PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS

OF TYANA

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS AND THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO.

MCMXII
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BOOK VI
Αἰθιοπία ἔτη μὲν ὑπὸ ἧλιῳ πάσης ἐπέχει τὸ ἐσπέριον κέρας, ὡσπερ Ἰνδοὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑω, κατὰ Μερόπην δὲ Αἰγύπτω καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀμαρτύρου Λιβύης ἐπελθοῦσα τελευτᾶ ἐς θάλατταν, ἦν Ὀκεανὸν οἱ πονηταὶ καλοῦσι, τὸ περὶ γῆν ἄπαν ὁδὲ ἑπονομάζοντες. ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτων διδωσιν, ὡς ἔκ Καταδύων ἄρχομενος, ἦν ἐπικλὺζει πᾶσαν Ἀἰγυπτίων ἀπὸ Αἰθιόπων ἄγιοι. μέγεθος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἄξια παραβεβλήσθαι πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ἢδε ἡ χώρα, ὅτι μηδ’ ἄλλη μυθεμία, ὅποιούσι καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὄνομασται ἢπειροι, εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Ἀἰγυπτίων Αἰθιοπία ξυμβάλομεν, τοῦτο δὲ ἡγώμεθα, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πράττειν, οὕτω ξύμμετροι πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἄμφω, τοσαύτην ξυντεθεία, ποταμὸς δὲ ἄμφων ὁμοίως λογισμένῳ τὰ
PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS
OF TYANA

BOOK VI

I

ETHIOPIA covers the western wing of the entire earth under the sun, just as India does the eastern wing; and at Meroe it adjoins Egypt, and, after skirting a part of Libya Incognita, it ends at the sea which the poets call by the name of the Ocean, that being the name they applied to the mass of water which surrounds the earth. This country supplies Egypt with the river Nile, which takes its rise at the cataracts (Catadupi), and brings down from Ethiopia all Egypt, the soil of which in flood-time it inundates. Now in size this country is not worthy of comparison with India, nor for that matter is any other one of the continents that are famous among men; and even if you put together all Egypt with Ethiopia, and we may regard the river as so combining the two, we could not compare the two together with India, so vast is the standard of comparison. However their respective rivers, the
CAP. Ι. 'Ινδοῦ τε καὶ Νείλου· ἐπιρραίνουσι τε γὰρ τὰς ἡπείρους ἐν ὠρα ἔτους, ὅποτε ἡ γῆ ἐρᾶ τοῦτον, ποταμῶν τε παρέχονται μόνοι τὸν κροκόδειλον καὶ τὸν ὕππον, λόγοι τε ὀργών ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ὑσοί, πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Νείλῳ ἐπιθειαζόται. τὴν δὲ ὀμοιότητα τῶν ἡπείρων πιστούσθων μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρώματα, πιστούσθων δὲ καὶ οἱ λεόντες καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας ἐν ἐκατέρα ἀλισκόμενος τε καὶ δούλευσον. βόσκουσι δὲ καὶ θηρία, οία ὀνομάζονται, καὶ ἀνθρώπους μέλανας, δὴ μὴ ἄλλα ἡπειροι. Πυγμαίων τε ἐν αὐταῖς ἑθνη καὶ ἕλακτούντων ἄλλο ἄλλη καὶ ὃδε θαυμαστά. γρύπες δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ μύρμηκες Λιθιόπων, εἰ καὶ ἁπόμοιοι τὴν ἱδέαν εἰσίν, ἄλλη ὀμοία γε, ὡς φασὶ, βούλονται, χρυσοῦ γὰρ φύλακες ἐν ἐκατέρα ἦδονται, τὸ χρυσόγειον τῶν ἡπείρων ἀσπαζόμενοι. ἄλλα μὴ πλεῖο ὑπὲρ τούτων, δὲ λόγοι ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαυτον ἐτώ καὶ ἐχώμεθα τοῦ ἀνδρός.

II

CAP. ΙΙ. Ἀφικόμενος γὰρ ἔπι τὰ Λιθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ὄρια, Συκάμισον δὲ αὐτὰ ὄνομάξουσι, χρυσῆς τε ἀσήμων ἐνέτυχε καὶ λίνη καὶ ἐλέφαντι καὶ ῥίζαις καὶ μύρῳ καὶ ἀρώμασιν ἕκειτο 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 Índians 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
CAP. ἀφύλακτα ἐν ὅδῷ σε ἱστή· καὶ ὃ τι βούλεται
ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, νομίζεται γὰρ καὶ ἐσ ἡμᾶς
ἐτί· ἀγορὰν Αἰθίοπες ἀπάγουσιν, δὲν Αἰθιοπία
dίδωσιν, οἱ δ' ἄνελόμενοι πᾶσαν ξυμφέρουσιν ἐς
tὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον ἀγορὰν Αἰγυπτίαν ἵσου ἂξιαν
ὡνούμενοι τὸν αὐτόίς ὁντων τὰ ὀφν τοντα. οἱ δὲ
tὰ ὀρια τῶν ἡπείρων οἰκούντες οὕτω μέλανες,
ἀλλὰ ὀμοφύλοι τὸ χρώμα, μελαίνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν
ἡττον Αἰθιόπων, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον Αἰγυπτίων. Ξυνείς
οὖν ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος τοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἰδίους, “οἱ δὲ
χρηστοί,” ἐφι, “Εὐλογεὶς, ἤν μὴ ὅβολος ὅβολον
τέκη καὶ τὰ ὧνια αὐτοῖς ἑπτιτιμήσωσι καπηλεύ-
όντες ἡ καθεργυνύτες, οὐ φασὶ ξύν, ὁ μὲν θυγατέρα
σκηπτόμενος ἐν ὀρα γάμων, ὁ δ' ὕδω ς ἤδη τελοῦτα
ἐς ἀνδρας, ὁ δ' ἐράνων πλήρωσιν, ὁ δ', ὡς οἰκοδο-
μοῦτο οἰκίαν, ὁ δ', ἀφ οἰσχύνου ἁρματιστῆς
ἡπτων του πατρος δόξαι. καλὸς δ' ἀρ' ἐξεῖν, ἢνα
ὁ πλούτος ἀτίμως ἐπραττεν ἰσότης τε ἡμθει,
μέλας δ' ἀπέκειτο σίδηρος,
ὁμονοούντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐδό-
κει μία.”

III

CAP. Ῥωσιῶν διάλεγομενος καὶ ξυμβούλους τῶν δια-
λέξων, ὡσπερ εἰὼθει, πολυμενος 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.”

With such conversations, the occasions providing as usual the topics he talked about, he turned his
CAP. ἔχωρει ἕπι Μέμνωνος, ἤγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς μειράκιον Ἀιγύπτιοι, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμις· Τιμασίων μὲν τῷ μειρακίῳ τοῦτῳ ὄνομα ἦν, ἐφήβου δὲ ἁρτὶ ὑπατήει καὶ τὴν ὁραν ἑτὶ ἔρρωτο. σωφρονοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ μητρυιὰ ἐρῶσα ἐνέκειτο καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸν πατέρα ἔποιει, ξυντιθείσα μὲν οὐδὲν ὄντερ ἡ Φαίδρα, διαβαίλουσα δ' αὐτὸν ὡς θηλυκαὶ καὶ ἐρασταῖς μᾶλλον ἡ γυναῖκος χαίροντα. ὃ δ' ἐκλυπῶν Ναύκρατιν, ἔκει ἡ ἑ ὑ ταῦτα ἐγγυνετο, περὶ Μέμφιν διητάτο, καὶ ναῦν δὲ ἰδιόστολον ἐκέκτητο καὶ ἐναυκλήρει ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ. ἱδὼν δὲν ἀναπλέωντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καταπλέων αὐτὸς ξυνήκε τε, ὡς ἄνδρῶν σοφῶν εἶη τὸ πλήρωμα, ξυμβαλλόμενος τοῖς τρίβωσι καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις, οἷς προσεπούδαζον, καὶ ἰκέτευε προσδούναι οἱ τῆς τοῦ πλοῦτος κοινωνίας ἐρῶντι σοφίας, ὃ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος, "σώφρων," ἔφη, "ὅ νεανίσκος, ὃ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄξιούσθω ὅν δεῖται," καὶ διήλθε τὸν περὶ τῆς μητρυίας λόγον πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγυς τῶν ἔταιρων ὑφειμένῳ τῷ τόνῳ, προσπλέοντος τοῦ μειρακίου ἔτι. ὡς δὲ ξυνήσαν αἱ νῆσες, μεταβὰς ὁ Τιμασίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην εἰπὼν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φόρτου, προσεῖπε τοὺς ἄνδρας. κελεύσας δὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ηὔσατι, "μειράκιον," ἔφη, "Ἀιγύπτιοι, 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 ἐοικας γὰρ τῶν ἑπιχωρίων εἶναι τις, τί σοι φαύλον ἢ τί χρηστὸν εἰργασταί, λέξου, ὡς τῶν μὲν λύσις παρ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτο σοι δὲ ἡλικίαν, τῶν δ' αὖ ἐπαινεθείς ἐμοὶ τε ξυμφιλοσοφοίης καὶ τοίσδε." ὅρων δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ἐρυθριώντα καὶ μεταβάλλοντα τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ λέξαι τι ἡ μή, θαμὰ ἤρειδε τὴν ἔρωτησιν, ὥσπερ οὐδεμᾶ προγνώσει ἐς αὐτὸν κεχρημένος, ἀναθαρσήσας δὲ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ὁ θεός," ἐφη, "τίνα ἐμαυτὸν εἶπω; κακὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰμί, ἀγαθὸν δὲ εἰ χρή νομίζῃσθαί με, οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἠδικεῖν οὕτω ἐπαινεῖνος." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "βαβαί," ἐφη, "μειράκιον, ὡς ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν μοι διαλέγη, ταυτὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰάρχα δοκεῖ τῷ θείῳ. ἄλλ' εἰπὲ ὅπως ταῦτα δοξάζεις, καῖξ ὅστον; φυλαξάμενος γὰρ τι ἀμαρτεῖν ἐοικας." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρξαμένου λέγειν, ὡς ἡ μητριαὶ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῶν φέροιτο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐρώση ἐκσταῖθη, βοὴ ἐγένετο, ὡς δαιμονίως αὐτὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου προεπόντος, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Τιμασίων, "ὁ λάθοςτοι," ἐφη, "τί πεπόνθατε; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχει τὰ εἰρημένα θαύματος, ὡς, οἷμαι, γέλωτος." καὶ ὁ Δάμως, "ἐτερόν τι," ἐφη, "ἐθαυμάσαμεν, ὁ μήπω γυγνόσκεις, καὶ σὲ δὲ, μειράκιον, ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὡτι μηδὲν οἴει 10
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
ΚΑΠ. λαμπρὸν εἰργάσθαι." "'Αφροδίτη δὲ θύεις, ὁ μειράκιον;" ἦρετο ὁ 'Απολλώνιος, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "νὴ Δί", εἶπεν, "ὁσιμέραι γε, πολλὴν γὰρ ἤγουμαι τὴν θεὸν ἐν ἄνθρωπείς τε καὶ θείοις πράγμασιν." ὑπερησθεὶς οὖν ὁ 'Απολλώνιος, "ψηφισώμεθα," ἔφη, "ὁ ἀνδρὲς, ἐστεφανώθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ πρὸ Ἰππολύτου τοῦ Θησέως, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐσ τὴν 'Αφροδίτην ὑβρίσε, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἵσως οὐδὲ ἀφροδισίων ἤττητο, οὐδὲ ἔρως ἐπὶ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐκώμαζεν, ἀλλὰ ἦν τῆς ἀγροικοτέρας τε καὶ ἀτέγκτου μοίρας, οὐτοσὶ δὲ ἦττάσθαι τῆς θεοῦ φάσκων, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἔρωταν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπήλθεν αὐτὴν δείσας τὴν θεὸν, εἰ τὸ κακῶς ἔρασθαι μὴ φυλάξοιτο, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ διαβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς ὀντιναδὴ τῶν θεῶν, ὡσπερ πρὸς τὴν 'Αφροδίτην ὁ Ἰππόλυτος, οὖς ἀξίωσεν σωφροσύνης, σωφρονέστερον γὰρ τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὐ λέγεις καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθηνησιων, οὐ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἰδρυνεῖς." τοσαῦτα ἐσ τοῦ Τιμασίωνα αὐτῷ ἐσπουδάσθη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ Ἰππόλυτον γε ἐκάλει αὐτὸν διὰ τούς ὀφθαλμοὺς, οἷς τὴν μητρικὰν εἶδεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπεμεληθῆναι καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἐπαφροδίτως ἀψασθαι.

IV

ΚΑΠ. ὑγεμόνι παρελθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Μέμνους. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Μέμνους τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμις. Ὁνὶς 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
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CAP. IV. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀφικέσθαι ἐστὶ Τροίαι, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ τελευτήσας βασιλεύσαντα Αἰθιόπων γενεάς πέντε. οἳ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ μακροβιώτατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν, ὀλοφύρονται τὸν Μέμνονα ὡς κομιδὴ νέον καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ἀώρφο κλαίουσι, τὸ δὲ χωρίου, ἐν δὲ ἱδρυται, φασὶ μὲν προσεοικεῖναι ἀγορᾶ ἄρχαια, οἵα τῶν ἁγορῶν ἐν πόλεσι ποτε οἰκηθεῖσαι λειτουταί, στηλῶν παρεχόμεναι τρύφη καὶ τειχῶν ἵχνη καὶ θάκους καὶ φλιᾶς ἐρμῶν τε ἁγάλματα, τὰ μὲν ύπὸ χειρῶν διεφθορότα, τὰ δὲ ύπὸ χρῶνον. τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα τετράφθαι πρὸς ἀκτίνα μῆπο γενειάσκου, λίθου δὲ εἶναι μέλανος, ξυμβεβηκέναι δὲ τὸ πῶδε ἄμφω κατὰ τὴν ἁγαλμοτοποιίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαίδαλον, καὶ τὰς χείρας ἀπερείδειν ὀρθὰς ἐς τὸν θάκον, καθήσθαι γὰρ ἐν ὀρμῇ τοῦ ὑπανίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τούτῳ καὶ τὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν καὶ ὀπόσα τοῦ στόματος ὡς φθεγξομένου ἄδουσι, τὸν μὲν ἄλλουν χρόνου ἦττον θαυμάσαι φασίν, οὕτω γὰρ ἐνεργὰ φαίνεσθαι, προσβαλοῦσης δὲ τὸ ἀγαλμα τῆς ἀκτίνος, τούτι δὲ γίγνεσθαι περὶ ἕλιου ἐπιτολάς, μὴ κατασχεῖν τὸ θαύμα, φθεγξασθαὶ μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμα τῆς ἀκτίνος ἐλθοῦσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στόμα, φαιδροὺς δὲ ἰστάναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δόξαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς, οἷα τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ εὐήλιοι. τότε ξυνεῖναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ.
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. dòkei ὑπανιστασθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τὸ κρεῖττον ὅρθοὶ θεραπεύοντες. θύσαντες οὖν Ἡλίῳ τε Αἰθίοπι καὶ Ἡφώ Μέμνονι, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐφραζὼν οἱ ιερεῖς, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴθειν τε καὶ θάλπειν, τὸν δὲ ἄπο τῆς μυτρὸς ἐπονομάζοντες, ἑπορεύοντο ἐπὶ καμήλων ἑσ τὰ τῶν Γυμνῶν ἡθη.

V

CAP. Ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐντυχόντες ἐσταλμένῳ τρόπου, ὄντερ οἱ Μεμφῖται, καὶ ἀλύοντι μᾶλλον ἡ ξυντείνοντι ἤροντο οἱ πέρι τὸν Δάμων, ὡστε εὔη καὶ δι᾿ ὃ τι πλανάτο, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ἐμοῦ," ἐφή, "πυνθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μή τούτου, οὔτος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴποι πρὸς ἰμάς τὸ ἐαυτοῦ πάθος αἰδοῖ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ἢ κέχρηται, ἐγώ δὲ, γυγνώσκω γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἔλεω, λέξω τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντα· ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ Μεμφίτην τινὰ ἀκών, κελεύοντι δ᾿ οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν νόμοι τὸν φεύγοντα ἐπὶ ἀκούοις, δεὶ δὲ φεύγειν, ἐπὶ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς εἶναι, κἂν ἐκκήνησαν τοῦ φόνου, χωρεῖν ἥδη καθαρὸν ἡθη, βαδισάντα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πεφονευμένου σήμα καὶ σφάξαντα τι ἐκεῖν οὐ μέγα. τὸν δὲ χρόνον, δυν οὕτω τοῖς Γυμνοῖς ἐνέτυχεν, ἀλάσθαι χρῆ περὶ ταυτὶ τὰ ὀρια, ἐστι γὰρ αἰδέσωνται αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ
powers above standing erect. They accordingly offered a sacrifice to the Sun of Ethiopia and to Memnon of the Dawn, for this the priests recommended them to do, explaining that the one name was derived from the words signifying “to burn and be warm,” and the other from his mother. Having done this they set out upon camels for the home of the naked philosophers.

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

1 Aithô = I burn: Aithiôps = an Aethiop.
upon him as if he were a suppliant.” Apollonius CHAP. therefore put the question to Timasion: “What do the naked philosophers think of this particular exile?” And he answered: “I do not know anything more than that this is the seventh month that he has remained here as a suppliant, and that he has not yet obtained redemption.” Said Apollonius: “You don’t call men wise, who refuse to purify him, and are not aware that Philiscus whom he slew was a descendant of Thamus the Egyptian, who long ago laid waste the country of these naked philosophers.” Thereat Timasion said in surprise: “What do you mean?” “I mean,” said the other, “my good youth, what was actually the fact; for this Thamus once on a time was intriguing against the inhabitants of Memphis, and these philosophers detected his plot and prevented him; and he having failed in his enterprise retaliated by laying waste all the land upon which they live, for by his brigandage he tyrannised the country round Memphis. I perceive that Philiscus whom this man slew was the thirteenth in descent from this Thamus, and was obviously an object of execration to those whose country the latter so thoroughly ravaged at the time in question. Where then is their wisdom? Here is a man that they ought to crown, even if he had slain the other intentionally; and yet they refuse to purge him of a murder which he committed involuntarily on their behalf.” The youth then was astounded and said: “Stranger, who are you?” And Apollonius replied: “He whom you shall find among these naked philosophers. But as it is not allowed me by my religion to address one who
μειράκιον, θαρρεῖν, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ καθαρεύσοντα, εἴ βαδίσεις ὑν ἑκαταλώ. ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐπιδράσας ὦσα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὑπὲρ καθαρόσιων νομίζονσιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς ἡθη στείχειν ὡς καθαρὸν ἢδη τῆς αἰτίας.

VI

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελάσαντες ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντος, ἀφικοντο πρὸ μεσημβρίας ἐς τὸ τῶν Γυμνῶν φροντιστήριον. τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς τούτους οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐπὶ τίνος λόφου, φασί, ἔμμετρον μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁχθῆς τοῦ Νείλου, σοφία δὲ Ἰνδῶν λεύτεραι πλέον ἢ προύχειν Αἰγυπτίων, γυμνοὺς δὲ ἐστάλθαι κατὰ ταύτα τοὺς εἰληθεροῦσιν Ἀθήνησι. δένδρα δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὅλιγα καὶ τι ἄλογος οὐ μέγα, ἐς δὲ ξυνίασων ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, ἱερὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ταύταν, ὅσπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν, ἄλλο δὲ ἄλλη τοῦ γηλόφου ἴδρυται σπουδὴς ἀξιούμενη, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων λόγοι. θεραπεύουσι δὲ Νείλου μάλιστα, τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν τούτον ἤγονυται γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ. καλύβης μὲν οὖν ἡ οἰκίας οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ δέονται, ξωτες ὑπαίθριοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ συρανῷ αὐτῷ, καταγωγὴν δὲ ἀποχρῶσαν τοῦς ξένους ἐδείμαντο, στοὰν οὐ μεγάλην, ἵσομήκης ταῖς Ἡλείων, ὅφεις ο ἀθλητής περιμένει τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κήρυγμα.

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

VI

Thence they rode out at sunrise, and arrived before midday at the academy of the naked sages, who dwell, they relate, upon a moderate-sized hill a little way from the bank of the Nile; and in point of wisdom they fall short of the Indians rather more than they excel the Egyptians. And they wear next to no clothes in the same way as people do at Athens in the heat of summer. And in their district there are few trees, and a certain grove of no great size to which they resort when they meet for the transaction of common affairs; but they do not build their shrines in one and the same place, as Indian shrines are built, but one is in one part of the hill and another in another, all worthy of observation, according to the accounts of the Egyptians. The Nile is the chief object of their worship, for they regard this river as land and water at once. They have no need, however, of hut or dwelling, because they live in the open air directly under the heaven itself, but they have built an hospice to accommodate strangers, and it is a portico of no great size, about equal in length to those of Elis, beneath which the athletes await the sound of the midday trumpet.
'Ενταῦθα τι ἀναγράφει Δάμις Εὐφράτου ἔργον, ἡγούμεθα δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ μειρακιώδες, ἀλλ’ ἀφιλοτιμότερον τοῦ φιλοσοφίας προσήκοντος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου θαμὰ ἦκοντε βουλομένου σοφίαν Ἰνδικήν ἄντικρίναι Αἰγυπτία, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Θρασύβουλον τὸν ἐκ Ναυκράτιδος ύπὲρ διαβολῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὁ δὲ ἦκειν μὲν ύπὲρ ξυνουσίας, ἐφε, τῆς πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν Τυναέα, τούτῳ δὲ ἐκείνοις ἁγώνα ἔχειν οὐ σμικρόν, φρονεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ύπὲρ τοὺς Ἰνδῶν σοφοὺς, οὕς ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ αἰτρεῖ, μυρίας δὲ ἐλέγξεις ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς συνεσκεύασθαι, ξυγχωρεῖν τε οὔτε ἥλιος οὐδὲν οὔτε οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ, κινεῖν γὰρ καὶ ὄχειν αὐτὸς ταύτα καὶ μετατάττειν οἱ Βούλεται.

Τοιαύτα ὁ Ναυκράτιτις ξυνθεὶς ἀπήλθεν, οἱ δ’ ἀληθῆ ταύτα ἡγούμενοι τὴν μὲν ξυνουσίαν οὐ παρηγούντο ἡκοντος, ύπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ σπουδάζειν ἐπιλάττοντο καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνοις εἰναι, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ κάκεινω ἐς λόγους, ἢν σχολὴν ἂγοςι μάθοσι τε, ὦ τι βούλεται καὶ ὅτου ἐρῶν ἦκεν. ἐκεῖ-
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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VIII λεγε δε' ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἢκων καὶ καταλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ σταῖ, ὁ δὲ Ἄπολλώνιος, "ὑπὲρ μὲν στέγης," ἔφη, "μηδὲν διαλέγου, ξυγχωρεὶ γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ἐνταῦθα γυμνοῖς ξῆν," διαβάλλων αὐτοὺς ὡς ὁ καρτερία γυμνοὺς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, "ὁ τι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὠτον ἢκω τοὺς μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω οὕτω γηγυώσκοντας, Ἰνδοὶ δὲ με οὖκ ἣροντο ταῦτα."

IX

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

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

CHAP. IX

achieved nothing remarkable in philosophy, and they received him with open arms merely because he said he was a disciple of Euphrates." Then Damis cried: "What's that you say, my boy? Then you saw Thrasybulus of Naucratis in this academy of theirs?"
"Yes, and what's more," answered the other, "I conveyed him hence, when he went down the river, in my own boat." "Now I have it, by Athene," cried Damis, in a loud tone of indignation. "I warrant he has played us some dirty trick." Timasion then replied: "Your master, when I asked him yesterday who he was, would not answer me at once, but kept his name a secret; but do you, unless this is a mystery, tell me who he is, for then I could probably help you to find what you seek." And when he heard from Damis, that it was the sage of Tyana, "You have put the matter," he said, "in a nutshell. For Thrasybulus, as he descended the Nile with me, in answer to my question, what he had gone up there for, explained to me that his love of wisdom was not genuine, and said that he had filled these naked sages here with suspicion of Apollonius, to the end that whenever he came here they might flout him; and what his quarrel is with him I know not, but anyhow, it is, I think, worthy of a woman or of a vulgar person to backbite him as he has done. But I will address myself to these people and ascertain their real disposition; for they are friendly to me." And about eventide Timasion returned, though without telling Apollonius any more than that he had interchanged words with them; however he told Damis in private that they meant to come the next morning primed with all that they had heard from Thrasybulus.
Τὴν μὲν δὴ ἐσπέραν ἐκείνην μέτρια τε καὶ οὔκ ἀξία τοῦ ἀναγράψαι σπουδάσαντες, ἐκοιμήθησαν οὖ ἑδείπνησαν, ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, θεραπεύσας τὸν Ἡλιον ἐφειστήκει τινὶ γυναῖκι, προσδραμὼν δὲ αὐτῷ Νεῖλον, ὥσπερ ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Γυμνῶν, „ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη, “παρὰ σὲ ἦκομεν.” „εἰκότως,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, „καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐνταῦθα.” καὶ εἴπον ταῦτα εἶπετο τῷ Νείλῳ. προσεπων οὖν καὶ προσρηθεῖσας, ἐξυπνοῦσον δὲ ἄλληλοις περὶ τὴν στοάν, „ποῦ,” ἔφη, „ἐγω-σῶμεθα;” „ἐνταῦθα,” ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίων δεῖξας τὸ ἄλσος. ὁ δὲ Θεσπεσίων πρεσβύτατος ἦν τῶν Γυμνῶν, καὶ ἤγειτο μὲν αὐτὸς πᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ, ὥσπερ Ἐλλανοδίκαι τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ, εἴποντο κοσμῖω ἀμα καὶ σχολαῖοι βαδίσματι. ἔπει δὲ ἐκάθισαν, ὡς ἐτυχε, τούτι γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν κόσμῳ ἔδρων, ἐς τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα εἰδον πάντοι oι oν ἐστιάτορα τοῦ λόγου, ὁ δὲ ἡρξατο ἐνθεῦνε· „τὴν Πυθώ καὶ τὴν Ἐλυμπίαν ἐπεσκέφθαι σὲ φασών, ᾿Απολλώνιε, τούτι γὰρ ἀπήγγειλεν ἐνταῦθα καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Φάριος, ἐντευχηκέναι σοι φάσκων ἔκει, καὶ τὴν μὲν Πυθώ τοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἥκοντας αὔλῳ τε παρα-πέμπτεν καὶ φῶδαις καὶ ψάλσει, κωμῳδίας τε καὶ 28
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 Thespasion, pointing to the grove. Now Thespasion 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 Thespasion 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..."
τραγῳδίας ἀξιούν, εἴτε τὴν ἀγωνίαν παρέχειν τὴν γυμνὴν ὡς τοῦτον, τὴν δὲ Ὁλυμπίαν τὰ μὲν τοιαύτα ἑξελεῖν ὡς ἀνάρμοστα καὶ οὔ χρηστὰ ἐκεῖ, παρέχεσθαι δὲ τοῦς ἐς αὐτὴν ἱοῦσιν ἄθλητὰς γυμνοὺς, Ἡρακλέους ταῦτα ἐνθυτέντος τούτῳ ἤγοι παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὅσπερ ἐς τὴν Πυθῶ καλοῦντες, ποικίλαις δημαγωγούσιν ἤγειτον ἢ μεῖς δὲ, ὅσπερ ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ, γυμνοὶ. οὐχ ὑποστρώνυσιν ἡ γῆ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα, οὐδὲ γάλα ὅσπερ βάκχαις ἢ οἶνον δίδωσιν, οὐδὲ μετεώρους ἡμᾶς ὁ ἄρη φέρει, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ὑπε- στορεσμένοι τὴν γῆν, κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς χαίρουσα διδοῦ ἀυτὰ καὶ μὴ βασανίζοντο ἀκουσά. ὅτι δ' οὖν ἄδυνατούμεν σοφίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ νᾶ, ἔφη, "δένδρον," πτελέα δὲ ἦν, τριτον ἄπτ' ἐκεῖνον, ὕφ' ὁ διελέγοντο, "πρόσευπτο τὸν σοφὸν Ἀπολλώνιον," καὶ προσεῖπε μὲν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐκελεύσθη, τὸ δένδρον, ἡ φωνὴ δὲ ἦν ἔναρθρὸς τε καὶ θῆλυς. ἀπεσήμαινε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνδῶν ταῦτα, μεταστήσεις ἡγούμενος τὸν Ἀπολλώ- νιον τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δόξης, ἐπειδὴ διῆκεν ἐς πάντας λόγους τε Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἔργα.

Προσετίθει δὲ κάκεινα, ὡς ἀπόχρη τῷ σοφῷ βρώσεως τε καθαρῷ εἶναι, ὑπὸσθ' ἐμπνοὺς, ἱμέρου τε, ὅς φοιτᾷ δι' ὁμμάτων, φθόνον τε, ὅς 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
"σκέψαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλων," εἶπε, "τὸν Δελφικὸν, δέ τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ προρρήσει λογίων ἔχειν ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν, ὅσ ποὺ καὶ αὐτὸς γνωσθεὶς, ο μὲν τῆς ὁμφῆς δεόμενος ἐρωτᾶ βραχὺ ἐρώτημα, ο δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὐδὲν τερατευσάμενος λέγει, ὅπόσα οἴδε. καὶ τοιρρίδιον γε ἂν αὐτῷ σεῖσαι μὲν τὸν Παρνασῶν πάντα, τὴν Κασταλίαν δὲ οὐνοχόησαι μεταβαλῶν τὰς πηγὰς, Κηφισῶ δὲ μὴ ἔναγχωρήσαι ποταμῷ εἶναι, ο δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπικομπάσας ἀναφαίνει τιληθῆς αὐτῷ. ἡγώμεθα δὲ μηδὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντα λαμπρὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐκόμισε αὐτῷ φοιτάν, μηδὲ τῷ νεῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλων χαίρειν, εἰ καὶ διπλάσιος ἕποφανθεὶς τοῦ νῦν ὄντος. θύησε γὰρ προτὲ καὶ λυτὴν στέγην ὁ θεὸς οὗτος, καὶ καλύβη αὐτῷ ξυνεπιλάσθη μικρά, ἐς ἂν ξυμβαλέσθαι λέγονται μέλιτται μὲν κηρόν, πτερὰ δὲ ὅρνυθες. εὐτέλεια γὰρ διδάσκαλος μὲν σοφίας, διδάσκαλος δὲ ἄλληθείας, ἢν ἐπαυνῶ σοφὸς ἀπεχθῇ δόξεις ἐκλαθόμενος τῶν παρ' Ἰνδωίῳ μύθων. τὸ γὰρ πρᾶττε ἢ μὴ πρᾶττε, ἢ ὁδὸς ἢ ὄκον ὁδᾶ, ἢ τὸ δείνα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δείνα, τί δεῖται κτύπου; τί δὲ τού βροτάν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ἐμβεβροτὴσθαι;

Εἶδος ἐν ξωγραφίας λόγοις καὶ τὸν τοῦ Προδίκου Ἡρακλέα, ὡς ἔφηβος μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὕτω δὲ ἐν αἱρέσει τοῦ βίου, κακία δ' αὐτῶν

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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
Καὶ ἀρετὴ διαλαμβανόμει παρὰ σφάς ἄγονσιν, ἢ μὲν χρυσῷ τε κατεσκευασμένη καὶ ὀρμοῖς, ἐσθητί τε ἀλιπορφύρῳ καὶ παρείας ἀνθεῖ καὶ χάρης ἀναπλοκαίς καὶ γραφαῖς ὦμμάτων, ἢστι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ χρυσοῦν πέδιλον, γέγραπται γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ ἐνσοβοῦσα. ἢ δὲ αὐτῇ πεποιηκὼς μὲν προσφερής, τραχὺ δὲ ὀρῶσα, τὸν δὲ αὐχμὸν πεποιημένη κόσμημα καὶ ἀνυπόδητος ἢ ἀρετὴ καὶ λυτὴ τὴν ἐσθήτα, καὶ γυμνὴ δὲ ἀν ἐφαινετο, εἰ μὴ ἐγίγνωσκέ το ἐν θηλείαις εὐσχήμων. ἤγοι δὴ καὶ σεαυτῶ, Ἀπολλώνιε, μέσον τῆς Ἰουδακῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας ἑστάναι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀκούουν λεγοῦσης, ὡς ὑποστρέφει σοι ἀνθῇ καθεύδοντι, καὶ, νῆ Δί, ὡς ποτεῖ γάλακτι καὶ ὡς κηρίως θρέψει, καὶ ὡς νέκταρ σοὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτής ἑσταὶ καὶ πτερά, ὄποτε βούλως, τρίπόδια τε ἐσκυκλήσει πινόντι καὶ χρυσοῦς ἃρόνους, καὶ πονήσεις οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' αὐτόματα σοι βαδιοίται πάντα, τῆς δὲ γε ἐτέρας, ὡς χαμενευέν μὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ προσήκει, γυμνῶν δὲ, ὡσπερ ἡμείς, μοχθοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, δὲ μὴ πονήσαστι σοι ἄφικετο, μήτε φίλον ἤγεισθαι μήτε ἢδυ, μηδὲ ἀλαξάνα εἶναι μηδὲ τύφου θηριτῆν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὄνειράτων ὄψεις, ὅποτε ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἄρουσιν. εἰ μὲν δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα αἰροῖο, καὶ δόξῃ ἀδαμαντίην χρύσῳ μὴ ἀτιμάξων ἀλήθειαν, μηδὲ τῆν κατὰ φύσιν εὐτέλειαν παρατούμενοι, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀρχίκεναι φύσεις λέοντας,
will lead; and vice and virtue stand on each side of him plucking his garments and trying to draw him to themselves. Vice is adorned with gold and necklaces and with purple raiment, and her cheeks are painted and her hair delicately plaited and her eyes underlined with henna; and she also wears golden slippers, for she is pictured strutting about in these; but virtue in the picture resembles a woman worn out with toil, with a pinched look; and she has chosen for her adornment rough squalor, and she goes without shoes and in the plainest of raiment, and she would have appeared naked if she had not too much regard for feminine decency. Now figure yourself, Apollonius, as standing between Indian wisdom on one side, and our own humble wisdom on the other; imagine that you hear the one telling you how she will strew flowers under you when you lie down to sleep, yes, and by Heaven, how she will regale you upon milk and nourish you on honey-comb, and how she will supply you with nectar and wings, whenever you want them; and how she will wheel in tripods, whenever you drink, and golden thrones; and you shall have no hard work to do, but everything will be flung unsought into your lap. But the other discipline insists that you must lie on the bare ground in squalor, and be seen to toil naked like ourselves; and that you must not find dear or sweet anything which you have not won by hard work; and that you must not be boastful, nor hunt after vanities and pursue pride; and that you must be on your guard against all dreams and visions which lift you off the earth. If then you really make the choice of Hercules, and steel your will resolutely neither to dishonour truth, nor to decline the simplicity of nature, then you may say
CAP. eἰ μῆτῷ ἡρμένεοις ἐνέτυχον. ὅτι δὲ ὅμως τηλικῶς καὶ σοφίας ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἀφιγμένοις, οὐκ ὁκνὴσω λογιστὰς ὑμῖν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ βουλῆς χρήσασθαι διδάσκων, ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰλόμην ταῦτα, ὅτι μήπω βελτίω ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθέ μοι. κατιδὼν γὰρ τι ἐν Πυθα-γόρου μέγα καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀρρήτου μὴ μόνον γνωστῶν εὐαυτόν, ὅστις εἶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις γένοιτο, βωμὸν τε ὡς καθαρός ᾿ησαίο καὶ ὡς ᾿ήραντη μὲν ἐμψύχου βρώσεως γαστρὸν χρῆσαι, καθαρῷ δὲ σώματι πάντων ἐσθημάτων, ὅποσα θυσιεῖσθων ἔσχεται, γλυῦτταν τε ὡς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ξυνέσχε βοῦν ἐπʼ αὐτῇ σιωπῆς εὑρὼν δόγμα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ὅσ χρησμώδη καὶ ἀληθῆ κατεστήσατο, ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου δόξας, οὐ μίαν σοφίαν ἔκ δυοῖν ἔλομενοι, ὡς σὺ, βέλτιστος Θεσπεσίων, ξυμβουλεύεις, παραστήσασα γὰρ μοι φιλοσοφία τὰς ἐαυτῆς δόξας, ὅποσα εἰσὶ, περι- βαλοῦσά τε αὐταῖς κόσμου, ὅς ἐκάστη οἰκείος, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτὰς βλέπειν καὶ ὑγίεις ἀἱρεῖσθαι· ὃρα μὲν οὖν σεμνὴ τε ἀπασῶν ἦν καὶ θεία, καὶ κατέμυσεν ἃν τις πρὸς ἐνίας αὐτῶν ὕπʼ ἐκπλήξεως, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰστήκη τὸ ὅμμα ἐς πάσας, καὶ γὰρ με καὶ παρεδώρρυνον αὐταὶ προσαγόμεναι τε καὶ προκηρύττουσαι, ὅποσα δύσσουσιν ἐπεὶ δύ μὲν τις αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μοχθῆσαντι πολὺν ἐπαντλήσειν ἔφασεν ἡδονῶν ἐσμόν, ἡ δ’ αὐ μοχθῆσαντα ἢνα-
Ταύτα εἰπόντος ἐστράφησαν ἐς τόν Ἀπολλώνιον πάντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἀντιλέξοι γιγνώσκοντες, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα θαυμάζοντες, ὁ τι ἀντερεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐπαινέσας αὐτόν τῆς εὑροίας καὶ τοῦ τόνου, "μή τι," ἔφη, "προστίθης;" "μα Δί," εἶπεν, "εὐρηκα γάρ." τοῦ δ' αὐ ἐρομένου, "μὴ τῶν ἄλλων τις Αἰγυπτίων;" "πάντων," ἔφη, "δ' ἐμοῦ ἡκουσας." ἐπισχῶν οὖν ὄλγον καὶ τούς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας ἐς τὰ εἰρημένα συντωσὶ ἐλέξεν· "ἡ μὲν Ἡρακλέους αἰρέσις, ἢν φησι Πρόδικος ἐν ἐφήβῳ ἐλέσθαι αὐτόν, ὕγιώς τε ὑμῖν λέλεκται καὶ κατὰ τὸν φιλοσοφίας νοῦν, ὁ σοφὸς Αἰγυπτίων, προσήκει δὲ μοι οὐδὲν οὔτε γάρ ἔμμβολος ὑμᾶς βίου ποιησόμενος ἢκω, πάλαι γε ἡρημένος τὸν ἐμαυτῷ δόξαντα, πρεσβύτατος τε ὑμῶν πλὴν Θεσπεσίουνος ἀφιγμένος αὐτός ἂν μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἔμμβολευον ὑμῶν σοφίας αἰρέσιν,
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that you have overcome many lions and have cut off the heads of many hydras 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 Thespesion's friends wondered what he could say in answer. But he, after praising the fluency and vigour of the Egyptian, merely said: "Have you anything more to say?" "No, by Zeus," said the other, "for I have said all I have to say." Then he asked afresh: "And has not any one of the rest of the Egyptians anything to say?" "I am their spokesman," answered his antagonist, "and you have heard them all." Apollonius accordingly paused for a minute and then, fixing his eyes, as it were, on the discourse he had heard, he spoke as follows: "You have very well described and in a sound philosophic spirit the choice which Prodicus declares Hercules to have made as a young man; but, ye wise men of the Egyptians, it does not apply in the least to myself. For I am not come here to ask your advice about how to live, insomuch as I long ago made choice of the life which seemed best to myself; and as I am older than any of you, except Thespesion, I myself am better qualified, now I have got here, to advise you how to choose wisdom, if I did

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not find that you had already made the choice. 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 Thespesion, advise me to do. For philosophy marshalled before me her various points of view, investing them with the adornment proper to each, and she commanded me to look upon them and make a sound choice. Now they were all possessed of an august and divine beauty; and some of them were of such dazzling brightness that you might well have closed your eyes. However I fixed my eyes firmly upon all of them, for they themselves encouraged me to do so by moving towards me, and telling me beforehand how much they would give me. Well, one of them professed that she would shower upon me a swarm of pleasures without any toil on my part; and another
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI

παύσεων, ἡ δ’ ἐγκαταμίξεων εὐφροσύνας τῷ μόχθρῳ, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἡδονᾶν διεφαίνουντο, καὶ ἀνετοὶ μὲν ἵναι γαστρός, ἐτοίμη δὲ χείρ ἐσ πλοῦτον, χαλινὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς ὄμματων, ἀλλ’ ἐρωτές τε καὶ ἠμέραι καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα πάθη ξυνεχωρεῖτο, μία δὲ αὐτῶν ἰσχεῖν μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκόμπαξε, θρασεία δὲ ἦν καὶ φιλολοίδορος καὶ ἀπηγκωνισμένη πάντα· εἶδον σοφίας εἶδος ἄρρητον, οὐ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ποτὲ ἡττήθη, καὶ εἰστήκει δὲ ἁρὰ οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀπετέκτακτο αὐτῶν καὶ εἰσιώτα, ἐμνείσα δέ, ὅσ ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις οὐ ξυντίθεμαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνης οὕτω οἶδα, “μειράκιον,” εἶπεν, “ἀνθής ἐγὼ καὶ μεστὴ πόνων” εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό τις ἐς ἦθη τὰ ἐμά, τράπεζαν μὲν, ὀπόσῃ ἐμφύχω, ἀνηρῆσθαι πᾶσαν ἄν ἔλοιπο, οὐν οὖν δὲ ἐκλελησθαί καὶ τὸν σοφίας μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν κρατήρα, ὅταν ταῖς ἀδινοῖς ψυχαῖς ἐστικεν, οὐδὲ χαλαῖνα θάλψει αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ἔριον, δὰπ’ ἐμψύχου ἐπέχθη, ὑπόδημα δὲ αὐτῶν βύβλου δίδωμι καὶ καθεύδειν ὡς ἔτυχε, καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἡττηθέντας αἰσθομαῖ, βάραθρα ἔστι μοι, καθ’ ὅν σοφίας ὁπαδὸς δίκη φέρει τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅθει, χαλεπὴ δ’ οὕτως ἐγὼ τοῖς τάμας αἰρουμένοις, ὡς καὶ δεσμὰ γυλώτης ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. ἀ δ’ ἐστὶ σοι καρτερήσαντι ταῦτα, ἔμοι μάθε· σωφροσύνη μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνη αὐτόθεν, ξηλωτόν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι.
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 Pythagoras; and she stood, I may tell you, not among the many, but kept herself apart and in silence; and when she saw that I ranged not myself with the rest, though as yet I knew not what were her wares, she said: 'Young man, I am unplesaing 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 precipices to which justice that waits upon wisdom carries them and pushes them over; and I am so harsh to those who make choice of my discipline that I have bits ready to restrain their tongues. But learn from me what rewards you shall reap by enduring all this; Temperance and justice unsought and
CAP. XI. μηδένα, τυράννους τε φοβερὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι, θεοῖς τε ἢδίω φαίνεσθαι μικρὰ θύσαισιν ἢ ὁι προχέοντες αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν ταύρων αἴμα, καθαρὰ δὲ ὅτι σοι καὶ προγυνώσκειν δόσω, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτω τι ἐμπλήσω ἀκτῖνος, ὁς διαγυνώσκειν μὲν θεοῦ, γυνώσκειν δὲ ἡρώα, σκιοειδῆ δ’ ἐλέγχειν φαντάσματα, ὅτε ηεύδοιτο εἴδη ἀνθρώπων.” ἦδε μοι βίον αἵρεσις, ὃ σοφοῖς Αἰγυπτίων, ἢν ὑγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἐλόμενος οὔτε ἐφευσάμην οὔτε ἐφεύσηθην, ἐγενόμην μὲν γὰρ ἁ χρὴ τὸν φιλοσοφήσαντα, φιλοσοφοῦντες δὲ ὅπόσα δόσειν ἐφη, πάντ’ ἔχω. ἐφιλοσόφησα γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως τῆς τέχνης καὶ ὀπόθεν αὐτής ἀι ἄρχαί, καὶ μοι ἐδοξεῖν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι περιττών τὰ θεῖα ψυχῆς τε ἀριστα ἐσκευμένων, ὃς τὸ ἀθάνατον τε καὶ ἀγέννητον πηγαί γενέσεως.

Ἀθηναίοις μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνω προσήκων ἐφαίνετο μοι δέ ὁ λόγος, τὸν γὰρ Πλάτωνος λόγον, ὃν θεσπεσίως ἔκει καὶ πανσόφως ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀνεφθέγξατο, αὐτὸς διέβαλλον ἐναντίας ταύτης καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεὶς δόξας ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς προσέμενοι, ἔδει δὲ σκοπεῖν, τὸς μὲν εἰς πόλις, ποίων δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἔθνος, παρ’ οἷς οὐχ ὁ μὲν τοῖς, ὃ δὲ οὐ, πάσα δὲ ἡλικία ταύτων ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς φθέγγοιτο· καὶ γὰρ μὲν νεότητος τε οὕτως ἀγούσης καὶ τοῦ μῆπῳ ξυνιέναι πρὸς ύμᾶς ἔβλεψα, ἐπειδὴ πλείοστα ἔλε-
at once, and the faculty to regard no man with envy, and to be dreaded by tyrants rather than cringe to them, and to have your humble offerings appear sweeter to the gods than the offerings of those who pour out before them the blood of bulls. And when you are pure I will grant you the faculty of foreknowledge, and I will so fill your eyes with light, that you shall distinguish a god, and recognise a hero, and detect and put to shame the shadowy phantoms which disguise themselves in the form of men.' This was the life I chose, ye wise of the Egyptians; it was a sound choice and in the spirit of Pythagoras, and in making it I neither deceived myself, nor was deceived; for I have become all that a philosopher should become, and all that she promised to bestow upon the philosopher, that is mine. For I have studied profoundly the problem of the rise of the art and whence it draws its first principles; and I have realised that it belongs to men of transcendent religious gifts, who have thoroughly investigated the nature of the soul, the well-springs of whose existence lie back in the immortal and in the unbegotten.

Now I agree that this doctrine was wholly alien to the Athenians; for when Plato in their city lifted up his voice and discoursed upon the soul, full of inspiration and wisdom, they cavilled against him and adopted opinions of the soul opposed thereto and altogether false. And one may well ask whether there is any city, or any race of men, where not one more and another less, but wherein men of all ages alike, will enunciate the same doctrine of the soul. And I myself, because my youth and inexperience so inclined me, began by looking up to
CAP. XI. γέσθε ὑπερφυώς εἰδέναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ διήνει ταύτα, ὅ δὲ ἐφιστάμε, "ἐι τῶν ἔρωτων," εἰπεν, "ἐτύγχανες ὃν ἣ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐχόντων τοῦ ἔραν, εἰτα μειρακίῳ καλῷ ἐντυχῶν καὶ ἀγασθεῖς αὐτῷ τῆς ὥρας, σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅτου εἶ ἰπαῖς ἐξῆτεις, ἢν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἱπποτρόφος καὶ στρατηγὸς πατρὸς καὶ χορηγοὶ οἱ πάπποι, σὺ δ' αὐτὸν τριηράρχου τινὸς ἡ φυλάρχου ἐκάλεις, ἀρά γ' ἂν οἴει προσάγεσθαι τὰ παιδικὰ τοῦτοι, ἢ κἂν ἀνθῆς δόξα τῇ πατρὸθεν ὄνομάξων τῷ μειράκιον, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐκφύλου σπορᾶς καὶ νόθου; σοφίας οὗν ἔρων, ἢν Ἰνδόλ εὔρων, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πατέρων ὄνομάξεις αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν θέσει, καὶ δίδως τι μείζων. Ἀἰγυπτίως, ἢ εἰ πάλιν αὐτοῖς, ὡς αὐτοῖ ἄδουσιν, μέλιτι ἔγινεκραμένος ἀναβαίη ὁ Νεῖλος;" ταύτα με πρὸ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς ἐτρεψεν ἐνθυμηθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς λεπτότεροι μὲν τὴν ξύνεσιν οἱ τοιοῦδε ἀνθρωποὶ καθαρωτέραις ὁμιλοῦντες ἀκτίσιν, ἀληθεστεροῖ δὲ τὰς περὶ φύσεώς τε καὶ θεῶν δόξας, ἀτε ἀγχύθεοι καὶ πρὸς ἄρχαίς τῆς ἡφαῖνον καὶ θερμής οὐσίας οἰκοῦντες ἐντυχῶν τε αὐτοῖς ἐπαθόν τι πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαι τῶν
yourselves, because you had the reputation of an extraordinary knowledge of most things; but when I explained my views to my own teacher, he interrupted me, and said as follows: 'Supposing you were in a passionate mood and being of an impressionable age were inclined to form a friendship; and suppose you met a handsome youth and admired his looks, and you asked whose son he was, and suppose he were the son of a knight or a general, and that his grand-parents had been furnishers of a chorus,—if then you dubbed him the child of some skipper or policeman, do you suppose that you would thereby be the more likely to captivate his affections, and that you would not rather make yourself odious to him by refusing to call him by his father's name, and giving him instead that of some ignoble and spurious parent? If then you were enamoured of the wisdom which the Indians discovered, would you call it not by the name which its natural parents bore, but by the name of its adoptive sires; and so confer upon the Egyptians a greater boon, than if that were to happen over again which their own poets relate, namely if the Nile on reaching its full were found to be with honey blent?' It was this which turned my steps to the Indians rather than to yourselves; for I reflected that they were more subtle in their understanding, because such men as they live in contact with a purer daylight, and entertain truer opinions of nature and of the gods, because they are near unto the latter, and live on the edge and confines of that thermal essence which quickens all unto life. And when I came among them, their message made the same im-
Ενδρῶν, ὁποίον λέγουται πρὸς τὴν Αἰσχύλου σοφίαν παθεῖν Ἀθηναίοις ποιητής μὲν γὰρ οὔτος τραγῳδίας ἐγένετο, τὴν τέχνην δὲ ὀρῶν ἀκατάσκευον τε καὶ μήπω κεκοσμημένην, εἰ μὲν ἔννεστειλε τοὺς χοροὺς ἀποτάδην ὄντας, ἦ τὰς τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἀντιλέξεις εὖρε, παραντησάμενος τὸ τῶν μουρδιῶν μῆκος, ἦ τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἀποθνήσκειν ἔπενόησεν, ὡς μὴ ἐν φανερῷ σφάττων, σοφίας μὲν μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀπηλλάχθω, δοκεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἐτέρῳ παρασχεῖν ἐννοιαν ἦττον δεξιῷ τὴν ποίησιν ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν ἐαυτὸν, ὡς ἐπάξιον τοῦ τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν φθέγγοιτο, ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὡς προσφυᾷ τῷ μεγαλεῖρῳ μᾶλλον ἦ τῷ καταβεβλημένῳ τε καὶ υπὸ πόδα, σκευοποιίας μὲν ἦπατο εἰκασμένης τοῖς τῶν ἡρώων εἰδεσιν, ὡς ὅρα αὐτὸς βαίνοιεν, ἐσθήμασί τε πρὸς ἐκόσμησεν, ἀ πρόσφορον ἦρωσί τε καὶ ἡρώουν ἱσθῆσθαι ὅθεν Ἀθηναίοι πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ἡγοῦντο, ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐς Διονύσια, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ἡγισαμένων ἀνεδιάσκετο καὶ ἐνίκα ἐκ καὶνής καίτοι τραγῳδίας μὲν εὐ κεκοσμημένης ὀλίγης χάρις, εὐφραῖνει γὰρ ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἱμέρας, ὡσπερ ἦ τῶν Διονυσίων ὀρα, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἐνγκειμένης
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, ὑποθειαξούσης δὲ, ὡς ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου Ἰνδοῖ, οὐκ ἐστὶ βραχὺν χρόνον ἢ χάρις, ἀλλὰ ἐστὶ ἀπειρόν τε καὶ ἁρίθμου πλείω. οὕτῳ δὴ ἀπεικόσ τι παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἦττηθείς εὑρίσκομεν ἡν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἰνδοὶ στειλαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκκυκλοῦσιν· ὡς δὲ ἐν δίκη μὲν ἡγίσθην αὐτούς, ἐν δίκης δὲ ἡγούμαι σοφοὺς τε καὶ μακάριοὺς, ὥρα μανθάνειν· εἴδον ἄνδρας οἰκούντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὕκ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων. εἰ δ' αἰνιγμάτων ἄπτομαι, σοφία Πυθαγόρου ξυνχαρεῖ ταῦτα, παρέδωκε γὰρ καὶ τὸ αἰνίττειν, διδάσκαλον εὐρόν σιωπῆς λόγον· σοφίας δὲ ταύτης ἐγένεσθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πυθαγόρας ξύμβουλοι χρόνον, δυ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἐπηνεύστε, Ἰνδοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πάλαι οὕτε· ἐπεὶ δ' αἴδοι τοῦ λόγου, δε' ὅπερ ἐκ μηνιμάτων τῆς γῆς ἀφίκεσθε δὲυρο, ἐτερου μᾶλλον ἐβούλεσθε δοκεῖν ἢ Ἀἰθίοπες οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἦκουντες, πάντα ύμῖν ἐς τούτο ἐδρατὸ. ὅθεν ἐγγυμνωθήτε μὲν σκευής, ὑπόσθη ἐκεῖθεν, ὡσπερ ξυναποδυόμενοι τὸ Ἀἰθίοπες εἶναι, θεοὺς δὲ θεραπεῦειν 48
the gratification of a philosophic system devised to meet the requirements of a Pythagoras, and also breathing the inspiration in which Pythagoras was anticipated by the Indians, lasts not for a brief time, but for an endless and incalculable period. It is then not unreasonable on my part, I think, to have devoted myself to a philosophy so highly elaborated, and to one which, to use a metaphor from the stage, the Indians mount, as it deserves to be mounted, upon a lofty and divine mechanism, and then wheel it forth upon the stage. And that I was right to admire them, and that I am right in considering them to be wise and blessed, it is now time to convince you. I beheld men dwelling upon the earth, and yet not upon it, I beheld them fortified without fortifications, I beheld them possessed of nothing, and yet possessed of all things. You will say that I have taken to riddles, but the wisdom of Pythagoras allows of this; for he taught us to speak in riddles, when he discovered that the word is the teacher of silence. And there was a time when you yourselves took counsel with Pythagoras, and were advocates of this same wisdom; that was in the time when you could say nothing too good of the Indian philosophy, for to begin with and of old you were Indians. Subsequently because your soil was wrath with you, you came hither; and then ashamed of the reasons owing to which you quitted it, you tried to get men to regard you as anything rather than Ethiopians who had come from India hither, and you took every pains to efface your past. This is why you stripped yourselves of the apparel in which you came thence, as if you were anxious to doff along with it your Ethiopian nationality. This is why you
α έψηφίσασθε τῶν Αιγύπτιον μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ύμετέρον τρόπον, ἐς λόγους τε οὗκ ἐπιτηδείους ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν κατέστητε, ὡσπερ οὗκ αὐτοὶ διαβεβλημένοι τῷ ἀφ' οὗν διαβεβλησθαί ήκειν· καὶ οὐδὲ μετερρύθμισθε πώς γε τούτῳ, οὗ καὶ τήμερον ἐπίδειξιν αὐτοῦ πεποίησθε φιλολογοῦντόν τε καὶ ἰαμβόδη, χρηστῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδεύειν Ἰνδοὺς φῶςκοιντες, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκπλήξεις καὶ ἀγωγάς, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν, τὰς δὲ οὕτων, σοφίαν δὲ οὕτω ἐμὴν εἰδότες ἀναισθητοῖς φαίνεσθε τῆς ἐπ' αὐτή δόξης, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μὲν λέξω οὐδὲν, εἴην γὰρ, ο μὲ Ἰνδοὶ ἠγοῦνται, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οὐ ξυνχωρῶ ἀπτεσθαί. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τις ὑγιῶς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔχει σοφία Ἰμεραίον ἀνδρός,1 ὃς ἄδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλένην ἐναντίον τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ παλινφειναν αὐτόν ἐκάλεσεν, οὗκ ἔστων ἔτυμος ὁ λόγος οὕτος ἤδη καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁρα λέγειν, ἀμέινοι τῆς νῦν παρεστηκυίας μεταλαβόντας περὶ αὐτῶν δόξαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἁμονσοὶ πρὸς παλινφειναν ύμεῖς, ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαί γε χρή ἀνδρῶν, οὖς ἄξιοντες θεον τῶν αὐτοῦς οὕτων οὐδὲ ἐαυτοὺς ἀπαξίοισιν ὃν ἐκεῖνοι πέπανται. διηλθές τινα, Θεσπεσίων, καὶ περὶ τῆς Πυθοῦς λόγου ὡς ἀπλῶς τε καὶ ἀκατασκεύας χρώσης, καὶ παράδειγμα ἐγενετό σοι τοῦ λόγου νεώς κηροῦ καὶ πτε-
have resolved to worship the gods in the Egyptian chap.
rather than in your own fashion, and why you have set yourselves to disseminate unflattering stories of the Indians, as if in maligning them you did not foul your own nest. And in this respect you have not yet altered your tone for the better; for only to-day you have given here an exhibition of your propensities for abuse and satire, pretending that the Indians are no better employed than in startling people and in pandering to their eyes and ears. And because as yet you are ignorant of my wisdom, you show yourself indifferent to the fame which crowns it. Well, in defence of myself I do not mean to say anything, for I am content to be what the Indians think me; but I will not allow them to be attacked. And if you are so sound and sane as to possess any tincture of the wisdom of the man of Himera, who composed in honour of Helen a poem which contradicted a former one and called it a palinode, it is high time for you also to use the words he used and say: 'This discourse of ours is not true,' so changing your opinion and adopting one better than you at present entertain about these people. But if you have not the wit to recant, you must at least spare men to whom the gods vouchsafe, as worthy of them, their own prerogatives, and whose possessions they do not disdain for themselves.

"You have also, 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
ΚΑΠ. ρῶν ξυντεθείς ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀκατάσκευα μὲν δοκεῖ οὐδὲ ταύτα, τὸ γὰρ

ξυμφέρετε πτερᾶ τ’ οἰωνοὶ κηρόν τε μέλιται κατασκευαζομένου ἤν οἶκον καὶ οἶκον σχῆμα, ὁ δ', οἷμαι, μικρὰ ταύτα ἡγούμενος καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἦττω, καὶ ἄλλου ἐδεήθη νεω καὶ ἄλλου καὶ μεγάλων ἥδη καὶ ἑκατομπέδων, ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσᾶς ἱνγιας ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχούσας πειθώ, ξυνελέξατο τε τὰ ἐνδοκιμώτατα τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐς τὴν Πυθῶ κόσμου ἐνεκα, καὶ οὔτ' ἀγαλματοποιών ἀπήλασεν ἀπάγονσαν αὐτῷ κολοσσοὺς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοὺς μὲν θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ ἱππῶν τε καὶ ταύρων καὶ ἐτέρων ζῴων, οὔτε Γλαυκὸν μετὰ τοῦ ὑποκρατηρίδιον ἥκοντα, οὔτε τὴν ἀλισκομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν. ἦν Πολυχρόντος ἐκεῖ γράφει. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν χρυσῶν γε τὸν Λύδιον καλλώπισμα τῆς Πυθοῦς ἤγειτο, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐσήγετο, ἐνδεικνύμενος, οἷμαι, αὐτοὺς τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πλοῦτον, ἢν γλύχουτο ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ διαπορθείν τὰ ἄλληλων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἐλλήνα τε καὶ προσφυὰ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφία τρόπον κατεσκευάζει καὶ ἑγιάζει τούτῳ τὴν Πυθῶ. ἡγούμαι δὲ αὐτῶν κόσμου ἐνεκα καὶ ἐς μέτρα ἐμβιβάζειν τοὺς χρησμοὺς. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τούτῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο, τοιάσθε ἂν τὰς

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even this was devoid of pomp, for we have the 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 ἔσμαι ἢ μὴ ποιοῦ, βραχέα γάρ που ταῦτα, ἢ, ὡς φατε ὑμεῖς, γυμνά, ὁ δὲ ἦνα μεγαλορρήμον τε φαίνοιτο καὶ ἦδιων τοῖς ἑρωτώσι, ποιητικὴν ἡμόσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοὶ εἶναι, ὁ τι μὴ οἴδεν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ψάμμον εἰδέναι1 φησίν, ὁπόση, ἀριθμήσας αὐτὴν, καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάτ-


1 The reference is to Herodotus, Book I. p. 11.
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
CAP. ἐν Κυκλωτίᾳ ἀκούων, ὡς ἡ γῆ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους ἀσπόρος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἐστιά, χαίρεις τῷ λόγῳ, κἂν Ἡδωνοί τινες ἢ Λυδοὶ βακχεύωσιν, οὖκ ἀπιστεῖς, ὡς γάλακτος αὐτοῖς καὶ οἴνον πηγὰς δώσει καὶ ποτεῖ τούτοις, τοὺς δὲ σοφίας ἀπάσης βάκχους ἀφαιρήσῃ δῶρα αὐτόματα παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἦκοντα; τρίποδες δὲ αὐτόματοι καὶ ἐς τὰ ξυμπόσια τῶν θεῶν φοιτῶσι, καὶ ὁ Ἀργη ἀμαθής περ ὅν καὶ ἔχθρος οὐπω τὸν Ἡφαιστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, οὕδ' ἔστων, ὡς ἦκουσάν ποτε οἱ θεοὶ τουιάτης γραφῆς· ἀδικεῖς, Ἡφαιστε, κοσμῶν τὸ ξυμπόσιον τῶν θεῶν καὶ περιστάς αὐτῷ θαύματα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δμώαις αὐτίαν ποτὲ ἔσχε ταῖς χρυσαίς, ὡς παραφθείρων τὰς ύλας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν χρυσὸν ἐμπνοῦν ἐποίει, κόσμου γὰρ ἐπιμελήσεται τέχνη πᾶσα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι τέχνας ὑπὲρ κόσμου εὔρηται. ἀνυποδήσια δὲ καὶ τρίβων καὶ πήραν ἀνήφθαι κόσμου εὐρήμα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ γυμνούσθαι, καθάπερ ύμεῖς, ἐσικε μὲν ἀκατασκεύα τε καὶ λιτῇ σχήματι, ἐπιτρήθευται δὲ ὑπὲρ κόσμου καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπεστών αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐτέρῳ φασί τύφῳ. τὰ δὲ Ἡλίου τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν πάτρια καὶ ὅτι χαίρει θεραπευόμενος ἐχέτω τῶν αὐτῶν νόμον, θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ χθόνιοι βόθρους ἀσπάσονται καὶ τὰ ἐν κοίλῃ τῆς γῆς δρόμενα, Ἡλίου δὲ
Homer about the Cyclopes, how their land, all unsown and unploughed, nourished the most fearless and most lawless of beings; and if it is some Edoni or Lydians who are conducting their bacchic revels, you are quite ready to believe that the earth will supply them with fountains of milk and wine, and give them to drink thereof; but you would deny to these Indians, lovers of all wisdom as enthusiastic as ever bacchants were, the unsought bounties which earth offers them. Moreover tripods, gifted with wills of their own, attend the banquets of the gods also; and Ares, ignorant and hostile as he was to Hephaestus, yet never accused him merely for making them; nor is it conceivable that the gods ever listened to such an indictment as this: ‘You commit an injustice, O Hephaestus, in adorning the banquet of the gods, and encompassing it with miracles.’ Nor was Hephaestus ever sued for constructing handmaids of gold, nor accused of debasing the metals because he made the gold to breathe. For every art is interested to adorn, and the very existence of the arts was a discovery made in behalf of ornament. Moreover a man who goes without shoes and wears a philosopher’s cloak and hangs a wallet on his back is a creature of ornament; nay, more even the nakedness which you affect, in spite of its rough and plain appearance, has for its object ornament and decoration, though here too there is not absent a certain element of what they call empty pride. We must judge by the same standard the religion of the Sun and the national rites of the Indians and any cult in which that god delights; for the subterranean gods will always prefer deep trenches and ceremonies conducted in the hollows of the earth, but the air is
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CAP. XI. ἀμὴν οὖχ ἤμα, καὶ δὲ τοὺς προσφόρως ἄσομένους αὐτῶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνεσθαί καὶ ξυμμετεωροπολεῖν τῷ θεῷ· τούτο δὲ βούλονται μὲν πάντες, δύνανται δὲ Ἰνδοὶ μόνοι.

XII

CAP. XII. Ἀναπνεῦσαι ὁ Δάμις ἐαυτόν φησιν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἢκουσεν ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιον λόγων ὑπὸ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὡς τὸν Θεοπεσίωνα μὲν καὶ τοῖς κέλαιμα ὑπὸ κατάδηλου εἶναι, ὅτι ἐρυθρίη, φαίνεσθαι δὲ τινα καὶ περὶ τοὺς λουτροὺς ἐκπληξίν ἔφε οἷς ἔρρωμένως τε καὶ ἔχουν εὐρολα διαλεγομένου ἢκουσαν, τὸν νεώτατον δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ὥς ὄνομα ἦν Νεῖλος, καὶ ἀνα- πνιὴςαί φησιν ὑπὸ θαύματος, μεταστάντα τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἤμβαλείν τε αὐτὸ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰς ἁνουσίας, αἰ̣ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, φράξειν. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολ- λώνιον, "σοι μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄν," φάναι, "βασκήναιμι ἐγὼ λόγου, φιληκῶς τε, ὡς ὦρω, τυγχάνοντι καὶ σοφίαν ἀσπαζομένου πᾶσαν," Θεοπεσίων δὲ καὶ εἰ τις ἑτερος λήφον τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἤγείται, μὴ ἀν ἐπαν- τλῆσαι τοὺς ἐκείθεν λόγους· ὅθεν ο Θεοπεσίων, "εἰ δὲ ἐμπορος," εἶπεν, "ἡ ναύκληρος ἦσθα καὶ τῶν ἦμιν ἄνηγες ἐκείθεν φόρτου, ἃ ἀν ἥξιος, ἐπειδὴ ἄπ' Ἰνδῶν οὐτος, ἢδοκίμαστον αὐτὸν διατι- θεσθαί καὶ μήτε γεύμα παρέχειν αὐτοῦ μήτε δεώμα;" ὑπολαβὸν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "παρει- χόμην ἄν," εἶπε, "τοῖς γε χρήξουσιν, εἰ δ ἦκων τις 58.
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. ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καταπεπλευκώνας ἀρτι τῆς νεώς, εἰλοιδόρετο τῷ φόρτῳ καὶ διέβαλλε μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἦκοντα ἐκ γῆς, ἥ μὴν δὲν ὅγιας φέρει, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπεπληττέν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων ἀγωγίμων πλευ-σαντοί, τούτο τε ἄλλους ἐπειθεν οὔτω φρονεῖν, ἀρ' ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τις καταπλεύσας ἔσ τοιούδε ὁμένα βαλέσθαι τινὰ ἄγκυραν ἥ πείσμα, ἀλλ' οὖχι μᾶλλον ἀνασείσας τὰ ἱστία μετεωρίσαι ἄν τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνέμοις ἐπιτρέψαις τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἤδιον γε ἡ ἀκρίτους τε καὶ ἄξενους ἤθεσιν;" "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος, "λαμβάνομαι τῶν πεισμάτων καὶ ἀντιβολῶ σε, ναύκληρε, κοινωνήσαι μοι τῆς ἐμπορίας, ἥν ἀγείς, καὶ ξυνεμβαίην ἄν σοι τὴν ναῦν περίνεως τε καὶ μνήμων τοῦ σοῦ φόρτου." 

XIII

CAP. Διαπαύσας δὲ ὁ Θεσπεσίων ξητῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, "χαίρω," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, ὅτι ἄχθη ὑπὲρ ἄν ἥκουσας καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἡμῖν ξυγγυγώσκοις ἀχθομένοις ὑπὲρ δὲν διέβαλες τὴν δεύο σοφίαν. οὔτε ἐς πείραν πω αὐτῆς ἀφιγμένος." ὁ δ' ἐκπλαγεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς βραχὺ τῷ μηδ' ἀκηκοέναι πω τὰ περὶ τὸν Ὄρασύβουλον τε καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ξυμβαλὼν δ', ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὸ γεγονός, "Ἰνδοὶ δὲ," εἶπεν, "ὁ Θεσπεσίων, οἷκ ἂν τοῦτο ἔπαθον, οὔτ' ἂν προσέσχον Εὐφράτη καθιέντι ταῦτα, σοφὸν γὰρ προγνώσκειν. ἕγω δὲ ἵδιον μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ πρὸς Εὐφράτην διηνέχθην οὐδέν, ὥσ
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

XIII

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

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ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ δὲ ἀπάγων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπαινεῖν τὸ ἔξ ἀπαντος κέρδος, οὐτ’ ἐπιτήδεια ἐμβουλεύειν ἐδοξάσθαι ὑπὲρ ἵνα ἐκεῖνος δυνατά, καὶ ἐλεγχεῖν δὲ ἥγεται ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀνίησιν ἀνεῖ τι κατ’ ἐμοὶ ἐυντιθέεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ πιθανὸς ὑμῖν ἐδοξάζει τούμων διαβάλλειν ἡθος, ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὡς προτέρους ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ διέβαλεν ἐμοὶ γὰρ κινδύνους μὲν καὶ περὶ τῶν διαβεβλησόμενον οὐ σμικροὶ φαίνονται, μισήσεται γὰρ ποὺ ἁρκεῖνόν ὑδέν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ κινδύνων οὐδ’ οἰ τῶν διαβολῶν ἄκροασόμενοι δοκοῦσιν, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀλώσονται ψευδολογοί πιθοῦντες καὶ ἄξιοῦντες αὐτῶν ὑπερ τῆς ἀληθείας, εἴτε κοψότητα καὶ εὐαγγολίαν — ἡττάσθαι δὲ τούτων καὶ μειρακίῳ αἰσχρόν — φθονεροὶ τε δόξους διδάσκαλου ἁκοῦσι ἁρκεῖον ποιούμενοι τῶν φθόνον, αὐτοὶ τε μᾶλλον ἐνοχοὶ ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ἃς ἐφ’ ἐτέρων ἀληθείας ἤγονται, αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἁνθρώπων φύσεις ἐτοιμότεραι δρᾶν, ἀ μὴ ἀπιστοῦσι. μὴ τυραννεύσεις τὴν ἐπιστήμην ταῦτα, μηδὲ προσταίη δήμου, τυραννίς γὰρ καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐσται, μηδὲ δικάσεις, ὑπὲρ μηδενὸς γὰρ γνώσεται, μηδὲ ναυκληρήσεις, ἡ γὰρ ναὐς στασιάσει, μηδὲ ἄρξει στρατοῦ, τὸ γὰρ ἄντίξουσι ἐν πρᾶξει, μηδὲ φιλοσοφήσεις ὑπὸς ἑχον, οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τάλιθες δοξάσει. ὑμᾶς δὲ ἴωφράτης

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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
CAP. XIII

ἀφήρηται καὶ τὸ σοφοῦς εἶναι, οὐς γὰρ ψεύδει ὑπηγύγετο, τῶς ἂν οὖτοι σοφίας αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσειαν, ἢς ἀπέστησαν τῷ τὰ μὴ πιθανὰ πέισαντι;” διαπραύνων δ’ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “ἂνις Ἠφράτου,” ἐφη, “καὶ μικροψυχῶν λόγων, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ διαλλακται γενούμεθα σοι τε κάκεινα, σοφῶν ἤγούμενου καὶ τὸ διαίταν σοφοῖς. πρὸς δὲ ἦμᾶς,” εἶπε, “τίς διαλλάξει με; χρὴ γὰρ ποινατευσθέντα ἐκτεπολεμῶσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους.” * * * "ἐχέτω σούτως,” ἢ δ’ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “καὶ σπουδὴς ἀπτώμεθα, τοῦτι γὰρ ἦμᾶς διαλλάξει μᾶλλον.”

