ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΥΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

A'

Ţ

CAP. Οἱ τὸν Σάμιον Πυθαγόραν ἐπαινοῦντες τάδε ἐπ' αὐτῷ φασιν· ὡς Ἰων μὲν οὔπω εἴη, γένοιτο δὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Εὔφορβος, ἀναβιοίη τε ἀποθανών, ἀποθάνοι δέ, ὡς ῷδαὶ 'Ομήρου, ἐσθῆτά τε τὴν ἀπὸ θνησειδίων παραιτοῖτο καὶ καθαρεύοι βρώσεως, ὁπόση ἐμψύχων, καὶ θυσίας· μὴ γὰρ αἰμάττειν τοὺς βωμούς, ἀλλὰ ἡ μελιττοῦτα καὶ ὁ λιβανωτὸς καὶ τὸ ἐφυμνῆσαι, φοιτᾶν ταῦτα τοῖς θεοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, γιγνώσκειν τε, ὡς ἀσπάζοιντο τὰ τοιαῦτα οἱ θεοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ἑκατόμβας καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπὶ τοῦ κανοῦ. ξυνεῖναι γὰρ δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μανθάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅπη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χαίρουσι καὶ ὅπη ἄχθονται, περί τε φύσεως ἐκεῖθεν λέγειν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῦ θείου καὶ δόξας ἀνομοίους ἀλλή-

PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

BOOK I

Ι

THE votaries of Pythagoras of Samos have this CHAP. story to tell of him, that he was not an Ionian at all, I but that, once on a time in Troy, he had been asceticism of Euphorbus, and that he had come to life after death, Pythagoras but had died as the songs of Homer relate. And they say that he declined to wear apparel made from dead animal products and, to guard his purity, abstained from all flesh diet, whether of animals or of sacrificial victims. For that he would not stain the altars with blood; nay, rather the honey-cake and frankincense and the hymn of praise, these they say were the offerings made to the Gods by this man, who realised that they welcome such tribute more than they do the hecatombs and the knife laid upon the sacrificial basket. For they say that he had of a certainty social intercourse with the gods, and learnt from them the conditions under which they take pleasure in men or are disgusted, and on this intercourse he based his account of nature. For he said that, whereas other men only make conjectures about the divinity and make guesses that

ΤΑΡ. λαις περὶ αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ τόν τε ᾿Απόλλω ἤκειν ὁμολογοῦντα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη, ξυνεῖναι δὲ καὶ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας τὴν ᾿Αθηνᾶν καὶ τὰς Μούσας καὶ θεοὺς ἑτέρους, ὧν τὰ εἴδη καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα οὔπω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γιγνώσκειν. καὶ ὅ τι ἀποφήναιτο ὁ Πυθαγόρας, νόμον τοῦτο οἱ ὁμιληταὶ ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἐτίμων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκ Διὸς ἥκοντα, καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου σφίσιν ἐπησκεῖτο·¹ πολλὰ γὰρ θεῖά τε καὶ ἀπόρρητα ἤκουον, ὧν κρατεῖν χαλεπὸν ἤν μὴ πρώτον μαθοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν λόγος. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν ᾿Ακραγαντῖνον Ἐμπεδοκλέα βαδίσαι φασὶ τὴν σοφίαν ταύτην. τὸ γὰρ

χαίρετ', έγὼ δ' ὔμμιν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὖκέτι θνητός καὶ

ήδη γάρ ποτ' έγω γενόμην κόρη τε κόρος τε

καὶ ὁ ἐν 'Ολυμπία βοῦς, ὃν λέγεται πέμμα ποιησάμενος θῦσαι, τὰ Πυθαγόρου ἐπαινοῦντος εἴη ἄν. καὶ πλείω ἕτερα περὶ τῶν τὸν Πυθαγόρου τρόπον φιλοσοφησάντων ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν οὐ προσ-ήκει με νῦν ἄπτεσθαι σπεύδοντα ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἀποτελέσαι προὐθέμην.

1 ἐπησκεῖτο Richards: ἐπήσκητο Kayser.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

contradict one another concerning it,—in his own CHAP. case he said that Apollo had come to him acknowledging that he was the god in person; and that Athene and the Muses and other gods, whose forms and names men did not yet know, had also consorted with him though without making such acknowledgment. And the followers of Pythagoras accepted as law any decisions communicated by him, and honoured him as an emissary from Zeus, but imposed, out of respect for their divine character, a ritual silence on themselves. For many were the divine and ineffable secrets which they had heard, but which it was difficult for any to keep who had not previously learnt that silence also is a mode of speech. Moreover they declare that Empedocles of Acragas had trodden this way of wisdom when he wrote the line

"Rejoice ye, for I am unto you an immortal God, and no more mortal."

And this also:

"For erewhile, I already became both girl and boy."

And the story that he made at Olympia a bull out of pastry and sacrificed it to the god also shews that he approved of the sentiments of Pythagoras. And there is much else that they tell of those sages who observe the rule of Pythagoras; but I must not now enter upon such points, but hurry on to the work which I have set myself to complete.

\mathbf{II}

'Αδελφὰ γὰρ τούτοις ἐπιτηδεύσαντα 'Απολλώνιον, καὶ θειότερον ἢ ὁ Πυθαγόρας τῆ σοφία προσελθόντα τυραννίδων τε ὑπεράραντα, καὶ γενόμενον κατά χρόνους οὕτ' ἀρχαίους οὕτ' αὖ νέους ούπω οἱ ἄνθρωποι γιγνώσκουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας, ην φιλοσόφως τε καὶ ύγιῶς ἐπήσκησεν, άλλ' ὁ μὲν τό, ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐπαινεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ δέ, έπειδη μάγοις Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν Βραχμᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτω Γυμνοῖς συνεγένετο, μάγον ήγοῦνται αὐτὸν καὶ διαβάλλουσιν ώς βιαίως σοφόν, κακῶς γιγνώσκοντες Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε γὰρ καὶ Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καὶ Δημόκριτος, ὁμιλήσαντες μάγοις καὶ πολλὰ δαιμόνια εἰπόντες, οὔπω ύπήχθησαν τη τέχνη, Πλάτων τε βαδίσας ές Αίγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ προφητῶν τε καὶ ίερέων έγκαταμίξας τοῖς έαυτοῦ λόγοις, καὶ καθάπερ ζωγράφος ἐσκιαγραφημένοις ἐπιβαλὼν χρώματα, οὔπω μαγεύειν ἔδοξε, καίτοι πλεῖστα ανθρώπων φθονηθείς έπι σοφία. οὐδε γάρ τὸ προαισθέσθαι πολλά καὶ προγνώναι διαβάλλοι αν τον Απολλώνιον ές την σοφίαν ταύτην, η διαβεβλήσεταί γε καὶ Σωκράτης ἐφ' οἶς παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου προεγίγνωσκε, καὶ 'Αναξαγόρας ἐφ' οίς προύλεγε καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὸν 'Αναξαγόραν 'Ολυμπίασι μέν, δπότε ἥκιστα δε, παρελθόντα ὑπὸ κωδίω ες τὸ στάδιον επί προρρήσει ὅμβρου, οἰκίαν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

Π

For quite akin to theirs was the ideal which CHAP. Apollonius pursued, and more divinely than 11 Pythagoras he wooed wisdom and soared above was no tyrants; and he lived in times not long gone by wizard nor again quite of our own day, yet men know him not because of the true wisdom, which he practised as a sage and sanely; but one man singles out one feature for praise in him and another another; while some, because he had interviews with the wizards of Babylon and with the Brahmans of India, and with the nude ascetics of Egypt, put him down as a wizard, and spread the calumny that he was a sage of an illegitimate kind, judging of him ill. For Empedocles and Pythagoras himself and Democritus consorted with wizards and uttered many supernatural truths, yet never stooped to the black art; and Plato went to Egypt and mingled with his own discourses much of what he heard from the prophets and priests there; and though, like a painter, he laid his own colours on to their rough sketches, yet he never passed for a wizard, although envied above all mankind for his wisdom. For the circumstance that Apollonius foresaw and foreknew so many things does not in the least justify us in imputing to him this kind of wisdom; we might as well accuse Socrates of the same, because, thanks to his familiar spirit, he knew things beforehand, and we might also accuse Anaxagoras because of the many things which he foretold. And indeed who does not know the story of how Anaxagoras at Olympia in a season of intense drought came forward wearing a fleece into the stadium, by way of predicting rain, and of how he

CAP. τε, ώς πεσείται, προειπόντα μὴ ψεύσασθαι, πεσείν γάρ, νύκτα τε ώς έξ ημέρας έσται, καὶ ώς λίθοι περὶ Αίγὸς ποταμοὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκδοθήσονται, προαναφωνήσαντα άληθεῦσαι; καὶ σοφία ταῦτα τοῦ 'Αναξαγόρου προστιθέντες ἀφαιροῦνται τὸν 'Απολλώνιον τὸ κατὰ σοφίαν προγιγνώσκειν καί φασιν, ώς μάγω τέχνη τοῦτ' ἔπραττεν. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι μή περιιδείν την των πολλών άγνοιαν, άλλ' έξακριβωσαι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς τε χρόνοις, καθ' οὺς εἶπέ τι η έπραξε, τοῖς τε της σοφίας τρόποις, ὑφ' ὧν έψαυσε τοῦ δαιμόνιός τε καὶ θεῖος νομισθῆναι. ξυνείλεκται δέ μοι τὰ μὲν ἐκ πόλεων, ὁπόσαι αὐτοῦ ἤρων, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἱερῶν, ὁπόσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ έπανήχθη παραλελυμένα τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἤδη, τὰ δὲ έξ ὧν εἶπον ἕτεροι περὶ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ἐπιστολῶν. ἐπέστελλε δὲ βασιλεῦσι σοφισταῖς φιλοσόφοις 'Ηλείοις Δελφοίς 'Ινδοίς Αίγυπτίοις ύπερ θεων ύπερ εθων ύπερ ήθων ύπερ νόμων, παρ' οίς ὅ τι άμαρτάνοιτο, ἐπηνώρθου. τὰ δὲ ακριβέστερα ώδε συνελεξάμην.

III

'Εγένετο Δάμις ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄσοφος τὴν ἀρχαίαν ποτὲ CAP. οἰκῶν Νίνον· οὖτος τῷ ᾿Απολλωνίω προσφιλοσοφήσας ἀποδημίας τε αὐτοῦ ἀναγέγραφεν, ὧν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK 1

foretold the fall of the house,—and truly, for it CHAP. did fall; and of how he said that day would be turned into night, and stones would be discharged from heaven round Aegospotami, and of how his predictions were fulfilled? Now these feats are set down to the wisdom of Anaxagoras by the same people who would rob Apollonius of the credit of having predicted things by dint of wisdom, and say that he achieved these results by art of wizardry. It seems to me then that I ought not to condone or such accusacquiesce in the general ignorance, but write a true ations call for a true account of the man, detailing the exact times at which Life of he said or did this or that, as also the habits and Apollonius temper of wisdom by means of which he succeeded in being considered a supernatural and divine being. And I have gathered my information partly from The sources the many cities where he was loved, and partly from used by Philostratus the temples whose long-neglected and decayed rites he restored, and partly from the accounts left of him by others and partly from his own letters. For he addressed these to kings, sophists, philosophers, to men of Elis, of Delphi, to Indians, and Egyptians; and his letters dealt with the subjects of the gods, of customs, of moral principles, of laws, and in all these departments he corrected the errors into which men had fallen. But the more precise details which I have collected are as follows.

III

THERE was a man, Damis, by no means stupid, CHAP. who formerly dwelt in the ancient city of Nineveh. The He resorted to Apollonius in order to study wis- memoirs of dom, and having shared, by his own account, his Damis used

CAP. κοινωνήσαι καὶ αὐτός φησι, καὶ γνώμας καὶ λόγους καὶ ὁπόσα ἐς πρόγνωσιν εἶπε. καὶ προσήκων τις τῷ Δάμιδι τὰς δέλτους τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τούτων ούπω γιγνωσκομένας ές γνωσιν ήγαγεν Ἰουλία τη βασιλίδι. μετέχοντι δέ μοι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλου—καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ρητορικοὺς πάντας λόγους ἐπήνει καὶ ἠσπάζετο—μεταγράψαι τε προσέταξε τὰς διατριβὰς ταύτας καὶ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι, τῷ γὰρ Νινίω σαφως μέν, οὐ μὴν δεξιως γε ἀπηγγέλλετο. ἐνέτυχον δὲ καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ Αἰγιέως βιβλίω ξυνειληφότι τὰ ἐν Αἰγαῖς ᾿Απολλωνίου πάντα, καὶ διαθηκαι δὲ τῷ ᾿Απολλονίω γεγράφαται, παρ' ών ὑπάρχει μαθεῖν, ὡς ὑποθειάζων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν έγένετο. οὐ γὰρ Μοιραγένει γε προσεκτέον, βιβλία μὲν ξυνθέντι ἐς ᾿Αμολλώνιον τέτταρα, πολλά δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγνοήσαντι. ὡς μεν οθν ξυνήγαγον ταθτα διεσπασμένα, καὶ ώς έπεμελήθην του ξυνθείναι αὐτά, εἴρηκα, έχέτω δὲ ο λόγος τῷ τε ἀνδρὶ τιμήν, ἐς ὃν ξυγγέγραπται, τοίς τε φιλομαθεστέροις ώφέλειαν ή γάρ αν μάθοιεν, α μήπω γιγνώσκουσιν.

IV

CAP. 'Απολλωνίω τοίνυν πατρίς μεν ην Τύανα πόλις Έλλὰς ἐν τῷ Καππαδοκῶν ἔθνει, πατὴρ δὲ όμώνυμος, γένος άρχαῖον καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνημμένον, πλούτος ύπερ τους έκει, το δε έθνος βαθύ. κυούση δὲ αὐτὸν τῆ μητρὶ φάσμα ἦλθεν Αἰγυπτίου

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wanderings abroad, wrote an account of them. And CHAP. he records his opinions and discourses and all his prophecies. And a certain kinsman of Damis drew at the the attention of the empress Julia to the documents instance containing these memoirs hitherto unknown. Now empress I belonged to the circle of the empress, for she was a devoted admirer of all rhetorical exercises; and she commanded me to recast and edit these essays, at the same time paying more attention to the style and diction of them; for the man of Nineveh had told his story clearly enough, yet somewhat awkwardly. And I also read the book of Maximus Also of Aegae, which comprised all the life of Apollonius Maximus of Aegae in Aegae; and furthermore a will was composed by Apollonius, from which one can learn how rapturous and inspired a sage he really was. For we must not The work of pay attention anyhow to Moeragenes, who composed Moeragenes ignored four books about Apollonius, and yet was ignorant of many of the circumstances of his life. That then I combined these scattered sources together and took trouble over my composition, I have said; but let my work, I pray, redound to the honour of the man who is the subject of my compilation, and also be of use to those who love learning. For assuredly they will here learn things of which as yet they are ignorant.

IV

Apollonius' home, then, was Tyana, a Greek city CHAP. amidst a population of Cappadocians. His father IV was of the same name, and the family was ancient Parentage and directly descended from the first settlers. It miraculous excelled in wealth the surrounding families, though hirth of Apollonius the district is a rich one. To his mother, just before

CAP. δαίμονος, ὁ Πρωτεὺς ὁ παρὰ τῷ 'Ομήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων' ἡ δὲ οὐδὲν δείσασα ἤρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκυήσοι· ὁ δὲ "ἐμέ" εἶπε· "σὺ δὲ τίς;" εἰπούσης "Πρωτεύς," ἔφη, "ὁ Αἰγύπτιος θεός." ὅστις μὲν δὴ τὴν σοφίαν ὁ Πρωτεὺς ἐγένετο, τί ἂν ἐξηγοίμην τοῖς γε ἀκούουσι τῶν ποιητῶν, ὡς ποικίλος τε ἦν καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλος καὶ κρείττων τοῦ άλῶναι, γιγνώσκειν τε ὡς ἐδόκει καὶ προγιγνώσκειν πάντα; καὶ μεμνῆσθαι χρὴ τοῦ Πρωτέως, μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν προϊὼν ὁ λόγος δεικνύη τὸν ἄνδρα πλείω μὲν ἢ ὁ Πρωτεὺς προγνόντα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπόρων τε καὶ ἀμηχάνων κρείττω γενόμενον ἐν αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῷ ἀπειλῆφθαι.

\mathbf{V}

CAP. Τεχθηναι δὲ ἐν λειμῶνι λέγεται, πρὸς ῷ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῷ ἐκπεπόνηται. καὶ μηδὲ ὁ τρόπος ἀγνοείσθω, ὃν ἀπετέχθη ἀγούση γὰρ τῆ μητρὶ τόκου ὅραν ὄναρ ἐγένετο βαδίσαι ἐς τὸν λειμῶνα καὶ ἄνθη κεῖραι, καὶ δητα ἀφικομενη αἱ μὲν δμωαὶ προσεῖχον τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἐσκεδασμέναι κατὰ τὸν λειμῶνα, αὐτὴ δε ἐς ὕπνον ἀπήχθη κλιθεῖσα ἐν τῆ πόᾳ. κύκνοι τοίνυν, οὺς ὁ λειμὼν ἔβοσκε, χορὸν ἐστήσαντο περὶ αὐτὴν καθεύδουσαν, καὶ τὰς πτέρυγας, ὅσπερ εἰώθασιν, ἄραντες ἀθρόον ἤχησαν, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ζεφύρου ἢν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἡ δὲ ἐξέθορέ τε ὑπὸ τῆς ῷδῆς καὶ ἀπέτεκεν, ἱκανὴ δὲ πᾶσα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

he was born, there came an apparition of Proteus, CHAP. who changes his form so much in Homer, in the guise of an Egyptian demon. She was in no way frightened, but asked him what sort of child she would bear. And he answered: "Myself." "And who are you?" she asked. "Proteus," answered he, "the god of Egypt." Well, I need hardly explain to readers of the poets the quality of Proteus and his reputation as regards wisdom; how versatile he was, and for ever changing his form, and defying capture, and how he had the reputation of knowing both past and future. And we must bear Proteus in mind all the more, when my advancing story shews its hero to have been more of a prophet than Proteus, and to have triumphed over many difficulties and dangers in the moment when they beset him most closely.

\mathbf{v}

Now he is said to have been born in a meadow, CHAP. hard by which there has been now erected a vsumptuous temple to him; and let us not pass by The god's the manner of his birth. For just as the hour of his tion to birth was approaching, his mother was warned in a dream to walk out into the meadow and pluck the flowers; and in due course she came there and her maids attended to the flowers, scattering themselves over the meadow, while she fell asleep lying on the grass. Thereupon the swans who fed in the meadow set up a dance around her as she slept, and lifting their wings, as they are wont to do, cried out aloud all at once, for there was somewhat of a breeze blowing in the meadow. She then leaped up at the sound of their song and bore her child, for any

CAP. ἔκπληξις μαιεύσασθαι καὶ πρὸ τῆς ὥρας. οἱ δὲ εγχώριοί φασιν, ως όμοῦ τε τίκτοιτο, καὶ σκηπτὸς έν τη γη πεσείσθαι δοκών έμμετεωρισθείη τῷ αἰθέρι καὶ ἀφανισθείη ἄνω, τό, οἰμαι, ἐκφανὲς καὶ ύπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῆ γῆ καὶ τὸ ἀγχοῦ θεῶν καὶ όπόσα όδε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, φαίνοντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ προσημαίνοντες.

$\mathbf{V}\mathbf{1}$

"Εστι δέ τι περὶ Τύανα ὕδωρ 'Ορκίου Διός, ως φασι, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ ᾿Ασβαμαῖον, οὖ πηγὴ ἀναδίδοται ψυχρά, παφλάζει δέ, ὥσπερ ὁ θερμαι νόμενος λέβης. τοῦτο εὐόρκοις μὲν ίλεών τε καὶ ήδὺ ὕδωρ, ἐπιόρκοις δὲ παρὰ πόδας ἡ δίκη ἀποσκήπτει γὰρ καὶ ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας καὶ ές πόδας, καὶ ὑδέροις άλίσκονται καὶ φθόαις, καὶ οὐδ' ἀπελθεῖν δυνατόν, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι ἔχονται καὶ όλοφύρονται πρὸς τῷ ΰδατι όμολογοῦντες ἃ ἐπιώρκησαν· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐγχώριοί φασι παῖδα τοῦ Διὸς τὸν 'Απολλώνιον γεγονέναι, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ 'Απολ. λωνίου έαυτον καλεί.

VII

Προϊων δε ες ήλικίαν, εν ή γράμματα, μνήμης τε ἰσχὺν ἐδήλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος, καὶ ἡ γλῶττα 'Αττικώς εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἀπήχθη τὴν φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὀφθαλμοί τε πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ἐφέροντο, καὶ γὰρ περίβλεπτος ἦν τὴν ὥραν. γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν

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sudden fright is apt to bring on a premature delivery. CHAP. But the people of the country say that just at the Portents at moment of the birth, a thunderbolt seemed about to his birth fall to earth and then rose up into the air and disappeared aloft; and the gods thereby indicated, I think, the great distinction to which the sage was to attain, and hinted in advance how he should transcend all things upon earth and approach the gods, and signified all the things that he would achieve.

VI

Now there is near Tyana a well sacred to Zeus, the CHAP. god of oaths, so they say, and they call it the well of VI Asbama. Here a spring rises cold, but bubbles up The well of Asbama like a boiling cauldron. This water is favourable and sweet to those who keep their oaths, but to perjurers it brings hot-footed justice; for it attacks their eyes and hands and feet, and they fall the prey of dropsy and wasting disease; and they are not even able to go away, but are held on the spot and bemoan themselves at the edge of the spring, acknowledging their perjuries. The people of the country, then, say that Apollonius was a son of this Zeus, but the sage called himself the son of Apollonius.

