

## ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

### ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

Ζ'

I

<sup>CAP.</sup>  
<sub>I</sub> Αιθιοπία δὲ τῆς μὲν ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ πάσης ἐπέχει τὸ ἐσπέριον κέρασ, ὡσπερ Ἰνδοὶ τὸ πρὸς ἕω, κατὰ Μερὸν δ' Αἰγύπτῳ ξυνάπτουσα καὶ τι τῆς ἀμαρτύρου Λιβύης ἐπελθοῦσα τελευτᾷ ἐς θάλατταν, ἣν Ὀκεανὸν οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, τὸ περὶ γῆν ἅπαν ὧδε ἐπονομάζοντες. ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτῳ δίδωσιν, ὃς ἐκ Καταδούπων ἀρχόμενος, ἣν ἐπικλύζει πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτου ἀπ' Αἰθιοπίων ἄγει. μέγεθος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀξία παραβεβλήσθαι πρὸς Ἰνδοῦς ἢδε ἡ χώρα, ὅτι μηδ' ἄλλη μηδεμία, ὀπίσσει κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομασταὶ ἠπειροὶ, εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτου Αἰθιοπία ξυμβάλοιμεν, τουτὶ δὲ ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πρᾶττειν, οὐπω ξύμμετροι πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἄμφω, τσοσάυτη ξυντεθεισα, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιοι λογισαμένῳ τὰ

## PHILOSTRATUS

### THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

BOOK VI

I

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

CHAP.  
I  
Comparison  
of the rivers  
Indus and  
Nile

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CHAP. I. Ἰνδοῦ τε καὶ Νείλου· ἐπιρραίνουσί τε γὰρ τὰς ἠπείρους ἐν ὥρᾳ ἔτους, ὅποτε ἡ γῆ ἐρᾷ τούτου, ποταμῶν τε παρέχονται μόνοι τὸν κροκόδειλον καὶ τὸν ἵππον, λόγοι τε ὀργίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἴσοι, πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Νείλῳ ἐπιθειάζεται. τὴν δὲ ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἠπείρων πιστούσθων μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρώματα, πιστούσθων δὲ καὶ οἱ λεόντες καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἀλισκόμενός τε καὶ δουλεύων. βόσκουσι δὲ καὶ θηρία, οἷα οὐχ ἐτέρωθι, καὶ ἀνθρώπους μέλανας, ὃ μὴ ἄλλαι ἠπειροὶ, Πυγμαίων τε ἐν αὐταῖς ἔθνη καὶ ὑλακτούντων ἄλλο ἄλλη καὶ ὧδε θαυμαστά. γρῦπες δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ μύρμηκες Αἰθιοπῶν, εἰ καὶ ἀνόμοιοι τὴν ἰδέαν εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὁμοιά γε, ὡς φασι, βούλονται, χρυσοῦ γὰρ φύλακες ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἄδονται, τὸ χρυσόγεων τῶν ἠπείρων ἀσπαζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὃ δὲ λόγος ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἴτω καὶ ἐχώμεθα τοῦ ἀνδρός.

II

CHAP. II. Ἀφικόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ὄρια, Συκάμινον δὲ αὐτὰ ὀνομάζουσι, χρυσῶ τε ἀσήμῳ ἐνέτυχε καὶ λίνῳ καὶ ἐλέφαντι καὶ ῥίζαις καὶ μύρῳ καὶ ἀρώμασιν· ἔκειτο δὲ πάντα

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

II

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

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CAP. II. ἀφύλακτα ἐν ὁδῷ σχιστῆ· καὶ ὃ τι βούλεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, νομίζεται γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι· ἀγορὰν Αἰθίοπες ἀπάγουσιν, ὧν Αἰθιοπία δίδωσιν, οἱ δ' ἀνελόμενοι πᾶσαν ξυμφέρουσιν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον ἀγορὰν Αἰγυπτίαν ἴσου ἀξίαν ὠνούμενοι τῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων τὰ οὐκ ὄντα. οἱ δὲ τὰ ὄρια τῶν ἠπείρων οἰκοῦντες οὐπω μέλανες, ἀλλὰ ὀμόφυλοι τὸ χρῶμα, μελαίνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἠττον Αἰθιόπων, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον Αἰγυπτίων. ξυνεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἦθους, “οἱ δὲ χρηστοί,” ἔφη, “Ἕλληνας, ἦν μὴ ὀβολὸς ὀβολὸν τέκη καὶ τὰ ὄνια αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμήσωσι καπηλεύοντες ἢ καθειργύνυτες, οὐ φασι ζῆν, ὁ μὲν θυγατέρα σκηπτόμενος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμων, ὁ δ' υἱὸν ἤδη τελοῦντα ἐς ἄνδρας, ὁ δ' ἐράνου πλήρωσιν, ὁ δ', ὡς οἰκοδομοῖτο οἰκίαν, ὁ δὲ, ὡς αἰσχύνοιτο χρηματιστῆς ἠττων τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαι. καλῶς δ' ἄρ' εἶχεν, ἵνα ὁ πλοῦτος ἀτίμως ἔπραττεν ἰσότης τε ἦνθαι,

μέλας δ' ἀπέκειτο σίδηρος,

ὁμοιοῦντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐδόκει μία.”

III

CAP. III. Τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενος καὶ ξυμβούλους τῶν διαλέξεων, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ποιούμενος τοὺς καιροῦς,

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

CHAP. II

Compared with Greek trading

III

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

CHAP. III

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CAP. III. ἔχώρει ἐπὶ Μέμνονος, ἠγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς μεираκίον Αἰγύπτιον, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμις· Τιμασίων μὲν τῷ μεираκίῳ τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν, ἐφήβου δὲ ἄρτι ὑπαπῆει καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἔτι ἔρρωτο. σωφρονοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ μητριὰ ἐρώσα ἐνέκειτο καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐποίει, ξυντιθείσα μὲν οὐδὲν ὦνπερ ἢ Φαῖδρα, διαβάλλουσα δ' αὐτὸν ὡς θῆλυ καὶ ἐρασταῖς μᾶλλον ἢ γυναίκοις χαίροντα. ὁ δ' ἐκλιπὼν Ναύκρατιν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, περὶ Μέμφιν διητᾶτο, καὶ ναῦν δὲ ιδιόστολον ἐκέκτητο καὶ ἐναυκλήρει ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ. ἰδὼν οὖν ἀναπλέοντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καταπλέων αὐτὸς ξυνηκέ τε, ὡς ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν εἶη τὸ πλήρωμα, ξυμβαλλόμενος τοῖς τρίβωσι καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις, οἷς προσεσπούδαζον, καὶ ἰκέτευε προσδοῦναί οἱ τῆς τοῦ πλοῦ κοινωνίας ἐρῶντι σοφίας, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος, “σώφρων,” ἔφη, “ὁ νεανίσκος, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἀξιούσθω ὦν δεῖται,” καὶ διήλθε τὸν περὶ τῆς μητριᾶς λόγον πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγυς τῶν ἐταίρων ὑφειμένῳ τῷ τόνῳ, προσπλέοντος τοῦ μεираκίου ἔτι. ὡς δὲ ξυνήεσαν αἱ νῆες, μεταβὰς ὁ Τιμασίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην εἰπὼν τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ φόρτου, προσεῖπε τοὺς ἄνδρας. κελεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατ' ὄφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἰζῆσαι, “μεираκίον,” ἔφη, “Αἰγύπτιον,

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

CHAP. III  
They meet Timasion who tells his story

CAP. III ἔοικας γὰρ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἶναι τις, τί σοι φαῦλον ἢ τί χρηστὸν εἴργασται, λέξον, ὡς τῶν μὲν λύσις παρ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτό σοι δι' ἡλικίαν, τῶν δ' αὖ ἐπαινεθεῖς ἐμοί τε ξυμφιλοσοφοίης καὶ τοῖσδε." ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ἐρυθριῶντα καὶ μεταβάλλοντα τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ λέξαι τι ἢ μή, θαμὰ ἤρειδε τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ὥσπερ οὐδεμιᾶ προγνώσει ἐς αὐτὸν κεχρημένος, ἀναθαρσήσας δὲ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ὦ θεοί," ἔφη, "τινα ἐμαντὸν εἶπω; κακὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰμί, ἀγαθὸν δὲ εἰ χρὴ νομίζεσθαι με, οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν οὐπω ἔπαινος." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "βαβαί," ἔφη, "μειράκιον, ὡς ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν μοι διαλέγη, ταυτὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰάρχα δοκεῖ τῷ θείῳ. ἀλλ' εἰπέ ὅπως ταῦτα δοξάζεις, κάξ ὄτου; φυλαξαμένῳ γάρ τι ἀμαρτεῖν ἔοικας." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρξαμένου λέγειν, ὡς ἡ μητριὰ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτὸν φέροιτο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐρώση ἐκσταίῃ, βοή ἐγένετο, ὡς δαιμονίως αὐτὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου προειπόντος, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Τιμασίων, "ὦ λῶστοι," ἔφη, "τί πεπόνθατε; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχει τὰ εἰρημένα θαύματος, ὅσον, οἶμαι, γέλωτος." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "ἕτερόν τι," ἔφη, "ἐθαυμάσαμεν, ὃ μήπω γιγνώσκεις. καὶ σὲ δέ, μειράκιον, ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι μηδὲν οἶει

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

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CAP. III. λαμπρὸν εἰργάσθαι.” “Ἀφροδίτη δὲ θύεις, ὦ μαιράκιον ;” ἤρετο ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, “νῆ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ὄσημέραι γε, πολλὴν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τὴν θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπείοις τε καὶ θείοις πράγμασιν.” ὑπερησθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ψηφισώμεθα,” ἔφη, “ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐστεφανῶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ πρὸ Ἱππολύτου τοῦ Θησέως, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὑβρισε, καὶ διὰ τουτὶ ἴσως οὐδὲ ἀφροδισίων ἠττητο, οὐδὲ ἔρωσ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐκώμαζεν, ἀλλ’ ἦν τῆς ἀγροικοτέρας τε καὶ ἀτέγκτου μοίρας, οὕτωσὶ δὲ ἠττᾶσθαι τῆς θεοῦ φάσκων, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐρώσαν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀπῆλθεν αὐτὴν δείσας τὴν θεόν, εἰ τὸ κακῶς ἐρᾶσθαι μὴ φυλάξοιτο, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ διαβεβλήσθαι πρὸς οὐτιναδὴ τῶν θεῶν, ὡσπερ πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ἱππόλυτος, οὐκ ἀξιῶ σωφροσύνης, σωφρονέστερον γὰρ τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὖ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἴδρυνται.” τοσαῦτα ἐς τὸν Τιμασίωνα αὐτῷ ἐσπουδάσθη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ Ἱππόλυτόν γε ἐκάλει αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οἷς τὴν μητριὰν εἶδεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἐπαφροδίτως ἄψασθαι.

IV

CAP. IV. Ἰπὸ τούτῳ ἡγεμόνι παρελθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Μέμνονος. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Μέμνονος τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμις. Ἡοῦς μὲν παῖδα γενέσθαι αὐτόν,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

IV

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

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CHAP. IV ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀφικέσθαι ἐς  
 Τροίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰθιοπία τελευτήσαι βασιλεύσαντα  
 Αἰθιόπων γενεὰς πέντε. οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ μακροβιώτατοι  
 ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν, ὀλοφύρονται τὸν Μέμνονα ὡς κο-  
 μιδῆ νέον καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ἁώρῳ κλαίουσι, τὸ δὲ χωρίον,  
 ἐν ᾧ ἵδρυται, φασὶ μὲν προσεοικέναι ἀγορᾷ ἀρχαία,  
 οἶαι τῶν ἀγορῶν ἐν πόλεσι ποτε οἰκηθείσαις λείπον-  
 ται, στηλῶν παρεχόμεναι τρύφη καὶ τειχῶν ἴχνη  
 καὶ θάκους καὶ φλιας ἐρμῶν τε ἀγάλματα, τὰ μὲν  
 ὑπὸ χειρῶν διεφθορότα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ χρόνου. τὸ δὲ  
 ἄγαλμα τετράφθαι πρὸς ἀκτίνα μήπω γενειάσκον,  
 λίθου δὲ εἶναι μέλανος, ξυμβεβηκέναι δὲ τῶ πόδε  
 ἄμφω κατὰ τὴν ἀγαλμοτοποίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαιδάλου,  
 καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπερείδειν ὀρθὰς ἐς τὸν θᾶκον,  
 καθῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν ὀρμῇ τοῦ ὑπανίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ  
 σχῆμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν καὶ  
 ὁπόσα τοῦ στόματος ὡς φθεγγομένου ἄδουσι, τὸν  
 μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἤττον θαυμάσαι φασίν, οὐπω  
 γὰρ ἐνεργὰ φαίνεσθαι, προσβαλοῦσης δὲ τὸ  
 ἄγαλμα τῆς ἀκτίνος, τουτὶ δὲ γίνεσθαι περὶ  
 ἡλίου ἐπιτολάς, μὴ κατασχεῖν τὸ θαῦμα, φθέγξα-  
 σθαι μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμα τῆς ἀκτίνος ἐλθούσης  
 αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στόμα, φαιδρούς δὲ ἰστάναι τοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς δόξαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς, οἶα τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 οἱ εὐήλιοι. τότε ξυνεῖναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ

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

CHAP. IV  
 They visit  
 the statue  
 of Memnon

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. <sup>IV</sup> δοκεῖ ὑπανίστασθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τὸ κρεῖττον ὀρθοὶ  
θεραπεύοντες. θύσαντες οὖν Ἡλίῳ τε Αἰθίοπι καὶ  
Ἡῶφ Μέμνονι, τουτὶ γὰρ ἔφραζον οἱ ἱερεῖς, τὸν  
μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθεῖν τε καὶ θάλπειν, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς  
μητρὸς ἐπονομάζοντες, ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ καμήλων ἐς  
τὰ τῶν Γυμνῶν ἡθη.

V

CAP. <sup>V</sup> Ἄνδρὶ δὲ ἐντυχόντες ἐσταλμένῳ τρόπῳ, ὄνπερ  
οἱ Μεμφίται, καὶ ἀλύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ ξυντείνοντι  
ἤρουντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν, ὅστις εἶη καὶ δι' ὃ τι  
πλανῶτο, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίῳ, “ἐμοῦ,” ἔφη, “πυν-  
θάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτου, οὗτος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν  
εἴποι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος αἰδοῖ τῆς ξυμ-  
φορᾶς, ἣ κέχρηται, ἐγὼ δέ, γιγνώσκω γὰρ τὸν  
ἄνδρα καὶ ἐλεῶ, λέξω τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν πάντα·  
ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ Μεμφίτην τινὰ ἄκων, κελεύουσι δ'  
οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν νόμοι τὸν φεύγοντα ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ,  
δεῖ δὲ φεύγειν, ἐπὶ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς εἶναι, κὰν ἐκνίψη-  
ται τοῦ φόνου, χωρεῖν ἐς ἡθη καθαρὸν ἤδη, βαδί-  
σαντα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πεφονευμένου σῆμα  
καὶ σφάξαντά τι ἐκεῖ οὐ μέγα. τὸν δὲ χρόνον, ὃν  
οὐπω τοῖς Γυμνοῖς ἐνέτυχεν, ἀλᾶσθαι χρὴ περὶ  
ταυτὶ τὰ ὅρια, ἔστ' ἂν αἰδέσωνται αὐτόν, ὥσπερ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

V

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

<sup>1</sup> *Aithō* = I burn: *Aithiōps* = an Aethiop.



FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CHAP. V *ικέτην.* ἤρετο οὖν τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, πῶς οἱ Γυμνοὶ περὶ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἐκείνου φρονούσιν, ὁ δέ, “οὐκ οἶδα,” εἶπε, “μῆνα γὰρ τουτουὶ ἔβδομον ἰκετεύει δεῦρο καὶ οὐπω λύσις.” “οὐ σοφοὺς λέγεις ἄνδρας,” ἔφη, “εἰ μὴ καθαίρουσιν αὐτόν, μηδὲ γινγνώσκουσιν, ὅτι Φιλίσκος, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν οὗτος, ἀνέφερεν ἐς Θαμοῦν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ὃς ἐδήλωσέ ποτε τὴν τῶν Γυμνῶν χώραν.” θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων, “πῶς,” ἔφη, “λέγεις;” “ὥς γε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ μειράκιον, καὶ πέπρακται. Θαμοῦν γὰρ ποτε νεώτερα ἐπὶ Μεμφίτας πράττοντα ἤλεγξαν οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ ἔσχον, ὁ δὲ ὀρμῆς ἀμαρτῶν ἔκειρε πᾶσαν, ἣν οὗτοι νέμονται, ληστρικῶς γὰρ περὶ Μέμφιν ἔρρωτο· τούτου Φιλίσκου, ὃν οὗτος ἀπέκτεινεν, ὀρῶ ἔκγονου τρίτον ἀπὸ δεκάτου, κατάρατον δηλαδὴ τούτοις, ὧν ὁ Θαμοῦς τότε διεπόρθει τὴν χώραν· καὶ ποῦ σοφόν, ὃν στεφανοῦν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ προνοήσας ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον ἀκουσίου φόνου μέν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δ’ εἰργασμένου μὴ καθῆραι;” ἐκπλαγὲν οὖν τὸ μειράκιον, “ξένε,” εἶπε, “τίς εἶ;” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὃν ἄν,” ἔφη, “παρὰ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς εὔροις. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐπω μοι ὄσιον προσφθέγξασθαι τὸν ἐν τῷ αἵματι, κέλευσον αὐτόν, ὦ

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

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<sup>CAP.</sup>  
<sup>V</sup> *μειράκιον, θαρρεῖν, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ καθαρεύονται, εἰ βαδίσειεν οὐ καταλύω." ἀφικομένων δὲ ἐπιδράσας ὅσα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὑπὲρ καθαρσίων νομίζουσιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς ἤθη στείχειν ὡς καθαρὸν ἤδη τῆς αἰτίας.*

VI

<sup>CAP.</sup>  
<sup>VI</sup> *Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελάσαντες ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος, ἀφικουτο πρὸ μεσημβρίας ἐς τὸ τῶν Γυμνῶν φροντιστήριον. τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς τούτους οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐπίτινος λόφου, φασί, ξυμμέτρου μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Νείλου, σοφία δὲ Ἰνδῶν λείπεσθαι πλέον ἢ προὔχειν Αἰγυπτίων, γυμνοὺς δὲ ἐστάλθαι κατὰ ταῦτὰ τοῖς εἰληθεροῦσιν Ἀθήνησι. δένδρα δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὀλίγα καὶ τι ἄλλος οὐ μέγα, ἐς δὲ ξυνίασιν ὑπὲρ τῷ κοινῶν, ἱερά δὲ οὐκ ἐς ταῦτόν, ὥσπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν, ἄλλο δὲ ἄλλη τοῦ γηλόφου ἴδρυται σπουδῆς ἀξιούμενα, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων λόγοι. θεραπεύουσι δὲ Νεῖλον μάλιστα, τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἡγούονται γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ. καλύβης μὲν οὖν ἢ οἰκίας οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ δέονται, ζῶντες ὑπαίθριοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ, καταγωγῆν δὲ ἀποχρῶσαν τοῖς ξένοις ἐδέϊμαντο, στοὰν οὐ μεγάλην, ἰσομήκη ταῖς Ἡλείων, ὑφ' αἷς ὁ ἀθλητῆς περιμένει τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κήρυγμα.*

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

VI

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

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VII

CAP. VII Ἐνταῦθά τι ἀναγράφει Δάμις Εὐφράτου ἔργον, ἠγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ μειρακιῶδες, ἀλλ' ἀφιλοτιμότερον τοῦ φιλοσοφίας προσήκοντος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου θαμὰ ἤκουε βουλομένου σοφίαν Ἰνδικὴν ἀντικρῖναι Αἰγυπτία, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Θρασύβουλον τὸν ἐκ Ναυκράτιδος ὑπὲρ διαβολῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὁ δὲ ἤκειν μὲν ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας, ἔφη, τῆς πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν Τυανέα, τουτὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις ἀγῶνα ἔχειν οὐ σμικρόν, φρονεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἰνδῶν σοφούς, οὓς ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ αἴρει, μυρίας δὲ ἐλέγξεις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συνεσκευάσθαι, ξυγχωρεῖν τε οὔτε ἡλίῳ οὐδὲν οὔτε οὐρανῷ καὶ γῆ, κινεῖν γὰρ καὶ ὀχεῖν αὐτὸς ταῦτα καὶ μετατάττειν οἱ βούλεται.

