

H'

I

CAP. I Οἶδα καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας, ὡς ἔστιν ἀρίστη βάνος ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφούντων, καὶ ξυγχωρῶ σκοπεῖν, ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἑτέρου ἤττον ἢ μᾶλλον ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν, ὁ λόγος δέ μοι ξυντείνει ἐς τόδε· κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς Δομετιανὸς ἐτυράννευσε, περιέστησαν τὸν ἄνδρα κατηγορίαι καὶ γραφαί, ὅπως μὲν ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ὀπόθεν καὶ ὃ τι ἑκάστη ὄνομα, δηλώσω αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη λέξαι, τί μὲν εἰπὼν, τίς δὲ εἶναι δόξας ἀπῆλθε τῆς κρίσεως, ἐλὼν μᾶλλον τὸν τύραννον ἢ ἀλοὺς αὐτός, δοκεῖ μοι διελθεῖν πρὸ τούτων, ὅποσα εὖρον ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τυράννους ἔργα, παραδεικνύειν τε αὐτὰ τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου· χρὴ γάρ που τάληθές οὕτω μαστεύειν.

II

CAP. II Ζήνων μὲν τοίνυν ὁ Ἐλεάτης, διαλεκτικῆς δὲ οὗτος δοκεῖ ἄρξαι, τὴν Νεάρχου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καταλύων τυραννίδα ἦλω, καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς τοὺς μὲν

BOOK VII

I

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

Superiority of Apollonius to other champions of liberty

II

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

CAP. II. *ἑαυτοῦ ξυνωμότας ἀπεσιώπησεν, οἱ δ' ἦσαν τῷ τυράννῳ βέβαιοι, διαβαλὼν τούτους ὡς οὐ βεβαίους, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθέσι ταῖς αἰτίαις ἀπέθανον, ὁ δ' ἐλεύθερα τὰ Μυσῶν ἤγαγε τὴν τυραννίδα περὶ ἑαυτῆς σφήλας. Πλάτων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σικελιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνά φησιν ἄρασθαι, συλλαβὼν τῆς διανοίας ταύτης Δίῳ. Φύτων δὲ Ῥηγίου ἐκπεσὼν κατέφυγε μὲν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον, μειζόνων δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἢ τὸν φεύγοντα εἰκός, ξυνῆκε μὲν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Ῥηγίου ἐρώφῃ, Ῥηγίνοις δ' ἐπιστέλλων ταῦτα ἤλω, καὶ ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἐνὸς τῶν μηχανημάτων ἀνάψας αὐτὸν ζῶντα προσήγαγε τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὡς μὴ βάλοιεν οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι τὸ μηχανήμα φειδοῖ τοῦ Φύτωνος, ὁ δὲ ἐβόα βάλλειν, σκοπὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίας εἶναι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Πύθων οἱ Κότυν ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Θρᾶκα νεανία μὲν ἦσθην ἄμφω, τὰς δὲ Ἀκαδημίους διατριβὰς ἐπαινοῦντες σοφῶ τε ἐγενέσθην καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθέρω. τὰ δὲ Καλλισθένους τοῦ Ὀλυνθίου τίς οὐκ οἶδεν; ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ διαβαλὼν Μακεδόνας, ὅτε μέγιστοι δυνάμει ἦσαν, ἀπέθανεν ἀηδῆς δόξας. Διογένης δὲ ὁ Σινοπεὺς καὶ Κράτης ὁ Θεβαῖος, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺ Χαιρωνείας ἤκων ἐπέπληξεν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων Φιλίππῳ περὶ ὧν, Ἡρακλείδης εἶναι φάσκων, ἀπώλλυ ὄπλοις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων*

though he accused of disloyalty those who were loyal to the tyrant, with the result that, whereas they were put to death on the assumption that his accusations were true, he effected the liberation of the Mysians, by tripping despotism up over itself. And Plato also declares that he took up the cause of the liberation of the people of Sicily, and associated himself in this enterprise with Dion. And Phyton, when he was banished from Rhegium, fled to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; but being treated with more honour than an exile might expect, he realized that the tyrant had designs also upon Rhegium; and he informed the people there of this by letter. But he was caught doing so by the tyrant, who forthwith fastened him to one of his siege engines alive, and then pushed it forward against the walls, imagining that the inhabitants of Rhegium would not shoot at the machine in order to spare Phyton. He, however, cried out to them to shoot, for, said he: "I am the target of your liberty." And Heraclides and Python who slew Cotys the Thracian were both of them young men, and they embraced the discipline and life of the Academy, and made themselves wise and so free men. And who does not know the story of Callisthenes of Olynthus? He on one and the same day delivered himself of a panegyric and of an attack upon the Macedonians, just at the time when they were at the acme of their power; and they put him to death for exciting their displeasure. Then there were Diogenes of Sinope and Crates of Thebes, of whom the former went direct to Chaeronea, and rebuked Philip for his treatment of the Athenians, on the ground that, though asserting himself to be a descendant of Hercules he yet was destroying

CHAP. II

Plato

Phyton of Rhegium

Heraclides and Python

Callisthenes of Olynthus

Diogenes and Crates

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. II ὄπλα ἡρμένους, ὁ δ' ἀνοικιεῖν Θήβας Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' αὐτὸν φήσαντος οὐκ ἂν ἔφη δεσθῆναι πατρίδος, ἣν κατασκάψει τις ὄπλοις ἰσχύσας. καὶ λέγοιτο μὲν ἂν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὁ λόγος δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μῆκος, τῷ γε ἀνάγκην ἔχοντι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντειπεῖν, οὐχ ὡς οὐ καλὰ ἢ οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἦττω τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου, κἂν ἄριστὰ ἐτέρων φαίνηται.

III

CAP. III Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ἔργον καὶ οἱ τὸν Κότυν ἀπεκτονότες οὐπω ἀξιόλογα, Θραῖκας γὰρ καὶ Γέτας δουλοῦσθαι μὲν ῥάδιον, ἐλευθεροῦν δὲ εὐήθες, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ χαίρουσιν, ἅτε, οἶμαι, οὐκ αἰσχροὺς ἠγούμενοι τὸ δουλεύειν. Πλάτων δὲ ὡς μὲν οὐ σοφόν τι ἔπαθε τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ διορθούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Ἀθήνησιν, ἢ ὡς εἰκότως ἐπράθη σφαλῆς τε καὶ σφήλας, οὐ λέγω διὰ τοὺς δυσχερῶς ἀκρωμένους. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ῥηγίνου πρὸς Διονύσιον μὲν ἐτολμάτο τυραννεύοντα οὐ βεβαίως Σικελίας, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντως ἀποθανὼν ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ Ῥηγίωνων ἐβλήθη, θαυμαστόν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν ἔπραττε, τὸν

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by force of arms those who had taken up arms in CHAP. defence of the descendants of Hercules. The other II Crates, when Alexander had declared that he would rebuild Thebes for his sake, replied that he would never stand in need of a country or of a city, which anyone could raze to the ground by mere force of arms. Many more examples of this kind could be adduced, but my treatise does not allow me to prolong them. It is indeed incumbent upon me to criticise these examples, not in order to show that they were not as remarkable as they are universally famous, but only to show that they fall short of the exploits of Apollonius, in spite of their being the best of their kind.

III

ABOUT the conduct of Zeno of Elea then, and CHAP. about the murder of Cotys there is nothing very III remarkable; for as it is easy to enslave Thracians Criticism of Zeno, and Getae, so it is an act of folly to liberate them; for indeed they do not appreciate freedom, because, I imagine, they do not esteem slavery to be base. I will not say that Plato somewhat lacked wisdom of Plato, when he set himself to reform the affairs of Sicily rather than those of Athens, or that he was sold in all fairness when, after deceiving others, he found himself deceived, for I fear to offend my readers. But the despotic sway of Dionysius over Sicily was not solidly based when Phyton of Rhegium of Phyton, made his attempt against him, and in any case he would have been put to death by him, even if the people of that city had not shot their bolts at him; his achievement, then, I think, was by no means

CAP. III. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐτέρων ἐλευθερίας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ δουλείας αἰρούμενος. Καλλι-
 σθένης δὲ τὸ δόξαι κακὸς οὐδ' ἂν νῦν διαφύγοι,
 τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας καὶ διαβαλὼν, ἢ
 διέβαλεν, οὓς ἐνόμισεν ἐπαίνων ἀξίους, ἢ ἐπή-
 νεσεν, οὓς ἐχρῆν διαβάλλοντα φαίνεσθαι, καὶ
 ἄλλως ὁ μὲν καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς
 ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἔχει ἀποδρᾶναι τὸ μὴ οὐ
 δόξαι βάσκανος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς κολακεύων
 ἐπαίνοισι αὐτὸς ἀπόσεται τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἀμαρτη-
 θέντων σφίσι, οἱ γὰρ κακοὶ κακίους ἐπαινούμενοι.
 Διογένης δὲ πρὸ Χαιρωνείας μὲν εἰπὼν ταῦτα
 πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον κἂν ἐφύλαξε τὸν ἄνδρα
 καθαρὸν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ὄπλων, εἰργασμένοις
 δ' ἐπιστὰς ὠνείδιζε μὲν, οὐ μὴν διωρθοῦτο.
 Κράτης δὲ καὶ αἰτίαν ἂν λάβοι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς
 φιλοπόλιδος μὴ ξυναράμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς
 βουλῆς, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀνοικίσει τὰς Θήβας ἐχρήτο.
 Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ οὐθ' ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κινδυνεύουσης
 δείσας, οὔτε τοῦ σώματος ἀπογνοῦς, οὔτ' ἐς
 ἀνοήτους ὑπαχθεῖς λόγους, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ Μυσῶν ἢ
 Γετῶν, οὔτε πρὸς ἄνδρα, ὃς ἦρχε νήσου μιᾶς ἢ
 χώρας οὐ μεγάλης, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ᾧ θάλαττά τε ἦν καὶ
 γῆ πᾶσα, πρὸς τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ πικρῶς ἐτυράννευε,
 παρέττατεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων
 κέρδους, χρησάμενος μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ
 πρὸς Νέρωνα.

wonderful: he only preferred to die in behalf of CHAP.
 the liberty of others rather than to endure the death III
 penalty to make himself a slave. And as for Callis-
 thenes, even to-day he cannot acquit himself of base-
 ness; for in first commending and then attacking of Callis-
 one and the same set of people, he either attacked thenes,
 those whom he felt to be worthy of praise, or he
 praised those whom he ought to have been openly
 attacking. Moreover a person who sets himself to
 abuse good men cannot escape the charge of being
 envious, while he who flatters the wicked by his
 very praises of them draws down upon his own head
 the guilt of their misdeeds, for evil men are only
 rendered more evil when you praise them. And
 Diogenes, if he had addressed Philip in the way he of Diogenes,
 did before the battle of Chaeronea instead of after
 it, might have preserved him from the guilt of taking
 up arms against Athens; but instead of doing so he
 waited till the harm was done, when he could only
 reproach him, but not reform him. As for Crates, he of Crates
 must needs incur the censure of every patriot for not
 seconding Alexander in his design of recolonising
 Thebes. But Apollonius had not to fear for any
 country that was endangered, nor was he in despair
 of his own life, nor was he reduced to silly and idle
 speeches, nor was he championing the cause of Mysians
 or Getae, nor was he face to face with one who was
 only sovereign of a single island or of an inconsider-
 able country, but he confronted one who was master
 both of sea and land, at a time when his tyranny
 was harsh and bitter; and he took his stand against
 the tyrant in behalf of the welfare of the subjects,
 with the same spirit and purpose as he had taken
 his stand against Nero.

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IV

CAP.
IV Ἡγείσθω δ' οὖν τις ἀκροβολισμούς ἐκεῖνα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὁμόσε χωρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Βίνδικα ἐπιρρωννύς καὶ τὸν Τιγελλῖνον ἐκπλήττων σαθροτέραν τὴν τυραννίδα ἐποίει, καὶ τις ἀναφύεται λόγος ἀλαζῶν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς οὐδὲν γενναῖον ἐπιθέσθαι Νέρωνι ψαλτρίας τινὸς ἢ αὐλητρίδος βίον ζῶντι· ἀλλὰ περὶ γε Δομετιανοῦ τί φήσουσιν; ὃς τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔρρωτο, ἡδονὰς δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐξ ὀργάνων τε καὶ κτύπων τὰς τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἀπομαραινούσας παρητεῖτο, τὰ δὲ ἐτέρων ἄχη καὶ ὃ τι ὀλοφύραιτό τις, ἐς τὸ εὐφραίνου εἶλκε, τὴν δ' ἀπιστίαν δῆμων μὲν ἐκάλει πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους φυλακτήριον, τυράννων δὲ πρὸς πάντας, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πάντων μὲν ἔργων ἡξίου παύειν βασιλεία, φόνων δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅθεν ἡκρωτηριάσθη μὲν ἡ βουλή τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους, φιλοσοφία δὲ οὕτω τι ἔπτηξεν, ὡς ἀποβαλόντες τὸ σχῆμα οἱ μὲν ἀποδρᾶναι σφῶν ἐς τὴν Κελτῶν ἐσπέραν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα Λιβύης τε καὶ Σκυθίας, ἔνιοι δ' ἐς λόγους ἀπενεχθῆναι ξυμβούλους τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ πεποιήται πρὸς τὸν Οἰδίπουν ὁ Τειρεσίας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λέγων

οὐ γάρ τι σοὶ ζῶ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ Λοξία,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

IV

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

CAP.
IV
Courage of
Apollonius
in facing
Domitian
as well as
Nero

Oedip. Tyr.
410

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. IV. οὕτω τὴν σοφίαν δέσποιναν πεπονημένος ἐλεύθερος ἦν τῆς Δομετιανοῦ φορᾶς, τὰ Τειρεσίου τε καὶ Σοφοκλέους ἑαυτῷ ἐπιθεσπίσας καὶ δεδιὼς μὲν οὐδὲν ἴδιον, ἀ δὲ ἐτέρους ἀπώλλυ, ἐλεῶν, ὅθεν ξυνίστη ἐπ' αὐτὸν νεότητά τε, ὀπόσῃ ἢ βουλῇ εἶχε, καὶ ξύνεσιν, ὀπόσῃ περὶ ἐνίους αὐτῶν ἐωρᾶτο, φοιτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ φιλοσοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὡς οὔτε ἀθάνατος ἢ τῶν τυράννων ἰσχύς, αὐτῷ τε τῷ φοβεροὶ δοκεῖν ἀλίσκονται μᾶλλον. διῆει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ Παναθηναῖα τὰ Ἀττικά, ἐφ' οἷς Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἄδονται, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔργον, ὃ καὶ τριάκοντα ὁμοῦ τυράννους εἶλε, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτῶν διῆει πάτρια, ὡς κἀκεῖνοι δῆμος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες τὰς τυραννίδας ἐώθουν ὄπλοις.

V

CAP. V. Τραγωδίας δὲ ὑποκριτοῦ παρελθόντος ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰνοῖ τῷ δράματι, καὶ ἀκρωμένου τοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντος, ὃς καίτοι νέος ὢν φανερός ἐν ὑπάτοις ἀτολμότερον ὑπὲρ τούτων διανοεῖτο, ὃ μὲν ὑποκριτῆς ἐπέβαινε ἤδη τὰ ἰαμβεῖα, ἐν οἷς ὁ Εὐριπίδης διὰ μακρῶν αὐξηθέντας τοὺς τυράννους ἀλίσκεσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ μικρῶν, ἀναπηδήσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἀλλ' ὁ δειλός,” ἔφη, “οὗτος οὔτε Εὐριπίδου ξυνήσιν οὔτε ἐμοῦ.”

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chose wisdom as his mistress, and escaped scot free CHAP. IV from paying tribute to Domitian. Applying to himself, as if it were an oracle, the verse of Tiresias and of Sophocles, and fearing nothing for himself, but only pitying the fate of others, he set himself to rally round him all the younger men of the Senate, and husband such intelligence as he saw discerned in many of them; and he visited the provinces and in the name of philosophy he appealed to the governors, pointing out to them that the strength of tyrants is not immortal, and that the very fact of their being dreaded exposes them to defeat. And he also reminded them of the Panathenaic festival in Attica, at which hymns are sung in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and of the sally that was made from Phyle, when thirty tyrants at once were overthrown; and he also reminded them of the ancient history of the Romans, and of how they too had originally been a democracy, after driving out despotism, arms in hand.

V

AND on an occasion when a tragic actor visited CHAP. V Ephesus and came forward in the play called the Ino, and when the governor of Asia was one of the audience, a man who though still young and of Applaud the Ino at Ephesus distinguished rank among the consuls, was nevertheless very nervous about such matters, just as the actor finished the speech in which Euripides describes in his iambics how tyrants after long growth of their power are destroyed by little causes, Apollonius leapt up and said: “But yonder coward understands neither Euripides nor myself.”

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

VI

^{CAP.}
^{VI} Καὶ μὴν καὶ λόγου ἀφικομένου, ὡς λαμπρὰν κάθαρσιν εἶη Δομετιανὸς πεποιημένος τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἑστίας, ἐπειδὴ τρεῖς τῶν Ἑστιάδων ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπ' αἰτία τῆς ζώνης καὶ τῷ μὴ καθαρῆσαι γάμων, ἃς ἀγνώως τὴν Ἰλιάδα Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ πῦρ θεραπεύειν ἔδει, "εἰ γὰρ καὶ σύ," ἔφη, "καθαρθείης, Ἥλιε, τῶν ἀδίκων φόνων, ὧν πάντα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ νῦν." καὶ οὐδὲ ἰδίᾳ ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοί, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὀμίλῳ καὶ ἐς πάντας ἐκήρυττέ τε καὶ ἠύχετο.

VII

^{CAP.}
^{VII} Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σαβίνον ἀπεκτονώσας, ἓνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ξυγγενῶν, Ἰουλίαν ἤγετο, ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία γυνὴ μὲν ἦν τοῦ πεφονευμένου, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ ἀδελφιδῆ, μία τῶν Τίτου θυγατέρων, ἔθυε μὲν ἡ Ἐφεσος τοὺς γάμους, ἐπιστὰς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὦ νύξ," ἔφη, "τῶν πάλαι Δαναίδων, ὡς μία ἦσθα."

VIII

^{CAP.}
^{VIII} Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὠδε αὐτῷ ἐπράττετο. ἀρχῇ πρέπειν ἐδόκει Νερούας, ἧς μετὰ

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VI

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

VII

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

VIII

THE following then is the history of his acts in Rome. Nerva was regarded as a proper candidate

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VIII Δομετιανὸν σωφρόνως ἤψατο, ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὀρφίτον τε καὶ Ῥούφον ἢ αὐτὴ δόξα. τούτους Δομετιανὸς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἑαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν ἐς νήσους καθείρχθησαν, Νερούα δὲ προσέταξεν οἰκεῖν Τάραντα· ὦν δὲ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν μὲν χρόνον, ὃν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἦρχεν, ἀεί τι ὑπὲρ σωφροσύνης ἐπέστελλε τοῖς ἀνδράσι, προσποιῶν αὐτοὺς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὡς χρηστοῖς, Δομετιανοῦ δέ, ἐπεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, ἀφιστη τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας ἐρρώννυ. τὰς μὲν δὴ ἐπιστολιμαίους ξυμβουλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς ᾤετο, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ δοῦλοι προὔδοσαν καὶ φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόρρητον ἐχώρησε τότε οἰκία, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐταίρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπολαμβάνων, “διάκονον,” εἶπεν ἄν, “ποιουμαί σε ἀπορρήτου λαμπροῦ· βαδίσαι δὲ χρὴ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναί οἱ καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πᾶν ὃ τι ἐγώ.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὀρμῆς μὲν ἐνδειξάμενοί τι ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον, ὅκνω δ’ ἐκπεσόντες ὦν διενοήθησαν, διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης περὶ τὸ νέμος τῆς Σμύρνης, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Μέλης.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

for the throne which after Domitian's death he occupied with so much wisdom, and the same opinion was entertained of Orphitus and of Rufus. Domitian accused the two latter of intriguing against himself, and they were confined in islands, while Nerva was commanded to live in Tarentum. Now Apollonius had been intimate with them all the time that Titus shared the throne with his father, and also reigned after his father's death; and he was in constant correspondence with them on the subject of self-control, being anxious to enlist them on the side of the sovereigns whose excellence of character he esteemed. But he did his best to alienate them from Domitian, on account of his cruelty, and encouraged them to espouse the cause of the freedom of all. Now it occurred to him that his epistles conveying advice to them were fraught with danger to them, for many of those who were in power were betrayed by their own slaves and friends and womenkind, and there was not at the time any house that could keep a secret; accordingly he would take now one and now another of the discreetest of his own companions, and say to them: "I have a brilliant secret to entrust to you; for you must betake yourself as my agent to Rome to so and so," mentioning the party, "and you must hold converse with him and do the utmost I could do to win him over." But when he heard that they were banished for having displayed a tendency to revolt against the tyrant, and yet had from timidity abandoned their plans, he delivered a discourse on the subject of the Fates and of Destiny in the grove of Smyrna in which stands the statue of the river Meles.

IX

CAP. IX. Είδως δὲ τὸν Νερούαν ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἄρξει, διῆει τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅτι μηδ' οἱ τύραννοι τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν οἶοι βιάζεσθαι, χαλκῆς τε εἰκόνας ἰδρυσμένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, “ἀνόητε,” εἶπεν, “ὡς πολὺ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· ᾧ γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεῦσαι πέπρωται, τοῦτον κὰν ἀποκτείνης, ἀναβιώσεται.” ταῦτα ἐς Δομετιανὸν ἀφίκετο ἐκ διαβολῶν Εὐφράτου, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅτου μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐχρησμάδει αὐτά, οὐδεὶς ξυνίει, τιθέμενος δὲ ὁ τύραννος εὖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φόβον ὠρμησεν ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς ἀνδρας· ὡς δὲ μὴ ἕξω λόγου πράττων αὐτὸ φαίνοιτο, ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπολογησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπορρήτων. ἡ γὰρ ἀφικομένου καταψηφισάμενος οὐδὲ ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτονέειν δόξειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἐαλωκότας, ἢ εἰ σοφία τινὲ τοῦ φανεροῦ ὑπεξέλθοι, μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπολείσθαι σφᾶς ὡς κατεψηφισμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινωνοῦ τῆς αἰτίας.