VII

On reaching the age when children are taught CHAP. their letters, he showed great strength of memory VII and power of application; and his tongue affected by Euthy. the Attic dialect, nor was his accent corrupted by demus in the race he lived among. All eyes were turned upon

CAP. έτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα άγει ές Ταρσούς ό πατήρ παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης. ὁ δὲ Εὐθύδημος ρήτωρ τε άγαθὸς ἢν καὶ ἐπαίδευε τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ μεν διδασκάλου είχετο, το δε της πόλεως ήθος άτοπόν τε ήγειτο και οὐ χρηστον ἐμφιλοσοφησαι, τρυφής τε γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ μᾶλλον ἄπτονται, σκωπτόλαι τε καὶ ὑβρισταὶ πάντες, καὶ δεδώκασι τῆ οθόνη μᾶλλον ἢ τῆ σοφία ᾿Αθηναῖοι, ποταμός τε αὐτοὺς διαρρεί Κύδνος, ῷ παρακάθηνται, καθάπερ τῶν ὀρνίθων οἱ ὑγροί. τό τοι "παύ σασθε μεθύοντες τῷ ὕδατι" 'Απολλωνίω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐπιστολῆ εἴρηται. μεθίστησιν οὖν τὸν διδάσκαλον δεηθείς του πατρός ές Αίγας τας πλησίον, εν αίς ήσυχία τε πρόσφορος τῷ φιλοσοφήσοντι καὶ σπουδαὶ νεανικώτεραι καὶ ίερὸν 'Ασκληπιοῦ, καὶ ὁ 'Ασκληπιὸς αὐτὸς ἐπίδηλος τοῖς ένταθθα ξυνεφιλοσόφουν μέν αὐτῷ ἀνθρώποις. Πλατώνειοί τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου, διήκουε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δέ γε Πυθαγορείους ἀρρήτω τινὶ σοφία ξυνέλαβε· διδάσκαλος μεν γαρ ην αυτώ των Πυθαγόρου λόγων ού πάνυ σπουδαίος, οὐδὲ ἐνεργῷ τῆ φιλοσοφία χρώμενος, γαστρός τε γάρ ήττων ην καὶ άφροδισίων καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐσχημάτιστο ἡν δὲ οὖτος Εὔξενος ὁ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου, τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου δόξας ἐγίγνωσκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄρνιθες 16

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him, for he was, moreover, conspicuous for his CHAP. beauty. When then he reached his fourteenth year, his father brought him to Tarsus, to Euthydemus the teacher from Phoenicia. Now Euthydemus was a good rhetor, and began his education; but, though he was attached to his teacher, he found the atmosphere of the city harsh and strange and little conducive to the philosophic life, for nowhere are men more addicted than here to luxury: jesters and full of insolence are they all; and they attend more to their fine linen than the Athenians did to wisdom; and a stream called the Cydnus runs through their city, along the banks of which they sit like so many water-fowl. Hence the words which Apollonius addresses to them in his letter: "Be done with getting drunk upon your water." He therefore Removal to transferred his teacher, with his father's consent, to Aegae to live in the the town of Aegae, which was close by, where he temple of found a peace congenial to one who would be a philosopher, and a more serious school of study and a temple of Asclepius, where that god reveals himself in person to men. There he had as his companions in philosophy followers of Plato and Chrysippus and peripatetic philosophers. And he diligently attended also to the discourses of Epicurus, for he did not despise these either, although it was to those of Pythagoras that he applied himself with unspeakable wisdom and ardour. However, his teacher of the His Pytha-Pythagorean system was not a very serious person, nor gorean teacher one who practised in his conduct the philosophy he Euxenus taught; for he was the slave of his belly and appetites, and modelled himself upon Epicurus. And this man was Euxenus from the town of Heraclea in Pontus, and he knew the principles of Pythagoras just as

CAP. ἃ μανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ γὰρ ΥΙΙ "γαίρε" καὶ τὸ "εὖ πρᾶττε" καὶ τὸ "Ζεὺς ίλεως" καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οἱ ὄρνιθες εὔχονται, οὔτε είδότες ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὔτε διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς άνθρώπους, άλλὰ ἐρρυθμισμένοι τὴν γλῶτταν· ό δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ νέοι τῶν ἀετῶν ἐν ἁπαλῷ μὲν τῷ πτερώ παραπέτονται τοις γειναμένοις αὐτοὺς μελετώμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὴν πτῆσιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἴρεσθαι δυνηθώσιν, ύπερπέτονται τοὺς γονέας, ἄλλως τε καν λίχνους αἴσθωνται καὶ κνίσης ἕνεκα πρὸς τη γη πετομένους, ούτω καὶ ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος προσεῖχέ τε τῷ Εὐξένω παῖς ἔτι, καὶ ἤγετο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βαίνων έπὶ τοῦ λόγου, προελθών δὲ ἐς ἔτος δέκατον καὶ ἔκτον ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου βίον, πτερωθείς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπό τινος κρείττονος. οὐ μὴν τόν γε Εὔξενον ἐπαύσατο ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλ' έξαιτήσας αὐτῷ προάστειον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐν ῷ κῆποί τε ἀπαλοὶ ἦσαν καὶ πηγαί, "σὺ μὲν ζῆθι τον σεαυτοῦ τρόπον," ἔφη, " ἐγω δὲ τον Πυθαγόρου ζήσομαι."

VIII

CAP. ΥΙΙΙ . 'Ηγουμένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Εὐξένου μεγάλης διανοίας ἄπτεσθαι καὶ ἐρομένου, ὁπόθεν ἄρξοιτο,
"ὅθεν περ οἱ ἰατροί," ἔφη, "καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καθαίροντες τὰς γαστέρας τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ νοσεῖν ἐῶσι,
τοὺς δὲ ἰῶνται." καὶ εἰπὼν τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἐμψύχους βρώσεις ὡς οὕτε καθαρὰς καὶ τὸν νοῦν
παχυνούσας παρητήσατο, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ
λάχανα ἐσιτεῖτο, καθαρὰ εἶναι φάσκων, ὁπόσα ἡ
18

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birds know what they learn from men; for the birds CHAP. will wish you "farewell," and say "Good day" or "Zeus help you," and such like, without understanding what they say and without any real sympathy for mankind, merely because they have been trained to move their tongue in a certain manner. Apollonius, however, was like the young eagles who, as long as they are not fully fledged, fly alongside of their parents and are trained by them in flight, but who, as soon as they are able to rise in the air, outsoar the parent birds, especially when they perceive the latter to be greedy and to be flying along the ground in order to snuff the quarry; like them Apollonius attended Euxenus as long as he was a child and was guided by him in the path of argument, but when he reached his sixteenth year he indulged his impulse towards the life of Pythagoras, being fledged and winged thereto by some higher power. Notwithstanding he did not cease to love Euxenus, nay, he persuaded his father to present him with a villa outside the town, where there were tender groves and fountains, and he said to him: "Now you live there your own life, but I will live that of Pythagoras."

VIII

Now Euxenus realised that he was attached to a CHAP. lofty ideal, and asked him at what point he would VIII begin it. Apollonius answered: "At the point at which physicians begin, for they, by purging the bowels of their patients prevent some from being ill at all, and heal others." And having said this he Apollonius declined to live upon a flesh diet, on the ground that renounces it was unclean, and also that it made the mind gross; and wine so he partook only of dried fruits and vegetables,

CAP. γη αὐτη δίδωσι, καὶ τὸν οἶνον καθαρὸν μὲν έφασκεν είναι πῶμα ἐκ φυτοῦ οὕτως ἡμέρου τοῖς ανθρώποις ήκοντα, εναντιοῦσθαι δε τη του νου συστάσει διαθολοῦντα τὸν ἐν τῆ ψυχῆ αἰθέρα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν τῆς γαστρὸς τοιαύτην γεγομένην άνυποδησίαν τε ποιείται κόσμημα καί λίνου ἐσθῆτα ἀμπίσχεται παραιτησάμενος τὴν ἀπὸ των ζώων, ἀνηκέ τε την κόμην καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔζη. έκπεπληγμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν περὶ τὸ ίερὸν καὶ τοῦ ᾿Ασκληπιοῦ ποτε πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα φήσαντος, ώς χαίροι θεραπεύων τοὺς νοσοῦντας ὑπὸ ᾿Απολλωνίω μάρτυρι, ξυνήεσαν ές τὰς Αἰγὰς ἐφ' ἱστορία Κίλικές τε αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πέριξ, ὅ τε Κιλίκιος λόγος "ποι τρέχεις; η έπι τον ἔφηβον;" ἐπ' ἐκείνω τε έλέγετο καὶ παροιμιώδη τιμὴν ἔσχεν.

1X

'Άξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρελθεῖν βίον γε CAP. άφηγούμενον ἀνδρός, δς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἢν ἐν λόγω. μειράκιον γὰρ δὴ 'Ασσύριον παρὰ τὸν 'Ασκληπιὸν ήκον ἐτρύφα νοσοῦν καὶ ἐν πότοις ἔζη, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν ὑδέρω δὲ ἄρα εἴχετο καὶ μέθη χαῖρον αὐχμοῦ ἡμέλει. ἡμελεῖτο δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ ᾿Ασκληπιοῦ διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ὄναρ αὐτῷ ἐφοίτα.

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for he said that all the fruits of the earth are clean. CHAP. And of wine he said that it was a clean drink because it is yielded to men by so well-domesticated a plant as the vine; but he declared that it endangered the mental balance and system and darkened, as with mud, the ether which is in the soul. After then Wears linen having thus purged his interior, he took to walk- alone ing without shoes by way of adornment and clad himself in linen raiment, declining to wear any animal product; and he let his hair grow long and lived in the Temple. And the people round about the Temple were struck with admiration for him, and the god Asclepius one day said to the priest that he was delighted to have Apollonius as witness of his cures of the sick; and such was his reputation that the Cilicians themselves and the people all around flocked to Aegae to visit him. Hence the Cilician proverb: "Whither runnest thou? Is it to see the stripling?" Such was the saying that arose about him, and it gained the distinction of becoming a proverb.

IX

Now it is well that I should not pass over what CHAP. happened in the Temple, while relating the life of a IX man who was held in esteem even by the gods. For Incidents an Assyrian stripling came to Asclepius, and though life in the he was sick, yet he lived the life of luxury, and being temple of Asclepius. continually drunk, I will not say he lived, rather he Cures a was ever dying. He suffered then from dropsy, and dropsical patient finding his pleasure in drunkenness took no care to dry up his malady. On this account then Asclepius took no care of him, and did not visit him even

CAP. ἐπιμεμφομένω δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεὸς " εἰ 'Απολλωνίω," έφη, "διαλέγοιο, ράων έση." προσελθών οὖν τῷ ᾿Απολλωνίω "τί ἄν," ἔφη, "τῆς σῆς σοφίας έγω ἀπολαύσαιμι; κελεύει γάρ με ὁ ᾿Ασκληπιὸς συνείναί σοι." "ό," ή δ' ός, " ἔσται σοι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πολλοῦ ἄξιον ὑγιείας γάρ που δέη;" " $\nu\dot{\eta}$ $\Delta i'$," $\epsilon i\pi \epsilon \nu$, " $\eta\nu$ $\gamma\epsilon$ δ ' $A\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\pi i\delta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ λεται μέν, οὐ δίδωσι δέ." "εὐφήμει," ἔφη, "τοῖς γαρ βουλόμενοις δίδωσι, σὺ δὲ ἐναντία τῆ νόσφ πράττεις, τρυφή γὰρ διδούς ὀψοφαγίαν ἐπεσάγεις ύγροις και διεφθορόσι τοις σπλάγχνοις καὶ ὕδατι ἐπαντλεῖς πηλόν." ταυτὶ μὲν σαφέστερα, οίμαι, της Ἡρακλείτου σοφίας ἐχρησμώδει ὁ μὲν γὰρ δεῖσθαι ἔφη τοῦ ποιήσοντος ι έξ έπομβρίας αὐχμόν, έσελθόντος αὐτὸν τουτουί τοῦ πάθους, οὐκ εὐξύνετά που λέγων, οὐδὲ δῆλα, ό δ' ήγαγεν ές ύγίειαν τὸ μειράκιον τὰ σοφὰ σαφως έρμηνεύσας.

\mathbf{X}

'Ιδών δὲ ἀθρόον ποτὲ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ αἶμα, καὶ διακείμενα έπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ ἱερά, τεθυμένους τε βοῦς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ σῦς μεγάλους, καὶ τὰ μὲν δέροντας αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ κόπτοντας, χρυσίδας τε άνακειμένας δύο καὶ λίθους ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν Ἰνδικωτάτων καὶ θαυμασίων, προσελθών τῷ ἱερεῖ "τί ταῦτα;" ἔφη, "λαμπρῶς γάρ τις χαρίζεται τῷ

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in a dream. The youth grumbled at this, and there- CHAP. upon the god, standing over him, said, "If you were to consult Apollonius you would be easier." He therefore went to Apollonius, and said: "What is there in your wisdom that I can profit by? for Asclepius bids me consult you." And he replied: "I can advise you of what, under the circumstances, will be most valuable to you; for I suppose you want to get well." "Yes, by Zeus," answered the other, "I want the health which Asclepius promises, but never gives." "Hush," said the other, "for he gives to those who desire it, but you do things that irritate and aggravate your disease, for you give yourself up to luxury, and you accumulate delicate viands upon your water-logged and worn-out stomach, and as it were, choke water with a flood of mud." This was a clearer response, in my opinion, than Heraclitus, in his wisdom, gave. For he said when he was visited by this affection that what he needed was some one to substitute a drought for his rainy weather, a very unintelligible remark, it appears to me, and by no means clear; but the sage restored the youth to health by a clear interpretation of the wise saw.

\mathbf{X}

One day he saw a flood of blood upon the altar, CHAP. and there were victims laid out upon it, Egyptian bulls that had been sacrificed and great hogs, and Ostracises some of them were being flayed and others were a wicked Cilician being cut up; and two gold vases had been dedicated set with jewels, the rarest and most beautiful that India can provide. So he went up to the priest and said: "What is all this; for some one is making a

 $^{\text{CAP.}}_{\mathbf{X}}$ θε $\hat{\varphi}$." ο δè "θαυμάση," ἔφη, "μ \hat{a} λλον, ὅτι μήτε ίκετεύσας ποτε ένταθθα μήτε διατρίψας, δν οί άλλοι χρόνον, μήτε ύγιάνας πω παρά τοῦ θεοῦ, μηδ' ἄπερ αἰτήσων ἦλθεν ἔχων. χθὲς γὰρ δὴ άφιγμένω ἔοικεν, ὁ δ' οὕτως άφθόνως θύει. φησὶ δὲ πλείω μὲν θύσειν, πλείω δὲ ἀναθήσειν, εἰ πρόσοιτο αὐτὸν ὁ ᾿Ασκληπιός. ἔστι δὲ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων κέκτηται γουν έν Κιλικία βίον πλείω η Κίλικες όμου πάντες ικετεύει δε τον θεον άποδοῦναί οἱ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξερρυηκότα." ό δὲ ᾿Απολλώνιος, ὥσπερ γεγηρακὼς εἰώθει, τοὺς όφθαλμούς ές την γην στήσας "τί δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῷ;" $ηρετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ηκουσε "δοκε<math>\hat{i}$ μοι," ἔφη, " $\hat{\omega}$ ίερεῦ, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μὴ προσδέχεσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ, μιαρὸς γάρ τις ήκει καὶ κεχρημένος οὐκ έπὶ χρηστοῖς τῷ πάθει, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πρὶν εύρεσθαι τι παρά τοῦ θεοῦ πολυτελώς θύειν οὐ θύοντός έστιν, άλλ' έαυτον παραιτουμένου σχετλίων τε καὶ χαλεπῶν ἔργων." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ 'Απολλώνιος. ὁ δ' 'Ασκληπιὸς ἐπιστὰς νύκτωρ τῷ ἱερεῖ "ἀπίτω," ἔφη, "ὁ δεῖνα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων, άξιος γὰρ μηδὲ τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν." άναμανθάνων οὖν ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, γυνή μὲν τῷ Κίλικι τούτῳ ἐγεγόνει θυγατέρα ἔχουσα προτέρων γάμων, ὁ δὲ ἤρα τῆς κόρης καὶ ἀκολάστως είχε ξυνήν τε οὐδ' ώς λαθείν ἐπιστᾶσα

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very handsome gift to the god?" And the priest CHAP. replied: "You may rather be surprised at a man's offering all this without having first put up a prayer in our fane, and without having stayed with us as long as other people do, and without having gained his health from the god, and without obtaining all the things he came to ask for here. For he appears to have come only yesterday, and yet he is sacrificing on this lavish scale. And he declares that he will sacrifice more victims, and dedicate more gifts, if Asclepius will hearken to him. And he is one of the richest men in existence; at any rate he owns in Cilicia an estate bigger than all the Cilicians together possess. And he is supplicating the god to restore to him one of his eyes that has fallen out." But Apollonius fixed his eyes upon the ground, as he was accustomed to do in later life, and asked: "What is his name?" And when he heard it, he said: "It seems to me, O Priest, that we ought not to welcome this fellow in the Temple: for he is some ruffian who has come here, and that he is afflicted in this way is due to some sinister reason: nay, his very conduct in sacrificing on such a magnificent scale before he has gained anything from the god is not that of a genuine votary, but rather of a man who is begging himself off from the penalty of some horrible and cruel This was what Apollonius said: and Asclepius appeared to the priest by night, and said: "Send away so and so at once with all his possessions, and let him keep them, for he deserves to lose the other eye as well." The priest accordingly made inquiries about the Cilician and learned that his wife had by a former marriage borne a daughter, and he had fallen in love with the maiden and had seduced her, and was living with her in open sin. For the

CAP. γὰρ ἡ μήτηρ τῆ εὐνῆ τῆς μὲν ἄμφω, τοῦ δὲ τὸν έτερον των όφθαλμων έξέκοψεν έναράξασα τὰς περόνας.

XI

Τό γε μὴν θύοντας ἢ ἀνατιθέντας μὴ ὑπερ-CAP. βάλλειν τὸ μέτριον ὧδε αὐτῷ ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο· πλειόνων γάρ ποτε ξυνεληλυθότων ές τὸ ίερὸν άρτι έξεληλαμένου τοῦ Κίλικος ήρετο τὸν ἱερέα οὑτωσί· " ἄρα," ἔφη, " οἱ θεοὶ δίκαιοι;" " δικαιότατοι μὲν " ξυνετώτερον τοῦ θείου;" " τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴσασιν, ἢ ἄπειροι αὐτῶν εἰσι; " "καὶ μὴν τοῦτ'," έφη, "πλεονεκτοῦσι μάλιστα οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώ- $\pi\omega\nu$, $\delta\tau\iota$ of $\mu\grave{e}\nu$ $\upsilon\pi$ $\delta\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota$ as $\delta\grave{e}$ δ ἴσασι, τοῖς δὲ γιγνώσκειν ὑπάρχει τὰ ἐκείνων τε καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν." "πάντα," ἔφη, "ἄριστα, ὧ ίερεῦ, καὶ ἀληθέστατα. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν πάντα γιγνώσκουσι, δοκεί μοι τὸν ήκοντα ἐς θεοῦ καὶ χρηστὰ ἑαυτῷ ξυνειδότα τοιάνδε εὐχὴν εὔχεσθαι & θεοί, δοίητέ μοι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα· ὀφείλεται γάρ που, ὧ ίερεῦ, τοῖς μὲν ὁσίοις τὰ ἀγαθά, τοῖς δὲ φαύλοις τὰναντία, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ οὖν εὖ ποιοῦντες, ὃν μὲν ἂν ὑγιᾶ τε καὶ άτρωτον κακίας εύρωσι, πέμπουσι δήπου στεφανώσαντες οὐ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῖς 26

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mother had surprised the two in bed, and had CHAP. put out both her eyes and one of his by stabbing them with her brooch-pin.

XI

Again he inculcated the wise rule, that in our CHAP. sacrifices or dedications we should not go beyond the just mean, in the following way. On one occasion morality in several people had flocked to the Temple, not long Religion after the expulsion of the Cilician, and he took the occasion to ask the priest the following questions. "Are then," he said, "the gods just?" "Why, of course, most just," answered the priest. "Well, and are they wise?" "And what," said the other, "can be wiser than the godhead?" "But do they know the affairs of men, or are they without experience of them?" "Why," said the other, "this is just the point in which the gods excel mankind, for the latter, because of their frailty, do not understand their own concerns, whereas the gods have the privilege of understanding the affairs both of men and of themselves." "All your answers," said Apollonius, "are excellent, O Priest, and very true. Since then, they know everything, it appears to me that a person who comes to the house of God and has a good conscience, should put up the following prayer: 'O ye gods, grant unto me that which I The Prayer deserve.' For," he went on, "the holy, O Priest, of Apollonius surely deserve to receive blessings, and the wicked the contrary. Therefore the gods, as they are beneficent, if they find anyone who is healthy and whole and unscarred by vice, will send him on his way, surely, after crowning him, not with golden crowns, but with all

CAP. $\pi \hat{a} \sigma \iota \nu$, $\hat{o} \nu \delta' \hat{a} \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \gamma \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu o \nu i \delta \omega \sigma \iota \kappa \alpha i \delta \iota \epsilon$ φθορότα, καταλείπουσι τη δίκη, τοσούτον αὐτοῖς έπιμηνίσαντες, ὅσον ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἱερὰ ἐσφοιτᾶν μη καθαροί ὄντες." καὶ ἄμα ἐς τὸν ᾿Ασκληπιὸν βλέψας "φιλοσοφείς," έφη "δ 'Ασκληπιέ, την άρρητόν τε καὶ συγγενή σαυτῷ φιλοσοφίαν μὴ συγχωρών τοῖς φαύλοις δεῦρο ἥκειν, μηδ' ἂν πάντα σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Σαρδώων ξυμφέρωσιν οὐ γάρ τιμώντες τὸ θείον θύουσι ταῦτα καὶ ἀνάπτουσιν, άλλ' ωνούμενοι την δίκην, ην οὐ ξυγχωρείτε αὐτοίς δικαιότατοι ὄντες." πολλά τοιαῦτα έν τῶ ἱερῶ ἐφιλοσόφει ἐν ἐφήβω ἔτι.

XII

Κάκεῖνα της ἐν Αἰγαῖς διατριβης. Κιλίκων CAP. ηρχεν ύβριστης άνθρωπος καὶ κακὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά. ές τοῦτον ήλθε λόγος της 'Απολλωνίου ώρας, ὁ δὲ έρρῶσθαι φράσας οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐν Ταρσοῖς δὲ ἄρα άγορὰν ἢγεν ἐξωρμήθη ἐς τὰς Αἰγὰς νοσεῖν τε ἑαυτὸν φήσας καὶ τοῦ ᾿Ασκληπιοῦ δεῖσθαι, καὶ προσελθων τω 'Απολλωνίω βαδίζοντι ίδια "σύστησόν με" ἔφη "τῷ θεῷ." ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν "καὶ τί σοι δεί του συστήσοντος," εἶπεν, "εἰ χρηστὸς εἶ; τοὺς γὰρ σπουδαίους οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν προξενούντων ασπάζονται." "ότι νη Δί," ἔφη, "'Απολλώνιε, 28

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sorts of blessings; but if they find a man branded CHAP. with sin and utterly corrupt, they will hand him over and leave him to justice, after inflicting their wrath upon him all the more, because he dared to invade their Temples without being pure." And at the same moment he looked towards Asclepius, and said: "O Asclepius, the philosophy you teach is secret and congenial to yourself, in that you suffer not the wicked to come hither, not even if they pour into your lap all the wealth of India and Sardis. For it is not out of reverence for the divinity that they sacrifice these victims and suspend these offerings, but in order to purchase a verdict, which you will not concede to them in your perfect justice." And much similar wisdom he delivered himself of in this Temple, while he was still a youth.

XII

This tale also belongs to the period of his CHAP. residence in Aegae. Cilicia was governed at the time by a ruffian addicted to infamous forms of Attempts of the passion. No sooner did he hear the beauty of vicious Apollonius spoken of, than he cast aside the matters of Cilicia on he was busy upon (and he was just then holding Apollonius a court in Tarsus), and hurrying off to Aegae pretended he was sick and must have the help of Asclepius. There he came upon Apollonius walking alone and prayed him to recommend him to the god. But he replied: "What recommendation can you want from anyone if you are good? For the gods love men of virtue and welcome them without any introductions." "Because, to be sure," said the other, "the god, O Apollouius, has invited you to be

CAP. σὲ μὲν ὁ θεὸς πεποίηται ξένον, ἐμὲ δὲ οὔπω." $^{ ext{XII}}$ "άλλὰ κὰμοῦ," ἔφη, "καλοκάγαθία προὐξένησεν, ή χρώμενος, ώς δυνατον νέω, θεράπων τέ είμι τοῦ Ασκληπιού καὶ έταῖρος εἰ δὲ καὶ σοὶ καλοκάγαθίας μέλει, χώρει θαρρῶν παρὰ τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἴνχου, τέρω εὔξωμαι." "καὶ τί," ἔφη, " ἐμοὶ εὔξη ;" "ὅ," ἢ δ' ὄς, " εὕχεσθαι δεῖ τοῖς καλοῖς εὐχόμεθα δὲ αὐτοῖς κοινωνεῖν τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τῆς ώρας." έλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθρύπτων ξαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑγραίνων, καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχ ἐλίττων τῶν οὕτως ἀσελγῶν τε καὶ ἐπιρρήτων ὁ δὲ ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας αὐτὸν " μαίνη," ἔφη, " ὁ κάθαρμα." τοῦ δ' οὐ μόνον πρὸς ὀργὴν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντος, άλλὰ καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος, ὡς ἀποκόψοι αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν, καταγελάσας ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος " ὧ ἡ δείνα ημέρα" ἀνεβόησε τρίτη δὲ ἄρα ην ἀπ' ἐκείνης, ἐν ή δήμιοι κατά την όδον ἀπέκτειναν τον ύβριστην έκεῖνον, ώς ξὺν ἀρχελάφ τῷ Καππαδόκιας βασιλεί νεώτερα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πράττοντα. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα Μαξίμω τῷ Αἰγιεῖ ξυγγέγραπται, ήξιώθη δὲ καὶ βασιλείων ἐπιστολῶν ούτος εύδοκιμών την φωνήν.