VIII

CAP. VIII Τοιαῦτα ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ξυθεις ἀπήλθεν, οἱ δ' ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἠγούμενοι τὴν μὲν ξυνουσίαν οὐ παρητοῦντο ἤκοντος, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ σπουδάξεν ἐπλάττοντο καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνοις εἶναι, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ κἀκείνῳ ἐς λόγους, ἦν σχολὴν ἄγωσι μάθωσί τε, ὅ τι βούλεται καὶ ὅτου ἐρῶν ἦκεν. ἐκέ-

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VII

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

CHAP. VII  
Euphrates' intrigues with them against Apollonius

VIII

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

CHAP. VIII

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CAP. VII. λευε δὲ ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἦκων καὶ καταλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὕπὲρ μὲν στέγης,” ἔφη, “μηδὲν διαλέγου, ξυγχωρεῖ γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ἐνταῦθα γυμνοῖς ζῆν,” διαβάλλων αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ καρτερίᾳ γυμνοῦς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, “ὅτι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἦκω τοὺς μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω οὐπω γιγνώσκοντας, Ἴνδοι δέ με οὐκ ἤρουντο ταῦτα.”

IX

CAP. IX. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐνὶ τῶν δένδρων ὑποκλιθεὶς ξυνηῆν τοῖς ἐταίροις ὅποσα ἠρώτων, ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Δάμις ἤρετο ἰδίᾳ· “οἱ Γυμνοὶ οὗτοι, βέλτιστε, ξυγγέγονας γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, τί σοφοὶ εἰσι;” “πολλά,” ἔφη, “καὶ μεγάλα.” “καὶ μὴν οὐ σοφά,” εἶπεν, “αὐτῶν, ὧ γενναίε, τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ξυμβῆναι τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ ὑπὲρ σοφίας, ὄγκω δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν χρησασθαι τί φῶ οὐκ οἶδα ἢ τύφον,” ἔφη, “ὧ ἐταίρε.” “τύφον; ὃν οὐπω πρότερον περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶδον δις ἤδη ἀφικόμενος, αἰεὶ γὰρ μέτριόι τε καὶ χρηστοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμιγνύοντας ἦσαν. πρῶην γοῦν, πεντήκοντα δὲ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἡμέραι, Θρασύβουλος μὲν ἐπεχωρίαζεν ἐνταῦθα, λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ

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

IX

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

CHAP. IX. πρᾶττων, οἱ δ' ἄσμενοι αὐτὸν ἀπεδέξαντο, ἐπειδὴ προσέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "τί λέγεις, ὦ μειράκιον; ἐώρακας σὺ Θρασύβουλον τὸν Ναυκρατίτην ἐν τῷ φροντιστηρίῳ τούτῳ;" "καὶ πρὸς γε," εἶπε, "διήγαγον αὐτὸν τῆ ἔμαντοῦ νηὶ κατιόντα ἐνθένδε." "τὸ πᾶν ἔχω, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηναῖν," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις ἀναβοήσας τε καὶ σχετλιάσας, "ἔοικε γὰρ πεπανουργησθαί τι." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Τιμασίῳ, "ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ," ἔφη, "ὡς ἠρόμην αὐτὸν χθές, ὅστις εἶη, οὐπω με ἠξίου τοῦ ἀπορρήτου, σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ μυστήρια ταῦτα, λέγε ὅστις οὗτος, ἴσως γὰρ ἂν κάγω τι ξυμβαλοίμην τῆ τοῦ ζητουμένου θήρα." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσε τοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ὅτι ὁ Τυανεύς εἶη, "ξυνείληφας," ἔφη, "τὸ πρᾶγμα· Θρασύβουλος γὰρ καταπλέων μετ' ἐμοῦ τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐρομένῳ μοι ἐφ' ὃ τι ἀναβαίη ἐνταῦθα, σοφίαν οὐ χρηστὴν ἑαυτοῦ διηγείτο, τοὺς Γυμνοὺς τούτους ὑποψίας ἐμπεπληκέναι φάσκων πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς ὑπεροφθείη, ὅποτε ἔλθοι, κάξ ὅτου μὲν διαφέρεται πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ δὲ ἐς διαβολὰς καθίστασθαι γυναικεῖόν τε ἠγοῦμαι καὶ ἀπαίδευτον, ἐγὼ δ' ἂν, ὡς διάκεινται, μάθοιμι προσειπὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας, φίλοι γάρ." καὶ ἐπανῆλθε περὶ δείλην ὁ Τιμασίῳ, πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οὐδὲν φράζων πλὴν τοῦ προσειρηκέναι σφᾶς, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἀπαγγέλλων πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, ὡς ἀφίξονται αὔριον μεστοὶ ὦν τοῦ Θρασυβούλου ἤκουσαν.

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

## X

<sup>CAP.</sup>  
<sub>X</sub> Τὴν μὲν δὴ ἐσπέραν ἐκείνην μέτριά τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια τοῦ ἀναγράψαι σπουδάσαντες, ἐκοιμήθησαν οὐδὲ ἐδείπνησαν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, θεραπεύσας τὸν Ἡλίον ἐφειστήκει τινὶ γνώμῃ, προσδραμῶν δὲ αὐτῷ Νείλος, ὅσπερ ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Γυμνῶν, “ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη, “παρὰ σέ ἤκομεν.” “εἰκότως,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐνταῦθα.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα εἶπετο τῷ Νείλῳ. προσεῖπὼν οὖν καὶ προσρηθείς, ξυνέτυχον δὲ ἀλλήλοις περὶ τὴν στοάν, “ποῖ,” ἔφη, “ξυνεσόμεθα;” “ἐνταῦθα,” ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίῳν δείξας τὸ ἄλσος. ὁ δὲ Θεσπεσίῳν πρεσβύτατος ἦν τῶν Γυμνῶν, καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν αὐτὸς πᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ, ὥσπερ Ἑλλανοδίκαι τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ, εἶποντο κοσμίῳ ἅμα καὶ σχολαίῳ βαδίσματι. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκάθισαν, ὡς ἔτυχε, τουτὶ γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν κόσμῳ ἔδρων, ἐς τὸν Θεσπεσίῳνα εἶδον πάντες οἶον ἐστιάτορα τοῦ λόγου, ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἐνθένδε· “τὴν Πυθῶ καὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπεσκέφθαι σέ φασι, Ἀπολλώνιε, τουτὶ γὰρ ἀπήγγειλεν ἐνταῦθα καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Φάριος, ἐντετυχηκένοι σοι φάσκων ἐκεῖ, καὶ τὴν μὲν Πυθῶ τοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἤκοντας αὐλῷ τε παραπέμπειν καὶ ὠδαῖς καὶ ψάλσει, κωμῳδίας τε καὶ

## X

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

He attacks  
the sages  
of India

CAP. X. τραγωδίας ἀξιούν, εἶτα τὴν ἀγωνίαν παρέχειν τὴν γυμνὴν ὀψὲ τούτων, τὴν δὲ Ὀλυμπίαν τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐξελεῖν ὡς ἀνάρμοστα καὶ οὐ χρηστὰ ἐκεῖ, παρέχεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ἰούσιν ἀθλητὰς γυμνοὺς, Ἡρακλέους ταῦτα ξυνθέντος· τοῦτο ἡγοῦ παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν Πυθῶν καλοῦντες, ποικίλαις δημαγωγούσιν ἰυγξιν, ἡμεῖς δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, γυμνοί. οὐχ ὑποστρώνυσιν ἢ γῆ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα, οὐδὲ γάλα ὥσπερ βάκχαις ἢ οἶνον δίδωσιν, οὐδὲ μετεώρους ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀῆρ φέρει, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ὑπεστορεσμένοι τὴν γῆν, ζῶμεν μετέχοντες αὐτῆς τὰ κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς χαίρουσα διδοίη αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ βασανίζοιτο ἄκουσα. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἀδυνατοῦμεν σοφίζεσθαι, τὸ δεῖνα," ἔφη, "δένδρον," πτελέα δὲ ἦν, τρίτον ἀπ' ἐκείνου, ὑφ' ᾧ διελέγοντο, "πρόσειπε τὸν σοφὸν Ἀπολλώνιον," καὶ προσεῖπε μὲν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκελεύσθη, τὸ δένδρον, ἢ φωνὴ δὲ ἦν ἔναρθρός τε καὶ θῆλυς. ἀπεσήμαινε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ταῦτα, μεταστήσειν ἡγοούμενος τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δόξης, ἐπειδὴ διήκει ἐς πάντας λόγους τε Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἔργα.

Προσετίθει δὲ κἀκεῖνα, ὡς ἀπόχρη τῷ σοφῷ βρώσεώς τε καθαρῷ εἶναι, ὁπόση ἔμπρους, ἰμέρου τε, ὃς φοιτᾷ δι' ὀμμάτων, φθόνου τε, ὃς διδάσκαλος

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

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

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. X ἀδίκων ἐπὶ χεῖρα καὶ γνώμην ἤκει, θαυμασιουργίας τε καὶ βιαίου τέχνης μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀλήθειαν. “σκέψαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλω,” εἶπε, “τὸν Δελφικόν, ὃς τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ προρρήσει λογίων ἔχει· ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν, ὡς που καὶ αὐτὸς γινώσκεις, ὁ μὲν τῆς ὀμφῆς δέομενος ἐρωτᾷ βραχὺ ἐρώτημα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὐδὲν τερατευσάμενος λέγει, ὅποσα οἶδε. καίτοι ῥάδιόν γε ἦν αὐτῷ σείσαι μὲν τὸν Παρνασὸν πάντα, τὴν Κασταλίαν δὲ οἰνοχοῆσαι μεταβαλόντι τὰς πηγὰς, Κηφισῷ δὲ μὴ ξυγχωρῆσαι ποταμῷ εἶναι, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπικομπάσας ἀναφαίνει τάληθές αὐτό. ἠγώμεθα δὲ μηδὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντα λαμπρὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐκόντι αὐτῷ φοιτᾶν, μηδὲ τῷ νεῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλω χαίρειν, εἰ καὶ διπλάσιος ἀποφανθείη τοῦ νῦν ὄντος· ὤκησε γὰρ ποτε καὶ λιτὴν στέγην ὁ θεὸς οὗτος, καὶ καλύβη αὐτῷ ξυνεπλάσθη μικρά, ἐς ἣν ξυμβαλέσθαι λέγονται μέλιτται μὲν κηρόν, πτερὰ δὲ ὄρνιθες. εὐτέλεια γὰρ διδάσκαλος μὲν σοφίας, διδάσκαλος δὲ ἀληθείας, ἣν ἐπαινῶν σοφὸς ἀτεχνῶς δόξεις ἐκλαθόμενος τῶν παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς μύθων. τὸ γὰρ πρᾶπτε ἢ μὴ πρᾶπτε, ἢ οἶδα ἢ οὐκ οἶδα, ἢ τὸ δεῖνα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα, τί δεῖται κτύπου; τί δὲ τοῦ βροντᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ἐμβεβροντηῆσθαι;

Εἶδες ἐν ζωγραφίας λόγοις καὶ τὸν τοῦ Προδίκου Ἡρακλέα, ὡς ἔφηβος μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὐπω δὲ ἐν αἰρέσει τοῦ βίου, κακία δ’ αὐτὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

hand and will, and that truth stands not in need of miracle-mongering and sinister arts. “For look,” he said, “at the Apollo of Delphi, who keeps the centre of Hellas for the utterance of his oracles. There then, as you probably know yourself, a person who desires a response, puts his question briefly, and Apollo tells what he knows without any miraculous display. And yet it would be just as easy for him to convulse the whole mountain of Parnassus, and to alter the springs of the Castalian fountain so that it should run with wine, and to check the river Cephisus and stay its stream; but he reveals the bare truth without any of this show or ostentation. Nor must we suppose that it is by his will, that so much gold and showy offerings enter his treasury, nor that he would care for his temple even if it were made twice as large as it already is. For once on a time this god Apollo dwelt in quite a humble habitation; and a little hut was constructed for him to which the bees are said to have contributed their honeycomb and wax, and the birds their feathers. For simplicity is the teacher of wisdom and the teacher of truth; and you must embrace it, if you would have men think you really wise, and forget all your legendary tales that you acquired among the Indians. For what need is there to beat the drum over such simple matters as: ‘Do this, or do not do it,’ or ‘I know it, or I do not know it,’ or ‘It is this and not that’? What do you want with thunder, nay, I would say, What do you want to be thunder-struck for?”

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

CHAP. X  
And contrasts the Delphic oracle in its simplicity with their pomp



FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. X. καὶ ἀρετὴ διαλαβοῦσαι παρὰ σφᾶς ἄγουσιν, ἢ μὲν χρυσῷ τε κατεσκευασμένη καὶ ὄρμοις, ἐσθῆτί τε ἀλιπορφύρῳ καὶ παρειᾶς ἄνθει καὶ χαίτης ἀναπλοκαῖς καὶ γραφαῖς ὀμμάτων, ἔστι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ χρυσοῦν πέδιλον, γέγραπται γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ ἐνσοβοῦσα. ἢ δ' αὖ πεπονηκυῖα μὲν προσφερῆς, τραχὺ δὲ ὀρώσα, τὸν δὲ αὐχμὸν πεποιημένη κόσμημα καὶ ἀνυπόδετος ἢ ἀρετὴ καὶ λιτὴ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ γυμνὴ δ' ἂν ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μὴ ἐγίγνωσκε τὸ ἐν θηλείαις εὐσχημον. ἡγοῦ δὴ καὶ σεαυτὸν, Ἀπολλώνιε, μέσον τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας ἐστάναι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀκούειν λεγούσης, ὡς ὑποστορέσει σοι ἄνθη καθεύδοντι, καί, νῆ Δί, ὡς ποτιεῖ γάλακτι καὶ ὡς κηρίοις θρέψει, καὶ ὡς νέκταρ σοί τι παρ' αὐτῆς ἔσται καὶ πτερά, ὅποτε βούλοιο, τρίποδάς τε ἐσκυκλήσει πινόντι καὶ χρυσοῦς θρόνους, καὶ πονήσεις οὐδέν, ἀλλ' αὐτόματά σοι βαδιεῖται πάντα, τῆς δέ γε ἐτέρας, ὡς χαμευνεῖν μὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ προσήκει, γυμνὸν δέ, ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς, μοχθοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, ὃ δὲ μὴ πονήσαντί σοι ἀφίκετο, μήτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε ἡδύ, μηδὲ ἀλαζόνα εἶναι μηδὲ τύφου θηρατῆν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὄνειράτων ὄψεις, ὅποσαι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αἴρουσιν. εἰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα αἰροῖο, καὶ δόξῃ ἀδαμαντίνῃ χρῶο μὴ ἀτιμάζων ἀλήθειαν, μηδὲ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν εὐτέλειαν παραιτούμενος, πολλοὺς μὲν ἠρηκέναι φήσεις λέοντας,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

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CHAP. X. πολλὰς δὲ ὕδρας ἐκτετμήσθαι σοι Γηρυόνας τε καὶ Νέσσους καὶ ὁπόσοι ἐκείνου ἄθλοι, εἰ δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀγειρόντων ἀσπάση, κολακεύσεις ὀφθαλμούς τε καὶ ὦτα, καὶ οὔτε σοφώτερος ἐτέρου δόξεις γενήσῃ τε ἄθλος ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου Γυμνοῦ.”

