

Θ'

I

CAP. I. Ἴωμεν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀκροασόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογουμένου ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἡλίου γὰρ ἐπιτολαὶ ἤδη καὶ ἀνεῖται τοῖς ἐλλογίμοις ἢ ἐς αὐτὸ πάροδος, τὸν βασιλέα τε οἱ ξυνδιαιτώμενοί φασι μηδὲ σίτου ἄψασθαι, διορῶντα, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ· καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ βιβλίον πρόχειρον ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ξὺν ὀργῇ, τὰ δὲ ἡττον. ἀνατυπούσθαι δὲ χρὴ οἷον ἀχθόμενον τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ εὖρον δικαστήρια.

II

CAP. II. Ἐντευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διαλέξεσθαι ἡγουμένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δραμεῖσθαί τινα ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα, τουτὶ δ' ἂν τεκμηραίμεθα τοῖς γε πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου· προῖων γὰρ ἤρετο τὸν γραμματέα, ὑφ' οὗ ἤγετο, οἱ βαδίζοιεν, τοῦ δὲ ἐς τὸ

BOOK VIII

I

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

CHAP. I
I
Conversation with the secretary of the tribunal

II

BUT Apollonius, as we meet him in this conjuncture seems to regard the trial as a dialectical discussion, rather than as a race to be run for his life; and this we may infer from the way he behaved before he entered the court. For on his way thither he asked the secretary who was conducting him, where they were going; and when the latter answered that he was leading him to the

CHAP. II
II

CAP. Δικαστήριον ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῷ φήσαντος, “δικά-
 σομαι,” ἔφη, “πρὸς τίνα;” “πρὸς γε τὸν σεαυ-
 τοῦ,” εἶπε, “κατήγορον, δικάσει δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς.”
 “ἐμοὶ δέ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τίς ὁ δικάσων;
 δείξω γὰρ αὐτὸν φιλοσοφίαν ἀδικοῦντα.” “καὶ
 τίς,” εἶπε, “βασιλεῖ φιλοσοφίας λόγος, κὰν ἀδι-
 κῶν ταύτην τύχη;” “ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφία πολὺς,”
 ἔφη, “βασιλέως, ἵν’ ἐπιτηδείως ἄρχῃ.” ἐπαινέσας
 δὲ ὁ γραμματεὺς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετρίως διέκειτο
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς καὶ καταρχὰς ἐδείκνυ,
 “πόσῳ δέ,” εἶπε, “τὸν λόγον διαμετρήσεις ὕδατι;
 τουτὶ γὰρ με χρὴ πρὸ τῆς δίκης εἰδέναι.” “εἰ
 μὲν ὅποσα,” ἔφη, “ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ δίκη, ξυγχωρεῖ μοι
 λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι διαμετρηθεὶς οὐδὲ ὁ Θύμ-
 βρις, εἰ δὲ ὅποσα ἐρήσεται, μέτρον τοῦ ἀποκρι-
 νομένου ὁ ἐρωτῶν.” “ἐναντίας,” εἶπεν, “ἀρετὰς
 ἐπήσκησας βραχυλογεῖν τε καὶ μακρηγορεῖν ὑπὲρ
 τῶν αὐτῶν φάσκων.” “οὐκ ἐναντίας,” ἔφη, “ἀλλ’
 ὁμοίας· ὁ γὰρ θάτερον ἱκανὸς οὐδὲν ἂν θατέρου
 λείποιτο. καὶ ξυμμετρία δὲ ἀμφοῖν ξυγκειμένη
 τρίτη μὲν, οὐκ ἂν φαίην, πρώτη δ’ ἂν εἴη ἀρετῆ
 λόγου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ
 τετάρτην ἀρετὴν οἶδα.” “ἀνόνητόν γε,” εἶπε,

court, he said: “Whom am I going to plead CHAP. II
 against?” “Why,” said the other, “against your
 accuser, of course, and the Emperor will be judge.”
 “And,” said Apollonius, “who is going to be judge
 between myself and the Emperor? For I shall
 prove that he is wronging philosophy.” “And what
 concern,” said the other, “has the Emperor for
 philosophy, even if he does happen to do her
 wrong?” “Nay, but philosophy,” said Apollonius,
 “is much concerned about the Emperor, that he
 should govern as he should.” The secretary com-
 mended this sentiment, for indeed he was already
 favourably disposed to Apollonius, as he proved from
 the very beginning. “And how long will your
 pleading last by the water-clock’s reckoning? For
 I must know this before the trial begins.” “If,”
 said Apollonius, “I am allowed to plead as long as
 the necessities of the suit require me to, the whole
 of the Tiber might run through the meter before I
 should have done; but if I am only to answer all the
 questions put to me, then it depends on the cross-
 examiner how long I shall be making my answers.”
 “You have cultivated,” remarked the other, “con-
 trary talents when you thus engage to talk about
 one and the same matter both with brevity and
 with prolixity.” “They are not contrary talents,”
 said Apollonius, “but resemble one another; for
 an expert in the one would never be far to seek
 in the other. And moreover there is a mean com-
 posed of the two, which I should not myself allege
 to be a third, but a first requisite of a pleader; and
 for my own part I am sure that silence constitutes
 a fourth excellence much required in a law-court.”
 “Anyhow,” said the other, “it will do you no good

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CAP. II. "σεαυτῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ κινδυνεύειν μέλλουσι."
 "καὶ μὴν καὶ Σωκράτην," ἔφη, "τὸν Ἀθηναῖον
 μέγα ὤνησεν, ὅτε ἔφυγε τὴν γραφὴν." "καὶ πῶς
 ὤνησεν," εἶπε, "τόν, ἐπειδὴ ἐσιώπα, ἀποθανόντα;"
 "οὐκ ἀπέθανεν," ἔφη, "Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ᾤοντο."

III

CAP. III. Ὡδε μὲν παρεσκευάστω πρὸς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ τυράν-
 νου πάντα, προεστῶτι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου
 προσελθὼν, ἕτερος γραμματεὺς, "ὦ Τυανεῦ," ἔφη,
 "γυμνὸς ἔσελθε." "λουσόμεθα οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἢ
 δικασόμεθα;" "οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐσθήτος," ἔφη, "ταῦτα
 προείρηται, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύει σοι ὁ βασιλεὺς μήτε
 περιάπτον μήτε βιβλίον μήτ' ἄλλο γραμματεῖον
 ὅλως μηδὲν ἐσφέρειν ἐνταῦθα." "μηδὲ νάρθηκα,"
 εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτως αὐτὸν ταῦτα πείθοντας;"
 ἀναβοήσας δὲ ὁ κατήγορος, "ὦ βασιλεῦ,
 πληγὰς," ἔφη, "ἀπειλεῖ μοι ὁ γόης, ἐγὼ γὰρ σε
 ταυτὶ πέπεικα." "οὐκοῦν," εἶπε, "σὺ μᾶλλον γόης,
 ἂ γὰρ μὴ ἐγὼ πέπεικά πω τὸν Βασιλέα, ὡς οὐκ
 εἰμί, σὺ φῆς αὐτὸν ὡς εἶην πεπεικέναι." παρῆν
 δὲ τῷ κατηγόρῳ λαιδορομένῳ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
 Εὐφράτου τις ἀπελευθέρων, ὃν ἐλέγετο Εὐφράτης
 ἄγγελον τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαλέ-
 ξεων στείλαι ὁμοῦ χρήμασιν, ἃ τῷ κατηγόρῳ
 ἐπέδοθη.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

nor anyone else who stands in great peril." "And
 yet," said Apollonius, "it was of great service to
 Socrates of Athens, when he was prosecuted." "And
 what good did it do him," said the other, "seeing
 that he died just because he would say nothing?"
 "He did not die," said Apollonius, "though the
 Athenians thought he did." CHAP. II

III

THIS was how he prepared himself to confront the
 despot's manœuvres; and as he waited before the
 court another secretary came up and said: "Man of
 Tyana, you must enter the court with nothing on
 you." "Are we then to take a bath," said Apollonius,
 "or to plead?" "The rule," said the other, "does
 not apply to dress, but the Emperor only forbids you
 to bring in here either amulet, or book, or any
 papers of any kind." "And not even a cane," said
 Apollonius, "for the back of the idiots who gave him
 such advice as this?" Whereat his accuser burst
 into shouts: "O my Emperor," he said, "this wizard
 threatens to beat me, for it was I who gave you this
 advice." "Then," said Apollonius, "it is you who
 are a wizard rather than myself; for you say that
 you have persuaded the Emperor of my being that
 which so far I have failed to persuade him that I
 am not." While the accuser was indulging in this
 abuse, one of the freedmen of Euphrates was at his
 side, whom the latter was said to have sent from
 Ionia with news of what Apollonius had there said in
 his conversations, and also with a sum of money
 which was presented to the accuser. CHAP. III
 Apollonius is brought into court

^{CAP.}_{IV} Τοιαῦτα ἠκροβολίσαντο πρὸ τῆς δίκης, τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ· κεκόσμητο μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον ὡσπερ ἐπὶ ξυνουσίᾳ πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου, μετείχον δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ ἐπίδηλοι πάντες, ἀγῶνα ποιουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτι ἐν πλείστοις ἐλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτία. ὁ δ' οὕτω τι ὑπερεώρα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς μηδὲ ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἐπηρεάσαντος δὲ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν, καὶ κελεύσαντος ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων θεόν, ἀνέσχεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, ἐνδεικνύμενος μὲν τὸ ἐς τὸν Δία ὁρᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀσεβῶς κολακευθέντα κακίῳ τοῦ κολακεύσαντος ἠγοούμενος. ἐβόα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὁ κατηγορος, “ἤδη μέτρει, βασιλεῦ, ὕδωρ, εἰ γὰρ ξυγχωρήσεις αὐτῷ μῆκος λόγων, ἀπάγξει ἡμᾶς. ἔστι δέ μοι καὶ βιβλίον τοῦτο ξυγγεγραμμένον τὰς αἰτίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν χρῆ λέγειν αὐτόν, ἀπολογείσθω δὲ κατὰ μίαν.”

^{CAP.}_V Ὁ δ', ὡς ἄριστα συμβουλευσάντος ἐπαινέσας, ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ συκοφάντου συμβουλίαν ἀπολογείσθαι, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας παρελθὼν αἰτίας, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίας καταστήσαι τινα ἐς

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SUCH were the preliminary skirmishes which preceded the trial, but the conduct of the trial itself was as follows: The court was fitted up as if for an audience listening to a panegyric discourse; and all the illustrious men of the city were present at the trial, because the Emperor was intent upon proving before as many people as possible that Apollonius was an accomplice of Nerva and his friends. Apollonius, however, ignored the Emperor's presence so completely as not even to glance at him; and when his accuser upbraided him for want of respect, and bade him turn his eyes upon the god of all mankind, Apollonius raised his eyes to the ceiling, by way of giving a hint that he was looking up to Zeus, and that he regarded the recipient of such profane flattery as worse than he who administered it. Whereupon the accuser began to bellow and spoke somewhat as follows: "'Tis time, my sovereign, to apportion the water, for if you allow him to talk as long as he chooses, he will choke us. Moreover I have a roll here which contains the heads of the charges against him, and to these he must answer, so let him defend himself against them one by one."

^{CHAP.}_{IV}
The counts
of the in-
dictment
reduced to
four

THE Emperor approved this plan of procedure and ordered Apollonius to make his defence according to the informer's advice; however, he dropped out other accusations, as not worth discussion, and confined himself to four questions which he thought were

^{CHAP.}_V

CAP. V. λόγον, ὑπὲρ τεττάρων δέ, ἃς ἀπόρους τε καὶ
 δυσαποκρίτους ᾤετο, ὧδε ἐρωτήσας· “τί γὰρ
 μαθῶν,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχεις
 ἅπασι στολήν, ἀλλ’ ἰδίαν τε καὶ ἐξαίρετον;” “ὅτι
 με,” εἶπεν, “ἡ τρέφουσα γῆ καὶ ἀμφιέννυσι, ζῶα
 δὲ ἄθλια οὐκ ἐνοχλῶ.” πάλιν ἤρετο, “τοῦ χάριν
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεόν σε ὀνομάζουσιν;” “ὅτι πᾶς,”
 εἶπεν, “ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς νομιζόμενος θεοῦ ἐπω-
 νυμία τιμᾶται.” ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὀπόθεν ἐφιλο-
 σοφήθη τῷ ἀνδρὶ, δεδήλωκα ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδῶν λόγοις.
 τρίτον ἤρετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ λοιμοῦ, “πόθεν
 γάρ,” ἔφη, “ὀρμώμενος ἢ τῷ ξυμβαλλόμενος
 προεῖπας τῇ Ἐφέσῳ νοσήσειν αὐτούς;” “λεπ-
 τοτέρᾳ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαίτη χρώμενος
 πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἡσθόμην· εἰ δὲ βούλει, λέγω
 καὶ λοιμῶν αἰτίας.” ὁ δ’, οἶμαι, δείσας μὴ τὴν
 ἀδικίαν καὶ τοὺς μὴ καθαρὸς γάμους καὶ ὅποια
 οὐκ εὐλόγως ἔπραττεν, ἐπυγράψη ταῖς τοιαύταις
 νόσοις, “οὐ δέομαι,” ἔφη, “τοιᾶσδε ἀποκρίσεως.”
 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τετάρτην ἐρώτησιν ἐπέφερεν ἐς τοὺς
 ἄνδρας, οὐκ εὐθὺς ὤρμησεν, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν
 χρόνον διαλιπών, πολλὰ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς, ἰλιγγιῶντι
 δὲ ὅμοιος ἠρώτησεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν·
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ᾤοντο αὐτὸν ἐκπηδήσαντα τοῦ πλά-
 σματος μήτε τῆς προσηγορίας ἀφέξεσθαι τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν, σχέτλιά τε ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας βοήσεσθαι,
 ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὧδε, ἀλλ’ ὑφέρπων τὴν ἐρώτησιν,
 “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη, “προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας τῇ

embarrassing and difficult to answer. “What induces CHAP.
 you,” he said, “Apollonius, to dress yourself differently V
 from everybody else, and to wear this peculiar and sin-
 gular garb?” “Because,” said Apollonius, “the earth
 which feeds me also clothes me, and I do not like to
 bother the poor animals.” The Emperor next asked
 the question: “Why is it that men call you a god?”
 “Because,” answered Apollonius, “every man that
 is thought to be good, is honoured by the title of
 god.” I have shown in my narrative of India how
 this tenet passed into our hero’s philosophy. The
 third question related to the plague in Ephesus;
 “What motivated,” he said, “or suggested your
 prediction to the Ephesians that they would suffer
 from a plague?” “I used,” he said, “O my
 sovereign, a lighter diet than others, and so I was
 the first to be sensible of the danger; and, if you
 like, I will enumerate the causes of pestilences.”
 But the Emperor, fearful, I imagine, lest Apollonius
 should reckon among the causes of such epidemics
 his own wrong-doing, and his incestuous marriage,
 and his other misdemeanours, replied: “Oh, I do not
 want any such answer as that.” And when he came
 to the fourth question which related to Nerva and his
 friends, instead of hurrying straight on to it, he
 allowed a certain interval to elapse, and after long
 reflection, and with the air of one who felt dizzy, he
 put his question in a way which surprised them all;
 for they expected him to throw off all disguise and
 blurt out the names of the persons in question
 without any reserve, complaining loudly and bitterly
 of the sacrifice; but instead of putting the question
 in this way, he beat about the bush, and said: “Tell
 me, you went out of your house on a certain day,

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^{CHAP.}
^V δεῖνι ἡμέρα καὶ ἐς ἀγρὸν πορευθεὶς τίνι ἐθύσω τὸν παῖδα ;” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὡσπερ μειρακίῳ ἐπιπλήττων, “εὐφήμει,” ἔφη, “εἰ μὲν γὰρ προῆλθον τῆς οἰκίας, ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀγρῷ, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἔθυσσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. λεγόντων δὲ αὐτὰ οἱ πίστεως ἄξιοι.” τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰπόντος καὶ ἐπαίνου ἀρθέντος μείζονος ἢ βασίλειον ξυγχωρεῖ δικαστήριον, ξυμμαρτυρεῖν αὐτῷ νομίσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς παρόντας καὶ παθῶν τι πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, ἐπειδὴ ἔρρωντό τε καὶ νοῦν εἶχον, “ἀφήμί σε,” εἶπε, “τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, περιμενεῖς δέ, ἔστ’ ἂν ἰδίᾳ ξυγγενώμεθα.” ὁ δὲ ἐπιρρώσας ἑαυτὸν, “σοὶ μὲν χάρις, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους τούτους ἀπολώλασι μὲν αἱ πόλεις, πλήρεις δ’ αἱ νῆσοι φυγάδων, ἡ δὲ ἠπειρος οἰμωγῆς, τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα δειλίας, ἡ δὲ ξύγκλητος ὑπόνοιας. δός, εἰ βούλοιο, κάμοι τόπον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πέμπε τὸν ληψόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ’ ἂν τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν λάβοις,

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι.

καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἠφανίσθη τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τόν τε παρόντα καιρὸν εὖ τιθέμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδ’ ἀπλῶς ὁ τύραννος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας ἐρωτήσων δῆλος ἦν—ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο γάρ που τῷ μὴ

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and you travelled into the country, and sacrificed the boy—I would like to know for whom?” And Apollonius as if he were rebuking a child replied : ^{CHAP.}
^V “Good words, I beseech you ; for if I did leave my house, I was in the country ; and if this was so, then I offered the sacrifice : and if I offered it, then I ate of it. But let these assertions be proved by trustworthy witnesses.” Such a reply on the part of the sage aroused louder applause than beseemed the court of an Emperor ; and the latter deeming the audience to have borne witness in favour of the accused, and also not a little impressed himself by the answers he had received, for they were both firm and sensible, said : “I acquit you of the charges ; but you must remain here until we have had a private interview.” Thereat Apollonius was much encouraged and said : “I thank you indeed, my sovereign, but I would fain tell you that by reason of these miscreants your cities are in ruin, and the islands full of exiles, and the mainland of lamentations, and your armies of cowardice, and the senate of suspicion. Accord me also, if you will, opportunity to speak ; but if not, then send some one to take my body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay, you cannot take even my body, <sup>The sacri-
fice of
a boy</sup> <sup>Apollonius
acquitted</sup>

“For thou shalt not slay me, since I tell thee I am not mortal.” ^{Iliad 22. 13}

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

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CAP. V. ἀπεκτονέναι αὐτόν—τοῦ τε μὴ ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπαχθῆναι προορῶν. τυχεῖν δ' αὖ τούτου ἄριστα ἠγγεῖτο, εἰ μὴ ἀγνοοῖτο τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ γιγνώσκοιτο, ὡς ἔχοι τοῦ μὴ ἂν ποτε ἀλῶναι ἄκων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δέος τὸ περὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὖ ἤδη αὐτῷ εἶχεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν γὰρ μηδὲ ἐρέσθαι τι ὁ τύραννος ὥρμησε, πῶς ἂν τούτους ἐς τὸ πιθανὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπὶ ταῖς οὐκ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πεπιστευμέναις αἰτίαις; τοιάδε εὗρον τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ.

VI

CAP. VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος μὲν αὐτῷ ξυνεγράφη τις ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ ἐς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀφήσονται, ξυνεῖλε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐς ἃς εἴρηκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν γάρ, ὅτι διαβαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰς βωμολόχους ιδέας ἐπαινοῦντες, ὡς ἠττον μὲν, ἢ αὐτοὶ φασι δεῖν, κεκολασμένον, ὑπεραίροντα δὲ τοῖς τε ὀνόμασι καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις. τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὐ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ σοφὸς ὑγιῶς ἂν ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἦθος πάρισα ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ ἀντίθετα, καὶ κροτάλου δίκην κτυπῶν τῇ γλώττῃ, ῥητορικοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τρόπου ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις δεῖ· δεινότης γὰρ ἐν δικαστηρίοις, ἢ μὲν φανερὰ κἂν διαβάλοι

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death, nor was the latter anxious to be drawn into such discussions. And he thought that he would best effect his end if he left no one in ignorance of his true nature, but allowed it to be known to all to be such that he had it in him never to be taken prisoner against his own will. Moreover he had no longer any cause for anxiety about his friends; for as the despot had not the courage to ask any questions about them, how could he possibly put them to death with any colour of justice upon charges for which no evidence had been presented in court? Such was the account of the proceedings of the trial which I found.

CHAP. V

VI

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

CHAP. VI
Apollonius
apologia
pro vita

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VI. τινὰ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς ψηφιομένοις, ἢ δ' ἀφανῆς κὰν ἀπέλθοι κρατοῦσα, τὸ γὰρ λαθεῖν τοὺς δικάζοντας, ὡς δεινός ἐστιν, ἀληθεστέρα δεινότης. σοφῶ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀπολογουμένῳ, οὐ γὰρ κατηγορήσει γε ὁ σοφός, ἂ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἔρρωται, ἤθους τε δεῖ ἐτέρου παρὰ τοὺς δικανικοὺς ἀνδρας, λόγου τε κατεσκευασμένου μὲν, μὴ δοκοῦντος δέ, καὶ ὑπόσεμνος ἔστω καὶ μὴ πολὺ ἀποδέων τοῦ ὑπερόπτης εἶναι, ἔλεός τε ἀπέστω λέγοντος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἀντιβολῆσαι ξυγχωρῶν τί ἂν οὗτος ἐπὶ ἐλέῳ εἴποι; τοιόσδε ὁ λόγος δόξει τοῖς γε μὴ μαλακῶς ἀκροασομένοις ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ξυνετέθη γὰρ αὐτῷ ὧδε·

VII

CAP. VII. “Ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων σοί τε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κάμοί· σύ τε γὰρ κινδυνεύεις ὑπὲρ ὧν μήποτε αὐτοκράτωρ, εἰ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν οὐδεμιᾶ δίκη διαβεβλήσθαι δόξεις, ἐγὼ τε ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδὲ Σωκράτης ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ὃν οἱ γραψάμενοι τὴν γραφὴν καινὸν μὲν τὰ δαιμόνια ἠγοῦντο, δαίμονα δὲ οὔτε ἐκάλουν οὔτε ᾤοντο. κινδύνου δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον ἡμῶν οὕτω χαλεποῦ ἤκοντος, οὐκ ὀκνήσω

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betray him who resorts to it as anxious to impose upon the judges; whereas if it is well concealed, it is likely to carry off a favourable verdict; for true cleverness consists in concealing from the judges the very cleverness of the pleader. But when a wise man is defending his cause,—and I need not say that a wise man will not arraign another for faults which he has the will and strength to rebuke,—he requires quite another style than that of the hacks of the law-court; and though his oration must be well-prepared, it must not seem to be so, and it should possess a certain elevation almost amounting to scorn, and he must take care in speaking not to throw himself on the pity of his judges. For how can he appeal to the pity of others who would not condescend to solicit anything? Such an oration will my hero's seem to those who shall diligently study both myself and him; for it was composed by him in the following manner:

VII

(i) “My prince, we are at issue with one another concerning matters of grave moment; for you run such a risk as never autocrat did before you, that namely of being thought to be animated by a wholly unjust hatred of philosophy; while I am exposed to a worse peril than was ever Socrates at Athens, for though his accusers taxed him in their indictment with introducing new beliefs about demons, they never went so far as to call him or think him a demon. Since, however, so grave a peril besets us both, I will not hesitate to tender you the advice of

CHAP. VII
Exhorts Domitian to be fair

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. καὶ σοὶ ξυμβουλεύειν, ὅποσα ἑμαυτὸν πέπεικα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατέστησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ κατήγορος ἐς τουτουὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἐσῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἀληθῆς περὶ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ σοῦ δόξα· σὲ μὲν γὰρ ᾤοντο ξυμβούλω τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὀργῇ χρήσεσθαι, δι' ἣν κὰν ἀποκτεῖναί με, ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐμὲ δ' ἐκποιήσειν ἑμαυτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου τρόποις, ὅποσοι τοῦ ἀποδρᾶναι εἰσιν, ἦσαν δ', ὦ βασιλεῦ, μυρίοι· καὶ τούτων ἀκούων οὐκ ἐς τὸ προκαταγιγνώσκειν ἦλθον, οὐδὲ κατεψηφισάμην τῆς σῆς ἀκροάσεως ὡς μὴ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐχούσης, ἀλλὰ ξυθόμενος τοῖς νόμοις ἔστηκα ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ· τούτου ξύμβουλος καὶ σοὶ γίγνομαι. δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὴ προκαταγιγνώσκειν, μηδὲ καθῆσθαι πεπεισμένον, ὡς ἐγὼ τί σε κακὸν εἴργασμαι, μηδ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίου καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἐκείνη ἄρχουσιν, οἷς ἵππος τε παμπόλλη ἐστὶ καὶ τοξεία πᾶσα καὶ χρυσῆ γῆ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὄχλος, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἀκούειν ξὺν γέλωτι τὸ πείσεσθαι τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅ σε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἀφαιρήσεται, κατ' ἀνδρὸς δὲ σοφοῦ καὶ γυμνοῦ πιστεύειν, ὡς ἐστὶ τούτῳ ὄπλον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ προσδέχεσθαι ταῦτα Αἰγυπτίου συκοφάντου λέγοντος, ἃ μηδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ποτε ἤκουσας, ἣν σεαυτοῦ προορᾶν φῆς, εἰ μὴ, νῆ Δία, ἣ κολακευτικῇ καὶ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν οὕτω