X

CAP. X. Διανοουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα καὶ γράφοντος ἤδη πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, ὡς ξυλληφείη

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IX

AND being aware that Nerva would before long become sovereign, he went on to explain in his oration that not even tyrants are able to force the hand of destiny, and directing the attention of his audience to the brazen statue of Domitian which had been erected close by that of Meles, he said: “Thou fool, how much art thou mistaken in thy views of Destiny and Fate. For even if thou shouldst slay the man who is fated to be despot after thyself, he shall come to life again.” This saying was reported to Domitian by the malevolence of Euphrates, and though no one knew to which of the personages above mentioned this oracle applied, yet the despot in order to allay his fears determined to put them to death. But in order that he might seem to have an excuse for doing so, he summoned Apollonius before him to defend himself on the charge of holding secret relations with them. For he considered that if he came, he could get a sentence pronounced against him, and so avoid the imputation of having put people to death without trial, seeing that they would have been convicted through Apollonius, or in the alternative case, if the latter by some ruse avoided an open trial, then the fate of the others would all the more certainly be sealed, because sentence would have been passed on them by their own accomplice.

X

Moved by these considerations Domitian had already written to the governor of Asia, directing

CHAP. IX
His discourse at Smyrna on the Fates

Domitian requires Apollonius to clear himself of charge of rebellion

CHAP. X

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. X. τε καὶ ἀναχθείη, προεΐδε μὲν ὁ Τυανεύς πάντα δαιμονίως τε καὶ ὡσπερ εἰώθει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους εἰπὼν δεῖσθαι ἀποδημίας ἀπορρήτου, τοὺς μὲν ἐσήληθεν Ἀβάριδος τοῦ ἀρχαίου δόξα, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τοιοῦνδε τι ὥρμηκοί, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῷ Δάμιδι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν ἐκφήνας, ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔπλει, Κορίνθου δὲ ἐπιβάς καὶ τῷ Ἡλίῳ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ὁπόσα εἰώθει δράσας, ἀφήκεν ἐς τὸ Σικελῶν καὶ Ἰταλῶν ἔθνος ἅμα ἐσπέρα. τυχῶν δὲ οὐρίου πνεύματος καὶ τινος εὐροίας ὑποδραμούσης τὸ πέλαγος ἀφίκετο ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν πεμπταῖος. Δημητρίῳ δὲ ἐντυχῶν, ὃς ἐδόκει θαρσαλεώτατος τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐπεὶ μὴ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης διητάτο, ξυνίει μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐξεστηκότος τῷ τυράννῳ, διατριβῆς δὲ ἔνεκα, “εἴληφά σε,” εἶπε, “τρυφῶντα καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἰταλίας, εἰ δὴ εὐδαίμων, τὸ μακαριώτατον οἰκοῦντα, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς Καλυψοῖ ξυνῶν ἐκλαθέσθαι καπνοῦ Ἰθακησίου καὶ οἴκου.” περιβαλὼν δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ τι καὶ ἐπευφημήσας, “ὦ θεοί,” ἔφη, “τί πείσεται φιλοσοφία κινδυνεύουσα περὶ ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ;” “κινδυνεύει δέ,” εἶπε, “τί;” “ἄγε,” ἔφη, “προειδὼς ἤκεις· εἰ γὰρ τὸν σὸν ἀγνοῶ νοῦν, οὐδὲ τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ οἶδα. διαλεγώμεθα δὲ μὴ ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ’ ἴωμεν οὗ μόνων ἡμῶν ἢ ξυνουσία ἔσται, παρατυγχανέτω δὲ καὶ ὁ Δάμις, ὃν ἐγώ, νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Ἰόλεων ἡγοῦμαι τῶν σῶν ἄθλων.”

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the man of Tyana to be arrested and brought to Rome, when the latter foreseeing in his usual way through a divine instinct what was coming, told his companions that he needed to depart on a mysterious voyage; and they were reminded of the opinion enunciated by Abaris of old, and felt that he was intent upon some such scheme. Apollonius however, without revealing his intention even to Damis, set sail in his company for Achaea, and having landed at Corinth and worshipped the Sun about midday, with his usual rites, embarked in the evening for Sicily and Italy. And falling in with a favourable wind and a good current that ran in his direction, he reached Dicaearchia on the fifth day. There he met Demetrius who passed for being the boldest of the philosophers, simply because he did not live far away from Rome, and knowing that he had moved to get out of the way of the tyrant, yet said by way of amusing himself: “I have caught you in your luxury, dwelling here in the most blessed part of happy Italy, if indeed she be happy, here where Odysseus is said to have forgotten in the company of Calypso the smoke of his Ithacan home.” Thereupon Demetrius embraced him and after sundry pious ejaculations said: “O ye gods, what will come upon philosophy, if she risks the loss of such a man as yourself?” “And what risks does she run?” asked he. “Those surely, a foreknowledge of which brought you here,” said the other; “for if I do not know what is in your mind, then I do not know what is in my own. But let us not conduct our conversation here, but let us retire where we can talk together alone, and let only Damis be present whom, by Hercules, I am inclined to consider an Iolaus of your labours.”

CHAP. X
Apollonius forestalls summons and sets out for Rome

Meets with Demetrius

^{CAP.}
^{XI} "Αγει δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐς τὸ Κικέρωνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ χωρίον, ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τῷ ἄστει. ἰζησάντων δὲ ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ οἱ μὲν τέττιγες ὑποψαλλούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς αὔρας ἐν ῥδαῖς ἦσαν, ἀναβλέψας δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος, "ὦ μακάριοι," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοί, ὡς ἐδίδαξαν τε ὑμᾶς ῥδὴν ἄρα Μούσαι μήπω ἐς δίκας ἢ διαβολὰς ὑπαχθείσαν, γαστρός τε κρείττους ἐποίησαν καὶ ἀνῶκισαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου φθόνου ἐς ταυτὶ τὰ δένδρα, ἐφ' ὧν ὄλβιοι τὴν ἐφ' ὑμῶν τε καὶ Μουσῶν εὐδαιμονίαν ἄδετε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνίει μὲν οἱ τείνει ταῦτα, διαβαλὼν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἀργότερα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, "εἶτα," εἶπε, "τεττίγων βουληθεὶς διελθεῖν ἔπαινον, οὐκ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν διήεις αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα πτήξας, ὡσπερ δημοσίᾳ κειμένου νόμου μηδένα ἐπαινεῖν τέττιγας;" "οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐπαινοῦ," ἔφη, "ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὅτι τούτοις μὲν ἀνεῖται τὰ αὐτῶν μουσεῖα, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲ γρύξαι συγγνώμη, ἀλλ' ἔγκλημα ἢ σοφία εὔρηται, καὶ ἢ μὲν Ἀνύτου καὶ Μελήτου γραφὴ "Σωκράτης," φησίν, "ἀδικεῖ διαφθείρων τοὺς νέους καὶ δαιμόνια καινὰ ἐπεσάγων, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὕτως ἰγράφονται· ἀδικεῖ ὁ δεῖνα σοφὸς ὢν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ξυνίεις μὲν θεῶν, ξυνίεις

WITH these words, Demetrius led them to the ^{CHAP.}
villa in which Cicero lived of old, and it is close by the ^{XI}
city. There they sat down under a plane tree where ^{Their talk}
the grasshoppers were chirping to the soft music ^{at Cicero's}
of the summer's breeze, when Demetrius glancing ^{villa}
up at them, remarked: "O ye blessed insects and unfeignedly wise, it would seem then that the Muses have taught you a song which is neither actionable, nor likely to be informed against; and they made you superior to all wants of the belly, and settled you far above all human envy to live in these trees, on which you sit and sing in your blessedness about your own and the Muses' prerogative of happiness." Now Apollonius understood the drift of this apostrophe, but it jarred upon him as inconsistent with the strenuous professions of his friend, "It seems then," he said, "that, though you only wanted to sing the praises of the grasshoppers, you could not do it openly, but come cowering hither, as if there were a public law against anyone praising the grasshoppers." "I said what I did," he replied, "not by ^{Domitian's}
way of praising them, but of signifying that while ^{persecution}
they are left unmolested in their concert halls, ^{of philoso-}
we are not allowed even to mutter; for wisdom has ^{phers}
been rendered a penal offence. And whereas the indictment of Anytus and Meletus ran: Socrates commits wrong in corrupting youth and introducing a new religion, we are indicted in such terms as these: So and so commits wrong by being wise and just and gifted with understanding of the gods no less than of men, and with a wide

CAP. XI δὲ ἀνθρώπων, νόμων τε περί πολλὰ εἰδώς. σὺ δ', ὅσω περ ἡμῶν σοφώτατος, τοσοῦτω σοφώτερα κατηγορία ἐπὶ σὲ εὔρηται· βούλεται γὰρ σε Δομειτιανὸς μετέχειν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐφ' οἷς Νερούας τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ φεύγουσι." "φεύγουσι δ'," ἢ δ' ὅς, "ἐπὶ τῷ;" "ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ γε," ἔφη, "τῶν νῦν αἰτιῶν, ὡς δοκεῖ τῷ διώκοντι φησὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ πηδῶντας ἤρηκένας, σὲ δὲ ἐξορμήσαι τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐς ταῦτα παῖδα, οἶμαι, τεμόντα." "μῶν," ἔφη, "ὡς ὑπ' εὐνούχου ἢ ἀρχὴ καταλυθείη;" "οὐ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "συκοφαντούμεθα, φασὶ δ', ὡς παῖδα θύσαις ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς, ἣν τὰ νεαρὰ τῶν σπλάγχων φαίνει, πρόσκειται δὲ τῇ γραφῇ καὶ περὶ ἀμπεχόνης καὶ διαίτης καὶ τὸ ἔστιν ὑφ' ὧν προσκυνεῖσθαί σε. ταυτὶ γὰρ Τελεσίνου ἤκουον ἀνδρὸς ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ ἐπιτηδείου." "ἔρμαιον," εἶπεν, "εἰ Τελεσίῳ ἐντευξόμεθα, λέγεις γὰρ πού τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὃς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ἐν ὑπάτοις ἤρξεν." "ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "λέγω, ξυγγένοιο δ' ἀν αὐτῷ τίνα τρόπον; αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ὑποπτότεραι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξία πάντας, ἣν ἐς κοινὸν ἴωσι λόγον τοῖς ἐν οἴᾳ σὺ νῦν αἰτία, Τελεσίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ κηρύγματι ὑπεξῆλθεν, ὃ κεκήρυκται νῦν ἐς φιλοσοφίαν πᾶσαν, ἀσπασάμενος μᾶλλον τὸ φεύγειν ὡς φιλόσοφος ἢ τὸ ὡς ὑπάτος μένειν." "μὴ κιν-

knowledge of the laws. And as for yourself, so far forth as you are cleverer and wiser than the rest of us, so much the more cleverly is the indictment against you drawn up: for Domitian intends to implicate you in the charges for which Nerva and his associates are banished." "But for what crime," said Apollonius, "are they banished?" "For what is reckoned by the persecutor to be the greatest of latter-day crimes. He says that he has caught these persons in the act of trying to usurp his throne, and accuses you of instigating their attempt by mutilating, I think, a boy." "What, as if it were by an eunuch that I want his empire overthrown?" "It is not that," he replied, "of which we are falsely accused; but they declare that you sacrificed a boy to divine the secrets of futurity which are to be learned from an inspection of youthful entrails; and in the indictment your dress and manner of life are also impugned, and the fact of your being an object of worship to some. This then is what I have heard from our Telesinus, no less your intimate than mine." "What luck," exclaimed Apollonius, "if we could meet Telesinus: for I suppose you mean the philosopher who held consular rank in the reign of Nero." "The same," he said, "but how are you to come across him? For despots are doubly suspicious of any man of rank, should they find him holding communication with people who lie under such an accusation as you do. And Telesinus, moreover, gave way quietly before the edict which has lately been issued against philosophers of every kind, because he preferred to be in exile as a philosopher, to remaining in Rome as a consul." "I would not have him run any risks

CHAP. XI

The charges against Apollonius

Telesinus the Consul friendly to philosophers

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI. *δυνευέτω,*” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐμοῦγε ἔνεκα, ἰκανῶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας κινδυνεύει.

XII

CAP. XII. “Ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνό μοι εἰπέ, Δημήτριε, τί δοκῶ σοι λέγων ἢ τί πράττων εἶ θήσεσθαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ φόβον;” “μὴ παίζων,” ἔφη, “μηδέ, ἂ δέδιας, φοβεῖσθαι λέγων, εἰ γὰρ φοβερὰ ἡγοῦ ταῦτα, καὶ ὄχου ἀποδράς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον.” “σὺ δ’ ἂν ἀπέδρας,” εἶπεν, “εἰ περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ ἐκινδύνευες;” “οὐκ ἄν,” ἔφη, “μὰ τὴν Ἄθηναν, εἴ τις ἐδίκαζε, τὸ δ’ ἄνευ δίκης καὶ ὁ μὴδ’, εἰ ἀπολογοίμην, ἀκροασόμενος ἢ ἀκροασόμενος μέν, ἀποκτενῶν δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα. οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγ’ οὖν ξυνεχώρησας ἐλέσθαι ποτὲ ψυχρὸν οὔτω καὶ ἀνδραποδώδη θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφία προσήκοντος· φιλοσοφία δέ, οἶμαι, προσήκει ἢ πόλιν ἐλευθεροῦντα ἀποθανεῖν ἢ γονεῦσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ξυγγενείᾳ ἀμύνοντα ἢ ὑπὲρ φίλων ἀγωνιζόμενον, οἷ ξυγγενείας αἰρετώτεροι σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἢ οἷ ἡμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος. τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπ’ ἀληθέσι κεκομψευμένοις δ’ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν τῷ τυράννῳ σοφῷ δόξαι, πολλῷ βαρύτερον ἢ εἴ τις, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα, μετέωρος ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κνάμπτοιτο. σοὶ δὲ ἀγῶνος οἶμαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

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

XII

“BUT tell me this, Demetrius, what do you think I had better say or do in order to allay my own fears?” “You had better not trifle,” said the other, “nor pretend to be afraid when you foresee danger; for if you really thought these accusations terrifying, you would have been away by now and evaded the necessity of defending yourself from them.” “And would you run away,” said Apollonius, “if you were placed in the same danger as myself?” “I would not,” he replied, “I swear by Athene, if there were some one to judge me; but in fact there is no fair trial, and if I did offer a defence, no one would even listen to me; or if I were listened to, I should be slain all the more certainly because I was known to be innocent. You would not, I suppose, care to see me choose so cold-blooded and slavish a death as that, rather than one which befits a philosopher. And I imagine it behoves a philosopher to die in the attempt either to liberate his city or to protect his parents and children and brothers and other kinsfolk, or to die struggling for his friends, who in the eyes of the wise are more precious than mere kinsfolk or for favourites that have been purchased by love. But to be put to death not for true reasons, but for fancy ones, and to furnish the tyrant with a pretext for being considered wise, is much worse and more grievous than to be bowed and bent high in the sky on a wheel, as they say Ixion was. But it seems to me the very fact of your coming

CAP. XII ἄρξειν αὐτὸ τὸ ἦκειν ἐνταῦθα, σὺ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τῆς γνώμης ὑγιαίνοντι προστίθης τοῦτο καὶ τῷ μὴ ἀνθαρρήσαι τὴν δεῦρο ὁδόν, εἴ τι ἠδίκεις, Δομετιανῷ δὲ οὐ δόξεις, ἀλλ' ἀπόρρητόν τινα ἰσχὺν ἔχων θρασέως ἐρρώσθαι. τὸ γὰρ καλοῦντος μὲν, οὐπω δ' ἡμέραι δέκα, ὡς φασι, σὲ δ' ἀφίχθαι πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν οὐδ' ἀκηκοότα πω, ὡς κριθήσῃ, νοῦν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ δώσει, προγιγνώσκων γὰρ ἀν φαίνοιο καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἰσχύσει. καὶ ὄρα, μὴ τὰ περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ διειλέχθαι σέ φασι, ἐπὶ σέ ἦκη, καὶ βουλομένης τι τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἄτοπον, σὺ δ' ἠναγκασμένος χωρῆς ἐπ' αὐτό, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὡς σοφώτερον αἰεὶ τὸ φυλάττεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκλέλῃσαι τῶν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, οἰσθά πω τοῦ μὲν καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἀνελεύθερος ἐγὼ πρὸς θάνατον. ἀλλ' εἶχέ τι ῥαστώνης ἐκεῖνα· Νέρωνα γὰρ ἢ κιθάρα τοῦ μὲν προσφόρου βασιλείᾳ σχήματος ἐδόκει ἐκκρούειν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἤρμοπτεν, ἦγε γὰρ τινὰς πολλὰ κίς δι' αὐτὴν ἐκεχειρίας, καὶ ἀπέιχετο τῶν φόνων· ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε καίτοι τὸ ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔλκοντα διὰ τοὺς σοὺς τε κάμου λόγους, οὓς ἐπὶ τῷ βαλανείῳ διήλθον, αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ τὴν εὐφωνίαν αὐτῷ ἐπιδοῦναι τότε καὶ τό, ὡς ᾤετο, μελωδίας λαμπρᾶς ἄψασθαι. νυνὶ δὲ τίνι μὲν εὐφωνίᾳ, τίνι δὲ κιθάρᾳ θύσομεν ;

here will be the beginning of your trial ; for though you may attribute your journey hither to your quiet conscience, and to the fact that you would have never ventured upon it if you were guilty, Domitian will credit you with nothing of the kind ; but will merely believe that you ventured on so hardy a course because you possess some mysterious power. For think, ten days, they say, have not elapsed since you were cited to appear, and you turn up at the court, without even having heard as yet that you were to undergo a trial. Will not that be tantamount to justifying the accusation, for everyone will think that you foreknew the event, and the story about the boy will gain credit therefrom ? And take care that the discourse which they say you delivered about the Fates and Necessity in Ionia does not come true of yourself ; and that, in case destiny has some cruelty in store, you are not marching straight to meet it with your hands tied, just because you won't see that discretion is the better part of valour. And if you have not forgotten the affairs of Nero's reign, you will remember my own case, and that I showed no coward's dread of death. But then one gained some respite : for although Nero's harp was ill attuned to the dignity that befits a king, and clashed therewith, yet in other ways its music harmonised his mood not unpleasantly with ours, for he was often induced thereby to grant a truce to his victims, and stay his murderous hand. At any rate he did not slay me, although I attracted his sword to myself as much by your discourses as by my own, which were delivered against the bath ; and the reason why he did not slay me was that just then his voice improved, and he achieved, as he thought, a very brilliant melody. But where's the royal

CHAP. XII
Demetrius predicts danger for Apollonius and exhorts him to flee

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XII ἄμουσα γὰρ καὶ μεστὰ χολῆς πάντα, καὶ οὔτ' ἂν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅδε οὔτ' ἂν ὑφ' ἑτέρων θελχθείη. καίτοι Πίνδαρος ἐπαινῶν τὴν λύραν φησίν, ὡς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος θυμὸν θέλγει καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἴσχει αὐτόν, οὔτοσι δέ, καίτοι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν καταστησάμενος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ στεφανῶν δημοσίᾳ τοὺς νικῶντας, ἔστιν οὗς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, ὕστατά φασι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν αὐλήσαντάς τε καὶ ἄσαντας. βουλευτέα δέ σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, προσαπολείς γὰρ κἀκείνους ἢ θρασὺς δόξας ἢ εἰπῶν, ἃ μὴ πείσεις. ἢ σωτηρία δέ σοι παρὰ πόδα· τῶν γὰρ νεῶν τούτων, πολλαὶ δ', ὡς ὄρᾱς, εἰσίν, αἱ μὲν ἐς Λιβύην ἀφήσουσιν, αἱ δ' ἐς Αἴγυπτον, αἱ δ' ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον, αἱ δ' εὐθὺ Σαρδοῦς, αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ Σαρδῶ· μίᾳς ἐπιβάντι σοι κομίζεσθαι κράτιστον ἐς ὅτιδὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων, αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ἤττον χαλεπαὶ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἣν ἐπαινοῦντας αἰσθωνταὶ τὸ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ ζῆν."