XI

CHAP. XI. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος ἐστράφησαν ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πάντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφ’ αὐτόν, ὡς ἀντιλέξοι γιγνώσκουτες, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα θαυμάζοντες, ὃ τι ἀντερεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν τῆς εὐροίας καὶ τοῦ τόνου, “ μή τι,” ἔφη, “ προστίθης ;” “ μὰ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ εἴρηκα γάρ.” τοῦ δ’ αὖ ἐρομένου, “ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων τις Αἰγυπτίων ;” “ πάντων,” ἔφη, “ δι’ ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας.” ἐπισχὼν οὖν ὀλίγον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας ἐς τὰ εἰρημένα οὕτως ἔλεξεν. “ ἢ μὲν Ἡρακλέους αἴρεσις, ἣν φησι Πρόδικος ἐν ἐφήβῳ ἐλέσθαι αὐτόν, ὑγιῶς τε ὑμῖν λέλεκται καὶ κατὰ τὸν φιλοσοφίας νοῦν, ὃ σοφοὶ Αἰγυπτίων, προσήκει δέ μοι οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς βίου ποιησόμενος ἤκω, πάλαι γε ἡρημένος τὸν ἐμαυτῷ δόξαντα, πρεσβύτατός τε ὑμῶν πλὴν Θεσπεσίωνος ἀφιγμένος αὐτὸς ἂν μᾶλλον εἰκότως ξυμβούλευον ὑμῖν σοφίας αἴρεσιν,

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

XI

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

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI. εἰ μήπω ἡρημένοις ἐνέτυχον. ὦν δ' ὅμως τηλικόσδε καὶ σοφίας ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἀφιγμένος, οὐκ ὀκνήσω λογισταῖς ὑμῖν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ βουλῆς χρῆσασθαι διδάσκων, ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰλόμην ταῦτα, ὦν μήπω βελτίω ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθέ μοι. κατιδὼν γάρ τι ἐν Πυθαγόρου μέγα καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀρρήτου μὴ μόνον γινώσκου ἐαυτόν, ὅστις εἶη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις γένοιτο, βωμῶν τε ὡς καθαρὸς ἄψαιτο καὶ ὡς ἀχράντῳ μὲν ἐμφύχου βρώσεως γαστρὶ χρῆσαιτο, καθαρῷ δὲ σώματι πάντων ἐσθημάτων, ὅποσα θνησειδίων ξύγκειται, γλωττάν τε ὡς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ξυνέσχε βοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῇ σιωπῆς εὐρῶν δόγμα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ὡς χρησμῶδη καὶ ἀληθῆ κατεστήσατο, ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου δόξας, οὐ μίαν σοφίαν ἐκ δυοῖν ἐλόμενος, ὡς σύ, βέλτιστε Θεσπεσίων, ξυμβουλεύεις. παραστήσασα γάρ μοι φιλοσοφία τὰς ἐαυτῆς δόξας, ὅποσαι εἰσὶ, περιβαλοῦσά τε αὐταῖς κόσμον, ὃς ἐκάστη οἰκείος, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτὰς βλέπειν καὶ ὑγιῶς αἰρεῖσθαι ὦρα μὲν οὖν σεμνή τε ἀπασῶν ἦν καὶ θεία, καὶ κατέμυσεν ἄν τις πρὸς ἐνίας αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰστήκει τὸ ὄμμα ἐς πάσας, καὶ γάρ με καὶ παρεθάρρυνον αὐταὶ προσαγόμεναί τε καὶ προκηρύττουσαι, ὅποσα δώσουσιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν τις αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μοχθήσαντι πολὺν ἐπαντλήσειν ἔφασκεν ἡδονῶν ἐσμόν, ἢ δ' αὖ μοχθήσαντα ἀνα-

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

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CAP. XI. παύσειν, ἢ δ' ἐγκαταμίξειν εὐφροσύνας τῷ μόχθῳ, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἡδοναὶ διεφαίνοντο, καὶ ἀνετοὶ μὲν ἠνίαὶ γαστρός, ἐτοίμη δὲ χεὶρ ἐς πλοῦτον, χαλινὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς ὀμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἔρωτές τε καὶ ἕμεροι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη ξυνεχωρεῖτο, μία δὲ αὐτῶν ἴσχειν μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκόμπαζε, θρασεῖα δὲ ἦν καὶ φιλολοῖδορος καὶ ἀπηγκωνισμένη πάντα· εἶδον σοφίας εἶδος ἄρρητον, οὗ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ποτὲ ἠττήθη, καὶ εἰστήκει δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπετέτακτο αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσιώπα, ξυνεῖσα δέ, ὡς ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις οὐ ξυντίθεμαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνης οὐπω οἶδα, "μειράκιον," εἶπεν, "ἀηδὴς ἐγὼ καὶ μεστή πόνων· εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό τις ἐς ἡθὴ τὰ ἐμά, τράπεζαν μὲν, ὀπόση ἐμφύχων, ἀνηρῆσθαι πᾶσαν ἂν ἔλοιτο, οἴνου δὲ ἐκλελῆσθαι καὶ τὸν σοφίας μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν κρατῆρα, ὃς ἐν ταῖς αἰνοῖσι ψυχαῖς ἔστηκεν, οὐδὲ χλαῖνα θάλπει αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἔριον· ὃ ἀπ' ἐμφύχου ἐπέχθη, ὑπόδημα δὲ αὐτοῖς βύβλου δίδωμι καὶ καθεύδειν ὡς ἔτυχε, κἂν ἀφροδισίων ἠττηθέντας αἰσθωμαι, βάραθρά ἐστὶ μοι, καθ' ὧν σοφίας ὀπαδὸς δίκη φέρει τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὠθεῖ, χαλεπὴ δ' οὕτως ἐγὼ τοῖς τὰμὰ αἰρουμένοις, ὡς καὶ δεσμὰ γλώττης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. ἂ δ' ἐστὶ σοὶ καρτερήσαντι ταῦτα, ἐμοῦ μάθε· σωφροσύνη μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνη αὐτόθεν, ζηλωτὸν δὲ ἠγείσθαι

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

CAP. XI. μηδένα, τυράννοις τε φοβερὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς κείσθαι, θεοῖς τε ἡδίω φαίνεσθαι μικρὰ θύσαντα ἢ οἱ προχέοντες αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν ταύρων αἷμα, καθαρῶ δὲ ὄντι σοι καὶ προγιγνώσκειν δώσω, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτω τι ἐμπλήσω ἀκτίνος, ὡς διαγιγνώσκειν μὲν θεόν, γιγνώσκειν δὲ ἥρωα, σκιοειδῆ δ' ἐλέγχειν φαντάσματα, ὅτε ψεύδονται εἶδη ἀνθρώπων." ἦδε μοι βίου αἵρεσις, ᾧ σοφοὶ Αἰγυπτίων, ἦν ὑγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἐλόμενος οὔτε ἐψευσάμην οὔτε ἐψεύσθην, ἐγενόμην μὲν γὰρ ἅ χρῆ τὸν φιλοσοφήσαντα, φιλοσοφοῦντι δὲ ὅποσα δώσειν ἔφη, πάντ' ἔχω. ἐφιλοσόφησα γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως τῆς τέχνης καὶ ὁπόθεν αὐτῆς αἱ ἀρχαί, καὶ μοι ἔδοξεν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι περιττῶν τὰ θεῖα ψυχὴν τε ἄριστα ἐσκεμμένων, ἧς τὸ ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ ἀγέννητον πηγαὶ γενέσεως.

Ἀθηναίοις μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ προσήκων ἐφαίνετό μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος, τὸν γὰρ Πλάτωνος λόγον, ὃν θεσπεσίως ἐκεῖ καὶ πανσόφως ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀνεφθέγγετο, αὐτοὶ διέβαλλον ἐναντίας ταύτης καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεῖς δόξας ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς προσέμενοι, ἔδει δὲ σκοπεῖν, τίς μὲν εἴη πόλις, ποίων δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἔθνος, παρ' οἷς οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις, ὁ δὲ οὐ, πᾶσα δὲ ἡλικία ταῦτόν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς φθέγγοιτο· καὶ γὰρ μὲν νεότητός τε οὕτως ἀγούσης καὶ τοῦ μήπω ξυμῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔβλεψα, ἐπειδὴ πλεῖστα ἐλέ-

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

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

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CAP. XI. γεσθε ὑπερφυῶς εἰδέναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον τὸν ἔμαντοῦ διήειν ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ ἐφιστάς με, “εἰ τῶν ἐρώτων,” εἶπεν, “ἐτύχχανες ὦν ἢ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐχόντων τοῦ ἐρᾶν, εἶτα μεираκίῳ καλῶ ἐντυχῶν καὶ ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸ τῆς ὥρας, σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅτου εἴη παῖς ἐζήτεις, ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἵπποτρόφου καὶ στρατηγού πατρὸς καὶ χορηγοὶ οἱ πάπποι, σὺ δ’ αὐτὸν τριηράρχου τινὸς ἢ φυλάρχου ἐκάλεις, ἄρα γ’ ἂν οἶει προσάγεσθαι τὰ παιδικὰ τούτοις, ἢ κὰν ἀηδῆς δόξαι μὴ πατρόθεν ὀνομάζων τὸ μεираκίον, ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ ἐκφύλου σποράς καὶ νόθου; σοφίας οὖν ἐρῶν, ἦν Ἰνδοὶ εὖρον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πατέρων ὀνομάζεις αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν θέσει, καὶ δίδως τι μεῖζον Αἰγυπτίοις, ἢ εἰ πάλιν αὐτοῖς, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἄδουσι, μέλιτι ξυγκεκραμένος ἀναβαίη ὁ Νεῖλος;” ταῦτά με πρὸ ὑμῶν ἐπ’ Ἰνδοὺς ἔτρεψεν ἐνθυμηθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς λεπτότεροι μὲν τὴν ξύνεσιν οἱ τοιοῖδε ἄνθρωποι καθαρωτέραις ὀμιλοῦντες ἀκτίσιν, ἀληθέστεροι δὲ τὰς περὶ φύσεώς τε καὶ θεῶν δόξας, ἅτε ἀγχίθειοι καὶ πρὸς ἀρχαῖς τῆς ζφογόνου καὶ θερμῆς οὐσίας οἰκοῦντες· ἐντυχῶν τε αὐτοῖς ἔπαθόν τι πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν

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

CHAP. XI  
Defends the originality and wisdom of the Brahmins

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI. ἀνδρῶν, ὁποῖον λέγονται πρὸς τὴν Αἰσχύλου σοφίαν παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι· ποιητῆς μὲν γὰρ οὗτος τραγωδίας ἐγένετο, τὴν τέχνην δὲ ὀρῶν ἀκατάσκευόν τε καὶ μήπω κεκοσμημένην, εἰ μὲν ξυνέστειλε τοὺς χοροὺς ἀποτάδην ὄντας, ἢ τὰς τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἀντιλέξεις εὖρε, παραιτησάμενος τὸ τῶν μονωδιῶν μῆκος, ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπενόησεν, ὡς μὴ ἐν φανερῷ σφάττοι, σοφίας μὲν μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀπηλλάχθω, δοκείτω δὲ κὰν ἐτέρῳ παρασχεῖν ἔννοιαν ἤττον δεξιῶ τὴν ποίησιν· ὁ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐπάξιον τοῦ τραγωδίαν ποιεῖν φθέγγοιτο, ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὡς προσφυᾶ τῷ μεγαλείῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ καταβεβλημένῳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ πόδα, σκευοποιίας μὲν ἤψατο εἰκασμένης τοῖς τῶν ἡρώων εἵδεσιν, ὀκρίβαντος δὲ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἐνεβίβασεν, ὡς ἴσα ἐκείνοις βαίνοιεν, ἐσθήμασί τε πρῶτος ἐκόσμησεν, ἃ πρόσφορον ἡρωσί τε καὶ ἡρώισιν ἡσθήσθαι· ὅθεν Ἀθηναῖοι πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ἡγούντο, ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐς Διονύσια, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ψηφισαμένων ἀνεδιδάσκετο καὶ ἐνίκα ἐκ καινῆς· καίτοι τραγωδίας μὲν εὖ κεκοσμημένης ὀλίγη χάρις, εὐφραίνει γὰρ ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥσπερ ἢ τῶν Διονυσίων ὥρα, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ξυγκειμένης

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

<sup>1</sup> or "reduced in size the unduly large choruses."

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. <sup>XI</sup> μέν, ὡς Πυθαγόρας ἐδικαίωσεν, ὑποθειαζούσης δέ,  
 ὡς πρὸ Πυθαγόρου Ἴνδοί, οὐκ ἐς βραχὺν χρόνον ἢ  
 χάρις, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄπειρόν τε καὶ ἀριθμοῦ πλείω. οὐ  
 δὴ ἀπεικός τι παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἡττηθεὶς  
 εὖ κεκοσμημένης, ἣν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἴνδοι στεί-  
 λαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκκυκλοῦ-  
 σιν· ὡς δὲ ἐν δίκη μὲν ἠγάσθην αὐτούς, ἐν δίκη  
 δὲ ἠγοῦμαι σοφούς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὥρα μανθά-  
 νειν· εἶδον ἄνδρας οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ  
 ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀτειχιστως τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν  
 κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων. εἰ δ' αἰνιγμάτων ἄπτο-  
 μαι, σοφία Πυθαγόρου ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα, παρέδωκε  
 γὰρ καὶ τὸ αἰνίττειν, διδάσκαλον εὐρῶν σιωπῆς λό-  
 γον· σοφίας δὲ ταύτης ἐγένεσθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πυ-  
 θαγόρα ξύμβουλοι χρόνον, ὃν τὰ Ἴνδῶν ἐπηνεῖτε,  
 Ἴνδοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον πάλαι ὄντες· ἐπεὶ δ' αἰδοῖ τοῦ  
 λόγου, δι' ὃν ἐκ μνημάτων τῆς γῆς ἀφίκεσθε δεῦρο,  
 ἕτεροι μᾶλλον ἐβούλεσθε δοκεῖν ἢ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἀπὸ  
 Ἴνδῶν ἦκουτες, πάντα ὑμῖν ἐς τοῦτο ἐδρᾶτο. ὅθεν  
 ἐγυμνώθητε μὲν σκευῆς, ὀπόση ἐκεῖθεν, ὥσπερ ξυ-  
 αποδυόμενοι τὸ Αἰθίοπες εἶναι, θεοὺς δὲ θεραπεύειν

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

Describes  
 the  
 Brahmans  
 who were  
 teachers of  
 the naked  
 sages



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CAP. XI. ἐψηφίσασθε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑμέτερον τρόπον, ἐς λόγους τε οὐκ ἐπιτηδείους ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν κατέστητε, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ διαβεβλημένοι τῷ ἀφ' οἷων διαβεβλήσθαι ἤκειν· καὶ οὐδὲ μετερρύθμισθέ πώ γε τοῦτο, οἷ καὶ τήμερον ἐπίδειξιν αὐτοῦ πεποίησθε φιλολοίδορόν τε καὶ ἰαμβώδη, χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδέειν Ἰνδοὺς φάσκοντες, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκπλήξεις καὶ ἀγωγάς, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν, τὰς δὲ ὠτων, σοφίαν δὲ οὐπω ἐμὴν εἰδότες ἀναίσθητοι φαίνεσθε τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ δόξης, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μὲν λέξω οὐδέν, εἶην γάρ, ὅ με Ἰνδοὶ ἠγοῦνται, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρῶ ἄπτεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τις ὑγιῶς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔχει σοφία Ἰμεραίου ἀνδρός,<sup>1</sup> ὃς ἄδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλένην ἐναντίον τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ παλινοδίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτυμος ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἤδη καὶ αὐτοὺς ὦρα λέγειν, ἀμείνω τῆς νῦν παρεστηκυίας μεταλαβόντας περὶ αὐτῶν δόξαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄμουσοι πρὸς παλινοδίαν ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαί γε χρὴ ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἀξιοῦντες θεοὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὐδὲ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαξιούσιν ὧν ἐκεῖνοι πέπανται. διήλθές τινα, Θεσπεσίων, καὶ περὶ τῆς Πυθοῦς λόγον ὡς ἀπλῶς τε καὶ ἀκατασκευῶς χρώσης, καὶ παράδειγμα ἐγένετό σοι τοῦ λόγου νεῶς κηροῦ καὶ πτε-

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Stesichorus.

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

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

CHAP. XI

Refutes the argument derived from the Pythian oracle

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. <sup>XI</sup> ρῶν ξυντεθείς· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀκατάσκευα μὲν δοκεῖ οὐδὲ ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ

ξυμφέρετε πτερά τ' οἰωνοὶ κηρόν τε μέλιτται

κατασκευαζομένου ἦν οἶκον καὶ οἴκου σχῆμα, ὁ δ', οἶμαι, μικρὰ ταῦτα ἠγούμενος καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἤττω, καὶ ἄλλου ἐδεήθη νεῶ καὶ ἄλλου καὶ μεγάλων ἤδη καὶ ἑκατομπέδων, ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσᾶς ἕγχεας ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχούσας πειθῶ, ξυνελέξατό τε τὰ εὐδοκιμώτατα τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐς τὴν Πυθῶ κόσμου ἕνεκα, καὶ οὐτ' ἀγαλματοποιίαν ἀπήλασεν ἀπάγουσαν αὐτῷ κολοσσούς ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοὺς μὲν θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ ἵππων τε καὶ ταύρων καὶ ἐτέρων ζώων, οὔτε Γλαῦκον μετὰ τοῦ ὑποκρατηριδίου ἤκοντα, οὔτε τὴν ἀλισκομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν, ἦν Πολύγνωτος ἐκεῖ γράφει. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν χρυσόν γε τὸν Λύδιον καλλώπισμα τῆς Πυθοῦς ἠγείτο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐσήγετο, ἐνδεικνύμενος, οἶμαι, αὐτοῖς τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πλοῦτον, ἵνα γλίχοιντο ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ διαπορθεῖν τὰ ἀλλήλων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἑλληνά τε καὶ προσφυᾶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ τρόπον κατεσκευάζετο καὶ ἠγλαίζε τούτῳ τὴν Πυθῶ. ἠγούμαι δὲ αὐτὸν κόσμου ἕνεκα καὶ ἐς μέτρα ἐμβιβάζειν τοὺς χρησμούς. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο ἐπεδείκνυτο, τοιάσδε ἂν τὰς

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even this was devoid of pomp, for we have the <sup>CHAP.</sup> line: <sub>XI</sub>

‘Oh birds bring hither your wings, and bees your wax.’

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

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CAP. XI ἀποκρίσεις ἐποιεῖτο· δρᾶ τὸ δεῖνα ἢ μὴ δρᾶ, καὶ ἴθι ἢ μὴ ἴθι, καὶ ποιοῦ ξυμμάχους ἢ μὴ ποιοῦ, βραχέα γάρ που ταῦτα, ἢ, ὡς φατε ὑμεῖς, γυμνά, ὁ δ' ἵνα μεγαλορρήμων τε φαίνοιτο καὶ ἠδίων τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι, ποιητικὴν ἠρμόσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιολογῆσαι, ὅτι μὴ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ψάμμον εἰδέναι<sup>1</sup> φησίν, ὀπόση, ἀριθμήσας αὐτήν, καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης μέτρα ξυνειληφέναι πάντα.