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whose excellence I am myself convinced. For since the accuser has plunged us into this struggle, the many have been led to form a false opinion of both myself and of you. They have come to imagine that in this audience you will listen only to the counsels of anger, with the result that you will even put me to death, whatever death means, and that I in turn shall try to evade this tribunal in some of the many ways there are,—and they were, my prince, myriad,—of escaping from it. Though these rumours have reached my ears, I have not contracted any prejudice against you, nor have I done you the injury of supposing you will hear my cause otherwise than in accordance with the strictest principles of equity; for in conformity with the laws I submit myself to their pronouncement. And I would advise you also to do the same; for justice demands that you should neither prejudge the case, nor take your seat on the bench with your mind made up to the belief that I have done you any wrong. If you were told that the Armenian, the Babylonian and other foreign potentates were about to inflict some disaster on you, which must lead to the loss of your empire, you would, I am sure, laugh outright; although they have hosts of cavalry, all kinds of archers, a gold-bearing soil and, as I know full well, a teeming population. And yet you distrust a philosopher, naked of means of offence, and are ready to believe he is a menace to the autocrat of the Romans,—all this on the mere word of an Egyptian sycophant. Never did you hear such tales from Athene, whom you allege to be your guardian spirit, unless indeed, great Heavens! their faculty of flattering and falsely accusing others has so increased the influence of

CHAP. VII

Pleas his humble position as a mere sage

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. *τι νῦν τοῖς ἀλιτηρίοις τούτοις ἐπιδέδωκεν, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὀπόσα ὀφθαλμῖαι τέ εἰσι καὶ τὸ μὴ πυρέξαι, μηδ' ἀνοιδῆσαι τι τῶν σπλάγχχνων, ἐπιτηδείους εἶναί σοι ξυμβούλους φάσκειν, ἰατρῶν δίκην ἐφαπτομένους καὶ θεραπεύοντας, ὅτου αὐτῶν πονήρως ἔχοις, περὶ δὲ τῆ ἀρχῆ καὶ τῷ σώματι κινδυνεύοντί σοι μηθ' οὐς φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ ξυμβουλεύειν μήθ' ὅ τι ἔσται σοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὄπλον διδάσκειν ἤκοντας, ἀλλ' εἶναί σοι τοὺς συκοφάντας αἰγίδα Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Διὸς χεῖρα, εἰδέναι μὲν ὑπὲρ σοῦ φάσκοντας, ἃ μηδ' οἱ θεοί, προεγρηγορότας δέ σου καὶ προκαθεύδοντας, εἰ δὴ καθεύδουσιν οὗτοι, κακοῖς, φασιν, ἐπαντλοῦντες κακὰ καὶ τὰς Ἰλιάδας ταύτας ἀειξυντιθέντες.*

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἵπποτροφεῖν αὐτοὺς κἀπὶ ζευγῶν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκκυκλεῖσθαι λευκῶν, καὶ ἢ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ ὀψοφαγία καὶ μυριάδων δύο καὶ τριῶν ἐωνημένα παιδικά, καὶ τὸ μοιχεύειν μὲν, ὃν λαυθάνουσι χρόνον, γαμεῖν δέ, ἃς ἐμοίχευσαν, ὅταν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ληφθῶσι, καὶ οἱ κροτοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς νίκαις, ἐπειδὴν φιλόσοφός τις ἢ ὑπάτος, ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, ἀλῶ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀπόληται δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ,

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these miscreants, that you would pretend that CHAP. VII whereas in insignificant matters, such as sore-eyes, and avoidance of fevers and inflammation of the bowels, the Gods are your apt advisers, manipulating and healing you after the manner of physicians of any one of these maladies you may be suffering from, they, nevertheless, in matters which imperil your throne and your life, give you no counsel either as to the persons you should guard against or as to the weapons you should employ against them, but, instead of coming to your aid, leave you to the tender mercies of false accusers, whom you regard as the Aegis of Athene or the hand of Zeus, just because they assert that they understand your welfare better even than do the gods, and that they ever watch over you in the hours of their waking and sleeping, if indeed these wretches can sleep after pouring out such wicked lies and compiling ever and anon whole Iliads such as this one.

That they should keep horses and roll theatrically into the forum in chariots drawn by snowy teams, that they should gorge themselves off dishes of silver and gold, parade favourites that cost them two or three myriad sesterces, that they should go on committing adultery as long as they are not found out and then, and not before, marry the victims of their lusts when they are caught red-handed, that their splendid successes should be hailed with applause, as often as some philosopher or consul, absolutely innocent, falls into their toils, and is put to death by yourself—all this I am willing to concede to the licence of these accursed wretches and to their brazen indifference to the

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. δεδόσθω τῇ τῶν καταράτων τρυφῇ καὶ τῷ μήτε νόμων αὐτοῖς ἔτι μήτ' ὀφθαλμῶν εἶναι φόβον, τὸ δ' οὕτω τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φρονεῖν, ὡς προγιγνώσκειν βούλεσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐτ' ἐπαινῶ καὶ ἀκούων δέδια, σὺ δ' εἰ προσδέξιοι, γράφονται καὶ σὲ ἴσως ὡς διαβάλλοντα τὴν περὶ τοῦ θείου δόξαν, ἐλπίς γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ ξυγκείσεσθαι τοιαύτας γραφάς, ἐπειδὴν μηδεὶς τοῖς συκοφάνταις λοιπὸς ἦ· καὶ ξυνίημι μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολογούμενος, εἰρήσθω δέ μοι ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, οὓς εἰ μὴ ἄρχοντας ἡγοῖο, οὐκ ἄρξεις.

Τίς οὖν ξυνήγορος ἔσται μοι ἀπολογουμένω; εἰ γὰρ καλέσαιμι τὸν Δία, ὑφ' ᾧ βεβιωκῶς οἶδα, γοητεύειν με φήσουσι καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄγειν. διαλεγόμεθα οὖν περὶ τούτου ἀνδρί, ὃν τεθνάναι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ φημι ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ πατήρ ὁ σός, ᾧ ἐγὼ τοσούτου ἄξιος, ὅσου περ ἐκεῖνος σοί· σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐποίησεν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο. οὗτος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ξυλλήπτωρ ἔσται μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας, πολλῶ τὰμὰ βέλτιον ἢ σὺ γιγνώσκων· ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὐπω αὐτοκράτωρ, θεοῖς τε τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θύσων κάμοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς διαλεξόμενος. ἐντυχῶν δέ μοι κομῶντί τε καὶ ὧδε ἐσταλμένῳ οὐδὲ ἤρετο οὐδὲ ἐν περὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ἡγούμενος τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶν εὖ ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δ' ἔνεχ' ἡκείν ὁμολογήσας, ἀπῆλθεν

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public eye and to law: but that they should give themselves the airs of superhuman beings and presume to know better than the gods, I cannot approve or allow; and the mere rumour of it fills me with horror. And if you allow such things to be, they will perhaps accuse even yourself of offending against established religion. For we may expect the sycophants to concoct such accusations against yourself, so soon as they have exhausted the list of their other victims. I know that my tone is rather that of a censor than that of a defendant; if so, you must pardon me for thus speaking up in behalf of the laws, with the recognition of whose authority by yourself stands and falls that of your own.

(ii) Who then will be my advocate while I am defending myself? For if I called upon Zeus to help me, under whom I am conscious of having passed my life, they will accuse me of being a wizard and of bringing heaven down to earth. Let us then appeal in this matter to one whom I deny to be dead, although the many assert it, I mean your own father, who held me in the same esteem in which you hold him; for he made you, and was in turn made by me. He, my prince, shall assist me in my defence, because he knows my character much better than yourself; for he came to Egypt before he was raised to the throne, as much to converse with me about the Empire as to sacrifice to the gods of Egypt. And when he found me with my long hair and dressed as I am at this moment, he did not ask me a single question about my costume, because he considered that everything about me was well; but he admitted that he had come thither on my account,

CHAP. VII

Repels the charge of wizardry

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. ἐπαινέσας καὶ εἰπὼν μὲν ἅ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἀκούσας δ' ἅ μὴ παρ' ἄλλου· ἢ τε διάνοια, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἐχρήτο, ἐρρώσθη αὐτῷ παρ' ἐμοῦ μάλιστα, μεθεστηκυῖα ἤδη ὑφ' ἐτέρων, οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδείων μὲν, οὐ μὴν σοί γε δόξαι, οἱ γὰρ μὴ ἄρχειν αὐτὸν πείθοντες καὶ σὲ δήπου αὐτὸ ἀφηροῦντο τὸ μετ' ἐκείνον ταῦτ' ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δὲ ξυμβουλευόντος ἑαυτὸν τε μὴ ἀπαξιοῦν ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτῷ φοιτώσης, ὑμᾶς τε κληρονόμους αὐτῆς ποιείσθαι, εὖ ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην φήσας, αὐτὸς τε μέγας ἦρθη καὶ ὑμᾶς ἦρεν· εἰ δὲ γόητά με ᾤετο, οὐδ' ἂν ξυνηψέ μοι κοινωνίαν φροντίδων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἦκων διελέγετο, οἷον· ἀνάγκασον τὰς Μοίρας ἢ τὸν Δία, τύραννον ἀποφῆναί με ἢ τεράτευσαι διοσημίας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δείξας τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, δυόμενον δέ, ὅθεν ἄρχεται. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μοι ἐπιτήδειος ἄρχειν ἔδοξεν, ἢ ἐμὲ ἡγούμενος ἰκανὸν ταῦτα, ἢ σοφίσμασι θηρεύων ἀρχήν, ἣν ἀρεταῖς ἔδει κατακτᾶσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ δημοσίᾳ διελέχθην ἐν ἱερῷ, γοήτων δὲ ξυνουσία φεύγουσι μὲν ἱερά θεῶν, ἐχθρὰ γὰρ τοῖς περὶ τὴν τέχνην, νύκτα δὲ καὶ πᾶν, ὅ τι ἀφεγγές, αὐτῶν προβαλλόμενοι, οὐ ξυγχωροῦσι τοῖς ἀνοήτοις οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν οὔτε ᾧτα. διελέχθη μοι καὶ ἰδία

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and after commending me and saying to me things CHAP. VII which he would have said to no one else, and having heard from me what he would have heard from no one else, he departed. I most confirmed him in his aspirations for the throne, when others already sought to dissuade him,—in no unfriendly spirit, I admit, though you anyhow cannot agree with them; for those who tried to persuade him not to assume the reins of Empire were assuredly on their way to deprive you also of the succession to him which you now hold. But by my advice he did not hold himself unworthy, he said, of the kingdom which lay within his grasp and of making you the heirs thereto; and he fully acknowledged the entire wisdom of my advice, and he was raised himself to the pinnacle of greatness, as in turn he raised yourselves. Now if he had looked upon me as a wizard, he would never have taken me into his confidence, for he did not come and say such things as this to me: Compel the Fates or compel Zeus to appoint me tyrant, or to work miracles and portents in my behalf, and show me the sun rising in the west and setting at the point where he rises. For I should not have thought him a fit person for empire if he had either considered me as an adept in such art, or resorted to such tricks in pursuit of a crown which it behoved him to win by his virtues alone. More than this my conversation with him was held publicly in a temple, and wizards do not affect temples of the gods as their places of reunion; for such places are inimical to those who deal in magic, and they cloak their art under the cover of night and of every sort of darkness, so as to preclude their dupes from the use of their eyes and ears. It is true that he also had a private conver-

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP
VII μέν, παρετύγχανον δὲ ὅμως Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων, ὁ μὲν πολεμιώτατά μοι ἔχων, ὁ δ' οἰκειότατα, Δίωνα γὰρ μὴ παυσαίμην γράφων ἐν φίλοις. τίς ἂν οὖν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἢ μεταποιουμένων γε σοφίας ἐς γόητας ἔλθοι λόγους; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν παραπλησίως φυλάξαιτο καὶ ἐν φίλοις καὶ ἐν ἐχθροῖς κακὸς φαίνεσθαι; καὶ οἱ λόγοι ἦσαν ἐναντιούμενοι τοῖς γόησι· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἴσως τὸν πατέρα ἡγῆ τὸν σεαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἐρῶντα γόησι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῷ πιστεῦσαι, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς, ἵνα τούτου τύχοι, παρ' ἐμοῦ εὐρέσθαι, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἦκειν ἔχειν ᾤετο, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὑπὲρ μειζόνων ἐμοὶ διελέγετο, ὑπὲρ νόμων καὶ ὑπὲρ πλούτου δικαίου, θεοί τε ὡς θεραπευτέοι, καὶ ὅποσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρχουσι, μαθεῖν ἦρα· οἷς πᾶσιν ἐναντίον χρήμα οἱ γόητες, εἰ γὰρ ἰσχύοι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ τέχνη.

Προσῆκει δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κάκεινα ἐπεσκέφθαι· τέχναι ὅποσαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἰσὶ, πράττουσι μὲν ἄλλο ἄλλη, πᾶσαι δ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, αἱ μὲν σμικρῶν, αἱ δ' αὖ μεγάλων, αἱ δ' ἀφ' ὧν θρέφονται· καὶ οὐχ αἱ βάνουσοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν σοφαί τε ὁμοίως καὶ

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sation with me, but there were present at it beside myself Euphrates and Dion, one of them my bitter enemy, but the other my firmest friend; for may there never come a time when I shall not reckon Dion among my friends. Now I ask you, who would begin to talk wizardry in the presence of wise men or of men anyhow laying claim to wisdom? And who would not be equally on his guard both among friends and among enemies of betraying his villainy? And moreover our conversation on that occasion was directed against wizards; for you surely will not suppose that your own father when he was aspiring to the throne set more confidence in wizards than in himself, or that he got me to put pressure upon heaven, that he might obtain his object, when, on the contrary, he was confident of winning the crown before ever he came to Egypt; and subsequently he had more important matters to talk over with me, namely the laws and the just acquisition of wealth, and how the gods ought to be worshipped, and what blessings they have in store for those monarchs who govern their people in accordance with the laws. These are the subjects which he desired to learn about, and they are all the direct opposite of wizardry; for if they count for anything at all, there will be an end of the black art.

(iii) And there is another point, my prince, which merits your attention. The various arts known to mankind, in spite of the difference of their functions and achievements, are yet all concerned to make money, some earning less, some earning more, and some just enough to live upon; and not only the base mechanic arts, but of the rest those which

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. ὑπόσοφοι, πλὴν ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας. καλῶ δὲ σοφὰς μὲν ποιητικὴν μουσικὴν ἀστρονομίαν, σοφιστὰς καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς μὴ ἀγοραίους, ὑποσόφους δὲ ζωγραφίαν πλαστικὴν ἀγαλματοποιούς κυβερνήτας γεωργούς, ἣν ταῖς ὥραις ἔπωνται, καὶ γὰρ αἶδε αἱ τέχναι σοφίας οὐ πολὺ λείπονται. ἔστι δέ τι, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ψευδόσοφοί τε καὶ ἀγείροντες, ὃ μὴ μαντικὴν ὑπολάβης, πολλοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀξία, ἣν ἀληθεύῃ, εἰ δ' ἔστι τέχνη, οὐπω οἶδα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδοσόφους φημί· τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστεῖσθαι, πάντα ταῦτα προστίθῃμι τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων δόξῃ, τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων τε καὶ θυομένων ἀνοία κείται, ἣ δὲ τέχνη φιλοχρήματοι πάντες, ἃ γὰρ κομψεύονται, ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ σφισιν εὔρηται, μαστεύουσι δ' ὑπερβολὰς χρημάτων, ὑπαγόμενοι τοὺς ὅτουδὴ ἐρῶντας ὡς ἱκανοὶ πάντα. τίνα οὖν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, πλοῦτον περὶ ἡμᾶς ἰδὼν ψευδοσοφίαν ἐπιτηδεύειν με οἶει, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς κρείττω με ἡγουμένου χρημάτων; ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ

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are esteemed liberal¹ arts as well as those which only border upon being liberal, and true philosophy is the only exception. And by liberal arts I mean poetry, music, astronomy, the art of the sophist and of the orator, the merely forensic kinds excepted; and by the arts which border upon liberal I mean those of the painter, modeller, sculptor, navigator, agriculturist, in case the latter waits upon the seasons; for these arts are not very inferior to the liberal professions. And on the other hand, my prince, there are the pseudo-liberal arts of jugglers, which I would not have you confuse with divination, for this is highly esteemed, if it be genuine and tell the truth, though whether it is an art, I am not yet sure. But I anyhow affirm wizards to be professors of a pseudo-liberal art, for they get men to believe that the unreal is real, and to distrust the real as unreal, and I attribute all such effects to the imaginative fancy of the dupes; for the cleverness of this art is relative to the folly of the persons who are deceived by them, and who offer the sacrifices they prescribe; and its professors are given up wholly to filthy lucre, for all their parade of skill is devised by them in hope of gain, and they are always on the look out for big fortunes, and they try to persuade people who are passionately attached to something or another that they are capable of getting everything for them. Do you then find me so opulent as to warrant me in supposing that I cultivate this sort of false and illiberal wisdom, the more so as your own father considered me to be above all pecuniary considerations? And to show you that

¹ I translate the same word σοφός in this passage by liberal, wise, and clever according to the context.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII λέγω, ποῦ μοι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ γενναίου τε καὶ θείου ἀνδρός ; ὅς με ἐν αὐτῇ ἄδει τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι.”

αὐτοκράτωρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

“Εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταυτά σοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἤθελον, σφόδρα ἂν εὐδαιμόνως ἔπραττε φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία· φιλοσοφία μὲν ἀδεκάστως ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαιρέτως. ἔρρωσο.”

“Ταῦθ’ ὁ πατήρ ὁ σὸς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀπολογείσθω, φιλοσοφίας μὲν τὸ ἀδέκαστον, πενίας δὲ τὸ αὐθαίρετον ἐμοὶ ὀριζόμενος, ἐμέμνητο γάρ που καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὅτ’ Εὐφράτης μὲν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν προσποιουμένων φιλοσοφεῖν προσιόντες αὐτῷ χρήματα οὐδ’ ἀφανῶς ἤτουν, ἐγὼ δ’ οὐ μόνον οὐ προσῆειν ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ κακείνους ἐώθουν ὡς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντας, διεβεβλήμην δὲ πρὸς χρήματα μειράκιον ὧν ἔτι· τὰ γοῦν πατρῶα, λαμπρὰ δ’ ἦν οὐσία ταῦτα, μιᾶς μόνης ἰδὼν ἡμέρας, ἀδελφοῖς τε τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ ἀφῆκα καὶ φίλοις, καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν τοῖς πένησι, μελετῶν που ἀφ’ Ἑστίας τὸ μηδεὸς δεῖσθαι· ἐάσθω δὲ Βαβυλῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ Καύκασόν τε καὶ ποταμὸν Ὑφασιν, δι’ ὧν ἐπορευόμην ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος· ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον βλέπειν ποιοῦμαι μάρτυρα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τοῦτον· δεινὰ γὰρ πεπραχθαί τέ

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I speak the truth, here is a letter to me from that CHAP. noble and divine man, who in it praises me more VII especially for my poverty. It runs thus:

“The autocrat Vespasian to Apollonius the philosopher sends greetings. Vespasian's testimony in favour of Apollonius

“If all men, Apollonius, were disposed to be philosophers in the same spirit as yourself, then the lot no less of philosophy than of poverty would be an extremely happy one; for your philosophy is pure and disinterested, and your poverty is voluntary. Farewell.”

Let this be your sire's pleading in my behalf, when he thus lays stress upon the disinterestedness of my philosophy, and the voluntariness of my poverty. For I have no doubt he had in mind the episode in Egypt, when Euphrates and several of those who pretended to be philosophers approached him, and in no obscure language begged for money; whereas I myself not only did not solicit him for money, but repudiated them as impostors for doing so. And I also showed an aversion from money from my first youth; for realising that my patrimony, and it was a considerable property, was at best but a transitory toy, I gave it up to my brothers and to my friends and to the poorer of my relatives, so disciplining myself from my very home and hearth to want nothing. I will not dwell upon Babylon and the parts of India beyond the Caucasus and the river Hyphasis, through which I journeyed ever true to myself. But in favour of my life here and no less of the fact that I have never coveted money, I will invoke the testimony of this Egyptian here; for he accuses me of every sort of evil deed

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII μοι καὶ βεβουλεύσθαι φήσας, οὔθ' ὀπόσων χρημάτων ἐπανούργουν ταῦτα, εἴρηκεν, οὔθ' ὅ τι ἐνθυμηθεῖς κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὔτως ἀνόητος αὐτῷ δοκῶ τις, ὡς γοητεύειν μὲν, ἀ δ' ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἕτεροι χρημάτων, αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖν οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀγοράν, οἶμαι, προκηρύττων τοιαύτην· ἴτε, ὦ ἀνόητοι, γοητεύω γάρ, καὶ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ προῖκα, κερδανεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸ ἀπελθεῖν ἕκαστος ἔχων, ὅτου ἐρᾶ, ἐγὼ δὲ κινδύνους καὶ γραφάς.

Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐς ἀνοήτους ἴωμεν λόγους, ἐρώμεθα τὸν κατήγορον, ὑπὲρ ὅτου χρῆ λέγειν πρώτου. καίτοι τί χρῆ ἐρωτᾶν; διήλθε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς στολῆς τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου, καί, νῆ Δί', ὦν σιτοῦμαί τε καὶ οὐ σιτοῦμαι. ἀπολογοῦ δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτων, θεῖε Πυθαγόρα, κρινόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὧν σὺ μὲν εὖρες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινώ. ἀνθρώποις ἢ γῆ φύει, βασιλεῦ, πάντα, καὶ σπονδὰς ἄγειν πρὸς τὰ ζῶα βουλομένοις δεῖ οὐδενός, τὰ μὲν γὰρ δρέπονται αὐτῆς, τὰ δ' ἀροῦνται κουροτροφούσης, ὡς ταῖς ὥραις ἔοικεν, οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἀνήκοοι τῆς γῆς μάχαιραν ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἔθηξαν ὑπὲρ ἐσθῆτός τε καὶ βρώσεως. Ἴνδοι τοίνυν Βραχμᾶνες αὐτοῖ τε οὐκ ἐπήνουν ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Αἰγυπτίων ἐδίδασκον μὴ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὰ· ἔνθεν Πυθαγόρας ἐλών, Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτος ἐπέμιξεν Αἰγυπτίοις, τὰ μὲν ἔμφυχα

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and design, yet we hear nothing from him of how much money I made by these villainies, nor of how much gain I had in view; indeed he thinks me such a simpleton as to practise my wizardry for nothing, and whereas others only commit its crimes for much money, he thinks that I commit them for none at all. It is as if I cried my wares to the public in such terms as the following: Come, O ye Dupes, for I am a wizard; and I practise my art not for money, but free, gratis, and for nothing; and so you shall earn a great reward, for each of you will go off with his heart's desire, while I shall get away with nothing but dangers and writs of accusation.

