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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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS (continued)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PHILOSTRATUS

BOOK VI
ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΑΩΝΙΟΝ

Ζ' I

CAP. I. Αιθιοπία δὲ τῆς μὲν ὑπὸ ἠλίῳ πάσης ἐπέχει τὸ ἐσπέριον κέρας, ὡσπερ Ἰνδοὶ τὸ πρὸς ἔως, κατὰ Μερόην δ' Ἀλγύπτωρ ἵππαπτοῦσα καὶ τι τῆς ἀμαρτύρουν Διβύης ἐπελθοῦσα τελευτᾷ ἐς θάλασσαν, ἢν Ὀκεανὸν οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, τὸ περὶ γῆν ἀπαν ὅτε ἐπονομάζοντες. ποταμὸν δὲ Νείλου Ἀλγύπτωρ διδώσως, ὃς ἐκ Καταδούπτων ἄρχομενος, ἢν ἐπικλύζει πᾶσαν Αὐγύπτου ἀπ' Αἰθιόπων ἄγει. μέγεθος μὲν οὐν οὐκ ἄξια παραβεβλῆθαι πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ἢδε ἡ χώρα, ὅτι μηδ' ἄλλη μυθεμία, ὅποιος κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὄνομασται ἥµεροι, εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Αὐγύπτου Αἰθιοπία ξυμβάλοιμεν, τούτῳ δὲ ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πράττειν, οὕτω ξύμημεν πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἄµφω, τοσαύτῃ ἑνεθεῖσα, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἀµφοῖν ὄµοιοι λογισμέναι 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
Φλάβιος Φιλοστράτου

ΠΡΩΤΟΓΛΩΣΣΙΑ

'Ινδοῦ τε καὶ Νείλων ἐπιρραϊνοῦσι τε γὰρ τὰς ἥπειρους ἐν ὄρα ἔτους, ὅποτε ἡ γῆ ἑρὰ τούτου, ποταμῶν τε παρέχονται μόνοι τὸν κροκόδειλον καὶ τὸν ὕππον, λόγοι τε ὀργίων ἐτ' αὐτοῖς ἵσοι, πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Νείλω ποταμεῖας. τὴν δὲ ὀμοιότητα τῶν ἥπειρων πιστούσθων μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρώματα, πιστούσθων δὲ καὶ οἱ λεύτεροι καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας ἐν ἐκατέρα ἀλισκόμενος τε καὶ δουλεύων. βόσκουσι δὲ καὶ θηρία, οία οὐχ ἐτέρωθι, καὶ ἀνθρώπους μέλανας, ὃ μὴ ἀλλὰ ἦπειροι, Πυγμαίον τε ἐν αὐταῖς ἐβιομεν τὸ ἐπικτάθου θαυμαστά. γρύτες δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ μυρμηκές Αἰθιόπων, εἰ καὶ ἀνόμοιοι τὴν ἱδέαν εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ ὅμοιά γε, ὡς φασί, βουλοῦνται, χρυσοῦ γὰρ φύλακες ἐν ἐκατέρα ἠδοναν, τὸ χρυσόγειον τῶν ἥπειρων ἀσπαζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὃ δὲ λόγος ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐτο καὶ ἐχώμεθα τοῦ ἀνδρός.

II

ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

Ἄφικόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἴγυπτων ὀρία, Συκάμινον δὲ αὐτὰ ὄνωμάζουσι, χρυσὸς τε ἄσημω ἐνέτυχε καὶ λίμφα καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ ἱέρας καὶ μύρῳ καὶ ἀρώμασιν ἐκεῖνο 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. ἀφύλακτα ἐν ὀδῷ σ ἱστῇ· καὶ ὁ τι βούλεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, νομίζεται γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι· ἀγορὰν Αἰθιόπες ἀπάγουσιν, διὸ Αἰθιοπία δίδωσιν, οἳ δὲ ἀνελόμενοι πᾶσαν ἔμμερσιν ἐς τὸν αὐτῶν χώρον ἀγορὰν Αἰγυπτίαν ἵσσον ἄξιαν ἐννοοῦμενοι τῶν αὐτοίς ὑπὸν τὰ ὑκ ὅντα. οἳ δὲ τὰ ὅρια τῶν ἱπείρων ὑκοῦντες ὑπὸ μέλανες, ἀλλὰ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ χρῶμα, μελαίνονται γὰρ οἳ μὲν ἤτταν Αἰθιόπων, οἳ δὲ μᾶλλον Αἰγυπτίων. Ἐσσεῖσιν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἠθεοῦ, “οἳ δὲ χρηστοί,” ἐφη, “Εὐλήνης, ἦν μηθ θεόλος θεολον τέκη καὶ τὰ όνημα αὐτοίς ἐπιτυμήσωσι κατηλεύ- 
ουντες ἢ καθεργυννστες, οὐ 
φασι ζην, ὁ μὲν θυγατέρα 
ςκηπτόμενος ἐν ὁρὰ γάμων, ὁ δὲ ὑδη 
τελοῦντα 
ἐς ἄνδρας, ὁ δὲ ἐράνου πλήρωσιν, ὁ δ’, ὡς οἰκοδο- 
μοῖνοι οἰκίαι, ὁ δὲ, ὡς διερχόμενοι 
χρηματιστὴς 
ἡττών 
τοῦ 
πατρὸς δόξαι. 
καλῶς δ’ ἂρ’ εἶχεν, ἦν 
ὁ πλούτος ἀτίμως ἐπραττεν ἰσότης τε ἡ ἅθει, 

μέλας δ’ ἀπέκειτο σίδηρος, 
ὁμονοοῦντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐδο-

κει μία.”

III

CAP. Τοιαύτα διαλεγόμενοι καὶ ἔμμερσιν ἐς τῶν δια-

λέξεων, ὡσπερ εἶδοθεὶ, ποιοῦμενοι τοὺς καιροὺς,
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
ἐχώρει ἐπὶ Μέμνονος, ἥγετό δ' αὐτοῖς μειράκιον Ἀἰγύπτιον, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμιος. Τιμασίων μὲν τῷ μειρακίῳ τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν, εφήβου δὲ ἄρτι ὑπατήσει καὶ τὴν ὄραν ἔτι ἔρρωτο. σωφρονοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ μητριμά ἐρώσα ἐνέκειτο καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐποίει, ἦπνηθείσα μὲν οὐδὲν ἄνπερ ἤ Φαίδρα, διαβαλλοῦσα δ' αὐτὸν ὡς θήλυν καὶ ἑρασταῖς μᾶλλον ἢ γυναικὸς χάρωντα. οὸ δ' ἐκλιπὼν Ναύκρατιν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, περὶ Μέμφιν διητάτο, καὶ ναῦν δὲ ἰδιόστολον ἐκέκτητο καὶ ἑναυκλήρει ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ. ἰδιών οὖν ἀναπλέοντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καταπλέον αὐτὸς ἕνωσε τε, ὡς ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν εἰτὶ τὸ πλήρωμα, ἕνωσε λογισμόνεον τὸς τρίβωσι καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις, οἷς προσεπούδαζον, καὶ ἐκέτευε προσδούναι οἱ τῆς τοῦ πλοῦτος κοινωνίας ἔρωττι σοφίας, οὸ δ’ Ἀπολλώνιος, “σώφρων,” ἔφη, “ὁ νεανίσκος, ὃς ἄνδρες, καὶ άξιοῦσθω ὃν δεῖται,” καὶ διήλθε τὸν περὶ τῆς μητριμὰς λόγου πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῶν ἐτάρτων ὑφειμένω τῷ τόνῳ, προσπλέοντος τοῦ μειρακίου ἐτί. ὡς δὲ ἤνετης αἱ νήσεις, μεταβαίνοντι ς ὁ Τιμασίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐαυτὸν κυβερνήτην εἰπὼν τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ φόρτου, προσεῖπε τοὺς ἄνδρας. κελέσας οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατ’ ὅφθαλμον αὐτοῦ ἔσησαι, “μειράκιον,” ἔφη, “Ἀἰγύπτιον, 8
steps towards Memnon; an Egyptian boy showed them the way, of whom Damis gives the following account: Timasion was the name of this stripling, who was just emerging from boyhood, and was now in the prime of life and strength. He had a step-mother who had fallen in love with him; and when he rejected her overtures, she set upon him and by way of spiting him had poisoned his father's mind against him, condescending to a lower intrigue than ever Phaedra had done, for she accused him of being effeminate, and of finding his pleasure in favourites rather than in women. He had accordingly abandoned Naucratis, for it was there that all this happened, and was living in the neighbourhood of Memphis; and he had acquired and manned a boat of his own and was plying as a waterman on the Nile. He then, was going down the river when he saw Apollonius sailing up it; and he concluded that the crew consisted of wise men, because he judged them by the cloaks they wore and the books they were hard at work studying. So he asked them whether they would allow one who was so passionately fond of wisdom as himself to share their voyage; and Apollonius said: “This youth is wise, my friends, so let him be granted his request.” And he further related the story about the step-mother to those of his companions who were nearest to him, in a low tone while the stripling was still sailing towards them. But when the ships were alongside of one another, Timasion stepped out of his boat, and after addressing a word or two to his pilot, about the cargo in his own boat, he greeted the company. Apollonius then ordered him to sit down under his eyes, and said: “You stripling of Egypt, for you
CAP. III

δείκας γὰρ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἶναι τις, τὶ σοι φαύλου ἢ τὶ χρηστὸν εὑρίσκειται, λέξον, ὡς τῶν μὲν λύσις παρ’ ἐμοῦ γένοιτο σοι δὲ ἡλικίαν, τῶν δὲ αὐτὸ ἐπαινεθεὶς ἐμοὶ τε ἐξυμφιλοσοφοῖς καὶ τοῖσδε." ὄρων δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ἐρυθριῶντα καὶ μεταβάλλοντα τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ λέξαι τι ἡ μῆ, θαμὰ ἦρειδε τὴν ἔρωτισιν, ὅσπερ οὐδεμιὰ προγνώσει ἐς αὐτὸν κεχρημένος, ἀναθαρσῆσας δὲ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ἂν θεοί," ἐφη, "τίνα ἐμαυτὸν εὑστῳ; κακὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰμί, ἀγαθὸν δὲ εἴ χρὴ νομίζῃσθαι με, οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὠδικεῖν οὕτω ἐπαινεῖνος." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "βαβαί," ἐφη, "μειράκιον, ὡς ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν μοι διαλέγη, ταυτὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰάρχα δοκεῖ τῷ θείῳ. ἄλλα εἰπὲ ὅπως ταῦτα δοξάζεις, κἀξ ὦτοι; φυλαξαμένῳ γὰρ τι ἀμαρτεῖν ἐδοκικας." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρξαμένου λέγειν, ὡς ἡ μητρικὰ μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν φέροιτο, αὐτὸς δ’ ἔρωσιν ἐκσταίτη, ἑοὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς δαίμονις αὐτὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιου προευπόντων, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Τιμασίων, "ἂν λόγοςοι," ἐφη, "τὶ πεπόνθατε; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχει τὰ εἰρημένα θαύματος, ὃσον, οἷμαι, γέλωτος." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "ἐπερίν τι," ἐφη, "ἐθαναμύσαμεν, ὁ μήτρω γυγνώσκεισι καὶ σὲ δὲ, μειράκιοι, ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι μηδὲν οἶξει
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
CAP. Λαμπρὸν εἰργάσθαι." "Ἀφροδίτη δὲ θύεις, ὥ μειράκιον;" ᾦτετο ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "νὴ Δί", εἶπεν, "ὄσημέραι γε, πολλὴν γὰρ ἤγοιμαι τῇ θεόν ἐν ἀνθρωπεῖοις τε καὶ θείοις πράγμασιν." ὑπερησθείς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "Ψηφισώμεθα," ἔφη, "ὡ ἄνδρες, ἐστεφανώσθαι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ πρὸ Ἰππολύτου τοῦ Θησέως, ὦ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὑβρίσε, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ἴσως οὐδὲ ἀφροδισίων ἤττητο, οὐδὲ ἔρως ἐπ’ αὐτῶν οὖν δὲσε ἐκώμαζεν, ἀλλ’ ἦν τῆς ἀγροικοτέραις τε καὶ ἀτέγκτου μόραι, οὗτοι δὲ ἦττάσθαι τῆς θεοῦ φύσκαι, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐρωσάν ἐπαθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀπήλθεν αὐτὴν δείσας τῇ θεόν, εἰ τὸ κακῶς ἐρᾶσθαι μὴ φυλάξοιτο, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ διαβεβλήσθαι πρὸς ἀντιναδὴ τῶν θεῶν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ἰππόλυτος, οὐκ ἄξιῶ σωφροσύνης, σωφρονεστερον γὰρ τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὐ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνηςιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμόν ἱδρυνται." τοσαύτα ἐς τὸν Τιμασίωνα αὐτῷ ἐσποουδάσθη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ Ἰππόλυτον γε ἐκάλει αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, οἷς τὴν μητρικὰν εἶδεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἐπαφροδίτως ἀψασθαι.

IV

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

IV

Under his guidance, they say, they went on to the sacred inclosure of Memnon, of whom Damis gives the following account. He says that he was
CAR. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὖκ ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὥτι μηδὲ ἀφικέσθαι ἐς Τροίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ τελευτᾷσαί βασιλεύσαντα Αἰθιόπων γενεὰς πέντε. οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ μακροβιώτατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν, ὄλοφύρονταί τὸν Μέμνον ὡς κομιδή νέον καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ἄρφι κλαίουσι, τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἐν φιέρνηται, φασὶ μὲν προσεοικέναι ἄγορὰ ἄρχαία, οἷα τῶν ἀγορῶν ἐν πόλεσι ποτε οἰκηθεῖσαι λείπουν· στηλῶν παρεχόμεναι τρύφη καὶ τειχῶν ἤχη καὶ θάκους καὶ πληθές ἐρμῶν τε ἁγάλματα, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χειρῶν διεφθορότα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ χρόνου. τὸ δὲ ἁγαλμά τετράφθαι πρὸς ἀκτῖνα μῆτω γενεάσκον, λίθον δὲ εἶναι μέλανος, ξυμβεβηκέναι δὲ τὸ πόδε ἀμφω κατὰ τὴν ἁγαλμοτοποιάν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαιδάλου, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπερέδειν ὀρθὰς ἐς τῶν θάκων, καθῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν ὀρμῇ τοῦ ὑπανίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦτο καὶ τῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν καὶ ὅποσα τοῦ στόματος ὡς φθεγξομένου ἔδουσι, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἦττον θαυμάζει καὶ σίδων, οὕτω γὰρ ἐνεργὰ φαίνεσθαι, προσβαλοῦσης δὲ τὸ ἁγαλμά τῆς ἀκτίνος, τούτε δὲ γίγνεσθαι περὶ ἡλίου ἐπιτολάς, μὴ κατασχεῖν τὸ θάύμα, φθεγξα- σθαι μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμα τῆς ἁκτίνος ἔλθονες αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στόμα, φαιδροῦς δὲ ἱστάναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δόξαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς, οἷα τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ εὐήλιοι. τότε ξυνεῖναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

V

CAP. Ἄνδρὶ δὲ ἐνυχόντες ἑσταλμένῳ τρόπῳ, οπερ οἱ Μεμφίται, καὶ ἀλύνοντι μᾶλλον ἢ ξυντείνοντι ἤροντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμνων, ὅστις εἰη καὶ δὲ ὁ τι πλανότο, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ἐμοῦ," ἔφη, "πυνθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτου, οὕτως μὲν γὰρ οὖκ ἂν εἶποι πρὸς ύμᾶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος αἴδοι τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ἢ κέχρηται, ἐγὼ δὲ, γυνώσκω γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐλεώ, λέξω τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντα· ἀπέκεινε γὰρ Μεμφίτην τινὰ ἄκων, κελεύονσι δ' οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν νόμοι τὸν φεύγοντα ἐπὶ ἀκούσιφ, δεῖ δὲ φεύγειν, ἐπὶ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς εἶναι, κἂν ἐκνύψηται τοῦ φῶνου, χωρεῖν ἐς ἦθη καθαρὸν ἠδη, βαδισαντα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πεφονεμένου σῆμα καὶ σφάξαντά τι ἐκεῖ οὗ μέγα. τὸν δὲ χρόνον, δυν οὖπω τοῖς Γυμνοῖς ἐνέτυχεν, ἀλάσθαι χρῆ περὶ ταυτὶ τὰ ὀρια, ἐστ' ἂν αἰδέςωνται αὐτῶν, ὁσπερ
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

V

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

ⁱ Αἰθὸς = I burn: Αἰθίοπς = an Aethiop.

17

VOL. II. C
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. μειράκιον, θάρρειν, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ καθαρεύοντα, εἰ βαδίσειν οὐ καταλύω. ἄφικομένῳ δὲ ἐπιδράσας ὡσα Ἕμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὑπὲρ καθαρ- σίων νομίζουσιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς ἥδη στείχειν ὡς καθαρὸν ἥδη τῆς αἰτίας.

VI

CAP. VI. Ἐντεύθεν ἐξελάσαντες ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος, ἀφί- κοντο πρὸ μεσημβρίας ἐς τὸ τῶν Ἑυμνῶν φροντι- στήριον. τοὺς δὲ Ἑυμνοὺς τούτους οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐπὶ τινος λόφου, φασί, ξυμμέτρου μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁχῆς τοῦ Νείλου, σοφία δὲ Ἰνδών λείπεσθαι πλέον ἡ προύχειν Ἀιγυπτίων, γυμνοὺς δὲ ἔσταλθαι κατὰ ταύτα τοῖς εἰληθεροῦσιν Ἀθήναισι. δένδρα δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὅλγα καὶ τι ἄλλως οὐ μέγα, οὐ δὲ ξυνιάσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, ἱερὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ταύτον, ὡσπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν, ἄλλο δὲ ἄλλη τοῦ γηλόφου Ὁδρύται σπουδῆς ἄξιούμενα, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων λόγοι. θεραπεύοντο δὲ Νείλον μάλιστα, τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν τούτον ἠγούνται γῆς καὶ ὕδωρ. καλύβης μὲν οὖν ἡ οἰκίας οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ δέονται, ξῖντες ὑπαίθριοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν τοῖς ξένοις ἐδείχμαντο, στοὰν οὐ μεγάλην, ἱσομήκη ταῖς Ἡλείων, ὑφ’ αἰς ὁ ἁθλητής 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

Then 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 τι ἀναγράφει Δάμις Εὐφράτου ἔργου, ἡγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ μειρακιῶδες, ἀλλ’ ἀφιλοτιμότερον τοῦ φιλοσοφίας προσήκουσ᾽ ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου θαμὰ ἦκουσε βουλομένου σοφίαν Ἰνδικήν ἀντικρίναι Αθηναία, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Ὀρασύβουλον τὸν ἐκ Ναυκράτιδος ὑπὲρ διαβολῆς τοῦ ἄνδρός, ὃ δὲ ἦκεν μὲν ὑπὲρ ἤνωσιας, ἐφ᾽, τῆς πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν Τυανέα, τούτῳ δὲ ἐκείνοις ἁγώνα ἔχειν οὐ σμικρόν, φρονεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἰνδῶν σοφούς, οὕς ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ αἴρει, μυρίας δὲ ἐλέγχεις ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς συνεσκευάζοι, ἕναν χορεῖν τε οὔτε ἡλίῳ ὑμέν οὔτε οὕρανῳ καὶ γῆ, κινεῖν γὰρ καὶ ὁχεῖν αὐτὸς ταῦτα καὶ μετατάττειν οἱ βοῦληται.

VIII

CAP. VIII  Τοιαῦτα ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ἔννθεις ὑπῆλθεν, οἱ δ’ ἂληθῆ ταῦτα ἥγονσι τῇ ἐν τοὺς ἤνωσιαν οὐ παρηγοροῦντο ἢκοντος, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ σπουδάζειν ἐπιλάττοντο καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους εἶναι, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ κακεῖνῳ ἐς λόγους, ἡν σχολὴν ἄγωσι μάθωσό τε, ὡς τί βοῦληται καὶ ὅτου ἐρών ἤκεν. ἔκε-
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 Naucratis, 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 Naucratis 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.
CAP. Λευε δὲ ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἥκων καὶ καταλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στοά, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὑπὲρ μὲν στέγης," ἔφη, "μηδὲν διαλέγου, ξυγχωρεῖ γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ἐνταῦθα γυμνὸς ξῆν," διαβάλλον αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ καρτερία γυμνοὺς, ἀλλ' ἄνάγκη, "ὅ τι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅστιν ἥκω τοὺς μὲν οὐ θαυμάξω οὕτω γυγνώσκοντας, 'Ἰνδοὶ δὲ με οὐκ ἔροντο ταῦτα."

IX

CAP. 'Ὁ μὲν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐνὶ τῶν δένδρων ὑπόκλιθεις ξυνήθη τοῖς ἐταῖροις ὁπόσα ἡρώτων, ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Δάμις ἕρετο ἓδια: "οἱ Γυμνοὶ οὕτω, βέλτιστε, ξυγγέγονας γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τί σοφοὶ εἰσί;" "πολλά," ἔφη, "καὶ μεγάλα."
"καὶ μὴν οὐ σοφά," εἶπεν, "αὐτῶν, ὁ γενναίε, τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ξυμβῆναι τοιῷδε ἄνδρι ὑπὲρ σοφίας, ὅγκω δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν χρήσασθαι τί φῶ οὐκ οἶδα ἡ τύφον," ἔφη, "ὦ ἔταιρε."
"τύφον; ὃν οὕτω πρῶτον περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶδον δια ἥδη ἀφικόμενος, ἀεὶ γὰρ μέτριοι τε καὶ χρηστοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμελημένους ἵσαν. πρὶν γοῦν, πεντήκοντα δὲ τούτ᾽ ἵσως ἡμέραι, Ὁρασύβουλος μὲν ἐπεχωρίαξεν ἐνταῦθα, χαμπρὸν οὐδεν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ.
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
ΠΡΑΤΤΩΝ, ΟΙ Δ' ἈΣΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ἈΠΕΔΕΞΑΝΤΟ, ἘΠΕΙΔΗ
ΠΡΟΣΕΓΡΑΨΕΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΟ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗ.” ΚΑΙ Ὁ ΔΑΜΙΟΣ,
ΤΙ ΛΕΓΕΙΣ, Ὡ ΜΕΙΡΑΚΙΟΝ; ΕὑΡΑΚΑΣ ΣΩΝ ὩΡΑΣΥΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΤΗΝ ΕΝ Τῷ ΦΡΟΥΡΙОΙΡΙΩ
ΤΟΥΡΟ; “ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΕ,” ΕἶΠΕ, “ΔΙΗΓΑΓΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΗ
ΕΜΑΝΤΟΥΝ ΝΗ ΚΑΤΙΟΝΤΑ ΕΥΘΕΝΔΕ.” “ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ἘΧΩ, ΗΤ
ΤΗΝ ἈΘΗΝΑΝ,” ἘΦΗ Ὁ ΔΑΜΙΟΣ ἈΝΑΒΟΗΣΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ
ΣΧΕΤΙΛΙΆΣΑΣ, “ΕΩΙΚΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΠΑΝΟΥΡΓΗΣΘΑΙ ΤΙ.”
ΥΠΟΛΑΒΩΝ ΟΥΝ Ὁ ΤΙΜΑΣΙΩΝ, “Ὁ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΗΡ,” ἘΦΗ,
“ὍΣ ΗΡΟΜΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΧΘΕΣ, ὍΣΤΙΣ ΕΥΝ, ΟΥΠΩ ΜΗ ΗΞΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ἈΠΟΡΡΗΤΟΥ, ΣΩ Δ’, ΕΙ ΜΗ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ, ΛΕΓΕ
ΟΣΤΙΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ, ἘΣΩΣ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΚΑΙΓΩ ΤΗ ΞΥΜΒΑΛΟΙΜΧΝ
ΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΞΗΤΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΘΗΡΑ.” ἙΠΕΙ ΔΕ ἩΚΟΥΣΕ ΤΟΥ
ΔΑΜΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΤΙ Ὁ ΤΥΑΝΕΩΣ ΕΥΝ, “ΞΥΝΕΙΛΗΦΑΣ,” ἘΦΗ,
“ΤΟ ΠΡΆΓΜΑ ΘΩΡΑΣΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΤΑΠΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΤ
ΕΜΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΝΕΙΛΟΝ, ΕΡΩΜΕΝΟ ΜΟΙ ἘΦ’ Ὁ ΤΙ ἈΝΑΒΑΙΝΗ
ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ, ΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΟΥ ΧΡΗΣΤΗΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΙΗΓΕΙΤΟ, ΤΟΥΣ
ΓΥΜΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΥΠΟΦΙΑΣ ἘΜΠΕΤΛΗΚΕΝΑΙ ΦΆΣΚΩΝ
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ἈΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ, ὩΣ ΥΠΕΡΟΦΘΕΙΗ, ὌΠΟΤΕ
ἘΛΘΟΙ, ΚΑΘ’ ΟΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΕΤΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΥΚ
ΟΙΔΑ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΣ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΑΣ ΚΑΘΙΣΤΑΣΘΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕῖΩΝ
ΤΕ ἩΓΟΥΜΑΙ ΚΑΙ ἈΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΟΝ, ἘΓΩ Δ’ ἌΝ, ὩΣ ΔΙΑ-
ΚΕΙΝΑΙ, ΜΑΘΟΙΜΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΙΠΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΆΝΔΡΑΣ, ΦΙΛΟΙ
ΓΑΡ.” ΚΑΙ ἘΠΑΝΗΛΘΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΛΗΝ Ὁ ΤΙΜΑΣΙΩΝ,
ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΝ ἈΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΦΡΑΞΩΝ ΠΛΗΝ
ΤΟΥΠΡΟΣΕΙΡΗΚΕΝΑΙ ΣΦΑΣ, ἸΔΙΑ Δ’ ἩΠΑΥΓΓΕΛΛΩΝ
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΔΑΜΙΟΝ, ὩΣ ἩΦΙΞΟΙΝΤΟ ΑΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΕΣΤΟΙ ὉΝ
ΤΟΥ ΘΡΑΣΥΒΟΥΛΟΥ ἩΚΟΥΣΑΝ.

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, 'tis, 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.
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
CAP. τραγῳδίας ἄξιοιν, εἶτα τὴν ἄγωνιαν παρέχειν τὴν γυμνήν ὡσὲ τούτων, τὴν δὲ Ὄλυμπίαν τὰ μὲν τοιαύτα ἔξελείν ὡς ἀνάρμοστα καὶ οὐ χρηστὰ ἐκεῖ, παρέχεσθαι δὲ τούς ἐς αὐτὴν ἰοῦσιν ἀθλητὰς γυμνοὺς, Ἡρακλέους ταῦτα ξυνθέντος τούτῳ ἡγοῦ παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὡσπερ ἐς τὴν Πυθῶ καλοῦντες, ποικίλαις δημαγωγούσιν ἰνγξεῖν, ἕμεις δέ, ὡσπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, γυμνοὶ. οὐχ ὑποστρώνυσιν ἡ γῆ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα, οὐδὲ γάλα ὡσπερ βάκχαις ἢ οἶνον δίδωσιν, οὐδὲ μετεώρους ἡμᾶς ὁ ἅγιος φέρει, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ὑπε- στροφήν μεὖν τὴν γῆν, ἔκουσε μετέχοντες αὐτής τὰ κατὰ φύσιν, ὁς χαίρουσα διδοῖς αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ βασανίζοντο ἀκουσα. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἄδυνατοιμεν σοφίζεσθαι, τὸ δεῦνα, ἔφη, "δένδρου," πτελέα δὲ ἦν, τρίτον ἀπ' ἐκεῖνους, ὕφ' ὁ διελέγοντο, "πρόσ- ευπε τὸν σοφὸν Ἀπολλώνιον," καὶ προσεῖπε μὲν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐκελεύσθη, τὸ δένδρον, ἡ φωνὴ δὲ ἦν ἐναρθρὸς τε καὶ θῆλυς. ἀπεσήμαινε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ταῦτα, μεταστήσειν ἥγουμενος τὸν Ἀπολλώ- νιον τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δόξης, ἐπειδὴ διήκει ἐς πάντας λόγους τε Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἔργα.

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

Then the Egyptian added these precepts: he said that it is sufficient for the sage to abstain from eating all flesh of living animals, and from the roving desires which mount up into the soul through the eyes, and from envy which ends by teaching injustice to
CAP. ἀδίκων ἐπὶ χεῖρα καὶ γνώμην ἦκει, θαυμασιουργίας τε καὶ βιαίου τέχνης μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀληθείαν. "σκέψαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλων," εἶπε, "τὸν Δελφικοῦ, ὅς τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐπὶ προρρήσει λογίων ἔχει ἑνταῦθα τοῖνυν, ὅσ που καὶ αὐτὸς γιγνώσκεις, ὁ μὲν τῆς ὁμφῆς δεόμενος ἐρωτᾶ βραχύ ἐρώτημα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὐδὲν τερατευσάμενος λέγει, ὅποια σοὶ. καὶ τοῖς ῥάδιοις γε ἂν αὐτῷ σείσαι μὲν τὸν Παρνασσὸν πάντα, τὴν Κασταλλὰν δὲ οἰνοχορίσαι μεταβαλόντι τὰς πηγὰς, Κηφισῷ δὲ μὴ ἐνυχχορίσαι ποταμῷ εἶναι, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπικομπάσας ἀναφαίνει τάληθές αὐτό. ἡγώμεθα δὲ μὴ δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντα λαμπρὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἔκοιντι αὐτῷ φοιτᾶν, μηδὲ τῷ νεῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλων χαίρειν, εἰ καὶ διπλάσιοι ἀποφανθεῖν τοῖς νῦν οὖντος. θέκησι γὰρ ποτε καὶ λείην στέγην ὁ θεὸς οὗτος, καὶ καλύβῃ αὐτῷ ἐνυπελάσθη μικρά, ἐς ἡν ἐμβαλέσθαι λέγονται μέλιται μὲν κηρόν, πτερὰ δὲ ὀρνιθεσ. εὑτέλεια γὰρ διδάσκαλος μὲν σοφλας, διδάσκαλος δὲ ἀληθείας, ἃν ἐπαινῶν σοφὸς ἀτεχνῶς δόξεις ἐκλαθόμενοι τῶν παρ᾽ Ἰνδόις μύθων. τὸ γὰρ πράττε ἢ μὴ πράττε, ἡ ὁιδὰ ἢ οὐκ ὁιδὰ, ἡ τὸ. δεῦναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δεῦναι, τὸ δεῦαι κτύπου; τὶ δὲ τοῦ βροτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ἐμβεβροτήσθαι;

Εἶδες ἐν ζωγραφίας λόγοις καὶ τὸν τοῦ Προδίκου Ἡρακλέα, ὃς ἐφηβός μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὐπώ δὲ ἐν αἰρέσει τοῦ βίου, κακία δ᾽ αὐτὸν 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 Cephissus 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
CAP. καὶ ἀρετὴ διαλαβοῦσαι παρὰ σφᾶς ἄγουσιν, ἢ μὲν χρυσῷ τε κατεσκευασμένῃ καὶ ὄρμοις, ἐσθῆτι τε ἀλιπορφύρῳ καὶ παρεῖας ἄνθει καὶ χαῖτις ἀναπλοκαίς καὶ γραφαῖς ὀμμάτων, ἐστι δ᾽ αὐτῇ καὶ χρυσοῖν πέδιλον, γέγραπται γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ ἐνσοβοῦσα. ἢ δ᾽ αὐτὴ πεποιηκυία μὲν προσφερής, τραχῦ δὲ ὀρῶσα, τὸν δὲ αὐχμόν πεποιημένη κόσμημα καὶ ἀνυπόδετος ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ λυτὴ τὴν ἐσθήτα, καὶ γυμνῆ δ᾽ ἂν ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μὴ ἐγύγνωσκε τὸ ἐν θηλείαις εὐσχήμον. ἦγοι δὲ καὶ σεαυτὸν, Ὅπολλώνιε, μέσου τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἁμεδαπῆς σοφίας ἑστάναι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀκούειν λεγούσης, ὡς ὑποστερέσει σοι ἄνθη καθεύδουντι, καὶ, νὴ Δὲ, ὡς ποτειε γάλακτι καὶ ὡς κηρίως θρέψει, καὶ ὡς νέκταρ σοὶ τὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῇ ἑσταὶ καὶ πτερά, ὅποτε βούλοιο, τρίποδίας τε ἐσκυκλήσει πινόντι καὶ χρυσοῖς θρόνους, καὶ πονήσεις οὐδέν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτόματα σοι βαδιέωτα πάντα, τῆς δὲ γε ἐτέρας, ὡς χαμενενιῶν μὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ προσήκει, γυμνὸν δὲ, ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς, μοχθοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, δὲ δὲ μὴ πονήσαντι σοι ἀφίκετο, μῆτε φίλου ἢγείσθαι μῆτε ἦδυ, μηδὲ ἀλαξόνα εἶναι μηδὲ τύφου θηρατὴν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὀνειράτων ὅψεις, ὅποια ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αἴροισιν. εἰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα αἴροιο, καὶ δόξῃ ἀδαμαντίῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἀτιμάζων ἁλήθειαν, μηδὲ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν εὐτέλειαν παρατούμενος, πολλοὺς μὲν ἤρηκέναι 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 under-lined with henna; and she also wears golden slippers, for she is pictured strutting about in these; but virtue in the picture resembles a woman worn out with toil, with a pinched look; and she has chosen for her adornment rough squalor, and she goes without shoes and in the plainest of raiment, and she would have appeared naked if she had not too much regard for feminine decency. Now figure yourself, Apollonius, as standing between Indian wisdom on one side, and our own humble wisdom on the other; imagine that you hear the one telling you how she will strew flowers under you when you lie down to sleep, yes, and by Heaven, how she will regale you upon milk and nourish you on honey-comb, and how she will supply you with nectar and wings, whenever you want them; and how she will wheel in tripods, whenever you drink, and golden thrones; and you shall have no hard work to do, but everything will be flung unsought into your lap. But the other discipline insists that you must lie on the bare ground in squalor, and be seen to toil naked like ourselves; and that you must not find dear or sweet anything which you have not won by hard work; and that you must not be boastful, nor hunt after vanities and pursue pride; and that you must be on your guard against all dreams and visions which lift you off the earth. If then you really make the choice of Hercules, and steel your will resolutely neither to dishonour truth, nor to decline the simplicity of nature, then you may say
CAP. πολλᾶς δὲ ὑδρας ἐκτετμήσαθαί σοι Γηρυόνας τε καὶ Νέσσους καὶ ὁπόσοι εἰκείνου ἀθλοὺ, εἶ δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀγειρόντων ἀσπάσῃ, κολακεύσεις ὦθελμούς τε καὶ ὁμα, καὶ οὔτε σοφότερος ἓτερον δόξεις γενήσῃ τε ἀθλος ἀνδρὸς Λιγυπτίου Γυμνοῦ."
that you have overcome many lions and have cut off the heads of many hydriidi 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 Apollonius; his own followers knowing well that he would reply, while Thespeson'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 Prodictus 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 Thespeson, I myself am better qualified, now I have got here, to advise you how to choose wisdom, if I did..."
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. eι μήτω ἧρημένωις ἐνέτυχον. ὁν δ’ ὁμος τηλικόδε 
καὶ σοφίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτε ἀφιγμένος, οὐκ ὁκνήσω 
λογισταῖς ὑμῖν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ βουλῆς χρήσασθαι 
διδάσκων, ὥς ὁρθῶς εἰλόμην ταῦτα, ὅν μήπω 
βελτίω ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤλθε μοι. κατειδών γὰρ τι ἐν Πυθα-
γόρου μέγα καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀρρήτου μὴ μόνον 
γυγυνώσκοι ἑαυτόν, ὡστὶς ἐη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡστὶς γένοιτο, 
βωμῶν τε ὡς καθαρὸς ἀφαίτο καὶ ὡς ἀχριάντῳ μὲν 
ἐμψυχοῦ βρώσεως γαστρὶ χρήσατο, καθαρῷ δὲ 
σώματι πάντων ἐσθημάτων, ὑπόσα θυγιείδων 
ξύγκειται, ἡλωττάν τε ὡς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων 
ἐνυέσχε βοῦν ἐπ’ αὐτὴ σιωπὴς εὐρῶν δόγμα, καὶ 
τὴν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ὡς χρησμώδη καὶ ἀληθῆ 
κατεστήσατο, ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκεῖνον δόξας, οὐ 
μίν καὶ σοφίαν ἐκ δυνῶν ἐλόμενος, ὡς σύ, βέλτιστε 
Θεσπεσίων, ξυμβουλεύεις. παραστήσασα γὰρ μοι 
φιλοσοφία τὰς ἑαυτῆς δόξας, ὑπόσα εἰσὶ, περι-
βαλούσα ταῦτα κόσμου, ὡς ἐκάστη οἰκεῖος, 
ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτὰς βλέπειν καὶ ὑγιῶς αἱρεῖσθαι. 
όρα μὲν οὐν σεμνὴ τα ἄπασῶν ἂν καὶ θεία, καὶ 
κατέμυσεν ἂν τις πρὸς ἐμίας αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἐκπλήξεως, 
ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰστήκει τὸ ὁμα ἐς πίσας, καὶ γὰρ μὲ 
καὶ παρεθάρρυνον αὐταὶ προσαγόμεναι τα καὶ 
προκηρύττουσαι, ὑπόσα δώσουσιν ἐπεὶ δ’ ἡ μὲν 
tis αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μοχθήσατε πολὺν ἐπαντλήσεων 
ἐφάσκεν ἴδοιν ἐσμόν, ἡ δ’ αὐ μοχθήσαντα ἁνα-
not find that you had already made the choice. CHAP.
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 Thespis, advise me to do. For philosophy marshalled before me her various points of view, investing them with the adornment proper to each, and she commanded me to look upon them and make a sound choice. Now they were all possessed of an august and divine beauty; and some of them were of such dazzling brightness that you might well have closed your eyes. However I fixed my eyes firmly upon all of them, for they themselves encouraged me to do so by moving towards me, and telling me beforehand how much they would give me. Well, one of them professed that she would shower upon me a swarm of pleasures without any toil on my part; and another
ΠΑΥΣΕΙΝ, ἢ δ' ἐγκαταμίζειν εὐφροσύνας τῷ μόχθῳ, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἢδοναὶ διεφαίνοντο, καὶ ἀνετοὶ μὲν ἢνίαι γαστρός, ἐτοίμη δὲ χεῖρ ἐς πλοῦτον, χαλινὸς δὲ οὔδεις ὄμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐρωτέει τε καὶ ἱμέροι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη ξυνεχορεῖτο, μία δὲ αὐτῶν ἤσχειν μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκόμπαξε, θρασεία δὲ ἦν καὶ φιλολοίδορος καὶ ἀπηγκωνισμένη πάντα· εἰδον σοφίας εἶδος ἀρρητον, οὐ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ποτὲ ἦττήθη, καὶ εἰστήκει δὲ ἄρα οὖκ ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπετέκτακτο αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσιώπτα, ξυνείσα δὲ, ὡς ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις οὐ ξυντίθεμαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνης οὐπω ὀλία, "μειράκιον," εἶπεν, "ἀγάδης ἐγώ καὶ μεστή πόνων εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό τις ἐς ἡθή τὰ ἐμά, τραπεζαῖν μὲν, ὡπόση ἐμψυχον, ἀνηρήσθαι πάσαν ἄν ἔλοιπο, οὗν δὲ ἐκκελήσθαι καὶ τὸν σοφίας μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν κρατήρα, ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἀοίνοις ψυχαῖς ἠστηκεν, οὐδὲ χαλαῖνα θάλψει αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἔριον, ὅπ' ἐμψυχον ἐπέχθη, ὑπόδημα δὲ αὐτοῖς βύβλου δίδωμι καὶ καθεύδειν ὡς ἔτυχε, κἂν ἀφροδισίων ἠττηθέντας αἰσθώμαι, βάραβρα ἐστὶ μοι, καθ' ὅν σοφίας ὅπαδὸς δίκη φέρει τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὠθεῖ, χαλεπὴ δ' οὕτως ἐγώ τοῖς τάμαλα ἁρνομένους, ὡς καὶ δεσμὰ γλώττης ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν. ἂ δ' ἐστὶν καρτερήσαντι ταῦτα, ἔμοι μᾶθε· σωφροσύνη μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνη αὐτόθεν, ζηλωτὸν δὲ ἥγεισθαι.
that she would give me rest after toil; and a third
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 Pythai-
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
CAP. 

μηδένα, τυράννους τε φοβερῶν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι, θεοίς τε ἡδίω φαίνεσθαι μικρὰ 

θύσαντα ἢ οἱ προχέοντες αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν ταύρων 

αἷμα, καθαρῷ δὲ ὁντι σοι καὶ προγυνώσκειν 

δῶσο, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὗτο τὶ ἐμπλήσω 

ἀκτίνος, ὡς διαγυνώσκειν μὲν θεόν, γυνώσκειν δὲ 

ήρωα, σκιοειδῆ δ’ ἐλέγχειν φαυτάσματα, ὅτε 

ψεῦδοιντο εἴδη ἀνθρώπων.” ἦδε μοι βλου αἴρεσις, 

ὁ σοφὸς Λευππίτων, ἦν υγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν 

Πυθαγόραν ἐλόμενος οὔτε ἐψευσάμην οὔτε ἐψεύσ- 

θην, ἐγενόμην μὲν γὰρ ἅρ ἡ χρῆ τὸν φιλοσοφήσαντα, 

φιλοσοφοῦντι δὲ ὀπόσα δῶσειν ἔφη, πάντ’ ἔχω. 

ἐφιλοσοφήσα γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως τῆς τέχνης καὶ 

ὀπόθεν αὐτῆς αἱ ἀρχαὶ, καὶ μοι ἔδοξεν ἀνδρῶν 

εἶναι περιττῶν τὰ θεῖα ψυχῆν τε ἁριστα ἐσκεμ- 

μένων, ἢ τὸ ἄθανατον τε καὶ ἁγενηθηνον πηγαὶ 

γενέσεως.

Ἀθηναίοις μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνω προσήκων ἐφαίνετό 

μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος, τὸν γὰρ Πλάτωνος λόγον, 

ὅν θεσπεσίως ἐκεῖ καὶ πανσώφος ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς 

ἀνεφθεγξατο, αὐτὸν διεβάλλον ἐναντίας ταύτῃ 

καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεῖς δόξας ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς προσέμενοι, 

ἔδει δὲ σκοπεῖν, τὸς μὲν εὖ πόλις, ποιῶν δὲ 

ἀνδρῶν ἔθνος, παρ’ οἷς οὔχ ὁ μὲν τις, ὁ δὲ οὗ, πά- 

σα δὲ ἑλικία ταύτων ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς φθέγγοντο· κἀγὼ 

μὲν νεότητος τε οὗτος ἁγούσης καὶ τοῦ μήτω 

ξυνιέναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐβλεψα, ἐπειδὴ πλείοστα ἐλέ-
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI γεσθε ύπερφυώς εἰδέναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ διήκειν ταύτα, ὃ δὲ ἐφιστάς με, "ἐι τῶν ἐρώτων," εἶπεν, "ἐτύγχανες ὃν ἡ τῆν ἥλικιάν ἐχόντων τοῦ ἑρῶν, εἶτα μειρακίῳ καλῷ ἐντυχὼν καὶ ἀγασθεῖς αὐτὸ τῆς ὁρᾶς, σὺ δὲ καὶ σὺν εἰς παῖς ἐξήτεις, ἴν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἵπποπρόφοι καὶ στρατηγοῦ πατρὸς καὶ χορηγοῦ ὑπό πάπποι, σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν τριηράρχον τινὸς ἡ φυλάρχον ἐκάλεις, ἀρά γ' ἂν οἶει προσάγεσθαι τὰ παιδικὰ τούτως, ἤ κἂν ἀνδής δόξαι μὴ πατρόθεν ὄνομάζων τὸ μειράκιον, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐκφύλου σπορᾶς καὶ νόθου; σοφίας οὐκ ἑρῶν, ἢν Ἰνδοὶ εὗρον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πατέρων ὄνομάξεις αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν θέσει, καὶ δίδως τι μεῖζον Ἀγνυπτίοις, ἢ εἰ πάλιν αὐτοῖς, ὡς αὐτὸι ἄδουσιν, μέλιτε ξυγκεκραμένος ἀναβαίνῃ ὁ Νεῖλος;" ταύτα με πρὸ ὑμῶν ἔπ' Ἰνδοὺς ἔτρεψαν ἐνθυμηθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς λεπτότεροι μὲν τὴν ξύνεσιν οἱ τοιοίδε ἀνθρωποί καθαρωτέραις ὁμιλοῦντες ἀκτίσων, ἀληθέστεροι δὲ τὰς περὶ φύσεως τις καὶ θεῶν δόξας, ἀτε ἀγχίθεοι καὶ πρὸς ἄρχαις τῆς ἕφουσόν καὶ θερμῆς οὐσίας οἰκοῦντες ἐντυχὼν τε αὐτοῖς ἔπαθον τι πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν
 themselves, 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-
CAP. ἀνδρῶν, ὅποιον λέγονται πρὸς τὴν Λισχύλου σοφίαν παθεῖν Ἀθηναίοι: ποιήτης μὲν γὰρ οὗτος τραγῳδίας ἐγένετο, τὴν τέχνην δὲ ὀρῶν ἀκατάσκευόν τε καὶ μήπω κεκοσμημένην, εἰ μὲν ξυνέστειλε τοὺς χροῶν ἄποτάδην ὄντας, ἢ τὰς τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἀντιλέξεις εὑρεί, παραιτησάμενος τὸ τῶν μονοφιόν μήκος, ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἀποθνήσκειν ἑπενόησεν, ὡς μὴ ἐν φανερῷ σφάττοι, σοφίας μὲν μηδὲ ταύτα ἀπηλλάχθῳ, δοκεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἔτερῳ παρασχεῖν ἐννοιαν ἦττον δεξιῷ τὴν ποίησιν· ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμήθης μὲν ἑαυτὸν, ὥς ἐπάξιον τοῦ τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν φθέγγοντο, ἐνθυμῆθης δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὡς προσφυά τῷ μεγαλείῳ μάλλον ἢ τῷ καταβεβλημένῳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ πόδα, σκευοποιώς μὲν ἦσατο εἰκασμένης τοῖς τῶν ἥρωων εἰδεσιν, ὅκριβαντος δὲ τοὺς ὑποκριτᾶς ἐνεβίβασεν, ὡς ἐστα ἐκείνως βαίνοιεν, ἐσθήμασι τε πρῶτος ἐκόσμησεν, ἀ πρόσφορον ἠρωσὶ τε καὶ ἠρωίσιν ἃπαθῆς ὅθεν Ἀθηναίοι πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ἐγαύστο, ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τιθενώτα ἐς Διονύσια, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Λισχύλου ψηφισμένων ἀνεδιάσκετο καὶ εὐκαὶ ἐκ κακῆς καίτοι τραγῳδίας μὲν εὐ κεκοσμημένης ὀλίγης χάρις, εὑφραίνει γὰρ ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας, ὡσπερ ἡ τῶν Διονυσίων ὡρα, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἐνυγκειμένης.
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, 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."
μέν, ὡς Πυθαγόρας ἐδικαίωσεν, ὑποθειαξοῦσης δὲ, ὡς πρὸ Πυθαγόρου Ἰνδοί, οὐκ ἐσ βραχὺν χρόνον ἡ καὶ ἄλλ' ἐσ ἀπειρῶν τε καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλεῖω. οὔ δὴ ἀπεικόνι τι παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἦττηθεὶς εὔ κεκοσμημένης, ἣν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἰνδοὶ στει- λαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκκυκλοῦ- σιν· ὥς δὲ ἐν δίκη μὲν ἡγάσθην αὐτούς, ἐν δίκη δὲ ἠγούμαι σοφοὺς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὅρα μανθά- νειν· εἶδον ἄνδρας οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀπειρίστως τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων. εἰ δ' αἰνημάτων ἀπτο- μαι, σοφία Πυθαγόρου ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα, παρέδωκε γὰρ καὶ τὸ αἴνιττειν, διδάσκαλον εὐρων σιωπῆς λό- γον· σοφίας δὲ ταύτης ἐγένεσθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πυ- θαγόρα ξύμβουλοι χρόνον, δι' τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἐπηνεῖτε, Ἰνδοὶ τὸ ἄρχαίον πάλαι οντες· ἐπεὶ δ' αἴδοι τοῦ λόγου, δ' ὅν ἐκ μηνημάτων τῆς γῆς ἀφίκεσθε δεύρο, ἐτεροί μᾶλλον ἐβούλεσθε δοκεῖν ἦ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἦκοντες, πάντα ὑμῖν ἐς τοῦτο ἐδράτο. οὖν ἐγεμνώθητε μὲν σκέυεσθ, ὅπόση ἐκεῖθεν, ὁσπερ ξυν- αποδυόμενοι τὸ Αἰθίοπες εἴναι, θεοὺς δὲ θεραπεύειν
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...
CAP. ἑψηφίσασθε τὸν Ἀγόπτιον μᾶλλον ὁ τὸν ὑμετέρον τρόπον, ἐς λόγους τε οὐκ ἐπετηθείους ὑπὲρ Ἰνδών κατέστητε, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ διαβεβλημένοι τῷ ἀφ' οίων διαβεβλήσθαι ἦκειν καὶ οὐδὲ μετερρόθμισθε πῶ γε τούτο, οὗ καὶ τῆμερον ἐπίδειξιν αὐτοῦ πεποίησθε φιλολογιδορόν τε καὶ ἱαμβώδη, χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιτηθεύειν Ἰνδοὺς φάσκοντες, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκπλήξεως καὶ ἁγωγίας, καὶ τὰς μὲν όφθαλμον, τὰς δὲ ὠτον, σοφίαν δὲ οὐπτω ἐμὴν εἰδότες ἀναίσθητοι φαίνεσθε τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῆς δόξης, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μὲν λέξω οὐδέν, εἰνη γὰρ, ὅ με Ῥινδῶ ἡγοῦνται, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οὖ εὐγχωρὸ ἀπτεσθαί. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τις ὑγιῶς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔχει σοφιὰ Ἰμεραίου ἀνδρός, ὅς ἥδων ἐσ τῆς Ἔλενην ἐναυτίον τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ παλινφρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτυμος ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἢδη καὶ αὐτοῦς ὥρα λέγειν, ἀμέμα καὶ τῆς τῶν παρεστηκυίας μεταλαβόντας περι αὐτῶν δόξαν. εἰ δ' καὶ ἁμουσιον πρὸς παλινφρίαν ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' φείδεσθαι γε χρῆ ἀνδρῶν, οὔσα ἠξιοῦντες θεοὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς οὔτων οὐδὲ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαξιοῦσιν ὃν ἐκείνου πέπανται. διήλθες τυ να, Ἡσπεσίων, καὶ περὶ τῆς Πυθοῦς λόγον ὡς ἀπλῶς τε καὶ ἀκατασκευῶς χρώσης, καὶ παράδειγμα ἐγένετο σοι τοῦ λόγου νεώς κηροῦ καὶ πτέ  

1 The reference is to Stesichorus.
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, Thespis, 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..."
CAP. XI ρων ξυνηθείς· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀκατάσκευα μὲν δοκεῖ οὔδὲ ταύτα, τὸ γὰρ

ξυμφέρετε πτερά τ’ οἰωνοὶ κηρὸν τε μέλιτται κατασκευαζομένου ἢν οἴκον καὶ οἴκον σχῆμα, ὁ δ’, οἶμαι, μικρὰ ταύτα ἡγούμενος καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ σοφίας ἤπτω, καὶ ἄλλου ἐδεήθη νεῶ καὶ ἄλλου καὶ μεγάλων ἡδη καὶ ἐκατομπέδων, ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσάς ἱννγας ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχούσας πειθώ, ξυνελέξατό τε τὰ εὐδοκιμῶτατα τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐς τὴν Πυθῶν κόσμου ἐνεκα, καὶ οὔτ’ ἀγαλματοποιών ἀπῆλασεν ἀπάγουσαν αὐτῷ κολοσσούς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοὺς μὲν θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπον, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸτου τε καὶ ταῦρων καὶ ἐτέρων ξῶν, οὕτε Γλαύκον μετὰ τοῦ ὑποκρατητῆδον ἥκουτα, οὕτε τὴν ἀλασκομένην Ἱλάου ἀκρόπολιν, ἦν Πολύγνωτος ἐκεῖ γράφει. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν χρυσόν γε τὸν Λύμδον καλλάπτησμα τῆς Πυθόους ἤγείτο, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἔσήγετο, ἐνδεικύμενος, οἶμαι, αὐτοῖς τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πλοῦτον, ἵνα γλάυκυντο ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ διαπόρθειν τὰ ἀλλήλων, τῶν δὲ δὴ Ἐλληνά τε καὶ προσφυὰ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ σοφία τρόπον κατεσκευάζετο καὶ ἡγυλάεξε τοῦτῳ τὴν Πυθῶν. ἡγούμην δὲ αὐτῶν κόσμου ἐνεκα καὶ ἐς μέτρα ἐμβιβάζειν τοὺς χρησμοὺς. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τούτῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο, τοιάσθε ἄν τὰς

52
even this was devoid of pomp, for we have the chap. 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 ἢθι ἢ μὴ ἢθι, καὶ ποιοῦ ξυμμάχους ἢ μὴ ποιοῦ, βραχέα γάρ που ταῦτα, ἢ, ὥσ fατε ὑμεῖς, γημνά, ὁ δ' ἦνα μεγαλορρήμων τε φαινοίται καὶ ἔδων τοῖς ἐρωτώσι, ποιητικὴν ἤρμοσατο, καὶ οὖκ ἀξιοῖ εἶναι, ὃ τι μὴ οὔδεν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ψάμμων εἰδέναι1 φησίν, ὁπόση, ἀριθμῷς αὐτῆν, καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττ-

τῆς μέτρα ξυνειληφέναι πάντα.

Ἡ καὶ ταῦτα περιγραφὴ προσγράφεις, ἐπειδὴ σοβαρῶς αὐτᾶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ ἔνα φρονήματι ὀρθῷ φράξει; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀρχέσῃ, Θεσπεσίων, τῷ λόγῳ, γράφει ἀνεμέμεναι κόσκινα φοιτώσιν ἐπὶ ποιμένας, ὅτε δὲ καὶ βουκόλους, ἰόμεναι τὰ νοσοῦντα τῶν θρεμμάτων μαντικῆ, ὡς φασιν, ἄξιοῦσι δὲ σοφαὶ οὐνομάξεσθαι καὶ σοφώτεραι ἢ οἱ ἀνεχώρος μάντεις τούτῳ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν φαίνεσθε, οἱ μὲν γὰρ τεθεῖ τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηται κατὰ τὴν Πυθλαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ—ἀλλ' οὐδὲν εἰρήσεται περατέρω, εὐφη-

μὰ γὰρ φίλη μὲν ἐμοὶ, φίλη δὲ Ἰνδοῖς, ἢν ἀσπα-

ζώμην ὡς ὅπασδον ἄμα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς γλώσσης, τὰ μὲν ἐμαυτῷ δυνατὰ θηρεύων ἐν ἐπαίνῳ τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔρωτι, ὃ τι δὲ μὴ ἐφικτῶν εἴη μου, κατα-

λείπων αὐτὸ ἀχραντον ψόγουν. σὺ δὲ Ὄμηροι μὲν;

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

54
make his responses in such forms as the following: *Chap. XI*

‘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
Καπ. ἐν Κυκλωτίᾳ ἀκούων, ὡς ἐγὼ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ ἀνομοτάτους ἀστιστοὺς καὶ ἀνήρτους ἐστιά, χαίρεις τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ Ἡδωνί τινες ἦν Λυδοὶ βακχεύσων, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖς, ὡς γάλακτος αὐτοῖς καὶ οἶνον πηγὰς δὸσει καὶ ποτεῖ τούτους, τοὺς δὲ σοφίας ἀπάσης βάκχους ἀφαρήσῃ δώρα αὐτο-ματα παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἦκοντα; τρίποδες δὲ αὐτό-ματοι καὶ ἐς τὰ ξυμπόσια τῶν θεῶν φοιτῶσι, καὶ ὁ Ἀρης ἀμαθὴς περὶ ὅν καὶ ἐχθρὸς οὕτω τοῦ Ἡφαιστον ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν, ὡς ἦκουσάν ποτε οἱ θεοί τοιαύτης γραφῆς· ἀδικεῖς, Ἡφαιστε, κοσμῶν τὸ ξυμπόσιον τῶν θεῶν καὶ περιστὰς αὐτῷ θαύματα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς διώκαις αἰτίαι ποτὲ ἐσχε ταῖς χρυσαῖς, ὡς παραφθείρων τὰς ὀλας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν χρυσὸν ἐμπνοῦν ἐποίησί, κόσμου γὰρ ἐπιμεληστεί τέχνη πᾶσα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι τέχνας ὑπὲρ κόσμου εὑρηται. ἀνυποδησία δὲ καὶ τρίβων καὶ πήραν ἀνήφθαι κόσμον εὑρήμα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι, καθὰπερ ὤμεῖς, ἐσοικε μὲν ἀκατασκεύω τε καὶ λείψε σχῆμα, ἐπιτε-τήθηται δὲ ὑπὲρ κόσμου καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπεστὶν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔτερῳ φασὶ τύφῳ. τὰ δὲ Ἡλίου τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν πάτρια καὶ ὅτι χαίρει τεραπευόμενος ἐχεῖ τῶν αὐτῶν νόμον, θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ χθόνου βόθρους ἀσπά-σονται καὶ τὰ ἐν κοίλῃ 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 tripod, 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
CAP.  ἀνρ ὁχύμα, καὶ δεῖ τοὺς προσφόρως ἁσομένους αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς αἴρεσθαι καὶ ξυμμετεωροπολεῖν τῷ θεῷ· τούτῳ δὲ βούλονται μὲν πάντες, δύνανται δὲ Ἰνδοί μόνοι.

XII

CAP. Ἀναπνεύσας ὁ Δάμις ἐαυτὸν φησιν, ἐπειδὴ ταύτα ἥκουσεν ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιου λόγων οὕτω διατεθήναι τοὺς Αὐγιπτίους, ὡς τῶν Θεσπεσίων μὲν καίτοι μέλανα, ὅταν καταδίχηλον εἴναι, ὅτι ἐμφυτή, φαινεσθαι δὲ τινα καὶ περί τούς λοιποὺς ἐκπληξίν ἐφ' οίς ἑρρωμένως τε καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς διαλεγομένῳ ἥκουσαν, τὸν νεώτατον δὲ τῶν Ἀὐγιπτίων, ὃς ὄνομα ἦν Νεῖλος, καὶ ἀναπνεύσας φησιν ὑπὸ θαύματος, μεταστάντα τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμβαλεῖν τοὺς, τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δείσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰς ξυνοσίας, αἱ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, φράζειν. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον, „σοι μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄν,“ φάναι, „βασκήναιμι ἐγὼ λόγου, φιλήκωρ τι, ὡς ὅρῳ τυγχάνοντι καὶ σοφίαν ἀσπαζομένῳ πᾶσιν,“ Θεσπεσίων δὲ καὶ εἰ τις ἔτερος λήγειν τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἡγεῖται, μὴ ἂν ἐπαντλήσαι τοὺς ἐκείθεν λόγους· ὅθεν ὁ Θεσπεσίως, „εἰ δὲ ἐμπορος,“ εἶπεν, „ἡ ναύκληρος ἢσθα καὶ τινα ἤμων ἀπήγει ἐκείθεν φόρτων, ἄρα ἂν ἥξιος, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν οὕτος, ἀδοκίμαστον αὐτὸν διατίθεσθαι καὶ μήτε γεύμα παρέχειν αὐτοῦ μήτε ἰδίμα;“ ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, „παρεχόμην ἄν,“ εἶπε, „τοὺς γε χρήζουσιν, εἰ δ' ἧκων τις
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
CAP. XII

ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καταπεπλευκυίας ἀρτὶ τῆς νεώς, ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῷ φόρτῳ καὶ διέβαλλε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς ἦκοντα ἐκ γῆς, ἢ μὴ δὲν ὤγες φέρει, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπέπληττεν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων ἀγωγίμων πλεύσαντι, τούς τε ἅλλους ἐπείθεν οὕτω φρονεῖν, ἃ ράν σοι δοκεῖ τις καταπλεύσας ἐς τοιόνδε λιμένα βαλέσθαι τινὰ ἄγκυραν ἢ πεῖσμα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀνασείσας τὰ ἱστία μετεφρίσαι ἀν τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνέμοις ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἡδίον γε ἡ ἄκριτος τε καὶ ἄξενοις ἡθεῖσιν; "ἀλλ' ἐγὼ," ἐφῆ ὁ Νεῖλος, "λαμβάνομαι τῶν πεισμάτων καὶ ἀντιβολῶ σε, ναύκληρε, κοινωνήσαι μοι τῆς ἐμπορίας, ἵνα ἀγεῖς, καὶ ἡμεμβαίην ἕν σοι τὴν ναῦν περίνεσθος τε καὶ μνήμων τοῦ σοῦ φόρτου."
down to the beach and began to run down my cargo 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

Thespasion, however, was anxious to put a stop to 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 Thespasion, 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
CAP. χρημάτων δὲ ἀπάγων αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπαινεῖν
tὸ ἐξ ἀπαντος κέρδος, οὔτ᾽ ἐπιτήδεια ξυμβουλεύειν
ἔδοξα οὔτε ἑκεῖνῳ δυνατά, καὶ ἔλεγχον δὲ ἤγείται
tαῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσιν ἅν τι κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐννυθεῖς.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πιθανὸς ὡμῖν ἔδοξε τούμον διαβάλλειν
.mozilla, ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὡς προτέρους ὑμᾶς ἐμὸν διέ-
βαλεν ἐμοὶ γὰρ κίνδυνοι μὲν καὶ περὶ τῶν δια-
βεβλησόμενον οὐ σμικροὶ φαίνονται, μισήσεται
γὰρ ποι ἄδικων οὔδεν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ κινδύνων
οὐδὲ οἱ τῶν διαβολῶν ἀκροασόμενοι δοκοῦσιν,
eἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀλώσονται ψευδολογίαν τιμών-
τες καὶ ἀξιόντες αὐτὴν ὄντος τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
ἐίτα κοινότητα καὶ εὐαγγελίαν— ἤττᾶσθαι δὲ
τούτων καὶ μειρακιός αἰσχρόν— φθονερὸν τε
dόξους διδάσκαλον ἀκοὴς ἄδικον ποιοῦμενοι τὸν
φθόνον, αὐτοὶ τε μᾶλλον ἔνοχοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς,
ἀς ἐφ᾽ ἐτέρων ἀλήθειας ἤγουνται, αἰ γὰρ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων φύσεις ἐτοιμότεραι δρᾶν, ἢ μὴ ἄπι-
στοψι. μὴ τυραννεύσειεν ἀνὴρ ἐτοιμος ταῦτα,
μηδὲ προσταίη δήμου, τυραννὸς γὰρ καὶ ἡ δημο-
κρατία ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔσται, μηδὲ δικάσειεν, ὕπερ
μηδενὸς γὰρ γνώσει, μηδὲ ναυκληρήσειεν, ἡ γὰρ
ναυς στασιάσει, μηδὲ ἁρξεῖε στρατοῦ, τὸ γὰρ ἄν-
τισον εὐ πράξει, μηδὲ φιλοσοφήσειεν οὕτως ἔχων,
οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τάληθες δοξάσει. ὑμᾶς δὲ Ἐυφράτης
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
καὶ τὸ σοφοὺς εἶναι, οὐς γὰρ ψεύδει ὑπηγάγετο, πῶς ἂν οὕτωι σοφίας αὐτοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ἦς ἀπέστησαν τῷ τὰ μὴ πιθανὰ πεῖσαντι;”

διαπραύνων δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “ἄλως Εὐ-φράτου,” ἔφη, “καὶ μικροψυχῶν λόγων, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ διαλλακτικὴ γενοῖμεθά σοι τε κάκειν, σοφὸν ἴγνομενοι καὶ τὸ διατάξαν σοφοῖς. πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς,”

eἶπε, “τὰς διαλλάξει με; χρὴ γὰρ πον καταψευ-σθέντα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους.” **1

“ἐχέτω οὕτως,” ἡ δ’ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “καὶ σπουδὴς ἀπτῶμεθα, τούτῳ γὰρ ἡμᾶς διαλλάξει μᾶλλον.”

**XIV**


ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “καὶ περὶ τῆς Φραστοῦν σοφίας ἀκούσαι ποθῶ, λέγεσθε γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἀγάλματα ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἄγειν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολ-λώνιος ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ποιη-σάμενος διής πάντα, οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἥκροφοντο ὑποκείμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. μεσημβρία δ’ ὡς ἐγένετο, διέλυσαν τὴν σπουδήν, τὸν γὰρ καιρὸν τοῦτον καὶ οἱ Γυμνοὶ πρὸς ἐρῶς γίγνονται.

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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 Thespiesion 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 Thespiesion, "long to hear about the wisdom of Phraotes, for you are said to have brought from India some examples of his arguments." Apollonius accordingly began by telling them about the events which occurred in Babylon, and told them everything, and they gladly listened to him, spell-bound by his words. But when it was mid-day, they broke off the conversation, for at this time of day the naked sages, like others attend to the ceremonies of religion.
**FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS**

**XV**


**XVI**

CAP. XVI. Ἐπεί δ’ ἐδείπνησαν, “ἐγώ,” ἢ δ’ ὁ Νείλος, “τόν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐστρατευόμην ὑμοῦ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς, οἴνον ψιλοῖς τισὶν ἢ σφενδονήταις ἐκείνοις ἐμαυτόν 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
CAP. XVI


1 Kayser reads φαίνονται, yet retains δοκῆς 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
CAP. XVI

Andras, hyn ouk allous tison anthropon uparcheun, prosepoinhsa emantoun toutous, profoasis de moi tis ormhs hde egvento. Epileusse pote o pather es tihn Eruvraan ekwn, hreme de ara tis neon, hyn Avgiptiou stelounsin es to Iindoun ethnos, epimezhes de tois eti thalatt th Iindois diekoumi h logous peri ton ekeinon sofwn ungou touton, ou prois hmas dihelthes. Akoun de autoun kai toisouti tina logou, ois sofotatoi men anthropon Iindoi, apokoi de Iindoun Aldiospe, patrophousi de oulon tihn sofian kai prois to oukoi blepousi, meirakion genomeneis ta men patrhata tois byulomeinous afhka, ymnos de Gumnois epitboithsa toutous, ois mathesomeneis ta Iindoun he adelphi ge ekeinon, ka mou efainontos sofoi men, ou mou ekeina, emo de autous epomewn, tou charin ou ta Iindoun filosofousin, ekeinoun men es diafylas katisthsan paraplenisios tais prois se eirnemena tihmeron, eme de neon eti, ois orbas, onta katelexan es to auton koinon, deisantues, oimai, mou atopthhsas auton pleusaimi es tihn Eruvraan, asper pote o pather, o ma tous theous ouk an parikha. proilhsan gar an kai mexhri tou ochhou touton sofoun, ei mou se tis entautha theon esteleven emoi aragoun, ois mhte 70
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 seashore, 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
CAP. τὴν Ἕρυθρὰν πλεύσας μήτε πρὸς τοὺς Κολπίτας παραβαλόμενος σοφίας Ἰνδικῆς γενσαίμην, οὐ τῆμερον βίου ποιησόμενος αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν ἥρημεν, ἀ δ’ ὁμὴν ἔξειν, οὐκ ἔχων. τί γὰρ δεινὸν, εἰ ὀστοὔ ἄμαρτών τις ἐπάνεισιν ἐφ’ ὁ ἐθήρευν; εἰ δὲ κάκελων ἐστιν μεταβιβάζομι καὶ γνωρίμην αὐτῶς ξύμβουλος ὁν ἐμαντών πέπεικα, τί ἀν, εἰπεί μοι, θρασὺ πράττοιμι; οὔτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης ἀπελατέα τοῦ τι καὶ αὐτή βέλτιον ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἀν τοῦ γήρως, σοφίας τε ὅστις ἐτέρῳ γίγνεται ξύμβουλος, ἣν αὐτὸς Ἰρηται, διαφεύγει δὴπο τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἢ πέπεισται πεἶθει, τοῖς τε ἕκουσιν ἀγαθοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὅστις ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὰ χρηται μόνος, ἀδικεὶ τάγαθα, ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ πλεῖοσιν ἢδιον φαίνεσθαι.”

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
ΕΦΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΚΙΝΗΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΚΣΤΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ

ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2022

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΚΟΚΚΩΛΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΩΣΤΑΒΟΥ

ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΙΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΚΩΝ ΠΡΟΒЛЕΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΜΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΚΣΤΑΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΚΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΚΩΝ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΩΝ.

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ

ΤΟΥ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΥ

ΤΟΥ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΥ
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
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.