XIII

CAP. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τεθνεῶτα τὸν πατέρα ἤκουσεν, ἔδραμεν ἐς τὰ Τύανα, κἀκεῖνον μὲν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν ἔθαψε πρὸς τῷ τῆς μητρὸς σήματι, ἐτεθνήκει δὲ κἀκείνη οὐ πάλαι, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν λαμπρὰν οὖσαν

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his guest, but so far has not invited me." "Nay," CHAP. answered Apollonius, "'tis my humble merits, so far as a young man can display good qualities, which have been my passport to the favour of Asclepius, whose servant and companion I am. If you too really care for uprightness, go boldly up to the god and tender what prayer you will." "By heaven, I will," said the other, "if you will allow me to address you one first." "And what prayer," said Apollonius, "can you make to me?" "A prayer which can only be offered to the beautiful, and which is that they may grant to others participation in their beauty and not grudge their charms." This he said with a vile leer and voluptuous air and all the usual wriggles of such infamous debauchees; but Apollonius with a stern fierce glance at him, said: "You are mad, you scum." The other not only flamed up at these words, but threatened to cut off his head, whereat Apollonius laughed at him and cried out loud, "Ha, such and such day!" And in fact it was only three days later that the ruffian was executed by the officers of justice on the high road for having intrigued with Archelaus the king of Cappadocia against the Romans. These and many similar incidents are given by Maximus of Aegae in his treatise, a writer whose reputation for oratory won him a position in the emperor's Secretariat.

XIII

Now when he heard that his father was dead, he CHAP. hurried to Tyana, and with his own hands buried him hard by his mother's sepulchre, for she too had reforms his died not long before; and he divided the property, older brother

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CAP. διέλαχε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκόλαστόν τε καὶ φιλοπότην ὄντα. καὶ τῷ μὲν τρίτον τε καὶ είκοστον ην έτος καὶ ηλικία οία μη ἐπιτροπεύεσθαι, ό δ' αὖ εἴκοσι γεγόνει καὶ οἱ νόμοι αὐτὸν ὑπεῖχον τοις ἐπιτρόποις. διατρίψας οὖν ἐν Αἰγαίς πάλιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Λύκειόν τε ἀποφήνας καὶ 'Ακαδημίαν, φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ηχὰ πάσης ἐν αὐτῷ ην, ἐπανηλθεν ές τὰ Τύανα ἀνηρ ήδη καὶ κύριος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· είπόντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν τινος, ώς σωφρονίσαι τὸν άδελφὸν προσήκοι αὐτῷ καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τοῦ τρόπου, "τουτὶ μὲν θρασύ," ἔφη, "δόξει, πρεσβύτερον γὰρ νέος πῶς ἂν σωφρονίζοιμι; ὡς δέ μοι δυνατόν, ἰάσομαι αὐτὸν τουτωνὶ τῶν παθῶν." δίδωσι δη αὐτῷ την ημίσειαν της έαυτοῦ μοίρας, τον μεν πλειόνων δείσθαι φήσας, εαυτον δε ολίγων, έφιστὰς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ σοφῶς ὑπαγόμενος ἐς τὸ σωφρονίζοντι πείθεσθαι "ό μέν πατήρ," ἔφη, " μεθέστηκεν, δς έπαίδευέ τε ήμας καὶ ἐνουθέτει, λοιπὸς δὲ σὺ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ δήπου ἐγώ· εἴτ' οὖν έγώ τι άμαρτάνοιμι, σύμβουλος γίγνου καὶ ἰῶ τάμά, εἴτ' αὐτός τι άμαρτάνοις, ἀνέχου διδάσκοντος." κάκείνον μέν, ὥσπερ οἱ καταψῶντες τοὺς δυσηνίους τε καὶ μὴ εὐαγώγους τῶν ἵππων, ἐς πειθώ ήγαγε καὶ μετερρύθμισε τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων πολλών ὄντων, καὶ γὰρ κύβων ήττητο καὶ οἴνου, καὶ ἐφ' ἐταίρας ἐκώμαζεν, ἐπαιρούσης αὐτὸν κόμης, ην καὶ βαφαίς ήσκει, σοβών τε καὶ ἄνω βαίνων. which was very ample, with his brother, who was an CHAP. incorrigibly bad character and given to drink. Now XIII the latter had reached his twenty-third year, and was of an age no longer to need a guardian; Apollonius, on the other hand, was only twenty, and the law subjected him to guardians. He therefore spent afresh some time in Aegae, and turned the temple into a Lyceum and Academy, for it resounded with all sorts of philosophical discussions. After that he returned to Tyana, by this time grown to manhood and his own master. Some one said to him that it was his duty to correct his brother and convert him from his evil ways; whereon he answered: "This would seem a desperate enterprise; for how can I who am the younger one correct and render wise an older man? but so far as I can do anything, I will heal him of these bad passions." Accordingly he gave to him the half of his own share of the property, on the pretence that he required more than he had, while he himself needed little; and then he pressed him and cleverly persuaded him to submit to the counsels of wisdom, and said: "Our father has departed this life, who educated us both and corrected us, so that you are all that I have left, and I imagine, I am all that you have left. If therefore I do anything wrong, please advise me and cure me of my faults; and in turn if you yourself do anything wrong, suffer me to teach you better." And so he reduced his brother to a reasonable state of mind, just as we break in skittish and unruly horses by stroking and patting them; and he reformed him from his faults, numerous as they were, for he was the slave of play and of wine, and he led a riotous life and was vain of his hair, which he dressed up and dyed, strutting

CAP. έπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ εὖ εἶγεν, έπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ήδη συγγενεῖς ἐτράπετο καὶ τοὺς δεομένους σφῶν ἀνεκτήσατο τῆ λοιπῆ οὐσία μικρὰ έαυτῷ ὑπολιπόμενος, ὅτε δὴ τὸν μὲν Κλαζομένιον 'Αναξαγόραν ἀγέλαις τε καὶ μήλοις τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέντα προβάτοις ἔφη μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις φιλοσοφησαι, τὸν δὲ Θηβαῖον Κράτητα καταποντώσαντα την οὐσίαν οὕτε ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι ἐπιτήδειον οὔτε προβάτοις. εὐδοκιμήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου έπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, ὃν ἔλεγε περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν παρ' ἄλλην iέναι γυναîκα ἡ τὴν έαυτοῦ, τουτὶ μὲν έτέροις ἔφη ύπὸ Πυθαγόρου προειρησθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ μήτ' ἂν γημαι μήτ' αν ές δμιλίαν άφικέσθαι ποτε άφροδισίων, ὑπερβαλλόμενος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ὁ μὲν γὰρ λυττῶντα ἔφη καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγεῖν ές γηρας έλθών, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἀρετης τε καὶ σωφροσύνης οὐδ' ἐν μειρακίω ἡττήθη τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ νέος ὢν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐρρωμένος ἐκράτει τε καὶ λυττῶντος έδέσποζεν. άλλ' ὅμως συκοφαντοῦσί τινες ἐπὶ άφροδισίοις αὐτόν, ώς διαμαρτία ἐρωτικῆ χρησάμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπενιαυτίσαντα ές τὸ Σκυθων ἔθνος, δς οὔτε ἐφοίτησέ ποτε ἐς Σκύθας οὕτε ἐς ἐρωτικὰ πάθη ἀπηνέχθη· οὔκουν οὐδὲ Εὐφράτης ποτὲ ἐσυκοφάντησεν ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίοις τὸν ἄνδρα, καίτοι ψευδη γράμματα κατ' αὐτοῦ ξυνθείς, ώς εν τοις περί Ευφράτου λόγοις δείξομεν. διεφέρετο δὲ πρὸς τὸν ᾿Απολλώνιον, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ΄ ύπερ χρημάτων αὐτον πράττοντα ἐπέκοπτεν ούτος

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about like an arrogant dandy. So when all was well CHAP. between him and his brother, he at once turned his attention to his other relatives, and conciliated such of them as were in want by bestowing on them the rest of his property, leaving only a trifle to himself; for he said that Anaxagoras of Clazomenae kept his philosophy for cattle rather than for men when he abandoned his fields to flocks and goats. and that Crates of Thebes, when he threw his money into the sea benefited neither man nor beast. And as Pythagoras was commended for his saying that "a Rejects man should have no intercourse except with his own marriage wife," he declared that this was intended by Pythagoras for others than himself, for that he was resolved never to wed nor have any connexion whatever with women. In laying such restraint on himself he surpassed Sophocles, who only said that in reaching old age he had escaped from a mad and cruel master; but Apollonius by dint of virtue and temperance never even in his youth was so overcome. While still a mere stripling, in full enjoyment of his bodily vigour, he mastered and gained control of the maddening passion. And yet there are those who accuse him falsely of an addiction to venery, alleging that he fell a victim of such sins and spent a whole year in their indulgence among the Scythians, the facts being that he never once visited Scythia nor was ever carried away by such passions. Not even Euphrates ever accused the sage of venery, though he traduced him otherwise and composed lying treatises against him, as we shall shew when we come to speak of him below. And his quarrel with Apollonius was that the latter rallied him for doing anything for money and tried to wean him of his

CAP. καὶ ἀπηγε τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαί τε καὶ την σοφίαν καπηλεύειν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς αὐτῶν χρόνους ἀναβεβλήσθω μοι.

XIV

Έρομένου δέ ποτε τὸν ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ Εὐξέ-CAP. XIV νου, τί δητα οὐ ξυγγράφοι καίτοι γενναίως δοξάζων καὶ ἀπαγγελία χρώμενος δοκίμω καὶ ἐγηγερμένη "ότι," ἔφη, "ούπω ἐσιώπησα." καὶ ἐνθένδε ἀρξάμενος σιωπᾶν ὦήθη δεῖν, καὶ τὴν μὲν φωνὴν κατείγεν, οί δ' ὀφθαλμοί καὶ ὁ νοῦς πλείστα μὲν ἀνεγίγνωσκον, πλεῖστα δὲ ἐς μνήμην ἀνελέγοντο· τό τοι μνημονικον έκατοντούτης γενόμενος καὶ ύπερ τον Σιμωνίδην έρρωτο, καὶ ύμνος αὐτῷ τις ές την μνημοσύνην ήδετο, εν ώ πάντα μεν ύπο τοῦ χρόνου μαραίνεσθαί φησιν, αὐτόν γε μὴν τὸν χρόνον ἀγήρω τε καὶ ἀθάνατον παρὰ τῆς μνημοσύνης είναι. οὐ μὴν ἄχαρις τά γε ές ξυνουσίας ην παρ' ον ἐσιώπα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί τι ἐπεσήμαινον καὶ ἡ χεὶρ καὶ τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς νεῦμα, οὐδὲ ἀμειδῆς ἢ σκυθρωπὸς ἐφαίνετο, τὸ γὰρ φιλέταιρόν τε καὶ τὸ εὐμενὲς εἶχε. τοῦτον ἐπιπονώτατον αὐτῷ φησι γενέσθαι τὸν βίον ὅλων πέντε ἐτῶν ἀσκηθέντα, πολλά μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχοντα μὴ εἰπεῖν, πολλά δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀκούσαντα μὴ ἀκοῦσαι, πολλοῖς δ' έπιπληξαι προαχθέντα "τέτλαθι δη κραδίη τε

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love of filthy lucre and of huckstering his wisdom. CHAP. But these matters I must defer to the times to which XIII they belong.

XIV

On one occasion, Euxenus asked Apollonius why CHAP. so noble a thinker as he and one who was master of XIV a diction so fine and nervous did not write a book. His five years' spell He replied: "I have not yet kept silence." And of silence forthwith he began to hold his tongue from a sense of duty, and kept absolute silence, though his eyes and his mind were taking note of very many things, and though very many were being stored in his memory. Indeed, when he reached the age of a hundred, he still surpassed Simonides in point of memory, and he used to chant a hymn addressed to memory, in which it is said that everything is worn and withered away by time, whereas time itself never ages, but remains immortal because of memory. Nevertheless his company was not without charm during the period of his silence; for he would maintain a conversation by the expression of his eyes, by gestures of his hand and nodding his head; nor did he strike men as gloomy or morose; for he retained his fondness for company and his cheerfulness. This part of his life he says was the most uphill work he knew, since he practised silence for five whole years; for he says he often had things to say and could not do so, and he was often obliged not to hear things the hearing of which would have enraged him, and often when he was moved and inclined to break out in a rebuke to odyss. Y. 18 others, he said to himself; "Bear up then, my heart

 $_{
m XIV}^{
m CAP.}$ καὶ γλώττα" πρὸς έαυτὸν φάναι, λόγων τε προσκρουσάντων αὐτῷ παριέναι τὰς ἐλέγξεις τότε.

XV

Διέτριψέ τε τοὺς της σιωπης χρόνους τὸν μεν εν Παμφύλοις, τον δε εν Κιλικία, καὶ βαδίζων δι' ούτω τρυφώντων έθνων οὐδαμοῦ έφθές ξατο, οὐδ' ὑπήχθη γρύξαι. ὁπότε μὴν στασιαζούση πόλει ἐντύχοι, πολλαὶ δὲ ἐστασίαζον ὑπὲρ θεαμάτων οὐ σπουδαίων, παρελθών ἂν καὶ δείξας έαυτόν, καί τι καὶ μελλούσης ἐπιπλήξεως τη χειρί και τῷ προσώπω ἐνδειξάμενος, ἐξήρητ' αν αταξία πασα, καὶ ώσπερ εν μυστηρίοις εσιώπων. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς ὀρχηστῶν τε καὶ ἵππων ἔνεκα στασιάζειν ώρμηκότας άνασχείν οὔπω μέγα, οἱ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀτακτοῦντες, ἂν πρὸς ἄνδρα ίδωσιν, ἐρυθριῶσί τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιλαμβάνονται καὶ ράστα δη ές νοῦν ηκουσι, λιμώ δὲ πεπιεσμένην πόλιν οὐ ῥάδιον εὐηνίω καὶ πιθανώ λόγω μεταδιδάξαι καὶ ὀργῆς παῦσαι. ἀλλ' ᾿Απολλωνίω καὶ ή σιωπή πρὸς τούς οὕτω διακειμένους ήρκει. άφίκετο μεν γάρ ες 'Ασπενδον την Παμφύλωνπρὸς Εὐρυμέδοντι δὲ οἰκεῖται ποταμῷ ἡ πόλις αύτη, τρίτη των έκει-όροβοι δ' ώνιοι καὶ τὰ ές βρωσιν ἀναγκαῖα διέβοσκεν αὐτούς, τὸν γὰρ σιτον οι δυνατοί ξυγκλείσαντες είχον, "ν' έκκαπηλευθείη της χώρας. ἀνηρέθιστο δη ἐπὶ τὸν 38

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and tongue;" and when reasoning offended him he CHAP. had to give up for the time the refuting of it.

XV

THESE years of silence he spent partly in Pam-CHAP. phylia and partly in Cilicia; and though his paths lay XV through such effeminate races as these, he never The selfish spoke nor was even induced to murmur. Whenever, chants of however, he came on a city engaged in civil conflict Aspendus (and many were divided into factions over spectacles of a low kind), he would advance and show himself, and by indicating something of his intended rebuke by manual gesture or by look on his face, he would put an end to all the disorder, and people hushed their voices, as if they were engaged in the mysteries. Well, it is not so very difficult to restrain those who have started a quarrel about dances and horses, for those who are rioting about such matters, if they chance with their eyes on a real man, blush and check themselves and easily recover their senses; but a city hard pressed by famine is not so tractable, nor so easily brought to a better mood by persuasive words and its passion quelled. But in the case of Apollonius, mere silence on his part was enough for those so affected. Anyhow, when he came to Aspendus in Pamphylia (and this city is built on the river Eurymedon, lesser only than two others about there), he found vetches on sale in the market, and the citizens were feeding upon this and on anything else they could get; for the rich men had shut up all the corn and were holding it up for export from the country. Consequently an excited

 $^{\mathrm{CAP}}_{\mathrm{XY}}$. ἄρχοντα ήλικία πᾶσα καὶ πυρὸς ἐπ' αὐτ $\mathbf{d} \mathbf{v}$ ήπτοντο καίτοι προσκείμενον τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνδριᾶσιν, οἱ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπία φοβερώτεροι ήσαν τότε καὶ ἀσυλότεροι, Τιβερίου γε όντες, ἐφ' οῦ λέγεταί τις ἀσεβησαι δόξαι τυπτήσας τὸν ξαυτοῦ δοῦλον φέροντα δραχμὴν άργυρᾶν νενομισμένην ές Τιβέριον. προσελθών οὖν τῷ ἄρχοντι ἤρετο αὐτὸν τῆ χειρί, ὅ τι εἴη τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ ἀδικεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν φήσαντος, ἀδικεῖσθαι δὲ μετὰ τοῦ δήμου, λόγου δ' εἰ μὴ τύχοι, ξυναπολείσθαι τώ δήμω, μετεστράφη τε είς τούς περιεστηκότας ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος καὶ ἔνευσεν ὡς χρὴ άκοῦσαι, οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐσιώπησαν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως της πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔθεντο ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν αὐτόθι. ἀναθαρρήσας οὖν ὁ ἄρχων " ὁ δεῖνα," ἔφη, " καὶ ὁ δεῖνα," πλείους εἰπών, " τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ καθεστηκότος αἴτιοι, τὸν γὰρ σῖτον ἀπολαβόντες φυλάττουσι κατ' ἄλλος ἄλλο τῆς χώρας." διακελευομένων δε τῶν ᾿Ασπενδίων άλληλοις έπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς φοιτᾶν, ἀνένευσεν ὁ 'Απολλώνιος μὴ πράττειν τοῦτο, μετακαλεῖν δὲ μαλλον τους έν τη αιτία και παρ' έκοντων εύρέσθαι τὸν σῖτον. ἀφικομένων δὲ μικροῦ μὲν έδέησε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ῥῆξαι, παθών τι πρὸς τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δάκρυα—καὶ γὰρ παιδία ξυνερρυήκει καὶ γύναια, καὶ ώλοφύροντο οί γεγηρακότες, ώς αὐτίκα δη ἀποθανούμενοι λιμώ—

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crowd of all ages had set upon the governor, and CHAP were lighting a fire to burn him alive, although he was clinging to the statues of the Emperor, which were more dreaded at that time and more inviolable than the Zeus in Olympia; for they were statues of Tiberius, in whose reign a master is said to have been held guilty of impiety, merely because he struck his own slave when he had on his person a silver drachma coined with the image of Tiberius. Apollonius then went up to the governor and with a sign of his hand asked him what was the matter; and he answered that he had done no wrong, but was indeed being wronged quite as much as the populace; but, he said, if he could not get a hearing, he would perish along with the populace. Apollonius then turned to the bystanders, and beckoned to them that they must listen; and they not only held their tongues from wonderment at him, but they laid the brands they had kindled on the altars which were there. The governor then plucked up courage and said: "This man and that man," and he named several, "are to blame for the famine which has arisen; for they have taken away the corn and are keeping it, one in one part of the country and another in another." The inhabitants of Aspendus thereupon passed the word to one another to make for these men's estates, but Apollonius signed with his head, that they should do no such thing, but rather summon those who were to blame and obtain the corn from them with their consent. And when, after a little time the guilty parties arrived, he very nearly broke out in speech against them, so much was he affected by the tears of the crowd; for the children and women had all flocked together, and the

CAP. τιμών δὲ τὸ τῆς σιωπῆς δόγμα γράφει ἐς γραμματείον ἐπίπληξιν, καὶ δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι τῷ άρχοντι· ή δὲ ἐπίπληξις ὧδε εἶχεν· "'Απολλώνιος σιτοκαπήλοις 'Ασπευδίων. ή γη πάντων μήτηρ, δικαία γάρ, υμεις δε άδικοι όντες πεποίησθε αὐτὴν αὑτῶν μόνων μητέρα, καὶ εἰ μὴ παύσεσθε, οὐκ ἐάσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἑστάναι." δείσαντες ενέπλησαν την άγοραν σίτου καὶ άνεβίω ή πόλις.

XVI

Έπεφοίτησε καὶ Αντιοχεία τη μεγάλη πεπαυμένος του σιωπάν, καὶ παρηλθεν ές τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δαφναίου 'Απόλλωνος, ῷ περιάπτουσιν 'Ασσύριοι τὸν μῦθον τὸν ᾿Αρκάδα· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Λάδωνος Δάφνην ἐκεῖ μεταφῦναι λέγουσι, καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοῖς ῥεῖ Λάδων, καὶ φυτὸν τιμᾶται παρ' αὐτοῖς δάφνης, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου, κυπαρίττων τε ύψη ἀμήχανα περιέστηκε κύκλω τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ πηγάς ἐκδίδωσιν ὁ χῶρος ἀφθόνους τε καὶ ἢρεμούσας, αίς τὸν 'Απόλλω φασὶ ραίνεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα κυπαρίττου τι έρνος ή γη ἀναδέδωκεν, ἐπὶ Κυπαρίττω φασὶν ἐφήβω ᾿Ασσυρίω, καὶ πιστοῦται τὴν μεταβολην ή ώρα τοῦ φυτοῦ. καὶ ἴσως νεανικώτερον άπτεσθαι δοκῶ τοῦ λόγου διαμυθολογῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ μυθολογίας ταῦτα. τί δέ μοι

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old men were groaning and moaning as if they were CHAP. on the point of dying by hunger. However, he respected his vow of silence and wrote on a writing board his indictment of the offenders and handed it to the governor to read out aloud; and his indictment ran as follows: "Apollonius to the corn-dealers of Aspendus. The earth is mother of us all, for she is just; but you, because you are unjust have pretended that she is your mother alone; and if you do not stop, I will not permit you to remain upon her." They were so terrified by these words, that they filled the market-place with corn and the city revived.