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

CHAP VII

Avoidance of animal food

Rule of Pythagoras

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CAP. VII τῇ γῇ ἀνήκεν, ἃ δ' αὐτὴ φύει, ἀκήρατα εἶναι φάσκων ἐσιτεῖτο, ἐπιτήδεια γὰρ σῶμα καὶ νοῦν τρέφειν· ἐσθῆτά τε, ἣν ἀπὸ θνησειδίων οἱ πολλοὶ φοροῦσιν, οὐ καθαρὰν εἶναι φήσας λίνον ἡμίσχετο, καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον βύβλου ἐπλέξατο. ἀπέλαυσέ τε τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς αἰσθῆσθαι· γενόμενος γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὐς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης ἢ Τροία ἐμάχετο, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάνθου παίδων κάλλιστος ὦν καὶ κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένος, ἀπέθανε μὲν οὕτω νέος, ὡς καὶ Ὀμήρω παρασχεῖν θρήνον, παρελθὼν δ' ἐς πλείω σώματα κατὰ τὸν Ἀδραστείας θεσμόν, ὃν ψυχὴ ἐναλλάττει, πάλιν ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς ἀνθρώπου εἶδος καὶ Μνησαρχίδῃ ἐτέχθη τῷ Σαμίῳ, σοφὸς ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Ἴων ἐκ Τρώος, καὶ οὕτω τι ἀθάνατος, ὡς μηδ' ὅτι Εὐφορβος ἦν ἐκλελῆσθαι. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρόγονον τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ σοφίας εἶρηκα καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς εὐρών, κληρονομήσας δὲ ἐτέρου ταύτ' ἔχειν. καὶ γὰρ μὲν οὐ κρίνω τοὺς τρυφῶντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φοινικίου ὄρνιθος, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐκ Φάσιδος ἢ Παιόνων, οὐς παιίνουσιν ἐς τὰς αὐτῶν δαίτας οἱ τῇ γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι πάντα, οὐδ' ἐγραψάμην πω οὐδένα

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

CAP. VII ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰχθύων, οὓς ὠνοῦνται πλείονος ἢ τοὺς κοππατίας ποτὲ οἱ λαμπροί, οὐδ' ἀλουργίδος ἐβάσκηνα οὐδενί, οὐδὲ Παμφύλου τινὸς ἢ μαλακῆς ἐσθῆτος, ἀσφοδέλου δέ, ὦ θεοί, καὶ τραγημάτων καὶ καθαρᾶς ὀψοφαγίας γραφὴν φεύγω.

Καὶ οὐδὲ ἡ ἐσθῆς ἄσυλος, ἀλλὰ κακείνην λωποδυτεῖ με ὁ κατήγορος ὡς πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τοῖς γόησι. καίτοι ἀφελόντι τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμφύχων τε καὶ ἀψύχων λόγον, δι' ὧν καθαρὸς τις ἢ μὴ δοκεῖ, τί βελτίων ἢ ὀθόνη τοῦ ἐρίου; τὸ μὲν γε πραοτάτου ζώου ἐπέχθη καὶ σπουδαζομένου θεοῖς, οἳ μὴ ἀπαξιοῦσι τὸ ποιμαίνειν καί, νῆ Δί', ἠξίωσάν ποτε αὐτὸ καὶ χρυσοῦ εἴδους ἢ θεοὶ ἢ λόγοι. λίνον δὲ σπείρεται μὲν, ὡς ἔτυχε, χρυσοῦ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀπ' ἐμφύχου ἐδρέφθη, καθαρὸν μὲν Ἰνδοῖς δοκεῖ, καθαρὸν δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ διὰ τοῦτο σχῆμα γέγονε διαλεγόμενοις εὐχομένοις θύουσι. καθαρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐννυχεύειν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὀνειράτα τοῖς, ὡς ἐγώ, διαιτωμένοις ἐτυμωτέρας τὰς αὐτῶν φήμας ἄγει.

Ἀπολογώμεθα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οὔσης ποτὲ ἡμῖν κόμης, ἐπειδὴ τις γραφὴ καὶ ἀνχμοῦ εὔρηται.

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

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

(vi) Let us next defend ourselves from the attack occasioned by the hair which we formerly wore, for one of the counts of the accusation turns upon

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. κρίνεται δὲ μὴ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ξανθὰ καὶ διεκτενισμένα μεράκια, τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐξαψάμενα καὶ τὰς ἐταίρας, ἐφ' ἃς κωμάζει· καὶ ἑαυτὰ μὲν εὐδαίμονα ἠγείσθω καὶ ζηλωτὰ τῆς κόμης καὶ τοῦ λειβομένου ἀπ' αὐτῆς μύρου, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀναφροδισίαν πᾶσαν καὶ ἐραστὴν τοῦ μὴ ἐρᾶν. εἰρήσεται γὰρ πρὸς αὐτά· ὦ κακοδαίμονες, μὴ συκοφαντεῖτε τὸ Δωριέων εὖρεμα, τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων ἦκει, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπιτηθευθὲν αὐτοῖς, ἐς οὓς μαχιμώτατα αὐτῶν εἶχον, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῆς Σπάρτης Λεωνίδας ἐγένετο κομῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρείας, καὶ τοῦ σεμνὸς μὲν φίλοις, φοβερὸς δὲ ἐχθροῖς φαίνεσθαι ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ἐπ' αὐτῷ κομᾶ μείον οὐδὲν ἢ ἐπὶ Λυκούργῳ τε καὶ Ἰφίτῳ. σοφοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς κόμης φειδέσθω σίδηρος, οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν ἐπάγειν αὐτόν, οὐ πᾶσαι μὲν αἰσθητηρίων πηγαί, πᾶσαι δ' ὀμφαί, ὅθεν εὐχαί τε ἀναφαίνονται καὶ σοφίας ἐρμηνεὺς λόγος. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ στρόφιον τῶν ἀλουργοτάτων περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρμόσας ἐσόβει περὶ τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγυιάς, ὕμνους ξυντιθείς, ὡς θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἔσοιτο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡμελημένη κόμη χρώμενος, καὶ οὐπω τοιῶνδε ὕμνων ἐπ' αὐτῇ δεηθείς, ἐς γραφὰς ἄγομαι καὶ δικαστήρια. καὶ τί φῶ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα; πότερ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ τὴν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ

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the squalor thereof. But surely the Egyptian is not entitled to judge me for this, but rather the dandies with their yellow and well-combed locks; and let them bring dangling along the company of their lovers and the mistresses of their revels. Let them congratulate and compliment themselves upon their locks and on the myrrh which drips from them; but think me everything that is unattractive, and if a lover of anything, of abstention from love. For I am inclined to address them thus: O ye poor wretches, do not falsely accuse an institution of the Dorians; for the wearing of your hair long has come down from the Lacaedemonians who affected it in the period when they reached the height of their military fame; and a king of Sparta, Leonidas, wore his hair long in token of his bravery, and in order to appear dignified to his friends, yet terrible to his enemies. For these reasons Sparta wears her hair long no less in his honour than in that of Lycurgus and of Iphitus. And let every sage be careful that the iron knife does not touch his hair, for it is impious to apply it thereto; inasmuch as in his head are all the springs of his senses, and all his intuitions, and it is the source from which his prayers issue forth and also his speech, the interpreter of his wisdom. And whereas Empedocles fastened a fillet of deep purple around his hair, and walked proudly about the streets of the Hellenes, composing hymns to prove that he would pass from humanity and become a god, I only wear my hair dishevelled, and I have never needed to sing such hymns about it, yet am hailed before the law-courts as a criminal. And what shall I say of Empedocles? Which had he most reason to praise,

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίαν ἄδειν, παρ' οἷς οὐκ ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο ταῦτα;

Μὴ πλείω διαλεγόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης, ἐτμήθη γὰρ καὶ προὔλαβε τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ φθόνος, δι' ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐτέρας αἰτίας χρὴ ἀπολογεῖσθαι χαλεπῆς οὔσης, καὶ οἷας, ὧ βασιλεῦ, μὴ σοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Διὶ παρασχέιν φόβον· φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεὸν ἠγγεῖσθαι με, καὶ δημοσίᾳ τοῦτ' ἐκφέρειν ἐμβρονημένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· καίτοι καὶ πρὸ τῆς αἰτίας ἐκεῖνα διδάσκειν ἔδει, τί διαλεχθεὶς ἐγώ, τί δ' οὕτω θαυμάσιον εἰπὼν ἢ πράξας ὑπηγαγόμενους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσεύχεσθαι μοι· οὔτε γάρ, ἐς ὃ τι ἢ ἐξ ὅτου μετέβαλον ἢ μεταβαλεῖ μοι ἢ ψυχῆ, διελέχθην ἐν Ἑλλησι, καίτοι γινώσκων, οὔτε δόξας περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τοιαύτας ἀπέστειλα, οὔτ' ἐς λόγια καὶ χρησμῶν ᾤδ' ἐξῆλθον, οἷα τῶν θεοκλυτούντων φορά, οὐδ' οἶδα πόλιν οὐδεμίαν, ἐν ἣ ἔδοξε ξυνιόντας Ἀπολλωνίῳ θύειν. καίτοι πολλοῦ ἄξιος ἐκάστοις ἐγενόμεν, ὅποσα ἐδέοντό μου, ἐδέοντο δὲ τοιαῦτα· μὴ νοσεῖν οἱ νοσοῦντες, ὀσιώτεροι μύειν, ὀσιώτεροι θύειν, ὕβριν ἐκτετμήσθαι, νόμους ἐρρῶσθαι. μισθὸς δ' ἐμοὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπῆρχε τὸ βελτίους αὐτοὺς αὐτῶν φαί-

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

(vii) But let us say no more about my hair, for it has been cut off, and the accusation has been forestalled by the same hatred which inspires the next count, a much more serious one from which I must now defend myself. For it is one calculated to fill not only you, my prince, but Zeus himself with apprehension. For he declares that men regard me as a god, and that those who have been thunderstruck and rendered stark-mad by myself proclaim this tenet in public. And yet before accusing me there are things which they should have informed us of, to wit, by what discourses, or by what miracles of word or deed I induced men to pray to me; for I never talked among Hellenes of the goal and origin of my soul's past and future transformations, although I knew full well what they were; nor did I ever disseminate such opinions about myself; nor came forth with presages and oracular strains, which are the harvest of candidates for divine honours. Nor do I know of a single city in which a decree was passed that the citizens should assemble and sacrifice in honour of Apollonius. And yet I have been much esteemed in the several cities which asked for my aid, whatever the objects were for which they asked it, and they were such as these: that their sick might be healed of their diseases, that both their initiations and their sacrifices might be rendered more holy, that insolence and pride might be extirpated, and the laws strengthened. And whereas the only reward which I obtained in all this was that men were made much better than they were

The charge of Deification of Apollonius

CAP. VII. νεσθαι, σοὶ δὲ ἐχαρίζομην ταῦτα· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βοῶν ἐπιστάται τὸ μὴ ἀτακτεῖν αὐτὰς χαρίζονται τοῖς κεκτημένοις τὰς βοῦς, καὶ οἱ τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπιμεληταὶ πιαίνουσιν αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ τῶν πεπαμένων κέρδος, νόσους τε ἀφαιροῦσι μελιττῶν οἱ νομεῖς αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο τῷ δεσπότη τὸ σμῆνος, οὕτω που καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ πολιτικὰ παύων ἐλαττώματα σοὶ διωρθοῦμην τὰς πόλεις, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ θεὸν ἠγοῦντό με, σοὶ κέρδος ἢ ἀπάτη εἶχε, ξὺν προθυμίᾳ γὰρ που ἠκροῶντό μου, δεδιότες πράττειν, ἢ μὴ δοκεῖ θεῷ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτο ᾤοντο, ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ τις ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς θεὸν ξυγγένεια, δι' ἣν μόνον ζῶν θεοῦς οἶδε, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὅπη μετέχει τοῦ θείου. φησὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτὸ θεῷ εἰκέναι, ὡς ἀγαλματοποιία ἐρμηνεύει καὶ χρώματα, τὰς τε ἀρετὰς θεόθεν ἦκειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν πέπεισται, καὶ τοὺς μετέχοντας αὐτῶν ἀγχιθέους τε εἶναι καὶ θείους.

Διδασκάλους δὲ τῆς διανοίας ταύτης μὴ Ἀθηναίους καλῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους καὶ τὰς τοιάσδε ἐπωνυμίας πρῶτοι ἔθεντο, θειότερας, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, οὔσας ἢ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ κείσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν ἐν τῇ Πυθοῖ· ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν αὐτοῦ Λυκούργος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἄρτι γεγραμμένων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων, οἷς ἡ Λακεδαιμῶν τέτακται, προσειπὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπόλλων βασιλίζει τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ χρησμοῦ

before, they were all so many boons bestowed upon yourself by me. For as cow-herds, if they get the cows into good order earn the gratitude of their owners, and as shepherds fatten the sheep for the owner's profit, and as bee-keepers remove diseases from the hive, so that the owner may not lose his swarm, so also I myself, I think, by correcting the defects of their politics, improved the cities for your benefit. Consequently if they did regard me as a god, the deception brought profit to yourself; for I am sure they were the more ready to listen to me, because they feared to do that which a god disapproved of. But in fact they entertained no such illusion, though they were aware that there is between man and God a certain kinship which enables him alone of the animal creation to recognise the Gods, and to speculate both about his own nature and the manner in which it participates in the divine substance. Accordingly man declares that his very form resembles God, as it is interpreted by sculptors and painters; and he is persuaded that his virtues come to him from God, and that those who are endowed with such virtues are near to God and divine.

But we need not hail the Athenians as the teachers of this opinion, because they were the first to apply to men the titles of just and Olympic beings and the like, though they are too divine, in all probability, to be applicable to man, but we must mention the Apollo in the Pythian temple as their author. For when Lycurgus from Sparta came to his temple, having just penned his code for the regulation of the affairs of Lacedaemon, Apollo addressed him, and weighed and examined the repu-

CAP. VII. φάσκων ἀπορεῖν, πότερα χρῆ θεὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον καλεῖν, προῖων δὲ ἀποφαίνεται καὶ ψηφίζεται τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Λυκούργου ἀγὼν ἤκεν, ἢ κίνδυνος ἐκ τούτων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς ἀθανατίζοντα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπέπληξε τῷ Πυθίῳ προσρηθεὶς τούτοις, ἀλλὰ ξυνετίθεντο τῷ μαντείῳ, πεπεισμένοι δήπου καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ ταῦτα.

Τὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ταῦτα· Ἰνδοὺς Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συκοφαντοῦσι καὶ διαβάλλουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δόξας, τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὃς ἐς τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὄλων εἴρηται, οὕτω τι ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ἑτέρους διδάξασθαι Ἰνδῶν ὄντα. ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς μὲν τῶν ὄλων γενέσεώς τε καὶ οὐσίας θεὸν δημιουργὸν οἶδε, τοῦ δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ταῦτα αἴτιον τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ξυγγενῆ ταῦτα, ἔχομαι τοῦ λόγου καὶ φημὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεοῦ τι ἔχειν. κόσμος δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ θεῷ δημιουργῷ κείμενος τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ νομιζέσθω καὶ τὰ ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ γῆ πάντα, ὧν μετουσία ἴση ἀνθρώποις, πλὴν τύχης. ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κόσμος οὐχ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ σοφίας μέτρα, ὃν που καὶ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, φήσεις ἀνδρὸς

tation he enjoyed ; and at the commencement of his oracle the god declares that he is puzzled whether to call him a god or a man, but as he advances he decides in favour of the former appellation and assigns it to him as being a good man. And yet the Lacedaemonians never forced a lawsuit on this account upon Lycurgus; nor threatened him on the ground that he claimed to be immortal ; for he never rebuked the Pythian god for so addressing him, but on the contrary the citizens agreed with the oracle, for I believe they were already persuaded of the fact before ever it was delivered.

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

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. δείσθαι θεῶ εἰκασμένου· καὶ τί τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τοῦδε; αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀτακτοῦσαι μανικώτερον ἄπτονται παντὸς σχήματος, καὶ ἔωλοι μὲν αὐταῖς νόμοι, σωφροσύνη δ' οὐδαμοῦ, θεῶν δὲ τιμαὶ ἄτιμοι, λαλιᾶς δ' ἐρώσι καὶ τρυφῆς, ἐξ ὧν ἀργία φύεται πονηρὰ ξύμβουλος ἔργου παντός. αἱ δὲ μεθύουσαι ψυχαὶ πηδῶσι μὲν ἐπὶ πολλά, τὸ δὲ σκίρτημα τοῦτο ἴσχει οὐδέν, οὐδ' εἰ πάντα πίνοιεν, ὅποσα, ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας, ὑπνηλὰ ἐνομίσθη. ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἀνδρός, ὃς ἐπιμελήσεται τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰς κόσμου, θεὸς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἦκων. οὐτοσί γὰρ ἀπόχρη αὐτὰς ἐρώτων τε ἀπάγειν, ἐφ' οὗς ἀγριώτερον τῆς ξυνήθους ὀμιλίας ἐκφέρονται, καὶ φιλοχρηματίας, δι' ἣν οὐπω πᾶν ἔχειν φασίν, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ τὸ στόμα ὑπέχουσιν ἐπιρρέοντι τῷ πλούτῳ. φόνων γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν μὲν αὐτὰς μὴ προσάπτεσθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἴσως ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ, ἀπονῆψαι δὲ οὔτε ἐμοὶ δυνατὸν οὔτε τῷ πάντων δημιουργῶ θεῶ.

Ἔστω, βασιλεῦ, κατηγορία καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐφέσου, ἐπειδὴ ἐσώθη, καὶ κρινέτω με ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ὡς ἔστι πρόσφορον τῇ γραφῇ. ἔστι γὰρ δήπου ἡ κατηγορία τοιαύτη· περὶ Σκύθας ἢ Κελτούς, οἱ ποταμὸν Ἰστρου ἢ Ῥήνον οἰκοῦσι, πόλις ᾠκίσται μείων οὐδὲν Ἐφέσου τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ· ταύτην ὀρμη-

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

A human Saviour

(viii) Let me now, my prince, take the accusation which concerns Ephesus, since the salvation of that city was gained; and let the Egyptian be my judge, according as it best suits his accusation. For this is the sort of thing the accusation is. Let us suppose that among the Scythians or Celts, who live along the rivers Ister and Rhine, a city has been founded every whit as important as Ephesus in Ionia. Here you have a sally-port of barbarians, who refuse

The delivery of Ephesus from plague

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. τήριον βαρβάρων οὔσαν, οὐ μὴ ἀκροῶνταί σου, λοιμὸς μὲν τις ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλεν, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἰάσατο. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογία σοφῷ ἀνδρί, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἀντίξοον ὄπλοισι, ἀλλὰ μὴ νόσοις αἰρεῖν βούληται· μὴ γὰρ ἐξαλειφθεῖη πόλις μηδεμία, μήτε σοί, βασιλεῦ, μήτε ἐμοί, μήτε ἴδοιμι πρὸς ἱεροῖς νόσον, δι' ἣν οἱ νοσοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς κείσονται. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔστω ἐν σπουδῇ τὰ βαρβάρων, μηδὲ τάττωμεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ὑγιαῖνον, πολεμιωτάτους ὄντας καὶ οὐκ ἐνσπόνδους τῷ περὶ ἡμᾶς γένει, τὴν δὲ Ἐφεσον τίς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ σῶζεσθαι, βεβλημένην μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης Ἀτθίδος, ἐπιδεδωκυῖαν δὲ παρὰ πάσας, ὅποσαι Ἴωνικαί τε καὶ Λύδιοι, προβεβηκυῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν διὰ τὸ ὑπερήκειν τῆς γῆς, ἐφ' ἣς ῥέει, μεστὴν δὲ φροντισμάτων οὔσαν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητορικῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις οὐχ ἴππῳ, μυριάσι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχύει, σοφίαν ἐπαινοῦσα; τίς δ' ἂν σοφὸς ἐκλιπεῖν σοι δοκεῖ τὸν ὑπὲρ πόλεως τοιαύτης ἀγῶνα, ἐνθυμηθεῖς μὲν Δημόκριτον ἐλευθέρωσαντα λοιμοῦ ποτε Ἀβδηρίτας, ἐννοήσας δὲ Σοφοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, ὃς λέγεται καὶ ἀνέμους θέλξαι τῆς ὥρας πέρα πνεύσαντας, ἀκηκοὺς δὲ τὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ὃς νεφέλης ἀνέσχε φορὰν ἐπ' Ἀκραγαντίουσι βραγείσης;

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to be subject to yourself; let us then suppose that it was about to be destroyed by a pestilence, and that Apollonius found a remedy and averted it. I imagine that a wise man would be able to defend himself even against such a charge as that, unless indeed the sovereign desires to get rid of his adversaries, not by use of arms, but by plague; for I pray, my prince, that no city may ever be wholly wiped out, either to please yourself or to please me, nor may I ever behold in temples a disease to which those who lie sick should succumb in them. But granted that we are not interested in the affairs of barbarians, and need not restore them to health, since they are our bitter enemies, and not at peace with our race; yet who would desire to deprive Ephesus of her salvation, a city which took the basis of its race from the purest Attic source, and which grew in size beyond all other cities of Ionia and Lydia, and stretched herself out to the sea outgrowing the land on which she is built, and is filled with studious people, both philosophers and rhetoricians, thanks to whom the city owes her strength, not to her cavalry, but to the tens of thousands of her inhabitants in whom she encourages wisdom? And do you think that there is any wise man who would decline to do his best in behalf of such a city, when he reflects that Democritus once liberated the people of Abdera from pestilence, and when he bears in mind the story of Sophocles of Athens, who is said to have charmed the winds when they were blowing unseasonably, and who has heard how Empedocles stayed a cloud in its course when it would have burst over the heads of the people of Acragas?

Ἐπικόπτει με ὁ κατήγορος· ἀκούεις γάρ που καὶ σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ φησιν, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σωτηρίας αἷτιος Ἐφεσίοις ἐγενόμην, γράφεσθαί με, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ προεῖπον ἐμπεσεῖσθαί σφισι τὴν νόσον, τουτὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ σοφίαν εἶναι καὶ τερατώδες, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ἐφικέσθαι με, εἰ μὴ γόης τε ἦν καὶ ἀπόρρητος. τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐρεῖ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔφασκε τοῦ δαιμονίου μανθάνειν; τί δὲ Θαλῆς τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, τῶ Ἴωνε, ὁ μὲν τὴν εὐφορίαν τὴν τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν οὐρανίων παθῶν προειπόντε; ἢ γοητεύοντε προειπεῖν ταῦτα; καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπήχθησαν οὗτοι δικαστηρίοις ἐφ' ἑτέραις αἰτίαις, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τῶν αἰτιῶν εἴρηται γόητας εἶναι σφᾶς, ἐπειδὴ προγιγνώσκουσι. καταγέλαστον γὰρ τοῦτο ἐδόκει, καὶ οὐδ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πιθανὸν κατ' ἀνδρῶν λέγεσθαι σοφῶν, οὐ τὰ γύναια κακῶς ἤκουεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἔλξει.

Πόθεν οὖν τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον πάθους ἠσθόμην; ἤκουσας μὲν καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου εἰπόντος, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διαιτῶμαι, κάμοι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑμαντοῦ σιτίων, ὡς λεπτὰ καὶ ἡδίω τῆς ἐτέρων συβάριδος, ἐν ἀρχῇ εἴρηται· τοῦτό μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐν αἰθρίᾳ τιμὴ ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάττει, κοῦκ ἐᾷ θολερὸν περὶ αὐτὰς οὐδὲν εἶναι, διορᾶν τε, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρου ἀνγῇ, πάντα γιγνόμενά τε καὶ ἐσό-

(ix) The accuser here interrupts me, you hear him yourself do so, my prince, and he remarks that I am not accused for having brought about the salvation of the Ephesians, but for having foretold that the plague would fall upon them; for this, he says, transcends the power of wisdom and is miraculous, so that I could never have reached such a pitch of truth if I were not a wizard and an unspeakable wretch. What then will Socrates say here of the lore which he declared he learned from his demonic genius? Or what would Thales and Anaxagoras, both Ionians, say, of whom one foretold a plenteous crop of olives, and the other not a few meteorological disturbances? That they foretold these things by dint of being wizards? Why, is it not a fact that they were brought before the law-courts upon other charges, but that no one ever heard among their accusations that of their being wizards, because they had the gift of foreknowledge? For that would have been thought ridiculous, and it would not have been a plausible charge to bring against men of wisdom even in Thessaly, where the women had a bad reputation for drawing the moon down to earth.