XIV

CAP. XIV


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

XIV

And Nilus, as he was passionately anxious to listen to Apollonius, said: “And what’s more, it behoves you to begin the conversation, and to tell us all about the journey which you made to the people of India, and about the conversations which you held there, I have no doubt on the most brilliant topics.” “And I too,” said Thespasion, “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.
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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  

ξυντάττων, νυνὶ δὲ ὀπλιτεύσω καὶ κοσμήσει με ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ σῆ." "ἀλλ’ οἶμαι σε," εἶπεν, "Ἀγύπτιε, παρὰ Θεσπεσίωνι τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξειν αἰτίαιν, ἕφ’ οἷς οὐδὲ ἐς ἕλεγχον ἡμῶν καταστὰς πλεῖω, σὺ δ’ ἐτοιμότερον ἡ ἕλεγχωρεῖ βίον αἴρεσις, ἐς τὰ ἥμετερα ἥθη ἀφίσεις." "οἶμαι," ἔφη, "εἰ δ’ αἰτία ἐλομένου ἔσται τις, τάχα καὶ μὴ ἐλομένου αἰτία καὶ ἑλώσονται μᾶλλον ἄπερ ἐγὼ ἐλόμενοι· τὸ γὰρ πρεσβυτέρους ὁμοὶ καὶ σοφωτέρους ὄντας μὴ πάλαι ἥρησθαι, ἄπερ ἐγὼ νῦν, δικαίαν αἰτίαν κατ’ ἐκείνων ἔχοι ἂν μᾶλλον οὕτω πλεονεκτούντας μὴ ἐς τὸ βέλτιον ἐλέσθαι, ὁ τι χρῆσονται." "οὐκ ἄγεινη μὲν, ὦ νεανίσκε, λόγον εὔρηκας· ὅρα δὲ, μὴ αὐτῷ τῷ οὕτω μὲν σοφίας, οὕτω δὲ ἠλικίας ἔχειν ἐκείνα γε ὀρθῶς ἡρημένοι φαίνονται ¹ ταῦτα τε ἐξ ἐκὸτι λόγῳ παραιτούμενοι, σὺ τε ἡρασυντέρου λόγου δοκὴς ἀπτεσθαι καθιστὰς μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἡ ἐκείνως ἐπόμενος." ὑποστρέψας δὲ ὁ Ἀγύπτιος παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δόξαν, "ἀ μὲν εἰκὸς ἦν," ἔφη, "πρεσβυτέρους ὁμαρτεῖν νέον, οὐ παρεῖται μοι, σοφίαν γὰρ ὅποτ' φύμην εἶναι περὶ τούς

¹ Kayser reads φαίνονται, yet retains δοκὴς 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 Thespasion 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
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CAP. XVI ἀνδρας, ἣν οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν, προσεποίησα ἐμαυτὸν τούτοις, πρόφασις δὲ μοι τῆς ὄρμης ἦδε ἐγένετο· ἐπλευσέ ποτε ὁ πατὴρ ἐσ τῆν Ὁρυθρὰν ἐκόν, ἤρχε δὲ ἀρα τῆς νεός, ἦν Ἀἰγύπτιοι στέλλουσιν ἐσ τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, ἐπι-μίξας δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Ἰνδοὺς διεκόμισε λόγους περὶ τῶν ἐκείνη σοφῶν ἄγχοι τούτων, οὕς πρὸς ἡμᾶς διῆλθες· ἀκούων δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοιούτοι τινα λόγον, ὃς σοφότατοι μὲν ἀνθρώπων Ἰνδοῖ, ἀποίκου δὲ Ἰνδῶν Αἰθιόπες, πατρῴξουσι δὲ οὗτοι τὴν σοφίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ οίκοι βλέπουσι, μειράκιοι γενόμενος τὰ μὲν πατρῴα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἁφῆκα, γυμνὸς δὲ Γυμνὸις ἐπεφοίτησα τούτοις, ὡς μαθη- σόμενος τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἡ ἁδελφά γε ἐκείνων, καὶ μοι ἐφαίνοντο σοφοὶ μὲν, ὃς μὴν ἐκεῖνα, ἔμοι δ’ αὐτοὺς ἐρωμένοι, τοῦ χάριν οὐ τὰ Ἰνδῶν φιλοσο- φοῦσιν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἐς διαβολὰς κατέστησαν παραπλησίως ταῖς πρὸς σὲ εἰρημέναις τῆμερον, ἐμὲ δὲ νέον ἐτί, ὡς ὄρρας, ἐντα κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν κοινῶν, δείσαντες, οἷμαι, μὴ ἀποτηδήσας αὐτῶν πλεύσσαιμι ἐς τὴν Ὁρυθράν, ὅσπερ ποτὲ ὁ πατὴρ, ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεὸς οὐκ ἂν παρῆκα· προῆλθον γὰρ ἂν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ὄχθου τῶν σοφῶν, εἰ μὴ σὲ τις ἐνταῦθα θεῶν ἐστειλεν ἐμοὶ ἄρωγον, ὡς μήτε 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 seaboard, he brought home stories of the wise men of that region, closely similar to those which you have told us. And his account which I heard was somewhat as follows, namely that the Indians are the wisest of mankind, but that the Ethiopians are colonists sent from India, who follow their forefathers in matters of wisdom, and fix their eyes on the institutions of their home. Well, I, having reached my teens, surrendered my patrimony to those who wanted it more than myself, and frequented the society of these naked sages, naked myself as they, in the hope of picking up the teaching of the Indians, or at any rate teaching allied to theirs. And they certainly appeared to me to be wise, though not after the manner of India; but when I asked them point blank why they did not teach the philosophy of India, they plunged into abuse of the natives of that country very much as you have heard them do in their speeches this very day. Now I was still young, as you see, so they made me a member of their society, because I imagine they were afraid I might hastily quit them and undertake a voyage to the Red Sea, as my father did before me. And I should certainly have done so, yes, by Heaven, I would have pushed on until I reached the hill of the sages, unless some one of the gods had sent you hither to help me and enabled me without either
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν πλεύσας μήτε πρὸς τοὺς Κολπίτας παραβαλόμενος σοφίας Ἰνδικῆς γευσάμενην, οὐ τήμερον βλον ποιησόμενος αὕρεσιν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν ἡρμῆν, ἃ δὲ οὔμην ἔξειν, οὐκ ἔχων. τί γὰρ δεινόν, εἰ ὅτουδ' ἀμαρτῶν τις ἐπάνεισιν ἐφ' ὁ ἐθήρευεν; εἰ δὲ κάκείνους ἐς τοῦτο μεταβιβάζομι καὶ γνυνόμην αὐτοῖς ξύμβουλος ὁ ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα, τί ἂν, εἰπέ μοι, θρασὺ πράττομι; οὔτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης ἀπελατέα τοῦ τί καὶ αὐτὴ βέλτιον ἐνθυμηθήναι ἂν τοῦ γήρως, σοφίας τε ὅστις ἐτέρῳ γίγνεται ξύμβουλος, ἢν αὐτὸς ἥρηται, διαφεύγει δήποτ' ὁ μὴ οὖχ ἃ πέπεισται πείθειν, τοῖς τε ἥκουσιν ἀγαθοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὅστις ἀπολαβῶν αὐτὰ χρῆται μόνος, ἁδικεῖ τάγαθά, ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ πλεῖοσιν ἦδιον 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
"καὶ ὁμολογεῖσθω ὁ μισθός." ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐσπούδασαν, ἐρομένου δ᾽ αὐτὸν μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Νείλου, πόσον χρόνου διατρίψοι περὶ τοῦς Γυμνούς, "ὀπόσου," ἔφη, "χρόνου αξία ἡ τῶν διαφίλησε σοφία τῷ ἔξυπνοισεμένῳ σφίσιν, εἰτα ἐπὶ Καταδούντων τὴν ὄδον ποιησόμεθα τῶν πηγῶν ἐνεκα, χαρίεν γὰρ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἱδεῖν τὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κελαδούντος αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι."

-XVIII-

"Ωδε διαλεξάθεντες καὶ τινῶν Ἰνδικῶν μνημονεύσαντες ἐκάθευδον εἰς τῇ πόλῃ, ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσευχόμενοι τὰ εἰσόθοτα ἐξποντο τῷ Νείλῳ παρὰ τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα αὐτοὺς ἅγοντι προσευχόμενοι οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἑαυτὸς ἡγοῦτο προσευχόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀλατεί διαλέξας ἤπτοτο, ἢρχε δ᾽ αὐτὴς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος: "ὡς μὲν γὰρ πολλοῦ," ἔφη, "ἀξίων τὸ μὴ κρύπτειν σοφίαν, δηλοῦσιν οἱ χθές λόγοι διδαξαμένων γάρ με Ἰνδῶν, ὑπόστα τῆς ἐκείνων σοφίας φύμαν προσήκειν ἐμοὶ, μέμνημαι τε τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ διδασκάλων καὶ περίειμι διδάσκων, ὁ ἐκείνων ἡκουσα, καὶ υμῖν δ᾽ ἂν ἐν κέρδει γεννιέμην, εἰ μὲ καὶ τὴν ύμετέραν σοφίαν εἰδότα πέμποτε, οὐ γὰρ ἂν παυσαίμην Ἑλλησί τε διὸν τὰ ύμετερα καὶ Ἰνδοῖς γράφων."
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." Thespies, resenting these remarks, said: "And your own images in Greece, how are they fashioned?" "In the way," he replied, "in which it is best and most reverent to construct images of the gods." "I suppose you allude," said the other, "to the statue of Zeus in Olympia, and to the image of Athena and to that of the Cnidian goddess and to that of the Argive goddess and to other images equally beautiful and full of charm." "Not only to these," replied Apollonius, "but without exception I maintain, that whereas in other lands statuary has scrupulously observed decency and fitness, you rather make ridicule of the gods than really believe in them." "Your artists, then, like Phidias," said the other, "and like Praxiteles, went up, I suppose, to heaven and took a copy of the forms of the gods, and then reproduced these by their art, or was there any other influence which presided over and guided their moulding?" "There was," said Apollonius, "and
"καὶ μεστὸν γε σοφίας πράγμα." "ποίον;" εἶπεν,
"οὐ γὰρ ἂν τι παρὰ τὴν μύμησιν εἴποις." "φαντα-
σία," ἔφη, "ταῦτα έιργάσατο, σοφώτερα μυμήσεως
δημιουργός: μύμησις μὲν γὰρ δημιουργήσει, δὲ εἶδεν,
φαντασία δὲ καὶ δὲ μὴ εἶδεν, ὑποθήσεται γὰρ αὐτὸ
πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ ὄντος, καὶ μύμησιν μὲν
πολλάκις ἐκκρούει ἐκπληξὶς, φαντασίαν δὲ οὐδέν,
χωρεῖ γὰρ ἀνέκπληκτος πρὸς δὲ αὐτῇ ὑπέθετο. δὲ
δὲ πον Διὸς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντα εἶδος ὅραν αὐτῶν ἔξω
οὐρανῷ καὶ ὁραίς καὶ ἀστροίς, ὡσπερ ὁ Φειδίας
tότε ὄρμησεν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ δημιουργήσεις μέλλοντα
στρατόπεδα ἐννοεῖν καὶ μῆτιν καὶ τέχνας καὶ ὡς
Διὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέθορεν. εἰ δὲ ἱέρακα ἡ γλαύκα ἡ
λύκον ἡ κύνα ἐργασάμενος ἔστρε ἱερὰ φέροις ἀντί
'Ερμοῦ τε καὶ 'Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ 'Απόλλωνος, τὰ μὲν
θηρία καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ξηλωτὰ δόξει τῶν εἰκόνων, οἱ
dὲ θεόι παραπολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν δόξης ἑστήξουσιν."
"ἐσοκας," εἶπεν, "ἀβασανίστως ἐξετάζειν τὰ
ιμέτερα: σοφὸν γὰρ, εἴπερ τι Διυγυπτίων, καὶ τὸ
μὴ θρασύνεσθαι ἐς τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἶδη, ξυμβολικὰ
dὲ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπογούμενα, καὶ γὰρ ἄν
καὶ σεμνότερα οὕτω φαίνοιτο." γελάσας οὖν ὁ
'Απόλλωνιος, "ὁ ἄνθρωποι," ἔφη, "μεγάλα ὑμῖν
ἀπολέιλαται τῆς Διυγυπτίων τε καὶ Διόιόπων
σοφίας, εἰ σεμνότερον ὑμῶν καὶ θεοειδέστερον
κύων δόξει καὶ ἱβις καὶ τράγος, ταῦτα γὰρ Θεσπε-
σίων ἄκοιν τοῦ σοφοῦ. σεμνὸν δὲ δὴ ἡ ἐμφοβοῦν

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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.
CAP. XIX  
τί ἐν τούτοις; τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιόρκους καὶ τοὺς ἱεροσύλους καὶ τὰ βωμολόχα ἔθνη καταφρονεῖν τῶν τοιούτων ἱερῶν εἰκός μᾶλλον ἢ δεδείναι αὐτά, εἰ δὲ σεμνότερα ταῦτα ὑπονοοῦμενα, πολλῷ σεμνότερον ἄν ἐπραττούν οἱ θεοὶ κατ' Αὐγούστον, εἰ μὴ ἱδρυτό τι αὐτῶν ἄγαλμα, ἀλλ' ἔτερον τρόπον σοφότερον τε καὶ ἀπορρητότερον τῇ θεολογίᾳ ἐχρήσθη· ἦν γὰρ πον ὑπὸς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξουκοδομήσαι καὶ βασιλευόν ὁρίζειν καὶ ἅ κρή θύειν καὶ ἅ μὴ κρή καὶ ὄπειρα καὶ ἕφ' ὅσον καὶ ὃ τι λέγοντας ὧ δρόντας, ἄγαλμα δὲ μὴ ἐσφέρειν, ἀλλ' ὅ τα εἰδὴ τῶν θεῶν καταλείπεων τοὺς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσφοιτῶσιν, ἀναγράφει γὰρ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀνατυποῦται δημιουργίας κρέιττον, ὡμεῖς δὲ ἄφηρησΘε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὸ δράσις καὶ τὸ ὑπονοεῖσθαι." πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπεσίων, ἡ ἐγένετο τις," ἥφη, "Σωκράτης Ἀθηναῖος ἀνόητος, ὡσπερ ὡμεῖς, γέρων, ὡς τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν χήνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον θεοὺς τε ἡγεῖτο καὶ ομνυ." "οὐκ ἀνόητος," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' θείος καὶ ἀτεχνώς σοφός, ὥμου γὰρ ταῦτα ὥμως θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ θεοὺς ὅμνυοι."  

XX  

CAP. XX  
Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπεσίων ὡσπερ μεθιστάμενος τουτού τού λόγου, ἦρετο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον περὶ
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

XX

Thereupon Thespesion as if anxious to drop this subject, put some questions to Apollonius, about the

1 I conjecture μόνου for μόνι.
scourging in Sparta, and asked if the Lacedaemonians were smitten with rods in public. "Yes," answered the other, "as hard, O Thespeson, 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
dὲ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀπαραῖτητον τῆς θυσίας
ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς καρτερίας ἁγώνα ἤκουσιν, ἀφ’ ἂς ἔστι
μήτε ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ τοῦ
σφών αἵματος.” “διὰ τι οὖν,” ἔφη, “τοὺς ξένους
ὅπα ταθύνουσι τῇ ’Αρτέμιδι, καθάπερ ἐδικαίως
ποτὲ οἱ Σκύθαι;” “ότι,” εἶπεν, “οὐδεὶς Ἑλλήνων
πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἔξαιρεν ἤθη;” “καὶ μήν καὶ
φιλανθρωπότεροι ἔδοκον ἂν ἔνα ποὺ καὶ δύο
θύσουτε ἡ Ἑλλασιά χρώμενοι ἐς πάντας.”

“Μὴ καθαπτώμεθα,” εἶπεν, “ὁ Θεσπεσίων, τοῦ
Ἀνκούργου, χρὴ γὰρ ξυνίειν τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι τὸ
μὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν ἐὰν τοὺς ξένους οὐκ ἀμβλύας αὐτῷ
νοῦν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑγιαίνει τὰς ἑπτηθεῦσεις
μὴ ἐνομιλουῦντων τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῶν ἔξωθεν.” “εὖγο
δὲ ἀνδρας,” ἔφη, “Σπαρτιάτας ἤγουμην ἄν, οἷοι
δοκεῖν ἥξιοῦσιν, εἰ συνδιασιτῶμεν τοῖς ξένοις μὴ
μεθίσταντο τῶν οἴκων, οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀπόντων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῷ παρόντων ὀμοίους ὀρᾶσθαι ἐδεί, οἷμαι, τὰς
ἀρετὰς κτάσθαι. οἱ δὲ καίτοι Ἑλλασιᾶς χρώμενοι,
dιεφθάρησαν τὰς ἑπτηθεῦσεις, καὶ οἷς μᾶλιστα
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπήχθοντο, τούτοις ὁμοία
πράττειν ἔδοξαν. τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ
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the altar to be worthy thereof; but the Lacedae-CHAP. 
monians modified the ceremony of sacrifice because 
of its implacable cruelty, and turned it into a contest 
of endurance, undergone without any loss of life, and 
yet securing to the goddess as first fruits an offering of 
their own blood." "Why then," said the other, "do 
they not sacrifice strangers right out to Artemis, as 
the Scythians formerly considered it right to do?"
"Because," he answered, "it is not congenial to any 
of the Greeks to adopt in their full rigour the 
manners and customs of barbarians." "And yet," 
said the other, "it seems to me that it would be 
more humane to sacrifice one or two of them than to 
enforce as they do a policy of exclusion against all 
foreigners."
"Let us not assail," said the other, "O Thes-
pesion, the law-giver Lycurgus; but we must under-
stand him, and then we shall see that his prohibition 
to strangers to settle in Sparta and live there was 
not inspired on his part by mere boorish exclusive-
ness, but by a desire to keep the institutions of 
Sparta in their original purity by preventing out-
siders from mingling in her life." "Well," said 
the other, "I should allow the men of Sparta 
to be what they claim to be, if they had ever lived 
with strangers, and yet had faithfully adhered 
to their home principles; for it was not by keeping 
true to themselves in the absence of strangers, 
but by doing so in spite of their presence, that 
they needed to show their superiority. But they, 
although they enforced this policy of excluding 
strangers, corrupted their institutions, and were 
found doing exactly the same as did those of the 
Greeks whom they most detested. Anyhow, their
CAP. αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτάξεις τῶν φόρων ἀπτικότερον αὐτοῖς ἐβουλεύθη, καὶ ὑπὲρ δὲν πολεμητέα πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις φύστο αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ταῦτ' ἐσ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ δρᾶν κατέστησαν, τὰ μὲν πολέμια τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νυκτῶνες, δὲν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιτηθεῖσεν ἐδοξεύν ἦττόμενοι. καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν ἐκ Ταύρου τε καὶ Σκυθῶν ἐσάγεσθαι δαίμονα, ξένα ἴη νομιζόντων. εἰ δὲ χρήσμων ταῦτα, τί ἐδει μάς τινος; τί δὲ καρτερίαν ἀνδραποδόδῃ πλάττεσθαι; λακωνικότερον πρὸς θανάτου ρώμην ἐκεῖνο ἴη, οἶμαι, Σπαρτιάτην ἐφηβοιν ἐκόντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ θύεσθαι. τούτω γὰρ ἄν τὴν μὲν Ἀθήνην εὐψυχοτέρους ἐδείκνυε, τὴν δὲ Ἐλλάδα ἀπήγγε τοῦ μὴ ἐσ ἀντίπαλα αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθίστασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἐσ τὰ πολέμια φείδεσθαι τῶν νέων εἰκὸς ἴη, ἀλλ' ὁ γε νόμος ὁ παρὰ Σκύθων εἰπ τοὺς ἐξηκοντοῦταις κείμενοι οἰκείοτερος ἴη Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηθεῖσεν ἴ Σκύθως, εἰ τὸν θάνατον ἀτεχνός, ἀλλὰ μὴ κόμπον ἕνεκα ἑπανοῦσι. ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰρήταται μοι, πρὸς δὲ σὲ, Ἀπολλώνιε- εἰ γὰρ τὰ παλαιά νόμμα καὶ πολιώτερα ἴ διαγραμματέαν αὐτὰ πικρῶς ἐξετάζομεν ἐς ἐλέγχου καθηστάμενοι τοῦ θείου, διότι αὐτοῖς χαίρουσαι, πολλοὶ καὶ ἄτοποι λόγοι τῆς τοιαύτης 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. XXI

σονταί, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῆς Ἐλευσίνης τελετῆς ἐπι-
λαβοίμεθα, διότι τό, ἄλλα μὴ τό, καὶ ὃν Σαμώ-
θρακες τελοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸ δείνα, τὸ δείνα δὲ αὐτοῖς
δράται, καὶ Διονυσίων καὶ φαλλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐν
Κυλλήνη ἐκδους, καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν συκοφαν-
τοῦντες πάντα. ἵωμεν οὖν ἐφ’ ὃ τι βούλει ἑτερον,
tιμῶντες καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγον ἡμεθαπόν
ἀντ’ καλὸν γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ περὶ πάντων, ἄλλ’
ὑπέρ γε τῶν τοιούτων σιωπῶν.” ὑπολαβὼν δ’ ὁ
’Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἐκ σπουδᾶσαι,” εἴπεν, “ὁ Θεσ-
πεσίων, ἐβούλου τὸν λόγον, πολλὰ ἂν σοι καὶ
γενναῖα ἐδοξεῖν ἡ Δακεδαῖμων λέγειν ὑπὲρ ὅν ὑγιῶς
tε καὶ παρὰ πάντας ἐπιτηδεύει τοὺς “Ελληνας,
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ὑποσπουδάξεις αὐτὸν, ὡς μηδὲ ο骎ον
ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων λέγειν, ἵωμεν ἐφ’
ἐτερον λόγον πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω
περὶ δικαίοσύνης γάρ τι ἐρήσομαι.”

XXI

“Ἀπτώμεθα,” ὁ Θεσπεσίων ἐφη, “τοῦ λόγου,
προσήκων γὰρ σοφοῖς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοῖς. ἄλλ’ ἢνα
μὴ τὰς Ἰνδῶν δόξας ἐνείροντες ξυγχέωμεν αὐτὸν
καὶ ἀπέλθωμεν ἄπρακτοι τοῦ λόγου, πρῶτον εἴπτε
τὰ περὶ δικαιοσύνης Ἰνδώις δόξαντα, εἰκὸς γὰρ
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for we could attack the mystery rite of Eleusis in 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.”

"Let us," said Thespeson, "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..."
βεβασανίσθαι σοι ἐκεῖ ταῦτα, κἂν μὲν ἢ δόξα ὀρθῶς ἔχῃ, ξυνθησόμεθα, εἰ δ' αὐτὸι τι σοφότερον ἐπιτοιμεῖ, ξυντίθεσθε, δικαιοσύνης γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο." "ἄριστα," εἶπεν, "ο Θεσπεσίων, καὶ ὡς ἐμοὶ ἦδεστα ἑδρηκας· ἁκονε δὴ τῶν ἑκαὶ σπουδασθέντων· διότι εἰς τῶν αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ, κυβερνήτης ὡς γενοῦμη μεγάλης νεὼς, ὅπως ἡ ψυχή σώματος ἐτέρου ἐπεμέλετο, καὶ δικαιότατον ἡγούμην ἐμαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ ληστάλ μὲν ἐμισθούντο με προδοῦναι τὴν ναῦν καθορμισάμενον οἱ λοχῆσειν αὐτὴν ἐμελλον, δι' ἄ ἤγεν, ἐγώ δὲ ἐπαγγελαίμην μὲν ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ ἐπίθουντο ἡμῖν, παραπλεῦσαμι δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπεράραιμι τοῦ χωρίου." "ἐνεθεντο δ'," ἢ δ' ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "δικαιοσύνην εἶναι Ἰνδοὶ ταῦτα;" "κατεγέλασαν μὲν οὖν," εἶπε, "μὴ γὰρ εἶναι δικαιοσύνην τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν. ""ὕγιῶς," ἐφη, "ἀπέδοξε τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς; οὔτε γὰρ φρόνησις τὸ μὴ ἀνοητός τι ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἀνδρεία τὸ μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν, οὔτε σωφροσύνη τὸ μὴ ἐς τὰ τῶν μοιχῶν ἐκπίπτειν, οὔτε ἄξιον ἐπαίνου τὸ μὴ κακὸν φαίνεσθαι: πἀν γὰρ, ὃ τιμῆς τε καὶ τιμωρίας ἵςον ἀφέστηκεν, οὕτω ἀρετή." "πῶς οὖν, ὁ Θεσπεσίων," εἶπε, "στεφανώσομεν τὸν δίκαιον, ἢ τί πράττοντα;" "ἀνελλιπέστερον," ἐφη, "καὶ προσφορώτερον ἃν ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐσπουδάσατε, ἢ ὅποτε βασιλεὺς τοσῆσδε τε καὶ
their views on the spot; and if their opinion is 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
CAP. οὗτος ευδαιμονος χώρας ἀρχῶν ἐπέστη φιλο-
σοφούσιν ὡμίν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλεύειν, δικαιοτάτου
κτήματος;" "εἰ ὁ Φραώτης," εἶπεν, "ὁ ἀφικό-
μενος ἦν, ὁρθῶς δὲν ἐμέμφου τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ δικαιο-
σύνης ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδεῖς τὸν
ἀνθρώπον ἐν οἷς χθὲς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διήτευ μεθύοντα
καὶ ἀχθόμενον φιλοσοφία πάση, τί ἔδει παρέχειν
ἄχλον; τί δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν φιλοτιμομένους
ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπον σύβαριν ἡγουμένου πάντα; ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ
σοφοὶς ἀνδράσιν, ὅσπερ ἡμῖν, ἵχνευτέα
ἡ δικαιοσύνη μάλλον ἡ βασιλεύσι τε καὶ
στρατηγοίς, ὠμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀτεχνῶς δίκαιον. ὁ γὰρ
ἐμαυτὸν τε ἡγούμην, ὅποτε ἡ ναῦς, ἐτέρους τε, οἱ
μὴ ἀδίκων ἀπτονται, οὐπω δικαίους φατέ, οὐδ᾽
ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι." "καὶ εἰκότως," εἶπεν, "οὐδὲ
γὰρ ἀν Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ ἡ Δακεδαιμονίους
ἐγράφη γνώμη τὸν δείνα στέφανον, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν
ἡταρηκότων ἔστιν, ἢ τὸν δείνα ποιεῖσθαι τολίτην,
ἐπεὶ μὴ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὶ αὐτοῦ συλᾶται. τίς οὖν ὁ
dίκαιος καὶ ὁ τὶ πράττων; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δικαιο-
σύνη τινὰ στέφανωθέντα οἶδα, οὐδὲ γνῶμην ἐπ᾽
ἀνδρί δικαίῳ γραφεῖσαν, ὡς τὸν δείνα χρῆ στε-
φανοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ δείνα πράττων δίκαιος φαίνεται,
tὰ μὲν γὰρ Παλαμήδους ἔνθυμηθέντι τὰ ἐν Τροίᾳ
cαὶ τὰ Σωκράτους τὰ Ἀθήνησιν οὐδ᾽ εὔτυχεῖν ἡ
dικαιοσύνη δόξει παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀδικῶτατα
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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 गार दी οίδε ἐπαθον, δικαιότατοι ὤντες. πλήν ἀλλ' οὕτωι μὲν ἐπὶ δόξῃ ἀδικημάτων ἀπώλοντο, ψήφοι παρὰ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐνεχθείσης, 'Αριστείδην δὲ τὸν Δυσιμάχου καὶ αὐτὴν ποτὲ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀπώλλυ, καὶ ἀνὴρ τοιόσοδε ἐπὶ τοιῶδε ἄρετῆ φεύγων ὄχετο. καὶ ὦς μὲν γελοία ἡ δικαιοσύνη δόξει, γιγνώσκω, τεταγμένη γὰρ ὑπὸ Δίος τε καὶ Μοῖρων ἐσ τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐδαμοῦ ἐαυτὴν ἐσ τὸ μὴ αὐτὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τάττει.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπόχρη τὰ τοῦ 'Αριστείδου ἔσ τὸ δηλώσαι, τίς μὲν ὁ μὴ ἀδικος, τίς δὲ ὁ δικαίος· εἰπὲ γὰρ μοι, οὐχ οὕτως 'Αριστείδης ἐκεῖνος, ὃν φατε υμεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ 'Ελλήνων ἥκουτες πλεύσαντα ἐς τὰς νῆσους ὑπὲρ τῶν φόρων, ἐμμετρουσ τέκνα ταύτως καὶ ἔμων τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπανελθείν τρίβων;” “οὕτως,” εἶπε, “δι' ὅν καὶ πενίας ἔρως ποτὲ ἦνθησεν.” “εἰ οὖν,” ἐφη, “δύο Ἄθηνας δημαγωγοι γενοίσθην ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν 'Αριστείδην ἀρτί ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος ἥκουτα, καὶ ὁ μὲν γράφοι στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πλούτων ἀφίκται μηδὲ βλεν ἐαυτῷ ξυνειλοχῶς μηδένα, ἀλλὰ πενειστατὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων, πενεστερός δὲ ἐαυτοῦ, ὁ δ' αὐ τοιοῦτοι τι γράφοι ψήφισμα. ἐπειδὴ 'Αριστείδης 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
CAP. τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ' ὃς ἔκαστοι γῆς ἔχουσι, τῆς τε ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν ἐπεμελήθη τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀχθωμένους δοκεῖν φέρειν ταῦτα, δεδόχθω στεφανοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη, ἀρ' οὖν ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ γυνώμη καὶ ἀντειπεῖν αὐτὸς, ὡς οὖν ἄξια τῶν ἑαυτῷ βεβιωμένων, εἴ ἐφ' οἷς οὖν ἂδικεὶ τιμῆτο, τὴν δ' ἄσως ἄν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαινέσαι, στοχαζόμενον δὲν διένοιθη; βλέψας γὰρ τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐμφέρουν ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ἐξυμμετρίας τῶν φόρων, καὶ τούτῳ μετὰ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐδείχθη μᾶλλον ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παραβάντες Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ δόξανται, βαρυτέρους ἐπέγραψαν ταῖς νήσοις, διεσπάσθη μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ναυτικὴ δύναμις, ἢ μάλιστα φοβερὸν ἦσαν, παρῆλθε δὲ ἡ Δακεδαίμονίων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ἐγνέμεινε δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως οὕτων, ἀλλ' ἀπαν τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐς νεώτερα ὄρμησε καὶ ἀποστροφῆς ἤφασε. δικαίος οὖν, ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, κατὰ τὸν εὐθὺν λόγον οὖν ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, ἀλλ' ὁ δίκαιος μὲν αὐτὸς πράττων, καθιστᾶς δὲ καὶ ἔτερος ἐς τὸ μὴ ἄδικεῖν, καὶ φύσονται τῆς τοιαύτης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἄλλαι μὲν ἄρεται, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ δικαστικὴ τε καὶ ἡ νομοθετικὴ. δικάσει μὲν γὰρ τοιόσοδε πολλῷ δικαιότερον ἢ οἱ κατὰ τῶν τομίων ὁμίσυνες, νομοθετήσει δὲ, ὡσπερ 96
to their ability to pay, and not in excess of the resources of their respective countries; and where-
as 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
CAP. οἱ Σόλωνες τε καὶ οἱ Δυκοῦργοι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κὰκείνως τοῦ γράψαι νόμον. δικαίος ἦρξεν.

XXII

CAP. Τοσαῦτα δὲ Δάμις διαλεξθήναι φησιν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἄνδρός δικαίου, καὶ τῶν Ἀπολλώνιος ξυμφήσαι τῷ λόγῳ, τῶν γὰρ ψυχῶς λεγομένους ξυμβαίνει. φιλοσοφήσαντες δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς, ὡς ἀθάνατος εἶ, καὶ περὶ φύσεως παραπλήσια ταῖς Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαίῳ δόξαις, περὶ τε τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλησι νόμων πλεῖστο διαλεξθέντες, “ἐμοί,” εἴπον δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἢ δὲύρο ὃδος ὑμῶν τε ἐνεκα καὶ τῶν τοῦ Νεῖλον πηγῶν ἐγένετο, ἂς μέχρι μὲν Ἀιγύπτου προελθόντι ἕνωσεν ἤγιος, προ- χωρήσαντες δὲ ἐπ’ Αἰθιοπίαν, ὅπως ἐγὼ τρόπον, καὶ ὄνειδος φέροι τὸ παρεσθεῖν αὐτὰς καὶ μὴ ἰδια- σασθαι τινας αὐτῶν λόγους.” “ἰθι χαίρων,” ἔφη, “καὶ ὦ τι σοι φίλον, εὐχὰς τᾶς πηγάις, θέιαι γὰρ ἤγιον ἐγέμονα δὲ οἴμαι ποιήσῃ τῶν πάλαι Ναυκρατίτην, νῦν δὲ Μεμφίτην, Τιμασίωνα, τῶν τε γὰρ πηγῶν ἐθάς οὐτος καὶ οὕτω τι καθαρός, ὡς μὴ δεῖσθαι τοῦ βραίνοναι. σοι δὲ, ὦ Νεῖλε, βουλόμεθα ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν διαλεξθήναι τι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἄφανὴς ἢν τῷ Ἀπολλώνιῳ, ξυνίει γὰρ αὐτῶν δυσχερῶς διακειμένων, ἐπειδὴ ἦρα αὐτοῦ ὦ Νεῖλος, 98
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legislation will be similar to that of Solon and of CHAP. Lycurgus; for assuredly these great legislators were XXI inspired by justice to undertake their work.”

XXII

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

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FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXII

ἐξιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς διαλέξεως ἀνήει συ-
σκευασόμενος, ὡς ἐξελὼν ἄμα τῇ ἔφ, μετ’ οὖν πολὺ
dὲ ἣκων ὁ Νείλος, ἀπήγγειλε μὲν οὐδὲν δὲν
ἡκουσεν, ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θαμὰ ἐγέλα: ἕρωτα δὲ
οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀλλ’ ἐφείδοντο τοῦ
ἀπορρήτου.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII

Τότε μὲν δὴ δειπνήσαντες καὶ διαλεχθέντες οὐχ
ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αὐτοῦ ἐκοιμήθησαν, ἀμα δὲ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς προσεπόντες ἐπορεύοντο τὴν
ἐς τὰ ὅρη τείνουσαν ἀριστερῶς τοῦ Νείλου, τάδε
ὁρῶντες λόγον ἄξιον· οἱ Κατάδουποι γεώδη ὅρη
καὶ παραπλήσια τῷ Δυνῶν Τμῶλω, κατάρρους δὲ
ἀπ’ αὐτῶν φέρεται Νείλος, ἢν ἐπιστᾶται γῆν
ποιῶν Αὐγυπτοῦ. ἢ δὲ ἡχὼ τοῦ πεύματος κατα-
ρηγυμένου τῶν ὅρων καὶ ψόφω ἄμα ἐς τὸν Νείλον
ἐκπίπτοντος χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτή ἄκουσαί,
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πρῶσω τοῦ μετρίου προελθόντες
ἀνέξενξαν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ ἄκουειν.

XXIV

CAP. XXIV

Προϊόντι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν
μαστοῖς ὁρῶν ἐφαίνοντο παρεχόμενοι δένδρα, δὲν
Αἰθίοπες τὰ φύλλα καὶ τὸν φλοίον καὶ τὸ δά-
ιον
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 ἡγοῦνται, ἔωρον δὲ καὶ λέοντας ἅγχοι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ παρθέναις καὶ τοιαύτα θηρία ἔτερα, καὶ ἐπήειοι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀπετήδα σφῶν, ὡσπερ ἐκτελεσθημένα τοὺς ἄνδρατος, ἐλαφοὶ δὲ καὶ δορκάδες καὶ στροφοὶ καὶ ὄνοι, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἐσῳτο, πλεῖστα δὲ οἱ βόσαγροι τε καὶ οἱ βουτραγοὶ. Ξύγκειται δὲ τὰ θηρία ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἑλάφον τε καὶ ταύρον, τὸ δὲ ἄφ’ ὄντερ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἥρηκε. καὶ ὅστοις δὲ τούτων ἐνετύχανον καὶ ἡμιβρῶτοι σώμασιν, οἱ γὰρ λέοντες, ἐπειδὰν θερμῆς τῆς θήρας ἐμφορηθῶσιν, ἀτιμάζουσιν αὐτῆς τὰ περιττὰ, πιστεύουσι, οἶμαι, τὸ καὶ αὐθις θηράσεων.

XXV

'Ενταῦθα νομάδες οἰκούσιν Αἰθίοπες ἐφ’ ἄμαξῶν πεπολεμμένου, καὶ πλησίον τούτων οἱ τοὺς ἐλεφαντας θηρῶντες, κατακόπτοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνται ἁγοράν, ὅθεν ἐπώνυμοι εἰσὶ τῆς τῶν ἐλεφάντων πράσεως. Νασαμῶνες δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Πυγμαίοι καὶ Σκιάποδες ἔθιν ἡ μὲν Αἰθιόπων καὶ οὐδὲ, καθήκουσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Αἰθίοπα Ὀκεανόν, ἐν μόνῳ ἐστίν οὐκ ἄκουσιν οἱ ἄπενεχθέντες ἄκουσιν.

XXVI

Διαλεγομένους δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἄλλο ἄλλως.
 LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

XXV

It is here that the nomad Ethiopians live in a sort of colony upon waggons, and not far from them the elephant-hunters, who cut up these animals and sell the flesh, and are accordingly called by a name which signifies the selling of elephants. And the Nasamones and the man-eaters and the 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
CAP. XXVI

Βοσκούνσης, ἣχω προσέβαλεν οἷον βροντῆς οὔπω σκληρᾶς, ἀλλὰ κούλης ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῷ νέφει. καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ἔγγυς," ἔφη, "ὁ καταρράκτης, ὁ ἀνδρες, ὁ κατιόντων μὲν ὑστατός, ἀνυόντων δὲ πρώτος." καὶ στάδια δέκα ἵσως προελθόντες ἰδεῖν φασὶ ποταμῶν ἑκκοδόμενον τοῦ ὄρους μεῖως οὐδὲν ἢ ἐν πρώταις ξυμβολαῖς ὁ Μαρτύνας καὶ ὁ Μαλανδρος, προσευξάμενοι δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ χωρείν πρόσω καὶ θηρία μὲν οὐκέτι ὄραν, ψυφοδέα γὰρ φύσει οὐτα προσοκείν τοῖς γαληνοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς βαγδαίοις τε καὶ ἐνχῖοις, ἑτέρου δὲ καταρράκτου ἀκούσαι μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκά που στάδια χαλεποῦ ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτοῦ αἰσθέσθαι, δυπλασίω μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸν τοῦ προτέρου, ὄραν δὲ ὑψηλοτέρων ἐκπίπτειν. ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ τυνος τῶν ἑταίρων οὕτω τι κτυπηθῆναι τὰ ὅτα ὁ Δάμως φησίν, ὡς αὐτός τε ἀναξεῖξαι τοῦ τε Ἀπολλωνίου δεῖσθαι μὴ χωρείν πρόσω, τὸν δὲ ἐρρωμένους ξῖν τε τῷ Τιμασίων καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ τοῦ τρίτου καταρράκτου ἔχεσθαι, περὶ οὗ τάδε ἀπαγγείλαι ἴκονται· ἐπικρεμάσθαι μὲν τῷ Νείλῳ κορυφὰς ἐκεῖ σταδίων μάλιστα ὁκτὼ ψυσ, τὴν δὲ ὄχθη τὴν ἀντικειμένην τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὁφρύν εἶναι λιθοτομίας ἀρρήτου, τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἀποκρεμασμέναις τῶν ὄρων ὑπερπίπτειν ἐς τὴν πετρώδη ὄχθην, ἀναχείσθαι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸν Νείλου κυμαίνουσας τε καὶ λευκᾶς. τὰ δὲ πάθη τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμβαίνουσα πολλαπλασίας ἢ ἄι πρότερα οὕσας καὶ τὴν πηδῶσαν ἐκ

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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,
τούτων ἡχῶ εἰς τὰ ὅρη, δυσήκουν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ρεύματος. τὴν δὲ πρόσω ὅðὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας πηγὰς ἄγουσαν ἀποροῦν μὲν ἐλθεῖν φασίν, ἀποροῦν δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ δαμόνων ἄδουσιν, σὰ καὶ Πινδάρῳ κατὰ σοφίαν ὑμεῖς περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὃν ταῖς πηγαῖς ταύταις ἐφίστησιν ὑπὲρ ἕυμμετρίας τοῦ Νείλου.

Καταλύσαντες δὲ μετὰ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἐν κώμῃ τῆς Ἀιθιοπίας οὐ μεγάλη ἐδείπνουν μὲν περὶ ἐστέραιν, ἔγκαταμμενούντας σπουδὴν παιδία, βοήσε δὲ ἀθρόας τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ γυναικῶν ἤκουσαν ἐπικελευσμένων ἀλλήλαις ἔλειν, καὶ διώκοιος, παρεκάλουμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἔργου, οὶ δ' ἀρπασάμενοι ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ ὃ τε ἔσχερα ἐκάστῳ ἐλθοί, εὐνεκάλοι ὡσπερ ἀδικοῦμενοι τοὺς γάμοις. ἔπεφοιτα δὲ ἀρα τῇ κώμῃ δέκατον ἥδη μῆνα σατύρου φάσμα λυττῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γύναια, καὶ δύο ἀπεκτοῦναι σφῶν ἔλεγετο, ὡν μάλιστα ἔδοκε έραν. ἐκπλαγέντων οὖν τῶν ἐταίρων, "μὴ δέδυτε," εἰπεν ὁ Ἄπολλώνιος, "ὑβρίζει γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα σάτυρος," "νὰ 

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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


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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
CAP. XXVII 

τῶν ἀνοίγτων." τούτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον Ἀπολλωνίου, μᾶ δὲ, σύχι ὁδὸν πάρεργον, ἄλλα παρόδου ἔργον, κἂν ἐντύχῃ τις ἐπιστολή τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἢ πρὸς μειράκιον ὑβρίζον γράφων καὶ σάτυρον δαίμονα σωφρονίσαι φησιν ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, μεμνησθαὶ χρῆ τοῦ λόγου τούτου. σατύρους δὲ εἰναι τε καὶ ἐρωτικῶν ἀπεσθαί μὴ ἄπιστῶμεν. οἶδα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Δῆμου τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τινα ἑσθήλικων, οὐ τῇ μητρὶ ἐλέγετο τῆς ἐπιφοιτῶν σάτυρος, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτῃ, νεβρίδα γὰρ ξυμφονῆ ἐφεξῆ ἐνημερώθη κατὰ τὸν ὅτων, ἢς οἱ ποδεώνες οἱ πρῶτοι ἐνυπερφορεῖς τὴν δέρην περὶ τὸ στέρνον αὐτῆς ἀφήπτουσι. ἄλλα μὴ πλεῖον ὑπὲρ τοῦτων, οὔτε γὰρ ἢ πείρα ἀπιστητεά οὔτε ἑγώ.

CAP. XXVIII

Καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην διαφορά τὸτε μάλιστα ἐπέδωκε ἐκ τῶν δομηρεῖ ποιείσφεντον ἐπέτρεπε δὲ αὐτὸς Μενίσκω τε καὶ Νείλῳ, σμικρὰ ἐπιτυμένῳ αὐτὸς τῷ Εὐφράτη, τοῦ δὲ Νείλου σφόδρα ἐπεμελεῖτο.

CAP. XXIX

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίτος ἡρῆκει τὰ Σόλυμα καὶ νεκρῶν πλέον ἡ πάντα, τὰ ὁμορα τε ἐθνον ἔστομον αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἦξεν ἐαυτῶν τούτου, μὴ γὰρ αὐτῶς
this exploit of Apollonius, and, by heavens, we may 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 wearing on his back a fawn-skin that exactly fitted him, the front paws of which were drawn around his neck and fastened over his chest. But I must not go further into this subject; but, anyhow, credit is due as much to experience of facts as it is to myself.

XXVIII

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

XXIX

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

1 I try to render the pun of the original.
ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι, θεῷ δὲ ὧργῇν σφηματίζει ἑπταδεκακόντας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας, ἐπήνει ο Ἀπολλώνιος ταῦτα, γνώμη τε γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἔνειδος ἀνθρωπεῖον τε καὶ θείων, καὶ σφυροκόπης μεστὸν τὸ μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐφ' αἷματι. Ξυντάττει δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῆν, ὡς διάκονον ποιεῖται τὸν Δάμιν, καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ὅτι:

"Ἀπολλώνιος Τίτῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίοις χαίρειν.
Μὴ βουλήσεις σοι ἐπ' αἰχμῇ κηρύττεσθαι, μηδ' ἐπὶ δηλῷ αἷματι, δίδωμι ἐγὼ τὸν σφυροκόπης στέφανον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ στεφανοῦσθαι, γυγνὰςκεῖς, ἔρρώσῳ."

Ταπείνωθεις δὲ ὁ Τίτος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, "καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ," ἐφη, "χάριν οἶδά σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ μεμνημόνια τούτων, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ Σόλυμα ἱρήκα, 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-
thing in respect of which he consulted you; and 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 Titus, “can you give me any precepts as to how
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, 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.
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CAP. XXXI. αὔσθοπτοῦ. "γεγράφεται," ἔφη, "πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴ, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης." "γεγρά-
θω," εἶπεν, "ἐβουλόμην δ᾽ ἄν καὶ πρὸς σὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τίνα γράφειν, ὡς ἀμα τῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδοὺ κοινωνὸς ἥμων γένοιο." "ἀφίξομαι," ἔφη, "ὄποτε ἀμφοῖν λέον."

XXXII

CAP. XXXII. Μεταστησάμενος δὲ ὁ Τίτος τοὺς παρόντας,
"αὐτοῖς," εἶπεν, "ἄ Τυανεῦ, γεγόναμεν, ἔννοορεῖς γὰρ ποι ἐρωτῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμοὶ σπουδαιοτάτων ;"
"ἐρώτα," ἔφη, "καὶ τοσοῦτοι προθυμότερον, ὅσῳ ὑπὲρ μειζόνων." "περὶ ψυχῆς," εἶπε, "τῆς ἐμαυ-
tοῦ, καὶ οὗς μάλιστα φυλαττοίμην ἂν, ἔσται μοι ἡ ἐρώτησις, εἰ μὴ δόξω δειλὸς δεδώς ἤδη ταῦτα." 
"ἀσφαλῆς μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐφεστήκως, προ-
orᾶν γὰρ τούτου χρῆ μάλιστα." καὶ ἐς τὸν ἠλιοῦ ἀναβλέψας ὁμοῦ αὐτὸν, ἢ μὴ αὐτὸς μέλλειν ὑπὲρ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξειν μηδὲ ἐρωτῶντα, τοὺς γὰρ θεοὺς φήμαι οἱ προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ξόντος μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς δεδιέναι τοὺς ἑκείνῳ πολεμιστῶ-
tους, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῷ οἰκειοτάτους.
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
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."
Τοσαύτα ἔθην φασίν ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον σπουδάζοντά τε καὶ σπουδαζόμενον. αἱ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἀποδημᾶτο πολλὰ μὲν ἐγένοντο τῷ ἄνδρι, οὗ μὴν τοσαύτα ἤγετο. οὐδὲ ἐς ἐτερα ἔθην πλὴν ἂ ἐγνώ, περὶ τε γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Αἰγυπτίων καταβαίνειν αὐτῷ ἔξω Ἀἰθιοπίας διατριβῇ πλείων ἐγένετο, περὶ τε Φοίνικας καὶ Κυλλακας Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Ἀχαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοὺς πάλιν, οὐδαμοῦ ἐκλειποντεῖ τὸ μὴ οὐχ ὁμοῖον φαίνεσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γνῶναι ἐαυτὸν δοκοῦντο, χαλεπώτερον ἔγαγεν ἡγούμενοι τὸ μὲν οὐχ ἀμοιρα ὑμεῖς. καὶ τὸν σοφὸν ἐαυτὸ όμοιον, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς πονηρῶς φύνθα ἐς τὸ λόγῳ μεταστήσει, μὴ πρότερον ἐξαρσκήσας τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς μεθίστασθαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐν ἐτέροις λόγοις ἰκανῶς εἰρήκα, διδάσκων τοὺς μὴ μαλακῶς αὐτοῖς ὁμολογοῦσας, ὅτι τὸν ἀτεχνωὺς ἄνδρα μὴν μεταστήσῃς τι μήτε δουλο- σται. ὡς δὲ μήτε ἐς λόγων ὠιμέν μήκος, ἀκριβῶς ἀναδίδασκοντες τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκάστους αὐτῶς φιλοσοφήθεντα, μὴτ αὐτί διαπηδῶντες φαινομεθα λόγον, ἀν οὐκ ἀπόνως παραδίδομεν τοῖς ἀπείροις τοῦ ἄνδρος, δοκεῖ μοι τὰ σπουδαιότερα ἐπελθεῖν τούτων καὶ ὑπόσα μνήμης ἄξιόσεται. ἤγομεθα δὲ αὐτὰ παραπλήσια ταῖς τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν ἐπιδημίαις.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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 Aescelepius.
Μειράκιον έαυτον μὲν ἀπαιδεύτως εἴχε, τοὺς δὲ ὅρνις ἐπαίδευε, καὶ ξυνοίκους ἐπὶ σοφία ἐποιεῖτο. ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτοὺς λαλεῖν τε ὅσα οἱ ἰνθρώποι καὶ τερετίζειν ὅσα αὐλοί. τούτῳ περιτυχών, "τί," ἔφη, "ἐπιτηδεύεις;" ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς τε ἀνδόνας αὐτῷ διῆκε καὶ τοὺς κοψίχους καὶ ὅπόσα εὐγλωττίζοι τοὺς χαραδρίους, τὴν φωνὴν δὲ ἀπαίδευτον ἐφαίνετο, "δοκεῖς μοι," ἔφη, " διαφθείρειν τοὺς ὅρνις, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἕαυτῶν φθέγμα, οὕτως ἤδυ ὁν, ὡς μηδὲ ἂν τὰ μουσικὰ τῶν ὄργανων ἐς μέμησιν αὐτὸν καταστῆναι, εἶτα καὶ τῷ κάκιστᾳ Ἐλλήνῳ αὐτὸς διαλεγόμενος, μαθητᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ἀφωνίας. ἐπιτρίβεις δ', δ' μειράκιον, καὶ τὸν σεαυτοῦ οἶκον. βλέψας γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ἀκολούθους καὶ ὡς κατεσκεύασα, τῶν ἄβρων ἐμοιγε καὶ οὐκ ἀπλοῦτων φαύνῃ, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ὑποβλάττουσιν οἱ συνοφάνται, κέντρα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἢρμένοι τὴν γῆλοτταν. καὶ τῇ χρήσῃ τῇ φιλομυθίᾳ τότε; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πασῶν ἀνδόνων μέλη ξυμφέρων ἀποσοβήσεις αὐτοὺς ἐγκειμένους τε καὶ ἔρείνοντας, ἀλλ' ἐπαντλεῖν χρῆ τῶν ὄντων, καὶ προβάλλειν αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίου, ὅσπερ τὰ μειλήματα τοῖς

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LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXVI

There was a youth who, without having any education of his own, undertook to educate birds, which he kept in his home to make them clever; and he taught them to talk like human beings and to whistle tunes like flute-players. Apollonius met him and asked: "How are you occupying yourself"? And when he replied, and told him all about his nightingales and his blackbirds, and how he trained the tongues of stone curlews—as he had himself a very 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, καὶ ὑλακτῶσιν, αὕτης διδόναι καὶ αὕτης, ἐίτα αὐτὸν πεινῆν ὑστερον καὶ ὕπορεῖν.

Δεῖ δὲ σοι ἐκτροπῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἡδῆ τινὸς τῶν τρόπων, ὡς μὴ λάθης πτεροπρονήσας τὸν πλούτον, καὶ ἄξιῶς πράττων τοῦ θρηνείσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπ’ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἄδεσθαι. τὸ δὲ φύρμακον τῆς μετα-

βολῆς οὐ μέγα, ἐστὶ γὰρ τι ἐν ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, ὃ σὺ οὕτω μὲν γιγνώσκεις, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ διδασκάλους· τοῦτοι ἀπὸ τῆς

οὐσίας μικρὰ δοὺς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτήσας τὰ πλείω, ῥητορικὴν γὰρ σε παιδεύσουσι τὴν τῶν ἁγοραίων, ἱδία δ’ ἡ τέχνη. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παιδιά σε ἐώρων ἔτι, ἀνυψούλευον ἄν φοιτῶν ἔτι φιλοσοφῶν τε καὶ

σοφιστῶν θύρας, καὶ σοφία πάση τῆς οἰκίαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ φράττειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξωροι τοῦτων τυγχάνεις ἃν, τὸ γοῦν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ λέγειν ἐκμαθε, νομίσας, εἰ μὲν τὰ τελεότερα ἔμαθες, καὶ ὁμοίως ἁνδρὶ ὀπλι-

τεύοντι τε καὶ φοβερῷ δόξαι, ταυτὶ δ’ ἐκμαθῶν τὴν τῶν ψυλῶν τε καὶ σφενδονητῶν σκευήν ἔξεις· βάλ-

λοις γὰρ ἃν τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὅσπερ τοὺς κύνας.” ἕννηκε τὸ μειράκιον τούτων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀρνίθων διατριβᾶς ἐκλιπόν ἐς διδασκάλων ἐβάδισεν, ὑφ’ ὅν καὶ ἡ γνώμη αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα ἱσχύσειν.

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barking you must give again and again, until at last you will find yourself reduced to hunger and to poverty.

“What you want is some splendid diversion which will instantly make some alteration in your character, otherwise you will wake up one day and find that you have been plucked of your wealth as if it were plumage, and that you are a fitter subject to excite the birds to lament than to sing. The remedy you need to effect such a change is not a very great one; for there is in all cities a class of men, whose acquaintance you have never made, but who are called schoolmasters. You give them a little of your substance with the certainty of getting it back with interest; for they will teach you the rhetoric of the Forum, and it is not a difficult art to acquire. I may add that, if I had known you as a child and come across you then, I should have advised you assiduously to attend at the doors of the philosophers and sophists, so as to be able to hedge round your habitation with a wider learning; but, since it is too late for you to manage that, at any rate learn to plead for yourself; for remember, if you had acquired a more complete training and education, you would have resembled a man who is heavy-armed and therefore formidable; yet, if you thoroughly learn this branch, you will at any rate be equipped like a light-armed soldier or a slinger, for you will be able to fling words at your sycophants, as you would stones at dogs.” The young man took to heart this advice, and he gave up wasting his time over birds and betook himself to school, much to the improvement both of his judgment and of his tongue.
Δυνάν δὲ λόγου εν Σάρδεσι λεγομένου, τοῦ μέν, ώς ὁ Πακτωλός ποτε τῷ Κροίσῳ ψήγμα χρυσοῦ ἀγοῦ, τοῦ δὲ, ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς γῆς εἴη τὰ δένδρα, τὸν μὲν πιθανῶς ἔφη πεπιστεύοντας, χρυσία γὰρ εἰναι ποτε τῷ Τμῶλῳ ψαμμώδῃ καὶ τοὺς ὄμβρους αὐτὰ φέρειν ἐς τὸν Πακτωλὸν κατασύροντας, χρόνῳ δὲ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλυπεῖν αὐτὰ ἀποκλυσθέντα. τοῦ δ' ἐτέρου λόγου καταγελάσας, "ὑμεῖς μέν," ἔφη, "προγενέστερα τῆς γῆς φατε εἰναι τὰ δένδρα, ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺν οὕτω χρόνου φιλοσοφήσας οὕτω ἐγὼν οὐρανοῦ προγενεστέρους ἀστέρας," διδάσκων ὃτι μηδ' ἂν γένουτό τι τοῦ ἐν δ' φύεται μη ὄντος.

Στασιάζοντος δὲ τῆς Αντιόχειαν τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἁρχοντός καὶ καθιέντος ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, ὅφεὶ δὲν διειστήκεσαν ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλις, σεισμὸν δὲ γενναίου προσπεσόντος, ἐπτήξαν καὶ ὅπερ ἐν διωσημίας εἴωθεν, ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ἡξαντο. παρελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὁ μὲν θεός," ἔφη, "ἀλλακτὴς ὑμῶν σαφῆς γέγονεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἂν αὕτης στασιάσατε, τὰ αὐτὰ φοβούμενοι." καὶ κατέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔννοιαν δὲν πεῖσονται, καὶ ὡς ταύτα τοῖς ἐτέροις φοβήσονται.

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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.
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
Δεσπότης, ὁ πλοῦτος ἐκ τῶν παρανομωτάτων πεπόριστο, τὰς Φοινίκων οὐσίας ἐνδεικνύει, "χωρίον," ἔφη, "τὸ δεῖνα πόσου ἐπρίω καὶ τὶ πεπόνηται σοι ἐς αὐτῷ;" τοῦ δὲ πέρυσι μὲν ἐωνήσθαι τὸν ἄγρον, πεντακισεκατόν ἐδὲ καὶ μνείων φήσαντος, οὕτω δὲ ἐκπεπονηκέναι τι, πείθει τὸν ἄνδρωπον ἀποδόσθαι οἱ δισμυρίων αὐτῶν, εὐρήμα ποιησάμενον τὰς πεντακισηκάτιας. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔρων οὕτως ξυνίει τοῦ δώρου, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὕστα τοῖς ἔχειν, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐλάττω, ὅσον τὰς μὲν δισμυρίας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν οὐσίας ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ εἶναι ἂν, τὸν δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἄγρον ἐπὶ πάχαινες κείσεσθαι καὶ χαλάζας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἃ τοὺς καρποὺς φθείρει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄμφορεὰ μὲν τρισχίλιων δαρείκων αὐτίκα εὑρε περὶ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ κητίῳ σμῆνος, εὐφόρου δὲ τῶν τῆς ἐλαίας καρποῦ ἐτυχεν, οὐκ εὐφοροῦσης τὸτε τῆς ἄλλης γῆς, ὑμνοι αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἵδουντο καὶ μνηστήρως θεραπευόντων αὐτῶν πλέα ἢ πάντα.

XL

Κάκεινα ἀξιομμημόνευτα ἐὑρον τοῦ ἄνδρος· ἔραν τις ἐδόκει τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδους ὃ ἐν Κυλίνθῳ γυμνῶν ἰδρυται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνετίθει, τὰ δὲ...
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.

XL

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
ΚΑΠ. ἀναθήσειν ἔφασκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, Ἀπολλωνίῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ἄτοπα ἔδοκει ταύτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ παρηγεῖτο ἡ Κνίδος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐναργεστέραν ἔφασαν τὴν θείν δόξειν, εἰ ἔρφοτο, ἐδοξε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καθήραι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἀνοίας ταύτης, καὶ ἐρομένων τῶν Κνιδίων αὐτῶν, εἰ τι βούλοιτο τῶν θυτικῶν ἢ εὐκτικῶν διορθοῦσθαι, "ὁ φθαλμοῦς," ἔφη, "διορθώσομαι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάτρια ἐχέτω, ὡς ἔχει." καλέσας οὖν τὸν θρυπτόμενον ἱρετὸ αὐτῶν, εἰ θεοῦς νενόμικη, τοῦ δ᾽ οὕτω νομίζειν θεοὺς φήσαιτο, ὡς καὶ ἔραν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν γάμων μνημονεύσαντος, οὐς θύσειν ἤγειτο, "σὲ μὲν ποιηταί," ἔφη, "ἐπαίρουσι τοὺς Ἄγχίσας τε καὶ τοὺς Πηλέας θεάς ξυζυγηναι εἰπόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἐρᾶσθαι τὸδε γυνώσκω. θεοὶ θεῶν, ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνθρώπων, θηρία θηρίων, καὶ καθάπαξ ὁμοια ὁμοίων ἐρὰ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτύμα καὶ ξυγγενῆ τίκτειν, τὸ δὲ ἐτερογενές τῷ μὴ ὁμοίῳ ξυνελθὼν οὐτε ξυγὸς οὔτε ἔρως. εἰ δὲ ἐνεδυμοῦ τὰ Ἡξίονος, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐσ ἐννοιαν καθίστασο τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίων ἐρὰν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνος μὲν τροχῷ εἰκασμένος δι᾽ οὐράνου κνάμπτειν, σὺ δ᾽, εἰ μὴ ἅπει τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀπολεῖ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῇ, οὐδ᾽ ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων τὸ μὴ οὐ δίκαια τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ σοὶ γνῶμαι." ὁδε ἡ παροιμία
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 ἔραν, ὑπὲρ ξυγγυώμης θύσας.

XLI

CAP. Σεισμῶν δὲ κατασχόντων ποτὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, διηγύπτιοι μὲν καὶ Χαλδαιοὶ περὶ αὐτὰς ἡγείροντο ὑπὲρ ξυλλογῆς χρημάτων, ὡς δεκαταλίγλντος θυσίας Γῆ καὶ Ποσειδῶν θύσοντες, ξυνέφερον δὲ αἱ πόλεις τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκων, ὑποκείμενοι τῷ φόβῳ, οί δὲ, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ἐκτεθείη τὸ ἄργυριον, οὐκ ἀν ἔφασαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θύσαι· δοκεῖ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τοὺς Ὁλλησποντίους, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τοὺς μὲν ἀπῆλασεν ὡς θησαυρόν πεποιημένος τὰ ἐτέραν κακὰ, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας 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.

XL

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

XLII

The Emperor Domitian about the same time passed a law against making men eunuchs, and against planting fresh vineyards, and also in favour of cutting down vineyards already planted, whereon
κακείνα εν Ταρσοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἂδουσιν κύνων ἐνεπεπτώκει εἵφηβῳ λυττῶν, καὶ ὑπήγε τόν ἐφηβον τὸ δήγμα ἐς τὰ τῶν κυνῶν πάντα, ὑλάκτει τε γὰρ καὶ ῥύετο καὶ τετράποσας ἔθει τὸ χείρε ὑπέχων τῷ δρόμῳ. νοσοῦντι δ’ αὐτῷ τριακοστήν ἦμέραν ἐφίσταται μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἄρτι ἐς τοὺς Ταρσοὺς ἦκων, κελεύει δὲ ἀυχιευθήναι οἱ τὸν κύνα, διὰ ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, οί δ’ οὕτω ἐντευχηκέναι τῷ κυνὶ ἔφασαν, ἐξο γὰρ τείχους εἰλήφθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐφήβου πρὸς ἀκοντίους ὄντος, οὔτ’ ἄν τοῦ νοσοῦντος μαθεῖν, ἢτις ἢ ἵδεα τοῦ κυνός, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἔτι οἴδεν. ἐπισκοπὴν οὖν, “ὁ Δάμι,” ἐφη, “λευκὸς ὁ κύων λάσιος προβατευτικός Ἀμφιλοχικῷ ὕσος, προσέστηκε δὲ τῇ δεῖν κρήνῃ τρέμου, τὸ γὰρ ὑδωρ καὶ ποθεῖ καὶ δέδοικεν ἄγε μοι τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην, ἐφ’ ἣς ἔρωτας
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 Amphiloehian 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

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ai palaistrosai, monon eipou, oti up' emou kaloiito." 
elxheis d' o kwn upo tou Daumidos, upekliyhto tois 
tou 'Apolllonion posin, owsper oi bwmioi ton 
ike ton klaiwv, o d' hymrou te auton eti mallon 
kal t' xei' eprrane, ton ephbyon te isth egnws 
xiynhov autov, ovs de m' lathoi tois pollois megan 
aporrhoton, "mehestike mev," eph, "es ton paida 
tou ton Helefony pynh tou Mysoi, Moira d' 
et aut o tauta boylontai," kai eipwv tauta 
keklyvese ton kwna periakhiasmasthai to dhyma, ovs 
latros autw pailin o trwosas genoito. 
epestrafh 
to entuthen es ton patera o paiz kal xiynheke tis 
mhrwv, prosseipte te tois 'hlikas kal eti tou 
Kydnon, periopthi de oude o kwn, alla kakeinon 
euyamenes tiv potamf di' autou hkev. o d' etei 
diebhi ton Kydon, epistasa tiv 'chthi fwn in 
avheve, oter hekista peri tois nuptwntas ton 
kwnon xiymabainvi, kal ta wta anaklasis esievo 
then ouran, xiynies tou errouthei, farmakoposia 
gar luttheis odor, hyn tharshhe aut tw luptwhv.

Toiauta tou anwds ta uper ierow te kal 
polewv kai ta prods dhmov kai uper dhmovn, kai 
ta uper tevnevtovn h nosounvwn, kai ta prods 
sophous te kai m' sophous kai ta prods basileas, 
oi xiymboulon autov arkeithe eposounto.

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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
H

I

CAP. Οίδα καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας, ὡς ἔστω ἠρίστη βά-
σανος ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων, καὶ ἔγχωρῳ σκο-
πεῖν, ὁ τι ἐκαστὸς ἐτέρου ἢττου ἢ μᾶλλον ἄνὴρ
ἐδοξεν, ὁ λόγος δέ μοι ἤνωνει ἐς τόδε: κατὰ τοὺς
χρόνους, οὐδὲ Δομετιανὸς ἐτυράννευσε, περιέστησαν
τὸν ἄνδρα κατηγορία καὶ γραφαί, ὅπως μὲν ἄρξα-
μεναι καὶ ὠπόθεν καὶ ὁ τι ἐκάστη ὁνομα, δηλώσω
αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη λέξαι, τί μὲν εἰπὼν, τίς δὲ
εἶναι δόξας ἀπῆλθε τῆς κρίσεως, ἐλῶν μᾶλλον τὸν
τύραννον ἢ ἀλούς αὐτός, δοκεῖ μοι διελθέων πρὸ
τούτων, ὅπωσα εὑρὼν ἀφηγήσως ἂξια σοφῶν
ἄνδρῶν πρὸς τυράννους ἔργα, παραδεικνύειν τε
αὐτὰ τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου· ἥρη γάρ που τάληθες
οὕτω μαστεύειν.

II

CAP. Ζητῶν μὲν τοῖνυν ὁ Ἐλεάτης, διαλεκτικῆς δὲ
οὕτως δοκεῖ ἄρξαι, τὴν Νεάρχου τοῦ Μυσοῦ κατα-
λύσει τυραννίδα ἢλω, καὶ στρεβλωθεῖσ τοὺς μὲν
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BOOK VII

I

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

II

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

CAP. έαυτοῦ ξυνωμότας ἀπεσιώτησεν, οὐ δ' ἦσαν τῷ τυράννῳ βέβαιοι, διαβαλῶν τούτους ὡς οὐ βεβαίους, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ ταῖς αὐτίαις ἀπέθανον, ὦ δ' ἐλεύθερα τὰ Μυσῶν ἦγαγε τὴν τυραννίδα περὶ έαυτῆς σφήλας. Πλάτων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σικελιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας ἦγουνα φησιν ἀρασθαί, συλλαβῶν τῆς διανοίας ταύτης Δίωνι. Φύτων δὲ Ἦηγίου ἐκπεσοῦν κατέφυγε μὲν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον τὸν Σικελίαν τύραννον, μειζόνων δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἢ τὸν φεύγοντα εἰκός, ἐμπήκοε μὲν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Ἦηγίου ἔρφη, Ἦηγίνοις δὲ ἐπιστέλλων ταύτα ἡλιοὶ, καὶ ὃ μὲν τύραννος ἐνὸς τῶν μηχανημάτων ἀνάψας αὐτῶν ζωντα προσήγαγε τοὺς τείχεσιν, ὡς μὴ βάλοιεν οἱ Ἦηγίνοι τὸ μηχάνημα φειδοὶ τοῦ Φύτωνος, ὁ δὲ ἐβόα βάλλειν, σκοπὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίας εἶναι. Ὅραμένης δὲ καὶ Πύθων οἱ Κότων ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Ὁράκα νεανία μὲν ἡσύχῃ ἀμφὸ, τὰς δὲ Ἀκαδημίους διατριβᾶς ἐπανούντες σοφῷ τε ἐγενέσθην καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθέρω. τὰ δὲ Καλλισθένους τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου τὸς οὐκ οἶδεν; δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπαινέσας τὸν καὶ διαβαλῶν Μακεδόνας, ὅτε μέγιστοι δυνάμει ἦσαν, ἀπέθανεν ἄγδης δόξας. Διογένης δὲ ὁ Σινώπεν καὶ Κράτης ὁ Ἡρβαῖος, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺ Χαίρωνελας ἦκων ἐπέπληξεν υπὲρ Ἀθηναίων Φιλόπτρῳ περὶ δὲν, Ὅραμένης εἶναι φάσκων, ἀπώλεια ὅπλοις τοῦς ύπὲρ ἐκείνων
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 panegyrical 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
"Òπλα ἡμένους, ὁ δὲ ἀνοικιεῖν Θῆβας Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ αὐτὸν φήσαντος οὐκ ἂν ἔφη δεηθῆναι πατρίδος, ἴνα κατασκάψῃ τις ὄπλοις ἱσχύσας. καὶ λέγοιτο μὲν ἂν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὁ λόγος δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μῆκος, τῷ γε ἀνάγκην ἔχοντι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντειπτεῖν, οὐχ ὡς οὐ καλὰ ἢ οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἤττω τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ ἄριστα ἑτέρων φαίνηται.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἑλεάτου ἔργον καὶ οἱ τὸν Κότυν ἀπεκτονότες οὐπώ ἀξιόλογος, Ἡράκλεας γὰρ καὶ Γέτας δουλοῦσθαι μὲν ῥάδιον, ἑλευθεροῦν δὲ εὔμηθες, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἑλευθερίᾳ χαίρουσιν, ἀτε, οἶμαι, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἤγοιμενοι τὸ δουλεύειν. Πλάτων δὲ ὃς μὲν οὐ σοφὸν τι ἔπαθε τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ διορθούμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Ἀθηναῖον, ἢ ὡς εἰκότως ἐπράθη σφαλεῖς τε καὶ σφῆλας, οὐ λέγω διὰ τοὺς δυσχερῶς ἄκρωμένους. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ῥηγίνου πρὸς Διονύσιον μὲν ἐτολμᾶτο τυραννεύειν οὐ βεβαιός Σικελίας, ο δ’ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου πάντως ἀποθανόν ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑπ’ Ῥηγίνων ἐβλήθη, θαυμαστὸν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν ἔπραττε, 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. III ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐτέρων ἐλευθερίας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ δουλείας αἱροῦμενος. Καλλίσθενης δὲ τὸ δόξαι κακὸς οὐδ’ ἂν νῦν διαφύγοι, τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπανέσας καὶ διαβαλῶν, ἢ διέβαλεν, οὐς ἐνόμισεν ἐπαίνων ἄξιοι, ἢ ἐπήνεσεν, οὐς ἑχρῆν διαβάλλοντα φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλως ὁ μὲν καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸ λοιπορείσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἔχει ἀποδρᾶναι τὸ μὴ οὐ δόξαι βάσκανος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς κολακεύον ἐπαίνως αὐτὸς ἀποίσεται τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων σφίσιν, οἱ γὰρ κακοὶ κακίους ἐπαινούμενοι. Διογένης δὲ πρὸ Χαριωνείας μὲν εἰπὼν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Φιλιπποῦ κἂν ἐφύλαξε τὸν ἀνδρὰ καθαρὸν τῶν ἐπ’ Ἀθηναίους ὅπλων, εἰργασμένοις δ’ ἐπιστὰς ὑνείδίξε μέν, οὐ μὴν διωρθοῦτο. Κράτης δὲ καὶ αἰτίαν ἃν λάβοι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς φιλοπόλιδος μὴ ξυναράμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς Βουλῆς, ἢ ἔσ τὸ ἀνοικίσαι τὰς Θῆβας ἑχρῆτο. 'Απολλώνιος δὲ οὔθ’ ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κυνυνευόσθης δείσας, οὔτε τοῦ σώματος ἀπογνοῦς, οὔτ’ ἐς ἀνοίητος ὑπαχθεῖς λόγους, οὔθ’ ὑπὲρ Μυσῶν ἢ Γετῶν, οὔτε πρὸς ἀνδρὰ, ὃς ἦρχε νίςου μᾶς ἢ χώρας οὐ μεγάλης, ἀλλ’ ύφ’ ὁ θάλαττά τε ἦν καὶ γῆ πᾶσα, πρὸς τούτου, ἐπεδή πικρῶς ἐπιράνον τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων κέρδους, χρησάμενους μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ πρὸς Νέρωνα.
wonderful: he only preferred to die in behalf of the liberty of others rather than to endure the death penalty of being himself a slave. And as for Callisthenes, even to-day he cannot acquit himself of baseness; for in first commending and then attacking one and the same set of people, he either attacked those whom he felt to be worthy of praise, or he praised those whom he ought to have been openly attacking. Moreover a person who sets himself to abuse good men cannot escape the charge of being envious, while he who flatters the wicked by his very praises of them draws down upon his own head the guilt of their misdeeds, for evil men are only rendered more evil when you praise them. And Diogenes, if he had addressed Philip in the way he did before the battle of Chaeronea instead of after it, might have preserved him from the guilt of taking up arms against Athens; but instead of doing so he waited till the harm was done, when he could only reproach him, but not reform him. As for Crates, he must needs incur the censure of every patriot for not seconding Alexander in his design of recolonising Thebes. But Apollonius had not to fear for any country that was endangered, nor was he in despair of his own life, nor was he reduced to silly and idle speeches, nor was he championing the cause of Mysians or Getae, nor was he face to face with one who was only sovereign of a single island or of an inconsiderable country, but he confronted one who was master both of sea and land, at a time when his tyranny was harsh and bitter; and he took his stand against the tyrant in behalf of the welfare of the subjects, with the same spirit and purpose as he had taken his stand against Nero.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

IV

CAP. IV

‘Ηγείσθω δ’ οὖν τις ἀκροβολισμοῦς ἐκείνα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὀμόσε χωρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Βίνδικα ἐπιρρωνύνυς καὶ τὸν Τυγελλίνου ἐκπλήττων σαθρότεραν τὴν τυραννίδα ἐποίει, καὶ τις ἀναφύεται λόγος ἀλαξῶν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς οὐδὲν γενναῖον ἐπιθέσθαι Νέρωνι ψαλτρίας τινὸς ἢ αὐλητρίδος βίου ζώντι· ἀλλὰ περὶ γε Δομετιανοῦ τῖ φήσουσιν; ὅσ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔρρωτο, ἡδονὰς δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐξ ὅργάνων τε καὶ κτύπων τὰς τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἀπομαραννοῦσας παρητεῖτο, τὰ δὲ ἐπέρων ἄχη καὶ δ’ τι ὀλοφύρατο τις, ἐς τὸ εὐφραίνον έμικε, τὴν δὲ ἀπιστίαν δήμων μὲν ἐκάλει πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους φυλακτήριον, τυράννων δὲ πρὸς πάντας, τὴν δὲ νῦκτα πάντων μὲν ἔργων ἥξιον παύειν βασιλέα, φόνων δὲ ἄρχειν, ὁθεν ἠκρωτηριάσθη μὲν ἡ βουλή τοὺς εὐδοκιμώτατους, φιλοσοφία δὲ οὕτω τι ἐπτηξὲν, ὡς ἀποβαλόντες τὸ σχῆμα οἱ μὲν ἀποδράναι σφῶν ἐς τὴν Κελτῶν ἐσπέραν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα Διβύης τε καὶ Σκυθίας, ἔνυοι δ’ ἐς λόγους ἀπενεχθήναι ξυμβούλους τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ὁ δ’, ὡσπερ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ πεποίηται πρὸς τὸν Οἰδίπουν ὁ Τειρεσίας ὑπὲρ ἕαυτοῦ λέγων οὐ γὰρ τι σοι ζῶ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ Λοξίας.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

IV

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

‘For ’tis not in your slavery that I live, but in that of Loxias,'
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. IV. οὔτω τὴν σοφίαν δέσποιναν πεποιημένος ἐλεύθερος ἦν τῆς Δομετιανοῦ φορᾶς, τὰ Τειρεσίου τε καὶ Σο-φοκλέους ἕαυτῷ ἐπιθεσπίζασα καὶ δεδιώκης μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδιον, ἂ δὲ ἑτέρους ἀπώλλυ, ἔλεον, οἶθεν ἐγνώση ἐπ’ αὐτὸν νεότητά τε, ὅποσην ἡ βουλὴ ἐχε, καὶ ξύνεσιν, ὅπου περὶ ἔνιος αὐτῶν ἐωράτο, φοιτῶν ἐσ τὰ ἐθνή καὶ φιλοσοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὡς οὔτε ἀθάνατος ἡ τῶν τυράννων ἱσχύς, αὐτῷ τε τῷ φοβερῷ δοκεῖν ἀλήσκονται μᾶλλον. διήθει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ Ἀττικά, ἔφ’ ὅλ’ Ἀρμόδιος τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἄδονταί, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔργον, ὅ καὶ τριάκοντα ὁμοί τυράννους εἶλε, καὶ τὰ Ἡρωάιον δὲ αὐτῶν διήθει πάτρια, ὡς κάκεινοι δήμος τὸ ἀρχαίον οὕτε τὰς τυραννίδας ἐώθουν ὀπλοῖσι.

V

CAP. Τραγῳδίας δὲ ὑποκριτοῦ παρελθόντος ἐσ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰνοὶ τῷ δράματι, καὶ ἄκρωμένον τοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχοντὸς, ὅς καίτου νέος δεν φανερὸς ἐν ὑπάτοις ἀτολμότερον ὑπὲρ τούτων διενεχότα, ὥ μὲν ὑποκριτὴς ἐπεραινεὶ ἦδη τὰς ἱμβείας, εἰς οἷς ὁ Εὐριπίδης διὰ μακρῶν αὐξηθέντας τοὺς τυράννους ἀλήσκεσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ μικρῶν, ἀναπηδήσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἀλλ’ ὁ δείλος,” ἔφη, “οὔτοι οὔτε Εὐριπίδου ἔγνωσιν 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.”
VI

Καὶ μὴν καὶ λόγον ὑφικομένου, ὡς λαμπρὰν κάθαρσιν εἶχῃ Δομετιανὸς πεποιημένος τῆς Ῥω-
μαίων Ἑστίας, ἐπειδὴ τρεῖς τῶν Ἑστιάδων ἀπέκτεινεν ἔπειτα αὐτίκα τῆς ζώνης καὶ τῷ μὴ καθα-
ρέυσαν γάμων, δὲ ἀγνώστη τὴν Ἰλιάδα Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ πῦρ θεραπεύειν ἔδει, "ἔι γὰρ καὶ σὺ," ἐφη,
"καθαρθείς, "Ἡλιε, τῶν ἄδικων φόνων, δὲν πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστή νῦν." καὶ οὐδὲ ἰδίᾳ ταύτα,
διπλέραν οἴ δεῖλοι, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ ὅμιλῳ καὶ ἐς πάντας ἐκήρυττε· τε καὶ ηὐχετο.

VII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σαβίνων ἀπεκτονός, ἕνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔνοχων, Ἰουλίαν ἔγετο, ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία γυνὴ μὲν ἡ
τὸν περιφερευμένον, Δομετιανὸν δὲ ἀδελφίδη, μία τῶν Τίτου θυγατέρων, ἔθευσε μὲν ἡ Ἐφεσος
τοὺς γάμους, επιστάς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος,
"ὁ νῦξ," ἐφη, "τῶν πάλαι Δαναίδων, ὡς μία
Ἱσῆθα."