XVI

AFTER the term of his silence was over he also CHAP. visited the great Antioch, and passed into the Temple XVI of the Apollo of Daphne, to which the Assyrians Finds Antioch of attach the legend of Arcadia. For they say that Syria Daphne, the daughter of Ladon, there underwent her uncongenial metamorphosis, and they have a river flowing there, the Ladon, and a laurel tree is worshipped by them which they say is the one substituted for the maiden; and cypress trees of enormous height surround the Temple, and the ground sends up springs both ample and placid, in which they say Apollo purifies himself by ablution. And there it is that the earth sends up a shoot of cypress, they say in honour of Cyparissus, an Assyrian youth; and the beauty of the shrub lends credence to the story of his metamorphosis. Well, perhaps I may seem to have fallen into a somewhat juvenile vein to approach my story by such legendary particulars as these, but my interest

CAP. ὁ λόγος βούλεται; ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος ἰδὼν τὸ ἱερὸν χαρίεν μέν, σπουδήν δ' εν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπους ήμιβαρβάρους καὶ ἀμούσους "Άπολλον," έφη, "μετάβαλε τοὺς ἀφώνους ἐς δένδρα, ἵνα κἂν ώς κυπάριττοι ήχωσιν." τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἐπισκεψάμενος, ώς γαλήνην ἄγουσι καὶ κελαρύζει σφῶν $o\dot{v}\delta\epsilon\mu\dot{\iota}a$, " $\dot{\eta}$ $\dot{a}\phi\omega\nu\dot{\iota}a$," $\epsilon\dot{l}\pi\epsilon\nu$, " $\dot{\eta}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\tau a\hat{v}\theta a$ $o\dot{v}\delta\dot{\epsilon}$ ταις πηγαις ξυγχωρεί φθέγγεσθαι." πρός δὲ τὸν Λάδωνα ίδων "οὐχ ή θυγάτηρ," ἔφη, "σοὶ μόνη μετέβαλεν, άλλὰ καὶ σὺ τῷ δόξαι βάρβαρος έξ "Ελληνός τε καὶ 'Αρκάδος." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω διαλέγεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ὁμιλούμενα τῶν χωρίων καὶ ἀτακτοῦντα παρητεῖτο, φήσας οὐκ ἀνθρώπων έαυτῶ δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν, τὰ δὲ σεμνότερα ἐσεφοίτα καὶ ὤκει τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὴ κληιστά. ἡλίου μὲν δη ἀνίσχοντος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τινα ἔπραττεν, ἃ μόνοις έποίει δήλα τοῖς ἐτῶν τεττάρων σιωπᾶν γεγυμνασμένοις, τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρόν, εἰ μὲν Ἑλλὰς ή πόλις εἴη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ γνώριμα, ξυγκαλῶν ἂν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐφιλοσόφει περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ διωρθοῦτο αὐτούς, εἴ που τῶν νομιζομένων ἐξαλλάττοιεν, εὶ δὲ βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἰδιότροπα εἴη, διεμάνθανε τοὺς ίδρυσαμένους αὐτὰ καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῷ ίδρύθη, πυθόμενός τε, όπη θεραπεύεται ταθτα καὶ ύποθέμενος, εἴ τι σοφώτερον τοῦ δρωμένου ἐνθυμηθείη,

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is not really in mythology. What then is the CHAP purport of my narrative? Apollonius, when he beheld a Temple so graceful and yet the home of no serious studies, but only of men half-barbarous and uncultivated, remarked: "O Apollo, change these dumb dogs into trees, so that at least as cypresses they may become vocal." And when he had inspected the springs, and noted how calm and quiet they were, and how not one of them made the least babble, he remarked: "The prevailing dumbness of this place does not permit even the springs to speak." And when he saw the Ladon he said: "It is not your daughter alone that underwent a change, but you too, so far as one can see, have become a barbarian after being a Hellene and an Arcadian." And when he was minded to converse, he avoided the frequented regions and the disorderly, and said, that it was not a rabble he wanted but real men; and he resorted to the more solemn A day of places, and lived in such Temples as were not shut his life in Antioch up. At sunrise, indeed, he performed certain rites by himself, rites which he only communicated to those who had disciplined themselves by a four years' spell of silence; but during the rest of the day, in case the city was a Greek one, and the sacred rites familiar to a Greek, he would call the priests together and talk wisely about the gods, and would correct them, supposing they had departed from the traditional forms. If, however, the rites were barbarous and peculiar, then he would find out who had founded them and on what occasion they were established, and having learnt the sort of cult it was, he would make suggestions, in case he could think of any improvement upon them, and then he

CAP. μετήει έπὶ τοὺς όμιλητὰς καὶ ἐκέλευεν ἐρωτᾶν, ἃ βούλονται. ἔφασκε γὰρ χρῆναι τοὺς οὕτω φιλοσοφούντας ήους μεν άρχομένης ξυνείναι θεοίς, προϊούσης δὲ περὶ θεῶν, τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρὸν ανθρωπείων πέρι τὰς ξυνουσίας ποιεῖσθαι. εἰπὼν δ' αν προς τους εταίρους, όπόσα ήρώτων, καὶ ίκανῶς της τοιαύτης ξυνουσίας ἔχων ἐπὶ την διάλεξιν ἀνίστατο λοιπὸν τὴν ἐς πάντας, οὐ πρὸ μεσημβρίας, άλλ' όπότε μάλιστα ή ήμέρα έστήκοι. καὶ διαλεχθεὶς ἂν ὡς ἀπαρκεῖν ὤετο, ἢλείφετό τε καὶ τριψάμενος ἵει έαυτὸν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρόν, γῆρας ἀνθρώπων καλῶν τὰ βαλανεῖα· τῆς γοῦν 'Αντιογείας ἀποκλεισθείσης ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις άμαρτήμασιν " έδωκεν ύμιν," έφη, " ὁ βασιλεύς κακοίς οὖσι βιῶναι πλείονα ἔτη." Ἐφεσίων δὲ βουλομένων καταλιθώσαι τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ έκπυροῦν τὰ βαλανεῖα "ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸν ἄρχοντα," έφη, "αἰτιᾶσθε, ἐπειδὴ πονηρῶς λοῦσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ύμᾶς, ὅτι λοῦσθε."

XVII

 $\Lambda \acute{o} \gamma \omega \nu \delta \grave{e} i \delta \acute{e} a \nu \epsilon \pi \acute{\eta} \sigma \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu \circ \delta i \delta \iota \theta \nu \rho a \mu \beta \acute{\omega} \delta \eta$ καὶ φλεγμαίνουσαν ποιητικοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οὐδ' αὖ κατεγλωττισμένην καὶ ὑπεραττικίζουσαν, ἀηδὲς γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν μετρίαν ᾿Ατθίδα ἡγεῖτο, οὐδὲ λεπτολογία ἐδίδου, οὐδὲ διῆγε τοὺς λόγους, 46

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would go in quest of his followers and bid them ask CHAP. any questions they liked. For he said that it was the duty of philosophers of his school to hold converse at the earliest dawn with the gods, but as the day advanced, about the gods, and during the rest of the day to discuss human affairs in friendly intercourse. And having answered all the questions which his companions addressed to him, and when he had had enough of their society, he would rise and give himself up for the rest to haranguing the general public, not however before mid-day, but as far as possible just when the day stood still. And when he thought he had had enough of such conversation, he would be anointed and rubbed, and then fling himself into cold water, for he called hot baths the old age of men. At any rate when the people of Condemns Antioch were shut out of them because of the hot baths enormities committed there, he said: "The Emperor, for your sins, has granted you a new lease of life." And when the Ephesians wanted to stone their governor because he did not warm their baths enough he said to them: "You are blaming your governor because you get such a sorry bath; but I blame you because you take a bath at all."

XVII

THE literary style which he cultivated was not CHAP. dithyrambic or tumid and swollen with poetical XVII words, nor again was it far-fetched and full of and affected Atticisms; for he thought that an excessive oratorical degree of Atticising was unpleasant. Neither did he indulge in subtleties, nor spin out his discourses; nor

CAP. οὐδὲ εἰρωνευομένου τις ἤκουσεν ἢ περιπατοῦντος ΧΥΙΙ ές τους ἀκροωμένους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τρίποδος ότε διαλέγοιτο "οίδα" έλεγε καὶ "δοκεί μοι" καὶ "ποῖ φέρεσθε;" καὶ "χρὴ εἰδέναι." αὶ δόξαι βραχεῖαι καὶ ἀδαμάντινοι, κύριά τε ονόματα καὶ προσπεφυκότα τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ήχὰ είχεν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκήπτρου θεμιστευόμενα. ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν στενολεσχούντων τινός, ὅτου ἕνεκα οὐ ζητοίη, " ὅτι," ἔφη, "μειράκιον ὢν έζήτησα, νῦν δὲ οὐ χρὴ ζητεῖν, άλλα διδάσκειν α εύρηκα." "πως οὖν, Άπολλώνιε, διαλέξεται ὁ σοφός;" πάλιν ἐπερομένου αὐτὸν "ως νομοθέτης," έφη, "δεί γὰρ τὸν νομοθέτην, ὰ πέπεικεν ξαυτόν, ταῦτα ἐπιτάγματα ἐς τοὺς πολλούς ποιείσθαι." ὧδε αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν ἀντιοχεία έσπουδάζετο, καὶ ἐπέστρεφεν ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους άμουσοτάτους.

XVIII

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λογισμὸν ἑαυτῷ διδοὺς ἀποδη-CAP. ΧΥΙΙΙ μίας μείζονος, ενθυμείται τὸ Ἰνδικον έθνος καί τους έν αὐτῷ σοφούς, οἱ λέγονται Βραχμᾶνές τε καὶ 'Υρκάνιοι είναι, προσήκειν φήσας νέω ἀνδρί άποδημείν τε καὶ ὑπερορίω αἴρεσθαι. εὕρημα δὲ τοὺς μάγους ἐποιεῖτο, οὶ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Σοῦσα οἰκοῦσι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων διαμαθεῖν ὁδῷ χρώμενος. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς όμιλητὰς έπτὰ όντας πειρωμένων δε αὐτῶν ανέφηνε την γνώμην.

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did anyone ever hear him dissembling in an ironical CHAP. way, nor addressing to his audience methodical arguments; but when he conversed he would assume an oracular manner and use the expressions, "I know," or "It is my opinion," or, "Where are you drifting to?" or, "You must know." And his sentences were short and crisp, and his words were telling and closely fitted to the things he spoke of, and his words had a He spoke as ring about them as of the dooms delivered by a one having authority sceptred king. And when a certain quibbler asked him, why he asked no questions of him, he replied: "Because I asked questions when I was a stripling; and it is not my business to ask questions now, but to teach people what I have discovered." "How then," the other asked him afresh, "O Apollonius, should the sage converse?" "Like a law-giver," he replied, "for it is the duty of the law-giver to deliver to the many the instructions of whose truth he has persuaded himself." This was the line he pursued during his stay in Antioch, and he converted to himself the most unrefined people.

XVIII

After this he formed the scheme of an extensive CHAP. voyage, and had in mind the Indian race and XVIII the sages there, who are called Brahmans and Projects a visit to Hyrcanians; for he said that it was a young man's India duty to go abroad and to embark upon foreign travel. But he made quite a windfall of the Magi, who live in Babylon and Susa. For, he said, he was determined to acquaint himself thoroughly with their lore, even if it cost him a journey. And he announced his intention to his followers, who were

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CAP. ξυμβουλεύειν έτερα, εἴ πη ἀφελχθείη τῆς ὁρμῆς ταύτης, "έγὼ μὲν θεούς," ἔφη, "συμβούλους πεποίημαι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα εἴρηκα, ὑμῶν δὲ βάσανον ἐποιούμην, εἰ πρὸς ἄπερ ἐγὰ ἔρρωσθε. έπεὶ τοίνυν μαλακώς έχετε, ύμεις μεν υγιαίνετε," ἔφη, "καὶ φιλοσοφεῖτε ἐμοὶ δὲ βαδιστέα, οἶ σοφία τε καὶ δαίμων με ἄγει." ταῦτα εἰπὼν έξελαύνει της 'Αντιοχείας μετὰ δυοίν θεραπόντοιν, οἵπερ αὐτῷ πατρικὰ ἤστην, ὁ μὲν ἐς τάχος γράφων, ὁ δὲ ἐς κάλλος.

XIX

Καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν Νῖνον, ἐν ἡ άγαλμα ίδρυται τρόπον βάρβαρον, έστι δὲ άρα 'Ιω ή Ἰνάχου καὶ κέρατα τῶν κροτάφων ἐκκρούει μικρά καὶ οίον μέλλοντα. ἐνταῦθα διατρίβοντι καὶ πλείω ξυνιέντι περὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἢ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήται, προσεφοίτησε Δάμις ὁ Νίνιος, δν καταρχάς έφην ξυναποδημησαί οι και ξυνέμπορον γενεσθαι της σοφίας πάσης καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διασώσασθαι, δς άγασθείς αὐτὸν καὶ ζηλώσας τῆς όδοῦ "ἴωμεν," ἔφη, "'Απολλώνιε, σὺ μὲν θεῶ έπόμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ σοί, καὶ γάρ με καὶ πολλοῦ άξιον εύροις άν· εἰ μὲν άλλο τι οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ δ' οὖν ές Βαβυλώνα ήκον, πόλεις τε, όπόσαι εἰσίν, οἶδα

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seven in number; but when they tried to persuade CHAP. him to adopt another plan, in hopes of drawing him His off from his resolution, he said: "I have taken the followers gods into counsel and have told you their decision; refuse and I have made trial of you to see if you are strong enough to undertake the same things as myself. Since therefore you are so soft and effeminate, I wish you very good health and that you may go on with your philosophy; but I must depart whither wisdom and the gods lead me." Having said this he quitted Antioch with two attendants, who belonged to his father's house, one of them a shorthand writer and the other a calligraphist.

XIX

And he reached the ancient city of Nineveh, where CHAP. he found an idol set up of barbarous aspect, and it is, XIX they say, Io, the daughter of Inachus, and horns short Reaches Nineveh. and, as it were, budding project from her temples. The image While he was staying there and forming wiser con- of Io clusions about the image than could the priests and prophets, one Damis, a native of Nineveh, joined him Damis joins as a pupil, the same, as I said at the beginning, who him became the companion of his wanderings abroad and his fellow-traveller and associate in all wisdom, and who has preserved to us many particulars of the sage. He admired him, and having a taste for the road, said: "Let us depart, Apollonius, you following God, and I you; for I think you will find me of considerable value. For, if I know nothing else, I have at least been up to Babylon, and I know all the cities

 $^{\text{CAP.}}_{\mathbf{XIX}}$ ἀνελθών οὐ πάλαι καὶ κώμας, ἐν αἶς πολλὰ άγαθά, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν βαρβάρων, όπόσαι είσίν, είσὶ δὲ ἄλλη μὲν ᾿Αρμενίων, ἄλλη δὲ Μήδων τε καὶ Περσῶν, ἄλλη δὲ Καδουσίων, μεταλαμβάνω δὲ πάσας." "ἐγὼ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὧ έταιρε, πασών ξυνίημι, μαθών μηδεμίαν." θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Νινιου "μὴ θαυμάσης," εἶπεν, "εἰ πάσας οίδα φωνάς ἀνθρώπων οίδα γὰρ δὴ καὶ όσα σιωπῶσιν ἄνθρωποι." ὁ μὲν δὴ ᾿Ασσύριος προσηύξατο αὐτόν, ώς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, καὶ ὥσπερ δαίμονα ἔβλεπε, συνην τε αὐτῷ ἐπιδιδοὺς τὴν σοφίαν καὶ ὅ τι μάθοι μνημονεύων. Φωνὴ δὲ ἦν τῷ ᾿Ασσυρίῳ ξυμμέτρως πράττουσα, τὸ γὰρ λογοειδές οὐκ είχεν, ἄτε παιδευθείς έν βαρβάροις, διατριβήν δὲ ἀναγράψαι καὶ συνουσίαν καὶ ὅ τι ήκουσεν ή είδεν ανατυπώσαι καὶ ύπόμνημα τών τοιούτων ξυνθείναι σφόδρα ίκανδος ην, καὶ ἐπετήδευε τοῦτο ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων. ή γοῦν δέλτος ή $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ $\epsilon \kappa \phi \alpha \tau \nu \iota \sigma \mu \acute{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$ τοιούτον $\tau \hat{\omega}$ $\Delta \acute{\alpha} \mu \iota \delta \iota$ $\nu o \hat{\nu} \nu$ είχεν ὁ Δάμις έβούλετο μηδέν τῶν Απολλωνίου άγνοείσθαι, άλλ' εί τι καὶ παρεφθέγξατο ή άμελως είπεν, άναγεγράφθαι καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ άξιον γε είπειν, α και προς τον μεμψάμενον την διατριβήν ταύτην ἀπεφθέγξατο. διασύροντος γαρ αὐτον ἀνθρώπου ραθύμου τε καὶ βασκάνου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀρθῶς ἀναγράφειν φήσαντος, όπόσαι γνωμαί τέ είσι καὶ δόξαι τοῦ ἀνδρός,

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there are, because I have been up there not long CHAP. ago, and also the villages in which there is much good to be found; and moreover, I know the languages of the various barbarous races, and there are several, for example the Armenian tongue, and that of the Medes and Persians, and that of the natives of Kadus, and I am familar with all of them." "And I," said Apollonius, "my good friend, under-Apollonius stand all languages, though I never learnt a single claim to know all one." The native of Nineveh was astonished at tongues this answer, but the other replied: "You need not wonder at my knowing all human languages; for, to tell you the truth, I also understand all the secrets of human silence." Thereupon the Assyrian worshipped him, when he heard this, and regarded him as a demon; and he stayed with him increasing in wisdom and committing to memory whatever he learnt. This Assyrian's language, however, was of a mediocre quality, for he had not the gift of expressing himself, having been educated among the Damis' barbarians; but he kept a journal of their intercourse, Apollonius. and recorded in it whatever he heard or saw, and he Their style was very well able to put together a memoir of such matters and managed this better than anyone else could do. At any rate the volume which he calls his scrap-book, was intended to serve such a purpose by Damis, who was determined that nothing about Apollonius should be passed over in silence, nay, that his most casual and negligent utterances should also be written down. And I may mention the answer which he made to one who cavilled and found fault with this journal. It was a lazy fellow and malignant who tried to pick holes in him, and remarked that he had recorded well enough a lot of

CAP. ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ οὕτω μικρὰ ξυλλεγόμενον **πα**ραπλήσιόν που τοῖς κυσὶ πράττειν τοῖς σιτουμένοις τὰ ἐκπίπτοντα τῆς δαιτός, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ $\Delta άμις "εὶ δαῖτες," ἔφη, "θεῶν εἰσι καὶ σιτοῦνται$ θεοί, πάντως που καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, οῖς μέλει τοῦ μηδὲ τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς ἀμβροσίας ἀπόλλυσθαι."

XX

Τοιοῦδε μεν εταίρου καὶ εραστοῦ ἔτυχεν, ι τὸ πολύ του βίου συνεπορεύθη. παριόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ τελώνης ό ἐπιβεβλημένος τῷ Ζεύγματι πρὸς τὸ πινάκιον $\tilde{\eta}_{\gamma\epsilon}$ καὶ $\tilde{\eta}_{\rho}\omega\tau a$, \tilde{o} τι $\tilde{a}\pi \tilde{a}_{\gamma}$ οι $\epsilon\nu$, \tilde{o} $\delta \hat{\epsilon}$ $\Lambda \pi \tilde{o}\lambda$ λώνιος "άπάγω" ἔφη "σωφροσύνην δικαιοσύνην άρετην εγκράτειαν ανδρείαν ἄσκησιν," πολλά καὶ οὕτω θήλεα εἴρας ὀνόματα. ὁ δ' ἤδη βλέπων τὸ ξαυτοῦ κέρδος "ἀπόγραψαι οὖν" ἔφη "τὰς δούλας." ὁ δὲ "οὐκ ἔξεστιν," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ δούλας ἀπάγω ταύτας, ἀλλὰ δεσποίνας." τὴν δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν μέσην ὁ Τίγρις ἀποφαίνει καὶ ὁ Εὐφράτης, ῥέοντες μὲν ἐξ ᾿Αρμενίας καὶ Ταύρου λήγοντος, περιβάλλοντες δὲ ἤπειρον, ἐν ϳ καὶ πόλεις μέν, τὸ δὲ πλείστον κῶμαι, ἔθνη τε

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things, for example, the opinions and ideas of his CHAP. hero, but that in collecting such trifles as these he reminded him of dogs who pick up and eat the fragments which fall from a feast. Damis replied thus: "If banquets there be of gods, and gods take food, surely they must have attendants whose business it is that not even the parcels of ambrosia that fall to the ground should be lost."

$\mathbf{X}\mathbf{X}$

Such was the companion and admirer that he had CHAP. met with, and in common with him most of his travels and life were passed. And as they fared on of the into Mesopotamia, the tax-gatherer who presided Bridge over the Bridge (Zeugma) led them into the registry and asked them what they were taking out of the country with them. And Apollonius replied: "I am taking with me temperance, justice, virtue, continence, valour, discipline." And in this way he strung together a number of feminine nouns or names. The other, already scenting his own perquisites, said: "You must then write down in the register these female slaves." Apollonius answered: "Impossible, for they are not female slaves that I am taking out with me, but ladies of quality."

Now Mesopotamia is bordered on one side by the Character of Tigris, and on the other by the Euphrates, rivers tamia which flow from Armenia and from the lowest slopes of Taurus; but they contain a tract like a continent, in which there are some cities, though for the most part only villages, and the races that inhabit them

CAP. 'Αρμένια καὶ 'Αράβια, ἃ ξυγκλείσαντες οἱ ποταμοὶ έχουσιν, ὧν καὶ νομάδες οἱ πολλοὶ στείχουσιν, ούτω τι νησιώτας έαυτους νομίζοντες, ώς έπλ θάλαττάν τε καταβαίνειν φάσκειν, ὅτ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς βαδίζοιεν, όρον τε ποιείσθαι της γης τον των ποταμών κύκλον άποτορνεύσαντες γάρ την προειρημένην ήπειρον έπὶ την αὐτην ἵενται θάλατταν. εἰσὶ δ', οί φασιν ές έλος ἀφανίζεσθαι τὸ πολὺ τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τελευτᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῆ γῆ. λόγου δ' ἔνιοι θρασυτέρου έφάπτονται, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆ γῆ ρέοντα ές Αίγυπτον ἀναφαίνεσθαι καὶ Νείλω συγκεράννυσθαι. ἀκριβολογίας μὲν δὴ ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ μηδεν παραλελειφθαί μοι τῶν γεγραμμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος ἐβουλόμην ὰν καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων τούτων πορευομένοις σπουδασθέντα είπειν, ξυνελαύνει δὲ ήμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἐς τὰ μείζω τε καὶ θαυμασιώτερα, οὐ μὴν ώς δυοῖν γε ἀμελῆσαι τούτοιν, της τε ἀνδρείας, ή χρώμενος ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος διεπορεύθη βάρβαρα έθνη καὶ ληστρικά, οὐδ' ύπὸ 'Ρωμαίοις πω ὄντα, τῆς τε σοφίας, ή τὸν 'Αράβιον τρόπον ές ξύνεσιν της τῶν ζώων φωνης ηλθεν. ἔμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τουτωνὶ τῶν ᾿Αραβίων πορευόμενος ἄριστα γιγνωσκόντων τε αὐτὸ καὶ πραττόντων. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν ᾿Αραβίων ἤδη κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀκούειν μαντευομένων, ὁπόσα οί χρησμοί, ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτούμενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ $\tilde{\eta}\pi a \rho$.

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are the Armenian and the Arab. These races are so CHAP shut in by the rivers that most of them, who lead the life of nomads, are so convinced that they are islanders, as to say that they are going down to the sea, when they are merely on their way to the rivers, and think that these rivers border the earth and encircle it. For they curve round the continental tract in question, and discharge their waters into the same sea. But there are people who say that the greater part of the Euphrates is lost in a marsh, and that this river ends in the earth. But some have a bolder tale to which they adhere, and declare that it runs under the earth to turn up in Egypt and mingle itself with the Nile. Well, for the sake of accuracy and truth, and in order to leave out nothing of the things that Damis wrote, I should have liked to relate all the incidents that occurred on their jonrney through these barbarous regions; but my subject hurries me on to greater and more remarkable episodes. Nevertheless, I must perforce dwell upon two topics: on the courage which Apollonius showed. in making a journey through races of barbarians and robbers, which were not at that time even subject to the Romans, and at the cleverness with which after the manner of the Arabs he managed to under- Apollonius stand the language of animals. For he learnt this learns from Arabs the on his way through these Arab tribes who best language understand it and practise it. For it is quite common for the Arabians to listen to the birds prophesying like any oracles, but they acquire this faculty of understanding them by feeding themselves, so they say, either on the heart or the liver of serpents.

XXI

Κτησιφῶντα δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ παριὼν ἐς τὰ CAP. Βαβυλῶνος ὅρια, φρουρὰ μὲν αὐτόθι ἢν ἐκ βασιλέως, ην οὐκ αν παρηλθέ τις μη οὐκ ἐρωτηθεὶς ἑαυτόν τε καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἐφ' ὅ τι ἥκοι. σατράπης δὲ τῆ φρουρᾶ ταύτη ἐπετέτακτο, βασιλέως τις, οἶμαι, ὀφθαλμός, ό γὰρ Μῆδος ἄρτι ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ήκων οὐ ξυνεχώρει έαυτῷ ἀδεῶς ζῆν, ἀλλὰ ὄντα τε καὶ οὐκ ὄντα δεδιὼς ές φόβους κατεπεπτώκει καὶ πτοίας. ἄγονται τοίνυν παρά τὸν σατράπην 'Απολλώνιός τε καὶ οί άμφ' αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ἔτυχε μὲν σκηνὴν ἐφ' άρμαμάξης πεποιημένος καὶ έξελαύνων ποι, ίδων δὲ ἄνδρα αὐχμοῦ πλέων ἀνέκραγέ τε ὥσπερ τὰ δειλὰ τῶν γυναίων καὶ ξυνεκαλύψατο, μόγις τε ἀναβλέψας ές αὐτόν "πόθεν ἡμιν ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἡκεις;" οίον δαίμονα ηρώτα. ὁ δὲ "ὑπ' ἐμαυτοῦ," ἔφη, " εἴ πη καὶ ἄκοντες ἄνδρες γένοισθε." πάλιν ήρετο, ὅστις ὢν ἐσφοιτῷ τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, ὁ δὲ "ἐμή," ἔφη, "πάσα ή γη και άνειταί μοι δι' αὐτης πορεύεσθαι," τοῦ δὲ "βασανιῶ σε," εἰπόντος "εἰ μὴ λέγοις," "εὶ γὰρ ταῖς σαυτοῦ χερσίν," εἶπεν, "ώς αὐτὸς βασανισθείης, θιγων ἀνδρός." ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ αὐτὸν ό εὐνοῦχος, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἑρμηνέως ἑώρα δεόμενον, άλλ' ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὴν φωνὴν ἀλύπως τε καὶ 58

XXI

HE left Ctesiphon behind, and passed on to the CHAP. borders of Babylon; and here was a frontier garrison XXI belonging to the king, which one could not pass by Ctesiphon without being questioned who one was, and as to to Babylon one's city, and one's reasons for coming there. And Demeanour there was a satrap in command of this post, a sort of of the frontier "Eye of the King," I imagine; for the Mede had just satrap acceded to the throne, and instead of being content to live in security, he worried himself about things real and imaginary and fell into fits of fear and panic. Apollonius then and his party were brought before this satrap, who had just set up the awning on his wagon and was driving out to go somewhere else. When he saw a man so dried up and parched, he began to bawl out like a cowardly woman and hid his face, and could hardly be induced to look up at him. "Whence do you come to us," he said, "and who sent you?" as if he was asking questions of a spirit. And Apollonius replied: "I have sent myself, to see whether I can make men of you, whether you like it or not." He asked a second time who he was to come trespassing like that into the king's country, and Apollonius said: "All the earth is mine, and I have a right to go all over it and through it." Whereupon the other said: "I will torture you, if you don't answer my questions." "And I hope," said the other, "that you will do it with your own hands, so that you may catch it well, if you touch a true man." Now the eunuch was astonished to find that Apollonius needed no interpreter, but understood what he said without the least trouble or difficulty.