Ἡ καὶ ταῦτα τερατολογία προσγράφεις, ἐπειδὴ σοβαρῶς αὐτὰ ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ ξὺν φρονήματι ὀρθῶ φράζει; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀχθέση, Θεσπεσίων, τῷ λόγῳ, γράες ἀνημμένοι κόσκινα φοιτῶσιν ἐπὶ ποιμένας, ὅτε δὲ καὶ βουκόλους, ἰώμενοι τὰ νοσοῦντα τῶν θρεμμάτων μαντικῇ, ὡς φασιν, ἀξιούσι δὲ σοφαὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ σοφώτεροι ἢ οἱ ἀτεχνῶς μάντις· τοῦτό μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν φαίνεσθε, οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν, ὑμεῖς δὲ—ἀλλ' οὐδὲν εἰρήσεται περαιτέρω, εὐφημία γὰρ φίλη μὲν ἐμοί, φίλη δὲ Ἰνδοῖς, ἣν ἀσπαζοίμην ὡς ὀπαδὸν ἅμα καὶ ἠγεμόνα τῆς γλώττης, τὰ μὲν ἐμαυτῷ δυνατὰ θηρεύων ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔρωτι, ὅτι δὲ μὴ ἐφικτὸν εἶη μοι, καταλείπων αὐτὸ ἄχραντον ψόγου. σὺ δὲ Ὀμήρου μὲν

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Herodotus, Book I. p. 11.

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

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

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CAP. XI. ἐν Κυκλωπία ἀκούων, ὡς ἡ γῆ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους ἄσπορος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἐστὶ, χαίρεις τῷ λόγῳ, κὰν Ἴδωνοὶ τινες ἢ Λυδοὶ βακχεύσωσιν, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖς, ὡς γάλακτος αὐτοῖς καὶ οἴνου πηγὰς δώσει καὶ ποτιεῖ τούτους, τοὺς δὲ σοφίας ἀπάσης βάκχους ἀφαιρήσῃ δῶρα αὐτόματα παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἤκοντα; τρίποδες δὲ αὐτόματοι καὶ ἐς τὰ ξυμπόσια τῶν θεῶν φοιτῶσι, καὶ ὁ Ἄρης ἀμαθὴς περ ὧν καὶ ἐχθρὸς οὐπω τὸν Ἡφαιστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, οὐδ' ἔστιν, ὡς ἤκουσάν ποτε οἱ θεοὶ τοιαύτης γραφῆς· ἀδικεῖς, Ἡφαιστε, κοσμῶν τὸ ξυμπόσιον τῶν θεῶν καὶ περιστὰς αὐτῷ θαύματα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δμωαῖς αἰτίαν ποτὲ ἔσχε ταῖς χρυσαῖς, ὡς παραφθείρων τὰς ὕλας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν χρυσοῦν ἔμπνουν ἐποίει, κόσμου γὰρ ἐπιμελήσεται τέχνη πᾶσα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι τέχνας ὑπὲρ κόσμου εὔρηται. ἀνυποδησία δὲ καὶ τρίβων καὶ πῆραν ἀνήφθαι κόσμου εὔρημα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς, ἔοικε μὲν ἀκατασκεύῳ τε καὶ λιτῷ σχήματι, ἐπιτετήδευται δὲ ὑπὲρ κόσμου καὶ οὐδὲ ἄπεστιν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐτέρῳ φασὶ τυφῶ. τὰ δὲ Ἡλίου τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν πάτρια καὶ ὄπη χαίρει θεραπευόμενος ἐχέτω τὸν αὐτῶν νόμον, θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ χθόνιοι βόθρους ἀσπᾶσσονται καὶ τὰ ἐν κοίλῃ τῇ γῆ δρώμενα, Ἡλίου δὲ

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Homer about the Cyclopes, how their land, all unsown and unploughed, nourished the most fearless and most lawless of beings; and if it is some Edoni or Lydians who are conducting their bacchic revels, you are quite ready to believe that the earth will supply them with fountains of milk and wine, and give them to drink thereof; but you would deny to these Indians, lovers of all wisdom as enthusiastic as ever bacchantes were, the unsought bounties which earth offers them. Moreover tripods, gifted with wills of their own, attend the banquets of the gods also; and Ares, ignorant and hostile as he was to Hephaestus, yet never accused him merely for making them; nor is it conceivable that the gods ever listened to such an indictment as this: 'You commit an injustice, O Hephaestus, in adorning the banquet of the gods, and encompassing it with miracles.' Nor was Hephaestus ever sued for constructing handmaids of gold, nor accused of debasing the metals because he made the gold to breathe. For every art is interested to adorn, and the very existence of the arts was a discovery made in behalf of ornament. Moreover a man who goes without shoes and wears a philosopher's cloak and hangs a wallet on his back is a creature of ornament; nay, more even the nakedness which you affect, in spite of its rough and plain appearance, has for its object ornament and decoration, and it is not even exempt from the proverbial "pride of your own sort to match."<sup>1</sup> We must judge by their own standard the religion of the Sun and the national rites of the Indians and any cult in which that god delights; for the subterranean gods will always prefer deep trenches and ceremonies conducted in the hollows of the earth, but the air is

<sup>1</sup> See Plato's retort in Diogenes Laertius, 6. 26.

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CAP. XI. ἄηρ ὄχημα, καὶ δεῖ τοὺς προσφόρους ἀσομένους αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς αἵρεσθαι καὶ ξυμμετεωροπολεῖν τῷ θεῷ· τοῦτο δὲ βούλονται μὲν πάντες, δύνανται δὲ Ἴνδοι μόνοι.”

### XII

CAP. XII. Ἀναπνεῦσαι ὁ Δάμις ἑαυτὸν φησιν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγων οὕτω διατεθῆναι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὡς τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα μὲν καίτοι μέλανα ὄντα κατάδηλον εἶναι, ὅτι ἐρυθριῶη, φαίνεσθαι δέ τινα καὶ περὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔκπληξιν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐρρωμένως τε καὶ ξὺν εὐροία διαλεγόμενον ἤκουσαν, τὸν νεώτατον δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Νεῖλος, καὶ ἀναπηδῆσαί φησιν ὑπὸ θαύματος, μεταστάντα τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμβαλεῖν τε αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰς ξυνουσίας, αἱ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἴνδούς, φράζειν. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον, “σοὶ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἂν,” φάναι, “βασκῆναιμι ἐγὼ λόγου, φιληκόω τε, ὡς ὀρώ, τυγχάνουσι καὶ σοφίαν ἀσπαζομένω πᾶσαν,” Θεσπεσίωνι δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος λῆρον τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἠγεῖται, μὴ ἂν ἐπαντλήσαι τοὺς ἐκείθεν λόγους· ὅθεν ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “εἰ δὲ ἔμπορος,” εἶπεν, “ἢ ναύκληρος ἦσθα καὶ τινα ἡμῖν ἀπήγες ἐκείθεν φόρτον, ἄρα ἂν ἠξίους, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ’ Ἰνδῶν οὗτος, ἀδοκίμαστον αὐτὸν διατίθεσθαι καὶ μήτε γεῦμα παρέχειν αὐτοῦ μήτε δεῖγμα;” ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “παρεχόμεν ἂν,” εἶπε, “τοῖς γε χρήζουσιν, εἰ δ’ ἤκων τις

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

### XII

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

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CAP. XII. ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καταπεπλευκυίας ἄρτι τῆς νεώς, ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῷ φόρτῳ καὶ διέβαλλε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς ἤκοντα ἐκ γῆς, ἢ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φέρει, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπέπληττεν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων ἀγωγίμων πλεύσαντι, τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐπειθεν οὕτω φρονεῖν, ἄρ' ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τις καταπλεύσας ἐς τοιόνδε λιμένα βαλέσθαι τινὰ ἄγκυραν ἢ πείσμα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μάλλον ἀνασεύσας τὰ ἰστία μετεωρίσαι ἂν τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνέμοις ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἠδιόν γε ἢ ἀκρίτοις τε καὶ ἀξένοις ἤθεσις;" "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος, "λαμβάνομαι τῶν πεισμάτων καὶ ἀντιβολῶ σε, ναύκληρε, κοινωνήσαί μοι τῆς ἐμπορίας, ἢν ἄγεις, καὶ ξυνεμβαίην ἂν σοι τὴν ναῦν περινεώς τε καὶ μνήμων τοῦ σοῦ φόρτου."

## XIII

CAP. XIII. Διαπαῦσαι δὲ ὁ Θεσπεσίων ζητῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, "χαίρω," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, ὅτι ἄχθη ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσας· καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἡμῖν ξυγγιγνώσκεις ἀχθομένοις ὑπὲρ ὧν διέβαλες τὴν δεῦρο σοφίαν, οὐδὲ ἐς πείραν πω αὐτῆς ἀφιγμένος." ὁ δ' ἐκπλαγεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς βραχὺ τῷ μηδ' ἀκηκοέναι πω τὰ περὶ τὸν Θρασύβουλον τε καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ξυμβαλὼν δ', ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὸ γεγονός, "Ἰνδοὶ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσπεσίων, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο ἔπαθον, οὐδ' ἂν προσέσχον Εὐφράτη καθιέντι ταῦτα, σοφοὶ γὰρ προγιγνώσκειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἴδιον μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ πρὸς Εὐφράτην διηνέχθην οὐδέν,

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

## XIII

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

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CAP. XIII. χρημάτων δὲ ἀπάγων αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπαινεῖν τὸ ἐξ ἅπαντος κέρδος, οὐτ' ἐπιτήδεια ξυμβουλεύειν ἔδοξα οὔτε ἐκείνῳ δυνατά, καὶ ἔλεγχον δὲ ἡγείται ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀνίησιν αἰεὶ τι κατ' ἐμοῦ ξυντιθείς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πιθανὸς ὑμῖν ἔδοξε τοῦμὸν διαβάλλειν ἦθος, ἐνθυμείσθε, ὡς προτέρους ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ διέβαλεν. ἐμοὶ γὰρ κίνδυνοι μὲν καὶ περὶ τὸν διαβεβλησόμενον οὐ σμικροὶ φαίνονται, μισήσεται γὰρ πού τις ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ κινδύνων οὐδ' οἱ τῶν διαβολῶν ἀκροασόμενοι δοκοῦσιν, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀλώσονται ψευδολογίαν τιμῶντες καὶ ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὴν ὧν περ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἶτα κουφότητα καὶ εὐαγωγίαν — ἠττᾶσθαι δὲ τούτων καὶ μεираκίῳ αἰσχρὸν — φθονεροὶ τε δόξουσι διδάσκαλον ἀκοῆς ἀδίκου ποιοῦμενοι τὸν φθόνου, αὐτοὶ τε μᾶλλον ἔνοχοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ἃς ἐφ' ἐτέρων ἀληθεῖς ἡγοῦνται, αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις ἐτοιμότεραι δρᾶν, ἢ μὴ ἀπιστοῦσι. μὴ τυραννεύσειεν ἀνὴρ ἕτοιμος ταῦτα, μηδὲ προσταίη δήμου, τυραννὶς γὰρ καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔσται, μηδὲ δικάσειεν, ὑπὲρ μηδενὸς γὰρ γνώσεται, μηδὲ ναυκληρήσειεν, ἢ γὰρ ναὺς στασιάσει, μηδὲ ἄρξειε στρατοῦ, τὸ γὰρ ἀντίξοον εὐ πράξει, μηδὲ φιλοσοφήσειεν οὕτως ἔχων, οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τἀληθὲς δοξάσει. ὑμᾶς δὲ Εὐφράτης

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

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CAP. XIII ἀφήρηται καὶ τὸ σοφοὺς εἶναι, οὓς γὰρ ψεύδει ὑπηγάγετο, πῶς ἂν οὗτοι σοφίας αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσκειαν, ἧς ἀπέστησαν τῷ τὰ μὴ πιθανὰ πείσαντι;” διαπραύτων δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “ἄλις Εὐφράτου,” ἔφη, “καὶ μικροψύχων λόγων, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ διαλλακταὶ γενοίμεθά σοι τε κἀκείνῳ, σοφὸν ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὸ διαιτᾶν σοφοῖς. πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς,” εἶπε, “τίς διαλλάξει με; χρὴ γάρ που καταψευθέντα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους.” \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> “ἐχέτω οὕτως,” ἦ δ’ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “καὶ σπουδῆς ἀπτώμεθα, τουτὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς διαλλάξει μᾶλλον.”

XIV

CAP. XIV Ἐρῶν δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος τῆς ἀκροάσεως τοῦ ἀνδρός, “καὶ μὴν σέ,” ἔφη, “προσῆκει ἄρξαι τοῦ σπουδάσαι, διελθόντα ἡμῖν τὴν τε ἀποδημίαν τὴν γενομένην σοι ἐς τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος τάς τε ἐκεῖ σπουδάς, ἃς ὑπὲρ λαμπρῶν δήπου ἐποιεῖσθε.” “ἐγὼ δέ,” ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “καὶ περὶ τῆς Φραώτου σοφίας ἀκοῦσαι ποθῶ, λέγεσθε γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἀγάλματα ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἄγειν.” ὁ μὲν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ποιησάμενος διῆκει πάντα, οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἠκροῶντο ὑποκείμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. μεσημβρία δ’ ὡς ἐγένετο, διέλυσαν τὴν σπουδὴν, τὸν γὰρ καιρὸν τοῦτου καὶ οἱ Γυμνοὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς γίγνονται.

<sup>1</sup> There seems a lacuna here in the text.

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

XIV

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



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XV

CAP. XV Δειπνοῦντι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐφίσταται λαχάνοις ἅμα καὶ ἄρτοις καὶ τραγήμασι, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς φέρων, τὰ δὲ ἕτεροι, καὶ μάλα ἀστείως, "οἱ σοφοί," ἔφη, "ξένια πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν τε κάμοι ταῦτα, κἀγὼ γὰρ ξυσσιτήσω ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἀκλητος, ὡς φασιν, ἀλλ' ἐμαυτὸν καλῶν." "ἡδύ," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀπάγεις, ὦ νεανία, ξένιον, σεαυτὸν τε καὶ τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἦθος, ὃς ἀδόλως μὲν φιλοσοφοῦντι ἔοικας, ἀσπαζομένῳ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Πυθαγόρου. κατακλίνου δὴ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ξυσσίτει." "κατάκειμαι," ἔφη, "σιτία δὲ οὐκ ἔσται σοι τοσαῦτα, ὡς ἐμπλήσῃ με." "ἔοικας," εἶπεν, "εὐσιτος εἶναι καὶ δεινὸς φαγεῖν." "δεινότατος μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "ὃς γὰρ τοσαύτην καὶ οὕτω λαμπρὰν δαϊτὰ σου παραθέντος οὐπω ἐμπέπλησμαι, διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον πάλιν ἐπισιτιούμενος ἤκω, τί φήσεις ἄλλ' ἢ ἀκόρεστόν τε εἶναι με καὶ δεινῶς γάστριν;" "ἐμπίπλασο," εἶπεν, "ἀφορμαὶ δ', ὅποσαι λόγων, τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς παραδίδου, τὰς δὲ ἐγὼ δώσω."

XVI

CAP. XVI Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδειπνησαν, "ἐγὼ," ἢ δ' ὁ Νεῖλος, "τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐστρατευόμεν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς, οἶον ψιλοῖς τισιν ἢ σφενδονήταις ἐκείνοις ἐμαυτὸν

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XV

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

XVI

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

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CAP. XVI. ξυντάττων, νυνὶ δὲ ὀπλιτεύσω καὶ κοσμήσει με ἡ ἀσπίς ἢ σή.” “ἀλλ’ οἰμαί σε,” εἶπεν, “Αἰγύπτιε, παρὰ Θεσπεσίωνί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξειν αἰτίαν, ἐφ’ οἷς οὐδὲ ἐς ἔλεγχον ἡμῶν καταστὰς πλείω, σὺ δ’ ἐτοιμότερον ἢ ξυγχωρεῖ βίου αἵρεσις, ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἦθη ἀφήσεις.” “οἰμαι,” ἔφη, “εἰ δ’ αἰτία ἐλομένου ἔσται τις, τάχα καὶ μὴ ἐλομένου αἰτία καὶ ἀλώσονται μᾶλλον ἄπερ ἐγὼ ἐλόμενοι· τὸ γὰρ πρεσβυτέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ σοφωτέρους ὄντας μὴ πάλαι ἠρήσθαι, ἄπερ ἐγὼ νῦν, δικαίαν αἰτίαν κατ’ ἐκείνων ἔχοι ἂν μᾶλλον οὕτω πλεονεκτοῦντας μὴ ἐς τὸ βέλτιον ἐλέσθαι, ὃ τι χρήσονται.” “οὐκ ἀγεννή μὲν, ὦ νεανίσκε, λόγον εἶρηκας· ὄρα δέ, μὴ αὐτῷ τῷ οὕτω μὲν σοφίας, οὕτω δὲ ἡλικίας ἔχειν ἐκείνᾳ γε ὀρθῶς ἠρημένοι φαίνονται<sup>1</sup> ταῦτά τε ξὺν εἰκότι λόγῳ παραιτούμενοι, σὺ τε θρασυτέρου λόγου δοκῆς ἄπτεσθαι καθιστὰς μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐπόμενος.” ὑποστρέψας δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δόξαν, “ἂ μὲν εἰκὸς ἦν,” ἔφη, “πρεσβυτέροις ὀμαρτεῖν νέον, οὐ παρεῖται μοι, σοφίαν γὰρ ὁπότ’ ὄμην εἶναι περὶ τοῦς

<sup>1</sup> Kayser reads φαίνονται, yet retains δοκῆς just below.