XIII

CAP. XIII Ἡττηθεὶς δ' ὁ Δάμις τῶν τοῦ Δημητρίου λόγων, "ἀλλὰ σύ γε," ἔφη, "φίλος ἀνδρὶ παρῶν γένοιο ἂν ἀγαθόν τι τούτῳ μέγα, ἐμοῦ γὰρ σμικρὸς λόγος, εἰ ξυμβουλευοίμι αὐτῷ μὴ κυβιστᾶν ἐς ὀρθὰ ξίφη,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

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

XIII

DAMIS was so impressed by the arguments of CHAP. Demetrius that he exclaimed: "Well, you anyhow XIII are a friend and by your presence you can do a very The apprehensions of Damis great service to my master here. As for me, I am of little account, and if I advised him not to throw somersaults upon naked swords, nor expose himself to

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIII μῆδ' ἀναρριπτεῖν πρὸς τυραννίδα, ἧς οὐ χαλεπω-
 τέρα ἐνομίσθη. τῆς γοῦν ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐνταῦθα, εἰ μὴ
 σοι ξυνέτυχον, οὐδὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐγίγνωσκον, ἔπομαι
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ θάπτου ἢ ἑαυτῷ τις, εἰ δὲ ἔροίό με,
 ποῖ πλέω ἢ ἐφ' ὅ τι, καταγέλαστος ἐγὼ τοῦ πλοῦ
 Σικελικὰ μὲν πελάγη καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς κόλπους ἀνα-
 μετρῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς δέ, ὑπὲρ ὅτου. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ
 προρρήσεως ἐκινδύνευον, εἶχον ἂν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρω-
 τῶντας λέγειν, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν θανάτου ἐρᾷ,
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀντεραστῆς ξυμπλέω. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν οἶδα,
 ἐμὸν ἤδη λέγειν, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἶδα, λέξω δὲ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ ἀνδρός· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι, οὐπω δεινὰ
 φιλοσοφία πείσεται, σκευοφόρῳ γὰρ εἴκασμαι
 στρατιώτου γενναίου, λόγου ἀξιούμενος, ὅτι τοιῷδε
 ἔπομαι, εἰ δὲ ἔσται τις, ὃς ἀποκτενεῖ τοῦτον,
 εὐποροὶ δ' αἱ τυραννίδες τὰ μὲν ξυνθεῖναι, τὰ δὲ
 ἐξᾶραι, τρόπαιον μὲν οἶμαι κατὰ φιλοσοφίας
 ἐστήξει σφαλείσης περὶ τῷ ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων
 φιλοσοφήσαντι, πολλοὶ δὲ Ἄνυτοι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ
 Μέλητοι, γραφαὶ δ' αἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, αἱ δὲ ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Ἀπολλωνίῳ ξυγγενομένους, ὡς ὁ μὲν τις
 ἐγέλασε καθαπτομένου τῆς τυραννίδος, ὁ δ' ἐπέρ-
 ρωσε λέγοντα, ὁ δ' ἐνέδωκε λέξαι τι, ὁ δ' ἀπήλθε

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risks with tyrants, than whom none were ever yet ^{CHAP.}
 deemed harsher, he would not listen to me. As a ^{XIII}
 matter of fact I should never have known, if I had
 not met you, what he meant by his journey hither;
 for I follow him more readily, more blindly, than
 another man would follow himself; and if you asked
 me where I am bound or for what, I should merely
 excite your laughter by telling you that I was
 traversing the seas of Sicily and the bays of Etruria,
 without knowing in the least why I took ship. And
 if only I were courting these dangers after I had
 received open warning, I could then say to those who
 asked me the question, that Apollonius was court-
 ing death, and that I was accompanying him on
 board ship because I was his rival in his passion.
 But as I know nothing of this matter, it's time for
 me to speak of what I do know; and I will say it
 in the interests of my master. For if I were put to
 death, it would not do much harm to philosophy,
 for I am like the esquire of some distinguished
 soldier, and am only entitled to consideration
 because I am of his suite. But if someone is going
 to be set on to slay him, and tyrants find it easy to
 contrive plots and to remove obstacles from their
 path, then I think a regular trophy will have been
 raised over the defeat of philosophy in the person of the
 noblest of our human representatives; and as there are
 many people lurking in our path, such as were Anytus
 and Meletus, writs of information will be scattered
 from all quarters at once against the companions of
 Apollonius; one will be accused of having laughed
 when his master attacked tyranny, another of having
 encouraged him to talk, a third of having suggested
 to him a topic to talk about, a fourth of having left

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIII. *ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ὧν ἤκουσεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀποθνήσκειν μὲν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας οὕτω φημι δεῖν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ τειχῶν καὶ τάφων, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας γὰρ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν ἠσπάζοντο, ὡς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι φιλοσοφίαν μήτε ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι μήτε ὅστις ἐκείνης τε καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐρά.*"

XIV

CAP. XIV. *Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, " Δάμιδι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων εὐλαβῶς διειλεγμένῳ ξυγγνώμην," ἔφη, " προσήκει ἔχειν, Ἀσσύριος γὰρ ὧν καὶ Μήδοις προσοικήσας, οὐ τὰς τυραννίδας προσκυνοῦσιν, οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐνθυμεῖται μέγα, σὺ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἀπολογήσῃ, φόβους ὑποτιθείς, ὧν, εἴ τι καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐφαίνετο, ἀπάγειν ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον ἢ ἔσω καθιστάναι τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν μηδ' ἂ παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν δεδιότα. σοφὸς δ' ἀνὴρ ἀποθνησκέτω μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶπας, ἀποθάνοι δ' ἂν τις ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ μὴ σοφός, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν νόμῳ προστέτακται, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ ξυγγενείας ἢ φίλων ἢ παιδικῶν φύσις ὤρισε. δουλοῦται δὲ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους φύσις καὶ νόμος, φύσις μὲν καὶ*

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his lecture-room with praise on his lips for what he had heard. I admit that one ought to die in the cause of philosophy in the sense of dying for one's temples, one's own walls, and one's sepulchres; for there are many famous heroes who have embraced death in order to save and protect such interests as those; but I pray that neither I myself may die in order to bring about the ruin of philosophy, and that no one else either may die for such an object who loves philosophy and loves Apollonius." CHAP. XIII

XIV

APOLLONIUS answered thus: "We must make allowance for the very timid remarks which Damis has made about the situation; for he is a Syrian and lives on the border of Media, where tyrants are worshipped, and hence does not entertain a lofty ideal of freedom; but as for yourself, I do not see how you can defend yourself at the bar of philosophy from the charge of trumping up fears, from which, even if there were really any reason for them, you ought to try to wean him; instead of doing so you try to plunge into terror a man who was not even afraid of such things as were likely to occur. I would indeed have a wise man sacrifice his life for the objects you have mentioned, but any man without being wise would equally die for them; for it is an obligation of law that we should die in behalf of our freedom, and an injunction of nature that we should die in behalf of our kinsfolk or of our friends or darlings. Now all men are the slaves of nature and of law; the willing slaves of nature, as the unwilling

CHAP. XIV
Apollonius
expostulates with
Demetrius
for his
cowardice

CAP. XIV. *ἐκόντας, νόμος δὲ ἄκοντας· σοφοῖς δὲ οἰκειότερον τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπετήδευσαν· ἃ γὰρ μὴ νόμου ἐπιτάξαντος, μηδὲ φύσεως ξυντεκούσης, αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ ῥώμης τε καὶ θράσους ἐμελέτησαν, ὑπὲρ τούτων, εἰ καταλύοι τις αὐτά, ἴτω μὲν πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν σοφόν, ἴτω δὲ πέλεκυς, ὡς νικήσει αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τούτων, οὐδὲ ἐς ὀτιοῦν περιελᾷ ψεύδος, καθέξει δέ, ὅποσα οἶδε, μείον οὐδὲν ἢ ἃ ἐμνήθη. ἐγὼ δὲ γιγνώσκω μὲν πλείστα ἀνθρώπων, ἅτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὧν οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίοις, τὰ δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐμαντῶ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς, τυράννοις δὲ οὐδέν. ὡς δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀνοήτων ἦκω, σκοπεῖν ἕξεστιν· ἐγὼ γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶ ἐμαντοῦ σώματι κινδυνεύω οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἀποθάνοιμ' ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐδ' εἰ αὐτὸς βουλοίμην, ξυνίημι δὲ κινδυνεύων περὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὧν εἴτε ἀρχὴν εἴτε προσθήκην ποιεῖται με ὁ τύραννος, εἰμὶ πᾶν ὅ τι βούλεται. εἰ δὲ προὔδιδουν σφᾶς ἢ βραδύνων ἢ βλακεύων πρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν, τίς ἂν τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἔδοξα; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με εἰκότως, ὡς παίζοντα ἐς ἀνδρας, οἷς, ἃ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἦτουν, ἀνετέθη; ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἦν μοι διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ οὐ προδότης δόξαι, δηλῶσαι βούλομαι.*

Τυραννίδων ἦθη διττά, αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκρίτους ἀποκτείνουσιν, αἱ δὲ ὑπαχθέντας δικαστηρίοις,

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

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

CAP. XIV. εοίκασι δ' αἱ μὲν τοῖς θερμοῖς τε καὶ ἐτοίμοις τῶν θηρίων, αἱ δὲ τοῖς μαλακωτέροις τε καὶ ληθάργοις. ὡς μὲν δὴ χαλεπαὶ ἄμφω, δῆλον πᾶσι παράδειγμα ποιουμένοις τῆς μὲν ὀρμώσης καὶ ἀκρίτου Νέρωνα, τῆς δὲ ὑποκαθημένης Τιβέριον, ἀπώλλυσαν γὰρ ὁ μὲν οὐδ' οἰηθέντας, ὁ δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ δείσαντας. ἐγὼ δ' ἠγοῦμαι χαλεπώτερας τὰς δικάζειν προσποιουμένας καὶ ψηφίζεσθαί τι ὡς ἐκ τῶν νόμων, πράττουσι μὲν γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐδέν, ψηφίζονται δ', ἅπερ οἱ μηδὲν κρίναντες, ὄνομα τῷ διατρίβοντι τῆς ὀργῆς θέμενοι νόμον, τὸ δ' ἀποθνήσκειν κατεψηφισμένους ἀφαιρεῖται τοὺς ἀθλίους καὶ τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἔλεον, ὃν ὡσπερ ἐντάφιον χρῆ ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς ἀδίκως ἀπελθοῦσι. δικαστικὸν μὲν δὴ τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ταύτης ὀρώ σχῆμα, τελευτᾶν δέ μοι δοκεῖ ἐς ἄκριτον, ὧν γὰρ πρὶν ἢ δικάσαι κατεψηφίσατο, τούτους ὡς μήπω δεδικασμένους ὑπάγει τῇ κρίσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ψήφω ἀλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ δῆλον ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ νόμους κρίναντος ἀπολωλέναι φησίν, ὁ δ' ἐκλιπὼν τὸ δικάσασθαι πῶς ἂν διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐψηφίσθαι; τὸ δὲ καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν κειμένων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἀποδρᾶναι τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ τε κἀκείνων ἀγῶνα, ποῖ με τῆς

The former kind resemble the more passionate and prompt of wild beasts, the other kind resemble the gentler and more lethargic ones. That both kinds are cruel is clear to everybody who takes Nero as an example of the impetuous disposition which does not trouble about legal forms, Tiberius, on the other hand, of the tardy and lurking nature; for the former destroyed his victims before they had any suspicion of what was coming, and the other after he had tortured them with long drawn out terror. For myself I consider those the crueller who make a pretence of legal trial, and of getting a verdict pronounced in accordance with the laws; for in reality they set them at defiance, and bring in the same verdict as they would have done without any real trial, giving the name of law to the mere postponement of their own spleen. The very fact of their being put to death in legal form does but deprive the wretches so condemned to death of that compassion on the part of the crowd, which should be tendered like a winding sheet to the victims of injustice. Well, I perceive that the present ruler cloaks his tyranny under legal forms. But it seems to me that he ends by condemning without trial; for he really sentences men before they enter the court, and then brings them before it as if they had not yet been tried. Now one who is formally condemned by a verdict in court, can obviously say he perished owing to an illegal sentence, but how can he that evades his trial escape the implied verdict against himself? And supposing, now that the fate of such distinguished persons also rests on me, I do manage to run away from the crisis which equally impends over them and myself, what can save me no matter where I go on all the earth from the

CAP. XIV γῆς ἐάσει καθαρὸν δόξαι; ἔστω γὰρ σὲ μὲν εἰρηκέσαι ταῦτα, ἐμὲ δὲ ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰρημένους πείθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσφάχθαι, τίς μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐπλοίας εὐχὴ τῷ τοιῷδε; ποῖ δὲ ὀρμιεῖται; πορεύσεται δὲ παρὰ τίνα; ἐξαλλάττειν γὰρ χρὴ οἶμαι πάσης, ὀπόσης Ῥωμαῖοι ἄρχουσι, παρ' ἄνδρας δὲ ἤκειν ἐπιτηδείους τε καὶ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ οἰκούντας, τουτὶ δ' ἂν Φραώτης τε εἶη καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ἰάρχας ὁ θεῖος καὶ Θεσπεσίων ὁ γενναῖος. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπῶν στελλοίμην, τί ἂν, ὦ λῶστέ, πρὸς Θεσπεσίωνα εἴποιμι; εἴτε γὰρ κρύπτοίμι ταῦτα, ψευδολογίας ἐραστῆς δόξω, μᾶλλον δὲ δούλος, εἴτε ἐς ἀπαγγελίαν αὐτῶν ἵοιμι, τοιῶνδέ που δεήσει λόγων· ἐμέ, ὦ Θεσπεσίων, Εὐφράτης πρὸς ὑμᾶς διέβαλεν, ἃ μὴ ἔμαυτῷ ξύνοιδα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κομπαστὴν ἔφη καὶ τερατώδη με εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστὴν σοφίας, ὀπόση Ἰνδῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ ταυτὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰμί, προδότης δὲ τῶν ἔμαυτοῦ φίλων καὶ σφαγεὺς καὶ οὐδὲν πιστὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά εἰμι, στέφανόν τε ἀρετῆς, εἴ τις, στεφανωσόμενος ἤκω τούτου, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκῶν οὕτως ἀνεῖλον, ὡς μηδὲ οἰκήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔτι. ἐρυθριᾶς, Δημήτριε, τούτων ἀκούων, ὀρῶ γάρ. τί οὖν, εἰ καὶ Φραώτην ἐνθυμηθείης κάμει παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τούτου ἐς Ἰνδοὺς φεύγοντα, πῶς μὲν ἂν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέψαιμι; τί δ' ἂν εἴποιμι ὑπὲρ ὧν φεύγω; μῶν

brand of infamy? For let us suppose that you have delivered yourself of all these sentiments, and that I have admitted their correctness and acted on them, and that in consequence our friends have been murdered, what prayers could I offer in such a case for a favourable voyage? What haven could I cast anchor in? To whom could I set out on any voyage? For methinks I should have to steer clear of any land over which the Romans rule, and should have to seek men who are my friends and yet do not live in sight of the tyrant, and that would be Phraotes, and the Babylonian, and the divine Iarchas, and the noble Thespesian. Now supposing I set out for Ethiopia, what, my excellent friend, could I tell Thespesian? For if I concealed this episode, I should prove myself a lover of falsehood, nay worse, a slave; while if I frankly confessed all to him, I could only use such words as these: O Thespesian, Euphrates slandered me to you and accused me of things that are not on my conscience; for he said that I was a boaster and a miracle-monger, and one that violated wisdom, especially that of the Indians; but while I am none of these things, I am nevertheless a betrayer of my own friends, and their murderer, and utterly unreliable and so forth; and if there is any wreath for virtue, I come to wear it, because I have ruined the greatest of the Roman houses so utterly, that henceforth they are left desolate. You blush, Demetrius, to hear such words; I see that you do so. What, then, if you turn from Thespesian to Phraotes and imagine me fleeing to India to take refuge with such a man as he? How should I look him in the face? how should I explain the motive of my flight? Should I not have to say that when I visited

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CAP.
XIV

ὡς ἀφικόμην μὲν καλὸς κάγαθὸς πρότερον καὶ τὸν θάνατον τὸν ὑπὲρ φίλων οὐκ ἄθυμῶς, ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυνεγενόμην αὐτῷ, τὸ θειότατον τουτὶ τῶν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ἄτιμον ἔρριψά σοι; ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας οὐδὲ ἐρήσεται οὐδὲν ἤκουτα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ Αἰολὸς ποτε τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα κακῶς χρησάμενον τῷ τῆς εὐπλοίας δώρῳ ἄτιμον ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν τῆς νήσου, κάμῃ δῆπου ἀπελαῖ τοῦ ὄχθου, κακὸν εἰπὼν ἐς τὸ Ταντάλειον γεγονέναι πῶμα, βούλονται γὰρ τὸν ἐς αὐτὸ κύψαντα καὶ κινδύνων κοινωνεῖν τοῖς φίλοις. οἶδα, ὡς δεινὸς εἶ, Δημήτριε, λόγους ξυντεμεῖν πάντας, ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ τοιοῦτό τι ἐρεῖν πρὸς μέ· ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τούτους ἴθι, παρ' ἀνδρας δέ, οἷς μῆπω ἐπέμιξας, καὶ εὖ κείσεται σοι τὸ ἀποδρᾶναι, ῥᾶον γὰρ ἐν οὐκ εἰδόσι λήσῃ. βασανιζέσθω δὲ καὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ὅπη τοῦ πιθανοῦ ἔχει· δοκεῖ γάρ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε· ἐγὼ ἡγοῦμαι τὸν σοφὸν μὴδὲν ἰδίᾳ μὴδ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν, μὴδ' ἂν ἐνθυμηθῆναί τι οὕτως ἀμάρτυρον, ὡς μὴ αὐτὸν γοῦν ἑαυτῷ παρεῖναι, καὶ εἴτε Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτοῦ τὸ Πυθοῖ γράμμα, εἴτε ἀνδρὸς ὑγιῶς ἑαυτὸν γνόντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γνώμην αὐτὸ ποιουμένου ἐς πάντας, δοκεῖ μοι ὁ σοφὸς ἑαυτὸν γιγνώσκων καὶ παραστάτην ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν μῆτ' ἂν πτῆξαι τι ὧν οἱ πολλοί, μῆτ' ἂν θαρσῆσαι τι ὧν ἕτεροι μὴ

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CAP.
XIV

him before, I was a gentleman not too faint-hearted to lay down my life for my friends; but that after enjoying his society, I had at your bidding thrown away with scorn this divinest of human privileges. And as for Iarchas, he surely would not ask me any question at all when I arrived, but just as Aeolus once bade Odysseus quit his island with ignominy, because he had made a bad use of the gift of a good wind which he had bestowed on him, so Iarchas, I imagine, would drive me from his eminence, and tell me that I had disgraced the draught I there had from the cup of Tantalus. For they require a man who stoops and drinks of that goblet, to share the dangers of his friends. I know, Demetrius, how clever you are at chopping logic, and this, I believe, is why you will tender me some further advice, such as this: But you must not resort to those you have named, but to men with whom you have never had anything to do, and then your flight will be secure; for you will find it easier to lie hidden among people who do not know you. Well, let me examine this argument too, and see whether there is anything in it. For this is how I regard it: I consider that a wise man does nothing in private nor by himself alone; I hold that not even his inmost thoughts can be so devoid of witness, that he himself at least is not present with himself; and whether the Pythian inscription was suggested by Apollo himself, or by some man who had a healthy conscience, and was therefore minded to publish it as an aphorism for all, I hold that the sage who 'knows himself,' and has his own conscience as his perpetual companion, will never cower before things that scare the many, nor venture upon courses which others would engage

CAP. XIV. ξὺν αἰσχύνῃ ἄπτονται· δοῦλοι γὰρ τῶν τυραννίδων ὄντες καὶ προδοῦναι αὐταῖς ποτε τοὺς φιλτάτους ὤρμησαν, τὰ μὲν μὴ φοβερὰ δείσαντες, ἃ δὲ χρῆ δεῖσαι μὴ φοβηθέντες.

Σοφία δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Πυθικῷ ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἐπαινεῖ, ξύνεσιν ἡγουμένου περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι τὴν ἀπολλύσαν αὐτοὺς νόσον, ἐπειδὴν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ὡς κακὰ εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. ἦδε γάρ που καὶ τῷ Ὀρέστη τὰ τῶν Εὐμενίδων εἶδη ἀνέγραφεν, ὅτε δὴ ἐμαίνετο ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ, νοῦς μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρακτέων κύριος, σύνεσις δὲ τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοξάντων. ἦν μὲν δὴ χρηστὰ ἔληται ὁ νοῦς, πέμπει ἤδη τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ ξύνεσις ἐς πάντα μὲν ἱερά, πάσας δὲ ἀγυιάς, πάντα δὲ τεμένη, πάντα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἦθη κροτοῦσά τε καὶ ἄδουσα, ἐφθυμῆσει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ καθεύδοντι, παριστᾶσα χορὸν εὐφημον ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὀνείρων δήμου, ἣν δ' ἐς φαῦλα ὀλίσθη ἢ τοῦ νοῦ στάσις, οὐκ ἐᾷ τοῦτον ἢ ξύνεσις οὔτε ὄμμα ὀρθὸν ἐς ἀνθρώπων τινὰ ἀφεῖναι οὔτε τὸ ἀπ' ἐλευθέρας γλώττης φθέγμα, ἱερῶν τε ἀπελαύνει καὶ τοῦ εὐχεσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ χεῖρα αἶρειν ξυγχωρεῖ ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἀλλ' ἐπικόπτει αἶρου-
τας, ὡσπερ τοὺς ἐπανατεινομένους οἱ νόμοι, ἐξίστησι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀμίλου παντὸς καὶ δει-
ματοῖ καθεύδοντας, καὶ ἃ μὲν ὀρώσι μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν οἴονται, ὀνειρώδη

upon without shame. For being the slaves of despots, they have been ready at times to betray to them even their dearest; because just as they trembled at imaginary terrors, so they felt no fear where they should have trembled.

“But Wisdom allows of none of these things. For beside the Pythian epigram, she also praises Euripides who regarded ‘conscience in the case of human beings as a disease which works their ruin, whenever they realise that they have done wrong.’ For it was such conscience that brought up before Orestes and and depicted in his imagination the shapes of the Eumenides, when he had gone mad with wrath against his mother; for whereas reason decides what should be done, conscience revises the resolutions taken by reason. If then reason chooses the better part, conscience forthwith escorts a man to all the temples, into all the by-streets, into all groves of the gods, and into all haunts of mankind, applauding him and singing his praises. She will even hymn his merits as he sleeps, and will weave around him a chorus of angels from the world of dreams; but if the determination of reason trip and fall into evil courses, conscience permits not the sinner to look others in the face, nor to address them freely and boldly with his lips; and she drives him away from temples and from prayer. For she suffers him not even to uplift his hands in prayer to the images, but strikes them down as he lifts them, as the law strikes down those who rebel against it; and she drives such men from every social meeting, and terrifies them in their sleep; and while she turns into dreams and windy forms all that they see by day, and any things they think they hear or say, she lends to their empty

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CAP. XIV καὶ ἀνεμιαῖα ποιεῖ τούτοις, τὰς δὲ ἀμυδρὰς καὶ φαντασιώδεις πτοίας ἀληθεῖς ἤδη καὶ πιθανὰς τῷ φόβῳ. ὡς μὲν δὴ ἐλέγξει με ἡ σύνεσις ἐς εἰδότας τε καὶ μὴ εἰδότας ἤκουτα, προδότης εἰ γενοίμην τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδείχθαι μοι σαφῶς οἶμαι καὶ ὡς φαίνει ἀλήθεια, προδώσω δὲ οὐδὲ ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, τὸ τοῦ γενναίου 'Ομήρου ἐπειπῶν· ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος."