XX

CAP. Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπεσίων ὅσπερ μεθυστάμενος τοιοῦτος τοῦ λόγου, ἦρετο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον περὶ 80
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.” Thespasion 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 Thespasion as if anxious to drop this subject, put some questions to Apollonius, about the
CAP. XX τῆς Λακωνικῆς μάστιγος καὶ εἰ δημοσίᾳ οἱ Λακε- 
δαιμόνιοι πάονται: “τὰς ἑξ ἀνθρώπων γε,” εἶπεν, 
“ὁ Θεοπεσίων, αὐτὸι μάλιστα οἱ ἑλευθέριοι τε 
καὶ εὐδόκιμοι.” “τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας ἀδικοῦντας τί,” 
ἔφη, “ἐργάζονται;” “οὐκέτ’ ἀποκτείνουσιν,” εἶπεν, 
“ὡς ξυνεχόρει ποτὲ ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἀλλ’ ἡ αὐτῇ καὶ 
ἐπ’ ἐκείνους μάστιξ.” “ἡ δὲ Ἑλλάς πῶς,” εἶπη, 
“περὶ αὐτῶν γιγνόσκει;” “ξυνίασιν,” εἶπεν, 
“ὁσπέρ ἐς τὰ Ἰακεύθια καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδιάς, 
θεασάμενοι ξύνῃ ἱδονῇ τε ὁρμῆ πᾶσι.” “εἰτ’ οὐκ 
αἰσχύνονται,” ἔφη, “οἱ χρηστοὶ Ἐλληνες ἡ τούς 
αὐτῶν ποτε ἀρξαντας ὀρῶντες μαστιγομένους ἐς 
τὸ κοινὸν, ἡ ἀρχήντες ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μαστι- 
γοῦνται δημοσίᾳ; σὺ δὲ πῶς ὁ διωρθώσως ταῦτα; 
φασὶ γὰρ σε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιμεληθῆναι.” 
“ἀ γε,” εἶπε, “δυνατὸν διορθούσθαι ξυνεβοῦ- 
λευνον μὲν εὐγό, προθύμως δ’ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπραττόν, 
ἐλευθεριώτατοι μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἐλλήνων εἰς, 
μόνου δ’ ὑπῆκοοι τοῦ εὐ ξυμβουλεύοντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν 
μαστίγων ἔθος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ ἀπὸ Ἀκτού ὅραται, 
χρησμὸν, φασὶν, ἔχουμεν ἡνταῦτα: θεοῖς δ’ 
ἀντιωμεῖν μανία, σὺμαι.” “οὐ σοφοὺς, Ἀπολ- 
λώνιος,” ἔφη, “τοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων θεοὺς εὐρηκας, 
eἰ μαστίγων ἐγένοντο ξύμβουλοι τοὺς τὴν ἐλευ-
θερίαν ἀσκοῦσιν.” “οὐ μαστίγων,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ 
tοῦ ἀλματὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸν βωμὸν ῶλεινει, ἐπειδὴ  

1 I conjecture μόνου for μόνου.
scourging in Sparta, and asked if the Lacedaemonians were smitten with rods in public. "Yes," answered the other, "as hard, O Thespion, 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 ἥξιοῦτο, σοφισάμενοι
de οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀπαράιτητον τῆς θυσίας
ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς καρτερίας ἀγώνα ἦκουσιν, ἀφ’ ἂς ἐστὶ
μῆτε ἀποθνῄσκειν καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ τοῦ
σφῶν αἵματος.” “διὰ τὸ οὖν,” ἐφή, “τοὺς ξένους
οὐ καταθύνουσι τῇ Ἀρτέμиде, καθάπερ ἐδικαίουν
ποτὲ οἱ Σκύθαι;” “ὅτι,” εἶπεν, “οὐδεὶς Ἑλλήνων
πρὸς τρόπον βάρβαρα ἐξασκεῖν ἡθη.” “καὶ μὴν καὶ
φιλανθρωπότεροι ἐδόκουν ἂν ἐνα ποὺ καὶ δύο
θύσιν ἡ ξενηλασία χρώμενοι ἐς πάντας.”

“Μὴ καθαπτώμεθα,” εἶπεν, “ὁ Θεοτεσσάρων, τοῦ
Δυκούργου, χρῆ γὰρ ξυνίεναι τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι τὸ
μὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν ἐὰν τοὺς ξένους οὐκ ἅμιξίας αὐτῷ
νοῦν εἰλθεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις
μὴ ἐνομιλοῦντοι τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῶν ἐξωθεν.” “ἐγὼ
δὲ ἄνδρας,” ἐφη, “Σπαρτιάτας ὠγούμην ἂν, οἷοι
δοκεῖν ἄξιοῦσιν, εἰ συνδιατόμενοι τοῖς ξένοις μὴ
μεθίσαντο τῶν οἴκων, οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀπόντων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῷ παρόντων ὀμοίως ὀρᾶσθαι ἐδει, ὅμως, τὰς
ἀρετὰς κτάσθαι. οἱ δὲ καίτοι ξενηλασίαις χρώ-
μενοι, διεφθάρησαν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις, καὶ οἰς μά-
λιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπήχθοντο, τοῦτοι ὅμως ὁμοῖα
πράττειν ἐδοξαν. τὰ γοῦν 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 exclusiveness, but by a desire to keep the institutions of Sparta in their original purity by preventing outsiders 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
CAP. αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτάξεις τῶν φόρων ἀττικῶτερον αὐτοῖς ἐβουλευθή, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν πολεμητεὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους φόντο αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ταῦτʼ ἐσ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸ ὁ ὁμα στρατηγὸς, τα μὲν πολέμια τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νικῶτες, δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιτιθείσης ἐδοξεῖν ἡττώμενοι. καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν ἐκ Ταύρων τε καὶ Σκυθῶν ἐσάγεσθαι δαίμονα, ξένα ἡ νομι-ζόντων. εἴ δὲ χρησμῶν ταῦτα, τί ἔδει μάστυ γος; τί δὲ καρτερίαν ἀνδραπόδωδη πλάττεσθαι; λακωνικῶτερον πρὸς θανάτου ῥώμην ἐκεῖνο ἦν, οἶμαι, Σπαρτιάτην ἔφηβον ἐκόντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ θύεσθαι. τούτῳ γὰρ ἀν τὴν μὲν Σπάρτην εὐφυετέ-ρους ἔδεικνυε, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα ἀπήγγελε τοῦ μὴ ἔσ- αντόπαλα αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθίστασθαι. εἴ δὲ ἐς τὰ πολέμια φείδεσθαι τῶν νέων εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ὁ γε νόμος ὁ παρὰ Σκύθων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξηκοντοῦταις κείμενοις οἰκειότερος ἦν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτιθείσεις ἡ Σκύθως, εἰ τὸν θάνατον ἀτεχνῶς, ἄλλα μὴ κόμπου ἕνεκα ἐπαινοῦσι. ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς Λακε- δαιμονίοις εἴρηται μοι, πρὸς δὲ σέ, Ἀπολλώνιε: εἴ γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ νόμμα καὶ πολιώτερα ἡ γεννώ- σκειν αὐτὰ πικρῶς ἐξετάζομεν ἐς ἑλεγχον καθ- ιστάμενοι τοῦ θείου, διότι αὐτοῖς χαίροντει, πολλοὶ καὶ ἄτοποι λόγοι τῆς τοιαῦτας 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. σονταί, καὶ γὰρ ἀν καὶ τῆς Ἐλευσίνη τελετῆς ἐπι-
λαβοῦμεθα, διότι τό, ἀλλὰ μὴ τό, καὶ δὲν Σαμώ-
θρακες τελοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα, τὸ δεῖνα δὲ αὐτοῖς
δράται, καὶ Διονυσίων καὶ θάλλου καὶ τοῦ ἐν
Κυλλῆνη εἴδους, καὶ οὖκ ἀν φθάνοιμεν συνοφαν-
tοῦντες πάντα. ἵωμεν οὖν ἐφ’ ὁ τι βούλει ἔτερον,
tιμῶντες καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγον ἡμεδαπτὸν
ὀντα· καλὸν γὰρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ περὶ πάντων, ἀλλ’
ὑπέρ γε τῶν τοιούτων σιωπᾶν.” ὑπολαβὼν δ’ ὁ
’Απολλώνιος, “εἰ σπουδάσαι,” εἶπεν, “ὁ Θεο-
pεσίων, ἐβούλου τὸν λόγον, πολλὰ ἀν σοι καὶ
γενναία ἔδοξεν ἡ Δακεδαιμον λέγειν ὑπὲρ ὁν ὑγιῶς
te καὶ παρὰ πάντας ἐπιτηδεύει τοὺς “Ἑλλήνας,
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀποσπουδάζεις αὐτόν, ὡς μηδὲ ὅσιον
ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων λέγειν, ἵωμεν ἐφ’
ἔτερον λόγον πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω·
περὶ δικαιοσύνης γὰρ τι ἐρήσομαι.”

XXI

CAP. “Ἀπτώμεθα,” ὁ Θεοπεσίων ἐφη, “τοῦ λόγου,
προσήκων γὰρ σοφῶς τε καὶ μὴ σοφῶς. ἀλλ’ ἦνα
μὴ τὰς Ἰνδῶν δόξας ἐνείρουντες ξυγχέωμεν αὐτῶν
καὶ ἀπέλθωμεν ἀπράκτω τοῦ λόγου, πρῶτον εἰπὲ
τὰ περὶ δικαιοσύνης Ἰνδῶις δόξαντα, εἰκὸς γὰρ
88
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 Thespesion, 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 Thespesion, “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
CAP. ΒΕΒΑΣΑΝΙΩΘΑΙ ΣΟΙ ΕΚΕΙ ΤΑÚΤΑ, ΚΑΝ ΜΕΝ Η ΔΩΞΑ ΟΡΘΩΣ ΕΧΧ, ΞΥΝΘΗΣΟΜΕΘΑ, ΕΙ Δ' ΑΥΤΟΙ ΤΙ ΣΟΦΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΠΟΙΜΕΝ, ΞΥΝΤΙΔΕΣΘΕ, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΟΝΗΣ ΓΙΛΡ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ." "ΑΡΙΣΤΑ," ΕΙΠΕΝ, "Ω ΘΕΣΠΕΣΙΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΩΣ ΕΜΟΙ ΗΔΙΣΤΑ ΕΙΡΗΚΑΣ· ΑΚΟΥΕ ΔΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΕΙ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΣΘΕΝΤΩΝ. ΔΙΣΙΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΓΩ, ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΗΣ ΩΣ ΓΕΝΟΙΜΗΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΝΕΟΣ, ΟΠΟΘ' Η ΨΥΧΗ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΠΕΜΕΛΕΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΗΓΟΙΜΗΝ ΕΜΑΝΤΟΝ, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΛΗΣΤΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΜΙΣΘΟΥΝΤΟ ΜΕ ΠΡΟΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΝΑΙΝ ΚΑΘΟΡΜΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΟΙ ΛΟΧΗΣΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΜΕΛΛΟΝ, ΔΙ' Α' ΉΓΕΝ, ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΙΛΑΙΜΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΤΑÚΤΑ, ΩΣ ΜΗ ΕΠΙΘΟΥΝΤΟ ΗΜΙΝ, ΠΑΡΑΠΛΕΥΣΑΙΜΙ Δ' ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡΑΡΑΙΜΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΩΡΙΟΥ." "ΞΥΝΘΕΝΤΟ Δ'," Η Δ' Ο ΘΕΣΠΕΣΙΩΝ, "ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΟΝΗΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ 'ΙΝΔΟΙ ΤΑÚΤΑ;" "ΚΑΤΕΓΕΛΑΣΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ," ΕΙΠΕ, "ΜΗ ΓΙΑΡ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΟΝΗΝ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΆΔΙΚΕΙΝ." "ΨΥΧΩ," ΕΦΗ, "ΑΠΕΔΟΞΕ ΤΟΙΣ 'ΙΝΔΟΙΣ, ΟΥΤΕ ΓΙΑΡ ΦΡΟΝΗΣΩΣ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΑΝΟΗΤΩΣ ΤΙ ΕΝΘΥΜΕΙΣΘΑΙ, ΟΥΤΕ ΆΝΔΡΕΙΑ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΛΕΙΠΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΑΞΙΝ, ΟΥΤΕ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΕΣ ΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΜΟΙΧΩΝ ΕΚΠΙΠΤΕΙΝ, ΟΥΤΕ ΑΞΙΟΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΟΥ ΤΟ ΜΗ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΦΑΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΑΝ ΓΙΑΡ, Θ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑΣ ΛΙΟΝ ΆΦΕΣΤΗΚΕΝ, ΟΥΠΟΙ ΆΡΕΤΗ." "ΠΟΙΟ ΟΥΝ, Ω ΘΕΣΠΕΣΙΩΝ," ΕΙΠΕ, "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΟΜΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥΝ, Η ΤΙ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΑ;" "ΑΝΕΛΛΙΠΕΣΤΕΡΟΝ," ΕΦΗ, "ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΕΣΠΟΥΔΑΣΑΤΕ, Η ΟΠΟΤΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΟΣΗΣΔΕ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ 90
their views on the spot; and if their opinion is proved to be correct we will adopt it; but if we have something wiser to put in its place, you must adopt our view, for that too is plain justice." Said Apollonius: "Your plan is excellent and most satisfactory to me; so do you listen to the conversation which I held there. For I related to them how I had once been the captain of a large ship, in the period when my soul was in command of another body, and how I thought myself extremely just because, when robbers offered me a reward, if I would betray my ship by running it into roads where they were going to lie in wait for it, in order to seize the cargo, I agreed and made the promise, just to save them from attacking us, but intending to slip by them and get beyond the place agreed upon." "And," said Thespesion, "did the Indians agree that this was justice?" "No, they laughed at the idea," he replied, "for they said that justice was something more than not being unjust." "It was very sensible," said the other, "of the Indians to reject such a view; for good sense is something more than not entertaining nonsense, just as courage is something more than not running away from the ranks; and so temperance is something more than the avoidance of adultery, and no one reserves his praise for a man who has simply shown himself to be not bad. For because a thing, no matter what, is equi-distant between praise and punishment, it is not on that account to be reckoned off-hand to be virtue." "How then, O Thespesion," said Apollonius, "are we to crown the just man and for what actions?" "Could you have discussed justice more completely and more opportunely," said the other, "than when
οὔτως εὐδαίμονος χώρας ἄρχων ἐπέστη φιλο-
σοφοῦσιν ύμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλεύειν, δικαιοτάτου κτήματος;” “εἰ ὁ Φραώτης,” ἔπευ, “ὁ ἄφικό-
μενος ἦν, ὁρθῶς ἂν ἐμέμφοι τὸ μὴ υπὲρ δικαιο-
σύνης ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι, ἔπει δὲ εἴδες τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐν οἷς χθές υπὲρ αὐτοῦ διήνεμε μεθύσωντα καὶ ἀχθόμενον φιλοσοφία πάσης, τί ἔδει παρέχειν ὀχλοῦ; τί ὅ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν φιλοτιμουμένους ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπον σύβαριν ἡγουμένου πάντα; ἀλλ' ἔπει σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, δώσορ εἰμῖν, ἵππεντέα ἡ δικαιοσύνη μᾶλλον ἡ βασιλεύσι τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, ἵκωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀτεχνῶς δίκαιον. ὃ γὰρ ἐμαυτόν τε ἡγούμην, ὅποτε ἡ ναύζ, ἔτερος τε, ο郤 
μὴ ἁδίκων ἀπτόται, οὔτω δικαίους φατὲ, οὔδ' ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι.” “καὶ εἰκότως,” ἔπευ, “οὔδὲ γὰρ ἂν Ἡθηναίοις ποτὲ ἡ Δακεδαιμονίου ἐγράφη γνώμη τὸν δεῖνα στεφανοῦν, ἔπει μὴ τῶν ἡταριηκτῶν ἐστίν, ἡ τὸν δεῖνα ποιεῖσθαι πολέτην, ἔπει μὴ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὶ αὐτοῦ συλάται. τίς οὖν ὁ 
δίκαιος καὶ ὁ τὶ πράττων; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δικαιο-
sύνη τινὰ στεφανωθέντα οἶδα, οὐδὲ γνώμην ἐπὶ ἄνδρι δικαίῳ γραφεῖσαν, ὡς τὸν δεῖνα χρὴ στε-
φανοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεῖνα πράττων δίκαιος φαίνεται, τὰ μὲν γὰρ Παλαμήδους εὐθυμηθέντι τὰ ἐν Τροίᾳ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους τὰ Ἡθηνεῖν οὔδ' εὐνοχεῖν ἡ 
diκαιοσύνη δόξει παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀδικῶτατα

92
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"
CAP. XXI. γὰρ δὴ οἰδὲ ἔσαθον, δικαιὸτατοὶ ὄντες. πλὴν ἄλλ' οὕτω μὲν ἐπὶ δόξῃ ἀδικημάτων ἀπώλευτο, ψήφου παρὰ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐνεχθέοις, Ἁριστείδην δὲ τὸν Δυσεμάχου καὶ αὐτὴ ποτὲ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀπώλλυ, καὶ ἀνὴρ τοιόσοδε ἐπὶ τοιᾶδε ἀρετῆς φεύγων φχετο. καὶ ὡς μὲν γελοῖα ἡ δικαιοσύνη δόξει, γηγυμώσκω, τεταγμένη γὰρ ὑπὸ Διὸς τε καὶ Μοιρῶν ἐς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐδαμοῦ ἑαυτὴν ἑς τὸ μὴ αὐτή ἀδικεῖσθαι τάττει.

'Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπόχρη τὰ τοῦ Ἁριστείδου ἐς τὸ δηλώσαι, τὸς μὲν ὁ μὴ ἀδικος, τὸς δὲ ὁ δικαιος· εἰπὲ γὰρ μοι, οὐχ οὕτω, Ἁριστείδης ἐκεῖνος, ὡν φατε ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἡκοντες πλευσαντα ἐς τὰς νήσους ὑπὲρ τῶν φόρων, ξυμμέτρουσ τε αὐτοὺς τάξαι καὶ ξὺν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπανελθεῖν τρίβωννι;" "οὕτως," εἰπε, "δὴ ὅν καὶ πενίας ἔρως ποτὲ ἴσησεν." "εἰ οὖν," ἔφη, "δύο Ἄθηνῃς δημαγωγοὶ γενολοσθην ἐπανοῦντες τῶν Ἁριστείδην ἅρτε ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος ἡκοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν γράφοι στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πλουτῶν ἀφίκται μηδὲ βίον ἐαυτῷ ξυνειλοχῶς μηδένα, ἀλλὰ πενέστατος μὲν Ἀθηναίων, πενέστερος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ δ' αὐ τοιοῦτοί τι γράφοι ψήφισμα· ἐπειδὴ Ἁριστείδης οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸ δυνατὸν τῶν ξυμμάχων τάξας.
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
τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔκαστοι γῆς ἔχονσι, τῆς τε ὀμοιοίας αὐτῶν ἐπεμελήθη τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀχθομένους δοκεῖν φέρειν ταύτα, δεδόχθω στεφανοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη, ἀρ’ οὐκ ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν προτέρα γνώμῃ κἂν ἀντειπεῖν αὐτὸς, ὡς οὐκ ἀξία τῶν ἐαυτῷ βεβιωμένων, εἰ εἰφ’ οἶς οὐκ ἄδικεῖ τιμῶ, τῆς δ’ ἰσως ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαινέσαι, στοχαζομένην ὁν διενοθῇ; Βλέψας γὰρ ποι ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηρ- κόων ἄμφερον ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ξυμμετρίας τῶν φόρων, καὶ τούτο μετὰ τῶν Ἀριστείδην ἐδείχθη μᾶλλον ἐπειδῆ γὰρ παραβάντες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ δόξαντας, βαρυτέρους ἐπέγραψαν ταῖς νῆσοις, διεσπάσθη μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ναυτικὴ δύναμις, ἢ μάλιστα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, παρῆλθε δὲ ἡ Δακε- δαιμονίων ἐς τὴν θάλαταν, ἄνεμευε δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδὲν, ἀλλ’ ἀπαν τὸ ὑπῆκοον ἐς νεότερα ὀρμησε καὶ ἀποστροφής ἦφασο. Δίκαιος οὖν, ὁ Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ τὸν εὐθὺν λόγον οὐχ ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, ἀλλ’ ὁ δικαιὰ μὲν αὐτὸς πράττων, καθι- στάς δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους ἐς τὸ μὴ ἄδικεῖν, καὶ φύσονται τῆς τοιαύτης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἄλλαι μὲν ἄρεται, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ δικαστική τε καὶ ἡ νομοθετική. δικάσει μὲν γὰρ τοιὸσδε πολλῷ δικαιότερον ἢ οἱ κατὰ τῶν τομίων ὁμοίωτες, νομοθετήσει δὲ, ἐσπερ 96
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
Τοσαύτα ο Δάμις διαλεξθηναι φησιν αυτοὺς υπὲρ ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, καὶ τὸν 'Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμφή-
σαι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς γὰρ ὑμιῶς λεγομένους ξυμβαί-
νειν. φιλοσοφήσαντες δὲ καὶ περί ψυχῆς, ὡς
ἀθάνατος εἶη, καὶ περί φύσεως παραπλήσια ταῖς
Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαιῳ δόξαις, περὶ τε τῶν παρ'
"Ελλησι νόμων πλεῖον διαλεξθέντες, "ἐμοί," εἶπεν
ὁ 'Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἡ δεύρο ὁδὸς ὑμῶν τε ἔνεκα καὶ
tῶν τοῦ Νεῖλον πηγῶν ἐγένετο, ἂς μέχρι μὲν
Ἀγυπτίου προέλθοντι ξυγγνώμη ἀγροῆσαι, προ-
χωρήσαντει δὲ ἐπ' Ἀἰθιοπίαν, ὅπως τρόπον, καὶ
ὅνειδος φέροι τὸ παρελθὲν αὐτῶς καὶ μὴ ἀρχ-
σασθαι τινας αὐτῶν λόγους." "ἰθι χαίρων," ἔφη,
"καὶ ὁ τι σοι φίλου, εὐχὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς, θείαι γάρ.
ἡγεμόνα δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσῃ τὸν πάλαι Ναυκρατίτην,
νῦν δὲ Μεμφίτην, Τιμασίωνα, τῶν τε γὰρ πηγῶν
ἐθὰς οὕτως καὶ οὕτω τι καθαρός, ὡς μὴ δεῖσθαι
tοῦ ραίνεσθαι. σοὶ δὲ, ὁ Νεῖλε, βουλόμεθα ἐφ'
ἐαυτῶν διαλεξθήναι τι." ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τῶν λόγων
οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν τῷ Ὁπολλώνιῳ, ξυνίει γὰρ αὐτῶν
δυσχερῶς διακειμένων, ἐπειδὴ ἦρα 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 Naukratis, 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
CAP. έξιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς διαλέξεως ἀνήκει συ- 
σκευασόμενος, ὡς ἔξελὼν ἀμα τῇ ἕφ, μετ’ οὐ πολὺ 
δὲ ἦκων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἀπήγγειλε μὲν οὐδὲν ἄν 
ήκουσεν, ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θαμὰ ἐγέλα· ἥρωτα δ’ 
οὐδεὶς ύπερ τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀλλ’ ἐφείδοντο τοῦ 
ἀπορρήτου.

XXIII

CAP. Τότε μὲν δὴ δεύτυρις ὑπὲρ 
μεγάλων αὐτοῦ ἐκοιμήθησαν, ἀμα δὲ τῇ 
ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς προσεπόντες ἐπορεύοντο τὴν 
ἐς τὰ ὅρη τείνουσαν ἀριστερῶ τοῦ Νεῖλου, τάδε 
ὁρῶντες λόγου άξια· οἱ Κατάδουκοι γεώδη ὅρη 
καὶ παραπλήσια τῷ Λυδῶν Τμώλῳ, κατάρρους δὲ 
ἀπ’ αὐτῶν φέρεται Νεῖλος, ἦν ἐπισπάται γῆν 
ποιῶν Αὔγυπτου. ἡ δὲ ἦχῳ τοῦ ῥεύματος κατα- 
ργυνυμένου τῶν ὅρων καὶ ψόφῳ ἀμα ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον 
ἐκτίπτοντος χαλεπῆ δοκεῖ καὶ ᾠκτή ἀκούσαί, 
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πρόσω τοῦ μετρίου προελθόντες 
ἀνέζευξαν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ ἀκούειν.

XXIV

CAP. Προϊόντω δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄμφ’ αὐτῶν 
μαστοῖ ὅρων ἐφαίνοντο παρεχόμενοι δένδρα, ὅν 
Αἰθίοπες τὰ φύλλα καὶ τῶν φλοιῶν καὶ τὸ δά- 
100
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
CAP. XXIV. Κρυον καρπὸν ἡγούνται, ἑώρων δὲ καὶ λέοντας ἄγχον τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τοιαύτα θηρία ἔτερα, καὶ ἐπιεῖε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἀπεπήδα σφῶν, ὦσπερ ἐκπεπληγμένα τοὺς ἄνθρωποις, ἐλαφοὶ δὲ καὶ δορκάδες καὶ στροφοὶ καὶ ὄνοι, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ταύτα ἑωρᾶτο, πλεῖστα δὲ οἱ βόσαγροι τε καὶ οἱ βουτραγοὶ· ξύγκειται δὲ τὰ θηρία ταύτα τὸ μὲν ἑλάφου τε καὶ ταύρου, τὸ δὲ ἀφ’ ὄντηρ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἦρηκε. καὶ οὕστως δὲ τούτων ἐνετύγχανον καὶ ἡμιβρώτως σώμασιν, οἱ γὰρ λέοντες, ἐπειδὰν θερμῆς τῆς θήρας ἐμφόρησαν, ἀτιμάζουσιν αὐτής τὰ περιττά, πιστεύουσιν, οἷμαι, τῷ καὶ αὐθες θηράσεωι.

XXV
CAP. XXV. Ένταῦθα νομάδες οἰκούσιν Λιθίοπες ἐφ’ ἁμαξῶν πεπολυσμένου, καὶ πλησίων τούτων οἱ τούς ἐλεφάντας θηρώντες, κατακόπτοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνταί ἄγοράν, οἶχον ἐπώνυμοι εἰσὶ τῆς τῶν ελεφάντων πράσεως. Νασαμώνες δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Πυγμαῖοι καὶ Σκιάποδες ἔθνη μὲν Λιθιόπων καὶ οἴδε, καθήκουσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Λιθίοπα Ὀκεανόν, ὅν μόνον ἐσπλέουσιν οἱ ἀπενεχθέντες ἄκουσις.

XXVI
CAP. XXVI. Διαλεγομένους δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἄλλο ἄλλως.
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 carcasses 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
Βοσκούσης, ἡ χώρα προσέβαλεν οἶνον βροντής συνέχειας, ἀλλὰ κοίλης ἔτη καὶ ἐν τῷ νέφει. καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ἐγγύς," ἔφη, "ὁ καταρράκτης, ὁ ἁγέτης, ὁ κατιόντων μὲν ὑστάτος, ἀνιόντων δὲ πρῶτος." καὶ στάδια δέκα ίσως προελθόντες ἰδεῖν φασι ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόμενον τὸν ὅρον μὲν οὐδὲν ἢ ἐν πρώταις ξυμβολαῖς ὁ Μαρσύας καὶ ὁ Μαίανδρος, προσευξάμενοι δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ χωρεῖν πρόσω καὶ θηρία μὲν οὐκέτι όραν, ψοφοδεῖ γὰρ φύσει ὄντα προσοικεῖν τοῖς γαληνοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ῥαγδαίοις τε καὶ ἐνήχους, ἔτερον δὲ καταρράκτου ἀκούσαι μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκά που στάδια χαλεποῦ ἦδη καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτοῦ αἰσθέσθαι, διαπλασίω μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸν τοῦ προτέρου, ὁρῶν δὲ ύψηλοτέρων ἐκπόττειν. ἐαυτοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων οὐτω τις κτυπηθῆναι τὰ ὅτα ὁ Δάμιος φησίν, ὡς αὐτὸς τε ἀναξιοῦσα τοῦ τε Ἀπολλωνίου δεῖσθαι μὴ χωρεῖν πρόσω, τὸν δὲ ἔρρωμένως ξύν τε τῷ Τιμασίωνι καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ τοῦ τρίτου καταρράκτου ἐχεσθαι, περὶ οὖ τάδε ἀπαγγειλαὶ ἥκοντα ἐπικρέμασθαι μὲν τῷ Νείλῳ κορυφᾶς ἐκεῖ σταδίων μάλιστα ὁκτὼ ύψος, τῆς δὲ ὀχθῆς τὴν ἀντικειμένην τοῖς ὀρεσίν ὄρφων εἶναι λιθοτομίας ἁρρήτου, τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἀποκρεμανυμένας τῶν ὀρῶν ὑπερπίπτειν ἐς τὴν πετρώδη ὀχθῆν, ἀναχεισθαι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τῶν Νείλου κυμασωόσας τε καὶ λευκάς. τὰ δὲ πῶθη τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμβαίνοντα πολλαπλασίας ἢ αἱ πρότεραι οὕσας καὶ τὴν πηδώσαν ἐκ
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

toûτων ἡχὸ ἐσ τὰ ὅρη, δυσήκουν ἐργάξεσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ἰερόματος. τὴν δὲ πρόσω ὅδου τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας πηγὰς ἀγοῦσαν ἀποροῦν μὲν ἐλθεὶν φασιν, ἀποροῦν δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ δαμόνων ἄδουσιν, οἶα καὶ Πινδάρῳ κατὰ σοφίαν ὑμνηταὶ περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὃ ταῖς πηγαῖς ταύταις ἐφίστησιν ὑπὲρ ξυμμετρίας τοῦ Νείλου.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII

Καταλύσαντες δὲ μετὰ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἐν κάμμῃ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας οὐ μεγάλη ἐδείπνουν μὲν περὶ ἐστέραν, ἐγκαταμηνύντες σπουδὴν παιδιᾶ, βοής δὲ ἀθρόας τῶν ἐν τῇ κάμμῃ γυναικῶν ἥκουσαν ἐπικελευμένων ἀλλήλαις ἔλειν, καὶ διώξαι, παρεκάλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἐργοῦ, οἴ δὲ ἀρπασάμενοι ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ ὁ τι ἐς χεῖρας ἐκάστῳ ξέλθοι, ἔνεκάλουν ὡσπερ ἀδικοῦμενοι τοὺς γάμους. ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ἀρὰ τῇ κάμμῃ δέκατον ἥδη μήνα σατύρου φάσμα λυττῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γύναια, καὶ δύο ἀπεκτονέαν σφῶν ἐλέγητο, δὲν μᾶλλον ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν. ἐκπλαγέντων οὖν τῶν ἐταίρων, "μὴ δέδωτε," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὑβρίζει γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα σάτυρος." "νὴ Δίς," ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος,

106
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."
CAP. XXVII

"ὅν γε ἡμεῖς οἱ Γυμνοὶ χρόνῳ ἦδη ὑβρίζοντα μήπω μετεστήσαμεν τοῦ σκιρτᾶν." "ἀλλὰ ἔστιν," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ τοὺς ύβριστὰς τούτους φάρμακον, ὃ λέγεται Μίδας ποτὲ χρήσασθαι: μετείχε μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τῶν σατύρων γένους ὁ Μίδας οὗτος, ὡς ἐδήλου τὰ ὅτα, σάτυρος δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰς κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐκόμαξε τὰ τοῦ Μίδου διαβάλλων ὅτα, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἄδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλῶν τούτω, ὁ δ᾽, οἶμαι, τῆς μητρὸς ἂκηκοῶς, ὅτι σάτυρος οἶνῳ θηρευθέας, ἐπειδὰν ἐς ὑπνον καταπέσῃ, σωφρονεῖ καὶ διαλλάττεται, κρήνῃ τὴν οὕσαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰ βασίλεια κεράσας οἶνῳ ἐπαφῆκεν αὐτῇ τὸν σάτυρον, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τε καὶ ἢλω. καὶ δὲ τῇ ἑσύδεται ὁ λόγος, ἵωμεν παρὰ τὸν κομάρχην, καὶ ἢν ἔχωσιν οἱ κωμηται οἶνον, κεράσωμεν αὐτὸν τῷ σατύρῳ, καὶ ταῦτα τῷ Μίδου πείσεται." ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ ἀμφορέας Ἀγνυπτίους τέτταρας οἰνοχόρησας ἐς ληνόν, ἀφ᾽ ἂς ἔπινε τὰ ἐν τῇ κόμη πρόβατα, ἐκάλει τὸν σάτυρον ἀφανὸς τι ἐπιπλήττων, ὁ δὲ οὕπω μὲν ἔσχάτῳ, ὑπεδίδον δὲ ὁ οἶνος, ὡσπερ πινόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξεπόθη, "σπεισόμεθα, ἐφη, "τῷ σατύρῳ, καθεύδει γάρ." καὶ εἴπον ταῦτα ἤγείτο τοῖς κωμηταις ἐς Νημφῶναντρον, πλέθρον οὕπω ἀπέχον τῇς κόμης, ἐν δὲ καθεύδουτα δεῖξας αὐτὸν ἅπεχεσθαι εἰπε τοῦ παίειν ἤ λοιδορεῖσθαι οἱ, "πέπανται γὰρ
running amuck here." "Yes, by Zeus," said Nilus, "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
Καταβάντας δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ Ἀλβισιάς ἦ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἑυφράτην διαφορὰ τὸτε μᾶλλον ἐπέδωκε ἐκ τῶν ὀσμέραι διαλέξεων, ἐπέτρεπε δὲ αὐτὰς Μενίππῳ τε καὶ Νεῖλῳ, σμικρὰ ἐπιτιμῶν αὐτός τῷ Ἑυφράτῃ, τοῦ δὲ Νείλου σφόδρα ἐπεμελεῖτο.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίτος ἦρηκε τὰ Σόλυμα καὶ νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν πάντα, τὰ ὦμορά τε ἐθνὶ ἐστεφάνουν αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ οὖ κ ἥξιον ἑαυτὸν τούτου, μὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

this exploit of Apollonius, and, by heavens, we may CHAP. 
XXVII 
call it not an incidental work in passing, but a master-
work 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 wear-
ing 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 CHAP. 
XXVIII 
breach with Euphrates grew wider and wider, 
especially on account of daily disputes and discus-
sions; 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 CHAP. 
XXIX 
country all round was filled with corpses, the neigh-
bouring races offered him a crown; but he dis-
claimed any such honour to himself, saying that it 

1 I try to render the pun of the original.
CAP. XXIX

ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι, θεῷ δὲ ὑργὴν φήμαντι ἐπιδεδω-
κέναι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας, ἔπινει ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ταῦτα, γνώμη τε γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἑφαίνετο καὶ
ξύνεσις ἀνθρωπεῖων τε καὶ θείων, καὶ σωφροσύνης
μεστὰν τὸ μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐφ' αἶματι. Ξυπνάττει
δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν, ἡς διάκονον ποιεῖται
τῶν Δάμιν, καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ὁδὲ:

"Ἀπολλώνιος Τίτῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων χαίρειν.
Μὴ βουληθέντι σοι ἐπ' αἶχμῃ κηρύττεσθαι, μηδ' ἐπὶ δηφὺς αἶματι, δίδωμι ἐγὼ τὸν σωφροσύνης στέ-
φανον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' οἷς δὲι στεφανοῦσθαι, γυγνώσκεις. ἔρρωσον."

Τεπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ Τίτος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, "καὶ ὑπὲρ
ἐμαυτοῦ," ἐφη, "χάριν οἰδά σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
πατρός, καὶ μεμνήσομαι τούτων, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
Σόλυμα ἥρηκα, σὺ δὲ ἐμέ."
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-
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS


XXXI

CAP. "Ἐμοὶ δὲ," εἶπεν, "ὁ Τυμενώ, περὶ ἄρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας τί ὑποθήσῃ;" "ἂ γε," ἐφη, "σεαυτὸν

II 14
thing in respect of which he consulted you; and Chap. lo, 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.”

XXXI

“And for myself, O man of Tyana,” answered Chap. Titus, “can you give me any precepts as to how

XXXI

115
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.

XXXII

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
CAP. XXXII

τὸν θάνατον ἐκ θαλάττης ἐλθεῖν.” ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις ὄδε ἐρμηνεύει: φυλάττεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν αἰχμήν τῆς τρυγόνος, ἢ τὸν Ἡδυσσέα βεβλήσθαι φασί, δυοῖν δὲ ἑτοῖν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τὴν ἀρχήν κατασχόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου λαγὼ ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τούτον παρέχεσθαι χυμοὺς ἀπορρήτους ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ γῆ ἀνδροφόνα, καὶ Νέρωνα μὲν ἐσποιῆσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὄψοις τὸν λαγὸν τούτον ἑπὶ τοὺς πολεμιστάτους, Δομετιανὸν δὲ ἑπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τίτον, οὗ τὸ ξὺν ἀδελφῷ ἀρχεῖν δεινὸν ἡγούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ξὺν πρᾶψι τε καὶ χρηστῷ. τοιαύτα διαλεχθέντες ἴδια περιεβαλὼν ἀλλήλους ἐν φανερῷ, ἀπιόντα δὲ προσευπὼν, "νίκα, ὁ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν πολέμιους ὀπλοῖς, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἁρεταῖς."

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII

'Ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπιστολὴ ὃδε εἰχεῖν: Ἀπολλώνιος φιλόσοφος Δημήτριῳ κυιλ χαίρειν.

Διδωμί σε βασιλεί Τίτω διδάσκαλον τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἥθους, σὺ δὲ ἀληθεύσαι τέ μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν δίδου καὶ γύγνου αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὀργῆς, πάντα, ἐρρωσο.
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 Domitiah 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."
Now the inhabitants of Tarsus had previously detested Apollonius, because of the violent reproaches which he addressed to them, owing to the fact that through their languid indifference and sensual indolence they could not put up with the vigour of his remarks. But on this occasion they became such devoted admirers of our hero as to regard him as their second founder and the mainstay of their city. For on one occasion the Emperor was offering a sacrifice in public, when the whole body of citizens met and presented a petition to him asking for certain great favours; and he replied that he would mention the matter to his father, and be himself their ambassador to procure them what they wanted; whereupon Apollonius stepped forward and said: "Supposing I convicted some who are standing here of being your own and your father's enemies, and of having sent legates to Jerusalem to excite a rebellion, and of being the secret allies of your most open enemies, what would happen to them?" "Why, what else," said the Emperor, "than instant death?" "Then is it not disgraceful," replied Apollonius, "that you should be instant in demanding their punishment, and yet dilatory in conferring a boon; and be ready yourself to undertake the punishment, but reserve the benefaction until you can see and consult your father?" But the king, over-delighted with this remark, said: "I grant the favours they ask for, for my father will not be annoyed at my yielding to truth and to yourself."
Τοσσάντα ἐθνη φασίν ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλόνιον σπουδάζοντα τε καὶ σπουδαζόμενον. αἱ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἀποδημίαι πολλαὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο τῷ ἄνδρι, οὐ μὴν τοσσάντα γε ἔτι, οὐδὲ ἐς ἑτερά ἑθνη πλὴν ᾧ ἐγών, περὶ τε γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττη Ἀγγυπτον καταβάντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας διατριβὴ πλείων ἐγένετο, περὶ τε Φοίνικας καὶ Κύκλικας Ἰονᾶς τε καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἰταλοὺς πάλιν, οὐδαμοῦ ἐκλείποντι τὸ μὴ οὐχ ὀμοίω φαίνεσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γυνῶν ἕαυτὸν δοκοῦντος, χαλεπώτερον ἔγωγε ἤγομαι τὸ μὲν τὸν σοφὸν ἕαυτῷ ὅμοιον, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς ποιηρῶς φύντας ἐς τὸ λόγον μεταστήσει, μὴ πρότερον ἔξασκήσας τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς μεθίστασθαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ ἰκανῶς ἑίρηκα, διδάσκων τοὺς μὴ μαλακῶς αὐτοῖς ὁμολοῦντας, ὅτι τὸν ἀτεχνῶς ἄνδρα μὴτε μεταστήσει τι μὴτε δουλώσεται. ὡς δὲ μὴτε ἐς λόγῳν ἱομεν μὴκος, ἀκριβῶς ἀναδιάδοσκοντες τὰ παρ’ ἐκάστος αὐτῷ φιλοσοφηθέντα, μὴ τ’ αὐ διαπηδότες φαινομεθα λόγον, δι’ οὐκ ἀπόνως παραδίδομεν τοὺς ἀπείρους τοῦ ἄνδρος, δοκεῖ μοι τὰ σπουδαῖότερα ἐπελθεῖν τούτων καὶ ὀπόσα μνήμης ἄξιόωσεται. ἤγομεθα δὲ αὐτὰ παραπλήσια ταῖς τῶν Ἀσκληπιιάδῶν ἐπιδημίαις.

124.
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.
Μειράκιον ἔαυτοῦ μὲν ἀπαίδευτως ἔχε, τοὺς δὲ ὄρνης ἐπάϊδευε, καὶ ξυνοίκους ἐπὶ σοφία ἐποιεῖτο· ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτοὺς λαλεῖν τε ὅσα οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ τερετίζειν ὅσα αὐλοῖ. τούτῳ περιτυχών, "τί," ἔφη, "ἐπιτηδεύεις;" ἔπει δὲ τάς τε ἀγδόνας αὐτῷ διήκο ναί καὶ τοὺς κοψίχους καὶ ὅπόσα εὐγλωττίζοι τοὺς χαραδρίους, τὴν φωνὴν δὲ ἀπαίδευτον ἐφαίνετο, "δοκεῖς μοι," ἔφη, "διαφθείρειν τοὺς ὄρνης, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μὴ ξυγχωρείν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἑαυτῶν φθέγμα, οὕτως ἢν δὲν, ὡς μηδ' ἂν τὰ μουσικὰ τῶν ὄργανων ἐσ μήμησιν αὐτοῦ καταστήματο, ἔτα καὶ τῷ κάκιστα Ἑλλήνων αὐτὸς διαλεγόμενος, μαθητάς αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ἄφωνιας. ἐπιτρίβεις δ', ὃ μειράκιον, καὶ τὸν σεαντοῦ ὅικον βλέψαντι γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ἀκολούθους καὶ ὡς κατεσκεύασα, τῶν ἄβρων ἔμοιγε καὶ οὐκ ἀπλούστων φαίνῃ, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ὑποβλέπτουσιν οἱ συκοφάνται, κέντρα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἠρέμοντο τὴν γλῶτταν. καὶ τὶ χρήσῃ τῇ φιλορυθίᾳ τότε; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πασῶν ἀγδόνων μέλη ξυμφέρων ἀποσοβῆσεις αὐτοῦς ἐγκεκρίμενος τε καὶ ἐρείδοντας, ἀλλ' ἐπαντλεῖν χρὴ τῶν ὄντων, καὶ προβάλλειν αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον, ὡσπερ τὰ μειλύγματα τοῖς

126
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 uneducated accent—Apollonius said: "I think you are spoiling the accents of the birds, in the first place because you don't let them utter their own notes, which are so sweet that not even the best musical instruments could rival or imitate them, and in the second place because you yourself talk the vilest Greek dialects and are only teaching them to stutter like yourself. And what is more, my good youth, you are also wasting your own substance; for when I look at all your 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, κάν ὑλακτώσων, αὕθις διδόναι καὶ αὕθις, εἴτα αὐτὸν πεινήν ὑστερον καὶ ᾨπορεῖν.

Δεὶ δὲ σοι ἐκτροπῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἁδητικῶς τῶν τρόπων, ὡς μὴ λάθης πτερορρύθησας τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ ἀξίως πράττων τοῦ θρηνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπ’ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἅδεσθαι. τὸ δὲ φάρμακον τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐ μέγα, ἐστὶ γὰρ τί ἐν ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, ὃ σὺ οὕτω μὲν γυγνόσκεις, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ διδασκάλους· τούτοις ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας μικρὰ δοὺς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτήσῃ τὰ πλείω, ῥητορικὴν γὰρ σε παιδεύσουσι τὴν τῶν ἀγοραίων, ῥάδια δὲ ἡ τέχνη. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παῖδα σε ἐώρων ἐτί, ξυνεβούλευον ἄν φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ φιλοσόφων τε καὶ σοφιστῶν θύρας, καὶ σοφία πάση τὴν ὁικίαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ φράττειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξώρος τούτων τυγχάνεις ὃν, τὸ γοῦν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ λέγειν ἐκμαθε, νομίσας, εἰ μὲν τὰ τελεότερα ἐμαθεῖς, κἀν ὀμοίως ἀνδρὶ ὑπελείπουσί τε καὶ φοβερῷ δόξαι, ταύτα δὲ ἐκμαθών τὴν τῶν ψυλῶν τε καὶ σφενδονητῶν σκευὴν ἐξεις· βάλλοις γὰρ ἀν τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὡσπερ τοὺς κύνας.” ξυνῆκε τὸ μειράκιον τούτων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀρνίθων διατρίβας ἐκλιπῶν ἐς διδασκάλων ἐβάδισεν, ὑφ’ ὁν καὶ ἡ γνώμη αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα ἴσχυσεν.
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 sling 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.
XXXVII

Δυοίν δὲ λόγοι ἐν Σάρδησι λεγομένοιν, τοῦ μὲν, ὡς ὁ Πακτωλός ποτέ τῷ Κροίσῳ ψήγμα χρυσοῦ ἄγοι, τοῦ δὲ, ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς γῆς εἶχε τὰ δέντρα, τὸν μὲν πιθανῶς ἔφη πεπιστεύσθαι, χρυσία γὰρ εἶναι ποτε τῷ Τμόλῳ ψαμμώδῃ καὶ τοὺς ὄμβρους αὐτὰ φέρειν ἐς τὸν Πακτωλὸν κατασύροντας, χρόνῳ δὲ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλεπτεῖν αὐτὰ ἀποκλυσθέντα. τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου λόγου καταγελάσας, "ὑμεῖς μέν," ἔφη, "προγενέστερα τῆς γῆς φατε εἶναι τὰ δέντρα, ἐγώ δὲ πολὺν οὕτω χρόνον φιλοσοφήσας οὕτω ἐγών οὐρανοῦ προγενεστέρους ἁστέρας," διδάσκον ὅτι μηδὲ ἂν γένοιτο τι τοῦ ἐν ὅ φύεται μὴ ὄντος.

XXXVIII

Στασιάζοντος δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἀρχοντος καὶ καθεντος ἐς αὐτοῖς ὑποψίας, ύφ' ὅν διεισητήκασαν ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλις, σεισμοῦ δὲ γενναίου προσπεσόντος, ἐπτήξαν καὶ ὅπερ ἐν διοσημίαις εἰσέθεν, ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ἡμέτερον. παρελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὁ μὲν θεός," ἔφη, "διαλακτής ὑμῶν σαφῆς γέγονεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδέ ἂν αὕτης στασιάσατε, τὰ αὐτὰ φοβοῦμενοι," καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐς ἐννοιαν ὃν πείσονται, καὶ ὡς ταῦτα τοῖς ἑτέρους φοβήσονται.

130
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 earthquake happening to occur, they were all cowering, and as is usual in the case of heavenly portents, praying for one another. Apollonius accordingly stepped forward and remarked: "It is God who is clearly anxious to reconcile you to one another, and you will not revive these feuds since you cherish the same fears." And so he implanted in them a sense of what was to happen to them, and made each faction entertain the same fears as the other.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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
Δεσπότην, ϕ πλούτος ἐκ τῶν παρανομωτάτων πεπόριστο, τὰς Φοινίκων οὐσίας ἐνδεικνύτι, "χωρίον," ἐφη, "τὸ δέινα πόσου ἐπρίῳ καὶ τί πεπόνηται σοι ἐσ αὐτό;" τοῦ δὲ πέρυσι μὲν ἐωνήσθαι τὸν ἀγρόν, πεντακισικιλίων δὲ καὶ μυρίων φήσαντος, οὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκπεποιηκέναι τι, πείθει τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἀποδόσθαι οἱ δισμυρίων αὐτῶν, εὐρήμα ποιησάμενον τὰς πεντακισικιλιάς. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐρῶν οὐτὼ ξυνίει τοῦ δώρου, ἀλλ' οὖν ὅτε ἦσα ἔχειν, τοσοῦτος δὲ ἐλάττω, ὅσο τὰς μὲν δισμυρίας ἐν ταῖν χερῶν οὐσίας ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ εἶναι ἂν, τοῦ δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπὶ πάχνιαις κείσεσθαι καὶ χαλάζας καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις, ἃ τοὺς καρποὺς φθείρει ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμφορέα μὲν τρισχιλίων δαρεικῶν αὐτίκα εὑρε περὶ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ κηπίῳ σμήνος, εὐφόρου δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἐλαίας καρποῦ ἔτυχεν, οὔκ εὐφοροῦσης τότε τῆς ἀλλης γῆς, ὑμνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδοὺτο καὶ μυηστήρων θεραπευόντων αὐτῶν πλέα ἢν πάντα.

XL

Κάκεινα ἄξιομνημόνευτα εὑρόν τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἔραν τοῖς ἐδόκει τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐδους δ ἐν Κυίδορ 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

ἀναθήσεων ἐφασκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, Ἀπολλωνίῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ἄτοπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα, ἐπει δὲ μὴ παρηγείτο ἡ Κυίδος, ἀλλ’ ἐναργεστέραν ἐφασαν τὴν θεὸν δόξεων, εἰ ἐρώτο, ἐδοξε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καθήρας τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἀνοίας ταύτης, καὶ ἐρομένων τῶν Κυιδίων αὐτῶν, εἰ τι βούλοιτο τῶν θυτικῶν ἡ εὐκτικὸν διορθοῦσθαι, “ὀφθαλμοῦς,” ἔφη, “διορθώσομαι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάτρια ἐχέτω, ως ἔχει.”

καλέσας οὖν τὸν θρυπτόμενον ἱρετό αὐτῶν, εἰ θεοὺς νενόμικε, τοῦ δ’ οὕτω νομίζειν θεοὺς φήσαντος, ως καὶ ἔραν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν γάμων μημονευσαντος, οὕς θύσειν ἠγείτο, “σὲ μὲν ποιητῇ,” ἔφη, “ἐπαίροσι τοὺς Ἦγχισας τε καὶ τοὺς Πηλέας θεαὶς ξυγγηναι εἰπόντες, ἐγώ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἑρᾶσθαι τὸδε γυμνόσκως θεοὶ θεῶν, ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπων, θηρίᾳ θηρίων, καὶ καθάπαξ ὁμοίᾳ ὁμοίων ἔρα ἐπὶ τῷ ἑτυμα καὶ ξυγγενῆ τίκτευν, τὸ δὲ ἐτερογενὲς τῷ μὴ ὁμοίῳ ξυγγενὸν οὕτε ξυγγὸς οὕτε ἔρως. εἰ δὲ ἐνεδυμοῦ τὰ Ἰξίωνος, οὔδ’ ἀν ἐς ἐννοιαν καθίστασο τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίων ἐρᾶν. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τροχῷ εἰκασμένος δι’ οὐρανοῦ κνάμπτεται, σὺ δ’, εἰ μὴ ἄπει τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀπολεῖ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῇ, οὔδ’ ἀντεπεὶ ἐχων τὸ μὴ οὐ δίκαια τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ σοὶ γυνῶν.” ὠδὲ 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
CAP. ἐσβέσθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ φάσκων ἐρᾶν, ὑπὲρ ξυγγνώμης θύσας.

XLI

CAP. Σεισμῶν δὲ κατασχόντων ποτὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ ἁριστερῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, Αἴγυπτιοι μὲν καὶ Χαλδαῖοι περὶ αὐτὰς ἤγείροντο ὑπὲρ ξυλλογῆς χρημάτων, ὡς δεκαταλάκτους θυσίας Ι' ἡ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύσιντες, ξυπέφερον δ’ αἱ πόλεις τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκῶν, ὑποκείμενοι τῷ φόβῳ, οἴ δὲ, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ἐκτεθείη τὸ ἀργύριον, οὐκ ἂν ἐφασαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θύσιας. δοκεῖ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλησποντίους. καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τοὺς μὲν ἀπήλασεν ὡς θησαυρὸν πεποιημένως τὰ ἔτερα κακά, τὰς δὲ αὐτίς τῶν μηνιμάτων ξυλλαβῶν καὶ ὡς ἐκάστη πρόσφορον θύσας, ἀπεύξατο τὴν προσβολὴν δαπάνη σμικρὰ, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἔστη.

XLII

CAP. Δομετιανοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων εὐνούχους τε μὴ ποιεῖν νομοθετήσαντος, ἀμπέλους τε μὴ φυτεύειν ἐτὶ καὶ τὰς πεφυτευμένας δὲ αὐτῶν 138
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.

XLI

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

CAP. XLII ἐκκόπτειν, παρελθόν ἐς τοὺς Ἰωνίας ὁ Ἀπολλάνιος, "τὰ μὲν προστάγματα οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ," ἔφη, "ταῦτα, μόνος γὰρ ἵς ἄνθρωποι οὐτε αἰδοῖων δέομαι οὐτε οἶνου, λέληθη δὲ ο θαυμασιώτατος τῶν μὲν ἄνθρωπων φειδόμενος, τὴν δὲ γῆν εὐνουχίζων." ὅθεν ἐς θάρσος ἢ Ἰωνία ἠλθε πρεσβεύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὲρ ἁμπέλων καὶ παραφησάσθαι νόμον, ὅσ ἐκέλευε καὶ ὁδοῦσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ μὴ φυτεύσθαι.

XLIII

Κάκεινα ἐν Ταρσοίς τοῦ ἄνθρος ἁδουσιν κυνω ἐνεπεπτώκει ἐφήβων λυττών, καὶ ἄπηγε τῶν ἐφήβων τοῦ δήμα εἰς τὰ τῶν κυνῶν πάντα, ὑλίκτει τε γὰρ καὶ ὁρύετο καὶ τετράπους ἐθει τῷ κεφρ οὐκέχων τῷ δρόμῳ νοσούντος δ' αὐτῷ τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν ἐφίσταται μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλάνιος ἄρτι ἐς τοὺς Ταρσοὺς ἦκων, κελεύει δὲ ἀνίκηθηναί οἱ τῶν κύων, ὅσ ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, οἱ δ' οὕτε ἐνετυχήκειν τῷ κυνῷ ἐφασαν, ἔξω γὰρ τείχους εἰλήφθαι αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐφήβου πρὸς ἀκοντίος ὄντος, οὐτ' ἂν τοῦ νοσοῦντος μαθεῖν, ἓτις ἢ ἱδέα τοῦ κυνοῦ, ἐπεὶ μηδε αὐτῶν ἔτι οἴδει. ἐπισχέων οὖν, "ὁ Δάμι," ἔφη, "λευκὸς ὁ κυνὸς λάσιος προβατευτικὸς Ἄμφιλοχικῶ ὦς, προσέτηκε δὲ τῇ δεινῇ κρήνῃ τρέμουν, τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ καὶ ποθεῖ καὶ δέδοικεν ἃγε μοι τούτον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην, ἔφ' ἐς 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 Amphilocheian 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
ΚΑΡ. αἱ παλαίστραι, μόνον εἰπὼν, ὅτι ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ καλοῦτο." ἔλεγεις δὲ ὁ κύρων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος, ὑπεκλίθη τοῖς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ποσίν, ὡσπερ οἱ βωμοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κλαίων, ὁ δὲ ἡμέρου τε αὐτῶν ἐτί μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπράνυε, τὸν ἐφηβῶν τε ἑστη ἐγγὺς ξυνέχων αὐτός, ὡς δὲ μὴ λάθοι τοὺς πολλοὺς μέγα ἀπόρρητον, "μεθέστηκε μέν," ἐφη, "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἡ Τηλέφου ψυχῆ τοῦ Μυσοῦ, Μοῖραι δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ταῦτα βουλοῦνται," καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε τὸν κύνα περιλιχμήσασθαι τὸ δήγμα, ὡς ἰατρὸς αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ τρώσας γένοιτο. ἐπεστράφη τὸ ἐντεύθεν ἐς τὸν πατέρα ὁ παῖς καὶ ξυνήκε τῆς μητρὸς, προσεύπτε τε τοὺς ἥλικας καὶ ἔπιε τοῦ Κύδνου, περιόφθη δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ κύρων, ἀλλὰ κάκεινον εὐξάμενος τῷ ποταμῷ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἤκεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ διέβη τὸν Κύδνου, ἐπιστᾶς τῇ ὅχθῃ φωνὴν τε ἀφῆκεν, ὡς ἐκιστα περὶ τοὺς λυττώντας τῶν κυνῶν ξυμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ ὅτα ἀνακλάσας ἐσειρε τὴν οὐράν, ξυνεὶς τοῦ ἔρρωθαι, φαρμακοποσία γὰρ λύττης ὄδωρ, ἡνθαρσίη αὐτὸ ὁ λυττῶν.

Τοιαύτα τοῦ ἀνδρός τὰ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν τε καὶ πόλεων καὶ τὰ πρὸς δήμους καὶ ὑπὲρ δήμων, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τεθνεῶτων ἡ νοσοῦντων, καὶ τὰ πρὸς σοφοὺς τε καὶ μῆ σοφοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέας, οἱ ξύμβουλοι 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
Η'

Ι

ΣΑΡ. Οἶδα καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας, ὡς ἔστιν ἀριστή βάσινος ἀνδρῶν, φιλοσοφοῦντων, καὶ ξυνχωρῶ σκοπεῖν, ὁ τι ἐκαστος ἐπέρου ἦττων ἢ μᾶλλον ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν, ὁ λόγος δὲ μοι ξυντείνει εἰς τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὕς Δομετίανος ἔτυράννυσε, περιέστησαν τὸν ἀνδρα κατηγορίαι καὶ γραφαί, ὅπως μὲν ἀρξάμενα καὶ ὅποθεν καὶ ὃ τι ἐπάστη ὄνομα, δηλῶσῳ αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη λέξαι, τί μὲν εἰπῶν, τίς δὲ εἶναι δόξας ἀπῆλθε τῆς κρίσεως, ἐλὼν μᾶλλον τὸν τύραννον ἢ ἄλοις αὐτός, δοκεῖ μοι διελθεῖν πρὸ τούτων, ὅποσα εὑρὼν ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τυράννους ἔργα, παραδεικνύειν τε αὐτὰ τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίοις· χρή γὰρ που τάληθες οὕτω μαστεύειν.

II

ΣΑΡ. Ζήνων μὲν τοῖνυν ὁ Ἐλεάτης, διαλεκτικῆς δὲ οὕτως δοκεῖ ἄρξαι, τὴν Νεάρχου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καταλύουν τυραννίδα ἢλω, καὶ στρεβλωθεῖν 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,
CAP. έαυτοῦ ξυνωμότας ἀπεσιώπησεν, οἳ δ' ἦσαν τῷ τυράννῳ βέβαιοι, διαβαλῶν τούτους ὡς οὐ βεβαίους, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀληθείᾳ ταῖς αὐτίκαις ἀπέθανον, ὃ δ' ἐλευθερα τὰ Μυσῶν ἦγαγε τὴν τυραννίδα περὶ ἐαυτῆς σφῆλας. Πλάτων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σικελιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα φησιν ἄρασθαι, συλλαβῶν τῆς διανοίας ταύτης Δίων. Φύτων δὲ Ἡρηνίου ἑκκεσιού κατέφυγε μὲν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον, μειζόνων δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἢ τὸν φεύγοντα εἰκός, ξυνῆκε μὲν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Ηρηνίου ἔρρη, Ἡρηνίων δ' ἐπιστελὼν ταύτα ἥλω, καὶ ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἔνοδος τῶν μηχανημάτων ἀνάψεως αὐτῶν ξύνωτα προσήγαγε τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὡς μὴ βάλοις οἱ Ἡρηνίοι τὸ μηχάνημα φειδοῖ τοῦ Φύτωνος, ὃ δὲ ἐβόα βάλλειν, σκοπὸς γὰρ αὐτῶς ἐλευθερίας εἶναι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Πύθων οἱ Κότυν ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Ἐράκα νεανία μὲν ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι, ταῖς δὲ Ἀκαδημίους διατριβᾶς ἐπαινούντες σοφῶ τε ἐγενέσθην καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθερώ. τα τῷ Ἀκαδημίους τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου τῷ οὐκ οἴδεν; ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπαινεῖτας τὸ καὶ διαβαλῶν Μακεδόνας, ὅτε μέγιστοι δυνάμει ἦσαν, ἀπέθανεν ἀθώδης δόξας. Διογένης δὲ ὁ Ζιωπεύς καὶ Κράτης ὁ Ἐθθαῖος, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺ Χαιρωνείας ἦκών ἐπέπληξεν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων Φιλόππωρ περὶ δὲν, Ἡρακλείδης εἶναι φάσκων, ἀπώλευ ὁπλοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκείνων.
though he accused of disloyalty those who were loyal to the tyrant, with the result that, whereas they were put to death on the assumption that his accusations 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 himself 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, however, 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ὅτα ἡμένους, ὁ δ’ ἀνοικεῖν Θήβας Ἀλεξάνδρου
dii αὐτὸν φήσαντος οὐκ ἂν ἔφη δεηθῆναι πατρίδος,
ἡν κατασκάψει τις ὁπλοῖς ἱσχύσας. καὶ λέγοιτο
μὲν ἂν πολλὰ τοιαύτα, ὁ λόγος δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ
μῆκος, τῷ γε ἀνάγκην ἔχοντι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντεπεῖν,
οὐχ ὡς οὐ καλὰ ἢ οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ πᾶσιν,
ἀλλ’ ὡς ἢπτω τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου, κἂν ἄριστα
ἐτέρων φαίνηται.

III

CAP. Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ἔργον καὶ οἱ τῶν
Κότυν ἀπεκτονότες οὕτω ἄξιόλογα, Ὀράκας γὰρ
καὶ Γέτας δουλοῦσθαι μὲν ῥάδιον, ἐλευθεροῦν δὲ
eὐθεῖας, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ χαίρουσιν, ἀτε,
οἶμαι, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἠγούμενοι τὸ δουλεύειν. Πλά-
των δὲ ὡς μὲν οὗ σοφὸν τι ἔπαθε τὰ ἐν Σικελία
διορθούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Ἀθήνησιν, ἢ ὡς
εἰκότως ἐπράθη σφαλεῖς τε καὶ σφήλας, οὐ λέγω
διὰ τοὺς δυσχερῶς ἀκροῳμένους. τὰ δὲ τοῦ
Ῥηγίνου πρὸς Διονύσιον μὲν ἐτολμᾶτο τυραν-
νεύσοντα οὐ βεβαίως Σικελίας, ὁ δ’ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου
πάντως ἀποθανόν ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ Ῥηγίνων
ἐβλήθη, θαυμαστοῦν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν ἐπραττεῖ, τὸν
150
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
CAP. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐτέρων ἐλευθερίας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ δουλείας αἱροῦμενος. Καλλισθένης δὲ τὸ δόξαι κακὸς οὖθ' ἂν νῦν διαφύγοι, τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπαύνεσας καὶ διαβαλὼν, ἡ διέβαλεν, οὐς ἐνόμισεν ἐπαίνου ἄξιοις, ἡ ἐπηνεσεν, οὐς ἐχθῆν διαβάλλοντα φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀλλὰς ὃ μὲν καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἔχει ἀποδράναι τὸ μὴ οὗ δόξαι βάσκανος, ὃ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς κολακεύων ἐπαίνους αὐτὸς ἀποίσεται τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων σφίσιν, οἱ γὰρ κακὸς κακίους ἐπαινοῦμενοι. Διογένης δὲ πρὸ Χαιρωνείας μὲν εἰπὼν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον κἂν ἐφύλαξε τὸν ἄνδρα καθαρὸν τῶν ἑτ' Ἀθηναίους ὅπλων, εἰργασμένοις δ'' ἐπιστὰς ὄνειδίξε μὲν, οὐ μὴν διωρθοῦτο. Κράτης δὲ καὶ αἰτίαν ἃν λάβοι πρὸς ἄνδρος φιλοσόλων μὴ εὐναράμενος Ἀλέξάνδρῳ τῆς βουλῆς, ὃ ἐς τὸ ἀνοικίσας τὰς Θῆβας ἐχρήτο. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ οὐθ' ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κυνδυνευούσης δείσας, οὐτε τοῦ σώματος ἀπογονοῖς, οὐτ' ἐς ἀνοὴτος ὑπαχθεῖς λόγοις, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ Μυσῶν ἢ Γετῶν, οὐτε πρὸς ἄνδρα, δι ήρχε νῆσου μᾶς ἡ χώρας οὐ μεγάλης, ἀλλ' υφ' ἡθαλαττά τε ἢν καὶ γῆ πᾶσα, πρὸς τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ πικρῶς ἐτυράννευε, παρέττατεν ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων κέρδους, χρησάμενος μὲν τῇ διανοιᾷ ταύτη καὶ πρὸς Νέρωνα.
wonderful: he only preferred to die in behalf of 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.
"Ἡγεῖσθο δ' οὖν τις ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἑκείνα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὀμόσε χωρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Βίνδικα ἐπιρρωνύς καὶ τὸν Τυγελλίνον ἐκπλήττων σαθροτέραν τὴν τυραννίδα ἐποίει, καὶ τις ἀναφύεται λόγος ἀλαξῶν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς οὖν ἦν γενναῖον ἐπιθέσθαι Νέρωνι παλτρίας τινὸς ἢ αὐλητρίδος βίον ἵωντι· ἀλλὰ περί γε Δομετιανοῦ τί φήσουσιν; ὅσ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔρροτο, ἡδονὰς δὲ τὰς μὲν ἔξ ὀργάνων τε καὶ κτύπων τὰς τὸ θυμοειδές ἀπομαραννόσας παρητεῖτο, τὰ δὲ ἐτέρων ἁχὴ καὶ ὁ τι ὀλοφύραιτό τις, ἐς τὸ εὐφραίνων εἶλκε, τὴν δ' ἀπιστίαν δήμων μὲν ἐκάλει πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους φυλακτήριον, τυράννων δὲ πρὸς πάντας, τὴν δὲ νῦκτα πάντων μὲν ἑργῶν ἥζιοι παύειν βασιλέα, φόνων δὲ ἀρχεῖν, ὅθεν ἢκροτηριάσθη μὲν ἡ βουλή τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους, φιλοσοφία δὲ οὕτω τι ἔπτηξεν, ὡς ἀποβαλόντες τὸ σχῆμα οἱ μὲν ἀποδράναι σφῶν ἐς τὴν Κελτῶν ἐσπέραν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα Διβύνης τε καὶ Σκυθίας, ἐνιοὶ δ' ἐσὶ λόγους ἀπενεχθήναι ξυμβούλους τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ὁ δ', ὡσπερ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ πεποίηται πρὸς τὸν Ὀδύσσουν ὁ Τειρεσίας ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ λέγων οὐ γὰρ τι σοὶ καὶ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ Δοξίᾳ,
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,'
CAP. Οὔτω τῇν σοφίαν δέσποιναν πεποιημένον αὐτού θεοθερος ἦν τῆς Δομετιανοῦ φορᾶς, τὰ Τειρεσίου τε καὶ Σο- φοκλέους ἐαυτῷ ἐπιθεσπίσας καὶ δεδιώς μὲν οὐδὲν ἱδιον, ἢ δὲ ἐτέρους ἀπώλυν, ἐλεῶν, ὅθεν ἡμιστη ἐπ' αὐτὸν νεότητά τε, ὅπόσην ἡ Βουλή εἴχε, καὶ ξύνεσιν, ὅπόση περὶ ἐνίους αὐτῶν ἐωράτο, φοιτῶν εἰς τὰ ἐθνικα καὶ φιλοσοφοῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὡς οὔτε ἀθάνατος ἢ τῶν τυράννων ἱσχύς, αὐτῷ τε τῷ φοβερῷ δυκείν ἀλάσκοντας μᾶλλον. διήθει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ Ἀττικά, ἐφ' ὦς Ἀρμοδίος τε καὶ Ἀριστογεῖτων ἄδονται, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔργον, ὡς καὶ τριάκοντα ὡμοί τυράννων ἐίλε, καὶ τὰ Ἀραμαίων δέ αὐτῶν διήθει πάτρια, ὡς κακαίνοι δήμος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες τὰς τυραννίδας ἐώθον ὄπλοις.

CAP. Τραγῳδίας δὲ ὑποκριτοῦ παρελθόντος ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰνοῆ τῷ δράματι, καὶ ἀκροωμένου τοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντος, δὲ καίτω νέος ὄν φανερὸς ἐν ὑπάτοις ἀτομμότερον ὕπερ τούτων διενοεῖτο, ὃ μὲν ὑποκριτης ἐπέραινεν ἢδη τὰ ιαμβεία, ἐν οἷς ὁ Εὐριπίδης διὰ μακρῶν αὐξηθέντας τοὺς τυράννους ἀλάσκεσθαι φήσιν ὕπο μικρῶν, ἀναπηδήσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλόνιος, "Ἀλλ' ὁ δειλός," ἔφη, "οὔτοις οὔτε Εὐριπίδου ξυνίησιν οὔτε ἐμοῦ." 156
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.

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.”
Καὶ μὴν καὶ λόγον ἀφικομένου, ὡς λαμπρὰν κάθαρσιν ἐγὼ Δομετιανὸς πεποιημένος τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἑστίας, ἐπειδὴ τρεῖς τῶν Ἑστιάδων ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπ’ αἰτία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῷ μὴ καθαρεύοντα γάμων, ὡς ἀγνώσ τὴν Ἰλιάδα Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ πῦρ θεραπεύειν ἐδει, “εἰ γὰρ καὶ σὺ,” ἔφη, “καθαρθείης, Ἡλια, τῶν ἁδίκων φόνων, ὅπι πᾶσι ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστή νῦν.” καὶ οὐδὲ ἤδη ταῦτα, ὁσπερ οἱ δειλοί, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ ὀμίλῳ καὶ ἐς πάντας ἐκβιωττέ τε καὶ ἡχετο.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σαβῖνον ἀπεκτονός, ἕνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εὐγγενῶν, Ἰουλίαν ἤγετο, ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία γυνὴ μὲν ἢν τοῦ πεφωνευμένου, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ ἀδελφίδη, μία τῶν Τίτου θυγατέρων, ἔθνε μὲν ἡ Ἐφεσος τοὺς γάμους, ἐπιστάτης δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὁ νῦξ,” ἔφη, “τῶν πάλαι Δαναίδων, ὡς μία ἴσθα.”

Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὅδε αὐτὸ ἐπράττετο. ἀρχῇ πρέπειν ἐδόκει Νεροῦνας, ἡς μετὰ
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 σωφρόνων ἦγατο, ἢν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὄρφετὸν τε καὶ Ὄρθοφον ἂν αὐτῆς δύξα. τούτους Δομετιανὸς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν ἐς νήσους καθείρχθησαν, Νεροῦ δὲ προσέταξεν οἰκεῖν Τάραντα; δὲν δὲ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτοὶς ὁ Ἄπολλωνιος τὸν μὲν χρόνον, δὲν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἦρξεν, ἀεὶ τι ὑπὲρ σωφροσύνης ἐπέστελλε τοὺς ἀνδράσι, προσποιῶν αὐτοὺς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὡς χρηστοῖς, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ, ἐπεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, ἀφίστη τοὺς ἀνδράς καὶ υπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἔλευθερίας ἔρρωνυ. τὰς μὲν δὴ ἐπιστολιμαίους ἐμμμονίας οὐκ ἀσφαλείᾳ αὐτοῖς ἤθετο, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ δοῦλοι προύδοσαν καὶ φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόρρητον ἔχωρησε τότε οἰκία, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑταίρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἀλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπολαμβάνων, "διάκονον," εἶπεν ἂν, "ποιοῦμαι σε ἀπορρήτου λαμπροῦ· βαδίσαι δὲ χρῆ ἐς τὴν Ὥμην παρὰ τὸν δείνα καὶ διαλέξθημαι οἱ καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πειθοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πάν ὁ τι ἐγώ." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἢκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὁρμῆς μὲν ἐνδειξάμενοι τι ἐπὶ τῶν τύραννον, ὅκυρι δὲ ἐκπεσόντες ὁι διενοθθησαν, διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης περὶ τὸ νέμος τῆς Σμύρνης, ἐν φὸ ο̣ Μέλης.
for the throne which after Domitian's death he occupied with so much wisdom, and the same opinion was entertained of Orphitus and of Rufus. Domitian accused the two latter of intriguing against himself, and they were confined in islands, while Nerva was commanded to live in Tarentum. Now Apollonius had been intimate with them all the time that Titus shared the throne with his father, and also reigned after his father's death; and he was in constant correspondence with them on the subject of self-control, being anxious to enlist them on the side of the sovereigns whose excellence of character he esteemed. But he did his best to alienate them from Domitian, on account of his cruelty, and encouraged them to espouse the cause of the freedom of all. Now it occurred to him that his epistles conveying advice to them were fraught with danger to them, for many of those who were in power were betrayed by their own slaves and friends and womenkind, and there was not at the time any house that could keep a secret; accordingly he would take now one and now another of the discreetest of his own companions, and say to them: "I have a brilliant secret to entrust to you; for you must be-take yourself as my agent to Rome to so and so," mentioning the party, "and you must hold converse with him and do the utmost I could do to win him over." But when he heard that they were banished for having displayed a tendency to revolt against the tyrant, and yet had from timidity abandoned their plans, he delivered a discourse on the subject of the Fates and of Destiny in the grove of Smyrna in which stands the statue of the river Meles.
IX

CAP. IX. Εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν Νεροῦν ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἄρξοι, διηγεὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅτι μηδ’ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν οἶοι βιάζεσθαι, χάλκης τε εἰκόνας ἱδρυμένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολὺ διαμαρτύρεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· δὴ γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεύσαι πέπρωται, τούτων κἂν ἀποκτείνης, ἀναβιώσηται." ταῦτα ἐς Δομετιανῶν ἀφικετο ἐκ διαβολῶν Εὐφράτου, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅτου μὲν τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἔχρισμούδει αὐτὰ, οὐδεὶς ξυπνεῖ, τιθέμενος δὲ ὁ τύραννος εὕ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φόβον ὄρμησεν ἀποκτείναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὥς δὲ μὴ ἔξω λόγου πράττων αὐτὸ φαύνοιτο, ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπολογισμόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄπορρήτων. ἡ γὰρ ἀφικομένου καταψηφισμένος οὐδὲ ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτονέατε δόξειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἑαλωκότας, ἢ εἰ σοφία τινὶ τοῦ φανεροῦ ὑπεξέλθοι, μᾶλλον ἦδη ἀπολείψθαι σφάς ὡς κατεψηφισμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινωνοῦ τῆς αἰτίας.

X

CAP. X. Διανοούμενον δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα καὶ γράφοντος ἦδη πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, ὡς ἐγγύσει ἡ ἑ ὑπεξέλθον, 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.”
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
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 philo-

sopher 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 Tele-
sinus, 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

169
CAP. ἧμεραν," εἰπεν, "ο ἀνήρ ἐμοῦ γε ἐνεκα, ἰκανὸς γὰρ ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας κινδυνεύει.

XII

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

XII

“But tell me this, Demetrius, what do you think I had better say or do in order to allay my own 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
ἐρξεων αὐτῷ τὸ ἢκεν ἐνταῦθα, σὺ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τῆς
gνώμης ὑμιαίνοντι προστίθησι τοῦτο καὶ τῷ μη ἂν
θαρρῆσαι τήν δεύρο ὁδόν, εἰ τι ηδίκεις, Δομετιανῷ
δὲ οὐ δόξεις, ἀλλ’ ἀπόρρητον τινα ἴσχυν ἔχων
θρασεώς ἐρρόσθαι. τὸ γὰρ καλοῦντος μέν, οὕτω
δ’ ἴμεραι δέκα, ὡς φασί, σὲ δ’ ἀφίχθαι πρὸς τὴν
κρίσιν οὐδ’ ἄκηκοότα πω, ὡς κριθησθῇ, νοῦν τῇ
κατηγορίᾳ δώσει, προγιγνωσκὼν γὰρ ἂν φαίνοιο
καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἴσχύσει. καὶ ὅρα,
μὴ τὰ περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ
dιειλέχθαι σὲ φασιν, ἐπὶ σὲ ἴκη, καὶ
βουλομένης τι τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἀτοποῦ, σὺ δ’
ἡμαγκασμένος χωρῆς ἐπ’ αὐτό, οὐκ εἰδός ὡς σοφοῦ
τερον ἀεὶ τὸ φυλάττεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκλέλησαι
tῶν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, οὐσθὰ που τουμὸν καὶ ὅτι μὴ
ἀνελεύθερος ἐγὼ πρὸς θάνατον. ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ
ῥαστώνης ἐκείνα. Ἕρωνα γὰρ ἦ κιβάρα τοῦ μὲν
προσφόρου βασιλεία σχήματος ἐδόκει εκκρούειν, τὰ
δὲ ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀμώδως ἠμοττεν, ἵγε γὰρ τινας πολ-
λάκης δὲ αὐτὴν ἐχεχείριας, καὶ ἀπείχετο τῶν
φόνων· ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε καίτοι τὸ ἔσφος ἐπ’
ἐμαυτὸν ἔλκουτα διὰ τούς σοὺς τε καμοῦ λόγους,
οὐς ἐπὶ τῷ βαλανείῳ δυσλθοῦν, αὐτίου δ’ ἢν τοῦ μὴ
ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ τὴν εὐφωνίαν αὐτῷ ἐπιδοῦναι τότε
καὶ τό, ὡς ὄτε, μελῳδίας λαμπρᾶς ἄφασθαι.
νυνὶ δὲ τίνι μὲν εὐφωνίᾳ, τίνι δὲ κιβὰρα θύσωμεν;
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

CAP. ΧΙΙ

ἀμουσα γὰρ καὶ μεστὰ χολῆς πάντα, καὶ οὗτ' ἂν υφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅδε οὗτ' ἂν υφ' ἑτέρῳν θελχθεῖν, καίτων Πίνδαρος ἔπαινὼν τὴν λύραν φησίν, ὡς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρεος θυμὸν θέλγει καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐσχεί αὐτῶν, οὕτως δέ, καίτως μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν καταστησάμενος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ στεφανῶν δημοσία τοὺς νικώντας, ἔστιν οὗς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, ὑστατά φασι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν αὐλήσαντας τε καὶ ἄσαντας. ὑπολευτέα δὲ σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, προσαπολεῖς γὰρ κακεύνους ἢ θραύσους δόξας ἢ εἰς τῶν, ἢ μὴ πείσεις. ἡ σωτηρία δέ σοι παρὰ πόδα τῶν γὰρ νεὼν τούτων, πολλοὶ δ', ὡς ὀρᾶς, εἰς σιν, αἱ μὲν ἐς Λιβύην ἀφίσουσιν, αἱ δ' ἐς Λυγυπτικόν, αἱ δ' ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον, αἱ δ' εἰς Σαρδοὺς, αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ Σαρδῶν μᾶς ἐπιβάντες σοι κομίζεσθαι κράτιστον ἐς ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων, αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ἦττον χαλεπά τοῖς φανερῶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἢν ἐπαινοῦντας αἰσθαώνται τὸ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ ζῆν.

ΧΙΙ

'Ἡττηθεὶς δ' ὁ Δάμιος τῶν τοῦ Δημητρίου λόγων, "ἀλλὰ σὺ γε," ἔφη, "φίλος ἀνδρὶ παρὼν γένοιο ἂν ἀγαθὸν τι τούτωρ μέγα, ἐμοὶ γὰρ σμικρὸς λόγος, εἰ ἕμμοιβουλεύοιμι αὐτῷ μὴ κυβιστάν ἐς ὀρθὰ ἕφη, 174
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

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

XIII

Damis was so impressed by the arguments of chap. Demetrius that he exclaimed: “Well, you anyhow 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

175
μηδ’ ἀναρριπτεῖν πρὸς τυραννίδα, ἢς οὐ χαλεπωτέρα ἐνομίσθη. τῆς γοῦν ὁδοῦ τῆς ἑυταῦθα, εἰ μὴ σοι ξυνέτυχον, οὐδὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐγκίνησοκου, ἐπομαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ θάττον ἢ ἐαυτῷ τις, εἰ δὲ ἐροῦ με, πολὺ πλέω ἢ ἐφ’ ὦ τι, καταγέλαστος ἐγὼ τοῦ πλούτου Σικελικά μὲν πελάγη καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς κόλπους ἀναμετρῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς δὲ, ὑπὲρ ὧτον. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ προρρήσεως ἐκκυνδύνευον, εἰχον ἂν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας λέγειν, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν θανάτου ἔρη, ἐγὼ δ’ ἀντεραστής ξυμπλέω. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐδὲν οἶδα, ἐμὸν ἦδη λέγειν, ὑπὲρ δὲν οἶδα, λέξῳ δὲ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς: εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι, οὕτω δεινὰ φιλοσοφία πείσεται, σκευοφόρῳ γὰρ εἰκασμαι στρατιώτον γενναίου, λόγου ἠξιούμενος, ὅτι τοιῷδε ἐπομαί, εἰ δὲ ἔσται τις, ὃς ἀποκτενεῖ τοῦτον, εὑποροὶ δ’ αἱ τυραννίδες τὰ μὲν ξυνθεῖναι, τὰ δὲ ἐξῆραι, τρόπαιον μὲν οἶμαι κατὰ φιλοσοφίας ἐστίξει σφαλείσις περὶ τὸ ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων φιλοσοφήσατι, πολλοὶ δὲ Ἀνυτοὶ καθ’ ἱμῶν καὶ Μέλητοι, γραφαλ δ’ αἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, αἰ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀπολλώνιος ἄνηγγευμένους, ὡς ὁ μὲν τις ἐγέλασε καθαπτομένου τῆς τυραννίδος, ὁ δ’ ἐπερ- ρωσε λέγοντα, ὁ δ’ ἐνέδωκε λέξαι τι, ὁ δ’ ἀρτήλθε 176
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
ΦΛΑΥΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

ΧΙΙΙ

ξύν ἐπαίνῳ δέν ἦκουσεν. ἔγω δ' ἀποθνήσκειν μὲν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας οὐτώ φημὶ δείν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ τειχῶν καὶ τάφων, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας γὰρ τῶν τοιῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ὄνομαστοι ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν ἥσπιάζοντο, ὡς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι φιλοσοφίαν μὴτε ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι μὴτε ὡς ἐκείνης τε καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου ἔρα.”

ΧΙV

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “Δάμιδι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων εὐλαβῶς διειλεγμένῳ ἐξηγητῶν,” ἔφη, “προσήκει ἔχειν, Ἀσσύριος γὰρ ὃν καὶ Μήδος προσοκήσας, οὐ τὰς τυραννίδας προσκυνούσιν, οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐνθυμεῖται μέγα, ὅπερ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἀπολογήσῃ, φόβους ὑποτιθείς, δι', εἰ τι καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐφαίνετο, ἀπάγειν ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον ἡ ἔσω καθιστάναι τὸν φοβείσθαι τὸν μηδ' ἃ παθεῖν εἰκός ἦν δεδομένη. σοφὸς δ' ἄνηρ ἀποθνήσκετω μὲν ὑπὲρ ὃν εἶπας, ἀποθάνοι δ' ἂν τις ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ μὴ σοφὸς, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν νόμῳ προστέτακται, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐξηγητῶν ἡ φίλων ἡ παιδικῶν φύσεως ὁρίσε. δουλεύται δὲ ἀπαντᾷς ἀνθρώπους φύσεις καὶ νόμος, φύσεις μὲν καὶ

178
his lecture-room with praise on his lips for what he 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. XTV

ἐκόντας, νόμος δὲ ἀκόντας: σοφοὶς δὲ οἰκεῖοτερον
teleutāν ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐπετήδευσαν: ἄ γαρ μὴ νόμον
ἐπιτάξαντος, μηδε φύσεως ἔννεπταίουσης, αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ
ῥόμης τε καὶ θράσους ἐμελέτησαν, ὑπὲρ τούτων,
ci καταλύοι τις αὐτά, ἵτω μὲν πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν σοφόν,
ἵτω δὲ πέλεκυς, ὡς νικήσει αὐτὸν οὐδέν τούτων,
οὐδὲ ἐς ὑπὸν περιελαὶ ψεῦδος, καθέξει δὲ, ὅπωσα
οἶδο μεῖον οὐδέν ἢ ἃ ἐμυήθη. ἐγὼ δὲ γιγαντίαις μὲν
πλείστα ἀνθρώπων, ἄτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὁ
οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίους, τὰ δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ
ἐμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς, τυράννους δὲ οὐδέν.
ὡς δὲ
οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀνοίητων ἦκο, σκοπεῖν ἐξέστων: ἐγὼ γὰρ
περὶ μὲν τῷ ἐμαυτοῦ σῶματι κινδυνεύω οὐδέν, οὐδὲ
ἀποθάνουμι ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐδὲ εἰ αὐτὸς
βουλομην, ἐξυπνημὶ δὲ κινδυνεύων περὶ τοῖς
ἀνδράσιν, ὃν εἰτε ἄρχην εἰτε προσθήκην ποιεῖται
με ο τύραννος, εἰμὶ πάν ὁ τι βούλεται. εἰ δὲ
προώδιους σφᾶς ἡ βραδύνων ἡ βλακεύων πρὸς
tῆς αἰτίας, τίς ἃν τοῖς σπουδαίως ἔδοξα; τίς δὲ
οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινε με εἰκότως, ὃς παίζοντα ἢ
ἀνδρας, οἷς, ἀ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἢτοι, ἀνετέθη; ὥτι
δὲ οὖκ ἢν μοι διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ οὐ προδότης δόξα,
δηλώσαι βούλομαι.
Τυραννίδων ἤθη διττά, αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκρίτους
ἀποκτείνουσιν, αἱ δὲ ὑπαχθέντας δικαστηρίως,
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.
Εοίκασι δ' αἱ μὲν τοῖς θερμοῖς τε καὶ ἑτοίμως τῶν θηρίων, αἱ δὲ τοῖς μαλακωτέροις τε καὶ λιθάργοις. ὡς μὲν δὴ χαλεπάλ ἀμφω, δῆλον πάσι παράδειγμα ποιομένου τῆς μὲν ὁρμώσης καὶ ἀκρίτου Νέρωνα, τῆς δὲ ὑποκαθημένης Τιβέριου, ἀπώλλυσαν γὰρ ὁ μὲν οὐδ' οἰηθέντας, ὁ δ' ἐκ πολλῶν δείσαντας. ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι χαλεπωτέρας τὰς δικαίεις προσποιομένας καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι τι ὡς ἐκ τῶν νόμων, πράπτουσι μὲν γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐδέν, ψηφίζονται δ', ἀπέρ οἳ μηδὲν κρίναντες, ὑνομα τῇ διατρίβοντι τῆς ὁργῆς θέμενοι νόμον, τὸ δ' ἀποθνήσκειν κατεψηφισμένους ἀφαιρεῖται τοὺς ἀθλίους καὶ τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἔλεον, ὅν ὀσπερ ἑντάφιον χρῆ ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς ἀδίκως ἀπελθοῦσι. Δικαιστικὸν μὲν δὴ τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ταύτης ὀρῷ σχῆμα, τελευτάν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ ἐς ἀκρίτου, ὡς γὰρ πρῶν ἡ δικήσαι κατεψηφίζοντα, τούτους ὡς μήπω δεδικασμένους ὑπάγει τῇ κρίσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ψήφῳ ἀλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ δῆλον ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ νόμους κρίναντος ἀπολωλέναι φησίν, ὁ δ' ἐκλιπὼν τὸ δικασάσθαι πῶς ἂν διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐψηφίσθαι; τὸ δὲ καὶ τοιῷδε ἀνδρῶν κειμένων ἐπὶ ἠμοὶ νῦν ἀποδράναι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ τε κακείνων ἄγωνα, ποῖ με τῆς 182
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
CAP. XIV. γῆς ἔσει καθαρὰν δόξαν; ἕστω γὰρ σὲ μὲν εἰρηκέναι ταῦτα, ἐμὲ δὲ ὡς ὅρθως εἰρημένους πείθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσφάξθαι, τῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐπλοίας εὐχὴ τῷ τοὐφῶς; ποὶ δὲ ὀρμεῦται; πορεύσεται δὲ παρὰ τίνα; ἐξαλλάττειν γὰρ χρή οἶμαι πάσης, ὁπόσης ὉΡωμαιοὶ ἄρχουσι, παρ’ ἄνδρας δὲ ἥκειν ἐπιτηδείους τε καὶ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ οἰκούντας, τουτὶ δὲ ἂν Φραώτης τε εἰς καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ἰάρχας ὁ θεῖος καὶ Θεσπεσίων ὁ γενναῖος. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ Λιθιότων στελλοῦμην, τί ἂν, ὁ λήστε, πρὸς Θεσπεσίωνα εἰποῖμι; εἰτε γὰρ κρύπτοιμι ταῦτα, ψευδολογίας ἔραστης δόξας, μᾶλλον δὲ δοῦλος, εἰτε ἐς ἀπαγγέλλαν αὐτῶν οἰμί, τοιῶντε που δεῖτε λόγων ἐμὲ, ὁ Θεσπεσίων, Ἐὐφρίτης πρὸς ύμᾶς διέβαλεν, ᾧ μὴ ἐμαυτῷ ξύνωθα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κομπαστὴν ἐφῆ καὶ τερατώδη με εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστὴν σοφίας, ὁπόσῃ Ἰνδῶν, ἔγω δὲ ταυτὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰμὶ, προδότης δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων καὶ σφαγεὺς καὶ οὐδὲν πιστῶν καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα εἰμὶ, στέφανόν τε ἄρετῆς, εἰ τις, στεφανωσόμενος ἢκω τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ρώμην οἶκων οὐτῶς ἀνέστη, ὡς μηδε οἰκήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἦτι. ἐρυθριᾶς, Δημήτριε, τοῦτων ἀκούσων, ὅρῳ γὰρ. τί οὖν, εἰ καὶ Φραώτην ἐνθυμηθεῖς κἀκεῖ παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐς Ἰνδῶν φεύγοντα, πῶς μὲν ἂν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέψαιμι; τί δὲ ἂν εἰποῖμι ὑπὲρ ὧν φεύγω; μᾶν 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
CAP. XIV. ὃς ἀφικόμην μὲν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς πρῶτερον καὶ τὸν βάνατον τὸν ὑπὲρ φίλων οὐκ ἄθυμος, ἔπει δὲ ξυνεγενόμην αὐτῷ, τὸ θειότατον τούτῳ τῶν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ἄτιμον ἔρριψα σοι; ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας οὐδὲ ἐρήσεται οὐδὲν ἦκοντα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀξολός ποτὲ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα κακῶς χρησάμενον τῷ τῆς ἐυπλοίας δώρῳ ἄτιμον ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν τῆς νήσου, κἀμὲ δήποτε ἀπελή τοῦ ὀχθου, κακὸν εἰπὼν ἐς τὸ Ταυτάλειον γεγονέναι πῶμα, βούλονται γὰρ τὸν ἐς αὐτὸ κύψαντα καὶ κινδύνου κοινωνεῖν τοῖς φίλοις. οἴδα, ὃς δεῖνος εἰ, Δημήτριε, λόγους ξυντεμεῖν πάντας, θευν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ τοιοῦτο τί ἐρεῖν πρὸς με· ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τούτους ἵθι, παρ' ἄνδρας δὲ, οίς μῆτω ἐπέμβας, καὶ εὖ κείσεται σοι τὸ ἀποδράναι, ῥαν γὰρ ἐν οὐκ εἰδοῦσι λήσῃ. βασανιζέσθω δὲ καὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ὅπῃ τοῦ πιθανοῦ ἔχει: δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε· ἐγὼ ἡγοῦμαι τὸν σοφὸν μηδὲν ἴδια μηδ' ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ πρᾶττειν, μηδ' ἄν ἐνθυμηθῆναι τοι οὕτως ἀμάρτυρον, ὡς μὴ αὐτὸν ἑγοῦν ἐαυτῷ παρεῖναι, καὶ εἰτε Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτοῦ τὸ Πυθοῖ γράμμα, εἴτε ἄνδρος ὑγίῶς ἑαυτὸν γυνό- τος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γυνὸν αὐτὸ ποιομένου ἐς πᾶν- τας, δοκεῖ μοι ὁ σοφὸς ἑαυτὸν γυνώσκον καὶ παραστάτην ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν μῆτ' ἄν πτηξεί τι ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ, μητ' ἄν θαρσήσαι τι ὧν ἔτεροι μή ἰ.
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
CAP. XIV

ζῶν αἰσχύνη ἀπτονται· δοῦλοι γὰρ τῶν τυραννίδων ὄντες καὶ προδοῦναι αὐταῖς ποτὲ τοὺς φιλτάτους ὀρμησάν, τὰ μὲν μὴ φοβερὰ δεῖσαντες, ᾧ δὲ χρή δεῖσαι μὴ φοβηθέντες.

Σοφία δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ ταύτα· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Πυθικῷ ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τῷ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἑπαίνει, ξύνεσιν ἡγομένου περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι τὴν ἀπολλύσαν αὐτοὺς νόσου, ἐπειδὰν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ὡς κακὰ εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. ἦδε γὰρ που καὶ τῷ Ὄρεστῃ τὰ τῶν Ἰομηνίδων εὔδη ἀνέγραφεν, ὅτε δὴ ἐμαίνετο ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί, νοῦς μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρακτέων κύριος, σύνεσις δὲ τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοξάντων. ἦν μὲν δὴ χρήστα ἐλήται ὁ νοῦς, πέμπει ἡδὴ τὸν ἄνδρα ἡ ξύνεσις ἐς πάντα μὲν ἑρά, πάσας δὲ ἄγνιᾶς, πάντα δὲ τεμένη, πάντα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἡθη κροτοῦσι τε καὶ ἁδουσα, ἐφυμνήσει δὲ ἀυτῷ καὶ καθεύδοντι, παριστάσα χορὸν ἐφήμου ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὑνείρων δήμου, ἦν δὲ ἐς φαύλα ὀλίσθη ὅ τοῦ νοῦ στάσις, οὐκ ἦ ὁ τούτων ἡ ξύνεσις οὔτε ὁμα δρόθν ἐς ἀνθρώπων τινὰ ἄφειναι οὔτε τὸ ἀπ’ ἐλευθέρας γλώττης φθέγμα, ἱερὰς τε ἀπελαύνει καὶ τοῦ εὐχεσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ χεῖρα αἴρειν ξυγχωρεῖ ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἀλλ’ ἐπικόπτει αἰροῦτας, ὡςπερ τοὺς ἐπανατεινομένους οἱ νόμοι, ἑξιστησι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀμίλου παντὸς καὶ δειματοῖ καθεύδοντας, καὶ ὃ μὲν ὀρῶσι μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν οἴονται, ὀνειρώδη 188
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 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
ΓΑΡ, καὶ ἀνεμιαία ποιεῖ τούτοις, τὰς δὲ ἀμυνδάς καὶ φαντασιώδεις πτοιάς ἀληθείας ἥδη καὶ πιθανάς τῷ φώβῳ. ὡς μὲν δὴ ἐλέγχει με ἡ σύνεσις ἐς εἰδότας τε καὶ μὴ εἰδότας ἤκουτα, προδότης εἰ γενοίμην τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδείχθαί μοι σαφῶς οἶμαι καὶ ὡς φαίνει ἀληθεία, προδώσῳ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλ’ ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, τὸ τοῦ γενναίου Ὁμήρου ἐπειπτῶν ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος.

ΧV

ΓΑΡ. Ὁπο τούτων ὁ Δαμῖς τῶν λόγων αὐτῶς μὲν οὕτω διατεθήναι φησιν, ὡς ὁμοίως τε ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ θάρσος, τὸν Δημήτριον δὲ μὴ ἀπογρύνῃ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ’ ἐπανέσαντα καὶ ξυνθέμενοι οἷς εἶπεν ἐπιθειόως ἢ ὑπὲρ οὐ κινδυνεύει καὶ φιλοσοφία αὐτῇ, ὑπὲρ ἢς καρτερεῖ ταῦτα, ἦγειρθαί τε αὐτοῖς οὐ καταλύῳν ἐτύγχανε, τὸν δὲ Ὀπολλόνιον παραπούμενον τοῦτο, “δεῖλη ἥδη,” φάναι, “καὶ χρή περὶ λόγων ἄφας ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα ἀφεῖναι, τούτῳ γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις νόμιμον, ξυσσιτήσομεν δὲ, ἐπειδὰν εὐ τάμα ἔχῃ, νυνὶ γὰρ ἄν καὶ κατασκευασθῇ τις αὐτία ἐπὶ σὲ ὡς ξυσσιτήσαντα τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχθρῳ, καὶ μὴ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος μεθ’ ἥμῶν ἢθε, μὴ καὶ τὸ λόγου κεκοιμώνηκέναι μοι διαβάλῃ σε ἐς ἀπορρήτους βουλάς.” 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,
περιβαλῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπῆει, μεταστρεφόμενος τε καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ἀποψῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἄπολλώνιος ἴδουν ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, "εἰ μὲν ἔρρωσαι," ἐφη, "καὶ θαρσεῖς ἀπερ ἑγώ, βαδίσωμεν ἅμως ἔπι τὴν ναύν, εἰ δὲ ἀθύμως ἔχεις, ὥρα σοι καταμένειν ἐνταῦθα, Δημητρίῳ γὰρ ἐξυνέσῃ τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἀνδρὶ σοὶ τε καὶ μοι ἐπιτηδεύω." ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Δάμις, "καὶ τίνα," ἐφη, "νομίμω ἐμαυτῶν, εἰ τοιαύτα σου διελεγμένου σήμερον ὑπὲρ φίλων καὶ κοινωνίας κινδύνων, οἱ ἐπ᾿ αὐτοὺς ἴκουσίν, ἐγώ δ᾿ ἄνηκος τοῦ λόγου φεύγομε σε καὶ ἀποκαθιστοῦμε σου, μή ποτε πρότερον κακῶς ὑπὲρ σοῦ δόξας;" "ὁρθῶς," ἐφη, "λέγεις καὶ ἵωμεν, ἐγώ μέν, ὅσ ἔχω, σὲ δὲ χρὴ μετασκευάζειν σαυτὸν ἐς τὸ δημοτικότερον καὶ μήτε κομᾶν, ὅσ γοῦν ἔχεις, τρίβωνα τε ἀνταλλάττεσθαι τούτω τοῦ λίνου καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα παρατείσθαι τούτο· τί δὲ βούλεσται μοι ταῦτα, χρὴ διαλε-χθῆναι. λόγῳ γὰρ καὶ πλεῖον καρτερῆσαι πρὸ τῆς δίκης· οὐ δὲ βούλομαι κοινωνῆσαι σὲ μοι τούτων ξυλληφθέντα, ξυλληφθείς γὰρ ἄν δια-βεβλημένου τοῦ σχῆματος, ἀλλ᾿ ὃς μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντα μέν, ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ἄλλως ὄντα μοι ἔννε-πεσθαί τε καὶ παρατυγχάνειν οὐς πρᾶττω." αὑτὰ μὲν ἢδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τοῦ Δάμιν τὸ τῶν Πυθα-γορέων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ ὡς κακίων· γε αὐτὸ μεθείναι

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
CAP. φήσιν, ούδέ μεταγνούσι, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἦν ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ἔμφερον τοῦ καιροῦ.

XVI

CAP. Αποπλεύσαντες δὲ τῆς Δικαιαρχίας τριταῖοι κατῆραν ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Θύμβριδος, ἀφ’ ὧν ξύμμετρος ἦς τῇ Ὑψωμην ἀνάπλουσι. τὸ μὲν δὴ βασίλειον ξίφος ἦν ἐπ’ Ἀλιανῷ τότε. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος πάλαι τοῦ 'Απολλονίου ἥρα, ξυγγεγρώνως ποτὲ αὐτῷ κατ’ Ἀχυρτοῦ, καὶ φανερῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δομετιανὸν ἔλεγεν, οὐ γὰρ ξυνεχῶρει ἡ ἄρχη, τὸν γὰρ δοκοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπηχθῆσαι πῶς μὲν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπήνευσε, πῶς δὲ ἂν ὡς ἐπιτήδειον ἐαυτῷ παρηγήσατο; τέχναι μὴν ὅπως εἰσὶν ἀφαινῶσι ἀμύνουσι, πάσαις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐχρῆτο, ὡς γε καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ὁν, πρὶν ἥκειν, διεβάλετο, "ὁ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "κοινολογοῦν οἱ σοφισταὶ χρήμα καὶ ἀλάξων ἡ τέχνη, καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲν χρηστὸν τοῦ εἶναι ἀπολαύσουσι, θανάτου γιλίχνυται, καὶ οὐ περιμένουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτό-ματον, ἀλλὰ ἐπιστώται τὸν θάνατον ἐκκαλοῦμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας ξίφη. ταῦθ’ ἄγουμαι καὶ Νέρωνα ἐνθυμηθέντα μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Δημη-τρίου ἀποκτείναι αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ γὰρ θανατῶντα ἔσθετο, οὐ κατὰ ξυγγρώμην ἑπανήκης κατὰ τὸν θάνατον, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ὑπεροφίαν τοῦ κτείναι. καὶ
because he approved of a device to which he accommodated himself to suit the expedience of the moment.

XVI

They sailed from Dikaearchia, and on the third day they put in to the mouth of the Tiber from which it is a fairly short sail up to Rome. Now the Emperor's sword was at time in the keeping of Aelian, a person who long ago had been attached to Apollonius, because he once met him in Egypt. And although he said nothing openly in his favour to Domitian, for that his office did not allow of his doing,—for how could he have praised to his sovereign's face one who was supposed to be an object of his detestation any more than he could intercede in his behalf as for a friend of his own?—Nevertheless whatever means there were of helping him in an unobtrusive way, he resorted to in his behalf; and accordingly at the time when, before he arrived, Apollonius was being calumniated to Domitian, he would say: "My sovereign, sophists are all prattle and flippancy; and their art is all for show, and they are so eager to die because they get no good out of life; and therefore they don't wait for death to come of itself, but try to anticipate and draw it on themselves by provoking those who hold the sword. This I think was the reason which weighed with Nero and prevented his being drawn on by Demetrius into slaying him. For as he saw that he was anxious for death, he let him off not because he wished to pardon him, but because he disdained to put him to death,
CAP. XVI μὴν καὶ Μουσώνιον τὸν Τυρρηνὸν πολλὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐναντιωθέντα τῇ νήσῳ ξυνέσχεν, ἢ ὄνομα Γύαρα, καὶ οὐτω τί τὸν σοφιστῶν τούτων ἦττος "Ελληνες, ὡς τότε μὲν κατὰ ξυνουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσπλεῖν πάντας, νυνὶ δὲ κατὰ ιστορίαν τῆς κρήνης· ἐν γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ἀνώδρῳ οὐση πρότερον εὐρήμα Μουσώνιον κρήμη ἐγένετο, ἢν ἄδουσιν "Ελληνες, ὡς Ἐλικώνι τὴν τοῦ ὕππου.

XVII

CAP. XVII Τούτων μὲν δὴ διήγεν ὁ Αἴλιανὸς τὸν βασιλέα, πρὶν ἦκειν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἀφικομένου δὲ σοφώτερον ἦπτετο, κελεύει μὲν γὰρ ξυλληθθέντα αὐτῶν ἀναχθῆναι οἱ, λοιδορουμένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ τὴν κατηγορίαν ξυνθέντος, ὡς γόητι καὶ ἴκανῷ τὴν τέχνην, ὁ μὲν Αἴλιανός, "τῷ βασιλείῳ δικαστηρίῳ," ἔφη, "σαυτὸν τε καὶ τὰ τούτου φύλαττε," ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ μὲν γόης," ἔφη, "ἐγὼ, πῶς κρίνομαι; εἰ δὲ κρίνομαι, πῶς γόης εἰμί; εἰ μὴ ἄρα τὸ συκοφαντεῖν ἰσχυρὸν οὕτως εἰναι φήσων, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν γοητευόντων ἠττᾶσθαι αὐτῷ." Βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ καθηγόρου λέγειν τι ἀμαθέστερον, ἐκκρούσσων αὐτὸν ὁ Αἴλιανός, "ἐμοί," ἐπεν, "ἀφες τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ἔλεγχον γὰρ ποιήσομαι τῆς τοῦ σοφιστῶν γνώμης ἱδία καὶ οὐκ ἐν ύμῖν, κἂν μὲν ὀμολογῇ ἀδικεῖν, ξυντετμήσουταί οἱ ἐν τῷ δικαστήριῳ λόγοι καὶ σὺ ἀπει εἰρήνηκάσι, εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγει, δικάσσει ὁ βασιλεὺς." παρελθὼν οὖν ἐσ τὸ ἀπόρρητον δικαστήριον, ἐν δὲ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ 196
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.”

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
CAP. XVII ἐλέγχεται καὶ σιωπᾶται, "χωρεῖτε," ἔφη, "ἐνθένδε καὶ µηδεὶς ἐπακροάσθω, δοκεῖ γάρ τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ."

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοῖ, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, μειράκιον ἦν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὐς ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτοῦ ἦλθε, τοῖς µὲν θεοῖς θύσων, χρησάμενος δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σοι, καὶ χιλιάρχου µὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤργην ἦδη τῶν πολεµικῶν εἰδότα, σὺ δὲ οὗτο τί μοι ἐπιτηδείως εἴχες, ὡς χρησατίζοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀπολαβόν µεν ἵδια, ποδαπός τε εἶχαν λέγειν καὶ ὁ τι µοι τὸ ὄνοµα καὶ ὃς ἔχω τοῦ πατρός, προολεγες δὲ µοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, ἢ τοῖς µὲν πολλοῖς µεγίστη δοκεῖ καὶ µείζων ἢ πάντα ὅµοι τὰ ἀνθρώπων, ἐµοὶ δὲ ὄχλος καὶ κακοδαιμονία φαίνεται· τυραννίδος γὰρ φύλαξ χαλεπῆς εἶµι, καὶ µὲν σφίξῳ ἄντην, δέδωκα τὰ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν. σοι δὲ ὅτις εὖνους εἰµί, δεδήλωκα, ὃ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀφ’ ὅν εἰρήκα ποὺ τὸ µηδὲ ἄν παύσασθαι σε ὑγατῶν, ἔστ’ ἄν ἢ τὸ ἐκεῖνον µεµνήσθαι 1 * * τὸ δὲ ἰδία ἔθελῆσαι ἔρεσθαι σε, ὑπὲρ ὃν ὁ κατήγορος ξυντέθεικε, σόφισμα οὐ φαύλου ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας ἐµοὶ τῆς πρὸς σε γέγονεν, ὅτις θαρροῦσα µὲν τὰ ἐπὶ ἐµοὶ ὄντα, προγνοῆς δὲ

1 There appears to be a lacuna in the text at this point.
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 βασιλεῖ· ὦ τι μὲν γὰρ ψηφιεῖται ἐπὶ σοί, οὐκ οἶδα, διάκειται δὲ, ὡσπερ οἱ καταψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ ἀληθέσι, καὶ πρόφασιν ἀπολείπας ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων ποιεῖται σε· βούλεται μὲν γὰρ, ἀ μὴ δεῖ, πρᾶττει δ’ αὐτὰ καταρρυθμίζων ἐς τὴν τοῦ δικαίων δόξαν. δεῖ δὴ κἂν ἐπιάσματος καὶ ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπὶ σέ, εἰ γὰρ ὑπόψεται μὲ ὁς ἀνιέντα, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὀπότερος ἢμῶν ἀπολείπεται θάττων.”

XIX

CAP. XIX

Πρὸς ταῦτα ο ὁ Ἀπολλάνιος, “ἐπεί υψιός,” ἔφη, “διαλεγόμεθα, καὶ ὁπόσα καρδία ἵσχει σύ τε ἕρηκας ἐμοὶ τε εἰπεῖν δίκαιον, φιλοσοφεῖς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαντοῦ πραγμάτων ὡς οἱ σφόδρα μοι ξυνδιατρίψαντες, καὶ, νὴ Δία, ὡς γὰρ φιλανθρώπως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχεις, ὡς ξυγκινδυνωμένην ἥγεισθαι μοι, λέξῳ τὸν ἔμαυτον νοῦν ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀποδράναι μὲν ἢν ἡμᾶς ἐς πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς, ἡ μὴ ἡμῶν ἀκροάται, παρ’ ἀνδρᾶς τε ἀφικέσθαι σοφοὺς καὶ σοφωτέρους ἡ ἐγώ, θεοὺς τε θεραπεύεις ἐν ὅρθῳ λόγῳ, βαδίσαντι ἐς ἱκάνας ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλετέρων ἢ οἱ ἐνταῦθα, παρ’ οῖς οὕτε ἐνδειξεῖς οὕτε γραφῇ 200
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
οὐδεμία, δὴ αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ μῆτε ἁδικεῖν μητε ἁδικεῖσθαι δικαστηρίων οὐ δέονται, δεῖσας δὲ προδότου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, εἰ φύγοιμι μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀπόλοιπο δὲ οἶ δὲ ἐμοὶ κινδυνεύοντες, ἦκω ἀπολογησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ δὴν ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲ δεῖ, φράζε."
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,
μενος του σχήματος καλ τῆς διαίτης καλ τοῦ προγνώσκειν ἐς τοῦτο δῆπτον ξυντεύνει, καὶ ταύτα γε καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν δοῦναί σοι φησι καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν θάρσος. χρῆ οὖν παρεσκευάσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολογίαν, ἔστω δὲ σοι ὁ λόγος μὴ ὑπερορῶν τοῦ βασιλέως." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "τοῦ μὲν μὴ ὑπερορῶν ἔστω τεκμηρίων σοι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀπολογίας ἀφίχθαι με, εἰ δὲ καὶ θρασέως οὕτω τὰ μᾶ ἐίχειν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τυραννίδας αἴρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σοὶ γε ὑπέσχον ἐμαυτῶν τοιῷδε ὁμιλέται καὶ ἀγαπῶντι με. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑχθρὸ πουνρὸν δὸξαι δεισον οὕτω, οἱ γὰρ ἑχθροὶ μισοῦσιν οὐκ ἀφ᾽ ὧν δημοσίᾳ διαβεβληταί τις, ἀλλὰ ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἰδίᾳ προσκέκρουε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἁνδρὸς φίλου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, ὡς κακὸς φαίνοιτο, βαρύτερον τοῦτο ἢ τὰ ἑχθρῶν ὁμοῦ πάντα, οὐ γὰρ ἂν διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐ κακεῖνος, δι᾽ ἅ κακὸς ἂν, ἀπηχθῆσθαι."
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 you 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
ο λόγος μέλλειν να συνεχίση υπό την αίσθηση του γνώσης. Σε αυτήν την περίπτωση, η ρητορική της Τάκιαννα μετεξετάζει την συνεχή εκφραστική δύναμη του λόγου, δηλαδή την δυνατότητα να εκφράσει ένα συγκεκριμένο νόημα με χαρακτηριστικά στυλιστικά μέσα. Αυτός ο ρόλος της ρητορικής είναι ήδη κατάλληλος για να διευκρινίσει τον ορίζοντα της εκπροσώπησης, όπου η λέξη συναπτείται με την άποφοιτηση του γραμματέα ως μέσο τεχνικής παραμορφώσης της επιθυμίας.
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
CAP. XXI
καὶ ἤν μὲν ἀποκόψω σοι τὸν αὐχένα τῷ ξιφεῖ, διαβέβληται ἡ αὐτία καὶ ἀφεῖται, ἢν δὲ ἐκπλήξης μὲ καὶ μεθὸς τὸ ξίφος, θείον τε ἀνάγκη νομίζεσθαι σε καὶ ὡς ἐπ’ ἀληθείᾳ κρίνεσθαι.” τοσοῦτό δὲ ἄγροικότερος ὄντος τοῦ τῶν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύ- νοντος, ἔλεγε δὲ ταύτα μασώμενός τε καὶ ξίφῳ γέλωτι, ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἀκηκούτι ὦμοιος διελέγετο πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δέλτα, περὶ δὲ φασὶ τὸν Νείλον σχιζεσθαι.

XXII
208
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

the gates, and if I cut your head off with my sword, CHAP. XXI 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 CHAP. XXII 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
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
CAP. XXII

ὅτι τετύφωται καὶ ἀνοίγτος ἔχει, "εὖνήμη, τι ἰ' ὁ μέλλει;" εἶπε. "καὶ σοὶ δέ," ἐφη, "καταφρονητέα τοῦ τυράννου τοσοῦτο μᾶλλον, ὡς καὶ γνινόσκεις αὐτὸν."

XXIII

CAP. XXIII

Διαλεγομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς ταῦτα προσελθῶν τις, οἷμαι, Κίλιξ, "ἐγώ," ἐφη, "ἀνδρείς, ὑπὲρ πλούτου κινδυνεύω," καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ μὲν ἅφ' ὑνὶ θεμιτῶν," ἐφη, "πλούτων, οἶον ληστείας ἡ φαρμάκων, ἣ δὴ ἀνδροφόνα, ἥ τάφους κινήσας, ὁ οὕτω πάλαι βασιλέων εἰσὶν, οὗ πολύχρυσοὶ τε καὶ θησαυρώδεις, οὐ κρίνεσθαι σε χρὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπολωλέναι, ταυτὶ γὰρ πλούτος μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐπίρρητός τε καὶ ὁμός. εἰ δὲ κληρονομήσας ἡ διδούσης ἐμπορίας ἐλευθερίου τε καὶ μὴ κατηλών, τίς οὕτω βαρύς, ὡς ἄφελέσθαι σε νόμου σχήματι τὰ κτηθέντα σοι κατὰ νόμους;" "τὰ μὲν ὄντα μοι παρὰ πλειόνων," ἐφη, "ξυγγενῶν ἐστιν, ἐς μίαν δ' οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἤκει, χρῶμαι δ' αὐτοῖς οὖθ' ὡς ἑτέρων, ἐμὰ γὰρ, οὖθ' ὡς ἐμοῖς, κοινὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐστὶ μου διαβάλλουσι δ' ἡμᾶς οἱ συνκοφάνται μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκτῆσθαι τὸν πλούτον, ἐμοῦ τε γὰρ νεότερα πειρωμένου πράττειν ἐφόδιον ἄν γενέσθαι αὐτὸν, ἑτέρῳ τε, ὅτι προσθείμην, ῥοπὴν ἄν οὐ σμικρὰν τὰμὰ εἶναι. μεμαντευμέναι δ' ἦδη 212
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 αὐτίαι, ὡς ὦβριν μὲν τίκτει πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον πλοῦτος, ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν αὐχένα ἱστησι, καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἐγείρει, νόμοις τε οὐκ ἑὰ πείθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἁρχοντας, οἳ ἐστὶ τὰ ἔθνη φοιτῶσι, μόνον οὐκ ἔπι κόρρης παῖει δουλουμένους τοὺς χρήμασιν ἢ ὑπερορῶντας αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἱσχύν τοῦ πλούτου.

'Εγὼ δὲ μειράκιον μὲν ὄν, πρὶν οὐσίαν ἐκατὸν ταλάντων ἐκτῆσθαι, κατάγελου ἴγαυμην πίνατα, καὶ σμικρὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄντων ἐδεδέειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τάλαντά μοι πεντακόσια ἐπὶ μαῖας ἡμέρας ἑγέրνετο τελευτήσαντος ἐπὶ ἔμοι τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς θείου, τοσοῦτον ἡ γνώμη μετέβαλεν, ὡςον οἱ καταρτύσαντες τὸν ὕππον καὶ μεταβάλλοντες τοῦ ἀπαίδευτον τε καὶ ἀκολάστου ἢθους. ἐπιδιδόντος δὲ μοι τοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης φέροντος, οὕτω τι ἐδοξολόθην ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν δέους, ὡς ἀπαντλεῖν τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὡς ἐδει μειλίττεσθαι τῇ ἀπομαγαλαίᾳ ταύτη, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἁρχοντας, ὡς ἑικός πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας εἴη μοι, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς εὐγενεῖς, ὡς μὴ φθονοῖεν τῷ πλούτῳ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους, ὡς μὴ κακίους γηγοιντο ἀμελεῖσθαι φάσκοντες, ἐβουκολεῖτο δὲ μοι καὶ ἀγέλη φίλων λαμπρὰ προορῶντας γὰρ ὦντοι μου τὰ μὲν αὐτοί ἔδρων, τὰ δὲ μοι προύλεγον.
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' ὦμοις οὖτω μὲν χαρακώσαντες τὸν πλοῦτον, οὖτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς τειχισάμενοι, κινδυνεύομεν περὶ αὐτῶ πῦν, καὶ οὖτῳ δῆλον οὐδ' εἰ τὸ σῶμα ἀθάνοι μενούμεν· καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "θάρρει," ἔφη, τὸν γὰρ πλοῦτον τοῦ σώματος ἐγγυητὴν ἕχεις· δέδεσαι μὲν γὰρ δὴ αὐτόν, ἀνήσει δὲ σε ἀπολυόμενον οὐ μόνον τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τούτω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεραπεύειν τούς συνοφάντας τε καὶ τοὺς δούλους, οἷς δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπέκεισο·"}

CAP. XXIV

'Ετέρου δ' αὖ φήσαντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ θόων ἐν Τάραντι, οὐ ἦρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαίς, ὅτι Δουστιανὸς Ἀθηνᾶς εἰχ' παῖς, "σὺ μὲν φήθης," ἔφη, "μὴ ἂν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκεῖν, παρθένον οὐσαν τὸν ἄει χρόνον, ἡγγόεις δ', ὅμως, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ δράκοντα ἐτεκε."}

CAP. XXV

Καθεῖρκτό τις καὶ ἐπὶ τοιαδέ κατά τοῖς χωρίον ἐν Ἀκαρνανίᾳ περὶ τὰς έκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελόον ἔχων περιέπλευ τὰς Ἐχινάδας ἐν ἀκατήρῳ μικρῷ, διασκεψάμενος δὲ αὐτῶν μίαν, ἥ ξυνήπτευν ἡδὴ τῇ 216
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

others with their warnings and advice. But al-CHAP. XXIII
though I thus fenced my wealth about, and surrounded
myself so securely with fortifications, I now am
imperilled by it, and I am not yet sure that I shall
escape with my life.” And Apollonius answered:
“Take heart, for you have your wealth to go 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 CHAP. XXIV
prosecuted, because at a public sacrifice in Tarentum,
where he held office, he had omitted to mention
in the public prayers that Domitian was the son of
Athene. Said Apollonius: “You imagined that
Athene could not possibly have a son, because she is
a virgin for ever and ever; but you forgot, methinks,
that this goddess once on a time bore a dragon to
the Athenians.”

XXV

Another man was confined in the prison on the CHAP. XXV
following charge: He had a property in Acarnania
near the mouth of the Aechelous; 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** ἠπείρω, δενδρεσί τε ὦραιοις διεφύτευσε καὶ ἀμπέλοις ἤδυοίνους, διαίταν τε ἰκανὴν τῷ σώματι κατεσκευάσατο ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ἑσύγετο ἀποχρῶν τῇ νήσῳ· ἐκ τούτου ἀνέφυ γραφή, μὴ καθαρὸς εἶναι ὁ Ἀκαρνᾶν οὖντος, ἔργα δὲ αὕτης ἔυνειδῶς οὐ φορητά, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης γῆς ἑξισταθαί τε καὶ ἀποφοιτῶν ὡς μεμιασμένης ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δ’ Ἀλκμαιόνου τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω λύσιν, δι’ ἣν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελώου μετὰ τὴν μητέρα ὄκησεν, ἥρησθαι αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφ’ ὀμοίως, ἄλλῃ ἐπὶ σχετλίως ἵσως καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἐκεῖνων· ὁ δ’ οὖ τούτ’ ἐφασκεν, ἄλλα ἀπραγμοσύνης ἔρων ἐκεῖ οικίσαι, τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐς δίκας αὕτῳ περιστήμαι, δι’ ὅς καὶ εἴρχθαι αὐτῶν.

**XXVI**

**CAP. XXVI** Προσιόντων δὲ τῷ Ἁπολλωνίῳ πλείόνων ἐνδον καὶ ὀλοφυρομένων τοιαύτα, πεντήκοντα γὰρ που εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν νοσεῖν αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀθύμως παρείσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρτερεῖν τῶν θάνατον, οἱ δ’ ἐπιβοῦσθαι τέκνα καὶ γονέας τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ γόμους, "ὁ 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 Amphiareus had done, when after his mother’s murder he went and lived on the delta of the Acheous. 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-

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ξυντίθεσθε ταῖς αἰτίαις, ὀλοφυρτέα ἡ ἡμέρα μᾶλλον, ἐν ἦ ὁ λογισμὸς ἐς ἀδικά τε καὶ ὁμα ὀρμήσας ύμᾶς ἐσφήλεν, εἰ δ' οὔτε σῦ τὴν ἐν 220
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

lous, affected by the spectacle, "it seems to me CHAP. that these people need the drug which I alluded to XXVI when I first entered. Whether it be an Egyptian remedy, or whether it grows in every land and only needs wisdom enough to cut it from its root out of her own gardens, let us administer some of it to these poor people, lest their own feelings destroy them before Domitian can do it." "Let us do so," said Damis, "for they seem in need of it." Accordingly Apollonius called them all together and said:

"Gentlemen, who are sharing with me the hospitality 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 unjust and cruel courses of action. But if you, my friend yonder, deny that you took up your residence
τῷ Ἀχελώῳ νῆσον ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατηγορούσ φήσεις ἐρεῖς φιλήκεναι, οὐτε σὺ τὸν σεαυτὸν πλοῦτον ἐφεδρόν ποτε τῇ βασιλείᾳ στήσασθαι, οὐθ' ἐκὼν σὺ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶς δοκεῖν ἀφηρήσθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀφίχθει κινδυνεύων ἔκαστος, ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἶναι φήσει, τί βούλεται," φησιν, "ὁ ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων θρῆνος οὐτος; ὅσοι γὰρ, τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπιβοῶσθε, τοσοῦτος χρὴ ἔρρωσθαι μᾶλλον, ἀθλα γὰρ ποιν τῆς τλημοσύνης ταύτης ἐκείνα. ἦ τὸ καθερχθαι δεύρο δεινῶν εἶναι φατε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ζῆν; ἢ ἀρχὴν δὲν πείσεσθαι ὑγείσθη; ἢ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ τιμωρίαν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάθοιετ; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ γε τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν εἰδῶς φύσιν, ἀναδιδάξω λόγον ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τούς τῶν ἱστρῶν συνίοις, καὶ γὰρ ἵσχυν ἐντίθησι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἔσειν· οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐσμὲν τῶν χρόνον τοῦτον, ὅσ δὴ ἀνόμασται βίος· αὐτῇ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σώματι φθαρτῷ ἐνδέθεισα πολλὰ μὲν καρτερᾶς, δουλεύει δὲ πᾶσιν, ὁπόσα ἐπ' ἀνθρωπον φοιτᾷ, οἰκία τε οἶς ἐπενοήθη πρῶτον, ἀγνοήσασι μοι δοκοῦν ἀλλ' δεσμωτήριον αὐτοῖς περιβάλλοντες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁπόσοι τὰ βασιλεία οἰκοῦσιν, ἀσφαλῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς κατεσκευασμένοι, δεδέσθαι μᾶλλον τούτοις ἡγόμεθα ἢ οὕς αὐτοὶ δήσουσι.
in the island of the Aechelous, 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' ἐνθυμομένῳ μοι καὶ τείχη δοκεῖ ταῦτα δεσμωτηρία εἶναι κοινά, ὡς δεδέσθαι μὲν ἀγοράζοντας, δεδέσθαι δὲ ἐκκλησιαζοντας καὶ θεωμένους αὐτοὶ ἀμαξεύουσι, οὐ μείον ἡμῶν δέδενται. Ἰστροὶ τε γὰρ αὐτούς ὀρίζοντο καὶ Θερμώδοντες καὶ Τανάϊδες οὗ ῥάδιοι ποταμοὶ ὑπερβῆναι, ἣν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ στῶσιν, οἰκέλας τε ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν πέπαυται καὶ φέρονται μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἔπτηχότες. εἰ δὲ μὴ μειρακιώδης ὁ λόγος, φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ἡκεανὸν δεσμοῦ ἑνεκα τῇ γῇ περιβεβλήσθαι. ἦτε, ὃ ποιηταῖ, ταυτὶ γὰρ ὑμέτερα, καὶ βασφωδεῖτε πρὸς τούτους τους ἀθύμους, ὡς Κρόνος μὲν ποτὲ ἔδεθη βουλαίς τοῦ Διὸς, Ἀρης δὲ ὁ πολεμικῶτατος ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου πρῶτον, ἐν γῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλωέως. ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ πολλοὶς τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν, οὐς δήμοι ἀσελγεῖς ἔδησαν, τυραννίδες δὲ προοπλάκισαν, δεχόμεθα καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ τῶν δεξαμένων αὐτὰ λευποίμεθα." οὕτω τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ῥηθέντα μετέβαλεν, ὡς σίτου τε ὁ πολλοὶ ἄφασθαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τῶν δακρύων, βῆναι τε ἐπὶ ἐλπίδος μηδ' ἂν παθεῖν μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ ἐξυνόντες.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

"And when I think of cities and walls, it seems 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 waggon; 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 waggon, 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.

Τῇς δ' ύστεραίας διελέγετο μὲν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν ξυντείνων, ἐσπέρμπεται δὲ τις ἁκροατὴς τῶν διαλέξεων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ καθεμένου· τὸ μὲν δὴ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ κατηφής ἐδόκει, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τι, ὡς ἐφασκε, μέγα, γλώττης τε ὑπὸ ἀνεπιτηδεύτως εἶχεν, οἷοι τῶν συκοφαντικῶν οἱ συνελθότες ὥκτῳ ρήματα ἢ δέκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνεῖς τῆς τέχνης διελέγετο, ᾧ μὴ ἐκείνῳ προβάνει, ποταμῶν τε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐμέμνητο καὶ ὅρων, καὶ θηρία διήθη καὶ δένδρα, ὡς δὲν οἱ μὲν διήγουτο, ὁ δὲ οὖν ἐπέραινε. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀπίγειν αὐτὸν ἐς λοιδορίας τοῦ τυράννου ἐπειρᾶτο, "ὁ τάν," ἔφη, "σὺ μὲν, οὐ τι βούλει, λέγε, οὐ γὰρ διαβεβλήσῃ γε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποσα μέμφομαι τὸν βασιλέα, πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξω."

Ἐγένετο καὶ ἕτερα ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ ἐπεισόδια, τὰ μὲν ἐπιβεβουλευμένα, τὰ δὲ, ὡς ξυν- ἐπεσεν, οὕτω μεγάλα, οὐδ' ἄξια ἐμοὶ σπουδάσαι, Δάμις δὲ, οἶμαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραλελυπέναι τι αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθη, τὰ δὲ λόγου ἐχόμενα: ἐσπέρα μὲν ἦν, καθεύρκτο δὲ ἤμεραν ἔδη 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
θ'ν δὲ τις ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, Ἑλληνικὸς τὴν
φωνήν, “ποῦ,” ἔφη, “ὁ Τυανεύς ;” καὶ ἀπολαβὼν
αὐτὸν, “αὐρίον,” ἔφη, “διαλέξεται σοι ὁ βασιλεύς ;”
Διηλιανὸν δὲ ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι ἔδοκεν. 1 “ξυνύμι,”
ἡ δ’ ὡς, “τοῦ ἀπορρήτου, μόνου γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνου
εἶδέναι αὐτό.” “καὶ μήν καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσ-
μωτηρίου προείρηται,” ἔφη, “πᾶν, εἰ τι βούλοιο,
ἐπιτηδείῳ σοι εἶναι.” “καλῶς μὲν ποιοῦντες
ὑμεῖς,” εἴπεν, “ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐνταύθα βίων καὶ
tὸν ἔξω ταῦτον πράττω, διαλέγομαι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ
tῶν παραπτώτων, δέομαι δ’ οὖνδενός.” “οὐδὲ
tοῦ ξυμβουλεύσοντος,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, ὡς
dιαλέξῃ τῷ βασιλεί;” “νὴ Δί,” εἴπεν, “εἰ μὴ
kolakeuvein peithoi.” “τι δ’, εἰ μὴ ύπερηραῖν,” ἔφη,
“μηδ’ ύπερφρονεῖν αὐτόν ;” “ἀριστα,” εἴπε,
“ξυμβουλεύσει καὶ ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα.” “ὑπὲρ
tοῦτων μὲν ἤκω,” ἔφη, “καὶ χαίρω παρεσκευα-
σμένοι σε ὀρῶν ξυμμέτρως, δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ
φθέγμα τοῦ βασιλέως παρασκευάζωσι σε καὶ
πρὸς τὸ δυστροπὸν τοῦ προσώπου, φθέγγεται μὲν
γὰρ θαρύ, κάν πρᾶς διαλέγηται, ἡ δ’ ὅφρος
ἐπίκειται τῷ τοῦ ὅφθαλμον ἢθει, μεστὴ δ’ ἡ
παρειὰ χολῆς, τοῦτι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐπιφαίνει.
ταῦτα, ὅ Τυανεύ, μὴ ἐκπληγττόμεθα, ἐστὶ γὰρ
φύσεως μᾶλλον καὶ ἀεὶ ὅμοια.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολ-
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:
CAP. XXVIII
λάυνης, "’Οδυσσεύς μέντοι," ἔφη, "παριδὼν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πολυφήμου ἄντρον, καὶ μήτε ὅποσος ἐστὶ προακήκωδς πρότερον, μὴ δ’ ολὰ σιτεῖται, μὴ δ’ ὡς βροντῇ ἡ φωνή, ἐθάρρησε τε αὐτὸν καίτοι ἐν ἀρχῇ ἰδέας, καὶ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ ἄντρου ἀνήρ δόξας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτάρκεις ἐμαυτῶν τε σώσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἐταῖρους, ὑπὲρ ὧν κυνδυνεύω." τοιαῦτα διαλεξθεῖσαι πρὸ τὸν ἠκούσαν καὶ ἀπαγγέλεσαν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Δάμων ἐκάθενδεν.

XXIX
CAP. XXIX
"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."
"Ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀναπαύσας ἔαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, "ὕπνου," ἐφη, "δέομαι, Δάμι, χαλεπῇ γάρ μοι ἡ νυξ γέγονεν ἀναμμησθήναι βουλομένῳ ὃν Φραώτου ποτὲ ἦκουσα." "καὶ μὴν ἐγρηγορεῖται τε," εἶπεν, "ἐχρήμα μᾶλλον καὶ ξυντάττειν ἐαυτὸν ἐς τὸ παρηγγελμένον μέγα οὕτως ὄν." "καὶ πώς ἂν ξυνταττοῦμην," ἐφη, "μηδὲ, τι ἐρήσεται, εἰδὼς;" "αὐτοσχεδιάσεις οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὑπὲρ τοῦ βίου;" "νὴ Δι'," ἐφη "ὁ Δάμι, αὐτοσχεδίῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ χρόμαι. ἀλλ' ὦ γε ἀνεμνήσθην τοῦ Φραώτου βουλομαί διελθεῖν πρὸς σέ, χρηστὸν γὰρ ἐς τὰ παρόντα καὶ σοὶ δόξεῖν τοὺς λέοντας, οὐς τιθασεύουσιν ἀνθρώπου, κελεύει Φραώτης μήτε παίειν, μνησικακείει γὰρ αὐτοὺς, εἰ παίσωντο, μήτε θεραπεύειν, ἀγερώξους γὰρ ἐκ τούτου γίγνεσθαι, εἶναι ἀπειλῆ δὲ μᾶλλον καταψυχώντας ἐς εὐάγγελα ήθη ἄγειν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν λεόντων εἶπεν, οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ θηρίων ἁγωγῆς ἑσπουδάζομεν, ἀλλ' ἢνιαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους διδοὺς, ἢ χρωμένους οὐκ ἂν ἔκπεσείν ἵνευτο τοῦ ξυμμέτρου." "ἄριστα μὲν," ἐφη, "ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐς τὰ τυράννων ήθη ἐξήρθαι, ἀλλ' ἐστι τις καὶ παρὰ τῷ Λισόπῳ λέων ὦ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, φησὶ δ'
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 tammers 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.
Αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀϊσωπὸς οὐ νοσεῖν μὲν, δοκεῖν δὲ, καὶ τῶν θηρίων, ἄ ἐφοίτα παρ’ αὐτόν, ἀπτεσθαί, τήν δὲ ἀλώπεκα, τί τούτῳ χρησόμεθα, εἰπεῖν, παρ’ οὐ μηδὲ ἁναλύει τις, μηδὲ δείκνυται τι τῶν ἕξιοντων ἱχνος;” καὶ ὁ ’Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἀλλ’ ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “σοφωτέραν τὴν ἀλώπεκα ἱγούμην ἂν, εἰ παρελθοῦσα ἔσω μὴ ἦλω, ἀλλ’ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ σπηλαίου τὰ ἱχνη τὰ ἑαυτῆς δεικνύσα.”

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑπνοῦ ἔστασε κομιδὴ βραχὺ καὶ ὁσον ἐπ’ ὀφθαλμῶν ἦλθεν, ἡμέρα δ’ ὡς ἐγένετο, προσευξάμενος τῷ Ἡλίῳ, ὡς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ εἶκός, διελέγετο τοῖς προσιούσιν, ὅποσα ἦρωτον, καὶ οὕτως ἀγορᾶς πληθοῦσις ἀφικνεῖται γραμματεύς, κελεύων ἐπὶ θύρας ἡδη εἶναι, “μὴ καὶ θάττου,” ἔφη, “ἔσκληθῶμεν.” ο δὲ εἰπών, “Ἰωμεν,” ξύν ὀρμὴν προῆλθε. πορευομένῳ δ’ αὐτῷ δορυφόροι ἔπηκολούθουν τέταρτες, πλέον ἄπεχοντες ἢ οἱ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα ὀμαρτούντες, ἐφείπτε τοῦ δὲ καὶ ὁ Δάμιας δεδιός μὲν, ξυνοοῦντι δ’ ὀρμοῖς. ἐώρων μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν ’Ἀπολλώνιον ἄπαντες, αὐτοῦ τε γὰρ τοῦ σχήματος ἀπεβλέπετο, καὶ θεία ἐδόκει ἡ περὶ τῷ εἰδει ἐκπληξίς, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἠκειν 234
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
CAP. XXXI

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 Acacus 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 ἰθαί τε σε πρὸς αὑτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἔμοι τακτικὴν εἰδέναι πᾶσαν. ὃσπερ γὰρ τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ ὀπλιτεύοντιν αὐκ εὐφυχίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάξεως ἐρμηνευούσης τοὺς καίρους τῆς μάχης, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἐπιμελητέα τῶν καίρων, ἐν οἷς ἀποθανοῦνται, ὡς μὴ ἄτακτοι, μηδὲ βανατῶντες, ξύν ἀρίστη δ' αἱρέσει ἐς αὐτοὺς φέροντο. ὅτι δὲ ἀριστά τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα φιλοσοφία καιρὸν εἰλόμην ἀποθνῄσκειν, εἰ τίς ἀποκτείνειν βούλοιτο, ἐτέρως τε ἀπολελόγημαι σοῦ παρόντος, αὐτῶν τε σὲ διδάσκαλον ἀπείριχα.

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Ὑπὶ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ σχολὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διωσμένῳ πάντα, ἐς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρί, παρῆγαν μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ ἕνωρησαντες τῷ Δάμιδι ἐπισπέσθαι οἱ. θαλλόν δὲ στέφανον ἔχων οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀρτὶ μὲν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶς τεθυκὼς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν αὐλῇ Ἁδώνιδος, ἡ δὲ αὐλῇ ἀνθέων ἐτεθήλει κήποις, οὐς Ἁδώνιδι Ἀσσύριοι ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ ὄργων, ὑμωροφίους αὐτοὺς φυτεύοντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὄν τετετράφη, καὶ ἐκπλαγεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶδους τοῦ ἀνδρός, "Αἴλιανέ," 238
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

for it, and had also acquainted yourself with all the 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. XXXII

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

Ilid 5. 127

241
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXII

ἀπορρήτων τε λαμπρῶν ἀκροίσασθαι ἦτο, καὶ ἐξ τὸ ξυντεῖνον τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦκεν πάντα.

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII

'Ο δ' ὡς μετέωρον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης ταύτης εἶδεν. "ἔγω," ἐφη, "Νερούαν σωφρονέστατον ἀνθρώπων οἶδα καὶ πραότατον καὶ σοι ἐπιτηδειώτατον, καὶ ἄρχοντα μὲν ἀγαθὸν, εὐλαβὴ δ' οὗτῳ πρὸς ὅγκον πραγμάτων, ὡς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς δεδιέναι. οἱ δὲ ἁμφ' αὐτὸν, Ροῦφον γὰρ ποὺ λέγεις καὶ "Ορφιτύν, σωφρόνεσ μὲν καὶ οἶδε οἱ ἄνδρες, ὅποσα οἶδα, καὶ διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς πλοῦτον, νωθροὶ δὲ πράττειν ὅποσα ἔξεστι, νεώτερα δὲ οὔτ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐνθυμηθεὶς, οὔτ' ἂν ἔτεροφ ἐνθυμηθέντες ξυμάραιντο." ἀνοιδήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ύφ' ὄν ἦκουσε, "συκοφάντην με ὄντι," εἶπεν, "ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οἴληφας, ὃν ὁς ἐγὼ μιαρωτάτους ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς ἐμοῖς ἐπιτηδεύτας εὐρον, σὺ δ', ὡς χρηστοὶ τε εἰς λέγεις, καὶ νωθροί; καὶ γὰρ ἂν κακείνους ἥρωμαι, υπὲρ σοῦ ἐρωτώμενος, μὴθ' ὡς ἡγής εἰ φάναι, μὴθ' ὡς ἡτη, μήθ' ὡς ἀλαξίων, μὴθ' ὡς φιλοχρήματος, μήθ' ὡς φρονῶν υπὲρ τοὺς νόμους. οὕτως, ὃς μιαρὰ κεφαλαί, κακῶς ξυντεῖαχθε. ἔλεγξει δ' ἡ κατηγορία πάντα· καὶ γὰρ ὅποσα ὁμόμοια ἦμιν ὑμῖν

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
καὶ ὑπὲρ δὲν καὶ ὅποτε καὶ τὰ θύσαις, οὐδὲν μείον οἶδα, ἢ εἰ παρετύχανόν τε καὶ ἐκουσώνον.” ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκπλαγεῖς, “αἰσχρόν,” ἔφη, “βασιλεῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἢ δικάζειν ὑπὲρ δὲν πέπεισαι ἢ πεπείσθαι ὑπὲρ δὲν μὴ ἐδίκασας. εἰ δ’ οὗτός ἔχει, ἔνικχρησσόν ἐνθέντο μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας ἀρξασθαί κακῶς, ὁ βασιλεῦ, περὶ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖς, καὶ πλείω με ἀδικεῖς ἢ οὐ συκοφάντης, ἢ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος διδάξειν ἑφη, σὺ πρὶν ἀκούσῃς πέπεισαι.”

“τῆς μὲν ἀπολογίας,” ἔπειν, “ὅπως ἐποθεὶ βούλει, ἀρχοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐσ ὁ τι παύσομαι οἴδα, καὶ ὅπως ἦδη προσήκει ἀρξασθαί.”

XXXIV

"Ἀρχεται τὸ ἐνθέντο τῆς ἢς ἢς τοῦ ἄνδρα θρεως, γενείων τε ἀποκείρας αὐτῶν καὶ χαίτης, ἐν τε τοῖς κακουργιατάτως δήσας. ὁ δ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς κουράς, "ἐλελήθειν, ὁ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "περὶ ταῖς θριξὶ κινδυνεύων." ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν δεσμῶν, "εἰ μὲν γόνητα μὲ ἡγῇ," ἔφη, "πῶς δῆσεις; εἰ δὲ δῆσεις, πῶς γόνητα εἶναι φήσεις;" "καὶ ἄνήσω γε οὐ πρότερον," ἔπειν, "ἡ ὑδρὼ γενέσθαι σε ἣ τι θηρίον ἢ δένδρον." "ταυτὶ μὲν," ἔφη, "οὐδ’ εἰ δυναίμην, γενοίμην ἢν, 244
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
Τὸν μὲν δὴ προϊόνα τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὅσ᾿ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἵδια, τούτῳ διαγράφει ὁ Δάμις, οἴ δὲ βασκάνως ταῦτα ξυνθέντες ἀπολελογηθήσατο μὲν αὐτὸν φασὶ πρῶτον, δεδέσθαι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅταν δὲ κείρασθαι, καὶ τίνα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέπλασαν, ἔνθεμένην μὲν ιωνικός, τὸ δὲ μήκος ἀχαί, ἐν ἦ βούλονται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἱκέτην τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ γίγνεσθαι, παραπόμολον έαυτόν τῶν δεσμῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἐαυτοῦ τῶν Ἰώνιον ἐρμηνεύει τρόπου, ἐπιστολὴ δὲ ἱστι ξυγκειμένη οὖσω Ἀπολλώνιοι προσέτυχον, καίτοι ξυγκειμένος αὐτοῦ πλείστας, οὗτος μακραγορίαν πτω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῆι εὐρον, βραχεία γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ σκυτάλης πᾶσαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτίαν ἀπήλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ πῶς ἄν ποτε ἑδήθη μετὰ τὴν ἀφείσαν ψήφου; ἄλλα μήπω τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ κούρα καὶ ἄττα διέλεξθη, λεγέσθω πρῶτον, ἔξιο γὰρ σπουδῶσαι.
not ever betray men who, in violation of all justice, stand in peril; and what I am, that I will remain; but I am ready to endure all you can inflict upon my vile body, until I have finished pleading the cause of these persons." "And who," asked the Emperor, "is going to plead your cause?" "Time," replied Apollonius, "and the spirit of the gods, and the passion for wisdom which animates me."

