκεῖν ἥθη." "καὶ μὴν καὶ
φιλανθρωπότεροι ἑδόκουν ἂν ἐνα ποι καὶ δύο
θύνετε ἡ ἡξυγίασια χρώμενοι ἐς πάντας."

"Μὴ καθαπτώμεθα," εἶπεν, "ὡς Ὀσπεσίων, τοῦ
Δυκούργου, χρὴ γὰρ ξυνιέναι τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι τὸ
μὴ ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι εὖν τοὺς ξένους οὐκ ἀμείβας αὐτῷ
νοῦν εἰχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑγιαίνει τᾶς ἐπιτηδεύσεις
μὴ ἐνομιλοῦντων τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῶν ἔξωθεν." "ἔγω
δὲ ἀνδράς," ἔφη, "Σπαρτιάτας ἥγούμην ἂν, οἷοι
δοκεῖν ἄξιοισιν, εἰ συνδιαιτόμενοι τοῖς ξένους μὴ
μεθίσταντο τῶν οἴκιοι, οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀπόντων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῷ παρόντων ὁμοίως ὀρᾶσθαι ἔδει, οἷμαι, τὰς
ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι. οἱ δὲ καίτοι ἡξυγίασιας χρώ-
μενοί, διεθήρησαν τᾶς ἐπιτηδεύσεις, καὶ οἱ μᾶ-
λιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπήχθησαν, τούτοις ὁμοία
πράττειν ἐξόγαν. τὰ γαῦν περὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ
84
the altar to be worthy thereof; but the Lacedae-

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. XX

α) μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτάξεις τῶν φόρων ἀττικῶτερον αὐτοῖς ἐβουλεύθη, καὶ ὑπὲρ δὲν πολεμητέα πρὸς Ἀθηναίους φόντο αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ταῦτ’ ἐς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ δρᾶν κατέστησαν, τὰ μὲν πολέμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νικώντες, δὲν δὲ ἐκείνους ἐπιτηδεύειν ἔδοξεν ἦττομενοι. καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν ἐκ Ταύρων τε καὶ Σκυθῶν ἐςάγεσθαι δαίμονα, ἥν νομι-ζόντων. εἰ δὲ χρησμῶν ταῦτα, οὗ ἐδει μάςτυνος; τί δὲ καρτέριαν ἀνδραποδώδη πλάττεσθαι; λακω-νικῶτερον πρὸς θανάτον ρώμην ἐκείνο ἦν, οἴμαι, Σπαρτιάτην ἔφηβου ἐκόντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ θύεσθαι. τοιτί γὰρ ἄν τὴν μὲν Σπάρτην εὐφυχοτέ-ρους ἐδείκνυε, τὴν δὲ Ἐλλάδα ἄπηγε τοῦ μὴ ἐς ἀντίπαλα αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθίστασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἐς τὰ πολέμα φείδεσθαι τῶν νέων εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀλλ’ ὁ γε νόμος ὁ παρὰ Σκύθαις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξηκομούτας κείμενος οὐκειότερος ἢ Δακεδαιμονίοις ἐπίτηδεύειν ἢ Σκύθαις, εἰ τὸν θάνατον ἀτεχνώς, ἀλλὰ μὴ κόμπου ἐνεκα ἐπαινοῦσι. ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς Δακε-δαιμονίους εἰρηταὶ μοι, πρὸς δὲ σε, Ἀπολλώνιε, εἰ γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ νόμμα καὶ πολιωτέρα ἡ γυνώ-σκειν αὐτὰ πικρῶς ἐξετάζομεν ἐς ἐλεγχὸν καθ-ιστάμενοι τὸν θείου, διότι αὐτοῖς χαίρομεν, πολλοὶ καὶ ἄτοποι λόγοι τῆς τοιάσθε φιλοσοφίας ἀναφύ-
subsequent naval programme and policy of imposing 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 herself 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 prevails 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, supposing 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 unsympathetic 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;
CAP. XX

σουταί, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῆς Ἐλευσίνης τελετῆς ἐπι-
λαβοῖμεθα, διότι τό, ἀλλὰ μὴ τό, καὶ ὅν Σαμο-
θρακες τελοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα, τὸ δεῖνα δὲ αὐτοῖς
dρᾶται, καὶ Διόνυσίων καὶ φαλλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐν
Κυλλήνη εἴδουσ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν συκοφαν-
τοῦντες πάντα. ἦμεν οὖν ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι βούλει ἐτερον,
tιμῶντες καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγον ἴμεδαπτον
όντα· καλὸν γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ περὶ πάντων, ἀλλ᾽
ὑπέρ γε τῶν τοιοῦτων σιωπᾶν." ὑπολαβὼν δ᾽ ὁ
 Alexandros, "εἰ σπουδάσαι," εἶπεν, "ὁ Θεο-
πεσίων, ἐβούλου τὸν λόγον, πολλὰ ἄν σοι καὶ
γενναία ἔδοξεν ἡ Δακεδαίμων λέγειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἴγιως
τε καὶ παρὰ πάντας ἐπιτηδεύει τοὺς "Ἐλληνας,
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτως ἀποσπουδάζεις αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ δὲ δούν
ἔγεισθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοιοῦτων λέγειν, ἦμεν ἐφ᾽
ἐτερον λόγον πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω.
περὶ δικαιοσύνης γὰρ τι ἐρήσομαι."

XXI

CAP. XXI

"Ἀπτώμεθα," ὁ Θεσπεσίων ἔφη, "τοῦ λόγου,
προσήκον γὰρ σοφοῖς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοῖς. ἀλλ᾽ ἦνα
μὴ τὰς Ἰνδῶν δόξας ἐνείροντες ξυγχέωμεν αὐτῶν
καὶ ἀπέλθωμεν ἀπρακτοι τοῦ λόγου, πρῶτον εἰπὲ
tὰ περὶ δικαιοσύνης Ἰνδῶν δόξαντα, εἰκὸς γὰρ
88
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

for we could attack the mystery rite of Eleusis in CHAP. XX the same way and ask, why it is this and not that; 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, therefore, 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 everything, at any rate to preserve silence about such matters as these.” Apollonius replied and said, “If, O Thespion, you had wished to discuss the topic seriously, you would have found that the Lacedaemonians 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 Thespion, “tackle the subject; for it is one very suitable to men, whether they are 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 Indians concerning justice, for you probably examined
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS


90
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 Thespasion, “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 Thespasion,” 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
CAP. XXI

ούτως ευδαιμόνος χώρας ἁρχῶν ἐπέστη φιλοσοφούσιν ὡμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλείου, δικαιοτάτον κτήματος;” “εἰ ὁ Φραώτης,” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἀφικό-
μενος ἤν, ὃρθως ἂν ἐμέμφη τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ δικαιο-
σύνης ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ σπουδᾶσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδε τοὺν ἀνθρώπουν ἐν ὦς χάθει ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διήσεις μεθύνοντα καὶ ἀρχόμενον φιλοσοφίας πάσης, τί ἔδει παρέχειν
ὀχλον; τί δ’ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν φιλοτιμούμενους ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπουν σύβαρμι ἡγουμένου πάντα; ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὡστερ ἡμῖν, ἵνα νευτεὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη μᾶλλον ἡ βασιλεία ἢ τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, ἵπποι ἐπὶ τὸν ἄτεχνος δίκαιον. ὃ γὰρ ἐμαύτων τε ἡγούμην, ὅποτε ἡ ναῦς, ἐτέρους τε, ὃ
μὴ ἀδίκων ἀποτελεῖ, οὕτω δικαίους φατέ, οὐδ’ ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι.” “καὶ εἰκότως,” εἶπεν, “οὐδὲ
γὰρ αὖ Ἄθηναίος ποτὲ ἡ Δακεδαιμονίας ἐγράφη γνώμη τοῦ δείνα στεφανοῦν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν
ὕπαρχων ἐστίν, ἢ τὸν δείνα ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συλάται. τίς οὖν ὁ
dίκαιος καὶ ὁ τί πράττων; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δικαιο-
σύνη τινὰ στεφανωθεῖντα οἶδα, οὐδὲ γνώμην ἐπ’ ἀνδρί δικαίω ἡγαφείσαν, ὡς τὸν δείνα ἥρη στε-
φανοῦν, ἐπειδή τὸ δείνα πράττων δικαιοφαίνεται, τὰ μὲν γὰρ Παλαμήδους ἐνθυμηθέντες τὰ ἐν Τροίᾳ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους τὰ Ἁθήνησιν οὐδ’ εὑρυχεῖν ἢ
dικαιοσύνη δόξη παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἄδικωτα

92
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the sovereign of so large and so flourishing a country intervened in your philosophic discussion of the art of 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

93
CAP. XXI

γὰρ δὴ ο��δὲ ἔπαθον, δικαίωτατοι ὄντες. πλὴν ἀλλ᾽ ὦτοι μὲν ἐπὶ δόξη ἀδικημάτων ἀπώλοντο, ψήφου
παρὰ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐνεχθείσης, Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν Δυσ-
μάχου καὶ αὐτὴ ποτε ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀπώλευ, καὶ
ἀνὴρ τοιόσοδε ἐπὶ τοιάδε ἁρετῇ φεύγων ὀχετο. καὶ
ὡς μὲν γελοία ἡ δικαιοσύνη δόξει, γνησίωσκοι,
tεταγμένη γὰρ ὑπὸ Δίος τε καὶ Μοιρῶν ἐσ τὸ μὴ
ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐδαμοῦ ἕαυτὴν ἐσ τὸ
μὴ αὐτὴ ἀδικείσθαι τάττει.

'Εμοὶ δὲ ἀπόξρη τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐσ τὸ
δηλῶσαι, τίς μὲν ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, τίς δὲ ὁ δικαίος·
eἰπὲ γὰρ μου, οὐχ ὦτος, Ἀριστείδης ἑκεῖνος,
ὅν φατε ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἐλλήνων ἥκοντες πλεύ-
σαντα ἐσ τὰς νῆσους ὑπὲρ τῶν φόρων, εὐμέ-
τρους τε αὐτοὺς τάξαι καὶ ἄξιον τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπανελ-
θεῖν τρίβων;" "οὗτος," εἶπε, "δι᾽ ἐν καὶ πενίας
ἔρως ποτὲ ἡμὴσεν. " εἰ οὖν," ἔφη, "δόο Ἀθηναῖοι
dημαρχώγοι γενολόθην ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Ἀριστείδην
ἀρτι ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος ἥκοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν γράφοι
στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν, ἑπειδὴ μὴ πλοῦτων ἀφίκται
μηδὲ βίον ἑαυτῷ ξυνειλοχῶς μηδένα, ἀλλὰ πενέ-
στατος μὲν Ἀθηναίων, πενεστερος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ δὲ
αὐ τοουτοὶ τι γράφοι ψῆφισμα: ἑπειδὴ Ἀρισ-
τείδης οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸ δυνατὸν τῶν ξυμμάχων τάξαν
94
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

ΚΑΠ. τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκαστοι γῆς ἔχουσι, τῆς τε ὀμονοίας αὐτῶν ἐπεμελήθη τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀχθομένους δοκεῖν φέρειν ταῦτα, δεδοχθὼ στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη, ἀρ’ οὐκ ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ κἂν ἀντειπεῖν αὐτός, ὡς οὐκ ἄξια τῶν ἐαυτῷ βεβιωμένων, εἰ ἐφ’ οἷς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ τιμῆτο, τὴν δ’ ἰσως ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαινέσαι, στοχαζομένην δὲν διενοῆθη; βλέψας γὰρ ποι ἡ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ξυμφέρον ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ξυμμετρίας τῶν φόρων, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐδείχθη μᾶλλον ἐπειδή γὰρ παραβάντες Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς ἐκείνοις δόξαντας, βαρυτέρους ἐπέγραψαν ταῖς νήσοις, διεσπάσθη μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ναυτικὴ δύναμις, ἡ μᾶλλον φοβερὸν ἦσαν, παρῆλθε δὲ ἡ Δακε-Δαμονίων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ἐνεμείνε δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἂπαν τὸ ὕποκοιον ἔσ νεώτερα ὄρμησε καὶ ἀποστροφῆς ἦφατο. δίκαιος οὖν, ὁ Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ τοὺς εὐθῶν λόγον οὐχ ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, ἀλλ’ ὁ δίκαιοι μὲν αὐτῶι πρᾶττων, καθιστάς δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους ἐς τὸ μὴ ἄδικεῖν, καὶ φύσονται τῆς τοιαύτης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἄλλα μὲν ἄρετα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ δικαστικὴ τε καὶ ἡ νομοθετικὴ. δικάσει μὲν γὰρ τοιόσοδε πολλῷ δικαιότερον ἢ οἱ κατὰ τῶν τομῶν ὀμνύντες, νομοθετήσει δὲ, ὡσπερ 96
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 his 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
Τοσαίτα ὁ Δάμις διαλεξθῆναι φησίν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἕμφησαι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς γὰρ ὑγιῶς λεγομένοις ἥμαστει νεων. φιλοσοφήσαντες δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς, ὡς ἀθάνατος εἴη, καὶ περὶ φύσεως παραπλήσια ταῖς Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαῖῳ δόξαις, περὶ τοῖς παρ᾽ Ἐλλησί νόμοις πλείω διαλεξθέντες, ἵνα ἕμοι, εἴπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἡ δεύτερος ὡς ὑμῶν τε ἐνεκά καὶ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγῶν ἐγένετο, ὅς μέχρι μὲν Ἀἰγύπτου προελθόντι ἔγχυσεν ἄγνοιας, προ- χωρήσαντι δὲ ἐπ᾽ Ἀἰθιοπίαν, ὃν ἐγὼ τρόπον, κἂν δυνείδος φέροι τὸ παρελθεῖν αὐτὰς καὶ μὴ ἀρύ- σασθαι τινας αὐτῶν λόγους. " ἢδι χαίρων," ἔφη, "καὶ ὁ τι σοι φίλου, εὐχοὺς ταῖς πηγαί, θείαι γάρ. ἡγεμόνα δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσῃ τῶν πάλαι Ναυκρατίτην, νῦν δὲ Μεμφίτην, Τιμασίωνα, τῶν τε γὰρ πηγῶν ἐθάς οὕτω καὶ οὕτω τι καθαρῶς, ὡς μὴ δεισθαί τοῦ ράϊνεσθαι. σοι δὲ, ὁ Νείλε, βουλόμεθα ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν διαλεξθῆναι τί." ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τῶν λόγων ὁμ ἄφανῆ ἢν τῷ Ἀπολλώνιῳ, ἐξωτερικῶς γάρ αὐτῶν δυσχερῶς διακειμένων, ἐπειδὴ ἤρα αὐτοῦ ὁ Νεῖλος,
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

XXII

Such, according to Damis, was the discussion held 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 whatever 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 Apollonius, for he well understood their annoyance at Nilus' preference for himself; but to give them an
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXII έξιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦς τῆς διαλέξεως ἀνήγει συ-
σκευασόμενος, ὡς εξελὼν ἀμα τῇ ἐφ, μετ' οὐ πολὺ
dὲ ἤκων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἀπήγγειλε μὲν οὐδὲν ὃν
ήκουσεν, ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ δὲ θαμὰ ἐγέλα· ἡρώτα δὲ
οὐδὲς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀλλ' ἐφείδοντο τοῦ
ἀπορρήτου.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Τότε μὲν δὴ δειπνήσαντες καὶ διαλεχθέντες οὐχ
ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αὐτοῦ ἐκοιμήθησαν, ἀμα δὲ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς προσεπόντες ἐπορεύοντο τὴν
ἐς τὰ ὄρη τείνουσαν ἀριστερός τοῦ Νεῖλου, τάδε
όροντες λόγου ἄξια· οἱ Κατάδουτοι γεώδη ὥρη
καὶ παραπλήσια τῷ Λυδῶν Τμώλῃ, κατάρρους δὲ
ἀπ' αὐτῶν φέρεται Νεῖλος, ἦν ἐπιστᾶται γῆν
ποιῶν Αἰγυπτιοῦ. ἡ δὲ ἡχὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος καταρ-
ρηγιμιμένου τῶν ὅρων καὶ ψόφῳ ἀμα ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον
ἐκπέπτοντος χαλεπῇ δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτῇ ἄκουσαι,
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πρόσω τοῦ μετρίου προελθόντες
ἀνεξευξαν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ ἀκούειν.

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Προϊόντι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
μαστοῖς ὅρων ἐφαίνοντο παρεχόμενοι δένδρα, ὃν
Αἰθίοπες τὰ φύλλα καὶ τῶν φλοιῶν καὶ τὸ δά-
ιοο
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS; BOOK VI

opportunity of speaking to him apart; he left them to prepare and pack up for his journey; for he meant 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 of certain trifles they laid them down to sleep where they were; but at daybreak they said goodbye to the naked sages, and started off along the road which leads to the mountains, keeping the Nile on their right hand, and they saw the following spectacles 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 they saw some round-shaped hills covered with trees, the leaves and bark and gum of which the Ethiopians
FLAVIUS, PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXIV
κρονον καρπὸν ἄργυται, ἑώρων δὲ καὶ λέοντας ἀγχοῦ τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τοιαύτα θηρία ἕτερα, καὶ ἔπηει οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπεπήδα σφῶν, ὡστ' ἐκπεπληγμένα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἔλαφοι δὲ καὶ δορκάδες καὶ στροφοῦ καὶ ὄνοι, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ταύτα ἐωρᾶτο, πλεῖστα δὲ οἱ βόαιροι τε καὶ οἱ βοϊτραγοί. ξύγκειται δὲ τὰ θηρία ταύτα τὸ μὲν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ταύρου, τὸ δὲ ἀφ' ὁνυπὲρ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἤρηκε. καὶ ὅστοις δὲ τούτων ἐνετύγχανον καὶ ἡμιβρώτους σώμασιν, οἱ γὰρ λέοντες, ἐπειδὰν θερμῆς τῆς θηρᾶς ἐμφορ- ἴδωσιν, ἀτιμάζουσιν αὐτὴς τὰ περιττὰ, πιστεύ- ωντες, οἴμαι, τὸ καὶ αὕτως θηράσεων.

XXXV

CAP. XXV
'Ενταῦθα νομάδες οἰκούσιν Αἰθίοπες ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν πεπολυσμένοι, καὶ πλησίον τούτων οἱ τοὺς ἐλέ- φαντας θηρώντες, κατακόπτοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνται ἀγοράν, οὐ μεθ' ἐπώνυμοι εἰσὶ τῆς τῶν ἐλεφάντων πράσεως. Νασαμώνεσ δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρο- φάγοι καὶ Πυγμαίοι καὶ Σκιάποδες ἐθνικὲς μὲν Αἰθίοπων καὶ οἶδε, καθήκουσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Αἰθίοπα Ὁμειανόν, ὅν μόνον ἐσπλέονσιν οἱ ἀπενεχθέντες ἀκοντες.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI
Διαλεγομένους δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἀλλο ἀλλώς.
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 pigmies 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.

XXVI

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

CAP. XXVI

βοσκούσης, ἥχῳ προσέβαλεν σοιν βροντής οὕτω σκληρᾶς, ἀλλὰ κοίλης ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῷ νέφει. καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ἐγγύς," ἐφη, "ὁ καταρράκτης, ἅ ἄνδρες, ὁ κατιώντων μὲν υστατος, ἀνισοτῶν δὲ πρῶτος." καὶ στάδια δέκα ἵσσως προελθόντες ἰδεῖν φασι ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόμενον τοῦ ὄρους μείω σύνδεν ἢ ἐν πρώταις ξυμβολαῖς οἱ Μαρσύας καὶ ὁ Μαίανδρος, προσευχόμενοι δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ χωρείν πρόσω καὶ θηρία μὲν οὐκέτι ὄραν, ψοφοδεά γὰρ φύσει ὑπατα προσοικεῖν τοῖς γαληνοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς βαγδαίοις τε καὶ ἐνήχοις, ἔτερον δὲ καταρράκτου ἀκούσαι μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ποὺν στάδια χαλεποῦ ἠδή καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτοῦ αἰσθέθαι, ὅπλασιῶ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸν τοῦ προτέρου, ὀρῶν δὲ ἒσπηλοτέρων ἐκπίπτειν. ἐαυτόν μὲν οὖν καὶ τυσῴ τῶν ἐταίρων οὕτω τι κτυπηθήναι τὰ ὅτα ὁ Δάμως φησίν, ὡς αὐτὸς τε ἀναξεύξα τοῦ τε Ἀπολλωνίου δεῖσθαι μὴ χωρεῖν πρόσω, τὸν δὲ ἑρρωμένως ξύν τε τῷ Τιμασίωνι καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ τοῦ τρίτου καταρράκτου ἐχεσθαι, περὶ οὗ τάδε ἀπαγγεῖλα ἢκοντα ἐπικρέμασθαι μὲν τῷ Νείλῳ κορυφάς ἐκεὶ σταδίων μάλιστα ὅκτω ὑψος, τὴν δὲ όχθην τὴν ἀντικειμένῃ τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὄφρυν εἶναι λιθοτομίας ἀρρήτου, τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἀποκρεμανυμένας τῶν ὄρων ὑπερπίπτειν ἐς τὴν πετρώδη όχθην, ἀναχείσθαι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸν Νείλον κυμαίνουσας τε καὶ λευκάς. τὰ δὲ πάθη τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμβαίνουσα πολλαπλασίας ἢ αἱ πρότεραι οὕσας καὶ τὴν πηδώσαν ἐκ

104
supplies in their different cases, they heard a sound as of thunder: not a crashing sound, but of thunder as it is when it is still hollow and concealed in 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 besought 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 ὑχῶ εἰς τὰ ὅρη, δυσήκουσι ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ῥεύματος. τὴν δὲ πρὸς ὅδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας πηγὰς ἀγοῦσαν ἀποροῦν μὲν ἐλθεῖν φασιν, ἀποροῦν δὲ ἐνθυμηθήναι, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων ἁδουσιν, οἷα καὶ Πινδάρφω κατὰ σοφίαν ὑμνηται περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, δυ ταῖς πηγαῖς ταύταις ἐφιστησιν ὑπὲρ ξυμμετρίας τοῦ Νείλου.

XXVII

Καταλύσαντες δὲ μετὰ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἐν κόμη τῆς Αἴθιοπίας οὐ μεγάλη ἐδείπνουν μὲν περὶ ἐσπέραν, ἑγκαταμηνύντες σπουδὴν παιδιᾶ, ἐνδῆς δὲ ἀδρόας τῶν ἐν τῇ κόμῃ γυναικῶν ἦκουσαν ἐπικελευσμένους ἀλλήλαις ἔλειν, καὶ διώξαι, παρεκάλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνδρας ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἔργου, οἱ δὲ ἀρπασάμενοι ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ ὅ τι ἐς χεῖρας ἐκάστῳ ἔλθοι, ξυνεκάλουν ὡσπερ ἄδικούμενοι τοὺς γάμους. ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ἀρα τῇ κόμῃ δέκατον ἦδη μῆνα σατύρου φάσμα λυττῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γύναια, καὶ δύο ἀπεκτονέων σφῶν ἐλέγετο, ὡς μάλιστα ἔδοκει ἐρᾶν. ἐκπλαγέντων οὐν τῶν ἑταίρων, “μὴ δέδιτε,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑβρίζει γὰρ τις ἐνταύθα σάτυρος.” “νὴ Δὺ,” ἐφη, ὁ Νείλος,
and the echo which leaps up therefrom against the mountains render it impossible to hear what your companion tells you about the river. But the further road which leads up to the first springs of the river was impracticable, they tell us, and impossible 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 village of the Ethiopians of no great size, and they 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 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

"δυν γε ἡμεῖς οἱ Υγμνοῖς χρόνῳ ἤδη ύβρίζοντα μῆτρῳ μετεστῆσαμεν τοῦ σκιρτάν." "ἀλλ᾿ ἔστιν," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ τοὺς ύβριστὰς τούτους φάρμακον, ὃ λέγεται Μίδας ποτὲ χρήσασθαι μετείχε μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τῶν σατύρων γένους ὁ Μίδας οὗτος, ὡς ἐθήλου τὰ ὁστα, σάτυρος δὲ ἐπ᾿ αὐτὸν εἰς κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐκώμαζε τὰ τοῦ Μίδου διαβάλλων ὤστα, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἄδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλῶν τοῦτο, ὁ δ᾿, οἷμαι, τῆς μητρὸς ἀκηκώσω, ὅτι σάτυρος οἶνῳ θηρευθείς, ἐπειδὰν ἐς ὑπνον καταπέσῃ, σωφρονεὶ καὶ διαλ- λάττεται, κρήνῃ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰ βασίλεια κεράσας οἶνῳ ἐπαφήκεν αὐτῇ τὸν σάτυρον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιέ τε καὶ ἠλῶ. καὶ ὅτι μὴ ψεύδεται ὁ λόγος, ἱωμεν παρὰ τὸν κωμᾶρχην, καὶ ἢν ἔχωσιν οἱ κωμῆται οἶνον, κεράσωμεν αὐτὸν τῷ σατύρῳ, καὶ ταύτα τῷ Μίδου πείσεται." ἐδοξέ ταῦτα καὶ ἀμφορέας Ἀιγυπτίων τέταρας οἰνοχόησας ἐς ληυόν, ἀφ᾿ ἧς ἐπίτε τὰ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πρόβατα, εἰκάλε τὸν σάτυρον ἁφανῶς τι ἐπιπλήττον, ὁ δὲ οὖπω μὲν ἐωρᾶτο, ὑπεδίδου δὲ ὁ οἶνος, ὥσπερ πινόμενοι· ἑπεὶ δὲ ἐξηρῆθη, "σπεισόμεθα, ἐφι, "τῷ σατύρῳ, καθεύδει γὰρ." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤγειτο τοῖς κωμήταις ἐς Νυμφῶν ἀντρόν, πλέθρον οὖπω ἀπέχον τῆς κώμης, ἐν ὃ καθεύδοντα δείξας αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι εἰπὲ τοῦ παίειν ἢ λοιδορεῖσθαι οἱ, "πέπαυται γὰρ

108
running amuck here." "Yes, by Zeus," said Nilus, Chap. xxvii
"it's the one that we naked sages have found 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.” τούτο μὲν δὴ τοιούτων Ἀπολλωνίου, μὰ Δι', οὗ χλὸς οὐδὲ πάρεργον, ἀλλὰ παρόδου ἔργων, κἂν ἐντύχη τις ἐπιστολῆ τοῦ ἄνδρος, ἢν πρὸς μειράκιον ὑβρίζον γράφων καὶ σάτυρον δαίμονα σωφρονίσαι φησίν ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, μεμνημέθαι χρή του λόγου τούτου. σατύρους δὲ εἶναι τε καὶ ἔρωτικῶν ἀπτεσθαι μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν οἶδα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Δήμου τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τινα ἱσηλίκων, οὐ τῇ μητρὶ ἐλέγετο τις ἐπιφοιτάν σάτυρος, ὅσ εἰκὸς ἦν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτη, νεβρίδα γὰρ ἐμφανὰ ἐφείε ἐνημέμενῳ κατὰ τῶν νῶτον, ἢς οἱ ποδεώνες οἱ πρῶτοι ξυνειληφότες τὴν δέρην περὶ τὸ στέρνον αὐτῶ ἀφήπτοντο. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλείω ύπὲρ τούτων, οὔτε γὰρ ἡ πείρα ἀπιστητεῖα οὔτε ἐγώ.

XXVIII

Καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἥ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην διαφορὰ τὸτε μάλιστα ἐπέδωκε ἐκ τῶν ὀσμηρᾷ διαλέξεων, ἐπέτρεπε δὲ αὐτός Μενίππῳ τε καὶ Νείλῳ, σμικρὰ ἐπιτιμῶν αὐτὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῳ, τοῦ δὲ Νείλου σφόδρα ἐπεμελεῖτο.

XXIX

Ἔστεὶ δὲ Τίτος ἡρῆκει τὰ Σόλυμα καὶ νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν πάντα, τὰ ὀμορά τε ἔθνη ἐστεφάνουν αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἦξιον έαυτὸν τούτου, μὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς

110
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

this exploit of Apollonius, and, by heavens, we may call it not an incidental work in passing, but a masterpiece of his passing by; 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.

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 1 I try to render the pun of the original.

1 I try to render the pun of the original.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXIX

ταύτα εἰργάσθαι, θείος δὲ οργὴν φήμαντι ἐπιδεδω-
κέναι τὰς έαυτοῦ χεῖρας, ἐπήνει ο ’Ἀπολλώνιος
taúta, γυνώμη τε γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφαίνετο καὶ
ξύνεσις ἀνθρωπείων τε καὶ θείων, καὶ σωφροσύνης
μεστὸν τὸ μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐφ’ αἵματι. ξυνάττει
dὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ἡς διάκονον ποιεῖται
tὸν Δάμιν, καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ὅδε:

’’Ἀπολλώνιος Τίτῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥώμαιῶν χαίρειν.

Μὴ βουληθέντει σοι ἐπ’ αἰχμῇ κηρύττεσθαι, μηδ’
ἐπὶ δηῶν αἵματι, δίδωμι ἐγὼ τὸν σωφροσύνης στέ-
φανον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ’ οἷς δεῖ στεφανοῦσθαι, γυνώματι
ἐρρόσο.”

Τερησθεὶς δὲ ο Τίτος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, “καὶ ὑπὲρ
ἐμαυτοῦ,” ἔφη, “χάριν οἰδά σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
πατρὸς, καὶ μεμνῆσομαι τούτων, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
Σόλυμα ἥρηκα, σὺ δὲ ἐμέ.”

XXX

CAP. XXX

Ἀναρρηθεῖς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ
ἀριστείων ἄξιωθείς τούτων, ἀπῆς μὲν ἱσομοιρήσων
τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρί, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνθυμη-
θείς, ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιος αὐτῷ ἔσται καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ
ξυγγενόμενος, ἐδείτο αὐτοῦ ἐς Ταρσοῦς Ἰκείων, καὶ
περιβαλὼν ἐλθόντα, “πάντα μοι ὁ πατήρ,” ἔφη,

112
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

was not he himself that had accomplished this exploit, but that he had merely lent his arms to God, 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 Rome and rewarded with the meed of his valour, he went away to become the colleague in Empire of 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-

XXXI

"Ἐμοὶ δὲ," εἶπεν, "ὁ Τυανεὺ, περὶ ἄρχης καὶ βασιλείας τί υποθήσῃ;" "ἀ γε," ἔφη, "σεαυτὸν
thing in respect of which he consulted you; and here is his letter, in which you are described as 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."

"And for myself, O man of Tyana," answered Titus, "can you give me any precepts as to how
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

to rule and exercise the authority of a sovereign?" "Only such rules," replied the other, "as you have laid upon yourself; for in so submitting yourself to your father's will, it is, I think, certain that you will grow like him. And I would like to repeat to you on this occasion a saying of Archytas, which is a noble one and worth committing to memory. Archytas was a man of Tarentum who 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 yourself 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
αἰσθοῦτο." "γεγράψεται," ἔφη, "πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴ, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ρώμης." "γεγρά-
ϕῶ," ἔπευ, "ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν καὶ πρὸς σὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τινα γράφειν, ὡς ἀμα τῆς ἐς τὴν Ρώμην ὁδοῦ κοινωνὸς ἦμιν γένοιο." "ἀφίξομαι," ἔφη, "ὀπότε ἀμφοῖν λῆσον."

XXXII

CAP. XXXII
Μεταστησάμενος δὲ ὁ Τίτος τοὺς παρόντας,
"αὐτοῖς," ἔπευ, "ὦ Τυανεῦ, γεγόναμεν, ξυγχωρεῖς
γὰρ ποὺ ἐρωτᾶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμοὶ σπουδαιοτάτων ;"
"ἐρώτα," ἔφη, "καὶ τοσόντω προθυμότερου, ὅσον ὑπὲρ μειζόνων." "περὶ ψυχῆς," ἔπε, "τῆς ἐμαυ-
τοῖ, καὶ οὐς μάλιστα φυλαττοίμην ἂν, ἔσται μοι ἡ ἐρώτησις, εἰ μὴ δόξῳ δείλος δεδώς ἡδὴ ταύτα." "ἀσφαλῆς μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐφεστηκός, προ-
ορὰν γὰρ τούτου χρὴ μάλιστα." καὶ ἐς τὸν ἡλιοῦ
ἀναβλέψας ὁμην αὐτοῖ, ἢ μὴν αὐτῶς μέλλεις ὑπὲρ τούτων πρὸς αὐτῶν λέξειν μηδὲ ἐρωτῶντα, τοὺς
gὰρ θεοὺς φήματι οἱ προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ξώντος μὲν τοὺ πατρὸς δεδέναι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ πολεμωτά-
tους, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοὺς ἐαυτῷ οἰκειοτάτους.
"ἀποθανοῦμαι δὲ," ἔπε, "τίνα τρόπον ;" "ὸν
γε," ἔφη, "Ὄδυσσεύς λέγεται, φασὶ γὰρ κάκεινον
118
feels I am committing injustice." "I will write 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: "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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXII

τὸν θάνατον ἐκ θαλάττης ἔλθειν." ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις ὤδε ἔρμηνεύει· φυλάττεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν αἰχμὴν τῆς τριγόνος, ἢ τὸν Ὄδυσσεα βεβλησθαί φασί, δυοῖν δὲ ἐτοῖν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τὴν ἀρχήν κατα-
σχόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου λαγὼ ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἱχθὺν τοῦτον παρέχεσθαι χυμοὺς ἀπορρήτους ὑπὲρ
πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ γῇ ἀνδροφόνα, καὶ
Νέρωνα μὲν ἐσποιήσαι τοῖς έαυτοῦ ὅψεις τὸν
λαγὸν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμωτάτους, Δομετια-
νὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄδελφον Τίτον, οὐ τὸ ἐκν ἄδελφῳ ἀρχεῖν δεινὸν ἡγούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκν πράγμα τε
καὶ χρηστῷ. τοιάυτα διαλεχθέντες ἴδια περιέ-
βαλον ἀλλήλους ἐν φανερῷ, ἀπίστα δὲ προσεπτών,
"νίκα, ὡ βασιλεῦ!" ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ὅπλοις, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἀρετάις."

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII

Ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπιστολῆ ὄδε εἶχεν·
Ἀπολλώνιος φιλόσοφος Δημητρίῳ κυνὶ χαίρειν.
Δίδωμί σε βασιλεῖ Τίτῳ διδάσκαλον τοῦ τῆς
βασιλείας ἦθους, σὺ δὲ ἄληθεύσαι τέ μοι πρὸς αὐ-
τὸν δίδου καὶ γύνου αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὀργῆς, πάντα.
ἔρρωσο.

120
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."
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV

Οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ταρσοὺς οἰκοῦντες τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἠχθοντο τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διὰ τε τὰς ἐπιπλήξεις, ἐπειδὴ ξυντόνους αὐτὰς ἔποιεῖτο, διὰ τὸ ἄνειμέναι καὶ τρυφῶντες μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ λόγου ἀνέχεσθαι ῥώμην, τότε δ' οὕτω τι ἠττήθησαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς οἰκιστήν τε αὐτὸν ἤγείσθαι καὶ στήριγμα τοῦ ἀστεοῦ. ἔθνε μὲν γὰρ δημοσία ο βασιλεὺς, ξυνελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἰκέτευεν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων, ὁ δὲ μεμνησθεὶς τούτων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔφη καὶ πρεσβεύσεων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ δὲν δέονται παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ δὲ ἐνίοις," ἔφη, "τούτων ἔλεγξαιμι σοὶ μὲν καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ πολεμίους, πεπρεσβευμένους δὲ ὑπὲρ νεωτέρων ἐς τὰ Σόλυμα, ξυμμάχους δ' ἀφανεῖς τῶν σοι φανερωτάτων ἔχθρῶν, τι πείσονται;" "τὶ δὲ ἄλλο γε," εἶπεν, "ἡ ἀπολούνται;" "εἶτα οὐκ αἰσχροῦν," ἔφη, "τὰς μὲν τιμωρίας αὐτίκα ἀπαιτεῖν, τὰς δὲ εὐργεσίας ὑψὲ διδόναι, καὶ τὰς μὲν καθ' ἐαυτὸν ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐς κοινωνίαν γνώμης ἀνατίθεσθαι;" ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, "δίδωμι τὰς δωρεάς," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ μοι ἀχθέσται ὁ πατὴρ ἀληθείας ἤττωμένῳ 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 favour they ask for, for my father will not be annoyed at my yielding to truth and to yourself."
XXXV

Τοσαύτα ἔθην φασὶν ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον σπουδάζοντα τε καὶ σπουδαζόμενον. αἱ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἀποδημίαι πολλαί μὲν ἐγένοντο τῷ ἄνδρι, οὐ μὴν τοσαύτα γε ἔτι, οὐδὲ ἐσ ἔτερα ἔθην πλὴν ἢ ἐγνω, περὶ τε γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Ἀἰγυπτῶν καταβάντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Αἰδιοπίας διατριβῇ πλείων ἐγένετο, περὶ τε Φοίνικας καὶ Κύκλικας. Ἦωνας τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶς καὶ Ἰταλοῦς πάλιν, οὐδ' ἐλλείπτοντι τὸ μὴ ὦν ὁμοίω ὑμείσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γνώναι ἐαυτὸν δοκοῦντο, χαλεπώτερον ἔγονεν ἡγούμαι τὸ μὲν ὦν ὁμοίῳ φαίνεσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γνώναι ἐαυτὸν δοκοῦντο, χαλεπώτερον ἔγονεν ἡγούμαι τὸ μὲν ὦν ὁμοίῳ φαίνεσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γνώναι ἐαυτὸν δοκοῦντο, χαλεπώτερον ἔγονεν ἡγούμαι τὸ μὲν ὦν ὁμοίῳ φαίνεσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γνώναι ἐαυτὸν δοκοῦντο, χαλεπώτερον ἔγονεν ἡγούμαι τὸ μὲν ὀμαλαὶς μεθ' ἑστηκαί. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τοῦτων ἐν ἑτέρως λόγως ἤκανθος εἰρήκα, διδάσκων τοὺς μὴ μαλακῶς αὐτοῖς ὠμολογοῦντας, ὅτι τὸν ἀτεχνὸν ἄνδρα μὴτε ἐκατοστήσει τι μῆτε δουλᾶς ἔσται. ὥς δὲ μὴτε ἐς λόγων ἰώμεν μήκος, ἀκριβῶς ἀναδιδάκτοις τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις αὐτῷ φιλοσοφη-θέντα, μὴτ' αὐτ' διαπηδώντες φαινομέθα λόγον, ὅποι ἀπόνως παραδίδειν τοῖς ἀπείροις τοῦ ἄνδρος, δοκεῖ μοι τὰ σπουδαίοτέρα ἐπελθεῖν τοῦτον καὶ ὅποσα μνήμης ἀξιώσεται. ἡγομέναι δὲ αὐτὰ παραπλῆσια ταῖς τῶν Ἁσκληπιαδῶν ἐπιδημίαις.
XXXV

So many were the races which they say Apollonius had visited until then, eager and zealous for others as they for him. But his subsequent journeys abroad, though they were numerous, were yet not so many as before, nor did he go to fresh districts which 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 comparable to the visits to mankind paid by the sons of Aesclepius.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI  Μειράκιον ἕαυτοῦ μὲν ἀπαιδεύτως εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ὅρνις ἑπαίδευε, καὶ ξυνοίκους ἑπὶ σοφία ἐποιεῖτο· ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτοὺς λαλεῖν τε ὅσα οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τερετίζειν ὅσα αὐλοί. τούτῳ περιτυχῶν, "τί," ἔφη, "ἐπιτηδεύεις;" ἔπει δὲ τὰς τε ἀνδόνας αὐτῷ διήμει καὶ τοὺς κοψίχους καὶ ὁπόσα εὐγλωττίζου τοὺς χαραδρίους, τὴν φωνὴν δὲ ἀπαίδευτον ἐφαίνετο, "δοκεῖς μοι," ἔφη, "διαφθείρειν τοὺς ὅρνις, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐαυτῶν φθέγμα, οὔτως ἢδυ ὅν, ὡς μηδὲ ἂν τὰ μουσικὰ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐς μέμησιν αὐτοῦ καταστήναι, εἶτα καὶ τῷ κάκιστα Ἐλλήνων αὐτὸς διαλεγόμενος, μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ἄφωνίας. ἐπιτρίβεις δ’, ὁ μειράκιον, καὶ τὸν σεαυτὸν οἶκον βλέψαντι γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ἀκολούθους καὶ ὡς κατεσκεύασα, τῶν ἄβρων ἐμοιγε καὶ οὐκ ἀπλοῦτων φαίνῃ, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ὑποβλέπτουσιν οἱ συκοφάνται, κέντρα ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἤρμηνευ τὴν γλώτταν. καὶ τὶ χρήσῃ τῇ φιλοροσπία τότε; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πασῶν ἀνθόνων μέλη ξυμφέρων ἀποσοβήσεις αὐτοὺς ἐγκειμένους τε καὶ ἐρείδοντας, ἀλλ’ ἐπαντλεῖν χρή τῶν δυτῶν, καὶ προβάλλειν αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ τὰ μειλίγματα τοῖς 126
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXVI

There was a youth who, without having any 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 uneducatedaccent—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 hangers-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
κυσί, κἂν ὑλακτῶσιν, αὖθις διδόναι καὶ αὖθις, εἰτα αὐτὸν πεινὴν ὑστερον καὶ ἀπορεῖν.

Δεὶ δὲ σοι ἐκτροπῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἤδη τινὸς τῶν τρόπων, ὡς μὴ λάθης πτεροπηρῆσας τῶν πλούτου, καὶ ἀξίως πράττων τοῦ θρηνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπ’ ὄρνιθων ἢ ξεδεσθαι. τὸ δὲ φάρμακον τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐ μέγα, ἐστὶ γὰρ τι ἐν ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, ὃ σὺ ὀφθω μὲν γιγνώσκεις, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ διδασκάλους· τοῦτοις ἀπὸ τῆς ὀυσίας μικρὰ δοὺς ἁσφαλῶς κεκτήσῃ τὰ πλεῖο, ῥητορικὴν γὰρ σε παιδεύσουσί την τῶν ἀγοραίων, ῥαδία δ’ ἡ τέχνη. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παιδά σε ἑώρων ἐτί, ξυνεβούλευν ἄν φοιτῶν ἐπὶ φιλοσόφων τε καὶ σοφιστῶν θύρας, καὶ σοφία πάση τῆς οἰκίας τήν σεαυτοῦ φράττειν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξωρος τούτων τυγχάνεις ὅν, τὸ γοῦν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ λέγειν ἐκμαθε, νομίσας, εἰ μὲν τὰ τελεωτέρα ἐμαθες, καὶ ὁμοίως ἀνδρὶ ὀπλιτεύοντί τε καὶ φοβερῷ δόξαι, ταυτὶ δ’ ἐκμαθῶν τῆν τῶν ψείλων τε καὶ σφενδονητῶν σκευήν ἔξεις· βάλλους γὰρ ἄν τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὡσπερ τοὺς κύνας.” ξυνήκε τὸ μειράκιον τούτων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὄρνιθων διατριβὰς ἐκλυτῶν ἐς διδασκάλων ἐβάδισεν, ὡς ἄν καὶ ἡ γνώμη αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα ἰσχυσεν.
barking you must give again and again, until at last you will find yourself reduced to hunger and to 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.
Δυοῖν δὲ λόγου ἐν Σάρδεσι λεγομένου, τοῦ μὲν, ὡς ο Πακτωλός ποτε τῷ Κρόισῳ ψήγμα χρυσοῦ ἄγοι, τοῦ δὲ, ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς γῆς εἴη τὰ δένδρα, τὸν μὲν πιθανῶς ἔφη πεπιστεύσθαι, χρυσία γὰρ εἶναι ποτὲ τῷ Τμώλῳ ψαμμώδη καὶ τοὺς ὄμβρους αὐτὰ φέρειν ἐς τὸν Πακτωλόν κατασύροντας, χρόνῳ δὲ, ὅπερ φίλει τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπελειπεῖν αὐτὰ ἀποκλυσθέντα. τοὺ δὲ ἔτερου λόγου καταγελάσας, "ἲμεῖς μὲν," ἔφη, "προγενέστερα τῆς γῆς φατε εἶναι τὰ δένδρα, ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺν οὗτο χρόνον φιλοσοφήσας οὗτο ἐγών οὐρανοῦ προγενεστέρους ἀστέρας," διδάσκων ὅτι μηδὲ ἄν γένοιτό τι τοῦ ἐν Ὁ φύεται μὴ ὄντος.

Στασιάζοντος δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος καὶ καθιέντος ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, ὡς ὁν διειστήκεσαν ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλις, σεισμοῦ δὲ γενναίου προσπεσόντος, ἐπτήξαν καὶ ὅπερ ἐν διοισθμίαις εἰσθέν, ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ηπείρου. παρελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ο μὲν θεός," ἔφη, "ὁμαλλακτῆς ἵμων σαφῆς γέγονεν, ἴμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ἄν αὖθις στασιάσατε, τὰ αὐτὰ φοβοῦμενοι." καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐς ἐννοιαν ὅν πεῖσονται, καὶ ὡς ταῦτα τοῖς ἔτεροις 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.

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 earth-quake 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.
XXXIX

CAP.

XXXIX

Here is another incident worth recording. A 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, ὃς πλοῦτος ἐκ τῶν παρανομωτάτων πεπόριστο, τὰς Φοινίκεων οὐσίας ἐνδεικνύστι, "χωρίον," ἔφη, "τὸ δεύτερον ἐπίρα δὲ καὶ τὶ πεπόνηται σοι ἐστὶ αὐτὸ;" τοῦ δὲ πέρυσι μὲν ἐσυνήθαι τὸν ἄγρον, πεντακισχιλίων δὲ καὶ μυρίων φήγαντος, οὕτω δὲ ἐκπεπονηκέναι τι, πείθει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποδόθαι οἱ δισμυρίων αὐτὸν, εὐρημα ποιησάμενον τὰς πεντακισχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐρῶν οὕτω ξυνεί τῷ δῷρῳ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ φέτο ἰσα ξέχω, τοσοῦτο δὲ ἐλάττω, ὅσοι τάς μὲν δισμυρίας ἐν ταῖς χερῶιν οὐσίας ἕφ' ἐαυτῷ εἶναι ἂν, τὸν δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἄγρον ἐπὶ πάχυναι κείσεσθαι καὶ χαλάζαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, δ' τοὺς καρποὺς φθείρει. ἐπεί δὲ ἀμφορέα μὲν τρισχιλίων δαρειῶν αὐτίκα εὕρε περὶ αὐτὸ μᾶλλον τὸ ἐν τῷ κηπίῳ σμῆνος, εὐφόρον δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἑλαίας καρποῦ ἑτυχεν, οὐκ εὐφορούσης τότε τῆς ἀλλης γῆς, ύμνοι αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἤδοντο καὶ μυηστήρων θεραπευόντων αὐτῶν πλέα ἦν πάντα.

XL

CAP. XL

Κάκεινα ἀξιομημόνευτα ἐδροῦ τοῦ ἄνδρος· ἔραν τις ἐδόκει τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδους ὦ ἐν Κνίδῳ γυμνὸν ἱδρυται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνετίθει, τὰ δ'
amassed a fortune in the most unrighteous manner, 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 hailstorms 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 beehive 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.

Here is another story which I came upon about 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XL

ἀναθήσειν ἔφασκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, Ἀπολλωνίω δὲ καὶ ἀλλὰς μὲν ἀτοπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ παρθενεῖτο ἡ Κνίδος, ἀλλ’ ἐναργεστέραν ἔφασαν τὴν θεὰν δόξεων, εἰ ἔρθω, ἐδοξε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καθήραι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἁνοίας ταύτης, καὶ ἔρομένων τῶν Κνίδίων αὐτῶν, εἰ τι βούλοιτο τῶν θυτικῶν ἢ εὐκτικῶν διορθοῦσθαι, “όφθαλμοὺς,” ἔφη, “διορθώσομαι, τα δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάτρια ἔχετω, ως ἔχει.”

καλέσας οὖν τὸν θρυπτόμενον ἦρετο αὐτῶν, εἰ θεοὺς νενόμικε, τοῦ δ’ οὕτω νομίζεων θεοὺς φήσαντο, ως καὶ ἔραν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν γάμων μνημονεύσαντος, οὐς θύσεων ἤγειτο, “seys mên poinhai,” ἔφη, “ἐπαίρουσι τοὺς Ἀγχίσας τε καὶ τοὺς Πηλέας θεαῖς ξυζυγήναι εἰπόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἑρᾶσθαι τὸδε γηγώσκῳ θεοὶ θεῶν, ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων, θηρίων θηρίων, καὶ καθάπαξ ὁμοίων ὁμοίων ἐρὰ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτύμα καὶ ξυγγενῆ τίκτειν, τὸ δὲ ἐτερογενέστερον τῷ μὴ ὁμοίῳ ξυνελθὼν οὕτε ξυγγός οὕτε ἔρως. εἰ δὲ ἐνεθυμοῦ τὰ Ἰξίους, οὐδ’ ἄν ἐς ἐννοιαν καθιστασο τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίῳ ἐράν. ἀλλ’ ἐκείνως μὲν τροχῦ εἰκασμένος δ’ οὐρανοῦ κνάμπτεται, συ δ’, εἰ μὴ ἄπει τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀπολεῖ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῇ, οὐδ’ ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων τὸ μὴ οὐ δικαία τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ σοὶ γνώναι.” ὡδὲ ἡ παροιμία 136
island of Cnidus; and he was making offerings to it, 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. XI. ἀναθήσειν ἐφασκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, Ἀπολλωνίῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ἀτοπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ μη παρρητεῖτο ἡ Κνίδος, ἀλλ’ ἐναργεστέραν ἐφασαν τὴν θεὸν δόξεων, εἰ ἔρφοτο, ἐδοξε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καθύραι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἀνοίας ταύτης, καὶ ἐρμομένων τῶν Κνίδιων αὐτῶν, εἰ τι βούλειτο τῶν θυτικῶν ἡ αὐκτικῶν διορθούσθαι, "ὅφθαλμούς," ἔφη, "διορθώσομαι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάτρια ἔχετω, ὡς ἔχει." καλάσας οὖν τὸν θρυπτόμενον ἤρετο αὐτῶν, εἰ θεοὺς νυμόμε, τοῦ δ’ οὗτο νομίζει θεοὺς φήσαντος, ὡς καὶ ἔραν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν γάμων μημονεύσαντος, οὐ δέθειν ἥχειτο, "σὲ μὲν ποιητεί, ἔφη, "ἐπαίρουσι τοὺς Ἀγχίσας τε καὶ τοὺς Πηλέας θεαὶς ξυμηγημυείς εἰπόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἔραν καὶ ἐμίσθαι τὸ πάρθε γαγνώσκων θεοὶ θεῶν, ἀνθρωποὶ ἀνθρώπων, θηρία θηρίων, καὶ καθάπαξ ὁμοίων ὁμοίων ἐμῇ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτυμα καὶ ξυμηγημυείς τέκτων, τὸ δὲ οὗτος καὶ τῷ μή ὁμοίῳ ξυμηγημυείς οὐτε ξυμηγημυείς μὴ ἐμῇ, εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνον τὰ Ἁξίων, οὖν” ἀν ἐς ἔκκεν καθιστασο τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίων ἔραν. ἀλλ’ ἐπιτικὼς μὲν τοιούτῳ εἰκασμενός δε’ οὐρανοῦ κνάμπτοντες, οὐ δ’, εἰ μὴ ἀπειρεῖ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀπολεῖ ἐν ὁμοίῳ τῇ γῇ. ὀμέν, ἄντειτείν ἔχων τὸ μὴ οὐ δίκαια μῆς θεᾶς ἐκεῖ σω γνώσω.” ὦδε η παροιμία

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FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XL. ἐσβέσθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ φάσκων ἔραν, ὑπὲρ Ἑυγγνώμης θύσας.

XLI

CAP. XLI. Σεισμῶν δὲ κατασχόντων ποτὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν καὶ Χαλδαιοὶ περὶ αὐτὰς ἤγείροντο ὑπὲρ ξυλλογῆς χρημάτων, ὡς δεκαταλάντους θύσιάς Γῆ καὶ Ποσειδόνιν θύσοντες, ξυνέφερον δὲ αἱ πόλεις τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκῶν, ὑποκειμένοι τῷ φόβῳ, οἱ δὲ, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ἐκτεθεὶν τὸ ἀργύριον, οὐκ ἄν ἔφασαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θύσαι· δοκεῖ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μὴ περιστεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλησποντίους, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὰς πόλεις τοὺς μὲν ἀπήλασεν ὡς θησαυρὸν πεποιημένους τὰ ἐτέρων κακά, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τῶν μηνιμάτων ξυλλαβῶν καὶ ὡς ἑκάστη πρόσφορον θύσας, ἀπεύξατο τὴν προσβολὴν διαπάνη σμικρά, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἔστη.

XLII

CAP. XLII. Δομετιανοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων εὐνούχους τε μὴ ποιεῖν νομοθετήσαντος, ἀμπέλους τε μὴ φυτεύειν ἔτη καὶ τὰς πεφυτευμένας δὲ αὐτῶν 138
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

XL

At one time the cities on the left side of the Hellespont were visited by earthquakes, and Egyptians and Chaldeans went begging about through them to collect money, pretending that they wanted ten talents with which to offer sacrifices to earth and to Poseidon. And the cities began to contribute under the stress of fear, partly 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 passed a law against making men eunuchs, and against planting fresh vineyards, and also in favour of cutting down vineyards already planted, whereon
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS


XLIII

CAP. Κάκεϊνα ἐν Ταρσοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἤδουσιν κύων ἐνεπεπτῶκει ἐφήβω Ῥυττών, καὶ ἀπήγγε τὸν ἐφηβοῦν τὸ δήγμα ἐς τὰ τῶν κυνῶν πάντα, ἦλακτε τε γὰρ καὶ ὀρύτερο καὶ τετράπως ἔθει τὸ χεῖρε ὑπέχουν τῷ ὅρῳ. νοσοῦντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν ἐφίσταται μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἄρτι ἐς τοὺς Ταρσοὺς ἦκων, κελεύει δὲ ἄνιχνευθήναι οἱ τὸν κύνα, ὅσ ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, οἱ δ᾽ οὕτε ἐντευχηκέναι τῷ κυνὶ ἐφασαν, ἔξω γὰρ τείχους εἰλῆφθαι αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐφηβοῦ πρὸς ἀκοντίους ὄντος, οὕτ' ἄν τοῦ νοσοῦντος μαθεῖν, ἢτις ἡ ἱδέα τοῦ κυνός, ἔπει μηδὲ αὐτῶν ἔτι οἶδεν. ἐπισχών οὖν, “ὁ Δάμω,” ἔφη, “λευκὸς ὁ κύων λάσιος προβατευτικὸς Ἀμφί-λοχικῷ ἵσως, προσέστηκε δὲ τῇ δείνι κρήνῃ τρέμων, τὸ γὰρ ὑδωρ καὶ ποθεὶ καὶ δέδοικεν ἀγε μοι τούτων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁχθην, ἐφ᾽ ἦς 140
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

Apollonius, who was visiting the Ionians, remarked: “These rescripts do not concern me, for I, alone 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 emboldened 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.

XLIII

Here too is a story which they tell of him in Tarsus. A mad dog had attacked a lad, and as a result of the bite the lad behaved exactly like a dog, for he barked and howled and went on all four feet using his hands as such, and ran about in that manner. And he had been ill in this way for thirty days, when Apollonius, who had recently 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. XI.11

αἷς παλαιόστρατο, μόνον εἰπὼν, ὅτι ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ καλοῦτο." ἐλχθεῖς δ’ ὁ κύων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμωδος, ὑπεκλήθη τοῖς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ποσίν, ὡσπερ οἱ βώμοι τῶν ἱκετῶν κλαίων, ὁ δ’ ἠμέρου ταῦτάν ἐτι μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ χειρί ἐπράνυν, τὸν ἐφηβόν τῇ ἠστῇ ἐγγὺς εὐνέχον αὐτός, ὡς δὲ μὴ λάθοι τοὺς πολλοὺς μέγα ἀπόρρητον, "μεθέστηκε μέν," ἔφη, "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτον ἡ Τηλέφου ψυχὴ τοῦ Μυσοῦ, Μοῖραι δ’ ἔτ’ αὐτῷ ταῦτα βούλονται," καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε τὸν κύων περιλιχμῆσασθαι τὸ δήγμα, ὡς ἱατρὸς αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ τρόφος γένοιτο. ἔπεστράφη τὸ ἐντεύθεν ἐς τὸν πατέρα ὁ παῖς καὶ ἴκνηκε τῆς μητρός, προσεῖπτε τοὺς ἤλικας καὶ ἔπει τοῦ Κύδνου, περιώφθη δὲ οὔδε ὁ κύων, ἀλλὰ κάκειν ἐνεξάμενος τῷ ποταμῷ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἤκειν. ὁ δ’ ἐπεὶ διέβη τοῦ Κύδνου, ἐπιστὰς τῇ ὀχθῇ φωνῆν τε ἀφήκειν, ὅπερ ἤκιστα περὶ τοὺς λυττόντας τῶν κυνῶν ἅμβαινει, καὶ τὰ ὡς ἀνακλάσας έσεισε τὴν οὐράν, ἥνυν τοῦ ἔρρωτα, φαρμακοποσία γὰρ λύττης ὕδωρ, ἣν ταρσήσῃ αὐτὸ ὁ λυττόν.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν τε καὶ πόλεων καὶ τὰ πρὸς δήμους καὶ ὑπὲρ δήμων, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τεθνεώτων ἢ νοσούντων, καὶ τὰ πρὸς σοφοῦς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοῦς καὶ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέας, οἳ ξύμβουλον αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἐποιοῦντο.
the wrestling grounds, merely telling him that it is I who call him." So Damis dragged the dog along, 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
Ι

ΚΑΠ. Οἶδα καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας, ὡς ἐστὶν ἀρίστη βάσισανος ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων, καὶ ξυγχωρῶ σκοπεῖν, ὅ τι ἐκαστὸς ἐτέροις ἢττοι ἢ μᾶλλον ἄνὴρ ἔδοξεν, ὁ λόγος δὲ μοι ξυντείνει ἐς τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὗς Δομετιανὸς ἐτυράννευσεν, περιέστησαν τὸν ἄνδρα κατηγορίαι καὶ γραφαί, ὅπως μὲν ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ὁπόθεν καὶ δ' ἐκάστη δόμομα, δηλώσω ἀυτικα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη λέξαι, τί μὲν εἰπών, τίς δὲ εἶναι δόξας ἀπῆλθε τῆς κρίσεως, ἢ λῶν μᾶλλον τὸν τύραννον ἢ ἄλοις αὐτός, δοκεῖ μοι διελθέν τρο χτώ, ὅποσα εὑρον ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια σοφῶν ἄνδρῶν πρὸς τυράννους ἔργα, παραδεικνύειν τε αὐτὰ τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίους χρὴ γάρ που τὰληθές οὕτω μαστεύειν.

II

ΚΑΠ. Ζήνων μὲν τοῖνυν ὁ Ἑλεάτης, διαλεκτικὴς δὲ οὕτως δοκεῖ ἀρξαί, τὴν Νεάρχου τοῦ Μυσου καταλύσεως τυραννίδα ἢλω, καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς τοὺς μὲν 146
BOOK VII

I

I am aware that the conduct of philosophers under 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 argument also urges me to consider the point; for during the reign of Domitian Apollonius was beset by accusations 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 specifying 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.

II

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

CAP. II

έαυτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἡμών· ἀπεσιώπησεν, οἴ δ’ ἦσαν τῷ τυράννῳ βέβαιοι, διαβαλῶν τούτους ὡς οὗ βεβαιός, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀληθεῖς ταῖς αἰτίαις ἀπέθανον, ὁ δ’ ἔλευθερα τὰ Μυσῶν ἤγαγε τὴν τυραννίδα περὶ ἑαυτής σφήλας. Πλάτων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σικελιωτῶν ἑλευθερίας ἁγῶνα φησίν ἀρασθαῖ, συλλαβῶν τῆς διανοίας ταύτης Δίωνι. Φύτων δὲ Ἦθελον ἐκπεσῶν κατέφυγε μὲν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον τῶν Σικελίων τύραννον, μειζόνων δὲ ἄξωθείς ἢ τὸν φεύγοντα εἰκός, ἤνδοκε μὲν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ οτι τοῦ Ἦθελου ἔρημη, Ἦθελος δ’ ἐπιστέλλων ταῦτα ἢλω, καὶ ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἐνὸς τῶν μηχανήματων ἀνάγως αὐτοῦ ζώντα προσήγαγε τοὺς τείχεσιν, ὡς μὴ βάλλειν οἱ Ἦθελοι τὸ μηχανήμα περιοῖ τὸν Φύτωνος, ὁ δὲ ἐβόα βάλλειν, σκοπῶς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἑλευθερίας εἶναι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Πύθων οἱ Κότυν ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Ὀδυςα νεανία μὲν ἃτην ἀμφω, τὰς δὲ Ἀκαδημίους διατριβὰς ἐπαινοῦντες σοφῶ τε ἐγενέσθην καὶ οὕτως ἑλευθέρω. τὰ δὲ Καλλισθένους τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου τῆς οὐκ οἶδεν; ὅς ἄπει τῆς αὐτῆς ἤμερας ἐπαινέσας τοὺς διαβαλῶν Μακεδόνας, ὅτε μέγιστοι δυνάμει ἦσαν, ἀπέθανεν ἀνδρής ὁδώρα. Διογένης δὲ ὁ Ζυνωπεύς καὶ Κράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺ Χαρωνείας ἠκούσαν ἐπέπληξεν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναῖων Φιλίππῳ περὶ ὁ, Ἡρακλείδης εἶναι φάσκων, ἀπώλελε θρῆνος τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκεῖνων

148
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

though he accused of disloyalty those who were CHAP. loyai to the tyrant, with the result that, whereas 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 liberation of the people of Sicily, and associated him-
self in this enterprise with Dion. And Phyton, when he was banished from Rhegium, fled to Dionysius 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 Python who slew Cotys the Thracian were both of 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 same day delivered himself of a panegyric and of an 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, of whom the former went direct to Chaeronea, and rebuked Philip for his treatment of the Athenians, on the ground that, though asserting himself to be a descendant of Hercules he yet was destroying

149
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. II

οπλα ἦρμένους, ὁ δὲ ἀνοικεῖν Θῆβας Ἀλεξάνδρου
dι' αὐτὸν φήσαντος οὐκ ἂν ἔφη δεηθήναι πατρίδος,
ἡν κατασκάψει τις ὀπλως ἱσχύσας. καὶ λέγοιτο
μὲν ἂν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὁ λόγος δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ
μῆκος, τῷ γε ἀνάγκην ἔχοντι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα
ἀντειπεῖν, οὐκ ὡς οὐ καλὰ ἢ οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ πᾶσιν,
ἀλλ' ὡς ἦττῳ τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ ἀριστα
ἐτέρων φαίνεται.

III

CAP. III

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἔλεατος ἐργόν καὶ οἱ τῶν
Κότυν ἀπεκτονότες οὕτω ἀξιόλογα, Ἐράκας γὰρ
καὶ Γέτας δουλοῦσθαι μὲν ῥάδιον, ἐλευθερίας δὲ
eὐθεῖας, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ χάρουσιν, ἀτε,
οἴμαι, οὐκ αἰσχρῶν ἠγούμενοι τὸ δουλεύειν. Πλά-
tων δὲ ὡς μὲν οὐ σοφὸν τι ἔπαθε τὰ ἐν Σικελία
διορθούμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Ἀθήναις, ἢ ὡς
eἰκότως ἐπράθη σφαλεῖς τε καὶ σφῆλας, οὐ λέγω
dιὰ τούς δυσχερῶς ἀκρωμένους. τὰ δὲ τοῦ
Ῥηγίνου πρὸς Διονύσιον μὲν ἔτολματο τυραν-
νεύσοντα οὐ βεβαιῶς Σικελίας, ὁ δ' ὡς ἐκείνου
πάντως ἁποθανὼν ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ Ῥηγίνων
ἐβλήθη, θαυμαστόν, οἴμαι, οὐδὲν ἐπράττε, τὸν

150
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

by force of arms those who had taken up arms in 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 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, 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 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. III

ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρων ἑλευθερίας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τόν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ δουλείας αἱρούμενος. Καλλισθένης δὲ τὸ δόξαι κακῶς οὐδὲ ἄν νῦν διαφύγοι, τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας καὶ διαβαλών, ἦ διέβαλεν, οὕς ἐνόμισεν ἐπαίνων ἀξίους, ἦ ἐπήνεσεν, οὕς ἔχρην διαβάλλοντα φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀλλὰς ὁ μὲν καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἔχει ἀποδρᾶναι τὸ μὴ οὐ δόξαι βάσκανος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς κολακεύων ἐπαίνους αὐτὸς ἀποίσεται τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων σφῖσιν, οἳ γὰρ κακοὶ κακίους ἐπαινοῦμενοι.

Διογένης δὲ πρὸ Χαιρωνείας μὲν εἰπὼν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Φιλιππον καὶ ἐφύλαξε τὸν ἄνδρα καθαρὸν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ὁπλων, ἐργασμένους δ' ἐπιστάς ὡνείδιξε μὲν, οὐ μὴν διωρθοῦτο. Κράτης δὲ καὶ αἰτίαν ἄν λάβοι πρὸς ἄνδρος φιλοσοφίδος μὴ ξυναράμενος Ἀλέξανδρῳ τῆς βουλῆς, ἦ ἐς τὸ ἀνοικίσαι τὰς Θῆβας ἐχρήτῳ.

Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ οὐθ' ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κινδυνευούσης δείσας, οὔτε τοῦ σώματος ἀπογνώσει, οὔτ' ἐς ἀνοίητους ὑπαχθέεις λόγους, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ Μυσῶν ἢ Γετῶν, οὔτε πρὸς ἄνδρα, δς ἢ ἕρχε νῦσοι μῖᾶς ἢ χώρας ὤ μεγάλης, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὁ θάλαττα τε ἰη καὶ γῆ πᾶσα, πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπειδὴ πυκνῶς ἐτυράννευε, παρέττατεν ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων κέρδους, χρησάμενος μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ ταύτη καὶ πρὸς Νέρωνα.