XV

CAP. XV Ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ Δαμῖς τῶν λόγων αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω διατεθῆναι φησιν, ὡς ὀρμὴν τε ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ θάρσος, τὸν Δημήτριον δὲ μὴ ἀπογνῶναι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσαντα καὶ ξυνθέμενον οἷς εἶπεν ἐπιθειάσαι οἱ ὑπὲρ οὗ κινδυνεύει καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ αὐτῇ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καρτερεῖ ταῦτα, ἡγεῖσθαι τε αὐτοῖς οὗ καταλύων ἐτύγχανε, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον παραιτούμενον τοῦτο, "δείλη ἤδη," φάναι, "καὶ χρὴ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα ἀφεῖναι, τουτὶ γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις νόμιμον, ξυσσιτήσομεν δέ, ἐπειδὰν εὖ τὰμὰ ἔχη, νυκτὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ κατασκευασθεῖη τις αἰτία ἐπὶ σὲ ὡς ξυσσιτήσαντα τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐχθρῷ, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος μεθ' ἡμῶν ἴθι, μὴ καὶ τὸ λόγου κεκοινωνηκέναι μοι διαβάλλῃ σε ἐς ἀπορρήτους βουλὰς." ξυνεχώρησε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ

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and fantastic flutterings of heart truth and substantial reality of well-founded terror. I think then that I have clearly shown you, and that truth itself will convince you, that my conscience will convict me wherever I go, whether to people that know me, or to people that do not, supposing I were to betray my friends; but I will not betray even myself, but I will boldly wrestle with the tyrant, hailing him with the words of the noble Homer: Mars is as much my friend as thine." CHAP. XIV
Iliad 18. 302

XV

DAMIS was so impressed by this address, he tells us, that he took fresh resolution and courage, and Demetrius no longer despaired of Apollonius, but rather praising and agreeing with his appeal, wished godspeed to him in his perilous enterprise and to his mistress Philosophy for whose sake he braved so much. And he led them, Damis says, to where he was lodging; but Apollonius declined and said: "It is now eventide, and about the time of the lighting up of the lamps and I must set out for the port of Rome, for this is the usual hour at which these ships sail. However we will dine together another time, when my affairs are on a better footing; for just now some charge would be trumped up against yourself of having dined with an enemy of the Emperor. Nor must you come down to the harbour with us, lest you should be accused, merely for having conversed with me, of harbouring criminal designs." Demetrius accordingly consented, and after embracing them he quitted them, CHAP. XV
Damis is re-assured and departs for Rome with Apollonius

CAP. ^{XV} περιβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπήει, μεταστρεφόμενός τε καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ἀποψῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, “ εἰ μὲν ἔρρωσαι,” ἔφη, “ καὶ θαρσεῖς ἄπερ ἐγὼ, βαδίσωμεν ἄμφω ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, εἰ δὲ ἀθύμως ἔχεις, ὦρα σοι καταμένειν ἐνταῦθα, Δημητρίῳ γὰρ ξυνέση τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀνδρὶ σοί τε κάμοι ἐπιτηδείῳ.” ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Δάμις, “ καὶ τίνα,” ἔφη, “ νομιῶ ἐμαυτόν, εἰ τοιαῦτά σου διειλεγμένου σήμερον ὑπὲρ φίλων καὶ κοινωνίας κινδύνων, οἱ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἤκουσιν, ἐγὼ δ’ ἀνήκοος τοῦ λόγου φεύγοιμί σε καὶ ἀποκινδυνεύοιμί σου, μήπω πρότερον κακὸς ὑπὲρ σοῦ δόξας;” “ ὀρθῶς,” ἔφη, “ λέγεις καὶ ἴωμεν, ἐγὼ μὲν, ὡς ἔχω, σὲ δὲ χρὴ μετασκευάζειν σαυτὸν ἐς τὸ δημοτικώτερον καὶ μήτε κομᾶν, ὡς γοῦν ἔχεις, τρίβωνά τε ἀνταλλάττεσθαι τουτοῦ τοῦ λίνου καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα παραιτεῖσθαι τοῦτο· τί δὲ βούλεταί μοι ταῦτα, χρὴ διαλεχθῆναι. λῶν γὰρ καὶ πλείω καρτερῆσαι πρὸ τῆς δίκης· οὐ δὴ βούλομαι κοινωνῆσαί σέ μοι τούτων ξυλληφθέντα, ξυλληφθείης γὰρ ἂν διαβεβλημένου τοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλ’ ὡς μὴ φιλοσοφούντα μὲν, ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ἄλλως ὄντα μοι ξυνέπεσθαί τε καὶ παρατυγχάνειν οἷς πράττω.” αἰτία μὲν ἦδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμιν τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ ὡς κακίων γε αὐτὸ μεθεῖναι

though he often turned back to look towards them and wiped tears from his eyes. But Apollonius looked at Damis and said: “If you are firmly resolved, and are as courageous as myself, let us both embark upon the ship; but if you are dispirited, it is better for you to remain here, for you can live with Demetrius during the interval, since he is as much your friend as mine.” But Damis took him up and said: “What could I think of myself, if after you have so nobly discoursed to-day about the duty of sharing the dangers of one’s friends, when they fall upon them, I let your words fall on deaf ears, and abandoned you in the hour of danger, and this although until now I have never shewn cowardice where you were concerned?” “You speak rightly,” said Apollonius, “so let us depart; I will go as I am, but you must needs disguise yourself as a man of the people, nor must you wear your hair long as you do now, and you must exchange your philosopher’s cloak for this linen garment, and you must put away the shoes you wear. But I must tell you what my intention is in this; for it were best to hold out as long as we can before the trial: then I do not wish that you should be a sharer of my fate through being detected by your dress, which will certainly betray you and lead to your arrest; but I would rather that you followed me in the guise of one not sworn to my philosophy, but just attached to me for other reasons, and so accompanying me in all I do.” This is the reason why Damis put off his Pythagorean garb; for he says he did not do it through cowardice, nor through any regret at having worn it, but merely

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CAP. φησιν, οὐδὲ μεταγνοῦς, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἦν
XV ὑπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ξυμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ.

XVI

CAP. Ἀποπλεύσαντες δὲ τῆς Δικαιαρχίας τριταῖοι
XVI κατήσαν εἰς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Θύμβριδος, ἀφ' ὧν
ξύμμετρος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνάπλους. τὸ μὲν δὴ
Βασιλείου ξίφος ἦν ἐπ' Αἰλιανῶ τότε. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ
οὗτος πάλαι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἦρα, ξυγγεγονώς
ποτε αὐτῷ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ φανερόν μὲν οὐδὲν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δομετιανὸν ἔλεγεν, οὐ γὰρ
ξυνεχώρει ἢ ἀρχή, τὸν γὰρ δοκοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ
ἀπηχθῆσθαι πῶς μὲν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπήνεσε, πῶς
δ' ἂν ὡς ἐπιτήδειον ἑαυτῷ παρητήσατο; τέχνην
μὴν ὀπόσαι εἰσὶν ἀφανῶς ἀμύνουσαι, πάσαις ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ ἐχρήτο, ὅς γε καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν, πρὶν ἤκειν,
διεβάλλετο, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “κουφολόγον οἱ
σοφισταὶ χρῆμα καὶ ἀλαζὼν ἢ τέχνη, καὶ ἐπεὶ
μηδὲν χρηστὸν τοῦ εἶναι ἀπολαύουσι, θανάτου
γλίχονται, καὶ οὐ περιμένουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτό-
ματον, ἀλλ' ἐπισπῶνται τὸν θάνατον ἐκκαλού-
μενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας ξίφη. ταῦθ' ἠγοῦμαι καὶ
Νέρωνα ἐνθυμηθέντα μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Δημη-
τρίου ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ γὰρ θανατῶντα
ἦσθετο, οὐ κατὰ ξυγγνώμην ἐπανήκεν αὐτῷ τὸν
θάνατον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ κτεῖναι. καὶ

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because he approved of a device to which he ac- CHAP.
commodated himself to suit the expedience of the XV.
moment.

XVI

THEY sailed from Dicaearchia, and on the third CHAP.
day they put in to the mouth of the Tiber from XVI
which it is a fairly short sail up to Rome. Now the
Emperor's sword was at that time in the keeping of
Aelian, a person who long ago had been attached to
Apollonius, because he once met him in Egypt.
And although he said nothing openly in his favour
to Domitian, for that his office did not allow of his
doing,—for how could he have praised to his
sovereign's face one who was supposed to be an
object of his detestation any more than he could
intercede in his behalf as for a friend of his own?—
Nevertheless whatever means there were of helping
him in an unobtrusive way, he resorted to in his
behalf; and accordingly at the time when, before
he arrived, Apollonius was being calumniated to
Domitian, he would say: “My sovereign, sophists
are all prattle and flippancy; and their art is all
for show, and they are so eager to die because
they get no good out of life; and therefore they
don't wait for death to come of itself, but try
to anticipate and draw it on themselves by pro-
voking those who hold the sword. This I think was
the reason which weighed with Nero and prevented
his being drawn on by Demetrius into slaying him.
For as he saw that he was anxious for death, he let
him off not because he wished to pardon him,
but because he disdained to put him to death.

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CAP. ^{XVI} μὴν καὶ Μουσώνιον τὸν Τυρρηγὸν πολλὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐναντιωθέντα τῇ νήσῳ ξυνέσχευ, ἣ ὄνομα Γύαρα, καὶ οὕτω τι τῶν σοφιστῶν τούτων ἤττους Ἕλληνας, ὡς τότε μὲν κατὰ ξυνουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσπλεῖν πάντας, νυνὶ δὲ κατὰ ἱστορίαν τῆς κρήνης· ἐν γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ἀνύδρω οὔση πρότερον εὔρημα Μουσωνίου κρήνη ἐγένετο, ἣν ἄδουσιν Ἕλληνας, ὅσα Ἐλικῶνι τὴν τοῦ ἵππου.”

XVII

CAP. ^{XVII} Τούτοις μὲν δὴ διῆγεν ὁ Αἰλιανὸς τὸν βασιλέα, πρὶν ἤκειν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἀφικομένου δὲ σοφωτέρων ἤπτετο, κελεύει μὲν γὰρ ξυλληφθέντα αὐτὸν ἀναχθῆναι οἱ, λοιδορουμένου δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ τὴν κατηγορίαν ξυνθέντος, ὡς γόητι καὶ ἰκανῶ τὴν τέχνην, ὁ μὲν Αἰλιανός, “τῷ βασιλείῳ δικαστηρίῳ,” ἔφη, “σαυτὸν τε καὶ τὰ τούτου φύλαττε,” ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος, “εἰ μὲν γόης,” ἔφη, “ἐγώ, πῶς κρίνομαι; εἰ δὲ κρίνομαι, πῶς γόης εἰμί; εἰ μὴ ἄρα τὸ συκοφαντεῖν ἰσχυρὸν οὕτως εἶναι φησιν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν γοητευόντων ἠπτάσθαι αὐτό.” βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ λέγειν τι ἀμαθέστερον, ἐκκρούων αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰλιανός, “ἐμοί,” εἶπεν, “ἄφες τὸν καιρὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ἔλεγχον γὰρ ποιήσομαι τῆς τοῦ σοφιστοῦ γνώμης ἰδίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν, κὰν μὲν ὁμολογῇ ἀδικεῖν, ξυντετμήσονται οἱ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λόγοι καὶ σὺ ἄπει εἰρηρικῶς, εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγει, δικάσει ὁ βασιλεύς.” παρελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸ ἀπόρρητον δικαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ

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

XVII

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

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CAP. XVII ἐλέγχεται καὶ σιωπάται, “χωρεῖτε,” ἔφη, “ἐνθένδε καὶ μηδεὶς ἐπακροάσθω, δοκεῖ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο.”

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοί, “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, μειράκιον ἦν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ὁ πατήρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον ἦλθε, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς θύσων, χρησόμενος δ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σοί, καὶ χιλίαρχον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤγευ ἤδη τῶν πολεμικῶν εἰδότα, σὺ δ’ οὕτω τί μοι ἐπιτηδείως εἶχες, ὡς χρηματίζοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀπολαβῶν με ἰδίᾳ, ποδαπός τε εἶην λέγειν καὶ ὅ τι μοι τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ὡς ἔχω τοῦ πατρός, προὔλεγες δέ μοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, ἣ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς μεγίστη δοκεῖ καὶ μείζων ἢ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ ἀνθρώπων, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὄχλος καὶ κακοδαιμονία φαίνεται τυραννίδος γὰρ φύλαξ χαλεπῆς εἰμι, κἂν μὲν σφήλω αὐτήν, δέδοικα τὰ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν. σοὶ δ’ ὅπως εὖνους εἰμί, δεδήλωκα, ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀφ’ ὧν εἴρηκά που τὸ μηδ’ ἂν παύσασθαι σε ἀγαπῶν, ἔστ’ ἂν ἡ τὸ ἐκείνων μεμνήσθαι¹ * * τὸ δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἐβελῆσαι ἐρέσθαι σε, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατήγορος ξυντέθεικε, σόφισμα οὐ φαῦλον ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας ἐμοὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ γέγονεν, ὅπως θαρροῖης μὲν τὰ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ ὄντα, προγνοίης δὲ

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

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

XVIII

AND when they were alone, he said: “I, O Apollonius, was a stripling at the time when the father of the present sovereign came to Egypt to sacrifice to the gods, and to consult you about his own affairs. I was a tribune only then, but the Emperor took me with him because I was already versed in war; while you were so friendly with myself, that when the Emperor was receiving deputations from the cities, you took me aside and told me of what country I was and what was my name and parentage; and you foretold to me that I should hold this office which is accounted by the multitude the highest of all, and superior to all other human positions at once, although to myself it means much trouble and much unhappiness. For I am the sentinel of the harshest of tyrants, whom if I betray, I am afraid of the wrath of heaven. But I have shown you how friendly I am towards yourself, for in reminding you how our friendship began, I have surely made it clear to you that it can never cease, as long as we can remember those beginnings. . . . If I have said I would question you in private about the charges which your accuser has drawn up against you, it was only a good-natured pretext on my part for obtaining an interview with you, in order to assure you of my own good will, and to warn

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CAP. XVIII
 τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅ τι μὲν γὰρ ψηφιεῖται ἐπὶ σοί, οὐκ οἶδα, διάκειται δέ, ὡσπερ οἱ καταψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, αἰσχυρόμενοι δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ πρόφασιν ἀπωλείας ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων ποιεῖται σε· βούλεται μὲν γάρ, ἂ μὴ δεῖ, πράττει δ' αὐτὰ καταρρυθμίζων ἐς τὴν τοῦ δικαίου δόξαν. δεῖ δὴ κάμοι πλάσματος καὶ ὀρμῆς ἐπὶ σέ, εἰ γὰρ ὑπόψεταιί με ὡς ἀνιέντα, οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπότερος ἡμῶν ἀπολεῖται θάττον."

XIX

CAP. XIX
 Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἐπεὶ ὑγιῶς," ἔφη, "διαλεγόμεθα, καὶ ὅποσα καρδία ἴσχει σύ τε εἴρηκας ἐμοί τε εἰπεῖν δίκαιον, φιλοσοφεῖς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ πραγμάτων ὡς οἱ σφόδρα μοι ξυνδιατρίψαντες, καί, νῆ Δία, οὕτω φιλανθρώπως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχεις, ὡς ξυγκινδυνεύειν ἠγεῖσθαί μοι, λέξω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ νοῦν· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀποδρᾶναι μὲν ἦν ὑμᾶς ἐς πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς, ἂ μὴ ὑμῶν ἀκροᾶται, παρ' ἀνδρας τε ἀφικέσθαι σοφοὺς καὶ σοφωτέρους ἢ ἐγώ, θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ξὺν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, βαδίσαντι ἐς ἡθῆ ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλεστέρων ἢ οἱ ἐνταῦθα, παρ' οἷς οὔτε ἔνδειξις οὔτε γραφή

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you of the Emperor's designs. Now what his verdict will be in your case I do not know; but his temper is that of people who are anxious to condemn a person, but are ashamed to do so except upon some real evidence, and he wishes to make you an excuse for destroying these men of consular rank. So his wishes you see are criminal, but he observes a certain formality in his actions in order to preserve a semblance of justice. And I, too, in my turn, must pretend to be exasperated with you; for if he suspects me of any leniency, I do not know which of us will be the first to perish."

XIX

APOLLONIUS replied: "Since we are talking without any restraint and you have told me all that is in your heart, I in turn am bound to tell you no less; and since you also take a philosopher's view of your own position, as one might do who has most thoroughly studied philosophy in my society, and, by Heaven, inasmuch as you are so kindly disposed towards us as to imagine you run a common risk with myself, I will tell you exactly what I think. It was in my power to run away from you to many parts of the earth, where your authority is not recognised, and where I should have found myself among wise men, men much wiser than myself, and where I might have worshipped the gods in accordance with the principles of sound reason. I had only to go to the haunts of men who are more beloved of the gods than are the people of this city, men among whom such things as informers and writs

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CAP. XIX οὐδεμία, δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι δικαστηρίων οὐ δέονται, δείσας δὲ προδότου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, εἰ φύγοιμι μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀπολογία, ἀπόλοιτο δὲ οἱ δι' ἐμοῦ κινδυνεύοντες, ἤκω ἀπολογησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν ἀπολογεῖσθαι με δεῖ, φράζε·”

XX

CAP. XX “Αἱ μὲν ἰδέαι τῆς γραφῆς ποικίλαι τε,” ἔφη, “καὶ πλείους, καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσθῆτα διαβάλλουσι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν, καὶ τό ἐστιν ὑφ' ὧν προσκυνεῖσθαι σε καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ λοιμοῦ χρῆσαι, διειλέχθαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ μὲν ἀφανῶς, τὰ δ' ἐκφάνδην, τὰ δ' ὡς θεῶν ἀκούσαντα. τὸ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανώτατον, γινώσκω γάρ, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αἷμα ἀνέχρη, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανώτατον διαβάλλεται· φασὶν ἐς ἀγρὸν βαδίσαντά σε παρὰ Νερούαν τεμεῖν αὐτῷ παῖδα Ἀρκάδα θυομένῳ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπάραι αὐτὸν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τούτοις, πεπραῆχθαι δὲ ταῦτα νύκτωρ φθίνοντος ἤδη τοῦ μηνός. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κατηγέρημα, ἐπειδὴ πολλῶ μείζον, μὴ ἕτερόν τι παρ' ἐκείνο ἠγώμεθα, ὃ γὰρ λαμβανό-

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of accusation are unknown, because, since they CHAP. XIX neither wrong one another nor are wronged, they stand in no need of law-courts. But I am come to offer my defence, because I fear to be branded as a traitor; for, if I ran away instead of staying and defending myself, those who are running risks on my account would be brought to ruin. But I would have you tell me what are the accusations against which I have to defend myself.”

XX

“THE counts of the indictment,” replied the CHAP. XX other, “are as varied as they are numerous; for Aelian reveals to Apollonius the accusations made against him your style of dress is assailed in them and your way of living in general, and your having been worshipped by certain people, and the fact that in Ephesus once you delivered an oracle about the famine; and also that you have uttered certain sentiments to the detriment of the sovereign, some of them openly, some of them obscurely and privately, and some of them on the pretence that you learned them from heaven. But the charge which most appeals to the credulity of the Emperor, although I cannot credit it in the least, for I know that you are opposed even to shedding the blood of victims, is the following: they say that you visited Nerva in the country, and that you cut up an Arcadian boy for him when he was consulting the auspices against the Emperor; and that by such rites as these you roused his ambitions; and that all this was done by night when the moon was already on the wane. This is the accusation as compared with which we need not consider any other,

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CAP.
XX *μενος τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς διαίτης καὶ τοῦ προ-
γιγνώσκειν ἐς τοῦτο δῆπου ξυντείνει, καὶ ταῦτά γε
καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν δοῦναί σοί φησι
καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν θάρσος. χρῆ οὖν παρεσκευά-
σθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολογία, ἔστω δέ σοι ὁ
λόγος μὴ ὑπερορῶν τοῦ βασιλέως.” καὶ ὁ
Ἀπολλώνιος, “ τοῦ μὲν μὴ ὑπερορᾶν ἔστω τεκμή-
ριόν σοι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀπολογίας ἀφίχθαι με, εἰ δὲ καὶ
θρασέως οὕτω τὰμὰ εἶχεν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τυραννίδας
αἵρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σοί γε ὑπέσχον ἐμαυτὸν τοιῶδε
ὄντι καὶ ἀγαπῶντί με. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐχθρῶ πονηρὸν
δόξαι δεινὸν οὐπω, οἱ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ μισοῦσιν οὐκ
ἀφ’ ὧν δημοσίᾳ διαβέβληταί τις, ἀλλ’ ἀφ’ ὧν
ιδία προσκέκρουκε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς φίλου
λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, ὡς κακὸς φαίνοιτο, βαρύτερον
τοῦτο ἢ τὰ ἐχθρῶν ὁμοῦ πάντα, οὐ γὰρ ἂν
διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐ κακείνοις, δι’ ἃ κακὸς ἦν,
ἀπηχθῆσθαι.”*

XXI

CAP.
XXI *Ἐδόκει τῷ Αἰλιανῷ εὖ λέγειν, καὶ παρακελευ-
σάμενος αὐτῷ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτοῦ ἐλάβετο ὡς μὴ ἂν
ἐκπλαγέντος τοῦ ἀνδρός, μηδ’ ἂν εἰ Γοργεῖη
κεφαλὴ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν αἴροιτο. καλέσας οὖν τοὺς*

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

XXI

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

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CAP. XXI προστεταγμένους τὰ τοιαῦτα, “κελεύω,” ἔφη, “ξυνέχειν τοῦτον, ἔστ’ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤκουτά τε αὐτὸν μάθῃ καὶ λέγοντα ὅποσα εἴρηκε,” καὶ ἐώκει τοῖς μάλα ὠργισμένοις. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ βασιλεία τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπραττεν.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δάμις ἀπομνημονεύει ἔργου ὁμοίου τε καὶ ἀνομοίου τῷ ἐπ’ Ἀριστείδου ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν. ὄστράκῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύνειν ἐπ’ ἀρετῇ, ἔξω δὲ τείχους ἤδη ὄντι προσελθόντα τῶν ἀγροίκων τινὰ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ γράφειν τι αὐτῷ ἐπ’ Ἀριστείδην ὄστρακον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὔτε τὸν ἄνδρα εἰδὼς οὔτ’ αὐτὸ τὸ γράφειν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου φθόνον, χιλίαρχος δὲ τῶν σφόδρα γιγνωσκόντων τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον προσειπὼν αὐτὸν ἤρετο κατὰ ὕβριν, ὑπὲρ ὅτου κινδυνεύοι, τοῦ δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι φήσαντος, “ἀλλ’ ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “οἶδα· τὸ γὰρ προσκυνεῖσθαί σε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαβέβληκεν ὡς ἴσων ἀξιούμενον τοῖς θεοῖς.” “καὶ τίς,” εἶπεν, “ὁ προσκυνήσας ἐμέ;” “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παῖς ἔτι ὢν, ὁπότε ἡμᾶς ἰάσω τοῦ λοιμοῦ.” “καλῶς ποιῶν,” εἶπεν, “αὐτός τε σὺ καὶ ἡ σωθεῖσα Ἐφεσίων πόλις.” “διὰ ταῦτ’ οὖν,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρεσκεύακα, ἢ σε ἀπαλλάξει τῆς αἰτίας· ἴωμεν γὰρ ἔξω τείχους,

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jailors who had charge of such cases and said: “My orders are to detain this man, until the Emperor be informed of his arrival and learn from his lips all he has said to me.” And he said this with the air of a man very much enraged; and then he went into the palace and began to attend to the duties of his office.

At this point Damis records an incident which in a way resembles and in a way is unlike the episode related of Aristides long ago at Athens. For they were ostracising Aristides because of his virtue, and he had no sooner passed the gates of the city than a rustic came up to him and begged him to fill up his voting sherd against Aristides. This rustic knew no more to whom he was speaking than he knew how to write; he only knew that Aristides was detested because he was so just. Now on this occasion a tribune who knew Apollonius perfectly well, addressed him and asked him in an insolent manner, what had brought him to such a pass. Apollonius replied that he did not know. “Well,” said the other, “I can tell you: for it is allowing yourself to be worshipped by your fellow-men that has led you to be accused of setting yourself on a level with the gods.” “And who is it,” asked the other, “that has paid me this worship?” “I myself,” said the other, “when I was still a boy in Ephesus, at a time when you stayed our epidemic.” “Lucky it was both for you,” said Apollonius, “and for the city of Ephesus that was saved.” “Well this is a reason,” said the other, “why I have prepared a method of defence for yourself, which will rid you of the charge against you. For let us go outside

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CAP. XXI. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀποκόψω σου τὸν αὐχένα τῷ ξίφει, διαβέβληται ἢ αἰτία καὶ ἀφείσαι, ἦν δὲ ἐκπλήξης με καὶ μεθῶ τὸ ξίφος, θεῖόν τε ἀνάγκη νομίζεσθαι σε καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθέσι κρίνεσθαι." τὸσῶδε μὲν δὴ ἀγροικότερος οὗτος τοῦ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύνοντος, ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα μασώμενός τε καὶ ξὺν γέλωτι, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀκηκούτι ὅμοιος διελέγετο πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δέλτα, περὶ ᾧ φασι τὸν Νεῖλον σχίζεσθαι.