XXXV

Such was the prelude of his defence, which he made in private to Domitian, as Danis 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 quitte 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.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XXXVI

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

CAP. XXXVI

ἔφη, "νεανίσκε, μὴ τὸν ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Ἀχαιῶν εἰς γενόμενος, ὅσ σφόδρα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τὰς Ἀχιλλεῖους κόμις ὀλοφύρασθαι Πατρόκλῳ τιμηθείσας, εἰ δὴ ἐτρήθησαν, καὶ λειτοθυμήσαι ὅ ἂν ἔπὶ αὐταῖς. ὃς γὰρ τὰς ἐμὶς, ἐν αἷς πολλαί τε ἦσαν καὶ αὐχώς, ἐλεεῖν φάσκεις, τί οὐκ ἂν πρὸς ἐκεῖνας ἐπαθεῖς τὰς ἡσυχμένας τε καὶ ξανθᾶς;"

Τῷ δὲ ἁρα ξυν ἐπιβουλῆ ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ὑπὸ ἀλγεῖ μάθοι, καὶ νη Δία, εἰ λοιδορεῖται τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ ὄν πέπονθεν ἀνακοπεῖς δ' ὑφ' ὃν ἦκουσε, "διαβέβλησαι," ἔφη, "πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ πλεῖστοι, μάλιστα δ' ὑπὲρ ὃν οἱ περὶ Νεροῦν ὃς ἀδικοῦντες φεύγουσιν. ἀφίκοντο μὲν γὰρ τινες ἐς αὐτὸν διαβόλαι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ λόγων, οὓς ἀντιξόως τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηχθημένως εἰπας, καταφρονεῖ δὲ τούτων, ὡς φασίν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὰ μείζω παράξυνται, καίτοι τοῦ κάκεινα διαβᾶλλοντος ἄνδρος ὑψοῦ προῄκοντος τῆς δόξης." "οἶον," ἔφη, "Ὁλυμπιονίκην εἰρήκας, εἰ δόξης φησίν ἀπεσθαί διαβολαῖς ἱσχύων. ξυνήμη δ', ὡς ἔστιν Εὐφράτης, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα πάντ' ἐπ' ἐμὲ πράττοντα, ἤδικημαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μείζῳ ἐτερα: αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ποτὲ φοιτήσειν μέλλοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ Γυμνοὺς, ἐς 250
"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

251
CAP. XXXVI


XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος ἀγασθεῖς αὐτῶν ως ύπερ-φιλοσοφοῦντα, ταυτὶ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀπῆλθεν, ἔχωρεi 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

253
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXVII


XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII

Διαλέγεσθαι μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πλείω τοιαύτα, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὁ Δάμων ἀπορεῖν μὲν υπὲρ τῶν παρόντων φησί, λύσιν δὲ αὐτῶν ὅραν οὐδεμίαν πλὴν ὃσαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐξαμένοις τισὶ κάκ
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 em-
ployed 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 him-
self 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

255

XXXIX

Οἱ δὲ εὐηθέστεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τοὺς γόνης ἀναφέρουσι ταῦτα, πεπόνθαι δ’ αὐτὸ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων δεόνται μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς τέχνης ἂθληταί, δεόνται δὲ ἀγωνισταί πάντες διὰ τὸ νικᾶν γῆχεσθαι, καὶ ξυλλαμβάνει μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν νίκην οὐδέν, ἃ δὲ ἀπὸ τὰς νικώσι, ταῦθ’ οἱ κακοδαίμονες αὐτοὺς ἀφελόμενοι, λογίζονται τῇ 256
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

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
CAP. XXXIX

τέχνη ταύτη, ἀπιστοῦσι δ' αὐτῇ, οὔδ' οἱ ἥττω-μενοι σφῶν, "εἰ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα ἔθυσα καὶ τὸ δεῖνα ἐθυμίασα, οὐκ ἀν διέφυγέ με ἡ νίκη," τοιαῦτα λέγουσι, καὶ τοιαῦτα οἴονται. φοιτᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θύρας ἐμπόρων κατὰ ταυτά, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κάκείνους εὑρομεν ἀν τὰ μὲν εὐτυχήματα τῆς ἐμπορίας λογιζομένους τῷ γόντι, τὰ δὲ ἀτόπα τῇ αὐτῶν ψειδοῖ καὶ τῷ μη ὀπόσα ἔδει θύσαι. ἀνήπται δὲ ἡ τέχνη τους ἔρωτας μᾶλιστα, νοσοῦντες γὰρ εὐπαράγωγον οὔτω νόσουν, ὡς καὶ γραιδίους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς διαλέγεσθαι, θαυμαστῶν, οἷμαι, οὗδὲν πράττουσι προσίοντες τοὺς σοφιστὰς τούτοις καὶ ἄκρωμαιναι σφῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐ κεστὸν τε αὐτοῖς φέρειν διδοῦσι καὶ λίθους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς γῆς ἀπορρήτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ σελήνης τε καὶ ἀστέρων, ἀρῴματα τε ὀπόσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ κηπεύει, καὶ χρήματα μὲν αὐτοῖς λαμπρὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων πράττονται, ἐξωδρώσι δὲ οὐδέν. ἢν μὲν γὰρ παθόντων τι τῶν παιδικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἔρωτας ἢ δώροις ὑπαχθέντων προβαίνῃ τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὑμνεῖται ἡ τέχνη, ὡς ἰκανὴ πάντα, εἰ δ' ἀποτυχχάμεν. ἢ πείρα, ἐς τὸ ἐπελειφθὲν ἢ ἀναφορά, μὴ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα θυμιᾶσαι, μηδὲ θύσαι ἡ τῆς, τοῦτι δὲ μέγα εἶναι καὶ ἀπορον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι, καθ' οὖς καὶ 258
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
Διοσκήρας καὶ ἔτερα πλείω τερατεύονται, καὶ ἀναγεγράφαται τισιν, οἷς ἑγέλασαν πλατὺ ἐς τὴν τέχνην, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀποπεφάνθω μηδὲ ἐκείνοις ὀμιλεῖν τοὺς νέους, ἢν μηδὲ παίξειν τὰ τοιαύτα ἐθίζωντο. ἀποχρώσα τῇ ἐκτροπή τοῦ λόγου· τί γὰρ ἄν πλείω καθαπτοίμην τοῦ πράγματος, ὁ καὶ φύσει διαβέβληται καὶ νόμοι;
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 Damis, 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 τὴς ὑστεραίας τὸν Δάμιν, "ἔμοι μὲν," ἔφη, "τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐστὶν προσειρμένην ὑμέραν ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δικαιαρχίας βίδυξε, λέγων γὰρ πεζῇ ιέναι, καὶ προσέπης Διημήτριον, στρέφον περὶ τὴν θαλατταν, ἐν ἦ ἐστὶν ἢ Καλυψοὺς νῆσος, ἐπιφανεῖτα γάρ με ἐκεῖ ὁψεῖ." "ζώντα," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "ἡ τί;" γελάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ός μὲν ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ζώντα," εἶπεν, "ός δὲ σὺ οἶει, ἀναβεβιωκότα." ο μὲν δὴ ἀπελθεῖν φησιν ἄκων, καὶ μήτ' ἀπογυμνώσκων ὡς ἀπολουμένου μήτ' εὐελπίς ὡς οὐκ ἀπολέεται. καὶ τριταῖος μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος, δς περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐγένετο, ὅτι πνεύμα ὑπομβρον καταρραγὲν τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε τῶν νεόν, αὐ ἐκεῖσε ἐπιλευ, τὰς δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπεώσατο, καὶ ξυνεῖνα τότε ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν πεζῇ κομίζεσθαι.

Τὰ ἐπὶ τούτως ἀναγράφει Δάμις ἐξ Ὀν Ἀπολλωνίου φησίν ἄκηκοεὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπότος. μειράκιον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Μεσοσήνης τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδία περὶ βλεπτον ὁρα ἀφικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔραν ὁ αὐτὸν πολλοὺς μὲν, Δομετιανὸν δὲ παρά πάντας, τοὺς δ' οὖτως ἔραν, 262
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XLI

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.

XLII

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...
CAP. XLII


264
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
CAP. τὴν κόμην ἔτερόν τι παρ’ ὦ ἐστιν; ἔστι δ’, οἶμαι, ἡλιόσα τε καὶ ὑποφαίνουσα, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα ὑπὸ τοῦ μυμετροῦ, ὡς καὶ σιωπὴ πρέπειν καὶ λόγον, δέρη τε ὑπὸς ἑλευθέρα καὶ φρονοῦσα. τι οὖν ἔτερον τούτων ὅ βασιλεὺς ἦγησεται σε, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λέγεις ὀφθήναι; ’’ ’’αὐτό με τὸ τοῦτο ἀπολογολεκεν, ὑπαχθεῖς γὰρ μον ἔραν οὐ φείδεται δὴν ἐπαίνει, ἀλλ’ αἰσχύνει διανοεῖται με, ὅσπερ οἰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔρωντες.’’ ἀγασθεὶς δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ ’’Ἀπολλώνιος τὸ μὲν ἐξυγκαθεύδειν ὅ τι ἤγοιτο καὶ εἰ αἰσχρὸν τούτο ἡ μῆ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρωτημάτων παρῆκεν, ἐπειδὴσπέρ ἐρυθριῶντα ἑώρα τὸν Ἀρκάδα καὶ κεκοσμημένος φθεγγόμενον, ἤρετο δ’ αὐτὸν ὡδε: ’’κέκτησαι τινας ἐν Ἀρκαδίας δούλους; ’’ ’’νῦ Δί’, ἔφη, ’’πολλοὺς γε.’’ ’’τούτων ὑπ’ ἐπε, ’’τίνα ἡ γῆ σεαυτὸν; ’’ ’’όνγε,’ ἔφη, ’’οἱ νόμοι, δεσπότης γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰμι.’’ ’’δεσποτῶν δ’, εἶπεν, ’’ὑπηκόους εἴναι δούλους χρή ἡ ἀπαξι- οῦν, ἃ δοκεῖ τοὺς τοῦ σώματος κυρίους; ’’ ὁ δ’ ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἐς οἶαν ἀπόκρισιν περάγωτο, ’’ἡ μὲν τῶν τυράννων ἱσχύς,’ ἔφη, ’’ὡς ἀμαχὸς τε καὶ χαλεπὴ, οἶδα, δι’ αὐτὸ γὰρ που καὶ δεσπότεος τῶν ἑλευθέρων βούλονται, τοῦ δ’ ἐμοὶ σώματος ἐγὼ δεσπότης καὶ φυλάξεω αὐτὸ ἄσυλον.’’ ’’πῶς;’’ εἶπε, ’’πρὸς ἐρασθην γὰρ ὁ λόγος κωμάζοντα μετὰ ξίφους ἐπὶ τὴν σε ὅραν.’’ ’’τὸν τράχηλον,’ ἔφη, ’’ὑποσχὼν μᾶλλον, ἑκείνου γὰρ δὲ τῷ ἔφει.’’ ἐπαινόσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ’’Ἀπολλώνιος, ’’Ἀρκάδα σε,’ ἔφη, ’’ὄρῳ’’ καὶ μὴν τοῦ μερακίου τούτου καὶ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ μέμνηται, καὶ διαγράφει αὐτὸ πολλῷ ἢδιον ἡ ἐγώ ἐνταῦθα, σωφροσύνης τε ἐπαίνων πρὸς τεξ
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
CAP. XLII. Ὁ νῦν γράφει φησὶ τὸ μειράκιον τούτο μηδ' ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, θαυμασθὲν δὲ τῆς ῥώμης ἐπὶ Μαλέαν πλεῦσαι, ξηλωτὸν τοὺς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τὰς τῶν μαστίγων καρτερήσεις παρὰ Δακεδαιμονίοις νικώντες.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

him for his high principles to his correspondent, CHAP. adds that he was not put to death by the tyrant. XI.11
On the contrary, after exciting admiration by his firmness, he returned by ship to Malea, and was held in more honour by the inhabitants of Arcadia than the youths who among the Lacedemonians surpass their fellows in their endurance of the scourge.
BOOK VIII
(Θ)  

I  

CAP. "Ἰωμεν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀκροασόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός ὀπολογουμένου ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἡλίου γὰρ ἐπιτολαί ἤδη καὶ ἀνεῖται τοῖς ἐξλογίμοις ἢ ἐς αὐτὸ πάροδος, τὸν βασιλέα τε οἱ ξυνδιαιτόμενοι φασί μηδὲ σίτων ἄφασθαι, διορῶντα, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ καὶ γὰρ τὶ καὶ βιβλίῳ πρόχειρον ἔχειν αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἐξ ὕπνων ὀργῆς, τὰ δὲ ἤττων, ἀνατυποῦσθαι δὲ χρὴ οἴον ἀχθόμενον τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ εὖρον δικαστήρια.

Η  

CAP. Ἐντευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διαλέξεσθαι ἤγουμένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δραμεῖσθαι τινα ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄγωνα, τούτι δὲ ἀν τεκμηραίμεθα τοῖς γε πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου προϊόν γὰρ ἢρετο τὸν γραμματέα, ὡς οὖν ἤγετο, οἱ βαδίζοιεν, τοῦ δὲ ἐς τὸ 272.
BOOK VIII

I

Let us now repair to the law-court to listen to Chap. 1. the sage pleading his cause; for it is already sun-
rise and the doors are thrown open to admit the
celebrities. And the companions of the Emperor say
that he had taken no food that day, because, I
imagine, he was so absorbed in examining the docu-
mants 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 Chap. II. seems to regard the trial as a dialectical discussion,
rather than as a race to be run for his life; and
this we may infer from the way he behaved
before he entered the court. For on his way
thither he asked the secretary who was con-
ducting him, where they were going; and when the
latter answered that he was leading him to the
CAP. δικαστήριον ἥγεισθαι αὐτῷ φήσαντος, "δικά-

σομαι," ἔφη, "πρὸς τίνα;" "πρὸς γε τὸν σεαυ-

τοῦ," εἶπε, "κατήγορον, δικάσει δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς." "ἐμοὶ δὲ," ἔφη, "καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τίς ὁ δικάσων;

deίξω γὰρ αὐτὸν φιλοσοφίαν ἁδικοῦντα." "καὶ

tίς," εἶπε, "βασιλεῖ φιλοσοφίας λόγος, κἂν ἰδι-

κών ταύτην τύχη;" "ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφία πολὺς," ἔφη, "βασιλέως, ἵνα ἐπιτηδεύως ἄρχῃ." ἐπαινέσας
de ὁ γραμματεὺς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετρίως διέκειτο

πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς καὶ καταρχὰς ἐδείκνυ,

"πόσῳ δὲ," εἶπε, "τὸν λόγον διαμετρῆσεις ὑδάτι;

touti γάρ με χρή πρὸ τῆς δίκης εἰδέναι." "ἐἰ

μὲν ὀπόσα," ἔφη, "ἀπομεῖ ἡ δίκη, ξυγχωρεῖ μοι

λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι διαμετρηθεῖς οὐδὲ ὁ Θύμ-

βρις, εἰ δὲ ὀπόσα ἐρήστεται, μέτρον τοῦ ἀποκρι-

νομένου ὁ ἑρωτῶν." "ἐναντίας," εἶπεν, "ἀρετὰς

ἐπηκυκνᾶς βραχυλογεῖν τε καὶ μακρηγορεῖν ὑπὲρ

tῶν αὐτῶν φάσκων." "οὐκ ἐναντίας," ἔφη, "ἀλλ' ὡμοίας: ὁ γὰρ θάτερον ἰκανὸς οὐδὲν ἂν θατέρου

λείπωτο. καὶ ξυμμετρία δὲ ἀμφοῖν ξυγκειμένη

τρίτη μὲν, οὐκ ἂν φαίνη, πρῶτη δ' ἂν εἰς ἀρετὴ

λόγου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ

tetάρτην ἀρετήν οἶδα." "ἀνόητῶν γε," εἶπε, 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
CAP. “σεαυτῷ καὶ πάντει τῷ κινδυνεύειν μέλλοντι.”

III


276
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 manœuvres; 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.

277
FLAVIUS PHILESTRAUTUS

IV

CAP. IV. Τοιαύτα ἥκροβολέσαντο πρὸ τῆς δίκης, τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ· κεκόσμητο μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον ὅσπερ ἐπὶ ξυνουσία πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου, μετείχον δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ ἑπίδηλοι πάντες, ἀγῶνα ποιομένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτε ἐν πλείστοις ἔλειν αὐτὸν ἔπει τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτίᾳ. ὁ δ’ οὖσι τῷ υπερώφρᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅσ μηδὲ ἐσ αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἐπηρεάσαντος δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου τῇ ὑπεροψίᾳ, καὶ κελεύσαντος ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων θεόν, ἀνέσχεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, ἐνδεκυμένος μὲν τὸ ἐς τὸν Δία ὀρᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀσέβος κολακευθέντα κακίω τοῦ κολακεύσαντος ἡγούμενος. ἐβόα καὶ τοιαύτα ὁ κατηγόρος, "Ἡδὴ μέτρει, βασιλεῦ, ὦδωρ, εἰ γὰρ ξυγχωρήσεις αὐτῷ μῆκος λόγων, ἀπάγξει ἡμᾶς. ἔστι δὲ μοι καὶ βιβλίον τούτο ξυγγραμμένον τὰς αἰτίας, ὑπὲρ δὲν χρὴ λέγειν αὐτὸν, ἀπολογεῖσθω δὲ κατὰ μίαν."

V

CAP. V. 'Ὁ δ’, ὡς ἀριστὰ ξυμβουλεύσαντος ἐπανέσας, ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀνδρὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ συνοφάντον ξυμβουλίαν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας παρελθὼν αἰτίας, ὡς οὖκ ἠξίας καταστήσατι 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
CAP. λόγου, ύπερ τεττάρων δέ, ἃς ἀπόρους τε καὶ
dυσαποκρίτους ὄφεσο, ὡδὲ ἐρωτήσας: “τί γὰρ
μαθῶν,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχεις
ἄπασι στολήν, ἀλλ' ἰδίαν τε καὶ ἐξαίρετον;” “οὔτε
με,” εἶπεν, “ἡ τρέφουσα γῆ καὶ ἀμφιέννυσι, ξῶα
dὲ ἄθλια οὐκ ἐνοχλῶ.” πάλιν ἤρετο, “τοῦ χάριν
οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεόν σε ὑνομάζουσιν;” “οὔτε πάς,”
eἶπεν, “ἄνθρωπος ἄγαθὸς νομίζομεν θεοῦ ἑπω-
νυμία τιμᾶται.” ὁ λόγος οὖτος ὑπὸθεν ἐφιλο-
σοφήθη τῷ ἀνδρὶ, δεδήλωκα ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδῶν λόγοις.
τρίτον ἤρετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν Ἡφέσῳ λοιμοῦ, “πόθεν
γάρ,” ἔφη, “ὁμομενοῦς ἢ τῷ ξυμβαλλόμενοι
προεῖπας τῇ Ἡφέσῳ νοσήσειν αὐτοὺς;” “λεπ-
τοτέρα,” εἶπεν, “ὁ βασιλεὺς, διαίτης χρόμενος
πρώτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἡσθόμην εἰ δὲ βούλει, λέγω
καὶ λοιμῶν αἰτίας.” ὁ δ', οἶμαι, δεῖσας μὴ τὴν
ἀδικίαν καὶ τοὺς μὴ καθαροὺς γάμους καὶ ὅποια
οὐκ εὐλόγως ἔπραττεν, ἐπιγράψῃ ταῖς τοιαύταις
νόσοις, “οὐ δέομαι,” ἔφη, “τοιάσθε ἀποκρίσεως.”
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τετάρτην ἐρώτησιν ἐπέφερεν ἐς τοὺς
ἀνδρας, οὐκ εὐθὺς ὄρμησεν, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν
χρόνου διαλυπῶν πολλὰ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεῖσα, ἱλαριμοῦ
dὲ ὁμοιὸς ἑρότησεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν
οἱ μὲν γὰρ φόντο αὐτῶν ἐκπεποίησαντα τοῦ πλά-
σματος μὴτῇ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀφέξεσθαι τῶν
ἀνδρῶν, σχέτικας τε ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας βοήσεσθαι,
ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὡδὲ, ἀλλ' ύφέρον τὴν ἑρώτησιν,
“εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη, “προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας τῇ
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,
Cap. δεῦμι ἡμέρα καὶ ἐς ἀγρόν πορευθεῖς τίνι ἑθύσω τὸν παῖδα;; καὶ ο Ἀπολλώνιος ὡσπερ μειρακίῳ ἐπιπλήττων, “εὐφήμει,” ἐφη, “εἰ μὲν γὰρ προῆλθον τῆς οἰκίας, ἐγενόμην ἐν ἁγρῷ, εἰ δὲ τούτο, καὶ ἑθυσα, εἰ δὲ ἑθυσα, καὶ ἑφαγον. λεγόντων δὲ αὐτὰ οἱ πίστεως ἄξιοι.” τοιαύτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐπόντος καὶ ἐπαίνου ἀρθέντος μεῖζονος ἡ βασίλειον ἐξυγχωρεῖ δικαστήριον, ἀξιμαρτυρεῖν αὐτῷ νομίσας ὁ βασίλειος τοὺς παρόντας καὶ παθῶν τι πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, ἐπειδὴ ἔρρωτό τε καὶ νοῦν ἔχον, “ἀφίημί σε,” ἔπε, “τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, περιμενεῖς δὲ, ἐστ’ ἂν ἰδίᾳ ἐξυγχωνόμεθα.” ὁ δὲ ἐπιρρόως ἐκαύτόν, “σοὶ μὲν χάρις, ὅ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀληθέριους τούτους ἀπολύσας μὲν αἱ πόλεις, πλῆρες δ’ αἱ νήσοι φυγάδων, ἢ δὲ ἡπείρος οἰμωγῆς, τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα δειλίας, ἢ δὲ ἔνγκλητος ὑπονοίας. δός, εἰ βούλοιο, κάμοι τόπον, εἰ δὲ μή, πέμπτε τὸν ληφόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ’ ἂν τὸ σῶμα τοῦμον λάβοις,

οὗ γὰρ με κτενεῖς, ἐπει οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι.

καὶ εἰπόν ταῦτα ἡφανίσθη τοῦ δικαστήριον, τὸν τε παρόντα καίρον εὑ τιθέμενος ὑπὲρ ὅν οὐδ’ ἀπλῶς ὁ τύραννος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας ἑρωτήσων δῆλος ἦν—ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο γὰρ που τῷ μῆ
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 laments, 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

ΚΑΡ. ἀπεκτωνέναι αὐτὸν—τοῦ τε μὴ ἐσ τὰ τοιαύτα ὑπαχθῆναι προορῶν. τυχεῖν δ' αὐ τούτου ἁριστα ἤγεῖτο, εἰ μὴ ἥγουσίτο τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ γνωστοῖς, οὐς ἔχοι τοῦ μὴ ἄν ποτε ἀλώναι ἄκων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δεῖ τὸ περὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὑ ἦδη αὐτῷ εἶχεν, ὑπὲρ δὲν γὰρ μηδὲ ἔρεσθαι τι ὁ τύραννος ὄρμησε, πῶς ἄν τούτοις ἐς τὸ πιθανὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπὶ ταῖς οὐκ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πεπιστευμέναις αἰτίαις; τούτῳ εὗρον τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκη.

VI

ΚΑΡ. Εἴπει δὲ καὶ λόγος μὲν αὐτῷ ξυνεγράφη τις ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ ἐσ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὑφήσοντι, ξυνεῖλε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐς ὃς εὑρηκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος. οὐκ ἥγοι μὲν γὰρ, ὅτι διαβαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰς βωμολόγους ἱδέας ἑπιανοῦσες, ὡς ἤτοι μὲν, ἢ αὐτοῖς φασὶ δεῖν, κεκολασμένων, ὑπεραιροῦντα δὲ τοῖς τε ὑνόμασι καὶ ταῖς ἑνόμαις. τὸν δὲ ἀνδρα ἐνθυμομένῳ οὐ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ σοφὸς ὑγιῶς ἂν ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸ ἕαυτον ἦθος πάρισα ἐπιτηδεύον καὶ ἀντιθέτα, καὶ κροτάλοι δίκην κτυπῶν τῇ γλώττῃ, ῥήτορικοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τρόπου ταύτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος δεῖ δεινότης γὰρ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἢ μὲν φανερὰ καὶ διαβάλοι.
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
CAP. τινά ὡς ἐπιθυμευόντα τοῖς ψηφιουμένοις, ἢ δὲ ἁφανής καὶ ἀπέλθοι κρατόσα, τὸ γὰρ λαθεῖν τούς δικαίων, ὡς δεινός ἐστιν, ἄλληθεστέρα δεινότης. σοφὸς δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀπολογουμένῳ, οὐ γὰρ κατηγορήσει γε ὁ σοφὸς, ἀ ἐπιτιμῶν ἔρρωταί, ἦθους τε δεῖ ἐτέρου παρὰ τοὺς δικαιοκότις ἄνδρας, λόγου τε κατεσκευασμένοι μὲν, μὴ δοκοῦντος δὲ, καὶ ὑπόσεμνος ἔστω καὶ μὴ πολὺ ἀποδέων τοῦ ὑπερστης εἶναι, ἔλεος τε ἑπέστω λέγοντος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἀντιβολῆσαι ἐνυχρωμῶ τί ἄν οὔτος ἐπὶ ἑλέφ εἰποι; τοιὸδε ὁ λόγος δοξεῖ τοῖς γε μὴ μαλακῶς ἀκροασμένοις ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἤμετέρθη γὰρ αὐτῷ δόδε·

VII

CAP. VII "Ὁ μὲν ἄγων ὑπὲρ μεγάλων σοὶ τε, ὁ βασιλεὺς, κάμοι· σοῦ τε γὰρ κινδυνεύεις ὑπὲρ ὃν μὴ ποτε αὐτοκράτωρ, εἰ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν οὐδεμιᾷ δίκη διαβεβληθαι δοξεῖς, ἐγὼ τε ὑπὲρ ὃν μηδὲ Σωκράτης ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ὃν οἱ γραφάμενοι τὴν γραφὴν καὶνὸν μὲν τὰ δαιμόνια ἡγοῦντο, δαίμονα δὲ οὔτε ἐκάλουν οὔτε φοντο. κινδύνου δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον ἢμῶν οὔτω χαλεποῦ ἤκουντος, οὐκ ὁκνήσω 286
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 CHAP. VII 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 ξύμβουλεύειν, ὅπόσα ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατέστησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ κατήγορος ἐς τουτοὶ τὸν ἁγώνα, ἐσῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἀληθῆς περὶ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ σοῦ δόξα· σὲ μὲν γὰρ φόντῳ ξύμβουλῳ τῆς ἄκροϊσεως ὁργῇ χρῆσεσθαι, δι' ἂν κάν ἀποκτείναι με, ὅ τι ποτε ἐστὶ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐκποιήσειν ἐμαυτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου τρόποις, ὁπόσοι τοῦ ἀποδράναι εἰσίν, ἢσαν δ', ὁ βασιλεῦ, μυρίων καὶ τούτων ἁκούων οὐκ ἕς τὸ προκαταγωγόσκειν ἥλθον, οὐδὲ κατεψυχησάμην τῆς σῆς ἄκροϊσεως ὡς μὴ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐχοῦσης, ἀλλὰ ξυνθέμενοι τοῖς νόμοις ἔστηκα ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ τούτου ξύμβουλος καὶ σοὶ γίγνομαι. δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὴ προκαταγωγόσκειν, μηδὲ καθῆσθαι πεπεισμένον, ὅσ ἐγὼ τὶ σε κακὸν ἐγρασμαί, μηδ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ 'Ἀρμενίου τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίου καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἐκείνη ἀρχοῦσιν, οἷς ὑπὸ τοὺς παμπόλλη ἐστὶ καὶ τοξεία πᾶσα καὶ χρυσῆ γῆ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὄχλος, δι' ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἁκούων ξὺν γέλωτι τὸ πείσεσθαι τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὃ σε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἀφαιρῆσαι, κατ' ἀνδρὸς δὲ σοφοῦ καὶ γυμνοῦ πιστεῦειν, ὅσ ἐστὶ τοῦτῳ ὅπλον ἐπὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ προσδέχεσθαι ταύτα Αἰγυπτίου συκοφάντου λέγοντος, ἃ μηδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ποτε ἤκουσας, ἢν σεαυτοῦ προορὰν φῆς, εἰ μή, νη Δία, ἡ κολακευτική καὶ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν οὐτω
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

289
CAP. VII

τι νῦν τοῖς ἀληθηρίοις τούτοις ἐπιδέδωκεν, ὡς τούς θεοὺς ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὁπόσα ὀφθαλμᾶι τέ εἰσι καὶ τὸ μὴ πυρέξαι, μηδ' ἀνοιδῆσαι τι τῶν σπλάγχων, ἐπιτιθείοις εἶναι σοι ξυμβούλους φάσκειν, ἰατρῶν δίκην ἐφαπτομένους καὶ θεραπεύοντας, ὅτου αὐτῶν ποιήρως ἔχοις, περὶ δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι κινδυνεύοντι σοι μηθ' οὖς φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ ξυμβουλεύειν μήθ' ὁ τι ἐστιν σοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπλον διδάσκειν ἢκοντας, ἀλλ' εἶναι σοι τοὺς συκοφάντας αἰγίδα Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Δίας χείρα, εἰδέναι μὲν ὑπὲρ σοῦ φάσκοντας, ἂ μηδ' οἱ θεοὶ, προεγγηγορότας δὲ σοι καὶ προκαθεύδοντας, εἰ δὴ καθεύδουσιν ὁὗτοι, κακοῖς, φαςιν, ἐπαντλοῦντες κακὰ καὶ τὰς Ἰλιάδας ταῦτας ἀεὶ ἔυντιθέντες.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἱπποτροφεῖν αὐτοὺς κατὰ ξενιῶν ἐσ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκκυκλεῖσθαι λευκῶν, καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ ὑποφαγία καὶ μυριάδων δύο καὶ τριῶν ἐωνημένα παιδικᾶ, καὶ τὸ μοιχεῖειν μὲν, ὅν λανθάνουσι χρόνον, γαμεῖν δὲ, ἃς ἐμοίχευσαν, ὅταν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ληφθῶσι, καὶ οἱ κροτοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαὶς νίκαις, ἐπειδὰν φιλόσοφος τις ἢ ὑπατος ἀδικῶν αὐθέν, ἄλφα μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀπόληται δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ,
these miscreants, that you would pretend that whereas in insignificant matters, such as sore-eyes, and avoidance of fevers and inflammation of the bowels, the Gods are your apt advisers, manipulating and healing you after the manner of physicians of any one of these maladies you may be suffering from, they, nevertheless, in matters which imperil your throne and your life, give you no counsel either as to the persons you should guard against or as to the weapons you should employ against them, but, instead of coming to your aid, leave you to the tender mercies of false accusers, whom you regard as the Aegis of Athene or the hand of Zeus, just because they assert that they understand your welfare better even than do the gods, and that they ever watch over you in the hours of their waking and sleeping, if indeed these wretches can sleep after pouring out such wicked lies and compiling ever and anon whole Iliads such as this one.

That they should keep horses and roll theatrically into the forum in chariots drawn by snowy teams, that they should gorge themselves off dishes of silver and gold, parade favourites that cost them two or three myriad sesterces, that they should go on committing adultery as long as they are not found out and then, and not before, marry the victims of their lusts when they are caught red-handed, that their splendid successes should be hailed with applause, as often as some philosopher or consul, absolutely innocent, falls into their toils, and is put to death by yourself—all this I am willing to concede to the licence of these accursed wretches and to their brazen indifference to the
CAP. VII. δεδόσθω τῇ τῶν καταράτων τρυφῆ καὶ τῷ μῆτε νόμων αὐτοῖς ἐτί μὴτ ὀφθαλμῶν εἶναι φόβου, τὸ δ’ οὖν τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φρονεῖν, ὡς προγιγνώσκειν βούλεσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶ καὶ ἄκοιν δέδια, σὺ δ’ εἰ προσδέξοιο, γράψονται καὶ σὲ ἔσως ὡς διαβάλλοντα τῇ περὶ τοῦ θείου δόξαν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρτικὶ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ ξυγκείσεσθαι τοιαύτας γραφάς, ἐπειδὰν μηδεὶς τοῖς συνοφάνταις λοιπός ἦ’ καὶ ξυνήμη μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν μᾶλλον ἡ ἀπολογούμενος, εἰρήσθω δὲ μοι ταῦθ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, οὗς εἰ μὴ ἄρχοντας ἡγοῖο, οὐκ ἄρξεις.

Τὸς οὖν ξυνήγορος ἔσται μοι ἀπολογούμενος; εἰ γὰρ καλέσαιμι τὸν Δία, ὡς ὃς βεβιωκὼς οἶδα, γοητεύειν με φήσουσι καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄγειν. διαλεγόμεθα οὖν περὶ τούτου ἀνδρί, ὅν τεθνάναι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ φασίν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ φημι’ ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ πατήρ ὁ σὸς, ὃ εὖ γω τοσούτου ἀξίως, ὅσον περὶ έκείνος σο’ σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἔποιήσεων, ὃτ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο. οὗτος, ὁ βασιλεὺς, ξυλλήπτωρ ἔσται μοι τῆς ἁπολογίας, πολλῷ τὰ μᾶ βέλτιον ἡ σὺ ὑγινόσκων ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Λεγομπτὸν οὖν ἀντοκράτωρ, θεοὶς τε τοῖς ἐν Λεγομπτῷ θύσων καὶ μοὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄρχης διαλεξόμενος. ἐντυχὼν δὲ μοι κομῶντι τε καὶ ὅδε ἐσταλμένῳ οὐδὲ ἦρετο οὖδὲ ἐν περὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ἡγούμενος τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πάν εὖ ἔχειν, ἐμοὶ δ’ ἐνεχ’ ἥκειν ὀμολογήσας, ἀπῆλθεν

292
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 ἣ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἀκούσας δὲ ἣ μὴ παρ' ἄλλον· ἦ τε διάνοια, ἦ ἐς τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἐχρῆτο, ἐρρώσηθη αὐτῷ παρ' ἐμοῦ μάλιστα, μεθεστηκῦια ἦδη ὑφ' ἐτέρων, οὐκ ἀνεπιτησεῖοι μὲν, οὐ μὴν σοὶ γε δόξα, οἱ γὰρ μὴ ἀρχεῖν αὐτόν πείθοντες καὶ σὲ δήπον αὐτὸ ἀφηροῦντο τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ταῦτ' ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δὲ ξυμβουλεύουντος ἑαυτὸν τε μὴ ἀπαξιοῦν ἀρχῆς ἔπε θύρας αὐτῷ φοιτώσης, ὑμᾶς τε κληρονόμους αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι, εἰ ἐγείρῃ τὴν γνώμην φήσας, αὐτὸς τε μέγας ἡρθη καὶ ὑμᾶς ἤρεν· εἰ δὲ γοήτα με φέτο, οὐδ' ἂν ἔννηψε μοι κοινωνίαν φροντίδων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἦκων διελέγετο, οἷον ἀνάγκασον τὰς Μοῖρας ἢ τὸν Δία, τύραννον ἀποφῆμαι με ἢ τεράτευσα διοσκήμας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δείξας τὸν ἡλιον ἀνίσχυτα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, δυόμενον δὲ, ὅθεν ἀρχεται. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μοι ἐπιτηθείοις ἀρχεῖν ἔδοξεν, ἢ ἐμὲ ἡγούμενοι ἰκανοὶ ταῦτα, ἢ σοφίσμασι θηρεύων ἀρχῆς, ἢν ἀρεταῖς ἐδει κατακτάσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ δημοσία διελέξθην ἐν ἱερῷ, γοήτων δὲ ξυνοσίαι φεύγουσι μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἐχθρὰ γὰρ τοῖς περὶ τὴν τέχνην, νῦκτα δὲ καὶ πᾶν, ὅ τι ἄφεγγες, αὐτῶν προβάλλομενοι, οὐ ξυγχωροῦσι τοῖς ἀνοήτοις οὐδὲ 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-
μὲν, παρετύγχανον δὲ ὁμοὶ Ἑυφράτης καὶ Δίων, ὁ μὲν πολεμιώτατα μοι ἔχων, ὁ δ' οἰκειώτατα, Δίωνα γὰρ μὴ παυσαίμην γράφων ἐν φίλοις. τίς ἂν οὖν ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἢ μεταποιουμένων γε σοφίας ἐς γόητας ἐλθοί λόγους; τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν παραπλησίως φυλάξατο καὶ ἐν φίλοις καὶ ἐν ἐχθροῖς κακὸς φαινεσθαι; καὶ οὶ λόγοι ἦσαν ἐναντιούμενοι τοῖς γόησιν: οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἠσως τὸν πατέρα ἤγη τὸν σεαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἐρωτα γόησι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐαυτὸ πιστεύσαι, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ίνα τούτον τύχοι, παρ' ἐμοῦ εὑρέσθαι, ο δὲ τούτο μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἐσ Αὐγουστον ἤκειν ἔχειν φησι, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὑπὲρ μειζόνων ἐμοὶ διελέγετο, ὑπὲρ νόμων καὶ ὑπὲρ πλούτου δικαίου, θεοὶ τε ὡς θερα- πευτεύοι, καὶ ὅπωσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρχουσι, μαθεῖν ἡρᾶ: οὶς πᾶσιν ἐναν- τίον χρῆμα οἱ γόητες, εἰ γὰρ ἵσχυοι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ τέχνη.

Προσήκει δὲ, ὁ βασιλεύ, κάκεινα ἐπεσκέφθαι τέχναι ὅποσαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἰσί, πράττοντι μὲν ἄλλο ἄλλη, πᾶσαι δ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, αἱ μὲν σμικρῶν, αἱ δ' αὐ μεγάλων, αἱ δ' ἁφ' ὅν θρέψονται καὶ οὐχ αἱ βάναυσοι μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν σοφαὶ τε ὁμοίως 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
CAP. ὑπόσοφοι, πλὴν ἀληθοὺς φιλοσοφίας. καλῶ δὲ σοφᾶς μὲν ποιητικήν μουσικήν ἀστρονομίαν, σοφιστὰς καὶ τῶν ῥήτορόν τους μὴ ἀγοραίους, ὑποσόφους δὲ ξωγραφίαν πλαστικήν ἀγαλματο- ποιοὺς κυβερνήτας γεωργοὺς, ἣν ταῖς ὁραῖς ἑπωνυται, καὶ γὰρ αἴδε αἱ τέχναι σοφίας οὐ πολὺ λείπονται. ἔστι δὲ τι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ψευδόσοφοί τε καὶ ἀγειροντες, ὃ μὴ μαντικὴν ὑπολάβης, πολλοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀξία, ἢν ἀληθεύη, εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ τεχνή, οὐπο οίδα, ἄλλα τοὺς γόρτας ψευδοσόφους φημί· τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστεῖσθαι, πάντα ταύτα προστίθημι τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων δόξῃ, τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν τῆς τεχνῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων τε καὶ ἑθομένων ἀνοίᾳ κεῖται, ἢ δὲ τεχνὴ φιλοχρήματοι πάντες, ὃ γὰρ κομψεύονται, ταύθ' ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ σφισιν εὔρηται, μαστέουσι δὲ ὑπερβολὰς χρημάτων, ὑπαγόμενοι τοὺς ὁτουδὴ ἑρώντας ὡς ἰκανοὶ πάντα. τίνα οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλούτου περὶ ἡμᾶς ἰδὼν ψευδοσοφίαν ἐπιτηδεύειν με οἶει, καὶ ταύτα τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς κρείττω με ἡγουμένου χρημάτων; ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ

298.
are esteemed liberal\(^1\) arts as well as those which only border upon being liberal, and true philosophy is the only exception. And by liberal arts I mean poetry, music, astronomy, the art of the sophist and of the orator, the merely forensic kinds excepted; and by the arts which border upon liberal I mean those of the painter, modeller, sculptor, navigator, agriculturist, in case the latter waits upon the seasons; for these arts are not very inferior to the liberal professions. And on the other hand, my prince, there are the pseudo-liberal arts of jugglers, which I would not have you confuse with divination, for this is highly esteemed, if it be genuine and tell the truth, though whether it is an art, I am not yet sure. But I anyhow affirm wizards to be professors of a pseudo-liberal art, for they get men to believe that the unreal is real, and to distrust the real as unreal, and I attribute all such effects to the imaginative fancy of the dupes; for the cleverness of this art is relative to the folly of the persons who are deceived by them, and who offer the sacrifices they prescribe; and its professors are given up wholly to filthy lucre, for all their parade of skill is devised by them in hope of gain, and they are always on the look out for big fortunes, and they try to persuade people who are passionately attached to something or another that they are capable of getting everything for them. Do you then find me so opulent as to warrant me in supposing that I cultivate this sort of false and illiberal wisdom, the more so as your own father considered me to be above all pecuniary considerations? And to show you that

\(^1\) I translate the same word \(σοφός\) in this passage by \(liberal\), \(wise\), and \(clever\) according to the context.
CAP. VII

λέγω, ποῦ μοι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ γενναίου τε καὶ θείου ἀνδρός; ὃς με ἐν αὐτῇ ἔδει τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι.

αὐτοκράτωρ Οὔεσπασιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

"Εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταύτα σοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἦθελον, σφόδρα ἂν εὐδαιμόνως ἔπραττε φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία: φιλοσοφία μὲν ἄδεικτώς ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαίρετως. ἔρρωσο."

"Ταῦθ' ὁ πατήρ ὁ σὸς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀπολογείσθω, φιλοσοφίας μὲν τὸ ἀδέκαστον, πενίας δὲ τὸ αὐθαίρετον ἐμοὶ ὀριζόμενος, ἐμέμυητο γὰρ ποὺ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λυγιντον, ὅτε Ἑὐφράτης μὲν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν προσποιομένων φιλοσοφεῖν προσώπως αὐτῷ χρήματα οὔθ' ἀφανῶς ἤτοιν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μόνον οὐ προσήκειν ὑπὲρ χρήματων, ἄλλα κάκεινος ἔσθον ὡς οὐχ ὑγιαινοντας, διεβεβλήθην δὲ πρὸς χρήματα μειράκιον ὅν ἐν τῇ γοῦν πατρόφα, λαμπρὰ δ' ἢν οὐσία ταύτα, μᾶς μόνῃς ἵδων ἡμέρας, ἀδελφοῖς τε τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ ἀφήκα καὶ φίλοις, καὶ τῶν ἄγγισεν τοῖς πένησι, μελετῶν ποὺ ἀφ' Ἑστίας τὸ μὴ δεινὸς δεῖσθαι: ἐάσθω δὲ Ἁβυλῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ Καῦκασον τε καὶ ποταμὸν "Τφασιν, δι' ὅν ἐπορεύμην ἐμαυτῷ ὄμως: ἀλλὰ τῶν τῆς ἐνταύθα καὶ τοῦ μῆ πρὸς ἀργύριον βλέπει στου ὁμοῦ μάρτυρα τῶν Ἀγιότητος ποτοῦ. δεινὰ γὰρ πεπραχθαὶ τε 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
μοι καὶ βεβουλεύσθαι φήσας, οὐθ' ὁπόσων χρημάτων ἐπανούργουν ταῦτα, ἐξηκεν, οὐθ' ὦ τι ἐνθυμηθεὶς κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνόητος αὐτὸρ δοκῶ τις, ὡς γοητεύειν μὲν, ἃ δ' ὑπέρ πολλῶν ἔτεροι χρημάτων, αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖν οὐθ' ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀγοράν, οἴμαι, προκηρύττων τοιαύτην ἵτε, δ' ἀνόητοι, γοητεύω γάρ, καὶ οὐθ' ὑπέρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ προῖκα, κερδανεῖτε δὲ ύμεῖς μὲν τὸ ύπελθεῖν ἔκαστος ἔχων, ὦτον ἔρα, ἐγὼ δὲ κινδύνους καὶ γραφάς.

'Αλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐς ἀνοητούς ἱωμεν λόγους, ἐρώμεθα τὸν κατήγορον, ὑπὲρ ὅτου χρὴ λέγειν πρῶτον. καὶ τὸ τὶ χρῆ ἐρωτᾶν; διήλθε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς στολῆς τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου, καί, νὴ Δῆ, ἀν συνεῖμαι τε καὶ οὐ συνεῖμαί. ἀπολογοῦ δὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦτον, θείε Πυθαγόρα, κρινόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὅν σὺ μὲν εὗρες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινῶ. ἀνθρώπος ἢ γῆ φύει, βασιλεύ, πάντα, καὶ σπουδᾶς ἄγειν πρὸς τὰ ξύλα βουλομένους δὲ οὐδενὸς, τὰ μὲν γὰρ δρέπονται αὐτῆς, τὰ δrokeβουλομένους δὲ οὐδενὸς, τὰ μὲν γὰρ δρέπονται αὐτῆς, τὰ δ' ἀροῦνται κουροτροφούσης, ὡς ταῖς ὀραίς ἐοικέων, οἱ δ' ὁσπερ ἁμνόκοι τῆς γῆς μάχαιραν ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἠθηξαν ὑπὲρ ἐσθήτος τε καὶ βράσεως. Ἰνδολ τοιῶν Βραχμάνες αὐτοὶ τε οὐκ ἐπήνουν ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Αἰγυπτίων ἐδίδασκον μὴ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὰ· ἔνθεν Πυθαγόρας ἔλαυν, Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτος ἐπέμιξεν Αἰγυπτίους, τὰ μὲν ἐμψυχὰ
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 pull 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 PHилострАТUS

CAP. VII

τῇ γῇ ἄνήκεν, ἃ δ' αὐτή φῦε, ἀκήρατα εἶναι φάσκων ἐσυνετοῖο, ἐπιτήδεια γὰρ σῶμα καὶ νοῦν τρέφειν ἐσθήτα τε, ἣν ἀπὸ θυνσειδίων οἱ πολλοὶ φοροῦσιν, οὐ καθαρὰν εἶναι φήσας λίνου ἡμπίσχετο, καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον βύβλου ἐπιλέξατο. ἀπέλαυσε τε τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι πολλὰ μέν, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς αἰσθέσθαι γενόμενος γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὐς υπὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης ἢ Τροία ἐμάχετο, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάνθου παίδων κάλλιστος ὁν καὶ κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένοις, ἀπέθανε μὲν οὕτω νέος, ὡς καὶ Ὀμήρου παρασχεῖν θρῆνον, παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς πλεῖον σώματα κατὰ τὸν Ἀδραστείας θεσμῶν, ὡς ψυχὴ ἐναλλάττει, πάλιν ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς ἀνθρώπου εἶδος καὶ Μηνσαρχίδη ἐτέχθη τῷ Σαμίῳ, σοφὸς ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Ἰων ἐκ Τρώως, καὶ οὕτω τι ἄθανατος, ὡς μηδ' ὅτι Ἐὐφροβος ἕν ἐκλελήσθαι. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρὸγονον τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ σοφίας εὐρήκια καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς εὑρόν, κληρονομήσας δὲ ἐτέρου ταῦτ' ἔχειν. κἂν γὰρ μὲν οὐ κρίνω τοὺς τρυφῶντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φοινικίου ὄρνθος, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐκ Φώσιδος ἢ Παιόνων, οὐς πιάνουσιν ἐς τὰς αὐτῶν δαίτας οἱ τῇ γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι πάντα, οὐδ' 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
Καὶ οὕτως ἡ ἐσθής ἄσυλος, ἀλλὰ κακείνην λατοδυτεῖ με ὁ κατήγγειρος ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιαν τοῖς γονίσι. καίτοι ἀφελόντε τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐμψύχων τε καὶ ἀψύχων λόγου, διʼ ὧν καθαρός τις ἡ μὴ δοκεῖ, τῷ βελτίων ἡ ὀθόνη τοῦ ἐρίου; τὸ μὲν γε πρασοτάτου ξύου ἐπέχειθ καὶ σπουδαζόμενον θεοῖς, οἷς μὴ ἀπαξιόντοι τὸ ποιμαίνειν καὶ, νὴ Ἰδε, ἥξιωσάν ποτε αὐτὸ καὶ χρυσοῦ εἶδους ἡ θεοὶ ἡ λόγοι. λίνον δὲ σπείρεται μὲν, ὡς ἐτυχε, χρυσοῦ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν λόγος, ἀλλʼ ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀπ’ ἐμψύχου ἐδρέφθη, καθαρὸν μὲν Ἰνδοῖς δοκεῖ, καθαρὸν δὲ Ἀυγυπτίως, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρα διὰ τοῦτο σχῆμα γέγονε διαλεγομένου εὐχομένους θύουσι. καθαρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐνυπεξεν εὐπρὸς αὐτῶ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὀνείρατα τοῖς, ὡς εγὼ, διαίτωμένους ἐτυμωτέρας τὰς αὐτῶν φήμας ἄγει.

Ἀπολογώμεθα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οὕσης ποτὲ ἡμῶν κόμης, ἐπειδὴ τις γραφὴ καὶ αὐχμοῦ εὐρηται.

306
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

against anyone, because they buy fish for their chap.
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
κρίνετω δὲ μὴ ὁ Διονύστιος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔστατα καὶ διεκτεινομένα μειράκια, τοὺς ἔστατας ἐξαψάμενα καὶ τὰς ἐπαίρας, ἐφ’ ἃς κομάξει καὶ ἕαυτὰ μὲν εὐθαϊμονα ἑγείσθω καὶ ἑιλωτὰ τῆς κόμης καὶ τοῦ λειβομένου ἀπ’ αὐτῆς μύρου, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀναφροδισίαν πᾶσαν καὶ ἔραστὴν τοῦ μὴ ἔραν. εἰρήσεται γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὰ· ὃ κακοδαίμονες, μὴ συκοφαντεῖτε τὸ Δωρίεων εὑρέμα, τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων ἦκει, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπιτηδευθέν αὐτοῖς, ἐς οὓς μαχιμάτατα αὐτῶν εἴχουν, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῆς Σπάρτης Δεπυίδας ἐγένετο κομῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρείας, καὶ τοῦ σεμινὸς μὲν φίλοις, φοβερὸς δὲ ἔχθροις φαίνεσθαν· ταῦτα τοι καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ἐπ’ αὐτῷ κομᾶ μεῖον οὐδὲν ἦ ἐπὶ Δυκούργῳ τε καὶ Ἰφώτῳ. σοφῷ δὲ ἀνδρὸς κόμης φειδέσθω σίδηρος, οὐ γὰρ θεμιτῶν ἐπάγειν αὐτόν, οὐ πᾶσαι μὲν αἰσθητηρίων πηγαί, πᾶσαι δ’ ὅμφαί, θεῖον εὐχαῖ τε ἀναφαίνονται καὶ σοφίας ἐρμηνευόν λόγος. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ στρόφιον τῶν ἀλουργόστατων περὶ αὐτῶν ἀρμόσας ἐσόβει περὶ τὰς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀγωνις, ὦμους ἐξωτιθέεις, ὡς θεος εἶ ἀνθρώπων ἐσοιτο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡμελημένη κόμη χρώμενος, καὶ οὕπω τοιῶνδε ὄμων ἐπ’ αὐτὴ δεηθεῖς, ἐς γραφάς ἀγομαι καὶ δικαστήρια. καὶ τὶ φῶ τῶν Ἐμπεδοκλῆες; πότερ ἕαυτὸν ἢ τήν 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 Lacedaemonians 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,
CAP. VII

ἀνθρώπων εὐδαίμονίαν ἄδειαν, παρ’ οἷς οὐκ ἐσευκο- 
φαντεῖτο ταῦτα;

Μὴ πλείω διαλεγόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης,
ἐτμῆθη γὰρ καὶ προύλαβε τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ
φθόνος, δι’ ὅν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἔτερας αἰτίας χρὴ
ἀπολογεῖσθαι χαλεπῆς οὐσίας, καὶ οἷς, ὃ
βασιλεὺς, μὴ σοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Δἰ παρα-
σχεῖν φόβου· φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ
ήγεισθαι με, καὶ δημοσίᾳ τούτ’ ἐκφέρειν ἐμβε-
βροντημένους ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ· καίτοι καὶ πρὸ τῆς αἰτίας
ἐκεῖνα διδάσκειν ἔδει, τί διαλεγχθεῖσ’ ἐγώ, τί δ’
οὗτος θαυμάσσοιν εἰπὼν ἡ πράξαι ὑπηγαγόμεν
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσεύχεσθαι μοι· οὔτε γὰρ, ἐς ὃ τι
ἡ ἐξ ὦν μετέβαλον ἡ μεταβαλεῖ μοι ἡ ψυχή,
διελέχθην ἐν "Ελλησί, καίτοι γυγνώσκων, οὔτε
δόξας περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τοιαύτας ἀπέστειλα, οὔτ’
ἐσ λόγια καὶ χρησμῶν φίδας ἐξῆλθον, οἷα
tῶν θεοκλυτοῦντων φορά, οὔδ’ οἴδα πόλιν οὐδε-
μίαν, ἐν ὧ ἐδοξῆξε νυνιόντας Ἀπολλωνίῳ θύειν. κα-
τοι πολλοὶ ἄξιοι ἐκάστως ἐγενόμην, ὁπόσα
ἐδέοντό μου, ἐδέοντο δὲ τοιαύτα: μὴ νοσεῖν οἱ
νοσοῦντες, ὅσιότεροι μένειν, ὅσιότεροι θύειν, ὁμι-
κτετμῆσθαι, νόμους ἔρρωσθαι. μισθὸς δ’ ἐμοὶ μὲν
τούτων ὑπῆρχε τὸ βελτίων αὐτῶν αὐτῶν φαι
310
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
νεσθαί, σοι δὲ ἐχαριζόμην ταύτα· ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βοῶν ἐπιστάται τὸ μῆ ἀτακτεῖν αὐτὰς χαρί-
ζονται τοὺς κεκτημένους τὰς βοῦς, καὶ οἱ τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπιμεληταὶ πιαίνουσιν αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ τῶν πεπαμένων κέρδος, νόσουσι τε ἀφαιροῦσι μελιττῶν
οἱ νομεῖς αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ ἀπόλυστο τῷ δεσπότῃ
tὸ σμήνος, οὔτω που καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ πολιτικὰ παύνω
ἐλαττώματα σοι διωρθοῦμην τὰς πόλεις, ὡστ' εἰ
cαὶ θεὸν ἡγούντο με, σοὶ κέρδος ἢ ἀπάτη εἶχε,
ξὺν προθυμίᾳ γάρ ποὺ ἦκροδωτό μοῦ, δεδώτες
πράπτειν, ἀ μὴ δοκεῖ θεῷ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τούτο ὄντοι,
ποὶ δ' ἐστὶ τις ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς θεὸν ξυγγένεια, δι'
ἡ μόνον ζώων θεουσ οἶδε, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὡθη μετέχει τοῦ θείου.
φησὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ ἐίδος αὐτὸ θεῷ ἐοικέναι, ὡς
ἀγαλματοποιία ἐρμηνεύει καὶ χρώματα, τὰς τε
ἀρετὰς θεῶθεν ἤκειν ἐπ' αὐτῶν πέπεισται, καὶ τοὺς
μετέχοντας αὐτῶν ἄγχιθέους τε εἶναι καὶ θείους.

Διδασκάλους δὲ τῆς διανοίας ταύτης μὴ
Ἀθηναίους καλῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ
toὺs Ὀλυμπίους καὶ τὰς τοιάσθε ἐπωνυμίας
πρῶτοι ἔθεντο, θειοτέρας, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, οὕτως
ἡ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ κείσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἁπόλλων τῶν
ev tῆ Πυθοῦ ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν
αὐτοῦ Δυκοῦργος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἱεράτης ἁρτὶ γεγραμ-
mένων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων, οἷς ἡ Δακεδαίμων τέ-
tακται, προσεπαυὼν δ' αὐτῶν ὁ Ἁπόλλων χασα-
vίζει τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν δόξαν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ χρησμοῦ.
before, they were all so many boons bestowed upon you 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-
CAP. VII

φάσκων ἀπορεῖν, πότερα χρῆ θεοῦ ἢ ἀνθρωποῦ καλεῖν, προϊόν δὲ ἀποφαίνεται καὶ ψηφίζεται τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, ὡς ἁνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ. καὶ οὔδεις ἐπὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἀγὼν ἦκεν, ἢ κίνδυνος ἐκ τούτων παρὰ Δακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς ἁθανατίζοντα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπέπληξε τῷ Πυθίῳ προσρηθεῖς τούτοις, ἀλλὰ ξυνετίθεντο τῷ μαντείῳ, πεπεισμένοι δὴπον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ ταῦτα.

Τὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ταῦτα: Ἰνδῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συκοφαντοῦσι καὶ διαβάλλουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἑπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δόξας, τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὅσ ἐς τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων εἰρηται, οὕτω τι ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ἔτερος διδάξασθαι Ἰνδῶν ὄντα. ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς μὲν τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως τε καὶ οὐσίας θεοῦ δημιουργοῦ οἴδε, τοῦ δὲ ἐνθυμηθήναι ταῦτα αὐτῶν τὸ ἄγαθον εἶναι αὐτῶν: ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἐγγεγερθηναί ταῦτα, ἐξομαι τὸν λόγον καὶ φημὶ τοὺς ἄγαθους τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεοῦ τι ἔχειν. κόσμους δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ θεῷ δημιουργῷ κείμενος τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ νομίζεσθω καὶ τὰ ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ γη τῶν, ὅν μετονοσία ἦση ἀνθρώποις, πληθυνόντως. ἔστι δὲ τὶς καὶ ἐτὲ ἁνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κόσμος οὐχ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ σοφίας μέτρα, ὅν ποὺ καὶ αὐτὸς, ὁ βασιλεὺς, φήσεις ἁνδρὸς.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

tation 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 ac-
count upon Lycurgus, nor threatened him on the
ground that he claimed to be immortal; for he never
rebuked the Pythian god for so addressing him, but
on the contrary the citizens agreed with the oracle,
for I believe they were already persuaded of the
fact before ever it was delivered.

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

CAP. VII

δεῖσθαι θεῷ εἰκασμένου· καὶ τί τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ; αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀτακτοῦσαι μανικώτερον ἀπτονται παντὸς σχήματος, καὶ ἔως μὲν αὐταῖς νόμοι, σωφροσύνη δ' οὐδαμοῦ, θεῶν δὲ τιμαῖ ἄτιμοι, λαλιᾶς δ' ἔρωσι καὶ τρυφῆς, εἶ δὲ ἁργία φύεται πονηρὰ ξύμβουλος ἔργον παντὸς. αἱ δὲ μεθύουσαι ψυχαὶ πηδῶσι μὲν ἐπὶ πολλά, τὸ δὲ σκίρτημα τοῦτο ἵσχει οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ εἰ πάντα πίνοιεν, ὅπόσα, ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας, ὑπηνὰ ἐνομίζοθεν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἄνδρος, ὃς ἐπιμελήσεται τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰς κόσμου, θεὸς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἡκων. οὕτως γὰρ ἀπόχρη αὐτὰς ἐρώτων τε ἀπάγειν, ἐφ' οὐς ἀγριώτερον τῆς ἄνωθους ὀμιλίας ἐκφέρονται, καὶ φιλοχρηματίας, δι' ἥν οὕτω πάν ἔχειν φασίν, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ τὸ στόμα ύπέχουσιν ἐπιρρέουσιν τῷ πλούσῳ. φόνων γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν μὲν αὐτὰς μὴ προσάπτεσθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἵππως ἄνδρι τοιούτῳ, ἀπονύψαι δὲ οὕτε ἐμὸι δυνατὸν οὕτε τῷ πάντων δημοφυρῷ θεῷ.

'Εστω, βασιλεῦ, κατηγορία καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐφέσου, ἐπειδὴ ἐσώθη, καὶ κρινέτω με ὁ Αὐγήπτιος, ὥς ἔστι πρόσφορον τῇ γραφῇ. ἔστι γὰρ δὴπον ἡ κατηγορία τοιαύτη· περὶ Σκύθας ἡ Κελτοῦς, ὁ ποταμὸν Ἰστροῦ ἡ ᾿Ρήμον οἰκοῦσι, πόλις ζήκοσται μείον οὐδὲν Ἐφέσου τῆς ἐν ᾿Ιωνίᾳ· ταύτην ὀρμη-
in need of a man fashioned in the image of God. CHAP.
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
CAP. VII τῆριον βαρβάρων οὖσαν, οἳ μὴ ἀκροδῶνται σου, λοιμὸς μὲν τις ἀπολεῖν ἐμελλεῖν, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἱάσατο. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογία σοφὸς ἄνδρι, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἀντίξοον ὄπλος, ἅλλα μὴ νόσοις αἰρεῖν βούληται μὴ γὰρ ἐξαλείφθη πόλις μηδεμία, μὴτε σοὶ, βασιλεῦ, μὴτε ἐμοί, μὴτε ὅδοιμι πρὸς ἱεροῖς νόσου, δι’ ἣν οἱ νοσοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς κείσονται. ἅλλα μὴ ἔστω ἐν σπουδῇ τὰ βαρβάρων, μηδὲ τάττωμεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ὑγιαίνον, πολεμιοτάτους ὄντας καὶ οὐκ ἐνσπόνδους τῷ περὶ ἡμᾶς γένει, τὴν δὲ 'Εφέσου τίς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ σώζεσθαι, βεβηλμένης μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης Ἀθήνης, ἐπιδεδωκυῖαν δὲ παρὰ πάσας, ὅπως Ἰωνικαὶ τε καὶ Λύδιοι, προβεβηκυῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν διὰ τὸ ὑπερήκειν τῆς γῆς, ἐφ’ ἃς φιλίσθη, μεστήν δὲ φροντισμάτων οὖσαν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητορικῶν, ὡδ’ ὅν ἡ πόλις οὐχ ἵστη, μυριάσι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἱσχύει, σοφίαν ἐπανοῦσα; τίς δ’ ἂν σοφὸς ἐκλιπεῖν σοι δοκεῖ τὸν ὑπὲρ πόλεως τοιαύτης ἀγώνα, ἐνθυμηθείς μὲν Δημόκριτον ἑλευθερώσαντα λοιμοῦ ποτὲ Ἀθηνηρίτας, ἐνοχής δὲ Σοφοκλέα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὃς λέγεται καὶ ἀνέμους θέλξαι τῆς ὀρας πέρα πνεύσαντας, ἀκρικῶς δὲ τὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ὃς νεφέλης ἀνέσχε, φορᾷ ἐπ’ Ἀκραγαντίνους βαγείσης;

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 ο Κατήγορος: ἥκοιεις γὰρ ποὺ καὶ σὺ, ὁ βασίλευ, καὶ φησίν, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σωτηρίας αὐτίς Ἐφεσίων ἐγενόμην, γράφεσθαί με, ἀλλὰ ἐπειδὴ προείπον ἐμπεσεῖσθαί σφισι τὴν νόσον, τούτῳ γὰρ ὑπὲρ σοφίαν εἶναι καὶ τερατῶδες, τῆς δ’ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἄληθείας οὐκ ἂν εφικέσθαι με, εἰ μὴ γόης τε ἢν καὶ ἀπόρρητος. τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐρεῖ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ ὄν ἐφασκε τοῦ δαιμονίου μανθάνειν; τί δὲ Θάλης τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, τὸ Ἰων, ὁ μὲν τὴν εὐφορίαν τὴν τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν οὐρανίων παθῶν προειπόντες; ἡ γοητεύοντε προεσπειν ταῦτα; καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπῆρχθησαν οὗτοι δικαστηρίως ἐφ’ ἐτέραις αἰτίαις, καὶ οὐδαμοὶ τῶν αἰτίων εἰρηται γόητας εἶναι σφᾶς, ἐπειδὴ προγνωσκοῦσι. καταγέλαστον γὰρ τούτο ἔδοκεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχει Ἡθαλάς πιθανῶν κατ’ ἀνδρῶν λέγεσθαι σοφῶν, οὗ τὰ γύναια κακῶς ἦκους ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἐλέξει.

Πάθεν οὖν τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσίων πάθους ἁσθόμην; ἥκουσας μὲν καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου εἰσέγοντος, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διατισόμας, κάμοι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ σιτίων, ὡς λεπτὰ καὶ ἥδιο τῆς ἑτέρων συβάρισος, ἐν ἀρχῇ εἰρήται τοῦτο μοι, ὁ βασίλευ, τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐν αἰθρίᾳ τινὶ ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάττει, κοῦκ εἶ ὅθεν θολερὸν περὶ αὐτᾶς οὐδὲν εἶναι, διορὰν τε, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτροι αὐγῇ, πάντα γυνομενά τε καὶ ἐσό-
(ix) 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-
CAP. VII
μενα. οὐ γὰρ περιμένει γε ὁ σοφὸς γῆν τὴν ἀναθυμιώσαν ἥ-τον ἄερα διεφθορότα, ἂν τὸ δεινὸν ἀνωθὲν ῥέῃ, ἀλλὰ ξυνίησει αὐτῶν καὶ ἑπὶ θύραις ὄντων, ὦστερον μὲν ἢ οἱ θεοὶ, θάττον δὲ ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ. θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ μελλόντων, ἀνθρωποὶ δὲ γυναικεῖς, σοφοὶ δὲ προσιόντων αἰσθάνονται. λοιμῶν δὲ αὐτίας ἱδία, βασιλεὺς, ἐρώτα, σοφότεραι γὰρ ἢ ἐστοι πολλοὺς λέγεσθαι: ἀρ’ οὖν τὸ οὕτως διαιτάσθαι λεπτότητα μόνον ἐργαίζεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἢ ἑσχύν ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστά καὶ θαυμασιώτατα; θεωρεῖν δὲ ἔξεστιν, δ’ λέγω, καὶ ἀπ’ ἀλλων μὲν, σοφοῖ ἡκιστα δὲ κἀκ τῶν ἐν Ἕφεσι περὶ τὴν νόσον ἑκείνην πραχθέντων· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἴδος, πτωχῷ δὲ γέροντι εἰκαστό, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἱδίων εἴλουν, οὐ παύσας νόσουν, ἀλλ’ ἔξελὼν· ὡτα δ’ εὐξάμενος, δηλοὶ τὸ ἱερόν, δ’ ἐν Ἕφεσι ὑπὲρ τούτου ἑδρυσάμην, Ἡρακλέους μὲν γὰρ Ἀποτροπαίου ἐστι, ξυνεργόν δ’ αὐτῶν εἰλόμην, ἐπειδὴ σοφὸς τε καὶ ἀνδρεῖος ὃν ἐκάθηρε ποτε λοιμὸς τὴν Ἡλίων, τὰς ἀναθυμιώσεις ἀποκλύσας, ὡς παρεῖχεν ἡ γῆ κατ’ Ἀνγέαν τυραννεύοντα.

Τὸ ἂν οὖν σοι, βασιλεῦ, δοκεῖς φιλοτιμοῦμενος γόης φαίνεσθαι θεῷ ἀναθείναι, δ’ αὐτὸς εὑργαστο; τίνας δ’ ἂν κτῆσασθαι θαυμαστὰς τής

322
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
ΚΑΠ. τέχνης, θεῶ παρεῖς τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι; τίς δὲ ἂν Ἡρακλεῖ εὐξασθαι γόης ὁν; τὰ γὰρ τοιαύτα οἱ κακοδαίμονες βόθροι ἀνατιθέασι καὶ χθονίοις θεοῖς, ὃν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀποτακτέον, καθαρὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὔνους. ηὐξάμην αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτέ, λαμίας γὰρ τι φάσμα κάκει περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον ἦλυν, σιτούμενον τῶν νέων τοὺς καλούς· καὶ ἐξυπηρέτα μοι τοῦ ἀγώνος οὐ θαυμασίων δεηθέως ὅφρων, ἀλλὰ μελιττοῦτης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τι ἀνθρώπων ἐργάσασθαι, τούτη γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Εὔρυσθέα μισθὸν τῶν ἄθλων ἤγειτο. μὴ ἄχθου, βασίλει, τὰ Ἡρακλείους ἁκούων· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐπειδὴ χρηστὸς καὶ σωτήριος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

'Αλλ' ἐπεὶ κελεύεις με ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τούτη γὰρ καὶ τῇ χαιρὶ ἐνδείκνυσαι, ἀκούει ἀπολογίας ἀληθοῦς· ἔγω γὰρ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράττων, οὗτῳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔθυσα, οὔτ' ἂν θύσαιμι οὐδὲν, οὔτ' ἂν θύγοιμι· ἵνα, ἐν οἷς αἶμα, οὔτ' ἂν εὐξάμην ἐς μάχαιραν βλέπων ἢ θυσίαν, ἢν φησιν. οὐ Σκύθην με, ὃς βασίλει, ἡρήκας, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς ἀμίκτου ποθέν, οὔτ' ἐπέμειξά τι ό Μασσαγέταις ἢ Ταύροις, ὥς κάκεινος ἂν τοῦ τῆς θυσίας ἔθους μετέβαλον· ἀνοίας δ' ἂν ποι ἠλαύνον, ἵνα πλείστα.
to God? And who would offer his prayers to CHAP. 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 Peloponnesse, 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-
μὲν ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς διαλεγόμενος καὶ ὅπῃ ἔρρωται ἡ μῆ, ἀριστα δ’ ἀνθρώπων ῥάθωμενος, ὅτι τὰς αὐτῶν βουλαῖς οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ὀσίοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ μὴ μαντευομένοις φαίνουσι, μαυ- φονίας ἀπτωμαί καὶ σπλάγχνῳ ἅθυτων ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων ἑφ’ οἷς ἀπέλεπτεν ἂν με καὶ ἡ τοῦ δαίμονον ὀμφή μὴ καθαρὸν ἄντα.