How then did I get my sense of the coming disaster at Ephesus? You have listened to the statement made even by my accuser, that instead of living like other people, I keep to a light diet of my own, and prefer it to the luxury of others, and I began by saying so myself. This diet, my king, guards my senses in a kind of indescribable ether or clear air, and forbids them to contract any foul or turbid matter, and allows me to discern, as in the sheen of a looking-glass, everything that is happen-

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CAP. VII. *μενα. οὐ γὰρ περιμενεῖ γε ὁ σοφὸς γῆν τὴν ἀναθυμιῶσαν ἢ τὸν ἀέρα διεφθορότα, ἢν τὸ δεινὸν ἄνωθεν ῥέη, ἀλλὰ ξυνήσει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ὄντων, ὕστερον μὲν ἢ οἱ θεοί, θάπτον δὲ ἢ οἱ πολλοί. θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ μελλόντων, ἄνθρωποι δὲ γιγνομένων, σοφοὶ δὲ προσιόντων αἰσθάνονται. λοιμῶν δ' αἰτίας ἰδίᾳ, βασιλεῦ, ἐρώτα, σοφώτεραι γὰρ ἢ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγεσθαι. ἄρ' οὖν τὸ οὕτως διαιτᾶσθαι λεπτότητα μόνον ἐργάζεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἢ ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα τε καὶ θαυμασιώτατα; θεωρεῖν δ' ἔξεστιν, ὃ λέγω, καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλων μὲν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ κακ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περὶ τὴν νόσον ἐκείνην πραχθέντων. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῶ δὲ γέροντι εἴκαστο, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδὼν εἶλον, οὐ παύσας νόσον, ἀλλ' ἐξελὼν. ὅτῳ δ' εὐξάμενος, δηλοῖ τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ὑπὲρ τούτου ἰδρυσάμην, Ἑρακλέους μὲν γὰρ Ἀποτροπαίου ἐστὶ, ξυνεργὸν δ' αὐτὸν εἰλόμην, ἐπειδὴ σοφός τε καὶ ἀνδρεῖος ὢν ἐκάθηρέ ποτε λοιμοῦ τὴν Ἥλιν, τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀποκλύσας, ἃς παρείχεν ἡ γῆ κατ' Αὐγέαν τυραννεύοντα.*

Τίς ἂν οὖν σοι, βασιλεῦ, δοκεῖ φιλοτιμούμενος γόης φαίνεσθαι θεῶ ἀναθεῖναι, ὃ αὐτὸς εἴργαστο; τίνας δ' ἂν κτήσασθαι θαυμαστάς τῆς

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ing or is to be. For the sage will not wait for the earth to send up its exhalations, or for the atmosphere to be corrupted, in case the evil is shed from above; but he will notice these things when they are impending, not so soon indeed as the gods, yet sooner than the many. For the gods perceive what lies in the future, and men what is going on before them, and wise men what is approaching. But I would have you, my prince, ask of me in private about the causes of pestilence; for they are secrets of a wisdom which should not be divulged to the many. Was it then my mode of living which alone develops such a subtlety and keenness of perception as can apprehend the most important and wonderful phenomena? You can ascertain the point in question, not only from other considerations, but in particular from what took place in Ephesus in connection with that plague. For the genius of the pestilence,—and it took the form of a poor old man,—I both detected, and having detected took it captive: and I did not so much stay the disease as pluck it out. And who the god was to whom I had offered my prayers is shown in the statue which I set up in Ephesus to commemorate the event; and it is a temple of the Hercules who averts disease, for I chose him to help me, because he is the wise and courageous god, who once purged of the plague the city of Elis, by washing away with the river-tide the foul exhalations which the land sent up under the tyranny of Augeas.

Who then do you think, my prince, being ambitious to be considered a wizard, would dedicate his personal achievement to a god? And whom would he get to admire his art, if he gave the credit of the miracle

CAP. VII. τέχνης, θεῶ παρείς τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι; τίς δ' ἂν Ἑρακλεῖ εὐξασθαι γόης ὦν; τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οἱ κακοδαίμονες βόθροις ἀνατιθέασι καὶ χθουίοις θεοῖς, ὧν τὸν Ἑρακλέα ἀποτακτέον, καθαρὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖνους. ἠὺξάμην αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτέ, λαμίας γάρ τι φάσμα κάκει περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον ἤλυε, σιτούμενον τῶν νέων τοὺς καλοὺς· καὶ ξυνήρατό μοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος οὐ θαυμασίῳν δεηθεῖς δῶρων, ἀλλὰ μελιττούτης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τι ἀνθρώπων ἐργάσασθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέα μισθὸν τῶν ἄθλων ἠγείτο. μὴ ἄχθου, βασιλεῦ, τὰ Ἑρακλέους ἀκούων· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐπειδὴ χρηστὸς καὶ σωτήριος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ κελεύεις με ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐνδείκνυσαι, ἄκουε ἀπολογίας ἀληθοῦς· ἐγὼ γὰρ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράττων, οὐπω ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔθυσσα, οὐδ' ἂν θύσαιμι οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἂν θίγοιμι ἱερῶν, ἐν οἷς αἷμα, οὐδ' ἂν εὐξαίμην ἐς μάχαιραν βλέπων ἢ θυσίαν, ἣν φησιν. οὐ Σκύθην με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἤρηκας, οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς ἀμίκτου ποθέν, οὐδ' ἐπέμιξά πω Μασσαγέταις ἢ Ταύροις, ὡς κάκείνους ἂν τοῦ τῆς θυσίας ἔθους μετέβαλον· ἀνοίας δ' ἂν ποῖ ἤλαυνον, ἵνα πλείστα

to God? And who would offer his prayers to Hercules, if he were a wizard? For in fact these wretches attribute such feats to the trenches they dig and to the gods of the under-earth, among whom we must not class Heracles, for he is a pure deity and kindly to men. I offered my prayer to him once on a time also in the Peloponnese, for there was an apparition of a lamia there too; and it infested the neighbourhood of Corinth and devoured good-looking young men. And Hercules lent me his aid in my contest with her, without asking of me any wonderful gifts,—nothing more than honey-cake and frankincense, and the chance to do a salutary turn to mankind; for in the case of Eurystheus also this was the only guerdon which he thought of for his labours. I would ask you, my prince, not to be displeased at my mention of Hercules; for Athene had him under her care because he was good and kind and a Saviour of man.

(x) But inasmuch as you bid me vindicate myself in the matter of the sacrifice, for I observe you beckoning with your hand for me to do so, hear my defence. It shall set the truth before you. In all my actions I have at heart the salvation of mankind, yet I have never offered a sacrifice in their behalf, nor will I ever sacrifice anything, nor touch sacraments in which there is blood, nor offer any prayer with my eyes fixed upon a knife or the kind of sacrifice that he means. It is no Scythian, my prince, that you have got before you, nor a native of some savage and inhospitable land; nor did I ever mingle with Massagetæ or Taurians, for in that case I should have reformed even them and altered their sacrificial custom. But to what a depth of folly and incon-

CAP. VII. μὲν ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς διαλεγόμενος καὶ ὄπη ἔρρωται ἢ μή, ἄριστα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἡσθημένος, ὅτι τὰς αὐτῶν βουλὰς οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ μὴ μαντευομένοις φαίνουσι, μαιφονίας ἄπτωμαι καὶ σπλάγχχνων ἀθύτων ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀκαλλιερέτων; ἐφ' οἷς ἀπέλιπεν ἄν με καὶ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου ὁμφὴ μὴ καθαρὸν ὄντα.

Καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ἀφελὼν τὸ τῆς θυσίας μῦθος ἐξετάζοι τὸν κατήγορον πρὸς ἃ μικρῶ πρόσθεν εἴρηκεν, ἀπαλλάττει με τῆς αἰτίας αὐτός· ὃν γὰρ φησι προειπεῖν Ἐφεσίοις τὴν νόσον θυσίας οὐδεμιᾶς δεηθέντα, τί σφαγίων ἐδεήθη ἐφ' ἃ καὶ μὴ θυσαμένῳ παρῆν εἰδέναι; μαντικῆς δὲ τί ἐδεόμην ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτός τε ἐπεπέισμην καὶ ἕτερος; εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Νερούα καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κρίνομαι, λέξω πάλιν, ἃ καὶ πρώην εἶπον, ἡνίκα ἡτιῶ ταῦτα. Νερούαν γὰρ ἄξιον μὲν ἀρχῆς ἡγοῦμαι πάσης καὶ λόγου παντός ἐπ' εὐφημίαν ἤκοντος, ἀγωνιστὴν δὲ φροντίδων οὐ χρηστόν· καταλέλυται γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου, δι' ἣν καὶ ἡ γνώμη μεστή ἄσης καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ οἴκοι ἰκανή· σὲ γοῦν ἐπαινεῖ μὲν σώματος, ἐπαινεῖ δὲ γνώμης, εἰκὸς μὲν οἶμαί τι πράττων, προθυμοτέρα γὰρ ὄντως ἢ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐπαιεῖν, ἃ μὴ αὐτὴ ἔρρωται.

sequence should I have descended if, after talking so much about divination and about the conditions under which it flourishes or does not flourish, I, who understand better than anyone that the gods reveal their intentions to holy and wise men even without their possessing prophetic gifts, made myself guilty of bloodshed, by meddling with the entrails of victims, as unacceptable to myself as they are ill-omened? In that case the revelation of heaven would surely have abandoned me as impure. CHAP VII

However, if we drop the fact that I have a horror of any such sacrifice, and just examine the accuser in respect to the statements which he made a little earlier, he himself acquits me of this charge. For if, as he says, I could foretell to the Ephesians the impending pestilence without use of any sacrifice whatever, what need had I of slaying victims in order to discover what lay within my cognizance without offering any sacrifice at all? And what need had I of divination in order to find out things of which I myself was already assured as well as another? For if I am to be put upon my trial on account of Nerva and his companions, I shall repeat what I said to you the day before yesterday when you accused me about these matters. For I regard Nerva as a man worthy of the highest office and of all the consideration that belongs to a good name and fame, but as one ill-calculated to carry through any difficult plan; for his frame is undermined by a disease which fills his soul with bitterness, and incapacitates him even for his home affairs. As to yourself, certainly he admires your vigour of body no less than he admires your judgment; and in doing so I think he is not singular, because men are by nature more

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. πέπουθε δέ τι καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ χρηστὸν Νερούας, καὶ οὔτε γελάσαντά πω αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ οἶδα οὔτε εὐηθισάμενόν τι τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν φίλοις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ μειράκια πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας τε καὶ διδασκάλους τοὺς αὐτῶν, εὐλαβῶς μὲν φθέγγεται τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πᾶν, ἐρυθριᾷ δὲ ἔτι, εἰδὼς δὲ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἐπαινοῦντά με οὕτω τι ἄγαν ἐπιτηδεύει αὐτό, ὡς κάμοι ταπεινότερος τοῦ μετρίου φαίνεσθαι. πῶς οὖν πιθανὸν ἠγήσαιοτο ἂν τις ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι Νερούαν, ἀγαπῶντα, εἰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἄρξοι, ἢ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων διαλέγεσθαι μοι τὸν μηδ' ὑπὲρ μικρῶν τεθαρρηκότα, ἢ ξυνάπτειν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλον, εἰ τοῦμόν ἐνεθυμήθη, ξυνῆψεν; ἢ πῶς ἔτ' ἐγὼ σοφὸς γνώμην ἐρμηνεύειν ἀνδρός, μαντικῇ μὲν πιστεύων, ἀπιστῶν δὲ σοφία; τὸν δὲ Ὀρφίτον καὶ τὸν Ῥούφον, τοὺς δικαίους μὲν καὶ σώφρονας, νωθροὺς δὲ ἀνδρας, ὡς εὖ οἶδα, εἰ μὲν ὡς τυραννησεύοντας διαβεβλήσθαι φασιν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴτε τούτων πλεόν διαμαρτάνουσιν, εἴτε Νερούα, εἰ δ' ὡς ξυμβούλω γεγονότε, πιθανώτερος ἀρχῇ ἐπιθέσθαι Νερούας, ἢ οἶδε ξυμβουλευσαί;

Ἄλλὰ μὴν τὸν γε ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίνοντα κάκεῖνα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐνεθυμεῖσθαι, τί ἐβούλετό μοι τὸ ξυλλαμ-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

prone to admire what they themselves lack the strength to do. But Nerva is also animated towards myself by feelings of respect; and I never saw him in my presence laughing or joking as he is accustomed to do among his friends; but like young men towards their fathers and teachers, he observes a reverence in every thing that he says in my presence, nay he even blushes; and because he knows that I appreciate and set so high a value upon modesty, he therefore so sedulously cultivates that quality, as sometimes to appear even to me humbler than beseems him. Who then can regard it as probable that Nerva is ambitious of Empire, when he is only too glad if he can govern his own household; or that a man who has not the nerve to discuss with me minor issues, would discuss with me the greatest of all, or would concert with me plans which, if he thought like myself, he would not even concert with others? How again could I retain my reputation for wisdom and interpreting a man's judgment, if I believed over-much in divination, yet wholly distrusted wisdom? As for Orphitus and Rufus, who are just and sensible men though somewhat sluggish, as I well know to be the case, if they say that they are under suspicion of aspiring to become despots, I hardly know over which they make the greater mistake, over them or over Nerva; if however they are accused of being his accomplices, then I ask, which you would most readily believe, that Nerva was usurping the throne, or that they had conspired with him.

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

Orphitus
and Rufus

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. βάνειν τοῖς ἐπὶ νεώτερα ἤκουσι· χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὐ φησι παρ' αὐτῶν γεγενῆσθαι μοι, οὐδὲ δώροις ἐπαρθέντα με ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι· σκεψώμεθα δέ, μὴ μεγαλων δεόμενος, ἀνεβαλόμην τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας ἐς ὃν ᾤοντο ἄρξειν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ μεγάλα μὲν ἂν αἰτεῖν ὑπῆρξε, μειζόνων δ' ἀξιούσθαι· πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ἔσται δῆλα; ἐνθυμήθητι, βασιλεῦ, σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πρὸ σοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἀδελφὸν δῆπου τὸν σεαυτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, Νέρωνά τε, ἐφ' ὧν ἤρξαν, κατὰ τούτους γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλέας βεβιώται μοι ἐς τὸ φανερόν, τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον Ἰνδοῖς φοιτῶντι. τούτων δὴ τῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτων, τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἐς σὲ μῆκος, οὔτε ἐπὶ θύρας βασιλείους ἐφοίτησα πλὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός, ἐπεὶ μήτε βασιλεύς πω ἐτύγχανεν ὧν ὁμολόγει τε δι' ἐμὲ ἦκειν, οὔτε ἀνελεύθερόν τι διελέχθην βασιλεῦσιν ἢ ὑπὲρ βασιλέων δήμοις, οὔτ' ἐπιστολαῖς ἐλαμπρυνάμην ἢ γραφόντων ἐμοὶ βασιλέων ἢ αὐτὸς ἐνδεικνύμενος γράφειν; οὔθ' ὑπὲρ δωρεῶν κολακεύων βασιλέας ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπηνέχθην. εἰ γοῦν ἔροιο με πλουσίους ἐνθυμηθεῖς καὶ πένητας, ποτέρου τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων ἐμαυτὸν γράφω, τῶν πλουσιωτάτων φήσω, τὸ γὰρ δεῖσθαι μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ Λυδία καὶ τὸ Πακτωλοῦ πᾶν. πῶς οὖν ἢ τὰς παρὰ τῶν οὔπω βασιλέων δωρεὰς ἀνεβαλόμην

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

What sense was there in my aiding these revolution- CHAP. VII
ists? For he does not say that I received any money from them, nor that I was tempted by presents to commit these crimes. But let us consider the point whether I might not have advanced great claims, but have deferred their recognition of them until the time came at which they expected to win the throne, when I might have demanded much and have obtained still more as my due. But how can you prove all this? Call to mind, my prince, your own reign and the reigns of your predecessors, I mean of your own brother, and of your father, and of Nero under whom they held office; for it was under these princes chiefly that I passed my life before the eyes of all, the rest of my time being spent on my visit to India. Well, of these thirty-eight years, for such is the period which has elapsed since then up to your own day, I have never come near the courts of princes, except that once in Egypt, and then it was your father's, though he was not at that time actually Emperor; and he admitted that he came there on my account. Nor have I ever uttered anything base or humiliating either to emperors, or in behalf of emperors to peoples; nor have I made a parade of letters either when princes wrote them to me or otherwise by pretending that they wrote; nor have I ever demeaned myself by flattery of princes in order to win their largess. If then after due consideration of rich and poor, you should ask me in which class I register myself, I should say among the very rich, for the fact that I want nothing is worth to me all the wealth of Lydia and of Pactolus. Is it likely then that I who never would take presents from yourself whose

Apollonius
retrospect
of his life

CAP. VII. ἔς ὃν ἄρξειν αὐτοὺς ὧμην χρόνον ὁ μηδὲ τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλόμενος, οἷς βέβαιον ἠγούμην τὸ ἄρχειν, ἢ βασιλειῶν μεταβολὰς ἐπενόουν μηδὲ ταῖς καθεστηκυίαις ἐς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι χρώμενος; καὶ μὴν ὅποσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς, δηλοῖ τὰ Εὐφράτου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν τί λέγω χρήματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι πλούτου, κάπλι τῶν τραπεζῶν ἤδη διαλέγεται κάπηλος, ὑποκάπηλος, τελώνης, ὀβολοστάτης, πάντα γιγνόμενος τὰ πωλούμενά τε καὶ πωλοῦντα, ἐντετύπεται δ' αἰεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν θύραις καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλείω καιρὸν ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ θυρωρῶν πολλάκις, ὥσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχνοι, δραχμὴν δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ προέμενός ποτε, ἐπιτεχνίζει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλούτου, ἐτέροις τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τουτονὶ βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὀξύνων ἐπ' ἐμὲ γλῶτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμησθαι.

Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλείπω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἦν μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινήσῃς, εὐρήσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακίῳ ὧν ἐρμηνεύω, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἀπολογίας ἀκροῶ· τίς οὖν αὕτη καὶ ὑπὲρ τίνων; ἦδετό τις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παιδὸς Ἀρκάδος ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ θρήνος, τετμησθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νύκτωρ, εἰ δ' ὄναρ φησὶν, οὐπω οἶδα, εἶναι δὲ πατέρων τε ἀγαθῶν ὁ

throne I regarded as perfectly secure, should either have gone cadging to mere pretenders, and have deferred the receipt of my recompense from them until such time as I thought would find them emperors; or that I should plan a change of dynasty, who never once, for purposes of my advancement, resorted to that which was already established? And yet if you want to know how much a philosopher may obtain by flattery of the mighty, you have only got to look at the case of Euphrates. For why do I speak of his having got mere money out of them? Why, he has perfect fountains of wealth, and already at the banks he discusses prices as a merchant might, or a huckster, a tax-gatherer, a low money-changer, for all these rôles are his if there is anything to buy or sell; and he clings like a limpet to the doors of the mighty, and you see him standing at them more regularly than any doorkeeper, indeed he has often been shut away by the doorkeepers as greedy dogs are; but he never yet bestowed a farthing upon any philosopher, but he walls up all his wealth within his own house, only supporting this Egyptian out of the money of others, and whetting against me a tongue which ought to have been cut out.

(xii) However I will leave Euphrates to yourself; for unless you approve of flatterers you will find the fellow worse than I depict him; and I only ask you to listen to the rest of my apology. What then is it to be, and from what counts is it to defend me? In the act of accusation, my prince, a regular dirge is chanted over an Arcadian boy, whom I am accused of having cut up by night, perhaps in a dream, for I am sure I do not know. This child is said to be of respectable parentage and to have possessed all the

CHAP. VII

Greedy of Euphrates

The sacrifice of an Arcadian boy

CAP. VII. παῖς οὗτος καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἶοι Ἀρκάδων οἱ ἐν ἀρχμῶ καλοί. τοῦτόν φασιν ἰκετεύοντά τε καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενον ἀπεσφάχθαι, καμὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αἷμα βάψαντα θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας εὐχέσθαι. μέχρι τούτων ἐμὲ κρίνουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἐφεξῆς λόγος τῶν θεῶν ἄπτεται, φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ὧδέ μου εὐξαμένον, δοῦναι δὲ ἱερὰ εὔσημα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀσεβοῦντα. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς οὐ καθαρὰ, τί ἄν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λέγοιμι;

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν γέ μοι ἀπολογητέα, τίς ὁ Ἀρκὰς οὗτος; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀνώνυμος τὰ πατέρων, μηδ' ἀνδραποδώδης τὸ εἶδος, ὥρα σοι ἐρωτᾶν, τι μὲν ὄνομα τοῖς γειναμένοις αὐτόν, τίνας δὲ οἰκίας οὗτος, τίς δ' ἐθρέψατο αὐτόν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλις, τίνων δὲ βωμῶν ἀπαχθεὶς ἐνταῦθα ἐθύετο. οὐ λέγει ταῦτα καίτοι δεινὸς ὧν μὴ ἀληθεύειν. οὐκ οὖν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδου κρίνει με. ὧ γὰρ μήτ' αὐτῷ ὄνομα μήθ' ὧν ἔφυ, μὴ πόλις μὴ κληρὸς ἐστίν, οὐχί, ὦ θεοί, τοῦτον ἐν ἀνδραπόδοις χρὴ τάττειν; ἀνώνυμα γὰρ πάντα. τίς οὖν ὁ κάπηλος τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου; τίς ὁ πριάμενος αὐτὸ ἐξ Ἀρκάδων; εἰ γὰρ τὸ γένος τούτων ἐπιτήδειον τῇ σφαττούσῃ μαντικῇ, πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων εἰκὸς ἐωνῆσθαι τὸν παῖδα, πεπλευκέναι δὲ τινα ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἵν' ἐνθένδε ἡμῖν ἀναχθείη ὁ Ἀρκάς· ἀνδράποδα μὲν

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

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

CAP. VII γὰρ Ποντικὰ ἢ Λύδια ἢ ἐκ Φρυγῶν πρίαιτ' ἂν κἀν-
ταῦθά τις, ὧν γε καὶ ἀγέλαις ἐντυχεῖν ἐστὶν ἅμα
φοιτώσαις δεῦρο, ταυτὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ὅποσα
βαρβάρων, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐτέρων ἀκροώμενοι
οὐπω τὸ δουλεύειν αἰσχρὸν ἡγούνται· Φρυξὶ γοῦν
ἐπιχώριον καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀνδραποδισθέντων μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, "Ἕλληνες
δὲ ἐλευθερίας ἐρασταὶ ἔτι, καὶ οὐδὲ δούλον
ἀνὴρ "Ἕλλην πέρα ὄρων ἀποδώσεται, ὅθεν οὐδὲ
ἀνδραποδισταῖς οὔτε ἀνδραπόδων καπήλοις ἐς
αὐτοὺς παριτητέα, ἐς δὲ Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ μᾶλλον,
πρὸς γὰρ τῷ παρὰ πάντας ἐλευθεριάζειν "Ἕλ-
ληνας δέονται καὶ ὄχλου δούλων. ἔστι δὲ
πολυλήμιος καὶ ποώδης ἢ Ἀρκαδία καὶ ὑλώδης
οὐ τὰ μετέωρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ
πάντα. δεῖ δὴ αὐτοῖς πολλῶν μὲν γεωργῶν,
πολλῶν δὲ αἰπόλων συφορβῶν τε καὶ ποιμένων
καὶ βουκόλων, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ βουσί, τῶν δ' ἐφ'
ἵπποις, δρυτόμων τε δεῖται πολλῶν ἢ χώρα καὶ
τοῦτο ἐκ παίδων γυμνάζονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ
τοιιάδε ἦν τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἀλλ' εἶχον, ὥσπερ
ἕτεροι, προσαποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν δούλους, τί τῇ
θρυλουμένη σοφία ξυνεβάλλετο τὸ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας
εἶναι τὸν σφαπτόμενον ; οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφώτατοι τῶν
Ἑλλήνων Ἀρκάδες, ἴν' ἐτέρου τι ἀνθρώπου πλέον
περὶ τὰ λογικὰ τῶν σπλάγχχνων φαίνωσιν, ἀλλὰ
ἀγροικώτατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ συνώδεις τὰ
τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ γαστρίζεσθαι τῶν δρυῶν.