XXII

CAP. XXII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλέσας αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰλιανὸς ἐκέλευσε τὸ ἐλευθέριον οἰκεῖν δεσμωτήριον, "ἔστ' ἂν γένηται σχολή," ἔφη, "τῷ βασιλεῖ, ξυγγενέσθαι γάρ σοι ἰδία πρότερον βούλεται," ἀπῆλθε μὲν τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον "διαλεγώμεθα," ἔφη, "Δάμι, τοῖς ἐνταῦθα· τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο πράττοι τις ἐς τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ὃν διαλέξεταί μοι ὁ τύραννος ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖται;" "ἀδολέσχας," εἶπεν, "ἠγήσονται ἡμᾶς, ἦν ἐκκρούωμεν αὐτοὺς ὧν ἀπολογήσονται, καὶ ἄλλως ἄτοπον περιπατεῖν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀθύμως ἔχοντας." "καὶ μὴν τούτοις μάλιστα δεῖ," ἔφη, "τοῦ διαλεγομένου τε καὶ θεραπεύσοντος· εἰ γὰρ ἐνθυμηθείης τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἔπη, ἐν οἷς Ὀμηρος τὴν Ἑλένην φησὶ τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου φάρμακα οἰνοχοεῖν

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

XXII

ÆLIAN next summoned him and ordered him into CHAP. XXII the prison, where the captives were not bound, "until," he said, "the Emperor shall have leisure, for he desires to talk with you privately before taking any further steps." Apollonius accordingly left the law-court and passed into the prison, where he said: "Let us talk, Damis, with the people here. For what else is there for us to do until the time comes when the despot will give me such audience as he desires?" "Will they not think us babblers," said Damis, "and bores, if we interrupt them in the preparation of their defence, and moreover, it is a mistake to talk philosophy with men so broken in spirit as they." "Nay," said Apollonius, "they are just the people who most want someone to talk to them and comfort them. For you may remember the verses of Homer in which he relates how Helen Odys. 4. 219

ἐς τὸν κρατῆρα, ὡς τὰ ἄχρη τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβρέ-
χοιτο, δοκῶ μοι τὴν Ἑλένην λόγους Αἰγυπτίουσιν
ἐκμαθοῦσαν ἐπάδειν τοῖς ἀθύμοις ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι,
ἰωμένην αὐτοὺς λόγῳ τε ἀναμίξαι καὶ οἴνῳ.” “καὶ
εἰκὸς μὲν,” εἶπεν, “εἴπερ ἐς Αἴγυπτόν τε ἦλθε
καὶ ὠμίλησε τῷ Πρωτεῖ, ἢ ὡς Ὅμηρῳ δοκεῖ,
Πολυδάμνη ξυνεγένετο τῇ τοῦ Θῶνος· νυνὶ δὲ
ἀναβεβλήσθων οὔτοι, δέομαι γάρ τι ἐρέσθαι σε.”
“οἶδα,” ἔφη, “ὃ με ἐρήση, τοὺς γὰρ τοὶ λόγους,
οὐ γέγονασί μοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἅττα εἶπε, καὶ
εἰ φοβερὸς ἦν ἢ πρᾶος, βούλει ἀκούσαί μου.”
καὶ διήλθε πάντας· προσκυνήσας οὖν ὁ Δάμις,
“οὐκ ἀπιστῶ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τὴν Λευκοθέαν ποτὲ
κρήδεμνον τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ δοῦναι μετὰ τὴν ναῦν, ἧς
ἐκπεσὼν ἀνεμέτρει ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ τὸ πέλαγος·
καὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐς ἀμήχανά τε καὶ φοβερὰ ἐμβεβη-
κότων, θεῶν τις ὑπερέχει, οἶμαι, χεῖρα, ὡς μὴ
ἐκπέσοιμεν σωτηρίας πάσης.” ἐπιπλήττων δ’ ὁ
Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ λόγῳ, “ποῖ παρατενεῖς,” ἔφη,
“δεδιῶσ ταῦτα καὶ μήπω γιγνώσκων, ὅτι σοφία
μὲν τὰ ξυμπίπτοντα ἑαυτῆς ἐκπλήττει πάντα, αὐτῇ δ’
ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἐκπλήττεται;” “ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς,” εἶπε,
“παρὰ ἀξύνετον ἤκομεν, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ
ἐκπληττόμενον ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἀξιούντα εἶναί τι,
ὃ ἐκπλήττει αὐτόν.” “ξυνίης οὖν,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι,

mingled in the bowl of wine certain drugs from CHAP. XXII
Egypt in order to drown the heart-ache of the
heroes; well, I think that Helen must have picked
up the lore of the Egyptians, and have sung spells
over the dejected heroes through their bowl of wine,
so healing them by a blending of words and wine.”
“And that is likely enough,” said Damis, “seeing
that she came to Egypt and consorted with Proteus;
or, if we prefer Homer’s account, was well acquainted
with Polydamna, the daughter of Thon. However
let us dismiss these topics for the moment, for I
want to ask you something.” “I know,” said but first reassures Damis
Apollonius, “what you are going to ask me, for I am
sure you wish me to tell you what my conversation
was about with the consul, and what he said, and
whether he was formidable and severe or gentle to
me.” And forthwith he told Damis all that had
passed. Thereupon Damis prostrated himself before
him and said: “Now I am ready to believe that
Leucothea did really once give her veil to Odysseus,
after he had fallen out of his ship and was paddling Odys. 5. 383
himself over the sea with his hands. For we are
reduced to just as awful and impossible a plight,
when some god, as it seems to me, stretches out his
hand over us, that we fall not away from all hope of
salvation.” But Apollonius disapproved of the way he
spoke, and said: “How long will you continue to
cherish these fears, as if you could never understand
that wisdom amazes all that is sensible of her, but is
herself not amazed by anything.” “But we,” said
Damis, “are brought here before one who is quite
insensible, and who not only cannot be amazed by us,
but would not allow anything in the world to amaze
him.” “Seest thou not,” said Apollonius, “O

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CAP. XXII ὅτι τετύφωται καὶ ἀνοήτως ἔχει;” “ ξυνίημι, τί δ’ οὐ μέλλω;” εἶπε. “ καὶ σοὶ δέ,” ἔφη, “ καταφρονητέα τοῦ τυράννου τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ γυγνώσκεις αὐτόν.”

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Διαλεγόμενοι δ’ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα προσελθὼν τις, οἶμαι, Κίλιξ, “ ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ ἄνδρες, ὑπὲρ πλούτου κινδυνεύω.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ εἰ μὲν ἀφ’ ὧν οὐ θεμιτόν,” ἔφη, “ πλουτῶν, οἷον ληστείας ἢ φαρμάκων, ἢ δὴ ἀνδροφόνου, ἢ τάφους κινήσας, ὅσοι τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων εἰσίν, οἱ πολὺχρυσοὶ τε καὶ θησαυρώδεις, οὐ κρίνεσθαί σε χρὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπολωλέναι, ταυτὶ γὰρ πλοῦτος μὲν, ἀλλ’ ἐπίρρητός τε καὶ ὤμός. εἰ δὲ κληρονομήσας ἢ διδούσης ἐμπορίας ἐλευθερίου τε καὶ μὴ καπήλου, τίς οὕτω βαρὺς, ὡς ἀφελέσθαι σε νόμου σχήματι τὰ κτηθέντα σοι κατὰ νόμους;” “ τὰ μὲν ὄντα μοι παρὰ πλειόνων,” ἔφη, “ ξυγγενῶν ἔστιν, ἐς μίαν δ’ οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἤκει, χρῶμαι δ’ αὐτοῖς οὐθ’ ὡς ἑτέρων, ἐμὰ γάρ, οὐθ’ ὡς ἐμοῖς, κοινὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἔστι μοι. διαβάλλουσι δ’ ἡμᾶς οἱ συκοφάνται μὴ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῶ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκτῆσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐμοῦ τε γὰρ νεώτερα πειρωμένου πράττειν ἐφόδιον ἀνγενέσθαι αὐτόν, ἑτέρῳ τε, ὅτῳ προσθείμην, ῥοπήν ἀν οὐ σμικρὰν τὰμὰ εἶναι. μεμαντευμένοι δ’ ἤδη

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Damis, that he is maddened with pride and vanity?” CHAP. XXII
 “I see it, how can I not?” said the other. “Well,”
 said Apollonius, “you have got to despise the
 despot just in proportion as you get to know him.”

XXIII

THEY were talking like this, when someone, a CHAP. XXIII
 Cilician I think, came up and said: “I, gentlemen,
 am brought to this pass by my wealth.” And
 Apollonius replied: “If your wealth was acquired by
 other than holy methods, for example by piracy and
 administration of deadly drugs, or by disturbing the
 tombs of ancient kings which are full of gold and
 treasure, you deserve not only to be put on your
 trial, but also to forfeit your life; for these things
 are wealth no doubt, but of an infamous and
 inhuman kind. But if you acquired your wealth by
 inheritance or by commerce such as befits free men
 and not by petty traffic, who would be so cruel as to
 deprive you under colour of law of what you have
 acquired with its venerable sanction?” “My
 property,” said the other, “has accrued to me from
 several of my relations, and has centred itself in
 my single household; and I use it, not as if it
 belonged to other people, for it is my own: yet not
 as my own, for I share it freely with all good men.
 But the informers accused me of having acquired my
 wealth to the prejudice of the despot; for they say
 that, if I attempted a revolution, it would supply me
 with resources; while if I attached myself to
 another as his accomplice, my wealth would weigh
 heavily in his favour. And there is actually an

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CAP.
XXIII

καθ' ἡμῶν αἰτίαι, ὡς ὕβριν μὲν τίκτει πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον πλοῦτος, ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν αὐχένα ἴστησι, καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἐγείρει, νόμοις τε οὐκ ἐὰ πείθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἱ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη φοιτῶσι, μόνου οὐκ ἐπὶ κόρρης παίει δουλουμένους τοῖς χρήμασιν ἢ ὑπερορῶντας αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ πλούτου.

Ἐγὼ δὲ μειράκιον μὲν ὦν, πρὶν οὐσίαν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων ἐκτήσθαι, κατάγελων ἡγούμην πάντα, καὶ σμικρὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄντων ἐδεδίειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τάλαντά μοι πεντακόσια ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο τελευτήσαντος ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς θείου, τοσοῦτον ἡ γνώμη μετέβαλεν, ὅσον οἱ καταρτύνοντες τῶν ἵππων καὶ μεταβάλλοντες τοῦ ἀπαιδέυτου τε καὶ ἀκολάστου ἦθους. ἐπιδιδόντος δέ μοι τοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης φέροντος, οὕτω τι ἐδουλώθην ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν δέους, ὡς ἀπαντλεῖν τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς συκοφάντας, οὓς ἔδει μειλίττεσθαι τῇ ἀπομαγαλιᾷ ταύτῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὡς ἰσχὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας εἶη μοι, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς, ὡς μὴ φθουοῖεν τῷ πλούτῳ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους, ὡς μὴ κακίους γίγνοιτο ἀμελεῖσθαι φάσκοντες, ἐβουκολεῖτο δέ μοι καὶ ἀγέλη φίλων λαμπρά· προορῶντες γὰρ οὗτοί μου τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ ἔδρων, τὰ δὲ μοι προὔλεγον.

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oracular air about the charges made against us, such as that all excess of wealth engenders insolence, or that more than ordinary wealth makes its owner carry his head too high and rouses in him a spirit of pride; and that it prevents him from being a good subject and obeying the laws and rulers who are sent to the provinces; they say indeed that it is very nearly tantamount to giving them a box on the ears, because they grovel to wealthy men or connive at their crime, on account of the influence which wealth gives.

CHAP.
XXIII

“Now when I was a stripling, before I had as much as a hundred talents to call my own, I used to think such apprehensions as these ridiculous and I had small anxiety on the score of my property; but when my paternal uncle died and in a single day I came in for a reversion of five hundred talents, my mind underwent such a change as those who break horses effect, when they cure them of being unruly and intractable. And as my riches increased and flowed in to me by land and by sea, I became so much the slave of anxiety about them, that I poured out my substance, partly upon sycophants whom I had to flatter in order to stop their mouths by means of such blackmail, and partly upon governors whose influence I wished to enlist on my side against those who plotted against me, and partly on my kinsmen, to prevent them being jealous of my wealth, and partly on my slaves for fear they should become worse than they were and complain of being neglected. And I also had to support a magnificent flock of friends, for the latter were full of solicitude for me; and some insisted on helping me with their own hands, and

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CAP. XXIII ἄλλ' ὅμως οὕτω μὲν χαρακώσαντες τὸν πλοῦτον, οὕτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς τειχισάμενοι, κινδυνεύομεν περὶ αὐτῷ νῦν, καὶ οὐπω δῆλον οὐδ' εἰ τὸ σῶμα ἀθῶοι μενούμεν." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "θάρρει," ἔφη, τὸν γὰρ πλοῦτον τοῦ σώματος ἐγγυητὴν ἔχεις· δέδεσαι μὲν γὰρ δι' αὐτόν, ἀνήσει δέ σε ἀπολυόμενον οὐ μόνον τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου τοῦδε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεραπεύειν τοὺς συκοφάντας τε καὶ τοὺς δούλους, οἷς δι' αὐτὸν ὑπέκεισο."

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Ἐτέρου δ' αὖ φήσαντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ θύων ἐν Τάραντι, οὗ ἦρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δομετιανὸς Ἀθηνᾶς εἶη παῖς, "σὺ μὲν φήθης," ἔφη, "μὴ ἂν τὴν Ἀθηναίων τεκεῖν, παρθένον οὖσαν τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, ἡγνόεις δ', οἶμαι, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ δράκοντα ἔτεκε."

XXV

CAP. XXV Καθειρκτό τις καὶ ἐπὶ τοιαῦδε αἰτία· χωρίον ἐν Ἀκαρνανίᾳ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελφίου ἔχων περιέπλει τὰς Ἐχινάδας ἐν ἀκατίῳ μικρῷ, διασκεψάμενος δὲ αὐτῶν μίαν, ἣ ξυνήπτεν ἤδη τῇ

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others with their warnings and advice. But although I thus fenced my wealth about, and surrounded myself so securely with fortifications, I now am imperilled by it, and I am not yet sure that I shall escape with my life." And Apollonius answered: "Take heart, for you have your wealth to go surety for your life; for if it is your wealth which has led to your being confined in bonds, it is your wealth also which, when it is dissipated, will not only release you from this prison, but from the necessity of cherishing and flattering those sycophants and slaves whose yoke it has imposed upon your neck."

XXIV

ANOTHER man came and said that he was being prosecuted, because at a public sacrifice in Tarentum, where he held office, he had omitted to mention in the public prayers that Domitian was the son of Athene. Said Apollonius: "You imagined that Athene could not possibly have a son, because she is a virgin for ever and ever; but you forgot, methinks, that this goddess once on a time bore a dragon to the Athenians."

XXV

ANOTHER man was confined in the prison on the following charge: He had a property in Acarnania near the mouth of the Achelous; and he had been in the habit of sailing about the islands called the Echinades in a small boat, and he noticed that one of them was already joined to the mainland;

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CAP. XXV ἠπεύρω, δένδρεσί τε ὠραίοις διεφύτευσε καὶ ἀμπέ-
λοισ ἠδυοίνοις, δίαϊτάν τε ἰκανὴν τῷ σώματι κατε-
σκευάσατο ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς
ἠπεύρου ἐσήγετο ἀποχρῶν τῇ νήσῳ· ἐκ τούτου
ἀνέφν γραφή, μὴ καθαρὸς εἶναι ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν οὗτος,
ἔργα δὲ αὐτῷ ξυνειδῶς οὐ φορητά, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης
γῆς ἐξίσταθαί τε καὶ ἀποφοιτᾶν ὡς μεμιασμένης
ἐαυτῷ, τὴν δ' Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω λύσιιν,
δι' ἣν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελφού μετὰ τὴν μητέρα
ῥῆσθαι αὐτον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ὁμοίους,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σχετλίοις ἴσως καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἐκείνων· ὁ
δ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἔφασκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπραγμοσύνης ἐρῶν ἐκεῖ
οἰκῆσαι, τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐς δίκας αὐτῷ περιστῆναι, δι'
ἃς καὶ εἶρχθαι αὐτόν.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI Προσιόντων δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πλειόνων ἔνδον
καὶ ὀλοφυρομένων τοιαῦτα, πεντήκοντα γάρ που
εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν νοσεῖν
αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀθύμως παρεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρτερεῖν
τὸν θάνατον, οἱ δ' ἐπιβοᾶσθαι τέκνα καὶ γονέας
τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ γάμους, “ὦ Δάμι,” ἔφη, “δοκοῦσί
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and he planted it all over with fruitful trees and CHAP. XXV
vines producing sweet wine. So he made in it a con-
venient habitation for himself, for he also brought
in water in sufficient quantities for the island
from the mainland. In consequence, an accusa-
tion was trumped up against him, that he had a
guilty conscience, and that it was because he was
conscious of having committed crimes of an intoler-
able description, that he transported himself and
quitted all other land, feeling that he polluted it,
and at the same time had chosen for himself the
same form of release as Alcmaeon the son of
Amphiareus had done, when after his mother's
murder he went and lived on the delta of the
Achelous. Even if he had not committed the same
crime as Alcmaeon, he must yet, they said, have on
his conscience horrible deeds, not falling far short of
his. Although he denied these insinuations, and
declared that he only went to live there for the sake
of peace and quiet, he had nevertheless, he said,
been accused and brought to justice, and for this
reason he was now cast into prison.

XXVI

SEVERAL prisoners, for there were about fifty of CHAP. XXVI
them in this prison, approached Apollonius inside it,
and uttered such lamentations as the above. Some
of them were sick, some of them had given way to
dejection, some of them expected death with certainty
and with resignation, some of them bewailed and
called upon their children and their parents and
their wives. Whereupon, “O Damis,” said Apol-
lonsius consoles the prisoners

CAP. XXVI μοι τοῦ φαρμάκου δεῖσθαι οἱ ἄνδρες, οὐ καταρχὰς ἐπεμνήσθην, εἴτ' οὖν Αἰγύπτιον τοῦτο, εἴτ' ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ φύεται, ῥιζοτομούσης αὐτὸ σοφίας ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς κήπων, προσδῶμεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀθλίοις τούτοις, μὴ προανέλη σφᾶς ἢ γνώμη." "προσδῶμεν," ἢ δ' ὅς ὁ Δάμις, "εἰκόασι γὰρ δεομένοις." ξυγκαλέσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἄνδρες," εἶπεν, "οἱ κοινωνοῦντες ἐμοὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς στέγης, ἐλεῶ ὑμᾶς, ὡς ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσθε, οὐπω εἰδότες, εἰ κατηγορία ἀπολεῖ ὑμᾶς· δοκεῖτε γὰρ μοι προαποκτινύντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ καταψηφισθέντος ἀν ὑμῶν, ὡς οἴεσθε, θανάτου, καὶ θαρρεῖν μὲν ἀδέδιδτε, δεδιέναι δ' ἀ θαρρεῖτε. οὐ μὴν προσήκει γε, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμηθέντας τὸν Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ Παρίου λόγον, ὃς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λυπηροῖς καρτερίαν τλημοσύνην καλῶν, θεῶν αὐτὴν φησιν εἶναι εὖρημα ἀναφέρειν τῶν σχετλίων τούτων, ὥσπερ οἱ τέχνη τοῦ ῥοθίου ὑπεραίροντες, ἐπειδὴν τὸ κῦμα ὑπὲρ τὴν ναῦν ἰστῆται, μηδ' ἠγείσθαι χαλεπὰ ταῦτα, ἐφ' ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἄκουτες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκὼν ἤκω.

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ξυντίθεσθε ταῖς αἰτίαις, ὀλοφυρτέα ἢ ἡμέρα μᾶλλον, ἐν ἣ ὁ λογισμὸς ἐς ἄδικά τε καὶ ὠμὰ ὀρμήσας ὑμᾶς ἔσφηλεν, εἰ δ' οὔτε σὺ τὴν ἐν

lonius, affected by the spectacle, "it seems to me CHAP. that these people need the drug which I alluded to XXVI when I first entered. Whether it be an Egyptian remedy, or whether it grows in every land and only needs wisdom enough to cut it from its root out of her own gardens, let us administer some of it to these poor people, lest their own feelings destroy them before Domitian can do it." "Let us do so," said Damis, "for they seem in need of it." Accordingly Apollonius called them all together and said: "Gentlemen, who are sharing with me the hospitality of this poor roof, I am wrung with pity for you, because I feel that you are undoing yourselves, before you know in the least whether the accuser will undo you. For it seems to me that you are ready to put yourselves to death and anticipate the death sentence which you expect will be pronounced against you; and so you show actual courage where you should feel fear, and fear where you should be courageous. This should not be; but you should bear in mind the words of Archilochus of Paros who says that the patience under adversity which he called endurance was a veritable discovery of the gods; for it will bear you up in your misery, just as a skilful pilot carries the bow of his ship above the wash of the sea, whenever the billows are raised higher than his bark. Nor should you consider as desperate this situation into which you have been brought against your wills, but I myself of my own accord.