VIII

Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διὰ αὐτῷ ἐπράτ-
τετο· ἀρχὴ πρέπειν ἐδόκει Νερούας, ἡς μὲτὰ
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VI

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

VII

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

VIII

The following then is the history of his acts in Rome. Nerva was regarded as a proper candidate
Δομετιανὸν σωφρόνως ἦγατο, ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὄρφυτον τε καὶ Ἄρταττον ἢ αὐτὴ δόξαν. τούτους Δομετιανὸς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν ἐσ νήσους καθείρχησαν, Ἕρων τε προσέταξεν οἰκεῖν Τάραντα· ὅν δὲ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀπολλόνιος τὸν μὲν χρόνον, ὃν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρι καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἤρχεν, ἀεὶ τι υπὲρ σωφροσύνης ἐπέστελλε τοῖς ἁγαράσι, προσποιῶν αὐτοὺς τοῖς βασιλεύσων ὡς χρήστοις, Δομετιανὸν δὲ, ἐπεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, ἀφίστη τοὺς ἁγαράς καὶ υπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας ἔρρωνυ. τὰς μὲν δὴ ἐπιστολιμαίους ξυμβουλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς ὅτε, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ δούλου προῦδοσαν καὶ φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ οὔδὲν ἀπόρρητον ἔχωρησε τότε οἴκλα, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑταίρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπολλομβάνων, "διάκονον," εἰπεν ἄν, "ποιοῦμαι σε ἀπορρήτου λαμπροῦ· βαδίσαι δὲ χρῆ ἐσ τὴν Ὁρμίνην παρὰ τὸν δείνα καὶ διαλεχῆσαι ὃ καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πειθό τού ἄνδρος πάν ὦ τι ἑγώ." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὀρμῆς μὲν ἐνδειξάμενοι τι ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον, ὅκνιρ δ’ ἐκπεσόντες δὲν διενοήθησαν, διελέγετο μὲν υπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ άνάγκης περὶ τὸ νέμος τῆς Σμύρνης, ἐν ζῆ ὁ 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.
Εἴδος δὲ τὸν Νερόυαν ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἄρξοι, δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν ὁλοὶ βιάζεσθαι, χαλκῆς τε εἰκόνος ἱδρυμένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐσ αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "ὅσ πολὺ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης ὃ γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεύσαι πέπρωται, τούτον κἀν ἀποκτείνῃς, ἀναβιώσεται." ταῦτα ἐς Δομετιανοῦ ἀφίκεστο ἐκ διαβολῶν Ἐὐφράτου, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅτου μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχρησμωδεὶς αὐτά, οὐδεὶς ξυνίει, τιθέμενος δὲ ὁ τύραννος εὐ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φῶβον ἀρμήσει ἀποκτείναι τοὺς ἀνδράς· ὡς δὲ μὴ ἔξω λόγου πράττων αὐτὸ φαίνοιτο, ἔκάλει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπολογησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπορρήτων. ἦ γὰρ ἀφικομένου καταψηφισάμενος οὐδὲ ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτονεῖναι δόξεων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἑαλωκότας, ἐὰν σοφίᾳ των τοῦ φανεροῦ ὑπεξέλθων, μάλλον ἢδη ἀπολεῖσθαι σφάς ὡς κατεψηφισμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινωνοῦ τῆς αἰτίας.

Διανοούμενον δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα καὶ γράφοντος ἢδη πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, ὡς ξυλληφεῖν

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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

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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 Dicacarchia 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 philosopher who held consular rank in the reign of Nero." "The same," he said, "but how are you to come across him? For despots are doubly suspicious of any man of rank, should they find him holding communication with people who lie under such an accusation as you do. And Telesinus, moreover, gave way quietly before the edict which has lately been issued against philosophers of every kind, because he preferred to be in exile as a philosopher, to remaining in Rome as a consul." "I would not have him run any risks.
Δυνεύετον," εἶπεν, "ὁ ἄνηρ ἐμοῦγε ἔνεκα, ἴκανὸς γὰρ ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας κινδυνεύει.

ΧΙΙ

"Αλλὰ ἐκεῖνὸ μοι εἶπέ, Δημήτριε, τί δοκῶ σοι λέγων ἢ τί πράττων εὗ θήσεσθαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ φόβον;" "μὴ παῖζων," ἔφη, "μηδὲ, ἄ δέδιας, φοβεῖσθαι λέγων, εἰ γὰρ φοβερὰ ἡγοῦ παῦτα, κἂν ἄχου ἀποδρᾶς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον." "σὺ δὲ ἀν ὑπέδρας," εἶπεν, "εἰ περὶ δὲν ἐγὼ ἐκινδυνεύεις;" "οὐκ ἄν," ἔφη, "μὰ τὴν Ἀθηναν, εἰ τὸς ἐδίκαζε, τὸ δὲ ἀνευ δίκης καὶ δ ἁμὲν, ἐπολογοῦμην, ἀκροασόμενος ἡ ἀκροασόμενος μὲν, ἀποκτενῶν δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα. οὐκ ἂν ἐμοῦγον οὗν ξυνεχόρθησας ἐλέεσθαι ποτὲ ὑψηρὸν οὕτω καὶ ἀνδραποδῶδη θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφῶς προσήκοντος. φιλοσοφία δὲ, οἴμαι, προσήκει ἡ πόλις ἐλευθεροῦντα ἀποθανεῖν ἡ γονεῦσι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἁδελφοῖς καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ξυγγενείᾳ ἐμύνοντα ἡ ὑπὲρ φίλων ἀγωνιζόμενον, οὗ ξυγγενείας αἱρετότεροι σώφοις ἀνδράσιν ἢ οὗ ἡμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος. τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ ἀληθείς κεκομψευμένοι δ' ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν τῷ τυράννῳ σώφο δόξαι, πολλῷ μεθετορέν τῇ εἰ τις, ὕστερ φασὶ τοὺς Ἰξίονα, μετέωρος ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κνάμπτοτο. σοὶ δὲ ἀγώνος οἴμαι
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
Αρξείν αυτό τὸ ἥκειν ἐνταύθα, σὺ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τῆς γνώμης ὑγιαίνουτι προστίθης τοῦτο καὶ τῷ μὴ ἂν θαρρήσαι τὴν δεύρο ὁδὸν, εἴ τι ἡδίκεις, Δωμετιανῷ δὲ οὐ δόξεις, ἀλλὰ ἀπόρρητον τινα ἱσχύν ἔχων θρασεώς ἐρρῶθαι. τὸ γὰρ καλοῦντος μὲν, οὐτὸ δ᾿ ἡμέραι δέκα, ὡς φασί, σὲ δ᾿ ἀφίχθαι πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν οὐδὲ ἀκηκοότα τῳ, ὡς κριθήςῃ, νοῦν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ δόσει, προγυμνώσκων γὰρ ἂν φαίνοιο καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἱσχύσει. καὶ ὦρα, μὴ τὰ περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ διειλέξθαι σὲ φασίν, ἐπὶ σὲ ἤκη, καὶ Βουλομένης τι τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἄτοπον, σὺ δ᾿ ἡμαρκασμένος χωρῆς ἐπὶ αὐτό, οὐκ έἰδὼς ὡς σοφότερον ἢ ἑι τὸ φυλάττεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκκλησίας τῶν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, οἰσθά τούτῳ οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ μὴ ἀνελεύθερος ἔγω πρὸς θάνατον. ἀλλ᾿ εἰχὲ τι ραστάων ἐκεῖνα: Νέρωνα γὰρ ἡ κιθάρα τοῦ μὲν προσφόρου βασιλεία σχῆματος ἑδόκει ἐκκρουέων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐκ ἁγιῶς ἤρμοττεν, ἵγε γὰρ τινὰς πολλάκις δι᾿ αὐτὴν ἐκεχειρίας, καὶ ἀπείχετο τῶν φόνων. ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε καίτοι τὸ ἔφος ἐπ᾿ ἐμαυτὸν ἑλκοῦτα διὰ τοὺς σοῦς τε κάμῳ λόγους, οὐς ἐπὶ τῷ βαλανείῳ δήλθον, αὐτίων δ᾿ ἦν·τοῦ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ τὴν εὐφωνίαν αὐτῷ ἐπιδοῦναι τότε καὶ τό, ὡς ἔδε, μελῳδίας λαμπρᾶς ἀγασθαι. νυνὶ δὲ τίνι μὲν εὐφωνία, τίνι δὲ κιθάρας θύσομεν;
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
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ΧII

άμουσα γὰρ καὶ μεστὰ χολῆς πάντα, καὶ οὕτ’ ἄν υφ’ ἐαυτοῦ οδε οὕτ’ ἄν υφ’ ἔτερων θελχθείη. καίτοι Πίνδαρος ἐπαινόων τὴν λύραν φησίν, ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἀρεως θυμὸν θέλγει καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἵσχει αὐτῶν, οὔτοσὶ δέ, καίτοι μουσικὴν ἁγωνίαν καταστησάμενος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ στεφανῶν δημοσίᾳ τοὺς νικῶντας, ἔστιν οὕς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, ἕστατα πασί μουσικὴν ἁγωνίαν αὐλήσαντάς τε καὶ ἔσαντας. Βουλευτέα δέ σοι καὶ ὑπέρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, προσαπολεῖσ γὰρ κακείνους ἡ θρασύς δόξας ἡ εἰπόν, ἡ μὴ πείσεις. ἡ σωτηρία δέ σοι παρὰ πόδα· τῶν γὰρ νεῶν τούτων, πολλαὶ δ’, ὡς ὅρας, εἰσίν, αἱ μὲν ἐΣΛβίνη ἀφήνουσιν, αἱ δ’ ἐς Λαγνυπτον, αἱ δ’ ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρου, αἱ δ’ εὐθῦ Χαρδοὺς, αἱ δ’ ὑπὲρ Χαρδῶν μίας ἐπιβάντει σοι κομίζονται κράτιστον ἐς ὀτιδὴ τῶν ἔθνων τούτων, αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ἦττον χαλεπάλ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἦν ἐπαινοῦντας αἰσθῶντας τὸ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ ξῆν.”

ΧΙII

ΧΙΙΙ

‘Ηττηθείς δ’ ὁ Δάμις τῶν τοῦ Δημητρίου λόγων, “ἀλλὰ σύ γε,” ἔφη, “φίλος ἀνδρὶ παρὼν γένους ἀν ἀγαθόν τι τούτῳ μέγα, ἐμοὶ γὰρ σμικρὸς λόγος, εἰ ξυμβουλεύομι αὐτῷ μὴ κυβιστάν ἐς ὅρθα ξῖφη, 174
nightingale, and where the harp to which we can 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 himself, as by other people. It is true that Pindar says in praise of the lyre, that it charms the savage breast of Ares, and stays his hand from war; but this ruler, although he has established a musical contest in Rome, and offers a public crown for those who win therein, nevertheless slew several of the people who, so I hear, piped and sang in his last musical contest. And you should also consider our friends and their safety, for you will certainly ruin them as well as yourself, if you make a show of being brave, or use arguments which will not be listened to. But your life lies within your reach; for here are ships, you see how many there are, some about to sail for Libya, others for Egypt, others for Phoenicia and Cyprus, others direct to Sardinia, others still for places beyond Sardinia. It were best for you to embark on one of these, and betake yourself to one or another of these provinces; for the hand of tyranny is less heavy upon distinguished men, if it perceives that they only desire to live quietly and not put themselves forward."

XIII

DAMIS was so impressed by the arguments of Demetrius that he exclaimed: "Well, you anyhow are a friend and by your presence you can do a very great service to my master here. As for me, I am of little account, and if I advised him not to throw somersaults upon naked swords, nor expose himself to
CAP. μηδ' ἀναρριπτεῖν πρὸς τυραννίδα, ἢς οὐ χαλεπώτερα ἐνομίσθη. τῆς γοῦν ὅδοι τῆς ἐνταῦθα, εἰ μὴ σοι ξυνέτυχον, οὐδὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐγίγνωσκον, ἔπομαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ θάττον ἡ ἑαυτῷ τις, εἰ δὲ ἔρρει με, ποῖ πλέω ἢ ἐφ' ὃ τι, καταγέλαστος ἐγὼ τοῦ πλοῦ Σικελικὰ μὲν πελάγη καὶ Τυρρηνοῦς κόλπους ἀναμετρῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς δέ, ὑπὲρ ὅτου. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ προρρήσεως ἐκκυδάνευον, εἴχον ἄν πρὸς τοὺς ἔρωτῶντας λέγειν, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν θανάτου ἔρα, ἐγὼ δ' ἀντεραστὴς ξυμπλέω. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδέν οἶδα, ἐμὸν ἡδὴ λέγειν, ὑπὲρ ἀν οἶδα, λέξω δὲ αὕτω ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρός: εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀποθάνομι, οὐπω δεινὰ φιλοσοφία πείσεται, σκευοφόρῳ γὰρ εἰκασμαί στρατιώτον γενναίον, λόγου ἄξιούμενος, ὅτι τοιφδε ἔπομαι, εἰ δὲ ἔσται τις, ὅς ἀποκτενεῖ τοῦτον, εὔποροι δ' αἱ τυραννίδες τὰ μὲν ξυνθεῖναι, τὰ δὲ ἔξαραι, τρόπαιον μὲν οἶμαι κατὰ φιλοσοφίας ἐστήξει σφαλείς περὶ τῷ ἁριστα ἀνθρώπων φιλοσοφήσαντι, πολλοὶ δὲ "Ἀνυτοι καθ' ἦμῶν καὶ Μέλητοι, γραφαὶ δ' αἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, αἱ δὲ ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀπολλώνιῳ ξυγγενομένους, ὡς ὁ μὲν τις ἐγέλατε καθαπτομένου τῆς τυραννίδος, ὁ δ' ἐπερρωσε λέγοντα, ὁ δ' ἐνέδωκε λέξαι τι, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθε 176
risks with tyrants, than whom none were ever yet 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIII

ξύν ἐπαύνῃ ὃν ἦκουσεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποθνησκεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας οὕτω φημὶ δεῖν, ὥς ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ τειχῶν καὶ τάφων, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας γὰρ τῶν τούτων πολλῶν καὶ ὄνομαστοι ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν ἵππαζοντο, ὡς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι φιλοσοφίαν μὴτε ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμυ μήτε ὅστις ἐκεῖνης τε καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου ἑρᾶ.”

XIV

CAP. XIV

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “Δάμιδι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων εὐλαβῶς διεισελέγετον ἐξυγγυνῶμην,” ἔφη, “προσήκειν ἕχειν, Ἄσσύριος γὰρ ὣν καὶ Μήδος προσοικήσας, οὗ τὰς τυραννίδας προσκυνοῦσιν, οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐνθυμεῖται μέγα, σὺ δ’ οὖκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἀπολογησῇ, φῶσον ὑποτιθείς, δὲν, εἰ τι καὶ ἄλληθες ἐφαίνετο, ἀπάγειν ἔχρην μᾶλλον ἡ ἔσω καθιστᾶναι τοῦ φοβεισθαι τὸν μηδ’ ἀ παθεῖν εἰκός ἦν δεδιότα. σοφὸς δ’ ἄνηρ ἀποθηνησκέτω μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔιπας, ἀποθάνοι δ’ ἄν τις ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ μὴ σοφὸς, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνησκεῖν νόμῳ προστέτακται, τὸ δ’ ὑπὲρ ἐξυγγυνείας ἡ φίλων ἡ παιδικῶν φύσις ὀρισε. δουλοῦται δὲ ἄπαντας ἀνθρώπους φύσις καὶ νόμος, φύσις μὲν καὶ

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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
এ কয়তাস, নুম্ব দে জ্ঞানাস সফো দে ওইকোস্টের ন তেলেন্তাঙ্গ উপের দুন জাপুয়েদ্যা অল প্র ম তে এন এ আইলাজয়ে ঝুটে উয়েন্ত দেজে ঠাক গ্রামে ন্যে শুয়েন্ত দে থেলস ন এন, স্পো আ পরে পরে ন্যে শুয়েন্ত দে মন ন্যে কন্ড্রাপ্তপুণ আ টে প্যান্ত পোকা সে দে আ ন্যে মন ন্যে টিম নভুদা দে স্পো আ দে আ মানদ দে থে আ ন্যে দুঃখ যু প্র আ পরে ন্যে শুয়েন্ত দে মন ন্যে অগুন দে থেলস ন্যে কন্ড্রাপ্তপুণ আ টে প্যান্ত পোকা সে দে আ মানদ দে থে আ ন্যে দুঃখ যু প্র আ পরে ন্যে শুয়েন্ত দে মন ন্যে অগুন দে থেলস ন্যে কন্ড্রাপ্তপুণ আ টে প্যান্ত পোকা সে দে আ মানদ দে থে আ ন্যে দুঃখ যু প্র আ পরে ন্যে শুয়েন্ত দে মন ন্যে অগুন দে থেলস ন্যে।

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

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

Τοις θερμοῖς τοῖς μαλακωτέροις σε καλής θάρσει, θερμοίς, διὰ τοῖς θερμοίς μαλακωτέροις σε καλής θάρσει, όσο μεν διὰ χαλέπα αμφότεροι πάντες παράδειγμα ποιούμενος τούς μεν ορμώσης καὶ ἀκρᾶτου Νέρωνα, τῆς δὲ ὑποκαθημένης Τιβέριου, ἀπώλλυσαν γὰρ ὁ μεν οὐδὲ οὐκεῖντάς, ὁ δὲ εἰκε πολλοῦ δεῖσαντας. ἐγὼ δὲ ἤμοιμαι χαλεπωτέρας τὰς δικάζειν προσποιούμενας καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι τι ὡς εἰκ τῶν νόμων, πράπτουσι μεν γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐδέν, ψηφίζουσιν δ', ἀπερ οἱ μηδὲν κρίναντες, ὑνομα τῷ διατρίβουσι τῆς ὀργῆς θέμενοι νόμον, τῷ δ' ἀποδιηνοσκεῖν κατεψηφισμένους ἀφαιρεῖται τοὺς ἀθλίους καὶ τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἔλεους, ἡν όσπερ ἐντάφιον χρή ἐπιφέρει τοῖς ἀδίκως ἀπελθοῦσιν. Δικαστικοῦν μὲν δὲ τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ταύτης ὁρῶ σχῆμα, τελευτάν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ ἐς ἀκρῖτον, διὸ γὰρ πρίν ἡ δικάσασι κατεψηφίσατο, τούτους ὅσο μήπω δεδικασμένους ὑπάγει τῆς κρίσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ψηφις άλοιπὸν ἐν αὐτῇ δῆλον ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ μη κατὰ νόμους κρίναντος ἀπολωλέναι φησίν, ὁ δ' εἴκλιπὼν τὸ δικασάσθαι πῶς ἀν διαφύγων τοῦ μη οὐκ ἔφε ἐαυτὸν ἐψηφίσθαι; τὸ δὲ καὶ τοιῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν θεμέλιων ἑτ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἀποδράναι τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τε κακείνων ἀγώνα, ποῖ με τῆς

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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
ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

CAP. X1V. γῆς εάσει καθαρῶν δόξαι; ἐστω γὰρ σὲ μὲν εἰρηκέναι ταῦτα, ἐμὲ δὲ ὡς ὅρθως εἰρημένοις πείθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσφάξθαι, τίς μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐπλοίας εὐχὴ τῷ τοιῷδε; ποὺ δὲ ὀρμεῖται; πορεύσεται δὲ παρὰ τίνα; ἔξαλλάττεωι γὰρ χρὴ οἶμαι πάσης, ὁπόσης ὅρμαιοι ἀρχοῦσι, παρ' ἄνδρας δὲ ἦκειν ἐπιτηδείους τε καὶ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ οἰκοῦντας, τούτῳ δ' ἂν Φραώτης τε εἶχη καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ἰάρχας ὁ θεῖος καὶ Θεσπεσίων ὁ γενναῖος. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ Αἰθιόπων στελλόμην, τί ἄν, ὁ λόρστε, πρὸς Θεσπεσίωνα εἴποιμι; εἶτε γὰρ κρύπτοιμι ταῦτα, ψευδολογίας ἐραστῆς δόξῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ δούλος, εἴτε ἐς ἀπαγγελίαν αὐτῶν ίοίμι, τοιῶνδε ποὺ δεῖσει λόγων ἐμὲ, ὁ Θεσπεσίων, Εὐφράτης πρὸς ὑμᾶς διέβαλεν, ἃ μὴ ἐμαυτῷ ξύνοιδα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κομπαστὴν ἔφη καὶ τερατώθη με εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστὴν σοφίας, ὁπόση Ἰνδῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ εἰμί, προδότης δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων καὶ σφαγεὺς καὶ οὐδὲν πιστῶν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἴμι, στέφανον τε ἄρτης, εἰ τις, στεφανωσόμενος ήκὼ τοῦτον, ἐπείδη τοὺς μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκοῦν οὔτως ἀνεῖλον, ὡς μηδὲ οἰκήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐτί. ἐρυθρίας, Δημήτριε, τοῦτων ἀκούσων, ὅρω γὰρ. τί οὖν, εἰ καὶ Φραώτης ἐνυθμηθείς κάμε παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐς Ἰνδοὺς φεύγοντα, πῶς μὲν ἄν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέψαιμι; τί δ' ἂν εἴποιμι ὑπὲρ ὑν φεύγω; μῶν 184
brand of infamy? For let us suppose that you have delivered yourself of all these sentiments, and that I have admitted their correctness and acted on them, and that in consequence our friends have been murdered, what prayers could I offer in such a case for a favourable voyage? What haven could I cast anchor in? To whom could I set out on any voyage? For methinks I should have to steer clear of any land over which the Romans rule, and should have to seek men who are my friends and yet do not live in sight of the tyrant, and that would be Phraotes, and the Babylonian, and the divine Iarchas, and the noble Thespesion. Now supposing I set out for Ethiopia, what, my excellent friend, could I tell Thespeson? For if I concealed this episode, I should prove myself a lover of falsehood, nay worse, a slave; while if I frankly confessed all to him, I could only use such words as these: O Thespeson, Euphrates slandered me to you and accused me of things that are not on my conscience; for he said that I was a boaster and a miracle-monger, and one that violated wisdom, especially that of the Indians; but while I am none of these things, I am nevertheless a betrayer of my own friends, and their murderer, and utterly unreliable and so forth; and if there is any wreath for virtue, I come to wear it, because I have ruined the greatest of the Roman houses so utterly, that henceforth they are left desolate. You blush, Demetrius, to hear such words; I see that you do so. What, then, if you turn from Thespeson to Phraotes and imagine me fleeing to India to take refuge with such a man as he? How should I look him in the face? how should I explain the motive of my flight? Should I not have to say that when I visited
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIV

ός ἀφικόμην μὲν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς πρῶτερον καὶ τὸν θάνατον τὸν ὑπὲρ φίλων οὐκ ἄθυμος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυνεγενόμην αὐτῷ, τὸ θειότατον τουτε τῶν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ἄτιμον ἔρρεψά σοι; ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας οὐδὲ ἐρήσεται οὐδὲν ἦκοντα, ἀλλ’ ἀσπερ ὁ Ἀἰολός ποτε τὸν Ὅδυσσέα κακῶς χρησάμενον τῷ τῆς εὐπλοίας δῶρῳ ἄτιμον ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν τῆς νήσου, κἂν δήποτε ἀπελὰ τοῦ ὄχθου, κακὸν εἴπον ἐς τὸ Ταυτάλειον γεγονέναι πῶμα, βούλονται γὰρ τὸν ἐς αὐτὸ κύψαντα καὶ κινδύνουν κοινονεῖν τοῖς φίλοις. οἶδα, ὡς δεισὸς εἰ, Δημήτριε, λόγους ἔμυκτεν πάντας, ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖσαι καὶ τοιοῦτο τι ἐρεῖν πρὸς με ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τούτους ἶθι, παρ’ ἄνδρας δὲ, οἷς μῆπος ἐπέμμεξας, καὶ εὖ κείσεται σοι τὸ ὄποδράναι, βάσανιζέσθω δὲ καὶ ὅθεν οἱ λόγοι, ὅτι τοῦ πιθανοῦ ἔχει δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε ἐγὼ ἥγοιμαι τὸν σοφὸν μηδὲν ἴδια μηδ’ ἔφ’ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν, μηδ’ ἂν ἐνθυμηθήναι τι οὕτως ἀμάρτυρον, ὡς μὴ αὐτὸν γοῦν ἑαυτῷ παρεῖναι, καὶ εἶτε Ἀττόλλωνος αὐτοῦ τὸ Πυθοῖ γράμμα, εἶτε ἄνδρος ὕμως ἑαυτῶν γνώνως καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γνώμῃν αὐτὸ ποιομένου ἐς πάντας, δοκεῖ μοι οἱ σοφὸς ἑαυτῶν γνωστώς καὶ παραστάτην ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν μήτ’ ἂν τηθῇ, τὶ δὲν οἱ πολλοί, μὴτ’ ἂν θαρσῆσαι τὶ δὲν ἔτεροι μὴ 186
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.
Σοφία δὲ οὖν ἐξυγχωρεῖ ταύτα· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Πυθικῷ ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τῷ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἔπαινεῖ, ἔννεσιν ἤγουμένου περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι τὴν ἀπολλύσαν αὐτοὺς νόσον, ἐπειδὰν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ὡς κακὰ εἰργασμένου εἰσὶν. ἦδε γὰρ ποι καὶ τῷ Ὀρέστῃ τὰ τῶν Ἡμενιδῶν εἰδὴ ἀνέγραφεν, ὅτε δὴ ἐμαίνετο ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί, νοὺς μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρακτέων κύριοι, σύνεσις δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων δοξάντων. ἢν μὲν δὴ χρηστὰ ἔληται ὁ νοῦς, πέμπει ἡδὴ τοῦ ἄνδρα ἡ ἔννεσις ἐς πάντα μὲν ἰερά, πάσας δὲ ἀγνιώς, πάντα δὲ τεμένη, πάντα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἡθὸν κροτοῦσά τε καὶ ἄδουσα, ἐφυμήσει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ καθεύδοντι, παριστάσα χρόνον εὐφήμον ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὄνειρων δήμου, ἢν δὲ ἐς φαινὰ ὀλίσθῃ ἡ τοῦ νοῦ στάσις, οὐκ ἐὰν τούτον ἡ ἔννεσις οὐτε ὡμα ὀρθῶν ἐς ἄνθρωπων τινὰ ἀφεῖναι οὐτὲ τὸ ἀπ' ἐλευθέρας γυλότης φθέγμα, ἱερὸν τε ἀπελαύνει καὶ τοῦ εὐχεσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ χεῦρα αἱρεῖν ἐξυγχωρεῖ ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἀλλ' ἐπικόπτει αἱροῦτας, ὡσπερ τοὺς ἐπανατεινωμένους οἱ νόμοι, ἐξῆσθησι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀμίλου ταυτὸς καὶ δειματοὶ καθεύδοντας, καὶ ἃ μὲν ὄρσι μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ ἐὰν δὴ τινὰ ἀκούειν ἡ λέγειν οἴονται, ὀνειρώδη
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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
καὶ ἀνεμιμαῖαι ποιεῖ τοῦτοι, τὰς δὲ ἀμυδρὰς καὶ

φαντασίώδεις πτολας ἀληθεῖς ἤδη καὶ πιθανὰς τῷ

φόβῳ. ὡς μὲν δὴ ἐλεγξεῖ με ὡς σύνεσις ἐς εἰδότας

τε καὶ μὴ εἰδότας ἦκοντα, προδότης ἐὰν γενοίμην

τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδείχθαι μοι σαφῶς ὅμως καὶ ὡς

φαίνει ἀλήθεια, προδώσω δὲ οὐδὲ ἐμαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, τὸ τοῦ γενναίου

'Ομήρου ἐπειπῶν: ξυνὸς 'Ενυάλιος.'

Τὸ τοῦτον ὁ Δαμίς τῶν λόγων αὐτὸς μὲν

οὕτω διατεθήναι φήσω, ὡς ὅρμην τε ἀναλαβεῖν

καὶ θάρσος, τὸν Δημήτριον δὲ μὴ ἀπογνώναι τοῦ

ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσαντα καὶ ξυνθέμενον οῖς εἰπεν

ἐπιθειόμαι οἱ ὑπὲρ οὖ κινδυνεύει καὶ φιλοσοφίας

αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ ἕτα καρτερεῖ ταῦτα, ἤγεοῦθαί τε αὐτοῖς

οὐ κατάλοιπον ἐτύγχανε, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον

παραιτοῦμεν τοῦτο, "δείλη ἥδη," φάναι, "καὶ

χρὴ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐς τὸν Ὠρμαίων λιμένα

ἀφεῖναι, τοῦτι γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις νόμοις,

ξυσσιτήσομεν δὲ, ἐπειδὰν εὖ τάμα ἔχῃ, νυνὶ γὰρ

ἀν καὶ κατασκευάσθη τις αὕτη ἐπὶ σὲ ὡς ξυσ-

σιτήσαντα τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχθρῷ, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν

ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος μεθ' ἕμων ἔθι, μὴ καὶ τὸ λόγον

κεκοιμωμένην μοι διαβάλῃ σε ἐς ἀπορρήτους

βουλάς." ξυνεχόρησε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ

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and fantastic flutterings of heart truth and substantial reality of well-founded terror. I think then that I have clearly shown you, and that truth itself will convince you, that my conscience will convict me wherever I go, whether to people that know me, or to people that do not, supposing I were to betray my friends; but I will not betray even myself, but I will boldly wrestle with the tyrant, hailing him with the words of the noble Homer: Mars is as much my friend as thine."

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,
ο Περίβαλλων αυτούς ἀπήει, μεταστρεφόμενος τε καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ἀποψών, ὡς ἀκολούθως ἢδον ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, "εἰ μὲν ἔρρωσαι," ἔφη, "καὶ θαρσεῖς ἀπερ ἐγώ, βαδίσωμεν ἄμφω ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, εἰ δὲ ἀδύμως ἔχεις, ὥρα σοι καταμένειν ἐνταῦθα, Δημητρίῳ γὰρ ἔμνηση τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἀνδρὶ σοὶ τε καὶ μοὶ ἐπιτηδεύω." ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Δάμις, "καὶ τίνα," ἔφη, "νομίζω ἐμαυτὸν, εἰ τοιαύτα σου διειλεγμένου σήμερον ὑπὲρ φίλων καὶ κοινωνίας κινδύνων, οἱ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥκουσιν, ἐγώ δὲ ἀνήκουσας τοῦ λόγου φεύγομί σε καὶ ἕποκινδυνεύομι σου, μήπω πρότερον κακὸς ὑπὲρ σοῦ δόξας;" "ὁρθῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις καὶ οὕμεν, ἐγώ μεν, ὡς ἔχω, σὲ δὲ χρῆ μετασκευάζειν σαυτὸν ἐς τὸ δημοτικότερον καὶ μήτε κομᾶν, ὡς γοῦν ἔχεις, τρίβωνα τὲ ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι τούτου τοῦ λίνου καὶ τὸ ὑπόθημα παρατείσθαι τούτῳ τι δὲ βούλεται μοι ταῦτα, χρῆ διαιλεχθῆναι. λόγον γὰρ καὶ πλεῖον καρτερῆσαι πρὸ τῆς δίκης, οὐ δὲ βούλομαι κοινωνῆσαι σὲ μοι τούτων ἐμφανθέντα, ἐμφανθείης γὰρ ἂν διαβεβλημένου τοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλ' ὡς μή φιλοσοφοῦντα μέν, ἐπιτηδειον δὲ ἄλλως ὄντα μοι ἔμνησθαι τε καὶ παρατυπχάειν ὁς πράττω." αὐτία μὲν ἢδε τοῦ μεταβαλέων τῶν Δάμων τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ ὡς κακίων γε αὐτὸ μεθεῖναι 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
Φησίν, οὔδὲ μεταγνώσας, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἦν ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ.

Χιλιτέσσαρες δὲ τῆς Δικαιαρχίας τριτάι οὐκ έτας ἐκβολας τοῦ Θύμβριδος, ἀφ᾿ οὗ \( \xi \)ύμμετρος ἔστι τῇ ὅρμῃ ἀνάπλους. τὸ μὲν δὴ βασίλειον ἕίφος ἢν ἐπ᾽ Ἀλιανῷ τότε. ὁ δ᾿ ἀνήρ οὕτως πάλαι τοῦ 'Ἀπολλωνίου ἡρα, ἐμπραγγονός ποτέ αὐτῷ κατ᾿ Ἀθηναίον, καὶ φανερών μὲν οὔδὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δομετιανὸν ἔλεγεν, οὐ γὰρ \( \xi \)υμεκάρπου ἢ ἀρχή, τὸν γὰρ δοκοῦντα τῷ βασίλει \( \alphaπηχθῆς \)θαί πῶς μὲν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπήνευσε, πῶς δ᾿ ἂν ὁς ἐπιτήδειον ἐαυτῷ παρηγήσατο; τέχναι μὴν ὅπως εἰσίν ἀφανῶς ἀμύνουσαι, πᾶσαις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔχριτο, ὃς γε καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ὅν, πρὶν ἦκει, διεβάλλετο, "ὁ βασίλευς," ἔφη, "κοουφολόγοι οἱ σοφισταὶ χρήμα καὶ ἀλαζῶν ἢ τέχνη, καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲν χρηστὸν τὸν εἶναι ἀπολαύσθαι, θανάτου γλίσθομα, καὶ οὐ περιμένουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτόματον, ἀλλὰ ἐπιστῳτάτο τὸν θάνατον ἐκκαλοῦμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας ἕφη. ταῦτ᾿ ἦγοομαι καὶ Νέρωνα ἐνθυμηθέντα μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Δημήτριον ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ γὰρ θανατώντα ἐσθέντο, οὐ κατὰ \( \xi \)υγγραψίαν ἐπανήκειν αὐτῷ τὸν θάνατον, ἀλλὰ καθ᾿ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ κτείναι. καὶ
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because he approved of a device to which he acceded, commodated himself to suit the expedition 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.
FLAVIUS PHIOSTRATUS

CAP. XVI μὴν καὶ Μουσώνιον τὸν Τυρρηνὸν πολλὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐναντιωθέντα τῇ νήσῳ ξυνέσχεν, ἣ ὄνομα Γῦαρα, καὶ οὗτος τὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν τούτων ἦττος "Εἰληνες, ὡς τὸτε μὲν κατὰ ξυνομολέγαν αὐτοῦ ἔσπειραν πάντας, νυνὶ δὲ κατὰ ἱστορίαν τῆς κρήνης· ἐν γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ἀνώδρῳ οὕση πρὸ τοῦ βοηθεῖ κενομα Μοῦσωνίου κρήνη ἐξέπνευ, ἡν ἅδους "Εἰληνες, ὡςα Ἐλικῶνι τὴν τοῦ ἱπποῦ.

XVII

CAP. XVII Τούτων μὲν δὴ διήγεν οὗ Διλιανὸς τὸν βασιλέα, πρὶν ἥκειν Ἀπολλωνίου, ἀφικομένου δὲ σοφώτερον ἡμπτετο, κελεύει μὲν γὰρ ξυλληψθέντα αὐτοῦ ἀναχθῆναι οἱ, λοιδορομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ τῆν κατηγορίαν ξυνθέντος, ὡς γοητεύς καὶ ἱκανὸς τῆν τέχνην, ὁ μὲν Διλιανός, "τῷ βασιλείῳ δικαστηρίῳ," ἔφη, "σαντὸν τε καὶ τὰ τούτου φύλαττε," ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ μὲν γόνης," ἔφη, "ἐγώ, πῶς κρίνομαι; εἰ δὲ κρίνομαι, πῶς γνώνει εἰμί; εἰ μὴ ἀρα τὸ συκοφάντειν ἵσχυρόν οὕτως εἶναι φησιν, ὡς μήδε τῶν γοητευόντων ἤπτάσθαι αὐτὸ. Βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου λέγεις τι ἀμαθέστερον, ἐκκρούον αὐτὸν ὁ Διλιανός, "ἐμοί," ἔπει, "ἀφες τοῦ καλρόν τὸν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ἐλεγχον γὰρ τοιῷ σομαὶ τῆς τοῦ σοφιστῶν γνώμης ἱδία καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ μὲν ὀμολογῇ ἅδεις, ξυντετμήσονται οἱ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λόγοι καὶ σὺ ἀπεὶ ἐφρημικῶς, εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγει, δικάσσει ὁ βασιλεὺς." παρελθον οὖν ἐσ τὸ ἀπόρρητον δικαστήριον, ἐν ὑ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ 196
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

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

XVII

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

XVIII

CAP. ΩΣ ΒΕ ἘΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ ΑΥΤΟΙ, “ΕΓΩ,” ἘΦΗ, “Ω ἈΠΟΛ-
ΛΩΝΙΕ, ΜΕΙΡΛΚΙΟΝ ᾗΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΥΣ, ΟΪΣ ΟΥ
ΠΑΤΗΡ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ἔΠ ΛΕΧΩΝΤΟΝ ΉΛΘΕ, ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ
ΘΕΟΙΣ ΘΟΥΣΩΝ, ΧΡΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΙ δ' ὑΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΣΟΙ,
ΚΑΙ ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΝ ΜΕΝ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΉΓΕΝ ΉΔΗ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕ-
ΜΙΚΩΝ ΕΙΔΟΤΑ, ΣΟΙ δ' ΟΥΤΩ ΤΙ ΜΟΙ ΕΠΙΤΥΠΕΙΘΑΙΣ ΕΙΧΕΣ,
ὩΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΖΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ, ὈΠΟ-
ΛΑΒΩΝ ΜΕ ΗΔΙΑ, ΠΟΔΑΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΕΥΗΝ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ Ο ΤΙ ΜΟΙ
ΤΟ ὉΝΟΜΑ ΚΑΙ ὩΣ ΕΧΩ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ, ΠΡΟΪΛΕΓΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΜΟΙ
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ἈΡΧΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ, Ἡ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ
ΔΟΚΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΙΞΩΝ Ἡ ΠΙΝΤΑ ΟΜΟΥ ΤΑ �izes ὝΠΡΩΠΩΝ, ἘΜΟΙ
ΔΕ ὈΧΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΙΚΟΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ΦΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ· ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΔΟΣ
ΓΑΡ ΦΥΛΑΞ ΧΑΛΕΠΤΗΣ ΕΙΜΙ, ΚΑΙΝ ΜΕΝ ΣΦΗΛΩ ΑΥΤΗΝ,
ΔΕΔΟΚΑ ΤΑ ἘΚ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ. ΣΟΙ δ' ὙΠΩΣ ΕΥΝΟΥΣ ΕΙΜΙ,
ΔΕΔΗΛΩΚΑ, Ὡ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΠΩΝ ἩΦ' ὙΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΚΑ ΠΟΥ ΤΟ ΜΗΔ' ἈΝ
ΠΑΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΣΕ ἍΓΑΠΩΝ, ἙΣΤ' ἈΝ Ἡ ΤΟ ἙΚΕΙΝΩΝ
ΜΕΜΝΗΣΘΑΙ 1 * * ΤΟ δὲ ΗΔΙΑ ἘΘΕΛΗΣΑΙ ἘΡΕΣΘΑΙ ΣΕ,
ὙΠΕΡ δὲν Ὁ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟΣ ΞΥΝΤΕΘΕΙΚΕ, ΣΟΦΙΣΜΑ ΟΥ
ΦΑΥΛΟΝ ὑΠΕΡ ΞΥΝΟΥΣΙΑΣ ἘΜΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕ ΓΕΥΟΝΕΝ,
ὝΠΩΣ ΘΑΡΡΟΙΝΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΑ ἘΠ' ἘΜΟΙ ὉΝΤΑ, ΠΡΟΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΔΕ

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..."
τὰ ἔπι τῷ βασιλεῖ: ἃ τι μὲν γὰρ ψηφιεῖται ἐπὶ σοὶ, οὐκ οἶδα, διάκειται δὲ, ὡσπερ οἱ καταψηφί- 
σασθαι μὲν ἔπιθυμομόντες, αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθέσι, καὶ πρόφασιν ἀπωλείας ἄνδρῶν 
ὑπάτων ποιεῖται σε' βούλεται μὲν γὰρ, ἓ μὴ δὲ, 
πρᾶττει δ' αὐτὰ καταρρυθμίζων ἐς τὴν τοῦ δικαίου 
δόξαν. δὲι δὴ κάρμοι πλάσματος καὶ ὀρμῆς ἔπι 
σε', εἰ γὰρ ὑπόψεται με ὡς ἀνιέντα, οὐκ οἶδ' 
ὀπότερος ἡμῶν ἀπολεῖται θάττον.

XIX

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἡς ἐπεῖ ύγιῶς, ἐφη,
"διαλεγόμεθα, καὶ ὧπόσα καρδία ἱσχει σύ τε 
εἴρηκας ἐμοὶ τε εἰπεῖν δίκαιον, φιλοσοφεῖς τε ὑπὲρ 
τῶν σεαυτοῦ πραγμάτων ὡς οἱ σφόδρα μοι 
ξυνδιατρύγαντες, καὶ, νὴ Δία, οὕτω φιλανθρώπως 
πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχεις, ὡς ἔχεις ἡγεῖσθαι μοι, 
λέξο τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ νοῦν· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀποδέχομαι μὲν 
ἡν ὑμᾶς ἐς πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς, ἕ μὴ ὑμῶν 
ἀκροάται, παρ' ἄνδρας τε ἀφικέσθαι σοφοὺς καὶ 
σοφωτέρους ἢ ἐγώ, θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ἄναιρθο 
λόγῳ, βαδίσαςτι ἐς ἧθη ἄνθρωπων θεοφιλεστέρων 
ἡ οἱ ἐνταῦθα, παρ' οἷς οὐτε ἐνδειξίς οὕτε γραφῇ 
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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

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CAP. XIX
οὐδεμία, δι’ αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ μὴτε ἁδικεῖν μὴτε ἁδικεῖσθαι δικαστηρίων οὐ δέονται, δείσας δὲ προδότου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, εἰ φύγοιμι μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀπόλοιπο τοῦ δὲ οἴ δὲ ἐμοῦ κακοῦντος, ἦκα ἀπολογησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ ὅν ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲ δεῖ, φράζε.

XX

CAP. XX
"Αἱ μὲν ἰδέαι τῆς γραφῆς ποικίλαι τε," ἔφη, "καὶ πλεῖον, καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσθῆτα διαβάλλουσι καὶ τὴν ἀλλην δίαιταν, καὶ τὸ ἐστὶν ύφ’ ὁν προσκυνεῖσθαι σε καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ λοιμοῦ χρῆσαι, διειλέχθαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ μὲν ἄφανῶς, τὰ δὲ ἐκφάνην, τὰ δ’ ὡς θεῶν ἀκούσαντα. τὸ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανώτατον, γυνώσκω γὰρ, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αἷμα ἀνέχῃ, τῷ δὲ βασιλεί πιθανώτατον διαβάλλεται φασίν ἐς ἀγρὸν βαδίσαντα σε παρὰ Νεροῦν τεμεῖτω αὐτῷ παῖδα Ἀρκάδα θυμόμενο ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπάραι αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τούτους, πεπράχθαι δὲ ταῦτα νῦκτωρ φθινοντος ἦδη τοῦ μηνὸς. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ κατηγόρημα, ἐπειδὴ πολλῷ μεῖξον, μὴ ἐστερῶν τι παρ’ ἐκείνο ἡγώμεθα, ὁ γὰρ λαμβανό-202
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."

"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 καὶ τῆς διαίτης καὶ τοῦ προγνώσκειν ἐς τοῦτο δῆπτον ἐμνυτέειν, καὶ ταύτα γε καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τὴν ἐς αὐτῶν δοῦναι σοι φησὶ καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν θάρσος. χρὴ οὖν παρεσκευάσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολογίαν, ἐστὼ δὲ σοι ὁ λόγος μὴ ὑπερορῶν τοῦ βασιλέως." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "τοῦ μὲν μὴ ὑπερορᾶν ἐστὼ τεκμηρίων σοι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀπολογίας ἄφιξθαί με, εἰ δὲ καὶ θρασέως ὑπὸ τὰ μᾶλλον εἴχεν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τυραννίδας αἴρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σοὶ γε ὑπέσχον ἐμαυτὸν τοῦθεν ὅτι καὶ ἀγαπῶντι με. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχθρῳ πονηρῶν δόξαι δεινόν ὑπὸ, εἰ γὰρ ἔχθροι μισοῦσιν οὐκ ἄφ’ ὄν δημοσίᾳ διαβέβληται τις, ἀλλ’ ἄφ’ ὄν ἰδίᾳ προσκέκρουκε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς φίλου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, ὡς κακὸς φαινοιτο, βαρύτερον τοῦτο ἢ τὰ ἔχθρῶν ὁμοί πάντα, οὐ γὰρ δὲν διαφύγων τὸ μὴ οὐ κακείνος, δί’ ἃ κακὸς ἦν, ἀπηχθήσθαι."

ΧΧΙ

Εἴδοκει τῷ Διλιανῷ εὐ λέγειν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος αὐτῷ θάρρείν ἕαυτοῦ ἐλάβετο ὡς μὴ ἂν ἐκπλαγέντος τοῦ ἀνδρός, μηδ’ ἂν εἰ Γοργεῖα κεφαλὴ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν αἱροιτο. καλέσας οὖν τοὺς 204
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because it far outweighs them all. For if the accuser attacks your dress and your mode of life and your gift of foreknowledge, it is only by way, I assure you, of leading up to this charge; and it was moreover these peculiarities which prompted you to commit the crime of conspiring against the Emperor, so he says, and emboldened you to offer such a sacrifice. You must then be prepared to defend yourself upon these counts, and I would only ask you in what you say to show great respect for the sovereign.” And Apollonius replied: “That I shall show no disrespect, you may clearly gather from the fact that I am come here to justify myself; and even if my circumstances were such as to embolden me to treat a despot in a haughty manner, I should anyhow submit myself to a man like yourself who also loves me. For though it does not so much matter if you merely fall into the bad graces of an enemy,—for your enemies will hate you not for reasons which make you an object of public suspicion, but for private causes of offence which you have given them,—nothing is graver than to give a friend reason to think ill of you: this is worse than all your enemies put together can effect, for no man can avoid being disliked even by his enemies for his bad qualities.”

XXI

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

προστεταγμένους τὰ τοιαύτα, "κελεύω," ἔφη,
"ζυνέχειν τούτον, ἐστ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεύς ἥκοντά τε
αὐτὸν μάθη καὶ λέγοντα ὅπόσα εἴρηκε," καὶ
ἐφίκει τοῖς μάλα ὀργισμένοις. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ
βασιλεία τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπραττεν.

'Ενταῦθα ὁ Δάμις ἀπομνημονεύει ἐργοῦ ὅμοιον
τε καὶ ἀνομοίου τῷ ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου ποτὲ Ἀθηνησίων
όστρακῷ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύνειν ἐπ'
ἀρετῆ, ἐξω δὲ τείχους ἦδη οὕτω προσελθόντα τῶν
ἀγροίκων τινὰ δείσθαι αὐτοῦ γράφειν τι αὐτῷ ἐπ'
Ἀριστείδην ὀστρακον· ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὕτε τὸν ἄνδρα
εἰδὼς οὐτ' αὐτὸ τὸ γράφειν, ἀλλὰ μόνου τὸν ύπὲρ
τοῦ δικαίου φθόνον, χιλιάρχος δὲ τῶν σφόδρα
γυγυσκόντων τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον προσεπτῶν αὐτῶν
Ἱρετο κατὰ ύβριν, ύπὲρ ότου κινδυνεύοι, τοῦ δὲ
οὐκ εἰδέναι φήσαντος, "Ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη, "οἶδα τὸ
γὰρ προσκυνεῖσθαι σε ύπὸ τῶν ἄνθρώπων δια
βέβληκεν ός ἵσων ἀξιούμενον τοῖς θεοῖς." "καὶ
tίς," εἶπεν, "ὁ προσκυνήσας ἐμὲ;" "ἐγώ," ἔφη,
ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παῖς ἔτι ὄν, ὅποτε ἡμᾶς λάσω τοῦ
λοιμοῦ." "καλῶς ποιῶν," εἶπεν, "αὐτὸς τε σὺ
cαὶ ἡ σωθεῖσα Ἐφεσίων πόλις." "διὰ ταῦτ'
όν," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀπολογίαν ύπὲρ σοῦ παρεσκεύακα,
ἢ σε ὑπαλλάξει τῆς αἰτίας." ἵωμεν γὰρ ἐξω τείχους,

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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

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CAP. XXI
καὶ ἢν μὲν ἀποκόψω σου τὸν αὐχένα τὸ ἔφει, ἰδιαβέβληται ἢ αὐτία καὶ ἀφεῖσαι, ἢν δὲ ἐκπλήξης μὲ καὶ μεθώ τὸ ἔφος, θείον τε ἀνάγκη νομίζεσθαι σε καὶ ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀληθέσι κρίνεσθαι." τοσῷ δὲ μὲν δὴ ἀγροικότερος οὗτος τοῦ τῶν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαιονότος, ἐλεγε δὲ ταύτα μασώμενος τε καὶ ἦν γέλωτι, ὃ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀκηκοότι ὁμοίος διελέγετο πρὸς τὸν Δάμων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δέλτα, περὶ φ φασι τὸν Νεῖλον σχίζεσθαι.

XXII

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

XXII

AELIAN next summoned him and ordered him into the prison, where the captives were not bound, "until," he said, "the Emperor shall have leisure, for he desires to talk with you privately before taking any further steps." Apollonius accordingly left the law-court and passed into the prison, where he said: "Let us talk, Damis, with the people here. For what else is there for us to do until the time comes when the despot will give me such audience as he desires?" "Will they not think us babblers," said Damis, "and bores, if we interrupt them in the preparation of their defence, and moreover, it is a mistake to talk philosophy with men so broken in spirit as they." "Nay," said Apollonius, "they are just the people who most want someone to talk to them and comfort them. For you may remember the verses of Homer in which he relates how Helen..."
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
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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 in 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 αἰτίαι, ὡς ὑβριν μὲν τίκτει πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον πλοῦτος, ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν αὐχένα ἱστησι, καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἐγείρει, νόμοις τε οὐκ ἑξε πείθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἁρχοντας, οἱ ἐς τὰ ἐθνη φοιτώσι, μόνον οὕτω ἐπὶ κόρρης παῖει δουλουμένους τοῖς χρήμασιν ἢ ὑπερορῶντας αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἱσχὺν τοῦ πλοῦτου.

Ἰδίω δὲ μειράκιον μὲν ὁν, πρὶν οὐσίαν ἐκατὸν ταλάντων ἐκτήσθαι, κατάγελον ἡγούμην πάντα, καὶ σμικρὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄντων ἐδεδείων, ἐπεὶ δὲ ταλαντά μοι πεντακόσια ἔπτι μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο τελευτῆσαντος ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς θείου, τοσοῦτον ἡ γνώμη μετέβαλεν, ὡςον οἱ καταρτύοντες τῶν ἱππων καὶ μεταβάλλοντες τοῦ ἀπαίδευτου τε καὶ ἀκολάστου ἤθους. ἐπιδιδόντος δὲ μοι τοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης φέροντο, οὕτω τι ἐδουλώθην ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν δέος, ὡς ἀπαντλεῖν τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς συκοφάντας, οὕτω ἐδει μειλίτσεσθαι τῇ ἀπομαγαδαλίᾳ ταύτῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἁρχοντας, ὡς ἵσχυς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας εἰη μοι, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς, ὡς μὴ φθονοῦεν τῷ πλούτῳ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους, ὡς μὴ κακίους γήγοντο ἄμελεσθαι φάσκοντες, ἐβουκολεῖτο δὲ μοι καὶ ἀγέλη φίλων λαμπρῶν προορῶντες γὰρ οὕτωι μον τὰ μὲν αὐτοῖ ἔδρων, τὰ δὲ μοι προῦλεγον.
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
ἀλλ’ ὁμως οὕτω μὲν χαρακώσαντες τὸν πλοῦτον, οὕτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς τειχισάμενοι, κινδυνεύομεν περὶ αὐτὸν νῦν, καὶ οὕτω δῆλον οὐδ’ εἰ τὸ σῶμα ἄθροι μενοῦμεν.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “θάρρει,” ἔφη, τὸν γὰρ πλοῦτον τοῦ σώματος ἐγγυητὴν ἔχει· δέδεσαι μὲν γὰρ δι’ αὐτὸν, ἁνήσει δὲ σε ἀπολυόμενον οὐ μόνον τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τοῦδε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεραπεύειν τοὺς συκοφάντας τε καὶ τοὺς δούλους, οἷς δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπέκεισο.”

XXIV


XXV

Καθείρκτο τις καὶ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε αὐτίᾳ. χωρίον ἐν Ἁκαρνανίᾳ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελώου ἔχων περιέπλει τὰς Ἐχινάδας ἐν ἀκατίῳ μικρῷ, διασκεψάμενος δὲ αὐτῶν μίαν, ὁ ξυνῆπτεν ἤδη τῇ 216.
others with their warnings and advice. But al-
though I thus fenced my wealth about, and surrounded
myself so securely with fortifications, I now am
imperilled by it, and I am not yet sure that I shall
escape with my life.” And Apollonius answered:
“Take heart, for you have your wealth to go 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 pro-
secuted, 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 fol-
lowing charge: He had a property in Acarnania
near the mouth of the Acheleous; 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;

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Ηπείρω, δεύδρεσι τε όραιος διεφύτευσε καὶ ἀμπέλοις ἦδυνοις, δίαιταν τε ἐκανὴν τῷ σώματι κατεσκευάσατο ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ὑδὼρ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐςήγετο ἀποχρών τῇ νῆσῳ· ἐκ τοῦτον ἀνέφυ γραφῆ, μὴ καθαρὸς εἰναι ὁ Ἀκαρνάν οὖτος, ἔργα δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξυνειδῶς οὐ φορητὰ, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης γῆς ἑξισταθαι τε καὶ ἀποφοιτᾶν ὡς μεμιασμένης ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἀλκμαῖωνος τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω λύσιν, δι’ ἣν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχέλον μετὰ τὴν μητέρα ἠκησεν, ἤρησθαι αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφ’ ὁμοίως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ σχετλίως ἵσως καὶ οὐ πόρρῳ ἐκεῖνων· ὁ δ’ οὐ τοῦτ’ ἔφασκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπραγμοσύνης ἐρῶν ἐκεῖ ὁικῆσαι, τὸ δὲ ἀρὰ ἐς δίκας αὐτῷ περιστήμα, δι’ ἂς καὶ εἶρχθαι αὐτόν.

Προσιόντων δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πλεῖονων ἐνδον καὶ ὀλοφυρομένων τοιαύτα, πεντήκοντα γὰρ ποι ἐναι οἱ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν νοσεῖς αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀθύμως παρεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρτερεῖν τόν θάνατον, οἱ δ’ ἐπιβοῶσαι τέκνα καὶ γονέας τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ γάμους, "ὁ Δάμι, ἐφη, "δοκοῦσί."
and he planted it all over with pleasant trees and vines, producing sweet wine. So he made 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 Amphiereus had done, when after his mother’s murder he went and lived on the delta of the Acheleus. 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-

Εἶ μὲν γὰρ ξυντίθεσθε ταῖς αἰτίαις, ὀλοφυρτέα ἡ ἡμέρα μᾶλλον, ἐν ἡ ὁ λογισμός ἐσ ἀδικά τε καὶ ὡμὰ ὁμήςας ύμᾶς ἐσφηλεν, εἰ δ’ οὐτε σὺ τὴν ἐν 220
lonius, affected by the spectacle, "it seems to me that these people need the drug which I alluded to when I first entered. Whether it be an Egyptian remedy, or whether it grows in every land and only needs wisdom enough to cut it from its root out of her own gardens, let us administer some of it to these poor people, lest their own feelings destroy them before Domitian can do it." "Let us do so," said Damis, "for they seem in need of it." Accordingly Apollonius called them all together and said: "Gentlemen, who are sharing with me the 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
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τὸ Ἀχέλωφι νήσου ὑπὲρ ὃν ὁ κατήγορός φησὶν ἔρεις φιληκέναι, οὔτε σὺ τὸν σεαυτοῦ πλοῦτον ἐφεδρὸν ποτε τῇ βασιλείᾳ στήσασθαι, οὐδὲ ἐκὼν σὺ τὸν μὴ πρὸς 'Ἀθηνᾶς δοκεῖν ἀφηρήσθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ ὃν ἄφίκησε κινδυνεύον ἕκαστος, ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἴναι φήσει, τῷ βούλεταί," φησιν, "ὅ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐκ ὄντων θρήνος οὕτως; ὡσὶ γὰρ, τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπιβοᾶσθε, τοσῷδε χρὴ ἔρρωσθαι μᾶλλον, ἀνὰ γὰρ ποι ὁ ἡλιοσύνης ταῦτας ἐκεῖνα. ἤ τὸ καθεῖρξθαι δεύορ δεινὸν εἰναὶ φατε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ζῆν; ἢ ἄρχῃν ὃν πείσεσθαι ἤγεῖσθε; ἢ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ τιμωρίαν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ πάθοιτε; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ γαίρων ἡν ἀνθρωπείαν εἰδὼς φύσιν, ἀναδίδαξο λόγον ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς τῶν ἰατρῶν συνόροις, καὶ γὰρ ἵσχυν ἐντίθησι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἔσει: οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐσμὲν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ὅσ δὴ ὄνομασται βίος: αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σώματι φθαρτῷ ἐνδεδείγμα πολλὰ μὲν καρτερεῖ, δουλεύει δὲ πάσιν, ὅποσα ἐπὶ ἀνθρωπον φοιτᾷ, οἷκα τε οἷς ἐπενοήθη πρῶτον, ἀγνοήσαι μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀλλ' δεσμωτήριον αὐτοῖς περιβάλλοντες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅποσοι τὰ βασίλεια οἰκούσιν, ἀσφαλῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς κατεσκευασμένοι, δεδέσθαι μᾶλλον τούτους ἴγωμεθα ἢ οὕς αὐτοὶ δῆσουσι.
in the island of the Achelous, for the reason which your accuser alleges; and you there, that you ever raised your wealth to the peril and endangering of the sovereignty; and you again that you of set purpose deprived the sovereign of his pretension to be called the son of Athene,—if, I say, you can prove that the several reasons alleged for your being, each of you, here in such parlous plights, are unfounded, what then is the meaning of all this lamentation about things which have no existence or reality? For instead of crying after your friends and relatives, you ought rather to feel just as much courage as you now feel despair; for such I imagine are the rewards of the endurance I have described. But perhaps you would argue that confinement here and life in a prison are hard to bear in themselves? Or do you look upon them as the mere beginning of what you expect to suffer? Or do you think that they are punishment sufficient in themselves, even if you are exposed to nothing else in the way of penalty? Well, I understand human nature, and I will preach you a sermon which is very unlike the prescriptions of physicians, for it shall implant strength in you and will avert death from you. We men are in a prison all that time which we choose to call life. For this soul of ours, being bound and fettered in a perishable body, has to endure many things, and be the slave of all the affections which visit humanity; and the men who first invented a dwelling seem to me not to have known that they were only surrounding their kind in a fresh prison; for, to tell you the truth, all those who inhabit palaces and have established themselves securely in them, are, I consider, in closer bonds in them than any whom they may throw into bonds.
Πόλεις δ’ ἐνθυμομένη μοι καὶ τείχη δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἰδιωτηρία εἶναι κοινὰ, ὡς δεδέσθαι μὲν ἀγοράζοντας, δεδέσθαι δὲ ἐκκλησιάζοντας καὶ θεωμένους αὐ καὶ πομπὰς πέμποντας. καὶ Σκυθῶν ὅποσοι ἀμαξεύουσι, οὐ μεῖον ἡμῶν δεδενται, Ἰστροὶ τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἄριστοι καὶ Θερμώδοντες καὶ Ταναϊδὲς οὐ ράδιοι ποταμοὶ ὑπερβῆναι, ἦν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ στῶσι, οἰκίας τε ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν πέπανται καὶ φέρονται μὲν, ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐπτηχότες. εἰ δὲ μὴ μειρακιώδης ὁ λόγος, φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν δεσμοῦ ἕνεκα τῇ γῇ περιβεβλήσθαι. ὅτε, οἱ ποιηταῖ, ταυτὶ γὰρ ὑμέτερα, καὶ ῥαγῳδεῖτε πρὸς τούτους τούς ἀθόμους, ὡς Κρόνος μὲν ποτὲ ἐδέθη βουλαῖς τοῦ Δίως, Ἄρης δὲ ὁ πολεμικῶτατος ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου πρότερον, ἐν γῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλωέως. ταῦτ’ ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν, οὐς δῆμοι ἀσελγεῖς ἐδησαν, τυραννίδες δὲ προϋπηλάκισαν, δεχόμεθα καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ τῶν δεξαμένων αὐτὰ λειποίμεθα.” ὡστ’ οὖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ῥηθέντα μετέβαλεν, ὡς σίτου τε οἱ πολλοὶ ἠφασθαί καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τῶν δακρύων, βῆναι τε ἐπ’ ἐλπίδος μηδ’ ἀν παθεῖν μηδὲν ἐκείνως ἐξωνάντες.

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"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 waggons; they are just as much in chains as ourselves; for rivers like the Ister and the Thermodon and the Tanais, hem them in, and they are very difficult to cross, except when they are hard frozen; and they fix up their houses on their waggons, and they imagine they are driving about, when they are merely cowering in them. And if you don't think it too silly a thing to say, there are those who teach that the ocean also encompasses the earth in order to chain it in. Come, O ye poets, for this is your domain. Recite your rhapsodies to this despondent crowd, and tell them how Kronos was once put in bonds by the wiles of Zeus; and Ares, the most warlike of the gods, was first enchained in heaven by Hephaestus, and later upon earth by the sons of Alois. When we think of these things, and reflect on the many wise and blessed men who have been thrown into prison by wanton mobs, or insulted by despots, let us accept our fate with resignation, that we may not be found inferior to those who have accepted the same before us." Such were the words which he addressed to his companions in the prison, and they had such an effect upon them that most of them took their food and wiped away their tears, and walked in hope, believing that they could never come to harm as long as they were in his company.
Τής δ’ ὑστεραίας διελέγετο μὲν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν ἡμετέρων, ἐσπέρμπεται δὲ τις ἀκροατής τῶν διαλέξεων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ καθεμένος: τὸ μὲν δὴ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ κατηφής ἔδοκει, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τι, ὡς ἐφασκε, μέγα, ἀλώττης τε οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδεύτως εἶχεν, οἷοι τῶν συκοφαντικῶν οἱ συνειλοχότες ὁκτὼ ρῆματα ἢ δέκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνείς τῆς τέχνης διελέγετο, ἃ μὴ ἐκείνῳ προύβαλε, ποταμῶν τε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐμέμνητο καὶ ὅρων, καὶ θηρία δύης καὶ δένδρα, ὑφ’ οὐν οἱ μὲν διήγομεν, ὁ δὲ οὐδέν ἐπέραυεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀπόγευς αὐτὸν ἐς λοιδορίας τοῦ τυράννου ἐπειράτο, “ὁ τὰν,” ἔφη, “σὺ μὲν, ὁ τι βούλει, λέγε, οὐ γὰρ διαβεβλήσῃ γε ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποσα μέμφομαι τὸν βασιλέα, πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξω.”

'Ἐγένετο καὶ ἔτερα ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ ἐπεισόδια, τὰ μὲν ἐπιβεβουλευμένα, τὰ δὲ, ὡς ξυν- ἐπεσεν, οὕτως μεγάλα, οὐδ’ ἄξια ἐμοὶ στουδάσαι, Δάμισ δέ, οἷμα, ὑπέρ τοῦ μὴ παραλελουπέναι τι αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθη, τὰ δὲ λόγου ἐχόμενα· ἐστέρα μὲν ἤν, καθεύρκτο δὲ ἡμέραν ἢ ἡ πέμπτην, παρελ-

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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

1 Kayser reads δοκεί, and makes the spy’s words extend so far.
Hellenic tongue, and said: "Where is the man of Chap. 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
λόγιος, "Ὀδυσσεὺς μέντοι," ἔφη, "παριῶν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πολυφήμου ἄντρον, καὶ μήτε ὀπόσος ἐστὶ προακηκῶς πρότερον, μηδ' οἷα σιτεῖται, μηδ' ὡς βροντὰ ἢ φωνή, ἐθάρρησε τε αὐτὸν καίτοι ἐν ἀρχῇ δέλεσας, καὶ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ ἄντρου ἀνήρ δόξας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐξελθεῖν αὐταρκεῖς ἐμαυτὸν τε σώσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἐταῖρους, ὑπὲρ ὁν κυνδυνεύω." τοιαύτα διαλεκθεῖς πρὸς τὸν ἠκουντα καὶ ἀπαγγείλας αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Δίμων ἐκάθευδεν.

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."
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 exttempore?" said Damis. "Yes, by Heaven," he replied, "for it is an extempore life that I have always led. But I want to tell you what I could remember of the conversation of Phraotes, for I think you will find it very profitable under the circumstances. Phraotes enjoined the tamers of lions not to strike them, for he said that they bear you a grudge if they are struck; but also not to flatter them, because that tends to make them proud and fierce; but he advised them rather to stroke them with the hand at the same time that they threatened them, as the best way of reducing them to obedience and docility. Well, he made these remarks not really about lions,—for we were not interested about how to keep lions and wild beasts,—but he was really supplying a curb and rein for tyrants of such a kind as he thought would in practice keep them within the lines of good sense and moderation." "This story," said Damis, "is indeed most apposite to the manners of tyrants; but there is also a story in Aesop about a certain lion
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRA TUS

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αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀἴσωτος οὐ νοσεῖν μὲν, δοκεῖν δὲ, καὶ τῶν θηρίων, ἃ ἐφοίτα παρ' αὐτόν, ἀπτεσθαί, τὴν δὲ ἀλώπεκα, τὸ τούτῳ χρησόμεθα, εἰπεῖν, παρ' οὐ μηδὲ ἀναλύει τις, μηδὲ δείκνυται τι τῶν ἔξιόντων ἰχνος;” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἀλλ’ ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “σοφωτέραν τὴν ἀλώπεκα ἡγούμην ἂν, εἰ παρελθοῦσα ἔσω μὴ ἥλω, ἀλλ’ ἔξηλθε τοῦ σπηλαίου τὰ ἰχνη τὰ ἑαυτῆς δεικνύσα.”

XXXI

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

σθαί τέ σε πρός αὑτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐμοὶ τακτικῇν εἴδεναι πᾶσαν. ὡσπερ γὰρ τοῖς μαχομένοις καὶ ὀπλυτεύουσιν ὁμιλεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάξεως ἐρμηνευόσθης τοὺς καίρους τῆς μάχης, οὔτω καὶ τοῖς ϕιλοσοφοῦσιν ἐπιμελητέα τῶν καίρων, ἐν οἷς ἀποθανοῦνται, ὡς μὴ ἄτακτοι, μηδὲ θανατώντες, ξύν ἀρίστη δ’ αἰρέσει ἐς αὐτοὺς φέροιτο. ὅτι δὲ ἄριστα τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν προσηκοντα. ϕιλοσοφία καιρὸν εἰλόμην ἀποθνῄσκειν, εἰ τις ἀποκτείνων βούλοιτο, ἐτέρως τε ἀπολελόγημαι σοῦ παρόντος, αὐτόν τε σὲ διδάσκον ἀπείρηκα.”

XXXII

'Ετπλ τοσούτον μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ σχολὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διωσαμένῳ πάντα, ἐς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρί, παρῆγο μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς τα βασιλεία οἱ ἐπιμεληται τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ δι νυχωρήσαντες τῷ Δαμίδῳ ἐπιστέσθαι οἱ. θαλλόν ἀντί σεμανοῦν ἐκχειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀρτί μὲν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ τεθυκων ἐτύγχανεν ἐν αὐλῇ Ἀδώνιδος, ἡ δὲ αὐλὴ ἀνθέων ἐτεθήκει κῆποις, οὐς Ἀδώνιδι Ἀσσύριοι ποιοῦνται υπὲρ ὀργῶν, ὁμορφίους αὐτοὺς φυτεύοντες. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἱεροῖς δὲν μετεστράφη, καὶ ἐκπλαγεῖς υπὸ τοῦ εἴδους τοῦ ἀνδρός, “Λίλιανε,” 238
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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

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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 Diomedes long ago in Troy; for she removed the mist which dulls the eyes of men from those of Diomedes, 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
ος μετέωρον αυτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης ταύτης εἶδεν. "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "Νερούαν σωφρονεστάτων ἀνθρώπων οἶδα καὶ πραότατων καὶ σοι ἐπιτυγχάνατον, καὶ ἄρχοντα μὲν ἀγαθῶν, εὐλαβῆ δ' οὗτο πρὸς άγκον πραγμάτων, ὡς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς δεδείναι. οἱ δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, Ἰρύφον γάρ που λέγεις καὶ Ὁρφιτον, σωφρονεῖς μὲν καὶ οἶδε οἱ ἀνδρεῖς, οἵτισα οἶδα, καὶ διαβεβλημένου πρὸς πλούτου, νωθροὶ δὲ πράττειν ὑπόσα ἑξεστί, νεώτερα δὲ οὗτ' ἀν αὐτὸν ἐνθυμηθεῖν οὔτ' ἂν ἐτέρῳ ἐνθυμηθέντι ξυνάραμπτο." ἀνοίδηςά δ' ο βασιλεὺς υφ' ὅν ήκουσε, "συνοφάντην με οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰληφας, ὃν οὖς ἐγὼ μιαρωτάτους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἑπιτηρήσασας ἕδρον, σὺ δ', ὡς χρηστοί τε εἰσι λέγεις, καὶ νωθροί; καὶ γὰρ ἂν κάκελνους ἡγοῦμαι, ὑπὲρ σου ἐρωτώμενος, μήθ' ὃς γόνης εἰ φάναι, μήθ'. ὡς ἢτης, μήθ' ὃς ἀλαζών, μήθ' ὃς φιλοχρήματος, μήθ' ὃς φρονῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς νόμους. οὕτως, ὃ μιαρὰς κεφάλαι, κακῶς ξυντέταχθε. ἔλεγξει δ' ἡ κατηγορία πάντα: καὶ γὰρ ὅπόσα ὁμώμοται ἕμων

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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

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καὶ ὑπὲρ δὲν καὶ ὅποτε καὶ τί θύσαιν, οὐδὲν μείον οἶδα, ἢ εἰ παρετύχασθαί τε καὶ ἐκοινώνουν.· ὁ δὲ οὔδὲ ταύτα ἐκπλαγείς, "αἰσχρόν," ἔφη, "βασιλεὺς, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἢ δικάζειν ὑπὲρ ὃν πέπεισαι ἢ πεπείσθαι ὑπὲρ ὃν μὴ ἐδίκασας. εἰ δ' οὖτως ἔχει, ξυγχώρησον ἐνθέντε μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας ἁρξασθαι· κακῶς, ὁ βασιλεὺς, περὶ ἑμοῦ φρονεῖς, καὶ πλείω με ἄδικεὶς ἢ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἀ γὰρ ἐκείνος διδάξειν ἔφη, σὺ πρὶν ἄκουσαι πέπεισαι.· τῆς μὲν ἀπολογίας," εἶπεν, "ὅποθεν βούλει, ἄρχον, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ τι παύσομαι οἶδα, καὶ ὅποθεν ἡδη προσήκει ἁρξασθαι."

XXXIV

"Ἀρχεται τὸ ἐνθέντε τῆς ἐς τὸν ἀνδρα ὑβρεως, γενεῖων τε ἄποκείρας αὐτὸν καὶ χαίτης, ἐν τε τοῖς κακουργοτάτοις δήσας. ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς κούρας, "ἐλελήθεις, ὁ βασιλεὺς," ἔφη, "περὶ ταῖς θρεξὶν κυνονεῦων." ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν δεσμῶν, "εἰ μὲν γύνητά με ἡγῇ," ἔφη, "πῶς δήσεις; εἰ δὲ δήσεις, πῶς γύνητα εἶναι φήσεις;" "καὶ ἀνήσω γε οὐ πρῶτερον," εἶπεν, "ἡ ύδωρ γενέσθαι σε ἢ τι θηρίον ἢ δένδρον." "ταυτὶ μὲν," ἔφη, "οὐδ' εἰ δυναίμην, γενοίμην ἂν, 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.”

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
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XXXV

CAP. XXXV

Τὸν μὲν δὴ προάγωνα τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὃς ἐγένετο αὐτῷ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἰδία, τοιὸνδε διαγράφει ὁ Δίαμις, οἱ δὲ βασκάνως ταῦτα ξυνθέντες ἀπολογηθῆσαι μὲν αὐτῶν φασὶ πρότερον, δεδέσθαι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτε δὴ κείρασθαι, καὶ τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέπλασαν, ξυγκειμένην μὲν ἰωνικός, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἄχαρι, ἐν ἣ βούλονται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἱκέτην τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ γίγνεσθαι, παραίτουμενον ἑαυτῶν τῶν δεσμῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰώνιον ἐρμηνεύει τρόπον, ἐπιστολὴ δὲ ἱαστὶ ξυγκειμένη οὕτω Ἀπολλώνιον προσέτυχον, καίτοι ξυνειλοχῶς αὐτοῦ πλείστας, οὐδὲ μακρηγορίαν πω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εὑρόν, βραχεῖα γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ σκυτάλης πᾶσα. καὶ μὴν καὶ νικῶν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ πῶς ἂν ποτε ἐδέσθη μετὰ τὴν ἀφείσαν ψήφου; ἀλλὰ μῆπο τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστήρω: ἐτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ κοιρᾶ καὶ ἀττα διελέχθη, λεγέσθω πρότερον, ἄξιον γὰρ σπουδάσαι. 246
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not ever betray men who, in violation of all justice, stand in peril; and what I am, that I will remain; but I am ready to endure all you can inflict upon my vile body, until I have finished pleading the cause of these persons.” “And who,” asked the Emperor, “is going to plead your cause?” “Time,” replied Apollonius, “and the spirit of the gods, and the passion for wisdom which animates me.”