Ῥητορικώτερον ἴσως ἀπολελόγημαι τοῦμοῦ

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

It is possible that I have conducted my defence on
more rhetorical lines than is my custom, in thus

CAP. VII τρόπου, τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀφερμηνεύων ἦθη καὶ παριῶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον τῷ λόγῳ. ἡ γὰρ ἐμοὶ προσήκουσα ἀπολογία τίς; οὐκ ἔθυσσα, οὐ θύω, οὐ θιγγάνω αἵματος, οὐδ' εἰ βώμιον αὐτὸ εἶη, Πυθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὧδε ἐγίγνωσκεν οἷ τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παραπλησίως, καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ Ἰνδῶν οἱ σοφοί, παρ' ὧν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν αἰ τῆς σοφίας ἀρχαὶ ἐφοίτησαν. κατὰ ταῦτα θύοντες οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ γηράσκειν τε αὐτοῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν ἀρτίους τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀνόσοις, καὶ σοφωτέροις αἰεὶ δοκεῖν, μὴ τυραννεύεσθαι, μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός, οἶμαι, ἀγαθῶν δεῖσθαι σφᾶς ὑπὲρ καθαρῶν θυμάτων. δοκῶ γάρ μοι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ νοῦν ὑπὲρ θυσιῶν ἔχοντας, τὰ λιβανοφόρα τῆς γῆς ἐν καθαρῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκφυτεύειν, ἵν' ἀπ' αὐτῶν θύοιμεν, μὴ σιδηροφοροῦντες ἐν ἱεροῖς, μηδ' αἷμα ἐς βωμοὺς ραίνοντες. ἐγὼ δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐμαντοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐκλαθόμενος ἔθυον τρόπον, ὃν μῆτ' αὐτὸς εἶωθα μῆτε τις ἀνθρώπων θύοι.

Ἀπαλλαττέτω με τῆς αἰτίας καὶ ὁ καιρὸς, ὃν εἶρηκεν ὁ κατήγορος· τὴν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἐν ἣ ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι μοί φησιν, εἰ μὲν ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀγρῷ, ἔθυσσα, εἰ δὲ ἐθύσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. εἰτά με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θαμινὰ ἐρωτᾶς, εἰ μὴ ἐπεχωρίαζον τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε; καὶ σύ, βέλτιστε βασιλέων, ἐπεχωρίαζες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις θῦσαι

characterising the habits of the Arcadians and digressing into the Peloponnese. What however is my right line of defence? This I think: I never sacrificed blood, I do not sacrifice it now, I never touch it, not even if it be shed upon an altar; for this was the rule of Pythagoras and likewise of his disciples, and in Egypt also of the Naked sages, and of the sages of India, from whom these principles of wisdom were derived by Pythagoras and his school. In adhering to this way of sacrifice they do not seem to the gods to be criminal; for the latter suffer them to grow old, sound in body and free from disease, and to increase in wisdom daily, to be free from tyranny of others, to be wanting in nothing. Nor do I think that it is absurd to ask the gods for benefits in exchange for pure sacrifices. For I believe that the gods have the same mind as myself in the matter of sacrifice, and that they therefore place those parts of the earth which grow frankincense in the purest region of the world, in order that we may use their resources for purposes of sacrifice without drawing the knife in their temples or shedding blood upon altars. And yet, it appears, I so far forgot myself and the gods as to sacrifice with rites which are not only unusual with myself, but which no human being would employ.

(xiii) Let me add that the very hour which my accuser alleges acquits me of this charge. For on that day, the day on which he says I committed this crime, I allow that, if I was in the country, I offered sacrifice, and that if I sacrificed, then I ate of the victim. And yet, my prince, you repeatedly ask me if I was not staying at Rome at that time? And you too, O best of princes, were staying there; and

CHAP. VII
Condemnation of blood offerings

Apollonius pleads an alibi

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CAP. VII. τοιαῦτα· καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμολογήσει τὰ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων πράττειν, εἰ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην διητᾶτο, καὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων, ἅς βέλτιον ξενηλατεῖν ἢ ὑπάγειν γραφαῖς, ἐν αἷς τεκμήριον ἀδικημάτων ἔσται τὸ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. καίτοι τὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἦκειν καὶ παραιτεῖται τάχα τῆς τοῦ νεώτερα πράττειν δοκεῖν αἰτίας· τὸ γὰρ ἐν πόλει ζῆν, ἐν ἧ πάντες μὲν ὀφθαλμοί, πᾶσα δὲ ἀκρόασις ὄντων τε καὶ οὐκ ὄντων, οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ νεωτέρων ἄπτεσθαι τοῖς γε μὴ λίαν θανατῶσι, τοὺς δ' εὐλαβεστέρους τε καὶ σώφρονας βραδέως ἄγει καὶ ἐφ' ἃ ἔξεστι.

Τί οὖν, ὦ συκοφάντα, κατὰ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἔπραττον; εἰ μὲν ὡς σεαυτὸν ἐρωτᾷς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ ἐρωτᾶν ἤκεις, ἀγῶνας ἠτοίμαζον καὶ κατηγορίας ἐπ' ἄνδρας χρηστούς, καὶ ἀπολέσαι τοὺς οὐκ ἀδικούντας καὶ πείσαι τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἀληθῆ λέγων, ἵν' ἐγὼ μὲν εὐδοκιμοίην, μιαινοίτο δὲ οὗτος, εἰ δ' ὡς φιλοσόφου πυνθάνη, τὸν Δημοκρίτου ἐπήνουν γέλωτα, ὃν ἐς πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γελᾷ, εἰ δ' ὡς ἐμοῦ, Φιλίσκος ὁ Μηλιεύς ἐτῶν ξυμφιλοσοφήσας ἐμοὶ τεττάρων, ἐνόσει τότε, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀπεκάθευδον οὕτω

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

yet you would not on that account admit you offered such a sacrifice; and my false accuser was there likewise, but he will not own on that account that he committed murder, just because he was living in Rome. And the same is the case of thousands of people, whom you would do better to expel as strangers, than expose to acts of accusation, if in these the mere fact of their having been in Rome is to be held to be a proof of their guilt. On the other hand, the fact of my coming to Rome is in itself a disproof of the charge of revolutionary plotting; for to live in a city, where there are so many eyes to see and so many ears to hear things which are and which are not, is a serious handicap for anyone who desires to play at revolution, unless he be wholly intent upon his own death. On the contrary it prompts prudent and sensible people to walk slowly even when engaged in wholly permissible pursuits.

(xiv) What then, O sycophant, was I really doing on that night? Suppose I were yourself and was being asked this question, inasmuch as you are come to ask questions, why then the answer would be this: I was trumping up actions and accusations against decent and respectable people, and I was trying to ruin the innocent, and to persuade the Emperor by dint of hard lying, in order that while I myself climbed to fame, I might soil him with the blood of my victims. If again you ask me as a philosopher, I was praising the laughter with which Democritus laughed at all human affairs. But if you ask me as being myself, here is my answer: Philiscus of Melos, who was my fellow-pupil in philosophy for four years, was ill at the time; and

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CAP. VII διακειμένῳ χαλεπῶς, ὡς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου. καίτοι πολλὰς ἂν ἠϋξάμην ἰυγγας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς γενέσθαι μοι, καί, νῆ Δί', εἴ τινες Ὀρφέως εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων μελωδίαί, μὴδ' ἐκείνας ἀγνοῆσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν πορευθῆναι δι' αὐτόν, εἰ ἐφικτὰ ἦν ταῦτα· οὕτω με ἀνήρητο πᾶσιν οἷς φιλοσόφως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν ἔπραττε.

Ταῦτ' ἔστι μὲν σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ Τελεσίνου ἀκούσαι τοῦ ὑπάτου, παρῆν γὰρ κάκεινος τῷ Μηλιεῖ, θεραπεύων αὐτὸν νύκτωρ, ὅποσα ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ Τελεσίῳ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐστί, καλῶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μάρτυρας, εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι, Σέλευκος τε ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Σιδώνιος· τούτους ἐρώτα, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω· καὶ μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριάκοντα εἶποντο, τῶν αὐτῶν δήπου μάρτυρες· τὸ γὰρ προκαλεῖσθαι δεῦρο τοὺς τῷ Φιλίσκῳ προσήκοντας ἀναβολὰς ἴσως ἠγήσῃ τῆς δίκης, ἐπειδὴ αὐτίκα τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆραν ἐς τὰ Μηλιέων ἦθη κατὰ ὁσίαν τοῦ νεκροῦ. ἴτε, ὦ μάρτυρες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρήγγελται ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τούτου· ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. παρ' ὅσον μὲν τοίνυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ γραφὴ ξυνετέθη, δηλοῖ σαφῶς ἡ μαρτυρία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἐν προαστείοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει, οὐκ ἔξω

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I was sleeping out at his house, because he was suffering so terribly that he died of his disease. Ah, many are the charms I would have prayed to obtain, if they could have saved his life. Fain would I have known of any melodies of Orpheus, if any there are, to bring back the dead to us. Nay I verily think I would have made a pilgrimage even to the nether world for his sake, if such things were feasible; so deeply attached was I to him by all his conduct, so worthy of a philosopher and so much in accord with my own ideals.

Here are facts, my prince, which you may learn also from Telesinus the consul; for he too was at the bedside of the man of Melos, and nursed him by night like myself. But if you do not believe Telesinus, because he is of the number of philosophers, I call upon the physicians to bear me witness, and they were the following: Seleucus of Cyzicus and Stratocles of Sidon. Ask them whether I tell the truth. And what is more, they had with them over thirty of their disciples, who are ready, I believe, to witness to the same fact; for if I were to summon hither the relatives of Philiscus, you might probably think that I was trying to interpose delays in the case; for they have lately sailed from Rome to the Melian country in order to pay their last sad respects to the dead. Come forward, O ye witnesses, for you have been expressly summoned to give your testimony upon this point."

(The witnesses give their evidence.)

"With how little regard then for the truth this accusation has been drawn up, is clearly proved by the testimony of these gentlemen; for it appears that it was not in the suburbs, but in the city, not

CHAP. VII
He was present at Philiscus' deathbed

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^{CAP.}_{VII} τείχους, ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἰκίας, οὐδὲ παρὰ Νερούα, παρὰ Φιλίσκω δέ, οὐδὲ ἀποσφάττων ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς εὐχόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας, οὐδ' ἀντὶ σοῦ χειροτονῶν νεώτερον, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα σώζων ἐμαντῶ ὅμοιον.

Τί οὖν ὁ Ἄρκας ἐνταῦθα; τι δ' οἱ τῶν σφαγίων μῦθοι; τί δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πείθειν; ἔσται γάρ ποτε καὶ ὁ μὴ γέγονεν, ἂν ὡς γεγονὸς κριθῇ· τὸ δ' ἀπίθανον τῆς θυσίας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ποῖ τάξεις; ἐγένοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον σφαγίων μάντις ἀγαθοὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ οἶοι ὀνομάσαι, Μεγιστίας ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκ Λυκίας, Ἀμπρακία δὲ Σιλανὸν ἤνεγκε, καὶ ἐθύοντο ὁ μὲν Ἀκαρναν Λεωνίδα βασιλεῖ Σπάρτης, ὁ δὲ Λύκιος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, Σιλανὸς δὲ Κύρῳ βασιλείας ἐρῶντι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐν ἀνθρώπου σπλάγχχνους ἢ σαφέστερον ἢ σοφώτερον ἢ ἐτυμώτερον ἀπέκειτο, οὐκ ἄπορος ἦν ἡ θυσία, βασιλέων γε προῖσταμένων αὐτῆς, οἷς πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν οἰνοχόοι, πολλὰ δ' αἰχμάλωτα, παρανομίαι δ' ἀκίνδυνοι καὶ φόβος οὐδεὶς κατηγορίας, εἴ τι ἔσφαττον· ἀλλ', οἶμαι, παρίστατο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὃ καμοὶ νῦν κινδυνεύοντι ὑπὲρ τοιούτων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλογα τῶν ζώων εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ θανάτου σφάττεται, μὴ θολοῦσθαί τι τῶν σπλάγγ-

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outside the wall, but inside a house, not with Nerva, ^{CHAP.}_{VII} but with Philiscus, not slaying another, but praying for a man's life, not thinking of matters of State, but of philosophy, not choosing a revolutionist to supplant yourself, but trying to save a man like myself.

(xv) What then is the Arcadian doing in this case? What becomes of the absurd stories of victims slain? What is the use of urging you to believe such lies? For what never took place will be real, if you decide that it did take place. And ^{Human sacrifices and victims} how, my prince, are you to rate the improbability of the sacrifice? For of course there have been long ago soothsayers skilled in the art of examining slain victims, for example I can name Megistias of Acarnania, Aristandrus of Lycia, and Silanus who was a native of Ambracia, and of these the Acarnanian was sacrificer to Leonidas the king of Sparta, and the Lycian to Alexander of Macedon, and Silanus to Cyrus the Pretender; and supposing there had been found stored in the entrails of a human being some information truer or more profound or surer than usual, such a sacrifice was not difficult to effect; inasmuch as there were kings to preside over it, who had plenty of cup-bearers at their disposal, besides plenty of prisoners of war as victims; and moreover these monarchs could violate the law with impunity, and they had no fear of being accused, in case they committed so small a murder. But I believe, these persons had the same conviction which I also entertain, who am now in risk of my life because of such accusation, namely that the entrails of animals which we slay while they are ignorant of death, are for that reason, and just because the animals lack all understanding of

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CAP. VII. *χρων ὑπὸ ἀξυνεσίας ὧν πείσονται· ἄνθρωπον δὲ αἰεί τι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντα θανάτου καὶ μήπω ἐφεστηκότος δαίμα, πῶς εἰκὸς παρόντος ἤδη καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντος, δεῖξαί τι ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχχνων μαντικὸν ἢ ὄλως εὐθυτον ;*

“Ὅτι δὲ ὀρθῶς τε καὶ κατὰ φύσιν στοχάζομαι τούτων, σκόπει, βασιλεῦ, ὦδε· τὸ ἥπαρ, ἐν ᾧ φασι τὸν τῆς αὐτῶν μαντικῆς εἶναι τρίποδα οἱ δεινοὶ ταῦτα, ξύγκειται μὲν οὐ καθαρὸν αἵματος, πᾶν γάρ, ὅ τι ἀκραιφνές, καρδία ἴσχει, δι’ αἱματηρῶν φλεβῶν ἀποχετεύουσα ἐς πᾶν τὸ σῶμα, χολὴν δ’ ἐπὶ ἥπατι κειμένην ὀργῇ μὲν ἀνίστησι, φόβοι δὲ ὑπάγουσιν ἐς τὰ κοῖλα τοῦ ἥπατος. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν παροξυνόντων ζέουσα, καὶ μηδὲ τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἀγγείῳ φορητὸς οὔσα, ὑπτίῳ ἐπιχεῖται τῷ ἥπατι, καθ’ ὃ ἐπέχει χολὴ πᾶσα τὰ λεία τε καὶ μαντικὰ τοῦ σπλάγχχνου, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν δειματούντων ξυνιζάνουσα ξυνεπισπᾶται καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς λείοις φῶς, ὑπονοστεῖ γὰρ τότε καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ αἵματος, ὑφ’ οὗ σπληνοῦται τὸ ἥπαρ, ὑποτρέχοντος φύσει τὸν περὶ αὐτὸ ὑμένα καὶ τῷ πηλώδει ἐπιπολάζοντος. τί οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς μαιφουίας

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

what they are about to suffer, free from disturbance. CHAP. VII
A human being however has constantly in his soul the apprehension of death, even when it does not as yet impend ; how therefore is it likely that when death is already present and stares him in the face, he should be able to give any intimation of the future through his entrails, or be a proper subject for sacrifice at all ?

In proof that my conjecture is right and consonant with nature, I would ask you, my prince, to consider the following points. The liver, in which adepts at this art declare the tripod of their divination to reside, is on the one hand not composed of pure blood, for all unmixed blood is retained by the heart which through the blood-vessels sends it flowing as if through canals over the entire body ; the bile on the other hand lies over the liver, and whereas it is excited by anger, it is on the other hand driven back by fear into the cavities of the liver. Accordingly if, on the one hand, it is caused to effervesce by irritants, and ceases to be able to contain itself in its own receptacle, it overflows the liver which underlies it, in which case the mass of bile occupies the smooth and prophetic parts of the bowels ; on the other hand, under the influence of fear and panic it subsides, and draws together into itself all the light which resides in the smooth parts ; for in such cases even that pure element in the blood recedes to which the liver owes its spleen-like look and distension, because the blood in question by its nature drains away under the membrane which encloses the entrails and floats upon the muddy surface. Of what use then, my

Why useless for purposes of divination

CAP. VII ἔργον, εἰ ἄσημα τὰ ἱερά ἔσται; ἄσημα δ' αὐτὰ ἢ ἀνθρωπεῖα φύσις ἐργάζεται ξυνιῖσα τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες, οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐψυχοὶ ξὺν ὀργῇ τελευτῶσιν, οἱ δ' ἀθυμότεροι ξὺν δέει. ἔνθεν ἢ τέχνη παρὰ τοῖς οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσι βαρβάροις χιμαίρας μὲν καὶ ἄρνας ἐπαινεῖ σφάττειν, ἐπειδὴ εὐήθη τὰ ζῶα καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀναισθήτων, ἀλεκτρύονας δὲ καὶ σὺς καὶ ταύρους, ἐπειδὴ θυμοειδῆ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἀπορρήτων. ξυνίημι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παροξύνων τὸν κατήγορον, ἐπειδὴ σοφώτερόν σε ἀκροατὴν εἶργασμαι, καὶ μοι δοκεῖς καὶ προσέχειν τῷ λόγῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ σαφῶς τι αὐτοῦ φράζοιμι, ξυγχωρῶ σοι ἔρωτάν με.

εἴρηται μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου γραφὴν· ἐπεὶ δ', οἶμαι, χρὴ μηδὲ τὰς Εὐφράτου διαβολὰς ὑπερορᾶσθαι, σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δικάζεις, ὁπότερος ἡμῶν φιλοσοφεῖ μᾶλλον· οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀγωνίζεται μὴ τὰληθῆ περιέμοῦ λέγειν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ, καὶ ὁ μὲν σε ἡγεῖται δεσπότην, ἐγὼ δ' ἄρχοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμέ σοι δίδωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον.

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν γε διαβέβληκεν, οἱ λόγοι εἰσίν, οὓς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ εἶπον, φησὶ δ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐς τὸ σοὶ ξυμφέρον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρησθαι. καίτοι τὰ

prince, is it to slay a human victim, if the sacrifice is going to furnish no presage? And human nature does render such rites useless for purposes of divination, because it has a sense of impending death; and dying men themselves meet their end, if with courage, then also with anger, and, if with despondency, then also with fear. And for this reason the art of divination, except in the case of the most ignorant savages, while recommending the slaying of kids and lambs, because these animals are silly and not far removed from being insensible, does not consider cocks and pigs and bulls worthy vehicles of its mysteries, because these creatures have too much spirit. I realise, my prince, that my accuser chafes at my discourse, because I find so intelligent a listener in yourself, for indeed you seem to me to give your attention to my discourse; and if I have not clearly enough explained any point in it, I will allow you to ask me any questions about it.

(xvi) I have then answered this Egyptian's act of accusation; but since I do not think I ought altogether to pass by the slanders of Euphrates, I would ask you, my prince, to be judge between us, and decide which of us is more of a philosopher. Well then, whereas he strains every nerve to tell lies about myself, I disdain to do the like about him; and whereas he looks upon you as a despot, I regard you as a constitutional ruler; and while he puts the sword into your hand for use against me, I merely supply you with argument.

But he makes the basis of his accusation the discourses which I delivered in Ionia, and he says that they contain matter much to your disadvantage. And yet what I said concerned the topic of the

CAP. VII. μὲν λεχθέντα ἦν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, παράδειγμα δ' ἐτίγνετό μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα, ἐπειδὴ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπέων δοκεῖ τὰ ὑμέτερα, Μοιρῶν τε ἰσχὺν ἐφιλοσόφουν καὶ τὸ οὕτως ἄτρεπτα εἶναι, ἀ κλώθουσιν, ὡς, εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαιντο ἐτέρῳ δὴ ὑπάρχουσαν, ὁ δ' ἀποκτείνειε τοῦτον, ὡς μὴ ἀφαιρεθεῖη ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, κἂν ἀναβιοίῃ ὁ ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς Μοῖραις. τὰς γὰρ ὑπερβολὰς τῶν λόγων ἐσαγόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τοῖς πιθανοῖς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τοιόνδε ἔλεγον· ὅτῳ πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῶ, οὗτος, κἂν ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χεῖρει, τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτῳ νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου ἄρασθαι, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ πηρωθείη τὸ σκέλος, ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτῳ ἐνευσαν Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξείᾳ κράτος, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ ἀποβάλῃ τὰς ὄψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ σκοποῦ. τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δήπου ὀρών καὶ τοὺς Λαίους Ἀστυάγῃ τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους, εὖ τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ δόξαντας, ὧν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ ἐκγόνους ἀποκτείνειν οἰηθέντες, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύντων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ξὺν τῷ πεπρωμένῳ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάπων κολακευτικῆν, εἶπον ἂν καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ

Fates and of Necessity, and I only used as an example of my argument the affairs of kings, because of your rank is thought to be the highest of human ranks; and I dwelt upon the influence of the Fates, and argued that the threads which they spin are so unchangeable, that, even if they decreed to someone a kingdom which at the moment belonged to another, and even if that other slew the man of destiny, to save himself from ever being deprived by him of his throne, nevertheless the dead man would come to life again in order to fulfil the decree of the Fates. For we employ hyperbole in our arguments in order to convince those who will not believe in what is probable, and it is just as if I had used such an example as this: He who is destined to become a carpenter, will become one even if his hands have been cut off: and he who has been destined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will not fail to win even if he broke his leg: and a man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lost his eyesight. And in drawing my examples from Royalty I had reference I believe to the Acrisii and to the house of Laius, and to Astyages the Mede, and to many other monarchs who thought that they were well-established in their kingdoms, and of whom some slew their own children as they imagined and others their descendants, and yet were subsequently deprived by them of their thrones when they issued forth from obscurity in accordance with the decrees of fate. Well, if I were inclined to flattery, I should have said that I had your own history in my mind, when you were

CAP. VII. Βιτελίου ἐνταῦθα, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ νεὸς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς τοῦ ἄστεος, ὁ δ' εὖ κείσεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτόν—καίτοι μειράκιον ἱκανῶς ἦσθα καὶ οὔπω οὔτος—ἀλλ' ὄμως, ἐπειδὴ Μοίραις ἐδόκει ἕτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰ κείνου νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρμονία κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγων εἶναι, τεμνέσθω μοι ἢδε ἡ νευρά, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυμῆσθαί με, ἀλλὰ διειλέχθαι μόνα τὰ ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ταυτὶ γάρ φησιν εἰρησθαί μοι ἐπὶ σέ. καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέχονται μὲν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὐκ ἄχθεται δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀκούων καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν τοῖς Λυκίοις λόγοις

ὧμοι ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα¹

καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἀδόντων, ἐν οἷς τοῦ νείος ἐξίστασθαί φησι ταῖς Μοίραις, λεγόντων τε αὐτὸν ἐν ψυχροστασία, ὅτι Μίνω τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Σαρπηδόνος ἀποθανόντα χρυσῶ μὲν σκῆπτρῳ ἐτίμησε καὶ δικάζειν ἔταξεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αἰδωνέως ἀγορᾷ, Μοιρῶν δ' οὐ παρητήσατο. σὺ δ', ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ χάριν ἄχθη τῷ λόγῳ, θεῶν καρτερούντων αὐτόν,

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

blockaded in this city by Vitellius, and the temple of Jupiter was burnt on the brow of the hill overlooking the city, and Vitellius declared that his own fortune was assured, so long as you did not escape him, this although you were at the time quite a stripling and not the man you are now; and yet, because the Fates had decreed otherwise, he was undone with all his counsels, while you are now in possession of his throne. However, since I abhor the concords of flattery, for it seems to me that they are everything that is out of time and out of tune, let me cut the string out of my lyre, and request you to consider that on that occasion I had not your fortunes in my mind, but was talking exclusively of questions of the Fates and of Necessity for it was in speaking of them that they accused me of having assailed yourself. And yet such an argument as mine is tolerated by most of the gods; and even Zeus himself is not angry when he hears from the poet in "the story of Lycia" this language:—

'Alas for myself, when Sarpedon . . . ,'

And there are other such strains referring to himself, such as those in which he declares that he yields the cause of his son to the Fates; and in the weighing of souls again the poets tell you that, although after his death he presented Minos the brother of Sarpedon with a golden sceptre, and appointed him judge in the court of Aidoneus, yet he could not exempt him from the decree of the Fates. And you, my prince, why should you resent my argument when the gods put up with it, whose fortunes are for

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. οἷς πέπηγεν αἰεὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεινόντων τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ; προσήκει γὰρ ταῖς Μοίραις ἔπεισθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ χαλεποὺς εἶναι, Σοφοκλεῖ τε μὴ ἀπιστεῖν

μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται
θεοῖσι γῆρας, οὐδὲ μὴν θανεῖν ποτε,
τὰ δ' ἄλλα συγχεῖ πάνθ' ὁ παγκρατῆς χρόνος,

ἄριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων λέγοντι. ἐγκύκλιοι γὰρ αἱ κατ' ἀνθρώπους εὐπραγίαι καὶ ἐφήμερον, ὧ βασιλεῦ, τὸ τοῦ ὄλβου μήκος· τὰ μὰ οὗτος καὶ τὰ τούτου ἕτερος καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἔχων οὐκ ἔχει. ταῦτ' ἐννοῶν, ὧ βασιλεῦ, παῦε μὲν φυγὰς, παῦε δ' αἶμα, καὶ φιλοσοφία μὲν ὅτι βούλει χρῶ, ἀπαθῆς γὰρ ἢ γε ἀληθῆς, δάκρυα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀφαίρει, ὡς νῦν γε ἡχῶ μυρία μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης, πολλῶ δὲ πλείων ἐξ ἡπείρων φοιτᾶ θρηνούντων, ὅτι ἐκάστῳ θρήνου ἄξιον. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν φυόμενα πλείω ὄντα ἢ ἀριθμῆσθαι ταῖς τῶν συκοφαντῶν γλώτταις ἀνήπται, διαβαλλόντων σοί τε πάντας καὶ σέ, ὧ βασιλεῦ, πᾶσιν."