CAP. $\epsilon \dot{\nu} \kappa \dot{\rho} \lambda \omega \varsigma$ " $\pi \rho \dot{\rho} \varsigma \delta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$," $\epsilon \dot{l} \pi \epsilon$, " $\tau \dot{l} \varsigma \epsilon \dot{l}$;" $\lambda \iota \pi \alpha \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ ήδη καὶ μεταβαλών τοῦ τόνου. ὑπολαβών δὲ ὁ 'Απολλώνιος "ἐπειδὴ μετρίως," ἔφη, "ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀπανθρώπως ἤρου, ἄκουε, ὅς εἰμι εἰμὶ μὲν ὁ Τυανεύς 'Απολλώνιος, ή δε όδος παρά τον Ίνδων βασιλέα καθ' ίστορίαν τῶν ἐκεῖ, βουλοίμην δ' αν καὶ τῷ σῷ βασιλεῖ ἐντυχεῖν φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οί ξυγγεγονότες οὐ τῶν φαύλων εἶναι, εἰ δὴ Οὐαρδάνης οὖτος, ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολωλυῖάν ποτ' αὐτῷ νῦν ἀνακεκτημένος." "ἐκεῖνος," ἔφη, "θεῖε Απολλώνιε πάλαι γάρ σε ηκούομεν. σοφῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ κἂν αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσειε τοῦ χρυσοῦ θρόνου, καὶ πέμποι δ' αν ύμας ές Ίνδους έπι καμήλου εκαστον. έγω δὲ καὶ ξένον ἐμαυτοῦ ποιοῦμαί σε καὶ δίδωμί σοι τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, "άμα θησαυρὸν χρυσοῦ δείξας "όπόσα βούλει δράττεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐς άπαξ, ἀλλὰ δεκάκις." παραιτησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα "σὰ δ' ἀλλὰ οἴνου," ἔφη, "Βαβυλωνίου, προπίνει δὲ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς δέκα ἡμῖν σατράπαις, άμφορέα έχε, συῶν τε καὶ δορκάδων τεμάχη όπτά, ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ ὅ τι έθέλεις. ή γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα όδὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰ στάδια κῶμαί εἰσιν οὐ πάνυ εὔσιτοι." λαβόμενος έαυτοῦ ὁ εὐνοῦχος, "οἶον," ἔφη, "ὧ θεοί, ἔπαθον ἀκούων γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα μήτ' ἀπὸ ζώων σιτείσθαι μήτε οἴνου πίνειν, παχέως αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμαθῶς ἐστιῶ." "ἀλλ' ἔστι σοι," ἔφη, "καὶ

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"By the gods," he said, "who are you?" this time CHAP. altering his tone to a whine of entreaty. And Apollonius replied: "Since you have asked me civilly this time and not so rudely as before, listen, I will tell you who I am: I am Apollonius of Tyana, and my road leads me to the king of India, because I want to acquaint myself with the country there; and I shall be glad to meet your king, for those who have associated with him say that he is no bad fellow, and certainly he is not, if he is this Vardan who has lately recovered the empire which he had lost." "He is the same," replied the other, "O divine Apollonius; for we have heard of you a long time ago, and in favour of so wise a man as you he would, I am sure, step down off his golden throne and send your party to India, each of you mounted on a camel. And I myself now invite you to be my guest, and I beg to present you with these treasures." And at the moment he pointed out a store of gold to him saying: "Take as many handfuls as you like, fill your hands, not once, but ten times." And when Apollonius refused the money he said: "Well, at any rate you will take some of the Babylonian wine, in which the king pledges us, his ten satraps. Take a jar of it, with some roast steaks of bacon and venison and some meal and bread and anything else you like. For the road after this, for many stades, leads through villages which are Apollonius' ill-stocked with provision." And here the eunuch vegetariancaught himself up and said: "Oh! ye gods, what have I done? For I have heard that this man never eats the flesh of animals, nor drinks wine, and here I am inviting him to dine in a gross and ignorant manner." "Well," said Apollonius, "you

CAP. λεπτῶς με ἑστιᾶν, ἢν ἄρτους τε δῷς καὶ τραγήματα." "δώσω," ἔφη, "ζυμίτας τε ἄρτους καὶ
φοίνικος βαλάνους ἢλεκτρώδεις τε καὶ μεγάλας.
δώσω καὶ λάχανα, ὁπόσα ὁ Τίγρις κηπεύει."
"ἀλλ' ἡδίω," εἶπεν ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος, "τὰ ἄγρια
καὶ αὐτόματα λάχανα τῶν ἢναγκασμένων καὶ
τεχνητῶν." "ἡδίω μέν," ἔφη ὁ σατράπης, "ἡ
χώρα δὲ ἡμῖν ἡ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἀψινθίου πλήρης
οὖσα ἀηδῆ αὐτὰ φύει καὶ πικρά." πλὴν ἀλλὰ
τοῦ σατράπου γε ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ ἀπιὼν ἤδη "ὧ
λῷστε," ἔφη, "μὴ λῆγε μόνον καλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἄρχου," νουθετῶν που αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ "βασανιῶ
σε," καὶ οἷς ἐν ἀρχῆ βαρβαρίζοντος ἤκουσε.

XXII

CAP. Προελθόντες δὲ εἴκοσι στάδια λεαίνη ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἀπεσφαγμένη ἐν θήρα, καὶ ἢν τὸ θηρίον μέγα καὶ ὅσον οὕπω εἶδον, ἐβόων τε οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης συνερρυηκότες, καί, νὴ Δί', οἱ τεθηρακότες, ὥς τι μέγα θαῦμα ἐν αὐτῷ ὁρῶντες· καὶ ἢν ἀτεχνῶς θαῦμα· σκύμνους γὰρ ἀνατμηθεῖσα ὀκτὼ εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ τῆς λεαίνης τόκος, αἱ λέαιναι μηνῶν μὲν κυΐσκουσιν ἕξ, τρὶς δὲ ἀποτίκτουσιν, ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν σκύμνων παρὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην τρεῖς, ἐπὶ 62

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can offer me a lighter repast and give me bread and CHAP. dried fruits." "I will give you," said the other, "leavened bread and palm dates, like amber and of good size. And I will also supply you with vegetables, the best which the gardens of the Tigris afford." "Well," said Apollonius, "the wild herbs which grow free are nicer than those which are forced and artificial." "They are nicer," said the satrap, "I admit, but our land in the direction of Babylon is full of wormwood so that the herbs which grow in it are disagreeably bitter." In the end Apollonius accepted the satrap's offer, and as he was on the point of going away, he said: "My excellent fellow, don't keep your good manners to the end another time, but begin with them." by way of rebuking him for saying that he would torture him, and for the barbaric language which he had heard to begin with.

XXII

After they had advanced twenty stades they charchanced upon a lioness that had been slain in a chase; and the brute was bigger than any they had ever the slain seen; and the villagers rushed up and cried out, and lioness to tell the truth, so did the huntsmen, when they saw what an extraordinary thing lay before them. And it really was a marvel; for when it was cut asunder they found eight whelps within it. And the lioness becomes a mother in this way. They carry their young for six months, but they bring forth young only three times; and the number of the whelps at the first birth is three and at the second

 $_{\rm XXII}^{\rm CAP.}$ δὲ τῆς δευτέρας δύο, τρίτου δὲ ἀπτομένη τόκου μονήρη σκύμνον ἀποτίκτει μέγαν, οἶμαι, καὶ άγριώτερον της φύσεως. οὐ γὰρ προσεκτέα τοῖς λέγουσιν, ώς ξήναντες οἱ σκύμνοι τὰς τῶν λεαινῶν μήτρας ἐκδέδονται τοῦ σπλάγχνου. δοκεῖ γάρ τη φύσει τῷ τικτομένω πρὸς τὸ τίκτον ἐπιτήδεια είναι ύπερ σωτηρίας τοῦ γένους. Ενιδών οὖν ό 'Απολλώνιος τῷ θηρίω καὶ πολύν χρόνον ἐπισχων " ὧ Δάμι," ἔφη, "ὁ χρόνος τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα άποδημίας ένιαυτοῦ έσται καὶ μηνῶν ὀκτώ, οὕτε γαρ έκεινος ανήσει θαττον, ούτε ήμιν λώον απελθεῖν πρὸ τούτου. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ χρὴ τῶν μὲν σκύμνων ές μηνας, της λεαίνης δε ές ενιαυτόν, τέλεια γὰρ τελείοις παραβλητέα." "οί δὲ δὴ στρουθοί," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "οί παρὰ τῷ 'Ομήρω τί φήσουσιν, οθς ο δράκων μεν εν τη Αθλίδι εδαίσατο όκτω ὄντας, ἐννάτην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὴν μητέρα ἑλών; Κάλχας δ' έξηγούμενος ταῦτα ἐννέα ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀνεῖπε καταπολεμήσεσθαι τὴν Τροίαν καὶ ὅρα μὴ καθ' "Ομηρόν τε καὶ Κάλχαντα ἐς ἐννέα ἡμῖν ἔτη ἡ ἀποδημία τείνη." "καὶ εἰκότως," ἔφη, "ὧ Δάμι, καὶ τοὺς νεοττοὺς "Ομηρος ἐνιαυτοῖς εἰκάζει, γεγόνασι γὰρ ἤδη καί εἰσιν, ἐγὰ δὲ ἀτελη θηρία καὶ μήπω γεγονότα, ἴσως δὲ μηδ' ἂν γενόμενα, πῶς ἂν ένιαυτοίς εἰκάζοιμι; τὰ γὰρ παρὰ φύσιν οὕτ' ἂν γένοιτο, ταχειάν τε ἴσχει διαφθοράν, κἂν γένηται. άλλ' έπου δη τώ λόγω, καὶ ἴωμεν εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοίς οὶ ταῦτα φαίνουσι."

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two, and if the mother makes a third attempt, it CHAP. bears only a single whelp, but I believe a very big one and preternaturally fierce. For we must not believe those who say that the whelps of a lioness make their way out into the world by clawing through their mother's womb; for nature seems to have created the relationship of offspring to mother for their nourishment with a view to the continuance of the race. Apollonius then eyed the animal for a long time, with attention, and then he said: "O Damis, the length of our stay with the king will be a year and eight months; for neither will he let us go sooner than that, nor will it be to our advantage to quit him earlier. And you may guess the number of the months from that of the whelps, and that of the years from the lioness; for you must compare wholes with wholes." And Damis replied: "But what of the sparrows in Homer, what do they mean, the ones which the dragon devoured in Aulis, which were eight in number, when he seized their mother for a ninth? Calchas surely explained these to signify nine years and predicted that the war with Troy would last so long; so take care that Homer may not be right and Calchas, too, and that our stay may not extend to nine years abroad." "Well," replied Apollonius, "Homer was surely quite right in comparing the nestlings to years, for they are already hatched out and in the world; but what I had in mind were incomplete animals that were not yet born, and perhaps never would have been born: how could I compare them to years? For things that violate nature can hardly come to be; and they anyhow quickly pass to destruction, even if they do come into existence. So follow my arguments, and let us go, first praying to the gods who reveal thus much to us."

XXIII

Προελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Κισσίαν χωραν καὶ CAP. XXIII πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἤδη ὄντι, δόξα ἐνυπνίου ἐφοίτησεν ώδε τῷ φήναντι θεῷ ξυντεθεῖσα· ἰχθῦς ἐκπεπτωκότες της θαλάττης έν τη γη ήσπαιρον, θρηνον άνθρώπων ίέντες καὶ ολοφυρόμενοι τὸ ἐκβεβηκέναι τοῦ ἤθους, δελφῖνά τε τῆ γῆ παρανέοντα ίκετευον αμυναί σφισιν ελεεινοί οντες, ώσπερ των ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἐν τῆ ξένη κλαίοντες. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου, ξυμβάλλεται μὲν αὐτοῦ όπως καὶ όπη είχε, διαταράττειν δὲ βουλόμενος τον Δάμιν, καὶ γὰρ τῶν εὐλαβεστέρων αὐτον ἐγίγνωσκεν, ἀπαγγέλλει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ὄψιν, δέος πλασάμενος ώς ἐπὶ πονηροῖς, οίς είδεν ὁ δὲ ἀνε-· βόησέ τε ώς αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπῆγε τὸν 'Απολλώνιον τοῦ πρόσω ''μή πη,'' ἔφη, ''καὶ ήμεις ώσπερ ιχθυς έκπεσόντες των ήθων απολώμεθα, καὶ πολλὰ έλεεινὰ έν τῆ ἀλλοδαπῆ εἴπωμεν, καί που καὶ ἐς ἀμήχανον ἐμπεσόντες ἱκετεύσωμεν δυνάστην τινὰ ἡ βασιλέα, ὁ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμάση, καθάπερ τοὺς ἰχθῦς οἱ δελφῖνες." γελάσας δὲ ὁ 'Απολλώνιος "σὺ μὲν οὔπω φιλοσοφεῖς," εἶπεν, " εί δέδιας ταῦτα, έγω δὲ οί τὸ ἐνύπνιον τείνει δηλώσω· Ἐρετριεῖς γὰρ τὴν Κισσίαν ταύτην χώραν οἰκοῦσιν οἱ ἐξ Εὐβοίας ποτὲ Δαρείω ἀναχθέντες έτη ταῦτα πεντακόσια, καὶ λέγονται, ὥσπερ ή όψις έφάνη, ἰχθύων πάθει περὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν χρήσασθαι· σαγηνευθήναι γὰρ δὴ καὶ άλῶναι πάντας. 66

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XXIII

And as he advanced into the Cissian country and CHAP. was already close to Babylon, he was visited by a XXIII dream, and the god who revealed it to him fashioned about the its imagery as follows: there were fishes which had captive been cast up from the sea on to the land, and they were gasping, and uttering a lament almost human. and bewailing that they had quitted their element; and they were begging a dolphin that was swimming past the shore to help them in their misery, just like human beings who are weeping in a foreign land. Apollonius was not in the least frightened by his dream, but set himself to conjecture its meaning and drift; but he was determined to give Damis a shock. for he found that he was the most nervous of men. So he related his vision to him, and feigned as if it foreboded evil. But Damis began to bellow as if he had seen the dream himself, and tried to dissuade Apollonius from going any further, "Lest," he said, "we also like the fishes get thrown out of our element and perish, and have to weep and wail in a foreign land. Nay, we may even be reduced to straits, and have to go down on our knees to some potentate or king, who will flout us as the dolphins did the fishes." Then Apollonius laughed and said: "You've not become a philosopher yet, if you are afraid of this sort of thing. But I will explain to you the real drift of the dream. For this land of Cissia is habited by the Eretrians, who were brought up here from Euboea by Darius five hundred years ago, and they are said to have been treated at their capture like the fishes that we saw in the dream; for they were netted in, so they say, and captured one

CAP. ἐοίκασιν οὖν οἱ θεοὶ κελεύειν με ἐς αὐτοὺς παρελθόντα ἐπιμεληθῆναι σφῶν, εἴ τι δυναίμην. ἴσως δὲ καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἵπερ ἔλαχον τὴν ένταῦθα μοῖραν, ἐπάγονταί με ἐπ' ὡφελεία τῆς γης. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐξαλλάξαντες της ὁδοῦ περὶ μόνου έρωτῶντες τοῦ φρέατος, πρὸς ὧ οἰκοῦσι." λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο κεκρᾶσθαι μὲν ἀσφάλτου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ ύδατος, εκχέαντος δε τοῦ ἀνιμήσαντος ἀπογωρεῖν ταῦτα καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κρίνεσθαι. παρελθεῖν μεν δη ές την Κισσίαν και αυτός ωμολόγηκεν έν οίς πρὸς τὸν Κλαζομένιον σοφιστὴν γράφει, χρηστὸς γὰρ οὕτω τι καὶ φιλότιμος ἦν, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Έρετριέας εἶδε, σοφιστοῦ τε ἀναμνησhetaῆναι καὶ γράψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄ τε εἶδεν ἄ τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν έπραξεν καὶ παρακελεύεταί οἱ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιστολήν πασαν έλεειν τους Έρετριέας, και όπότε μελετώη τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον, μηδὲ τὸ κλάειν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παραιτεῖσθαι.

XXIV

Ξυνωδά δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Δάμις περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀναγέγραφεν οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἐν τῆ Μηδικῆ, Βαβυλώνος οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες ἡμέρας δδὸν δρομικῷ ἀνδρί, ἡ χώρα δὲ ἄπολις, ἡ γὰρ Κισσία κωμαι πάσα, καί τι καὶ νομάδων ἐν αὐτῆ γένος μικρά τῶν ἵππων ἀποβαίνοντες. ή δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων οἰκεῖται μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μέση, περιβέβληται δὲ ποταμοῦ τάφρον, ἡν αὐτοὶ βαλ-

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and all. It would seem then that the gods are in-CHAP, structing me to visit them and tend their needs, XXIII supposing I can do anything for them. And perhaps also the souls of the Greeks whose lot was cast in this part of the world are enlisting my aid for their land. Let us then go on and diverge from the highroad, and ask only about the well, hard by which their settlement is." Now this well is said to consist of a mixture of pitch and oil and water, and if you draw up a bucket and pour it out, these three elements divide and part themselves from one another. That he really did visit Cissia, he himself acknowledges in a letter which he wrote to the sophist Letter of Clazomenae; for he was so kind and loyal, that to the Sophist of when he saw the Eretrians, he remembered the Clazomonae sophist and wrote to him an account of what he Scopelianus about them had seen, and of what he had done for them; and all through this letter he urges the sophist to take pity on the Eretrians and prays him, in case ever he should compose a discourse about them, not to deprecate even the shedding of tears over their fate.

XXIV

And the record which Damis has left about the CHAP. Eretrians is in harmony with this. For they live in XXIV the country of the Medes, not far distant from of Datis Babylon, a day's journey for a fleet traveller; but and the their country is without cities; for the whole of carried Cissia consists of villages, except for a race of nomads captive to Media that also inhabits it, men who seldom dismount from their horses. And the settlement of the Eretrians is in the centre of the rest, and the river is carried

CAP. έσθαι περὶ τῆ κώμη λέγονται, τεῖχος αὐτὴν ποιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῆ Κισσία βαρβάρους. ὕπομβρος δὲ ἀσφάλτω ἡ χώρα καὶ πικρὰ ἐμφυτεῦσαι, βραχυβιώτατοί τε οἱ ἐκείνη ἄνθρωποι, τὸ γὰρ άσφαλτῶδες ποτὸν ές πολλὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων ίζάνει. τρέφει δ' αὐτοὺς λόφος ἐν ὁρίοις τῆς κώμης, ον ύπεραίροντα τοῦ παρεφθορότος χωρίου σπείρουσι τε καὶ ἡγοῦνται γῆν. φασὶ δὲ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν έγχωρίων, ώς έπτακόσιοι μέν τῶν Ἐρετριέων πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ήλωσαν, οὔτι που μάχιμοι πάντες, ην γάρ τι καὶ θηλυ ἐν αὐτοῖς γένος καὶ γεγηρακός, ήν δ', οἶμαί, τι καὶ παιδία, τὸ γὰρ πολύ της Έρετρίας τὸν Καφηρέα ἀνέφυγε καὶ ὅ τι ἀκρότατον της Εὐβοίας. ἀνήχθησαν δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν άμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους, γύναια δὲ ἴσως δέκα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπ' Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Λυδίας ἀρξάμενοι διεφθάρησαν έλαυνόμενοι ἄνω. λιθοτομίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεχομένου τοῦ λόφου, καί τινες καὶ λιθουργούς εἰδότες τέχνας, ἱερά τε ἐδείμαντο Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ ἀγοράν, όπόσην εἰκὸς ἦν, βωμούς τε ίδρύσαντο Δαρείφ μὲν δύο, Ξέρξη δὲ ἔνα, Δαριδαίω δὲ πλείους. διετέλεσαν δὲ ἐς Δαριδαῖον ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ὀκτὼ καὶ ολούκοντα γράφοντες τον Έλλήνων τρόπον, καί οἱ τάφοι δὲ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι σφῶν "ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος" γεγράφαται, καὶ τὰ γράμματα Ἑλλήνων μέν, ἀλλ' ούπω ταύτα ίδειν φασι. καὶ ναύς έγκεχαραγ-

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round it in a trench, for they say that they them- CHAP. selves diverted it round the village in order to form XXIV a rampart of defence against the barbarians of the country. But the soil is drenched with pitch, and is bitter to plant in; and the inhabitants are very short lived, because the pitch in the water forms a sediment in most of their bowels. And they get their sustenance off a bit of rising ground on the confines of the village, where the ground rises above the tainted country; on this they sow their crops and regard it as their land. And they say that they have heard from the natives that 780 of the Eretrians were captured, not of course all of them fighting men; for there was a certain number of women and old men among them; and there was, I imagine, a certain number of children too, for the greater portion of the population of Eretria had fled to Caphereus and to the loftiest peaks of Euboea. But anyhow the men who were brought up numbered about 400, and there were ten women perhaps; but the rest, who had started from Ionia and Lydia, perished as they were marching up. And they managed to open a quarry on the hill; and as some of them understood the art of cutting stone, they built temples in the Greek style and a market-place large enough for their purpose; and they dedicated various altars, two to Darius, and one to Xerxes, and several to Daridaeus. But up to the time of Daridaeus, 88 years after their capture, they continued to write in the manner of the Greeks, and what is more, their ancient graves are inscribed with the legend : "So Apollonius and so, the son of so and so." And though the restores their graves letters are Greek, they said that they never yet had made them out. And there were ships engraved on

CAP. μένας τοῖς τάφοις, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἔζη ΧΧΙΝ πορθμεύων ἢ πορφυρεύων ἢ θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ άλουργὸν πράττων, καί τι καὶ ἐλεγεῖον ἀναγνῶναι γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ ναυτῶν τε καὶ ναυκλήρων σήματι·

Οίδε ποτ' Αλγαίοιο βαθύρροον οίδμα πλέοντες 'Εκβατάνων πεδίω κείμεθ' ενί μεσάτω. χαίρε κλυτή ποτε πατρίς 'Ερέτρια, χαίρετ' 'Αθηναι,

γείτονες Εὐβοίης, χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη.