XXXV

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

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

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ἐφη, "νεανίσκε, μή τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Ἀχαϊῶν εἰς γενόμενος, ὡς σφόδρα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τὰς Ἀχιλλείους κόμας ὀλοφύρασθαι. Πατρόκλῳ τιμηθείσας, εἰ δὴ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ λειποθυμῆσαι δ' ἂν ἐπ' αὐταῖς. ὃς γὰρ τὰς ἔμας, ἐν αἷς πολιαί τε ήσαν καὶ αὑχμός, ἐλεεῖν φάσκεις, τί σοι ἂν πρὸς ἐκεῖνας ἐπαθῆς τὰς ἡσκημένας τε καὶ ξανθᾶς;"

Τῷ δὲ ἀρα ἔξω ἐπιβουλή παύτα ἐλέγετο, ἤν ὑπὲρ ὅν ἀλγεὶ μάθοι, καὶ νὴ Δία, εἰ λοιδορεῖται τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ ὃν πέπουθεν ἀνακοπεῖς δ' ὑφ' ὅν ἢκουσε, "διαβέβλησαι," ἐφη, "πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ πλειόνων, μάλιστα δ' ὑπὲρ ὃν οἱ περὶ Νερόναν ὡς ἄδικοντες φεύγουσιν. ἀφίκοντο μὲν γάρ τνεῖς ἐς αὐτὸν διαβολαί καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίας λόγων, οὐς ἀντιξόως τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἄπηχθη-μένως εἰπτος, καταφρονεῖ δὲ τούτων, ὡς φασιν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὰ μείζω παρόξυνται, καίτοι τοῦ κάκεινα διαβάλλοντος ἄνδρος ὑψοῦ προῆκοντος τῆς δόξης." "οἶον," ἐφη, "'Ολυμπιονίκην εὐρήκας, εἰ δόξης φησίν ἀπτεσθαι διαβολαίς ἰσχύων. ξυνίημι δ', ὡς ἐστὶν Εὐφράτης, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα πάντ' ἐπ' ἐμὲ πράττοντα, ἥδικημαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μείζω ἐτερας αἰσθόμενος γάρ ποτε φοιτήσειν μέλλοντα παρὰ τούς ἐν Ἀἰθιοπίᾳ Γυμνοὺς, ἐς 250
"It is lucky for you, young man, that you were not one of the Achaean alone 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
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XXXVII

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"Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος ἀγασθείς αὐτῶν ὡς ὑπερ-φιλοσοφοῦντα, ταυτὶ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀπῆλθεν, ἐχώρει 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

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CAP. XXXVII

ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἴδαν ἔσ τοῦ Δάμων, ἡς νύης, ἔφη, "τοῦ Πύθωνος τούτου;" ἡς νύημη μέν, εἴπε "ὑποκαθημένου τε καὶ ὑπαγο-
μένου σε, τί δ' ὁ Πύθων βουλεταί σοι καὶ τίς ὁ
tοῦ ὄνοματος νοῦς, οὐκ οἴδα." "ἐγένετο," ἔφη,
"Πύθων ὁ Βυζάντιος ἄγαθός, φασί, ῥήτωρ τὰ
κακὰ πείθειν ὅποιος υπὲρ Φίλιππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου
πρεσβεύων παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας υπὲρ τῆς δουλείας
αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἴα, ἀλλ’ ἐν Ὀθηνιάοις γε
αὐτῶς, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστα γε ῥητορική ἔρρωσε, ἄδι-
κεισθαί τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἔφασε καὶ τῶν Φίλιππων καὶ
deinā πράττειν Ὀθηνιάοις τὸ Ἕλληνικόν ἑλευθε-
ροῦντας. ὁ Πύθων ταῦτα πολὺς ῥέων, ὡς φασίν,
ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς αὐτείπών θρασυνο-
μένῳ μόνῳ, τὸ ἀνασχεῖν αὐτὸν τάττει ἐν τοῖς ἐαυ-
tοῦ ἅθλοις. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὴ ὑπαχθήναι ἐστὶ ἐκτὸς
tοῦτο οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ἄθλον ἐμαυτοῦ φαινεῖ, Πύθωνι
δ’ αὐτὸν ταῦταν πράττειν ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ τυράννου
τε μισθωτὸς ἥφικε καὶ ἀτόπων ξύμβουλος."

XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII

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

XXXVIII

Damis says then that though Apollonius uttered many more discourses of the same kind, he was himself in despair of the situation, because he saw no way out of it except such as the gods have vouchsafed to some in answer to prayer, when they were in even
ΠΟΛΛΩ ΧΑΛΕΠΩΤΕΡΩΝ ᾿ΗΛΘΟΝ, ὌΛΙΓΟΝ ἭΕ ΠΡΟ ΜΕΣΗΜΒΡΙΑΣ, "ΩΓ ΤΥΑΝΕΥ," ΦΑΝΑΙ, ΣΦΟΔΡΑ ΥΑΡ ΔΗ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΗ ΠΡΟΣΡΗΣΕΙ, "ΤΙ ΠΕΙΣΟΜΕΘΑ," "Ὁ ΓΕ ΕΠΑΘΟΜΕΝ," ἘΦΗ, "ΠΕΡΑ Δ' ΟΥΔΕΝ, ΟΥΔΕ ἈΠΟΚΤΕΝΕΙ ἩΜΑΣ ΟΥΔΕΙΣ." "ΚΑΙ ΤΙΣ," ΕΠΕΝ, "ΟΥΤΩΣ ἈΤΡΩΤΟΣ; ΛΥΘΙΣΗ ΔΕ ΠΟΤΕ;" "ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ἸΠΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΑΝΤΙ," ἘΦΗ, "ΤΤΙΜΕΡΟΝ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ἸΠΙ ΕΜΟΙ ἈΡΤΙ." ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΏΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΞΗΓΑΓΕ ΤΟ ΣΚΕΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΜΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΆΜΙΝ ἘΦΗ, "ΕΠΙΔΕΙΞΙΝ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΜΑΙ ΣΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ἘΜΑΝΤΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΘΑΡΡΕΙ." ΤΟΤΕ ΠΡΟΤΟΝ Ὅ ΔΆΜΙΣ ΦΗΣΙΝ ἈΚΡΙΒΩΣ ΕΥΝΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ἈΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ, ΌΤΙ ΘΕΙΑ ΤΕ ΕἾΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ, ΜΗ ΓΑΡ ΘΥΣΑΝΤΑ, ΠΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΝ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΡΙΟΙ; ΜΗΔΕ ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΙ, ΜΗΔΕ ΕΙΠΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΤΑΓΕΛΑΣΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΜΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑΡΜΟΣΑΝΤΑ ΑΘ ΤΟ ΣΚΕΛΟΣ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΔΕΜΕΝΟΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ.

ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΥΘΕΣΤΕΡΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΕΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΓΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΥΣΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ, ΠΕΠΟΙΘΑΣΙ Δ' ΑΥΤΟ ΕΣ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΕΩΝ. ΔΕΟΝΤΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ ἈΘΛΗΤΑΙ, ΔΕΟΝΤΑΙ ΔΕ ἈΓΟΝΙΣΤΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΥΙΚΑΝ ΓΛΗΧΕΣΘΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΞΙΛΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΙΚΗΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ, Α ΔΕ ἈΠΟ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΒΙΚΩΣΙ, ΤΑΘ' ΟΙ ΚΑΚΟΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΑΦΕΛΟΜΕΝΟΙ, ΛΟΓΙΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΤΗ 256
worse straits. But a little before mid-day, he tells us that he said: "O man of Tyana,"—for he took a special pleasure, it appears, in being called by that name,—"what is to become of us?" "Why what has become of us already," said Apollonius, "and nothing more, for no one is going to kill us." "And who," said Damis, "is so invulnerable as that? But will you ever be liberated?" "So far as it rests with the verdict of the court," said Apollonius, "I shall be set at liberty this day, but so far as depends upon my own will, now and here." And with these words he took his leg out of the fetters and remarked to Damis: "Here is proof positive to you of my freedom, so cheer up." Damis says that it was then for the first time that he really and truly understood the nature of Apollonius, to wit that it was divine and superhuman, for without any sacrifice,—and how in prison could he have offered any?—and without a single prayer, without even a word, he quietly laughed at the fetters, and then inserted his leg in them afresh, and behaved like a prisoner once more.

XXXIX

Now simple-minded people attribute such acts as this to wizardry, and they make the same mistake in respect of many purely human actions. For athletes resort to this art, just as do all who have to undergo a contest in their eagerness to win; and although it contributes nothing to their success, nevertheless these unfortunate people, after winning by mere chance as they generally do, rob themselves of the credit and attribute it to this art of wizardry.
τέχνη ταύτη, ἀπιστοῦσι δ’ αὐτῇ οὐδ’ οἱ ἥττω-μενοι σφῶν, "εἰ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα ἔθυσα καὶ τὸ δεῖνα ἔθυμασα, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγε μὲ ἡ νίκη," τοιάυτα λέγουσι, καὶ τοιάυτα οἴονται. φοιτᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θύρας ἔμπορον κατὰ ταύτα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κάκείνους εὑροιμεν ἂν τὰ μὲν εὐτυχήματα τῆς ἐμπορίας λογιζομένους τῷ γόντι, τὰ δὲ ἀτοπα τῇ αὐτῶν φειδόι καὶ τῷ μὴ ὀπόσα ἐδει θύσαι. ἀνὴπται δὲ ἡ τέχνη τοὺς ἐρώτας μάλιστα, νοσοῦντες γὰρ εὐπαράγωγον οὐτό νόσουν, ὡς καὶ γραίδους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς διαλέγεσθαι, θαυμαστῶν, οἵμας, οὐδὲν πράττουσι προσιόντες τοὺς σοφισταῖς τούτοις καὶ ἀκροάμενοι σφῶν τὰ τοιάυτα, οἱ κεστὸν τε αὐτῶς φέρεων διδοῦσι καὶ λίθους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς γῆς ἀπορρήτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ σελήνης τε καὶ ἀστέρων, ἀρώματα τα ὀπόσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ κηπεύει, καὶ χρήματα μὲν αὐτῶν λαμπρὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων πράττονται, ἐξυνδρώσι δὲ οὐδέν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ παθόντων τι τῶν παιδικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρώτας ἡ δόροις ὑπαχθέντων προβαίνῃ τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὑμνεῖται ἡ τέχνη ὡς ἰκανή πάντα, εἰ δ’ ἀποτυγχάνοι ἡ πεῖρα, ἐς τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν ἡ ἀναφορά, μὴ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα θυμιᾶσαι, μηδὲ θύσαι ἡ τῇξι, τουτὶ δὲ μέγα εἶναι καὶ ἀπορον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι, καθ’ οὖς καὶ 258
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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

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diosphilas kal ètera pleioi terateusontai, kal anagegráfatai tisiv, oú' égelasaan platoi ès tiv tēkynh, émou' ò apostefántho. µηδ' èkeinouj, ómiloj tōv nèous, ìna µhè de paizew tà toioauta êthiçownto. apoxròsa ì ëktrotoj toj logou. òi gar ãn pleiow kathaptoimhj toj prágmatos, ò kal fýseia diabéβlhtai kal nómof:

XL

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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 farther 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.
FLAVIUS PHILESTRA\TUS

XLI

CAP. XLI. Καλέσας δὲ τὴς ὑστεραίας τὸν Δάμιν, "ἐμοὶ μὲν," ἔφη, "τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐστὶν προειρημένη ἦμέραν ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δικαιαρχίας βάδιζε, λέον γάρ πεζῇ ἴηναί, κἀν προσεῖτης Δημήτριον, στρέψον περὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ἥ ἐστιν ἡ Ῥαμνησία. Ἑρακλῆς, ἐπισφαλέως γὰρ με ἐκεῖ ὑψεῖτο." "ζώντα," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "ἡ τί;" γελάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ οἴμαι, ζώντα," εἶπεν, "ὡς δὲ σὺ οὖς, ἀναβεβιοκότα." ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθεῖν φησιν ἄκων, καὶ μὴν ἀπογνωσκόν ὅσιν ἀπολογοῦμένον μὴν ἐξελπίζω ὡς οὐκ ἀπολεῖται. καὶ τριταῖς μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐσὶ Δικαιαρχίαν, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὃς περὶ τὰς ἠμέρας ἔκεινας ἐγένετο, δὴ πνεύμα ὑπομέμβηκε καταρραγῆν τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε τῶν νεῶν, αἰὲ ἐκεῖσε ἐπελευ, τὰς δὲ ἔσεν Ἁρκαδίαν τε καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπεώσατο, καὶ ἔννειαν τὸτε ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν πεζῇ κομίζεσθαι.

XLII

CAP. XLII. Τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦτοι ἀναγράφει Δάμις ἐξ ὅν Ἀπολλωνίου φησιν ἀκρικοῦν πρὸς Δημήτριον τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος. μειράκιον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Μεσσήνης τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ περὶ βλέποντος ὧρα ἀφικέσθαι ἐσ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔραν δ’ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ παρὰ πάντας, τοὺς δ’ οὕτως ἔραν, 262
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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
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. XLII


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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
Φλάβιος Φιλοστράτου

CAP. XLI

δὴ γράφει φησὶ τὸ μειράκιον τούτο μηδ’ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, θαυμασθεῖν δὲ τῆς ᾲμης ἐπὶ Μαλέαν πλεύσαι, ἐπεὶ ζηλωτόν τοῖς ἐν Ἄρκαδίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τὰς τῶν μαστίγων καρτερῆσεις παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις νικώντες.
him for his high principles to his correspondent, Chap. adds that he was not put to death by the tyrant. XLI
On the contrary, after exciting admiration by his firmness, he returned by ship to Malea, and was held in more honour by the inhabitants of Arcadia than the youths who among the Lacedemonians surpass their fellows in their endurance of the scourge.
BOOK VIII
Θ'

I

CAP. Ἡ ὠμεν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀκροασόμενοι τοῦ ἀν- δρὸς ἀπολογουμένου ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἥλιον γὰρ ἐπιτολαῖ ἤδη καὶ ἄνειται τοῖς ἐλλογίμοις ἦ ἐς αὐτὸ πάροδος, τὸν βασιλέα τε οἱ ξυνδιαλογοῦντες φασι μηδὲ σίτου ἄψασθαι, διορώντα, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ καὶ γάρ τι καὶ βιβλίων πρόχειρον ἔχειν αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἔνν ὄργη, τὰ δὲ ἢττον. ἀνατυποῦσθαι δὲ χρὴ οἶνον ἀχθόμενον τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ εὕρον δικαστήρια.

II

CAP. Ἡ εντευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διαλέξεσθαι ἡγομένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δραμεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγώνα, τούτῳ δὲ ἂν τεκμηριώθηται τοῖς γε πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου προίων γὰρ ἦρετο τὸν γραμματέα, ὑφ' οὗ ἦγετο, οἶ βαδίζοιεν, τοῦ δὲ ἐς τὸ 272
BOOK VIII

I

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

II

But Apollonius, as we meet him in this conjuncture seems to regard the trial as a dialectical discussion, rather than as a race to be run for his life; and this we may infer from the way he behaved before he entered the court. For on his way thither he asked the secretary who was conducting him, where they were going; and when the latter answered that he was leading him to the
CAP. δικαστήριον ἦγεῖσθαι αὐτῷ φήσαντος, "δικά-
σομαι," ἔφη, "πρὸς τίνα;" "πρὸς γε τὸν σεαν-
tου," εἴπε, "κατήγορον, δικάσει δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς." "ἐμοὶ δὲ," ἔφη, "καὶ τῷ βασιλεί τῆς ὁ δικάσων;
δείξω γὰρ αὐτὸν φιλοσοφίαν ἀδικοῦντα." "καὶ
tῆς," εἴπε, "βασιλεῖ φιλοσοφίας λόγος, κἂν ἀδι-
κῶν ταύτην τύχη;" "ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφία πολὺς," ἔφη, "βασιλέως, ἵν ἐπιτηδείως ἀρχῇ." ἐπαινέσας
dὲ θ γραμματέως, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετρίως διέκειτο
πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλάνιον, ὡς καὶ καταρχᾶς ἐδείκνυ,
"πόσῳ δὲ," εἴπε, "τὸν λόγον διαμετρῆσεις ὑδατι;
tουτί γὰρ μὲ χρῆ πρὸ τῆς δίκης εἰδέναι." "εἰ
μὲν ὀπόσῳ," ἔφη, "ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ δίκη, ἠγχωρεῖ μοι
λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι διαμετρήθεις οὔδὲ ὁ Θύμ-
βρις, εἰ δὲ ὀπόσα ἔρθεται, μέτρου τοῦ ἀποκρι-
νομένου ἐρωτῶν." "ἐναντίας," εἶπεν, "ἀρετᾶς
ἐπήσκησας βραχύλογειν τε καὶ μακρηγορεῖν ὑπὲρ
tῶν αὐτῶν φάσκων." "οὐκ ἐναντίας," ἔφη, "ἀλλ' ὁμοῖας;
ὁ γὰρ θάτερον ἰκανὸς οὐδὲν ἂν θατέρου
λείποιτο. καὶ ἦμιμετρία δὲ ἀμφότερ ξυγκειμένη
τρίτη μὲν, οὐκ ἂν φαίνη, πρῶτη δ' ἂν εἰὴ ἄρετὴ
λόγου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ
tetártην ἄρετὴν οἶδα." "ἀνόνητόν γε," εἶπε,
The Life of Apollonius, Book VIII

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 com-
mended 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, "con-
trary 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 com-
posed 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
"σέαυτῷ καὶ παντὶ τῶν κινδυνεύειν μέλλοντι.
 καὶ μὴν καὶ Σωκράτην," ἔφη, "τὸν Ἀθηναίον μέγα ὄνησεν, ὅτε ἔφυγε τὴν γραφήν." "καὶ πῶς ὄνησεν," εἶπε, "τὸν, ἐπειδὴ ἐσιώπα, ἀποθανόντα;
 οὐκ ἀπέθανεν," ἔφη, "Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἕστησαν.

"Ως δὲ μὲν παρεσκεύαστο πρὸς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ τυράννου πάντα, προεστῶτι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθὼν, ἔτερος γραμματεύς, "ὁ Τυανεύ," ἔφη, "γυμνὸς ἔσελθε." "λουσόμεθα οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἡ δικασόμεθα;"
"οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐσθήτος," ἔφη, "ταῦτα προείρηται, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύει σοι ὁ βασιλεὺς μήτε περίαπτον μήτε βιβλίων μήτε ἀλλο γραμματείου ὅλως μηδὲν ἐσφέρειν ἐνταῦθα." "μηδὲ νάρθηκα,"

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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.

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Τοιαύτα ἥκροβολίσαντο πρὸ τῆς δίκης, τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ· κεκόσμητο μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον ὡσπερ ἐπὶ ξυνουσίᾳ πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου, μετείχον δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ ἐπίδημοι πάντες, ἀγῶνα ποιουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτι ἐν πλείστοις ἔλειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτίᾳ. ὃ δ’ οὖτω τι υπερέωρα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς μηδὲ ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἐπηρεάσαντος δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου τὴν υπερψίαν, καὶ κελεύσαντος ὅραν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων θεόν, ἀνέσχεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, ἐνδεικνύμενος μὲν τὸ ἐς τὸν Δία ὅραν, τὸν δὲ ἰσημερὸς κολακευθέντα κακίω τοῦ κολακεύ- σαντος ἤγομένος. ἐβοᾷ καὶ τοιαύτα ὁ κατη- γορος, "ἡδη μέτρει, βασιλεῖ, ὑδωρ, εἰ γὰρ ξυγχωρήσεις αὐτῷ μῆκος λόγων, ἀπάγξει ἡμᾶς. ἐστι δὲ μοι καὶ βιβλίον τούτο ξυγγεγραμμένον τὰς αἰτίας, υπὲρ δὲν χρῆ λέγειν αὐτὸν, ἀπολογεῖσθω δὲ κατὰ μίαν."

"Ὁ δ’, ὡς ἀριστα ξυμβουλεύσαντο ἐπανέσας, ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀνδρα κατὰ τῇ τοῦ συκοφάντου ξυμβουλίαν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας παρελ-θῶν αἰτίας, ὡς οὔκ ἄξιας καταστήσαί τινα ἐς 278
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, ὑπὲρ τεττάρων δὲ, ὡς ἀπόρους τε καὶ
dυσαποκρίτους ἔστο, ὡδὲ ἔρωτήσας· "τι γὰρ
μαθῶν," ἐφη, "Ἀποκλάνωμε, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχεις
ἀπασι στολὴν, ἀλλὰ ἱδίαι τε καὶ ἐξαίρετον;" "ὅτι
με," εἶπεν, "ἡ τρέφουσα γῆ καὶ ἀμφιέννυσι, ξύλα
dὲ ἄθλια οὐκ ἄνοχλῳ." πάλιν ἤρετο, "τοῦ χάριν
οἶ ἀνθρωποὶ θεοῦ σε ὀυμαζοῦσίν;" "ὅτι πάς,"
eἶπεν, "ἀνθρώποι ἀγαθὸς νομιζόμενος θεοῦ ἐπω-
νυμᾶ τιμᾶται." ο λόγος οὖτος ὅποιεν ἐφιλο-
σοφήθη τῷ ἄνδρι, δεδηλῳκα ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδῶν λόγοις.
τρίτον ἤρετο ὑπὲρ τού ἐν Ἐφέσῳ λοιμοῦ, "πόθεν
γάρ," ἐφη, "ὀρμώμενος ἢ τῷ ξυμβαλλόμενος
προεῖπας τῇ Ἐφέσῳ νοσήσειν αύτούς;" "λεπ-
τοτέρα," εἶπεν, "ὁ βασιλεὺς, διαίτη χρώμενος
πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ζησόμην εἰ δὲ βούλει, λέγω
καὶ λοιμὸν αἰτίας." ο δ', οἶμαι, δεῖσας μὴ τὴν
ἀδικίαν καὶ τοὺς μὴ καθαροὺς γάμους καὶ ὅποια
οὐκ εὐλόγως ἐπραττεν, ἐπιγράψῃ ταῖς τοιαύταις
νόσοις, "οὐ δέομαι," ἐφη, "τοιᾶσδε ἀποκρίσεως."
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τετάρτην ἔρωτησιν ἐπέθεφεν ἐς τοὺς
ἄνδρας, οὐκ εὐθὺς ὃρμησεν, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν
χρόνον διαλυτῶν, πολλὰ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ἐλαγιωτῶ
δὲ ὁμοίος ἠρώτησεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν·
οὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄντονο αὐτὸν ἐκπαιδήσαντα τοῦ πλα-
σματος μήτε τῆς προσηγορίας ἀφέξεσθαι τῶν
ἀνδρῶν, σχέτλα τε ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας βοήσεσθαι,
ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὅδε, ἀλλ' ὑφέρτων τὴν ἔρωτησιν,
"εἰπέ μοι," ἐφη, "προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας τῇ
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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 blunt 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,
Καὶ εἰπών ταῦτα ἠφανίσθη τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τόν τε παρόντα καιρὸν εὑρίσκων ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδ’ ἀπλῶς ὁ τύραννος, ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας ἐρωτήσων δήλος ἢν—ἐμεγαλοφρόνειτο γὰρ ποὺ τῷ μὴ
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 trust-worthy witnesses." Such a reply on the part of the sage aroused louder applause than beseeched the court of an Emperor; and the latter deeming the audience to have borne witness in favour of the accused, and also not a little impressed himself by the answers he had received, for they were both firm and sensible, said: "I acquit you of the charges; but you must remain here until we have had a private interview." Thereat Apollonius was much encouraged and said: "I thank you indeed, my sovereign, but I would fain tell you that by reason of these miscreants your cities are in ruin, and the islands full of exiles, and the mainland of lamentations, and your armies of cowardice, and the senate of suspicion. Accord me also, if you will, opportunity to speak; but if not, then send some one to take my body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay, you cannot take even my body,

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

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

CAP. V
άπεκτονέναι αὐτὸν—τοῦ τε μὴ ἐς τὰ τοιαύτα ὑπαχθῆναι προορῶν. τυχεῖν δ' αὐ τούτου ἀριστα ἥγειτο, εἰ μὴ ἄγνοοιτο τῆς φύσεως, ἄλλα γιγνώ-σκοιτο, ὡς ἕχοι τοῦ μὴ ἀν ποτὲ ἀλῶναι ἄκων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δέος τὸ περὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὐ ἦδη αὐτῷ εἶχεν, ὑπὲρ δὲν γάρ μηδὲ ἐρέσθαι τι ὁ τύραννος ὅρμησε, πῶς ἀν τούτους ἐσ τὸ πιθανὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπὶ ταῖς οὐκ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πεπιστευμέναις αἰτίαις; τοιάδε εὑρον τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ.

VI

CAP. VI
Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος μὲν αὐτῷ ξυνενεγράφη τις ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ ἐς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀφήσωντι, ξυνεῖλε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐς ὡς εἰρήκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγε-γράθω καὶ ὁ λόγος. οὐκ ἄγνοι δὲν γάρ, ὅτι διαβαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰς βωμολόχων ἰδέας ἐπαινοῦντες, ὡς ἤττου πέν, ἢ αὐτοὶ φασὶ δεῖν, κεκολασμένου, ὑπεράρουντα δὲ τοῖς τε ὁνόμασι καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις. τὸν δὲ ἀνδρὰ ἐνυμουμένῳ οὐ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ σοφὸς ὑγιῶς ἂν ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἣθος πάρισα ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ ἀντίθετα, καὶ κροτά-λου δίκην κτυπῶν τῇ γλώττῃ, ἰησουρικοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τρόπων ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος δεῖ· δεινότης γὰρ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἢ μὲν φανερὰ κἂν διαβάλοι 284
death, nor was the latter anxious to be drawn into such discussions. And he thought that he would best effect his end if he left no one in ignorance of his true nature, but allowed it to be known to all to be such that he had it in him never to be taken prisoner against his own will. Moreover he had no longer any cause for anxiety about his friends; for as the despot had not the courage to ask any questions about them, how could he possibly put them to death with any colour of justice upon charges to which, in court, he had accorded no credence whatever? Such was the account of the proceedings of the trial which I found.

VI

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

CAP. τινά ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς ψηφιουμένοις, ἡ δ’ ἀφανὴς καὶ ἀπέλθοι κρατοῦσα, τὸ γὰρ ἱδαεῖν τοὺς δικάζοντας, ὡς δεινὸς ἐστιν, ἀληθεστέρα δεινότης. σοφὸ δὲ ἄνδρα ἀπολογουμένῳ, οὐ γὰρ κατηγορήσει ἡ ἄρ σοφὸς, ἀ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἔρρωται, ἦθους τε δὲ ἑτέρου παρὰ τοὺς δικανικοὺς ἄνδρας, λόγου τε κατεσκευασμένου μὲν, μὴ δοκοῦντος δὲ, καὶ ὑπόσεμνος ἐστώ καὶ μὴ πολὺ ἀποδέων τοῦ υπερόπτης εἶναι, ἔλεος τε ἀπέστω λέγοντος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἀντιβολῆσαι ἐνυχχωρών τι ἀν οὕτος ἐπὶ ἔλεος εἴποι; τοιόσον δὲ λόγος δόξει τοῖς γε μὴ μαλακῶς ἀκροασμένους ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἄνδρος· ἐνυνετέθη γὰρ αὐτῷ διδε.

VII

CAP. "Ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων σοὶ τε, ὅ βασιλεῦ, κάμοι· σὺ τέ γὰρ κινδυνεύεις ὑπὲρ δὲν μὴποτε αὐτοκράτωρ, εἰ πρὸς μισοσφιλίαν οὐδεμᾶ δίκη διαβεβλῆσθαι δόξεις, ἐγὼ τε ὑπὲρ δὲν μὴδὲ Σωκράτης ποτὲ Ἀθήναισιν, ὅν οἱ γραφάμενοι τὴν γραφὴν καὶνὸν μὲν τὰ δαιμόνια ἡγοῦντο, δαιμονα δὲ οὕτε ἐκάλουν οὐτε ἤοντο. κινδύνου δὲ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερον ἡμῶν οὐτοῦ χαλεποῦ ἡκουντος, οὐκ ὀκνῆσων 286
betray him who resorts to it as anxious to impose CHAP.
upon the judges; whereas if it is well concealed, it
is likely to carry off a favourable verdict; for true
cleverness consists in concealing from the judges
the very cleverness of the pleader. But when
a wise man is defending his cause,—and I need
not say that a wise man will not arraign another
for faults which he has the will and strength to
rebuke,—he requires quite another style than that of
the hacks of the law-court; and though his oration
must be well-prepared, it must not seem to be so,
and it should possess a certain elevation almost
amounting to scorn, and he must take care in
speaking not to throw himself on the pity of his
judges. For how can he appeal to the pity of others
who would not condescend to solicit anything? Such
an oration will my hero’s seem to those who shall
diligently study both myself and him; for it was
composed by him in the following manner:

VII

(i) “My prince, we are at issue with one another
concerning matters of grave moment; for you run
such a risk as never autocrat did before you, that
namely of being thought to be animated by a wholly
unjust hatred of philosophy; while I am exposed
to a worse peril than was ever Socrates at Athens,
for though his accusers taxed him in their indictment
with introducing new beliefs about demons, they
never went so far as to call him or think him a
demon. Since, however, so grave a peril besets us
both, I will not hesitate to tender you the advice of
καὶ σοὶ ξυμβουλεύειν, ὅπόσα ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατέστησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ κατηγορος ἐς τούτοι τὸν ἀγώνα, ἐσῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἀληθῆς περὶ ἔμοι τε καὶ σοῦ δόξα· σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἥντο ξυμβούλω τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὅργῃ χρήσεσθαι, δι’ ἢν κἂν ἀποκτείναι με, ὃ τι ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀποκτείναι, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐκποιῆσεν ἐμαυτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου τρόποις, ὑπόσοι τοῦ ἀποδρᾶναι εἰςιν, ἦσαν δ’, ὃς βασιλεύς, μυρίου καὶ τούτων ἄκουών οὐκ ἐς τὸ προκαταγωγνάσκειν ἥλθον, οὐδὲ κατεψηφισάμην τῆς σής ἀκροάσεως ὡς μὴ τὸ ἐνθύ ἐχούσης, ἀλλὰ ξυνθέμενος τὸς νόμοις ἔστηκα ὑπὸ τὸ λόγῳ τούτου ἔμμιθος καὶ σοὶ γέγονομαι. δίκαιων γὰρ τὸ μὴ προκαταγωγνάσκειν, μηδὲ καθήσθαι πεπεισμένον, ὡς ἐγὼ τί σε κακὸν εἴργασμαι, μηδ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίου καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἐκείνη ἀρχοῦσιν, οἳ ὑποσ τε παμπόλλη ἐστὶ καὶ τοξείᾳ πᾶσα καὶ χρυσῆ γῆ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὄχλος, ὅν ἕγω σοίδα, ἄκουών ξύν γέλωτι τὸ πείσεσθαι τι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ὃ σε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἀφαιρήσεται, κατ’ ἀνδρὸς δὲ σοφοῦ καὶ γυμνοῦ πιστεύειν, ὡς ἐστὶ τούτω ὅπλον ἑπὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ προσδέχεσθαι ταύτα Ἀλυπτίου συκοφάντου λέγοντος, ἃ μηδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ποτε ἦκουσας, ἢν σεαυτὸν προορᾶν φῆς, εἰ μή, νη Δία, ἡ κολακευτική καὶ τὸ συκοφάντειν οὕτω
whose excellence I am myself convinced. For since CHAP.

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 prejudge the case, nor take your seat

on the bench with your mind made up to the belief

that I have done you any wrong. If you were told

that the Armenian, the Babylonian and other foreign

potentates were about to inflict some disaster on you,

which must lead to the loss of your empire, you

would, I am sure, laugh outright; although they

have hosts of cavalry, all kinds of archers, a gold-

bearing soil and, as I know full well, a teeming

population. And yet you distrust a philosopher,

naked of means of offence, and are ready to believe

he is a menace to the autocrat of the Romans,—all

this on the mere word of an Egyptian sycophant.

Never did you hear such tales from Athene, whom

you allege to be your guardian spirit, unless indeed,

great Heavens! their faculty of flattering and falsely

accusing others has so increased the influence of

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CAP. VII  τι νῦν τοὺς ἀλητηρίους τούτους ἐπιδέδωκεν, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὅποσα ὠφθαλμαί τέ εἰσι καὶ τὸ μὴ πυρέξαι, μὴν ἀνοιδήσαι τι τῶν σπλάγχνων, ἐπιτηδείους εἶναι σοι ξυμβούλους φάσκειν, ιατρῶν δίκην ἐφαπτομένους καὶ θεραπεύοντας, ὅτου αὐτῶν πονηρῶς ἔχους, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῷ σώματι κινδυνεύοντι σοι μὴ γὰρ υἱς φυλάττεσθαι χρῆ ξυμβουλεύειν μὴθ' ὅ τι ἐσται σοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅπλον διδάσκειν ἦκοντας, ἀλλ' εἶναι σοι τοὺς συκοφάντας αὐγίδα Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Δίδω χείρα, εἰδέναι μὲν ὑπὲρ σοῦ φάσκοντας, ἀ μὴν οἱ θεοὶ, προεγγρηγορότας δὲ σοι καὶ προκαθεύδοντας, εἰ δὴ καθεύδουσιν οὔτοι, κακοὶς, φασίν, ἐπαντλοῦντες κακὰ καὶ τὰς Ἡλιάδας ταύτας ἀεὶ ἔννυσθέντες.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἰπποτροφεῖν αὐτοὺς κατὶ ξευγῶν ἐσ τὴν ἄγορὰν ἐκκυκλεῖσθαι λευκῶν, καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ ὄψωφαγία καὶ μυριάδων δύο καὶ τριῶν ἐωνήμενα παιδικά, καὶ τὸ μοιχεύειν μὲν, ὅν λαυθάνουσι χρόνον, γαμεῖν δὲ, ἂς ἐμοίχευσαν, ὅταν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ληφθῶσι, καὶ οἱ κροτοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς νίκαις, ἐπειδὴν φιλόσοφος τις ἡ ὑπατος, ἄδικῶν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' 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
καὶ τὸ μὴν νόμων αὐτῶν ἐτί μὴν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐναι φόβου, τὸ δ’ οὐτώ τι ύπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φρονεῖν, ὡς προγνώσκειν βούλεσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐτ’ ἐπαινῶ καὶ ἄκοινων δέδια, σὺ δ’ εἰ προσδέξοιο, γράψονται καὶ σὲ ἔσως ὡς διαβάλλοντα τὴν περὶ τοῦ θείου δόξαν, ἐλπίς γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ ξυγκεί- σεσθαι τοιαύτας γραφάς, ἐπειδὰν μηδεὶς τοῖς συκουλάνταις λοιπὸς ἢ καὶ ξυνίημι μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν μᾶλλον ἡ ἀπολογούμενος, εἰρήσθω δὲ μοι ταῦθ’ ύπὲρ τῶν νόμων, οὐς εἰ μὴ ἄρχοντας ἡγοῦν, οὐκ ἄρξεις.

Τῆς οὖν ξυνήγορος ἐσται μοι ἀπολογοῦμενῷ; εἰ γὰρ καλέσαιμι τὸν Δία, ὡς φ’ ἐμφαινώς ὀδα, γνησίειν με φήσουσί καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄγειν. διαλεγόμεθα οὖν περὶ τούτου ἀνδρί, ὡς τεθνάναι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ φασίν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ φημὶ· ἐστι δὲ οὖτος ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σῶς, φ’ ἐγὼ τοσοῦτον ἀξίος, ὡςον περ ἐκείνοι σοὶ· σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐποίησεν, ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐγένετο. οὖτος, ὃ βασιλεὺς, ξυλλήπτων ἐσται μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας, πολλῷ τάμα βέλτιον ἡ συ γιγανώσκων ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Διόνυστον οὐτός αὐτοκράτωρ, θεοὶς τε τοῖς ἐν Διόνυστῷ θύσων κα- μοὶ ύπὲρ τῆς ἄρχης διαλεξόμενος. ἐντυχὼν δὲ μοι κομὸντι τε καὶ ὁδε ἐσταμένῳ οὐδὲ ἤρετο οὐδὲ ἐν περὶ τοῦ σχῆματος, ἡγούμενος τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πάν εἰ τὸ ἐξειν, ἐμοὶ δ’ ἐνεχ’ ἥκειν ὀμολογήσας, ἀπῆλθεν

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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 ἂ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἀκούσας δ’ ἂ μὴ παρ’ ἄλλον· ἢ τε διάνοια, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἔχρητο, ἐρρώσθη αὐτῷ παρ’ ἐμοῦ μάλιστα, μεθεστηκών ἡδὴ ὑφ’ ἐτέρων, οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδείων μὲν; οὐ μὴν σοὶ γε δόξαι, οἱ γὰρ μὴ ἄρχειν αὐτὸν πείθοντες καὶ σὲ δὴπον αὐτὸ ἀφηροῦντο τὸ μετ’ ἐκείνων ταῦτ’ ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δὲ εὐμβουλεύοντος ἑαυτὸν τε μὴ ἀπαξιοῦν ἄρχης ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτῷ φοιτῶσης, ὑμᾶς τε κληρονόμους αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι, εὖ ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην φήσας, αὐτὸς τε μέγας ἦρθη καὶ ὑμᾶς ἤρεν· εἰ δὲ γόητὰ με φέτο, οὐδ’ ἂν εὐνήψε μοι κοινωνίαν φροντίδων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἢκὼν διελέγετο, οἰον ἀνάγκασον τὰς Μοίρας ἢ τὸν Δία, τύραννον ἀποφήναι με ἢ τεράτευσαι διοςημίας ύπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δεῖξας τὸν ἦλιον ἀνίσχοντα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, δυόμενον δὲ, θεῖν ἄρχεται. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μοι ἐπιτηδείως ἄρχειν ἐδοξεῖν, ἢ ἐμὲ ἡγούμενος ἴκανον ταῦτα, ἢ σοφίσμασι θηρεύων ἄρχης, ἢν ἀρεταῖς ἐδει κατακτᾶσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ δημοσία διελέξθην ἐν ἱερί, γοητῶν δὲ εὐνουσίας σεῖγουσι μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἔχθρα γὰρ τοῖς περὶ τὴν τέχνην, νῦκτα δὲ καὶ πᾶν, ὦ τι ἄφεγγες, αὐτῶν προβαλλόμενοι, οὐ εὐγχωροῦσι τοῖς ἀνοήτοις οὖδὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν οὔτε ὡτα. διελέξθη μοι καὶ ἰδίᾳ 294
and after commending me and saying to me things CHAP. VII 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 ὁμος Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων, ὁ μὲν πολεμιώτατα μοι ἔχων, ὁ δὲ οἰκείωτατα, Δίωνα γὰρ μὴ παύσασθην γράφων ἐν φίλοις. τις ἂν οὖν ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἢ μεταποιουμένων γε σοφίας ἐς γόητας ἐλθοὶ λόγους; τις δὲ οὐκ ἂν παραπλησίως φυλάξατο καὶ ἐν φίλοις καὶ ἐν ἐχθροῖς κακῶς φαινεσθαι; καὶ οἱ λόγοι ἦσαν ἐναντιούμενοι τοῖς γόησιν, σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἵσως τὸν πατέρα ἔγνυ τὸν σέαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἐρῶντα γόησι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐαυτῷ πιστεύσαι, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἵνα τούτου τύχοι, παρ' ἐμοῦ εὐρέσθαι, ὁ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἐς Ἀργυττὸν ἤκειν ἔχειν φησθο, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὑπὲρ μειξώνων ἐμοὶ διελέγετο, ὑπὲρ νόμων καὶ ὑπὲρ πλούτου δικαίου, θεοὶ τε ὡς θεραπευτέως, καὶ ὠπόσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἄγαθα τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀρχουσι, μαθεῖν ἡραίοις πᾶσιν ἐναντιόν χρῆμα οἱ γόητες, εἰ γὰρ ἵσχυοι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ τέχνη.

Προσήκει δὲ, ὁ βασιλεὺς, κἀκεῖνα ἐπεσκέφθαι τέχναι ὁπόσαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἰσί, πράττοντοι μὲν ἄλλα ἄλλη, πᾶσαι δ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, αἱ μὲν σμικρῶν, αἱ δ' αὖ μεγάλων, αἱ δ' ἀφ' ὅν θρέψονται καὶ οὖχ αἱ βάναυσοι μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν σοφαῖ τε ὁμοίως καὶ
sation with me, but there were present at it beside myself Euphrates and Dion, one of them my bitter enemy, but the other my finest 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. VII

υπόσοφοι, πλήν ἀληθοὺς φιλοσοφίας. καλῶ δὲ σοφὰς μὲν ποιητικὴν μουσικὴν ἀστρονομίαν, σοφιστὰς καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς μὴ ἁγοραίους, υποσόφους δὲ ξωγραφίαιν πλαστικὴν ἀγαλματοποιοῦς κυβερνήτας γεωργοῦς, ἢν ταῖς ὄραις ἐπωνυμίας, καὶ γὰρ αἰδε αἱ τέχναι σοφίας οὐ πολὺ λείπουνται. ἔστι δὲ τι, ὃ βασιλεὺς, ψευδόσοφοι τε καὶ ἄγειροντες, ὃ μὴ μαντικὴν ὑπολάβης, τολλοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀξία, ἢν ἀληθεύῃ, εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ τέχνη, οὐπω οἶδα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδόσοφους φημὶ τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστεῖσθαι, πάντα ταύτα προστίθημι τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων δόξῃ, τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων τε καὶ ξονομένων ἀνοίᾳ κεῖται, ἢ δὲ τέχνη φιλοχρήματος πάντες, ἢ γὰρ κομψεύονται, ταῦτα ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ σφίσιν ἐὑρηται, μαστεύουσι δ' ὑπερβολὰς χρημάτων, ὑπαγόμενοι τοὺς ὅτου ἔρωντας ὡς ἰκανὸν πάντα. τόνα οὖν, ὃ βασιλεύ, πλοῦτον περὶ ἡμᾶς ἱδῶ τε ψευδοσοφίαν ἑπιτηδεύειν μὲ οἷον, καὶ ταύτα τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς κρείττω μὲ ἡγομένου χρημάτων; ὅτι δ' ἀληθῇ

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are esteemed liberal\(^1\) arts as well as those which only \textit{CHAP. VII} 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 \textit{σοφός} in this passage by \textit{liberal, wise, and clever} according to the context.
CAP. VII

λέγω, ποῦ μοι ἢ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ γενναίου τε καὶ θείου ἄνδρος; ὃς με ἐν αὐτῇ ἦδει τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι.

αὐτοκράτωρ Οὐσπασιανὸς Ἀπολλώνιος φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

"Εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταὐτά σοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἦθελον, σφόδρα ἂν ευδαιμόνως ἔπραττε φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία· φιλοσοφία μὲν ἀδεκάστως ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαίρετως. ἔρρωσο."  

"Ταῦθ’ ὁ πατήρ ὁ σος ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀπολογείσθω, φιλοσοφίας μὲν τὸ ἀδέκαστον, πενίας δὲ τὸ αὐθαίρετον ἐμοὶ ὀριζόμενος, ἐμέμνητο γὰρ που καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι Ἑυφράτης μὲν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν προσποιομένων φιλοσοφεῖν προσίνθετε αὐτῷ χρήματα οὐδ’ ἀφανῶς ἦτουν, ἐγὼ δ’ οὐ μόνον οὐ προσήνε ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ κάκεινος ἐώθουν ὃς οὐκ υγιαίνοντάς, διεβεβλήμην δὲ πρὸς χρήματα μειράκιον ὅν ἔτω τὰ γοῦν πατρόφα, λαμπρὰ δ’ ἦν οὐσία ταῦτα, μᾶς μόνης ἰδῶν ἡμέρας, ἀδελφοῖς τε τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ ἀφήκα καὶ φίλοις, καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν τοῖς πένησι, μελετῶν που ἀφ’ Ἐστίας τὸ μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι, εάσθω δὲ Βαβυλῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ Καύκασον τε καὶ ποταμὸν Ἐφασιν, δι’ δὲ ἐπορευόμην ἐμαυτῷ ὁμοίως· ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ μῆ πρὸς ἀργύριον βλέπειν ποιούμαι μάρτυρα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦτον· δεινὰ γὰρ πεπράχθαι τε
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

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μοι καὶ βεβουλευθαῖ φήσας, οὖθε ὑπόσων χρημάτων ἐπανουργοῦν ταῦτα, εἴρηκεν, οὖθε δὲ τι ἐνθυμηθεὶς κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνόητος αὐτῷ δοκῶ τις, ὃς γοητεύειν μὲν, ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἔτεροι χρημάτων, αὐτὸς ἅδικείν οὖθ' ἐπὶ χρῆμασιν, ἀγοράν, οἴμαι, προκηρύττων τοιαύτην ἵτε, ὃ ἀνόητοι, γοητεύω γὰρ, καὶ οὖθ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ προῖκα, κερδανεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκαστὸς ἔχων, ὦτον ἔρα, ἐγὼ δὲ κινδύνους καὶ γραφάς.

Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐσ ἀνοιτοὺς ἱσμεν λόγους, ἑρώμεθα τὸν κατήγορον, ὑπὲρ ὦτον χρὴ λέγειν πρῶτον. καίτοι τί χρὴ ἐρωτᾶν; διήλθε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς στολῆς ταῖς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου, καὶ, νὴ Δί', ἰόν σιτοῦμαι τε καὶ οὐ σιτοῦμαι. ἀπολογοῦ δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτων, θείε Πυθαγόρα, κρυνόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὅν σὺ μὲν εὔρεσ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαίνῳ. ἀνθρώποις ἡ γῆ φύει, βασιλεῖ, πάντα, καὶ σπουδᾶς ἅγειν πρὸς τὰ ζώα βουλομένους δεῖ οὐδενός, τὰ μὲν γὰρ δρέπτονται αὐτῆς, τὰ δ' ἀροῦνται κουροτροφούσης, ὅσ ταῖς ὤραις ἔοικεν, οἱ δ' ὦσπερ ἄνήκοι τῆς γῆς μάχαι- ραν ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἔδηξαν ὑπὲρ ἔσθητός τε καὶ βρώσεως. Ἡνδε τοῖσιν Βραχμάνεσ αὐτοὶ σε οὐκ ἑπιήνουν ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Ἀιγυπτίων ἐδίδασκον μὴ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὰ. ἔνθεν Πυθαγόρας ἔλον, Ἡλλήνων δὲ πρῶτος ἑπέμιξεν Ἀιγυπτίως, τὰ μὲν ἐμψυχα 302
and design, yet we hear nothing from him of how much money I made by these villainies, nor of how much gain I had in view; indeed he thinks me such a simpleton as to practise my wizardry for nothing, and whereas others only commit its crimes for much money, he thinks that I commit them for none at all. It is as if I cried my wares to the public in such terms as the following: Come, O ye Dupes, for I am a wizard; and I practise my art not for money, but free, gratis, and for nothing; and so you shall earn a great reward, for each of you will go off with his heart's desire, while I shall get away with nothing but dangers and writs of accusation.

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

CAP. VII

τὴ γῇ ἀνήκεν, ἀυτῇ φύει, ἀκήρατα εἶναι φάσκων ἑστεῖτο, ἐπιτήδεια γὰρ σῶμα καὶ νοῦν τρέφειν ἔσθητά τε, ἦν ἀπὸ θυσείδιων οἱ πολλοὶ φοροῦσιν, οὐ καθάραν εἶναι φήσας λίγον ἡμπίσχετο, καὶ τὸ ἕποδημα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον βύβλου ἐπλέξατο. ἀπέλαιυσέ τε τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἒαυτοῦ ψυχῆς αἰσθέσθαι γενόμενος γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὗς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλένης Ἡ Τροία ἐμάχετο, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάυθου παίδων κάλλιστος δὲν καὶ κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένος, ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐτῳ νέος, ὡς καὶ ὁμὴρος παρασχεῖν θρήνου, παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς πλείω σώματα κατὰ τὸν Ἀδραστείας θεσμόν, ὅπερ ἡ ψυχή ἐναλλάττει, πάλιν ἐπανήλθεν ἐς ἀνθρώπου εἴδος καὶ Μυσσαρχίδη ἐτέχθη τῷ Ἐλαμῷ, σοφὸς ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ τὸν Ἐλεφορβοῦς ἥν ἐκκελησάθη. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρόγονον τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σοφίας εἰρήκα καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς εὐρών, κληρονομήσας δὲ ἐτέρου ταῦτ' ἔχειν. κἀγὼ μὲν οὐ κρίνω τοὺς τρυφῶντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φοινικίου ὀρνιθοῦ, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐκ Φάσιδος Ἡ Παιόνων, οὗς πιαίνουσιν ἐς τὰς αὐτῶν δαίτας οἳ τῇ γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι πάντα, οὐδ' ἐγραψάμην πω οὐδένα

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LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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

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Οι ιχθύων, ούτε ὁ νοοῦντα πλείονος ἢ τοὺς κοππατίας ποτὲ οἱ λαμπροί, ούδὲ ἄλουργίδος ἐβάσκηνα οὔδεν, οὐδὲ Παμφύλου τινὸς ἢ μαλακῆς ἐσθήτως, ἀσφοδέλου δὲ, ὁ θεὸς, καὶ τραγημάτων καὶ καθαρᾶς ψυφοψωγίας γραφὴν φεύγων.

Καὶ οὔδε ἡ ἔσθης ἁσυλος, άλλα κάκεινην λωποδυτεῖ μὲ ὁ κατήγορος ὡς πολλοῦ ἥξιαν τοὺς γόνης. καὶ τῶν ἀφελόντε ὑπὲρ ἐμψύχων τε καὶ ἀψύχων λόγου, δι' ὧν καθαρός τις ἡ μὴ δοκεῖ, τί βελτίων ἡ θόνη τοῦ ἑρίου; τὸ μὲν γε πρασοτᾶτον ζῶον ἐπέχεθη καὶ σπουδαζομένου θεοῦ, οὐ μὴ ἀπαξιοῦσι τὸ ποιμαίνειν καὶ, νὴ Δι', ἥξιοσάν ποτε αὐτὸ καὶ χρυσοῦ εἴδους ἡ θεοὶ ἡ λόγοι. λίγον δὲ σπείρεται μὲν, ὡς ἐτυχε, χρυσοῦ δὲ οὔδεσ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὡμος, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀπ' ἐμψύχων ἑδρέφθη, καθαρὸν μὲν Ἰουβοίδοις δοκεῖ, καθαρὸν δὲ Ἄγνυπτοις, ἠμοί δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρα διὰ τοῦτο σχήμα γέγονε διαλεγομένους εὐχρημένους θύσεως. καθαρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐνυφεύειν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὀνείρατα τοῖς, ὡς ἐγὼ, διαιτημένοις ἐτυμωτέρας τὰς αὐτῶν φήμας ἀγεί.

Ἀπολογώμεθα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οὕσης ποτὲ ἡμῶν κόμης, ἐπειδὴ τις γραφή καὶ αὐχμοῦ εὑρήται.
against anyone, because they buy fish for their tables at greater prices than grand seigneurs ever gave for their Corinthian chargers, and though I have never grudged anyone his purple garment nor his soft raiment and Pamphylian tissues—yet I am accused and put upon my trial, O ye gods, because I indulge in asphodel and dessert of dried fruits and pure delicacies of that kind.

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

(vi) Let us next defend ourselves from the attack occasioned by the hair which we formerly wore, for one of the counts of the accusation turns upon
κρίνετω δὲ μὴ ὁ Ἀλγύπτιος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ξανθὰ καὶ
dιεκτενίσμενα μειράκια, τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἔξαψάμενα
cαι τὰς ἐταίρας, ἐφ’ ἃς κωμᾶξει καὶ έαυτὰ μὲν
εὐδαίμονα ἥγεισθω καὶ ἕηλοτά τῆς κόμης καὶ τοῦ
λειβομένου ἀπ’ αὐτῆς μύρου, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀναφροδισίαν
πᾶσαν καὶ ἐραστὴν τοῦ μὴ ἔραν. εἰρήσεται γὰρ
πρὸς αὐτὰ: ὦ κακοδαίμονες, μὴ συκοφαντεῖτε τὸ
Δωριέων εὐρέμα, τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐκ Δακεδαίμονίων
ήκει, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπιτηδευθέν αὐτοῖς, ἐς
οὐς μαχιμῶτατα αὐτῶν εἶχον, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῆς
Σπάρτῆς Δεονίδας ἐγένετο κομῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρείας,
cαι τοῦ σεμνὸς μὲν φίλοις, φοβδέροι δὲ ἐχθροὶ
φαίνεσθαι ταῦτα τοι καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ἐπ’ αὐτῷ
κομᾶ μεῖον οὐδὲν ἦ ἐπὶ Δυνόργρῳ τε καὶ Ἰφιτῳ.
σοφοῦ δὲ ἀνδρός κόμης φειδέσθω σίδηρος, οὐ γὰρ
θεμιτὸν ἔπαγειν αὐτόν, οὐ πᾶσαι μὲν αἰσθητηρίων
πηγαί, πᾶσαι δ’ ὦμφαί, ὧθεν εὐχαί τε ἀναφαί-
νουται καὶ σοφίας ἐρμηνεύεις λόγος. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς
μὲν γὰρ καὶ στρόφιον τῶν ἀλουργοτάτων περὶ
αὐτῆς ἀρμόσας ἐσόβει περὶ τὰς τῶν Ἐλλήνων
ἀγνιάς, ὑμνοὺς ξυνιθείς, ὡς θεοὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου
ἔσοιτο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡμελημένη κόμη χρώμενος, καὶ
οὐπό τοιώντες ὑμνοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτῆς δεηθείς, ἐς γραφὰς
ἀγομαι καὶ δικαστήρια. καὶ τὶ φῶ τῶν Ἐμπε-
δοκλέα; πότερ ἐαυτὸν ἢ τὴν τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ
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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 law-courts as a criminal. And what shall I say of Empedocles? Which had he most reason to praise,
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. 
VII

ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίαν ἤδειν, παρ’ οἷς οὐκ ἐσυνο-
φαντεῖτο ταῦτα;

Μὴ πλεῖον διαλεγόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης,
ἐτμήθη γὰρ καὶ προϋλαβε τὴν κατηγορίαν ὑ
φόνος, δι’ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐτέρας αἰτίας χρῆ
ἀπολογεῖσθαι χαλεπῆς οὕσης, καὶ οὐας, ὃ
βασιλεὺ, μὴ σοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Διῤ παρα-
σχεῖν φόβον· φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεῶν
ήγεισθαι με, καὶ δημοσίᾳ τοῦτ’ ἐκφέρειν ἐμβε-
βροντημένους ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ· καίτοι καὶ πρὸ τῆς αἰτίας
ἐκείνα διδάσκειν ἔδει, τί διαλέχθεις ἐγώ, τί δ’
οὕτω θαυμάσιον εἰπὼν ἢ πράξας ὑπηγαγόμην τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους προσεύχεσθαι μοι· οὐτε γὰρ, ἐς ὑ τι
ἡ ἡ ἐπὶ μετέβαλον ἢ μεταβαλεὶ μοι ἡ ψυχή,
διελέχθην ἐν Ἐλλησι, καίτοι γυγρώσκων, οὔτε
δόξας περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τοιαύτας ἀπέστειλα, οὐτ’
ἐς λόγια καὶ χρησμῶν ὁδὰς ἔξηλθον, ὁδα
tῶν θεοκλυτοῦντων φορά, οὐδ’ οἶδα πόλιν οὐδε-
μίαν, ἐν ἢ ἐδοξε ἐμιόντας Ἀπολλωνίῳς θύειν. καί-
tοι πολλοὺ ἄξιοι ἐκάστους ἐγενόμην, ὅπόσα
ἐδέσων μου, ἐδέοντο δὲ τοιαύτα· μὴ νοσεῖν οἱ
νοσοῦντες, ὅσιότεροι μύειν, ὅσιότεροι θύειν, ὑμῆρ
ἐκτετμήσθαι, νόμους ἔρρωσθαι. μυσθὸς δ’ ἐμοὶ μὲν
tούτων ὑπῆρχε τὸ βελτίως αὐτοῦς αὐτῶν φαῖ-
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LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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

(vii) But let us say no more about my hair, for it has been cut off, and the accusation has been fore-stalled by the same hatred which inspires the next count, a much more serious one from which I must now defend myself. For it is one calculated to fill not only you, my prince, but Zeus himself with apprehension. For he declares that men regard me as a god, and that those who have been thunderstruck and rendered stark-mad by myself proclaim this tenet in public. And yet before accusing me there are things which they should have informed us of, to wit, by what discourses, or by what miracles of word or deed I induced men to pray to me; for I never talked among Hellenes of the goal and origin of my soul's past and future transformations, although I knew full well what they were; nor did I ever disseminate such opinions about myself; nor go about in search of presages and oracular strains, as is the instinct of candidates for divine honours. Nor do I know of a single city in which a decree was passed that the citizens should assemble and sacrifice in honour of Apollonius. And yet I have been much esteemed in the several cities which asked for my aid, whatever the objects were for which they asked it, and they were such as these: that their sick might be healed of their diseases, that both their initiations and their sacrifices might be rendered more holy, that insolence and pride might be extirpated, and the laws strengthened. And whereas the only reward which I obtained in all this was that men were made much better than they were
νεσθαί, σοὶ δὲ ἐχαριζόμην ταύτα· ὁσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βοῶν ἐπιστάται τὸ μὴ ἀτακτεῖν αὐτὰς χαρίζονται τοῖς κεκτημένοις τὰς βοῦς, καὶ οἱ τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπιμεληταὶ πιαίνουσιν αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ τῶν πεπαμένων κέρδος, νόσους τε ἀφαιροῦσι μελιττῶν οἱ νομεῖς αὐτῶν, ὥσ μὴ ἀπόλοιπο τῷ δεσπότῃ τῷ σμῆνος, οὔτω ποι καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ πολιτικὰ παῦνε ἐλαττώματα σοὶ διωρθοῦμην τὰς πόλεις, ὡστ' εἰ καὶ θεοὺς ἤγοιντό με, σοὶ κέρδος ἡ ἀπάτη εἶχε, ξὺν προθυμίᾳ γάρ που ἤκροϊντό μου, δεδιότες πράττειν, ἃ μὴ δοκεῖ θεῷ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτο ψοντο, ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ τις ἀνθρώπω ρός θεῶν ξυγγενεῖα, δ' ἢ μόνον ξύων θεοὺς οἴδε, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὅτι μετέχει τοῦ θείου. φησὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἴδος αὐτὸ θεῷ ἐοικέναι, ὡς ἀγαλματοποιὰ ἑρμηνεύει καὶ χρώματα, τὰς τε ἄρετὰς θεόθεν ἤκειν ἐν' αὐτὸν πέπεισται, καὶ τοὺς μετέχοντας αὐτῶν ἀγχιθέους τε εἶναι καὶ θείους.

Διδασκάλους δὲ τῆς διανοίας ταύτης μὴ Ἀθηναίοις καλῶμεν, ἐπειδή τοὺς δικαίους καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους καὶ τὰς τοιάδε ἐπωνυμίας πρῶτοι ἔθεντο, θειοτέρας, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, οὕσας ἢ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ κεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἀπόλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Πυθοί. ἀφικέτο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῶν Δυκοῦργος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἅρτι γεγραμμένων αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν, οἷς ἡ Δακεδαίμων τε- τακται, προσευπῶν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπόλλων βασανίζει τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ χρῆσμοῦ.
before, they were all so many boons bestowed upon CHAP.
yourself by me. For as cow-herds, if they get the cows into good order earn the gratitude of their owners, and as shepherds fatten the sheep for the owner's profit, and as bee-keepers remove diseases from the hive, so that the owner may not lose his swarm, so also I myself, I think, by correcting the defects of their polities, improved the cities for your benefit. Consequently if they did regard me as a god, the deception brought profit to yourself; for I am sure they were the more ready to listen to me, because they feared to do that which a god disapproved of. But in fact they entertained no such illusion, though they were aware that there is between man and God a certain kinship which enables him alone of the animal creation to recognise the Gods, and to speculate both about his own nature and the manner in which it participates in the divine substance. Accordingly man declares that his very form resembles God, as it is interpreted by sculptors and painters; and he is persuaded that his virtues come to him from God, and that those who are endowed with such virtues are near to God and divine.

But we need not hail the Athenians as the teachers of this opinion, because they were the first to apply to men the titles of just and Olympic beings and the like, though they are too divine, in all probability, to be applicable to man, but we must mention the Apollo in the Pythian temple as their author. For when Lycurgus from Sparta came to his temple, having just penned his code for the regulation of the affairs of Lacedaemon, Apollo addressed him, and weighed and examined the repu-
CAP. VII. φάσκων ἀπορεῖν, πότερα χρῆ θεῖν ἢ ἀνδρῶτον καλεῖν, προϊόν δὲ ἀποφαίνεται καὶ ψηφίζεται τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταῦτην, ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ. καὶ οὕδεις ἐπὶ τῶν Δυκοῦργων ἄγων ἦκεν, ἥ κίνδυνος ἐκ τούτων παρὰ Δακεδαμονίως, ὡς ἀθανασίοντα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπετπληξε τῷ Πυθίῳ προσρηθεῖς τούτοις, ἀλλὰ ἐνυπηθεντο τῷ μαντείῳ, πεπεισμένοι δήποτε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ ταῦτα.

Τὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Ἀγυπτίων ταῦτα: Ἰνδῶν Ἀγυπτίων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συνοφαντούσι καὶ διαβάλλουσι αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς πράγμασι δόξας, τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὅς ἐς τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὦλων εἰρηται, οὕτω τι ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ἐτέρους διδάξασθαι Ἰνδῶν ὄντα. ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς μὲν τῶν ὦλων γενέσεως τε καὶ οὐσίας θεῶν δημιουργοῦν οἶδε, τοῦ δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ταῦτα αὐτῶν τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἐνυγγενῆ ταῦτα, ἔχομαι τοῦ λόγου καὶ φημὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεῶν τι ἔχειν. κόσμος δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ θεῷ δημιουργῷ κείμενος τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ νομιζέσθω καὶ τὰ ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ γῆ πάντα, δὲν μετουσία ἵσῃ ἀνθρώποις, πλὴν τύχης. ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κόσμος οὐχ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ σοφίας μέτρα, ὁν που καὶ αὐτὸς, ὦ βασιλεὺς, φήσεις ἀνδρὸς.
tation he enjoyed; and at the commencement of his Chap. VII
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

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FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII
deiōthai theō eikasmevou, kai ti to σχήμα tov kósmou toûde; aî ψυχαὶ ἀτακτοῦσαι μανικώτερον ἀπτοῦνται παυτὸς σχήματος, kai ἐωλοὶ μὲν αὐταῖς νόμοι, σωφροσύνη δ' οὐδαμοῦ, θεῶν δὲ τιμαὶ ἀτιμοὶ, λαλίας δ' ἔρωσι καὶ τρυφῆς, εὖ δὲν ἀργία φύεται ποιηρὰ ἕμβουλος ἔργου παυτός. ἂι δὲ μεθύουσαι ψυχαὶ πηδῶσι μὲν ἐπὶ πολλὰ, τὸ δὲ σκίρτημα τοῦτο ἵσχει οὐδέν, οὐδ' εἰ πάντα πίνουεν, οπόσα, ὁσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας, ὑπνηλα ἐνομίσθη. ἀλλὰ δεὶ ἄνδρος, δι' ἐπιμελήσεται τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰς κόσμου, θεὸς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἥκων. οὐτοὺς γὰρ ἀπόχρη αὐτὰς ἑρώτων τε ἀπάγειν, ἐφ' οὖς ἀγριώτερον τῆς ἐξυνήθους ὁμιλίας ἐκφέρονται, καὶ φιλοχρηματίας, δι' ἥν οὐτω πᾶν ἐχειν φασίν, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ τὸ στόμα ὑπέχουσιν ἐπιρρέοντι τῷ πλούτῳ. φόνων γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν μὲν αὐτὰς μὴ προσάπτεσθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἵσως ἄνδρι τοιοῦτω, ἀπονύμαι δὲ οὗτε ἐμοὶ δυνατὸν οὕτε τῷ πάντων δημιουργῷ θεῷ.

"Εστώ, βασιλεῦ, κατηγορία καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐφέσου, ἐπειδὴ ἐσώθη, καὶ κρινέτω με ο Αἰγύπτιος, ὡς ἔστι πρόσφορον τῇ γραφῇ. ἔστι γὰρ δὴποι ὁ κατηγορία τοιαύτη; περὶ Σκύθας ἤ Κελτοὺς, οὐ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἢ Ῥήνον οἰκοῦσι, πόλις ζωκοῦσα μείων οὐδέν Ἐφέσον τῆς ἐν Ἰωνία ταύτην ὀρμη-

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

(viii) Let me now, my prince, take the accusation which concerns Ephesus, since the salvation of that city was gained; and let the Egyptian be my judge, according as it bests suits his accusation. For this is the sort of thing the accusation is. Let us suppose that among the Scythians or Celts, who live along the rivers Ister and Rhine, a city has been founded every whit as important as Ephesus in Ionia. Here you have a sally-port of barbarians, who refuse
CAP. VII τήριον βαρβάρων οὖσαν, οὐ μὴ ἀκροδύνναι σοι, λοιμὸς μὲν τις ἁπολείπει ἐμελλεν, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἱάσατο. ἦστι μὲν γὰρ τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἁπολογία σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἢν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἀντίξοον ὄπλοις, ἀλλὰ μὴ νόσσοις αἱρεῖν βούλησαι τὴν γὰρ ἔξαλευ- φθείη πόλεις μηδεμία, μὴτε σοι, βασιλεὺς, μὴτε ἐμοί, μὴτε ἵδοιμι πρὸς ἰεροῖς νόσσον, δι᾽ ἢν οἱ νοσοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς κείσονται. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐστώ ἐν σπουδῇ τὰ βαρβάρων, μηδὲ τὰττωμεν αὐτούς ἐσ τὸ ὑγιαῖν, πολεμιωτάτους ὄντας καὶ οὐκ ἐνσπόνδους τῷ περί ἢμᾶς γένει, τὴν δὲ Ἑφεσον τῖς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ σώζεσθαι, βεβλημένης μὲν τὰς ἄρχας τοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης Ἀτηθίδος, ἐπιδεδωκυίαν δὲ παρὰ πάσας, ὅπόσαι Ἰωνικαῖ τε καὶ Δύδιοι, προβεβηκυίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν διὰ τὸ ὑπερήκειν τῆς γῆς, ἐφ᾽ ἢς ὕκις, μεστῇν δὲ φροντισμάτων οὖσαν φιλο- σόφων τε καὶ ἰητορικῶν, ὡς δ᾽ ἄν οὐ πόλις οὐχ ἵππω, μυριάσι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἱσχύει, σοφίαν ἐπαινοῦσα; τῖς δ᾽ ἄν σοφὸς ἐκλιπτεῖν σοι δοκεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πόλεως τοιαύτης ἁγώνα, ἐνθυμηθεῖς μὲν Δημόκριτον ἐλευθερώσατα λοιμοῦ ποτε Ἀβδη- ρίτας, ἐννοῆσας δὲ Σοφοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναίου, θέλεται καὶ ἀνέμους θέλει τῆς ὀρας πέρα πνεύσατας, ἀκηκοῶς δὲ τὰ Ἑμπεδοκλέους, ὅσ' ἑφέλης ἀνέσχε φοράν ἐπ᾽ Ἀκραγαντίνους βαγείσας; 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?
'Επικόπττει με ὁ καθήγορος ἀκούεις γάρ ποι καὶ σὺ, ὦ βασίλει, καὶ φησίν, οὐκ ἔπειδὴ σωτηρίας αἰτίος Ἐφεσίους ἐγενόμην, γράφεσθαι με, ἀλλ' ἔπειδὴ προεῖπον ἐμπεσεῖσθαί σφισὶ τὴν νόσου, τούτῃ γὰρ ὑπὲρ σοφίαν εἶναι καὶ τερατῶδες, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τοσάντα ἀληθείας οὐκ ἄν ἐφικέσθαι με, εἰ μὴ γόνης τε τὴν καὶ ἀπόρρητος. τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐρεῖ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔφασκε τοῦ δαιμονίου μανθάνειν; τί δὲ Θαλῆς τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, τὸ Ἰωνε, ὁ μὲν τὴν εὐφορίαν τὴν τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν οὐρανίων παθῶν προειπότε; ἦ γοντεύοντε προειπεῖν ταύτα; καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπήξησαν σοῦ ἡκαστηρίος ἐφ' ἐτέραις αἰτίαις, καὶ οὐδαμοὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν εἰρηταὶ γόνης εἶναι σφάς, ἐπειδὴ προφητεύεσθω σου. καταγέλαστον γὰρ τοῦτο ἐδόκει, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν Θετταλία πιθανὸν κατ' ἀνδρῶν λέγεσθαι σοφῶν, οὐ τὰ γύναια κακῶς ἦκονεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἐλξεί.

Πάθει οὖν τοῦ περὶ τῆς Ἐφεσον πάθος ἱσθόμην; ἦκονοις μὲν καὶ τοῦ καθηγοροῦ εἰπόντος, ότι μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διαιτῶμαι, κἀκεῖνο δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ σιτίων, ὡς λεπτὰ καὶ ἡδόν τῆς ἐτέρων πεπτῶν, ἐν ἄρχῃ εἰρηταὶ τοῦτο μοι, ὦ βασίλει, τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐν αἰθρίᾳ τῶν ἀπορρήτωφι φυλάττει, καὶ καὶ θόλου περὶ αὐτάς οὐδὲν εἶναι, διορᾷ τε, ὦσπερ ἐν κατόπτρον αὐγή, πάντα γυνώμενα τε καὶ ἔσο-
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(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-
μενα. οὖ γὰρ περιμενεῖ γε ὁ σοφὸς γῆν τὴν ἀναθυμιῶσαν ἣ τὸν ἁέρα διεφθορότα, ἢν τὸ δεινὸν ἀνωθεν ἐγξεβην ἐγξη, ἀλλὰ ἕξωσει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ὃντων, ὑστερον μὲν ἢ οἱ θεοί, θάττον δὲ ἢ οἱ πολ-λοί. θεοί μὲν γὰρ μελλόντων, ἁνθρωποὶ δὲ γεγονο-μένων, σοφοὶ δὲ προσιόντων αἰσθάνονται. λοιμῶν δὲ αἰτίας ἰδία, βασιλεύ, ἐρώτα, σοφοτεραι γὰρ ἢ ἐσ-τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγεσθαι ἃρ σον τὸ σώτως διαιτᾶ-σθαι λεπτότητα μόνον ἐργάζεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἢ ἱσχύν ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστά τε καὶ θαυμασιώτατα; θεωρεῖν δὲ ἐξεστιν, ὁ λέγω, καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλων μὲν, οὐχ ἢκιστα δὲ κάκ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περὶ τὴν νόσου ἐκείνην πραξθέντων τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἴδος, πτωχῷ δὲ γέροντι εἰκαστο, καὶ εἰδον καὶ ἰδὼν ἐλον, οὐ παύ-σας νόσου, ἀλλ' ἐξελών ότῳ δ' εὐξάμενος, δηλοὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, δ' ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ὑπὲρ τούτου ἰδρυσάμην, Ἡρακλέους μέν γὰρ Ἀποτρωπαίον ἐστὶ, ἐγνεργον δ' αὐτῶν εἰλόμην, ἐπειδὴ σοφὸς τε καὶ ἀνδρεῖος ὃν ἐκάθηρε ποτε λοιμοῦ τὴν Ἡλικίαν τας ἀναθυμιώσεις ἄποκλύσας, ὃς παρεῖχεν ἢ γη κατ’ Δυνάεων τυραν- νεύοντα.

Τῆς ἄν οὖν σοι, βασιλεύ, δοκεῖς φιλοτιμού-μενος γόνης φαίνεσθαι θεῖ τινα ἀναθείναι, δ' αὐτὸς εἰργαστο; τίνας δ' ἄν κτήσασθαι θαυμαστὰς τῆς
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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
Ἔχεις, θεώ, παρείσ τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι; τίς δ' ἂν Ἡρακλεῖ εὐξασθαι γόνης ὄν; τὰ γὰρ τοιαύτα οἱ κακοδαίμονες βόθροις ἀνατιθέσι καὶ χρυσίοις θεοῖς, ὥν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀποτακτέον, καθαρὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖνοις. ἦξάμην αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτὲ, λαμίας γὰρ τι φάσμα κακεῖ περὶ τὴν Κόρινθου ἥλιος, σιτούμενον τῶν νέων τοὺς καλούσι καὶ ξυνήρατο μοι τοῦ ἁγώνος οὐ θαυμασίων δεηθεὶς δώροι, ἀλλὰ μελιττούτης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τι ἀνθρώπων ἐργάσασθαι, τοτε γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐὐρυσθέα μισθὸν τῶν ἁθλων ἠγεῖτο. μὴ ἄχθου, βασιλεῦ, τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἄκοινον ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἂθηνᾶ, ἐπειδή χρηστός καὶ σωτήριος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κελεύεις με ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τοτε γὰρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐνδείκνυσαι, ἄκουε ἀπολογίας ἄληθος· ἐγὼ γὰρ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράττων, οὔπω ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔθυσα, οὐδὲ ἂν θύσαμι οὔδεν, οὐδ' ἂν θύγομε ιερῶν, ἐν οἷς αἰμα, οὐδ' ἂν εὐξαίμην ἐς μάχαιραν βλέπων ἢ θυσίαν, ἢν φησιν. οὐ Σκύθην με, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ἢρηκας, οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς ἀμίκτου ποθέν, οὐδ' ἐπέμιξά πω Μασσαγέταις ἢ Ταύρους, ὁς κακεῖνους ἂν τοῦ τῆς θυσίας έθους μετέβαλον· ἄνοιας δ' ἂν ποὶ ἠλαυνον, ἐνα πλεῖστα.
to God? And who would offer his prayers to HERCULES, if he were a wizard? For in fact these wretches attribute such feats to the trenches they dig and to the gods of the under-earth, among whom we must not class Heracles, for he is a pure deity and kindly to men. I offered my prayer to him once on a time also in the Peloponnese, for there was an apparition of a lamia there too; and it infested the neighbourhood of Corinth and devoured good-looking young men. And Hercules lent me his aid in my contest with her, without asking of me any wonderful gifts,—nothing more than honey-cake and frankincense, and the chance to do a salutary turn to mankind; for in the case of Eurystheus also this was the only guerdon which he thought of for his labours. I would ask you, my prince, not to be displeased at my mention of Hercules; for Athene had him under her care because he was good and kind and a Saviour of man.

(x) But inasmuch as you bid me vindicate myself in the matter of the sacrifice, for I observe you beckoning with your hand for me to do so, hear my defence. It shall set the truth before you. In all my actions I have at heart the salvation of mankind, yet I have never offered a sacrifice in their behalf, nor will I ever sacrifice anything, nor touch sacraments in which there is blood, nor offer any prayer with my eyes fixed upon a knife or a sacrifice as he understands it. It is no Scythian, my prince, that you have got before you, nor a native of some savage and inhospitable land; nor did I ever mingle with Massagetae or Taurians, for in that case I should have reformed even them and altered their sacrificial custom. But to what a depth of folly and incon-
μὲν ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς διαλεγόμενον καὶ ὁπῃ ἔρρωται ἡ μῆ, ἀρισταὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων ἡσθημένος, ὅτι τὰς αὐτῶν βουλὰς οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ὅσίοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ μὴ μαντευομένοις φαίνουσι, μαθηματικῶς ἀπτωμαί καὶ σπλάγχνων ἀθύτων ἐμοὶ καὶ ἁκαλλιερήτων; ἐφ' οίς ἀπέλειπεν ἂν με καὶ ἡ τοῦ δαίμονιον ὁμφή μὴ καθαρὸν ὄντα.

Καὶ μὴν εἰ τις ἀφελὼν τὸ τῆς θυσίας μῦτος ἐξετάζοι τὸν κατήγορον πρὸς ἄ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εὔρηκεν, ἀπαλλάττει με τῆς αἰτίας αὐτὸς· δι' ἡγὰρ φησὶ προειπεῖν Ἐφεσίοις τὴν νόσουν θυσίας οὐδεμιᾶς δεηθέντα, τῇ σφαγίων ἔδειξην ἐφ' ἂ καὶ μὴ θυσιαμένῳ παρῆν εἰδέναι; μαντικῆς δὲ τῆς ἐδεόμην ὑπὲρ ὅν αὐτὸς τε ἐπεπείρησμην καὶ ἐτερος; εἰ ἡγὰρ ὑπὲρ Νεροῦα καὶ τῶν ἀμύρινον κρίνομαι, λέξω πάλιν, ἄ καὶ πρώην εἰπον, ἱνίκα ἡτὶδ ἑαυτα. Νεροῦαν γὰρ ἄξιον μὲν ἀρχής ἡγοῦμαι πάσης καὶ λόγου παντὸς ἐπ' εὐφημίαις ἱκουσίας, ἀγωνιστὴν δὲ φροντίδων οὐ χρηστῶν· καταλέλυσαι γὰρ τὸ σώμα ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου, δι' ἦν καὶ ἡ γνώμη μεστή ἄσης καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ οίκοι ἱκανή· σὲ γοῦν ἐπαινεῖ μὲν σώματος, ἐπαινεῖ δὲ γνώμης, εἰκὸς μὲν οἴμαι τι πράττως, προθυμοτέρα γὰρ ὄντως ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐπαινεῖν, ἄ μὴ αὐτῆ ἔρρωται.