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

CHAP. XVI  
Nilus quits the naked Sages to join Apollonius

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CAP. XVI. ἄνδρας, ἣν οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν, προσεποίησα ἑμαυτὸν τούτοις, πρόφασις δέ μοι τῆς ὀρμῆς ἣδε ἐγένετο· ἔπλευσέ ποτε ὁ πατήρ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐκῶν, ἦρχε δὲ ἄρα τῆς νεώς, ἣν Αἰγύπτιοι στέλλουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, ἐπιμίξας δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Ἰνδοῖς διεκόμισε λόγους περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ σοφῶν ἀγχοῦ τούτων, οὓς πρὸς ἡμᾶς διήλθες· ἀκούων δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοιουτοῖ τινα λόγον, ὡς σοφώτατοι μὲν ἀνθρώπων Ἰνδοί, ἀποικοὶ δὲ Ἰνδῶν Αἰθίοπες, πατρῷζουσι δὲ οὗτοι τὴν σοφίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι βλέπουσι, μειράκιον γευόμενος τὰ μὲν πατρῶα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀφήκα, γυμνὸς δὲ Γυμνοῖς ἐπεφοίτησα τούτοις, ὡς μαθησόμενος τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἢ ἀδελφά γε ἐκείνων, καὶ μοι ἐφαίνοντο σοφοὶ μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐκείνα, ἐμοῦ δ' αὐτοὺς ἐρομένου, τοῦ χάριν οὐ τὰ Ἰνδῶν φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἐς διαβολὰς κατέστησαν παραπλησίως ταῖς πρὸς σὲ εἰρημέναις τήμερον, ἐμὲ δὲ νέον ἔτι, ὡς ὀρᾶς, ὄντα κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν κοινόν, δείσαντες, οἶμαι, μὴ ἀποπηδήσας αὐτῶν πλεύσαιμι ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ὁ πατήρ, ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἂν παρήκα· προήλθου γὰρ ἂν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ὄχθου τῶν σοφῶν, εἰ ἢ σέ τις ἐνταῦθα θεῶν ἔστειλεν ἐμοὶ ἀρωγόν, ὡς μήτε

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

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CAP. XVI τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν πλεύσας μήτε πρὸς τοὺς Κολπίτας παραβαλόμενος σοφίας Ἰνδικῆς γευσαίμην, οὐ τήμερον βίου ποιησόμενος αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν ἡρημένος, ἀ δὲ ὤμην ἔξειν, οὐκ ἔχων. τί γὰρ δεινόν, εἰ ὅτουδὴ ἀμαρτῶν τις ἐπάνεισιν ἐφ' ὃ ἐθήρευεν; εἰ δὲ κἀκείνους ἐς τουτὶ μεταβιβάζοιμι καὶ γιγνοίμην αὐτοῖς ξύμβουλος ὧν ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα, τί ἄν, εἰπέ μοι, θρασὺ πράττοιμι; οὔτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης ἀπελατέα τοῦ τι καὶ αὐτὴ βέλτιον ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἂν τοῦ γήρωσ, σοφίας τε ὅστις ἐτέρῳ γίγνεται ξύμβουλος, ἦν αὐτὸς ἡρηται, διαφεύγει δήπου τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἂ πέπεισται πείθειν, τοῖς τε ἤκουσιν ἀγαθοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὅστις ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὰ χρῆται μόνος, ἀδικεῖ τὰγαθὰ, ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ πλείοσιν ἠδίω φαίνεσθαι."

XVII

CAP. XVII Τοιαῦτα εἶρανος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ οὕτω νεανικὰ ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὕπὲρ μισθοῦ δέ," εἶπεν, "οὐ διαλέξῃ μοι πρότερον σοφίας γε ἐρῶν τῆς ἐμῆς;" "διαλεγώμεθα," ἦ δ' ὁ Νείλος, "καὶ ὅ τι βούλει, αἶτει." "αἰτῶ σε," εἶπεν, "ἂ μὲν αὐτὸς εἶλου, ἡρῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν ξυμβουλευόντα ἂ μὴ πείσεις." "πέισομαι," ἔφη,

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

XVII

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

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CAP. XVII “καὶ ὁμολογείσθω ὁ μισθός.” ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐσπούδασαν, ἐρομένου δ’ αὐτὸν μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Νείλου, πόσου χρόνου διατρίψοι περὶ τοὺς Γυμνοῦς, “ὀπόσου,” ἔφη, “χρόνου ἀξία ἢ τῶνδε σοφία τῷ ξυνεσομένῳ σφίσι, εἶτα ἐπὶ Καταδούπων τὴν ὁδὸν ποιησόμεθα τῶν πηγῶν ἕνεκα, χαρίεν γὰρ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἰδεῖν τὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κελαδοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἀκούσαι.”

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ὡδε διαλεχθέντες καὶ τινῶν Ἰνδικῶν μνημονεύσαντες ἐκάθευδον ἐν τῇ πόα, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσευξάμενοι τὰ εἰωθότα εἶποντο τῷ Νείλῳ παρὰ τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα αὐτοὺς ἄγοντι· προσειπόντες οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ ξυνιζήσαντες ἐν τῷ ἄλσει διαλέξεως ἤπτοντο, ἦρχε δ’ αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος· “ὥς μὲν γὰρ πολλοῦ,” ἔφη, “ἀξιον τὸ μὴ κρύπτειν σοφίαν, δηλοῦσιν οἱ χθρὲς λόγοι· διδαξαμένων γὰρ με Ἰνδῶν, ὀπόσα τῆς ἐκείνων σοφίας ὄμην προσήκειν ἐμοί, μέμνημαί τε τῶν ἐμαντοῦ διδασκάλων καὶ περίεμι διδάσκων, ἃ ἐκείνων ἤκουσα, καὶ ὑμῖν δ’ ἂν ἐν κέρδει γενόμην, εἴ με καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν σοφίαν εἰδότα πέμπετε, οὐ γὰρ ἂν παυσαίμην Ἑλλησί τε διῶν τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ Ἰνδοῖς γράφων.”

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

XVIII

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

CAP. XIX. "Ἐρώτα," ἔφασαν, "ἔπεται γάρ που ἐρωτήσῃ λόγος." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "περὶ θεῶν," εἶπεν, "ὕμᾱς ἐρήσομαι πρῶτον, τί μαθόντες ἄτοπα καὶ γελοῖα θεῶν εἶδη παραδεδώκατε τοῖς δεῦρο ἀνθρώποις πλὴν ὀλίγων· ὀλίγων γάρ; πάνυ μέντοι ὀλίγων, ἃ σοφῶς καὶ θεοειδῶς ἴδρυται, τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ὑμῶν ἱερὰ ζῶων ἀλόγων καὶ ἀδόξων τιμὰ μᾶλλον ἢ θεῶν φαίνονται." δυσχεράνας δὲ ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "τὰ δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν," εἶπεν, "ἀγάλματα πῶς ἰδρῦσθαι φήσεις;" "ὥς γε," ἔφη, "κάλλιστόν τε καὶ θεοφιλέστατον δημιουργεῖν θεούς." "τὸν Δία που λέγεις," εἶπε, "τὸν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδος καὶ τὸ τῆς Κνιδίας τε καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ ὅποσα ὦδε καλὰ καὶ μεστὰ ὄρας." "οὐ μόνον," ἔφη, "ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπαξ τὴν μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαλματοποιίαν ἄπτεσθαί φημι τοῦ προσήκοντος, ὑμᾶς δὲ καταγελᾶν τοῦ θείου μᾶλλον ἢ νομίζειν αὐτό." "οἱ Φειδίαι δέ," εἶπε, "καὶ οἱ Πραξιτέλεις μὲν ἀνελθόντες ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀπομαξάμενοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἶδη τέχνην αὐτὰ ἐποιούντο, ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἦν, ὃ ἐφίστη αὐτοὺς τῷ πλάττειν;" "ἕτερον," ἔφη,

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

CHAP. XIX  
Apollonius attacks the brutish gods of Egypt

CAP. XIX “καὶ μεστόν γε σοφίας πρᾶγμα.” “ποῖον;” εἶπεν, “οὐ γὰρ ἂν τι παρὰ τὴν μίμησιν εἴποις.” “φαντασία,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, σοφωτέρα μιμήσεως δημιουργός· μίμησις μὲν γὰρ δημιουργήσει, ὃ εἶδεν, φαντασία δὲ καὶ ὃ μὴ εἶδεν, ὑποθήσεται γὰρ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ ὄντος, καὶ μίμησιν μὲν πολλάκις ἐκκρούει ἔκπληξις, φαντασίαν δὲ οὐδέν, χωρεῖ γὰρ ἀνέκπληκτος πρὸς ὃ αὐτὴ ὑπέθετο. δεῖ δέ που Διὸς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντα εἶδος ὄραν αὐτὸν ξὺν οὐρανῷ καὶ ὥραις καὶ ἄστροις, ὥσπερ ὁ Φειδίας τότε ὥρμησεν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ δημιουργήσειν μέλλοντα στρατόπεδα ἐννοεῖν καὶ μῆτιν καὶ τέχνας καὶ ὡς Διὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέθορεν. εἰ δὲ ἱέρακα ἢ γλαῦκα ἢ λύκον ἢ κύνα ἐργασάμενος ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ φέροις ἀντὶ Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὰ μὲν θηρία καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ζηλωτὰ δόξει τῶν εἰκόνων, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παραπολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν δόξης ἐστήξουσιν.” “ἔοικας,” εἶπεν, “ἀβασανίστως ἐξετάζειν τὰ ἡμέτερα· σοφὸν γάρ, εἴπερ τι Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ τὸ μὴ θρασύνεσθαι ἐς τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἶδη, ξυμβολικὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπονοούμενα, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ σεμνότερα οὕτω φαίνοιτο.” γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὦ ἄνθρωποι,” ἔφη, “μεγάλα ὑμῖν ἀπολέλανται τῆς Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν σοφίας, εἰ σεμνότερον ὑμῶν καὶ θεοειδέστερον κυων δόξει καὶ ἰβίς καὶ τράγος, ταῦτα γὰρ Θεσπεσίωνος ἀκούω τοῦ σοφοῦ. σεμνὸν δὲ δὴ ἢ ἔμφοβον

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

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. τί ἐν τούτοις; τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιόρκους καὶ τοὺς ἱεροσύ-  
 XIX λους καὶ τὰ βωμολόχα ἔθνη καταφρονεῖν τῶν τοι-  
 ούτων ἱερῶν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἢ δεδιέναι αὐτά, εἰ δὲ  
 σεμνότερα ταῦτα ὑπονοούμενα, πολλῶ σεμνότερον  
 ἂν ἔπραττον οἱ θεοὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, εἰ μὴ ἴδρυτό τι  
 αὐτῶν ἄγαλμα, ἀλλ' ἕτερον τρόπον σοφώτερόν τε  
 καὶ ἀπορρητότερον τῇ θεολογίᾳ ἐχρήσθε· ἦν γάρ  
 που νεὼς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξοικοδομῆσαι καὶ βωμοὺς  
 ὀρίζειν καὶ ἅ χρῆ θύειν καὶ ἅ μὴ χρῆ καὶ ὀπηνίκα  
 καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ὅ τι λέγοντας ἢ δρῶντας, ἄγαλμα  
 δὲ μὴ ἐσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ εἶδη τῶν θεῶν καταλείπειν  
 τοῖς τὰ ἱερά ἐσφοιτῶσιν, ἀναγράφει γάρ τι ἢ  
 γνώμη καὶ ἀνατυποῦται δημιουργίας κρεῖττον,  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀφήρησθε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶσθαι  
 καλῶς καὶ τὸ ὑπονοεῖσθαι." πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπε-  
 σίων, "ἐγένετό τις," ἔφη, "Σωκράτης Ἀθηναῖος  
 ἀνόητος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, γέρων, δὲ τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν  
 χῆνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον θεοὺς τε ἠγεῖτο καὶ ὤμνυ."  
 "οὐκ ἀνόητος," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ θεῖος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς  
 σοφός, ὤμνυ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἵνα  
 μὴ θεοὺς ὀμνύοι."

XX

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

XX

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



CAP. XX τῆς Λακωνικῆς μάστιγος καὶ εἰ δημοσίᾳ οἱ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι παῖονται. “τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε,” εἶπεν,  
 “ὦ Θεσπεσίων, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐλευθέριοι τε  
 καὶ εὐδόκιμοι.” “τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας ἀδικοῦντας τί,”  
 ἔφη, “ἐργάζονται;” “οὐκέτ’ ἀποκτείνουσιν,” εἶπεν,  
 “ὡς ξυνεχώρει ποτὲ ὁ Λυκούργος, ἀλλ’ ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ  
 ἐπ’ ἐκείνους μάστιξ.” “ἡ δὲ Ἑλλάς πῶς,” ἔφη,  
 “περὶ αὐτῶν γιγνώσκει;” “ξυνίασιν,” εἶπεν,  
 “ὥσπερ ἐς τὰ Ἰακίνθια καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδιάς,  
 θεασόμενοι ξὺν ἡδονῇ τε καὶ ὀρμῇ πάσῃ.” “εἴτ’  
 οὐκ αἰσχύνονται,” ἔφη, “οἱ χρηστοὶ Ἕλληνες ἢ τοὺς  
 αὐτῶν ποτε ἄρξαντας ὀρώντες μαστιγομένους ἐς  
 τὸ κοινόν, ἢ ἀρχθέντες ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μαστι-  
 γοῦνται δημοσίᾳ; σὺ δὲ πῶς οὐ διωρθώσω ταῦτα;  
 φασὶ γὰρ σε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιμεληθῆναι.”  
 “ἂ γε,” εἶπε, “δυνατὸν διορθοῦσθαι ξυμβού-  
 λευον μὲν ἐγώ, προθύμως δ’ ἐκείνοι ἐπραττον,  
 ἐλευθεριώτατοι μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰσὶ,  
 μόνου<sup>1</sup> δ’ ὑπήκοοι τοῦ εὐ ξυμβουλευόντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν  
 μαστίγων ἔθος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν δρᾶται,  
 χρησμῶν, φασιν, ἐξηγουμένων ταῦτα θεοῖς δ’  
 ἀντινομεῖν μανία, οἶμαι.” “οὐ σοφούς, Ἀπολ-  
 λώνιε,” ἔφη, “τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς εἶρηκας,  
 εἰ μαστίγων ἐγίγνοντο ξύμβουλοι τοῖς τὴν ἐλευ-  
 θερίαν ἀσκοῦσιν.” “οὐ μαστίγων,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ  
 τοῦ αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τὸν βωμὸν ραίνειν, ἐπειδὴ

<sup>1</sup> I conjecture *μόνου* for *μόνοι*.

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

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CAP. XX. καὶ παρὰ Σκύθαις τούτων ἡξιούτο, σοφισάμενοι δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς θυσίας ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς καρτερίας ἀγῶνα ἤκουσιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστι μῆτε ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ τοῦ σφῶν αἵματος." "διὰ τί οὖν," ἔφη, "τοὺς ξένους οὐ καταθύουσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, καθάπερ ἐδικαίουں ποτὲ οἱ Σκύθαι;" "ὅτι," εἶπεν, "οὐδενὶ Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τρόπου βάρβαρα ἐξασκεῖν ἦθη." "καὶ μὴν καὶ φιλανθρωπότεροι ἐδόκουν ἂν ἓνα που καὶ δύο θύοντες ἢ ξενηλασία χρώμενοι ἐς πάντας."

"Μὴ καθαπτώμεθα," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσπεσίων, τοῦ Λυκούργου, χρῆ γὰρ ξυνιέναι τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν ἔαν τοὺς ξένους οὐκ ἀμιξίας αὐτῶ νοῦν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις μὴ ἐνομιλούντων τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῶν ἔξωθεν." "ἐγὼ δὲ ἄνδρας," ἔφη, "Σπαρτιάτας ἡγούμην ἄν, οἷοι δοκεῖν ἀξιούσιν, εἰ συνδιαιωμένοι τοῖς ξένοις μὴ μεθίσταντο τῶν οἴκοι, οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀπόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ παρόντων ὁμοίους ὀρᾶσθαι ἔδει, οἶμαι, τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι. οἱ δὲ καίτοι ξενηλασίαις χρώμενοι, διεφθάρησαν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις, καὶ οἷς μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπήχθοντο, τούτοις ὅμοια πράττειν ἔδοξαν. τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ

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

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

CAP. XX. αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτάξεις τῶν φόρων ἀπτικώτερον αὐτοῖς ἐβουλεύθη, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν πολεμητέα πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ᾤοντο αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ταῦτ' ἐς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ δρᾶν κατέστησαν, τὰ μὲν πολέμια τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νικῶντες, ὧν δὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεύειν ἔδοξεν ἠπτώμενοι. καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν ἐκ Ταύρων τε καὶ Σκυθῶν ἐσάγεσθαι δαίμονα, ξένα ἦν νομιζόντων. εἰ δὲ χρησμῶν ταῦτα, τί ἔδει μάστιγος; τί δὲ καρτερίαν ἀνδραποδώδη πλάττεσθαι; λακωνικώτερον πρὸς θανάτου ῥώμην ἐκείνο ἦν, οἶμαι, Σπαρτιάτην ἔφηβον ἐκόντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ θύεσθαι. τουτὶ γὰρ ἂν τὴν μὲν Σπάρτην εὐψυχοτέρους ἐδείκνυε, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα ἀπήγε τοῦ μὴ ἐς ἀντίπαλα αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθίστασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἐς τὰ πολέμια φείδεσθαι τῶν νέων εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅ γε νόμος ὁ παρὰ Σκύθαις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξηκοντούταις κείμενος οἰκειότερος ἦν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδεύειν ἢ Σκύθαις, εἰ τὸν θάνατον ἀτεχνῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ κόμπου ἔνεκα ἐπαινοῦσι. ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἴρηταί μοι, πρὸς δὲ σέ, Ἀπολλώνιε· εἰ γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ νόμιμα καὶ πολιώτερα ἢ γιγνώσκεις αὐτὰ πικρῶς ἐξετάζοιμεν ἐς ἔλεγχον καθιστάμενοι τοῦ θείου, διότι αὐτοῖς χαίρουσι, πολλοὶ καὶ ἄτοποι λόγοι τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοσοφίας ἀναφύ-

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

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CAP. XX. σονται, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῆς Ἐλευσίῃ τελετῆς ἐπιλαβοίμεθα, διότι τό, ἀλλὰ μὴ τό, καὶ ὧν Σαμόθρακες τελοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα, τὸ δεῖνα δὲ αὐτοῖς δρᾶται, καὶ Διονυσίων καὶ φαλλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ εἶδους, καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν συκοφαντοῦντες πάντα. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐφ' ὅ τι βούλει ἕτερον, τιμῶντες καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγον ἡμεδαπὸν ὄντα· καλὸν γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ περὶ πάντων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ γε τῶν τοιούτων σιωπᾶν." ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ σπουδάσαι," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσπεσίῳ, ἐβούλου τὸν λόγον, πολλὰ ἂν σοι καὶ γενναῖα ἔδοξεν ἢ Λακεδαιμῶν λέγειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑγιῶς τε καὶ παρὰ πάντα ἐπιτηδεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀποσπουδάξεις αὐτόν, ὡς μηδὲ ὅσιον ἠγεῖσθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων λέγειν, ἴωμεν ἐφ' ἕτερον λόγον πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ὡς ἑμαυτὸν πείθω· περὶ δικαιοσύνης γὰρ τι ἐρήσομαι."