VIII

CAP. VIII. Ὡδε μὲν δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐκ παρασκευῆς εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δ' εὗρον τοῦ λόγου τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ προτέρου τὸ

οὐ γὰρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

ever fixed and assured, and who never slew poets on that account? For it is our duty to follow the Fates and obey them, and not take offence with the changes of fortune, and to believe in Sophocles when he says:—

'For the gods alone there comes no old age, nay, nor ever death; but all other things are confounded by all-mastering time . . .'

No man ever put the truth so well. For the prosperity of men runs in a circle, and the span of happiness, my prince, lasts for a single day. My property belongs to another and his to another, and his again to a third; and each in having hath not. Think of this, my prince, and put a stop to your decrees of exile, stay the shedding of blood, and have recourse to philosophy in your wishes and plans; for true philosophy feels no pangs. And in doing so wipe away men's tears; for at present echoes reach us from the sea of a thousand sighs, and they are redoubled from the continents, where each laments over his peculiar sorrows. Thence is bred an incalculable crop of evils, all of them due directly to the slanderous tongues of informers, who render all men objects of hatred to yourself, and yourself, O prince, to all."

VIII

SUCH then was the oration which the sage had prepared beforehand, at the end whereof I found the last words of the earlier speech, namely:

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

CHAP. VII

Oed. Col. 607 sqq.

CHAP. VIII

Effect on Domitian of the Sage sudden disappearance

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VIII. καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου ἔτι, ἀφ' ὧν τούτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου δαιμόνιον τε καὶ οὐ ῥάδιον εἶπεῖν τρόπον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν ὁ τύραννος, ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤοντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ᾤοντο αὐτὸν σχέτλια ὑπὲρ τούτου βοήσεσθαι καὶ δίωξιν ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, κηρύξειν τε ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν, μηδαμοῦ παριτητέα εἶναί οἱ, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν τούτων, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἀγωνιζόμενος πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν ἢ ξυνιεὶς λοιπόν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ αὐταρκες. εἰ δ' ὑπερεώρα, ξυμβαλώμεθα τοῖς ἐφεξῆς, φανείη γὰρ ἂν ξυνταραχθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονήσας.

IX

CAP. IX. Ἦκροᾶτο μὲν γὰρ ἑτέρας ἐπ' ἐκείνη δίκης, πόλις δ' ἦν ἀγωνιζομένη πρὸς ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ διαθηκῶν, οἶμαι, διέφευγον δ' αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν δικαζομένων ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς δίκης, ἀνόητοι μὲν γὰρ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις ἦσαν, αἱ δ' ἀποκρίσεις οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ κρίσις· ἃ σφόδρα ἤλεγχε τὸν τύραννον, ὡς ἐξεπέπληκτό τε καὶ ἠπόρει, δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ πεπεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν κολακευόντων, ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν διαφύγοι αὐτόν.

X

CAP. X. Οὕτω τὸν τύραννον διαθείς καὶ παίγνιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἀποφήνας τὸν Ἑλλησί τε καὶ

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together with the words which preceded and led up to this quotation. But the effect upon the despot of his quitting the court in a manner so godlike and inexplicable was quite other than that which the many expected; for they expected him to make a terrific uproar and institute a hunt for the man, and to send forth proclamations over his empire to arrest him wherever they should find him. But he did nothing of the kind, as if he set himself to defeat men's expectations; or because he now at last realised that as against the sage he had no resources of his own. But whether he acted from contempt, let us conjecture from what ensued, for he will be seen to have been confounded with astonishment rather than filled with contempt.

IX

FOR he had to hear another case after that of Apollonius, an action brought, I think, in connexion with a will by some city against a private individual; and he had forgotten not only the names of the parties, but also the matter at issue in the suit; for his questions were without meaning and his answers were not even relevant to the cause,—all which argued the degree of astonishment and perplexity under which the despot laboured, the more so because his flatterers had persuaded him that nothing could escape his memory.

X

SUCH was the condition to which Apollonius reduced the despot, making him a plaything of his

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. X. βαρβάρους φοβερὸν πᾶσι, πρὸ μεσημβρίας μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, περὶ δέλην δ' ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ ἐφάνη Δημητρίῳ τε καὶ Δάμιδι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν τὸ παρακελεύσασθαι αὐτὸν τῷ Δάμιδι μὴ περιμείναντι τὴν ἀπολογία πεζεύσαι ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ βεβουλευμένα οὐ προὔλεγε, τὸν δ' ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐκέλευε πράττειν, ἃ τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις εἶπετο.

XI

CAP. XI. Ἐτύγχανε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δάμις τῆς προτεραίας ἀφιγμένος καὶ τῷ Δημητρίῳ ξυγγεγονῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ὁ δ' εὐλαβέστερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀκροώμενον εἰκὸς διατεθεὶς ἦν ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, καὶ πάλιν τῆς ὑστεραίας ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἠρώτα, ξυναλύων αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ἧ τὰ περὶ τὴν Καλυψὸν μυθεύματα· ἀπεγίγνωσκον μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐχ ἤξοντος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος χαλεπὰ ἦν πᾶσι, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσταπτόμενα ἐτίμων διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἀπειπόντες οὖν ἐκάθηντο ἐς τὸ νύμφαιον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πίθος, λευκοῦ δ' οὗτός ἐστι λίθου ξυνέχων πηγὴν ὕδατος οὐθ' ὑπερβάλλουσαν τοῦ στομίου οὐτ', εἴ τις ἀπαντλοίη, ὑποδιδούσαν. διαλεχθέντες δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ μάλα ἐσπουδακώτως, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀθυμίαν, ἐπανήγον τὸν λόγον ἐς τὰ πρὸ τῆς δίκης.

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philosophy who had been the terror of Hellenes and barbarians; and before midday he left the court, and at dusk appeared to Demetrius and Damis at Dicaearchia. And this accounts for his having instructed Damis to go by land to Dicaearchia, without waiting to hear his defence. For he had given no previous notice of his intentions, but had merely told the man who was mostly in his intimacy to do what best accorded with his plans.

CHAP. X
The Sage is translated miraculously to Dicaearchia

XI

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

CHAP. XI
Appears to Damis and Demetrius in the cave of the Nymphs

CAP.
XII Ἄνολοφυραμένου δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδος, καί τε καὶ τοιοῦτον εἰπόντος, “ ἄρ’ ὀψόμεθά ποτε, ὦ θεοί, τὸν καλὸν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐταῖρον; ” ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφειστώσ ἤδη τῷ νυμφαίῳ ἐτύγχανεν, “ ὄψεσθε, ” εἶπε, “ μᾶλλον δὲ ἐωράκατε. ” “ ζῶντα; ” ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, “ εἰ δὲ τεθνεῶτα, οὐπω πεπαύμεθα ἐπὶ σοὶ κλάοντες, ” προτείνας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὴν χεῖρα, “ λαβοῦ μου, ” ἔφη, “ κὰν μὲν διαφύγω σε, εἰδωλὸν εἰμί σοι ἐκ Φερσεφάττης ἤκον, οἷα φαίνουσιν οἱ χθόνιοι θεοὶ τοῖς ἀθυμοτέροις τὰ πένθη, εἰ δὲ ὑπομείναιμι ἀπτόμενον, πείθε καὶ Δάμιν ζῆν τέ με καὶ μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι τὸ σῶμα. ” οὐκέθ’ οἱοὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἦσαν, ἀλλ’ ἀναστάντες ἐξεκρέμαντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἠσπάζοντο, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας ἠρώτων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημήτριος οὐδ’ ἀπολελογῆσθαι αὐτόν, ἀπολέσθαι γὰρ ἂν καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα, Δάμις δ’ ἀπολελογῆσθαι μὲν, θᾶπτον δ’ ἴσως, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνης τε τῆς ἡμέρας ᾤετο. ὁ δ’ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ ἀπολελόγημαι, ” ἔφη, “ ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ νικῶμεν, γέγονε δέ μοι τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας τήμερον οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας, προῆει γὰρ ἤδη ἐς μεσημβρίαν. ” “ πῶς οὖν, ” ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, “ τοσήνδε ὁδὸν ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤνυσας; ” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ πλὴν

DAMIS' grief had just broken out afresh, and he had made some such exclamation as the following: CHAP. XII
“ Shall we ever behold, O ye gods, our noble and good companion? ” when Apollonius, who had heard him,—for as a matter of fact he was already present in the chamber of the nymphs,—answered: “ Ye shall see him, nay, ye have already seen him. ” “ Alive? ” said Demetrius, “ For if you are dead, we have anyhow never ceased to lament you. ” Whereupon Apollonius stretched out his hand and said: “ Take hold of me, and if I evade you, then I am indeed a ghost come to you from the realm of Persephone, such as the gods of the under-world reveal to those who are dejected with much mourning. But if I resist your touch, then you shall persuade Damis also that I am both alive and that I have not abandoned my body. ” They were no longer able to disbelieve, but rose up and threw themselves on his neck and kissed him, and asked him about his defence. For while Demetrius was of opinion that he had not even made his defence,—for he expected him to be destroyed without any wrong being proved against him,—Damis thought that he had made his defence, but perhaps more quickly than was expected; for he never dreamed that he had made it only that day. But Apollonius said: “ I have made my defence, gentlemen, and have gained my cause; and my defence took place this very day not so long ago, for it lasted on even to midday. ” “ How then, ” said Demetrius, “ have you accomplished so long a journey in so small a fraction of the day? ” And

They mis-
take Apollo-
nius at
first for
his ghost

CAP. XII κριοῦ," ἔφη, "καὶ πτερῶν κηροῦ ξυγκειμένων πάντα οἴου, θεὸν ἐπιγράφων τῇ πομπῇ ταύτῃ."

"Πανταχοῦ μὲν," ἦ δ' ὁ Δημήτριος, "τῶν σῶν ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων θεὸν ἀεὶ τινα προορᾶν ἠγούμαι, παρ' οὗ τὰ σὰ οὕτως ἔχει, τὴν δ' ἀπολογία, ἣ τις γέγονε, καὶ ἅττα ἡ κατηγορία εἶχε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ δικάζοντος ἦθος, καὶ ὃ τι ἤρετο καὶ ὅτῳ ξυγκατέθετο ἢ ὅτῳ μὴ, λέγε ὁμοῦ πάντα, ἵνα καὶ Τελεσίῳ ἕκαστα φράζοιμι, οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσει ἐρωτῶν τὰ σά, ὅς γε καὶ πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα ἴσως ἡμερῶν ἐμοὶ ξυμπίνων ἐν Ἀνθίῳ, κατέδαρθε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, μεσοῦσης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς κύλικος ἔδοξεν ὄναρ πῦρ ἐν τῇ γῆ πελαγίσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολαμβάνειν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ φθάνειν ὑποφεύγοντας, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ρεῖν αὐτὸ παραπλησίως τῷ ὕδατι, σὲ δ' οὐχ ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ διανεῦσαι αὐτοῦ σχισθέντος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ τούτῳ θεοῖς εὐξυμβόλοις ἔσπεισεν, ἐμοὶ τε παρεκελεύσατο ὑπὲρ σοῦ θαρρεῖν." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οὐ θαυμάζω Τελεσίῳ," εἶπεν, "ὑπερκαθεύδοντα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπερεγγρήγορέ μου πάλαι, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης πεύσεσθε μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐνταῦθα, δείλη τε γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἤδη καὶ βαδίζειν ὥρα ἐς ἄστν, ἠδίους δ' οἱ καθ' ὁδὸν λόγοι παραπέμψαι βαδίζοντας. ἴωμεν οὖν διαλαλῶντες

Apollonius replied : "Imagine what you will, flying CHAP. ram or wings of wax excepted, so long as you ascribe XII it to the intervention of a divine escort."

"Well," said Demetrius, "I have always thought ^{The dream of Telesinus} that your actions and words were providentially cared for by some god, to whom you owe your present preservation, nevertheless pray tell us about the defence you made, what it consisted of and what the accusation had to say against you, and about the temper of the judge, and what questions he put, and what he allowed to pass of your pleas and what not, —tell us all at once in order that I may tell everything in turn to Telesinus, for he will never leave off asking me about your affairs ; for about fifteen days back he was drinking with me in Antium, when he fell asleep at table, and just as the middle cup in honour of the good genius was being passed round he dreamed a dream ; and he saw a fire spreading like a sea over the land, and it enveloped some men, and caught up others as they fled ; for it flowed along, he said, exactly like water, but you alone suffered not the fate of the rest, but swam clean through it as it divided to let you through. And in honour of the gods who inspire such happy presages he poured out a libation in consequence of this dream, and he bade me be of good cheer on your account." And Apollonius said : "I am not surprised at Telesinus dreaming about me, for in his vigils, I assure you, he long ago occupied his mind about me ; but as regards the trial, you shall learn everything, but not in this place ; for it is already growing late in the evening, and it is time for us to proceed to the town ; and it is pleasant too to talk as you go along the road, for conversation assists you on your way like an escort.

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CAP. XII ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐρωτᾶτε, λέξω δὲ τὰ τήμερον δήπου ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ πραχθέντα. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἄμφω ἴστε, σὺ μὲν παρατυχῶν, σὺ δ' ἠκροαμένος, οἶμαι, τούτου, μὰ Δία, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν, εἰ μὴ ἐκκλέησμαι Δημητρίου, ἃ δ' οὐπω ἴστε, δίδειμι, διείρων ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως καὶ τοῦ γυμνὸς ἐσελθεῖν." διήει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόγους καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ "οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις," καὶ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τῆς κρίσεως, ὡς ἀπῆλθε.

XIII

CAP. XIII Τότε ἀναβοήσας Δημήτριος, "ἐγὼ μὲν ὄμνη σεσωσμένον ἀφίχθαί σε, σοὶ δ' ἀρχὴ κινδύνων ταῦτα, ξυλλήψεται γὰρ σε καταγγελλόμενον καὶ πάσης ἀποστροφῆς εἰργόμενον." ὁ δ' ἐρρώσθαι τῷ Δημητρίου δέει φράζων, "εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὦδε αὐτῷ εὐάλωτοι ἦτε· ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν τὰ κείνου νῦν ἔχει, ἐγὼ οἶδα· κολακευόντων γὰρ αἰεὶ λόγων ἀκροατῆς γιγνόμενος, νῦν ἐπιπληττόντων ἠκρόαται, ῥήγνυνται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων αἱ τύραννοι φύσεις καὶ περὶ ταῦτα χολῶσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀναπαύλης δεῖ γόνυ οὐπω κάμψαντι ἐκ τοῦ ἄθλου." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "ἐγὼ, Δημήτριε, διεκείμεν μὲν οὕτως," ἔφη,

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CHAP. XII Let us then start and discuss your questions as we go along, and I will certainly tell you of to-day's events in the court. For you both of you know the circumstances which preceded the trial, the one of you because he was present, and the other because I am sure, by Zeus, he has not heard it once only, but again and again, if I know you well, my Demetrius. But I will relate to you what you do not know as yet, beginning with my being summoned into the Emperor's presence, into which I was ushered naked." And he proceeded to detail to them his own words, and above all at the end of them the citation: "For thou shalt not kill me," and he told them exactly how he vanished from the seat of judgment.

XIII

CHAP. XIII WHEREUPON Demetrius cried out: "I thought you had come hither because you were saved; but this is only the beginning of your dangers, for he will proscribe you, seize your person, and cut off all means of escape." Apollonius, however, told Demetrius not to be afraid and encouraged him by saying; "I only wish that you were both no more easy for him to catch than I am. But I know exactly in what condition of mind the tyrant is at this moment; hitherto he has never heard anything except the utterances of flatterers, and now he has had to listen to the language of rebuke; such language breaks despotic natures down and enrages them. But I require some rest, for I have not bent the knee since I had this struggle." And Damis said: "Demetrius, my own attitude towards our friend's affairs was such

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CAP. XIII. “πρὸς τὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πράγματα, ὡς καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπάγειν αὐτόν, ἐφ’ ἧς ἤκει, ξυμβούλευες δέ που καὶ σὺ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ ἐς κινδύνους ἐκουσίους τε καὶ χαλεποὺς ἴοι, ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐτύγχανε μὲν δεδεμένος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, ἄπορα δ’ ἤγουν μὲν τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ ἔφη τὸ λελύσθαι εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σκέλος ἐλευθρώσας τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἔδειξε τότε πρῶτον κατενόησα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, θεσπέσιόν τε εἶναι αὐτόν καὶ κρείσσω τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας· ὅθεν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπωτέροις τούτων ἐντύχοιμι, οὐδὲν ἂν δείσαιμι ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ κινδυνεύων. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐσπέρα, βαδίζωμεν ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑπνου,” ἔφη, “δέομαι μόνου, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ἐν ἴσῳ τίθεμαι λόγῳ, κὰν παρῆ τι αὐτῶν, κὰν ἀπῆ.” μετὰ ταῦτα εὐξάμενος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἔτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἣν ᾤκει ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ τῷ πόδε ἀποιψάμενος παρακελευσάμενός τε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν δειπνεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἄσιτοι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, ἔρριψεν ἐς τὴν κλίνην ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐφυσμήσας τῷ ὑπνῷ τὸ Ὅμηρου ἔπος ἐκάθευδεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀξίοις φροντίσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν.

XIV

CAP. XIV. Περὶ δὲ ὄρθρον ἐρομένου αὐτόν τοῦ Δημητρίου, ποῖ τῆς γῆς τρέφουτο, καὶ κτυπεῖσθαι δοκοῦντος τὰ ὦτα ὑπὸ ἐννοίας ἱππέων, οὓς ᾤετο ἐπικεῖσθαι

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that I tried to dissuade him from taking the journey CHAP. XIII which he has taken, and I believe you too gave him the same advice, namely that he should not rush of his own accord into dangers and difficulties; but when he was thrown into fetters, as I saw with my own eyes, and I was perplexed and in despair of his case, he told me that it rested with himself to release himself and he freed his leg from the fetters and showed it to me. Well, it was then for the first time that I understood our master to be a divine being, transcending all our poor wisdom and knowledge. Consequently, even if I were called upon to expose myself to still greater risks than these, I should not fear anything, as long as I was under his protection. But since the evening is at hand, let us go into the inn to minister to and take care of him.” And Apollonius said: “Sleep is all I want, and everything else is a matter of indifference to me, whether I get it or whether I do not.” And after that, having offered a prayer to Apollo and also to the Sun, he passed into the house in which Demetrius lived, and having washed his feet, and instructed Damis and his friend to take their supper, for he saw that they were fasting, he threw himself upon the bed, and having intoned some verses of Homer as a hymn Iliad 14. 233 to sleep, he took his repose, as if his circumstances gave him no just cause whatever for anxiety.

XIV

ABOUT dawn Demetrius asked him where on CHAP. XIV earth he would turn his steps, for there resounded in his ears the clatter of imaginary horsemen who he thought were already in hot pursuit of

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CAP. XIV ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ τυράννου, “διώξεται μὲν,” ἔφη, “με οὐδὲ αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ ἕτερος, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ πλοῦς ἔσται.” “σφαλερός γε,” εἶπε, “τὸ γὰρ χωρίον φανερώτατον ὄν δὲ μηδ’ ἂν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ διαφύγοις, πῶς ἂν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λάθοις;” “οὐ δέομαι,” ἔφη, “λανθάνειν, εἰ γάρ, ὡς σὺ οἶει, τοῦ τυράννου ἡ γῆ πᾶσα, βελτίους οἱ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀποθνήσκοντες τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ζώντων.” καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιον, “αἰσθάνη,” ἔφη, “νεὸς ἀφιείσης ἐς Σικελίαν;” “αἰσθάνομαι,” εἶπε, “καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καταλύομεν καὶ ὁ κηρύττων ἀγχοῦ θυρῶν, στέλλεται τε ἡ ναῦς ἤδη· ξυμβάλλομαι δ’ αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων βοῇ καὶ οἷς περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἀγκυρῶν πράττουσιν.” “ἐπιβῶμεν,” εἶπε, “τῆς νεὸς ταύτης, ὦ Δάμι, πλευσούμενοι νῦν μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δ’ ἐς Πελοπόννησον.” “ξυνδοκεῖ μοι,” ἔφη, “καὶ πλέωμεν.”

XV

CAP. XV Καὶ προσειπόντες τὸν Δημήτριον ἀθύμως ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα, θαρρεῖν τε παραινέσαντες ὡς ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, ἔπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἀνέμφ ἐπιτηδείῳ, Μεσσήνην τε παραπλεύσαντες ἐγένοντο ἐν Ταυρομενίῳ τριταῖοι. μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἐπὶ Συρακουσῶν κομισθέντες ἀνήγοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον περὶ μετοπώρου ἀρχάς, ὑπεράραντες δὲ τοῦ πελάγους

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Apollonius on account of the rage of the tyrant, but Apollonius merely replied: “Neither he nor anyone else is going to pursue me, but as for myself I shall take sail for Hellas.” “That is anyhow a dangerous voyage,” said the other, “for the region is most exposed and open; and how are you going to be hid out in the open from one whom you cannot escape in the dark?” “I do not need to lie hid,” said Apollonius; “for if, as you imagine, the entire earth belongs to the tyrant, it is better to die out in the open than to live in the dark and in hiding.” And turning to Damis he said: “Do you know of a ship that is starting for Sicily?” “I do,” he replied, “for we are staying on the edge of the sea, and the crier is at our doors, and a ship is just being got ready to start, as I gather from the shouts of the crew, and from the exertions they are making over weighing the anchor.” “Let us embark,” said Apollonius, “upon this ship, O Damis, for we will now sail to Sicily, and thence on to the Peloponnese.” “I am agreeable,” said the other; “so let us sail.”