Τοὺς μὲν δὴ τάφους διεφθορότας ἀναλαβεῖν τε αὐτὸν ὁ Δάμις φησὶ καὶ ξυγκλεῖσαι, χέασθαί τε καὶ ἐπενεγκεῖν σφισιν, ὁπόσα νόμιμα, πλὴν τοῦ τεμείν τι ή καθαγίσαι, δακρύσαντά τε καὶ ὑποπλησθέντα όρμης τάδε έν μέσοις άναφθέγξασθαι " Έρετριείς οἱ κλήρω τύχης δεῦρ' ἀπενεχθέντες, ύμεις μέν, εί καὶ πόρρω της αύτῶν, τέθαφθε γοῦν, οί δ' ύμᾶς ἐνταῦθα ῥίψαντες ἀπώλοντο περὶ τὴν ύμετέραν νησον ἄταφοι δεκάτω μεθ' ύμᾶς ἔτει· τὸ γὰρ ἐν κοίλη Εὐβοία πάθος θεοὶ φαίνουσιν." 'Απολλώνιος δὲ πρὸς τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς $\dot{\epsilon}\pi \iota \sigma \tau \circ \lambda \hat{\eta} \varsigma$ " $\kappa a \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\epsilon}\pi \epsilon \mu \epsilon \lambda \dot{\eta} \theta \eta \nu$," $\dot{\phi} \eta \sigma \iota \nu$, " $\dot{\omega} \sum_{\kappa \circ \pi \epsilon} \kappa \delta \tau = 0$ λιανέ, τῶν σῶν Ἐρετριέων νέος ὢν ἔτι, καὶ ώφέλησα ὅ τι ἐδυνάμην καὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας." τί δῆτα ἐπεμελήθη τῶν ζώντων; οί πρόσοικοι τῷ λόφω βάρβαροι σπειρόντων τῶν Έρετριέων αὐτὸν ἐληίζοντο τὰ φυόμενα περὶ τὸ

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the tombstones, to show that the various individuals CHAP. had lived in Euboea, and engaged either in seafaring XXIV trade, or in that of purple, as sailors or as dyers; and they say that they read an Elegiac inscription written over the sepulchre of some sailors and seafarers, which ran thus:

Here we who once sailed over the deep-flowing billows of the Aegean sea

Are lying in the midst of the plain of Ecbatana. Farewell, once-famed fatherland of Eretria, farewell Athens,

Ye neighbours of Euboea, farewell, thou darling sea.

Well, Damis says that Apollonius restored the tombs that had gone to ruin and closed them up, and that he poured out libations and made offerings to their inmates, all that religion demands, except that he did not slay or sacrifice any victim; then after weeping and in an access of emotion, he delivered himself of the following apostrophe in their midst:

"Ye Eretrians, who by the lot of fortune have been brought hither, ye, even if ye are far from your own land, have at least received burial; but those who cast you hither perished unburied round the shores of your island ten years after yourselves; for the gods brought about this calamity in the hollows of Euboea."

And Apollonius at the end of his letter to the sophist writes as follows: "I also attended, O Scopelianus, to your Eretrians, while I was still a young man; and I gave what help I could both to their dead and their living." What attention then did he show to their living? This—the barbarians, in the neighbourhood of the hill, when the Eretrians

CAP. θέρος ήκοντες καὶ πεινῆν ἔδει γεωργοῦντας έτέροις.
δπότ' οὖν παρὰ βασιλέα ἀφίκετο, εὔρετο αὐτοῖς
τὸ χρῆσθαι μόνους τῷ λόφῳ.

XXV

Τὰ δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ όπόσα Βαβυλώνος πέρι προσήκει γιγνώσκειν, τοιάδε εὖρον ή Βαβυλών τετείχισται μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια στάδια, τοσαύτη κύκλω, τείχος δὲ αὐτῆς τρία μὲν τὸ ὕψος ἡμίπλεθρα, πλέθρου δὲ μεῖον τὸ εὖρος, ποταμῷ δὲ Εὐφράτη τέμνεται ξύν ομοιότητι τοῦ εἴδους, ον ἀπόρρητος ύποστείχει γέφυρα, τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς όχθαις άφανῶς ξυνάπτουσα. γυνη γὰρ λέγεται Μηδεία τῶν ἐκείνη ποτὲ ἄρχουσα τὸν ποταμὸν ύποζεῦξαι τρόπον, δν μήπω τις ποταμὸς έζεύχθη λίθους γὰρ δὴ καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ ἄσφαλτον καὶ όπόσα ές ἔφυδρον ξύνδεσιν ἀνθρώποις εὕρηται, παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ νήσασα τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐς λίμνας έτρεψε, ξηρόν τε ήδη τον ποταμον ώρυγεν όργυιας ές δύο σήραγγα έργαζομένη κοίλην, ίν' ές τὰ βασίλεια τὰ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς αναφαίνοιτο, καὶ ἤρεψεν αὐτὴν ἴσως τῷ τοῦ ρεύματος δαπέδω. οἱ μὲν δὴ θεμέλιοι ἐβεβήκεσαν καὶ οἱ τοῖχοι τῆς σήραγγος, ἄτε δὲ τῆς ἀσφάλτου δεομένης του ύδατος ές τὸ λιθουσθαί τε καὶ πήγνυσθαι ὁ Εὐφράτης ἐπαφείθη ὑγρῷ τῷ ὀρόφω,

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sowed their seed upon it, would come in summer-chaptime and plunder their crops, so that they had XXIV to starve and see the fruits of their husbandry go to others. When therefore he reached the king, he took pains to secure for them the sole use of the hill.

XXV

I FOUND the following to be an account of the sage's CHAP. stay in Babylon, and of all we need to know about Babylon. The fortifications of Babylon extend 480 Stay in Babylon stadia and form a complete circle, and its wall is and account three half plethrons high, but less than a plethron 1 in breadth. And it is cut asunder by the river Euphrates, into halves of similar shape; and there passes underneath the river an extraordinary bridge which joins together by an unseen passage the palaces on either bank. For it is said that a woman, Medea, was formerly queen of those parts, who spanned the river underneath in a manner in which no river was ever bridged before; for she got stones, it is said, and copper and pitch and all the materials which men have found set under water, and she piled these up along the banks of the river. Then she diverted the stream into lakes; and as soon as the river was dry, she dug down two fathoms, and made a hollow tunnel, which she caused to debouch into the palaces on either bank like a subterranean grotto; and she roofed it on a level with the bed of the stream. The foundations were thus made stable, and also the walls of the tunnel; but as the pitch required water in order to set as hard as stone, the Euphrates was let in again on the roof while still soft, and so the junction

¹ A plethron was equal to 101 English feet.

CAP. καὶ ὧδε ἔστη τὸ ζεῦγμα. τὰ δὲ βασίλεια χαλκῷ, μεν ήρεπται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀστράπτει, θάλαμοι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶνες καὶ στοαί, τὰ μὲν ἀργύρω, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῖς ὑφάσμασι, τὰ δὲ χρυσῷ αὐτῷ καθάπερ γραφαίς ηγλάϊσται, τὰ δὲ ποικίλματα τῶν πέπλων έκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σφίσιν ἥκει λόγων, ἀνδρομέδαι καὶ 'Αμυμῶναι καὶ 'Ορφεὺς πολλαχοῦ. χαίρουσι δὲ τῷ 'Ορφεῖ, τιάραν ἴσως καὶ ἀναξυρίδα τιμῶντες, οὐ γὰρ μουσικήν γε, οὐδὲ ώδάς, αἷς ἔθελγεν. ενύφανταί που καὶ ὁ Δᾶτις τὴν Νάξον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνασπῶν, καὶ ᾿Αρταφέρνης περιεστηκὼς τὴν Ἐρέτριαν, καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην, ἃ νικᾶν ἔφασκεν 'Αθ ηναι γὰρ δη ἐχόμεναί εἰσι καὶ Θερμοπύλαι καὶ τὰ Μηδικώτερα ἔτι, ποταμοὶ ἐξαιρούμενοι της γης καὶ θαλάττης ζεῦγμα καὶ ὁ "Αθως ώς έτμήθη. φασί δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶνι ἐντυχεῖν, οὖ τὸν όροφον ές θόλου ἀνηχθαι σχημα οὐρανῷ τινι είκασμένον, σαπφειρίνη δὲ αὐτὸν κατηρέφθαι λίθφ —κυανωτάτη δὲ ἡ λίθος καὶ οὐρανία ἰδεῖν—καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα, οθς νομίζουσιν, ίδρυται ἄνω καὶ χρυσα φαίνεται, καθάπερ, έξ αιθέρος. δικάζει μέν δή ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνταῦθα, χρυσαῖ δὲ ἴυγγες άποκρέμανται τοῦ ὀρόφου τέτταρες, τὴν ᾿Αδράστειαν αὐτῷ παρεγγυῶσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς άνθρώπους αἴρεσθαι. ταύτας οἱ μάγοι αὐτοί φασιν άρμόττεσθαι, φοιτώντες ές τὰ βασίλεια, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς θεῶν γλώττας.

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stood solid. And the palaces are roofed with bronze, CHAP. and a glitter goes off from them; but the chambers of the women and of the men and the porticos are Greek adorned partly with silver, and partly with golden works of tapestries or curtains, and partly with solid gold in Babylon the form of pictures; but the subjects embroidered on the stuffs are taken by them from Hellenic story, Andromedas being represented, and Amumonae, and you see Orpheus everywhere. And they delight in Orpheus, perhaps out of regard for his peaked cap and breeches, for it cannot be for his music or the songs with which he charmed and soothed others. And woven into the pattern you perceive Datis tearing up Naxos out of the sea, and Artaphernes beleaguering Eretria, and such battles of Xerxes as he said he won. For a little further off, of course, there is Athens and Thermopylae, and other pictures still more to the Median taste, such as rivers drained from Juvenal x. off the land and a bridge over the sea and the piercing But they say that they also visited a man's apartment of which the roof had been carried up in the form of a dome, to resemble in a manner the heavens, and that it was roofed with sapphire, a stone that is very blue and like heaven to the eve; and there were images of the gods, which they worship, fixed aloft, and looking like golden figures shining out of the ether. And it is here that the king gives judgement, and golden wrynecks are hung from the ceiling, four in number, to remind him of Adrastea, the goddess of justice, and to engage him not to exalt himself above humanity. These figures the Magi themselves say they arranged; for they have access to the palace, and they call them the tongues of the gods.

XXVI

Περὶ δὲ τῶν μάγων ἀπολλώνιος μὲν τὸ ἀποχρῶν CAP. εἴρηκε, συγγενέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ μὲν μαθεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἀπελθεῖν διδάξας, Δάμις δὲ τοὺς μὲν λόγους, οίοι ἐγένοντο τῷ ἀνδρὶ πρὸς τοὺς μάγους οὐκ οίδεν, ἀπαγορεῦσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ συμφοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτοὺς ζόντι, λέγει δ' οὖν φοιτᾶν αὐτὸν τοῖς μάγοις μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας, καὶ ἔρεσθαί ποτε "τί οἱ μάγοι;" τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι "σοφοὶ μέν, άλλ' οὐ πάντα."

XXVII

Ταυτί μεν ύστερον. ἀφικομένω δε αὐτώ ες Βαβυλώνα ό σατράπης ό ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων πυλών μαθών ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἱστορίας ἥκοι, ὀρέγει χρυσην εἰκόνα τοῦ βασιλέως, ην εἰ μη προσκυνήσειέ τις, οὐ θεμιτὸν ἢν ἐσφοιτᾶν ἔσω. πρεσβεύοντι μεν οθν παρά τοθ 'Ρωμαίων άρχοντος οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη τούτου, παρὰ βαρβάρων δὲ ήκοντι $\mathring{\eta}$ \mathring{a} φιστοροῦντι τ $\mathring{\eta}$ ν χ $\mathring{\omega}$ ρ \mathring{a} ν, ε \mathring{i} $\mathring{\mu}$ $\mathring{\eta}$ τ $\mathring{\eta}$ ν ε \mathring{i} κ \mathring{o} ν \mathring{a} προθεραπεύσειεν, ἄτιμον ἀπειληφθαι καὶ σατραπεύεται παρά τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ οὕτως εὐήθη. έπεὶ τοίνυν τὴν εἰκόνα εἶδε "τίς," ἔφη, "οὖτος;" ακούσας δὲ ὅτι ὁ βασιλεύς "οὖτος," εἶπεν, "δν ύμεις προσκυνείτε, εί ἐπαινεθείη ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καλὸς κάγαθὸς δόξας μεγάλων τεύξεται" καὶ εἰπὼν 78

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XXVI

WITH respect to the Magi, Apollonius has said all CHAP. that there is to be said, how he associated with them and learned some things from them, and taught them interviews others before he went away. But Damis is not the Magi acquainted with the conversations which the sage held with the Magi, for the latter forbade him to accompany him in his visits to them; so he tells us merely that he visited the Magi at mid-day and about mid-night, and he says that he once asked his master: "What of the Magi?" and the latter answered: "They are wise men, but not in all respects."

XXVII

But of this later on. When then he arrived at CHAP. Babylon, the satrap in command of the great gates XXVII having learnt that he had come to see the country, to worship held out a golden image of the king, which everyone the king's must kiss before he is allowed to enter the city. Now an ambassador coming from the Roman Emperor has not this ceremony imposed upon him, but anyone who comes from the barbarians or just to look at the country, is arrested with dishonour unless he has first paid his respects to this image. Such are the silly duties committed to satraps among barbarians. When therefore Apollonius saw the image, he said: "Who is that?" And on being told that it was the king, he said: "This king whom you worship would acquire a great boon, if I merely commended him as of an honourable and good reputation." And with these words he passed through

CAP. ταθτα διὰ πυλῶν ἤει. θαυμάσας δὲ ὁ σατράπης αὐτὸν ἐπηκολούθησέ τε καὶ κατασχὼν τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ ᾿Απολλωνίου δι᾽ ἑρμηνέος ἤρετο ὄνομά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ οἶκον καὶ ὅ τι ἐπιτηδεύοι καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι φοιτώη, καὶ ἀπογραψάμενος ταθτα ἐς γραμματεῖον στολήν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδος ἐκεῖνον μὲν περιμεῖναι κελεύει,

XXVIII

CAP. Δραμών δε αυτος πωρω ΄ ζονται βασιλέως ὧτα, ἀνατυποῖ τὸν ᾿Απολλώνιον, προειπών ὅτι μήτε προσκυνεῖν βούλεται μήτε τι ανθρώπω ἔοικεν οἱ δὲ ἄγειν κελεύουσι τιμῶντά τε καὶ μηδὲν ὕβρει πράττοντα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθεν, ἤρετο αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ὅ τι μαθών καταφρονήσειε τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ "οὔπω," ἔφη, "κατεφρόνησα." "καταφρονήσειας δ' ἄν;" πάλιν ἐρομένου, "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ήν γε ξυγγενόμενος μὴ καλόν τε καὶ άγαθὸν εὕρω αὐτόν." "ἀπάγεις δὲ δὴ τίνα αὐτῷ δώρα; " τοῦ δὲ αὖ τήν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φήσαντος "πότερον," ἔφη, "ώς οὐκ ἔχοντι;" "μὰ Δl '," $\epsilon l \pi \epsilon \nu$, "ἀλλ' ώς μαθησομένω χρησθαι, ην έχη αὐτάς," "καὶ μην χρώμενος τούτοις," ἔφη, "τήν τε βασιλείαν, ἢν ὁρᾶς, ἀπολωλυΐαν αὐτῷ ἀνέλαβε, τόν τε οἶκον ἐπανήγαγε τοῦτον, οὐκ ἀπόνως οὐδὲ ῥαθύμως." "πόστον δὲ δη τοῦτο ἔτος τη ἀνακτηθείση ἀρχη; " "τρίτου," 80

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the gate. But the satrap was astonished, and CHAP followed him, and taking hold of his hand, he asked XXVII him through an interpreter his name and his family and what was his profession and why he came thither; and he wrote down the answers in a book and also a description of his dress and appearance, and ordered him to wait there.

XXVIII

But he himself ran off to the persons whom they CHAP. are pleased to call the "Ears of the King," and de-XXVIII scribed Apollonius to them, after first telling them bearing both that he refused to do homage and that he was towards the great not the least like other men. They bade him bring king him along, and show him respect without using any violence; and when he came the head of the department asked him what induced him to flout the king, and he answered: "I have not yet flouted him." "But would you flout him?" was the next question. "Why, of course I will," said Apollonius, "if on making his acquaintance I find him to be neither honourable nor good." "Well, and what presents do you bring for him?" Apollonius answered afresh that he brought courage and justice and so forth. "Do you mean," said the other, "to imply that the king lacks these qualities?" "No, indeed," he answered, "but I would fain teach him to practise them, in case he possesses them." "And surely it was by practising these qualities," said the other, "that he has recovered the kingdom, which you behold, after he had lost it, and has restored his house,—no light task this nor easy." "And how many years is it since he recovered his kingdom?"

CAP. XXVIII ἔφη, "ἀρχόμεθα, δύο ἤδη που μῆνες." ἀναστήσας οὖν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὴν γνώμην "ὧ σωματοφύλαξ," εἶπεν, "ἢ ὅ τί σε προσήκει καλεῖν, Δαρεῖος ὁ Κύρου καὶ ᾿Αρταξέρξου πατὴρ τὰ βασίλεια ταῦτα κατασχὼν ἑξήκοντα, οἶμαι, ἔτη λέγεται τελευτὴν ὑποπτεύσας τοῦ βίου τῷ δικαιοσύνῃ θῦσαι, καὶ "ὧ δέσποινα," εἰπεῖν, "ἤ τίς ποτε εἶ·" ὥσπερ ἐπιθυμήσας μὲν πάλαι τῆς δικαιοσύνης, οὔπω δὲ αὐτὴν γιγνώσκων, οὐδὲ δοκῶν κεκτῆσθαι, τὰ παῖδέ τε οὕτως ἀμαθῶς ἐπαίδευσεν, ὡς ὅπλα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἄρασθαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν τρωθῆναι, ὁ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου, σὰ δ' ἤδη τοῦτον ἴσως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ θρόνῳ καθῆσθαι εἰδότα ξυνειληφέναι ὁμοῦ πάσας ἀρετὰς βούλει καὶ ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν σοὶ φέρων, οὐκ ἐμοί, κέρδος, εἰ βελτίων γένοιτο."

Βλέψας οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐς τὸν πλησίον "ἔρμαιον," ἔφη, "θεῶν τις ἄγει τουτονὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνταῦθα,
ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ξυγγενόμενος ἀγαθῷ πολλῷ βελτίω
τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῖν ἀποφανεῖ καὶ σωφρονέστερον
καὶ ἡδίω, ταυτὶ γὰρ διαφαίνεται τοῦ ἀνδρός."
ἐσέθεον οὖν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ
ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἑστήκοι σοφός τε καὶ "Ελλην
καὶ ξύμβουλος ἀγαθός.

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"This is the third year since," answered the CHAP. other, "which year began about two months ago." XXVIII Apollonius, then as was his custom, upheld his opinion and went on: "O bodyguard, or whatever I ought to call you, Darius the father of Cyrus and of Artaxerxes was master of these royal domains, I think, for 60 years, and he is said, when he felt that his end was near at hand, to have offered a sacrifice to Justice and to have addressed her thus: 'O lady mistress, or whosoever thou art.' This shows that he had long loved justice and desired her, but as yet knew her not, nor deemed that he had won her; and he brought up his two sons so foolishly that they took up arms against one another, and one was wounded and the other killed by his fellow. Well, here is a king who perhaps does not even know how to keep his seat on the throne, and you would have me believe that he combines already all virtues, and you extol him, though, if he does turn out fairly good, it is you and not I that will gain thereby."

The barbarian then glanced at his neighbour and said: "Here is a windfall! 'tis one of the gods who has brought this man here; for as one good man associating with another improves him, so he will much improve our king, and render him more temperate and more gracious; for these qualities are conspicuous in this man." They accordingly ran into the palace and told everybody the good news, that there stood at the king's gates a man who was wise and a Hellene, and a good counsellor.

XXIX

'Επεὶ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνηγγέλη ταῦτα, ἔτυχε μὲν ΧΧΙΧ θύων παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν μάγων, τὰ γὰρ ἰερὰ ὑπ έκείνοις δράται, καλέσας δὲ αὐτῶν ἕνα "ήκει," ἔφη, " τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὁ διηγούμην σοι τήμερον ἐπισκοπουμένω με έν τη εὐνη." ὄναρ δὲ ἄρα τῷ βασιλεῖ τοιοῦτον ἀφίκτο· ἐδόκει ᾿Αρταξέρξης εἶναι ὁ τοῦ Ξέρξου καὶ μεθεστηκέναι ἐς ἐκεῖνον τὸ εἶδος, περιδεώς τε είχε, μη ές μεταβολην ήδη τὰ πράγματα ήκη αὐτῷ, ἐς τοῦτο ἐξηγουμένῳ τὴν μεταβολην τοῦ εἴδους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν "Ελληνά τε καὶ σοφὸν εἶναι τὸν ήκοντα, ἐσῆλθεν αὐτὸν Θεμιστοκλής δ 'Αθηναίος, δς άπὸ Ελλήνων ποτὲ ήκων ξυνεγένετο τῷ ᾿Αρταξέρξη καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον έκεινόν τε έποίησεν ξαυτόν τε παρέσχετο. καλ προτείνας την δεξιάν "κάλει," έφη, "καὶ γὰρ αν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καλλίστου ἄρξαιτο ξυνθύσας τε καὶ ξυνευξάμενος."

XXX

Είσήει μεν δη παραπεμπόμενος ύπο πλειόνων, ΧΧΧ τουτὶ γὰρ ὤοντο καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ χαρίζεσθαι μαθόντες ώς χαίροι ἀφιγμένω, διιων δε ές τὰ βασίλεια οὐ διέβλεψεν ἐς οὐδὲν τῶν θαυμαζομένων, ἀλλ' ωσπερ όδοιπορων διήει αὐτά, καὶ καλέσας τὸν $\Delta \acute{a}\mu \imath \nu$ " $\mathring{\eta}\rho o \nu \mu \epsilon$," $\mathring{\epsilon}\phi \eta$, " $\pi \rho \acute{\omega} \eta \nu$, $\mathring{\delta} \tau \imath \mathring{\delta} \nu o \mu a \mathring{\eta} \nu \tau \mathring{\eta}$ Παμφύλω γυναικί, η δη Σαπφοί τε όμιλησαι 84

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XXIX

When these tidings were brought to the king, he CHAP. happened to be sacrificing in company with the XXIX Magi, for religious rites are performed under their welcomer supervision. And he called one of them and said: him as a "The dream is come true, which I narrated to you Themiston to-day when you visited me in my bed." Now the cles dream which the king had dreamed was as follows: he thought that he was Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, and that he had altered and assumed the latter's form; and he was very much afraid lest some change should come over the face of his affairs, for so he interpreted his change of appearance. But when he heard that it was a Hellene, and a wise man, that had come, he remembered about Themistocles of Athens, who had once come from Greece and had lived with Artaxerxes, and had not only won for the king singular esteem, but had made himself equally esteemed by him. So he held out his right hand and said: "Call him in, for it will make the best of beginnings, if he will join with me in my sacrifice and prayer."

XXX

Accordingly Apollonius entered escorted by a CHAP. number of people, for they had learnt that the king XXX was pleased with the new comer and thought that Apollonius insensible this would gratify him; but as he passed into the to the palace, he did not glance at anything that others splendours admired, but he passed them by as if he was still travelling along the high-road, and calling Damis to him he said: "You asked me yesterday what

CAP. λέγεται καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους, οὺς ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ἄδουσι, ξυνθείναι τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Π α μ ϕ $\dot{\nu}$ δ $\dot{\nu}$ $\dot{\nu}$ ουομα ουκ είπας." "ουκ, ω χρηστέ, είπον, άλλ έξηγούμην σοι τοὺς νόμους τῶν ὕμνων καὶ τὰ ονόματα, καὶ ὅπη τὰ Αἰολέων ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατόν τε καὶ τὸ ἴδιον Παμφύλων παρήλλαξε πρὸς ἄλλφ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγενόμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἤρου με περὶ τοῦ ονόματος καλείται τοίνυν ή σοφή αυτη Δαμοφύλη, καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφοῦς τρόπον παρθένους τε όμιλητρίας κτήσασθαι ποιήματά τε ξυνθείναι τὰ μεν ερωτικά, τὰ δὲ ὕμνους. τά τοι ες τὴν "Αρτεμιν καὶ παρώδηται αὐτῆ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφώων ήσται." ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἀπεῖχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι βασιλέα τε καὶ ὄγκον, ἐδήλου τῷ μηδὲ ὀφθαλμῶν άξια ήγεισθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ ἐτέρων πέρι διαλέγεσθαι κάκεινα δήπου οὐχ ἡγεισθαι ὁρᾶν.