XXI

CAP. XXI. "Ἀπτώμεθα," ὁ Θεσπεσίῳ ἔφη, "τοῦ λόγου, προσήκων γὰρ σοφοῖς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοῖς. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τὰς Ἰνδῶν δόξας ἐνείροντες ξυγχέωμεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέλθωμεν ἄπρακτοι τοῦ λόγου, πρῶτον εἰπέ τὰ περὶ δικαιοσύνης Ἰνδοῖς δόξαντα, εἰκὸς γὰρ

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

XXI

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

And the problem of the nature of justice in general

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CAP. XXI. βεβασανίσθαι σοι ἐκεῖ ταῦτα, κὰν μὲν ἡ δόξα ὀρθῶς ἔχῃ, ξυνηθόμεθα, εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ τι σοφώτερον εἴποιμεν, ξυντίθεσθε, δικαιοσύνης γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο." "ἄριστα," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσπεσίων, καὶ ὡς ἐμοὶ ἤδιστα εἶρηκας· ἄκουε δὴ τῶν ἐκεῖ σπουδασθέντων. διήκειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγώ, κυβερνήτης ὡς γενοίμην μεγάλης νεώς, ὀπόθ' ἡ ψυχὴ σώματος ἐτέρου ἐπεμέλετο, καὶ δικαιοτάτον ἡγοίμην ἐμαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ λησταὶ μὲν ἐμισθοῦντό με προδοῦναι τὴν ναῦν καθορμισάμενον οἱ λοχῆσειν αὐτὴν ἐμελλον, δι' ἃ ἦγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαγγελιαίμην μὲν ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ ἐπίθουιντο ἡμῖν, παραπλεύσαιμι δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπεράραιμι τοῦ χωρίου." "ξυνέθεντο δ'," ἢ δ' ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "δικαιοσύνην εἶναι Ἴνδοι ταῦτα;" "κατεγέλασαν μὲν οὖν," εἶπε, "μὴ γὰρ εἶναι δικαιοσύνην τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν." "ὑγιῶς," ἔφη, "ἀπέδοξε τοῖς Ἴνδοις, οὔτε γὰρ φρόνησις τὸ μὴ ἀνοήτως τι ἐνθυμείσθαι, οὔτε ἀνδρεία τὸ μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν, οὔτε σωφροσύνη τὸ μὴ ἐς τὰ τῶν μοιχῶν ἐκπίπτειν, οὔτε ἄξιον ἐπαίνου τὸ μὴ κακὸν φαίνεσθαι· πᾶν γάρ, ὃ τιμῆς τε καὶ τιμωρίας ἴσον ἀφέστηκεν, οὔπω ἀρετή." "πῶς οὖν, ὦ Θεσπεσίων," εἶπε, "στεφανώσομεν τὸν δίκαιον, ἢ τί πράττουτα;" "ἀνελλιπέστερον," ἔφη, "καὶ προσφορώτερον ἂν ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐσπουδάσατε, ἢ ὀπότε βασιλεὺς τοσησδέ τε καὶ

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

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CAP. XXXI οὕτως εὐδαίμονος χώρας ἄρχων ἐπέστη φιλοσοφοῦσιν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλεύειν, δικαιοτάτου κτήματος;” “εἰ ὁ Φραώτης,” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἀφικόμενος ἦν, ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐμέμφου τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν οἷς χθὲς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διήειν μεθύνοντα καὶ ἀχθόμενον φιλοσοφίᾳ πάσῃ, τί ἔδει παρέχειν ὄχλον; τί δ’ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν φιλοτιμουμένους ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπου σύβαριν ἡγουμένου πάντα; ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὡσπερ ἡμῖν, ἰχθυεῖται ἢ δικαιοσύνη μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλευσὶ τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀτεχνῶς δίκαιον. ὁ γὰρ ἑμαυτὸν τε ἡγούμην, ὅποτε ἢ ναῦς, εἰτέρους τε, οὐ μὴ ἀδίκων ἄπτονται, οὐπω δίκαιους φατέ, οὐδ’ ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι.” “καὶ εἰκότως,” εἶπεν, “οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγράφη γνώμη τὸν δεῖνα στεφανοῦν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν ἡταιρηκότων ἐστίν, ἢ τὸν δεῖνα ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὰ ἱερά ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συλᾶται. τίς οὖν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ὁ τί πράττων; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη τινὰ στεφανωθέντα οἶδα, οὐδὲ γνώμην ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ δίκαιῷ γραφεῖσαν, ὡς τὸν δεῖνα χρῆ στεφανοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεῖνα πράττων δίκαιος φαίνεται, τὰ μὲν γὰρ Παλαμίδους ἐνθυμηθέντι τὰ ἐν Τροίᾳ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους τὰ Ἀθήνησιν οὐδ’ εὐτυχεῖν ἢ δικαιοσύνη δόξει παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀδικώτατα

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

CAP. XXI γὰρ δὴ οἶδε ἔπαθον, δικαιοτάτοι ὄντες. πλὴν ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ δόξῃ ἀδικημάτων ἀπόλωντο, ψήφου παρὰ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐνεχθείσης, Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν Λυσιμάχου καὶ αὐτὴ ποτε ἢ δικαιοσύνη ἀπώλλυ, καὶ ἀνὴρ τοιόσδε ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ ἀρετῇ φεύγων ᾗχετο. καὶ ὡς μὲν γελοία ἢ δικαιοσύνη δόξει, γιγνώσκω, τεταγμένη γὰρ ὑπὸ Διός τε καὶ Μοιρῶν ἐς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐδαμοῦ ἑαυτὴν ἐς τὸ μὴ αὐτὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τάττει.

Ἔμοι δὲ ἀπόχρη τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐς τὸ δηλῶσαι, τίς μὲν ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, τίς δὲ ὁ δίκαιος· εἶπε γάρ μοι, οὐχ οὗτος, Ἀριστείδης ἐκεῖνος, ὃν φατε ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἤκουτες πλεύσαντα ἐς τὰς νήσους ὑπὲρ τῶν φόρων, ξυμμέτρους τε αὐτοὺς τάξαι καὶ ξὺν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπανελθεῖν τρίβωνι;” “οὗτος,” εἶπε, “δι’ ὃν καὶ πενίας ἔρωσ ποτὲ ἠνθησεν.” “εἰ οὖν,” ἔφη, “δύο Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγοὶ γενοίσθην ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος ἤκουτα, καὶ ὁ μὲν γράφοι στεφανοῦν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πλουτῶν ἀφίκται μηδὲ βίον ἑαυτῷ ξυνειλοχῶσ μηδένα, ἀλλὰ πενέστατος μὲν Ἀθηναίων, πενέστερος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ δ’ αὖ τοιουτοῦ τι γράφοι ψήφισμα· ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστείδης οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸ δυνατὸν τῶν ξυμμάχων τάξας

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

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

CHAP. XXI  
The fate of  
Aristides

CAP. XXI  
 τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοι γῆς ἔχουσι, τῆς τε ὁμοιοῦσας αὐτῶν ἐπεμελήθη τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀχθομένους δοκεῖν φέρειν ταῦτα, δεδόχθω στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη, ἅρ' οὐκ ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀντειπεῖν αὐτός, ὡς οὐκ ἀξία τῶν ἑαυτῷ βεβιωμένων, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ τιμῶτο, τὴν δ' ἴσως ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαινέσαι, στοχαζομένην ὧν διανοήθη; βλέψας γάρ που ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ξυμφέρον ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ξυμμετρίας τῶν φόρων, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐδείχθη μᾶλλον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παραβάντες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ δόξαντας, βαρυτέρους ἐπέγραψαν ταῖς νήσοις, διεσπᾶσθη μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ναυτικὴ δύναμις, ἢ μάλιστα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, παρήλθε δὲ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ξυνέμεινε δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἅπαν τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐς νεώτερα ὥρμησε καὶ ἀποστροφῆς ἤψατο. δίκαιος οὖν, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ τὸν εὐθὺν λόγον οὐχ ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, ἀλλ' ὁ δίκαια μὲν αὐτὸς πράττων, καθίστας δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, καὶ φύσσονται τῆς τοιαύτης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἄλλαι μὲν ἀρεταί, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ δικαστικὴ τε καὶ ἡ νομοθετικὴ. δικάσει μὲν γὰρ τοιόσδε πολλῶ δικαιοτέρον ἢ οἱ κατὰ τῶν τομίῶν ὀμνύντες, νομοθετήσει δέ, ὥσπερ

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



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CAP. οἱ Σόλωνές τε καὶ οἱ Λυκούργοι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κακέι-  
XXI νοὺς τοῦ γράψαι νόμους δικαιοσύνη ἤρξεν.”

XXII

CAP. Τοσαῦτα ὁ Δάμις διαλεχθῆναί φησιν αὐτοὺς  
XXII ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμφῆ-  
σαι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς γὰρ ὑγιῶς λεγομένοις ξυμβαί-  
νειν. φιλοσοφῆσαντες δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς, ὡς  
ἀθάνατος εἶη, καὶ περὶ φύσεως παραπλήσια ταῖς  
Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαίῳ δόξαις, περὶ τε τῶν παρ’  
Ἑλλησι νόμων πλείω διαλεχθέντες, “ἐμοί,” εἶπεν  
ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἢ δεῦρο ὁδὸς ὑμῶν τε ἔνεκα καὶ  
τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγῶν ἐγένετο, ἅς μέχρι μὲν  
Αἰγύπτου προελθόντι ξυγγνώμη ἀγνοῆσαι, προ-  
χωρήσαντι δὲ ἐπ’ Αἰθιοπίαν, ὃν ἐγὼ τρόπον, κὰν  
ὄνειδος φέροι τὸ παρελθεῖν αὐτὰς καὶ μὴ ἀρύ-  
σασθαί τινας αὐτῶν λόγους.” “ἴθι χαίρων,” ἔφη,  
“καὶ ὃ τι σοι φίλον, εὐχου ταῖς πηγαῖς, θεῖαι γάρ.  
ἡγεμόνα δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσῃ τὸν πάλαι Ναυκρατίτην,  
νῦν δὲ Μεμφίτην, Τιμασίωνα, τῶν τε γὰρ πηγῶν  
ἐθὰς οὔτος καὶ οὔτω τι καθαρὸς, ὡς μὴ δεῖσθαι  
τοῦ ραίνεσθαι. σοὶ δέ, ὦ Νεῖλε, βουλόμεθα ἐφ’  
ἑαυτῶν διαλεχθῆναί τι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τῶν λόγων  
οὐκ ἀφανῆς ἦν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, ξυνίει γὰρ αὐτῶν  
δυσχερῶς διακειμένων, ἐπειδὴ ἦρα αὐτοῦ ὁ Νεῖλος,

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

XXII

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

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CAP. XXII ἔξιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς διαλέξεως ἀνῆει συσκευασόμενος, ὡς ἐξελῶν ἅμα τῇ ἔφ, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἤκων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἀπήγγειλε μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν ἤκουσεν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θαμὰ ἐγέλα· ἡρώτα δ' οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀλλ' ἐφείδοντο τοῦ ἀπορρήτου.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Τότε μὲν δὴ δειπνήσαντες καὶ διαλεχθέντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αὐτοῦ ἐκοιμήθησαν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς προσειπόντες ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ἐς τὰ ὄρη τείνουσαν ἀριστεροὶ τοῦ Νείλου, τὰδε ὀρῶντες λόγου ἄξια· οἱ Κατάδουποι γεώδη ὄρη καὶ παραπλήσια τῷ Λυδῶν Τμῶλῳ, κατάρρους δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν φέρεται Νεῖλος, ἣν ἐπισπᾶται γῆν ποιῶν Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ ἡχὴ τοῦ ρεύματος καταρρηγνυμένου τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ ψόφῳ ἅμα ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐκπίπτουτος χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὴ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πρόσω τοῦ μετρίου προελθόντες ἀνέξευξαν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ ἀκοῦειν.

XXIV

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

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

XXIII

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

XXIV

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

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CAP. XXIV κρυον καρπὸν ἡγούνται, ἐώρων δὲ καὶ λέοντας ἀγχοῦ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τοιαῦτα θηρία ἕτερα, καὶ ἐπήγει οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπεπήδα σφῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκπεπληγμένα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἔλαφοι δὲ καὶ δορκάδες καὶ στρουθοὶ καὶ ὄνοι, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἐωρᾶτο, πλείστα δὲ οἱ βόαγροί τε καὶ οἱ βούτραγοι· ξύγκειται δὲ τὰ θηρία ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ταύρου, τὸ δὲ ἀφ' ὧν περ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἤρηκε. καὶ ὅστοις δὲ τούτων ἐνετύγχανον καὶ ἡμιβρώτοις σώμασιν, οἱ γὰρ λέοντες, ἐπειδὴν θερμῆς τῆς θήρας ἐμφορηθῶσιν, ἀτιμάζουσιν αὐτῆς τὰ περιττά, πιστεύοντες, οἶμαι, τῷ καὶ αὐθις θηράσειν.

XXV

CAP. XXV Ἐνταῦθα νομάδες οἰκοῦσιν Αἰθίοπες ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν πεπολισμένοι, καὶ πλησίον τούτων οἱ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας θηρῶντες, κατακόπτουτες δὲ αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνται ἀγοράν, ὅθεν ἐπώνυμοί εἰσι τῆς τῶν ἐλεφάντων πράσεως. Νασαμῶνες δὲ καὶ Ἄνδροφάγοι καὶ Πυγμαῖοι καὶ Σκιάποδες ἔθνη μὲν Αἰθιόπων καὶ οἶδε, καθήκουσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Αἰθίοπα Ὀκεανόν, ὃν μόνον ἐσπλεύουσιν οἱ ἀπενεχθέντες ἄκουτες.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI Διαλεγόμενους δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ φιλοσοφούντας ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἄλλο ἄλλως

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

XXV

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

XXVI

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

CAP.  
XXVI βοσκούσης, ἠχῶ προσέβαλεν οἶον βροντῆς οὔπω σκληρᾶς, ἀλλὰ κοίλης ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῷ νέφει. καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, “ἐγγύς,” ἔφη, “ὁ καταρράκτης, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ κατιόντων μὲν ὕστατος, ἀνιόντων δὲ πρῶτος.” καὶ στάδια δέκα ἴσως προελθόντες ἰδεῖν φασὶ ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόμενον τοῦ ὄρους μείω οὐδὲν ἢ ἐν πρώταις ξυμβολαῖς ὁ Μαρσύας καὶ ὁ Μαίανδρος, προσευξάμενοι δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ χωρεῖν πρόσω καὶ θηρία μὲν οὐκέτι ὄραν, ψοφοδεᾶ γὰρ φύσει ὄντα προσοικεῖν τοῖς γαληνοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ῥαγδαίοις τε καὶ ἐνήχοις, ἐτέρου δὲ καταρράκτου ἀκοῦσαι μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκά που στάδια χαλεποῦ ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτοῦ αἰσθῆσθαι, διπλασίω μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸν τοῦ προτέρου, ὄρων δὲ ὑψηλοτέρων ἐκπίπτειν. ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ τινος τῶν ἐταίρων οὔτω τι κτυπηθῆναι τὰ ὦτα ὁ Δάμις φησίν, ὡς αὐτὸς τε ἀναζεῦξαι τοῦ τε Ἀπολλωνίου δεῖσθαι μὴ χωρεῖν πρόσω, τὸν δὲ ἐρρωμένως ξύν τε τῷ Τιμασίῳ καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ τοῦ τρίτου καταρράκτου ἔχουσιν, περὶ οὗ τάδε ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἤκουσα· ἐπικρέμασθαι μὲν τῷ Νείλῳ κορυφὰς ἐκεῖ σταδίων μάλιστα ὀκτὼ ὕψος, τὴν δὲ ὄχθην τὴν ἀντικείμενην τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὄφρὺν εἶναι λιθοτομίας ἀρρήτου, τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἀποκρεμαννύμενας τῶν ὄρων ὑπερπίπτειν ἐς τὴν πετρώδη ὄχθην, ἀναχεῖσθαι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον κυμαινούσας τε καὶ λευκάς. τὰ δὲ πάθη τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμβαίνοντα πολλαπλασίας ἢ αἱ πρότεροι οὔσας καὶ τὴν πηδῶσαν ἐκ

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

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CAP. XXVI τούτων ἡχώ ἐς τὰ ὄρη, δυσήκοον ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ρεύματος. τὴν δὲ πρόσω ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας πηγὰς ἄγουσαν ἄπορον μὲν ἐλθεῖν φασιν, ἄπορον δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων ἄδουσιν, οἷα καὶ Πινδάρῳ κατὰ σοφίαν ὑμνηται περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὃν ταῖς πηγαῖς ταύταις ἐφίστησιν ὑπὲρ ζυμμετρίας τοῦ Νείλου.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII Καταλύσαντες δὲ μετὰ τοὺς καταράκτας ἐν κώμῃ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας οὐ μεγάλη ἐδείπνουν μὲν περὶ ἑσπέραν, ἐγκαταμιγνύντες σπουδὴν παιδιᾶ, βοῆς δὲ ἀθρόας τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ γυναικῶν ἤκουσαν ἐπικελευομένων ἀλλήλαις ἐλεῖν, καὶ διώξαι, παρεκάλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἔργου, οἱ δ' ἄρπασάμενοι ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ ὅ τι ἐς χεῖρας ἐκάστω ἔλθοι, ξυνεκάλουν ὥσπερ ἀδικούμενοι τοὺς γάμους. ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ἄρα τῇ κώμῃ δέκατον ἤδη μῆνα σατύρου φάσμα λυττῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γυναῖα, καὶ δύο ἀπεκτονέσθαι σφῶν ἐλέγετο, ὧν μάλιστα ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν. ἐκπλαγέντων οὖν τῶ ἐταίρων, “μὴ δέετε,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑβρίζει γὰρ τις ἐνταῦθα σάτυρος.” “νῆ Δί,” ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος,

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

XXVII

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

<sup>1</sup> Or “render investigation of the stream a trial to the ears.”