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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
πέπουθε δὲ τι καὶ πρὸς ἕμεν χρηστὸν Νεροῦας, καὶ οὔτε γελάσατά πιὸ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἐμοῦ οἴδα οὔτε εὐθυσίσμενον τί τῶν εἰσθότων ἐν φίλοις, ἀλλ' ὁσπερ τὰ μειράκια πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας τε καὶ διδασκάλους τοὺς αὐτῶν, εὐλαβῶς μὲν φθέγγεται τὸ ἐπὶ ἐμοῦ πάν, ἔμυθριὰ δὲ ἐτί, εἰδὼς δὲ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἐπαινοῦντα με οὔτω τι ἄγαν ἐπιτηδεύει αὐτό, ὡς κάμοι ταπεινώτερος τοῦ μετρίου φαίνεσθαι. πῶς οὖν πιθανὸν ἡγήσαστο ἂν τις ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι Νεροῦας, ἄγαπῶντα, εἰ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἄρξοι, ἢ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων διαλέγομαι μοι τὸν μηδ' ὑπὲρ μικρῶν τεθαρρηκότα, ἢ ξυνάπτειν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ δι' ἄλλον, εἰ τούμον ἐνεθεμήθη, ξυνῆψεν; ἢ πῶς ἐτ' ἐγὼ σοφὸς γνώμην ἐρμηνεύειν ἄνδρός, μαντικὴ μὲν πιστεύων, ἀπιστῶν δὲ σοφία; τὸν δὲ Ὀρφίτον καὶ τὸν Ροῦφον, τοὺς δικαίους μὲν καὶ σώφρονας, νοθροὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, ὡς εὑρίσκει, εἰ μὲν ὡς τυραννησεῖοντας διαβεβλῆσθαί φασίν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἰτε τούτων πλέον διαμαρτάνουσιν, εἰτε Νεροῦα, εἰ δ' ὡς ξυμβούλῳ γεγονότε, πιθανῶτερος ἀρχῆ ἐπιθέσθαι Νεροῦας, ἢ οἴδ' ξυμβουλεύσαι;

'Αλλ' μὴν τόν γε ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίνοντα κάκεινα εἰκός ἢν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, τι ἐβούλετο μοι τὸ ξυλλαμπ-
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 acconplices, then I ask, which you would most readily believe, that Nerva was usurping the throne, or that they had conspired with him.

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

CAP. VII. βάνει τοῦς ἐπὶ νεώτερα ἥκουσιν χρήματα μὲν γὰρ
οὐ φησί παρ' αὐτῶν γεγενήθαι μοι, οὐδὲ δόροις
ἐπαρθέντα με ταύτα εἰργάσθαι· σκεψώμεθα δὲ, μὴ
μεγαλων δεόμενος, ἀνεβαλόμην τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν
εὔρεγέσιας ἐς δὲν φοντο ἀρξεῖν χρόνου, ἐν ὧν μεγάλα
μὲν ἂν αἰτεῖν ὑπηρξε, μειζόνων δ' ἄξιονθαί· πῶς
οὖν ταύτα ἔσται δήλα; ἐνθυμήθητι, βασιλεῦ,
σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐτι πρὸ σοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἀδελφὸν
δῆποι τὸν σεαυτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, Νέρωνά τε, ἐφ' ὧν
ὁρξαν, κατὰ τούτους γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς
βασιλέας βεβιωταὶ μοι ἐς τὸ φανερὸν, τὸν ἀλλὸν
χρόνον Ἰνδοὶς φοιτῶντι. τούτων δῆ τῶν ἄκτῳ
καὶ τριάκοντα ἑτῶν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἔσε μῆκος,
οὔτε ἐνεπὶ θύρας βασιλείους ἐφοίτησα πλὴν ἐν
Ἀιγύπτῳ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός, ἐπεὶ μήτε βασιλεῦσι πω
ἐτύχασεν ὅν ὦμολογεῖ τε δὴ ἐμὲ ἥκειν, οὔτε
ἀνελεύθερον τι διελέχθη βασιλεύσιν ἢ ὑπὲρ
βασιλέων δῆμοις, οὔτ' ἐπιστολαῖς ἐλαμπρυνάμην
ἡ γραφόντων ἐμοὶ βασιλέων ἡ αὐτὸς ἐνδεικνύ-
μενος γράφειν, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ δωρεῶν κολακεύων
βασιλέας ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπηνέχθην. εἰ γοῦν ἔροι
μὲ πλουσίους ἐνθυμηθεῖ εἰς καὶ πένητας, ποτέρον
τῶν ἔθνων τούτων ἐμαυτοῦ γράφω, τῶν πλου-
σιωτάτων φήσω, τὸ γὰρ δεῖσθαι μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ
Ἀυδία καὶ τὸ Πακτωλοῦ πᾶν. πῶς οὖν ἢ τὰς
παρὰ τῶν οὖτω βασιλέων δωρεὰς ἀνεβαλλόμην
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What sense was there in my aiding these revolutionists? For he does not say that I received any money from them, nor that I was tempted by presents to commit these crimes. But let us consider the point whether I might not have advanced great claims, but have deferred their recognition of them until the time came at which they expected to win the throne, when I might have demanded much and have obtained still more as my due. But how can you prove all this? Call to mind, my prince, your own reign and the reigns of your predecessors, I mean of your own brother, and of your father, and of Nero under whom they held office; for it was under these princes chiefly that I passed my life before the eyes of all, the rest of my time being spent on my visit to India. Well, of these thirty-eight years, for such is the period which has elapsed since then up to your own day; I have never come near the courts of princes, except that once in Egypt, and then it was your father’s, though he was not at that time actually Emperor; and he admitted that he came there on my account. Nor have I ever uttered anything base or humiliating either to emperors, or in behalf of emperors to peoples; nor have I sought distinction through letters which princes might either write to myself or I myself ostentatiously address to them; nor have I ever demeaned myself by flattery of princes in order to win their largess. If then after due consideration of rich and poor, you should ask me in which class I register myself, I should say among the very rich, for the fact that I want nothing is worth to me all the wealth of Lydia and of Pactolus. Is it likely then that I who never would take presents from yourself whose
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἐς ὑν ἄρξειν αὐτοὺς φῶμην χρόνου ὁ μηδὲ τὰς παρ’ ὕμων ἐλόμενος, οἷς βέβαιοι ἦγούμην τὸ ἄρχειν, ἢ βασιλεῖων μεταβολὰς ἐπενόουν μηδὲ ταῖς καθεστηκυίαις ἐς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι χρώμενος; καὶ μὴν ὅποσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς, δῆλοι τὰ Εὐφράτου τοῦτῳ γὰρ ἐνετεύθεν τί λέγω χρήματα; πηγαί μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν πλούτου, κατὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἥδη διαλέγεται κάπηλος, ὑποκάτηλος, τελώνης, ὀβολοστάτης, πάντα γυρόμενος τὰ πωλούμενά τε καὶ πω- λοῦντα, ἐντετύπωται δ’ ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν θύραις καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλεῖον καιρὸν ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ θυρωρῶν πολλάκις, ὡσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λέχνοι, δραχμὴν δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ προέμενός ποτε, ἔπιτει- χίζει τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πλοῦτον, ἐτέρους τὸν Ἀλγύπτιον τούτοι βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὡξίνων ἐπ’ ἐμὲ γιλότται αξίαν ἐκτετμῆσθαι.

Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλεύσω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἣν μὴ κόλακας ἐπαυγῆς, εὐρήσεις τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν κακῶν ὄν ἐρμηνεῦω, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἀπολογίας ἀκροβήτις οὖν αὐτὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τίνων; ὡδετό τις, ὁ βασιλεὺς, παιδὸς 'Ἀρκάδος ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ θρήνος, τετμῆσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν υπ’ ἐμοῦ νῦκτωρ, εἶ δ’ ὄναρ φησίν, οὔπω οἶδα, εἰναι δὲ πατέρων τε ἀγαθῶν ὁ
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
CAP. παῖς οὗτος καὶ τὸ εἰδὸς οὗτος Ἀρκάδων οί ἀνύχμονα
καλοί. τούτων φασιν ἢκατέροντά τε καὶ ὅλοφυρο-
μενον ἀπεσφάχθαι, κάμε τὰς χείρας ἐσ τὸ τοῦ
παιδὸς αὐτὰ βάψαντα θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας εὑρε-
σθαί. μέχρι τούτων ἐμὲ κρίνουσιν, ὡ δὲ ἐφεξῆς
λόγος τῶν θεῶν ἀπτεται, φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς
ἀκούσαι μὲν ὡδὲ μου εὐραμένου, δοῦναι δὲ ἑρα
εὐσήμα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀσεβοῦντα. τὴν μὲν
οὖν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς οὗ καθαρά, τί ἄν, δὲ βασιλεύ,
λέγοιμι.

Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν γέ μοι ἀπολογητέα, τίς ὁ
Ἀρκάς οὗτος; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀνώνυμος τὰ πατέρων,
μὴ ἀνδραπόδις τὸ εἰδὸς, ὥρα σοι ἐρωτὰν, τί
μὲν ὄνομα τοῖς γειναμένοις αὐτῶν, τίνος δὲ οἰκίας
οὗτος, τίς δὲ ἔθρεψατο αὐτῶν ἐν Ἀρκάδιᾳ πόλις,
tίνων δὲ βασιλῶν ἀπαχθεῖς ἐνταῦθα ἑθὺτο. οὐ
λέγει ταῦτα καίτοι δεινὸς ὃν μὴ ἀληθεύειν. οὐκ-
οὖν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδου κρίνει με. ὃ γὰρ μὴν αὐτῶ
ὄνομα μηθ' ὃν ἔφυ, μή πόλις μὴ κληρός ἐκτιν,
οὐχί, δὲ θεοὶ, τούτων ἐν ἀνδραπόδοις ἄρη τάττειν;
ἀνώνυμα γὰρ πάντα. τίς οὖν ὁ κάτηλος τοῦ
ἀνδραπόδου; τίς ὁ πριάμενος αὐτὸ ἐκ Ἀρκάδων;
eἰ γὰρ τὸ γένος τούτων ἐπιτήδειον τῇ σφαττοῦσῃ
μαντικῇ, πολλοὶ μὲν χρημάτων εἰκὸς ἐωνήσθαι
tῶν παιδα, πεπλευκόνειν δὲ τινὰ ἐς Πελοπόννησον,
ἵν' ἐνθένδε ἡμῖν ἀναχθείη ὁ Ἀρκάς: ἀνδράποδα μὲν

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

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

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CAP. γὰρ Ποιτικὰ ἢ Δύδια ἢ ἐκ Φυγγῶν πρίατ' ἀν κἂν
taı̂θά τις, ὄν γε καὶ ἄγελαις ἐνυχεῖν ἐστίν ἁμα
φοιτώσαις δέωρ, ταυτί γὰρ τὰ ἐθνὶ καὶ ὁπόσα
βαρβάρων, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐτέρων ἀκροάμευοι
οὕτω τὸ δουλεύειν αἰσχρὸν ἤγονυται: Φρυξὲ γοῦν
ἐπιχώριον καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀνδραποδισθέντων μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, "Ελληνες
δὲ ἐλευθερίας ἔρασται ἐτή, καὶ οὐδὲ δοῦλον
ἀνήρ "Ελλην πέρα ὄρων ἀποδόσεται, οθὲν οὐδὲ
ἀνδραποδισταῖς οὔτε ἀνδραπόδων κατήλουσ ἐς
αὐτοὺς παριστήτεα, ἐς δὲ 'Αρκαδίαν καὶ μᾶλλον,
πρὸς γὰρ τῷ παρὰ πάντας ἐλευθεριάζειν 'Ελ-
λήναις δένοται καὶ ὄχλου δοῦλον. ἔστι δὲ
πολυλήμιοι καὶ ποσόδης ἢ 'Αρκαδία καὶ ὕλῳς
οὺ τὰ μετέωρα μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ
πάντα. δεὶ δὴ αὐτοῖς πολλῶν μὲν γεωργῶν,
pολλῶν δὲ αὐτῶν συνοριβῶν τε καὶ ποιμένων
καὶ βουκόλων, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ βουσί, τῶν δὲ ἐφ'
ἵππους, ὑποτόμων τε δεύται πολλῶν ἡ χώρα καὶ
τούτῳ ἐκ παύδων γυμναζόταν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ
τουάδε ἂν τὰ τῶν 'Αρκάδων, ἀλλ' εἶχον, ἀοπὲρ
ἐτεροὶ, προσποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν δουλοὺς, τι τῇ
θρύλουμενοι σοφία ἔνεβάλλετο τὸ ἐξ 'Αρκαδίας
ἐἶναι τὸν σφατόμευον; οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφώτατο τῶν
'Ελλήνων 'Αρκάδες, ἢ' ἐτέρου τι ἀνθρώπων πλέον
περὶ τὰ λογικὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων φαίνωσιν, ἀλλὰ
ἀγροικότατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ συώδεις τὰ
τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ γαστρίζεθαι τῶν δρυῶν.
"Ρητορικῶτερον ἵσως ἀπολελόγημαι τοῦμοῦ
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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

It is possible that I have conducted my defence on more rhetorical lines than is my custom, in thus
τρόπου, τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀφερμηνεύων ἥθη καὶ παριθοῦ ἦ Πελοπόννησον τῷ λόγῳ. ἦ γὰρ ἐμὸι προσήκουσα ἀπολογία τίς ; οὐκ ἔθυσα, οὐ θύω, οὐ θυγγάνω αἴματος, οὐδὲ εἰ βώμων αὐτὸ εἶη, Πυθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὅδε ἐγνώσκετε οἶ τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παραπλησίως, καὶ κατ' Ἀἰγυπτίων δὲ οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ Ἰνδῶν οἱ σοφοὶ, παρ' ὁν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν αἱ τῆς σοφίας ἁρχαὶ ἐφοίτησαν. κατὰ ταύτα θύοντες οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἄδικεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ γνώσκειν τε αὐτοῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν ἁρτίοις τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀνόσους, καὶ σοφωτέρους ἀεὶ δοκεῖν, μὴ τυραννεύσεθαι, μηδενὸς δείσθαι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός, οἷμαι, ἄγαθῶν δείσθαι σφάς ὕπερ καθαρῶν θυμάτων. δοκῶ γὰρ μοι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐμὸι νοῦν ὑπὲρ θυσίων ἔχοντας, τὰ λαβανοφόρα τῆς γῆς ἐν καθαρῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκφυτεύσεσθαι ἐν ἀνθρώπων θύσιμα, μὴ σιδηροφοροῦντες ἐν ιεροῖς, μηδ' αἰμα ἐσ βωμῶς ραύνοντες. ἐγὼ δ', ὃς έοικεν, ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐκλαθόμενος ἔθυνον τρόπον, δυ μῆτ' αὐτὸς εἰσθα μήτε ταῖς ἀνθρώπων θύσιοι.

Ἀπαλλαττέτω με τῆς αὐτίας καὶ ὁ καιρός, ὅν εἰρήκειν ὁ κατήγορος· τὴν γὰρ ἠμέραν ἐκείνην, ἐν ἦ ταύτα εἰργάσθαι μοί φησιν, εἰ μὲν ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀγρῷ, ἔθυσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. εἰτά με, ὁ βασιλεὺς, θαμμενά ἐρωτάς, εἰ μὴ ἐπιχειρίσασθαι τῇ Ἐρώτης τότε; καὶ σὺ, βέλτιστος βασιλεὺς, ἐπιχειρίσασθε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις θύσια
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
CAP. VII τοιαύτα· καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁμολογήσει τὰ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων πράττειν, εἰ κατὰ τὴν 'Ρώμην διητάτο, καὶ μυριάδες ἄνθρωπων, ὡς βέλτιον ἐνενλατεῖν ἢ ὑπάγειν γραφαῖς, εὖ αἰς τεκμήριον ἀδικημάτων ἔσται τὸ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. καὶ τοι τὸ ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἥκειν καὶ παραπείται τάχα τῆς τοῦ νεώτερα πράττειν δοκεῖν αὐτίας· τὸ γὰρ ἐν πόλει ζῆν, ἐν ἡ πάντες μὲν ὄφθαλμοι, πᾶσα δὲ ἀκρόασις ὄντων τε καὶ οὐκ ὄντων, οὐ ἔνοχων ἀνεμέρων ἀπτεσθαί τοῖς γε μὴ λιαν θανατῶσι, τοῦ δ’ εὐλαβεστέρους τε καὶ σώφρονας βραδέως ἀγεί καὶ ἐφ’ ἀ ἐξεστὶ.

Τῷ οὖν, ὁ συκοφάντα, κατὰ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἐπραττοῦν; εἰ μὲν ὡς σεαυτὸν ἐρωτᾶς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ ἐρωτῶν ἥκεις, ἀγώνας ἠτοίμαζον καὶ κατηγορίας ἐπ’ ἄνδρας χρηστοῖς, καὶ ἀπολέσαι τοὺς οὐκ ἀδικοῦντας καὶ πείσαι τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἄληθῆ λέγων, ἣν ἐγὼ μὲν εὐδοκιμοῦν, μιᾶνοιτο δὲ οὕτος, εἰ δ’ ὡς φιλοσόφου πυνθάνῃ, τὸν Δημοκρίτου ἐπῆμουν γέλωτα, ὃν ἐς πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γελᾶ, εἰ δ’ ὡς ἐμοῦ, Φιλίσκος ὁ Μηλεύς ἐτῶν ξυμφιλοσοφήσας ἐμὸν τεττάρων, ἐνόσει τότε, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ ἀπεκάθευδον οὕτω 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
CAP. VII. Διακειμένως χαλέπως, ώς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νύσου. καὶ τοῖς πολλαῖς ἂν ἡμίζωμην ὑγιεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς γενέσθαι μοι, καὶ, νη Δί', εἰ τινες Ὅρφεως εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄποθανόντων μελωδίαι, μηδ' ἐκείνας ἀγνοήσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἃν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν πορευθῆναι δι' αὐτῶν, εἰ ἐφικτὰ ἦν ταῦτα· αὐτὸς μὲ ἀνήρτητο πᾶσιν ὁ ἐμὸς φιλοσόφως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν ἐπραττε.

Ταῦτ' ἐστὶ μὲν σοι, βασιλεῖ, καὶ Τῆλεσίνου ἄκουσαι τοῦ ὑπάτου, παρὴμ γὰρ κάκεινος τῷ Μηλεῖ, θεραπεύων αὐτοῦ νῦκτωρ, ὁπόσα ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ Τῆλεσίνῳ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τῶν φιλοσοφοῦντων ἑστί, καλῶ τους ἰατροὺς μάρτυρας, εἰσὶ δ' οὖν, Σέλενκός τε ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Σιδώνιος· τούτους ἐρώτα, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω· καὶ μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐπονοτο, τῶν αὐτῶν δὴπο μάρτυρες· τὸ γὰρ προκαλεῖσθαι δεύρῳ τοὺς τῷ Φιλίσκῳ προσήκοντας ἀναβολᾶς ἵσως ἡγήσῃ τῆς δίκης, ἐπειδή αὐτίκα τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπήραν ἐς τὰ Μηλεῖων ἢθη κατὰ ὁσίαν τοῦ νεκροῦ. ἦτε, δ' μάρτυρες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρήγγελται ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τούτου· ΜΑΡΤΤΡΕΣ, παρ' ὅσον μὲν τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ γραφὴ ἐξουσετῆθη, δηλοῖ σαφῶς ἡ μαρτυρία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἐν προαστείοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀστεῖ, οὐκ ἔχω
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. Pain 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 Stratoecles 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, οὗδὲ παρὰ Νεροῦᾳ, παρὰ Φιλίσκῳ δὲ, οὗδὲ ἀποσφάττων ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς εὐχόμενος, οὗδ' ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας, οὗδ' ἀντὶ σοῦ χειροτονῶν νεώτερον, ἄλλ' ἀνδρὰ σώζων ἐμαυτῷ ὁμοίον.

Τῇ οὖν Ὠ. Ἀρκάς ἑνταῦθα; τί δ' οἱ τῶν σφαγίων μῦθοι; τί δὲ τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα πείθειν; ἐσται γάρ ποτε καὶ ὁ μὴ γέγονεν, ἂν ὡς γεγονός κριθή: τὸ δ' ἀπίθανον τῆς θυσίας, ὁ βασιλεὺς, ποὶ τάξεις; ἐγένωτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον σφαγίων μάντεις ἀγαθοὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ οἶοι ὀνομάζωσι, Μεγιστέας ἐξ Ἀκραναῖας, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκ Δυκίας, Ἀμπρακία δὲ Σιλανὸν ἤνεγκε, καὶ ἐθύνοντο ο μὲν Ἀκρανὰν Δεσνίδα βασιλεῖς Ἐπάρτης, ὁ δὲ Δύκιος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, Σιλανὸς δὲ Κύρφι βασιλείας ἔρωτι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐν ἀνθρώπου σπλάγχνου ἡ σαφέστερον ἡ σοφότερον ἡ ἐτυμώτερον ἀπέκειτο, οὐκ ἄπορος ἦν ἡ θυσία, βασιλέων γε προϊσταμένων αὐτῆς, οἷς πολλοὶ μὲν ἠσαν οἰνοχόοι, πολλὰ δ' αἰχμάλωτα, παρανομίας δ' ἀκίνδυνου καὶ φόβου σύνες κατηγορίας, εἴ τι ἐσφαττόν ἄλλ', οἴμαι, παρίστατο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὁ κάμοι νῦν κινδυνεύοντι ὑπὲρ τοιούτων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλογα τῶν ξύλων εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἁγνοίᾳ 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 Acarnania, Aristandrus of Lycia, and Silanus who was a native of Ambracia, and of these the Acarnanian was sacrificer to Leonidas the king of Sparta, and the Lycian to Alexander of Macedon, and Silanus to Cyrus the Pretender; and supposing there had been found stored in the entrails of a human being some information truer or more profound or surer than usual, such a sacrifice was not difficult to effect; inasmuch as there were kings to preside over it, who had plenty of cup-bearers at their disposal, besides plenty of prisoners of war as victims; and moreover these monarchs could violate the law with impunity, and they had no fear of being accused, in case they committed so small a murder. But I believe, these persons had the same conviction which I also entertain, who am now in risk of my life because of such accusation, namely that the entrails of animals which we slay while they are ignorant of death, are for that reason, and just because the animals lack all understanding of

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"Όσι δὲ ὀρθῶς τε καὶ κατὰ φύσιν στοχάζομαι τούτων, σκόπει, βασιλεῦ, ὅδε· τὸ ἡπαρ, ἐν δὲ φασὶ τὸν τῆς αὐτῶν μαντικῆς εἶναι τρίποδα οἱ δεινοὶ ταύτα, ξύγκειται μὲν οὐ καθαροῦ αἵματος, πάν γὰρ, ὃ τι ἀκραϕνὸς, καρδία ἵσχει, δι' αἵματηρῶν φλεβῶν ἀποχετεύουσα ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα, χολήν δὲ ἐπὶ ἡπατί κειμένη ὀργή ἡ μὲν ἀνίστησι, φόβοι δὲ ὑπάγουσιν ἐστὶ τὰ κοίλα τού ἡπατός. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν παροξυνόντων ξέουσα, καὶ μηδὲ τὸ ἐαυτῆς ἀνγγείων φορητὸς ὑσὺς, ὑπὶ δὲ ἐπιχεῖται τὸ ἡπατί, καθ' ὃ ἐπέχει χολὴ πᾶσα τὰ λεία τε καὶ μαντικὰ τοῦ στολάγχου, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν δειματοῦντων ξυνιζάνουσα ξυνετισσάται καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς λείοις φῶς, ὑπονοεῖ τὸ τότε καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ αἵματος, ὑφ' οὖν στοληνοῦται τὸ ἡπαρ, ὑποτρέχουσα φύσει τὸν περὶ αὐτὸ ὑμένα καὶ τῷ πηλώδει ἐπιπολάξωσιν. τί οὖν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, τῆς μαιαφονίας.
what they are about to suffer, free from disturbance. A human being however has constantly in his soul the apprehension of death, even when it does not as yet impend; how therefore is it likely that when death is already present and stares him in the face, he should be able to give any intimation of the future through his entrails, or be a proper subject for sacrifice at all?

In proof that my conjecture is right and consonant with nature, I would ask you, my prince, to consider the following points. The liver, in which adepts at this art declare the tripod of their divination to reside, is on the one hand not composed of pure blood, for all unmixed blood is retained by the heart which through the blood-vessels sends it flowing as if through canals over the entire body; the bile on the other hand lies over the liver, and whereas it is excited by anger, it is on the other hand driven back by fear into the cavities of the liver. Accordingly if, on the one hand, it is caused to effervesce by irritants, and ceases to be able to contain itself in its own receptacle, it overflows the liver which underlies it, in which case the mass of bile occupies the smooth and prophetic parts of the bowels; on the other hand, under the influence of fear and panic it subsides, and draws together into itself all the light which resides in the smooth parts; for in such cases even that pure element in the blood recedes to which the liver owes its spleen-like look and distension, because the blood in question by its nature drains away under the membrane which encloses the entrails and floats upon the muddy surface. Of what use then, my
ΧΑΡ. έργον, εἰ ἀσημα τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσται; ἀσημα δ᾽ αὐτὰ ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐργάζεται ξυνιείσα τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀποθνησκοντες, οἱ μὲν ἡπὶ εὐσφυγοι νυν ὅργῃ τελευτῶσιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀθυμότεροι ξὺν δεῖ. ένθεν ἡ τέχνη παρὰ τοὺς οὐκ ἀνεπίστημοι βαρβάροις χιμαίρας μὲν καὶ ἄρνας ἑπανεὶ σφάττειν, ἑπειδὴ εὐήθη τὰ ξώα καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀναισθήτων, ἀλεκτρυόνας δὲ καὶ σύς καὶ ταύρους, ἑπειδὴ θυμοειδὴ ταύτα, οὐκ ἄξιοι τῶν ἐαυτῆς ἀπορρήτων. ξυνίημι, ὁ βασιλεύ, παροξύνων τὸν κατήγορον, ἑπειδὴ σοφότερον σὲ ἀκροατὴν εἰργασμαί, καὶ μοι δοκεῖς καὶ προσέχεις τῷ λόγῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ σαφῶς τι αὐτοῦ φράζοιμ, ξυγχωρῶ σοι ἐρωτάν με.

εἰρηταὶ μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Αὐγουπτίου γραφῆν· ἑπεὶ δ', οἷμαι, χρὴ μηδὲ τὰς Εὐφράτου διαβολας ὑπερορᾶσθαι, σύ, ὁ βασιλεύ, δικάζοις, ὁπότερος ἦμων φιλοσοφεῖ μᾶλλον οὐκοῦν ὦ μὲν ἀγωνίζεται μὴ τάληθη περὶ ἐμοὶ λέγειν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἄξιοι, καὶ ὦ μὲν σε ἡγεῖται δεσπότην, ἐγὼ δ' ἄρχοντα, καὶ ὦ μὲν ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμέ σοι δίδωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον.

'Αλλ' ὑπὲρ δὲν γε διαβέβληκεν, οἱ λόγοι εἰςίν, οὐς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ εἶπον, φησὶ δ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ σοὶ ξυμφέρον ὑπ' ἐμοὶ εἰρήσθαι, καὶ τοῖς τὰ

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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

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CAP. VII
μὲν λεχθέντα ἢν ὑπὲρ Μούρων καὶ ἀνάγκης, παράδειγμα δ' ἐγκυμεῖό μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα, ἐπειδὴ μέγιστα τῶν ἄνθρωπεων δοκεῖ τὰ ὑμέτερα, Μούρων τε ἵσχύν ἑφιλοσόφουν καὶ τὸ οὕτως ἀπεττα εἶναι, ἡ κλάσθουσιν, ὡς, εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαντο ἑτέρῳ δὴ ὑπάρχουσαν, ὁ δ' ἀποκτείνει τοῦτον, ὡς μὴ ἀφαιρεθεὶ ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, κἂν ἀναβιοὶ ὁ ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς Μούραις. τὰς γὰρ ὑπερβολὰς τῶν λόγων ἑσαγώ- μεθα διὰ τοὺς τοῖς πιθανοῖς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὡσπερ ἄν εἰ καὶ τοιώνθυ ἔλεγον ὅτι πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῷ, οὕτως, κἂν ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χείρε, τεκτο- νικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτι πάνω ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ δρόμοι ἀρασθαί, οὕτως, οὐδὲ εἰ περωθεῖν τὸ σκέλος, ἀμαρτήστηται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτι ἔνεισαν Μούραι τὸ ἐν τοξείᾳ κράτος, οὕτως, οὐδὲ εἰ ἀποβάλως τὰς ὄψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ σκοποῦ. τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δήποτον ὅρῶν καὶ τοὺς Δαίους Ἀστυνάγη τε τοῦ Μήδου καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους, εὐ τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ἄρχῃ δόξαντας, ὅν οἱ μὲν παιδας, οἱ δὲ ἐγκύονοις ἀποκτείνειν εἰς ἡθέντες, ἀφηρέσθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύτων εἰς ἀφανοὺς ἔτη τὸ πεπρω- μένη. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάπων κολακευτικήν, εἶπον ἄν καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐντεθυμήσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψε μὲν ὑπὸ
Fates and of Necessity, and I only used as an example of my argument the affairs of kings, because your rank is thought to be the highest of human ranks; and I dwelled upon the influence of the Fates, and argued that the threads which they spin are so unchangeable, that, even if they decreed to someone a kingdom which at the moment belonged to another, and even if that other slew the man of destiny, to save himself from ever being deprived by him of his throne, nevertheless the dead man would come to life again in order to fulfil the decree of the Fates. For we employ hyperbole in our arguments in order to convince those who will not believe in what is probable, and it is just as if I had used such an example as this: He who is destined to become a carpenter, will become one even if his hands have been cut off: and he who has been destined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will not fail to win even if he broke his leg: and a man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lost his eyesight. And in drawing my examples from Royalty I had reference I believe to the Acrisii and to the house of Laïus, and to Astyages the Mede, and to many other monarchs who thought that they were well-established in their kingdoms, and of whom some slew their own children as they imagined and others their descendants, and yet were subsequently deprived by them of their thrones when they issued forth from obscurity in accordance with the decrees of fate. Well, if I were inclined to flattery, I should have said that I had your own history in my mind, when you were
Βυθέλιον ἐνταῦθα, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ νεώς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὀφρὺς τοῦ ἄστεος, ὁ δὲ εὖ κεῖσεσθαι τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτὸν—καλτοὶ μειράκιοι ἰκανῶς ἦσθα καὶ οὐτῳ ῥήτος—ἀλλὰ ὄμως, ἐπειδὴ Μοίραις ἔδοκει ἔτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπόλετο αὐταῖς βούλαις, σὺ δὲ τάκεινον νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρμονία κολακευτικὴ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ σοὶ εὐφόργην εἶναι, τεμνέσθω μοι ἢ δὲ ἡ νευρά, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἑυτεθυμηθοῦμαι με, ἀλλὰ διειλέχθαι μόνα τὰ ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ταῦτι γὰρ φησιν εἰρήσθαι μοι ἐπὶ σὲ. καλτοὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέχονται μὲν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὐκ ἀχθεταὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀκούων καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν τοῖς Δυκίοις λόγοις.

οὓμοι ἑγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα ¹

καὶ τοιαῦτ’ ἐσ αὐτὸν ἀδύντων, ἐν οἷς τοῦ νίεος ἐξίστασθαι φησι ταῖς Μοῖραις, λεγόντων τε αὐ ἐν ψυχοστασίᾳ, ὅτι Μίνω τοῦ ἀδελφόν τοῦ Σαρπηδόνος ἀποθανόντα χρυσὸ μὲν σκῆπτρῳ ἐτίμησε καὶ δικάξειν ἔταξεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λίδωνέως ἀγορᾷ, Μοιρῶν δ’ οὐ παρητήσατο. σὺ δ’, ὁ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ χάριν ἀχθη τῷ λόγῳ, θεῶν καρτεροῦντων αὐτῶν,

¹ Πιάδ xvi. 433: ‘Alas for myself, for that Destiny decrees that Sarpedon dearest of men shall be overcome by Patroclus son of Menoetius.’
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
οἷς πέπηγεν ἀεὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεινών- 
tων τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπὶ αὐτῷ; προσήκει γὰρ ταῖς 
Μοίραις ἐπεσθαί, καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν 
πραγμάτων μὴ χαλεποὺς εἶναι, Σοφοκλεῖ τε μὴ 
ἀπιστεῖν

μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται
θεοὶ γῆρας, οὐδὲ μὴν θανεῖν ποτε,
tὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα συγχεῖ πάνθ᾽ ὁ παγκρατὴς χρόνος,

-ἀριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων λέγοντι. ἐγκύκλιοι γὰρ αἱ 
kατ᾽ ἀνθρώπους εὐπραγίαι καὶ ἐφήμερον, δὲ 
βασιλεὺς, τὸ τοῦ ὁλίβου μῆκος· τὰμὰ οὕτος καὶ τὰ 
τούτου ἐτερος καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἔχων ὁμί 
ἐχει. ταῦτ᾽ εννοοῦν, δὲ βασιλεὺς, παῦε μὲν φυγάς,
pαῦε δ᾽ αἷμα, καὶ φιλοσοφία μὲν ὁ τι βούλει χρῶ,
ἀπαθῆς γὰρ ἢ γε ἀληθῆς, διάκρινα δὲ ἀνθρώπων 
ἀφαίρει, ὡς νῦν γε ἡχὼ μυρία μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης,
τολμᾷ δὲ πλεῖων ἢ ἦπεροι φιτὰ θρησκευτῶν,
ὁ τι ἐκάστῳ θρῆνου ἄξιον. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν φυώμενα 
πλεῖω ὀντα ἢ ἀριθμείσθαι ταῖς τῶν συκοφαντῶν 
γλώτταις ἀνῆπται, διαβαλλόντων σοὶ τε πάντας 
καὶ σὲ, δὲ βασιλεὺς, πᾶσιν.

VIII

*Ωδὲ μὲν δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐκ παρασκευῆς εἴχεν,
ἐπὶ τελευτῆ δ᾽ εὕρον τοῦ λόγου τὰ τελευταία τοῦ 
προτέρου τὸ

οὐ γὰρ μὲ κτενεῖς, ἐπεὶ οὕτωι μόρσιμος εἶμι,
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ever fixed and assured, and who never slew poets on CHAP. 
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 CHAP. 
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,"

Effect on 
Domitian 
of the Sage’s 
sudden dis- 
appearance.

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CAP. καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τοῦτον ἔτι, ἃφ᾽ ὅν τοῦτο. ἔπει δὲ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου δαιμόνιον τε καὶ οὐ ράδιον εἰπεὶν τρόπον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν ὁ τύραννος, ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ θὸντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ θὸντο αὐτὸν σχέτλια υπὲρ τοῦτον βοήσεσθαι καὶ δίωξιν ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, κηρύξειν τε ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν, μηδαμοῦ παριτητεά εἶναι οἱ, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων, ἀλλ' ὁσπέρ ἄγωνυξομένοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν ἢ ξυνιεῖς λοιπῶν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνδρὰ οἱ αὐταρκεῖς. εἰ δ’ ὑπερέωρα, ξυμβαλλόμεθα τοῖς ἐφιεξης, φανεῖν γὰρ ἂν ξυνταραχθεῖς μᾶλλον ἡ καταφρονήσας.

IX

CAP. Ἡκροάτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτέρας ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνη δίκης, πόλις δ’ ὡς ἄγωνυξομένη πρὸς ἀνδρὰ υπὲρ διαθηκῶν, οἷμαι, διέφευγον δ’ αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν δικαζομένων ὑνόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς δίκης, ἀνόητοι μὲν γὰρ αἱ ἑρωτήσεις ἔχουσιν, αἱ δ’ ἀποκρίσεις ὑπὸ υπὲρ δὲν ἡ κρίσις· ἡ σφόδρα ἠλεγχε τὸν τύραννον, ὡς ἐξεπεπληκτὸ τε καὶ ἦπορει, δι’ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ πεπείσθαι πρὸς τῶν κολακεύστων, ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν διαφύγοι αὐτῶν.

X

CAP. ὸντω τὸν τύραννον διαθεῖς καὶ πάλινον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἀποφήνας 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
βαρβάρως φοβερὸν πάσιν, πρὸ μεσημβρίας μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, περὶ δεῖλην δ' ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ ἐφάνη Δημητρίῳ τε καὶ Δάμιδι, καὶ τούτῳ ἀρ' ἦν τὸ παρακελεύσασθαι αὐτὸν τῷ Δάμιδι μὴ περιμείναντι τὴν ἀπολογίαν πεζέυσαι ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν τὰ μὲν γὰρ βεβουλευμένα οὐ προύλεγε, τὸν δ' ἐαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐκέλευε πράττειν, ἄ τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις εἶπετο.

XI

Ἐτύγχανε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δάμις τῆς πρωτεραίας ἀφιγμένος καὶ τῷ Δημητρίῳ ξυγγεγογοῦς ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ὁ δ' εὐλαβέστερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀκροώμενον εἰκὸς διατεθεὶς ἦν ὑφ' ὅν ἤκουσε, καὶ πάλιν τῆς ὑστεραίας ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἥρωτα, ἐνυαλών αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν γ' τὰ περὶ τὴν Καλυψῶν μυθεύματα ἀπεγίγνωσκον μὲν γὰρ ὃς οὐκ ἤξοντος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος χαλεπὰ ἦν πάσιν, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσταττόμενα ἐπὶ ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἄνδρός, ἀπευπόντες οὖν ἐκάθηντο ἐς τὸ νῦμφαιον, ἐν φ' ὁ πίθος, λευκοῦ δ' οὕτως ἐστὶ λίθου ξυνεχόν πηγῆν ὤδατος οὔθ' ὑπερβάλλουσαν τοῦ στομίου οὔτ', εἰ τις ἀπαντλοῦῃ, ὑποδιδοῦσαν. διαλεχθέντες δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ὤδατος οὐ μάλα ἐσπουδακότως, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνδρὶ ἀθυμίαν, ἐπανήγγειο 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.

XI

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

"Ἀνολοφυραμένου δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδος, καὶ τε καὶ
toιούτων εἰπόντος, "ἀρ’ ὁψόμεθα ποτε, ὁ θεός, τὸν
calὸν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἑταῖρον;" ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀπολ-
λώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφεστὼς ἤδη τῷ νυμφαῖῳ
ἐτύγχανεν, "ὦψεσθε," εἶπε, "μᾶλλον δὲ ἕωράκατε."
"ζῶντα;" ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, "εἰ δὲ τεθνεώτα,
οὐτω πεπαύμεθα ἐπὶ σοι κλάοντες," προτείνας
οὐν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὴν χεῖρα, "λαβοῦ μου," ἔφη,
"καὶ μὲν διαφύγω σὲ, εἰδὼλόν εἰμὶ σοι ἐκ Φερσε-
φάτης ἤκοι, σιὰ φαίνονσιν οἱ χόνιοι θεοὶ τοῖς
ἀθυμοτέροις τὰ πένθη, εἰ δὲ ὑπομείναιμι ἀπτόμενον,
πείθε καὶ Δάμιν ἔχῃ τὲ με καὶ μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι
τὸ σῶμα." οὐκέθα οἶνοι ἀπιστεῖν ἤσαν, ἀλλ’
ἀναστάντες ἐξεκρέμαντο τοῦ ἄνδρος καὶ ἡσπάζοντο,
ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας ἡρῶτων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
Δημήτριος οὐδ’ ἀπολελογήσθαι αὐτὸν, ἀπολέσθαι
γὰρ ἄν καὶ μὴ ἄδικοντα, Δάμις δ’ ἀπολελογήσθαι
μὲν, θᾶττον δ’ ἔσως, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνης τε τῆς
ἡμέρας ἔστο. ὃ δ’ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀπολελόγημαι,"
ἔφη, "ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ νικῶμεν, γέγονεν δὲ μοι τὰ τῆς
ἀπολογίας τήμερον οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας,
προῆκε γὰρ ἤδη ἐς μεσημβρίαν." "πῶς οὖν,
ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, "τοσῷδε ὅδον ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς
ἡμέρας ἦμυστας;" καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "πλὴν
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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
καὶ πτερῶν κηροῦ ξυγκειμένων πάντα οἶου, θεδὲ ἐπιγράφων τῇ πομπῇ ταύτῃ.

"Πανταχοῦ μέν," ἡ δ' ὁ Δημήτριος, "τῶν σῶν ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων θεδὲ αἰ τινα προορῶν ἡγοῦμαι, παρ' οὗ τὰ σὰ οὕτως ἔχει, τῆν δ' ἀπολογίαν, ἡ τις γέγονε, καὶ ἄττα ἡ κατηγορία εἰχε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ δικάζοντος ἦθος, καὶ ὁ τι ἦρετο καὶ ὅτω ξυγκατέθετο ὡτὶ μῆ, λέγε ὁμοὶ πάντα, ἵνα καὶ Τελεσίνῳ ἔκαστα φράζωμι, οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσει ἔρωτῶν τὰ σὰ, ὡς γε καὶ πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα ἦσως ἡμερῶν ἐμοὶ ξυμπίνων ἐν Ἄνθῳ, κατεδαρθε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, μεσούσης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς κύλικος ἔδοξεν ὁναρ πῦρ ἐν τῇ γῇ πελαγίσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολαμβάνειν τῶν ἀνθρῶπων, τοὺς δὲ φθάνειν ὑποφεύγοντας, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἤειν αὐτὸ παραπλησίως τῷ ὕδατι, σὲ δ' οὖν ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ διανεύσαι αὐτοῦ σχισθέντος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ τούτῳ θεῶς εὐξυμβόλως ἐσπεισεν, ἐμοὶ τε παρεκελεύσατο ὑπὲρ σοῦ θαρρεῖν." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οὐ θαυμάζω Τελεσίνων," εἶπεν, "ὑπερκαθεύδοντα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπερεγρήγορὲ μοι πάλαι, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης πεύσεσθε μὲν, οὐ μήν ἐνταῦθα, δείλῃ τε γὰρ ἰκανός ἦδη καὶ βαδίζειν ὀρα ἐς ἅστυ, ἠδίους δ' οἱ καθ' ὅδὸν λόγου παραπέμψας βαδίζοντας, ἱώμεν ὄψιν διαλαλοῦντες.
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."
Τότε ἀναβοήσας Δημήτριος, "ἐγώ μὲν φήμη σεσωσμένον ἀψίθαλαί σε, σοι δ’ ἄρχῃ κινδύνων ταύτα, ἐνλήφθηται γάρ σε καταγγελλόμενον καὶ πάσης ἀποστροφῆς εἰργόμενον." ὃ δ’ ἔρρωσθαι τῷ Δημήτριοι δέει φράζων, “εἰ γάρ καὶ ὑμεῖς," ἐπευ, "διὰ αὐτῷ εὐάλωτοι ἦτε· ἄλλ’ ὅπως μὲν τάκεινον νῦν ἔχει, ἐγώ οἶδα· κολακευόντων γὰρ ἀεὶ λόγων ἀκροατῆς γεγομένως, νῦν ἐπιπληρτόντων ἥκροται, ῥήγυνυται δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων αἱ τύραννοι φύσεις καὶ περὶ ταύτα χολῶσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀναπαύλης δεῖ γόνι μού ὀυτῶν κάμψαντι ἐκ τοῦ ἄθλου." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "ἐγώ, Δημήτριε, διεκείμην μὲν οὕτως," ἔφη.
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
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CAP. "πρὸς τὰ τούθε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πράγματα, ὡς καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν, ἔφ' ἦς ἦκει, ἑυνεβούλευσε δὲ ποι καὶ σὺ ταύτα, ὡς μὴ ἐσ ἱενδύνους ἐκουσίουσε τε καὶ χαλεποῦς ἵνα, ἔπει δ' ἐτύγχανε μὲν δεδεμένος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, ἀπορὰ δ' ἱγον-μένῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, ἔφ' ἐαυτῷ ἐφη τὸ λελύσθαι εἰναι, καὶ τὸ σκέλος ἑλευθερώσας τοῦ ἔσθε ἐδειξε· τοτε πρῶτον κατενόησα τοῦ ἀνδρός, θεσπέσιον τε εἰναι αὐτὸν καὶ κρείσσω τῆς ἱμεδαπῆς σοφίας· οὖθεν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπωτέροις τούτοις ἐνυχομοί, οὐδὲν ἀν δεῖσαι ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ κινδυνεῦων. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐστέρα, βαδίζωμεν ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐπιμέλειαι ποιησόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, „ὑπνου,” ἐφη, „δεόμαι μένον, τὰ δ' ἀλλα ἐν ἴσῳ τίθεμαι λόγῳ, καὶ παρῆ τι αὐτόν, καὶ ἄπτη.” μετὰ ταῦτα εὑξάμενος Ἀπόλ-λωνι καὶ ἔτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἦν ὃκει ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ τῷ πόδε ἀπουψάμενος παρακελευσάμενος τε τοῖς ἁμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν δειπνέιν, ἐπειδὴ ἁσιτοὶ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, ἐρρίψεν ἐς τὴν κλίνην ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐφυμήσας τῷ ὑπνῷ τὸ "Ομήρου ἔπος ἐκάθευδεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔπ' ἄξιος φρον-τίσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν.

XIV

CAP. Περὶ δὲ ὄρθρον ἐρομένου αὐτὸν τοῦ Δημήτριος, ποῖ τῆς γῆς τρέψωστο, καὶ κτυπεῖσθαι δοκοῦντος τὰ ὅτα ὑπὸ ἐννοιαῖς ἱπτέων, οὕς ἤπετο ἐπικεῖσθαι 366
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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 on 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 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;
ΦΛΑΥΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

CAP. X  ἀφίκοιτο δὲ ἡμέρας ἐκτης ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ ἐκβολὰς, ἀφ' ὄν ὁ ποταμὸς οὕτως Ἀδρία καὶ Σικελικῷ πελάγει ἐπιχείται πῦτμος. ἀποβάντες οὐν τῆς νεώς, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἱκεῖν, διητῶντο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διός, οὐδαμοῦ ὑπὲρ Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποφοίτωντες. φήμης δ' ἀθρόας τε καὶ ἐξυπνόνου κατασχούσης τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀν' τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀφίχθαι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, καταρχαὶ μὲν ἐδόκει μὴ ἔρροσθαι ὁ λόγος, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ ἐλπίδος τι ἀνθρωπείας ἐπί αὐτῷ ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ δεδέσθαι αὐτὸν ἢκουσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἁνήκου ἡςαν ἀποθανεῖν καταφλεκθέντα, οἱ δ' ἐλχθῆναι ἡώντα καταπαγέντων ἐς τὰς κλείδας αὐτοῦ ὁγκίστρων, οἱ δ' ἐκεῖ θαυμάζουν, οἱ δ' ἐς βαράθρου, οἱ δ' ἐς βυθὸν ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἱκεῖν ἐπιστεύθη, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα οὐδεμίαν μετέωρος οὕτω ξυνήγη ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐκείνων τοῦτε, Ἡλίξ μὲν καὶ Σπάρτη αὐτόθεν, Κόρινθος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὀριῶν, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ, εἰ καὶ Πελοποννήσου ἔξω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλείποντο τῶν πόλεων, αὖ ἐπὶ θύραις εἰσὶ τῆς Πίτης, αὐτὸ μάλιστα οἱ ἐπικυνδεσταί Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν στείχοντες καὶ νεότης ἡ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς Ἀθήνας φοιτῶσα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Μεγαρόθεν τινὲς ἐπεχωρίασαν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦτε, καὶ Βουλτῶν πολλοῖ, καργόθεν, Φωκέων τε καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ὁ τι εὐδοκίμον, οἱ μὲν ξυγγεγονοῦτες ἢδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, ἀνακτησόμενοι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ πλειώνων τε καὶ

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and having traversed the gulf they arrived after six days at the mouth of the Alpheus, where that river pours its waters, still sweet, into the Adriatic and Sicilian Sea. Here then they disembarked, and thinking it well worth their while to go to Olympia, they went and stayed there in the temple of Zeus, though without ever going further away than Scyllous. A rumour as sudden as insistent now ran through the Hellenic world that the sage was alive, and had arrived at Olympia. At first the rumour seemed unreliable; for besides that they were humanly speaking unable to entertain any hope for him inasmuch as they heard that he was cast into prison, they had also heard such rumours as that he had been burnt alive, or dragged about alive with grappnels 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 Whither all Greece flocks to see him 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
CAP. θαυμασιωτέρων ἀκροάσασθαι φῶντο, οἳ δ' ἀπειροῦν αὐτοῦ δεινῶν ἡγούμενοι τοιοῦτε ἄνδρος ἀνήκουσιν φαίνεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας, ὅτι τρόπῳ διαφύγοι τῶν τύραννων, οὐδὲν φέτος δεῖν φορτικὸν φράζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολελογηθῆσαι τε ἐφασκέ καὶ σεσώσθαι: πολλῶν δ' ἔξιν Ἰταλίας ἦκόντων, οἷς ἐκήρυττο τὰ ἑν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, διέκειτο μὲν ἡ Ἑλλάς οὐ πόρρω τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν, θείον ἡγούμενοι ἄνδρα δὲ αὐτὸ μᾶλιστα τὸ 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVI ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐν Παναθηναίοις ἔδρασαν, τυράννως λοιπὸν χαριζονται τὸ κεχειροτονημένους αὐτῶν ἄρχειν.

XVII


XVIII

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 CHAP. XVII 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, CHAP. XVIII 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

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CAP. XVIII

τάτη, τεμένη τε γάρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ δρόμοι καὶ σκηνὴ δήπου, ἔθνη τε ἄνθρωπων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ομόρου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερορίων τε καὶ ὑπὲρ θάλατταν.” καὶ μὴν καί τεχνῶν πλείστων αὐτήν ἦλθεῖσθαι καὶ σοφισμάτων, σοφίας τε ἁληθινῆς καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ ξυμβουλίων καὶ διαλέξεων γυμνῆς τε ἁγωνίας καὶ μουσικῆς, ὡς Πυθοὶ πάτριοι. “ἐσκευ,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνε, οὕτω μόνον σωματοειδὲς εἶναι ἡ πανήγυρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστέρας ὑλῆς ἡ αἱ πόλεις, τὰ γάρ τῶν σπουδαίων σπουδαιότατα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἐλλογιμώτατα ἐξακαλεῖ καὶ εὔνοικίζει.”

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
ἀν ἐγένοντο, εἰ μὴ δι’ ἀνθρώπων χείρας, τὰ δὲ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπὸ χειρὸν μὲν ἀνθρωπεῖων ἐφθάρη τὸ αὐτοσχέδια μὴ εἶναι ἀφαιρεθέντα, φύσεως δ’ εὐ ἢκοντα ἐπάξια τοῦ ξυμφοιτᾶν ἐσ αὐτὰ ἐνοικία, γυμνάσια μὲν γὰρ καὶ στοάι καὶ κρήναι καὶ οἶκοι, τέχνη ταῦτα ἀνθρωπεῖα εἰργαζόθη, καθάπερ τὰ τείχη καὶ αἱ νῆες, Ἄλφειος δὲ οὖτος καὶ ἐπύρδρομος καὶ στάδιον καὶ ἄλση πρὸ ἀνθρώπων δήπου ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν ἀποχρῶν ποτὸν εἶναι καὶ λουτρόν, δ’ εὐρὺ πεδίων ἐναγονίσασθαι τοῖς ἐποίης, τὸ δ’ ἐγκοινίσασθαι καὶ διαδραμεῖν ἄθληταις διὰ τὸ παρέχεσθαι τινα ὀρον, αὐλῶνα σταδίου μῆκος, τὰ δὲ ἄλση στεφανῶσαι τοὺς νικῶντας καὶ τοὺς δρομικοὺς τῶν ἄθλητῶν γυμνάσαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ποι ᾖ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐνθυμηθέντι, καὶ τὸ αὐτοφυὲς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀγαθεῖν ἐπάξιος ἐφάνη ὁ χώρος τῶν ἔτη νῦν σπουδαζομένων ἐνταῦθα.”

XIX

Ἡμερῶν δὲ τετταράκοντα διαλεξθεῖσα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ πλείστα σπουδάσας, “καὶ κατὰ πόλεις μὲν,” ἐφη, “διαλέξομαι ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἐλλήνες, ἐν πανηγύρεσιν, ἐν πομπαῖς, ἐν μυστηρίοις, ἐν θυσίαις, ἐν σπουδαῖς—ἀστείου δὲ ἄνδρος δέονται—νῦν δὲ ἐσεὶ δὲ Ἀδέαδειαν χρῆ καταβῆναι με, ἐπεὶ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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

XIX

After forty days, given up to discussions in Olympia, in which many topics were handled, Apollonius said: "I will also, O men of Hellas, discourse to you in your several cities, at your festivals, at your religious processions, at your mysteries, your sacrifices, at your public libations, and they require the services of a clever man; but for the present I must go down to Lebadea, for I have never yet had
CAP. XIX. μήπως ξυγγέγονα, καίτοι ἐπιφοιτήσας ποτὲ τῷ ἱερῷ." καὶ εἰσίν ταῦτα ἐχώρει δὴ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας, οὐδενὸς λειτουρένου τῶν θαυμαζόντων αὐτῶν. τὸ δὴ ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ στόμιον ἀνάκειται μὲν Τροφωνίῳ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐσβατὸν μόνον τοῖς ύπὲρ χρησμῶν φοιτώσιν, ὃρᾶται δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, μικρὸν δὲ ἄνω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν γηλόφῳ, ξυγκλείουσι δ’ αὐτὸ σιωπέρει διεξόμενοι κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες, ἢ δὲ κάθοδος οὐα ἵπποντα ἐπιστάσασθαι. λευκὴ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἐσταλμένοι πέμπονται, μελιτούττας ἀπάγοντες ἐν ταῖς χερῶν, μειλύγματα ἐρπτέτων, δ’ τοῖς κατιοῦσιν ἐγχρίστει. ἀναδίδωσι δ’ ἡ γῆ τοὺς μὲν οὐ πόρρω, τοὺς δὲ πορρωτάτω, καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Δοκροῦς ἀναπέμπονται καὶ ὑπὲρ Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι περὶ τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὀρία. παρελθὼν οὖν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν, "βοῦλομαι," ἐφι, "καταβηθήναι ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας."

'Ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς λεγόντων, μὴ ἂν ποτὲ γόητι ἀνθρώπως παρασχεῖν ἐλεγχοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα πλαττομένων ἀποφράδας καὶ οὐ καθαρᾶς χρῆσαι, τῆν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διελέξθη περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῆς Ἐρκύνης ὑπὲρ αἰτίας τοῦ μαντεῖου καὶ τρόπον, μόνον γὰρ ἐκείνῳ δ’ αὐτῶ τὸ χρωμένου ἐσπέρα δ’ ὡς ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον μετὰ τῶν ἐνακολουθοῦντων νέων, καὶ τέτταρας τῶν ἄβελλων ἀνασπάσας, οἱ ἐννέχουσι τὰς τῆς παρὸδον κλείδας, ἐχώρει ὑποχθόνιος αὐτῷ τρίβων i

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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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIX καθάπερ ἐσ διάλεξιν ἠαντον στείλας, οὔτω τι τῷ θεῷ φίλα πράττων, ὡς ἐπιστάντα τοῖς ἱερεύσι τὸν Τροφώνιον, ἐς ἐπιπληξίν τε αὐτοῖς καταστήναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐς Αὐλίδα τε ἐπεσθαι πάντας, ὡς ἐκεί ἀναδυσμένου θαυμασιώτατα ἀνθρώπων. ἀνέσχε γὰρ δι’ ἡμερῶν ἑπτά, ὄσων μήπω τις τῶν ὑπελθόντων τὸ μαντεῖον, φέρον βιβλίον προσφορώτατον τῇ ἐρωτήσει. ὅ μὲν γὰρ καθῆλθεν εἰπόν, "τίνα, ὦ Τροφώνιε, καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρτιωτάτην καὶ καθαρωτάτην φιλοσοφίαν ἤγη;" τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τὰς Πυθαγόρου εἰχε δόξας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ μαντείου τῇ σοφίᾳ ταύτη ξυνιθθεμένου.

XX

CAP. XX Ἐπέκειται τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ἐν Ὁνθίῳ, καὶ σπουδάζεται διὰ τὴν αὐτίαν, τὸ δὲ Ὁνθίον Ἰταλῶν τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττη. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν Δεβάδειαν οἰκούντων ξυνχωρῷ ἀκροάσθαι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦτον γρώμη ἀποπεφάνθω μοι, διακομισθήναι μὲν αὐτὸ βισυλεί Ἀδριανῷ ὑστερον, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τινας τῶν τοῦ Ὁπολλωνίου ἐπιστολῶν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάσας γε, καταμείναι δὲ ἐς τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν τῷ Ὁνθίῳ, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν βασιλείων ἔχαρεν.

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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.

Emerges from the cave of Trophonius with a volume of Pythagoras

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.
CAP. XXI

'Αφίκοντο δ', αύτῷ κα'ξ 'Ιωνίας οἱ ὁμιληταὶ πάντες, οὕς ὁνόμαζεν Ἀπολλωνιέιον ἡ Ἐλλάς, καὶ ξυμμιχθέντες τοὺς αὐτόθεν νεότης ἔγενοντο θαυμᾶσαι ἄξιοι τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ὁρμῆς. ῥητορικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέκειτο ἁμελουμένη, καὶ σμικρὰ προσεῖχον τοῖς τῇς τῇς τεχνήν ξυγκροτοῦσιν, ὅς μόνης διδασκάλου τῆς γλώττης, ὁθίζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφῶν πάντες. ὁ δ', ἀσπερ τοὺς Γύνας φασὶ καὶ τοὺς Κροίσους ἀκλείστους παρέχειν τὰς τῶν θησαυρῶν θύρας, ἢν ἀπαντλεῖν εἳ τοῖς δεομένοις, οὕτω παρεῖχε τῇν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν τοῖς ἐρῶσι, περὶ παντὸς ἔρωταν ξυγχωρῶν.

CAP. XXII

Διαβαλλόντων δ', αὐτῶν ἐνίον, ὅτι τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιδημίας ἐκτρέποιτο καὶ ἀπάγως τούς ἀκροατὰς ἐσ τὰς ἡσυχίας μᾶλλον, καὶ τινος ἀποσκώψαντος μετελαίφνειν αὐτῶν τὰ πρόβατα, ἑπειδὰν τοὺς ἁγοραίους προσίστατος μάθη, "νὴ Δί", εἶπεν, "ὦνα μὴ ἐμπύπτωσι τῇ πούμη πο ἱκόλοι." τῷ δ' ἐβούλετο αὐτῷ τούτῳ; τοὺς ἁγοραίους ὅρῶν ἀποβλεπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ προϊόντας ἐκ πενίας ἐς πλοῦτον, ἀπεχθείας τε ὀὕτως 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
CAP.  
πωλεῖν, ἀπῆγε τοὺς νέους τοῦ ξυνείναι σφισι καὶ 
tοὺς ξυγγενομένους αὐτοῖς ἐνουθέτει πικρότερον, 
οἷον ἀποπλύσων βαφῆς ἀτόπου· διεβέβλητο μὲν 
γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνου, ὡτὸ δὲ 
tῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεσμωτηρίων καὶ τῶν δεδεμένων 
τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω διετέθη πρὸς τὴν 
tέχνην, ὡς πάντα ταῦτα τῶν συκοφαντούντων 
cαι τῶν δεινότητα ἐπηρμένων ἥγεισθαι μᾶλλον ἡ 
tοῦ τυράννου.

XXIII

CAP.  
Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνου, ὃν τῇ Ἕλλαδι ἐνεσπούδα-
ζεν, ἔπειξε τὸν οὐραιόν διοσκυρία τοιαύτης τὸν τοῦ 
ἥλιου κύκλου περιελθὼν στέφανος ἑοκὼς ὑριδὶ 
tὴν ἀκτίνα ἀμάυρου. ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐσ νεῶτερα ἡ 
dioskyma ἑφερε, δῆλα ἦν πᾶσιν, ὅ ὁ ἀρχών τῆς 
Ἑλλάδος καλέσας αὐτὸν ἔγε Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Βουωτίαν, 
"ἀκούω σε," ἐλέη, "Ἀπολλώνω, σοφὸν εἶναι τὰ 
δαίμονια." "εἰ γε," ἐφη, "ἀκούεις, ὅτι καὶ τὰ 
ἀνθρώπεια." "ἀκούω," ἐλέη, "καὶ ἡμιφημί." 
"ἐπεὶ τοιῶν," ἐφη, "ἀνωνυμολογεῖς, μὴ πολυ-
πραγμόνει θεῶν βουλάς, τούτη γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων 
σοφία ἐπαινεῖ." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλυπάρει τὸν Ἀπολλώ-
νου εἴπειν, ὅτι διανοεῖται, δεδείναι γὰρ μὴ ἐσ 
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conducted a traffic in hatred and feud; accordingly he tried to dissuade these young men from associating with them, and those that did so associate with them he sharply reproved, as if to wash off them a monstrous stain. For he had been long before on bad terms with them; and his experience of the prisons in Rome, and of the persons who were confined and perishing in them, so prejudiced him against the forensic art, as that he believed all these evils were due to sycophants and lawyers puffed up by their own cleverness, rather than to the despot himself.

XXIII

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

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FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXII
νύκτα μεταστῇ πάντα, "θάρρει," ἔφη, "ἐσται γὰρ 
τι ἐκ τῆς νυκτὸς ταυτης φῶς."

XXIV

CAP. XXIV
Μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ ὁ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν 
Ἑλλάδα ἰκανῶς εἶχε, δυοῖν ἐνδιατρίψας ἔτοίῳ, 
ἐπλει ἡς Ἰωνίαν ξυνεπομένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐταιρείας, 
καὶ τὸν μὲν πλεῖον χρόνον ἐφιλοσόφει περὶ τὴν 
Σμύρναν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑφέσου, ἐπιών καὶ τὰς ἄλλας 
καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν πόλεων ἀνήδης εἶναι δοκοῦν, 
ἄλλα καὶ ποθεῖσθαι ἄξιος καὶ κέρδος μέγα τοῖς 
δεξιοῖς.

XXV

CAP. XXV
'Εσόθον τέ οἱ θεοὶ Δομετιανὸν ἡδὴ τῆς τῶν 
ἀνθρώπων προεδρίας. ἐτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλήμεντα 
ἀπεκτονῶς ἄνδρα ύπατον, ὡς τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν 
ἐαυτοῦ εἰδεδόκει, πρόσταγμα δ᾽ ἐπεπολῆτο περὶ 
τὴν τρίτην ἡ τετάρτην ἡμέρα̟ν τοῦ φόνου κάκει̟ 
νην ἐς ἄνδρος φοιτῶν: Στέφανος τοῦν ἀπελ̟ 
εύθερος τῆς γυναῖκος, ὁ ἐδὴλον τὸ τῆς διοσκό̟ 
μας σχῆμα, εἴτε τὸν τεθνεώτα ἐνθυμηθεῖς, εἴτε 
πάντας, ἄρμησε μὲν ἵσα τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις Ἄθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ξίφος δ᾽ ὑφείρας
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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
CAP. XXV  τῷ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πήχει, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ-
δέσμους ἀναλαβὼν ὦν κατεαγνιάν, ἀπίωντι
τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθόν, “δέομαι σοι,” ἔφη,
“βασιλεὺ, μόνου, μεγάλα γάρ, ὑπὲρ δὲν ἄκούσῃ
οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος δὲ τοῦ τυράννου τὴν ἀκρόασιν,
ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα, οὐ τὰ βασιλεία,
“οὐ τέθηκεν,” ἐβεβευκ, “ὁ πολεμιώτατος σοι Κλή-
μης, ὡς σὺ οὐεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἐστίν οὐ ἔγω οἶδα, καὶ
ξυντάττει ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ σὲ.” μέγα δ’ αὐτοῦ βοή-
σαντος περὶ δὲν ἦκουσε, τεταραγμένω προσπεσῶν
ὁ Στέφανος, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τῆς ἐσκενασμένης χειρὸς
ἀναπάσας, διήκε τοῦ μηροῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸν αὐτίκα
θάνατον οὐ καιρίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ
ἄκαιρον. ὁ δ’ ἐρρωμένος μὲν καὶ ἄλλως τὸ σῶμα,
γεγονὼς δὲ περὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἡτὰ
ξυνεπλάκη τρωθείς, καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Στέφανον
ἐπέκειτο, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀρύττων καὶ τὰς παρειὸς
ξυντρίβων πυθμένω κρυπτῇ κύλικος αὐτοῦ κειμένης
περὶ τὰ ἱερά, ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄρωγον.
συνέντες οὖν ὦ δορυφόροι κακῶς πράττοντος
ἐσῆλθον ἄθροί, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν
λυποθυμούντα ἡδη.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI  Ταῦτ’ ἐπράττετο μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐωράτο
δ’ Ἀπολλωνίῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον. διαλεγόμενος
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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.

Although this deed was done in Rome, Apollonius was a spectator of it in Ephesus. For about midday
γὰρ περὶ τὰ τῶν ξυστῶν ἀληθῆ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγίγνετο, πρῶτον μὲν ύφήκε τῆς φωνῆς, οἶον δείσας, εἰτ᾽ ἐλλιπέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἤρμηνευσεν ἵσα τοῖς μεταξὺ λόγων διορώσι τι ἐτερον, εἰτὰ ἐσιώπησεν, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν λόγων ἐκπεσόντες, βλέψας τε δεινὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ προβὰς τρὶς ἢ τέταρτα τῶν βημάτων, "παίε τὸν τύραννον, παίε," ἔβοι, οὐχ ὡσπερ ἐκ κατόπτρου τινὸς εἴδωλον ἀληθείας ἐλκων, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ ὅρῶν καὶ ξυλλαμβάνειν δοκῶν τὰ δράμενα. ἐκπεπληγμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου, παρῆν γὰρ διαλεγομένῳ πᾶσα, ἐπισχοῦν ὅσοι οἱ διορώντες, ἔστ’ ἂν γένηται τι τῶν ἀμφιβόλων τέλος, "θαρ- ρεῖτε," εἶπεν, "ὡ ἄνδρες, ὁ γὰρ τύραννος ἀπεσφακται τήμερον. τὶ λέγω τήμερον; ἀρτι, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἀρτι, περὶ τὸν καίρον τῶν ῥημάτων, οἷς ἐπεσιώπησα." μανίαν δὲ ταῦθ’ ἡγομένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐφέσον, καὶ βουλομένων μὲν ἀληθεύειν αὐτῶν, δεδιότων δὲ τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κίνδυνον, "οὐ θαυμάζω" ἔφη, "τῶν μὴπο προσδεχομένων τὸν λόγον, δυν μὴδ’ ἡ ‘Ρώμη γηγυνόσκει πᾶσα· άλλ’ ἵδιον γηγυνόσκει, διαφορὰ γὰρ, καὶ πιστεύουσι μὲν ἢδη μύριοι, πηδῶσι δ’ ύψ’ ἡδονῆς δις τόσοι καὶ διπλάσιοι τούτων καὶ τετραπλάσιοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ

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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 PHILESTRATUS

CAP. XXVI

ἐκεῖνη δὴμοι. ἀφίξεται τούτι τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ δεύρο, καὶ τὸ μὲν θύειν ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβλήθως ἐς καιρόν, ὃν ἀπαγγελθῆσεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δὲ εἶμι προσευξόμενος τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὲρ ὃν εἶδον.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII

"Ετ' ἀπιστουμένου τούτων, ἦλθον οἱ τῶν εὐαγγελίσων δρόμοι, μάρτυρες τῆς σοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τυράννου σφαγή, καὶ ἡ τούτω ἐνεγκούσα ἡμέρα, καὶ ἡ μεσημβρία, καὶ οἱ κτείνοντες, πρὸς οὓς ἡ παρακέλευσις, οὕτως εἶχεν, όσοι οἱ θεοὶ τούτων ἔκαστα διαλεγομένω τῇ ἀνδρὶ ἀνέφαινον.

Τριάκοντα δ' ἡμέραις μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Νερόου τὴν μὲν ἄρχην ἣδη τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἥχειν θεών τε βουλαις κάκεινου, κατασχέιν δ' ἄν αὐτὴν ῥᾷον, εἰ ξύμβουλος αὐτῷ ἐλθοι, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐκεῖνο γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν αὖνγμα: "ξυνεσομέθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χρόνον ἀλλήλους πλείστον, ὅν μὴτ ἡμεῖς ἔτερον, μὴτ ἄλλος ἡμῶν ἄρξει," συνιεῖς ἵσως ἐαυτοῦ τε, ὡς μετ' οὗ πολὺ μεταστη- 

σομένου ἀνθρῶπων, Νερόου τε, ὃς χρόνον μετ' ἄρξοντος, ἐς ἐναντίον γὰρ καὶ μὴν τέτπαρας τὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προοβῆ σωφρονεστάτῳ 

δόξαντι.

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

XXVII

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

And thirty days later Nerva sent a letter to him to say that he was already in possession of the Empire of the Romans, thanks to the good-will of the gods and to his good counsels; and he added that he would more easily retain it, if Apollonius would come to advise him. Whereupon at the moment the latter wrote to him the following enigmatical sentence: “We will, my prince, enjoy one another’s company for a very long time during which neither shall we govern others, nor others us.” Perhaps he realised, when he wrote thus, that it was not to be long before he himself should quit this human world, and that Nerva was only to retain the throne for a short time; for his reign lasted but one year and four months, when he left behind him the reputation of having been a sober and serious ruler.
CAP. XXVIII. "Ινα δὲ μὴ ἀμελῶν φαίνοντο φίλου τε ἄγαθοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος, ξυνύθηκε μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῆν, ξύμβουλον τῶν ἀρχικῶν, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν, "σοῦ" ἐφη, "δεῖται ταῦτα, τὰ γὰρ ἀπόρρητα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς γέγραπται μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἔστι δὲ οἶα ἢ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ λέγεσθαι ἢ διὰ σοῦ." καὶ ὅψε ὁ Δάμις ξυνείναε φησὶ τῆς τέχνης, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστολῆν ἀριστά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ξυγγεγράφθαι, πεμφθῆναι δὲ ἄν καὶ δὲ ἐτέρου. τῖς οὖν ἡ τέχνη τοῦ ἄνδρός; πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἐβίω, λέγεται θαμὰ ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι, "λάθε βιώσας, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιο, λάθε ἀποβιώσας." ἀπάγων οὖν ἐαυτοῦ τὸν Δάμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ μάρτυσι καταλύοι, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔσκηψατο καὶ τὸ ἀναφοιτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἔς τὴν Ρώμην. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ παθεῖν τι ἀπιδῶν αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὐδὲ εἰδὼς τὰ μέλλοντα, τὸν δὲ εἴδοτα μηδὲν μὲν οἱ εἰπὲιν, ὅσπερ εἰσκάτων οἱ μηκέτ' ἀλλήλους ὑφόμενοι, τοσοῦτοι αὐτῷ περιεῖναι τοῦ πεπείθον, ὅτι ἂν ἦστα, παρεγγυησαί δὲ ὅδε: "ὡς Δάμι, καὶ ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ φιλοσοφῆς, ἐμὲ ὀρα."
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."
CAP. XXIX

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐσ 'Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ Τυανέα Δάμιδι τῷ 'Ασσυρίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένα ἐσ τόνδε τὸν λόγον τελευτᾶ, περὶ γὰρ τρόπου, καθ' ὑπὸ ἐτελεύτα, εἰγε ἐτελεύτα, πλείους μὲν λόγοι, Δάμιδι δὲ οὐδεὶς εἰρηται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τούτῳ χρή παραλελείφθαι, δεῖ γὰρ ποι τὸν λόγον ἔχειν τὸ ἐαυτοῦ πέρας. οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἡλικίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰρηται οὐδὲν τῷ Δάμιδι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν οὐδοήκοντα, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὰ ἔνενθ-κοντα, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρόσω τῶν ἐκατόν ἐλθεῖν, ἀκέραιος ὑπὲρ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄρτιος, νεότητος δὲ ἡδίων. ἔστι γὰρ τις ὁρὰ καὶ περὶ ῥυτίσωι, ἥ μάλιστα περὶ ἐκείνων ἡνθησεν, ὡς εἰκόνες τε ὑπελοῦσι ταύρος ἐν τῷ Τυανάδε ἱερῷ καὶ λόγοι μᾶλλον ὑμνοῦντες τὸ 'Ἀπολλώνιον γῆρας ἡ την Ἀλκιβιάδου ποτὲ νεότητα.

XXX

CAP. XXX

Τελευτήσαι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θερα-πευόμενον ὑπὸ δυοῖν δυμωαῖν, τεθνάναι γὰρ ἡδη οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι, περὶ δὲν κατ' ἄρχας εἰπον, ἐλευθερώ-σαντα δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν, αἰτίαν πρὸς τῆς ἑτέραν ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἦξιστο, τὸν δ' 'Ἀπολλώνιον, "καὶ δουλεῖσαι," φάναι, "προσήκει σὲ αὐτῇ, τοὐτ' γὰρ σου ἀγαθοῦ ἄρξει." τελευτήσαντος οὖν ἡ μὲν 398
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXIX

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

XXX

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

CAP. XXX δουλεύειν ἐκείνη, ἢ δ' ἐκ μικράς αἰτίας ἀποδόσθαι αὐτὴν κατήλοφ, παρ' οὔ πράσσατ' τις οὔδ' εὑπρετή ὄψαν, ἀλλ' ἔρον οὕτος καὶ χρηματιστής ἰκανὸς ὤν, ὑμναίκα τε ἀνειπεῖν καὶ παϊδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔγγραψαι.

Οἱ δ' ἐν Δίνδῳ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν, παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἔσω ἀφαιρεθέντα· οἱ δ' ἐν Κρήτη φασὶ θαυμασιώτερον ἢ οἱ ἐν Δίνδῳ· διατρίβειν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τῶν Ἀπολλώνιων μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦτον θαυμαζόμενον, ἀφικέσθαι δ' ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δικτύνης ἀωρί. φυλακὴ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ κυνῶν ἐπιτέτακται, φρουρὸι τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ πλοῦτου, καὶ ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Κρήτες μήτε τῶν ἄρκτων μήτε τῶν ὅπερ ἀγρίων λείπεσθαι, οἱ δ' οὖθ' ἱλακτεῖν ἰκονα ταῖνειν τε αὐτὸν προσίοντες, ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς ἡγαν ἐθάδας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προϊστάμενοι ξυλλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὡς γόητα καὶ ληστὴν δῆσαι, μείλιγμα τοῖς κυὶ προβεβληθέται τι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φάσκοντες· ο δ' ἀμφὶ μέσας νῦκτας ἑαυτὸν λύσαι, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς δήσαντας, ὡς μὴ λάθοι, δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύρας, αἱ δ' ἀνεπετάσθησαν, παρελθόντος δὲ ἐσὼ τὰς μὲν θύρας ξυνελθεῖν, ἀσπερ ἐκέκλειστο, βοήν δὲ ἄδουσῶν παρθένων ἐκπέσειν. τὸ δὲ ἄσμα ἢν "στείχε χάς, στείχε ἐς οὐρανὸν, στείχε." οἷον· ἢθ εκ τῆς γῆς ἄνω.