153
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

wonderful: he only preferred to die in behalf of the liberty of others rather than to endure the death penalty of being himself a slave. And as for Callisthenes, even to-day he cannot acquit himself of baseness; for in first commending 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 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 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.
Διαλόγος τού Φιλόστοροφ τού Φλαβίου Φιλόστορου

IV

Χαίρε, ο οίκος τούς ανικροβολισμόνος έκεινα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὁμοσε χαρῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Βίνδικα ἐπιρρώπων καὶ τοῦ Τυγελλίνου ἐκκλήττων σαθροτέραν τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπολεί, καὶ τις ἀναφύται λόγος ἀλαζών ἐνταῦθα, ὡς οὐδὲν γενναίον ἐπιθέσθαι Νέρωνι ψαλτρίας τινὸς ἢ ἀυλητρίδος βίου ξύντι· ἀλλὰ περὶ γε Δομετιανοῦ τί φήσουσιν; ὅσ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔρρωτο, ἡδονᾶς δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐξ ὅργανοι τε καὶ κτύπων τὰς τὸ θυμοειδεῖς ἀπομαρανούσας παρητεῖτο, τὰ δὲ ἐτέρων ἄχη καὶ ὁ τί ὀλοφύρατό τίς, ἐς τὸ εὐφραίνον εἴλκε, τὴν δὲ ἀπιστίαν δήμων μὲν ἐκάλει πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους φυλακτήριον, τυράννων δὲ πρὸς πάντας, τὴν δὲ νῦκτα πάντων μὲν ἐργάνων ἡξίου παινείν βασιλεὰ, φόνων δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅθεν ἡ κρω- τηρίασθη μὲν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους, φιλοσοφία δὲ οὕτω τι ἐπτηξέν, ὡς ἀποβαλόντες τὸ σχῆμα οἱ μὲν ἀποδράναι σφῶν ἐς τὴν Κελτῶν ἐσπέραν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα Λιβύης τε καὶ Σκυθίας, ἔνει δὲ ἐς λόγους ἀπενεχθήματο ἐξυμβούλουσ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ὅ δε, ὡσπερ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ πεποίηται πρὸς τὸν Οἰδίπουν ὁ Τειρεσίας ὑπὲρ έαυτοῦ λέγων

οὐ γάρ τι σοὶ ζῷ δούλος, ἀλλὰ Λοξία.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

IV

Some may think that his attitude towards Nero 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 of Loxias,'
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. IV. οὕτω τὴν σοφίαν δεσποιναὶς πεποιημένοις ἐλεύθερος ἦν τῆς Δομετιανοῦ φορᾶς, τὰ Τειρεσίου τε καὶ Σο-
φοκλέους ἐαυτῷ ἐπιθεσπίζας καὶ δεδιώς μὲν οὐδὲν ἴδιον, ἀ δὲ ἐτέρους ἀπώλεις, ἐλεών, οθὲν ξυνίστη
ἐπ’ αὐτῶν νεότητά τε, ὁπόσην ἤ βουλή ἐἱχε, καὶ
ξύνεσιν, ὁπόση περὶ ἐνίους αὐτῶν ἑωρᾶτο, φοιτῶν
ἐς τὰ έθνη καὶ φιλοσοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἰγμόνας, ὡς
οὕτε ἀθάνατος ἢ τῶν τυραννῶν ἵσχυς, αὐτῷ τε τῷ
φοβερῷ δοκεῖν ἀλίσκονται μᾶλλον. διήει δὲ αὐτοῖς
καὶ τὰ Παναθένεαι τὰ Ἀττικά, ἐφ’ οἷς Ἀρμόδιος
tε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἠδονταί, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς
ἐργον, ὅ καὶ τριάκοντα ὤμοι τυραννοὺς εἴλε, καὶ
tὰ Ρωμαίων δὲ αὐτῶν διήει πάτρια, ὡς κάκεινοι
dήμος τὸ ἀρχαῖον δυντες τὰς τυραννίδας ἐώθουν
ὀπλοῖς.

CAP. V. Τραγῳδίαις δὲ ὑποκριτοῦ παρελθόντος ἐς τὴν
Ἐφεσον ἐπὶ τῇ Ινοὶ τῷ δράματι, καὶ ἀκροῳμένου
τοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντος, δὲ καὶ τοῦ νεός ἄν
φανερός ἐν ὑπάτων ἀτολμότερον ὑπὲρ τούτων
dιενοχεῖτο, ὡς ὑποκριτῆς ἐπέραινεν ἥδη τὰ
ἱµβεία, ἐν οἷς ὁ Εὐρυπίδης διὰ μακρὸν αὐξηθέντας
τοὺς τυραννοὺς ἀλληκοῦσα φησιν ὑπὸ μικρῶν,
ἀναπήδής δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀλλ’ ὁ δειλός;"
ἐφη, "οὕτωσι δεῖ Ἀριστογείτων ξυνίσιν οὕτε ἐμοῦ."
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

chose wisdom as his mistress, and escaped scot free from paying tribute to Domitian. Applying to himself, 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 Ephesus and came forward in the play called the 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."
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

VI

CAP. VI Καὶ μὴν καὶ λόγου ἀφικομένου, ὡς λαμπρὰν κάθαρσιν εἶ Ἑομετιανὸς πεποιημένος τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἑστίας, ἐπειδὴ τρεῖς τῶν Ἑστιάδων ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπ' αὐτίᾳ τῆς ξύλης καὶ τῷ μὴ καθαρεύσαι γάμου, ὡς ἀγνῶς τὴν Ἰλιάδα Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ πῦρ θεραπεύειν ἔδει, "ei γὰρ καὶ σὺ," ἔφη, "καθαρθείς, Ὡλιε, τῶν ἄδικων φόνων, ὡς πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστή νῦν." καὶ οὐδὲ ἰδίᾳ ταῦτα, ὡσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὀμίλῳ καὶ ἐς πάντας ἐκήρυττε τε καὶ ἡχετο.

VII

CAP. VII Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σαβῖνον ἀπεκτόνως, ἕνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμμεγαν, Ἰουλίαν ἣγετο, ἢ δὲ Ἰουλία γυνὴ μὲν ἢν τοῦ πεφονευμένου, Ἑομετιανὸς δὲ ἀδελφὴ, μία τῶν Τίτου θυγατέρων, ἔθετε μὲν ἡ Ἕφεσις τῶν γάμων, ἐπιστάτης δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὦ νῦς," ἔφη, "τῶν πάλαι Δαναῖδῶν, ὡς μία ἦσθα.

VIII

CAP. VIII Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὁδὲ αὐτῷ ἐπράτητο, ἀρχῆ πρέπειν ἐδοκεὶ Νεροῦς, ὡς μετὰ 158
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

VI

When moreover the news was brought how notable a purification of the goddess Vesta of the 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.

VII

On another occasion when after the murder of Sabinus, one of his own relations, Domitian 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!"

VIII

The following then is the history of his acts in Rome. Nerva was regarded as a proper candidate
Δομετιανὸν σωφρόνως ἤγατο, ἂν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὀρφιτῶν τε καὶ Ὀρύφων ἢ αὐτὴ δόξα. τούτους Δομετιανὸς ἐπιβουλεύειν εαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν ἐς νῆσους καθερχθησάν, Νεροὺς δὲ προσέταξεν οἰκεῖν Τάραντα; ὃν δὲ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν μὲν χρόνον, δυν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἤρχεν, ἀεὶ τι ύπέρ σωφροσύνης ἐπέστελλε τοῖς ἄνδραίς, προσποιών αὐτούς τοῖς βασιλεύσεσθαι ὡς χρηστοῖς, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ, ἐπεὶ χαλεπῶς ἦν, ἀφίστη τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ύπέρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἑλευθερίας ἔρρωσεν. τὰς μὲν δὴ ἐπιστολιμαίους ξυμβουλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς φέτο, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ δούλοι προῦδοσαν καὶ φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόρρητον ἔχωρησε τότε οἰκία, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑταῖρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπολαμβάνων, "διάκονον," εἶπεν ἃν, "ποιοῦμαι σε ἀπορρήτου λαμπροῦ. βαδίσαι δὲ χρή ἐς τὴν Ἐρώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθήναι οἱ καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πείδα τοῦ ἄνδρος πάν ὃ τι ἔγω." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὅρμης μὲν ἐνδειξάμενοι τι ἐπὶ τῶν τύραννοι, οὐκ χρή ἐκπεσόντες ὃν διενοήθησαν, διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης περὶ τὸ νέμος τῆς Σμύρνης, ἐν φίς ὁ Μέλης.

160
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

for the throne which after Domitian's death he occupied with so much wisdom, and the same opinion was entertained of Orphis 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.
CAP. IX

Εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν Νεροῦν ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἄρξοι, διήνει τὸν λόγον καὶ ὧτι μηδὲ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν οἱ βιάζεσθαι, χαλκῆς τε εἰκόνος ἱδρυμένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολὺ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· φῶς γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεύσαι πέπρωται, τούτοις κἂν ἀποκτείνῃς, ἀναβιώσεται." ταύτα εἰς Δομετιανοῦ ἀφίκετο ἐκ διαβολῶν Εὐφράτου, καὶ ὑπὲρ δὴν μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχρησμοῦδε αὐτὰ, οὔδεις ξυνίει, τιθέμενος δὲ ὁ τύραννος εὔ τὸν ἰεύγεαν φόβον οὕρησεν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὡς δὲ μὴ ἔξω λόγον πράττων αὐτὸ φαίνοιτο, ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπολογησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπορρήτων. ἢ γὰρ ἀφικομένου καταψηφισάμενος οὐδὲ ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτονεῖνα δόξειν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἐαλωκότας, ἢ εἰ σοφία τινὶ τοῦ φανεροῦ ὑπεξέλθοι, μάλλον ἤδη ἀπολείσθαι σφάς ὡς καταψηφισμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινωνοῦ τῆς αἰτίας.

X

CAP. X

Διανοούμενον δὲ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα καὶ γράφοντος ἦδη πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχοντα, ὡς ἐνυληθείη 162
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

IX

And being aware that Nerva would before long become sovereign, he went on to explain in his oration that not even tyrants are able to force the hand of destiny, and directing the attention of his audience to the brazen statue of Domitian which had been erected close by that of Meles, he said: "Thou 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 before him to defend himself on the charge of holding secret relations with them. For he considered that if he came, he could get a sentence pronounced against him, and so avoid the imputation of having put people to death without trial, seeing that they would have been convicted through Apollonius, 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 already written to the governor of Asia, directing...

164
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

the man of Tyana to be arrested and brought to Rome, when the latter foreseeing in his usual way through a divine instinct what was coming, told his companions that he needed to depart on a mysterious 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 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."

165
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XI

CAP. XI  "Αγεί δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐς τὸ Κικέρωνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ χωρίου, ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τῷ ἀστεί. ἴζησάντων δὲ ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ οἱ μὲν τέττυγες ὑποψαλλούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς αὖρας ἐν φίδαις ἦσαν, ἀναβλέψας δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος, "ὁ μακάριος," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοί, ός εἴδιδαξάν τε ὑμᾶς φιδήν ἄρα Μοῦσαι μήπω ἐς δίκας ἢ διαβολᾶς ὑπαχθεῖσαι, γαστρός τε κρείττους ἑποίησαν καὶ ἀνόκισαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου φθονόν ἐς ταυτὶ τὰ δένδρα, ἔφ᾽ ὑμῖν ὀλβιοὶ τὴν ἐφ᾽ ὑμῶν τε καὶ Μοῦσῶν εὐδαιμονίαν ἥδετε." ὡδὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνίει μὲν οὐ τείνει ταῦτα, διαβαλῶν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἀργότερα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, "εἶτα," εἶπε, "τεττύγων βουλθείς διελθεῖν ἐπαίνων, οὐκ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν διήεις αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα πτήξας, ὥσπερ δημοσία κειμένου νόμου μηδένα ἐπαινεῖν τέττυγας;" "οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐπάινον," ἔφη, "ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὅτι τούτως μὲν ἀνεῖται τὰ αὐτῶν μουσεία, ἡμῖν δὲ οὓδε γρῦξαν συγγνώμη, ἄλλ' ἐγκλημα ἡ σοφία εὑρηται, καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἀνύτου καὶ Μελήτου γραφῆ "Σωκράτης," φησίν, "ἄδικεὶ διαφθείρων τοὺς νέους καὶ δαιμόνα καὶνὰ ἐπεσάγων, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐτωσοὶ γράφονται· ἄδικεὶ ὁ δείνα σοφὸς ὁι καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ξυνιεῖς μὲν θεῶν, ξυνιεῖς 166
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XI

With these words, Demetrius led them to the villa in which Cicero lived of old, and it is close by the 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 they are left unmolested in their concert halls, 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

167
Δὲ ἀνθρώπων, νόμων τε πέρι πολλὰ εἰδῶς. σὺ δ', ὅσφ' περ ἡμῶν σοφώτατος, τοσοῦτῳ, σοφωτέρα κατηγορία ἐπὶ σέ εὑρήται. βούλεται γάρ σε Δομετιανὸς μετέχειν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐφ' ὦς Νερώνας τε καὶ οἱ ξύν αὐτῷ φεύγουσιν. ""φεύγουσι δ', ἢ δ' ὦς, "ἐπὶ τῷ;" "ἐπὶ τῇ μεγάστη γε," ἐφή, "τῶν νῦν αἰτίων, ὡς δοκεῖ τῷ διώκοντι φησὶ γάρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ πηδώντας ἦρκέναι, σὲ δὲ ἐξορμήσας τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐσ ταῦτα παῖδα, οἴμαι, τεμόντα." μῶν, ἐφή, "ὡς ὑπ' εὐνούχου ἡ ἀρχὴ καταλυθεῖ;" "οὔ τούτο," ἐφή, "συνοφαντούμεθα, φασί δ', ὡς παῖδα θύσαις ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς, ἦν τὰ νεαρὰ τῶν σπλάγχ-νων φαίνει, πρόσκευται δὲ τῇ γραφῇ καὶ περὶ ἀμπεχόνης καὶ διαίτης καὶ τὸ ἔστων ὑφ' ὧν προσ-κυνεῖσθαί σε. ταυτὶ γὰρ Τελεσίνῳ ἦκουν ἄνδρὸς ἐμοὶ τε καὶ σοι ἐπιτηδείου." ἔρμαιν, εἶπεν, "εἰ Τελεσίνῳ ἐνευξόμεθα, λέγεις γὰρ ποι τῶν φιλόσοφον, ὃς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ἐν ὑπάτοις ἦρξεν." ἐκεῖνον μὲν όλυν, ἐφή, "λέγω, ἐνυγγένου δ' ἄν αὐτῷ τίνα τρόπον; αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ὑποπτότεραι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἄξια πάντας, ἢν ἐς κοινὸν ἓσοι λόγου τοῖς ἐν οίᾳ σὺ νῦν αἰτία, Τελεσίνος δὲ καὶ τῷ κηρύγματι ὑπεξῆλθεν, δ' κεκήρυκται νῦν ἐς φιλο-σοφίαν πᾶσαν, ἀσπασάμενος μᾶλλον τὸ φεύγειν ὡς φιλόσοφος ἢ τὸ ὡς ὑπάτος μένειν." "μὴ κιν-
knowledge of the laws. And as for yourself, so far forth as you are cleverer and wiser than 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
Δυνενέτω,” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἁνὴρ ἐμοῦγε ἔνεκα, ἰκανῶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας κινδυνεύει.

XII

" Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι εἴπε, Δημήτριε, τί δοκῶ σοι λέγων ἢ τὶ πράττων εἰ δῆσεσθαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ φόβον;" "μὴ παίξων," ἔφη, "μηδὲ, ἀ δέδιας, φοβεῖσθαι λέγων, εἰ γὰρ φοβερὰ ἡγοῦ ταῦτα, κἂν ὀχοῦ ἀποδρᾶς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον."
"σοὶ δ' ἂν ἀπέδρας," εἶπεν, "εἰ περὶ δὲν ἐγὼ ἐκινδύνεις;" "οὐκ ἂν," ἔφη, "μὰ τὴν Ἁθηνᾶν, εἰ τὸς ἑδίκαζε, τὸ δ' ἂνευ δίκης καὶ δ μηδ', εἰ ἀπολογούμην, ἀκροασόμενος ἢ ἀκροασόμενος μέν, ἀποκτενῶν δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα. οὐκ ἂν ἔμουγ' οὖν ἕνεχωρησας ἔλεσθαι ποτὲ ψυχρὸν οὐτω καὶ ἀνδραποδώθη θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφίας προσήκουτος. φιλοσοφία δέ, οίμαι, προσήκει ἢ πόλιν ἐλευθεροῦντα ἀποδανεῖν ἢ γονεῦσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐγγενείᾳ ἀμύνοντα ἢ ὑπὲρ φίλων ἀγωνιζόμενον, οἳ εὐγγενείας αἴρετωτεροί σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἢ οἳ ἠμπολημένοι εξ ἔρωτος. τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθεία κεκομημενών δ' ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν τῷ τυράννῳ σοφῷ δόξαι, πολλῷ βαρύτερον εἰ τὸς, ὦσπερ φασὶ τῶν Ἰξίωνα, μετέωρος ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κυνάμπτοτο. σοὶ δὲ ἀγῶνος οἴμαι

170
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

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

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

171
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XII

ἀρξεῖν αὐτὸ τὸ ήκειν ἑνταῦθα, σὺ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τῆς γνώμης ὑγιαίνουτι προστίθης τοῦτο καὶ τῷ μὴ ἀνθρώπει τὴν δεύρο ὄδὸν, εἰ τι ἡδίκεις, Δομετιανῷ δὲ οὐ δόξεις, ἀλλά ἀπόρρητον τινα ἴσχυν ἔχων θρασεῖως ἔρρωσθαι. τὸ γὰρ καλὸντος μὲν, οὕτω δὴ ἡμέραι δέκα, ὡς φασί, σὲ δὲ ἄφικθαι πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν οὐδὲ ἀκηκοότα πω, ὡς κριθήσῃ, νοῦν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ δώσει, προγνωστικῶν γὰρ ἀν φαίνοι καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἰσχύσει. καὶ ὅρα, μή τὰ περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ὑπὲρ ὅν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ διευλέξθαι σὲ φασιν, ἔπὶ σὲ ἡκῇ, καὶ βουλομένης τι τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἄτοπου, σὺ δὲ ἡμαγκασμένος χωρὶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτό, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὡς σοφώτερον ἀεὶ τὸ φιλάττεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκλέξῃς τῶν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, οἰσθά ποῦ τὸν μόνο καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἀνελεύθερος ἐγὼ πρὸς θάνατον. ἀλλὰ εἰ δὲ τὰ ῥαστώνης ἑκεῖνα. Νέρωνα γὰρ ἡ κιθάρα τοῦ μὲν προσφόρου βασιλείᾳ σχήματος ἐδόκει ἐκκρούειν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐκ ἁπάθως ἤρμοττεν, ἴτο γὰρ τινας πολλάκις δὴ αὐτὴν ἐκεχειρίας, καὶ ἀπείχετο τῶν φύων. ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐκ ἀπέκεκενε καίτοι τὸ ξίφος ἐπ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ ἔλκοντα διὰ τοὺς σοὺς τε κάμοι λόγους, οὐς ἐπὶ τῷ βαλανείῳ διήλθον, αὐτιον δ’ ἥν τοῦ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ τὴν εὐφωνίαν αὐτῷ ἐπιδοῦναι τότε καὶ τό, ὡς φετο, μελῳδίας λαμπρὰς ἀψασθαι. νυνὶ δὲ τίνι μὲν εὐφωνίᾳ, τίνι δὲ κιθάρα θύσομεν;
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

here will be the beginning of your trial; for though you may attribute your journey hither to your quiet 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 discretion 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΧΑΡ. ΧΙΙ

ἀμουσα γὰρ καὶ μεστὰ χολῆς πάντα, καὶ οὔτε ἄν υφ’ ἐαυτοῦ ὁδε οὔτε ἄν υφ’ ἐτέρων θελχθεῖν. καίτοι Πίνδαρος ἐπαινῶν τὴν λύραν φησίν, ὡς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρεος θυμὸν θέλγει καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἵσχει αὐτῶν, οὕτωσι δὲ, καίτοι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν καταστησάμενος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ στέφανων δημοσίᾳ τοὺς νικῶντας, ἔστιν οὕς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, ὕστατα φασὶ μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν αὐλήσαντάς τε καὶ ἄσαντας. Βουλευτέα δὲ σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, προσαπολεῖσι γὰρ κάκεινος ἤ θρασύς δόξας ἢ εἰπὼν, ἦ μὴ πεῖσεις. ἡ σωτηρία δὲ σοι παρὰ πόδα τῶν γὰρ νεών τούτων, πολλαὶ δ’, ὡς ὀρασι, εἰσίν, αἱ μὲν ἐς Λιβύην ἄφησοντων, αἱ δ’ ἐς Λύγυπτον, αἱ δ’ ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον, αἱ δ’ εὐθὺς Σαρδοὺς, αἱ δ’ ὑπὲρ Σαρδών μᾶς ὑπεβάντη σοι κομίζεσθαι κράτιστον ἐς ὁπιδ’ τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων, αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ἐττοῦ χαλεπαὶ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἦν ἐπαινοῦντας αἰσθοῦνται τὸ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ ξῆν.”

ΧΙΙΙ

ΧΑΡ. ΧΙΙΙ


174
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

nightingale, and where the harp to which we can make our peace offerings? For the outlook of to-day is unredeemed by music, and full of spleen, and this tyrant is as little likely to be charmed by himself, 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 distinguished 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 Demetrius that he exclaimed: “Well, you anyhow 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIII

μηδ’ ἀναρριπτεῖν πρὸς τυραννίδα, ἢς οὐ χαλέπωτέρα ἐνομίσθη. τῆς γούν ὅδοῦ τῆς ἐνταύθα, εἰ μή σοι ξυνέτυχον, οὐδὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐγίγνωσκον, ἔπομαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ θᾶττον ἢ ἐαυτῷ τις, εἰ δὲ ἔρειο μὲ, ποῖ πλέω ἢ ἐφ’ ὅ τι, καταγέλαστος ἐγὼ τοῦ πλού 
Σικελικὰ μὲν πελάγη καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς κόλπους ἀνα-
μετρῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς δὲ, ὑπὲρ ὅτου. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ 
προρρήσεως ἐκινδύνευον, εἶχον ἂν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρω-
tῶντας λέγειν, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν θανάτου ἔριξ, 
ἐγὼ δ’ ἀντεραστής ξυμπλέω. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὗδέν οἶδα, 
ἐμὸν ἦδη λέγειν, ὑπὲρ ὅν οἶδα, λέξω δὲ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ 
τοῦ ἀνδρός· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι, οὕτω δεινὰ 
φιλοσοφία πείσεται, σκευοφόρῳ γὰρ εἴκασμαι 
στρατιώτου γενναίου, λόγου ἄξιούμενος, ὅτι τοιῷδε 
ἔπομαι, εἰ δὲ ἔσται τις, δὴ ἀποκτενεῖ τοῦτον, 
εὔποροι δ’ αἱ τυραννίδες τὰ μὲν ξυνθείναι, τὰ δὲ 
ἐξάραι, τρόπαιον μὲν οἶμαι κατὰ φιλοσοφίας 
ἔστηξει σφαλείσης περὶ τὸ ἀριστα ἀνθρώπων 
φιλοσοφήσαντι, πολλοὶ δὲ Ἀντώνια καθ’ ἕμων καὶ 
Μέλητοι, γραφαὶ δ’ αἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, αἱ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ 
τοὺς Ἀπολλώνιφ ξυγγενομένους, ὡς ὁ μὲν τις 
ἐγέλασε καθαπτομένου τῆς τυραννίδος, ὁ δ’ ἐπέρ-
ρωσε λέγοντα, ὁ δ’ ἐνέδωκε λέξαι τι, ὁ δ’ ἀπῆλθε 
176
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 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 courting 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
CAP. XIII

ξὺν ἐπαύω ἵν ἦκουσεν. ἢγὼ δὲ ἀποθνῄσκειν μὲν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας οὐτω φημὶ δειν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ τειχῶν καὶ τάφων, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας γὰρ τὸν τοιώνυς πολλοὶ καὶ ὅνομαστοι ἀνδρεῖς ἀποθανεῖν ἡσπάζοντο, ὡς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι φιλοσοφίαν μήτε ἢγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι μήτε ὅσις ἐκείνης τε καὶ Ἀπολ—

CAP. XIV

πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "Δάμωδι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων εὐλαβῶς διειλεγμένῳ ξυγγυώμην," ἔφη, "προσήκει ἔχειν, Ἀσσύριος γὰρ ὅν καὶ Μήδος προσοικήσας, οὐ τὰς τυραννίδας προσκυνοῦσιν, οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐνθυμεῖται μέγα, σὺ δ’ οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἀπολογήσῃ, φόβους ὑποτιθέεις, ὅν, εἰ τι καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐφαίνετο, ἀπάγειν ἑκρήν μᾶλλον ἢ ἔσω καθιστάναι τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν μηδ’ ἣ παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἢν δεδιότα. σοφὸς δ’ ἀνήρ ἀποθνῄσκετω μὲν ὑπὲρ δὸν εἴπας, ἀποθάνοι δ’ ἂν τις ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ μὴ σοφός, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνῄσκειν νόμῳ προστέτακται, τὸ δ’ ὑπὲρ ξυγγενείας ἢ φίλων ἢ παιδικῶν φύσις ὀρίσε. 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. XIII had heard. I admit that one ought to die in the 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 allowance for the very timid remarks which Damis 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIV

ἐκόντας, νῦμος δὲ ἀκόντας: σοφοίς δὲ οἰκείοτερον
teleutān ὑπὲρ δὲ ἔπετηδευσαν: ἡ γὰρ μὴ νόμου
ἐπιτάξαντος, μηδὲ φύσεως ξυντεκούσης, αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ
ρώμης τε καὶ θράσους ἐμελέτησαν, ὑπὲρ τούτων,
eἰ καταλύοι τις αὐτά, ἵτω μὲν πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν σοφόν,
ἵτω δὲ πέλεκυς, ὡς νικήσει αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τούτων,
οὐδὲ ἐς ὡτιοῦν περιελά ψεῦδος, καθέξει δὲ, ὅπωσα
οίδε, μείον οὐδὲν ἢ ἐ ἐμενήθη. ἐγὼ δὲ γηγυώσκω μὲν
πλείστα ἄνθρωπων, ἄτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὅν
οίδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαῖοις, τὰ δὲ σοφοίς, τὰ δὲ
ἐμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς, τυράννως δὲ οὐδὲν. ὡς δὲ
οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀνοήτων ἥκω, σκοπεῖν ἐξέστην: ἐγὼ γὰρ
περὶ μὲν τῷ ἐμαυτοῦ σώματι κινδυνεῖον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ
ἀποθάνοιμι ἀν ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐδὲ εἰ αὐτὸς
βουλοίμην, ξυνίημι δὲ κινδυνεύων περὶ τοῖς
ἀνδράσιν, ὅν εὑτε ἄρχην εὑτε προσβήκην ποιεῖται
με ο τύραννος, εἰμὶ πᾶν ὃ τι βούλεται. εἰ δὲ
προύδιδοιν σφάς ἢ βραδύνων ἢ βλακεύων πρὸς
τὴν αἰτίαν, τὴς ἃν τοῖς σπουδαῖοις ἔδοξα; τὸς δὲ
οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινε με εἰκότως, ως παίζοντα ἐς
ἀνδράς, οἶς, ἃ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἦτον, ἀνετέθη; ὅτι
δὲ ὦκ ἢ μοι διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ οὐ προδότης δόξαι,
ἄλωσαι βούλομαι.

Τυραννίδων ἢθη διττά, αἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄκριτος
ἀποκτείνουσιν; αἰ δὲ ὑπαχθέντας δικαστηρίοις,
180
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

CAR. XIV

εὐίκασι δ' αἱ μὲν τοῖς θερμοῖς τε καὶ ἐτοίμοις τῶν θηρίων, αἱ δὲ τοῖς μαλακωτέροις τε καὶ ληθάργοις. ὃς μὲν δὴ χαλεπαί ἅμφω, δήλου πᾶσι παράδειγμα ποιομένοις. τῆς μὲν ὀρμώσης καὶ ἀκρίτου Νέρωνα, τῆς δὲ ὑποκαθημένης Τιβέριου, ἀπώλευσαν γὰρ ὁ μὲν οὐδ' οἰηθέντας, ὁ δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ δεῖσαντας. ἐγὼ δ' ὡς ὁγούμαι χαλεπωτέρας τὰς δικάξειν προσποιομένας καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι τι ὡς ἐκ τῶν νόμων, πράττουσι μὲν γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐδέν, ψηφίζονται δ', ἀπερ οἱ μηδὲν κρίναντες, ὄνομα τῷ διατρίβοντι τῆς ὀργῆς θέμενοι νόμον, τὸ δ' ἀποθνήσκειν κατεψηφιζομένους ἀφαιρεῖται τοὺς ἅθλιους καὶ τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἔλεου, δυν ὡσπερ ἐντάφιον χρῆ ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς ἀδίκως ἀπελθοῦσι. δικαστικὸν μὲν δὴ τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ταύτης ὁρῶ σχῆμα, τελευτῶν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ ἐσ ἀκρίτον, δὴν γὰρ πρὶν ἡ δικάσαι κατεψηφίσατο, τούτους ὡς μήπω δεικάσασμένους ὑπάγει τῇ κρίσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ψήφω ἄλοιος ἐν αὐτῇ δήλου ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ μη κατὰ νόμους κρίναντος ἀπολογείναι φησίν, ὁ δ' ἐκλιπὼν τὸ δικάσασθαι πῶς ἂν διαφύγοι τὸ μή οὐκ ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν ἐψηφίσθαι; τὸ δ' καὶ τοιοῦντε ἀνδρῶν κειμένων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἀποδράναι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ τε κακοίων ἀγώνα, ποῖ με τῆς 182.
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 crueller 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIV γῆς ἑάσει καθαρὸν δόξαι; ἔστω γὰρ σὲ μὲν εἰρηκέναι ταῦτα, ἐμὲ δὲ ὃς ὀρθῶς εἰρημένοις πεῖθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσφάχθαι, τῖς μὲν ὕπερ εὑρημένοις πεῖθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσφάχθαι, τῖς μὲν ὕπερ εὐπλοίας εὐχὴ τῷ τούφδε; ποῖ δὲ ὀρμεῖται; πορεύσεται δὲ παρὰ τίνα; ἔξαλλάττειν γὰρ χρῆ οἶμαι πάσης, ὁπόσης Ὑμαιϊν ἀρχοῦσι, παρ' ἄνδρας δὲ ἥκειν ἐπιτηδείους τε καὶ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ οἰκούνται, τούτι δ' ἂν Φραώτης τε εἶη καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ἰάρχας ὁ θεός καὶ Θεσπεσίων ὁ γενναῖος. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Αἰθιόπων στελλοίμην, τί ἂν, ὡς λύστε, πρὸς Θεσπεσίωνε να εἶποιμ; εἴτε γὰρ κρύπτοιμ ταῦτα, ψευδολογίας ἐραστῆς δόξω, μᾶλλον δὲ δούλος, εἴτε ἐς ἀπαγγελίαν αὐτῶν ἰοίμ, τοιοῦτοι ποὺ δεῦσει-λόγων ἐμὲ, ὃ Θεσπεσίων, Εὐφράτης πρὸς ὑμᾶς διέβαλεν, ἀ μὴ ἐμαυτῷ ξύνοιδα· ὃ μὲν γὰρ κομπαστὴν ἐφὴ καὶ τερατώδη με εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστὴν σοφίας, ὁπόση ᾃ Ἰνδῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ ταυτὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰμί, προδότης δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων καὶ σφαγεὺς καὶ οὐδὲν πιστὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα εἰμι, στέφανον τε ἀρετῆς, εἴ τις, στεφανωσόμενος ἢκω τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς μηγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ρώμην οἴκων οὕτως ἄνειλον, ὡς μηδὲ οἰκήσεσθαι αὐτοῦς ἔτι. ἐρυθρᾶς, Δημήτριε, τούτων ἄκοινε, ὀρῶ γάρ. τί οὖν, εἶ καὶ Φραώτην ἐνθυμηθεῖς κἂμὲ παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐς ῾Ινδοὺς φεύγοντα, πῶς μὲν ἂν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέψαιμι; τί δ' ἂν εἶποιμ ὑπὲρ ὧν φεύγω; μῶν 184
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 Thespesion. Now supposing I set out for Ethiopia, what, my excellent friend, could I tell Thespesion? 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 Thespesion, 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 Thespesion 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

ΚΑΠ. ΧΙ\ν

ός ἀφικόμην μὲν καλὸς κάγαθὸς πρότερον καὶ τὸν θάνατον τὸν ὑπὲρ φίλων οὐκ ἄθυμος, ἔπει δὲ ἐξουσιῶμεν αὐτῷ, τὸ θειότατον τούτῳ τῶν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ἄτιμον ἔρρησε τοῖς ἐπίκεντρον ἀγαθά, ἄλλο τοῖς ἄθικοις Ἀιδλόσ ποτὲ τῶν Ὀδυσσέα κακῶς χρησάμενον τῷ τῆς εὐπλοίας δῶρῳ ἄτιμον ἔκέλευσε χωρεῖν τῆς νήσου, κἂμε δὴ τὸν ὅπελοῦ τοῦ θὸν, κακὸν εἰπὼν ἕς τὸ Ταντάλεων γεγονέναι πώμα, βούλονται γὰρ τὸν ἐς αὐτὸ κύριαντα καὶ κυνούνον κοινωνεῖν τοῖς χίλοις. οἶδα, ὡς δεινὸς εἶ, Δημήτριε, λόγους ξυντεμείων πάντας, ὥθεν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ τοιοῦτοι τι ἐρεῖν πρὸς μὲ ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τούτους ῤθλὶ, παρὰ ἄνδρας δὲ, οἷς μῆτω ἐπέμεξας, καὶ εὔ κεῖσται σοι τὸ ἀποδράναι, ῥὰν γὰρ ἐν ὑπὲρ εἰδόσει λήπην. βασανίζεσθοι δὲ καὶ ὅτε ὁ λόγος, ὅπῃ τοῦ πιθανοῦ ἔχει δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε ἐγὼ ἅγομαι τὸν σοφὸν μηδὲν ἅδα μηδὲ ἐφ' ἀναίτου πράττειν, μηδ' ἄν ἐνθυμηθηναί τι σύτως ἀμάρτυρον, ὡς μὴ αὐτοῦ γοῦν ἀναίτῳ παρεῖναι, καὶ εἴτε Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτοῦ τὸ Πυθοῦ γράμμα, εἴτε ἄνδρος ὑγιῶς ἀναίτου γνώ-

τος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γνώμην αὐτὸ ποιομένου ἐς πάν-

τας, δοκεῖ μοι ὁ σοφὸς ἀναίτου γιγκωσκών καὶ παραστάτην ἔχων τὸν ἀναίτου νοῦν μήτ' ἀν πτήξαι-

τι ὃν οἱ πολλοί, μητ' ἀν θαρσήσαι τι ὃν ἔτεροι μὴ 186
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

him before, I was a gentleman not too faint-hearted to lay down my life for my friends; but that after 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

187
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIV

ξύναισχύνη ἀπτονται· δούλοι γὰρ τῶν τυραννίδων ὄντες καὶ προδοῦναι αὐταῖς ποτε τοὺς φιλτάτους ὤρμησαν, τὰ μὲν μὴ φοβερὰ δείσαντες, ἀ δὲ χρὴ δεῖσαι μὴ φοβηθέντες.

Σοφία δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ ταύτα· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Πυθικῷ ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τῷ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἐπανεῖ, ξύνεσιν ἤγομένου περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι τὴν ἀπολλύσαν αὐτοὺς νόσουν, ἑπειδὰν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ὡς κακὰ εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. ἦδε γὰρ ποιω καὶ τῷ Ὄρεστῃ τὰ τῶν Εὐμενίδων εἰδὴ ἀνέγραφεν, ὅτε δὴ ἐμαίνετο ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί, νοῦς μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρακτῶν κύριος, σύνεσις δὲ τῶν ἔκεινοι δοξάντων. ἦν μὲν δὴ χρηστὰ ἔληται ὁ νοῦς, πέμπει ἤδη τὸν ἄνδρα ἡ ξύνεσις ἐς πάντα μὲν ἰερὰ, πάσας δὲ ἀγυιᾶς, πάντα δὲ τεμένη, πάντα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἡθη κροτοῦσα τε καὶ ἔδουσα, ἐμφύσησε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ καθεύδοντι, παριστάσα χορὸν εὐφημον ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὑνείρων δήμου, ἢν ὦ ἐς φαύλα ὀλίσθη ὢν τοῦ νοοῦ στάσις, οὐκ ἔδω τοῦτον ἡ ξύνεσις οὔτε ὄμμα ὅρθων ἐς ἀνθρώπων τινὰ ἀφεῖναι οὔτε τῷ ἀπ’ ἐλευθέρας ἡλιότητι φθέγμα, ἱερῶν τε ἀπελαύνει καὶ τοῦ εὐχεσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ χεῖρα αἴρει ξυγχωρεῖ ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἀλλ’ ἐπικόπτει αἴροντας, ὃσπερ τοὺς ἐπανατεινομένους οἱ νόμοι, ἔξιστη γε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὡμίλου παντὸς καὶ δειματοι καθεύδοντας, καὶ ἂ μὲν ὅρῳς μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ εἰ δὴ τινὰ ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν οἴσονται, ὀνειρώδη
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

upon without shame. For being the slaves of despots, they have been ready at times to betray 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 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. XIV καὶ ἀνεμαία ποιεῖ τοῦτοι, τὰς δὲ ἀμυντὰς καὶ
φαντασιώδεις πτοίας ἀληθεὶς ἦδη καὶ πιθανὰς τῷ
φόβῳ. ὡς μὲν δὴ ἐλέγχει μὲ ἡ σύνεσις ἐς εἰδότας
τε καὶ μὴ εἰδότας ἥκοντα, προδότης εἰ γενοῦμην
τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδείχθαί μοι σαφῶς οἷμαι καὶ ὡς
φαίνει ἀλήθεια, προδώσω δὲ οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ
ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, τὸ τοῦ γενναίου
'Ομήρου ἐπειπτῶν· ξυνὸς Ἐυνάλιος.'

CAP. XV Ἡπό τούτων οἱ Δαμάς τῶν λόγων αὐτὸς μὲν
οὖτω διατεθήκαι φησιν, ὡς ὅρμην τε ἀναλαβεῖν
καὶ θάρσος, τὸν Δημήτριον δὲ μὴ ἀπροφυώναι τοῦ
ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἔπαινεσαντα καὶ ξυνθέμενον οἷς εἶπεν
ἐπιθειάσασι οἱ ὑπὲρ οὐ κινδυνεῦει καὶ φιλοσοφία
αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ ἃς καρτερεὶ ταῦτα, ἤγειρθαί τε αὐτοῖς
οὐ καταλύών ἐτύγχανε, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον
παραφυτίμονον τούτο, "δείλῃ ἣδη," φάναι, "καὶ
χρή περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα
ἀφεῖναι, τοῦτι γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῦταις νόμοιν,
ξυσσιτήσωμεν δὲ, ἐπειδὰν εὐ τὰμα ἔχη, νυν ὡς
ἀν καὶ κατασκευασθείη τις αἰτία ἐπὶ σε ὡς ξυσ-
σιτήσαντα τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐχθρᾷ, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν
ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος μεθ' ἢμῶν ἰθι, μὴ καὶ τὸ λόγον
κεκουσωθήκεναι μοι διαβάλῃ σε ἐς ἀπορρήτους
βουλᾶς." ξυνεχώρησε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ
190
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.”

**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,
perybaladn avton aspezei, metastrefomenvos te kai
ta dakrnai apoysvon, o de 'Apolllwnios idvon es ton
Damin, "e i mev errwsai," efhi, "kal tharseis apfer
egw, baidisowmen amphw ep tihn vain, ei de athymow
cheis, or swi katarwnein entaitha, Dmirtf ro gar
xunseis ton chrnon touton aner soi te kamo
epitideiwr." upolabwn de o Damian, "kal tinra,"
efhi, "nomi edmauton, ei toiauta sou dieilegmenvou
symeron uper filon kai koinwnias kivdwn, o'i ep'
avton hekosin, egw de anikos tou logou fev-
gowm se kai apokindunewnim sou, mythw proteron
kakos uper sou doxas;" "orphos," efhi, "legen
kal iwmven, egw men, ois chw, se de xhrh metas-
skevnazein sauton es to demotikwteron kai myte
komain, ois gowin cheis, trivwna te antallattsebitai
toutou tou lino kai to upodima paraiteitai
touto. ti de boyletai moi tauta, xhrh diale-
ktina. lbow gar kai pleio karterhsai pro
tis dikh: ou de boyloma koinwnaia se moi
touton xulllithenta, xulllithetia gar an dia-
beblhmenou tou schmatos, all' ois mi filoso-
phouna mewn, epitideinov de allwos onta moi
xynepesbhai te kai paratuphkanwv ois prattw." autia
men hde tou metafalein ton Damin to ton Piwta-
goreinwv schma, ou gar ois kaiwv ge autov mebeiva
192
though he often turned back to look towards them and wiped tears from his eyes. But Apollonius 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 dispirited, 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 concerned?" "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 accompanying 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XV

φησιν, ουδε μεταγνωσι, τεχνην δε επαινεσας, ην υπηλθεν ες τον ευμφερον του καιρου.

XVI

CAP. XVI

Αποπλευσαντες δε της Δικαιαρχιας τριταιοι κατηραν ες τας έκβολας του Θυμβριδος, αφι διν εξυμμετρος ες την Ρωμην άναπλους. το μεν δι βασιλειον ξηφος ην επ Αιλιανο τοτε. δι ανηρ ουτος παλαι του Απολλωνιου ήρα, ευγγεγονος ποτε αυτοι κατ Αυγυπτον, και φαινον ουδεν υπερ αυτου προς των Δομετιανον ελεγεν, ου γαρ ευνεχωρει η αρχη, τον γαρ δοκουντα το βασιλει απηχθησαει πως μεν αν προς αυτον επηνεσε, πως δι αν ως επιτηδειον εαυτο παρητησατο; τεχναι μην οποσαι εισιν αφανως αμυνουσαι, πασαις υπερ αυτου εχρητο, δε γε και των χρονων, δε, πριν δεκειν, διεβάλλετο, ου βασιλει, έφη, ου κοιφολογον οι σοφισται χρημα και αλαξων η τεχη, και επει μηδεν χρηστον του ειναι απολαυοσι, θανατον γλιχνται, και ου περιμενουσιν αυτου το αυτοματον, αλλ' επισπωνται των θανατον εκκαλουμενοι τως εχοντας ξηφη. ταυθ' ήγουμαι και Νερωνα ενθυμηθεντα μη υπαχθηναι υπο Δημητριου αποκτειναι αυτον, επει γαρ θανατωντα ήσθεντο, ου κατα ευγγνώμνην επανήκεν αυτω των θανατον, αλλα καθ' υπεροψιαν του κτειναι. και 194
because he approved of a device to which he ac-
commodated himself to suit the expedience of the mo-
ment.

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 flippance; 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.

195
μὴν καὶ Μουσώνιον τὸν Τυρρηνὸν πολλὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἑναντιωθέντα τῇ νήσῳ ξυνέσχεν, ἢ ὄνομα Γύαρα, καὶ οὕτω τι τῶν σοφιστῶν τούτων ἦττους "Ελληνες, ὡς τότε μὲν κατὰ ξυνουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσπλείναν πάντας, νυνὶ δὲ κατὰ ιστορίαν τῆς κρήνης· ἐν γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ἀνύδρῳ οὐσι τρόπον εὐρήμα Μουσώνιον κρήνη ἐγένετο, ἢν ἄδουσιν "Ελληνες, ὡς ἦν Ἐλείκων τῆς τοῦ ὢττου."

XVII

Τούτων μὲν δὴ διήγεν ὁ Αἰλιανὸς τὸν βασιλέα, πρὸν ἴκειν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἀφικομένου δὲ σοφώτερον ἣπτετο, κελεύει μὲν γὰρ ξυλιθραύθεντα αὐτὸν ἀναχθῆναι οἱ, λοιδορομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς κατηγορίας ξυνεθέντος, ὡς γόητι καὶ ἱκανῷ τῆς τέχνης, ὁ μὲν Αἰλιανὸς, "τῷ βασιλείῳ δικαστηρίῳ," ἔφη, "σαιτόν τε καὶ τὸ τούτῳ φύλαττε," ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ μὲν γόης," ἔφη, "ἐγώ, πῶς κρίνομαι; εἰ δὲ κρίνομαι, πῶς γόης εἰμί; εἰ μὴ ἀρα τὸ συκοφαντεῖν ἱσχυρὸν οὕτως εἰναὶ φήσιν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν γοητευόντων ἤττάσθαι αὐτῷ." Βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ καθηγοροῦ λέγει τι ἀμαθέστερον, ἐκκρούν αὐτὸν οὖν ὁ Αἰλιανὸς, "ἐμοί," ἔπεμ, "ἀφες τὸν καιρὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ἔλεγχον γὰρ ποιήσομαι τῆς τοῦ σοφιστοῦ γνώμης ἱδία καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν, κἂν μὲν ὀμολογῇ ἠδικεῖν, ἐξυπνεύσασται οἱ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λόγοι καὶ σὺ ἀπεὶ εἰρήνηκώς, εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγει, δικάσει ὁ βασιλεύς." παρελθὼν οὖν ἐσ τὸ ἀπόρρητον δικαστήριον, ἐν δὲ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ
Moreover in the case of Musonius the Tyrrhenian, who opposed his rule in many ways, he only kept 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 Apollonius arrived, and then he began to use more 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVII

καὶ σιωπᾶται, "χωρείτε," ἑφη, "ἐνθένδε καὶ μηδεὶς ἐσπαρκροάσθω, δοκεῖ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ."

XVIII

CAP. XVIII

'Ως δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοὶ, "ἐγώ," ἑφη, "ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, μειράκιον ἦν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὐς ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπ᾽ Ἀἰγυπτίων ἦλθε, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς θύσιοι, χρησόμενος δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σοί, καὶ χιλίαρχοι μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤγεν ἢδη τῶν πολεμικῶν εἰδότα, σὺ δ᾽ οὕτω τί μοι ἐπιτηδείως εἴχες, ὁς χρηματίζοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀπολαβὼν μὲ ἰδία, ποδατός τε εἰνὴν λέγειν καὶ ὁ τι μοι τὸ ὄνομά καὶ ὡς ἔχω τοῦ πατρός, προϋλεγες δὲ μοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, ἢ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς μεγίστῃ δοκεῖ καὶ μείζον ἢ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ ἀνθρώπων, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὄχλος καὶ κακοδαιμονία φαίνεται: τυραννίδος γὰρ φύλαξ χαλεπῆς εἰμὶ, καὶ μὲν σφήλω αὐτὴν, δέδοικα τὰ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν. σοὶ δ᾽ ὅπως εὔνους εἰμί, δεδήλωκα, ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἁφ᾽ ὅν εἰρηκά ποῦ τὸ μηδ᾽ ἄν παύσασθαί σε ἡγασών, ἔστ᾽ ἂν ἦ τὸ ἐκεῖνων μεμνησθαι 1. * * τὸ δὲ ἱδία ἠθελήσαι ἔρεσθαι σε, ὑπὲρ ὅν ὁ κατήγορος ξυντέθεικε, σόφισμα οὐ φαύλων ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας ἐμοὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ γέγονεν, ὅπως θαρροῦσας μὲν τὰ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ δυντα, προγνοίης δὲ

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

198
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

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

XVIII

And when they were alone, he said: "I, O Apollonius, was a stripling at the time when the father of the present sovereign came to Egypt to sacrifice to the gods, and to consult you about his 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 βασιλείῳ ὃ τι μὲν γὰρ ψηφιεῖται ἐπὶ σοὶ, οὐκ οἶδα, διάκειται δὲ, ὡσπερ οἱ καταψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, αἰσχυνύμενοι δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐπ’ ἄλθέσι, καὶ πρόφασιν ἀπωλείας ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων ποιεῖται σὲ. Βούλεται μὲν γὰρ, ἂ μὴ δεῖ, πράττει δ’ αὐτὰ καταρρυθμίζων ἐς τὴν τοῦ δικαίου δόξαν. δεῖ δὴ κάμοι πλάσματος καὶ ὅρμης ἐπὶ σὲ, εἰ γὰρ ὑπόψεται μὲ ὠς ἀνίεντα, οὐκ ὁδ’ ὀπότερος ἡμῶν ἀπολεῖται θάττον.”

XIX

CAP. XIX

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἐπεὶ υγιῶς,” ἔφη, “διαλεγόμεθα, καὶ ὅπόσα καρδία ἵσχει σὺ τε εἰρήκας ἐμοὶ τε εἰπεῖν δίκαιον, φιλοσοφεῖς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ πραγμάτων ως οἱ σφόδρα μοι ἐξυνδιατρίψαντες, καὶ, νὴ Δία, οὕτω φιλανθρώπως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἕχεις, ὡς ἔγκυκλινυεύεις ἤγεισθαί μοι, λέξω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ νοῦν ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀποδρᾶναι μὲν ἡν ὑμᾶς ἐς πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς, ἂ μὴ υμῶν ἀκροαταί, παρ’ ἄνδρας τε ἀφικέσθαι σοφοὺς καὶ σοφωτέρους ἢ ἐγώ, θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ἔων ὀρθῶ νόμῳ, βαδίσαντι ἐς ἣς ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλεστέρων ἢ οἱ ἐνταῦθα, παρ’ οῖς οὕτε ἐνδείξεις οὕτε γραφὴ.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

you of the Emperor's designs. Now what his verdict 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, δ' αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ μὴτε ἀδικεῖν μὴτε ἀδικεῖσθαι δικαστηρίων οὐ δέονται, δεῖσας δὲ προδότου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, εἰ φύγοιμι μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀπολογήαν, ἀπὸλοιποὶ δὲ οἱ δ' ἐμοὶ κινδυνεύοντες, ἦκω ἀπολογησόμενος. ὕπερ δὲ ὃν ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲ δεῖ, φράζε.

XX

CAP. XX. “Αἱ μὲν ἰδέαι τῆς γραφῆς πουκίλαι τε,” ἔφη, “καὶ πλείους, καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσθήτα διαβάλλουσι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν, καὶ τὸ ἔστιν ύφ’ ὃν προσκυνεῖσθαι σε καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἤφεσι φοτὲ ὑπὲρ λοιμοῦ χρῆσαι, διειλέχθη δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ μὲν ἀφανῶς, τὰ δ' ἐκφάνην, τὰ δ' ὡς θεῶν ἀκούσαντα. τὸ δ' ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανότατον, γυναῖκες γὰρ, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αἷμα ἀνέχῃ, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανότατον διαβάλλειν: φασίν ἐσ ἄγρον βαδίσαντά σε παρὰ Νερόιαν τεμεῖν αὐτῷ παῖδα Ἀρκάδα θυμόμενι ἔπὶ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπάραι αὐτὸν τοὺς ἱεροῖς τούτοις, πεπρᾶχθαι δὲ ταύτα νῦκτωρ φθίνοντος ἥδη τοῦ μυηνός. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ κατηγόρημα, ἐπειδή πολλῷ μεῖζον, μὴ ἔτερον τι παρ' ἐκεῖνο ἦγομεθα, ὁ γὰρ λαμβανό-202
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII.

Of accusation are unknown, because, since they neither wrong one another nor are wronged, they 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 other, "are as varied as they are numerous; for your style of dress is assailed in them and your way of living in general, and your having been worshipped by certain people, and the fact that in Ephesus once you delivered an oracle about the famine; and also that you have uttered certain sentiments to the detriment 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 consulting 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 compared with which we need not consider any other,
ΝΕΟΙ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΑΙΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟ-
ΓΟΥΝΩΣΚΕΙΝ ΕΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΗΠΟ ΕΥΝΤΕΙΝΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΓΕ
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΣΟΙ ΦΗΣΙ
ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΘΥΣΙΑΝ ΘΑΡΡΟΣ. ΧΡΗ ΟΥΝ ΠΑΡΕΣΚΕΥΑ-
ΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ἈΠΟЛОΓΙΑΝ, ἙΣΤΩ ΔΕ ΣΟИ ο
ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΗ ΥΠΕΡΟΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ." ΚΑΙ ο
ἈΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ, "ΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΜΗ ΥΠΕΡΟΡΑΝ ἙΣΤΩ ΤΕΚΜΗ-
ΡΙΟΝ ΣΟΙ ΤΟ ΥΠΕΡ ἈΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ἈΦΙΧΘΑΙ ΜΕ, ΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ
ΘΡΑΣΕΩΣ ΟΥΤΩ ΤΑΜΑ ΕΙΧΕΝ, ὈΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΔΑΣ
ΑΙΡΕΣΘΑΙ, ἈΛΛΑ ΣΟΙ ΓΕ ΥΠΕΣΧΟΝ ΕΜΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΟΙΔΕ
ΟΝΤΙ ΚΑΙ ἈΓΑΠΩΝΤΙ ΜΕ. ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ἘΧΘΡΟΙ ΠΟΥΡΡΟΝ
ΔΟΞΑΙ ΔΕΙΝΟΝ ΟΥΠΟ, ΟΙ ΓΑΡ ἘΧΘΡΟΙ ΜΙΣΟΥΣΙΝ ΟΥΚ
ἈΦʹ ΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΔΙΑΒΕΒΛΗΤΑΙ ΤΙΣ, ἈΛΛʹ ΑΦʹ ΩΝ
ΙΔΙΑ ΠΡΟΣΚΕΚΡΟΥΚΕ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΣ ἌΝΔΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΥ
ΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΑΙΤΙΑΝ, ὈΣ ΚΑΚΟΣ ΦΑΙΝΟΙΤΟ, ΒΑΡΙΤΕΡΟΝ
ΤΟΤΟ Η ΤΑ ἘΧΘΡῶΝ ὙΜΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑ, ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ
ΔΙΑΦΥΓΟΙ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΟΥ ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ, ΔΙ ΑΚΑΚΟΣ ἩΝ,
ἈΠΗΧΘΗΣΘΑΙ."
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

because it far outweighs them all. For if the accuser 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 moreover 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; and he bade him be of good courage, while he himself 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

205
CAP. XXI

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

Jailors who had charge of such cases and said: "My orders are to detain this man, until the Emperor be 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. XXI
καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀποκόψω σου τὸν αὐχένα τῷ ξίφει,
διαβέβληται ἡ αἰτία καὶ ἀφεῖσαι, ἦν δὲ ἐκπλήξης
μὲ καὶ μεθὼ τὸ ξίφος, θείον τε ἀνάγκη νομίζεσθαι
σε καὶ ὃς ἐπ’ ἀληθεία κρίνεσθαι.” τοσφίδε μὲν
δὴ ἀγροκότερος οὔτος τοῦ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύ
νοντος, ἐλεγε δὲ ταῦτα μασώμενος τε καὶ ξῦν
γέλωτι, ὃ δ’ οὐκ ἀκηκοότι ὡμοίος διελέγετο πρὸς
τὸν Δάμιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δέλτα, περὶ δ’ φασὶ τὸν
Νείλουν σχίζεσθαι.

XXII

CAP. XXII
’Εσεὶ δὲ καλέσας αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰλιανὸς ἐκέλευσε τὸ
ἐλευθέριον οἰκεῖσφι δεσμωτήριον, “ἔστ’ ἄν γένηται
σχολή,” ἔφη, “τῷ βασιλεῖ, ξυγγενέσθαι γάρ
σοι ἱδία πρῶτερον βούλεται,” ἀπήλθε μὲν τού
δικαστηρίου, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
“διαλεγόμεθα,” ἔφη, “Δάμι, τοῖς ἐνταύθα: τί γὰρ
ἄν ἄλλο πράττοι τις ἐς τὸν χρόνον τούτον, ἄν
dιαλέξεται μοι ὁ τύραννος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δεῖται;”
“ἀδολέσχας,” εἶπεν, “ἡγήσονται ήμᾶς, ἂν ἐκ-
κρούωμεν αὐτοὺς ἂν ἀπολογήσονται, καὶ ἄλλος
ἀτόπον περιπατεῖν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀθύμως
ἔχοντας.” “καὶ μὴν τούτοις μάλιστα δεῖ,” ἔφη,
“τοῦ διαλέξομένου τε καὶ θεραπεύσουσον; εἰ γὰρ
ἐνθυμηθήσας ἡ τοῦ Ὠμήρου ἔπη, ἐν οἷς Ὁμήρος τὴν
Ἐλένην φησὶ τὰ ἔξι Αἰγύπτου φάρμακα οἴνοχοιν
208
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

the gates, and if I cut your head off with my sword, the accusation will have defeated itself and you will 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 the prison, where the captives were not bound, “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

209
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΣΑΡ. ΧΧΙΙ

mingled in the bowl of wine certain drugs from Egypt in order to drown the heart-ache of the 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
Διαλεγομένοις ὁ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα προσελθών τις, οἶμαι, Κίλιξ, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "ἀνδρεῖς, ὑπὲρ πλούτου κινδυνεύων," καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ μὲν ἀφ᾽ ὧν οὐ θεμιτῶν," ἔφη, "πλούτῶν, οἷον ληστείας ἢ φαρμάκων, ἢ δὴ ἄνδροφόνα, ἢ τάφους κινήσας, ὅσοι τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων εἰσίν, οὐ πολύχρυσοί τε καὶ θησαυρόδεις, οὐ κρίνεσθαι σε χρή μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπολωλέναι, ταυτὶ γὰρ πλοῦτος μὲν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπίρρητος τε καὶ ὁμός. εἰ δὲ κληρονομήσας ἢ διδοούσης ἐμπορίας ἐλευθερίου τε καὶ κατ᾽ ῥήματος καπνῆλον, τῆς οὕτω βαρύς, ὡς ἀφελέσθαι σε νόμου σχῆματι τὰ κτηθέντα σοι κατὰ νόμους; " "τὰ μὲν οὖν μοι παρὰ πλείόνων," ἔφη, "ἐξαγεγεννῶν ἐστιν, ἐς μὲν δ᾽ οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἤκει, χρῶμαι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὖθ᾽ ὡς ἑτέρων, ἐμὰ γὰρ, οὐθ᾽ ὡς ἐμοῖς, κοινὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐστὶ μοι. δια-βάλλουσι δ᾽ ἡμᾶς οἱ συκοφάνται μὴ ἔπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκτίθεσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐμοὶ τε γὰρ νεώτερα πειρωμένου πράττειν ἐφόδιον ἄν γενέσθαι αὐτῶν, ἑτέρῳ τε, ὅτοι προσθείμην, ῥοπὴν ἄν οὐ σμικρὰν τὰμά εἶναι. μεμαντευμέναι δ᾽ ἦδη
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

Damis, that he is maddened with pride and vanity?” CHAP. XXII
“I see it, how can I not?” said the other. “Well,” 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 Cilician I think, came up and said: “I, gentlemen, am brought to this pass by my wealth.” And 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
Καθ’ ἡμῶν αἰτία, ὥς ὑβρὶν μὲν τίκτει πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον πλοῦτος, ὁ δ᾿ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλούς τὸν αὐχένα ἵστησι, καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἐγείρει, νόμοις τε οὐκ ἐὰν πείθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας, οἳ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη φοιτῶσι, μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ κόρρης παίει δουλουμένους τοῖς χρήμασιν ἢ ὑπερορώντας αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἱσχύν τοῦ πλούτου.

Ἐγὼ δὲ μειράκιον μὲν ὁν, πρὶν οὕσιαν ἐκατὸν ταλάντων ἐκτήσασθαι, κατάγελων ἠγούμην πάντα, καὶ σμικρὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄντων ἐδεδείειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τάλαντα μοι πεντακόσια ἐπὶ μᾶς ἠμέρας ἐγένετο τελευτήσαντος ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς θείου, τοσοῦτον ἡ γνώμη μετέβαλεν, ὅσον οἱ καταρτύντες τῶν ὑπ’ ποιν καὶ μεταβάλλοντες τοῦ ἀπαίδευτον τε καὶ ἀκολάστου ἦθους. ἐπιδιδόντος δὲ μοι τοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ ὑγίας, τὰ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης φέροντο, οὕτω τι ἐδουλώθην ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν δέος, ὡς ἀπαντλεῖν τῆς οὕσιας τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς συκοφάντας, οὓς ἔδει μειλττεσθαι τῇ ἀπομαγαδαλῷ ταύτῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ὡς ἵσχυς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας εἰη μοι, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄγγελον ἕως μὴ φθονοῦν τῷ πλούτῳ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους, ὡς μὴ κακίους γίγνοιτο ἀμελεῖσθαι φάσκοντες, ἐβουκολεῖτο δὲ μοι καὶ ἀγέλη φίλων λαμπρά προσρώντες γὰρ οὕτωί μοι τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔδραν, τὰ δὲ μοι προὔλεγον.
oracular air about the charges made against us, such as that all excess of wealth engenders insolence, or 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

άλλ' ὁμοὶς οὕτω μὲν χαρακωσάντες τοῦ πλούτου,
οὕτω δὲ ἄσφαλῶς τειχισάμενοι, κινδυνεύομεν περὶ
αὐτῶν νῦν, καὶ οὕτω δήλον οὐδ' εἰ τὸ σῶμα ἀθώοι
μενοῦμεν." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "θάρρει," ἔφη,
tὸν γὰρ πλούτον τοῦ σώματος ἐγκατηγήνει,
δέδεσαι μὲν γὰρ δι' αὐτῶν, ἀνήσει δὲ σε ἀπολυό-
μενον οὐ μόνον τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τοῦδε, ἄλλα καὶ
tοῦ θεραπεύειν τοὺς συκοφάντας τὲ καὶ τοὺς
δούλους, οἷς δ' αὐτῶν ὑπέκεισον."

XXIV

CAP. XXIV

'Ετέρου δ' αὖ ϕήσαντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ
θύουν ἐν Τάραντι, οὐ ἥρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς
dημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δουετιανὸς Ἀθηνᾶς εἶη παῖς,
"σὺ μὲν φήθης," ἔφη, "μὴ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκεῖν,
παρθένον ὁσαν τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἡγνώεις δ', οἷμαι,
ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὐτῆ Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ δράκοντα ἔτεκε."
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

others with their warnings and advice. But although 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 surety 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.”

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 Athenae. Said Apollonius: “You imagined that Athenae 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.”

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;
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXV

ἡπείρῳ, δένδρεσί τε ὡραίοις διεφύτευσε καὶ ἀμπέλοις ἦδυνοις, διαίταν τε ἰκανὴν τῷ σώματι κατεσκεύαστο ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ὦδωρ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐσήγετο ἀποχρῶν τῇ νήσῳ ἕκ τοῦτο ἀνέφυ γραφή, μὴ καθαρὸς εἶναι ὁ Ἀκαρνάν οὗτος, ἔργα δὲ αὐτῷ ξυνειδῶς οὐ φορητά, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης γῆς ἐξίσταθαι τε καὶ ἀποφοιτῶν ὡς μεμασμένης ἑαυτῷ, τῇ δ’ Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω λύσιν, δι’ ὑπὸ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελόου μετὰ τὴν μητέρα φίλησεν, ἰρήσθαι αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφ’ ὁμοίους, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ σχέτλίους ἵσωσ καὶ οὐ πόρρῳ ἐκείνων ὁ δ’ οὔ τοῦτ’ ἐφασκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπραγμοσύνης ἔρων ἐκεῖ οἰκήσαι, τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐς δίκας αὐτῷ περιστήναι, δι’ ἂς καὶ εἰρχθαί αὐτόν.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI

Προσιόντων δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πλειόνων ἔνδου καὶ ὀλοφυρομένων τοιαύτα, πεντήκοντα γάρ που εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τοῦτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν νοσεῖν αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀθύμως παρέισθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρπεῖσθαι τὸν θάνατον, οἱ δ’ ἐπιβοῶσθαι τέκνα καὶ γονέας τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ γάμους, “ὡ Δάμι,” ἔφη, “δοκοῦσι 218
and he planted it all over with pleasant trees and 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 Amphiarerus 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-
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVI

μοι τοῦ φαρμάκου δείσθαι οἱ ἄνδρες, οὗ καταρχᾶς ἐπεμνήσθην, εἰτ' οὖν Αἰγύπτιον τούτο, εἰτ' ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ φύεται, ριζοτομοῦσα αὐτὸ σοφίας ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς κήπων, προσδώμεν αὐτοῖς ἄθλιοις τούτοις, μὴ προανέλῃ σφᾶς ἢ γνώμη." "προσ-

δώμεν," ἢ δ' ἃς ὁ Δάμις, "ἐδίκασι γὰρ δεομένοις." ξυγκάλεσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἄνδρες,"
eἰπεν, "οἱ κοινωνοῦντες ἐμοὶ ταυτης τῆς στέγης, ἔλεϊς ὑμᾶς, ὡς ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσθε, οὕπω εἰδότες,  
eἰ κατηγορία ἀπολεῖ ὑμᾶς· δοκεῖτε γὰρ μοι προαποκτινύντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ καταψηφισθέντος ἄν ὑμῶν, ὡς ὀξεῖθη, θανάτου, καὶ θαρρεῖν μὲν ἄ

dέδιτε, δεδιέναι δ' ἃ θαρρεῖτε. οὐ μὴν προσήκει

γε, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμηθέντας τὸν Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ Παρίου λόγον, ὃς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λυπηροῖς καρτερίαν τλημο-

σύνη καλῶν, θεών αὐτήν φήσει εἶναι εὐρήμα

ἀναφέρειν τῶν σχετικῶν τούτων, ὥσπερ οἱ τέχνη τοῦ ῥοθίου ύπεραιροῦτες, ἐπειδὴ ὁ κῦμα ἧπερ τὴν ναῦν ἱστήται, μηδ' ἥγεισθαι χαλεπὰ ταῦτα, ἐφ' ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀκούστε, ἕγω δὲ ἐκὼν Ἦκω.