“ὄν γε ἡμεῖς οἱ Γυμνοὶ χρόνῳ ἤδη ὑβρίζοντα μήπω μετεστήσαμεν τοῦ σκιρτᾶν.” “ἀλλ’ ἔστιν,” εἶπεν, “ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑβριστὰς τούτους φάρμακον, φ λέγεται Μίδας ποτὲ χρῆσασθαι· μετείχε μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τῶν σατύρων γένους ὁ Μίδας οὗτος, ὡς ἐδήλου τὰ ὦτα, σάτυρος δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν εἰς κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐκώμαζε τὰ τοῦ Μίδου διαβάλλων ὦτα, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἄδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλῶν τούτῳ, ὁ δ’, οἶμαι, τῆς μητρὸς ἀκηκοὺς, ὅτι σάτυρος οἶνω θηρευθεὶς, ἐπειδὰν ἐς ὕπνον καταπέσῃ, σωφρονεῖ καὶ διαλλάττεται, κρήνην τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰ βασίλεια κεράσας οἶνω ἐπαφήκεν αὐτῇ τὸν σάτυρον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιέ τε καὶ ἤλω. καὶ ὅτι μὴ ψεύδεται ὁ λόγος, ἴωμεν παρὰ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ ἢν ἔχωσιν οἱ κωμήται οἶνον, κεράσωμεν αὐτὸν τῷ σατύρῳ, καὶ ταῦτὰ τῷ Μίδου πείσεται.” ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ ἀμφορέας Αἰγυπτίους τέτταρας οἰνοχοήσας ἐς ληνόν, ἀφ’ ἧς ἔπινε τὰ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πρόβατα, ἐκάλει τὸν σάτυρον ἀφανῶς τι ἐπιπλήττων, ὁ δὲ οὐπω μὲν ἐωρᾶτο, ὑπεδίδου δὲ ὁ οἶνος, ὡσπερ πινόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξεπόθη, “σπεισώμεθα, ἔφη, “τῷ σατύρῳ, καθεύδει γάρ.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἠγείτο τοῖς κωμήταις ἐς Νυμφῶν ἄντρον, πλέθρον οὐπω ἀπέχον τῆς κώμης, ἐν φ καθεύδοντα δείξας αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι εἶπε τοῦ παίειν ἢ λοιδορεῖσθαι οἱ, “πέπαυται γὰρ

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

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CAP. XXVII τῶν ἀνοήτων." τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον Ἀπολλωνίου, μὰ Δεῖ, οὐχὶ ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, ἀλλὰ παρόδου ἔργον, κὰν ἐντύχη τις ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἦν πρὸς μειράκιον ὑβρίζον γράφων καὶ σάτυρον δαίμονα σωφρονίσαι φησὶν ἐν Αἰθιοπία, μεμνήσθαι χρῆ τοῦ λόγου τούτου. σατύρους δὲ εἶναί τε καὶ ἐρωτικῶν ἄπτεσθαι μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν· οἶδα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Λήμνον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τινα ἰσηλίκων, οὗ τῆ μητρὶ ἐλέγετο τις ἐπιφοιτᾶν σάτυρος, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτῃ, νεβρίδα γὰρ ξυμφυᾶ ἐφῆκει ἐνημμένῳ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον, ἧς οἱ ποδεῶνες οἱ πρῶτοι ξυνειληφότες τὴν δέρην περὶ τὸ στέρνον αὐτῷ ἀφήπτοντο. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τούτων, οὔτε γὰρ ἡ πείρα ἀπιστητέα οὔτε ἐγώ.

XXVIII

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

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίτος ἤρῃκει τὰ Σόλυμα καὶ νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν πάντα, τὰ ὄμορὰ τε ἔβνη ἐστεφάνου αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠξίου ἑαυτὸν τούτου, μὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς

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this exploit of Apollonius, and, by heavens, we may call it not an incidental work in passing, but a master-work of his passing by<sup>1</sup>; and if you read the sage's epistle, in which he wrote to an insolent young man that he had sobered even a satyr demon in Ethiopia, you will perforce call to mind the above story. But we must not disbelieve that satyrs both exist and are susceptible to the passion of love; for I knew a youth of my own age in Lemnos whose mother was said to be visited by a satyr, as he well might to judge by this story; for he was represented as wearing on his back a fawn-skin that exactly fitted him, the front paws of which were drawn around his neck and fastened over his chest. But I must not go further into this subject; but, anyhow, credit is due as much to experience of facts as it is to myself.

XXVIII

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

XXIX

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

<sup>1</sup> I try to render the pun of the original.

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CAP. XXX ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι, θεῶ δὲ ὀργὴν φήναντι ἐπιδεδω-  
κένοι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας, ἐπῆνει ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος  
ταῦτα, γνώμη τε γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφαίνεται καὶ  
ξύνεσις ἀνθρωπείων τε καὶ θείων, καὶ σωφροσύνης  
μεστὸν τὸ μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐφ' αἵματι. ξυντάττει  
δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν, ἧς διάκονον ποιεῖται  
τὸν Δάμιν, καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ὧδε·

“ Ἀπολλώνιος Τίτῳ στρατηγῶ Ῥωμαίων χαίρειν.

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

Ἵπερησθεῖς δὲ ὁ Τίτος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, “ καὶ ὑπὲρ  
ἑμαντοῦ,” ἔφη, “ χάριν οἶδά σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
πατρός, καὶ μεμνήσομαι τούτων, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ  
Σόλυμα ἤρηκα, σὺ δὲ ἐμέ.”

XXX

CAP. XXX Ἀναρρηθεῖς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ  
ἀριστείων ἀξιώθεις τούτων, ἀπῆει μὲν ἰσομοιρήσων  
τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρί, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνθυμη-  
θεῖς, ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιος αὐτῷ ἔσται καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ  
ξυγγενόμενος, ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ ἐς Ταρσοὺς ἕκειν, καὶ  
περιβαλὼν ἐλθόντα, “ πάντα μοι ὁ πατήρ,” ἔφη,

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

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

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

XXX

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



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CAP. XXX “ἐπέστειλεν, ὦν ξύμβουλον ἐποιεῖτό σε, καὶ ἰδὼν ἢ ἐπιστολή, ὡς εὐεργέτης τε αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ γέγραψαι καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἐσμέν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔτη μὲν τριάκοντα ταυτὶ γέγονα, ἀξιούμενος δὲ ὦν ὁ πατὴρ ἐξηκοντούτης ὦν, καὶ καλούμενος ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν πρὶν οὐκ οἶδ’ εἰ ἀρχθῆναι εἰδέναι, δέδια μὴ μειζόνων, ἢ ἐμὲ χρῆ, ἄπτωμαι.” ἐπιψηλαφήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀχένα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔρρωτο αὐτὸν ἴσα τοῖς ἀσκούσι τὸ σῶμα, “καὶ τίς,” εἶπε, “βιάσεται ταῦρον ἀχένα οὕτω κρατερὸν ὑποσχεῖν ζυγῶ;” “ὁ ἐκ νέου,” ἔφη, “μοσχεύσας με,” τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λέγων ὁ Τίτος καὶ τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου ἂν μόνου ἀρχθῆναι, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀκροάσει ξυνείθιζε. “χαίρω,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “πρῶτον μὲν παρεσκευασμένον σε ὀρῶν ἔπεσθαι τῷ πατρί, ὑφ’ οὗ χαίρουσιν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ οἱ μὴ φύσει παῖδες, θεραπεύσοντά τε τὰς ἐκείνου θύρας, ᾧ ξυνθεραπευθήσῃ. νεότητος δὲ γῆρα ἅμα ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἰούσης τίς μὲν λύρα, τίς δὲ αὐλὸς ἠδείαν ὦδε ἀρμονίαν καὶ ζυγκεκραμένην ἄσεται; πρεσβύτερα γὰρ ξυμβήσεται νέοις, ἐξ ὧν καὶ γῆρας ἰσχύσει καὶ νεότης οὐκ ἀτακτήσει.”

XXXI

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

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

XXXI

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

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CAP. XXXI πέπεικας, ὑποκείμενος γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ δῆλά που, ὡς ὁμοίωσιν αὐτῷ· καὶ τὸν Ἀρχύτου δ' ἂν εἴποιμι νυνὶ λόγον, γενναῖος γὰρ καὶ μαθεῖν ἄξιος· ἐγένετο δ' Ἀρχύτας ἀνὴρ Ταραντίνος τὰ Πυθαγόρου σοφός· οὗτος ὑπὲρ παίδων ἀγωγῆς γράφων, “ἔστω,” φησὶν, “ὁ πατὴρ παράδειγμα ἀρετῆς τοῖς παισίν, ὡς καὶ τῶν πατέρων ξυντονώτερον βαδιουμένων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρετάς, ἣν ὁμοιωῦνται σφισιν οἱ παῖδες.” ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ Δημήτριον ξυστήσω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ ἐταῖρον, ὃς ξυνέσται σοι ὅποσα βούλει διδάσκων, τί δεῖ πράττειν τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα.” “τίς δέ,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, ἡ σοφία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου;” “παρρησία,” εἶπε, “καὶ τὸ ἀληθεύειν ἐκπλήττεσθαί τε ὑπὸ μηδενός, ἐστὶ γὰρ τοῦ Κυνικοῦ κράτους.” δυσχερῶς δὲ τοῦ Τίτου τὸν κύνα ἀκούσαντος, “Ὁμήρω μέντοι,” ἔφη, “νέος ὢν ὁ Τηλέμαχος καὶ δυοῖν ἐδόκει κυνῶν δεῖσθαι, καὶ ξυμπέμπει αὐτοὺς ὀπαδοὺς τῷ μερακίῳ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἰθακησιῶν ἀγορὰν καίτοι ἀλόγους ὄντας, σοὶ δὲ ξυνέσται κύων, ὃς ὑπὲρ σοῦ τε πρὸς ἑτέρους καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν σε, εἴ τι ἀμαρτάνοις, σοφῶς ἅμα καὶ οὐδὲ ἀλόγως ὑλακτῆσει.” “δίδου,” εἶπε, “τὸν ὀπαδὸν κύνα, ξυγχωρῶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δακεῖν, εἴ τί με ἀδικοῦντα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

to rule and exercise the authority of a sovereign? ” CHAP. XXXI  
 “Only such rules,” replied the other, “as you Assigns to Titus  
 have laid upon yourself; for in so submitting Demetrius  
 yourself to your father’s will, it is, I think, certain the Cynic  
 that you will grow like him. And I should like to to teach  
 repeat to you on this occasion a saying of Archytas, him how  
 which is a noble one and worth committing to to rule  
 memory. Archytas was a man of Tarentum who  
 was learned in the lore of Pythagoras, and he wrote  
 a treatise on the education of children, in which he  
 says: ‘Let the father be an example of virtue to his  
 children, for fathers also will the more resolutely walk  
 in the path of virtue because their children are coming  
 to resemble them.’ But for myself, I propose to  
 associate with you my own companion Demetrius,  
 who will attend you as much as you like and instruct  
 you in the whole duty of a good ruler.” “And  
 what sort of wisdom, O Apollonius, does this person  
 possess?” “Courage,” he replied, “to speak the  
 truth unabashed by anyone, for he possesses the  
 constancy and strength of character of a cynic.”  
 And as Titus did not seem very pleased to hear the  
 name of dog,<sup>1</sup> he continued: “And yet in Homer,  
 Telemachus, when he was young, required, it appears,  
 two dogs, and the poet sends these to accompany  
 the youth to the market-place of Ithaca, in spite  
 of their being irrational animals; but you will  
 have a dog to accompany you who will bark in  
 your behalf not only at other people, but at your-  
 self in case you go wrong, and he will bark withal  
 wisely, and never irrationally.” “Well,” said  
 the other, “give me your dog to accompany me,  
 and I will even let him bite me, in case he

<sup>1</sup> A cynic means literally a canine philosopher.

CAP.  
XXXI αἰσθοῖτο." "γεγράφεται," ἔφη, "πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολή, φιλοσοφεί δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης." "γεγράφθω," εἶπεν, "ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν καὶ πρὸς σέ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τινα γράφειν, ὡς ἅμα τῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ κοινωνὸς ἡμῖν γένοιο." "ἀφίξομαι," ἔφη, "ὅποτε ἀμφοῖν λῶν."

XXXII

CAP.  
XXXII Μεταστησάμενος δὲ ὁ Τίτος τοὺς παρόντας, "αὐτοί," εἶπεν, "ὦ Τυανεύ, γεγόναμεν, ξυγχωρεῖς γάρ που ἐρωτᾶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμοὶ σπουδαιοτάτων;" "ἐρώτα," ἔφη, "καὶ τοσούτῳ προθυμότερον, ὅσῳ ὑπὲρ μειζόνων." "περὶ ψυχῆς," εἶπε, "τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ οὐς μάλιστα φυλαπτοίμην ἂν, ἔσται μοι ἡ ἐρώτησις, εἰ μὴ δόξω δειλὸς δεδιὼς ἤδη ταῦτα." "ἀσφαλῆς μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐφεστηκώς, προορᾶν γὰρ τούτου χρὴ μάλιστα." καὶ ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀναβλέψας ὤμνυ αὐτόν, ἧ μὴν αὐτὸς μέλλειν ὑπὲρ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξειν μηδὲ ἐρωτῶντα, τοὺς γὰρ θεοὺς φῆναί οἱ προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ζῶντος μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς δεδιέναι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ πολεμιωτάτους, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῷ οἰκιστάτους. "ἀποθανοῦμαι δέ," εἶπε, "τίνα τρόπον;" "ὄν γε," ἔφη, "Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγεται, φασὶ γὰρ κακείνῳ

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

CHAP.  
XXXI

XXXII

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

CHAP.  
XXXII

Foretells to  
Titus the  
manner of  
his death

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXII τὸν θάνατον ἐκ θαλάττης ἐλθεῖν.” ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις ὤδε ἐρμηνεύει· φυλάττεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν αἰχμὴν τῆς τρυγόνου, ἣ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα βεβλήσθαι φασι, δυοῖν δὲ ἐτοῖν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θαλαπτίου λαγῶ ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τοῦτον παρέχεσθαι χυμοὺς ἀπορρήτους ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ γῆ ἀνδροφόνα, καὶ Νέρωνα μὲν ἐσποιῆσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὄψοις τὸν λαγῶν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους, Δομετιανὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τίτον, οὐ τὸ ξὺν ἀδελφῶ ἄρχειν δεινὸν ἡγούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ξὺν πράφ τε καὶ χρηστῷ. τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες ἰδίᾳ περιέβαλον ἀλλήλους ἐν φανερώ, ἀπίοντα δὲ προσειπών, “νίκα, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ὅπλοις, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἀρεταῖς.”

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII Ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπιστολὴ ὡδε εἶχεν· Ἀπολλώνιος φιλόσοφος Δημητρίῳ κυνὶ χαίρειν. Δίδωμί σε βασιλεῖ Τίτῳ διδάσκαλον τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἥθους, σὺ δ' ἀληθεύσαι τέ μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν δίδου καὶ γίγνου αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὀργῆς, πάντα. ἔρρωσο.

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

XXXIII

BUT the letter to Demetrius ran as follows: CHAP. XXXIII  
“Apollonius, the Philosopher, sends greetings to Demetrius the cynic. Letter to Demetrius

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

Οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ταρσοὺς οἰκοῦντες τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἤχθοντο τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διὰ τε τὰς ἐπιπλήξεις, ἐπειδὴ ξυντόμους αὐτὰς ἐποιεῖτο, διὰ τε τὸ ἀνειμένοι καὶ τρυφῶντες μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ λόγου ἀνέχουσαι ῥώμην, τότε δ' οὕτω τι ἠττήθησαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς οἰκιστὴν τε αὐτὸν ἠγεῖσθαι καὶ στήριγμα τοῦ ἄστεος. ἔθυε μὲν γὰρ δημοσία ὁ βασιλεύς, ξυνελθούσα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἰκέτευεν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων, ὁ δὲ μεμνήσεσθαι τούτων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔφη καὶ πρεσβεύσειν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν δέονται· παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “εἰ δὲ ἐνίους,” ἔφη, “τούτων ἐλέγξαιμι σοὶ μὲν καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σὺ πολεμίους, πεπρεσβευμένους δὲ ὑπὲρ νεωτέρων ἐς τὰ Σόλυμα, ξυμμάχους δ' ἀφανεῖς τῶν σοι φανερωτάτων ἐχθρῶν, τί πείσονται;” “τί δὲ ἄλλο γε,” εἶπεν, “ἢ ἀπολοῦνται;” “εἶτα οὐκ αἰσχρόν,” ἔφη, “τὰς μὲν τιμωρίας αὐτίκα ἀπαιτεῖν, τὰς δὲ εὐεργεσίας ὀψὲ διδόναι, καὶ τὰς μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐς κοινωσίαν γνώμης ἀνατίθεσθαι;” ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, “δίδωμι τὰς δωρεάς,” εἶπεν, “οὐ γὰρ μοι ἀχθέσεται ὁ πατὴρ ἀληθείας ἠττωμένῳ καὶ σοῦ.”

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

Τοσαῦτα ἔθνη φασὶν ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλωνιον σπουδάζοντά τε καὶ σπουδαζόμενον. αἱ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἀποδημίαι πολλαὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο τῷ ἀνδρὶ, οὐ μὴν τοσαῦταί γε ἔτι, οὐδὲ ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη πλὴν ἃ ἔγνω, περὶ τε γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Αἴγυπτου καταβάντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας διατριβῆ πλείων ἐγένετο, περιτε Φοίνικας καὶ Κίλικας Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἰταλοὺς πάλιν, οὐδαμοῦ ἐλλείποντι τὸ μὴ οὐχ ὁμοίῳ φαίνεσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γνῶναι ἑαυτὸν δοκοῦντος, χαλεπώτερον ἔγωγε ἠγοῦμαι τὸ μείναι τὸν σοφὸν ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς πονηρῶς φύντας ἐς τὸ λῶον μεταστήσει, μὴ πρότερον ἐξασκήσας τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς μεθίστασθαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις ἰκανῶς εἶρηκα, διδάσκων τοὺς μὴ μαλακῶς αὐτοῖς ὁμιλοῦντας, ὅτι τὸν ἀτεχνῶς ἄνδρα μῆτε μεταστήσει τι μῆτε δουλώσεται. ὡς δὲ μῆτε ἐς λόγων ἵοιμεν μῆκος, ἀκριβῶς ἀναδιδάσκοντες τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις αὐτῷ φιλοσοφηθέντα, μῆτ' αὖ διαπηδῶντες φαινοίμεθα λόγον, ὃν οὐκ ἀπόνως παραδίδομεν τοῖς ἀπειροῖς τοῦ ἀνδρός, δοκεῖ μοι τὰ σπουδαιότερα ἐπελθεῖν τούτων καὶ ὅποσα μνήμης ἀξιώσεται. ἠγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὰ παραπλήσια ταῖς τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν ἐπιδημίαις.