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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, ἐφιλοσόφει ἔτι, διδάσκων μὲν, ὅτι ἄληθης ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λόγος, πολυπραγμονεῖν δὲ μὴ ἐνυχωρῶν τὰ ὅσα μεγάλα ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐσ τὰ Τύανο μειράκιον θρασύ περὶ τὰς ἔριδας καὶ μὴ ἐνυθῇμενον ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ. τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου εἷς ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἠδη όντος, θαυμαζομένου δ' ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ μηδ' ἀντιλέξαι θαρροῦντος μηδενός, ὡς οὐκ ἀθάνατος εἰη, λόγου μὲν οὐκ ἐπεί ψυχῆς ἐγyclopedia, καὶ ὑπὲρ νεότης τις ἦν αὐτῶθι σοφίας ἐρώτης, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον οὐδαμῶς τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίᾳ ἐνυθὐθέμενου, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "ἡ παρόντες, τούτοι μὴν δέκατον Ἀπολλωνίω διατελῶ εὐχόμενον ἀναφηναῖ μοι τὸν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς λόγον, ὁ δ' οὕτω τέθηκεν, ὡς μηδ' ἐφιστασθαι δεομένῳ, μηδ', ὡς ἀθάνατος εἰη, πείθειν." τοιαῦτα μὲν τὸ μειράκιον τότε, τέμπτη δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἦμερα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν στουδάσαι, κατέδαρθε μὲν οὐ διελέγετο, τῶν δὲ ἐνυποποδαζόντων νέων οἱ μὲν πρὸς βιβλίους ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἐσπούδαζον γεωμετρικοὺς ἐπιχαράττοντες τύπους τῇ γῇ, τὸ δ', ὡσπερ ἐμμανέες, ἀναπηδήσαν ὡμόυπνον, ἱδρώτι τε πολλῷ ἐρρεῖτο καὶ ἔβδα, "πειθομαί σοι." ἔρομένων δ' αὐτὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὁ τι πέπονθεν, "οὐχ ὀράτε," ἔφη, "ὑμεῖς Ἀπολλωνίων τὸν σοφόν, ὡς 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 immaterial. 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

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ἐπακροόμενος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ῥαψῳδεῖ θαυμάσια; "ποῦ δ’ οὕτως;" ἔφασαν, "ὡς ἦμιν γε οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται, καίτοι βουλομένοις ἂν τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν." καὶ τὸ μειράκιον, "ἔοικεν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ διαλεξόμενος ἥκειν ὑπὲρ ὃν μὴ ἐπιστευοῦ ἄκοιντ’ οὖν, οἷα τῷ λόγῳ ἐπιθεῖάζειν:

ἀθάνατος ψυχή κοῦ χρήμα σὸν, ἂλλὰ προνοίας, ἢ μετὰ σῶμα μαρανθέν, ἢ τ’ ἐκ δεσμῶν θοὸς Ἰππος,

ῥημίως προθοροῦσα κεράννυται ἥερι κούφω,

δεινὴν καὶ πολύτλητον ἀποστέρξασα λατρείνην,

σοὶ δὲ τὸ τῶν ὦ οίκεός, ὁ ποτ’ οὐκέτ’ ἐὼν τὸτε

δόξεις;

ἡ τ’ μετὰ ξυροίνω ἐὼν περὶ τῶνδε ματεύεις;"

καὶ σαφῆς οὔτως Ἀπολλωνίου τρίτους ἐστηκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπορρήτων, ἵνα εὐθυμοί τε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν εἰδότες, οἱ τάττουσι Μοῖραι, πορευούμεθα. τάφῳ μὲν οὖν ἡ ψευδοταφίῳ τοῦ ἄνδρος οὐδαμοῦ προστυχών οἶδα, καίτοι τῆς γῆς, ἢπόσι ἔστιν, ἔπελθον πλείστην, λόγοις δὲ πανταχοῦ δαίμονίοις, καὶ ίερὰ Τύανάδε βασιλείως ἐκπεποιημέναι τέλεσιν οὐδὲ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἀπηξίουν αὐτοῦ δὲν αὐτοὶ ἥξιοῦντο.

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

"The soul is immortal, and 'tis no possession of thine own, but of Providence,
"And after the body is wasted away, like a swift horse freed from its traces,
"It lightly leaps forward and mingles itself with the light air,
"Loathing the spell of harsh and painful servitude which it has endured.
"But for thee, what use is there in this? Some day when thou art no more thou shalt believe it.
"So why, as long as thou art among living beings, dost thou explore these mysteries?"

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

α'.—Εὐφράτης.

'Έμοι πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἠστὶ φιλία, πρὸς μέντοι σοφιστὰς ἡ γραμματιστὰς ἡ τι τοιοῦτο γένος ἔτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων, οὔτε νῦν ἔστι φιλία, μήτε ὑστερόν ποτε γένοιτο. τάδε μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς σὲ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων εἰς, ἐκείνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς σὲ· θεράπευε σου τὰ πάθη, καὶ πειρῶ φιλόσοφος εἶναι, καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τοῖς ὁντως φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ σοι καὶ γῆρας ἡδὴ πλησίον καὶ θάνατος.

β'.—τῷ θυσίᾳ.

'Η ἀρετὴ φύσει κτήσει χρήσει, δι' ἣν ἔκαστον ἃν εἷς τῶν προειρημένων ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον. σκέπτεσθαι, εἴ τι σοι τούτων ἑστίν, ἡ σοφιστείας παυστέον λοιπόν, ἡ προϊκα γε χρηστέον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνυγχάνοντας, ἐπείπερ ἤδη σοι καὶ τὰ Μεγαβύζου.
THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS
OF TYANA

I.—To Euphrates.

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

II.—To the same.

Forasmuch as virtue cometh by nature, by acquirement, by use, each of these may be held to be worthy of 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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

γ'.—τ ὃ αὐτ ὃ.

Ἐπήλθες ἔθνη τὰ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Συρίας ἀρξάμενος, ἐπιδεικνύσ σεαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λεγομέναις. διπλῆ δέ σοι τότε καὶ πόγων λευκὸς καὶ μέγας, πλέον δὲ οὐδέν. εῖτα πῶς διὰ θαλάσσης νῦν ὑποστρέφεις ἄγων φορτίδα μεστὴν ἀργυρίου, χρυσίου, σκευῶν παντοδαπῶν, ἐσθήτων ποικίλων, κόσμου τοῦ λοιποῦ, τύφου καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ κακοδαμονίας; τίς ὁ φόρτος καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς καυχῆς ἐμπορίας; Ζήνων τραγημάτων ἢ ἐμπορός.

δ'.—τ ὃ αὐτ ὃ.

Ολόγων δεὶ σοῦ τῶν παισίν, εἰ φιλοσόφου παιδείς εὔησαν. ἐδει μὲν οὖν μηδὲ φροντίσαι πλεῖον σοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἰκανῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ ἀδοξίας τυνός. ἔπει δὲ ἀπαξ ἐγένετο, δεύτερον ἂν εὑρίσκῃ σπουδὴ νεῖμαι σε τις ἐνια τῶν ὄντων ἐχεις δὲ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους.

ε'.—τ ὃ αὐτ ὃ.

Τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων ὁ περὶ ἡδονῆς οὐδενὸς ἔτι συνηγόρου δεῖται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς, πέφυτος γάρ ὁυ καὶ κατὰ τῆν στοὰν ἀληθέστατος. εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγων προκομεῖς.
II.—To the same.

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

IV.—To the same

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

V.—To the same.

There is no need henceforth for any inmate of his garden, or follower of his school to plead the merit of one of the discourses of Epicurus which is entitled: “About Pleasure.” For a genuine advocate thereof has turned up in the Porch itself. But if by way of
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τὰς Χρυσίππου σχολὰς καὶ δόγματα, γέγραται τι καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασιν. Εὐφράτης ἐλαβε καὶ πάλιν ἐλαβεν. Ἐπίκουρος δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐλαβεν.

ζ'.—τ ὧ αὐτ ὧ.

Ἡρόμην πλουσίους τινὰς, εἰ πικραίνονται. τί δ' οὐ μέλλομεν; ἔφασαν, ἡρόμην οὖν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ ἱτιώντο τὸν πλοῦτον. σὺ δ', ὦ τάλαν, νεόπλουτος.

ζ'.—τ ὧ αὐτ ὧ.

Ἐὰν ὅτι τάχος εἰς Ἀιγάς ἀφίκη καὶ κενώσης ἐκεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ἱτέον ἔστι σοι πάλιν ὅτι τάχος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ κολακευτέον ὡμοίως νουσοῦντας, γέροντας, γραῦς, ὀρφανοῦς, πλουσίους, θρυπτομένους, Μίδας, Γέτας. πάντα φασὶ δεῖν τὸν ἐμπορον κάλων σείειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰὴ τὴν ἄλλαν τρυπὰν ἐν Θέμιδος οἶκῳ.

η'.—τ ὧ αὐτ ὧ.

Ἀρά τι καὶ σὺ γράψαιο ἂν; εἰ γάρ οὔτω γένου ο γενναῖος. καὶ ἔχοις δ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τὰ συνήθη ταύτα καὶ πρόχειρα: "λοιπὸν ἄπαν Ἄπολ-λόνιος παραίτειται." 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’ οὐ νῦ.

Αὐλοῖς καὶ λύρα κρεῖττον ἐστὶ τέρπειν ἕλογω. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς ὁργανα καὶ μουσικὴ τούνομα τῇ τέχνῃ, λόγος δὲ τάληθες εὐρίσκει. τοῦτό σοι 414
more, he never quits his house and takes care never to soil his feet. "You never see him moving any part of his person." Yes, for he never moves anything except his soul. "He wears his hair long on his head." Well, and so does the Hellene, because he is a Hellene and not a barbarian. "He wears linen raiment." Yes, for this purest garb is that of priests. "He practises divination." Yes, for many are the things we know not, and there is no other way of foreseeing anything that is going to happen. "But such practices are not consonant with philosophy." Nevertheless they befit the deity. "And moreover he eases the flesh of its agonies and allays suffering." You might equally bring this charge against Asclepius. "He eats alone." Yes, and the rest of the world feed. "He uses few words and on few occasions." Yes, for he has a faculty of holding his tongue altogether. "He abstains from all flesh and from eating any animal food." That is surely a proof of his humanity. If you tell me, Euphrates, that you have put these counts into your indictment, you will probably add the following as well: "If there had been any going, he would have taken money as I have, and presents, and civil promotions." If there had been money going, he would not have taken it. "Nay, but he would have taken it for his country." Yes, but that is not one's country which knows not what it hath.

IX.—To Dion.

If your object is to please, you had better employ flute and lyre than argument; for they are the instruments which are made to minister to pleasure, and the art of doing so is named music. But
πρακτέων, τούτο σοι ῥητέον, ἢν καὶ περὶ τούτου φιλοσοφῆς.

ι'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ζητοῦσι τινες τὴν αὐτίαν, δι' ἃν πέπαυμαι διαλεγόμενοι ἐν πολλοῖς. εἰδέτωσαν οὖν, οἷς ἂν εἰδέναι μέλη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἁδύνατος ὠφελησαι λόγος ἀπασ, ὅσ' ἂν εἰς ἄν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἐνα λέγηται. ὁ τούτων ἄλλως διαλεγόμενος δόξης ἦττων ἂν διαλέγοιτ' ἄν.

ια'.—Καὶ σαρέων προβούλοισ.

Πρῶτον εἰς πάντα θεῶν ἄνθρωποι δέονται καὶ περὶ παντὸς, ἐπεὶ τῶν πόλεων, τιμητέον γὰρ δεύτερον πόλεις μετὰ θεῶν καὶ τὰ πόλεως προκριτέον παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· εἰ δὲ μὴ πόλις μόνον εἰη, ἄλλα καὶ μεγίστη τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἀρίστη τε τῶν αὐτόθι μεγέθει καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ προγόνων κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρεταῖς, ἔτι τε ἡθεῖοι κατ' εἰρήνην, καθαρὲς ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις, μάλιστα πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐμοὶ τε θαυμαστεῖα τιμητέα τε καὶ ἄλλη δὲ ὅμοιας παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἐκ λόγου κοινοῦ· τὸ προκριτικὸν ἂν εἰη τὸ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν πολλῶν. ὅταν δὲ καὶ

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

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

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argument finds out the truth; and at this you should aim in 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 motivated by vain glory to discourse.

XI.—To the Chief Councillors of Caesarea.

Men’s first need is of gods for everything and above everything; their second of cities, for next after the gods we must honour our cities; and if we are men of sense we prefer our cities’ welfare. Now if yours were only one city of many, instead of being, as it is, the greatest in Palestine, excelling all others there in size and in laws, and in institutions and in the warlike virtues of ancestors, and still more in the arts and manners of peace, I should still see reason to admire and honour your city more than all others, and so would every man who has any sense. By common report this would be the reason for preferring your city on a comparison of it with the run of cities. But whenever a city
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ἀρχὴ πόλις ποτὲ τῆς πρὸς ἑνα τιμής ἀνδρα, πόλις οὖσα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐαυτῆς ξένου καὶ ἄποθεν, τί ἢ τοῦτον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἢ ὕμων ἀν πρὸς τίσιν ἄξιον εἶν; τοῦτο μόνου ἱσώς, εἰ θεοφιλής τις ὁ ὑπὸ τύχοι διὰ τινα φύσεως ἐπιτηδειότητα, τὸ εὐχεσθαί τῇ πόλει τὰ ἀγαθὰ τυγχάνειν τε τῆς εὐχῆς, ὁπερ ἂν διατελέσαιμι κἀγὼ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἐπειπερ ἦσθην ἦθεσιν Ἐλληνικὸς φαίνουσι τὸ ἱδιον ἀγαθὸν καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κοινῶν. Ἀπολλωνίδην δὲ τὸν Ἁφροδίσιον νεανίαν ἐρρωμενεστάτης φύσεως ἄξιας τε τοῦ ὑμετέρου ὄνοματος, πειράζομαι χρήσιμον ὑμῶν παρασκευάζειν εἰς ἐκαστὰ μετὰ καὶ τύχης τινὸς ἀγαθῆς.

ιβ'.—Σελευκέων τοῖς προβούλοισι.

Πόλις, ἢτις ἂν οὕτω πρὸς τε θεοὺς ἔχει καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἄξιους ἀποδοχῆς, αὐτῇ τε εὐδαίμονας καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀφέλησε τοὺς μαρτυρηθέντας. ἀρξασθαι μὲν οὖν χάριτος οὐ δυσχέρες, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπως τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀμοιβὴν δ' οὖ ράδιον, ἄλλα καὶ παντελῶς ὁμοίων εὔρειν ἀδύνατον, τὸ γάρ ποὺ τῇ τάξει δεύτερον οὐδέποτε τῇ φύσει πρῶτον. ὅστε θεοῖς ἀνάγκη παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς οὐ τῇ δυνάμει μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις κρείττους γενομένους, ἀνθρώπων γὰρ οὐδές τὰ γε τηλικά κατὰ δυνάτος· καὶ τὸ ἐθελήσαι δ' ἂν με παρ' ὑμῖν

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

XII.—To the Chief Councillors of Seleucia.

Whatever city is so well affected as yours both towards the gods and towards such men as are worthy of acceptation, is both blessed in itself, and contributes to the excellence of those in whose favour it bears witness. Now though it is not difficult to lead the way in displaying graceful good-will, indeed it is the noblest of human acts, it is yet not easy to re-quite it; nay it is altogether impossible to find a true equivalent, for I imagine that what in time sequence is second, can never in nature be first. Consequently I am obliged to ask heaven to reward you who have shewn yourselves not only my superiors in ability, but also in deeds. For no man could possibly rise to such achievements as yours. It is a further proof of
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γενέσθαι τῆς ὕμων ἃν εἰῇ χάριτος καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἃν εὐξαίμην παρ' ὕμων καὶ γε-
γεννήσθαι. οἱ πρέσβεις ὕμων τιμιώτεροι, διότι καὶ φίλοι, 'Ιερώνυμος καὶ Ζήνων.

υ').—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Στράτων μὲν ἔξ ἀνθρώπων οὐχεταί, πᾶν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ θυντὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καταλυτών. χρῆ δὲ τοὺς
ἐτι κολαζομένους ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε, ξήν ἄλλως λεγο-
μένους, ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν ἐκεῖνου πραγμάτων ἐπιμέ-
λειαν. ἄλλοις μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔργον δικαίως
γένοιτο νῦν ἢ καὶ ὕστερον, οἷς μὲν ὡς οἰκείοις, οἷς
δ' ὡς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνδράσι φίλοις οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ
γνωσθησομένοις χρόνῳ, τούτων εἰπερ ἢν τῶν
ὄνομάτων ἀληθὲς τι καὶ πρόσθεν. ἐγὼ μέντοι
καὶ ταύτη βουλόμενος ἐξαιρέτως ὑμέτερος εἶναι,
τὸν ἐκ Σελευκίδος νῦν αὐτῷ γενόμενον Ἀλέξαν-
δρον αὐτὸς ἀναθρέψω, καὶ μεταδώσω παιδείας τῆς
ἐμῆς. πάντως δ' ἀν μετέδωκα καὶ χρημάτων ὁ
tὰ μείζονα δοὺς, εἰπερ ἔχειν ἢν ἅξιον.

ιδ').—Ε ὑ φ ρ ἀτη.

Πυνθάνονται μοι πολλοὶ πολλάκις, τίνος ἐνε-
κεν οὐ μετεπέμψθην εἰς Ἰταλλαν, ἢ οὐ μεταπεμφ-
θεῖς ἀφικόμην, ὥσπερ σὺ καὶ εἰ τοῖς ἐτέροις. ἐγὼ
dὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρινοῦμαι, μὴ
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your gracious good-will towards me that you also wish me to visit you, as I would pray to have visited you already. Your envoys are the more precious to me, because they are already my friends, I mean Hieronymus and 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
καὶ δόξω των εἰδέναι τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐδ' εἰδέναι μοι μέλοι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τί ἂν καὶ δεόμην ἑτέρον λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν μετεπέμφθην ἢ ἀφικόμην; ἐρρωσο.

ιε'.—τ ὃ α ὑ τ ὃ.

Τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀδέσποτον εἶναι Πλάτων ἔφησεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ τιμᾶ τοῦτό τις καὶ γέγηθεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄνιος γίνεται χρημάτων, πολλοὺς δεσπότας ἐαυτοῦ ποιεῖ.

ιζ'.—τ ὃ α ὑ τ ὃ.

Μάγους οἴει δεῖν ὄνομάξειν τοὺς ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσόφους, ὡδὲ ποιος καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Ὄρφεως. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος οἴμαι δεῖν ὄνομάξεσθαι μάγους, εἰ' μέλλουσιν εἶναι θεῖοι τε καὶ δίκαιοι.

ιη'.—τ ὃ α ὑ τ ὃ.

Μάγους ὄνομαξουσι τοὺς θείους οἱ Πέρσαι. μάγος οὖν ὁ θεραπευτὴς τῶν θεῶν ἢ ὁ τὴν φύσιν θείος, σὺ δ' οὐ μάγος, ἀλλ' ἄθεος.

ιη'.—τ ὃ α ὑ τ ὃ.

Ἡράκλειτος ὁ φυσικὸς ἁλογον εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἔφησε τὸν ἀνθρώπου. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄληθές, ἦσσερ ἐστὶν ἄληθές, ἐγκαλυπτέος ἐκαστὸς ὁ ματαιὸς ἐν δόξῃ γενόμενος.

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should think that I knew the reason, whereas I am not interested to know it; but as regards the second question why need I say more than that I would rather have been sent for than go? Farewell.

XV.—To the same.

Plato has said that true virtue recognises no master. And supposing anyone fails to honour this answer and delight therein, and instead of doing so sells himself for filthy lucre, I say that he but gives himself many masters.

XVI.—To the same.

You think it your duty to call philosophers who follow Pythagoras magicians, and likewise also those who follow Orpheus. For my own part I think that those who follow no matter whom, ought to be called magicians, if only they are determined to be divine and just men.

XVII.—To the same.

The Persians give the name of magi to divine beings. A magus then is either a worshipper of the gods or one who is by nature divine. Well, you are no magus, but a man without god.

XVIII.—To the same.

Heraclitus the natural philosopher used to say that man is by nature irrational. Well, if this be true, as it is true, then let everyone hide his face who vainly and idly is held in repute.
Πέντε εἰςι σύμπαντες οἱ τοῦ λόγου χαρακτήρες, ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ ἰστορικὸς, ὁ δικανικός, ὁ ἐπιστολικός, ὁ ὑπομνηματικός. ἐγκειμένων δὴ τῶν γενικῶν χαρακτήρων, τῇ τάξει πάλιν γίνεται πρῶτος μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου δύναμιν ἡ φύσιν ἱδιος ὑν, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ ἐν μμησθεὶς του ἀριστοῦ, τῶν ἐκ φύσεως εἰ τις ἐνδεχὴς εἰη. τὸ δὲ ἀριστον δυσεὐρετῶν τε καὶ δυσεὐκριτον, ὡςτε οἰκείωτερος ἐκάστῳ χαρακτῆρ ὁ ἱδιος, ἐπείπερ καὶ βεβαιότερος.

κ'.—Δ ὁ μετίαν ὕ.

Εἰ σοι δύναμις ἐστιν, ὡςπερ ἐστὶν, καὶ φρόνησιν ἀν εἰη σοι κτητέον καὶ γὰρ εἰ φρόνησις ἢν, δύναμις δὲ ἄπην, ὁμοίως ἔδει σοι δυνάμεως. δεῖται γὰρ ἂν ἃ ἐτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου, ὡςπερ ὅψις φωτὸς καὶ φῶς ὕψεως.

κα'.—τ ὅ. αὐτ ὕ.

Βαρβάρων ἀφεκτέον καὶ οὐκ ἄρκτεον αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους ὄντας εἰ πάσχειν.

κβ'.—Δεσβ ων ακτι.

Δεῖ πένεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἄνδρα, πλοντείν δὲ ὡς ἀνθρωπον.
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XIX.—To Scopelianus, the Sophist.

In all there are five characters in rational discourse: the philosopher, the historian, the advocate, the writer of epistles, the commentator. And when these general characters have been settled, there emerges afresh in sequence of dignity, first he who is peculiar by reason of his own faculties or nature, and there comes second he who is an imitator of the best, supposing he be one of those who lack natural endowment. But the best is both difficult to find and difficult to appraise; consequently his own character is more fitting for each man to assume, so far forth as it is also more lasting.

XX.—To Domitian.

If you have power, and you have it, then it would be well if you also acquired prudence. For supposing you to have prudence, but to lack power, you would have been equally in need of power; for the one of these ever stands in need of the other, just as the eye needs light and light the eye.

XXI.—To the same.

It would be best you should hold aloof from barbarians, and not aspire to rule them; for it is not right that they being barbarians should find in you a benefactor.

XXII.—To Lesbonax.

You should try to be poor as an individual, but to be rich as a member of humanity.
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κυ'.—Κριτωνι.

Τὸ θειότατον Πυθαγόρας ἰατρικὴν ἔφασκεν. εἰ δὲ ἰατρικὴ τὸ θειότατον, καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιμελητέον μετὰ σώματος, ἢ τὸ ἄρον οὐκ ἂν υγιαῖνοι τῷ κρείττονι νοσοῦν.

κδ'.—Ἐλλανοδίκαις καὶ Ἡλείοις.

Ἀξιοῦτε με τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων παραγενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέμψατε πρέσβεις. ἐγὼ δὲ παραγενόμην ἄν ἐπὶ σωμάτων θέαν καὶ ἀμιλλαν, εἰ μὴ τὸν μεῖζον τῆς ἄρετῆς ἄγωνα καταλείψεις ἐμελλον.

κε'.—Πελοποννησίοις.

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

κς'.—τοῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεηκόροις.

Θεοὶ θυσιῶν οὐ δεόνται. τί οὖν ἂν τις πράττων χαρίζοιτο αὐτοῖς; φρόνησιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κτῶμενος, ἀνθρώπων τε τοὺς ἄξιους εἰς δύναμιν εὐ ποιῶν. ταῦτα φίλα θεοῖς, ἔκεινα δὲ ἀθέων.

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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'.—το ίς ἐν Δελφοὶς ἱερεύσιν.

Ἀματι βωμοὺς μιαίνουσιν ἱερεῖς. εἴτε θαυμακοῦσι τινες, πόθεν αἱ πόλεις ἀνυχοῦσιν, ὅταν μεγάλα δυσθετήσωσιν. ῥ ἡς ἀμαθίας. Ἡράκλειτος ἦν σοφός, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος Ἔφεσίους ἐπεισε μὴ πηλῷ πηλὸν καθαίρεσθαι.

κη'.—Βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν.

Ζάμολξης ἄνηρ ἄγαθος ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, εἰ γε μαθητὴς Πυθαγόρου ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ὁρμαῖος, ἐκὼν ἃν ἐγένετο φίλος. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑλευθερίας οἴει δεῖν ἀγῶνα καὶ πόνου ἔχειν, ἀκούει φιλόσοφος, τούτων ἑλεύθερος.

κθ'.—ν ο μο θ ἐ τ η.

Αἱ ἑορταὶ νόσων αἰτίαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πόνους ἀνιᾶσι, τὸ ἐμπίπτασθαι δὲ αὔξουσιν.

λ'.—τ α μιαὶς Ὁμαῖων.

'Ἀρχὴν ἄρχετε πρῶτην. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀρχεῖν ἐπιστασθε, διὰ τὸ τὸ παρ’ ὑμᾶς χείρον ἑαυτῶν αἱ πόλεις ἔχουσιν; εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιστασθε, μαθεῖν ἐδει πρῶτον, εἴτε ἄρχεῖν.

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XXVII.—To the Priests in Delphi.

The priests defile the altar with blood, and then some people ask in amazement why our cities are visited with calamities, when they have courted displeasure on the largest scale. O what folly and dulness! Heraclitus was wise, but not even he could persuade the Ephesians not to purge away mud with mud.

XXVIII.—To the King of the Scythians.

Zamolxis was a good man, and inasmuch as he was a disciple of Pythagoras, a philosopher. And if in his time the Roman had been such as he is now, he would have been glad to be friends with him. But if it is for freedom that you think you ought to struggle and make endeavour, make yourself known as a philosopher, that is to say as a free man.

XXIX.—To a Legislator.

Festivals lead to epidemics; for although they refresh men after their toil, they promote gluttony.

XXX.—To the Roman Quaestors.

You hold the highest office of the realm. If then you understand how to govern, why are the cities incessantly declining under your régime? But if you do not understand, you ought first to learn, and then to govern.

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λα'.—δι οικηταις Ἀσιας.

Τι ὀφελος ἄγριων δένδρων φυομένων ἐπὶ βλάβη
touσ κλάδους κόπτειν, ἕαν δὲ τὰς ρίζας;

λβ'.—Ἐφεσίων γραμματεῦσιν.

Δήθων ἐν πόλει καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων καὶ περι-
πάτων καὶ θεάτρων οὐδὲν ὀφελός, εἰ μὴ νοῦς
ἐνείη καὶ νόμος. νοῦς δὲ καὶ νόμος περὶ τούτων
ἔστιν, οὐ ταῦτα.

λγ'.—Μιλησίοις.

Οἱ παίδες ύμῶν πατέρων δέονται, οἱ νέοι
γερόντων, αἱ γυναῖκες ἁνδρῶν, οἱ ἀνδρεῖς ἀρχόντων,
οἱ ἀρχοντες νόμων, οἱ νόμοι φιλοσόφων, οἱ φιλό-
σοφοὶ θεῶν, οἱ θεοὶ πίστεως, προγόνων ἄγαθῶν
ἐστε, τὰ παρόντα μισεῖτε.

λδ'.—τοῖς ἐν Μουσείῳ σοφοῖς.

'Ἐγενόμην ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ Φωκίδι καὶ Λοκρίδι καὶ ἐν
Σικυώνι καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις, καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς
ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐπαυσάμην ἐκεῖ. τί οὖν, εἰ
τίς ἔροιτο, τὸ αἴτιον; ἐγώ πράσαιμ' ἄν υμῖν τε
καὶ Μούσαις: ἐβαρβαρώθην οὖ χρόνοις ὃν ἂφ
Ἐλλάδος, ἄλλα χρόνια ὃν ἐν Ἐλλάδι.
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XXXI.—To the Procurators of Asia.

What is the use of cutting off branches of wild trees whose growth does harm, when you leave the roots alone?

XXXII.—To the Scribes of the Ephesians.

It is no use decorating your city with statues and elaborate pictures and promenades and theatres, unless there is good sense there as well and law. For although good sense and law may accompany these, they are not the same thing.

XXXIII.—To the Milesians.

Your children lack fathers, your youth lack old men, your wives husbands, your husbands rulers, your rulers laws, your laws philosophers, your philosophers gods, your gods faith. Your ancestors were good men; your present estate you may well loathe.

XXXIV.—To the Wise Men in the Museum.

I have been in Argos and Phocis and Locris and in Sicyon and in Megara, and after holding public lectures in the past in those places, I have ceased to do so any more. Why so? If anyone asks me the reason, I must reply to you and to the Muses in the words of the poet: "I have been turned into a barbarian," not "by long sojourning outside Hellas," but by long sojourning in her midst.

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Αρετή καὶ χρήματα παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλῆλοις ἕναντιώτατα, μειούμενον γὰρ τὸ ἔτερον αὐξεῖ τὸ ἕτερον, αὐξανόμενον δὲ μειοὶ. πῶς οὖν δυνατὸν ἀμφότερα περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι; πλὴν εἰ μή τῷ τῶν ἁποτῶν λόγῳ, παρ' οἷς καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀρετή. μὴ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν ἀναισθητεῖν ἐπιτρέπετε τοῖς αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ ἔα πλουσίους ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφους. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχυστὸν ἀποδημεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ χρήματα δοκεῖν, ἐνίων, ἵνα μνήμην ἑαυτῶν καταλείπωσι, μηδὲ ἀρετήν ἀσπασμένων.

Κρινθιν θεῷ Βάσσῳ.

Ἡν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκίδεως μανικέμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ἦλθε ποτὲ εἰσὶρήσει ἐπὶ θύρας τὰς ἐμᾶς, ὑπὸ σοῦ σταλεὶς τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἁγωνισθέντο τῶν Ἰσθμίων. τοῦ φόνου δὴ ἢν μισθὸς δεδομένος ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς σου κοινωνία, καὶ, μιαρὲ Βάσσε, πολλάκις εὐεργέτης ἐγενόμην σου.

Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ πυνθάνοιτο Κορινθίων τις, πῶς ὁ Βάσσου πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἔροὺσιν ἀπαντεῖς οἱ ἀστικοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι· φαρμάκῳ· τίνος δόντος; ἔρουσι καὶ οἱ ὁμοροῦ· τοῦ φιλοσόφου. καὶ οἱ μιαρὸς τῷ πτώματι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπόμενος ἔκλαιεν.
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XXXV.—To Hestiaeus.

Virtue and wealth are with us most opposed to one another; for a diminution of the one leads to an increase of the other, and an increase to a diminution. How then can both at once be united in the same man, except in the imagination of fools, who take wealth even for virtue? Do not then allow men here to misunderstand me so profoundly, nor permit them to consider me rich rather than a philosopher. For I account it most disgraceful that I should be held to travel abroad in search of money, when there are some who, in order to leave a monument of themselves, have not even embraced virtue.

XXXVI.—To Bassus of Corinth.

Praxiteles of Calchis was a madman. On one occasion he came with a drawn sword to my door; and it was yourself who sent him, you a philosopher and president of the Isthmian games. But the reward you were to give him for murdering me was access to your own wife. And, you foul wretch, Bassus, I had on many occasions been your benefactor.

XXXVII.—To the same.

If any Corinthian asks, what did the father of Bassus die of, everyone, citizen and sojourner in the land alike, will answer: By poison. And who administered it? Even the neighbours will tell you: The philosopher. And this wretch wept as he followed his father’s bier.

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λη'.—τοίς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

'Αρετής μὲν ύμῶν πρωτεῖον οὐκ ἔστι, ποιας γὰρ ἀρετής; εἰ δὲ κακίας φέρεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, πάντες ύφ' ἐν φέρεσθε. τίνες τούτο φήσουσι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν; οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ τῶν αὐτόθι φίλος, ὡστ' ἀρνεῖσθαί τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὐνοιαν.

λθ'.—τοίς αὐτοῖς.

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

μ'.—τοίς αὐτοῖς.

Κόδδαροι, καὶ Εὐρισίταυροι. Τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας ύμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας πῶς ἄν προσαγορεύοιτε; τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ταγμάτων εἰσὶ καὶ αὐταί, καὶ θρασύτεραι.

μα'.—τοίς αὐτοῖς.

Οὔδὲ τούς οἰκέτας ύμῶν εὐνοεῖν εἰκός, πρῶτον μὲν ὧτι οἰκέται, εἴθ', ὡτι τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων οἱ πλείωσοι. κἀκεῖνοι γὰρ ὀμοίως ύμῶν ἀπὸ γένους.
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

XXXVIII.—To the People of Sardis.

You award no prizes for good qualities, for what good qualities have you? But if you were inclined to compete for the first prize in vice, you would all win it at once. Who is it that says such things about the people of Sardis? The people of Sardis themselves. For of the people there, no one is the friend of another, to the extent of denying out of good-will the most monstrous charges.

XXXIX.—To the same People.

The very names of your social orders are disgusting, witness the Coddari and the Xurisitauri. These are the first names you give your children, and you are lucky to be worthy of them.

XL.—To the same People.

Coddari, and Xurisitauri. And how are you going to call your daughters and your wives? For they too belong to the same castes, and are more froward than yourselves.

XLII.—To the same People.

You cannot expect even your servants to be well-wishers of yourselves, firstly because they are servants, and secondly because most of them belong to castes opposed to your own. For they too, like yourselves, have their pedigrees.
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μβ'.—Πλατωνίκοις.

'Εάν τις 'Απολλωνίωφ χρήματα διδῆ, καὶ οἱ δίδοντες ἄξιοι νομίζηται, λῆψεται δεόμενος. φιλοσοφίας δὲ μισθῶν οὐ λῆψεται, καὶ δέηται.

μγ'.—τοῖς οἶησισ οί φοις.

Εἰ λέγει τις εἶναι γνώριμοσ ἐμὸς, λεγέτω καὶ μένειν ἐνδον, ἀπέχεσθαι λουτροῦ παντὸς, ἢ ἡ μη κτείνων, μηδὲ ἔδειν σάρκας, ἀπαθῆς εἶναι φθόνου κακοπθείας μίσους διαβολῆς ἐχθρας, τοῦ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὄνομάξεσθαι γένους, ἢ φυλακτέος πλάσματα φέρον τρόπου τε καὶ ἥθους καὶ λόγων θεών ἀλλοτρίου βίου πίστιν. ἔρρωσθε.

μδ.—Ἐστιαίφ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

Τί θαυμαστών, εἰ μὲ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰσόθεον ἡγουμένων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θεοῦ, μόνη μέχρι νῦν ἡ πατρίς ἁγιοῦ, δι' ἣν ἐξαιρέτως ἐσπούδασα λαμπρὸς εἶναι; τοιτε γὰρ οὐδ' ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ὡς ὀρῷ, γέγονε φανερόν, ὅς εἰμι ἀμείωνον πολλῶν λόγων τε καὶ ἥθους. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἄν μου κατεγινώσκετε 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

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ἀρχὴν δεομένων, περὶ δὲν μόνον οὐδὲ τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ἀν τις περιμείνειε διδαχθήναι; λέγω δὲ πατρίδος τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν. καίτοι οὐ λέληθεν ὑμᾶς, ὥσ καλῶς ἔχων ἐστὶ πάσαν τε γῆν πατρίδα νομίζειν, καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ φίλους, ὥσ ἂν γένος μὲν ὑπάς θεοῦ, μᾶς δὲ φύσεως, κοινωνίας δ᾽ οὕσης λόγου τε παντὶ καὶ πάσι καὶ παθῶν τῆς αὐτῆς, ὅτι γε καὶ ὅπως ἂν τις τύχη γενόμενος, εἰτε βάρβαρος, εἰτε καὶ 'Ελλην, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀνθρώπος. ἀλλ' ἐστι γὰρ πως τὸ συγγενὲς ἀκατασοφίστων καὶ πᾶν ἀνακλητικὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον. οὔτως ὁ Ὁμηρικὸς Ὁδυσσεύς, ὡς φασιν, οὐδὲ ἀθανασίαν ὑπὸ θεᾶς διδομένην Ἰθάκης προὔτιμησεν. ὄρω δ᾽ ἔγωγε τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ διὰ τῶν ἃλογῶν ζῶν πεφοιτηκότα. οὐ γὰρ, ὅπος πηνόν, καλὸν ἀπόκοιτον ἴδιον, πᾶν τε βύθιον παρασύρεται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φέρουτος, ἐπάνεισι δὲ μὴ νικηθέν, θηρία μὲν γὰρ οὔτε λιμὸς οὔτε κόρος ἐπεισεν ἔξω φυλεῶν μεῖναι, ἐνα τούτω ἡ φύσις ἕνεγκεν ἀνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα σοφὸν λεγόμενον, ὃ καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ γῆ πᾶσα παρέχη, μνήματα οὐκ ἔχει δείξαι τὰ πατέρων.

με'.—τ ὃ οὔ τ ὃ.

Εἰ τῶν ὑπόν τὸ τιμωτάτον φιλοσοφία, πεπιστεύμεθα δ' ἢμεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὁρθῶς ὑπολαμβανοίμεθα μισάδελφοι, καὶ ταῦτα 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
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ἀγεννητε ὠ ἀμὼ καὶ ἀνελεύθερον. χρημάτων γὰρ δήπου χάριν ἡ ὑποψία, τούτων δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἡ ἐπιστήμη μὲν γράφων ἐνώπιον ἐτέραν ὑπονοεῖν. ἐφαλάττομην γὰρ ἀληθὴ μὲν γράφων ἀλαζῶν δοκεῖν, τιθέντες δὲ ταπεινότερον ὑπόκρίςεως τε καὶ φίλοις ἀν εἰς ἀνύψωσθαι μὲν μεντοῖς καὶ τοῦτο δηλῶ—συγχωροῦν γὰρ ἂν ἐν ἠσθοῖς τὸ δαιμόνιον—ὁ τις συμβαλλότων τοῖς ἐν Ὀρδῷ φίλοις, μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐκείθεν ἐπάνειμα πρὸς ὑμᾶς λήγοντος ἑαυτός.

μυς'.—Γ ρ ρ δ ἡ ϕ.

'Ἡδικησθαί φασιν 'Εστιαίον ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ταῦτα φίλοι γεγονότος, εἰ γε σὺ τῶν φίλων ὅρα δὴ, Γόρδιε, μὴ πείραν λάβῃς ἀνδρὸς οὐ δοκοῦντος, ἀλλὰ ὄντος. ἀπασάσι τὸν υἱὸν 'Αριστοκλέειδην, διε εὐχομαι μὴ παραπλησίον σοι γενέσθαι καὶ σὺ δ' Ἦσθα νέος ἀμεμπτος.

μυξ'.—Τ υ α νέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ.

Προστάτουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπανέναι πείθομαι. τούτῳ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ἐνα πόλει πρεπεδέστερον ἄν εἰη, εἰ ἑνεκα τιμῆς μεταπεμπτοτο πολίτην ἐαυτῆς καὶ δὴν 440.
reason. For it appears our misunderstanding is on the point of money; and that is something which we tried to despise, even before we became philosophers; and therefore it is more likely and reasonable that you should suspect me of having neglected to write to you for some other reason than that. For in fact I was as much afraid to write you the truth, because you might think me boastful, as to write you less than the truth, for fear you might think me over-humble; and both of these things are equally annoying no less to brethren than to friends. Now however I have this information to give you. If heaven should perhaps consent, I will, after meeting my friends in Rhodes, shortly depart thence, and return to you towards the end of spring.

XLVI.—To Gordius.

They tell me that Hestiaeus has been wronged by yourself in spite of your having been his friend, if indeed you are the friend of anyone. Beware then, my Gordius, lest you find yourself in conflict not with the semblance of a man, but with the reality. My greetings to your son, Aristocleides, who may, I pray, never resemble yourself. And yet you, as a young man, were beyond reproach.

XLVII.—To the Senate and People of Tyana.

You command me to return to you, and I obey. For the greatest compliment a city can pay to one of its own citizens is to recall him in order to do him honour. And during the whole time that I have
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ἀπεδήμησα δὲ χρόνον, ἀπεδήμησα περιποιών ὑμῖν,
eἰ καὶ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπεῖν, εὐκλειάν τε καὶ ὄνομα καὶ
eὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν πόλεων ἐπιφανῶν, ὀμοίως δὲ
cαὶ ἀνδρῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μείζονος ἔτι καὶ κραίττονος
ὑμεῖς ὑπολήψεως ἄξιοι, τό γε ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ παρὰ
tῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξήρκει μόνον
dυνάμεως τε καὶ σπουδῆς. ἔρρωσθε.

μη’.—Δ Ἰ ὦ τὶ μ.φ.

'Επλανήθης οἰηθεὶς δεῖσθαι μὲ τινὸς ἢ παρ’
αὐτοῦ σοῦ, πρὸς διν οὐδὲν ἢν μοί ποτε κοινὸν τι
γεγονός, ἢ παρ’ ἄλλου τινὸς ὀμοίου τε καὶ ὀμοίως.
ἡν δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀναλωθὲν εἰς τι τῶν σοι σωτηρίων
πολύ τι. χαριεὶ δὴ μοι παθῶν εὐ δίχ’ ἀναλώματος,
τηρήσω γάρ μου τὸ ἔθος μόνος οὕτως. ὅτι δὲ
tούτον ἔχω τὸν τρόπον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν
πρὸς ἀπαντάς μου τοὺς πολίτας, ἐώ γὰρ λέγειν
ὡς καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἐξετεί μαθεῖν
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, εὐ παθόντων μὲν,
ὃςάκις ἐδειγματίζει τινὸς, ἀμοιβήν δὲ αἰτηθέντων
μηδεμίαν. μὴ δὴ δυσχεράνης, εἰ δεόντως ἐπιτιμη-
θεὶς ὁ ἐμὸς οἰκέτης ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσέσθαι τι τὴν
ἀρχὴν, ἀπέδωκεν εὖθυς ὡς ἔλαβε Δαυίδ τῷ φίλῳ
σου, φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ἔπει μηδένα ἥπιστατο τῶν
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been away from your city, I have, although it may be presumptuous to say so, striven to win for you, by my sojourning abroad, good fame and name and good-will and the friendship of distinguished cities, and equally of distinguished men. And if you merit a still wider and higher consideration, it is only myself and my own natural gifts which are capable of an effort involving so much ability and seriousness. Farewell.

XLVIII.—To Diotimus.

You make a mistake in supposing that I want anything either from yourself, with whom I have never had anything in common, or from any body else like you, or under like circumstances. But in fact, even what I have expended on any object conducive to your welfare has been inconsiderable. I shall be best pleased, therefore, if you accept my kindness without incurring any expense yourself. For in no other way but this shall I retain my principles intact. And that this is my way, and this my attitude towards all my fellow-citizens, I might almost say towards all men, you can learn from the rest of the citizens who have accepted my kindness, as often as they stood in need thereof, but who have never been asked to make any return. Do not then take it amiss, if I have rebuked my servant as he deserved, for having in the first instance accepted anything, and if he at once handed back to Lysias your friend, and also a friend of my own, what he received, because he did not know personally any of your servants whom
καταλελειμμένον σοι παίδων. εἰ δὲ δύο λόγοι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγονταί, λειχθήσονται δὲ καὶ ἐσώστερον, τί θαυμαστόν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ περὶ παντὸς ἀκρον δοκοῦντος καθ’ ὅτι οὖν ἐναντίον λέγεσθαι λόγους. οὐτωσ περὶ Πυθαγόρου, περὶ Ὀρφέως, περὶ Πλάτωνος, περὶ Σωκράτους οὐκ ἐλέχθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφη τὰ ἐναντία, ὃποι γε μὴ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ δέχονται τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ὡς ἂν ἔχοντες τις συγγενὲς, οἱ δὲ φαύλου τὸν ἐναντίον, καὶ ἐστὶ τοῦ τοιούτου γένους καταγελᾶν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ χείρονος. τοσοῦτο μόνον δίκαιον ὑπομνῆσαι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ τὸ νῦν, ὅτι περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ θεοῖς εἰρήνη, ὡς περὶ θεῖον ἀνδρός, οὐ μόνον ἰδία τις πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. ἐπαχθές λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πλεῖον ἢ μεῖζον. ὑγιαίνειν εὐχομαι.

μθ’.—Φεροκιανφ.

Πάνυ τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασιν ἡςθην, πολλὴν γὰρ οἰκείοτητα καὶ γένους ἀνάμνησιν εἰχε, καὶ πέπεισμα δι’ ἐπιθυμίας εἶναι σοι θεάσασθαι μὲ καὶ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ θεαθήναι. αὐτὸς οὖν ἄφιξομα πρὸς ύμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, ὅθεν ἔχον τῶν αὐτῶν. συμμίξεις δὲ μοι πληροῖον γενομένω πρὸ πῶν ἀλλῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων, ἐπεί καὶ προσήκει σοι τούτο.
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.
'Εν γένει δαιμόνων καὶ ὁ σοφότατος Πυθαγόρας ἦν. σὺ δὲ ἐτί μοι δοκεῖς πορρωτάτω φιλοσοφίας εἶναι καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὦτε κάκεινων κακῶς ἔλεγες, ὦτε τινὰς τῶν ζηλούντων αὐτὸν διετέλεις μυσῶν. ἄλλο τί σοι νῦν πρακτέον ἢν εἰη· φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ἡμβροτες, οὐδ' ἐπικεῖσι οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ Μενελάου Πάνδαρος ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄρκων συγχύσει.

να'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

'Επιτιμῶσι σοὶ τινὲς, ὡς εἰληφότι χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ὦτον, εἰ μὴ φαίνονο φιλοσοφίας εἰληφέναι μισθὸν καὶ τοσαυτάκις καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτων καὶ περὶ σοῦ πεπιστευκότων εἶναι σε φιλόσοφον.

νβ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

'Εάν τις ἄνδρι Πυθαγορείῳ συγγένηται, τίνα παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεται καὶ ὡτόσα, φαίην ἂν ἐγὼν νομοθετικὴν γεωμετρίαν ἀστρονομίαν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀρμονικὴν μουσικὴν ἰατρικὴν, πᾶσαν θείαν μαντικήν, τὰ δὲ καλλίως μεγαλοφροσύνῃ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ μεγαλοπρέπειαν εὐστάθειαν εὐφημίαν γνῶσιν θεῶν, οὐ δόξαν, εἰδῆσιν δαμόνων, οὐχὶ 446
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L.—To Euphrates.

Even the most wise Pythagoras belonged to the class of demons; but you still seem to me to be utterly remote from philosophy, and from true science, or you would neither abuse that great man, nor persist in hating certain of those who follow him. You should turn to something else now. For "you have missed your cue" in philosophy, "nor have you hit it off" better than Pandarus, when he aimed at Menelaus, in the episode of the violation of oaths.

Li.—To the same Person.

There are those who rebuke you for having taken money from the Emperor. There would be nothing absurd in your doing so, were it not clear that you have taken money rewards for your philosophy on so many occasions and on such a large scale, and from so many persons, and from people whom you had got to believe that you were a philosopher.

Lii.—To the same Person.

If anyone converses with a Pythagorean, and asks what boons and how many he shall derive from him, I should myself answer as follows: he will acquire legislative science, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, knowledge of harmony and of music, and of the physician's art, god-like divination in all its branches, and the still better qualities of magnanimity, greatness of soul, magnificence, constancy, reverence, knowledge and not mere opinion
πίστιν, φιλίαν ἑκατέρων, αὐτάρκειαν ἐκτένειαν
λυτότητα βραχύτητα τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐαισθησίαν
ἐυκινησίαν εὐπνοιαν εὐχροιαν ὑγείαν εὐψυχίαν
ἀθανασίαν, παρὰ σοῦ δέ, Εὐφράτα, τὶ λαβόντες
ἐχουσὶν οἱ συνόντες; ἡ δὴ λονότι τὴν ἀρετήν, ἥν
ἐχεις;


νῦ'.—Κλαύδιος Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ.

Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην Πιθαγό-
ρεινον φιλόσοφον, καλὸς ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Ἑλλάδι
καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ἀφελήσαντα τιμήσαντες
ἀξίας τιμαῖς, αἰς πρέπει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρὰς καὶ
ἀληθῶς προϊσταμένους φιλοσοφίας, τὴν εὐνοιαν
ἡμῶν ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῖν διὰ ἐπιστολῆς φανερὰν
γενέσθαι. ἔρρωσθε.


νῦ'.—Ἀπολλώνιος δικαίωταῖς Ὀμαίων.

Διμένων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ περιβόλων καὶ
περιπάτων ἐνίοις ὑμῶν πρόνοια, πάϊδων δὲ τῶν
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ νέων ἡ γυναικῶν οὐθ' ὑμῖν
οὕτε τοῖς νόμοις φροντίς. ἡ καλὰν ἄν εἰη τὸ
ἀρχεσθαι;


νῦ'.—τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ὀμαίῳ.

Φύσιν ἔχει τῶν τελειωθέντων ἐκαστὸν ἀπιέναι,
καὶ τούτο παντὶ γῆρας ἔστι, μεθ' ὃ μηκέτι μένει.

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of the gods, direct cognisance of demons and not mere faith, friendship with both, independence of spirit, assiduity, frugality, limitation of his needs, quickness of perception, quickness of movement, quickness in breathing, excellence of colour, health, courage, immortality. And from you, Euphrates, what have your companions obtained that they can keep? Surely no more than the excellence which you possess yourself.

LIII.—CLAUDIUS, TO THE SENATE OF TYANA.

APOLLONIUS your citizen, a Pythagorean philosopher, has made a brilliant sojourn in Hellas, and has done much good to our young men. Having conferred upon him the honours he deserved, and which are proper to good men who are so truly eminent in philosophy, we have desired to manifest to you by letter our good-will. Fare ye well.

LIV.—APOLLONIUS, TO THE CENSORS OF ROME.

Some of you have taken trouble to provide harbours and public buildings and enclosures and promenades; but neither you yourselves nor your laws evince any solicitude for the children in your cities, or for the young, or for women. Were it not so it would be a fine thing to be one of your subjects.

LV.—APOLLONIUS TO HIS BROTHER.

Everything when it hath reached maturity hath a natural tendency to vanish away, and this is
μὴ δὴ σε λυπεῖτο τῆς γυναικὸς ἡ ἐν ἄκμη τῆς ἡλικίας ἀποβολή, μηδὲ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός τι λέγεται, κρείττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἵνω ὑπολάμβανε, χεῖρον ὅτι τῷ παντί τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι. γενοῦ δὴ ἀδελφὸς τὸ μὲν κοινότατον φιλοσόφου, τὸ δ’ εὐαίρετον Πυθα- γορείου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ σου τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὐτὴν ποῖσθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκαλούμεν τι τῇ προτέρᾳ, καὶ εἰκότως ἐδοκοῦμεν ἀποδεικνύσαι, εἰ δ’ ἦ μὲν σεμνὴ τε διετέλεσεν οὔσα καὶ φίλανδρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιζητήσεως ἀξία, τί καὶ διανοι- θέντοις οὐκ ἂν ὡμοία καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης προσδοκοίμημεν; ἢν εἰκός ἂν ἐθελήσαι καὶ ἀμεί- νονα γενέσθαι μηδαμοῦ τῆς προτέρας ἀμέλειά κακωθείσης. δυσωπεῖτο δὲ σε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελ- φῶν οὕτω μέχρι νῦν ἔχοντα· τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ οὖν γόνος οὐδέπω, τῷ νεωτάτῳ δὲ ἐλπὶς μὲν ἐτὶ παιδοποιίας, ἐν προκοπῇ δὲ γε τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἦμεις μὲν ἐνὶ τρεῖς γεγόναμεν, τρισὶ δ’ ἦμῶν οὐδὲ εἰς. ἵσος δὲ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ μεθ’ ἦμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ ἦμεις ἀμείνους τοῦ πατρός—ἀλλως δὲ, καθ’ ὁ πατήρ, χείρους—πῶς οὐκ ἂν βελτίως ἐξ ἠμῶν εἰκός· ἀν ὑπάρξει; γενέσθωσαν οὖν τινες, οἷς παρα- θησόμεθα γοῦν ὑνόματα, ὡς ἦμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι 45 ὁ
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 acception 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. ὑπὰ δακρύων οὐχ οἶος τε ἐγενόμην πλείονα γράψαι, καὶ οὐδὲ ἔχον ἀναγκαιότερα τούτων.

ν'.—Σ α ρ δι α νο ὅ ὶ

Κροῖσσος ἀπέβαλε τῇν Λυδῷν ἄρχὴν "Ἀλπν διαβάς, ἐλήφθη ζῶν, ἐδέθη πέδαις, ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἀνεβιβάσθη, τὸ πῦρ εἶδεν ἦμμενον αἱρόμενον εἰς ὑψος ἔξησεν, ἐδόκει γὰρ τῇθεῷ τετιμημένος. τί οὖν ὦστερον; οὕτος ὁ πρόγονος ὕμων ἁμα καὶ βασιλεύς ὁ τοσαύτα παθὼν παρὰ τῇν ἁξίαν, τραπέζης ἐκοινώνησε τῷ πολεμῷ, σύμβουλος ἦν εὖνος, πιστὸς φίλος. ὑμῖν δὲ ἁσποῦδα καὶ ἀκήρυκτα καὶ ἀμείλικτα, ἔτι τε ἄνεαρ καὶ ἄθεα τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς πρὸς τέκνα, τὰ πρὸς φίλους συγγενεῖς φυλέτας. ἔχθροι γεγόνατε μήτε "Ἀλπν διαβάντες, μήτε δεξάμενοι τινὰ ἀνθρωπον ἔξωθεν. καὶ ἡ γῆ φέρει καρπὸν ὑμῖν. ἄδικος ἦ γῆ.

ν'.—σ υγγραφεῦσι διαγοίσ.
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these for us. For my tears I am not able to write thee more, but I have nothing more important than this to write.

LVI.—To the People of Sardis.

Croesus lost the empire of the Lydians by crossing the river Halys. He was taken alive, he was bound in chains, he was set upon the high raised pyre, he saw the fire lit and the flames rising aloft. He was saved, for it appeared that he was honoured and valued by the god. What then ensued? This man, your progenitor, and also your king, who had suffered so much that he deserved not to suffer, was invited to the table of his enemy, and became his adviser and well-wisher, his faithful friend. But you, in your relations with your parents, your children, your friends, kinsmen and tribesmen, evince nothing but truceless, implacable, irreconcilable hatred, and worse than this, unholy and godless frenzy. Ye have made yourselves hateful, by neither crossing the Halys, nor receiving among yourselves anyone from outside. And yet earth bears you her fruit. The earth is unjust.

LVII.—To certain learned Publicists.

Light is the presence of fire, without which it could not be. Now fire is itself an affection, and that whereunto it comes, is of course burnt up. But light can only supply its own radiance to our eyes, on condition of using not force to them, but persuasion. Speech therefore in its turn, resembles in its one aspect, fire which is the affection, and in its other,
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δὲ ὁσπερ αὐγῆ καὶ φῶς ἐστιν· ὁ κρείττον ὁν, εἰ μὴ μεῖξον εὐχῆς τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἰη μοι.

υη'.—Ο υα λ ε ρ ἰ ϕ.

Θάνατος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει, καθάπερ οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ οὐσίας τραπέν εἰς φύσιν ἐδοξε πέμασι, τὸ δὲ ἐκ φύσεως εἰς οὐσίαν κατὰ ταῦτὰ θάνατος, οὕτε γιγνομένου κατ' ἀληθειῶν τινος, οὕτε φθειρομένου ποτέ, μόνον δὲ ἐμφανοῦς ὄντος ἀοράτου τε ὑστερου, τοῦ μὲν διὰ παχύτητα τῆς ὑλῆς, τοῦ δὲ διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς οὐσίας, οὕσης μὲν αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, κινήσει δὲ διαφεροῦσης καὶ στάσει. τοῦτο γὰρ ποι τὸ ἴδιον ἀνάγκη τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐκ ἔξωθεν γιγνομένης ποθέν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὅλου μεταβάλλοντος εἰς τὰ μέρη, τῶν μερῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὅλον τρεπομένων ἐνότητι τοῦ παυτός. εἰ δὲ ἐρήσεται τις τι τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ ποτὲ μὲν ὄρατον, ποτὲ δὲ ἀοράτον, ἢ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐμφανοῦς ἢ ἄλλως; φαίη τις αὐ, ὥς ἔθος ἐκάστου ἐστὶ τῶν ἐνθαδὲ γενῶν, ὁ πληρωθὲν μὲν ἐφάνη διὰ τὴν τῆς παχύτητος ἀντιτυπίαι, ἀοράτον δὲ ἔστιν, εἰ κενωθείη διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς ὑλῆς, βλα περιχυθεῖσης ἐκρυεύσης τε τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτῆς αἰονίου 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; οὐσεία γὰρ τινες, ὅ πεπόθασιν, αὐτὸι τοῦτο πεπονηκέναι, μὴ εἰδότες, ὡς ὁ γεννηθεὶς διὰ γονέων γεγέννηται, οὓς ὑπὸ γονέων, καθάπερ τὸ διὰ γῆς φυέν οὐκ ἐκ γῆς φύεται, πάθος τε οὐδὲν τῶν φαινομένων περὶ ἐκαστοῦ, ἄλλα μᾶλλον περὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἄν ἄλλο τις εἰπὼν ἢ τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν ὄρθως ἄν ὅνομασειν; ἢ δὴ μόνη ποιεῖ τε καὶ πᾶσχει, πᾶσι γνωμένῃ πάντα διὰ πάντων, θεὸς ἀίδιος, ὄνομασι καὶ προσώποις ἀφαιρουμένῃ τὸ ἰδιον ἄδικουμένῃ τε, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐλαττοῦ. τὸ δὲ μείζονε κλαίεται τις, ὅταν θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γέννηται τόπου μεταβάσει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσεως. ὡς δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθὲς, οὗ πενθητέον σοι θάνατον, ἄλλα τιμητέον καὶ σεβαστέον. τιμὴ δὲ ἡ ἐρήμη τε καὶ πρέπουσα, εἰ ἀφεῖς θεῷ τὸν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἀνθρώπων τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰ νῦν ἄρχοις, ἡ πρότερον ἠρχεί. αἰσχρόν, εἰ χρόνωρ, μῆλον εἰς τοὺς κακοὺς λύπης ἐπαύσε. μέγιστον ἀρχὴ ἤκαν, καὶ μεγίστων
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Why is it then that error has passed unrefuted on such a scale? The reason is that some imagine that they have themselves actively brought about what they have merely suffered and experienced; because they do not understand that a child brought into the world by parents, is not begotten by its parents, any more than what grows by means of the earth grows out of the earth; nor are phenomenal modifications or affections of matter properties of the individual thing, but it is rather the case that each individual thing's affections are properties of a single phenomenon. And this single phenomenon cannot be rightly spoken of or characterised, except we name it the first essence. For this alone is agent and patient, making itself all things unto all and through all, God eternal, which in so far as it takes on the names and person of individuals, forfeits its peculiar character to its prejudice. Now this is of lesser importance; what is of greater is this, that some are apt to weep so soon as ever God arises out of mankind,¹ by mere change of place and not of nature. But in very truth of things, you should not lament another's death, but prize and reverence it. And the highest and only befitting honour you can pay to death, is to resign unto God him that was here, and continue to rule as before over the human beings entrusted to your care. You 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.

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ἀρχων ἀριστός, δς ἀν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἀρχη. τοῦ δὲ καὶ ὦσιον ἀπεύχεσθαι τὸ βουλήσει θεοῦ γενόμενον; εἰ τάξις ἐστὶ τῶν ὑπῶν, ἔστι δὲ, καὶ θεὸς ἐπιστατὴ ταύτης, ὁ δίκαιος οὐ βουλήσεται ἀπεύχεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθά, πλεονεκτικῶν γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἡγήσεται δὲ τὰ γινόμενα συμφέρειν. πρόελθε καὶ θεράπευσαι, δίκασον καὶ παρηγόρησον τοὺς ἄθλιους, τῶν δὲ δακρύων οὕτως ἀποτρέψεις. οὐ τὰ ἱδια τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἱδίων προτιμήτεουν. οἶον δὲ σοι καὶ τὸ τῆς παραμυθίας εἰδὸς· σὺν ὅλῳ τῶν υἱῶν ἔθνει πεπένθηκας. ἀμείψαι τοὺς μετὰ σοῦ λευτημένους, ἀμείψῃ δὲ, ἦν λυπούμενος παύση, τάξιον ἢ ἔδω µή προέλθης. φίλους οὐκ ἔχεις; υἱῶν δὲ ἔχεις. καὶ νῦν τὸν τεθνηκότα; φήσει τις τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων. τὸ γὰρ ὅν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, διὰ τοῦτο ὄν, ὅτι ἐσται διὰ παύτος, ἢ καὶ τὸ µὴ ὅν γίνεται, πῶς δὴ ἂν γένουτο µὴ ἀπολλυμένου τοῦ ὁντος; εἴποι ἂν ἐτερός τις, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς τε καὶ ἀδικεῖς. ἀσεβεῖς µὲν τὸν θεοῦ, ἀδικεῖς δὲ τὸν υἱῶν, µᾶλλον δὲ κάκεινον ἀσεβεῖς· βουλεῖ δὲ µαθεῖν οἶον ἐστὶ θάνατος; ἄνελε µε πέμψας µετὰ ταύτην τῆν φωνήν, ἦν ἔδω µὴ µεταµφιέσῃ, παραχρήμα 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.
Εχεις χρόνον, ἔχεις γυναῖκα ἐμφρονα φίλανθρωπιάν, ὀλοκληρος εἰ, παρὰ σεαυτού λαβὲ τὸ λείπον. Ἡμαϊὸς τις τῶν παλαι γεγονότων, ἵνα σώσῃ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμον τε καὶ κόσμον, νῦν ἵδιον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ στεφανόσας ἀπέκτεινε, πόλεων ἄρχεις πεντακοσίων Ἡμαϊῶν ὁ εὐγενεστατός. ταῦτα σαυτὸν διατίθηι, ἐξ ὡν οὐδ' οἰκίας τις εὐσταθῶς ἄρξει, μητὶ γε πόλεων τε καὶ ἐθνῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος εἰ παρῆν, Φάβοσιλλαν ἂν μὴ πενθεῖν ἐπείσεν.

νθ'.—Βασιλεὺς Βασίλων ἡμ. Γάρ μοι Νεογύνδη Ινδῶν βασιλεῖ.

Εἰ μὴ περίεργος ἦς, οὐκ ἦν ἦς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις πράγμασι δίκαιοι, οὔτε ἦν ἄρχων ἐν Ἰνδῶι δίκαζες Βαβυλωνίοις. πόθεν γὰρ σοι γνώριμος ἦν ὁ ἡμέτερος δήμος; νῦν δὲ ἐπείρασας ἄρχῃ τὴν ἐμῆν, ὑποκοριζόμενος ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τοιαύτας ἄρχας καθεῖς, καὶ πρόσχημα ποιούμενος τῆς πλεονεξίας τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. περαιεῖς δὲ οὐδέν, οὔτε γὰρ λαθεῖν ἂν δύναιο.

ξ'.—Εὖ φράτη.

Ἡν Πραξιτέλης Ἀλκιδεὺς μαύρομενος ἀνθρωπός. οὗτος ὁφθη παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς ἐμαῖς, ξίφος ἔχων ἐν Κορίνθῳ μετὰ σοῦ γυμνίμου. ¹ Titus Manlius. See Livy, VIII. 7.

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You have abundant time, you have a wife who is sensible, devoted to her husband; you are yourself sound in body, take from yourself whatever lacks. One of the ancient Romans, in order to uphold the law and order of his state, slew his own son, and indeed slew him after crowning him. You are a governor of fifty cities, and noblest of the Romans; yet this present humour of yours is such as to prevent you from affording a stable government even to your household, not to speak of cities and provinces. If Apollonius were with you, he would have persuaded Fabulla not to mourn.

LIX.—The King of the Babylonians, Garmos, to 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
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τίς οὖν ἡ τῆς ἐπιβουλής αἰτία; οὐ γὰρ πώποτε σὰς βοῦς ἠλασα,
ἐπειδὴ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ οὐρεᾶ τε σκιώντα τάλασσα τε ἡχῆσα
τῆς τε ἐμῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς σῆς.

ξα'.—Λ ε σ β ὁ ν α κτι.

'Ἀνάχαρος ὁ Σκύθης ἦν σοφός, εἰ δὲ Σκύθης, ὅτι καὶ Σκύθης.

ξβ'.—Δακεδαίμονιοι Ἀπολλώνιοι.

Τῶν δεδομένων τιμῶν σοι ἀπεστάλκαμεν τόδε ἀντίγραφον σαμανάμενοι τῷ δαμοσία σφραγίδι ἵνα ἴδης.

Ψήφισμα Δακεδαίμονιον, καθὼς οἱ γέροντες ἐπέκριναν Τυνδάρεω εἰσηγησαμένω· ταῖν ἀρχαῖν ἐδοξε τέλεσί τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀπολλώνιον Πυθαγόρειον ἦμεν πολίταιν, ἔχειν τε καὶ γὰς καὶ οἶκων ἑγκτασίν. ἐστάκαμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπίσαμον εἰκόνα γραπτὰν καὶ χαλκὰν ἀρετῆς χάριν. ὡδὲ γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἁμῶν ἐτίμων ἄνδρας ἁγαθούς. ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἦμεν Δυκούργων παῖδας, ὅσοι σύμφωνοι θεοῖς τὸν βλοῦν αἱρέοντο.

ζη'.—Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφοροὶς καὶ Δακεδαίμονιοι.

'Ἀνδρας υμῶν ἐθεασάμην ὑπῆρχην μὴ ἔχοντας, τοὺς μηροὺς καὶ τὰ σκέλη λείους τε καὶ λευκοὺς,
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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
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μαλακᾶς χλανίδας ἡμφιεσμένους καὶ λεπτάς, δακτυλίους πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς περικεμένους, ὑποδεδεμένους ὑπόδημα τὸ Ἰωνικόν. οὐκ ἐπέγνων ὦν τοὺς λεγομένους πρέσβεις, ἢ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασκεν.

ξ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Καλεῖτε μὲ πολλάκις βοηθῶν ὑμῶν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν νέων ἐσόμενον. ἡ Σόλωνος δὲ πόλις οὐ καλεῖ με. Αὐκοῦργον αἶδεύσθη.

ξε'.—Ἑφεσίων τοῖς ἐν Ἄρτεμιδί.

Ἐθος ὑμῶν ἄπαυ ἀγιοτέλεις, ἔθος δὲ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς. ταλλῷ ὑμεῖς ἐστιντοῖς μὲν καὶ δαυτυμόνες οὐ μεμπτοῖ, μεμπτοὶ δὲ σύνοικοι τῆς θεᾶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὁ κλέπτης τε καὶ ληστής καὶ ἀνδράποδιστής καὶ πάς, εἰ τις ἄδικος ἢ ἱερόσυλος, ἢν ὀρμώμενος αὐτόθεν τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀποστεροῦντων μνοχὸς ἐστιν.

ξε'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἡλθεῖν εἰκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄνηρ ῬΕλλήν τῆν φύσιν, οὐκ Ἄθηναῖος, οὐδὲ Μεγαρεύς γε, λόγον δ' ὄνομα1 παροικήσων ὑμῶν τῇ θεῷ. δότε μοι τόπον, ἐνθα μὴ καθαρσίων δείησε μοι, καίπερ ἐνδον ἰεὶ μένοντι.

1 Or perhaps ὄνομα signifies "a person."

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tunics and light, their fingers covered with rings, and their necks bedizened with necklaces, and shod with shoes of Ionic style. I did not therefore recognize your so-called envoys, though your epistle spoke of them as Lacedaemonians.

LXIV.—To the Same.

You invite me again and again to reform your laws and your youth. Now the city of Solon does not invite me. Reverence Lycurgus.

LXV.—To those of the Ephesians who frequented the Temple of Artemis.

You are devoted to holy ceremonies no less than to honouring the Emperor. In general I cannot condemn your custom of inviting and being invited to feasts; but I do condemn the people who by night and by day share the home of the goddess, otherwise I should not see issuing thence thieves and robbers and kidnappers and every sort of wretch or sacrilegious rascal; for your temple is just a den of robbers.

LXVI.—To the same Persons.

There is come from Hellas a man who was a Hellene by race; and though he was not an Athenian or indeed a native of Megara, yet he had a better name, and was intent upon making his home together with your goddess. So I would have you assign me some place, where I can stay without contracting a need of purificatory rites, though I always remain inside.
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ξζ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

'Ανεῖται θύουσι τὸ ἱερὸν, εὐχομένους ὡμοῦσιν ἰκέταις "Ἐλλησὶ βαρβάροις ἐλευθέροις δοῦλοις, ὑπερφυῷς θεῖος ὁ νόμος. ἐπιγιγνώσκω τὰ σύμβολα τὰ Δίος τε καὶ Αἰτωλῶς, ἐὰν ἦ μόνα ταῦτα.

ξη'.—Μιλησίοις.

Σεισμὸς ὑμῶν τὴν γην ἔσεισεν, καὶ γὰρ ἀλλων πολλῶν πολλάκις. ἀλλ' ἐπασχον μὲν ἅ ἦτοχουν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐλεοῦντες δὲ, οὐ μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους ἐφαίνοντο. μόνοι δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ θεοὶ ὅπλα καὶ πῦρ ἑπηρέγκατε, καὶ θεοὶ τοιούτους, ὅν καὶ οἱ ἐτέρωθεν δέονται καὶ μετὰ κινδύνους καὶ πρὸ κινδύνων. ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα πρόκριτον ὑμεῖς Ἐλληνων δημοσίᾳ τὸ πάθημα φήμαντα πολλάκις, καὶ προαγορεύσαντα γενομένους τοὺς σεισμούς, αὐτούν, ὅτε ἐσεισεν ὁ θεὸς, ποιεῖν ἐλέγετε καθ' ἐκάστην ἠμέραν. ὃ τῆς δημοσίας ἀμαθίας καὶ πατὴρ ὑμῶν λέγεται Θαλῆς.

ξθ'.—Τραλλιανοῖς.

Πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἀλλοι κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας, νεώτεροὶ τε καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, φοιτῶσι παρ' ἐμέ. τὰς φύσεις οὖν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου σκέπτομαι καὶ τοὺς τρόπους, ὡς ἔνι μᾶλιστα συνετάτατα, τὸ τε πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκάστου δίκαιον ἥθος ἡ 466
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LXVII.—To the same Persons.

Your temple is thrown open to all who would sacrifice, or offer prayers, or sing hymns, to suppliants, to Hellenes, barbarians, free men, to slaves. Your law is 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;
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touναυτίῶν. εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι προκρίναι Τραλλιανῶν ὠμῶν οὐ Λυδοῖς, οὐκ Ἀχαιοῖς, οὐκ Ἰωνασ, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τοὺς τῆς ἁρχαίας Ἑλλάδος Θουρίους Κρατωνιάτας Ταραύτινους, ἡ τινάς ἄλλοις τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων ευδαιμόνων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἢ ἐτέρων τινῶν, τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία, δι’ ἡν ἀποδέχομαι μὲν ὠμᾶς, οὐ γάρ μοι δὲ τοιούτοις ἀνδράσι σύνοικος, καίπερ ἄν γένος ὑμετέρον; ἀλλοτέ ποτ’ ἂν εἴποιμι. νῦν δὲ μόνον ὠμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν καιρὸς ἀνδρας τε τοὺς ἠγουμένους ὠμῶν, ὡς πολὺ κρείττους τῶν παρ’ ἐτέρους ἄρετῆ καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν παρ’ οίς γεγένηται.

ο’.—Σαίτας.

’Αθηναίων ἀπόγονοι ἔστε, καθάπερ εἰς Τυμαίῳ Πλάτων φησίν, οἶ δὲ τὴν κοινὴν ὠμῶν θεὸν ἐξορίζουσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Νηῆθ μὲν τὴν ὑφ᾽ ὠμῶν, ’Αθηναίον δὲ τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὀνομαζομένην, οὐ μένοντες Ἐλληνες. ὅπως δ’ οὐ μένοντες, ἐγὼ φράσω. γέρων σοφὸς οὖν δὲ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐ γὰρ ἔφη γένος πᾶσα παντός, ὅτι μηδεμία μηδενός. ὁ κόλαξ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις, ὁ συκοφάντης πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ὁ μαστροπός καὶ πρὸ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ὁ παράσιτος πρὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἡ θεὸς δὲ οὐδὲ Σοῦμιον ἔχει.

οα’.—”Ἰωσίν.

”Ἐλληνες οὔσι με δεῖν ὄνομαξεσθαι διὰ τὰ γένη καὶ τὴν ἐμπροσθεν ἀποικίαν,” Ἐλληνες δ’ ὡσπερ
but until this day, I do not find that I could prefer to you Trallians either Lydians, or Achaeans or Ionians, or even the people of ancient Hellas, the natives of Thurii, or Crotona, or Tarentum or any others of the peoples of Italy yonder who are called happy, or of any other races. What then is the reason, why, so much approving of yourselves, I yet do not take up my residence among so excellent a people, although I am of your own race? I will tell you on some other occasion; but at present I have only time to praise you, and say how much superior are your leading citizens in virtue and in speech to those of other cities, and still more to those among whom they have been.

LXX.—To the people of Sais.

As Plato says in his Timaeus, you are the descendants of Athenians, though they have expelled from Attica the goddess you have in common with them, who is called Neith by you, but Athene by them. They have ceased to be Hellenes, and why they have ceased to be, I will tell you. No wise and aged man is an Athenian; for no Athenian ever grew a full beard, since you never saw one of them with any at all. The flatterer is at their doors, the sycophant stands before their gates, the pimp even before their long walls, the parasite in front of Munychia and in front of the Piraeus; as for the goddess she has not even Sunium left to her.

LXXI.—To the Ionians.

You think that you ought to be called Hellenes because of your pedigrees, and because you were
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ἐθή καὶ νόμοι καὶ γλώττα καὶ βίος ἰδιος, οὕτω καὶ σχῆμα καὶ εἰδος ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' ὑμῶν γε οὐδὲ τὰ οὐνόματα μένει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς νέας ταύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολογέκατε τὰ τῶν προγόνων σύμβολα. καλῶς οὖν τοῖς τάφοις ἐκεῖνοι δέχοντ' ἄν ἄγνωτας αὐτοῖς γενομένους, εἰ γε πρότερον ἤρωων ἦν οὐνόματα καὶ ναυμάχων καὶ νομοθετῶν, νυνὶ δὲ Δουκούλλων τε καὶ Φαβρικίων καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων. ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰ ἡ μᾶλλον οἴνομα Μίμνερμος.

οβ'.—'Ε στ ἰαὶ φ.

Ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀπολλώνιος ἦν τρίς τοῦ Μηνοδότου, σὺ δὲ ἄπαξ ἐθέλεις ὀνομάζεσθαι Δουκρίτιος ἢ Δουπέρκος. τίνος σὺ τούτων ἀπόγονος; αἰσχρόν, εἰ ὄνομα μὲν ἔχοις τινός, τὸ δὲ εἰδος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔχοις.

ογ'.—τ ὅ α ὑ τ ὅ.

Πατρίδος ἐσμὲν πορρωτέρῳ σὺν δαιμονι, ὡδὴ δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πρώγκατα εἰν χῇ ἐβαλόμαν. οδεύει μοῦρα πρὸς τέλος ἀνδρῶν, σὺ τὰν πρῶταν λελόγχασι τιμᾶν. ἄρξει δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν παιδάρια καὶ μικρῶν ἐπάνω τούτων μείρακες. ἐνταῦθα ποὺ δέος, μὴ σφαλῆ τὰ ὑπὸ νέων κυβερνώμενα. σοὶ δ' οὖ δέος, ἐπεὶ βεβιώκαμεν.

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once on a time a colony of them; but just as the Hellenes are characterised by their customs and laws and language and private life so are men in general by their deportment and appearance. But as for you, most of you have abandoned even your names; nay, owing to this recent prosperity of yours, you have forfeited all tokens of your ancestors. It is quite right therefore that the latter should refuse to welcome you even in their tombs, on the ground that you are no longer recognizable by them. For whereas formerly they bore the names of heroes and sea-captains and legislators, they now bear names such as Lucullus and Fabricius and names of other blessed Lucanians. For myself I would rather be called Mimnermus.

LXXII.—To Hestiaeus.

Our father Apollonius had the name of Menodotus thrice over in his pedigree, but you wish to style yourself once for all Lucretius or Lupercus. Of which of these are you the descendant? It is a disgrace to have a person's name without also having his countenance.

LXXIII.—To the same.

I am far away by God's will from my country, but I always ponder in my mind my city's affairs. The generation of those who won the first honour hastens to its end, and in future it will be a reign of children, and a little later on of babes. Here then is what we have to fear, lest the state governed by youth should go wrong; but you need not fear, for our lives are over.
"Ωρα καὶ λιμὸς ἦν Βάσσω, καὶ περ ὄντων τῷ πατρὶ συχνῶν χρημάτων. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔφυγε Μέγαραδέ σὺν ἐν τῶν λεγομένων ἑραστῶν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ μαστροπῶν—τροφῆς γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως ἐδει καὶ ἐφοδίων—ἐπείτα ἐκείθεν εἰς Συρίαν. ὑπεδέχετο δὲ τὸν ὄραιον Εὐφράτης, καὶ εἰ τις ὁμοίως ἐδείτο τοῦ τότε καλοῦ, ὥστε ἂν αἱρεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δὲ ἐνυσταν.

οὗτος ἐν Σάρδεσ.

Ο παῖς Ἀλιάττεω σῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν ἀδύνατος ἐγένετο καὶ ἁμέρας, καὶ περ ὄντως βασι-
λεύς τε καὶ Κροῖς, ὑμεῖς δὲ πολὺ πεποιθότες ἂρα λέοντι πόλεμον ἄσπονδον ἡρασθε, παιδεῖς, νέοι πάντες, ἄνδρες, γέροντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθένου καὶ γυναικεῖς; Ἠρυνύου νομίσαι ἂν τις τὴν πόλιν εῖναι, καὶ ὀχλὶ Δήμητρος. ἡ δὲ θεὰ φιλανθρωπος· ἡμῖν δὲ τίς οὗτος ὁ χόλος;

οὗτοι.

Εἰκὸς εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ μεγάλην ἐθελήσαι φιλόσοφον ἀρχαίον παραγενέσθαι, καὶ παρεγενόμην ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκών, κληθήσαι μὴ περι-472
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LXXIV.—To the Stoics.

Bassus was beautiful, but starving; although his sire had plenty of money. Accordingly he began by fleeing to Megara with one of his lovers so-called, and who was one of his pimps as well; for both the one lot and the other were in need of food and money for the journey. Then he fled thence and turned up in Syria. There the pretty youth met with a warm welcome from Euphrates, and from anyone else who like Euphrates was in need of the latest beauty, and was ready out of mere regard for that sage to choose for himself so odd an ideal.

LXXV.—To the People of Sardis.

The son of Alyattes was unable to save his own city and had no resources left, though he was a king, and his name Croesus. Well, I would like to know what sort of lion you have put your trust in, that you should have embraced this truceless war among yourselves, children and youths all alike, full-grown men and aged, nay even maidens and women? One would suppose that yours was a city of the Erinyes rather than of Demeter. For this goddess is a lover of mankind, and I would know what all this spleen of yours is about.

LXXVI.—To the same Persons.

It is quite right that an old-fashioned philosopher like myself should be anxious to visit a city so old and considerable as your own; and I would willingly have visited it, without waiting for the invitation
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μείνας, ὡς υφ' ἐτέρων πολλῶν, εἰ ποιήσεις μίαν νύμφην τὴν πόλιν ἐμελλον ἥθει καί φύσει καὶ νόμῳ καὶ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ὄσον ἑπ’. ἐμιὶ πάντως ἄν ἐποίησα, στάσις δὲ, ὡς ἐφη τις, πολέμου χαλεπώτερον.

οἷ’.—Φοιτητήτα ἰ.σ.

Διὰ φιλοσοφίαν εἴρηται τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκαστον, οὐ δὲ Εὐφράτην. μὴ τὸ Πραξιτέλους ξίφος ἢ τὸ Λυσίου φάρμακον πεφοβήσθαι μὲ τις δόξη. καὶ τούτῳ γάρ ἐστὶν Εὐφράτου.

οη’.—Ἰάρχα καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν σοφοῖς.

—οὐ μὰ τὸ Ταυτάλλων ὕδωρ, οὐ μὲ ἐμυσῆστε.

οβ’.—Εὐφράτη.

Οὐκ ἐπιλογιζομένη ἢ ψυχῇ τὸ τοῦ σώματος αὐτάρκες οὐ δύναται ἐαυτὴν αὐτάρκη ποιῆσαι.

π’.—τὸ ᾧ αὐτὸ.

Οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχυλογώτατοι. οἱ οὖν ἄδολεσχαί εἰ ἢνιῶτο, ὡς ἢνιῶσι, οὐκ ἂν ἐμακρηγόρουν.

πα’.—τοῖς γυνωρίμοις.

Συμωνίδης ἔλεγε μηδέποτε αὐτῷ μεταμελῆσαι συγκάτοις, φθειγξαμένῳ δὲ πολλάκις.

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

LXXVII.—To His Disciples:

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

LXXVIII.—To Iarchas and His Sages.

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

LXXIX.—To Euphrates.

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

LXXX.—To the same Person.

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

LXXXI.—To His Disciples.

Simonides used to say that he had never had cause to repent of being silent, though he had often repented of having spoken. (33, 12.)
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πβ'.—το ήσ αὐτοῖς.
Πολυλογία πολλὰ σφάλματα ἔχει, τὸ δὲ σιγὰν ἀσφαλὲς.

πηγ'.—Δηλίῳ.
Ψεύδεσθαι ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλήθεια γενναῖον.

πδ'.—τῷ ὁμοίῳ.
Μηδὲν μὲ δόξητε ῥαδίως ἄλλοις παραίνειν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μάζης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀκολούθου ταύτης διαίτης ὅν, τοιαῦτα ὑμῖν παρεγγυῶ.

πε'.—Εἰ δομένῃ.
Ἠξηλώσαμεν τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, οὐκ ὅπως τοῖς εὐτελέσι καὶ λιτοῖς πάντως χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως θαρρώμεν πρὸς αὐτά.

πζ'.—Μακεδόνι.
Τῆς ὀξυθυμίας τὸ ἀνθος μανία.

πζ'.—Ἀριστοκλῆι.
Τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς πάθος μὴ καθομιλούμενον, μηδὲ θεραπευόμενον, φυσικὴ νόσος γίνεται.
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LXXXII.—To the same Persons.

Loquacity has many pit-falls, but silence none. (36, 28.)

LXXXIII.—To Delius.

To tell a lie is base, to tell the truth is noble. (11, 20.)

LXXXIV.—To his Disciples.

Believe not that I lightly recommend to others anything. For I myself live upon maize, and I suit the rest of my diet to this dish, and I recommend a similar diet to yourselves. (17, 15.)

LXXXV.—To Idomena.

We have carefully trained ourselves to be content with little, not in order exclusively to use a cheap and common fare, but in order that we may not shrink therefrom. (17, 14.)

LXXXVI.—To Macedon.

Quickness of temper blossoms into madness. (20, 49.)

LXXXVII.—To Aristokles.

The passion of anger, unless it is restrained by social intercourse and so cured, becomes a physical disease. (20, 50.)
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πη'.—Σατύοφ.

Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν ἱδίων ἀμαρτημάτων συνήγοροι γίνονται, τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων κατήγοροι.

πθ'.—Δαναφ.

Оὐ κάμνει τὰ πράγματα πρασσόμενα.

ζ'.—Δὶων.

Τὸ μῆ γενέσθαι οὔδέν, τὸ δὲ γενέσθαι πόνος.

ζα'.—Τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

Οὔδενι φθονητέοι· ἀγαθοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄξιοι, κακοὶ δὲ ἀν εὐτυχῶσι, κακοῖς ξώσι.

ζβ'.—Διονυσίφ.

Καλὸν, πρὶν παθεῖν, διδαχθῆμα, πηλίκον ἐστίν ἰσυχία.

ζγ'.—Νοῦμηνίφ.

Οὐ θρηνητέον οὐων φίλων ἐστερήθημεν, ἀλλὰ μνημονευτέον, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὴν καλλίστην βιοτὴν ἐβιοτεύσαμεν.
EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

LXXXVIII.—To Satyrus.

Most men are as apt to palliate their own offences, as they are to condemn them in other people. (23, 15.)

LXXXIX.—To Danaus.

A task once begun never wearies. (29, 83.)

XC.—To Dion.

Not to exist at all is nothing, but to exist is pain and weariness. (18, 82.)

XCI.—To his Brothers.

You must not feel envious of anyone; for while good men deserve what they have, the bad live badly even if they are prosperous. (38, 58.)

XCII.—To Dionysius.

It is a good thing, before you suffer, to have learnt how great a blessing is tranquillity. (58, 12.)

XCIII.—To Numenius.

We must not mourn the loss of such good friends, but we must remember that the best part of our life was that which we lived in the society of our friends. (124, 35.)
Το λυπούμενον ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς παραμυθοῦ.

Βραχὺς ὁ βίος ἀνθρώπῳ εὖ πράττοντι, δυστυχοῦντι δὲ μακρός.

Ὁ υπὲρ μικρῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνυπερβλήτως ὑργιζόμενος οὐκ ἔξι διαγνώσαι τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα, πότε ἑλλαττον καὶ πότε μεῖζον ἡδίκησεν.

Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δὲ αἰσχρὰν αἰτίαν πένεσθαι ὄνειδος.

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XCIV.—To Theaetetus.

Console a mourner by representing to him the ills of other people. (124, 37.)

XCV.—To Cornelidianus.

Life is short for the man who does well, but for him that is unlucky it is long. (121, 34.)

XCVI.—To Democrates.

One who shows excessive anger over small offences prevents the offender from distinguishing, when he has offended in lesser things, and when in greater. (20, 51.)

XCVII.—To Lycus.

It is not poverty that is disgraceful by nature, but poverty due to a disgraceful reason is a reproach. (95, 9.)
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ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ
ΤΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΤ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΔΛΩΝΙΟΝ
ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ
ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΤ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΤ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΝ

I

CAP. 'Αρ' οὖν, ὁ φιλότης, κάκεινά σε τοὺς συγγραφέως ἄξιον ἀποθαυμάζειν, ὁ τῶν ἁμετέρῳ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ διδασκάλῳ τῶν Τυανεία συγκρίνων παρεδοξολόγει; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ Φιλαλήθει, οὕτω γὰρ ἐν ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἑπιγράφειν ἔδοκει λόγον, οὐδὲν ἀν εἰῇ σπουδαῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἰστασθαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἴδια τυγχάνουτα, σφόδρα δὲ ἀναίδως ἐξ ἐτέρων οὐκ αὐτοῖς μονονουχὶ νοήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ συλλαβαίς ἀποσεισυλημένα· ἀν τύχοι μὲν ἀν καὶ αὐτὰ τῆς προσηκουσίας κατὰ καίρὸν ἀπελέγξεως, δυνάμει δ' ἦδη, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἴδιας καὶ αὐτῶν γραφῆς, ἀνατετραπτές καὶ προαπελήλεγκται ἐν

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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.

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Πάνω ὅκτῳ συγγράμμασι τοῖς Ὡμηγένει γραφεῖσι πρὸς τῶν ἀλαζονικῶτερον τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἐπιγεγραμμένον Κέλσου Ἀληθῆ λόγου, ὥς τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπαραλείπτως, ἐν ὅσιοι εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ δεδηλωμένος παραγαγὼν συλλήβδην ὅσα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν παντὶ τῷ εἰρηταὶ τε καὶ εἰρήστεται, προλαβόν διελύσατο, ἐφ’ ὅ τους ἑπ’ ἀκριβεῖς τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς διαγνώναι ἐχοντας φιλαλήθως ἀναπεμψάντες, ἐφε βόμνῃ ἑπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὴν κατὰ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους τουτοῦ λόγου παράθεσιν ἐπισκεφώμεθα, μηδὲν τι σπουδαίον ἡγούμενοι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐτερωθέν ὑποσευλημένων αὐτῶ διαμάχεσθαι. μόνα δὲ εἰκότως νυνὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἑποψώμεθα, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνῳ παρὰ τοὺς πώποτε καθ’ ἡμῶν γεγραφότας ἐξαίρετος νῦν τούτῳ γέγονεν ἡ τούτῳ πρὸς τὸν ἡμετερόν σωτήρα παράθεσις τε καὶ σύγκρισις.

II

Θαυμάζει γοῦν καὶ ἀποδέχεται θεία τινὶ καὶ ἀρρήτῳ σοφίᾳ, οὐχὶ δὲ γοητείας σοφίσμασι τεθαυματουργηκέναι φάσκων αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀληθῶς οὔτως ἔχειν ὡς ἐτυχε πιστεύων, καὶ ἀναποδείκτως ἀπισχυριζόμενος. ἅκουε δ’ ὅνι, ἀ φησιν αὐταῖς συλλαβαίς. "Ἀνῳ δὲ καὶ κάτω θρυλοῦσι, σεμνύνοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς τυφλοῖς 486.
as many as eight books Origen composed against chap. I
the book which Celsus wrote and—even more boast-
fully than the "Lover of Truth,"—entitled "True
Reason." The work of Celsus is there subjected to
an examination in an exhaustive manner and on the
scale above mentioned by the author in question,
who in his comprehensive survey of all that anyone
has said or will ever say on the same topic, has fore-
stalled any solution of your difficulties which I could
offer. To this work of Origen I must refer those
who in good faith and with genuine "love of truth"
desire accurately to understand my own position. I
will therefore ask you for the present to confine
your attention to the comparison of Jesus Christ
with Apollonius which is found in this treatise called
the "Lover of Truth," without insisting on the
necessity of our meeting the rest of his arguments,
for these are pilfered from other people. We may
reasonably confine our attention for the present to
the history of Apollonius, because Hierocles, of all
the writers who have ever attacked us, stands alone
in selecting Apollonius, as he has recently done, for
the purposes of comparison and contrast with our
Saviour.

II

I need not say with what admiring approval he at-
tributes 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
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certain other miracles of the kind." Then after an interval he adds as follows: "Let us note however how much better and more sensible is the view which we take of such matters, and explain the conception which we entertain of men gifted with remarkable powers." And thereupon after passing heedlessly by Aristeas of Proconnesus and Pythagoras as somewhat too old, he continues thus: "But in the time of our own ancestors, during the reign of Nero, there flourished Apollonius of Tyana, who from mere boyhood when he became the priest in Aegae of Cilicia of Asclepius, the lover of mankind, worked any number of miracles, of which I will omit the greater number, and only mention a few." Then he begins at the beginning and enumerates the wonders worked by Apollonius, after which he continues in the following words: "What then is my reason for mentioning these facts? It was in order that you may be able to contrast our own accurate and well-established judgment on each point, with the easy credulity of the Christians. For whereas we reckon him who wrought such feats not a god, but only a man pleasing to the gods, they on the strength of a few miracles proclaim their Jesus a god." To this he adds after a little more the following remark: "And this point is also worth noticing, that whereas the tales of Jesus have been vamped up by Peter and Paul and a few others of the kind,—men who were liars and devoid of education and wizards,—the history of Apollonius was written by Maximus of Aegae, and by Damis the philosopher who lived constantly with him, and by Philostratus of Athens, men of the highest education, who out of respect for the truth and their love of mankind determined to give the publicity
CAP. II λαθείν.” ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς Ἱεροκλεί τῷ τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιγεγραφότι Φιλαλήθη λόγου εἴρηται.

III

CAP. III Δάμιος μὲν οὖν ὁ τὰ πολλὰ ξυνδιατρίψας τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων γῆς ὁμώμενος, αὐτόθι τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἱδίας χώρας αὐτῷ συμμίξας, τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῷ γενομένην συνοφροσύνην ἱστορήσειν, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος κομιδῆ βραχεῖα τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων ἀνεγράφατο, ὁ γε μὴν Ἀσκληπιίδος Φιλοστράτος τὰ φερόμενα πάντα ὁμοῦ, ἀπὸ τε τῶν Μάξιμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ἄλλων, συναγαγεῖν ἑαυτὸν φήσας, πάντων μάλιστα ἐντελῆ τὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἱστορίαν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀνδρα βίου πεποίηται.

IV

CAP. IV Εἰ δὲ οὖν ἔξων τὴν ἑπτακατηγορομένην ἡμῶν εὐχέρειάν τε καὶ κουφότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαιαν ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ παραθέτει κρίσιν, φέρε διαπυθώμεθα, οὐχ ὅστις θεώτερος γεγόνει, οὔδ’ ὅποιος θαυμασιώτερά τε καὶ πλέον διεπράξατο παράδοξα, οὐδ’ ὃς μόνος παρὰ τοῖς 490
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
φιλοστάτο

Φλαβιοστάτο

5

ανέκαθεν πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἔτων γενομένωις Ἐβραίων σοφοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἦσειν εἰς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ θείαν ἐπι- πνοιαν προπεφήτευτο, οὐδ’ ὡς πλεῖον ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ λόγον προορέφασα, οὐδ’ ὡς γνησίους καὶ ὅντως ἀληθεῖς ἐκτῆσατο φοιτητὰς, μονονουχί καὶ ὑπεραποθήσκειν ἐτοίμως τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένους, οὐδ’ ὡς μόνον σώφρονος βίου διδασκαλεῖον καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον συνεστήσατο, οὐδ’ ὡς τῇ ἱδιᾷ θεότητι τε καὶ ἀρετῇ πᾶσαι ἐσώσε τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν μυρία πλῆθν πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδ’ ὡς τῶν πώποτε μόνον πρὸς ἀπάντων σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἄρχοντων τε καὶ ἀρχιμένων, πλείστοις ἔτεσιν ἔδη πολεμοῦμεν, κρείττων καὶ πολύ δυνατότεροι τῶν πικρῶς ἐλαυνόντων ἀπί- στων ἀποδέδεικται θεία καὶ ἀρρήτω δυνάμει, τοὺς μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπανισταμένους αὐτοῦ τῇ θείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ ῥαδίως μετιῶν, τὸν δὲ παγεντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδοθέντα θείον λόγον εἰς ἄπειρον αἰῶνα καὶ ὅλης κρατύνων τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὐδ’ ὡς εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐνθέου δυνάμεως τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιδείκνυται, μοχθηροὺς τινας καὶ φαύλους δαίμονας, ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ σώμασιν ἐφε- δρέυσας, ἄπελαύνων διὰ μόνης τῆς ἀρρήτου προσηγορίας αὐτοῦ, ὡς αὐτῇ πείρᾳ κατειλήφαμεν, ταῦτα γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἰππολάμου ζητεῖν, μὴ καὶ τὸ ἔρωτάν, ἀνόητον· μόνην δὲ ἐπισκεψάμεθα τῇ τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφήν, δι’ ἂς εὐθυνοῦμεν,
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whom it was prophesied, thanks to their divine inspiration, by Hebrew sages who lived far back thousands of years ago, that he should once come among mankind; nor on the fact that he converted to his own scheme of divine teaching so many people; nor that he formed a group of genuine and really sincere disciples, of whom almost without exaggeration it can be said that they were prepared to lay down their lives for his teaching at a moment's call; nor that he alone established a school of sober and chaste living which has survived him all along; nor that by his peculiar divinity and virtue he saved the whole inhabited world, and still rallies to his divine teaching races from all sides by tens of thousands; nor that he is the only example of a teacher who, after being treated as an enemy for so many years, I might almost say, by all men, subjects and rulers alike, has at last triumphed and shown himself far mightier, thanks to his divine and mysterious power, than the infidels who persecuted him so bitterly, those who in their time rebelled against his divine teaching being now easily won over by him, while the divine doctrine which he firmly laid down and handed on has come to prevail for ages without end all over the inhabited world; nor that even now he displays the virtue of his godlike might in the expulsion, by the mere invocation of his mysterious name, of sundry troublesome and evil demons which beset men's bodies and souls, as from our own experience we know to be the case. To look for such results in the case of Apollonius, or even to ask about them, is absurd. So we will merely examine the work of Philostratus, and by close scrutiny of it show that
CAP. IV. ὡς οὖχ ὅτι γε ἐν φιλοσόφοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἑπτεικέσι καὶ μετρίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιοιν ἐγκρίνειν, οὖχ ὅπως τῷ σωτήρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ παρατιθέναι τὸν 'Απολλώνιον, ὅσον ἔτι τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλήθει παideύσεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἥκοντος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μὴ τιμῶντος συγγραφέως. τοιοῦτος γάρ ἦν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸν ἄλλων καὶ ὁ 'Αθηναῖος Φιλόστρατος, ἐξ οὗ ῥαδίως ἄν καταμάθοιμεν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ παίδευσεws μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἥκοντων, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἔξητασμένως μὴ ἀπηκριβωμένων τῆς κατὰ τὸν 'Απολλώνιον ἱστορίας. τούτων γὰρ ἡμῖν διευκρινηθέντων ὁμοί, τοῦ τε Φιλαλήθους τὰ ἀνωτάτω τε καὶ καθ' ὅλων δικαστήρια διειληφότος, ἢ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν βεβαια καὶ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δοκεῖ, ἀκριβὴς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ κρίσις φανερὰ καταστήσεται, ἡμῶν τε αὖ, οὗ μωροῖ καὶ βεβουκουλημένοι νενομίσμεθα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένη εὐχέρειά τε καὶ κουφότης.

CAP. V. Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ὁμόσα χωρῶν αὐτόθεν διέβαλλεν ἂν, βλασφημῶν ὡς ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμιον τὸν καθ' οὗ τὸν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, ἐγὼ δὲ, ἑταίρε, σοφῶν τινα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τὸν Τυανέα γεγονέναι ἤγονμην, καὶ ἔτι γε τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεσθαι διανοιάς ἐκών εἶναι 494
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Apollonius was not fit to be classed, I will not say chap.
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
respec ter 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 controversionalist, by way of beginning chap.
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

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FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP V. Βουλολήμνη, καί σοι τὴν αὐτὸς ἐμαντοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐκθείην ἂν ἐρωτῶντι φιλοσόφων μὲν ὂτι τὸς βούλοιτο συγκαταλέγειν τὸν ἀνδρα, πέρα μηδὲν διενοχλῶν ταῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογίαις, μὴ φθονεῖν, εἰ δὲ ὑπερτηδὰν τοὺς ὄρους καὶ φιλοσοφίας ὑπέρτερα φρονεῖν εἴτε τις Δάμιου Ἄσσύριος, εἴτε Φιλόστρατος, εἴτε τις συγγραφεὺς ἢ λογογράφος θρασύνοιτο, λόγῳ μὲν ἐκτρεπτομενὸς γοητεῖαν, ἔργους δὲ πλέον ἢ ῥήμασιν ἐπιφορτίζων τὸν ἀνδρα, προσωπείαν δίκην τὴν Πυθαγόρειου ἐπιμορφαζόμενος ἀγωγήν, οἰκῆσται μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅνος δὲ ἀντὶ του λέοντος ἐπικρυπτομένου δέρρει, σοφιστὴς τις ὅς ἀληθῶς ἀγείρων κατὰ τὰς πόλεις, αὐτὸ τε τοῦτο γόης ἀτεχνῶς ἀντὶ φιλοσόφου φωραθήσεται.

VI

CAP VI. Πῶς δὲ τοῦτο φημι καὶ πόθεν ὀρμώμενος, ἐρωτᾶς; μάνθανε: ὁροι φύσεως ἄρχας καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλη τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας περειληφότες, μέτρα καὶ θεσμοὶ ἀπασί, δι' δὲν τόδε τὸ πᾶν μηχάνημα τε καὶ ἀρχιτεκτόνημα τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τελεσιουργεῖται, διατέθεινται νόμοις ἀλύτους καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτους, τῆς τὰ πάντα οἰκονομοῦσας προνοίας τὸ πάνσοφον βούλημα διαφυλάττοντες. οὐκοιν κινήσει τι καὶ μεταθείη τις ἀν 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. VI.

τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἀπαξ διατεθειμένων. κεκράτηται δ’ οὖν θεσμῷ φύσεως τῶν θείων ὑπεραναβαίνειν νόμον πάς, ὅτε τις θρασύτερος τῶν ἐπέκεινα ἐπιβαίνειν ἐνεστὶ πόθος. οὔτ’ οὖν· παρὰ φύσιν ὁ ἐνυδρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον μεταβὰς βιώναι δυνησται ἰχθύς, οὔτε τὸ ἐν χέρσῳ τραφεῖν τοῖς ὦδασιν ἐγκαταδύσεται, τὴν ἐκεἰσε δηνεκὴ μονὴν ἀσπαζόμενον, οὔτε μέγα πηδήσας μετέωρός τις τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρθησεται πρὸς ἀέρα, συμπεριπολεῖν ἅστοις ἐπιθυμῶν· καὶ μῆν ἐκεῖνοι γε κἀν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔλθοιν βρίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῦ πτεροῦ χαλάσαντες καὶ ἀνέντες τὴν φύσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο θέλως ὄρισται νόμοις, ἐκ τοῦ ύψους τὸ μετέωρον ὑποκαταβαίνειν δύνασθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐμπαλίν τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ γεώδες ἐπὶ τὸ μετέωρον αἰρεσθαι. ταύτῃ δὴ καὶ τὸ θυντὸν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ψυχής μετέχου καὶ σώματος, θεοὺς περιγεγραπται θείως. οὔτ’ οὖν τῷ σώματι δ’ ἁέρος ἐλθοι ποτε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τις καταφρονήσας διατριβῶν, μὴ οὖν ἑτοὐπνήμων αὐτίκα τῆς ἀνώλας παρασχῶν, οὔτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἄρθεις φρονήματι καθίζεται τῶν ἀνεφίκτων, ἢ μελαγχολίας νοσήματι ἀν περιπέσοι.

Σωφρονοι δ’ ἂν ἀρτίοις μὲν τὸ σῶμα ποσὶν ἐπὶ γῆς φερόμενοι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παίδεια καὶ φιλοσοφία σκηνήττων· εὐξαίτο δὲ καὶ τινα συνεργὸν ἀνωθεῖν ποθεῖν ἐκ τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν διατριβῶν ἐλθείν, καὶ τῆς ἐκείσε διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ φανῆναι σωτηρίας.
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

Possibility of a Saviour descending to earth

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CAP. ἐρρωμένῳ γὰρ τοῦ παράδειγματι, νοσοῦντι μὲν τὸν ἰατρὸν ἐπιφοιτῶν θέμες, καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον εἰσαγομένῳ τοῖς μαθήμασι συμφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὸν άνω που καὶ ἐν ὑψεὶ συγκατιέναι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν. οθὲν δὴ θείαν μὲν φύσιν, εὐεργετὴν οὐσιν καὶ σωτείραν καὶ προνοητικὴν τῶν ἐπιόντων ἀνθρώπων ποτὲ εἰς ὁμιλίαιν ἔλθειν οὐδεὶς ἀν ὑπείργοι λόγον ὅρωθείς προνοίας καὶ τούτου συγκεκριμένου, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, ἀγαθὸ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἐγχύνεται φθόνος· οὐκον σωμάτων μόνων, ἀγαθὸς ὦν, ὁ τὸδε τὸ πᾶν διακυβερνῶν ἐπιμελησταί, πολὺ πλέον δὲ ψυχῶν, αἰς τὸ ἀθάνατον τε καὶ αὐτοκρατορικὸν κεχάρισται γέρας. ταύταις δὴτα οἶα τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀπάσης κύριος ὁ ὅν, καὶ χαρίτων, ὃν ἄν, δορούμενος αὐτάς, εὐεργετή τὴν φύσιν, οὕσας ἀντιληπτικαίς, ἀκτίνας ὡσπερ τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐαυτὸν φωτὸς διωρίσεται ἄφθονος, τῶν ἀμφὶ αὐτῶν, ἐστὶν ὅτε, τοὺς μάλιστα προσεχείς εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπίταδε σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἐκπέμπον, ὃν εἰ τῷ εὐτυχῆσαι γένοιτο, τὴν διάνοιαν οὖτος ἀποκαθαρθείς καὶ τὴν τῆς θυντότητος ἀποσκεδάσας ἀγλών, θείος ἀληθῶς ἀναγραφήσεται, μέγαν τινὰ θεοῦ ἀγαλματοφορῶν εἰν τῇ ψυχῇ. κινήσεις δὴτ' ἂν οἶα τῇ λυκοῦτος τὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἢλιον τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλάμψειε, τοῦργον τῆς αἰδῶν θεότητος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα συνορᾶσθαι καταλείπων χρόνων, οὗ μείον τῶν ἐξ ἄφύκου ὠλής δημουργημάτων τὸ τῆς ἐνθέου παράδειγμα φύσεως παρεσχημένος. καὶ ταύτη η 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 ἄνθρωπον κοινωνικάς ἂν, ἀλλὰς δ’ οὐ θέμες τοὺς ὄρους ὑπερβαίνειν, οὐδ’ ἄπτερον ἔχοντα τὸ σῶμα τὰ τῶν πτηνῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν, οὐδ’ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα τὰ τῶν δαίμονων πολυπραγμονεῖν.

Τόνα δήτα ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν 'Απολλώνιοι εἰσάγεις, ὁ συγγραφεὺς; εἰ μὲν δὴ θείον καὶ φιλοσόφον κρείττονα, τὴν τε φύσιν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, τήρει μοι δὲ ὅλης τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τοῦργον εἰσέτε νῦν ἐπιδείκνυθι τῆς θειοτητος. ἦ γὰρ οὐκ ἀτοπώτατον τεκτόνων μὲν καὶ οἰκοδόμων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν δημιουργῶν τελευτὴν ἐπὶ μῆκιστον τοῦργον διαρκεῖν, ἀθάνατον ποιοῦν τῶν συντησαμένων τὴν μνήμην στηλιτεύον, θείαν δὲ ἄρα φύσιν, ἄνθρωποις ἐπιλάμψασαν, σκότιον ποιοῦν καὶ μινυνθάδιον ἀποτελεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μὴ εἰς ἕνα τινὰ Δάμιν ἢ καὶ ἀλλοὺς βραχείς πτωχεύοντας τῶν ἄνθρωπων, ἀλλ’ εἰς μυρίων ὅσων ὄφελείας οὐ τῶν καθ’ ὅν χρόνου ἐγγορίζετο μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων τὴν πάροδον ποιομένην; ταύτη τοι καὶ τοὺς πάλαι σοφοὺς ξηλωτάς τε καὶ διαδόχους ποιησάσας τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωποις παρεσώχμενοι τὸ κατόρθωμα, εἰ δὲ

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made of lifeless matter. To this extent then human CHAP VI 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 CHAP VII 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
CAP. VII θυητήν ύπογράφεις τάνδρος τήν φύσιν, ὃρα μὴ πλέον, ἢ προσήκε, ταύτη χαριζόμενος δίκην ἀποίσεις παραλογίας.

VIII

CAP. VIII Ἄλλα μὴν εἰσήκται αὐτῷ θείος ἀνθρωπός, καὶ θαλαττίου δαίμονος σχήμα τε καὶ προσωπείον ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀναλαμβάνων. κυούση γάρ, ὃς φησι, τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ φάσμα ἤλθε θαλαττίου δαίμονος, Πρωτεύς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων. ἢ δὲ οὐδὲν δείσασα ἢρετο αὐτῶν, τί ἀποκυνήσου, ὁ δὲ, “ἐμέ,” εἴπε· “σὺ δὲ τίς;” εἴπούσης, “Πρωτεύς,” ἔφη, “ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.” εἶτα δὲ λειμώνα τινα, καὶ κύκνους τήν γυναίκα μακενέσθαι γράφει, ὅποθεν αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ εἰη ληφθέν, μή εἰπών· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτου ὑφηγητὴν Δάμων τὸν Ἀσσύριον ὑπογράψεται. Ἄλλα καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῷ Δάμωδι, οἶα δὴ θείας ὄντα φύσεως, τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰσάγει αὐτὰ δὴ ταύτα λέγοντα· “ἐγώ, ὁ ἐταῖρε, πασῶν τῶν φωτῶν ἔννημι, μαθῶν οὐδεμίαν” καὶ, “μὴ θαυμάσῃς, οἶδα γὰρ καὶ ἀ σιωπῶσιν οἱ ἀνθρώποι.” καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τιμῶμεν πρὸς τοῦ δαίμονος, καὶ πρόγνωσιν φυσικὴν τινα καὶ ἀδίδακτον ἔχειν ἐκ παιδός, κρείττονά τε ἀτεχνῶς ἀνθρώπου φύναι αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γενέσεως.
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man a mortal nature, take care lest by endowing him 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

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καὶ δὴ ὦλης ἡμῖν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπογράφει· λύσαντος γοὺς έαυτὸν ποτὲ ἀπὸ δεσμῶν ἐπιφέρει λέγων· "τότε πρώτον ὁ Δάμις φησίν ἀκριβῶς ξυνείναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἰή καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου. μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς γὰρ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μὴδὲ εὐξάμενον, μὴδὲ εἰπόντα τι καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ." ἔτι τελευτῇ δὲ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ μηδόλως ποι γῆς εὑρίσκεσθαι, χωρῆσαι δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι μεθ’ ὕμων καὶ χορείας λέγει· εἰκότως δὴ οὖν οἱ ἄντα τοσοῦτον "θειότερον ἡ Πυθαγόρας Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πλάτων φιλοσοφία" τὸν ἄνδρα προσεληνύθεναι φησίν. οὐκοῦν ἐν θεοῖς ἡμῶν διὰ τούτων ἀναγεγράφθω ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

IX

Καὶ ὁ θόνος ἀπέστω τῆς τῶν φωνῶν ἀπασῶν αὐτοφυοῦς καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου συνέσεως. τί δήτα οὖν ἐς διδασκάλου ἄγει αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν μεμαθηκότα διαβάλλει ὡς ἄν εἴς ἀσκήσεως καὶ μελέτης, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως Ἀττικῶν γενόμενον τὴν γλώτταν; φησὶ γὰρ τοῦ, ὡς "προϊόν ἐς ἰλικίαν γράμματα τε καὶ μνήμης ἰσχὺν ἐδήλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος καὶ ἡ γλώττα αὐτῷ ἀττικῶς εἶχε." καὶ "γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη τεσσαρεσκάδεκα ἄγει ἐς Ταρσοὺς ὁ πατὴρ παρ’ Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης, ὁς βρήτωρ

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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.
Μέτοχα γι' αυτούς ήν καὶ ἐπαιδεύετο τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου εἰχετο." εἶτα "ἐξυνεφιλοσόφους αὐτῷ Πλατάνειοτε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου. διήκουν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δὲ Πυθαγορείους ἀρρήτω των σοφία ξυνελάμβανε" τοσάντα ὁ μηδεμίαν μαθῶν φωνὴν θεία τε δυνάμει "ἀ καὶ σιωπῶσιν ἄνθρωποι" προλαβὼν ἐξεπαιδεύετο.
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rhetor, and gave him his education, while Apollonius clung to his teacher.” We further learn that “he had as fellow-students members of the school of Plato and of Chrysippus and members of the Peripatetic set. That he also diligently listened to the doctrines of Epicurus, because he did not despise even them, though he grasped the teachings of Pythagoras with a certain indescribable wisdom.” So varied was the education of one who had never learnt any language, and who by his divine power anticipated “the thoughts of men even when they are silent.”

X

And after an interval our author again expresses his admiration at the ease with which Apollonius understood the language of animals, and he goes on to tell us the following: “And moreover he acquired an understanding of the language of animals; and he learnt this, too, in the course of his travels through Arabia, where the inhabitants best know this language and practise it. For the Arabians have a way of understanding without difficulty swans and other birds when they presage the future in the same way as oracles. And they get to understand the dumb animals by eating, so they say, some of them the heart and others the liver of dragons.” In this instance, then, it seems anyhow to have been the case that the Pythagorean who abstained from animal food and could not even bring himself to sacrifice to the gods, devoured the heart and liver of dragons, in order to participate in a form of wisdom that was in vogue among the Arabs. After learning
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CAP. X. τοιώνυν διδασκομένω, πῶς ἄν ἄλλως μη οὐχὶ τὰ ὅμως τοῖς διδασκάλως ζηλώσαντι καταρθοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδειμα; ἔχομεν δὴ οὖν πρὸς τοὺς καταλεγμένους καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίων σοφούς, διδασκάλους τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰωνιστικὴν τάνυδρὸς ἐπιστήμης, ἀφ' ἦς εἰκὸς ὁρμόμενοι ὑστερὸν ποτε τὸν στρούθον, ὁ τι καὶ βούλιοτο συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τροφὴν, προευτόν, θαῦμα μέγιστον παρέχειν ἔδοξε τοῖς παρούσι. ταῦτῃ δὴ καὶ τῆν ἀπεσφαγμένην ὅσον οὐπω λέαιναν ἀμα τοῖς ἀκτῶ σκύμνως κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀσσυρίας ὄδον θεασάμενος, αὐτίκα τῷ θεάματι συμβαλῶν τῆς ἔσομένης αὐτῷ παρὰ Πέρσαις διατριβῆς τὸν χρόνου ἐμαυτεύσατο.

XI

CAP. XI. Ἀκόλουθα δὲ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραβίων φοιτήσει ἐγχειρεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ· τῷ γὰρ τοιὸν Δάμιδι, ὃς μόνος φοιτητὴς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἑταῖρος, ἀπαγορεύσας παρὰ τοὺς μάγους λέναι, μόνος αὐτὸς, ὡς ἄν μὴ μετ' ἀγνώμονος δηλαδὴ τὰ τῆς μαγείας μανθάνων, μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νῦκτας τὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο σχολάς. ἔτι δὲ Οὐαρδάνη Βαβυλωνίως εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντα, βασιλεῖ ὁδὲ πως λέγειν αὐτὸν παρατίθεται· "σοφία δὲ μοι Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἄνδρος, δες θεοὺς τε θεατεύειν ὁδὲ με ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν ὀραμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὀραμένων, φοιτῶν τε ἐς διαλέξεις θεῶν." τὸς δ' αὐτῷ ταύτα συγχωρή-
under such masters, how could he attain to their CHAP. accomplishments otherwise than by imitating their example? We must therefore add to the teachers whom we have already enumerated the sages of Arabia who taught him his knowledge of augury; and this no doubt inspired him subsequently to 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 also, according to the account given by the same author. For after forbidding Damis, so we are told, to go to the magi, though Damis was his only pupil and companion, he went alone to school with them at midday and about midnight; alone in order not to have as his companion in the study of magic one who was clearly without a taste for such things. And again when he came to converse with Vardan the Babylonian king, it is related that he addressed him as follows: "My system of wisdom is that of Pythagoras, a man of Samos, who taught me to worship the gods in this way and to recognize them, whether they are seen or unseen, and to be regular in converse with the gods." Who can possibly allow
CAP. σειεν, ὅτε Πυθαγόρα μὲν οὐδεμία τις τοιαύτη καταλέλειπται γραφή, οὐδ' ἀπόρρητά τινα συγγράμματα, ὡς κάν ὑπονοήσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων ὀρμᾶσθαι, ὁ δὲ γε διδάσκαλος αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ Πυθαγόραν φιλοσοφίας, οὐδὲν τι διαφέρειν τῶν Ἐπίκουρείων πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηται τοῦ Φιλοστράτου, ὥστε πως εἰρηκότος, "διδάσκαλος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρου λόγων οὐ πάνω σπουδαίοις, οὐδ' ἐνεργῷ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρώμενος, γαστρός τε ἦττων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐσχημάτιστο. ἦν δὲ οὖτος Εὐβεσος· ὁ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου. τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου γνώμας ἐγύμνωσκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ ὀρνίθες ἄ μανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων." καὶ τῆς ἀποτίας, εἰ παρὰ τούτου λέγοι τις τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς διαλέξεως τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι. ἀλλὰ δὴ συγκεχωρήσθω καὶ ἐτέρων ὑφηγητῶν αὐτὸν ἀκηκοέναι, καίτοι γε τοῦ συγγραφέως τούτο μηδαμῶς ἐπισημηναμένων τῆς δὴ, οὖν τούτων σύνεσιν τε καὶ φοίτησιν εἰς διαλέξεως θεοῦ ὀρωμένων καὶ οὐχ ὀρωμένων αὐτός τε ὡς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου μαθῶν εἰδέναι, διδάσκεσθαι τε ἐτέρους ἐπηγγέλλετο; καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ περιβόητος Ἐπίκουρος Πλάτων, πάντων γε μᾶλλον τῆς Πυθαγόρου κεκοιμωνήκος φιλοσοφίας, οὐτ' Ἡρωδίας, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ὁ τὰς Πυθαγόρου γραφῆ παραδοὺς ὑμιλίας Φιλόλαος, οὐδ' εἰ τινες ἄλλοι γνώριμοι τῶν ἐγενοῦτε, οἱ δὲ δίκαιος τε αὐτοῦ καὶ γνώμας γραφῆ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν παραδεδόκασιν, ἐπὶ τοιαύτη τινί ἐσεμνύναντο σοφία. οὐκοῦν ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλ' 512
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...
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CAP. οὐκ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου τὰ τοιαδή μαθῶν, προσχήματι
σεμνολογῶν ἐπιγράφεται τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου
πρόσρησιν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ παραλογότατα τὸ ψεύδος
ὡς ἀληθές τις γεγονέναι συνχωρήσειν, οὐκ οἶδ',
ὅπως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λέγων ἔκεινον τοῦ Σαμίου, πρὸ
μυρίων ὡς ἔτων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένου, τὰ
περὶ τούτων αὐτοῦ μεμαθηκέναι. οὐκοῦν πρὸς τοῖς
'Αραβίοις καὶ τούτον διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ τῆς δῆ
νομιζομένης ἀπορρήτου περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήμης ἐπι-
γραπτέον. εἰ δὴ οὖν θείας ἢν φύσεως, κατέφευσται
αὐτοῦ τοὺς διδασκάλους ὁ λόγος, εἰ δ' ἀληθῆς ἢν
οὕτως, ψευδής ἢν ὁ μύθος, καὶ οὖκ ἀληθῆς ἢ περὶ
τοῦ θείου γεγονέναι αὐτοῦ γραφῆ.

XII

CAP. οὖπω μοι τοῦ Πρωτέως τὸ φάσμα πολυπραγ-
μονεῖν ἐπεισὶ καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου πίστιν
αἰτεῖν, οἷδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ κύκων τῶν ἀπο-
δείξεως, οὗ γελοίως τὴν μητέρα τίκτουσαν αὐτοῦ
μαινοῦσθαι ἱστορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τοῦ
σκηπτοῦ μυθολογίας τὸν μάρτυρα παρέχειν
ἀξίω, οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων, ὡς ἐφη, Δάμι
ἡμῶν συνιστώρ αφίζεται, μακρὸ ύστερον εἰς Νίνης
τῆς Ἀσσυρίας τὰνδρὶ συνάφας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν
ἐν μᾶλλα προθύμως τοῖς εἰκόσι τε καὶ ἀληθεῖας
ἐχομένως πειθόμενος, εἰ καὶ μείζονά τινα καθ.'

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these things not from Pythagoras, but from other sources; and with a wilful affectation of solemnity he only labels himself with the philosopher's name. But admitting, though it is against all probability, that he is not lying, but telling the truth, we are still at a loss to know, how he can pretend to have acquired this lore from the Samian himself above mentioned, inasmuch as the latter deceased some thousand years before him. Therefore we must reckon among the Arabians this teacher also who communicated to him a knowledge of the gods of so mysterious character as he imagines this to be. If then he was of a divine nature, it follows that the story of his teachers is a pure fiction. On the other hand if the story was true, then the legend was false, and the allegation in the book that he was divine is devoid of all truth.

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
ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΣΑΠ. XLI, 'ὑπερβολὴν ἐς ἔπαινον ἄνδρος ἀγαθοῦ λέγοιτ' ἂν, πιστὰ καὶ παραδεκτέα εἶναι μοι δοκῶ, ὅτι μὴ μόνα τὰ τερατῶδη καὶ λήρου πλέα. οὐκον φθονοῦν, εἰ φησίν ὁ συγγραφεὺς γένος τε ἀρχαῖον καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνημμένον τῷ ἄνδρι γεγονέναι, καὶ πλούτων, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχεν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἀπαντας, διδασκάλων τε νέον οὕτα οὐ μόνον τῶν δεδηλωμένων τυχεῖν, ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν διδάσκαλον καὶ καθηγητὴν γεγονέναι. ἦστῳ δ' ἐπὶ τούτους ἐντερεχής καὶ τὰ κοινά, ὡς τὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεραπείας χάριν ἀφυγμένον διὰ γνώμης ἀρίστης ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς ἀρρωστίας νοσοῦντι γάρ ἐδέρου πάθει κατάλληλον ἐγκρατείας ὑποθέσαι διαίταν τῷ κάμνοντι, καὶ ταύτῃ αὐτῶν ὑγιῶν καταστήσαι, καὶ τούτῳ γε τῆς φρονήσεως ἀποδεκτὸν τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ ὡς τὸν πολυτελῶς θύειν παρεσκευασμένον εἴρξεν, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ κακία διαβεβομένον, καὶ γάρ δὴ τῶν ἐγχώριων ἀπάντων πλούσιωτάτον τε καὶ περιφανέστατον αὐτῶν ὑποτίθεται. καὶ ἐν σῶφροσι δ' αὐτῶν φθόνοις οὐδὲς ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι τε πρὸς τὸν ἐράστην πειρόμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀρας διελοιδορόσατο, καὶ γυναικείας ὅτι καθαρὸν ἐαυτὸν μίξεως διὰ τέλους, ὡς ὁ λόγος φησίν, ἦγαγε.

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

We can also believe the story of his keeping silence for five years in the spirit of Pythagoras; and the way moreover in which he accomplished this vow of silence was praiseworthy. All this and the like
τοιαύτα ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀληθείας οὐ πόρρω δεχομὴν ἄν, περὶ πολλοῦ τὸ εὐγνωμόν τε καὶ φιλάληθες τιμώμενος· τὸ γέ τοι κρείττον ἀνθρώπον τὴν φύσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι, καὶ παρὰ πόδας ἐναντιολογεῖν τῆς τε δοθείσης ἀμνημονεῖν ὑποθέσεως, ἔχειν ψόγον ἀν καὶ διαβολὴν αὐτῷ τῇ γράφοντι καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῷ γραφομένῳ περιάψειν ἤγονμαι.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτον συγγράμματος. ἐπίωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου. τὴν ἀπὸ Περσίδος ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς πορειὰν ἀγεί παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος. ἐἰτά τι πεπονθὼς ἀπειρόκαλον, ὥσπερ τι παράδοξον, δαιμόνιον τι, ὃ καὶ ἐμπούσαν ὄνομάζει, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἰδόντα λοιδορίας ἀμα τοῖς ἀμφότεροις ἀπελάσαι φησί, καὶ χῶν δὲ εἰς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς προσαχθέντων, εἰρηκέναι αὐτὸν τῷ Δάμιδι, ὥς ἄρα συγχωροὶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις συτείσθαι τῶν κρέων, τὸ γὰρ ἄπεχεσθαι αὐτῶν, αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ὅραν προβαίνου, ἐαυτῷ δὲ εἰς ἅ ὄμολόγηται πρὸς ἐπιστήμης ἐκ παιδός. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἄν ἀπορήσεις, ὅτι μηδὲ αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἔδοξε τοῦ βίου ζηλωτὴν.
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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 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
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CAP. XIII κεκτήσθαι καὶ προύτρεπεν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, εἰργεν ὁὶα φίλτατον τῆς τῶν ἐμφύχων, ὡς ἀν οὐχ ὀσίας κατὰ Πυθαγόραν τροφῆς, ὁ δ' οὐκ' οἶδ' ὁποῖον λόγῳ λέγαν μὲν οὐ συνοίσεων ἐαυτῷ, κείνους δ' οὐδὲν ὦραν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποχής προβαίνον ὀμολογεῖ;

XIV

CAP. XIV 'Επὶ τούτους ὁ Φιλόστρατος ὁ τάληθες τιμᾶν πρὸς τοῦ Φιλαλήθους μεμαρτυρημένος, ὤρα τῆς ἀληθείας ὁποία δείγματα παρίστησιν γενόμενον παρ᾽ Ἰνδοῖς τῶν Ἀπολλώνιον παραστήσασθαι φησιν ἐρμηνεία, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ προσδιαλέγεσθαι Φραώτη, τοῦτο δ' εἶναι τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ μικρὸ πρόσθεν κατ' αὐτόν πασῶν γλωσσῶν συνειδών αὕτη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐρμηνεύως δείται. καὶ πᾶλιν ὁ τὰ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων εἴδως καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς θεόν

κοιφοὺ τε ἐξυνείς καὶ οὐ λαλέουτος ἀκούων

δι᾽ ἐρμηνεύως ἀνερωτά, ὁποῖα τις εἶ πτῷ βασιλεὶ δίαιτα, ἥγεμονα τε ἴδει τῆς ἐς Βραχμάνας πορείας γενέσθαι τινᾶ αὐτῷ. καὶ μεταξὺ οὐ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τάντα βάρβαρος ὄν τὴν φύσιν, τὸν ἐρμηνεία ἐκποδοῦν μεταστησάμενος, Ἐλλάδι χρήται πρὸς αὐτόν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ, παιδείᾳ καὶ πολυμάθειᾳ 5:29
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only one whom he was trying to convert to his philoso-


dphy, that he should not, I repeat, have tried to

 hinder him from consuming the flesh of living

 animals, that being an unholy food according to

 Pythagoras, and that instead of doing so, he should
tell him for reasons inexplicable to me that it will do
no good to himself, and admit that he saw no moral
advantage in them produced by such abstinence?

XIV

In the next place I would have you notice what sort of samples of truth are set before us by this Philostratus to whose truthfulness Hierocles the self-styled Lover of Truth bears witness. For we are told that when Apollonius was among the Indians, he employed an interpreter, and through him held the conversation with Phraotes, for that was the name of the king of the Indians. Thus he, who just before, according to Philostratus, had an understanding of all languages, now on the contrary, according to the same witness, is in need of an interpreter. And again, he who read the thoughts of men, and almost like their god Apollo

"Understood the dumb and heard him who spake not"

has to ask, by means of an interpreter, what was the king's way of life, and he asks him to supply him with a guide on his journey to the Brahmans. And after an interval the other, who is king of the Indians, and a barbarian to boot, gets rid of the interpreter, and addresses Apollonius in Greek; and speaking in that language details to him his education and
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὁ δὲ οὐδ’ ὦς, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀμαθῶς ἔχοι φωνῆς, δέον ἐπεφιλοτιμήσατο.

XV

CAP. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λαλοῦντος Ἐμμᾶδι γιλώσσῃ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκπλήττεται, ἦ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἕαυτῷ γράφων. τὸς γὰρ ἐν ἐξεπλάγῃ μὴ οὐχὶ βάρβαρον οἴητείς; καὶ τὸν τοιούτου θαυμάσας οὐποτ’ ἂν ἐλληνίσαι προσεδόκησεν εἰθ’, ὅσπερ τι παράδοντα παράδοχον καταπλαγείς, καὶ τὸ τούτου ἐτ’ ἀγνοῶν αἴτιον, “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, πόθεν οὕτως ἔχεις φωνής Ἐμμάδος; φιλοσοφία τε ἣ περὶ σὲ πόθεν ἐνταῦθα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους γε, οἶμαι, ἀναφέρεις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναι Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους τούτου.” αὐταί αἱ παράδοξαι ὑπὸ πάντα προγνώσει διειληφότος φωναῖ, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀμειβόμενος, ὅτι τε σχολὴ διδασκάλους καὶ οὕτως οὕτω, ἐκαστὰ τε πατρόθεν τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν συμβεβηκότων φράζει.

Εἶτα καὶ τις τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δικάζοντος περὶ θησαυροῦ φωραθέντος ἐν ἄγρῳ, πότερα τῷ πριμένῳ ἢ τῷ τὸ χωρίον ἀποδομεῖν ό δέοι νεῖμαι τούτου, ὁ πάντα φιλόσοφος καὶ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος ἐρωτηθείς ἐπικρίνει τῷ πριμένῳ, λογισμὸν δὴ αὐτοῖς 522
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his wealth of learning. But Apollonius none the less neglected on this occasion to display, as he should have done, his own perfect acquaintance with their tongue.

XV

On the contrary he is astonished to find the Indian talking Greek, as Philostratus consistently, it would seem, with himself, tells us in his book. For how could he be astonished thereat, unless he had regarded him as a barbarian? And in spite of his having admired him for what he was, he could never have expected him to talk Greek. In the sequel, as if he were astonished at some exhibition of the miraculous and were still unable to explain it, Apollonius says: "Tell me, O king, how you came to have such facility in the Greek tongue? And where did you get hereabouts the philosophy you possess? For I do not think that you can say you owe it to teachers anyhow, for it is not likely that the Indians have any teachers of this." Such are the wonderful utterances to which one, whose prescience included everything, gives vent; and the king answers them by saying that he had had teachers, and he tells him who they were, and relates all the particulars of his own history on his father's side.

Next we are told that the Indian had to judge between certain parties about a treasure which had been hunted up in a field, the question at issue being whether this field ought to be assigned to the seller or buyer of the place. Our supreme philosopher and darling of heaven is asked his opinion, and awards it to the purchaser, assigning his reason in these words:

523
CAP. XV ῥήμασιν ἐπευπόν, "ὦς οὖκ ἂν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφεῖλοντο καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαῦλος ἦν, τῷ δ' αὖ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἦν τοῦ ἀποδομένου." ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν δὴ συνάγεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους καὶ πλοῦτω διαφέροντας, κἂν αἰσχρότατοι καὶ πανωλέστατοι τυγχάνοιεν, τρισ- ευδαίμονας καὶ θεοφιλεῖσ φηγείσθαι, μόνους δ' ἀρα κακοδαιμονάς τε καὶ ἄθλους τοὺς πενεστά- τους, κἂν Σωκράτης, κἂν Διογένης, κἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος Πυθαγόρας τυγχάνῃ, κἂν ἄλλος, οὗ πάντων ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατοι τε καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι. εὔποι γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ, μὴ ἂν κατ' αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς μὲν πένητας, τούτους δὴ αὐτοὺς, οὗ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν διήνεγκαν, ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφὴν, μὴ οὐχὶ πάντως φαῦλος ὄντας τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἱθὸς ἀκολαστοτέρους ἄφθονα καὶ τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖα παρασκεῖν, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἐτύγχανον τῶν προ- τέρων, εἰ δὲ παντὶ τῷ καταφανῆς ἢ τοῦ συμ- περάσματος ἀτοπία.

XVI

CAP. XVI Ταῦτα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου παραθέμενοι, ἵσμεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βεβοηθοῦντος ἐποψό- μενοι Βραχμάνας: ἐνθα δὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἀπιστα ἄλλο τερατωδές ποτὲ 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-

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CAP. XVI  τισίν ἀναπέπλασταί, εὐ μᾶλα πιστὰ καὶ ἁληθεῦστατα, ὡς ἐν παραθέσει τούτων, ἀναφανήσεται, οἷς καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστήσαι ἄξιον, τῆς τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἕνεκεν αὐθαδείας ἡμῖν μὲν εὐχέρειαν καὶ κουφότητα τρόπου περιάπτοντος, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ παραπλησίοις τὴν ἀκριβή καὶ βεβαιῶν μετὰ συνέσεως κρίσιν. ὅρα γοῦν, ἐφ' ὅλης σεμνύνεται παραδόξους, τῶν ἡμετέρων θείων εὐαγγελιστῶν προκρίνων τὸν Φιλόστρατον, ὡς μὴ μόνον παιδείας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἴκοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθείας ἐπιμελημένον.

CAP. XVII  Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοῦς Βραχμᾶνας πορείᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γυνὴ τις αὐτῷ τὴν χροιῶν εἰσάγεται ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐς ὁσφύν λευκοτάτη, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον μέρος τοῦ σώματος μέλαινα. τὰ δὲ, προϊόντων τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦς Βραχμᾶνας ὁδοῦ, ὅρη καταπεφυτευμένα τὸ πέτερι, καὶ τούτων πίθηκοι γεωργοὶ, καὶ παράδοξοί τινες τὸ μέγεθος δράκοντες, ὃν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς λαμπάδες ἀπορριπτοῦνται πυρὸς, ὅσι ἐὰν τίς ἀνέλοι, εὗροι ἄν, φησι, παραδόξους λίθους ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῷ τοῦ Γύγου τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι παραπλησίοις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τῶν Βραχμᾶνῶν λόφου. ὡς δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν ἄφικοντο, σανδαράκινοι, ἐνταῦθα φρέαρ ὑδατός ἴδειν παραδόξου, καὶ κρατήρα πλησίον πυρὸς, ὃς φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολυβδώδη, 526
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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
rivalling the gem of Gyges, as mentioned in Plato.
And all this was before they reached the hill on
which the Brahmans lived. And when they reached
this, we read that they saw there a well of sandarac,
full of wonderful water, and hard by a crater of fire,
from which there arose a lead-coloured flame; and
φιλοσοφίας ἂξιονθαί διδάσκαλον.

XVIII

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

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 εὐθύς, ἀπὸ πρῶτης ὀμιλίας, ἀπειροπλούτων δίκην, ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ τῆς προγνώσεως πλεονέκτημα, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καταλέγοντα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γένος τε καὶ τροφήν καὶ παιδείαν, καὶ τὰς κατὰ χρόνους ἀποδημίας καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν πορείαν, καὶ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν πεπραγμένα τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὀμιλημένα. εἶτα δὲ φησιν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ θαυμάσιος συγγραφεὺς τοὺς Βραχμάνας ἀμα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρυσαμένους ἥλεκτρίνῳ φαρμάκῳ λουσασθαί, καὶ περιστάντας ὡς ὕπο τὴν γῆν τύφαι ταῖς ράβδοις, τὴν δὲ κυρτωθεῖσαν ἀναπέμψαι αὐτοὺς εἰς δύσην τοῦ ἀέρος, ἑστάναι τε αὐτοὺς μετεώρους ὡς ἄνεον δέκα τοῦ ἑλίου, ὅτε βουλοιντο, αὐτομάτως, τοῦτοι δὲ ἐπιφέρει παράδοξον ὁ θαυματολόγος, ὡς ἁρὰ τρίποδες Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες ἐξεκυκλήθησαν αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ εἰκάζει δὴ οὖν αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ὀμηρείους, οἰνοχόους τε ἐπὶ τοῦτοι ἐκ χαλκοῦ διακόνους τὴν ὑλὴν ἴστησι τέτταρας ἐπιλέγει δὲ, ὡς ἁρὰ καὶ ἣ γῆ αὐτομάτως ὑπεστόρυντο αὐτοῖς πόας. τῶν δὲ τριπόδων οἱ μὲν δῦο, φησιν, οἶνου ἀπέρρεον, οἱ δὲ ἔτεροι δυὸ, ὁ μὲν ὕδατος θερμοῦ κράσιν παρεῖχεν, ὁ δ’ αὐ ψυχροῦ. τοὺς δὲ οἰνοχόους τοὺς χαλκοὺς ἀρύσεθαι εὑμέτρως τοῦ τε οἶνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, περιελαίνει τε κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας, ὁσπερ ἐν τοῖς πότοις.
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,
rans with wine, and of the other two, the one supplied
hot water and the other cold. And the cup-bearers of
bronze drew for the guests in due mixture both the
wine and the water, and pushed round the cups in a
circle, just as they are handed round in a symposium.
Ταῦτα Ἰεροκλέει τὰ ἀνωτάτω καὶ καθόλου δικαστήρια πεπιστευμένο, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνέ-
tάσεως ἀληθῆ καὶ πιστὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἦμων μὲν εὐχέρεια καὶ κουφότης πλείστη ὅση κατέ-
γνωσται παρ' αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ τοιαύτα Φιλοστράτῳ πιστεύων, αὐτοῖς δὴ ῥήμασι σεμνύνεται λέγων, "ἐπισκεψόμεθα γε μὴν, ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ συνε-
tῶτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαύτα, καὶ ἂν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην."

Ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ δὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Φιλόστρατον βασιλεὺς ἐγχωριάζων Ἰνδοῖς εἰσάγεται συμπίνων τοὺς φιλοσόφους, τοῦτον δὲ ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἐμπαροινεῖν φιλοσοφία, μεθύσκεσ-
θαι τε παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀντιπαρεξάγειν 'Ηλίῳ καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ἰστορεῖ· καὶ πάλιν τὸν 'Απολλώ-
nιον δὲ ἐρμηνεύως τὰ παρὰ τούτου μανθάνειν, καὶ ἀυ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσθαι, ύφερμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα· καὶ πῶς οὖ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅπως τῶν οὐτως υβριστὴν καὶ ἀτοπώτατον παροινεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι παρὰ τηλικούτοις εἰκός ἢν, ὅν
οὐδὲ παρεῖναι ἄξιον εἰν φιλοσόφων, μὴ τί γε καὶ ἱσοθέων ἔστι; τί δὲ μοι ἱσοθέους τούτους καλεῖν

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XIX

Such are the stories which Hierocles, who has been entrusted to administer the supreme courts of justice all over the province, finds true and reliable after due enquiry, at the same time that he condemns us for our excessive credulity and frivolity; and after himself believing such things when he finds them in Philostratus, he proceeds to brag about himself and says (I quote his very words): "Let us anyhow observe how much better and more cautiously we accept such things, and what opinion we hold of men gifted with such powers and virtues."

XX

It was after such a symposium, according to the same Philostratus, that a king who was sojourning in India is introduced to drink with the philosophers; and we hear that he took occasion to insult philosophy with drunken jests, and that he got so tipsy in their presence as to hurl defiance at the Sun and brag about himself. All this we learn, and that Apollonius once more, by means of an interpreter, learned his history from him and conversed in turn with him, Iarchas interpreting between them. Surely it may well excite our wonder that so insolent a fellow and so great a buffoon was allowed to get drunk and show off his tipsy wit among such great philosophers, when he was unworthy even to be present at a meeting of philosophers, much less at the hearth of men who were equal to gods? But what possesses me to call them the peers of gods and
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXI  Μετὰ ταῦτα κοιναὶ λόγων ὁμιλίαι καὶ σπουδαιολογίαι τῶν φιλοσόφων, τοῦ μὲν Ἰάρχα διδάσκοντος, ὃς ἄρα ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ἔτερῳ ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλέως γένοιτο σώματι, καὶ τοιαύτα τινα αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα εἶχε, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου, ὃς νησὶς Αἰγυπτίας ποτὲ γένοιτο κυβερνήτης, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπράξαντο, πεύσεις τε καὶ ἀποκρίσεις ἕκαστον, ὥς καὶ τῆς σοφίας ἰδίου μηδαμῶς παρεκθέσθαι τὴν μνήμην, ἐρέσθαι δὲ φησὶ τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου, εἶ ἔστι παρ’ αὐτοῖς χρύσεων ὕδωρ — ὃ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ παραδόξου πόσματος — καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς οἰκούντων καὶ Πυγμαίων ἄλλων καὶ σκιαπόδων ἀνερωτῶν, καὶ εἰ γίγνοιτο παρ’ αὐτοῖς ζῷον τετράποδον, δὲ λέγεται μαρτυρία, δ’ τὴν κεφαλήν ἀνθρώπων.
chaff them about their dignity? Why, when Apollonius 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 scanty respect for the dignity of the god whom he professed himself to be, set the example of drinking to his fellow-banqueters by stooping down over the bowl, which, as our author is careful to tell us, supplied plenty of drink for all of them, and refreshed itself, as do holy and mysterious wells for those who fill their pitchers from them.

XXI

After this there was general conversation and some serious discussion among the philosophers, in the course of which Iarchas explained that his own soul had once been in the body of another man who was a king, and that in that state he had performed this and that exploit; while Apollonius told them that he had once been the pilot of a ship in Egypt, and had accomplished all sorts of exploits which he enumerated to them. Then they put questions to each other, and received answers, which in the name of wisdom have scant title to be recorded at all. Thus we learn that Apollonius asked if they had any golden water among them. What a clever and marvellous question! And he also asked about men who live underground, and about others called pigmies, and shadow-footed men, and he asked if they had among them a four-footed animal called a martichora, which has a head like that of a man, but

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πω εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ὠμοιώσθαι τὸ μέγεθος,
τὴν δὲ σύραν ἐκφέρειν πιθυναίας καὶ ἀκανθώδεις
τὰς τρίχας, ἂς βάλλειν ὡσπερ τοξέυματα ἐσ
τοὺς θηρῶντας· καὶ τοιαύτα μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλόνιον
ἀνερωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰάρχαν διδάσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ
μὲν τῶν Πυγμαίων, ὡς ἀρα εἶναι οἰκούντες μὲν
ὑπόγειοι, διατρίβοντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην ποτ-
αμὸν ζῶντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἀνύπαρκτα
eἰη.

XXII

Ἐριον ἐπὶ τούτοις φυόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς
ἐστὶν ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἄναγράφει, πάν-
τως δήποτε τῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἰστόν ἐποιχομένων καὶ
tαλαιπωρίας ἐστὶν κατεργασίαν ἐκπονο-
μένων—οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς ἔκρηκται παρ’ αὐτοῖς γυναικεῖον
φύλου—εἰ μή καὶ τούτο φήσειν αὐτόματον αὐτοῖς
παραδόξως δὴ ἔρημὸς ἐστὶν μεταφύσθαι.
φέρειν δ’ ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ῥάβδου καὶ δακτύλιον
ἀπόρρητον ἔχοντα ἴσχυν. εἰτα παραδοξοποιά τοῦ
Βραχμάνου, ὡς δαμωνώντα δ’ ἐπιστολὴς ἀνακα-
λέσαιτο, ὡς χωλεύοντα καταψήφιας τῶν γλυκῶν
θεραπεύσειν, ὡς τυφλῷ τὸ βλέπειν καὶ ἀδρανεῖ
τῶν τὴν χείρα σφάν χαράζοντο. τολλὰ κἀγαθὰ
γένοιτο πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπολύσαυτί τῷ συγγρα-
φεῖ. δὴ ἡ γὰρ, ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτε βροντὰς
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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
ΚΑΙ ἈΝΕΜΟΥΣ ἜΝ ΠΙΘΟΙΣ ΤΡΙΠΟΔΑΣ ΤΕ ἘΚ ΛΙΘΟΥ ΦΟΥΤ-
ΩΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΝΟΧΟΥΣ ἈΠΟ ΧΑΛΚΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ-
ΕΛΑΥΝΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΚΥΚΛΡ ΤΑΣ ΚΥΛΙΚΑΣ ΠΡΟΙΣΤΟΡΗΣΑΣ, ΔΙΑ
ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΩΣ ἈΛΗΘΩΝ ἈΦΗΓΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ
ΛΟΙΠΩΝ ἈΠΑΝΤΩΝ ἘΞΕΦΗΝΕ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΗΛΕΥΞΕ ΤΗΝ
ΜΥΘΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ. ΕΙΡΗΚΕΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΦΗΣΙΝ Ὀ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
ΤΩΝ ΔΑΜΙΔΝ ΔΙΧΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ
ΙΑΡΧΑ ΣΥΜΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΗΣΑΙ ΤΩΝ 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ, ΕΙΛΗ-
ΦΕΝΑΙ ΤΕ ΠΑΡ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΑΚΤΥΛΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΤΑ ἘΠΩΝΥΜΟΥΣ
ΑΣΤΕΡΩΝ, ΌΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΡΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΘ' ΕΝΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ
ΑΝΩΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ.

ΤΑΥΤΑ ΔΕ ΒΤΝ ΕΙΠΩΝ Ο ΤΑΛΗΘΕΣ ΤΙΜΑΝ ΠΑΡΑ
ΤΟ 'ΦΙΛΑΛΛΗΘΕΙ ΝΕΟΜΙΣΜΕΝΟΣ ΜΕΘ' ΕΤΕΡΑ ΤΗΣ
ΓΡΑΦΗΣ, ΩΣ ΑΝ ΔΗ ΓΟΤΕΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΒΡΑΧΙΑΝΩΝ
ΚΑΤΑΓΡΟΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣΑΙ
ΤΟΥ 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΦΡΟΥΤΙΣΑΣ, ΕΠΙΦΕΡΕΙ ΦΑΣΚΩΝ
ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΞΙΝ: "ἸΔΩΝ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ 'ΙΝΔΟΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ
ΤΡΙΠΟΔΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΙΝΟΧΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ὩΣΑ ΑΥΤΟ-
ΜΑΤΑ ΕΣΦΟΙΤΑΝ ΕΙΠΟΝ, ΟΥΘ', ὩΠΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΣΟΝΤΟ ΑΥΤΑ,
ΗΡΕΤΟ, ΟΥΤΕ ΕΔΕΗΘΗ ΜΑΘΕΙΝ, ἌΛΛ' ΕΠΗΝΕΙ ΜΕΝ,
ΞΙΛΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΚ ΗΞΙΟΥ." ΚΑΙ ΠΩΣ, Ω ΟΥΤΟΣ, ΟΥΚ
ΗΞΙΟΥ; Ο ΔΙΧΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΜΙΔΟΣ ΣΠΟΥΔΗΝ ΠΟΙΟΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ
ΣΥΜΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΜΟΝΟΝ ἘΤΑΙΡΟΥΝ, Ω
ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΥ, ΛΑΝΘΑΝΕΙΝ ΔΕΟΝ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ; ΠΩΣ
ΔΕ ΟΥΚ ΗΞΙΟΥ ΞΙΛΟΥΝ Ο ΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΣΤΕΡΩΝ ἘΠΩΝΥ-
ΜΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑΘΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΑΚΤΥΛΙΟΥΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ἈΝΑΓ-
ΚΑΙΟΝ ΤΙΘΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΦΕΡΕΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ
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the truth of his earlier tales, I refer to those of Chap. XXII. 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
Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τρίτον σύγγραμμα, ἐπίσωμεν δὴ ἢδη καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ἐπανελθόντα φησίν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κοισινοῦν τῶν θεῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἀνακεκηρύχθαι, οἵ καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ὡς αὐτῶν ἐφ’ ὑγείᾳ παρεπεμπον, καὶ δὴτα ὡς ἢ. Ἡ Ἄραβων καὶ μάγων καὶ Ἰνδῶν παράδοξον τινα καὶ θεῖον ἡμῖν αὐτῶν ἀγαγόν, παραδόξων ἐντεύθεν ἄφηγημάτων κατάρχηται. καίτοι ἄν τις εὔποιο εὐλόγως, ὅτι δὴ. εἰ θειοτέρας ἢ κατ’ ἀνθρωπον φύσεως ἢν, πάλαι, ἀλλ’ οὐ νῦν ἔδει, πρὸ τῆς δὲ ἐπέρων μεταλήψεως τῶν θαυμασίων κατάρχεσθαι, περιττὴ δ’ ἂν καὶ 540.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

rest of his life upon the days severally named after them, and that although, as you say yourself, they had a secret power in them. Even if we grant that he did not aspire to imitate these inventions, it is clear that his disclaimer was not due to their being uncanny. How then could he praise things which he disdained to imitate? If he praised them, as being divinely operated, why did he not imitate things so praiseworthy? To crown all, on his return after he had stayed with them, we learn that he arrived with his companions at the country of the Orize, 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. ΧΧΙΙ

η ἐξ’ Ἀράβων αὐτῷ μάγων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν διὰ σπουδῆς ἑπεχειρεῖτο πολυμάθεια, εἰ δὴ τις κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν ὑπήρξεν ὑπόθεσιν ἄλλος γε’ κατὰ τὸν φιλαλήθη συγγραφέα νῦν δὴ πάρεστι, μετὰ τοσούτους διδασκάλους τὴν σοφίαν ἐνεπιδει-

κνύμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, οἷα ἐξ’ Ἀράβων καὶ τῆς

παρ’ αὐτοῖς οἰωνιστικῆς ὁμομομενος τὸν στροφόν,

ὅ τι καὶ βούλωστε τούς ἑτέρους ἔπε τροφὴν παρα-

καλῶν ἐφερμηνεύει τοῖς παρούσιοι, εἶτα δὲ λοιμοῦ

ἐν Ἑφέσῳ προαισθομενοι προμαντεύεται τοῖς

πολίταις. τὴν ὁ δ’ αὐτίαν καὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρὸς

Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογία αὐτὸς παρατιθέται. ἐρο-

μένου γὰρ τοι αὐτῶν, ὅποθεν ὁμομομος τοῦτο

προεῖποι, "λεπτοτέρα," ἐφ’ ἑκ., "χρώμενος, ὁ

βασιλεὺς, διαίτη πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἡσθόμην."