For if you admit the charges brought against you, you ought rather to deplore the day, when your judgment and impulses betrayed you into unjust and cruel courses of action. But if you, my friend yonder, deny that you took up your residence

CAP. XXVI τῷ Ἀχελῷφ νῆσον ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατήγορός φησιν ἑρεῖς ῥῆκηκέναι, οὔτε σὺ τὸν σεαυτοῦ πλοῦτον ἔφεδρόν ποτε τῇ βασιλείᾳ στήσασθαι, οὔθ' ἐκὼν σὺ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶς δοκεῖν ἀφηρῆσθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀφίχθε κινδυνεύων ἕκαστος, ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἶναι φήσει, τί βούλεται," φησιν, "ὁ ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων θρήνος οὗτος; ὄσω γάρ, τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπιβοᾶσθε, τοσῶδε χρῆ ἐρρῶσθαι μᾶλλον, ἄθλα γάρ που τῆς τλημοσύνης ταύτης ἐκεῖνα. ἢ τὸ καθεῖρχθαι δεῦρο δεινὸν εἶναι φατε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ζῆν; ἢ ἀρχὴν ὧν πείσεσθαι ἠγείσθε; ἢ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ τιμωρίαν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάθοιτε; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν εἰδὼς φύσιν, ἀναδιδάξω λόγον ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν εἰκότα τοῖς τῶν ἰατρῶν σιτίοις, καὶ γὰρ ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἐάσει· οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ ἐσμέν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ὃς δὴ ὠνόμασται βίος· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σώματι φθαρτῷ ἐνδεθείσα πολλὰ μὲν καρτερεῖ, δουλεύει δὲ πᾶσι, ὅποσα ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον φοιτᾷ, οἰκία τε οἷς ἐπενοήθη πρῶτον, ἀγνοῆσαί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄλλο δεσμοτήριον αὐτοῖς περιβάλλοντες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅποσοι τὰ βασίλεια οἰκοῦσιν, ἀσφαλῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς κατεσκευασμένοι, δεδέσθαι μᾶλλον τούτους ἠγγόμεθα ἢ οὓς αὐτοὶ δήσουσι.

in the island of the Achelous, for the reason which your accuser alleges; and you there, that you ever raised your wealth to the peril and endangering of the sovereignty; and you again that you of set purpose deprived the sovereign of his pretension to be called the son of Athene,—if, I say, you can prove that the several reasons alleged for your being, each of you, here in such parlous plights, are unfounded, what then is the meaning of all this lamentation about things which have no existence or reality? For instead of crying after your friends and relatives, you ought rather to feel just as much courage as you now feel despair; for such I imagine are the rewards of the endurance I have described. But perhaps you would argue that confinement here and life in a prison are hard to bear in themselves? Or do you look upon them as the mere beginning of what you expect to suffer? Or do you think that they are punishment sufficient in themselves, even if you are exposed to nothing else in the way of penalty? Well, I understand human nature, and I will preach you a sermon which is very unlike the prescriptions of physicians, for it shall implant strength in you and will avert death from you. We men are in a prison all that time which we choose to call life. For this soul of ours, being bound and fettered in a perishable body, has to endure many things, and be the slave of all the affections which visit humanity; and the men who first invented a dwelling seem to me not to have known that they were only surrounding their kind in a fresh prison; for, to tell you the truth, all those who inhabit palaces and have established themselves securely in them, are, I consider, in closer bonds in them than any whom they may throw into bonds.

Πόλεις δ' ἐνθυμουμένω μοι καὶ τείχη δοκεῖ ταῦτα δεσμοτήρια εἶναι κοινά, ὡς δεδέσθαι μὲν ἀγοράζοντας, δεδέσθαι δὲ ἐκκλησιάζοντας καὶ θεωμένους αὐτὰ καὶ πομπὰς πέμποντας. καὶ Σκυθῶν ὅποσοι ἀμαξεύουσιν, οὐ μείον ἡμῶν δέδενται, Ἴστροι τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὀρίζουσι καὶ Θερμώδοντες καὶ Τανάιδες οὐ ῥάδιοι ποταμοὶ ὑπερβῆναι, ἣν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ στῶσιν, οἰκίας τε ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν πέπανται καὶ φέρονται μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἐπτηχότες. εἰ δὲ μὴ μειρακιώδης ὁ λόγος, φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν δεσμοῦ ἔνεκα τῇ γῆ περιβεβληθῆσθαι. ἴτε, ὦ ποιηταί, ταυτὶ γὰρ ὑμέτερα, καὶ ῥαψωδεῖτε πρὸς τούτους τοὺς ἀθύμους, ὡς Κρόνος μὲν ποτε ἐδέθη βουλαῖς τοῦ Διός, Ἄρης δὲ ὁ πολεμικώτατος ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἑφαιστοῦ πρότερον, ἐν γῆ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλωέως. ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς δῆμοι ἀσελγεῖς ἔδησαν, τυραννίδες δὲ προὔπηλάκισαν, δεχόμεθα καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ τῶν δεξαμένων αὐτὰ λειποίμεθα." οὕτω τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ τὰ ῥηθέντα μετέβαλεν, ὡς σίτου τε οἱ πολλοὶ ἄψασθαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τῶν δακρύων, βῆναί τε ἐπ' ἐλπίδος μηδ' ἂν παθεῖν μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ ξυνόντες.

"And when I think of cities and walls, it seems ^{CHAP.} to me that these are common prisons, so that the ^{XXVI} merchants are in chains, in chains no less the members of the Assembly, and the frequenters also of spectacles, as well as those who organise public processions. Then there are the Scythians who go about upon waggons; they are just as much in chains as ourselves; for rivers like the Ister and the Thermodon and the Tanais, hem them in, and they are very difficult to cross, except when they are hard frozen; and they fix up their houses on their waggons, and they imagine they are driving about, when they are merely cowering in them. And if you don't think it too silly a thing to say, there are those who teach that the ocean also encompasses the earth in order to chain it in. Come, O ye poets, for this is your domain. Recite your rhapsodies to this despondent crowd, and tell them how Kronos was once put in bonds by the wiles of Zeus; and Ares, the most warlike of the gods, was first enchained in heaven by Hephaestus, and later upon earth by the sons of Aloeus. When we think of these things, and reflect on the many wise and blessed men who have been thrown into prison by wanton mobs, or insulted by despots, let us accept our fate with resignation, that we may not be found inferior to those who have accepted the same before us." Such were the words which he addressed to his companions in the prison, and they had such an effect upon them that most of them took their food and wiped away their tears, and walked in hope, believing that they could never come to harm as long as they were in his company.

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII

Τῆς δ' ὑστεραίας διελέγετο μὲν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν ξυντείνων, ἐσπέμπεται δέ τις ἀκροατῆς τῶν διαλέξεων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ καθειμένος· τὸ μὲν δὴ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ κατηφῆς ἐδόκει, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τι, ὡς ἔφασκε, μέγα, γλώττης τε οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδεύτως εἶχεν, οἷοι τῶν συκοφαντικῶν οἱ συνειλοχότες ὀκτῶ ῥήματα ἢ δέκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνιὲς τῆς τέχνης διελέγετο, ἃ μὴ ἐκείνῳ προὔβαινε, ποταμῶν τε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐμέμνητο καὶ ὄρων, καὶ θηρία διῆει καὶ δένδρα, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ μὲν διήγοντο, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν ἐς λοιδορίας τοῦ τυράννου ἐπειρᾶτο, “ὦ τᾶν,” ἔφη, “σὺ μὲν, ὅ τι βούλει, λέγε, οὐ γὰρ διαβεβλήσῃ γε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποσα μέμφομαι τὸν βασιλέα, πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξω.”

XXVIII

CAP.
XXVIII

Ἐγένετο καὶ ἕτερα ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ τούτῳ ἐπεισόδια, τὰ μὲν ἐπιβεβουλευμένα, τὰ δέ, ὡς ξυνέπεσεν, οὐπω μεγάλα, οὐδ' ἄξια ἐμοὶ σπουδάσαι, Δάμις δέ, οἶμαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραλελοιπέναι τι αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθη, τὰ δὲ λόγου ἐχόμενα· ἐσπέρα μὲν ἦν, καθεῖρκετο δὲ ἡμέραν ἤδη πέμπτην, παρελ-

XXVII

ON the next day he was haranguing them in a discourse of the same tenor, when a man was sent into the prison privately by Domitian to listen to what he said. In his deportment this person had a downcast air, and, as he himself admitted, looked as if he ran a great risk. He had great volubility of speech, as is usually the case with sycophants who have been chosen to draw up eight or ten informations. Apollonius saw through the trick and talked about themes which could in no way serve his purpose; for he told his audience about rivers and mountains, and he described wild animals and trees to them, so that they were amused, while the informer gained nothing to his purpose. And when he tried to draw him away from these subjects and get him to abuse the tyrant, “My good friend,” said Apollonius, “you say what you like, for I am the last man in the world to inform against you; but if I find anything to blame in the Emperor, I’ll say it to his face.”

CHAP.
XXVII
His
repartee
to an
informer

XXVIII

THERE followed other episodes in this prison, some of them insidiously contrived, and others of mere chance, and not of sufficient importance to merit my notice. But Damis, I believe, has recorded them in his anxiety to omit nothing; I only give what is to the point. It was evening, and it was already the fifth day of his imprisonment, when a certain person entered the prison, who spoke the

CHAP.
XXVIII
An emissary
of Aelian
describes
the
emperor's
appearance

θὼν δέ τις ἐς τὸ δεσμοτήριον, Ἑλληνικὸς τὴν φωνήν, “ποῦ,” ἔφη, “ὁ Τυανεύς;” καὶ ἀπολαβὼν αὐτόν, “αὔριον,” ἔφη, “διαλέξεται σοι ὁ βασιλεύς.” Αἰλιανοῦ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι ἐδόκει.¹ “ξυνίημι,” ἦ δ’ ὅς, “τοῦ ἀπορρήτου, μόνου γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνου εἰδέναι αὐτό.” “καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου προεῖρηται,” ἔφη, “πάν, εἴ τι βούλοιο, ἐπιτηδείῳ σοι εἶναι.” “καλῶς μὲν ποιοῦντες ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐνταῦθα βίον καὶ τὸν ἔξω ταῦτον πράττω, διαλέγομαι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν παραπιπτόντων, δέομαι δ’ οὐδενός.” “οὐδὲ τοῦ ξυμβουλευσοντος,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, ὡς διαλέξῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ;” “νὴ Δί,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ κολακεύειν πείθοι.” “τί δ’, εἰ μὴ ὑπερορᾶν,” ἔφη, “μηδ’ ὑπερφρονεῖν αὐτοῦ;” “ἄριστα,” εἶπε, “ξυμβουλεύσει καὶ ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα.” “ὑπὲρ τούτων μὲν ἤκω,” ἔφη, “καὶ χαίρω παρεσκευασμένον σε ὁρῶν ξυμμέτρως, δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθέγμα τοῦ βασιλέως παρεσκευάσθαι σε καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύστροπον τοῦ προσώπου, φθέγγεται μὲν γὰρ βαρὺ, κὰν πράως διαλέγεται, ἦ δ’ ὀφρὺς ἐπίκειται τῷ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἤθει, μεστή δ’ ἦ παρειαὶ χολῆς, τουτὶ γὰρ μάλιστα ἐπιφαίνει. ταῦτα, ὦ Τυανεῦ, μὴ ἐκπληττώμεθα, ἔστι γὰρ φύσεως μᾶλλον καὶ ἀεὶ ὅμοια.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολ-

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

Hellenic tongue, and said: “Where is the man of Tyana?” And taking Apollonius aside he said: “It is to-morrow that the Emperor will give you an audience.” And this he appeared to have heard direct from Aelian. “I will keep your secret,” said Apollonius, “for it is only Aelian, I think, who can know so much.” “Moreover,” said the other, “word has been given to the chief jailor to supply you with everything which you may want.” “You are very kind,” said Apollonius, “but I lead exactly the same life here as I would outside; for I converse about casual topics, and I do not need anything.” “And do you not, O Apollonius, need someone to advise you how to converse with the Emperor?” “Yes, by heaven,” he replied, “if only he will not try to get me to flatter him.” “And what if he merely advised you not to slight him nor flout him?” “He could give no better advice,” said Apollonius, “and it is what I have made up my own mind to do.” “Well, it was about this that I am come,” said the other, “and I am delighted to find you so sensibly disposed; but you ought to be prepared for the way in which the Emperor speaks, and also for the disagreeable quality of his face; for he talks in a deep voice, even if he is merely engaged in a gentle conversation, and his eyebrows overhang the sockets of his eyes and his cheeks are so bloated with bile, that this distinguishes him more than anything else. We must not be frightened, O man of Tyana, by these characteristics, for they rather belong to nature than to anything else, and they always are the same.” And Apollonius replied:

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXVIII

λώνιος, “Ὀδυσσεὺς μέντοι,” ἔφη, “παριῶν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πολυφήμου ἄντρον, καὶ μήτε ὀπίσος ἐστὶ προακηκοῶς πρότερον, μηδ’ οἶα σιτεῖται, μηδ’ ὡς βροντᾶ ἢ φωνῆ, ἐθάρρησέ τε αὐτὸν καίτοι ἐν ἀρχῇ δέισας, καὶ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ ἄντρον ἀνὴρ δόξας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐξελθεῖν αὐταρκες ἐμαυτὸν τε σώσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους, ὑπὲρ ὧν κινδυνεύω.” τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἦκουτα καὶ ἀπαγγείλας αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ἐκάθευδεν.

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX

Περὶ δὲ ὄρθρον γραμματεὺς τις ἦκων τῶν βασιλείων δικῶν, “κελεύει σε ὁ βασιλεὺς,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, περὶ πλήθουςαν ἀγορὰν ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν ἦκειν, οὐπω ἀπολογησόμενον, ἀλλ’ ἰδεῖν τέ σε, ὅστις ὧν τυγχάνεις, βούλεται καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι μόνῳ.” “τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐμοὶ διαλέγη;” “οὐ γὰρ σύ,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιος;” “νῆ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ὁ Τυανεύς γε.” “πρὸς τίνα οὖν,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα εἶπω;” “πρὸς τοὺς ἄξοντάς με,” εἶπε, “χρὴ γάρ που ὡς ἐκ δεσμοτηρίου φοιτᾶν.” “προστέτακται,” ἔφη, “προτέροις γε ἐκείνοις ταῦτα, κἀγὼ δὲ ἀφίξομαι τοῦ καιροῦ, νυνὶ δὲ παραγγελῶν ἦλθον, ταυτὶ γὰρ μάλα ἐσπέρας προστέτακται.”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

“If Odysseus could go into the cave of Polyphemus, without having been informed beforehand either of the giant’s size, or what he ate, or of how he thundered with his voice, and yet did not lose his presence of mind, though he was in some trepidation to begin with; and if he left his cave after acquitting himself like a man, I too shall be quite satisfied if I get off with my own life and with that of my companions, in whose behalf I incur this risk.” Such were the words that passed between him and his visitor, and after reporting them to Damis he went to sleep.

CHAP.
XXXVIII

XXIX

AND about dawn a notary came from the Royal court, and said: “It is the Emperor’s orders, O Apollonius, that you should repair to his court at the time when the market-place is full; not indeed as yet to make your defence, for he wants to see you and find out who you are, and to talk with you alone.” “And why,” said Apollonius, “do you trouble me with these details?” “Are you not then Apollonius?” said the other. “Yes, by Heaven,” he said, “and of Tyana too.” “To whom then,” said the other, “should I give this message?” “To those who will take me thither,” he replied, “for I suppose that I shall have to get out of this prison somehow.” “Orders have already been given,” replied the other, “to them, and I will come here in good time, and I only came to give you the message now, because the orders were issued late last night.”

CHAP.
XXIX
The emperor summons Apollonius into his presence

CAP.
XXX Ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπήλθεν, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἀναπαύσας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, “ὑπνου,” ἔφη, “δέομαι, Δάμι, χαλεπὴ γάρ μοι ἡ νύξ γέγονεν ἀναμνησθῆναι βουλομένῳ ὧν Φραώτου ποτὲ ἤκουσα.” “καὶ μὴν ἐγρηγορέναι τε,” εἶπεν, “ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον καὶ ξυντάττειν ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ παρηγγελμένον μέγα οὕτως ὄν.” “καὶ πῶς ἂν ξυνταττοίμην,” ἔφη, “μηδέ, τί ἐρήσεται, εἰδώς;” “αὐτοσχεδιάσεις οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ὑπὲρ τοῦ βίου;” “νῆ Δί,” ἔφη “ὦ Δάμι, αὐτοσχεδίῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ χρώμαι. ἀλλ' ὅ γε ἀνεμνήσθη τοῦ Φραώτου βούλομαι διελθεῖν πρὸς σέ, χρηστὸν γὰρ ἐς τὰ παρόντα καὶ σοὶ δόξει· τοὺς λέοντας, οὓς τιθασεύουσιν ἄνθρωποι, κελεύει Φραώτης μήτε παίειν, μνησικακεῖν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἰ παίειντο, μήτε θεραπεύειν, ἀγερῶχους γὰρ ἐκ τούτου γίνεσθαι, ξὺν ἀπειλῇ δὲ μᾶλλον καταψῶντας ἐς εὐάγωγα ἤθη ἄγειν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν λεόντων εἶπεν, οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ θηρίων ἀγωγῆς ἐσπουδάζομεν, ἀλλ' ἠνίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους διδούς, ἧ χρωμένους οὐκ ἂν ἐκπεσεῖν ἠγείτο τοῦ ξυμμέτρου.” “ἄριστα μὲν,” ἔφη, “ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐς τὰ τυράννων ἤθη εἴρηται, ἀλλ' ἔστι τις καὶ παρὰ τῷ Αἰσώπῳ λέων ὁ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, φησὶ δ'

HE accordingly went away: but Apollonius after resting himself a little while on his bed said, CHAP.
XXX
“Damis, I need sleep, for I have had a bad night trying to remember what Phraotes once told me.” The advice
“Well,” said the other, “if you had to keep awake, of Phraotes
you had much better have occupied yourself in to lion-
tamers
preparing for so great an occasion as now is announced to you.” “And how could I prepare myself,” said Apollonius, “when I do not even know what questions he will ask of me?” “Then are you going to defend your life extempore?” said Damis. “Yes, by Heaven,” he replied, “for it is an extempore life that I have always led. But I want to tell you what I could remember of the conversation of Phraotes, for I think you will find it very profitable under the circumstances. Phraotes enjoined the tamers of lions not to strike them, for he said that they bear you a grudge if they are struck; but also not to flatter them, because that tends to make them proud and fierce; but he advised them rather to stroke them with the hand at the same time that they threatened them, as the best way of reducing them to obedience and docility. Well, he made these remarks not really about lions,—for we were not interested about how to keep lions and wild beasts,—but he was really supplying a curb and rein for tyrants of such a kind as he thought would in practice keep them within the lines of good sense and moderation.” “This story,” said Damis, “is indeed most apposite to the manners of tyrants; but there is also a story in Aesop about a certain lion

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXI
 αὐτὸν ὁ Αἴσωπος οὐ νοσεῖν μὲν, δοκεῖν δέ, καὶ τῶν
 θηρίων, ἃ ἐφοίτα παρ' αὐτόν, ἄπτεσθαι, τὴν δὲ
 ἀλώπεκα, τί τούτῳ χρησόμεθα, εἰπεῖν, παρ' οὗ
 μηδὲ ἀναλύει τις, μηδὲ δείκνυται τι τῶν ἐξιόντων
 ἵχνος ;" καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, " ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη,
 " σοφωτέραν τὴν ἀλώπεκα ἠγγούμην ἄν, εἰ παρ-
 ελθοῦσα ἔσω μὴ ἦλω, ἀλλ' ἐξῆλθε τοῦ σπηλαίου
 τὰ ἵχνη τὰ ἑαυτῆς δεικνῦσα."

XXXI

CAP. XXXI
 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὕπνου ἔσπασε κομιδῇ βραχὺ καὶ
 ὅσον ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἦλθεν, ἡμέρα δ' ὡς ἐγένετο,
 προσευξάμενος τῷ Ἡλίῳ, ὡς ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ
 εἰκός, διελέγετο τοῖς προσιούσιν, ὅποσα ἠρώτων,
 καὶ οὕτως ἀγορᾶς πληθούσης ἀφικνεῖται γραμ-
 ματεὺς, κελεύων ἐπὶ θύρας ἦδη εἶναι, " μὴ καὶ
 θᾶπτον," ἔφη, " ἐσκληθῶμεν." ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν, " ἴω-
 μεν," ξὺν ὀρμῇ προῆλθε. πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ
 δορυφόροι ἐπηκολούθουν τέτταρες, πλέον ἀπέχον-
 τες ἢ οἱ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ὀμαρτοῦντες, ἐφείπετο δὲ
 καὶ ὁ Δάμις δεδιὼς μὲν, ξυννοοῦντι δ' ὅμοιος.
 ἐώρων μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἅπαντες, αὐτοῦ
 τε γὰρ τοῦ σχήματος ἀπεβλέπετο, καὶ θεία ἐδόκει
 ἢ περὶ τῷ εἶδει ἔκπληξις, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἦκειν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

who lived in a cave, and Aesop says that he was not CHAP.
 sick, but only pretended to be so, and that he seized XXX
 on other wild animals who went to visit him ; and
 accordingly the fox made the remark : ' What are
 we to do with him, for no one ever quits his
 residence, nor are any tracks to be seen of his
 visitors going out again ? ' " And Apollonius re-
 marked : " Well, as for myself I should have regarded
 your fox as a cleverer animal, if he had gone in
 to see the lion, and instead of being caught had
 issued from the cave safely and left clear tracks
 behind him."

XXXI

AFTER making this remark he took a short nap, CHAP.
 just enough to close his eyes, and when day came XXXI
 he offered his prayers to the Sun, as best he could Apollonius
 in prison, and then he conversed with all who is escorted
 came up and asked him questions ; and so about the to the
 time when the market fills a notary came and palace
 ordered him to repair at once to the court, adding :
 " Lest we should not get there in time for the
 summons into his presence." And Apollonius
 said : " Let us go," and eagerly went forth. And on
 the way four body-guards followed him, keeping
 at a greater distance from him than would an escort
 appointed merely to guard him. And Damis also
 followed in his train, in some trepidation indeed,
 but apparently plunged in thought. Now the eyes
 of all were turned upon Apollonius, for not only
 were they attracted by his dress and bearing, but
 there was a godlike look in his eyes, which struck
 them with astonishment ; and moreover the fact

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXI ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν κινδυνεύοντα καὶ τοὺς βασκαίνοντας αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτηδείους ἐποίει τότε. προσεστῶς δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεραπευομένους ὀρών, τοὺς δὲ θεραπεύοντας, ἐσιόντων τε καὶ ἐξιόντων κτύπον, “δοκεῖ μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, βαλανείῳ ταῦτα εἰκάσθαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔξω ἔσω ὀρῶ σπεύδοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἔσω ἔξω, παραπλήσιοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ μὲν ἐκλελουμένοις, οἱ δ’ ἀλούτοις.” τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἄσυλον κελεύω φυλάττειν καὶ μὴ τῷ δεῖνι ἢ τῷ δεῖνι προσγράφειν αὐτόν, οὕτω τι Ἀπολλωνίου ὄντα, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ ἀναγεγράφθαι. ἰδὼν δὲ τινα μάλα πρεσβύτην ἐπιθυμοῦντα μὲν ἄρχειν, δι’ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀρχόμενον καὶ θεραπεύοντα τὸν βασιλέα, “τοῦτον,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, οὐδὲ Σοφοκλῆς πω πέπεικε τὸν λυττῶντά τε καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγεῖν.” “ὄν ἡμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγήμεθα· ταῦτά τοι καὶ προσεστήκαμεν θύραις τοιαύταις.” “δοκεῖς μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, καὶ τὸν Αἰακόν, ὅσπερ ἐν Αἴδου λέγεται, φρουρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τουτωνὶ τῶν πυλῶν εἶναι, τεθνεῶτι γὰρ δὴ ἔοικας.” “οὐ τεθνεῶτι,” ἔφη, “τεθνηξομένῳ δέ.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἀφύης,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Δάμι, πρὸς τὸν θάνατον εἶναί μοι φαίνη, καίτοι ξυνὼν μοι χρόνον, ἐκ μειρακίου φιλοσοφῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὄμην παρεσκευά-

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

CHAP. XXXI

Discourse on a place-seeker

Plato Rep. 829

Apollonius expostulates with Damis for his cowardice

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXI. σθαι τέ σε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐμοὶ τακτικὴν εἰδέναι πᾶσαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῖς μαχομένοις καὶ ὀπλιτεύουσιν οὐκ εὐψυχίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάξεως ἐρμηνευούσης τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς μάχης, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἐπιμελητέα τῶν καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἀποθανοῦνται, ὡς μὴ ἄτακτοι, μηδὲ θανατῶντες, ξὺν ἀρίστη δ' αἰρέσει ἐς αὐτοὺς φέροντο. ὅτι δὲ ἀριστά τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα φιλοσοφία καιρὸν εἰλόμην ἀποθνήσκειν, εἴ τις ἀποκτείνειν βούλοιο, ἑτέροις τε ἀπολελόγημαι σοῦ παρόντος, αὐτόν τε σὲ διδάσκων ἀπείρηκα."