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

## XXXVI

CAP.  
XXXVI

Μειράκιον ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀπαιδευτῶς εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ὄρνις ἐπαίδευε, καὶ ξυνοίκους ἐπὶ σοφία ἐποιεῖτο· ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτοὺς λαλεῖν τε ὅσα οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τερετίζειν ὅσα αὐλοί. τούτῳ περιτυχῶν, “τί,” ἔφη, “ἐπιτηδεύεις;” ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς τε ἀηδόνας αὐτῷ διήει καὶ τοὺς κοψίχους καὶ ὅποσα εὐγλωττίζοι τοὺς χαραδρίους, τὴν φωνὴν δὲ ἀπαιδευτον ἐφαίνετο, “δοκεῖς μοι,” ἔφη, “διαφθεῖρην τοὺς ὄρνις, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἑαυτῶν φθέγμα, οὕτως ἡδὺ ὄν, ὡς μὴδ’ ἂν τὰ μουσικὰ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐς μίμησιν αὐτοῦ καταστήναι, εἶτα καὶ τῷ κάκιστα Ἑλλήνων αὐτὸς διαλεγόμενος, μαθητὰς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ἀφωνίας. ἐπιτρίβεις δ’, ὦ μειράκιον, καὶ τὸν σεαυτοῦ οἶκον· βλέψαντι γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ἀκολούθους καὶ ὡς κατεσκεύασαι, τῶν ἀβρῶν ἔμοιγε καὶ οὐκ ἀπλούτων φαίνῃ, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ὑποβλίπτουσιν οἱ συκοφάνται, κέντρα ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἡρμένοι τὴν γλώτταν. καὶ τί χρῆση τῇ φιλορνηθίᾳ τότε; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πασῶν ἀηδόνων μέλη ξυμφέρων ἀποσοβήσεις αὐτοὺς ἐγκειμένους τε καὶ ἐρείδοντας, ἀλλ’ ἐπαντλεῖν χρὴ τῶν ὄντων, καὶ προβάλλειν αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ τὰ μελίγματα τοῖς

## XXXVI

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

κυσί, κὰν ὑλακτῶσιν, αὐθις διδόναι καὶ αὐθις, εἶτα αὐτὸν πεινῆν ὕστερον καὶ ἀπορεῖν.

Δεῖ δέ σοι ἐκτροπῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἤδη τινὸς τῶν τρόπων, ὡς μὴ λάθης πτερορρυήσας τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ ἀξίως πράττων τοῦ θρηνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπ' ὀρνίθων ἢ ἄδεσθαι. τὸ δὲ φάρμακον τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐ μέγα, ἐστὶ γάρ τι ἐν ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, ὃ σὺ οὐπω μὲν γινγνώσκεις, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ διδασκάλους· τούτοις ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας μικρὰ δοὺς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτήσῃ τὰ πλείω, ῥητορικὴν γάρ σε παιδεύσουσι τὴν τῶν ἀγοραίων, ῥαδία δ' ἡ τέχνη. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παιδά σε ἐώρων ἔτι, ξυμβούλευον ἂν φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ φιλοσόφων τε καὶ σοφιστῶν θύρας, καὶ σοφία πάσῃ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ φράττειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξωρος τούτων τυγχάνεις ὢν, τὸ γοῦν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ λέγειν ἔμαθε, νομίσεις, εἰ μὲν τὰ τελεώτερα ἔμαθες, κὰν ὅμοιος ἀνδρὶ ὄπλιτεύοντί τε καὶ φοβερῷ δόξαι, ταυτὶ δ' ἔμαθὼν τὴν τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ σφενδονητῶν σκευὴν ἔξεις· βάλλοις γὰρ ἂν τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὥσπερ τοὺς κύνας." ξυνῆκε τὸ μειράκιον τούτων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀρνίθων διατριβὰς ἐκλιπὼν ἐς διδασκάλων ἐβάδισεν, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἡ γνώμη αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα ἴσχυσεν.

barking you must give again and again, until at last <sup>CHAP.</sup> you will find yourself reduced to hunger and to <sup>XXXVI</sup> poverty.

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



FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXXVII

CAP.  
XXXVII

Δυοῖν δὲ λόγων ἐν Σάρδεσι λεγομένων, τοῦ μὲν, ὡς ὁ Πακτωλὸς ποτε τῷ Κροίσῳ ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ ἄγοι, τοῦ δέ, ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς γῆς εἶη τὰ δένδρα, τὸν μὲν πιθανῶς ἔφη πεπιστεῦσθαι, χρυσία γὰρ εἶναί ποτε τῷ Τμῶλῳ ψαμμώδη καὶ τοὺς ὄμβρους αὐτὰ φέρειν ἐς τὸν Πακτωλὸν κατασύροντας, χρόνῳ δέ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτὰ ἀποκλυσθέντα. τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου λόγου καταγελάσας, “ὕμεῖς μὲν,” ἔφη, “προγενέστερα τῆς γῆς φατε εἶναι τὰ δένδρα, ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺν οὕτω χρόνον φιλοσοφῆσας οὐπω ἔγνω οὐρανοῦ προγενεστέρους ἀστέρας,” διδάσκων ὅτι μηδ' ἂν γένοιτό τι τοῦ ἐν ᾧ φύεται μὴ ὄντος.

XXXVIII

CAP.  
XXXVIII

Στασιάζοντος δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος καὶ καθιέντος ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, ὑφ' ὧν διειστήκεσαν ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλις, σεισμῶν δὲ γενναίου προσπεσόντος, ἔπτηξαν καὶ ὅπερ ἐν διοσημίαις εἶωθεν, ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ἠΰξαντο. παρελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὁ μὲν θεός,” ἔφη, “διαλλακτῆς ὑμῶν σαφῆς γέγονεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἂν αὐθις στασιάσατε, τὰ αὐτὰ φοβούμενοι.” καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔννοιαν ὧν πείσονται, καὶ ὡς ταῦτὸ τοῖς ἑτέροις φοβήσονται.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXVII

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

CHAP.  
XXXVII  
Gold-dust  
of the  
Pactolus

XXXVIII

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

CHAP.  
XXXVIII  
Homily  
on the  
earthquake  
of Antioch

CAP.  
XXXIX

"Αξιον δὲ καὶ τούτου ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἕθυέ τις ὑπὲρ θησαυροῦ τῇ Γῆ καὶ οὐδὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τούτου ὥκει, ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμηθείς, οἶων ἐρᾶ, "δεινόν γε," ἔφη, "χρηματιστὴν ὀρῶ." "κακοδαίμονα μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ᾧ γέ ἐστιν οὐδὲν πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἃ μὴ ἀπόχρη βόσκειν τὸν οἶκον." "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "πολλοὺς τρέφειν καὶ ἀργοὺς οἰκέτας, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτός γε τῶν ἀσόφων φαίνῃ." ὁ δὲ ἡρέμα ἐπιδακρύσας, "θυγάτριά μοι," εἶπεν, "ἐστὶ τέτταρα καὶ φερνῶν δεῖ τεττάρων. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰσι δισμύριαί που δραχμαὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῖς θυγατράσι κατανεμηθῶσιν, ἐκεῖναί τε σμικρὰ εἰληφέναι δόξουσιν, ἐγὼ τε ἀπολοῦμαι ἔχων οὐδέν." παθὼν οὖν τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἐπιμελησόμεθά σου," ἔφη, "καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ Γῆ, φασὶ γὰρ σε θύειν αὐτῇ." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα προήει τὰ προάστεια, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς καρποὺς ὠνούμενοι, ἰδὼν δὲ τι χωρίον ἐλαῶν πλήρες καὶ ἡσθεῖς τοῖς δένδρεσιν, ὡς εὐφῶ τε ἦν καὶ μεγάλα, καὶ τινος κηπίου ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντος, ἐν ᾧ σμήνη τε καὶ ἄνθη ἐωρᾶτο, παρήλθεν ἐς τὸ κηπίον ὡς τι ἐπισκεψόμενος μείζον, καὶ προσευξάμενος τῇ Πανδώρα ἐχώρει ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. βαδίσας δὲ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀγροῦ

HERE is another incident worth recording. A CHAP. certain man was sacrificing to mother Earth in hope XXXIX of finding a treasure, and he did not hesitate to offer a prayer to Apollonius with that intent. He, perceiving what he was after, said: "I see that you are a formidable man of business." "Nay, but an unlucky one," remarked the other, "that have nothing except a few pence, and not enough to feed my family." "You seem," said the other, "to keep a large household of idle servants, for you yourself seem not to be wanting in wits." But the man shed a quiet tear and answered: "I have four daughters, who want four dowries, and, when my daughters have had their dowries assigned to them, my capital, which is now only 20,000 drachmas, will have vanished; and they will think that they have got all too little, while I shall perish because I shall have nothing at all." Therefore Apollonius took compassion on him and said: "We will provide for you, myself and mother Earth, for I hear that you are sacrificing to her." With these words he conducted the man into the suburbs, as if he were going to buy some fruit, and there he saw an estate planted with olive-trees; and being delighted with the trees, for they were very good ones and well grown, and there was also a little garden in the place, in which he saw bee-hives and flowers, he went on into the garden as if he had some important business to examine into, and then, having put up a prayer to Pandora, he returned to the city. Then he proceeded to the owner of the field, who had

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.  
XXXIX

δεσπότην, ᾧ πλοῦτος ἐκ τῶν παρανομωτάτων πεπόριστο, τὰς Φοινίκων οὐσίας ἐνδεικνύντι, “χωρίον,” ἔφη, “τὸ δεῖνα πόσου ἐπρίω καὶ τί πεπόνηται σοι ἐς αὐτό;” τοῦ δὲ πέρυσι μὲν ἐωνῆσθαι τὸν ἀγρὸν, πεντακισχιλίων δὲ καὶ μυρίων φήσαντος, οὐπω δ’ ἐκπεποιηκέναί τι, πείθει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποδόσθαι οἱ δισμυρίων αὐτόν, εὖρημα ποιησάμενον τὰς πεντακισχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐρῶν οὐπω ξυνίει τοῦ δώρου, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ᾤετο ἴσα ἔχειν, τοσοῦτω δὲ ἐλάττω, ὅσῳ τὰς μὲν δισμυρίας ἐν ταῖν χερσῶν οὐσας ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ εἶναι ἄν, τὸν δ’ ἀντ’ αὐτῶν ἀγρὸν ἐπὶ πάχναις κείσεσθαι καὶ χαλάζαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἃ τοὺς καρποὺς φθείρει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμφορέα μὲν τρισχιλίων δαρεικῶν αὐτίκα εὔρε περι αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ κηπίῳ σμῆνος, εὐφόρου δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἐλαίας καρποῦ ἔτυχεν, οὐκ εὐφορούσης τότε τῆς ἄλλης γῆς, ὕμνοι αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἤδοντο καὶ μνηστήρων θεραπευόντων αὐτὸν πλέα ἦν πάντα.

XL

CAP.  
LX

Κάκεινα ἀξιομνημόνευτα εὔρον τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἐρᾶν τις ἐδόκει τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδους ὃ ἐν Κνίδῳ γυμνὸν ἵδρυται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνετίθει, τὰ δ’

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

XL

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

CAP.  
XL. ἀναθήσειν ἔφασκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, Ἀπολλωνίῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ἄτοπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ παρητεῖτο ἡ Κνίδος, ἀλλ' ἐναργεστέραν ἔφασαν τὴν θεὸν δόξειν, εἰ ἐρῶτο, ἔδοξε τῷ ἄνδρὶ καθήρῃαι τὸ ἱερόν τῆς ἀνοίας ταύτης, καὶ ἐρομένων τῶν Κνιδίων αὐτόν, εἴ τι βούλοιο τῶν θυτικῶν ἢ εὐκτικῶν διορθοῦσθαι, “ὀφθαλμούς,” ἔφη, “διορθώσομαι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάτρια ἐχέτω, ὡς ἔχει.” καλέσας οὖν τὸν θρυπτόμενον ἤρετο αὐτόν, εἰ θεοὺς νενόμικε, τοῦ δ' οὕτω νομίζειν θεοὺς φήσαντος, ὡς καὶ ἐρᾶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν γάμων μνημονεύσαντος, οὓς θύσειν ἠγγείτο, “σὲ μὲν ποιηταί,” ἔφη, “ἐπαίρουσι τοὺς Ἀγχίσας τε καὶ τοὺς Πηλέας θεαῖς ξυζυγῆναι εἰπόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἐρᾶσθαι τόδε γιγνώσκω· θεοὶ θεῶν, ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπων, θηρία θηρίων, καὶ καθάπαξ ὅμοια ὁμοίων ἐρᾶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτυμα καὶ ξυγγενῇ τίκτειν, τὸ δὲ ἑτερογενὲς τῷ μὴ ὁμοίῳ ξυνελλθὸν οὔτε ζυγὸς οὔτε ἔρωσ. εἰ δὲ ἐνεθυμοῦ τὰ Ἰξίονος, οὐδ' ἂν ἐς ἔννοιαν καθίστασο τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίων ἐρᾶν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν τροχῷ εἰκασμένος δι' οὐρανοῦ κνάμπεται, σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ ἄπει τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀπολεῖ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῆ, οὐδ' ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων τὸ μὴ οὐ δίκαια τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ σοὶ γινῶναι.” ὧδε ἡ παροιμία

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

CHAP.  
XL  
Of the youth who wished to marry a statue of Aphrodite

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CAP. XL. ἔσβέσθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ φάσκων ἐράν, ὑπὲρ ξυγγνώμης θύσας.

XLI

CAP. XLI. Σεισμῶν δὲ κατασχόντων ποτὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν καὶ Χαλδαῖοι περὶ αὐτὰς ἠγείροντο ὑπὲρ ξυλλογῆς χρημάτων, ὡς δεκαταλάντους θυσίας Γῆ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύσοντες, ξυνέφερον δ' αἱ πόλεις τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκων, ὑποκείμενοι τῷ φόβῳ, οἱ δέ, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ἐκτεθείη τὸ ἀργύριον, οὐκ ἂν ἔφασαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θύσαι δοκεῖ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλησποντίους. καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τοὺς μὲν ἀπήλασεν ὡς θησαυρὸν πεποιημένους τὰ ἐτέρων κακά, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τῶν μνημιμάτων ξυλλαβῶν καὶ ὡς ἐκάστη πρόσφορον θύσας, ἀπεύξατο τὴν προσβολὴν δαπάνῃ σμικρᾷ, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἔστη.

XLII

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

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

XLI

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

XLII

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

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.  
XLII

ἐκκόπτειν, παρελθὼν ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “τὰ μὲν προστάγματα οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα, μόνος γὰρ ἴσως ἀνθρώπων οὔτε αἰδοίων δέομαι, οὔτε οἴνου, λέληθε δὲ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων φειδόμενος, τὴν δὲ γῆν εὐνουχίζων.” ὅθεν ἐς θάρσος ἡ Ἰωνία ἦλθε πρεσβεύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὲρ ἀμπέλων καὶ παραιτήσασθαι νόμον, ὃς ἐκέλευε καὶ δηοῦσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ μὴ φυτεύεσθαι.

XLIII

CAP.  
XLIII

Κάκεινα ἐν Ταρσοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄδουσι· κύων ἐνεπεπτώκει ἐφήβῳ λυττῶν, καὶ ἀπήγε τὸν ἔφηβον τὸ δῆγμα ἐς τὰ τῶν κυνῶν πάντα, ὑλάκτει τε γὰρ καὶ ὠρύετο καὶ τετράπους ἔθει τὸ χεῖρε ὑπέχων τῷ δρόμῳ. νοσοῦντι δ' αὐτῷ τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν ἐφίσταται μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἄρτι ἐς τοὺς Ταρσοὺς ἦκων, κελεύει δὲ ἀνιχνευθῆναί οἱ τὸν κύνα, ὃς ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, οἱ δ' οὔτε ἐντετυχηκέναι τῷ κυνὶ ἔφασαν, ἔξω γὰρ τείχους εἰληφθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐφήβου πρὸς ἀκουτίοις ὄντος, οὔτ' ἂν τοῦ νοσοῦντος μαθεῖν, ἥτις ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ κυνός, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἔτι οἶδεν. ἐπισχῶν οὖν, “ὦ Δάμι,” ἔφη, “λευκὸς ὁ κύων λάσιος προβατευτικὸς Ἀμφιλοχικῷ ἴσος, προσέστηκε δὲ τῇ δεῖνι κρήνῃ τρέμων, τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ καὶ ποθεῖ καὶ δέδοικεν· ἄγε μοι τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην, ἐφ' ἧς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

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

XLIII

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

αἱ παλαιστραὶ, μόνον εἰπὼν, ὅτι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καλοῖτο." CAP. XLIII  
 ἐλχθεῖς δ' ὁ κύων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος, ὑπεκλίθη τοῖς  
 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ποσίν, ὥσπερ οἱ βώμιοι τῶν  
 ἱκετῶν κλαίων, ὁ δ' ἡμέρου τε αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπράννε, τὸν ἔφηβόν τε ἴστη ἐγγὺς  
 ξυνέχων αὐτός, ὡς δὲ μὴ λάθοι τοὺς πολλοὺς μέγα  
 ἀπόρρητον, "μεθέστηκε μέν," ἔφη, "ἐς τὸν παῖδα  
 τοῦτον ἢ Τηλέφου ψυχὴ τοῦ Μυσοῦ, Μοῖραι δ'  
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ ταῦτά βούλονται," καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα  
 ἐκέλευσε τὸν κύνα περιλιχμήσασθαι τὸ δῆγμα, ὡς  
 ἰατρὸς αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ τρώσας γένοιτο. ἐπεστράφη  
 τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐς τὸν πατέρα ὁ παῖς καὶ ξυνῆκε τῆς  
 μητρὸς, προσεῖπέ τε τοὺς ἡλικας καὶ ἔπια τοῦ  
 Κύδνου, περιώφθη δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ κύων, ἀλλὰ κάκείνον  
 εὐξάμενος τῷ ποταμῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἤκεν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ  
 διέβη τὸν Κύδνον, ἐπιστὰς τῇ ὄχθῃ φωνὴν τε  
 ἀφῆκεν, ὅπερ ἤκιστα περὶ τοὺς λυττῶντας τῶν  
 κυνῶν ξυμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἀνακλάσας ἔσεισε  
 τὴν οὐράν, ξυνιεὶς τοῦ ἐρρῶσθαι, φαρμακοποσία  
 γὰρ λύττης ὕδωρ, ἦν θαρσῆση αὐτὸ ὁ λυττῶν.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν τε καὶ  
 πόλεων καὶ τὰ πρὸς δήμους καὶ ὑπὲρ δήμων, καὶ  
 τὰ ὑπὲρ τεθνεώτων ἢ νοσοῦντων, καὶ τὰ πρὸς  
 σοφοὺς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέας,  
 οἱ ξύμβουλον αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς ἐποιοῦντο.

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

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