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγινότθεσθε ταῖς αἰτίαις, ὀλοφυρτεά ἢ ἡμέρα μᾶλλον, ἐν ἢ ὁ λογισμὸς ἐς ἁδικά τε καὶ ὡμὰ ὀρμήσας ὑμᾶς ἐσφήλευ, εἰ δ' οὔτε σὺ τὴν ἐν

220
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
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
CAP. XXVI

τῷ Ἀχελώφῳ νήσου ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατήγορός φησιν ἔρεις ἰδικεῖναι, οὐτὲ σὺ τὸν σεαυτὸν πλουτὸν ἐφεδρόν ποτε τῇ βασιλείᾳ στήσασθαι, οὐθε ἐκὼν σὺ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶς δοκεῖν ἀφηρήσθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὐθε ὑπὲρ ὄν ἀφίχθη κινδυνεύων ἔκαστος, ἀληθῆ ταύτα εἶναι φήσει, τί βούλεται,” φησιν, “ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐκ ὄντων θρῆνος οὗτος; δισφογ γάρ, τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπιβοᾶσθε, τοσφόδε χρῆ ἐρρῶσθαι μᾶλλον, ἀθλα γὰρ ποὺ τῆς τλημοσύνης ταύτης ἐκεῖνα. ἦ τὸ καθείρχθαι δεύρῳ δεινὸν εἶναι φατε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ξῆν; ἦ ἄρχὴν ὄν πείσεσθαι ἤγείσθε; ἦ καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸ τιμωρίαν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ πάθοντε; ἀλλ’ ἔγονε τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν εἰδώς φύσιν, ἀναδίδαξι λόγον ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίοις, καὶ γὰρ ἵσχυν εὐτίθησε καὶ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἐάσει. οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐσμέν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, δι’ ἔνομασταί βίος· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σώματι φθαρτῷ ἐνδεθείσα πολλὰ μὲν καρτερεῖ, δουλεύει δὲ πᾶσιν, ὅπόσα ἐπ’ ἀνθρωπον φοιτᾶ, οἰκία τε οἷς ἐπενοήθη πρῶτον, ἀγνοήσαί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀλλο δεσμωτήριον αὐτοῖς περιβάλλοντες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπόσοι τὰ βασίλεια οἰκοῦσιν, ἁσφαλῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς κατεσκευασμένοι, δεδέσθαι μᾶλλον τούτοις ἠγώμεθα ἡ οὐς αὐτοὶ δῆσουσι.
in the island of the Achelous, for the reason which your accuser alleges; and you there, that you ever raised your wealth to the peril and endangering of the sovereignty; and you again that you of set purpose 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 themselves securely in them, are, I consider, in closer bonds in them than any whom they may throw into bonds.
Πόλεις δ’ ἐνθυμομένη μοι καὶ τείχη δοκεῖ ταῦτα δεσμωτήρια εἶναι κοινά, ὡς δεδέσθαι μὲν ἀγοράζοντας, δεδέσθαι δὲ ἐκκλησιάζοντας καὶ θεωμένους αὐτὶ καὶ πομπὰς πέμποντας. καὶ Σκυθῶν ὁπόσοι ἀμαξεύοντες, οὐ μεῖον ἕμων δέδενται, Ἰστροὶ τε γὰρ αὐτοῦς ὀρίζουσι καὶ Θερμόδοντες καὶ Τανάδες οὐ ράδιοι ποταμοὶ ὑπερβῆναι, ἢ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ στῶσιν, οἰκίας τε ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν πέπανται καὶ φέρονται μὲν, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐπτηχότες. εἰ δὲ μὴ μειρακιώδης ὁ λόγος, φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ὡκεανὸν δεσμὸν ἐνεκα τῇ γῇ περιβεβλησθαί. ἢτε, ὡ ποιηταί, ταυτὶ γὰρ ὑμέτερα, καὶ ῥαψῳδεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς τοὺς ἄθυμους, ὡς Κρόνος μὲν ποτε ἐδέθη βουλαίς τοῦ Διός, Ἀρχης δὲ ὁ πολεμικῶτατος ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ὑπὸ Ὁφαίστου πρότερον, ἐν γῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλώεως. ταῦτ’ ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν, οὐς δήμοι ἀσελγεῖς ἐδησαν, τυραννίδες δὲ προὔπηλάκισαν, δεχόμεθα καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ τῶν δεξιῶν αὐτὰ λειποῖμεθα.” οὐτὸ τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ῥηθέντα μετέβαλεν, ὡς σίτον τε ὁ πολλὸς ἄψασθαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τῶν δακρύων, βὴναὶ τε ἐπ’ ἐλπίδος μηδ’ ἄν παθεῖν μηδὲν ἐκεῖνοι ἔννοντες.
“And when I think of cities and walls, it seems CHAP. XXVI to me that these are common prisons, so that the 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 Thermodon 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 enchained 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 ἔμνευν, ἐσπέμπεται δὲ τις ἀκροατὴς τῶν διαλέξεων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ καθειμένος. τὸ μὲν δὴ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ κατηφής ἐδόκει, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τι, ὡς ἐφάσκε, μέγα, γλώττης τε οὐκ ἀνεπιτηθεύ-

τως εἰχεν, οἷον τῶν συκοφαντικῶν οἱ συνεἰλοχότες ὅτε ὢματα ἢ δέκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνεὺς τῆς τέχνης διελέγετο, ἀ μὴ ἐκείνῳ προύβαινε, ποταμῶν τε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐμέμηντο καὶ ὄρων, καὶ θηρία διέβη καὶ δέντρα, ὡφ' ὅν οἱ μὲν διήγησον, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν ἐς λοιδορίας τοῦ τυράννου ἐπειράτο, "ὁ ταῦ," ἔφη, "οὐ μὲν, ὦ τι βούλει, λέγε, οὐ γὰρ διαβεβλησθῇ γε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπόσα μέμφομαι τοῖν βασιλέα, πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξω."

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII  Ἐγένετο καὶ ἔτερα ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ ἐπεισόδια, τὰ μὲν ἐπιβεβουλευμένα, τὰ δὲ, ὡς ξυνέπεσεν, οὕτω μεγάλα, οὕτ' ἄξια ἐμοὶ σπουδάσαι, Δάμις δὲ, οἴμαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραλελοιπέναι τι αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθη, τὰ δὲ λόγου ἑχόμενα. ἐσπέρα μὲν ὢν, καθεῖρκτο δὲ ἡμέραν ἢ ἡ πέμπτην, παρελ-
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XXVII

On the next day he was haranguing them in a discourse of the same tenor, when a man was sent into the prison privately by Domitian to listen to what he said. In his deportment this person had a downcast air, and, as he himself admitted, looked as if he ran a great risk. He had great 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, some of them insidiously contrived, and others of mere chance, and not of sufficient importance to merit my notice. But Damis, I believe, has recorded them in his anxiety to omit nothing; I only give what is to the point. It was evening, and it was already the fifth day of his imprisonment, when a certain person entered the prison, who spoke the
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVIII


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

228
Hellenic tongue, and said: "Where is the man of Tyana?" And taking Apollonius aside he said: "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

λόγιοι, "Οδυσσεύς μέντοι," ἐφη, "παριῶν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πολυφήμου ἀντρον, καὶ μήτε ὅποιος ἔστι προακηκώς πρότερον, μηδ' οία συτεῖται, μηδ' ὡς βροντὰ ἡ φωνή, ἐθάρρησε τε αὐτὸν καίτοι ἐν ἀρχῇ δείσας, καὶ ἀπήλθε τοῦ ἀντρον ἀνήρ δόξας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτάρκες ἐμαυτὸν τε σώσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἕταῖρους, ὑπὲρ ὃν κινδυνεύω." τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν ἦκοντα καὶ ἀπαγγείλας αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ἐκάθευνεν.

XXIX

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

"If Odysseus could go into the cave of Polyphemus, without having been informed beforehand either of 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 court, and said: "It is the Emperor's orders, O Apollonius, that you should repair to his court at the 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."
232
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXX

αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀὐσώπος οὐ νοσεῖν μὲν, δοκεῖν δὲ, καλ τῶν θηρίων, ἀ ἐφοίτα παρ’ αὐτὸν, ἀπτεσθαί, τὴν δὲ ἀλώπεκα, τί τούτῳ χρησόμεθα, εἰπεῖν, παρ’ οὐ μηδὲ ἀναλύει τις, μηδὲ δείκνυται τι τῶν ἐξιόντων ἱχνὸς;” καὶ ὁ Ἄπολλώνιος, “ἀλλ’ ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “σοφωτέραν τὴν ἀλώπεκα ἡγούμην ἂν, εἰ παρελθοῦσα ἔσω μὴ ἤλω, ἀλλ’ ἔξηλθε τοῦ σπηλαίου τὰ ἰχνη τὰ ἑαυτῆς δεικνύσα.”

XXXI

CAP. XXXI

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑπνοῦ ἔσπασε κομιδή βραχὺ καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἠλθεν, ἡμέρα δ’ ὡς ἐγένετο, προσευξάμενος τῷ Ἡλίῳ, ὡς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ εἰκός, διελέγετο τοῖς προσιῶσιν, ὅποσα ἡρώτων, καὶ οὕτως ἀγορᾶς πληθούσῃς ἀφικνεῖται γραμματεύς, κελεύων ἔπι θύρας ἦδη εἶναι, “μὴ καὶ θάττον,” ἔφη, “ἐσκληθῶμεν.” ὁ δὲ εἰπών, “Ἰω-μεν,” ἕων ὀρμῇ προῆλθε. πορευομένως δ’ αὐτῷ δορυφόροι ἐπηκολούθουσιν τέτταρες, πλέον ἀπέχου- τες ἢ οἱ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα ὀμαρτούντες, ἐφείπετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Δάμιος δεδώς μὲν, ξυνηκοῦντι δ’ ὄμωνος. ἐώρων μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἄπαντες, αὐτοῦ τε γὰρ τοῦ σχῆματος ἀπεβλέπετο, καλ θεία ἑδόκει ἥ περὶ τῷ εἴδει ἐκπληξίς, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἥκειν 234
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΚΑΠ. ΞΞΙ

ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν κινδυνεύσοντα καὶ τοὺς βασικάνοντας
αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτηδεῖοι ἐποίει τότε. προσεστὸς
dὲ τοὺς βασιλείοις καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεραπευομένους
ὁρῶν, τοὺς δὲ θεραπεύοντας, ἐσιόντων τε καὶ
ἐξιόντων κτύπον, “δοκεῖ μοι,” ἔφη, “ὁ Δάμι,
βαλανείω ταῦτα εἰκάσθαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐξώ ἐσω
ὁρῶ σπεύδοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐξὼ ἐξώ, παραπλήσιοι
dὲ εἰσιν οἱ μὲν ἐκλελουμένοι, οἱ δὲ ἀλούτουις.”
τὸν
λόγον τοῦτον ἄσυλον κελεύω φιλάττειν καὶ μὴ τῷ
deιν ἢ τῷ δεινοὶ προσγράφειν αὐτὸν, οὕτω τι Ἀπολ-
λωνίου ὄντα, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐπιστολήν αὐτῷ ἀναγε-
γράφθαι. ἰδὼν δὲ τινα μάλα πρεσβύτην ἐπι-
θυμοῦντα μὲν ἀρχεῖν, δὴ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀρχόμενον
καὶ θεραπεύοντα τὸν βασιλέα, “τοῦτον,” ἔφη, “ὁ
Δάμι, οὐδὲ Σοφοκλῆς πω πέπεικε τὸν λυπτῶντα
τε καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγεῖν.” “οὐ ἡμεῖς,”
eἶπεν, “Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡρήμεθα· ταῦτά
τοι καὶ προσεστήκαμεν θύραις τοιαύταις.” “δοκεῖς
μοι,” ἔφη, “ὁ Δάμι, καὶ τὸν Αἰακόν, ὃστερ ἐν
Αἴδου λέγεται, φρουρόν ἡγεῖσθαι προτῷ τῶν
πυλῶν εἶναι, τεθνέωτι γὰρ ἰὸν ἐσκα.” “οὐ
tεθνεώτι,” ἔφη, “τεθνηξομένος δὲ.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολ-
λώνιος, “ἀφυής,” εἶπεν, “ὁ Δάμι, πρὸς τὸν
θάνατον εἶναι μοι φαίνη, καίτοι εἶναί μοι χρόνον,
ἐκ μειρακίου φιλοσοφῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡμῖν παρεσκευά-
236
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXI σθαί τε σε πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐμοὶ τακτικὴν εἰδέναι πᾶσαν. Ὅσπερ γὰρ τοῖς μαχομένοις καὶ ὀπλιτεύονσιν οὖς εὐψυχίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάξεως ἐρμηνευοῦσης τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς μάχης, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἐπιμελητεά τῶν καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἀποθανοῦνται, ὡς μὴ ἀτακτοί, μηδὲ θανατώντες, ξὺν ἀρίστῃ δ᾿ αἱρέσει ἐς αὐτοὺς φέροντο. ὅτι δὲ ἀριστά τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα φιλοσοφία καιρὸν εἰλόμην ἀποθνήσκειν, εἰ τις ἀποκτείνει βούλοιτο, ἐτέρως τε ἀπολελόγημα σοῦ παρόντος, αὐτὸν τε σὲ διδάσκων ἀπειρηκα.”

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἔπει δὲ σχολῆ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διωσαμένῳ πάντα, ἐς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρί, παρῆγον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια οἱ ἐπιμεληται τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ ξυγχωρήσαντες τῷ Δάμιδι ἐπιστέψασί οἱ. θαλλοῦ δὲ στέφανον ἔχων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρτι μὲν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ τεθυκὼς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν αὐλῇ Ὁδώνιδος, ἢ δὲ αὐλῆ ἄνθεων ἐτεθῆλε κῆποις, οὐς Ὁδώνιδι Ἀσσύριοι ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ ὀργῶν, ὁμωροφίους αὐτοὺς φυτεύωντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἴεροῖς ὃν μετεστράφη, καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἴδους τοῦ ἄνδρός, “Ἀλλιανέ,” 238.
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 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 Emperor had leisure, having got rid of all his 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
CAP. X.XII

is a demon that you have introduced to me." But Apollonius, without losing his composure, made 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 confuse 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXII ἀπορρήτων τε λαμπρῶν ἀκροάσασθαι ἔστο, καὶ ἐς τὸ ξυντείνον τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦκειν πάντα.

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII Ὅ δ' ὡς μετέωρον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης ταύτης εἶδεν. “ἐγώ,” ἐφη, “Νεροῦν σωφρονέστατον ἀνθρώπων οἶδα καὶ πράσατον καὶ σοι ἐπιτηδειώτατον, καὶ ἄρχοντα μὲν ἄγαθον, εὐλαβῆ δ' οὔτω πρὸς οἶκον πραγμάτων, ὡς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς δεδιέναι. οἱ δὲ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν, Ὀρφιοῦ γάρ ποὺ λέγει καὶ Ὁρφιοῦ, σωφρονεῖς μὲν καὶ οἴδη οἱ ἀνδρείς, ὁπόσα οἶδα, καὶ διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς πλοῦτον, νωθροὶ δὲ πράττειν ὑπὸσα ἔξεστι, νεώτερα δὲ οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸλ ἐνθυμηθείεν οὔτ' ἂν ἐτέρῳ ἐνθυμηθέντει ξυνάραυντο.” ἀνοιδήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ύφ' ὣν ἠκούσε, “συκοφάντην με οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶληφας, ἱν' οὐς ἐγὼ μαρωτάτους ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς ἐμοῖς ἐπιτηδεύοντας οὖν, σὺ δ', ὡς χρηστοὶ τέ εἰσι λέγεις, καὶ νωθροὶ; καὶ γὰρ ἂν κάκεινους ἤγοιμαι, ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐρωτωμένους, μήθ' ὡς γόης εἰ φάναι, μήθ' ὡς ἐτής, μήθ' ὡς ἄλαζών, μήθ' ὡς φιλοχρήματος, μήθ' ὡς φρονῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς νόμους. οὔτως, ὁ μιαρὰ κεφαλαί, κακῶς ξυντεταχθε. ἔλεγξει δ' ἡ κατηγορία πάντα, καὶ γὰρ ὀπόσα ὁμώμοται ὕμων 242
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

was going to hear Apollonius confess very important secrets, and that whatever transpired would conduce 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 had been present and taken part in everything, all the oaths which you took, and the objects for
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXIII
καὶ ὑπὲρ ὃν καὶ ὅπωτε καὶ τι θύσασιν, οὐδὲν μεῖνον οἶδα, ἢ εἰ παρετύχαχαν τὸ καὶ ἐκοινώνουν.” ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκπλαγεῖς, “αἰσχρόν,” ἔφη, “βασιλεὺς, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἡ δικάξεων ὑπὲρ ὃν πέπεισα ἡ πεπείσθαι ὑπὲρ ὃν μὴ ἐδίκασας. εἰ δ’ οὕτως ἔχει, ἐνγχώρησον ἐνθένδε μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας ἀρξασθαί. κακῶς; ὁ βασιλεὺς, περὶ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖς, καὶ πλείω με ἀδικεῖς ἢ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἢ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος διδάξειν ἔφη, σὺ πρὶν ἀκούσαι πέπεισαι.”
“τῆς μὲν ἀπολογίας,” εἶπεν, “ὅποθεν βούλεις, ἄρχος, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐσ ὁ τι παύσομαι οἶδα, καὶ ὅποθεν ἢδη προσήκει άρξασθαί.”

XXXIV

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, Apollonius 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXIV

ős μὴ προδοθήν ποτὲ τοὺς οὐδεμιὰ δίκη κινδυνεύωντας, ἢν δ', ὅσπερ εἰμὶ, πάσιν ὑποθήσω ἐμαυτὸν ὅσ ἂν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τούτῳ πράττῃς, ἔστ' ἂν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολογήσωμαι." ὑπὲρ δὲ σοῦ," εἶπε, "τίς ὁ ἀπολογησόμενος ἔσται;" "χρόνος," ἔφη, "καὶ θεῶν πνεῦμα καὶ σοφίας ἐρως, ἢ ἔνειμι;"

XXXV

CAP. XXXV

Τὸν μὲν δὴ προάγωνα τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὅσ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἴδια, τοιὸνδε διαγράφει ὁ Δάμις, οἱ δὲ βασικάνως ταῦτα ξυνθέντες ἀπολογηθῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν φασὶ πρότερον, δεδέσθαι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὃτε δὴ κείρασθαι, καὶ τινά ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέπλασαν, ξυγκειμένην μὲν ἰωνικός, τὸ δὲ μήκος ἄχαρι, ἐν ἥ βούλωνται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἱκέτην τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ γίγνεσθαι, παραιτούμενον ἑαυτὸν τῶν δεσμῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν Ἰώνιον ἔρμηνευε τρόπου, ἐπιστολὴ δὲ ἱαστὶ ξυγκειμένη οὔπω Ἀπολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καίτω ξυνείλοχος αὐτοῦ πλείστας, οὔδὲ μακρηγορίαν πω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εὐρον, βραχεία γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ σκυτάλης πᾶσαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ νικῶν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ πῶς ἂν ποτε ἐδέθη μετὰ τὴν ἀφείσαν ψήφου; ἀλλὰ μὴπω τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐτὶ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ κουρά καὶ ἄτα διελέχθη, λεγέσθω πρότερον, ἄξια γὰρ σπουδάσαι. 246
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

not ever betray men who, in violation of all justice, CHAP. XXXIV 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."

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.
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, whereupon Apollonius remarked:
"έφη, "νεανίσκε, μὴ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Ἀχαιῶν εἰς γενόμενος, ὡς σφόδρα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τὰς Ἀχιλλείους κόμας ὀλοφύρασθαι Πατρόκλῳ τιμηθείσας, εἰ δὴ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ λειτοθυμήσαι δ᾿ ἂν ἐπὶ αὐταῖς. δς γὰρ τὰς ἐμὰς, ἐν αἷς πολλαὶ τε ἥσαν καὶ αὐχμός, ἐλεεῖν φάσκεις, τί οὐκ ἂν πρὸς ἐκεῖνας ἐπαθεῖς τὰς ἥσκημένας τε καὶ ἑκαθὰς;"

Τῷ δὲ ἀρά ξὺν ἐπιβουλῇ ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, ἵν’ ὑπὲρ ὃν ἀλγεὶ μάθοι, καὶ νὴ Δία, εἰ λοιποῦ εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ ὃν πέποθεν ἀνακοπεῖς δ᾿ ὑφ᾿ ὃν ἤκουσέ, "διαβέβλησαι," ἐφη, "πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ πλεῖσθαν, μάλιστα δ᾿ ὑπὲρ ὃν οἱ περὶ Νερούαν ὡς ἀδικοῦντες φεύγουσιν. ἀφίκοιτο μὲν γὰρ τινὲς ἐς αὐτὸν διαβολαὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰωνία λόγων, οὓς ἀντιξῶς τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπήχθη-μένως εἶπας, καταφρονεὶ δὲ τούτων, ὡς φασίν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὰ μείζω παράξειται, καίτοι τοῦ κάκεινα διαβάλλοντος ἀνδρὸς ὑψοῦ προήκοιτος τῆς δόξης." "οἶον," ἐφη, "Οὐλυμπιονίκην εἰρήκας, εἰ δόξης φησίν ἀπτεσθαί διαβολᾶς ἵσχυσιν. ξυνήμι δ᾿, ως ἐστὶν Εὐφράτης, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα πάντε ἐπ᾿ ἐμὲ πράττοντα, ἥδικημαι δ᾿ ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ καὶ μείζω ἐπεραί αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ποτὲ φοιτήσειν μέλλοντα παρὰ τούς ἐν Ἁἰθιοπίᾳ Γυμνοῦς, ἐς 250
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

"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

XXXVII

Ο μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος ἁγασθεῖς αὐτῶν ὡς ὑπερ-φιλοσοφοῦντα, ταυτὶ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀπήλθεν, ἔχωρει 252
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."

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXVII


XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII

Διαλέγεσθαι μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἄπολλάνιον πλείω τοιαύτα, ἐαυτὸν δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἀπορείν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων φησί, λόγων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ ἄθλον οὐδεμίαν πλὴν ὁσίον παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐξαμένοις τισὶ κακ

254
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."

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

XXXIX

Οἱ δὲ εὐθείστεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τοὺς γόνητας ἀναφέρουσι ταῦτα, πεπόνθασι δ' αὐτὸ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων. δέονται μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς τέχνης ἀθληταί, δέονται δὲ ἀγωνισταὶ πάντες διὰ τὸ νικᾶν γλίσθουσι, καὶ ξυλλαμβάνει μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν νίκην οὐδέν, δ' ἄπ' τύχης νικῶσι, ταῦθ' οἱ κακοδαίμονες αὐτοὺς ἀφελόμενοι, λογίζονται τῇ 256
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.

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
τέχνη ταύτη, ἀπιστοῦσι δ' αὐτῇ οὐδ' οἱ ἢττώ-μενοι σφῶν, "εἰ γὰρ τὸ δείνα ἔθυσα καὶ τὸ δείνα ἐθυμίασα, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγέ με ἡ νίκη," τοιαύτα λέγουσι, καὶ τοιαύτα οἴονται. φοιτᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θύρας ἐμπόρουν κατὰ ταύτα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κἂνεώς εὑροιμεν ἃν τὰ μὲν εὐτυχήματα τῆς ἐμπορίας λογιζομένους τῷ γόητι, τὰ δὲ ἅτοπα τῇ αὐτῶν φειδοὶ καὶ τῷ μή ὀπόσα ἔδει θύσαι. ἀνήπται δὲ ἡ τέχνη τοὺς ἔρωτας μάλιστα, νοσοῦντες γὰρ εὐπαράγωγον οὔτω νόσον, ὡς καὶ γραιδίους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς διαλέγεσθαι, θαυμαστῶν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν πράττοντι προσιόντες τοὺς σοφιστάδες τούτοις καὶ ἀκροώμενοι σφῶν τὰ τοιαύτα, οὐ κεστὸν τε αὐτῶς φέρειν διδοῦσι καὶ λίθους, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς γῆς ἀπορρήτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ σελήνης τε καὶ ἀστέρων, ἀρώματα τε ὀπόσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ κηπεῦει, καὶ χρήματα μὲν αὐτῶν λαμπρὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων πράττονται, ξυνδρῶσι δὲ οὐδέν. ἢν μὲν γὰρ παθόντων τι τῶν παιδικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρώτας ἡ δῶροι υπαχθέντων προβαίνῃ τὰ ἐρωτικά, ἀνατίθεται ἡ τέχνη ὡς ἰκανὴ πάντα, εἰ δ' ἀποτυγχάνωι ἡ πεῖρα, ἐς τὸ ἐξειθεῖν ἡ ἀναφορά, μὴ γὰρ τὸ δείνα θυμιᾶσαι, μηδὲ θύσαι ἡ τῆξαι, τούτι δὲ μέγα εἶναι καὶ ἀπορον. οι μὲν οὖν τρόποι, καθ' οἷς καὶ

258
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

does any amount of failure in their enterprises shake 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

259
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRA TUS

CAP. XXXIX διωσθήμας καὶ ἄτερα πλείω χρηματίζονται, καὶ ἀναγεγράφαται τισι, οἱ ἐγέλασιν πλατύ ἐς τὴν τέχνην, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀποπτεφάνθω μηδ’ ἐκείνος ὁμιλεῖν τοὺς νέους, ἵνα μηδὲ παίζειν τὰ τοιαύτα ἑθίζωντο. ἀποχρώσασα ἡ ἑκτροπὴ τοῦ λόγου· τί γὰρ ἂν πλείω καθαπτοίμην τοῦ πράγματος, δὶ καὶ φύσει διαδεχόμεναι καὶ νόμῳ;

XL


260
and all sorts of other miracles on a wide scale, 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 Daenis, and held some further conversation, about 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.
Καλέσας δὲ τῇς ύστεραιας τὸν Δάμιν, "ἐμοὶ μὲν," ἔφη, "τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἦμέραν ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δικαιαρχίας βάδιζε, λόγον γὰρ πεζῇ λέναι, κἂν προσεῖτης Δημήτριον, στρέφου περὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ἥ ἐστιν ἥ Καλυψοῦς νῆσος, ἐπιφανέντα γὰρ μὲ ἐκεὶ ὄψει."
"ζῶντα," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "ἡ τί;" γελάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὡς μὲν ἐγώ οἶμαι, ζῶντα," εἶπεν, "ὡς δὲ σὺ οὐεί, ἀναβεβιωκότα." ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθεῖν φησιν ἄκων, καὶ μὴ ἀπογνωσκών ὡς ἀπολουμένου μήτ' εὐελπισὶν ὡς οὐκ ἀπολείται. καὶ τριταῖος μὲν ἔλθειν ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν, ἀκούσαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χειμώνος, δει περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐγένετο, ὅτι πνεῦμα ὑπομβρύνον καταραγεν τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε τῶν νεῶν; αἱ ἐκείσε ἔπλεον, τὰς δὲ Ἔσικλιαν τε καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπεώσατο, καὶ ξυνεῖν τότε ὑπὲρ ὦτου ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν πεζῇ κομίζεσθαι.

Τὰ ἐπὶ τούτως ἀναγράφει Δάμις ἦς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος φησίν ἀκηκοέναι πρὸς Δημήτριον τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος. μειράκιον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Μεσσηνίας τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδία περίβλεπτον ὥρα ἀφικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔραν δ' αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν, Δομετιανὸν δὲ παρὰ πάντας, τοὺς δ' οὕτως ἔραν, 262
AND on the next day he called Damis and said: "My defence has to be pleaded by me on the day appointed, so do you betake yourself in the direction of Dicaearchia, for it is better to go by land; and when you have saluted Demetrius, turn aside to the sea-shore where the island of Calypso lies; for there 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.

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

the former did not scruple to declare themselves, so 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 ourselves 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


266
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

mistake about your hair? For, methinks, it is sunny and gleaming, and your mouth too is so regular, that 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

267
ΠΛΑΥΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

CAP. XLII

ὅν γράφει φησὶ τὸ μειράκιον τότε μηδ’ ἀποθανεῖν ύπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, θαυμασθέν δὲ τῆς ρώμης ἐπὶ Μαλέαν πλεύσαι, ξηλωτὸν τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τὰς τῶν μαστίγων καρπερήσεις παρὰ Δακεδαιμονίων νικῶντες.
him for his high principles to his correspondent, CHAP. adds that he was not put to death by the tyrant. XLII 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

ΚΑΡ. Ίωμεν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀκροασόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογουμένου ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἦλιον γὰρ ἐπιτολαὶ ἤδη καὶ ἀνεῖται τοῖς ἐλλογίμοις ἢ ἐς αὐτὸ πάροδος, τὸν βασιλέα τε οἱ ξυνδιαιτώμενοί φασὶ μὴδὲ σίτου ἄψασθαι, διορῶντα, οἷμαι, τὰ ἔν τῇ δίκῃ καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ βιβλίων πρόχειρον ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ξύν ὀργῇ, τὰ δὲ ἤττον, ἀνατυποῦσθαι δὲ χρὴ οἷον ἀχθόμενον τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ εὐρον δικαστήρια.

II

ΚΑΡ. Ἐντευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διαλέξεσθαι ἡγομένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δραμεῖσθαι τινα ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγώνα, τούτῳ δ’ ἄν τεκμηριάμεθα τοῖς γὲ πρὸ τοῦ δικαστήριον προὶ ὑπὸ γὰρ ἠρετο τὸν γραμματέα, ὡς οὖ ἦγετο, οἱ βαδίζοιεν, τοῦ δὲ ἐς τὸ 272
BOOK VIII

I

Let us now repair to the law-court to listen to the sage pleading his cause; for it is already sunrise 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 documents 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.

II

But Apollonius, as we meet him in this conjuncture 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 conducting him, where they were going; and when the latter answered that he was leading him to the

273
CAP. II. δικαστήριον ἤγείσθαι. αὐτῷ φήσαντος, "δικά-
σομαι," ἔφη, "πρὸς τίνα;" "πρὸς γε τὸν σεαυ-
τοῦ," εἰπε, "κατήγορον, δικάσει δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς."
"ἐμοὶ δὲ," ἔφη, "καὶ τῷ βασιλεί τῷ δικάσων; 
δείξω γὰρ αὐτὸν φιλοσοφίαν ἅδικοντα." "καὶ 
tίς," εἰπε, "βασιλεῖ φιλοσοφίας λόγος, κἂν ἀδι-
kῶν ταύτην τύχῃ;" "ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφία πολὺς,"
ἔφη, "βασιλέως, ἵν ἐπιτηδείως ἄρχῃ." ἐπαινέσας 
δὲ ὁ γραμματεύς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετριῶς διέκειτο 
πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς καὶ καταρχὰς ἐδείκνυ,
"πόσῳ δὲ," εἰπε, "τὸν λόγον διαμετρήσεις ὑδατί; 
tουτί γὰρ με χρὴ πρὸ τῆς δίκης εἰδέναι." "εἰ 
μὲν ὁπόσῳ," ἔφη, "ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ δίκη, ἔναγχωρεῖ μοι 
λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι διαμετρηθεῖς οὔτε ὁ Θύμ-
βρις, εἰ δὲ ὁπόσα ἐρήσεται, μέτρον τοῦ ἀποκρι-
νομένου ὁ ἔρωτῶν." "ἐναντίας," εἰπε, "ἀρετὰς 
esthēkēsas brachylougēn τε καὶ μακρηγορεῖν ὑπὲρ 
tῶν αὐτῶν φάσκων." "οὐκ ἐναντίας," ἔφη, "ἀλλ' 
ὁμολαθ, ὁ γὰρ θάτερον ἰκανὸς οὔδὲν ἂν θατέρου 
λείποιτο. καὶ ἕξωμετρία δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔνιγκεμένη 
τρίτη μὲν, οὐκ ἂν φαίνη, πρώτη δ' ἂν εἰς ἀρετὴ 
λόγου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ σωπᾶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ 
tetártan ἀρετὴν οἶδα." "ἀνάντητον γε," εἰπε, 
274
court, he said: "Whom am I going to plead 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 Ἀθηναίος
μέγα ὄνησεν, ὅτε ἔφυγε τὴν γραφὴν.” “καὶ πῶς
ὄνησεν,” εἶπε, “τόν, ἐπειδὴ ἐσιώπαι, ἀποθανόντα;
“οὖκ ἄπεθανεν,” ἔφη, “Ἀθηναίοι δὲ φῶντο.”

III

CAP. III
“Ωδὲ μὲν παρεσκεύαστο πρὸς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ τυράν-
νου πάντα, προσετώτι δ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου
προσελθὼν, ἄτερος γραμματεύς, “ὁ Τυανεύ,” ἔφη,
“γυμνὸς ἑσελθε.” “λουσόμεθα όuin,” εἶπεν, “ἡ
dικασόμεθα;” “οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐσθήτος,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα
προείρηται, ἀλλ’ ἀπαγορεύει σοι ὁ βασιλεὺς μῆτε
περιαπτον μῆτε βιβλίων μῆτ’ ἄλλο γραμματεῖον
ὁλως μηδὲν ἐσφέρειν ἐνταῦθα.” “μηδὲ νάρθηκα,”
eἶπεν, “ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοητῶς αὐτῶν ταῦτα πείθοντας;”
ἀναβόησας δὲ ὁ κατηγορος, “ὁ βασιλεύ,
πληγάς,” ἔφη, “ἀπειλεί μοι ὁ γόης, ἐγὼ γάρ σε
taûtì pêpeika.” “οὔκοιν,” εἶπε, “σὺ μᾶλλον γόης,
ἀ γάρ μή ἐγὼ πέπεικα χεὶ τῶν Βασιλεά, ὡς οὖκ
εἰμί, σὺ φῆς αὐτὸν ὡς εἶθν πεπεικέναι.” παρῆν
δὲ τῷ κατηγόρῳ λοιδορουμένῳ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
Εὐφράτου τις ἄπελευθέρων, δὴ ἔλεγετο Εὐφράτης
ἀγγελον τῶν ἐν Ἰωνία τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαλέ-
ξεων στείλαι ὁμοῦ χρῆμασιν, ὁ τῷ κατηγόρῳ
ἐπεδόθη.

276
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

nor anyone else who stands in great peril.” “And 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.”

III

This was how he prepared himself to confront the despot’s manoeuvres; and as he waited before the court another secretary came up and said: “Man of 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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

IV

CAP. IV. Τοιαύτα ἠκροβολόνσατο πρὸ τῆς δίκης, τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῆς κεκόσμητο μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον ὦσπερ ἐπὶ ξυνοῦσίᾳ πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου, μετείχον δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ ἐπίδηλοι πάντες, ἀγώνα ποιομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὃτι ἐν πλείστοις ἔλειν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτίᾳ. ὁ δ' οὖτω τι ὑπερεώρα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς μηδὲ ἐσ αὐτῶν βλέπειν, ἐπηρεάσαντος δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου τῆς ὑπερψίαν, καὶ κελεύσαντος ὅραν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων θεόν, ἀνέσχεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, ἐνδεκακυμένους μὲν τὸ ἐς τὸν Δία ὅραν, τὸν δὲ ἁσθενῶς κολακευθέντα κακίω τοῦ κολακεύσαντος ἡγοῦμενος. Ἑβόα καὶ τοιαύτα ὁ κατηγόρος, "ἡδη μέτρει, βασιλεῦ, ὕδωρ, εἰ γὰρ ξυνχωρήσεις αὐτῷ μῆκος λόγων, ἀπάγξει ἡμᾶς. ἔστι δὲ μοι καὶ βιβλίων τούτω ξυγγεγραμένου τὰς αἰτίας, ὑπὲρ δὲν χρή λέγειν αὐτῶν, ἀπολογεῖσθω δὲ κατὰ μίαν."

V

CAP. V. 'Ὁ δ', ὡς ἀριστα ἡμιβουλεύσαντος ἐπαινέσας, ἐκελεύει τὸν ἀνδρὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ συκοφάντου ἡμιβουλίαν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας παρελθὼν αἰτίας, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιάς καταστήσαι τινα ἐς 278.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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."

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
Φλάβιος Φιλοστράτους

καρ. λόγος, ύπερ τεττάρων δέ, ἀς ἀπόρους τε καὶ
dυσαποκρίτους φέτο, ὅδε ἔρωτήσας: "τί γὰρ
μαθῶν," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχεις
ἀπασί στολὴν, ἀλλ' ἰδίαν τε καὶ ἐξαίρετον;" "ὅτι
με," εἶπεν, "ἡ τρέφουσα γῆ καὶ ἀμφιέννυσι, ξύλα
de ἄθλια οὐκ ἐνοχλῶ." πάλιν ἦρετο, "τοῦ χάριν
οἱ ἀνθρώποι θεοῦ σε ὀνομάζουσιν;" "ὅτι πάς,
εἶπεν, "ἀνθρώπως ἀγαθὸς νομιζόμενος θεοῦ ἐπω-
νυμία τιμᾶται." ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὑπόθεν ἐφιλο-
σοφήθη τῷ ἀνδρὶ, δεδήλωκα ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδῶν λόγοις.
τρίτον ἦρετο ύπέρ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ λοιμοῦ, "πόθεν
γάρ," ἔφη, "ὁρμῶμενος ἦ τῷ ἐξυμβαλλόμενος
προεῖπται τῇ Ἐφέσῳ νοσήσειν αὐτοῦ;" "λεπ-
tοτέρα," εἶπεν, "ὁ βασιλεῦ, διαίτη χρώμενος
πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἂσθόμην· εἰ δὲ βούλει, λέγω
καὶ λοιμῶν αἰτίας." ὁ δ', οἴμαι, δείσας μὴ τὴν
ἀδικίαν καὶ τοὺς μὴ καθαροὺς γάμους καὶ ὅποια
οὐκ εὐλόγως ἔπραττεν, ἐπιγράψῃ ταῖς τοιαύταις
νόσοις, "οὐ δέομαι," ἔφη, "τοιάσδε ἄποκρίσεως.
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τετάρτην ἐρώτησιν ἐπέφερεν ἐς τοὺς
ἀνδρας, οὐκ εὐθὺς ἄρμησεν, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν
χρόνου διαλιπόν, πολλὰ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ἱλαρινωτὶ
de ὁμοίος ἡρώτησεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν·
οἱ μὲν γὰρ φόντο αὐτῶν ἐκπετῆσαντα τοῦ ἄσ-
σματος μὴς τῆς προσηγορίας ἀφέξεσθαι τῶν
ἀνδρῶν, σχέτικα τε ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας βοήσεσθαι,
ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὑδε, ἀλλ' ἱφέρτων τὴν ἐρώτησιν,
"εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη, "προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας τῆς
280
embarrassing and difficult to answer: "What induces you," he said, "Apollonius, to dress yourself differently 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 motivated," 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,
ου γαρ με κτενεις, επει ουτοι μορσιμος ειμι.

καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἠφανίσθη τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τὸν τε παρόντα καιρὸν εὐ τιθέμενον ὑπὲρ ὅν οὐδ᾿ ἀπλῶς ὁ τύραννος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας ἐρωτή-
σων δῆλος ἦν—ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο γάρ που τῷ μή 282
and you travelled into the country, and sacrificed the boy—I would like to know for whom?” And Apollonius as if he were rebuking a child replied: “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 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 αὐτῶν—τοῦ τε μὴ ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπαχθῆναι προορῶν. τυχεῖν δ' αὐ τοῦτον ἀριστα ὑγεῖτο, εἰ μὴ ἀγνοοῦτο τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ γιγνώσκοιτο, ὥσ ἔχοι τοῦ μὴ ἀν ποτε ἀλῶναι ἄκων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δέος τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἀνδράσιν εἴῃ ἦδη αὐτῷ εἶχεν, ὑπὲρ ὅν γὰρ μήδε ἔρεσθαι τὶ τὸ τύραννος ὁμησε, πῶς ἀν τοῦτος ἐς τὸ πιθανὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπὶ ταῖς οὐκ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πεπιστευμέναις αἰτίαις; τοιάδε εὐρον τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ.

VI

CAP. VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος μὲν αὐτῷ ξυνεγράφη τις ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ ἐς τὴν ὑπολογίαν ἀφήσοντι, ξυνείλε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ τύραννος ἐς ὅσ εἰρηκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγεγράφω καὶ οἱ λόγοι. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν γὰρ, ὅτι διαβαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰς βωμολόχους ἱδέας ἐπαινοῦντες, ὡς ἤττον μὲν, ἢ αὐτοί φασί δειν, κεκολασμένοι, ὑπεραίροντα δὲ τοῖς τε ὄνομασι καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις. τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα ἐνθυμομένῳ οὐ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ σοφὸς ὑγιῶς ἄν ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἔθος πάρισα ἐπιτηδεύου καὶ ἀντίθετα, καὶ κροτᾶλου δίκην κτυπῶν τῇ γλώττῃ, ῥητορικοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τρόπου ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις δεί· δεινότης γὰρ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἡ μὲν φανερὰ καὶ διαβάλοι.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

death, nor was the latter anxious to be drawn into 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 which he would have delivered by the clock in defence of himself, only the tyrant confined him to the questions which I have enumerated, I have determined to publish this oration also. For I am 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. VI

tiná ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοὺς ψηφιούμενοι, ἢ δ' ἀφανῆς καὶ ἀπέλθου κρατοῦσα, τὸ γὰρ λαθεῖν τοὺς δικάζοντας, ὡς δεινὸς ἐστιν, ἀληθεστέρα δεινότης. σοφὸ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀπολογομένῳ, οὐ γὰρ κατηγορήσει γε ὁ σοφὸς, ἀ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἔρρωται, ἤθεος τε δεῖ ἑτέρου παρὰ τοὺς δικανικούς ἄνδρας, λόγου τε κατεσκευασμένον μὲν, μὴ δοκοῦντος δὲ, καὶ ὑπόσεμος ἐστώ καὶ μὴ πολὺ ἀποδέων τοῦ ὑπερόπτης εἶναι, ἔλεος τε ἀπέστω λέγοντος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἀντιβολήσαι ξυγχωρῶν τί ἀν οὕτως ἐπὶ ἐλέφεις εἴποι; τοιόσοι ὁ λόγος δόξει τοῖς γε μὴ μαλακῶς ἀκροασμένοις ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἄνδρός· ξυνετέθη γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅδε.

VII

CAP. VII

"Ὁ μὲν ἄγων ὑπὲρ μεγάλων σοί τε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κἀμοὶ· σὺ τε γὰρ κινδυνεύεις ὑπὲρ δὲν μήποτε αὐτοκράτωρ, εἰ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν οὐδεμιᾷ δίκη διαβεβλήθησαι δόξεις, ἐγώ τε ὑπὲρ δὲν μηδὲ Σωκράτης ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν, δυν οἱ γραφάμενοι τὴν γραφὴν καινὸν μὲν τὰ δαιμόνια ἡγοῦντο, δαίμονα δὲ οὕτε ἐκάλουν οὕτε ὕμνον. κινδύνου δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον ἡμῶν οὕτω χαλεποῦ ἡκοῦτος, οὐκ ὁκνήσω
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

betray him who resorts to it as anxious to impose CHAP. VI upon the judges; whereas if it is well concealed, it 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 concerning matters of grave moment; for you run 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

287
καὶ σοὶ ξυμβουλέειν, ὅποσα ἔμαυτὸν πέπεικα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατέστησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ κατήγορος ἐς τούτου τὸν ἄγωνα, ἐσῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἀληθῆς περὶ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ σοῦ δόξα· σὲ μὲν γὰρ φόντο ξυμβούλῳ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι, δι’ ἂν κἂν ἀποκτείναι με, ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐκποιήσειν ἔμαυτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου τρόποις, ὁπόσοι τοῦ ἀποδράναι εἰσίν, ἡσαν δ’, ὃς βασιλεῦ, μυρίων καὶ τούτων ἄκοινον οὐκ ἐς τὸ προκαταγιγνώσκειν ἠλθον, οὐδὲ κατεψηφισάμην τῆς σῆς ἀκροάσεως ὡς μὴ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐχούσης, ἀλλὰ ξυνθέμενος τοῖς νόμοις ἐστικα ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ τούτου ξύμβουλος καὶ σοὶ γίγνομαι. δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὴ προκαταγιγνώσκειν, μηδὲ καθήσθαι πεπεισμένου, ὅς ἐγώ τι σε κακὸν εἴργασμαι, μηδ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίου καὶ δοσι τῶν ἐκείνη ἄρχουσιν, οἷς ἦππος τε παμπόλλη ἐστί καὶ τοξία πᾶσα καὶ χρυσὴ γῆ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὁχλος, δι’ ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἄκοινεν ξύν γέλωτι τὸ πεῖσθαι τι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, δ’ σε καὶ τὴν ἄρχην ταύτην ἀφαιρῆσαι, κατ’ ἀνδρὸς δὲ σοφοῦ καὶ γυμνοῦ πιστεύειν, ὡς ἐστὶ τούτῳ ὅπλον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρμαίων αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ προσδέχεσθαι ταύτα Αἰγυπτίου συκοφάντου λέγοντος, ἃ μηδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ποτε ἔκκουσας, ὃν σεαυτοῦ προορᾶν φῆς, εἰ μή, νῦν Δία, ἡ κολακευτικὴ καὶ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν οὕτω

288
whose excellence I am myself convinced. For since Chap. VII
the accuser has plunged us into this struggle, the
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 prejudice 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

289
CAP. VII

τι νῦν τοὺς ἀληθείους τούτους ἐπιδέδωκεν, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὀπόσα ὀφθαλμία τε εἰσὶ καὶ τὸ μὴ πυρέξαι, μηδ' ἀνοιδῆσαι τι τῶν σπλάγχνων, ἐπιτηδείους εἶναι σοι ξυμβούλους φάσκειν, ιατρῶν δίκην ἐφαπτομένους καὶ θεραπεύοντας, ὅτου αὐτῶν πονήρως ἔχοις, περὶ δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι κυνδυνεύοντι σοι μηδ' οὐς φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ ξυμβολεύειν μηδ' ὅ τι ἔσται σοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀπλον διδάσκειν ἢκοντας, ἀλλ' εἶναι σοι τοὺς συκοφάντας αἰγίδα Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Διὸς χεῖρα, εἰδέναι μὲν ὑπὲρ σοῦ φάσκοντας, ἀ μηδ' οἱ θεοί, προεγγρηγότας δὲ σοι καὶ προκαθεύδοντας, εἰ δὴ καθευδοῦσιν οὐτοὶ, κακοῖς, φασιν, ἐπαντλοῦντες κακὰ καὶ τὰς Ἰλιάδας ταύτας ἀεὶ ἴσνυτιθέντες.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἰπποτροφεῖν αὐτοὺς κατὰ ξενιγῶν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκκυκλεῖσθαι λευκῶν, καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ ὄψοφαγία καὶ μυριάδων δύο καὶ τριῶν ἑωνημένα παιδικά, καὶ τὸ μοιχεύειν μὲν, ὅν λαυθάνουσι χρόνον, γαμεῖν δὲ, ὡς ἐμοῖχευσαν, ὅταν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ληφθῶσι, καὶ οἱ κροτοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς νίκαις, ἐπειδὰν φιλόσοφος τις ἢ ὑπατος, ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, ἀλὺ μὲν ὕπο τούτων, ἀπόληται δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ, 290
these miscreants, that you would pretend that CHAP. II, 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 anyone 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. VII

δεδόσθω τῇ τῶν καταράτων τρυφῇ καὶ τῷ μήτε νόμων αὐτοῖς ἔτι μὴ ὀφθαλμῶν εἶναι φόβοιν, τὸ δ' οὖτω τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φρονεῖν, ὡς προγνωστικὸν βούλεσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ ἀκούων δέδια, σὺ δ' εἰ προσδέξοιο, γράψονται καὶ σὲ ἵσως ὡς διαβάλλοντα τὴν περὶ τοῦ θείου δόξαν, ἐλπίς γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ ξυγκείσεσθαι τοιαύτας γραφὰς, ἐπειδὰν μηδεὶς τοῖς συκοφάνταις λοιπὸς ἦ· καὶ ξυνήμη μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν μᾶλλον ἡ ἀπολογούμενος, εἰρήσθω δὲ μοι ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, οὕς εἰ μὴ ἄρχοντας ἡγοίο, οὐκ ἄρξεις.

Τὸς οὖν ξυνήγορος ἔσται μοι ἀπολογουμένῳ εἰ γὰρ καλέσαιμι τὸν Δία, ψφ' ὧ βεβαιωκὼς οἶδα, γνωτεῦειν με φήσουσι καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄγειν. διαλεγόμεθα οὖν περὶ τούτου ἀνδρὶ, δι' τεθηκόντι μὲν οὶ πολλοὶ φασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ φημι· ἐστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ πατήρ ὁ σῶς, ὃ ἐγὼ τοσοῦτον ἀξιός, ὅσον περὶ ἐκείνως σοι· σε μὲν γὰρ ἐποίησεν, ὡς' ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐγένετο. οὗτος, ὁ Βασιλεῦ, ξυλλήπτωρ ἐσται μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας, πολλὶ χάμα βέλτιον ἢ σὺ γυνώσκων ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Ἁγιοπτὸν οὕτω αὐτοκράτωρ, θεοίς τε τοῖς ἐν Ἁγιοπτῷ θύσιν κα- μοί ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁρχῆς διαλεξόμενος. ἐντυχὼν δὲ μοι κομῶντι τε καὶ ὄδε ἐσταλμένῳ οὐδὲ ἢρετο οὐδὲ ἐν περὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ἡγούμενος τό ἐν ἐμοί πάν εἰ ἔχειν, ἐμοὶ δ' ἐνεχ' ἣκειν ὕμολογήσας, ἀπήλθεν

292
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

public eye and to law: but that they should give 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 defending myself? For if I called upon Zeus to help me, under whom I am conscious of having 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. VII

ἐπαινέσας καὶ εἰπὼν μὲν ἃ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἀκούσας δ’ ἃ μὴ παρ’ ἄλλου· ἢ τε διάνοια, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἐχρήτω, ἐρρώσθη αὐτῷ παρ’ ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον, μεθεστηκὼς ἦδη υφ’ ἑτέρων, οὐκ ἀνεπίτηδεῖων μὲν, οὐ μὴν σοὶ γε δόξαι, οἱ γὰρ μὴ ἀρχεῖν αὐτῶν πείθοντες καὶ σε δήπου αὐτὸ ἀφηροῦντο τὸ μετ’ ἐκεῖνον ταῦτ’ ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δὲ ξυμβουλεύοντος ἑαυτὸν τε μὴ ἀπαξιοῦν ἄρχης ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτῷ φοιτώσης, ύμᾶς τε κληρονόμους αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι, εὐ ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην φήσας, αὐτὸς τε μέγας ἦρθη καὶ ύμᾶς ἤρεν· εἰ δὲ γοητά με φῆς, οὔδ’ ἂν ξυνηψέ μοι κοινωνίαν φροντίδων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἦκων διελέγετο, οἶον ἀνάγκασον τὰς Μοίρας ἢ τὸν Δία, τύραννον ἀποφῆμαι με ἡ τεράτευσαι διοσημίας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δείξας τὸν ἢλιου ἀνίσχυντα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, δυόμενον δὲ, ὁθὲν ἀρχεῖαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μοι ἐπιτήδειον ἀρχεῖν ἔδοξεν, ἢ ἐμὲ ἡγούμενος ἴκανον ταῦτα, ἡ σοφίσμασι θηρεύων ἄρχην, ἢν ἄρεταῖς ἔδει κατακτᾶσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ δημοσίᾳ διελέξθην ἐν ἱερῷ, γοῆτων δὲ ἔννοισαι φεύγουσι μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἐχθρὰ γὰρ τοῖς περὶ τὴν τέχνην, νῦκτα δὲ καὶ πάν, ὁ τι ἄφεγγες, αὐτῶν προβαλλόμενοι, οὐξ ἐγχωροῦσι τοῖς ἁνοίστοις οὐδ’ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν οὔτε ὡτα. διελέξθη μοι καὶ ἰδίᾳ

294
and after commending me and saying to me things which he would have said to no one else, and having heard from me what he would have heard from no one else, he departed. I most confirmed him in his aspirations 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-
μέν, παρετύγχανον δὲ ὀμοσὶς Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων, ὁ μὲν πολεμιώτατα μοι ἔχων, ὁ δὲ οἰκειότατα, Δίωνα γὰρ μὴ παυσαίμην γράφων ἐν φίλοις. τίς δὲν οὐν ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἢ μεταποιουμένων γε σοφίας ἐς γόητας ἐλθοὶ λόγους; τίς δ' οὐκ ἀν παραπλησίως φυλάξατο καὶ ἐν φίλοις καὶ ἐν ἐχθροῖς κακός φαίνεσθαι; καὶ οἱ λόγοι ἦσαν ἐναντιούμενοι τοῖς γόησι: σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἵσως τὸν πατέρα ἤγη τὸν σεαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἔρωντα γόησι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐαυτῷ πιστεύσαι, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς, ὡς τούτων τύχου, παρ' ἐμοῦ εὑρέσθαι, ὁ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἐς Αἰγυπτιον ἢκεῖν ἔχειν ϕετό, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὑπὲρ μειζόνων ἐμοὶ διελέγετο, ὑπὲρ νόμων καὶ ὑπὲρ πλοῦτον δικαίου, θεοὶ τε ὡς θεραπευτέοι, καὶ ὅπωσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρχουσι, μαθεῖν ἡρα' οἷς πᾶσιν ἐναντίον χρήμα οἱ γόητες, εἰ γὰρ ἰσχύοι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ τέχνη.

Προσήκει δὲ, ὃ βασιλεῦ, κάκείνα ἐπεσκέφθαι τέχναι ὅποσα κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἰς, πράττονσι μὲν ἄλλῳ ἄλλῃ, πᾶσαι δ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, αἱ μὲν σμυκρῷν, αἱ δ' ἀν μεγάλων, αἱ δ' ἀφ' ὅνθ' ἔρχονται καὶ οὖν αἱ βάναυσοι μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν σοφά τε ὅμοιώς καὶ 296
sation with me, but there were present at it beside 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 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. VII

ὑπόσοφοι, πλὴν ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας. καλῶ δὲ σοφᾶς μὲν ποιητικῆς μουσικῆς ἀστρονομίας, σοφιστὰς καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς μὴ ἀγοραίους, υποσόφους δὲ ξωγραφίαν πλαστικῆν ἀγαλματοποιοὺς κυβερνήτας γεωργοῦσ, ἢ ταῖς ὄραις ἐπωνυμαί, καὶ γὰρ αἴδε αἰ τέχναι σοφίας οὐ πολύ λείπονται. ἔστι δὲ τι, ὃ βασίλευ, ψευδόσοφοι τε καὶ ἀγείροντες, δὲ μὴ μαντικὴν ὑπολάβης, πολλού μὲν γὰρ αξία, ἢν ἀληθεύη, εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ τέχνη, οὕτω οἶδα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόνης ψευδοσοφοὺς φημί· τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστεῖσθαι, πάντα ταῦτα προστίθημι τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατώμενων δόξῃ, τὸ γὰρ σοφῶν τῆς τέχνης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατώμενων τε καὶ θυμωμένων ἀνοίᾳ κεῖται, ἢ δὲ τέχνη φιλοχρήματι πάντες, ὃ γὰρ κομψεύονται, ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ σφισίων εὐρηταῖ, μαστεύονι δὲ ὑπερβολὰς χρημάτων, ὑπαγόμενοι τοὺς ὅτου ἐρώτας ὡς ἰκανοὶ πάντα. τίνα οὖν, ὃ βασίλευ, πλοῦτον περὶ ἡμᾶς ἰδὼν ψευδοσοφίαν ἐπιτηθείσεων μὲ οἴει, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς κρέιττῳ μὲ ἴγουμένου χρημάτων; ὃτι δ' ἀληθῆ
are esteemed liberal \(^1\) arts as well as those which only CHAP. 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.
FIAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

λέγω, ποὺ μοι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ γενναίου τε καὶ θείου ἄνδρός; ὅσ με ἐν αὐτῇ ἂδει τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ πένεσθαί.

αὐτοκράτωρ Ἡνεσπασιανὸς Ἀπολλώνιος φιλοσόφων χαίρειν.

"Εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταύτα σοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἥθελον, σφόδρα δὲν εὐδαιμόνως ἔπραττε φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία: φιλοσοφία μὲν ἀδεικάστως ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαιρέτως. ἔρρωσο."

"Ταῦθ' ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς ύπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀπολογείσθω, φιλοσοφίας μὲν τὸ ἀδέκαστον, πενίας δὲ τὸ αὐθαίρετον ἐμοὶ ὀριζόμενος, ἐμέμνητο γὰρ ποι καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὅτε Εὐφράτησ μὲν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν προσποιουμένων φιλοσοφεῖν προσίοντες αὐτῷ χρήματα οὐδ' ἀφανῶς ἔτουν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μόνον οὐ προσήειν ύπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνος ἐώθοιν ὡς οὐχ ἤγιαίνοντας, διεβεβλήμην δὲ πρὸς χρήματα μειράκιον ὅν ἔτι τὰ γοῦν πατρὸφα, ῥαμπρὰ δ' ἤν οὕσια ταύτα, μᾶς μόνης ἰδὼν ἥμερας, ἀδελφοῖς τε τοῖς ἐμαντοῦ ἀφήκα καὶ φίλοις, καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν τοῖς πένησι, μελετῶν ποιν ἀφ' Ἑστίας τὸ μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι ἐάσθω δὲ Βασιλέων καὶ Ἦθον τὰ υπὲρ Καύκασον τε καὶ ποταμὸν "Θfaction, δι' ὅν ἐπορεύμην ἐμαντῷ δομοῖος, ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον βλέπειν ποιοῦμαι μάρτυρα τῶν Ἀἰγυπτιων τούτων δεινὰ γὰρ πεπραχθαί τέ 300
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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

"The autocrat Vespasian to Apollonius the philosopher sends greetings.

"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
ΚΑΠ. VII

μοι καὶ βεβούλευσθαί φήσας, οὐδ’ ὅπόσων χρη-μάτων ἐπανούργουν ταῦτα, εὐήκεν, οὐθ’ ὁ τι ἐνθυμηθεὶς κέρδος, ἀλλ’ οὔτως ἀνόητος αὐτῷ δοκῶ τις, ὡς γοητεύει μὲν, ἀνδ’ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἔτεροι χρημάτων, αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖν οὐδ’ ἐπὶ χρῆμασιν, ἀγοράν, οἴμαι, προκηρύττων τοιαύτην ἤτε, ὁ ἀνόητοι, γοητεύω γὰρ, καὶ οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ προϊκα, κερδανεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκαστὸς ἔχων, ὅτου ἐρᾷ, ἐγώ δὲ κινδύνους καὶ γραφάς.

'Αλλ’ ἵνα μὴ ἐσ ἀνόητος ἦσαμεν λόγους, ἐρώμεθα τὸν κατήγορον, ὑπὲρ ὅτου χρῆ λέγειν πρῶτον. καίτοι τί χρὴ ἔρωτάν; διήλθε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς στολῆς τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου, καὶ, νη Δι', ὅν σιτοῦμαι τε καὶ οὐ σιτοῦμαι. ἀπολογοῦ δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτων, θείε Πυθαγόρα, κρινόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὅν σὺ μὲν εὑρεῖς, ἐγώ δὲ ἐπαινῶ. ἀνθρώπους ἡ γῆ φύει, βασιλεῖ, πάντα, καὶ σπουδᾶς ἀγεῖν πρὸς τὰ ξύλα βουλομένους δεὶ οὐδενός, τὰ μὲν γὰρ δρέπονται αὐτῆς, τὰ δ’ ἀροῦνται κοινοτροφοῦσης, ὡς ταῖς ὄραις έοικεν, οἱ δ’ ὕσπερ ἀνήκου τῆς γῆς μάχαι-ραν ἐπ’ αὐτὰ ἔθηξαν ὑπὲρ ἔσθητός τε καὶ βρῶσεος. Ἰνδοὶ τοῖνυν Βραχμᾶνες αὐτοὶ τε οὐκ ἐπήνουν ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Αἰγυπτιῶν ἐδίδασκον μὴ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτᾶ· ἐνθεν Πυθαγόρας ἔλαβοι, Ἐλλήνων δὲ πρῶτος ἐπέμεξεν Αἰγυπτίων, τὰ μὲν ἔμψιχα

302
and design, yet we hear nothing from him of how much money I made by these villainies, nor of how 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 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 took his rule of life, and he was the first of Hellenes.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

τῇ γῇ ἀνήκειν, δ' αὐτῇ φύει, ἀκήρατα εἶναι φάσκων ἑστιτεῖτο, ἐπιτήδεια γὰρ σῶμα καὶ νοῦν τρέφειν ἑσθήτα τε, ἣν ἀπὸ θυσειδίων οἱ πολλοὶ φοροῦσιν, οὐ καθαρὰν εἶναι φύσας λίνον ἡμπί-σχετο, καὶ τὸ ὑπόθημα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον βύβλου ἐπλέξατο. ἀπέλαυσε τε τοῦ καθαρῶς εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς αἰσθέαθαν· γενόμενος γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὗς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης ἡ Τροία ἐμάχετο, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάνθου παιδῶν κάλλιστος ὄν καὶ κάλλιστα ἔσταλμένος, ἀπέθανε μὲν οὔτω νέος, ὡς καὶ Ὕμηρον παρασκεῖν θρήνον, παρελθὼν δ' ἐς πλείω σώματα κατὰ τὸν Ἀδραστείας θεσμὸν, ὅν ψυχῇ ἐναλλάττει, πάλιν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς ἀνθρώπου εἴδος καὶ Μνησαρχίδη ἑτέχθη τῷ Σαμῖῳ, σοφὸς ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Ἡσυχίων ἐκ Τρώων, καὶ οὕτω τι ἀθάνατος, ὡς μηδ' ὅτι Εὐφροσύνην ἤ ἐκλελησθαί. τὸν μὲν δὲ πρόγονον τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σοφίας ἕρημα καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτῶς εὐράν, κληρονομήσας δὲ ἔτερον ταύτ' ἔχειν. καὶ γὰρ μὲν οὐ κρῖναι τοὺς τρυφώντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φοινικίου ὀρνιθός, οὗτ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐκ Φάσιδου ἡ Παιόνων, οὗς πιαίνουσιν ἐς τὰς αὐτῶν δαίτας οἱ τῇ γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι πάντα, οὕτ' ἐγραψάμην πω οὐδένα

304
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. VII.

ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰχθύων, οὓς ἄνυσται πλείονος ἢ τοὺς κοσμοποιεῖν ποτε οἱ λαμπροὶ, οὐδ’ ἀλουργίδος ἐβάσκηνα οὐδενί, οὐδὲ Παμφύλου τινὸς ἡ μαλαικῆς ἑσθήτος, ἀσφοδέλου δὲ, ὁ θεός, καὶ τραγημάτων καὶ καθαρᾶς ὑψοφαγίας γραφὴν φεύγω.

Καὶ οὖνδε ἡ ἑσθής ἄσυλος, ἀλλὰ κακείνην λωποδυτεῖ μὲ ὁ κατήγορος ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιαν τοῖς γόησι. καίτοι ἀφελόντε τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμψύχων τε καὶ ἐμψύχων λόγον, δι’ ὃν καθαρός τις ἡ μὴ δοκεῖ, τί βελτίων ἡ ὀθόνη τοῦ ἑρίου; τὸ μὲν γε πραοτάτου ξίφου ἐπέκχη καὶ σπουδαζό-μένου θεοίς, οἰ μὴ ἀπαξιοῦσι τὸ ποιμάνειν καὶ, νὴ Δί’, ἥξιωσάν ποτε αὐτὸ καὶ χρυσοῦ εἴδους ἡ θεοὶ ἡ λόγοι. λίνων δὲ σπείρεται μὲν, ὡς ἔτυχε, χρυσοῦ δὲ οὔδεις ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λόγοι, ἀλλ’ ὁμως, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀπ’ ἐμψύχου ἐδρέφη, καθαρὸν μὲν Ἦνδοις δοκεῖ, καθαρὸν δὲ Αἰγυπτίος, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρα διὰ τοῦτο σχῆμα γέγονε διαλεγό-μένοις εὐχομένοις θύουσιν. καθαρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐννυχεῦντω ὑπ’ αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τα ὀνείρατα τοῖς, ὡς ἐγώ, διαιτωμένοις ἐτυμωτέρας τὰς αὐτῶν φήμας ἄγει.

Ἀπολογώμεθα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οὔσης ποτὲ ἡμῖν κόμης, ἐπειδή τις γραφὴ καὶ αὐχμοῦ εὔρηται.