XV

THEY then said farewell to Demetrius, who was despondent about them, but they bade him hope for the best, as one brave man should for others as brave as himself, and then they sailed for Sicily with a favourable wind, and having passed Messina they reached Tauromenium on the third day. After that they arrived at Syracuse, and put out for the Peloponnese about the beginning of the autumn;

CHAP. XV
The Sage and Damis sail for Olympia

CAP. XV. ἀφίκοντο δι' ἡμέρας ἕκτης ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ ἐκβολάς, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Ἀδρία καὶ Σικελικῶ πελάγει ἐπιχεῖται πότιμος. ἀποβάντες οὖν τῆς νεώς, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἠγούμενοι τὸ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἦκειν, διητῶντο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διός, οὐδαμῶ ὑπὲρ Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποφοιτῶντες. φήμης δ' ἀθρόας τε καὶ ξυντόνου κατασχούσης τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ζῆν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀφίχθαι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, καταρχὰς μὲν ἐδόκει μὴ ἐρρῶσθαι ὁ λόγος, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ ἐλπίδος τι ἀνθρωπείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ δεδέσθαι αὐτὸν ἠκουσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἀνήκοοι ἦσαν ἀποθανεῖν καταφλεχθέντα, οἱ δ' ἐλχθῆναι ζῶντα καταπαγέντων ἐς τὰς κλείδας αὐτοῦ ἀγκιστρῶν, οἱ δ' ἐῶσθαι ἐς βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς βυθόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦκειν ἐπιστεύθη, οὐδ' ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδα οὐδεμίαν μετέωρος οὕτω ξυνῆει ἢ Ἑλλάς, ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνον τότε, Ἥλις μὲν καὶ Σπάρτη αὐτόθεν, Κόρινθος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἴσθμου ὀρίων, Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, εἰ καὶ Πελοποννήσου ἔξω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλείποντο τῶν πόλεων, αἱ ἐπὶ θύραις εἰσὶ τῆς Πίσης, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐπικυδέστατοι Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν στειχοντες καὶ νεότης ἢ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς Ἀθήναζε φοιτῶσα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Μεγαρόθεν τινὲς ἐπεχωρίασαν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ τότε, καὶ Βοιωτῶν πολλοί, κάργῳθεν, Φωκῶν τε καὶ Θετταλῶν ὅτι εὐδόκιμον, οἱ μὲν ξυγγεγονότες ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, ἀνακτησόμενοι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ πλείονων τε καὶ

and having traversed the gulf they arrived after six days at the mouth of the Alpheus, where that river pours its waters, still sweet, into the Adriatic and Sicilian Sea. Here then they disembarked, and thinking it well worth their while to go to Olympia, they went and stayed there in the temple of Zeus, though without ever going further away than Scillus. A rumour as sudden as insistent now ran through the Hellenic world that the sage was alive, and had arrived at Olympia. At first the rumour seemed unreliable; for besides that they were humanly speaking unable to entertain any hope for him inasmuch as they heard that he was cast into prison, they had also heard such rumours as that he had been burnt alive, or dragged about alive with grapnels fixed in his neck, or cast into a deep pit, or into a well. But when the rumour of his arrival was confirmed, they all flocked to see him from the whole of Greece, and never did any such crowd flock to any Olympic festival as then, all full of enthusiasm and expectation. People came straight from Elis and Sparta, and from Corinth away at the limits of the Isthmus; and the Athenians too, although they are outside the Peloponnese; nor were they behind the cities which are at the gates of Pisa, for it was especially the most celebrated of the Athenians that hurried to the temple, together with the young men who flocked to Athens from all over the earth. Moreover there were people from Megara just then staying in Olympia, as well as many from Boeotia, and from Argos, and all the leading people of Phocis and Thessaly. Some of them had already made Apollonius' acquaintance, anxious to pick up his wisdom afresh, for they were convinced that there

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CAP. ^{XV} θαυμασιωτέρων ἀκροάσασθαι ᾤοντο, οἱ δ' ἄπειροι αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἠγούμενοι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἀνήκοι φαίνεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ διαφύγοι τὸν τύραννον, οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεῖν φορτικὸν φράζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολελογησθαί τε ἔφασκε καὶ σεσῶσθαι. πολλῶν δ' ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἠκόντων, οἳ ἐκέρυττον τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, διέκειτο μὲν ἢ Ἑλλάς οὐ πόρρω τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν, θεῖον ἠγούμενοι ἄνδρα δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ μηδ' ἐς κόμπου μηδένα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καθίστασθαι.

XVI

CAP. ^{XVI} Νεανίσκου δὲ τῶν ἠκόντων Ἀθήνηθεν μάλα εὖνον τὴν Ἀθηναίων εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ φήσαντος, “πέπαυσο,” εἶπεν, “Ὀλυμπίασιν ὑπὲρ τούτων κροτῶν καὶ διαβάλλων τὴν θεὸν τῷ πατρί. ἐπιδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τῇ ἀχθηδόνι καὶ δίκαια πράττειν τὴν θεὸν φήσαντος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐπώνυμον Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν, “εἶθε,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἐν Παναθηναίοις,” ἐπιστομίζων αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων, ὡς κακῶς εἰδόμενα περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ τυράννοις αὐτοὺς εὖνους ἠγοῖτο, τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς, ὡς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἐφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ψηφισομένων Ἀθηναίων, εἰ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους τιμᾶν ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς νομίζοντες

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remained much to learn, more striking than what they had so far heard; but those who were not acquainted with him thought it a shame that they should seem never to have heard so great a man discourse. In answer to their questions then, of how he had escaped the clutches of the tyrant, he did not deem it right to say anything boastful; but he merely told them that he had made his defence and got away safely. However when several people arrived from Italy, who bruited abroad the episode of the law-court, the attitude of Hellas towards him came near to that of actual worship; the main reason why they thought him divine being this, that he never made the least parade about the matter.

XVI

AMONG the arrivals from Athens there was a youth who asserted that the goddess Athene was very well disposed to the Emperor, whereupon Apollonius said to him: “In Olympia please to stop your chatter of such things, for you will prejudice the goddess in the eyes of her father.” But as the youth increased their annoyance by declaring that the goddess was quite right, because the Emperor was Archon Eponym of the city of Athene, he said: “Would that he also presided at the Panathenaic festival.” By the first of his answers he silenced him, for he showed that he held a poor opinion of the gods, if he considered them to be well disposed to tyrants: by his second he showed that the Athenians would stultify the decree which they passed in honour of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, if after seeing fit to honour these

CHAP. ^{XVI}
Rebukes :
partisan of
Domitian

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CAP. XVI ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Παναθηναίοις ἔδρασαν, τυράννοις λοιπὸν χαρίζονται τὸ κεχειροτονημένους αὐτῶν ἄρχειν.

XVII

CAP. XVII Ξυμβουλεύοντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Δάμιδος ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐφοδίων σφίσι πάνυ σμικρὰ ἐλείπετο, "αὔριον," ἔφη, "τούτου ἐπιμελήσομαι." καὶ παρελθὼν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, "δός," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἱερεῦ, χιλίας μοι δραχμὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Διὸς χρημάτων, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα οἶει χαλεπανεῖν αὐτόν." καὶ ὁ ἱερεύς, "οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτων," ἔφη, "χαλεπανεῖ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, εἰ μὴ πλείω λήψῃ."

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Θετταλοῦ δὲ ἀνδρός, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰσαγόρας, ξυνόντος αὐτῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἰσαγόρα, ἔστι τι πανήγυρις;" "νὴ Δί," εἶπε, "τό γε ἡδιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους." "τίς δὲ δὴ ὕλη τούτου; ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν ἠρόμην ὑπὲρ ὕλης τοῦδε τοῦ ἀγάλματος, σὺ δ' ἀπεκρίνου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος ξυυτεθῆναι αὐτό." "καὶ τίς," ἔφη, "ὕλη, Ἀπολλώνιε, τοῦ γε ἄσωμάτου;" "μεγίστη," εἶπε, "καὶ ποικιλω-

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two citizens with statues in the market place, for the deed they committed at the Panathenaic festival, they ended by conferring on tyrants the privilege of being elected to govern them. CHAP. XVI

XVII

DAMIS approached him at this time to ask him about money, because they had so very little left to defray the expense of their journey. "To-morrow," said Apollonius, "I will attend to this." And on the next day he went into the temple and said to the priest: "Give me a thousand drachmas out of the treasury of Zeus, if you think he will not be too much annoyed." And the priest answered: "Not at that; what will annoy him will be if you do not take more." CHAP. XVII Zeus gives him money

XVIII

THERE was a man of Thessaly, named Isagoras, whom he met in Olympia and said: "Tell me, Isagoras, is there such a thing as a religious fair or festival?" "Why yes," he replied, "and by heaven there is nothing in the world of men, so agreeable and so dear to the gods." "And what is the material of which it is composed?" asked Apollonius; "It is as if I asked you about the material of which this image is made, and you answered me that it was composed of gold and ivory." "But," said the other, "what material, Apollonius, can a thing which is incorporeal be composed of?" "A most important material," replied Apollonius, "and Discussion of what makes a festival CHAP. XVIII

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XVIII

τάτη, τεμένη τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερά καὶ δρόμοι καὶ σκηνὴ δῆπου, ἔθνη τε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερορίων τε καὶ ὑπὲρ θάλατταν.” καὶ μὴν καὶ τεχνῶν πλείστων αὐτὴν ξυγκείσθαι καὶ σοφισμάτων, σοφίας τε ἀληθινῆς καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ ξυμβουλιῶν καὶ διαλέξεων γυμνῆς τε ἀγωνίας καὶ μουσικῆς, ὡς Πυθοῖ πάτριον. “ἔοικεν,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ μόνον σωματοειδὲς εἶναι ἢ πανήγυρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμασιωτέρας ὕλης ἢ αἱ πόλεις, τὰ γὰρ τῶν σπουδαίων σπουδαιότατα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐλλογιμῶν ἐλλογιμώτατα ξυγκαλεῖ καὶ ξυνοικίζει.”

“Ἄρ’ οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Ἰσαγόρα, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τείχη καὶ ναῦς ἡγοῦνται, τοὺς ἀνδρας ἡγησόμεθα, ἢ ἐτέρας ἐπ’ αὐτῆς δέη δόξης;” “τελεία,” ἔφη, “ὦ Τυανεύ, ἦδε ἡ δόξα καὶ δίκαιον ἔπεσθαι αὐτῇ.” “καὶ μὴν ἀτελής,” εἶπεν, “ἐνθυμουμένῳ περὶ αὐτῆς ὄν ἐγὼ τρόπον δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ νῆες ἀνδρῶν δεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀνδρες νηῶν, καὶ μηδ’ ἂν ἐνθυμηθῆναί ποτε ἀνθρώπους τὴν θάλατταν, εἰ μὴ ναῦς ἦν, σώζειν τε ἀνδρας μὲν τείχη, τείχη δὲ ἀνδρας, πανήγυρις δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἶναι μὲν καὶ ἢ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ξύνοδος, εἶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ἐς ὃ χρὴ ξυνιέναι, καὶ τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ τείχη μὲν καὶ νῆες οὐδ’

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

most varied in character; for there are sacred groves CHAP.
XVIII in it, and shrines, and race-courses and, of course, a theatre, and tribes of men, some of them from the neighbouring countries, and others from over the borders, and even from across the sea. Moreover,” he added, “many arts go to make up such a festival, and many designs, and much true genius, both of poets, and of civil counsellors, and of those who deliver harangues on philosophic topics, and contests between naked athletes, and contests of musicians, as is the custom in the Pythian festival.” “It seems to me,” said the other, “O Apollonius, that the festival is not only something corporeal, but is made up of more wonderful material than are cities; for there is summoned together into one community on such occasions the best of the best, and the most celebrated of the celebrated.”

“Then,” said Apollonius, “O Isagoras, are we to consider the people we meet there in the same light as some people regard walls and ships, or do you need some other opinion of the festival?” “The opinion,” answered the other, “which we have formulated, is quite adequate and complete, O man of Tyana, and we had better adhere to it.” “And yet,” said the other, “it is neither adequate nor complete to one who considers about it as I do; for it appears to me that ships are in need of men and men of ships, and that men would never have thought about the sea at all if they had not had a ship; and men are kept safe by walls and walls by men; and in the same way I consider a festival to be not only the meeting of human beings, but also the place itself in which they have to meet, and the more so, because walls and ships would never have

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVIII ἂν ἐγένοντο, εἰ μὴ δι' ἀνθρώπων χεῖρας, τὰ δὲ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπὸ χειρῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπέων ἐφθάρη τὸ αὐτοσχέδια μὴ εἶναι ἀφαιρεθέντα, φύσεως δ' εὖ ἦκοντα ἐπάξια τοῦ ξυμφοιτᾶν ἐς αὐτὰ ἐνομίσθη, γυμνάσια μὲν γὰρ καὶ στοαὶ καὶ κρήναι καὶ οἴκοι, τέχνη ταῦτα ἀνθρωπέα εἰργάσθη, καθάπερ τὰ τείχη καὶ αἱ νῆες, Ἄλφειός δὲ οὗτος καὶ ἵππόδρομος καὶ στάδιον καὶ ἄλση πρὸ ἀνθρώπων δήπου ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν ἀποχρῶν ποτὸν εἶναι καὶ λουτρόν, ὁ δ' εὐρὺ πεδίου ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς ἵπποις, τὸ δ' ἐγκούσασθαι καὶ διαδραμεῖν ἀθληταῖς διὰ τὸ παρέχεσθαι τινα ὄρον, αὐλῶνα σταδίου μήκος, τὰ δὲ ἄλση στεφανῶσαι τοὺς νικῶντας καὶ τοὺς δρομικοὺς τῶν ἀθλητῶν γυμνάσαι. ταῦτα γάρ που καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐνθυμηθέντι, καὶ τὸ αὐτοφυὲς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀγασθέντι ἐπάξιός ἐφάνη ὁ χώρος τῶν ἔτι νῦν σπουδαζομένων ἐνταῦθα."

XIX

CAP. XIX Ἡμερῶν δὲ τετταράκοντα διαλεχθεὶς ἐν Ὀλυμπία καὶ πλείστα σπουδάσας, "καὶ κατὰ πόλεις μὲν," ἔφη, "διαλέξομαι ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐν πανηγύρεσιν, ἐν πομπαῖς, ἐν μυστηρίοις, ἐν θυσίαις, ἐν σπονδαῖς—ἀστείου δὲ ἀνδρὸς δέονται—νῦν δὲ ἐς Λεβάδειαν χρῆ καταβῆναί με, ἐπεὶ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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

XIX

AFTER forty days, given up to discussions in CHAP. XIX Olympia, in which many topics were handled, Apollonius said: "I will also, O men of Hellas, discourse to you in your several cities, at your festivals, at your religious processions, at your mysteries, your sacrifices, at your public libations, and they require the services of a clever man; but for the present I must go down to Lebadea, for I have never yet had

Visits the shrine of Trophoni at Lebadea

CAP. XIX. μήπω ξυγγέγονα, καίτοι ἐπιφοιτήσας ποτε τῷ ἱερῷ." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐχώρει δὴ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας, οὐδενὸς λειπομένου τῶν θαυμαζόντων αὐτόν. τὸ δ' ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ στόμιον ἀνάκειται μὲν Τροφωνίῳ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐσβατὸν μόνον τοῖς ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν φοιτῶσιν, ὁράται δ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, μικρὸν δ' ἄνω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν γηλόφῳ, ξυγκλείουσι δ' αὐτὸ σιδήρειοι ὀβελίσκοι κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες, ἢ δὲ κάθοδος οἷα ἰζήσαντα ἐπισπάσασθαι. λευκῇ δ' ἐσθῆτι ἐσταλμένοι πέμπονται, μελιτούττας ἀπάγοντες ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν, μιλίγματα ἐρπετῶν, ἃ τοῖς κατιοῦσιν ἐγχριπίει. ἀναδίδωσι δ' ἢ γῆ τοὺς μὲν οὐ πόρρω, τοὺς δὲ πορρωτάτω, καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Λοκροὺς ἀναπέμπονται καὶ ὑπὲρ Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι περὶ τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια. παρελθὼν οὖν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, "βούλομαι," ἔφη, "καταβῆναι ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας."

Ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς λεγόντων, μὴ ἂν ποτε γόητι ἀνθρώπῳ παρασχεῖν ἔλεγχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα πλαττομένων ἀποφράδας καὶ οὐ καθαρὰς χρῆσαι, τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διελέχθη περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῆς Ἑρκύνης ὑπὲρ αἰτίας τοῦ μαντείου καὶ τρόπου, μόνον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δι' αὐτοῦ χρᾶ τοῦ χρωμένου ἐσπέρα δ' ὡς ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον μετὰ τῶν ξυνακολουθούντων νέων, καὶ τέτταρας τῶν ὀβελίσκων ἀνασπάσας, οἱ ξυνέχουσι τὰς τῆς παρόδου κλείδας, ἐχώρει ὑποχθόνιος αὐτῷ τρίβωνι

an interview with Trophonius, although I once CHAP. XIX. visited his shrine." And with these words he at once started for Boeotia attended by every one of his admirers. Now the cavern in Lebadea is dedicated to Trophonius, the son of Apollo, and it can only be entered by those who resort thither in order to get an oracle, and it is not visible in the temple, but lies a little above it on a mound; and it is shut in by iron spits which surround it, and you descend into it as it were sitting down and being drawn down. Those who enter it are clad in white raiment, and are escorted thither with honey-cakes in their hands to appease the reptiles which assail them as they descend. But the earth brings them to the surface again, in some cases close by, but in other cases a long way off; for they are sent up to the surface beyond Locri and beyond Phocis, but most of them about the borders of Boeotia. Accordingly Apollonius entered the shrine and said: "I wish to descend into the cave in the interests of philosophy."

But the priests opposed him and though they told the multitude that they would never allow a wizard like him to examine and test the shrine, they pretended to the sage himself that there were forbidden days and days unclean for consulting. So on that day he delivered a discourse at the springs of Hercyne, about the origin and conduct of the shrine; for it is the only oracle which gives responses through the person himself who consults it. And when the evening approached, he went to the mouth of the cave with his train of youthful followers, and having pulled up four of the obelisks, which constitute a bar to the passage, he went down below

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CHAPTER XIX. καθάπερ ἐς διάλεξιν ἑαυτὸν στείλας, οὕτω τι τῷ θεῷ φίλα πράττων, ὡς ἐπιστάντα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν Τροφώνιον, ἐς ἐπίπληξιν τε αὐτοῖς καταστήναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐς Αὐλίδα τε ἔπεσθαι πάντας, ὡς ἐκεῖ ἀναδυσομένου θαυμασιώτατα ἀνθρώπων. ἀνέσχε γὰρ δι' ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ, ὅσων μήπω τις τῶν ὑπελθόντων τὸ μαντεῖον, φέρων βιβλίον προσφορώτατον τῇ ἐρωτήσει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήλθεν εἰπὼν, “ τίνα, ὦ Τροφώνιε, καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρτιωτάτην καὶ καθαρωτάτην φιλοσοφίαν ἠγῆ; ” τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τὰς Πυθαγόρου εἶχε δόξας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ μαντείου τῇ σοφίᾳ ταύτῃ ξυντιθεμένου.

XX

CHAPTER XX. Ἀνάκειται τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ἐν Ἀνθίῳ, καὶ σπουδάζεται διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ Ἀνθιον Ἰταλῶν τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν Λεβάδειαν οἰκούντων ξυγχωρῶ ἀκροᾶσθαι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου γνώμη ἀποπεφάνθω μοι, διακομισθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸ βασιλεῖ Ἀδριανῷ ὕστερον, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τινὰς τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιστολῶν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάσας γε, καταμεῖναι δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν βασιλείων ἔχαιρεν.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

CHAPTER XIX. ground wearing his philosopher's mantle, having dressed himself as if he were going to deliver an address upon philosophy,—a step which the god Trophonius so thoroughly approved of, that he appeared to the priests and not only rebuked them for the reception they had given Apollonius, but enjoined them all to follow him to Aulis, for he said it was there that he would come to the surface in such a marvellous fashion as no man before. And in fact he emerged after seven days, a longer period than it had taken anyone of those who until then had entered the oracle, and he had with him a volume thoroughly in keeping with the questions he had asked: for he had gone down saying: “What, O Trophonius, do you consider the most complete and purest philosophy?” And the volume contained the tenets of Pythagoras, a good proof this, that the oracle was in agreement with this form of wisdom.

Emerges from the cave of Trophonius with a volume of Pythagoras

XX

CHAPTER XX. This book is preserved in Antium, and the village in question, which is on the Italian seaboard, is much visited for the purpose of seeing it. I must acknowledge that I only heard these details from the inhabitants of Lebadea; but in regard to the volume in question I must set on record my conviction, that it was subsequently conveyed to the Emperor Hadrian at the same time as certain letters of Apollonius, though by no means all of them; and it remained in the palace at Antium, which was that one of his Italian palaces in which this Emperor took most pleasure.

which volume is now in Antium

XXI

CAP. XXI Ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωνίας οἱ ὁμιληταὶ πάντες, οὓς ὠνόμαζεν Ἀπολλωνιέους ἢ Ἑλλάς, καὶ ξυμμιχθέντες τοῖς αὐτόθεν νεότης ἐγένοντο θαυμάσαι ἄξιοι τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ὀρμῆς. ῥητορικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέκειτο ἀμελουμένη, καὶ σμικρὰ προσεῖχον τοῖς τὴν τέχνην ξυγκροτοῦσιν, ὡς μόνης διδασκάλου τῆς γλώττης, ὠθίζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν πάντες. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ τοὺς Γύγας φασὶ καὶ τοὺς Κροίσους ἀκλείστους παρέχειν τὰς τῶν θησαυρῶν θύρας, ἵν' ἀπαντλεῖν εἴη τοῖς δεομένοις, οὕτω παρέιχε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν τοῖς ἐρώσι. περὶ παντὸς ἐρωτᾶν ξυγχωρῶν.

XXII

CAP. XXII Διαβαλλόντων δ' αὐτὸν ἐνίων, ὅτι τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιδημίας ἐκτρέποιτο καὶ ἀπάγοι τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐς τὰς ἡσυχίας μᾶλλον, καὶ τινος ἀποσκώφαντος μετελαύνειν αὐτὸν τὰ πρόβατα, ἐπειδὴν τοὺς ἀγοραίους προσιόντας μάθη, “νὴ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ἵνα μὴ ἐμπίπτωσι τῇ ποίμνῃ οἱ λύκοι.” τί δ' ἐβούλετο αὐτῷ τοῦτο; τοὺς ἀγοραίους ὁρῶν ἀποβλεπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ προϊόντας ἐκ πενίας ἐς πλοῦτον, ἀπεχθείας τε οὕτως ἀσπαζομένους, ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπέχθασθαι

XXI

FROM Ionia also there came to see him the band of companions who were named in Hellas the company of Apollonius; and mixing with the people of the place they formed a band of youths, remarkable for their number and for their philosophic enthusiasm. For the science of rhetoric had been left neglected and little attention was paid to the professors of the art, on the ground that the tongue was their only teacher; but now they were all impelled to study his philosophy. But he, like Gyges and Croesus, who they say left the door of their treasuries unlocked, in order that all who needed might fill their pockets from them, threw open the treasures of his wisdom to those who loved it, and allowed them to ask him questions upon every subject.

XXII

BUT certain persons accused him of avoiding attendance on governors at their visits, and of influencing his hearers rather to live in retirement instead; and one of them uttered the jest that he drove away his sheep as soon as he found any forensic orator approaching. “Yes, by Zeus,” said Apollonius, “lest these wolves should fall upon my flock.” What was the meaning of this sally? He saw these forensic orators looked up to by the multitude as they made their way up from poverty to great riches; and he saw that they so welcomed the feuds of others, that they actually

CHAP. XXI
The Ban Apolloni accompa him

CHAP. XXII
He warn them against forensic orators

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXII πωλεῖν, ἀπήγε τοὺς νέους τοῦ ξυνεῖναι σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ξυγγενομένους αὐτοῖς ἐνουθέτει πικρότερον, οἶον ἀποπλύνων βαφῆς ἀτόπου· διεβέβλητο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεσμοτηρίων καὶ τῶν δεδεμένων τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω διετέθη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην, ὡς πάντα ταῦτα τῶν συκοφαντούντων καὶ τῶν δεινότητι ἐπηρμένων ἠγεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ τυράννου.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνεσπούδαζεν, ἐπέιχε τὸν οὐρανὸν διοσημία τοιαύτη· τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον περιελθὼν στέφανος εἰκῶς ἴριδι τὴν ἀκτῖνα ἠμαύρου. ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐς νεώτερα ἢ διοσημία ἔφερε, δῆλα ἦν πᾶσιν, ὁ δ' ἄρχων τῆς Ἑλλάδος καλέσας αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Βοιωτίαν, “ἀκούω σε,” εἶπεν, “Ἀπολλώνιε, σοφὸν εἶναι τὰ δαιμόνια.” “εἴ γε,” ἔφη, “ἀκούεις, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια.” “ἀκούω,” εἶπε, “καὶ ξύμφημι.” “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ξυνομολογεῖς, μὴ πολυπραγμόνει θεῶν βουλᾶς, τουτὶ γὰρ ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σοφία ἐπαινεί.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλιπάρει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰπεῖν, ὅπη διανοεῖται, δεδιέναι γὰρ μὴ ἐς
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conducted a traffic in hatred and feud; accordingly he tried to dissuade these young men from associating with them, and those that did so associate with them he sharply reprov'd, as if to wash off them a monstrous stain. For he had been long before on bad terms with them; and his experience of the prisons in Rome, and of the persons who were confined and perishing in them, so prejudiced him against the forensic art, as that he believed all these evils were due to sycophants and lawyers puffed up by their own cleverness, rather than to the despot himself. CHAP. XXII

XXIII

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

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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

XXIV

CAP. XXIV
 Μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα ἰκανῶς εἶχε, δυοῖν ἐνδιατρίψας ἐτοῖν,
 ἔπλει ἐς Ἴωνίαν ξυνεπομένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐταιρείας,
 καὶ τὸν μὲν πλείω χρόνον ἐφιλοσόφει περὶ τὴν
 Σμύρναν τε καὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἐπιῶν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
 καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν πόλεων ἀηδὴς εἶναι δοκῶν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεῖσθαι ἄξιος καὶ κέρδος μέγα τοῖς
 δεξιοῖς.