XXXII

CAP. XXXII. Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ σχολὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διωσαμένῳ πάντα, ἐς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ, παρήγον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ ξυγχωρήσαντες τῷ Δάμιδι ἐπισπέσθαι οἱ. θαλλοῦ δὲ στέφανον ἔχων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρτι μὲν τῇ Ἀθηναῖ τεθυκῶς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν αὐλῇ Ἀδώνιδος, ἣ δὲ αὐλῇ ἀνθέων ἐτεθήλει κήποις, οὓς Ἀδώνιδι Ἀσσύριοι ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ ὀργίων, ὁμοροφίους αὐτοὺς φυτεύοντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὧν μετεστράφη, καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶδους τοῦ ἀνδρός, "Αἴλιανέ,"

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

for it, and had also acquainted yourself with all the strategy and tactical resources that I have at my command; for just as men in battle, no matter how heavily armoured they be, require not merely pluck, but also a knowledge of tactics to interpret to them the right opportunities of battle, so also philosophers must wait for the right opportunities when to die; so that they be not taken off their guard, nor like suicides rush into death, but may meet their enemies upon ground of their own good choosing. But that I made my choice well of a moment to die in and found an occasion worthy of a philosopher, supposing anyone wants to kill him, I have both proved to others before whom I defended myself in your presence, and am tired of teaching yourself the same."

CHAP. XXXI.

XXXII

So far these matters then; but when the Emperor had leisure, having got rid of all his urgent affairs, to give an audience to our sage, the attendants whose office it was conducted him into the palace, without allowing Damis to follow him. And the Emperor was wearing a wreath of olive leaves, for he had just been offering a sacrifice to Athene in the hall of Adonis and this hall was bright with baskets of flowers, such as the Syrians at the time of the festival of Adonis make up in his honour, growing them under their very roofs. Though the Emperor was engaged with his religious rites, he turned round, and was so much struck by Apollonius' appearance, that he said: "O Aelian, it

CHAP. XXXII.
His interview with Domitian

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXII

εἶπε, “δαίμονά μοι ἐπεσήγαγες.” ἀλλ’ οὔτε ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καθαρπτόμενός τε ὦν ἤκουσεν, “ἐγὼ δέ,” ἔφη, “τὴν Ἀθηναῖν ὥμην ἐπιμεμελήσθαί σου, βασιλεῦ, τρόπον, ὃν καὶ τοῦ Διομήδους ποτὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ, τὴν γάρ τοι ἀχλύν, ὑφ’ ἧς οἱ ἄνθρωποι χεῖρον βλέπουσιν, ἀφελούσα τῶν τοῦ Διομήδους ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ θεοὺς τε διαγιγνώσκειν καὶ ἄνδρας, σὲ δ’ οὔπω ἢ θεὸς ἐκάθηρεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν κάθαρσιν ταύτην· ἢ μὴν ἔδει γε, ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀθηναῖν ὀρώης ἄμεινον τοὺς τε ἄνδρας μὴ ἐς τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων εἶδη τάττοις.” “σὺ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ φιλόσοφε, πότε τὴν ἀχλὺν ἐκαθήρω ταύτην;” “πάλαι,” ἔφη, “κὰξ ὄτου φιλοσοφῶ.” “πῶς οὖν,” εἶπε, “τοὺς ἐμοὶ πολεμιωτάτους ἄνδρας θεοὺς ἐνόμισας;” “καὶ τίς,” ἔφη, “πρὸς Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἢ πρὸς Φραώτην τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, οὓς ἐγὼ μόνους ἀνθρώπων θεοὺς τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀξίους τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης;” “μὴ ἄπαγε ἐς Ἰνδοὺς,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φιλτάτου σοι Νερούα καὶ τῶν κοινωνούντων αὐτῷ τῆς αἰτίας λέγε.” “ἀπολογῶμαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ,” ἔφη, “τι ἢ—” “μὴ ἀπολογοῦ,” εἶπεν, “ἀδικῶν γὰρ ἰλλήπται, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὡς αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖς ξυνειδῶς ἐκε νῶ τοιαῦτα, τοῦτό με ἀναδίδασκε.” “εἰ, ἂ ξύνοιδα,” ἔφη, “ἀκοῦσαι βούλει, ἄκουε, τί γὰρ ἂν τὰ ληθῆ κρύπτοιμι;” ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

is a demon that you have introduced to me.” But Apollonius, without losing his composure, made free to comment upon the Emperor’s words, and said: “As for myself, I imagined that Athene was your tutelary goddess, O sovereign, in the same way as she was Diomedes’s long ago in Troy; for she removed the mist which dulls the eyes of men from those of Diomedes, and endowed him with the faculty of distinguishing gods from men. But the goddess has not yet purged your eyes as she did his, my sovereign; yet it were well, if Athene did so, that you might behold her more clearly and not confuse mere men with the forms of demons.” “And you,” said the Emperor, “O philosopher, when did you have this mist cleared away from your eyes?” “Long ago,” said he, “and ever since I have been a philosopher.” “How comes it then,” said the Emperor, “that you have come to regard as gods persons who are most hostile to myself?” “And what hostility,” said Apollonius, “is there between yourself and Iarchas or Phraotes, both of them Indians and the only human beings that I regard as gods and meriting such a title?” “Don’t try to put me off with Indians,” said the Emperor, “but just tell me about your darling Nerva and his accomplices.” “Am I to plead his cause,” said Apollonius, “or—?” “No, you shall not plead it,” said the Emperor, “for he has been taken red-handed in guilt; but just prove to me, if you can, that you are not yourself equally guilty as being privy to his designs.” “If,” said Apollonius, “you would hear how far I am in his counsel, and privy to his designs, please hear me, for why should I conceal the truth?” Now the Emperor imagined that he

CHAP.
XXXII

Iliad 5. 127

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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

XXXIII

CAP.
XXXIII Ὁ δ' ὡς μετέωρον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης ταύτης εἶδεν. “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “Νερούαν σωφρονέστατον ἀνθρώπων οἶδα καὶ πραότατον καὶ σοὶ ἐπιτηδειότατον, καὶ ἄρχοντα μὲν ἀγαθόν, εὐλαβῆ δ' οὕτω πρὸς ὄγκου πραγμαμάτων, ὡς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς δεδιέναι. οἱ δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, Ροῦφον γάρ που λέγεις καὶ Ὀρφίτου, σώφρονες μὲν καὶ οἶδε οἱ ἄνδρες, ὅποσα οἶδα, καὶ διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς πλοῦτον, νωθροὶ δὲ πράττειν ὅποσα ἔξεστι, νεώτερα δὲ οὐτ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὐτ' ἂν ἐτέρῳ ἐνθυμηθέντι ξυνάριστον.” ἀνοιδήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑφ' ᾧ ἤκουσε, “συκοφάντην με οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἴληφας, ἵν' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μαρωτάτους ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιπηδῶντας εὖρον, σὺ δ', ὡς χρηστοὶ τέ εἰσι λέγεις, καὶ νωθροί; καὶ γὰρ ἂν κἀκείνους ἠγοῦμαι, ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐρωτωμένους, μήθ' ὡς γόης εἶ φάναι, μήθ' ὡς ἵτης, μήθ' ὡς ἀλαζών, μήθ' ὡς φιλοχρηματός, μήθ' ὡς φρονῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς νόμους. οὕτως, ᾧ μιὰ κεφαλαί, κακῶς ξυντέταχθε. ἐλέγξει δ' ἡ κατηγορία πάντα· καὶ γὰρ ὅποσα ὁμῶμοται ὑμῖν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

was going to hear Apollonius confess very important secrets, and that whatever transpired would conduce to the destruction of the persons in question. CHAP.
XXXII.

XXXIII

But Apollonius seeing him on tip-toe with expectation, merely said: “For myself, I know Nerva to be the most moderate of men and the gentlest and the most devoted to yourself, as well as a good ruler; though he is so averse to meddling in high matters of State, that he shrinks from office. And as for his friends, for I suppose you refer to Rufus and Orphitus,—these men also are discreet, so far as I know, and averse from wealth, somewhat sluggish to do all they lawfully may; while as for revolution, they are the last people in the world either to plan it or to take part with another who should do so.” But the Emperor was inflamed with anger at what he heard and said: “Then you mean to say that I am guilty of slander in their cases, since you assert that they are good men, only sluggish, whom I have ascertained to be the vilest of mankind and usurpers of my throne. For I can imagine that they too, if I put the question to them about you, would in their turn deny that you were a wizard and a hot-head and a braggart and a miser, and that you looked down on the laws. And so it is, you accursed rascals, that you all hold together like thieves. But the accusation shall unmask everything; for I know, as well as if I had been present and taken part in everything, all the oaths which you took, and the objects for

CHAP.
XXXIII
He defends
Nerva to the
Emperor

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXIII

καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὁπότε καὶ τί θύσασιν, οὐδὲν μείον οἶδα, ἢ εἰ παρετύγχανόν τε καὶ ἐκοινωνοῦν." ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκπλαγείς, "αἰσχρόν," ἔφη, "βασιλεῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἢ δικάζειν ὑπὲρ ὧν πέπεισαι ἢ πεπεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ ἐδίκασας. εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει, ξυγχώρησον ἐνθένδε μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας ἄρξασθαι· κακῶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖς, καὶ πλείω με ἀδικεῖς ἢ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος διδάξειν ἔφη, σὺ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι πέπεισαι." "τῆς μὲν ἀπολογίας," εἶπεν, "ὁπόθεν βούλει, ἄρχου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὃ τι παύσομαι οἶδα, καὶ ὁπόθεν ἤδη προσήκει ἄρξασθαι."

XXXIV

CAP.
XXXIV

"Ἀρχεται τὸ ἐνθένδε τῆς ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ὑβρεως, γενείων τε ἀποκείρας αὐτὸν καὶ χαίτης, ἐν τε τοῖς κακουργοτάτοις δήσας. ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς κουρᾶς, "ἐλελήθειν, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "περὶ ταῖς θριξὶ κινδυνεύων." ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν δεσμῶν, "εἰ μὲν γόητά με ἡγήῃ," ἔφη, "πῶς δήσεις; εἰ δὲ δήσεις, πῶς γόητα εἶναι φήσεις;" "καὶ ἀνήσω γε οὐ πρότερον," εἶπεν, "ἢ ὕδωρ γενέσθαι σε ἢ τι θηρίον ἢ δένδρον." "ταυτὶ μὲν," ἔφη, "οὐδ' εἰ δυναίμην, γενοίμην ἄν,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

which you took them, and when you did it, and what was your preliminary sacrifice." At all this Apollonius did not even blench, but merely remarked: "It is not creditable to you, O sovereign, nor is it congruous with the law, that you should either pretend to try a case affecting persons about whom you have already made up your mind, or should have made it up before ever you have tried them. But if you will have it so, permit me at once to begin and plead my defence. You are prejudiced against me, my sovereign, and you do me a greater wrong than could any false informer, for you take for granted, before you hear them, accusations which he only offers to prove." "Begin your defence," said the Emperor, "at any point you like, but I know very well where to draw the line, and with what it is best to begin."

CHAP.
XXXIII

XXXIV

From that moment he began to insult the sage, by cutting off his beard, and hair, and confining him among the vilest felons; and as regards his hair being shaved, Apollonius remarked: "It had not occurred to me, O sovereign, that I risked losing my hair." And as regards his imprisonment in bonds, he remarked: "If you think me a wizard, how will you ever fetter me? And if you fetter me, how can you say that I am a wizard?" "Yes," replied the Emperor, "for I will not release you until you have turned into water, or into some wild animal, or into a tree." "I will not turn into these things," said Apollonius, "even if I could, for I will

CHAP.
XXXIV
The
Emperor
persecutes
the Sage

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXIV ὡς μὴ προδοίην ποτὲ τοὺς οὐδεμιᾶ δίκη κινδυνεύοντας, ὧν δ', ὅσπερ εἰμί, πᾶσιν ὑποθήσω ἑμαυτὸν οἷς ἂν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τουτὶ πράττης, ἔστ' ἂν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολογήσωμαι." ὑπὲρ δὲ σοῦ," εἶπε, "τίς ὁ ἀπολογησόμενος ἔσται;" "χρόνος," ἔφη, "καὶ θεῶν πνεῦμα καὶ σοφίας ἔρωσ, ἧ ξύνειμι."

XXXV

CAP. XXXV Τὸν μὲν δὴ προάγωνα τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὃς ἐγένετο αὐτῷ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἰδίᾳ, τοιόνδε διαγράφει ὁ Δάμις, οἱ δὲ βασκάνως ταῦτα ξυθέντες ἀπολελογῆσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν φασὶ πρότερον, δεδέσθαι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτε δὴ κείρασθαι, καὶ τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέπλασαν, ξυγκειμένην μὲν ἰωνικῶς, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἄχαρι, ἐν ἧ βούλονται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἰκέτην τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ γίγνεσθαι, παραιτούμενον ἑαυτὸν τῶν δεσμῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰώνιον ἐρμηνεύει τρόπον, ἐπιστολῇ δὲ ἰαστὶ ξυγκειμένην οὕτω Ἀπολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καίτοι ξυνειλοχῶς αὐτοῦ πλείστας, οὐδὲ μακρηγορίαν πω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εὔρον, βραχεΐαι γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ σκυτάλης πάσαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ νικῶν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ πῶς ἂν ποτε ἐδέθη μετὰ τὴν ἀφείσαν ψῆφον; ἀλλὰ μήπω τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ κουρᾷ καὶ ἅττα διελέχθη, λεγέσθω πρότερον, ἄξια γὰρ σπουδάσαι.

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not ever betray men who, in violation of all justice, stand in peril; and what I am, that I will remain; but I am ready to endure all you can inflict upon my vile body, until I have finished pleading the cause of these persons." "And who," asked the Emperor, "is going to plead your cause?" "Time," replied Apollonius, "and the spirit of the gods, and the passion for wisdom which animates me."

XXXV

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

Δυοῖν γὰρ ἡμέραιν δεδεμένου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀφικνεῖται τις ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, τὸ προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐωνῆσθαι φάσκων, ξύμβουλος δὲ σωτηρίας ἤκειν ἦν μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος οὗτος, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ νοῦς τε καὶ γλῶττα, καθεῖτο δ', ὡσπερ ὁ πρότερος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πιθανωτέρων οὗτος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόρρωθεν, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐλών, "ὦ θεοί," ἔφη, "τίς ἂν ᾤηθη δεθῆναι Ἀπολλώνιον;" "ὁ δήσας," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ ἂν, εἰ μὴ ᾤηθη, ἔδησε." "τίς δ' ἂν τὰς ἀμβροσίας ποτὲ ἀποτμηθῆναι χαίτας;" "ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ὁ κομῶν." "φέρεις δὲ πῶς ταῦτα;" "ὥς γε εἰκός," εἶπε, "τὸν μήθ' ἐκουσίως μήτ' ἀκουσίως ἐς αὐτὰ ἤκοντα." "τὸ δὲ σκέλος πῶς," ἔφη, "καρτερεῖ;" "οὐκ οἶδα," εἶπεν, "ὁ γὰρ νοῦς πρὸς ἑτέροις ἐστί." "καὶ μὴν πρὸς τῷ ἀλγοῦντι," ἔφη, "ὁ νοῦς." "οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἶπε, "νοῦς μὲν γὰρ ὅ γ' ἐν ἀνδρὶ τοιῷδε ἢ οὐκ ἀλγήσει ἢ τὸ ἀλγοῦν παύσει." "τί δὲ δὴ ἐνθυμεῖται ὁ νοῦς;" "αὐτό," εἶπε, "τὸ μὴ ἐννοεῖν ταῦτα." πάλιν δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς χαίτας ἀνακαλοῦντος καὶ περιάγοντος ἐς αὐτὰς τὸν λόγον, "ὠνησαι,"

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

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ἔφη, “νεανίσκε, μὴ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Ἀχαιῶν εἰς γενόμενος, ὡς σφόδρα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τὰς Ἀχιλλείους κόμας ὀλοφύρασθαι Πατρόκλῳ τμηθείσας, εἰ δὴ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ λειποθυμῆσαι δ' ἂν ἐπ' αὐταῖς. ὃς γὰρ τὰς ἐμάς, ἐν αἷς πολιαί τε ἦσαν καὶ αὐχμὸς, ἐλεεῖν φάσκεις, τί οὐκ ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνας ἔπαθες τὰς ἠσκημένας τε καὶ ξανθάς;”

Τῷ δὲ ἄρα ξὺν ἐπιβουλή ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, ἵν' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀλγεί μάθοι, καὶ νῆ Δία, εἰ λαιδορεῖται τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ ὧν πέπονθεν· ἀνακοπεῖς δ' ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, “διαβέβλησαι,” ἔφη, “πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ πλειόνων, μάλιστα δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ περὶ Νερούαν ὡς ἀδικοῦντες φεύγουσιν. ἀφίκοντο μὲν γάρ τινες ἐς αὐτὸν διαβολαὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ λόγων, οὓς ἀντιξόως τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηχθημένως εἶπας, καταφρονεῖ δὲ τούτων, ὥς φασιν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὰ μείζω παρώξυνται, καίτοι τοῦ κἀκεῖνα διαβάλλοντος ἀνδρὸς ὑψοῦ προήκοντος τῆς δόξης.” “οἶον,” ἔφη, “Ὀλυμπιονίκην εἴρηκας, εἰ δόξης φησὶν ἄπτεσθαι διαβολαῖς ἰσχύων. ξυνίημι δ', ὡς ἔστιν Εὐφράτης, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα πάντ' ἐπ' ἐμὲ πράττοντα, ἠδίκημαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μείζω ἕτερα· αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ποτε φοιτήσῃν μέλλοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Αἰθιοπία Γυμνοῦς, ἐς

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“It is lucky for you, young man, that you were not one of the Achaeans long ago in Troy; for it seems to me that you would have raised a terrible hullabaloo over the locks of Achilles, when he cut them off in honour of Patroclus, supposing he really did so, and you would at least have swooned at such a spectacle. For if as you say, you are full of pity for my locks which were all grey and frowzy, what would you not have felt over those of Achilles which were nicely curled and auburn?”

The other of course had only made his remarks out of malice, in order to see what would make Apollonius wince, and, by Heaven, to see whether he would reproach his sovereign on account of his sufferings. But he was so shut up by the answers he got that he said: “You have incurred the royal displeasure on several grounds, but in particular on those for which Nerva and his friends are being prosecuted, namely of injuring the government. For certain informations have been conveyed to him about your words in Ionia, when you spoke of him in hostile and embittered tones. But they say that he attaches little importance to that matter, because his anger is whetted by the graver charges, and this although the informer from whom he learnt those first charges is a very distinguished person of great reputation.” “A new sort of Olympic winner is this you tell me of,” said Apollonius, “that pretends to win distinction by the weightiness of his slanders. But I quite realise that he is Euphrates, who, I know, does everything against me which he can; and these are far from being the worst injuries which he has done me. For hearing once on a time that I was about to visit the naked sages of Ethiopia, he set himself to poison

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 διαβολάς μου πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατέστη, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ξυνῆκα, τάχ' ἂν ἀπήλθον μὴδ' ἰδὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας." θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Συρακούσιος τὸν λόγον, "εἶτ'," ἔφη, "τοῦ διαβληθῆναι βασιλεῖ μείζον ἡγῆ τὸ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς μὴ χρηστὸς ἂν ἐξ ὧν Εὐφράτης καθίει δόξαι;" "νῆ Δί," εἶπεν, "ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ μαθησόμενος ἦα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπὲρ διδασκαλίας ἦκω." "τῆς τί," ἔφη, "διδασκούσης;" "τὸ εἶναί με," εἶπε, "καλὸν κάγαθόν, τουτί δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐπω οἶδεν." "ἀλλ' ἔστιν," ἔφη, "τὰ σεαυτοῦ εὖ θέσθαι διδαξαμένῳ αὐτόν, ἃ καὶ πρὶν ἐνταῦθα ἦκειν λέξας οὐδ' ἂν ἐδέθης." ξυνιείς οὖν τοῦ Συρακουσίου ξυνελαύνοντος αὐτόν ἐς τὸν ὅμοιον τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγον, οἰομένου τε, ὡς ἀπογορεύων πρὸς τὰ δεσμὰ ψεύσεταιί τι κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, "ὦ βέλτιστε," εἶπεν, "εἰ τὰληθῆ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἰπὼν ἐδέθην, τί πείσομαι μὴ ἀληθείσας; ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰληθῆς δοκεῖ δεσμῶν ἄξιον, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ ψεῦδος."

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CAP. XXXVII
 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος ἀγασθεὶς αὐτόν ὡς ὑπερφίλοσοφούντα, ταυτί γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀπήλθεν, ἐχώρει

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their minds against me, and if I had not seen CHAP. XXXVI through his malignant designs, I should probably have gone away without even seeing their company." The Syracusan then, much astonished at this remark, said: "Then you think it a much lesser thing to be traduced to the Emperor than to forfeit your good repute in the eyes of the naked sages owing to the insinuations dropped against you by Euphrates?" "Yes, by Heaven," he said, "for I was going there as a learner, whereas I am come here with a mission to teach." "And what are you going to teach?" said the other. "That I am," said Apollonius, "a good and honourable man,—a circumstance this of which the Emperor is not yet aware." "But you can," said the other, "get out of your scrape if you only will teach him things, which if you had told him before you came here, you would never have been cast into prison." Now Apollonius understood that the Syracusan was trying to drive him into some such admission as the Emperor had tried to get out of him, and that he imagined that out of sheer weariness of his imprisonment he would tell some falsehood to the detriment of his friends, and accordingly he answered: "My excellent friend, if I have been cast into prison for telling Domitian the truth, what would happen to me if I refrained from telling it? For he apparently regards truth as something to be punished with imprisonment, just as I regard falsehood."