306
against anyone, because they buy fish for their tables at greater prices than grand seigneurs ever 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 their calumnies, for the accuser is ready to steal even that off my back, because it has such vast value 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 occasioned by the hair which we formerly wore, for one of the counts of the accusation turns upon
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. κρίνετο δὲ μὴ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ξανθὰ καὶ
dιεκτενυσμένα μειράκια, τοὺς ἔραστὰς ἐξαφάμενα
καὶ τὰς ἔταιρας, ἔφ’ ἃς κομάζει· καὶ ἑαυτὰ μὲν
εὐδαίμονα ἤγεισθω καὶ ἥξιοτά τῆς κόμης καὶ τοῦ
λειβομένου ἀπ’ αὐτῆς μύρου, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀναφροδισίαν
πᾶσαν καὶ ἐραστὴν τοῦ μῆ ἑρᾶν. εἰρήσεται γὰρ
πρὸς αὐτὰ· ὃ κακοδαίμονες, μὴ συκοφαντεῖτε τὸ
Δωριέων εὑρέμα, τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐκ Δακεδαίμονίων
ηκει, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπιτηδευθὲν αὐτοῖς, ἐς
ψὸς μαχιμῶτατα αὐτῶν εἶχον, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῆς
Σπάρτης Δεονίδας ἔγενετο κομῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρείας,
cαὶ τοῦ σεμνὸς μὲν φίλοις, φοβερὸς δὲ ἔχθροις
φαινεσθαι· ταυτά τοι καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ἐπ’ αὐτῷ
κομᾶ μεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ ἐπὶ Δυκούργῳ τε καὶ Ἰφίτῳ.
σοφοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς κόμης φειδέσθω σίδηρος, οὐ γὰρ
θεμιτῶν ἐπάγειν αὐτὸν, οὐ πᾶσαι μὲν αἰσθητηρίων
πηγαί, πᾶσαι δ’ ὀμφαὶ, οθὲν εὐχαί τε ἀναφαί-
νονται καὶ σοφίας ἐρμηνεύσει λόγος. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς
μὲν γὰρ καὶ στρόφιον τῶν ἀλουργοτάτων περὶ
αὐτὴν ἀρμόσας ἐσόβει περὶ τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἀγνιάς, ὑμνουσ εὐνυτηθεῖς, ὡς θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
ἔσοιτο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἢμελημένη κόμη χρόμενος, καὶ
οὗπω τοιῶν ζῆνον ἐπ’ αὐτὴ δεηθεῖς, ἐς γραφᾶς
ἀγομα καὶ δικαστήρια. καὶ τί φῶ τῶν Ἐμπε-
dοκλέα; πότερ’ ἑαυτὸν ἢ τὴν τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ
308
the squalor thereof. But surely the Egyptian is not entitled to judge me for this, but rather the dandies 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 Lacedemonians 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 interpreter 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 lawcourts as a criminal. And what shall I say of Empedocles? Which had he most reason to praise,
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATATUS

CAP. VII

ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίαν άδειν, πάρ’ οίς ούκ ἔσυκο-

φαντεύτο ταύτα;

Μὴ πλεῖω διαλεγόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης,

ἐτμῆθη γὰρ καὶ προῦλαβε τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ

φθόνος, δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρας αἰτίας χρὴ

ἀπολογεῖσθαι χαλεπὴς σοφίας, καὶ οἶας, ὥ

βασιλεῖ, μὴ σοὶ μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Διῷ παρα-

σχεῖν φόβον· φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεόν

ἡγεῖσθαι με, καὶ δημοσία τοῦτ’ ἐκφέρειν ἐμβε-

βροντημένοις ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ· καίτοι καὶ πρὸ τῆς αἰτίας

ἐκεῖνα διδάσκειν ἐδεί, τί διαλεξθεῖσ’ ἐγώ, τί δ’

οὕτω θαυμάσιον εἰπὼν ἡ πράξεις υπηγαγόμενη τοὺς

ἀνθρώπους προσεύχεσθαι μοι. οὕτε γὰρ, ἔσ’ τι

ἡ ἐξ οὗτος μετεβαλεὶ η ἡμαβαλεὶ μοι ἡ φυσική,

dielέχθης ἐν Ἕλληνι, καίτοι γυνώσκων, οὕτε

dόξας περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τοιαύτας ἀπεστείλα, οὕτ’

ἐσ’ λόγια καὶ χρησμῶν φῶς ἐξήλθοι, οὐα

tῶν θεοκλυτοῦντων φορά, οὐδ’ οἶδα πόλιν οὐδε-

μίαν, ἐν ἡ ἐδοξε ξυνίοντας Ἀπολλωνίῳ θύειν. καί-

tοι πολλού ἀξίου ἐκάστοις ἐγενόμην, ὅτι ὁπόσα

ἐδέοντο μου, ἐδέοντο δὲ τοιαύτα: μὴ νοσεῖν οἱ

νοσοῦντες, ὅσιώτεροι μῦειν, ὅσιώτεροι θύειν, ὦβριν

ἐκτετμῆσθαι, νόμους ἔρρωσθαι. μισθὸς δ’ ἐμοὶ μὲν

tούτων ὑπήρχε τὸ βελτίως αὐτῶς αὐτῶν φαί-

310
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 forestalled 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

νεσθαὶ, σοὶ δὲ ἐχαριζόμην ταῦτα· ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βοῶν ἐπιστάται τὸ μὴ αὐτακτεῖν αὐτῶς χαρίζονται τοῖς κεκτημένοις τὰς βοῦς, καὶ οἱ τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπιμεληταὶ πιαίνουσι αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ τῶν πεπαμένων κέρδος, νόσους τε ἀφαίρουσι μελιττῶν οἱ νομεῖς αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο τῇ δεσπότῃ τὸ σμήνος, οὕτω ποι οἱ καὶ ἔγω τὰ πολιτικὰ παύσων ἐλαττώματα σοὶ διωρθούμην τὰς πόλεις, ὡστ' εἰ καὶ θεόν ἤγοιντό με, σοὶ κέρδος ἡ ἀπάτη εἴχε, ἔπν προθυμία γὰρ ποι ὦκροφιντό μου, δεδιότες πράττετεν, ἀ μὴ δοκεῖ θεῷ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἄντω, ὅτι δ' ἔστι τὸς ἀνθρώπων πρὸς θεόν ἔξυγγενεια, δι' ἦν μόνον ἔξων θεοῦ οἰδε, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς έαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὅπη μετέχει τοῦ θείου. φησὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτὸ θεῷ ἑοικέναι, ὡς ἀγαλματοποία ἔρμηνευει καὶ χρώματα, τὰς τε ἀρετὰς θεόθεν ἥκειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν πέπεισται, καὶ τοὺς μετέχοντας αὐτῶν ἀγχιθέους τε εἶναι καὶ θείους.

Διδασκάλους δὲ τῆς διανοίας ταύτης μὴ Ἀθηναίους καλῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους καὶ τὰς τοιάσθε ἐπωνυμίας πρώτοι ἔθεντο, θειότερας, ὡς τὸ εἰκῶς, οὕσας ἦ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ κεύεθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν ἐν τῇ Πυθοῖ ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἒρων αὐτοῦ Δυκοῦργος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἅρτι γεγραμμένων αὐτῶ τῶν νόμων, ἀνὴ Δακεδαίμων τέτακται, προσεπτῶν ὅ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπόλλων βασανίζει τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ χρήσμου
before, they were all so many boons bestowed upon yourself by me. For as cow-herds, if they get the 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. VII

φάσκων ἀπορεῖν, πότερα χρή θεὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον καλεῖν, προῖσιν δὲ ἀποφαίνεται καὶ ψηφίζεται τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ ταύτην, ὡς ἄνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Δυκόρουν ἄγων ἦκεν, ἢ κίνδυνος ἐκ τούτων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἄθανατίζοντα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπέπληξε τῷ Πυθίῳ προσρθηκεῖς τούτοις, ἀλλὰ ἐξουσιάζετο τῷ μαντεῖῳ, πεπεισμένου δήποτε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ ταύτα.

Τὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ταύτα. Ἰνδῶν Ἀιγυπτίων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συκοφαντοῦσι καὶ διαβάλλουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δόξας, τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὅσος τῶν δημιουργῶν τῶν ὅλων εἰρηται, οὕτω τι ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ἑτέρους διδάξασθαι Ἰνδῶν ὄντα. ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς μὲν τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως τε καὶ οὐσίας θεῶν δημιουργοῦν οἶδε, τοῦ δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ταύτα αἰτιον τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν ξυγγενῆ ταύτα, ἔχομαι τοῦ λόγου καὶ φημὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεοῦ τι ἔχειν. κόσμος δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ θεῷ δημιουργῷ κείμενος τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ νομιζόσθω καὶ τὰ ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ γῆ πάντα, ὃν μετουσία ἵση ἀνθρώπων, πλὴν τύχης. ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ ἐπὶ ἄνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κόσμος οὐκ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ σοφίας μέτρα, ὃν ποιούσα τοις, ὃ βασιλεῖ, φήσεις ἄνδρος.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

oration he enjoyed; and at the commencement of his CHAP. oracle the god declares that he is puzzled whether 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 account 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 originally it belonged to the Indians. Now this account recognises God as the creator of all things, who brought them into being and sustains them; and it declares further that his motive in designing 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 composition something of God. And by the universe which depends upon God the creator we must understand 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

315
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

déis thai thef eikasme'nov' kai ti to s'hema tou kós mou toúde; ai xухai ataktoússai manikóteron apsountai pantóς s'hmatos, kai éwloi men autai's nómoi, swfrosúnh de' ou'damou, thefou dé timai atmioi, laiás de' érōsi kai truyfis, êx òn argyia f'ítai ponhara xúmboulou ergon pantos. ai dé mesthousai xuxai píndôsi men épi pollla, tô dé skýrtima touto íschei ou'dén, ou'd' eî pánta pínovoi, õóspsa, âspet ser ò maandragóras, únvala énomíssth. allla déi ândróis, òs épitemelhsetai tou peri autai's kós mou, thefou ūpò sofías ōkou. ou'tosli gar apókhrh autai's érōtwν te 'ap'anewn, êf' ou's aγrióteron tis xuny'- thous ómiliai ekferontai, kai filoxhrmatías, de' õin ou'tw pän êchei fassín, êpei mı kai tô stóma úpêkousin épirreouni tòi ploútφ. fónwis gar ânasmçeiin men autai's mı prosaâptesθai ouk âdýna'- ton ísos ândri toioútw, ãpponýfai dé ou'te êmoroi dunamev ou'te tô pántwv ðemourgφ thef.

'Estw, basileûi, kathgoría kai ãp'per tis 'Efésου, êpetidh êsqôthη, kai krivêtw-me ó ðiγyptios, õs êsti prósforon tôi γrafhī. êsti gar dïpou õ kathgoria toiaúth' peri Þkûthas õ Keltoús, oi potamòn 'Istrou õ 'Pënon oukousi, pilis f'kistai meiôn ou'dên 'Efésou tûs ev 'Iovia' tauth'n orme-

316
in need of a man fashioned in the image of God. And what is the fashion of this universe? There are 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 care for the universe of such souls, a god sent down by 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 which concerns Ephesus, since the salvation of that city was gained; and let the Egyptian be my judge, according as it bests suits his accusation. For this 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. VII

τήριον βαρβάρων ούσαν, οί μὴ ἀκροωνταί σοι, λοιμὸς μὲν τις ἀπολεῖν ἐμέλλει, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἴσαστο. ἐστί μὲν γάρ τις καὶ πρὸς ταύτα ἀπολογία σοφῆ ἀνδρί, ἢν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἀντίξοον ὁπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ μὴ νόσοις αἱρεῖν βουλήται· μὴ γὰρ ἐξαλει- 
φείη πόλεις μηδεμία, μὴτε σοί, βασιλεὺ, μὴτε ἐμοί, μὴτε ἱδομι πρὸς ἱεροῖς νόσου, δὲ ἦν οἱ 
νοσοῦντες ἐν αὑτούς κείσονται. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐστὼ ἐν 
σπουδῇ τὰ βαρβάρων, μηδὲ τάττωμεν αὐτοὺς 
ἐς τὸ ἤγιαῖνον, πολεμιστάτους ὄντας καὶ οὐκ 
ἐνσπόνδους τῷ περὶ ἡμᾶς γένει, τὴν δὲ Ἐφεσον 
τίς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ σώζεσθαι, βεβλημένην μὲν 
τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης 
Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιδεδωκιναί δὲ παρὰ πάσας, ὀπόσι 
Ἰωνικοὶ τε καὶ Δύδιοι, προβεβηκιναί δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν 
θάλατταν διὰ τὸ ἰπηρήκειν τῆς γῆς, ἐφ' ἡς 
ἀκίσθη, μεστὴν δὲ φροντισμάτων οὕτων φιλο-
σόφων τε καὶ ῥητορικῶν, ὥφ' δὲν ἡ πόλις οὐχ 
ἵππῳ, μυρίας δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχύει, σοφίαν ἐπαι-
νοῦσα; τίς δ' ἂν σοφὸς ἐκλιπεῖν σοι δοκεῖ τὸν 
ὑπὲρ πόλεως τοιαύτης ἄγωνα, ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν 
Δημόκριτον ἐλευθερώσαντα λοίμοι ποτὲ Ἀβδη-
ρίτας, ἐνυνάσας δὲ Σοφοκλέα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, δὲ 
λέγεται καὶ ἀνέμους θέλξαι τῆς ὄρας πέρα 
πνεύσαντας, ἄκηκως δὲ τὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, δὲ 
νεφέλης ἄνεσχε φορᾷν ἐπ' Ακραγαντίνου 
ῥαγείσης;

318
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?
'Επικόπτει με ὁ κατήγορος· ἀκούεις γὰρ πον
καὶ σὺ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ φησιν, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ
σωτηρίας αἰτιος Ἐφεσίων ἐγενόμην, γράφεσθαι
με, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ προείπον ἐμπεσεϊσθαι σφισὶ τὴν
νόσου, τούτω γὰρ ὑπὲρ σοφίαν εἶναι καὶ τερατώδες,
τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἀληθείας οὐκ δὲ ἐφικέσθαι με,
eἰ μὴ γόνης τε ἢ καὶ ἀπόρρητος. τὶ οὖν ἐνταῦθα
ἐρεῖ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ ὃν ἔφασκε τοῦ δαιμονίου
μανθάνειν; τὶ δὲ Θαλῆς τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, τῶ
Ἰωνε, ὦ μὲν τὴν εὐφορίαν τὴν τῶν ἑλαιῶν, ὦ ὁ
pολλὰ τῶν οὐρανίων παθῶν προείποντε; ἤγοητεύ-
οντε προειπεῖν ταῦτα; καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπῆχθησαν
οὕτω δικαστηρίως ἡ' ἐτέραις αἰτίαις, καὶ οὕδα-
μοὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν εἰρηταῖ γόνης εἶναι σφᾶς,
ἐπειδὴ προγνώσκοντε. καταγέλαστον γὰρ τοῦτο
ἐδόκει, καὶ οὐδ' ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πιθανὸν κατ' ἄνδρῶν
λέγεσθαι σοφῶν, οὐ τὰ γύναια κακῶς ἤκουεν ἐπὶ
τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἔλεξε.

Πόθεν οὖν τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσιον πάθους
ἡσθόμην; ἦκουσας μὲν καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου
εἰπόντος, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διαίτωμαι,
καμοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ σιτίων, ὡς λεπτα.
καὶ ἦδὼ τῆς ἐτέρων συβάριδος, ἐν ἀρχῇ εἰρη-
ται· τούτῳ μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐν
αἰθρία τῳ ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάττει, κοῦκ ἐὰν θολερὸν
περὶ αὐτὰς οὐδὲν εἶναι, διορὰν τε, ὥσπερ ἐν
κατόπτρον αὐγῇ, πάντα γνωμονεῖ τε καὶ ἔσο-
320
The accuser here interrupts me, you hear him yourself do so, my prince, and he remarks that I am not accused for having brought about the salvation of the Ephesians, but for having foretold that the 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-
μενα. οὐ γὰρ περιμενεῖ γε ὦ σοφὸς γῆν τὴν ἀναθυμιάσαι ἢ τὸν ἀέρα διεφθοράτα, ἢν τὸ δεινὸν ἀνωθὲν ῥέη, ἀλλὰ ξυνήσει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ὄντων, ὕστερον μὲν ἢ οἱ θεοὶ, θάττον δὲ ἢ οἱ πολλοί. θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ μελλόντων, ἀνθρωποὶ δὲ γυνομένων, σοφοὶ δὲ προσιόντων αἰσθάνονται. λοιμῶν δ’ αἰτίας ἰδία, βασιλεύ, ἐρώτα, σοφωτεραι γὰρ ἢ ἐσ τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγεσθαι ἄρ’ οὖν τὸ οὕτως διαίτασθαι λεπτότητα μόνον ἔργαζεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἢ ἵσχυν ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστά τε καλθαυμασώτατα; θεωρεῖν δ’ ἔξεστιν, ὁ λέγω, καὶ ἀπ’ ἄλλων μὲν, οὗχ ἤκιστα δὲ κὰκ τῶν ἐν ’Εφέσῳ περὶ τὴν νόσον ἐκείνην πραχθέντων τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἰδος, πτωχῷ δὲ γέροντι εἰκαστο, καὶ εἰδον καὶ ἱδών εἶλον, οὐ παύσας νόσουν, ἀλλ’ ἐξελών ὡς δ’ εὑράμενος, δηλοὶ τὸ ἱερόν, δ’ ἐν ’Εφέσῳ ὑπὲρ τούτου ἴδρυσάμην, Ἡρακλέους μὲν γὰρ Ἀποτροπαίου ἔστι, ξυνηργὸν δ’ αὐτὸν εἰλόμην, ἔπειδη σοφός τε καὶ ἀνδρείος ὃ τινος ἐκάθερε ποτὲ λοιμὸν τὴν Ἡλι, τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀποκλύσας, ἃς παρεῖχεν ἢ γῆ κατ’ Αὐγέαν τυραννεύοντα.

Τίς ἄν οὖν σοι, βασιλεῦ, δοκεῖ φιλοτιμούμενος γόης φαίνεσθαι θεῷ ἀναθείναι, δ’ αὐτὸς εἰργαστο; τίνας δ’ ἂν κτήσασθαι θαυμαστᾶς τῆς
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

ing or is to be. For the sage will not wait for the 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. VII. τέχνης, θεῷ παρεῖς τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι; τίς δ' ἄν Ὁρακλεί εὐξασθαι γόης ὡς; τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οἱ κακοδαίμονες βόθροις ἀνατιθέασι καὶ χθονίως θεοῖς, ὡς τὸν Ὁρακλέα ἀποτακτέον, καθαρὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὕνους. ἡμεῖς ἀντὶ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτέ, λαμίας γὰρ τι φάσμα κακεῖ περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον ἤλευ, σιτούμενον τῶν νέων τοὺς καλοὺς· καὶ εὐνήρατό μοι τοῦ ἄγωνος οὔ θαυμασίων δεθεῖς δώρων, ἀλλὰ μελιττούτης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τι ἀνθρώπων ἑργάσασθαι, τοιτὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἑὔρυσθεά μισθὸν τῶν ἀθλῶν ἤγειτό. μὴ ἄχθου, βασιλεῦ, τὰ Ὁρακλέους ἀκούων ἐμελεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ 'Αθηνᾶ, ἐπειδὴ χρηστὸς καὶ σωτήριος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κελεύεις με ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τοιτὶ γὰρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐνδείκνυσαι, ἂκονε ἀπολογίας ἀληθοῦς· ἔγῳ γὰρ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράττων, οὔτω ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔθυσα, οὐδὲ ἄν θύσαιμι οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἄν θύγομι ἱερῶν, ἐν οἷς αἴμα, οὐδὲ ἄν εὐξαίμην ἐς μάχαιραν βλέπων ἡ θυσίαν, ἣν φησιν. οὐ Σκύθην με, ὡς βασιλεὺ, ἡρήκας, οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς ἀμίκτου ποθέν, οὐδ' ἐπέμιξά πω Μασσαγέταις ἢ Ταύροις, ὡς κακεῖνοι ἄν τοῦ τῆς θυσίας ἔθους μετέβαλον· ἀνοίας δ' ἄν ποῖ ἤλευ, ἵνα πλεῖστα

324
to God? And who would offer his prayers to Hercules, if he were a wizard? For in fact these 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 frankincense, 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-
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

μὲν ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς διαλεγόμενος καὶ ὅτι ἔρρωται ἥ μή, ἀριστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἁσθημένος, ὅτι τὰς αὐτῶν βουλὰς οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ὀσίοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ μὴ μαντευομένοις φαίνονσι, μαί-φοινίας ἀπτωμαι καὶ σπλάγχνων ἀθύτων ἔμοι καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων; ἐφ' οἷς ἀπέλιπεν ἀν μὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου όμφή μὴ καθαρὸν ὄντα.

Καὶ μὴν εἰ τις ἀφελῶν τὸ τῆς θυσίας μῦσος ἔξετάξαι τὸν κατήγορον πρὸς ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐξηκεν, ἀπαλλάττει με τῆς αἰτίας αὐτὸς· διν γὰρ φῆσι προειπεῖν Ἐφεσίως τὴν νόσου θυσίας οὐδε-μᾶς δεθέντα, τί σφαγίων ἐδεήθην ἐφ' ἂ καὶ μὴ θυσαμένῳ παρήν εἰδέναι; μαντικῆς δὲ τί ἐδεόμην ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς τε ἐπεπείσμην καὶ ἔτερος; εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Νεροῦα καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κρίνομαι, λέξω πάλιν, ἀ καὶ πρώην ἐπον, ἡνίκα ἡτίῳ ταῦτα. Νεροῦαν γὰρ ἄξιον μὲν ἀρχής ἠγούμαι πάσης καὶ λόγου παντὸς ἐπ' εὐφημίαν ἦκοντος, ἀγω-νιστὴν δὲ φροντίδων οὐ χρηστοῦ καταλέλυται γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου, δι' ἢν καὶ ἡ γνώμῃ μεστὴ ἁσθῆ καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ οἰκοι ἰκανή· σὲ γοῦν ἐπαινεῖ μὲν σώματος, ἐπαινεῖ δὲ γνώμης, εἰκὸς μὲν οἰμαί τι πράττων, προθυμοτέρα γὰρ ὄντως ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐπαινεῖν, ἃ μὴ αὐτὴ ἔρρωται.
sequence should I have descended if, after talking so much about divination and about the conditions 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 account 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. VII

πέπονθε δέ τι καλ πρὸς ἑμὲ χρηστὸν Νερούας, καὶ οὕτε γελάσαντά πω αὐτὸν ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ οἶδα οὕτε εὐθυσίσαμενόν τι τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν φίλοις, ἀλλ᾽ ὡσπερ τὰ μειράκια πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας τε καὶ διδασκάλους τοὺς αὐτῶν, εὐλαβῶς μὲν φθέγγεται τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ πᾶν, ἐρυθριὰ δὲ ἔτι, εἰδὼς δὲ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἑπανοῦντά με οὕτω. τι ἄγαν ἐπιτηδεύει αὐτό, ὡς κάμοι ταπεινότερος τοῦ μετρίου φαινεθαί. πῶς οὖν πιθανόν ἡγήσαστο οὖν τις ἀρχὴς ἐπιθυμῆσαι Νερούαν, ἀγαπώντα, εἰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἄρξοι, ἢ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων διαλέγεσθαί μοι τὸν μὴ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν τεθαρρηκότα, ἢ ξυνάπτειν ἐμὸν γνώμην ὑπὲρ δὲν μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλον, εἰ τούμον ἐνεθυμήθη, ξυνῆψεν; ἢ πῶς ἔτ᾽ ἐγὼ σοφὸς γνώμην ἐρμηνεύειν ἄνδρός, μαντικὴ μὲν πιστεύων, ἀπιστῶν δὲ σοφία; τὸν δὲ Ὀρφιτον καὶ τὸν Ὀρφον, τοὺς δικαίους μὲν καὶ σώφρονας, νωθροὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, ὡς εὗ οἶδα, εἰ μὲν ὡς τυραννησείοντας διαβεβλῆσθαι φασιν, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἰτε τούτων πλέον διαμαρτάνουσιν, εἰτε Νερούα, εἰ δ᾽ ὡς ξυμβούλω γεγονότε, πιθανότερος ἀρχὴ ἐπιθέσθαι Νερούας, ἢ οἴδε ξυμβουλεύσαι;

'Αλλὰ μὴν τὸν γε ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίνοντα κάκεινα εἰκὸς ἢν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, τί ἐβούλετο μοι τὸ ξυλλαμ-
prone to admire what they themselves lack the 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 distrusted 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. VII

βάειν τοῖς ἑπὶ νεώτερα ἢκουσιν. χρήματα μὲν γὰρ ὁὐ φησί παρ’ αὐτῶν γεγενήθαι μοι, οὐδὲ δῶροις ἐπαρθέντα με ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι· σκεψώμεθα δὲ, μὴ μεγαλῶν δεόμενοι, ἀνεβάλλομην τὰς παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας ἐς ὅν φίλον ἄρξειν χρόνων, ἐν φ’ μεγάλα μὲν ἂν αἰτεῖς ὑπῆρξε, μειζόνοι δ’ ἀξιούσθαι· πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ἔσται δῆλα; ἐνθυμήθητι, βασιλεὺς, σεαυτόν καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πρὸ σοῦ ἀρχοντας, ἄδελφον δήποτε τὸν σεαυτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, Νέρωνα τε, ἐφ’ ὅν ἦρξαν, κατὰ τούτοις γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλέας βεβίωταί μοι ἐς τὸ φανερῶν, τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον Ἰνδοῖς φωτώντι. τούτων δὴ τῶν ὁκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα ἑτῶν, τοσοῦτοι γὰρ τὸ ἐς σὲ μῆκος, οὔτε ἐπὶ θύρας βασιλείους ἐφοίτησα πλὴν ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός, ἐπεὶ μήτε βασιλεύς πω ἐτύγχανεν ὧν ὠμολογεῖ τε δι’ ἐμὲ ἠκείν, οὔτε ἀνελεύθερον τι διελέξθην βασιλεύσων ἢ ὑπὲρ βασιλέων δῆμοις, οὔτ’ ἐπιστολάις ἐλαμπρυνάμην ἢ γραφόντων ἐμὸ βασιλεύσων ἢ αὐτὸς ἐνδεικνύμενος γράφειν, οὔθ’ ὑπὲρ δωρεῶν κολακεύων βασιλέας ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπηρέξθην. εἰ γοῦν ἐροῦ με πλούσιοις ἐνθυμηθεῖς καὶ πένηταις, ποτέρου τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων ἐμαυτῶν γράφων, τῶν πλουσιωτάτων φήσω, τὸ γὰρ δεῖσθαι μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ Λυδία καὶ τὸ Πακτωλοῦ πάν. πῶς οὖν ἢ τὰς παρὰ τῶν οὕτω βασιλέων δωρεὰς ἀνεβαλλόμην

330
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

εἰς ὅν ἀρξεῖν αὐτοῦς φὴμιν χρόνον ὁ μηδὲ τὰς παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενος, οἷς βέβαιον ἡγούμην τὸ ἀρχεῖν, ἢ βασιλεῖαν μεταβολὰς ἐπενόουν μηδὲ ταῖς καθεστηκυίασ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι χρώμενος; καὶ μὴν ὁπόσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς, δῆλον τὰ Ἐυφράτου τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν τί λέγω χρῆματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ πλοῦτον, κατὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἢ διαλέγεται κάπηλος, ὑποκάπηλος, τελώνης, ὁβολοστάτης, πάντα γιγνόμενος τὰ πωλοῦμενα τε καὶ πω- λοῦντα, ἐντευτόπωται δ’ ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν θύραις καὶ προσεύστηκεν αὐταῖς πλεῖω καιρὸν ἢ οἱ θυρωροὶ, ὑπελήφθη δὲ καὶ υπὸ θυρωρῶν πολλάκις, ῥαπτορ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχνοι, δραχμὴν δὲ οὕτω φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ προέμενος ποτε, ἐπιτειχίζει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον, ἐτέρῳ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τοιοῦτοι βόσκων χρῆμασι καὶ ὁξίων ἐπ’ ἐμὲ γλώτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμῆσθαι.

Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλείπω σοι, σὺ γὰρ, ἢν μὴ κόλακας ἔπαινης, εὐρήσεις τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν κακίον ὃν ἔρμηνεύο, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἀπολογίας ἀκροβτῆς οὖν αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπὲρ τίνων; ἦστο τις, ὁ βασιλεὺς, παιδὸς Ἀρκάδος ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ θρήνος, τετμῆσθαι μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ νῦκτωρ, εἰ δ’ ὄναρ φησίν, οὔπω οἶδα, εἰναὶ δὲ πατέρων τε ἄγαθῶν ὁ
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

throne I regarded as perfectly secure, should either 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.

(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

333
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

παῖς οὗτος καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἰοί Ἀρκάδων οἱ ἐν αὐχμῷ καλοί. τοῦτόν φασιν ἰκετεύοντά τε καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενον ἀπεσφάχθαι, κἀμε τὰς χεῖρας ἕς τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αἷμα βάψαντα θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας εὑχεσθαί. μέχρι τούτων ἐμὲ κρίνουσιν, ο ὃ ἐφεξῆς λόγος τῶν θεῶν ἀπτεταί, φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ὅδε μοι εὐξαμένου, δοῦναι δὲ ἱερὰ εὐσήμα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀσεβοῦντα. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς οὐ καθαρά, τί ἂν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λέγοιμι;

'Αλλ' ὑπὲρ ὃν γέ μοι ἀπολογητέα, τίς οἱ Ἀρκάδων οὗτος; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀνόνυμος τὰ πατέρων, μηδ' ἀνδραπόδῳς τὸ εἶδος, ὥρα σοι ἐρωταῖν, τί μὲν ὄνομα τοῖς γειναμένοις αὐτῶν, τίνος δὲ οἰκίας οὗτος, τίς δ' ἐθέρψατο αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλις, τίνων δὲ βωμῶν ἀπαχθείς ἐνταῦθα ἐδύνετο. οὐ λέγει ταῦτα καίτοι δεινοὶ ὃν μὴ ἀληθεύειν. οὐκοὖν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδου κρίνει με. οἱ γὰρ μητ' αὐτῷ ὄνομα μηθ' ὃν ἔφε, μή πόλις μὴ κληρός ἐστιν, οὐχι, ὅ θεοί, τοῦτον ἐν ἀνδραπόδους χρὴ τάπτειν ἀνώνυμα γὰρ πάντα. τίς οὖν ὁ κάπηλος τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου; τίς ὁ πριάμενος αὐτὸ ἐξ Ἀρκάδων; εἰ γὰρ τὸ γένος τούτων ἐπιτηδείου τῇ σφαττούσῃ μαντικῇ, πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων εἰκὸς ἐωνήσθαι τὸν παίδα, πεπλευκέναι δὲ τινὰ ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἵν' ἐνθένδε ἡμῖν ἀναχθείη ὁ Ἀρκάς' ἀνδράποδα μὲν

334
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

good-looks which Arcadians wear even in the midst of squalor. They pretend that I massacred him in spite 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
CAP. VII

γὰρ Ποντικὰ ἡ Λύδια ἡ ἐκ Φεργών πρόικα ἓν κἀ
ταῦθα τις, δὲν γε καὶ ἀγέλαις ἐντυχεῖν ἑστιν ἄμα
φοιτώσας δεύρο, ταυτὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ὅποσα
βαρβάρων, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἔτερων ἀκροώμενοι
οὐπω τὸ δουλεύειν ἀισχρὸν ἤγοινται. Φρυξί γοὺν
ἐπιχώριων καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀνδραποδισθέντων μὴ ἐπιστρέφοντα, Ἐλληνες
dὲ ἐλευθερίας ἔραστα ἔτι, καὶ οὐδὲ δοῦλον
ἀνὴρ Ἐλλην πέρα ὅρων ἀποδούσεται, ὅθεν οὐδὲ
ἀνδραποδισταῖς οὔτε ἀνδραπόδων κατῆλοις ἐς
αὐτοὺς παριτητέα, ἐς δὲ Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ μᾶλλον,
πρὸς γὰρ τῷ παρὰ πάντας ἐλευθεριάζειν Ἐλ-
ληνας δέονται καὶ ὅχλου δοῦλων. ἐστὶ δὲ
πολυλήμιος καὶ ποώδης ἡ Ἀρκαδία καὶ ὑλώδης
οὐ τὰ μετέωρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ
πάντα. δεὶ δὴ αὐτοῖς πολλῶν μὲν γεωργῶν,
pollow dè aipóllon súfobrwòn te kai pòmènw
kai boikòlon, tòn mèn épì bòvni, tòn δ' ἐφ'
ìpposi, drutònom te deìtau pollòw h chiwra kai
tòutò ék paídwon gwnwàzontai. ei dè kai mè
touiàdè hìn tò tòn Ἀρκάδων, ἀλλ’ eìçhon, ὤσπερ
èteroi, proçapodídossthai toûs autòw doulòw, ti tì
throuumènì sofoù xuneiβálleto to èx Ἀρκαδίας
eînai tôn sfontòmenon; ouδè gâr sofoútau tòon
'Ellhnow 'Arkades, ìn' èteron tî anwròpon pléon
perì tâ logikà tòon sptolàghwv fainwson, ãllà
âgroukótau anwròpwn eisì kai suýdies tâ
tâ ãllâ kai to gastrièzheu tòw drouwron.

Ῥητορικώτερον ïsow òpôlelòghnmai toûmov
336
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Lydia or Phrygia,—for indeed you can meet whole droves of them being conducted hither, since these 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. VII τρόπου, τὰ τῶν Ἄρκαδῶν ἀφερμηνεύων ἥθη καὶ παριῶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον τῷ λόγῳ. ἢ γὰρ ἐμοὶ προσήκουσα ἀπολογία τίς; οὐκ ἔθυσα, οὐ θύω, οὐ θυγγάνω αἴματος, οὐδ’ εἰ βώμοιν αυτὸ εἰη. Πυθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὅδε ἐγινόμασκεν οὗτος οὗτος αὐτῶν παραπλησίως, καὶ κατ’ Ἀγνυπτον δὲ οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ Ἰυδῶν οἱ σοφοὶ, παρ’ ἄν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν αἱ τῆς σοφίας ἁρχαὶ ἐφοίτησαν. κατὰ ταύτα θύσινες οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἄδικείν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ γηράσκειν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἕναγχωροῦσιν ἁρτίοις τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀνόσιοι, καὶ σοφωτέροις ἀεὶ δοκεῖν, μὴ τυραννεύσεθαι, μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός, οἴμαι, ἀγαθῶν δεῖσθαι σφᾶς ύπὲρ καθαρῶν θυμάτων. δοκῶ γὰρ μοι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ νοῦν ύπὲρ θυσιῶν ἔχοντας, τὰ λιβανοθόρα τῆς γῆς ἐν καθαρῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκφυτεύειν, ἵνα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν θύομεν, μὴ σιδηροφορούντες εὗ ἱεροῖς, μηδ’ αἶμα ἐς βωμοὺς ραίνοντες. ἐγὼ δ’, ὡς ἐοίκεν, ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐκλαθόμενος ἔθυνον τρόπον, δι’ ἡμῶν εἰσθανόμενοι ὑμῖν ἀνθρώπων θύοι.

Ἀπαλλαττέτω με τῆς αἰτίας καὶ ὁ καιρός, ὅν εἰρήκεν ἐκατήγορος· τὴν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἐν ἐκταύτα εἰργάσθαι μοι φήσων, εἰ μὲν ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀγρῷ, ἔθυσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. εἰτά με, ὁ βασιλεὺς, θαμνά ἐρωτᾶς, εἰ μὴ ἐπεχωρίαξον τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε; καὶ σύ, βέλτιστε βασιλέως, ἐπεχωρίαξες, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν εἴποις θύσαι...
characterising the habits of the Arcadians and digressing into the Peloponnese. What however is my right line of defence? This I think: I never sacrificed blood, I do not sacrifice it now, I never touch it, not even if it be shed upon an altar; for 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII
toiānta' kai ó sykofánntηs, ãll' oûx òmologhēsēi
tà tòu anðrophōnōn práttein, eî kata tìn 'Rōmēn
diētâto, kai μυριάδες anðrōptōn, òs bēltion
xēnplateiû ò ùpâgeiû γrāfaiûs, ën aîs tekmīrion
àdiκēmaûton ëstai tò ëntaûtha ëînaî. kaiîtoî tò ës
tìn 'Rōmēn ãkeiû kai paraîteiîs tâxa tîs tòu
neîtera práttein dokeiû aîtîas: tò gâr ën pôlei
xîn, èn ò pántes ìnèv òphthamoiû, pâsa ò ìnkróasîs
ônōn te kai oûk óntōn, òû xûnχwreî neîterōn
àpptesîî toîs ìe ìn ùn ònataû, toûs ò eûlabesûrîon
îe kai sófroûas bradeîw ãgei kai
èf' ò ëxeîti.

Tî oûn, ò sykofânta, kata tîn vûkta ëkeîîn
èprrattôw; eî mèn òs seautûn èrōtâs, èppeîdé
kai sù èrōtân ãkeiûs, âgōnas ãtôiîmaçion kai
kathgoriâs èp' anðras chrîstōûs, kai àpôleîai
toûs oûk àdikouûntas kai pêîsai toûn bâsilêa
mî ìlîthî lêgôn, èw' èngw mèn evîdîmîoiû, miâî-
nîto òè oûtûs, èi ò ès filoßôfou puvîánh, tòun
Dêmokrîtou èpptûwû gêlôtaû, òû ës pánta tâ
tòw anðrōptōn gēlâû, èi ò ès èmouû, Fîlîskos ò
Mûliês ètîwî xûmîfîloßôfîsas èmîl tettârōû,
ènôsei tôtê, kai pâr' âûtû èpêkâðenû oûtô
340
yet you would not on that account admit you offered such a sacrifice; and my false accuser was there likewise, 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
diakēmēnφ χαλεπῶς, ώς καί ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου. καίτων πολλαὶ ἀν ἡνξάμην ἵγγας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς γενέσθαι μοι, καί, νῦ Δί', εἰ τινὲς Ὀρφέως εἰσίν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων μελωδίαι, μηδ' ἐκείνας ἀγνοῆσαι, καί γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκῶ καί ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς πορευθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν, εἰ ἔφικτὰ ἦν ταῦτα· οὕτω μὲ ἀνήρτητο πᾶσιν οἷς φιλοσόφως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν ἔπραττε.

Ταῦτ' ἔστι μὲν σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ Τελεσίνου ἀκούσαι του ὑπάτου, παρὴν γὰρ κάκεινος τῷ Μηλεῖ, θεραπεύων αὐτὸν νῦκτωρ, ὅπόσα ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ Τελεσίνῳ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων ἔστι, καλῶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μάρτυρας, εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι, Σέλευκός τε ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Σιδώνιος· τούτους ἔρωτα, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω καὶ μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριάκοντα εἴποντο, τῶν αὐτῶν δὴποι μάρτυρες· τὸ γὰρ προκαλεῖσθαι δεύρω τοὺς τῷ Φιλίσκῳ προσήκοντας ἀναβολὰς ἰσως ἡγήσῃ τῆς δίκης, ἐπειδὴ αὐτίκα τῆς Ρώμης ἀπήραν ἐς τὰ Μηλεῖων ἢθη κατὰ ὁσίαι τοῦ νεκροῦ. ἦτε, ὃ μάρτυρες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρήγγελται ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ἘΜΡΣΤΣ. παρ' ὅσον μὲν τοίνυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ γραφὴ ξυνετέθη, δῆλοι σαφῶς ἡ μαρτυρία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἐν προαστείοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀστεί, οὐκ ἔξω

342
I was sleeping out at his house, because he was suffering so terribly that he died of his disease. 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.

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 philosophers, 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 believe, 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. VII

τείχονς, ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἰκίας, οὔδε παρὰ Νεροῦ, παρὰ Φιλίσκῳ δὲ, οὔδε ἀποσφάττων ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς εὐχόμενος, οὔδ' ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας, οὔδ' ἀντὶ σοῦ χειροτονῶν νεώτερον, ἀλλ' ἀνδρα σώζων ἐμαυτῷ ὄμοιον.

Τί οὖν ὁ Ἀρκάς ἑνταύθα; τί δ' οἱ τῶν σφαγίων μύθοι; τί δὲ τὸ τὰ τοιαύτα πείθειν; ἕσται γὰρ ποτε καὶ ὁ μῇ γέγονεν, ἃν ὡς γεγονὸς κρηθῇ: τὸ δ' ἀπίθανον τῆς θυσίας, ὁ βασιλεύ, ποῖ τάξεις; ἐγένοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον σφαγίων μάντεις ἀγαθοὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ οἱ οὐνομάσαι, Μεγιστίας εξ Ἀκαρνανίας, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκ Λυκίας, Ἀμπρακία δὲ Σιλανὸν ἦνεγκε, καὶ ἑθύνοντο ὁ μὲν Ἀκαρνᾶν Δεωνίδα βασιλεῖ Σπάρτης, ὁ δὲ Λύκιος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδώνι, Σιλανὸς δὲ Κύρῳ βασιλείας ἑρώντι, καὶ εἰ τι ἐν ἀνθρώπου σπλάγχνου ἢ σαφέστερον ἢ σοφότερον ἢ ἐτυμώτερον ἀπέκειτο, οὐκ ἀπόρος ἢν ἡ θυσία, βασιλέων γε προϊσταμένων αὐτῆς, οἷς πολλοὶ μὲν ἤσαν οἰνοχόοι, πολλὰ δ' αἰχμάλωτα, παρανομάζει δ' ἀκίνδυνοι καὶ φόβος οὕτως κατηγορίας, εἰ τι ἐσφαττὼν· ἀλλ', οἴμαι, παρίστατο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, δ' κάμοι νῦν κινδυνεύοντι ύπὲρ τοιούτων, ὡτι τὰ μὲν ἄλογα τῶν ζῴων εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἄγνοιᾳ τοῦ θανάτου σφάττεται, μὴ θολούσθαι τι τῶν σπλάγχνων μετακινηθῆναι.
outside the wall, but inside a house, not with Nerva, but with Philiscus, not slaying another, but praying 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII χνων ὑπὸ ἀξυνεσίας ὦν πείσονται ἀνθρωπον δὲ ἀεὶ τι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντα θανάτου καὶ μῆπω ἐφεστηκότος δεῦμα, πῶς εἰκὸς παρόντος ἦδη καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντος, δεῖξαι τι ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων μαντικῶν ἢ ὅλως εὐθύτον ὑπὸ ὑπάρξεως τούτων, σκόπει, βασιλεὺς, ὥδε τὸ ἢπαρ, ἐν ὁ φασὶ τὸν τῆς αὐτῶν μαντικῆς εἶναι τρίποδα οἱ δευνοῖ ταῦτα, ξύγηκεται μὲν οὐ καθαροῦ αἴματος, πᾶν γὰρ, ὃ τι ἄκραιφνες, καρδία ἵσχει, δι’ αἴματηρῶν φλεβῶν ἀποχετεύουσα ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα, χολήν δ’ ἐπὶ ἦπατι κειμένην ὁργὴ μὲν ἀνίστησι, φόβοι δὲ ὑπάγουσιν ἐς τὰ κοίλα τοῦ ἢπατος. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν παροξυνόντων ζέουσα, καὶ μηδὲ τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἀγγειῷ φορητὸς ούσα, ὑπῆρξεν ἐπιχειτα τῷ ἢπατοι, καθ’ ὃ ἐπέχει χολή πᾶσα τὰ λεία τε καὶ μαντικὰ τοῦ σπλάγχνου, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν δειματούργων ξυνιζάνουσα ξυνεπισταῖται καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς λεύοις φῶς, ὑπονοοῦσι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ αἴματος, ὡς οὐ σπληστοῦται τὸ ἢπαρ, ὑποτρέχοντος φύσει τὸν περί αὐτὸ ὑμένα καὶ τῷ πηλώδει ἐπιπολάζοντος. τὶ οὖν, ὃ βασιλεὺς, τῆς μεισφοινίας 346
what they are about to suffer, free from disturbance. A human being however has constantly in his soul the 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

ἐργον, εἰ ἀσημα τὰ ἱερὰ ἔσται; ἀσημα δὲ αὐτὰ ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐργάζεται ξυνείσα τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀποθησκοντες, οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐφυεῖς ἔστιν ὅργῃ τελευτώσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀθυμότεροι ξῦν δέει. ἐνθεν ἡ τέχνη παρὰ τοῖς οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσι βαρβάροις χιμαίρας μὲν καὶ ἄρνας ἐπαινεὶ σφάττειν, ἐπειδὴ εὑρήθη τὰ ζῷα καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀναισθήτων, ἀλεκτρυόνας δὲ καὶ σὺς καὶ ταύρους, ἐπειδὴ θυμοειδὴ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἄξιοι τῶν ἐαυτῆς ἀπορρήτων. ξυνίημι, ὃ βασιλεῦν, παροξύνων τῶν κατήγορον, ἐπειδὴ σοφότερον σε ἀκροατὴν ἐβραγμαί, καὶ μοι δοκεῖς καὶ προσέχεις τῷ λόγῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ σαφῶς τι αὐτοῦ φράζοιμι, ξυνήχωρῳ σοι ἐρωτᾷν με.

εἰρηταί μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἀιγαπτίου γραφήν· ἐπεὶ δ', οἴμαι, χρὴ μηδὲ τὰς Εὐφρά- του διαβολὰς ὑπερορᾶσθαι, σὺ, ὃ βασιλεῦν, δικάξως, ὄπότερος ἡμῶν φιλοσοφεῖ μᾶλλον· οὐκοῦν ὃ μὲν ἀγωνίζεται μὴ τάληθεν περὶ ἐμὸν λέγειν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἄξιοί, καὶ ὃ μὲν σε ἤγειται δεσπότην, ἐγὼ δ' ἄρχοντα, καὶ ὃ μὲν ἔφοβος ἐπ' ἐμὲ σοι δίδωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον.

Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δ' ων γε διαβεβληκέν, οἱ λόγοι εἰσίν, οὓς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ εἰπον, φησὶ δ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐς τὸ σοι ξυμφέρον ὑπ' ἐμόν εἰρήσθαι. καίτοι τὰ

348
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

prince, is it to slay a human victim, if the sacrifice is going to furnish no presage? And human nature does 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 despondency, 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 consider 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 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 discourses which I delivered in Ionia, and he says that they contain matter much to your disadvantage. And yet what I said concerned the topic of the
μὲν λεχθέντα ἦν ὑπὲρ Μοίρων καὶ ἀνάγκης, παράδειγμα δ' ἐγίνετο μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα, ἐπειδή μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπείων δοκεῖ τὰ ὑμέτερα, Μοίρων τε ἵσχυν ἐφιλοσόφουν καὶ τὸ οὗτος ἀτρεπτα εἶναι, ἀ κλώθουσιν, ὡς, εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαντο ἐτέρῳ δὴ ὑπάρχουσαν, ὁ δ' ἀποκτείνει τοῦτον, ὡς μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, κἂν ἀναβοῦσθαι ὁ ἀποθανόν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάτων ταῖς Μοίραις. τὰς γὰρ ὑπερβολὰς τῶν λόγων ἐσαγόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τοῖς πιθανοῖς ἀπευθοῦντας, ὡσπερ ἄν εἰ καὶ τοιόνδε ἔλεγον ὅτι πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῷ, οὕτως, κἂν ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χείρε, τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτι νίκην εἴν 'Ολυμπία δρόμοιν ἀρασθαί, οὕτως, οὐδ' εἰ πηρωθείῃ ὁ σκέλος, ἀμαρτησεῖται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτι ἐνευσαν Μοίραι τὸ ἐν τοξία κράτος, οὕτως, οὐδ' εἰ ἀποβάλοι τὰς ὤψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ σκοτοῦ. τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς 'Ακρισίους δήποτο όρῶν καὶ τοὺς Δαίους Ἀστυάγη τε τῶν Μήδου καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους, εὖ τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ δόξαντας, ὡν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ εἰκόνους ἀποκτείνειν οἰχθέντες, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύτων εἰς αφανοὺς ξὺν τῷ πεπρωμένῳ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάτων κολακευτικῆς, εἴπτιν ἄν καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐντευκμήρησθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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 Laïus, 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
FI AVIUS PHILOSTRAT U S

CAP VII

Βετελίων èνταύθα, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ νεώς τοῦ
Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὄρφις τοῦ ἀστεοὺς, ὃ δ’, εὖ κείσεσθαι
tὸ ἔαυτοῦ ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτῶν—καίτοι
μειράκιοι ἰκανῶς ἦσθα καὶ οὕτω οὕτως—ἀλλ’
όμως, ἐπειδὴ Μοίραις ἐδόκει ἑτέρα, ὃ μὲν ἀπώλετο
αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τάκεινον νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δ’
ἀρμονία κολακευτική ἀχθομαι, δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τῶν
ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγων εἶναι, τεμνέσθω
μοι ἦδε ἡ νευρά, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυ-
μῆσθαι με, ἀλλὰ διειλέχθαι μόνα τὰ ὑπὲρ
Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ταύτι γὰρ φησιν εἰρήσθαι
μοι ἐπὶ σέ. καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέχονται
μὲν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὐκ ἀχθεῖαι δὲ οὐδὲ
ὁ Ζεὺς ἀκούων καὶ ταύτα τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν τοῖς
Λυκίοις λόγοις

φῦμοι ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα

καὶ τοιαῦτ’ ἐσ αὐτῶν ἀδόντων, ἐν δὲ τοῦ νείος ἔξε-
στασθαί φησι ταῖς Μοίραις, λεγόντων τε αὖ ἐν
ψυχοστασίᾳ, ὅτι Μίνω τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Σαρπη-
δόνος ἀποθανόντα χρυσῷ μὲν σκῆπτρῳ ἐτίμησε
καὶ δικάξεν ἔταξεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αἰδώνεως ἀγορᾷ,
Μοιρῶν δ’ οὐ παρητήσατο. σὺ δ’, ὁ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ
χάριν ἁχθῇ τῷ λόγῳ, θεῶν καρτεροῦντων αὐτῶν,

1 Iliad xvi. 433: 'Alas for myself, for that Destiny decrees
that Sarpedon dearest of men shall be overcome by Patroclus
son of Menoetus.'
blockaded in this city 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, 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 argument 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 weighing of souls again the poets tell you that, although after her death he presented Minos the brother of 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
FLAVIUS PHILESTRATUS

CAP. VII

οῖς πέπηγεν ἀεὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεινόν-
tῶν τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπ' αὐτὸ; προσήκει γὰρ ταῖς
Μοίραις ἔπεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν
πραγμάτων μὴ χαλεποὺς εἶναι. Σοφοκλῆς τε μὴ
ἀπιστεῖν

μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται
θεοῖς γῆρας, οὖν δὲ μὴν θανεῖν ποτὲ,
τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ συγχεῖ πάνθε' ὁ παγκράτης χρόνος,

ἀριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων λέγοντι. ἐγκύκλιοι γὰρ αἱ
cat' ἀνθρώπους εὑπραγίαι καὶ ἐφήμερον, ὁ
βασιλεὺς, τὸ τοῦ ὅλου μύθος. τὰ μᾶ ὦτος καὶ τὰ
τοῦτον ἔτερος καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἐχον ὦν
ἐχει. ταὐτ' ἐννοοῦν, ὁ βασιλεὺς, παῦε μὲν φυγάς,
paûe δ' αἶμα, καὶ φιλοσοφία μὲν ὁ τι βουλεῖ χρῶ,

ἀπαθῆς γὰρ ἢ γε ἀληθῆς, δάκρυα δὲ ἀνθρώπων
ἀφαίρει, ὁς νῦν γε ἡχῳ μυρία μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης,

πολλῷ δὲ πλείων ἔξ ἔπειρον φοιτά τρημοῦντων,

οὶ τι ἐκάστη ψηφήνον αἰξιοῦ. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν φυόμενα

πλείω ὄντα ἢ ἀριθμεῖσθαι ταῖς τῶν συκοφαντῶν

γλώτταις ἀνήπται, διαβαλλόντων σοὶ τε πάντας
καὶ σὲ, ὁ βασιλεὺς, πᾶσιν.

VIII

CAP. VIII

"Ωδὲ μὲν δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐκ παρασκευῆς εἶχεν,

ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δ' εὗρον τοῦ λόγου τὰ τελευταία τοῦ

προτέρου τὸ


οὐ γὰρ με κτενεῖες, ἔπει οὕτω μόρσιμός εἰμι,

354
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

ever fixed and assured, and who never slew poets on CHAP. VII
that account? For it is our duty to follow the Fates 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, 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 prepared beforehand, at the end whereof I found the last words of the earlier speech, namely:

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

355
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VIII καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦτον ἔτι, ἂφ’ ὅν τοῦτο. ἔπει δὲ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου δαιμόνιον τε καὶ οὐ πᾶδιον εἰπεῖν τρόπον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν ὁ τύραννος, ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ φώνησαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φώνησαν σχέτως ύπὲρ τοῦτο βοήσεσθαι καὶ διώξιν ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, κηρύξειν τε ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν, μηδαμοὶ παριτητέα εἶναι οἱ, ὁ δ’ οὐδὲν τούτων, ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν ἡ ξυνιεῖς λοιπὸν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνδρα ὁι αὐτάρκες. εἰ δ’ ὑπερεώραι, ξυμβαλόμεθα τοῖς ἐφεξῆς, φανεῖν γὰρ ἀν ἠνυπαθαρχθεῖς μᾶλλον ἡ καταφρονήσας.

IX

CAP. IX Ἡκροᾶτο μὲν γὰρ ἐτέρας ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνῃ δίκης, πόλις δ’ ἦν ἀγωνιζόμενη πρὸς ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ διαθηκῶν, οἴμαι, διέφευγον δ’ αὐτῶν οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν δικαζομένων ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ νοῦς τῆς δίκης, ἀνόητοι μὲν γὰρ αἱ ἑρωτήσεις ἦσαν, αἱ δ’ ἀποκρίσεις οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ κρίσις; ἀ σφόδρα ἦλεγχε τὸν τύραννον, ὡς ἐξεπέπληκτό τε καὶ ἦπορει, δι’ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ πεπείθθαι πρὸς τῶν κολακευόντων, ὅτι μηδὲν ἀν διαφύγοι αὐτῶν.

X

CAP. X Οὔτω τῶν τύραννων διαθεῖς καὶ παίγνιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἀποφήμας τῶν Ἔλληνων τε καὶ 356
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

together with the words which preceded and led up to this quotation. But the effect upon the despot of 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 Apollonius, an action brought, I think, in connexion 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 reduced the despot, making him a plaything of his
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. Βαρβάρος φοβερόν πάσι, πρὸ μεσημβρίας μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστήριου, περὶ δείλην δ’ ἐν Δικαιαρχία ἐφάνη Δημητρίῳ τε καὶ Δάμιδι, καὶ τούτ’ ἀρ’ ἦν τὸ παρακελεύσασθαι αὐτὸν τῷ Δάμῳ μὴ περιμείναντι τὴν ἀπολογίαν πεζεύσαι ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ βεβουλευμένα οὐ προὔλεγε, τὸν δὲ ἐαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἑκέλευε πράττειν, ἃ τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις εἶπετο.

XI

CAP. Ετύγχανε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δάμις τῆς πρωτεραίας ἀφιγμένος καὶ τῷ Δημητρίῳ ξυγγεγονὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ὁ δ’ εὐλαβέστερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀκροώμενον εἰκὸς διατεθεὶς ἦν υφ’ ὧν ἦκουσε, καὶ πάλιν τῆς ὑστεραίας ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἥρωτα, ξυναλύων αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ἦ τὰ περὶ τὴν Καλυψὼ μυθεύματα· ἀπεγέγνωσκον μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐχ ἥξοντος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος χαλεπά ἦν πάσι, τὰ δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ προσταττόμενα ἐτίμων διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἀπειπόντες οὖν ἐκάθηντο ἐς τὸ νύμφαιον, ἐν δ’ ὁ πίθος, λευκοῦ δ’ οὕτως ἐστὶ λίθοι ξυγγέχων πηγῆν ύδατος οὖθ’ ὑπερβάλλουσαν τοῦ στομίου οὕτ’, εἰ τις ἀπαντλοῖς, ὑποδιδοῦσαν. διαλειχόντες δ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ύδατος οὐ μάλα ἐσπουδακότως, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀθυμίαν, ἐπανήγγον τὸν λόγον ἐς τὰ πρὸ τῆς δίκης.

358
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

philosophy who had been the terror of Hellenes and 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.

XI

Now Damis had arrived the day before and had talked with Demetrius about the preliminaries of 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.

359
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XII

Cap. XII. Ἄνολοφυραμένου δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδου, καὶ τε καὶ τοιοῦτον εἰπόντος, "ἀρ' ὄψόμεθα ποτε, ὁ θεός, τὸν καλὸν τέ καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἑταίρον;" ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ ἡ καὶ ἐφεστῶς ἤδη τῷ νυμφαῖῳ ἐτύγχανεν, "ὁψεαθε," εἰπε, "μᾶλλον δὲ ἔωράκατε." "ζώντα;" ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, "εἰ δὲ τεθνεώτα, οὕτως πεπαύμεθα ἐπὶ σοὶ κλάοντες," προτείνας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὴν χεῖρα, "λαβοῦ μου," ἔφη, "καὶ μὲν διαφύγω σι, εἰδωλὸν εἰμί σοι ἐκ Φερσε-φάττης ἤκοιν, οὐκέταν οἱ χθόνιοι θεοί τοῖς ἀθυμοτέροις τὰ πένθη, εἰ δὲ ὑπομείναμι ἀπτόμενον, πείθε καὶ Δάμιν ἕκν τὲ με καὶ μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι τὸ σῶμα." οὐκέθ' οἷοι ἀποστείν ἤσαν, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες ἐξεκρέμαντο τοῦ ἄνδρος καὶ ἁσπάζοντο, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἥρωτων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημήτριος οὐδ' ἀπολελογήθησθαι αὐτῶν, ἀπολέσθαι γὰρ ἄν καὶ μὴ ἄδικοῦντα, Δάμις δ' ἀπολελογήθησθαι μὲν, θάττον δ' ἱσως, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνης τε τῆς ἠμέρας φέτο. ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀπολελόγημαι," ἔφη, "ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ νικῶμεν, γέγονε δὲ μοι τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας τήμερον οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἠμέρας, προῆκε γὰρ ἦδη ἐς μεσημβρίαν." "πῶς οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, "τοσὴνδε ὁδὸν ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἠμέρας ἦμυσας;" καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "πλὴν 360
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XII

Damis' grief had just broken out afresh, and he had made some such exclamation as the following: “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
CAP. XII

κριοῦ", ἐφη, "καὶ πτερῶν κηροῦ ξυγκειμένων πάντα οἶνον, θεδιν ἐπιγράφων τῇ πομπῇ ταύτη." "Πανταχοῦ μέν," ἦ δ' ὁ Δημήτριος, "τῶν σῶν ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων θεδιν ἀεὶ τινα προορᾶν ἥγούμαι, παρ' οὐ τὰ σὰ οὕτως ἔχει, τὴν δ' ἀπολογίαιν, ἢ τις γέγονε, καὶ ἄτα ἡ κατηγορία ἔχε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ δικάζοντος ἥθος, καὶ ὁ τι ἤρετο καὶ ὅτως ξυγκατῆθετο ἢ ὅτω μή, λέγε ὁμοῦ πάντα, ἵνα καὶ Τελεσίνῳ ἐκαστα φράζομι, οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσει ἐρωτῶν τὰ σὰ, ὅ γε καὶ πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα ἱσσως ἦμερῶν ἐμοὶ ξυμπίνων ἐν Ἀνθώφω, κατέδαρθε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, μεσοῦσθαι δ' αὐτῷ τῆς κύλικος ἐδοξῆν ὃναρ πῦρ ἐν τῇ γῇ πελαγίσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολαμβάνει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ φθάνειν ὑποφεύγοντας, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἰεῖν αὐτὸ παραπλησίως τῷ ὑδατί, σὲ δ' οὖν ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ διανέφεσα αὐτοῦ σχισθέντος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ τοῦτῳ θεοίς εὐξυμβόλοις ἐσπεισεν, ἐμοὶ τε παρεκκελεύσατο ὑπὲρ σοῦ θαρρεῖν." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλόνιος, "οὐ θαυμάζω Τελεσίνου," εἶπεν, "ὑπερκαθεύδοντα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπερεγρήγορε μον πάλαι, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης πεύσεσθε μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐνταῦθα, δείλῃ τε γὰρ ἰκανῶς ἤδη καὶ βαδίζειν ὀρα ἐς ἄστυ, ἥδιοις δ' οἱ καθ' ὂδον λόγοι παραπέμψαι βαδίζοντας. ἴσως ὁμοι διαλαλοῦντες 362
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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

"Well," said Demetrius, "I have always thought that your actions and words were providentially cared 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. XII

ὑπὲρ δὲν ἑρωτάτε, λέξις δὲ τὰ τίμερον δήποι ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ πραχθέντα. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἀμφότερο ἵστε, σὺ μὲν παρατηροῦν, σὺ δὲ ἤκροαμένος, ὀμια, τούτου, μὰ Δία, οὐχ ἄπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν, εἰ μὴ ἐκλέξησαι Δημητρίου, ἄ δ᾽ οὖν ἵστε, δίειμι, διεύρων ἀπὸ τῆς προφήσεως καὶ τοῦ γυμνοῦ ἔσελθειν." δεῖ γε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόγους καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῷ "οὐ γὰρ με κτενεῖς," καὶ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τῆς κρίσεως, ὡς ἀπῆλθε.

XIII

CAP. XIII

Τότε ἀναβοηθα λεγόμενος Δημήτριος, "ἐγὼ μὲν φιλοτήτων σεσωσμένον ἀφίχθαι σε, σοι δ᾽ ἀρχῇ κινδύνων ταῦτα, ξυλήσωπται γὰρ σε καταγγελλόμενον καὶ πάσης ἀποστροφῆς εἰργόμενῳ." ὁ δὲ ἐρρωσθαί τῷ Δημήτριῳ δεῖ πρᾶξιν, "εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς," εἴπειν, "ἀδει αὐτῷ εὐάλωτοι ἠτε. ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως μὲν τίκεινον νῦν ἔχει, ἐγὼ οἳδα. κολακευόντων γὰρ ἄει λόγων ἀκρατῆς γιγνόμενοι, νῦν ἔπιπληττόντων ἕκροάται, ῥήμανται δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων αἱ τύραννοι φύσεις καὶ περὶ ταῦτα χολόσων. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀναπαύσῃ δεῖ γόνων ὃπως κάμψαντι ἐκ τοῦ ἄθλου." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "ἐγὼ, Δημήτριε, διεκείμην μὲν οὕτως," ἔφη, 364
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Let us then start and discuss your questions as we go along, and I will certainly tell you of to-day's 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 had come hither because you were saved; but this is 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 enragés 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIII
“πρὸς τὰ τούδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πράγματα, ὡς καὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ ταῦτης ἀπάγειν αὐτόν, ἐφ’ ἦς ἦκει, ξυπνεσμένες δὲ ποι καὶ σὺ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ ἔσθη κινδύνους ἐκουσίους τε καὶ χαλεπῶς ἵοι, ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐτύγχανε μὲν δεδεμένος, ὡς ἔμοι ἐφαινέο, ἀπόρα δ’ ἡγομένῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, ἐφ’ ἐαυτῷ ἐφη τὸ λελύσθαι εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σκέλος ἐλευθερώσας τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἐδειξε· τότε πρῶτον κατενόησα τοῦ ἀνδρός, θεσπέσιον τε εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ κρείσσω τῆς ἡμεταπηθής σοφίας ὃθεν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπωτέροις τούτων ἐντύχοιμι, οὐδὲν ἄν δείσαιμι ύπὸ τούτῳ καὶ κινδυνεύων. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐσπέρα, βαδίζωμεν ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑπνοῦ,” ἐφη, “δεόμαι μόνον, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ἐν ἰσως τίθεμαι λόγῳ, κάν παρῇ τι αὐτῶν, καὶ ἄπτῆ.” μετὰ ταῦτα εὐξάμενος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἐτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν οὐκίαν, ἦν ὁκεὶ ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ τῷ πόδε ἀπονυψάμενος παρακελευσάμενος τοις ἀμφί τοῦ Δάμου δειπνεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἀσιτοῖ αὐτῷ ἐφαινότο, ἔρριψεν ἐς τὴν κλίνην ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐφυμήσας τῷ ὕπνῳ τὸ Ὀμήρου ἔπος ἐκάθευδεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀξίους φροντίζει τοῖς παροῦσιν.

XIV

CAP. XIV
“Περὶ δὲ ὅθρου ἐρωμένου αὐτὸν τοῦ Δημήτριον, ποῖ τῆς γῆς τρέψωτο, καὶ κτυπεῖσθαι δοκοῦντος τὰ ὤτα ὑπὸ ἐννοίας ἰπτέων, οὗτος ὁτε ἐπικεῖσθαι

366
that I tried to dissuade him from taking the journey which he has taken, and I believe you too gave him 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 everything 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 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 he would turn his steps, for there resounded in his ears the clatter of imaginary horsemen who he thought were already in hot pursuit of
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS


XV

Καὶ προσειπώντες τόν Δημήτριον ἀθύμως ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἐχοντα, θαρρεῖν τε παραινέσαντες ὡς ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ ἃνδρόν, ἐπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἀνέμφει ἐπιτηδείᾳ, Μεσσήνην τε παραπλεύσαντες ἐγένοντο ἐν Ταυρομενίῳ τριταίοι. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Συρακοσίων κομισθέντες ἀνήγοντο ἔσε Πελοπόννησον περὶ μετοπώρου ἀρχᾶς, ὑπεράραντες δὲ τοῦ πελάγους.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Apollonius on account of the rage of the tyrant, but Chap. XIV
Apollonius merely replied: "Neither he nor anyone 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. XV despondent about them, but they bade him hope for 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;
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XV ἀφίκοντο δὲ ἡμέρας ἔκτης ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ ἔκβολας, ἀφ' ὄν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Ἅδρια καὶ Σικελικῷ πελάγει ἐπιχεῖται πότιμος. ἀποβάντες οὖν τῆς νεώς, καὶ πολλοὺ ἄξιον ἤγούμενοι τὸ ἐς Ὄλυμπιαν ἤκειν, δειττῶντο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς, οὐδαμοῦ ὑπὲρ Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποφοιτῶντες. φήμης δ' ἀδρασί τε καὶ ξυντόνου κατασχούσης τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ξῆν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀφίχθαι ἐς Ὄλυμπιαν, καταρχαῖς μὲν ἐδόκει μὴ ἐρρώσθαι ὁ λόγος, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ ἑλπίδος τι ἄνθρωπείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ δεδέσθαι αὐτὸν ἦκουσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνων ἄνήκου ἤσαν ἀποθανεῖν καταφλεξθέντα, οἱ δ' ἐλαχῆναι ξώντα καταπαγέντων εἰς τὰς κλείδας αὐτοῦ ἀγκά- στρων, οἱ δ' ἐώσθαι εἰς βάραθρον, οἱ δ' εἰς βυθὸν ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦκειν ἐπιστεύθη, οὐδ' ἐπ' Ὅλυμπιάδα οὐδεμάν μετέφορος οὖν ἤνεγείρῃ ἡ Ἐλλάς, ὡς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον τότε, Ἔλλες μὲν καὶ Σπάρτη αὐτόθεν, Κόρινθος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὄριων, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ, εἰ καὶ Πελοποννήσου ἔξω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔλειποντο τῶν πόλεων, αἱ ἐπὶ θύραις εἰς τῆς Πίνης, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐπικυνδέστατοι Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν στείχοντες καὶ νεότης ἡ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς Ἀθηναίες φοιτῶσα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Μεγαρῶθεν τινὲς ἐπεχωρίασαν τῇ Ὅλυμπιᾷ τότε, καὶ Βοιώτῶν πολλοί, καργόθεν, Φωκέων τε καὶ Θετταλῶν δ' τι εὐδόκιμον, οἱ μὲν ξυνηγεγονότες ἢδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, ἀνακτησόμενοι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ πλειόνων τε καὶ
and having traversed the gulf they arrived after six days at the mouth of the Alpheus, where that river 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 Scyllous. 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 unreliable; 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 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
ΣΑΡ. θαυμασιοτέρων ἀκροάσασθαι ὑστο, οἱ δ' ἀπειροι αὐτοῦ δεινών ἡγούμενοι τοιούθε ἀνδρὸς ἀνήκουν φαίνεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐρωτώντας, ὅτερ τρόπῳ διαφύγοι τοὺν τύραννον, οὐδὲν ἤτεο δεῖν φορτικὸν φράζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολελογηθῆσθαι τε ἔφασκε καὶ σεσώσθαι· πολλῶν δ' ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἱκόντων, οὓ ἐκήρυττον τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστήριῳ, διέκειτο μὲν ἡ Ἐλλάς οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῦ, θείον ἡγούμενοι ἀνδραὶ δὲ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ μηδ' ἐς κόμπον μηδένα υπὲρ αὐτῶν καθίστασθαι.