Καὶ μὴν εἰ τις ἄφελῶν τὸ τῆς θυσίας μῦσος ἐξετάζοι τὸν κατήγορον πρὸς ἀ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εἴρηκεν, ἀπαλλάττει με τῆς αἰτίας αὐτῶς· ὁν γὰρ φησὶ προεπείν Ἐφεσίοις τὴν νόσου θυσίας οὐδε- μιὰς δεδέντα, τὶ σφαγῶν ἐδεήθην ἐφ’ ἢ καὶ μὴ θυσαμένῳ παρῇ εἰδέναι; μαντικῆς δὲ τὶ ἐδεόμην ὑπὲρ ὁν αὐτῶς τε ἐπεπείσμην καὶ ἑτερος; εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Νεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν κρίνομαι, λέξω πάλιν, ἃ καὶ πρώην εἴπον, ὡς οὖν ἦτι παῦτα. Νεροῦν γὰρ ἄξιον μὲν ἄρχης ἤγονμαί πάσης καὶ λόγου παντὸς ἐπ’ ευφημίαια ἠκοντος, ἀγω- νιστὴν δὲ φροντίδων οὐ χρηστῶν καταλέλυται γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου, δε’ ἢν καὶ ἢ γνώμη μεστή ἄσης καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ οίκου ἱκανή· σὲ γοῦν ἐπαινεῖ μὲν σώματος, ἐπαινεῖ δὲ γνώμης, εἰκὸς μὲν οἶμαι τι πράττων, προθυμοτέρα γὰρ ἄντως ἢ ἀνθρωπεῖα 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
CAP. VII

πέπονθε δὲ τι καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ χρηστὸν Νεροῦας, καὶ οὐτε γελάσαντά πω αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ οἶδα οὐτε εὐθυσίαμενον τὶ τῶν εἰσθότων ἐν φίλοις, ἀλλ' ἄσπερ τὰ μειράκια πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας τε καὶ διδασκάλους τοὺς αὐτῶν, εὐλαβῶς μὲν φθέγγεται τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πάν, ἐρυθριά δὲ ἐτι, εἰδὼς δὲ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἐπανωντά ἀμί αὐτῷ, ὡς κάμοι ταπεινότερος τοῦ μετρίου φαίνεσθαί. πῶς οὖν πιθανὸν ἠγίσατο ἂν της ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμήσαι Νεροῦαν, ἀγαπώντα, εἰ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἀρξοί, ἡ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων διαλέγεσθαι μοι τὸν μηδ' ὑπὲρ μικρῶν τεθαρρηκότα, ἡ ξυνάπτειν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ ὅν μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλον, εἰ τούμων ἐνεδυμήθη, ξυνήψεν; ἡ πῶς ἔργῳ σοφὸς γνώμην ἐρμηνεύων ἀνδρός, μαντικὴ μὲν πιστεύων, ἀπιστῶν δὲ σοφία; τὸν δὲ Ὁρφιτὸν καὶ τὸν Ῥοῦφον, τοὺς δικαίους μὲν καὶ σώφρονας, νοσθροὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, ὅσ εὖ οἶδα, εἰ μὲν ὡς τυραννησείονται διαβεβληθήσαται φασίν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἰτε τούτων πλέον διαμαρτάνοισιν, εἰτε Νεροῦα, εἰ δ' ὃς ξυμβούλω γεγονότε, πιθανῶτερος ἀρχὴ ἐπιθέσθαι Νεροῦας, ἡ οἶδ' ξυμβουλεύσαι;

'Αλλὰ μὴν τὸν γε ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίνοντα κάκεινα εἰκὸς ἢν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, τὶ ἔβολετό μοι τὸ ξυλλαμ-

328
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:
βάνειν τοὺς ἐπὶ νεῶτερα ἥκουσιν. χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὐ φησι παρ’ αὐτῶν γεγενησθαί μοι, οὐδὲ δόροις ἑπαρθέντα με ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι σκεψώμεθα δέ, μὴ μεγαλῶν δεόμενος, ἀνεβαλόμην τὰς παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας ἐς ὑπὸντο ἄρξειν χρόνου, ἐν ὃ μεγάλα μὲν ἄν αἰτεῖν ὑπῆρξε, μειζόνων δὲ ἂξιούσθαν πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ἐσται δήλα; ἐνθυμήθητι, βασιλεῦ, σεαυτόν καὶ τοὺς ἐτι πρὸ σοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἀδελφὸν δήποτε τῶν σεαυτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, Νέρωνι τε, ἐφ’ ὧν ἦρξαν, κατὰ τούτους γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλέας βεβιωταί μοι ἐσ τό φανερόν, τῶν ἅλλων χρόνον Ἰουδών φοιτώντι. τούτων δὴ τῶν ὡκτῶ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἐς σὲ μήκος, οὔτε ἐπὶ θύρας βασιλείους ἑφοίτησα πλὴν ἐν Ἀγαύπτῳ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός, ἐπεὶ μήτε βασιλεὺς πω ἐτύγχανεν ὑπὸ ὁμολογεῖ τε δἰ’ ἐμὲ ἥκειν, οὔτε ἀνελεύθερον τι διελέχθην βασιλεύσιν ἢ ὑπὲρ βασιλεῶν δήμοις, οὔτ’ ἐπιστολαῖς ἐλαμπρυνάμην ἢ γραφόντων ἐμὸι βασιλεῶν ἢ αὐτῶς ἐνδεικνύμενος γράφειν, οὔθ’ ὑπὲρ δωρεῶν κολακεύων βασιλέας ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπηνέχθην. εἰ γοῦν ἔροι με πλουσίους ἐνθυμηθεὶς καὶ πένητας, ποτέρον τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων ἐμαυτὸν γράφω, τῶν πλουσιωτάτων φήσω, τὸ γὰρ δεῖσθαι μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ Λυδία καὶ τὸ Πακτολοῖν πᾶν. πῶς οὖν ἡ τὰς παρὰ τῶν οὕτω βασιλέων δωρεὰς ἀνεβαλλόμην
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
Ες δεν ἄρξειν αυτοὺς ὤμην χρόνον ὁ μηδὲ τὰς παρ’ ὕμων ἐλόμενος, ὥς βέβαιον ἡγοῦμην τὸ ἄρχειν, ἢ βασιλεύων μεταβολᾶς ἐπενόουν μηδὲ ταῖς καθεστηκυνίαις ἐς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι χρώμενος; καὶ μὴν ὀπόσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς, δήλοι τὰ Εὐφράτου τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεύθεν τὶ λέγω χρήματα; τιγγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ πλούτου, κατὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἥδη διαλέγεται κάτηλος, ὕποκάτηλος, τελώνης, ὀβολοστάτης, πάντα γεννόμενος τὰ πωλούμενά τε καὶ πωλούντα, ἐντεύτωνται δ’ ἄλι ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν θύραις καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλείω καιρὸν ἢ οἱ θυρωροὶ, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ θυρωρῶν πολλάκις, ὡςπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λύχνοι, δραχμὴν δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ προέμενός ποτε, ἐπιτευχέρχει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλούτον, ἐτέρως τῶν Αἰγύπτων τουτούς βόσκουν χρήματι καὶ ὄξυνων ἐπ’ ἐμὲ γλῶτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμῆσθαι.

Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλείπω σοι, σὺ γὰρ, ἢ μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινῆς, εὐρήσεις τὸν ἀνθρωπον κακίω ὁν ἔρμηνευόω, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἀπολογίας ἀκροβύντις οὖν αὐτὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τίνων; ηδετὸ τις, ὁ βασιλεὺς, παιδὸς 'Ἀρκάδος ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ θρήνος, τετμήσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ νῦκτωρ, εἰ δ’ ὄναρ φησίν, οὔπω οἴδα, εἶναι 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 roles 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
παῖς οὗτος καὶ τὸ είδος οἷον Ἀρκάδων οἱ ἐν αὐχμῷ καλοὶ. τούτων φασίν ἰκετεύοντά τε καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενον ἀπεσφάχθαι, καὶ μὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αἷμα βάψαντα θεοὶ ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας εὐχησθαι. μέχρι τούτων ἐμὲ κρίνουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἐφεξῆς λόγος τῶν θεῶν ἄπτεται, φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκούσαί μὲν ἀδὴ μου εὔξαμένου, δοῦναι δὲ ἱερὰ εὐσήμα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτείναι ἀσέβοιντα. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς οὐ καθαρά, τί άν, ὁ βασιλεὺς, λέγομι;

Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ οὖν γέ μοι ἀπολογητέα, τὸς ὁ Ἀρκάς οὗτος; εἰ γὰρ μῆ ἀνώνυμος τὰ πατέρων, μηδ' ἀνδραποδώδης τὸ εἶδος, ὥρα σοι ἔρωταν, τί μὲν ὄνομα τοῦς γειναμένους αὐτῶν, τίνος δὲ οἰκίας οὗτος, τὸς δ' εἴρηγετο αὐτῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδία πόλις, τίνων δὲ βωμῶν ἄπαχθεις ἐνταῦθα ἐθύετο. οὐ λέγει ταύτα καίτοι δεινῶς ἕως μή ἄληθεύειν. οὐκόν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδου κρίνει με. ὁ γὰρ μὴ' αὐτῷ ὄνομα μῆθ' ἄν ἔφυ, μὴ πόλις μὴ κλήρος ἔστιν, οὐχὶ, ὁ θεός, τούτων ἐν ἀνδραπόδοις χρὴ τάπτειν; ἀνώνυμα γὰρ πάντα. τίς οὖν ὁ κάτης τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου; τίς ὁ πριάμενος αὐτὸ ἔξ Ἀρκάδων; εἰ γὰρ τὸ γένος τούτων ἐπιτήδειον τῇ σφαττοῦσθη μαντικῇ, πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων εἰκὸς ἐωνήσθαι τὸν παιὸν, πεπλευκόντα δὲ τίνα ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἢν εὐθέως ἦμῖν ἀναχθεὶν ὁ Ἀρκάς, ἀνδράποδα μὲν
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

good-looks which Arcadians wear even in the midst of CHAP. squalor. They pretend that I massacred him in spite 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
γὰρ Ποντικὴ ἡ Λύδια ἡ ἐκ Φρυγῶν πρήατ' ἀν καὶ
tαῦθα τις, ὅν γε καὶ ἄγελας ἐντυχεῖν ἐστιν ἅμα
φοιτώσας δεύρο, ταύτι γὰρ τὰ ἐθνή καὶ ὅποσα
βαρβάρων, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἑτέρων ἀκροώμενοι
οὗπω τὸ δουλεύειν αἰσχρῶν ἰργοῦν οἱ· Φρυξὶ γοῦν
ἐπιχόριον καὶ ἀποδίδωσθαι τούς αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀνδραποδισθέντων μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, "Εἰληνες
δὲ ἐλευθερίας ἐρασταί ἐτί, καὶ οὐδὲ δοῦλον
ἀνήρ "Εἰλην πέρα δρων ἀποδόσεται, ὅθεν οὐδὲ
ἀνδραποδισταῖς οὔτε ἀνδραπόδων κατήλους ἐς
αὐτοὺς παριτητέα, ἐς δὲ Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ μάλλον,
πρὸς γὰρ τῷ παρὰ πάντας ἐλευθερίας "Εἰλ-
ηνας δέονται καὶ ὄχλουν δούλων. ἦστι δὲ
πολυλήμοι καὶ ποώδης ἡ Ἀρκαδία καὶ ὑλώδης
οὐ τὰ μετέωρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ
πάντα. δεὶ δὴ αὐτῶν πολλῶν μὲν γεωργῶν,
πολλῶν δὲ αἰτόλων συφορβῶν τε καὶ ποιμένων
καὶ βουκόλων, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ βουσί, τῶν δὲ ἐφ'
ίππους, δρυτόμων τε δεῖται πολλῶν ἡ χώρα καὶ
tούτο ἐκ παίδων γυμνάζονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ
tουάδε ἦν τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἀλλ' εἶχον, ὠστερ
ἑτεροι, προσαποδίσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν δοῦλους, τι τῇ
θρυλομένη σοφία ξυνεβάλλετο τὸ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας
einai τοῦ σφαττόμενον; οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφότατοι τῶν
'Εἰληνων Ἀρκάδες, ἵνα ἑτέρου τι ἀνθρώπον πλέον
περί τὰ λογικά τῶν σπλάγχνων φαίνωσιν, ἀλλὰ
ἀγροκότατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰς καὶ συώδεις τὰ
τὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γαστρίζεθαι τῶν δρυῶν.
Ῥητορικότερον ἰσώς ἀπολελόγημαι τοῦμοῦ
336
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. τρόπου, τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀφερμηνεύων ἦθη καὶ παριδῶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον τῷ λόγῳ. ἦ γὰρ ἐμοὶ προσίκουσα ἀπολογία τίς; οὐκ ἔθυσα, οὐ θύω, οὐ θυγγάνω αἴματος, οὐδὲ εἰ βωμοῦ αὐτὸ εἴη. Πυθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὃδε ἐγνώσκεν οὗ τε ὧπ' αὐτοῦ παραπλησίως, καὶ κατ' Ἀυγουπτίου δὲ οἴ Γυμνοὶ καὶ Ἰνδῶν οἱ σοφοὶ, παρ' ὃν τοὺς ἀμφῖ Πυθαγόραν αἰ τῆς σοφίας ἄρχαί ἐφοίτησαν. κατὰ ταῦτα θύοντες οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ γηράσκειν τε αὐτοῖς ἤγχωροσίν ἀρτίοις τὰ σῶματα καὶ ἄνοισι, καὶ σοφωτέροις ἂεὶ δοκεῖν, μὴ τυραννεύεσθαι, μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός, οἴμαι, ἀγαθῶν δεῖσθαι σφᾶς ὑπὲρ καθαρῶν θυμάτων. δοκῶ γὰρ μοι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ νοῦν ὑπὲρ θυσιῶν ἔχοντας, τὰ λιβανοφόρα τῆς γῆς ἐν καθαρῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκφυτεύειν, ὡς ὧπ' αὐτῶν θύοιμεν, μὴ σιδηροφοροῦντες ἐν ἱεροῖς, μηδ' ἄμα ἐς βωμοὺς ῥαίουντες. ἐγὼ δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐκλαθόμενος ἔθυνον τρόπου, ὃν μὴ αὐτὸς εἰωθα μῆτε τὶς ἀνθρώπων θύοι.

Ἀπάλλαττέτω με τῆς αὐτίας καὶ ὁ καιρός, ὃν εὑρίκειν ὁ κατήγορος; τὴν γὰρ ἠμέραν ἑκείνην, ἐν ἦ ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι μοί φησίν, εἰ μὲν ἐγενόμην ἐν ἄγρῳ, ἔθυσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσα, καὶ ἐφαγον. εἰτὰ μὲ, ὁ βασιλεῦ, θαμμανταῖς ἔρωτάς, εἰ μὴ ἐπεχωρίαζον τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε; καὶ σύ, βέλτιστε βασιλεῖς, ἐπεχωρίαζες, 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
τοιαύτα· καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἄλλ' οὐχ ὁμολογήσει τὰ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων πράττειν, εἰ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην διητάτο, καὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων, ἀς βέλτιοι ἄνυφεκτεῖν ἢ ὑπάγειν γραφαῖς, εὖ αἰσ τεκμήριοι ἄδικημάτων ἔσται τὸ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. καὶ τοι τὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἥκειν καὶ παρατείται τάχα τῆς τοῦ νεότερα πράττειν δοκεῖν αἰτίας· τὸ γὰρ ἐν πόλει ζῆν, ἔν ἦ πάντες μὲν ὅφθαλμοι, πᾶσα δὲ ἄκρωσις ὕμων τε καὶ οὐκ ὕμων, οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ νεωτέρων ἀπτεθαμίτοις γε μὴ λίαν θανατώσι, τοὺς δὲ εὐλαβεστέρους τε καὶ σώφρονας βραδέως ἀγεί καὶ ἐφ’ α ἐξεστι.

Τί οὖν, ὁ συκοφάντα, κατὰ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἔπραττον; εἰ μὲν ὡς σεαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σύ ἐρωτᾶν ἥκεις, ἀγώνας ἢτοιμαζόν καὶ κατηγορίας ἐπ’ ἀνδρας χρηστοὺς, καὶ ἀπολέσαι τοὺς οὐκ ἄδικοντας καὶ πείσαι τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἀληθῆ λέγων, ἐν’ ἐγὼ μὲν εὐδοκιμοῦν, μιαννοῦ δὲ οὕτως, εἰ δ’ ὡς φιλοσόφου πυνθάνῃ, τὸν Δημοκρίτου ἐσπήρουσα γέλωτα, ὃν ἐς πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γελᾶ, εἰ δ’ ὡς ἐμοῦ, Φιλίσκος ὁ Μηλεύς ἐτῶν ἐνυμφισοφήσας ἐμοὶ τεττάρων, ἐνόσει τότε, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ ἄπεκάθευδον οὗτων

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
díakeiméνοι χαλεπώς, ὡς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τής νόσου. καὶ τοῖς πολλάς ἂν ἡνξάμην ἴννγας ὑπέρ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς γενέσθαι μοι, καί, νη Δὲ, εἰ τινες Ὀρφέως εἰσίν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων μελαθίαι, μηδὲ ἐκείνας ἱγνοῦσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν πορευθῆναι δὲ αὐτῶν, εἰ ἐφικτὰ ἦν ταῦτα: οὕτω μὲ ἀνήρτητο πᾶσιν οἵς φιλοσόφως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἔμον νοῦν ἔπραττε.

Ταῦτ' ἔστι μὲν σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ Τελεσίνου ἀκούσαι τοῦ ὑπάτου, παρὴν γὰρ κάκεινος τῷ Μηλίει, θεραπεύων αὐτῶν νῦκτωρ, ὡπόσα ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ Τελεσίνῳ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐπειδή τῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων ἔστι, καλῶ τοὺς ἴατροὺς μάρτυρας, εἰσὶ δ' οὕτω, Σέλευκος τε ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Σιδώνιος· τούτους ἔρωτα, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω· καὶ μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριάκοντα εἴποντο, τῶν αὐτῶν δήπον μάρτυρες· τὸ γὰρ προκαλεῖσθαι δέυρο τοὺς τῷ Φιλίσκῳ προσήκοντας ἀναβολὰς ἵσσως ἡγήση τῆς δίκης, ἐπειδὴ αὐτίκα τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπήραν ἐς τὰ Μηλίεων ἥθη κατὰ ὀσίαν τοῦ νεκροῦ. ἔτε, ὁ μάρτυρες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρήγγευται ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦτον· ΜΑΡΤΤΡΕΣ, παρ' ὅσον μὲν τολύνν τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ γραφὴ ἐξενετέθη, δηλοὶ 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
CAP. VII. τείχους, ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἰκίας, οὐδὲ παρὰ Νερούα, παρὰ Φιλίσκω δέ, οὐδὲ ἀποσφάττων ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς εὐχόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας, οὐδ' ἄντι σοῦ χειροτονῶν νεώτερον, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα σώζων ἐμαυτῷ ὁμοιον.

Τί οὖν ὁ Ἀρκάς ἑνταῦθα; τί δ' οἱ τῶν σφαγίων μύθοι; τί δὲ τὸ τὰ τοιαύτα πείθειν; ἔσται γὰρ ποτε καὶ ὁ μὴ γέγονεν, ἂν ὡς γεγονός κριθή: τὸ δ' ἀπίθανον τῆς θυσίας, ὁ βασιλεύ, τοῖς τάξεις; ἐγένοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρῶτον σφαγίων μάντεις ἄγαθοι τὴν τέχνην καὶ οἶοι ὀνομάσαι, Μεγιστίας ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκ Λυκίας, Ἀμπρακία δὲ Σιλανόν ἤνεγκε, καὶ ἔθυνον ὁ μὲν Ἀκαρνανὸς Δεονίδα βασιλεῖ Σπάρτης, ὁ δὲ Δύκιος Ἀλεξίνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, Σιλανός δὲ Κύρῳ βασιλείας ἔρωτεν, καὶ εἰ τι ἐν ἀνθρώπου σπλάγχνωι ἢ σαφέστερον ἢ σφώτερον ἢ ἐτυμωτερον ἀπέκειτο, οὐκ ἀπορος ἢν ἡ θυσία, βασιλέων γε προϊσταμένων αὐτῆς, οἷς πολλοὶ μὲν ἢσαν οἰνοχόοι, πολλὰ δ' αἰχμάλωτα, παρανομίας δ' ἀκίνδυνοι καὶ φόβος οὑδὲς κατηγορίας, εἰ τι ἐσφάττων ἀλλ', οἴμαι, παρίστατο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὃ καμοὶ νῦν κινδυνεύοντε ὑπὲρ τοιούτων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλογα τῶν ζῴων εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἄγνοια τοῦ θανάτου σφάττεται, μὴ θολοῦσθαι τι τῶν σπλάγ-
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 Acmarnania, Aristandrus of Lycia, and Silanus who was a native of Ambracia, and of these the Acmarnanian 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
CAP. VII χρων ὑπὸ ἀξυνεσίας ὃν πείσονται ἀνθρωπον δὲ ἀεὶ τι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντα θανάτον καὶ μῆπω εὐφεστηκότος δεῖμα, πῶς εἰκὸς παρόντος ἡδῆ καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντος, δείξαι τι ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων μαντικῶν ἢ ὅλως εὐθυτοῦν;

"Ὅτι δὲ ὀρθῶς τε καὶ κατὰ φύσιν στοχάζομαι τούτων, σκόπει, βασιλεύ, διδεῖ τὸ ἦπαρ, ἐν ὦ φασί τὸν τῆς αὐτῶν μαντικῆς εἶναι τρίποδα οἱ δεινοὶ ταῦτα, ξύγκειται μὲν οὐ καθαροῦ αἴματος, πᾶν γάρ, ὦ τι ἀκραίφνες, καρδία ἵσχει, διε ἀιματηρῶν φλεβῶν ἀποχετεύονσα ἐσ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα, χολήν δὲ ἐπὶ ἦπατι κειμένην ὄργη μὲν ἀνίστησι, φόβοι δὲ ὑπάγοντες ἐσ τὰ κούλα τοῦ ἦπατος. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν παροξυμόντων ξέουσα, καὶ μηδὲ τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἀγγείῳ φορητὸς οὐσα, ὑπτίῳ ἐπιχείται τῷ ἦπατι, καθ' ὦ ἐπέχει χολή πᾶσα τὰ λείω τε καὶ μαντικὰ τοῦ σπλάγχνου, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν δειματούργων ξυνισάνουσα ἄνεπισπάται καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς λείως φώς, ὑπονοοῦσε γὰρ τὸτε καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ αἵματος, υφ' οὐ σπληνοῦται τὸ ἦπαρ, ὑποτρεχόντων φύσει τὸν περὶ αὐτὸ ὑμένα καὶ τῷ πηλῶδει ἐπιπολάξοντος. τί οὖν, ὦ βασιλεύ, τῆς μυαλοφονίας 346
what they are about to suffer, free from disturbance. CHAP. VII
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
ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ


cap. ἐργον, εἰ άσημα τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσται; άσημα δ' αὐτὰ ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐργάζεται ξυνείσα τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες, οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐφυχοί ξύν ὄργῃ τελευτῶσιν, οἱ δ' ἄθυμοτεροί ξύν δεί. ἔνθεν ἡ τέχνη παρὰ τοῖς οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσι βαρβάροις χιμαίρας μὲν καὶ ἄρνας ἐπαινεῖ σφάττειν, ἐπειδή εὐθήνη τὰ ξύνα καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀναισθήτων, ἀλεκτρύνως δὲ καὶ σῶς καὶ ταύρους, ἐπειδὴ θυμοειδῆ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἄξιοὶ τῶν ἐαυτῆς ἀπορρήτων. ξυνήμη, δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς, παροξύνων τὸν κατήγορον, ἐπειδὴ σοφώτερον σε ἀκροατὴν εἰργασμαί, καὶ μοι δοκεῖσ καὶ προσέχειν τῷ λόγῳ εἰ δὲ μὴ σαφῶς τί αὐτοῦ φράζομι, ξυνήμη σοι ἐρωτᾶν με.

εἰρηταί μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἀγνυτίου γραφὴν ἐπεί δ', οἵμαι, χρῆ μηδὲ τὰς Εὐφράτου διαβόλας ὑπερορᾶσθαι, σὺ, δ' ὁ βασιλεύς, δικάζους, ὁπότεροι ἴμων φιλοσοφεῖ μᾶλλον οὐκοῦν ο μὲν ἀγωνίζεται μὴ τάληθη περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἄξιον, καὶ ο μὲν σε ἤγειται δεσπότην, ἐγὼ δ' ἀρχοντα, καὶ ο μὲν ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμέ σοι δίδωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον.

Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δ' ὑ τε διαβέβληκεν, οἳ λόγοι εἰσίν, οὕς ἐν Ἰωνία ἔποιην, φησὶ δ' αὐτοῦς οὐκ ἐστὶ σοί ξυμφέρον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρήσθαι. καὶ τοῖς τὰ
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

349
καὶ ἀνάγκης, παράδειγμα δ’ ἐγένετο μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα, ἐπειδὴ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπείων δοκεῖ τὰ ὑμέτερα, Μοῖρῶν τε ἱσχὺν ἐφιλοσόφου καὶ τὸ οὖτως ἀτρεπτα εἶναι, ἀ κλόθουσιν, ὡς, εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαντο ἐτέρῳ δὴ ὑπάρχουσαν, ὃ δ’ ἀποκτείνει τοῦτον, ὡς μὴ ἄφαιρεθεὶ ποτὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, κἂν ἀναβιοῇ ὁ ἀποθανόν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξῶν ταῖς Μοῖραις. τὰς γὰρ ὑπερβολὰς τῶν λόγων ἑσαγόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τοὺς πιθανοῖς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὡσπερ ἐν εἰ καὶ τοιοῦτο ἐλέγον, ὅτε πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῶς, οὕτως, κἂν ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χείρε, τεκτονικὸς ἐσται, καὶ ὅτω νῖκῃ ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ δρόμου ἀρασθαι, οὕτως, οὐδὲ εἰ πηρωθεὶ τὸ σκέλος, ἀμαρτηστεῖ τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτω ἐνευσαν Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξεία κράτος, οὕτως, οὐδὲ εἰ ἄποβαλοι τὰς ὦσις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ σκοποῦ. τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐλέγον ὡς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δήποτον ὅρῶν καὶ τοὺς Δαίδων Ἀστυνάγη τε τῶν Μήδων καὶ πολλῶν ἐτέρως, εὑ τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ δόξαντας, διὸν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ ἐκγόνους ἀποκτείνεις οἰκτέντες, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύντων εἶκαν τὸν πεπρωμένῳ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάμας κολακευτικῆς, εἰπον ἀν καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐνεθυμήσθαι, 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 Laüs, 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
Βιτελίου ἑνταῦθα, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὄφρις τοῦ ἄστεος, ὁ δ' εὐ κείσεσθαι τῷ ἑαυτῷ ἐφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτὸν—καίτοι μειράκιον ἰκανῶς ἤσθα καὶ οὕτω οὖτος—ἀλλ' ὦμως, ἐπειδὴ Μοῖραις ἐδόκει ἑτερα, ὁ μὲν ἄπωλετο αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰκείνου νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρμονίᾳ κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύβμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγον εἶναι, τεμνέσθω μοι ἦδε ἡ νευρά, καὶ μηδὲν ἤγοι τῶν σῶν ἐνεθυμήσθαι με, ἀλλὰ διειλέχθαι μόνα τὰ ὑπὲρ Μοίρων καὶ ἀνάγκης, ταυτὶ γάρ φησιν εἰρήσθαι μοι ἐπὶ σὲ. καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέχονται μὲν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὐκ ἄχθεται δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἄκουον καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν τοῖς Δυνάμεις λόγοις.

φοιμοὶ ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα ¹

καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἄδοντον, ἐν οἷς τοῦ νιέος ἐξιστασθαί φησίν ταῖς Μοῖραις, λεγόντων τε αὖ ἐν ψυχοστασίᾳ, ὅτι Μίνω τὸν ἄδελφον τοῦ Σαρπηδόνος ἀποθανόντα χρυσῷ μὲν σκιπτρῷ εἰτίμησε καὶ δικάζειν ἔταξεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λιδονεὼς ἀγορᾷ, Μοῖρων δ' οὐ παρρησίατο. σὺ δ', ὁ βασιλεύ, τοῦ χάριν ἄχθη τῷ λόγῳ, θεῶν καρπεροῦντων αὐτόν,

¹ Iliad xvi. 433: 'Alas for myself, for that Destiny decrees that Sarpedon dearest of men shall be overcome by Patroclus son of Menoeceus.'
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 PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

οἷς πέπηγεν ἂεὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῷ πράγματα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεινόντων τῶν τούτων πουντάς ἐπὶ αὐτῷ; προσήκει γὰρ ταῖς Μοῖραις ἐπεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ χαλεποῦς εἶναι, Σοφοκλεῖ τε μὴ ἀπιστεῖν

μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται

θεοῖς γῆρας, οὐδὲ μὴν θανεῖν ποτε,

τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ συγχεῖ πάνθ' ὁ παγκρατής χρόνος,

ἀριστα δὴ ἄνθρωπων λέγοντι. ἐγκύκλιοι γὰρ αἱ κατ' ἄνθρωπους εὑρηκαί καὶ ἐφήμερον, ὁ βασιλεῦ, τὸ τοῦ ὅλθ' υἱὸς τὰμᾶ ὁὔτος καὶ τὰ τούτον ἔτερος καὶ ὁ δὲνα τὰ τοῦ δείνος, ἔχων οὐκ ἔχει. ταῦτ' ἐννοῶ, ὁ βασιλεῦ, παῦνε μὲν φυγάς, παῦε δ' αίμα, καὶ φιλοσοφία μὲν ὁ τὶ βούλει χρόνο, ἀπαθής γὰρ ἡ γε ἀληθής, δάκρυα δὲ ἄνθρωπων ἀφαίρει, ὃς νῦν γε ἡχῶ μυρία μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης, πολλῷ δὲ πλείων εξ ἡπείρων φοιτᾶ θηρηνοῦτων, ὁ τὶ ἔκαστῳ θρήνου αἴξιον. τὰ δὲ ἐντεύθεν φυόμενα πλείω δυντα ἡ ἀριθμεῖσθαι ταῖς τῶν συκοφαντῶν γιλάτταις ἀνήπται, διαβάλλοντων σοὶ τε πάντας καὶ σέ, ὁ βασιλεῦ, πᾶσιν.

VIII

CAP. VIII

*Ὡδε μὲν δὴ τῷ ἄνδρι τὰ ἑκ παρασκευὴς εἶχεν,
ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δ' εὖρον τοῦ λόγου τὰ τελευταία τοῦ πρωτέρου τὸ

οὐ γὰρ μὲ κτενείει, ἐπεὶ οὐτοὶ μόρσιμος εἰμι,
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,”
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VIII καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦτον ἔτι, ἢφ' ὅν τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου δαιμόνιον τε καὶ οὐ ῥάδιον εἶπεῖν τρόπον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν ὁ τύραννος, ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ φύοντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ φύοντο αὐτὸν σχέτλια ὑπὲρ τοῦτον βοήσεσθαι καὶ δίωξιν ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, κηρύξεως τε ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ πάσαν, μηδαμοῦ παριστητέα εἶναι οί, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν τούτων, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἀγωνιζόμενος πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν ἢ ξυνιείς λοιπῶν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνδρα οἱ αὐταρκεῖς. εἰ δ' ὑπερεύρα, ξυμβαλόμεθα τοῖς ἐφ' ἥξησι, φανεῖν γὰρ ἂν ξυνταραχθεῖς μᾶλλον ἡ καταφρονήσας.

IX

CAP. IX Ἡκροάτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐτέρας ἐπ' ἐκείνη δίκης, πόλεις δ' ἢν ἀγωνιζόμενη πρὸς ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ διαθηκῶν, οἶμαι, διέφευγον δ' αὐτῶν οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν δικαζομένων ὄνοματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς δίκης, ἀνόητοι μὲν γὰρ αἰ ἐρωτήσεις ἤσαν, αἰ δ' ἀποκρίσεις οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὅν ἡ κρίσις· ἢ σφόδρα ἦλεγχε τὸν τύραννον, ὡς ἐξεπεπληκτό τε καὶ ἡπόρει, δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ πεπείσθαι πρὸς τῶν κολακευόντων, ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν διαφύγοι αὐτῶν.

X

CAP. X Ὅτω τῶν τύραννον διαθεῖς καὶ παῖγνοι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἀποφήμας τὸν "Ἑλλησί τε καὶ

356
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
CAP. βαρβάρους φοβερῶν πᾶσι, πρὸ μεσημβρίας μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, περὶ δείλην δὲ ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ ἐφάνη Δημητρίῳ τε καὶ Δάμιδι, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἀρ’ ἂν τὸ παρακελεύσασθαι αὐτῶν τῷ Δάμιδι μὴ περιμεναντί τὴν ἀπολογίαν πεζεύσαι ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν τὰ μὲν γὰρ βεβουλευμένα οὐ προβλεγε, τὸν δ’ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐκέλευε πράττειν, ἃ τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις εἴπετο.

XI

CAP. XI Ἐτύγχανε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δάμις τῆς προτεραίας ἀφυγμένος καὶ τῷ Δημητρίῳ ξυγγεγονός ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ὁ δ’ εὐλαβέστερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀκροῶμενον εἰκὸς διατεθεὶς ἢν ὕφ’ ὄν ἡκουσε, καὶ πάλιν τῆς ὑποτεραίας ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἠρώτα, ἕψαλλον αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ περὶ τὴν Καλυψόν μνεύματα· ἀπειγόμονοι μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐχ ἤξοντος, ἑπείδη τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος χαλεπὰ ἦν πᾶσι, τὰ δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ προστατόμενα ἐτίμων διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀπενέπτες οὐν ἐκάθεντο ἐς τὸ νύμφαιον, ἐν δ’ ὁ πίθος, λευκὸς δ’ οὕτως ἐστὶ λίθος ἕμερον πηγήν, ὤδας οὕθ’ ὑπερβάλλουσαν τοῦ στομίου οὖτ’, εἰ τις ἀπαντλοῦσθε, ὑποδιδοῦσαν. διαλεχθέντες δ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ὤδατος οὐ μάλα ἐσπουδακῶς, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αἰθυμαν, ἐπανηγγόν τὸν λόγον ἐς τὰ πρὸ τῆς δίκης.
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.

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.
ΚΑΠ. ΧΙΙ. 'Ανολοφυραμένου δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδος, καὶ τε καὶ
tοιοῦτον εἰπόντος, "ἀρ' ὅψόμεθα ποτε, ὦ θεοί, τὸν
καλὸν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἑταῖρον;" ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀπολ-
λώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφεστὼς ἦδη τῷ νυμφαῖῳ
ἐτύγχανεν, "ὦφεσθε," εἰπε, "μᾶλλον δὲ ἑωράκατε."
"ζῶντα;" ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, "εἰ δὲ τεθνεῶτα,
οὐπώ πεπαύμεθα ἐπὶ σοι κλάοντες," προτείνας
οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὴν χεῖρα, "λαβοῦ μου," ἔφη,
"κἂν μὲν διαφύγω σε, εἰδωλόν εἰμὶ σοι ἐκ Φερσε-
φάττης ἢκοι, ὅτα φαίνουσιν οἱ χθόνιοι θεοὶ τοῦς
ἀθυμοτέρους τὰ πένθη, εἰ δὲ ὑπομείναιμι ἀπτόμενον,
πείθε καὶ Δάμιν ζῇν τέ με καὶ μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι
τὸ σῶμα." οὐκέθ᾽ οίοι ἀπιστεῖν ἴσαν, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες ἐξεκρέμαντο τοῦ ἄνδρὸς καὶ ἥσπάζοντο,
ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας ἡρώτων: ο μὲν γὰρ
Δημήτριος οὐδ’ ἀπολελογήσθαι αὐτόν, ἀπολέσθαι
γὰρ ἂν καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα, Δάμις δ’ ἀπολελογήσθαι
μὲν, θάττον δ’ ἵσος, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνης τε τῆς
ἡμέρας φόετο. ὁ δ’ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀπολελόγημαι,"
ἔφη, "ὡς ἄνδρες, καὶ νικῶμεν, γέγονε δὲ μοι τὰ τῆς
ἀπολογίας τήμερον οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας,
προῆε γὰρ ἦδη ἐς μεσημβρίαν." "πῶς οὖν,"
ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, "τοσίνθε ὡδὸν ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς
ἡμέρας ἴσως;" καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "πλὴν
360
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

361
κριοῦ,” ἔφη, “καὶ πτερῶν κηροῦ ξυγκειμένων πάντα ὀιοῦ, θεοῦ ἐπιγράφων τῇ πομπῇ ταύτῃ.”

“Πανταχοῦ μέν,” ἦ δ' ὁ Δημήτριος, “τῶν σῶν ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων θεοῦ ἂεί τινα προσφαρὴν ἡγούμαι, παρ' οὖ τὰ σὰ σύνεγκα ἔχει, τὴν δ' ἀπολογίαν, ἦ τις γέγονε, καὶ ἀττα ἡ κατηγορία εἶχε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ δικάζουσαν ἦθος, καὶ ὃ τι ἤρετο καὶ ὅτα ἤγκατέθετο ἦ ὅτω μή, λέγε ὁμοῦ πάντα, ἵνα καὶ Τελεσίνῳ ἐκαστὰ φράζομι, οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσει ἐρωτῶν τὰ σὰ, δὲ γε καὶ πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα ἵσως ἦμερῶν ἐμοὶ ξυμπίνων ἐν 'Ανθίῳ, κατέδαρθε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, μεσούσης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς κύλικος ἔδοξεν ὃναρ πῦρ ἐν τῇ γῇ πελαγίσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολαμβάνειν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ φθάνειν ὑποφέυγοντας, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ῥεῖν αὐτὸ παραπλησίως τῷ ὦδατι, σὲ δ' οὐχ ὁπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ διανεύσαι ἅυτοι σχισθέντος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἔνυπνῷ τοῦτῳ θεοῖς εὐξυμβόλους ἐσπεισεν, ἐμοὶ τε παρεκελεύσατο ὑπὲρ σοῦ θαρρεῖν.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “οὐ θαυμάζω Τελεσίνον,” εἶπεν, “ὑπερκαθεύδοντα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπερεγρήγορὲ μου πάλαι, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης πεύσεσθε μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐνταῦθα, δείλῃ τε γὰρ ἱκανὸς ἦδη καὶ βαδίζειν ὥρα ἐς ἀστυ, ἥδιος δ' οἱ καθ' ὁδὸν λόγοι παραπέμψαι βαδίζοντας. ἰώμεν οὖν διαλαλοῦντες 362
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. X

ὑπὲρ ὃν ἔρωτάτε, λέξω δὲ τὰ τίμημον δήποι ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ πραχθέντα. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἁμφῶ ἑστε, σὺ μὲν παρατυχόν, σὺ δ’ ἠκροαμένος, οἰμαί, τούτου, μᾶ Δία, οὐχ ἀπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν, εἴ μὴ ἐκλέλησμαι Δημήτριον, ἃ δ’ οὔτω ἑστε, δὲντι, δειρών ἀπὸ τῆς προφητείας καὶ τοῦ γυμνὸς ἐσελθεῖν.” δύσει δὲ καὶ τοὺς έαυτοῦ λόγους καὶ ἑπὶ πᾶσι τὸ “οὐ γὰρ μὲ κτενεῖς,” καὶ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τῆς κρίσεως, ὡς ἀπήλθε.

CAP. XIII

Τότε ἀναβοήσας Δημήτριος, “ἐγὼ μὲν ὁμνυ σεσωμένου ἀφίχθαι σε, σοί δ’ ἁρχὴ κινδύνων ταῦτα, ξυλισθμεί τὰρ σε σαραγηθήλομεν καὶ πάσης ἀποστροφῆς εἰργόμενον.” ὁ δ’ ἐρρώσθαι τῷ Δημήτριον δέει φράξων, “εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὁδε αὐτῷ εὐάλωτον ἤτε· ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὲν τικεῖνον νῦν ἔχει, ἐγὼ οἶδα· κολακευότων τὰρ ἀεὶ λόγων ἀκροατῆς γυγόμενος, νῦν ἐπιπληττότων ἦκροσαί, ῥήγωνται δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων αἱ τύραννοι φύσεις καὶ περὶ ταῦτα χολῶσιν. ἦμοι δὲ ἀναπαύλης δεὶ γόνυ οὔτω κάμψαι ἐκ τοῦ ἁθλου.” καὶ οἱ Δάμις, “ἐγὼ, Δημήτριε, διεκέιμην μὲν οὗτως,” 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 enrages them. But I require some rest, for I have not bent the knee since I had this struggle." And Damis said: "Demetrius, my own attitude towards our friend’s affairs was such
“πρὸς τὰ τοῦτο ματα, ὡς καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπάγειν αὐτόν, ἐφ' ἡς ἤκει, ξυνθεσσύλευς δὲ που καὶ σὺ ταύτα, ὡς μὴ ἐς κινδύνους ἐκουσίους τε καὶ χαλεποὺς ἵνα, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσύγχυσης μὲν δεδεμένος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, ἀπορὰ δ' ἡγομένῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν, ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ ἐφ' ὁ τὸ λελύσθαι εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σκέλος ἐλευθερώσας τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἐδειξεν τότε πρῶτον κατευόσα τοῦ ἀνδρός, θεσπεσίων τε εἶναι αὐτόν καὶ κρείσσω τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας ὅθεν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπωτέροις τούτων ἐντύχομαι, οὐδὲν ἂν δεῖσαι ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ κινδυνεύων. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐσπέρα, βαδίζωμεν ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός.”

καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑπνοῦ,” ἐφη, “δέομαι μόνον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐν ἴσῳ τίθεμαι λόγῳ, κἂν πάρῃ τι αὐτῶν, κἂν ἀπῇ.” μετὰ ταῦτα εὐξάμενος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἔτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἦν ὅκει ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ τὸ πόδε ἀπονυφάμενος παρακελεύσάμενος τε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμων δειπνεῖν, ἐπειδή ἀσιτοὶ αὐτῷ ἐφάινοντο, ἔρριψεν ἐς τὴν κλήνην ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ἐφυμηγήσας τῷ ὑπνῷ τὸ Ὁμήρου ἔπος ἐκάθευδεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀξίους φροντίζαι τοῖς παρούσιοι.
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 earth 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
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 Peloponnese.” “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;
ΦΛΑΥΙΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

CAP. αφίκοντο δι' ἡμέρας ἐκτης ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ 'Αλφειοῦ ἐκβολάς, ἄφ' δὲν ὁ ποταμός οὗτος Ἄδρια καὶ Σικελικῷ πελάγει ἐπιχείται πότιμος. ἀποβάντες οὖν τῆς νεώς, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἠγούμενοι τὸ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἤκειν, δηιτόντο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Δίως, οὐδαμοῦ ὑπὲρ Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποφοιτώντες. φήμης δ' ἄθροας τε καὶ ξυντόνων κατασχούσης τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ξῆν τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ ἀφίχθαι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, καταρχὰς μὲν ἐδόκει μὴ ἔρρωσθαι ὁ λόγος, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ ἐλπίδος τι ἀνθρωπείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ διεδέσθαι αὐτὸν ἦκουσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνῳ αὐτήκου ἦσαν ἀποθανεῖν καταφλεχθέντα, οἴ δ' ἐλυθήναι ξώντα καταπαγέντων ἐς τὰς κλείδας αὐτοῦ ἁγιόστρων, οἴ δ' ἔωσθαι ἐς βάραθρον, οἴ δ' ἐς βυθοῦν ἐπειδῆ· δὲ ἦκειν ἐπιστεύθη, οὐδ' ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδα οὐδεμίαν μετέωρος οὕτω ξυνήει ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνον τότε, Ἡλικίας μὲν καὶ Ἐπάρτη αὐτόθεν, Κόρινθος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἡσθμοῦ ὄριων, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ, εἰ καὶ Πελοποννήσου ἔξω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλείποντο τῶν πόλεων, αἱ ἐπὶ θύραις εἰσὶ τῆς Πίσης, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐπικυδέστατοι Ἀθηναῖων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν στείχοντες καὶ νεότης ἡ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς Ἀθηναζε φοιτῶσα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Μεγαρόθεν τινὲς ἐπεχωρίασαν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ τότε, καὶ Βωστῶν πολλοί, κάργοθεν, Φωκέων τε καὶ Θεταλῶν δ' τι εὐδόκιμον, οἱ μὲν ξυγγεγονότες ἡδὴ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, ἀνακτησόμενοι σοφίαν, ἐπειδῆ 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 Scillous. A rumour as sudden as insistent now ran through the Hellenic world that the sage was alive, and had arrived at Olympia. At first the rumour seemed 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XV θαυμασιωτέρων ἀκροάσασθαι φῶντο, οἱ δὲ ἀπειροὶ αὐτοῦ δεινῶν ἠγούμενοι τοιοῦτο ἄνδρος ἄνήκοι φαίνεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἔρωτώντας, ὅτι τρόπω διαφύγοι τῶν τύραννων, ούδὲν ἦτο δειν φορτικὸν φραίζειν, ἀλλ’ ἀπολελογῆσθαι τε ἐφασκεν καὶ σεσώσθαι πολλῶν δὲ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἡκόντων, οὐ έκήρυττον τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, διέκειτο μὲν ἡ Ἑλλάς οὐ πόρρω τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν, θείον ἠγούμενοι ἄνδρα δὲ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τῷ μηδὲ ἐσ κόμπου μηδένα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καθίστασθαι.

XVI

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
CAP. XVI ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐν Παναθηναίοις ἔδρασαν, τυράννως λοιπὸν χαρίζονται τὸ κεχειροτονημένους αὐτῶν ἀρχεῖν.

XVII

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
ΛΑΥΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

ΧΩΝ, τάτη, τεμένη τε γάρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ίερά καὶ δρόμοι καὶ σκηνῇ δήπου, ἔθνη τε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερορίων τε καὶ ὑπὲρ θάλατταν." καὶ μὴν καὶ τεχνῶν πλείστων αὐτήν ἐξυγκείσθαι καὶ σοφισμάτων, σοφίας τε ἀληθινῆς καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ ἔμβουλων καὶ διάλεξεων ἑυμνής τε ἀγωνίας καὶ μουσικῆς, ὡς Πυθοὶ πάτριοι. "Ἔξικεν," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ μόνον σωματοειδὲς εἶναι ἡ πανήγυρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμασμών ἔλεγχος ἡ αἱ πόλεις, τὰ γὰρ τῶν σπουδαίων σπουδαιότατα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἐλλογιμώτατα ἐξυγκαλεῖ καὶ ἑυνοικίζει." "Αρ’ οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὁ Ἰσαγόρα, καθάπερ οὖν τείχῃ καὶ ναῦς ἐγκαυτεί, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡγησόμεθα, ἢ ἐτέρας ἐπ’ αὐτῆς δέκα δόξης;" "τελεία," ἔφη, "ὁ Τυανεὺς, ἢ χρή ἡ δόξα καὶ δίκαιον ἐπεσθαί αὐτῇ." "καὶ μὴν ἀτελῆς," εἶπεν, "ἐνθυμομένῳ περὶ αὐτῆς δὴ ἐγὼ τρόπον δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ νῆς ἄνδρῶν δείσαν, καὶ ἄνδρες νηῶν, καὶ μηδὲ ἄν ἐνθυμηθήναι ποτε ἄνθρώπους τὴν θάλατταν, εἰ μὴ ναῦς ἵν, σώζειν τε ἄνδρας μὲν τείχῃ, τείχῃ δὲ ἄνδρας, πανήγυρις δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἶναι μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἐξύνοδος, εἶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ἐς ὁ χρῆ ἐξυπνεῖαι, καὶ τοσοῦτο μᾶλλον, ὅσον τείχῃ μὲν καὶ νῆς οὐδ’

376
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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 ἔγενοντο, εἰ μὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπων χεῖρας, τὰ δὲ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπὸ χειρῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπείων ἐφθάρη τὸ αὐτοσχέδια μὴ εἶναι ἀφαιρεθέντα, φύσεως δ’ εὖ ήκοντα ἐπάξια τοῦ ξυμφοιτάν ἐσ’ αὐτὰ ἐναμίσθη, γυμνάσια μὲν γὰρ καὶ στοιχεὶ καὶ θρήναι καὶ οἶκοι, τέχνη ταῦτα ἀνθρωπεῖα εἰργάσθη, καθάπερ τὰ τείχη καὶ αἱ νῆες, Ἄλφειος δὲ οὖτος καὶ ἱππόδρομος καὶ στάδιον καὶ ἄλση πρὸ ἄνθρωπων δήποτε ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν ἀποχρῶν ποτὸν εἶναι καὶ λοιπῶν, ὁ δ’ εὐρύ πεδίον ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς ἱπποῖς, τὸ δ’ ἐγκονίσασθαι καὶ διαδραμεὶν ἀθληταῖς διὰ τὸ παρέχεσθαι τινὰ ὄρον, αὐλῶνα σταδίου μῆκος, τὰ δὲ ἄλση στεφανώσαι τοὺς νικῶντας καὶ τοὺς δρομικοὺς τῶν ἀθλητῶν γυμνάσαι, ταῦτα γὰρ ποις καὶ Ἡρακλεὶ ἐνθυμηθέντι, καὶ τὸ αὐτοφυὲς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀγαθιότεν ἐπάξιος ἐφάνη ὁ χώρος τῶν ἐπὶ νῦν σπουδαζομένων ἐνταῦθα.”

XIX

CAP. XIX

Ἡμερῶν δὲ τετταράκοντα διαλεχθεῖσε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ πλεῖστα σπουδάσας, “καὶ κατὰ πόλεις μὲν,” ἐφι, “διαλέξομαι ὑμῖν, ἀνδρεῖς Ἐλλήνες, ἐν πανηγύρεσιν, ἐν πομπαῖς, ἐν μυστηρίοις, ἐν θυσίαις, ἐν σπουδαῖς—ἀστεῖον δὲ ἀνδρὸς δέονται—νῦν δὲ ἐς Δεβάδειαν χρή καταβῆναι με, ἐπειδ’ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ.
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 gymnasiaums 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.”

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
CAP. μήπωξυγγέγονα, καίτοι ἐπιφοιτήσας ποτὲ τῷ ἱερῷ." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἔχωρεῖ δὴ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας, οὐδενὸς λειτουργοῦν τῶν θαυμαζόντων αὐτόν. τὸ δὲ ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ στῶμιον ἀνάκειται μὲν Τροφωνίῳ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐσβατοῦ μόνου τοῖς υπὲρ χρησμῶν φοιτῶσιν, ὀρᾶται δ᾽ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, μικρὸν δ᾽ ἄνω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν γηλόφῳ, ἤγγικεύοντοι δ᾽ αὐτὸ σιδήρειο βελίσκων κύκλω περιβάλλοντες, ἡ δὲ κάθοδος οἷα ἱξόσαντα ἐπισπάσασθαι. λευκῇ δ᾽ ἐσθήτι ἐσταλμένοι πέμπονται, μελιτούττας ἀπάγοντες ἐν ταῖς χερεῖς, μειλίγματα ἔρπτετών, ἀ τοῖς κατιούσιν ἐγχριπτεί. ἀναδίδωσι δ᾽ ἡ γῆ τοὺς μὲν οὐ πόρρω, τοὺς δὲ πορρωτάτω, καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Λοκροῦς ἀναπέμπονται καὶ ὑπὲρ Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι περὶ τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὀρια. παρελθὼν οὖν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, "βούλομαι," ἐφη, "καταβῇ ἐν υπὲρ φιλοσοφίας."

Ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς λεγόντων, μὴ ἄν ποτε γόητι ἄνδρῶπῳ παρασχεῖν ἑλεγχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα πλαττομένων ἀποφράδας καὶ οὗ καθαρᾶς χρῆσαι, τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διελέχθη περὶ τὰς πηγάς τῆς Ἑρκύνης ὑπὲρ αἰτίας τοῦ μαντείου καὶ τρόπου, μόνον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δι᾽ αὐτοῦ χρὰ τοῦ χρωμένου· ἐστέρα δ᾽ ὡς ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στῶμιον μετὰ τῶν ἐννακολουθούντων νέων, καὶ τέτταρας τῶν ὀβελίσκων ἀναστάσας, οὗ ἤγνωκοι τὰς τῆς παρόδου κλείδας, ἔχωρει ὑποχθόνιος αὐτῷ τρίβωνι 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 Hercyne, about the origin and conduct of the shrine; for it is the only oracle which gives responses through the person himself who consults it. And when the evening approached, he went to the mouth of the cave with his train of youthful followers, and having pulled up four of the obelisks, which constitute a bar to the passage, he went down below
CAP. καθάπερ ἐστὶ διάλεξιν ἐαυτὸν στείλας, οὕτω τι τῷ θεῷ φίλα πράττον, ὡς ἐπιστάντα τοῖς ἱερεύσι τοῦ Τροφώνιου, ἔστι πιθηκίσι τοὺς καταστήναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἡς Ἀινίδα τε ἐπεσθαί πάντας, ὡς ἐκεῖ ἀναδυσομένου θαυμασιώτατα ἁνθρώπων. ἀνέσχε γὰρ δὲ τῇ ἡμερῶν ἐπτά, ὡς μήπως τίς τῶν ὑπελθόντων τῷ μαντεῖον, φέρων βιβλίων προσ-φορώσαντο τῇ ἐρωτήσει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατηλθεὶς εἰπὼν, "τίνα, ὁ Τροφώνιε, καὶ σὺ τῇ ἀρτιωτάτῃ καὶ καθαρωτάτῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἤγηγή;" τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τὰς Πυθαγόρου εἶχε δόξας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ μαντεῖον τῇ σοφίᾳ ταύτῃ ἐξυντιθεμένου.

XX

CAP. Ἀνάκειται τὸ βιβλίον τούτο ἐν Ἀνθίῳ, καὶ σπουδάζεται διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ Ἀνθίῳ Ἰταλῶν τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. ταύτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν Λεβα-δείαν οἰκούντων ἔνηχχωρό ἄκροισθαι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦτον ἑνώμη ἀποτελέσθαι, διακομι-σθήναι μὲν αὐτὸ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανῷ ὕστερον, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τῶν τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιστολῶν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάσας γε, καταμεῖναι δὲ ἐς τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν βασιλείων ἐχαίρειν.

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 Trophonius 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.
XXI

CAP. Αφίκοντο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωνίας οἱ ὀμιληταὶ πάντες, οὕς ὁνόμαξαν Ἀπολλονιέαν Ἠ Ἑλλάς, καὶ ξυμμιχθέντες τοῖς αὐτῶθεν νεότης ἐγένοντο θαυμάσαι ἄξιοι τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ὀρμής. Ῥητορικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέκειτο ἀμελουμένη, καὶ σμικρὰ πρόσειχον τοῖς τὴν τέχνην ξυγκροτοῦσιν, ὡς μόνης διδασκάλου τῆς γλώττης, ὥθησεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν πάντες. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ τοὺς Γύγας φασί καὶ τοὺς Κροίσους ἀκλείστους παρέχεν τὰς τῶν θησαυρῶν θύρας, ἵνα ἀπαντλεῖν εἴη τοῖς δεομένοις, οὕτω παρεῖχε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν τοῖς ἔρωσι, περὶ παντὸς ἑρωτῶν ξυγχωρών.

XXII

CAP. Διαβαλλόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνίων, ὅτι τὰς τῶν ἤγεμόνων ἐπιδημίας ἐκτρέποιτο καὶ ἀπάγοι τοὺς ἄκροατὰς ἐς τὰς ἴσχυσις μᾶλλον, καὶ τινὸς ἀποσκόψας μετελαύνειν αὐτὸν τὰ πρόβατα, ἐπειδὰν τοὺς ἀγοραίους προσίοντας μάθη, "νὴ Δί", εἶπεν, "ἐνα μὴ ἐμπίπτωσι τῇ πολυμηνίᾳ οἱ λύκοι." τί δ' ἐβούλετο αὐτῷ τούτῳ; τοὺς ἀγοραίους ὤρῶν ἀποβλεπομένους ὡς ὅτι τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ προϊόντας ἐκ πενίας ἐς πλοῦτον, ἀπεχθέοις τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἁσπαζομένους, ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπέχθεσθαι.
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, ἀπῆγγε τοὺς νέους τού ξυνεῖναί σφισι καὶ τοὺς ξυγγενομένους αὐτοῖς ἐνουθετεὶ πικρότερον, οἷον ἀποπλύων βαφῆς χτόπον. διεβέβλητο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ὅπο δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεσμωτηρίων καὶ τῶν δεδεμένων τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω διετέθη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην, ὡς πάντα ταῦτα τῶν συνκοφαντούντων καὶ τῶν δεινότητι ἐπηρμένων ἠγείρον οὐκ ἔτη 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.

XXIII

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

CAP. XXIII νύκτα μεταστῇ πάντα, “θάρρει,” ἔφη, “ἔσται γὰρ τι ἐκ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης φῶς.”

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁ μέν, ἐπειδῆ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἱκανῶς ἔχε, δυοῖν ἐνδιατρίψας ἐτοῖν, ἔπλει ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἑυνεπομένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἑταιρείας, καὶ τὸν μὲν πλεῖον χρόνον ἐφιλοσόφει περὶ τῆν Σμύρναν τε καὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἐπιών καὶ τὰς ἄλλας καὶ ἐν σύνεμα τῶν πόλεων ἅρδης εἶναι δοκῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ποθεῖσθαι ἄξιος καὶ κέρδος μέγα τοῖς δεξιοῖς.

XXV

CAP. XXV Ἐώθουν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ Δομετιανὸν ἤδη τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων προεδρίας. ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλήμεντα ἄπεκτονως ἄνδρα ὑπατον, ὃ τὴν ἄδελφην τὴν ἑαυτῷ ἐδεδόκει, πρόσταγμα δ' ἐπεποίητο περὶ τὴν τρίτην ἢ τετάρτην ἡμέραν τοῦ φῶνου κάκείνην ἕς ἄνδρος φοιτῶν Στέφανος τοίνυν ἀπελεύθερος τῆς γυναικὸς, δὲ ἐδήλου τὸ τῆς διοσθημασμὸς σχῆμα, εἴτε τὸν τεθνεῦτα ἐνθυμηθείς, εἴτε πάντας, ἀφρισμὲν μὲν ἵσα τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔπε τὸν τύραννον ξίφος δ' ὑφεῖρας 388
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.
τῷ τῇς ἀριστερᾶς πίθει, καὶ τῇν χείρα ἐπι-
δέσμοις ἀναλαβὼν ὦν κατεαγιναν, ἀπίνοντι
τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθὼν, “δέομαί σου,” ἔφη,
“βασίλει, μόνον, μεγάλα γάρ, ὑπὲρ δυν ἀκούσῃ.
οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος δὲ τοῦ τυράννου τῆν ἀκρόασιν,
ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐσ τοῦ ἀνδρῶν, οὗ τὰ βασίλεια,
“οὐ τέθνηκεν,” εἶπεν, “ὁ πολεμιώτατός σου Κλή-
μης, ὦς σὺ οἰεί, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν οὗ ἐγὼ οἶδα, καὶ
ξυντάττει ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ σέ.” μέγα δ’ αὐτοῦ βοή-
σαντος περὶ δυν ἥκουσε, τεταραγμένῳ προσπεσὼν
ὁ Στέφανος, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τῆς ἐσκευασμένης χειρὸς
ἀνασπάσας, διήκε τοῦ μηροῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸν αὐτίκα
θάνατον οὗ καιρίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ
ἀκαίρον. ὁ δ’ ἔρρωμένος μὲν καὶ ἄλλος τὸ σῶμα,
γεγονὼς δὲ περὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη
ξυνεπλάκη τρωθεῖς, καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Στέφανον
ἐπέκειτο, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὦρυττον καὶ τὰς παρεῖας
ξυντρίβων πυθμένη χρυσῆς κύλικος αὐτοῦ κειμένης
περὶ τὰ ἰερά, ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄρωγόν.
συνέντες οὖν οἱ δορυφόροι κακῶς πράττοντος
ἐσῆλθον ἄθροοι, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν
λυποθυμοῦντα ἤδη.

XXVI

Ταῦτ’ ἐπράττετο μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔωράτο
δ’ Ἀπολλωνίως κατὰ τὴν Ἔφεσον. διαλεγόμενος
390
Life of Apollonius, Book VIII

Against his left fore-arm, and carrying his hand in 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 was a spectator of it in Ephesus. For about midday
CAP. XXVI. γὰρ περὶ τὰ τῶν ξυστῶν ἄλση κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ὡτὲ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγύνητο, πρῶτον μὲν ὑφίκε τῆς φωνῆς, οἷον δεῖσας, εἰτ' ἐλλιπέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἢμμηνευεσθεν ἵσα τοῖς μεταξὺ λόγων διορῶσι τι ἐτερον, εἶτα ἑσιώπησεν, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν λόγων ἐκπεσόντες, βλέψας τε δεινὸν ἐσ τὴν γῆν καὶ προβὰς τρία ἡ τέτταρα τῶν βημάτων, "παῖε τὸν τύραννον, παῖε," ἐβόα, οὐχ ὡσπερ ἐκ κατόπτρον τινὸς εἶδολον ἀληθείας ἐλκὼν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ὅρων καὶ ἕνικαμβάνειν δοκῶν τὰ δράμενα. ἐκπεπληγμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου, παρὴν γὰρ διαλεγομένων πᾶσα, ἑπισχῶν ὅσον οἱ διορῶντες, ἔστ' ἄν γενήται τι τῶν ἀμφιβολῶν τέλος, "θαρ- ρεῖτε," εἶπεν, "οἶ ἀνδρές, ὁ γὰρ τύραννος ἀπε- σφακται τίμερον. τί λέγω τίμερον; ἄρτι, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἄρτι, περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ῥημάτων, οἷς ἐπεσιώπησα." μανίαν δὲ ταῦθ' ἤγουμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐφέσου, καὶ βουλομένων μὲν ἀληθεύειν αὐτοῖς, δεδιότων δὲ τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κίνδυνον, "οὐ θαυμάζω" ἔφη, "τῶν μῆτω προσδεχομένων τὸν λόγον, ὅπως ἡ Ῥώμη γιγνωσκεὶ πᾶσα· ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ γιγνώσκει, διαφοριτὰ γὰρ, καὶ πιστεύουσι μὲν ἡδὴ μύριοι, πειδώσῃ δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς διἐ 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 caught glimpses of something foreign to his subject, and at last he lapsed into silence, like one who has been interrupted in his discourse. And with an awful glance at the ground, and stepping forward three or four paces from his pulpit, he cried: "Smite the tyrant, smite him,"—not like one who derives from some looking-glass a faint image of the truth, but as one who sees things with his own eyes, and is taking part in a tragedy. All Ephesus, for all Ephesus was at his lecture, was struck dumb with astonishment; but he, pausing like those who are trying to see and wait until their doubts are ended, said: "Take heart, gentlemen, for the tyrant has been slain this day; and why do I say to-day? Now it is, by Athene, even now at the moment I uttered my words, and then lapsed into silence." The inhabitants of Ephesus thought that this was a fit of madness on his part; and although they were anxious that it should be true, yet they were anxious about the risk they ran in giving ear to his words, whereupon he added: "I am not surprised at those who do not yet accept my story, for not even all Rome as yet is cognizant of it. But behold, Rome begins to know it: for the rumour runs this way and that, and, thousands now are convinced of it; and they begin to leap for joy, twice as many as before, and twice as many as they, and four times as many, yea the whole of the populace there. And this
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ΞΧΩΙ

ἐκείνη δὴμοι. ἀφίξεται οὖν τοῦτο τὸ ρῆμα καὶ δεῦρο,
καὶ τὸ μὲν θύειν ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβλήσθω ἐς
καίρον, ὅν ἀπαγγέλθησεται ταύτα, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμὶ
προσευχόμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶδον.”

XXVII

CAP. ΞΧΧΙ

“Επ' ἀπιστομένων τούτων, ἦλθον οἱ τῶν εὐαγ-
γελίων δρόμοι, μάρτυρες τῆς σοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρός,
καὶ γὰρ Ἰωάννου σφαγῆ, καὶ ἢ τοῦτο ἑνεγ-
κούσα ἡμέρα, καὶ ἡ μεσημβρία, καὶ οἱ κτείνοντες,
πρὸς οὓς ἢ παρακέλευσις, οὕτως εἶχεν, ὡς οἱ θεοὶ
tούτων ἐκαστα διαλεγομένῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνέφαινον.

Τριάκοντα δ' ἡμέραις μετά ταύτα, ἐπιστείλαντος
αὐτῷ τοῦ Νεροῦ τὴν μὲν ἄρχην ἥδη τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων ἔχειν θεῶν τε Βουλαίς κακείνου, κατασχεῖν
δ' ἄν αὐτὴν ράμον, εἰ ζύμβουλος αὐτῶν ἐλθοί, τὸ
μὲν αὐτίκα ἐκείνο γράφει πρὸς αὐτον ἀὐνγυμα
“ἐκνευσόμεθα, ὁ βασιλεῦ, χρόνον ἡλιόλοις πλείσ-
tον, ὃν μήτε ἡμείς έτέρου, μήτ' ἄλλος ἡμῶν ἅρξει,”
συνείς ἵσως ἐαυτοῦ τε, ὡς μετ' οὓ πολὺ μεταστη-
σομένου ἀνθρώπων, Νεροῦ τε, ὡς χρόνον βραχὺν
ἀρξοντος, ἐς ἐναυτὸν γὰρ καὶ μῆνας τέτταρας
tὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προβῇ σωφρονεστάτῳ
δόξαντι.
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.
"Ἰνα δὲ μὴ ἁμελῶν φαῖνοιτο φίλου τε ἁγαθοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος, ξυνέθηκε μετὰ ταύτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ξύμβουλον τῶν ἀρχικῶν, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν, "σοῦ" ἔφη, "δείται ταύτα, τὰ γὰρ ἀπόρρητα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἑγέραται μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἐστι δ' οία ἢ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λέγεσθαι ἢ διὰ σοῦ." καὶ ὃψε ὁ Δάμις ξυνείναι φησι τῆς τέχνης, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστολὴν ἀριστά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ξυγγεγράφθαι, πεμφθῆναι δ' ἂν καὶ δι' ἑτέρου. τὰς οὖν ἡ τέχνη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς; πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ἃν ἐβίω, λέγεται θαμὰ ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι, "λάθε βιώσας, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιο, λάθε ἀποβιώσας." ἀπάγων οὖν ἔαυτον τὸν Δάμιν, ἢν μὴ ὑπὸ μάρτυς καταλύσῃ, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐσκύψατο καὶ τὸ ἀναφοιτήσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. αὐτῶς μὲν δὴ παθεῖν τι ἀπίσθων αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὐδὲ εἰδὼς τὰ μέλλοντα, τὸν δ' εὗ εἰδότα μηδὲν μὲν οἱ εἰπεῖν, ὡσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ μηκέτ' ἀλλήλους ὕψομενοι, τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιείναι τοῦ πεπείσθαι, ὅτι ἡ ἐσται, παρεγγυήσαι δὲ ὅδε: "ὁ Δάμως κἂν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ φιλοσοφῆς, ἐμὲ ὅρα."
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.”
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXIX

CAP. XXIX

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Ἀπολλάνιον τὸν Τυανέα Δάμιδι τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένα ἐς τόνδε τὸν λόγον τελευτᾷ, περὶ γὰρ τρόπου, καθ’ ὅν ἐτελεύτα, εὐγενεῖ ἐτελεύτα, πλείους μὲν λόγοι, Δάμιδι δὲ οὐδεὶς εἰρήται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τούτο χρῆ παραλελεῖφθαι, δεὶ γὰρ ποι πόν τὸν λόγον ἠχεῖν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πέρας. οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ἡλικίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰρήται οὐδὲν τῷ Δάμιδι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν οἷος ἤδοκοντα, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑνενήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐκατόν ἐλθεῖν, ἄκεραίους δὲν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄρτιος, νεότητας δὲ ἤδιων. ἔστι γὰρ τοῖς ὑρα καὶ περὶ ῥυτίσιμον, ή μάλιστα περὶ ἐκείνου ἡνθησεν, ὡς εἰκόνες τε δηλοῦσι τάνδρος ἐν τῷ Τυανάδε ἱερῷ καὶ λόγοι μᾶλλον ὠμολόγητε τὸ Ἀπολλάνιον γῆρας ἡ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ποτὲ νεώτητα.

XXX

CAP. XXX

Τελευτήσαι δ’ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ δυοῖν δμωαῖν, τεθνάναι γὰρ ἤδη οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι, περὶ δὲν κατ’ ἄρχας εἰποῦν, ἐλευθερώσαντα δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν, αὐτίαν πρὸς τῆς ἑτέρας ἐχεῖν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡξίωτο, τὸν δ’ Ἀπολλάνιον, “καὶ δουλεύσαι,” φάναι, “προσήκει σὲ αὐτῇ, τοῦτι γάρ σοι ἄγαθον ἄρξει.” τελευτήσαντος οὖν ἡ μὲν 398
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.

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXX
douleínev ēkeính, ἡ δ' ἐκ μικρᾶς αἰτίας ἀποδόσθαι αὐτὴν κατῆλθεν, παρ' οὗ πρώσθα τις οὐδ' εὔπρεπῆ οὖσαν, ἀλλ' ἔρων οὖτος καὶ χρηματιστῆς ἰκανῶς ὠν, γυναῖκα τε ἀνευπεῖν καὶ παιδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγγράψαι.

Οἱ δ' ἐν Λίνδῳ τελευτήσαν αὐτῶν, παρελθόντα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἐσώ ἀφαιρεθέντα· οἱ δ' ἐν Κρήτῃ φασὶ θαυμασιώτερον ἢ οἱ ἐν Λίνδῳ· διατρίβειν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον μάλλον ἢ πρὸ τούτον θαυμαζόμενον, ἀφικέσθαι δ' ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δικτύννης ἀφεῖ. φυλακὴ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ κυνῶν ἐπιτετακταί, φρουροὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ πλούτῳ, καὶ ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Κρήτες μήτε τῶν ἀρκτῶν μήτε τῶν ὁδὸ ἀγρίων λείποντο, οἱ δ' οὐθ' ὑλακτεῖν ἦκοντα σαίνειν τε αὐτῶν προσίτωτες, ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς ἄγαν ἑθάδας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προϊστάμενοι ἐυλλαβόντες αὐτῶν ὡς γόητα καὶ ληστὴν δῆσαι, μείλημα τοῖς κυσί προβεβλήσθαι τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν φάσκοντες· οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ μέσας νῦκτας ἐαυτὸν λύσαι, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς δήσαντας, ὡς μὴ λάθοι, δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύρας, αἱ δ' ἀνεπετάσθησαν, παρελθόντος δὲ ἐσώ τὰς μὲν θύρας ἐυνελθεῖν, ὡσπερ ἐκκλειστὸ, βοηθεῖν δὲ ἄθουσῶν παρθένων ἐκπεσεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἀσύμα ἡν· "στείχε ὡς, στείχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στείχε." οἶον· ἢθι ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἄνω.