Καὶ τρίτων δ’ αὐτοῦ θαύμα γεγονός ἱστορεῖ, ὡς

δὴ ἄλεξίσαντος τὸν λοιμὸν, ὅπερ εἰ καὶ τὰ

μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἑπὶ τέλει κατ’ αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαις

οὐ τέθεικεν ὁ συγγραφεὺς, ὅτι μὴ παρῆν, ὡς εἰκός,

αὐτῷ δ’ ἀπολογίας ἀπολύσασθαι τὸ ἐγκλημα,

φέρε δ’ ὁμοῦ ὁμος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐς φανέρον

ὑποθάμεθα, οὐτω δὴ καὶ ταύτην εὐθύνοντες. εἰ

τινι γὰρ οὐκ εἰη σαφές, ὅτι δὴ πολὺ τὸ πλάσμα

καὶ ἀπατηλὸν γοητείας τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐμπλευων,

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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. XXII. αὐτὸς ὁ τρόπος ἀπελέγχει τῆς ἱστορίας. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ λοιμὸν ὑποτίθεται ἐν εἰδεί πτωχεύοντος καὶ ῥάκεσιν ἡμφίεσμένου πρεσβύτου ἀνδρὸς ἐώρασθαι, ὅν καταλεύειν ἐπικελευσαμένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου πρότερον μὲν πῦρ βάλλειν τῶν ὁφθαλμῶν, εἰδ' ὑστερον βληθέντα λίθοις, κύνα συντετριμμένον καὶ παραπτύοντα ἄφρον, ὡς οἱ λυπτώντες, φανήναι, εἰρηκέναι δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογίᾳ ταῦτα γράφει: "τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῴ δὲ γέροντι εἰκαστο, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδὼν εἶλον, οὐ παῦσας νόσον, ἀλλ' ἐξελὼν." τὸς δὲ οὖν ἐπὶ τούτους οὐ μέγα τὴν τοῦ θαυματοποιοῦ γελάστει παραδοξοποιαν, ἐξὸν ὁφθαλμοῖς καὶ λίθων ὑποπτέπτων βολαῖς, συντριβόμενον τε πρὸς ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἄφρον παραπτύον τὴν τοῦ λοιμοῦ φύσιν ἀκούσων, δι' οὖν ἀλλ' ὁτιοῦν τυγχάνει ἡ θορὰ καὶ κάκωσις ἄερος, ἐπὶ τὸ νοσώδες τρεπομένου τοῦ περιέχοντος ἐκ πονηρῶν τε καὶ φαύλων ἀναθυμιάσεων, ἦ λόγος ιατρικὸς παραδίδωσι, συνισταμένον; καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἂν τὸ φάσμα διευθυνθῇ, ἐπείπερ μόνη τῇ τῶν Ἔφεσίων πόλει, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις τοῦ λοιμὸν ἐπισκηπτὰ φησίν ὁ λόγος, ὅπερ πῶς οὐκ ἂν γεγονεὶ κάκωσιν τοῦ περιέχοντος πεπονθότος; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατακλείσθεν μόνῳ ἂν ἐφήδρευσε τῷ περὶ τῆν Ἔφεσον ἀέρι τὸ νόσημα.
ever anything reeked of wizardry this did. For he \textit{pretends} that the plague was seen in the form of an aged man, a beggar and dressed in rags; who, when Apollonius ordered the mob to stone him, began by shooting fire from his eyes, but afterwards, when he had been overwhelmed by the stones thrown at him, he appeared as a dog all crushed and vomiting foam, as mad dogs do. And he writes that Apollonius mentioned this episode also in the defence he addressed to the autocrat Domitian, as follows: "For the form of the plague—and it resembled an aged beggar—was both seen by me, and when I saw it I overcame it, not by staying the course of the disease, but by utterly destroying it." Who, I would ask, after reading this would not laugh heartily at the miracle-mongering of this thaumaturge? For we learn that the nature of the plague was a living creature and as such exposed at once to the eyes of the bystanders and to the showers of stones they hurled at it, and that it was crushed by men, and vomited foam, when all the time a plague is nothing in the world but a corruption and vitiation of the atmosphere, the circumambient air being changed into a morbid condition composed of noxious and evil exhalations, as medical theory teaches us. And on other grounds, too, this story of the phantom plague can be exploded; for the story tells us that it only afflicted the city of Ephesus, and did not visit the neighbouring populations; and how could this not have been the case, if the surrounding atmosphere had undergone vitiation? for the infection could not have been confined to one spot, nor have beset the air of Ephesus alone.
Τέταρτον αυτῷ παράδοξον Ἀχιλλέως ἦν ψυχή πρῶτερον μὲν ἐν χλαμοὺδι πεντάπηχυς, εἶτα δωδεκάπηχυς τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ μνήματι φαινομένη, Θεταλοῦς τε καταιευμένη, ὦτι δὴ τὰ ἐναγίσματα αὐτῷ, ὡς ἔθος ἦν, οὐκ ἐπετέλουν, μηνιῶσά τε εἰσέτει Τρωσὶ τῶν ἐσ αὐτῶν πεπλημμελημένων, καὶ προστάττουσα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πέντε λόγους, οὓς ἁν αὐτὸς τε βούλοιτο καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι συγχωροῦεν, ἀνερέσθαι. εἰθ’ ὁ πάντα εἰδὼς καὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν αὐχών ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, εἰ τάφον τύχοι Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ εἰ Μουσῶν θρήνοι καὶ Νηρηίδων ἔπ’ αὐτῷ γεγόνασι, καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἀνερωτᾶ καὶ διαπυθάνεται, εἰ Πολυξένη ἐπισφαγεῖ αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ Ἐλένη ἐσ Τροίαν ἐληλύθοι, ὡς σεμνὰ γε καὶ κατεπελέγοντα εἰς τὸν φιλόσοφον βίον τοῦ ἱρωσ καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια ἐρωτήματα. θαυμάζει δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἰ τοσοῦτον ἱρωσ παρὰ τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ἐνὶ χρόνῳ γεγόνασι, καὶ εἰ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τροίαν Παλαμήδης, τὸν δὴ θεῶν ὅρωμένων τε καὶ οὕς ὅρωμένων ὁμιλητὴν τοιαῦτα ἄγνοεῖν, καὶ περὶ τοιούτων ἀνερωτᾶν, ποιας οὕξι γένοιτ’ ἀν αἰσχύνης; εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ἐπειδὴ νεκροὶς ὁμιλῶν εἰσήκται, ἐπὶ τῷ 546
The fourth wonder which he relates is how the soul of Achilles appeared close by his own sepulchre, dressed the first time in a tunic, and five cubits high, and subsequently growing till it was twelve cubits in stature, and accusing the Thessalians for not continuing according to custom to offer him the due funeral rites, and furthermore still nursing wrath against the Trojans for the wrongs which they had committed against him, and bidding Apollonius ask him questions on five topics, such as he himself might desire to learn about, and the Fates permit him to know of. We next learn that the omniscient one, who boasted of his prescience of future events, was still ignorant of whether Achilles had been buried, and of whether the Muses and Nereids had bestowed their dirges upon him. And accordingly he asked Achilles about these matters, and enquires most earnestly whether Polyxena had been slain over his tomb, and whether Helen had really come to Troy,—questions surely of a most solemn kind, and such as to stimulate others to lead the philosophical life of the hero, besides being in themselves of much importance. Thereupon he falls to wondering if there had ever been among the Hellenes so many heroes all at one time, and whether Palamedes had ever reached Troy. Surely it was disgraceful in the extreme that one who was the companion of gods, whether seen or unseen, should know so little of such matters as to need to ask questions again and again about them? Unless, indeed, because in this scene he is introduced as associating with the dead, the

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CAP. XXIV  Ὠψὶν ὑπεκλύσειε τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτὸν περιεργάσθαι δοκεῖν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπολογούμενον αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ νεκρομαντεῖαν ὁ ἄρτος αὐτῷ ἡ τῆς φανερῆς ὅψεως ἔγενοτο, "οὔτε γὰρ βόθρον," εἶπεν, "Ὁδυσσέως ὁρυξάμενος, οὐδ' ἄρνον αἴμασι ψυχαγωγήσας, ἐς διάλεξιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἦλθον, ἀλλ' εὐξάμενος ὁπόσα τοῖς ἠρωσιν Ἰνδῶι φασὶ δεῖν εὐξάσθαι." καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πρὸς τὸν ἐταίρον ἀποσεμνύνεται ὁ μηδὲν μαθεῖν παρ' Ἰνδῶι, μηδὲ ξηλῶσαι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς σοφίαν πρὸς τοῦ συγ-γραφέως μεμαρτυρημένος.

XXV

CAP. XXV  Τί δῆτα οὖν, ὁ οὖτος, εἰ μὴ τὶς ἦν κακοήθης περιεργία, μηδὲ τὸν ἔνα σοι καὶ γνήσιον καὶ μόνον ἐταίρον Δάμων κοινώνν ἐποιοῦ τῆς θαυμαστῆς ταύτης ὅψεώς τε καὶ ὁμιλίας; τί δ' οὖν καὶ δι' ἡμέρας τούτο ποιεῖν ἔξην, ἀλλὰ τῶν νυκτῶν ἀωρί καὶ μόνον; τί δὲ καὶ ἡλαυνον τὴν τοῦ ἠρωσιν ψυχῆς ἀλεκτρυνών βοὰί; "ἀπῆλθε γὰρ," φησιν, "ἐξ' ἀστραπῆ μετρία, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλεκτρυνόεις ἢδη ὀδὴς ἡπτοῦτο." δαίμονι μὲν οὖν πονηροὶς γένοιτ' ἄν ἔσως ὁ τῆς ὠρας ἐπιτήδειος εἰς περιέργους ὁμιλίας καίρος, ἀλλ' οὖν ἦρωδι ψυχῆς, ἦν τῆς παχέιας τοῦ 548.
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author intentionally gives a frigid turn to his ques-
tions, in order to avert the suspicion of his having
irreligiously prayed into the secrets of magic. For
we may notice he represents him as arguing in his
Apology that there was no colour of necromancy in
the manner in which the spectre appeared to him,
and says: "For without digging any trench like
Odysseus, and without tempting the souls of the
dead with the blood of lambs, I managed to converse
with Achilles, merely by using the prayers which the
Indians declare we ought to make use of in address-
ing heroes." This is how Apollonius now brags to
his companion, although our author testifies that he
had learned nothing from the Indians nor felt
attracted by their wisdom.

XXV

WHAT then is the reason, my good fellow, sup-
posing that there was no devilish curiosity here at
work, why he would not allow Damis, whom you
admit to have been his sole and genuine and single
companion, to share with him in this marvellous
vision and interview? And why, too, was he not
able to do all this by daytime, instead of doing it in
the dead of night and alone? Why, too, did the
mere cry of the cocks drive away the soul of the
hero? For he says, "It vanished with a mild flash of
lightning, for indeed the cocks were already begin-
ing 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
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CAP. XXV
σώματος ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν ὕλης ἀγαθῆν καὶ πανάρετον ἐναὶ χρεῶν. ὃ γε μὴν εἰσηγμένος ἐνταῦθα δαίμων βάσκανος καὶ φθονερὸς τὸν τρόπον, ὀργίλος τε καὶ ταπεινὸς τὴν διάθεσιν ὑποτετύπωταί. ἢ οὖχ ἴσοντος ὃ τὸν Ἀντισθένην μειράκιον τι σπουδαίον ὥς ἄν δὴ φιλοσόφος συνέπεσθαι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πειρῶμενον ἀπείρηγον; προστάττει γὰρ τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν συνεμπόρον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας, ἐπιλέγων τὴν αὐτίαν. "Πριαμίδης τε γὰρ," φησιν, "ἰκανὸς ἔστι καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα ὑμῶν οὔ παύεται." πῶς δὲ οὐκ ὀργίλος καὶ ταπεινὸς ὁ Θετταλοὶ, ὡς μὴ θύουσιν αὐτῷ, θυμοῦμενοι, καὶ Τρωσίς, ὡς δὴ πρὸ μυρίων ὡς οὖν ἐτῶν εἰς αὐτὸν διημαρτήκασι, μὴ καταλλασσόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα θύουσι καὶ συνεχῶς σπευδομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Παλαιμῆδους τάφον αὐτῷ ἀγάλματι φαύλως ἐρρυμένῳ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐγκελευόμενος;

XXVI

CAP. XXVI
Τὸ μέντοι πέμπτον καὶ ἔκτον θαῦμα οὐ πολλῆς ἀν δέοιτο τοῦ λόγου διατριβῆς εἰς ἐνδείξειν τῆς τοῦ γράφοντος εὐχερείας· δαίμονας γὰρ ἀπελαύνει ἄλλῳ ἄλλου, ἢ φασί, δαίμονι, τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀκολάστου μειρακίου, τὸν δὲ ἐπιπλάστως εἰς γυναικεῖαν μορφὴν σχηματιζόμενον, 550
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

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CAP. toutouni de ton daulmona empolousan kal laimia
autois onomasi d sofostatos apokalei. to ge
muin eti rhisi Roumaioun polews meta taunta korion,
o ti di meta thanaton eti deuteran zevni iagavei, apistotaun kal autow doxan to Filostrato
paraitetou. en diastagmo meutoi amfiballei,
mu apa spinbhi tis psuchis enuparxou thi paidi
tous therapevontas eleleistei. legesbai yap
fesi, "ws psakxei mewn h Zev, di
autou apo ton proswpon." kai yap di ei nlethos autw
thoun ed auth 'Roumi os epetrepto, ouk dia
eleistei basilea te prwton kai tous met auton
uparxous apantasa, malista de ton filosofo
Euvratev eichoriouta kai' ekeino kairo kai
eti ths 'Roumi diatribvonta, de di eis usteron
thn kai autwn kathgorian, ws di kата gonytos,
upoballews istorhtai. pantos yap an kai touto,
ei di touto gevon ws, tais alasiai kai autw
diabola prs ton kathgoron synkateilekto.
kal ta men en merei kai kat edos autw pteparg-
mena tosaunta, murya de kai alla kata prognwsan
auton legon prorantusasthai te kai proerih-
kenvai grawei, kai ws 'Athnisi bouliethenta mnhh-
nai ta 'Eleusinia o tihde eirxei iereus, meh an pote
fisas munsethetai ghota, meh de ta 'Eleusinia
anovxai anutherford me kathafo ta daimounia. alla
kai to anelgoi anegroun kata thn 'Roumi, kai
tas Nerwos mete kitharas eti miosth diezouni
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calls by no other names than those of Empusa and Lamia. As for the damsel whom he is said subsequently to have brought back again to life in Rome after she had died, the story clearly impressed Philostratus himself as being extremely incredible, and we may safely reject it. Anyhow he hesitates and doubts, whether after all a spark of life might have not lingered on in the girl unnoticed by her attendants. For he says that according to report "it was raining at the time, and a vapour exhaled from the face of the girl." Anyhow if such a miracle had really been wrought in Rome itself, it could not have escaped the notice first of the emperor and after him of his subordinate magistrates, and least of all of the philosopher Euphrates who at the time was in the country and was staying in Rome, who indeed, as we learn later on, is related to have launched against Apollonius the accusation of being no other than a wizard. It would certainly too, had it actually occurred, have been included by the accuser among the other charges levelled against him. Well, just these and no more are the more particular and special achievements of Apollonius, although there are a myriad other cases in the book in which his sooth-sayings and prophecies are set down to his gift of foreknowledge; and we learn that at Athens, when he desired to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, the priest there would not admit him, and declared that he would never initiate a wizard nor throw open the Eleusinian mysteries to a man who was addicted to impure rites. We also hear about a lewd fellow who went begging about Rome, rehearsing the songs of Nero on his lyre for pay; and we are told that
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CAP. XXVI ὁδίς, μισθὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς ἐταῖροις τῆς σοφῆς ταύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος διὰ τὸν Νέρωνος φόβου προστάττει.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII Ἕν τούτως καὶ τοῦ τεταρτοῦ περιγραφέντος, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς ἐπὶ τῶν τινα περὶ προγνώσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθαναμάζας ὁ συγγραφεύς, ἐπιλέγει ταύτα κατὰ λέξιν ὡς τίνες δὴ τὰ τοιαύτα δαιμονία κινήσει προέλεγε καὶ ὅτι τοῖς γόνητα ἡγουμένους τὸν ἄνδρα οὐχ ὑμαίνει ὁ λόγος, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, σκέψώμεθα δὲ κάκεινα· οἱ γόνητες, ἡγοῦμαι δὲ αὐτός ἐγὼ κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους εἰδῶλων χωροῦντες, οἱ δὲ ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἑπάσαι τῷ ἀλείψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασί τὰ εἰμαρμένα, δὲ εἶπετο μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, καὶ προέλεγεν, ὡς ἀνάγκη ἐσεθαι αὐτὰ, προέλεγε δὲ οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ὄν οἱ θεοὶ ἔφαινον· ἵδις δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἑσφοιτῶν ἐῖπον, οὕτως σοφίζοντο αὐτὰ ἥρετο, οὐτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐπήμει μὲν, ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἥξιον." ταύτα δὲ λέγων δηλός ἐστὶ τοὺς περιβοήτους Ἰνδῶν φιλο-

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

XXVII

Such are the contents of the fourth book, and in the fifth book of his history, after a few remarks about his gift of prescience, our author is so lost in admiration as to add the following remark, which I repeat textually. "That then he was enabled to make such forecasts by some divine impulse, and that it is no sound inference to suppose, as some people do, that Apollonius was a wizard, is clear from what I have said. But let us consider the following facts: wizards, whom for my part I reckon to be the most unfortunate of mankind, claim to alter the course of destiny, either by tormenting the ghosts whom they encounter, or by means of barbaric sacrifices, or by means of certain incantations or anointings. But Apollonius himself submitted to the decrees of the Fates, and foretold that they must needs come to pass; and his foreknowledge was not due to wizardry, but derived from what the gods revealed to him. And when among the Indians he beheld their tripods, and their dumb waiters and other automata which I described as entering the room of their own accord, he neither asked how they were contrived, nor wished to learn. He only praised them, but did not aspire to imitate them." Such a passage as the above clearly exhibits in the light of wizards the famous philosophers of India.
CAP. XXVII

σοφοὺς γοήτας ἀποφαίνων. περὶ γὰρ τοῦ γοήτων ποιούμενος τοῦλόγον μενημονεύει καὶ τούτων, σοφίζεσθαι δὴ τὰ παράδοξα λέγων αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν, περὶ οὖ ο λόγος, τῆς τοιαοδι αὐτῶν σοφιστείας ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀστείας ἀλλότριον ὑποτιθέμενος, οὐκοῦν εἰ φαύνοιτο τούτους θεοὺς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ διδασκάλους ἐπιγραφόμενοι αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥρα ταῖς κατὰ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγεις διαβολαῖς. εἰσῆκται δὴ οὖν παρ' οἷς φησὶ γυμνοὶς Αἰγυπτίων, ρήμασιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα φάσκων ὡς ἂν ἀπεικόσ τε παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἴππηθεῖς εἰς κεκοσμημένης, ἢν ἐσ τὸ πρόσφορον Ἰνδοὶ στειλάντες ἐφ' ψυχής τε καὶ θείας μηχανὴς ἐκκυκλοῦσιν. ὡς δὴ ἐν δίκη μὲν ἡγαθῆναι, ἐν δίκῃ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι σοφοὺς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὥρα μανικάνειν. καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν ὡς ὁυτοὶ μὲν γὰρ θεοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηνη ταῖς τὴν Πυθιάν. καὶ Δομετιανῷ δὲ εἰσῆκται λέγων καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἐπὶ πρὸς Φραώτην τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς; οὐς ἐγὼ μόνον ἀνθρώπων θεοὺς τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἄξιοις τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης; καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ὄμοιως θεούς τε καὶ διδασκάλους τάνδρος ἐπιγράψας ο λόγος τοὺς δεδηλωμένους, δακτυλίους τε παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι ὄμολογησας αὐτοῖς, ἐπιλέκησται νῦν, καὶ συνδιαβάλλοιν τοῖς διδασκάλοις τὸν μαθητὴν οὐκ ἔπαιε.
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


CAP. XXIX

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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
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CAP. ὃντες πρὸς θύραις εἰσίν οὐκ ἀφρόντιδες τῶν σῶν. καλεῖ δὴ κακείνους ἐσ κοινον λόγου, σοφῶ γὰρ τῶν ἄνδρες. πρὸς ἀ Οὐσπασιανὸς, “ἀκλειτοὺς,” ἐφη, “θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν.” εὐγε τῆς προορώσεως τοῦ ἤρωος. Εὐφράτης νῦν ἀγαθὸς τε καὶ σοφὸς, ἐπει μὴ ἐσ διαφόραν τω αὐτῷ ἐληλύθει. εἰ δ’ ἔλθοι—όσον οὐπω δὲ τοῦτ’ ἔσται—δρα οἶα περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς Δομετιανὸν γράφειν “καὶ μὴν ὅποσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφοι ἄνδρες κολακεύουντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς δηλοῖ τὰ Εὐφράτου τοῦτο γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν, τὶ λέγω χρήματα; πηγαί μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ πλοῦτοι, κατὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἦδη. διαλέγεται κάπηλος ὑποκάτηλος τελώνης ὁβολοστάτης, πάντα γυγνόμενος τὰ πωλούμενα τε καὶ πωλοῦντα, ἐντεῦπώται δὲ ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν θύραις, καὶ προσεστήκεν αὐταῖς πλείω καιρὸν ἢ οἱ θυρωροὶ, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν πολλάκις, ὡσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λύχνοι. δραχμῆν δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἄνδρί ποτέ προέμενος, ἐπιτεχίζει νῦν τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πλοῦτον, ἐτέρους τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τούτον βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὥξινων ἐπ’ ἔμε γλῶτταν ἄξιαν ἐκτετμήσθαι. Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλέιπω σοὶ, συ γὰρ, ἢν μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινῆς. εὐρήσεις τῶν ἄνθρωπον κακῶ ἢ ἐρμηνεύω.” δὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν Οὐσπασιανὸν σοφῶν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τὸν Εὐφράτην μαρτυρόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τῶν νῦν ταύτα περὶ αὐτοῦ διεξῖν, δῆλος ἃν εἴη 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
τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπαίνων τε καὶ ψέγων. ἂρ' οὖν ὁ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων προειληφὼς γνῶσιν ἤγροι, ὁς ἦν τε καὶ ἔσται τὸν τρόπον ὁ Εὐφράτης; καὶ γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐσιασιανοῦ διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὃς δὴ τὸ ἱθὸς μοχθηρότατον βούλεται. πῶς δὴ οὐν τὸν τοιόνδε συνίστη βασιλεῖ, ὃς καὶ ἀκλείστους αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ συντάσεις τῶν βασιλείων ἀναπεπτάσθαι τὰς πύλας; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τυφλῷ, φασίν, δῆλον ὡς ἄρα πρόγνωσιν μὲν συκοφαντεῖται πρὸς τὸν συγγραφέως ὁ ἄνθρωπος, εἰ δὴ ἄν ἄλλως γενναίος, πάλαι μὲν πρὸ πείρας ἀφθόνως ἑταίροις, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῷ Εὐφράτη τῆς εἰς τὰ βασιλεία παρόδου κοινώνων, ὑστερον δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἕνεκα τοιαύτα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων. οὔτω μοι διαβάλλειν ὁ λόγος βούλεται τὸν ἄνδρα, ὡς ἄν τὸν Εὐφράτην συκοφαντοῦντα, φιλοσόφους γενόμενον τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδοξότατον, ὡς καὶ ἐς δεύρ', οἷς μετέστη φιλοσοφίας, ἄδεσθαί, ὃ καὶ μέγιστον λάβοι ἂν τις, εἰ βούλοιτο, παράδειγμα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαβολῆς. εἰ γὰρ οὖν ὁ Εὐφράτης παρ' αὐτοῖς πάση φιλοσοφία διαπρέψαι ὀμολογηθείη, ὃρα μισοπονηρὰν μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγορεῖν, ἐπεξίστος τοῖς ἀτόπως ὑπὸ τούδε δραμένου, τούτου δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνου κατηγορούμενον φαύλην περιβάλλεσθαι δόξαν, ὅτι δὴ μὴ τὸν ἄρεσκοντα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ μετήκει βίον.

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and blaming the same person. Was it then the case that this man, who was endowed with knowledge of the future, did not know what the character of Euphrates was, nor what it was going to be? For it is not now the first time, but already in the case of Vespasian himself he is inclined to accuse him of being the worst of characters. How then is it that he recommended such a person to the sovereign so warmly, that in consequence of his recommendation the latter threw open wide the doors of his palace to him? Why, is it not clear to a blind man, as they say, that in the matter of foreknowledge the fellow is traduced by his own historian; though on other ground he might be regarded as an honest man, if we could suppose that originally, and before he learned by experience, he wished to gain access to the palace as freely for his friends, Euphrates included, as for himself, but was afterwards moved by his quarrel to use such language of him. I have no wish in thus arguing to accuse Apollonius of having falsely blamed Euphrates, who was the most distinguished philosopher of all the men of his age, so much so that his praises are still on the lips of students of philosophy. Not but what anyone who was minded to do so could take this as a palmary example of slander and back-biting and use it against Apollonius. For if Euphrates be really by their admission a leader in all philosophy, it is open to us to accuse his rival of censoriousness, when he attacks him for his monstrous conduct; and to suppose that the latter contracted his evil reputation because he was thus attacked by him for pursuing,—that was the accusation,—a life so little satisfactory to a philosopher.
Πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ παραδοξολογῶν ὁ μυθολόγος ἄγει μὲν αὐτὸν, ἀμα τοῖς ἑταίροις καμήλῳ ὀχυρωμένου, ἐφ' οὐς φησιν Ἀιγυπτίων γυμνοὺς φιλοσόφους, ἐνθα δὴ προστάξαντος τοῦ γυμνοῦ πτελέα, φησί, τὸ δὲνδρον προσαγορεύει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θηλεὶ τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ τούτοις γε ἡμᾶς ὁ Φιλάληθος πιστεύει ἄξιοι. εἶτα Πυγμαίοις ἀνδραῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν τούτων ἱστορεῖ χώραν καὶ Ἀνθρωποφάγους καὶ Σκιάποδας, σάτυρον τε πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιου μεθυσοκόμευον. εἰς ἐκείνων δ' αὖθις ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ὁμιλίαι τε πάλιν αὐτῷ καὶ προγνώσεις ἀνακοινούνται πρὸς Τίτον, καὶ δηχθέντα ἐφηθῶν ὑπὸ λυττῶντος κυνὸς, δὴ δὴ καὶ ἐμαυτεύσατο, ὡς τις εἶν τὴν ψυχήν, ὅτι ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ποτὲ βασίλευς Ἀμαςις, τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάττει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτείνας τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.

Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸ τῆς κατηγορίας αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα, ἐπιστήσατο δ' ἄξιον δι' ὦλης τῆς πραγματείας, ὡς ὅτι καὶ ἄλλης ἔλθη τῷ συγγραφεὶ τὰ παράδοξα, συνεργεία δαίμονος ἐκαστοῦν αὐτῷ διαπεπράχθαι τούτων σαφῶς.
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XXX.

In the sixth book our story-teller resumes his tale of miracles; for he brings his hero, together with his companions, on camel-back to see those whom he calls the Naked philosophers of Egypt. Here then at the bidding of one of these sages an elm-tree, we are told, spoke to Apollonius in an articulate but feminine voice, and this is the sort of thing which the Lover of Truth expects us to believe. Then he has a story of pigmies who live on the other side of their country and of man-eaters and of shadow-footed men and of a satyr whom Apollonius made drunk. From these sages Apollonius is brought back again to Hellas, where he renews his interviews and his prophesies to Titus. Then we hear about a youth who was bitten by a mad dog. He is rescued from his distress by Apollonius, who forthwith proceeds to divine whose soul it was that the dog had inside him; and we learn that it was that of Amasis, a former king of Egypt, for the sage’s humanity extended to dogs.¹

XXXI

These then are the achievements which preceded his accusation, and it behoves us to notice throughout the treatise that, even if we admit the author to tell the truth in his stories of miracles, he yet clearly shows that they were severally performed by Apollonius with the co-operation of a demon. For his

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

Δείκνυται. τὸ τε γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ προαισθήσθαι ἵσως μὲν οὐδὲ περίεργον ἀν δόξειεν, εἰ ἀπὸ λεπτοτάτης καὶ καθαρᾶς διαίτης κατείληπτο, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφήσεν, ἵσως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξ ὁμιλίας δαίμονος αὐτῷ προμεμήνυτο. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὅσα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν διειληφώς τε καὶ προειρήκως εἰσήκται, εἰ καὶ μυρίοις ἐλέγχους ἐξ αὐτῆς πάρεστι τῆς τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφῆς εὐθύνειν, ὅμως ἦνα συγχωρηθείη καὶ τούτ' εἶναι ἀληθὲς, κατὰ περίεργον μηχανῆν εἶπομι' ἀν πρὸς δαίμονος αὐτῷ παρέδρου τινὰ τῶν μελλόντων, οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντα, κατειληφθαί. τούτῳ δὲ παρίστησι σαφές τὸ μή δι' ὅλου καὶ περὶ πάντων τήν πρόγνωσιν αὐτοῦ ἀποσώζειν, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ἐν πλείστοις καὶ πυθάνεσθαι δι' ἀγνοιαν, ὅπερ οὖν ἂν, εἰ θείας ἀρετῆς μετήν αὐτῷ, πεπονθεὶ. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ παύσαι τῶν λοιμῶν, ὅποιον εὐληχε τὸ δρᾶμα, ὦτι φάσμα καὶ οὐδέν τι πλέον ἢν, προδεδήλωται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ Ἀχιλλεώς παρὰ τῷ αὐτοῦ μνήματι τὸ ἄν διατρίβει, τὰς ἐν μακάρων νῆσοις, ὡς ἂν φήσει τις, ἀπολείπουσα διαγωγας, εἰ μή καὶ τοῦτο δαίμονος ἢν ἑπιφανείας παρουσία; καὶ τοῦ ἀσελγοῦς δὲ μειρακίου σαφῶς ἐνοικον δαίμονα, καὶ πάλιν, ἢν ἑφήσεν ἐμποουσάν τε καὶ λάμναν ἐμπεπαρφυκέναι τῷ Μενίττῳ, μείζον τὰς ἵσως ἐξελήλακε δαίμονι, ὅμως τε 566
presentiment of the plague, though it might not CHAP.
seem to be magical and uncanny, if he owed it, XXXI
as he himself said, to the lightness and purity of his
diet, yet might quite as well have been a pre-
monition 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 argu-
ments which Philostratus' own text supplies, never-
theless, 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 fore-
knowledge 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 licen-
tious 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

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FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXI αὖ καὶ τὸν τὰς φρένας παρατραπέντα νεανίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λυττώντος κυνός, αὐτὸν τε τὸν δαιμονώντα κύνα τῇ αὐτῇ μετῆλλαξε μεθόδῳ. ὃρα δὴ οὖν, ἐφην, τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῷ παραδοξοποιοῖν, ὡς διὰ δαιμονικῆς ἀπετελεῖτο ὑπουργίας. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀναβιωσάσης κόρης, εὐγ’ ἐμπνους ὑπῆρχε, σπυρ-θῆρα ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ ἱκμάδα ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου φέρουσα, περιαορετέαν τῆς θαυματοποιίας: οὐ γὰρ ἂν, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἐφην, σιωπῆ τὸ τηλικοῦτο παρεδόθη ἐπ’. αὐτῆς Ῥώμης βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος γεγενημένου.

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Μυρία μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα πάρεστιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναλέξασθαι συγγραμμάτων, τὸ τε ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐέλεγκτον καὶ ἁσύστατον μυθῶδες τε καὶ τερατώδες ἀπευθύνειν. ὃμως, ἐπεὶ γε οὐδὲ πολλὴς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖται σπουδαιολογίας, οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν θείοις καὶ παροδόξοις καὶ θαυμασίοις, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐν φιλοσόφοις παρά τισι τῶν νῦν μνήμης ὑπαρχοῦσης αὐτοῦ, τοὺς εἰρημένους ἀρκεσθέντες μετήμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐβδομον περὶ αὐτοῦ συγγραμμα.
true also of the youth who had been driven out of his mind by the mad dog; and the frenzied dog itself was restored to its senses by the same method. You must then, as I said, regard the whole series of miracles wrought by him, as having been accomplished through a ministry of demons; for the resurrection of the girl must be divested of any miraculous character, if she was really alive all the time and still bore in herself a vital spark, as the author says, and if a vapour rose over her face. Ch. 20 For it is impossible, as I said before, that such a miracle should have been passed over in silence in Rome itself, if it happened when the sovereign was close by.

XXXII

There are a thousand other examples then which we may select from the same books, where the narrative refutes itself by its very incongruities, so enabling us to detect its mythical and miracle-mongering character. At the same time we need not devote too much attention and study to the gentleman's career, seeing that those of our contemporaries among whom his memory survives at all, are so far from classing him among divine and extraordinary and wonderful beings, that they do not even rank him among philosophers. This being so, let us be content with the remarks we have made, and proceed to consider the seventh book of his history.
Κατηγορείται δήτα γοητευαν ὁ ἀνήρ. εἶτα Δημητρίῳ φιλοσόφῳ ἀποτρέποντι αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην παρόδου, μὴ πειθόμενος, ἑπαχθῇ τινα καὶ φορτικὰ περὶ ἕαυτοῦ οὔδὲ πως λέγει: "ἐγὼ δὲ γυγυόσκω μὲν πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων, ἀτε εἰδώς πάντα, οἴδα δὲ ὧν οἴδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαῖοι, τὰ δὲ σοφοίς, τὰ δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς." καὶ δὴ ὁ ἐν τούτοις πάντες εἰδέναι μεγαλαυχοῦμενος, προὶὸν ἀγνοιῶν τινῶν πρὸς τοῦ λόγου κατηγορεῖται. εἶτα Δάμικα αὐτῷ μεταπλάττεται, διὰ θανάτου φόβου τὸν φιλόσοφον ἑπικρυπτόμενος. ἄκουε δ' οὖν τοῦ συγγραφέως, ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀπολογοῦμενος: "αἰτία μὲν ἦδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμικα τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ κακίᾳ γε αὐτῷ μεθείναι φησιν, οὔδὲ μεταγγυμάζει, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἤν ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ."

Επὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος τέσσαρασ αἰτίας, τὰς δὴ εὐχερεῖς αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν νομισθείσας, ἐκτίθησιν, ἀπὸ πλείστων καὶ ἄλλων αὐτῶς ὀμολογῶν ἀνειλέχθαι, ὡν ἡ μὲν τις ἤν, τί δήτα

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XXXIII

Here then we find him categorically accused of being a wizard. Next we find Demetrius the philosopher trying to dissuade him from going on to Rome, and Apollonius rejects his advice in words which are full of vulgar effrontery and fulsome praise of himself. They are as follows: "But I know most human affairs, seeing that I know everything; at the same time I reserve my knowledge partly for good men, partly for the wise, partly for myself, partly for the gods." And yet the man who in these words brags about his omniscience, before he goes much further is accused by the text itself of an ignorance in certain matters. Next Apollonius disguises Damis, for the latter conceals the fact of his being a philosopher because he is afraid of death. Listen then to the words in which our author apologises for him: "This was the reason then of Damis' putting off his Pythagorean dress. For he says that it was not cowardice that led him to make the change, nor regret at having worn it; but he did it because the device recommended itself as suggested by the expediency of the moment."

XXXIV

After this Philostratus sets forth four counts of the indictment which he imagines it will be easy for his hero to defend himself from, and he admits that he has collected these out of a great many others. Of these the first was: What induced him
μαθῶν οὖ τὰν αὐτῆς ἀπασίω ἔχουσι στολῆν, ἥ δὲ, τοῦ χάριν οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεῶν αὐτῶν νεομίκασι, τρίτην, πόθεν προείποι Ἐφεσίοις τοῖς λοιμῶν. ἐπὶ ταύταις, τίνι βαδίσας εἰς ἄγρον ἀνατέμοι τὸν παίδα τὸν Ἀρκάδα. πρὸς ταύτας δὲ φησὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν αὐτῶν γεγραφέναι. πρότερον δὲ ἰστορεῖ δεσμοίς αὐτῶν παραδοθῆναι καὶ ταυταμαστὸν ἐνταῦθα κατεργάσασθαι. τῷ γὰρ τοιῷ Δάμιδι μᾶλα λυπηρῶς, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ συμφορά τοῦ διδασκάλου, διακειμένῳ αὐτόματον ἐπιδείξαι λελυμένον τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ σκέλος, εἰτὰ πάλιν ἀναλαβόντως αὐτὸν τῆς λύπης ἐνθείων εἰς τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα τὸν πόδα. μετὰ τοῦτο κρινόμενον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλείως Δομετιανοῦ γράφει δὴ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολυθήναι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λύσιν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὡσποδόρος, μοι δοκεῖ, ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὰ δὴ ταύτα ἀναφωνῆσαι, "δὸς, εἰ βούλει, κάμοι τόπον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τέμπε τὸν ληφθόμενον μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον. μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτὸ τῶν τούμων λάβοις.

οὐ γὰρ με κτενεῖς, ἐπεὶ οὕτως μόρσιμος εἰμι." καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ περιβοήτῳ ῥήματι ἀφαιρηθῆναι τοῦ δικαστηρίου φησὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν καταστρέφει δράμα.

XXXV

Ὄ μὲν οὖν συγγραφεὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεσμῶτηριον θαύματος, κατὰ φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐοικεῖν, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρέδρου δαίμονος τῷ Δάμιδι ἐωραμένου, ἐπὶ-572
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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.
φέρει λέγων, "τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ἐννειαὶ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἰη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ εἰπόντα τι, καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἑναρμόσαντα αὐτῷ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου πράττειν." έγὼ δὲ οὐποτ' ἂν καταγνοίην βραδυτήτα τοῦ φοιτητοῦ, εἰ τὸν πάντα βίον συνῶν αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τινων περιέργων ὁρῶν αὐτῶν ἀποτελοῦντα τὰ παράδοξα, οὐδὲν τι διαφέρειν αὐτῶν ἡγεῖτο τῆς θυητῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐτι καὶ νῦν μετὰ τοσαύτην θαυματουργίαν τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν ἄγνοει, εἰκότως δ' ἀγωνιᾷ καὶ δέδει ως ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου, μὴ τι πάθοι παρὰ προαίρεσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ πρῶτον ἄρτι μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διατριβήν, ὅτι δὴ θείος εὑρίσκω καὶ κρείττονος ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, συνήσῃ, τὴν τούτου συνιδέων ἄξιον αἰτίαν, ἥν αὐτὸς σύγγραφεύσεις δηλοῖ λέγων, "μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, μηδὲ ἐπευξάμενον, μηδὲ τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰρηκότα" τὸ παράδοξον ἰδεῖν αὐτῶν πεποιηκότα. οὐκοῦν τὰ πρῶτον διὰ περιέργου μηχανῆς ἐτελεῖτο τῷ ἀνδρί, διὸ μηδὲ καταπλήττεσθαι αὐτά, μηδὲ θαυμάζειν τὸν Δάμιν εἰκότως δὲ νῦν τοῦτο πρῶτον πέποιθεν, ὥς ξένου τινὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρά 574
following remark; "Damis says that it was then for Chap.
the first time that he truly understood the nature of XXXV
Apollonius, to wit that it was divine and super-
human; for without offering any sacrifice,—and how
indeed in prison could he have offered one?—and
without a single prayer, without even a word, he
quietly laughed at the fetters, and then inserting his
leg in them afresh, he comported himself like any
other prisoner." I should be the last to accuse his
pupil of being a dull-witted man, because, after
being with him all his life, and witnessing him work
miracles by means of certain uncanny agencies, he
failed to regard him as in any way superior to the
rest of mortal men; but now after such a display of
thaumaturgic energy as the above, he is still igno-
ant of his true character; and taking him to be a
mere man he is full of anxiety (as in that case he
might well be), and full of apprehension in his
behalf, lest any affliction should come upon him
against his own wish and will. But if indeed it was
now for the first time, after having passed so long a
time with him, that he realised that he was indeed
divine, and superior to the rest of the human race,
then it behoves us to scrutinize the reason which our
author alleges for his doing so, in these words: "For
without any sacrifice, and without a single prayer,
and without uttering a single mysterious word" he
saw that he had wrought this miracle. It follows
that the fellow's earlier feats were accomplished by
the help of some uncanny trick, and that is why, as
he says, Damis was not astounded at these things,
nor filled with wonder by them. Naturally, then he
now for the first time experienced these feelings,
because he felt that his master had accomplished
tà συνήθη διαπεπραγμένου. πρὸς τὸ δειχθὲν δὲ
tοῦ δεσμοῦ φάσμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστήριον
ἀναχώρησιν, τὰς πρὸς Δομετιανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ
Ἀπολλωνίου φωνὰς παραθείμην ἀν δεσμοῖς γὰρ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραδοθῆναι προστάξαντος βασιλέως,
pάνυ γε ἄκολούθως ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος συνελογίσατο
ἀδί πως: “εἴ μὲν γάρτα με ἥγη, πῶς δῆσεις; εἰ
dὲ δῆσεις, πῶς γόητα εἶναι φήσεις;” ἀντικρούσει
gοῦν αὐτῷ τις ἀδί πως ἐκ τούτων ὁρμώμενος: εἰ
μὲν οὐ γόης, πῶς λέλυται σου τὸ σκέλος; εἰ δὲ
λέλυται, πῶς οὐ γόης; καὶ εἰ τῷ ὑπομεῖναι τὸν
dεσμὸν οὐ γόης, τῷ μὴ ὑπομεῖναι καὶ κατ’ αὐτοῦ
ὁμολογηται γόης. καὶ αὕ τάλιν, εἰ ὑπομεῖνας τὸ
dικαστήριον οὐ γόης, τῷ δὲ διαδράναι τούτῳ καὶ
tοὺς ἀμφ’ αὐτοῦ βασιλέα, λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ
dορυφόρους, σαφῶς ἀναπέφανται γόης. ὃ δὴ μοι
δοκῶ, συνησθημένος ὁ λόγος θεραπεύει τὸ
γεγονός, ὡς δὴ ἁνευθανεῖν καὶ ἐπιφύλαξεν ἀρρήτω
τινὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπον δυνάμει τοῦ παραδόξου
πεφημιτός.

XXXVI

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν αὖθις ὁ τῆς φύσεως
παραστήσεται ἔλεγχος: αὐτίκα γὰρ τίνος ἐπι-
στάντος αὐτῷ καὶ φήσαντος, ἦ ἀφίησί σε, ὃ
Ἀπολλώνιε, τουτωρὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ
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something which was quite unusual and contrary to his habitual performances. In reference however to the phantom chains shown to Damis and to his departure from the law-courts, I will quote the words which Apollonius himself addresses to Domitian. For when the monarch ordered him to be thrown into chains, Apollonius, with perfect consistency, argued as follows: "If you think me a wizard, how will you bind me? And if you bind me, how can you say that I am a wizard." Surely one may invert this argument and use it against him somewhat as follows, keeping to his own premises: If you are not a wizard, then how was your leg liberated from the chains? and if it was liberated, then how are you not a wizard? And if, because he submits to the chains, he is not a wizard, then if he does not submit to them, he is a wizard by his own admission. And again if, because he submitted to be brought to trial, he was not a wizard, he was yet clearly revealed as such when he ran off and eluded the court and retinue of the Emperor, I mean of course the bodyguard that stood round him. Now I believe that our author is aware of this, and endeavours to 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

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ελευθέριον δεσμωτήριον συγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν," ὁ κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῶν μελλόντων προγνώστης,
κωφοῦ τε ξυνεις καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων,
ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν, ὡς εἰκός, περιχαρείας ἀποπεσοῦν τῆς προγνώσεως πυνθάνεται, λέγων, "τίς οὖν ὁ μετασκευάσων με έντευθεν;" ὁ δὲ, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐποῦ."
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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 διεξετητέον καὶ τὴν εἰς μέτην αὐτῶν τεποιημένην ἀπολογίαν, ἃ, ὥς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ταύτῃ, Δομετιανῷ προσφωνῶν ἀπανθαδίζεται λέγων, ὡς ἄρα Οὐσπασιανὸς "σὲ μὲν βασιλέα ἐποίησεν, ὑπ’ ἔμοι δὲ ἐγένετο." Βαβαί τῆς ἀλα-ξονείας, ἢν οὔτι γε ὁ τυχῶν, ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ εἰ φιλό-σοφός τις ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπεραίρων ἐγεγόνει φύσιν, ἐτερατεύσατο ἀν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκην ἁνολας παρὰ τοῖς ἐμφροσίν ὑποσχών. εἶτα δὲ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ἑαυτὸν ἀπολυμένους ταῦτα περὶ γοήτων φησίν. "Ἀλλὰ τοὺς γοῆτας ψευδο-σόφους φημί, τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπίστα εἶναι." καταμάθοι δ’ οὐν τις ἐκ τοῦ ὁλης πραγματείας καὶ τῶν ἐν μέρει δεδηλωμένων, πότερα ἐν θείοις καὶ φιλοσόφοις ἢ ἐν γοήσιν αὐτῶν κατατακτέον, ἐπιστήσας οἰς τε αὐτῶν περὶ γοήτων καὶ ψευδοσόφων εἰρήκη καὶ οἰς δεδηλωκέν ἢ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν. δρύες τε γὰρ καὶ πτελέαι ἐνάρθηκα καὶ ὦθηκε ψυχή καλοῦσαι, καὶ τρίποδος αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ χάλκεοι θερά-ποντες διακονούμενοι, πίθοι τε ὁμβρῶν καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ σαυδαράκινων ὕδωρ καὶ ὡς ἄλλα τοιαῦτα εἰσῆκται, παρ’ οἷς ἤγειτο θεοῖς, οὐς καὶ οὐκ ὠκεὶ διδασκάλους ἐπιγράφεσθαι, τίνος ἀν ἔλευ παρα-στατικὰ ἢ τῶν "τὰ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα
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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
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άπιστα εἰναι" παραδεικνύοντων; οὐς αὐτὸς γόητας ὀνομάζων, ψευδοσόφους ὑπάρχειν ἀποφαίνεται. ἦτοι οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἐνάρετος καὶ θεοὶς κεχαρισμένος τὸ σοφίας ἀναδησάμενος βραβεῖον, αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν, ὅσοι μετ᾽ ἐκείνου, θείότερος ἀληθῶς καὶ μακρῷ εὐδαιμονεῖστερος ἢ κριθείη, ἢ ἐμπάλων ψευδοσοφίας ἄλλους κακοδαιμόνων ἀποίσεται τὰ πρωτεῖα.

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX

Πάλιν δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ περὶ Μοῖρῶν ἵσχύος φιλοσοφήσατα αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ φησὶ, διδάσκοντα οὕτως ἀτρέπτα εἰναι, ἀ κλώθουσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαντο ἐτέρῳ ἦδη ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδὲ ἂν ἀποκτείνει τις τούτων, ὡς μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἂν ἀναβιώθη ἀποθανόν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξῶν ταῖς Μοῖραις. καὶ τούτους ἐπιλέγει αὐταίς συλλαβαίς. "ὅτε πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῷ, οὕτως, καὶ ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χείρε, τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτω νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου ἀρασθαί, οὕτως δ', οὐδὲ εἰ πηρῳδείῃ τὸ σκέλος, ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτω ἐνευσαν Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξικῇ κράτος, οὕτως οὐδ' εἰ ἀποβάλω τὰς ὅψεις, ἑκπεσεῖται τοῦ εὐσκόπου." τούτως τὸν ἄρχοντα κολακεύων ἐπιφέρει λέγων, "τὰ δὲ τῶν 582
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incredible”? In himself calling the latter wizards, he shows that they are people whose wisdom is false. Is it then on the strength of these things that this divine man, endowed with all virtue and the darling of the gods, is to bind on his brow the prize of wisdom, and to be accounted truly more divine than Pythagoras and his successors, and to be considered far more blessed than he; is he not rather to be found guilty of false wisdom and carry off the first prize for wretches?

XXXIX

In the same book we are told that he had reasoned in Ionia about the power of the Fates, and had taught that the threads they spin are so immutable that, if they decree a kingdom to another which already belongs to some one, then, even if that other were slain by the possessor for fear lest he should ever have it taken away by him, the latter would yet be raised from the dead and live again in fulfillment of the decrees of the Fates; and he continues in these very words: “He who is destined to become a carpenter, will become one, even though his hands have been cut off; and he who has been predestined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will never fail to win, even though he break his leg; and the man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lose his eyesight.” And then by way of flattering the sovereign he adds the following: “And in drawing
Βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς 'Ακρισίους δῆποι ὤρῶν καὶ τοὺς Δαύους 'Αστυάγην τε τὸν Μήδου καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους εὑ τίθεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα δόξαντας, ὡν οἱ μὲν παίδας, οἱ δὲ ἐγγόνους ἀποκτείνειν οἰηθέντες, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύντων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ξύν τῷ πεπρωμένῳ καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάττους κολακευτικήν, εἰπον ἂν καὶ τάδε ἑυσθυμήσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείλησον μὲν ὑπὸ Βυτελλίου, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Δίως περὶ τὰς ὁρφῶς τοῦ ἀστεος, ὡς εἴ τε κείσεθαι τὰ ἔαυτοῦ ἐφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγους αὐτῶν—καίτοι μειράκιον ἰκανός ἥσθα, καὶ οὕτω οὕτος—ἀλλ’ ὀμοσ, ἐπει Μοῖραισ ἐδόκει ἑτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπόλετο αὐταῖς θυσίας, σὺ δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖνον νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπει δὲ ἀρμονία κολακευτικὴ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγυς εἶναι, τετμήσθω μοι ἤδε ἡ νευρά καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἑυσθυμὴσθαι με.” διὰ τούτων δὲ ὅμω τῶν ἀνδρα κόλακα καὶ ψεύστην καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ φιλόσοφον ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίστησι λόγος, τοσαῦτα γὰρ πρὸτερον εἶπον κατὰ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ κολακεύει νῦν ὁ γεγυάδας, καὶ καθυποκρίνεται ὅς οὐδέν τι κατ’ αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ υπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ Μοιρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐν Ἰωνία κεκυμήνων. 584
my examples from royalty, I had reference, I admit, to the Acrisii and to the house of Laïus, and to Astyages, the Mede, and to many other monarchs who thought that their power was well established, and of whom some were supposed to have slain their own children and others their descendants, yet were deprived by them of their thrones, when they grew up and issued forth against them out of obscurity in accordance with destiny. Well, if I were inclined to flattery I should have said that I had your own history in my mind, when you were blockaded by Vitellius, and the temple of Jupiter was burnt on the brow of the hill overlooking the city. And Vitellius declared that his own fortune was assured, so long as you did not escape him, although you were at the time quite a stripling, and not the man you are now. And yet because the Fates had decreed otherwise, he perished with all his counsels, while you are now in possession of his throne. However, since I abhor the forced concords of flattery, for it seems to me that they are everything that is out of time and out of tune, let me at once cut this string out of my lyre, and request you to consider that on that occasion I had not your fortunes in my mind.” In this passage, a treatise written ostensibly in the interest of truth draws a picture of a man who was at once a flatterer and a liar, and anything rather than a philosopher; for after inveighing so bitterly on the earlier occasion against Domitian, he now flatters him, generous fellow that he is, and pretends that the doctrines he mooted in Ionia about the Fates and Necessity, so far from being directed against him rather told in his favour.
'Ἀνάλαβε δήτα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὁ συγγραφεὺς, καὶ τῆς μέθης διανήψας τὰ πρῶτον σοι γραφέντα λαμπρὰ καὶ φιλαλήθεις δίελθε τῇ φωνῇ, μηδὲν ύποστειλάμενος, ὥς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβων "ἀφις Ἐδομετιανοῦ τους ἄνδρας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἔρρωνυς σωτηρίας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἑπιστολιμαίους ὁμιλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς φέτο, τῶν δὲ εταῖρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἀλλοτε ἁλλον ἀπολαμβάνων, "διάκονον," ἔλεγε, "ποιοῦμαι σε ἀπορρήτου λαμπροῦ, βαδίσαι δὲ σε χρή ἐσε Ρώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δείνα καὶ διαλεχθήναι οἶ," καὶ ὡς "διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸν λόγον διήκει, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ Μοιρῶν οἷοι βιῶσθαι," καὶ ὡς "χαλκῆς εἰκόνος ἱδρυμένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τὸ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέφας ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολὺ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· ό γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεύσαι πέπρωται, τούτον καὶ εἰ ἀποκτείνεις, ἀναβιώσεται." ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοὺς τοιοούσδ' λόγους κολακεύων τὸν τύραννον, καὶ μηδὲν τι τούτων ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήσθαι αὐτῷ κατειρωνεύμενος, πῶς οὖ μοχθηρίας ἀπάσης ἂν καὶ ἀνελευθερίας κριθείη, εἰ μὴ ἀρα ψευδηγόρους τινάς καὶ κατηγόρους τοῦ ἄνδρός, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀληθεῖς συγγραφέας θείη τις τοὺς ταῦτα μνήμη παραδεδοκότας; καὶ ποτὲ τοῦ Φιλαλήθους "οἱ παϊδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντες, τὸ δ' ἀληθῆς τιμῶντες

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Take then your history, my author, and regaining your sobriety after your fit of drunkenness, read out loud and in a truth-loving tone the passages you wrote on a former occasion, without concealing anything; read how when he was staying in Ephesus he did his best "to alienate his friends from Domitian, and encouraged them to espouse the cause of the safety of all, and as it occurred to him that intercourse with them by letter was dangerous to them, he would take now one and now another of the most discreet of his own companions aside and say to them: 'I have a most important secret business to entrust to yourselves, so you must betake yourself to Rome to such and such persons, and converse with them!" And of how "he delivered a discourse on the subject of the Fates and Necessity, and argued that not even tyrants can overpower the decrees of the Fates." And how "directing the attention of his audience to a brazen statue of Domitian which stood close by that of the Meles, he said: 'Thou fool, how much art thou mistaken in thy views of Necessity and of the Fates... For even if thou shouldst slay the man who is fated to be despot after thyself, he shall come to life again.'" The man then who, after holding such language as this, proceeds to flatter the tyrant, and cynically pretends that none of this language was directed against him, how can we judge him other than capable of all villainy and meanness; unless indeed you assume that the authors who have handed down to us these details of him were lying fellows who meant to accuse their hero and not true historians? But in that case what becomes, to use the language of the Lover of Truth, of those who "were historians
συγγραφείς, Δάμις τε ὁ φιλόσοφος ο καὶ συνδιατρι-
ψας τῷ δηλουμένῳ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,’
ἀφ’ ὅν ταῦτα παρατίθεται, οὐς σαφῶς οὕτως ἐναν-
tιολογοῦντας, κομπάζοντας τε ἄληθῶς, καὶ τοὺς
μαχομένους παρισταμένους ψεύστας ἐναργῶς καὶ
ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ γόητας, τῆς ἄληθείας τὸ φέγγος
dιήλεγξεν;

XL

Ἐπὶ πάσι τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιου ἀπαλλαγέντα τοῦ
dικαστηρίου, ἐν Δεβαδείᾳ ἱστορεῖ βουλόμενον εἰς
Τροφωνίου κατελθεῖν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πρὸς τῶν
ἐπιχωρίων, γόητα καὶ τούτων ἤγουμένων αὐτῶν.
καίτοι ἄξιον ἀπορήσαι παραθέμενον τὰς ἐν
ἀρχῇ τοῦ Φιλοστράτου λέξεις, ἐν αἷς ἀπορῶν,
ὅτι δὴ γόητα αὐτὸν ὑπειλήφασιν, αὐτὰ δὴ
ταῦτα θαυμάζει, λέγων "Ἐμπεδοκλέα μὲν καὶ
Πυθαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον τοὺς αὐτοῖς μάγοις
ἂμηληκότας οὐπω ὑπῆρχαι τέχνη, Πλάτωνα τε
παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ἱερέων τε καὶ προφητῶν
πολλὰ παρειληφότα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναμί-
ξαντα λόγοις, οὐδαμῶς δόξαι τις μαγεύειν, τούτοι δὲ
οὕτῳ γιγαντόκεισθαι παρ’ ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι δὴ ἀπὸ
τῆς ἄληθινής ὄρμφο το σοφίας, μάγοι δὲ αὐτῶν
πάλαι τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νεομίσθαι, τῷ μάγοις
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at once most highly educated and respectful of the truth, namely Damis the philosopher who even lived with the man in question and Philostratus the Athenian?" For these are the authors who lay these facts before us, and they are clearly convicted by the light of truth, since they thus contradict themselves, of being vapouring braggarts and nothing else, convicted by their inconsistencies of being downright liars, men devoid of education and charlatans.

XL

The story proceeds to tell us that after all this, Apollonius, liberated from the court, made up his mind to descend into the cave of Trophonius in Lebadea; but the people there would not allow him to do so, because they too regarded him as a wizard. Surely it is legitimate in us to be puzzled, when one compares what one reads at the beginning of the book of Philostratus, I mean the passage where he owns that he is puzzled at people having regarded his hero as a wizard, and expresses his surprise at the circumstance, remarking withal, that "although Empedocles and Pythagoras and Democritus had consorted with the same Magi without ever stooping to the magic art, and Plato had derived much from the priests and prophets in Egypt, and had mingled their ideas with his own discourses, without ever being held by anyone to be a magician, yet men so far had failed to recognise his hero as one inspired by the purest wisdom, but had long since accounted him a magician and still did so, because he had
Βασιλιάδων Ἰνδῶν τε Βραχιμάσι καὶ τοὺς Ἀγγεπγέον Γυμνοὺς ὠμιληκέναι." τί δήτα σέν εἰρήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν; ὁ οὖτος, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρι τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐπεχειρεῖτο, ὡς μόνον γόητα πάλαι τε καὶ εἰς ἐτὶ νῦν νευμόσθαι παρὰ τους τηλικούτους ἄνδρας, οἱ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῷ, ὡς φήσαι, διδασκάλων πεπειραμένοι, διεπρεψαν μὲν καὶ καθ' οὓς ἐγκυρίζοντο χρώμους, καὶ εἴς τοὺς μετέπειτα δὲ τῆς σφῶν φιλοσοφίας άοίδιμον καταλελοίπασι τὴν ἁρετὴν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων ἐγχειρῶν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι φανερὸς καθειστήκει; αὐτίκα τῶν νῦν εἰσώ, οἱ περιέργους μηχανὰς τῇ τοῦ ἄνδρος ἀνακειμέναι προσηγορία κατειληφέναι λέγουσιν. ἀλλ' οὔκ ἔμοιγε τούτοις φίλοι προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τάνδρος ἀκόλουθα τοῖς προτέροις συντάττων, οὕδεν ἀληθῆς ἐξέφηνεν εἰδέναι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἸΕφέσῳ τελευτήσαι αὐτῶν ἰστορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Λύδῳ παρεκθόντα ἐς τὸ ἰερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄλλοις δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ, καὶ τοσαῦτην ἀγνοιαν τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν τέλους κατασκεύασας βούλεται αὐτῶν ἐς οὐρανόν αὐτῷ σώματί χωρήσαι. ἐσδραμόντος γὰρ ἐς ἱερὸν φησὶ κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας καὶ τινὰ ὀδὴν ἀδόκητον παρθένων ἑκπεσεῖν, τὸ δὲ ᾧσμα εἶναι: "στείχε, στείχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στείχε." λέγει δὲ, ὡς μήτε τάφῳ μήτε κενοταφίῳ τοῦ ἄνδρος πω περιτύ- χοι, καίτω τῆς γῆς, ὅποσθε ἐστίν, φήσας ἐπελθεῖν πλεύστην, καὶ βούλειται αὐτῷ ἡ διάνοια μηδὲ δλῶς θανάτου τῶν ἄνδρα θυγείων, πρῶτερον μὲν γὰρ 590
consorted with the Magi of Babylon and the Brah- 
man's of India, and the Naked sages of Egypt." 
What answer then can we make to him, except this?— 
My good fellow, what was your hero up to in this 
line, for him alone to have been regarded both long 
ago and now as a wizard in contrast with these great 
men; who though, as you admit, they had made 
trial of the same teachers as he, yet were 
eminent both in the age in which they flourished, 
and also bequeathed to posterity in their philosophy 
a gift of such excellence that its praises are still sung. 
Is such a contrast possible, unless he was caught by 
men of good sense meddling with things that were 
unlawful? There are still among our contemporaries 
those who say that they have found superstitious 
devices dedicated in the name of this man; though 
I admit I have no wish to pay attention to them. 
However as regards his death, although Philostratus 
follows in his book the accounts of earlier writers, 
he declares that he knows nothing of the truth; for he 
says that people in Ephesus related that Apollonius 
died there, while others said that he died in Lindus 
after entering the temple of Athene, and others in 
Crete; and after shedding so much doubt on the 
manner of his end, he yet inclines to believe that 
he went to heaven body and all. For he says that 
after he had run into the temple, the gates were 
closed and a strange hymn of maidens was heard to 
issue from the building, and the words of their song 
were: "Come, come, to heaven, come." But he 
says that he had never come across any sepulchre or 
cenotaph of his hero, although he had visited the 
greater part of the whole earth; but what he would 
like us to believe is that his hero never encountered
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XLI.

urnished “εἴης ἐτελεύτα,” ὑστερον δὲ διαρρήδην καὶ ἐς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν χωρῆσαι φάσκειν. οὗτον οὐ δὲ τοιοῦτον ὄντα, καὶ κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς γραφῆς καὶ καθ’ ὅλην τὴν γραφήν, Πυθαγόρου καὶ Ἑμπεδοκλέους θειότερον φησι προσελπηλθέναι φιλοσοφίᾳ.

XLI

CAP. XLI.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιγραφομένου τοῦ λόγου, βραχέ ἄττα περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ εἰμαρμένης φέρε διαλάβωμεν, ὁ τι καὶ βουλοῦστο δὲ ὅλης αὐτῷ τῆς υποθέσεως ὁ λόγος, τὸ μὲν ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἁναιρῶν, ἀνάγκην δὲ εἰσάγων καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Μοῖρας, διαθρούντες, ταύτη γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐντελῶς καὶ ἡ ἐν δόγμασι ψευδοδοξία ταῦτας διευθυνθησαν. εἰ δὴ οὐν κατὰ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας λόγου ψυχῆ πᾶσα ἄθανατος, τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἄθανατον, τὸ δ’ ἄλλο κινοῦν καὶ ὕφ’ ἑτέρου κινούμενον, παύλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παύλαν ἔχει ἔρημος, καὶ αὑτὰ ἐλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος, τίς αἱρεῖ λόγος, ἀκουσάν, ὁὐχὶ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀψύχου δίκην σώματος ἐξαθέν ποθεν κινούμενην, καὶ ὡσπερ εὐνοοστιστομένην ὃδε κάκεισε, τὴν ἀεικίνητον 592
THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

dearth at all, for on a former occasion when he is canvassing the manner in which he died, he adds the proviso: "If he did die." But in a later passage he declares in so many words that he went to heaven. This is why he avows, no less in the exordium of his book than throughout it, that it was by reason of his being such as he was that he wooed philosophy in a diviner manner than Pythagoras and Empedocles.

XLI

Although then the limits of our discourse are reached in the above, I would yet, if you will allow me, raise a few points in connexion with the Fates and with destiny, in order to ascertain what aim his work has in view, when throughout its argument it sets itself to demolish our responsibility, and to substitute for it necessity, and destiny and the Fates. For in this way we shall finally and completely refute the tenets professed by the author and prove their falsity. If then, according to the views of true philosophy, every soul is immortal, for that which is perpetually moving is immortal, whereas that which moves another, and is itself moved by others, in admitting a cessation of its own movement, admits a cessation of life; and if responsibility depends on personal choice, and God is not responsible, then what reason is there for concluding that the nature, which is ever in movement, is actuated against its will, and not rather in accordance with its own choice and decision; for otherwise it would resemble a lifeless body in being moved by some outside agency, and would be as it were a puppet pulled by strings hither

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CAP. ἄγεσθαι φύσιν µηδὲν µηδαµῶς ἔξ ἴδιας ὁµοῖας καὶ κινῆσεως ἐνεργοῦσαν, µηδὲ εἰς ἐαυτὴν τὴν τῶν δρωµέων ἀναφέρουσαν αἰτίαν ταύτη τε µήτε φιλοσοφοῦσαν ἐπαινετέαν τυγχάνειν, µήτε αὐτ ἐφετην, κακίας ἐµπλεων καὶ πονηρίας; τι δήτα ὅν Εὐφράτη λοιδορούµενος καταµέµφη, ὁ τάν, εἰ µὴ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐξ εἰµαρµένης ἐπὶ τὸ κέρδος ἐκδούσ, ὃς αὐτὸς ἄξιος, ὡλυγόρει φιλοσοφίας; τι δὲ καὶ γόησιν ἐνυβρίζεις, ψευδοσόφους ἀποκαλῶν, ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν, ὁς ἡγη, καθελκοµένους ἐπὶ τὸν κακοδαίµονα βίον; τι δὲ κακίαν ἀπλῶς ὁνοµάξεις, καὶ πονηρός τις ἀνθρώπων οὐκ εἶν δίκη κρίνεται παρὰ σοὶ, τὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰµαρµένον ἀποτληρῶν ὄρον; καὶ ἐµπαλιν τίνι λόγῳ Πυθαγόραν σεµνολόγων θαυµαστὸν ἐπιγράφη διδάσκαλον, καὶ Μοιρῶν παῖγµιν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐραστὴν ὄντα φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπολείπεις ἐπαίνων; Φραώτης δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχας οἱ Ἰουδῶν φιλόσοφοι, τί µᾶλλον παρὰ σοὶ θεῶν ἀπηνέγκαντο δόξαν, µηδὲν τι παιδείας ἴδιον µηδ’ ἀρετῆς ἀπενεγκάµενοι κλέος; Νέρωνος δ’ ὠσαύτως καὶ Δοµετιανοῦ τί οὐχὶ Μοίραις καὶ ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀκόλαστον περιάπτεις ἀγερωχίαν, πάσης αἰτίας καὶ παντὸς ἐγκλήµατος ἑλευθερῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας; ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τῷ πέπρωται, ὡς φῆς, δροµικῶς καὶ τοξικῶς καὶ τεκτονικῶς, οὕτω δὴ καὶ εἰ γόητι τὸν τρόπον ὄντε µάγω ἀναφανήναι µιαφόνη τε καὶ 594
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,
Τοιοσδέ τεις ἀποβήσεται. τὶ δὴτα οὖν περινοστῶν τοῖς μὴ οἶοις τε τυχεῖν διορθώσεως ἄρετὴν προκηρύττεις; ἢ τὶ καταμέμφη τοῖς τὴν μοῖραν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἄποικώτατοι; τὶ δὲ καὶ, εἰ αὐτῷ σοι πέπρωτο θεῖῳ ὄντι τὴν φύσιν ὑπεράραι βασιλέων δόξης, εἰς διδασκάλων ἐφοίτας καὶ φιλοσόφων, Ἀραβίους τε καὶ Βαβυλονίων μάγους καὶ σοφούς Ἰνδῶν ἐπολυπραγμόνεις; πάντως γὰρ ποὺ, καὶ τῆς τούτων δίχα κοινωνίας, τὰ ἐκ Μοίρας ἐτελεύτω σοι.

Τὶ δὲ καὶ ὃς νομίζεις θεῶς τὰ μελιττοῦτα καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν εἰς μάτην ῥυπτεῖς, εὑσεβείαν τε ἐπὶ εὐχὰς τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἐταίρους παρορμᾶς; αὐτὸς τε εὐχόμενος τί παρὰ θεῶν αἰτεῖς, ὅποτε καὶ τούτων ὀμολογεῖς τὴν εἰμαρμένην κρατεῖν; καὶ μὴν ἔδει τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς παραμεινάμενου, Ἀνάγκη μόνον καὶ Μοῖρας θύειν, καὶ τοῦ Δίως αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὴν εἰμαρμένην προτιμᾶν. οὔτω δ' ἂν σοι θεοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι ἂν ἦσαν, καὶ εἰκότως, ἀτε μηδὲ ἀνθρώπους οἶοι τε ὦφελεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ πέπρωτο τοὺς Ἑφεσίους ἄλοναι λοιμῷ πολύτατα, τὶ τὰναντία νομοθετῶν παρακρούῃ τὴν εἰμαρμένην; μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς ὑπερήφανα τὴν Μοῖραν, τρόπαιον ὅσπερ κατ' αὐτῆς ἀράμενος; εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κλωθοῦς ἐπὶ τῇ 596
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
κύρη τὸ νήμα πέρας εἰλήξει, πάθεν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς
μετὰ θάνατον ἀναδησάμενος τῷ μίτῳ τὸν ἄτρακτον,
ξωστός αὐτῇ παραπέφηνας;

'Αλλ' ἵσως Μοῦραι καὶ σὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἤγον. ὦ ὑπό τω φήσεις κατ' ἀξίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ
deĩ, ὃς πρὸ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα παρόδου τῶν
ev θαλάττη καὶ κύμασι διατριβόντων γεγονέναι
σεαυτῷ λέγεις, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ
tούτο. ὦκουν θαυμάσιοι οὔτε τῆς πρώτης γε-
vέσεως καὶ τροφῆς, οὔτε τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας,
οὔτε τῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ σώφρονος ἀγωγῆς, οὔτ' ἀσκή-
σεως τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἥν ὁ Ἅρα τις Μοῦρων
ἀνάγκη καὶ εἰς Βαβυλωνίους ἐλαύνουσα, ἀθανα-
μενος δ' ὀσπερ καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδῶν ἀμίλεως σοφοῖς,
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Γυμνοὺς οὐχ ἡ
προαίρεσις, οὐδ' ὁ φιλοσοφίας πόθος, Μοῦρα δὲ
ἡγεν ἀγχοῦσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰς Ἡρα-
κλείους στήλας, ἐφον τε καὶ ἐστέριον Ὁκεανὸν
ἀλάσθαι καὶ αὐτῶν ἄτρακτοι εἰς μάτην ἐξε-
βιάζετο περιστρέφετα. εἶ δὲ δὴ μετειλήφθε-
ναι τι σοφίας αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτων εἴποι τις, Μοῦρα
καὶ τούτων αἰτία, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἄν ἐν φιλομαθέσιν ὁ
ἀνήρ καταλεχθείη, οὔτ' ἂν εὐλόγως θαυμασθείη
tῆς οὖ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀνάγκην αὐτῆς
πορισθείης φιλοσοφίας. ἐν ἤσιω δ' ἂν συγκρινό-
μενος εἰη κατ' αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καὶ τι
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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 other-
wise. There is therefore nothing remarkable about 
your earliest birth, or your upbringing, or your edu-
cation 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 pretense 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 

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CAP.

τερατώδες καὶ ἀπερριμμένον ἀνδράποδον, Σωκρά-
της αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας ὑπεραποθυήσκων καὶ οἱ
τοῦτον θανάτον ἀξίων γραφάμενοι, Διογένης τε
καὶ τὰ Ἀθηναίων μειράκια, καὶ ἅπλῶς εἴπειν
ὁ σοφότατος οὐκ ἂν διαφέροι τοῦ ἀφρονεστά-
tου, καὶ ὁ ἀδικώτατος τοῦ δικαιοτάτου, ὁ τε
ἀκολαστότατος τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ
dειλότατος τοῦ ἀνδρειότατου, εἰμαρμένης καὶ
Μοιρᾶν παυγνίων τούτων ἀπάντων ἀποδεδειγμέ-
nων.

XLII

CAP.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ
κήρυξ ἀναβοήσεται λέγων ὁ ἄνθρωποι, θυτῶν
καὶ ἑπίκηρον γένους, τοῖς δὲ φέροντε τὸν τῆς
ἀγνωσίας ἀκρατον ἐμπιστοῖς; λήξατε ποτὲ καὶ
dιανήψατε τῆς μέθης, καὶ διανοίᾳ ὁρθῶς ὄμμασι
τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνοπτρίσασθε πρόσωπον.
οὐ θέμως ἀληθεῖαν πολεμεῖν ἑαυτῇ καὶ μάχεσθαι,
οὐδὲ δυνὸν ἑναντιώτατοι μίαν ὑφεστάναι καὶ
tὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας τὰ
πάντα κρατοῦσας θείους νόμοις διατέτακται τὸ
πάν, ἄνθρωπων τε ψυχῆς ὀρος αὐτοκράτωρα τε
καὶ κριτῆς, ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ
καθίστῃ, φυσικῶς νόμως καὶ φιλοσοφῶν δόγ-
μασιν ἐκδιδάσκον, ὡς ἄρα τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν
ἔστων ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, τὰ δὲ σὺν ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν
μὲν, ὃσα γένοιτ’ ἂν κατὰ προαίρεσιν τε καὶ πρὰξιν,
ἂ καὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀκόλυτα ἀπαρεμπόδιστα
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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
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τυγχάνει τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἀσθενῆ δοῦλα καλυτὰ ἀλλότρια, ἢ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ἀψυχά τε ὅντα καὶ ἀλογα, καὶ πάντη τῆς ἱδίας τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῷου φύσεως ἀλλοτρίαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τῶν δ’ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν τὴν ἔπι θάτερα ὀρμὴν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας ἐκαστος ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται προαιρέσει, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ὄλων δεσπόζον τε καὶ ἡγεμονοῦν εὐθέως περαινεῖ κατὰ φύσιν περιπορεύομεν, τῷ δ’ αἰεὶ συνεπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός, τῶν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ὀρμῶν οὐ Μοῖρας, οὐδὲ εἰμαρμένης, οὐδ’ ἀνάγκης αἰτία: αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεος ἀναλίτος. εἰ δ’ θρασύνοιτο τις τῷ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἀντιπολεμῶν, μὴ παρακαλυπτέσθω οὔτος: ἄθεοτητὰ ἀναφανδὸν διεξαγορεύετο, μὴ πρόνοιαν, μὴ θεόν, μηδὲ τι ἄλλο πλήθ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης ὁμολογῶν, καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτων γυμνὴ προσκαλεγέτω κεφαλῆ, μὴ σοφόν, μὴ ἄφρονα, μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ ἄδικον, μὴ ἐνάρετον, μὴ φαῦλον, μὴ γόητα, μὴ θείον ἐν ἀνθρώπων γίνεσθαι φύσει, μὴ φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι, μὴ παιδείαν, μηδ’ ὀλος τέχνην τινά, μηδ’ ἐπιστήμην, μὴ τινα ἄλλον τὴν φύσιν ἀγαθὸν ἢ πονηρὸν ἀποκαλεῖτω, πάντα δὲ συλλήβδην ἀνάγκη καὶ Μοιρῶν ἀτράκτων περιδινεῖσθαι. θεος δὴτα καὶ δυσσεβὴς οὗτος ἐν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφῶν ἀπογεγράφθως κριτηρίῳ. εἰ δ’, ἐπικαλυπτόμενος ἐτερα, δοξάζειν ἐπιχειροὶ 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 θεοῦς, Μοῖραν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εἰμαρμέ-
νυν τις ἀνακηρύττοι, μαχομένοις καὶ ἐναντίοις
παριστάμενος δόγμασιν, ἐν ἄφροσι δίκην
ἀνοίας παρασχὼν καταγεγράφθω. ταυτὶ μὲν
οὖν ταύτῃ. εἰ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν φιλοσόφων δια-
τριβαῖς ἀξιοίεν ἐτὶ καταλέγειν τινὲς τὸν ἄνδρα,
λελέξεται, ὡς ἄρα εἰ ἀποκαθήρειαν τῆς ἔξωθεν
λύμης, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς γραφῆς ἐπεισ-
κυκλομένης αὐτῶ σκευῆς, φθόνος πᾶς αὐτοῖς
ἐκποδῶν ἄν εἰρήνῃ ὀροὺς δ᾽ εἰ ἀληθείας προῖ ὁι
ὑπὲρ φιλοσόφους ἐκθειάζειν αὐτὸν πειρῆτο, λάθοι
ἀν αὐτῶ γόητος ἀτεχνῶς διαβολὴν ἐπεντρίβων,
ὡς ταυτὶ τὰ συγγράμματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναπε-
πλασμένα οὐδὲν πλὴν ἐλέγχου καὶ δεινῆς τάνδρος
διαβολῆς παρὰ τοῖς νοῦν ἑχούσιν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ
περιέχειν.

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to entertain ideas of Providence and of the gods, yet 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 disen-
tangling him from the pinchbeck properties in which
the author of this book has wheeled him in upon
the stage, we shall raise no objection to their
doing so. At the same time if anyone ventures to
overpass the limits of truth and tries to deify him as
no other philosopher has been deified, he will at the
best, though unawares, be rubbing into him the
accusation of wizardry; for this work of pretentious
sophistry can only serve, in my opinion, to convict
him, and lay him open in the eyes of all men of
sense to this terrible accusation.
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Richard Clay and Sons, Limited, London and Bungay.
Catalogue No. 921.9/Phi/A.C.

Author— Conbeare, F. C.

Title— Philostratus
Vol. II

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