XVI

ΟΑΡ. Νεανίσκου δὲ τῶν ἱκόντων Ἀθηναίων μάλα εὔνουν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ φήσαντος, "πέπαυσο," εἶπεν, "Ολυμπίασιν ὑπὲρ τούτων κροτῶν καὶ διαβάλλων τὴν θεόν τῷ πατρί. ἐπιδειδότος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τῇ ἁχθηδόνι καὶ δίκαια πράττειν τὴν θεόν φήσαντός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ο βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐπώνυμον 'Ἀθηναίων ἤρξεν, "εἴθε, "ἔφη, "καὶ ἐν Παναθηναίοις," ἐπιστομίζων αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν προτέρα τῶν ἀποκρίσεων, ως κακῶς εἰδότα περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ τυράννοις αὐτοὺς εὔνους ἡγοῦτο, τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς, ως οὐκ ἄκολουθα τοῖς ἐφ᾽ Ἀρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτον ψηφιζομένων Ἀθηναίων, εἰ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐκεῖνον τιμᾶν ἐπ᾽ ἀγορᾶς νομίζοντες.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

remained much to learn, more striking than what they had so far heard; but those who were not acquainted 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 bruited 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΧVII


ΧVIII

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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

XVII

Damis approached him at this time to ask him about money, because they had so very little left to 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."

XVIII

There was a man of Thessaly, named Isagoras, whom he met in Olympia and said: "Tell, me Isagoras, 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 material 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVIII

τάτη, τεμένη τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ δρόμοι καὶ σκηνὴ δήποτε, ἔθυν τε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὀμόρου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερορίων τε καὶ ὑπὲρ θάλατταν." καὶ μὴν καὶ τεχνῶν πλείστων αὐτὴν ἕνεκεισθαί καὶ σοφισμάτων, σοφίας τε ἀληθινῆς καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ ξυμβουλιῶν καὶ διαλέξεων γυμνῆς τε ἀγωνίας καὶ μονομηχη, ὡς Πυθοὶ πάτριοι. "ἔσοικεν," ἐφ᾽, ᾿Απολλώνιε, οὐ μόνον σωματοειδές εἶναι ἡ πανήγυρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμασιωτέρας ὤλης ἢ αἱ πόλεις, τὰ γὰρ τῶν σπουδαίων σπουδαιότατα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπλογίμων ἐπλογιμώτατα ἕνεκεισθαί καὶ ἑνοικίζειν;"

"Ἄρ' οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἂν Ῥαγόρα, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τείχη καὶ ναός ἠγοῦνται, τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἡγησόμεθα, ἡ ἐτέρας ἐπὶ αὐτῆς δὲν δόξασί;" "τελεία," ἐφ᾽, "ἤ Τυανεῖ, ἢδε ἡ δόξα καὶ δίκαιον ἔπεσθαι αὐτῇ." "καὶ μὴν ἀτελῆς," εἶπεν, "ἐνθυμομένως περὶ αὐτῆς δὴν ἐγὼ τρόπων δοκοῦσί γὰρ μοι καὶ νῆς ἀνδρῶν δείσθαι, καὶ ἄνδρας νῆς, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνθυμηθήναι ποτε ἀνθρώπους τὴν θάλατταν, εἰ μὴ ναὸς ἢν, σώζειν τε ἀνδρὰς μὲν τείχῃ, τείχῃ δὲ ἄνδρας, πανήγυρις δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἶναι μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ξύνοδος, εἶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ἐστὶ δὲ χρῆ ἐξυπνοῖναι, καὶ τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον, ὅσον τείχη μὲν καὶ νῆς οὕτω 376
most varied in character; for there are sacred groves 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 δὲ ἀνθρώπων χεῖρας, τὰ δὲ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπὸ χειρῶν μὲν ἄνθρωπεῖων ἐφθάρη τὸ αὐτοσχέδια μὴ εἶναι ἀφαιρεθέντα, φύσεως δὲ εὖ ἦκοντα ἐπάξια τοῦ ἕμφοιταν ἐς αὐτὰ ἐνομίσθη, γυμνᾶσια μὲν γὰρ καὶ στοὰι καὶ κρήναι καὶ οἰκοι, τέχνη ταῦτα ἄνθρωπεῖα εἰργάσθη, καθάπερ τὰ τέχνη καὶ αἱ νῆες, Ἀλφεῖος δὲ οὔτος καὶ ἅπαποδρόμος καὶ στάδιον καὶ ἁλση πρὸ ἄνθρωπων ἰδίου ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν ἀποχρόν ποτὸν εἶναι καὶ λουτρόν, ὁ δὲ εὐρὺ πεδίων ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς ίπποις, τὸ δὲ ἐγκονίσασθαι καὶ διαδραμεῖν ἄθληταις διὰ τὸ παρέχεσθαι τινα ὄρον, αὐλώνα στάδιον μῆκος, τὰ δὲ ἁλση στεφανῶσαι τοὺς νικῶντας καὶ τοὺς δρομικοὺς τῶν ἄθλητῶν γυμνάσαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ποι ἦκον Ἡρακλεὶ ἐνθυμηθέντι, καὶ τὸ αὐτοφυὲς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀγαθέντι ἐπάξιος ἐφάνη ὁ χώρος τῶν ἔτι νῦν σπουδαζομένων ἐνταῦθα.

XIX

CAP. XIX

ἲμερῶν δὲ τετταράκοντα διαλεχθέως ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ πλείστα σπουδάσας, "καὶ κατὰ πόλεις μὲν," ἐφ' ὅς, "διαλέξομαι ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, ἐν πανηγύρεσιν, ἐν πομπαῖς, ἐν μυστηρίοις, ἐν θυσίαις, ἐν σπουδαῖς—ἀστείου δὲ ἄνδρος δέονται—νῦν δὲ ἔστω Δεβάδεων χρή καταβήναι με, ἐπεὶ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ 378
come into being, unless there had been men's hands to build them, while these places, so far forth as they are deprived of their natural and original characteristics, 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 gymnasia 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 considered 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 Olympia, in which many topics were handled, Apollonius said: "I will also, O men of Hellas, discourse 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
μήπως ξυγγέγονα, καίτοι ἐπιφοιτήσας ποτὲ τῷ ἱερῷ. "καὶ εἴπών ταῦτα ἔχωρει δὴ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας, οὔδενὸς λειπομένου τῶν θανμαξόντων αὐτῶν: τὸ δὲ ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ στόμον ἀνάκειται μὲν Τροφωνίῳ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐσβατὸν μόνον τοῖς ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν φοιτῶσιν, ὀρᾶται δὴ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, μικρὸν δὲ ἀνω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν γηλόφῳ, ξυγκλείουσι δ’ αὐτὸ σιδήρει ὀβελίσκου κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες, ἡ δὲ κάθοδος οίᾳ ἔζησαντα ἐπιστάσσασθαι. λευκὴ δ’ ἐσθήτει ἐσταλμένοι πέμπονται, μελιτούττας ἀπάγοντες ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν, μελίγματα ἑρπετῶν, ἄ τοῖς κατιούσιν ἐγχρίπτει. ἀναδίδωσι δὲ ἡ γῆ τοὺς μὲν οὐ πόρρω, τοὺς δὲ πορρωτάτως, καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Δοκροὺς ἀναπέμπονται καὶ ὑπὲρ Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι περὶ τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὀρία. παρελθὼν οὖν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, "βούλομαι," ἔφη, "καταβῆναι ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας."

Ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς λεγόντων, μὴ ἂν ποτε γόητε ἀνθρώπῳ παρασχεῖν ἑλεγχόν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα πλαττομένων ἀποφράδας καὶ οὐ καθάρας χρῆσαι, τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διελέξθη περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῆς Ἑρκύνης ὑπὲρ αἰτίας τοῦ μαντείου καὶ τρόπου, μόνον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δ’ αὐτοῦ χρῆ τοῦ χρωμένου ἐσπέρα δ’ ὡς ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμον μετὰ τῶν ξυνακολουθοῦντων νέων, καὶ τέτταρας τῶν ὀβελίσκων ἀναστάσας, οἱ ἐξεχοῦσι τὰς τῆς παρόδου κλείδας, ἔχωρει ὑποχθόνιος αὐτῷ τρίβωσιν

380
an interview with Trophonius, although I once visited his shrine." And with these words he at once 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 raiment, 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 pretended 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 Hereyne, 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 constitute a bar to the passage, he went down below
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIX καθάπερ ἐσὶ διάλεξιν ἐαυτὸν στείλας, οὕτω τι τῷ θεῷ φίλα πράττων, ὡς ἐπιστάντα τοῖς ίερεύσι τὸν Τροφώνιον, ἐς ἐπιπληξίαν τε αὐτοῖς καταστήματι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐς Αὐλίδα τε ἔπεσθαι πάντας, ὡς ἐκεῖ ἀναδυσομένου θαυμασιώτατα ἀνθρώπων. ἀνέσχε γὰρ δι’ ἡμερῶν ἐπτά, ὅσων μῆτρα τοῖς τῶν ὑπεχθόντων τῷ μαντείῳ, φέρων βιβλίον προσ-φορώτατον τῇ ἐρωτήσει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήλθεν εἰπών, "τίνα, ὁ Τροφώνιε, καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρτιωτάτην καὶ καθαρωτάτην φιλοσοφίαν ἤγη;" τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τὰς Πυθαγόρου εἶχε δόξας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ μαντείου τῇ σοφίᾳ ταύτη ἐξυπνιθεμένου.

XX

CAP. XX Ἀνάκειται τὸ βιβλίον τούτο ἐν 'Ανθίῳ, καὶ σπουδάζεται διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ 'Ανθίου Ἰταλῶν τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. ταύτα μὲν δὲ καὶ τῶν Λεβα-δειαν οἰκουμένων ξυγχωρώ ἀκραίοσθαι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦτον γνώμη ἀποπεφάνωθω, μου, διακομμα-σθήσεται μὲν αὐτῷ βασίλει τὸ 'Αδριανό υἱότερον, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τινὰς τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιστολῶν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάσας γε, καταμείναι δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ, ὡς μάλιστα δὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν βασίλειαν ἔχαιρεν.

382
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

ground wearing his philosopher's mantle, having dressed himself as if he were going to deliver an address upon philosophy,—a step which the god Trophonsius 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.

XX

This book is preserved in Antium, and the village in question, which is on the Italian seaboard, is much visited for the purpose of seeing it. I must acknowledge that I only heard these details from the inhabitants of Lebadea; but in regard to the volume 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.  Αφίκοντο δ' αὐτῷ κἀξ Ἰωνίας οἱ ὁμιληταί πάντες, οὓς ὁμόμαξεν Ἀπολλωνιεύον ή Ἑλλάς, καὶ ξυμμυχθέντες τοῖς αὐτόθεν νεότης ἐγένοντο θαυμάσαι αξιοὶ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ φιλο-
σοφεῖν ὀρμῆς. ῥητορικῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέκειτο ἀμε-
λουμένη, καὶ σιμκραὶ προσεῖξαν τοῖς τὴν τέχνην
ξυγκροτοῦσιν, ὡς μόνης διδασκάλου τῆς γλώττης,
ὁθίζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν πάντες.
ὁ δ', ὁσπερ τούς Γύνας φασὶ καὶ τοὺς Κροῖσους
ἀκλείστους παρέχειν τὰς τῶν θησαυρῶν θύρας,
τῷ ἀπαντωμένῳ εἰς τοῖς δεομένοις, οὕτω παρέχει τὴν
ἐαυτοῦ σοφίαν τοῖς ἔρωσι, περὶ παντὸς ἐρωτῶν
ξυγχωρῶν.

XXII

CAP.  Διαβαλλόμενων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνίοι, ὅτι τὰς τῶν
ηγεμόνων ἐπιθημίας ἐκτέρπειτο καὶ ἀπάγοι τοὺς
ἀκροατὰς ἐς τὰς ἱστυχίας μᾶλλον, καὶ τινος
ἀποσκώψαντος μετελαύνειν αὐτὸν τὰ πρόβατα,
ἐπειδὰν τοὺς ἁγοραίους προσίστασις μάθη, "νὴ
Δί", εἶπεν, "ἂνα μὴ ἐμπίπτωσι τῇ ποίμνῃ οἱ
λύκοι." τί δ' ἐβούλετο αὐτῷ τοῦτο; τοὺς ἁγο-
ραίους ὀρῶν ἀποβλεπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν,
καὶ προΐόντας ἐκ πενίας ἐς πλοῦτον, ἀπεχθείας τε
οὕτως ἀσπαζόμενους, ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπέχθεσθαι
384
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXI

From Ionia also there came to see him the band of companions who were named in Hellas the company of 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 treasuries 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.

XXII

But certain persons accused him of dissuading his pupils from visiting the governors, and of influencing 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 Apollonius, "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 multitude as they made their way up from poverty to great riches; and he saw that they so welcomed the feuds of others, that they actually
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXII
πωλεῖν, ἀπῆγε τοὺς νέους τοῦ ξυνεῖναι σφισι καὶ τοὺς ξυγγενεμένους αὐτοῖς ἐνουθέτει πικρότερον, οἷον ἀποπλύνων βαφής ἀτόπον· διεβέβλητο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεσμωτηρίων καὶ τῶν δεδεμένων τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω διετέθη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην, ὥς πάντα ταῦτα τῶν συκοφαντοῦντων καὶ τῶν δεινότητι ἐπηρμένων ἠγείρθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ τυράννου.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII
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.

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

387

cc 2
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXIII νύκτα μεταστῇ πάντα, “θάρρει,” ἐφη, “ἔσται γὰρ τί ἐκ τῆς νυκτὸς ταυτής φῶς.”

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Μετὰ ταῦθ’ ὁ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἴκανος εἶχε, δυοῖν ἐνδιατρίψας ἔτοῖν, ἔπλει ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἐπιτυχεὶν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐταιρείας, καὶ τὸν μὲν πλεῖον χρόνον ἐφιλοσοφεῖ περὶ τὴν Σμύρναν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑφεσον, ἐπιδών καὶ τὰς ἄλλας καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν πόλεων ἀηδὴς εἰναι δοκῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ποθεῖσθαι ἡξιος καὶ κέρδος μέγα τοῖς δέξιοις.

XXV

CAP. XXV Ἐσῶθον δὲ οἱ θεοὶ Δομετιανοῦ ἡδὴ τῆς τῶν ἄνθρωπων προεδρίας. ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλήμεντα ἀπεκτονῶς ἄνδρα ὑπατον, ὃ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐδεδώκει, πρόσταγμα δὲ ἐπεποίητο περὶ τὴν τρίτην ἡ τετάρτην ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου κάκειν ἐν ἄνδρος φοιτῶν. Στέφανος τοῖς ἀπελεύθεροι τῆς γυναικός, ὃν ἐδήλου τὸ τῆς διοσμῆς σχῆμα, εἰτε τὸν τεθεῶτα ἐνθυμηθείς, εἰτε πάντας, ὀρμήσε μὲν ἵσα τοῖς ἐλευθερώτατοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ξίφος δ’ ὑφέιρας 388
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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

XXV

And now the gods were about to cast down 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXV

τῷ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πήχει, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ
δέσμους ἀναλαβὼν ὅλου κατασχέων, ἀπιόντι
τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσέλθὼν, "δέομαι σοι," ἔφη,
"βασίλει, μόνου, μεγάλα γάρ, ὑπὲρ δὲν ἀκούσῃ,
οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος δὲ τοῦ τυράννου τῆς ἀκρόασιν,
ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀνδρώνα, οὐ τὰ βασίλεια,
"οὐ τέθηκεν," εἶπεν, "ὁ πολεμιώτατος σου Κλή-
µῆς, ὡς σὺ οἶει, ἀλλ' ἔστων οὐ ἕγω οἶδα, καὶ
ξυντάττει εαυτὸν ἐπὶ σέ." μέγα δ' αὐτοῦ βοη-
σαντος περὶ δὲν ἢκουσε, τεταραγμένῳ προσπεσών
ὁ Στέφανος, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τῆς ἐκευσαμένης χειρὸς
ἀναστάσας, διήκε τοῦ µηροῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸν αὐτίκα
θάνατον οὐ καρίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ
ἀκαίρον. ό δ' ἐρρωµένος µὲν καὶ ἄλλως τὸ σῶµα,
γεγονὼς δὲ περὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐτη
ξυνεπλάκη τρωθείς, καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Στέφανον
ἐπέκειτο, τοὺς ὀφθαλµοὺς ὀρύττων καὶ τὰς παρειάς
ξυντρίβων πυθµένι χρυσῆς κύλλος αὐτοῦ κειµένης
περὶ τὰ ἱερά, ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄρωγὸν.
συνέντευς οὖν οἱ δορυφόροι κακῶς πράττοντος
ἐσήλθον ἄθροι, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν
 λιποθυμοῦντα ἡδη.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI

Ταῦτ' ἐπράπτετο µὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἤφεσον, ἐσώρατο
δ' Ἀπολλωνίῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφέσον. διαλεγόµενος
390
against his left fore-arm, and carrying his hand in CHAP. 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. was a spectator of it in Ephesus. For about midday XXVI

391
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVI γὰρ περὶ τὰ τῶν ξυστῶν ἀληθεία κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγένετο, πρῶτον μὲν ὑφήκε τῆς φωνῆς, οἴον δεῖσας, εἰτ' ἐλληπέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἔαυτον δύναμιν ἠρμήνευσεν ἵσα τοῖς μεταξὺ λόγων διορῶσι τι ἔτερον, εἰτὰ ἐσιώπησεν, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν λόγων ἐκπεσόντες, βλέψας τε δεινὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ προβὰς τρία ἢ τέταρτα τῶν βημάτων, "παῖε τὸν τύραννον, παῖε," ἐβόα, οὐχ ὡσπερ ἐκ κατόπτρου τινὸς ἑξώλου ἀληθείας ἐλκών, ἀλλ' οὗτὰ ὅρῶν καὶ ξυλλαμβάνειν δοκῶν τὰ δρώμενα. ἐκπεπληγμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου, παρῆν γὰρ διαλεγομένης πάσα, ἐπισχὼν ὅσον οἱ διορῶτες, ἔστ' ἄν γενηταί τι τῶν ἀμφιβόλων τέλος, "θαρρεῖτε," εἶπεν, "ὅ άνδρες, ο γὰρ τύραννος ἀπεσφακται τήμερον. τί λέγω τήμερον; ἀρτι, νη τὴν Ἀθηναῖ, ἀρτι, περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ῥημάτων, οἷς ἐπεσιώπησα." μανίαν δὲ ταῦθ' ἐγουμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐφέσου, καὶ βουλομένων μὲν ἀληθεύειν αὐτὸν, δεδιότων δὲ τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κίνδυνον, "οὐθαυμάζω" ἔφη, "τῶν μῆτω προσδεχομένων τὸν λόγον, ὅν μηδ' ἢ Ῥώμη γυνώσκει πάσα· ἀλλ' ἴδου γυνώσκει, διαφορὰ γάρ, καὶ πιστεύουσι μὲν ἤδη μύριοι, πηδῶσι δ' ὑφ' ἠδονής δις τόσοι καὶ διπλάσιοι τούτων καὶ τετραπλάσιοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ 392.
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
captured 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVI

ήκεινθ δήμοι. ἀφέξεται τούτῳ τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ δεύρο, καὶ τὸ μὲν θύειν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβλήσθω ἐστὶν καὶ, ὃν ἀπαγγέλθησαν ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμὶ προσευχόμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν έίδον."  

CAP. XXVII

'Ετείς ἀπιστουμένων τούτων, ἦλθον οἱ τῶν εὐαγγελισμών δρόμοι, μάρτυρες τῆς σοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τυράννου σφαγή, καὶ ἡ τοῦτο ἔνεγκουσα ἡμέρα, καὶ ἡ μεσημβρία, καὶ οἱ κτείνοντες, πρὸς οὓς ἡ παρακέλευσις, οὕτως εἶχεν, ὡς οἱ θεοὶ τούτων ἔκαστα διαλεγομένῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνέφαινον.

Τριάκοντα δ' ἡμέραις μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Νεροῦα τὴν μὲν ἄρχην ἄδη τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔχειν θεῶν τε βουλαίς κάκεινου, κατασχεῖν δ' ἀν αὐτὴν ῥᾶν, εἰ γύμβουλος αὐτῷ ἔλθοι, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐκεῖνῳ γράφει πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀίνιγμα· "ἐξυπερομέθα, ὁ βασιλεὺς, χρόνον ἀλλήλους πλείστος, δὲν μὴ ἡμεῖς ἔτερον, μὴ ἄλλος ἡμῶν ἄρξειν," συνεἰς ἵσως εάντοι τε, ὡς μετ' οὖ πολὺ μεταστη- 

σομένου ἀνδρώτων, Νεροῦα τε, ὡς χρόνον βραχῦν ἄρξοντος, ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ καὶ μῆνας τέταρτας 

τὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προβῆσι σωφρονεστάτῳ 

dόξαντε.  

394
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.
CAP. XXVIII

"Ἅνε δὲ μὴ ἀμελῶν φαίνοιτο φίλου τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀρχοντος, ξυνέθηκε μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ξύμβουλον τῶν ἀρχικῶν, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν, "σοῦ" ἔφη, "δεῦται ταῦτα, τὰ γὰρ ἀπόρρητα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς γέγραπται μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἔστη δ' οία ἢ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λέγεσθαι ἢ διὰ σοῦ." καὶ ὦψε ὁ Δάμις ξυνεῖναι φησι τῆς τέχνης, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστολὴν ἀριστὰ τὰ αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ξυγγεγράφθαι, πεμφθήναι δ' ἀν καὶ δι' ἐτέρου. τὸς οὖν ἡ τέχνη τοῦ ἀνδρός; πάντα τὸν χρόνον, δὲν ἔβιω, λέγεται θαμὰ ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι, "λάθε βιώσας, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύνασαι, λάθε ἀποβιώσας." ἀπάγων οὖν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Δάμιν, ἦν μὴ ὑπὸ μάρτυρος καταλύοι, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐσκήψατο καὶ τὸ ἀναφοιτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ρώμην. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ παθεῖν τι ἀπιῶν αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὔτε εἰδὼς τὰ μέλλοντα, τὸν δ' εὐ εἰδότα μηδὲν μὲν οἱ εἰπεῖν, ὁσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ μηκὲν ἀλλήλους ὕψομεν, τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιεῖναι τοῦ πεπείθησα, ὅτι ἅλε ἔσται, παρεγγυῆσαι δὲ ὧδε: "ὦ Δάμι, κἂν 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."
Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Ἀπολλώνιου τὸν Τυανέα Δάμιδι τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένα ἐς τόνδε τὸν λόγον τελευτᾷ, περὶ γὰρ τρόπου, καθὼς ἐτελεύτα, εἰγε ἐτελεύτα, πλείους μὲν λόγου, Δάμιδι δὲ οὐδεὶς εἰρηται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο χρῆ παραλειπέσθαι, δεὶ γὰρ ποὺ τὸν λόγον ἔχεις τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πέρας. οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἡλικίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰρηται οὐδὲν τῷ Δάμιδι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν όγδοοις, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑνένθες κοντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πρόσω τῶν ἐκατόν ἐλθεῖν, ἀκέραιος ὅν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄρτιος, νεότητος δὲ ήδών. ἔστι γὰρ τοῖς ὥρα καὶ περὶ ῥυτίσιν, ἡ μάλιστα περὶ ἐκείνων ἠμθησεν, ὡς εἰκόνες τε ἤθλουσι τάνδρος ἐν τῷ Τυανάδε ἱερῷ καὶ λόγοι μᾶλλον ὑμνοῦντες τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον γῆρας ἢ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ποτὲ νεότητα.

Τελευτήσαι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν �ятερο-πευκόμενον ὑπὸ δυνῶν δμωὰν, τεθνάναι γὰρ ἤδη οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι, περὶ δὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἴπον, ἐλευθερώ-σαντα δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν, αἰτίαν πρὸς τῆς ἑτέρας ἐχειν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἥξιστο, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον, "καὶ δουλεύσαι," φάναι, "προσήκεισ σὲ αὐτῇ, τοῦτο γὰρ σοι ἡγαθοῦ ἄρξει." τελευτήσαντος οὖν ἡ μὲν 398
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.

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

399
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXX

δουλεύειν ἑκείνη, ἡ δ' ἐκ μικρᾶς αἰτίας ἀποδόσθαι αὐτὴν κατήλω, παρ’ οὗ πρίασθαι τις οὐδ’ εὐπρεπὴς οὐσαν, ἀλλ’ ἔρων οὗτος καὶ χρηματιστῆς ἰκανὸς ὁν, γυναῖκα τε ἀνευπείν καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγγράψαι.

Οἱ δ’ ἐν Λίνδῳ τελευτήσαι αὐτὸν, παρελθόντα ἔστι οἱ ἱεροὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἐσω ἀφανισθέντα: οἱ δ’ ἐν Κρήτῃ φασὶ θαυμασιώτερον ἢ οἱ ἐν Λίνδῳ: διατρίβειν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τῶν Ἀπολλώνιον μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦτον θαυμαζόμενον, ἀφικέσθαι δ’ ἐστὶ το ιερὸν τῆς Δικτύνης ἀωρ. φυλακῇ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ κυνῶν ἐπιτετακταί, φρουροὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ πλούτου, καὶ ἀξιούσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Κρῆτες μήτε τῶν ἁρκτων μήτε τῶν ὁδὸν ἁγρίων λείπεσθαι, οἱ δ’ οὐθ’ ἐλάκτειν ἦκοντα σαίνειν τε αὐτὸν προσίσταντες, ὡς γιὰδὲ τους ἄγαν ἐθάδας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προϊστάμενοι ἅξιολαβόντες αὐτὸν ὁσ γόνητα καὶ ληστήν δήσαι, μελιγμα τοῖς κυσὶ προβεβλῆσθαί τι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φάσκοντες: ὁ δ’ ἀμὴ μέσας νύκτας ἐαυτὸν λῦσαι, κάλεσας δὲ τοὺς ἡσαντας, ὡς μὴ λάθου, δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύρας, αἱ δ᾽ ἀνεπτασθησαν, παρελθόντος δὲ ἐσὼ τὰς μὲν θύρας ξυνελθεῖν, ὡσπερ ἐκέκλειντο, βοὴν δὲ ἄδουσῶν παρθένων ἐκπεσεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἀσμα ἦν "στείχε γῆς, στείχε ἐστι δύμανον, στείχε." οἶον ἢθι ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἂνω.

400
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

this one continued to be the slave of the other, who 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 entered the temple of Athene and disappeared within it. Others again say that he died in 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 temple is guarded by dogs, whose duty it is to watch over the wealth deposited in it, and the Cretans 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."
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXXI

And even after his death he continued to preach that the soul is immortal; but although he taught 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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXI

ἐπακροώμενος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ῥαψφεῖ διανύσει θαυμάσια;" "πού δ’ οὗτος;" ἔφασαν, "όση ἡμῖν γε οὐδαμοῦ φαύνεται, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἂν τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν." καὶ τὸ μειράκιον, "ἐοικεν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ διαλεξόμενος ἦκειν ὑπὲρ δόν μὴ ἐπίστευν ἀκούετ' οὖν, οἷα τῷ λόγῳ ἐπιθειάζει:

ἀθάνατος ψυχῆ καὶ χρῆμα σῶν, ἀλλὰ προνοίας, ἢ μετὰ σώμα μαραθθέν, ἄτ' ἐκ δεσμῶν θὸς ἵππος,

ῥηδώς προθοροῦσα κεράννυται ἥρει κούφῳ,

dείνην καὶ πολύτλητον ἀποστέρξασα λατρείην,

ζοί δὲ τί τῶν ὠφελός, ὃ ποτ' οὐκέτ' ἐών τότε δόξεις;

ἡ τί μετὰ ζωοῦσιν ἔων περὶ τῶνδε ματεύεις;"

καὶ σαφῆς οὗτος Ἀπολλωνίου τρίπτων ἔστηκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπορρήτων, ἵν' εὐθυμοὶ τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν φύσιν εἰδότες, οἱ τάττουσι Μοῖραι,

πορευοίμεθα. τάφῳ μὲν οὖν ἡ ψευδοταφίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμοῦ προστυχών οίδα, καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὑπόσῃ ἐστίν, ἐπελθὼν πλείστην, λόγοις δὲ πανταχοῦ δαιμονίως, καὶ ιερὰ Τύνάδε βασιλεῖοις ἐκπεποιημένα τέλεσιν; οὖδὲ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἀπηξίουν αὐτῶν δόν αὐτοὶ ἥξιοῦντο.

404
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

α'.—Εὐφράτη.

'Εμοὶ πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἐστὶ φιλία, πρὸς μέντοι
σοφιστὰς ἢ γραμματιστὰς ἢ τι τοιοῦτο γένος
ἐτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων, οὕτε νῦν ἐστὶ
φιλία, μήτε ύστερον ποτε γένοιτο. τάδε μὲν οὖν
οὐ πρὸς σὲ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων εἰς,
ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς σὲ· θεράπευε σου τὰ
πάθη, καὶ πειρώ φιλόσοφος εἶναι, καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν
tοῖς δυτῶς
φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ σοι καὶ γῆρας ἢδη πλησίον
καὶ θάνατος.

β'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

'H ἀρετὴ φύσει κτήσει χρήσει, δι' ἥν ἔκασ-
tον ἀν εἰ ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον.
sκεπτέον, εἰ τί σοι τούτων ἐστίν, ἢ σοφιστέας
παυστέον λοιπὸν, ἢ προκά γε χρηστέον αὐτῇ
πρὸς τοὺς ἑντυγχάνοντας, ἐπείπερ ἢδη σοι καὶ τὰ
Μεγαβύζου.

408
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 acceptation. 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.

409
Γ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

'Επίλθεις ἐθνη τὰ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Συρίας ἀρξάμενος, ἐπιδεικνύσας σεαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λεγομέναις. δυπλή δὲ σοι τότε καὶ πῶγον λευκὸς καὶ μέγας, πλέον δὲ οὐδέν. εἶτα πῶς διὰ θαλάττης νῦν ὑποστρέφεις ἀγων φορτίδα μεστὴν ἄργυριον, χρυσίον, σκευῶν παντοδαπῶν, ἐσθήτων ποικίλων, κόσμου τοῦ λοιποῦ, τύφου καὶ ἀλαξονείας καὶ κακοδαμονίας; τὸς ὁ φόρτος καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς καινῆς ἐμπορίας; Ζήνων τραγημάτων ἢν ἐμπορος.

δ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

'Ολίγων δεῖ σοι τοῖς παισίν, εἰ φιλοσόφου παιδεῖς εἶησαν. ἔδει μὲν οὖν μηδὲ φροντίζαι πλεῖώ σοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἴκανῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ ἀδοξίας τινός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄπαξ ἐγένετο, δεύτερον δὲν εἰη μεγάλη σπουδὴ νεῖμαι σε τισὶ ξύλα τῶν ὄντων. ἔχεις δὲ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους.

ε'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων ὁ περὶ ἡδονῆς οὐδενὸς ἔτι συννηγόρου δεῖται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου καὶ τῆς ἑκείνου διατριβῆς, πέφυγε γὰρ ὅν καὶ κατὰ τὴν στοὰν ἀληθέστατος. εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγον 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

tὰς Χρυσίππου σχολὰς καὶ δόγματα, γέγραπται
tι καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασιν. Εὐφράτης
ἐλαβε καὶ πάλιν ἔλαβεν. 'Επίκουρος δὲ οὐκ ἀν
ἔλαβεν.

ζ.―τ ὁ ἂν τ ὕ.

Ἡρόμην πλουσίους τινάς, εἰ πικραίνονται. τί
δ' οὐ μέλλομεν; ἐφασαν, ήρόμην οὖν καὶ τὴν
αἰτίαν τῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ ἄτιῶτο τὸν πλούτον.
σὺ δ', ὃ τάλαν, νεόπλουτος.

ζ.―τ ὁ ἂν τ ὕ.

'Εὰν δι τάχος εἰς Αἰγὰς ἄφικη καὶ κενώσης
ἐκεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ἵτέον ἐστὶ σοι πάλιν ὅπι τάχος εἰς
tὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ κολακευτέον ὅμως νοσοῦντας,
γέροντας, γραῦς, ὦρφανούς, πλουσίους, θρυπτομέν-
ους, Μίδας, Γέτας. πάντα φασὶ δεῖν τὸν ἐμποροῦν
κάλων σείειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰ ἡ τὴν ἀλώνιν τρυπᾶν ἐν
Θέμιδος οἴκῳ.

η.―τ ὁ ἂν τ ὕ.

Ἀρά τι καὶ σὺ γράψαιο ἂν; εἰ γὰρ οὕτω
γένοιο γενναίος. καὶ ἔχοις δ' ἀν εἰπεῖν τὰ συνήθῃ
tαῦτα καὶ πρόχειρα: "λουτρὸν ἀπαν Ἀπολ-
λόωνος παραιτεῖται." καὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὐδέποτε

412
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS


θ’.—Δίωνι.

Αὐλοῖς καὶ λύρᾳ κρεῖττὸν ἔστι τέρπειν ἡ λόγῳ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἠδονῆς ὄργανα καὶ μουσικῆς τοινομα τῇ τέχνῃ, λόγος δὲ τὰ ληθῆς εὑρίσκει. τοῦτό σοι 414
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

πρακτέον, τούτο σοι ῥητέον, ἢν καὶ περὶ τούτου φιλοσοφῆς.

ι’.—τ ὕ τ ὕ.

Ζητοῦσι τινες τὴν αἰτίαν, δι’ ἣν πέπαυμαι διαλεγόμενος ἐν πολλοῖς. εἰδέτωσαν οὖν, οἷς ἂν εἰδέναι μέλη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀδύνατος ὑφελήσαι λόγος ἀπασ, ὅσ ἄν εἰς ὁν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἐνα λέγηται. ὁ τοῦν ἄλλως διαλεγόμενος δόξης ἦττων ὁν διαλέγοιτ’ ἂν.

ια’.—Καί σα ρέων προβούλοις.

Πρῶτον εἰς πάντα θεῶν ἀνθρωποι δέονται καὶ περὶ παντός, ἐπειτα πόλεων, τιμητέον γὰρ δεύτερον πόλεις μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ πόλεως προκρυτέουν παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι: εἰ δὲ μὴ πόλις μόνον εἰη, ἄλλα καὶ μεγίστη τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἀρίστη τε τῶν αὐτόθι μεγέθει καὶ νόμωι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ προγόνων κατὰ πόλεμον ἄρεταις, ἐτι τε ἤθεσι κατ’ εἰρήνην, καθάπερ ἡ ύμετέρα πόλις, μάλιστα πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐμοὶ τε θαυμαστέα τιμητέα τε καὶ ἄλλω δὲ όμοίως παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι: τούτο μὲν οὖν ἐκ λόγου κοινοῦ ¹ τὸ προκρικὸν ἂν εἰη το 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 προκρικὸν, ἂν ἢ with Olearius and render “for preferring your city, if the object under comparison were an ordinary city.”

416
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

argument finds out the truth; and at this you should aim in you 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

άρχη πόλις ποτὲ τῆς πρὸς ἔνα τιμῆς ἄνδρα, πόλις οὖσα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐαυτῆς ξένων καὶ ἀποθείν, τὸ ἦ τοῦτον τοῦ ἄνδρος πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς τίσιν ἄξιον εἰς; τοῦτο μόνον ἱσως, εἰ θεοφίλης τις ὁν τύχοι διά τινα φύσεως ἐπιτηδειότητα, τὸ εὐχερθοίς ἑπείρρηθα τῇ πόλει τὰ ἀγαθὰ τυχάνειν τῇ εὐχής, ὁπερ αὐτῷ διατελέσαμι κἀγὼ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἐπειπερ ἠσθην ἢθεσαν Ἐλληνικοῖς φαίνουσι τὸ ἱδιον ἀγαθὸν καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κοινῶν. Ὅπολωνίδην δὲ τὸν Ἀφροδίσιον νεανίαν ἐρρωμενεπορκάτης φύσεως ἄξιας τε τοῦ ὑμετέρου ὄνοματος, πειράσομαι χρήσιμον ὑμῖν παρασκευάζειν εἰς ἑκαστά μετὰ καὶ τύχης τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

ιβ'.—Σελενκέων τοῖς προβούλοισιν.

Πόλις, ἤτις ἂν οὐτώ πρὸς τεθεοῦς ἐχη καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἅξιούς ἀποδοχῆς, αὑτή τε εὐδαιμον καὶ εἰς ἀρετῆς ὄφελησε τοὺς μαρτυρηθέντας. ἀρκεσθαι μὲν οὖν χάριτος οὐ δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀμοιβὴν δὲ οὐ ράδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ὁμοίων εὐρεῖν ἄδυνατον, τὸ γάρ που τῇ τάξει δεύτερον οὐδέτερο τῇ φύσει πρώτον. Ὡστε θεδν ἀνάγκη παρακαλεῖν ύπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμείβασθαι τοὺς οὐ τῇ δυνάμει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις κρείττους γενομένους, ἀνθρώπων γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὰ γε τηληκαύτα δυνατός· καὶ τὸ ἐθελήσαι δὲ ἂν με παρ’ ὑμῖν 418
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

gενέσθαι τῆς ύμῶν ἃν εἰς χάριτος καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔγωγ ἃν εὐξαίμην παρ' ύμῶν καὶ γε-
γεννήσθαι. οἱ πρέσβεις ύμῶν τιμιώτεροι, διότι
cαὶ φίλοι, Ἰερώνυμος καὶ Ζήνων.

υ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Στράτων μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οἶχεται, πᾶν ὅσον
ἡν αὐτῷ θυτὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπτὼν. χρή δὲ τοὺς
ἐτι κολαξομένους ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε, ξῆν ἀλλως λεγο-
μένους, ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν εἰκείου πραγμάτων ἐπιμέ-
λειαν. ἀλλοις μὲν οὖν ἀλλο τι ἔργον δικαίως
gένοιτο νῦν ἢ καὶ ύστερον, οἷς μὲν ὡς οἰκείοις, οἷς
δ' ὃς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνδράσι φίλοις οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρω
γνωσθησομένοις χρόνῳ, τούτων εἰπέρ ἢν τῶν
ὄνομάτων ἡλιθείς τι καὶ πρόσθεν. ἐγὼ μέντοι
καὶ ταύτῃ βουλόμενος ἐξαιρέτως ύμέτερος εἰναι,
tὸν ἐκ Σελευκίδος υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενόμενον Ἄλεξαν-
δρον αὐτὸς ἀναθρέψω, καὶ μεταδῶσω παιδείας τῆς
ἐμῆς. πάντως δ' ἂν μετέδωκα καὶ χρημάτων ὁ
τὰ μείζονα δοὺς, εἰπέρ ἐχειν ἢν ἄξιον.

ιδ'.—Εὐφράτη.

Πυθαγόρας μον πολλοὶ πολλάκις, τίνος ἐνε-
κεν οὐ μετεπέμφθην εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἢ οὐ μεταπεμφ-
θείς ἀφικόμην, ὡστερ σὺ καὶ εἰ τις ἐτέρος. ἐγὼ
δὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου μὲν οὖκ ἀποκρινοῦμαι, μὴ
420
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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 Zenoñ.

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
καὶ δόξω τις ν εἰδέναι τὴν αὐτίαν, οὓς εἰδέναι μοι μέλοιν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τὶ ἀν καὶ δεοίμην ἐτερον λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν μετεπέμφθην ἡ ἀφικόμην; ἔρρωσο.

ιε'.—τ ὃ αυτ ὃ.

Τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀδέσποτον εἶναι Πλάτων ἔφησεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ τιμᾶ τοῦτο τις καὶ γέγηθεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμιος γίνεται χρημάτων, πολλὸν δεσ-πότας ἐαυτοῦ ποιεῖ.

ις'.—τ ὃ αυτ ὃ.

Μάγους οἷς δεῖν ὁνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπὸ Πυθαγό-ρου φιλοσόφους, ὥδε που καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως. εἰγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος οἶμαι δεῖν ὁνομά-ζεσθαι μάγους, εἰ μέλλουσιν εἶναι θείοι τε καὶ δίκαιοι.

ιτ'.—τ ὃ αυτ ὃ.

Μάγους ὁνομάζουσι τοὺς θείους οἱ Πέρσαι. μᾶγος οὖν ὁ θεραπευτής τῶν θεῶν ἢ ὁ τὴν φύσιν θείος, σὺ δοὺ οὐ μᾶγος, ἀλλὰ ἄθεος.

ιφ'.—τ ὃ αυτ ὃ.

Ἡράκλειτος ὁ φυσικὸς ἀλογον εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἔφησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλθεσις, ὡσπερ ἐστὶν ἄλθεσις, ἐγκαλυπτεός ἐκαστὸς ὁ ματαιὸς ἐν δόξῃ γενόμενος.

422
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ιθ'.—Σκοπελιανοὶ σοφιστή.

Πέντε εἰς σύμπαντες οἱ τοῦ λόγου χαρακτήρες, ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ ἱστορικός, ὁ δικαίων ὁ ἐπιστολικός, ὁ ὑπομνηματικός. Ἐγκειμένων δὴ τῶν γενικῶν χαρακτήρων, τῇ τάξει πάλιν γίνεται πρῶτος μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου δύναμιν ἢ φύσιν ἰδίον ὁ, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ ἐν μιμήσει τοῦ ἀρίστου, τῶν ἐκ φύσεως εἰ τις ἐνδεής εἴη. τὸ δὲ ἀριστον δυσεύρετον τε καὶ δυσεπίκριτον, ὡστε οἰκειότερον ἑκάστῳ χαρακτήρ ὁ ἰδίος, ἐπείπερ καὶ βεβαιότερος.

κ'.—Δομετιανὸ.

Εἰ σοι δύναμις ἔστιν, ὡσπερ ἔστιν, καὶ φρόνησιν ἂν εἰη σοι κτήτεον καὶ γάρ εἰ φρόνησις ἢν, δύναμις δὲ ἄπην, ὁμοίως ἔδει σοι δυνάμεως. δεῖται γάρ ἂει τὸ ἐτέρου τοῦ ἑτέρου, ὡσπερ ὄψις φωτὸς καὶ φῶς ὅψεως.

κα'.—τὸ ἀντι φ.

Βαρβάρων ἀφεκτέον καὶ οὐκ ἀρκτέον αὐτῶν. οὐ γάρ θέμις αὐτοῦς βαρβάρους ὄντας εὗ πᾶσχειν.

κβ'.—Δεσβωνακτὶ.

Δεῖ πένεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἄνδρα, πλούτειν δὲ ὡς ἀνθρώπων.

424
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

κυ'.—Κρίτωνι.

Τὸ θειότατον Πυθαγόρας ἰατρικὴν ἐφασκεν. εἰ δὲ ἰατρικὴ τὸ θειότατον, καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιμελητέων μετὰ σώματος, ἢ τὸ ξόφων οὐκ ἀν ὑγιαῖνοι τῷ κρεῖττονι νοσοῦν.

κδ'.—Ἐλλανοδίκαις καὶ Ἡλείοις.

Ἄξιούτε με τῷ ἀγώνι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων παραγενόθαι καὶ διὰ τούτου ἐπέμψατε πρέσβεις. ἐγὼ δὲ παρεγενόμην ἀν ἐπὶ σωμάτων θεῶν καὶ ἀμιλλαν, εἰ μὴ τὸν μείζονα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄγωνα καταλείψειν ἐμελλὼν.

κε'.—Πελοποννησίοις.

Ὀλύμπια τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐγένεσθε πολέμιοι, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ οὐ φίλοι.

κς'.—τοῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεηκόροις.

Θεοὶ θυσιόων οὐ δέονται. τὶ οὖν ἂν τις πρᾶττων χαρίζοιτο αὐτοῖς; φρόνησιν, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, κτωμενος, ἀνθρώπων τε τοὺς ἄξιον εἰς δύναμιν εἰ ποιῶν. ταῦτα φίλα θεοῖς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀθέων.

426
XXI.

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.

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.

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.

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.
κε'.—τοίς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερεύσιν.

Ἀἵματι βωμοῦς μιανουσιν ἱερεῖς. ἐίτα θαυμάζουσι τινες, πόθεν αἱ πόλεις ἀτυχοῦσιν, ὅταν μεγάλα δυσθετήσωσιν. Ὡ τῆς ἀμαθίας. Ἡράκλειτος ἦν σοφός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκείνος Ἕφεσίων ἔπεισε μὴ πηλῷ πηλῶν καθαλρεσθαι.

κη'.—βασίλει ἡ Σκυθῶν.

Ζάμολξις ἀνὴρ ἀγάθος ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, εἴ γε μαθητὴς Πυθαγόρου ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ῥωμαίος, ἐκὼν ἄν ἐγένετο φίλος. εἴ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οἰεὶ δεῖν ἀγώνα καὶ πόνον ἐχειν, ἀκοὺς φιλόσοφος, τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐλεύθερος.

κθ'.—ν ο μοθέτη.

Αἱ ἑορταὶ νόσουν αἰτίας, τὸν μὲν γὰρ πόνον ἀνιᾶσι, τὸ ἐμπίπλασθαι δὲ αὐξουσιν.

χ'.—ταμία ἔτρωμαίων.

'Αρχὴν ἀρχεῖε πρῶτην. εἴ μὲν οὖν ἄρχειν ἐπίστασθε, διὰ τι τὸ παρ' ὑμᾶς χεῖρον ἑαυτῶν ἂν πόλεις ἔχουσιν; εἴ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθε, μαθεῖν ἔδει πρῶτον, εἴτα ἀρχεῖν.
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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

λα'.—δι οικηταίς Ἄσιας.

Τι ὁφελος ἀγρίων δένδρων φυομένων ἐπὶ βλάβη
toὺς κλάδους κόπτειν, εάν δὲ τὰς ρίζας;

λβ'.—Ἐφεσίων γραμματεύσιν.

Δίθων ἐν πόλει καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων καὶ περι-
pάτων καὶ θεάτρων οὐδὲν ὁφελος, εἰ μὴ νοὺς
ἐνείη καὶ νόμος. νοὺς δὲ καὶ νόμος περὶ τούτων
ἐστίν, οὐ ταύτα.

λγ'.—Μιλησίοις.

Οἱ παῖδες ύμῶν πατέρων δέονται, οἱ νέοι
γερόντων, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἀνδρεὶς ἄρχοντων,
oὶ ἄρχοντες νόμων, οἱ νόμοι φιλοσόφων, οἱ φιλό-
σοφοὶ θεῶν, οἱ θεοὶ πίστεως: προγόνων ἀγαθῶν
ἐστε, τὰ παρόντα μυστεῖτε.

λδ'.—τοῖς ἐν Μουσείῳ σοφοῖς.

Ἐγενόμην ἐν "Ἀργεί καὶ Φωκίδι καὶ Δοκρίδι καὶ
ἐν Σικυώνι καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις, καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς
ἐμπροσθεν χρόνωις ἐπαυσάμην ἐκεῖ. τί οὖν, εἰ
tις ἔροιτο, τὸ αἰτιον; ἐγὼ φράσαιμ ἂν ύμῖν τε
καὶ Μοῦσαι: ἐβαρβαρώθην οὐ χρόνος ὅν ἂφ'
Ἐλλάδος, ἀλλὰ χρόνος ὃν ἐν Ἕλλαδι.

430
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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 sojournings outside Hellas," but by long sojournings in her midst.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

λε’.—Εστιαίφ.

Αρετή καὶ χρήματα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιώτατα, μειώμενον γὰρ τὸ ἔτερον αὐξεῖ τὸ ἔτερον, αὐξανόμενον δὲ μειοὶ. πῶς οὖν δυνατὸν ἀμφότερα περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι; πλὴν εἰ μή τῷ τῶν ἀνοίητων λόγῳ, παρ’ οἷς καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀρετή. μὴ δὴ τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν ἀναισθητεῖν ἐπίτρεπτε τοῖς αὐτόθι, μηδὲ ἐὰν πλούσιοι ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφους. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχροτόν ἀποδημεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ χρήματα δοκεῖν, ἐνίων, ἵνα μνήμην ἕαυτῶν καταλείπωσι, μηδὲ ἀρετὴν ἀσπασμένων.

λς’.—Κορινθίφ. Βάσσοφ.

Ἡν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαννόμενος ἀνθρώπος. οὗτος ἦλθε ποτε ξιφήρης ἐπὶ θύρας τὰς ἐμᾶς, ὑπὸ σοῦ σταλεῖς τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀγωνισθέντος τῶν Ἰσθμίων. τοῦ φώνου δ’ ἦν μισθὸς δεδομένος ἢ τῆς γυναῖκός σου κοινωνία, καί, μιαρὸς Βάσσε, πολλάκις εὐεργέτης ἐγενόμην σου.

λς’.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ πυθάνοιτο Κορινθίων τις, πῶς ὁ Βάσσον πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἔρουσιν ἀπαντεῖς οἱ ἀστικοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι· φαρμάκφ. τίνος δόντος; ἔρουσι καὶ οἱ ὄμοροι· τοῦ φιλοσόφου. καὶ ὁ μιαρὸς τῷ πτώματι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπόμενος ἐκλαίειν.

432
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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

λη'.—τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσι ν.

'Αρετής μὲν ύμῶν πρωτεῖον οὐκ ἔστι, πολὺς γὰρ ἀρετής; εἰ δὲ κακίας φέρεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, πάντες ύψ' ἐν φέρεσθε. τίνες τούτο φήσουσι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδεσι; οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ τῶν αὐτόθι φίλος, ὥστ' ἀρνεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὐνοιαν.

λθ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Αἰσχρὰ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ταγμάτων ύμῶν. Κόδδαροι, Ξυρισίταυροι. ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις τίθεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ εὐνυχεῖτε γίνεσθαι τούτων ἄξιοι.

μ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Κόδδαροι, καὶ Ξυρισίταυροι. Τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας ύμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας πῶς ἀν προσαγορεύοιτε; τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ταγμάτων εἰσὶ καὶ αὐταὶ, καὶ θρασύτεραι.

μα'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Οὐδὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ύμῶν εὐνοεῖν εἰκός, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οἰκέται, εἴθ', ὅτι τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων οἱ πλείστοι. κάκεινοι γὰρ ὀμοίως ύμῶν ἀπὸ γένους.

434
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

μβ'.—Πλατωνίκοις.

'Εάν τις 'Απολλωνίῳ χρήματα διδῷ, καὶ οὐ
didous axios vnomizetai, laistetai deómenos. φιλo-
sophías de miosthôn ou láystetai, kai déntai.

μγ'.—τοὶς οἰησισόφοις.

Εἰ λέγει τις εἰναι γνώριμος ἔμος, λεγέτω καὶ
ménèin éndou, ἀπέχεσθαι λουτροῦ παντός, ἥπα μὴ
kteinein, μηδὲ ἕδειν σάρκας, ἀπάθης εἰναι φθόνον
kakophthias mísous diaboleis exebras, tou tōn
éleuthéron onomákeitai gévous, ἡ φυλακτέος πλά-
smatas féroun trópon te kai ἥθους kai logon
pseudón allotrion bíon pístin. ἔρρωσθε.

μδ'.—Εστιαίφι τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

Τῇ θαυμαστόν, εἰ με τῶν ἄλλων ἄνθρωπων
isódheon ἡγουμένων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θεόν, μόνη μέχρι
nún ἡ πατρὶς ἄγνοεί, δι' ἄν ἐξαιρέτως ἐσπούδασα
lambropos eînai; touti gár ou'di ōmōn tois ἀδελφοῖς,
ws órdō, gégone faneρóν, ὡς εἰμι ἀμείνων polllou
logous te kai ἥθος. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἀν μου κατεγινώ-
skete χαλεπῆν κατάγνωσιν ὡς ὑπομνήσεως τῆς
436
EPistles of Apollonius

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
FLAVIUS PHilostratus

ἀρχὴν δεομένων, περὶ ὧν μόνων οὐδὲ τῶν ἀμαθε-
στάτων ἃν τις περιμείνειε διδαχθῆναι; λέγω δὲ
πατρίδος τε καὶ ἄδελφων. Καίτοι οὐ λέγηθεν
/umd, ὡς καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ πᾶσαν τε γῆν πατρίδα
νομίζειν, καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἄδελφους καὶ
φίλους, ὡς ἀν γένος μὲν ὄντας θεοῦ, μᾶς δὲ
φύσεως, κοινωνίας δι' οὕσης λόγου τε παντὶ καὶ
πᾶσι καὶ παθῶν τῆς αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ γε καὶ ὅπως ἂν
τις τοῦ ἐγενόμενος, εἴτε βάρβαρος, εἴτε καὶ
'Ελλην, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀνθρώπος. ἄλλ' ἔστι γὰρ
πως τὸ συγγενὲς ἀκατασφίστων καὶ πᾶν ἀνα-
κλητικὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ οίκειον. οὕτως ὁ Ὁμηρικός
Ὀδυσσεύς, ὃς φασίν, οὐδὲ ἄθανασίαν ὑπὸ θεᾶς
διδομένην Ἰθακῆς προύτιμησεν. ὁρῶ δ' ἐγγὺς τὸν
νόμον τόνδε καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ξώφων πεφοιτη-
κότα. οὐ γὰρ, ὅποσον πτηνόν, καλὶδών ἀπόκοιτον
ἵδιων, πάν τε βύθιον παρασύρεται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ
φέροντος, ἐπάνεισι δὲ μὴ ὑκηθέν, θηρία μὲν γὰρ
οὔτε λιμῶς οὔτε κόρος ἐπεισέν ἔξω φωλεών μεῖναι,
ἐνα τούτων ἡ φύσις ἤνεγκεν ἀνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα
σοφῶν λεγόμενον, ὦ κἂν πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ γή πᾶσα
παρέχῃ, μνήματα οὐκ ἔχει δεῖξαι τὰ πατέρων.

με'.—τ ὅ ἀ υ τ ὃ.

Εἰ τῶν ὄντων τὸ τιμιώτατον φιλοσοφία, πεπι-
στεύμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς ὑπο-
λαμβανόμεθα μισάδελφοι, καὶ ταῦτα δ' αἰτίαν
438
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ἀγεννὴ τε ἀμα καὶ ἀνελεύθερον. χρημάτων γὰρ δήποιν χάριν ἡ ὑποψία, τούτων δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπειρώμεθα καταφρονεῖν, ὡστε τοῦ μὴ γράφειν εὐλογώτερον ἂν εἰη πρόφασιν ἐτέραν ὑπονοεῖν. ἐφυλαττόμην γὰρ ἀληθῆ μὲν γράφων ἀλαξῶν δοκεῖν, ψευδὴ δὲ ταπεινὸς, ὡς ἐκάτερον ἐπίσης ἁναρὸν ἄδελφοῖς τε καὶ φίλοις ἂν εἰη· ἡμὶ μέντοι καὶ τούτο δηλῶ—συγχωροῖ γὰρ ἂν ἵσως τὸ δαιμόνιον—ὅτι συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐν 'Ρόδῳ φίλοις, μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λήγοντος ἔαρος.

µς.—Γρόδι ϕ.

'Ἡδικήσθαι φασιν Ἑστιαῖον ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ταῦτα φίλου γεγονότος, εἰ γε σὺ τινὸς φίλος. ὃρα δή, Γόρδιε, μὴ πείραιν λάβης ἄνδρος οὐ δοκοῦντος, ἀλλὰ ὄντος. ἀσπασαι τὸν νῦν 'Αριστοκλείδην, δυ εὐχόμαι μὴ παραπλησίον σοι γενέσθαι. καὶ σὺ δ' ἢθα νέος ἀμεμπτος.

µς.—Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

Προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπανεναι πεῖθομαι. τοῦτο γὰρ δή πρὸς ἔνα πόλει πρεπωδέστερον ἂν εἰη, εἰ ἐνεκα τιμῆς μεταπέμποιτο πολίτην ἑαυτῆς. καὶ δὴν 440
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ἀπεδήμησα δὲ χρόνον, ἀπεδήμησα περιποιῶν ύμων, εἰ καὶ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπεῖν, εὐκλείαν τε καὶ ὀνομα καὶ εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν πόλεων ἐπιφανῶν, ὦμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μείζονος ἐτι καὶ κρείττονος ὑμεῖς υπολήψεως αξίοι, τὸ γε ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξήρκει μόνον δυνάμεως τε καὶ σπουδῆς. ἔρρωσθε.

μη’.—Διστὶ μή.

'Επλανήθης οἴηθείς δεῖσθαι μέ τινος ἡ παρ’ αὐτοῦ σοῦ, πρὸς δὲν οὐδὲν ἦν μοί ποτε κοινὸν τι γεγονός, ἡ παρ’ ἄλλοι τινὸς ὀμοίον τε καὶ ὦμοίως. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀναλωθὲν εἰς τι τῶν σοι σωτηρίων πολύ τι. χαριεὶ δή μοι παθῶν εὑ δίχ’ ἀναλώματος, τηρήσω γάρ μου τὸ ἔθος μόνως οὕτως. ὅτι δὲ τούτον ἔχω τὸν τρόπον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν πρὸς ἀπαντάς μου τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ καὶ γὰρ λέγεις ὅσα καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἠξέστη μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, εὑ παθόντων μέν, ὡσάκις ἐδεχθήσαν τινος, ἀμοιβὴν δὲ αἰτηθέντων μηδεμίων. μὴ δὴ δυσχεράνης, εἰ δὲ ντόνως ἐπιτιμήθεις ὁ ἐμὸς οἰκέτης ύπερ τοῦ προσέσθαι τι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπεδώκεν εἴθυς ὃ ἔλαβε Λυσία τῷ φίλῳ σου, φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐπεὶ μηδένα ἤπιστατο τῶν 442
been away from your city, I have, although it may be presumptuous to say so, striven to win for you, by my sojournings 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

καταλελειμμένων σού παίδων. εἰ δὲ δύο λόγοι
περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγονται, λεχθήσονται δὲ καὶ ἐσύστερον,
tί θαυμαστόν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ περὶ παντὸς ἀκρον
δοκοῦντος καθ' ὁτιοῦν ἐναντίος λέγεσθαι λόγους.
οὕτως περὶ Πυθαγόρου, περὶ Ὄρφεως, περὶ Πλά-
tωνος, περὶ Σωκράτους σὺν ἐλέξθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἔγραφη τὰ ἐναντία, ὅπου γε μὴ τὰ ὁμοία καὶ
περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ δέχονται
τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ὡς ἀν ἔχοντες τι συγγενές, οἱ δὲ
φαύλοι τὸν ἐναντίον, καὶ ἔστι τοῦ τοιούτου γένους
καταγελάν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ χείρονος. τοσοῦτο μόνον
dίκαιον ὑπομνήσαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὸ νῦν, ὅτι περὶ
ἐμοῦ καὶ θεοὶς εἰρηται ὡς περὶ θείου ἄνδρος, οὐ
μόνον ἰδία τισὶ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσία.
ἐπαχθέσει λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πλεῖον ἢ μεῖζον.
ὑγιαίνειν εὐχομαι.

μθ'.—Φερονκιανφ.

Πάνυ τοῖς πεμφθεὶσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασιν
ἡσθην, πολλὴν γὰρ οἰκείότητα καὶ γένους ἀνά-
μνησιν εἰχε, καὶ πέπεισμαι δι' ἐπιθυμίας εἰναι
σοι τεασάσθαι μὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ θεαθήμαι. αὐτὸς
οὖν ἀφίξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὧτι τάχιστα, ὧδεν ἔχον
τῶν αὐτῶθι. συμμίξεις δε μοι πλησίον γενομένῳ
πρὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ
προσήκει σοι τούτο.

444
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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS


ν'.—Εὐφράτης.

'Εν γένει δαιμόνων καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Πυθαγόρας ἦν. σὺ δὲ ἔτι μοι δοκεῖς πορρωτάτως φιλοσοφίας εἶναι καὶ ἄληθινῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἡ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε κάκεινον κακῶς ἐλεγες, οὔτε τινὰς τῶν ἤτοιον ἀυτοῦ διετέλεις μισῶν. ἀλλο τί σοι νῦν πρακτέον ἂν εἰη φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ἡμβροτες, οὐδὲ ἔτυχες οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ Μενελάου Πάνδαρος ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄρκων συγχύσει.

να'.—τὸ ὅ αὐτὸ τῷ.

'Επιτιμῶσι σοί τινες, ὡς εἰληφότι χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂτ οποιον, εἰ μὴ φαίνοις φιλοσοφίας εἰληφέναι μισθόν καὶ τοσ- αυτάκις καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτων καὶ περί σοῦ πεπιστευκότων εἶναι σε φιλόσοφον.

νβ'.—τὸ ὅ αὐτὸ τῷ.

'Εάν τις ἀνδρὶ Πυθαγορεῖοι συγγένηται, τίνα παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεται καὶ ὀπόσα, φαίνει ἂν ἔγωγε νομοθετικὴν γεωμετρίαν ἀστρονομίαν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀρμονικὴν μουσικὴν ἰατρικὴν, πᾶσαν θείαν μαντικὴν, τὰ δὲ καλλίων μεγαλοφροσύνην μεγαλοψυχίαν μεγαλοπρέπειαν εὐστάθειαν εὐφημίαν γνῶσιν θεῶν, οὐ δόξαν, εἰδήσιω δαιμόνων, οὐχὶ 446
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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 aimed at Menelaus, in the episode of the violation of oaths.

II. —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

447
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

πίστιν, φιλίαν ἐκατέρων, αὐτάρκειαν ἐκτένειαν λιτότητα βραχύτητα τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐαίσθησιάν εὐκινησίαν εὐπνοιαν εὐχροιαν ὑγεῖαν εὐψυχίαν ἄθανασίαν, παρὰ σοῦ δὲ, Εὐφράτα, τί λαβόντες ἔχουσιν οἱ συνόντες; ἢ δηλοῦντι τὴν ἁρετήν, ἢν ἔχεις;

νῦ’.—Κλαύδιος Τυκνέων τῇ Βουλῇ.

'Απολλώνιον τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην Πυθαγόρειον φιλόσοφον, καλὸς ἐπιθησάμαντα τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἥμων ὠφελῆσαντας τιμήσαντες ἀξίας τιμαῖς, αἰς πρέπει τοὺς ἅγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἀληθῶς προϊσταμένους φιλοσοφίας, τὴν εὔνοιαν ἥμων ἑθελήσαμεν ὑμῖν δὲ ἐπιστολῆς φανερῶν γενέσθαι. ἔφρωσθε.

νῦ’.—'Απολλώνιος δικαιωταῖς Ρωμαίων.

Διμένων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ περιβόλων καὶ περιπάτων ἐνίοις ὑμῶν πρόνοια, παίδων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ νέων ἢ γυναικῶν οὐθ’ ὑμῖν οὔτε τοῖς νόμοις φροντίσ. ἢ καλὸν ἂν εἰη τὸ ἀρχεσθαι;

νε’.—τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος.

Φύσιν ἔχει τῶν τελειωθέντων ἐκαστοῦ ἀπιέναι, καὶ τούτο παντὶ γηράς ἐστι, μεθ’ ὁ μηκέτι μένει. 448
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

μὴ δή σε λυπεῖτω τῆς γυναικὸς ἡ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀποβολῆ, μηδὲ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός τι λέγεται, κρεῖττον αὐτῷ τὸ ζῆν υπολάμβανε, χείρον δὲ τῷ παντὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι. γενού δὴ ἀδελφὸς τὸ μὲν κοινότατον φιλοσόφοι, τὸ δ' ἐξαιρέτου Πυθαγορείου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ σου τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὐτήν ποίησον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκαλούμεν τι τῇ προτέρᾳ, κἂν εἰκότως ἐδοκούμεν ἀποδεικμᾶν, εἰ δ' ἡ μὲν σεμνὴ τε διετέλεσεν οὕσα καὶ φίλανδρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιζητήσεως ὑξία, τί καὶ διανοηθέντες οὐκ ἂν ὁμοια καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης προσδοκοίημεν; ἂν εἰκός ἂν ἔθελήσαι καὶ ἀμείνωνα γενέσθαι μηδαμοῦ τῆς προτέρας ἀμελείας κακωθείσης. δυσωπείτω δὲ σε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὕτω μέχρι νῦν ἔχοντα· τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ οὐδὲ γόνος οὐδέπω, τῷ νεώτατῳ δὲ ἐλπὶς μὲν ἔτι παιδοποιίας, ἐν προκοπῇ δὲ γε τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν ἑνὶ τρεῖς γεγόναμεν, τρισὶ δ' ἦμῖν οὐδὲ εἰς. ἵσος δὲ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος τῆς πατρίδι καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ μεθ' ἦμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀμείνους τοῦ πατρός—ἀλλὰς δὲ, καθ' ὅ πατήρ, χείρος—πῶς οὐκ ἂν βελτίως ἐξ ἦμῶν εἰκὸς ἂν ὑπάρξαι; γενέσθωσαν οὖν τινες, οἷς παραθησόμεθα γοῦν ἀνόματα, ὡς ἦμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι

450
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

συνύφημαι. ὑπὸ δακρύων οὐχ οἷς τε ἐγενόμην πλείωνα γράψαι, καὶ οὐδὲ εἰχὼν ἀναγκαιότερα τούτων.

νς’.—Σαρδιανοῖς.