XXXI

Προϊδών δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς προσιόντα, καὶ γάρ τι CAP. καὶ μῆκος ἡ τοῦ ἱεροῦ αὐλὴ εἶχε, διελάλησέ τε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγύς, οἶον ἀναγιγνώσκων τὸν ἄνδρα, πλησίον τε ήδη γιγνομένου μέγα ἀναβοήσας, " οὖτος," ἔφη, " ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος, ὃν Μεγαβάτης ὁ 86

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was the name of the Pamphylian woman who is CHAP. said to have been intimate with Sappho, and to XXX have composed the hymns which they sing in honour of Artemis of Perga, in the Aeolian and Pamphylian modes." "Yes, I did ask you," said Damis, "but you did not tell me her name." "I did not tell you it, my good fellow, but I explained to you about the keys in which the hymns are written, and I told you about the names; and how the Aeolian strains were altered into the highest key of all, that which is peculiar to the Pamphylians. After that we turned to another subject, for you did not ask me again about the name of the lady. Well, she is called,—this clever lady is,—Damophyle, and she is said, like Sappho, to have had girl friends and to have composed poems, some of which were love-songs and others hymns. The particular hymn to Artemis was transposed by her, and has been sung after the model of Sappho." How far then he was from being astonished at the king and his pomp and ceremony, he showed by the fact that he did not think such things worth looking at, but went on talking about other things, as if he did not think the palace worth a glance.

XXXI

Now the king caught sight of him approaching, CHAP. for the vestibule of the Temple was of considerable XXXI length, and insisted to those by him that he attend the recognised the sage; and when he came still nearer king's sacrifice he cried out with a loud voice and said: "This is of a horse Apollonius, whom Megabates, my brother, said he

CAP. ἐμὸς ἀδελφὸς ἰδεῖν ἐν ἀντιοχεία φησὶ θαυμαζόμενόν τε καὶ προσκυνούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων, καὶ ἀπεζωγράφησέ μοι τότε τοιοῦτον αὐτόν, όποῖος ήκει." προσελθόντα δὲ καὶ ἀσπασάμενον προσεῖπέ τε ὁ βασιλεὺς φωνῆ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ δή *ἐκέλευσε θύειν μετ' αὐτοῦ· λευκὸν δὲ ἄρα ἵππον* τῶν σφόδρα Νισαίων καταθύσειν ἔμελλε τῷ 'Ηλίφ φαλάροις κοσμήσας, ώσπερ ές πομπήν, ό δ' ὑπολαβὼν "σὺ μέν, ὧ βασιλεῦ, θῦε," ἔφη, " τὸν σαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ξυγχώρησον θῦσαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ· καὶ δραξάμενος τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ, ""Ηλιε," έφη, "πέμπε με έφ' δσον της γης έμοί τε καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ γιγνώσκοιμι ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, φαύλους δὲ μήτε ἐγὼ μάθοιμι μήτε ἐμὲ φαῦλοι." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἡκεν, έπισκεψάμενος δὲ αὐτὸ ὅπη διανίσταται καὶ ὅπη θολοῦται, καὶ ὁπόσαις κορυφαῖς ἄττει, καί που καὶ έφαπτόμενος τοῦ πυρός, ὅπη εὔσημόν τε καὶ καθαρον φαίνοιτο "θυε," έφη, "λοιπόν, & βασιλεύ, κατὰ τὰ σαυτοῦ πάτρια, τὰ γὰρ πάτρια τάμὰ τοιαῦτα."

XXXII

Καὶ ἀνεχώρησε τῆς θυσίας, ὡς μὴ κοινωνοίη τοῦ CAP. αίματος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν προσῆλθε καί "δ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "τὴν φωνὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν γιγνώσκεις, η σμικρά αὐτης ύπερ τοῦ εὐξυμβόλου ἴσως καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀηδής δοκεῖν, εἴ τις ἀφίκοιτο 88

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saw in Antioch, the admired and respected of serious CHAP. people; and he depicted him to me at that time just XXXI such a man as now comes to us." And when Apollonius approached and saluted him, the king addressed him in the Greek language and invited him to sacrifice with him; and it chanced that he was on the point of sacrificing to the Sun as a victim a white horse of the true Nisaean breed, which he had adorned with trappings as if for a triumphal procession. But Apollonius replied: "Do you, O king, go on with your sacrifice, in your own way, but permit me to sacrifice in mine." And he took up a handful of frankincense and said: "O thou Sun, send me as far over the earth as is my pleasure and thine, and may I make the acquaintance of good men, but never hear anything of bad ones, nor they of me." And with these words he threw the frankincense into the fire, and watched to see how the smoke of it curled upwards, and how it grew turbid, and in how many points it shot up; and in a manner he caught the meaning of the fire, and watched as it appeared of good oinen and pure. Then he said: "Now, O king, go on with your sacrifice in accordance with your own traditions, for my traditions are such as you see."

XXXII

And he quitted the scene of sacrifice in order not CHAP. to be present at the shedding of blood. But after XXXII the sacrifice was over he approached and said: "O Expounds his selfking, do you know the Greek tongue thoroughly, discipline or have you a smattering of it perhaps, in order to be able to express yourself and appear polite in

 $_{\text{CAP.}}$ "Ελλην ;" " $\pi \hat{a} \sigma a \nu$," $\epsilon \hat{l} \pi \epsilon \nu$, " $\mathring{l} \sigma a \tau \hat{\eta} \epsilon \gamma \chi \omega \rho \acute{l} \varphi$ ταύτη, καὶ λέγε ὅ τι βούλει, διὰ τοῦτο γάρ που έρωτᾶς." "διὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "καὶ ἄκουε ή μὲν όρμή μοι της ἀποδημίας Ἰνδοί εἰσι, παρελθεῖν δὲ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς ἐβουλήθην, σέ τε ἀκούων ἄνδρα, οἶον ἐξ όνυχος ήδη όρω, σοφίαν τε, ήπερ υμίν έστιν ἐπιχώριος μελετωμένη μάγοις ἀνδράσι, κατιδεῖν δεόμενος, εἰ τὰ θεῖα, ὡς λέγονται, σοφοί εἰσι σοφία δὲ ἐμοὶ Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, δς θεούς τε θεραπεύειν ὧδέ με ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν όρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ όρωμένων, φοιτᾶν τε ές διάλεξιν θεών, καὶ γηίνω τούτω ἐρίω ἐστάλθαι. οὐ γὰρ προβάτου ἐπέχθη, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατος ἀκηράτων φύεται, ὕδατός τε καὶ γῆς δῶρα, ὀθόνη καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἄνετον τῆς κόμης ἐκ Πυθαγόρου ἐπήσκησα, καὶ τὸ καθαρεύειν ζώου βοράς ἐκ τῆς έκείνου μοι σοφίας ήκει. ξυμπότης μέν δη καὶ κοινωνὸς ραστώνης η τρυφης ούτ' ἄν σοι γενοίμην οὔτ' ἂν έτέρω οὐδενί, φροντίδων δὲ ἀπόρων τε καὶ δυσευρέτων δοίην αν λύσεις, οὐ γιγνώσκων τὰ πρακτέα μόνου, άλλὰ καὶ προγιγνώσκων." ταῦτα ό Δάμις μὲν διαλεχθηναί φησι τὸν ἄνδρα, 'Απολλώνιος δὲ ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὰ πεποίηται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἐαυτῷ ἐς διάλεξιν εἰρημένων ἐς έπιστολάς άνετυπώσατο.

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case any Greek arrives?" "I know it thoroughly," CHAP. replied the king, "as well as I do my native XXXII language; so say you what you like, for this I suppose is the reason why you put the question to me." "It was my reason," said the other; "so listen. The goal of my voyage is India, but I had no intention of passing you by; for I heard that you were such a man as from a slight acquaintance I already perceive you to be, and was desirous also of examining the wisdom which is indigenous among you and is cultivated by the Magi, and of finding out whether they are such wise theologians as they are reported to be. Now my own system of wisdom is that of Pythagoras, a man of Samos, who taught me to worship the gods in the way you see, and to be aware of them whether they are seen or not seen, and to be frequent in my converse with them, and to dress myself in this land-wool; for it was never worn by sheep, but is the spotless product of spotless parents, the gift of water and of earth, namely linen. And the very fashion of letting my hair grow long, I have learnt from Pythagoras as part of his discipline, and also it is a result of his wisdom that I keep myself pure from animal food. I cannot therefore become either for you or for anybody else a companion in drinking or an associate in idleness and luxury; but if you have problems of conduct that are difficult and hard to settle, I will furnish you with solutions, for I not only know matters of practice and duty, but I even know them beforehand." Such was the conversation which Damis declares the sage to have held; and Apollonius himself composed a letter containing them, and has sketched out in his epistles much else of what he said in conversation.

XXXIII

ΥΧΧΧΙΙΙ Έπεὶ δὲ χαιρειν ο ραστικές, ετ., ή κοντι μᾶλλον, ἡ εἰ τὰ Περσῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν πρὸς τοις οθσιν αυτώ έκτήσατο, ξένον τε ποιείσθαι καί κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείου στέγης, "εἰ ἐγώ σε, ὧ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν Τύανα ήκοντα ηξίουν οἰκεῖν οὖ ἐγώ, οἰκῆσαι ἂν ήρας;" " μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, " εἰ μὴ τοσαύτην γε οἰκίαν οἰκήσειν έμελλον, όπόσην δορυφόρους τε καὶ σωματοφύλακας έμοὺς αὐτόν τε έμὲ λαμπρῶς δέξασθαι." " ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν," ἔφη, "καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγος εἰ γὰρ ύπερ εμαυτον οἰκήσω, πονηρώς διαιτήσομαι, το γαρ ύπερβάλλον λυπεί τους σοφούς μαλλον ή ύμας τὸ ἐλλεῖπον· ξενιζέτω με οὖν ἰδιώτης ἔχων όπόσα έγώ, σοὶ δὲ έγὼ ξυνέσομαι όπόσα βούλει." ξυνεχώρει ὁ βασιλεύς, ώς μη ἀηδές τι αὐτῷ λάθοι πράξας, καὶ ὤκησε παρ' ἀνδρὶ Βαβυλωνίω χρηστώ τε καὶ ἄλλως γενναίω. δειπνούντι δέ ήδη εὐνοῦχος ἐφίσταται τῶν τὰς ἀγγελίας διαφερόντων, καὶ προσειπών τὸν ἄνδρα "βασιλεύς," ἔφη, " δωρεῖταί σε δέκα δωρεαῖς καὶ ποιεῖται κύριον τοῦ ἐπαγγεῖλαι αὐτάς, δεῖται δέ σου μὴ μικρὰ αἰτῆσαι, μεγαλοφροσύνην γὰρ ἐνδείξασθαι σοί τε καὶ ἡμῖν βούλεται." ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν "πότε οὖν χρὴ αἰτεῖν;" ἤρετο, ὁ δὲ "αὔριον," ἔφη, καὶ ἄμα ἐφοίτησε παρὰ πάντας τοὺς βασιλέως 92

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XXXIII

Since the king said that he was more pleased and CHAP. delighted with his arrival than if he had added to XXXIII his own possessions the wealth of Persia and India, Refuses to lodge in the and added that Apollonius must be his guest and palace share with him the royal roof, Apollonius remarked: "Supposing, O king, that you came to my country of Tyana and I invited you to live where I live, would you care to do so?" "Why no," answered the king, "unless I had a house to live in that was big enough to accommodate not only my escort and bodyguard, but myself as well, in a handsome manner." "Then," said the other, "I may use the same argument to you; for if I am housed above my rank, I shall live ill at ease, for superfluity distresses wise men more than deficiency distresses you. Let me therefore be entertained by some private person who has the same means as myself, and I will visit with you as often as you like." The king conceded this point, lest he should be betrayed into doing anything that might annoy him, and Apollonius took up his quarters with a gentleman of Babylon of good character and besides high-minded. before he had finished dinner one of the eunuchs who carry messages presented himself and addressed him thus: "The king," he said, "bestows upon you ten presents, and leaves you free to name them; but he is anxious that you should not ask for small trifles, for he wishes to exhibit to you and to us his generosity." Apollonius commended the message, and asked: "Then when am I to ask for them?" And the messenger replied: "To-morrow," and at once went off to all the king's friends and kinsmen

CAP. φίλους τε καὶ ξυγγενεῖς, παρεῖναι κελεύων αἰτοῦντι καὶ τιμωμένω τῷ ἀνδρί. Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις ξυνιέναι μέν, ὅτι μηδὲν αἰτήσοι, τόν τε τρόπον αὐτοῦ καθεωρακώς καὶ είδώς εὐχόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὴν τοιαύτην "ω θεοί, δοίητε μοι μικρά έχειν καὶ δείσθαι μηδενός." έφεστηκότα μέντοι δρών καὶ ενθυμουμένω όμοιον οἴεσθαι ώς αἰτήσοι μέν, βασανίζοι δέ, ὅ τι μέλλει αἰτήσειν. ὁ δὲ ἐσπέρας ηδη "δ Δάμι," ἔφη, "θεωρῶ πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, ἐξότου ποτε οί βάρβαροι τοὺς εὐνούχους σώφρονας ήγοῦνται καὶ ἐς τὰς γυναικωνίτιδας ἐσάγονται." "ἀλλὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "ὧ 'Απολλώνιε, καὶ παιδὶ δηλον ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ τομὴ τὸ ἀφροδισιάζειν άφαιρείται σφάς, ἀνείνταί σφισιν αί γυναικωνίτιδες, καν ξυγκαθεύδειν ταις γυναιξί βούλωνται." " τὸ δὲ ἐρᾶν," εἶπεν, "ἢ τὸ ξυγγίγνεσθαι γυναιξὶν έκτετμησθαι αὐτοὺς οἴει;" "ἄμφω," ἔφη, "εἰ γὰρ σβεσθείη τὸ μόριον ὑφ' οδ διοιστρεῖται τὸ σῶμα, οὐδ' ἀν τὸ ἐρῶν ἐπέλθοι οὐδενί." ὁ δὲ βραχύ $\epsilon \pi \iota \sigma \chi \dot{\omega} \nu$ " $a \ddot{v} \rho \iota o \nu$," $\epsilon \dot{\phi} \eta$, " $\dot{\omega} \Delta \dot{a} \mu \iota$, $\mu \dot{a} \theta o \iota \varsigma$ $\ddot{a} \nu$, $\ddot{o} \tau \iota$ καὶ εὐνοῦχοι ἐρῶσι καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ὅπερ έσάγονται διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐκ ἀπομαραίνεται σφῶν, ἀλλ' ἐμμένει θερμόν τε καὶ ζώπυρον, δεῖ γάρ τι περιπεσείν, δ τον σον έλέγξει λόγον. εί δὲ καὶ τέχνη τις ἢν ἀνθρωπεία τύραννός τε καὶ δυνατή τὰ τοιαῦτα έξωθεῖν της γνώμης, οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκῶ τοὺς εὐνούχους ποτὲ ἐς τὰ τῶν σωφρονούντων ήθη προσγράψαι, κατηναγκασμένους την

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and bade them be present when the sage should CHAP. prefer his demand and receive the honour. But XXXIII Damis says that he expected him to ask for nothing, because he had studied his character and knew that he offered to the gods the following prayer: "O ye His form gods, grant unto me to have little and to want of prayer nothing." However, as he saw him much preoccupied and, as it were, brooding, he determined that he was going to ask and was anxiously turning over in his mind, what he should ask. But at eventide: "Damis," said Apollonius, "I am thinking Discusses over with myself the question of why the barbarians Eunuchism with Damis have regarded eunuchs as men sufficiently chaste to be allowed the free entry of the women's apartments." "But," answered the other, "O Apollonius, a child could tell you. For inasmuch as the operation has deprived them of the faculty, they are freely admitted into those apartments, no matter how far their wishes may go." "But do you suppose the operation has removed their desires or the further aptitude?" "Both," replied Damis, "for if you extinguish in a man the unruly member that lashes the body to madness, the fit of passion will come on him no more." After a brief pause, Apollonius said: "To-morrow, Damis, you shall learn that even eunuchs are liable to fall in love, and that the desire which is contracted through the eyes is not extinguished in them, but abides alive and ready to burst into a flame; for that will occur which will refute your opinion. And even if there were really any human art of such tyrannic force that it could expel such feelings from the heart, I do not see how we could ever attribute to them any chastity of character, seeing that they would have

CAP. σωφροσύνην καὶ βιαίω τέχνη ἐς τὸ μὴ ἐρᾶν ηγμένους. σωφροσύνη γὰρ τὸ ὀρεγόμενόν τε καὶ όρμῶντα μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι ἀφροδισίων, ἀλλ' ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κρείττω φαίνεσθαι τῆς λύττης ταύτης." ύπολαβών οὖν ὁ Δάμις "ταῦτα μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐπισκεψόμεθα," ἔφη, " δ 'Απολλώνιε, α δε χρη ἀποκρίνασθαι αὔριον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως έπαγγελίαν λαμπράν οὖσαν διεσκέφθαι προσήκει. αἰτήσεις μὲν γὰρ ἴσως οὐδέν, τὸ δ' ὅπως ὰν μὴ άλλω, φασί, τύφω παραιτεῖσθαι δοκοίης, άπερ αν ό βασιλεύς διδώ, τοῦτο ὅρα καὶ φυλάττου αὐτό, όρων οἱ τῆς γῆς εἶ καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτῷ κείμεθα. δεῖ δὲ φυλάττεσθαι διαβολάς, ὡς ὑπεροψία χρώμενον, γιγνώσκειν τε ώς νῦν μὲν ἐφόδιά ἐστιν ἡμῖν ὁπόσα ές Ἰνδοὺς πέμψαι, ἐπανιοῦσι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οὕτ' ἂν ἀποχρήσαι ταῦτα, γένοιτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἕτερα."

XXXIV

Καὶ τοιᾶδε ὑπέθαλπεν αὐτὸν τέχνη, μὴ ἀπαξιῶ-CAP. XXXIV σαι λαβείν, ὅ τι διδοίη, ὁ δὲ ᾿Απολλώνιος ὥσπερ ξυλλαμβάνων αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου "παραδειγμάτων $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$," $\epsilon l \pi \epsilon \nu$, " $\tilde{\omega} \Delta \dot{\alpha} \mu \iota$, $\dot{\alpha} \mu \epsilon \lambda \dot{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma$; $\dot{\epsilon} \nu$ $o l \varsigma \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \iota \nu$, $\dot{\omega} \varsigma$ Αἰσχίνης μὲν ὁ τοῦ Λυσανίου παρὰ Διονύσιον ἐς Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ὤχετο, Πλάτων δὲ τρὶς άναμετρήσαι λέγεται την Χάρυβδιν ύπερ πλούτου Σικελικοῦ, 'Αρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Κυρηναῖος καὶ Ἑλίκων ό ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Φύτων, ὅτ' ἔφευγεν, ὁ Ὑηγῖνος,

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no choice, having been by sheer force and artificially CHAP. deprived of the faculty of falling in love. For XXXIII chastity consists in not yielding to passion when the longing and impulse is felt, and in the abstinence which rises superior to this form of madness." Accordingly Damis answered and said: "Here is a thing that we will examine another time, O Apollonius; but we had better consider now what answer you can make to-morrow to the king's magnificent offer. For you will perhaps ask for nothing at all, but you should be careful and be on your guard lest you should seem to decline any gift the king may offer, as they say, out of mere empty pride, for you see the land that you are in and that we are wholly in his power. And you must be on your guard against the accusation of treating him with contempt, and understand, that although we have sufficient means to carry us to India, yet what we have will not be sufficient to bring us back thence, and we have no other supply to fall back upon."

XXXIV

And by such devices he tried to wheedle Apollonius CHAP. into not refusing to take anything he might be offered; XXXIV but Apollonius, as if by way of assisting him in his Refuses argument, said: "But, O Damis, are you not going to gifts, and give me some examples? Let me supply you with Damis some: Aeschines, the son of Lysanias, went off to for his Dionysius in Sicily in quest of money, and Plato is said thrice to have traversed Charybdis in quest of the wealth of Sicily, and Aristippus of Cyrene, and Helicon of Cyzicus, and Phyton of Rhegium, when

CAP. ούτω τι ές τοὺς Διονυσίου κατέδυσαν θησαυρούς, ώς μόγις ἀνασχείν ἐκείθεν. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Κυίδιον φασιν Εύδοξον, ές Αίγυπτον ποτε άφικομενον, ὑπὲρ χρημάτων τε ὁμολογεῖν ἤκειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ τούτου, καὶ ἵνα μὴ πλείους διαβάλλω, Σπεύσιππον τὸν 'Αθηναῖον ούτω τι ἐρασιχρήματον γενέσθαι φασίν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κασάνδρου γάμον ἐς Μακεδονίαν κωμάσαι ποιήματα ψυχρά ξυνθέντα, καὶ δημοσία ταῦθ' ύπερ χρημάτων άσαι. έγω δε ήγουμαι, ω Δάμι, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σοφὸν πλείω κινδυνεύειν ἢ οἱ πλέον. τές τε καὶ ξὺν ὅπλοις μαχόμενοι, φθόνος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν στείχει, καὶ σιωπῶντα καὶ φθεγγόμενον. καὶ ξυντείνοντα καὶ ἀνιέντα, κὰν παρέλθη τι κὰν προσέλθη τω, κὰν προσείπη κὰν μὴ προσείπη. δεὶ δὲ πεφράχθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, γιγνώσκειν τε ώς άργίας μὲν ήττηθεὶς ὁ σοφὸς ἢ χολῆς ἢ ἔρωτος η φιλοποσίας, η έτοιμότερον τι τοῦ καιροῦ πράξας. ίσως αν καὶ ξυγγνώμην φέροιτο, χρήμασι δὲ ὑποθεὶς ξαυτὸν οὔτ' ἂν ξυγγινώσκοιτο καὶ μισοῖτ' άν, ώς όμου πάσας κακίας συνειληφώς μη γάρ αν ήττηθηναι χρημάτων αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ γαστρὸς ήττητο καὶ ἀμπεχόνης καὶ οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ἐς έταίρας φέρεσθαι. σὺ δ' ἴσως ἡγῆ τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι $\dot{a}\mu a \rho \tau \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \dot{\eta} \tau \tau \sigma \nu \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu a \iota \tau \sigma \hat{\nu} \dot{A} \theta \dot{\eta} \nu \eta \sigma \iota \nu \dot{\eta} \dot{A} \partial \lambda \nu \mu$ πίασιν ή Πυθοί, καὶ οὐκ ἐνθυμή ὅτι σοφῶ ἀνδοὶ Έλλὰς πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔρημον ἡ βάρβαρον χωρίον οὔτε ἡγήσεται ὁ σοφὸς οὔτε νομιεῖ, ζῶν γε ύπὸ τοῖς της ἀρετης ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ βλέπει 8

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he was in exile, buried their noses so deep in the CHAP. treasure-houses of Dionysius, that they could barely XXXIV tear themselves away. Moreover they tell of how Eudoxus of Cnidus once arrived in Egypt and both admitted that he had come there in quest of money, and conversed with the king about the matter. And not to take away more characters, they say that Speusippus, the Athenian, was so fond of money, that he reeled off festal songs, when he romped off to Macedonia, in honour of Cassander's marriage, which were frigid compositions, and that he sang these songs in public for the sake of money. Well, I think, O Damis, that a wise man runs more risk than do sailors and soldiers in action, for envy is ever assailing him, whether he holds his tongue or speaks, whether he exerts himself or is idle, whether he passes by anything or takes care to visit anyone, whether he addresses others or neglects to address them. And so a man must fortify himself and understand that a wise man who yields to laziness or anger or passion, or love of drink, or who commits any other action prompted by impulse and inopportune, will probably find his fault condoned; but if he stoops to greed, he will not be pardoned, but render himself odious as a combination of all vices at once. For surely they will not allow that he could be the slave of money, unless he was already the slave of his stomach or of fine raiment or of wine or of riotous living. But you perhaps imagine that it is a lesser thing to go wrong in Babylon than to go wrong at Athens or at the Olympian or Pythian games; and you do not reflect that a wise man finds Hellas everywhere, and that a sage will not regard or consider any place to be a desert or barbarous,

CAP. μεν ολίγους των ανθρώπων, μυρίοις δ' όμμασιν αὐτὸς ὁρᾶται. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀθλητῆ ξυνῆσθα τούτων τινί, & Δάμι, οὶ παλαίειν τε καὶ παγκρατιάζειν ἀσκοῦσιν, ἀρα ὰν ήξίους αὐτόν, εἰ μὲν 'Ολύμπια άγωνίζοιτο καὶ ἐς ᾿Αρκαδίαν ἴοι, γενναῖόν τε καὶ άγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ νὴ Δί', εἰ Πύθια ἄγοιτο ἡ Νέμεα, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος, ἐπειδὴ φανεροὶ οί ἀγῶνες καὶ τὰ στάδια ἐν σπουδαίω τῆς Έλλάδος, εἰ δὲ θύοι Φίλιππος Ὀλύμπια πόλεις ήρηκώς, η ο τούτου παις 'Αλέξανδρος έπὶ ταις έαυτοῦ νίκαις ἀγῶνα ἄγοι, χεῖρον ἤδη παρασκευάζειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ μὴ φιλονίκως ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν 'Ολύνθω ἀγωνιεῖται ἡ Μακεδονία ἡ Αἰγύπτω, άλλὰ μὴ ἐν "Ελλησι καὶ σταδίοις τοῖς ἐκεῖ;" ὑπὸ μεν δη των λόγων τούτων ο Δάμις ούτω διατεθηναί φησιν, ώς ξυγκαλύψασθαί τε έφ' οίς αὐτὸς είρηκως έτυχε, παραιτείσθαί τε τον 'Απολλώνιον ξυγγνώμην αὐτῷ ἔχειν, εἰ μήπω κατανενοηκὼς αὐτὸν ἐς ξυμβουλίαν τε καὶ πε•θὼ τοιαύτην ώρμησεν. ὁ δὲ ἀναλαμβάνων αὐτόν "θάρρει," έφη, "οὐ γὰρ ἐπίπληξιν ποιούμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὐμὸν ύπογράφων σοι ταῦτα εἶπον."