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."
Περὶ ψυχῆς δὲ, ὡς ἀθάνατος εἶη, ἐφιλοσοφεῖ ἐτι, διδάσκων μὲν, ὅτι ἀληθῆς ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λόγος, πολυπραγμονεῖν δὲ μὴ ἄναγκων τὰ ὄνομα μεγάλα· ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰ Τύανα μειράκιον ἑρασα ἑπὶ τὰς ἐρίδας καὶ μὴ ἐξυπνεθέμευον ἀληθεὶς λόγος· τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου εἰς ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἥδη ὄντος, θαυμαζομένου δὲ ἔπει τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ μὴ ἀντιλέξαι θαρροῦντος μηδενὸς, ὡς οὐκ ἀθάνατος εἴη, λόγοι μὲν οἱ πλείους ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἑγγύνοντο, καὶ γὰρ νεότης τις ἂν αὐτοθῇ σοφίας ἑρώτησε, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον οὐδαμῶς τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίᾳ ἐξυπνεθέμευον, "έγώ," ἔφη, "οἱ παρόντες, οὔτοι μὴν δεκατον Ἀπολλωνίῳ διατελῶς εὐχόμενος ἀναφύναλ μοι τὸν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς λόγον, ὃ δ' οὔτω τέθηκεν, ὡς μηδ' ἐφιστασθαι δεσμέως, μηδ', ὡς ἀθάνατος εἰη, πείθειν." τοιάτα μὲν τὸ μειράκιον τότε, πέμπτη δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρα περί τῶν αὐτῶν σπουδάσαν, κατέδαρθε μὲν οὖ διελέγετο, τῶν δὲ ξυσπουδαζόντων νέων οἱ μὲν πρὸς βιβλίους ἤσαν, οἱ δ' εὐπροδάξων γεωμετρικοὺς ἐπιχαράττοντες τύπους τῇ γῇ, τὸ δ', ὡσπερ ἐμμανέσ, ἀναπηδήσαν ὁμόνυμον, ἵδρωτι τε πολλῷ ἐρρεῖτο καὶ ἐβῶνα, "πείθομαι σοι." ἐρομένων δ' αὐτὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὃ τι πέπονθεν, "οὐχ ὤρατε," ἔφη, "ὑμεῖς Ἀπολλωνίῳ τὸν σοφόν, ως παρατυγχάνει τε ἡμῖν,
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
τοῦ λόγου, καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ραφώνθειθαυμάσθα;” “ποῦ δ’ οὖτος;” ἔφασαν, “όσ’ ἦμιν
γε οὐδαμον φαίνεται, καίτοι βουλομένοις αὐν τοῦτο
μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν.”
καὶ τὸ μειράκιον, “ἔοικεν ἐμοὶ μόνον διαλεξόμενο
ήκειν ὑπὲρ διν μὴ ἐπιστευον· ἀκούετ’ οὖν, οἶα τῷ
λόγῳ ἐπιθειώξει:

αθάνατος ψυχή κοι χρῆμα σῶν, ἀλλὰ προνοίας,
ἡ μετὰ σῶμα μαραυθέν, ἂτ’ ἐκ δεσμῶν θὸς
ἵπτοσ,
ῥημίδιος προθοροῦσα κεράνυσαι ἥρει κοῦφο,
δεινὴν καὶ πολύτλητον ἀποστέρξασα λατρεήνει
σοὶ δὲ τί τῶν ὑφελος, ὁ ποτ’ οὐκέτ’ ἐὼν τὸτε
δόξεις;

ἡ τί μετὰ ξυρώσων ἐὼν περὶ τῶνδε ματεύεις;”
καὶ σαφῆς οὖτος Ἀπολλωνίου τρίποous ἐστικε
ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπορρήτων, ἵν’ εὐθυμοὶ τε
καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν εἴδοτες, οἱ τάττουσι Μοῖραι,
πορευομέθα. τάφῳ μὲν οὖν ἡ ψευδοταφίῳ τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμοῦ προστυχῶν οίδα, καίτοι τῆς γῆς,
ὀπόσῃ ἐστίν, ἐπελθὼν πλείστην, λόγοις δὲ παν-
ταχοῦ δαιμονίοις, καὶ ἱερὰ Τύναδε βασιλείως
ἐκπεποιημένα τέλεσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ βασιλείς ἀπηξίουν
αὐτῶν διν αὐτοῖ ήξιούντο.

404
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

with us and is listening to our discussion, and is CHAP. 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 mingleth 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.

405
THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS
OF TYANA
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΤΟΤ ΤΤΑΝΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

α'.—Ευφράτης.

'Εμοι προς φιλοσόφους ἔστι φίλια, προς μέντοι σοφιστὰς ἢ γραμματιστὰς ἢ τι τοιοῦτο γένος ἐτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων, οὔτε νῦν ἕστι φιλία, μὴ τε ύστερον ποτὲ γένοιτο. τάδε μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς σὲ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων εἰς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς σὲ· θεράπευε σοι τὰ πάθη, καὶ πειρῶ φιλόσοφος εἶναι, καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τοῖς ὅντως φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ σοι καὶ γῆρας ἤδη πλησίον καὶ θάνατος.

β'.—τὸ ἀντὶ ὁ τῶν.

'Η ἄρετὴ φύσει κτῆσει χρήσει, δι' ἂν ἔκαστον ἂν εἰ ἔτων προειρημένων ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον. σκέπτεσθαι, εἰ τί σοι τούτων ἔστιν, ἢ σοφιστείας πάντων λοιπῶν, ἢ προϊκα γε χρηστεύον αὐτῆ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἐπείπερ ἢδη σοι καὶ τὰ Μεγαβύζου.

408
THE ÉPISTLES 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.
γ'.—τὸ ἄντον ἀνενομένος.

Επήλθες ἐθνη τὰ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Σιράς ἀρχάμενος, ἐπιδεικνύς σεαντόν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λεγομέναις. διπλή δὲ σοι τὸν πλοῦν λευκὸς καὶ μέγας, πλέον δὲ οὐδέν. εἰτα πῶς διὰ θαλάττης νῦν ὑποστρέφεις ἄγων φορτίδα μεστὴν ἀργυρίου, χρυσίου, σκευῶν παντοδαπῶν, ἐσθήτων ποικίλων, κόσμου τοῦ λυπόου, τύφου καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ κακοδαμονίας; τίς ὁ φόρτος καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς καινῆς ἐμπορίας;Ζήμων τραγημάτων ἤν ἐμπορος.

δ'.—τὸ ἄντον ἀνενομένος.

Ὅλων δὲι σοῦ τοῖς παισίν, εἰ φιλοσόφοι παῖδες εἶχαν. ἔδει μὲν όν μηδὲ φροντίσαι πλεῖον σου γενέσθαι τῶν ἱκανῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ ἀδοξίας τινὸς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαξ ἐγένετο, δεύτερον ἄν εἰπ μεγάλη σπουδή νεῖμαι σε τινὰ ἑνὶ τῶν ὄντων ἑχεις δὲ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους.

ἐ'.—τὸ ἄντον ἀνενομένος.

Τῶν Ἑπικούρου λόγων ὁ περὶ ὡδονής οὐδενὸς ἐτί συνηγόρου δεῖται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κύπτου καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς, πέφηνε γὰρ ὅν καὶ κατὰ τῆν στοὰν ἀληθέστατος. εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγων προκομεῖς
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
τὰς Χρυσίππου σχολὰς καὶ δόγματα, γέγραπται 
ti καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασιν. Εὐφράτης 
ἔλαβε καὶ πάλιν ἔλαβεν. Ἡσίκουρος δὲ οὐκ ἄν ἔλαβεν.

ζ'.—τ ὃ ἀντ ὃ.

'Ἡρόμην πλουσίονς τυιάς, εἰ πικραίνονται. τί 
δ' οὐ μέλλομεν; ἐφασαν, ἡρόμην οὖν καὶ τὴν 
αἰτίαν τῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ ἦτιώντο τῶν πλουτοῦν. 
σὺ δ', ὦ τάλαν, νεόπλουτος.

η'.—τ ὃ ἀντ ὃ.

'Εκεῖν ὅτι τάχως εἰς Ἀιγάς ἄφικη καὶ κενώσης 
ἐκεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ἱτέον ἐστὶ σοί πάλιν ὅτι τάχως εἰς 
τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ κολακευτέον ὁμολογοῦσα νοσοῦντας, 
γέροντας, γραιάς, ὄρφανοὺς, πλουσίους, θρυπτομέν— 
ους, Μίδας, Γέτας. πάντα φασὶ δεῖν τὸν ἐμπόρον 
καλῶν σεἰεῖς. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰ δὴ τὴν ἀλλὰν τρυπὰν ἐν 
Θέμιδος οἶκῳ.

ητ'.—τ ὃ ἀντ ὃ.

'Ἀρά τι καὶ σὺ γράψαι οὖν; εἰ γὰρ οὕτω 
γένοιο γενναίος. καὶ ἔχοις δ' ἄν εἰπεῖν τὰ συνήθη 
ταῦτα καὶ πρόχειρα: "λουτρὸν ἄπαν Ἀπολ— 
λάνιος παρατείται." 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

θ’.—Δ ἰ ω ν ἰ.

Αὐλοῖς καὶ λύρα κρειττῶν ἐστὶ τέρπειν ἢ λόγῳ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς ὄργανα καὶ μουσικῆ τούνομα τῇ τέχνῃ, λόγῳ δὲ τάληθες εὐρίσκει. τούτῳ 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
πρακτέουν, τούτο σοι ρητέου, ἢν καὶ περὶ τούτου 
phisofhēs.

ι.—τ ὁ αὐτ ὁ.

Ζητοῦσι τινες την αἰτίαν, δι' ἢν πεπαυμα 
διαλεγόμενος εν πολλοῖς. εἰδέτωσαν οὐ κ δὲ 
εἰδέναι μέλη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀδύνατος ὀφελήσαι 
λόγος ἀπας, ὃς ἂν εἰς ἢν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἑνα λέγη 
τα ὁ τούτων ἄλλως διαλεγόμενος δόξης ἦττων ὃν 
διαλέγοιτ' ἂν.

ια'.—Καὶ σαρέων προβούλων.

Πρῶτον εἰς πάντα θεῶν ἀνθρωποι δέονται καὶ 
περὶ παντός, ἐπειτὰ πόλεων, τιμητέον ἡρ ἰεύτερον 
πόλεις μετὰ θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πόλεως προκριτέον 
παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· εἰ δὲ μὴ πόλις μόνον εἰη, ἀλλὰ 
καὶ μεγίστη τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἀρίστη τε τῶν 
αὐτοῦ μεγέθει καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ 
προπονών κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρεταῖς, ἔτι τε ἦθεσι κατ' 
eἰρήνην, καθάπερ ἡ ύμετέρα πόλις, μάλιστα 
πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐμόι τε θαυμαστέα τιμητέα 
τε καὶ ἄλλω δὲ ὁμοίως παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· τούτῳ 
μὲν οὖν ἐκ λόγου κοινοῦ ἡ προκριτικοῦ ἄν εἰη 
τὸ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν πολλῶν; ὡταν δὲ καὶ

1 Or perhaps we should render “by ordinary reasoning.”
2 Perhaps we should read in the Greek προκριτικῶν, δὲ ἂ with Olearius and render “for preferring your city, if the object under comparison were an ordinary city.”

416
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
ἐρχεὶ πόλεις ποτὲ τῆς πρὸς ἑνα τιμῆς ἀνδρα, πόλεις ὁυσα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐαυτῆς ἔξενον καὶ ἀποθεεν, τὸ ἡ τοῦτον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς ἀμοιβῆς ἢ ὑμῶν ἡ ἀν πρὸς τίσιν ἄξιον εἰς; τοῦτο μονον ἰσως, εἰ θεοφιλής τις ὃν τύχοι διὰ τινα φύσεως ἐπιτηθεϊς τητη, ὁ εὐχεσθαι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἁγάθα τυχχάνειν τε τῆς εὐχῆς, ὅπερ ἀν διατελέσαμι καγώ πράττων ὑπέρ ὑμῶν, ἐπείπερ ἥσθην ἢθενω Ἐλληνικὸς διάνουσι στι τὸ ἑδών ἁγαθῶν καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κοινῶν. Ἀπολαυσίων δέ τὸν Ἀφροδίσιον νεανιαν ἐρρωμενεστάσης φύσεως ἄξιας τοῦ ὑμετέρου ὅνοματος, πειράσομαι χρήσιμον ὑμῶν παρασκευάζειν εἰς ἕκαστα μετὰ καὶ τύχης τινὸς ἁγαθῆς.

ιβ'.—Σελευκέων τοῖς προβούλοις.

Πόλεις, ἢτις ἄν οὐτω πρὸς τε θεοὺς ἔχη καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἄξιοις ἀποδοχῆς, αὐτῇ τε εὐδαίμων καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν ὁφέλησε τους μαρτυρηθέντας. ἀρξασθαι μὲν ὁν χάριτος οὐ δυσχερὲς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀμοιβῆς ὃς οὐ ράδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ὁμολογεῖν ἀδύνατον, τὸ γὰρ πτο τῇ τάξει δεύτερον οὐδὲποτε τῇ φύσει πρῶτον. ὡστε θεοὺς ἀνάγκη παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμείψασθαι τους οὐ τῇ δυνάμει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις κρείττους γενομένους, ἀνθρώπων γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὰ ἦν τῆς καθαρτι συνατός καὶ τὸ ἐθελήσαι δὲ ἄν με παρ' ὑμῖν

418
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
γενέσθαι τῆς ὑμῶν ἀν εἰς χάριτος καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἀν εὐξαίμην παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ γεγεννήσθαι. οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν τιμιώτεροι, διότι καὶ φίλοι, Ἰερώνυμος καὶ Ζήνων.

υ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Στράτων μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οἴχεται, πάν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ θυγτόν ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπτών. χρή δὲ τοὺς έτι κολαζομένους ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε, ξὴν ἄλλως λεγομένους, ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν. ἄλλοις μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔργον δικαίως γένοιτο νῦν ἢ καὶ ὕστερον, οἷς μὲν ὃς οἰκείος, οἷς δ' ὃς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνδράσι φίλοις οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ γνωσθησομένοις χρόνῳ, τούτων εἴπερ ἢν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀληθές τι καὶ πρόσθεν. ἐγώ μέντοι καὶ ταύτῃ βουλόμενος ἐξαιρέτως ὑμέτερος εἶναι, τὸν ἐκ Σελευκίδου νῦν αὐτῷ γενόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ἀναθρέψω, καὶ μεταδόσω παιδείας τῆς ἐμῆς. πάντως δ' ἂν μετέδωκα καὶ χρημάτων ὁ τά μείζωνα δοῦς, εἴπερ ἔχειν ἢν ἄξιον.

ὶδ'.—Εὐφράτη.

Πυθάνονται μοι πολλοὶ πολλάκις, τίνος ἐνεκεν οὐ μετεπέμφθην εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἢ οὐ μεταπεμψθείς ἀφικόμην, ὡσπερ σὺ καὶ εἴ τις ἔτερος. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρινοῦμαι, μὴ
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 Zenon.

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

καὶ δόξω τισὶν εἰδέναι τὴν αὐτίαν, οὐδ’ εἰδέναι μοι μέλον, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τί ἂν καὶ δεόμην ἄτερον λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν μετεπέμφθην ἢ ἄφικόμην; ἔρρωσο.

ιε’.—τ ὁ αὐτ ὁ.

Τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀδέσποτον εἶναι Πλάτων ἔφησεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ τιμᾶ τούτῳ τις καὶ γέγηθεν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμιού ᾔνεται χρημάτων, πολλοῦς δεσπότας ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖ.

ιζ’.—τ ὁ αὐτ ὁ.

Μάγους οἰεὶ δεῖν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσόφους, ὡδὲ ποι καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος οἴμαι δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι μάγους, εἰ μέλλουσιν εἶναι θείοι τε καὶ δίκαιοι.

ιη’.—τ ὁ αὐτ ὁ.

Μάγους ὀνομάζοντι τοὺς θείους οἱ Πέρσαι. μάγος οὖν ὁ θεραπευτὴς τῶν θεῶν ἢ ὁ τὴν φύσιν θείοι, σὺ δ’ οὐ μάγος, ἀλλ’ ἄθεος.

ιη’.—τ ὁ αὐτ ὁ.

Ἡράκλειτος ὁ φυσικὸς ἄλογον εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἐφησε τὸν ἀνθρωπον. εἰ δὲ τούτῳ ἄληθές, ὡσπερ ἑστὶν ἄληθές, ἐγκαλυπτέος ἕκαστος ὁ ματαιός ἐν δόξῃ γενόμενος.

422
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

ιδ'.—Σκόπελινανδ οφιστή.

Πέντε εἰς τούτοις σύμπαντες οἱ τοῦ λόγου χαρακτήρες, ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ ἱστορικός, ὁ δικαίωτης, ὁ ἐπιστολικός, ὁ ὑπομνηματικός. ἐγκειμένων δὴ τῶν γενικῶν χαρακτήρων, τῇ τάξει πάλιν γίνεται πρώτος μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου δύναμιν ἡ φύσιν ἰδιος ὃν, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ ἐν μιμήσει τοῦ ἁρίστου, τῶν ἐκ φύσεως εἰς τις ἐνδείχθη εὑρή. τὸ δὲ ἁρίστου δυσεὐρετόν τε καὶ δυσεπίκριτον, ὡστε οἰκείωτερος ἐκάστῳ χαρακτήρ ὁ ἰδιος, ἐπείπερ καὶ βεβαιώτερος.

κ'.—Δομετιανὸ.

Εἰ σοι δύναμις ἐστίν, ὡσπερ ἐστίν, καὶ φρόνησιν ἄν εἴη σοι κτητέον καὶ γὰρ εἰ φρόνησις ἦν, δύναμις δὲ ἀπήν, ὁμοίως εἴξει σοι δυνάμεως. δεῖται γὰρ ἢλ τὸ ἐτέρου τοῦ ἐτέρου, ὡσπερ ὕψος φωτὸς καὶ φῶς ὑψεως.

κα'.—τ ὃ ἄντ ὃ.

Βαρβάρων ἄφεκταν καὶ οὐκ ἄρκτεον αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους ὤντας εὐ πάσχεως.

κβ'.—Δεσβωνακτί.

Δεῖ πένεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἄνδρα, πλούτειν δὲ ὡς ἀνθρωπον.

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.

425
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

κυ'.—Κρίτων ἐ. Τὸ θειότατον Πυθαγόρας ιατρικὴν ἔφασκεν. εἰ δὲ ιατρικὴ τὸ θειότατον, καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιμελητέων μετὰ σώματος, ἢ τὸ ξύδον οὐκ ἂν ύγιαίνοι τῷ κρείττοιν νουσοῦν.

κδ'.—Ἐλλανοδίκαις καὶ Ἡλείοις.

Ἀξιοῦτε μὲ τῷ ἀγώνι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων παραγενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέμψατε πρέσβεις. ἐγὼ δὲ παρεγενόμην ἂν ἐπὶ σωμάτων θεῶν καὶ ἀμιλλαν, εἰ μὴ τὸν μείζονα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγῶνα καταλείψειν ἔμελλον.

κε'.—Πελοποννησίοις.

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

κς'.—τοῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θηκόροις.

Θεοὶ θυσιῶν οὐ δέονται. τὶ οὖν ἂν τις πράττων χαρίζοιτο αὐτῷ; φρόνησιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κτῶ-μενος, ἀνθρώπων τε τοὺς ἀξίους εἰς δύναμιν εὐ ποιῶν. ταῦτα φίλα θεοῖς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀθέων.

426
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

XXIII.—To Crito.

Pythagoras has declared that the divinest thing we have is the healing art. But if the divinest thing is the healing art, then we must take care of the soul as well as of the body; for surely a living creature cannot be in sound health, if in respect of its highest element it be diseased.

XXIV.—To the Presidents of the Olympic Games and to the Elians.

You invite me to attend the games of Olympia, and have sent me envoys to that effect. And I would come to be a spectator of your physical rivalries, if it did not involve my abandoning the greater arena of moral struggle.

XXV.—To the Peloponnesians.

The second phase of your relations with one another were the Olympic Games, and though in the first phase you were frankly enemies, in this second you still were not friends.

XXVI.—To the Priests in Olympia.

The gods are in no need of sacrifices. What then can one do in order to win their favour? One can, in my opinion, acquire wisdom, and, so far as one can, do good to such men as deserve it. This pleases the gods; atheists however can offer sacrifice.
κζ'.—τοῖς ἐν Δὲλφοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.

Αἵματι βωμοῦ μιαίνουσι ἱερεῖς. εἶτα θαυμάζουσι τινες, πόθεν αἱ πόλεις ἀτυχοῦσιν, ὅταν μεγάλα δυσθετήσωσιν. ὥ τῆς ἀμαθίας. Ἡράκλειτος ἦν σοφός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος Ἔφεσίους ἐπεισε μὴ πηλῆ πηλῶν καθαίρεσθαι.

κη'.—βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν.

Ζάμολξις ἀνὴρ ἁγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, εἰ γε μαθητὴς Πυθαγόρου ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τοιούτος ἦν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἐκὼν ἀν ἐγένετο φίλος. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑλευθερίας οἶει δεῖν ἀγώνα καὶ πόνον ἔχειν, ἀκούεις φιλόσοφος, τοῦτο ἐστιν ἑλεύθερος.

κθ'.—ν ο μο θ ε τ η.

Αἱ ἐορταὶ νόσων αἰτίαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πόνους ἀνιᾶσι, τὸ ἐμπίπτλασθαι δὲ αὔξουσιν.

λ'.—τα μίας Ὡμαίων.

Ἀρχὴν ἀρχεῖτε πρῶτην. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἁρχεῖν ἐπίστασθε, διὰ τὸ τὸ παρ' ὑμᾶς χείρον ἑαυτῶν αἱ πόλεις ἱχουσιν; εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθε, μαθεῖν ἔδει πρῶτον, εἴτε ἁρχεῖν.

428
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 PHILOSTRATATUS

λα'.—διοίκηταίς Ἀσίας.

Τί ὁφελος ἀγρίων δένδρων φυομένων ἐπὶ βλάβη τοὺς κλάδους κόπτειν, ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ρίζας;

λβ'.—Ἐφεσίων γραμματέων.

Ἄθων ἐν πόλει καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων καὶ περιπάτων καὶ θεάτρων οὐδὲν ὁφελος, εἰ μὴ νοῦς ἐνείη καὶ νόμος. νοῦς δὲ καὶ νόμος περὶ τούτων ἐστίν, οὐ ταῦτα.

λγ'.—Μιλησίων.

Οἱ παῖδες ὕμων πατέρων δέονται, οἱ νέοι γερόντων, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἄνδρες ἀρχόντων, οἱ ἄρχοντες νόμων, οἱ νόμοι φιλόσοφων, οἱ φιλόσοφοι θεῶν, οἱ θεοὶ πίστεως: προγόνων ἀγαθῶν ἔστε, τὰ παρόντα μισεῖτε.

λδ'.—τοῖς ἐν Μουσείῳ σοφοῖς.

Ἐγένομην ἐν Ἀργεί καὶ Φωκίδι καὶ Δοκρίδι καὶ ἐν Σικυώνι καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις, καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐπαυσάμην ἐκεῖ. τί οὖν, εἰ τις ἔρωτο, τὸ αἰτίου; ἔγω φράσαμ' ἄν ὑμῖν τε καὶ Μουσαις· ἐβαρβαρώθην οὐ χρόνοις ὃν ἀφ' Ἐλλάδος, ἀλλ' ἡ χρόνος ὃν ἐν Ἔλλαδι.
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 sojourning outside Hellas," but by long sojourning in her midst.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

λε'.—'Εστι τοι αι ϕ.

'Αρετή καὶ χρήματα παρ' ἦμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἔναντιωτα, μειούμενον γαρ τὸ ἔτερον αὐξεῖ τὸ ἔτερον, αὐξανόμενον δὲ μειοῖ. πῶς οὖν δυνατῶν ἀμφότερα περὶ τὸν αὐτόν γενέσθαι; πλὴν εἰ μὴ τῷ τῶν ἁνοίγτων λόγῳ, παρ' οἷς καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀρετή. μὴ δὴ τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν ἀναισθητεῖν ἐπίτρεπτε τοῖς αὐτῶι, μηδὲ ἐκ πλουσίους ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἡ φιλοσοφίας. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοκρατοῦν ἀποδημεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ χρήματα δοκεῖν, ἐνίων, ἵνα μυνῆμην ἐαυτῶν καταλείπωσι, μηδὲ ἀρετὴν ἀσπασμένων.

λε'.—Κορινθίῳ Βάσσῳ.

'Ἡν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μοινόμενος ἀνθρώπος. οὗτος ἡλθέ ποτε ἐξιπήρης ἐπὶ θύρας τάς ἐμάς, ὑπὸ σοῦ σταλεῖς τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενον τῶν Ἰσθμίων. τοῦ φόνου δ' ἦν μισθὸς δεδομένος ἡ τῆς γυναικὸς σου κοινωνία, καὶ, μιαρὴ Βάσσε, πολλάκις εὐνουχός ἐγενόμην σου.

λε'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ πυθανόντω Κορινθίῳ τις, πῶς ὁ Βάσσου πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἔροῦσιν ἀπαντεῖς ὁ ἀστικὸς καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι φαρμάκων. τίνος δόντος; ἔροῦσι καὶ οἱ ὄμοροι τοῦ φιλοσόφου. καὶ ὁ μιαρὸς τῷ πτώματι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπόμενος ἐκλαίειν.
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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.
λη’.—τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

'Αρετῆς μὲν ὑμῖν πρωτείον ὅνικ ἔστι, ποίας γὰρ ἀρετῆς; εἰ δὲ κακίας φέρεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, πάντες ὑφ’ ἐν φέρεσθε. τίνες τοῦτο φύσουσι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν; οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ τῶν αὐτόθι φίλος, ὡστ’ ἀρνεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι’ εὐνοιαν.

λθ’.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Αἰσχρὰ καὶ τὰ ὑνόματα τῶν ταγμάτων ὑμῶν. Κόδδαροι, Ἑυρισίταυροι. ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις τίθεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε γίνεσθαι τούτων ἄξιοι.

μ’.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Κόδδαροι, καὶ Ἑυρισίταυροι. Τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας πῶς ἀν προσαγορεύοιτε; τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ταγμάτων εἰσὶ καὶ αὐταί, καὶ θρασύτεραι.

μα’.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Οὗδὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑμῖν εὐνοεῖν εἰκός, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οἰκέται, εἰθ’, ὅτι τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων οἱ πλεῖστοι. κάκεινοι γὰρ ὡμοίως ὑμῖν 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 sroward 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.

435
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRAITHUS

μβ'.—Πλάτωνικοῖς.

'Εάν τις Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρήματα διδῷ, καὶ ὁ
didous áξιος νομίζηται, λήψεται δεόμενος. φιλο-
σοφίας δὲ μισθόν οὐ λήψεται, κἂν δέηται.

μγ'.—τοῖς οἴησισόφοις.

Εἰ λέγει τις εἶναι γνώριμος ἐμός, λεγέτω καὶ
μένειν ἔνδον, ἀπέχεσθαι λουτροῦ παντὸς, ξύρα μὴ
κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἔδειν σάρκας, ἀπαθῆς εἶναι φθόνου
κακοθείας μίσους διαβολῆς ἔχθρας, τοῦ τῶν
ἐλευθέρων ὑνομάζεσθαι γένους, ἢ φυλακτέος πλά-
σματα φέρων τρόπον τε καὶ ἡθοὺς καὶ λόγων
ψευδῶν ἀλλοτρίου βίου πίστιν ἔρρωσθε.

μδ'.—Ἐστιαὶ ϕ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

Τί θαυμαστῶν, εἰ με τῶν ἀλλων ἀνθρώπων
ἰσόθεουν ἡγουμένων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θεῶν, μόνῃ μέχρι
νῦν ἡ πατρὶς ἁγιοεί, δὴ ἤν ἐξαιρέτως ἐσπούδασα
λαμπρὸς εἶναι; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδ' ύμιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς,
ὡς ὀρῶ, γέγονε μανερόν, ὡς εἰμι ἁμείνων πολλῶν
λόγων τε καὶ ἡθος. ἔπει πῶς ἂν μου κατεγνώ-
σκετε χαλεπὴν κατάγωσιν ὡς ὑπομνήσεως τὴν
436
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
ἀρχὴν δεομένων, περὶ δὲ μόνων οὔδὲ τῶν ἁμαθε-στάτων ἄν τις περιμείνει ἀπαχθήναι; λέγω δὲ πατρίδος τε καὶ ἄδελφων. καίτοι οὐ λέληθεν ύμᾶς, ὡς καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ πᾶσαν τε γῆν πατρίδα νομίζειν, καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἄδελφους καὶ φίλους, ὡς ἂν γένος μὲν ὄντας θεοῦ, μίας δὲ φύσεως, κοινωνίας δὲ οὐσίας λόγου τε παντὶ καὶ πᾶσι καὶ παθῶν τῆς αὐτῆς, ὡς γε καὶ ὡς ἂν τις τύχῃ γενόμενος, εἰτε βάρβαρος, εἰτε καὶ Ἐλλην, ἀλλαὶ τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλὰ ἐστὶ γὰρ πως τὸ συγγεγέννηκεν ἀκατασοφίστως καὶ πᾶν ἀνακλητικὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον. οὕτως ὁ Ὁμηρικὸς Ὁδυσσεύς, ὡς φασί, οὗτος ἀδανασίαν ὑπὸ θεᾶς διδομένην Ἰθάκης προεύρησε. ὅρω δὲ έγνώγε τοῦ νόμου τόνδε καὶ διὰ τῶν ἁλόγων ξών πεφωτη-κότα. οὐ γὰρ, ὅποιον πτηνόν, καλῶς ἀπόκουιτον ἰδίων, πᾶν τε βύθιον παρασύρεται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φέροντος, ἐπάνεισι δὲ μὴ νικηθέν, θηρία μὲν γὰρ οὕτε λειμὸς οὕτε κόρος ἔπεισεν ἐξω φωλεῶν μείναι, ἔνα τούτων ἡ φύσις ᾗ ἡνεγκεν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταύτα σοφὸν λεγόμενον, ὁ καὶ πάντα τὰ λουτὰ γῆ πᾶσα παρέχῃ, μνήματα οὐκ ἔχει δεῖξαι τὰ πατέρων.

μέ.—τ ὅ α ὑ τ ὅ.

Εἰ τῶν ὄντων τὸ τιμώτατον φιλοσοφία, πεπιστεύμεθα δ᾽ ἢμεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, οὔκ ἂν ὅρθῳς ὑπολαμβανόμεθα μισάδελφοι, καὶ τάντα δι᾽ 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
ἀγεννη τε ἀμα καὶ ἀνελεύθερον. χρημάτων γάρ
dήπου χάριν ἡ ὑποψία, τούτων δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἡ
φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπειρώμεθα καταφρονεῖν, ὡστε τοῦ μή
grάφειν εὐλογώτερον ἂν εἴη πρόφασιν ἐτέραν
ὑπονοεῖν. ἐφυλαττόμην γὰρ ἀληθῆ μὲν γράφων
ἀλαξῶν δοκεῖν, ψευδῆ δὲ ταπεινός, ὃν ἐκάτερον
ἐπίσης ἀνιαρὸν ἀδελφοῖς τε καὶ φίλοις ἂν εἴη·
nυνὶ μέντοι καὶ τούτο δηλῶ—συγχωροῖ γὰρ ἂν ἢ
ἶσως τὸ δαιμόνιον—ὅτι συμβαλῶν τοῖς ἐν Ἑρώ
cόλοις, μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς
λήγοντος ἔαρος.

μζ’.—Γο ῥ δ ἴ ὁ.

Ἡδικήσθαι φασιν Ὑστιαῖαν ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ταῦτα
φίλου γεγονότος, εἰ γε σὺ τίνος φίλος. ὥρα δή,
Γόρδιε, μὴ πείραν λάβῃς ἀνδρός οὐ δοκοῦντος,
ἀλλὰ ἐντος. ἀσπασαι τὸν γίδιν Ἀριστοκλείδην,
ὅν εὐχομαι μὴ παραπλησίον σοι γενέσθαι καὶ σὺ
δ’ ἴσθα νέος ἀμεμπτος.

μζ’.—Τυνέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆ μῳ.

Προστάτουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπανίειν πείθομαι. τούτω
γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ἔνα πόλει πρ επωδέστερον ἂν εἴη, εἰ
ἐνεκα τιμῆς μεταπέμποιτο πολίτην ἔαυτῆς. καὶ ὅν
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
ἀπεδήμησα δὲ χρόνου, ἀπεδήμησα περιποιῶν ὑμᾶν, εἰ καὶ ἐπαχθὲς εὗπείν, εὐκλειάν τε καὶ ὄνομα καὶ εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν πόλεων ἐπιφανῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μείξονος ἐτι καὶ κρείττονος ὑμεῖς ὑπολήψεως ἄξιοι, τὸ γε ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἑπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξήρκει μόνον δυνάμεως τε καὶ σπουδῆς. ἔρρωσθε.

μη’.—Διοτί μοι.

'Επλανήθης οἴηθεὶς δεῖσθαι με τινος ἢ παρ’ αὐτοῦ σοῦ, πρὸς δὲν οὐδὲν ἦν μοι ποτε κοινὸν τι γεγονός, ἢ παρ’ ἀλλον τινὸς ὁμοίον τε καὶ ὁμοίως. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀναλωθὲν εἰς τι τῶν σοι σωτηρίων πολὺ τι. χαριεῖ δὴ μοι παθῶν εὐ διχ’ ἀναλώματος, τηρήσω γάρ μου τὸ ἔθος μόνος οὕτως. ὅτι δὲ τούτων ἔχω τὸν τρόπον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν πρὸς ἀπαντάς μου τοὺς πολίτας, ἔω γάρ λέγειν ὅσ καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἐξεστι μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν πολιτῶν, εὗ παθόντων μέν, ὁσάκις ἐδείκησάν τινος, ἀμοιβὴν δὲ αἰτηθέντων μηδεμίαν. μὴ δὴ δυσχεράνης, εἰ δεόντως ἐπιτιμήθης ὁ ἐμὸς οἰκήτης ύπερ τοῦ προσέσθαι τι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπέδωκεν εὗθυς ὁ ἔλαβε Δυσία τῷ φίλῳ σου, φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ἔπει μηδένα ἡπίστατο τῶν 442
been away from your city, I have, although it may be presumptuous to say so, striven to win for you, by my sojourning abroad, good fame and name and good-will and the friendship of distinguished cities, and equally of distinguished men. And if you merit a still wider and higher consideration, it is only myself and my own natural gifts which are capable of an effort involving so much ability and seriousness. Farewell.

XLVIII.—To Diotimus.

You make a mistake in supposing that I want anything either from yourself, with whom I have never had anything in common, or from any body else like you, or under like circumstances. But in fact, even what I have expended on any object conducive to your welfare has been inconsiderable. I shall be best pleased, therefore, if you accept my kindness without incurring any expense yourself. For in no other way but this shall I retain my principles intact. And that this is my way, and this my attitude towards all my fellow-citizens, I might almost say towards all men, you can learn from the rest of the citizens who have accepted my kindness, as often as they stood in need thereof, but who have never been asked to make any return. Do not then take it amiss, if I have rebuked my servant as he deserved, for having in the first instance accepted anything, and if he at once handed back to Lysias your friend, and also a friend of my own, what he received, because he did not know personally any of your servants whom
καταλειμμένων σου παιδών. εἰ δὲ δύο λόγοι
περὶ ἕμοι λέγονται, λεχθήσονται δὲ καὶ ἑσύστερον,
tι θαυμαστόν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ περὶ παντὸς ἀκρον
δοκοῦντος καθ’ ὅτι οἴνοι ἐναντίοις λέγεσθαι λόγους.
οὕτως περὶ Πυθαγόρου, περὶ Ὀρφέως, περὶ Πλά-
τωνος, περὶ Σωκράτους οὐκ ἐλέχθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ
cαὶ ἐγράφη τὰ ἐναντία, ὅπου γε μὴ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ
περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ δέχονται
tὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ὡς ἄν ἔχοντές τι συγγενέσ, οἱ δὲ
φαύλοι τὸν ἐναντίον, καὶ ἔστι τοῦ τοιούτου γένους
καταγελᾶν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ χείρονος. τοσοῦτο μόνον
dίκαιον ὑπομνήσαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὸ νῦν, ὅτι περὶ
ἔμοι καὶ θεοὶ ἐξητάται ὡς περὶ θείου ἀνδρὸς, οὐ
μόνον ἴδια τις πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσία.
ἐπαχθὲς λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πλεῖον ἢ μείζον.
ἔγιναι εὐχομαι.

μθ’.—Φεροῦκίανφ.

Πάνω τοῖς πεμφθείσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασιν
众所, πολλὴν γὰρ οἰκείότητα καὶ γένους ἀνά-
μυσιν εἴχε, καὶ πέπεισμαι δὲ ἐπιθυμίας εἶναι
σοι θεάσασθαι με καὶ ὑπ’ ἔμοι θεάθηναι. αὐτῶς
οὐν ἀφίξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, θεοῦ ἔχω
τῶν αὐτοθύ. συμμέχες δὲ μοι πληγόν γενομένῳ
πρὸ πῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων, ἔπει καὶ
προσήκει σοι τοῦτο.

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.
ν'.—Εὐφράτης.

'Εν γένει δαιμόνων καὶ ὁ σοφότατος Πυθαγόρας ἦν. σὺ δ' ἔτι μοι δοκεῖς πορρωτάτω φιλοσοφίας εἶναι καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἢ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε κάκεινον κακῶς ἔλεγες, οὔτε τινὰς τῶν ξηλούντων αὐτὸν διετέλεις μμοῦν. ἄλλο τί σοι νῦν πρακτέον ἢν εἴη φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ἡμβροτες, οὐδ' ἐτυχες οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ Μενελάων Πάνδαρος ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅρκων συγχύσει.

νά'.—τ ὁ αὖ τ ὅ.

'Επιτιμῶσι σοί τινες, ὡς εἰληφότι χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁπερ οὐκ ἄν ὑπον, εἰ μὴ φαίνοντο φιλοσοφίας εἰληφέναι μισθὸν καὶ τοσ- αυτάκεις καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ περὶ σοῦ πεπιστευκότων εἶναι σε φιλόσοφον.

νβ'.—τ ὁ αὐτ ὅ.

'Εάν τις ἀνδρὶ Πυθαγορείῳ συγγένεται, τίνα παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεται καὶ ὁπόσα, φαίνην ἂν ἐγώγει νομοθετικῆς γεωμετρίας ἀστρονομίας ἀριθμητικῆς ἀρμονικῆς μουσικῆς ἱατρικῆς, πᾶσαν θείαν μαντικῆς, τὰ δὲ καλλίως μεγαλοφροσύνη μεγαλοφυσικῶν μεγαλοπρέπειων εὐστάθειαν εὐφημίαν γνώσιν θεῶν, οὐ δόξαν, εἰδησίων δαιμόνων, οὐχί

446
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.

III.—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.
πίστιν, φίλιαν ἐκατέρων, αὐτάρκειαι ἑκτένειαι
λιτότητα βραχύτητα τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐαισθησίων
εὐκινησίαν εὑπνοιαν εὐχροιαν ύγειαν εὐψυχίαν
ἀθανασίαν, παρὰ σοῦ δέ, Εὔφρατα, τί λαβόντες
ἐχουσίων οἱ συνόντες; ἢ δηλονότι τὴν ἀρετήν, ἢν
ἔχεις;

νυ.—Κλαύδιος Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ.

Ἀπολλώνιον τοὺς ύμέτερον πολίτην Πυθαγό-
ρειον φιλόσοφον, καλῶς ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Ἑλλάδι
καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ἀφελήσαντα τιμήσαντες
ἀξίας τιμαῖς, αἰς πρέπει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ
ἀληθῶς προϊσταμένους φιλόσοφοι, τὴν εὐνοιαν
ἡμῶν ἡθελήσαμεν ὑμῖν δι᾽ ἐπιστολῆς φανερὰν
γενέσθαι. ἔρρωσθε.

νδ.—Ἀπολλώνιος δικαίωταίς Ρωμαίοις.

Διμένων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ περιβόλων καὶ
περιπάτων ἐνίοις ῥυμῶν πρόνοια, παίδων δὲ τῶν
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ἡ νέων ἡ γυναικῶν οὕτω ὑμῖν
οὕτε τοὺς νόμους φροντίς. ἡ καλὸν ἂν εἰη τὸ
ἀρχεῖα;

νε.—τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀπολλώνιος.

Φύσιν ἔχει τῶν τελειωθέντων ἐκαστον ἀπιέναι,
καὶ τούτο παντὶ γῆρας ἐστὶ, 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
μὴ δὴ σε λυπεῖτο τῆς γυναικὸς ἡ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἁλικίας ἀποβολή, μηδέ, ἐπεὶ θάνατος τι λέγεται, κρείττου αὐτοῦ τὸ ξῆν ὑπολάμβανε, χείρον ὅν τῷ παντὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι. γενοῦ δὴ ἄδελφός τὸ μὲν κοινότατον φιλοσόφου, τὸ δ’ ἔξαιρετον Πυθα-γορεῖον καὶ Ἁπολλωνίου, καὶ σου τὴν οἷκιαν τὴν αὐτὴν ποίησον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἑνεκαλούμεν τῷ τῇ προτέρᾳ, κἂν εἰκότως ἔδοκομεν ἀποδειλιᾶν, εἰ δ’ ἤ μὲν σεμνὴ τε διετέλεσεν οὕσα καὶ φίλανδρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιζητήσεως ἀξία, τί καὶ διανοι-θέντες οὐκ ἂν ὁμοία καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης προσδοκοίημεν; ἂν εἰκὸς ἂν ἔθελήσαι καὶ ἀμεί-νονα γενέσθαι μηδαμοῦ τῆς προτέρας ἁμελεία κακωθείσης. δυσοπεῖτω δὲ σε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄδελ-φῶν ὅτως μὲχρι νῦν ἔχοντα: τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ οὐδὲ γόνος οὐδέπω, τῷ νεωτάτῳ δὲ ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔτι παιδοποιίας, ἐν προκοπῇ δὲ γε τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν τρεῖς γεγονόμεν, τρεῖς δ’ ἦμαι οὐδὲ εἰς. ἵσος δὲ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος τῆς πατρίδι καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ μεθ’ ἡμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀμείνους τοῦ πατρός—ἂλλως δὲ, καθ’ ὃ πατήρ, χείρος—πῶς οὐκ ἄν βελτίως εξ ἡμῶν εἰκὸς ἄν ὑπάρξαι; γενέσθωσαν οὖν τινὲς, οἷς παρα-θησόμεθα γοῦν ὄνομα, ὡς ἡμῶν 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
συνύφημαν. ὑπὸ δακρύων οὖχ οἶός τε ἐγευόμην πλείονα γράψαι, καὶ οὐδὲ εἰχον ἀναγκαιότερα τούτων.

ντ'.—Σαρδιανοῖς.

Κροίσος ἀπέβαλε τὴν Λυδίαν ἀρχὴν "Ἄλυν διαβάσας, ἐλήφθη ξῶν, ἐδέθη πέδαις, ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἀνεβιβάσθη, τὸ πῦρ εἶδεν ἥμμενον αἰρόμενον ὡς ὤψος. ἐξησεν, ἐδόκει γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τετιμημένος. τι οὖν ὡστέρον; οὗτος ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν ἀμα καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ τοσαύτα παθὼν παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν, τραπέζης ἐκοιμώνησε τῷ πολεμῷ, σύμβουλος ἢν εὐνους, πιστὸς φίλος. ὑμῖν δὲ ἁστυνδα καὶ ακήρυκτα καὶ ἀμελικτα, ἔτι τε ἁνέρα καὶ ἁθεα τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς πρὸς τέκνα, τὰ πρὸς φίλους συγγενεῖς φυλέτας. ἔχθροι γεγόνατε μήτε Ἄλυν διαβάντες, μήτε δεξάμενοι τινα ἀνθρωπον ἐξωθεν. καὶ ἡ γῆ φέρει καρπὸν ὑμῖν. ἀδικός ἡ γῆ.

νζ'.—συγγραφεὺς λογίοις.

Φῶς παρουσία πυρός, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως γένοιτο, πῦρ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὁ γίνεται, καὶ ταῖς ὑψεῖς μόνον αὐγῆν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχεται μὴ βιαζόμενον αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ πείθων. τοίνυν καὶ λόγος ὁ μὲν ὡστέρ πῦρ καὶ πάθος, ὁ
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

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,
δε ὤσπερ αὐγὴ καὶ φῶς ἔστιν ὁ κρείττον ὁν, εἰ μὴ μεῖζον εὐχής τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἰς μοι.

ὑπ'.—Ο ὑ α λ ἐ ῥ ἰ φ.

Θάνατος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει, καθά-περ οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ οὐσίας τραπέν εἰς φύσιν ἐδοξε γένεσις, τὸ δὲ ἐκ φύσεως εἰς οὐσίαν κατὰ ταυτὰ θάνατος, οὕτε γιγανιμένου κατ᾽ ἀλήθειαν τινος, οὔτε φθειρο-μένου ποτέ, μόνον δὲ ἐμφανοῦς ὄντος ἀοράτου τε ὕστερον, τοῦ μὲν διὰ παχύτητα τῆς ὕλης, τοῦ δὲ διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς οὐσίας, οὕσης μὲν αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, κινήσει δὲ διαφερούσης καὶ στάσει. τούτο γάρ που τὸ ἔδιον ἀνώγυκη τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐκ ἐξωθεὶν γιγανιμένης ποθέν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὦλου μετα-βάλλουντος εἰς τὰ μέρη, τῶν μερῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὦλον τρεπομένων ἐνότητι τοῦ παντός. εἰ δὲ ἐρήσεται τις: τί τούτῳ ἕστι τὸ ποτὲ μὲν ὀρατόν, ποτὲ δὲ ἀόρατον, ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς γιγανόμενοι ἢ ἄλλοις; φαίη τις ἄν, ὡς ἐθος ἐκάστου ἕστι τῶν ἐνθάδε γενῶν, ὃ πληρωθὲν μὲν ἐφάνη διὰ τὴν τῆς παχύτητος ἀντι-τυπίαν, ἀόρατον δὲ ἔστιν, εἰ κενωθείη διὰ λεπτό-τητα τῆς ὕλης, βίας περικυνθείσης ἐκρυβείσης τε τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτῆς αἰωνίου μέτρου, γεννητοῦ δ' οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φθαρτοῦ.
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.
Τι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνέλεγκτον; οἴονται γὰρ τινες, ὅ πεπούθασιν, αὐτοῖ τούτο πεποιηκέναι, μὴ εἰδότες, ὡς ὁ γεννηθεὶς διὰ γονέων γεγένηται, οὐχ ὑπὸ γονέων, καθάπερ τὸ διὰ γῆς φυέν οὐκ ἐκ γῆς φύεται, πάθος τε οὐδὲν τῶν φαινομένων περὶ ἑκάστου, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον περὶ ἐν ἑκάστου. τούτῳ δὲ τί ἄν ἄλλο τις εἰπὼν ἢ τὴν πρότυπον οὐσίαν ὀρθῶς ἀν ὁνομάσεις; ἢ δὴ μόνη ποιεῖ τε καὶ πᾶσχει, πᾶσι γνωμένη πάντα διὰ πάντων, θεὸς ἀίδιος, ὁνόμασι καὶ προσώπως ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ὅνων ἀδικουμένη τε. καὶ τούτο μὲν ἔλαττον. τὸ δὲ μεῖζον κλαίεται τις, ὅταν θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γένηται τόπου μεταβάσει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσεως. ὡς δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἄλληθες, οὐ πενθητέον σοι θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον καὶ σεβαστέον. τιμὴ δὲ ἡ ἀρίστη τε καὶ πρέπουσα, εἰ ἄφελς θεῷ τὸν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἀνθρώπων τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰ νῦν ἄρχοις, ἢ πρότερον ἥρξει. αἰσχρόν, εἰ χρόνῳ, μὴ λογισμῷ γένους βελτίων, εἰ χρόνος καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς λύπης ἔπαυσε. μέγιστον ἄρχῃ ἱκανῇ, καὶ μεγίστων
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.
ἀρχών ἀριστος, ὃς ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἄρχῃ. ποῦ δὲ καὶ ὅσιον ἀπεύχεσθαι τὸ βουλήσει θεοῦ γενόμενον; εἰ τάξις ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων, ἐστὶ δὲ, καὶ θεὸς ἐπιστατεῖ ταύτης, ὁ δίκαιος οὐ βουλήσεται ἀπεύχεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθά, πλεονεκτικὸν γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἡγήσεται δὲ τὰ γνώμενα συμφέρειν. πρόελθε καὶ θεράπευσαι, δίκασον καὶ παρηγόρησον τοὺς ἁθλίους, τῶν δὲ δακρύων οὕτως ἀποτρέψεις. οὐ τὰ ἰδία τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἰδίων προτιμητέον. οἶον δὲ σοι καὶ τὸ τῆς παραμυθίας εἴδος· σὺν ὅλῳ τὸν υἱὸν ἔθνει πεπένθηκας. ἀμεινψαί τοὺς μετὰ σοῦ λευτημένους, ἀμεῖψη δὲ, ἐὰν λυπούμενος παύσῃ, τάχιστον ἢ ἐὰν μὴ προέλθησι. φίλους οὕκ ἔχεις; υἱὸν δὲ ἔχεις. καὶ υἱὸν τὸν τεθύηκότα; φήσει τοῖς τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων. τὸ γὰρ ὃν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, διὰ τούτο ὃν, ὅτι ἔσται διὰ παντός, ἢ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὃν γίνεται, πῶς δὲ ἂν γένοιτο μὴ ἀπολλυμένου τοῦ ὄντος; εἴποι ἂν ἔτερός τις, ὡς ἀσεβείς τε καὶ ἀδικείς. ἀσεβείς μὲν τὸν θεόν, ἀδικείς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, μᾶλλον δὲ κάκεινον ἀσεβείς· βουλεί δὲ μαθεῖν οἶον ἔστι θάνατος; ἄνελε μὲ πέμψας μετὰ ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, ἢν ἐὰν μὴ μεταμφιέσῃ, παραχρῆμα κρείττονά με σεαυτοῦ πεποίηκας.
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.
"Έχεις χρόνον, ἔχεις γυναίκα ἐμφρώνα φίλανθρωπον, ὅλοκληρος εἶ, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λαβὲ τὸ λείπον. Ἦτωμαις τὸν πᾶλαι γεγονότων, ἵνα σώσῃ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμον τε καὶ κόσμον, νῦν ὅδιον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ στεφανώσας ἀπέκτεινε, πόλεων ἀρχῶν πεντακοσίων Ἦτωμαις ὁ εὐγενεστατός. ταῦτα σαυτὸν διατίθης, ἔξω δὲν οὐκίας τὴς εὐσταθῶς ἄρξει, μήτε γε πόλεων τε καὶ ἐθνῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος εἰ παρῆν, Φασθοῦλλυν ἀν μὴ πενθεῖν ἐπεισην.

νθ'.—Βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων Γάρμως Νεογύνδης Ἰνδῶν Βασιλεὺς.

Εἰ μὴ περίεργος ἦς, οὐκ ἂν ἦς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις πράγμασι δίκαιος, οὐδὲ ἂν ἀρχῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐδίκαξες Βαβυλωνίως. πόθεν γὰρ σοι γνώριμος ἦν ὁ ἕμετερος δῆμος; νῦν δὲ ἐπείρασας ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμῆν, ὑποκοριζόμενος ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τοιαύτας ἀρχὰς καθεῖς, καὶ πρόσχημα ποιούμενος τῆς πλεονεξίας τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. περανεῖς δὲ οὐδέν, οὔτε γὰρ λαθεῖν ἂν δύναιο.

ξ'.—Εὖ ὕπράτη.

Ἡν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαυρόμενος ἀνθρωπος. οὗτος ὁφθη παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς ἐμαῖς, ξίφος ἔχων ἐν Κορίνθῳ μετὰ σοῦ γνωρίμου.

1 Titus Manlius. See Livy, VIII. 7.
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

tίς οὖν ἡ τῆς ἐπιβουλής αἰτία; οὔ γὰρ πώστε σᾶς βοῦς ἢλασα,
ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
οὐρεά τε σκιώντα θάλασσα τῇ χῆσσα
τῆς τε ἐμῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς σῆς.

ξα'.—Δεσβώνακτι.
'Ανάχαρος ὁ Σκύθης ἦν σοφός, εἰ δὲ Σκύθης,
ὅτι καὶ Σκύθης.

ξβ'.—Δακεδαίμονιοι Ἄπολλωνίω.
Τὰν δεδομέναν τιμᾶν σοι ἀπεστάλκαμεν τόθε
ἀντίγραφον σαμανάμενοι τὰ δαμοσία σφραγίδι
ἐνα ἱδῆς.

Ψήφισμα Δακεδαίμονίων, καθὼς ὁ ἡγέρυντες
ἐπέκριναν Τυνδάρεω εἰσηγησαμένοι ταῦτα ἀρχαῖν
ἐδοξε τέλεσί τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἅπολλώνιον Πυθα-
γόρειον ἦμεν πολίται, ἔχειν τε καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἰκών
ἐγκτασίων. ἐστάκαμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπίσαμον εἰκόνα
γραπτάν καὶ χαλκάν ἀρετῆς χάριν. ὅτε γὰρ ὁ
πατέρας ἅμων ἐτίμων ἀνδρὰς ἀγαθούς. ἐνύμιζον
γὰρ ἦμεν Λυκούργῳ παῖδας, ὅσοι σύμφωνον θεοῖς
τῶν βίου αἱρέουστο.

ξγ'.—'Απολλώνιος ἐφόροις καὶ
Δακεδαίμονιοι.
'Ανδρὰς ἅμων ἔθεασάμην ὑπήνην μὴ ἔχοντας,
τοὺς μηροὺς καὶ τὰ σκέλη λείους τε καὶ λευκούς.
the reason of his attempting my life? For I
have never driven off your oxen, seeing that be-
tween 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

463
μαλακᾶς χλαδίδας ἡμφιεσμένους καὶ λεπτάς, δακτυλίους πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς περικεμένους, ύποδεδεμένους ύπόδημα τὸ Ἰωνικόν. οὐκ ἔπεγνων οὖν τοὺς λεγομένους πρέσβεις, ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασκεν.

καλεῖτε μὲ πολλάκις βοηθὸν ὑμῖν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν νέων ἐσόμενον. ἡ Σόλωνος δὲ πόλις οὐ καλεῖ με. Λυκοῦργον αἰδεῖσθε.

εὐφρασίων τοῖς ἐν Ἀρτέμιδι.

'Εθος ὑμῖν ἀπαν ἀγιοτείας, ἐθος δὲ βασιλικὴς τιμῆς. τάλλων ὑμεῖς ἐστιάτορες μὲν καὶ δαιτυμόνιες οὐ μεμπτοι, μεμπτοὶ δὲ σύνοικοι τῇ θεῷ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἡ οὐκ ἀν ὁ κλέπτης τε καὶ ληστὴς καὶ ἀνδραποδιστής καὶ πᾶς, εἰ τις ἄδικος ἡ ἱερόσυλος, ἢν ὀρμώμενος αὐτόθεν τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀποστεροῦντων μιχὸς ἐστὶν.

καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἡλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀνὴρ Ἔλλην τῆν φύσιν, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐδὲ Μεγαρεύς γε, λοίῳ δ' ὄνομα 1 παροικῆσων ὑμῶν τῇ θεῷ. δότε μοι τόπουν, ἐνθά μὴ καθαρσίων δεῖσθε μοι, καὶ πέρ ἐνδον ἰεὶ μένοντι.

1 Or perhaps ὄνομα signifies "a person."
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.

I.XIV.—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'.—το ἀὑτοῖς.

'Ανεῖται θύουσι τὸ ἱερόν, εὐχομένῳ, ὑμνοῦσιν ἵκεταις Ἐλλησεὶ βαρβάρους ἐλευθέρους δούλους, ὑπερφυῶς θεῖος ὁ νόμος, ἐπιγινώσκω τὰ σύμβολα τὰ Δίος τε καὶ Λητοῦς, εὰν ἦ μόνα ταῦτα.

Ξη'.—Μιλησίοις.

Σεισμὸς ὑμῶν τὴν γῆν ἐσείσειν, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν πολλάκις. ἀλλ' ἔπαισκον μὲν ἃ ἡτύχον ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἔλεουστε δὲ, οὐ μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους ἐφαίνοντο. μόνοι δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ θεοὶ ὁ πλα καὶ πῦρ ἐπὶνέγκατε, καὶ θεοὶ τοιούτοι, ὅν καὶ οἱ ἔτερωθεν δέονται καὶ μετὰ κυνδύνους καὶ πρὸ κυνδύνων. ἀλλ' καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀνδρὰ πρὸκριτὸν ύμεῖς Ἐλληνων δημοσίᾳ τὸ πάθημα φίλαντα πολλάκις, καὶ πρωγορεύσαντα γενομένους τοὺς σεισμούς, αὐτόν, ὅτε ἐσείσεν ὁ θεός, ποιεῖν ἐλέγετε καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. ὁ τῆς δημοσίας ἀμαθίας. καὶ πατὴρ ὑμῶν λέγεται Θαλῆς.

Ξθ'.—Τραλλιανοῖς.

Πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας, νεώτεροὶ τε καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, φοιτῶσι παρ' ἐμέ. τὰς φύσεις οὗν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου σκέπτομαι καὶ τοὺς τρόπους, ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα συνετότατα, τὸ τε πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πολιν ἐκάστου δίκαιον ἦθος ἦ 466
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;
τούναυτίον. εἰς τήν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι προκρίναι Τραλλιανῶν ὑμῶν οὐκ Ἀνδοῦς, οὐκ Ἀχαιός, οὐκ Ἰωνας, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἐλλάδος Θουρίους Κροτωνιάτας Ταραγνίους, ἡ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων εὐδαιμόνων Ἰταλιώτῶν ἢ ἐτέρων τινῶν. τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία, δι' ἣν ἀποδέχομαι μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ γίνομαι δὲ τοιούτους ἀνδράςι σύνοικος, καίπερ ὡς γένος ὑμέτερον; ἄλλοτε ποτ' ἂν εἴπομι. νῦν δὲ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν καιρὸς ἀνδρας τε τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν, ὡς πολὺ κρείττους τῶν παρ' ἐτέρους ἀρετῆ καὶ λόγω, καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν παρ' οἷς γεγένηται.

ο'.—Σαίτας.

Ἀθηναίων ἀπόγονοι ἔστε, καθάπερ ἐν Τιμαιῳ Πλάτων φησίν, οἱ δὲ τὴν κοινὴν ὑμῶν θεδύ ἔξοριξος συν Ἀττικῆς, Νηῆθ μὲν τὴν υφ' ὑμῶν, Ἀθηναῖν δὲ τὴν υπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομαζομένην, οὐ μένοντες Ἔλληνες. ὅποιος δ' οὐ μένοντες, ἐγὼ φράσω· γέρων σοφὸς οὐδέδεις Ἀθηναῖος, οὐ γὰρ ἔφυ γένους πᾶσα παντός, ὦτε μηδεμία μηδενόις. ὦ κόλαξ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις, ὁ συκοφάντης πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ὁ μαστροπός καὶ πρὸ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ὁ παράσιτος πρὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἡ θέους δὲ οὐδὲ Σούνιον ἔχει.

οα'.—"Ἰωσίν.

"Ελλήνες οἰεσθε δεῖν ὄνωμάζεσθαι διὰ τὰ γένη καὶ τὴν ἐμπροσθεν ἀποικίαν, "Ελλησι δ' ὀστερ
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
ἐθη καὶ νόμοι καὶ γλώττα καὶ βίος ἰδιος, οὕτω καὶ σχῆμα καὶ εἴδος ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' ὡμῶν γε οὖδὲ τὰ ὄνοματα μένει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς νέας ταύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολογεῖκατε τὰ τῶν προ- γόνων σύμβολα. καλῶς οὖδὲ τοῖς τάφοις ἐκεῖνοι δέχοντ' ἀν ἀτε ἄγνωτας αὐτοῖς γενομένους, εἰ γε πρότερον ἦρων ἢν ὄνοματα καὶ ναυμάχων καὶ νομοθετῶν, νυνὶ δὲ Λουκοῦλλων τε καὶ Φιλερκίων καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων. ἐμοὶ μὲν εὖ ἴη μᾶλλον ὄνομα Μίμνερμος.

οβ'.—Ἐς τι αἰ ω.

Ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀπολλόνιος ἦν τρις τοῦ Μηνοδότου, σὺ δὲ ἄπαξ ἔθελες ὄνομάξεσθαι Λουκρίτιος ἢ Λουπερκός. τίνος σὺ τούτων ἀπόγονος; αἰσχρόν, εἰ ὄνομα μὲν ἔχοις τώος, τὸ δὲ εἴδος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔχοις.

ογ'.—τ ὁ α ὑ τ ὅ.

Πατρίδος ἐσμεν πορρωτέρω σὺν δαίμονι, ἦδη δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐν νῷ ἐβαλόμαν. ὄδευει μοῖρα πρὸς τέλος ἄνδρῶν, σὺ τᾶν πρώταν λελόγχασι τιμῶν. ἄρξῃ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν παιδάρια καὶ μικρὸν ἐπάνω τούτων μείρακες. ἐνταῦθα ποιοῦ ἔτος, μὴ σφαλῇ τὰ ὑπὸ νέων κυβερνώμενα. σοὶ δ' σὺν 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 nien 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 Mimmermus.

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.
оδ’.—τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς.

"Ωρα καὶ λιμὸς ἦν Βάσσος, καίπερ ὄντων τῷ πατρί συχνῶν χρημάτων. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔφυγε Μέγαρίδε σὺν ἐνὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐραστῶν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ μαστροπῶν—τροφῆς γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους έδει καὶ ἐφοδίων—ἐπειτὰ ἐκείθεν εἰς Συρίαν. ὑπεδέχετο δὲ τὸν ὁραίον Ἐυφράτης, καὶ εἰ τις ὁμοίως ἐδείτο τοῦ τότε καλοῦ, ὡστε ἄν αἱρεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι’ εὔνοιαν.

οε’.—τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

Ὁ παῖς Ἀλνάττεω σώσαι τὴν έαυτοῦ πόλειν ἀδύνατος ἐγένετο καὶ ἀμήχανος, καίπερ ὁν βασιλεὺς τε καὶ Κροίσος, ὑμεῖς δὲ ποίῳ πεποιθότες ἀρα λέοντι πόλεμον ἀσπονδουν ἡρασθε, παιδεῖ, νέοι πάντες, ἄνδρες, γέροντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθένοι καὶ γυναῖκες; Ἐρυνών νομίσαι ἂν τις τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ οὐχὶ Δήμητρος. ὡ δὲ θεὰ φιλανθρωπος· ὕμῖν δὲ τὶς οὕτως ὁ χόλος;

ος’.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Εἰκὸς εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ μεγάλην ἐθελήσαι φιλόσοφον ἀρχαίον παραγενέσθαι, καὶ παρεγενόμην ἂν αὐτῶς ἐκῶν, κληθήσαι μὴ περι-472
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.
μείνας, ὡς ὑφ’ ἐτέρων πολλῶν, εἰ ποιήσεως μίαν ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐμελλὼν ἦθει καὶ φύσει καὶ νόμῳ καὶ θέξῃ, καὶ τὸ ὄσον ἐπ’ ἐμὸν πάντως ἄν ἑποίησα, στάσις δὲ, ὡς ἐφη τις, πολέμου χαλεπώτερον.

οξ’.—Φοιτηταῖς.

Διὰ φιλοσοφίαν εἰρηται τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκαστοῦ, οὐ δὲ Εὐφράτην. μὴ τὸ Πραξιτέλους ξίφος ἢ τὸ Λυσίουν φάρμακον πεφοβήσθαι μὲ τις δόξῃ. καὶ τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν Εὐφράτου.

οη’.—Ἰάρχα καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν σοφοῖς.

—οὐ μὰ τὸ Ταυτάλιον ὤδωρ, οὐ με ἐμυνήσατε.

οθ’.—Εὐφράτη.

Οὐκ ἐπιλογιζομένη ἢ ψυχή τὸ τοῦ σώματος αὐταρκες οὐ δύναται ἑαυτῆς αὐτάρκη ποιῆσαι.

π’.—τὸ αὐτῷ.

Οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχυλογότατοι, οἱ οὐν ἅδολέσχαι εἰ ἡμῶν το, ὡς ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐμακρηγόρουν.

πα’.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε μηδέποτε αὐτῷ μεταμεληθῆσαι συγγίσαντι, φθεγξαμένῳ δὲ πολλάκις.

474
which so many other cities have sent me, if I had
any hopes of reconciling your city with morality, or
with nature or with law or with God. And I would
have done in any case so much as in me lies; only
faction, as some one has remarked, is crueler than
war.

LXXVII.—To his Disciples.

Everything that I have ever said, I have said out
of consideration for philosophy, and not to please
Euphrates. Let no one suppose that I have been
afraid of the sword of Praxiteles, or of the poison of
Lysias. For this too is the weapon of Euphrates.

LXXVIII.—To Iarchas and his Sages.

... No, by the water of Tantalus in which you
initiated me. (Cited by Porphyry, De Styge, sub fin.)

LXXIX.—To Euphrates.

The soul which does not take trouble to train the
body to be self-sufficing, is not able to make itself
content with little. (From the Florilegium of
Stobaeus, 10, 64.)

LXXX.—To the same Person.

Men of light and leading use fewest words; for
if babblers felt as much annoyance as they inflict,
they would not be so long-winded. (36, 29.)

LXXXI.—To his Disciples.

Simonides used to say that he had never had cause
to repent of being silent, though he had often
repented of having spoken. (33, 12.)
πυ'.—Δηλίω.
Ψεύδεσθαι ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλήθεια γενναίον.

πδ'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.
Μηδέν με δόξητε ῥαδίως ἄλλοις παραινεῖν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μάζης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀκολούθου ταύτη διαίτης ὃν, τοιαῦτα χμῖν παρεγγυῶ.

πε'.—Εἰ δομένη.
Ἐξηλώσαμεν τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς εὐτελέσι καὶ λιτοῖς πάντως χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως θαρρῆμεν πρὸς αὐτὰ.

πτ'.—Μακεδόνι.
Τῆς ὀξυθυμίας τὸ ἄνθος μανία.

πζ'.—Ἄριστοκλεῖ.
Τὸ τῆς ὄργης πάθος μὴ καθομιλουμένου, μηδὲ θεραπευόμενον, φυσικὴ νόσος γίνεται.

476
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.)
πη'.—Σ α τ ύ ο φ.

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

πθ'.—Δ α ν α φ.

Οὐ κάμνει τὰ πράγματα πρασσόμενα.

ζ'.—Δ ἵ ὦ ν ἰ.

Τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ γενέσθαι πόνος.

ζα'—το ὅς ἀ δελφό ὁ ὅς.

Οὐδενὶ φθονητέοι· ἀγαθοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄξιοι, κακοὶ δὲ ἀν εὐτυχῶσι, κακῶς ξῶσι.

ζβ'.—Δ ι ο ν υ σί φ.

Καλὸν, πρὶν παθεῖν, διδαχθῆναι, πηλίκον ἐστίν ἵσυχία.

ζγ'.—Ν ο ν μ ἦ ν ἴ φ.

Οὐ θρηνητέον οὖν φίλων ἐστερήθημεν, ἀλλὰ μνημονευτέον, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὴν καλλίστην βιοτὴν ἐβιοτεύσαμεν.
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.

Nor 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.)
ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΣ

τὸ δὲ—Θεὶ ἀεὶ τὴν ϕ.
Τὸ λυπούμενον ἄλλοτρίοις κακοῖς παραμυθοῦ.

τε'—Κορνηλίανϕ.
Βραχύς ὁ βίος ἀνθρώπῳ εὖ πράπτουτι, δυστυχοῦντι δὲ μακρός.

ττ'—Δὴ μοὸ κράτει.
Ὁ ύπὲρ μικρῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνυπερβλήτως ὀργιζόμενος σὺν ἐὰν διαγνῶναι τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα, πότε ἐλαττῶν καὶ πότε μεῖζον ἂδικησεν.

τς'—Λ ὑκ ϕ.
Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν αἰσχρῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸ δι αἰσχρῶν αἰτίαν πένεσθαι ὑνειδὸς.

480
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 Democrats.