Κροῖσος ἀπέβαλε τὴν Δυνάων ἀρχὴν "Ἄλων διαβάζας, ἐλήφθη ζῶν, ἔδει πέδαις, ἐπὶ πυράν ἀνεβιβάσθη, τὸ πῦρ εἰδεν ἠμέμονον αἱρόμενον εἰς υψος ἐξήσεν, ἐδόκει γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τετιμημένος. τί οὖν ὑστερον; οὗτος ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν Ἄμα καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ τοσαῦτα παθὼν παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν, τραπέζης ἐκοινώνησε τῷ πολεμῷ, σύμβουλος ἦν εὖνος, πιστὸς φίλος. ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσπονδα καὶ ἀκήρυκτα καὶ ἀμείλικτα, ἔτι τε ἄνιερα καὶ ἄθεα τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς πρὸς τέκνα, τὰ πρὸς φίλους συγγενεῖς φυλέτας. ἔχθροι γεγόνατε μήτε "Ἄλων διαβάντες, μήτε δεξάμενοι τινα ἀνθρωπον ἐξώθεν. καὶ ἡ γῆ φέρει καρπὸν ὑμῖν. ἀδικος ἡ γῆ.

νς’.—ςυγγράφει ὑσιλογίοις.

Φῶς παρονσία πυρός, ἦ σὺκ ἀν ἄλλως γένοιτο, πῦρ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος, καὶ φίλαις ἔσται, καὶ τοὺς γοῦν, φῶς δὲ ταῖς ὤψεσι μόνον αὐγῆν έαυτοῦ παρέχεται μὴ βιαζόμενον αὐτῶν, ἄλλῳ πείθον. τοῖνυν καὶ λόγος ὁ μὲν ὦσπερ πῦρ καὶ πάθος, ὁ
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,
. FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

dὲ ὥσπερ αὐγῆ καὶ φῶς ἐστὶν ὁ κρείττον ὁν, εἰ μὴ μείζον εὐχῆς τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἰη μοι.

νη'.—Ο ὑ α λ ε ρ ἴ ϕ.

Θάνατος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἡ μόνον ἐμφάσει, καθά- περ οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδενὸς ἡ μόνον ἐμφάσει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ οὐσίας τραπέν εἰς φύσιν ἐδοξε γένεσις, τὸ δὲ ἐκ φύσεως εἰς οὐσίαν κατὰ ταῦτα θάνατος, οὔτε γιγνομένου κατ' ἀλήθειαν τινος, οὔτε φθειρο- μένου ποτὲ, μόνον δὲ ἐμφανοὺς ὅντος ἀοράτου τε ὦστερον, τοῦ μὲν διὰ παχύτητα τῆς ὀλῆς, τοῦ δὲ διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς οὐσίας, οὐσίας μὲν αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, κινήσει δὲ διαφερούσης καὶ στάσει. τούτῳ γάρ που τὸ ἱδιον ἀνάγκη τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐκ ἔξωθεν γιγνομένης ποθέν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὄλου μετα- βάλλοντος εἰς τὰ μέρη, τῶν μερῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὄλου τρεπομένων ἐνότητι τοῦ παντός. εἰ δὲ ἐρήμηται τις τι τούτῳ ἔστι τὸ ποτὲ μὲν ὀρατὸν, ποτὲ δὲ ἀορατον, ἢ τοὺς αὐτοῖς γιγνόμενον ἢ ἄλλοις; φαίη τις ἂν, ως ἐδος ἐκάστου ἔστι τῶν ἐνθάδε γενών, ο πληρωθέν μὲν ἐφάνη διὰ τὴν τῆς παχύτητος ἀντι- τύπιαν, ἀορατον δὲ ἐστὶν, εἰ κενωθεὶ διὰ λεπτό- τητα τῆς ὀλῆς, βία περιχυβείσης ἐκρυβείσης τε τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὴν αἰωνίου μέτρου, γεννητοῦ δ' οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φθαρτοῦ.

454
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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.

455
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

Τί δέ καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐπὶ τοσούτον ἀνέλεγκτον; οὐσώτατα γάρ τινες, ὃ πεπόνθασιν, αὐτοὶ τούτο πεποιηκέναι, μὴ εἴδοτες, ὡς ὁ γεννηθεὶς διὰ γονέων γεγέννηται, οὐχ ὑπὸ γονέων, καθάπερ τὸ διὰ γῆς φυὲν οὐκ ἐκ γῆς φύεται, πάθος τε οὐδὲν τῶν φαινομένων περὶ ἐκαστον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον περὶ ἐν ἐκάστον. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἀν ἄλλο τις εἰπὼν ἢ τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν ὁρθῶς ἢ ὅνωμα-σειν; ἢ δὴ μονὴ ποιεῖ τε καὶ πάσχει, πάσι γινομένη πάντα διὰ πάντων, θεὸς άιδιος, ὄνομασι καὶ προσώποις ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ἵδιον ἀδικουμένη τε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔλαττον. τὸ δὲ μείζον κλαίεται τις, όταν θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γένηται τόπου μεταβάσει καὶ οὕχι φύσεως. ὥς δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθὲς, οὐ πενθητέον σοι θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον καὶ σεβαστέον. τιμή δὲ ἡ ἁρίστη τε καὶ πρέπουσα, εἰ ἄφεις θεῷ τὸν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἀνθρώπων τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰ νῦν ἄρχους, ἢ πρότερον ἡρχεσ. αἰωνίῳ, εἰ χρόνῳ, μὴ λογοσμῷ γένους βελτίων, εἰ χρόνοις καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς λύπης ἔπαυσε. μέγιστον ἄρχη ἰκανῆ, καὶ μεγίστων
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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 dishonour 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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ἀρχων ἀριστος, δε ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἀρχη. ποῦ
dὲ καὶ ὅσιον ἀπεύχεσθαι τὸ βουλήσει θεοῦ γενό-
μενον; εἰ τάξεις ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων, ἐστὶ δὲ, καὶ θεὸς
ἐπιστατεῖ ταύτης, ὁ δίκαιος οὐ βουλήσεται
ἀπεύχεσθαι τὰ ἁγαθά, πλεονεκτικὸν γὰρ καὶ
παρὰ τάξιν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἢγήσεται δὲ τὰ γι-
νόμενα συμφέρειν. πρόελθε καὶ θεράπευσαι,
δίκασον καὶ παρηγόρησον τοὺς ἄθλιους, τῶν δὲ
dακρύων οὕτως ἀποτρέψεις. οὐ τὰ ἱδία τῶν
κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἱδίων προτιμητέον.
οἶνυ δὲ σοι καὶ τὸ τῆς παραμυθίας εἴδος· σὺν ὅλῳ
τὸν υἱὸν ἔθνει πεπένθηκας. ἁμείβαι τοὺς μετὰ
σοῦ λελυπημένους, ἁμείψῃ δὲ, ἔαν λυπούμενος
παύσῃ, τάχιον ἢ ἐὰν μὴ προέλθησι. φίλους οὐκ
ἐχεις; υἱὸν δὲ ἐχεις. καὶ νῦν τὸν τεθνηκότα;
φήσει τις τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων. τὸ γὰρ ὃν οὐκ
ἀπόλλυται, διὰ τούτο διὰ, ὅτι ἔσται διὰ παντὸς,
ἡ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὃν γίνεται, πῶς ἂν γένοιτο μὴ
ἀπολυμένου τοῦ ὄντος; εἴποι ἂν ἐπερός τις, ὃς
ἀσεβείς τε καὶ ἄδικείς. ἀσεβείς μὲν τὸν θεόν,
ἄδικείς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, μᾶλλον δὲ κἀκεῖνον ἀσεβείς.
βούλει δὲ μαθεῖν ὃν ἐστὶ θάνατος; ἄνελε με
πέμψας μετὰ ταύτην τὴν φωνῆν, ἢν ἔαν μὴ μεταμ-
φιέσῃ, παραχρήμα κρείττονά με σεαυτοῦ πεπο-
νήκας.

458
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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

"Εχεις χρόνον, ἔχεις γυναῖκα ἐμφρονα φίλαν-
δρον, ὀλόκληροι εἰ, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λαβὲ τὸ
λείπον. Ὀρμαίός τις ὁ πάλαι γεγονότων,
ίνα σώσῃ τὸν τῆς ἀρχής νόμον τε καὶ κόσμον,
υίνι ὕδιον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ στεφανώσας ἀπέκτεινε.
πόλεων ἀρχεῖς πεντακοσίων Ὀρμαίων ὁ εὐγενέ-
στατος. ταύτα σαυτὸν διατίθησι, ἔξ ὁ ὕδ
οἰκίας τῆς εὐσταθῶς ἀρξεῖ, μὴτι γε πόλεων τε καὶ
ἐθνῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος εἰ παρὴν, Φαβοῦλλαν ἂν μὴ
πενθεῖν ἐπεισεν.

νθ'.—Βασιλεύς Βαβυλωνίων Γάρ μοι ἴ
Νεογύνῃν Ἰυδῶν βασιλεῖ.

Εἰ μὴ περίεργος ἦς, οὐκ ἂν ἦς ἐν τοῖς ἀλλο-
τρίοις πράγμασι δίκαιος, οὐδὲ ἂν ἀρχῶν ἐν
Ἰνδὸς ἐδίκαζες Βαβυλωνίους. πόθεν γὰρ σοι
γνώριμος ἦν ὁ ἡμετέρος δῆμος; νῦν δὲ ἐπείρασας
ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμῆν, ὑποκοριζόμενος ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ
τοιαύτας ἀρχὰς καθείς, καὶ πρόσχημα ποιούμενος
τῆς πλεονεξίας τῆς φιλανθρωπίαν. περανεῖς δὲ
οὔδέν, οὔτε γὰρ λαθεῖν ἂν δύναιο.

ξ'.—Εὐφράτη.

Ἡν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαίνομενος ἀν-
θρωπος. οὗτος ὡφθη παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς
ἐμαῖς, ξίφος ἔχων ἐν Κορίνθῳ μετὰ σοῦ γνωρίμου.
1 Titus Manlius. See Livy, VIII. 7.

460
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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 Neogynides, 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

tis oin h tis epibouleis aitia; ou gar poupoti sas bois hlasa,

etepi'mala polla metaxi oureia te skalventa thalasssa te hkhessa

tis te emis philosofias kai tis stis.

ξα'.—Δεσβωνακτι.

'Anaixarxis o Skuvths hiv sofoiv, ei de Skuvths, oti kai Skuvths.

ξβ'.—Δακεδαιμονιοι 'Απολλωνιφ.

Tan dedomenan timan sou apestalkamev thede antigrafon samanamenoi ta damosia sfragide ida idh.

Psihisma Dakedaimonios, kathos oi georontes epetkriwv Thundarew eisignsamenos teain arxaien

edoxe telosei te kai to dymo 'Apolllwvov Pithagorov

hmen politan, eixein te kai gaiv kai okwv

egkatais. estakamev de kai episamov eikonv

graptan kai chalakon aereths xariv. oide gar ois

patereis amon etimov andras agathous. enomizov

gar hmen Lykourgyv paidas, osou symfwnov theois

tov bion aireonto.

ξγ'.—'Apolllwvios efrois kai

Dakedaimonioi.

'Andras umov eftheasamn uphenvi mha exontas,

toiv mpopov kai ta skelh leivos te kai leukovns,

462
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

the reason of his attempting my life? For I have never driven off your oxen, seeing that between your philosophy and mine "there intervene 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
μαλακάς χλανίδας ἡμφεισμένους καὶ λεπτάς, δακτυλίους πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς περικεμένους, ὑποδεδεμένους ὑπόδημα τὸ Ἰωνικὸν. οὐκ ἔπεγνων οὖν τοὺς λεγομένους πρέσβεις, ή δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφασκεν.

ξδ’—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Καλεῖτε με πολλάκις βοηθόν ύμιν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν νέων ἐσόμενον. ἡ Σόλωνος δὲ πόλις οὐ καλεῖ με. Δυκοῦργον αἰδείσθε.

ξε’—’Εφεσίων τοῖς ἐν Ἀρτέμιδι.

'Εθος ύμιν ἀπαν ἀγιστείας, ἔθος δὲ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς. τᾶλλ’ ύμεῖς ἐστιάτορες μὲν καὶ δαιτυμόνες οὐ μεμπτοί, μεμπτοὶ δὲ σύνοικοι τῇ θεῷ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὁ κλέπτης τε καὶ λῃστὴς καὶ ἀνδραποδιστής καὶ πᾶς, εἰ τις ἄδικος ἢ ἰερόσυλος, ἢν ὀρμώμενος αὐτὸθεν τὸ γὰρ ἱερόν τῶν ἀποστεροῦντων μυχὸς ἐστὶν.

ξζ’—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

’Ηλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνὴρ “Ἐλλην τὴν φύσιν, οὐκ Ἀθηναίος, οὐδὲ Μεγαρεὺς γε, λαθὸν δ’ ὄνομα1 παροικήσων ύμων τῇ θεῷ. δότε μοι τόπον, ἔνθα μὴ καθαρσίων δεχθεὶ μοι, καίπερ ἐνδούν ὄει μένοντι.

1 Or perhaps ὄνομα signifies “a person.”

464
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ξη'-τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

'Ανείται θύουσι τὸ ἱερόν, εὐχομένοις ὕμνουσιν
ικέταις "Ἐλληνι βαρβάροις ἐλευθέροις δούλοις,
ὑπερφυώς θείος ὁ νόμος. ἑπιγινώσκω τὰ σύμβολα
τὰ Δίος τε καὶ Λητοῦς, ἔαν ἢ μόνα τάυτα.

ξη'-Μιλησίοις.

Σεισμὸς ὑμῶν τὴν γῆν ἔσεισεν, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλων
πολλῶν πολλάκις. ἀλλ' ἔπασχον μὲν ἀ ἡτύχουν.
ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐλεούντες δὲ, οὐ μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους
ἔφαινοντο. μόνοι δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ θεοὶ ὅπλα καὶ πῦρ
ἐπηνέγκατε, καὶ θεοὶ τοιούτους, δυν καὶ οἱ ἐτέρωθεν
dεόνται καὶ μετὰ κινδύνους καὶ πρὸ κινδύνων.
ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἄνδρα πρόκριτον ὑμεῖς
Ἐλλήνων δημοσία τὸ πάθημα φύμαντα πολ-
λάκις, καὶ προαγορεύσαντα γενομένους τοὺς
σεισμοῦς, αὐτὸν, ὅτε ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός, ποιεῖν ἐλέγετε
καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. ὁ τῆς δημοσίας ἀμαθίας.
καὶ πατὴρ ὑμῶν λέγεται Θαλής.

ξθ'-Τραλλιανοὶς.

Πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας,
νεώτεροί τε καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, φοιτώσι παρ' ἐμὲ.
τὰς φύσεις οὐν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου σκέπτομαι καὶ τοὺς
τρόπους, ὡς ἐν μάλιστα συνετάτα τοῖς
to τε πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκάστου δίκαιον ἥθος ἢ
466
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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 transcendentally 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;
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

touvnavtioin. eis ti'nde tiv hemerain oýk an exoimi
prokriain Terallianwv ymov oýk Ludois, oýk
'Akaiwos, oýk 'Iowos, all' oude tois tivs arxaias
Ellados Thourious Kratonantastas Tarantinous, h
tv'as allous tov evkei legeomewv eudaimonwv
'italiastwv h etereon tvon. tis ouv h aitia, di'
h an apodechomai mev ymas, ou gynomai de toinoutois
andrasis synoikos, kaioper ovn genos ymeteron;
allote po' an eipoiu. vin de monon ymas epai-
nein kairodos andras te tois ygyomewv ymov, ov
pouly kreetous tov par etereos aretsi kai logw,
kai malloon tov par ois ygevenntai.

0'—Saitais.

'Ahnyaiow apogonoi este, kathaper ev Timaiow
Pla'ton fhsi, oi de tiv konti ymov theon
exorizeousi tis 'Attikis, Nthd men tiv fiv ymov,
'Ahnyan de tiv ypt auton onomazomevno, ou
menontes 'Ellhnes. opws de ou menontes, egew
frasow grewv soforos oudeis 'Ahnyaios, ou gar efiv
gevus pása pantos, oti mhdemia mhdevos. o
kolax parà taivs tvlas, o synofantis pro tov tvlw,
o mastyropoix kai pro tov makhv teixhvn, o
paristox pro tiv Mouvychias kai pro tov Peiraiow,
h theos de oude Souvion exei.

0a'—'Iwosin.

"Ellhnes ovesbe deiv onomastei díà tai gevth
kai tiv emprosèthen apoukia, "Ellhsi de óster
468
but until this day, I do not find that I could prefer to you Trallians either Lydians, or Achaean 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ἔθη καὶ νόμοι καὶ γλώττα καὶ βίος ἰδιος, οὕτω καὶ σχῆμα καὶ εἶδος ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' ὕμων γε οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα μένει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς νέας ταύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολωλέκατε τὰ τῶν προγόνων σύμβολα. καλὼς οὖδὲ τοῖς τάφοις ἐκείνοι δέχοντ' ἀν ἄνρωτας αὐτοῖς γενομένους, εἰ γε πρότερον ἦρων ἢν ὀνόματα καὶ ναυμάχων καὶ νομοθετῶν, νυνὶ δὲ Λουκούλλων τε καὶ Φαβρικίων καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων. ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰς μᾶλλον ὄνομα Μίμνερμος.

οβ'.—'Εστιαίφ.

Ὁ πατήρ ἕμων Ἀπολλώνιος ἦν τρίς τοῦ Μηνοδότου, σὺ δὲ ἀπαξ ἐθέλεις ὄνομαξεσθαί Λουκρίτιος ἢ Λουπερκός. τίνος σὺ τούτων ἀπόγονος; αἰσχρόν, εἰ ὄνομα μὲν ἔχοις τινός, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔχοις.

ογ'.—τ φ' α ὑ τ φ'.

Πατρίδος ἐσμὲν πορρωτέρω σὺν δαίμονι, ἢδη δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐν νῷ ἐβαλόμαν. ὀδεύει μοῦρα πρὸς τέλος ἀνδρῶν, οὐ τὰν πρῶταν λελόγχασι τιμάν. ἄρξεί δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν παιδάρια καὶ μικρὸν ἑπάνω τούτων μείρακες. ἐνταῦθα πολὺν δέος, μὴ σφαλῆ τὰ ὑπὸ νέων κυβερνώμενα. σοὶ δ' οὔ δέος, ἐπεὶ βεβιώκαμεν.

470
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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

οδ’.—τοῖς Στωκίοις.

"Ωρα καὶ λιμὸς ἦν Βάσσω, καίπερ ὄντων τῷ πατρὶ συχνῶν χρημάτων. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔφυγε Μέγαράδε σὺν ἐν τῶν λεγομένων ἑραστῶν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ μαστροπῶν—τροφῆς γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις ἔδει καὶ ἐφοδίων—ἐπείτα ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Συρίαν. ὑπεδέχετο δὲ τὸν ὦραίον Εὐφράτης, καὶ εἰ τὶς ὁμοίως ἔδειτο τοῦ τότε καλοῦ, ὥστε ἄν αἱρεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δὲ εὔνοιαν.

οε’.—τοῖς ἐν Σύρῳ δεσιν.

‘Ὁ παῖς Ἀλνάττεω σῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἀδύνατος ἐγένετο καὶ ἀμήχανος, καίπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς τε καὶ Κροίσος, ὑμεῖς δὲ ποίω πεποιθότες ἀρα λέοντι πόλεμον ἀσπονδόν ἤρασθε, παῖδες, νέοι πάντες, ἄνδρες, γέροντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθένοι καὶ γυναῖκες; Ἐρυνὺς νομίσαι ἂν τὶς τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ οὐχὶ Δήμητρος. ὡ δὲ θεὰ φιλάνθρωπος· ὑμῖν δὲ τὶς οὕτως ὁ χόλος;

ος’.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Εἰκὸς εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ μεγάλην ἐθελήσαι ψιλόσοφον ἀρχαίον παραγενέσθαι, καὶ παρεγενόμενον ἂν αὐτῶς ἐκὼν, κληθήναι μὴ περι-472
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

μείνας, ώς υφ' ἑτέρων πολλῶν, εἰ ποιήσειν μίαν
ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔμελλον ἦθελε καὶ φύσει καὶ νόμῳ
καὶ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πάντως ἀν ἔποιήσας,
στάσις δε, ώς ἔφη τις, πολέμου χαλεπώτερον.

ος'.—Φοιτήταις.

Διὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐφηται τῶν ἐφημένων ἑκαστον,
οὖ δ' Ἐυφράτην. μὴ τὸ Πραξιτέλους ξίφος ἢ τὸ
Λυσίου φάρμακον πεφοβηθεῖσαί με τις δόξῃ. καὶ
tοῦτο γὰρ ἔστιν Ἐυφράτου.

οη'.—Ἰάρχαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν σοφοῖς.

—οὐ μᾶ τὸ Ταυτάλιον ὕδωρ, οὐ με ἐμνήσατε.

οβ'.—Ἐὐφράτη.

Οὐκ ἐπιλογιζομένη ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ τοῦ σώματος
αὐταρκείς οὐ δύναται ἑαυτὴν αὐτάρκη ποιῆσαι.

π'.—τῷ ἀυτῷ.

Οί κράτιστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχυλογῶται,
οῖ σὺν ἀδολέσχαι εἰ ἕνωντο, ὡς ἁνιώσι, οὐκ ἂν
ἐμακρηγόρουν.

πα'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Συμωνίδης ἔλεγε μηδέποτε αὐτῷ μεταμελήσαι
συγήσαντι, φθειξαμένῳ δὲ πολλάκις.

474
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 crueller 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.)

475
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

πβ'.—τοίς αὐτοῖς.

Πολυλογία πολλὰ σφάλματα ἔχει, τὸ δὲ σιγᾶν ἀσφαλές.

πη'.—Δηλίφ.

Ψεύδεσθαι ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλήθεια γενναῖον.

πδ'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Μηδὲν με δόξητε ραδίως ἄλλους παραγείν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μάζης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀκολούθου ταύτη διαίτης ὄν, τοιαύτα ύμῖν παρεγγυῶ.

πε'.—Εἰ δομένη.

Ἐξηλώσαμεν τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, οὕτως ὅπως τοῖς εὐτελέσι καὶ λιτοῖς πάντως χρώμεθα, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἐθαρρῶμεν πρὸς αὐτά.

πζ'.—Μακεδόνι.

Τῆς ὀξυθυμίας τὸ ἀνθός μανία.

πζ'.—Ἀριστοκλεί.

Τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς πάθος μὴ καθόμιλούμενον, 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.)
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

πη'.—Σατύροφ.

Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἀμαρτημάτων συνήγοροι γίνονται, τῶν δὲ ἄλλοτρίων κατήγοροι.

πθ'.—Δαναφ.

Οὐ κάμνει τὰ πράγματα πρασσόμενα.

ζ'.—Δἰωνι.

Τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι οὐδὲν, τὸ δὲ γενέσθαι πόνος.

Σα'—τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

Οὐδενὶ φθονητέον ἀγαθοὶ μὲν ἴδρ ἄξιοι, κακοὶ δ' ἄν εὐτυχῶσί, κακῶς ξύση.

Σβ'.—Διονυσίωφ.

Καλῶν, πρὶν παθεῖν, διδαχθῆμαι, πηλίκου ἐστὶν ἰσυχία.

Σγ'.—Νομηνίφ.

Οὐ θρηνητέον οἷον φίλων ἑστερήθημεν, ἀλλὰ μνημονευτέον, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὴν καλλίστην βιοτὴν ἐξιστεύσαμεν.

478
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.)
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

§§.—Θεάτητητη.
Τὸ λυπούμενον ἄλλοτρίως κακοῖς παραμυθοῦ.

§§. — Κορνηλιανί.
Βραχὺς ὁ βίος ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν πράγματι, δυστυχοῦτε δὲ μακρός.

§§. — Δημοκράτει.
Ο ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνυπερβλήτως ὀργιζόμενος οὐκ ἔδιδε διαγνώσαι τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα,
πότε ἔλαττον καὶ πότε μεῖζον ἥδικησεν.

§§. — Λύκῳ.
Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ
di' αἰσχρὰν αἰτίαν πένεσθαι ὁνειδὸς.
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 ΑΠΟΔΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ

ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΗΦΕΙΖΑΝ ΑΤΤΟΤ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΣΤΓΚΡΙΖΙΝ

Ι

ΣΑΡ. Άρ’ οὖν, ὁ φιλότητι, κάκεινά σε τοῦ συγγραφεῶς ἄξιον ἀποθαυμάζειν, ἃ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σωτήρι τε καὶ διδασκάλῳ τῶν Τυανέα συγκρίνων παρε- δοξολόγει; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ Φιλαλήθει, οὐτω γὰρ εὐ ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιγράφειν ἐδόκει λόγον, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰς σπουδαίουν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἱστασθαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἰδία τυγχά- νοντα, σφόδρα δὲ ἀναιδῶς ἐξ ἔτέρων ὁυκ αὐτοῖς μονονοχὶ νοήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ συλλα- βαῖς ἀποσεσυλημένα· ἃ τύχοι μὲν ἂν καὶ αὐτὰ τῆς προσηκούσης κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπελέγχεως, δυνάμει δ’ ᾦδη, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἱδίας κατ’ αυτῶν γραφῆς, ἀνατέτραπται καὶ προαπελήλευκται ἐν

484
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 BETWEEN HIM AND CHRIST

I

So then, my dear friend, you find worthy of no little admiration the parallel 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

1 Or perhaps we should render "the parallel this writer has paradoxically drawn," etc.

485
ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥΣ ΦΗΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΣ

1. ὁλοίς ὅκτῳ συγγράμμασί τοῖς Ὀμυγένει γραφεύσι πρὸς τὸν ἀλαζονικώτερον τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἐπιγεγραμμένον Κέλσου Ἀληθῆ λόγου, ὅ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαραλείπτως, ἐν ὅσοις εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ δεδηλωμένος παραγαγὼν συλλήβδην ὅσα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν παντὶ τῷ εἰρηταί τε καὶ εἰρήστεται, προλαβῶν διελύσατο, ἐφ’ ὃ τοὺς ἀκριβές τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς διαγράφοντα ἔχοντας φιλαλήθους ἀναπέμψαντες, φέρε μόνην ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τήν κατὰ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους τούτων λόγου παράθεσιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα, μηδὲν τι σπουδαῖον ἡγούμενοι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐτέρωθεν ὑποσευλημένων αὐτῷ διαμάχεσθαι. μόνα δὲ εἰκότως νυνὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐποφύσμεθα, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνης παρὰ τοὺς πῶποτε καθ’ ἡμῶν γεγραφότας ἔξαρετος νῦν τοῦτῷ γέγονεν ἡ τούτε πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον σωτήρα παράθεσις τε καὶ σύγκρισις.

II

11. Θαυμάζει γοῦν καὶ ἀποδέχεται θεία τινὶ καὶ ἀρρήτω σοφία, ὅμως δὲ γοητείας σοφίσμασι τεθαυματουργικέναι φάσκων αὐτὸν, καὶ ταύτα ἀληθῶς ὅτως ἔχειν ὡς ἐτυχε πιστεύων, καὶ ἀναποδείκτως ἀπισχυριζόμενος. ἄκουε δ’ οὖν, ἀ φησιν αὐταῖς συλλαβαίς: “ἄνω δὲ καὶ κάτω θρυλοῦσι, σεμνύνοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς τυφλοῖς 486
as many as eight books Origen composed against the book which Celsus wrote and—even more boastfully than the "Lover of Truth,"
—entitled "True Reason." The work of Celsus is there subjected to 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 attributes his thaumaturgic feats not to the tricks of 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἀναβλέψαι παρασχόντα καὶ τινα τοιαῦτα δρά-
σαντα θαυμάσια." εἰτά τινα μεταξὺ εἰπὼν ἐπι-
λέγειν "ἐπισκεψάμεθα γε μήν, ὅσον βέλτιον καὶ
συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἦν
περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἄνδρῶν ἐχομεν γνώμην." καὶ
ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Προκοπήσιον Ἀριστέαν καὶ
Πυθαγόραν ὡς ἄν ἀρχαιοτέρους παρελθὼν ἐπιφέρει
λέγων "ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν
Νέρωνος βασιλείαν Ἀπολλώνιος ἦκμασεν ὁ
Τυανεὺς, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς κομῳδῆ νέου καὶ ἀφ' ὀ̣ὑ̣τ̣ε̣ρ̣
ἐν Ἀἰγαίᾳ τῆς Κιλικίας ἱεράσατο τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ
Ἀσκληπιῷ, πολλά καὶ θαυμαστὰ διεπράζοντο, ὅν
τὰ πλείω παρεῖς ὀλγανω ποιήσομαι μηνήμην.
εἰτὰ καταλέγει ἀπὸ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενος τὰ παρά-
δοξα, μεθ' ἃ καὶ ἐπιλέγει ταύτα κατὰ λέξιν
"τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα τούτων ἐμνήσθην; ἵν' ἐξή
συγκρίναι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκριβὴ καὶ βεβαιάν ἕφ' ἐκάστῳ
κρίσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν κοινό-
τητα, εἴπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα
οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγούμεθα,
οἱ δὲ δι' ὀλγανα τερατείας τινὰς τῶν Ἰησοῦν θεοῦ
ἀναγορεύουσι." τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μεθ' ἐτερὰ φά-
σκων "κάκεων λογίσασθαι ἄξιον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν
τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Πάυλος καὶ τινὲς τούτων
παραπλῆσιον κεκομπάκασιν, ἄνθρωποι ψεῦσται
καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ γονῆτες, τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον
Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰγιεὺς καὶ Δάμις ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ
συνδιατήρισας αὐτὸ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,
pαιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἦκοντες, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς
τιμῶντες διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἄνδρος γεν-
ναῖον καὶ θεοῖς φίλου πράξεις μὴ βουλόμενοι
488
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. II. λαθεῖν.” ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αὐτῶς Ἰεροκλεῖ τῷ τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιγεγραφότι Φιλαλήθη λόγον εἰρηται.

III

CAP. III. Δάμις μεν οὖν ὁ τὰ πολλὰ ξυνδιατρίψας τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων γῆς ὀρμώμενος, αὐτόθι τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἱδίας χώρας αὐτῷ συμμίκται, τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῷ γενομένην συνουσίαν ἱστόρησεν, ὥς ἂν Ἰακύμος κομιδῇ βραχέα τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων ἀνεγράψατο, ὅ γε μὴν Ἀθηναίος Φίλοστράτως τὰ φερόμενα πάντα ὁμοῦ, ἀπὸ τὸ τῶν Ἰακύμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ἄλλων, συναγαγεὶς ἑαυτὸν φήσας, πάντων μάλιστα ἐντελῆ τὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἱστορίαν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα βίου πεποίηται.

IV

CAP. IV. Εἰ δὴ οὖν ἔξον τὴν ἐπικατηγορομένην ἡμῶν εὐχέρειαν τε καὶ κοινότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἀκριβὴ καὶ βεβαιὰν ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ παραθεῖναι κρίσιν, φέρε διαπυθόμεθα, οὐχ ὡς θείότερος γεγονεῖ, οὐδ’ ὁποῖος θαυμασιώτερα τε καὶ πλείω διεπράξατο παράδοξα, οὐδ’ ὡς μόνος παρὰ τοῖς 490
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

they deserved to the actions of a man at once noble and a friend of the gods.” These are the very words 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 Apollonius was a native of Assyria, where for the first time, on his own soil, he came into contact with him; and he wrote an account of his intercourse 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 reckless and easy credulity which he goes out of his way to accuse us of, with the accurate and well-founded judgment on particular points of the “Lover of Truth,” let us ask at once, not which of them was the more divine nor in what capacity one 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
ΚΑΠ. Άνεκαθεν πρὸ μοιρῶν ὅσων ἔτων γενομένοις Ἐβραῖων σοφοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἦξειν εἰς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ θείαν ἐπιπνοιαν προπεφήτευτο, οὐδ' ὡς πλείους ἐπί τὸν τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ λόγον προϋπρέσσατο, οὐδ' ὡς γησίους καὶ ὅτις ἀληθεὶς ἐκτῆσατο φοιτητάς, μονονοχὶ καὶ ὑπεραποθήσειςκεῖν ἐτοίμως τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένους, οὐδ' ὡς μόνος σώφρονος βίον διδασκαλεῖον καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον συνεστήσατο, οὐδ' ὡς τῇ ἱδίᾳ θεοτητῇ τε καὶ ἁρτῇ πάσαν ἐσώσε τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ εἰσείται καὶ νῦν μυρία πλῆθος πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν ἐαυτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδ' ὡς τῶν πότοτε μόνος πρὸς ἀπάντων σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἁρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχομένων, πλείστοις ἔτεσιν ἦδη πολεμούμενος, κρείττων καὶ πολὺ δυνατότερος τῶν πικρῶς ἐλαυνόντων ἀπόστολων ἀποδέδεικται θεία καὶ ἀρρήτῳ δυνάμει, τοὺς μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπανισταμένους αὐτοῦ τῇ θείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ ῥάδιως μετιῶν, τὸν δὲ παγέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδόντα θείον λόγον εἰς ἀπειρον αἰῶνα καθ' ὅλης κρατύνων τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὐδ' ὡς εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐνθέου δυνάμεως τὴν ἁρτὴν ἐπιδείκνυται, μοχθηροὶς τινας καὶ φαύλους δαίμονας, ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ σώμασιν ἐφεδρεύοντας, ἀπελαύνων διὰ μόνης τῆς ἀρρήτου προσηγορίας αὐτοῦ, ὡς αὐτῇ πείρᾳ κατειλήφαμεν, ταῦτα γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξητείν, μὴ καὶ τὸ ἔρωταν, ἀνόητον· μόνην δὲ ἐπισκεψόμεθα τὴν τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφήν, δι' ἣς εὐθυνοῦμεν.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

whom it was prophesied, thanks to their divine inspiration, by Hebrew sages who lived far back 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
CAP. IV. ώς οὖχ ὃτι γε ἐν φιλοσόφοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἐπιεικεσί καὶ μετρίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν, οὖχ ὅπως τῷ σωτηρίῃ ἡμῶν Χριστῷ παρατιθέναι τὸν 'Απολλώνιον, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλήθει παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστου ἕκοντος, τὸ δ’ ἀληθείς μὴ τιμώντος συγγραφέως. τοιούτοις γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Φιλόστρατος, ἐξ οὗ ῥάδιως ἀν καταμάθοιμεν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστου ἕκοντων, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐξητασμένως μὴ ἀπηκριβωμένων τῆς κατὰ τὸν 'Απολλώνιον ἱστορίας. τούτων γὰρ ἡμῖν διευκρινήσεως ὁμοῦ, τοῦ τε Φιλαλήθους τὰ ἀνωτάτω τε καὶ καθ’ ὅλων δικαστηρία διειληφότος, ἡ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν βεβαιά καὶ, ὃς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ δοκεῖ, ἀκριβῆς ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ κρίσις φανερὰ καταστήσεται, ἡμῶν τε αὐτῷ, οὗ μορφὸ καὶ βεβουκολημένου νευμόσμεθα παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἦ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένη εὐχέρεια τε καὶ κουφότης.

V

CAP. V. Ἀλλος μὲν οὖν ὁμόσε χωρῶν αὐτόθεν διέβαλλεν ἄν, βλασφημῶν ως ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμου τῶν καθ’ οὗ τῶν λόγων ἐποιεῖτο, ἐγὼ δὲ, ἐταύρε, σοφῶν τινα τα ἀνθρώπων τῶν Τυανέα γεγονέναι ἡγούμην, καὶ ἐτι γε τῆς αὐτῆς ἰχθεσθαι διανοίας ἐκὼν εἶναι 494
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

Apollonius was not fit to be classed, I will not say, among philosophers, but even among men of integrity 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 controversyalist, by way of beginning the affray, would without demur abuse and malign the man against whom he directed his arguments, on the ground that he was his enemy and adversary; 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

βουλαίμην, καί σοι τὴν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐκθείην ἃν ἐρωτῶντι: φιλοσόφων μὲν ὁτι τις βούλοιτο συγκαταλέγειν τὸν ἄνδρα, πέρα μηδὲν διενοχλῶν ταῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογίαις, μὴ φθονεῖν, εἰ δ’ ὑπερπηδᾶν τοὺς ὄρους καὶ φιλοσοφίας ὑπέρτερα φρονεῖν εἴτε τις Δάμις Ἀσσύριος, εἴτε Φιλόστρατος, εἴτε τις συγγραφεὺς ἢ λογογράφος θρασύνοιτο, λόγῳ μὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος γοητείαιν, ἔργοις δὲ πλέον ἡ ῥήμασιν ἐπιφορτίζων τὸν ἄνδρα, προσωπείαν δίκην τὴν Πυθαγόρειον ἐπιμορφαζόμενος ἀγωγήν, οἰχήσεται μὲν ἢμῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅνος δ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπικρυπτόμενος δέρρει, σοφιστὴς τις ός ἄληθῶς ἄγείρων κατὰ τὰς πόλεις, αὐτὸ τε τούτο γοῆς ἀτεχνῶς ἀντὶ φιλοσόφου φωραθήσεται.

VI

Πώς δὲ τούτο φημι καὶ πόθεν ὀρμόμενος, ἐρωτᾷς; μάνθανε· ὅροι φύσεως ἀρχὰς καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλη τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας περιειληφότες, μέτρα καὶ θεσμοὶ ἀπασί, δι’ ἄν τόδε τὸ πάν μηχάνημα τε καὶ ἀρχιτεκτόνημα τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τελεσιουργεῖται, διατέθενται νόμοις ἀλύτους καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτους, τῆς τὰ πάντα οἰκονομούσης προνοίας τὸ πάνσοφον βούλημα διαφυλάττοντες. οὐκον κινήσει τι καὶ μεταθείη τις ἃν 496
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

opinion; and I would like to set before you, if you ask it, my own personal opinion of him. If anyone 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 reasons for speaking thus? I will tell you. There are bounds of nature which prescribe and circumscribe 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
Τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἀπαξ διατεθειμένων. Κεκράτηται δ’ οὖν θεσμὸς φύσεως τῶν θεῶν ὑπεραναβαίνειν νόμον πᾶς, ὅτι τις θρασύτερος τῶν ἔπεκεινα ἐπιβαίνειν ἐνεστὶ πόθος. οὕτ’ οὖν παρὰ φύσιν ὁ ἔνυδρος ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον μετάβας βιώναι δυνήσεται ἰχθύς, οὕτε τὸ ἐν χέρσῳ τραφὲν τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐγκαταδύσεται, τὴν ἐκεῖσε διηνεκὴ μονὴν ἀσπαζόμενον, οὕτε μέγα πηδήσας μετέωρός τις τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρθήσεται πρὸς ἀέρα, συμμερισμολεῖν ἁέτοις ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνοι γε καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔλθοιεν βρίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῦ πτεροῦ χαλάσαντες καὶ ἄνεντες τὴν φύσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτῳ θείῳ ὄρισται νόμοις, ἐκ τοῦ ὑγείου τοῦ μετέωρου ὑποκαταβαίνειν δύνασθαι, οὗ μὴν καὶ ἐμπαλιν τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ γεώδες ἐπὶ τὸ μετέωρον αἴρεσθαι. ταύτῃ δὴ καὶ τὸ θυετὸν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ψυχής μετέχου καὶ σώματος, ὅροις περιγέγραπται θείως. οὕτ’ οὖν τῷ σώματι δι’ ἀέρος ἐλθοὶ ποτὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τῆς καταφρονήσας διατριβῶν, μὴ οὕτῳ τούπτημον αὐτίκα τῆς ἀνοίας παρασχών, οὕτε τὴν ψυχήν ἄρθεῖς φρονύματι καθίζεται τῶν ἀνεφίκτων, ἡ μελαγχολίας νοσήματι ἀν περιπέθειοι.

Σωφρονοὶ δ’ ἃν ἄρτιοις μὲν τὸ σῶμα ποσὶν ἐπὶ γῆς φερόμενος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ σκηρίπτων εὐξαιτο δὲ καὶ τῶν συνεργῶν ἀνωθέν ποθὲν ἐκ τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν διατριβῶν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ φανήσαι σωτηρίας.

498
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

arranged; and if anyone is so venturesome as to 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 himself to him as a teacher of the salvation that is
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VI ἐρρωμένῳ γάρ τοι παραδείγματι, νοσοῦντι μὲν τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐπιφοιτᾶν θέμις, καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον εἰσα-γομένῳ τοῖς μαθήμασι συμφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἄνω που καὶ ἐν ὑψεὶ συγκατεῖναι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν. Ὅθεν δὴ θείαν μὲν φύσιν, εὐεργετῶν οὕσαν καὶ σώτειραν καὶ προνοητικὰς τῶν ἐπίοντων ἀνθρώπους ποτὲ εἰς ὁμιλίαιν ἐλθεῖν οὕδεις ἀν ἀπείρου λόγος ὁρᾷ θείας προνοίας καὶ τούτου συγκεχαρημένου, ἁγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, ἁγαθῷ δὲ οὕδεις περὶ οὕδενος ἐγγίνεται φθόνος, οὐκοινον ὑσμάτων μόνων, ἁγαθὸς ὁ ὅτε τὸ πᾶν διακυβερνῶν ἐπιμελήσεται, πολὺ πλέον δὲ ψυχῶν, ἀλλ᾿ ὁ ἄθανατόν τε καὶ αὐτοκρατωρικὸν κεκάρισται γέρας. ταῦται δὴ ὅτα ὅσοι οἰκονο-μιῶς ἀπάσης κύριος ὃν, καὶ χαρίτων, ὅν ἄν, δωροϊμενος αὐτάς, εὐεργετῇ τὴν φύσιν, οὕσας ἀντιληπτικὰς, ἀκτίνας δὲ ἐξέπλεον τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ φωτὸς δωρήσεται ἀφθόνως, τῶν ἁμφί αὐτῶν, ἐστών ὅτε, τοὺς μᾶλιτα προσεχεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπίταδε σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀντιληψίαν ἐκπέμπων, ὅν εἰ τῷ εὐτυχῆσαι γένοιτο, τὴν διάνοιαν ὁστὸς ἀποκαθ-αρθεῖς καὶ τὴν τῆς θυγατέρας ἀποσκεδάσας ἀχλών, θείος ἀλλὰ ἀναγραφήσεται, μέγαν τινὰ θεὸν ἀγαλματοφορῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. κινήσεις δὴ ἄν ὁλα τηλικοῦτος τὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἡλίου τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλάμψει, τούρ-γον τῆς αἰδίου θεότητος καὶ εἰς τῶν ἐπίοντα συν-οράσθαι καταλεῖπτων χρόνου, οὐ μείον τῶν ἔξ ἀνεύκου ὁμής δημοηργημάτων τὸ τῆς ἐνθέου παράδειγμα φύσεως παρεσχημένος. καὶ ταύτῃ 500
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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...
μὲν ἀνθρωπεῖα φύσις τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον κοινων. ἦσαι ἄν, ἄλλως δ’ οὐ θέμις τοὺς ὄρους ὑπερβαίνειν, οὐδ’ ἀπτερον ἔχοντα τὸ σῶμα τὰ τῶν πτηνῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν, οὐδ’ ἀνθρωπον ὄντα τὰ τῶν δαίμονων πολυπραγμονεῖν.

Τίνα δὴτα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Ἀπολλάνιον εἰσόγεις; οὐ συγγραφεῖ; εἰ μὲν δὴ θείον καὶ φιλοσόφου κρείττονα, τὴν τε φύσιν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον, τὴρει μοι δὲ ὅλης τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τούργοι εἰσετε νῦν ἐπιδείκνυθε τῆς θειότητος. ἢ γὰρ οὐκ ἀτοπώτατον τεκτόνων μὲν καὶ οἰκοδόμων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν δημιουργῶν τελευτήν ἐπὶ μήκιστον τοῦργον διαρκείν, ἀθάνατον πον σχέδον τῶν συστησαμένων τὴν μνήμην στηλιτεύον, θείαν δὲ ἀρά φύσιν, ἀνθρώπους ἐπιλάμψαν, σκότιον πον καὶ μυνυθάδιον ἀποτελεῖν, οὔχι δὲ εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μὴ εἰς ἓνα τινὰ Δάμνι ἢ καὶ ἄλλους βραχεῖς πτωχεύουσαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ’ εἰς μιρίων ὁσῶν ὡφέλειας οὐ τῶν καθ’ ὄν χρόνον ἐγνωρίζετο μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων τὴν πάροδον ποιομένην; ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τοὺς πάλαι σοφοὺς ζηλωτάς τε καὶ διαδόχους ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον ὡς ἀληθώς ἀνθρώπους παρεσχημένους τὸ κατόρθωμα. εἰ δὲ 502
made of lifeless matter. To this extent then human nature can participate in the super-human; but 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 for us Apollonius, my good compiler? If as a divine 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, conferred 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 continued 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII θυητήν ὑπογράφεις τάνδρὸς τὴν φύσιν, δρα μὴ πλέον, ἡ προσήκε, ταύτη χαριζόμενος δίκην ἀποίσεις παραλογίας.

VIII

man a mortal nature, take care lest by endowing him with gifts which transcend mortality, you convict yourself of fallacy and miscalculation.

VIII

But enough of this. His hero is introduced to us as a divine man, who assumes from birth the guise 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 Apollo as using, in token of his being of a divine nature these very words to Damis himself: "I myself, 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. VIII
καὶ δὲ ὅλης ἡμῖν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπογράφει. Ἀύσαντος γοῦν ἔαυτόν ποτε ἀπὸ δεσμῶν ἐπιφέρει λέγον ἃττο τοῦ Δάμων θησίν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖν τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἰκή καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου. μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πὼς γὰρ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ εἰπόντα τι καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ." ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ μηδόλως ποι γῆς εὐρύσκεσθαι, χωρίσαι δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι μεθ' ὕμνων καὶ χορείας λέγει. εἰκότως δὴ οὐν οὐα ὅντα τοσοῦτον "θεώτερον ἢ Πυθαγόρας Ἑμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πλάτων φιλοσοφίᾳ" τὸν ἄνδρα προσεληνυθέναι φησίν. οὐκοῦν ἐν θεοῖς ἡμῖν διὰ τούτων ἀναγεγράφθω ὁ ἀνθρώπος.

IX

CAP. IX. Καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἀπέστω τῆς τῶν φωνῶν ἀπασῶν αὐτοφυίς καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου συνέσεως. τί δήτα οὖν ἐς διδασκάλου ἄγει αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν μεμαθηκότα διαβάλλει ὡς ἄν ἐξ ἀσκήσεως καὶ μελέτης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως Ἀττικῶν γενόμενον τὴν γλώτταν; φησὶ γὰρ τοι, ὥς "προὶ ἔς ἡλικίαν γράμματα τε καὶ μνήμης ἠχοῦν ἐδῆλον καὶ μελέτης κράτος καὶ ἡ γλώττα αὐτῷ ἀττικῶς εἶχε." καὶ "γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐτη πεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄγει ἐς Ταρσοῦς ὁ πατὴρ παρ' Ἐὐθύνημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης, ὃς ῥήτωρ
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

general, and so he is described from the first moment of his birth throughout his history. Anyhow on one 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 book 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-taught gift of understanding all languages. But if 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

1 Or render: "And at death we," etc.
CAP. IX

τε ἄγαθος ἦν καὶ ἐπαίδευε τούτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου εἴχετο ἐκείνης. εἶτα “ἐξουσιοδοτοῦν αὐτῷ Πλατώνειοι τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου. διήκουν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικουρίου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δὲ Πυθαγό- ρείους ἀφίξεις τινὶ σοφίᾳ ἐξυπνομηθείμεθα.” τοσαύτα ὁ μηδεμίαν μαθὼν φωνὴν θεία τε δυνάμει “ἀ καὶ σιωπῶσιν ἀνθρώποι” προλάβων ἐξεπαιδεύετο.

Χ

CAP. X

Ὁ δὲ διαλυτῶν ἀδείας αὐτῶν θαυμάζει, ἐσον συνέσεως τῆς τῶν ἡμέρων φωνῆς ἠλθε, καὶ ἐπιφέρει λέγων, “καὶ εἰς ξύνεσιν δὲ τῆς τῶν ἡμέρων φωνῆς ἠλθε, καὶ ἔμαθε δὲ τούτο διὰ τῶν Ἀραβίων πορευόμενος, ἁριστα γηγοσκόντων τε καὶ πρατ- τόντων αὐτῷ. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων κύκνων ἡδη καὶ ὀρνίθων μαντευομένων ἀκούειν, ὅποσα οἱ χρησμοί. ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων συντο- μενοί τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἡπαρ.” ἐνταῦθα πάντως που δρακόντων καρδίας δήποι καὶ ἡπατος τῶν Πυθαγόρειου ἐμψυχίων τε τροφῆς ἀπεχάμενον καὶ μηδὲ θύειν δαίμοσιν ἐπιτηλομώντα, εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπογεύσασθαι, ὡς ἃν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τούτοις κοινωνήσοι σοφίας. πρὸς γὰρ 508
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

rhetor, and gave him his education, while Apollonius clung to his teacher." We further learn that "he had as fellow-students members of the school of Plato and of Chrysippus and members of the Peripatetic 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 his admiration at the ease with which Apollonius understood the language of animals, and he goes on to tell us the following: "And moreover he acquired 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

509
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τοιώνδε διδασκομένω, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως μὴ οὖχὶ τὰ ὁμοία τοῖς διδασκάλοις ἐξηλώσαντι κατωρθοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα; ἔχομεν δὴ οὖν πρὸς τοὺς καταλελεγμένους καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίων σοφοὺς, διδασκάλους τής κατὰ τὴν οἰωνιστικήν τάνδρος ἐπιστήμης, ἀφ' ἢς εἰκότως ὑπρώμενος ὕστερον ποτε τὸν στροφήν, ὃ τι καὶ βούλοιτο συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἔπει τροφήν, προειπών, θαύμα μέγιστον παρέχει ἐδοξεί τοῖς παροῦσι. ταύτη δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀπεσφαγμένην ὅσον οὕτω λέαιναν ἀμα τοῖς ὅκτω σκύμνοις κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀσσυρίων ὡδὸν θεασάμενος, αὐτίκα τῷ θεάματι συμβαλῶν τῇ ἐσομένης αὐτῷ παρὰ Πέρσαις διατριβής τὸν χρόνον ἐμαντεύσατο.

XI

CAP. Ἀκόλουθα δὲ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραβίων φοιτήσει ἐγχειρεῖν αὐτόν καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ: τῷ γὰρ τοῖς Δάμβιδ, ὃς μόνος φοιτήτης ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἑταίρος, ἀπαγορεύσας παρὰ τοὺς μάγους ἰέναι, μόνος αὐτός, ὃς ἂν μὴ μετ' ἀγνώμονος δηλαδὴ τὰ τῆς μαγείας μανθάνοι, μεσθημβίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο σχολάς. ἔτι δὲ Οὐαρδαίη Βαβυλωνίῳ εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντα, βασιλεῖ ὅδε πως λέγειν αὐτὸν παρατίθεται: "σοφία δὲ μοι Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, ὃς θεοῦς τε θεραπεύειν ὅδε με εὐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν ὄρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὄρωμένων, φοιτῶν τε ἐς διαλέξεις θεῶν." τίς δὲ αὐτῷ ταύτα συγχωρήσει.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

under such masters, how could he attain to their CHAP. x accomplishments otherwise than by imitating their 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 forecast 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. XI were the studies he undertook among the Persians also, according to the account given by the same author. For after forbidding Damis, so we are told, 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

511
CAP. σειεν, ὅτε Πυθαγόρα μὲν οὐδεμία τις τοιαύτη καταλέξεισθαι γραφή, οὐδέ ἀπόρρητά τινα συγγράμματα, ὡς κἀν ὑπονοήσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων ὀρμᾶσθαι, ὁ δὲ γε διδάσκαλος αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ Πυθαγόραν φιλοσοφίας, οὐδὲν τι διαφέρειν τῶν Ἑπικουρείων πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηται τοῦ Φιλοστράτου, ὥδε πως εἰρηκότος, "διδάσκαλος μὲν ἢν αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρων λόγων οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖος, οὐδ᾿ ἐνεργῷ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρῶμενος, γαστρὸς τε ἦττων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἑπίκουρον ἐσχημάτιστο. ἢν δὲ αὐτὸς Εὔξενος ὁ έξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου. ταῦ δὲ Πυθαγόρου γνώμας ἐγίγνωσκεν, ὡσπερ οἱ ὄρυθες ἄ μανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων." φεῦ τής ἀτοπίας, εἰ παρὰ τούτου λέγοι τις τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς διαλέξεως τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι. ἀλλὰ δὴ συγκεκριμένως καὶ ἑτέρων ὑφηγητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀκηκοέναι, καίτοι γε τοῦ συγγραφέως τούτῳ μηδαμῶς ἐπισημηναμένου· τίς δὴ οὖν τούτων σύνεσιν τε καὶ φοιτησίν εἰς διαλέξεις θεῶν ὀραμένων καὶ οὐχ ὀραμένων αὐτὸς τε ὃς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου μαθῶν εἰδέναι, διδάσκεσθαι τε ἑτέρως ἐπηγγέλλετο; καὶ μὴν οὖν ὁ περιβόητος Πλάτων, πάντων γε μᾶλλον τῆς Πυθαγόρου κεκοιμωνικοῦς φιλοσοφίας, οὔτ’ Ἀρχύτας, οὔτ’ αὐτὸς ἐκείνων ὁ τάς Πυθαγόρου γραφή παραδόοις ὁμιλίας Φιλόλαος, οὐδ᾿ εἰ τινὲς ἄλλοις γνώριμοι τῶν δρότων μηχανώτες, οὐ δόξας τε αὐτοῦ καὶ γνώμας γραφὴ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτὸν παραδεδωκασιν, ἐπὶ τοιαύτη τινι ἐσεμνύνατο σοφία. οὐκοῦν ἑτέρωθεν, ἀλλ᾿ 512
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

this to be true of him, seeing that Pythagoras 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

513
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI  οὐκ ἄπτο Πυθαγόρου τὰ τοιαδί μαθῶν, προσχήµατι σεµνολογῶν ἐπιγράφεται τὴν τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦ πρόσρησιν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ παραλογώτατα τὸ ψευδὸς ὡς ἀληθές τις γεγονέναι συγχωρήσειν, οὗκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἔξαυτῶν λέγων ἐκεῖνον τοῦ Σαμίου, πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἔτων ἔξ ἄνθρωπών γενοµένου, τὰ περὶ τούτων αὐτοῦ µεµαθηκέναι. οὐκοῦν πρὸς τοῖς Ἀραβίωις καὶ τούτοις διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ τῆς δὴ νοµιζοµένης ἀπορρήτου περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήµης ἐπιγραπτέον. εἰ δὴ οὖν θείας ἡ φύσεως, κατέψευσται αὐτοῦ τοῖς διδασκάλοις ὁ λόγος, εἰ δὲ ἀληθῆς ἢν οὗτος, ψευδῆς ἢν ὁ µῦθος, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆς ἢ περὶ τοῦ θείου γεγονέναι αὐτοῦ γραφή.

XII

CAP. XII  Οὕτω µοι τοῦ Πρωτέως τὸ φάσµα πολυπραγµονεύον ἔπεισι καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου πίστεων αἰτείν, οὔδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ κύκνων τὰς ἀποδείξεις, οὔς γελοίως τὴν μητέρα τίκτουσαν αὐτὸν μαινώσθαι ἱστορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὔδὲ τῆς περὶ τοῦ σκηνοῦ µυθολογίας τὸν µάρτυρα παρέχειν ἄξιον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων, ὡς ἔφην, δὰµες ἡµῖν συνίστωρ ἀφίζεται, µακρῷ ύστερον ἐν Νίνῳ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας τὰνδρὶ συνάψεις. ἐγὼ µὲν οὖν εὐ µάλα προθύμως τοῖς εἰκόσι τε καὶ ἀληθείας ἐχοµένοις πειθόµενος, εἰ καὶ µείζονά τινα καθ'
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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 thunderbolt; 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. X11

ὑπερβολὴν ἢς ἐπαινοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ λέγοιτ' ἂν, πιστὰ καὶ παραδεκτέα εἶναι μοι δοκῶ, ὅτι μὴ μόνα τὰ τερατώδη καὶ λήρου πλέα. οὖκον φθονοῖς, εἰ φησιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς γένος τε ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν οἰκίστων ἀνημμένον τῷ ἀνδρὶ γεγονέ- ναι, καὶ πλούτῳ, εἰ σύτως ἔτυχεν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἀπαντας, διδασκάλων τε νέων ὑπὸ μόνον τῶν δεδηλωμένων τυχεῖν, ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν διδάσκαλον καὶ καθηγητὴν γεγονέ- ναι. ἔστω δ' ἐπὶ τούτως ἐντρεχῆς καὶ τὰ κοινά, ὡς τὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεραπείας χάριν ἀφιγμένον διὰ γνώμης ἀρίστης ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς ἀρρωστιῶς,

νοσοῦντι γὰρ ἡ ὑδέρου πάθει κατάλληλον ἐγκρα-

τείας ὑποθέσθαι δίαιταν τῷ κάμμουντι, καὶ ταὐτῇ αὐτῶν ύγιὰ καταστῆσαι, καὶ τούτῳ γε τῆς φρονή-

σεως ἀποδεκτὸν τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ ὥς τὸν πολυτε-

λῶς θύειν παρεσκευαζόμενον ἔρξεν, οὐδὲ οἰκὸς ἐπὶ κακίᾳ διαβεβημένον, καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀπάντων πλουσιῶτατον τε καὶ περιφανέστατον αὐτῶν ὑποτίθεται. καὶ ἐν σώφροσι δ' αὐτῶν φθόνος οὐδὲὶς ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι τε πρὸς τὸν ἔραστὴν πειρώμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ὤρας διελοιδορήσατο, καὶ γυναικείας ὃτι καθαρὸν ἐαυτῶν μίξεως διὰ τέλους, ὅς ὁ λόγος φησίν, ἡγαγε.

Πιστὰ δ' ἐστω καὶ τὰ τής πενταετοὺς κατὰ
Πυθαγόραν σιωπῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ, ὅπως ταῦτην
dιήνυσεν, ἐπαινοῦ ἀξία. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ δὴ 516
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

compliment to a good man; for I could still bring myself to accept them, as long as they are not bewilderingly 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
CAP. XII τοιαύτα ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ ὡς ἄληθῶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀληθείας οὐ πόρρω δεχόμην ἂν, περὶ πολλοῦ τὸ, εὐγνωμόν τε καὶ φιλάληθες τιμώμενος· τὸ γέ τοι κρείττον ἀνθρώπου τὴν φύσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι, καὶ παρὰ πόδας ἐναντιολογεῖν τῆς τε δοθείσης ἀμυνημονεὶν ὑποθέσεως, ἔχειν ψόγον ἂν καὶ διαβολὴν αὐτῷ τε τῷ γράφοντι καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῷ γραφομένῳ περιάψειν ἤγούμαι.

XIII

CAP. XIII Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτον συγγράμματος. ἐπίσωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου. τὴν ἀπὸ Περσίδος ἐπ᾽ Ἰνδοὺς πορείαν ἄγει παραλαβῶν αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος. εἰτά τι πεπονθός ἀπειρόκαλον, ὡσπερ τι παράδοξον, δαιμόνιον τι, ὁ καὶ ἐμπούσαν ὀνομάζει, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἱδόντα λοιδορίας ἀμα τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπελάσαι φησί, καὶ ξόων δὲ εἰς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς προσαχθέντων, εἰρήκεναι αὐτὸν τῷ Δάμῳ, ὡς ἅρα συγχωροίν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις συτείσθαι τῶν κρεῶν, τὸ γὰρ ἀπέκειθαι αὐτῶν, αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ὅραν προβαίνον, ἑαυτῷ δὲ εἰς ἁ ὁμολογηταὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ παιδός. καίτοι τίς οὖκ ἂν ἀπορῆσειν, ὅτι μηδ' αὐτὸν, ἰν μόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ βίου ζηλωτὴν 518
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

is merely human, and in no way incongruous with CHAP. philosophy or with truth, and I can therefore accept 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 book of Philostratus; and let us now go on to 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
κεκτήσθαι καὶ προὺτρεπεῖν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, εἰργενὸς οἶα φύλατον τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων, ὡς ἀν ὦν ὀψίας κατὰ Πυθαγόραν τροφῆς, ὃ δ᾽ οὐκ᾽ οἶδ᾽ ὅποιφ λόγον λέγων μὲν οὐ συνοίσειν ἔαντῷ, κεῖνος δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὀρᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποχῆς προβαίνον ώμολόγει.

XIV

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος ὁ τάληθες τιμῶν πρὸς τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἐμαρτυρημένος, ὥσ᾽ ὢς ἀληθείας ὅποια δείγματα παρίστησι γενόμενον παρ᾽ Ἰνδοῖς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον παραστήσασθαι φησιν ἐρμηνέα, καὶ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ προσδιαλέγεσθαι Φραώτη, τοῦτο δ᾽ εἶναι τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ μικρὸς πρόσθεν καὶ αὐτῶν πασῶν γλωσσῶν συνεις νῦν αὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν ἐρμηνέως δεῖται. καὶ πάλιν ὁ τὰ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων εἴδως καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς θεόν

κωφὸν τε ἄνω χειροῦ καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἄκοιων

δι᾽ ἐρμηνεύς ἀνερωτᾶ, ὅποια τε εἰς τῷ βασιλεῖ δίαντα, ἡγεμόνα τε ἄξιοι τῆς ἔσ χριστάνας πορείας γενέσθαι τινὰ αὐτῆς. καὶ μεταξὺ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα βάρβαρος ὅν τὴν φύσιν, τὸν ἐρμηνεία ἐκποδῶν μεταστησάμενος, Ἐλλαδὲ χρῆται πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ, παιδείαν καὶ πολυμάθειαν 520
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?

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.

"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
CAP. \( \text{ἐνδεικνύμενος}, \) ὁ δὲ οὐδ’ ὃς, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀμαθῶς ἔχοι φωνῆς, δέον ἐπεφιλοτιμήσατο.

XV

CAP. Ἄλλα καὶ λαλοῦντος Ἐλλάδι γλώσσῃ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκπλήττεται, ἡ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔσκε, ἐαυτῷ γράφων. πῶς γὰρ ἄν ἔξεπλάγη μὴ οὐχὶ βάρβαρον οἰκεῖς; καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον θαυμάσας οὔποτ’ ἄν ἔλληνισαι προσεδόκησεν εἰθ’, ὡσπερ τι παραδόντα παράδοξον καταπλαγείς, καὶ τὸ τούτου ἐτ’ ἄγνωσών αὑτίου, “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὁ βασιλεὺς, πόθεν οὔτως ἔχεις φωνής Ἐλλάδος; φιλοσοφία τε ἡ περὶ σὲ πόθεν ἐνταῦθα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους γε, οἰμαί, ἀναφέρεις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναι Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους τούτου.” αὖται αἱ παράδοξοι τοῦ πάντα προγνώσει διειληφότος φωναί, ὅς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀμειβόμενος, ὅτι τε σχοινὶ διδασκάλους καὶ οὕτως οὕτω, ἕκαστά τε πατρόθεν τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμβεβηκότων φράζει.

Εἰτα καὶ τισὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δικάζοντος περὶ θησαυροῦ φωραθέντος ἐν ἀγρῷ, πότερα τῷ πριαμένῳ ἢ τῷ τὸ χωρίον ἄποδομένῳ δέοι νεῖμαι τούτου, ὁ πάντα φιλόσοφοι καὶ θεοὶ κεχαρισμένος ἔρωτηθεῖς ἐπικρίνει τῷ πριαμένῳ, λογισμὸν δὴ αὐτοῖς 522
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.

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.

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:

523
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XV

ρήμασιν ἐπειτών, "ὡς οὐκ ἂν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφείλοντο καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαύλος ἦν, τῷ δ' αἱ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἦν τοῦ ἀποδομένου." ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν δὴ συνάγεσθαι, τοῖς μὲν εὐπόροις καὶ πλοῦτῳ διαφέροντας, κἂν αἰσχρότατοι καὶ πανωλέστατοι τυγχάνοιεν, τρισευδαίμοναι καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἤγείσθαι, μόνους δὲ ἀρα κακοδαίμονάς τε καὶ ἄθλιος τούς πενεστάτους, κἂν Σωκράτης, κἂν Διογένης, κἂν αὐτός ἔκεινος Πυθαγόρας τυγχάνῃ, κἂν ἄλλος, οἱ πάντων ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατοι τε καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι. εἴποι γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ, μὴ ἂν καὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς μὲν πένητας, τούτους δὴ αὐτούς, οἱ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν διήνεγκαν, ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφὴν, μὴ οὐχὶ πάντως φαύλους ὄντας τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἦθος ἀκόλαστοτέροις ἀφθονα καὶ τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖα παρασχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βελτίους ἐτύγχανυ τὸν πρότέρων, ἐξ ὧν παντὶ τῷ καταφαυνῇ ἡ τοῦ συμπεράσματος ἀτοπία.

XVI

CAP. XVI

Ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου παραθέμενοι, ἰὼμεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βεβοημένους ἐποψιμενοὶ Βραχμάνας. ἔνθα δὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιοτα καὶ εἰ τί περ ἄλλο τερατῶδες ποτὲ μυθολόγους 524.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

"That the gods would never have deprived the one of the land, if he had not been a bad man; nor would 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 conclusion is manifest to everyone.

XVI

After setting before you these incidents out of the second book, let us pass on to the third, and consider the stories told of the far-famed Brahmans. For here we shall have to admit that the tales of Thule, and any other miraculous legends ever in-
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVI τισὶν ἀναπέπλασται, εὗ μᾶλα πιστὰ καὶ ἀληθε- στατα, ὡς ἐν παραθέσει τούτων, ἀναφανὴσται- οίς καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἑπιστήσαται ἄξιον, τῆς τοῦ Φιλα- λήθους ἑνεκεν αὐθαδείας ἡμῶν μὲν εὐχέρειαν καὶ κουφότητα τρόπου περιάπτουτος, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ παραπλησίως τὴν ἄκριβὴ καὶ βεβαιὰν μετὰ συνέσεως κρίσιν. ὥρα γοῦν, ἐφ’ ὦς σεμνύ- ϊς παραδόξως, τῶν ἠμετέρων θείων εὐαγγελι- στῶν προκρίνων τὸν Φιλόστρατον, ὡς μὴ μόνον παιδείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἠκοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθείας ἐπιμεμελημένον.