XXXVII

THE Syracusan accordingly was so much struck with CHAP. XXXVII the superiority of his philosophical talent (for after

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CAP.
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ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, “ξυνίης,” ἔφη, “τοῦ Πύθωνος τούτου;” “ξυνίημι μὲν,” εἶπε “ὑποκαθημένου τε καὶ ὑπαγομένου σε, τί δ' ὁ Πύθων βούλεται σοι καὶ τίς ὁ τοῦ ὀνόματος νοῦς, οὐκ οἶδα.” “ἐγένετο,” ἔφη, “Πύθων ὁ Βυζάντιος ἀγαθός, φασί, ῥήτωρ τὰ κακὰ πείθειν· οὗτος ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου πρεσβεύων παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὲρ τῆς δουλείας αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἶα, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἀθηναίοις γε αὐτοῖς, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστά γε ῥητορικῇ ἔρρωντο, ἀδικεῖσθαι τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔφασκε τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ δεινὰ πράττειν Ἀθηναίους τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλευθεροῦντας. ὁ Πύθων ταῦτα πολὺς ῥέων, ὡς φασιν, ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἀντειπὼν θρασυνομένῳ μόνος, τὸ ἀνασχεῖν αὐτὸν τάττει ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἄθλοις. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ἐς ἃ ἐδόκει τούτῳ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἄθλον ἑμαντοῦ φαίην, Πύθωνι δ' αὐτὸν ταῦτὸν πράττειν ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ τυράννου τε μισθωτὸς ἀφίκετο καὶ ἀτόπων ξύμβουλος.”

XXXVIII

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XXXVIII

Διαλέγεσθαι μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πλείω τοιαῦτα, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἀπορεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων φησί, λύσειν δὲ αὐτῶν ὀρᾶν οὐδεμίαν πλὴν ὅσαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐξαμένοις τισὶ κακ

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

CHAP.
XXXVII
Apollonius
compares
the spy to
Python

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DAMIS says then that though Apollonius uttered many more discourses of the same kind, he was himself in despair of the situation, because he saw no way out of it except such as the gods have vouchsafed to some in answer to prayer, when they were in even

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πολλῶ χαλεπωτέρων ἦλθον, ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ μεσημβρίας, “ὦ Τυανεύ,” φάναι, σφόδρα γὰρ δὴ χαίρειν αὐτὸν τῇ προσήσει, “τί πεισόμεθα;” “ὃ γε ἐπάθομεν,” ἔφη, “πέρα δ’ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀποκτενεῖ ἡμᾶς οὐδεῖς.” “καὶ τίς,” εἶπεν, “οὕτως ἄτρωτος; λυθήσῃ δὲ πότε;” “τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δικάσαντι,” ἔφη, “τῆμερον, τὸ δὲ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ ἄρτι.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐξήγαγε τὸ σκέλος τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ἔφη, “ἐπίδειξιν πεποίημαί σοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ θάρρει.” τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἶη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντα, πῶς γὰρ ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ; μηδ’ εὐξάμενόν τι, μηδὲ εἰπόντα καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἐναρμόσαντα αὐτὸ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου πράττειν.

XXXIX

CAP.
XXXIX

Οἱ δὲ εὐηθέστεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τοὺς γόητας ἀναφέρουσι ταῦτα, πεπόνθασι δ’ αὐτὸ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων· δέονται μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς τέχνης ἀθληταί, δέονται δὲ ἀγωνισταὶ πάντες διὰ τὸ νικᾶν γλίχεσθαι, καὶ ξυλλαμβάνει μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν νίκην οὐδέν, ἃ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης νικῶσι, ταῦθ’ οἱ κακοδαίμονες αὐτοὺς ἀφελόμενοι, λογίζονται τῇ

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worse straits. But a little before mid-day, he tells us that he said: “O man of Tyana,”—for he took a special pleasure, it appears, in being called by that name,—“what is to become of us?” “Why what has become of us already,” said Apollonius, “and nothing more, for no one is going to kill us.” “And who,” said Damis, “is so invulnerable as that? But will you ever be liberated?” “So far as it rests with the verdict of the court,” said Apollonius, “I shall be set at liberty this day, but so far as depends upon my own will, now and here.” And with these words he took his leg out of the fetters and remarked to Damis: “Here is proof positive to you of my freedom, so cheer up.” Damis says that it was then for the first time that he really and truly understood the nature of Apollonius, to wit that it was divine and superhuman, for without any sacrifice,—and how in prison could he have offered any?—and without a single prayer, without even a word, he quietly laughed at the fetters, and then inserted his leg in them afresh, and behaved like a prisoner once more.

CHAP.
XXXVIII
Apollonius
miraculously
strikes the
fetter off his
leg

XXXIX

Now simple-minded people attribute such acts as this to wizardry, and they make the same mistake in respect of many purely human actions. For athletes resort to this art, just as do all who have to undergo a contest in their eagerness to win; and although it contributes nothing to their success, nevertheless these unfortunate people, after winning by mere chance as they generally do, rob themselves of the credit and attribute it to this art of wizardry. Nor

CHAP.
XXXIX
A discourse
on Magic
and
Magicians

τέχνη ταύτη, ἀπιστοῦσι δ' αὐτῇ οὐδ' οἱ ἠττώ-
μενοι σφῶν, "εἰ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα ἔθυσα καὶ τὸ δεῖνα
ἐθυμίασα, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγέ με ἢ νίκη," τοιαῦτα
λέγουσι, καὶ τοιαῦτα οἴονται. φοιτᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ
θύρας ἐμπόρων κατὰ ταῦτά, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κάκεινους
εὖροιμεν ἂν τὰ μὲν εὐτυχήματα τῆς ἐμπορίας
λογιζομένους τῷ γόητι, τὰ δὲ ἄτοπα τῇ αὐτῶν
φειδοῖ καὶ τῷ μὴ ὀπόσα ἔδει θῦσαι. ἀνήπται δὲ
ἢ τέχνη τοὺς ἐρώντας μάλιστα, νοσοῦντες γὰρ
εὐπαράγωγον οὕτω νόσον, ὡς καὶ γραιδίους ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς διαλέγεσθαι, θαυμαστόν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν
πράττουσι προσιόντες τοῖς σοφισταῖς τούτοις
καὶ ἀκροώμενοι σφῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἷ κεστόν τε
αὐτοῖς φέρειν διδοῦσι καὶ λίθους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν
τῆς γῆς ἀπορρήτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ σελήνης τε καὶ
ἀστέρων, ἀρώματά τε ὀπόσα ἢ Ἰνδικῆ κηπεύει,
καὶ χρήματα μὲν αὐτοὺς λαμπρὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων
πράττονται, ξυνδρῶσι δὲ οὐδέν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ
παθόντων τι τῶν παιδικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρώντας ἢ
δώροις ὑπαχθέντων προβαίνη τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὑμνεῖται
ἢ τέχνη ὡς ἱκανὴ πάντα, εἰ δ' ἀποτυγχάνοι ἢ
πεῖρα, ἐς τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν ἢ ἀναφορά, μὴ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα
θυμιάσαι, μηδὲ θῦσαι ἢ τῆξαι, τουτὶ δὲ μέγα εἶναι
καὶ ἄπορον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι, καθ' οὓς καὶ

does any amount of failure in their enterprises shake CHAP.
XXXIX
their faith in it, they merely say such things as this :
"If I had only offered this sacrifice or that, if I had
only burnt that perfume in place of another, I should
not have failed to win." And they really believe
what they say. Magic also besieges the doors of
merchants no less, for we shall find them too
attributing their successes in trade to the wizard or
magician, no less than they ascribe their losses to
their own parsimony and to their failure to sacrifice
as often as they should have done. But it is
especially lovers who are addicted to this art ; for as
the disease which they suffer from in any case
renders them liable to be deluded, so much so that
they go to old hags to talk about it, it is no wonder,
I think, that they resort to these impostors and give
ear to their quackeries. They will accept from them
a magic girdle to wear, as well as precious stones, some
of the bits of stone having come from the depths of
the earth and others from the moon and the stars ; and
then they are given all the spices which the gardens
of India yield ; and the cheats exact vast sums of
money from them for all this, and yet do nothing to
help them at all. For let their favourites only give
them the least encouragement, or let the attractions
of the lover's presents advance his suit in the very
least, and he at once sets out to laud the art as
able to achieve everything ; while if the experiment
does not come off, he is as ready as ever to lay the
blame on some omission, for he will say that he forgot
to burn this spice, or to sacrifice or melt up that,
and that everything turned upon that and it was
impossible to do without it. Now the various devices
and artifices by which they work signs from heaven

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CAP. XXXIX διοσημίας καὶ ἕτερα πλείω τερατεύονται, καὶ ἀναγεγράφαται τισιν, οἱ ἐγέλασαν πλατὺ ἐς τὴν τέχνην, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀποπεφάνθω μηδ' ἐκείνοις ὀμιλεῖν τοὺς νέους, ἵνα μηδὲ παίξειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐθίζονται. ἀποχρῶσα ἢ ἐκτροπή τοῦ λόγου· τί γὰρ ἂν πλείω καθαπτοίμην τοῦ πράγματος, ὃ καὶ φύσει διαβέβληται καὶ νόμῳ ;

XL

CAP. XL Ἐνδειξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τῷ Δάμιδι ἑαυτὸν καὶ πλείω διαλεχθέντος, ἐπέστη τις περὶ μεσημβρίαν σημαίνων ἀπὸ γλώττης τοσαῦτα· “ ἀφίησι σε ὁ βασιλεύς, Ἀπολλώνιε, τούτων τῶν δεσμῶν Ἀλλιανοῦ ξυμβουλευσάντος, τὸ δὲ ἐλευθέριον δεσμοτήριον ξυγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν, ἔστ' ἂν ἢ ἡ ἀπολογία, ἐς ἡμέραν δὲ ἴσως ἀπολογήσῃ πέμπτην.” “ τίς οὖν,” ἔφη, “ ὁ μετασκευάσων με ἐνθένδε ;” “ ἐγώ,” εἶπε, “ καὶ ἔπου.” καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ δεσμοτηρίῳ, περιέβαλλον πάντες, ὡς οὐδ' οἰθηθείσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπανήκοντα. ὃν γὰρ δὴ πόθον ἴσχουσι πατρὸς παῖδες, ἐς νοθετήσεις καθισταμένου σφίσιν ἡδείας τε καὶ ξυμμέτρους ἢ τὰ ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἀφερμηνεύοντος, τὸν αὐτὸν κάκεινοι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου εἶχον, καὶ ὡμολόγουν ταῦτα, ὃ δ' οὐκ ἐπαύετο αἰεὶ τι ξυμβουλεύων.

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and all sorts of other miracles on a wide scale, have been actually recorded by certain authors, who laugh outright at the art in question. But for myself I would only denounce such arts in order to prevent young men from resorting to its professors, lest they become accustomed to such things even in fun. This digression has led me far enough from my subject ; for why should I attack any further a thing which is equally condemned by nature and by law ?

XL

AFTER Apollonius had thus revealed himself to Damis, and held some further conversation, about mid-day some one presented himself to them and made the following intimation verbally: “ The Emperor, Apollonius, releases you from these fetters by the advice of Aelian ; and he permits you to take up your quarters in the prison where criminals are not bound, until the time comes for you to make your defence, but you will probably be called upon to plead your cause five days from now.” “ Who then,” said Apollonius, “ is to get me out of this place ?” “ I,” said the messenger, “ so follow me.” And when the prisoners in the free prison saw him again, they all flocked round him, as around one restored to them against all expectations ; for they entertained the same affectionate longing for Apollonius as children do for a parent who devotes himself to giving them good advice in an agreeable and modest manner, or who tells them stories of his own youth ; nor did they try to hide their feelings ; and Apollonius continued incessantly to give them advice.

XLI

CAP. XLI Καλεσας δὲ τῆς ὑστεραίας τὸν Δάμιν, “ἐμοὶ μὲν,” ἔφη, “τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δικαιαρχίας βιάδιζε, λῶν γὰρ περὶ ἰέναι, κὰν προσείπῃς Δημήτριον, στρέφου περὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ἣ ἔστιν ἡ Καλυψοῦς νῆσος, ἐπιφανέντα γὰρ με ἐκεῖ ὄψει.” “ζῶντα,” ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, “ἢ τί;” γελᾶσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ζῶντα,” εἶπεν, “ὡς δὲ σὺ οἶει, ἀναβεβιωκότα.” ὁ μὲν δὲ ἀπελθεῖν φησιν ἄκων, καὶ μὴτ’ ἀπογιγνώσκων ὡς ἀπολουμένου μὴτ’ εὐελπίς ὡς οὐκ ἀπολείται. καὶ τριταῖος μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν, ἀκούσαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὃς περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας ἐγένετο, ὅτι πνεῦμα ὑπομβρον καταρραγὲν τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς μὲν κατέδυσσε τῶν νεῶν, αἱ ἐκεῖσε ἔπλεον, τὰς δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπέώσατο, καὶ ξυνεῖναι τότε ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν περὶ κομίζεσθαι.

XLII

CAP. XLII Τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναγράφει Δάμις ἐξ ὧν Ἀπολλωνίου φησὶν ἀκηκοέναι πρὸς Δημήτριον τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος. μειράκιον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Μεσσηνίας τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδία περιβλεπτον ὥρα ἀφικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐρᾶν δ’ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν, Δομετιανὸν δὲ παρά πάντας, τοὺς δ’ οὕτως ἐρᾶν,

XLI

AND on the next day he called Damis and said : CHAP. XLI
 “My defence has to be pleaded by me on the day appointed, so do you betake yourself in the direction of Dicaearchia, for it is better to go by land ; and when you have saluted Demetrius, turn aside to the sea-shore where the island of Calypso lies ; for there you shall see me appear to you.” “Alive,” asked Damis, “or how ?” Apollonius with a smile replied : “As I myself believe, alive, but as you will believe, risen from the dead.” Accordingly he says that he went away with much regret, for although he did not quite despair of his master’s life, yet he hardly expected him to escape death. And on the third day he arrived at Dicaearchia, where he at once heard news of the great storm which had raged during those days ; for a gale with rain had burst over the sea, sinking some of the ships that were sailing thither, and driving out of their course those which were tending to Sicily and the straits of Messina. And then he understood why it was that Apollonius had bidden him go by land. He sends Damis on to Dicaearchia

XLII

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

CAP. XLII
 ὡς μηδὲ τὸ ἀντερᾶν ἐκείνῳ δεδιέναι. ἀλλ' ἐσωφρόνει τὸ μειράκιον καὶ ἐφείδετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὥρας. εἰ μὲν δὴ χρυσοῦ κατεφρόνησεν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἵππων ἢ τοιῶνδε δελεασμάτων, οἷς ὑπάγονται τὰ παιδικὰ ἔνιοι, μὴ ἐπαινώμεν, χρὴ γὰρ οὕτω παρεσκευάσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὁ δὲ μειζόνων ἀξιωθείς ἂν ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντες, οὓς ὀφθαλμοὶ βασιλέων ἐσπάσαντο, οὐκ ἠξίου ἑαυτὸν ὦν ἠξιούτο. ἐδέθη τοίνυν, τουτὶ γὰρ τῷ ἐραστῇ ἔδοξε. καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, βουλομένῳ μὲν τι λέγειν ἐφέκει, αἰδῶ δὲ ξύμβουλον σιωπῆς ἔχων οὐπω ἐθάρρει· ξυνεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “σὺ μὲν οὐδ' ἠλικίαν πω τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἄγων καθεῖρξαι,” ἔφη, “καθάπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ δεινοί.” “καὶ ἀποθανοῦμαί γε,” εἶπε, “τὸ γὰρ σωφρονεῖν θανάτου τιμῶνται οἱ ἐφ' ἡμῶν νόμοι.” “καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θεσέως,” εἶπε, “τὸν γὰρ Ἴππόλυτον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ ἀπώλλυ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτός.” “κάμέ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ πατὴρ ἀπολώλεκεν. ὄντα γὰρ με Ἀρκάδα ἐκ Μεσσηνίας οὐ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπαίδευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἔστειλε μαθησόμενον ἦθη νομικά, καί με ὑπὲρ τούτων ἤκοντα ὁ βασιλεὺς κακῶς εἶδεν.” ὁ δ' ὥσπερ οὐ ξυνεῖς, ὁ λέγει, “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη, “μειράκιον, μὴ γλαυκὸν ἠγείται σε ὁ βασιλεὺς καίτοι μελανόφθαλμον, ὡς ὄρῳ, ὄντα, ἢ στρεβλὸν τὴν ῥίνα καίτοι τετραγώνως ἔχοντα, καθάπερ τῶν ἐρμῶν οἱ γεγλυμμένοι,¹ ἢ

¹ The manuscripts have γεγυμνασμένοι.

the former did not scruple to declare themselves, so CHAP. XLII
 strong was their attachment. The youth however was too high-principled and respected his honour. Now had it been gold that he scorned or possessions or horses, or such other attractions and lures as sundry persons seek to corrupt young people with, we had no call to praise him, for the seducer can hardly dispense with such preparations. But he was tempted with larger honours than all those put together who ever attracted the glances of sovereigns, yet disdained them all for himself. In consequence he was cast into prison, by his own admirer's orders. He came up to Apollonius, and made as if he would speak to him, but, being counselled by his modesty to keep silent, did not venture to. Apollonius noticed this and said: “You are confined here, and yet are not of an age to be a malefactor, like ourselves who are hardened sinners.” “Yes, and I shall be put to death,” said the other; “for by our latter-day laws self-respect is honoured with capital punishment.” “So it was in the time of Theseus,” answered Apollonius, “for Hippolytus was murdered by his own sire for the same reason.” “And I too,” said the other, “am my own father's victim. For though I am an Arcadian from Messene, he did not give me an Hellenic education, but sent me here to study law; and when I had come here for that purpose the Emperor cast an evil eye on me.” But Apollonius feigned not to understand what he meant and said: “Tell me, my boy, surely the Emperor does not imagine you have blue eyes, when you have, as I see, black ones? Or that you have a crooked nose, whereas it is square and regular, like that of a well executed Hermes? or has he not made some

CAP. XLII τὴν κόμην ἕτερόν τι παρ' ὃ ἐστίν; ἔστι δ', οἶμαι, ἠλιώσα τε καὶ ὑποφαίνουσα, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα οὕτω ξύμμετρον, ὡς καὶ σιωπῇ πρέπειν καὶ λόγῳ, δέρη τε οὕτως ἐλευθέρα καὶ φρονούσα. τί οὖν ἕτερον τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠγήσεται σε, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγεις ὀφθῆναι; " αὐτό με τοῦτο ἀπολώλεκεν, ὑπαχθεὶς γάρ μου ἐρᾶν οὐ φείδεται ὧν ἐπαινεί, ἀλλ' αἰσχύνειν διανοεῖται με, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐρώντες." ἀγασθεὶς δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸ μὲν ξυγκαθεύδειν ὃ τι ἠγοῖτο καὶ εἰ αἰσχρὸν τοῦτο ἢ μή, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρωτημάτων παρήκεν, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐρυθριῶντα ἑώρα τὸν Ἀρκάδα καὶ κεκοσμημένως φθειγόμενον, ἤρετο δ' αὐτὸν ὧδε· " κέκτησαι τινὰς ἐν Ἀρκαδία δούλους; " " νῆ Δί," ἔφη, " πολλοὺς γε." " τούτων οὖν," εἶπε, " τίνα ἠγῆ σεαυτὸν; " " ὄνγε," ἔφη, " οἱ νόμοι, δεσπότης γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰμι." " δεσποτῶν δ'," εἶπεν, " ὑπηκόους εἶναι δούλους χρὴ ἢ ἀπαξιούσιν, ἃ δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ σώματος κυρίοις; " ὁ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἐς οἷαν ἀπόκρισιν περιάγοιτο, " ἢ μὲν τῶν τυράννων ἰσχύς," ἔφη, " ὡς ἄμαχός τε καὶ χαλεπή, οἶδα, δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ που καὶ δεσπόζειν τῶν ἐλευθέρων βούλονται, τοῦ δ' ἐμοῦ σώματος ἐγὼ δεσπότης καὶ φυλάξω αὐτὸ ἄσυλον." " πῶς; " εἶπε, " πρὸς ἐραστὴν γὰρ ὁ λόγος κωμάζοντα μετὰ ξίφους ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν ὥραν." " τὸν τράχηλον," ἔφη, " ὑποσχῶν μᾶλλον, ἐκείνου γὰρ δεῖ τῷ ξίφει." ἐπαινέσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, " Ἀρκάδα σε," ἔφη, " ὀρώ." καὶ μὴν τοῦ μειρακίου τούτου καὶ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ μέμνηται, καὶ διαγράφει αὐτὸ πολλῶ ἥδιον ἢ ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα, σωφροσύνης τε ἐπαινῶν πρὸς

mistake about your hair? For, methinks, it is sunny and gleaming, and your mouth too is so regular, that whether you are silent or talking, it is equally comely, and you carry your head freely and proudly. Surely the Emperor must be mistaking all these traits for others, or you would not tell me he cast an evil eye on you." "That is just what has ruined me," said the other, "for he has condescended to favour me and instead of sparing what he praises is prepared to insult me as a woman's lovers might." Apollonius admired the Arcadian too much to ply him with such questions as what he thought of sleeping together, and whether it was disgraceful or not, and others of the sort, as he noticed that he blushed and was most decorous in his language; so he only put to him the question: "Have you any slaves in Arcadia?" "Why yes, many," replied the lad. "What relation to them," said Apollonius, "do you consider yourself as holding?" "That," he replied, "which the laws assign to me, for I am their master." "And must slaves obey their masters or disdain the wishes of those who are masters of their persons?" The other discerned the drift of his question and answered: "I know indeed how irresistible and harsh is the power of tyrants, for they are inclined to use it to overpower even free men, but I am master of my person and shall guard it inviolate." "How can you do that," said Apollonius, "for you have to do with an admirer who is prepared to run amuck of your youth, sword in hand?" "I shall simply hold out my neck, which is all his sword requires." Whereon Apollonius commended him, and said: "I perceive you are an Arcadian." Moreover he mentions this youth in one of his letters,

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CAP.
XLII ὃν γράφει φησὶ τὸ μεираκιον τοῦτο μηδ' ἀποθα-
νεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, θαυμασθὲν δὲ τῆς ῥώμης
ἐπὶ Μαλέαν πλεύσαι, ζηλωτὸν τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ
μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τὰς τῶν μαστίγων καρτερήσεις παρὰ
Λακεδαιμονίοις νικῶντες.

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and gives a much more attractive account of him ^{CHAP.}
than I have done in the above, and while praising ^{XLII}
him for his high principles to his correspondent,
adds that he was not put to death by the tyrant.
On the contrary, after exciting admiration by his
firmness, he returned by ship to Malea, and was held
in more honour by the inhabitants of Arcadia than
the youths who among the Lacedemonians surpass
their fellows in their endurance of the scourge.