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 ΑΠΟΛΑΛΩΝΙΟΝ
ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ

ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΤΤΟΤ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΤ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΤ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΝ

Ι

ΣΑΡ. Ἄρ' οὖν, ὁ φιλότης, κάκεινά σε τοῦ συγγρα-φέως ἰξίου ἀποθαυμάζειν, ἃ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σωτηρί τε καὶ διδασκάλῳ τῶν Τυανέα συγκρίνων παρεδοξολογεῖ; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ Φιλαλήθει, οὕτω γὰρ εὐ ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἑπιγράφειν ἔδοκεν λόγον, οὐδὲν ἃν εἰς σπουδαίον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἱστασθαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἴδια τυγχάνοντα, σφόδρα δὲ ἀναιδῶς εἰς ἐτέρων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦς μονονουχὸ νοήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ συλλαβαῖς ἀποσευσυλλημένα· ἃ τύχου μὲν ἄν καὶ αὐτὰ τῆς προσηκούσης κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπελέγξεως, δυνάμει δ’ ἡδῆ, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἱδίας καὶ αὐτῶν γραφῆς, ἀνατέτραπται καὶ προαπελήλεγκται ἐν
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS,

THE SON OF PAMPHILUS, AGAINST THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA WRITTEN BY PHILOSTRATUS, OCCASIONED BY THE PARALLEL DRAWN BY HIEROCLES BETWEEN HIM AND CHRIST

I

So then, my dear friend, you find worthy of no chap. little admiration the parallel\(^1\) 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.
ολοις ὁκτὼ συγγράμμασι τοῖς Ὄμηγένει γραφεῖσι πρὸς τὸν Ἀλαζονίκωτερον τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἐπιγεγραμμένον Κέλσου Ἀληθὴς λόγον, ὃ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαραλέπτως, ἐν ὅσοις εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ δεδηλωμένος παραγαγόν συλλήβδην ὅσα ἐις τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν παντὶ τῷ εἰρήται τε καὶ εἰρήσεται, προλαβῶν διελύσατο, ἑφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἐπὶ ἀκριβές τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαγνώναι ἔχοντας φιλαλήθους ἀναπέμψαντες, φέρε μόνην ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὴν κατὰ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους τουτούλ ἡμᾶς παράθεσιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα, μηδὲν τι σπουδαίον ἤγομενοι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἔτερωθεν ὑποσεσυλημένων αὐτῷ διαμάχεσθαι. μόνα δὲ εἰκότως νυνὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιου ἐποψόμεθα, ἐπεί καὶ μόνῳ παρὰ τοὺς πῶποτε καθ’ ἡμῶν γεγραφότας ἐξαιρέτος νῦν τούτῳ γέγονεν ἡ τούδε πρὸς τὸν ἠμέτερον σωτῆρα παράθεσις τε καὶ σύγκρισις.

II

Θαυμάζει γοῦν καὶ ἀποδέχεται θεία τινὶ καὶ ἄρρητω σοφία, αὕχα δὲ γοητείας σοφίσματι τεθαυμαστοργηκέναι φύσεω αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῦτα ἄληθῶς οὔτως ἔχειν ὡς ἐτυχε πιστεύων, καὶ ἀναποδείκτως ἀπαχρυσίζομενος. ἀκούει δ' οὖν, ἄ φησιν αὐτοῖς συλλαβαίς: "Ἤδιν δὲ καὶ κάτω ὑμεῖς ὑμεῖς, σεμνύνοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς τυφλοῖς.
as many as eight books Origen composed against CHAP. the book which Celsius wrote and—even more boastfully than the "Lover of Truth,"—entitled "True Reason." The work of Celsius is there subjected to an examination in an exhaustive manner and on the scale above mentioned by the author in question, who in his comprehensive survey of all that anyone has said or will ever say on the same topic, has forestalled 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.

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
CAP. ἀναβλέψαι παρασχόντα καὶ τινα τοιαύτα δράσαντα θαυμάσω." εἰτά τινα μεταξὺ εἰτῶν ἐπιλέγειν "ἐπίσκεψόμεθα γε μή, ὅσῳ βέλτιοι καὶ συνετότεροι ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαύτα, καὶ ἢν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην." καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Προκοπίνησιον Ἀριστέαν καὶ Πυθαγόραν ὡς ἂν ἀρχαιοτέρους παρελθὼν ἐπιφέρει λέγων “(CultureInfo) ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν Νέρωνος βασιλεῖαν Ἤπαλλόνιος ἦκμασεν ὁ Τυανεύς, ὃς ἐκ παιδός κομιδῆ νέου καὶ ἀφ’ οὗ περ ἐν Ἁγναῖς τῆς Ἁλκείας ιεράσται τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Ἀσκηληπίῳ, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ διεπράξατο, ὡν τὰ πλεῖον παρεῖς ὀλγών ποιήσομαι μνήμην,” εἰτα καταλέγει ἀπὸ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενος τὰ παράδοξα, μεθ’ ἂ καὶ ἐπιλέγει ταύτα κατὰ λέξιν “τίνος οὐν ἔνεκα τούτων ἐμνήσθην; ἵν’ ἐξὶν συγκρίναι τὴν ἠμετέραν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ κρίσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν κοιφότητα, εἰτέρ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν τὰ τοιαύτα πεποιηκότα ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ θεοὶς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγούμενα, οἱ δ’ ἔδη ὀλγάς τερατείας τυμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν θεοῦ ἀναγορεύσιν.” τούτωις ἐπιφέρει μεθ’ ἐτερὰ φάσκων “κάκεινο λογίσασθαι ἄξιοι, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Παύλος καὶ τινες τούτων παραπλήσιοι κεκομπάκασιν, ἀνθρωποὶ ψεύσται καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ γόπτες, τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου Μάξιμος ὁ Λύγιευς καὶ Δάμις ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ συνδιατρίβας αὐτῷ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἄθεναιος, παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἦκοντες, τὸ δ’ ἄλλοσ ἐκκόμιετε διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἀνδρὸς γενναίου καὶ θεοῦ φίλου πράξεις μὴ θεολόμενοι.
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
CAP. Λαθεῖν.” ταύτα ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς Ἰεροκλεῖ τῷ τῶν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιγεγραφότι Φιλαλήθῃ λόγον εἴρηται.

III

CAP. Δάμις μὲν οὖν ὁ τὰ πολλὰ ξυνδιατρίψας τῷ Ἀπολλονίῳ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς ὄρμωμενος, αὐτόθι τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἱδίας χώρας αὐτῷ συμμᾶς, τῇ εὖ ἐκείνου μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῦ γενομένην συνούσαν ἱστορήσειν, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος κομιδὴ βραχέα τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων ἀνεγράφατο, ὁ γε μὴν Ἀθηναῖος Φιλοστράτου τὰ φερόμενα πάντα ὀμοῖ, ἀπὸ τε τῶν Μαξίμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ἄλλων, συναγαγεῖν έαυτὸν φήσας, πάντων μάλιστα ἐνετῆ τῇ ἀπὸ γενέσεως καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἱστορίαν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀνδρα βίου πεποίηται.

IV

CAP. Εἴ δὴ οὖν εξὸν τὴν ἐπικατηγορομενήν ἡμῶν εὐχέρειάν τε καὶ κοινότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαιάν ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ παραβείναι κρίσιν, φέρε διαπυθώμεθα, οὐχ ὡστὶς θειότερος γεγόνει, οὐδ’ ὅποιος θαυμασιώτερόν τε καὶ πλεῖον διεπράξατο παράδοξα, οὐδ’ ὡς μόνος παρὰ τοῖς
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἀνέκαθεν πρὸς μυρίων ὅσων ἔτων γενομένοις Ἐβραίων σοφοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἤξειν εἰς ἀνθρόπους κατὰ θείαν ἐπί- πνοιαν προπεφήτευτο, οὐδ' ὡς πλείους ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ λόγον προούτρεψατο, οὐδ' ὡς γυναῖκας καὶ ὄντως ἀληθείς ἐκτήσαστο φαντάζεσθε, μονομονχίν καὶ ὑπεραποθήκης εἴρητος τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ παρασκευάσμενος, οὐδ' ὡς μόνος σώφρονος βίου διδασκαλείν καὶ ἐς τῶν μετέπειτα χρόνου ἐπιστήμην, οὐδ' ὡς τῇ ἒδοι θεότητι τε καὶ ἀρετῇ πᾶσαι ἐσώσει τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ εἰσέτε καὶ νῦν μυρία πλῆθος πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδ' ὡς τῶν πώποτε μόνος πρὸς ἀπάντων σχέδου εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρχιτέκτων τε καὶ ἀρχιμέτων, πλείστοις ἔτεσιν ἤδη πολεμοῦμεν, κρείττων καὶ πολὺ δυνατώτερος τῶν πικρῶς ἐλαυνόμενων ἀποδέδεκτι θεία καὶ ἀρρήτως δυνάμει, τούς μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπανισταμένους αὐτοῦ τῇ θείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ ῥαδίως μετιών, τῶν δὲ παρενομὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδοθέντα θείων λόγων εἰς ἀπειρον αἰώνα καὶ ὄλης κρατών τής οἰκουμενίας, οὐδ' ὡς εἰσέτε καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐνθέου δυνάμεως τὴς ἀρετῆς ἐπιδείκνυται, μοχθηροῦς τινάς καὶ φαύλους δαίμονας, ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ σώμασιν ἐφε- δρεύσας, ἀπελαύνων διὰ μόνης τῆς ἀρρήτου προσηγορίας αὐτοῦ, ὡς αὐτῇ πείρᾳ κατειληφαμεν, ταύτα γὰρ περὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιον ζητεῖν, μὴ καὶ τὸ ἔρωτάν, ἀνόητον· μόνην δὲ ἐπισκεψόμεθα τὴν τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφήν, δι' ἂν εὐθυνούμεν.
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ὃς οὖν ὅτι γε ἐν φιλοσόφοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἐπιεικέσι καὶ μετρίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν, οὖν ὅπως τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ παρατιθέναι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὅσον ἔπτι τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλήθει παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡκούσος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μὴ τιμῶντος συγγραφέως. τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Φιλόστρατος, ἐξ οὗ ῥαδίως ἄν καταμάθωμεν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡκόντων, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐξητασμένως μὴ ἀπηκριβωμένων τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἱστορίας. τούτων γὰρ ἡμῖν διευκρινιθέντων όμοι, τοῦ τε Φιλαλήθους τὰ ἀνωτάτω τε καὶ καθ' ὅλων δικαστήρια διειληφότος, ἦ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν βεβαία καὶ, ὡς αὐτός ἐαυτῷ δοκεῖ, ἀκριβὴς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ κρίσει φανερὰ καταστήσεται, ἡμῶν τε αὐτῷ, οὐ μοροί καὶ βεβουκολιμένοι νενομόσμεθα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἦ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένη εὐχέρεια τε καὶ κοινότης.

V

CAP. Ὁ άλλος μὲν οὖν ὁμός χωρῶν αὐτόθεν διεβαλλείν ἂν, βλασφημῶν ὡς ἐχθρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμιων τῶν καθ' οὗ τῶν λόγων ἐποιεῖτο, ἐγὼ δέ, ἔταιρε, σοφὸν τινὰ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τῶν Τυναία γεγονέναι ἡγούμην, καὶ ἐτι γε τῆς αὐτῆς ἐχεσθαι διανοιας ἐκών 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 controversialist, 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
Βουλοίμην, καλ σοι τήν αύτός ἐμαντοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐκθεῖν ἄν ἐρωτῶντι· φιλοσόφων μὲν ὅτως τις βούλουστο συγκαταλέγειν τὸν ἄνδρα, πέρα μνήμεν διενοχλάν ταῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογίαις, μὴ φθονεῖν, εἰ δ’ ὑπερηπηδάν τοὺς ὅρους καὶ φιλοσοφίας ὑπέρτερα φρονεῖν εἴτε τις Δάμις Ἀσσύριος, εἴτε Φιλόστρατος, εἴτε τις συγγραφεὺς ἤ λογογράφος θρασύνοιτο, λόγῳ μὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος γοητεῖαν, ἔργοις δὲ πλέον ἡ ρήμασιν ἑπιφορτίζων τὸν ἄνδρα, προσωπεῖον δίκην τὴν Πυθαγόρειου ἐπιμορφαζόμενος ἀγωγήν, οἰχήσεται μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅνος δ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπικραττόμενος δέρρει, σοφιστὴς τις ὁς ἀληθῶς ἀγείρων κατὰ τὰς πόλεις, αὐτὸ τε τοῦτο γοῆς ἀτεχνῶς ἀντὶ φιλοσοφοῦ φωραθήσεται.

Πῶς δὲ τούτῳ φημι καὶ πόθεν ὀρμώμενος, ἐρωτᾶς; μᾶνθανε· ὅροι φύσεως ἀρχὰς καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλη τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας περιεληφότες, μέτρα καὶ θεσμοὶ ἀπασί, δι’ ὅν τόδε τὸ πάν μηχανήμα τε καὶ ἀρχιτεκτόνημα τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τελεσιουργεῖται, διατέθειται νόμοις ἀληθιῶς καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις, τῆς τὰ πάντα οἰκονομούσης προνοίας τὸ πάνσοφον βούλημα διαφυλάττοντες. οὐκ οὖν κινήσει τι καὶ μεταθείτ οὐν 496
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 overlap 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
CAP. τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἀπαξ διατεθειμένων. κεκράτηται
δ' οὖν θεσμῷ φύσεως τῶν θεῶν ὑπεραναβαίνειν
νόμον πάς, ὅτι τις θρασύτερος τῶν ἐπέκεινα ἐπι-
βαίνειν ἔνεστι πόθος. οὖτ' οὖν παρὰ φύσιν ὁ
ἔνωδρος ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον μεταβὰς βιώναι δυνήσεται
ιχθύς, οὔτε τὸ ἐν χέρσῳ τραφέν τοῖς ὑδασιν
ἐγκαταδύσεται, τὴν ἐκεῖσε διηνεκὴ μονὴν ἀσπαζό-
μενον, οὔτε μέγα πτηνῆς μετέωρος τις τῶν ἐπὶ
γῆς ἀρθήσεται πρὸς ἀέρα, συμπεριπολεῖν ἀετοὺς
ἐπιθυμῶν· καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνοι γε καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔλθοιεν
βρίσαντες ἑπὶ τὸ κάτω τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῦ
πτεροῦ χαλάσαντες καὶ ἀνέντες τὴν φύσιν, ἑπεὶ
καὶ τοῦτο θεῖος ὁρισταὶ νόμοις, ἐκ τοῦ ὑψοὺς τὸ
μετέωρον ὑποκαταβαίνειν δύνασθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ
ἐμπαλιν τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ γεώδες ἑπὶ τὸ μετέωρον
ἀιρεσθαι. ταύτη δὴ καὶ τὸ θυητὸν ἄνθρωπων γένος,
ψυχῆς μετέχου καὶ σώματος, ὅρως περιγέγραπται
θεῖος. οὔτ' οὖν τῷ σώματι δὲ ἀέρος ἔλθοι ποτὲ
tῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τις καταφρονήσας διατριβῶν, μὴ οὐχὶ
tοὐπετίμων αὐτίκα τῆς ἀνοίας παρασχῶν, οὔτε
tῆς ψυχῆς ἄρθεις φρονήματι καθίζεται τῶν ἀνε-
φίκτων, ἡ μελαγχολίας νοσήματι ἂν περιπέσοι.
Σωφρονοὶ δ' ἀν ἄρτιοι μὲν τὸ σῶμα ποσὶν ἐπὶ
γῆς φερόμενος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παιδεία καὶ φιλο-
σοφία σκηνίτων εὑξαίτο δὲ καὶ τινα συνεργὸν
ἀνωθέν ποθεν ἐκ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν διατριβῶν ἔλθεῖν,
καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ φανήναι σωτηρίας.
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
CAP. ἐρρωμένῳ γὰρ τοι παραδείγματι, νοσοῦντι μὲν τὸν ἰατρὸν ἐπιφοιτῶν θέμις, καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον εἰσαγωγόμενο τοῖς μαθήμασι συμφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἀνω του καὶ ἐν υψει συγκατιέναι τοῖς ταπεινῶς, οὐ μήν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν. ὅθεν δὴ θείαν μὲν φύσιν, εὐεργετῶν οὐσιν καὶ σώτειραν καὶ προνοητικὴν τῶν ἐπιόντων ἀνθρώπως ποτὲ εἰς ὁμιλίαιν ἐδείξει οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀπείροις λόγοις ὦρφ θείας προνοίας καὶ τούτου συγκεκριμένου, ἄγαθὸς γὰρ ἡν κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, ἄγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενός ἐγκρίνεται φθόνος· οὐκον σωμάτων μόνων, ἄγαθὸς ὦν, ὁ τούτῳ τὸ πᾶν διακυβερνῶν ἐπιμελήσεται, πολὺ πλέον δὲ ψυχῶν, αἰς τὸ ἀθάνατον τε καὶ αὐτοκρατορικὸν κεχάρισται γέρας. ταύταις δὴ τα ὅλα τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀπάσης κύριος ὦν, καὶ χαρίτων, ὄν ἄν, δωροῦμενοι αὐτὰς, εὐεργετῆ τὴν φύσιν, οὐσίας ἀντίληπτικαὶ, ἀκτίνας ὡσπερ τοῦ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ φωτὸς διωρίσεται ἀφθόνος, τῶν ἄμφ’ αὐτῶν, ἔστω ὅτε, τοὺς μάλιστα προσεχεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπίταδε σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀντιληψιν ἐκπέμπων, ὄν εἰ τῷ εὐνυχήσει γένοιτο, τὴν διάνοιαν οὕτως ἀποκαθαρθεῖς καὶ τὴν τῆς θυητότητος ἀποσκεδάσας ἀχλών, θείος ἅλθος ἀναγραφήσεται, μέγαν τινὰ θεόν ἀγαλματοφορῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. κινήσεις δὴ ἄν οἰα τηλεκοῦστο τὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἡλίου τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλάμψεις, τοῦργου τῆς αἰδίου θεότητος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπίωντα συνορᾶσαι καταλείπων χρόνον, οὐ μεῖον τῶν εἴ ἄψυχον ὑλὴς δημιουργικῶν τὸ τῆς ἐνθέου παράδειγμα φύσεως παρεσχημένος, καὶ ταύτη 500
there. For the following is a valid example to use: CHAP. VI
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 κοινωνήσαι ἂν, ἄλλως δ' οὐ θέμις τοὺς ὄρους ὑπερβαίνειν, οὐδ' ἄπτερον ἔχουσα τὸ σῶμα τὰ τῶν πτηνῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν, οὐδ' ἀνθρωπον ὄντα τὰ τῶν δαίμόνων πολυπρουχονεῖν.

VII

Τίνα δήτα ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν 'Ἀπολλώνιον εἰσάγεις, ὁ συγγραφεύ; εἰ μὲν δὴ θείον καὶ φιλοσόφον κρείττονα, τῆν τε φύσιν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον, τήρει μοι δ' ὅλης τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τοῦργον εἰσέτε νῦν ἐπιδείκνυθε τῆς θειότητος. ἦ γὰρ οὐκ ἀτοπώτατον τεκτόνων μὲν καὶ οἰκοδόμων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν δημιουργῶν τελευτήν ἐπὶ μὴκιστον τοῦργον διαρκεῖν, ἀθάνατον ποὺ σχεδὸν τῶν συστησεμένων τὴν μνήμην στηλιτεύον, θείαν δὲ ἁρα φύσιν, ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλάμψασαν, σκότιον ποὺ καὶ μυθουθάδου ἀποτελεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ εἰς αἴῶνα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μὴ εἰς ἔνα τινὰ Δάμων ἢ καὶ ἄλλους βραχεῖς πτωχεύουσαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' εἰς μυρίων ὅσων ὄφελεῖας οὐ τῶν καθ' ὅν χρῶν ἐγνωρίζετο μόνων, ἀλλ' καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων τὴν πάροδον ποιομένην; ταύτη τού καὶ τούς πάλαι σοφοὺς ἔγινες τε καὶ διαδόχους ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώπων 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 θυητὴν ὑπογράφεις τάνδρος τὴν φύσιν, ὥρα μὴ πλέον, ἢ προσήκε, ταύτη χαριζόμενος δίκην ἀποίσεις παραλογίας.

VIII

CAP. VIII Ἄλλα μὴν εἰσῆκται αὐτῷ θείος άνθρωπος, καὶ θαλαττίου δαίμονος σχῆμα τε καὶ προσωπεῖον ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀναλαμβάνων. κυνόσῃ γάρ, ὃς φησι, τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ φάσμα ἦλθε θαλαττίου δαίμονος, Πρωτεύς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὄμηρῳ ἐξαλλάττων. ἦ δὲ οὐδὲν δέσασα ἡρετο αὐτοῦ, τί ἀποκυνήσου, ὃ δέ, "ἐμέ," εἶπε: "σὺ δὲ τίς;" εἰπούσης, "Πρωτεύς," ἐφη, "ὁ Αἰγύπτιος." εἶτα δὲ λειμώνα τίνα, καὶ κύκνους τὴν γυναίκα ματεύσθαι γράφει, ὅποθεν αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἴη ληθέν, μὴ εἰπών' οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτου ύφηγητὴν Δάμιν τὸν Ἀσσύριον ὑπογράψεται. ἅλλα καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τῆς αὐτῆς ἱστορίας αὐτοῦ Δάμιδι, οἷα δὴ θείας ὄντα φύσεως, τὸν Ἄπολλώνιον εἰσάγει αὐτὰ δὲ ταύτα λέγοντα: "ἐγώ, ὃ ἐταίρε, πασῶν τῶν φωνῶν ξυνύμη, μαθῶν οὐδεμίαν" καὶ, "μὴ θαυμάσῃς, οἶδα γὰρ καὶ ἀ σωπῶσιν οἱ άνθρωποί," καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τιμόμενον πρὸς τοῦ δαίμονος, καὶ πρόγνωσιν φυσικήν τινα καὶ ἀδίδακτον ἔχειν ἐκ παιδός, κρείττονα τε ἀτεχνῶς άνθρώπου φύσιν αὐτῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς γενέσεως 504
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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 Apollonius 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
καὶ δὲ ὅλης ἢμίν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπογράφει. λύσαντος γοῦν ἐαυτόν ποτε ἀπὸ δεσμῶν ἐπιφέρει λέγων: "τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξύνειν τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἴη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου. μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς γὰρ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενου, μηδὲ εἰπόντα τι καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ." ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ μηδόλως ποι γῆς εὐρίσκεσθαι, χωρήσαι δὲ ἐις οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ χορείας λέγει. εἰκότως δὴ ὡν οἷα ὄντα τοσοῦτον "θειότερον ἡ Πυθαγόρας Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πλάτων φιλοσοφία" τὸν ἄνδρα προσεληκυθέναι φησίν. οὐκοῦν ἐν θεοῖς ἢμίν διὰ τούτων ἀναγεγράφθω ὁ ἀνθρώπος.

Καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἀπέστω τῆς τῶν φωνῶν ἀπασῶν αὐτοφυοῦς καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτον συνέσεως. τι δήτα σὺν ἐς διδασκάλου ἁγεῖ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν μεμαθηκότα διαβάλλει ὅσ ἀν ἐξ ἀσκήσεως καὶ μελέτης, ἄλλον εἰς φύσεως Ἀττικῶν γενόμενον τὴν γλώτταν; φησὶ γὰρ τοῦ, ὡς "πρῶτον ἐς ἡλικίαν γράμματὰ τε καὶ μνήμης ἱσχύν ἐδήλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος καὶ ἡ γλώττα αὐτῷ ἀττικῶς εἰχε." καὶ "γεγονότα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἁγεῖ ἐς Ταρσοὺς ὁ πατὴρ παρ' Ἐυθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης, δς 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.

507
CAP. IX  

te ἂγαθὸς ἦν καὶ ἑπάθειεν τούτοις, ὁ δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου εἶχετο." εἶτα "ἐξειδικολογοῦν αὐτῷ Πλατάνειοι τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου. διήκουν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δὲ Πυθαγο- 

reator τινὶ σοφία ἡγελάμβανε." τοσαύτα ὁ μηδεμίαν μαθῶν φωνὴν θεία τε δυνάμει "ἂ καὶ 

σωπῶσιν ἀνθρωποὶ" προλαβὼν ἐξεπαιδεύετο.

X

CAP. X  
'

Ὁ δὲ διαλυτῶν αὕτης αὐτῶν θαυμάζει, ἐς δόσων 

συνέσεως τῆς τῶν ζῶν φωνῆς ἦλθε, καὶ ἐπιφέρει 

λέγων, "καὶ ἐς εὐνεσίω δὲ τῆς τῶν ζῶν φωνῆς 

ἦλθε, καὶ ἐμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τῶν Ἀραβίων 

πορευόμενος, ἀριστα γνωσκόντων τε καὶ πρατ- 

τότων αὐτό. ἦστι γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων κύκνων 

ἤδη καὶ ὀρνίθων μαντευομένων ἄκοινε, ὅπόσα οἱ 

χρησμοὶ. Ἐξεμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἄλογων σιτοῦ- 

μενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαις φασίν, οἱ δὲ 

ἥπαρ." ἐνταῦθα πάντως που δρακόντων καρδίας 

dῆπου καὶ ἡπατος τῶν Πυθαγόρειον ἐμψύχων 

tε τροφῆς ἄπεχομενοι καὶ μηδὲ θύειν δαίμοσιν 

ἐπιτολμώντα, εἰκὸς ἂν ἀπογεύσασθαί, ὡς ἂν καὶ 

tῆς παρὰ τούτοις κοινωνήσοι σοφίας. πρὸς γὰρ 508
rhetor, and gave him his education, while Apollonius chap
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."

And after an interval our author again expresses chap.
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
CAP. τοιώνδε διδασκομένῳ, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως μή οὐχὶ τὰ ὁμοὶα τοῖς διδασκαλίαις ξηλώσαντι κατωρθοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα; ἔχομεν δὴ οὖν πρὸς τοὺς καταλεγμένους καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίους σοφοὺς, διδασκάλους τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκωνιστικὴν τάνυρος ἐπιστήμης, ἀφ’ ἢς εἰκότως ὀρμόμενος ύστερον ποτὲ τὸν στρουθὸν, ὁ τι καὶ βοῦλιστο συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τροφὴν, προεπόνω, θαύμα μέγιστον παρέχειν ἐδοξεῖ τῶν παροῦσι. ταῦτη δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀπεσφαγμένην ὅσον οὕτω λέαναν ἀμα τοὺς ὀκτῶ σκύμνους κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους ὄδον θεασάμενος, αὐτίκα τῷ θεώματι συμβαλλόν τῆς ἐσομένης αὐτῷ παρὰ Πέρσαις διατριβής τὸν χρόνον ἐμαντεύσατο.

XI

CAP. Ἀκόλουθα δὲ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραβίους φοιτήσει ἔγχειρεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ· τῷ γὰρ τοῖς Δάμαδι, ὃς μόνος φοιτητὴς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐταῖρος, ἀπαγγεύσας παρὰ τοὺς μάγους ἴέναι, μόνος αὐτός, ὡς ἄν μὴ μετ’ ἀγνώμονος δηλαδὴ τὰ τῆς μαγείας μαυθάνοι, μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὰς μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐποεῖτο σχολάς. ἔτι δὲ Οὐαρδάνη Ἐβαβυλωνίῳ εἰς λόγους ἔλθοντα, βασιλεῖ ὁδὲ πῶς λέγειν αὐτὸν παρατίθεται: "σοφία δὲ μοι Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἄνδρος, ὃς θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ὄδε χεὶ ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνίειαι σφῶν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ σαρ' ὀρωμένων, φοιτών τε τῇ διαλέξεις θεῶν." τίς δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα συγχωρήσω.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

under such masters, how could he attain to their CHAP. accomplishments otherwise than by imitating their x example? We must therefore add to the teachers whom we have already enumerated the sages of Arabia who taught him his knowledge of augury; and this no doubt inspired him subsequently to foretell what the sparrow meant when he called his fellows to a meal, and so to impress the bystanders with the idea that he had worked a mighty miracle. And in the same way when he saw the freshly-slain lioness with her eight whelps by the side of the road which led into Assyria, he immediately conjectured from what he saw the length of their future stay in Persia, and made a prophecy thereof.

XI

And in just keeping with his visits to the Arabians CHAP. were the studies he undertook among the Persians XI also, according to the account given by the same 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 Pythago- He pro- goras, a man of Samos, who taught me to worship the fessed the wisdom of gods in this way and to recognize them, whether Pythagoras they are seen or unseen, and to be regular in converse with the gods.” Who can possibly allow 511
FLAVIUS PHILEOSTRATUS

CAP. XI 512

seieun, ὤτε Πυθαγόρα μὲν οὐδεμία τις τοιαύτη καταλέλειπται γραφῆ, οὐδ᾽ ἀπόρρητά τινα συγγράμματα, ὥσ κἂν ὑπονοησαι αὐτόν ἑξ ἐκείνων ὀρμᾶσθαι, ὦ δὲ γε διδάσκαλος αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ Πυθαγόραν φιλοσοφίας, οὐδέν τι διαφέρειν τῶν Ἐπίκουρείων πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηται τοῦ Φιλοστράτου, ὡδὲ πως εἰρηκότος, "διδάσκαλος μὲν ἢν ἄυτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρου λόγων οὐ πάνω σποουδαίος, οὐδ᾽ ἐνεργῶ τῷ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρώμενος, γαστρός τε ἢπτων καὶ ἄφροδισίων, καὶ κατὰ τῶν Ἐπίκουρον ἐσχημάτιστο, ἦν δὲ οὗτος Εὐξένος ὃ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου. τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου γνώμας ἐγύγρωσκεν, ὡσπερ οἱ ὄρνιθες ἢ μανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων." φεύ τῆς ἀτοπίας, εἰ παρὰ τούτου λέγοι τις τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς διαλέξεως τήν σύνεσιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι. ἀλλὰ δὴ συγκεχωρήσθω καὶ ἐτέρων υἱοθετῶν αὐτῶν ἄκηκοέναι, καίτοι γε τοῦ συγγραφέως τούτῳ μηδαμῶς ἐπισημηναμένου τίς δὴ οὗν τούτων σύνεσιν τε καὶ φοίτησιν εἰς διαλέξεως θεῶν ὀργωμένων καὶ οὐχ ὀργωμένων αὐτῶς τε ὡς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου μαθῶν εἰδέναι, διδάσκεσθαι τε ἐτέρους ἐπηγγέλλετο; καὶ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ὁ περιβόητος Πλάτων, πάντων ὃς μᾶλλον τῆς Πυθαγόρου κεκοιμουνηκὼς φιλοσοφίας, οὔτ᾽ Ἀρχύτας, οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὰς Πυθαγόρου γραφῆς παραδόνσ όμιλίας Φιλόλαος, οὐδ᾽ εἰ τινὲς ἄλλοι γνώριμοι τὰυτῶς γεγονότες, οἱ δόξας τῆς τούτων καὶ γνώμαις γραφῆ τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν παραδεδώκασιν, ἐπὶ τοιαύτη τινὶ ἐσεμνύναντο σοφίας. οὐκοῦν ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλ᾽
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
οὐκ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθῶν, προσχήματι σεμνολογών ἐπιγράφεται τὴν τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦ πρόσρησιν. ὅνα δὲ καὶ παραλογώτατα τὸ ψεύδος ὡς ἅληθὲς τις γεγονέναι συγχωρήσειεν, οὐκ οἶδ', ὅπως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λέγων ἐκεῖνον τοῦ Σαμίου, πρὸ μυρίων ὡς ἐτῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένου, τὰ περὶ τούτων αὐτοῦ μεμαθηκέναι. οὐκοῦν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβίους καὶ τούτον διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ τῆς δὴ νομιζόμενης ἀπορρήτου περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήμης ἐπιγραπτέον. εἰ δὴ οὖν θείας ἡ φύσεως, κατέγρευσται αὐτοῦ τοὺς διδασκάλους ὁ λόγος, εἰ δ' ἅληθῆς ἦν οὗτος, ψευδῆς ἦν ὁ μύθος, καὶ οὐκ ἅληθῆς ἦ περὶ τοῦ θείου γεγονέναι αὐτοῦ γραφῆ.

XII

Οὗτος μοι τοῦ Πρωτέως τὸ φάσμα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔπεισε καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου πώστε ψευδών αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶ κύκνων τὰς ἀποδείξεις, οὔς γελοιόως τὴν μητέρα τίκτουσαν αὐτῶν μανιωθαί ἱστορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τοῦ σκηντοῦ μυθολογίας τῶν μάρτυρα παρέχειν ἄξιον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων, ὡς ἔφη, Δάμως ἡμῖν συνίστωρ ἀφίξεται, μακρὸ ὑστερον ἐν Νίνω τῆς Ἀσσυρίας ταῦτα συνάψας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν εὐ μάλα προβόμως τοῖς εἰκόσι τε καὶ ἅληθείας ἐχομένους πειθόμενος, εἰ καὶ μείζονα τινα καθ'
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
CAP. ΧΙΙ

ὑπερβολὴν ἐς ἐπαίνον ἄνδρὸς ἁγαθοῦ λέγοιτ' ἂν,
πιστὰ καὶ παραδεκτέα εἶναι μοι δοκῶ, ὅτι μὴ
μόνα τὰ τερατώδη καὶ λήρου πλέα. ὅνικουν
φθονοὶν, εἰ φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς γένος τοῖς ἀρχαῖοι
καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνημένον τῷ ἄνδρὶ γεγονέ-
ναι, καὶ πλουτῶν, εἰ οὗτος ἔτυχεν, ὑπέρ τοὺς
ἐγχωρίους ἀπαντᾶς, διδασκάλων τε νέον δυντά ὑμῶν
μόνον τῶν δεδηλωμένων τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ
τούτων αὐτῶν διδάσκαλον καὶ καθηγητὴν γεγονέ-
ναι. ἔστω δ' ἐπὶ τούτους ἐντρέχῃς καὶ τὰ κοινά,
ός τὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεραπείας χάριν ἀφυγμένου
dia γνώμης ἀρίστης ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς ἀρρωστίας·
νοσοῦντι γὰρ δὴ υδέρου πάθει κατάλληλον ἐγκρα-
tείας ὑποθέσθαι διὰταν τῷ κάμνοντι, καὶ ταύτῃ
αὐτῶν ὑγιᾶ καταστήσαι, καὶ τούτῳ γε τῆς φρονή-
sεως ἀποδεκτὸν τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ ὡς τῶν πολυτε-
λῶν θέων παρεσκευασμένον εἰρέξειν, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ
κακία διαβεβοημένου, καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐγχωρίων
ἀπάντων πλουσιώτατον τε καὶ περιφανέστατον
αὐτῶν ὑποτίθεται. καὶ ἐν σῶφρος δ' αὐτῶν
φθόνους οὐδεὶς ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι τε πρὸς τὸν ἑραστὴν
πειρώμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀρας διελοιδορῆσατο, καὶ
γυναικείαις ὅτι καθαρὸν ἑαυτῶν μίξεως διὰ τέλους,
ὡς ὁ λόγος φησίν, ἤγαγε.

Πιστὰ δ' ἔστω καὶ τὰ τῆς πενταετοῦς κατὰ
Πυθαγόραν σιωπῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ, ὅπως ταύτην
dιήνυσεν, ἐπαίνον ἄξια. ταύτα δὴ καὶ ὀσα
516
compliment to a good man; for I could still bring Chap. XII myself to accept them, as long as they are not be-
wilderingly wonderful and full of nonsense. I do not 
therefore mind the author telling us that Apollonius 
was of an ancient family and lineally descended from 
the first settlers, and was rich, if it were so, beyond 
all other people of that region; and that when 
he was young he not only had the distinguished 
teachers mentioned, but, if he likes, I will allow that 
he became himself their teacher and master in 
learning. I grant too, in addition, that he was 
skilful in ordinary matters, and so was able by giving 
the best of advice to rid of his malady one who had 
come to the temple of Asclepius in order to be 
healed. For we read that he suggested to a man 
afflicted with dropsy a régime of abstinence well 
suited to cure his disease, and in that way restored 
him to health: and so far we must needs commend 
the youthful Apollonius for his good sense. On 
another occasion he very properly excluded from the 
temple a man who was notorious for his wickedness, 
although he was prepared to offer the most 
expensive sacrifices, for he represents the man in 
question as the richest and most distinguished of all 
the people of his region. Nor would anyone object 
to his being classed among the temperate, inasmuch 
as he repelled with insults a lover who designed to 
corrupt his youth, and also, as the narrative informs 
us, kept himself throughout pure of intercourse with 
women.

We can also believe the story of his keeping 
silence for five years in the spirit of Pythagoras; and 
the way moreover in which he accomplished this vow 
of silence was praiseworthy. All this and the like
Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου συγγράμματος ἐπίσκεψιν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου. τὴν ἀπὸ Περσίδος ἔπ. Ἰνδοὺς πορείαν ἄγει παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος, εἰτὰ τι πεπονθώς ἀπειρόκαλον, ὡσπερ τι παράδοξον, δαιμόνιον τι, ὃ καὶ ἐμποτισάν ὀνομαζεῖ, κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ἱδόντα λοιαδρίαις ἀμα τοῖς ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν ὑπελάσαι φησί, καὶ ξύφων δὲ εἰς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς προσαχθέντων, εἰρήκεναι αὐτὸν τῷ Δάμιδι, ὡς ἀρὰ συγχωροῖς αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐταῖροις συντείχει τὸν κρεῶν, τὸ γὰρ ἁπέχεσθαι αὐτῶν, αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ὑπάρχειν πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ παιδός. καὶ τὸν τὸν οὐκ ἀν ὑπορῆσισθεν ὡς μηδὲν αὐτὸν, ὅν μόνον ἔδοξε τοῦ βίου ζηλωτήν.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

is merely human, and in no way incongruous with CHAP. XII
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 CHAP. XIII 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 προῦτρεπεν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, εἴργεν
οἶα φίλτατον τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων, ὡς ἀν οὐχ
όσίας κατὰ Πυθαγόραν τροφῆς, ὁ δ’ οὐκ’ ᾦδ’
ὁποῖος λόγῳ λέγων μὲν οὐ συνοίσειν ἑαυτῷ,
κείνοις δ’ οὐδὲν ὄραν ἀπ’ τῆς ἀποχής προβαίνον
ὁμολόγηε;

XIV

Ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ Φιλόστρατος ὁ τάληθες τιμᾶν πρὸς
τοῦ Φιλαλήθους μεμαρτυρημένος, ὦρα τῆς ἄληθείας
ὅποτα δείγματα παρίστησιν· γενόμενον παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς
τῶν Ἀπολλώνιον παραστήσασθαι φησίν ἔρμηνεα,
καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ προσδιαλέγεσθαι Φραώτη, τούτῳ δ’
εἶναι τῷ βασίλεϊ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ μικρῷ
πρόσθεν κατ’ αὐτὸν πασῶν γλωσσῶν συνελ υὐν
αὖ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔρμηνεός δεῖται. καὶ πάλιν ὁ
τὰ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἄνθρωποι εἰδὼς καὶ μόνον
οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν παρ’ αὐτοῖς θεόν
κωφοῦ τε ξυνιείς καὶ οὖλ λαλέοντος ἄκοιὼν
δι’ ἔρμηνεος ἀνερωτά, ὅποτα τις εἰθ’ τῷ βασίλεϊ
δίαιτα, ἡγεμόνα τε ὁξιοὶ τῆς ἐς Βραχμᾶνας πορείας
γενέσθαι τινὰ αὐτῷ. καὶ μεταξὺ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν
βασίλεως καὶ ταῦτα βάρbetaς ὀν ἕν τῆς φύσιν, τὸν
ἔρμηνεα ἐκποδὸν μεταστησάμενος, Ἐλλάδι χρήται
πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ὀμιλίᾳ, παιδείαν καὶ πολυμάθειαν
520
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

only one whom he was trying to convert to his philo-
sophy, 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 Hieroecles 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIV ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὁ δὲ οὖδ' ὃς, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀμαθῶς ἔχοι φωνῆς, δέον ἐπεφιλοτιμήσατο.

XV

CAP. XIV Ἄλλα καὶ λαλοῦντος Ἐλλάδι γιλώσῃ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκπλήττεται, ἢ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐαυτῷ γράφων. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐξεπλάγη μὴ σοὐχὶ βάρβαρον οὐθείς; καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον θαυμάσας οὐποτ' ἂν ἐλληνίσαι προσεδόκησεν ἐκ', ὅσπερ τι παράδοντα παράδοξον καταπλαγεῖς, καὶ τὸ τούτον ἔτ' ἄγνοιον αὐτοῦν, "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὁ βασιλεὺς, πόθεν οὐτος ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἐλλάδος; φιλοσοφία τε ἡ περὶ σε πόθεν ἐνταύθα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους οἶκε, οὔμαι, ἀναφέρεις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναι Ἰνδοῖς εἰκος διδασκαλίως τούτον." αὐτὰι αἱ παράδοξοι τοῦ πάντα προγνώσει διειληφότος φωναί, ἄς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμειβόμενος, ὅτι τε σχοῖν διδασκάλους καὶ οὐτίνες οὖτοι, ἐκαστὶ τε πατρόθεν τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμβεβηκότων φράζει.

Εἰτα καὶ τις τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δικάζοντος περὶ θησαυροῦ φωραθέντος ἐν ἄγρᾳ, πότερα τῷ πριαμένῳ ἢ τῷ τὸ χωρίον ἄποδομένῳ δέοι νεῖμαι τούτοι, οἱ πάντα φιλόσοφος καὶ θεοῦς κεχαρισμένος ἔρωτηθεὶς ἐπικρίνει τῷ πριαμένῳ, λογισμὸν δὴ αὐτοῖς 522
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 herabout 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:
ἐπειπών, “ὡς οὖν ἂν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφελούντο καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαύλος ἦν, τῷ δὲ αὖ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἦν τοῦ ἀποδομένου.” ὃς κατ’ αὐτὸν δὴ συνάγεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέροντας, κἂν αἰσχρότατοι καὶ πανωλέστατοι τυγχάνοιεν, τρισευδαίμονας καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἥγεσθαι, μόνους δ’ ἄρα κακοδαίμονας τε καὶ ἄθλους τοὺς πενεστάτους, κἂν Σωκράτης, κἂν Διογένης, κἂν αὐτὸς ἐκείνος Πυθαγόρας τυγχάνῃ, κἂν ἄλλος, οἱ πάντων ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατοί τε καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι. εἰποὶ γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ, μὴ ἂν κατ’ αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς μὲν πένητας, τούτους δὴ αὐτοὺς, οὐ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν διήμεροις, ἀφελεσθαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν, μὴ ὁμίλημεν φαύλουσιν ὄντας τὸν τρόπον, τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἡθος ἀκολαστοτέρους ἄφθονα καὶ τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαία παρασχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βελτίως ἐτύγχανον τὸν προτέρου, ἐξ ὧν παντὶ τῷ καταφανῆς ἢ τοῦ συμπεράσματος ἀτοπία.

XVI

Ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου παραθέμενοι, ὑμεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βεβοημένους ἐποψώμενοι Βραχμάνας· ἐνθὰ δὴ τὰ ὑπὸ Θεόλην ἄπιστα καὶ εἰ τί περ ἄλλο τερατωδές ποτε μυθολόγους 524
"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-
CAP. XVI 

τιςν ἀναπέπλασται, εὐ μᾶλα πιστὰ καὶ ἀληθε-

στατα, ὡς ἐν παραθέσει τούτων, ἀναφανήσεται, ὦς καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστήσαι αξίου, τῆς τοῦ Φιλα-

λόθους ἐνεκεν αὐθαδείας ἡμῶν μὲν εὐχέρειαν καὶ 

couφότητα τρόπου περισποντός, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ 

tοῖς αὐτῶ παραπλησίοις τὴν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαιῶν 

μετὰ συνέσεως κρίσιν. ὄρα γοῦν, ἐφ’ ὦς σεμνύνε-

tαι παραδόξους, τῶν ἥμετέρων θείων εὐαγγελι-

στῶν προκρίνων τὸν Φιλόστρατον, ὡς μὴ μόνον 

παιδείας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἣκοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθείας 

ἐπιμεμελημένον.

XVII

CAP. XVII

Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Βραχμάνας 

πορείᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλονίου, γυνὴ τῆς αὐτῶ τῆς 

χροιῶν εἰσάγεται ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐς ὅσφυν 

λευκοτάτη, τὸ δὲ ἐτερον μέρος τοῦ σώματος 

μέλαινα. τὰ δὲ, προϊόντων τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Βραχ-

μάνας ὁδοῦ, ὅρη καταπεφυτεμένα τὸ πέρερι, 

καὶ τοῦτο πιθηκοὶ γεωργοὶ, καὶ παραδόξοι τινες 

τὸ μέγεθος δράκοντες, ὃν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς λαμπάδες 

ἀπορριπτοῦνται πυρὸς, οὕς εἰς τὰς ἀνέλοι, εὐροὶ ἂν, 

φησι, παραδόξους λέειν ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῷ τοῦ 

Γύγου τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι παραπλησίους. καὶ 

ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τῶν Βραχμάνων λόφουν. ὡς 

dὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο, σανδαράκινων ἐνταῦθα 

φρέαρ ὤδατος ἴδειν παραδόξου, καὶ κρατήρα πλη-

σίον πυρῶν, οὗ φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολιβδώδης,

526
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

vented 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 Apol-
lonius, 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
rivaling the gem of Gyges, as mentioned in Plato.
And all this was before they reached the hill on
which the Brahmans lived. And when they reached
this, we read that they saw there a well of sandarae,
full of wonderful water, and hard by a crater of fire,
from which there arose a lead-coloured flame; and
δύο τε πίθους λίθου μέλανος, τὸν μὲν ὃμβρων, τὸν δὲ ἀνέμων, ἀφ’ ὅν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, οἷς ἂν ἔδειν τὴς χώρας ἔλεος, χορηγεῖν ἀνάλα γε καὶ ἀγάλματα παρ’ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνάς Πολιάδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου καὶ Διονύσου Διομάιου, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν, Ἰάρχαν δὲ τὸν ἑπὶ πάντων διδάσκαλον καλείσθαι, δὴ καὶ ἰδιῶν καθεξόμενον πόλλον γε δὲὶ φιλοσοφικόν, σατραπικόν δ’ ἂν μᾶλλον σχῆματι ἑφ’ ύψηλτάτον δίφρου. χαλκοῦ δὲ μέλανος οὕτως ἦν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσόν ἄγαλμασιν, οἷα δὴ εἰκός τεχνουργῶν βαμαύσων τρόπου πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ μοχθοῦνται τοὺς φιλοσόφους τεχνουργεῖν, ἢ καὶ θαυματοποιῶν δίκην αὐτόματον ἄποτελεῖν τὸ δημούργημα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετ’ αὐτῶν διδασκάλων δίφρου χαλκοῖ μὲν, φησιν, ἀσημοὶ δ’ ἦσαν καὶ ἤτοι ύψηλοι. ἔδει γὰρ ποιν πάντως τυράννου σχῆματι προομιᾶς τῆς ἐν ἀγάλμασι καὶ χρυσῷ τῶν τῆς θείας φιλοσοφίας ἠξιοῦσθαι διδάσκαλον.

XVIII

Πρῶτον δὲ τὸν Ἰάρχαν ἱδόντα φησὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλώνιον ἕξ ὄνοματός τε προσευπείν Ἑλλάδι τῇ φώνῃ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ παρὰ Φραώτου κομίζοι, ἐπιστολὴν αἰτήσας, κατὰ πρόγνωσιν ἤδη τούτῳ προειληφότα; εὐδείξασθαι τὸ τὸ ἐνθεον τῆς προγνώσεως προειρηκότα, ὡς ἀρα ἐνὶ γράμματι τῷ δέλτα λείποι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἀρξασθαί τε
there were two jars there of black stone, the one of which contained rain, and the other winds, from which the Brahmins supply such people of the country as they are pleased to favour. Besides this they found among them images of Athene Polias and of Apollo Pythius, and of Dionysus of the Lake and of certain other Hellenic gods. And the master of them all was named Iarchas, and they saw him sitting on a very lofty throne in a state of pomp that was far from philosophic, but rather appropriate to a satrap. And this throne was made of black bronze and was decorated with golden images, such as we might of course expect philosophers to fabricate when they take to working like base mechanics at forge and steel, even if they do not like conjurers make their handiwork to move by itself. But the thrones upon which the rest of them, who were inferior teachers to him, were sitting, were, he says, of bronze, but not incised and not so high. For I suppose they could not help bestowing upon the teacher of so divine a philosophy the privilege of having images and gold on his throne, just as if he were a tyrant.

XVIII

And we are told that Iarchas, the moment he saw 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. ἀπειροκάλως εὐθὺς ἀπὸ πρώτης ὀμιλίας, ἀπει-
ροπλούτου δίκην, ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ τῆς προγνώ-
σεως πλεονέκτημα, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καταλέ-
γοντα τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιον, γένος τε καὶ τροφήν καὶ 
παιδείαν, καὶ τὰς κατὰ χρόνους ἀποδημίας καὶ τὴν 
eἰς αὐτὸν πορείαν, καὶ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν πεπραγμένα 
te αὐτῷ καὶ ὀμιλημένα. εἶτα δὲ φησίν αὐτὸς οὕτως 
ὁ θαυμάσιος συγγραφέας τοὺς Βραχμάνας ἀμα τῷ 
Ἀπολλώνιῳ χρισαμένοις ἡλεκτρίνῳ φαρμάκῳ λύ-
sασθαι, καὶ περιστάντας ὡς ἐν χορῷ τῇ γῆ τύψαι 
taῖς ράβδους, τὴν δὲ κυρτωθεῖσαν ἀνατέμπησαι 
αὐτοὺς εἰς δίπτυχον τοῦ ἀέρος, ἔσταναι τε αὐτοὺς 
μετεφόρους ἐν αὐτῷ ἀέρι ἑπὶ τὶ χρόνου διάστημα: 
ἐλκειν δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ὅτε βοῦλοιντο, 
αὐτομάτως, τοῦτοι δὲ ἐπιφέρει παράδοξον ὁ θαυμα-
tολόγος, ὡς ἄρα τρόποδες Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες ἐξε-
kυκλάθησαν αὐτόματοι φοιτώντες, καὶ εἰκάζει δὴ 
οὕν αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ὀμηρεῖοις, οἰνοχόους τε ἐπὶ τοῦτοις 
ἐκ χαλκοῦ διακόνους τὴν ὑλὴν ἱστησι τέτταρεσ: 
ἐπιλέγει δὲ, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτομάτως ὑπεστόρ-
υντο αὐτοῖς πόσαι, τῶν δὲ τριπόδων οἱ μὲν δύο, 
φησίν, οἶνου ἀπέρρεον, οἱ δὲ ἐτεροὶ δύο, ὁ μὲν ἤδατος 
θερμὸν κράσιν παρεῖχεν, ὁ δ' αὕτη ψυχροῦ. τοὺς δὲ 
oinochous tous charkow ώρουθαι eumetrous toû te 
oûnou kai toû ûdatos, perieiauinein te kûklh tâs 
kûlikas, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς πότοις.

530
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 unasked. And of these tripods two, he says,
rain with wine, and of the other two, the one supplied
hot water and the other cold. And the cup-bearers of
brass 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.
Taúta Ἰεροκλεὶ τὰ ἀνωτάτω καὶ καθόλου δικαστήρια πεπιστευμένῳ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνετάσεως ἀληθῆ καὶ πιστὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν εὐχέρεια καὶ κουφότης πλείστη ὅση κατέγνωσται παρ' αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ τοιαύτα Φιλοστράτῳ πιστεύων, αὐτοῖς δὴ ῥήμασι σεμνύνεται λέγων, "ἐπισκεψόμεθα γε μὴν, ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαύτα, καὶ ἢν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην."

XX

Ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ δὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Φιλόστρατον βασιλεὺς ἐγχωριάζων Ἰνδοῖς εἰσάγεται συμπίνων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τοῦτον δὲ ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἐμπαροινεῖν φιλοσοφία, μεθύσκεσθαι τε παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀντίπαρεξάγειν Ἡλίῳ καὶ ἀλαζονεύσεθαι ἰστορεῖ· καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον δὲ ἐρμηνεύω τὰ παρὰ τοῦτον μανθάνειν, καὶ αὐ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσθαι, ὑφερμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα· καὶ πῶς οὐ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅπως τὸν οὕτως ὑβριστὴν καὶ ἀτοπώτατον παροινεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι παρὰ τηλικοῦτος εἰκὸς ἢν, ὅν οὐδὲ παρεῖναι ἄξιον ἐν φιλοσόφων, μὴ τί γε καὶ ἰσοθέων ἔστι; τί δὲ μοι ἰσοθέους 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
CAP. καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐνυβριζέων τοὺς ἀνδρας; ὅποτε πυθομένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, τίνας ἐαυτοὺς ἤγονυται, θεοὺς ἐφή ὁ Ἰάρχας, δι καὶ τοὺς συμπόταις, οία δὴ θεός, φιλοσόφου μὲν ἥκιστα τρόποι, πολλού γε δεῖ, μὴ τί γε μᾶλλον, οὐ ἐφησε, θεοῦ ἀξίως, ἐς τὴν φιάλην ἐπικύπτων ἔξηρχεν, ἢ δὲ, φησιν ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὡς ἄρα ἐποτίζεων ἰκανῶς πάντας, καὶ ἐπεδίδου, καθάπερ αἱ ἀπόρρητοι πηγαί τοῖς ἀνωμομένοις.

XXI

CAP. Ἡμέρα ταῦτα κοινά λόγων ὀμιλίαι καὶ σπονδαίολογία τῶν φιλοσόφων, τοῦ μὲν Ἰάρχα διδάσκοντος, ὡς ἂρα ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλέως γένους σώματι, καὶ τοιαῦτα τῶν αὐτῷ τετραγμένα εἴη, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου, ὡς νῦν Ἀιγυπτίας ποτὲ γένουτο κυβερνήτης, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπράξατο, πεύασες τε καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ἐκάστου, δὲν καὶ τῆς σοφίας ἀξιων μηδαμῶς παρεκθέονται τὴν μυήμην. ἐρέσθαι δὲ φησι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῦς χρύσεων ὦδωρ — ὁ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ παραδόξου πύσματος — καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπον δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν οἴκοντων καὶ Πυγμαίων ἄλλων καὶ σκιαπάδων ἀνερωταίν, καὶ εἰ γίγνοιτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ξῦνον τετράπουν, ὃ λέγεται μαρτιχόρα, ὃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώπων 534
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

chaff them about their dignity? Why, when Apol-
lonius 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
pigmics, 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
CAP. XXI

πω εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ὠμοίωσθαι τὸ μέγεθος, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἐκφέρειν πτηχυαίας καὶ ἀκανθώδεις τὰς τρίχας, ἃς βάλλεις ὀσπερ τοξεύματα ἐς τοὺς θηρῶντας· καὶ τοιαύτα μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλάνιον ἀνέρωταν, τὸν δὲ Ἰάρχαν διδάσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ μὲν τῶν Πυγμαίων, ὡς ἀρα εἰςν οἰκούντας μὲν ὑπόγειοι, διατρίβοντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμοῦ ζώντας, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἀνύπαρκτα εἶν.

XXII

"Ερειον ἐπὶ τούτους φυόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς ἐσθήτος ὦλην ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀναγράφει, πάντως δήποτε τῶν φιλοσόφων ἰστὸν ἐποιχομένων καὶ ταλασιουργίαις ἐς ἐσθήτως κατεργασίαν ἐκπονομένων—οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσήκται παρ’ αὐτοῖς γυναικεῖον φύλον—εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο φήσειν αὐτόματον αὐτοῖς παραδόξως δὴ ἰερὰν ἐς ἐσθήτα μεταφύσθαι. φέρειν δὲ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ῥάβδου καὶ δακτύλιον ἀπόρρητον ἤχοντα ἰσχύν. εἶτα παραδοξοποιέα τοῦ Βραχμᾶνος, ὡς δαιμόνων δὲ ἐπιστολῆς ἀνακαλέσαιτο, ὡς χωλεύοντας καταψήσας τὸν γλυτῶν θεραπεύσειν, ὡς τυφλὸ τὸ βλέπει καὶ ἀδρανεὶ τινὶ τὴν χειρὰ σφάν χαρίζοιτο. πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ γένοιτο πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπολύσαντι τῷ συγγραφεῖ δῆλα γὰρ, ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτε βροντᾶς 536.
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
καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πίθοις τρίποδάς τε ἐκ λίθου φοιτ- ὅντας αὐτομάτως καὶ οἰνοχόους ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ περι- ἐλαύνειν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας προστορήσας, διὰ τῆς περὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἁληθῶν ἀφηγήσεως καὶ τῶν λουπῶν ἀπάντων ἐξέφηνε τε καὶ διήλεγξε τὴν μυθολογίαν. εἰρηκέναι δὲ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος τὸν Δάμνιν δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας καὶ τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ συμφιλοσοφήσαι τῶν Ἀπολλάνων, εἰλη- φέναι τε παρ’ αὐτοῦ δακτυλίους ἐπτὰ ἑπωνύμους ἀστέρων, οἷς καὶ φορεῖν αὐτὸν καθ’ ἑνα πρὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν.

Ταύτα δὲ ὑνὶ εἰπὼν ὁ τάληθες τιμᾶν παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλήθειε νεομομομένος μεθ’ ἑτερα τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς ἄν δὴ γοητείαν τῶν Βραχμάνων καταγγείσα, καὶ ταύτης ἐλεύθερον καταστήσαι τὸν Ἀπολλάνιον φροντίσας, ἐπιφέρει φάσκων κατὰ λέξιν: “ἵδον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἵνδοις τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὁσα αὐτό- ματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἰπον, οὐθ’, ὅτις σοφίςοιντο αὐτά, ἥρετο, οὔτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπήνει μέν, ξηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἤξιον.” καὶ πῶς, ὁ οὐτος, οὐκ ἤξιοι; ὁ δίχα τοῦ Δάμδος σπουδὴν ποιούμενον συμφιλοσοφεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν μόνον ἑταῖρον, ὁ τε καὶ πράττοι, λανθάνειν δέον ἡγούμενος; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἤξιον ξηλοῦν ὁ τοὺς τῶν ἀστέρων ἑπωνύ- μους καταδεχόμενος δακτυλίους, καὶ τοῦτος ἄναγ- καίοι τιθέμενος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου φέρειν πρὸς 538
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

τὰ ὄνοματα τῶν ἡμερῶν, καίτοι γε ἀπόρρητον, ώσ φής αὐτός, ἔχοντας ἵσχυν; εἰ δὲ καὶ δοθεὶς τὸ μὴ ξηλοῦν ἥξιωκέναι αὐτὸν, ώσ μὴ εὗ πράττοντα, οὐκ ἐξῆλθον δηλονότι. πῶς οὖν ἐπήνει, ἐφ’ οἷς μὴ ἥξιον ξηλοῦν; εἰ δ’ ώσ θείως ἐνεργοῦντας ἐπήνει, πῶς οὖκ ἐξῆλθον τὰ ἐπαίνων ἄξια; ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν παρὰ τούτων διατριβὴν παλινο- στούντα αὐτὸν ἀμα τοὺς ἑταίρους ἐληλυθέναι φήσιν ἐς τὴν τῶν ὶρειτῶν χώραν, ἐνθα χαλκαὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι, χαλκὴ δὲ ἡ ψάμμος, χαλκοῦ δὲ ψῆγμα οἱ ποταμοὶ ἄγουσι.

XXIII

Καὶ τοσάῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τρίτον σύγγραμμα, ἐπίωμεν δ’ ἥδη καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ἐπανελθόντα φησίν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κοινωνοῦν τῶν θεῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἀνακεκηρυχθαι, οὐ καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ὡς αὐτὸν ἐφ’ ὑγείᾳ παρέ- πεμπον, καὶ δὴτα ὡς ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ μάγων καὶ Ἰνδῶν παράδοξον τινα καὶ θείων ἡμῶν αὐτὸν ἀγαγόν, παραδόξων ἐντεῦθεν ἄφηγημάτων κατάρ- χεται. καίτοι οὖν τις εὖ τού εὐλόγος, ὅτι δὴ εἰ θειοτέρας ἡ κατ’ ἀνθρωπον φύσεως ἢν, πάλαι, ἀλλ’ οὐ νῦν ἔδει, πρὸ τῆς δὲ ἐτέρων μεταλῆψεως τῶν θαυμασίων κατάρχεσθαι, περιττῇ δ’ ἂν καὶ 540.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

rest of his life upon the days severally named after chap. 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...
ἡ ἔξ’ Ἀράβων αὐτῷ μάγων τε καὶ Ἰωδὼν διὰ σπουδῆς ἐπεχειρεῖτο πολυμάθεια, εἰ δὴ τις κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑπήρξεν ὑπόθεσιν· ἀλλ’ οὕτως γε κατὰ τὸν φιλαλήθη συγγραφέα νῦν δὴ πάρεστι, μετὰ τοσούτους διδασκάλους τὴν σοφίαν ἐνεπεδεικνύμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, οἷα ἔξ’ Ἀράβων καὶ τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῦ οἰωνιστικῆς ὁρμώμενος τὸν στροφῶν, ὃ τι καὶ βούλοιτο τοὺς ἔτερους ἐπὶ τροφὴν παρικαλῶν ἐφερμηνεύει τοῖς παροῦσιν, εἰτα δὲ λοιμὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ προαισθόμενος προμαντεύεται τοῖς πολῖταις. τὴν δ’ αὐτίαν καὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δομετίαν ἀπολογίᾳ αὐτὸς παρατίθεται. ἐρομένου γάρ τοι αὐτὸν, ὡπόθεν ὁρμῶμενος τούτῳ προεῖποι, "λεπτοτέρα," ἐφη, "χρώμενος, ὡς βασιλεὺς, διαίτη πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἠσθόμην."

Καὶ τρίτον δ’ αὐτοῦ θαύμα γεγονός ἰστορεῖ, ὡς δὴ ἀλεξίσαντος τὸν λοιμὸν, ὅπερ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει κατ’ αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαις οὐ τέθεικεν ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὅτι μὴ παρῆν, ὡς εἰκός, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπολογίας ὑπολύσασθαι τὸ ἐγκλήμα, φέρε δ’ οὖν ὁμοι αὐτοὶ τὴν ἰστορίαν ἐς φανερὸν ὑποθόμεθα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ταύτην εὐθύνοντες. εἰ τινὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἶτα σαφές, ὅτι δὴ πολὺ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν γοητείας τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔμπλεων,
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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
CAP. XXIII
αὐτὸς ὁ τρόπος ἀπελέγχει τῆς ἱστορίας. τῶν γὰρ
tοῦ λοιμὸν ὑποτίθεται ἐν εἴδει πτωχεύοντος καὶ
ῥάκεσιν ἡμφιεσμένου πρεσβύτου ἀνδρὸς ἐφαρμόθαι,
ἐν καταλείψει ἐπικελεύσαμένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
πρότερον μὲν πῦρ βάλλειν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἰδ’
ὕστερον βληθέντα λίθοις, κύνω συντετριμμένω καὶ
παραπτύοντα ἀφρόν, ὡς οἱ λυττώντες, φανήσαι,
εἰρηκόναι δ’ αὐτῶν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἐν τῇ πρῶς
τῶν αὐτοκράτορα Δομετιανοῦ ἀπολογία ταῦτα
gράφει: “τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἴδος, πτωχὸ δὲ
gέροντι εἶκαστο, καὶ εἴδον καὶ ἴδον εἶλον, οὐ
paύσας νόσου, ἀλλ’ ἐξελών.” τίς δὴ οὐν ἔπι
τούτοις οὐ μέγα τὴν τοῦ θαυματοποιοῦ γελάσεται
παραδοξοποιῶν, ξῖδον ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ λίθων ὑπο-
pτίπτον βολαῖς, συντριβόμενον τε πρὸς ἁνθρώπων
καὶ ἄφρον παραπτύον τὴν τοῦ λοιμοῦ φύσιν
ἀκούων, δι’ οὗ τοῖς δ’ ἄλλ’ ὁτιοῦ τυχάναι ἢ φθορὰ
καὶ κάκωσις ἀέρος, ἐπὶ τὸ νοσῶδες τρεπομένον τοῦ
περίεχοντος ἐκ ποιηρῶν τε καὶ φαύλων ἀναθυμιά-
σεως, ἢ λόγος ἰατρικὸς παραδίδωσθ’ συνισταμένου;
καὶ ἄλλως δ’ ἄν τὸ φάρμα διευθυνθῇ, ἐπείπερ
μόνη τῇ τῶν Ἑφεσίων πόλει, ἄλλα οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς
όμοροις τῶν λοιμῶν ἐπισκῆψαι φησιν ὁ λόγος,
ὅπερ πῶς οὐκ ἄν γεγονεὶ κάκωσιν τοῦ περίεχοντος
πεπονθότος; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατακλεισθέν μόνῳ ἄν
ἐφίδρευσε τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσίων ἀέρι τὸ νόσημα.
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.

545
Τέταρτον αυτῷ παράδοξον Ἀχιλλέως ἦν ψυχὴ πρότερον μὲν ἐν χλαμύδι πεντάπηχος, εἶτα δωδεκάπηχος τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ μνήματι φαινομένη, Θετταλοὺς τε κατωτιμωμένη, ὅτι δὴ τὰ ἐναγίσματα αυτῷ, ὡς ἔθος ἦν, οὐκ ἐπετέλουν, μηνύσα τε εἰσέτι Τρωσὶ τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν πεπλημμελημένουν, καὶ προστάττουσα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πέντε λόγοις, οὓς ἄν αὐτός τε βούλουσθαν καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι συγχωροῦσιν, ἀνερέσθαι. εἰθ’ οὗ πάντα εἰδὼς καὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν αὐχών ἔτι ἄγνοεῖ, εἰ τάφον τύχοι Ἀχιλλεῖς, καὶ εἰ Μουσῶν θρήνοι καὶ Νηρηίδων ἔτι αὐτῷ γεγόνασι, καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἀνερωτᾶ καὶ διαπυθάνεται, εἰ Πολυξένη ἐπισφαγείη αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ Ἐλένη ἐς Τροίαν ἐπηλύθοι, ὡς σεμνά γε καὶ κατεπείγοντα εἰς τὸν φιλόσοφον βίον τοῦ ἦρωος καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξία ἐρωτήματα. θαυμάζει δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἰ τοσοῦτοι ἦρωες παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλλησιν ἐν χρόνῳ γεγόνασι, καὶ εἰ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τροίαν Παλαμήδης, τὸν δὴ θεὸν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ οὗχ ὀρωμένων ὀμιλητὴν τοιοῦτα ἄγνοείν, καὶ περὶ τοιούτων ἄνερωταν, ποίας οὐχὶ γένοιτ' ἀν αἰσχύνῃς; εἰ μὴ ἀρα, ἐπειδὴ νεκροῖς ὀμιλῶν εἰσήκται, ἐπὶ τὸ 546
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XXIV

The fourth wonder which he relates is how the soul of Achilles appeared close by his own sepulchre, dressed the first time in a tunic, and five cubits high, and subsequently growing till it was twelve cubits in stature, and accusing the Thessalians for not continuing according to custom to offer him the due funeral rites, and furthermore still nursing wrath against the Trojans for the wrongs which they had committed against him, and bidding Apollonius ask him questions on five topics, such as he himself might desire to learn about, and the Fates permit him to know of. We next learn that the omniscient one, who boasted of his prescience of future events, was still ignorant of whether Achilles had been buried, and of whether the Muses and Nereids had bestowed their dirges upon him. And accordingly he asked Achilles about these matters, and enquires most earnestly whether Polyxena had been slain over his tomb, and whether Helen had really come to Troy,—questions surely of a most solemn kind, and such as to stimulate others to lead the philosophical life of the hero, besides being in themselves of much importance. Thereupon he falls to wondering if there had ever been among the Hellenes so many heroes all at one time, and whether Palamedes had ever reached Troy. Surely it was disgraceful in the extreme that one who was the companion of gods, whether seen or unseen, should know so little of such matters as to need to ask questions again and again about them? Unless, indeed, because in this scene he is introduced as associating with the dead, the
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXIV  ψυχρότερον μεταποιεῖ τὰς πεύσεις ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὡς ἂν ὑπεκλύσειε τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ πέρα τὸν προσηκόντων αὐτὸν περιεργάσθαι δοκεῖν καὶ γάρ δὴ καὶ ἀπολογούμενον αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ νεκρομαντεῖαν ὁ τρόπος αὐτὸς τῆς φανείσης ὅψεως γένοιτο, "οὔτε γὰρ βόθρον," εἶπεν, "'Οδυσσέως ὄρυξάμενος, οὐδ' ἄρνων αἵμασι ψυχαγωγήσας, ἐς διάλεξιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἠλθον, ἀλλ' εὐξάμενος ὁπόσα τοῖς ἠρωσιν Ἰνδόι φασὶ δεῖν εὐξασθαι." καὶ ταύτα νῦν πρὸς τὸν ἐταίρον ἀποσεμαύεινται ὁ μηδὲν μαθεῖν παρ' Ἰνδῶν, μηδὲ ξηλώσαι τὴν παρ' αὐτῶς σοφίαν πρὸς τοῦ συγγραφέως μεμαρτυρημένος.