XVII

CAP. XVII Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Βραχμᾶνι- πορείᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γυνὴ τῆς αὐτῶ τὴν χροιᾶν εἰσάγεται ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐς όσφυν λευκοτάτη, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον μέρος τοῦ σώματος μέλαινα. τὰ δὲ, προϊόντων τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Βραχ- μᾶνις ὁδοῖς, ὡρῇ καταπεφυτευμένα τὸ πέτερι, καὶ τούτου πίθηκοι γεωργοί, καὶ παράδοξοί τινε- τὸ μέγεθος δράκοντες, ὁμ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς χαμπάδες ἀπορριπτοῦνται πυρὸς, οὕς εἰ τίς ἀνέλοι, εὕροι αὖ- φησι, παράδοξοι λύθως ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῷ τοῦ Γύγου τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι παραπλησίους. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τῶν Βραχμάνων λόφου. ὅς δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἄφικοντο, σαινδαράκινων ἐνταῦθα φρέαρ ὑδατος ἱδεῖν παράδοξο, καὶ κρατήρα πλη- σίον πυρὸς, οὗ φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολιβδώδης,

526
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

tvented by any story-tellers, turn out to be by com-
parison 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.

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 Gyes, 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVII

dιύο τε πίθους λίθου μέλανος, τόν μὲν δμβρων, τοί
dὲ ἀνέμων, ἀφ’ ᾗν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, οἷς ἄν εἰς
tῆς χώρας ἒλεφ, χορηγεῖν. ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἀγάλματα
παρ’ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος
Πυθίου καὶ Διονύσου Λιμναίου, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν
Ἐλληνικῶν θεῶν, ᾿Ιάρχαν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων δι-
adáskalon kalaieíthai, δυ καὶ ἱδεῖν καθεξομενοι
πολλοῦ γε δεῖ φιλοσοφικῷ, σατραπικῷ δὲ ἂν
μᾶλλον σχήματε ἐφ’ ὑψηλοτάτου δίφρου. χαλκοῦ
δὲ μέλανος οὐτος ἦν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσός
ἀγάλμασιν, οἷα δὴ εἰκός τεχνουργῶν βαναύσων
τρόπου πυρί καὶ σιδήρῳ μοχθοῦντας τοὺς φιλο-
σόφους τεχνουργεῖν, ἢ καὶ βαυματοποιῶν δίκη
αὐτόματον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ δημοῦργημα, οἳ δὲ τῶν
ἄλλων τῶν μετ’ αὐτῶν διδασκάλων δίφρου χαλκοῦ
μὲν, φησιν, ἀσημοὶ δὲ ἥσαν καὶ ἤτοι ὑψηλοῖ
ἐδει γὰρ που πάντως τυράννου σχήματε προνομίας
τῆς ἐν ἀγάλμασι καὶ χρυσῷ τῶν τῆς θείας φιλο-
sофίας αξιοῦθαι διδάσκαλον.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII

Πρῶτον δὲ τὸν ᾿Ιάρχαν ἰδόντα φησὶ τῶν
Ἀπολλώνιον εξ ὀνόματός τε προσειπεῖν ᾿Ελλάδι
τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ ἂν αὐτῷ παρὰ Φραώτου κομίζων,
épistolein aítēsai, kata πρόγνωσιν ἢδη τοῦτο
προειληφότα: énedeixasthai te tò énthoôn tῆ
προγνώσεως προειρηκότα, ὡς ἄρα ἐνι γράμματι
τῷ δὲλτα λείποι ἡ ἐπιστολῆ: ἀρξασθαί τε
528
there were two jars there of black stone, the one of which contained rain, and the other winds, from 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.

And we are told that Iarchas, the moment he saw Apollonius, addressed him by name in the Greek tongue, and asked him for the letter which he brought from Phraotes, for he had already received this by dint of his foreknowledge; and by way of 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
CAP. ΑΠΕΙΡΟΚΑΛΛΩΣ ΕΥΘÙΣ ΑΠΌ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΟΜΗΛΙΑΣ, ΑΠΕΙΡΟΠΛΟΥΤΟΝ ΔΙΚΗΝ, ΕΝΕΠΙΔΕΙΚΝΥΣΙΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΓΝΩΣΕΩΣ ΠΛΕΟΝΕΚΤΗΜΑ, ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ, ΚΑΤΑΛΕΓΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΥ 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ, ΓΕΝΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΟΦΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤÙΝ ΠΟΡΕΙΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΚΑΤ' ΑΥΤÙΝ ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜέΝΑ ΤΕ ΑΥΤÙ ΚΑΙ ΩΜΗΛΙΜέΝΑ. ΕΙΤΑ ΔΕ ΦηΣΙΝ ΑΥΤÙΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ Ο ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΟΣ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ ΤΟΥ 'ΒΡΑΧΧΑΝΑΣ ΑΜΑ ΤΩ 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΩ ΧΡΙΣΑΜέΝΟΥΣ ἩΛΕΚΤΡΙΝΩ ΦΑΡΜΑΚεΙ ΛΟΥΠΑΣΘΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΣΤάΝΤΑΣ ΩΣ ΕΝ ΧΡΟΝΩ ΤΗΝ ΓηΝ ΤΥΠΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΡάΒΔΟΙΣ, ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΚΥΡΤΩΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΝΑΠÕΜΠΑΙ ΑΥΤÙΣ ΕΙΣ ΔÝΠΗΧΥ ΤΟΥ ΑἐΡΟΣ, ΕΣΤάΝΑΙ ΤΕ ΑΥΤÙΣ ΜΕΤΕΩΡΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΑΥΤÙ ΔÆΡΙ ΕΠÌ ΤΙ ΧΡÓΝΟΥ ΔΙΑΣΤΗΜΑ ΕΛΚΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΥΡ ΑΠÒ ΤΟΥ ΗÌΟΥ, ΌΣΤΕ ΒΟΥΛΟΥΝΤΟ, ΑΥΤΟΜΑΤÓΝ, ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΕΠΙΦÉΡΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΧΩΝ Ο ΘΑΥΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΟΣ, ΏS ΆΡΑ ΤΡÝΠΟΔΕΣ ΠΥΘΙΚΩΝ ΤΕΤΤΑΡΩΝ ΕΞΕΚΥΚΛΩΘΗΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΜΑΤΩΝ ΦΟΙΤΩΝΤΕΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΙΚΑΞΕΙ ΔΕ ΟÙΝ ΑΥΤÙΣ ΤΟÙ 'ΟΜΗΡΕΙΟΙΣ, ΟΙΝΟΧÓΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΕΠÌ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΚ ΧΑΛΚOΥ ΔΙΑΚόΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΝ ÝΛΗΝ ἩΣΤΗΣΙ ΤΕΤΤΑΡΑΣ' ΕΠΙΛΕΓΕΙ ΔΕ, ΏS ΆΡΑ ΚΑΙ Η ΓΗ ΑΥΤΟΜΑΤΩΣ ὙΠΕΣΤÓΡΥΝΤΟ ΑΥΤÙΣ ΠÓΑΣ. ΤOΝ ΔΕ ΤΡΥΠόΔΩΝ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΔÛO, ΦΗΣΙΝ, ΟΙΝΟΥ ΑΡΕΡΡΕΟΥΝ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΣΤΕΡΟΙ ΔÛO, Ό ΜΕΝ ÝΔΑΤΟΣ ΘΕΡΜΟΥ ΚΡΑΣΙΝ ΠΑΡΕÎΧΕΝ, Ο Δ' ΑΥ ΨΥΧΡoU. ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΟΙΝΟΧÓΟΥΣ ΤΟÙΣ ΧΑΛΚOΥΣ ἈΡΥΣΘΑΙ ΕΥΜêΤΡΩΣ ΤΟÙ ΤE ΟΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟÙ ΥΔΑΤΟΣ, ΠΕΡΙΕΛΑÙΝΕΙΝ ΤΕ ΚΥΚΛΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΚΥΛΙΚΑΣ, ὍΣΠΕΡ ΕΝ ΤΟÙΣ ΠÓΤΟΙΣ.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

at once in a vulgar manner in that very first inter-
view, 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 them-
selves 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 unmasked. And of these tripods two, he says,
rin 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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XIX

CAP. XIX Ταῦτα Ἰεροκλεῖ τὰ ἀνωτάτω καὶ καθόλου δικαστήρια πεπιστευμένω, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνετάσεως ἀληθῆ καὶ πιστὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν εὐχέρεια καὶ κοινάτης πλείστη ὡση κατέγνωσται παρ’ αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ τοιαῦτα Φιλόστράτῳ πιστεύων, αὐτὸς δὴ ῥήμασι σεμνύνεται λέγων, “ἐπισκεψόμεθα γε μὴν, ὅσοι βέλτιον καὶ συνετότερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἐχομεν γνώμην.”

XX

CAP. XX Ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ δὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Φιλόστρατον βασιλείας ἐγχωριάζων Ἰνδοῖς εἰςάγεται συμπίνων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τούτων δὲ ἐνυβριζειν καὶ ἐμπαροινεῖν φιλοσοφία, μεθύσκεσθαι τε παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀντιπαρεξάγειν Ἡλίῳ καὶ ἀλαζονεύσθαι ἰστορεῖ· καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον δ’ ἐρμηνεύω τὰ παρὰ τούτοις μανθάνειν, καὶ αὐτόν πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσθαι, ὑφερμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα· καὶ πῶς οὐ θανμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅπως τὸν οὕτως ύβριστήν καὶ ἀτοπώτατον παροινεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι παρὰ τηλικούτοις εἶναι ἢν, ὅπερ παρεῖναι ἄξιον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, μὴ τί γε καὶ ἴσθεόν ἐστίν; τί δέ μοι ἴσοθέοις τούτους καλεῖν

532
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XIX

Such are the stories which Hierocles, who has been entrusted to administer the supreme courts of justice all over the province, finds true and reliable after due enquiry, at the same time that he 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 same Philostratus, that a king who was sojourning in India is introduced to drink with the philosophers; and we hear that he took occasion to insult philosophy with drunken jests, and that he got so tipsy in 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. XXI καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐνυβρίζειν τοὺς ἀνδρας; ὅπωτε πυθομένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, τίνας ἐαυτοὺς ἤγοιν-
tαι, θεοὺς ἔφη ὁ Ἰάρχας, δεὶ καὶ τοῖς συμπόταις, 
οὶ δὴ θεός, φιλοσόφου μὲν ἥκεστα τρόπφ, πολλοῦ 
γε δεῖ, μὴ τί γε μᾶλλον, οὐ ἔφησε, θεοῦ ἀξίως, 
ἐς τὴν φιάλην ἑπικύπτων ἐξήρχεν, ὡ δὲ, φήσιν ὁ 
συγγραφεύς, ὃς ἀρά ἐπότιξεν ἴκανός πάντας, 
καὶ ἐπεδίδου, καθάπερ αἱ ἀπόρρητοι πηγαὶ τοῖς 
ἀνιμωμένοις.

XXI

CAP. XXI Μετὰ ταῦτα κοινὰ λόγων ὀμιλιάι καὶ σπου-
dαιολογίαι τῶν φιλοσόφων, τοῦ μὲν Ἰάρχα 
διδάσκοντος, ὡς ἀρὰ ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ψυχή ἐν 
ἐτέρῳ ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλέως γένοιτο σώματι, καὶ 
τοιαδί τινα αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα εἴη, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολ-
λωνίου, ὡς νῦν Αἰγυπτίας ποτὲ γένοιτο κυβερ-
nήτης, καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα διαπράξαιτο, πεύσεις τε 
καὶ ἀποκρίσεις ἐκάστῳ, ὡς καὶ τῆς σοφίας 
ἄξιον μηδαμῶς παρεκθέσθαι τὴν μνήμην. ἔρεσθαι 
δὲ φησὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰ ἐστὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς 
χρύσεων ύδωρ — ὃ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ παραδόξου 
πύσματος — καὶ περὶ ἄνθρώπων δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν οἰ-
κούντων καὶ Πυγμαίων ἄλλων καὶ σκιαπόδων 
ἀνερωτῶν, καὶ εἰ γίγνοιτο παρ’ αὐτοῖς ζών τετρά-
pουν, ὃ λέγεται μαρτιχόρα, ὃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἄνθρω-

534
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

chaff them about their dignity? Why, when Apol-
onius asked them whom they considered themselves
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.

XXI

After this there was general conversation and
some serious discussion among the philosophers, in
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
pigmies, 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

535
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXI
πω εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ωμοίωσθαι τὸ μέγεθος, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἐκφέρειν πηχυαίας καὶ ἀκανθώδεις τὰς τρίχας, ἃς βάλλειν ὡσπερ τοξεύματα ἐστοῦς θηρώντας· καὶ τοιαύτα μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀνερωτάν, τὸν δὲ Ἰάρχαν διδάσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ μὲν τῶν Πυγμαίων, ὡς ἄρα εἶπεν οἰκούντες μὲν ὑπόγειοι, διατρίβοντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμόν ζώντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἀνύπαρκτα εἶναι.

XXII

CAP. XXII
'Εριον ἐπὶ τούτων φυόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς ἐσθήτως υλήν ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀναγράφει, πάντως δήπου τῶν φιλοσόφων ἰστοῦ ἐποιχομένων καὶ ταλασιουργίας ὑπὸ τοῦ κατεργασίαν ἐκπονομένων—οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσῆκται παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναικεῖον φύλον—εἰ μὴ καὶ τούτο φήσειν αὐτόματον αὐτοῖς παραδόξως δὴ ἱερὰν ἐς ἐσθήτα μεταφύσθαι. φέρειν δ' ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ῥάβδον καὶ δακτύλιον ἀπόρρητον ἔχοντα ἵσχυν. εἶτα παραδοξοποία τοῦ Βραχμάνου, ὡς δαίμονων δὲ ἐπιστολὴς ἀνακάλεσαι, ὡς χωλεύοντα καταψήσας τῶν γλυκτῶν θεραπεύσειν, ὡς τυφλὸ τὸ βλέπειν καὶ ἄδρανεί τινι τὴν χείρα σφαῖν χαρίζοιτο. πολλὰ γὰρ ἔνοικο πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπολύσαντι τῷ συγγραφεῖ. δῆλα γὰρ, ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτε βρωντὰς 536
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 pigmies, 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.

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πίθοις τρίποδάς τε ἐκ λίθου φοιτώντας αὐτομάτως καὶ οἷνοχόους ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ περιέλαινεν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας προιστορῆς, διὰ τῆς περὶ τούτων ὡς ἄληθῶν ἀφηγήσεως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων ἑξῆφηνε τε καὶ διήλεγξε τὴν μυθολογίαν. εἰρηκέναι δὲ φησιν ο这个时代. φιλόστρατος τῶν Δάμων δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας καὶ τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ συμφιλοσοφήσαι τῶν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰληφέναι τε παρ' αὐτοῦ δακτυλίους ἐπτὰ ἐπωνύμους ἀστέρων, οὕς καὶ φορεῖν αὐτὸν καθ' ἐνα πρὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἥμερῶν.

Ταύτα δὲ νῦν εἰπὼν ὁ τάληθες τιμᾶν παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλήθειν νεομισμένος μεθ' ἑτερα τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς ἄν δὴ γοητείαν τῶν Βραχμάνων καταγνώσας, καὶ ταύτης ἔλευθεν καταστήσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον φρουτίσας, ἐπιφέρει φάσκων κατὰ λέξην ἴδιον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἱνδοίς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἷνοχοὺς καὶ ὅσα αὐτοματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἰπον, οὗθ', ὅπως σοφίζοντο αὐτά, ἢρετο, οὕτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπήνει μὲν, ἅλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἥξιον." καὶ πῶς, ὦ οὖτος, οὐκ ἥξιον, ὁ δίχα τοῦ Δάμων σπουδὴν ποιούμενος συμφιλοσοφεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν μόνον ἔταξιν, ὁ τι καὶ πράττοι, λανθάνειν δέν ἡγούμενος; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἥξιον ἅλοῦν ὁ τοὺς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπωνύμους καταδεχόμενος δακτυλίους, καὶ τούτους ἀναγκαῖον τιθέμενος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βλου φέρειν πρὸς 538
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

the truth of his earlier tales, I refer to those of lightning and wind kept in jars, and of tripods of 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. XXII
ta ónoma ta'n hmeron, kaito' gi aperorriton, os
phj's aútós, exontas ischyn; ei de kai dodei's to mj
xhlooun hxiwkevai aútov, os mj eu práttoota,
o'c ekxi'lon dhlonhtei. po'cs ouv épithe'i, ef' ois
mj hxi'ou xhlooun; ei de' os theiws énergouitas
éphthe'i, po'cs ouc ekxi'lon ta' epaínov axia; álala
gar metà thn parà tou'tois diatarbhein palino-
stoúnta aútov amà tois étaírous élpnuv'ínei
phson e's thn thn 'Oreitovn xóra, éntha xalcai
mèn aútovs ai pétraí, xalkei dè 'h psámmos, xalkei
dè' psýmva oi potamoí agou'si.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII
Kai tosaúta mév tâ katâ trítovn súnggramma,
èpíwmen de' hði kai tâ ekxi'. èpavneidónta fhsin
ápò ths 'Ivðovn xóra eplì thn 'Ellada, koívnovn
tovn theòn prós aútovn tov theòn anakekhrxhthai,
o'i kai tou's kúmou'tas os aútovn ef' úgeia paré-
pempon, kai dèta os ek' Aráboun kai mágon kai
'Ivðovn parádóxovn tina kai theíon h'miû aútovn
ángagón, parádóxovn ènteíthen aparxhmátovn katá-
chetai. kaitoi an tis eîpou euLógyos, òti dh' ei
theiostéras h kat' ántrwpon fúseos òn, pálaí,
all' ou nûn èdei, prò ths dè ètérwv metaleússewos
tovn theúmavíon katárchsethai, peritthe d' an kai
540
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

rest of his life upon the days severally named after CHAP. XXII 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
HELLAS

CAP. XXII

ἡ ἑξ 'Αράβων αὐτῷ μάγων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν διαστούδης ἐπεχειρεῖτο πολυμιθεία, εἰ δὴ τις καὶ τὴν δοθείαν ὑπῆρξεν ὑπόθεσιν ἀλλὰ οὕτως κατὰ τὸν φιλαλήθη συγγραφέα νῦν δὴ πάρεστι μετὰ τοσούτους διδασκάλους τὴν σοφίαν ἐνεπιδεικνύμενος, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, οὐδὲν ἑξ 'Αράβων καὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτῶν οἰωνιστικῆς ὁρμώμενος τὸν στροφήν, ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο τοὺς ἔτερους ἑπὶ τροφὴν παρακαλῶν ἐφερρυθεύει τοῖς παρόντωι, εἶτα δὲ λοιμαὶ ἐν Ἑφέσῳ προαισθόμενος προμαντεύεται τῶν πολίταις. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν καὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δομετιανοῦ ἀπολογία αὐτοῦ παρατίθεται. ἐρώμενον γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅποθεν ὁρμώμενος τοῦτο προείποι, "λεπτοτέρα," ἐφῆ, "χρώμενος, ὁ βασιλεὺς, διαίτη πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ θρόμην.

Καὶ τρίτον δὲ αὐτοῦ θαύμα γεγονὸς ἑστορεῖ, ὡς ἡ ἀλεξάντων τὸν λοιμὸν, ὅπερ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἑπί τέλει κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίας οὐ τέθεικεν ὁ συγγραφέας, ὅτι μὴ παρήν, ὡς εἰκὸς, αὐτῷ δ' ἀπολογίας ἀπολύσασθαι τὸ ἐγκλήμα, φέρε δ' οὖν ὁμοὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἰστορίαν ἐς φανερὸν ὑποθέωμεθα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ταύτην εὐθύνοντες. εἰ τινὶ γὰρ οὖκ εἴη σαφὲς, ὅτι δὴ πολὺ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν γοητείας τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐμπλευρων, 542
superfluous for him to take so much trouble to acquire the multifarious lore of Arabs and of Magi 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 presentiment. 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, which was nothing less than that of his averting the plague. Although the author has been careful 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. XXIII

αὐτὸς ὁ τρόπος ἀπελέγχει τῆς ἱστορίας. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ λοιμὸν ὑποτίθεται ἐν εἰδεὶ πτωχεύοντος καὶ ῥάκεσιν ἡμιφιεσμένου πρεσβύτου ἄνδρος εἰράσθαι, ὅπως καταλεύειν ἐπικελευσμένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου πρότερον μὲν πῦρ βάλλειν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἰδ' ὑστερον βληθέντα λίθοις, κύνα συντετριμμένου καὶ παραπτύωτα ἄφρον, ὡς οἱ λυττόντες, φαινὴν, εἰρηκέναι δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τούτον καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα Δομετιανοῦ ἀπολογία ταῦτα γράψει: "τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῆ ἑσάργονται, καὶ εἴδον καὶ ἱδὼν εἶλον, οὐ παύσας νόσου, ἀλλ' ἔξελον." τις δὴ σὺν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ μέγα τὴν τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ γελάσεται παραδοξοτοικαίν, ἥδιν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ λίθων ὑποπίπτον βολαῖς, συντετριμμένον τε πρὸς ἄνθρώπων καὶ ἄφρον παραπτύων τὴν τοῦ λοιμοῦ φύσιν ἀκούων, δὲ οὐδ' ἀλλ' ὅτιον τυγχἀνει ἡ φθορὰ καὶ κάκωσις ἄερος, ἐπὶ τὸ νοσόδες τρεπομένου τοῦ περιέχοντος ἐκ πονηρῶν τε καὶ φαύλων ἀναθυμασεων, ἡ λόγος ιατρικὸς παραδίδωσι, συνισταμένον; καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἂν τὸ φάσμα διευθυνθεῖ, ἑπείπερ μόνη τῇ τῶν Ἐφέσιων πόλει, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ὦμόροις τῶν λοιμῶν ἐπισκηψαῖ φησὶν ὁ λόγος, ὅπερ πῶς οὐκ ἂν γεγόνει κάκωσιν τοῦ περιέχοντος πεποιθότος; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατακλείσθεν μόνῳ ἄν ἐφήδρευε τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἀέρι τὸ νόσημα.

544
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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 thauma-
turge? 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.
Τέταρτον αυτῶ παράδοξον Ἀχιλλέως ἡν ψυχή πρῶτον μὲν ἐν χλαμύδι πεντάπτηχυς, εἶτα δωδεκάπτηχυς τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῶν μνήματι ψαμμηνή, καὶ τοῦ Θεταλοῦ τοῦ καταιμισμένης ὅτι δὴ τὰ ἑναγίσματα αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔθος ἦν, οὐκ ἐπετέλουσιν, μηνιώσα τε εἰσέτε Τρωσι τῶν ἐς αὐτῶν πεπλημμελημένων, καὶ προστάτουσα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πέντε λόγους, οὐς ἂν αὐτῶς τε Ῥμόλοιται καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι συγχωροῖεν, ἀνέρεσθαι. εἰδ' ὑπάντα εἰδῶς καὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν αὐχώμενον ἔτι ἄγνοει, εἰ τάφου τύχοι Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ᾧ Μοῦσὼν βρῆκε καὶ Νηρηίδων ἐπὶ αὐτῶ γεγονόντα, καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἀνερωτᾶ καὶ διαπωνθάνεται, εἰ Πολυάργη ἐπιτοπάσας αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰ ᾧ Ἐλένη ἢ Τρόιαν ἑληλόθαι, ὡς σεμνὰ γε καὶ κατεπείγοντα εἰς τὸν φιλόσοφον βίων τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ σπουδῆς αἰώνος ἐρωτήματα. θαυμάζει δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τούθι ήρωες παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησίων ἐνὶ χρόνῳ γεγονόντα, καὶ εἰ ἀφίκετο ἢ Τρόιαν Παλαμήδης τῶν δὴ θεῶν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ οὐκ ὀρωμένων ὀμιλητῆς τοιαύτα ἄγνοειν, καὶ περὶ τοιούτω ἀνερωτᾶν, ποῖας οὖχ γένοιτ' ἄν αἰσχύνη, εἰ μὴ ἁρα, ἐπεὶ δὴ νεκροῖς ὀμιλῶν εἰσήκται, ἐπὶ τίν 546
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

547

N N 2
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXIV

ψυχρότερον μεταποιεῖ τὰς πεύσεις ὁ συγγραφεύς.

ὡς ἄν ὑπεκλύσεις τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ πέρα τῶν

προσηκόντων αὐτῶν περιεργάσθαι δοκείν· καὶ γὰρ

δὴ καὶ ἀπολογούμενον αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει, ὅτι μὴ

κατὰ νεκρομαντεῖαν ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς φανείσης

ὑψεως γένοιτο, "οὔτε γὰρ βόθρον," εἶπεν,

"Οδυσσέως ὅρυξάμενος, αὐτὸ ἀρνῶν αἰματι

ψυχαγωγήσας, ἐς διάλεξιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἡλθον,

ἀλλ’ εὔξαμενος ὑπὸ σάτα τοῖς ἠρωσίν Ἰνδῶν

ἀποσεμνύνεται ὁ μηδὲν μαθεῖν παρ’ Ἰνδῶν, μηδὲ

ζηλώσαι τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῖς σοφίαν πρὸς τοῦ συγ-

γραφέως μεμαρτυρημένος.

XXV

CAP. XXV

Τί δὴ ταύτα οὖν, ὡς οὕτως, εἰ μὴ τῆς ἡν κακοσθῆς

περιεργία, μηδὲ τοῦ ἕνα σοι καὶ γνήσιου καὶ

μόνον ἑταίρου Δάμιν κεινωνὸν ἐποιοῦ τῆς θαν-

μαστής ταύτης ὑψεώς τε καὶ ὁμιλίας; τί δ’

οὐχὶ καὶ δι’ ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔξην, ἀλλὰ τῶν

νυκτῶν ἀψρὶ καὶ μόνον; τί δὲ καὶ ἡλαυνοῦν

tὴν τοῦ ἠρωσίν ψυχήν ἀλεξτρυόνων βοῶς;

"ἀπῆλθε γὰρ," φησί, "ἐξὶν ἀστρατῆ μετρία, καὶ

γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλεξτρῦνσες ἦδη φῶς ἤπτοτο;" δαίμοσι

μὲν οὖν πονηροὶς γένοιτ’ ἄν ἱσως ὁ τῆς

ὁρᾶς ἐπιτίθεεις εἰς περιέργους ὁμιλίας καλῶς,

ἄλλ’ οὖχ’ ἤρωδε ψυχῆ, ἣν τῆς παχέας τοῦ

548
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

author intentionally gives a frigid turn to his ques-
tions, in order to avert the suspicion of his having
irreligiously prayed 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 address-
ing 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.

XXV

WHAT then is the reason, my good fellow, sup-
posing 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 begin-
ning 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

549
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXV
σώματος ἑλευθερωθείσαν ὑλῆς ἀγαθὴν καὶ πανάρετον εἶναι χρεῶν. Ὁ γε μὴν εἰσηγμένος ἐνταῦθα δαίμων βάσκανος καὶ φθονερὸς τὸν τρόπον, ὀργίλος τε καὶ ταπεινὸς τὴν διάθεσιν ὑποτετύπωται. ἦν οὖν τοιοῦτος ὁ τῶν Ἀντισθένης μειράκιον τι σπουδαῖον ὡς ἦν δὴ φιλοσόφῳ συνέπεσθαι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πειρόμενον ἀπείρων; προστάτης γὰρ τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν συνέμπορον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας, ἐπιλέγων τὴν αἰτίαν "Πριαμίδης τε γὰρ," φησιν, "ἰκανός ἐστι καὶ τὸν Ἔκτορα ὑμῶν οὐ παύεται." πῶς δὲ οὐκ ὀργίλος καὶ ταπεινὸς ὁ Θετταλοῖς, ὅτι μὴ θύσιν αὐτῷ, θυμοῦμενος, καὶ Ἰρωσίν, ὅτι δὴ πρὸ μυρίων ὀσων ἐτῶν εἰς αὐτὸν διημαρτήκασι, μὴ καταλλασσόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα θύσωσι καὶ συνεχῶς σπευδομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Παλαμήδους τάφον αὐτῶν ἀγάλματι φαύλως ἔρρεμεν ἀναλαβεῖν ἐγκελευόμενος;

XXVI

CAP. XXVI
Τὸ μέντοι πέμπτον καὶ ἕκτον θαύμα οὐ πολλῆς ἢν δέοιτο τοῦ λόγου διατριβῆς εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς τοῦ γράφοντος εὐχερείας· δαίμωνας γὰρ ἀπελαύνει ἄλλοι ἄλλοι, ἢ φασὶ, δαίμονα, τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀκολαστοῦ μειρακίου, τὸν δὲ ἐπιπλάστως εἰς γυναικείαν μορφὴν σχηματιζόμενον, 550
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

Grass matter of the body, must necessarily be good and unsullied. In any case the demon conjured up 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 do not stand in need of much argument and 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. XCVI
toutou de tov daimona empoousan kai lamian autous onomasiai o sofotatos apokalei. to ge mhn ep' tis Roumaiwn polwos meta tauta korion, o ti de meta thvaton ep' deuteran zophen iagaghe, apistotaton kai autw doxan to菲尔ostratou paraithestou. en diastagm' mewto amphiavallei, m' ara stinthe tis psyxhes enuptarchoi tih paidi tous therapevontas eleledheu. lgenesai gar phsow, "'sas psyakazo mev o Zeus, h de atmizoi ap' to prosoptou." kai gar dei alithos autw toionde ep' autheis 'Roumhs epeterakto, oux an eleledheu basilea te prwtou kai tous met' auton uparchous apantas, malista de to filosofon Evfrathten egxorazonta kat' ekeino kairopou kai ep' tis 'Roumhs diataribonta, dei dei eis usteron tih kat' autou kathgorian, ws de kata ghtos, upoballlein istorrhiai. pantwos gar an kai touto, ei de touto genousin h, taiz alles kai autw dialbolais proz tou kathgoron sughkateilekto. kai ta mev en mepei kai kat' eidos autw prsepragmewna tosaunta, muoria de kai alles kata prignovosin auton legon prokampteusaithi te kai proeirikeina grafei, kai ws Athhniou boulheventa munthi
nai ta Eleusinia o tde eirxein iereis, mh an prote phsas munseidai gheta, mhde ta 'Eleusinia anoixe anathrotow mh katharw tata daimona. alles kai to aselegos aneironti kata tih 'Roumhn, kai
tas Neronos meta kithara kai ep' vos thin diezonta

552
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVI
φίδας, μυσθὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς ἑταῖροις τῆς σοφῆς ταύτης ἐπιτηθεύσεως ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος διὰ τῶν Νέρωνος φῶβον προστάττει.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII
Ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου περιγραφέντος, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς εἰπὼν των περὶ προγνώσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθαυμάσας ὁ συγγραφεύς, ἐπιλέγει ταύτα κατὰ λέξιν ὡς ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ τοιοῦτα δαιμονία κινήσει προέλεγε καὶ ὡς τοῖς γόητα ἡγομένοις τὸν ἄνδρα οὐχ ὑγιαίνει ὁ λόγος, δῆλοι μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, σκεφώμεθα δὲ κακεῖνα: οἱ γόητες, ἡγούμεναι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἑγὼ κακοδαμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἱ δὲ ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπάσαϊ τι ἢ ἀλείψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασί τὰ εἰμαρμένα, ὃ δὲ εἰπτετο μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, καὶ προέλεγεν, ὡς ἀνάγκη ἔσεθαι αὐτά, προέλεγε δὲ οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἐφαίνον ἴδον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς ὅινο-χόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτοματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἰποὺν, οὗθ’ ὡς σοφίζοις αὐτὰ ἢρετο, οὕτε ἐδείχθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπήμει μὲν, ξηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἤξιοι.” ταύτα δὲ λέγων δὴλός ἐστι τοὺς περιβοήτους Ἰνδῶν φιλο-

554
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

this most philosophic of teachers out of fear of Nero ordered his companions to bestow alms on him in recognition of his clever accomplishments.

XXVII

Such are the contents of the fourth book, and in the fifth book of his history, after a few remarks 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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVII

σώφους γύρτας ἀποφαίνων. περὶ γὰρ τοῦ γονήτων
ποιούμενος τοῦ λόγου μυθομούει καὶ τοῦτων, σοφι-
ζεσθαι δὴ τὰ παράδοξα λέγων αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν,
περὶ οὖ ὁ λόγος, τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτῶν σοφιστεῖας
ὡς ἁυτῇ ἀστέλας ἀλλότριον ὑποτιθέμενος. οὐκοὶν
εἰ φαίνοιτο τούτους θεοὺς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ διδασκά-
λους ἐπιγραφόμενοι αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥρα
ταῖς κατὰ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπάγειν
diabolaís. εἰσῆκται δὴ οὖν παρ' οἷς φησὶ γυμνοῖς
ἄγυπτίων, ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ταύτα φάσκων. "οὐκ
ἀπεικός τε παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἡττηθεῖς
eπ' ἐκκοσμημένης, ἢν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἰνδοὶ στεί-
λαντες ἐφ' ψηλής τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκ-
kuklōusin. ὡς δὴ ἐν δίκη μὲν ἡγάσθην, ἐν δίκη
dὲ ἡγοῦμαι σοφοῦς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὥρα μαθή-
νειν." καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν "οὕτωι μὲν γὰρ
θεοὶ τε εἰςι καὶ κεκόσμηται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν,"
καὶ Δομετιανῷ δὲ εἰσῆκται λέγων "καὶ τίς πρὸς
Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἡ πρὸς Φραώτην τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς;
οὗς ἐγὼ μὸνος ἀνθρώπων θεοὺς τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ
ἀξίους τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης;" καὶ ἐν ἄλλους
dὲ ὁμοίως. θεοὺς τε καὶ διδασκάλους τάνδρος ἐπι-
grάφας ὁ λόγος τοὺς δεδηλωμένους, δακτυλίσαντες τε
παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι ὀμολογήσας αὐτῶν, ἐπιλέ-
λησται νῦν, καὶ συνδιαβάλλων τοῖς διδασκάλοις
tὸν μαθητὴν οونة ἔπαιει.

556
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

For notice that when he is arguing about wizards, he mentions them too and says that their marvels were cleverly contrived indeed, but that his hero held himself carefully aloof from such their contrivances, on the ground that they were not moral. If therefore we find Apollonius calling these Indians gods, and enrolling himself as their disciple, we have no alternative but to bring him also under the imputation 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. XXVIII Ἄλποβᾶς δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ αὐλητὴν ὑποτίθεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλάνιον ὄσπερ τινὸς οὐσίας μεγάλης καὶ σοφοτάτης ἐπιστήμης, τρόπους αὐλήσεως μᾶλλον σπουδαίως μακροῖς τοῖς διεξηγήμασιν εἰροντα διεξέρχεται· καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Ὀὐεσπασιανὸν οἷα δὴ θεῶ προσεύξασθαι αὐτῶ ἰστορεῖ, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὅς εὐχῆ εἰρηκέναι τὸν Ὀὐεσπασιανὸν· “ποιησόν με βασιλέα,” τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι· “ἐποίησα.” καὶ τῆς οὐκ ἁν μισήσειν εὐλόγως τῆς ἀλαζονείας τὴν φωνήν, μανίας τὸ μηθὲν ἀποδέουσαν, ὅτε γε ἦδη αὐτὸς θεὸς καὶ βασιλέως ποιητὴς εἶναι φρυκττεται ὁ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας κυβερνήτης νεώς· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῶν ὁ Ἀπολλάνιος γεγονέναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδῖν όμιλίαις μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δεδήλωκε.

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ οὔς ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάζοι τῶν φιλοσοφῶν συμβούλους τῶν πρακτέων, γνωρίσαι αὐτῷ ἄξιοντι, κατὰ λέξιν φησὶν· “ἀγαθὸν δὲ τούτων σύμβουλοι καὶ οἶδε οἱ ἄνδρες, τὸν Δίωνα δείξας καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μῆτω αὐτῷ ἐς διαφορὰν ἥκοντα.” καὶ αὐθίς, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,” εἴπεν, “Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων πάλαι σοι γνώριμοι 558
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
οὔτες πρὸς θύραις εἰσίν οὐκ ἀφρόντιδες τῷ σῶν. καλεὶ δὴ κακέλους ἕς κοινὸν λόγον, σοφι
γὰρ τῷ ἄνδρε." πρὸς ἃ Ὀὐσπασιανῶς, "ἀκλε
tους," ἐφη, "θύρας παρέχω σοφίς ἀνδράσι
εὐχε τῆς προγνώσεως τοῦ ἰρρως. Εὐφράτης ἦν ἀγάθος τε καὶ σοφός, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐς διαφορᾶς πε
αὐτῷ ἐληλύθει. εἰ ὅ έλθοι—ὁσον οὕτω δὲ τοῖ
ἔσται—ὅρα ὅλα περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς Δομι
τιανὸν γράφει: "καὶ μὴν ὁπόσα γίγνεται φιλο-
σόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς δῆλοι τὰ
Εὐφράτου τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντείθεν, τί λέγω χρήματα
πηγαὶ μὲν οὐν εἰσὶ πλοῦτον, κατὶ τῶν τραπεζῶ
ἡ διαλέγεται κάπηλος ὑποκάπηλος τελῶν ὁ
βολοστάτης, πάντα γιγνόμενος τα πωλούμενα τί
cαὶ πωλοῦντα, ἐντετύπωται δὲ ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑπο-
tῶν θύραις, καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλεῖον καιρὸς
ἡ οἱ θυρωρῷ, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν
πολλάκις, ὡσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λύχνοι· δραχμῆν
δὲ οὐδεις ἐφοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ ποτὲ προέμενος, ἐπιτειχίζε
νῦν τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πλοῦτον, ἐτέρως τῶν Ἀιγύπτων
τουτού βόσκων χρήματι καὶ δὲν ὕπνων ἐπ᾽ ἐμμ
γλῶτταν ἄξιαν ἐκτετμήσθαι. Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ
cαταλείπω σοι, σὺ γὰρ, ἥν μὴ κολακαὶ ἐπανήχε
εὐρήσεις τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν κακῶν ἡ ἐρμηνεύων." ὁ
dὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν Ὀὐσπασιανῶν σοφόν
καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην μαρτυρόμενος, πρὸς δὲ
tὸν οὐν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ διεξόμεν, δῆλος ἄν εἰ
cCAP. ΧΧΙΧ

560
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

and they are at your door, and are much concerned chap.
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. XXIX

tòν αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ ψέγων. ἂρ' οὖν ὁ τήν τῶν μελλόντων προειληφὼς γνώσιν ἤγνεί, ὃς ἦν τε καὶ ἔσται τὸν τρόπον ὁ Ἐὐφράτης; καὶ γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Ὀδεσπασιανοῦ διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡς δὴ τὸ ἱθός μοχθηρότατον βούλεται. πῶς δὴ οὖν τὸν τοιόνδε συνίστη βασιλεία, ὡς καὶ ἀκλέιστος αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ συντάσεις τῶν βασιλεῶν ἀναπεπετάσθαι τὰς πύλας; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τυφλῷ, φασὶ, δήλου ὡς ἀρα πρόγνωσιν μὲν συκοφαντεῖται πρὸς τοῦ συγγραφέως ὁ ἀνθρώπος, εἰπ' ἃν ἄλλως γενναῖος, πάλαι μὲν πρὸ πείρας ἀφθόνως ἑταίρους, ἀτὲρ καὶ τῷ Ἐὐφράτῃ τῆς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια παρόδου κοινωνῶν, ὠστε δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐνεκα τοιαύτα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων. οὕτω μοι διαβάλλειν ὁ λόγος βούλεται τὸν ἄνδρα, ὡς ἄν τὸν Ἐὐφράτην συκοφαντοῦντα, φιλοσόφων γενόμενον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδιοξότατον, ὡς καὶ ἐς δεύρ', οἷς μετέστη φιλοσοφίας, ᾧ δέσσαι, ὃ καὶ μεγίστον λάβοι ἁν τις, εἴ βούλοιτο, παράδειγμα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαβολῆς. εἰ γὰρ οὖν ὁ Ἐὐφράτης παρ' αὐτοῖς πάσῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ διαπρέπῃ ὀμολογηθείς, ὃρα μισοποιηρέως μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγορεῖν, ἐπεξιόντος τοῖς ἀτόπως ὑπὸ τοῦδε δρωμένοις, τούτῳ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνου κατηγοροούμενον φαύλην περιβάλλεσθαι δόξαν, ὡς δὴ τὴν ἀρέσκοντα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ μετήθει βίον.
and blaming the same person. Was it then the case that this man, who was endowed with knowledge of 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 recommendation 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 suppose 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.
Πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἐκτεθα μυθολόγῳ ὁ μυθολόγος ἀγεί μὲν αὐτὸν, ἀμα τοῖς έταρτοις καμήλῳ ὁχούμενον, ἐφ' οὖς φησίν ΄Αἰγυπτίων γυμνοὺς φιλοσόφους, ένθα δὴ προστάζαντος τοῦ γυμνοῦ πτελέα, φησί, τὸ δένδρον προσαγορεῖε τὸν ΄Απολλώνιου ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θήλει τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ τούτως γε ἡμᾶς ΄Ωιλαλήθης πιστεύειν ἄξιοι. εἰτα Πυγμαίους ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τούτων ἰστορεῖ χώραν καὶ ΄Ανθρωποφάγους καὶ Σκιάποδας, σάτυρον τε πρὸς τὸν ΄Απολλώνιον μεθυσκόμενον. εξ ἐκείνων δ' αὖθις ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν ΄Ελλάδα, ὀμιλίαι τε πάλιν αὐτῷ καὶ προγνώσεις ἀνακοινοῦνται πρὸς Τίτον, καὶ δηχθέντα ἐφηβον ὅπο λυπτώντος κυνός, δὴ καὶ ἐμαυτεύσατο, ὅς τις εἰς τὴν ψυχήν, ὃτι ὁ τῆς ᄃἰγυπτίου ποτὲ βασιλεὺς ᄃΜασίως, τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάττει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦ κυνός ἐπιτείνας τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.

Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸ τῆς κατηγορίας αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα, ἐπιστήσαι δ' ἄξιον δὴ ὅλης τῆς πραγματείας, ὥς ὃτι καὶ ἀληθεύειν δοθεὶ τῇ συγγραφεῖ τὰ παράδοξα, συνεργεῖα δαίμονος ἐκαστὸν 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 pigmies 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

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

¹ Eusebius confuses the mad dog of VI 43 with the tame lion of V 42.

565
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXI

deíkuntau. tó te gàr toú loimou próaisthésthai
ísws mên oude péreergon ãn dōxei, ei apò
leptotatíth s kal katharás diáth kateílhpoto,
ôs autós éfhsen, ísws de kai autó ãx ômilia
daímonos autó proeménhto. kal gàr dh kai ta
loiptá, ñsa kátà prógnwsw dиеipísfs te kai
proeirhikós eîsthetai, ei kai múrhois ëléghcous ãx
autís páreste tís toú Filosttrátou grafhís
ëvdúnein, ômous ñna sngxhwrntheían kai toút' eiwai
álhthés, kátà periefigon ìrìxadhnh éipoi'm ãn prós
daímonos autó parédro tìna tón melallonoun,
oude gàr pánta, kateílhpthèi. toúto de pári-
sthsa safês tó mû dh ãlou kai peri pánntwn
tính prógnwsw autón ãposodóxein, ãporéthn de ãn
pleísstois kai pnyhánvesthai dh ângynian, õper
óuk ãn, ei theía áretís metính autó, ñppóndh
kai autó de tó paúswa tón loimón, õpooîn eiñhçé
to dráma, õti fásoma kai oudeîn tì pléou õn,
prodeëhłwtaí. âllâ kai õ theía 'Achillców
parâ tó autóv mnìmati tì ãn diatréboi, ògas èn
mákaroù nísoi, õs ãn fìsheí tís, ãpoléipousa
diaagwagás, eî mû kai tóuto daímonos õn èpifanéia
daíromia; kai tóo âselgyov dh meirakión safhís
ènoîkon daímona, kai páliv, õn èfhsen èmpousoún
te kai lámmav èmpeteparofunênav tów Meníttu, meîkoun tâxì ísws èxelhlake daímon, õmowís te
566
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

αὐ καὶ τὸν τὰς φρένας παρατραπέντα νεανίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λυττῶντος κυνός, αὐτὸν τε τὸν δαιμονώντα κύνα τῇ αὐτῇ μετήλλαξε μεθόδῳ. ὡρα δὴ οὖν, ἐφη, τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῶ παραδοξοποιίαν, ὡς διὰ δαιμονικῆς ἀπετελεῖτο ὑπουργίας. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀναβιωσάσας κόρης, εἶν' ἔμπνευς ὑπῆρχε, σπυνθήρα ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ ἰκμάδα ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου φέρουσα, περιαρτεύου τῆς θαυματοποιίας: οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἐφη, σιωπῇ τὸ τηλικοῦτο παρεδόθη ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος γεγενημένον.

XXXII

CAP. XXXII

Μυρία μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα πάρεστιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναλέξασθαι συγγραμμάτων, τὸ τε ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐέλεγκτον καὶ ἀεύστατον μυθώδες τε καὶ τερατώδες ἀπευθύνειν. ὅμως, ἐπεὶ γε οὐδὲ πολλῆς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖται σπουδαιολογίας, οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν θείοις καὶ παροδόξοις καὶ θαυμασίοις, ἀλλ' οὔδ' ἐν φιλοσόφοις παρά τίσι τῶν νῦν μνήμης ὑπαρχοῦσης αὐτοῦ, τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀρκεσθέντες μετίωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔβδομον περὶ αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα.

568
true also of the youth who had been driven out of his mind by the mad dog; and the frenzied dog 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 accomplished through a ministry of demons; for the resurrection 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 we may select from the same books, where the 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 contemporaries 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.
Κατηγορείται δήτα γοητείαν ὁ ἀνήρ. εἶτα
Δημητρίῳ φιλοσόφῳ ἀποτρέποντι αὐτὸν τής ἐπί
tὴν Ρώμην παρόδου, μὴ πειθόμενος, ἐπαχθή τινα
cαὶ φορτικὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὡδὲ πως λέγει· "ἐγὼ
dὲ γιγνώσκω μὲν πλείστα ἀνθρώπων, ἀτε εἰδὼ
πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὧν οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίοντα, τὰ δὲ
σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς." καὶ δὴ ὁ ἐν
tούτοις πάντες εἰδέναι μεγαλαυχοῦμενος, προὶ
ἀγνοιῶν τινῶν πρὸς τοῦ λόγου κατηγορεῖται. εἶτα
Δάμις αὐτῷ μεταπλάττεται, διὰ θανάτου φόβον
tον φιλόσοφον ἐπικρυπτόμενος. ἀκοῦε δ' οὖν
τοῦ συγγραφέως, ἃ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀπολογοῦ-
μένος· "αἰτία μὲν ἦδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμι
τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ κακίᾳ γε
αὐτὸ μεθείναι φησιν, οὐδὲ μεταγνοὔς, τέχνην
dὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἤν ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ
καιροῦ."

Επὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος τέσσαρας αἰτίας,
tὰς δὴ εὐχερείς αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν νομισθείσας,
ἐκτίθησιν, ἀπὸ πλείστων καὶ ἄλλων αὐτὰς
ὁμολογῶν ἀνειλέχθαι, ὃν ὡς μὲν τὶς ἦν, τί δὴ
570
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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
μαθὼν οὖ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπασιν ἔχοι στολήν, ἢ δὲ τοῦ χάριν οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεῶν αὐτὸν νευομίκασι. τρίτην, πόθεν προείποι Ἑφεσίως τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπὶ ταύταις, τίνι βαδίσας εἰς ἀγρόν ἀνατέμως τὸν παίδα τὸν Ἀρκάδα. πρὸς ταύτας δὲ φησὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν αὐτὸν γεγραφέναι. πρότερον δὲ ἱστορεῖ δεσμῷς αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι καὶ τὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐντάθη κατεργάσασθαι. τῷ γὰρ τῷ Δάμιδι μάλα λυπηρῶς, ὡς ἄν ἐπὶ συμφορὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου, διακείμενῳ αὐτόματον ἐπιδειξάει λευμένων τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ σκέλος, εἶτα πάλιν ἀναλαβόντι αὐτὸν τῆς λύπης ἐνθείαι εἰς τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα τοῦ πόδα. μετὰ τούτῳ κρυομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ βασιλέως Δωμετιανοῦ γράφει δὴ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολυθήναι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λύσιν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὡς ἂν αἰρώς, μοι δοκεῖν, ἐν τῷ δικαστήριῳ αὐτὰ δὴ ταύτα ἀναφωνήσαι, "δὸς, εἰ βούλεις, κἀμοὶ τόπον, εἰ δὲ μή, πέμπε τὸν ληφόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον. μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ᾽ ἄν τὸ σῶμα τούμον λάβοις."

οὐ γὰρ με κτενεῖς, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι." καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ περιβοήτῳ ἰήματι ἄφανοςθῆναι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ φησὶν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ καταστρέφει δράμα.

XXXV

'Ὁ μὲν οὖν συγγραφεὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεσμῷ τήριον θαύματος, κατὰ φαντασίαν, ὡς έοικεν, ὕπο τοῦ παρέδρου δαίμονος τῷ Δάμιδι ἐωραμένου, ἐπὶ-
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

-to wear a different robe from everybody else? and the second: Why was it that men esteemed him to be a god? the third, How had he managed to predict the plague to the Ephesians? and last of all: In whose behalf 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 it seems was an illusion, imposed on the eyes of Damis by the familiar demon, our author adds the

573
φέρει λέγων, “τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησίν ἀκριβῶς ἐξυπναί τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἰς καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, τί γὰρ ἂν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μὴ εἰπόντα τι, καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἕνα μόναντα αὐτῷ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου πράττειν.” ἔγω δὲ οὕτω ἂν καταγνοίην βραδυτῆτα τοῦ φοιτητοῦ, εἰ τὸν πάντα βίον συνεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τινῶν περιέργων ὅρῶν αὐτὸν ἀποτελοῦντα τὰ παραδόξα, οὐδέν τι διαφέρειν αὐτῷ ἢγείτο τῆς θυντῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετὰ τοσαύτην θαυματουργίαν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἁγνωστός δ' ἀγωνιὰ καὶ δέδει ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου, μὴ τι πάθοι παρὰ προαιρεσίν. εἰ δὲ δὴ πρῶτον ἄρτοι μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διατριβήν, ὅτι δὴ θεῖα εἰς καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, συνίησι, τὴν τούτων συνιδεῖν ἄξιον αἰτίαν, ἢν αὐτὸς ὁ συγγραφέως δηλοὶ λέγων, “μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, μηδὲ ἐπευξάμενον, μηδὲ τί τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰρήκοτα” τὸ παράδοξον ἵδειν αὐτῶν πεποιηκότα. οὐκοῦν τὰ πρῶτον διὰ περιέργου μηχανῆς ἔτελεῖτο τῷ ἀνδρί, διό μηδὲ καταπλήττεσθαι αὐτά, μηδὲ θαυμάζειν τῶν Δάμων εἰκότως δὲ νῦν τουτ' πρῶτον πέποιθεν, ὡς ξένου τινὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ 574
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

following remark; "Damis says that it was then for CHAP.
the first time that he truly understood the nature of 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 ignor-
ant 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

575
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXV

τὰ συνήθη διαπεπραγμένου. πρὸς τὸ δειχθὲν δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ φάσμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστήριον ἀναχώρησιν, τὰς πρὸς Δομετιανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιον φωνὰς παραθείμην ἂν: δεσμοῖς γὰρ τοῦ αὐτῶν παραδόθημαι προστάξαντος βασιλέως, πάνυ γε ἀκολούθως ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος συνελογίσατο ὡδὶ πῶς: "εἰ μὲν γόητα μὲ ἡγη, πῶς δήσεις; εἰ δὲ δήσεις, πῶς γόητα εἶναι φήσεις;" ἀντικρούσει γοῦν αὐτῷ τις ὡδὶ πὼς ἐκ τούτων ὅρμωμενος: εἰ μὲν οὖ γόης, πῶς λέλυται σου τὸ σκέλος; εἰ δὲ λέλυται, πῶς οὖ γόης; καὶ εἰ τῷ ὑπομείναι τὸν δεσμὸν οὐ γόης, τῷ μὴ ὑπομείναι καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ὁμολόγηται γόης. καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν, εἰ ὑπομείναις τὸ δικαστήριον οὐ γόης, τῷ δὲ διαδράμαι τοῦτο καὶ τούς ἀμφ' αὐτῶν βασιλέα, λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ δορυφόρους, σαφῶς ἀναπέφανται γόης. ὅ δέ μοι δοκῶ, συνηθισμένος ὁ λόγος θεραπεύει τὸ γεγονός, ὡς δὴ ἀνευθυνὼν καὶ ἐπιφώνῳ ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον δυνάμει τοῦ παραδόξου πεφηνότος.

XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI

'Αλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐσ μακρὰν αὖθις ὁ τῆς φύσεως παραστήσεται ἔλεγχος. αὐτίκα γὰρ τινος ἐπι- στάντος αὐτῷ καὶ φήσαντος, "ἀφίησι σε, ὁ Ἀπολλώνιε, τοιτων τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ 576
something which was quite unusual and contrary to his habitual performances. In reference however to 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 premises: 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 submit 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 revealed 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 gloze 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 fresh test of his character is supplied to us; for 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXVI

ἐλευθέριον δεσμωτήριον συγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν,” ὁ κρείτ.

tων ἡ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῶν μελλόντων προγνώστης,

κωφοῦ τε ξυνιεῖ καὶ οὗ λαλέοντος ἄκοινων,

ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγαν, ὡς εἰκός, περιχαρείας ἀποπεσῶν

tῆς προγνώσεως πυνθάνεται, λέγων, “τίς οὖν ὁ

μετασκευάσων με ἐντεύθεν;” ὁ δὲ, “ἐγώ,” ἔφη,

“καὶ ἔποι.”

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII

Εἶτα καὶ λόγου ἀπολογίας ὁ θειότατος μάλα γε

πεφροντισμένωσι συντάττει, ἀγνωσμένως, οὗ δῆτα εἰς

μᾶτην αὐτῷ σπουδασθήσεται ἡ γραφή. οὐκ ἐστὶ

μὲν γάρ ἄκοιςεσθαί αὐτοῦ ἀπολογοῦμένου

βασιλεία, καὶ ὅσον ἀκοισμένου γε σφόδρα πιθανῶ

παρασκευάζεται τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτῃ μὴ

ἀναμείναις εἰς οὗ δέοι αὐτοῦ τὴν σπουδὴν κατε-

στήσατο. ἄκουε δὴ οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων, οἷά φησιν

ὁ ἔλεγχος, “ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος αὐτῷ συνεγράψῃ

τις ὡς πρὸς ὑδρῷ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἄφησοντι, ξυνιεῖ

δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τύραππος ἐς ἃς εἰρήκα ἐρωτήσεις,

ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος,” ὁρᾷ δὴ, πῶς τού μέλ-

λοντος πορρωτάτω τυχχάνων ὁ πάντα θειότατος,

μετὰ πλείστης ὠσθα φροντίδος ὡς πρὸς ὑδρῷ τῇ

ἀπολογίαν ποιησόμενος ἐσπούδαζεν.

578
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

prisoners are not bound”; whereupon Apollonius, who is superior to mankind and has foreknowledge 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 most careful of manners an harangue in defence of 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.
'Αλλα γὰρ διεξητητέον καὶ τὴν εἰς μάτην αὐτῶ
πεποιημένην ἀπολογίαν, ἀ, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα
ἐν ταύτῃ, Δομετιανῷ προσφωνῶν ἀπαυθαδίζεται
λέγων, ὡς ἀρα Οὐσπασιανὸς "σὲ μὲν βασιλέα
ἐποίησεν, ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο." βασιλικὴ τῆς ἀλα-
ζονείας, ἂν οὖτι γε ὁ τυχὼν, ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ εἰ φιλό-
σοφος τις ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπεραιροῦν
ἐγεγόνει φύσιν, ἐτερατεύσατο ἀν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκη
ἀνοίας παρὰ τοῖς ἐμφροσυν ὑποσχῶν. εἰτὰ δὲ τῆς
κατ’ αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ἐαυτῶν ἀπολυμένους ταῦτα
περὶ γοήτων φησίν. "ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδο-
σόφους φημί, τὰ γὰρ οὖκ ὄντα εἶναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς,
καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστὰ εἶναι." καταμάθοι δ’ οὖν τις
ἐκ τῆς ἀληθὸς πραγματείας καὶ τῶν ἐν μέρει
dedhλωμένων, πότερα ἐν θείοις καὶ φιλοσόφοις ἡ
ἐν γόησιν αὐτῶν κατατακτέων, ἐπιστήσας ὦς τε
αὐτῶς περὶ γοήτων καὶ ψευδοσόφων εἰρήκη καὶ ὦς
dedhλωκεν ἡ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἱστορία. ἄρως τὲ γὰρ καὶ
ππελέα ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θῆλει φωνῇ λαλοῦσαί, καὶ
τρίποδες αὐτόματοι φουτωντες, καὶ χάλκεου θερα-
pontes διακονούμενοι, πίθοι τε ὄμβρων καὶ ἄνέμων
καὶ σανδαράκινον ὑδωρ καὶ ὀστὰ ἀλλα τοιαῦτα
eisήκται, παρ’ οἷς ἡγεῖτο θεοῖς, οὖς καὶ οὖκ ὄκνει
διδασκάλους ἐπιγράφεσθαι, τόνος ἂν ἔλει παρα-
στατικὰ ἢ τῶν "τὰ οὖκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα
580
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

ἀπιστα εἶναι" παραδεικνύντων; οὖς αὐτὸς γόητας ὤνομάζων, ψευδοσόφοις ὑπάρχειν ἀποφαίνεται. ἢτοι οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θείος καὶ ἐνάρετος καὶ θεοὶς κεχαρισμένος τὸ σοφίας ἀναδησάμενος βραβεῖον, αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν, ὅσοι μετ’ ἐκείνου, θείότερος ἄληθῶς καὶ μακρῷ εὐδαιμονεῖστερος ἀν κριθεῖ, ἥ ἐμπαλιν ψευδοσοφίας ἁλοῖς κακοδαιμόνων ἀποίσεται τὰ πρωτεία.

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX

Πάλιν δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ περὶ Μοῖρῶν ἵσχύος φιλοσοφήσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἡμνία φησί, διδάσκοντα οὕτως ἀτρεπτα εἶναι, ἢ κλώθουσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαιντο ἑτέρῳ ἡδη ὑπάρχουσαι, οὐδὲ ἀποκτείνει τὸς τοῦτον, ὡς μὴ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ποτὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἄν αναβείη ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάτων ταῖς Μοῖραις. καὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγει αὐταῖς συλλαβαίς: “ὅτι πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῷ, οὕτως, κἀν ἀποκτητή τῷ χείρε, τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτι νίκην ἐν Ἡμνίᾳ δρόμον ἁρασθαι, οὕτως δ’, οὐδὲ εἰ πηρωθείν τὸ σκέλος, ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτι ἔνευσαν Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξικῷ κράτος, οὕτως ὅτι εἰ ἀποβάλω τὰς ὁψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ εὐσκόπου.” τούτοις τῶν ἀρχοντα κολακεύων ἐπιφέρει λέγων, “τὰ δὲ τῶν 582
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

incredible”? In himself calling the latter wizards, 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 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 fulfillment 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXIX

Βασιλέων ἐλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δήπος ὅρων καὶ τοὺς Δαῖους Ἀστυάγην τε τὸν Μήδουν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους εὐ τίθεσθαι τὰ τοιαύτα δόξαντας, ὅν οἱ μὲν παιδας, οἱ δὲ ἑγγόνως ἀποκτείνειν οὐκέντες, ἀφθρέθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύντων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀφανοὺς ξὺν τῷ πέπρωμένῳ καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάπων κολακευτικὴν, εἰπον ἀν καὶ τάδε ἐντεθυμήσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείλησον μὲν ὑπὸ Βιτελλίου, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὄρφθα τοῦ ἄστεος, ὁ δ’ εὐ κείσθεθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγων αὐτὸν—καὶ τοι μειράκιων ἱκανῶς ἥσθα, καὶ οὐπω οὔτος—ἀλλ’ ὅμως, ἐπεὶ Μοῖραις ἐδόκει ἑτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰ ἐκείνον νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρμονία κολακευτικῆ ἄχθομαι, δοκεὶ γάρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγων εἶναι, τετμήσθω μοι ἢ ἴ σε νευρὰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυμήσθαι με.” διὰ τούτων δὲ ὅμοι τοῦ ἀνδρα κόλακα καὶ ψεύστην καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ φιλόσοφον ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀλθείας παρίστησι λόγος, τοσαῦτα γάρ πρότερον εἰπὼν κατὰ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ κολακεύει νῦν ὁ γεννάδας, καὶ καθυποκρίνεται ὡς οὐδέν τι κατ’ αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ Μούρων αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ κεκειμένων. 584
my examples from royalty, I had reference, I admit, to the Acrisii and to the house of Laïus, and to Astyages, 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 accordance 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 decreed 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 everything that is out of time and out of tune, let me at once cut this string out of my lyre, and request 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.
'Ανάλαβε δήτα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὁ συγγραφεὺς, καὶ
tῆς μέθης διανήψας τὰ πρῶτον σοι γραφέντα
λαμπρὰ καὶ φιλαλήθει διέλθε τῇ φωνῇ, μηδὲν
υποστειλάμενος, ὡς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβων "ἀφ-
ιστὴ Δομετιανοῦ τοὺς ἀνδρας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντητων
ἐφρόννυμε σωτηρίας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίους
ὁμιλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεὶς αὐτοῖς φέτο, τῶν δὲ ἐσταίρων
τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλου ἀπολαμβά-
νων, "διάκονον," ἐλεγε, "ποιοῦμαι σε ἀπορρήτου
λαμπροῦ, βαδίσαι δέ σε χρῆ ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸν
deίνα καὶ τὸν δείνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναι οί, " καὶ ὡς
"διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸν
λόγον διῆλ, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ Μοιρῶν οὗι
βιάζεσθαι," καὶ ὡς "χαλκῆς εἰκόνως ἱδρυμένης
Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτὴν
toўς παρόντας, "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολὺ διαμάρ-
tάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης: ὃ γὰρ μετὰ σὲ
tυραννεῦσαι πέπρωται, τοῦτο καὶ εἰ ἀποκτεί-
νειας, ἀναβιώσεται." ὁ δὴ μετὰ τούς τοιούτου
λόγους κολακεύων τὸν τύραννον, καὶ μηδὲν τι
toῦτων ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήθαι αὐτῷ κατειρω-
νεύμενος, πῶς οὐ μοχθηρίας ἀπάντη ἀν καὶ
ἀνελευθερίας κριθεί, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ψευδηγόρους
tinᾶς καὶ κατηγόρους τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐχὶ δὲ ἄληθείς
συγγραφέας θεία τις τοὺς ταύτα μνήμη παραδεδω-
κότας; καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Φιλαλήθους "οἱ παιδεύσεως
μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἦκοντες, τὸ δ' ἄληθὲς τιμῶντες
586
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

Take then your history, my author, and regaining your sobriety after your fit of drunkenness, 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
συγγραφείς, Δάμις τε ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ καὶ συνδιατρί-
ψας τῷ δηλουμένῳ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος," ἀφ’ ὅν ταῦτα παρατίθεται, οὐς σαφῶς οὕτως ἐναν-
τιολογοῦντας, κομπάξοντάς τε ἀληθῶς, καὶ τοῖς
μαχομένοις παρισταμένους ψεύστας ἐναργῶς καὶ
ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ γόνητας, τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ φέγγος
dιήλεγξεν;

XL

Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῶν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπαλλαγέντα τοῦ
dικαστηρίου, ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ἱστορεῖ βουλόμενον εἰς
Τροφωνίου κατελθεῖν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχειρίων, γόντα καὶ τούτων ἠγουμένων αὐτῶν.
καίτοι ἄξιοι ἀπορήσαι παραθέμενον τὰς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Φιλοστράτου λέξεις, ἐν αἷς ἀπορῶν,
ὅτι δὴ γόντα αὐτῶν ὑπειλήφασιν, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα διευκόλυνε,
λέγων ὡς Εμπεδοκλέα μὲν καὶ
Πυθαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς αὐτοῖς μάγοις
ὅμιληκότας ὑπὸ ὑπῆρξαι τέχνη, Ὁλοτόνα τε
παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων τε καὶ προφητῶν
πολλὰ παρειληφότα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἱδίοις ἀναμι-
ξαντα λόγους, οὐδαμῶς δόξαι τιλ μαγεύειν, τοιοῦτοι
dὲ ὑπὸ γυγνῶσκεσθαι παρ’ ἀνθρώποις, ὃς δὲ ἄπο
τῆς ἀληθινῆς ὀρμῶτο σοφίας, μάγον δὲ αὐτῶν
πάλαι τε καὶ εἰς ἑτεί υἱὸν νεομίσθαι, τῷ μάγοις
588
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

at once most highly educated and respectful of the truth, namely Damis the philosopher who even lived 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, convicted by their inconsistencies of being downright liars, men devoid of education and charlatans.