XXV

CAP. XXV
 Ἐώθουν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ Δομετιανὸν ἤδη τῆς τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων προεδρίας. ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλήμεντα
 ἀπεκτονῶς ἄνδρα ὑπάτου, ᾧ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ ἐδεδώκει, πρόσταγμα δ' ἐπεποιήτο περὶ
 τὴν τρίτην ἢ τετάρτην ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου κακέι-
 νην ἐς ἀνδρὸς φοιτᾶν. Στέφανος τοίνυν ἀπελ-
 εύθερος τῆς γυναικός, ὃν ἐδήλου τὸ τῆς διοσημίας
 σχῆμα, εἴτε τὸν τεθνεῶτα ἐνθυμηθείς, εἴτε
 πάντας, ὥρμησε μὲν ἴσα τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις
 Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον· ξίφος δ' ὑφείρας

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

everything. “Be of good cheer,” said Apollonius, CHAP.
 “for there will be some light following such a night XXIII
 as this.”

XXIV

AFTER this, seeing that he had had enough of the CHAP.
 people of Hellas, after living for two years among XXIV
 them, he set sail for Ionia, accompanied by his society; Quits Hellas
 and the greater part of his time he spent teaching for
 philosophy at Smyrna and Ephesus, though he also Ionia
 visited the rest of the cities; and in none of them
 was he found to be an unwelcome guest, indeed they
 all considered him to be worth their regret when he
 left them, and to the better class of people he was a
 great boon.

XXV

AND now the gods were about to cast down CHAP.
 Domitian from his presidency of mankind. For it XXV
 happened that he had just slain Clemens, a man
 of consular rank, to whom he had lately given his
 own sister in marriage; and he issued a command
 about the third or fourth day after the murder,
 that she also should follow her husband and join
 him. Thereupon Stephanus, a freed man of the
 lady, he who was signified by the form of the
 late portent, whether because the latest victim's
 fate rankled in his mind, or the fate of all others,
 made an attempt upon the tyrant's life worthy
 of comparison with the feats of the champions of
 Athenian liberty. For he concealed a dagger

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXV τῷ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πῆχει, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπι-
 δέσμοις ἀναλαβὼν οἶον κατεαγυῖαν, ἀπιόντι
 τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθὼν, “δέομαί σου,” ἔφη,
 “βασιλεῦ, μόνου, μεγάλα γάρ, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀκούσῃ.
 οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος δὲ τοῦ τυράννου τὴν ἀκρόασιν,
 ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα, οὗ τὰ βασίλεια,
 “οὐ τέθνηκεν,” εἶπεν, “ὁ πολεμιώτατός σοι Κλή-
 μης, ὡς σὺ οἶει, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν οὗ ἐγὼ οἶδα, καὶ
 ξυντάττει ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ σέ.” μέγα δ’ αὐτοῦ βοή-
 σαντος περὶ ὧν ἤκουσε, τεταραγμένῳ προσπεσὼν
 ὁ Στέφανος, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τῆς ἐσκευασμένης χειρὸς
 ἀνασπάσας, διῆκε τοῦ μηροῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸν αὐτίκα
 θάνατον οὐ καιρίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ
 ἄκαιρον. ὁ δ’ ἐρρωμένος μὲν καὶ ἄλλως τὸ σῶμα,
 γεγονῶς δὲ περὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη
 ξυνεπλάκη τρωθεῖς, καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Στέφανον
 ἐπέκειτο, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀρύττων καὶ τὰς παρειὰς
 ξυντρίβων πυθμένι χρυσῆς κύλικος αὐτοῦ κειμένης
 περὶ τὰ ἱερά, ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν ἀρωγόν.
 συνέντες οὖν οἱ δορυφόροι κακῶς πράττοντος
 ἐσῆλθον ἀθρόοι, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν
 λιποθυμοῦντα ἤδη.

XXVI

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

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

against his left fore-arm, and carrying his hand in CHAP. XXV
 a bandage, as if it were broken, he approached the
 Emperor as he left the law-court, and said: “I
 would have a private interview with you, my prince,
 for I have important news to communicate to you.”
 The latter did not refuse him the audience, but took
 him apart into the men’s apartment where he trans-
 acted business of state. Whereupon the assassin
 said; “Your bitter enemy, Clement, is not dead, as
 you imagine, but he lives and I know where he is;
 and he is making ready to attack you.” When the
 Emperor uttered a loud cry over this information,
 before he could recover his composure, Stephanus
 threw himself upon him and drawing the dagger
 from the hand which he had trussed up, he stabbed
 him in the thigh, inflicting a wound which was not
 immediately mortal, though it was well timed in view
 of the struggle which followed. The Emperor was
 still strong and full of bodily vigour, although he was
 about five and forty years of age; and in spite of the
 wound he closed with his assailant, and throwing him
 down, kneeled upon him and dug out his eyes and
 crushed his cheeks with the stand of a gold cup which
 lay thereby for use in sacred ceremonies, at the same
 time calling upon Athene to assist him. Thereupon
 his body-guard, realising that he was in distress,
 rushed into the room pell-mell, and despatched the
 tyrant, who had already swooned.

XXVI

ALTHOUGH this deed was done in Rome, Apollonius CHAP. XXVI
 was a spectator of it in Ephesus. For about midday

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVI γὰρ περὶ τὰ τῶν ξυστῶν ἄλση κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγίγνετο, πρῶτον μὲν ὑφῆκε τῆς φωνῆς, οἶον δείσας, εἶτ' ἐλλιπέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἠρμήνευσεν ἴσα τοῖς μεταξὺ λόγων διορῶσί τι ἕτερον, εἶτα ἐσιώπησεν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν λόγων ἐκπεσόντες, βλέψας τε δεινὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ προβάς τρία ἢ τέτταρα τῶν βημάτων, "παῖε τὸν τύραννον, παῖε," ἐβόα, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκ κατόπτρου τινὸς εἶδωλον ἀληθείας ἔλκων, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ὀρώων καὶ ξυλλαμβάνειν δοκῶν τὰ δρώμενα. ἐκπεπληγμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου, παρῆν γὰρ διαλεγομένῳ πᾶσα, ἐπισχῶν ὅσον οἱ διορῶντες, ἔστ' ἂν γένηται τι τῶν ἀμφιβόλων τέλος, "θαρρεῖτε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ γὰρ τύραννος ἀπέσφρακται τήμερον. τί λέγω τήμερον; ἄρτι, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνῶν, ἄρτι, περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ῥημάτων, οἷς ἐπεσιώπησα." μανίαν δὲ ταῦθ' ἠγουμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον, καὶ βουλομένων μὲν ἀληθεύειν αὐτόν, δεδιότων δὲ τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κίνδυνον, "οὐ θαυμάζω" ἔφη, "τῶν μήπω προσδεχομένων τὸν λόγον, ὃν μῆδ' ἢ Ῥώμη γιγνώσκει πᾶσα· ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ γιγνώσκει, διαφοιτᾶ γάρ, καὶ πιστεύουσι μὲν ἤδη μύριοι, πηδῶσι δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς δις τόσοι καὶ διπλάσιοι τούτων καὶ τετραπλάσιοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

he was delivering an address in the groves of the colonnade, just at the moment when it all happened in the palace at Rome; and first he dropped his voice, as if he were terrified, and then, though with less vigour than was usual with him, he continued his exposition, like one who between his words caught glimpses of something foreign to his subject, and at last he lapsed into silence, like one who has been interrupted in his discourse. And with an awful glance at the ground, and stepping forward three or four paces from his pulpit, he cried: "Smite the tyrant, smite him,"—not like one who derives from some looking-glass a faint image of the truth, but as one who sees things with his own eyes, and is taking part in a tragedy. All Ephesus, for all Ephesus was at his lecture, was struck dumb with astonishment; but he, pausing like those who are trying to see and wait until their doubts are ended, said: "Take heart, gentlemen, for the tyrant has been slain this day; and why do I say to-day? Now it is, by Athene, even now at the moment I uttered my words, and then lapsed into silence." The inhabitants of Ephesus thought that this was a fit of madness on his part; and although they were anxious that it should be true, yet they were anxious about the risk they ran in giving ear to his words, whereupon he added: "I am not surprised at those who do not yet accept my story, for not even all Rome as yet is cognizant of it. But behold, Rome begins to know it: for the rumour runs this way and that, and, thousands now are convinced of it; and they begin to leap for joy, twice as many as before, and twice as many as they, and four times as many, yea the whole of the populace there. And this

CHAP. XXVI
Apollonius witnesses the deed though in Ephesus

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXVI ἐκείνη δῆμοι. ἀφίξεται τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ δεῦρο,
καὶ τὸ μὲν θύειν ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβλήσθω ἐς
καιρὸν, ὃν ἀπαγγελθήσεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δὲ εἶμι
προσευξόμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶδον."

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII "Ἐτ' ἀπιστουμένων τούτων, ἦλθον οἱ τῶν εὐαγ-
γελίων δρόμοι, μάρτυρες τῆς σοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρός,
καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τυράννου σφαγή, καὶ ἡ τοῦτο ἐνεγ-
κοῦσα ἡμέρα, καὶ ἡ μεσημβρία, καὶ οἱ κτείνοντες,
πρὸς οὓς ἡ παρακέλευσις, οὕτως εἶχεν, ὡς οἱ θεοὶ
τούτων ἕκαστα διαλεγόμενῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνέφαινον.

Τριάκοντα δ' ἡμέραις μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπιστείλαντος
αὐτῷ τοῦ Νερούα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἤδη τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων ἔχειν θεῶν τε βουλαῖς κακείνου, κατασχεῖν
δ' ἂν αὐτὴν ῥᾶον, εἰ ξύμβουλος αὐτῷ ἔλθοι, τὸ
μὲν αὐτίκα ἐκεῖνο γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰνιγμα-
"ξυνεσόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χρόνον ἀλλήλοις πλείσ-
τον, ὃν μήτε ἡμεῖς ἐτέρου, μήτ' ἄλλος ἡμῶν ἄρξει,"
συνιεὶς ἴσως ἑαυτοῦ τε, ὡς μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεταστη-
σομένου ἀνθρώπων, Νερούα τε, ὡς χρόνον βραχὺν
ἄρξοντος, ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ καὶ μῆνας τετταρας
τὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προὔβη, σωφρονεστάτῳ
δόξαντι.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

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

XXVII

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

And thirty days later Nerva sent a letter to him Nerva
to say that he was already in possession of the accedes a
Empire of the Romans, thanks to the good-will of invites th
of the gods and to his good counsels; and he added sage to
that he would more easily retain it, if Apollonius Rome
would come to advise him. Whereupon at the
moment the latter wrote to him the following
enigmatical sentence: "We will, my prince, enjoy
one another's company for a very long time during
which neither shall we govern others, nor others us."
Perhaps he realised, when he wrote thus, that it
was not to be long before he himself should quit this
human world, and that Nerva was only to retain the
throne for a short time; for his reign lasted but
one year and four months, when he left behind him
the reputation of having been a sober and serious
ruler.

“Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀμελῶν φαίνοιτο φίλου τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος, ξυνέθηκε μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ξύμβουλον τῶν ἀρχικῶν, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν, “σοῦ” ἔφη, “δεῖται ταῦτα, τὰ γὰρ ἀπόρρητα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς γέγραπται μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἔστι δ’ οἷα ἢ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ λέγεσθαι ἢ διὰ σοῦ.” καὶ ὄψε’ ὁ Δάμις ξυνεῖναί φησι τῆς τέχνης, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστολήν ἄριστά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ξυγγεγράφθαι, πεμφθῆναι δ’ ἂν καὶ δι’ ἐτέρου. τίς οὖν ἡ τέχνη τοῦ ἀνδρός; πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἐβίω, λέγεται θαμὰ ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι, “λάθε βιώσας, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιο, λάθε ἀποβιώσας.” ἀπάγων οὖν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Δάμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ μάρτυσι καταλύοι, τὴν ἐπιστολήν ἐσκήψατο καὶ τὸ ἀναφοιτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ παθεῖν τι ἀπιὼν αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὐδὲ εἰδὼς τὰ μέλλοντα, τὸν δ’ εὖ εἰδότα μηδὲν μὲν οἱ εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ μηκέτ’ ἀλλήλους ὄψόμενοι, τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιεῖναι τοῦ πεπεῖσθαι, ὅτι αἰεὶ ἔσται, παρεγγυῆσαι δὲ ὦδε· “ὦ Δάμι, κὰν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ φιλοσοφῆς, ἐμὲ ὄρα.”

BUT as he did not wish to seem to neglect so good a friend and ruler, he composed later on for him a letter giving him advice about matters of state; and calling Damis to him, he said: “You are wanted here, for this letter which I have written to the king contains secrets, and though it is written, they are of such a kind that they must be communicated orally either by myself or through you.” And Damis declares that he only understood his master’s device much later; for that the letter was composed in admirable style, and though it treated of important subjects, yet it might equally well have been sent through anyone else. What then was the sage’s device? All through his life, he is said often to have exclaimed: “Live unobserved, and if that cannot be, slip unobserved from life.” His letter, then, and Damis’ visit to Rome were of the nature of an excuse for getting the latter out of the way, in order that he might have no witnesses of his dissolution. Damis accordingly says that, though he was much affected at leaving him, in spite of his having no knowledge of what was coming, yet Apollonius, who knew full well, said nothing of it to him, and far from addressing him after the manner of those who are never to see one another again, so abundant was his conviction that he would exist for ever, merely pledged him in these words: “O Damis, even if you have to philosophise by yourself, keep your eyes upon me.”

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τυανέα Δάμιδι τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένα ἐς τόνδε τὸν λόγον τελευτᾶ, περὶ γὰρ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα, εἶγε ἐτελεύτα, πλείους μὲν λόγοι, Δάμιδι δὲ οὐδεὶς εἴρηται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο χρὴ παραλελειφθαι, δεῖ γάρ που τὸν λόγον ἔχειν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πέρας. οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἡλικίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηται οὐδὲν τῷ Δάμιδι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα, τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενηκοντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πρόσω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἀκέραιος ὢν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄρτιος, νεότητος δὲ ἡδίων. ἔστι γὰρ τις ὥρα καὶ περὶ ρυτίσω, ἣ μάλιστα περὶ ἐκείνον ἠνθησεν, ὡς εἰκόνες τε δηλοῦσι τὰνδρὸς ἐν τῷ Τυανάδε ἱερῷ καὶ λόγοι μᾶλλον ὑμνοῦντες τὸ Ἀπολλωνίου γῆρας ἢ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ποτὲ νεότητα.

XXX

CAP.
XXX

Τελευτήσαι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ δυοῖν δμωαῖν, τεθνάναι γὰρ ἤδη οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι, περὶ ὧν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἶπον, ἐλευθερώσαντα δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν, αἰτίαν πρὸς τῆς ἑτέρας ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἠξίωτο, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον, “καὶ δουλεύσαι,” φάναι, “προσῆκει σὲ αὐτῇ, τουτὶ γὰρ σοὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἄρξει.” τελευτήσαντος οὖν ἡ μὲν

XXIX

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

CHAP.
XXIX
Age reached
by Apol-
lonius

XXX

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

CHAP.
XXX
Tales of his
death, in
Ephesus

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXX δουλεύειν ἐκείνη, ἢ δ' ἐκ μικρᾶς αἰτίας ἀποδόσθαι αὐτὴν καπήλῳ, παρ' οὗ πρίασθαι τις οὐδ' εὐπρεπῆ οὖσαν, ἀλλ' ἐρών οὗτος καὶ χρηματιστῆς ἱκανὸς ὢν, γυναϊκά τε ἀνειπεῖν καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγγράψαι.

Οἱ δ' ἐν Λίνδῳ τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἔσω ἀφανισθέντα· οἱ δ' ἐν Κρήτῃ φασὶ θαυμασιώτερον ἢ οἱ ἐν Λίνδῳ· διατρίβειν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τούτου θαυματοζόμενον, ἀφικέσθαι δ' ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Δικτύνης ἁωρί. φυλακὴ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ κυνῶν ἐπιτέτακται, φρουροὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ πλούτου, καὶ ἀξιούσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Κρήτες μήτε τῶν ἄρκτων μήτε τῶν ὠδε ἀγρίων λείπεσθαι, οἱ δ' οὐθ' ὑλακτεῖν ἤκουτα σαίνειν τε αὐτὸν προσιόντες, ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς ἄγαν ἐθάδας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προϊστάμενοι ξυλλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὡς γόητα καὶ ληστὴν δῆσαι, μείλιγμα τοῖς κυσὶ προβεβλησθαί τι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φάσκοντες· ὁ δ' ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἑαυτὸν λῦσαι, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς δήσαντας, ὡς μὴ λάθοι, δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύρας, αἱ δ' ἀνεπετάσθησαν, παρελθόντος δὲ ἔσω τὰς μὲν θύρας ξυνελθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐκέλειντο, βοῆν δὲ ἀδουσῶν παρθένων ἐκπεσεῖν. τὸ δὲ ᾄσμα ἦν· “στεῖχε γᾶς, στεῖχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῖχε.” οἶον· ἴθι ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἄνω.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

this one continued to be the slave of the other, who for some insignificant reason sold her to a merchant, from whom she was purchased. Her new master, although she was not good-looking, nevertheless fell in love with her; and being a fairly rich man, made her his legal wife and had legitimate children by her.

Others again say that he died in Lindus, where he entered the temple of Athene and disappeared within it. Others again say that he died in Crete in a much more remarkable manner than the people of Lindus relate. For they say that he continued to live in Crete, where he became a greater centre of admiration than ever before, and that he came to the temple of Dictynna late at night. Now this temple is guarded by dogs, whose duty it is to watch over the wealth deposited in it, and the Cretans claim that they are as good as bears or any other animals equally fierce. None the less, when he came, instead of barking, they approached him and fawned upon him, as they would not have done even with people they knew familiarly. The guardians of the shrine arrested him in consequence, and threw him in bonds as a wizard and a robber, accusing him of having thrown to the dogs some charmed morsel. But about midnight he loosened his bonds, and after calling those who had bound him, in order that they might witness the spectacle, he ran to the doors of the temple, which opened wide to receive him; and when he had passed within they closed afresh, as they had been shut, and there was heard a chorus of maidens singing from within the temple, and their song was this. “Hasten thou from earth, hasten thou to Heaven, hasten.” In other words: “Do thou go upwards from earth.”

CHAP. XXX

or in Lindus

or Crete

Story of I assumpti into heav

Περὶ ψυχῆς δέ, ὡς ἀθάνατος εἶη, ἐφιλοσόφει ἔτι, διδάσκων μὲν, ὅτι ἀληθῆς ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λόγος, πολυπραγμονεῖν δὲ μὴ ξυγχωρῶν τὰ ὧδε μεγάλα· ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰ Τύανα μειράκιον θρασὺ περὶ τὰς ἔριδας καὶ μὴ ξυντιθέμενον ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ. τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἤδη ὄντος, θαυμαζομένου δ' ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ μηδ' ἀντιλέξαι θαρροῦντος μηδενός, ὡς οὐκ ἀθάνατος εἶη, λόγοι μὲν οἱ πλείους ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ γὰρ νεότης τις ἦν αὐτόθι σοφίας ἐρῶντες, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον οὐδαμῶς τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασία ξυντιθέμενον, “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ὦ παρόντες, τουτουὶ μῆνα δέκατον Ἀπολλωνίῳ διατελῶ εὐχόμενος ἀναφῆναι μοι τὸν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς λόγον, ὁ δ' οὕτω τέθνηκεν, ὡς μηδ' ἐφίστασθαι δεομένῳ, μηδ', ὡς ἀθάνατος εἶη, πείθειν.” τοιαῦτα μὲν τὸ μειράκιον τότε, πέμπτη δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν σπουδάσαν, κατέδαρθε μὲν οὐ διελέγετο, τῶν δὲ ξυσπουδαζόντων νέων οἱ μὲν πρὸς βιβλίους ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἐσπούδαζον γεωμετρικοὺς ἐπιχαράττοντες τύπους τῇ γῆ, τὸ δ', ὥσπερ ἐμμανές, ἀναπηδῆσαν ὠμόυπνον, ἰδρῶτί τε πολλῷ ἐρρεῖτο καὶ ἐβόα, “πέιθομαί σοι.” ἐρομένων δ' αὐτὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὅ τι πέπουθεν, “οὐχ ὁράτε,” ἔφη, “ὕμεις Ἀπολλωνίου τὸν σοφόν, ὡς παρατυγχάνει τε ἡμῖν,

AND even after his death he continued to preach that the soul is immortal; but although he taught this account of it to be correct, yet he discouraged men from meddling in such high subjects. For there came to Tyana a youth who did not shrink from acrimonious discussions, and would not accept truth in argument. Now Apollonius had already passed away from among men, but people still wondered at his passing, and no one ventured to dispute that he was immortal. This being so, the discussions were mainly about the soul, for a band of youths were there passionately addicted to wisdom. The young man in question, however, would on no account allow the tenet of the immortality of the soul, and said: “I myself, gentlemen, have done nothing now for over nine months but pray to Apollonius that he would reveal to me the truth about the soul; but he is so utterly dead that he will not appear to me in response to my entreaties, nor give me any reason to consider him immortal.” Such were the young man’s words on that occasion, but on the fifth day following, after discussing the same subject, he fell asleep where he was talking with them, and of the young men who were studying with him, some were reading books, and others were industriously drawing geometrical figures on the ground, when on a sudden, like one possessed, he leapt up still in a half sleep, streaming with perspiration, and cried out: “I believe thee.” And, when those who were present asked him what was the matter; “Do you not see,” said he, “Apollonius the sage, how that he is present

ἐπακροώμενος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ῥαψωδεῖ θαυμάσια ;” “ποῦ δ’ οὗτος ;” ἔφασαν, “ὡς ἡμῖν γε οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται, καίτοι βουλομένοις ἂν τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν.” καὶ τὸ μειράκιον, “ἔοικεν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ διαλεξόμενος ἦκειν ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ ἐπίστευον· ἀκούετ’ οὖν, οἷα τῷ λόγῳ ἐπιθειάζει·

ἀθάνατος ψυχῆ κοῦ χρῆμα σόν, ἀλλὰ προνοίας,
ἢ μετὰ σῶμα μαρανθέν, ἅτ’ ἐκ δεσμῶν θοὸς
ἵππος,

ῥηιδίως προθοροῦσα κεράννυται ἠέρι κούφῳ,
δεινὴν καὶ πολὺτλητον ἀποστέρξασα λατρείην·
σοὶ δὲ τί τῶνδ’ ὄφελος, ὃ ποτ’ οὐκέτ’ ἔων τότε
δόξεις ;

ἢ τί μετὰ ζῳοῖσιν ἔων περὶ τῶνδε ματεύεις ;”

καὶ σαφῆς οὗτος Ἀπολλωνίου τρίπους ἔστηκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπορρήτων, ἵν’ εὐθυμοί τε καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν εἰδότες, οἳ τάττουσι Μοῖραι, πορευοίμεθα. τάφῳ μὲν οὖν ἢ ψευδοταφίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμοῦ προστυχῶν οἶδα, καίτοι τῆς γῆς, ὁπόση ἐστίν, ἐπελθὼν πλείστην, λόγοις δὲ πανταχοῦ δαιμονίοις, καὶ ἱερὰ Τύανάδε βασιλείους ἐκπεποιημένα τέλεσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἀπηξίουσαν αὐτὸν ὧν αὐτοὶ ἠξιοῦντο.

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

“The soul is immortal, and ’tis no possession of thine own, but of Providence,

“And after the body is wasted away, like a swift horse freed from its traces,

“It lightly leaps forward and mingles itself with the light air,

“Loathing the spell of harsh and painful servitude which it has endured.

“But for thee, what use is there in this? Some day when thou art no more thou shalt believe it.

“So why, as long as thou art among living beings, dost thou explore these mysteries?”

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