XXV

CAP. XXV  Τί δήτα οὖν, ὁ οὖτος, εἰ μή τις ἦν κακοήθης περιεργά, μηδὲ τὸν ἑνα σοι καὶ γνήσιον καὶ μόνον ἐταίρον Δάμων κοινωνοῦν ἐποιοῦ τῆς θαυμαμαστής ταύτης ὅψεώς τε καὶ ὁμιλίας; τί δ' οὖχι καὶ δ' ἡμέρας τούτο ποιεῖν ἔξην, ἀλλὰ τῶν νυκτῶν ἀπερί καὶ μόνον; τί δὲ καὶ ἡλαυνον τὴν τοῦ ἠρωσ ὑψηχὴν ἀλεκτρούνων βοαὶ; "ἀπῆλθε γὰρ," φησὶ, "ἐξίν αστραπῆ μετρία, καὶ γάρ δὴ καὶ ἀλεκτρούνες ἢδη ἁδῆς ἢπτοντο." δαίμοσι μὲν οὖν πουροῖς γένοιτ' ἂν ἦσως ὁ τῆς ὀρας ἐπιτίθεντο εἰς περιέργους ὁμιλίας καιρὸς, ἀλλ' οὖχι ἠρωίας ὑψηχή, ἡν τῆς παχείας 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 pried into the secrets of magic. For
we may notice he represents him as arguing in his
Apology that there was no colour of necromancy in
the manner in which the spectre appeared to him,
and says: "For without digging any trench like
Odysseus, and without tempting the souls of the
dead with the blood of lambs, I managed to converse
with Achilles, merely by using the prayers which the
Indians declare we ought to make use of in 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
σώματος ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν ὑλῆς ἀγαθήν καὶ πανάρετον εἰναι χρεών. ὦ γε μὴν εἰσηγμένος ἐνταῦθα δαίμων βάσκανος καὶ φθονερός τὸν τρόπον, ὄργιλος τε καὶ ταπεινὸς τὴν διάθεσιν ὑποτετύπωταί. ἢ οὐχὶ τοιοῦτος ὥ τὸν Ἀντισθένην μειράκιον τι σπουδαῖον ὡς ἂν δὴ φιλοσόφῳ συνέπεσθαι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πειρόμενον ἀπείρωγον; προστάτει γὰρ τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν συνέμπορον τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας, ἐπιλέγων τὴν αἰτίαν: “Πριαμίδης τε γάρ,” φησιν, “ἰκανὸς ἐστι καὶ τὸν Ἐκτορά ὑμῶν οὐ παύεται.” πῶς δὲ οὐκ ὄργιλος καὶ ταπεινὸς ὁ Θετταλοῖς, ὅτι μὴ θύουειν αὐτῷ, θυμοῦμενος, καὶ Τρωσίν, ὅτι δὴ πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἔτων εἰς αὐτὸν διημαρτήκασι, μὴ καταλλασσόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα θύουσι καὶ συνεχῶς σπευδομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Παλαμήδους τάφον αὐτῷ ἀγάλματι φαύλως ἔρρημένῳ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐγκελευόμενος;

XXVI

Τὸ μέντοι πέμπτον καὶ ἐκτὸν θαύμα οὐ πολλῆς ἂν δεόιτο τοῦ λόγου διατριβῆς εἰς ἐνδεξιῶν τῆς τοῦ γράφοντος εὐχερείας: δαίμονας γὰρ ἀπελαύνει ἄλλος ἄλλον, ἢ φασί, δαίμονι, τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀκολούθου μειρακίου, τὸν δὲ ἐπιπλάστως εἰς γυναικείαν μορφὴν σχηματιζόμενον,
crass 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
τούτων δὲ τὸν δαίμονα ἐμπούσαν καὶ λάμαν αὐτοὺς ὅνομας ὁ σοφότατος ἀποκαλεῖ. τὸ γε μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμαϊων πόλεως μετὰ ταύτα κόριον, ὁ τι δὴ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπὶ δευτέραν ζῷην ἤγαγεν, ἀπιστοτάτον καὶ αὐτῷ δόξαν τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ παραιτητέον. ἐν δισταγμῷ μέντοι ἀμφιβάλλει, μὴ ἄρα σπινθήρ τις ψυχῆς ἐνυπάρχων τῇ παιδί τούς θεραπεύοντας ἐκελήθει. λέγεσθαι γὰρ φησιν, "ὡς ψακάξου μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἢ δὲ ἀτμίζου ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου." καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ ἀληθῶς αὐτῷ τοιόνδε ἐπὶ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης ἐπέπρακτο, ὡς ἀν ἐκελήθησαν βασιλέα τε πρῶτον καὶ τούς μετ' αὐτὸν ύπάρχουσας ἀπαντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν φιλόσοφον Εὐφράτην ἔγχωριάζοντα κατ' ἐκεῖνον καιροῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης διατρίβοντα, ὅσ ἃ ἐπὶ υστερὸν τῆν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν, ὡς δὴ κατὰ γόητος, ὑποβάλλεις ἰστόρηται. πάντως γὰρ ἂν καὶ τούτῳ, εἰ δὴ τούτῳ γεγονός ἦν, ταῖς ἄλλαις κατ' αὐτοῦ διαβολαῖς πρὸς τοῦ κατηγοροῦν συγκατείλεκτο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' εἴδος αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα τοσαῦτα, μυρία δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν αὐτὸν λέγων προμαντεύσασθαι τε καὶ προειρήκε ner γράφει, καὶ ὡς Ἀθήνης βουληθέντα μυθήναι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ὁ τῇ ἑσπερίᾳ ἵππων, μὴ ἂν ποτὲ φήσας μνήσεσθαι γόητα, μηδὲ τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ἀνοίξαι ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαίμονα. ἄλλα καὶ τῷ ἀσελγῶς ἀγείροντι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ τὰς Νέρωνος μετὰ κιθάρας ἐπὶ μυσθῷ διεξόμενι
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
CAP. XXVI
φόδας, μισθὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς ἑταῖροις τῆς σοφῆς ταύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως ὁ φιλοσοφῶτατος διὰ τὸν Νέρωνος φόβον προστάττει.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII
Ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου περιγραφέντος, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς εἰπόν τινα περὶ προγνώσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθανάμασας ὁ συγγραφεύς, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξειν "ὅτι μὲν δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαίμονια κινήσει προέλεγε καὶ ὅτι τοῖς γόρτα ήγουμένους τὸν ἄνδρα οὐχ ὑγιαίνει ὁ λόγος, δῆλοι μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, σκεψώμεθα δὲ κάκεινα: οἱ γόρτες, ἡγούμαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους εἰδώλων χαροῦντες, οἱ δὲ ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπάσαι τῇ ἁλείψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασί τὰ εἰμαρμένα, ὁ δὲ εἶπε τὸν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, καὶ προέλεγεν, ὡς ἀνάγκη ἔσεσθαι αὐτά, προέλεγε δὲ οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἐφαινοῦν ἱδῶν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτῶν εἴπον, οὐθ' ὅπως σοφίζοιντο αὐτά ἠρετο, οὔτε ἔδειξη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπήμεινε μὲν, ξηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἤξιον." ταῦτα δὲ λέγων δῆλος ἐστι τοὺς περιβούτους Ἰνδῶν φιλο-

554
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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

XXVII

Such are the contents of the fourth book, and in 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.
CAP. XXVII

σόφοις γοήτας ἀποφαίνων. περὶ γὰρ τοι γοήτων ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον μημονεύει καὶ τούτων, σοφίζεσθαι δὴ τὰ παράδοξα λέγων αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν, περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος, τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτῶν σοφιστείας ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀστείας ἀλλότριον ὑποτιθέμενος. οὐκοῦν εἰ φαίνοιτο τούτους θεοὺς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ διδασκάλους ἑπιγραφόμενοι αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥρα ταῖς κατὰ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπάγειν διαβολαίς. εἰς ἥκται δὴ οὐν παρ’ οἷς φησὶ γυμνοὶς Διογντίων, ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα φάσκων: "οὐκ ἀπεικόσ τε παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἡττηθεὶς εἰ δικοσμημένης, ἢν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἰνδοὶ στειλαντες ἐφ’ ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μνήμης ἐκκυκλοῦσιν. ὡς δὴ ἐν δίκη μὲν ἡγάσθην, ἐν δίκη δὲ ἧγούμαι σοφοὺς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὥρα μαυθάνειν." καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν ὁ οὖσι γὰρ θεοὶ τε εἰσὶ καὶ κεκόσμηνται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν." καὶ Δομετιανῷ δὲ εἰς ἥκται λέγων "καὶ τις πρὸς Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἢ πρὸς Φραώτην τούς Ἰνδοὺς; οὓς ἐγὼ μόνους ἄνθρώπων θεοὺς τε ἡγούμαι καὶ ἄξιος τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης;" καὶ ἐν ἄλλους δὲ ὁμοιός θεοὺς τε καὶ διδασκάλους τάνδρος ἑπιγράψας ὁ λόγος τοῖς δεδηλωμένους, δακτυλίους τε παρ’ αὐτῶν εἰπεφέναι ὁμολογῆσαι αὐτούς, ἐπιλέκτησαι νῦν, καὶ συνδιαβάλλων τοῖς διδασκάλοις τὸν μαθητὴν οὐκ ἔπαιε.
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.
CAP. XXVIII
Τοποθέτησις ἡ γραφή αὐλητῆς ὑποτίθεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὀσπερ τινὸς ὀψης μεγάστης καὶ σοφωτάτης ἐπιστήμης, τρόπους αὐλήσεως μᾶλα σπουδαῖος μακροῖς τοῖς διεξηγήμασιν εὑροῦτα διεξέρχεται καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Ὀυέστασιανοῦ οἶᾳ δὴ θεῶ προσεύξασθαι αὐτῷ ἱστορεῖ, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὅς εὐχὴ εἰρηκέναι τὸν Ὀυέστασιανοῦ: "ποιήσον με βασιλέα," τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι: "ἐποίησα," καὶ τις οὐκ ἂν μισήσειν εὔλογως τῆς ἀλαξονείας τὴν φωιήν, μανίας τὸ μῆθεν ἀποδέονταν, ὅτε γε ἡδὴ αὐτῶς θεῖς καὶ βασιλέως ποιητὴς εἶναι φραττεται ὁ τῆς Ἀγαθοτίας κυβερνήτης νεώς; τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῶς ἑαυτῶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος γεγονόνει τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὡμίλαις μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἦμων δεδήλωκε.

CAP. XXIX
Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ οὖς ἂν αὐτῶς δοκιμάζοι τῶν φιλοσόφων συμβούλους τῶν πράκτων, γνωρίσαι αὐτῷ ἠξιωτίνη, κατὰ λέξιν φησίν: "ἀγαθὸν δὲ τούτων σὺμβούλου καὶ οὐδε ὁι ἄνδρες, τὸν Δίωνα δείξας καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μῆτω αὐτῶ ἔς διαφορὰν ἠκούετα." καὶ αὕτης, "ὁ βασιλεὺς," εἶπεν, "Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων πάλαι σοι γνώριμοι.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XXVIII

And a little lower down in the book he brings a flute-player upon the stage, and he relates at length how Apollonius delivered himself with great gravity of long essays upon the different modes of playing the flute, as if it were the most important and clever of the sciences. And he relates how the Emperor Vespasian offered him prayers just as if he were a god, for we learn that Vespasian said in a tone of prayer: "Do thou make me Emperor," whereupon Apollonius answered: "I have made you so." What else can anyone do but loathe this utterance for its boastfulness, so nearly does it approach downright madness, for one who was the pilot of a ship in Egypt to boast of being himself a god already and a maker of kings? For Apollonius himself has informed us a little before in the course of his conversation with the Indian that his soul had previously been that of a pilot.

XXIX

And to the same Emperor, when the latter asks him to notify to him those whom he most approved of among philosophers as advisers and counsellors of his policy, Apollonius replies in these words: "These gentlemen here are also good advisers in such matters," and he pointed to Dion and to Euphrates, because he had not yet quarrelled with the latter." And again, he said, "My sovereign, Euphrates and Dion have long been known to you
\textit{CAP. XXIX}

\textit{\textbf{FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS}}

'οντες πρὸς θύραις εἰς\iotaν οὐκ ἄφροντιδες τῶν σῶν. κάλει δὴ κἀκείνους ἐς κοινὸν λόγον, σοφοὶ γὰρ τῷ ἄνδρε. ß πρὸς Ἀουσπασιάνον, "ἀκλεί-τους," ἐφη, "θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν." εὖγε τῆς προηγόσεως τοῦ ἡρωσ. Εὐφράτης νῦν ἁγαθὸς τε καὶ σοφός, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐς διαφοράν πὼ τούτῳ ἐληλύθεν: εἰ δ' ἔλθου---οὐσον οὐπω δὲ τούτῳ ἐσται—ὁρα ὁπὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς Δομε-τιανὸν γράφει: "καὶ μὴν ὀπόσα γίγνεται φιλο-σόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς δῆλοι τὰ Εὐφράτοι τοῦτῳ γὰρ ἐνεύθειν, τὸ λέγω χρήματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὐν εἰς πλούτου, κατὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἥδη διαλέγεται κάπηλος ὑποκάτηλος τελωνῆς ὀβόλοπτάτης, πάντα γυμνόμενος τὰ πωλούμενά τε καὶ πωλοῦντα, ἐντετύπωται δὲ ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνα-τῶν θύραις, καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλεῖω καιρὸν ὡς οἱ θυρωροὶ, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν πολλάκις, ὡς περ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λύχνοι: δραχμὴν δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφοφο ἀνδρὶ ποτε προέμενος, ἐπιτειχίζει νῦν τὸν ἐαυτὸν πλοῦτον, ἐτέρους τῶν Ἀἰγύπτων τοῦτον βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ δεξιων ἐπ' ἐμὲ γλώτταν ἄξιαν ἐκτετμῆσθαί. Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλείπω σοί, σὺ γὰρ, ἡμ μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινῆς. εὔρισκες τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακῶς ἡ ἔρμηνεν. " ὁ δὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν Ὀουσπασιάνον σοφὸν καὶ ἁγαθὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην μαρτυρόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕδιν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ διεξεῖ, δὴλος ἂν εἰη 560
and they are at your door, and are much concerned 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
CAP. XXIX

τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ ψέγων. ἄρ’ οὖν ὁ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων προειληφῶς γνώσιν ἤγνωε, ὃς ἦν τε καὶ ἔσται τὸν τρόπον ὁ Εὐφράτης; καὶ γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ Ὅσιο τοπικοὶ διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡς δὴ τὸ ἤθος μοχθηρότατον βούλεται. πῶς δὴ οὖν τὸν τοιούτευ συνιστή βασιλεί, ὡς καὶ ἀκλείστους αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς παρ’ αὐτοῦ συντάσσεις τῶν βασιλείων ἀνωπεπετάσθαι τὰς πύλας; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τυφλῷ, φασί, δῆλον ὡς ἄρα πρόγνωσιν μὲν συκοφαντεῖται πρὸς τοῦ συγγραφέως ὁ ἄνθρωπος, εὐθūς δὲν ἄλλως γενναῖος, πάλαι μὲν πρὶ πείρας ἀφθόνως ἐταῖρος, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τῆς εἰς τὰ βασιλεία παρόδου κοινωνῶν, ὡστερὸν δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἑνεκα τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων. οὕτω μοι διαβάλλειν ὁ λόγος βούλεται τὸν ἄνδρα, ὡς ἄν τὸν Εὐφράτην συκοφαντοῦντα, φιλοσόφων γενόμενον τῶν καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδοξότατον, ὡς καὶ ἐς δεύρ’ οἷς μέτεστι φιλοσοφίας, ἄδεσθαι, ὅ καὶ μέγιστον λάβοι ἄν τις, εἰ βούλοιτο, παράδειγμα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαβολῆς. εἰ γὰρ οὖν ὁ Εὐφράτης παρ’ αὐτοῖς πάση φιλοσοφία διαπρέψαι ὁμολογηθεῖ, ὥρᾳ μισοποπηρίαν μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγορεῖν, ἐπεξίστοις τοῖς ἀτόπως ὑπὸ τοῦδε δρωμένους, τούτων δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνου κατηγορουμένου φαύλην περιβάλλεσθαι δόξαν, ὅτι δὴ μὴ τὸν ἀρέσκοντα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ μετήκει βίον.

562
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.
Στις μεθοδολογίες αυτές μέναντες, έπροκείται επιστημονικά ενδιαφέροντα πραγματείες, όπως κατά της κατηγορίας αυτής πεπραγμένα, επιστήμη οντολογίας της πραγματείας, όπως κατά της κατηγορίας αυτής πεπραγμένα, επιστήμη οντολογίας της πραγματείας.
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 tamed lion of V 42.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXI

dείκνυται. τό τε γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ προαισθέσθαι ἵσως μὲν οὖν περίεργον ἂν δόξειεν, εἰ ἀπὸ λεπτοτάτης καὶ καθαρᾶς διαίτης κατείληπτο, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφησεν, ἵσως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξ ὀμιλίας δαίμονος αὐτῷ προμεμήνυτο. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ὅσα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν διειληφῶς τε καὶ προειρήκως ἐισήκται, εἰ καὶ μυρίοις ἐλέγχοις ἐξ αὐτῆς πάρεστι τῆς τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφῆς ευθύνειν, ὡμοι ἡν συγχωρηθείη καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι ἀληθῆς, κατὰ περίεργον μηχανὴν εἰποιμ' ἂν πρὸς δαίμονος αὐτῷ παρέδρου τινὰ τῶν μελλόντων, οὖν γὰρ πάντα, κατειλήφθαι. τούτο δὲ παρίστησι σαφές τὸ μὴ δ' ὅλου καὶ περὶ πάντων τῆς πρόγνωσιν αὐτοῦ ἀποσώζειν, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ἐν πλείστοις καὶ πυθάνεσθαι δ' ἄγνοιαν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν, εἰ θείας ἀρετῆς μετῆν αὐτῷ, πεπόνθει. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ παῦσαι τὸν λοιμὸν, ὅποιον εἶληχε τὸ δράμα, ὅτι φάσμα καὶ οὖν ἐν τῷ πλέον ἢν, προδεδήλωται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ Ἀχιλλέως παρὰ τῷ αὐτοῦ μνήματι τὰ ἂν διατρίβοι, τὰς ἐν μακάρων νῆσοις, ὅς ἂν φήσειε τις, ἀπολείπουσα διαγωγάς, εἰ μή καὶ τούτο δαίμονος ἢν ἐπιφανείας παροισία; καὶ τοῦ ἀσελγοῦς δὲ μειρακίου σαφῶς ἐνοικον δαίμονα, καὶ πάλιν, ἢν ἐφησεν ἐμπυγεῦσαι τε καὶ λάμβαν ἐμπεπαρφυκέναι τῷ Μενίππῳ, μείζονι τάχ’ ἵσως ἐξεληλακε δαίμονι, ὁμοίως τε 566
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 λυττώντος κυνός, αὐτὸν τε τὸν δαιμονώντα κύνα τῇ αὐτῇ μετήλλαξε μεθόδῳ. Ὁρα δὴ οὖν, ἐφη, τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῷ παραδοξοποιιάν, ὡς διὰ δαιμονικῆς ἀπετελεῖτο ὑποργίας. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀναβιωσάσης κόρης, εἰγ' ἐμπυοὺς ὑπῆρχε, σπυρ-θήρα ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ ἰκμάδα ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου φέρουσα, περιαιρετέον τῆς θαυματοποιιᾶς. οὐ γὰρ ἀν, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἐφη, σιωπῇ τὸ τηλικοῦτο παρεδόθη ἐπὶ αὐτῆς. Ρώμης βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος γεγενημένον.

XXXII

CAP. XXXII
Μυρία μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα πάρεστιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναλέξασθαι συγγραμμάτων, τὸ τε ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑέλεγκτον καὶ ἄσυστατον μυθώδες τε καὶ τερατώδες ἀπευθύνειν. ὅμως, ἔπει δὲ συνεργῆς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα δείται σπουδαιολογίας, συν' ότι γε ἐν θείοις καὶ παροδόξοις καὶ θαυμαστοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν φιλοσόφοις παρὰ τις τῶν νῦν μνήμης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῦ, τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀρκεσθέντες μετέλαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐβδομον περὶ αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα.
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 resuscitation 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.
Κατηγορεῖται δήτα γοητείαν ὁ ἁνήρ. εἶτα Δημήτριῳ φιλοσόφῳ ἀποτρέποντι αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀμήν παρόδου, μὴ πειθόμενος, ἐπαχθῇ των καὶ φορτικὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ δὲ δὲ ποῖς λέγει: "ἐγὼ δὲ γυνώσκω μὲν πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων, ἀτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ δὲ δὲν οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαῖον, τὰ δὲ σοφώς, τὰ δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς." καὶ δὴ ὁ ἐν τούτοις πάντ᾽ εἰδέναι μεγαλαυχούμενος, προϊόν ἀγνοιάν τινων πρὸς τοῦ λόγου κατηγορεῖται. εἶτα Δάμις αὐτῷ μεταπλάττεται, διὰ θανάτου φόβου τῶν φιλόσοφων ἐπικρυπτόμενος. ἄκουε δὲ οὖν τοῦ συγγραφέως, ἀ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀπολογοῦμενος: "αὐτικά μὲν ἤδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμιν τὸ τῶν Πνευματικῶν σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ κακίᾳ γέ αὐτῷ μεθείναι φησιν, οὔδὲ μετεγγροῦσ, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἤν ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ."
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 expediency of the moment."

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
μαθῶν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἄπασιν ἔχω τοιοῦτον, ἢ δὲ, τοῦ χάριν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ θεὸν αὐτοῦ νευμικάσι, τρίτην, πόθεν προσέποι Ἐφεσίως τὸν λοιμόν. εἰπὶ ταύτας, τίνι βαδίσας εἰς ἀγρόν ἀνατέμοι τὸν παίδα τοῦ 'Αρκάδα. πρὸς ταύτας δὲ φησὶ καὶ τὴν ἄπολογίαν αὐτοῦ γεγραφέναι. πρὸτερον δὲ ἱστορεῖ δεσμοίς αὐτοῦ παραδοθήκην καὶ τὴ θαυμαστὸν ἐνταῦθα κατεργάσασθαι. τῷ γὰρ τοῦ Δάμιδι μάλα λυπηρῶς, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ συμφορὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου, διακειμένω αὐτόματων ἐπιδειξαι λευμένον τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ σκέλος, εἰτα πάλιν ἀναλαβόντα αὐτὸν τῆς λύπης ἐνθείναι εἰς τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα τοῦ πῶδα. μετὰ τοῦτο κρυώμενον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλέως Δομετιανοῦ γράφει δὴ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολυθήναι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λύσιν οὐκ οὐδ' ὅπως ἀκαίρως, μοι δοκεῖν, ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ αὐτά δὴ ταύτα ἀναφωνῆσαι, "δὸς, εἰ βούλεις, κάμοι τόπον, εἰ δὲ μή, πέμπτε τὸν ληψόμενον μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον. μᾶλλον δὲ οὔθ' ἂν τὸ σῶμα τούμον λάβοις: "οὐ γὰρ με κτενεῖς, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι." καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ περιβοήτῳ ρήματι ἀφανισθήναι τοῦ δικαστηρίου φησὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ καταστρέφει δρῶμα.

XXXV

'Ο μὲν οὖν συγγραφεύς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεσμωτήριον θαύματος, κατὰ φαντασίαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρέδρου δαίμονος τῷ Δάμιδι ἑωραμένου, ἐπὶ
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 behoof had he gone to a certain field and cut up the Arcadian boy? To meet these then he alleges Apollonius to have written an apology. But first of all he relates how he was cast into prison, and the miracle which he wrought there. For we hear that Damis was extremely downcast at the misfortunes which he imagined had befallen his teacher; whereupon Apollonius showed him his leg released without effort from the chain. Then having thus alleviated his follower’s grief, he put his foot back again into its former condition and habit. After that he was brought to trial before the Emperor Domitian, and we read that he was acquitted on the charges, and that after being so acquitted he, with curious inopportuneness, as it seems to me, cried out in the court exactly as follows: “Accord me too, if you will, an opportunity to speak; but if not, then send someone to take my body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay you cannot even take my body, ’for thou shalt not slay me, since I tell thee I am not mortal.’” And then after this famous utterance, we are told that he vanished from the court, and this is the conclusion of the whole drama.

XXXV

Now in regard to the miracle in the prison, which it seems was an illusion, imposed on the eyes of Damis by the familiar demon, our author adds the
CAP. XXXV

φέρει λέγων, "τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησίν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἶη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενου, μηδὲ εἰπόντα τι, καταγελάσας τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἑναρµόσαντα αὐτῷ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου πράττειν." ἐγὼ δὲ οὖποτ οὖν καταγνοίην βραδυτήτα τοῦ φοιτητοῦ, εἰ τὸν πάντα βίον συνὸν αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τινῶν περιέργων ὅρων αὐτὸν ἀποτελούντα τὰ παράδοξα, οὔδεν τι διαφέρειν αὐτῶν ἥγετο τῆς θυντῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετὰ τοσαύτην θαυματουργίαν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄγνοεῖ, εἰκότως δ' ἄγωνια καὶ δέδιε ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου, μὴ τι πάθοι παρὰ προαιρέσειν. εἰ δὲ δὴ πρῶτον ἀρτι μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διατριβήν, ὅτι δὴ θείος εἶη καὶ κρείττονος ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, συνίησι, τὴν τούτου συνιδεῖν ἄξιον αἵτιαν, ἣν αὐτὸς ο συγγραφεύς δηλοῖ λέγων, "μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, μηδὲ ἐπευξάμενον, μηδὲ τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰρηκότα" τὸ παράδοξον ἰδεῖν αὐτῶν πεποιηκότα. οὐκοὖν τὰ πρότερον διὰ περιέργου μηχανῆς ἐτελεῖτο τῷ ἀνδρί, διὸ μηδὲ καταπλήττεσθαι αὐτά, μηδὲ θαυμάζειν τὸν Δάμιν· εἰκότως δὲ νῦν τοῦτο πρῶτον πέποιθεν, ὡς ξένου τινὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ

574
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

following remark; "Damis says that it was then for 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 ignorant 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
CAP. XXXV  τὰ συνήθη διαπεπραγμένου. πρὸς τὸ δειχθὲν δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ φύσμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστήριον ἀναχώρησιν, τὰς πρὸς Δομετιανῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου φωνὰς παραθέμην ἃν δεσμῶς γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραδόθηναι προστάξαντος βασιλέως, πάνυ γε ἀκολούθως ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος συνελογίσατο ὁδὲ πῶς· "εἰ μὲν γοητή με ἀγη, πῶς δήσεις; εἰ δὲ δήσεις, πῶς γοήτα εἶναι φήσεις;" ἀντικρούσει γοῦν αὐτῷ τις ὁδέ πῶς εκ τούτων ὁρμόμενος· εἰ μὲν οὐ γόης, πῶς λέλυταί σου τὸ σκέλος; εἰ δὲ λέλυται, πῶς οὐ γόης; καὶ εἰ τῷ υπομεῖναι τὸν δεσμὸν οὐ γόης, τῷ μὴ υπομεῖναι καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁμολόγηται γόης. καὶ αὐ πάλιν, εἰ υπομείνας τὸ δικαστήριον οὐ γόης, τῷ δὲ διαδράμαι τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς ἅμφοτέρων καὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας λέγω καὶ τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ δορυφόρων, σάφεις ἀναπέφανται γόης. οὐ δὴ μοι δοκῶ, συνηγορούμενος ὁ λόγος θεραπεύει τὸ γεγονός, ὅς δὴ ἀνευθυγοντά ποτὲ ἠρρήτω οὐκ ἐν παραδόξον δυνάμει τοῦ παραδόξου πεφηνότος.

XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI  Ἅλλα γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν αὖθις ὁ τῆς φύσεως παραστήσεται ἔλεγχος· αὐτικὰ γὰρ τῶν ἑπι- στάντων αὐτῷ καὶ φήσαντος, "ἀφιησί σε, ὁ Ἀπολλώνιε, τοὺς τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ βασιλεύς καὶ
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 premisses: If you are not a wizard, then how was your leg liberated from the chains? and if it was liberated, then how are you not a wizard? And if, because he submits to the chains, he is not a wizard, then if he does not 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 gloss 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

XXXVII

Εἶτα καὶ λόγον ἀπολογίας ὁ θειότατος μίλα γε πεφροντισμένος συντάπτει, ἄγνοιον, ὅτι δητα εἰς μάτην αὐτῶ σπουδασθήσεται ἡ γραφή. οἴεται μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἀπολογουμένου βασιλέα, καὶ ὁς ἀκουσομένου γε σφόδρα πιθανῶς παρασκευάζεται τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὴ ἀναμείναις εἰς οὐ δέουν αὐτοῦ τὴν σπουδὴν κατεστῆσαι. ἀκουε δὴ οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων, οἵ τις φησίν ὁ ἐλεγχός: “ἐπεῖ δὲ καὶ λόγος αὐτῶ συνεγράφη τις ὁς πρὸς ὑδρὰ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀφίσοντι, ἔμυεῖλε δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τύραννος ἢς ἡ ἐξήκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος.” ὁρὰ δὴ, πῶς τοῦ μέλλοντος πορρωτάτω τυγχάνων ὁ πάντα θειότατος, μετὰ πλείστης ὁς ἡς φροντίδως ὁς πρὸς ὑδρὰ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ποιησόμενος ἔσπουδαζεν.

578
prisoners are not bound.”; whereupon Apollonius, CHAP. 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 CHAP. 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.
Ἀλλὰ γὰρ διεξητητέον καὶ τὴν εἰς μᾶτην αὐτῷ πεποιημένην ἀπολογίαν, ἂν, ὡς πολλά καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ταύτῃ, Δομετιανῷ προσφωνῶν ἀπανθαδίζεται λέγων, ὡς ἀρα Ὠσπασιανὸς “σὲ μὲν βασιλέα ἐποίησεν, ὑπ᾿ ἑμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο.” βαβαί τῆς ἀλαξονέας, ἦν οὔτε γε ὁ τυχῶν, ἄλλ᾿ οὐδὲ εἰ φιλόσοφος τις ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπεραίρων ἐγενόνει φύσιν, ἑτερατεύσατο ἂν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκην ἀνοίας παρὰ τοῖς ἐμφροσύνης ὑποσχών. εἶτα δὲ τῆς κατ᾿ αὐτῶν ὑποψίας ἐαυτῶν ἀπολυόμενος ταύτα περὶ γοητῶν φησίν. “ἄλλα τοὺς γοήτας ψευδοσόφους φημί, τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἁπίστα εἶναι.” καταμίθου ὦν τις ἐκ τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας καὶ τῶν ἐν μέρει δεδηλωμένων, πότερα ἐν θείως καὶ φιλοσόφως ἢ ἐν γοήσιν αὐτῶν κατατακτέουν, ἐπιστήσας οἷς τε αὐτῶς περὶ γοητῶν καὶ ψευδοσόφων εἰρήκη καὶ οἷς δεδήλωκεν ἢ κατ᾿ αὐτῶν ἱστορία: δρύες τε γὰρ καὶ πτελέαι ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θήλει φωνῇ λαλοῦσαι, καὶ τρίποδες αὐτόματοι φοιτώντες, καὶ χάλκεωι θεραπευτόντες διακονούμενοι, πίθοι τε ὄμβρων καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ σανδαράκινον ύδωρ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα εἰσήκται, παρ᾿ οἷς ἠγείτο θεῶς, οὕς καὶ οὐκ ὁκινεῖ διδασκάλους ἐπιγράφεσθαι, τίνος ἂν εἶναι παραστατική ἢ τῶν “τὰ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα
XXXVIII

But we must not omit to pass in review the defence which he so vainly composed, for it contains among many examples of the arrogance with which he addressed Domitian, the following utterance, to wit, when he says "as Vespasian made you Emperor, so I made him." Heavens, what braggadocio! No ordinary person anyhow, nor any real philosopher either, transcending the rest of mankind, could indulge in such high-faluting bombast without exposing himself in the eyes of sensible men to a charge of being mad. Next in trying to rid himself of the suspicion which weighed upon him, he holds the following language concerning magicians and wizards; "But I call wizards men of false wisdom, for with them the unreal is made real, and the real becomes incredible." One may learn then from the whole treatise and from the particular episodes set forth therein, whether we ought to rank him among divine and, philosophic men or among wizards. We have only to observe what he himself has said about wizards and falsely wise men together with what is published in his own history. For when oak trees and elms talk in articulate and feminine tones, and tripods move of their own accord, and waiters of copper serve at table, and jars are filled with showers and with winds, and water of sandarac and all the other things of the kind are introduced among those whom he accounted gods and also did not hesitate to entitle his teachers, of whom else are all these things characteristic, except of people who can exhibit "the unreal as real and the real as
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXVIII

άπιστα εἶναι” παραδεικνύντων; οὖσ αὐτὸς γόητας ὑμομάζων, ψευδοσόφους ὑπάρχειν ὑποφαίνεται. ητοι οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θείος καὶ ἐνώρετος καὶ θεώς κεχαρισμένος τὸ σοφίας, ἀναδησάμενος βραβεῖον, αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν, ὅσοι μετ’ ἐκείνου, θείοτερος ἅληθῶς καὶ μακρὶ εὐδαιμονε- στερος ἀν κριθείη, ὡς ἐμπαλίν σευδοσοφίας ἀλούς κακοδαμόνων ἀποίσεται τὰ πρωτεία.

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX

Πάλιν δ’ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ περὶ Μοιρῶν ἴσχύος φιλοσοφήσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ φησί, διδάσκοντα οὕτως ἀτρεπτα εἶναι, ἃ κλάθουσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαιντο ἐτέρῳ ὡδῃ ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ’ ἂν ἀποκτείνει τις τούτοις, ὡς μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη ποτὲ ὡς αὐτόν τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἂν ἀναβιοθέτωθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς Μοίραις. καὶ τούτως ἐπιλέγει αὐταίς συλλαβαίς: “ὁ τω πέπραται γενέ- σθαι τεκτονικῇ, οὕτω, καὶ ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χείβε, τεκτονικὸς ἐσται, καὶ ὧν ἱκην ἐν Ὁλυμπία δρόμον ἀρασθαί, οὕτως δ’, οὔδ’ εἰ πηροθείη τὸ σκέλος, ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὧν ἔνευσαν Μοὶραι τῷ ἐν τοξικῇ κράτος, οὕτως οὔδε εἰ ἀποβίλου τὰς ὁψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ εὐσκόπου.” τούτως τὸν ἅρχοντα κολακεύον 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 fulfilment of the decrees of the Fates; and he continues in these very words: “He who is destined to become a carpenter, will become one, even though his hands have been cut off; and he who has been predestined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will never fail to win, even though he break his leg; and the man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lose his eyesight.” And then by way of flattering the sovereign he adds the following: “And in drawing
βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δήπου ὤρων καὶ τοὺς Δαίους Ἀστυάγην τε τὸν Μήδου καὶ πολλούς ἑτέρους εὐ τίθεσθαι τὰ τοιαύτα δόξαντας, ὅν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ ἐγγόνοις ἀποκτείνειν οἰηθέντες, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλείουν, ἀναφύντων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀφανοὺς ἔσχαν τῷ πεπρωμένῳ καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάμων κολακευτικήν, εἶπον ἀν καὶ τάδε ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ Βιτελλίου, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὀφρῶς τοῦ ἁστεοῦ, ὅ δ’ εὐ κείσεσθαι τὰ ἕαυτοῦ ἐφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγων αὐτῶν—καίτοι μειράκιον ἴκανός ἦσθα, καὶ οὐπώ οὕτως—ἀλλ’ ὅμως, ἐπεὶ Μοίρας ἔδοκει ἑτέρα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖνον νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρμονίᾳ κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγον εἶναι, τετμῆσθω μοι ἣδε ἡ νευρὰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σών ἐντεθυμῆσθαι με.” διὰ τούτων δὲ ὁμοὶ τὸν ἄνδρα κόλακα καὶ ἰσχύσην καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ φιλοσοφοῦν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίστησε λόγος, τοσαίτα γὰρ πρότερον εἰπὼν κατὰ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ κολακεύει νῦν ὁ γεγυνάς, καὶ καθυποκρίνεται ὡς οὐδὲν τι κατ’ αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ Μοιρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ κεκινημένων.
my examples from royalty, I had reference, I admit, to the Acrisii and to the house of Labus, 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.
Άνάλαβε δή τήν ίστορίαν, ὃ συγγράφευ, καὶ τῆς μέθης διανήψας τὰ πρῶτον σοι γραφέντα λαμπρὰ καὶ φιλαλήθει δίελθε τῇ φωνῇ, μηδὲν ύποστειλάμενος, ὡς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβων "ἀφ- ἱστη Δομετιανοῦ τοὺς ἀνδρας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐρρόννευσι σωτηρίας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίοις ὀμιλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς φέτο, τῶν δὲ ἑταίρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἀλλοτε ἀλλον ἀπολαμβά- νων, "διάκονον," ἐλεγε, "ποιούμαι σε ἀπορρήτον λαμπροῦ, βαδίσαι δὲ σε χρῆ ἐς Ἄρωμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναι οἶ," καὶ ὡς "διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ τῶν λόγων διή, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ Μοιρῶν οἷοι βιαζομεθαί," καὶ ὡς "χαλκῆς εἰκόνος ἱδρυμένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῇ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτήν τοὺς παρόντας, "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολὺ διαμαρ- τάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· ὃ γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεύσας πέπρωται, τοῦτον καὶ εἰ ἀποκτε- νειας, ἀναβιώσεται." ὁ δὲ μετὰ τούς τοιούσοι λόγους κολακεύων τὸν τύραννον, καὶ μὴν τι τούτων ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήσθαι αὐτῷ κατεργ- νεόμενος, πῶς οὐ μοχθηρίας ἀπάσης ἄν καὶ ἀνελευθερίας κριθεί, εἰ μὴ ἂρα ψευδηγόρους τινὰς καὶ κατηγόρους τοῦ ἄνδρος, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀληθεῖς συγγραφέας θείη τις τοὺς ταύτα μνήμη παραδεδω- κότας; καὶ ποῦ τοῦ Φιλαλήθους "οἱ παιδεῦσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡκοντες, το δ' ἀληθῆς τιμῶντες
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

587
συγγραφείς, Δάμις τε ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ καὶ συνδιατρί-
ψας τῷ δήλουμένῳ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος," ἀφ’ ὕπνον ταῦτα παρατίθεται, ὡς σαφῶς οὕτως ἐναν-
tιολογοῦντας, κομμάζουν τά τε ἀληθῶς, καὶ τοῖς
μαχωμένοις παρισταμένους ψεῦστας ἐναργῶς καὶ
ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ γόηται, τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ φέγγος
dιήλεγξεν;

XI.

Ἐπὶ πάσι τῶν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπαλλαγέντα τοῦ
dικαστηρίου, ἐν Δεβαδείᾳ ἰστορεῖ βουλόμενον εἰς
Τροφωνίου κατελθεῖν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πρὸς τῶν
ἐπιχωρίων, γόητα καὶ τούτων ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν.
καίτοι ἄξιον ἀπορήσαι παραθέμενον τάς ἐν
ἀρχή τοῦ Φιλοστράτου λέξεις, ἐν αἷς ἀπορῶν,
ὅτι δὴ γόητα αὐτῶν ὑπειλήφασιν, αὐτὰ δὴ
tαῦτα θαυμάζει, λέγων "Ἐμπεδοκλέα μὲν καὶ
Πυθαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς αὐτοῖς μάγοις
ὁμιληκότας οὕτω ὑπῆρξαι τέχνη, Πλάτωνα
τε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων τε καὶ προφητῶν
πολλὰ παρειληφότα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἱερέωι ἀναμι-
ξαντα λόγοις, οὐδαμῶς δέξασθαι τοιοῦτοι μαγεύειν, τοιοῦτοι
δὲ οὕτω γυγνόσκεσθαι παρ’ ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι δὴ ἀπὸ
tῆς ἀληθείας ὀρμήτορα σοφίας, μάγον δὲ αὐτὸν
πάλαι τε καὶ εἰσέτε νῦν 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 consortcd 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
Βασιλιωτίων Ἰνδῶν τε Βραχμᾶσι καὶ τοῖς Ἀγνυτίων Γυμνῶς ὁμιληκέναι." τί δήτα οὖν εἰρήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν; οὐν γὰρ, τὰδε τῇ ἀνδρὶ τί τοιοῦτο ἐπεχειρεῖτο, ὡς μόνον γόητα πάλαι τε καὶ εἰς ἐν ἑν ἱδρύσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τηλικοῦτος ἄνδρας, οὗ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῷ, ὡς φής, διδασκάλων πεπειραμένω, διέστραφαν μὲν καὶ καθ' οὖς ἐγγυρίζοντο χρόνους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετέπειτα δὲ τῆς σφῶν φιλοσοφίας ἀοίδιμον καταλελοίπασι τὴν ἀρετὴν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα πέρα τῶν προσημοντων ἐγχειρῶν τοῖς εὑροῦσι φαινοῦσι καθευστήκει; αὐτίκα τῶν νῦν εἰσιν, οἳ περιέργους μηχανὰς τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀνακειμένας προσηγορία κατειληφέναι λέγονσιν. ἀλλ' οὖν ἐμοιγε τοὔτως φίλου προσέχειν τῶν νοῦν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τάνδρος ἀκόλουθα τοῖς προτέροις συντάξις, οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἔξεφηνεν εἴδεναι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τελευτήσαν αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Ἁγίῳ παρελθόντα ἐστὶ ἵνα ἔριον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄλλους δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ, καὶ τοσαύτην ἄγνοιαν τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν τέλους κατασκευάσας βούλεται αὐτὸν ἐσ ὑμαῖν τῶν αὐτοῦ σῶματι χορήσαν. ἐσθραμμόντος γὰρ ἐστὶν ἵνα τοῦ φησι κλεισθήναι τὰς πύλας καὶ τινὰ ὀδὴν ἀδόκητον παρθένου ἐκπεσεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἱσσαμί εἶναι: "στείχε, στείχε ἐς ὑμᾶς, στείχε." λέγει δὲ, ὡς μὴν τάφο μὴν κενοταφίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ποτε περιτυχοτεμαχον, καίτοι τῆς γῆς, ὑπόσθη ἑστίν, φήςας ἐπελθεῖν πλείστην, καὶ βούλεται αὐτῷ ἡ διάνοια μηδὲ ὅλως θανάτων τοῦ ἀνδρα θυγείν, πρώτερον μὲν γὰρ
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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 
m en 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 PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XL. ἀμφιβάλλων περὶ τοῦ τρόπου, καθ’ ὅν ἐτελεύτα, φησὶν "εἰγε ἐτελεύτα," ύστερον δὲ διαρρήκην καὶ ἐς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν χωρῆσαι φάσκει. ὅθεν ὡς δὴ τοιοῦτον ὄντα, καὶ κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς γραφῆς καὶ καθ’ ὅλην τῆν γραφὴν, Πυθαγόρου καὶ 'Εμπεδοκλέους θειότερόν φησὶ προσεληλυθέναι φιλοσοφία.

XLI

CAP. XLI. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιγραφομένου τοῦ λόγου, βραχεῖ ἄττα περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ εἰμαρμένης φέρε διαλάβωμεν, ὃ τι καὶ βοῦλοιτο δὲ ὅλης αὐτῶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὁ λόγος, τὸ μὲν ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἀναίρων, ἀνάγκης δὲ εἰσάγων καὶ εἰμαρμένης καὶ Μοῖρας, διαθροῦντες, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐντελῶς καὶ ἡ ἐν δόγμασι ψευδοδοξίᾳ τάνδρος διενθυνθήσεται. εἰ δὴ οὖν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀλήθειας φιλοσοφίας λόγον ψυχῇ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος, τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἀθάνατον, τὸ δ’ ἄλλο κινοῦν καὶ υφ’ ἔτέρου κινοῦμεν, παῦλαν ἐχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει ζηρῆς, καὶ αὐτία ἔλομένου, θεοῦ ἀναίτιος, τῆς αἱρεῖ λόγος, ἀκουσαν, οὐχὶ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀψῦχου δίκην σώματος ἐξωθέν ποθεν κινοῦμένην, καὶ ὡσπερεὶ νευροσπαστομένην ὤδε κάκεισε, τὴν ἀεικίνητον 592
death at all, for on a former occasion when he is chap.

 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 ex-

 ordium 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

 Vol. II.

 593
Ἀγεσθαὶ φύσιν μηδὲν μηδαμῶς ἐξ ἰδίας ὀρμῆς καὶ κινήσεως ἐνεργοῦσαν, μηδὲ εἰς ἑαυτὴν τὴν τῶν ὀυρώμενον ἀναφέρονταν αἰτίαν ταὐτῇ τε μῆτε φιλοσοφοῦσαν ἐπαινετέαν τυγχάνειν, μῆτ' αὖ ὕθελιν, κακίας ἐμπλεών καὶ πονηρίας; τί δὴ τοῦ Ἐυφράτη Λοιδορούμενος καταμέμφη, ὥς ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ εἰμαρμένης ἐπὶ τὸ κέρδος ἐκδοὺς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμοίοις, ὠλυγόρει φιλοσοφίας; τί δὲ καὶ γόησιν ἐνυβρίζεις, ψευδοσόφους ἀποκαλῶν, ὕπ' Μοιρῶν, ὡς ἡγητὶ, καθελκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν κακοδαίμονα βίον; τί δὲ κακίαν ἀπλῶς ὀνομάζεις, καὶ πονηρός τις ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ κρίνεται παρὰ σοὶ, τὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰμαρμένου ἀποπληρῶν ὄρον; καὶ ἐμπαλίν τίνι λόγῳ Πυθαγόραν σεμνολογῶν θαυμαστὸν ἐπιγράφῃ διδάσκαλον, καὶ Μοιρῶν παίγνιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔραστὶν ὑπὸ ταῦτα φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπολείπεσις ἐπαινῶν; Φραώτης δὲ καὶ Ἡρώδης οἱ Ἡνώδοι φιλόσοφοι, τί μᾶλλον παρὰ σοὶ θεῶν ἀπηνέγκαντο δόξαν, μηδέν τι παιδείας ἰδιον μηδ' ἀρετής ἀπενεγκάμενοι κλέος; Νέρωνος δ' ὅσαιτως καὶ Δομετιανοῦ τί οὐχὶ Μοίρας καὶ ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀκόλουθον περιπτέεις ἄγερωχίαν, πάσης αἰτίας καὶ παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἐλευθερῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας; ἄλλα καὶ εἰ τῷ πέπρωται, ὡς φής, δρομικῷ καὶ τοξικῷ καὶ τεκτονικῷ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ εἰ γόητι τῶν τρόπον ὑπὸ μάγος ἀναφανήναι μασίφως τε καὶ
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,
Τι δ' ἐκαὶ οἷς νομίζεις θεοῖς τὰ μελιττοῦτα καὶ τῶν λιβανωτῶν εἰς μάτην ῥυπτεῖς, εὑσέβειαίν τε ἐπὶ εὐχὰς τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἐταίρους παρορμᾶς; αὐτὸς τε εὐχόμενος τί παρὰ θεῶν αὐτέοις, ὅπως καὶ τούτων ὁμολογεῖς τὴν εἰμαρμένην κρατεῖν; καὶ μὴν ἐδει τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς παραμεινάμενον, Ἀνάγκη μόνον καὶ Μοῖραις θύειν, καὶ τοῦ Δίδος αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὴν εἰμαρμένην προτιμᾶν. οὕτω δ' ἄν σοι θεοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι ἄν Ἰσαρ, καὶ εἰκότως, ἀτε μηδὲ ἀνθρώπους οἶοι τε ὀφελεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ πέπρωτο τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἀλώναι λοιμὸν πολίτας, τί τἀναντία νομοθετῶν παρακρούῃ τὴν εἰμαρμένην; μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς ὑπερήφανο τὴν Μοῖραν, τρόπαιον ὀσπερ κατ' αὐτῆς ἱράμενος; εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κλωθοῦς ἐπὶ τῇ
that being his character, a magician or a murderer 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
κόρη τὸ νῆμα πέρας εἰλίχει, πόθεν εξ ὑπαρχῆς
μετὰ θάνατόν ἀναδησάμενος τῷ μίτῳ τόν ἀτράκτουν,
ξωποιῶς αὐτῇ παραπέφηνας;

'Ἀλλ' ἴσως Μοῖραι καὶ σὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἣγον. ὦτι πω φήσεις κατ' ἄξιαν, πολλοὶ γε καὶ
dei, ὡς πρὸ τῆς εἰς τούτο τὸ σῶμα παρόδου τῶν
ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ κύμασι διατριβούτων γεγονέναι
σεαυτὸν λέγεις, ἀλλ' εὖ ἀνάγκης, ὡς εἰκὼς καὶ
toúto. οὐκ θαυμάσιοι οὖτε τῆς πρότης γε-
νέσεως καὶ τροφῆς, οὖτε τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας,
οὔτε τῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ σώφρονος ἀγωγῆς, οὕτ' ἀσκή-
σεως τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἢν δ' ἁρα τις Μοῖρῶν
ἀνάγκη καὶ εἰς Βαβυλώνιος ἑλαύνουσα, ὥθοιρο-
μενος δ' ὦσπερ καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδῶν ὁμίλεις σοφοῖς,
kai ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Γυμνοὺς οὐχ ἢ
προαίρεσις, οὐδ' ὁ φιλοσοφίας πόθος, Μοῖρα δὲ
ἤγεν ἀγχούσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰς Ἡρα-
kλείους στήλας, ἐφού τε καὶ ἐσπέριον Ὄκεανον
ἀλάσθαι καὶ αὐταῖς ἀτράκτους εἰς μάτην ἐξε-
βιάζετο περιστρέφεσθαι. εἰ δὲ δὴ μετειληφέ-
ναι τι σοφίας αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτων εἴποι τις, Μοῖρα
cal τούτων αἰτία, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἄν ἐν φιλομαθέσιν ὁ
ἀνήρ καταλεχθεὶς, οὐδ' ἄν εὐλόγως θαυμασθεὶς
tῆς οὐ κατὰ ὑγνώμην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ
πορισθείσης φιλοσοφίας. ἐν ἴσῳ δ' ἄν συγκρινό-
μενος εἰὴ κατ' αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καὶ τι
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

limit, and that being so why did you, when she was CHAP. 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 reason admire a philosophy which was provided, not intentionally, but by necessity, for him. And we shall have to class on one and the same level, according to him, Pythagoras himself with any pretentious and abject slave, and
CAP. XI.1 
τερατῶδες καὶ ἀπερριμμένον ἀνδρόπωδον, Σωκράτης αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας ὑπερατοβυχνίσκων καὶ οἱ τούτων θανάτου ἄξιον γραφήμενοι, Διογένης τε καὶ τὰ Ἀθηναίων μειράκια, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὁ σοφότατος οὐκ ἂν διαφέροι τοῦ ἄφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ ἀδικότατος τοῦ δικαιοστάτου, ὁ τε ἀκολαστότατος τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ δειλότατος τοῦ ἀνδρειοστάτου, εἰμαρμένης καὶ Μοιρῶν παιγμών τούτων ἀπάντων ἰποδεδειγμένων.

XLII

CAP. XLII  Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς ἁληθείας ὁ κήρυξ ἀναβοσχέται λέγων· ὁ ἀνδρόμωπος, θυμῆσθαι καὶ ἐπίκηρον γένος, ποῦ δὲ φέρεσθε τὸν τῆς ἁγιωσίας ἄκρατον ἐμπιέντες; λῆγατε ποτὲ καὶ διανήψατε τῆς μέθης, καὶ διανοίας ὀρθοὶς ἐμμαζεῖ τὸ σεμιθὲν τῆς ἁληθείας ἐνοπτρίσασθε πρὸς ὅπως τοῦ θέμερος ἁληθείαν πολεμεῖν ἑαυτῷ καὶ μάχεσθαι, οὐδὲ δυναίς ἐναντιοτάτων μίαν ὑφεστάναι καὶ τὴν αὐτῆν αἰτιάν. τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας τὰ πάντα κρατοῦσας θεῖοι νόμοις διατετάκται τὸ πάν, ἀνθρώπων τε ψυχῆς ὀρος αὐτοκράτορα τε καὶ κριτῆς, ἣγεμόνα τε καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ καθίστησι, φυσικοῖς νόμοις καὶ φιλοσοφοῖς δόγμασιν ἐκδιδάσκον, ὡς ἀρὰ τῶν οὐν τὰ μέν ἐστὶν ἐφ’ ἕμιν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ’ ἕμιν, καὶ ἐφ’ ἕμιν μέν, ὡσα γένοιη ἰαν κατὰ προαιρέσειν τε καὶ πράξειν, ἀ καὶ φύσει ἑλεύθερα ἀκόλυτα ἀπαρεμπόδιστα ἰδοῦ
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
CAP. XLII

τυγχάνεις τά δέ οὐκ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἀσθενή δοῦλα κωλυτᾶ ἀλλότρια, ἢ καὶ περὶ τὸ σώμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ἄψυχά τε ὄντα καὶ ἀλογά, καὶ πάντη τῆς ἱδίας τοῦ λογικοῦ ξύου φύσεως ἄλλοτρίαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τῶν δ’ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα ὀρμήν ἁρετής τε καὶ κακίας ἐκαστὸς ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται προαιρέσει, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ὀλων δεσπόζον τε καὶ ἤγεμονον εὐθέως περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενον, τῷ δ’ αἰεὶ συνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός, τῶν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ὀρμῶν οὐ Μοίρας, οὐδὲ εἰμαρμένης, οὐδ’ ἀνάγκης αἵτια· αἵτια ἐλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος. εἰ δ’ θαρσάνοιτό τις τῷ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἀντιπολεμών, μὴ παρακαλυπτέσθω οὗτος: ἠθεότητα ἀναφανδὸν διεξαγορευότα, μὴ πρόνοιαν, μὴ θεόν, μηδὲ τι άλλο πλήν Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης ὀμολογών, καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτως γυμνῆ προσκαταλεγέτω κεφαλῆ, μὴ σοφόν, μὴ ἄφρονα, μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ ἄδικου, μὴ ἐνάρετον, μὴ φαύλουν, μὴ γούτα, μὴ θείον ἐν ἄνθρωπων γίνεσθαι φύσει, μὴ φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι, μὴ παιδείαν, μηδ’ ὀλὼς τέχνην τινά, μηδὲ ἐπιστήμην, μὴ τινὰ ἄλλον τὴν φύσιν ἀγαθῶν ἢ ποιητῶν ἀποκαλεῖτω, πάντα δὲ συλληβδην ἀνάγκη καὶ Μοιρῶν ἀτράκτοις περιδίνεισθαι. ἄθεος δήτα καὶ δυσσεβῆς οὕτος ἐν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφῶν ἀπογεγράφῳ κρυπτήρῳ. εἰ δ’, ἐπικαλυπτόμενος έτερα, δοξάζειν ἐπιχειροῦ πρόνοιαν 602
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 θεοὺς, Μοῦραν δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εἰμαρμέ-
νην τις ἀνακηρύττοι, μαχομένοις καὶ ἐναντίοις
παριστάμενους δόγμασιν, ἐν ἄφροσι δίκην
ἀνοίας παρασχῶν καταγεγράφθων. ταυτὶ μὲν
οὖν ταύτῃ. εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν φιλοσόφων δια-
τριβαῖς ἄξιοις ἔτι καταλέγειν τινὲς τὸν ἄνδρα,
λελέξεται, ὡς ἄρα εἰ ἀποκαθήρειαν τῆς ἐξωθεὶν
λύμης, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς γραφῆς ἐπεισ-
κυκλομένης αὐτῶ σκευῆς, φθόνος πᾶς αὐτοῖς
ἐκποδῶν ἀν εἴη ὅρος δ’ εἰ ἀληθείας προϊόν τις
ὑπὲρ φιλοσόφους ἐκθειάζειν αὐτοῦ πειράτο, λάθοι
ἀν αὐτῶ γάρτος ἀτεχνῶς διαβολὴν ἐπεντρίβων,
ὡς ταυτὶ τὰ συγγράμματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναπε-
πλασμένα οὐδὲν πλὴν ἐλέγχου καὶ δειην τὰνδρὸς
διαβολῆς παρὰ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ
περιέχειν.
to entertain ideas of Providence and of the gods, yet \textit{chap.} 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 disentangling him from the pinchbeck properties in which the author of this book has wheeled him in upon the stage, we shall raise no objection to their doing so. At the same time if anyone ventures to overpass the limits of truth and tries to deify him as no other philosopher has been deified, he will at the best, though unawares, be rubbing into him the accusation of wizardry; for this work of pretentious sophistry can only serve, in my opinion, to convict him, and lay him open in the eyes of all men of sense to this terrible accusation.
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 Acheaious, 217
Accusations made against Apollonius of dressing differently from other men, 281; of Apollonius before Domitian reviewed by Eusebius, 571
Achaean, Apollonius set sail thither from Smyrna, 165; visited by Apollonius, 125
Acheaious 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
Acrisii, 351
Adonis, his hall in the palace of Domitian at Rome, 239
Adrastee, reincarnations of the same soul successively in several bodies in accordance with her decrees, 305
Aechmeus, 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
Alexandrea retires, after murdering his mother, to the mouth of the Acheaious, 219
Alexander of Macedon projects the re-building of Thebes, 153; employed Aristandrus to sacrifice for him, 345
Alexander the son of Stratton by Seleucus, Apollonius offers to adopt and educate him, 421
Alois, 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
Alyattes, his son Croesus an
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 accord-
ance with the precepts of Pytha-
goras and with the teachings of
the Brahmins of India, 303;
animal food deprecated by Apol-
lonius in his correspondence, 427,
429
Animals and birds worshipped in
Egypt, 79; their language ac-
quired by Apollonius from the
Arabs, 509
Annular eclipse seen in Hellas, 387
Antium, palace of the Emperor
Hadrian thereat, 383
Ants of Aethiopia keep guard over
gold, 5
Anytus and Meletus the accusers of
Socrates, 167
Aphrodite, statue of her in Cnidus,
135
Apollo, the simplicity of his Delphic
shrine, 33
Apollonius, 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 Timasion of
Memphis, 9; purifies from the
guilt of having shed blood an
Egyptian who had slain another
called Philiscus, 17; reaches the
abodes of the Naked sages or
Gymnosophistae, 21; Euphrates
intrigues with the Naked sophists
against him, 23; Thespesion
delivers his harangue against
him, 29; replies to Thespesion,
37; is joined by Nilus, the
youngest of the Naked sages, 59;
rebut the calumnies of Eu-
phrates, 61; relates his Indian
experiences, 65; prepares to visit
the sources of the Nile, 73; dis-
cusses with the Naked sages the
animal gods of Egypt, 77; dis-
cusses the problem of justice in
general with the Naked sages, 89;
sets out for the sources of the Nile
accompanied by Timasion and
Ninus, 90; 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; bene-
volence to the people of Antioch,
123; returning from Ethiopia,
stands 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
Aphroditie, 135; confounds the
Egyptian and Chaldaean quacks
who were imposing on the super-
stitions of the inhabitants of the
cities on the left side of the
Hellespont, 139; his Witticism
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 there-
by of Domitian, 163; forestalls
the summons of the Emperor
Domitian and leaves Smyrna for
Rome, 165; lands at Corinth, and
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 apprehensions 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 favourable 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.; repartee to an informer, 227; is summoned by Domitian to an interview, 231; is escorted to Domitian's palace, 235; hold 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 Syracusan informer sent in to the prison by Domitian, 249; miraculously extricates his leg before Damis from the fetters with which it was bound, 257; sends Damis on before him to Dicaearchia, 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, 369; reaches Syracuse, and continues his voyage to the Pelopon- nese at the beginning of Autumn, 369; disembarks at the mouth of the Alpheus river, and goes to stay at Olympia, 371; rebu- kes 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 preserved 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 he holds through his gift of second sight the assassination of Domitian 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 Paphlagonia, 485 foll.

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

Arcadian boy, Apollonius accused
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 Lyca, the soothsayer, 345
Aristanes 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
Asia, 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 Ilum 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
Athens, 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 Ethiopians 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
Biblius, shoes made of it, 305
Birds taught to talk, 127
Blood offerings condemned by Apollonius, as by Pythagoras, 330
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, 440, 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 councillors of that city commending their Hellenic civilisation, 419
Callisthenes of Olynthus assails the Macedonians, 140
Calypso, the legend of, 359
Cataclum, the mountains of, 101
Cataracts of the Nile, 3, 105 foll.
Celsius, 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 Dicewarea is the scene of a discussion between Apollonius and Demetrius, 167
Cilicia, visited by Apollonius, 125
Citizen of the world, Apollonius claims to be such in his letters to his brother Hesstaeus, 439
Claudius, his letter to the senate of Tynna 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
Coddril, the name of a social caste at Sardis, 435
Colossal statues at Delphi, 58
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
Christian steeds, 307
Cornelianus, epistle of Apollonius to him cited by Stobaeus, 481
Cotys the Thracian slain by Hercules and Python, 140
Court of Justice in Rome, defendants not allowed to introduce on their persons either amulet or book, 277
Crates of Thebes assails Philip for his treatment of the Athenians, 149
Credulity of the Christians, commented upon by Hierocles, 480
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
Crotomn, 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, 80
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 Dicewarea and await him opposite the island of Calypso, 263; takes a letter of Apollonius from Ephesus to the Emperor Nerva at
INDEX

Rome and never sees his master again alive, 307; commended by Hierocles, 489; persuaded that Apollonius was divine and superhuman, by the fact that he loosened his foot from fetters in the prison, 507; disguised by Apollonius, 571

Danaids, 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

Deification, 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, 38

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 Dicenearchia, on his way to Rome, 165; endeavours to dissuade Apollonius from facing Domitian in Rome, 165; he and Damis, await Apollonius at Dicenearchia, 359; relates the dream of Telaeinus concerning Apollonius, 363; his apprehensions for the safety of Apollonius, rebuked by Apollonius, 365

Democrats, 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, 551

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 full

Demosthenes opposes Python the agent of Philip, 255

Destiny, its inevitableness, 351

Dialects of ancient Greece criticised, 127

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

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

Diät, 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, 59

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, 447; of Apollonius consistent with philosophy, 415
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, 230; 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, 181
Echinades at the mouth of the Acherous, 217
Edon 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, 80; Eusebius notes that Apollonius was repelled from them because he was a wizard, 553
Elis purged of the plague by Hercules, and from the foul exhalations due to Augeas, 323
Elm tree, addresses Apollonius in a female voice, at the bidding of the Gymnosophists, 31
Empedocles, his rites for the purification of homicide 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, 310
Emperor of Rome represented by syrophants as the God of all mankind, 270
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 Iono 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

lecturing there he witnesses by second sight the assassination of Domitian in his palace at Rome, 380 foll.; Apollonius dies there, attended by two maidservants, 399

Ephors, letter of Apollonius to them at Sparta rebuking them for the effeminacy of their citizens, 463

Epicurus, his discourse about Pleasure, 411; his doctrines studied by Apollonius, 509

Epistles of Apollonius, 409 foll.

Erinyes, at Sardis, 473

Eunuchism, Rescript of Domitian against, 141

Euphorbus an early incarnation of Pythagoras, 305

Euphrates intrigue with the Naked sages against Apollonius, 23; his calumnies of Apollonius to the Naked sages are refuted; his avarice and intrigues, 63; Apollonius’ quarrel with conducted by Menippus and Nilius, 111; informs against Apollonius for his discourse before the statue of Meles in Smyrna, 163; his malice and his accusations to Domitian of Apollonius, 251; informs against the conversations held by Apollonius in Ionia, 277; his greed of money denounced, 333; epistles of Apollonius to him, 409 foll.; satirised in an epistle of the Roman Emperor, 413; Apollonius rebukes his ambition and love of filthy lucre, and his abuse of philosophers who follow Pythagoras, on the ground that they were magicians, 423; Apollonius rebukes him in three letters for taking money from the Emperor and for his other faults, 447; letter of Apollonius to him, accusing him of suborning Praxiteles of Calchis to murder him, 461; Eusebius reviews the relations of Apollonius with him, and condemns the sage for not realising from the first that Euphrates was a spurious philosopher, 559 foll.

Euripides, his play Orestes quoted, 189

Eurystheus relieved by Heracles, the favourite of Athene and saviour of mankind, 325

Eusebius, the son of Pamphilus, 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. xiii, 565

Euthydemus of Phoenicia, the philosophical teacher of Apollonius at Tarsus, 507

Euxenus of Hieraclea in Pontus, the teacher of Apollonius, scoffed at by Eusebius, 513

Evil eye, superstition of, 205

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, 230

Foreknowledge, Eusebius points out that Apollonius did not retain his gift thereof uniformly and in all cases, 507

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 Neopyndes the king of the Indians, 461

Genius of the Ephesian pestilence took the form of a blind beggar, 323

Geryon and Nessus, monsters, 37

Glauceus dedicates a stand for a goblet at Delphi, 53

Gods of the under earth prefer deep trenches and underground ceremonies, 57

Godesses, loves of mortals for them criticised by Apollonius, 137

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

Gyna, 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 Brahmins 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, 333

Hair, long, defended by Apollonius 300; worn long by Apollonius and by the Hellenes, 415

Harmodius 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

Helius, its welcome to Apollonius after his escape from Donitian, 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

Heraphæus, his magic slippers, 57

Hercules, see Hercules, 31

Heraclides and Python slay Cotys the Thracian, 149

Heracitus, 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 Proclus, 33; the averter of disease, has a statue erected to him in Ephesus to commemorate the staying of the plague by Apollonius, 323

Hercynæ the springs of, hard by the cave of Trophonius, 381

615
INDEX

Hermes, images of him on the site of the statue of Memnon, 15; statues of, 265
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 recognising his merits as a philosopher, 437; reproached in an epistle for adopting such names as Lucretius and Lupercus, 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 Philaletus, pitiful 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, 405; supreme judge in Eusebius' province, 593
Hieronymus sent as an envoy by the citizens of Seleucia to Apollo-
nius, 421
Himera, the man of, his Pallinode, 51
Hippolytus the son of Theseus, compared with Timasion, 13
Homer, Iliad, cited, 191, 355; cited by Apollonius, 233; cited about Sarpedon, 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, 5
Informers assail the estates of Phoenician land-owners in Anti-
och, 135; 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
Ira, 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
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 sage, 300
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, 403; 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 fll.
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
Lafus, his dynasty, 351
Lamia of Corinth, which devoured good-looking young men, 325
Lebadea, 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, 459
Lemnos, a lady of, visited by a satyr, 111
Leonidas, king of Sparta, wore his hair long in token of his bravery, 300; 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
Leucothea gives her veil to Ulysses, 211
Levitation of the Indian sages doubted by Eusobius, 531
Libya incognita, 3
Libyan offerings of gold at Delphi, 53; desert, Roman exiles therein, 155
Licentious youth at Athens the victim, according to Eusebiius, 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 Lebadea, 381
Locris, Apollonius lectures there, 431
Long hair worn by Apollonius, 298
Lovers addicted to magic, 259
INDEX

Lucanian names adopted by the Ionians, 471
Lucretius the name derided by Apollonius, 471
Lucullus, a barbarous name adopted by the Ionians, 471
Lupercus, the name derided by Apollonius, 471
Luxury of Roman banquets described and condemned, 305
Lycurgus proclaimed divine by the Pythian oracle, 313
Lycurgus, epistle of Apollonius to him, cited by Stobaeus, 481
Lyasias, 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
Maidens of Apollonius attend him at his death, their subsequent fortunes, 399
Malea, port of, in Arcadia, 269
Mandragoras, its use as a drug, 317
Marasas, river, 105
Massagetae, their barbarous sacrifices, 325
Maximus of Aegae commended by Hierocles for his history of Apollonius, 489
Megabyzze, 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
Menodotus, a name which came thrice 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
Mileiustus, Apollonius writes to the citizens of, concerning the earthquake which he had predicted, 467

Mimnermus, 472

Ministry of demons enabled Apollonius, according to Eusebius, to work his entire series of miracles, 509
Minos, 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 foll.
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 Hellen of that age for her barbarism, 431
Musical contest established in Rome by Domitian, 175
Musonius the Tyrhenian is exiled by Nero to Gyra, 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
Nesugyndes, king of India, letter of Garinos, 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.
Nilton, the youngest of the Naked sages, goes over to Apollonius, 59 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, 437
Orpheus, his melodies which brought back the dead, 348; 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, 381
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
Palmode of the man of Himera, 51
Pamphylia, raiments, 307
Panathenian festival in Attica, hymn sung thereat in honour of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, 157, 373
Pandora, prayers offered to, 133
Pandorus, his attack on Menelaus, 447
Pedigrees kept even by lower castes in Sardis, 455
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
Phereclanus, 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
Philemus, his murderer, is purified from blood guilt by Apollonius, 17
Philemon of Melos attended during his last illness by Apollonius at Rome, 341
Philelaus 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 Lebadaea, 381
Phoenicia, visited by Apollonius, 125
Phaenops, Apollonius tells the naked sages of his philosophy, 65; king of India, 186; his advice to lion tamers recalled by Apollonius, and applied as an allegory of tyrants, 233
Phyle, the inhabitants murder the thirty tyrants, 157
Phytion 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 console by Apollonius in gaol, 221 foll.
Polydamna, daughter of Thon, 211
Polygnotus painted a picture of the taking of Ilium by Delphi, 53
Porphyry, cites a letter of Apollonius to Iarchus, 475
Poseidon and Earth sacrifice to, in order to avert earthquakes, 139
Praxiteles of Calchis, a madman, suborned by Bassus to assassinate Apollonius, 433; 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
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, 393; 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 Polynotus and Glaucus, 53; inscription, to know oneself, 187

Python of Byzantium suborned by Philip, 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, 440

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;
epistle of Apollonius to them reproaching them for their inter-
ecine feuds, 473; Apollonius refuses to visit the city because it is "so eaten up with faction, 475
Satyr infests an Aethiopian village, and is controlled by Apollonius, 107 foll.
Satyrus, epistle of Apollonius to him cited by Stobaeus, 479
Saviours of mankind, 315, 325
Saviour, possibility of one descend-
ing from heaven to earth, dwelt upon by Eusebius, 400; of man-
kind regarded by Eusebius as a messenger of the Supreme Being who descended from heaven, and
having 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
Seilinus, near Olympia, 371
Scopelius, the sophist, letter of Apollonius to him upon human faculties, 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 sacri-
fice, 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 counsellors 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
Sicily, ships from Dicaearchia starting thither, 369
Sick men healed of their diseases by Apollonius, 311
Sicyon, Apollonius lectures there, 481
Silanus, the soothsayer, a native of Ambracia, 345
Silence, discipline of Pythagoreans, 39; inoculated 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, 257
Smyrna, Apollonius discourses on the fates and on destiny there, 161; Apollonius resides there in order to teach, 390
Socrates accused by the naked sages of worshipping animals and trees, 81; accused of religious innova-
tion, 107; 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, 389
Stobaeus, his citations of Apollonius'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 Sikyon, the physician, 343
Straton, a citizen of Seleucia and the friend of Apollonius, 421
Sun, religion of, contrasted with the religion of the underground

622
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
Sycamorus, a mart on the confines of Aethiopia and Egypt, 5
Sycephon, how they preyed upon youth, 129
Symbols of ancient worship, 89
Symposium of the king of India criticised by Eusebius, 583
Syracusan informer suborned by Domitian against Apollonius, 249
Syracuse, Apollonius passes it on his way to the Peloponnesus, 300
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 gibbet, 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 Peloponnesus, 369
Tellesias, 155
Telemachus, his dogs, 117
Telephus of Mysia, his soul transferred into the boy bitten by the mad dog of Tarsus, 143
Telesinus, 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
Theactetus, epistle of Apollonius to him cited by Stobaeus, 481
Themis, the proverb of her salt-cellar, 413
Thermoden river, 225
Thespies, the chief of the naked sages, delivers an harangue against Apollonius, 20; of Aethiopia, 185
Thrasybulus, of Naucratis, the instrument of Eufrates, 23
Thule, tales of, 525
Thuril, 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 Eufrates, 25 foll.; undertakes to guide Apollonius to the springs of the Nile, 99
Tindaros, 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
Traillius, 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 Brahmanas, 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
Varadan 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, 293; 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
Woolen 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
Zens, Apollonius pays his respects to him in the Roman Court, 279; a thousand drachmas supplied from his treasury at Olympia to Apollonius, 375; and Leto, in connection with the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, 467

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