XL

The story proceeds to tell us that after all this, Apollonius, liberated from the court, made up his 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
Βαβυλωνίων Ἰνδῶν τε Βραχμᾶσι καὶ τοῖς Λιγυπτίων Γυμνοῖς ὀμιληκέναι. τί δήτα οὐν εἰρήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν; ὦ ὀστός, τῶδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τί τοιοῦτο ἐπεχειρεῖτο, ὡς μόνον γόητα πάλαι τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νεωμόσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τηλακοῦντος ἄνδρας, οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῷ, ὡς φήσαι, διδασκάλους πεπειραμένοι, διέπρεψαν μὲν καὶ καθ’ οὓς ἐγνωρίζοντο χρόνους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετέπειτα δὲ τῆς σφῶν φιλοσοφίας ἀοίδιμον καταλειπόντας τὴν ἀρετὴν, εἰ μὴ ἀρα πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων ἐγχειρῶν τοῖς εἰς φρονοῦσι φανερὸς καθεστῆκει; αὐτίκα τῶν νῦν εἰσίν, οἱ περιέργους μηχανᾶς τῇ τοῦ ἄνδρος ἀνακειμένας προσηγορία κατειληφέναι λέγουσιν. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔμοιγε τούτοις φίλον προσέχειν τῶν νοῦν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τάνδρος ἀκόλουθα τοῖς προτέροις συντάττων, οὐδὲν ἀληθὴς ἐξέφηνεν εἰδέναι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τελευτῆσαι αὐτῶν ἱστορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Δίνδῳ παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀλλούς δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ, καὶ τοσαύτην ἁγνοιαν τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν τέλους κατασκεδάσας βούλεται αὐτῶν ἐς οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι χωρῆσαι. ἔσδραμόντος γὰρ ἐς ἱερὸν φησὶ κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας καὶ τινὰ φῶν ἀδόκητο ἐπρέπον ἐκπεσεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἁσμα εἶναι “στείχε, στείχε ἐς οὐρανὸν, στείχε.” λέγει δὲ, ὡς μὴ τάφῳ μὴτε κενοταφίῳ τοῦ ἄνδρος πως περιτυχο, καίτοι τῆς γῆς, ὁπόση ἔστιν, φήσαι ἐπελθεῖν πλείστην, καὶ βούλεται αὐτῷ ἡ διάνοια μηδε ὅλως θανάτου τὸν ἄνδρα θυγεῖν, πρῶτερον μὲν γὰρ 590
consorted with the Magi of Babylon and the Brah- 
man of India, and the Naked sages of Egypt." 

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
FLAVIUS PHILESTRATUS

CAP. XL

ἀμφιβάλλων περὶ τοῦ τρόπου, καθ’ ὅν ἐτελεύταται, φησιν “εἰγε ἐτελεύτα,” ὕστερον δὲ διαρρήκθην καὶ ἐσοφράνων αὐτῶν χωρήσαι φάσκει. θεοί ὅσι δὲ τοιούτων οὖν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς γραφῆς καὶ καθ’ ὅλην τὴν γραφήν, Πυθαγόρου καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους θειότερόν φησι προσεληλυθέναι φιλοσοφίᾳ.

XLI

CAP. XL I

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιγραφομένου τοῦ λόγου, βραχές ἄττα περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ εἰμαρμένης, φέρε διαλάβωμεν, ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο δὲ ὅλης αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως ὁ λόγος, τὸ μὲν ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἀναιρῶν, ἀνάγκην δὲ εἰσάγων καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Μοίρας, διαθρόνυτες, ταύτη γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐντελῶς καὶ ἠ ἐν δόγματι ψευδοδοξία τάνδρος διευθυνθήσεται. εἰ δὴ οὖν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας λόγον ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος, τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἀθάνατον, τὸ δ’ ἄλλο κινοῦν καὶ υφ’ ἐτέρου κινούμενον, παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει κρης, καὶ αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος, τὸς αἰρεῖ λόγον, ἀκουσάς, οὐχὶ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀψύχου δίκην σώματος ἐξωθέν ποθεν κινούμενη, καὶ ὀστερεῖ νευροσπαστομένη ὁδε κάκεισε, τὴν ἀεικίνητον.
death at all, for on a former occasion when he is canvassing the manner in which he died, he adds 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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XLII

ἀγεσθαί φύσιν μηδὲν μηδαμῶς ἐξ ἰδίας ὀρμῆς καὶ κινήσεως ἐνεργοῦσαν, μηδὲ εἰς ἑαυτὴν τὴν τῶν δρωμέων ἀναφέρουσαν αἰτίαν ταύτην τε μήτε φιλοσοφοῦσαν ἐπαινετέαν τυγχάνειν, μήτε αὐτῇ ὑστῆν, κακίας ἐμπλεούν καὶ ποιηρίας; τί δήτα
οὖν Ἐὐφράτη λοιδορούμενος καταμέμφη, ὦ τᾲν, εἰ μή παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐξ εἰμαρμένης ἐπὶ τὸ κέρδος
ἐκδούς, ὡς αὐτῶς ἄξιοι, ὠλιγώρει φιλοσοφίας; τί
dὲ καὶ γόησιν ἐνυβρίζεις, ψευδοσόφους ἀποκαλῶν,
ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν, ὡς ἤγη, καθελκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν
κακοδαίμονα βίον; τί δὲ κακίαν ἀπλῶς ὁνομάζεις,
cαὶ ποιηρός τις ἀνθρώπων οṈ ἐν δίκῃ κρίνεται
παρὰ σοὶ, τὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰμαρμένου ἀποπληρῶν
ὅρον; καὶ ἐμπαλίν τίνι λόγῳ Πυθαγόραν σεμνολο-
γῶν θαυμαστὸν ἐπιγράφη διδάσκαλον, καὶ Μοιρῶν
παίγνιον, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐραστὴν ὄντα φιλοσοφίας οὐκ
ἀπολείπεις ἐπανῶν; Φραώτης δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχας οἱ
Ἰνδῶν φιλόσοφοι, τί μᾶλλον παρὰ σοὶ θεῶν
ἀπηνέγκαντο δόξαν, μηδέν τι παιδείας ἴδιον μηδ’
ἀρετῆς ἀπενεγκάμενοι κλέος; Νέρωνος δ’ ὀσαύτως
καὶ Δομετιανοῦ τί οὐχὶ Μοιραῖ καὶ ἀνάγκη τὴν
ἀκόλαστον περιάπτεις ἄγερωχίαν, πάσης αἰτίας
καὶ παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἔλευθέρων τοὺς ἀνδρας;
ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τῷ πέρωταί, ὡς φής, δρομικῷ καὶ
τοξικῷ καὶ τεκτονικῷ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ εἰ γόητε τὸν
τρόπον ὄντι μάγῳ ἀναφανήναι μαίνοντο τε καὶ

594
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

and thither. The nature which ever moves itself 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,
CAP. X1.1

πονηρῷ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ, πάντως ποι ἀνάγκης τοιόσοδε τις ἀποβήσεται. τί δήτα σὺν περινοστῶν
toῖς μὴ οἴως τε τυχεῖν διορθώσεως ἄρετὴν προ-
κηρύττεις; ἥ τι καταμέμφῃ τοῖς τὴν μοίραν, ἀλλ'
οὐ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀτοπωτάτοις; τί δὲ καὶ, εἴ
ἀυτῷ σοι πέπρωτο θείῳ ὅντι τὴν φύσιν ὑπεράραι
βασιλέων δόξης, εἰς διδασκάλων ἐφοίτας καὶ
φιλοσόφων, Ἀραβίους τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίων μάγους
καὶ σοφοὺς Ἰνδῶν ἐπολυπραγμόνεις; πάντως γάρ
ποι, καὶ τῆς τούτων δίχα κοινωνίας, τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν
ἐτελείτο σοι.

Τί δὲ καὶ ὡς νομίζεις θεοῖς τὰ μελετοῦτα καὶ
tὸν λιβανωτὸν εἰς μάτην ῥίπτεις, εὐσέβειαν τε
ἐπιμορφαξόμενος ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπεσθαι τοὺς
ἐταίρους παρομαξ; αὐτόν τε εὐχόμενος τῷ παρὰ
θεῶν αἰτεῖς, ὅποτε καὶ τούτων ὁμολογεῖς τὴν
eἰμαρμένην κρατεῖν; καὶ μὴν ἔδει τοὺς ἄλλους
θεοὺς παραμειψάμενος, Ἀνάγκη μόνον καὶ Μοίραις
θύειν, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὴν εἰμαρμένην
πρωτιμῶν. εὐτῶ δὲ ἄν σοι θεοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι ἄν
ἧσαν, καὶ εἰκότως, ἀτε μηδὲ ἀνθρώπους οἷοί τε
ὡφελεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ πέπρωτο τοὺς Ἐφεσίους
ἀλῶναι λοιμῷ πολῖτας, τὶ τάναντι νομοθετῶν
παρακρούτῃ τὴν εἰμαρμένην; μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς
ὑπερήπα τὴν Μοίραν, τρόπαιον ὠσπερ κατ'
αὐτῆς ἰράμενος; εἴ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κλωθοῦς ἐπὶ τῇ
596
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

that being his character, a magician or a murderer chap. and a wicked man and a reprobate, come what will, 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

597
κόρη τὸ νήμα πέρας εἰλήξει, πόθεν ἔξ ὑπαρχήσ
μετὰ θάνατον ἀναδησάμενος τῷ μίτῳ τῶν ἀτρακτοῦν,
ζωοποιῶς αὐτῆς παραπέφηνας;

'Αλλ' ἵσως Μοῖραι καὶ σὲ αὐτῶν ἔπὶ ταῦτ' ἤγον. ὅτι πω φήσεις κατ' ἀξίαν, πολλοὶ γε καὶ
δεὶ, δὲ πρὸ τῆς εἰς τούτῳ τὸ σῶμα παρόδου τῶν
ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ κύμασι διατριβόντων γεγονέναι
σεαυτῶν λέγεις, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ
tούτῳ. οὐκοινθαυμάσιοι οὔτε τῆς πρώτης γε-
νέσεως καὶ τροφῆς, οὔτε τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας,
οὔτε τῆς ἐν ἱκμή σώφρονος ἀγωγῆς, οὔτ' ἀσκη-
σεως τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἧν δ' ἁρα τις Μοιρῶν
ἀνάγκη καὶ εἰς Βασιλικάνως ἑλαύνουσα, ὀδού-
μενος δ' ὀσπερ καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδῶν ὠμίλεις σοφοῖς,
cαι ἐπὶ τούς Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Γυμνοὺς οὐχ ἡ
προαίρεσις, οὗτ' ὁ φιλοσοφίας πόθος, Μοῖρα δὲ
ἡγεν ἄγχουσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰς Ἡρα-
κλείους στήλας, ἐξω τε καὶ ἐσπέριον Ὁκεανῶν
ἀλάσθαι καὶ αὐταῖς ἀτράκτοις εἰς μάτην ἔξε-
βιάζετο περιστρέφεσθαι. εἰ δὲ δὴ μετεληφή-
ναι τι σοφίας αὐτῶν ἐκ τούτων εἰποι τις, Μοῖρα
καὶ τούτων αἰτία, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἀν ἐν φιλομαθέσιν ὁ
ἀνὴρ καταλεχθείη, οὗτ' ἀν εὐλόγως θαυμασθείη
tῆς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ
πορισθείης φιλοσοφίας. ἐν ἵσῳ δ' ἀν συγκρινό-
μενος εἰη κατ' αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καὶ τι

598
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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?

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 reasonadmire 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
τερατώδες καὶ ἀπερριμμένον ἀνδράποδον, Σωκρά- 
της αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας ὑπεραποθήκης καὶ οἱ 
τούτων θανάτου άξιον γραψάμενοι, Διογένης 
τε καὶ τὰ Ἀθηναίων μειράκια, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπέ 
ών ὁ σοφότατος οὐκ ἄν διαφέροι τοῦ ἄφρονεστά 
του, καὶ ὁ ἀδικώτατος τοῦ δικαιοτάτου, ὁ 
τε ἀκολαστότατος τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ 
δειλότατος τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου, εἰμαρμένης καὶ 
Μοιρῶν παγνίων τούτων ἀπάντων ἄποδεδειγμέ 
νων.

XLII

'Αλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ 
κήρυξ ἀναβοστηται λέγων· ὃ ἄνθρωποι, θυτῶν 
καὶ ἐπίκηρου γένος, ποὶ δὴ φέρεσθε τὸν τῆς 
ἀγνωσίας, ἀκρατοῦ ἐμπιόντες; λήξατε ποτὲ καὶ 
διανήγατε τῆς μέθης, καὶ διανοίας ὀρθοὶς ὅμοισ 
τὸ σεμιὼν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνοπτρίσασθε πρόσωπον. 
οὐ θέμις ἀληθειαν πολεμεῖν ἑαυτῇ καὶ μάχεσθαι, 
οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐναντιωτάτου μίαν ὕφεστάναι καὶ 
τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας τὰ 
πάντα κρατούσης θείους νόμοις διατέτακται τὸ 
πάν, ἀνθρώπων τε ψυχῆς ὅρος αὐτοκράτορά τε 
καὶ κριτήν, ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ κύριον αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ 
καθίστησι, φυσικοῖς νόμοις καὶ φιλοσόφων δόγ 
μασίν ἐκδιδάσκων, ὡς ἁρα τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν 
ἔστιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐφ' ἡ 
μῖν μὲν, ὡσα γένοιτ' ἀν κατὰ προσαίρεσίν τε καὶ πράξειν, 
ἀ καὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀκώλυτα ἀπαρεμπόδιστα 
600
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

Socrates himself, who died in behalf of philosophy with those who accused him and clamoured for his 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 demonstrated to be playthings of destiny and of the Fates.

XLII

However, the herald of truth will raise his voice against such arguments, and say: O ye men, mortal 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 ἄσθενή δοῦλα κωλυτὰ ἀλλότρια, ἢ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ἄψυχά τε οὐτα καὶ ἁλογα, καὶ πάντῃ τῆς ἱδίᾳ τοῦ λογικοῦ ζύφου φύσεως ἀλλοτρίαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τῶν δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα ὀρμὴν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας ἐκαστὸς ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται προαιρέσει, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ὄλων δεσπόζον τε καὶ ἄγεμονον εὐθέως περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορεύμενον, τῷ δ᾽ αἰεὶ συνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός, τῶν δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσις ὀρμῶν οὐ Μοίρας, οὐδὲ εἰμαρμένης, οὐδὲ ἀνάγκης αἰτίας: αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος. εἰ δὴ θρασύνοιτὸ τις τῷ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀντιπολεμῶν, μὴ παρακαλυπτέσθω οὔτος: θεοτητὰ ἀναφαίνον διεξαγορεύω, μὴ πρόνοιαι, μὴ θεῶν, μηδὲ τί ἄλλο πλὴν Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης ὀμολογῶν, καὶ: τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῦτοις γυμνῇ προσκαταλέγετο κεφαλῆς, μὴ σοφῶν, μὴ ἁφρονα, μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ ἀδικον, μὴ ἐνάρετον, μὴ φαύλον, μὴ γόητα, μὴ θεῖον ἐν ἀνθρώπων γίνεσθαι φύσει, μὴ φιλοσοφιαν εἶναι, μὴ παιδείαν, μὴ ὀλως τέχνην τινά, μηδὲ ἐπιστήμην, μὴ τινα ἄλλον τὴν φύσιν ἀγαθὸν ἢ πονηρὸν ἀποκαλεῖτω, πάντα δὲ συλλήβδην ἀνάγκη καὶ Μοιρῶν ἀτράκτως περιδινεῖσθαι. άθεος δήτα καὶ δυσσεβῆς οὔτος ἐν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφῶν ἀπογεγράφθω κριτηρίῳ. εἰ δ᾽ ἐπικαλυπτόμενος ἑτερα, δοξάζειν ἑπιχειροῦ πρόνοιαν 692
things as are not in our control are weak and servile, restrained and alien to ourselves; for 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 controls 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
καὶ θεοῦς. Μοῖραν δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εἰμαρμένην τις ἀνακηρύττοι, μαχομένους καὶ ἐναντίοις παριστάμενος δόγμασιν, ἐν ἀφροὶ δίκην ἀνοίας παρασχῶν καταγεγράφθω. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ. εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν φιλοσόφων διατριβαῖς ἄξιοῖν ἔτι καταλέγειν τινὲς τὸν ἀνδρα, λελέξηται, ὡς ἀρα εἰ ἀποκαθήρειαν τῆς ἔξωθεν ἱμηθη, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς γραφῆς ἑπεισκυκλουμένης αὐτῷ σκευῆς, φθόνοις πᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐκποδῶν ἀν εἰ ὅρους δ’ εἰ ἀληθείας προϊόν τις ὑπὲρ φιλοσόφων ἐκθειάζειν αὐτῶν πειράτο, λάθοι ἀν αὐτῷ γόητος ἀτεχνῶς διαβολὴν ἑπεντρίβων, ὡς ταυτὶ τὰ συγγράμματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναπεπλασμένα οὐδὲν πλὴν ἑλέγχου καὶ δεινῆς τάνδρος διαβολῆς παρὰ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ περιέχειν.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

to entertain ideas of Providence and of the gods, yet in addition to these champions the cause of Destiny 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 disen-tangling 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.
INDEX

Abaris, who travelled on a broomstick through the air according to the writers of the life of Pythagoras, is rivalled in his enterprise by Apollonius, 165
Abdera saved from pestilence by Democritus, 319
Absurdities of the narrative of Apollonius' visit to the Brahmins compared by Eusebius to those of the tales of Thule, 525
Acarnania, story of the inhabitant thereof who built himself a house on an island at the mouth of the Acheulous, 217
Accusations made against Apollonius of dressing differently from other men, 281; of Apollonius before Domitian reviewed by Eusebius, 571
Achaea, Apollonius set sail thither from Smyrna, 165; visited by Apollonius, 125
Acheulous river, 217
Achilles, his ghost as interviewed by Apollonius was really an evil spirit, 547 foll.; his soul could not have quitted the islands of the blest in order to appear to Apollonius, 567
Acria, 351
Adonis, his hall in the palace of Domitian at Rome, 239
Adrastea, reincarnations of the same soul successively in several bodies in accordance with her decrees, 305
Aeacus, warden of the gates of hell, 237
Aegae of Cilicia, temple of Asclepius there, 489; visited by Euphrates, 413
Aelian, consul under Domitian, is favourable to Apollonius, 195; his history, and early friendship with Apollonius in Egypt, 199; reveals to Apollonius the accusations made against him, 203 foll.; instructs Apollonius as to the demeanour which he must observe in the presence of Domitian, 229
Aeolus bids Odysseus quit his island, 187
Aeschylus, his improvements of the tragic stage, 47; his plays continued to be acted after his death, 47
Aesop, his story of the fox and the lion, 235
Aethiopia the eastern wing of the world, 3; its fauna and flora described, 101, 103
Aethiopian nomads, 103
Aethiopians, were originally an Indian race, who emigrated to the borders of the Nile, 49; colonists sent from India, 71
Age of Apollonius, 399
Alcibiades', his beauty, excelled by Apollonius, 399
Alcmaeon retires, after murdering his mother, to the mouth of the Acheulous, 219
Alexander of Macedon projects the re-building of Thebes, 153; employed Aristandrus to sacrifice for him, 345
Alexander the son of Straton by Seleucus, Apollonius offers to adopt and educate him, 421
Alos, his sons enchain Hephaestus upon earth, 225
Alpheus river, Apollonius disembarks at its mouth on the way to Olympia, 371; the river of Olympia, 379

607
INDEX

Alyattes, his son Croesus an example to be followed by the people of Sardis, 473
Amphilochian hounds, 141
Anacharsis the Scythian, 463
Anaxagoras, his meteorological predictions, 321
Animal sacrifices forbidden by Pythagoras, 39; cults of Egypt condemned, 77 foll.; food avoided by Apollonius in accordance with the precepts of Pythagoras and with the teachings of the Brahmins of India, 303; animal food deprecated by Apollonius in his correspondence, 427, 429
Animals and birds worshipped in Egypt, 79; their language acquired by Apollonius from the Arabs, 509
Annular eclipse seen in Hellas, 387
Antium, palace of the Emperor Hadrian thereat, 383
Antus of Aethiopia keep guard over gold, 5
Anytus and Meletus the accusers of Socrates, 187
Aphrodite, statue of her in Cnidus, 135
Apollo, the simplicity of his Delphic shrine, 33
Apollonians, or the companions of Apollonius, neglect the professors of Rhetoric, 385
Apollonides the son of Aphrodisius patronised by Apollonius, 419
Apollonius: arrives at the border of Aethiopia and Egypt, 5; makes the acquaintance of Tismasion of Memphis, 9; purifies from the guilt of having shed blood an Egyptian who had slain another called Philescus, 17; reaches the abodes of the Naked sages or Gymnosophistae, 21; Euphrates intrigues with the Naked sophists against him, 23; Theseus delivers an harangue against him, 29; replies to Theseus, 37; is joined by Nilus, the youngest of the Naked sages, 59; rebuts the arguments of Euphrates, 61; relates his Indian experiences, 65; prepares to visit the sources of the Nile, 73; discusses with the Naked sages the animal gods of Egypt, 77; discusses the problem of justice in general with the Naked sages, 89; sets out for the sources of the Nile accompanied by Tismasion and Nilus, 99; gives wine to a satyr who molested an Aethiopian village, and makes him drunk, 107; correspondence with Titus, 111; visits Titus at Antioch, 113; foretells to Titus the manner of his death, 119; writes to Demetrius, commending to him the Emperor Titus, 121; benevolence to the people of Antioch, 129; returning from Ethiopia, stays on the seaboard of Egypt, and then returns to Phoenicia and Cilicia, to Ionia and Achaea, and finally to Italy, 125; rebukes an Ionian youth, who wasted his time teaching birds to talk, 127; addresses the people of Antioch on the subject of earthquakes, 131; instructs a poor man of Antioch how to find a treasure, 133; rebukes the youth who wished to marry a statue of Aphrodite, 135; confounds the Egyptian and Chaldaean quacks who were imposing on the superstitions of the inhabitants of the cities on the left side of the Hellespont, 139; his wit and acumen concerning the decree of the Emperor Domitian forbidding the planting of fresh vineyards, 139; at Tarsus heals a youth who had been bitten by a mad dog, 141; a comparison of him with other ancient champions of liberty, 147 foll.; applauds the play of Euripides, the Ino, at Ephesus, 157; relations with Nerva, Orphitus, and Rufus, 161; discourses at Smyrna on the fates, and incurs the displeasure thereby of Domitian, 163; foretells the summons of the Emperor Domitian and leaves Smyrna for Rome, 165; lands at Corinth, and
INDEX

reaches Dicaearchia, 165; meets
Demetrius at Dicaearchia, and
discusses the government with
him, 165 foll.; the charges
against him, 169; finds that the
Consul Telesinus is favourable to
him, 169 foll.; quells the appre-
hensions of Damis, 175; ex-
postulates with Demetrius for his
cowardice, 179; departs for
Rome accompanied by Damis,
191; he and Damis embark at
Dicaearchia for Rome, 191; finds
that the Consul Aelian is favour-
able to him and to the claims of
philosophy, 195; sails up the
Tiber to Rome, 195; interview
with Aelian, 197; rebukes a tribune
who mocked at him, 207; is
imprisoned, where he converses
with the other prisoners, and
listens to their grievances, 209
foll.; reparte to an informer,
227; is summoned by Domitian
to an interview, 231; is escorted
to Domitian's palace, 235; bold
behaviour to Domitian, 239;
defends Nerva before Domitian,
243; is shorn of his hair by the
Emperor, 245; enemies have
perverted the history of his
transactions with the Emperor
Domitian, 247; chaffs a Syra-
cusan informer sent in to the
prison by Domitian, 249; miracu-
ulously extricates his leg before
Damis from the fetters with
which it was bound, 257; sends
Damis on before him to Dica-
earchia, 263; tribute to the youth
of Arcadia, 263; is brought
before the Emperor's tribunal,
and is insulted by an informer,
273 foll.; defends himself from
the charges made against him,
279; is acquitted by Domitian,
283; apology for his life, 285
foll.; starts for Sicily with Damis,
309; reaches Syracuse, and con-
tinues his voyage to the Pelopon-
ness at the beginning of Autumn,
309; disembarks at the mouth
of the Alpheus river, and goes
to stay at Olympia, 371; re-
bukes an admirer of Domitian
at Olympia, 373; discusses the
nature of a festival with Isagoras
at Olympia, 375; resolves to
visit Lebadea and descend the
cave of Trophonius, 379; brings
up from the cave of Trophonius a
volume containing the philosophy
of Pythagoras, which is now pre-
served in Antium, 383; his letters
in the possession of the Emperor
Hadrian, and preserved in the
palace of the latter at Antium,
383; interprets an annular
eclipse seen in Greece, 387;
spends two years in Greece, and
then repairs to Ionia, where he
visits the cities of Smyrna and
Ephesus, 389; at Ephesus be-
holds through his gift of second
sight the assassination of Domi-
tian in Rome, 391; is invited by
Nerva to come to Rome, 395;
sends Damis with a letter to
Nerva at Rome, 397; likenesses
of him preserved in the temple
at Tyana, 399; stories of the
death of Apollonius, 399; appears
after death to an apostle who had
doubts of his immortality, 403;
reproaches the Lacedaemonians
with their effeminacy, 463; the
name of the father of Apollonius
and Hestiaeus, 471; the question
whether he could be regarded as
a divine being considered by
Eusebius, 503; his pretension to
understand all languages and to
foresee events, criticised by
Eusebius, 505; denied the rank
even of a philosopher in the age
of Eusebius, 569

Apology for his life of Apollonius,
not composed in rhetorical style,
285

Apology of Apollonius, would never
have been composed by him if he
had really possessed the gift of
foresight, 579 foll.

Appreciation of Apollonius by
Eusebius of Pamphilus, 485 foll.

Arcadia, a land of woodcutters and
of goatherds and shepherds, 337

Arcadian boy, Apollonius accused

VOL. II.

609

R R
INDEX

of having murdered one and consulted his entrails, 335
Arcadians, their love of independence and unwillingness to sell their slaves or children out of their country, 337
Archilochus of Paros, quoted by Apollonius, 221
Archon Eponym of Athens, the Emperor Domitian, 373
Archytas of Tarentum, a follower of Pythagoras, his treatise on the education of children quoted, 117
Argos, Apollonius lectures there, 431
Aristandrus of Lycia, the soothsayer, 345
Aristaeus of Proconnesus, estimate of him passed by Hierocles, 489
Aristides insulted by a rustic, 207
Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, a criticism of his treatment by the Athenians, 95 foll.
Aristocleides, son of Gordius, 441
Aristocles, Apollonius addresses a warning to him against the evils of anger, 477
Artemis of Scythia, her cult in Sparta, 83; temple of, at Ephesus, profaned by those who took sanctuary therein, 465
Arts, liberal and illiberal, enumerated and described in the apology of Apollonius, 297 foll.
Asclepius, visits paid to mankind by his sons, 125; imitated by Apollonius in his healing of the sick and suffering, 415
Asla, Apollonius writes to the procurators of that province a letter of moral exhortation, 431
Astyages the Mede, 351
Athene, Domitian pretends to be her son, 217, 223
Athene of Ilim worshipped in Rome, 159
Athenian supremacy on the sea, 87, 95, 97
Athenian youth rebuked by Apollonius at Olympia for asserting that the goddess Athene was well disposed to Domitian, 373
Athenians, condemned for their vices by Apollonius, 469
Athenas, Apollonius stays there, 387
Attic dialect acquired by Apollonius not by inspiration, but by close study and application, 507
Aulis, Apollonius issues there from the cave of Trophonius, 383
Avarice and luxury of Euphrates condemned by Apollonius in his epistles, 411 foll.

Barbarians, that it is not worth the while of a Roman emperor to try to govern them, 425
Bartering between the Egyptians and Aethiopians compared with Greek trading, 5
Bassus, his flight to Megara and Syria, and his reception by Euphrates, 473
Bassus of Corinth, letter of Apollonius taxing him with having poisoned his father, 433; the would-be assassin of Apollonius, another letter of Apollonius to him, 433
Bathing, condemned by Apollonius, 437
Baths condemned by Apollonius, 413
Beards, not worn by the Athenians, 469
Biblus, shoes made of it, 305
Birds taught to talk, 127
Blood offerings condemned by Apollonius, as by Pythagoras, 339
Boeotia, Apollonius summoned thither from Athens by the Governor of Hellas, 387
Brahmans, the originality of their wisdom, they were the spiritual forefathers of the Gymnosophists, 45; the tale of their castle ridiculed by Eusebius, 527 foll.; their claim to be peers of the gods criticised by Eusebius, 535
Brother of Apollonius, a letter to him consoling him for the loss
INDEX

of his wife, and advising him to marry again, 449, 451
Brothers of Apollonius, at least two in number, 437; epistle of the sage to them cited by Stobaeus, 479

Caesarea, in Palestine, epistle of Apollonius to the councilors of that city commending their Hellenic civilization, 419
Callisthenes of Olynthus assails the Macedonians, 149
Calypso, the legend of, 359
Catadupl, the mountains of, 101
Cataracts of the Nile, 3, 105; toll.
Celsus, his work against Christianity entitled True Reason, 487
Celts of the west, Roman exiles among; 155
Character of Apollonius never changed, 125
Christology of Eusebius approaches that of Arius, 501
Chrysippus, his lectures and tenets, 413
Cicero, his villa at Dicaearchia is the scene of a discussion between Apollonius and Demetrius, 107
Cilicia, visited by Apollonius, 125
Citizen of the world, Apollonius claims to be such in his letters to his brother Hestiaeus, 439
Claudius, his letter to the senate of Tyana recommending to them their citizen Apollonius, 449
Clemens marries the sister of Domitian and is murdered by him, and avenged by Stephanus his wife’s freedman, 389
Clotho, her threads, 597
Cocks and pigs and bulls unsuitable as victims for those who would divine the future, 349
Cock-crow, according to Eusebius the regular hour for devilish interviews, 551
Coduri, the name of a social caste at Sardis, 435
Colossal statues at Delphi, 53
Conscience, the terrors of an evil conscience depicted, 189
Contemporaries of Eusebius found

superstitious devices still being dedicated in the name of Apollonius, 591
Co-operation of demons with Apollonius enabled him to impose on the senses of others, 573
Corinth, Apollonius arrives there on his way to Rome, 165
Corinthian steeds, 307
Cornelianus, epistle of Apollonius to him cited by Stobaeus, 481
Cotys the Thracian slain by Heracles and Python, 149
Court of Justice in Rome, defendants not allowed to introduce on their persons either amulet or book, 272
Crates of Thebes assails Philip for his treatment of the Athenians, 149
Credulity of the Christians, commented upon by Hierocles, 489
Crito, a physician, epistle of Apollonius to him, recommending the cure of the soul as well as of the body, 427
Cronos put in bonds by Zeus, 225
Crotona, 469
Cult of the springs of the Nile, 99
Cyclopes of Homer, 57
Cydnus river, its waters cure a dog of madness, 143
Cyllene, the religious image erected there, 89
Cyrus the pretender employed Silanus to sacrifice for him, 345

Damis, his interpretation of Apollonius’s prediction to Titus, that he should die in the same way as Odysseus, namely, by the sea, 121; reveals his apprehensions to Demetrius, 177; is rebuked by Apollonius for his timidity, 179; doffs his philosopher’s garb on reaching Rome, 193; witnesses Apollonius miraculously extricate his legs from the fetters, and then replace them, 257; instructed by Apollonius to go to Dicaearchia and await him opposite the island of Calypso, 203; takes a letter of Apollonius from Ephesus to the Emperor Nerva at

611
INDEX

Rome and never sees his master again alive, 397; commended by Hierocles, 480; persuaded that Apollonius was divine and super-human, by the fact that he loosened his foot from fetters in the prison, 507; disguised by Apollonius, 571

Danaiads, their legend appealed to by Apollonius, 159

Danaus, epistle of Apollonius to him, cited by Stobaeus, 479

Death never anticipated by animals, wherefore they make good victims for those who would divine the future, 345; of Apollonius, Philostratus's stories thereof ridiculed by Eusebius, 591

Deficitation, the charge of, is brought against Apollonius, 311; of Jesus, protested against by Hierocles, 487

Deities of the earth need trenches to be dug and filled with the blood of victims, 325

Delius, letter of Apollonius to him, 477

Delphi, letter of Apollonius to the priests of that place exhorting them not to defile their altars with blood, 429; the shrine of, its simplicity and freedom from pomp, 33

Delphic shrine, its rich adornments, 51

Demetrius, the companion of Apollonius, a cynic philosopher assigned as teacher of Titus, 117; letter of Apollonius to him, commending Titus, 121; Apollonius finds him at Dicaearchia, on his way to Rome, 165; endeavours to dissuade Apollonius from facing Domitian in Rome, 165; he and Damis, await Apollonius at Dicaearchia, 359; relates the dream of Telesinus concerning Apollonius, 363; his apprehensions for the safety of Apollonius, rebuked by Apollonius, 365

Democrates, epistle of Apollonius to him, cited by Stobaeus, 481

Democritus, his philosophy of laughter, 341

Demon, Apollonius drove out one demon with the help of another, 561

Demons and human beings, how to be distinguished, 241; Pythagoras belonged to their class, 447; still expelled in the age of Eusebius by invocation of the mysterious name of Jesus Christ, 493; employed by Apollonius to drive out demons, 565 foll.

Demosthenes opposes Python the agent of Phillip, 255

Destiny, its inevitableness, 351

Dialects of ancient Greece criticised, 127

Dicaearchia, Apollonius arrives there on the fifth day from Corinth, 165; shipping of that port for Libya, for Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus and Sardinia, 175

Dictynna, temple of in Crete, the scene of the translation to heaven of Apollonius, 401

Diet, of Apollonius consisted only of vegetables, bread and dried fruits, 67; advantages of a light, 323; of maize, recommended by Apollonius to his disciples, 477

Diogenes of Sinope rebukes Philip at Chaeronea for his treatment of the Athenians, 149

Dion, liberator of Sicily, 149; his friendship with Apollonius, 297; epistles of Apollonius to, 415, 417; epistle of Apollonius to him, cited by Stobaeus, 479

Dionysiac ceremonies, 89

Dionysius, epistle of Apollonius to him, 479

Diotimus, letter of Apollonius to him, 443

Disciples of Apollonius, a letter addressed to them by the sage defending himself from the calumnies of Euphrates, 475

Divination among cowherds, 55; from the entrails of victims, its rationale expounded by Apollonius, 347; of Apollonius consistent with philosophy, 415

612
INDEX

Divine element in humanity asserted by Apollonius, 313
Dogs, guardians of the ancient temples, 401
Domitian, issues a rescript against the planting of fresh vineyards, 139; and against self-mutilation, 139, 141; persecution of philosophers, 147; marriage with Julia celebrated at Ephesus with sacrifices, 159; orders Apollonius to be arrested and brought to Rome, 165; accuses Apollonius of having murdered a boy from Arcadia in order to divine the secrets of futurity from an inspection of his entrails, 169; claims to be the son of Athene, 217; his features described by Aelian, 229; sacrifices to Athene in the hall of Adonis, 239; compares Apollonius to a demon, 241; insults Apollonius by cutting off his beard and hair and accusing him of wizardry, 245; Apollonius accused by certain writers of having demeaned himself by going down upon his knees to him, and writing a letter in Ionic to him, 247; confused and overpowered by the defence of Apollonius, 357; slays Clemens and is assassinated by Stephanus his freedman, 389; epistles of Apollonius to him, exhorting him not to aspire to rule over barbarians, 425
Dorians wore their hair long, 309
Dragons, the eating of their heart and liver enables men to understand the language of animals, 509; Damis' tale of them ridiculed by Eusebius, 527
Earth, sacrifices to in hope of finding a treasure, 133
Earthquakes at Antioch, 131
Echinadae at the mouth of the Acheous, 217
Edoni and Lidyans, their Bacchic revels, 57
Egypt, its cults, assailed by Apollonius, 77
Egyptians and Chaldeans collect money for sacrifices to Earth and to Poseidon against earthquakes, 139
Egyptian wine jars, 109; informer suborned by Euphrates against Apollonius, 333
Egyptians, their quarrel with the Indians, 315
Eleusinian mysteries, 89; Eusebius notes that Apollonius was repelled from them because he was a wizard, 553
Ellis purged of the plague by Hercules, and from the foul exhalations due to Auges, 323
Etna tree, addresses Apollonius in a female voice, at the bidding of the Gymnosophists, 31
Empedocles, his rite for the purification of homicides followed by Apollonius, 21; composed hymns in which he claimed to be a god, 309; reputed to have dissipated a tempest which was about to burst over Acragas, 319
Emperor of Rome represented by sycophants as the God of all mankind, 279
Empusa on the road from Persia to India, a criticism thereof by Eusebius, 519; Empusa and Lamia were according to Eusebius expelled by Apollonius with the help of a more important demon, 567
Ephesians, advice of Heraclitus to them, 429; Apollonius writes to the scribes of Ephesus to think less of decorating their city externally, and to encourage good sense and law among the citizens, 431; letter of Apollonius to them rebuking them for the profanations of the temple of Artemis by robbers and other malefactors, 465
Ephesus, the Ino represented in the theatre of, 157; salvation of, from the plague, recalled to him by a tribune at Rome, 207; the plague there stayed by Apollonius, 317; situation and importance of the city, 319; Apollonius returns thither after escaping from Domitian, 389; while
INDEX

Euripides, his play *Orestes* quoted, 189
Eurystheus relieved by *Hercules*, the favourite of *Athene* and saviour of mankind, 325
Eusebius, the son of Pamphilius, writes a treatise against the parallel drawn by *Hierocles* between Apollonius and Christ, 485; his estimate of Damis and of Maximus and of Philostratus, 491 foll.; denies that Apollonius was even a philosopher, much less a man of integrity and good sense, 495; his private estimate of Apollonius as a sage of merely human capacity, 495; is prepared to accept everything that is probable in the narrative of Philostratus, or of Damis, 515; ridicules the pretensions of Apollonius to be a king-maker, 559; confuses the mad dog of Philostratus, Book VI, chap. xiii., with the tame lion of Book V, chap. xlii., 565
Euthydemos of Phoenicia, the philosophical teacher of Apollonius at Tarsus, 507
Euxenus of Heraclea in Pontus, the teacher of Apollonius, scoffed at by Eusebius, 513
Evil eye, superstition of, 265
Fabricius, a barbarous name adopted by the Ionians, 471
Fabulla, the wife of Valerius, 461
Family and lineage of Apollonius recognised by Eusebius to be rich and old, 517
Fate and necessity, the discourse upon of Apollonius in Ionia, 351
Fates and destiny, Apollonius delivers a discourse upon them in the grove of Smyrna, 161; the opinions of Apollonius with regard to the inevitability of their decrees, reviewed and criticised by Eusebius, 583, 593 foll.
Festivals, their nature analysed by Apollonius, 375
Fire worshipped in Rome, 159
Fleece, the golden, 307

614
INDEX

flesh diet and slaying of living creatures condemned by Apollonius in his epistles, 437; eschewed by Apollonius, 415
Flower baskets, used by the Syrians at the festivals of Adonis, 239
Foreknowledge, Eusebius points out that Apollonius did not retain his gift thereof uniformly and in all cases, 567
Forensic orators denounced as wolves by Apollonius because they encouraged litigation and informers, 385
Forgeries of the enemies of Apollonius, 247
Free will, must be provided for, according to Eusebius, in any philosophy of the universe, but is excluded by Apollonius’ teaching with regard to destiny and the decrees of the fates, 601 foll.

Garmos, the king of the Babylonians, his letter to Neogyndes the king of the Indians, 461
Genius of the Ephesian pestilence took the form of a blind beggar, 323
Geryon and Nessus, monsters, 37
Glaucus dedicates a stand for a goblet at Delphi, 53
Gods of the under earth prefer deep trenches and underground ceremonies, 57
Goddesses, loves of mortals for them criticised by Apollonius, 187
Gordius, letter of Apollonius threatening him if he continues to wrong his brother Hestiaeus, 441
Gorgon, its head, 205
Grasshoppers, their freedom from persecution and from the need of eating food, 167
Grave of Apollonius nowhere to be found on earth, 507
Greek statues of the gods, compared and contrasted with the religious images of the ancient Egyptians, 77
Gyara, the place of exile of Musonius, becomes a place of pilgrimage among the Greeks, 197
Gymnosophists of the Nile, their abode described, 21
Gymnosophists, their debt to the Brahmans of India, 45; their innovations in religion upon the philosophy of the Indians, 51

Hadrian preserves in his villa at Antium certain letters of Apollonius and a volume of Pythagoras brought up by Apollonius from the cave of Trophonius, 383
Hair, long, defended by Apollonius 309; worn long by Apollonius and by the Hellenes, 415
Harmonius and Aristogeiton, 373
Heaven, the translation thither of Apollonius in his physical body, 507
Helen, a poem in honour of, composed by the man of Himera, 51
Helen of Troy, drugs the wine in Homer, 211
Hellas, its welcome to Apollonius after his escape from Domitian, 371; Roman Governor of, summons Apollonius from Athens to Boeotia, in order to ask him about an eclipse, 387
Hellenic gods in India, 529
Hellenism of Caesarea of Palestine, 419
Hellespont, the cities of visited by earthquakes, 139
Hephaestus, his magic slippers, 57
Heracles, see Hercules, 31
Heraclides and Python slay Cotys the Thracian, 149
Heraclitus, his saying that man is by nature irrational, 423; advises the Ephesians not to purge away mud with mud, 429
Hercules instituted the Olympic festival, 31; his choice as described in a painting by Prodicus, 38; the averter of disease, has a statue erected to him in Ephesus to commemorate the staying of the plague by Apollonius, 323
Hercyne the springs of, liard by the cave of Trophonius, 381

615
INDEX

Hermes, images of him on the site of the statue of Memnon, 15; statues of, 285

Hestiaeus, brother of Apollonius, Apollonius writes to him that he is a philosopher without any ambition to be rich, 438; letter of Apollonius to him, blaming him and his brothers for not recognizing his merits as a philosopher, 437; reproached in an epistle for adopting such names as Lucretius and Luperosus, 471

Hides of dead animals an impure material from which to make raiment or shoes, 305

Hierocles, writes a treatise called the Lover of Truth or Philaletes, platting the life of Apollonius against that of Christ, 485; cited, 487, 489; the first writer who ever selected Apollonius for purposes of comparison and contrast with the Saviour, 487; his position as president of the supreme courts in the province in which Eusebius lived, 496; supreme judge in Eusebius' province, 533

Hieronymus sent as an envoy by the citizens of Seleucia to Apollonius, 421

Himera, the man of, his Palinode, 51

Hippolytus the son of Theseus, compared with Timaeus, 13

Homer, IIiad, cited, 191, 355; cited by Apollonius, 283; cited about Scytheron, 353; cited by Apollonius in his epistle to Euphrates, 483

Homicides, rites of purification of, of Empedocles and Pythagoras, 21

Honey cake and frankincense, the only offerings worthy of pure deities, 325

Human beings proclaimed divine and sacrifices decreed in their honour during their lifetime, 311

Human sacrifice to Artemis modified by the Lacedaemonians, 85

Human sacrifices attributed to Apollonius, 283; sacrifices and victims useless for purposes of augury, 345

Hyacinthus, festival of, in Lacedaemon, 83

Hymn to sleep from Homer, repeated by Apollonius, 367

Hyphasis river, 301

Iarchas, 185; letter of Apollonius to him concerning the water of Tantalus, 475; his prescience and pride ridiculed by Eusebius, 529

Idomena, letter of Apollonius to her, 477

Images, cult of, in Egypt and in Ancient Greece, 81

Immortality, hymn concerning, revealed after death by Apollonius to a youth who doubted his survival after death, 403

Incarnation of an ancient Egyptian skipper in the person of Apollonius, 91

Inconsistency of Apollonius in praising Domitian to his face and yet intriguing against him behind his back, exposed by Eusebius, 585 foll.

India, beyond the Caucasus, 301; the true source of the wisdom of Pythagoras and of the Egyptians, 303

Indian theology adopted by the Egyptians as by Apollonius, 315

Indus river, compared with the Nile, 45

Informers assail the estates of Phoenician land-owners in Antioch, 185; in the prisons of Rome spy upon Apollonius, 213; their luxury and vices, 291; the harm done by them under Domitian, 355; the evils they brought upon mankind proclaimed, 385

Initiations and sacrifices of religion purified by the teaching of Apollonius, 311

Ino, the play so called represented at Ephesus before the governor of Asia, 157

Interpreter, used by Apollonius among the Indians, although he pretended to understand all languages by intuition, 521
INDEX

Iolaus is present at the killing of the hydra by Hercules, and sears the monster with hot iron, 165
Ionia, visited by Apollonius, 125; Apollonius resorts thither from Athens, 389
Ionians, letter of Apollonius to them, condemning their adoption of Roman names as a barbarous custom, 469
Ionic dialect rarely used by Apollonius, except in writing his testament, 247
Iphitus of Sparta, 309
Iron knife may not touch the head of a sages, 309
Isagoras, of Thessaly, discusses the nature of festivals with Apollonius in Olympia, 375
Ister river, 225, 317
Italy, visited by Apollonius, 125
Ixion, his fate, 137; bent on a wheel in heaven, 171

Jerusalem, capture of, by Titus, 111; intrigues of rebels there with inhabitants of Tarsus, 123
Jesus, the only man who had been the subject of Hebrew prophecy, 493; was a messenger sent by the Lord of the entire universe to raise human nature, and may be described as divine, 501; see also Saviour
Julia, niece of Domitian and daughter of Titus, 159
Jupiter of the Capitol, his temple is burnt down in the struggle between Domitian and Vitellius, 353
Justice discussed between Apollonius and the Naked sages, 91 foll.

Lacedaemonian boys, reasons why they were scourged at the altar of Artemis, 83
Lacedaemonians, their epistle to Apollonius making him a citizen of Sparta, 463
Latus, his dynasty, 351
Lamia of Corinth, which devoured good-looking young men, 325
Labadaea, Apollonius resorts thither in order to interview the god Trophonius, 381
Legislator, epistle of Apollonius to one, warning him against the ill-effects of festivals, 429
Lemnos, a lady of, visited by a satyr, 111
Leonidas, king of Sparta, wore his hair long in token of his bravery, 309; employed Megistias to sacrifice to him, 345
Lesbonax, epistle of Apollonius to him commending poverty, 425; letter of Apollonius to him concerning Anacharsis, 463
Letter of Apollonius to a young man, mentioning the episode of the satyr in Aethiopia, 111; to Demetrius, commending the Emperor Titus to him, 121; to Domitian forged by his enemies, 247
Leucothoe gives her veil to Ulysses, 211
Levitation of the Indian sages doubted by Eusebius, 531
Libya incognita, 3
Libyan offerings of gold at Delphi, 53; desert, Roman exiles therein, 155
Licentious youth at Athens the victim, according to Eusebius, of an indwelling demon, 567
Life of men compared to existence in a prison by Apollonius, 223
Lindus, Apollonius said to have died there, or rather to have disappeared in the temple of Athene there, 401
Linen, a pure material, and therefore used by the Indians, by Pythagoras, and by the Egyptians when they discoursed or prayed or offered sacrifice, or when they went to sleep with a view to dreaming, 307; raiment worn by Apollonius as being the proper garb of priests, 415
Liver of animals the seat of divination, 347
Locri, near Lebadaea, 381
Locris, Apollonius lectures there, 431
Long hair worn by Apollonius, 298
Lovers addicted to magic, 259

617
INDEX

Lucanian names adopted by the Ionians, 471
Lucretius the name derided by Apollonius, 471
Lucullus, a barbarous name adopted by the Ionians, 471
Luperceus, the name derided by Apollonius, 471
Luxury of Roman banquets described and condemned, 305
Lycurgus proclaimed divine by the Pythian oracle, 313
Lyceus, epistle of Apollonius to him, cited by Stobaeus, 481
Lysias, friend of Diotimus, 443; suborned by Euphrates to poison him, 475

Macedon, letter of Apollonius to him, 477
Mad dog, attacks a lad at Tarsus, 141; homeopathic cure for the bite of, 143
Maeander river, 105
Magic, use of bits of stone of mysterious origin, and of sacrifices and spices, 259
Magicians induce men to believe that the unreal is real, and that the real is unreal, and to offer unclean sacrifices; are given up to filthy lucre, and pursue people with big fortunes, 299
Maidservants of Apollonius attend him at his death, their subsequent fortunes, 399
Malae, port of, in Arcadia, 269
Mandragoras, its use as a drug, 317
Marsyas river, 105
Massagetae, their barbarous sacrifices, 325
Maximus of Aegae commended by Hierocles for his history of Apollonius, 489
Megabyzus, the riches of, 409
Megara, Apollonius lectures there, 431
Megistias of Arcarnania the soothsayer, 345
Meles, statue of, in the grove of Smyrna, 161
Memnon, his history and his statue, 9, 15
Memoirs of Damis, do not extend to the death of Apollonius, 399

Memphis, the penalty there for involuntary homicide, 17
Menippus saved from a Lamia, 325; conducts the dispute of Apollonius with Euphrates, 111
Menotodus, a name which came thence in the pedigree of Apollonius, 471
Meroe, the point where Aethiopia adjoins Egypt, 3
Messenae in Arcadia, episode of the youth who came thence to Rome in order to study law and attracted the notice of Domitian, 263
Midas, had the blood of satyrs in his veins, 109; mentioned in letter of Apollonius, 413
Milesius, rebuked by Apollonius in an epistle to them for their want of good morals and religious faith, 431
Miletus, Apollonius writes to the citizens of, concerning the earthquake which he had predicted, 467
Minaermus, 472
Ministry of demons enabled Apollonius, according to Eusebius, to work his entire series of miracles, 569
Minoa, the brother of Sarpedon, 353
Miracles of the vocal elm tree, 31; of taking his leg out of the fetters worked by Apollonius before Damis, but not due to magic or wizardry, 257
Miracles of healing wrought by Tarchas, Eusebius questions them, 537; of Apollonius, in particular his releasing his foot from the fetters, were illusions on the eyes of Damis and others, 573 toll.

Miraculous translation of Apollonius from Rome to Dicaearchia, 359
Mnesarchides of Samos, an incarnation of Pythagoras, 305
Money, rejected by Apollonius from his first youth, 301; Apollonius supplies himself therewith out of the treasury of Zeus at Olympia with the approval of the priest, 375
Moral nature of man destroyed by
INDEX

the teaching of fate and necessity, upheld by Apollonius, 601 foll.
Museum, letters of Apollonius to the sages of the museum, rebuking Hellas of that age for her barbarism, 431
Musical contest established in Rome by Domitian, 175
Musonius the Tyrhenian is exiled by Nero to Gyara, 197

Naked boys, the festival of, in Lacedaemon, 83; philosophers of Egypt, Eusebius ridicules their miracle of making an elm-tree talk with an articulate voice, 565; sages of the Nile (see Gymnosophists)
Nature and art, their conjunction at Olympia, 379
Nearchus the Mysian, his tyranny, 147
Necromancy, Apollonius guilty thereof, 549
Neith, the goddess of Sais, identical with Athene, 469
Neozyndes, king of India, letter of Garmos, king of Babylon, to him, 461
Nero poisons his enemies with the sea-hare, 121; opposed by Apollonius, 153; a tyrant less cruel than Domitian, 173; he and his successors avoided by Apollonius for thirty-eight years, 331
Nerva accedes to the throne and invites Apollonius to visit him there, 395
Nerva, pretender to the throne of Domitian, 161; banished to Tarentum, correspondence of Apollonius with him, 161; characterised by Apollonius, 243; his character and his disease, 327; reigns one year and four months, 395
Nessus and Geryon, monsters, 37
Nile, the river, compared with the Indus, 5; worship of, 21; the sources of, visited by Apollonius, 73 foll.
Ninus, the youngest of the Naked sages, goes over to Apollonius, 50 foll.; gives his reason for abandoning the Naked sages, 69
Numenius, epistle of Apollonius to him, cited by Stobaeus, 479
Nymphs, the system of, at Dicaearchia, 359

Olympia reached by Apollonius 371; letter of Apollonius to the priests of that place, dissuading them from worshipping the gods with sacrifices, 427
Olympic games, Apollonius is invited to witness them by the people of Elis, and answers them in an epistle, 427
Oracles of Delphi, why put in metrical form, 53
Origen, in his work against Celsus has anticipated most of the arguments of Hierocles, 487
Orpheus, his melodies which brought back the dead, 343; his followers not to be condemned as magicians, 423
Orphitus and Rufus, accused by Domitian of intriguing against himself and banished to the islands, 161; sluggish men without ambition, 329
Ox sits upon the tongue, meaning of the proverb, 39

Pactolus river, its gift of gold dust to Croesus, 131; its gold, 331
Paeonian fowls fattened up for Roman banquets, 305
Palace of Domitian at Rome wittily compared by Apollonius to a bath, 237
Palamedes of Troy, his faith compared with that of Socrates, 93; his tomb restored by Apollonius, 551
Palinode of the man of Himera, 51

Panephricus, raftmen, 307
Panathenaic festival in Attica, hymns sung thereat in honour of Harmodius and Aristogelton, 157, 373
Pandora, prayers offered to, 133
Pandorus, his attack on Menelaus, 447
Pedigrees kept even by lower castes in Sardinia, 435
Peloponnesians, epistle of Apol-
INDEX

Ionius to them, reproaching them for their internal feuds, 427
Pepper trees, tale of, criticised by Eusebius, 527
Persephone, goddess of the underworld, 361
Persian magi are divine beings, 423
Peter and Paul denounced by Hierocles as liars and wizards, 489
Phasis, fowls from, 305
Pherecianus, letter of Apollonius to him accepting his invitation to visit his residence, 445
Philip of Macedon asserts himself to be a descendant of Hercules, 149
Philiscus, his murderer, is purified from blood guilt by Apollonius, 17
Philiscus of Melos attended during his last illness by Apollonius at Rome, 341
Philolaus handed down in writing the conversations of Pythagoras, 513
Philosophy, the perils of under Domitian, 173 foll.
Philostratus of Athens, commended by Hierocles for his culture and love of truth, 489
Phocis, Apollonius lectures there, 431
Phocis near Lebadea, 381
Phoenix, visited by Apollonius, 125
Phraotes, Apollonius tells the naked sages of his philosophy, 65; king of India, 185; his advice to lion tamers recalled by Apollonius, and applied as an allegory of tyrants, 233
Phyle, the inhabitants murder the thirty tyrants, 157
Phynion of Rhegium flees to Dionysius, a tyrant of Sicily, 149
Pigmies, 5; Eusebius criticises the tale of them, 537
Pindar upon music, that it charms the savage breast of Ares, 175
Plague, caused by the sins of Emperors, 281; at Ephesus, Apollonius was able to stay it by means of his commerce with demons, 543 foll.; its nature and explanation according to Eusebius, 545
Plato discoursed upon the soul to the Athenians, 43; his Timaeus on the immortality of the soul, 99; takes up the cause of the freedom of Sicily together with Dion, 149; shared the philosophy of Archytas, 513
Platonists, letter of Apollonius to them against the taking of money by teachers, 437
Political prisoners of Domitian consoled by Apollonius in gaol, 221 foll.
Polydanna, daughter of Thon, 211
Polygnatus painted a picture of the taking of Ilium at Delphi, 53
Porphyry, cites a letter of Apollonius to Iarchas, 475
Poseidon and Earth sacrifice to, in order to avert earthquakes, 139
Praxiteles of Calchis, a madman, suborned by Bassus to assassinate Apollonius, 443; the assassin, 461; the would-be assassin, 475
Predictions of Apollonius in respect of the plague at Ephesus due to his using a lighter diet than others and avoiding luxury, and not to any magical skill, 321; of an earthquake at Miletus by Apollonius, 467; of an earthquake at Ephesus, causes Apollonius to be accused of causing it, 467; of Apollonius criticised by Eusebius, and attributed to commerce with demons by him, 541 foll.
Prescience of Apollonius ridiculed by Eusebius, 523
Prison at Rome, conversations of Apollonius therein, 209
Prodicus, his picture of the choice of Hercules, 33
Proteus of Egypt, teaches Helen the use of drugs, 211
Proteus, the demon of the sea, impersonated or incarnated in Apollonius, 505
Providence, the government of the
INDEX

universe thereby prevents any human being or animal from transcending the limits which the laws of nature impose, 497; of God, and his control of the universe not inconsistent with the freewill and responsibility of human beings, 601 foll.

Publicists, epistle of Apollonius to certain learned persons among them concerning light and speech, 453

Pythagoras, his rite for the purification of homicide adopted by Apollonius, 21; his discipline forbade the eating of flesh, the wearing of wool, and the sacrifice of animals, 39; his philosophy anticipated by the Indians, 49; prescribed a silence concerning the mysteries of religion, 89; took his rule of life from India, 303; his gift of reminiscence of his earlier incarnations, 305; condemned the offering of blood to the gods, and allowed nothing but frankincense to be burnt upon an altar as the only pure sacrifice, 339; a volume of his tenets brought up by Apollonius from the shrine of Trophonius, the volume subsequently conveyed to the Emperor Hadrian together with letters of Apollonius, and preserved in Hadrian's palace at Antium, 383; Hierocles' estimate of him, 489; the pretensions of Apollonius to possess his wisdom, criticised adversely by Eusebius, 511 foll.

Pythian and Olympic festivals, Stratocles meets Apollonius at them, 29; shrine, works of art there of Polygnotus and Glaucus, 53; inscription, to know oneself, 187

Python of Byzantium suborned by Phillip, son of Amyntas, 255

Quaestors of Rome, Apollonius writes to them, protesting against their misgovernment, 429

Rabies among dogs shown by their being afraid to drink, 141

Red Sea, intercourse of the Egyptians across it with India, 71

Reincarnation of Telephus in the lad of Tarsus, 143

Reptiles in the cave of Trophonius appeased by worshippers by means of honey cakes, 381

Responsibility of human beings undermined according to Eusebius by Apollonius' doctrine of fate and necessity, 593 foll.

Resurrection of the girl at Rome accepted by Eusebius as a natural and non-miraculous incident, 553

Rhetoric of the Forum commended by Apollonius, for rich young men, 129

Rhine river, 317

Rhodes, Apollonius promises after meeting his friends there to return to see his brothers later in the spring, 441

Riddles, Pythagoras taught by means of them, 49

Rings, Apollonius' acceptance of seven magical rings proves that he was given to magic, 539

Rome, letter of Apollonius to the Censor of that city rebuking them for their indifference to the welfare of children and women, 449

Rufus and Orphitus, accused of treason by Domitian before Apollonius and defended by him, 243

'Sabinus murdered by Domitian, 159

Sacrifice, human, charge of preferred against Apollonius, 169

Sais, letter of Apollonius to them on the identity of Athene with their goddess Neith, 469

Samothracian rites, their prescriptions, 89

Sardis, visited by Apollonius, 131; letters of Apollonius to the people of, reproaching them for their vices and other faults, 485; epistle of Apollonius to the people of that city reproaching them for their internal dissensions, 453;
INDEX

epistle of Apollonius to them reproaching them for their inter-
nece feuds, 473; Apollonius refuses to visit the city because it is so eaten with faction, 475
Satyr infests an Aethiopian village, and is controlled by Apollonius, 107 foll.
Satyrs, epistle of Apollonius to him cited by Stobaeus, 479
Saviours of mankind, 315, 325
Saviour, possibility of one descending from heaven to earth, dwelt upon by Eusebius, 499; of man-
kind regarded by Eusebius as a messenger of the Supreme Being who descended from heaven, and hav-
ing cleansed his understanding and dissipated the mist of mortality, bore in his soul the image of the great God, and illuminated the world of mankind, 501
Scillus, near Olympia, 371
Scopellus, the sophist, letter of Apollonius to him upon human faculta-
ties, 425
Scythia, Roman political fugitives there, 155
Scythian king, epistle of Apollonius to him about Zamolxis, 429
Scythians, their life in wagons, 225; their barbarous religion and sacrifi-
ce, 325
Sea-hare, a poisonous fish, used by Nero against his enemies, and by Domitian in order to remove his brother Titus, 121
Second sight of Apollonius, whereby he witnesses at Ephesus the assassination of Domitian in Rome, 393
Seleucia, epistle of Apollonius to the councillors of that city thanking them for their goodwill in inviting him to visit them, 419
Seleucus of Cyzicus, the physician, 343
Senate of Rome persecuted by Domitian, 155
Shrines of the Naked sophists built apart, 21
Sicily, ships from Dicaearchia starting thither, 369
Sick men healed of their diseases by Apollonius, 311
Sicyon, Apollonius lectures there, 431
Silanus, the soothsayer, a native of Ambracia, 345
Silence, discipline of Pythagoreans, 39; inculcated and followed and observed by Apollonius, 415; regime of, kept for five years by Apollonius in the spirit of Pytha-
goras, in a praiseworthy manner, according to Eusebius, 517
Simonides upon silence, 475
Slavery, criticism of, 287
Smyrna, Apollonius discourses on the fates and on destiny there, 161; Apollonius resides there in order to teach, 389
Socrates accused by the naked sages of worshipping animals and trees, 81; accused of religious innovation, 167; his trial at Athens, 287; his demonic inspiration, 321
Solon and Lycurgus, 99
Sophocles, his Oedipus Tyrannus cited, 155; cited by Apollonius, 237; cited, 355
Sophocles of Athens reputed to have charmed away an unseasonable wind, 319
Statue of Aphrodite at Cnidus, a youth falls in love with it, 137; of bronze set up in public at Sparta to commemorate the virtues of Apollonius as being a son of Lycurgus, 463
Stephanus assassinates Domitian, 339
Stobaeus, his citations of Apollo-

nus's letters to Euphrates and others, 475
Stoics, letter of Apollonius to them denouncing Bassus, 473
Stratocles of Pharos reports to the Gymnosophists that he had met Apollonius at the Pythian and Olympic festival, 29
Stratocles of Sildon, the physician, 343
Straton, a citizen of Seleucia and the friend of Apollonius, 421
Sun, religion of, contrasted with the religion of the underground
INDEX

gods, 57; Apollonius worships it at mid-day at Corinth, 165
Swans assist the mother of Apollonius at the birth of her child, 505
Sycamorn, a mart on the confines of Aethiopia and Egypt, 5
Sympathies, how they preyed upon youth, 129
Symbols of ancient worship, 89
Symposium of the king of India criticised by Eusebius, 533
Syracusan informer suborned by Domitian against Apollonius, 249
Syracuse, Apollonius passes it on his way to the Peloponnese, 389
Syria, Roman governor of, plunges Antioch into feud, 131
Syrians from the border of Media habitually subjugated by tyrants and destitute of any ideal of freedom, 179

Tanais, river, 225
Tantalus, the waters of, 475
Tantalus, his goblet, and its significance, 187
Tarentum, 469
Tarentum, prayers for Domitian as the son of Athene thereat, 217

Tarsus, Titus interviews there Apollonius, and discusses questions of empire with him, 113; its inhabitants reconciled to Apollonius, who persuades the Emperor Titus to grant them certain favours, 123; a story of the mad dog at, 141
Taurians, their savage offerings, 325
Tauromenium reached by Apollonius on his way from Dicaearchia to the Peloponnese, 369
Teiresias, 155
Telemachus, his dogs, 117
Telephus of Mysia, his soul transferred into the boy bitten by the mad dog of Tarsus, 143
Telemus the philosopher and consul in the reign of Nero, quits Rome for fear of Domitian, 169; the consul, a friend of Philiscus of Melos, 343; in the course of a banquet at Antium, has a prophetic vision of the escape of Apollonius from Domitian, 363

Thales, his predictions of a plentiful olive crop, 321
Thales of Miletus, 467
Thamus assails the city of Memphis, 19
Theaetetus, epistle of Apollonius to him cited by Stobaeus, 481
Themis, the proverb of her saltcellar, 413
Thermodon river, 225
Thespis, the chief of the naked sages, delivers an harangue against Apollonius, 29; of Aethiopia, 185
Thrasylalus, of Naucratis, the instrument of Euphrates, 23
Thule, tales of, 525
Thurii, 469
Tiber, Apollonius and Damis sail up it to Rome, 195
Tigellinus inspired with terror by Apollonius, 155

Timasion, a youth who, being ill-treated by his stepmother, leaves Naucratis and becomes a waterman at Memphis on the Nile, where he meets Apollonius and joins him, 9 foll.; reveals the intrigues of Euphrates, 25 foll.; undertakes to guide Apollonius to the springs of the Nile, 99

Tindarus, his motion at Sparta that Apollonius be made a citizen, 463

Titus, correspondence of, with Apollonius after the siege and capture of Jerusalem, 113; his affection for his father Vespasian, 115; asks Apollonius to foretell to him the time and manner of his death, 119

Tmolus, a mountain in Lydia, 101; the gold of, 131

Tragedy, the improvements in, originated by Aeschylus, 47
Tragic actor plays the Ino in Ephesus, 157

Trallians, epistle of Apollonius to them commending them above the people of other Hellenic cities, 467

Treasure of 3000 darics found in Antioch, 135

Trial of Apollonius before Domitian, 278

623
INDEX

Tribune insults Apollonius at Rome, 207
Tripods and automata of the Brahmans, Eusebius criticises them, 531
Tripods of Hephaestus, 57
Trophonius, his priests wish to reject Apollonius as being a wizard, 381; how his cave was entered by those who would consult him, 381; visit of Apollonius thereto, as related by Philostratus, proves that he was regarded as a wizard, 589
Trygon, a fish which wounded Odysseus, 121
Tyana, the shrine of Apollonius there is honoured by the Emperors, 405; letter of Apollonius to the senate and people of that city who had invited him to return, 441; revelation made there of himself by the risen Apollonius, 403
Tyranny, discussed between Apollonius, Demetrius and Damis, 171 foll.

Universe, its dependence upon the Creator, 315

Valerius, philosophical letter of Apollonius to him consoling him for the loss of his son, 457
Vardan the Babylonian, the conversations of Apollonius with him, criticised by Eusebius, 511
Vegetarianism of Pythagoras adopted by Apollonius, 39
Vespasian, his patronage of Apollonius, 293; his epistle to Apollonius on the necessity of poverty, 301
Vesta, three of her virgins put to death by Domitian, for breaking their vows, 159
Victims, their entrails consulted by those who desired to divine the future, 327
Vindex, encouraged in his revolt by Apollonius, 155

Vitellius, his struggle with Domitian for the possession of Rome, 353

Water clock used at Roman trials, 275
Wealth, its dangers under Domitian, 213
White raiment of those who consulted the shrine of Trophonius, 381
Wizardry, the crime of, preferred against Apollonius, under Domitian, 197; its methods and its dupes described, 259; alleged against Apollonius, 203; Eusebius discusses Philostratus’s account thereof, 555 foll.
Wizards avoided the public temples of the gods and cloaked their art under the cover of night, 295
Wool, garments of rejected by Apollonius, 281; impure material for clothes to be made of, 307
Woollen garments forbidden by Pythagoras, 39
Wrynecks, possessing the charm of the sirens, made of gold, and suspended as ornaments in the Pythian temple, 53

Xurisitauri, name of a social caste at Sardis, 435

Zamolxis, a disciple of Pythagoras, commended by Apollonius in his epistle to the king of the Scythians, 429
Zeno of Elea attempts to overthrow the tyranny of Nearchus the Mysian, 147
Zenon sent by the councillors of Seleucia as their envoy to Apollonius, 421
Zeus, Apollonius pays his respects to him in the Roman Court, 279; a thousand drachmas supplied from his treasury at Olympia to Apollonius, 375; and Ieto, in connection with the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, 467