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because he, at any rate, lives under the eyes of CHAr. virtue, and although he only sees a few men, yet he XXXIV is himself looked at by ten thousand eyes. Now if you came across an athlete, Damis, one of those who practise and train themselves in wrestling and boxing, surely you would require him, in case he were contending in the Olympic games, or went to Arcadia, to be both noble in character and good; nay more, if the Pythian or Nemean contest were going on, you would require him to take care of his physique, because these arenas and race-courses are well known and held in respect by Hellas; would you then, if Philip were sacrificing with Olympic rites after capturing certain cities, or if his son Alexander were holding games to celebrate his victories, tell the man forthwith to neglect the training of his body and to leave off being keen to win, because the contest was to be held in Olynthus or in Macedonia or in Egypt, rather than among the Hellenes, and on your native race-courses?" These then were the arguments by which Damis declares that he was so impressed as to blush at what he had said, and to ask Apollonius to pardon him for having through imperfect acquaintance with him, ventured to tender him such advice, and use such arguments. But the sage caught him up and said: "Never mind, for it was not by way of rebuking and humbling you that I spoke thus, but in order to give you some idea of my own point of view."

XXXV

'Αφικομένου δὲ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ καλοῦντος CAP. XXXV αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα "ἀφίξομαι," εἶπεν, " ἐπειδὰν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὖ μοι ἔχη." θύσας οδυ καὶ εὐξάμενος ἀπήει, περιβλεπόμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος τοῦ σχήματος. ὡς δὲ ἔσω παρῆλθε, "δίδωμί σοι," έφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "δέκα δωρεάς, άνδρα σε ήγούμενος, οίος ούπω τις άπὸ Ἑλλήνων $\delta \epsilon \hat{v} \rho' \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu$." $\delta \delta \hat{v} \hat{v} \pi \delta \lambda \alpha \beta \hat{\omega} \nu$ " $\delta \hat{v} \pi \delta \sigma \alpha \gamma$," $\epsilon \hat{v} \pi \delta \sigma \alpha \gamma$, $\epsilon \hat{v} \pi \delta \sigma \alpha \gamma$, " & βασιλεῦ, παραιτήσομαι, μίαν δέ, ἢν ἀντὶ πολλών δεκάδων αίροῦμαι, προθύμως αἰτήσω." καὶ ἄμα τὸν περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριέων διῆλθε λόγον, άναλαβών άπὸ τοῦ Δάτιδος. "αἰτῶ οὖν," ἔφη, "μη περικόπτεσθαι τους άθλίους τούτους τῶν όρίων τε καὶ τοῦ λόφου, ἀλλὰ νέμεσθαι σφᾶς μέτρον της γης, δ Δαρείος ἐνόμισε, δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ της αύτων έκπεσόντες μηδ' ην άντ' έκείνης έχουσιν, έξουσιν." ξυντιθέμενος οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς "Έρετριείς," είπεν, "ές μεν την χθες ημέραν έμου τε πολέμιοι καὶ πατέρων ἐμῶν ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ὅπλων ποτ ε ε φ' ήμ ας ηρξαν, καὶ παρεωρώντο, ως τὸγένος αὐτῶν ἀφανισθείη, λοιπὸν δὲ φίλοι τε αναγεγράψονται καὶ σατραπεύσει αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ άγαθός, δς δικαιώσει την χώραν. τὰς δὲ ἐννέα δωρεάς," ἔφη, "διὰ τί οὐ λή ψ η;" "ὅτι, $\mathring{\omega}$ βασιλεῦ," $\epsilon i \pi \epsilon \nu$, " $o v \pi \omega \phi i \lambda o v \varsigma \dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau a \hat{v} \theta a \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \tau \eta \sigma \dot{a} \mu \eta \nu$." " $a \dot{v} \tau \dot{o} \varsigma$ 102

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XXXV

Now when the eunuch arrived and summoned him CHAP. before the king, he said: "I will come as soon as I xxxv have duly discharged my religious duties." Accord- He intercedes ingly he sacrificed and offered his prayer, and then with the departed, and everyone looked at him and wondered king in behalf at his bearing. And when he had come within, of the Eretrians the king said: "I present you with ten gifts, because I consider you such a man as never before has come hither from Hellas." And he answered and said: "I will not, O king, decline all your gifts; but there is one which I prefer to many tens of gifts, and for that I will most eagerly solicit." And he at once told the story of the Eretrians, beginning it from the time of Datis. "I ask then," he said, "that these poor people should not be driven away from their borders and from the hill, but should be left to cultivate the span of earth, which Darius allowed them; for it is very hard if they are not to be allowed to retain the land which was substituted for their own when they were driven out of the latter." The king then consented and said: "The Eretrians were, until yesterday, the enemies of myself and of my fathers; for they once took up arms against us, and they have been neglected in order that their race might perish; but henceforth they shall be written among my friends, and they shall have, as a satrap, a good man who will judge their country justly. But why," he said, "will you not accept the other nine gifts?" "Because." he answered, "I have not yet, O king, made any friends

CAP. δὲ οὐδενὸς δέη"; "φήσαντος· "τῶν γε τραγη-ΧΧΧΥ μάτων," ἔφη, "καὶ τῶν ἄρτων, ἅ με ἡδέως τε καὶ λαμπρῶς ἑστιᾳ̂."

XXXVI

Τοιαθτα δη λαλούντων πρὸς ἀλληλους, κραυγή ΧΧΧΥΙ τῶν βασιλείων ἐξεφοίτησεν εὐνούχων καὶ γυναικῶν ἄμα· εἴληπτο δὲ ἄρα εὐνοῦχός τις ἐπὶ μιᾶ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως παλλακῶν ξυγκατακείμενός τε καὶ ὁπόσα οἱ μοιχοὶ πράττων, καὶ ἢγον αὐτὸν οἱ άμφὶ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἐπισπῶντες τῆς κόμης, δν δη ἄγονται τρόπον οἱ βασιλέως δοῦλοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ό πρεσβύτατος τῶν εὐνούχων ἐρῶντα μὲν τῆς γυναικός πάλαι ήσθησθαι έφη, καὶ προειρηκέναι οί μη προσδιαλέγεσθαι αὐτη, μηδὲ ἄπτεσθαι δέρης ἢ χειρός, μηδὲ κοσμεῖν ταύτην μόνην τῶν ένδον, νῦν δὲ καὶ ξυγκατακείμενον εύρηκέναι καὶ ανδριζόμενον έπι την γυναικα, ό μεν 'Απολλώνιος ές τον Δάμιν είδεν, ώς δή τοῦ λόγου ἀποδεδειγμένου, δς εφιλοσοφείτο αὐτοίς περὶ τοῦ καὶ εὐνούχων τὸ ἐρᾶν εἶναι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας "άλλ' αἰσχρόν γε," εἶπεν, "ὧ ἄνδρες, παρόντος ήμεν Απολλωνίου περί σωφροσύνης $\dot{\eta}\mu\hat{a}_{S}$, $\dot{a}\lambda\lambda\hat{a}$ $\mu\hat{\eta}$ τοῦτον, $\dot{a}\pi$ οφαίνεσθαι· τί οὖν κελεύεις, 'Απολλώνιε, παθείν αὐτόν; "τί δὲ ἄλλο η ζην; εἶπε παρὰ την πάντων ἀποκρινάμενος δόξαν. ἀνερυθριάσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς "εἶτα οὐ πολλών," έφη, "θανάτων ἄξιος, ὑφέρπων οὕτως

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here." "And do you yourself require nothing?" CHAP. said the king. "Yes," he said, "I need dried fruits XXXV and bread, for that is a repast which delights me and which I find magnificent."

XXXVI

While they were thus conversing with one another CHAP. a hubbub was heard to proceed from the palace, of XXXVI eunuchs and women shrieking all at once. And Incident illustrative in fact an eunuch had been caught misbehaving with of the one of the royal concubines just as if he were an manners of Eunuchs adulterer. The guards of the harem were now dragging him along by the hair in the way they do royal slaves. The senior of the eunuchs accordingly declared that he had long before noticed he had an affection for this particular lady, and had already forbidden him to talk to her or touch her neck or hand, or assist her toilette, though he was free to wait upon all the other members of the harem; yet he had now caught him behaving as if he were the lady's lover. Apollonius thereupon glanced at Damis, as if to indicate that the argument they had conducted on the point that even eunuchs fall in love, was now demonstrated to be true; but the king remarked to the bystanders: "Nay, but it is disgraceful, gentlemen, that, in the presence of Apollonius, we should be enlarging on the subject of chastity rather than he. What then, O Apollonius, do you urge us to do with him?" "Why, to let him live, of course," answered Apollonius to the surprise of them all. Whereon the king reddened, and said: "Then you do not

 $_{
m XXXVI}^{
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m$ γνώμης," έφη, "βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τιμωρίας, η ἀποκναίσει αὐτόν εἰ γὰρ ζήσεται νοσῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἁπτόμενος, καὶ μήτε σῖτα μήτε ποτὰ ἥσει αὐτὸν μήτε θεάματα, ἅ σέ τε καὶ τούς σοι συνόντας εὐφρανεῖ, πηδήσεταί τε ή καρδία θαμὰ ἐκθρώσκοντος τοῦ ὅπνου, δ δή μάλιστα περί τους έρωντάς φασι γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τίς μεν ούτω φθόη τήξει αὐτόν, τίς δε ούτω λιμός έπιθρύψει τὰ σπλάγχνα; εἰ δὲ μὴ τῶν φιλοψύχων είη τις αὐτός, ὧ βασιλεῦ, δεήσεταί σού ποτε καὶ ἀποκτείναι αὐτόν, ἡ ἐαυτόν γε ἀποκτενεί, πολλὰ ὀλοφυρόμενος τὴν παροῦσαν ταύτην ήμέραν, εν ή μη εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε." τοῦτο μὲν δή τοιοῦτον τοῦ ᾿Απολλωνίου καὶ οὕτω σοφόν τε καὶ ήμερον, έφ' ὧ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνῆκε τὸν θάνατον τῶ εύνούχω.

XXXVII

Μέλλων δέ ποτε πρὸς θήρα γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐν CAP. XXXVII τοις παραδείσοις θηρίων, ές ους λέοντές τε άπόκεινται τοις βαρβάροις καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ παρδάλεις, ηξίου τὸν 'Απολλώνιον παρατυχεῖν οἱ θηρῶντι, ὁ δέ " ἐκλέλησαι, & βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "ὅτι μηδὲ θύοντί σοι παρατυγχάνω; καὶ ἄλλως οὐχ ἡδύ θηρίοις βεβασανισμένοις καὶ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τὴν έαυτῶν δεδουλωμένοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, πῶς ἂν βεβαίως καὶ 106

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think he deserves to die many times for thus trying CHAP. to usurp my rights?" "Nay, but my answer, O XXXVI king, was suggested not by any wish to condone his offence, but rather to mete out to him a punishment which will wear him out. For if he lives with this disease of impotence on him, and can never take pleasure in eating or drinking, nor in the spectacles which delight you and your companions, and if his heart will throb as he often leaps up in his sleep, as they say is particularly the case of people in love, is there any form of consumption so wasting as this, any form of hunger so likely to enfeeble his bowels? Indeed, unless he be one of those who are ready to live at any price, he will entreat you, O king, before long even to slay him, or he will slay himself, deeply deploring that he was not put to death straight away this very day."

Such was the answer rendered on this occasion by Apollonius, one so wise and humane, that the king was moved by it to spare the life of his eunuch.

XXXVII

ONE day the king was going to hunt the animals CHAP. in the parks in which the barbarians keep lions and XXXVII bears and leopards, and he asked Apollonius to accom- composes pany him on the chase, but the latter replied: "You the king's have forgotten, O king, that I never attend you, with the even when you are sacrificing. And moreover, it is Romans over certain no pleasure to me to attack animals that have been frontier ill-treated and enslaved in violation of their nature." villages And the king asking him what was the most stable and secure way of governing, Apollonius answered:

 $\stackrel{\mathrm{CAP.}}{\mathbf{x}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{v}\mathbf{H}} \mathring{a}\sigma\phi a\lambda \hat{\omega}\varsigma \quad \H{a}\rho\chi o\iota, \quad \H{a}\sigma\lambda\lambda o\acute{v}\varsigma, \H{a} \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon}\phi\eta, \quad \H{\tau}\iota\mu\hat{\omega}\nu,$ πιστεύων δὲ ὀλίγοις." πρεσβευομένου δέ ποτε τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος περὶ κωμῶν, οἶμαι, δύο προσοίκων τῷ Ζεύγματι, καὶ φάσκοντος ὑπακηκοέναι μέν αὐτὰς ἀντιόχω καὶ Σελεύκω πάλαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῷ εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις προσηκούσας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ᾿Αραβίους τε καὶ ᾿Αρμενίους μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τὰς κώμας, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντα τοσαύτην γῆν καρποῦσθαι σφᾶς, ὡς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων ούσας, μεταστησάμενος ὁ βασιλεύς τοὺς πρέσβεις "τὰς μὲν κώμας ταύτας," ἔφη, "'Απολλώνιε, ξυνεχώρησαν τοις έμοις προγόνοις οι βασιλείς, οὺς εἶπον, τροφης ἕνεκα τῶν θηρίων, ἃ παρ' ήμιν άλισκόμενα φοιτά ές την έκείνων διὰ τοῦ Εὐφράτου, οἱ δ', ὥσπερ ἐκλαθόμενοι τούτου καινών τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἄπτονται. τίς οὖν φαίνεταί σοι της πρεσβείας ὁ νοῦς;" "μέτριος, ὧ βασιλεῦ," έφη, "καὶ ἐπιεικής, εἰ, ὰ δύνανται καὶ ἄκοντος έχειν έν τη έαυτων όντα, βούλονται παρ' έκόντος ευρίσκεσθαι μάλλον." προσετίθει δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ δείν ύπερ κωμών, ών μείζους κέκτηνται τάχα καὶ ίδιῶται, διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πόλεμον οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἴρεσθαι. νοσοῦντι δὲ τῶ βασιλεί παρών, τοσαῦτά τε καὶ οὕτω θεία περὶ ψυχης διεξηλθεν, ώς τον βασιλέα ἀναπνεῦσαι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι "Απολλώνιος οὐκ ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας μόνης ἀφροντιστεῖν είργασταί με, άλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θανάτου."

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"To respect many, and confide in few." on one occasion the governor of Syria sent a mission XXXVII about two villages, which, I think, are close to the Bridge, alleging that these villages had long ago been subject to Antiochus and Seleucus, but at present they were under his sway, and belonged to the Romans, and that, whereas the Arabians and Armenians did not disturb these villages, yet the king had traversed so great a distance in order to exploit them. as if they belonged to himself, rather than to the Romans. The king sent the embassy aside, and said: "O Apollonius, these villages were given to my forefathers by the kings whom I mentioned, that they might sustain the wild animals, which are taken by us in our country and sent to theirs across the Euphrates, and they, as if they had forgotten this fact, have espoused a policy that is new and unjust. What then do you think are the intentions of the embassy?" Apollonius replied: "Their intention, O king, is moderate and fair, seeing that they only desire to obtain from you, with your consent, places which, as they are in their territory, they can equally well retain without it." And he added his opinion, that it was a mistake to quarrel with the Romans over villages so paltry that probably bigger ones were owned even by private individuals; he also said that it was a mistake to go to war even over large issues. And when the king was ill he visited him, and discoursed so weightily and in such a lofty strain about the soul, that the king recovered, and said to his courtiers, that Apollonius had so wrought upon him that he now felt a contempt, not only for his kingdom but also for death.

XXXXIX

Πολλά τοιαθτα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰπὼν καὶ τυ-CAP. χων αὐτοῦ προθύμου πράττειν ἃ ξυνεβούλευεν, ἔτι καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μάγους ξυνουσίας ἱκανῶς ἔχων " $\check{a}\gamma\epsilon$, $\check{a}\Delta\acute{a}\mu\iota$," $\check{\epsilon}\phi\eta$, " $\check{\epsilon}s$ 'Iνδούς $\check{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$. οἱ $\mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu$ $\gamma\grave{a}\rho$ τοῖς Λωτοφάγοις προσπλεύσαντες ἀπήγοντο τῶν οἰκείων ήθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βρώματος, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ γευόμενοί τινος τῶν ἐνταῦθα καθήμεθα πλείω χρόνον τοῦ εἰκότος τε καὶ ξυμμέτρου." "κάμοί," ἔφη δ Δάμις, "ύπερδοκεί ταῦτα ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνεθυμούμην τὸν χρόνον, δυ εν τη λεαίνη διεσκέψω, περιέμενον ανυσθηναι αὐτόν· οὔπω μὲν οὖν ἐξήκει πᾶς, ἐνιαυτὸς γαρ ήμιν ήδη και μηνες τέτταρες εί δε ήδη κομιζοίμεθα, εὖ αν ἔχοι;" "οὐδὲ ἀνήσει ἡμᾶς," ἔφη, "ὧΔάμι, ὁ βασιλεὺς πρότερον ἢ τὸν ὄγδοον τελευτῆσαι μηνα· χρηστον γάρ που όρᾶς αὐτον καὶ κρείττω η βαρβάρων ἄρχειν.

XL

Έπεὶ δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι λοιπὸν ἐδόκει καὶ CAP. ξυνεχώρησέ ποτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπιέναι, ἀνεμνήσθη τῶν δωρεῶν ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος, ἃς ἀνεβάλλετο ἔς τ΄ αν φίλοι αὐτῷ γένωνται, καί "δ βέλτιστε," έφη, "βασιλεῦ, τὸν ξένον οὐδὲν εὖ πεποίηκα καὶ μισθὸν ὀφείλω τοῖς μάγοις σὸ οὖν ἐπιμελήθητι αὐτῶν καὶ τοὐμὸν προθυμήθητι περὶ ἄνδρας σοφούς τε καὶ σοὶ σφόδρα εὔνους." ὑπερησθεὶς

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XXXIX

HE had addressed many such sayings to the king, CHAP. and found him ready to do what he advised him; XXXIX when finding that he had had enough of the society of is impatient the Magi, he said to Damis: "Come, let us start for India, but India. For the people who visited the lotus-eaters has to stay in their ships were seduced from their own home-eight principles by the food; but we, without tasting any Babylon of the victuals of this land, have remained here a longer time than is right and fitting." "And I," said Damis, "am more than of your opinion; but as I bore in mind the period of time which you discovered by the help of the lioness, I was waiting on for it to be completed. Now it has not yet all of it expired, for we have so far only spent a year and four months; however, if we can depart at once, would it be as well?" "But," said the other, "the king will not let us go, O Damis, before the eighth month has passed; for you, I think, see that he is a worthy man and too superior a person to be ruling over barbarians."

XL

When at last they were resolved on their departure CHAP. and the king had consented that they should go away, Apollonius remembered the presents, which the king equips them he had put off till he should have acquired friends, for further and he said: "O excellent king, I have in no way remunerated my host and I owe a reward to the Magi; do you therefore attend to them, and oblige me by bestowing your favours on men who are both wise and wholly devoted to yourself." The king then

CAP. οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς " τούτους μὲν αὔριον ζηλωτούς," έφη, "καὶ μεγάλων ήξιωμένους ἀποδείξω σοι, σὺ δ' ἐπεὶ μηδενὸς δέη τῶν ἐμῶν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις γε ξυγχώρησον χρήματα παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ ο τι βούλονται," τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν δείξας. άποστραφέντων οὖν κάκείνων τὸν λόγον τοῦτον " όρậς," ἔφη, " ὧ βασιλεῦ, τὰς ἐμὰς χεῖρας, ὡς πολλαί τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀλλήλαις ὅμοιαι; " "σὺ δὲ άλλὰ ἡγεμόνα ἄγου," ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη, "καὶ καμήλους, ἐφ' ὧν ὀχήσεσθε, τὸ γὰρ μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ κρείττον ή βαδίσαι πάσαν." "γιγνέσθω," έφη, "δ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτο, φασὶ γὰρ τὴν όδὸν ἄπορον εἶναι μη ούτως όχουμένω, καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ζώον εὔσιτόν τε καὶ ράδιον βόσκειν, ὅπου μὴ χιλὸς εἴη. καὶ ὕδωρ δέ, οἶμαι, χρη ἐπισιτίσασθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸ ἐν ἀσκοῖς, ὥσπερ τὸν οἶνον." "τριῶν ἡμερῶν," ἔφη ό βασιλεύς, "ἄνυδρος ή χώρα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολλή άφθονία ποταμών τε καὶ πηγών, βαδίζειν δὲ δεῖ την ἐπὶ Καυκάσου, τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα καὶ φίλη ή χώρα." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ὅ τι αὐτῷ ἀπάξει ἐκεῖθεν· "χαρίεν," ἔφη, "ὧ βασιλεῦ, δῶρον ἡν γὰρ ἡ συνουσία τῶν ἀνδρῶν σοφώτερόν με ἀποφήνη, βελτίων ἀφίξομαί σοι ἢ νῦν εἰμι." περιέβαλεν ό βασιλεύς ταῦτα εἰπόντα καὶ " ἀφίκοιο," εἶπε, " τὸ γὰρ δῶρον μέγα."

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was more than delighted, and said: "I will show you CHAP. to-morrow how much men envy them and what great rewards I hold them to have earned; but since you ask for nothing that is mine, I hope you will at least allow these gentlemen to accept from me money and what else they like," and he pointed to Damis and his companions. And when they too declined the offer, Apollonius said: "You see, O king, how many hands I have, and how closely they resemble one another." "But do you anyhow take a guide," said the king. "and camels on which to ride; for the road is too long by far for you to walk the whole of it." "Be it so," said Apollonius, "O king: for they say that the road is a difficult one for him who is not so mounted. and moreover this animal is easily fed and finds his pasture easily even where there is no herbage. And, methinks, we must lay in a supply of water also and take it in bottles, like wine." "Yes," said the king, "for three days the country is waterless, but after that there are plenty of rivers and springs; but you must take the road over the Caucasus, for there you will find plenty of the necessities of life and the country is friendly." And the king then asked him what he would bring back to him from his destination; and he answered: "A graceful gift, O king, for if I am turned into a wiser man by the society of people yonder, I shall return to you here a better man than I now am." When he said this the king embraced him and said: "May you come back, for that will indeed be a great gift."